

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF RELIGION IN THE HITTITE, LUWIAN, AND ARAMAEAN KINGDOMS (Dominik Bonatz, Free University of Berlin)

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The cultural milieu of Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Anatolia and North Syria was formed by four main population groups: Hittites, Hurrians, Luwians, and Aramaeans. The synopsis given here seeks to explicate how these groups interacted in the field of religion, gaining their common identity by the means of visualizing religion. Dealing with iconographic data, however, limits the scope of this overview. The visual sources known to us mainly reflect the “official” cult and religion of the state and the elites respectively. They are limited in inquiring into aspects of popular religion. The goal, then, of this investigation is twofold. On the one hand, the relevant iconographic material will be assembled and considered in a certain sociopolitical context, divided into three chapters: the development of religious iconography in Hittite Anatolia, including aspects of Hurrian religion; the Luwian kingdoms; and the Aramaean kingdoms. On the other hand, in view of certain clearly identifiable intercultural and intracultural similarities and relationships between these political units, the interfaces of the different religious symbol systems will be brought into focus.

1. Religious Iconography in Hittite Anatolia

1.1. The formation of Hittite religious iconography

In defining any formative period for the constitution of the iconographic symbols system in Hittite Anatolia is a difficult task. Anatolia has often been called a *Brückenland* or “the bridge between the East and West” (BLUM et al. 2002; controversially discussed by BLEGEN 1956); this seems to be mirrored in the development of the religious symbol system, which was constantly transformed by the dynamics of cultural interaction in the Anatolian areas. A certain lack of uniformity and stability makes Anatolian religious art quite distinct from, for example, Mesopotamian religious art. A clearly defined concept of the divine world and its visual representation evolved only gradually during the chronological span that covers the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Parts of this concept were formed under the impact of foreign influence; others were deeply anchored in prehistoric moorings of Anatolian mixed religious traditions.

The existence of a complex system of religious symbols, consisting of both anthropomorphic and theriomorphic forms, can already be recognized in the Upper Mesopotamian Prepottery Neolithic A-B settlements of Çayönü (ÇAMBEL/BRAIDWOOD 1983), Nevalı Çori (HAUPTMANN 1991-92; HAUPTMANN *in print*), and Göbekli Tepe (SCHMIDT 1998; SCHMIDT 2006). By the Pottery Neolithic A period, during which numerous figurative representations appear in the Anatolian Settlements of Çatal Höyük (MELLAART 1967: 77-203) and Hacilar (MELLAART 1970: 166-188), two major principles have moved to the center of the religious iconography: a female principle, anthropomorphically represented as a naked woman; and a male principle, represented in taumorphic form. Both embody aspects of fertility combined with tutelary powers, forming the *leitmotifs* that belong to the belief system established by the agricultural society (Cauvin 2000).

The mother goddess, a personified expression of the female principle, still played an important role in Anatolian religion at the beginning of the 2nd mill., when the first written evidence starts to appear. According to the Anitta text (late 18th cent.), the throne goddess Halmashuit, a type of mother goddess, occupies the leading position in the pantheon ahead of the storm god in the period before the founding of the Hittite Old Kingdom (MACQUEEN 1999: 110f, n. 69). The old-age type of naked mother goddess supporting her breasts survives well into the Assyrian Colony Period (1940-1780), in the form of an ivory figurine (KULAÇOĞLU 1992: no. 131) and several lead figurines (EMRE 1971: pls. 3:2; 5:1) which were found in private households in Kültepe. Other forms of representation from the same period, however, already begin to allude to a process of iconographical and semantic transformation. The naked goddess sometimes appears with wings, as seen on a lead statuette from Karahöyük (ALP 1974: pls. 225-226) as well as seal representations from the same period (ALP 1968: pls. 35-36), thereby anticipating features of the Hurrian goddess (cf. ALEXANDER 1991: 168f; HAAS 1994: 353-356). By the Old Kingdom, but especially in the Hittite Empire period, the image of a naked or unclothed woman with or without wings is almost exclusively associated with Ishtar-Shaushka, the goddess of sexuality and war (e.g., Boğazköy seal impression [BOEHMER/GÜTERBOCK 1987: no. 147]; Nuzi ivory figurine [MELLINK 1964: pl. 20]; Megiddo ivory [ALEXANDER 1991]; Imankulu rock relief [WÄFLER 1975]; stamp-cylinder [PARROT 1951]), whereas the mother goddess, if represented at all, appears clothed, as found on a gold pendant figurine which might depict the reigning mother goddess Anzili with a child on her lap (**fig. 1**; GÜTERBOCK 1983: 210; VAN LOON 1985: 33; contra MAYER-OPIFICIUS 1993: 358). Her headgear creates the image of a halo, similar to the image of the sun goddess, as attested in the open-air shrine of Eflatun Pinar (**fig. 2**) or the bronze statuette in Alaca Höyük (KULAÇOĞLU 1992: no. 139). The sun goddess, who since the earliest periods exhibits features of the mother, and earth goddess (cf. HAAS 1994: 419), seems to have overlapped the image of the mother goddess. Whereas the sun goddess advances to the head of the pantheon as the *paredra* of the storm god, the mother goddess appears only rarely in god lists, but much more frequently in the sphere of personal piety (HAAS 1994: 432-441). This phenomenon exemplifies a historical process on the iconographical level, in which formerly prominent divine figures are gradually forced to retreat in favor of other, mostly male divine figures, who eventually assume the most prominent positions in the Hittite state pantheon. Gods worshipped outside of the official state cult are practically unattested in the visual art of the Hittite Empire Period.

1.2. Hierarchic status and relationship within the divine realm

The existence of a politically oriented pantheon with a hierarchical structure can be observed in the first useful, typologically arranged god lists found in contracts and instructions from the Early Empire Period (c. 1430-1350) (HOUWINK TEN CATE 1992: 88f). The storm god Hatti and

the sun goddess Arinna head the pantheon. The establishment of the storm god as the chief male god in the Hittite pantheon brings to completion the gradual process which replaced the bull cult with that of the storm god. On seals from Karum Kanish Phase II the bull is already clearly subordinated, appearing as a theriomorphic attribute of the storm god (figs. 3-4; ÖZGÜÇ 1965: pls. 7:19-21; 9:26; 22:65; 24:71). This phase also attests the first image of the storm god killing a bull (ÖZGÜÇ 1965: pl. 6:18).

The diverse manifestations of the storm god depicted on Anatolian seals (see also ÖZGÜÇ 1980: figs. III-21-27) are symptomatic of the worship of a large number of local storm gods (see the task enumeration by HOUWINK TEN CATE 1992: 84). GREEN (2003: 108), however, argues that these different representations do not depict one single storm god with diverse local manifestations. He suggests that the different forms of these Anatolian deities are an expression of two inherent aspects: “a celestial storm god and a terrestrial Water-god. The later celestial Storm-god is thought to be indigenous to the cultures of Europe and the ancient Near East, while the earlier, earth-bound Water-god is indigenous to the Hattian population.” The increasing amount of textual evidence in the Old Hittite Period reveals that attempts were being made out of these aspects to create the image of one single storm god who would embody the emerging imperial concept of the kingdom: the storm god of heaven. Within this process a strategy developed, which became typical of the synthesis employed by Hittite religion: other “foreign” gods were integrated into the pantheon instead of being abolished or ignored. In seal representations from the Karum Period, the storm god, standing on a lion-dragon and holding a spear in one hand and a thunderbolt in the other, has already adopted features of the North-Syrian storm god Adad (e.g., VAN LOON 1985: pl. 5c; MACQUEEN 1999: fig. 96). The abduction of the statue of the storm god of Aleppo and its transfer into the temple of the sun goddess Arinna in Hattusha in the 15th cent. represents a climax of such a process (KLENGEL 1965: 90). However, the influences of the Hittite storm god also traveled in the opposite direction. The Plague Prayer of Murshili II reports that, under the command of the storm god, the residents of the Anatolian city of Kurushtuma set out for the land of Mişri, located in Southern Syria/Palestine (LEBRUN 1998: 155f).

Synthesis on the iconographical level might also have been stimulated by examples such as the marching god in a smiting posture. This god exists in Anatolia in the form of bronze figurines from the Old Hittite Kingdom until the Empire Period (e.g., Dövklek/Sharkishlar statuette [EMRE 2002: no. 11]; Karaman statuette [EMRE 2002: no. 13]). In monumental form, he is represented on the unfinished stela from Fasilar, dated to the 13th cent. (BITTEL 1976: fig. 264). As a typical Hittite god he wears a short kilt and the pointed cap with horns, but his posture is identical with that of a whole series of Syro-Levantine bronzes (NEGBI 1976: 29-41; SEEDEN 1980). At least one representation of the smiting god in distinct Hittite style was incised on a jar handle found in Late Bronze Age Hazor (SHANKS 1973: pl. 63C).

By the beginning of the Hittite Empire period (from Shuppiluliuma [c. 1380] onward), the image of the storm god has been so modified that in monumental visual art as well as seals – which play an important role in maintaining communication channels between provinces – an association with the regional storm gods has become unmistakable. He stands on one or two mountain gods (e.g., Yazılıkaya relief no. 42 [fig. 5]), seal of Ini-Teshub [SCHAEFFER 1956: fig. 32], seal of Amanmashu [SCHAEFFER 1956: figs. 67-68]), who should probably be associated with the North Syrian mountains of Namni and Hazzi (KOCH 1993: 206), and also interpreted as a political expression of the extent of the storm god’s dominion. The degradation of the mountain gods as mere mounts of the storm god is an additional iconographic indication of the changes occurring in the hierarchical order and function of religious symbols in the 2nd mill. The same process is attested with the bull, which was dislodged from its leading position and assigned the role of an attribute of the storm god (for

the mythological background, see HAAS 1994: 231). This is also visually expressed through the image of the storm god holding the bull on leash (e.g., seal of Heshmi-Teshub, brother of Ini-Teshub [**fig. 6**]), a motif which also occurs in the glyptic of Kültepe (e.g., **figs. 3-4**), and again with the image of two bulls pulling the chariot of the storm god (e.g., rock relief from Imankulu [WÄFLER 1975: pl. 3; EHRINGHAUS 2005: figs. 133-134], Boston-silver rython [EMRE 2002: fig. 15], seal impression of Murshili III [**fig. 7**], stamp-cylinder seal [ALEXANDER 1973-76: fig. 3c]). Sheri und Hurri are a bull dyad which, like the mountain god dyad, appear in the cosmogony as supporters of the celestial firmament. As an attribute of the storm god they also symbolize the expansion of his sphere of dominion. The storm god himself holds the mace in one hand – an image also attested in the cult inventory description of statues (KUB 38.2 Vs. II 8-13 [GÜTERBOCK 1983: 205]) – and rarely a spear (Akçaköy stela [VAN LOON 1985: pl. 19b]). In the other hand he holds the logogram of his name, the hieroglyph TONITRUS (mostly in combination with DEUS), which is a W-shaped sign (HAWKINS 1992: 55f, fig. 2). Only rarely does he appear with a variant iconography, as seen in Alaca Höyük where he is seated, clad in a long robe, and holding a cup in the right hand and a mace in the left (BITTEL 1976: fig. 221). The image of the worshipped throne-seated god corresponds to the character of Teshub as described in the Hurrian Kumarbi-cycle (HOFFNER 1998: 42-65). In this myth the storm god is a passive god, otherwise in the visual art of the Empire Period he is portrayed as an active god, a more appropriate role for emphasizing his relationship to Hittite dominion.

The increasing number of anthropomorphic representations of the storm god in the Late Bronze Period should not obscure the fact that the bull, as a theriomorphic attribute of the storm god, continued to be worshipped throughout the entire 2nd mill. Among other examples, this is attested by representations on the Old Hittite Inandiktepe-vase (ÖZGÜÇ 1988: pls. 37; 46:1; ÖZGÜÇ 2002a: 248-251, figs. 2-5, 7) as well as an Empire Period relief in Alaca Höyük (**fig. 8**), both of which display the worship of a bull statue which probably serves as an alternate representation of the storm god. The Hittite descriptions of statues from the cult inventory lists also document a storm god represented as a bull, including not only statuettes but also bull-shaped vessels (GÜTERBOCK 1983: 212f; VAN LOON 1985: 30f [Table 1]; HOUWINK TEN CATE 1992: 108; HAAS 1994: 495).

The statue descriptions appeared as a result of the cult reforms introduced by Tuthaliya IV in the 13th cent. However, the institution of a cult inventory, included as part of these reforms, is probably considerably older and thus reflects a certain long-standing religious tradition. The inventory lists occasionally note that a divine statue was formerly an image-less stela which had been replaced by an anthropomorphic or theriomorphic statue. The texts provide an invaluable source of material for our knowledge of the iconography of Hittite gods (BRANDENSTEIN 1943; CARTER 1962; JAKOB-ROST 1963; GÜTERBOCK 1983; HAAS 1994: 491-503). Nevertheless, as VAN LOON (1985: 28-36) has already articulated, only in the rarest cases do the descriptions convincingly correspond to actual surviving artworks. Thus the use of such descriptions as a reliable source for the identification of gods represented in Hittite art is, unfortunately, limited. Exceptions exist only with the storm god, the aforementioned Ishtar-Shaushka, whose statuette is described as a winged woman but also as a man (KUB 38.2 Vs. I 7-16 and Vs. I 21- II 3 [JAKOB-ROST 1963: I, 175f]; HAAS 1994: 500f); and the tutelary god of the fields, who stands on a stag and holds a bird in his hand (**fig. 9**; e.g., KUB 38.1 Vs. II 1-6 [GÜTERBOCK 1983: 207; HAAS 1994: 498f]). The latter belongs to an older generation of gods and is depicted in artworks dating from the Assyrian Colony Period until the Empire Period (e.g., Kültepe seal [ÖZGÜÇ 1965: pl. 22:65]; Eskiypar relief vase [ÖZGÜÇ 1988: pl. 76:1]; stag-shaped silver cup [VAN LOON 1985: pl. 40a-b]; Alaca Höyük gold sheet [ÖZGÜÇ 1993: pl. 84:2a-b]; Yeniköy stela [**fig. 9**]). However, such continuity is exceptional. For example, no visual representation of Pirwa, the god standing on a horse (KUB 38.4 Vs. I 1-5

[BRANDENSTEIN 1943: 22; HAAS 1994: 499]), exists from the same period, although his image appears to be attested in the Old Anatolian glyptic of the Karum Period (ÖZGÜÇ 1965: pl. 22:65). Additionally, neither a statue description nor a visual representation is attested for such a prominent deity as the vegetation god Telipinu.

1.3. Yazılıkaya: The visualization of the Hittite state pantheon

The diverse features of the god types described in the cult inventory lists generally demonstrate that, at least up to the period of the cult reform introduced by Tuthaliya IV, there had been no attempts to clearly establish the distinct and definite features of each particular god type. One may be able to observe the first attempt under Tuthaliya IV with the decoration of Chamber A in the rock-cut shrine of Yazılıkaya and its 65 (still preserved) reliefs of the gods of the Hittite State Pantheon. Iconographically speaking, these reliefs are the most informative and studied evidence of Hittite religion (LAROCHE 1969; BITTEL et al. 1975; VAN LOON 1985: 18-28; ALEXANDER 1986; BITTEL 1989; HAAS 1994: 632-639; SEEHER 2002). Nevertheless, because of their late date and the obvious Hurrian influences, they are not seen as typical expressions of a Hittite belief system.

The order of gods corresponds to the Hurrian pantheon in the offering lists (LAROCHE 1952; HAAS 1994: 637-639). A procession of 40 male deities, led by the storm god, begins at the narrow north side of the chamber and continues along the long, curving west side. A procession of 20 female deities, led by the sun goddess, begins from the same narrow north side of the chamber and continues in the other direction along the equally asymmetrical east side. At the center of the narrow north side of the chamber, the storm god and the sun goddess stand face to face (**fig. 5**) and possess an optimal view of the entire chamber. For the most part the male gods wear a short kilt and, corresponding to their hierarchical standing, a single or multiple horned, pointed cap, the typical headgear of Hittite deities since the Old Kingdom (cf. five-faced seals, 16th cent. [BOEHMER/GÜTERBOCK 1987: fig. 39 and no. 148]). The goddesses are uniformly dressed in a long pleated robe and wear a cylindrical crown, which is turreted only in the case of the major goddesses. Above the outstretched left or right hand of most of the deities their respective names appear in Luwian hieroglyphs, to be read, however, as their Hurrian names (HAAS 1994: 633). Thus the storm god, who stands on two mountain gods and shoulders a mace, and the sun goddess, who stands on a feline, probably a leopard, can be identified as Teshub and Hebat respectively. Because of some very difficult readings and uninformative iconography, not all the deities can be identified. This pertains particularly to the female deities on the east side of the chamber, who bear no attributes and are all stereotypically modeled after Hebat. The first two goddesses in the company of Hebat stand together on a double eagle (**fig. 5**). They are described as “daughter of Teshub” and “granddaughter of Teshub” respectively, and thus probably represent Allanzu and Kunzishalli. As the offspring of the supreme divine couple, and the only male deity on this side of the procession, the god Sharruma stands behind Hebat and in front of the daughter of Teshub. Like his mother he is shown on a leopard. He holds the animal on a leash while shouldering an axe. The first two male gods, which appear behind Teshub, stand on two rocks. One (no. 41) shoulders a mace and holds a spear, and probably represents Tashmishu, the brother of Teshub. The other (no. 40) holds the hieroglyph “ear of corn,” and represents Kumarbi, the father of Teshub, completing the divine family. They are followed by a group of gods standing on the earth and clearly distinguished by their iconography and accompanying inscriptions. Ea (no. 39) heads the group, followed by Shaushka (no. 38) and her two attendants Ninatta and Kulitta (nos. 36-37), then the moon god Kushuh (no. 35) and the sun god Shimige (no. 34). The same group, but without Shaushka’s attendants, appears on a stamp-cylinder seal from the Tyszkiewicz collection (ALEXANDER 1973-76: 156f, fig. 3c; VAN

LOON 1985: 40, pl. 13c), where all members of the group are seen honoring the storm god, who stands on his chariot. This visual image mirrors a Hurrian concept which corresponds to the idea of Teshub as the god chosen by the other gods as the leader of the pantheon, as it appears mythically in the theogony of the Kumarbi-cycle.

Shaushka and her attendant goddesses conspicuously appear as the only female deities in the procession of male deities of Chamber A. Shaushka herself appears winged with an opened robe which clearly exposes her pubic triangle. In contrast to the other goddesses on the east side of the chamber, she wears the horned crown of a male god, probably because of her warlike aspects. The winged male god Pirinkir (no. 31) and the war gods Astabi (no. 33) and Hesue (no. 30), both armed with sickle blades, continue the procession of male gods. The two bull men, who carry the symbol “heaven,” fall out of the group of male deities who stand upon the symbol “earth.” These two could be an allusion to the bull dyad Sheri und Hurri, assigned the role of supporting heaven by the mythology.

The following series of five mountain gods are distinguished by scale patterns on their lower body. The hieroglyph of the first can eventually be read as Namni. It is quite possible that the same mountain gods who serve as mounts for Teshub on relief no. 42 reappear here in their own right. Behind the mountain gods, twelve nameless gods appear wearing kilts and single horned, pointed caps, and shouldering scimitars. These are most probably gods of the underworld, the same ones encountered on a relief in Chamber B (see below). Their placement at the end of the procession fits the clearly conceptualized cosmological order of the whole composition, which advances from the sphere of chthonic and terrestrial deities to the sphere of the gods of heaven.

Regarding the function of Chamber A, traditional consensus has associated it with the great spring festival, the Festival of the Plants, AN.TAH.ŠUM (OTTEN 1956: 101f; VAN LOON 1985: 19f; MACQUEEN 1999: 128; SEEHER 2002: 113). Alternatively, HAAS (1994: 639) introduces a possible interpretation as the location for rites of the coronation ceremony. The large relief representation of Tuthaliya IV (no. 64) at the beginning of the east side of the chamber, which gives the sovereign a full view of pantheon, might support this interpretation.

If Chamber A was conceived as a space for the worship of the state pantheon, then Chamber B (**fig. 10**), accessed only through a narrow passageway and defined in texts as NA₄.*ḥekur*, was obviously constructed for the mortuary cult of the ruler. Again, this would be Tuthaliya IV, who is represented twice in this chamber: once on relief no. 81 in the arms of his tutelary god Sharruma on the east side of the chamber, and again in the form of a colossal statue, whose original location has now been identified as the north wall (NEVE 1989: 350f, fig. 3). It has been suggested that one representation shows the king in his official royal attire en route to the netherworld, whereas the other shows the deceased king who has already become a god (NEVE 1989: 349). Relief no. 82 emphasizes the relationship to the underworld figured into the conception of this chamber. Here the sword god Nergal or Ugur in Hurrian appears opposite the group of twelve marching gods (relief no. 69), armed with scimitars and in this context clearly identified as gods of the underworld (GÜTERBOCK 1965: 198; BITTEL et al. 1975: 117, 124, 256).

1.4. Human interaction with the divine: Kingship and the gods

The bond between the king and the divine world represented in Chamber B is symptomatic of the relationship between kingship and the gods in Hittite religion, although this relationship generally corresponds to that in the political-religious ideology firmly established in other empires of the same period (e.g., Egypt, Babylonia). The king is the principal servant of the gods. He is responsible for tending to the well-being of all the deities within the realm of his dominion, and represents the central figure responsible for binding the empire into a single

unified entity. We can deduce this role from numerous ritual texts and the visual representations in which king and queen stand worshipping the statue of a god, similar to the representation on the relief from Alaca Höyük (**fig. 8**), or performing a libation before the gods (e.g., Boston-silver rython [EMRE 2002: 230-232, fig. 15]). The most monumental example of a libation scene can be found on the rock relief of Fraktın, which depicts Hattushili III and Puduheba. He is pictured in front of the standing storm god, unusually represented shouldering a crook and therefore alternatively interpreted as a hunting god (VAN LOON 1985: 15) or the tutelary god of the fields (MAYER-OPIFICIUS 1993: 361); and she appears before the throne-seated sun goddess, who holds a bowl in her right hand (BITTEL 1976: fig. 198; BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1982: no. 318 [drawing]). The robe and headgear of the royal pair are conspicuously similar to those of the divine pair before them, leading to the suggestion that the scene depicts Hattushili and Pudeheba in the afterlife (MAYER-OPIFICIUS 1993: 361-363).

The close bond between the king and the storm god or his tutelary god is further expressed through the god's embracing gesture found on the seals of Muwatalli II (**fig. 11**; BERAN 1967: nos. 250-252), Murshili III (NEVE 1991: fig. 29b), Hattushili III (known from textual sources [BERAN 1967: 79, n. 2]), and Tuthaliya IV (SCHAEFFER 1956: figs. 24, 26, HERBORDT 2006: figs. 130-131). This gesture, which is also depicted on relief no. 81 in Yazılıkaya, is to be understood not only as tutelary, it also expresses the image of the king striding alongside the god (cf. ORTHMANN 1983: 431). The divine support which the king enjoys is also emphasized through other iconographical representations. On seals of the Great King Zuzu of Alahzina from Kanish (18th cent.), a bull appears as a symbol of the storm god and thus as a tutelary symbol for the king (ÖZGÜÇ 2002: fig. 7). The same image resurfaces later on seals of Muwatalli II (c. 1290-1270), who makes an allusion to his throne name within which the sign for bull's head (*uwa*) appears (GÜTERBOCK 1942: 6, no.1). In a similar manner, Tuthaliya IV and Arnuwanda III use the image of the mountain god in the hieroglyphs for their names (**fig. 12**; BERAN 1967: figs. 160-161; NEVE 1993: figs. 159-160), since both throne names were originally the names of divine mountains (HAAS 1982: 48). On the seal of Kuruntas (Ulmi-Teshub), king of Tarhuntassa, a god is depicted with a lance in his hand and standing on top of a stag, the symbol for the name of the king (NEVE 1993: figs. 40-42).

The stela of Altınyayla near Kuşaklı-Sarıssa, recently discovered and published by MÜLLER-KARPE (2003), shows a standing figure pouring a libation to the god on the stag. HAWKINS (2006: 51) identifies the human figure with Tuthaliya IV and the stela as part of his cultic installation in honour of the stag god of Sarıssa. As heroic hunter Thuthaliya associates himself with the stag god (HAWKINS 2006) and it might therefore be assumed that the stag hunt rendered on the bronze bowl from the Kınık-Kastamonu hoard (EMRE/ÇINAĞROLU 1993: fig. 23, pls. 133-145) alludes to the royal ritual of a heroic hunt.

Nonetheless, only after death did the Hittite sovereign achieve a divine status, euphemistically transcribed as "when the King becomes God." At that point the deceased king ranked as a divine ancestor (Hittite: *karuilies* DINGIR^{meš}) among the chthonic gods. Like these he was responsible for the agricultural prosperity of the land. The cult of the royal ancestors is thus very closely linked to the agrarian cult (GONNET 1995). This link is unrecognizable, however, in the iconography of the royal ancestors. Instead the ruler is depicted as a divine warrior with horned cap, lance, and/or bow (BONATZ *forthcoming*). In Temple V of the upper city of Hattusha (Boğazköy), an analogous relief depicting Tuthaliya (probably I) was found in a structure which has been interpreted as a chapel for the worship of the royal ancestors (**fig. 13**; NEVE 1993: 34-36, fig. 103). At the Southern Citadel another relief depicting Shuppiluliuma (probably I), wearing a high pointed horned cap and carrying bow and lance, was found as a reused block in the front area of Chamber 2, identified in an

inscription as the “divine earth road” (NEVE 1993: 69-74. figs. 213-214; cf. HAWKINS 1995: 44f, fig. 15). VAN DEN HOUT (1995: 559-560) has suggested that the same figure on the royal seal of Murshili III (**fig. 7**), standing behind the chariot of the storm god, depicts the ruling monarch. DINÇOL (2002: 91, fig. 7), however, argues that it is not a royal figure represented in this scene but rather a tutelary god (^dLAMMA). In fact, the distinction between god and king often remains problematic. For example, in the case of the newly discovered rock relief of Kurunta, King of Tarhuntassa, at Hatip DINÇOL (1995: 162-163, fig. 1, pls. 1-2) again identifies the figure with bow, lance, and high pointed horned cap as god. But the name of Kurunta written next to this figure could also refer to the image of the ruling monarch (EHRINGHAUS 2005: 101-107). The definite proof that in some cases the leavings can also be depicted as gods is given by the seal impressions of the crown prince Urhi-Teshub, found in the Nişantepe archive of Boğazköy (**fig. 14**; HERBORDT 2005: 69-71, fig. 46a-d, cat.-nos. 504-505, 507), which show him wearing the high pointed horned cap and embraced by the god Sharruma. It is clearly not the deceased Urhi-Teshub who is represented on this seal since he followed his father, Muwatalli II, as Great King of Hatti taking over the throne name Murshili (III), and then using the new type of royal seal mentioned above.

As for the king, his affiliation with the divine world is most clearly expressed by the assimilation of his image with that of the sun god. The Hittite king, who since Hattushili I bears the title “My Sun,” ^dUTU^{si} (FAUTH 1979: 229f), assumes the features of the sun god. This is quite clearly revealed through comparisons of the representations of Tuthaliya IV on the Yazılıkaya relief nos. 64 and 81 with the representation of the sun god on Yazılıkaya relief no. 34, as well as Chamber 2 at the Southern Citadel (NEVE 1993: fig. 211). Both wear the long robe and rounded skullcap, and both carry the *lituus*. They are distinguished only by different hieroglyphic inscriptions and the winged sun disc, which is attached to the head of the sun god but absent on the king (see also the kings in the reliefs of Alaca Höyük [**fig. 8**], Sirkeli [BITTEL 1976: fig. 195], and the seals of Muwatalli [BERAN 1967: nos. 250-252]). On seals originating from the royal workshop of Carchemish and distributed over the North Syrian area, the winged sun disc was also attached to the head of the solar figure wearing the long robe and carrying the *lituus* while standing on a bull-man or lion (e.g., seal of Heshmi-Teshub [**fig. 6**], seal of Ini-Teshub [SCHAEFFER 1956: fig. 34], seal of Aman-mashu [SCHAEFFER 1956: fig. 68], seal of Shahurunuwa [BEYER 2002: A1]). Opinions remain divided as to whether the figure represents a god or the king (e.g., LAROCHE 1956: 124 contra GÜTERBOCK 1993b: 225). Based on a substantial amount of evidence discovered in Emar, BEYER (2002: 341-347, fig. 60) has plausibly asserted that the figure serves to create a visual representation of the Hittite royal title “My Sun,” ^dUTU^{si}, and could thus be interpreted as an attempt to expand the Empire’s religious ideology of dominion by means of this new representation. Because the image of the sun god seems to have been interchangeable with that of the king, a political statement is also assumed for the ivory plaque from Megiddo (ALEXANDER 1991: 182, figs. 1-2). Here the sun god appears twice, crowned with an oversized winged disc and standing on top of an atlantid composition of approximately 30 figures: winged two-headed lions; mountain gods; human-headed genii; bull-men; a naked figure, supposedly Shaushka (ALEXANDER 1991: 178); and four bulls standing on earth mounds. All these figures symbolically include elements of water, earth, and fertility, all subordinated to the power of the sun.

1.5. Relative importance of anthropomorphic and theriomorphic representations and the status of aniconic representations

The example of the sun god illustrates the particular role played by anthropomorphic concepts of deities in the Late Empire Period, where certain gods stood at the head of the pantheon and

were responsible for granting the Hittite king his right to rulership as well. The storm god and his *paredra*, the sun goddess, the sun god, Shaushka, and the tutelary god(s) are the most frequently represented examples of these main deities. Other divine figures in hybrid or theriomorphic form, like the mountain god, bull-man, bull, lion, leopard, and stag serve as a further representational enhancement of those deities at the head of the pantheon. Additionally, those same leading deities or their local manifestations were worshipped in the form of distinct emblems like sun discs, lances, maces, staffs, and axes (HAAS 1994: 510-515). The *huwaši stones*, the Hittite term given to the cultic stelae stones through which principally any god could also be worshipped in aniconic form, played a particular role in this type of worship (BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1982: 78, n. 267; HAAS 1994: 507-509; HUTTER 1993: 91-95). The worship of such stone objects is depicted in a unique scene on a relief in Hattusha (BITTEL 1976: fig. 229). The *huwaši stones* are mainly found outside of urban centers and in open-air spaces like rock cliff shrines and open-air shrines near springs. They demonstrate that principally the Anatolians were originally more at home with the representation of the divine in its natural forms; therefore, representations in anthropomorphic form can actually only inform us of one particular aspect of Hittite and Hurrian religion.

2. Religious Iconography in the Luwian Kingdoms

The Luwian- and Aramaean-speaking population groups of Iron Age Northern Syria and Southeast Anatolia are generally summed up under the classification “Neo-Hittite” (alternatively “Late Hittite” or “Syro-Hittite”), with distinctions between both groups being purely ethnolinguistic (BRYCE 1997: 385; PITARD 1997: 184-186). All other distinguishing criteria have proven to be indefensible on the basis of the early and intensive contact and interaction between the two groups (cf. ORTHMANN 1971: 7; SADER 1987: 281-286). The term “Neo-Hittite” is mainly useful within a historical perspective when it designates both the visual art of the Luwian as well as Aramaean kingdoms. Nonetheless, when the following discussion attempts to make a distinction between Luwian and Aramaean religious art, this will pertain mainly to the urban centers, where the ruling class can be classified as Luwian or Aramaean based on their respective writing systems (cf. Aro 2003, Art and Architecture, in: MELCHERT 2003: 281-283).

The period which follows the disintegration of the Hittite Empire witnesses a drastic decline in textual sources. The inscriptions in Hieroglyphic-Luwian, Aramaic, and Phoenician appear almost exclusively as monumental inscriptions, the content of which is not of a religious nature with only a few exceptions (e.g., Panammuwa-inscription), and therefore for an interpretation of the religious iconography only conditionally informative. By contrast, the number of visual representations increases. The visual sources are now monumental sculptures, orthostats, stelae, and, to some extent, seals, dating from the 12th down to the 7th cent., when the last independent Luwian and Aramaean city-states had been integrated into the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Unlike the visual art of the Hittite period in which a religious orientation predominates, Neo-Hittite visual art witnesses a significant increase in the amount of political-historical representations in comparison with those of traditionally predominant religious orientation.

2.1. Transformation of religious iconography in the Luwian kingdoms

In recent years, numerous studies and articles have forced a serious reexamination of the Post-Empire Period; i.e., the first 200 years following the fall of the Hittite Empire. New archaeological and epigraphic data have led to different interpretations of this crucial period, which is now perceived as a period of continuity and change rather than a “Dark Age” (MAZZONI 2000: 31-41). In our opinion, a formative period which resulted in new visual

concepts as expressions of remodeled religious systems only took place two or three centuries after the fall of the Hittite Empire. Thus a distinction is proposed here between a Post-Empire Period followed by the “classical” period of Luwian and Aramaean kingdoms.

During the Post-Empire Period intensive building activity is attested through the massive temple complexes in ‘Ain Dara (ABŪ ASSĀF 1990; ALEXANDER 2002) and Aleppo (**fig. 15**; KOHLMAYER 2000; GONELLA/KHAYYATA/KOHLMEYER 2005), most of whose sculpture and reliefs must have been produced between 1200-1000 (ORTHMANN 1993: 250; ORTHMANN 2003: 154f; contra KOHLMAYER 2000: 38-39). Whereas a proposed dating of cultural products relies upon stylistic considerations, which for this period are burdened with great uncertainty (Aro 2003, *Art and Architecture*, in: MELCHART 2003: 293-297; ORTHMANN 2003: 153), the new and thoroughly evaluated epigraphic evidence (HAWKINS 2000) allows for a reconstruction of historical events that hinge on a portion of the sculpture and reliefs.

In Carchemish the local rulers assumed the vacant title of “Great King” (HAWKINS 1988; HAWKINS 1995a). Kuzi-Teshub, the son of Talmi-Teshub, the hitherto last known king of the Empire Dynasty at Carchemish, used the traditional type of royal seal, two impressions of which have been found at Lidar Höyük (SÜRENHAGEN 1986; HAWKINS 2000: 574f, pl. 328). In the circular central plane of the seal, the storm god stands on the bowed heads of two mountain gods. As attested in the representation on this seal, religious iconographic traditions continue in most of the art of the Post-Empire Period. The libation scene is depicted on two stelae from Darende (HAWKINS 2000: 304f, pls. 145-146) and Ispekçür (HAWKINS 2000: 301-304, pls. 142-144). Both bear inscriptions which allow the identification of the members of the early dynasty in Malatya, who descended from the royal house in Carchemish (HAWKINS 1995a: 74-77). On the Darende stela Arnuwanti II, king of Melid, pours water in the presence of the god Sharruma who stands on a lion, and the goddess Hebat who sits on a cross-legged chair. The same Arnuwanti is depicted on the Ispekçür stela. He performs a libation for his grandfather, Arnuwanti I, and his grandmother. One stands on a mountain and the other on a city wall. The worship of ancestors, which has been recognized as a significant commemorative act in the Hittite Empire but which was never depicted in that period in a narrative scene, appears here for the first time as a complex cult illustration, still reflecting the theme of libation in the presence of the gods who are now replaced by ancestors (BONATZ 2001: 66-68). The whole scene is imaginative in that the king is standing on a bull, normally the symbol of the storm god, which means that either he was already deified during his lifetime or, what seems more likely, he is being depicted as a deceased king.

The libation in front of the gods is also the main theme on the reliefs of the Lion Gate in Malatya, which due to the new philological and iconographic evidence can now be considered to date from the late 12th or the 11th cent. (MAZZONI 1997: 310-315, figs. 2-7; HAWKINS 2000: 306-314, pls. 147-152). On several occasions the reliefs depict the ruler of Melid, PUGNUS-mili, pouring water in front of the gods (**figs. 16-18**). He wears either a high conical double-horned crown or a rounded skull-shaped hairstyle, which may be a close-fitting cap with a pointed curl or volute. The distinction may reveal the altered status of a worshipped king, who after death is transformed into a tutelary god acting as an intermediary between the gods and the earthly world on behalf of his dynasty (cf. VAN LOON 1991: 4). This conception clearly remodels Hittite ideology and iconography, and is visualized as well on the rock relief from Fraktın, where the likely deceased king, Hattushili III, performs the libation for the storm god (see above).

The storm god is the most frequently represented deity on the Malatya reliefs. One relief shows him in a sequence, first driving a chariot drawn by his bulls and then walking to the right with a curved object in his raised right hand and a three-pronged object in his left (**fig. 18**). In a procession of four gods worshipped by king PUGNUS-mili, the storm god is

followed by the winged Shaushka, a god with a spear, who might be identified as Karhuhas (see below), and lastly an unidentified female deity (**fig. 16**). Other deities depicted on separate reliefs are the god on a stag (ORTHMANN 1971: pl. 41b; HAWKINS 2000: pl. 147a), Sharruma standing on a lion (ORTHMANN 1971: pl. 41c; HAWKINS 2000: pl. 147c), the winged Shaushka standing on two birds (ORTHMANN 1971: pl. 40d; HAWKINS 2000: pl. 147b), and together on one relief the moon god wearing the horned helmet with crescent symbol and the sun god wearing the winged sun disc on his head (**fig. 17**). In many respects, the iconography of the gods resembles that of Hittite Empire art (cf. VAN LOON 1991: 3f). A striking similarity exists between the storm god in his chariot (**fig. 18**) and earlier Hittite representations on the rock relief at Imamkulu and especially the seal impression of Murshili III (**fig. 7**), on which the chariot has the body of a bird as on the Malatya relief (GÜTERBOCK 1993a: 115f).

The storm god driving his chariot is also depicted on a relief on the north wall in the cella of the temple in Aleppo (**fig. 15**; GONELLA/KHAYYATA/KOHLMEYER 2005: fig. 138). The Luwian hieroglyphs in front of the god's face identify him as "God of the Mace," an otherwise unattested designation for a storm god. He is led by a god shouldering a mace and holding a lance, and followed by three gods: the tutelary god Runtiyas, who shoulders a bow and holds a lance; the winged Ishtar-Shaushka, who carries a mace and holds a fan-like object; and a god grasping a kneeling enemy by his hair while killing him with a sword (GONELLA/KHAYYATA/KOHLMEYER 2005: figs. 139, 135-137). The last scene recalls the motifs of Egyptian iconography. On a relief on the east wall, the storm god also appears in a standing and smiting position but this time facing the King of the Land of Patasatini, named Taitas (**fig. 15**; GONELLA/KHAYYATA/KOHLMEYER 2005: 91-93, figs. 124-126). In this case the Luwian hieroglyph beside the god reads "storm god of Aleppo." Other reliefs of the temple in Aleppo show deities and monsters who continue to be depicted later in ancient Near Eastern art, like scorpion- and lion-demon, winged bird-headed and lion-headed genius, the fish-genius carrying a bucket and a purification object, and the Dea Syria type of goddess wearing a high polos (GONELLA/KHAYYATA/KOHLMEYER 2005: figs. 134, 140-141, 143, 151, 158).

In contrast, it is interesting to observe how some religious themes depicted on the monuments of the Post-Empire period totally disappear later in Neo-Hittite art, such as the libation scene. The motif of the storm god driving his chariot represented in Malatya and Aleppo and also depicted on one 11th cent. orthostat from the Water Gate in Carchemish (WOOLLEY 1921: pl. B:30a) later survives only in the form of a statue found in Çineköy (see below). Other deities attest no further representations, such as Sharruma, who might have been replaced by Karhuhas (VAN LOON 1991: 5); the winged and armed Ishtar-Shaushka known from the above-cited reliefs in Malatya and a stela from "Ain Dara" (ORTHMANN 1993: pl. 25:1); and the mountain gods, the latest examples of which appear on the orthostats from the quarry in Yesemek and the temples in 'Ain Dara and Aleppo (ORTHMANN 1971: pl. 54g-h; ABŪ ASSĀF 1990: pls. 42-46a, 49a, 50b; GONELLA/KHAYYATA/KOHLMEYER 2005: fig. 142). All these deities and their forms of representation were closely linked to the religious art of the Hittite Empire period, which would seem to indicate that, with respect to religious iconographic traditions, some discontinuity only occurred after the reurbanization of the Luwian-speaking areas had been fully established and new ideological concepts had achieved predominance in visual arts.

2.2. The pantheon of the Luwian kingdoms: Hierarchic status and relationship within the divine realm

The Luwian storm god Tarhunzas remained the most popular subject of reliefs and statues from the 10th to the early 7th cent. Roughly three phenotypes can be distinguished (cf. Aro

2003, Art and Architecture, in MELCHERT 2003: 317-320). The first derives directly from the Post-Empire representations in Malatya. The storm god is facing right in a walking posture (**fig. 19**). He wears a horned helmet, sometimes with a pommel, and a short, belted kilt with a sword at the waist. His face is bearded and his hair ends in a pigtail. The storm god's attributes, however, are now in some respects different from that on the Malatya reliefs. In his right upraised hand he holds a hammer or an axe, while the left raised hand carries a wavy-pronged trident thunderbolt, his most distinct symbol, which has replaced the W-shaped sign of the Hittite period (HAWKINS 1992: 56f). This is the standard type depicted on one orthostat from the Long Wall of Sculpture at Carchemish (ORTHMANN 1971: pl. 23e), and on several inscribed stelae found in Tell Ahmar (**fig. 19**), Gökün (HAWKINS 2000: pl. 58), Maraş (HAWKINS 2000: pls. 118-119, 121), Kürtül (HAWKINS 2000: pl. 122), Adıyaman (HAWKINS 2000: pls. 177-178), and Babylon (HAWKINS 2000: pl. 209). The storm god on these stelae is usually named the "celestial Tarhunzas" but in the case of the Gökün and the Babylon stelae the dedication is made to the "Halabean Tarhunzas." An interesting variation of this type of storm god is shown on a stela from Domuztepe, in which he carries the hieroglyph *amu* ("I am") instead of the trident thunderbolt in his upraised left hand (ÇAMBEL/ÖZYAR 2003: 155, pl. 227). On the late 10th cent. stela of Tell Ahmar (**fig. 19**), the storm god appears under a winged emblem in the center of which lies a disc whose lower half is framed by a sickle-shaped figure. Recent interpretations do not see the common sun symbol in this constellation, but rather a moon symbol composed of a full moon disc and crescent moon, symbolizing different stages of the lunar cycle (THEUER 2000: 349; GREEN/HAUSLEITER 2001: 154f). Tell Ahmar, the ancient Masuwara/Til Barsip/Kar-Salmanu-ashared, lies at an interface of Luwian, Aramaean, and Assyrian spheres of influence. Thus it comes as no surprise that the influences, which materialize in the iconography of the stela, characterize the synthesis of Luwian-Aramaean-Assyrian religion by alluding to an association of the storm god with the moon god (cf. NOVÁK 2001: 438f).

The second type represents Tarhunzas in the conventional posture, but standing on his animal symbol, the bull (**fig. 20**). This type, which already reveals some distinct Assyrian stylistic influences, appears on the stelae from Cekke (**fig. 20**), Tell Ahmar (HAWKINS 2000: pl. 99), Adıyaman (HAWKINS 2000: pls. 169-170), and Gölpınar (KULAKOĞLU 1999: pl. 1). The stela from Cekke represents the storm god in an Assyrian long, fringed robe. In his left hand he holds the trident thunderbolt while in his right he has an object resembling a pinecone, similar to the purifying object held by the Assyrian genii.

The image of the storm god holding an axe and a thunderbolt, and standing on a bull survives in Southeast Anatolia up to the Hellenistic-Roman Period, at which point he is depicted as Zeus/Jupiter Dolichenus (e.g., HELLENKEMPER 1978: 483f, pl. 96; WAGNER 1982: 148-155, figs. 14-18). The similarities become so great that a Neo-Hittite stela from Maraş from the Late Hellenistic Period could be reused and dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus without any reinterpretation of the representation (JACOBS/MESSERSCHMIDT 1992: 110-144, fig. 1).

The third type of Luwian stelae depicting the storm god (**fig. 21**) is closely connected geographically to the territory of Tabal. On the rock reliefs of Ivriz (HAWKINS 2000: pls. 294-295) and Gökbez (FAYDALI 1974: pls. 1-2), and the stelae from Niğde (**fig. 21**), Ivriz (HAWKINS 2000: pl. 300), and Keşlik (HAWKINS 2000: pl. 305), the figure of the storm god is associated with grapes and corn, which he either holds as attributes in his hands or which spring from the ground beside his feet. The clear vegetative features assigned to the storm god in the central Anatolian region can also be deduced from the hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions of the same region. They attest the worship of Tarhunzas of the vineyard, from whose feet stems of barley and a vine stalk grow (HAAS 1994: 327f). Despite this region-specific link of the storm god with a vegetative aspect, he is perceived in Neo-Hittite art as a destructive

force, holding the symbols of thunder, storm, and wind and thus potentially associated with the image of the powerful king. Further aspects of this relationship will be discussed below.

Thus far statues dedicated to the storm god Tarhunzas are rarely attested for the Luwian-speaking centers. One example is the colossal statue erected near the entrance of the South Gate in Karatepe, which bears a Phoenician inscription in which Tarhunzas is identified with Baal (ÇAMBEL/ÖZYAR 2003: pls. 218-220). The god stands on a base with two flanking bulls led by a male figure standing between them. Another statue bearing a hieroglyphic Luwian-Phoenician inscription was recently found in Çineköy near Adana (TEKOĞLU/LEMAIRE 2000). The storm god stands on a basalt base in the form of a chariot drawn by two bulls. The double bull-base found in front of the entrance of the temple of the storm god at Carchemish suggests a further example of a monumental storm god statue (WOOLLEY 1978: pl. B. 34).

Among the other deities frequently represented in Neo-Hittite art, Kubaba and Karhuhas are the first to be mentioned. Kubaba, the Queen of Carchemish, became a central Anatolian goddess in the 1st mill. and was worshipped far beyond her cultic center in Carchemish (HAWKINS 1980-83; HAWKINS 1981). Karhuhas originally belonged to the tutelary god type, which later replaced the Luwian stag god Kuruntas/Runtiyas (HAWKINS 2000: 328f; HUTTER 2003, *Aspects of Luwian Religion*, in MELCHERT 2003: 229). Visual representations of Karhuhas and Kubaba together begin in the 1st mill. They are depicted on the inscribed stela from Malatya (**fig. 22**) dated to the late 10th cent. Kubaba is seated faced to the left. She wears a high polos with a veil over it, and holds a mirror in her raised right hand. Karhuhas is standing right-faced, with a spear in his right hand raised behind him and a three-pronged object in his extended left hand. Interestingly, the deities are depicted with each other's animal attribute: Karhuhas on a couchant lion and Kubaba on a couchant bull or, following HAWKINS (2000: 328), a stag. On the orthostats from the Long Wall of Sculpture erected during the reign of king Suhis II (late 10th cent.), Kubaba and Karhuhas form the main triad of Carchemish together with Tarhunzas (HAWKINS 1972: 106f, fig. 4; VAN LOON 1991: 8f, fig. 2). The reliefs are very fragmentary, thus only Karhuhas's spear and a pomegranate in Kubabas's right hand can be recognized.

Kubaba alone is depicted on a stela from Carchemish, which bears an inscription by Kamanis (mid-8th cent.) commemorating the building of a temple for Kubaba (HAWKINS 2000: pls. 40, 140-143). The goddess is rendered in frontal view with her arms below her chest. She holds a mirror in her left hand. The head is unfortunately broken off. The full iconography of Kubaba, however, can be seen on the stela from Birecik (ORTHMANN 1971: pl. 5c), which probably dates to the late 10th or early 9th cent. (cf. Aro 2003, *Art and Architecture*, in MELCHERT 2003: 320). The goddess is depicted facing left in a walking posture, and her attributes have also been included: a mirror in the right hand and a pomegranate in the left. She wears a long belted robe and a polos with a pair of horns. Similar iconographic features lead to the identification of Kubaba on a stela fragment from Ancuzköy (ORTHMANN 1971: pl. 5g), a stela from Domuztepe (ÇAMBEL/ÖZYAR 2003: pl. 228), and an orthostat from the Processional Entry in Carchemish (ORTHMANN 1971: pl. 29f; VAN LOON 1991: 10f, pl. 9), the latter showing her enthroned on a couchant lion. If the lion was indeed the distinct animal attribute of Kubaba, and if the animal depicted under the chair of the seated goddess on the stela from Tavşan Tepesi is meant to be a lion, then this monument may also represent Kubaba (Aro 2003, *Art and Architecture*, in MELCHERT 2003: pl. 20a). Alternatively, the animal could be a panther and thus the goddess enthroned on it would be Hebat, who is otherwise difficult to identify in 1st mill. Neo-Hittite art.

It is also worth mentioning that the extension of Kubaba's cult to Central Anatolia in the early 1st mill. makes it possible to some degree to speculate that among the Phrygians some external features of the Phrygian mother goddess were influenced by Kubaba. However, such

influences remained on a superficial level and did not really affect the character or the symbolism of the Phrygian goddess (ROLLER 1999: 52f).

Other than those of Karhuhas, images of the tutelary god type remained quite popular throughout the Neo-Hittite period. An early relief in the temple of the storm god in Aleppo depicts the stag god Runtiyas shouldering a bow and carrying a spear (KOHLMAYER 2000: 31, pl. 15). The god's animal attribute is not depicted in this image, but the god's name is written next to it with the sign of a stag. Nevertheless, the depiction of the tutelary god standing on the back of a stag continues on the rock relief at the Karasu river near Birecik (ORTHMANN 1971: pl. 14f; VAN LOON 1991: pl. 5b), on the stela from Gölpınar near Şanlıurfa (KULAKOĞLU 1999: pl. 2), and probably also on the stela from Haçibebekli (HAWKINS 2000: pl. 129). These monuments roughly date to the late 10th or early 9th cent. They show the stag god carrying a bow in one hand and grasping a hare (a sword on the Karasu relief) in the other. On two late orthostats from Karatepe, dating around 700, features of the tutelary god were mixed with those of the storm god, showing him standing on a bull while hunting a stag in one case (ÇAMBEL/ÖZYAR 2003: pl. 55), and grasping a hare in the other (**fig. 23**).

In at least two cases, the moon god and the sun god are represented in anthropomorphic form. Apart from the pair depicted on the orthostat from Malatya (**fig. 17**) previously mentioned, the same pair appears on a slab found near the Great Staircase at Carchemish, where they stand together on a couchant lion (HAWKINS 2000: pl. 77). The moon god stands in front of them. He wears a helmet ornamented by a crescent, and carries an axe in his right hand. Two upright wings are attached to his shoulders. Behind him the sun god wears a helmet topped with a winged disc, and holds a double axe in the right hand and a mace in the left. The winged disc and/or the crescent are often depicted alone as tutelary symbols over the heads of other deities like on the Kubaba-Karhuhas stela from Malatya mentioned above (**fig. 22**); over humans as is the case on funerary stelae from the Gaziantep and Adana region (BONATZ 2000: C 30, C 58); or over an inscription like on a stela from Carchemish (**fig. 24**). Sometimes sun disc and crescent are intertwined, as shown on an orthostat from Aleppo (KOHLMAYER 2000: pl. 2 below) and another stela from Carchemish (HAWKINS 2000: pl. 1), which seems to suggest a close relationship between sun and moon in the Luwian tradition. By contrast, they are mainly depicted without each other on representations from the Aramaean-speaking centers (see below).

In conclusion, the spectrum of deities represented in the Luwian kingdoms of the Neo-Hittite Period is not very broad and reflects only a minor part of the religious pantheon of this period. Only at the end of this period is the complete pantheon of a single city seen on the orthostats from Karatepe/Azatiwataya (ÇAMBEL/ÖZYAR 2003: pls. 19, 23, 27, 83, 85, 87, 89, 109, 113, 117, 119, 147, 159, 161, 175, 177, 179, 203, 211). Most of the deities depicted here are difficult to identify. They lack distinct attributes or their attributes are borrowed from different gods (cf. **fig. 23**). Additionally, they no longer wear horned headgear and thus begin to bear a closer resemblance to humans. This seems to indicate a new perception of the divine image similar to its perception in the Western Greek world (ÇAMBEL/ÖZYAR 2003: 131).

2.3. Human interaction with the divine

It is worth noting that from the beginning of the Neo-Hittite Period the deceased rulers also received some form of divine attention. For example, a seated monumental statue from Carchemish bears all the features of a god: a horned crown, a mace in his right hand, and the double lion base on which it rests (HAWKINS 2000: pls. 12-13). Through its accompanying inscription the figure is identified as Atrisuhas, who has been tentatively interpreted to be a war god (ORTHMANN 1971: 243). But *atri-suhas* could also be read as "(image) soul of Suhis" and the statue could thus represent a dead and deified ruler of Carchemish (HAWKINS 2000:

101). As will be demonstrated in the following chapter, other statues erected in the Aramaean-speaking centers seem to allude to the existence of an even more articulated perception of the deceased king as god.

3. Religious Iconography in the Aramaean kingdoms

The term “Aramaeans” refers to the members of a large number of linguistically related language groups who employed the West Semitic language defined as Aramaic, and who were already present in wide areas of the ancient Near East at the beginning of the 1st mill., especially in Syria (SADER 1987: 5-270; DION 1997: 15-221; LIPÍŃSKI 2000: 77-407). Because of the wide geographical dispersion of Aramaic language groups as well as their loose political structure (SADER 1987: 278-281), one cannot speak of any *one* Aramaic religion (KREUZER 1996: 101; DION 1997: 240; NIEHR 1998: 150f; THEUER 2000: 321f). Because of this, regional influences and their variations produce especially remarkable examples in the case of Aramaic religion and its visual form of expression. The following summary will concentrate on the Aramaean-speaking centers in the North Syrian region, where Hurrian, Luwian, and Phoenician influences made their respective impressions on religious iconography.

Aramaean religious art obviously borrowed a great deal from Neo-Hittite iconography. For instance, the three deities depicted on the reliefs of the Outer Citadel Gate in Sam'al (**fig. 25**) seem to have been taken directly from the Long Wall of Sculpture in Carchemish (HAWKINS 1984: 76f, figs. 112-113). The representations of the god leading the procession with spear and shield, the goddess with a mirror and a fringed veil in the center, and the god with axe and lightning fork at the end recall the Carchemish triad of Tarhunzas, Kubaba, and Karhuhas but in a different order (VAN LOON 1991: 13, pl. 15a-c). The inscriptions of Sam'al/Ya'udi, however, never mention such a divine triad. Instead, the pantheon of Sam'al/Ya'udi was headed by the male deities Hadad, El, Rakib-El, and Shamash (TROPPEL 1993: 20-22). Among the female deities, only Kubaba is cited in a single inscription on the Ördek Burun stela (MERIGGI 1975: no. 287). The representation of a Kubaba-like goddess on the relief of the Outer Citadel Gate contradicts the almost complete absence of female deities in other local sources.

3.1. *The pantheon of Sam'al/Ya'udi*

Sam'al/Ya'udi provides a good example of the type of synthesis present in Aramaic religion. The gods represented at the Outer Citadel Gate appear as protagonists of the Luwian tradition in this city. Their images were erected, however, during a period when Sam'al was already under the rule of an Aramaean dynasty, and long afterward they remained as an eye-catching structure in an Aramaean-ruled city (for the history see TROPPEL 1993: 10-17; TROPPEL 1999: 230-233; LIPÍŃSKI 2000: 233-247). The tutelary god of this dynasty was Rakib-El, literally “the chariot driver of El.” Like the other gods attested through inscriptions, Hadad, El, Shamash, and Resheph, this god as a rule does not appear in anthropomorphic form. It has been suggested that all of them are depicted through their symbols (YADIN 1970: 200-216; TROPPEL 1993: 24-26): The horned cap for Hadad, the janiform head probably for El, the yoke for Rakib-El, the winged sun disc for Shamash, and the star for Resheph (**fig. 26**; see also the orthostats of Kilamuwa [ORTHMANN 1971: pl. 63a; TROPPEL 1999: fig. 7] and Barrakib [ORTHMANN 1971: pl. 67d; TROPPEL 1999: fig. 16], and the seal of Barrakib [YADIN 1970: fig. 2; TROPPEL 1999: fig. 14a-b]). These divine emblems are less a borrowing from the Hittite tradition and more from the Mesopotamian-Syrian tradition. The star could instead stand for Ishtar-Shaushka, who is well attested in minor art works from Sam'al (KREUZER 1996: 110, fig. 45; NOVÁK 2004: 331, n. 29). The moon god is another deity exclusively represented in Sam'al/Ya'udi through its emblems: the crescent moon and the moon disc. These two emblems are centrally positioned over the image of the throne-seated Barrakib and his scribe

on the orthostat from the *Nördlicher Hallenbau* (ORTHMANN 1971: pl. 63c; ORTHMANN 1975: fig. 358b). In the short accompanying inscription, Barrakib identifies the moon god as “Baal-Harran” and “his Lord” (TROPPEL 1993: 146), which on the one hand articulates an identification with Sin of Harran, and on the other hand expresses the close relationship between the god and the royal house of Sam'al. It is assumed that the moon god, who otherwise did not occupy such a high rank in the inscriptions of Sam'al/Ya'udi, was equated with Rakib-El in order to establish continuity between the gods of two dynasties (KREUZER 1996: 109). Rakib-El could furthermore have been equated with the storm god of Halab (Aleppo), since both bear the character of a chariot driver (NOVÁK 2004: 333; cf. the aforementioned representation of the storm god driving his chariot in the temple of Aleppo [fig. 15]). Such fusions would explain one of the fast acculturation processes which took place in the sphere of Aramaic religion. The moon god, who was closely related to the nomadic milieu of the Aramaeans, would have been transformed into a dynastic god also giving way to the identification with the supraregional image of the storm god.

3.2. *Guzana*

Another, different example of the synthesis in Aramaean religious art is found in Guzana (Tell Halaf), the capital of Bit Bahiani (for the history see LIPÍŃSKI 2000: 119-130, but with some doubtful conclusions, and ORTHMANN 2002: 15-23). The visual art in the Hilani building from the time of Kapara resists a classification under one particular iconographical tradition (as already observed in ORTHMANN 1971: 7, n. 6; SADER 1987: 282; ORTHMANN 2002: 102). Hittite elements appear sparsely whereas North Syrian-Hurrian elements figure more prominently, as seen in the image of the winged disc supported by the two bull-men on a relief from the front of the Hilani (MOORTGAT 1955: pl. 104). The absorption of native elements by the immigrant Aramaean dynasty of Guzana resulted in a series of unconventional artistic products, which now present great difficulties with respect to the identification of the depicted figures.

The Hilani portal is supported by three figures in three-dimensional sculpture, which most probably represent a divine trio (MOORTGAT 1955: 114-117; ORTHMANN 2002: 65-69). They stand upon animal bases, which were also used for the elevation of divine or royal statues in other regions (see below). The only completely preserved sculpture is that of a female figure, which stands upon a lioness at the left entrance area (MOORTGAT 1955: pls. 133-135 [goddess], 123b, 127-129 [lion]). The inscription on the garment of the statue mentions the goddess Ishtar (MEISSNER 1933: 72f), which could be an indication of her identity. However, except for the accompanying lioness, the figure is missing the attributes characteristic for Ishtar or any other goddess, for that matter. She wears neither a horned crown nor the veil typical of the North Syrian region. Her attributes appear rather in the form of long wispy hair with a diadem adorning the top of her head. The jar with a handle, which she holds in her right hand, is also not a typical attribute of a goddess.

The two male gods to the right of the female figure stand on a lion and bull respectively (MOORTGAT 1955: pls. 120-123a [lion], 124-126 [bull]). Attributes typical of a deity can only be recognized on the better-preserved male figure standing on a lion (MOORTGAT 1955: pls. 130-132): a pair of horns in front of his forehead, a long beard, a curved object (*Krummholz*) in one hand and a sword in the other. If one assumes that the god standing on the bull in the middle of the entrance represents the storm god, then the god on the lion should represent his son (cf. MOORTGAT 1955: 117).

The god represented *en face* on a relief next to the entrance of the Hilani should probably be identified as the storm god (MOORTGAT 1955: pls. 107b, 108). He wears a feathered crown with a pair of horns. He holds a spear in his right raised hand and a mace in the left. Another

relief on a small orthostat on the south side of the structure displays the same god. The inscription on his chest reads “Temple of the storm god.” In the territory of Bit Bahiani the storm god represents a regional deity, known as Bel Habur (“Lord of the Habur”), and worshipped long before the arrival of the Aramaeans (NOVÁK 2004: 322-325). With the beginning of the 1st mill., he was named Hadad, as the inscription on the statue of Hadad-Yish'i from neighboring Tell Fekheriye (Sikani) attests (MÜLLER-KESSLER/KESSLER 1995).

3.3. Images in the funerary and ancestral cult as means to interact with the divine

The funerary and ancestral cult practiced in Guzāna seems to provide another example of the coexistence of borrowed traditions alongside those brought by the migrating Aramaic populations. Two statues from a period before the construction of the Kapara building apparently served as grave monuments (**fig. 27**). They both depict a sitting woman holding a cup in the right hand in order to receive the necessary mortuary provisions (see also MOORTGAT 1955: 7f, pls. 1-5; 6-9; BONATZ 2000: 28f, 154f, pl. 5:B4, B5). The function of the statue of a seated couple found in the cult room within the city boundaries of Tell Halaf apparently also lies within the realm of the ancestor cult (MOORTGAT 1955: 28f, pls. 146-148; BONATZ 2000: 29, 152, pl. 6:B9). Parallels to the ancestral cult in statues in Middle Bronze Age North Syria are unmistakable (BONATZ 2000: 129-133). However, the special role played by women, to which the seated statues discovered in Tell Halaf give evidence, could signal a change in societal consciousness, the causes of which might lie in the nomadic legacy of the Aramaeans. From a socioreligious perspective, the numerous funerary monuments erected outside of Guzana (statues and stelae) represent a remarkable phenomenon attesting the cohesion of royal and nonroyal elites in Early Iron Age Aramaean as well as Luwian kingdoms (BONATZ 2000: 161-165 and catalogue). Common to almost all of these images, whether statue or stela, is the visualized concept of a funerary repast in which the deceased receives provisions from his surviving family members. Among other observations, the recent discovery of a seated statue including an inscription in Tell Halaf that displays a man in a traditional pose, holding a cup in his right hand but dressed in Assyrian attire, provides evidence of the continuity of such a concept in the Late Assyrian Period (RÖLLIG 2003).

The ancestral cult represents the realm of Aramaean religion in which the close bond between the king and the gods expresses itself quite clearly. The most informative written and iconographical attestations stem from the Aramaean dynasty in Sam'al/Ya'udi (NIEHR 1994; DION 1997: 265-270). The statue of Hadad erected in Gerçin near Zincirli (**fig. 28**) is not only a monumental example of the cult of the storm god, it also documents the presence of the cult of the deceased ruler. In the memorial inscription on the statue, Panammuwa (I) requests communal offerings for himself and the storm god, alluding to the divine status of the ruler in the afterlife (TROPPEL 1993: 154-159). Thus the cultic site for the storm god in Gerçin functioned at the same time as an ancestral cultic site for the ruler of Sam'al/Ya'udi (NIEHR 1994: 72; BONATZ 2000: 151). The colossal statue of a local ruler in a standing posture, erected on a double lion base in front of Building J in Zincirli, also seems to attest more the presence of the cult of a posthumously deified ruler, rather than that of a reigning sovereign (BONATZ 2000: 154, pl. 2:A6). The discovery of fragments of a very similar statue in a standing posture in Carchemish, i.e., a Luwian center, again makes it clear that this is not an exclusively Aramaean phenomenon (WOOLLEY 1978: 192, 143, pl. 43a).

3.4. Relative importance of anthropomorphic, theriomorphic, and aniconic representations

Another feature of Aramaean religious iconography, although again not exclusively Aramaean, is the depiction of anthropomorphic, theriomorphic, and aniconic figures next to each other. As discussed earlier, symbols were employed to represent members of the local pantheon in reliefs from Sam'al/Ya'udi. Apparently the tendency toward an astralization of

the supreme deities of the Aramaean pantheon led to an increased symbolization of their forms of representation. YADIN (1970: 204f, 216-221) goes so far as to associate the god Baal-Hammon mentioned in the inscription on the Kilamuwa-orthostat erected around 830, with the crescent moon represented on the same orthostat, thereby postulating an earlier lunarization of this god, as attested later on the Punic stelae of the 6th and 5th cent.

The god who received the most numerically significant symbolic representations was the moon god Sin of Harran, or Shahr in Aramaic. His distinct symbol is the standard with crescent moon on top and two tassels hanging down from it (**fig. 29**). It has been suggested that the two tassels represent two parties involved in the conclusion of a contract, since Sin of Harran was known as a guarantor of contracts (STAUBLI 2003: 65). Sometimes the crescent moon is profiled against a moon disc. On several stelae found in the region of Harrān and further west, dating from the late 9th to the late 7th cent., the crescent standard is depicted alone and sometimes worshipped by two men (**fig. 29**; KOHLMAYER 1992; KEEL 1994: 138-144, figs. 1-8; THEUER 2000: 330-333). It also appears on the aforementioned orthostat of Barrākib with his scribe. On the stela of Tell Ahmar (Til Barsip) two crescent moon standards stand on the roof of a temple building, where they flank the figure of the moon god wearing a crescent headdress – one of his rare anthropomorphic representations in monumental art (BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1982: no. N 240; KEEL 1994: fig. 10; THEUER 2000: 333f). This god apparently represents Sin of Harran. His cult was reinforced by the Assyrian kings Asarhaddon (681-669) and Ashurbanipal (668-627), and achieved its greatest status under the Babylonian king Nabonid in the 6th cent. Stelae from Harran and other locations from the Late Babylonian Period display Nabonid before the crescent moon emblem, followed by the astral symbols for Shamash and Ishtar (BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1982: nos. 263-264, 266). In Harran, Nabonid restored the Temple of Sin, named *É-ḫul-ḫul*, and erected the image of a wild bull within it (SCHAUDIG 2001: 437; 2.12 *É-ḫul-ḫul*-Zylinder II, 12-13). The association of the moon god with the bull in the context of the temple of Harran is also observed in several other instances within the context of Aramaean religion (NOVÁK 2001: 447-450; ORNAN 2001: 19-26). Among other examples, one encounters this association on a number of stelae which have been found in the Hauran in Southern Syria, in Bethseida in the Golan Heights, and near Harran itself. Based on the find in Bethseida, it is assumed that the stelae originally stood near the city gate complex or *Torhöhe* (Hebrew *banah*) (BERNETT/KEEL 1998). They show a uniform schema of a standard with anthropomorphic features, on which a bull's head rests (e.g., **fig. 30**; BERNETT/KEEL 1998: figs. 1c-e, 12-13). The oversized bull's horns resemble a crescent moon, and the gods on these stelae represent variants of the moon god, not the storm god, although a more or less conscious association of the two seems to be represented here as well (BERNETT/KEEL 1998: 34-40; STAUBLI 2003: 69).

In glyptic art, representations of the moon god's symbols are again far more numerous than those in anthropomorphic form. The motif of the crescent standard on numerous cylinder and stamp seals extends into the Palestine and the Assyrian-Babylonian region (KEEL 1994: 148-162, figs. 15-51; THEUER 2000: 336-345; STAUBLI 2003; associated with a bull ORNAN 2001: figs. 14-15). The seal impressions with a moon emblem on a number of administration texts, as well as several bullae with the same motif, might allow us to conclude that they – as well as the stelae – attest the moon god as the guardian of contracts (KEEL 1994: 160, figs. 35, 40). Parallel to this phenomenon, glyptic art attestations of the anthropomorphic moon god in the crescent-shaped boat begin to increase in the 7th and 6th cent. (COLLON 1993-1997: nos. 36-38; KEEL 1994: 172f, figs. 80-84; KÜHNE 1997; THEUER 2000: 345-347). The motif, for which an origin in the Aramaean region is also assumed (KEEL 1994: 177f), presumably depicts the journey of the moon god through the night sky. The crescent-shaped boat is not to be

mistaken with the Phoenician moon-bark, which shows up in the West on seals of the 8th cent. (STAUBLI 2003: nos. 105-106).

On some seals the crescent moon is depicted with other astral symbols. The popular motif of the crescent moon and the star or stars, common to the entire Ancient Near East and going back to the time of the Karum Kanish glyptic (see **fig. 4**), is found quite frequently on Trans-Jordanian or Syro-Aramaean seals (THEUER 2000: 349, n. 141; STAUBLI 2003: nos. 89-91, 94-97, 99-101, 104-105). A notable parallel is provided by a stela unearthed in 1994 at Tell Afis, dated c. 800, upon which a crescent has been carved with a star over it (MAZZONI 1998: pl. 1). It has been suggested that this constellation symbolizes the storm god (MAZZONI 1998: 14). Interestingly, a stela from Carchemish, erected by a certain Tudhaliyas two or three centuries earlier than the Tell Afis stela, shows a similar constellation, by which a winged sun disc has been added below a star and a crescent (**fig. 24**; HAWKINS 2000: 82). This again provides more evidence of how much Aramaean religious symbolism and Luwian traditions have in common.

3.5. Regional variations

Two monuments from the region of the kingdom of Amurru provide further evidence that Aramaean religious art follows not just one but several iconographic traditions. One is the stela found at Qadbun, a sanctuary situated in the Alawi Mountains in the hinterland of Tartous, which was still in use during the Roman period (**fig. 31**; for the site of Qadbun see also BOUNNI 1997). The god on this monument probably represents Baal worshipped in one of his mountain shrines (ABŪ 'ASSĀF 1992; BOUNNI 1992: 142f). He is depicted as a god striding over a lion with a spear in his left hand and a figure-8 shield in his right. As on the Amrit stela, the Egyptianizing trend of this representation is illustrated by the god's headgear, a kind of *atef* crown with a frontal horn and a long band with the curved end hanging down from its top. These elements do not lie far from the artistic grammar of Late Bronze Age Ugarit, for example, and to some extent appear anachronistic for an Iron Age monument, thus favoring a date no later than the 10th cent. (ABŪ 'ASSĀF 1992: 252; GUBEL 2000: 186; contrary to BOUNNI 1992: 145 [late 9th or early 8th cent.]).

The other monument is the Amrit stela (**fig. 32**), which provides a good example of the problems which arise in the dating and iconographical identification of artworks due to various regional traditions (YON/CAUBET 1993: 58f, no. 17; CECCHINI 1997: 83-98, fig. 1; GUBEL 2000: 186-188, fig. 3). The stela was found on the bank of the Nahr el-Abracheh and is therefore believed to have been erected in the region of Simyra (Tell Kazel), capital of the kingdom of Amurru. It shows a smiting god wearing a short kilt and an Egyptian crown with a *uraeus* attached to it. He holds a mace and a small lion, and strides over a larger lion in the mountains. As a whole the iconography seems to indicate a rendering of the storm god in the Late Bronze Age tradition of the smiting Baal Saphon while mirroring the strong Egyptianizing trend in Amurru's visual art. The dedication inscription on this monument, however, does not address the storm god but the healing god Shadrafa, a Syro-Phoenician god of the Persian period (LIPÍŃSKI 1992). If this inscription was indeed a later addition (GUBEL 2000: 187), then this stela could well have been erected in the 9th cent. but later usurped and still used in the 5th cent.

Finally, a quite singular monument which undoubtedly should be mentioned in this synopsis of Aramaean religious art is the Melqart stela of Bar-Hadad, King of Aram, from the 9th cent. (→**Melqart 1**; for the date and identity of this king see SADER 1987: 255-257; DION 1997: 121f). Elements of various iconographical and stylistic traditions coalesce in the image of the god Melqart represented on this stela (ORTHMANN 1975: 485, fig. 420; SADER 1987: 257f; BONNET 1988: 132-137, fig. 6). The fenestrated axe in his left hand and the symbol

interpreted as an *ankh* sign in the right hand, which also appears directly above a lotus sign, reflect the Phoenician milieu in which Melqart, the Baal of Tyros, was causally at home. However, the habitus of the god, who holds his weapon on his shoulder and wears a thigh-length garment, follows the representation pattern typical of gods of the Syro-Hittite region since the Late Bronze Age. The stela, which was found in Brej (near Aleppo), could be interpreted as evidence of the attempt to establish Melqart as the god of an Aramaean dynasty (BONNET 1988: 136). This would be only one explanation of the adaptability of Aramaean religion and its visual language at the beginning of the 1st mill.

Illustrations

- Fig. 1 Goddess with child, gold pendant, 45 mm, 1400-1200, New York, Norbert Schimmel Collection (ORTHMANN 1975: fig. 370b)
- Fig. 2 Open air shrine of Eflatun Pinar, 1300-1200 (EMRE 2002: fig. 4)
- Fig. 3 Modern impression of haematite cylinder seal, 18 mm, Karum-Kanish (Kültepe), 1900-1800, Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (ÖZGÜÇ 2002: fig. 1)
- Fig. 4 Cylinder seal impression on clay, 19 mm, Karum-Kanish (Kültepe), 1900-1800, Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations (ÖZGÜÇ 2002: fig. 4)
- Fig. 5 Yazılıkaya, Chamber A, reliefs nos. 42-46, 1240-1220 (BITTEL et al. 1975: pl. 58)
- Fig. 6 Cylinder seal impression, 28 mm, Emar, 1250 (BEYER 2002: A4a)
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- Fig. 32 Stela, limestone, 1.46 m, found at the Nahr el-Abracheh near Amrit, 800 (?) and reused 500, Paris, Louvre (BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1982: n. 293)

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