

## INTERPRETATION ON SOME POSSIBLE DEPICTIONS OF THE HITTITE TUTELARY DEITY OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

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### Abstract

This paper focuses on the depictions of deities on stag seen in Anatolia and its surroundings during the second millennium BC. <sup>D</sup>LAMMA.LÍL “Tutelary Deity of the Countryside” can be considered as one of the deities represented by the name rendered as <sup>D</sup>KAL. Although the deity is identified with the hunting deity and the Stag-god (*Ku*)*Runtiya* and *Innara/Annari* in the Assyrian Colony Period, as suggested earlier, further support for this identification is rendered in this paper. Additionally, there are criticisms on the differentiation in the iconographic appearance of the deity during the second millennium BC and other depictions associated with this deity. Concordantly, the deity is depicted on a stag in the Assyrian Colony Age, with a bird in his hand emphasizing the deity’s hunting character and a lituus in the other hand. The iconographic features of the deity seem to have been preserved during the transition from the Colony Age to the Hittite Period. The depictions associated with the deity in Hittite Period can be divided into three groups. The first group comprises imagery whereby the deity holds a lituus in his hand, which may be related to the deity’s rise to prominence in the state cult. The only difference in the second group, which is other similar to the first group, is that the deity stands on the ground instead of standing on a stag. The deity, assumed to be equated with the Tutelary Deity of the Countryside and included in the descriptions that can be called the third group, is depicted in a typical libation scene, sitting on a cross stool and holding a bird in his hand. However, this latter deity must obviously be a different deity in terms of its iconographic features. The Stag-god, who is the deity of wildlife and hunting in the Late Hittite Period art, stands on a stag. However, the hunter title of the deity is represented sometimes by a bird he holds in his hand, and sometimes by a bow and spear. This can also be associated with hunting. It is during this period that the winged sun disk (instead of lituus), can be interpreted as a continuation of the custom also regarding the deity in the state cult, as it began to appear in the depictions of the deity.

**Keywords:** *Tutelary Deity of the Countryside, Stag-god, <sup>D</sup>KAL, <sup>D</sup>LAMMA.LÍL, Assyrian Colony Age, Hittites, Late Hittite Period*

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Öz

**Hitit Kırların Koruyucu Tanrısının Tasvirleri Hakkında Bazı Yorumlar**

Bu makalede, MÖ II. binyıl boyunca Anadolu ve yakın çevresinde görülen geyik üstündeki tanrı betimleri üzerinde durulmuştur. <sup>D</sup>LAMMA.LİL “Kırların Koruyucu Tanrısı”, <sup>D</sup>KAL lologramı ile gösterilen tanrılardan birisi olarak değerlendirilebilir. Bu bağlamda konuya ilgisiz daha önce ileri sürülen ve Koloni Çağı’ndaki avcı tanrı ve Geyikli Tanrı (*Ku*)*Runtiya* ve *Innara/Annari* ile bu tanrının eşitliği bu makale içerisinde kabul edilmekle birlikte, bu görüş bazı yeni fikirlerle desteklenmektedir. Tanrının ikonografik görünümünde meydana gelen değişim ve yine bu tanrı ile ilişkili görülen bazı betimler üzerine değerlendirmelerde bulunulmuştur. Buna göre tanrı, Koloni Çağı’nda bir geyik üstünde, elinde avcı karakterini vurgulayan bir kuş ve diğer elinde bir lituus ile betimlenmektedir. Tanrının ikonografik özellikleri Koloni Dönemi’nden Hitit Çağı’na geçilirken korunmuş görünmektedir. Hitit Çağı’nda, tanrı ile ilişkilendirilen betimler üç gruba ayrılabilir. İlk grupta tanrı, kraliyet kültü içerisinde önem kazanmasına paralel olarak elinde lituus tutarken betimlenmiştir. İlk gruptaki ikonografinin büyük ölçüde korunduğu ikinci grup betimlemelerdeki temel farklılık tanrının bir geyik üzerinde durmak yerine zemine basar vaziyette betimlenmesidir. Kırların Koruyucu Tanrısı ile eşitlenmek istenen ve üçüncü grup olarak adlandırabileceğimiz betimlemelerde yer alan tanrı, standart diyebileceğimiz bir libasyon sahnesinde betimlenmiştir ve çapraz bir tabureye oturarak ve elinde bir kuş ile betimlenmiştir. Ancak ikonografik açıdan sahip olduğu özellikler itibariyle açıkçası farklı bir tanrı olmalıdır. Geç Hitit Dönemi sanatı içerisinde yer alan vahşi yaşam ve av tanrısı olan Geyik Tanrı betimlemelerinde, tanrı yine bir geyik üstünde durmakla birlikte, tanrının avcı sıfatı bazen elinde tuttuğu bir kuş bazen de yine avla ilişkilendirilebilecek yay ve mızrakla yapılmıştır. Önceki dönemlerde tanrının devlet kültürüne dahil edilmesinin bağlamında yorumlanabilecek kanatlı güneş motifi, geç dönem betimlemelerinde yer almaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Kırların Koruyucu Tanrısı, Geyikli Tanrı, <sup>D</sup>KAL, <sup>D</sup>LAMMA.LİL, Asur Ticaret Kolonileri Çağı, Hititler, Geç Hitit Dönemi*

Deities associated with a stag, whose name is denoted by the logogram <sup>D</sup>KAL, is dubbed a Stag-god. The name of this deity is written with a stag or an antler and is associated with (*Ku*)*Runtiya* and *Innara/Annari* in Anatolian hieroglyphs.<sup>1</sup> <sup>D</sup>KAL appears to be related to the Sumerian word *lamma* and it is suggested that this deity is related to <sup>D</sup>LAMMA “the Tutelary Deity”.<sup>2</sup> It is debatable whether the Tutelary Deities are different deities or different manifestations of the same deity.<sup>3</sup> It can be argued that one of the deities whose name is denoted by the logogram <sup>D</sup>KAL is <sup>D</sup>LAMMA.LİL/<sup>D</sup>KAL LİL, and that the iconographic appearance of this deity can be seen with some changes during the transition from the Assyrian Colony Age to the Late Hittite period. The name of the deity mentioned in Hittite cuneiform texts as <sup>D</sup>LAMMA.LİL, <sup>D</sup>LAMMA *ŞĒRI* and *gimraš* <sup>D</sup>LAMMA can be translated as Tutelary Deity of the Countryside (TDC) or Tutelary Deity of the Open Country. Sumerian LİL means “open field, steppe”.<sup>4</sup> Akkadian

<sup>1</sup> Weeden 2011, p. 263-268; Hawkins 2005, p. 291. It is suggested that <sup>D</sup>KAL used to write the name of a Stag god, Kuruntiya (Cammarosano 2018, p. 205-206; Hutter 2003, p. 229-230).

<sup>2</sup> McMahon 1991, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> McMahon 1991, p. 23-57; van Gessel 1998, p. 681-714.

<sup>4</sup> Landsberger and Miguel 1967, p. 129, 247.

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ŠĒRU(M) and *gimraš* in Hittite are also used in the same sense.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the Sumerian, Akkadian and Hittite spellings of the god's name have the same meaning. *gimraš*- in Hittite is associated with *immara/i*- in Luwian.<sup>6</sup> This name appears as the name of another deity in the form of <sup>d</sup>*Immarni*-.<sup>7</sup>

The most important data regarding the iconographic appearance of the TDC is a Hittite cuneiform text that gives information about what the depiction of the deity looks like:

KUB 38.1 II 1-6<sup>8</sup>

- 1 <sup>URU</sup>*U*i-ia-na-u-ya-an-te <sup>D</sup>LAMA LÍ[L DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-tar]
- 2 I ALAM GUŠKIN LÚ [GU]B-an kur-ru-ta-a- ya-[an-za]
- 3 ZAG-na-za ŠU-za <sup>GIŠ</sup>BAN GUŠKIN *har-zi* GÜB-la-[za ŠU-za]
- 4 Á.MUŠEN GUŠKIN AR.NA.BU GUŠKIN *har-zi*
- 5 I GÍR GUŠKIN GURUN GUŠKIN-ši-kán an-da
- 6 A.NA LU.LIM GUŠKIN-kán NÍG.KI.GUB GUB-ri KÜ.BA[BBAR ...?]

- 1 Town of *Uianauuanta*. Tutelary Deity of the O[pen Country]:
- 2 [the image is] a gold statue(tte) of a man, standing, *kurutauuant*,
- 3 in his right hand he holds a gold bow and in his [left]
- 4 a gold eagle and a gold hare,
- 5 a dagger of gold (decorated) with fruit
- 6 he stays on a gold stag on its four (legs as) socle; silver [...]"

The deity depicted standing on a stag is one of the characteristic figures of Anatolian art. The cult tradition of the deity can probably be traced back to the Early Bronze Age. The fact that the deer has an important place in the metal animal depictions of Alacahoyuk can be understood in this respect. In the art of Anatolia, Syria and Cyprus throughout the second millennium BC, on some seals, rhytons, steles, orthostats, etc., there are depictions of deities that show features close to some of the details provided by the Hittite text.

TDC is thought to be the protector of rural life in terms of both flora and fauna, and a hunting deity in relation to this attribute.<sup>9</sup> These features of deity are also understood from his description (KUB 38.1 II 1-6). The main animal of the deity is a stag, whereas the eagle and the dead hare (must be a hunted animal) are animals that can be associated with the hunter side of the deity.<sup>10</sup> Hunting with a bird species such as an eagle or hawk

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<sup>5</sup> Soden 1981, p. 1093-1095; Puhvel 2011, p. 175f; Tischler 1978, p. 573.

<sup>6</sup> Laroche 1959, 51. The prefix g- is preserved in Hittite, but has disappeared from other Indo-European languages (Shevoroshkin 1978, p. 235).

<sup>7</sup> Laroche 1957, p. 23. Also see, van Gesel 1998, p. 184-186; van Gesel 2001, p. 236, 237. It can be considered that this deity may be the same as the other.

<sup>8</sup> von Brandenstein 1943, p. 78; Güterbock 1943, p. 290. For a review of the text, see, TD of the Countryside: Güterbock 1983, p. 207; TD of the Open Country: Güterbock 1989, p. 114.

<sup>9</sup> McMahan 1991, p. 44-46, 213-14.

<sup>10</sup> McMahan 1991, p. 21; Güterbock, 1989, p. 118-19. Güterbock 1943, 290.

has a long history in Western Asia and various Hittite descriptions show that it existed in Anatolia in the 2nd millennium BC.<sup>11</sup>

The deity depictions on stag first began to appear in the Assyrian Colony Period (Plate I). It is claimed that the hunting deity depicted with a stag, a hunting bird and a hare in the seal impressions of this period found in Kültepe is the TDC in the Hittite texts.<sup>12</sup> There is no typical appearance in these depictions. Three of the eight examples<sup>13</sup> claimed to be related to this deity are depicted on a stag.<sup>14</sup> The deity is kneeling or crouching in two examples.<sup>15</sup> In three examples, the deity stands on the ground.<sup>16</sup> In three of the depictions of the deity standing on a stag, the deity is holding a hunting bird in his hand.<sup>17</sup> An example similar to these depictions can be seen on a seal unearthed at Acemhöyük. Here, there is a depiction of a deity on a stag holding a bird of prey and a hare in his right hand.<sup>18</sup> The description in the Hittite cuneiform text of TDC and the depictions on the Kültepe and Acemhöyük seal/seal impressions clearly differ from each other. No bow is found in any of the depictions of the hunting deity seen in Colony Period examples. However, in the four examples that can be called the first group, the deity, who is depicted standing on a stag and holding a hunting bird, shows features close to TDC.<sup>19</sup> In two of these depictions, the deity is seen wearing a horned headdress.<sup>20</sup>

The depictions associated with the TDC in the Hittite Period can be divided into three groups. In the first group, the deity standing on a stag holds a bird in one hand (in some examples also a hare) and a lituus or arrow in the other hand (Plate IIa-c). If this deity stands on the ground instead of a stag, these examples are in the second group (Plate II d-e). In the third group, in a libation scene, the deity, sitting on a crossed stool, holds a bird (or additionally a hare) in one hand and a bowl in the other hand (Plate II f-g).

The first example to be discussed in the first group is in a stag rhyton with a cult scene in relief technique on the neck, in the Norbert Schimmel (NS) Collection<sup>21</sup> (Plate IIa). Here, in front of the seated deity, there is a depiction of a deity in a short tunic and round cap, standing on a stag, holding a bird in his left hand and a lituus in his raised right

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<sup>11</sup> Canby 2002, p. 161-201.

<sup>12</sup> Özgüç, in her work on some seal impressions, stated that the TDC may actually be a hunting god (Özgüç 1965, p. 24-25)

<sup>13</sup> Özgüç 1965, LEV XXI/62-64; XXII/65-67; XXIII/68, 69. Although two of the descriptions are described as the God of the Hunt, it may not be correct to consider them as <sup>D</sup>LAMMA.LÍL. Because in the right hand of these standing god depictions, there is a curved sword/lituus, which we can say as a god symbol in general, while there is a gazelle in one of their left hands and a bowl in the other. Respectively LEV XXII/67; XXIII/68.

<sup>14</sup> Özgüç 1965, LEV XXI/64; XXII 65; XXIII 69.

<sup>15</sup> Özgüç 1965, LEV XXI/62/63.

<sup>16</sup> Özgüç 1965, LEV XXII/66, LEV XXII/67, LEV XXIII/68

<sup>17</sup> Özgüç 1965, LEV XXI/64; XXII/65; XXIII/69.

<sup>18</sup> Özgüç 2015, p. 155, Fig. 119.

<sup>19</sup> Özgüç 1965, LEV XXI/64; XXII/65; XXIII/69. Özgüç 2015, p. 155, Fig. 119.

<sup>20</sup> Özgüç 1965, LEV XXII/65. XXIII/69 (?)

<sup>21</sup> Muscarella 1974, No 123. For general bibliography, see, Taracha 1996, f. 5.

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hand.<sup>22</sup> In the second example, the Yeniköy Stele, the deity stands on a stag, holding a horned conical headdress, short tunic and a sword at his waist, holding a bird in his outstretched right hand and a lituus in his left hand, resting on his left shoulder.<sup>23</sup> The third example is a silver figurine from Kalavassos, Cyprus (Plate IIb). Here, the deity is standing on a stag, wearing a crescent-shaped embossed conical cap, which should be regarded as a horn. The deity, whose two hands come together on the chest, has a lituus in his right hand.<sup>24</sup> On the Altınyayla Stele, the deity stands on a stag, holding a bow on his shoulder in his right hand, and an antler in his left hand stretching forward (Plate IIb). The deity is wearing a short tunic and a (possibly) horned conical headdress with a broken top.<sup>25</sup> The depiction of a deity standing on a stag and wearing a short tunic in an embossed vase found in Eskiyapar can also be included in this group.<sup>26</sup> However, the depiction of the deity can only be seen from the waist down, and therefore it is difficult to make an iconographic evaluation. In both seal impressions found in Emar-Meskene, there are depictions of a deity standing on a stag. In the first example (Emar-Meskene 1) the deity, dressed in a short tunic, wears a horned headdress and in his left hand, he carries an obscure weapon (mace?). He is holding a bird in his right hand, which is stretched forward.<sup>27</sup> In the second example (Emar-Meskene 2), a deity is depicted controlling the leashed stag on which he stands. His headdress is not visible. The deity is short-dressed, has a sword at his belt, and holds in his right hand, besides the end of the leash, a curved instrument that seems to be the support of a bird, probably a raptor.<sup>28</sup>

The main differences in the first group depictions are that, except for the NS Rhyton, the deity wears a horned headdress and, except for the Altınyayla Stele, the deity is holding a lituus. It can be said that the examples in this group show similarities with some examples from the Colony Period<sup>29</sup> and therefore the iconographic features of the deity were preserved during the transition from the Colony Period to the Hittite Period.

A similar representation of the deity in the first group can be seen on a seal of Tuthalya II (Plate IId).<sup>30</sup> The standing deity, with a horned headdress and short tunic, holds a lituus in his left hand, a hare and a bird in his right hand. Right behind the deity stands a stag with close hooves.<sup>31</sup> The difference in this first example, which forms the second group, is that the deity is standing on the ground. A seal impression from the

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<sup>22</sup> It is accepted that the deity standing on a stag in NS Rhyton is <sup>D</sup>LAMMA.LÍL, whose physical appearance is described in KUB 38.1 II 1-6 (Muscarella 1974, No 123; Boehmer 1983; Güterbock 1983, p. 207; Taracha 1996, p. 72-73; Collins 2010, p. 63).

<sup>23</sup> Arık 1935, p. 26/Fig. 36; Akurgal 1961, Taf. 47.

<sup>24</sup> South 1995, p. 41.

<sup>25</sup> Müller-Karpe 2003, p. 313-319.

<sup>26</sup> Özgüç 1988.

<sup>27</sup> Beyer 2001, p. 94.

<sup>28</sup> Beyer 2001, p. 70.

<sup>29</sup> Özgüç, 2015, p. 155, Fig. 119. Özgüç 1965, LEV XXI/64; XXII/65; XXIII/69.

<sup>30</sup> Beran 1967, Nr. 136.

<sup>31</sup> The animal close to its hooves has been evaluated as the mountain goat (Beran 1967, p. 30-31). However, it could also be a stag, and stag depictions with adjacent hooves can be seen in Anatolian art.

Ashmolean Collection should be considered within this second group<sup>32</sup> (Plate IIe). The deity is short-dressed and wearing a horned headdress. He is depicted with a lituus on his left shoulder and a bird on his right fist.<sup>33</sup>

The third group can be seen on the seals in Dresden,<sup>34</sup> the British Museum,<sup>35</sup> Louvre seal,<sup>36</sup> a seal of Adana origin<sup>37</sup> and the NS Rhyton. In each of these examples, the same scene takes place with some minor changes. The British Museum and Dresden seals almost repeat the same scene (Plate IIf-g). Here, the deity, sitting on a crossed stool, wearing a long dress and a horned headdress, holds a bird in his left hand and probably a bowl in his right hand. An eagle-headed person making libation to the altar right in front of the deity with a pitcher in his hand, and a person<sup>38</sup> carrying a bowl for presentation right behind him are depicted. On the Adana seal, there is a pithoi between the deity and the altar, and the person presenting with the pitcher to the altar is kneeling. The fact that this person's head is curved forward is reminiscent of the eagle's head in the first two examples. The object in the hand of the person depicted behind it is not obvious. Behind him is a person kneeling and presenting with a pitcher. Although it is not clear where the scenes begin and end, the winged sun disk and the bull-men on either side, the depiction of a tree, and the two spears and stag heads standing to the right of this tree, must be relevant.<sup>39</sup> The best-known example that can be included in this group is the stag rhyton in NS Collection. The deity, sitting on a cross stool, wearing a long robe and a horned headdress, holds a bird in his left hand and a bowl in his right.<sup>40</sup> A tree, two upright spears (except for the Adana Seal) and a stag head and a quiver hanging from the tree and a bag<sup>41</sup> (which are in the form of geometric shapes on the seals) are seen in all of the examples, which are thought to be standing behind the deity.<sup>42</sup> The Tarsus seal should also be included in this group, although it does not have this typical scene. Here, the deity, wearing a long robe and a horned headdress, is depicted sitting on a crossed stool, holding

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<sup>32</sup> Hogarth 1920, Pl. 7/Nr. 313.

<sup>33</sup> Although controversial, there are other examples that can be evaluated within this group: A male figure standing on a pendant, wearing a headdress, holding a hare in one hand and a bird in the other is similar to these depictions (Andrae 1924, Taf. 8,f). Another example is from Northern Syria. The god, depicted standing on a cylinder seal, is winged and holds the hind legs of an animal (possibly a hare) in his outstretched right hand, and a spear in his left that points downward (Contenau 1922, Nr. 314). In the Syro-Hittite tradition, animals were brought before the deities to whom they were presented, usually by their necks or hind legs. Here, this tendency has been projected into a god (Matthiae 1965, p. 34). The spear extending downward is reminiscent of late Hittite examples (Orthmann 1971, p. 263).

<sup>34</sup> Messerschmidt 1900, Tafel XLIII 4-5.

<sup>35</sup> Messerschmidt 1900, Tafel XLIII 3. Hogarth 1920, p. 75/Fig. 78.

<sup>36</sup> Orthmann 1975, p. 376.

<sup>37</sup> Dinçol 1983, p. 220-222/Lev. VIII, No.8.

<sup>38</sup> Possibly king, Güterbock 1981, p. 2.

<sup>39</sup> Güterbock 1981, p. 1-5; Alp 1983, pp. 93-100.

<sup>40</sup> Muscarella 1974, No. 123; Alp 1983, pp. 93-100.

<sup>41</sup> Güterbock 1989. For views and bibliography, see, Sir Gavaz 2015.

<sup>42</sup> Güterbock 1981, 1-5; Alp 1983, pp. 93-100. This scene on the seals and the rhyton is associated with the relief scenes in front of the monumental gate of Alacahöyük (Collins 2010, p. 61-63).

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a hare and bird in his right hand and a bowl in his left.<sup>43</sup> Based on the examples, it can be said that the deity and the libation scene made to him had a typical appearance in Hittite iconography.

In some steles and orthostats of the Late Hittite Period, there are examples related to the deity examined in this paper (Plate III). In this period, the number of deity depictions standing on a stag is four. A man in short-dressed and standing on a stag with a bow on his left shoulder and a spear in his right hand is depicted in Karasu Relief (Plate IIIa). Above the hornless headdress of the depiction, there is a winged sun disk.<sup>44</sup> This depiction is associated with the Stag-God (*Ku*)*Runtiya* and *Innaral/Annari*,<sup>45</sup> the deity of wildlife and hunting as a tutelary deity.<sup>46</sup> This assessment is obtained from the Bohça/Bozca Stele and Bulgarmağden inscriptions, which mention the deity's protective nature of wildlife and the countryside.<sup>47</sup> The deity described here is paired with the TDC in Hittite Period.<sup>48</sup> Gölpınar Stele 2 is quite similar to the Karasu Relief. In this example, the deity, whose headdress is severely broken, stands on a stag and holds a bow in his left hand and a downward-reaching spear in his right.<sup>49</sup> Among these depictions, the libation scene performed by a king for a deity standing on a stag and carrying a bow in the orthostat Arslantepe/Malatya A/9b can also be included.<sup>50</sup> In the fourth example, the Hacıbebekli Stele, the deity depicted under the winged sun disk stands on a stag (Plate IIIb). He wears a horned headdress and holds a bow in his right hand and a hare in his left.<sup>51</sup> In the left hand, though broken off, there should probably be a bird. These depictions are dated to the Late Hittite II period, that is, to the beginning of the 10th century BC, due to their similar artistic aspects.<sup>52</sup> Another example, which is dated to the same period but whose lower part is broken, is in the orthostat of Kültepe 1, where it is unclear whether the deity was standing on a stag. Here, a horned deity is shown holding a downward-stretched spear in his right hand and a bird and a hare in his left hand.<sup>53</sup>

There are examples that can be considered in the Late Hittite Period but with distinct iconographic differences. On the Karatepe South-Gate orthostats, two depictions holding a bird in the right hand and a hare in the left hand stand on the ground (B 15/16) and the other is standing on a bull (B/3)<sup>54</sup> (Plate IIIc) On the orthostats (B/12) of the city-

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<sup>43</sup> Hogarth 1920, p. 38/Pl. 7/Nr. 196.

<sup>44</sup> Burney and Lawson 1958, p. 211-218/Pl. XXXIV; Hellenkemper and Wagner 1977: p. 167-73. Orthmann 1971, p. 51.

<sup>45</sup> Hellenkemper and Wagner 1977, p. 170.

<sup>46</sup> Orthmann 1971, p. 487.

<sup>47</sup> Hawkins 2000, pp. 521-25/Pl. 297-299.

<sup>48</sup> Hawkins 2000, p. 479, 525.

<sup>49</sup> Kulakoğlu 1999, p. 168-170.

<sup>50</sup> Orthmann 1971, p. 353, 354, 521.

<sup>51</sup> Hellenkemper and Wagner 1977, p. 167-173. Orthmann 1971, p. 90, 258-261, 360, 484/L. 41/b.

<sup>52</sup> Orthmann 1971, p. 487 (Karasu Relief), p. 484 (Hacıbebekli Stele?), p. 518 (Kültepe 1), p. 521 (Malatya A/9?); Gölpınar Stele 2, Kulakoğlu 1999, p. 170. Also see, Wagner et al. 1975, p. 13.

<sup>53</sup> Orthmann 1971, p. 113-15/Lev. 38; Özgüç 1971, p. 6-11/L. X-XII.

<sup>54</sup> Alkım 1948, p. 539. Respectively, L. CXXII/9.1: The deity holds a bird in his right hand and a hare in his left hand, opposite a figure depicted in a smaller scale in prayer. L. CXXII/10.1: The

gate of Zincirli, there is a depiction of a lionman<sup>55</sup> wearing a short tunic with a hare on his left arm and a sword(?) and a bird on his right arm<sup>56</sup> (Plate III d).

### Conclusion and Discussion

The most important data regarding the iconographic appearance of TDC is the text KUB 38.1 II 1-6. Here, the deity standing on a stag could carry a bow and sword as weapons, and also held a bird associated with hunting and a dead hare under it. Examples that can be associated with this description during the second millennium BC are examined in this paper. In four of the samples constituting the first group of Kültepe and Acmhöyük seal/seal impressions dated to the Assyrian Colony Period, the deity standing on a stag and holding a hunting bird in his hand conforms to the TDC depiction.<sup>57</sup> It is easy to associate the first group of Hittite Period examples with TDC. The deity is standing on a stag in all. However, there is no example that fits the description in the text. There are no birds on the Kalavassos Figurine and Altınyayla Stele. There is no depiction of a hare in any of them. The bow, which is the weapon of TDC, is only seen on the Altınyayla Stele, while the sword is only found in the Emar-Meskene 2. The striking element in these examples is the deity holding a lituus in his hand, as can be seen in the NS Ryhton (the Stag-god), the Yeniköy Stele and the Kalavassos Figurine. This may be due to the deity's importance in the Hittite state cult.<sup>58</sup> In Hittite cuneiform texts, TDC is featured in local festivals that usually took place outside the capital, but were attended by the king and queen themselves. At the Spring Festival on Mount Tapala, the deity receives a drink offering from the king and queen.<sup>59</sup> In the Ritual for the Weather God of Kuliwišna, he receives both a drink and a bread offering.<sup>60</sup> These examples may indicate that the deity was involved in the cult of the state. On the seal of Emar, there is a depiction of a royal<sup>61</sup> praying to the deity, and the Malatya orthostat, albeit in a later period, a king's libation to the deity.<sup>62</sup> Although it is claimed that the object in the left hand of the deity is a curved weapon<sup>63</sup> in the two examples in the first group during the Colony Period, the possibility of holding a lituus should be considered here, as in the depictions of the Hittite Period.<sup>64</sup>

The examples in the second group from the Hittite Period depictions differ because the deity stood on the ground instead of standing on a stag. In the Ashmolean Seal, the

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same scene repeats at the right end of the second hare deity depiction, but the back of the figure, which is shown smaller than the god in this depiction, is turned towards the deity. L. CXXI/8: Standing on a bull, the deity holds a hare in her right hand and a bird in her left.

<sup>55</sup> Lions can be a hunting demon or something like that (Orthmann 1971, 261)

<sup>56</sup> Orthmann 1971, Lev. 58/c, 61/a.

<sup>57</sup> Özgüç 1965, LEV XXI/64; XXII/65; XXIII/69.; Özgüç 2015, p. 155/ Fig. 119.

<sup>58</sup> The discussion in McMahon 1991, p. 50 and Hutter 2003, p. 229-230.

<sup>59</sup> KUB 20.48 VI 7-9

<sup>60</sup> KBo 15.36 III 7-8, KUB 41.0 Rev. 8-9.

<sup>61</sup> Beyer 2001, p. 94.

<sup>62</sup> Orthmann 1971, p. 353, 354, 521.

<sup>63</sup> Özgüç 1965: 24-25.

<sup>64</sup> Also see, Leinwand 1984, pl. 14, 49; Alp 1994, p. 118.



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deity holds a bird in his hand, while in the Tuthalya II seal, the deity has both a bird and a hare. It should be noted as a common feature in both of the examples that the deity held the lituus in his hand. It is difficult to determine whether the deity in these examples is even TDC or even the same deity. However, it is understood that there may not be a certain type in the depiction of the deity, considering both the hieroglyphs of the deity associated with the TDC<sup>65</sup> on relief no. 32 in Yazılıkaya Chamber A<sup>66</sup>, and the diversity in the first group depictions of the Hittite Period. This situation should not mean that the descriptions in the second group of the Hittite Period are TDC. Because the bird can be both the messenger of the deities (KBo 20.107+obv ii 21) and it can also be associated with other cults as a cult object.<sup>67</sup>

The scene in NS Rhyton depicts both the first group and the third group deity depictions of the Hittite Period (Plate IIa). Here, there are Anatolian hieroglyphic signs at the top right of the deities. It is necessary to read these signs as the names of the deities depicted. The four Luwian hieroglyphic signs on the upper right of the seated deity are intended to be read as *a-aš-ta-bi*,<sup>68</sup> although it is not certain. Accordingly, Ashtabi, the war god from the Hurrian pantheon, is equated with TDC as the Tutelary Deity of the Battlefields.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, it has been suggested that the seated deity may have a different appearance than the deity standing on a stag, which is in the same rhyton. However, this assessment has been criticized.<sup>70</sup> It has been suggested that the seated deity with alternative readings of the hieroglyph might be Ala, the goddess of the same city as TDC.<sup>71</sup> It has already been stated that the seated deity is, in most instances, involved in a highly iconic libation scene. It has also been suggested that the deity could be Telipinu, due to a text (KUB 17.10 Ay. 27-33) in which there is a similar narrative to this scene.<sup>72</sup> While obviously nothing definite is understood, it can be accepted that all the depictions falling into the third group may be some other deity rather than TDC.

<sup>D</sup>KAL lologram is used to write the names of some deities (such as <sup>D</sup>KAL LÍL, <sup>D</sup>KAL <sup>URU</sup>HATTI, <sup>D</sup>KAL LUGAL).<sup>73</sup> One of these deities, who is associated with a stag and an antler, could be TDC. The deity, who is in the first group and depicted on a stag in the NS Rhyton, to be this deity due to its iconographic feature. The reading of the hieroglyphic signs consisting of stylized antlers and two-character writing of an unknown shape on the upper right of this deity remains unclear.<sup>74</sup> The hieroglyph is read as

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<sup>65</sup> Alp 1983, pp. 93-100; Darga 1992, p. 39, 40; Hawkins 2006, p. 52; Güterbock 1983, p. 207.

<sup>66</sup> Laroche 1952, 120.

<sup>67</sup> Jakob-Rost 1973, p. 178-193; Jakob-Rost 1974, p. 183-204

<sup>68</sup> Alp 1983, p. 95-98; Darga 1992, p. 39-40; Taracha 1996, p. 73. The hieroglyph found in the relief no. 33 in Yazılıkaya Chamber A is read similarly (Laroche 1952, pp. 119-120).

<sup>69</sup> Darga 1992, p. 40; Taracha 1996, p. 73-74.

<sup>70</sup> Bittel, 1976, p. 17. Güterbock 1989, p. 115.

<sup>71</sup> Güterbock 1989, p. 115; Hawkins 2006, p. 52; Bolatti Guzzo and Marazzi 2010, p. 14-21.

<sup>72</sup> Ertem 1987, p. 115-116. Also see, Erkut 2002.

<sup>73</sup> Weeden 2011, p. 263-268

<sup>74</sup> Associated with hieroglyph no. 103, Laroche 1952, p. 121; 1960, Nr. 103.

antler+bi<sup>75</sup> or DEUSX.CERVUSX<sup>76</sup>. Although its meaning is not known for now, the inscription in the form of a stylized antler seems to be quite compatible with the deity on the stag. Therefore, it is natural to think that this hieroglyphic sign is the hieroglyphic equivalent of TDC, as has been suggested.<sup>77</sup>

There is little reason to suggest that the deities depicted in the NS Rhyton are different aspects of the same deity. Without going into the discussion about the reading of Luwian hieroglyphs, it can be said that the antler sign associated with the deity on the stag is an important indicator of the identity of this deity (Stag-god in NS Rhyton, Altinyayla Stele, relief no 33 in Yazılıkaya Chamber A) and this sign is not included in the name of the seated deity. Similar hieroglyphic names in NS Rhyton are also encountered in reliefs no. 32 and 33 in Yazılıkaya Chamber A.<sup>78</sup> It would not be meaningful to have two images of the same deity in different appearances in succession in the scene. It can also be noted that the attention-grabbing detail for all three groups in Hittite Period depictions is the clothes the deity is wearing and the objects they hold in his hand. The deity depicted in the first and second groups wears short tunic. However, the deity in the third group wears a long robe. Similarly, the first and second group deities hold a lituus in their hands (apart from the bird and the hare), while the third group necessarily holds a bowl.

It is unclear whether the deity is wearing a horned headdress in TDC's typical appearance (*kurutauant-* in KUB 38.1 II 2 can illuminate this situation). There is only one example in the Assyrian Colony Period.<sup>79</sup> In the first group dated to the Hittite Period, it is a typical feature, except for the NS Rhyton sample (this part is broken in the Emar-Meskene 2 sample). In the second group, it can only be seen on the Tuthalya II seal.

The common iconographic elements in the first and second groups dating to the Hittite Period continue to be seen in the first group of examples from the Late Hittite Period. The iconography of the deity appears to be the same in almost all depictions of the Karasu Relief, Gölpınar Stele 2, Hacıbebekli Stele, and Malatya A/9a orthostat. Standing on a stag and holding a bow match the characteristics of the TDC. However, they differ in the absence of a depiction of a bird as a predator. In Kültepe 1 orthostat, it can be compared to the TDC in that the deity holds both a bird and a hare. As can be seen in the examples of the Karasu Relief, Gölpınar Stele 2 and Kültepe 1, a spear held by the deity may have been included in the iconographic view during this period. It is noteworthy that the deity wears a horned headdress in examples other than the Karasu Relief (the head part of the Gölpınar Stele 2 is broken).

The winged sun disk on the head of the deity on the Hacıbebekli Stele and the Karasu Relief can be explained by the fact that the deity has become a state cult. This situation can be interpreted as that they may have replaced the lituus that was no longer

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<sup>75</sup> S. Alp, 1983, p. 93-100; Darga 1992, p. 39-40.

<sup>76</sup> Hawkins 2006, p. 52. A similar hieroglyph is read as <sup>D</sup>LAMA for the relief no. 32 in Yazılıkaya Room A, Laroche 1952, 120.

<sup>77</sup> Güterbock 1983, p. 207.

<sup>78</sup> Laroche 1952, 119-120.

<sup>79</sup> Özgüç 1965, LEV XXII/65

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encountered in this period. In Malatya A/9a orthostat, a king's libation to a deity should also be considered within the same framework. It can be said that the tradition of including the deity in the state cult in the Hittite Period continued towards the end of the second millennium BC. In addition, the short tunic, which is stated to be in the typical appearance of the deity in the first and second groups of the Hittite Period, can be seen in the first group descriptions of the Late Period, except for Hacıbebekli.

It is difficult to make an attempt to evaluate the second group samples from the Late Hittite Period. In the Karatepe and Zincirli examples, the hare and bird held in the hands of the depicted are striking detail, and these depictions are undoubtedly related to the hunt. However, these are quite confusing. In one of the Karatepe examples (B/3), the deity in the form of the Weather God stands on a bull. In the other two examples, the depicted may not even be a deity. Because they wore neither horned nor hornless headdresses as in the Late Hittite style.<sup>80</sup> It must therefore be admitted that it is highly doubtful whether they can be considered within the descriptions examined in this paper.

In conclusion, it can be said that the first group dated to the Assyrian Colony Period, the first and second group dated to the Hittite Period, and the first group dated to the Late Hittite Period, classified in this research, may be related to TDC. It is clear that there have been changes in the iconography of the deity over a period of about a thousand years, and this should be taken for granted. Standing on a stag or being associated with deer symbols, hunting-related animals and weapons representing rural life, and objects associated with state cults may have been the main symbols of the deity.

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<sup>80</sup> Orthmann 1971, p. 261.

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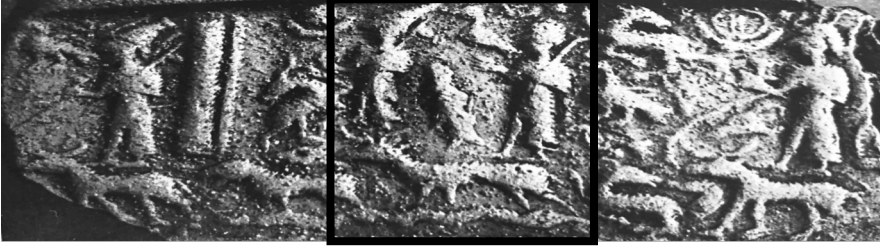


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Table 1: Depiction of deities examined in the paper

		Related Things										Standing Position					Chalkies		Hat
		bird	hare	bow	flims	winged sun disk	spear	bowel	on stag	on ground	sitting	back	on ball	robe	short tunic	pointed hat with horn	round cap		
Assyrian Trade Colony Period	First Group				X				X					X			X		
		Kultepe Balak: LBV XXU64 (Özgür, 1965)												X					
		Kultepe Balak: LBV XXIII65 (Özgür, 1965)	X							X				X			X		
	Second Group	Kultepe Balak: LBV XXIII69 (Özgür, 1965)	X	X		X			X					X			X		
		Ancashayak Balak: FG. 119 (Özgür, 2015)	X	X					X					X			X		
Hittite Age	First Group	Kultepe Balak: LBV XXU62 (Özgür, 1965)	X			X								X			X		
		Kultepe Balak: LBV XXU63 (Özgür, 1965)	X			X					X						X		
		Kultepe Balak: LBV XXU66 (Özgür, 1965)	X	X		X			X					X			X		
	Second Group	Kultepe Balak: LBV XXU67 (Özgür, 1965)	X			X			X					X			X		
		Kultepe Balak: LBV XXIII68 (Özgür, 1965)	X			X			X					X			X		
Late Hittite Period	First Group	Sege: God in NS Rythm (Miszczak 1974)	X						X					X			X		
		Yemliköy Relief (Ark. 1935)	X			X			X					X			X		
		Kakressos Figurine (South 1995)				X			X					X			X		
	Second Group	Seal of Almyros (Müller-Karpe 2003)		X					X					X			X		
		Balak: Linear-Meskene 1 (Beyer 2001)	X						X					X			X		
Third Group	Balak: Linear-Meskene 2 (Beyer 2001)	X						X					X			X			
	Seal of Tuthaya II (Beran 1967, Nr. 136)	X	X		X								X			X			
	Balak in Ashmolean Coll. (Hogarth 1920, Pl. 731f)	X			X				X				X			X			
	Seal in British Museum (Miszczak 1990, XLIII 3)	X						X					X			X			
	Seal in Dresden (Miszczak 1990, XLIII 4-5)	X						X					X			X			
First Group	Seal in Adana (Diyal 1983, VIII8)	X						X					X			X			
	Seal in Louvre Museum (Orthmann 1975)	X						X					X			X			
	Tarsus Seal (Hogarth 1920, Pl. 7/196)	X	X					X					X			X			
	Sealed God in NS Rythm (Miszczak 1974)	X						X					X			X			
	Karean Relief (Bünyer and Lawson 1958, P. XXXIV)		X					X					X			X			
Second Group	Gölköy 2 (Kalkoglu 1999)		X					X					X			X			
	Arsbantepi (Orthmann 1971, T. 41/1)		X					X					X			X			
	Hacıbeğdik (Helenkemper and Wagner 1977)	?	X		X			X					X			X			
	Kultepe 1 (Orthmann 1971, T. 38f)	X	X					?	X				X			X			
	Karatepe B15/16 (Orthmann 1971, T. 196b,c)	X	X						X				X			X			
Second Group	Karatepe B3 (Alkan 1948, L. CXXI08)	X	X						X				X			X			
	Znaif B12 (Orthmann 1971, T. 58c)	X	X					X					X			X			
	Znaif B13 (Orthmann 1971, T. 58c)	X	X					X					X			X			

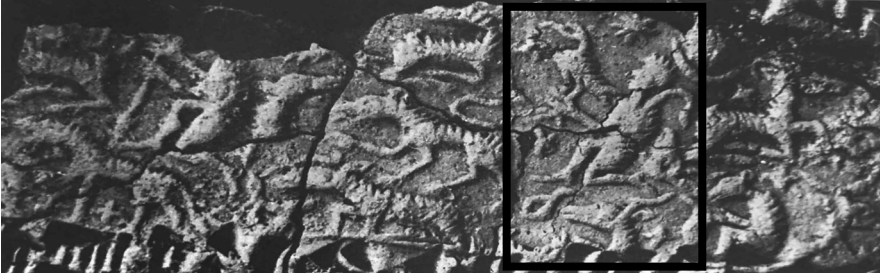
Plate I



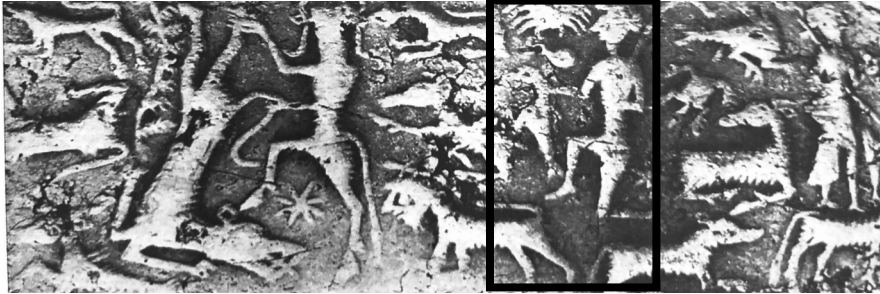
a. Kültepe Bullae (Özgüç 1965, LEV XXI/64)



b. Kültepe Bullae (Özgüç 1965, LEV XXII/65)



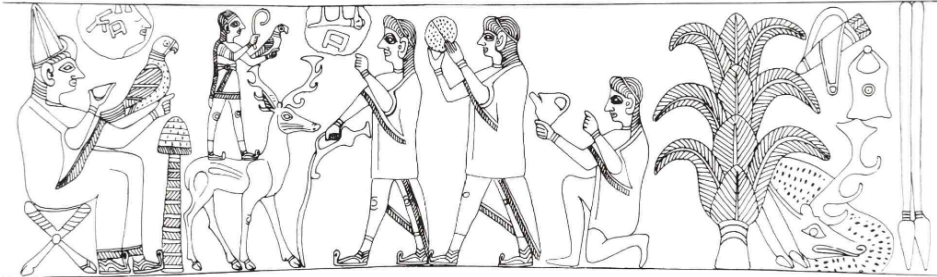
c. Kültepe Bullae (Özgüç 1965, LEV XXI/62)



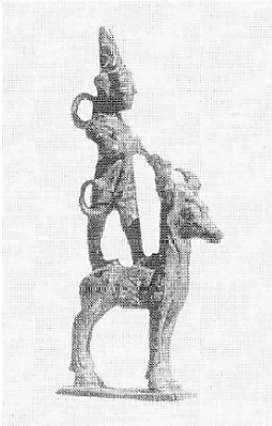
d. Kültepe Bullae (Özgüç 1965, LEV XXI/63)

*Interpretation on Some Possible Depictions of the Hittite Tutelary Deity of the Countryside*

**Plate II**



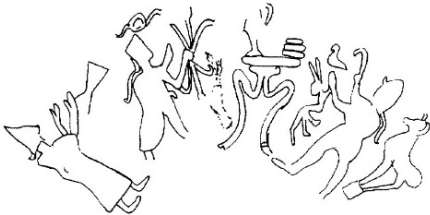
**a.** NS Rhyton (Muscarella 1974, No 123)



**b.** Kalavassos Figurine (South 1995, p. 41)



**c.** Stel of Altinyayla (Müller-Karpe 2003, p. 313-319.)



**d.** Seal of Tuthaliya II (Beran 1967, Nr. 136)



**e.** Bullae in Ashmolean Seal (Hogarth 1920, Pl. 7/Nr. 313)



**f.** Seal in British Museum (Messerschmidt 1900, Tafel XLIII 3)



**g.** Seal in Dresden (Messerschmidt 1900, Tafel XLIII 3)

Plate III



a. Karasu Relief (Hellenkemper and Wagner 1977, Plate XXXIIa)



b. Hacibebekli Stele (Kulakoğlu 1999, Plate 2)



c. Karatepe B15 (Orthmann 1971, T. 19/b)



d. Zincirli B/12 (Orthmann 1971, T. 58/c)