

### What does the Hittite Storm-God Hold?

In presenting this paper, my principal aim is to attempt to resolve some iconographic-graphic confusion regarding the logogram used in Hier. Luwian to write the name of the Storm-God, and its relation to the symbols carried by him in representations on seals and sculpture of the Hittite Empire and Neo-Hittite periods. Connected with this graphic problem is that of the Hier. sign for "lightning", which in turn leads on to the Luwian word for "lightning" and further to a consideration of the position of the "Storm-God of the Lightning". I hope that the dedication of this article to Maurits van Loon in a volume in his honour is appropriate, since his own great contribution to scholarship has always lain in his ability to solve problems and illuminate our field by the wide range of his vision. I must further hope that this contribution will not fall too short of his own exacting standards.

The object normally held by the Hittite Storm-God in his left hand stretched out before him is then our first object of inquiry. It will be seen that it differs between representations of the Empire Period (mostly on seals, also on a few rock or dressed stone reliefs) and of the Late Period (all reliefs on stelae, orthostats, etc.). The motive behind this enquiry is an attempt to resolve a serious confusion in this question which occurs in Laroche's *Les Hieroglyphes Hittites* (Paris, 1960), namely between his signs HH nos. 196 and 199, treated by him as essentially identical, variant forms of the same sign. This identification, argued in the present contribution to be mistaken, has a considerable pre-history before it received its "canonical" form in *Les Hieroglyphes Hittites*. The clearest statement on the subject is from Laroche, in *Ugaritica* III (1956), p. 124 with nn.5, 6, and the figure reproduced here (Fig. 1a). Here the opinions in favour from Meriggi, Gelb, Alp and Akurgal are recorded, along with doubts from Güterbock. The crucial

error in this statement, as will be shown, is the identification of the second and third signs of Fig. 1 (b, c) (relief and incised forms of the hieroglyph *HH* no.196) with the first sign, an element of the iconography. It was unfortunate that this basic confusion was perpetuated and extended by Vanel, in his *L'Iconographie du Dieu de l'Orage* (Paris, 1965): see especially p. 112 ff.

It must be pointed out straight away that Laroche and his predecessors are not to be blamed for this confusion. The evidence available to them before 1960 was itself confusing and ambiguous, and it is greatly to Laroche's credit that it was he himself who pointed the way towards a resolution of the confusion in some of his work since 1960, although he did not carry it as far as the evidence now permits.

This evidence, which has become available since 1960 - but mostly only since 1988 - makes it clear that the two signs *HH* nos.196 and 199, so far from being variants of the same sign, have actually nothing to do with each other, and must be kept absolutely separate, in spite of an occasional superficial resemblance to each other, especially in their less clear appearances. Laroche's confusion of the two signs had led him to misallocate functions, values and occurrences between the two, and it is my aim here to rearrange these in detail. It may be noted that Meriggi latterly did *not* confuse the two, treating *HH* no.196 (his no.149) simply as the syllabogram *há*, and no.199 (his no.398) simply as the logogram for the name of the Storm-God, but then he did not advance so far as Laroche in his elucidation of *HH* no.196.

#### THE SIGNS *HH* NOS. 196 AND 199 AND THE LIGHTNING-TRIDENT

We are now in a position to distinguish clearly three elements combined by Laroche:

1. the Hieroglyph 196, a three-pronged sign (Fig.1, b-c),
2. the Hieroglyph 199, a W-shaped sign (Fig.1, d-e),
3. the trident-like symbol carried by the Storm-God in Neo-Hittite representations: this is *not* a Hieroglyph (i.e. a script element), but an element of the iconography. Fig.1a, is a misrepresentation of this sign, based apparently on the object held

by the Malatya gods (see below). For the forms of the object actually occurring in this context, see Plate 2.

1. The sign *HH* no.196. We may now state with certainty that this sign has nothing to do with the other two, in particular that it has nothing to do with the trident of the Storm-God, is not carried by him, and does not represent thunder or lightning. Our sole evidence for its usage shows that in the Empire Period inscriptions it is used to write *HATTI* (also perhaps *HATTUSA*), as was shown by Laroche in 1969/70, and in ligature with *li* to write *HATTUSILI*, as was shown by Güterbock before the Last War. These propositions have since been amply confirmed, but the former only very recently. For the Late Period, the sign's only established use, apart from survival of the writing in *HATTUSILI*, is as a syllabogram *há*, alternating with *ha*, as was established by KARATEPE (see below). Its phonetic value is perhaps derived by acrophony from *HATTI/HATTUSA*; we have at present no evidence that it was used as a syllabogram *há* in the Empire Period, so it is best regarded and transcribed as a logogram for this period (thus *HATTI* (or *HATTUSA*) URBS/REGIO rather than *HÁ* URBS/REGIO, *HATTUSILI(+li)* rather than *HÁ+LI*).

2. The sign *HH* no.199. This has suffered less from the confusion, and its recognition as the Hieroglyph standing as a logogram for the name of the Storm-God is not in doubt, for which we use the transcription TONITRUS. But the confusion with *HH* no.196 led Laroche to attribute also a phonetic value to it, which is certainly incorrect and must be deleted. Its usage may be summarized in a preliminary way here. During the Hittite Empire period it is found regularly in the glyptic carried by the formal Storm-God figure in his left hand (when, as normally, he faces right) held out before him. Such seals with the figure of the Storm-God are rare at Boğazköy, really only the seals of Muwatallis; more common at Ras Shamra (Amanmašu, Ini-Tešub, Pihaziti, Talmi-Tešub: see below *HH* no.199.I.a); and now extremely common from Meskene with many published examples (see below, *ibid.*), and many more unpublished. We should note also now a definitive presentation of the type on the seal of Kuzi-Tešub, king of Karkamis, which was found at Lidar Höyük (see below, *HH*

no.199.I.b). Besides appearing on the glyptic it is also, but rarely, attested in the same context - held by the Storm-God - on monumental sculpture: YAZILIKAYA no.42, the clearest example; ALACA HÖYÜK 1, in a somewhat divergent rendering; on the İMAMKULU relief accompanying the figure of the god in his chariot; also on the uncertainly dated ÇAĞDIN stele (for these, see below, HH no.199.I.b, I.c.6). Its other usage is of course in the inscriptions: for the Empire Period in EMİRGAZİ, and the newly available inscriptions YALBURT and BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG. For a consideration of what this sign may actually represent, see below and note 4.

It is the rendering of this sign which is partly to blame for the confusion. Its clearest form, always in relief in the Empire Period, is of a continuous snaky line including a distinct central loop (see Fig.2, a-b). However, more cursory rendering shows it with an undivided central prong in place of the loop (see Fig. 2, c-e). As such it becomes more easy to confuse with the three-pronged *HATTI* sign. Wherever the two are clearly distinguished, we see that the *HATTI* sign is long and slender with straight(ish) prongs splaying outwards from a narrow base (see Fig.3); while the *TONITRUS* sign is comparatively squat and thick-set with a broad base, strongly outward-curving side prongs and a central loop (at clearest) or an undivided prong (confusing).

3. The *trident*, identified as an element of iconography not of writing, and representing the lightning. I begin with the assertion that to the best of my knowledge, in the regular glyptic of the Empire period and in the closely associated though rarer monumental sculpture, the standard Storm-God figure carries only the *TONITRUS* Hieroglyph, never the *lightning trident*, much less the *HATTI* sign. Put another way, he carries in all clear cases the *TONITRUS* sign, and then there are unclear cases; but there are *no* clear cases of him carrying the *lightning trident* or the *HATTI* sign. This gives a strong presumption in favour of identifying the unclear cases too as *TONITRUS*.

In the Neo-Hittite Period, however, the situation changes completely. Now the Storm-God figure, found only in monumental sculpture, orthostats and (principally) stelae, but no seals, holds only the *lightning trident*, never the *TONITRUS* sign. The sole

exception to this, Malatya 10 (Relief C) is perhaps significant, and requires special consideration in the Malatya context (see Plate 3).

The gods on the Lion Gate sculptures from Arslantepe (Malatya) are mostly identified by Hieroglyphic epigraphs, as is also the figure of the king; these are not held in the hand in the Empire style, but simply placed in the field normally in front of their faces. The great Storm-God relief K has the epigraph Malatya 8 placed between the two manifestations of the god (one showing him arriving in his chariot, the other standing before the king to receive libation). In his standing form, the more usual rendering, he holds in his outstretched left hand a three-pronged element which is not self-evidently the *trident*, though it is often so identified without discussion (e.g. by Orthmann, *USK* (1971), p.235 *Malatya A/11*). While this identification may be correct, we should note that at Malatya most of the gods carry the same symbol: the god on the Stag (Relief G with epigraph MALATYA 5), Sarruma (Relief J with MALATYA 7), the Moon and the Sun (Relief E with MALATYA 12), and Karhuhas (MALATYA 13). It would certainly seem very heterodox for gods other than the Storm-God to hold the *trident*, representing as it does the lightning, so possibly the three-pronged symbol represents something more neutral such as a plant.\*

It is the two special Storm-God reliefs B and C with epigraphs 9 and 10, which require our attention in the context of the statement that in the Neo-Hittite period the *trident* symbol replaces the TONITRUS Hieroglyph in the hand of the Storm-God representations. On relief B, the regular figure of the Storm-God appears, holding in his outstretched left hand like the other Lion Gate gods the uncertain three-pronged element (*trident?*). His name, in the epigraph MALATYA 9, reading "Storm-God of the city KARAHÖYÜK (ELBISTAN)"<sup>1</sup>, is written in relief in front of his face and repeated incised below. In the relief epigraph the DEUS.TONITRUS has been placed exactly and symmetrically over the three-pronged

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\*The resemblance of the element to the Empire Period *HATTI* Hieroglyph is striking; Machteld Mellink, after reading this article in manuscript, ingeniously suggested that this is no coincidence, i.e. that the object does indeed represent *HATTI*, and is held by the Malatya relief gods to symbolize the concept that they are refugees to Malatya from the destruction of Hattusa.

element, as if emphasizing the juxtaposition of the two. In its paired Relief C, however, the Storm-God, identified as "of the city MALATYA", is not holding the three-pronged element but only his DEUS.TONITRUS relief epigraph (MALATYA 10), being, as noted, the only post-Empire representation of the Storm-God to do so. Whether or not the Malatya three-pronged sign is the same as the later *lightning trident*, this pair of Malatya representations marks the transition away from the old Empire style of the Storm-God holding his TONITRUS Hieroglyph.

#### DISCUSSION

It could have been argued that the *lightning trident* and the TONITRUS Hieroglyph from a common origin gradually differentiated during the Empire Period into elements of the iconography and script respectively, but this does not appear to be the case. Alternatively, it could also have been argued that the *lightning trident* which replaces the TONITRUS Hieroglyph on the Neo-Hittite stela was descended from the TONITRUS Hieroglyph, but this does not appear to be the case either. The three-pronged lightning symbol seems more likely to be descended from a two-pronged form found specially in the glyptic of early - mid second millennium Mesopotamia.

To substantiate these observations it is necessary to dismantle and reassemble Laroche's entries 196 and 199, and to adduce the new evidence. HH no.196 requires the following corrections (each passage is prefaced by Laroche's observations in bold type followed by my own, offering comments now appropriate):

196  1. "FOUDRE" 2. *ha*

"FOUDRE" should be deleted and replaced with *HATTI (HATTUSA?)*, and the entry recast -

1. (Empire)  "*HATTI (HATTUSA?)*"
2. (Late)   *há* (diacritical to conform to my system of transliteration).

**Foudre à trois branches**

Delete *Foudre* (and replace with "Object inconnu").

Variantes: 

Delete the first three forms: these, as noted above, are not Hieroglyphs but forms of the Storm-God's trident symbol, elements not of the script but of the iconography, i.e. they are *not* found in inscriptions. See Plate 2.

I. **Symbole et id. du dieu de l'orage, porté au-dessus du poing.**

Delete: these entries are either the trident symbol held by the Storm-God in the Late Period, which has no place in the signary of Hieroglyphic, or the TONITRUS sign held by him in the Empire Period and to be entered under *HH* no.199. Details follow.

**Sceaux: RS 17.226, CIEL.FOUDRE**

Inspection of the photograph and drawing of this seal onf Talmi-Tešub (*Ugaritica* III, pp. 29, 30 figs.36-37) permits us to identify FOU DRE as the TONITRUS sign and thus to transfer this entry to no.199.I.a, with which Laroche indeed compares it. Many more such examples are now available from Meskene (see below under no.199.I.a). It must be admitted that the form of this TONITRUS sign on seal-impressions is not always very clear, which led to the confusion with the *HATTI* sign. It is however here asserted that the new inscriptions YALBURT and BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG do clearly establish how very different the signs are, and also permit the observation that the *HATTI* sign, which is much longer and slimmer than the TONITRUS sign, is nowhere found on seals except in the name *HATTUSILI(+li)*. Of the other examples listed by Laroche here, Hogarth 164 is very unclear; Hogarth 196 (for a drawing of which see now Boehmer and Güterbock, *Boğazköy-Hattuša* XIV, p.54 Abb.39) has two clear examples of the TONITRUS sign and two seated deities holding three-pronged elements which cannot be identified as Hieroglyphs; Newell 373 has two three-pronged elements in no defining context, not certainly to be identified as Hieroglyphs.

**Yazılıkaya 41: <sup>d</sup>FOUDRE Ha?<sup>vill</sup>**

not the *HATTI* sign but may be the *TONITRUS* sign, in which case it should be booked under no.199; see further below, Appendix.

**Babylone = CIH I 5 etc. ...**

These are all Neo-Hittite representations of the Storm-God, which show him holding the *trident* symbol, forms of which were incorrectly entered above under "Variantes". Like the latter, they should be removed from the signary. See Plate 2.

(We may note that the following representations might be added to the list: KÖRKÜN, KÜRTÜL, NIĞDE 2, MARAŞ 11, BOROWSKI 3, GAZIANTEP).

**Noms theophores:**

Of these, *SBo* II 121, Hanyeri and Išputahšu should certainly be transferred to *HH* no.199 f (i.e. the relevant sign is certainly *TONITRUS* not *HATTI*). *SBo* II 22 should probably also be transferred: in any case the sign is *not HATTI*.

All of no.196.I has thus been removed from this entry, either transferred to no.199, or removed from the signary altogether on the grounds of belonging not to the script but the iconography. As has been stated above, the syllabographic value *há* is established *only* for the Late Period, while for the Empire Period the sign can *only* be shown to write *HATTI* (or *HATTUSA*), and *HATTUSILI(+li)*. This will become apparent from the following reorganization of the material, which includes the decisive new attestations marked \*.

## II. Valeur phon. *ha* <sup>2</sup>

### A. Empire Period *HATTI/HATTUSA, HATTUSILI*

**Peut-être Nişantaş 11-13; *Ha*<sup>?</sup> -x<sup>viii\*</sup>**

Laroche himself corrected this key entry which set the enquiry on the right track and has since been amply confirmed: see his treatment of *NİŞANTAŞ*, *Anatolica* 3 (1970), pp.93-99, pls. V-VII, esp. 93, 95, where he established for *NİŞANTAŞ*, 3-4 and 10-11, the cuneiform correspondents *LUGAL KUR Hatti*, "king of the land Hatti". As noted above, it cannot be shown that at this date the sign is a

syllabogram *há* rather than a logogram *HATTI*; the *há* value may be a late acrophonic derivative from *HATTI*. Thus this entry will read: NIŞANTAŞ, 4-6, also 11-13: *HATTI*.REGIO REX.

Karakuyu 2: <sup>mont</sup>*Tu Ha*<sup>ville</sup>, "mont Tudhaliya de Hattusa"

Doubtless correct with the proviso that the sign should be treated as logographic, where the use of the determinative URBS would point to a reading *HATTUSA*, while REGIO would point to *HATTI*.

Ha x li = Hattusili (N.B. This is *HH* no.197).

Again correct, this is the earliest usage of the sign to be recognized. Because it cannot be shown to be the abbreviated syllabographic writing *Há+li*, we should, following what has been said above, transcribe *HATTUSA+li*.

Under *HH* no.197 some new attestations may be added:

(1) Nom royal

\*BOĞAZKÖY stele (Neve, *Anatolica* 14 (1987), p.84)

\*YALBURT, block 1 (Özgüç, *İnandıktepe* (1988), pl.91.3)

(2) Autre personnage

ANCOZ 4 (frag.: Özdoğan, *Lower Euphrates Basin 1977 Survey* (Istanbul, 1977), p.101 f., pl.106)

\*MALPINAR, 11.1 (twice), 2, 4 (Kalaç and Hawkins, *An.St.* 39 (1989), pp.106, 109).

New attestations of *HATTI*.

\*YALBURT, block 4: MAGNUS.REX-*zi/a HATTI*.REGIO

"the Great Kings of Hatti-Land" (Özgüç, *İnandıktepe*, pl.90.2)

\*BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG, 11.1, 3 (twice), 4: *HATTI* alone, "Hatti" (see Fig.3,a)

ibid., 1.2: DEUS.TONITRUS *HATTI*, "Storm-God of Hatti" (see Fig.3,b)

ibid., 1.2: DEUS *HATTI*, "the god(s) (of) Hatti(?)" (see Fig.3,c)

ibid., 1.3: FINES-*zi/a HATTI*, "the frontiers of Hatti" (see Fig.3,d)

These new attestations confirm beyond doubt Laroche's identification of *HATTI*(REGIO) as the writing of "Hatti-land". In particular the YALBURT context makes it quite clear, reading in full: "to those lands the Great Kings of the Hatti-land, my father(s) (and) grandfather(s), not anyone had run".

On the BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG inscription, the most important attestation for our purposes is the "Storm-God of Hatti", in which writing the signs TONITRUS (199) and *HATTI* (196) by their juxtaposition emphasize their distinctness. This is in marked contrast to the DEUS.TONITRUS TONITRUS(URBS) (for which see below, ÇAĞDIN stele).

B. Late Period syllabogram *há* <sup>3</sup>

Karatepe 39: Pa-ha+r-wa-ná-i<sup>vill<sup>e</sup></sup> "de Pahar(a)" = phén. p<sup>c</sup>r  
Certainly establishes the useful equivalent Hier. *há* = Phoen.<sup>c</sup>.

Alterne, à basse époque, avec *há* (no. 215), surtout dans les éléments grammaticaux *-ha* "et", *-ha*, 1<sup>re</sup> sg. prêt.

Essentially correct. We should note that this alternation is only common in the very late KARATEPE (e.g. Hu/Ho 48, 60, 91, 129, 135, 144, 146, 152, 158 etc.). The earlier inscriptions of KARKAMIS have very few examples: A6, §§15, 17; cf. A13d, §2; also CEKKE, §§9, 10: A5a, §§2-4 (verbal endings). The earliest probable example is found on the KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ inscriptions, the uncertain date of which is likely to be revised substantially upwards into the period immediately succeeding the fall of the Hittite Empire by the observation of their close links with YALBURT and BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG. Of these inscriptions the name of the author, normally read *Hartapus*, is always written with initial *há+ra/i-*, thus apparently attesting the syllabographic usage of *há* as early as perhaps the 12th. century B.C. This very early dating of the usage does suggest that it is not impossible that it may in future be recognized also on Empire Period inscriptions.

Turning to Laroche's *HH* no.199, we find the following corrections (additions and subtractions) necessary:

## 199 1. Dieu de l'orage

Essentially correct, but it is this sign, not 196, which should have been transcribed FOUORE, if indeed it really does represent the thunderbolt (we have transcribed as TONITRUS, but perhaps FULMEN would have been more appropriate). In fact, if we dissociate this sign from the lightning trident, as suggested above, evidence as to what exactly it represents lapses. Note the attachment of lightning jags to this sign to represent pictographically "lightning" (see below, on HH no.200). The problem of what the sign actually represents has not in my opinion been definitively established.<sup>4</sup>

### 2. *ha*

No, this sign is a logogram only and has no syllabographic usage; see further below, under II, for details.

### Forme cursive du FOUORE (n° 196)

No, the sign is unconnected with 196, but unlike the latter, it may indeed represent FOUORE (FULMEN).

### Variantes

Correct. It is the third variant which has a central, undivided prong, instead of a full loop, which has led to the confusion with HH no.196 (*HATTI/há*).

### I. Symbole et id. du dieu de l'orage

It is not really a *symbol* but simply the *logogram* used to write the Storm-God's name.

### Se lit, selon le cas, Tešub ou Tarhunda ou Datta(?)

The reading *Datta* has been decisively rejected by Edmund Gordon (*JCS* 21 (1967) pp.82-85). It is unfortunate to find this discredited identification continuing to appear in standard Hittitological works (e.g. Otten, *StBot* 24, i 27 and passim in translation; Del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, s.v. *Tataša/i*; also especially any publication by Kammenhuber).

### a) Symbole porté par le dieu au-dessus du poing

Essentially correct, except that, as has been pointed out, it is properly a Hieroglyphic sign, not a symbol. To the listed Ras Shamra seals of Amanmašu (RS 17.28A, *Ugaritica* III, p.42 ff.), Ini-Tešub (RS 17.158, *Ugaritica* III, p.26 ff.), and Piha-ziti (RS 17.248, *Ugaritica* III, p.40 ff.), should be added that of Talmi-Tešub (RS 17.226, *Ugaritica* III, p.29 f.), transferred from *HH* no.196.I (see Plate 1). A large number of new examples of seals showing the Storm-God carrying his Hieroglyph are now available from the Meskene tablets published and unpublished: e.g. the seals of Hišmi-Tešub (Msk. 73.57), Matkali-Dagan (Msk 74.327), Kabi-Dagan (Msk 73.95, 75.12) - see *CRAIBL* 1983, pp. 14-15 figs.2-4; *Meskene-Emar* (ed. D. Beyer; Paris 1982), p.66 fig.11; 63 fig.3. A large group of Meskene tablets in Japan with seal impressions to be published by K. Ishida will provide many more examples. Cf. also e.g. J. Huenergard, *RA* 77 (1983), pp.18, 22 texts 3 and 4 (seals of Še'i-Dagan and EN-GAL (Ba'al ...)).

**b) Id. du dieu**

What distinguishes these entries from (a) for Laroche is that here the logogram appears with other Hier. signs. Yet the seals in this group are hardly to be separated from those in (a), nor is the recently discovered seal (impression) of Kuzi-Tešub from Lidar which belongs here, nor the closely related sculpture of Yazılıkaya 42. We should regroup and add as follows:

**(i) seals and sculpture**

*SBo* I, 38-41 (now also as Beran, *Boğazköy-Hattuša* V (1967), nos.250-252): MAGNUS.TONITRUS.CAELUM, "Great Storm(-God) of Heaven".

LĪDAR (Li.85-F.Nr.246-247) (see Sürenhagen, *MDOG* 118 (1986), p.184 f.; and here, Plate 1b): (DEUS)TONITRUS, "Storm-God".

TARSUS 42: [(DEUS')]TONITRUS, "Storm-God". Collation might establish the damaged first sign, given alternatively as CAELUM by Laroche.

YAZILIKAYA 42 (see now Güterbock, in Bittel *et al.*, *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya* (1975), p.169 f. with n.17, Taf.26, 27.1, 28). Güterbock asserts that the form of the sign is HH no.196 rather than no.199, but in this he was misled by the confusion between the two signs, which was quite understandable until recent discoveries served to separate them. In fact the Yazılıkaya figure of the Storm-God should now be compared with that on the Lidar seal of Kuzi-Tešub, with which it agrees closely in all particulars. This comparison should allow us to identify also the pair of Hieroglyphs carried by both figures. LİDAR-YAZILIKAYA 42 are indeed the point at which the seals and monumental sculpture approach most closely. See here Plate 1a, and Fig.2c.

ALACA HÖYÜK 1 (for good recent reproductions, see Akurgal, *Art of the Hittites* (1962), pl.93 (lower); also Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (1976), Abb.221). The figure of the Storm-God is not that of his most standard representations, being seated, clad in a long robe, and holding a cup. His name is written with the standard TONITRUS sign below an unusual form of the sign DEUS (if that is really what it is: see Laroche, *HH* no.361; Meriggi, *Manuale* II/3, no.55, p.308).

İMAMKULU (see M. Wäfler, *MDOG* 107 (1975), p.21, Taf.3 (cf. the remarks of J. Börker-Klähn, *ZA* 67 (1977), p.64 f.); K. Kohlmeyer, *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 15 (1983), pp.84, 141 Taf.29).

The apparent reading is (DEUS)TONITRUS CAELUM TONITRUS as made clear by the publications of Wäfler and Kohlmeyer. The repetition of TONITRUS after (DEUS)TONITRUS CAELUM remains difficult to explain. We might follow the lead of the ÇAĞDIN stele (see below, I.c.6) and interpret "Celestial Storm-God of Tarhuntašša", but this combination does not seem very probable.

(MALATYA 8 (post-Empire): (DEUS)TONITRUS, "Storm-God" - see above).

(ii) inscriptions

EMİRGAZİ altar A ll.5, 6 // B ll.2, 3: (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM, "Storm-God of Heaven". It is noteworthy that this manifestation of

the Storm-God does not reappear on the two newly available Empire Period inscriptions YALBURT and BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG.

KIZILDAĞ 4,1.1 // KARADAĞ 1, 1.1 (twice) (see Sedat Alp, *Anatolian Studies ... Güterbock* (Istanbul, 1974), pls.VII Abb. 13-14, IX Abb.17-18)<sup>5</sup>: (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM, "Storm-God of Heaven". This recurrence of this manifestation of the Storm-God in exactly the same writing as on EMİRGAZİ is only one of the links which now bind the KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ group of inscriptions to those of the Empire-Period (other features now connect them closely with YALBURT and BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG, also KARAKUYU and again EMİRGAZİ).

GÜRÜN, §§1, 7: MAGNUS (DEUS)TONITRUS, "Great Storm-God". The claim of the author of GÜRÜN to be the grandson of Kuzi-Tešubas, "Great King, Hero of Karkamis", appears to pull this and related monuments from Malatya back into the 12th. century B.C. In the context (as one of a divine triad with Hebat and Sarruma) the Storm-God here may well represent Tešub, as Laroche observes.

ALEPPO 2, §§2, 14; CEKKE, §§4, 24; KARKAMIS A11b + c, §§9, 25; TELL AHMAR 2, §22: CAELUM (DEUS)TONITRUS(-sa).

KARKAMIS A4a, §13; KARATEPE, 389: "CAELUM" (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-za-sa.

KARKAMIS A13d, §10: CAELUM (DEUS)TONITRUS-ti-i.

TELL AHMAR 1, §§2, 21, 25: "CAELUM"-si-i-sa (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-sa // ["CAELUM"]-sa-na [(DEUS)]TONITRUS-hu-ti // "CAELUM-si"-i-sa (DEUS)TONITRUS[...].

Of these last three groups, the first provides no evidence for the reading of the god's name and epithet and is thus similar to the Empire and post-Empire writings of EMİRGAZİ and KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ. The second shows that the god's name was *Tarhunzas*; but only the third provides evidence for the full reading *tipasasis Tarhunzas*. Because TELL AHMAR inscriptions are stylistically so close to the early KARKAMIS group, there is little reason to doubt that these phonetic indications are valid for the whole group.

Indeed it is also likely that this reading lies behind the EMİRGAZI and KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ inscriptions too.

**c) dieux de l'orage locaux**

1. d'Alep ...

2. d'Alapa ...: le même?

Certainly the same. "Alep" represents the logographic writing of the city name (see below IIa). *Alapa* (now read *i-la-pa*-(URBS)), is the phonetic writing of the same. Add to this joint entry KÖRKÜN, §5, HALPA-*pa-wa/i-ni*-.

**6. de Hattuša? Çağdin**

No, it is now clear that TONITRUS(URBS) does not write *Hattuša*; see below, IIb. The ÇAĞDIN writing (DEUS)TONITRUS TONITRUS(URBS)<sup>6</sup>, as Güterbock long ago saw, required the city name to be the same as that of the god: his <sup>D</sup>*Datta*: <sup>URU</sup>*Datassa*, modernized according to more recent recognition to *Tarhunta* of *Tarhuntaşša*, is surely correct, and was already so read by Bossert (*JKF* 2 (1952), p.107 f.), though his inference that ÇAĞDIN provided evidence for the location of *Tarhuntaşša* at Gaziantep cannot be accepted, unless there was a second city of that name. Laroche's reading Storm-God of Hattuša (Hatti) for this group is conclusively ruled out by the recent appearance of that god on BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG, 1.2, written (DEUS)TONITRUS *HATTI* and the clear distinction observed in that inscription between TONITRUS.URBS.REGIO, "land of the city *Tarhuntaşša*", and *HATTI*.REGIO, "land of Hatti" (see above, *HH* no.196.A, under BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG; and for illustration, Plate 4a-b).

**7. de Barga?**

This toponym is perhaps now to be read (\*349)*sà-ma<sub>x</sub><sup>?</sup>+ra/i-ka(-wa/i-ní)*-(URBS), and is tentatively identified with the Empire Period place-name *Išmerikka* (Melchert, *An.St.* 38 (1988), p.37).

**d) épithètes ou attributs de dieux de l'orage**

Possibly a separate category should have been included here for the Storm-God of Heaven. It would have included (from Ia above) the seal of Talmi-Tešub (RS 17.226); (from Ib above) *SBO* I 38-41

(seals of Muwatallis); EMİRGAZİ altars A ll.5, 6 // B ll.2, 3; İMAMKULU; KIZILDAĞ 4 l.1 // KARADAĞ 1 l.1; and the group of Late attestations from KARKAMIS, TELL AHMAR and KARATEPE.

### 3. "fort"<sup>7</sup>

Add to this epithet (*muwatali-*), KIZILDAĞ 2, FORTIS DEUS.TONITRUS ... "The mighty Storm-God" (see H. Gonnet, *Hethitica* V (1983), pp.21-27, where the reading and interpretation of J. Börker-Klähn are decisively refuted).

### 6. Karadağ 6 gauche<sup>8</sup>

No, delete: this has been shown to read simply DEUS.TONITRUS AMPLECTI, "beloved of the Storm-God" (Hawkins, *An.St.* 22 (1972), p.113 f. and fig.6; Alp, *Anatolian Studies ... Güterbock* (Istanbul, 1974), p.24 f.).

Additional epithets are *upatitasi-*, "of the *upatit-*" (MARAŞ 4, §3); *irniliza-*, "of the *irnili-*" (ADIYAMAN 1, §§2, 3); DOMUS.LOCUS-*ta-ta-la-si-* (= *\*pita(n)talasi-?*), "of the precinct" (KAYSERİ, §1).

### e) Flexion du nom de *Tarhun(da)*

We may note here that the new readings *zi/za* and *i/ia* give the following forms:

Nom. *-hu(-u)-za-sa* (and variants), = *-hunzas*  
Acc. *-hu(-u)-za-na* (and variants), = *-hunzan*  
Gen. *-hu-ta-sa* (and variants), = *-huntas*  
(Adj. *-hu-ti-i-sa* (and variants), = *-hunti(ya)s*)  
Dat. *-hu-ti-i* (and variants), = *-hunti*  
Abl. *-hu-ta-ti(-i)* (and variants), = *-huntati*  
Adj. *-hu-ta-sá-ti-i* = *-huntasati*

### f) Noms propres théophores

Additional names transferred from *HH* no.196 above, as noted. There are of course many new names, but it would be too large a job to collect them within the context of this article.

### 5. Kargamis, A30h: [*x*]-*pi-w* = *Duppi-Tešub??*

Luwian reading [...] DARE.TONITRUS, *Piya-Tarhunzas*, considered more likely (Hawkins, *An.St.* 31 (1981), p.161).

6. Darendé B: <sup>d</sup>w

No, read instead AVIS (=Arnuwantis) (see Hawkins, *Iraq* 36 (1974), p.77 fig.1).

Gürün 2.1: W-sa<sub>5</sub>

No, read *ku-zi-TONITRUS-sa<sub>5</sub>*, *Kuzi-Tešubas* (as also on İSPEKÇÜR: see Hawkins, *An.St.* 38 (1988), p.101).

7. Bulgarmaden 1 et 4

New readings give TONITRUS-*hu-na-(LITUUS)á-za-*, *Tarhunaza-*, for which cf. TONITRUS-*hu-na-za-*, KULULU lead strips (Hawkins, *An.St.* 37 (1987), p.160).

8. Eğrek

New readings give TONITRUS-*hu-wa/i+ra/i-i-sa*, (*Tarhuwaris*), and TONITRUS-*za+ra/i-ma-sá*, (*Tarhuzarmas*, for which see Neumann, *KZ* 90 (1976), pp.139-141).

14. Cekke, rev.5, 6

Note also *Tarhuntiwaris*, *Tarhuntawaris*, as for EĞREK (above, 8); the onomastic element appears to be *wari(ya)-*, "help".

18. Kargamis, A11b2, c5

The new readings give MAGNUS+*ra/i-TONITRUS-tá/ta-sa-za*, i.e. *Ura-Tarhuntasanza*, genit. adj., dat. plur., "to (those) of Ura-Tarhunzas".

19, 20, 21. Cekke, rev.7; *Boybeypınarı* 1.1, *Kargamis A 7 e*. (New readings give *-hunzas* throughout (cf. above, (e)).

22. Karahöyük - Elbistan 2.

New readings give *i(a)+ra/i-TONITRUS*, probably to be interpreted as *Ir-Tešub*.

II. Valeur phon. *ha*.

**(a) dans *Ha-l(a)-pa*, graphie constante du nom d'Alep**

No. Laroche's transliteration represents the group TONITRUS.\*85-*pa-*, but there is no evidence for a phonetic value *l(a)* for \*85, thus no support for a phonetic value *ha* for TONITRUS. Meriggi agnostically treats the pair of signs TONITRUS.\*85 as logograms and transcribes *HALPA*, which is much to be preferred. In fact the sign *HH* no.85 shows in its more pictographic forms a "kneeling leg", which suggests the possibility of a *rebus*-value *HAL*, associated with Hitt. *haliya-*, "kneel". TONITRUS would then be an additional element (determinative?) indicating the city's status as cult-centre of the Storm-God. The phonetic writing of the toponym is undoubtedly the *i-la-pa*-(URBS) of KARKAMIS A24a2+3, 6, 11. Because of doubt about the reading of *HH* no.85, I prefer the non-committal transcription of the logographic writing as TONITRUS.*HALPA-pa*-(URBS). Note that TONITRUS is omissible from the writing, which supports its determinative character: KÖRKÜN, \$5, writes simply *HALPA-pa-*.

**b) abrègement de *Hatti*, *Hattusa*?**

No, this is the confusion with *HH* no.196.

Çağdın: <sup>d</sup>W *Ha*<sup>vill</sup>e

No, this has been shown above to represent "Tarhunta of the city *Tarhuntaşša*", in clear contrast to the recently found DEUS.TONITRUS *HATTI*, "Storm-God of Hatti" (BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG, 1.2). See above *HH* no.196.II.A; 199.I.6; and illustrated, Plate 4a-b.

**SBO I 106-108: *Ha*<sup>vill</sup>e x *li* = *Hattusili* ou *Hattili*??**

No. The distinction now clear between *HATTI*(URBS/REGIO), "Hattusa/Hatti", and TONITRUS(URBS), "Tarhuntaşša", would suggest that we should read here TONITRUS.URBS+*li*, *Tarhuntaşšili*, a proper name derived from the city (unfortunately lacking corroboration from a Cuneiform attestation).

**Karakuyu 2: MONT *Tu Ha*<sup>vill</sup>e W/*Ha*??-*tú-sà*?**

No. The first part was interpreted by Laroche, no doubt correctly, as "Mount Tudhaliya of the city Hattusa", which we would now transcribe (MONS)*tu HATTI*(URBS), thus belongs under *HH* no.196

(see above, no.196.II.A). The second part remains "très incertain": we would transcribe TONITRUS.PURUS.X; note that the second sign is the logogram "pure" (Hitt. *suppi-*, Luw. *kummi-*), no longer to be confused with the syllabogram *tu*; the third sign is unidentified, certainly not *sà*, probably not *sa*, possibly a pictogram writing what it represents. What this group could signify we may only guess: "Tarhunta's pure thing"?

c) Khorsabad: SCEAU (de) W-*pa-s*

No grounds for reading *Halpas*, which would not in any case support a syllabic value *ha*. Read TONITRUS-*pa-sá*, probably to be taken as a personal name, *Tesubas/Tispas*, for which cf. -TONITRUS-*pa-sá* // -*ti-sa-pa-sa/sá* (KARKAMIS A7d/f, g, i); cf. Meriggi, *Glossar*, p.128, s.v. *Tesup-pa*.

THE SIGN HH NO. 200 = FULGUR

In the context of the present enquiry, it is also appropriate to offer some amplification and clarification of Laroche's HH no. 200 which have been made possible by recent advances in understanding.

200.  "PUISSANCE"

We may now identify the logogram as representing a jag of lightning attached to either side of the Storm-God's symbol. This is suggested by the identification of the word lying behind the sign and the elucidation of this word in Cun. Luwian, all of which ties in well with this rather obvious interpretation of the pictographic intent of the sign, which on these grounds may now be transcribed FULGUR.

1. "Puissance", compl. phon. -*has* (morphologie obscure).

Karatepe 297' ...TOUT-*mi-sà-i-*' PUISSANCE-*ha-ś*

Read now ... OMNIS-MI-*ma-za-*' FULGUR-*ha-sá*, and identify the stem lying behind FULGUR as *piha-* (from following entry). The latter word is qualified by OMNIS-MI-*ma-za-*' (*tanimanza*), thus is like it acc. sing. N. The ending -*ha-sa* as (nom.) acc. sing. N form is best explained as an -*s*-stem like *tipas*, "sky", as may be

supported by Cuneiform comparison, and the expected neuter "particle" *-sa* may also be found if we interpret *-ha-sá* as standing for *-has+sa*.

This postulated (Hier.) *pihas* may be recognized as the basis for the Cun. Luw. epithet of the Storm-God, *pihaššašši-*, thus simply to be analysed as *pihašš-ašši-*, "of the *pihaš*". The interpretation of *pihas* as "lightning" follows the long suggested identification of *pihaššašši-* with the logographic HI.HI-*ašši-* (HI.HI = Akk. *barāqu*, "flash (lightning)"), now confirmed by a recent attestation HI.HI-*šašši-*: see Starke, *StBoT* 31, §58, with earlier references (I am much indebted to Dr. Starke for his courtesy in providing me with a pre-publication copy of his important work on Luwian); and see further below for the alternation of <sup>D</sup>U HI.HI-*aššiš//pihaššaššiš* between the Ulmi-Tešub and Kurunta (*Bronzetafel*) treaties.

Thus we see that the Hier. evidence of the (pictographic) logogram and the stem *pihas* falls together with the Cun. Luw. derived form and the evidence for its meaning "lightning" (the sense in Hier. is in fact metaphorical, "effulgence, splendour", used of royal power).

Some further words on the Storm-God *pihaššašši-*, the "Storm-God of the Lightning", are also appropriate in this context. The ÇAĞDIN stele, as we have seen above (no.199.I.c.6) has a Storm-God of Tarhuntašša. Curiously, this god does not appear to be attested in Cun. Hitt. sources, but in fact the reason is not far to seek. A treaty fragment (*KBo* IX, 98 + *KUB* XL, 46, 11.6-8) names before "Hebat of Tarhuntašša, (and) all male (and) female deities, mountains and rivers of the land of Tarhuntašša" the *pihašš[ašši-]* Storm-God, thus clearly indicating that this god was himself the patron of Tarhuntašša. This impression is further strengthened by the occurrences of this god in the Ulmi-Tešub treaty (*KBo* IV, 10) but more especially in the magnificent new Tarhuntašša treaty on the Bronze Tablet (Otten, *StBoT* Beiheft 1 (1988): we may note that where in the list of divine witnesses *KBo* IV, 10 obv.53 reads <sup>D</sup>X *pihaimmis* <sup>D</sup>X HI.HI-*aš-ši-iš*, the Bronze Tablet, iii 86, reads <sup>D</sup>X *pí-ha-aš-ša-aš-ši-iš*, thereby establishing the equation beyond doubt). Thus on the Bronze Tablet, three attestations of the *pihaššašši-* Storm-God occur (ii 16, iii 50, 67) in context of concessions or

donations made to him as representative of Tarhuntašša, its gods and king. The list of divine witnesses is defined (iv 3-4) as "the Gods, Goddesses, Heaven, Earth, Great Sea, Mountains, Rivers, Springs of the land of Hatti and of the land of Tarhuntašša", and only the *pihaššašši*- Storm-God in the list seems qualified to represent Tarhuntašša. But perhaps the most telling detail is the disposition of the seven copies of the treaty given in the colophon (iv 44-51): they are to be placed before the Sun-Goddess of Arinna, the Storm-God of Hatti, Lelwani, Hebat of Kizzuwatna, the Storm-God *pihaššašši*-, in the King's house before Zithariya, and one the King of Tarhuntašša is to keep in his own house. Otten supposed that these depositions were in the relevant temples in Hattusa (*Bronzetafel*), p.55), but it is just as likely that the copies were placed in the gods' main temples in their own cities. Thus as copies were placed before the Storm-God of Hatti and in the King's house (sc. in Hattusa), so they were also placed before the Storm-God *pihaššašši*- and in the house of the King of Tarhuntašša). It is indeed hardly surprising that the Storm-God *pihaššašši*-, who was Muwatallis's patron deity, as we learn from the great prayer addressed by the king to him (*CTH* no.381), should also be the chief god of the city of Tarhuntašša (re)founded by Muwatallis himself. This point was made by Lebrun in his edition of the prayer (*Hymnes et Prières Hittites*, p.256: "...le grand dieu de l'orage *pihaššašši*, grand dieu louvite de Tarhundassa").

APPENDIX. The problem of YAZILIKAYA nos. 41 and 46.

It has been asserted here that the epigraph to YAZILIKAYA 42 is simply (DEUS)TONITRUS (=HH no.199: see above, 199.I.b(i)). The Storm-God logogram TONITRUS is supposed to occur in the epigraphs to two other figures, nos.41 and 46, for which see Güterbock, in Bittel *et al.*, *Das heth. Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya* (Berlin, 1976), pp.171-173; also *id.*, *Les Hiéroglyphes de Yazilikaya* (Paris 1982), pp.8/32, 19 f./42 f.

Collations made at Yazılıkaya in September 1989 permit the following observations on the forms of the proposed TONITRUS signs. See Fig.4 for tracings made directly from the rock.

YAZILIKAYA no.41. It was established by Güterbock that the god expected here from the *kalutis* would be the local forms of the Mesopotamian *Ninurta*, Hitt. *Šuwaliyat*, Hurr. *Tašmišu*, the brother of the Storm-God (*RHA* XIX/68 (1961), pp.1-18). In spite of a promising attempt by Laroche (*RHA* XXVII/84-85 (1969), p.69 f.) to read the signs, they still are regarded as uncertain by Güterbock (loc. cit., 1975 and 1982). I am happy to accept the second sign as TONITRUS, in spite of Güterbock's reservations based on the correct observation that the three prongs are open at the bottom - cf. the form on Yazılıkaya no.46; also on the KARAHÖYÜK (ELBISTAN) stele, where TONITRUS tends to appear open at the bottom (see Fig.2f). Granted the identification of TONITRUS, the problem returns to where Laroche left it. Like Laroche and Güterbock, I am unable to extract "brother" from the remaining signs; I feel that X (URBS) is possible, but it is hardly possible to see in X either Hatti (*HATTI*) or Tarhuntassa (TONITRUS). If I have to incline to a reading, it would be "Storm-God of [logogram]-city".

YAZILIKAYA no.46. Güterbock's observations of 1975 and 1982 are fully borne out by collation. The signs are undoubtedly DEUS.TONITRUS.NEPOS, "Storm-God's grandchild". The form of TONITRUS appears here too to be open at the bottom, which supports the identification of the form in no.41.

#### NOTES

1. The sign *HH* no. 346, a cup, is of unknown reading, but on the stele KARAHÖYÜK (ELBISTAN) clearly refers to the site Karahöyük itself and its patron Storm-God.
2. Note that in my transliteration the sign is *há*.
3. Note again my transliteration *ha*, *há* for Laroche's *há*, *ha*.
4. Ursula Calmeyer-seidl, in *Festschrift Kurt Bittel* (Mainz, 1983), pp. 151-154, reviews the problem, and inclines to the view that the sign represents bull's horns.
5. Note that Laroche designates KIZILDAĞ 4 as KARADAĞ 6.
6. K. Kohlmeyer, *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 15 (1983), p.84 n.783, asserts that CAĞDIN's last sign, identified as URBS, is out of alignment with the three above, and thus represents not part

of the inscription but a separate sign BONUS<sub>2</sub> held as elsewhere in the Storm-God's hand. But he has been misled by the photograph on which he bases his observation: in fact the top of the sign is chipped, which on Bittel's photograph simply makes it appear "nach rechts verschoben". See e.g. the excellent photograph in the exhibition catalogue *Treasures from Turkey* (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, 1986, p.102 no.127). Thus there is no reason to query Güterbock's original drawing or his interpretation.

7. Note that Laroche cross-references this epithet to his no.29 in error for no.28.

8. Note that this Karadağ 6 refers to KIZILDAĞ 4 (above, note 4).

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

A. Figures

FIG. 1.

Evolution of Storm-God's symbol, according to Laroche (*Ugaritica* III, p.124). The observation is fallacious. There is no link between a (symbol held by gods on Malatya reliefs: see e.g. Pl. 3b), b+c (Hieroglyph *HATTI/há*, *HH* no. 196, relief and incised), and d+e (Hieroglyph *TONITRUS*, *HH* no.199, relief and incised).

FIG. 2.

Hieroglyph *TONITRUS* held by Storm-God in Empire Period representations.

- (a) On seal of Kuzi-Tešub (Plate 1b).
- (b) On seal of Ini-Tešub (Plate 1c).
- (c) On Yazılıkaya no.42 (Plate 1a).
- (d) On seal of Talmi-Tešub (Plate 1d).
- (e) On Hanyeri rock relief (see Kohlmeyer, *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 15 (1983), p.86 f., Taf.32).
- (f) On KARAHÖYÜK (ELBISTAN) stele.

FIG. 3.

Form of logogram *HATTI* as seen on the new inscription BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG.

- (a) *HATTI* alone, "Hatti".
  - (b) (DEUS)TONITRUS *HATTI*, "Storm-God of Hatti".
  - (c) DEUS *HATTI*, "god(s) of Hatti".
  - (d) FINES-zi/a *HATTI*, "frontiers of Hatti".
- Note that the sign *HATTI* in this inscription (also in Yalburt) always shows a clear kink in the middle prong.

FIG. 4.

Epigraphs to YAZILIKAYA nos.42, 41, and 36, collated and traced directly from the rock in September 1989.

- (a) No.42, Storm-God (Tešub).
- (b) No.41, "Storm-God of the city X" (??).
- (c) No.46, "Storm-God's grandchild".

## B. Plates

### PLATE 1.

Empire period representations of the Storm-God holding his name written in Hieroglyphs.

- (a) Yazılıkaya no.42 (from K. Bittel *et al.*, *Das heth. Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya* (Berlin 1975), Taf.26.1).
- (b) Seal impression of Kuzi-Tešub from Lidar Höyük (Li.85-F, Nr.246, reproduced by kind permission of Prof.-Dr. Harald Hauptmann).
- (c) Cast of impression of seal of Ini-Tešub from Ugarit (from C.F.-A. Schaeffer *et al.*, *Ugaritica* III (Paris 1956), fig.35).
- (d) Seal impression of Talmi-Tešub from Ugarit (from Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, fig.37).
- (e) Seal impression of Amanmašu from Ugarit (from Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, fig.67).
- (f) Cast of seal impression of Pihaziti from Ugarit (from Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, fig.64).

For forms of the sign TONITRUS in these contexts, see fig.2.

### PLATE 2.

Neo-Hittite representations of the Storm-God holding his trident-symbol.

- (a) Babylon stele (10th - 9th century B.C.).
- (b) TELL AHMAR 2 stele (10th - 9th century B.C., from T. Thureau-Dangin and M. Dunand, *Til-Barsib* (Paris 1936), Album, pl.I).
- (c) TELL AHMAR 1 stele (10th - 9th century B.C., restored).
- (d) KÜRTÜL stele (9th century B.C.).
- (e) KÖRKÜN stele (late 9th century B.C.).
- (f) CEKKE stele (mid-8th century B.C.).

Note that these trident symbols cannot be identified with the Hieroglyphs *HATTI* (HH no.196, see Fig.3) or TONITRUS (HH no.199, see Fig.2).

### PLATE 3.

Malatya representations of the Storm-God.

- (a) Relief K with inscription MALATYA 8.
- (b) Relief B with inscription MALATYA 9.
- (c) Relief C with inscription MALATYA 10.

Note the contrast between the Hieroglyph (DEUS)TONITRUS and the 3-pronged object (lightning-trident??) held by the Storm-God. See footnote 1.

### PLATE 4.

- (a) ÇAĞDIN stele, on which the Storm-God holds his name (DEUS)TONITRUS TONITRUS(URBS), "Tarhunta of the city Tarhuntaşša".
- (b) Detail from list of gods on the BOĞAZKÖY-SÜDBURG inscription, reading (DEUS)TONITRUS *HATTI*, "Tarhunta of Hatti". (cf. Fig.3b).

Fig. 1

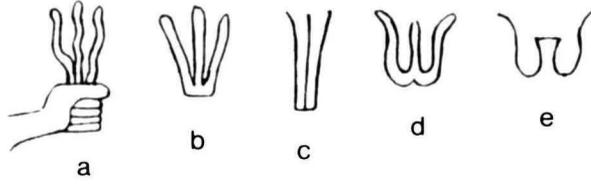


Fig. 2

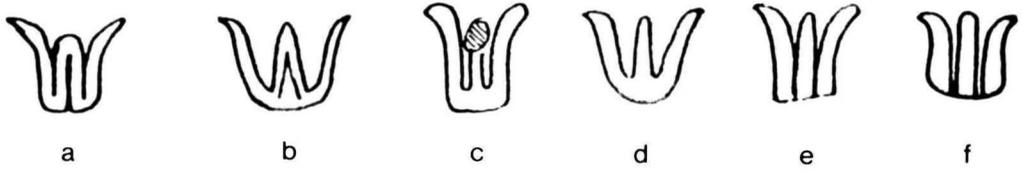


Fig. 3

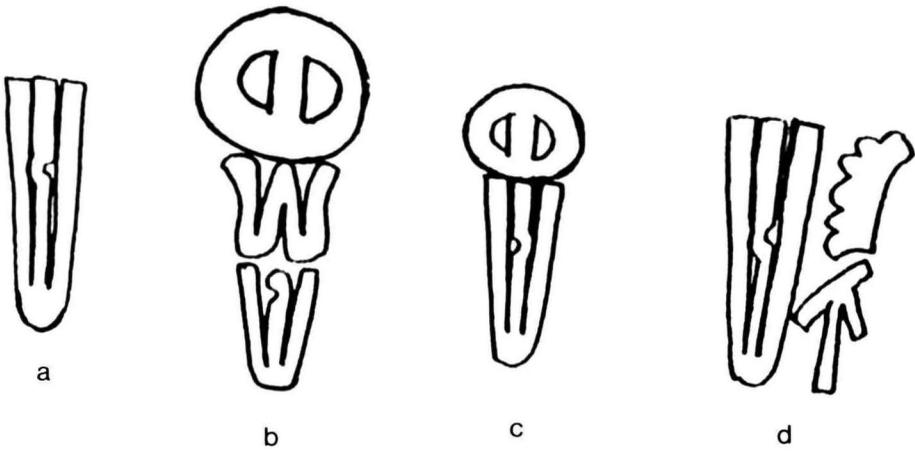
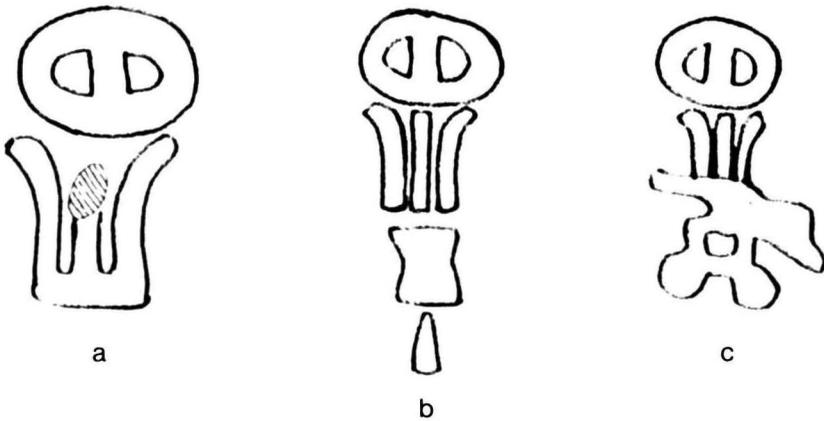


Fig. 4



a



b



c



d



e



f

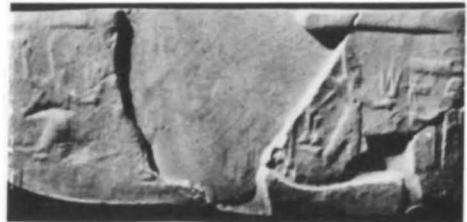


Plate I

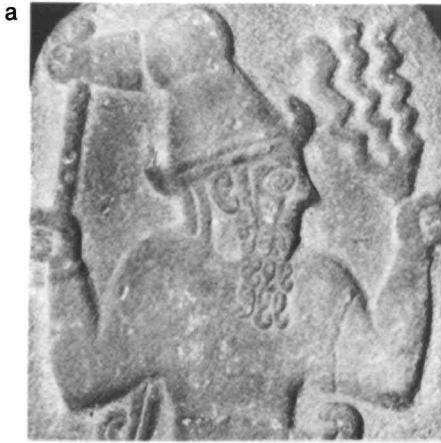


Plate II

a



b



c



Plate III

a



b

Plate IV