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HITTITE  
TEXTS &  
GREEK  
RELIGION

*Contact, Interaction, and Comparison*

IAN RUTHERFORD

# Hittite Texts and Greek Religion



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# List of Abbreviations

2HitCongr	<i>Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia. Pavia 28 giugno – 2 Luglio 1993</i> [StudMed 9] (Pavia, 1995)
4HitCongr	<i>Akten des IV. International Kongresses für Hethitologie, Würzburg, 4.–8. Oktober 1999</i> , 8 [StBoT 45] ed. G. Wilhelm (Wiesbaden, 2001)
5HitCongr	Süel, A. (ed.), <i>V. Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri, Çorum 02–08 Eylül 2002 – Acts of the Vth International Congress of Hittitology, Çorum, September 02–08, 2002</i> (Ankara, 2005)
6HitCongr	Archi, A. and Francia, R. (eds.), <i>VI Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia, Roma, 5–9 settembre 2005, Parte II</i> (SMEA 50) [2 vols.] (Rome, 2007)
7HitCongr	Süel, A. (ed.), <i>Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri, Çorum 25–31 Ağustos 2008 – Acts of the VIIth International Congress of Hittitology, Çorum, August 25–31, 2008</i> (Ankara, 2010)
8HitCongr	Taracha, P. (ed.), <i>Proceedings of the 8th International Congress of Hittitology, Warsaw, September 5–9, 2011</i> (Warsaw, 2014)
9HitCongr	<i>Acts of the 9th International Congress of Hittitology, Çorum 8–14 July 2014</i> (Ankara, 2019)
ABoT	<i>Ankara Arkeoloji müzesinde bulunan BogazköyTabletleri</i>
ANET <sup>3</sup>	Pritchard, J. B. (ed.), <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> (3rd edition) (Princeton, 1969)
BGH	Richter, T., <i>Bibliographisches Glossar des Hurritischen</i> (Wiesbaden, 2012)
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> (Chicago, 1956–)
CANE	Sasson, J. (ed.), <i>Civilizations of the Ancient Near East</i> (4 vols.) (New York, 1995)
CCABA	Shelmerdine, C. (ed.), <i>The Cambridge Companion the Aegean Bronze Age</i> (Cambridge, 2008)
CCCA	Vermaseren, M. J., <i>Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque</i> (CCCA) (Leiden, 1977–89)
CCIS	<i>Corpus Cultus Iovis Sabazii</i> (3 vols.) (Leiden, 1983–9), vol. 1 M. J. Vermaseren etc., vols. 2–3 E. J. Lane

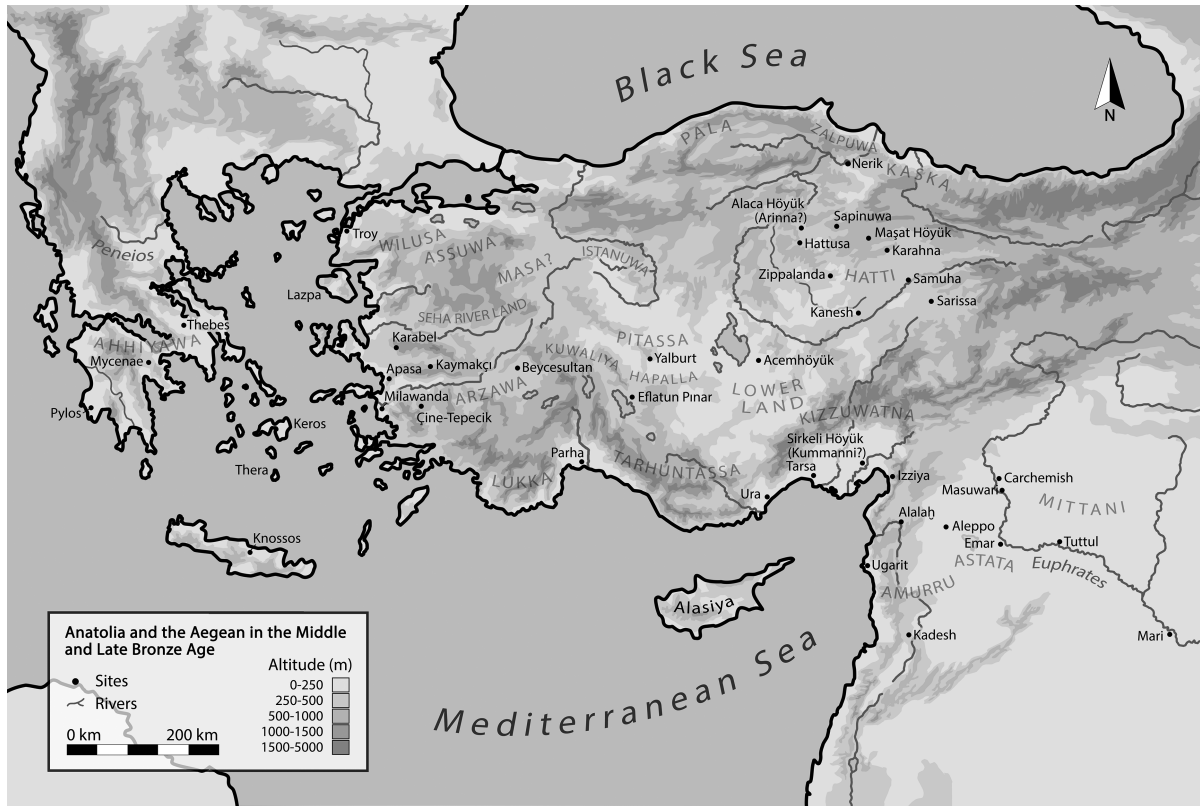
- CGRN Carbon, J.M., Peels, S., Pirenne-Delforge, V., *A Collection of Greek Ritual Norms* (Liège, 2016) (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be>)
- CHD Güterbock, H. G., Hoffner, H. A., and van den Hout, T. (eds.), *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago, 1980–)
- CHLI Hawkins, J. D., *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* (Berlin, 2000–)
- ChS Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler
- CIC Aruz, J., Graff, S., and Rasic, Y., *Cultures in Contact: From Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B. C.* (New York, 2013)
- CIPP Brixhe, C. and Lejeune, M., *Corpus des inscriptions paléophyrgiennes* (2 vols.) (Paris, 1984)
- CoS1 Hallo, W. and Younger, K. L. (eds.), *The Context of Scripture 1. Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World* (Leiden, 1997)
- CoS2 Hallo, W. and Younger, K. L. (eds.), *The Context of Scripture 2. Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World* (Leiden, 2002)
- CoS3 Hallo, W. and Younger, K. L. (eds.), *The Context of Scripture 3. Archival Documents from the Biblical World* (Leiden, 2002)
- CRRAI rencontre assyriologique internationale, compte rendu
- CRRAI 17 *Actes de la XVIIe Rencontre Assyriologique*, A. Finet (ed.) (Hamsur-Heure 1970)
- CRRAI 20 *Le temple et le culte. Rencontre assyriologique internationale* (20<sup>th</sup>: 1972; Leiden, Netherlands) (Istanbul, 1975)
- CRRAI 34 Erkanal, H., Donbaz, V., and Uguroglu, A. (eds.), *XXXIVème Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (Ankara, 1998)
- CRRAI 41 Klengel, H. and Renger, J. (eds.), *Landwirtschaft im Alten Orient: Ausgewählte Vorträge Rencontre assyriologique internationale* (41<sup>st</sup>: 1994, Berlin), (Berlin, 1999)
- CRRAI 47 Parpola, S. and Whiting, M. (eds.), *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East [Compte Rendu, Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale 47]*
- CRRAI 52 Neumann, H. et al. (eds.), *Krieg und Frieden im Alten Vorderasien [52e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Münster, 17–21 July 2006]* (Münster, 2014)
- CRRAI 53 Kogan, L. (ed.), *Proceedings of the 53e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Vol. 1: Language in the Ancient Near East - Babel und Bibel 4, vol. 2 City Administration in the Ancient Near East - Babel und Bibel 5* (Winona Lake, 2010)
- CRRAI 54 Wilhelm, G. (ed.), *Organization, Representation, and Symbols of Power in the Ancient Near East, Proceedings of the 54th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Würzburg, 20–25 July 2008* (Winona Lake, 2012)

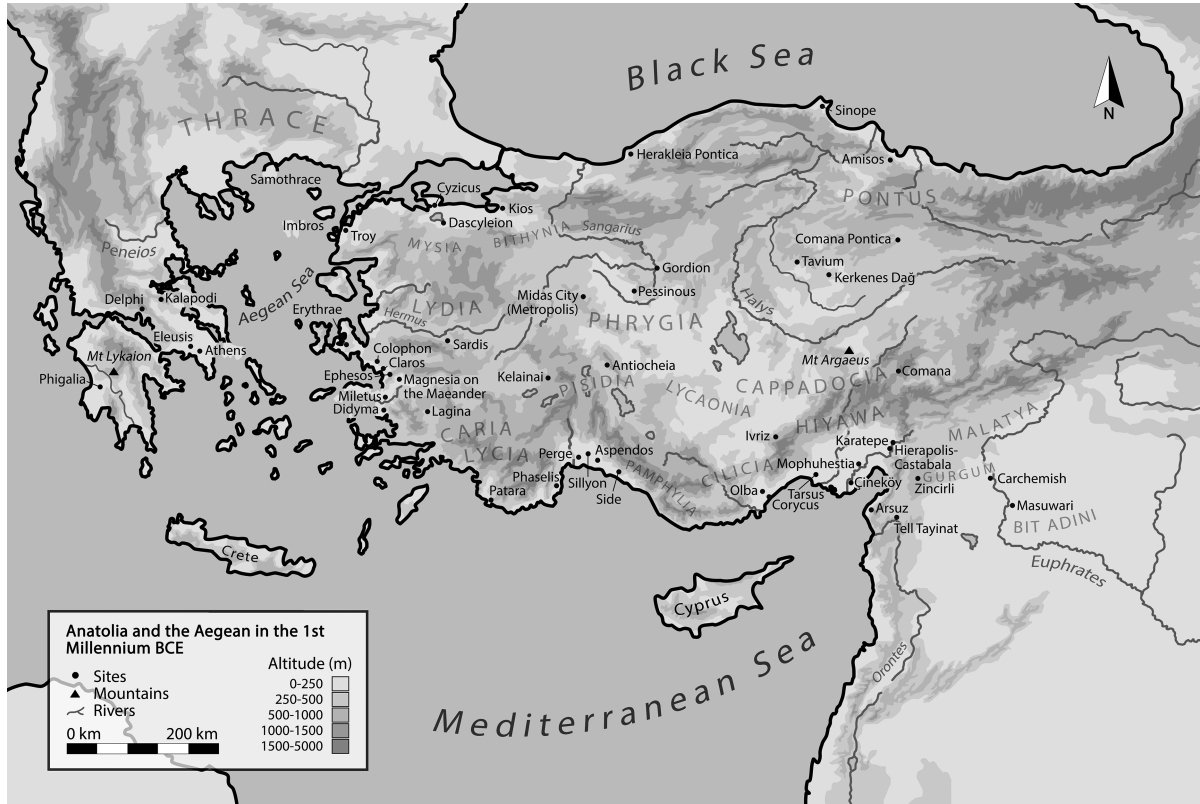
- CRRAI 56 Feliu, L., Llop, J. L., Millet Albà, A., and Sanmartín, J. (eds.), *Time and History in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the 56th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Barcelona 26–30 July 2010* (Winona Lake, 2013)
- CTH Laroche, E., *Catalogue des textes hittites* (= *Études et Commentaires*, 75) (Paris, 1971); see [www.hethiter.net](http://www.hethiter.net)
- CTU *Corpus dei testi urartei*, ed. M. Salvini (Rome, 2008)
- DDDB van der Toorn, K., Becking, B., and van der Horst, P. W. (eds.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (2nd edition) (Leiden, 1999)
- DK Diels, H., *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, edited with additions by W. Kranz, 5th–6th–7th editions (Berlin, 1934–54)
- DNP *Der neue Pauly*
- EA Amarna Letters; see Moran (1992)
- EIA Early Iron Age
- FHG Müller, C. and Müller, T. (eds.), *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (5 vols.) (Paris, 1843–70)
- HED Puhvel, J., *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* (Berlin/New York, 1984–)
- HEG Tischler, J. (ed.), *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar* (Innsbruck, 1977–)
- Hethiter.net editions as published on Hethitologie Portal Mainz <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>
- HLAG *Hittite Landscape and Geography*, ed. M. Weeden and L. Z. Ullmann (Leiden, 2017)
- HT *Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character in the British Museum* (London, 1920)
- HW<sup>2</sup> *Hethitisches Wörterbuch, Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte* (Heidelberg, 1975–)
- IBoT Istanbul Arkeoloji müzerinde bulunan Bogazköy Tabletleri  
*Interfaces* Collins, B.-J., Bachvarova, M. R. and Rutherford, I. C. (eds.) (2008). *Anatolian Interfaces: Hittites, Greeks and their Neighbours: Proceedings of an International Conference on Cross-Cultural Interaction, September 17–19, 2004*. Atlanta.
- KBo *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (Leipzig 1916– [vols. 1–6], Berlin 1954–, vols. 7–)
- KIHC Kingship in Heaven Cycle

K-P	Kontorli-Papadopoulou (1996)
KTU <sup>3</sup>	<i>The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts: From Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and other places (KTU)</i> , M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín (Münster, 2013)
KUB	1921–1990. <i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i> (Berlin)
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LGPN	<i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> (Oxford, 1987–)
LIMC	Kahil, L. (ed.), <i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Graecae</i> (8 vols. each with 2 parts) (Zurich, 1981–2009)
LSCG	Sokolowski, F., <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> (Paris, 1969)
LSS	Sokolowski, F., <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément</i> (Paris, 1962)
LSAM	Sokolowski, F., <i>Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure</i> (Paris, 1955)
Luwian Corpus	Annotated Corpus of Luwian texts, by Ilya Yakubovch etc. at <a href="http://web-corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/index.php?interface_language=en">http://web-corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/index.php?interface_language=en</a>
OHAA	Steadman, S. R. and McMahon, G. (eds.), <i>The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia, 10,000–323 BCE</i> (Oxford, 2011)
OHARR	Insoll, T. (ed.), <i>The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion</i> (Oxford, 2011)
OHBAA	Cline, E. H. (ed.), <i>The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean</i> (Oxford, 2010)
OHP	Van Gessel, B. H. L. (1998). <i>Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon</i> (3 vols.) (Leiden, 1998)
PGM	Papyri Graeci Magici
PMG	Page, D. L., <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> (Oxford, 1973)
RE	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i> , ed. E. Ebeling etc. (Berlin, 1928–)
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (Leiden, 1923–)
SOGF	<i>Song of Going Forth</i>
StBoT	<i>Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten</i> (Wiesbaden, 1965–)
TAM	<i>Tituli asiae minoris</i>
ThesCRA	<i>Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum (ThesCRA)</i> (Basel, Los Angeles, 2004)
ThesCRA I	(2004): <i>Processions. Sacrifices. Libation, Fumigations, Dedications</i>
ThesCRA III	(2005): <i>Divination. Prayer. Gestures and acts of veneration. Hikesia. Asyilia, Oath, Malediction, Profanation, Magic Ritual</i>
ThesCRA IV	(2005): <i>Cult Places Representations of Cult Places</i>
ThesCRA V	(2005) <i>Personnel of Cult, Cult Instruments</i>
ThesCRA VI	(2011) <i>Stages and Circumstances of Life. Work, Hunting, Travel</i>
ThesCRA VII	(2011) <i>Festivals and Contests</i>

- ThesCRA VIII (2012) *Public Space and Private Space. Polarities in Religious Life. Religious Interrelations between the Classical World and Neighbouring Civilizations*
- TL *Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti* (TAM I, Vienna, 1901)
- TRH Garcia Trabazo, J. V., *Textos religiosos hititas* (Madrid, 2002)
- TUAT Kaiser, O. (ed.), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. 18 Lieferungen in drei Bänden* (Gütersloh 1982–97); B. Janowski and G. Wilhelm (eds.): *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*
- TUATNF *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments Neue Folge* (8 vols.) (Gütersloh 2004–15), ed. B. Janowski and G. Wilhelm, from vol. 5 B. Janowski and D. Schwemer
- VAT Inventory numbers of tablets in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin.
- VBoT *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte*, ed. A. Götze (Marburg 1930)









# 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Context

This book is about the relationship between two religious systems, and about how understanding of one can be enhanced by understanding the other. The two religious systems are those of ancient Greece and of Hittite Anatolia.

Greek religion is known best from the Greek city-states of the 1st millennium BC—it is particularly well documented from the 5th century BC down to the period of the Roman Empire, but its origins go back to the Late Bronze Age (LBA), as we have known since the decipherment of Linear B in 1952. It is clearly associated with speakers of ancient Greek, an Indo-European language, and probably originated in a fusion between Indo-European traditions and pre-Indo-European traditions of the Aegean region, including that of Crete.

‘Hittite religion’ means primarily the religion of the Hittite kingdom, which dominated Central Anatolia for much of the period between the 17th and the 12th centuries BC, at times controlling territory from the Aegean in the West to the Euphrates River in the East. It is known mainly from the cuneiform archives in the Hittite capital at Boğazköy (Hattusa), discovered in 1906 and deciphered in 1915. The Hittite religion had absorbed elements of several religious traditions in Anatolia, including that of the Hattic culture of N. central Anatolia, that of the Luwians who occupied parts of the South and West and that of the Hurrians in the East. Some of these traditions are associated with Indo-European languages (Hittite, Luwian), some with non-Indo-European ones (Hattic, Hurrian). Hittite religion also owed a lot to the cuneiform culture of N. Syria and Mesopotamia, which had long exerted an influence in Central Anatolia, for example via the Assyrian trading network based on the mercantile hub at Kültepe-Kanesh (20th–18th centuries BC).

The Hittite kingdom came to an end around 1180 BC, but the religious culture, particularly the Luwian tradition, lived on into the 1st millennium BC in the so-called ‘Neo-Hittite’ states of SE Anatolia and N. Syria, where kings commemorated their achievements in monuments in Hieroglyphic

Luwian. The Luwian language, religion, and onomastics also survived in Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, and other areas of Anatolia into the Greco-Roman period. Hittite religion and Greek religion can thus be said to have existed over roughly the same chronological period, although Hittite religion is best attested in the LBA and not so well in the 1st millennium BC, while Greek religion is best attested in the 1st millennium BC, and not so well in the LBA. The apparent difference (as so often) comes down to the uneven distribution of evidence. Hence it should be clear that contact between these traditions, and adoption of elements in one by the other, could have happened at any time.

A student of ancient Greek religion might well ask, why Hittite religion in particular? After all, we know of a number of other religious traditions from the Ancient Near East. In the early days the most significant archives available were the Neo-Assyrian ones at Nineveh in N. Iraq and those of various Sumerian city-states in Mesopotamia. More archives were found in N. Syria: on the Euphrates River the Amorite kingdom Mari (Middle Bronze Age, excavated from 1933) and the Hittite protectorate Emar (Late Bronze Age, excavated 1972–6). Finally, an archive of texts was found on the Mediterranean coast at Ugarit (Late Bronze Age, excavated from 1929), which turned out to be a W. Semitic city-state, alternately in the Egyptian and Hittite spheres of influence, and with connections to Crete. There is evidence for religious practice and belief for all these cultures. But for the student of ancient Greek religion, the Hittite evidence is particularly important for two reasons.

First, because as a source for religious practice it is particularly rich and diverse. The archives provide detailed information about the religious system of the Hittite state, including festivals, purification rituals, oracle-consultations, prayers, and myths. Hittite religion is thus more comprehensively documented than any other ancient religious tradition in W. Asia, even Egypt. They also document the religious practice of neighbouring Anatolian states which the Hittites were interested in. In the East was the Hurrian state of Mitanni, where some of the gods were Indo-Iranian in origin; towards the West was Arzawa-Mira, bordering on the Aegean.

The second reason is that the Hittites are likely to have been in direct diplomatic contact with Mycenaean Greece, known to them as Ahhiyawa. The hypothesis that Ahhiyawa is Greece was originally proposed by Emil Forrer in 1924, but not widely accepted. However, developments in the understanding of the geography of W. Anatolia have made it certain that Ahhiyawa was in the West, and virtually certain that it should be identified

with all or part of Mycenaean Greece, the most powerful state in the period, known to have been active in W. Anatolia at this time.<sup>1</sup> The Hittites and Ahhiyawans maintained diplomatic relations at times, and one subject that concerned them seems to have been the city of Wilusa in NW Anatolia, which there is good reason to suppose was known to later tradition as (W)ilion or Troy.<sup>2</sup> The closest contact was no doubt between Ahhiyawa and the minor states of W. Anatolia (Assuwa, Arzawa, and the Seha River Land), which were its neighbours. No archives have been found for them (yet), but the Hittite texts document an Arzawan ritual tradition which might well have become known to Greeks, and also refer to episodes of cooperation, e.g. between the kings of Arzawa and Ahhiyawa in the late 14th century BC. Since they were also in close contact with the Hittites, these states could have acted as intermediaries.

The Hittite kingdom is not the only state of the Ancient Near East to have had dealings with the Aegean; there's evidence that Mari was in contact with Minoan Crete in the 18th century BC, and Ugarit probably had direct contact with Crete as well (see pp. 155–156). In the 15th century BC, Mycenaean envoys seem to have visited Egypt.<sup>3</sup> However, Greek relations with Anatolia seem likely to have been closer, particularly with W. Anatolia, but even with the Hittites themselves: at one stage a deity from Ahhiyawa was apparently even present in the Hittite capital, the only Mycenaean deity attested outside the Aegean area (see §5.3).<sup>4</sup>

It might be added that the Greeks' own view was that their religion was connected to areas bordering the Aegean, particularly Anatolia, Crete, and Thrace; only Aphrodite has a primary home further away in Cyprus. Zeus was born on Crete; fierce Ares is safely out of the way in Thrace.<sup>5</sup> Dionysus is associated with all of them, but perhaps mostly with Thrace, along with his priest Orpheus (see §9.6.2.). But the links to Anatolia are particularly strong: Cybele migrated from Phrygia, perhaps around 600 BC, and later Sabazios. There was a major cult of Artemis at Ephesos, supposedly founded by Amazons;<sup>6</sup> her statue had an exotic 'polymastic' form, and she was apparently worshipped under the name Oupis (p.196). And Hecate, a Greek

<sup>1</sup> For Ahhiyawa, see p. 99. For the purpose of this book I assume the new orthodox position outlined by Beckman, Bryce, and Cline in *The Ahhiyawa Texts* (2011).

<sup>2</sup> The equation between Wilusa and Troy was first suggested by Kretschmer (1924). It is broadly accepted today, though there are dissenters: see Gander (2017). On Wilusa see §5.4.

<sup>3</sup> Kelder (2009).

<sup>4</sup> A theonym in a 7th century inscription from Ekron has been interpreted as the name of a goddess of Mycenaean origin: see Finkelberg (2006: 114–15).

<sup>5</sup> *Il.* 13.301, *Od.* 8.361.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. 7.2.7 = Pindar fr. 174; Mac Sweeney (2013: 137–56).

goddess associated with magic and the chthonic sphere, is regarded as primarily Carian, at home in Lagina (see §9.6.1).

## 1.2 Greek Religion and the Near East

This work on Hittite and Greek religion takes place in the context of a broader debate about the relationship between Greek religion and all the religious systems of the Ancient Near East. People have been interested in questions of this sort from at least the 5th century BC when Herodotus claimed that the names of most of the Greek gods were Egyptian (2.50). The subject was transformed by archaeological investigation of the Ancient Near East and the discovery of cuneiform culture. Most of the scholars who have written on the subject tend to argue in favour of some version of the hypothesis of widespread cultural diffusion from East to West. An early sign of this was the German ‘Panbabylonianism’ movement which originally argued for Babylonian influence on the Bible.<sup>7</sup> Diffusionism enjoyed a second vogue in Britain from the 1920s and 1930s:<sup>8</sup> some of this was promoted by archaeologists, e.g. V. Gordon Childe, for whom culture developed independently in primary centres (Mesopotamia, the Nile Valley, the Indus) and was then diffused to secondary centres; some of it was down to the Myth-Ritual school which saw basic patterns such as ‘sacred kingship’ emanating from East to West; this drew on the work of James Frazer, though Frazer was not himself a diffusionist.<sup>9</sup> A popular model in the 1960s was early (4th–3rd millennia BC) migration to the Aegean from Anatolia and further East.<sup>10</sup> Cyrus Gordon and Michael Astour postulated influence from Ugarit and Israel.<sup>11</sup> The most recent wave came in the 1980s with the work of Walter Burkert, Martin West, Sarah Morris, and others, who advocated widespread influence on early Greek religion art and narrative poetry, mostly in the so-called ‘Orientalizing Period’, i.e. the 8th century BC,<sup>12</sup> and mostly via the Levant via Cyprus.

<sup>7</sup> See Larsen (1995).

<sup>8</sup> See Renfrew (1972: 55–60).

<sup>9</sup> Hooke and Blackman (1933); Hooke (1958). For Frazer see R. Smith, ‘James George Frazer’, *Oxford Bibliographies* 2019: <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199766567/obo-9780199766567-0196.xml>.

<sup>10</sup> See e.g. Vermeule (1964: 57); see Renfrew (1972: 57).

<sup>11</sup> Gordon (1962); Astour (1965).

<sup>12</sup> Burkert (1992 [1984]); West (1997); Bremmer (2008a); Morris (1992). Key collected volumes on the subject are Ribichini et al. (2001) and Janowski et al. (1993) (though the latter is mostly concerned with relations between Near Eastern societies); some relevant papers appeared in Volume 6 of the *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* (2006). On culture contact in general, see Prechel (2005).

Some have advocated that diffusion could have happened from or across Anatolia, possibly in the LBA.<sup>13</sup>

Not everyone has embraced the idea of diffusion. As early as 1911 Lewis Farnell felt obliged to argue that Greek religion and the religions of the ancient Orient were quite unlike, with no sign of influence. In so doing, he overstated the differences in some respects, giving voice to some crude stereotypes about religions of the Ancient Near East, e.g. that Eastern religions differ from Greek religion in not being political.<sup>14</sup> In the 1970s Colin Renfrew rejected Childe's model of diffusion in the Bronze Age Aegean, arguing instead for Aegean culture being 'essentially the product of local processes'.<sup>15</sup>

Two other general criticisms may be made. First, a preoccupation with diffusion may lead us to misunderstand the interactions with foreign religion in ancient cultures. Encountering other peoples' gods was part of the lived experience of many ancient Greeks, but the main thing on their minds in most situations—except perhaps military conflict—was establishing good relations by finding common ground. Foreign gods were routinely equated with deities they were familiar with, the process of 'translation of gods' much discussed recently by Mark S. Smith and others.<sup>16</sup> Whole pantheons might be mapped onto each other, with equations made between gods on the grounds of personality, sphere of activity, or name. Of course, once the equations had been made, people might begin to speculate about origins—whether this or that god came first. Once an equivalence had been established between two deities, a rapprochement between them might follow, one or both borrowing features from the other; thus, through the process that it often called 'syncretism', a new theo-phenotype emerges which owes something to two or more background cultures. On the other hand, even quite close and sustained contact with another religious tradition does not have to result in one group adopting anything from the other one at all; people can also ignore and they can resist.<sup>17</sup>

Another criticism of the model of borrowing is that even if cultural practices may have originated in the Ancient Near East, these are generally reworked to suit the host culture, and are irrelevant for the purpose of understanding it. Oriental origins are relevant only if Greeks were aware

<sup>13</sup> The so-called '*via Phoenicea*' and '*via Anatolica*', terms coined by Marrazino (1947).

<sup>14</sup> Farnell (1911: 21): 'for no other religion of which we have any record was so political as the Hellenic'; cf. Farnell (1911: 305): 'the rapturous fanatic and self-abasing spirit of the East contrasting vividly with the coolness, civic sobriety, and self-confidence of the West'.

<sup>15</sup> Renfrew (1972: 55–8, 474–8).

<sup>16</sup> Smith (2008); cf. Parker (2017: 33–76).

<sup>17</sup> See Febvre (1925: 224–5).



of them, and even where they realized that something was foreign, they may have been thinking of proximate origin rather than ultimate origin. As Nicolas Purcell says (2006: 24):

If a Carian learned the latest Assyrian fashions from their versions in Sardis, sailed to Olbia with a Milesian vessel and passed the taste on to the Scythians in the *chora*, do you really want to call that ‘Orientalization’? It now seems quaint to predicate a change of the place or time of the ultimate genesis of the change, rather than the milieu in which it operated.

And compare Robin Osborne (2006: 154):

What happens in the period between, say, 750 and 600 BC in the central Mediterranean that seems to me singular, and worth keeping the term Orientalization for, is the taking up of various ideas, motifs and skills of whose *proximate* Eastern origin those taking them up were aware – though they are likely to have had neither knowledge nor interest in their *ultimate* origins.

These are valid points, if our aim is to understand Greek culture as it was experienced by Greeks. And one could add that Greeks sometimes imagined things were foreign when they weren’t, such as when they represented Hecate, who was quite possibly a Greek goddess, as originating in Caria. But I would argue that that is not only a valid object of research but also that it is worth investigating processes of diffusion even if these would not have been known to Greeks themselves. In a similar way, it is legitimate to investigate what genetics tells us about the migration of human populations, even though we can be pretty sure that this will to a lesser or greater extent be in conflict with people’s beliefs about their history and origin.

That does not mean that we should be satisfied with the models of borrowing that have been proposed hitherto. Burkert’s preferred explanation is the agency of wandering religious experts, and West’s book, as has been pointed out, offers no model for how change comes about, but rather an arsenal of metaphors.<sup>18</sup> In fact there are many ways it could have happened: via alliances, diplomacy, and dynastic marriage; via war and other forms of crisis; via peer-polity interaction and festival networks.

<sup>18</sup> Purcell (2006: 23).

Another factor, perhaps more important than any other, is the role of contact zones where people from different religious traditions could have lived in close proximity for long periods (see further §4.5).

### 1.3 Anatolian Religion and Ancient Greece: State of the Question

Partly because the Hittite religious archives are so rich and diverse, many links have been found between them and many other religious traditions. Parallels have been claimed with the religious systems of early Italy (at least partly the result of common Indo-European traditions);<sup>19</sup> with those of early Israel (presumably via Neo-Hittite influence in the region);<sup>20</sup> and even with India via the Hurrians whose pantheon included Indo-Iranian gods.<sup>21</sup> But from the beginning there was great interest in the possibility that links might be found with Greece; in fact, the hypothesis of Hittite influence on Greece had been suggested even before the decipherment of the language (mainly because Amazons were believed to be Hittite).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Lexical parallels between Hittite and Latin include Hittite *saklai* (custom, ceremony) and Latin *sacer*. The Hittite word for ‘consecrated parts of a sacrifice’—*suppa* (see p. 257)—has been thought to have a parallel in the Umbrian tablets from Iguvium (Watkins 1975: 208–14; see HEG II/2.14, 1191; Untermann 2000: 719–20); the Hittite ritual practice of evoking the deities of enemy lands has a parallel in the Roman *evocatio* ritual: see §10.5. On Hittite *iṣḫiul* and Latin *religio* see Lebrun (2004). For the possible Anatolian background of the Etruscan hero Tarkhon see pp. 190–191; Herodotus, *Hist.*1.94, reported that Etruscans had Lydian ancestry, and this view has been defended by modern scholars: see Beekes (2002) and (2003a).

<sup>20</sup> See Janowski et al. (1993).

<sup>21</sup> See the treaty between Suppiluliuma I and Shattiwaza, Beckman (1999a: 6A§14). For the treaty gods, see Thieme (1960). Early on, the Hittite deity Inara was seen as related to the Vedic Indra: Kretschmer (1927b, 1930a); Przluski (1939); Machek (1941); cf. Lincoln (1976: 45, n.13). One Indo-Iranian deity who turns up somewhat unexpectedly in Anatolia is the fire god Agni or Akni: Otten and Mayrhofer (1965). The chthonic deity Ugur has the epithet Saummatar, which has been thought to derive from Indo-Iranian ‘soma-dhana’ or ‘soma-dhara’: Güterbock (1961: 10 and 17–18) (‘it would be nice if one could say that this queen . . . turned to an Aryan god whose name was derived from the *soma*-drink when she was concerned about her husband’s health’; Haas (1994a: 368)); Tischler, HEG II/1/14:1152–4.

<sup>22</sup> Here is Sayce (1883: 431) on Lydian religion: ‘The Hittite priestesses who accompanied the worship of the goddess as it spread through Asia Minor were known to Greek legend as Amazons. The cities founded by the Amazons—Ephesos, Smyrna, Kyme, Myrina, Priene, Pitane—were all of Hittite origin. In early art the Amazons were robed in Hittite costume and armed with the double-headed axe, and the dances they performed with shield and bow in honour of the goddess of war and love gave rise to the myths which saw in them a nation of woman-warriors. The Thermodon, on whose banks the poets placed them, was in the neighbourhood of the Hittite monuments of Boghaz Keui and Eyuk, and at Komana in Kappadokia the goddess Ma was served by 6000 ministers’; see also Wright (1886: 75); Sayce (1910) argued that a figure on a gate at Boğazköy represented an Amazon; cf. Reinach (1910); Leonhard

Early pioneers included Bedrich Hrozný, the decipherer of Hittite, who noticed that the Hittite verb *spand-* ('consecrate') seemed to be cognate with Greek *spendo* ('libate') and that the Hittite theonym Telipinu resembled the name of the Greek hero Telephus.<sup>23</sup> Archibald Sayce suggested in 1925 that the name of the Samothracian god Kad/smilos recalled the minor Hittite deity Hasamili, and that the name of the semi-mythical Leleges might go back to the Lulahhi deities.<sup>24</sup> Sayce also found traces of Cybele and Attis in the Hittite texts (see pp. 181–182). In 1930 the classicist Walter Porzig drew attention to striking parallels between the Hittite Illuyanka myth and the Greek myth of Typhon in Apollodorus (see §7.3). The first link between a Hittite ritual and a Greek ritual seems to have been made in 1931 by Viktor Gebhard who pointed out that some Hittite elimination rites published by Friedrich a few years before resembled Ionian scapegoat rituals. The great Swiss scholar Emil Forrer, who had correctly (as we now believe) identified the Ahhiyawa mentioned in Hittite historical texts, also made contributions in this area. He seems to have been the first to observe parallels between the 'Song of Kumarbi' and Greek poetry (1935), which remains the most significant parallel between the cultures (see §7.1). Five years before that, he published a speculative paper which argued three theses:<sup>25</sup>

The deity Apaliuna in the treaty between the Hittite king and Alaksandu of Wilusa was Mycenaean Greek Apollo. The equation of Apaliuna and Apollo is generally accepted today, though there are doubts about the direction of the borrowing.<sup>26</sup>

The Roman deity Vulcanus, along with the Cretan god Zeus Welkhanos, who may be related to him,<sup>27</sup> were linked by Forrer to the Hittite verb *walh-mi*, 'I strike', and in particular to what he called the 'Walhannases-giants'.

(1911); on Amazons see also later Cavaignac (1950); Echevaria (1987). In the three-volume *Gli Hethi-Pelasgi* P. Cesare A. de Cara (1894–1902), who has a whole chapter on Hittite Amazons (1.528–47), argued for a comprehensive Anatolian-Pelasgian influence on Greece and Italy, using philological arguments, many of them naïve. Hall (1909) was ahead of his time. Others speculated about relations between Greek and Phrygian religion, e.g. Kretschmer (1890) on Semele.

<sup>23</sup> Tischer, HEG II/2 1058; Hrozný (1917: 3); see §9.3.3; cf. Hrozný (1917: 32, n.1): *katra*-women and *καθαρός*.

<sup>24</sup> Sayce (1925: 163). For the *lulahhi* deities, see p. 188, n.33. <sup>25</sup> Forrer (1931).

<sup>26</sup> See §5.4. Notice that whereas the consensus today is that Wilusa is Troy, Forrer located it in Cilicia, along with Arzawa.

<sup>27</sup> Capdeville (1995) argues that they both reflect the same Aegean *κωμή*. On Welkhanos, see further Neumann (1985).

These he hypothesized to exist on the basis of an interpretation of a Hittite theonym which starts with the cuneiform sign *gul*, read by Forrer as the logogram GUL, which can indeed stand for the Hittite word *walh-*‘strike’; today the theonym is interpreted as ‘Gulses’, a name for a group of mother goddesses connected with fate (see pp. 198–199).<sup>28</sup>

The name of the Cyclops he derived from Hittite *kalulupa* = ‘finger’ on the analogy of the Greek culture heroes known as Idaean ‘Dactyls’, literally ‘Fingers’, a name appropriate for craftsmen. A nice idea, but a shot in the dark!<sup>29</sup>

After the Second World War a flurry of papers appeared about the Kumarbi-Cycle and Hesiod, beginning with one by R. D. Barnett (1946) who also did important surveys of oriental influence on Greek civilization,<sup>30</sup> and the Austrian Hellenist Albin Lesky who published several papers on the same subject in the same period.<sup>31</sup> This paved the way for later work (e.g. Walcot 1966 and Kirk 1970). We also see in this period more attempts to connect Hittite rituals and Greek religion: in 1950 Olivier Masson published on purification rituals, and Theodore Gaster proposed a common framework for understanding ritual, myth, and drama in the ancient world along the pattern of seasonal changes, drawing on Frazer and the Myth-Ritual school, in which he incorporated the new Hittite material.<sup>32</sup>

Another important development after the Second World War was the discovery of the Karatepe bilingual inscription which accelerated the decipherment of Hieroglyphic Luwian. Helmuth Bossert in his study of the inscription (1952–3a, 1952–3b) made two bold suggestions with religious implications: first, that the Luwian deity Pihassassi might be the model for Greek mythical horse Pegasus and, second, that the Greek word *θύρσος*, the *vox propria* for a Bacchic wand, might go back to Hieroglyphic Luwian *tuwarisa* (‘vineyard’).<sup>33</sup> In 1958 Leonard Palmer argued that the language of Linear A, the script used in the Minoan Neo-palatial period, was a form of Luwian, that Crete and that the Aegean had been colonized from

<sup>28</sup> On logograms, see p. 22.

<sup>29</sup> On the Dactyls, see Blakely (2006). Another example of his etymological ingenuity is his suggestion that the Greek toponym ‘Lerna’ might go back to hypothetical Hattic *le arna*, ‘the waters’: Forrer (1938: 195ff.); cf. Burkert (1979a: 134).

<sup>30</sup> Barnett (1956, 1960).

<sup>31</sup> Lesky (1950, 1954); Lesky’s interest in the Hittites went back several decades: cf. Lesky (1926). From the same period: Otten (1949).

<sup>32</sup> Masson (1950); Gaster (1950).

<sup>33</sup> On both of these see §9.3.4 and §9.6.2.

W. Anatolia at the beginning of the Middle Helladic period (ca. 2000 BC), and hence that Luwian was a 'substrate' language (see p. 64).

From the 1960s the volume of work increased, with contributions by Hittitologists, Hellenists, and linguists. Hellenists benefited from the increasing accessibility of the Hittite texts for non-specialists (e.g. the translations included in Pritchard's *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, first published in 1950, and the *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* (StBoT) series, which began in 1965) as well the appearance of demystifying secondary literature, such as Oliver Gurney's *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (1977). From the 1970s a key player was Walter Burkert, particularly in his 1979 book, where he compared the myth-ritual of the disappearing god Telipinu to Greek religion (see p. 93). It should be said that Anatolia never occupied a central position in Burkert's work on the Orient and Greece;<sup>34</sup> nor did it in Martin West's, with the exception of the Kumarbi-Cycle. (One factor here may have been that many of the key Hittite religious texts only became known in the 1980s.) In the 1980s and 1990s important contributions were made by Jan Bremmer, e.g. his classic study of scapegoats (1983); and by Billie-Jean Collins, who studied aspects of religion other scholars had ignored, such as animal sacrifice (1995). More recently, Mary Bachvarova has made extensive use of religion in her ambitious theory of Anatolian influence on Greek epic (2016).

Hopes that influence would be proved have been for the most part disappointed. In the 1920s and 1930s the pioneers like Hrozný, Sayce, and Forrer might reasonably have expected that further research into Hittite-Greek religious relations would yield more smoking guns, e.g. more evidence for awareness of each other's divinities, more matches in the ritual lexicon (e.g. *spendo-spand*) and in theonyms (e.g. Apollo-Apaliuna), or obviously parallel myths. In fact, almost everything that has come to light in recent decades is by way of general parallels: types of ritual, and types of gods. Some linguistic matches have been suggested but all are contested;<sup>35</sup> and the closest we come to theonymic matches seem to be those between Telipinu and (Apollo) Delphinios (see §9.3.3) and between Yarri and Ares (see §9.3.2), neither of which is certain. And this despite the fact that the evidence for contact between Mycenaean Greece and the Hittites has actually increased. On the face of it, this would seem to indicate that, though

<sup>34</sup> For his position on this see in particular Burkert (1998).

<sup>35</sup> Linguistic matches: see pp. 79–80.

Hittites and Greeks were sometimes in contact, they tended not to share religious practices.

## 1.4 Aims and Methodology

Thus, the question of the relation between Hittite and Greek religion to a large extent comes down to investigating such broad patterns of similarity and difference. In other words, it is a form of comparative religion, a methodology with a long history, not in all respects glorious.<sup>36</sup>

Seen in terms of the long-term development of human religious culture, such broad similarities between the Hittite and Greek religious systems can be explained in various ways. One key factor could be human nature, and it is worth remembering that at least some ritual practices and beliefs may be very early, going right back to the Palaeolithic.<sup>37</sup> Another is that social and religious practice probably reflects underlying conditions, such as the environment and economic organization; thus, if the underlying conditions were similar in different areas, their social and political structure would tend to become similar as well by a process of ‘convergent evolution’. Underlying conditions do not predetermine the outcome, but they tend to set limits on variation. These two explanations are sometimes called ‘homology’ and ‘analogy’.<sup>38</sup>

Diffusion could also be a factor, and some diffusion could be very old. In W. Asia and Europe, for example, some religious ideas might have spread with agriculture at the start of the Neolithic period (i.e. 10,000 BC–7000 BC); the most likely direction would be from the East (from N. Syria and SE Turkey, where agriculture seems to have first developed), but it is bound to have been more complicated than that, and the situation in the LBA/EIA could be the result of overlapping and intersecting patterns of diffusion in many directions over many millennia.

<sup>36</sup> Malul’s (1990) study of the relation between Mesopotamian culture and the Hebrew Bible is an excellent guide, though he doesn’t discuss Greece.

<sup>37</sup> See articles in Insoll (2011).

<sup>38</sup> Homology v. analogy: Woodard (2006: 88–90). Trigger (2003) suggested that similar forms of complex society must have developed independently in different parts of the world, as similar modes of production and economic organization were developed, and that religion to some extent mirrors those changes. He suggests, for example, that as human society becomes more complex with a centralized political authority which demands the payment of tribute, so people in these societies independently come to imagine a corresponding idea of a divine order as a model for the human one, with gods who require a form of tribute just as human rulers do.

If we move closer to the historical period, it is likely that both Greece and Anatolia drew on one or more common sources. Some similarities are likely the result of a shared Indo-European inheritance, since Greek, Hittite, and Luwian are Indo-European languages, descended from an original Proto-Indo-European language probably spoken around the Black Sea in the 4th millennium BC,<sup>39</sup> and since culture and language probably go together to some extent. Indo-European speaking populations are usually thought to have gradually spread into Anatolia and Greece, starting in the 3rd millennium BC; we know little about the cultures that were there already, but it is possible that there was already some sort of common religious culture in the Aegean and W. Anatolia, which served as a sort of substrate to the new arrivals. A third common source could have been the cultures of Syria and Mesopotamia, whose impact can be traced as far as the Aegean already in the 3rd millennium BC. Later on, parallels between the Kumarbi-Cycle and Hesiod may be explained as common borrowing in a similar way (see §7.4).

Finally, another factor could indeed have been diffusion from Anatolia to Greece in the historical period. This could have been direct via the West, and notice that in some cases the Hittites could have passed to the Greeks something which they had earlier themselves adopted from Syria, so that we can speak of a 'transanatolian' route.<sup>40</sup> Diffusion from Anatolia to Greece could also have been indirect, via the mediation of a third culture. Such third cultures might include the minor states in the West, with which the Mycenaeans were in regular contact (see §5.1, p. 103); possibly also the Levant or Cyprus; or the indeed Phrygians, who occupied Central-West Anatolia from the early 1st millennium BC, if not earlier. A new culture arriving from outside might be expected to have brought its own religious practices, along with its own language, but in many cases in the ancient world new cultures seem to have absorbed and preserved much of the 'native' culture (which thus becomes a substrate), as indeed the Hittites had done themselves in N. central Anatolia, and as happened time after time in the Ancient Near East.

Historians of Greek religion have mostly been interested in using similarities to reconstruct origins, whether recent cultural contact and influence, or alternatively residues of fairly recent migrations (such as those of speakers

<sup>39</sup> See Garrett (2006).

<sup>40</sup> Efe (2007). The concept goes back to Marrazzino (1947); some have been sceptical about the transanatolian route, including French (1986) and Burkert (1998), though see Bremmer (2006: 30) = Bremmer (2008a: 335).

of Indo-European languages). Much recent work on the subject by scholars such as Martin West and Walter Burkert comes down to using comparison in this 'historical' way. There are dangers here, however: looking for similarities runs the risk of attaching significance to patterns which could be coincidental, universal, or the result of convergent development.

Thinking about origins is important, but there are other ways of using comparative data. The primary technique is to chart regional patterns of similarity and variance for any given aspect of religion. A good example might be animal sacrifice: questions we might ask are, Which religious cultures have animal sacrifice with ritualized killing, and which do not? Which animals are used where? For example, which cultures use pigs and which avoid them? Which cultures make use of burned offerings? How is the blood used? How is the idea of the god consuming the offering imagined? We can then try to explain how these patterns came about, e.g. on the basis of regional variations in animal consumption or in terms of the type of society: mobile pastoralists, settled farmers, or city dwellers.<sup>41</sup> A similar mapping of types of ritual by region can be undertaken for divination, e.g. looking at the relative prevalence of hepatoscopy or augury (see §4.2). Such patterns of similarity may occasionally be explained in terms of diffusion or migration within the historical period, but more important factors may be the underlying environmental and social conditions, and possibly also some form of prehistoric diffusion or migration. Speculation about origins is legitimate, but the primary object of comparative work should be simply to establish what is attested where.

Reflection on similarities and differences between two cultures usually reveals that they have a lot in common, but it also shows that aspects of each of them are unique. In fact it may be that in some cases the desire to assert religious difference is a motivating factor for ancient cultures. Thus, to take the case of animal sacrifice, Greek animal sacrifice has many similarities to animal sacrifice as practised in other cultures; but burning the tail on the altar is a uniquely Greek practice not shared by any other culture.

Another use of similarities is to help us understand. If we find traces of a similar phenomenon in two cultures, but we have more data for it in one culture than in the other (a common occurrence, since our evidence for any one ancient culture is full of gaps), it may be possible to use the better documented culture to explain the less well documented one. The main

<sup>41</sup> See on this see e.g. Abusch (2002).



application of this technique has usually been to reconstruct the prehistory of rituals: let's say that we have clear evidence for ritual practice in culture A, while for culture B we have no evidence for the ritual practice, but some evidence that would be compatible with it having once existed; then the evidence of culture A may allow us to infer by analogy that it once existed in culture B as well. A famous case is the model of initiation rituals, which was introduced into the study of Greek myth and religion entirely on the basis of comparative data (see further p. 84).

In practice, all of these approaches can be applied to the same data set, though it is important to keep them conceptually distinct.<sup>42</sup> Thus, comparison may help identify regional trends; it may provide clues that help us understand the deep history of religious practices; it may sometimes, used in conjunction with historical data, provide a basis for an argument for borrowing or influence; and finally, it often illuminates the differences between cultures, and reveals what is distinctive about each of them.

## 1.5 Plan of the Book

The task, then, is to apply this methodology to the two religious systems. The main problem we face is the immense amount of data. Rigorous and systematic comparison would be a truly gargantuan task, requiring us to take account not just of these two cultures, but of the religious systems of all neighbouring cultures as well, and a reasonable sample of all the other ones in the world. In practice, to make it manageable one has to focus on some limited sections of the subject.

My choice is to focus on two sorts of topic. First, to maximize the chances of finding interaction and borrowing, we need to focus on zones and historical contexts where there was probably contact, and to assess the evidence in each case (Chapters 5–8). Second, we can focus on specific aspects of religion, and assess what the evidence tells us about the relationship between the cultures (Chapters 9–12). The first four chapters—including this one—are introductory.

Chapters 2 and 3 aim to provide an introduction to Hittite and Greek religion respectively. Chapter 2, 'Hittite Religion and its Reception in Anatolia', is aimed at those with little knowledge of the Hittites, begins

<sup>42</sup> See Malul (1990: 54).

with an overview of Hittite history, and looks at various aspects of the religious system: strata, sacred geography, the pantheon and a number of specific aspects. The last section looks briefly at continuity of Hittite and Luwian religion in the 1st millennium BC. Chapter 3, 'Greek Religion in the LBA and EIA', which is aimed primarily at those who are not experts in Greek religion, and can be skipped by those who are, presents a survey of Greek and Aegean religion, covering Minoan religion, Mycenaean religion, and Greek religion of the 1st millennium BC, addressing inter alia issues of continuity. The final section looks at Greek religion in Anatolia.

Chapter 4, 'Working with Comparative Data: Historical and Typological Approaches', develops further the methodological principles sketched in this introduction. One key point I aim to emphasize is that although it is legitimate to try to find out whether one religious system had borrowed something from another, it is much harder to prove borrowing than has sometimes been assumed, but that is not the only way of using the comparative method. I illustrate my approach with some examples from the history of the subject.

Chapters 5 and 6 concern the zone of contact in Western Anatolia and the E. Aegean, the 'Aegean–Anatolian Interface', to use Penelope Mountjoy's terminology. Here we know not just that Greeks and Anatolians, including Hittites, were in intermittent contact in the LBA, but that Greek involvement in the area continued into the 1st millennium BC, albeit both cultures had been transformed. How great the change was in W. Anatolia depends on how much continuity we think there was from LBA Arzawa to the Lydians and Carians of the EIA, a subject which has been much debated of late. Chapter 5, 'Anatolian–Greek Religious Interaction in the LBA: Modes of Contact', looks at this contact in the LBA, suggesting that religious ideas might have moved in either direction as the result of political alliances and diplomatic exchanges. Chapter 6, 'The West Anatolian Contact Zone: Arzawa and Scapegoat Rituals', looks at the so-called corpus of purification rituals associated with ritual specialists from Arzawa and assesses the hypothesis that they might have influenced the Greek religion of the EIA.

The subject of Chapter 7, 'Generations of Gods and the South East', is a second key area of contact, the NE corner of the Mediterranean comprising Cilicia, the Levant, and Cyprus. This had long been an area of intense East–West contact, perhaps primarily mercantile in nature. This is the most likely route by which the so-called *Kingship in Heaven Cycle* of myths reached Greece, if it did, perhaps bringing with it associated ideas about categories of celestial and chthonian gods. Paradoxically, although

these myths are best preserved in Hittite translations or adaptations discovered in the archives of Boğazköy, it is more likely than not that the lender culture was in this case Ugarit or some other state in NW Syria. The orthodox view that the main period of contact was the 8th century BC could be right (though our ideas about this are changing in the light of new discoveries from Tell Tayinat and other sites). However, such links were probably already established in the LBA and they could be even earlier than that.

Chapter 8, 'Becoming Cybele: Phrygia as an Intermediate Culture', examines a third major contact zone in NW Turkey around the 7th century BC. Here Greek colonists established themselves and will have come into contact with the Phrygian population, who took over the area previously occupied by the Hittites in the EIA. Links between Phrygians and Greeks could be much older, perhaps going back to a time before the Phrygians migrated into Anatolia. NW Turkey is the most likely context for the transmission to Greece of the cult of the goddess whom the Greeks knew as Phrygian Cybele, although her divine personality may in fact owe a good deal to Greek ideas of the Great Mother. The question arises whether or not Phrygian Cybele owes something to the Hittite religion of five centuries before.

The final four chapters look at aspects of religion, beginning in Chapter 9, 'Comparing Pantheons', with the deities themselves. The Greeks associated a number of their deities with Anatolia, and there are many general resemblances between the two pantheons, and some types of deity seem to be common to both—fate goddesses, goddesses of springs. But examination of the evidence leads to the conclusion that there was no significant Hittite influence on the Greek pantheon, which is surprising, given that there was contact between Hittites and Greeks. Perhaps any interaction there was with Anatolia was with the West, i.e. Arzawa and earlier Assuwa, about whose religion we know little.

Chapter 10, 'War-Rituals', compares Hittite military rituals with those of Greece, setting them in the context of other religious traditions of the Ancient Near East and the Mediterranean. The hypothesis that one culture might adopt another's military rituals is plausible because we know that techniques of warfare and military technology themselves tended in some cases to migrate. Hittite military rituals and Greek military rituals of the 1st millennium BC do not seem particularly close, but Greek poets and writers seem to have knowledge of some rituals which resemble Hittite ones, so it seems there may be some memory of an historical reality here.

Chapter 11, 'Festivals, Amphictiones, and the Calendar', examines the relation between the richly attested festival culture of Hittite Anatolia and Greece. The closest to Greek festivals are the local Hittite festivals described in cult inventories, where we get a sense of communal celebration. The big state festivals seem less close, though, paradoxically, these are the ones visiting foreign delegates from places like Greece might have witnessed. The Hittite texts also attest to the operation of religious networks, which have been compared to Greek amphictionies. One of the striking differences is that unlike Greek festivals and those of some parts of the Ancient Near East, Hittite festivals do not seem to be celebrated on a fixed monthly calendar, but motivated by the seasons.

Finally, Chapter 12, 'Animal Sacrifice: Understanding Differences', looks at animal sacrifice in the two cultures. In Greece, animal sacrifice is often presented as the single most important religious ritual and an action of great political symbolism, which can define a social group. In Hittite Anatolia, animal sacrifice was regarded as one of three types of offering, alongside libation and bread, the last being less stressed in Greece; and there is much less emphasis on social significance, though there is some. Hittite texts are unusual in the detail with which they describe animal sacrifice, and this gives us lots of opportunities to compare and contrast it with Greek practice. Some things seem very similar, such as the distinction between modes of offering aimed at upper and lower deities. But there are also differences; for example, the form of offering with the highest prestige is not animal sacrifice at all, but 'god drinking', a form of libation in which the participants imbibed the spirit of the deity by drinking from a vessel that was supposed in some way to embody him.

## 2

# Hittite Religion and its Reception in Anatolia

### 2.1 Historical Context

The main period of Hittite history, comprising the periods of what are conventionally called the Old Kingdom and the New Kingdom, covers about 500 years, from the early 17th century BC till the apparent collapse of the New Kingdom in the early 12th century BC. After that, Hittite and Luwian traditions survived to some extent in the so-called Neo-Hittite kingdoms of SE Anatolia and N. Syria.

Before the Old Kingdom, we can trace the origins of Hittite power in the later phases of the Assyrian trading network in Anatolia in the 18th century BC.<sup>1</sup> At that time much of Anatolia was probably under the control of the same groups who show up in records from the later 2nd millennium BC, among them the Hattic people (speakers of a non-Indo-European language) in the central bend of the Kizilirmak, and the Luwians (speakers of an Indo-European language related to Hittite) to the South and possibly West of that. Hattic Hattusa was itself a node in the network, along with Purushanda (Acmhöyük?), which may have been Luwian, but the centre was at Kültepe-Kanesh. In the so-called *Anitta Proclamation* Anitta, king of Kanesh, tells how his father Pithana, from the obscure city of Kussara, took over Kanesh, and how he himself waged a wide-ranging war, conquering among other places Zalpa/Zalpuwa on the Black Sea (where he retrieved a divine statue of ‘our god’ that had previously been removed),<sup>2</sup> and Hattusa, which he sowed with cress and declared must never be resettled. Later Hittite traditions preserved a memory of this period: they called their language Nesite (after Kanesh), and the ‘singer of Kanesh’ was a frequent participant at festivals, invoking a specific set of gods (see p. 26). Zalpuwa also remained

<sup>1</sup> See Barjamovic (2011); Larsen (2015).

<sup>2</sup> *Proclamation of Anitta*:§11; Steitler (2017: 190–2).

important in Hittite ideology, for example in being associated with the royal funeral (see p. 30).

For the Old Kingdom, the nearest we have to an ancient overview is the *Edict of Telipinu* (late 16th century BC), which begins with a king called Labarna, who consolidated rule in the SE. Hattusa probably did not become the capital until the reign of Hattusili I (ca. 1650–1620 BC),<sup>3</sup> who campaigned more widely in Anatolia, and also in Syria, having crossed the Euphrates, self-consciously emulating the great Sargon of Akkad who had crossed it in the opposite direction around 2300 BC. Hattusili's successor was his grandson Mursili I (1620–1590), who sacked first Aleppo, destroying the kingdom of Yamhad, and then Babylon, from where he attempted to 'god-nap' the statues of Marduk and Zarpanitum.<sup>4</sup> Mursili was assassinated by his brother-in-law Hantili, and after a period of decline and contested successions, the kingship fell to Telipinu who for the first time set out principles for succession in his *Edict*, which also covers reforms related to the economic organization of the kingdom, establishing the so-called 'houses of the seal' which had an economic role.<sup>5</sup> Telipinu also made the first known Hittite treaty, with Kizzuwatna in the South-East.

While for the 15th century (sometimes known as the 'Middle Kingdom')<sup>6</sup> little information survives, we're much better informed about the New Kingdom (sometimes called the 'Empire Period'), particularly the reign of Suppiluliuma I (1350–1322 BC), his son Mursili II (1321–1295), and the various kings of the 13th century BC. The New Kingdom is supposed to start with a king called Tudhaliya (numbered I/II because of uncertainty about whether there was another homonymous king at around the same time),<sup>7</sup> who launched a campaign in the West against Assuwa. Later on with his coregent Arnuwanda he dealt with the W. Anatolian warlord Madduwatta, who had been at war with 'Attarisiya of Ahhia' (apparently Ahhia is the same as Ahhiyawa, one of the earliest references to it in Hittite texts). In the South-East the main threat was from the Hurrian kingdom which has been encroaching into Syria and Kizzuwatna; Tudhaliya brought Kizzuwatna back into the Hittite orbit.

During the reign of his successor Arnuwanda and his queen Asmunikal, territory in the North including Nerik was lost to the semi-nomadic

<sup>3</sup> For dates, I follow Bryce (1998: 375–82), who uses the so-called 'Middle Chronology'. The reader should be aware that dates are provisional.

<sup>4</sup> G. Wilhelm in RIA 8: 434–5 s. Mursili I, at 435; the statue of Marduk was abandoned in mid journey at Hana: Schwemer (2008: 141); it was supposedly returned 24 years later.

<sup>5</sup> Archi (1984: 199).

<sup>6</sup> See Archi (2003).

<sup>7</sup> I follow Bryce here. G. Wilhelm RIA 14 3 /4:224–7 s. Tuthaliya calls this king Tudhaliya I.

Kaska-tribes,<sup>8</sup> and the crisis continued under Arnuwanda's son Tudhaliya III, when various enemies attacked, including Arzawa which stormed across S. central Anatolia. It is at this time that Amenhotep III established diplomatic relations with Arzawa, assuming the Hittites were a spent force. Tudhaliya III may have abandoned Hattusa and moved to Samuha-Kayalıpınar in the East, but eventually the Hittites fought back, and continued their campaign into N. Syria.<sup>9</sup> This was also the period when the Hittite state seems to have absorbed a degree of Hurrian religion and culture, as we see from some of the royal names (e.g. Asmunikal above; Tudhaliya III was also called Tasmisarri), coming either via Kizzuwatna or Syria.<sup>10</sup>

Tudhaliya's son Suppiluliuma continued to consolidate the kingdom, as we know from the well-preserved *Deeds of Suppiluliuma* compiled by his son. His main focus was in N. Syria, where he installed sons as viceroys in Aleppo and Carchemish, established relations with Ugarit, and neutralized the threat of Mitanni. Hittite activity in the East encroached on territory claimed by Egypt, which produced a reaction—Suppiluliuma was invited to send his son to marry the widowed queen of an Egyptian pharaoh, apparently Akhenaten; the son was duly sent and disappeared. Suppiluliuma's successor was his son Arnuwanda II, who soon died, and then another son Mursili II, who is relevant to this book mainly for his decisive interventions in the West, taking action against the kingdom of Arzawa which had allied itself with Ahhiyawa (see p. 99).

Mursili's son and successor Muwatalli II was also concerned with the West, but his main focus was on Syria and the Levant, where he led a pan-Anatolian army against the Egyptian forces of Ramesses II at Battle of Qadesh (1274 BC). He also moved the Hittite capital to Tarhuntassa in the South-East, closer to Syria. Muwatalli's immediate successor was his son Mursili III/Urhi-Tesub, whose reign saw the restoration of the capital to Hattusa, and the reconquest of Nerik, the latter organized by his uncle Hattusili. The same uncle later deposed him and drove him into exile, going on to rule for three decades as Hattusili III (1267–1237). Hattusili took the precaution of making his other nephew Kurunta (Ulmi-Tesub) king of the appanage kingdom of Tarhuntassa (a number of treaties were made between Kurunta and Hittite kings, including the Bronze Tablet discovered in 1986). Under his successors,

<sup>8</sup> For the term 'tribe' see Gerçek (2017).

<sup>9</sup> See Corti (2018a: 11) with references; Stavi (2015) on the period.

<sup>10</sup> See Campbell (2016) on the process; new texts from Sapinuwa-Ortaköy are shedding light on the process of Hurrianization.

Kurunta may have made a claim for independence.<sup>11</sup> Hattusili's major achievement in foreign policy was the great treaty with Egypt (1259 BC), and the subsequent royal marriage (1246 BC), the latter negotiated in part by his wife queen Puduhepa. Hattusili's successor was his son Tudhaliya IV whose reign saw conflict with Assyria, which had absorbed what was left of Mitanni. The Hittites were defeated at the Battle of Nihriya. Tudhaliya also campaigned in Lukka (as we know from the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription from Yalburt near Konya) and apparently in Alashiya-Cyprus, perhaps attempting to control access to Assyria.

The last Hittite king known to us is Suppiluliuma II (written Suppiluliam), who also battled in Cyprus and probably in the South-West. The kingdom is usually supposed to have fallen around 1180 BC, based on Egyptian evidence for the movement of the so-called Sea Peoples, backed up by Ugaritic records. The causes are uncertain. One factor might be the increasing strength of Assyria. Another might be climate change. Eric Cline (2014) talks of a 'systems collapse'; Stefano de Martino (2018) has argued that the Hittite state had become progressively weaker from the 14th century due to a variety of factors.

At its greatest, Hittite influence stretched from the Aegean to the Euphrates, a network held together by dynastic relationships and treaties. There was good connectivity across Anatolia, as we see from Mursili II's Extensive Annals, where forces from Carchemish are summoned and deployed on the Western front.<sup>12</sup> The Hittites were predominantly a land power who saw the sea as the limit to their territory,<sup>13</sup> although military operations against Cyprus were somehow organized in the mid 13th century (presumably using vassals like Ugarit); for the purpose of trade, they made use of the merchants of Ura, a city or territory on the South coast, probably near the mouth of the Calycadnus/Göksu River near Silifke.<sup>14</sup>

## 2.2 Sources

Our sources for Hittite religion are mostly documents; iconography and material culture are limited (see below). The documents are mostly

<sup>11</sup> Bronze tablet: Beckman (1999a: no. 18c); Otten (1988); claim for independence: Singer (1996b).

<sup>12</sup> AhT IB§5.

<sup>13</sup> Three times in the Telipinu Edict: CTH 19, §3, §6, §8; for parallels in texts of Hattic origin see Klingler (2000).

<sup>14</sup> Hittite navy: Bryce (1998: 356). For the location of Ura, see p. 58, n.209.



cuneiform texts from the archives in the capital, most of them dating from the New Kingdom, but some of them from the Old Kingdom.<sup>15</sup> A few texts have been found in other places, including:

Maşat Höyük (ancient Tapikka) dating to the early 14th century BC, reign of Tudhaliya III

Kuşaklı (ancient Sarissa)

Ortaköy (ancient Sapinuwa), also dating to the reign of Tudhaliya III; and

Kayalıpınar (ancient Samuha).

The language of most of the texts is Hittite,<sup>16</sup> albeit written in part with Sumerian or Akkadian logograms (modern transcriptions use capitals or italicized capitals for these). This means that for some key concepts, the logogram that was used by scribes to write it is known, but the corresponding Hittite word is either unknown or uncertain. One example is the word for festival EZEN<sub>4</sub> (festival): see p. 36. One important convention of the writing system is that it makes systematic use of ‘determinatives’ to indicate the class of a noun or name; thus, theonyms are generally written with the logogram for ‘god’, which is usually represented today by a superscribed letter ‘D’, standing for the Sumerian for deity, ‘dingir’.

Other languages are found in the archives as well, corresponding to different cultural traditions: Hattic, Luwian, Hurrian, Palaic (another member of the Anatolian branch of Indo-European), and Babylonian. Luwian may have been the language of much of the population at the time, contrasting with the elite Hittite.<sup>17</sup> Hittite religious texts frequently cite Hattic, Luwian, and Hurrian words; Luwian words perceived as foreign are often designated as such by a special prefixed symbol, the so-called ‘Glossenkeil’ (<<)). Some texts were translated from other languages, including mythological narratives, such as the Kumarbi-Cycle, originally in Hurrian (see

<sup>15</sup> They can be distinguished by details in the script: van den Hout (2009) provides an overview of this complex issue.

<sup>16</sup> Hittite language: grammar: Hoffner and Melchert (2008); Francia (2005); dictionary: the best tool is the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (CHD), though so far only a few letters have been published (L–N, P, S). Similarly incomplete, though still immensely useful, are the etymological dictionaries of Tischler (HEG) and Puhvel (HED). Kloekhorst (2008) provides a useful overview of the whole language; Weeden (2011) has provided a guide to logograms; the standard sign-list Rüter and Neu (1989). Introductory guide to the language: van den Hout (2011).

<sup>17</sup> Yakubovich (2010: 302, 416).

Chapter 7); in some cases, both original and Hittite translation are found on the same cuneiform tablet.

The Hittites also had a second writing system, the one now called ‘Hieroglyphic Luwian’ (HL) script, used for monumental inscriptions and seals; this difficult script, which has now been largely deciphered, was used by Neo-Hittite kingdoms right down to the 8th century BC.<sup>18</sup> It developed in the mid 2nd millennium BC, though some signs can be traced back to the Old Kingdom and beyond. The fact that the Hittite state used a form of the Luwian language for official documents seems to require an explanation: does it reflect the fact that Luwian was probably the first language of much of the population and the second language of all of it? Or does it indicate that the script was originally developed in an area where Luwian was the dominant culture?<sup>19</sup>

Some idea of the range of the texts can be gained by perusing the main categories distinguished in Laroche’s *Catalogue des textes Hittites*, which attempted both to isolate individual texts (to which a large number of cuneiform tablets may contribute) and to group them into genres.<sup>20</sup>

Historical Texts (CTH 1–220)

Administrative Texts, including Instructions (CTH 221–90)

Legal Texts (CTH 291–8)

Lexical Texts (CTH 299–309)

Literary Texts (CTH 310–20)

Mythological Texts (CTH 321–70)

Hymns and Prayers (CTH 371–89)

Ritual Texts (CTH 390–500)

Cult Inventory Texts (CTH 501–30)

Omen and Oracle Texts (CTH 531–82)

<sup>18</sup> Guides: Payne (2004); Yakubovich (2011); 1st millennium texts: Hawkins, CHLI. Texts are referred to by find-spot or museum (written in capitals) and number if there is more than one; thus: AKPINAR 1.

<sup>19</sup> Yakubovich (2010: 285–99); Yakubovich argues that there was some Hittite influence on the development of the script. Hawkins (1986) had argued for general similarities to Aegean scripts; for origin in the West see Oreshko (2013a).

<sup>20</sup> Originally Laroche (1971); see now <https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>. CTH numbers give a rough idea, but for more precision reference is made to the published transcription of the individual tablet, e.g. KUB 10.27 (where KUB = *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*) or KBo 4.60 (where KBo = *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*).

Vows (CTH 583–90)

Festival Texts (CTH 591–724)

Texts in Other Languages (CTH 725–830)

Texts of Unknown Type (CTH 831–3)

It can easily be seen that texts with religious content—Mythological Texts, Hymns and Prayers, Ritual Texts, Cult Inventory Texts, Omen and Oracle Texts, Vows, Festival Texts—make up about half the total number. Other genres of texts shed light on religion, for example diplomatic treaties between states, which list deities as witnesses to oaths, and catalogues of the Hittite archives also provide a wealth of information.<sup>21</sup>

Many of the important texts are now edited and/or translated into European languages.<sup>22</sup> Translations of an increasing number are also available on the Mainz Hethitologie Portal (<http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/index.php>). For ease of reference, I refer to some texts by name, e.g. ‘*Dandanku’s Ritual*’, and in the Appendix I note available texts and translations.

It is important to realize that the content of the texts relates to different periods. Some texts were canonical, often recopied many times over several centuries; Theo van den Hout argues that these are ‘prescriptive’ in some sense; others were archives, dating mostly from the second half of the 13th century, and these were not recopied and perhaps routinely disposed of. The former include prayers, myths, festivals, rituals, and ‘instructions’, the latter oracles, vows, and ‘cult inventories’. In these areas we have a good idea of what was going on in the last decades of the kingdom, while in the others, our information is often better for a period several centuries before.<sup>23</sup> In

<sup>21</sup> Law code: Hoffner (1997); translation in Hoffner (1995); diplomatic treaties: Beckman (1999a), Devecchi (2015); catalogues: Dardano (2006).

<sup>22</sup> The most convenient English translations, many of them with Hittite text, are those in the SBL Writings from the Ancient World series: myths: Hoffner (1998); diplomatic texts: Beckman (1999a); prayers: Singer (2002); letters: Hoffner (2009); Ahhiyawa texts: Beckman et al. (2011); administrative texts: Miller (2013); and local festivals: Cammarosano (2018). Some texts are translated in the *Context of Scripture* (CoS) volumes; a few texts not in CoS are available in Pritchard’s *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (ANET<sup>3</sup>) volume, although one should be aware that understanding of these texts has moved on since this volume was originally published in 1950. Others can be found in Chavalas (2006), or Beyerlin (1978). German translations of some Hittite texts are to be found in the volumes of the series *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* (see TUAT under abbreviations). Mouton (2016) has many texts in French translation, and there are texts and Spanish translations of some (mostly those in ANET<sup>3</sup>) in Garcia Trabazo’s *Textos religiosos hititas* (2002) (TRH).

<sup>23</sup> Van den Hout (2002).

some cases, the information is even older than that, for example a sacrifice list of gods from one of the festival texts may relate to a religio-political situation before Hattusa was the capital.<sup>24</sup> For the KILAM festival we have both older and more recent texts, which differ in some respects, showing evolution or revision. A different problem is posed by texts relating to Nerik and Zalpuwa, which were in alternating phases under foreign occupation from about 1400 BC till about 1270 BC; apparently the texts remained in the archives even though the rituals ceased to be performed, at least in those places.

Material culture makes a smaller contribution to our understanding of LBA Anatolian religion than it does to other ancient cultures.<sup>25</sup> The most spectacular finds of the Anatolian Bronze Age, solar and animal standards from Alaca Höyük, date from the beginning of the 2nd millennium. Few statues of Hittite gods survive, and, paradoxically, we learn most about them from texts—the Hittite cult inventories, which describe statues in some detail.<sup>26</sup> Images of gods also appear on rock reliefs: the most famous are located in the two chambers at Yazılıkaya, just outside the Hittite capital; Chamber A, showing two converging processions of deities, is now believed to be the ‘*ḫuwasi* of the Storm-God’, a pivotal site in Hittite festivals and processions, while Chamber B, which shows a deity in the form of a down-pointed sword, seems to have the ‘*ḫekur*’ or memorial of king Tudhaliya IV (see p. 29). Outside the capital there are significant reliefs at Gavurkalesi SW of Ankara (two gods approach a seated goddess), at Imamkulu in SE Cappadocia (a prince with the Storm god of Aleppo, and a goddess standing on a tree), and at Firaktın, also in Cappadocia, where Hattusili and Puduhepa are depicted pouring libations to Tessub and Hebat.<sup>27</sup>

Religious images were also inscribed on metal objects: the famous Schimmel Rhyton, fashioned in the form of a deer’s head, itself probably meant to represent a deity, depicts an offering made to a deity beneath a tree from which a hunting bag hangs. Another important one is the silver rhyton in the form of a fist in Boston, the images on which are probably meant to represent a war-deity receiving offerings.<sup>28</sup> The hunting scene on the bronze bowl from Kastamonu probably also shows divinities.<sup>29</sup> Religious

<sup>24</sup> Forlanini (2007b). <sup>25</sup> A good guide is Özyar (2006).

<sup>26</sup> The best survey is Collins (2005).

<sup>27</sup> Gavurkalesi: Ehringhaus (2005: 11–14); Imamkulu: id. (2005: 70–6); Firaktın: id. (2005: 59–65).

<sup>28</sup> Güterbock and Kendall (1995); Canby (2002); the image appears on the cover of this book.

<sup>29</sup> Emre and Çinaroglu (1993: 684–703).

processions and other possibly ritual activity such as bull-leaping are represented on ceramic relief vases found at Hüseyindede and Inandiktepe, dating from the Early Hittite period (for bull-leaping see p. 63).

## 2.3 God Collectors: Religious and Administrative Strata

Hittite religious horizons were broad, as we see from a Middle Hittite ritual in which cedar gods are summoned from places all over the known world, including Egypt, Alasia (Cyprus), and Wilusa (Troy).<sup>30</sup> And their religious system made simultaneous use of several ethno-regional traditions, something that merits the attention of those interested in how ancient religious traditions form. The traditions it used are those associated with the Hattic, Luwian, Palaic, and Hurrian lingua-cultures (discussed further below). Another important early tradition was that of Kanesh, where the Hittite elite ruled before they came to Hattusa. This is manifested in a group of deities hymned by the so-called ‘singers of Kanesh’, including the LAMMA deity Inar of the field, at least some of which can be traced back to theophoric names known from Assyrian Kanesh.<sup>31</sup>

The fundamental element was probably the ‘Hattic’ stratum which corresponded to the non-Indo-European language of the ‘Hattic’ people who had earlier been the dominant power in Hattusa and N. central Anatolia. The Hittites must have been familiar with Hattic religion while they controlled Kanesh and before, and after they moved into Hattusa, they seem to have taken it over, even making some use of the language in rituals. Bilingual texts give a vivid illustration of this.<sup>32</sup>

A second religious tradition is that of the Luwians, whose language was Indo-European and closely related to Hittite.<sup>33</sup> Important Luwian territories are usually thought to have been the ‘Lower Land’ to the South of the Kizilirmak and in the SE Kizzuwatna, which lay between Anatolia, Syria, and the Mediterranean, and became a contact zone between Anatolian and Syrian culture. The central Hittite archives contained religious texts from

<sup>30</sup> CTH 483.I.A, KUB 15.34 i.52–64; see ANET<sup>3</sup> 351–3, TRH no.21.

<sup>31</sup> Archi (2004a). Continuity of names: Goetze (1953); religion of Kanesh in Assyrian Colony period: Kryszat (2006); in general Haas (1994a: 612–15).

<sup>32</sup> A fundamental study of the Hattic stratum is by Klingler (1996); for bilinguals see Schuster (1974–2002).

<sup>33</sup> For the Luwians, see in general Melchert (2003a), which included a very useful survey by Manfred Hutter (2003) of religion.

these regions, mostly written in Hittite but with Luwian elements; the Lower Land was the source for the festivals of the goddess Huwassanna and the rituals attributed to Tunnawiya, while purification rituals came from Kizzuwatna.<sup>34</sup> To the central West was Istanuwa, probably located near Gordion in what was later central Phrygia, source of an idiosyncratic body of religious texts, including one ritual in which participants drink from a musical instrument (see p. 180). Towards the South-West were Hapalla and Arzawa, source of a number of plague rituals kept in the central archives. Arzawa has traditionally been seen as Luwian, though that view has been challenged recently; certainly, the Arzawa Rituals contain fewer Luwian elements than the others (see Chapter 6).

There was yet another religious zone in the land of Pala, which was probably to the North-West of the Hittite homeland, in the region of modern Çerkes, between Ankara and the Black Sea. Although the Palaic language was Indo-European, the religion was heavily influenced by the Hattic stratum.<sup>35</sup>

The important Hurrian stratum is known best through texts in the Hittite archives, but must have existed as an independent system in Mitanni in the middle of the 2nd millennium BC. It was introduced into Hattusa around 1400 BC, perhaps as the result of dynastic marriage between a Hittite king and a queen from the Hurrianized Kizzuwatna, or increasing Hittite presence in Syria (see p. 19). Hurrian myths, perhaps themselves based on N. Syrian models, were adapted translated into Hittite around this time (see §7.1), and Hurrian rituals were copied as well. The Hittite pantheon becomes increasingly Hurrianized, as we see at Yazılıkaya Chamber A.<sup>36</sup>

Besides this, there are some religious elements from further afield. Some Syrian and Mesopotamian elements can be traced back to the Assyrian trading colonies.<sup>37</sup> Adad the Storm god of Aleppo, an important deity in the Hittite pantheon, was perhaps introduced already in the 16th century BC by Hattusili I.<sup>38</sup> Ishtar/Sauska of Nineveh also found a place in the imperial pantheon, presumably via Hurrian mediation.<sup>39</sup> The so-called Babilili Ritual includes ritual speeches in Akkadian, and is addressed to Pirinkir, a goddess originally from Elam in W. Iran. The Hittite archives

<sup>34</sup> Hutter (2003: 243–50 and 250–4). Kizzuwatna rituals: Strauss (2006).

<sup>35</sup> Haas (1994a: 611–12); Corti (2017a: 232–34); Matthews and Glatz (2009: 64–5); T. Van den Hout, *RLA* 10 3/4:191–2 s. Pala, Palar, Palaisch.

<sup>36</sup> Wilhelm (1989: 66–7).

<sup>37</sup> Cammarosano (2015: 207–8).

<sup>38</sup> Klengel (1965b: 90).

<sup>39</sup> Beckman (1998).

contain many religious texts in Akkadian, including hymns, incantations, and omen-series.<sup>40</sup>

The tendency of Hittite religion was thus to accommodate deities from other cultures. However, there are limits to this: there are no Egyptian deities, none from Alasia, and none from the Aegean, except for the deities of Ahhiyawa and Lazpa who were briefly attested at the Hittite court in the early 13th century BC (see §5.3).

An obvious question is, can we distinguish any religious elements distinctive of the Hittite elite before they arrived in Kanesh? It was once suggested that ‘our god’ (*siu-summi-*) mentioned in the *Anitta Proclamation* might be such a deity (an original Indo-European solar god?), but this is no longer certain.<sup>41</sup> In fact, any original Hittite core remains elusive, because as early as we can reconstruct it, Hittite religion was embedded in a common Anatolian religious culture.

Thus, the religion of Anatolia in the 14th–13th century is a patchwork, made up of several major traditions and many subtraditions, corresponding to micro-traditions and important towns. At the same time, these cultures had been in contact for many centuries, and there had been a degree of internal diffusion. The Hittite authorities seem concerned to preserve the religious practices of the regions, but there was a degree of ‘Pan-hittite’ standardization, as we see from the local cult inventories, and from *Instructions for the Frontier Post Governors*, written in the reign of Arnuwanda I, which advises that local religious traditions be maintained, but with special emphasis on the cult of the Storm god, a Hittite feature.<sup>42</sup>

## 2.4 Sacred Geography

The most important Hittite religious centre was the Hittite royal capital at Boğazköy/Hattusa.<sup>43</sup> In the late 13th century it was enormous, consisting of an older ‘Lower City’ to the North, with the royal palace at the eastern end on the acropolis Büyükkale, and a large ‘Upper City’ in the South. From

<sup>40</sup> Beckman (2014); Schwemer (1998).

<sup>41</sup> *Proclamation of Anitta*: §11. For this immensely difficult issue see the sensible remarks of Amir Gilan, RIA 12 7 8:559–60 s. *sius(um)mis* with references, and now Steitler (2017: 190–2). The older position is summarized by Gurney (1977: 8–11).

<sup>42</sup> CTH 261.1 *Instructions of Arnuwanda I for frontier Post Commanders* §§33–6; see Miller (2013: 227–9). For the term ‘pan-Hittite’, see Cammarosano (2018: 117). Glatz’s (2009) thesis that the Empire was a network is relevant.

<sup>43</sup> A good survey of the city is Hawkins (1998b); also Neve (1993); Seeher (2011).

three ceremonial gates on the southern wall of the Upper City paths lead to the palace, converging on a ceremonial area immediately South of the palace, which was connected to it by a viaduct. Work in this area in the last few decades has revealed a sacred pool complex at the Südburg, and ritual and administrative structures at Nişantepe (apparently a funeral monument and source of an important cache of official *bullae*).<sup>44</sup> The city as a whole contained over thirty temples, the massive temple of the Storm god and the Sun goddess of Arinna/Hepat in the Lower City, most of them in the ‘temple quarter’ of Upper City between the central Sphinx Gate and Nişantepe. The monumental gates at the South of the city wall are likely to have had a ritual function, and to have been used in processions connected with the great festivals.<sup>45</sup>

Closely connected to the religious life of the city were the spectacular rock sanctuaries at Yazılıkaya, about a mile NE of the city. The first, whose engraved walls depict two converging processions of gods (males on the left, females on the right), may have had a function in one of the great festivals, perhaps as a *ḫuwasi* (stele) of the Storm god; the second, which depicts twelve underworld gods, a sword deity (presumably Nergal), and Tudhaliya IV may have been a funeral monument or ‘*hekur*’ to the king.<sup>46</sup>

Besides the capital, we know of three key sacred towns: Nerik, Arinna, and Zippalanda.<sup>47</sup> Nerik in the North, now securely located at Oymaağaç Höyük,<sup>48</sup> was a place of great ideological importance, the destination of royal pilgrimages from the capital (see Corti 2018b). But it was under Kaskean control for much of the Empire period, and rituals were held in the towns of Hakmis and Utruna instead.<sup>49</sup> Arinna (which may mean ‘spring’)<sup>50</sup> is now usually identified with Alaca Höyük. It was the principal seat of one of the main deities of the pantheon, the ‘Sun Goddess of Arinna’, along with her daughter Mezzulla, and her granddaughter Zintuhi. Zippalanda with its sacred Mt. Daha, now usually identified with Uşaklı Höyük,<sup>51</sup> was home of the Storm god of Zippalanda. Both Arinna and Zippalanda were visited by the king during the great festivals of state.

<sup>44</sup> See Hawkins (1998b: 74).

<sup>45</sup> On temples see Zimmer-Vorhaus (2011); gates: Hawkins (1998b: 75).

<sup>46</sup> Chamber A: Singer (1986); Chamber 2: Hawkins (1998b: 72–3); J. Seehr in RIA 15 1 / 2 s.149–55 s.v. Yazılıkaya.

<sup>47</sup> See Law Code §50. For key sites in the Hittite empire see Mielke (2011).

<sup>48</sup> Glatz (2017: 282–3); Corti (2017a: 225). <sup>49</sup> See Görke (2010: 61–3).

<sup>50</sup> URU<sup>U</sup>PÜ-na: Popko (2009: 15). <sup>51</sup> Gavaz (2017: 198).



There were less important religious centres all over the Empire. Zalpa/-uwa, a town probably near the mouth of the Kizılırmak on the Black Sea was of 'great importance to the Hittites mainly at the ideological level as the original seat of royalty', associated in some way with the Royal Funerary Ritual.<sup>52</sup> Samuha in the East was associated particularly with the goddess Sauska/Ishtar, and also with the Goddess of the Night.<sup>53</sup> Kummanni in Kizzuwatna, which may have been located at Sirkeli Höyük, was a major centre of the cult of Hepat and also home to a school of ritual practitioners including Papanikri, Mastigga, and Palliya.<sup>54</sup>

Mountains were significant in Hittite religious mentality: there were numerous mountain gods, and the names of some kings were derived from mountain-names (e.g. Arnuwanda, Tudhaliya). Mountains could be the site of religious activities, e.g. Mt. Daha near Zippalanda, where the girls sang a song of ascent.<sup>55</sup> At Mt. Piskunuruwa during the AN.TAH.SUM festival the king made libations to sacred deer.<sup>56</sup> A mountain sanctuary has recently been identified just South of Sarissa-Kuşaklı.<sup>57</sup>

Pools, springs, and points where water disappears in the ground could also be a focus of cult. The latter were denoted by the composite logogram <sup>D</sup>KASKAL.KUR, literally '(deified) Road of the Earth',<sup>58</sup> presumably regarded as sacred because water connects this world with the underworld,<sup>59</sup> making them similar to ritual pits. These are often mentioned in Hittite treaties as markers of borders, but also had more general cultic functions. The spectacular pool sanctuary at Eflatun Pınar was surely an elaborate KASKAL.KUR,<sup>60</sup> and there was another at Yalburt, where a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription was displayed documenting a campaign by Tudhaliya IV against Lukka. Another is the 'Sacred Pool Complex' at

<sup>52</sup> Corti (2017b: 200). Relevant here may also be the Palace-Foundation Ritual (CTH 414.1) in which the divinized Throne (Halmasuit) is said to have brought the king 'rule and the (royal) cart' from the sea (§7; cf. also §16-§18)). Haas (1977) argued that the sea here was at Zalpuwa; for another view, see Taracha (2009: 48-9). For the text see Beckman (2010: 3.2); S. Görke (ed.), *hethiter.net/*: CTH 414.1 (TRde 13.03.2015).

<sup>53</sup> See S. De Martino RIA 12:1/2 s. Samuha at 2.

<sup>54</sup> See H. Otten in RIA 6. 335-7 s. Kummanni at 335; site: Hawkins and Weeden (2017: 284-6); Casabonne (2002); see p. 57. The name Kummanni could mean 'sacred city': Casabonne (2001), but see Wilhelm (1994b).

<sup>55</sup> KUB 48.21, Popko (1994: 156-8). <sup>56</sup> Popko (1999); Haas (1982).

<sup>57</sup> Müller-Karpe (2015: 84).

<sup>58</sup> Gordon (1967), who first proposed the reading; Weeden (2011: 29).

<sup>59</sup> See Erbil and Mouton (2012) for water in Hittite religion.

<sup>60</sup> Bachmann and Özenir (2004); Ehringhaus (2005: 50-7).

Hattusa, referred to in a nearby Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription by the signs ‘VIA.TERRA’, which is likely to be calque of KASKAL.KUR; in this case it has been constructed.<sup>61</sup>

A common focus for cult activity is the *ḫuwasi*-stone, often situated outside the town in the open air. As well as being a place for cult activity, these can serve as an aniconic representation of the deity, as in Paskuwatti’s Ritual (see p. 126). *Ḫuwasi* is often translated as ‘*stela*’, but they may have varied in shape and size. I mentioned that Yazılıkaya Chamber B has been interpreted as a *ḫuwasi*. At Sarissa-Kuşaklı the mountain sanctuary South of the main town consisted of various structures, a pool and a *ḫuwasi*-sanctuary.<sup>62</sup>

## 2.5 The Pantheon

By the New Kingdom, the Hittite pantheon was unusually large, judged by the standard of the religious systems of comparable societies. This is not so much because Hittite religion drew on several cultural strata, Hattic, Luwian, Palaic, and so on—because gods in one stratum were routinely equated with corresponding gods in other ones. It is rather that they chose to distinguish multiple avatars of the same deity associated with different places or functions, where other cultures (such as Greek) would have combined them.<sup>63</sup> Thus, the Hittites prided themselves that their pantheon consisted of a thousand gods, whom they imagined as being invited to an assembly (‘*tuliya*’);<sup>64</sup> we find this in treaties (e.g. ‘I have now summoned the Thousand Gods to assembly for this oath, and have called them to witness’), and in vanishing god myths (e.g. ‘The Sun god made a feast and invited the

<sup>61</sup> Hawkins (1995: 44–5) reads sign \*202 as a combination of the signs 221 (VIA) and 201 (TERRA); first published in Hawkins (1990: 307); cf. also Hawkins (1998b: 76); Weeden (2011: 29).

<sup>62</sup> Excellent recent discussion in Cammarosano (2018: 74–80), who sees them as *stelae*; Wilhelm (2015: 95) is less certain. Sarissa: Wilhelm (2015: 95); Müller-Karpe (2015); further examples: Taracha (2009: 71); Hutter (1993a: 91–5, 103); Güterbock (1983: 215); Popko (1978: 121f.); Collins (2005: 27). An inscribed stele found at Karahöyük in Elbistan (12th century BC) seems to have been used for cult (Özgüç and Özgüç 1949: 69–72; CHLI V.1, vol.I.1, 288–95).

<sup>63</sup> See Beckman (2004a); G. Steiner, RIA 3.547–75 s.v. Gott D. Nach hethitischen Texten; Hundley (2014) wonders whether the different allomorphs of a god are really distinct, and not rather aspects; Allen (2015) sees the logograms as ‘labels’.

<sup>64</sup> Houwink ten Cate (1987).

Thousand Gods').<sup>65</sup> On the other hand, the pantheons of local cities may be a lot smaller than that (see p. 185).

The most important classes of deity were storm gods, sun deities, and deities usually called 'tutelary', denoted by the logogram LAMMA, discussed further below. There were also war-gods, forms of Ishtar, the mother goddess Hannahanna, the goddess of magic Kamrusepa, the grain goddess Halki, and divinized mountains, rivers, and springs. Natural forces could be divinized, and even parts of buildings, e.g. *Askasepa*, the spirit (*sepa*) of the door.<sup>66</sup>

The Storm god of Hatti was in many ways the chief god of the state; his Hittite name was Tarhunna (Tarhunza in Luwian), which means 'conquering',<sup>67</sup> and he came to be identified with the Hurrian Storm god Tessub. There were other important storm gods as well such as those associated with Nerik and Zippalanda. The usual consort of the Storm god of Hatti was the Sun goddess of Arinna (Hattic Wurusemu), also associated with the underworld (as her Hattic name seems to imply, since the element *wuru-* in Hattic means 'earth': Steitler 2017: 61). Thus Storm god and Sun goddess cover both upper and lower spheres. Most storm gods had solar consorts. It has often been suggested that in the Hattic period the Sun goddess of Arinna was the head of the pantheon, and while it does not follow that prehistoric Anatolian society itself was matriarchal, there may be something to the idea that the religious system had matriarchal features.<sup>68</sup>

To make things more complicated, there was also a distinct Sun goddess of earth, who appears in the context of chthonic ritual, and a male sun deity, the Sun god of heaven, who is usually mentioned first in the god lists in treaties.<sup>69</sup> He could be genuinely Anatolian (the Luwians had a male sun god, Tiwad; cf. Palaic Tiyaz), or he could be an Anatolian version of Syrian Samas.

<sup>65</sup> Treaties: Beckman (1999a: no. 10§14 etc.); vanishing god myths: Telipinu 1§4 Hoffner (1998: no. 2).

<sup>66</sup> Haas (1994a: 299); Steiner, RIA s.v. Gott D. Nach hethitischen Texten: 548; Hundley (2014: 178).

<sup>67</sup> The name was perhaps chosen because it sounded like that of the Hattic Storm god, Taru which may have meant 'bull', a *Wanderwort* which is also manifest in Greek *tauros*: Schwemer (2016: 84); Haas (1994a: 307–8).

<sup>68</sup> See Haas (1994a: 419); Taracha (2009: 54). For the idea of an Anatolian matriarchy, see Leonhard (1911).

<sup>69</sup> Sun goddess of the earth: see Steitler (2017:417–23); p. 176, n.87, p. 202, p. 262. Sun god of heaven: Gurney (1977: 4–6).

The category of the LAMMA (sometimes written as KAL) deity is difficult and still not fully understood.<sup>70</sup> Several aspects are worth mentioning:

- (a) The logogram stood for one of two deities: first, Inara, a goddess of nature, apparently equivalent to the Hattic god Inar.<sup>71</sup> Second, in Hieroglyphic Luwian the name of the deity Runta/-tiya was written with a deer sign; in the LBA, he was classed as a LAMMA deity and his name was Kurunta/-tiya.<sup>72</sup> The LAMMA deity who is the subject of one of the songs in the Kingship of Heaven Cycle is probably Kurunta (see Chapter 7).
- (b) There are a number of other LAMMA gods in the Hittite pantheon, including Zithariya, Hapantaliya, <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of the *kursa*, <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of the field, and also local variants. In one ritual, known as the Hittite State Cult for the Tutelary Deities, every aspect of the king's person is assigned its own LAMMA deity (see p. 196).
- (c) The <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of the *kursa* was worshipped in the form of a *kursa* or hunting bag, made of goat skins,<sup>73</sup> as were some of the others. Several of them were kept on the 'house of the *kursa*' in Hattusa, hung on pegs, in a hierarchy: first, that of Zithariya (which seems to have had a role as a military standard on campaigns: see p. 216), then those of the towns Halenzuwa, Zapatiskuwa, and others. In the great festivals, the *kursa* representing Zithariya was carried around from town to town (see p. 231). In one ritual the *kursas* of Zithariya and of the LAMMA of Hatenzuwa are replaced by new ones; the old ones are not destroyed, but are removed and have their names changed to <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of the *kursa*' and <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of Zapatiskuwa'.<sup>74</sup> The skin or *kursa* of a sheep which appears as a symbol of prosperity at the end of the Telipinu myth may be related (version I, §29).

<sup>70</sup> Popko (1995: 89–90). Lebrun (1987a: 252); E. L. Brown (2004). On the relation between Inara and LAMMA, McMahon (1991: 24–7). On the meaning of *innara*, Popko (1995: 71); E. Laroche RIA 6:455–9 s.v. Lamma/Lamassu. C. Anatolien (1983–4) at 455–6. Weeden (2011: 262–8) raises the possibility that there was only one LAMMA deity with different aspects

<sup>71</sup> The logogram LAMMA may have been chosen because it was interpreted as 'strength', and *innara-want* meant 'strong' in Hittite (cf. Luwian *annari*). Hawkins in Herbordt (2005: 291) on *innara*.

<sup>72</sup> Hawkins (2006: 51); Houwink ten Cate (1961: 128–9); Puhvel, HED 4.79.

<sup>73</sup> Apparently cognate with Greek *βύρσα*. It may sometimes mean 'shield': see Puhvel s.v. One ritual-*kursa* was made from a total of the skins of eight goats, two white and six black. Haas (2003a: 745); Haas (1994a: 510).

<sup>74</sup> KUB 55.43 obv i. See McMahon (1991: 145–8).

- (d) LAMMA deities could also be represented standing on a deer; e.g. in the cult inventory for Wiyanawanta (Cappadocia) where the image of the LAMMA deity of the field stands on a stag of gold.<sup>75</sup> A relief on a stele from Altinyayla near Sivas shows Kurunta standing on a stag.<sup>76</sup>

LAMMA deities are clearly associated with the countryside and with hunting, a major strand in Hittite religion, of which we see echoes in festivals such as that of the goddess Teteshapi and the KILAM. Tudhaliya IV liked to represent himself as a hunter.<sup>77</sup>

## 2.6 Key Aspects of Religion

### 2.6.1 Religion and Political Structures

Hittite religion, at least in so far as it is attested in surviving evidence, is the religious aspect of the Hittite state, and its primary focus is the king and the royal family.<sup>78</sup> The king (Hittite *hassu*; official title *Labarna*, addressed as ‘my Sun god’) was the chief priest (logogram SANGA; Hittite *sankunni*), and presided over most of the important festivals and rituals of the state. He was regarded as appointed by the gods, and it was considered important that he be kept pure. The text known as the *Instructions for Temple Servants Concerning the Purity of the King* (CTH 265§13) records a case when a hair was found in a washbasin intended for the king. One ritual takes place to counter the evil omen of a bee.<sup>79</sup>

No coronation ceremony survives, though we know that it involved anointing from a ritual in which a substitute was placed on the throne and anointed in the king’s place.<sup>80</sup> We have an elaborate fourteen-day funerary ritual (*sallis wastais*), which begins with the statement that the king ‘becomes a god’.<sup>81</sup> After death, kings were cremated and commemorated

<sup>75</sup> KUB 38.1 ii 1–6; see Cammarosano (2018: 310–11). <sup>76</sup> Ehringhaus (2005: 80–3).

<sup>77</sup> Teteshapi: Pecchioli Daddi (1987: 365–6); Collins (2002b: 328–9); KILAM: see pp. 231–232; Tudhaliya: Hawkins (2006); generally Collins (2010b); Archi (1988). Cultraro (2004) compares traces of Mycenaean ritualized hunting.

<sup>78</sup> For the king and religion, see Gilan (2011); for general background on kingship Beckman (1995).

<sup>79</sup> CTH 447; Popko (2003); S. Görke and S. Melzer (eds.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 447 (INTR 2015-07-20).

<sup>80</sup> Text: KUB 24.5+ obv. 19, Kümmel (1967: 10–11). On anointings see Yakubovich (2005a).

<sup>81</sup> Kassian et al. (2002).

with a memorial, called ‘stone house’, a ‘*hesta/i*-house’, and ‘*hekur*’; it is now thought that the memorial of the king Tudhaliya IV may be Chamber B of the rock complex at Yazılıkaya.<sup>82</sup>

Kings had special ‘personal deities’ (see p. 106), and styled themselves as under the protection of key gods, as Muwatalli II calls himself ‘beloved of the storm-god Pihassassi’ (see p. 192). This is also clear from iconography, as the god Sarruma embraces Tudhaliya IV in Chamber B at Yazılıkaya.<sup>83</sup> The king made himself visible to his subjects by taking part in the great festivals of state which involved long pilgrimages around the Hittite homeland,<sup>84</sup> and he also led military campaigns, which had a religious dimension. He presided over state banquets, engaging in ‘god drinking’ rituals honouring the deities of the pantheon, and he recited prayers on behalf of the state. His well-being was considered of paramount importance, and rituals were performed if he was ill.<sup>85</sup>

The queen shared responsibility for ritual performance with the king; she also performed rituals on her own, e.g. the festivals of Huwassanna and for Ishtar of Tameninga.<sup>86</sup> The queen was herself a chief priestess (AMA.DINGIR [literally ‘mother deity’], also a general term for priestess).<sup>87</sup> Queens also sometimes had the title *tawannanna*, which continued to be used by them after the king’s death.<sup>88</sup>

The ‘crown prince’ (*tuhkanti*) also took part in festivals on behalf of the state; he is found particularly in contexts in the North, including at Zalpuwa.<sup>89</sup> Another important figure was the priestess known as the NIN.DINGIR (literally ‘lady-deity’), an office probably held by a member of the royal family; her role included wearing a goddess’s clothes, apparently to impersonate her.<sup>90</sup>

There were many other priests and religious officials as well, either based in the temples in the capital, or in major centres outside it or in towns throughout the kingdom.<sup>91</sup> Some of these could have approached the

<sup>82</sup> Van den Hout (1994: 52–3); Hawkins (1998b: 72–5).

<sup>83</sup> For the motif, which is not found before the 13th century BC: van den Hout (1995).

<sup>84</sup> Lebrun (1987b). <sup>85</sup> For example, Mursili’s aphasia: see §5.3.

<sup>86</sup> Huwassanna: Lombardi (1999); Trémouille (2002); Ishtar of Tameninga: KUB 12.5.

<sup>87</sup> Taggar-Cohen (2006a: 380–4). The Hittite equivalent was *siwanzanna/siunzanna*; for logogram <sup>MUNUS</sup>AMA.DINGIRLIM see Weeden (2011: 146–7).

<sup>88</sup> See Beckman, RIA 13 5/6:488–90 [2012] s. Tawan(n)anna.

<sup>89</sup> CTH 733. Taracha (2017: 120–5); Taggar-Cohen (2006a: 378–80).

<sup>90</sup> See Taggar-Cohen (2006a:423–34) on clothes, 411–13 on the NIN.DINGIR as a member of the royal family.

<sup>91</sup> Towns: Cammarosano (2018: 155).

status of the ‘temple cities’ known from the Greco-Roman period (albeit they were under the control of the Hittite state), such as Karahna at Sulasaray whose temple staff (*‘hilmatta-men’*), according to the inventory, numbered 775.<sup>92</sup> The goddess Lelwani probably had a well-staffed temple in Kummanni.<sup>93</sup> The Hittite state must have exercised some control of religious activity throughout the kingdom, thus imposing pan-Hittite norms. We know that the king and royal family visited towns to participate in local rituals during festivals and at other times; that at the KILAM festival held in the Hittite capital AGRIG officials delivered foodstuffs from ‘Great Houses’ dispersed throughout the kingdom and that the organization of local festivals held throughout the kingdom was centrally monitored.<sup>94</sup> The royal *Instructions* sometimes deal with religious matters, as we have seen.

## 2.6.2 Festivals

One of the forms of religious activity best documented in the Hittite archives is the festival, denoted by the logogram EZEN<sub>4</sub>, which may correspond to Hittite *siyamana*.<sup>95</sup> The names of many festivals are known,<sup>96</sup> and some are described in great detail, giving us more information in some cases than we have for any other ancient culture, including Greece and Rome. Whether or not Hittite festivals were always performed in the way the texts prescribe is of course another matter.

<sup>92</sup> Cammarosano (2018: 416). Karahna: Taggar-Cohen (2006a: 21–4).

<sup>93</sup> Haas (1994a: 580–1). A sign that the religious and political authority in Kizzuwatna were linked may be that Suppiluliuma’s son Telipinu, when he assumed control there, received the title ‘priest’: Archi (1975d: 329–30). Another document records the donation of lands to a religious estate in the region of Mt. Ishara: KUB 40.2; Goetze (1940: 60–8); Archi (1975d: 337).

<sup>94</sup> See Chapter 11.

<sup>95</sup> Singer (1983–4: 1.45); HEG s.v. 1029; Weeden (2011: 378). An alternative is *kallestarwana-*; see HED K. 22–4.

<sup>96</sup> For a full list, Cammarosano (2018: 28–9); Hoffner (1967b: 39–41) on festival names; Güterbock (1970: 176); also Neu (1982) has a list of names in *-was*. The ‘Instructions to Priests and Temple Personnel’ gives a good idea of the variety of festivals (§4; Miller 2013: 251): ‘[(Fur) therm]ore, the monthly festival, the yearly festival, the festival of the stag, the au[tum]n festival, the spring festival, the festival of thunder, the *hiyara*-festival, the *pūdaḥa*-festival, the *isuwa*-festival, the [s]atlassa-festival, the rhyton festival, the festivals of the holy priests, the festivals of the old men, the festivals of the mother-deity priestesses, the *daḥiya*-festival, the festivals of the *upati*-men, the *pūla*-festival, the *haḥratar*-festivals, or whatever festival (is celebrated) up in Ḫattusa: when you do not perform them with all the cattle, sheep, bread, beer, and wine, (i.e.) the provisions, and those who deliver them, you temple personnel, take payment for yourselves (instead), then you cause them to be insufficient for the desire of the deities.’

There were several well-established major state festivals: in the spring the AN.TAH.SUM festival which took its name from a type of plant, perhaps a crocus, and in the autumn the *nuntarriyasha* (festival of 'haste' or 'timeliness'), both of them over a month long, in which the king and other members of the royal family moved between locales, starting and ending in the capital. There must have been a tendency for originally local rituals to be incorporated into the wider frame. Another major spring festival was the *purulli*; the archives had thirty-two tablets devoted to it. It was celebrated at Hattusa, at Nerik, where it was linked to the myth of Illuyanka, and in numerous other towns. It has been suggested that other myths should be associated with it, including the famous Telipinu-myth (Haas 1988b:296-8), but this remains unproven.<sup>97</sup> It is usually supposed that the KI.LAM or 'gatehouse' festival, in which grain was presented to the king by stewards ('AGRIGs'), was another major state festival, but it has been suggested that this was part of the *nuntarriyasha*.<sup>98</sup>

Some festivals were introduced from outside the kingdom: the best example is the great (H)isuwa-festival, based on a Kizzuwatnean prototype, which was set up in the mid 13th century BC by Queen Puduhepa who came from the area. Festivals in honour of the Storm god of Aleppo were also celebrated in the capital, a sign of the importance of Aleppo to the Hittite religious system from early on.<sup>99</sup>

Another major category were local town festivals, which seem to have been regularly recorded by central authorities in the Empire period. In contrast to the state festivals, local communities are much more in evidence. We hear of autumn and spring festivals, organized round the agricultural cycle: at the autumn festival grain is stored for the winter, and in the spring it is made into bread which is offered to the deity at the *huwasi*-stone as part of a celebration. One such town is Gursamassa, probably in W. Phrygia, where the spring festival involved a mock battle.

A feature of the big state festivals is that some of them seem to have been witnessed by foreign delegates of some sort ('*ubar*-men'), which could explain how knowledge of these festivals moves from one culture to another (see p. 229).

<sup>97</sup> A sensible guide to the evidence is CHD s. *purulli*: 392.

<sup>98</sup> Houwink ten Cate (1988: 194). Taracha (2009: 141); citing Nakamura (2002: 80ff., 128ff.) Archi (2015a: 12).

<sup>99</sup> Haas (1994a: 556); Soucek and Siegelová (1974); Hutter (2002).



## 2.6.3 Divination

The Hittite state had a complex system of divination. The most important three types were hepatoscopy (i.e. examination of the liver of a sacrificial victim), the symbol oracle, and augury (which I discuss in §6.6). Usually, the oracle's answers were confined to 'favourable' or 'not favourable' and sometimes 'deferred', and greater precision was achieved by asking a sequence of questions, each building on the previous one. The whole oracular enquiry thus resembles a sort of Socratic *elenchos*. And, to make the system even more complicated, in records from the 13th century, it was standard practice to check the results of an oracle by performing addition 'control' consultations, often using a different type of oracle.<sup>100</sup>

The origins of hepatoscopy lie in Mesopotamia (see p. 86), though the terminology used points to Hurrian influence. Oracle-reports contain technical terms referring to significant physical features of the liver deemed significant.<sup>101</sup> Here, for example, is a liver oracle from the 15th century BC which contains one of the first references to Ahhiyawa (AhT 22§25):

Concerning the enemy ruler of Ahhiya: *nipasuri, sintañi, tanani, keldi*;  
(parasite) track, tapeworm blister. Result: favourable.

The symbol (KIN) oracle worked on the basis of movements of symbols or counters which represent things like divinities, important people, or concepts, some good, some bad, some neutral. Some symbols are said to 'arise', and 'take' other symbols and 'give' them to yet more symbols. What mechanisms underlie this remains quite uncertain.<sup>102</sup> Here is an example from an oracle enquiry relating to a military campaign:<sup>103</sup>

His M[ajesty] shall campaign against the troops of Mt. Haharwa. Will the soul of Mt. Haharwa [be calm] for this? Let (the oracle) be favourable. The 'king' took for himself 'rightness', the 'whole soul', and 'blood'. To the '[whole] soul'. Second: [The 'dei]ty' took for himself the 'whole soul', 'Haharwa-land' and 'life'. To 'the gods'. Third: 'The enemy' took for

<sup>100</sup> Basic bibliography on oracles: Haas (2008); Gurney (1981); Beal (1999, 2002b, 2000c).

<sup>101</sup> See Beal (2002c: 59–64); Haas (2008: 60).

<sup>102</sup> Beal (2002c: 76–80); Haas (2008: 19–22).

<sup>103</sup> CTH 561; KUB 5.1+ i 1–4; see Beal (1999: 41–2).

himself ‘rightness’, ‘release’, the ‘campaign’ ‘the year’, and ‘protection’. They are given to ‘Hannahanna’. Fa[vourable].

There were other forms besides these three. There was a ‘HURRI-bird’ oracle, apparently quite distinct from augury, performed by the <sup>LU</sup>HAL rather than the augur; its functioning is entirely obscure.<sup>104</sup> The MUS-oracle may have worked in a similar way to the KIN oracle with an eel or snake (‘MUS’) passing over symbols in a bowl of water.<sup>105</sup> In the ‘bed’ (*sasta*-) oracle, the movements of an animal before sacrifice were observed.

Dreams could also be a form of divination. Alice Mouton distinguishes two primary types of Hittite dream: first, ‘message dreams’ which convey information from the gods, some of them are deliberately sought by the practice of incubation; and second, ‘bad dreams’, which require some sort of ritual apotropaic action. Sometimes a message dream was represented as being delivered by a human messenger, which has been compared to how dreams work in Homer.<sup>106</sup> Oracular enquiries could also be addressed to the gods to clarify the interpretation of dreams.<sup>107</sup> There is an early example of this in a Middle Hittite letter from Sarissa-Kuşaklı, where an augur reports that the queen asked that he investigate a dream she had had, and he and some others duly performed augury and also another form of divination called ‘observing the road’.<sup>108</sup>

Celestial omens are also important. We hear of these sometimes in historical texts, e.g. in the 3rd Year of the Annals of Mursili II when the storm god shows his providence and shoots a firebolt (*kalmisana*) at Arzawa (AhT 1A§17).<sup>109</sup>

The commonest subject for oracular enquiry is to investigate why something is wrong. The answer is often divine anger or displeasure, because a ritual has not been performed in the right way, because a gift promised to a god has not been delivered, or because the god has been defiled in some way.

<sup>104</sup> For ideas, see Beal (2002c: 71–2); Haas (2008: 55–6).

<sup>105</sup> See Lefèvre-Novaro and Mouton (2008).

<sup>106</sup> Mouton (2007b); Haas (2008: 157–69); message dreams: Oppenheim (1956: 198–9); Haas (2008: 165).

<sup>107</sup> See Mouton (2007b: 170–243). Sometimes the issue was which deity sent the dream, as in KBo 24.123 (Mouton (2007b: text 81).

<sup>108</sup> Hoffner (2009: no. 92).

<sup>109</sup> There was another celestial omen in Year 10 of Mursili’s reign, when the Sun god gave a sign (*sakiyahta*), which was interpreted as an omen of death (KUB 14.4 iv 24–6 = Singer (2002: no.17§7)). If this was an eclipse, it’s compatible with modern dating: see Singer (2002: 75); for the history of interpretation (the eclipse was suggested originally by Forrer) see Oberheid (2007: 118).

A good example is the record of enquiries relating to the obscure deity of Arusna,<sup>110</sup> in which the cause of the deity's anger, which is thought to have caused the king's illness, is gradually established to be the result of a number of infringements relating to failure to deliver certain cultic gifts that had been promised. Not all oracular enquiries are about the past. Some look forward: they may investigate the correct way to perform festivals, for example,<sup>111</sup> and two texts relate to the problem of ensuring the king's safety over the winter, including the possibility of a road accident.<sup>112</sup>

### 2.6.4 Problem Solving Rituals

One of the most common genres of religious text in the Hittite archives are rituals aimed at solving a certain problem. Issues addressed include incest (CTH 445), a bad omen, sorcery, a plague or illness, evil gossip, depression, and bewitchment by humans.<sup>113</sup> Other rituals were associated with birth.<sup>114</sup> From the modern point of view it would be natural to describe such rituals as 'magic' rather than 'religion', but the Hittite texts show no sign of such a distinction. Usually the problem is analysed as a form of impurity (*papratar*) which has caused the gods to be angry, and part of the solution is to appease them, by invocation (*mugawar*), sacrifice, and opening ritual pits.<sup>115</sup> There is also a toolbox of ritual techniques ('ritualemes') designed to remove contagion. Three key types of ritualeme are:<sup>116</sup>

- the operation of analogy, illustrated well by the 'Ritual of Samuha', which requires the participant to carry out a sequence of analogical procedures, including holding an onion plant, and assures him that impurity will disappear as the plant disappears as it is peeled;<sup>117</sup>
- transference: a designated 'carrier' (*'nakusse'*) removes the impurity; sometimes an animal is rubbed against the body of the patient or

<sup>110</sup> CTH 566; translated by Richard Beal in CoS 1.204–6. Cf. also Beal (2002b: 14–19).

<sup>111</sup> For example CTH 568, discussed by Lebrun (1994a).

<sup>112</sup> KUB 5.3+ and KUB 5.4+, translated by Richard Beal in CoS 1.209.

<sup>113</sup> Basic bibliography: Haas (2003a) supersedes everything. For bewitchment: Mouton (2010); incest: CTH 445; depression: Beckman (2009).

<sup>114</sup> Beckman (1983); Mouton (2008a).

<sup>115</sup> On pits, Vieyra (1961); Hoffner (1967a); Steiner (1971); Collins (2002).

<sup>116</sup> The three categories are distinguished in Collins (2002) (in ROAWAG, 4601); Frantz-Szabó (1995) has the same three.

<sup>117</sup> CTH 480.1§18; S. Görke and S. Melzer (eds.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 480.1 (TRde 10.02.2016),

waved over his head to absorb the miasma;<sup>118</sup> in the most extreme form of this, the corresponding parts of the animal and the human subject were brought into contact, heart to heart and so on;<sup>119</sup>

- substitution: an animal (rarely a human), designated a ‘ritual substitute’ (Luwian *tarpalli*) is sacrificed in place of the ritual subject (this is sometimes difficult to distinguish from the preceding). Clay models are often used as substitutes as well. The most celebrated context is the Royal Substitute Ritual, which is derived in part from Babylonian sources.<sup>120</sup>

One more type is a symbolic act of passage through something: a gate, fire, or the pieces of a sacrificial victim (i.e. ‘Between the Pieces’ rituals: see §10.2).

The rituals tend to be very elaborate, often extending over several days, and made up of a large number of sub-rituals performed by the ritual actor or the person(s) on whom or for whom the ritual is being performed: the ‘ritual subject(s)’. An important element of all rituals is speech by the ritual actor. Place is also usually specified: in a specific building, by a river, in the wilderness and so on.

The author is very often a woman with the status of ‘Old Woman’ (<sup>MUNUS</sup>SU.GI). Other rituals are ascribed to ‘augurs’ (<sup>LU.MES</sup>MUSEN.DU), ‘doctors’ (<sup>LU.MES</sup>AZU), or ‘haruspices’ (<sup>LU.MES</sup>HAL).<sup>121</sup> In many cases several rituals are ascribed to the same author: three or four to the Old Woman Tunnawiya<sup>122</sup> and up to five to Mastigga of Kummanni.<sup>123</sup> Usually the ritual is written in the first person, as if the author is the ritual-actor. The rituals contain occasional Luwian words. On the other hand, traces of similar rituals show up in earlier Hittite sources, so we should beware of thinking that they are necessarily of Luwian origin. Two Luwian areas are particularly well represented: Arzawa in the West and Kizzuwatna in the South-East where there was interaction with Hurrian ritual terminology.

### 2.6.5 System of Offerings

Hittites believed that gods had to be fed, like humans. The most common forms of offering were libations and bread, but animal sacrifice is also well

<sup>118</sup> The term *nakussi* is sometimes said to be Hurrian, but that’s not certain: see HEG s.v.

<sup>119</sup> For touching, see p. 204.

<sup>120</sup> For the Hittite Royal Substitute Ritual, see Kümmel (1967).

<sup>121</sup> Old woman: Marcuson (2016); augurs: Bawanypeck (2014).

<sup>122</sup> See Hutter (2003: 20). <sup>123</sup> See Miller (2004).

documented. The texts describe the ritual of preparing the animal and killing in some detail, but there is little emphasis on dividing it up between participants in the ritual. Animal sacrifice was different in central Anatolia and in Kizzuwatna, where we find the victim burned whole, bird offerings made into pits, and an avoidance of pigs, all features that seem to have come from Syria. At feasts, participants engaged in ‘god-drinking’, which combined libation-offerings with a ritualized drinking in which the spirit of the deity was consumed.<sup>124</sup>

Besides food-offerings, it was the custom of the royal family to make rich dedications to deities. Some idea of these can be gained from votive texts, which mention items made of precious metal: rhytons, musical instruments, statues and body parts, solar discs, symbols, such as the ‘soul’ and years (apparently the Hieroglyphic Luwian sign). In one text queen Puduhepa asks the god Sarruma and his offspring to listen to her, and vows to give him model ears of gold and silver.<sup>125</sup>

### 2.6.6 The Chthonic Realm

As in many religious systems, there was a clear distinction between ‘upper’ (*sarazzi-*) deities and ‘Lower’ (*kattera-*) or ‘Former’ (*karuiliya-*) deities, the latter being regarded as a source of danger whose anger had to be appeased. This is clear in this excerpt from a prayer to the Sun god:<sup>126</sup>

You [allot] the upper (spheres) to the Celestial Deities, you allot the lower (spheres) in the dark earth to the Former Deities

There were established protocols for dealing with the Former Deities, especially offerings made into ritual pits. The underworld was also believed to be accessible via water sources or points where water disappeared underground, the latter apparently known as ‘Roads of the Earth’ (see p. 30).

As for funerary rituals and beliefs about the afterlife, for non-elite Hittites there is little evidence, but for the king a valuable source of information is the fourteen-day Hittite royal funerary ritual (the ‘*Sallis Wastais* Ritual’,

<sup>124</sup> A good guide is Beckman, RIA s.v. Opfer AII. For food offerings, see Chapter 12.

<sup>125</sup> KUB 15.1 ii 25–36 (CTH 584.1), translated by Hoffner in CoS 3:66–7; for similar texts, see De Roos (2007).

<sup>126</sup> KUB 31.127 ii 1–3 = Singer (2002: 4c §8); E. Rieken et al. (eds.), *hethiter.net/*: CTH 372 (INTR 2017-01-31) §8.

CTH 450).<sup>127</sup> Another text seems to describe the journey of the human soul after death, and the contrasting fates of those who find the right path to the meadow and those who end up in perpetual watery darkness.<sup>128</sup>

Deceased kings and other members of the royal family were laid to rest in the royal mausoleum or 'stone-house' (possibly the same as a *hekur* or *hesta/i*-house), where they received full cultic honours, including regular sacrifices. The spirits (GIDIM<sup>HLA</sup>) of the dead kings were a defining feature of the capital, alongside the gods of Hatti, as we know from the fact that Muwatalli had both groups transferred from Hattusa to the new capital at Tarhuntassa.<sup>129</sup>

A good deal is also known indirectly from oracle texts about the influence that dead kings and their families were imagined as exerting in the world of the living. One source of trouble was the *zawalli*, a sort of spirit dwelling within a human being, sometimes associated with the dead.<sup>130</sup> Trouble might arise if a man's *zawalli*-deity was angry with you, or if your own *zawalli* had been cursed by someone. The best example of this is a long and complex affair relating to the enthronement of Tudhaliya IV, discussed by Theo van den Hout (1998), when an oracular investigation had to be conducted into why the spirits of a number of important figures from the past were angry, and then they had to be appeased.<sup>131</sup> Another oracle-record from the reign of Mursili II, the important KUB 5.6 (source, inter alia, of the oracular enquiry about the deities of Ahhiyawa and Lazpa: see §5.3), addresses the problem occasioned by the fact that a *zawalli*-image of the Hittite king which had been transported to Arzawa (apparently in the form of a statue) has been cursed by the Arzawan king Mashuiluwa, which had in turn polluted both the statue and the Hittite king (iii.8–37). Proceeding by the method of hepatoscopy, the oracle determined that elaborate purification ritual was required involving a '*mantalliya*' ritual of reconciliation performed in both Hittite and Arzawan fashion.<sup>132</sup>

<sup>127</sup> Van den Hout (1994). <sup>128</sup> KUB 43.60; see Archi (2007a).

<sup>129</sup> KUB 1.1 ii 52–3 (CTH 81§6); Otten (1981: 14–15); trans. van den Hout, CoS 1.201. A Hittite catalogue preserves a title: 'if someone takes up the bones of a dead person [GIDIM]'; Dardano (2006: 164–5 and 174–5).

<sup>130</sup> Archi (1979b) associates them with the dead; van den Hout (1998: 82–3) (from where the quote comes) is sceptical. In the Greco-Roman context one thinks of the Manes of Roman religion: Archi (1979b: 92).

<sup>131</sup> CTH 569; Van den Hout (1998: 90–2).

<sup>132</sup> AhT 20§31. See Van den Hout (1998: 3ff.); Beal (2002b: 26–8); Haas (2008: 68ff.); Archi (1979b: 87–8).

Some texts may even imply the practice of necromancy. A catalogue attributes to Tunnawiya the ritual: ‘if I perform a *mugawar* for a dead person’, and another catalogue entry reads: ‘*mugawar*, if a dead person for someone is summ]oned’.<sup>133</sup> Another ritual attributed to Tunnawiya mentions as one form of miasma ‘terror of the dead’ (*akkantas hatugatar*).<sup>134</sup>

### 2.6.7 Speech and Song

Most Hittite rituals and festivals were punctuated by some sort of speech or song. The languages used reflect the various cultures of LBA Anatolia: Hittite, Hattic, Luwian, Palaic, Hurrian, and occasionally other unknown languages, such as in one ritual a song in the mysterious Taggurka language.<sup>135</sup> One mode of speech is denoted by the verb *h̄uek-*, normally translated ‘conjure’, with the complementary noun *h̄ukmai-* ‘conjunction’.<sup>136</sup> In *Hantitassu’s Ritual* the term *h̄ukmai-* is applied to an elaborate prayer to the Sun god, making use of analogical magic.<sup>137</sup>

‘. . . As the small seeds escape (without being ground) the millstone, in the same way let my client escape from the jaw of Agni.<sup>138</sup> As the rear wheel (of a cart) cannot touch the front wheel, in the same way let the evil days not detect (my) client. Are my [word]s not (identical with) the words of the Sun God and of Kamrusepa? [Accept] them as the conj[urations] of a mortal! He will repeat this conjunction seven times . . .

(For the ‘words of Kamrusepa’ see further p. 202) This *h̄ukmai-* is in Hittite, but in other rituals they appear in Hattic or Hurrian.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>133</sup> KUB 30.57 i 5–7; KUB 30.60 i 28–9.+; Dardano (2006: 48–9, 75–6); cf. also VBoT 133, obv.7 (Dardano 2006: 80–1): I]f the spirit (GIDIM) gives a sign to anyone . . . ; KBo 31.12 9; Dardano (2006: 262); if a man [sees?] a spirit. Doubts about necromancy in Hittite texts are expressed by Schmidt (1994: 208n.331); Collins (2002: 226).

<sup>134</sup> KUB 12.58 ii 34 etc.

<sup>135</sup> KUB 58.5 i 6. For speech in an unknown language, see KUB 12.44+ iii 31–4 with Haas (1988a: 141n.65).

<sup>136</sup> Sometimes connected with Greek *εἰχνομαί*. See §4.1.

<sup>137</sup> CTH 395.1§11. Ünal (1996: 29); A. Chrzanowska (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 395.1 (TRde 09.01.2017).

<sup>138</sup> Apparently the Indo-Iranian fire god: see p. 7, n.21.

<sup>139</sup> Hattic: in the Hittite birth rituals we find a Hattic ‘Incantation of Blood’ and an ‘Incantation of the Wind’: KUB 17.28 ii 1–8 = Beckman (1983: 84–5) ‘Ritual G’; Hurrian: in the rituals of Allaiturahi: Haas and Thiel (1978: 135); or a *h̄ukmais* ‘from which one cannot be released’: Haas and Wegner (1988: no. 80, 369).

Another form of sacred speech is naming gods, as we see in a Hittite–Hattic bilingual text relating to the ritual cycle of Zalpuwa on the Black Sea in which a singer (Hittite version) or GUDU-priest (Hattic version) ‘invokes’ (*huekzi*) a long list of deities, and speaks (*memai*) a formula along the lines of ‘for mankind’ (*dandukisni*) you are (ordinary name of the god) but ‘among gods’ (DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> *istarna*) you are (a special name). There are thus four forms of address for each deity. Thus, to take part of the Hittite section which is more or less intelligible):<sup>140</sup>

For men	Among gods
Tahattanuit (the preceding god’s wife)	Mother of the fountain, a queen
Wasizzil	Lion king, you hold heaven and earth
Tasimmit	Ishtar the Queen
Storm god’s temple	Storm-god of the wilderness, you hold heaven and earth

In general, the names ‘among gods’ are what we would call descriptions or epithets.<sup>141</sup>

Singing is well attested Hittite festivals and rituals. Many types of people sing but there are also specialized ‘singers’ (<sup>LU.MES</sup>NAR), sometimes linked to a certain area and singing in a specific language (Hurrian, Hattic, Luwian). There was a special tradition relating to the ‘Songs of Istanuwa’.<sup>142</sup> Thus, Hittite religion provides for the worship of deities imported into the pantheon in the language they were perceived as originally having been worshipped in. In most cases the texts preserve at most the first few lines; there are a few longer hymns in the archives, but these are closely modelled on Babylonian prototypes.<sup>143</sup>

One striking feature of Hittite ritual activity, at least as it is represented in the archive texts, is that several different languages were concurrently in use to celebrate deities. This is particularly clear in descriptions of the

<sup>140</sup> KUB 8.41 ii = VBoT 124; Laroche (1947); Forlanini (1984: 264–5); Corti (2010b).

<sup>141</sup> For the language of gods and men motif in Indo-European poetic traditions, see Watkins (1970); Bader (1989).

<sup>142</sup> In general Schul (2004: 157–76); Rutherford (2008); Pecchioli-Daddi (1982: 326–39); from different areas: Schul (2004: 144); Hurrian: Pecchioli-Daddi (1982: 340–2); Kanesh: Pecchioli-Daddi (1982: 342–3); Hattic: Pecchioli-Daddi (1982: 339–40); Luwian: Pecchioli-Daddi (1982: 343, only in one text); Babylonian: Pecchioli-Daddi (1982: 343). Songs of Istanuwa: Hutter (2003: 239–40).

<sup>143</sup> See Haas (2006: 245–51); Wilhelm (1994); Metcalf (2015: 79–103) has an excellent analysis, distinguishing Babylonian and Hittite elements. Steitler (2017: 100–23) analyses a Hattic hymn to the Sun goddess, CTH736.



performance of the various singers who take part in Hittite rituals, the ‘singer of Hatti’, who sings in Hattic, the ‘singer of the Hurrian land’ who sings in Hurrian, the ‘singer of the Luwian land’ who sings in Luwian, and the ‘singer of Kanesh’ who sings in Hittite. In some contexts we find singers from different traditions performing at the same festival. Thus, in the context of the cult of Ishtar of Samuha, for example:<sup>144</sup>

Next, he drinks, sitting down, the god Suwaliyat; he breaks a large loaf; the singer sings in Hurrian

Next, he drinks, sitting down, Kamrusepa; he breaks a large loaf; the singer of Kanesh sings;

Next, he drinks, sitting down, NIN.É.GAL; he breaks a large bread; they lay the great lyre;

Next, he drinks, sitting down, Abara of Samuha; he breaks a large loaf; they play the great lyre;

Next, he drinks, sitting down, the gods of the father of the Sun-goddess of Arinna; he breaks a large loaf; the Hurrian singer sings . . .

This polyphony of languages is justified on ritual grounds, in so far as it was considered appropriate to praise the deity in the language of the geographical area from which he had come, but the result must nevertheless have been to highlight, rather than disguise the complex cultural mix.<sup>145</sup>

## 2.6.8 Prayer

The Hittite archives preserve a number of formal speeches made to deities, almost all of them composed for performance on specific occasions by or on behalf of the king and sometimes the queen as well, reflecting the special position of the king as chief priest and therefore the obvious point of contact between the world of the gods and the world of men. Several speech acts are

<sup>144</sup> KBo 11.22 iii = Lebrun (1976: 181–2). This sort of polyphonic singing seems to have been particularly common at Samuha: see also KUB 1.12 = Lebrun (1976: 172–3) where we have singing in Hurrian, Hattian and singers of Kanesh; and KUB 27.1 iv 20ff. (Wegner 1995: no. 1; Haas, ChS 1/9, 115) where have a sequence of songs accompanying drinking rituals to different deities Hurrian and Hattian.

<sup>145</sup> Ilya Yakubovich (2010: 258) has suggested that this is a way of stressing ‘the multiethnic character of the Hittite society united by the common state cult’.

distinguished: *arku-* (noun *arkuwar*) ‘plead’ or ‘pray’ and *mugai-* (noun *mugawar/mukessar*) ‘invoke’ are the most important, along with *wallai-* (noun *walliyatar*) ‘praise’, and *mald-* (noun *malduwar*) ‘vow’. The term *arku* ‘plead’ reflects the position of the king who is not so much appealing to an all-powerful deity to have mercy on him, but rather justifying his position in terms of the agreed principles that govern the relationship between god and man, so that the implied speech situation is that of a trial, with the king as the defendant and the offended gods as the prosecution.<sup>146</sup>

Many of the preserved royal prayers are of considerable religious or historical significance, for example around 1400 BC Arnuwanda and Asmunikal prayed to the sun goddess of Arinna about the attacks of the Kaska and Mursili II made a series of prayers concerning plague that ravaged the kingdom during his reign. The most elaborate is Muwatalli’s so-called *Prayer to the Assembly of the Gods through the Storm God Pihassassi*, which addresses first the ‘gods of Hatti’ and then the ‘gods of the lands’, the latter group comprising 140 deities.<sup>147</sup>

The relationship between *mugawar* (invocation) and prayer is shown by the colophon to Mursili’s Prayer to the Sun Goddess of Arinna which states that the writer invoked (*mugai-*) the goddess in Hattusa for seven days, and that the *mugawar* is kept on a separate tablet.<sup>148</sup> One text records a private ritual of this sort in honour of the Storm god of the town of Kuliwisna (in the Lower Land), including a *mugawar* to the god, setting out the reason for the god’s disappearance.<sup>149</sup> A related term is the verb *lila-*, which means ‘conciliate, pacify’; the Luwian texts relating to the town of Istanuwa included a tablet containing a ‘*Song of Conciliation (lilawar)*’.<sup>150</sup>

### 2.6.9 Myths

The Hittite archives contain a few mythical narratives. The most elaborate are the Kingship in Heaven narratives (probably songs) which survive as

<sup>146</sup> Prayers are collected in translation in Singer (2002); earlier in Lebrun (1980). On human-divine communication, Beckman (1999b). For different types, see Singer (2002: 5–11). Bachvarova (2006) has explored traces of a similar way of addressing deities in early Greek poetry and drama.

<sup>147</sup> Arnuwanda and Asmunikal: CTH 375 = Singer (2002: no. 50); Mursili II: CTH 378–9 = Singer (2002: nos. 10–14); Muwatalli CTH 381 = Singer (2002: no. 20).

<sup>148</sup> CTH 376A; Singer (2002: no. 8, p. 54). <sup>149</sup> CTH 330; see Glocker (1997: 26).

<sup>150</sup> KBo 31.8 obv i.1; Dardano (2006: 22). For song in Greek ritual, see p. 139.

Hittite translations or adaptations from Hurrian, and also in fragmentary Hurrian versions. The best known is the Kumarbi narrative, now called the ‘Song of Going Forth’, which resembles the myth of Hesiod’s *Theogony*.<sup>151</sup> There are translations and adaptations from other languages as well including the Elkinursa-narrative (CTH 342) from W. Semitic, and the *Epic of Gilgamesh* (CTH 341) from Akkadian; the Hittite Gilgamesh narrative shows significant differences, for example that Gilgamesh is created by the gods rather than born, as in the Babylonian version.<sup>152</sup>

Of the surviving Hittite myths, the best attested are those narrating the disappearance of a deity and its return; they were often embedded in a ritual context. The best known is the myth (preserved in several versions) of Telipinu, who becomes angry for some reason and vanishes, bringing about a collapse in nature: the gods seek him in vain, and they also send a bee to look for him; in one version of the myth (Version 1) the goddess Kamrusepa performs a ritual to remove his anger and purify him; in another (Version 3) the bee, sent by Hannahanna, found him in the town of Lihzina in a meadow or swamp. His restoration is symbolized by the *kursa* (hunting bag) full of forms of prosperity hanging from the *eian* tree, which is itself a symbol of him (Version 1). Myths of this pattern are found in connection with several other deities as well, including the Storm god of Nerik, the Sun god (here *hahhima* or ‘frost’ takes over), Hannahanna, and the goddess Inara.<sup>153</sup>

Another important central Anatolian narrative is the myth of the serpent Illuyanka, which survives in two versions, both connected to Nerik.<sup>154</sup> There was also a myth or myths concerned with the nature goddess Inara and mother goddess Hannahanna.<sup>155</sup>

Few surviving narratives are concerned with early history. A rare example is the narrative of the queen of Kanesh who bore thirty sons, and sent them away to Zalpuwa on the Black Sea. Later she bore thirty daughters. The sons eventually returned, and they seem to have considered marrying the daughters, at which point the text breaks off. Hattusa is not mentioned,

<sup>151</sup> Translations of these texts are most easily available in Hoffner (1998: nos. 14–18); see §§7.1–7.2. On adaptation from Hurrian, see Archi (2007b).

<sup>152</sup> Elkinursa: see Hoffner (1998: no. 23); Gilgamesh: Beckman (2019); earlier: Bachvarova (2016: 54–77).

<sup>153</sup> Telipinu: Hoffner (1998: no. 2) (three versions); Storm god of Nerik: Hoffner (1998: no. 4); the Sun god: Hoffner (1998: no. 7), Hannahanna: Hoffner (1998: no. 8); Inara: Hoffner (1998: no. 9).

<sup>154</sup> See Hoffner (1998: no. 1) (two versions); see §7.3.

<sup>155</sup> Hoffner (1998: no. 9).

but the text may relate to early historical events concerning Zalpuwa and Kanesh.<sup>156</sup>

Some important mythical texts survive only as *historiolae* of ritual texts. For example, a fragment of purification ritual contains an extraordinary *historiola* spoken next to a river bank and addressed to the goddesses who created mankind:

‘When they took heaven and earth, then the gods made a division among themselves and the upper ones took the sky for themselves, while the lower ones took the earth and the underworld. So took each his own. You, however, river, have taken purification, life of progeny and fertility. If now anyone says anything to anyone and this is grievous, he comes to you, the river and to the Guls-goddesses of the bank and the DINGIR.MAH-deities who created men.’

This recalls the Babylonian divine ‘tripartition’ of the universe between sky, earth, and water, except that here the water is the dominion of Guls and DINGIR.MAH goddesses who created mankind from the clay of the river banks. Their authority in the ritual is guaranteed by this mythical past.<sup>157</sup>

## 2.7 Anatolia in the Iron Age

### 2.7.1 Overview

After the disappearance of the Hittite kingdom in the early 12th century BC, Hittite and/or Luwian traditions of culture and religion survive to different degrees in different parts of Anatolia and N. Syria. Our information about political geography and culture in the immediately following centuries usually comes down to language and names of people, gods, or places. In N. central Anatolia, the ruling power through much of the early 1st millennium BC were the Phrygians, who spoke an Indo-European language not

<sup>156</sup> CTH 3. Gilan (2007); Gilan (2015); see further §4.6. Gilan (2015) is a good guide to other earlier historical narratives.

<sup>157</sup> CTH 434.1. §§2–3; F. Fuscagni (ed.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 434.1 (TRde 04.03.2013); cf. Otten and Siegelová (1970: 32–3). For the Babylonian background of the tripartition myth, see Burkert (1992: 89–90). For the Guls and DINGIR.MAH goddesses, see p. 198. The *historiola* is well established in Greco-Egyptian magical practice and before that in Egyptian magic: see Frankfurter (1995).

closely related to Hittite and in fact closer to Greek. Their kingdom included Boğazköy, though their capital was further West at Gordion on the Sakarya River. The Muski, mentioned in Assyrian sources, seem to be the same as the Phrygians in the 8th century BC, though perhaps they were originally independent. Their neighbour to the East was Urartu, a significant polity in the early 1st millennium BC with a language related to Hurrian. The Phrygian kingdom seems to have flourished until it was conquered by the Cimmerians (in or around 695 BC) and then in the late 7th century annexed by Lydia. Subsequently the territory belonged to the Persian Empire. In the Hellenistic period, Phrygia was occupied by Galatian tribes.

Phrygian presence cannot be traced back any further than the 9th century BC; they may have migrated into Anatolia in the early 1st millennium BC, perhaps from Thrace, but it is also possible that their ancestors were present in W. Anatolia in the LBA. For cultural or religious continuity between the Hittites and Phrygia, there's little or no reliable evidence. On the other hand, Phrygia was certainly in contact with the Luwian kingdoms of SE Anatolia in the 8th century BC (see p. 168).

Continuity is clearest in the 'Neo-Hittite' kingdoms of South-East Anatolia and North Syria, which are attested as late as the late 8th century BC. Here we find inscriptions in Hieroglyphic Luwian (though it is not certain that the Luwian language was consistently spoken here) and kings with names resembling those of Hittite kings of the LBA. In some cases, there is evidence for a continuous sequence of kings from the LBA to the 8th century, as at Carchemish, where there were three dynasties; the first (12th–10th century), whose kings bore the title 'great king', may have traced itself back to the viceroy son of Suppiluliuma I in the 14th century BC. The third dynasty of Astiruwa included the regent Yariri, who boasted of speaking twelve languages.<sup>158</sup>

The Luwian languages survived in different forms right across the South of Anatolia: Carian (only recently deciphered); Lycian, Sidetic in Pamphylia (named after the city of Side), and Pisidian. Lycian and Carian are believed to be related to Luwian, either forms of it or, as Ilya Yakubovich advocates, sister languages belong to a group he calls 'Luwic'.<sup>159</sup>

<sup>158</sup> See now Bryce (2012).

<sup>159</sup> For Carian: Melchert (2004c); for Lycian: Melchert (2004a); for Sidetic, see Nollé (2001: 2.623–46); also Perez Orozco (2007); Pisidian: Melchert (1994: 44–5); we may perhaps add Solymanian at Termessos: Strabo 13.4.16–17. For 'Luwic' languages, Yakubovich (2010: 8).

There was some continuity of place names also: Perge in Pamphylia is now known to have been an LBA town (Parha);<sup>160</sup> in the Yalbur inscription (see Chapter 4) Tudhaliya IV records that he attacked the Lukka-lands and several places with names that sound like towns in later Lycia, including Patara.<sup>161</sup> It is tempting to assume that the name Lycia continues the LBA toponym Lukka (albeit Lycians called themselves *Trr̄mili*), although the name Lycaonia (presumably from \**Lukka-wani*, ‘inhabitant of Lukka’) may be a better match.<sup>162</sup> It is not certain whether or not the name Caria continues that of the small SW Anatolian kingdom Karkisa.<sup>163</sup>

Lydia is geographically similar to Arzawa in extent, but the Lydian language is not closely related to Luwian; nor does Lydian culture remind us of the LBA.<sup>164</sup> This has usually been explained by the hypothesis that the proto-Lydians migrated to Arzawa from somewhere else in Anatolia in the 1st millennium BC, possibly the region to the North-East; to support this it has been suggested that the toponym Maeonia (the Homeric term for Lydia) may be related to the LBA toponyms Masa, apparently a region in N. central West Anatolia, or Maddunassa, which seems to have been on the border between Mira and Hatti.<sup>165</sup> However, it has recently been suggested that they lived in W. Anatolia after all in the LBA, and that proto-Lydian was spoken in LBA Arzawa, which was only superficially Luwianized in this period.<sup>166</sup>

### 2.7.2 Religious Continuity in the South-East

At Carchemish the chief three deities were the Storm god Tarhunza, the goddess Kubaba and Karhuha, who is usually interpreted as protective deity

<sup>160</sup> Otten (1988: 37–8).

<sup>161</sup> For Patara see Raimond (2002b), text: Hawkins (1995: 68); Poetto (1993: 34–5). The inscription says that Tudhaliya erected some sort of structure at Mt. Patara, but it’s not clear whether it was religious or not. For the whole region, see Gander (2010).

<sup>162</sup> See now Simon (2019). Lukkawanni is attested in KBo 40.17 as a Hittite anthroponym, strikingly similar to the Greek Lycaon, as Lebrun (2001: 252) pointed out. See Laroche (1986: 17–18), who argued that the term ‘Luwili’ might be related to Lukka.

<sup>163</sup> Against: Simon (2015); for: Hawkins (2013: 35–6); Gander (2017: 275). On continuity of other place names on Caria, see Herda (2013: 434n.49).

<sup>164</sup> Melchert (2004b); Payne and Wintjes (2016: 22–4).

<sup>165</sup> For Masa, Carruba (1964: 294–6); Beekes (2002); for Maddunassa, see Van den Hout (2003a). S. Hawkins (2013: 170–1) provides a good summary. On the location of Masa, see pp. 222–3.

<sup>166</sup> For Yakubovich (2010) Lydian was a substrate language in this period and Luwic Carian the superstrate.

of the LAMMA type, like Runtiya.<sup>167</sup> Of these Tarhunza is clearly Hittite in origin, and Kubaba can be traced back at Carchemish to the 18th century BC (see p. 167). As late as the 8th century BC an inscription from Carchemish concludes with a threat:<sup>168</sup>

‘... may Celestial Tarhunza, Karhuha and Kubaba, the Moon and the Sun and Parakara litigate, and may they destroy his head!’

Many kingdoms in the region had Luwian traditions such as Malatya, Kummuh, Masuwari/Til Barsip, and Gurgum; others such as Bit-Agusi, Bit-Adini, and Sam'al expressed themselves in Aramaic. At Masuwari/Til Barsip in the 9th century BC, the chief deities were Tarhunza, Ea, Kuparma (= Kumarbi), Matili (?), Tesupa, the Harranean Moon god (Sin), and Kubaba; so here we have the Storm gods of the Hittites and Hurrians side by side.<sup>169</sup> To the West were the Luwian kingdoms of Hamath and P/Walastin (also known as Patin or Unqi), centred in Tell Tayinat, on the Orontes River, which at one point controlled Aleppo.<sup>170</sup> Here in the 8th century BC the pantheon was led by Tarhunza, Ea, and the tutelary stag god Runtiya.<sup>171</sup>

In SE Anatolia, Luwian traditions survived in the region between the south of the Halys River and the Taurus, the Hittite ‘Lower Land’. I mentioned above that the Greek name for the western part of this region, Lycaonia, seems to echo the Hittite toponym Lukka. The eastern part, which was known to the Assyrians as Tabal, included several kingdoms, including Hupisna (Greek Kybestrā) and Tuwana (Hittite Tuwanuwa, Greek Tyana), the seat of king Warpalawa, immortalized in the Ivriz relief (see p. 207).<sup>172</sup> South of the Taurus were the kingdoms of Adanawa in the East, known to the Assyrians as Que, of which Hiyawa was the Luwian equivalent, and in the West Hilakku, the name which comes out in Greek as ‘Cilicia’. In the late 8th century BC the rulers of Adanawa apparently associated themselves with a founding dynast whose name was Muksas in the Luwian version of the Karatepe Bilingual and MPS in Phoenician (see further p. 74).

<sup>167</sup> Karhuha: Haas (1994a: 578, citing Orthmann 1971: 241); Hawkins in CHLI I.1.106–7. Cf. also the theonym Sarkus (from Hittite *sarku-*, ‘high?’) at KARKAMIS A 11b §18d; CHLI II.11 +12, vol.I.1.1,103.

<sup>168</sup> KARKAMIS A IVa §§13–14 = CHLI II.28, vol.I.1, 152.

<sup>169</sup> TELL AHMAR 2§2 = CHLI III.1, vol.I.1, 228; cf. Hawkins (1980).

<sup>170</sup> Bryce (2012: 128–33); Weeden (2013).

<sup>171</sup> TELL TAYINAT 2§10 = CHLI VII.2, vol.I.2, 371.

<sup>172</sup> Bryce (2012: 141–53).

This was an area of high religious continuity. From Tabal, for example, an 8th century Hieroglyphic Luwian stele records a mini-pantheon of three pairs of deities, all of them known from the Bronze Age: Tarhunza and Hebat, Ea and Ku[baba], Sarruma and Alasuwa.<sup>173</sup> In Greco-Roman Cappadocia, divine honours were paid to Mt. Argaeus, which may be a relic of the worship of mountains among the Hittites.<sup>174</sup> While Tarhunza is well-represented, the Luwian Sun god Tiwad is much less in evidence, though his name is part of the theophoric anthroponym Azatiwatas ('the Tiwad favours') known from the Karetepe Bilingual.<sup>175</sup> Sandas-Sandon, the Greco-Roman form of LBA Santa, emerged as the local deity of SE Anatolia par excellence, associated particularly with Tarsos, a city which goes back to the 2nd millennium. LBA Santa was a war and plague god, known best from the ritual of Zarpiya of Kizzuwatna (see p. 266).<sup>176</sup> Greco-Roman theophoric names based on his name are common in SE Anatolia.<sup>177</sup> Greek writers begin to mention Sandas in the Roman period, identifying him with Herakles.<sup>178</sup> Another survivor was the LAMMA god (Ku)runta/tiya, who was the source of Greco-Roman theophoric names such as Rhondas;<sup>179</sup> these are common at Corycus in Cilicia, and since we know that Hermes was worshipped in the region and that in the local Corycian version of the Typhon myth as transmitted by the poet Oppian (2nd century AD) Zeus was aided by Pan the son of Hermes, it has been suggested that Hermes was the Greek translation of (Ku)runta.<sup>180</sup>

<sup>173</sup> ÇİFTLİK§§8–10 = CHLI X.11, vol.I.2, 449. Trémouille (2006) argues that Sarruma should be seen as originally Hurrian, albeit originating from the Kizzuwatna area, while Laroche (1963) had argued that he was originally Anatolian.

<sup>174</sup> Maximus of Tyre, 2.8: ὄρος Καππαδόκαις καὶ θεὸς καὶ ὄρκος καὶ ἄγαλμα; see Huxley (1978). In the 8th century BC a king of Tabal made sacrifices to Mt. Harhara which is 'doubtless correctly identified as Mt. Argaeus', derived from Hittite 'harka-': 'white': CHLI X.19 HİSARLIK, vol.I.2, 483; Casabonne (2006); Hutter (2003: 271).

<sup>175</sup> Melchert (2013a: 49), updating Houwink ten Cate (1961).

<sup>176</sup> I discuss Sandas in Rutherford (2017). See also Polvani (2002); Haider (2006).

<sup>177</sup> Houwink ten Cate (1961: 136–8).

<sup>178</sup> For Herakles and Sandas see Rutherford (2017); also Laroche (1973); Haider (2006).

<sup>179</sup> See LGPN VB 375 s.v.

<sup>180</sup> Oppian *Hal.*3.15–28. On (Ku)runta/tiya see §2.5. The link to Hermes was made by Houwink ten Cate (1961: 212–13); for Hermes in the region, see Hicks (1891: 232–3 and 236–7); also Lytle (2011: 370–9). There seems to be no sign of a sanctuary at the site before the Hellenistic period, from when we have lists of priests, displaying, as one might expect, a fusion of Greek and Luwian names: Hicks (1891, no. 27). The identification of (Ku)runta/tiya and Hermes is not certain, however. It was suggested in part by the idea that the LAMMA deity (Ku)runta/tiya would have played a similar role in the myth to Inara in Illuyanka narrative, but we know that LAMMA played a different role: see §7.2. Perhaps the translation of (Ku)runta/tiya at Corycus was Pan instead. Hermes has also been linked to Hittite Sarrumma, whose symbol in Hieroglyphic Luwian may be a winged foot (sign 81): Deroy (1952) (though he reflects the belief of that time that this deity was the moon god Arma); Laroche (1973: 106). M. L. West (1997: 191n.71) has a slightly different idea.



## 2.7.3 Religious Continuity in the West

In Western Anatolia, the evidence for continuity is thinner. There's some evidence for theonyms, occasional lexical evidence, and scholars have occasionally pointed to archaeology.

From Pamphylia, we have only a few pieces of information: the word for 'god' in Sidetic seems to be related to Luwian: *masar-*,<sup>181</sup> and *malwadaz* has been thought to continue Hittite *malduwar*, 'vow'.<sup>182</sup> It is also striking that the local name of Aspendos, Estwedius, looks to be identical to Azatiwatiya, the Luwian name of Karatepe, named after its founder Azatiwatas ('beloved of Tiwad').<sup>183</sup>

One deity with a cult centre at Pisidian Antioch, though widely spread in W. and N. Anatolia, is Men, apparently a moon god, usually qualified by epithets, such as Askaenos, or Tiamou. The Greek and Roman moon deities were generally female, and it has been suggested that Men might go back to the Anatolian moon gods Arma or Kusuḫ.<sup>184</sup> It seems to support this that Arma was productive in theophoric names in the Greco-Roman period.<sup>185</sup> Men's epithets have also been derived from Hittite-Luwian ones, e.g. Tiamou from Cuneiform Luvian *tiyamm(i)* (earth).<sup>186</sup>

Among the many attested Lycian theonyms, the only ones known to have LBA roots are Trqqas (Trqqiz Lycian B) and probably Maliya, cognate with Lydian Malis (see p. 194). There may be a few others; for example Qebeliya could continue the minor Hittite deity Hapaliya.<sup>187</sup> Lexical parallels are found as well—to be expected since Lycian is either a form of Luwian or

<sup>181</sup> S2 and S3 in Nollé (2001); Adiego Lajara (2007: 332).

<sup>182</sup> *Malwadaz* in Nollé (2001: S1.5) (see his commentary, pp. 631–3).

<sup>183</sup> Evidence summarized in Lemaire (2006); Azatiwatas served the house of Muksas/MPS, and Greek Mopsos is linked to both Cilicia and Pamphylia: see p. 74.

<sup>184</sup> Haas (1994a: 374); Labarre (2009).

<sup>185</sup> For Lycia see Colvin (2004: 61) with references.

<sup>186</sup> Neumann (1961: 71–2) with Lane (1976: 68n.11). See Labarre (2009: 391–6); Ricl (2011: 146–7). There are other possibilities, however: see Lane (1990: 2170–1). Also Askaenos from Hittite *aska-* (door) (cf. the deity *Askasepa*): Neumann (1961: 45); Lane (1976: 72).

<sup>187</sup> In favour: Lebrun (1995: 249–50), Lebrun (2000); against: Neumann (2007: 299). For other possibilities, see Lebrun and Raimond (2015: 80–90). They include Qeli, which would go back to Halki (Grain): Lebrun (1995: 252–3); Neumann (2007) s.v.; Melchert (2002) suggested that *hâta* in TL44b, 41–55 may represent the Lycian form of Santa. Others have been found in theophoric names: Iya- from the rare Hittite theonym Iyaya: Houwink ten Cate (1961: 137); Lebrun (1995: 253–4) and Lebrun (2002); cf. Neumann (2007) s.v. *ijamara*; Mole- from the minor Luwian deity Muli, associated with Huwassanna in Hupisna; Lebrun (1995: 251–2); on this see also Hutter (2003: 273–4); Neumann (2007: 225–6), citing Louis Robert's observation that the PN *Μολαεις* is common in Lycia and Pisidia.

related to it: Lycian *mahan* ‘god’ corresponds to Luwian *massan* and Lycian *kum-* ‘sacred’ to Luwian *kumma*.<sup>188</sup>

As for Caria, the name of the Storm god is now attested at Iasos (*trq(u)ḍi*).<sup>189</sup> The theonym Imbrasos is said to have been a Carian name for Hermes, which sounds plausible because the Hieroglyphic Luwian *immar(i)* ‘steppe’ is used in the genitive to qualify the deity (Ku)runta in Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions,<sup>190</sup> and Hermes seems to have been called Runta at Corycus (see p. 53). The name of the moon god Arma is implied in theophoric names, and also in an apparent double theonym or theophoric anthroponym with *trqḍ-* from Hyllarima: *armotrqḍos*.<sup>191</sup> The Carians called Dionysus Masaris, which is presumably related to the Sidetic word for ‘god’ (*masar-*);<sup>192</sup> Zeus’ name Osogoas at Mylasa defies interpretation.<sup>193</sup> The word for god was *mso-* related to Cuneiform Luwian *massan-*.<sup>194</sup> Hecate of Lagina vaguely resembles some LBA goddesses but there’s no specific evidence which clinches the connection: see §9.6.1. It has been argued that some place names presuppose anthroponyms (their founders) which resemble names known from LBA Arzawa.<sup>195</sup> Oracular traditions at Telmessos near Halicarnassos could have LBA origins (see p. 141). Some have detected the survival of the *ḫuwasi*-stones in the region.<sup>196</sup>

Among attested Lydian gods, the only ones who seem to go back to LBA are Malis who functions as a translation of Greek Athene (see p. 194), and Kubaba/Kuvav (see p. 167). A curse formula preserved in a Lydian inscription seems to combine together the names of Santa, Kubaba, and the

<sup>188</sup> *Kumaza-*: priest, *kumehe-*: sacred; *kumez(e)i-*: sacrifice. Another isolated survival may be Lycian *trbbeli* which could continue Luwian ‘*tarpalli*’. Lebrun (1999: 51–2), though see Melchert (1993b: 69).

<sup>189</sup> Schürr (2002: 164); Adiego Lajara (2007: 423); see also Debord (2009: 252–4).

<sup>190</sup> Stephanos of Byzantium s. *Imbros*, Adiego Lajara (2007: 335); Kretschmer (1896: 335), Bremmer (2014:37–8). Eustathius on Dionysius Perigetes 524 has the alternative reading *Imbramos*. For *Immari-* see Luwian Corpus; *Immaralli* is a steppe god in MALATYA 5. *Imrassis* is an epithet of gods at KUB 30.57, 8: see CLL s.v. and Hutter (2003: 248). It has been suggested that the word *ipr ehi* in a Lycian inscription from Tlos might be a local form of Apollo, derived from the same root: Schürr (2006: 12–14) and Oettinger (2015) and see §5.3. *Imbrasia* is a title for Artemis.

<sup>191</sup> Adiego Lajara (2007: 331, 355–6); Debord (2009: 252–3).

<sup>192</sup> Steph. Byz. s. *Mastaura*; see Herda (2013: 438n.72).

<sup>193</sup> Namitok (1941) from Hattic; Lebrun (1982: 86) and Lebrun (1989: 84) from Luwian: *wasu-/usu-* (good) + *kuwa* (‘force’). Cf. Rutherford (2006). On Luwian (Istanuwan) Siuri and Carian Sinuri, see Lebrun (2016).

<sup>194</sup> Adiego Lajara (2007: 306–7, 327, 382).

<sup>195</sup> Schürr (2002); cf. Adiego Lajara (2007: 333–4).

<sup>196</sup> See Diler (2000). KASKAL.KUR: Hansen (1997a and 1997b).

‘Mariwda’;<sup>197</sup> the Mariwda may be related to the Marwainzi deities who are attested in Arzawa in the LBA (see p. 129). Lydian Qldāns, who seems to correspond to Apollo, has no obvious Bronze Age antecedents.<sup>198</sup> Other Lydian theonyms are derived from Greece, such as Lews = Zeus (i.e. Dieus), Artimus = Artemis, and Lamētrus = Demeter. The Lydian word for god, *civ-*, seems to be derived from the *diw-* root, putting it on a parallel with Hittite *siuna* (not to mention Greek ‘Zeus’).<sup>199</sup> It seems doubtful that the ritual use of dogs at Sardes, attested archaeologically, is to be linked to Hittite practice.<sup>200</sup>

### 2.7.4 Temple States

In the 1st millennium BC Anatolia has a number of ‘temple states’, i.e. cities run by priests with an economy focused on a temple, and a population made up at least partly of hierodules. Many of them were closely associated with Hellenistic kingdoms in Cappadocia and Pontus. For most of them Strabo is our only source.

Location	Deity	Source
Comana in Cappadocia/Cataonia	Ma-Enyo	Strabo 12.2.3
Comana Pontica	Ma-Enyo	Strabo 12.3.32; Strabo claims that Comana Pontica was founded from Comana in Cappadocia, basing this argument on similar rituals—the twice-yearly <i>exodoi</i> of the goddesses.
Morimene at Wenasa	Zeus Wenasios <sup>201</sup>	Strabo 12.2.6
Ameria in Kabeira	Men Pharnakou	Strabo 12.3.21
Zela in Pontus	Anaitis	Strabo 12.3.37
Pessinous	Cybele	Strabo 12.5.3
Antiocheia in Pisidia	Men Askaenos	Strabo 12.8.14

<sup>197</sup> For the curse formula, Gusmani (1964: 168, text 4a) and Melchert (2008: 153).

<sup>198</sup> For the suggestion that means ‘of the army’, cognate with Luvian *kuwaliya-*, see Oettinger (2015: 137n.29) and Carruba (2002).

<sup>199</sup> Melchert (1994: 334).

<sup>200</sup> Robertson (1982a), drawing on Greenwald (1978). In the ritual of Huwarlu of Arzawa (CTH 398, KBo 4.2.i.23–6; Bawanypeck 2005: 24–5) a puppy of tallow is buried beneath a threshold for protection; see p. 128.

<sup>201</sup> Possibly also Zeus Dakieos, an emendation: see Radt (2008: 339–40).

A few others could be added to the last, e.g. Olba (Uzuncaburç) in W. Cilicia, centre of the cult of Zeus Olbios, about 20 miles north of Corycus<sup>202</sup> or Hierapolis Castabala, site of the cult of Artemis Perasia or Kubaba of Pwsd/r (no *hierodouloi*).<sup>203</sup>

Could any of these temple states go back to the LBA? It's an important question for this book because some of these sites could have been important in the transmission of Luwo-Hittite religion, such as Olba, where some Luwian traditions survived, to judge from onomastics,<sup>204</sup> and Pessinous, the main centre of the worship of Cybele from the mid 1st millennium BC.<sup>205</sup> Some scholars have seen them as old, others as Hellenistic developments.<sup>206</sup> As I said earlier (p. 36), although there are no fully independent temple states attested for Hittite Anatolia, there were cities designed to serve religious ends, which show some sign of independence, and perhaps could have survived the fall of the Hittite kingdom. One of these might have been Kummanni, which in the past was identified with the Greco-Roman Comana in Cappadocia (in which case the Greco-Roman Ma-Bellona would be the direct continuation of Hepat of Kummanni).<sup>207</sup> However, Kummanni is now placed much further South, probably at Sirkeli Höyük (see p. 30) or perhaps Hierapolis Castabala.<sup>208</sup> Of the other attested cases, Olba is sometimes thought to go back to LBA Ura, a minor state which conducted mercantile activity on behalf of the Hittites but is not known to have been a temple state, and one would have

<sup>202</sup> Strabo, 14.5.10; no *hierodouloi* are attested: see Trampedach (2001: 280).

<sup>203</sup> See Dupont-Sommer and Robert (1964); Strabo.12.2.7 (fire-walking), Strabo 14, 5, 19; Artemis Perasia of Comana: Taeuber (1992: 19–24); Lebrun (1989: 87–8) suggests a link to the epithet '*parassi*' applied to Ishtar.

<sup>204</sup> That transition is symbolized by the name of local priest known from an inscription (2nd century BC): Teukros, son of Tarkyaris: LGPN VB s. Teukros (23). In general, see MacKay (1990: 2082–103).

<sup>205</sup> See §8.2. Burkert (1979a:105) says: 'Thus sanctuaries run by eunuch priests may well have been the only organizations to survive those really dark centuries in Anatolia before the Persian rule, or even the pax Romana.'

<sup>206</sup> Debord (1997) saw them as Hellenistic, Casabonne (2001) thought some of them go back to the Bronze Age.

<sup>207</sup> See Goetze (1940: 17). Archi (1975d); Debord (1997); Laroche (1960: 119–20); Lebrun (1978); Lebrun (2007a); Casabonne (2003); Virgilio (1981: 60–1). Archi (1973a) compared the twice yearly *exodoi* at Comana Pontica and the twice-yearly festivals attested in the Hittite cult inventories.

<sup>208</sup> Hierapolis Castabala is not known to be a temple state, though an Aramaic inscription dating from 5th–4th century BC seems to refer to the territory of Kubaba of Castabala, which might suggest a state: see Dupont-Sommer and Robert (1964: 7–15).

expected Ura to be on the coast;<sup>209</sup> the ones in Pontos are at least in the general region of the 'sacred cities' of the Hittite homeland; for Pessinous there is little LBA evidence.

<sup>209</sup> For bibliography on Olba and Ura, see Davesne et al. (1987: 373); Haider (1995: n.1); Haider (1995) puts it at the mouth of the Göksu; Beal (1992a) puts it at Celenderis. Trampedach (1999) sees Olba as a Seleucid foundation.

# 3

## Greek Religion in the LBA and EIA

### 3.1 Introduction

The long life of Hittite and Luwian religion, first attested in the 2nd millennium BC and lasting in areas right down to the Hellenistic period, is broadly similar to that of ancient Greek religion which is also attested for almost two millennia, from the Mycenaean palaces to the establishment of Christianity, over which period it went through many changes. What's different is the level of attestation at different times. In contrast to Anatolian religion, our information about the 2nd millennium BC is sketchy, while we know much more about the 1st millennium BC, particularly the so-called 'Classical' period (5th century, early 4th BC), the Hellenistic period (late 4th–1st centuries BC), and the Roman period (1st century AD–4th century AD). Over this time-span, there is a gradual geographical expansion, from the Greek mainland, the Greek islands, and the West coast of Turkey ('Ionia') to Greek colonies attested over coastal areas of much of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, and eventually to the interior of Turkey itself in the Late Hellenistic and Roman period. In the later periods, we find extensive blending and syncretism with local religious traditions.

Another difference has to do with how much information we have about origins. Hittite religion seems to have arisen from a combination of central Anatolian elements, both Indo-European (Hittite, Luwian) and non-Indo-European (Hattic), with elements from E. Anatolia (Hurrian), Syria and ultimately Mesopotamia. If Mycenaean religion consisted of similar strata, they are harder to reconstruct; some of it was probably Indo-European (when speakers of Greek arrived is uncertain; it's often put around 2000 BC, though it may be later), some probably from Minoan Crete (which probably exerted a strong cultural influence over the mainland even before the Mycenaean took over Crete). But there may have been other elements: populations independent of the Minoans must have lived in Greece before speakers of proto-Greek arrived; we can call these 'pre-Greek' (though 'pre-Indo-European' would be a better term). Another element might be

Cycladic cultures of the Early-Middle Bronze Age, who seem to have had thriving religious traditions. And finally, it is perfectly possible that there was a degree of influence from areas to the East of the Aegean; we know that this happened at least by the 8th century BC, but it could have started much earlier, particularly since there is reason to think that Greeks engaged in long-distance maritime activities in the 13th century BC. Evidence of seals suggests some links to the Near East as early as the 3rd millennium BC.<sup>1</sup> Alternatively, Eastern influence could have been mediated through Minoan Crete, which certainly had connections with Anatolia and Syria in the early 2nd millennium BC (see below).

### 3.2 Cycladic and Minoan Religion

The most striking EBA sign of organized religious activity in the Aegean region is found not on the mainland or in Crete, but in the Cyclades. A large deposit of broken figurines from Dhaskalio Kavos on the island of Keros dating to the mid 3rd millennium BC seems to indicate some sort of organized religious activity round a central sanctuary, which cannot but remind historians of religion of the later role of sacred islands such as Delos and Samothrace in Aegean religious history. Without texts, it is impossible to know what the figurines represent: are they deities, or humans, perhaps substitutes for the worshipper, or representation of enemies (hence the destruction)? Our understanding of this is in its infancy.<sup>2</sup>

Ritual activity is also attested on Crete in the 3rd millennium BC but the most suggestive evidence—largely material culture and iconography—comes from the first half of the 2nd millennium, the so-called ‘Proto-palatial’ and ‘Neo-palatial’ periods (preceding the ‘Post-palatial’ period after the Mycenaeans arrive).<sup>3</sup> Textual records are limited: Linear A and Cretan Hieroglyphs are partly readable, because many of the signs correspond to Linear B, but the language has not been identified; among the suggestions is that it might be an Anatolian language—Luwian or Lydian.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aruz (2008); see also Sahoğlu (2005) on Aegean–Anatolian trade networks in the 3rd millennium BC.

<sup>2</sup> Renfrew et al. (2012); Renfrew (2011: 687).

<sup>3</sup> Lupack (2010) is a good recent guide for archaeology; Younger and Rehak (2008: 165–70); Nakassis et al. (2014) for texts.

<sup>4</sup> A good guide is Younger and Rehak (2008: 174–7). Luwian: Palmer (1965: 327–53); cf. Georgiev (1963); E. Brown (1997); a form of Anatolian: Finkelberg (1990–1).

Hence, almost all the main features of the religious culture remain uncertain. Nor do we know anything about the political organization of the island, or what role religion played in that. Most of what we can make out is inferred from seal rings and frescos. The former show religious scenes, including goddesses making epiphanies to worshippers alongside trees or baetyls. Frescos show some manifestly religious activities, including processions, and animal sacrifice, and some other scenes that could be religious, such as bull-leaping and crocus-gathering, usually linked to the production of saffron. Some recurring symbols are probably religious, such as the double axe and the ‘horns of consecration’. Places of religious activity included special areas in palaces (especially so-called ‘lustral basins’ and courtyards), shrines on mountain peaks, and caves.<sup>5</sup>

How many gods there were is unknown, as are their names, unless the Linear B tablets from the Post-palatial period reveal some of them (see p. 66). Linear A texts may identify a goddess called *a/ya-sa-sa-ra* (sometimes claimed to be Hittite), unless that sequence means something else.<sup>6</sup> The field has had difficulty shaking off Arthur Evans’ view, inspired somewhat by James Frazer, that the main figure was a goddess, accompanied by a young male deity. It’s true that a goddess figure is prominent on the imagery of seals, but imagery does not always give us the full picture,<sup>7</sup> and it seems more likely that Minoan religion was polytheistic, with prominent male and female deities.

Minoan culture seems to have had a broad cultural influence in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean. Minoan Crete, probably known as Kaphtor or Kaptara, is referred to in Ugaritic religious texts as a home of the craftsman deity Kothar-wa-Hasis,<sup>8</sup> a figure who could easily correspond to a major Minoan Crete deity.<sup>9</sup> Cretan (or Cretan-style) goods are mentioned

<sup>5</sup> Seals: see, e.g., Cain (2001); frescos: Kontorli-Papadopoulou (1996) is a good guide to religion in Aegean frescos in general; for saffron, see Day (2011); sacrifice: Marinatos (1986); bull-leaping: Kontorli-Papadopoulou (1996: 146–7); places: Kontorli-Papadopoulou (1996: 74–8).

<sup>6</sup> Palmer (1958b) (cf. Palmer 1965: 333–8) tried to connect it with the Hittite *iṣḫassara*, a rare word which means ‘mistress’ used of goddesses (i.e. ‘*potnia*’): see Haas (1994a: 309). E. Brown (1990) linked *a/ya-sa-sa-ra-* to a hypothetical Luwian *sarl(a)i-* ‘sacrifice’; Finkelberg (1990–1: 66–7) to Lydian *sirma* = altar, *temenos*. The obscurity of the rest of the Linear ‘libation formula’ as a whole makes interpretation impossible.

<sup>7</sup> See Gulizio and Nakassis (2014: 117–18).

<sup>8</sup> Baal Cycle Col. 3, 14–16; see Parker (1997: 119). On Ugarit’s links to the Aegean and elsewhere, see Dietrich (2007); Dietrich and Loretz (1998).

<sup>9</sup> Morris (1992: 99–100). That Minoan deity might have something to do with the later Zeus Welkhanos who may in turn be connected with Roman Vulcanus: see §1.3.



in the cuneiform texts from Mari.<sup>10</sup> It also seems that during the reign of Zimri-Lim of Mari (18th century BC) a Cretan boat was manufactured, possibly for ritual use by the king on the Euphrates.<sup>11</sup> The West coast of Anatolia also shows Minoan presence, especially at Miletus.<sup>12</sup> Crete is not mentioned in Hittite texts, either under the name Kaphtor or any other name, as far as we know, though by the time the Hittites become interested in the West, Minoan power was probably on the wane.<sup>13</sup>

When the palace at Beycesultan on the upper reaches of the Meander in SW Phrygia was excavated in the 1950s, similarities were noticed between its design and Minoan architecture; the discovery of artefacts resembling the Minoan horns of consecration encouraged the view that there had been influence, or even migration, and for chronological reasons it was most likely to have been from Anatolia to Crete.<sup>14</sup> That's now regarded as an exaggeration,<sup>15</sup> but there's more: it has been claimed that early Minoan sealing systems derive from Anatolian ones, especially as attested at Karahöyük near Konya.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, it has been suggested that several names attested in Linear A texts or otherwise associated with Crete come from Anatolia, both place names,<sup>17</sup> personal names,<sup>18</sup> and theonyms.<sup>19</sup> It is hard to compare the Hittite and Minoan religious systems when the sources

<sup>10</sup> Alberti (2012); Cline (1995: 273). See p. 8 and p. 157.

<sup>11</sup> See Guichard (1993) and Guichard (2005: 162–3). Guichard (1993) compares the model boat on the Haghia Triadha sarcophagus, which has been thought to symbolize the journey of the soul after death; see Gallou (2005: 45); on the sarcophagus, see Long (1974: 46, 48–9); Laffineur (1991).

<sup>12</sup> See the survey of Davis (2008: 198–9). For Miletus, Bryce (2012a: 369–70); Momigliano (2012) stresses the limited nature of finds at Iasos. See p. 99.

<sup>13</sup> Some scholars have situated Ahhiyawa in Crete: Forlanini (1988: 165) and Helck (1987: 222), who suggested it was the 'Achäerherrschaft in Kreta'. Georgakopoulos (2012) has argued that the term Ahhiyawa originally referred to Crete.

<sup>14</sup> Thus Lloyd and Mellaart (1956: 118–19): 'The most superficial comparison of the Beycesultan remains with those of the Cretan palaces at Knossos, Phaestos and more particularly Mallia, is sufficient to convince us immediately of some striking and significant relationship'; Palmer (1958b) and Palmer (1965: 39–41) endorsed the migration hypothesis. Peak Minoan-mania: Brentjes (1965). For the horns of consecration: Diamant and Rutter (1969). For recent perceptions of Beycesultan see Mac Sweeney (2011a and 2011b).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Vanschoonwinkel (2003 and 2004).

<sup>16</sup> See Weingarten (1990); Aruz (1993); Aruz (2008: 117–19); Wiener (2013: 41).

<sup>17</sup> Thus, E. Brown (1990: 228) suggested that Itanos is the same as Hittite Istanuwa (!).

<sup>18</sup> Billigmeier (1969), and Finkelberg (1990–1: 80–4), who summarizes earlier bibliography. Starke (1990: 375 n.1353) observed that a proper name attested at Knossos: Ti-wa-ti-ya (KN Ap.618) looks a Luwian theophoric name derived from Tiwad.

<sup>19</sup> See on Ishassara above. Heubeck (1961: 52–3) suggested that the names of the Cretan goddess *pi-pi-tu-na* (attested in Post-palatial Linear B) and Diktunna (she of Dikte?) contain a Luwian suffix *-wann(-a)*. For the suffix, see Rieken (2017: 302).

are so different, but for what it's worth Hittite sources (images and texts) seem to attest bull-leaping.<sup>20</sup>

Greek sources from the 1st millennium BC suggest early contact between Crete and Anatolia as well. For, example, there was a tradition that Rhakios, father of the great W. Anatolian seer Mopsos, came to Colophon from Crete, and Herodotus claimed that the Lycians emigrated from there.<sup>21</sup> Double axes show up as a religious symbol in W. Anatolia in the 1st millennium BC.<sup>22</sup> It's also worth noticing that in the 1st millennium BC Greek religious imagination Crete had something in common with W. Anatolia: there are Mt. Idas in both areas, and the figure of the Great Mother is alternately projected onto Cretan Rhea who gave birth to Zeus there and onto Phrygian Cybele: see Chapter 8.

As well as W. Anatolia, Minoan culture also established itself in the Aegean islands, especially Rhodes, Melos, Kythera, and Keos. The most spectacular evidence is from Akrotiri on Thera, where excavation has revealed houses with frescos whose style is partly Minoan, partly presumably local. Many of the frescos are suggestive of religion; a room in one house has a lustral basin and two levels of frescos depicting a goddess seated on a platform and women gathering saffron.<sup>23</sup>

### 3.3 Mycenaean Religion

We are better informed about Mycenaean Greece, now usually identified with the Ahhiyawa of the Hittite texts. These texts tell us nothing about the religion of Ahhiyawa, except that the Hittites considered a deity from there important enough to bring it to the capital (§5.3). The main sources are

<sup>20</sup> The Early Hittite Hüseyindede B Vase, excavated in 1997 (see Sipahi 2001) has a frieze of figures representing musicians and acrobats, including a man standing akimbo on a bull's back, possibly supposed to be somersaulting over it. It was suggested by Güterbock (2003) that some Hittite texts refer to bull-leaping; the subsequent discussion is well summed up by De Martino (2016: 93–4). The picture is complicated by the existence of a seal depicting bull-leaping from Alalakh (Alalakh VII, around 1700BC); see Collon (1994) for this and other examples.

<sup>21</sup> Mopsos: see p. 74; Lycian and Crete: Herodotus 1.173; 7.92.

<sup>22</sup> In the 1st millennium BC the double axe is associated with the Anatolian god Zeus Labraudeus. Plutarch, discussing the axe of Zeus Labraudeus in Mylasa (*Qu.Gr.* 45, 301f–302a) reveals that the Lydian for axe was '*labrus*', which has suggested a link to the Minoan 'Labyrinth' (apparently attested already in Linear B from Post-palatial Knossos as *da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to*, i.e. 'Daburinthos': *KN Gg 702*). But this is all very tenuous, above all since the double axe is a common feature of ancient religious iconography: see Unwin (2017: 22–9).

<sup>23</sup> This is Kontorli-Papadopoulou (1996: no. 50), Immerwahr (1990: 186, Ak No 6), with image fig. 20 on p. 60. For the interpretation as a ritual-initiation, see Marinatos (1984).

Greek texts in Linear B, available since their decipherment in 1952, most of them from Pylos, Knossos, and Thebes. The script is derived from Cretan Linear A, which was not used for Greek, and it seems likely that the Mycenaeans adapted it after they took over Crete, perhaps around 1400 BC. The use of these scripts is a distinctively Aegean cultural feature; cuneiform never penetrated this far West.

The decipherment revealed that the Mycenaeans used Greek, an Indo-European language. Greek-speakers are likely to have migrated into the region from the North or North East, most likely either at the start of the Middle Helladic period (ca. 2000 BC) or the start of the Late Helladic (LH) period (ca. 1550 BC).<sup>24</sup> We don't know anything about the nature of the migration—whether it was just a matter of a ruling elite (cf. the Hittites) or something more extensive. Their language and culture presumably came to be blended with what was already there, which then became the 'substrate'; it was asserted by Leonard Palmer in the late 1950s and reasserted by Margalit Finkelberg that this substrate was Luwian.<sup>25</sup> More recent ideas are that it was an unknown non-Indo-European language, usually called 'Pre-Greek'.<sup>26</sup>

Up until the decipherment, scholars had tended to focus on what Mycenaean religion had in common with Minoan in so far as could be ascertained from the iconography of seals and frescos. After the decipherment, two things became clear: first that Mycenaean religion was largely distinct and had much in common with Greek religion of the 1st millennium BC, though there are also differences. Burkert's summary is accurate in this case: 'Greek religion is rooted in the Minoan-Mycenaean Age and yet not to be equated with it'.<sup>27</sup>

The second thing that became clear is that Mycenaean religion was closely bound up with the Mycenaean state. There were regional palaces, each ruled by a *wanax*, who is likely to have had both religious and political authority. The second in command was the *lawagetas*, and there were provincial governors or *damokoroi*.<sup>28</sup> The palace kept records of people and livestock in the territory it controlled, and oversaw the distribution of produce. The palace probably didn't control everything, however, and there may also have

<sup>24</sup> Drews (2017) advocates the arrival of an Indo-European elite in the mid 2nd millennium BC from the NE Black Sea.

<sup>25</sup> Palmer (1958b); Palmer (1980: 9–10); Finkelberg (1997); Finkelberg (2005: 42–64). A large part of this argument was based on place names, on which see Yakubovich (2010: 10–11), drawing on de Hoz (2004).

<sup>26</sup> Luwian: Palmer (1958b); Finkelberg (2005); pre-Greek: Beekes (2007).

<sup>27</sup> Burkert (1985: 46).

<sup>28</sup> Nakassis (2013: 7, 9). On the *wanax*, Palaima (2008).

been quasi-independent towns or villages—the so-called *damos*.<sup>29</sup> The existence of quasi-independent religious organizations has been inferred from the fact that some persons are designated ‘slave of the god’ (*te-o-yo do-e-ro/ra*), others ‘belonging to *potniya*’; the term ‘the potnian smiths’ (PY Jn310) suggests that temples could be manufacturing centres.<sup>30</sup> One key aspect of the religio-political organization of Mycenaean Greece still remains obscure, namely, was there a single centre of power and where was it? If there was one, it could have been Mycenae or Thebes; but perhaps it was a confederation whose leaders or deputies met at some neutral location (as Greek states met at sanctuaries in the 1st millennium BC).<sup>31</sup>

In the early history of interpretation recourse was often made to the Ancient Near East, where the political structures were believed to have been wholly centralized, and redistributive. Over the last few decades there has been doubt about whether the Mycenaean evidence really supports this, but it has also become clear that the economies of Ancient Near Eastern cities were themselves more diverse than had been supposed.<sup>32</sup> A few similarities to the administration of the Hittite state have been suggested.<sup>33</sup>

Many of the Linear B tablets relate to religion;<sup>34</sup> in particular, they record contributions to cult, including offerings of oil and other commodities;<sup>35</sup> there’s no sign that any attempt was ever made to record a purification ritual in Linear B, or any form of divination.<sup>36</sup> There is a little iconography, e.g. the frescos from the cult centre at Mycenae, though they are hard to interpret.<sup>37</sup> Besides that we have the remains of buildings regarded as designed for religious use, large numbers of figurines, and a few statues. Some more

<sup>29</sup> In the Pylos tablet PY Un718 contributions to a cult of Poseidon are made by *e-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo* (Enkherr’awon?), perhaps the *wanax*, by the *damos*, by the *lawagetas*, another official, and by the obscure *wo-ro-ki-yo-ne-yo ka-ma*. The *wanax* gives by far the most, followed by the *damos*. In Py Ep704 the *damos* seems to be in dispute with a priestess called Eritha. For the *damos*, see Nakassis (2013: 171–2).

<sup>30</sup> Lupack (2007).

<sup>31</sup> For an overview Kelder (2010). Bryce (2018) has recently argued that Pylos was the centre.

<sup>32</sup> Excellent survey in Bendall (2007: 4–9).

<sup>33</sup> See Heltzer (1988); Uchitel (2005b); Marazzi (2006); Kelder and Poelwijk (2016) compare the Mycenaean *damokoro* to the Hittite <sup>LU</sup>AGRIG. Comparison of this sort were already being made by Leonard Palmer, who (1958a: 28) compared the Mycenaean term ‘slave of the god’ to an expression he found in a Neo-Hittite inscription (CHLI VIII.1 (BABYLON 1)); see also Palmer (1963: 257–8). Jasink (1981) has a useful assessment of earlier work in this area.

<sup>34</sup> Palaima (2008) and Rutherford (2013b) both have bibliography; Gérard-Rousseau (1968) still has its uses.

<sup>35</sup> See Bendall (2007: 290–2). <sup>36</sup> For divination, see Dietrich (1990: 164–5).

<sup>37</sup> For frescos see Kontorli-Papadopoulou (1996).

information can be extrapolated from material culture related to mortuary practice.<sup>38</sup>

The main value of Linear B for the historian of religion is probably as a source for theonyms, attested directly or inferred from anthroponyms. The chief deity at Pylos seems to have been Poseidon (*Po-si-da-on*), as in Homer's *Odyssey*. Zeus is present, along with his consort Diwya (a similar theonym is found in 1st millennium BC Pamphylia: see p. 75). Deities known from the 1st millennium BC attested in the corpus include Dionysus, Ares (*A-re*), Hermes, Hephaistos (via an anthroponym), Enualios, Artemis, Hera, and Eileithuia. Apollo may be named in a fragment, but Paeon (*Payawon*) is certainly attested (usually a title of Apollo in the 1st millennium BC), along with the Apolline epithet Smintheus (via an anthroponym) (see p. 111). The gods mentioned in Linear B texts from Knossos (around 1400 BC) include many not mentioned in those from Pylos—the other major dossier—and it is possible that some of these are Minoan deities taken over by the Mycenaean administrators.<sup>39</sup> Many Mycenaean gods are absent in 1st millennium BC sources, such as Manasa, Triseros, Dopotas, Komawenteia, Iphimedeia, and Drimios.

The names of many goddesses are formed with the title *potniya* ('mistress'), preceded by a qualifier, clearly an Indo-European feature.<sup>40</sup> Examples from Knossos include the *potniya* of the *da-pu-ri-to-yo* (Labyrinth?) at Knossos, and the *A-ta-na potniya*, which sounds like it must have something to do with Athene;<sup>41</sup> from Pylos *i-qe-ya potniya*, which ought to mean 'mistress of horses' and *potniya A-si-wi-ya* which may mean 'mistress of Asia/Assuwa' (see §5.4); and from Mycenae *si-to-potniya* which may mean 'mistress of grain',<sup>42</sup> and suggests the later Greek goddess Demeter. From Pylos there is also a mother goddess: *Ma-te te-i-ya* (*Mater Thehia*: 'Divine Mother').

There is little sign of any Anatolian or Near Eastern deities. The cult centre at Mycenae has a fresco of two female figures facing each other, one of whom holds a down-pointed sword (K-P74b). In between float two naked male figures. The figure with the sword could either be a war-goddess (e.g.

<sup>38</sup> Cult buildings: Renfrew (1985); figurines: Pakkanen (2009); for funerary practice, see Gallou (2005).

<sup>39</sup> Gulizio and Nakassis (2014). Examples include *Pi-pi-tu-na* (a goddess related to the later Dictynna?) and *Payawon*, who as Paieon is linked to Crete in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*.

<sup>40</sup> West (2007: 138).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *πότνι' Ἀθηναίη* at Homer, *Il.* 6.305; see Gulizio et al. (2001).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. the fresco K-P74a from Mycenae.

*Atana potniya?*), or a goddess of death.<sup>43</sup> The latter possibility is supported by a parallel in the funerary symbolism of Chamber B Hittite Yazılıkaya where a down-pointed sword with the hilt consisting of two pairs of lions and a human head at the tip was found; it seems to represent the underworld deity Ugur,<sup>44</sup> who was identified with Mesopotamian Nergal and Hattic Sulinkatte. Ugur is known to have been associated with swords.<sup>45</sup> Sword worship is not rare in ancient religions, however; Herodotus has the Scythians worshipping Ares in the form of a scimitar (4.62), and we find this later among the Huns and other nomadic tribes.<sup>46</sup>

There are also references to rituals or festivals, such as:

*te-o-po-r-i-a* from Knossos, ‘carrying the god’ (1st millennium BC *theophoria*)  
*me-tu-wo ne-wo* from Pylos: festival of new wine (or is it the name of a month?)  
*re-ke-e-to-te-ri-yo* from Pylos: interpreted as *lekhestroterion*, i.e. ‘spreading the couches’.

The provisioning of festivals or feasts has been posited on the basis of clay-nodules from Thebes bearing the imprint of seals which record the sending of payments from a number of places in the region; feasts are attested also for Pylos.<sup>47</sup> Osteological evidence confirms the practice of animal sacrifice, including burnt offerings.<sup>48</sup>

### 3.4 The 1st Millennium BC

#### 3.4.1 An Overview

After the apparent collapse of the Mycenaean palaces in the early 12th century BC, little or nothing is known about Greek religion for several

<sup>43</sup> Rehak (1984, 1999); L. Morgan (2005: 169); Gallou (2005: 37).

<sup>44</sup> Haas (1994a: 367–8); Güterbock (1965).

<sup>45</sup> Bronze swords of Ugur: KUB 35.143 ii 4–5; 12 gods and road fork: KUB 35.145 ii 10 (both ritual texts with Luwian elements); discussed by Güterbock (1965: 198): swords or daggers represent chthonic deities in the Hurro-Hittite ‘*Purifying a House*’ ritual, CTH446§18; see CoS 1.169.

<sup>46</sup> Maenchen-Helfen (1973: 278–80). Huns: Jordanes, *Getica* 183, from Priscus; Alans: Ammianus, *Res Gestae* 31.2.23; the Hsiung-nu of the Han-period: Ch’ü-Hsün (1960).

<sup>47</sup> Thebes: Piteros et al. (1990); Pylos: Killen (1994); Bendall (1998–9); Stocker and Davis (2004). For Mycenaean festivals see also Bachvarova (2016:236–9).

<sup>48</sup> It was once proposed on archaeological grounds that sacrifice in Mycenaean Greece did not involve burning of parts of the animal reserved for the god: see Bergquist (1988 and 1993); that view has now been challenged: see Isaakidou et al. (2002: 76); Hamilakis and Konsolaki (2004).

centuries. Greek religion of the 1st millennium BC seems *prima facie* different from that of the LBA, as is Greece itself.<sup>49</sup> Instead of the palace and the *damos*, we have the city-state (*polis*), and religion seems to be organized round that, in a system which has become known as ‘*polis* religion’.<sup>50</sup> Greek polytheism of the 1st millennium BC is an abstraction constructed on the basis of several hundred city-states situated in mainland Greece, the Aegean islands, Ionia, and other parts of Greek W. Anatolia, along with Cyprus and colonies founded in the Black Sea, Italy, Sicily, and North Africa. All Greek city-states share a common core of religious practice and norms (these are sometimes called ‘panhellenic’)—they all recognize the same basic pantheon of gods, for example. They also take part in communal religious activities at the great panhellenic sanctuaries, the centre of common oracles (e.g. Delphi) or athletic competitions (e.g. Olympia), and major festivals held here every four years were occasions that brought the Greek world together in temporary unanimity. But there are also differences, depending on ‘ethnic’ group, the main ones being Ionian (Athens and the Aegean islands, the ‘Ionian’ cities of W. Anatolia), Dorian (much of the Peloponnese and Crete), and Aeolian (some of northern Greece and the ‘Aeolian’ cities of W. Anatolia). There are regional differences as well (e.g. Arcadia, Boeotia), and in fact every Greek city has a slightly different configuration.<sup>51</sup>

Most religious traditions were probably still transmitted orally, but our first clear evidence for them are the earliest textual sources, which probably date back, possibly after a period of early oral transmission, to about 700 BC, give or take a few decades. These are the poems of Homer and Hesiod, which describe the gods and human interaction with them; for Herodotus (mid-late 5th century BC) they taught religion to the Greeks (2.53). Almost all textual sources are either forms of literature, such as the Homeric poems, or epigraphical records (‘inscriptions’). The latter provide the most direct evidence, particularly sacred laws and calendars, but before the 4th century BC few of these survive.<sup>52</sup> Literary sources are abundant, but they are in several respects problematic: some of the most informative ones were composed many centuries later, such the important survey of Greece by the imperial author Pausanias. Even when they are early, the information they present may be stylized or even fictional; we see this, for example, in

<sup>49</sup> Overviews: Parker (2011); Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel (1992); Burkert (1985); Eidinow and Kindt (2015).

<sup>50</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood (1990).

<sup>51</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood (1978).

<sup>52</sup> The texts are available in F. Sokolowski’s collections LSCG, LSS, and LSAM, and now in the online edition of J.M. Carbon, S. Peels and V. Pirenne-Delforge CGRN.

Homer and Hesiod's accounts of animal sacrifice, or in Homeric descriptions of rituals in general (see §10.9). Some of the most important texts are, unfortunately, fragmentary, such as Hipponax of Colophon's (6th century BC) invective verses which draw on contemporary W. Anatolian rituals, including that of the scapegoat (*pharmakos*).

Texts aren't everything, and an important part of Greek religion was its distinctive material culture. Within the territory of the city-state a deity's dwelling place is usually the temple (*naos*), often more elaborate than any other building, which may, as Walter Burkert suggested, represent a cultural decision to build temples and not palaces (1995a: 205). The classic form seems to develop in the 7th century BC, with central *cella* and colonnade, although there were earlier antecedents. Within the temple, the focus for worship was the statue of the god, relatively anthropomorphic by the standards of other cultures. At Olympia and Delphi the sanctuaries of the gods developed into museums of Greek culture with magnificent temples, treasuries, and rich dedications.

There was no central religious authority. Tradition provided guidance, but a lot of came down to political authority—the magistrates of the *polis*.<sup>53</sup> Some religious authority was outsourced to the Delphic oracle, though Delphi is not believed to have had a major role early on in the development of Greek religion (as Nilsson proposed (1920: 365)). There were no common Greek sacred texts, except for Homer and Hesiod. The Orphic movement which began to appear in the 5th century BC took as its guide the legendary poet-seer Orpheus, whose doctrines were present in 'sacred books'.<sup>54</sup>

Greek gods of the classical period mostly fall into two categories: gods and goddesses of the common pantheon (sometimes regarded as 'twelve'), often with distinctive epithets (regional or functional); and local deities, often regarded as 'demigods' such as heroes (usually imagined as divinized ancestors or warriors) and nymphs (goddesses of the natural world). Deities have different spheres of activity and modes of action. Usually one deity was regarded as the most important in a city, the so-called 'poliadic' deity, the role Athene had at Athens. There is a general distinction between gods of the upper 'Olympian' zone and those of the lower 'chthonic' zone; heroes, for example, usually belong to the latter, as do Hades and Persephone, Hecate, and the previous generation of gods—the Titans. Gods are almost always represented as ideal human beings, at least at the panhellenic level;

<sup>53</sup> Garland (1990).

<sup>54</sup> Orphism: Parker (1995); West (1983); sacred books: Henrichs (2003); Parker (2011:16-20).



aniconism and zoomorphism, though not unattested, are rare.<sup>55</sup> Religion also maps onto the natural world. Some deities are associated with the countryside, such as Artemis and Pan. Others are linked to the agricultural cycle: Demeter, goddess of grain, and Dionysus, god of wine, who also becomes the symbol of exuberant celebration in the city, and thus of dramatic performances. The sea is also divinized: this is part of Poseidon's realm, shared with minor deities such as the sea-nymph Nereids. Neither the sun nor the moon is a major deity for the Greeks, though the former is loosely associated with Apollo and the latter with Artemis.

Divine will can be communicated in many ways, among them extispicy and augury, but the most formal in the classical period is to visit an oracle, and the most famous oracle was at Delphi, associated with Apollo, the son of Zeus and expounder of his will. Other important Apolline oracles were founded in W. Asia Minor (Didyma, Claros in Ionia, Patara in Lycia).<sup>56</sup> Apollo's spheres of interest thus came to include wisdom, rationality, and also music, the last something which it is hard to find a parallel for in deities from W. Asia and the Ancient Near East.<sup>57</sup>

The most important way of honouring the gods was through animal sacrifice, performed in a distinctive way; for example, the tail of the animal was burned on the altar as the gods' share.<sup>58</sup> There seems to have been a distinction between ordinary sacrifice and another form involving holocausts and ritual pits, possibly correlated with Olympian and chthonian deities. It has been argued in recent decades that the main purpose of animal sacrifice was social—to establish communities and hierarchies—but the obvious interpretation remains more likely, namely that it is essentially a gift to the god in expectation of good treatment in return.

Much of Greek religion was a social activity, however. The city came together as a worshipping community in festivals held throughout the year; in Greece the names of the months—which varied from region to region—were often named after the festivals held in them.<sup>59</sup> There were special festivals for women, such as the Thesmophoria in the autumn. Stages in the life cycle were ritualized, including aspects of childhood and adolescence (often called 'rites of passage'); for example, elite girls seem to have been expected to spend time serving as attendants in temples, as at Brauron near Athens.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Aniconism: Gaifman (2012); zoomorphism: Aston (2011).

<sup>56</sup> Oracles of Apollo: Parke (1985). <sup>57</sup> See Rutherford (2020c).

<sup>58</sup> See Hitch and Rutherford (2017); Naiden (2013). <sup>59</sup> See on this Trümper (1997).

<sup>60</sup> Women's religion: Goff (2004); 'rites of passage': Dodd and Faraone (2003).

One of the main activities in the early Greek city was warfare, particularly directed against other Greeks, and religion plays a part there: oracles were taken before battle; troops sang the 'paean', a sort of hymn to the deity Paeon before and after battle. Gods were believed to make epiphanies in battle, and the place where the rout of the enemy began could be marked with a sign, the *tropaion*, which represented Zeus; spoils of the enemy might be dedicated in sanctuaries; some great victories were commemorated in the ritual calendar of the victorious city.<sup>61</sup>

Surprisingly little is known at least for the earlier period about personal religion, and the current view is generally that it is of vanishing importance compared with the religion of the *polis*. From the 6th century BC we have evidence for so-called 'mystery cults', such as that related to Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis, which promised personal salvation for those who went through a process of initiation. Earlier ideas about death seem to have been gloomier. Personal salvation was also marketed by travelling religious experts who preached the doctrines of Orpheus. Physical health was also associated with religion and people visited Asclepius at healing-sanctuaries such as that at Epidaurus, which takes off in the 4th century BC. Another manifestation of personal religion are 'curse tablets', i.e. curses inscribed on small sheets of lead, found in increasing numbers from the 5th century BC. Some of the personal voices we hear of are those of intellectuals like Socrates, which border on atheism.<sup>62</sup>

Like other ancient religious systems, Greek religion is very concerned with pollution (*miasma*), and its avoidance. We hear of the purification of cities, and of individuals from blood guilt or when they are suffering from illness and so on, and even from naturally occurring liminal states: birth, death, sex. Purification could be conducted on behalf of the city-state: one thinks of the use of scapegoats at the Thargelia festival (see p. 136), the tradition that Athens was purified by Epimenides of Crete in the 6th century BC, or the unusually explicit Sacred Law from Cyrene (late 4th century BC), not to mention the Sacred Law from Selinus (5th century BC), which includes instructions for purification from an avenging spirit.<sup>63</sup> However,

<sup>61</sup> See Pritchett (1979).

<sup>62</sup> Personal religion: Graf (2013), death: Vermeule (1979); Sourvinou-Inwood (1995); curse tablets: Gager (1992), atheism: Whitmarsh (2016).

<sup>63</sup> Sacred Law from Cyrene: Parker (1983: 332–51); SEG 9.72; Ogden (2002: no. 124); Sacred Law from Selinus: Jameson et al. (1993, col. B); Ogden (2002, n. 123). Collins (2006a: 178) has compared the Greek *elasteroi* to the *zawalli*-deities of Hittite religion, referring to Johnston (1999) on Greek perceptions of the dead.

some forms of individual purification such as those associated with Hecate, seem marginal to mainstream public religion and one gets the sense that such activities took place in secret and were considered beneath the dignity of upstanding citizens. By the 4th century BC it was beginning to seem eccentric, something which Theophrastus associates with his ‘superstitious man’.<sup>64</sup>

### 3.4.2 Continuity

Between the religion of the LBA and that of the 1st millennium BC there was both continuity and change. There are two aspects of continuity. First, some cult sites were in continuous use, for example, Kalapodi/Abai in E. Phokis (centre for a cult of Apollo) and Mt. Lykaion in Arcadia (where Zeus was worshipped).<sup>65</sup> At Kalapodi, there is supposed to be a continuous sequence of temple structures stretching back to the mid 2nd millennium BC, which surely gives the lie to the thesis that the temple of the 1st millennium BC was an entirely new development.<sup>66</sup>

A second element of continuity are theonyms: most major Greek deities of the 1st millennium BC are anticipated in Mycenaean documents, even if many Mycenaean deities seem to have died out (see p. 66). It is worth reflecting that continuity of theonym probably implies continuity of cult.<sup>67</sup> A number of religious terms also seem to have been continuous, such as: *theos* (god), *naos* (temple), *hieros* (sacred etc.),<sup>68</sup> and it seems reasonable to extrapolate that if we had more information, the number of parallels would be even greater.

As far as change goes, the main point to make is about political structure. If religion is an aspect of the political structures of the societies in which it is found, continuity of religious practice implies continuity in respect of political organization. But it seems that the political structures found in Greece of the LBA and 1st millennium BC are very different. So surely the

<sup>64</sup> *Characters* 16; Parker (2003: 307).

<sup>65</sup> Abai/Kalapodi: Niemeier (2016); Mt. Lykaion: Romano and Voyatzis (2014).

<sup>66</sup> For a full list of possibilities, Niemeier (2016: 23); Pakkanen (2000–1). It has been suggested that the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis originates in a LBA megaron: Cosmopoulos (2014 and 2015); Vlakhou (2017) on the Amyklaion sanctuary in Sparta. On Olympia, see Eder (2015). For Kato Syme in Crete: see Prent (2005: 586–91).

<sup>67</sup> Niemeier (2016: 6).

<sup>68</sup> Theos: Aura Jorro (1985–93) s. *te-o* etc.; naos: s. *na-wi-yo* (PY Jn829); hieros: s. *i-ye-ro*, *i-ye-re-u* etc.

religion must have been different as well. There is something to this argument, but its force can be exaggerated. For one thing, our understanding of the political structures of the LBA is incomplete: the palaces may not have had a monopoly over religion; other political units, such as the mysterious *damos*, had a role as well. Secondly, even if religion usually seems to be embedded in a particular type of political structure, it does not follow that the former is simply a function of the latter or wholly defined by it. We might do better to think of religion as a system which is shaped by political structure, but is ultimately independent of it.<sup>69</sup>

So we end where we began: there was both change and continuity. How does this compare with religious continuity in different regions of Anatolia between LBA and the 1st millennium BC, in so far as this can be reconstructed? On the face of it, continuity in Greek religion seems greater than that in Lydia or Phrygia, and similar to that in Cilicia, where continuity may be observed in language, a few theonyms, and some sacred places. Lycian culture too shows continuity of language and some theonyms, and Patara may be a Bronze Age site if it's the same as the place mentioned in the Yalbur inscription. However, we're not certain that the Lycians had been in Lycia in the LBA (see p. 51).

### 3.5 Greek Religion Abroad in Anatolia in the 1st Millennium BC

#### 3.5.1 The Spread of Greek Religion

By the early 1st millennium BC it's impossible to separate Greek religion fully from Anatolia, because parts of Anatolia had come to be settled by Greeks. According to the ancient tradition, the Aeolian and Ionian migrations took place a few generations after the Trojan War in the 11th century BC; these accounts are no doubt simplified and fictionalized, but archaeology tends to confirm that Greeks began to settle on the West coast (Ionia and Caria) at least by the 10th century BC (the Protogeometric period).<sup>70</sup> In some cases, they were reoccupying areas which had been under Mycenaean

<sup>69</sup> Burkert (1995a: 203).

<sup>70</sup> See Vanschoonwinkel (2006b, with table on pp. 137–8); on Ionia, Herda (2013: 426–8); scepticism about the Aeolian migration has been expressed by Rose (2008) and (2014: 69–71), who sees the Aeolian cities as foundations of Miletus.

control in the 13th century BC, and it is possible, though we cannot prove it, that there was continuous presence in some areas, e.g. Miletus.<sup>71</sup>

Greek settlements on the North coast of Anatolia are much later. Cyzicus may have been founded in the 8th century BC, Amisos, Sinope, Kios in the 7th century BC, Heracleia Pontica in the 6th century BC. Miletus was credited with founding the first three of these, and with other colonies on the Black Sea.<sup>72</sup>

Early Greek interaction with the South of Anatolia is less well understood. For Lycia, the earliest Greek foundation is supposed to have been Phaselis, founded from Rhodes in 691/690 BC. Early conflict between Rhodes and Lycia may be reflected in Homer's account of the duel between Tlepolemos and Sarpedon (*Il.* 5.633–59). The poliadic deity in Phaselis was Athene, and the equation between her and Lycian Maliya could have been early.<sup>73</sup>

For Pamphylia and Cilicia, much recent discussion has concerned Mopsos and Hiyawa. Mopsos, whose mother Manto, daughter of Teiresias was the founder of Colophon,<sup>74</sup> migrated East, to Pamphylia and Cilicia.<sup>75</sup> Pamphylia was called Mopsopsia after him, and in Cilicia, he founded an oracle and lent his name to Mopsuestia and Mopsukrene. This tradition has seemed to find confirmation in the dynasty name Muksas (Luwian) or MPS (Phoenician) known from late 8th century inscriptions in Hieroglyphic-Luwian and Phoenician from Karatepe and from Çineköy in Cilicia Pedias.<sup>76</sup> Aspendos (where Mopsos was remembered)<sup>77</sup> and Karatepe are linked in so far as the epichoric name of Aspendos seems to be identical to Azatiwatiya, the Luwian name of Karatepe. One name of Muksas' kingdom according to the Çineköy inscription and another from Arsuz on the Gulf of Iskenderum (10th century BC), was Hiyawa, apparently equivalent to the Assyrian term Que; and it has been argued that this should be understood as a form of the LBA toponym

<sup>71</sup> For possible continuity at Miletus see Niemeier (2005b: 21) and Niemeier (2007: 17); for Mycenaean presence at Miletus in LBA, pp. 100–101.

<sup>72</sup> Cyzicus: 756/5 and 676/5: IACP no. 747; Sinope 7th IACP no. 729, Amisos: 7th ? IACP no. 712; Kios: 626/5: IACP no. 745; Heracleia Pontica: IACP no.715 Megara and Boeotian: 6th).

<sup>73</sup> Phaselis: IACP no. 942; Athene and Malia: see p. 194.

<sup>74</sup> See Mac Sweeney (2013: 104–13) who points out that it is unusual to have a woman founder.

<sup>75</sup> See Strabo 14.4; Vanschoonwinkel (1990); Houwink ten Cate (1961: 45–7); Lemaire (2006).

<sup>76</sup> Alt (1948); Barnett in Barnett et al. (1948: 60); Barnett (1953). Bachvarova (2016: 382–3) argues convincingly that the name Mopsuestia originated from the idea of Mopsos 'hesti house' (Hittite for 'royal tomb').

<sup>77</sup> In Pamphylia, he established the practice of sacrificing pigs to Aphrodite Kastnietis at Aspendos (Callimachus *Iambos* 10, fr. 200a with *Diegesis*); on the significance of the sacrifice, Robertson (1982b: 327).

Ahhiyawa, implying that there was Mycenaean settlement there from the LBA; this remains contentious.<sup>78</sup> Did Mopsos migrate in the 12th century BC? The Luwian form of the name Muksas could come from the Greek name if the latter was originally Moq<sup>u</sup>sos with a labial velar (attested in Linear B: KN De 1381.B, PY Sa 774).<sup>79</sup> However, there is room for doubt here, since the earliest source of Mopsos' eastern adventure is Callisthenes, Alexander the Great's historian, who may have invented it.<sup>80</sup> Muksas was probably a common dynastic name in Anatolia, as we see for example from the story related by Nicolaus of Damascus about Moxos king of Lydia.<sup>81</sup>

For Pamphylia, there is almost no early archaeology, but the distinctive Greek dialect seems to indicate an early presence; one recent estimate is that it could go back to the period between the 12th and 9th centuries BC.<sup>82</sup> For the early religion of the region a crucial piece of evidence is the theonym *Diwia* which is found in a 4th century BC inscription from Sillyon (Brixhe 1976: no. 3.1); from the formal point of view, this could be identical with a theonym found in Mycenaean Pylos (*Di-wi-ya/Di-u-ya*). It is probably a derivative from the root of Zeus' name, *diw-*, signifying his spouse or daughter; the latter is more likely in PY Tn316 where *Di-u-ya* occurs alongside Zeus and Hera. At Sillyon, it seems likely that early Greek settlers applied this theonym to a local Anatolian goddess.<sup>83</sup> In the inscription she is mentioned along with a group called the *hiaroi* ('the sacred ones'), who might be either gods or religious officials. At Perge the Greek title *Wanassa* ('lady') is applied to the local poliadic goddess Artemis, who may also be a translation of a local goddess, possibly the same one.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>78</sup> ÇINEKÖY = AhT 28; for ARSUZ see Dinçol et al. (2015). In favour of equating Hiyawa with Ahhiyawa: Jasink and Marino (2007); Bryce (2016); against: Hajnal (2003: 41); Simon (2010); Gander (2012). Kretschmer (1933) had predicted this on the basis of Herodotus' (7.91) Cilician *Hup-akhaioi*. One problem with the equation between Hiyawa and Ahhiyawa is the apparent loss of the initial *a-*, i.e. 'Luwian aphaeresis'; see Melchert (2010); Sura for Assur in ÇINEKÖY seems to provide an analogy (Rollinger 2006). A second problem is that a Hittite text relating to this area from 15th century BC (KUB 23.21 obv.6) includes a toponym 'Hiya[', which might well be Hiya[wa, and it seems highly unlikely that Greeks arrived that early. But see Hawkins and Weeden (2017:286n.49). Oreshko's (2013b) reinterpretation of Hieroglyphic Luwian sign 429 would greatly increase the number of attestations of Hiyawa in the Hieroglyphic Luwian texts, but see Hawkins (2015).

<sup>79</sup> So Oettinger (2008a). The Phoenician form would be derived from the later Greek version of the name.

<sup>80</sup> Lane Fox (2008: 218–39).

<sup>81</sup> FGrHist90F16. Compare the Moxeanoi and Moxoupolis in Phrygia and Moxoene in Armenia. The name Moxos is common, as in a graffito from Gordion, for which see Liebhart and Brixhe (2009).

<sup>82</sup> Skelton (2017: 124).

<sup>83</sup> See Brixhe (1976: 139–40); Brixhe (2002: 54–5).

<sup>84</sup> Brixhe (1976: 140).

As for Cilicia, if we are to believe the Hellenistic historian Berossos, the Assyrian king Sennacherib (705–681 BC) defeated a Greek army in Cilicia; Assyrian sources talk only of sea battles.<sup>85</sup> Greeks must have sailed along the coast, en route to Cyprus, which had long been settled, and colonies were eventually established, perhaps in some cases in the 7th century.<sup>86</sup>

### 3.5.2 Some Modes of Interaction

In all these contexts, Greeks and Anatolians must have lived in close proximity, and the two cultures and two religious systems must have come into contact, though early evidence is lacking. It's possible that traces of early contact survive in some much later Greek narratives which dramatize the cultural encounters in religious terms. They tend to stress the agency of Greeks in influencing Anatolia. One example concerns Dionysus 'Sphaleotas', the 'one who trips'. In this tradition (which is probably at least as old as Pindar [5th century BC]), the Greeks, trying to find Troy, landed by mistake in Mysia, where they were attacked by the Mysian warrior Telephus, but were saved by Dionysus Sphaleotas who tripped up Telephus with vine tendrils. If, as has sometimes been claimed, Telephus goes back to the Hittite theonym Telipinu, this narrative could reflect a conflict between two gods (see p. 206, n.140). A second example is the foundation of the cult of the Dindymene Mother by the Argonauts. In the myth as we know it from Apollonius of Rhodes (3rd century BC) the foundation was compensation for their having killed Cyzicus king of the Doliones, establishing a cult of the goddess on Mt. Dindymum, carving a statue of her from wood and placating her anger with the music of drums (*Arg.* 1.1092–1152). Thus, while the goddess is Anatolian, the form her cult takes is Greek.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Berossos F5 (from Armenian; F7cBNJ); Haubold (2013: 171). Earlier, perhaps in 715 BC, Sargon 2 mentioned attacking Greeks in the context of Que (see Elayi 2017: 95–7; Haubold 2013:101): (Sargon) expert in battle, who like a fisherman caught the Yaunaya in the midst of the sea like fish and thus gave peace to Cilicia and Tyre.

<sup>86</sup> Cyprus: Vanschoonwinkel (2006a: 103). Nagidos (IACP no. 1010: Samos), Kelenderis (IACP no. 1008: Samos), Soloi (IACP no. 1011: Argives and Rhodians). About Tarsos where the local deity Sandas was eventually identified with Heracles, we know very little. Bing (1971) suggested that it might nevertheless have been colonized by Lindos on Rhodes, as Soloi is supposed to have been.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Neanthes of Cyzicus FGrHist84:F39. So too in Herodotus the cult of Cybele at Cyzicus is perceived as Greek: *Hist.* 4.76. Cf. Valerius Flaccus' version of this episode: p. 225.

Religion also plays a role in colonization-narratives. According to one aetiology for the cult of the huntress goddess Artemis Khitone in Miletus, when Neileus, the founder, was setting off from Athens, he was ordered by an oracle to make a statue of her from an oak tree from which all sorts of fruit were hanging, and he took it with him.<sup>88</sup> There is no reference to Anatolians here, but we do find them in the Chrysame-narrative which tells how during the Greek colonization of Erythrae in Ionia a key role was played by a priestess of Enodia (Hecate) from Thessaly, Chrysame, who began to sacrifice a drugged animal, which was allowed to escape and cross over to the enemy (presumably Anatolians) who consumed it and were overcome by the drug. Religion here is thus a means of military subterfuge (see p. 135, p. 210–12).

In the absence of contemporary evidence, it is open for us to speculate about what happened when worshippers of Greek gods and worshippers of Anatolian gods came into contact. There were several possible outcomes: first, there might have been no influence in either direction and contact might in fact have intensified each group's sense of their own identity. A second possibility is borrowing: the adoption by one group of one or more of the other group's gods. Thirdly, one group may have identified one or more of their deities with the deities of the other group, the process known as 'translation'. Finally, a fourth possibility is syncretism, the process of creating a composite deity, whose personality draws on two traditions. Syncretism can be seen as a special form of religious influence, where instead of adopting a foreign deity in its entirety, a group adopts some features of a foreign deity superimposed on one of their own. A classic case of this is Aphrodite whose panhellenic personality probably owes something to contact with the Levantine schema of Astarte, perhaps on Cyprus, in the Early Iron Age.<sup>89</sup>

The best examples of Anatolian gods adopted by Greeks would seem to be Phrygian Cybele and Sabazios, perhaps around 600 BC, and perhaps via the North-West (see Chapter 8). With Sabazios, there is some doubt because nothing is known of him from Phrygian sources (p. 164). In the case of Cybele, it's possible the process was also one of syncretism, with a blending between Greek and Anatolian version of the mother goddess. In Lydia, it

<sup>88</sup> *Σ Call. Hymn 1.77*; Burkert (1979a: 131); Herda (1998). See also Malkin (2011: 183–4).

<sup>89</sup> Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge (1999); Jacobson (2015).



seems to be Lydians who adopt Greek deities: Artimus, Lamêtrus, and Lews.<sup>90</sup>

Translation of deities seems to have come easily to Greeks, who tended to work on the assumption that their own deities were present in all parts of the world.<sup>91</sup> Athene was clearly identified with Malis (Lydian) and Malia (Lycian), for example, and Heracles with Sandas at Tarsos. Diwia in Pamphylia may also represent translation. And the exotic Artemis of Ephesos, whose local name or title was apparently Oupis (p. 196), may be a Greek translation of an Anatolian goddess.

A parallel phenomenon is that the Greeks associated with Anatolia some deities who were probably not Anatolian at all. Dionysus, an unusual and complex divinity, whose personality combined wine, ecstasy, theatre, and death, is already attested in Linear B tablets;<sup>92</sup> In classical Greece he was associated with Lydia and Phrygia, but perhaps even more so with Thrace, along with his priest Orpheus (see §9.6.2). Similarly Hecate, the Greek goddess associated most with magic and the chthonic sphere, is regarded as primarily Carian, worshipped at Lagina, and probably identified with a goddess there. The practice of dog sacrifice to Hecate was also regarded as Carian (see §9.6.1). The process here could be regarded as a form of ‘projection’ or ‘externalization’—giving a foreign origin to deities whose personalities and modes of action came to be regarded as subversive to Greek civic culture.

<sup>90</sup> See §2.7.3. On Paki and Bakkhos, see §9.6.2.

<sup>91</sup> Burkert (1990: 5–8); Parker (1996: 159). On translation in general, Smith (2008).

<sup>92</sup> Hallager et al. (1992).

# 4

## Working with Comparative Data

### Historical and Typological Approaches

#### 4.1 Forms of Evidence

While we know that Greeks encountered the legacy of LBA Anatolian religious culture in the early 1st millennium BC, for contact between Hittite and Greek religion in the LBA there is little direct evidence. The most revealing sources are two texts: the Hittite oracular text which proves that deities of Ahhiyawa and of Lazpa were present for a period at the Hittite court (see §5.3); and the reference to the deity Apaliuna in the Wilusa treaty, which could be an early form of the Greek Apollo (see §5.4). As for the evidence of material culture, archaeology suggests contact and coexistence between Mycenaean and Anatolian populations in SW Anatolia, but it has little to tell us about religious interaction there (see pp. 100–101). More broadly, there is little sign of any LBA Anatolian material culture in Greece or vice versa, let alone any with religious significance.

Lexical evidence—the third source—reveals common Anatolian and Greek inheritance from Indo-European traditions: the best example is the theonym *Diyeus*, which shows up in Greek as *Zeus*, in Hittite as the word for god (*siu-*, *siuna*), and in Luwian as the root of the name of the sun god *Tiwad*.<sup>1</sup> Cognate lexemes include Hittite term ‘*spand-*’ = ‘libate’ or ‘consecrate’, corresponding to Greek *spendō* ‘libate’, which is probably to be explained as a common inheritance from Proto Indo-European, though we cannot rule out a horizontal borrowing (perhaps in the context of diplomacy).<sup>2</sup> The Greek word for sacrifice, ‘*thuō*’, may similarly be cognate with a Hittite word for ‘smoke’ (*tuhhuwai-*).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Steitler (2017: 190–2).

<sup>2</sup> See Benveniste (1973: 470–6); Burkert (1985: 18 and 374nn.33–4) suggested that Greek borrowed the verb from Anatolian.

<sup>3</sup> *tuhhuwai-* ‘smoke’ (verb); see Kloekhorst (2008) s.v.; and *tuhhuessar* (a substance used in rituals), sometimes said to be incense; it has also been suggested that *thuō* is cognate with *sami-*, *samenu-* (‘smoke, fumigate’); see p. 248, n.9.

A few other cognates where one or both words has a religious sense have been proposed but none of them is certain.<sup>4</sup> Horizontal borrowing between Anatolia and Greece is harder to prove. Comparison of theonyms suggests a few borrowings or rapprochements (see §9.3); as for religious language, the most plausible case is Greek *thursos* from Luwian *tuwarisa* ('vineyard') (see p. 207). As in the case of Greek sacred vocabulary supposedly borrowed from Semitic languages, any claims should be treated with caution, since the odds of finding random matches between words in different languages, if you're not too strict about sound and sense, are quite good.<sup>5</sup>

There is, however, one other important form of evidence: the large repertory of resemblances that can be found between Hittite religion and the Greek religion of the 1st millennium BC. These can be broader patterns or more specific ritual memes ('ritualemes'). Examples are myths featuring vanishing gods, elimination rituals with ritual carriers, a broadly similar system of sacrifice with many specific correspondences, common divinatory techniques such as augury, and some similarities in respect of festivals, including both more general and more specific features. To this may be added similarities in the personalities and modes of action of the gods and in the structure of the pantheon. Comparative evidence of this sort gives us clues about the relationship between the two religious systems, and may suggest historical links.

Comparison also reveals differences in all areas, some of them apparently quite significant. Consider, for example, the underlying political structures: the Hittite kingdom is a centralized political system with focus on the king and royal family, which may have resembled the religio-politics of Mycenaean Greece, but seems on the face of it very unlike Greek *polis* religion. Another difference concerns the use of writing: in Hittite Anatolia, it would seem that knowledge and use of written archives was confined to scribes, whereas in Iron Age Greece the use of alphabetic script must eventually have allowed much higher levels of literary, which in turn may

<sup>4</sup> Greek *ἄτη* i.e. *ἄφα-τα* (delusion) and Hittite *wastul* (sin), both derived from PIE root *H<sub>2</sub>wem*; see Catsanicos (1991); still a popular thesis (see Tischler, HEG 'w' p. 407), but Kloekhorst and Beekes reasonably doubt it. Greek *εὐχομαι* and Hittite *huk-* ('invoke'): Puhvel HED s.v., though others doubt it; Puhvel HED 4, 236–7 also suggests that Greek *βλασφημος* is cognate with Hittite *kullakuwan* ('polluted'). See also p. 236 on Hittite *seli* and Greek *siros*; for *ariya* and *ἐρέω* see pp. 133–134, n.62.

<sup>5</sup> For example, Akkadian *qatāru* 'fumigate' has been linked to Greek *καθαίρω* ('purify'); cf. Levin (1971) on nectar; Akkadian *temmennu*/Sumerian TEMEN ('foundation document') to Greek *τέμενος* ('enclosure'): Manessy-Guitton (1966); Akkadian *bamātu* ('open country') and Hebrew *bāmāh* ('high place') to Greek *βῶμος* ('altar'): J. P. Brown (1980), Levin (1995–2002: 1, 163. See further p. 248, n.8 on the language of sacrifice.

have had an impact on religious practice; for example, from the 6th century BC some cities regulated religious norms by setting up official inscriptions (see p. 68).

To a large extent the task of assessing the relationship between Hittite and Greek religion comes down to the uses we make of comparative evidence. In this chapter, I want to set the stage for this by discussing four ways in which it can be applied: first, to establish regional trends (§4.2); second as source for explanatory analogies (§4.3); third, to make a case for historical diffusion (§§4.4–4.5); and, fourth, to understand what is different and distinctive about each tradition (§4.6). The chapter concludes (§4.7) with two examples drawn from previous work on links between Hittite and Greek religion, illustrating these four applications.

## 4.2 Similarities and Regional Trends

In order to understand the significance of comparative data, we need first to put it in the context of other religious systems, both those from W. Asia Minor and the Mediterranean for this period, and indeed those of early human cultures more broadly. In other words, we produce a sort of map of religion. One could call this process ‘triangulation’, a process of cross-checking with the evidence of other cultures.

This would be an immense task. That is partly because no up-to-date encyclopaedia exists for religious practice in all the world’s cultures, ancient or modern; it shames subsequent scholarship to say that Frazer’s *Golden Bough* remains in many ways the best overview.<sup>6</sup> In the 1960s surveys of a few aspects of religion in the *Sources Orientales* series appeared; and we have a very useful overview of ancient cultures in Sarah Iles Johnston’s *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide* (2004). Nevertheless, the coverage provided by the available reference works at present is seriously incomplete; for example, although for any particular type of practice we can often say that it is found in this culture or that culture, it is much harder to show where it is *not* found.

To begin with, it is worth pointing out that many ideas and practices seem to be universal, or close to it. Take, for example, the idea that water sources

<sup>6</sup> Frazer (1911–36); cf. Gaster (1969). Schmidt (1912–55) is comparable in its ambition. Useful articles on some topics appear in the monumental but incomplete *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, founded in 1935, and in the *Encyclopedia of Religion* edited by L. Jones (2015).

are associated with underworld gods and are the realm of death. This is implied in Hittite myth, where the Storm god of Nerik disappears into a hole where he is imagined as existing on the banks of a subterranean river.<sup>7</sup> The Hittite KASKAL.KUR was an entrance to such a place (see pp. 30–31). Greek religion has many such cases, e.g. the Necromanteion in Thesprotia.<sup>8</sup> But this is a much broader idea: we find it all over Old Europe, and in the Mayan world.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, the use of ritual pits as a way of accessing underworld powers, well attested in the Hittite world, and attested also in Greek sources, is surely much more general.<sup>10</sup> The same could be said of the idea that spirits of the angry dead visit us, undermining any attempt to find an historical connection between the Hittite *zawalli* and the Greek *elasteroi*.<sup>11</sup>

Working from this sort of evidence, we can produce tentative maps of religious practice. Although basic techniques occur all over the world, like sacrifice, divination, and purification, specific versions of them are more localized. Consider for example the divination-technique of examining the liver of a sacrificed animal ('hepatoscopy'). This practice is found in Mesopotamia, Hittite Anatolia, Greece, and Etruria, but is not a universal: there is no sign of it in Egypt, at least before the Hellenistic period, and none in Bronze Age China, where the preferred divinatory technique is pyromancy through the technique of 'oracle bones'.<sup>12</sup> Animal sacrifice is also universal, but different forms seem to occur in different areas. For example, the burning of victims whole is found in N. Syria and SE Anatolia, and also in Greece, but not so much in central Anatolia, as far as we can see.

<sup>7</sup> Hoffner (1998: no. 4): the god disappears down a hole (*hattessar*) and is invoked to come up from a deep 'wave' (*hunhuessar*). Later on he is said to have 'gone down to the shores of the Nine Seas' and to the 'banks of the Noble River' (r.4–5). Finally, appeal is made to the Nakkiliyata River to restore the deity: '[May it bring] him from down in the sea, from under the [waves], May it bring him from down by the Nine (Sea)shores. May it bring him from the bank of the Nakkiliyata River.' We infer from this that the Anatolian underworld is wet, not unlike the Greek vision of Hades, with its subterranean rivers. See Haas (1976: 200n.22); also Haas (1995); Stefanini (1974).

<sup>8</sup> See Ogden (2002). So at Hermione (Paus. 2.35.10) there were three sacred places behind the temple of Demeter Chthonia: one belonging to Clymenos, one belonging to Pluton, and the Akherousian Lake.

<sup>9</sup> Early Europe: Dowden (2000: 39–57); Mayans: Pugh (2009: 323); Lucero and Kinkella (2015).

<sup>10</sup> Collins (2002); Steiner (1971) compared Hittite examples and the ritual performed by Odysseus in *Odyssey* 11. Other cultures: Thrace: Georgieva (2015); in Vedic India: Woodard (2006: 87); Israel: Strassburger (2018).

<sup>11</sup> For the angry dead see Frazer (1933–6).

<sup>12</sup> Burkert (1992: 46–51), Bachvarova (2012), Rollinger (2017), ThesCRA III.6–8; gates: Burkert (1992: 50, 183n.21).

One of the best attempts to map an aspect of religious practice is Irene Huber's work on the distribution of plague-rituals and other crisis rituals across five traditions: Mesopotamia, Ugarit, the Hittites, Israel, and Greece.<sup>13</sup> Within the general category she distinguishes six classes of technique:

- substitution;
- killing or 'sacrificing' a member of the community for the safety of all;
- elimination: sending of a 'carrier' on the 'scapegoat' principle;
- evocation: ritual summoning of vanished gods, who have created a crisis by their absence; not found in plague rituals;
- transference, e.g. via washing or scraping; only found in plague-rituals, not other crisis rituals;
- prophylaxis: building of statues, use of phylacteria or other cult object as aversion-magic.

There are problems here because of the different sources in different traditions,<sup>14</sup> but tentative conclusions are possible. She shows that substitution is particularly common in Mesopotamia, but much rarer in Greece;<sup>15</sup> royal substitution rituals of the Mesopotamian type are in fact unattested (except for vague allusions) in the Greek world before the Hellenistic period.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, the technique of killing is more common in Greek sources than anywhere else (an illusion generated by the Greek sources which are mainly myths?). Elimination, though attested in several cultures, is particularly common in Greece and Anatolia. Huber suggests that this distribution of rituals implies a differing concept of the origin of the crisis to be solved: substitution differs from elimination in implying the 'animistic' belief that an evil deity causes it, and can be misled or distracted, while the presupposition of elimination-rituals is that the plague or miasma has to be got rid of directly.

<sup>13</sup> Huber (2005: 250ff.).

<sup>14</sup> For example we tend to have myths for Greece, and ritual scripts for Mesopotamian tradition. To make up for the absence of early Greek ritual scripts, Huber uses a few later sources, such as the plague-oracles from Claros (mostly 2nd century AD), though these could well be influenced by later knowledge of Mesopotamian or Anatolian traditions.

<sup>15</sup> Huber (2005: 101–3) follows Burkert's (1992: 73–5) interpretation of the ritual of the cult of Artemis at Mounichia

<sup>16</sup> See Huber (2004); Rutherford (2020a:133).

### 4.3 Similarities and Explanatory Analogies: Helping us Understand

One important use of parallels from another culture is that they can sometimes help us understand a religious practice or its history. This is because our evidence for any one ancient culture and its history is bound to be incomplete. More precisely, if X is associated with Y in one culture, it may be possible to infer by analogy that something like X in another culture was once associated with something like Y. James Frazer made lavish use of this technique throughout his writings; for example on the basis of a parallel from Assam he postulated the practice of dancers wearing horse-masks in the cult of the horse-headed Demeter Melaina in Phigalia.<sup>17</sup> The most successful case is that of initiation rituals, where all the comparative material came from ethnography in Africa, Australasia, and the Americas; the category of initiation rituals was in fact first postulated by Father Lafitau in his work on the Iroquois Indians of Quebec. There is, of course, the risk that we may fail to observe what's unique to each culture, and confuse the situation by imposing on one culture the patterns of another (along with the theoretical framework that has been used to study it). Thus in the case of initiation rituals, there is now some doubt whether it is of as wide applicability to Greece as has sometimes been thought. One could even question the anthropological category, which is not used by contemporary anthropologists as much as it was. But most scholars would say that the paradigm of 'initiation rituals' was still useful.<sup>18</sup>

This approach of using one culture to understand another might be expected to be productive when we are dealing with cultures in the same general region, where underlying conditions are likely to have been the same, and where there may have been a degree of diffusion over the *longue durée*. There are many areas where analogies from Hittite religion help us understand something in Greek religion. For example, the Hittite archives have a lot more information about complex purification rituals, which may well have existed in Greek religion without being so meticulously recorded in writing. Similarly, the Hittite sources provide many cases in which myth is used in a ritual context, something which was long postulated for the Greek material without as much evidence. One might also consider the use of the ritual killing of human beings in military contexts. In Greek

<sup>17</sup> Frazer (1911–36: 8.338–9).

<sup>18</sup> Lafitau: Graf (2003); doubts about initiation: Faraone (2003).

mythology humans are sometimes sacrificed, not as part of regular cult, but to avert crisis before battle.<sup>19</sup> There has been much discussion about whether the Bronze Age archaeological record provided any support for this. According to Hittite texts, humans, particularly prisoners, were killed in crisis rituals: the best example is the ‘Between the Pieces’ military ritual where an army passes between the severed halves of various animals and a human; there is even one fragmentary text that suggests a more conventional sacrifice of a human in a battle context. None of this should be taken as indicating that early Greece borrowed the practice or idea of killing humans in crisis situations from the Hittites, but it does show that this was possible in a society which shared some degree of common background with Mycenaean Greece, and was sometimes in contact with it, one mode of contact of course being warfare, where this sort of ritual might have been visible (see §10.3).

#### 4.4 Similarities and Borrowing

We must be wary of making diffusion our default explanation. There is an obvious danger that if one decides in advance that diffusion has taken place, one may tend to interpret the evidence in such a way as to exaggerate similarities and overlook the differences. This obviously leads to absurdity because there must have been resemblances between all human cultures, both the few we have evidence for and the majority for which we don’t, and diffusion can’t be the explanation for all of it. There is also a risk of assuming (as Herodotus did in his account of Egypt) that something that looks older is likely to have influenced something believed to be younger, ignoring the possibility that apparently younger cultures could be the result of long and independent processes of development. Jonathan Smith in a study of early 20th century comparative religion warned of the dangers of ‘magical thinking’, inferring causality from similarity, precisely the fallacy attributed to ‘primitive peoples’ in evolutionary theory.<sup>20</sup>

Nevertheless, some similarities must be the result of diffusion, both over the prehistoric *longue durée* and in the historical period. It may be the diffusion should be seen as not a one-off event but as a long process comprising repeated interactions, and that borrowing between cultures

<sup>19</sup> Bremmer (2007); Huber (2005: 103–6) on this.

<sup>20</sup> J. Z. Smith (1982).



happens more easily if it has already happened in the past. Sometimes diffusion leaves clear evidence, but it may be harder to detect, particularly since borrowed elements may well be seamlessly integrated into the norms of the new culture, and what is borrowed may be in any case be merely the general idea of something (i.e. ‘stimulus diffusion’).<sup>21</sup>

How then can we detect it? Two things are particularly important. One is to get a sense of the ‘epidemiology’ of the ritualeme in question (cf. p. 81): is it universal? Or confined to a few cultures in the same region? Or something in between? Secondly, we need to introduce history into the equation, and look for historical contexts which would be compatible with borrowing.<sup>22</sup> While the chances of direct historical contact between, say, early China and the Aegean seem very small indeed, contact between Greece and Anatolia is more likely, particularly in the West and around the coasts.

A good example of how the epidemiology of a ritualeme can illuminate diffusion is hepatoscopy, mentioned above. Its geographical and chronological distribution makes it likely that it moved from East to West. The absence of any reference to hepatoscopy in Homer may provide a clue as to the date of its adoption in Greece.<sup>23</sup> For the Romans it was part of the *disciplina Etrusca* and we could perhaps think of Etruria as having become a ‘secondary centre’ for it, in addition to the primary centre in Mesopotamia.<sup>24</sup> Notice also that is not necessary for this model that liver divination has never occurred anywhere in the world independently of the Mesopotamia–Mediterranean cluster. Since only a limited number of possible techniques is available, the same things are likely to occur eventually, giving enough time and geographical range; if we found a lot of cases, it would eventually undermine the argument for westward diffusion from Mesopotamia, but one or two would not be fatal.

The epidemiology of augury—divination by observing birds—is different (see pp. 132–133). It seems to be characteristic of Anatolia, particularly the Luwian zone, but it is also known in Greece, and it is possible (though not certain) that Greeks adopted it from Anatolians. It is not confined to this area, however. Omens from birds are known from Mesopotamia, the Romans also associated augury with Arabia, and in the present day it is

<sup>21</sup> It can be argued that borrowing can only be inferred when an element is incongruous in the host culture (the ‘argument from isolation’; see Kelly (2008)); for stimulus diffusion see Kroeber (1940).

<sup>22</sup> Malul (1990: 99) talks of the ‘right conditions for the creation of a historical connection’.

<sup>23</sup> Burkert (1992: 46–51); see ThesCRA III.6–8; gates: Burkert (1992: 50, 183n.21).

<sup>24</sup> Renfrew (1972: 58); Childe (1936: 169ff.).

found as far afield as Borneo, which confirms what one would have guessed anyway, that it could develop in different parts of the world independently. The full facts about its distribution in W. Asia and the Mediterranean are not known, but we should consider the possibility that Anatolia became a centre for it in the LBA.

It is easier to make the argument for the diffusion of a ritualeme if it is well-defined and specific. For example, purifying with water is obviously universal, but what about purifying using the water from seven springs? In the Hittite Ritual of Palliya from Kizzuwatna offerings are made to the seven springs of the town of Lawazantiya, with water from which the cult image is later washed.<sup>25</sup> So a Babylonian spell appeals to twice seven maidens to draw soothing water.<sup>26</sup> ‘Seven springs’ also occur in Greco-Roman sources, including Apollonius of Rhodes, an oracle from Claros (2nd century AD), and the Philinna Papyrus; and an anonymous source cited by Suda has ἀπό δις ἑπτὰ κυμάτων (‘with twice seven waves’), which is eerily like the Babylonian formula.<sup>27</sup> Other numbers occasionally occur as well, particularly three,<sup>28</sup> but the high frequency of the number seven is striking.

#### 4.5 The Historical Context: Agents and Networks

It remains to say a few words about how diffusion might have come about. Religious memes are most likely to have spread in contexts where large numbers of people were in continual or persistent contact in what is often called a ‘contact zone’. These could include W. Anatolia (Greeks and Anatolians), and the NE Mediterranean (Greeks, Anatolians, and Syrians).

<sup>25</sup> KBo 9.119A obv. i 4-6 (CTH475); Haas (1994a: 465), Lebrun (1979: 201), Haas (2003a: 144). A ritual for Ishtar/Sauska of Nineveh seems to refer to ritual washing of the cult statue with eight jugs of water drawn from eight springs. KUB 27.16 i 19-27; Haas (2003a: 149, 153-4); Glocker (1997: 134-5); notice however that Wegner (1995: 151) supplements differently.

<sup>26</sup> Faraone (1995: 305).

<sup>27</sup> Apollonius: *Arg.* 3.860; Clarian oracle for Caesarea Troketta; Merkelbach and Stauber (1996:n.8); the Philinna Papyrus: Faraone (1995: 297-8): According to Varro (*ARH* Book 10, fr. XI Mürsch (1882: 110) = Probus, ad Verg. *Buc.* VI, 31, p. 325 Hagen) Orestes was purified at a place near Rhegium where there are seven rivers connected together.

<sup>28</sup> As in a passage from Menander’s *Phasma* (29-31 Arnott), in which one character advises another on the appropriate (sham) regime for treating a sham illness. Three also restored in Theophrastus, *Char.*16.2; Pliny, *NH* 28.46 mentions a magical potion including water from three wells. Another example comes from a ‘memory spell’ from a Greek magical papyrus: PGM 1.231ff.; translated by E. N. O’Neil in Betz (1986: 9). Empedocles DK143: ἀπό κρηνῶν πέντε, has been taken as indicating five springs, but see Wright (1981: 289-90); Picot (2004); Parker (1983: 226).

In the 1st millennium BC the North coast of W. Anatolia could have been a contact zone as well for Greeks and Phrygians. Exposure to other peoples' ideas and practices doesn't automatically lead to imitation—they can equally well be ignored or resisted, and the outcome may depend on the make-up of the societies involved and the power relations existing between them. Even groups within the same society may differ in their receptivity to external stimuli. In an important study Christoph Ulf (2009) has proposed a general model which sets out a range of ways in which societies of different types may react to (or fail to react to) each other's culture in situations of contact.

Long-term contact zones are not the only context for diffusion, however; it could also have been facilitated by:

- intense contact for a short period (e.g. in the context of warfare or some other crisis); or:
- high-level exchanges between members of the ruling elite; e.g. in the context of a political alliance or a dynastic marriage (see §5.7).<sup>29</sup>

Other agents of diffusion could have been:

- diplomats, whose international activities could have led to shared norms in certain areas;
- various sorts of immigrants: exiles, hostages, prisoners;
- temporary visitors: travelling craftsmen; merchants; perhaps also the mobile religious experts favoured by Walter Burkert, if there were any.

It may be useful to think of these forms of contact in terms of social networks in which people from different societies are connected by links or “ties” of varying strengths.<sup>30</sup> The first situation described above in which two groups coexist in a contact zone can be modelled as a densely knit network made up of strong and persistent ties linking individuals belonging to one group with those belonging to the other. In the case of situations of the second type where there is occasional contact we should think rather of a lower density network in which the ties between people of the two groups are fewer and weaker. *Prima facie* it might seem that influence would be less

<sup>29</sup> Kristiansen and Larsson (2005).

<sup>30</sup> For network theory and the ancient world, see Malkin et al. (2009).

likely in the second type of network, though it may be that even a few weak ties in some circumstances can have a critical and transformative impact.<sup>31</sup>

It would normally be assumed that diffusion is unidirectional, but once we model the process in terms of a network, other possibilities become apparent. If group A adopts something from group B, group A's adopted version could in turn be reflected back onto group B. What emerges could well be a mixed culture, the result of successive adjustments and accommodations on either side.<sup>32</sup> Thus, rather than talking about one culture drawing on another, it might be better to think of contact between two cultures as transforming each of them, and producing something new. That may be how to understand the origins of the goddess Aphrodite, who owes something to both Syrian and Greek antecedents;<sup>33</sup> the case of Phrygian-Greek Cybele may show similarities (see pp. 174–175).

One manifestation of this two-way borrowing is the 'international style' or 'international *koine*' of art which it has been argued characterized coastal areas of the Levant in the LBA, probably the result of a long process of interaction between different states.<sup>34</sup> But this could apply to religion and mythology as well: the well-known myths of theogony and divine conflict that we know from several cultures in the E. Mediterranean may have flourished because they became part of such a shared tradition. It would thus be a mistake to think that a single Greek poet on a single occasion adopted the Syrian or Hittite myth, or elements of it. Rather, it could have been a process that took place over many centuries, involving many agents, continuing till as late as the Hellenistic period, and perhaps starting in the 2nd millennium BC. In a sense, these are myths of contact (see §7.4).

## 4.6 Comparison and Difference

The preceding sections have focused on similarities. But in fact a preoccupation with similarities can obscure the fact that the primary outcome of doing comparison tends to be to reveal differences, and to allow us to get a sense of the distinctive features of each individual religion. Looking for features distinctive of a religious tradition is in fact the flip side of looking

<sup>31</sup> For the 'strength of weak ties' see Mark Granovetter's famous study (1973).

<sup>32</sup> The idea of a series of accommodations made two parties in a contact zone is part of White (1991)'s theory of the "Middle Ground".

<sup>33</sup> For Aphrodite, see Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge (1999); Metcalf (2015: 171–90).

<sup>34</sup> Feldman (2006: 144).

for regional trends which I discussed in §4.2, and it is well illustrated by Irene Huber's discussion of the forms crisis rituals take in different traditions. The emphasis on difference has a distinguished history. In the mid 20th century Henri Frankfort pushed back against the view prevalent at the time that all ancient cultures were much the same, saying (1951: 21):

the comparative method is most valuable when it leads not to the spurious equation but to a more subtle distinction of similar features in different civilisations.

He applied this approach to the relationship between kingship and religion in Egypt and Mesopotamia.<sup>35</sup> Similar sentiments have been expressed by many others;<sup>36</sup> an eloquent proponent of comparison has been Marcel Detienne<sup>37</sup> whose method was identify within each category of comparison key aspects or 'angles' in the hope that their configurations would reveal fundamental aspects of the societies. One category he was particularly interested in was interested myths of foundation, comparing ancient Greece and several other cultures from round the world in their use of specific angles such as "founder arrives from abroad" or "autochthony".

Differences between Hittite and Greek religion are easily found, and I point out many in the course of this book. Some are comparatively trivial, for example details of purification rituals or sacrificial scripts, or the unique personalities of deities. Others seem more significant. For example, although there are many similarities between Greek and Hittite festival culture, there is also a major difference in respect of the coordination of festivals with the months of the calendar (§11.4.1)). Again, though purification shows broad parallels in the two religious traditions, the Greeks do not seem to have seen the need for armies to be purified after military conflict (see p. 211); does that hint at something profound about how the cultures viewed bloodshed?

In other cases, differences which seem at first sight significant may turn out to be less so when viewed in a general context. Let's take the broad

<sup>35</sup> Frankfort (1948); for more recent overviews of the subject see Brisch (2008) and Hill, Jones and Morales (2013)

<sup>36</sup> See also Lloyd and Sivin (2002: 8): 'the chief prize is a way out of parochialism' and Scheidel (2009: 5) on comparison in the context of the ancient Mediterranean and China: 'Only comparisons with other civilizations make it possible to distinguish common features from culturally specific or unique characteristics and developments'.

<sup>37</sup> Detienne (2008:25, 30, 33).

difference I mentioned above concerning the social structures underlying religious practice (the palace versus the *polis*). This is too stark, because the town was a principle of organization in Hittite religion as well, and its role likely to be greatly underrepresented in our sources; and it might also be queried whether the political structure is always of overriding importance: while it shapes religion, at least some aspects of religion can exist independently of it.<sup>38</sup>

One major obstacle faced by the enterprise of differential comparison is the incompleteness of the data. In discussing animal sacrifice, I observe that the sharing of parts of the animal's body between participants, so common in the Greek evidence, is virtually absent in the Hittite texts (see p. 260); but is this really significant or is it that the surviving evidence creates a false impression? Some aspects cannot be compared at all; for example it would be interesting to be able to compare the religious role of Hittite and Mycenaean kingship, but while we know something about the former (see pp. 34–35), the latter remains largely a mystery.<sup>39</sup> Another example is the foundation myth, which Detienne found such a rich resource for comparison. Unlike the Greeks, the Hittites seem to have no obvious foundation myths: the closest we get is perhaps the OH 'Tale of the Queen of Kanesh', which relates how the queen's thirty sons, having been sent to Zalpa on the Black Sea after their birth, returned to Kanesh to marry her thirty daughters (see pp. 48–49). This has similarities to the Greek narrative of the Danaids, which belongs to the early myth-history of Argos, and one wonders whether it could be a foundation myth for Kanesh (and thus ultimately for the Hittite state).<sup>40</sup> Zalpa/Zalpuwa too seems to have had a key role in early Hittite myth-history.<sup>41</sup> But neither here nor elsewhere do we find a mythological founder-figure, either of local origin or coming from outside.<sup>42</sup> Should we think of its absence as reflecting a fundamental

<sup>38</sup> For the Hittite town and religion, see pp. 242–243; cf. also Farnell (1911) on oriental and Greek religion, cited in p. 5, n.14. I made a similar point in p. 73 about Greek religion of the 1st millennium BC and Mycenaean religion.

<sup>39</sup> Palaima (1995).

<sup>40</sup> CTH 3. The similarity to the Greek myth of the Danaids (a foundation myth for Argos) has been noted: Watkins (1995: 53); Singer (2007).

<sup>41</sup> See p. 30.

<sup>42</sup> Gonnet (1990) and (2001) suggested that myth of the disappearance and return of Telipinu was a foundation myth for the Hittite state, with Telipinu himself a sort of founder deity. Mazoyer (1999 and 2003) argued that in this respect Telipinu resembles the Greek Apollo Archegetes, whom Detienne (1990b) had identified as a founder deity. See, however, the objections of Beckman (2012: 510) (RIA s. Telipinu). On Telipinu see also §9.3.3.

difference in Hittite ways of thinking about their past? or is it just that the relevant myth has been lost?<sup>43</sup>

## 4.7 Two Examples

I shall conclude this chapter with two examples drawn from earlier work on religious interactions between Anatolia and Greece to show how comparative data can be applied in the four ways I have suggested: to map out regional trends, to aid understanding by supplying explanatory analogies, to infer patterns of diffusion, and to bring out distinctive features of each tradition. The examples I have chosen are first myths of disappearing gods and their associated rituals (§4.7.1) and second the Hittite divinized hunting bag (*kursa*) and its reception in Greek religion (§4.7.2).

### 4.7.1 Example 1: Disappearing Gods and Festive Planks

Several Hittite texts narrate myths of deities who disappear, causing a cosmic crisis, and have to be persuaded by other gods and humans to come back. The texts usually also give the rituals designed to bring this about. The best known is the one concerning Telipinu, whose return to civilization is symbolized by the *eian*-tree with the *kursa* hanging from it. There is an obvious parallel to the Greek myths, particularly that of Demeter and Persephone, which incorporates a double disappearance. Another Greek disappearing god was Dionysus who vanished into Lake Lerna, whence he was summoned back with trumpets.<sup>44</sup> We might also compare the myth-ritual involving Hylas at Kios (see p. 165). For students of Greek religion, the Hittite evidence has value because the texts give us a lot of information about the ritual, which is generally lacking in the Greek evidence. Thus, the Hittite texts provide a useful analogy.

<sup>43</sup> Gilan (2008) suggests that Hittite kings lacked early historical traditions of their own, and preferred to adapt Akkadian ones, e.g. the *Great Revolt Against Naram-Sin* which tells the story of that king's victory over a coalition of Anatolian kings.

<sup>44</sup> Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 35; Griffiths (1970: 433) cites Farnell (1896–1909): 5, 183–5) for the view that the *abussos* is Lake Alcyonia near Lerna into which Perseus threw the dead Dionysus; cf. Casadio (1994: 229) for other sources. Dionysus' disappearing in the water here resembles Telipinu's disappearance in the river in the festival at Hanhana and Kaṣṣa: see Haas and Jakob-Rost (1984: 46).

Myths of disappearing or in some cases dying gods occur in almost all ancient cultures.<sup>45</sup> They formed the basis for James Frazer's theory in the *Golden Bough*. Frazer didn't know the Hittite evidence, but it was made use of by the Frazerian Theodor Gaster in *Thespis* (1950), who saw the key pattern as yearly political renewal symbolized by ritual drama, attested from Egypt to Ugarit and Greece.<sup>46</sup> Albrecht Goetze in his review warned of the dangers of such a universalizing approach:<sup>47</sup>

Cultural phenomena must always be interpreted within the framework of the civilization in which they developed and exist. Every civilization has its own structure and it is the individual and distinctive rather than the typical and general in which the historian is interested. Moreover, identical or seemingly identical phenomena the motifs and patterns about which we read so much may in different civilizations have quite different meanings.

Three decades later Walter Burkert devoted the playful sixth chapter of *Structure and History* (1979a) to relations between the Telipinu myth-ritual and Greek religion. As well as comparing Telipinu and Demeter (not just the panhellenic version in the *Homeric Hymn*, but also a local version concerning the horse-headed Demeter of Phigalia in Arcadia and Demeter Erinus at nearby Thelpusa (Paus. 8.42)), he examined iconography, arguing that Telipinu's association with the oak tree and the cornucopic hunting bag (see p. 33, and p. 184) resembles several Greek cults in which a goddess is represented by a wooden statue and/or is shown with a 'pectoral of affluence' (Burkert 1979a: 129–32), such as Samian Hera, Ephesian Artemis, and Artemis Khitone at Miletus; he argued that myths associated with all of these include the motif of disappearance and search.

He found similarities also with the Daidala festival at Plataea, where oak trees were brought to the town in the context of the cult of Zeus, and here too there is a sort of search motif, since in the myth Hera disappears and has to be enticed back (Burkert 1979a: 132–5),<sup>48</sup> and he suggested that the use of

<sup>45</sup> On Japan see Witzel (2012: 140–1) on Amaterasu ('she who shines from heaven'), who symbolizes the sun.

<sup>46</sup> Hittite myths provided the material for two of his five categories: 'B. The Combat Type' (Illuyanka) and 'C. The Disappearing God Type' (the myth of Frost on the Yuzgat Tablet, Telipinu). Greece was included within his scope, though he classed the chorus from Euripides *Bacchae* (64–169) and the *Paeon* of Philodamus of Scarpheia (4th century BC) as 'literary survivals of the seasonal pattern' rather than straightforward instances of it.

<sup>47</sup> Goetze (1952: 102–3); cf. also Frankfort (1958).

<sup>48</sup> Plutarch fr.15, Paus. 9.3.1ff. Schachter (1981–94: 1.245–50).



the *eiresione*-branch in the cult of Apollo Delphinios could be part of the same pattern, as could the use of logs in the Daphnephoria ritual at Thebes, where a tree-trunk, apparently representing new year, was carried in honour of Apollo.<sup>49</sup> In fact, he could have added more data here: in Hittite tradition too trees can be brought to honour deities, as in a festival for the Storm god of Kuliwisna, where an oak tree is fetched from Mt. Sidduwa.<sup>50</sup> And the Hittites also used trees in the context of new year festivals, as in the festival in honour of Telipinu at Kasha in N. central Anatolia.<sup>51</sup> Another Greco-Anatolian ritual involving the bringing of trees is an obscure ‘dendrophoric’ ritual at Aulai near Magnesia on the Maeander, where acolytes of Apollo tore up trees by the roots and carried them.<sup>52</sup>

Not all the parallels are convincing<sup>53</sup>—Samian Hera’s being stolen by Carian pirates seems to have very little in common with myths of angry deities—but Burkert’s work is valuable as a methodological study. Here, as always, his perspective is broad: his main concern is to reconstruct ancient ‘action patterns’ which date from earlier stages of cultural evolution; for example, the bringing of trees from the woods to the city, which thus mediates between nature and culture, was an echo of ancient tradition of hunters bringing a valuable catch from the woods (Burkert 1979a: 136–8). He sees Greek and W. Anatolian traditions as belonging to same cultural area (to which European maypole rituals also belong).<sup>54</sup> Hence, the Anatolian cases are useful for Hellenists because they provide insight into what lies behind Greek traditions, and vice versa. Occasionally he toys with the idea of diffusion: the name Telipinu may be linked to the toponym Thelpusa, near Phigalia, where the myth of angry Demeter is also found.<sup>55</sup> Finally, Burkert recognizes that as well as similarity, we also find difference: while in the Telipinu myth ‘both tale and ritual are concerned immediately with the needs of man in relation to the gods’, for Greek religion ‘the affairs of gods and the suffering of men are parallel spheres which do not meet’ (Burkert 1979a: 140–1).

<sup>49</sup> See Schachter (1981–94: 1.83–5). For Apollo Delphinios, see p. 191.

<sup>50</sup> CTH 330; see Glocker (1997).

<sup>51</sup> Haas and Jakob-Rost (1984: 29).

<sup>52</sup> Robert (1977); Tassignon (2004); while Pausanias, 10.32.6, connects the ritual with Apollo, Robert argued that numismatic evidence also suggested a link to Dionysus.

<sup>53</sup> As Parker (2011: 193–5) points out.

<sup>54</sup> On the use of planks and pectorals he concludes (Burkert 1979a: 132): ‘This similarity, attested in adjacent regions of Asia Minor, is surely not just coincidence; it is basically one tradition, with the anthropomorphic image evolving from the tree, and various Greek names coming in, Artemis, Hera, Aphrodite, Demeter, and Kore.’

<sup>55</sup> Thelpusa: Paus. 8.42.1; 8.25; Burkert (1979a: 127–8).

More focused comparison of narratives of deities who disappear in the two cultures may yield results. One angle of approach might be the role of goddesses as problem solvers: in the Hittite myth there is Hannahanna who sends the bee to find lost gods (Telipinu version 2§5, version 3§1 etc.); and also Kamrusepa, who performs rituals to restore order (see further p. 202). In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* the abduction of Persephone is seen only by the Helios and Hecate (a goddess of magic, like Kamrusepa) who takes Demeter to see Helios;<sup>56</sup> and it is Rhea, Demeter's mother (like Hannahanna a mother goddess), who eventually leads Demeter back to Olympus. A distant common background of myth or ritual is a possibility here, but comparison is a more fruitful approach: we could say that the interventions of the Hittite goddesses are typical of them: sending the bee in one case, performing magic in the other; those of the Greek goddesses are more generic: informing, fetching.<sup>57</sup>

#### 4.7.2 Example 2: The *kursa*, *aigis* and Golden Fleece

The hunting bag (*kursa*) was used in Hittite religion as a symbol for at least some LAMMA deities, and also in the Telipinu myth as a symbol of prosperity. In recent years it has been interpreted as a model for two phenomena in Greek myth-ritual—the 'Golden Fleece' of the Argonaut myth, associated with Colchis in Georgia, and the divine symbol the '*aigis*' of Greek epic, which is usually interpreted as a goat-skin used as a talisman or weapon, particularly by Zeus and Athene.

The former was first argued for by Volkert Haas in 1975.<sup>58</sup> Just as the *kursa* is associated with prosperity (i.e. the prosperity of the state), so the Golden Fleece is a sort of royal talisman, both for Aietes in Colchis and for Pelias in Iolkos. And, just as Jason kills a dragon to get the Fleece, so the Hittite *purulli*-festival included the defeat of Illuyanka and also (perhaps) the renewal of the *kursa*.<sup>59</sup> Support for the general idea has been found in the fact that a lamb (rather than a lamb-skin) is a symbol of kingship in the

<sup>56</sup> *Hy.Hom.Dem.*24–73. Hecate has an even bigger role in Callimachus (fr. 466) who makes her the daughter of Zeus and Demeter and has her sent to the underworld in search of Persephone. Cf. also Orphic Hymn 41; Burkert (1985: 171).

<sup>57</sup> For Hittite equivalents to Hecate see further §9.6.1. Bernabé (1988) suggests that the reference to birds in *Hy.Hom.Dem.*43–6 reflected the role of the eagle in the Anatolian myths. On comparison of disappearing gods in the two traditions, see also Polvani (2001).

<sup>58</sup> Lordkipanidze (2001); Bremmer (2006); Haas (1975 and 1978); Burkert (1979a: 10).

<sup>59</sup> Haas (1975); Bremmer (2006: 27–30) = (2008a: 317–20).

Greek myth of Atreus and Thyestes, and it should be noted that Pelops, founder of the Atreid dynasty, is supposed to be from Anatolia.<sup>60</sup>

The idea that the *aigis* has its origin in the *kursa* was first proposed by Calvert Watkins, who noticed a parallel between what is said of the *kursa* at the end of the Telipinu myth—all sorts of good things lie in it—and Athene's *aigis* as described at *Iliad* 5.733–42, in which lie 'Eris, Alke, the war-cry and the Gorgon's head'.<sup>61</sup> Notice, however, that the early history of the term '*aigis*' is obscure. One view is that it might originally have meant 'thunder';<sup>62</sup> alternatively Zeus' epithet *aigiokhos*, which is traditionally translated '*aigis*-bearer', may originally have meant 'riding the goat', with reference to the belief that the Storm god rode in a chariot drawn by goats; amazingly, the basis for this may have been the belief that storms were predicted by the snipe, whose tail-drumming sounded like a goat.<sup>63</sup>

The equation between *aigis* and divinized *kursa*, then, looks problematic, but there is still the Golden Fleece. There are difficulties here also, however: the Golden Fleece is neither a hunting bag nor a deity, nor was it apparently used in cult. Furthermore, the claim would be more convincing if animal skins were a rarity in ancient myth and religion, but in fact they are one of the most obvious 'secondary products' arising from the domestication of animals, and as such are likely to have a role in most ancient religions. Herodotus must have known of their use in Libya, since he says that Athene's *aigis* came from the Libyans (*Hist.* 4.189). In ancient Egypt, we have the so-called 'Imiut Fetish', an animal skin hanging from a pole which has a major role in the cult of Anubis.<sup>64</sup> In 17th century AD Lithuania a goat-skin was hung up on a pole as a rain charm.<sup>65</sup>

Animal skins were also used in Greek cult in ways which are mostly different from the Hittite *kursa*. They can be worn by ritual practitioners;<sup>66</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Haas (1994a: 188); also Haas (2006); Greek sources: Braund (1994: 21–5).

<sup>61</sup> Watkins (2000); these lines are sometimes said to be an Athenian interpolation: Marx (1993). A goat-skin might seem a very humble accessory for a mighty deity, and the iconography does not wholly support that view (see D. R. West (1995: 139–42), who draws attention to parallels in Semitic iconography); one version was that Athene's was the skin of the Gorgon which she slew: Euripides, *Ion* 987–96. Ogden (2013: 102–3). See in general Kirk (1985: 162); Kirk (1990: 134–5); Buchholz and Wiesner (1977: 53–6).

<sup>62</sup> Janko (1992: 261).

<sup>63</sup> See M. L. West (2007: 240, 248). For the *aigis* and weather-rituals see also Robertson (2001).

<sup>64</sup> See Rössler-Köhler (1975); DuQuesne (2012). <sup>65</sup> Gimbutas (1972: 471).

<sup>66</sup> In Thessaly men climbed Mt. Pelion in honour of Zeus Akraios wearing fleeces, presumably ones from animals they had previously sacrificed; Heracleides, *On the Cities in Greece* 2.8, ed. Pfister (1951: 88).

they can be jumped on;<sup>67</sup> they can be slept on;<sup>68</sup> they can also be used for weather magic, as they are in many cultures.<sup>69</sup> In Athens the so-called 'Fleece of Zeus' (*Dios Kōdion*) was used as a carrier to remove impurity from the city,<sup>70</sup> something which may have a parallel in Hittite rituals.<sup>71</sup> Looked at more generally, though, the pattern that we see here is one of differences rather than similarities.

It remains possible that the Golden Fleece was modelled on Anatolian religion. One *kursa* deity, Zithariya, is mentioned in the Ritual of Maddunani of Arzawa, and another, the LAMMA-deity of the *kursa*, is the addressee of several rituals probably to be associated with Arzawa (see p. 128). It's even possible that they may have encountered it in the context of war with Anatolian armies, since the Zithariya-*kursa* was a military symbol (see §10.5). But equally there may be no connection at all.

To sum up: animal skins were probably a common symbol in ancient cultures, and they may have been associated with royal and divine power. The Hittite *kursa* is valuable because it gives us a clear example of the use of such a symbol in religious cult, and one can extrapolate something similar for Greece. But there is no need to assume that Greece adopted either the Fleece or the *aigis* from Anatolia, and in fact it might be better to think of all of these phenomena as distinct.

<sup>67</sup> As in 'askoliasmos', a mysterious ritual of Dionysus in which people jump on inflated wineskins: Latte (1957).

<sup>68</sup> At the Amphiareion at Oropos in Attica people undergoing incubation were required to sleep on a fleece: see Petropoulou (1985); Eitrem (1915: 377).

<sup>69</sup> Fleeces were used in weather magic, to catch the wind, for example by Empedocles of Acragas: Diog. Laert. 8.2.60. Nilsson (1967–71: 111, 395ff.) citing Fielder (1931: 81ff.); Eitrem (1915: 372–7).

<sup>70</sup> Suda, s.v. says that the fleeces came from animals sacrificed to Zeus Meilikhios and Ktesios (i.e. chthonic forms of Zeus); and that they were used by those organizing the procession at the Skirophoria festival and at Eleusis; Hesychius, s.v. says those being purified stood on it with the left foot; Eustathius, on Hom. *Odys.* 22.481, 1935ff. links to the verb *διοπομπέω*: drive away impurity. Since the procession in the Skirophoria went to Skiron near Eleusis, impurity may have been symbolically removed from the city. See Parker (1983: 285, 373); Deubner (1932: 49, 157–8). Sources available in Harrison (1903: 23–4).

<sup>71</sup> The men of Tuhumiyara (CTH 739) drag a bull's hide along the ground: Haas (2003a: 506); Steitler (2017: 123–4).

# 5

## Anatolian–Greek Religious Interaction in the LBA

### Modes of Contact

#### 5.1 Ahhiyawa and Anatolia: The Evidence

Over the last few decades, the general contours of relations between Ahhiyawa, the Hittites, and the states of W. Anatolia have begun to emerge (Beckman 2011: 267–83). Hittite activity in the West can be traced back as far as Hattusili I's attack on Arzawa in the 17th century BC.<sup>1</sup> We know that around 1400 BC Tudhaliya I/II defeated Assuwa and an alliance of Western states, including Wilusa. During the reign of Arnuwanda, his coregent and successor, a major issue the Hittites faced in the West was the exploits of a warlord called Madduwatta which are condemned in a text known as the Indictment (AhT 3). After that we find Arzawa expanding to become briefly the dominant power in Anatolia; king Tarhundaradu is known to have engaged in independent diplomatic relations with Egypt at this time.<sup>2</sup> The Hittites recovered under Suppiluliuma I, and his son Mursili II defeated the rebellious Uhhaziti and redrew the political geography of the West, establishing three kingdoms of Mira-Kuwaliya, the Seha River Land and Hapalla. That settlement just about held during the 13th century BC, as far as we can see, though the West was unstable with periodic rebellions and regime changes. Again, part of the problem from the Hittite point of view was a W. Anatolian warlord, Piyamaradu. Queen Puduhepa in her vows appeals for divine intervention in Hittite wars against both him and Arzawa.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Annals* §5, 1.22–3; tr. Beckman in Chavalas (2006: 220); Bryce (1998: 79). Alparslan (2015) provides a clear narrative of what we know of Arzawan history in this period.

<sup>2</sup> EA 31–2; see Hawkins (2009).

<sup>3</sup> Piyamaradu: AhT 26; Arzawa: KUB 31.69; see de Roos (2007: 204).

From the start of the 14th century BC, a central role was played by the state of Ahhiyawa, which I take to be Mycenaean Greece in some form.<sup>4</sup> The first evidence for Hittite awareness of Ahhiyawa is an oracle report from the reign of Tudhaliya I/II, which refers to Ahhia, apparently a shorter version of the same name (AhT 22§25; see p. 19).<sup>5</sup> Not long after that Madduwatta is said in Arnuwanda's 'Indictment' of him to have come into conflict with Attarissiya of Ahhia (AhT 3§1, 12); this is the first recorded Mycenaean encroachment in Anatolia.<sup>6</sup> A fragmentary early 13th century document (AhT 6) seems to look back to Ahhiyawan–Anatolian relations in this period as well, referring to the kingdom of Assuwa in the North-West and to Tudhaliya I/II's attack on it (see p. 116); this suggests that Ahhiyawa might have been involved in some way in that episode. This is about the same period when the Mycenaean may have taken control of Crete from the Minoans, and it is possible that their overseas ventures in Anatolia were the result of their inheriting Minoan networks and bases in the region.<sup>7</sup>

From the late 14th century BC Hittite texts report a series of Ahhiyawan interventions in Anatolia. To begin with Ahhiyawa is very much a player when Mursili II attacked Arzawa. Early on in this campaign, the Hittites captured Millawanda, apparently from Ahhiyawa who may have been given rights there by Uhhaziti or some previous ruler (AhT 1B§1); Millawanda, also called Milawata, seems likely to be a territory based round Miletus.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> I follow the position of Beckman et al. (2011). The hypothesis that Ahhiyawa was Mycenaean Greece, originally proposed by Forrer, had long been popular among British and American scholars (see e.g. Huxley 1960), although there were dissenters (e.g. MacQueen 1975), and some regarded it as the name for one Greek state, such as Rhodes (Page 1959). It was made very likely by J. D. Hawkins' (1998a) reinterpretation of the Hieroglyphic Luwian KARABEL A inscription, which showed that it marked the border of Arzawa-Mira. It followed that Apasa, the capital of Arzawa, was probably Ephesos, Milawata/Millawanda a minor state centred on Miletus, and Ahhiyawa, which was across the sea from Milawata, either mainland Greece or a group of islands in the Aegeo-Anatolian 'Interface'. Some have argued for the latter (e.g. Mountjoy 1998) on grounds of material culture, but the apparent power of Ahhiyawa strongly suggests it was based in the mainland: see Hope Simpson (2003). It is another question what its political make-up was: was it a single kingdom, and if so, where was the centre; or was it a confederation of kingdoms working together somehow (as Greek states managed to do in crisis conditions when the Persians invaded); and did it have one king or perhaps two? (Miller 2010b). For a general discussion, see Kelder (2010: 85–120).

<sup>5</sup> For relations between the Hittites and the West in this period see de Martino (1996); new documents from Sapinuwa: Süel (2001) and Süel (2014); Forlanini (2007a) on the Arzawan town Happuriya.

<sup>6</sup> On Attarissiya, see M. L. West (2001), who refines the hypothesis, originally proposed by Forrer, that the name is related to Greek Atrous.

<sup>7</sup> See Niemeier (1984); Niemeier (2005b: 10). Georgakopoulos (2012) suggested that Ahhiyawa was originally the Hittite name for Minoan Crete.

<sup>8</sup> Gander (2017: 268–9).

After Uhhaziti is defeated, and the Hittite enter Apasa, he flees across the sea where he later dies (AhT 1A§17, §20); the population of Arzawa also flee, some with the king, others to Mt. Arinnanda (the later Mt. Mycale, Samsun Dağ), others to Puranda (possibly the acropolis of Bademgediği Tepe near Metropolis, North of Ephesos) (AhT 1A§18). Next year, the Hittites extradite one of his sons Piyama-Kurunta from Ahhiyawa (AhT 1A§25). In the first decades of the 13th century BC Ahhiyawa seems to have regained control of Millawanda, and to have sponsored Piyamaradu from its base there. A Hittite king (probably Hattusili III) wrote to his Ahhiyawan counterpart trying to have Piyamaradu extradited; in that letter, known as the ‘Tawagalawa Letter’, he mentioned an earlier quarrel between the Hittites and Ahhiyawans over Wilusa (AhT 4§12). Piyamaradu also attacked Lazpa/Lesbos, probably with Ahhiyawan support (AhT 7). Under Tudhaliya IV Ahhiyawa supported the Seha River Land when it rebelled (AhT 9). In another document, possibly dating from the reign of Tudhaliya IV the borders of Milawata are discussed in such a way that it seems unlikely that Ahhiyawa was still in charge; the Hittite king seems to comment that he has made the sea his boundary again (AhT 5§2). In a vassal treaty with king Sausgamuwa of Amurru (AhT 2; third quarter of 13th century BC) Tudhaliya seems to have banned Ahhiyawan ships from access to Assyria, a growing threat to the Hittites at this time; the implication of this crucial text would seem to be that at this time Ahhiyawans were engaged in some sort of activity in the North-Eastern Mediterranean, most likely mercantile.<sup>9</sup>

The references to Ahhiyawa in the texts can to some extent be correlated with archaeology. From the Hittite capital there is only a little relevant material: much excitement was caused by the discovery at Hattusa in 1991 of a Bronze Age sword, inscribed with record of Tudhaliya’s victory over Assuwa; this was initially thought to be Mycenaean, but no longer.<sup>10</sup> From about the same time, however, we have a sherd from a bowl with an image of a Mycenaean warrior.<sup>11</sup>

There is more evidence of Mycenaean activity in the West. Excavations at Miletus have revealed a long history of Aegean settlement: Minoan in Miletus III (20th century BC to mid 18th century BC) and Miletus IV (mid 18th century BC to mid 15th century BC), Mycenaean in Miletus V (mid 15th century BC to end of 14th century BC) and Miletus VI (1300–1100 BC). The destruction of Miletus V seems likely to be the result of Mursili II’s

<sup>9</sup> See further p. 155.

<sup>10</sup> See Cline (1996); Taracha (2003).

<sup>11</sup> See Bittel (1976).

attack. A fortification wall in Hittite style is said to have been built at Miletus VI sometime in the 13th century; it has been suggested that it has to do with Tudhaliya IV's reconquest of the area.<sup>12</sup> Mycenaean ceramics have of course been found in many other sites in the West, starting with a few in the late 15th century BC (Late Helladic II) and extending right through into the 12th century BC (Late Helladic IIIC).<sup>13</sup> There are more such sites in the South-West, so arguably within the catchment area of Miletus, and in this area tombs are found as well. Troy has abundant Mycenaean ceramics, but no tombs. At Ephesos, there are ceramics from the 14th century BC but none from the 13th, which could indicate that there was less contact with Mycenae after Mursili's attack.<sup>14</sup> The most striking evidence for contact comes from the site Çine-Tepecik in Caria, where the LBA phase (Level II 1) has revealed Anatolian and Mycenaean material culture side by side, including a Hieroglyphic Luwian seal impression with the names of local administrators and Mycenaean ceramics.<sup>15</sup>

## 5.2 Ahhiyawa and Anatolia: Cultures in Contact

The Mycenaeans had at least some direct contact with the Hittites. Key forms of contact (besides religious contact, which I discuss later in this chapter) were the following:

- Fragments of four diplomatic letters are known,<sup>16</sup> as well as diplomatic gifts.<sup>17</sup> The main subject of the letters was the political situation in the West; the Hittites may also have been concerned that Ahhiyawa would harbour prominent exiles, like the deposed Hittite king Urhi-Tessub.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Niemeier (2007); Günel (2017: 123–4). On the fortification wall, see now Maner (2019:114–129).

<sup>13</sup> See Günel (2017); Mountjoy (1998:34–6); Beckman et al. (2011: 269, 273, 277–8); Kelder (2004–5). See also Greaves (2010); Mee (1978); Mee (1998); Mee (2008).

<sup>14</sup> See Kelder (2004–5). For a fragment of an apparently Mycenaean-type divine statue from Ephesos, see Bammer (1994).

<sup>15</sup> See Günel (2010) and Günel (2017: 124–5); Günel and Herbordt (2010) and Günel and Herbordt (2014).

<sup>16</sup> They are AhT 4 (Tawagalawa), AhT 6, maybe AhT 9, AhT 10. See the overview of Heinhold-Krahmer (2007a).

<sup>17</sup> A Hittite inventory (AhT 19 §8 = KBo 18.181 rev.33) mentions the dedication of a copper vessel from Ahhiyawa (a ŠU.ŠE.LÁ vessel); see Siegelová (1986: 9.1, 377); Singer (2011a). Another diplomatic gift is mentioned in AhT 8§5. Hittite statues are taken as evidence of diplomacy by Genz (2017).

<sup>18</sup> See AhT 14. For the possibility that a queen was exiled to Ahhiyawa, see p. 118, n.110.



However, there is no sign that there was ever a treaty between Ahhiyawa and the Hittites; if there had been one, it seems likely that it would have been mentioned in the Tawagalawa Letter.<sup>19</sup>

- There was other contact between members of the elite; in the Tawagalawa Letter the Hittite king reminds the Mycenaean king of a time when prominent members of the elite had shared a chariot.<sup>20</sup>
- The ethnic adjectives attached to workers, mostly women, in the Linear B archives from Pylos and other places seem indicate that some of them originated in places in Anatolia, particularly Miletus: see Nicoloudis (2008). Notice also that the ‘Tawagalawa Letter’ refers to the deportation of 7,000 people from Lukka to Ahhiyawa (AhT 4§9).
- It has been suggested that Anatolian architects may have been involved in the reconstruction of the Lion Gate at Mycenae.<sup>21</sup>

On other hand, there is little linguistic evidence for close contact; there are no Hittite loan words in Greek, and very few Luwian ones; even the case which has often seemed most plausible, that of Greek *τύραννος* and Hieroglyphic Luwian *tarrawani-* has been called into question.<sup>22</sup> Hardly any Hittite material culture has been found in Mycenaean Greece; in fact Eric Cline estimated that of all the objects of Eastern origin found in the Bronze Age Aegean, less than 1 per cent originated in central Anatolia.<sup>23</sup> Evidence for Aegean objects in Hatti is also very limited.<sup>24</sup> Since the Hittites seem to have banned Ahhiyawan ships from communicating with Assyria

<sup>19</sup> The land of Ahhiyawa is mentioned along with those of Tarhuntassa and Mira in the boundary list AhT 18, but it’s unclear what the context is.

<sup>20</sup> AhT 4§8: Tapala-Darhunta, a relative of Puduhepa, had apparently ridden in a chariot with Tawagalawa.

<sup>21</sup> See Blackwell (2014: 481); Wright (2008: 250–1). Burkert (1985: 89) suggested that Greek foundation deposits have a special parallel with Hittite ones (for which see the *Temple Foundation Ritual*, CTH 413 = Beckman (2010: 3.7)); however, Hunt (2006) gives the impression that the parallels with the ANE are more general.

<sup>22</sup> Giusfredi (2009); Melchert (2019). Another interesting case is Luwian *marwan-/Lydian mariwda* ‘dark’ and Greek *μόλυβδος*: see p. 129 Melchert (2008); Beekes (2010:964). For Greek *θεράπων* and Hittite *tarpanalli* see p. 225. See the indexes in Beekes (2010: 1748–50). Parallels may be explained as horizontal borrowings, common IE inheritance or common inheritance from a substrate, which could be ‘pre-Greek’; thus Beekes (2010: 1492) explains Luwian *taluppi* (‘cake?’) and Greek *τολύπη* ‘cake’ as the result of a pre-Greek substrate.

<sup>23</sup> Cline (1994: xvi); Cline (1991a). See also Murray (2017: 79–84) on Canaanite jars.

<sup>24</sup> Mycenaean sherds have been found at Hattusa: Genz (2004); Maşat Höyük to the East, and now at Kuşaklı-Sarissa to the South, but these are generally explained as imports from the South. Maşat Höyük: T. Özgüç (1974: 65–6). A Mycenaean vase from Kuşaklı (LHIIA2 i.e. 14th century BC): D. P. Mielke in Müller-Karpe et al. (2004: 155–7). Fragments of frescos of Mycenaean type in the Hittite capital: von Rüdén and Jungfleisch (2017).

via Amurru in the late 13th century BC, it has been suggested that the absence of evidence for the exchange of material culture is best explained by a general embargo. One can contrast the archaeological evidence for mercantile activity along the South coast of Anatolia—the famous shipwrecks at such places as Uluburun (14th century BC) and Cape Gelidonya (ca. 1200 BC) which seem to reflect trade between the Levant and the Aegean.<sup>25</sup> However, there's probably no need to adopt such a dramatic explanation; it may just have been impracticable.<sup>26</sup>

Their relation to the states of W. Anatolia was probably much closer. In the early 14th century BC the chief states there seem to have been Arzawa (probably including the Maeander and Hermos Rivers) and Assuwa in the NW. Arzawa has usually been assumed to be Luwian, though that was challenged by Ilya Yakubovich who suggested that the area was already Lydian with a Luwian elite.<sup>27</sup> Its capital, or at least a major city, may have been at Apasa, probably to be identified with the site of Selçuk-Ayasoluk, the later Ephesos. After the settlement of Mursili II its territory was divided into three minor principalities: the Seha River Land is probably centred on the Hermos/Gediz River, with its capital perhaps to be located at the recently excavated site of Kaymakçı in the Gediz Valley;<sup>28</sup> Hapalla was to the East of this, in the area of modern Afyon; and Mira-Kuwaliya extended along the South, from Kuwaliya in the East (possibly associated with Beycesultan) right up to the Aegean.<sup>29</sup> In this period, the dominant state in the North-West, taking territory from the former Assuwa, was probably Wilusa, likely to be the site the Greeks knew as Troia or Ilion, controlling the approach to the Propontis and the Black Sea.<sup>30</sup> Little is known about its ethnic and linguistic identity, and it may have varied over time: in the late 18th century BC (the early Troy VI period) the material culture shows similarities to that of MH Greece;<sup>31</sup> some scholars see it as Luwian, placing emphasis on the single Luwian seal that was found there;<sup>32</sup> another recent suggestion is that the language and culture were related to Etruscan.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Bachhuber (2006).

<sup>26</sup> Sausgamuwa-Treaty: AhT 2§15; Cline (1991b), contra Bryce (2003b); in the 15th century BC Greeks took wine to Egypt: Kelder (2009).

<sup>27</sup> Yakubovich (2010: 107–17; 157–60); contra Hawkins (2013); Gander (2017: 263n.13) supports Yakubovich.

<sup>28</sup> See Roosevelt and Luke (2017); doubts about identification of the Seha River Land with this area are expressed by Gander (2017: 272), who puts it further South, along the Maeander.

<sup>29</sup> Hawkins (1998a); see now Gander (2017).

<sup>30</sup> For alternative locations of Wilusa, see now Gander (2017: 272–3). On the general background Korfmann (1995); Easton et al. (2002); Bryce (2006).

<sup>31</sup> Rose (2014: 25).

<sup>32</sup> Starke (1997); Watkins (1986).

<sup>33</sup> Kloekhorst (2012).

At the time of Mursili II's attack, Ahhiyawa was clearly allied to Arzawa, and controlled Millawanda, presumably a territory of some size. Since the archaeology suggests that Mycenaeans had been at Miletus since the mid 15th century BC, we have to assume a long history of Ahhiyawa–Arzawan interactions. The territory of Millawanda could perhaps be thought of as long-term contact zone between Mycenaeans and Arzawans in the 14th–13th centuries (with a short hiatus after Mursili II's attack) and occasionally as point of contact for Mycenaeans and Hittites, as we can see from the Tawagalawa Letter.<sup>34</sup> There is no sign of a treaty between Ahhiyawa and Arzawa, but we have little evidence for Arzawa of any sort apart from what survives in the Hittite archives, and the existence of one cannot be ruled out.

One might have expected another contact zone in the North-West at Wilusa, given that Greeks of the 1st millennium BC attach so much importance to Troy. The texts provide a few clues about Mycenaean interest in Wilusa (see §5.4); there is some Mycenaean pottery, but even at its peak in the second half of the 14th century BC it is limited (Rose 2014: 26).

Most contact between Mycenaeans and Anatolians must have happened via the West, but other areas would have been accessible to the maritime Mycenaeans as well. The South coast of Anatolia is a possibility; in two letters from Ugarit from the early 12th century BC the Hittites request that deliveries be made to the Hiyawan men in Lukka, and if Hiyawa here is equivalent to Ahhiyawa, this seems to imply Mycenaean presence.<sup>35</sup> They might also have come into contact with Hittites in their trading activities in the Levant, sailing past the mercantile centre of Ura. There is no evidence that the Mycenaeans sailed as far as the Propontis or even the Black Sea, but it's not impossible that they did, and that they encountered Hittite culture directly or indirectly.<sup>36</sup>

### 5.3 Evidence for Religion 1: Ahhiyawa and Lazpa

Religious interaction between Western Anatolia and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age has been the subject of speculation for many decades. The evidence is very limited, but two texts are particularly important:

<sup>34</sup> For Arzawa as a 'middle ground' see Collins (2010a). A vivid illustration of contact is a fragment of an LHIIIB-C Mycenaean vessel found at Miletus with the horned headgear typical of an Anatolian god: Weickert (1959–60: Tafel 72.1); Bachvarova (2016: fig. 10).

<sup>35</sup> AhT 27A-B; Singer (2006); Bryce (2010).

<sup>36</sup> See Hiller (1991); Rutherford (2019b).

The first is a long text recording Hittite liver-oracles (AhT 20), which is concerned with the illness of a king, usually taken to be Mursilis II (see §§10, 21, 23, 25).<sup>37</sup> The illness may be king's aphasia, which he developed during a thunderstorm; a purification ritual relating to this survives.<sup>38</sup> The date is probably after the tenth year of Mursili's reign (1311 BC) since it refers to a sacrifice for the king's brother Sarri-Kusuh who died at that time.<sup>39</sup> The text's geographical horizons are broad, stretching from the Aegean to Emar/Astata in N. Syria,<sup>40</sup> which had been conquered by Suppiluluma.

It falls into the following sections (cf. Sommer (1932: 267–8)):

§1–17 (col.i.1–col.ii.12; the beginning of the column is missing): establishment of correct rites for the Syrian goddess Ishara, with reference the summoning of a priest from Astata/Emar.<sup>41</sup>

§18–23 (col.ii.13–56) seems to concern imprecations made by *dammara* men; §19 mentions inter alia a man called Antarawa (whom Forrer mistakenly identified as the Greek Andreus; also in §23). §21 and §23 concern the Zawalli deity of the town of Zithara. (For Zawalli deities see p. 43.) *Dammara* women are dispatched to Zithara, and the question is asked, 'whether they should whip (or beat) before the deity those who quarrelled violently', and whether the king, who is in Hattusa, should bow before 'polluted and purified offering tables'.

§24–6 (col.ii.57–69): deities of Ahhiyawa and Lazpa and the 'personal deity of his majesty'; (col.ii.65–69): Zawalli deity of Ankuwa; a deity is to be taken to Zithara and 'divided'.<sup>42</sup>

§29–34 (col.iii.8–44): Mashuiluwa (former king of Arzawa, exiled in Hattusa) may have cursed in front of the Zawalli deities. He will go to Kuwalana (formerly read as Kuwatna), and the *mantalliya-/maltalliya* ritual of reconciliation in the style of Hattusa and Arzawa will be performed.

§35–45 (col.iii.45–82): fragmentary. §41 and §43 mention the Tawannanna, Suppiluliuma's widow, Malnigal. This was presumably related to the fact

<sup>37</sup> CTH 570 (KUB 5.6+). It has also been suggested that it dates to the reign of Hattusili III or even Tuthaliya IV; see van den Hout (1998: 24–5, n.62); Schwemer (2008:149).

<sup>38</sup> CTH 486; S. Görke (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 486 (INTR 2015-10-21); Lebrun (1985).

<sup>39</sup> iii.71; Archi (2014: 146).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Archi (2014); Ünal (2005).

<sup>41</sup> As Archi (2014: 147–9) showed, an account of the festivals of Ishara was preserved independently in the Hittite archives (Prechel 1996: 231–4).

<sup>42</sup> See Beal (2002a: 198); on 'splitting' see p. 187, n.21.

that Tawannanna was accused of stealing the silver of Astata.<sup>43</sup> §42 mentions offerings to the king's brother.

§46–60 (col.iv.1–): fragmentary.

Here is section §24 (ii 57'–64'):

In respect to the fact that the freeing<sup>44</sup> of the Ahhiyawa, the deity of Lazpa, and the personal deity (of his Majesty) was indicated by oracle as incumbent upon his Majesty—when they bring the personal deity of the King, should they bring them (the other deities) too? And as <they perform> the rite for them over the course of three days, is it likewise mandated for three days for the deity of Ahhiyawa and the deity of Lazpa? And as his Majesty has done obeisance to the polluted and purified offering tables and they have sacrificed in the style of Hattusa, should he do precisely the same for them? They investigate the offering by oracle. Ditto. Let the extispicy be favourable: *nipasuri, sintañi, tanani, keldi*; ten intestinal coils. Result: favourable.

Deities of Ahhiyawa and Lazpa are mentioned only here. The 'deity of the person/body'<sup>45</sup> (of the king)' is also found only here, though the plural is occasionally found,<sup>46</sup> along with a number of similar deities.<sup>47</sup> There is thus no sign of a permanent presence of the deities of Ahhiyawa and Lazpa at the Hittite court, and it seems more likely they (or their statues) have been summoned to assist the king in an illness.<sup>48</sup> Another god who may have been sent on a healing mission is Ishtar of Nineveh, sent from Mitanni to Egypt in the 14th century BC (EA23).<sup>49</sup> Another case would be the Egyptians sending the statue of Khonsu to heal the princess of 'Bakhtan' in the Bentresh Stela;

<sup>43</sup> Archi (2014: 150–1).

<sup>44</sup> The meaning of 'freeing' (*tarnumanzi*) is uncertain. Ünal (2005: 76n.69) suggests that it means the statues are going to be sent back, but that leaves out the 'Personal deity'. Cf. ii.28: 'occasion for ritual release' (*para tar«nu»mas me-hur*), which is equally obscure.

<sup>45</sup> NÍ.TE = Akkadian *RAMANU* 'person' and apparently Hittite *tuekka-* 'body': see Weeden (2011: 591).

<sup>46</sup> KUB 17.14 i 14 (substitute ritual Kummel p. 61). For the deity, Sommer (1932: 284) is still useful; OHP 2.972, 996 (plural).

<sup>47</sup> See OHP 3.69 for various gods associated with the royal *tuekka-*. Relevant too is the deity SA SAG.DU-IA ('of my head') referred to by Puduhepa in KUB 21.38, obv. 57; in the plural: KUB 58.94 i 14; KUB 17.1 rev 15; and the Zawalli deity of the king's person: KUB 22.40 ii 4. For personal deities in Mesopotamia, see van der Toorn (1996: 71–87).

<sup>48</sup> Singer (1994: 96); Arnott (2004: 168). 'Godnapping' was probably not practised by the Hittites in this period: Gilan (2014).

<sup>49</sup> Moran (1992: 62n.2). It is not certain the purpose was healing.

this text is mid 1st millennium BC at the earliest, but it could reflect earlier traditions.<sup>50</sup>

For the deity of Lazpa the only other relevant piece of information comes from another Ahhiyawa text, a letter (AhT 7) from the king of the Seha River Land to the king of Hatti, which narrates a crisis in international relations: groups of so-called ‘SARIPUTU-men’ belonging to the king of Hatti and the king of the Seha River Land had been abducted from Lazpa by the West Anatolian warlord called Piyamaradu, who brought them to Atpa, governor of Millawanda who seems to have been acting as agent of Ahhiyawa. Under Hittite pressure they were eventually released. Itamar Singer has argued that the SARIPUTU men were ‘purple dyers’, who were making an offering, so that the context would again be religious, perhaps the cult of a goddess.<sup>51</sup>

The oracle confirms (1) that the deities of Ahhiyawa and Lazpa should be brought when they bring the personal deity; (2) that they be worshipped in the same way as one worships the personal deity, i.e. for three days; and (3) that obeisance should be made to polluted and purified offering-tables and that sacrifice should be performed in the manner of Hatti. The stipulations in (3) are the same as in the previous paragraph in the text where the oracle confirms them for the Zawalli deity of Zithara. ‘In the manner of Hatti’ implies a contrast with another manner of sacrifice, it being assumed that this was a variable on which the oracle could advise (see p. 248). Elsewhere the text refers to sacrifice in the style of Astate or of the priestess Mezzulla (cf. §5) and to a *mantalliya* ritual in the style of Hattusa and Arzawa (§31–2); conceivably sacrifice in the manner of Ahhiyawa or of Lazpa was a possibility.

It seems almost certain that the gods of Ahhiyawa and Lazpa were brought to Hattusa to alleviate the king’s illness. They may well have been dismissed at some later point, though we don’t know that, and Hittite religious mentality seems to have been unusually receptive to incorporating new deities. Another thing we don’t know is how the gods were summoned in the first place. Since the Hittites and Ahhiyawa were at various times at war, it is always possible that they were secured in or after hostility—via ‘godnapping’ or evocation (see pp. 216–217)—though a formerly hostile deity might not have made for a well-disposed doctor. More likely, the circumstances were friendly. A precondition is probably that the deities enjoyed a reputation

<sup>50</sup> See Kitchen and Davies (1993–2014: 2.167). See the recent study of Ryholt (2013: 62–70). If evidence for deities sent to cure illnesses is slight, we do have evidence for the summoning of doctors: Bryce (2003a: 114–19).

<sup>51</sup> See Singer (2008). For further background, see Mason (2008).

for healing, i.e. they had a supraregional reputation which already extended beyond the Aegean. How this could have happened, we can only guess. AH T 20 mentions Mursili's daughter Massanauzzi, who is known to have married Masturi, king of the Seha River Land (§17). The Seha River Land is known independently to have had a relationship with Lazpa (see p. 116) and Archi suggested, plausibly, that the deities of Ahhiyawa and Lazpa were summoned to the Hittite court via this connection: Massanauzzi could have heard of the efficacy of these deities from her husband, and passed the information on to her father.<sup>52</sup>

Since the deities aren't named (another sign that the Hittites were not familiar with them?), their identity remains obscure. There's been some speculation. Clearly, they must have been well known in the region.<sup>53</sup> Pugliese Carratelli in 1951 thought the deity of Lazpa might be the 'the Aeolian, Glorious Goddess, Mother of all', mentioned in an (at the time recently discovered) poem by Alcaeus (fr. 129, 1941), along with Zeus and Dionysus, and, since he believed that Ahhiyawa was Rhodes, he inferred that the deity of Ahhiyawa was Lindian Athene.<sup>54</sup> For George Huxley the deity of Lazpa seemed likely to be Apollo Smintheus, known from the Troad, but also Lesbos.<sup>55</sup> Itamar Singer, as we saw, preferred to see the deity of Lazpa as a goddess. Hugh Mason in an unpublished talk in 2006 suggested that it might be either Aphrodite (cf. Sappho's interest in her), or Apollo Maloeis, worshipped near Mytilene, or Artemis Themia, worshipped north of Mytilene near the great Bronze Age site of Thermi.<sup>56</sup> The deity of Ahhiyawa has not been speculated about so much, presumably because the choice is so large; the only deity mentioned in the Mycenaean tablets who looks like they might have had a specific healing role is *Pa-ya-won* from Knossos, later known as Paion, the healer, usually an epithet of Apollo.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Archi (2014: 146).

<sup>53</sup> Arnott (1996: 267): 'This suggests that the Mycenaean worshipped a god of healing whose fame and potency spread as far as the Hittite Empire of central Anatolia'; cf. Arnott (2002: 47); Arnott (2004: 168).

<sup>54</sup> Pugliese Carratelli (1950–1) and Pugliese Carratelli (1996) (a revised thesis but still Athene of Lindos).

<sup>55</sup> Huxley (1960: 13), RE s. Sminthe. Apollo Smintheus was associated with mice (see RE cited) and Archi (2015a: 287–8 (no. 14)) has linked this to Ambazzi's Ritual concerning the deities Zarniza, Tarpatassa, and Alauwaimi (CTH 391; see Christiansen 2006), which uses a mouse as a ritual carrier. Archi thinks that Ambazzi may be from the 'southern-western or western regions'; Paola Dardano (2006: 179) had suggested that a catalogue entry for Ambazzi, as author of another ritual, might indicate that she is from Arzawa, but see Christiansen (2006: 179).

<sup>56</sup> [https://www.academia.edu/12034867/The\\_Divinity\\_of\\_Lesbos](https://www.academia.edu/12034867/The_Divinity_of_Lesbos).

<sup>57</sup> See Arnott (1996: 267); also Arnott (2004: 168). On Payawon Rutherford (2001a: 11–12).

## 5.4 Evidence for Religion 2: Apaliuna and Wilusa

The second piece of evidence is the treaty between Muwatalli 2 and Alaksandu of Wilusa. Like other Hittite treatises this ends with a list of divine witnesses drawn from the pantheons of parties involved. The short list of the deities of Wilusa in this treaty is our only evidence for the religion of Wilusa.<sup>58</sup>

... all [the deities]

of the land Wilusa: the Storm-god of the Army (<sup>D</sup>U KARAS), [...] Apaliuna,  
the male deities, the female deities, the mountains, [the rivers, the springs,]  
and the underground watercourse

of the land of Wilusa (<sup>D</sup>KASKAL.KUR SA KUR <sup>URU</sup>Wilusa)

The ‘Storm-god of the Army’ is a well-established form of the Hittite Storm god with Luwian connections.<sup>59</sup> The Greco-Roman deity Zeus Stratios (‘Zeus of the Army’), known almost entirely from Asia Minor (from Caria, where he was equated with Zeus Labrandeus; from Bithynia, from Paphlagonia, from Pontus; also from Athens) could perhaps be regarded as a translation.<sup>60</sup> Deified water-courses occur occasionally in Hittite texts, though it is rare for them to be qualified as belonging to a specific city.<sup>61</sup> Manfred Korfmann claimed to have identified the ‘underground water course’ in a cave located in the NW of the lower city.<sup>62</sup>

‘Apaliuna’ is a hapax; the closest we come to it in any other text is the deity Apaluwa in a fragmentary plague ritual, where s/he is mentioned with his/her daughter Lapana.<sup>63</sup> Equation of Apaliuna with Apollo was first suggested by Forrer, and endorsed by Kretschmer.<sup>64</sup> It made sense because

<sup>58</sup> CTH 76A, KUB 21.1+ iv 24ff.; Friedrich (1930: 80–1); Beckman (1999a: no. 13: §20).

<sup>59</sup> See Teffeteller (2012); Tarhunza of the *kwalan*- in TELL AHMAR 6 (see Bunnens 2006).

<sup>60</sup> See Kind, RE IVA (1932), 256–61; Parker (2017: 103). <sup>61</sup> See OHP2.679–80.

<sup>62</sup> See Latacz (2004: 83–5); Rose (2014: 293n.110) for references.

<sup>63</sup> CTH 424.5 = KBo 22.125. F. Fuscagni (ed.), *hethiter.net/*: CTH 424.5 (INTR 2015-12-22). Col.1 [] [When an epidem]ic happens, in every town they perform this ritual. They take this: 1 bull, 2 rams, 3 goats, one pig and 1 small dog, 3 reed tables, 72 small thick breads, and then as much bread and beer as the lord of the town allocates. They consecrate to these deities: Apaluwa, Lapana, [daug]hter (of?) Apalawa, X (another deity)... Col.2... stands. ready... city gate... sprinkle[s]... all... when... in. See also CTH 424.4 = KUB 41.16 + IBoT 4.309 with F. Fuscagni (ed.), *hethiter.net/*: CTH 424.4 (INTR 2016-07-25).

<sup>64</sup> Forrer (1931); Kretschmer (1936: 250).



Alaksandu and Wilusa had already been identified with Alexander and Troy,<sup>65</sup> and because Apollo is associated with Troy by Homer. The ‘o’ vowel in the second syllable of Apollon is not a problem for this hypothesis because forms such as Apellon also occur.<sup>66</sup> Inspired by Forrer’s suggestion, Bedrich Hrozný, who had deciphered Hittite twenty years earlier, claimed to have found the theonym Apulunas in the LBA Hieroglyphic Luwian altars from Emir-Gazi (North of Tyana),<sup>67</sup> a hypothesis which has not stood the test of time.<sup>68</sup> Forrer’s suggestion also came in for criticism, primarily because the sign before *ap-* did not seem to be the expected determinative for gods, namely DINGIR.<sup>69</sup> Possibly there was a sense among scholars that Apollo’s epiphany here was too good to be true. But Laroche was more open to it, and Güterbock argued in favour, proposing the sign before *ap-* could have been *a-*, a ‘plene writing’ of the vowel (i.e. *A-ap-pa-li-u-na*).<sup>70</sup> Güterbock even suggested that the deity preceding Apaliuna could have been <sup>D</sup>ISTAR-li-is (i.e. Anzilis), ‘an *interpretatio Hethitica* of Aphrodite’. The equation of Apaliuna with Apollo has recently been supported by other scholars.<sup>71</sup>

Attention has also been drawn to stone *stelai* set at the gates of Troy. Apollo is known to have been worshipped in the form of a pillar (‘Apollo Aguius’), which seems to open up the possibility that these *stelai* might represent Apollo.<sup>72</sup> On the other hand, *stelai* at gates are not unattested in the Ancient Near East,<sup>73</sup> and the Hittites knew of other gate deities, such as the Salawanes deities, who are actually attested in the ritual of Alli of Arzawa.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Troy and Wilusa: Kretschmer (1924); Alaksandu and Alexander: Luckenbill (1911).

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Rosó (2007: 222–30); e.g. in Pamphylian Greek: Brixhe (1976: 138–9).

<sup>67</sup> Hrozný (1936: 192–7).

<sup>68</sup> It was, however, still followed by Nilsson (1967–71: 1.559). In Hawkins’ reconstruction of the text (Hawkins 2006: 55–6), these signs read ‘Á.FEMINA?DEUS.\*461’, which is interpreted as the goddess Ala, spouse of the local Stag god. Hrozný (1936: 461) also speculated that the sign of the deity might have indicated a pillar and that the name of Apollo was derived from Akkadian *abullu* ‘gate’.

<sup>69</sup> Sommer (1937: 176–82); A. Goetze, cited by Jameson (1970: 52–3).

<sup>70</sup> Laroche (1946–7: 80; Güterbock (1986: 42n.28) (= 1997 reprint 227n.28). See also Christiansen (2012: 261). In fact, inspection of the image suggests that the text is so damaged that DINGIR cannot be ruled out.

<sup>71</sup> Beekes (2003b: 12–14); E. Brown (2004); Oettinger (2015: 127–8); for Anzili, see Wilhelm (2010).

<sup>72</sup> Nilsson (1967–71: 1.562–3); Korfmann (1998: 475).

<sup>73</sup> For *stelai* at gates, see May (2014: 87–8); Korfmann noticed that the Anatolian stele might be in front of gates, as in KUB 35.70 ii 15, a ritual text with Luwian elements: see Starke (1990: 206).

<sup>74</sup> Also in CTH 433.3§9, Bawanyeck (2005: 109), and see Chapter 6. Gates: Del Monte (1973); Haas (1994a: 280–2).

If we accept that Apaliuna is Apollo, further questions arise. Was this a W. Anatolian deity who became popular in Greece? And if so, was he Luwian, his name perhaps related to Luwian *appal* ‘trap’; or did he belong to some other, possibly non-Indo-European tradition?<sup>75</sup> Or was he a Greek deity who migrated to Anatolia, perhaps via Wilusa? And if so, was he Indo-European<sup>76</sup> or ‘pre-Greek’<sup>77</sup>? Or was he a common W. Anatolian/Aegean deity, perhaps belonging to an early substrate underlying both regions, or part of the ‘interface’ culture? It’s hard to be sure, but here are some factors that may help us decide:

- (a) There is some evidence for Apollo in Mycenaean Greece: the theonym Apollo itself may occur on a Mycenaean tablet from Knossos,<sup>78</sup> The theonym Payawon, which is commonly associated with Apollo in the 1st millennium BC, is attested at Knossos.<sup>79</sup> There is also evidence that the Apolline epithet Smintheus was known (see §3.3). That surely makes borrowing of the name from Anatolia in the LBA less likely.
- (b) There is no other Hittite evidence, except for the fragmentary plague ritual mentioning the deity Apaluwa and his/her daughter Lapana.<sup>80</sup> Apaluwa could be the same as Apaliuna, another Hittite attempt to render the name of the Greek god, this time starting from the shorter form Apollo (by analogy one would have expected Apaliuwa, but this does not seem such a big difference).<sup>81</sup> Apollo too is associated with plague, and the text also mentions city gates, with which he is sometimes linked.<sup>82</sup> This text gives no sign of its provenance,<sup>83</sup>

<sup>75</sup> E. Brown (2004: 248); Oettinger (2015); Jasink (2004: 406–7) also favours Anatolian origin. The link to *appal* ‘trap’ was suggested by Sommer (1937), supported by E. Brown (2004); for the word see Starke (1990: 317–22).

<sup>76</sup> Egetmeyer (2007); cf. Watkins (1995: 149).

<sup>77</sup> cf. Beekes (2003b); Bachvarova (2016: 246–8).

<sup>78</sup> KN E 842.3 [*pe-ro<sub>2</sub>-[n- (ro<sub>2</sub>= lyo)*; Aura Jorro (1985–93: 2.113); cf. Watkins (1995: 149) with references.

<sup>79</sup> Aura Jorro (1985–93: 2.69).

<sup>80</sup> See above, pp. 109–110. There are also Anatolian personal names with the formation Apalla-. Apallu-, Appala-: see Laroche (1966: 35).

<sup>81</sup> Bachvarova (2016: 246) takes the view that the variation *li/l* in the two names is best explained by ‘Beekes’ reconstruction of a palatal *l* in the phonemic inventory of his ‘unitary pre-Greek’. There must surely be other explanations, such as that different Hittite transcribers heard the foreign deity’s name in different ways, or that they originate in different Greek dialects.

<sup>82</sup> See above and Graf (2007) for the evidence of oracles from Claros.

<sup>83</sup> Fuscagni (at hethiter.net/: CTH 424.4 (INTR 2016-07-25)) suggests W. Anatolian provenance on the grounds that the inventory KUB 38.1, which mentions the town Lapana (iv.1),

though many of the surviving Hittite plague rituals seem to be from Arzawa.

- (c) Greeks of the 1st millennium BC call Apollo ‘Lukios/Lukeios’, which has been understood as ‘wolfish’, ‘of the light’, or ‘Lycian’. The last interpretation is found from the late 5th century BC, when Patara begins to be identified as an Apolline oracle, but there is no sign that it is original.<sup>84</sup> In the *Iliad* Pandaros, sometimes called Lycian, is associated with Apollo ‘Lukegenes’, but it’s not clear what to make of that.<sup>85</sup> The Xanthos trilingual revealed that his local (Lycian or Carian?) name was Natri.<sup>86</sup> Nor was he part of the Lydian pantheon.<sup>87</sup>
- (d) There is no agreement on the etymology of the theonym Apollo. Some scholars trace it to Greek, others to the Ancient Near East.<sup>88</sup> (Others, as we have seen, claim it is Luwian.)
- (e) The basic ‘schema’ of Apollo—young warrior god, possibly linked to hunting—is a common one in the region and there are resemblances between him and such deities as Yarri (see §9.3.2), Reshef, Santa, Nergal, Hittite ‘tutelary’ deities, and even young Storm gods like Telipinu (on Apollo Delphinios see §9.3.3).<sup>89</sup> Thus, the schema alone is not enough to trace the god’s origins.

is of W. Anatolian origin (presumably assuming Wiyanawanta in ii.1 is Lycian Oinoanda), but this is not the only view about KUB 38.1 and Cammarosano (2018: 306) favours Cappadocian origin for it.

<sup>84</sup> Graf (1985: 220–1). Eur., fr.700 (Telephus); Patara: Eur. *Alc.*115; Herodot. 1.128; Ps. Eur. *Rhesus* 224–5 (probably 4th century BC) (see Fries 2014: 205).

<sup>85</sup> Bryce (1977).

<sup>86</sup> See Neumann (2007: s.v.). Apparently Carian *ntro* is related: Adiego Lajara (2007: 389). One possibility is that the name is of Egyptian origin (*\*ntr\**: god); see Carruba (2002); another is that it represents *anaktor*, title of Apollo.

<sup>87</sup> Lydian *pldāns*, once regarded as to equivalent to Apollo, is now read as *qldāns*: see Payne and Wintjes (2016: 101); Heubeck (1959: 15–22).

<sup>88</sup> See Rosól (2007); Oettinger (2015: 124–5).

<sup>89</sup> Reshef: Burkert (1975); ‘tutelary’ deities: E. Brown (2004); and cf. Oettinger (2015) on Lycian evidence, arguing that the theonym *iprehe/i* in TL26, 3, which seem to correspond to Apollo, goes back to Hieroglyphic Luwian *immar(i)*- (‘open country’), which used as an epithet for Kurunta (see p. 55, n.190); Brown compares the image representation of the LAMMA-deity standing on an animal (see p. 34) with Kanachos’ celebrated statue of Apollo at Didyma, who holds a deer in his hand. Fontenrose (1988: 116); Bachvarova (2016: 245–8). E. Brown (2004: 244) points to the statue of the LAMMA deities in the cult inventory KUB 38.1 ii 1–6, in the town of Wiyanawanda and KUB 38.2 ii 24–iii 4 in the ruins of Dala (Cammarosano (2018: 311, 297), both of which he links to Lycia, but the KUB 38.2 is probably to be associated with N. Central Anatolia, and KUB 38.1 may well be too (see Cammarosano (2018) ad loc and above n.83).

On balance, the likeliest reconstruction is that Apollo was Greek or pre-Greek, and comes to Wilusa because NW Asia Minor/Assuwa was under Greek influence for a period (perhaps in the 14th century BC, perhaps earlier). As Markus Egetmeyer points out, Apaliuna could be explained as a Hittite remodelling of a hypothetical \*Apelion as an *a*-stem noun. The absence of any certain reference to Apollo in Linear B is not necessarily an obstacle, because our evidence for Mycenaean religion is so limited.<sup>90</sup> At the same time, it is possible that Apollo's schema as we know it from the 1st millennium BC was shaped in other ways by LBA Anatolian gods, e.g. by Yarri (see p. 134).

The deity Apaluwa in the plague ritual KBo 22.125 (see above) can plausibly be explained as an allomorph of the same Greek or pre-Greek deity. If the ritual described in the text is Arzawan or otherwise W. Anatolian (like most Hittite plague rituals), then this would indicate that Apaluwa had been adopted as a plague averting deity in these regions, anticipating Apollo's prominent role in W. Anatolia in the 1st millennium BC. The starting point for that process could perhaps have been the Mycenaean settlement at Millawanda/Miletus. If the ritual is from central or SE Anatolia, we would have to assume that Apaluwa had developed a supra-regional reputation as a healer god (like the deities of Ahhiyawa and Lazpa in the oracle text).

### 5.5 Evidence for Religion 3: Potniya Aswiya

Thus, both these pieces of evidence point in a West–East direction from Greece to Anatolia. Evidence for Anatolian gods migrating to Greece is not as strong. The most promising case is the Mycenaean goddess '*po-ti-ni-ya a-si-wi-ya*', attested on a Linear B tablet from Pylos (Fr. 1206), as the recipient of 150 litres of perfumed oil.

PY Fr 1206: *po-ti-ni-ya a-si-wi-ya to-so qe-te-yo* OLE + PA 5 v 4

The first word is '*potniya*'—mistress—a common element in titles for goddesses in Mycenaean Greece. Her epithet has often been linked to the political entity called Assuwa (possibly 'the good land' from Hittite *assu-*),<sup>91</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Egetmeyer (2007); E. Brown (2004); Bachvarova (2016: 246–7).

<sup>91</sup> See Heubeck (1961: 71–3).

attested in Hittite texts relating to the late 15th and early 14th century BC.<sup>92</sup> The link between the Mycenaean ‘Potniya Aswiya’ and Assuwa works linguistically, if we assume that Assuwa was augmented with a *-ya* suffix: Assuwa > \*Assuwiya > \*Asswiya.<sup>93</sup> This lengthened form could also be the origin of the later toponym ‘Asia’.<sup>94</sup> This would seem to indicate that Potniya Aswiya was worshipped in Pylos at this time. Lisa Bendall (2014) pointed out that the amounts of oil are large, as they are with Mater Thehia in the same archive (PY Fr 1202).<sup>95</sup> To explain that, she suggested that the offerings to these goddesses may have been intended to be sent outside the territory of Pylos, perhaps at least in the case of Fr 1206 all the way to Anatolia.

Assuwa disappears from the record after the conquest of W. Anatolia by the Hittite king Tudhaliya I/II at this time (see p. 19). A fragment from Hittite annals describes an attack made by him on two groups of cities in the West.<sup>96</sup> The first group of cities group includes Arzawa; the second group, which seems to be called ‘Assuwa’, begins with a place whose name ended in *Juqqa*, and concludes with Wilusiya and Taruisa. Wilusiya looks like the toponym Wilusa, generally supposed to be an LBA form of the later Greek Ilion (which will have lost the initial digamma), while Taruisa resembles Troia.<sup>97</sup> A lot hinges on the interpretation of *J-uqqa*: some have interpreted it as *LJuqqa*, i.e. Lukka, roughly Lycia in South Anatolia. In that case the

<sup>92</sup> First in Chadwick (1957: 125–6); further discussion in Aura Jorro (1985–93: 110). Not everyone accepts this: Starke (1997: 456) links it to the toponym Assos. For the possibility that the Spartan goddess Athene Asia (Paus. 3.24.6–7) is related see Maddoli (1967).

<sup>93</sup> Melchert (2003a: 7); compare the developments *Zalpa*>*Zalpuwa*, and *Ahhiya*>*Ahhiyawa*. Kretschmer (1924: 213) saw *-uwa* as replaced by *iā*. A problem is that one might expect the product of *Aswiya* to be *Āsia*, whereas the first syllable of *Asia* in Greek is always short, although long in the adjective *Ἀσιός* found in Greek tragedy. Long alpha is found in *Il.* 2.461: *Ἀσίωι ἐν λεμῶνι*, and also the Homeric name *Asios* (*Il.* 2.835–2.840), which matches a Mycenaean PN *a-si-wi-jo* (Aura Jorro (1985–93: 1.110). See Chadwick (1957: 125–6).

<sup>94</sup> Forrer, ‘Assuwa’ in *RIA* 1.227 (1932). Gander resists this identification, but on historical grounds, because the name ‘Asia’ is not attested very early, i.e. it’s not in Homer. However, it is in Sappho (fr. 44.4), which gets you back to 600 BC. Gander (2017: 265) asserts that the identification is unlikely because *Asia* ‘originally referred to the coast of Asia Minor’, citing Gander (2015), but we know nothing about the early use of Assuwa.

<sup>95</sup> See pp. 173–174.

<sup>96</sup> KUB 23.11–12; see Carruba (1977: 158–63); Gander (2017: 264–5).

<sup>97</sup> The equation between the names Wilusa and Ilion appears first in Kretschmer (1924), though he situated it in the SE Anatolia. Forrer (1924) had already equated Taruisa with Troy (Troia). This is generally accepted: see Garstang and Gurney (1959: 105–6); Güterbock (1986:35), Latacz (2004:75). Some have expressed doubts, including Sommer (1932: 363) and more recently Gander (2017: 272–3).

Assuwa alliance will have covered a broad territory stretching from SW to NW. A problem with this hypothesis is that the Assuwa alliance would then overlap with Arzawa, which seems to have been separate. Another possibility, however, is that we should restore Artjuqqa, a place mentioned in an account of an historical campaign conducted in the region of Arzawa by Tudhaliya I/II and his son Arnuwanda. Metin Alparslan has identified Artuqqa with Artake/Erdek, the port of Cyzicus, a hypothesis which would place Assuwa squarely in the NW.<sup>98</sup>

The size of Assuwa remains uncertain. One Hittite text mentions a 'city of Assuwa', which Massimo Forlanini deduces might have been in Phrygia; Max Gander suggests that that town might be an easterly relic of a once extended kingdom of Assuwa.<sup>99</sup> Enlightenment has also been sought from Egypt: Assuwa has sometimes been linked to an Egyptian toponym, *Asiya*.<sup>100</sup> Part of a geographical list on a statue base from Kom-el-Hetan in Egypt (14th century BC) includes Hatti, Arzawa (*irṭw*), and *Asiya* (*isyw*), all apparently Anatolian territories. Gander suggests that these should be understood as the three great kingdoms of W. Anatolia at the time.<sup>101</sup>

Surviving records tell us nothing about the pantheon of Assuwa. It has recently been argued that Potniya Aswiya should be seen as an early version of Artemis of Ephesos, the best known W. Anatolian goddess of the Iron Age.<sup>102</sup> However, neither the iconography of Ephesian Artemis nor her epichoric name Opis/Oupis seem to come from LBA Anatolia (see p. 196) and it is hard to see how this would work, if Assuwa was in the North-West of Anatolia. If she is to be identified with any goddess known from the 1st millennium, it is more likely to be one from NW Anatolia, such as the Dindymene Mother or the Mother of Ida.

<sup>98</sup> See KUB 23.21 obv. ii(?) 18, 23, for which see Carruba (1977: 166–9). Artuqqa was first restored in KUB 23.11–12, obv.14 by Garstang and Gurney (1959: 106); see Alparslan (2002) and Gander (2017: 265). Edel (1975: 58–9) suggested that Artuqqa is mentioned in Egyptian topographical lists, though this does not seem to have been taken seriously, presumably because there is no sign that Artuqqa was ever important enough to have been noticed by the Egyptians. See also Strobel (2008: 27).

<sup>99</sup> KUB 34.43, obv.10; Forlanini (2007a: 291) connected with a hypothetical Phrygian town Soa; doubted by Strobel (2008: 54n.86); defended by Gander (2017: 265n.39).

<sup>100</sup> In Sethe (1917–18); Helck (1983) reviews other theories, including that it is Alashiya (Cyprus). Contrast the view of Breyer (2011: 168).

<sup>101</sup> Gander (2015:443–71). Stadelmann (2008) had identified *Asiya* with the Anatolian territory *Isuwa*, usually thought to be in the North-East).

<sup>102</sup> So Sarah Morris (2001a and 2001b).

## 5.6 The Significance of Lazpa

The presence of a deity of Lazpa at the Hittite court (§5.3) suggests that Lesbos may have been a key religious site in the Aegean in this period. The primary state that recognized it was perhaps the adjacent Seha River Land, in whose territory it may at this point have been. It was also recognized by the more distant Hittites who wanted to sustain their influence in the West. Wilusa in the Troad might be expected to have had an interest in it as well, as Assuwa had had in the past. But it would not be surprising if the Mycenaeans were involved there, and indeed Piyamaradu's raid on the *SARIPUTU*-men could perhaps be seen as an attempt to assert control on behalf of Ahhiyawa.<sup>103</sup>

One further source may shed some light, a fragmentary letter dating from about 1300 BC written by the Hittite king to the king of Ahhiyawa (AhT 6). The words attributed to the king of Ahhiyawa include 'your islands' then 'the storm god gave me to subjugate' and 'the king of Assuwa'. The letter also mentions a certain Kagamuna and someone's great grandfather, which would take us back three generations to about 1400 BC, when the Hittite king Tudhaliya I/II defeated and apparently eliminated Assuwa. There's also a phrase 'bound in front' (*piran ḫamakta*) which has been taken as a reference to a marriage (see §5.7). The reference to islands in the context of Assuwa suggests that Lesbos might have been one of the islands in question, perhaps owned by Assuwa at some point. Ownership of them may have been disputed by Ahhiyawa and Assuwa (three generations ago) and/or the Hittites (in the present).<sup>104</sup>

The surviving texts thus give the impression that Lesbos was a contested territory. However, ordinary religious life many have been more a matter of peaceful coexistence between Anatolians and Greeks. Its mediating role was perhaps similar to that of 1st millennium Aegean religious centres such as that of the Great Gods at Samothrace (cf. on Hasamili: §9.3.1) and that of

<sup>103</sup> For archaeology, see Spencer (1995: 73–5): 'In ceramic terms the Bronze Age settlements throughout Lesbos consist of uniform assemblages, indicating that culturally the island was an extension of north-west Anatolia and the Troad... A significant feature of the Late Bronze Age in the north-east Aegean is that the area not only continues to show affinities with Anatolia, but also is clearly distinguished from other parts of the Mycenaean world in the Aegean and mainland Greece.'

<sup>104</sup> See AhT 6, with the comments in Beckman et al. (2011) and Teffeteller (2013); Weeden (2019) argues that the letter was sent by the Hittite king. For the location of Assuwa, see now Gander (2017: 265).

Apollo on Delos.<sup>105</sup> An earlier religious centre in the Aegean might have been Kavos on the island of Keros (mid 3rd millennium BC: see p. 60). More generally, it is clear that major religious centres and the festivals they hosted could be important meeting places for people, either in the context of trade or for other reasons. At major Hittite festivals ‘*ubaru men*’, foreigners of some sort, are known to have been present, and they could easily have disseminated information back to their own communities;<sup>106</sup> and the religious culture of Ugarit seems to have taken account of various groups of foreigners.<sup>107</sup> We could perhaps see Lesbos as itself a sort of contact zone, mediating between the Mycenaean Aegean and the Anatolian mainland.<sup>108</sup>

### 5.7 Alliances and Marriages

At various points in the 14th–13th centuries BC there must have been political alliances between Ahhiyawa and powers in W. Anatolia. That’s pretty clear from what we know of the history. Uhhaziti of Arzawa must have been allied to the king of Ahhiyawa when Mursili attacked; Piyamaradu was allied to Ahhiyawa as well; and there was cooperation between them and the Seha River Land in the mid 13th century BC during the Eagle Peak incident.

This is important, because a military alliance would bring the two sides together culturally, allowing for an exchange of religious practice. There is a later parallel for this in Athens around 430 BC when the Thracian goddess Bendis was introduced, probably in the context of the establishment of a military alliance between Athens and the Odrysian kingdom in Thrace.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>105</sup> See further Rutherford (2019a).

<sup>106</sup> See p. 229.

<sup>107</sup> See further Rutherford (2019a). The religious horizons of Ugarit were wide, as we see from the ritual which Pardee calls ‘Ritual for National Unity’ (KTU<sup>3</sup> 1.40; RS 1.002; Pardee (2002: no. 22); see also Wyatt (1998: 342–7), the liturgy of which takes account of various different groups of foreigners, including the Hurrians, Hittites, people of Qode, and Alashians (Cypriots).

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Teffeteller (2013). It has been suggested that the name of the capital of Lesbos, Mytilene, might reflect the epithet of the Hittite Storm god Muwatalli (written NIR.GÁL), frequently mentioned in Mursili’s *Annals*, or even the name of Muwatalli II: see Mason (2008: 58–9).

<sup>109</sup> Garland (1991: 111–14). It has been argued that a second Thracian goddess Kotyto (cf. Aeschylus, *Edonians* fr. 57) may have been introduced into Corinth and/or Athens from Thrace, but more recently scholars have argued that Kotyto was part of an independent Dorian tradition and may never have been worshipped in Athens at all. For this complicated issue, see Jameson et al. (1993: 23–7); Storey (2003: 97–101) on Eupolis’ *Baptai*.



When two states made an alliance in the LBA, a common symbol was dynastic marriage. There is no evidence for a marriage between the Hittites and Ahhiyawa,<sup>110</sup> but Piyamaradu married his daughters to Atpa, the Ahhiyawan governor of Millawanda, and his brother. So too the 8th century BC Midas of Phrygia is supposed to have married Damodice or Hermodice daughter of Agamemnon from the Greek colony of Cyme.<sup>111</sup> And dynastic marriage might well have facilitated the migration of religious practices between states. We have already seen how one factor in the introduction of the deities of Lazpa and Ahhiyawa to the Hittite court could have been the role of Mursili's daughter Massanauzzi who was married to the king of the Seha River Land (pp. 107–108). Jean-Marie Durand has speculated about the role of foreign queens at Mari.<sup>112</sup> There is a well-known anecdotal case from the 1st millennium BC: Amytis of Media married Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon and, according to Berossos' account, she pined for the mountains of Media so intensely that her husband built for her the hanging gardens of Babylon in imitation of them.<sup>113</sup> In the LBA Hittite state religion seems to undergo some Hurrian influence, and it has long been argued that one factor in this change might have been the influence of one or more Hittite queens, from the heavily Hurrianized area of Kizzuwatna. The most famous of those is Puduhepa, wife of Hattusili III, who, besides the great political power she wielded, also had a major religious influence. In her prayer to the Sun Goddess of Arinna, she explicitly articulates religious translation between the Hittite and Hurrian pantheons: 'In the land of Hatti you bear the name of the Sun Goddess of Arinna; but in the land where you made the cedar you bear the name Hepat'.<sup>114</sup> Denis Campbell has recently suggested that this change should be traced back considerably earlier to the beginning of the New Kingdom in the early 14th century BC.<sup>115</sup>

In this context it's worth reconsidering the relation between Ahhiyawa and Wilusa. The letter from the Hittite king to the king of Ahhiyawa mentioned above (AhT 6) seems to refer to relations between Ahhiyawa and Assuwa,

<sup>110</sup> AhT 12§2 seems to have a reference to someone, perhaps a former Hittite queen, who was dispatched 'to the land of Ahhiyawa beside the sea', but the context is very obscure: see de Martino (2013: 73–5). Hagenbuchner (1989: 326) thought the Puduhepa–Ramesses letter concerning marriage was to Ahhiyawa, but that seems unlikely.

<sup>111</sup> Pollux 9.83, Heracleides Lembes, 37; Aristotle fr. 611,37 Rose; RE s. Midas 1539. The wife is said to have been the inventor of coinage.

<sup>112</sup> Durand (2008: 373–4). Boese and Sallaberger (1996: 26) suggest that the cult of Dagan was introduced into Ur by Taram-Uram, wife of Shulgi; see Archi (2004b: 324n.24); but see Weiershäuser (2008: 133). Generally Sallaberger (1993: 19–20 with n.66).

<sup>113</sup> Jos, *AAp.* 1 141 = Verbrugge and Wickersham fr. 9a.

<sup>114</sup> CTH 384§2; see Singer (2002: 102). <sup>115</sup> Campbell (2016).

which takes us back to about 1400 BC, since Assuwa is not attested after that point. Could there have been an alliance between Ahhiyawa and Assuwa, and might that explain the presence of the Greek god Apaliuna at Wilusa? It's even possible that there was a marriage alliance between these two states. The usual interpretation of *piran ḥamakta* in AhT 6§3 (KUB 26.61 obv.9) has been that it indicates a betrothal or marriage, and that an Ahhiyawan king married an Assuwan princess, perhaps with the islands as her dowry, a detail which would back up the Ahhiyawan claim to them.<sup>116</sup> There is, however, very little sign in the early sources for the Ancient Near East that royal dowries included territory.<sup>117</sup> If the islands were not her dowry, perhaps they were her inheritance, and the Ahhiyawan claim was that the whole kingdom of Assuwa had passed through her to them after the Hittite defeat of Assuwa and her father's presumed demise.<sup>118</sup> Dynastic marriage could have the effect of unifying the kingdoms, just as Puduhepa told Ramesses that marriage between him and her daughter might unify Egypt and the Hittite kingdom.<sup>119</sup>

If an Assuwan princess married into the Ahhiyawan royal family in this way, could she have been the agent for top down religious change in her adopted country? And if so, could this help to explain the presence two centuries later of the "Lady of Assuwa" at Pylos, assuming that's what Potniya Aswiya means? This is an appealing hypothesis, and perhaps we could take the presence of the goddess at Pylos as indicating that her cult had by then spread to many parts of the Mycenaean world. But it must remain no more than a hypothesis as long as so much of the no doubt complex story of religious and political interaction between W. Anatolia and Mycenaean Greece is unknown.

<sup>116</sup> Beckman et al. (2011: 134, 138, 270); Tefetteller (2013: 568n.5) attributes the idea to Starke at the Montreal conference (2006); his paper has not been published.

<sup>117</sup> The earliest case seems to be from the Neo-Assyrian Empire: Sargon II married a daughter to a prince called Ambaris from the land of Bit-Purutaš in central Anatolia, and her dowry was the territory of Hilakku: Aro-Valjus (1998). The practice is, however, known from the Hellenistic world, and was particularly practised by the Seleucids. See further Rutherford (forthcoming a).

<sup>118</sup> Hoffner (2009: 291) in his translation says 'inheritance'. In the Hittite he restores the Akkadian word *iwaru* in 6 which can mean 'inheritance' or 'dowry'.

<sup>119</sup> See Liverani (1990: 201–2).

# 6

## The West Anatolian Contact Zone

### Arzawa and Scapegoat Rituals

Arzawa also had its own ritual tradition, known almost entirely from Hittite sources. The Arzawan rituals are mostly purification rituals of various sorts, and the Hittite state seems to have regarded them as experts in this area. We saw earlier that an Arzawan form of the *mantalliya* ritual (a ritual of conciliation between living and dead) is mentioned in the oracle text AhT20§31.<sup>1</sup> The only local Arzawan sources are theophoric names preserved in graffiti.<sup>2</sup>

Assessing the impact of Arzawan rituals on Mycenaean Greece is impossible because we lack the right sort of evidence. However, Greek ritual culture of the 1st millennium BC has some similarities to them, and, despite the chronological difference, it may be that Greek ritual practitioners adapted Arzawan rituals either in the LBA, if the 1st millennium Greek rituals continue Mycenaean prototypes, or in the early 1st millennium, if the Arzawan traditions somehow survived that long.

#### 6.1 The Ritual Tradition of Arzawa

Of the surviving rituals attributed to Arzawan ritual specialists, half are plague rituals by male ritual experts:

Author	Reference	Title or description
Maddunāni, of Arzawa the augur	CTH 425.1	<i>muranza</i> ritual against epidemic in the army
Uhhamūwa of Arzawa, possibly an augur <sup>3</sup>	CTH 410	against epidemic in the land

<sup>1</sup> AhT20§31; see p. 105. This text also mentions that king Mashuiluwa visited Kuwalana, which may have been a city of some religious significance (§31, 32).

<sup>2</sup> See Peschlow-Bindokat and Herboldt (2001); Oreshko (2013a: 409–13).

<sup>3</sup> Hazenbos (2007:1 05) has compared the ‘Uhhamuwa of Arzawa’ of our ritual with an augur bearing the same name mentioned in Hittite augury texts.

Tarhuntapaddu of Arzawa	CTH 424.3	against epidemic in the land
Tapalazunauli of Arzawa	CTH 424.1	against epidemic in the land or the army
Unknown of Arzawa	CTH 424.2	sheep go to enemy country
Adda of Arzawa	Bo.3483, unpublished	
We may add also (since Hapalla bordered Arzawa to the East). <sup>4</sup>		
Aṣḥella of Hapalla	CTH 394	against an epidemic in the army
The others are attributed to women:		
NÍG.GA.KÛ.GI (NÍG.GA. GUSKIN) of Arzawa	mentioned in a catalogue KBo 31.6 iii 11–13	A <i>mantalliya</i> ritual <sup>5</sup>
‘ ‘ ‘	‘ ‘ ‘ KBo 31.6 iii 14–15	against bewitchment
Alli of Arzawa	CTH 402	against bewitchment
Paskuwatti of Arzawa	CTH 406	against sexual impotence

In addition, a catalogue tablet ascribes a ritual to Mashuiluwa, a name carried by a king of Mira in the time of Mursili II. To judge from the title of this ritual which contains Luwian words, it does not resemble the other Arzawan rituals known to us.

Attempts have been made to expand this list in two ways. First, since one, possibly two, of the Arzawa rituals are ascribed to an augur, other rituals ascribed to augurs have been linked to Arzawa.<sup>6</sup> Secondly, many of the Arzawa rituals are concerned with plagues, especially in the army; the suggestion has been made that other plague rituals should be assigned to this group.

On the first criterion these would be the candidates:

Author	CTH	Content
Huwarlu the augur	CTH 398	1. concerning frightening birds; 2. cf. also the catalogue text KBo 30.4+ v.18-20: a celebration of <sup>D</sup> LAMMA <i>lulimi</i> .
Anniwiyani, mother of Armati, the augur	CTH 393	Two rituals: 1. ritual of the <sup>D</sup> LAMMA <i>lulimi</i> , and 2. ritual of the <sup>D</sup> LAMMA of the <i>kursa</i> .
Dandanku the augur	CTH 425.2	against an epidemic
Pupawanni, the augur	CTH 408	‘if the gods of a man are bewitched and the <i>seknu</i> -garment is turned up’ <sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> F. Fuscagni (ed.), *hethiter.net/*: CTH 424.1 (INTR 2016-08-09). It also appears on compilation tablets with Uhhamuwa’s Ritual (HT 1, KUB 9.31) and with Tapalazunauli’s (KUB 41.17 + KBo 64.14).

<sup>5</sup> For *mantalliya* rituals see on KUB 5.6 at p. 107.

<sup>6</sup> See Bawanypeck (2005: 299); see also Hutter (2003: 237).

<sup>7</sup> ‘Turn up the *seknu* garment’ may amount to ‘expose oneself’: see Melchert (1983: 141–5).

Banippi, the augur	CTH 404.1	If a man turns up his <i>seknu</i> garment.
	CTH 433.1–4.	Fragmentary texts involving augurs directed to the <sup>D</sup> LAMMA of the <i>kursa</i> .

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Dandanku's Ritual appears on compilation tablets ('Sammeltafeln') with Maddunani's,<sup>8</sup> but in itself that does not prove Arzawan origin. Banippi's Ritual looks different but it has some common material with another purification ritual, that of Iriya, probably from the Lower Land, which seems to describe a purification of a city from 'bloodshed, perjury and tongue of the multitude'.<sup>9</sup>

Rituals which could be considered as Arzawan because they are concerned with plague rituals are the following:

Author	CTH	Content
Dandanku the augur	CTH 425.2	against an epidemic
Pulisa	CTH 407	against an epidemic in the army after a campaign; see Archi (2015a: 287)
Anonymous	CTH 425.4	<i>sarlatta ritual</i> . F. Fuscagni (ed.), <i>hethiter.net</i> /: CTH 425.4
Anonymous	CTH 424.4–6	mention the deities Apaluwa and Lapana (see pp. 109–110) <sup>10</sup>

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Dandanku's Ritual thus qualifies on both criteria. CTH 424.4–6 could be Arzawan if the theonym Apaluwa points in that direction (see pp. 109–110, p. 111, and p. 113). The case for anonymous CTH 425.4 being W. Anatolian looks less plausible because it mentions the storm god of the *sekri* (only here apparently) and the storm god of Nerik; it also has a different ritual make-up, with the use of 'the water of the mountain' and a *sarlatta* (exaltation) ritual, although there are parallels to Dandanku's Ritual (e.g. the presence of the Seven deities).<sup>11</sup>

But not all such purification rituals were from W. Anatolia. A clear exception is the ritual of Zarpiya of Kizzuwatna, 'regarding when the year is ruinous and there is continual dying',<sup>12</sup> the action of which includes the building of a ritual gate or door and a sacrifice of a goat to the deity Santa

<sup>8</sup> KUB 7.54, KUB 54.65+; see Hutter (2011: 124).

<sup>9</sup> Francia (2004); S. Melzer and S. Görke (eds.), *hethiter.net*/: CTH 400.1 (INTR 2017-04-27).

<sup>10</sup> For the texts see p. 109, n.63. <sup>11</sup> Storm god of the *sekri*: OHP: 778.

<sup>12</sup> CTH 757; S. Görke (ed.), *hethiter.net*/: CTH 757 (INTR 2015-12-15).

along with the malevolent Innarawantes deities (who resemble Yarri and the Sibitti/Marwainzi in Dandanku's Ritual) (see pp. 266–267).

These rituals contain few Luwian elements,<sup>13</sup> which seems strange, if we believe that Luwian was spoken here, especially since other Hittite religious texts contain more Luwian elements. Ilya Yakubovich inferred from this that Luwian was not the language spoken there. However, alternative explanations for this have been proposed, e.g. that the texts as we have them were composed in the Hittite capital by scribes who were not familiar with Luwian, or that they were originally composed in Arzawa at a time when the scribal tradition was Hittite.<sup>14</sup>

## 6.2 The Arzawa Rituals

In this section I shall look at some of these rituals in more detail.

**Anonymous CTH 424.2.** Elimination, which is the commonest technique, occurs in its simplest form in this ritual which is to be used when an epidemic comes from an enemy land or is caused by someone dying in a district. The solution, in each case, is to use an adorned sheep, taking it to the enemy border in the former case and to the district in the latter.

**Maddunani's<sup>15</sup> 'muranza'<sup>16</sup> ritual.** The beginning survives:

Thus (speaks) Maddunani, the augur, the man of Arzawa: if there is an epidemic in the army, (and) humankind, horses (and) cattle are dying in a terribly great number, they perform the *muranza* ritual.

They do as follows: two puppies, one piglet, twelve loaves of thick bread of (one) *tarna*-measure, among which one *hulliti*-cake, fourteen balls of bread (of) two handfuls, rough *kant*-grain, six cups, one GİR.GÁN-vessel, one jug of [w]ine. I take all this.

T]hen, at night, I make preparations. When it is the next day, the augur and the Old Woman [divide?] in two parts [*a puppy?*] for the army and at the same time they spea[k] thus:

<sup>13</sup> See Yakubovich (2010: 101–3); Melchert (2013b: 171–2).

<sup>14</sup> Melchert (2013b: 171–2); Archi (2015a: 291).

<sup>15</sup> Maddunani's name is of some interest in the history of Western Anatolia since it has been suggested that it is from a base Madd-un- which eventually, via Lydian, evolves into Greek Maion, as in Maionia (van de Hout 2003a: 236–7; Yakubovich 2010: 91–2).

<sup>16</sup> A Luwian term of unknown meaning; see Bawanypeck (2005: 133).

[‘If for him/her,] in whatever evil . . . if for him/her someone evil has done something . . . [if] some [ev]il bird (acc.)’

Later stages involve going to an uncultivated place, sacrifices to the deities Zithariya and DINGIR.MAH and observing oracle birds, ending with a reference to an ‘old man’ and the augur beginning a ritual. The ritual was complex, but part of it was a ‘between the pieces’ ritualeme, a type well attested in the Arzawa corpus.<sup>17</sup> There is no sign of an elimination ritual or of the god who caused the plague; Daliah Bawanypeck suggested that the surviving part comes from an earlier stage concerned with ascertaining the cause.<sup>18</sup>

**Uhhamuwa’s Ritual:** ‘Thus (speaks) Uhhamuwa, the man of Arzawa: if in the land a lot of people are dying and if a god of the enemy has caused it, I do thus.’ There follow three sub-rituals: a. they lead a crowned male sheep in the direction of the enemy land, making a ritual speech; b. they bring fodder and fat for the horse of the Storm god, and make a prayer; and c. they make sacrifices to the Sibitti and the Sun god, and offerings to the ‘god of the road’. So this ritual combines an elimination ritual (a) and offerings (b, c).

**Tarhuntapaddu’s Ritual.** This fragmentary ritual seems to involve a goat, which is tied to the king’s tent, and a basket containing gold, silver, and loaves of bread from princes and important men. Again elimination is combined with offering.

**Tapalazunauli’s Ritual.** This was at least four days long, only the first day being well understood: it had several sub-rituals: an elimination ritual using a bull, ram, and a goat; a second elimination ritual with a donkey; and thirdly, a ritual involving straw and bread in a house; when night comes, a woman cries out; and fodder is provided for the dogs of the deity.<sup>19</sup>

**Alli’s Ritual against bewitchment:** ‘[T]hus (speaks) Alli, woman of Arzawa: if a person (is) bewitched.’<sup>20</sup> This complicated ritual was at least three days long, addressed to various deities, including the Sun god of the

<sup>17</sup> Anniwiyani’s Ritual: a gate of hawthorn is built in a wilderness and a puppy is cut in two and placed on either side of it (VBoT24.1.30ff.; Bawanypeck 2005: 55); Ritual for the LAMMA of the *kursa* (KBo 12.96 i 33 Bawanypeck 2005, text 3; Haas 2003a: 695–6); Huwarlu’s Ritual, where it is apparently part of a ‘waving’ ritual (KBo 4.2 ii 61ff.; Collins 1990: 222); Dandanku’s Ritual, again in the context of a gate (§4: goat, pig, dog; also §8); Maddunani’s Ritual §3 (animal uncertain; possibly a dog). For between the pieces rituals, see §10.2.

<sup>18</sup> Bawanypeck (2005: 252–3); see also Metcalf (2015: 199).

<sup>19</sup> Haas (1994a: 369) takes these to be the dogs of Yarri, the plague god implied; it is worth comparing the Greek practice of offering dogs to Enealios: see p. 203. Dog sacrifice and war: Collins (1990: 22).

<sup>20</sup> A. Mouton (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 402 (TRfr 27.02.2013).

hand and Marwayan. It includes several ritual techniques, especially the use of figurines, who are supposed to represent the bewitcher, and pits. There is also analogical magic, using wine, strips of ash, coloured wool, and dough. At one point she breaks bread and libates beer at a crossroads, and appeals to the ‘gods of the road’ to take the evil (§22).

**Paskuwatti’s Ritual against sexual impotence:** ‘. . . If some man does not have procreation power, or (if) he is not a man in front of a woman, for him, I make offerings to Uliliyassi. For three days I invoke her . . .’ (for *mugai*, see p47). This has several stages, including a gate-ritual in the steppe.

‘I put [in the hand] of the patient a spindle and a distaff. He goes through the gate. When he comes out of the gate, I take the spindle and the distaff from him, I give him a bow and [arrows] and at same time I speak thus: “I have just taken away with femininity and I have given you back your masculinity. You have rejected again the custom [of the woman] and you have taken the custom of the man.”’

This is followed by an entreaty:

Now he has come again down on his knees. He is seeking you, for your divinity. If (you are) in the mountain, if (you are) in the meadow, if (you are) in the valley, wherever (you are), come to this person for good! May the winds and the rain not strike your eyes! He will come to celebrate you, goddess. He will offer you a place, he will give you a house. He will give you male and female servants. He will give you cattle and sheep. He will make you recipient of votive offerings. I am invoking and summoning you. Come and bring with you the Moon god, the stars and the Sun goddess of the earth! May the female and the male servants be running before you! May the male and the [female deities] be running before you! Come to this person!

There is also a stage in the house where the man sleeps and dreams of Uliliyassi.

‘The “lord of the ritual” sleeps. If he sees in (his) dream the goddess in her body, (and) he goes and sleeps with her, while I am invoking the goddess for three days, then the dreams that he has seen, he reports them (whether) the goddess shows him her eyes or if the goddess sleeps with him.’



After this he sets up a cult image of her, in the form either of a *ḫarsiyalli*-vessel or a *ḫuwasi*-stone, or as a statue (see p. 185).<sup>21</sup>

**Ashella's Ritual.** This is also performed over four days, starting the evening before Day 1. The addressee is 'whichever god caused the plague'.

The night before Day 1 rams are tied outside the tents of the lords of the army, and an adorned woman spends the night outside the king's tent. At some point in the daytime, the lords of the army put their hands on the rams, which are passed through the army. Then, the rams, the woman, together with the bread and beer are led off to the steppe and abandoned. At dawn on Day 2 six rams and six goats are led out to the steppe at dawn, to another place. The animals are killed, and a sacrificial meal is prepared, but the men leave without eating. After they leave, they go through an exhaustive purification ritual. At dawn on Day 3 there is a sacrifice of three animals in another place, and this time men eat. Finally on Day 4, there is another sacrifice, this time directed to the Storm god, the Sun god, and all the gods, and again men eat. As I show further in §12.6, we can see here a progression in four stages from a ritual response to a crisis to normal sacrificial relations with the gods.

### 6.3 Other Rituals Probably to be Associated with Arzawa

**Dandanku's Ritual.** We have the first tablet, which covers four days. 'Thus (speaks) Dandanku, the augur: if there are a lot of people dying in the army, they perform this ritual'.

First Day: They take barley and the straw and pour it 'beyond the crossroads'.<sup>22</sup> There is an invocation. He leaves a kid, piglet, and puppy for the Sibitti in an uncultivated place.

Second Day: same.

Third Day: they take offerings to the steppe. They make a gate, divide a goat and puppy. Then they sacrifice for Yarri and the Sibitti/Marwainzi deities. They eat and drink. They bring a donkey (or one of clay if it is a poor man). They turn to the enemy land and pray that the donkey carries the evil away. They stretch a bow and make a prayer to Yarri:

<sup>21</sup> Miller (2010a) interprets the purpose of the ritual as a cure for homosexuality; see pp. 127–128, n.23 on Anniwiyani's Ritual.

<sup>22</sup> For crossroads, see p. 204.

‘God, shoot the enemy land from here with (this) arrow! Wherever you come within the land of Hatti, may your quiver be closed! May your bow be abandoned!’.

Fourth Day: apparently feasting.

So again we see a combination of techniques: elimination, invocation, food offerings and feasting.

**Pulisa’s Ritual, CTH 407.** ‘[. . . if the king] strikes the enemy [lan]d (and) he marches back [from the frontier of the enemy land . . .] Either some [male] deity [or female deity of the enemy land . . .] and there is an epidemic among the mortals, [*I do thus*].’ This ritual makes use of a dressed up woman, like Ashella’s Ritual, but also a dressed up male prisoner, who is identified as a ‘substitute’ (Akkadian *puhu*, probably corresponding to Luwian *tarpalli*) for the king. Pulisa’s Ritual is unique among the group for using a substitute, but this is presumably because it is the only one which mentions the king. In the second part, an adorned bull and ewe are sent off to the enemy land.

For more on war rituals, see Chapter 10.

**Anniwiyani’s Rituals.** In the first ritual, the ‘lord of the ritual’ is a man, who undergoes a purification during the first night, with various objects beneath his bed, including clay birds. On the second day, a virgin shouts: ‘Leave, tutelary god *lulim!* The tutelary god *innarawant* shall come in!’ Then they go to an uncultivated place, and perform a passage ritual through a gate of hawthorn (ii.9–18):

Everyone goes through the gate. But afterwards, the one who runs (last) breaks the gate. He throws it away and he wails. They run off. When they have gone off, that place is hidden. They take the pegs (of) poplar wood. Afterwards, they nail down a road.

It ends with a sacrifice for the deity and the augurs feasting.<sup>23</sup> The second ritual, which is three days long, included an invocation to the <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of

<sup>23</sup> Peled (2010) interprets this as a remedy for homosexuality, similarly Miller (2010a) on Paskuwatti’s Ritual. A problem with this is it assumes that LBA attitudes to sexuality were similar to modern ones (or at least to those that prevailed in modern Western societies until about 50 years ago). Another possibility is that this is a coming of age ritual, analogous to what we sometimes find in ancient Greece where the moment when a young man assumes adult identity is staged ritually as a moment when he sheds a female identity; see Leitao (1995) on the Ekdysia at Phaistos in Crete.

the *kursa*, an analogy-ritual in which pebbles are heated on a hearth, and more feasting.

**Huwarlu's Ritual.** A purification ritual for the king and queen occasioned by the appearance of 'frightening birds'. Most of the surviving text concerns micro-rituals performed in the palace by an Old Woman to keep the king and queen safe overnight; in the fragmentary later part the scene is a field. Use is made of a puppy, tallow models of animals (including a donkey), and other purificatory substances.

## 6.4 Gods of Arzawa

Since the Arzawan rituals show a reasonably well-defined ritual programme, we might have expected that they would tell us about the pantheon of Arzawa. In fact, evidence is limited, partly because they tend to refer to 'whichever god sent the plague'. Almost all the gods mentioned can be paralleled in Hittite state-religion, and there is relatively little sign of any regional trends.<sup>24</sup>

Several LAMMA deities are found: *lulimi* in Anniwiyani 1 and Huwarlu 2 (possibly a stag);<sup>25</sup> the <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of the *kursa* in Anniwiyani 2; the <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of the *kursa* is mentioned in four other rituals linked to augurs;<sup>26</sup> Zithariya, along with DINGIR.MAH in Maddunani's Ritual; and we might add the LAMMA of ritual equipment in Ašhella's Ritual.

The goddess Uliliyassi, who figures in Paskuwatti's Ritual, has a Luwian name ('she of the meadow'), so she's presumably Luwian in origin, despite occasional references to her in Hittite state cult, and the Palaic Uliliyantikes.<sup>27</sup> Other deities characterized as 'of the meadow' (Akkadian *SERI*, Hittite *ulili-*) are Ishtar and LAMMA.<sup>28</sup> It has been suggested that Uliliyassi might be a form of Ishtar, who had the power to disrupt (and

<sup>24</sup> Worthy of note are: the Salawanes-deities of the gate in CTH 433.3a and Alli's Ritual; and the 'god(s) of the road' in Alli's Ritual and Uhhamuwa's Ritual, for which see OHP 2. 971, 993; on Enodia see p. 204.

<sup>25</sup> It may be relevant that in Akkadian *lulimu* means 'stag'.

<sup>26</sup> Hutter (2003a: 269). KBo 12.96. CTH 433.1a: <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of the *kursa*. Bawanyeck (2005: III); KBo 17.105, CTH 433.2: <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of the *kursa* + 7 Bawanyeck (2005: IV); KBo 20.107. CTH 433.3a: <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of the *kursa* + *salawanes* gods. Bawanyeck (2005: V); KUB 7.78. CTH 344.4 Bawanyeck (2005: 122ff.). <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of the *kursa* + *makuwaya* gods.

<sup>27</sup> G. Wilhelm in RIA 14 3/4 306 s.v. (2014); Tischler in HEG IV/15: 38–9.

<sup>28</sup> One text identifies ŠA *labarna uliliyas* <sup>d</sup>LAMMA = 'Labarna's deity of the field' (Hittite *ulili*). Cf. Yakubovich (2010: 101).

presumably confirm) the gender identity of human beings.<sup>29</sup> If Uliliyassi was a translation of Ishtar it would be relevant that Greeks sometimes associated Aphrodite (who is also equivalent to Ishtar) with meadows.<sup>30</sup>

Yarri, attested in Dandanku's Ritual but not elsewhere in the Arzawa corpus, also occurs in the Istanuwa Rituals, which have been thought to belong to W. Phrygia, so he may be western.<sup>31</sup>

The clearest example of Arzawan deities may be the Marwainzi (Luwian) or Markuwaya (Hittite), the 'dark ones'. In Dandanku's Ritual these are associated with Yarri, possibly identified with the Sibitti or IMIN.IMIN.BI, a group of seven deities, probably in some way connected with the constellation of the Pleiades.<sup>32</sup> In Alli's Ritual there is an offering beside a pit to the Marwayan ('the dark one'). And one of the augur rituals (CTH 433.4) couples the <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of the *kursa* with the Markuwaya.<sup>33</sup> A Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription from Kululu in Cappadocia (KULULU 2) (mid 8th century BC) mentions the 'dark deities (*marwainzi*) of Sandas'.<sup>34</sup> Another from Kayseri uses *maruwa-wani* as an epithet of the god Nikaruha.<sup>35</sup> An inscription from the necropolis of Sardes (date uncertain, but at least two centuries later than KULULU 2) invokes as protecting deities Santa, Kubaba, and the Mariwdas;<sup>36</sup> the Mariwdas must be same as the Luwian Marwainzi,<sup>37</sup> and the combination of these with Sandas in a curse formula is thus is a striking religious meme linking central and western Anatolia.

## 6.5 Relation of Arzawa Elimination Rituals to the Rest of Anatolian and ANE Ritual Culture

Alice Mouton (2014) distinguishes two other traditions of elimination rituals besides that of Arzawa: that of Kizzuwatna, and that of the Lower

<sup>29</sup> Wegner (1981: 31, 59–60), citing e.g. CTH 716, KUB 15.35+ 1.51–8 (Prayer to Ishtar of Nineveh; see Collins COS 1 (14); cf. also KUB 31.69 (tr. de Roos 2007: 204) where Ishtar's gender ambiguity is invoked for a campaign against Arzawa. See also Haas (1994a: 143); Wilhelm (see note 27 above) is sceptical.

<sup>30</sup> Greek epithets such as *ἀγροτέρα* meaning apparently 'of the field' (of Artemis) come to mind.

<sup>31</sup> Yarri and Istanuwa rituals: Lebrun (1995: 254) on KUB 55.65 iv 31–4; cf. also KUB 26.29+ obv 8–10, discussed in §9.3.2.. On possible links between Yarri and Ares see §9.3.2..

<sup>32</sup> Bawanypeck (2005: 260); for the Sibitti, Polvani (2005). Archi (2010a); HEG M, 152–3; Bawanypeck (2005: 260). Archi sees them as always negative, and therefore discounts the link to the Greek Pleiades (though the Pleiades fight in Alcman: see Dale 2011).

<sup>33</sup> KUB 7.38; Bawanypeck (2005: 122).

<sup>34</sup> CHLI X, 21§6 = I.2, 488.

<sup>35</sup> CHLI X.15§8 = I.2, 473–4.

<sup>36</sup> 4a in Gusmani (1964); see Melchert (2008).

<sup>37</sup> Melchert (2008).

Land, as well as a number of rituals that cannot be assigned to these groups. Features that distinguish the Arzawa elimination rituals are: the use of adorned carriers (which implies a different attitude: not pollution but appeasement); the use of the donkey; the context of plague; the use of the ritual to purify a group (also in Iriya's Ritual, which is not Arzawan); the absence of the term *nakkussi* 'carrier'; the alternative term '*tarpalli*' (written as logogram *PUHU*) seems to occur in Pulisa's Ritual.

There are also parallels to ANE rituals. Alli's Ritual against witchcraft resembles the Babylonian Maqlu-rituals, and Huwarlu's Ritual, which is directed against bad omens, resembles the Akkadian Namburbi-rituals. The technique of elimination is also widely attested in the ANE: the best-known case is the Azazel ritual in *Leviticus* from which the modern term 'scapegoat' derives.<sup>38</sup> Similar rituals are attested elsewhere in the ANE over a long period:

At Ebla in the 24th century BC a royal purification ritual, involving a goat with a silver bracelet hanging from its neck.<sup>39</sup>

Old Akkadian ritual against the evil eye involving black sheep.<sup>40</sup>

Old Babylonian ritual in which illness is transferred to a goat.<sup>41</sup>

In Ugarit, a ritual inscribed on the model of a lung.<sup>42</sup>

Utukku Lemnutu tablet 1: purification ritual with a *mashultuppu*-goat.<sup>43</sup>

Fifth day of Akitu festival at Babylon: the carcass of a ram is used to purify the cella of Nabu in the temple of Marduk and subsequently thrown into the river.<sup>44</sup>

Bit Rimki (Bath House Ritual): the king bathes with prisoners, onto whom his pollution is washed, and the prisoners escape.<sup>45</sup>

Scapegoat rituals are also attested much more generally in human culture and Frazer devoted a whole volume of his comparative survey to them.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>38</sup> See Janowski and Wilhelm (1993) for the connection; Bremmer (2001: 184 = 2008b: 175).

<sup>39</sup> Zatelli (1998); Xella (1996). <sup>40</sup> Cunningham (1997: 59–60); Foster (2005: 65).

<sup>41</sup> Cunningham (1997: 125–6).

<sup>42</sup> KTU3 1.127: see Dietrich and Loretz (1990: 20–38) and J.-W. Meyer, in that volume, 270–1.

<sup>43</sup> Geller (2007): the section quoted in Wright is 12.97–111 in Geller. For the *mashultuppu* see Cavigneaux (1995).

<sup>44</sup> Wright (1987: 93–4). <sup>45</sup> Ambos (2012).

<sup>46</sup> Frazer (1911–36: 6, 31–7; humans: 38–46; periodic: 123–69).

Several proposals have been made about how the attestations in the Near East and Anatolia might be related. First, one possibility is that it starts in Syria and moves West.<sup>47</sup> It has also been argued that the Israelite form was influenced by Syrian or Hurrian forms.<sup>48</sup> In favour of Syrian origin one could cite common details shared by different traditions; e.g. the woman in Pulisa's Ritual who seems to correspond to the use of a woman as a carrier in a Neo-Assyrian royal ritual.<sup>49</sup>

On the other hand, some of the Hittite attestations are early as well; and it has been suggested that they may have originated in Anatolia and travelled both West to the Arzawa and East to N. Syria (so Miller 2004: 464). Alternatively, we might want to think of two different traditions, as Manfred Hutter (2003: 236) advocates, one based in the East (and influenced by Syria?), and one in Arzawa, the latter being more concerned with plague. This corresponds precisely to Mouton's hypothesis that there are Eastern and Western traditions.

Any reconstruction remains speculative without more evidence, but it is possible that there were independent Syrian and Anatolian traditions (perhaps with a very distant common origin), which interacted with each other over a long period of time.

## 6.6 Arzawa and Augury

Many of these rituals are by augurs, and although augury is not at the forefront of most of them, it is occasionally mentioned. In Maddunani's Ritual they observe two birds, perhaps to ascertain the identity of the deity. Huwarlu's Ritual is intended to counteract the bad omen of 'frightening birds', and it involves augury. Anniwiyani's Ritual makes use of clay models of birds and at one point augurs observe birds. Finally CTH 433.3, one of the rituals for the <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of the *kursa*, has mysterious ritual speeches which mention birds (§12): 'We have just given your messenger, the falcon, (and) a captive man for the message of all the birds. May the birds come, *mannaimmi* (on their) wings (and) oiled (on their) breasts!'<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Haas (2003c); Bremmer (2008b: 170–2).

<sup>48</sup> Janowski and Wilhelm (1993); Bremmer (2008b: 172–5).

<sup>49</sup> See Bremmer (2008b: 172); Pongratz-Leisten (2007: 26); cf. also Haas (2003c: 138–9) on the use of metal bracelets and rings in the Ebla Ritual and Ashella's Ritual.

<sup>50</sup> Bawanypeck (2005: 118) says the 'prisoner' is a substitute.

The Hittite archives have plenty of evidence for augury, consisting of oracular reports by augurs, and reports of the activities of augurs contained in other texts, e.g. letters. Hittite augury had its own technical language, which is still largely opaque to us. It looks as if significance was attached to left and right and to movement of birds across the augural field.<sup>51</sup> Most bird oracles are sought after rather than spontaneously appearing (in Latin terminology *auspicia impetrativa* rather than *auspicia oblativa*), though we have an example of spontaneous appearing birds in Huwarlu's Ritual.

There are reasons to associate them with the Luwian zone: many of the technical terms of 'Hittite' ornithomancy are Luwian,<sup>52</sup> as are the names of several augurs.<sup>53</sup> It may also be observed that this association between the bird oracles and Arzawa is consistent with the distribution of references to bird oracles in another genre of Hittite texts, diplomatic treaties. In two treaties from the 13th century BC, other states are warned that if anyone revolts against Hattusa they are obliged to send support to Hattusa at once, without taking a bird oracle first. Both states are in the West: the Arzawan state of Mira-Kuwaliya, and Wilusa.<sup>54</sup> The most likely explanation for this is that at some earlier point these states had done exactly this, which would seem to imply the bird augury was particularly associated with these areas.

Augury is not, of course, confined to ancient Anatolia. In the modern world it has been documented among the Iban of Borneo, a tradition which seems unlikely to be closely related to that of Western Asia.<sup>55</sup> Raven augury is widely attested in the traditional cultures of Asia and North America.<sup>56</sup> And augury is very well attested in the Greco-Roman world (see p. 140). In the Bronze Age, there must have been some sort of tradition in Egypt since in one of the Amarna Letters a king of Alashia requests a bird diviner from there.<sup>57</sup> As for Mesopotamia, we have series of bird omens in the *Šumma Ālu* series, recently discussed by Duane Smith (2013).<sup>58</sup> There is one Syrian example—a text inscribed on a statue of the king Idrimi of Alalakh (early 15th century BC), which includes the

<sup>51</sup> See Haas (2008: 31–2). Beal (2002c: 66P, with reservations); a good example is the oracular report KUB 18.5.ii.1–16. See Haas (2008: 42), Archi (1975c: 128); Gurney (1981: 154–5).

<sup>52</sup> Mouton and Rutherford (2013: 332); Archi (2015a: 290–1); Haas (2008: 32–4); van den Hout (2003b: 120).

<sup>53</sup> Haas (2008: 31). See Mouton and Rutherford (2013: 333).

<sup>54</sup> See Haas (2008: 66); Högemann and Oettinger (2008: 17). Beckman (1999a: no.11, §16), Beckman (1999a: no. 13, §7; cf. CHD s.212–13).

<sup>55</sup> Freeman (1961); Richards (1972); King (1977). For Iban religion see Jensen (1974).

<sup>56</sup> Mortensen (2006). <sup>57</sup> EA 35, 26. See Moran (1992: 109).

<sup>58</sup> For the *Šumma Ālu*, see Freedman (1998–2017).

statement: ‘I released birds and examined lambs (entrails)’, referring to the two primary forms of divination,<sup>59</sup> which is later than the earliest Hittite evidence, reference to an augur under Hantili I (first half of the 16th century BC).<sup>60</sup> Seen in the context of Mesopotamia, bird oracles seem to be a Western phenomenon, opposed to hepatoscopy, which is clearly Mesopotamian.<sup>61</sup>

## 6.7 Greek Parallels

Scholars have noticed parallels between the Arzawa rituals and Greek religion and narratives of the 1st millennium BC. We can group these in three parts:

### 6.7.1 Military Rituals in Homer and Polyainos

In the First Book of Homer’s *Iliad* Apollo sends plague against the Greek army because Agamemnon had seized Chryseis the daughter of his priest Chryses. In the ensuing assembly Achilles (*Il.* 1.62–4) asks for a seer, a priest or a dream-interpreter (language with a Near Eastern ring).<sup>62</sup> This serves as a cue for Calchas, whose role as augur-seer resembles that of the Arzawan augurs, and whose counter-plague measures are somewhat reminiscent of an Arzawa plague ritual.<sup>63</sup> They have two stages in two locations: at the Greek camp (312–17) there is purification (*apolumainesthai*), with the offscourings (*lumata*) being cast into the sea,<sup>64</sup> and sacrifices to the god;

<sup>59</sup> Haas (2008: 27). Dietrich and Loretz (1981); see COS 1.479–80.

<sup>60</sup> Beckman (2001). <sup>61</sup> Oppenheim (1964: 209); Kinnier Wilson (1972: 75).

<sup>62</sup> Metcalf (2015: 191–220). Here we have a range of techniques for establishing divine displeasure. This has long been compared to this passage from the end of Mursilis’ Second Plague Prayer: KUB 14.8 §11: Singer (2002: 60); cf. Oppenheim (1956: 199); Mouton (2007b: 30–1): ‘if people have been dying because of some other reason, then let me either see it in a dream, or let it be established through an oracle, or let a “man of god” declare it, or, according to what I instructed the priests, they shall regularly sleep in holy manner’. Mursili appeals to the gods to let the truth be revealed in one of three or four ways: personal dream, oracle, declaration by ‘man of god’ (probably ‘*siuniyan*’, from the verb *siuniya-*, meaning something like ‘be full of the deity, ecstatic’; see Tischler, HEG II/2 14 S/2, 1087–8), or incubation by priests (the first and fourth are really the same). Notice also that the word for ‘oracle’ in this passage (*ariyasessar*, from the verb *ariya-*) seems to be cognate with the Greek verb translated ‘ask’ in the Homeric passage (ἐρέω): see Kimball (2000).

<sup>63</sup> See Hazenbos (2007: 105).

<sup>64</sup> Sophocles fr. 34R (*Aikhmalotides*) uses the term ‘*apomagmata*’ (‘dirt wiped away’) of Calchas’ activities: στρατοῦ καθαρτῆς κάπομαγμάτων ἴδρις.



and at Chryse in the Troad, the return of Chryseis is accompanied by a sacrificial feast and propitiation (*hilaskesthai*) of Apollo with paeans (457–74). The two stages—purification followed by sacrifice—occur in some of the Hittite rituals (e.g. Ashella’s Ritual). The sea is the place for a post-battle purification in one Hittite ritual, though not in those from Arzawa.<sup>65</sup> Propitiation perhaps reminds us of the Hittite *mugawar*, as we find it in Paskuwatti’s Ritual and Anniwiyani’s Second Ritual. One glaring difference is that Calchas’ Ritual lacks any carrier—human or animal—an essential feature of the Arzawan rituals. It has been suggested that we think of Chryseis as herself somehow standing for an offering, like the adorned woman in Ashella’s Ritual.<sup>66</sup>

Calchas’ rituals are directed towards Apollo Smintheus (for the god see p. 108), as are Dandanku’s towards Yarri. Apollo sending his arrows to cause the plague (*Iliad* 1.48–67 and 450–6) sounds very like Yarri shooting his arrows in Dandanku’s Ritual.<sup>67</sup> The detail that his bow has to be closed (KUB 7.54 iii 25–6) seems to find an echo in *Iliad* 1.45, where Apollo’s quiver is ‘covered’.<sup>68</sup> Elsewhere Yarri is called ‘lord of the bow’,<sup>69</sup> and he stands in a long tradition of warrior-archer deities, many of them also linked to plague, e.g. Nergal, Reshef;<sup>70</sup> Santa, the addressee in the purification Ritual of Zarpia of Kizzuwatna, is also an archer.<sup>71</sup> The image of Apollo the archer shooting plague was still alive in the 2nd century AD when the oracle of Clarian Apollo (at Colophon) instructed consultants from cities in Asia Minor to cure plague by setting up statues of the bow-wielding Apollo in their home cities.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>65</sup> The Ritual of the Sea (CTH 436), for which see p. 211. In ritual texts the sea is a good place to dispose of something harmful, as in the myth-ritual for the Storm god of Lihzina (CTH 331.1), where nine bad things are sealed in a *palhi* vessel and brought to the sea; so in the fragment KBo 12.94 (CTH 458.6), where pollution is given first to the Red River, then passed to the Marassantiya River and then to the sea.

<sup>66</sup> Huber (2005: 94). <sup>67</sup> See most recently Archi (2015a: 287).

<sup>68</sup> ἀμφορηφέα. Högemann and Oettinger (2008: 15n.37). For the possibility that Yarri and Ares are related, see §9.3.2.

<sup>69</sup> Yarri is given the epithet ‘lord of the bow’ in a Hittite treaty: KBo 1, 3 rev.19 (Beckman 1999a: no. 6; Kümmel 1967: 101); for the bow as a divine attribute see Taracha in RIA s. Pfeil und Bogen A.II. Anatolien 459–60.

<sup>70</sup> For Reshef and plague, Lipiński (2009: 104–8); Münnich (2013: 252–3).

<sup>71</sup> KUB 35.145 iii 12 (Luwian text with ritual elements); cf. Bachvarova (2013: 149–52). Haas (1989: 29). Santas is associated with the Innarawantes/Annarummenzi deities who are much the same as the Sibitti.

<sup>72</sup> Faraone (1992: 61ff.). Oracles for Hierapolis-Pamukkale (Merkebach-Stauber 1996: no. 4, 18–20); for Kallipolis on the Thracian Chersonesos (Merkebach-Stauber 1996: no. 9, 29–30); and for a city on the Hermos (Merkebach-Stauber (1996: no. 11).

I noticed above the absence of animal carriers in *Iliad* 1, although it has been suggested that the Trojan Horse itself is a dim reflection of this idea.<sup>73</sup> Animal carriers are found outside Homer, however. An interesting example is a Greek military ritual preserved by Polyainos, a Greek author of the 2nd century AD who wrote a compendium of military stratagems.<sup>74</sup> According to him, when the Ionians colonized Asia, and Cnopus was besieging Erythrae, Apollo told him to summon a general from Thessaly, which turned out to be Chrysame, a priestess of Enodia, usually understood as a form of Hecate (see p. 204). She took a bull, gilded its horns, dressed its body with garlands and purple robes, and gave it food mixed with a drug which caused madness. She then prepared to sacrifice it in view of the enemy, but it ran off towards the camp of the enemy, who sacrificed it themselves and were driven mad. Burkert saw here an echo of an Anatolian elimination ritual performed regularly at Erythrae, assuming that over a long period of time Greek tradition has repackaged the ‘original’ Anatolian ritual as a Greek narrative. The core idea shared between the Chrysame-narrative and Arzawan rituals is that a ritual practitioner, to protect an army, makes an adorned animal move from ‘our’ territory to the enemy. However, there is no plague or miasma involved. Several Greek elements added to the story: (i) it has been turned into a myth of origins; (ii) two key points in the story are animal sacrifices, a ritual the Greeks would have been familiar with; and (iii) the Thessalian origin of Chysame, Thessaly being the home of witchcraft for Greeks of the Roman period. In this way, the Arzawan ritual was absorbed into Greek culture, not as a ritual, but as a Hellenized narrative.

## 6.7.2 Scapegoat Rituals

Another area where Arzawan influence has been detected is that of the *pharmakos*-rituals in which a *pharmakos* or human ‘scapegoat’ was expelled from the city.<sup>75</sup> This seems to be confined to cities in Ionia and Athens, or

<sup>73</sup> In Burkert (1979a: 61–2) a Hittite ritual unknown to Burkert includes a mare being sent in the direction of the enemy: see Beal (1995: 73–4) and below p. 215. Oettinger (2010: 113) agrees and interprets Hesiod’s Pandora in a similar way. Faraone (1992: 98–9) advocated a similar approach for Sinon in Vergil’s *Aeneid*, who pretends to have been scapegoated by the Greeks. For a case in Valerius Flaccus, see p. 225.

<sup>74</sup> Burkert (1979a: 59–61); Polyainos, *Strat.* 8.43; tr. Krentz and Wheeler (1994); see Thomas (2019: 184–7).

<sup>75</sup> Linked to Hittite rituals first by Gebhard (1931); cf. Bremmer (1983).

ones that claimed Ionian origin, such as Abdera and Massalia.<sup>76</sup> The earliest source is the iambic poet Hipponax of Colophon (6th century BC), who compared an enemy of his to a *pharmakos*, as we know from the summary and citations of Tzetzes (12th century AD).<sup>77</sup> Tzetzes reports that they led an ugly man as if to be sacrificed, set him in an appropriate place, with cheese, barley cake, and dried figs in his hand (Hipponax fr. 8), flogged him seven times on his genitals with squills, wild fig branches (cf. fr. 6, fr. 10), and other wild plants, and finally burned him on wood from wild trees and scattered his ashes into the sea (fr. 65). It apparently happened at the Thargelia festival (fr. 104, 47–9).<sup>78</sup> Tzetzes or his source may have misunderstood some of this, perhaps making false inferences from Hipponax, who was not an anthropologist, and was probably using the imagery of the ritual as a tool for invective; were they really killed by burning (fr. 5, 10; Huber 2005: 117)? And why would the genitals be singled out? Was this to transfer impurity to the victim; or is this a sign that the ritual is particularly concerned with impurity as it affects procreation? Or is this a fertility ritual, in which case perhaps the expulsion of the *pharmakos* is not just an elimination ritual, but has taken aspects of a fertility ritual as well?<sup>79</sup> Or is it an ad hoc form of humiliation which Hipponax imagined happening to one of his enemies? Another source (fr. 153, Hesychius) mentions the ‘fig-branch tune’ (*Kradias Nomos*) that was performed when the *pharmakoi* were being expelled; Hipponax attributed it to Mimnermus of Colophon. Other fragments of Hipponax also show other parallels with Arzawan rituals, e.g. his description of himself being treated for impotence by a Lydian woman (fr. 78, fr. 92) might remind one of Paskuwatti’s Ritual against Impotence.<sup>80</sup>

At Athens too, the *pharmakos* was linked to the Thargelia festival (in the last month of the year), and there were two of them, either two men or a man and a woman;<sup>81</sup> one late source says they were called

<sup>76</sup> One Greek source gives a mythical aetiology: Pharmakos was stoned to death by Achilles when he stole the sacred dishes of Apollo (Harpokration s. *Φαρμακός*; Istros FGrH 334 F 50; Gebhard 1926: 13a), which surely points to an Ionian city and the general context of the Trojan War. Gebhard (1926: 16–17) thought of Miletus. See Nagy (1979: 280); Huber (2005: 106).

<sup>77</sup> Hipponax fr. 5 Tzetzes, *Chiliads* 5 728ff.

<sup>78</sup> Though ‘in winter’: fr. 6, 1.

<sup>79</sup> Transferring impurity; Huber (2005: 117); Parker (1983: 258n.8) suggests it might be part of a ritual to cure impotence.

<sup>80</sup> See West (1974: 142–5). The ‘old woman’ in Hipponax speaks Lydian (fr. 92, 1), which calls to mind the Luwian speeches in Hittite rituals, but no exact parallels suggest themselves. For the language, S. Hawkins (2013: 157–66). Gangutia Elicegui (1988) suggested that this was Lydian women’s lyric.

<sup>81</sup> Two men, one on behalf of men, one on behalf of women: Harpokration s. *Φαρμακός*; man and woman Hellad. *Chrest.* in Phot. *Bibl.* 279 (= 534a Henry); Hesychius: s. *φαρμακοί*; Gebhard

‘*subakkhoi*’.<sup>82</sup> An ancient commentator on Callimachus (3rd century BC) describes a similar practice at Abdera in Thrace (fr. 90, *Diegesis*):

In Abdera a slave, bought in the market, is used to purify [the city]. Standing on a block of grey stone, he enjoys a rich banquet, and so fed to the full he is led to the gates called Prurides. Then he goes round the walls in a circle purifying in his own person the city, and then the *basileus* and the others throw stones at him until he is driven beyond the boundaries.

Gates are mentioned in the Apaluwa ritual (see p. 111) and also in Iriya’s Ritual where purificatory offerings—a goat and a ‘*surasura*-bird—are led out of a city through ‘the same gate through which they bring men to death’.<sup>83</sup> For the latter practice, it is worth comparing Plutarch’s statement that cities have certain ‘unlucky and dismal gates through which they lead out condemned criminals and cast out the purgations (*lumata*) and the purificatory offerings (*katharmoi*), while nothing undefiled or sacred either goes in or out through them’.<sup>84</sup>

The Roman writer Petronius (1st century AD) is supposed to have described a similar practice at Massilia.<sup>85</sup>

For whenever the people of Massilia were suffering with pestilence, one of the poor would volunteer to be fed for an entire year out of public funds on food of special purity. After this period he would be decked with sacred herbs and sacred robes, and would be led through the whole state while people cursed him, in order that the sufferings of the whole state might fall upon him; and so he was cast out.

(1926: 32n.8) thinks the double gender relates only to Athens. Gebhard, RE 5A (1935), s. Thargelia, 1287–1304, 1291.

<sup>82</sup> Helladius *Chrest.* in Phot. *Bibl.* 279 (= 534a Henry). It has been suggested that this word is related to W. Semitic *zbh* (bibliography in Rosóf 2010); it might also be worth comparing the Hittite *suppiyahhar-*, ‘purification’.

<sup>83</sup> CTH 400.1§17: ‘Und von welchen Toren aus man die Menschen zum Töten hinabbringt, auch jene bringst du von dort hinab. Und an welchem Ort die Menschen dort starben, an jenen Ort bringst du sie’ (S. Melzer and S. Görke (eds.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 400.1 (INTR 2017-04-27)). See also Kümmel (1967: 158); Haas (2003a: 479–80).

<sup>84</sup> Plutarch, *Peri Polupragmosunes* 6, 518b; cf. Bremmer (1983: 314 = 2008b: 190). For a similar practice in Korea, Trumbull (1896: 24). See also May (2014: 100–1) on a ‘gate of punishment’ in Kassite Babylonia; and Huber (2005: 44–5) on a gate at Nineveh used for purification in the period of Sennacherib.

<sup>85</sup> Peronius fr. 1; Servius ad Vergil, *Aen.* 3.57.

The source says this is a Gallic custom, but Massilia was a colony of Phokaia, so it seems more likely that this is Ionian (rather as Ephesian Artemis was brought from Ionia by colonists<sup>86</sup>). His being led through the state reminds us of the prisoner being led through the army on Day 1 of Ashella's Ritual.

There are a few other references to similar rituals in Greek sources. At Chaeroneia in Boeotia Famine or Boulimos was chased out with the chant: ἔξω Βούλιμον, ἔσω δὲ Πλούτων καὶ Υγίειαν ('Out with Great-Hunger, and in with Wealth and Health!').<sup>87</sup> On the Ionian island of Leucas during a festival of Apollo a criminal was thrown off a rock into the sea 'to avert evil'; birds were attached to him to mitigate the fall, and men in boats below tried to rescue him and get him out of the territory (Strabo, 10.2.9, Ampelius, *Lib. Mem.* 8.4). And according to Philostratus a sort of ad hoc scapegoat ritual was performed in Roman Ephesos at the behest of Apollonius of Tyana who had the citizens stone an old beggar who turned out to be a plague demon (*Life of Ap.* 4.1.10).

Animals are mentioned less often in Greek sources. Sheep play a role in the purification ritual supposed to have been conducted by Epimenides of Crete in Athens.<sup>88</sup> The Purification Law of Cyrene (4th century BC) has a prescription that in case of disease or death, a red goat should be sacrificed in front of the shrine of aversion (?) to Apollo Apotropaios.<sup>89</sup> A further form of elimination ritual with animals was 'puppying around' (*periskulakismos*), linked to Hecate, which also has an Ancient Near Eastern background, though not specifically Arzawan. Another rite associated with Hecate has a parallel in Arzawan rituals, however, namely the leaving of ritual meals at crossroads as form of simultaneously removing impurity and appeasing the god (see p. 204).

What about the relation between these Greek rituals and Arzawa more generally? If one takes a broad view of the types of crisis-ritual used in different ancient cultures, it is striking that elimination-by-carrier is common in both of these (so Huber 2005: 251). Other parallels with Arzawan rituals are that Greek elimination rituals are sometimes concerned with plague, and that Greek *pharmakoi* were sometimes 'adorned' (as at

<sup>86</sup> Malkin (2011: 174–5).

<sup>87</sup> Plutarch *QGr* 26 (= *Mor.* 297a), Faraone (2004: 215). Cf. 'Leave, tutelary god *lulimi!* The tutelary god *innarawant* shall come in!' in Anniwiyani 1.

<sup>88</sup> Diogenes Laertius 1.10, 110; see Huber (2005: 112–13); the logic is different, though: the sheep were released and sacrifice was made wherever they lay down.

<sup>89</sup> SEG 9.72§1, 4–7; Parker (1983: 334). Huber (2005: 127) reasonably takes this as implying an elimination ritual.

Massilia). However, the closer you look, the more differences emerge. One obvious difference: in Greece the *pharmakos* is always human, whereas in Anatolian we find that only occasionally. (Of course, it's possible that the silence of Greek sources about animal scapegoats is due to the fact that they were less spectacular.) Again, in Athens at least and perhaps elsewhere the context is usually a civic festival, while the Hittite examples are usually crisis-rituals and only occasionally performed in civic contexts. And although the Greek texts mention city gates, there is little sign of 'passage rituals' of the Hittite type in which the people being purified have to go through a gate of foliage, fire, or the parts of an animal.<sup>90</sup> Greeks also use other techniques, such as song and music: paeans are sung to Apollo in *Iliad* 1, the *pharmakos* was led out to music, Thaletas of Gortyn was supposed to have purified Sparta by music,<sup>91</sup> and choral singing is often part of the purificatory programme recommended by Roman Claros. The nearest equivalent in the Arzawa rituals would be invocations of deities in Paskuwatti's Ritual and in Anniwiyani's Second Ritual to <sup>d</sup>LAMMA of the *kursa*—although music is not explicitly mentioned.<sup>92</sup>

Rituals designed to avert plagues and disasters of other sorts would seem to be likelier than most to migrate between cultures, since a crisis situation might demand people look for help anywhere they can find it.<sup>93</sup> The similarities between the Arzawa rituals and Greek ritual culture (in so far as we can reconstruct it) are not so compelling that we can accept them as proved, and it is possible that the Greek rituals were entirely home-grown, or that any Eastern influence on Ionian religion, if there was any, could have been picked up in the 1st millennium BC, when Ionia was a centre for cultural interaction.<sup>94</sup> But the hypothesis that the LBA West Anatolian tradition and Greek ritual culture are related remains appealing because it is geographically neat.<sup>95</sup> Adoption of Anatolian rituals by Greeks is not the only possibility, and it may be that the rituals we think of as Arzawan were really part of an old Aegeo-W. Anatolian religious area. In that case, the

<sup>90</sup> In Boeotia a purification ritual involved a bisected dog: see p. 212; for Greek evidence for the use of fires: Ogle (1911: 261).

<sup>91</sup> See Ps. Plut. *De mus.* 42. 1146c.

<sup>92</sup> Hittite *mukessar*; the verb *wai-*, *wiya* is used in Anniwiyani 2. In Greece the term is *ἰλάσκεσθαι* ('propitiate') as in Homer *Iliad* 1.472–4, where the Achaeans propitiated (*ἰλάσκοντο*) Apollo (who is earlier described as 'angry': line 44), singing the paean all day. For propitiation see Kowalzig (2004: 51).

<sup>93</sup> Huber (2005: 14).

<sup>94</sup> So Bremmer (2008b: 179) points to Ionian contact with N. Syria and Late Hittite states.

<sup>95</sup> See Miller (2004: 467); Huber (2005: 199); Collins (2010a).

direction of cultural appropriation would have been if anything from West to East, as the Hittite strove to incorporate such Western rituals into their repertoire.<sup>96</sup>

### 6.7.3 Augury

Augury occurs in several Mediterranean cultures of the 1st millennium BC, especially Etruria from where the traditions of the Roman augurs derive.<sup>97</sup> Its early importance in Greece is suggested by the fact that the Greek word for 'bird' (*οἰωνός*) is also used in the general sense of 'omen'.<sup>98</sup> In the world of the Homeric poems the future is communicated to men through the behaviour of birds;<sup>99</sup> the interpreters are sometimes specialized seers, such as Calchas and Helenos on the Greek and Trojan side at Troy, or Halitherses in Ithaca, but even Telemachus in the *Odyssey* who has no special training, can do it. Usually, the poems present bird omens as *auspicia oblativa* rather than *auspicia impetrativa*, but deliberate solicitation of a bird oracle is possible, as king Priam does, making a prayer to Zeus (*Il.* 24.292–5). So in Sophocles' *Antigone*, set in Thebes, the seer Teiresias sits in 'the ancient seat for observing birds, where (he) can mark every bird of omen' (*Ant.* 999–1000). Like Hittite augurs, Homer knows a division of the augural field into a right (favourable) and left (unfavourable) side, as we see from Priam's solicitation above (*Il.* 24.294).<sup>100</sup>

Outside of poetry, hard evidence for the practice of augury in the Greek world is scarce, although we hear of various authors who wrote on the subject.<sup>101</sup> The earliest and best evidence is an early Greek inscription from Ephesos, which sets out some principles of the art (late 6th century BC?), including the importance of the direction of flight ('left' and 'right'), elements which are present already in Homer, and can be compared to the two sides of the bird-operators' field in Hittite augury, and also the idea of

<sup>96</sup> For the idea that other Arzawan traditions were influenced by Greece see Giorgieri (2001) and Faraone (1987: 277).

<sup>97</sup> For Etruscan augury: Linderski (1986). Use of birds in Israel: Staubli (2002).

<sup>98</sup> Burkert (2005: 5). Linear B *Qerasiya* Fp1, 6 has been interpreted as 'augur'.

<sup>99</sup> On augury in Homer, Haas (2008: 173); Hazenbos (2007: 105). Above all, Högemann and Oettinger (2008).

<sup>100</sup> Hittite practice: Haas (2008: 31–2); Greek: Collins (2002: 11–12); Dillon (1996: 108). For a similar distinction in the augury of the Iban of Borneo: King (1977: 69).

<sup>101</sup> See Bouché-Leclercq (1879–82: 1, 127).

the bird hiding, which also has a Hittite antecedent.<sup>102</sup> While the circumstances of composition of this document remain a mystery, it is striking that its provenance is the on the site of the city that had probably been the capital of Arzawa five centuries earlier.<sup>103</sup>

Greek and Roman writers of the early imperial period associated augury with Anatolia and Arabia.<sup>104</sup> Cicero in his *On Divination* (1.93–4) (probably drawing on Poseidonius) represents his brother Quintus as arguing that the Arabians, Phrygians, Cilicians, Pisidians, and Umbrians all favour augury as a form of divination for reasons of ‘environmental determinism’: because their geography lends itself to cattle-rearing, and itinerant herdsmen tend to take to augury; by contrast, the geography of other parts of the world favours other forms of divination: the luxuriant environment of Caria, for example, has encouraged an interest in prodigies.<sup>105</sup> The early Christian writer Tatian in his ‘Address to the Greeks’ (2nd century AD) attributes augury to the Phrygians and Isaurians.<sup>106</sup> Similarly, Clement of Alexandria (also 2nd century AD) attributes knowledge of the ‘flights of birds’ to the Phrygians, while ‘augury’ (οἰωνοστυκίη) was invented by the Isaurians and Arabians.<sup>107</sup> Isauria is normally regarded as having a Luwian heritage, corresponding to part of the ‘Lower Land’ of the Late Bronze Age. Was this an area where traditions of Luwian augury had somehow survived?<sup>108</sup>

Another Greek tradition associates augury with Caria. Pliny the Elder says it was invented by Car ‘from whom Caria got its name’.<sup>109</sup> An epigram by Poseidippus records the career of an augur called Damon from Telmessos near Halicarnassos.<sup>110</sup> Telmessos was a major centre for prophecy, mentioned already by Herodotus (who himself came from Halicarnassos) in his account of the kings of early Lydia. In the foundation story of Gordion as

<sup>102</sup> Sololowski LSAM, n.30 = IEph 1678A. See discussions in Dillon (1996), and in Högemann and Oettinger (2008), who connect it to Hittite augury. For ‘hiding’ (*munnai-*) in Hittite, see Archi (1975c: 166; CHD L-N, p. 332), e.g. from this passage earlier on in KUB 18.5 (ii. 44–7; tr. Czyżewska 2007: 150): ‘The *kalmusis*-bird and *haranis*-bird came up in front of the river from favourable (direction) and they came back to the river. Then they came up behind the river from favourable (direction). Then they went *zilawan ku.s* and they disappeared’.

<sup>103</sup> For Apasa and Ephesos, see Büyükkolancı (2008); Hawkins (2009: 76).

<sup>104</sup> Bouché-Leclercq (1879–82, 1, 132, n.2). On later traditions of Arabic ornithomancy (‘iyāfa), see Fahd (1966) and (1978). Galen, in *Hipp.acut.*1, 15, CMG V, 9, 1, 128–30.

<sup>105</sup> Pease (1920: 260) provides parallels. This is part of Poseidonius, fr. 374 in Theiler (1982).

<sup>106</sup> Tatian, *Address to the Greeks* 1, ed. J. Ryland.

<sup>107</sup> Clement, *Strom.*1.74; on the distinction between the ‘flights of birds’ and augury in general, see Suda, s.v. οἰωνισμα καὶ οἰωνισμοί.

<sup>108</sup> See Houwink ten Cate (1961: 190–201); Burgess (1990); Lenski (1999: 417).

<sup>109</sup> Pliny, *NH* 7.203.

<sup>110</sup> See Baumbach and Trampedach (2004); Stephens (2004: 82–3).



reported by Arrian, the future king Gordios went to Telmessos because he was troubled by an eagle perching on the yoke of his plough, and was told by a local Telmessian girl, who was skilled in divination, that he must sacrifice to Zeus; she went on to become his wife and the mother of Midas. Telmessos was also the home town of Alexander the Great's prophet Aristandros.<sup>111</sup>

Can we trace a link from Arzawan augurs to augury in Homer and Telmessos? One objection to this has been raised by Duane Smith who argued that some Homeric bird oracles have close parallels to some omens in the *Šumma Ālu*. Thus, in one intense battle scene in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 12, 200–29) the Trojan Poulydamas interprets the omen of an eagle which drops a snake into the middle of the combat as a sign that the Trojans will not be successful in their attack on the Greek camp, just as the eagle was not successful in carrying the snake to its nest. According to *Šumma Ālu* 24.20 (Smith 2013: 62–3) if a falcon drops a snake on a house, the owner will die. It would thus seem possible that this divinatory tradition might have influenced Greek epic poetry via the Levant, without an Anatolian contribution.

Nevertheless the concentration of augury and bird omens in W. Anatolia both in the LBA and in the 1st millennium BC suggests that this area may have been a centre for it, and that the practice somehow survived the LBA/EIA transition, either on the Anatolian or the Greek side. That doesn't preclude augury having been practised elsewhere, and there no doubt were other centres, such as Etruria in the 1st millennium BC.

## 6.8 Conclusion

I have shown that the Arzawa rituals show parallels to three aspects of Greek religion of the 1st millennium BC: first, to the military plague ritual in *Iliad* 1, where the Apollo with his plague arrows resembles Yarri; and secondly to Greek scapegoat and elimination rituals, which are particularly linked to Ionia; and thirdly to augury, which is also part of the Greek epic tradition, and seems to survive in W. Anatolia.

The strongest parallel is the military plague ritual in the *Iliad* and the augur-seers who perform them. If this is a traditional theme of Greek epic, it might date back several centuries, which would help bridge the gap. Perhaps

<sup>111</sup> Herodotus 1.78, 94; Gordion: Arrian, *Anab.* 2.3.3; Telmessos: Harvey (1991); Burkert (2005: 36); Aristandros and a bird oracle: Arrian, *Anab.* 1.25.6–8.

it was at some point a feature of military activity in the whole Aegeo-Anatolian region in the LBA (see further p. 210). The Ionian scapegoat rituals do not seem particularly close to the Arzawan ones since they do not use animals and they link the *pharmakoi* to a civic festival; and the idea of a special gate for *pharmakoi*, which we find in some Greek rituals does not have Arzawan parallels. The picture would change if we knew that the Apaluwa-ritual (CTH 424.4-5) was W. Anatolian, since that would make it likely that the plague gods Apaluwa and Apollo were one and the same. As it is, the hypothesis of a relation has to depend largely on the geographical match between Arzawa and Ionia. As for augury outside of epic, the argument here is also largely geographical: although augury occurs in many cultures, it is linked to the Luwian zone in the LBA, and in the 1st millennium BC W. Anatolia is one region associated with it by Greco-Roman writers. If we take these three points together, the evidence seems compatible with the hypothesis of long term interaction between Greek and Anatolian ritual practitioners in a W. Anatolian-Aegean contact zone, though we would need to know more to be able to confirm it and to have any chance of establishing the details of the process.

# 7

## Generations of Gods and the South-East

### 7.1 The Song of Going Forth

The most significant parallel between Greek religion and the texts in the Hittite archives concerns a myth. The Greek text is the *Theogony* composed probably in the late 8th century BC by Hesiod of Ascra in Boeotia whose family came from Cyme in W. Anatolia; the Hittite one is the narrative that used to be called the Song of Kumarbi, but is now known to have had the ancient title ‘*Song of Going Forth*’ (SOGF).<sup>1</sup> The subject has accumulated a vast bibliography since it was first observed by Forrer in 1935.<sup>2</sup> The SOGF is now known to be one of a sequence of narratives translated or adapted from Hurrian versions which were current in Northern Syria in the first part of the 2nd millennium BC. They are known collectively as the *Kingship in Heaven Cycle* (KIHC). Carlo Corti has recently argued that this process of adaptation happened in the early 14th century BC as the result of incursions in the region made by the Hittite king Tudhaliya III/Tasmisarrī, whose close links to Hurrian culture have been illuminated by recent finds of texts in the Hittite city of Sapinuwa.<sup>3</sup>

The SOGF, of which only the first (somewhat damaged) tablet survives, describes the origin of the present generation of gods, especially the Storm god, via conflict between two lines of older gods: Alalu rules first, and is deposed by Anu (‘Sky’), who is then in turn deposed by the Alalu’s son Kumarbi, who bites off Anu’s genitals, thus becoming pregnant with the

<sup>1</sup> *S̄IR pa-ra-a-kán pa-a-u-wa-ar*; see Corti (2007). For the text, E. Rieken et al. (ed.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 344 (INTR 2009-08-12).

<sup>2</sup> Announced by Forrer (1935); full study Forrer (1936); cf. Dornseiff (1937). Full survey: Haas (2006: 130–75); Archi (2009); see also van Dongen (2011, 2012). On KIHC: see Hoffner (1998); Haas (2006); Barnett (1946); and Lesky (1950). I discuss it in Rutherford (2009, 2017, and 2020b).

<sup>3</sup> Corti (2017c).

Anu's children. He spits some of Anu's semen onto Mt. Kanzura, from where the god Tasmisu/Suwaliyat arises. Then he goes to Nippur (where he was identified with the local Babylonian god Enlil), and gives birth to the Storm god, who emerges from his head (the 'good place'), and the Aranza (Tigris) River, who exits from somewhere else. Immediately after giving birth Kumarbi demands to be given the Storm god, so that he can eat him, but the gods give him a stone instead.<sup>4</sup> Kumarbi throws the stone away, and makes a prediction that men will sacrifice at it (which may imply it is the original baetyl).<sup>5</sup> After a long gap, the tablet ends with the young Storm god exalting in his glory while the earth is on the point of giving birth to twins.

Significant new information became available in another text, '*Ea and the Beast*', in which the coming of the Storm god is narrated in the form of a prophecy delivered by the 'Beast' in conversation with the god Ea. The third column of the text seems to describe the creation of the earth and sky (10–11) and the installation of someone (presumably the Storm god) as king by the fate-deities (11–15); then in a very fragmentary section there is apparently a flashback to the theme of Kumarbi's giving birth to the various gods, though a different set from that in the surviving part of the SOGF (32–44).<sup>6</sup>

Hesiod's *Theogony* charts the history of the universe from the beginnings to the Age of Heroes, setting out the generations of the gods, the transitions between them, and several challenges to the cosmic order. The main generations are: first, that of Ouranos (Sky) and Ge (Earth); second, Kronos and the Titans; third, Zeus and his siblings, and fourth, Zeus' children. Ouranos suppresses his children the Titans, but Kronos overthrows him by castrating him when he comes to penetrate Ge. The blood of Ouranos falls on Ge and engenders the Erinyes, the Giants, and the Meliai-Nymphs, and the genitals fall in the sea, from where Aphrodite is born. Kronos tries to prevent his own overthrow by swallowing his children, but Zeus tricks him into swallowing a stone instead, and he disgorges the rest, which lead to the current regime of gods. Zeus set the stone up in Delphi as a marvel (498–500). Zeus is warned by Ouranos and Gaia that if he had a son by the Titaness Metis, it will be more powerful than himself. So he swallows Metis, and the goddess Athene is born from his head.

<sup>4</sup> §13–§14; see Beckman (2011a).

<sup>5</sup> See Haas (2006: 139); Beckman (2011a: 30).

<sup>6</sup> Archi (2002); Rutherford (2011). E. Rieken et al. (eds.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 351.1 (INTR 2009-08-12). The final lines seem to refer to something becoming pregnant with the Tigris (as in SOGF), -]sipa and Zababa.

Over the last eighty years many similarities have been observed between Hesiod's *Theogony* and the SOGF.<sup>7</sup> These include:

- there are three stages (generations in the Greek but not in the Hittite), from rule by Sky to the present stage, with something else in between;
- the transition from stage 1 to stage 2 comes about via the emasculation of Sky;
- the gods of stage 3 grow from inside a member of stage 2;
- a god swallows a stone thinking that it is another god; in both cases the stone becomes a religious object: a place of sacrifice in SOGF, the stone at Delphi in the *Theogony*;<sup>8</sup>
- a god gives birth to another god through his head (the Storm god from the head of Kumarbi; Athene from the head of Zeus);
- a god is born from the semen of another god: Kumarbi spits Anu's semen onto Mt. Kanzura, from where the Tasmisu/Suwaliyat was born; Ouranos' semen lands in the sea and Aphrodite is born.<sup>9</sup>

There are also many differences. In the SOGF there are originally two families, not one, and two generations, not three: Kronos emasculates his father, but Kumarbi emasculates the god who deposed his father. The Hittite-Hurrian Storm god is the son of the Sky, whereas Zeus is his grandson. And Kumarbi's role is much more transgressive than that of Kronos, since Kumarbi inadvertently becomes the mother of Sky's children, whereas Kronos merely swallows them after birth.

## 7.2 *Tarpanalli*-Poetics: Challengers to the Cosmic Order

Subsequent songs in KIHC recount cosmic disasters faced by the Storm god and his comrades in the form of monsters. Most ancient mythologies have similar narratives, with monsters associated with chaos (e.g. the Egyptian Apophis), the underworld (Ugaritic Mot), the sea (Babylonian Tiamat,

<sup>7</sup> For bibliography see note 2 in this chapter. For Hesiod's account of challengers to the cosmic order—first, the Titans, whom the gods defeat with the help of the Hundred-Handers, and then Typhon (820–68)—see §7.2.

<sup>8</sup> See Paus. 10.24.6; Haas (2002: 235); cf. also M. L. West (1997: 294).

<sup>9</sup> In being daughter of the Sky Aphrodite resembles Ishtar, and the Hesiod's narrative seems to combine Near Eastern and Greek elements, as has been well demonstrated by Metcalf (2015: 179–82).

Ugaritic Yamm), or drought (Vedic Vṛtra). They may be integrated into the festival calendar, so that the defeat of order and the restitution of cosmic order is coordinated with the start of the new year.<sup>10</sup>

In the KIHC Tessub faces several opponents, who seem to be called *tarpanalli*-s. This is usually translated ‘challenger’, ‘usurper’, though it may not be distinct from the idea of a ‘ritual substitute’ who replaces the rightful king on the throne for a period and is then deposed.<sup>11</sup> The two most important texts are:

- *The Song of Hedammu*, a very fragmentary text, narrates the story of the *tarpanalli* Hedammu,<sup>12</sup> an eel-like sea-monster, child of Kumarbi and a daughter of the Sea god. Hedammu succumbs to being seduced by the sonic and visual charms of Tessub’s sister Sauska (equated with Ishtar of Nineveh), a motif that Noga Ayali-Darshan (2015) has recently argued is borrowed from an earlier narrative of the Storm god’s conflict with the Sea, which originated somewhere in the Levant.
- *The Song of Ullikummi*, the longest of the extant texts in three cuneiform tablets, narrates a further conflict between the gods and a blind and deaf stone giant, Ullikummi, a son of Kumarbi.<sup>13</sup> Ullikummi, whose name means ‘Destroy Kummiya’ (the home of Tessub), is also described as a *tarpanalli*. Kumarbi has the infant Ullikummi planted on the shoulder of Ubelluri, a sort of Atlas figure who supports the heaven and earth (§17, §61). The Sun god sees him growing in the sea (§22–3: ‘it was standing like a shaft with the sea coming up to its knees’) and reports to the gods, who go to Mt. Hazzi (Mons Kasios) to observe. They initially try having Sauska seduce it again, but a great wave of the sea points out that this is futile (§36). (This motif clearly presupposes the *Song of Hedammu*.) Then the Storm god and the gods drive their chariots against him but they fail, and Hebat, watching the battle, wonders whether her husband is dead (§44–5). Eventually, Tasmisu advises Tessub to visit Ea in Apzuwa (the Mesopotamian Apsu, the subterranean waters). Ea in turn visits Ubelluri and persuades the Primeval gods to release the copper cutting tool in order to detach Ullikummi from the ground; this is the same tool that was originally used to separate earth and sky, perhaps a hint that this episode closes the sequence (§63). This is done. Ea is apparently

<sup>10</sup> So Gaster (1950).

<sup>11</sup> Corti and Pecchioli Daddi (2012: 617).

<sup>12</sup> Hoffner (1998: no. 17); Siegelová (1971).

<sup>13</sup> Hoffner (1998: no. 18).

shocked at seeing the dead in the underworld (§65). When the text breaks off, we may be in the middle of the final battle.

Also probably to be grouped here is the *Song of Kurunta* (CTH 343) which tells how the deity Kurunta (see §2.5) first defeated Tessub, taking away the reins of his chariot, which are henceforth to be an object of cult, and then was appointed to kingship in heaven (*nepisas hassuiznatar*) by Ea and the Former Deities.<sup>14</sup> Kurunta's nine-year rule is a sort of Golden Age; but the spontaneous appearance of food discourages men from working and making sacrifices, and the end comes when the Ea and the other Former Deities themselves depose him. After a gap, Tessub and Ninurta (i.e. Tasmisu?) seem to be dividing up his body, Kurunta, the hunter, being treated like a hunted animal. Volkert Haas suggested that this was the aetiology of the myth of a 'dying and rising god', comparing the death of Mot in the Ugaritic Baal Cycle.<sup>15</sup> The gradual shift of Ea's allegiance from Kumarbi's side to that of the new generation seems to have been a fundamental theme of the whole cycle;<sup>16</sup> the *Song of Kurunta* thus deals with an earlier period than those of Hedammu and Ullikummi, one when Tessub's control of the cosmos is still not fully established.<sup>17</sup>

Another poem that must either belong to the KIHC, or be closely related to it, is the fragmentary *Song of the Sea*, which probably related a cosmic battle between the gods and the sea. There is a Hurrian text with the colophon '1st tablet of the song of the sea', and also some Hittite fragments; one of these seems to refer to a flood, and a demand for tribute, which Kumarbi and the gods ask Ishtar queen of Nineveh/Anzili to deliver.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Hoffner (1998: no. 15); Haas (2003b). E. Rieken et al. (eds.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 343.1 (INTR 2009-08-12).

<sup>15</sup> KTU<sup>3</sup> 1.6.ii. 26–30. Haas (2003b); Haas (2006: 146). Ayali-Darshan (2017b) suggests that the narrative of the death and resurrection of Mot has been influenced by the Egyptian Osiris story. In one Ugaritic fragment, KTU<sup>3</sup> 1.96, Anat seems to kill her brother Baal; see Loretz (2000). Haas also suggested that the end of the myth of LAMMA where the god is killed can be seen as sort of precursor to the Greek myth of Actaeon, the man who is transformed into a stag and torn apart by hunting dogs. For nine-year cycles, Bernabé (1989).

<sup>16</sup> See Hoffner (1998: 41–2).

<sup>17</sup> See Haas (2006: 144–7). Archi (2009: 218) associates the myth with Carchemish, where he believes that poem originated and thinks that the local form of the LAMMA deity there was Karhuha.

<sup>18</sup> Hurrian: KUB 45.63; Hittite: KBo 26.105 (see E. Rieken et al. (eds.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 346.9 (INTR 2009-08-24); Haas 2006: 151–2; Schwemer 2001: 451–3). The thesis that the *Song of the Sea* belongs to KIHC was suggested first by Houwink ten Cate (1992: 117). On the text, Rutherford (2001b). Dijkstra (2011: 68–70) wonders whether the Hurrian text was in fact related to the Hedammu myth, which also involves the sea.

Evidence of another narrative may be provided in the second column of the above-mentioned *Ea and the Beast*, which dealt with the triumph of the Storm god, who will drive down his enemies to the underworld, keeping them defeated with strings (ii.10–11, 16) and judge the gods (21). The earth will produce a ‘*tarpalli*’ (21, 23; presumably the same as a *tarpanalli*), which seems to be described as ‘the eel/snake (<sup>mus</sup>*illuyanka*) of the mountains, rivers, sea’ (ii.27). Some of this could have been related in the lost continuation of SOGF.<sup>19</sup> For the idea of driving gods down, there is a parallel in the MH ritual *Purifying a House* in which the ritual practitioner opens up a deified Pit (§31) before the Former Deities, pours in libations, together with a shekel of silver and offers three birds, explaining it with a *historiola* addressed to the primeval deities (§33) which includes the words: ‘When the Storm god drove you down to the Dark Underworld he established for you this offering’ (see §7.5, §12.5.1).<sup>20</sup>

Much in these narratives reminds us of Zeus’ battles in Greek myth. In Hesiod, Zeus fights first the Titans, whom the gods defeat with the help of the Hundred-Handers, and then Typhon (820–68). The enemies driven down to the underworld in *Ea and the Beast* and in *Purifying a House* seem to correspond to the Titans in Hesiod. In Apollodorus and Strabo the battle between Zeus and Typhon is partly fought at Mt. Kasios,<sup>21</sup> perhaps reflecting the state of affairs in the Seleucid period, when ‘Zeus Kasios’ had become a major deity known right across the Mediterranean, presumably promoted by the Seleucids.<sup>22</sup> The absence of references to Zeus Kasios and Mt. Kasios before the Hellenistic period is striking, but Herodotus (3.1) already links Typhon with another ‘Mt. Kasios’ in North-West Egypt near Lake Serbonis (for the Egyptian connection, see §7.4).<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Notice that for Solmsen (1989) the Hesiodic themes of kingship in heaven and driving the Titans down to the underworld came from distinct Near Eastern traditions; we now know they were both present in the Hittite version.

<sup>20</sup> CTH 446; Otten (1961); see CoS 1.168–71.

<sup>21</sup> Strabo 16.2.7, Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.6.3. On the geography, Gatier (2016: 261). It has recently been suggested there might be a reference to Typhon at Mt. Kasios in a fragment of the late 6th century historian Acusilaos, preserved in a papyrus roll from Herculaneum (Acusilaos fr. 12 Fowler = Epimenides fr. 10, 23–4 Fowler, in Fowler (2000–13: 1, 97; 2, 28), but this is very speculative. Bonnet (1987: 134) thought that Aeschylus’ description of Typhon breathing ‘smoke, the brother (*κάσσι*) of gleaming fire’ (*Septem* 494) might be an echo of Kasios.

<sup>22</sup> See Ogden (2017: 100, 148–9). A dedication from 187 BC has been discovered at Aigeai in the Bay of Iskenderun to Zeus Kasios made on behalf of Antiochus III (*SEG* 60.1574).

<sup>23</sup> Carrez-Maratray (2001) doubts this, unjustly. See Verreth (2006); Chuvin and Yoyotte (1986).



There are also differences. In respect of chronological sequence, the KIHC seems to think in terms of regular periods of alternation between the rightful rulers of the cosmos and impostors or ‘*tarpanallis*’, some of whom may rule for nine years, while the *Theogony* structures time as a progression from chaos to the present cosmic order. Notice also that the canonical Greek version does not have a myth in which Zeus makes war on the Sea-divinity, something which I have elsewhere tried to explain by the hypothesis that in the mentality of Greeks, traditionally a maritime people, the sea would not have counted as a hostile force.<sup>24</sup>

The Kurunta narrative also seems to have an intertextual relationship with Hesiod. His nine-year rule resembles the Golden Age of the Works and Days, except that the Age of Kronos is set in the distant past, while LAMMA is one of a sequence of *tarpanallis* who interrupt Tessub’s rule. Hesiod’s myth of the Age of Kronos seems to correspond to the Greek Kronia festival which involves a reversal of hierarchies, like the Roman Saturnalia, and it is tempting to infer that there might have been a similar festival of LAMMA in the Hittite sphere (on Kurunta and Kronos see further §7.5).<sup>25</sup>

### 7.3 Illuyanka and Typhon

Besides the KIHC narratives, a Hittite myth of cosmic disaster survives: the myth of Illuyanka, a name formed from the Hittite word for ‘snake’ or ‘eel’ that we have already met in *Hedammu* and *Ea and the Beast*.<sup>26</sup> It is preserved in two versions,<sup>27</sup> both associated with the *purulli* festival held in the spring and with the pantheon of the city of Kastama in the North, near Nerik, whose deities Mt. Zaliyanu and his consort the powerful goddess Zashapuna they seem to praise.

<sup>24</sup> See Rutherford (2020b). The usual Greek myth was that Zeus was allied with the sea: in the *Iliad* (1.399–406), Achilles says Thetis once helped Zeus by getting a hundred-handed giant to support him: ‘whom the gods call Briareus, but all men Aigaion’. Aigaion may well be intended to be understood as the eponymous deity of the Aegean Sea, and this was how the Homeric passage seems to have been understood by the 5th century poet Ion of Chios (PMG741). For an alternative version in Eumelos, see p. 154.

<sup>25</sup> Reversal of hierarchies: Versnel (1987). Burkert (1993a) also thought that the Kronia might correspond to a Near Eastern festival, but he pointed to one inferred from the Song of Release (so Bremmer (2004a: 46–7 = 2008a: 85) which may not have existed: see Wilhelm (2013).

<sup>26</sup> Katz (1998).

<sup>27</sup> Hoffner (1998: 9–14); Beckman (1982).

Version 1: The storm god is defeated by Illuyanka, who is in turn tricked by the goddess Inara, the Storm god's daughter, and the mortal Hupasiya, who feast him and get him drunk. Hupasiya ties him up and the Storm god kills him.

Version 2: The Storm god is defeated by Illuyanka, who takes the heart and eyes of the Storm god; meanwhile the Storm god has a son by the daughter of a poor man; the son marries Illuyanka's daughter and demands the heart and eyes as the bride-price. The Storm god recovers, does battle with Illuyanka, but kills his son in the process.

The 'daughter of the poor man' in Version 2 appears in the myth, but also in the running-order of the festival, which suggests that the myths were acted out, at least in part.<sup>28</sup> In 1930 Walter Porzig noticed parallels between this myth and the Greek Typhon myth; not the Hesiodic version,<sup>29</sup> but versions preserved in later sources:

- #1. The mythographer Apollodorus (1st century AD?) (1.6.3) says that Zeus chased Typhon as far as Mt. Kasios (Mt. Hazzi), attacking him with thunderbolts and a sickle (*harpē*). But Typhon stole the sinews of his arms and legs, imprisoned him in the Corycian Cave in Cilicia, along with the sinews, which were hidden in a bear skin, guarded by she-dragon Delphyne. But Hermes and Aigipan (apparently a form of Pan) restored them to Zeus, who chased Typhon to Thrace and finally imprisoned him under Mt. Etna.
- #2. The poet Oppian (2nd century AD) in his *Haliutica* (3.15–28) situates the conflict at Corycus in Cilicia (his homeland), where Pan, the son of Hermes, saved Zeus by luring Typhon from his undersea lair with a banquet of fish.
- #3. The first book of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* (5th century AD) has an elaborate account in which Typhon steals first Zeus' thunderbolts (#3A), and then, after attacking heaven, his sinews as well (#3B). The mortal Cadmus, with the help of Pan, disguises himself as a shepherd and challenges Typhon to a musical competition. He retrieves the sinews by asking Typhon for them so that he can string his lyre (an adaptation of #1; cf. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 55, which casts

<sup>28</sup> Pecchioli Daddi (1987: 378n.87); Haas (1988b: 286).

<sup>29</sup> Watkins (1995: 448–9) argued for a *recherché* lexical parallel between early Greek accounts of Typhon and Illuyanka A.

Hermes in this role). Meanwhile, Zeus steals back his thunderbolts and after some violent resistance Typhon is defeated.<sup>30</sup>

At least some of this may be much earlier than the Hellenistic period. Oppian may be reporting a local Corycian version rooted in an old Luwian tradition.<sup>31</sup> Typhon is already associated with Cilicia in the 5th century BC, so it is possible some Corycian version was already known to Greeks at that time.<sup>32</sup> It has been suggested that parts of #1 also may also go back to some early source, perhaps the *Titanomachia*.<sup>33</sup>

Versions #1 and #2 have parallels with the Illuyanka stories. Porzig pointed out that the detail reported by Apollodorus that Typhon steals Zeus' sinews ('*neura*') roughly resembles Illuyanka 2. And in 1961 Houwink ten Cate observed that Oppian's version in which the deception of Typhon takes place at a feast has a parallel in Illuyanka 1 (208–9). Houwink ten Cate (212) also suggested that Hermes in #1 and #2 corresponded Runtas, an important god in the region to judge from onomastics of Roman Corycus and the region, and that in this respect he resembled Inara in Illuyanka 1 who was also a LAMMA deity (albeit a different gender). Nonnus' version (#3) could be said to be parallel to Illuyanka 1 in giving a critical role to a mortal.

On their own, none of these parallels would amount to very much, but since we know that Oppian was from Cilicia, where Hittite-Luwian traditions may have lived on, we cannot reject them so easily.

Apollodorus, Oppian, and Nonnus, then, seem to base Typhon on Illuyanka, not on anything in the KIHC, though Apollodorus' reference to Kasios points to KIHC, and it seems likely that some sort of fusion between them has taken place. Houwink ten Cate (1961: 213–14) suggested the agents for this might have been Phoenicians, but it is possible that these myths became entangled much earlier, or even that they were never wholly distinct. Could something like the Illuyanka narratives have been included in some lost section of KIHC, perhaps as part of the SOGF? (In that case the

<sup>30</sup> For another Anatolian echo in Nonnus see Bernabé (1988b), who suggests that the source is the epic poet Nestor of Laranda. It has also been noticed that Nonnus' description of Typhon standing in the sea (*Dion.* 1.266–8) is eerily close to the description of Ullikummi in the *Song of Ullikummi* (§22 see Güterbock 1946: 104–5).

<sup>31</sup> See Houwink ten Cate (1961: 206–15); Lytle (2011: 371–3); Hicks (1891: 241).

<sup>32</sup> Pindar, *Pyth.* 1.17 and Ps. Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound* 353. Homer and Hesiod both associate Typhon with a people or place called Arimoi, the location of which is unknown: but see Bonnet (1987: 133–4); Lane-Fox (2008: 280–301).

<sup>33</sup> *Titanomachia*: Tsagalis (2013) and Ogden (2013: 74), but see D'Alessio (2015: 209 n.48). Predates Hesiod: Fontenrose (1959: 70–6).

question of the relation between Illuyanka and the *illuyanka* of *Ea and the Beast* needs to be investigated.)

Despite the similarities between the narratives, Typhon does not himself resemble either Illuyanka, Hedammu, Ullikummi, or any other monster known from the Ancient Near East. His multi-headedness recalls the *mus-mahhu* whom Ninurta fights (who is also taken as the model for the Hydra), but surely multi-headedness in monsters must have occurred to people all over the world.<sup>34</sup> His name is sometimes linked to Mt. Şapanu (the W. Semitic name for Mt. Kasios), or Baal of Şapanu (in the same way that Greek Turos [‘Tyre’] corresponds to Phoenician Şur),<sup>35</sup> but the resemblance is not exact. The semantics are also tricky: a shift from a warrior deity to a monster.<sup>36</sup> On balance it seems likelier that the idea of the monster, along with the name (‘smoker’), is Greek.<sup>37</sup>

#### 7.4 Context of Borrowing

Despite the differences, the core of similarities surely indicates that Hesiod’s succession myth and the KIHC myths belong to the same general cultural milieu; the case for influence of the Illuyanka narratives on the Greeks seems to be weaker, but cannot be ruled out. We have two signposts about how contact and transmission may have happened:

- (i) First, Mt. Kasios, which is linked to the battle between Zeus and Typhon Greek tradition (see §7.2).
- (ii) Secondly, Pindar and the Ps. Aeschylus *Prometheus Bound* situated Typhon in Cilicia, presumably thinking of the so-called Cave of Typhon (‘*Cennet ve Cehennem*’) at Corycus where, in the Roman period, there seems to have been a thriving tradition about Typhon, apparently preserved in the Luwian cultural stratum.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Haider (2005) on the monster seems too optimistic.

<sup>35</sup> See Gruppe (1889). Lipiński (1995: 249–50) tends to believe it.

<sup>36</sup> Maybe it can be explained by the hypothesis that the Greeks identified Baal Şapanu as the god of their enemies. There may be a model for this in Egypt, where Seth who fights against the sea in *Astarte and the Sea* evolves in the 1st millennium BC into a symbol of foreign chaos whom the Greeks identified with Typhon.

<sup>37</sup> Watkins (1995: 460–3) in fact suggests that Typhon is an Indo-European term, and a doublet of Python, which is also Indo-European. Incidentally, it has also been proposed that Sappho’s name might be a hypocoristic theophoric name based on Şapanu: Zuntz (1951).

<sup>38</sup> Greek sources: n.32 above; interpretation: Lytle (2011); see also p. 53.

This seems to point to a zone of contact in the area of the Levant, Cilicia and Cyprus, where Luwians, Phoenicians, and Greeks coexisted in what must have been a sort of transcultural network, perhaps used by generations of merchants. This could have produced a gradual assimilation of myth and ritual practice. The Greeks are usually supposed to have come to this area in the eighth century BC, but there was Greek presence on Cyprus long before then.<sup>39</sup>

Jenny Clay and Amir Gilan have recently argued that the context for contact could have been the Iron Age Luwian kingdom of Tell Tayinat, very close to Al Mina and Ugarit.<sup>40</sup> (Thus intercultural connections in the area of Al Mina are now being interpreted as Luwian-Greek whereas until quite recently they used to be thought of as Phoenician-Greek.)<sup>41</sup> This area had been long been culturally connected to N. Syria, which, as we have seen, probably had an interest in the *Kingship in Heaven* songs from early on.

Greek adaptation of this story could have happened in several stages. Oppian's version with the feast might well be a late addition, taken by him directly from Corycus. Other aspects that are lacking in Hesiod, for example Zeus losing his sinews, may also have been introduced later. The war of the gods against the Sea, which we saw belongs to the Hurro-Hittite tradition but is not in Hesiod, appeared in the fragmentary early Greek epic, the *Titanomachia*, ascribed to Eumelos of Corinth. In this poem Aigaion, apparently the eponymous deity of the Aegean, fought on the side of the Titans, and thus against Zeus.<sup>42</sup> This may indicate that Eumelos or the author of the *Titanomachia* had access to Oriental sources via an independent stream of transmission.<sup>43</sup>

Equally, Greek knowledge of the Succession Myth does not need to have begun with Hesiod, and it could date back much earlier, especially since his

<sup>39</sup> Vanschoonwinkel (2006a: 103). Although I emphasize SE Anatolia and the Levant here, I should note the alternative suggestion that route of transmission could have been at least partly via W. Anatolia; it has been claimed in support of this that in a fragment sometimes ascribed to Eumelos Zeus was born on Mt. Sipylos (fr.18 Bernabé); see Bremmer (2008:87-8) with D'Alessio (2015: 203-4) on the Eumelos fragment; see also Rutherford (2018:18-9).

<sup>40</sup> Strauss-Clay and Gilan (2014). For Tell Tayinat see p. 52.

<sup>41</sup> On the background of this fast developing area, see Weeden (2013).

<sup>42</sup> *Titanomachia* fr. 3 Bernabé = Σ AR 1.1165c. That scholion also preserves the information that Kinaithon in his *Heraklea* (fr. <sup>07</sup>Bernabé) said that Aigaion was defeated by Poseidon and thrown into what is now called by Apollonius the 'Cairn of Aigaion' (ἤριον Αἰγαίωτος) off the coast of Mysia: Fowler (2000-13: 2, 69). See M. L. West (2002: 111-12); Tsagalis (2017: 53-6).

<sup>43</sup> M. L. West (2002: 111); Tsagalis (2017: 54). Bremmer (2004a = Bremmer 2008: 76 and 87-8) argued for more extensive oriental influence on the *Titanomachia*. It should be borne in mind that Corinth had good connections with the Near East. See Morris and Papadopoulos (1998); Ziskowski (2016).

narrative shows it to be well integrated into a Greek religious framework. Could it be as early as the Late Bronze Age? We know from the treaty between Sausgamuwa of Amurru and the Hittite king Tudhaliya IV that Greeks were in the area of the Levant in the thirteenth century BC.<sup>44</sup> If the state of Luwian Hiyawa in E. Cilicia, now attested from the 10th century BC, reflects the early presence in the region of Mycenaean émigrés, that might have facilitated transmission as well (see p. 74).

Even in the Late Bronze Age the KIHC was manifestly intercultural, like the *Epic of Gilgamesh* and some other narratives. We have already seen that Hurrian versions were translated into Hittite. There may be traces of it also in the local traditions of Ugarit: Carolina Lopez-Ruiz has shown that the sequence of deities found in deity lists from Ugarit is compatible with the generations of gods in the SOGF.<sup>45</sup> Ugarit is also right next to Mt. Hazzi/Mons Kasios/Mt. Şapanu), the location of Baal's palace. Hittite texts attest a festival for Mt. Hazzi, perhaps established in Sapinuwa in the early 14th century BC, and the running order for the festival included performances of the *Song of the Deeds of the Sea* (KUB 44.7+), and of the 'Song of the Invocation of the Primeval Gods', which Corti has recently suggested could be the SOGF itself.<sup>46</sup> There was even a mid 2nd millennium Egyptian version of the Storm god and the Sea, *Astarte and the Sea*,<sup>47</sup> where the role of the Storm god is taken by the Egyptian deity Seth, who, besides being the opponent of Osiris, was himself a Storm god who fought off the chaotic Apophis.<sup>48</sup>

An important role could have been played by Ugarit, which was at a major intersection, in geographical terms between Syria and the Mediterranean (Cyprus and Crete), and in geopolitical terms between Anatolia to the North and Egypt to the South. Baal Şapanu functioned as the international face of Ugaritic religion (contrasting to the local Baal of Ugarit).<sup>49</sup> Ugarit must have been a centre for merchants, e.g. from Hittite

<sup>44</sup> See AhT2§15; Devecchi (2002). <sup>45</sup> Lopez-Ruiz (2010: 101–4).

<sup>46</sup> Corti (2017c: 12).

<sup>47</sup> See now Ayali-Darshan (2017a: 196–9), who puts this in the context of various magical spells that feature Levantine deities. For the text, see Collombert and Coulon (2000); Schneider (2011–12).

<sup>48</sup> This may have been brought to Egypt by the Hyksos invaders in the 18th century BC. The first Egyptian evidence may be a seal from Tell Dab'a from the 18th century BC: Porada (1984). See E. F. Morris (2015: 329–32) on the '400 year stele', which commemorates the cult in Avaris.

<sup>49</sup> For the international dimension, see M. S. Smith (2016: 85). The bibliography includes Fauth (1990); Koch (1993); Healey (2007); Bonnet (1987); Lane-Fox (2008: 255–72); on rituals, see M. S. Smith (2016: 81–4).

Ura on the South coast of Turkey near Corycus, close to the mouth of the Göksu/Calycadnus river,<sup>50</sup> and from Crete, such as Sinaranu who in a surviving document was granted exemption from all duties (Baal Şapanu was invoked to guarantee the arrangement).<sup>51</sup> Merchants may for all we know have witnessed performances or dramatizations of them at festivals in the city. The story of Baal's conflict with Yamm could even reflect the interests of traders who feared the dangers of sea-travel; the dedication of stone anchors in the temple at Ugarit could be part of the same pattern.<sup>52</sup> It would not be surprising if myths and religious ideas were sometimes spread by trade, as has been suggested for the Assyrian trade network in Anatolia.<sup>53</sup>

But it could have happened earlier still. A case has been made for the *Song of the Sea* having originated in N. Syria in the early 18th century bc. The earliest evidence is a text surviving from Mari on the Euphrates, which purports to be a letter from the god Adad of Aleppo to king Zimri-Lim, announcing that he has put him back on the throne and sent him the weapons with which he defeated the sea; another text from Mari announced that the weapons, having arrived, were now at Terqa, a religious centre for the local deity Dagan.<sup>54</sup> The weapons must have been symbolic objects of some sort, presumably used in rituals with songs. The broader historical context for this may be the military confrontation between Aleppo/Yamhad and Assyria at this time, the intention being that Adad of Aleppo would protect Mari against Assyrian invasion.<sup>55</sup>

While it is possible that this Syrian myth reflects an earlier Hurrian version, a Syrian origin is likelier because the myth suits the area of Yamhad/Aleppo: the sea that Adad defeated was probably the Eastern

<sup>50</sup> On the merchants of Ura at Ugarit, see the edict of Hattusili III, a text found at Ugarit: Beckman (1999a: no. 32); Haider (1995: 84–7). On the position of Ura, see p. 56, n.209. The ship discovered at Uluburun off the coast of Lycia may have called at Ugarit: see Pulak (1997: 252); Bachhuber (2006: 356). We should also think of the 'international style' or 'international koine', which tends to be found in coastal regions: cf. Feldman (2006: 144).

<sup>51</sup> See Heltzer (1989) and (1999: 439–48).

<sup>52</sup> Frost (1991); Wachsmann (1998: 292–3). Anchors were also dedicated at Byblos and Kition.

<sup>53</sup> Trade and religion: Rutherford (2019b); I discuss some of these ideas also in Rutherford (2020b). Some Syrian deities in Hittite cult inventories from the area of the Middle Kızılırmak (CTH 510 and 511) may reflect the presence of Assyrian merchants in North Anatolia: see Schwemer (2008: 150ff.); Cammarosano (2015: 207ff.); Forlanini (1992: 178). It is interesting that the merchants of Ura seem to play a dramatic role in a Hittite festival: Hoffner (1968–9); Kosak (2003).

<sup>54</sup> Mari A 1968; Durand (1993); Sasson (2015: 280–1); Durand (2002: no. 38); Mari A 1858 Sasson (2015: 257); Durand (1993: 53) Durand (2002: no. 5); Schwemer (2001: 226–7); Schwemer (2016: 81–2).

<sup>55</sup> Durand (1993); Tugendhaft (2017: 47–61).

Mediterranean, since Ugarit was within the political sphere of Yamhad at this time.<sup>56</sup> Ayali-Darshan also thinks that this Syrian version has influenced the Ullikummi story, where the gods view the towering monster from the vantage point of Mt. Hazzi next to Ugarit.<sup>57</sup> If the earliest tradition of the Storm god and the Sea was Syrian, there must be a good chance that all of these poems were known in Syria in this period, and the question then becomes whether the earliest versions of the story were in fact Amorite-Syrian. One clue in that direction is that the two main deities in the succession myth, the Storm god and Kumarbi, can plausibly be identified with major gods of the region; the Storm god is obviously Adad of Aleppo, and Kumarbi was sometimes identified with Dagan, the main god of the Mari region of Syria.<sup>58</sup> Dagan was in fact probably regarded as father of the local Storm god, Addu.<sup>59</sup> Another clue might be that the Songs of Hedammu and LAMMA both associate Kumarbi with the town of Tuttul in North Syria, about 100 miles North of Mari on the confluence of the Euphrates and the Balih Rivers. This was a second major centre for the worship of Dagan in the 18th century BC besides Terqa mentioned above, and like it within Mari's sphere of influence.<sup>60</sup> So the possibility arises that other songs in the KIHC should be seen as Hurro-Hittite versions of Syrian myths, starting with the SOGF in which Adad of Aleppo would originally have succeeded Dagan. This could reflect the religious politics of the region, symbolizing the supremacy of Adad of Aleppo while incorporating Dagan into his story.

Again, we could think of merchants from these areas attending festivals in places like Aleppo and Terqa, witnessing the performances of ritual and hearing the myths. Aleppo's geopolitical location may help to explain why Hadad of Aleppo was of interest to so many different groups in the Ancient Near East at different periods: in the late 3rd millennium it was controlled by Ebla, and records from there document visitors from a number of places;<sup>61</sup> in the early 2nd millennium BC it was of interest to Mari and in the later 2nd millennium to Hatti, Nuzi, Ugarit, Emar, Tunip, and Alalakh.<sup>62</sup> Equally, the sanctuary of Dagan at Terqa, like that at Tuttul, while not being a major

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Singer (1999: 617).

<sup>57</sup> Ayali-Darshan (2015). Another branch of this myth may surface in the Babylonian myth of Marduk and Tiamat: see Jacobsen (1968); Day (1985: 11, n.26). For traces of other Babylonian myths about divine conflict with the sea, see Lambert (2013: 205–7, 236–47).

<sup>58</sup> Archi (2004b). <sup>59</sup> See Feliu (2003: 294).

<sup>60</sup> Song of Hedammu: Siegelová (1971: 70–1); Song of LAMMA §7 in Hoffner (1998). See Feliu (2003: 299); Bachvarova (2016: 51n.131).

<sup>61</sup> Archi (2010b: 9). <sup>62</sup> Schwemer (2001: 490).



centre of political power, was a shared source of religious prestige, where leaders from a wide area of Syria and Mesopotamia made pilgrimages.<sup>63</sup> The cuneiform texts from Mari mention Cretan (or Cretan-style) goods (see p. 62). So it is not impossible that knowledge of Syrian myth came to Crete this early. *Prima facie* this would give us a milieu for the dissemination of these narratives from Syria in the 18th century BC, a full millennium before Burkert's Orientalizing Period, and long before these narratives were even translated into Hittite.

But it is not just a matter of crude dissemination from East to West; rather, shared knowledge of these myths is something that allows for the formation of shared traditions. It is also possible that some artistic influence goes from West to East. There is reason to think that Minoan artists produced frescos at sites in the Levant and Syria.<sup>64</sup> The Ugaritic idea that the craftsman deity Kothar-wa-Hasis was resident in Crete perhaps reflects a traditional role of Crete as a centre of craft and manufacture.<sup>65</sup> Presumably, 'Aegeanness' had a certain cultural prestige at this time.<sup>66</sup> If art could travel from Crete to Syria and the Levant, perhaps myths could travel as well and, if we allow that Minoan Crete might have already had theogonic myths, then it is not out of the question that these influenced Syrian mythology as early as the 18th century BC. It must be admitted that language would have been an additional obstacle in the case of myth; and although the Mari texts mention foreign musicians, they do not mention such figures from Crete.<sup>67</sup>

## 7.5 Myth and Religion: Former Gods and Titans

The preceding sections have illustrated various forms of entanglement of mythical narratives and religious practices. Myths could be performed at festivals, such as Illuyanka and some songs of the KIHC. Excerpts of myths are also used as *historiolae* in rituals, as in *Purifying a House*; or the ritual at the river bank concerning the tripartiton of the universe

<sup>63</sup> See Feliu (2003: 102, 303). Bachvarova (2016: 51n.131).

<sup>64</sup> See Niemeier and Niemeier (1998); on Qatna, see von Rüden (2011: 99–114); Pfälzner and von Rüden (2008); on Alalakh, von Rüden (2017); Koehl (2013). For the possibility of borrowing from Mycenaean Greece to the Near East in LBA, see Lopez-Ruiz (2010: 38–43).

<sup>65</sup> Aruz (2008: 139–43) discusses hints of seal-technique moving from the Aegean to the Levant.

<sup>66</sup> See von Rüden (2011: 113).

<sup>67</sup> Ziegler (2007).

(CTH 434.1; see p. 149). Myth can encode more specific religious ideas; for example a major motif in the KIHC is the rise and fall of the ‘*tarpanalli*’, who is simultaneously a rebel against the current generation of gods and ritual substitute who rules for a while and is then deposed when the rightful king is restored. Myths can also provide aetiologies for ritual practice: we saw several of these in the SOGF and the *Song of Kurunta*. Finally, myths operate within and thus enforce the idea a sort of cosmic chronotope in which key roles are played by gods of certain classes. The best example of that is the ‘Former Gods’ opposed to the current generations. Another schema might be the idea of a dying and rising god, which is found explicitly in Ugaritic narratives, and possibly in the Hittite Kurunta narrative, but is less obvious in Greek religion, with the exception of the infant Dionysus.<sup>68</sup>

If myth and ritual go together, and if we believe that some Greek myths show influence from the ANE, then it would seem logical to infer that related religious ideas or practice may have piggy-backed on them. Examples are hard to find. The category of *tarpalli/tarpanallis* ‘ritual substitute’, which seems to lie behind the challengers in KIHC, did not migrate to Greece with the myths. The fact that we find dragon-slaying myths associated with festivals in both Anatolia (Illuyanka) and Greece (Python at Delphi) might suggest that myth and festival were borrowed together, but it could easily be a coincidence. One case that is harder to explain away is that of the reuse of the stones that Kumarbi and Zeus swallow and spit out. Kumarbi’s was used for sacrifice, and Zeus’ at Delphi, where Pausanias (10.24.6) says it had olive oil poured over it every day, and unworked wool wrapped round it at every feast day. Surely this is too strange to be a coincidence.

The figures who look most likely to be borrowed are the Titans who, as is well known, resemble the ‘Former Gods’ or ‘Lower Gods’ (*karuiles siunes*, *katteres siunes*, Hurrian *ammati-na enna*, *enna turi-na*), often written using the Akkadian term Anunnaki, with which they were equated.<sup>69</sup> Their names appear in lists of divine witnesses in treaties, in purification rituals, such *Purifying a House* (above) and in an invocation at the start of the SOGF.<sup>70</sup> They may also be represented in the Chamber Sanctuaries at Yazılıkaya.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>68</sup> On chronotopes see Haubold (2002). Dying and rising gods: Mettinger (2001).

<sup>69</sup> M. L. West (1997: 298–9); Burkert (1992: 94).

<sup>70</sup> See Archi (1990); rituals in Archi (1990: 123–5).

<sup>71</sup> Chamber A: Haas (1994a: 488); Haas and Wäfler (1974: 223); Chamber B: Bittel (1975); Archi (1990: 116).

In treaties they always number twelve, while in rituals they tend to be fewer. To some extent they are made up of male/female pairs.<sup>72</sup>

Like the Former Gods, the Titans number twelve; like them, they were driven down into the underworld, and bound there according to Hesiod, though in some versions they were eventually forgiven by Zeus.<sup>73</sup> For the Former Gods' being driven down, we have the *historiola* from *Purifying a House*, and the passage from *Ea and the Beast* which may refer to the same event, and includes the detail of binding down. The list of names of the Former Gods sometimes includes Alalu, Kumarbi, and Anu, the three early characters in the SOGF. The start of that poem mentions Alalu's being driven into the dark earth, so possibly the enforced katabasis of Kumarbi and Anu—perhaps the result of an intergenerational war—was mentioned in a later lost tablet of the SOGF or in another text.

There are also differences. One is the name 'Titan', which remains unexplained, despite the efforts of many scholars. Some have argued it might be based on the Akkadian word for 'clay' (*titu*), which in any case shows up in Greek as *titanos*.<sup>74</sup> Others have suggested that there might be a link to the Ugaritic Rapa'uma, a group of deified ancestors whose leader is apparently called Ditanu. The Rapa'uma, like the related Hebrew Rephaim, are sometimes said to be themselves equivalent to the Titans or alternatively to Greek heroes. They are not as close to the Titans as the Anunnaki/Former Gods, however. The name Ditanu is striking, but it is hard to see why the name of an ancestor should be generalized as the name of a whole group; if it is not a coincidence, perhaps it is the other way round, and a name for a group of primeval deities in some culture has provided the name for an ancestor.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Archi (1990: 119–20), though see G. Wilhelm RIA14 3/4 s. 'Unterwelt und Unterweltsgöttheiten', 345–8 at 346.

<sup>73</sup> Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.291; see Braswell (1988: 390) for other examples.

<sup>74</sup> Burkert (1992: 94–5) following Assmann (1912). Bremmer (2004a: 47–8 = Bremmer 2008a: 86–7) has an excellent survey.

<sup>75</sup> Ditanu: DDD s.v. (K. Spronk); Rapiuma: DDD s. Rephaim (H. Rouillard). Ugaritic texts mention an assembly of Ditanu to which the Rapiuma apparently belong (KTU<sup>3</sup>: 1.161); in one text (KTU<sup>3</sup>: 1.124) Ditanu seems to heal a child. In Assyria and Babylonia Ditanu seems to be a royal ancestor. The link with Titans was made by Burkert (1992: 204n.28). Annus (1999: 20) sees the *rapiuma* as a model for Titans and heroes. De Moor (1976: 336) had already argued for equivalence between *rpum* and Greek heroes on the ground that *rpū* could mean 'healer' and heroes were sometimes called '*iatroi*' (see Brelich 1958: 113–18). See also Bachvarova (2016: 290–1). This is interesting, but highly speculative, especially since the nature of Ugaritic *rpum* is so uncertain (see DDD s. Rephaim 699). The sub-hypothesis (Astour 1965: 239) that a related W. Semitic word *m'rappe* 'healer' might have inspired the Greek word *meropes*, applied to heroes, and the Koan Meropes (because doctors come from Kos) is implausible.

Another difference between Former Gods and the Titans is that the latter are seldom associated with rituals, though they seem to have been invoked in oaths in poetry, and they appear once in a *defixio* from Lilybaeum in Sicily.<sup>76</sup> Possibly we'd see more of a role for them if there was more evidence for early Greek purification rituals. At any rate it is clear that the distinction between upper and lower gods, a primary feature of the religious system, is broadly similar in both traditions.

*Purifying a House* associates the driving down of the Former Gods with one aspect of the sacrificial system: the difference between up and down (see further §12.5). Sacrifice and the Former Gods are also linked in the *Song of Kurunta* when the reign of Kurunta, installed on the throne by Former Gods, leads to complete cessation of sacrifice (§9). The Former Gods did not anticipate this, and it is for this reason they depose him (it may be symbolic of this that in the aftermath Kurunta is himself sacrificed, as Haas (2003b) believes). There is a general resemblance with Hesiod's Age of Kronos where too sacrifice was not necessary since earth produced crops on its own (117–18), and men and gods coexisted.<sup>77</sup> Only after the Golden Age is the duty of sacrifice imposed.<sup>78</sup> It was instituted by Prometheus, the son of a Titan Iapetos, and himself sometimes called 'Titan', when he attempted to alleviate the human condition by cheating the Ouraniones. If in the current hierarchical cosmic order sacrifice is a tax owed to the gods, one could perhaps say that the Titans/Formal Gods represent an alternative order in which men were once, or could still be, free from it.

Kurunta does not correspond directly to any Greek deity. Some have seen him as Prometheus or the infant Dionysus, who also sits briefly on his father's throne.<sup>79</sup> In presiding over a Golden Age he also resembles Kronos, although Kronos was a Titan, while Kurunta, while allied to the Former Gods who put him on the throne, is distinct from them. It is true that Kronos' closest equivalent in KIHC is usually thought to be Kumarbi, as we saw above, and since Kronos carries a sickle, some have thought that, like

<sup>76</sup> Oaths: Homer *Il.* 14.273–9; *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 331–42; *defixio*: IG14.1442. See Faraone (2010: 398–401).

<sup>77</sup> On Titans and sacrifice, see Vernant (1989: 53).

<sup>78</sup> According to *Works and Days* 136 non-sacrifice becomes an issue in the Silver Age.

<sup>79</sup> Prometheus: Bernabé (2004); contrast S. West (1994) on Prometheus and Ea. Dionysus: Haas (2006: 146). For Dionysus on his father's throne, Nonnus, *Dionys.* 6.165–8 (Chuvin 1992: 22–3); Firmicus Maternus, *De Errore Prof. Religionum* 6.2; Proclus *Cratylus* 396b; Bernabé (1987–2006: 2.1: fr. 296–30); assigned to *Protogonos Theogony* (ca. 500 BC) by M. L. West (1983: 74); see also Frazer (1911–36: 7.1, 13).

Kumarbi, he was an agricultural deity.<sup>80</sup> But no such correspondence is exact, and we should not be surprised to find that a deity in one system shares features with several different deities in another. It is even possible that the name Kronos is related to Kurunta, which seems to appear in the form Kuruni in a compound personal name from 7th century BC Tarsos.<sup>81</sup>

If we put it all together, the evidence suggests that there are striking similarities between the Hurrian-Hittite KIHC and Greek ideas about the theogony. These also extend to the types of gods involved in the narratives, particularly the Former Gods/Titans, which may indicate a ritual dimension. The likeliest context for borrowing is surely the contact zone in the general area of the Levant, Cilicia and Cyprus, and merchants could well have been the agents. The timing is less certain: I have suggested that it could have started much earlier than the usual date proposed of the early 1st millennium BC; these myths probably go back a millennium before that, when there were already contacts between Crete and Syria. However, this was probably an ongoing process, and new elements continued to be introduced even after Hesiod put it into canonical form. Finally, although we know the KIHC best from the Hittite archives, we cannot be certain that the Greeks originally got these myths from the Hittites, even if they associated Typhon with Corycus in the 1st millennium; the earliest home of these myths may in fact have been N. Syria, and it may have been from there that the Greeks learned about them, just as the Hittites had done.

<sup>80</sup> Nilsson (1951). Though see Graf (1985: 93), cited in Bremmer 2008a (81n.57). Kronos is a deity without much significance outside the Hesiodic narrative, except for the Kronia festival: Farnell (1896–1909, 1.23–31) remains a good overview.

<sup>81</sup> See Bremmer (2008a: 82); Goetze (1939: 9), Houwink ten Cate (1961: 131); Schmitz (2009: 130). The name is Kurunizurumeri, which seems to be the same as Greek *Ρω(ν)ζρυμερις*.

# 8

## Becoming Cybele

### Phrygia as an Intermediate Culture

#### 8.1 Introduction

A third area where LBA Anatolian religion might have survived is the central Western zone of Phrygia, so called because this was the name the Greeks applied to the kingdom that ruled it in the 9th–7th centuries BC and possibly before. Phrygia is probably the same as the land of the Muski, ruled by Mita (Midas) mentioned in Neo-Assyrian sources (late 8th century BC), although the Muski mentioned in the region of the Upper Tigris in the late 12th–early 11th centuries BC would presumably be different.<sup>1</sup>

Greek sources tell us that Midas died during an invasion by the Kimmerians in 695 BC, which is compatible with information in Neo-Assyrian sources.<sup>2</sup> The cultural traditions of Phrygia survived for many centuries afterwards, despite its absorption first by the Lydian (ca. 600 BC), and then by the Persian Empire (mid 6th century BC). A further cultural stratum was that of the Celtic Galatians who arrived in the early 3rd century BC. How much of the LBA cultures survived these changes is anyone's guess.

The political centre of the kingdom was at Gordion (Yassihöyük) on the Sangarios River.<sup>3</sup> To the East it included the site of the former Hittite capital at Boğazköy and the major centre at Kerkenes Dağ (probably close to Hittite Zippalanda at Uşaklı Höyük).<sup>4</sup> To the West it included Midas City in the so-called Highlands, and Pessinous. To the NW there was a centre at

<sup>1</sup> Röllig in RLA 8:493–5 s.v. Muski. Our early knowledge about Phrygia is transformed if Lorenzo D'Alfonso (2019) is right to suggest that a Hieroglyphic Luwian rock inscription from TOPADA near Aksaray, which he dates to the late 10th or 9th centuries BC, records a war between the forces of local king Wassusarma and a coalition of eight enemy rulers led by the king of Prizunda, which he argues could be the earliest attestation of the ethnonym Phryg- (i.e. Priz-wanda).

<sup>2</sup> Bryce (2012: 288); cf. Hawkins in RLA 8:271–3 s.v. Mita.

<sup>3</sup> See the survey in Roller (2011).

<sup>4</sup> Gavaz (2017: 196–8); Draycott and Summers (2008).

Daskyleion on the Hellespont which the Persians later made the capital of the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia; the capital of the satrapy of Greater Phrygia was at Kelainai (Dinar) in the South-West.<sup>5</sup>

Herodotus (7.73) claimed that the Phrygians migrated into Anatolia from the territory of Thrace or the Balkans where they were neighbours of the Macedonians. Modern opinion is divided on this: some think that Proto-Phrygians may already have been in the central West Anatolia in the LBA, others think of later migration from the Balkans, and it may be a combination of both. One point in favour of the migration is the apparently close linguistic affinity between Phrygian and Greek, manifested famously in the dedication from the cult façade at Midas City to *midai lavagtaei vanaktei* where it is hard not to recognise the early Greek terms *lawagetas* and *wanax*; this implies either early borrowing or a common heritage, Phrygian and Greek being originally closely related dialects.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, it's also possible that some of the people whose ancestors went on to become Phrygians were already settled in the areas to the West of the Sangarios River in the LBA. Hittite records tell us very little about this area; this was the territory of the people of Istanuwa, whose rituals mention the River Sahiriya (Sangarios?). Others place here the land of Masa, and a group of towns mentioned in two of the Hittite cult inventories.<sup>7</sup>

For Phrygian religion the best evidence comes from Greco-Roman literary sources which refer to Cybele, Phrygian Dionysus, and a god called Sabazios (sometimes represented as an equivalent of Zeus, the head of the pantheon, and father of Dionysus, and sometimes as Dionysus himself). Palaeo-Phrygian texts from about 600 BC reveal little and early iconography is mostly confined to the mother goddess, probably to be equated with *Matar*. Neo-Phrygian and Greek inscriptions from the Roman period refer mostly to Zeus, the Mother and Men, under various local epithets.<sup>8</sup>

A few signs of residual LBA Hittite religion in the region have been claimed, some of which I deal with below when discussing Cybele (§8.4). Isabelle Tassignon has tried to argue the case that Sabazios himself has roots

<sup>5</sup> Daskyleion: Bakır (1995); Kelainai: Briant (2002: 705).

<sup>6</sup> Hdt. 7.73; early borrowing: Huxley (1959b: 97–8) (the Phrygians borrowed from the Mycenaean in Thrace); Lejeune (1969: 191–2); pre-Homeric; common heritage: Brixhe (2002: 69–70); cf. Brixhe (2004: 780); Neumann (1988: 5).

<sup>7</sup> Early Phrygian settlement in the region: see Wittke (2004: 273–4); Kopanias (2015: 148); D'Alfonso (2019); Istanuwa: see below p. 180; Phrygians and Masa, Wittke (2004: 185–90). On Masa, see p. 222; de Martino (2017: 258).

<sup>8</sup> See Drew-Bear and Naour (1990). For a guide to Neo-Phrygian inscriptions see Brixhe (1999); Obrador Cursach (2018: 27–9).

in LBA Hittite religion, but the similarities are not specific enough.<sup>9</sup> However, his regular *paredros* Hipta, sounds like a continuation of Late Bronze Age Hebat, the standard spouse of the Hurrian Storm god (see p. 194 n.71). Since Roman Tavium, just South of Boğazköy, is probably on the site of Hittite Tawiniya, it seems likely that Zeus Tavianus continues a local Hittite god.<sup>10</sup> It has also been suggested that the name of the Palaic Sun god Tiyaz might have survived in Phrygia,<sup>11</sup> and similarly, Zeus Papas in N. Phrygia seems to recall the Hittite-Palaic theonym Tarupapami ('Taru my father (?)).<sup>12</sup> In Hierapolis in SW Phrygia, Apollo had the epithet Lairbenos, which has been thought to echo the Hittite royal title Labarna.<sup>13</sup>

Another case is the myth-ritual of the search for Hylas, located by Greek writers at Kios at the South-East corner of the Propontis.<sup>14</sup> Hylas was supposed to have been the companion of Herakles on the Argonauts' voyage, who was carried off by the nymphs at the Askanios River. Perhaps the Greek sources accurately describe an Anatolian 'disappearing deity' ritual that they had encountered, and for this reason it seems possible that there is continuity from LBA Anatolian practice.<sup>15</sup> Finally, the skin of Marsyas at Kelainai, supposedly hung up by Apollo in a cave when he defeated him in the music contest, has been taken as a distant echo of the Anatolian *kursa*.<sup>16</sup> Kelainai was also the location of a 'between the pieces' ritual described by Herodotus (*Hist.* 7.39–40): Xerxes marched his

<sup>9</sup> See S. E. Johnson (1984); Tassignon (1998).

<sup>10</sup> See Strobel (2008b); Gavaz (2017: 186) for the identification. <sup>11</sup> Hutter (2006b).

<sup>12</sup> On *Taru-papa-mi*: KUB 12.135 vii 9 Carruba (1970: 66). '*Pappa*' must mean 'father' in Hittite (thus *pappanmegna* = brothers sharing same father). The Bithynian term for Zeus in the Greek period was Papas, and we have Zeus Papas elsewhere: see Berndt-Ersöz (2004: 50–1); Hdt. 4.59; Arrian (of Nicomedia), FGrH156F22; Drew-Bear and Naour (1990: 2018–20). RE s.v. Papias.

<sup>13</sup> See Barnett (1956: 221); on this deity, see K. Miller (1985).

<sup>14</sup> Nikander as summarized by Antoninus Liberalis 26; Apollonius of Rhodes 1. 1345–1357; Strabo, *Geog.* 12.4.2. The sources are available in Corsten (1985: 14–21). For another view, Sergent (1988: 352).

<sup>15</sup> Haas (1994a: 713n.72); Haas (2006: 108); Wegner (1981: 214); O. Hansen (1994: 228), with caution. Contrast the view of Sourvinou-Inwood (2005) that the Hylas ritual implies no Anatolian elements. Corsten (1985: 14–15) mentions other search-rituals in Anatolia: the case of Bormos, the reaper, who disappeared when fetching water (Nymphis in Athenaios 14, p. 619 = FGH 432F5b); and also the story about the foundation of 'Pythopolis' near Nikaia after the disappearance of Soloeis, a friend of Theseus (Plutarch, *Theseus* 26, 3–6 = FGH 701F1). The poet Theocritus calls one of the nymphs Malis, which could be another Anatolian element: see p. 200, n.107.

<sup>16</sup> Haas (1994a: 456); Hdt. *Hist.* 7.26. Xenophon *Anab.* 1.2.8; Strabo 12.8.15 adds that the river was called the Marsyas, and that the skin was hung up in a cave. Hesychius discussed the myth in his entry on *vapkiōv*, the Phrygian for wine-skin: see Diakonoff and Neroznak (1985: 125). Ptolemy Hephaisition, ap. Photius, *Bibl.* 190, 149a6, said that Marsyas was born at a festival of Apollo at which the skins of sacrificial victims were dedicated to that god.



army through the severed body of the son of Pythios the Lydian. This is reminiscent of Hittite war-rituals (see §10.2), but it could just as easily be an (otherwise unattested) contemporary Persian practice as a relic of a Hittite one.<sup>17</sup>

None of these points is certain, but there may be something in some of them.

## 8.2 Cybele and Kubaba

Palaeo-Phrygian texts (8th–4th centuries BC) mention a goddess called ‘*Matar/Mater*’), ‘mother’, a word closely related to Greek *meter*; contrast the Anatolian word for mother ‘*anna*’.<sup>18</sup> These are from Western Phrygia (where most of the Palaeo-Phrygian texts in any case come from) and Bithynia. *Matar* is found with at least two epithets:<sup>19</sup> ‘*materan areyastin*’ on a monument 1,700m north of Midas City,<sup>20</sup> and ‘*matar kubileya/kubeliya*’ attested in two (and possibly now three) Palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions of the 6th century BC from Hatranveli North of Afyon and Germanos in Bithynia.<sup>21</sup> *Matar kubeliya* is most likely the model for Greek theonym *Μητρὶ Κυβελείῃ(ι)* in a dedication from Chios from the 4th century BC.<sup>22</sup> As Brixhe has shown, there are two ways of interpreting *kubileya/kubeleya*: either as the name of a Phrygian mountain, perhaps near Pessinous (possibly corresponding to the Greek mountain-name Kubela (neuter plural), where Greek sources say that Cybele made an epiphany);<sup>23</sup> or as the Phrygian for ‘of the mountain’ (which may be what the Greek sources originally said if we assume the text is corrupt).<sup>24</sup> There is no reason to think that all instances of *Matar* in Phrygian texts refer to the same deity; it may be a general title like Mycenaean *potniya* (cf. the numerous theonyms

<sup>17</sup> Could Xerxes’ action be seen as a ‘Middle Ground’ action, performing the ritual associated with the Lydians? See further p. 213.

<sup>18</sup> See Roller (1999); Hutter (2017); Bremmer (2020). The name ‘*matar*’ need not be thought of as a borrowing but a vestige of an ancient consanguinity between Greek and Phrygian: see Neumann (1988: 6–7).

<sup>19</sup> For the possibility of other epithets, see Berndt-Ersöz (2006a: 84–6) with references.

<sup>20</sup> W-01a in CIPP. On this see Lubotsky (1988), and Yakubovich (2007: 143); see Obrador Cursach (2018: 144).

<sup>21</sup> W-04 and B-01 in CIPP; Brixhe (1979). For the third, also from Germanos, see Brixhe and Vottéro (2016: 137).

<sup>22</sup> CCA2.560. Robert (1933: 483–4) says this is named after the nearby town of Kybeleia.

<sup>23</sup> See Oreshko (2013c: 85); RE s. XI 2298 has data. <sup>24</sup> Brixhe (1979).

comprising Meter + epithet from Hellenistic and Roman Phrygia, on which see below).

Iconographic evidence for the goddess varies from one part of Phrygia to another. In Eastern and central Phrygia we have monumental sculpture (8th–7th centuries BC),<sup>25</sup> and aniconic idols (6th century BC); in Western Phrygia reliefs show her within a façade, which may have originally been meant to represent a gateway to a mountain (7th–mid 6th centuries BC).<sup>26</sup> She is generally depicted alone, though the great statue from Boğaz-Köy represents her with two male attendants.<sup>27</sup> Sometimes she holds a bird.<sup>28</sup>

The Phrygian *Matar* must be distinguished from the goddess Kubaba who goes back to the Bronze Age at Kanesh, Alalakh, and Carchemish, later on found in SE Anatolian and N. Syria.<sup>29</sup> In the Iron Age she is generally mentioned in company with other deities: most commonly Tarhunza and Karhuha, sometimes paired with Ea in a more elaborate pantheon, sometimes linked to Sandas.<sup>30</sup> We find her in the 8th century BC at Bulgarmaden near the Cilician Gates, at Çiftlik near Kayseri, and at Karaburun in Cappadocia on the Halys River.<sup>31</sup> She has a few epithets, but is never called ‘mother’,<sup>32</sup> and she is a civic deity, whereas *matar*’s milieu is the mountains. In the 5th century BC Kubaba is attested in an Aramaic inscription from near Hierapolis-Castabala in Cilicia, where she was apparently identified with Artemis Perasia.<sup>33</sup> Kubaba is also attested for Sardis: Herodotus (*Hist.* 5.102) mentions a temple of a deity Kubebe there which was burnt when the Ionians attacked the city, and the name *Kuvav* is found in two Lydian inscriptions, in one case associated with the deity Santa and the Mariwda deities, which recalls Neo-Hittite texts.<sup>34</sup> How little we know about Kubaba

<sup>25</sup> Roller (1999: 82–3).

<sup>26</sup> Roller (1999: 54, 113); date: Roller (1999: 100–1); Berndt-Ersöz (2006a: 142) down-dates to the 6th century BC.

<sup>27</sup> Roller (1999: 72–105); Bittel (1963). Contrast Sauska’s female attendants Kulitta and Ninatta in Anatolian religion. Berndt-Ersöz (2006a) argues that a relief depicting the goddess with bull from Tumulus C at Gordion represents her with her consort.

<sup>28</sup> Roller (1999: 48, 8–9).

<sup>29</sup> See Hawkins, RIA 6:257–61 s.v. Kubaba A, K. Bittel, RIA 6:261–4 s.v. Kubaba B, Hawkins (1981). Add Kubaba of the lawsuit in an inscription from POTOROO: Hawkins (2010).

<sup>30</sup> See Hawkins (1981). For the compound Ala-Kubaba in ANCOZ, see Rieken and Yakubovich (2010: 203–4). A stone bowl, perhaps from the 9th century BC (BEIRUT), has a curse formula in the name of Karhuha, Kubaba, and Santa: CHLI 1.2, 558–9.

<sup>31</sup> BULGARMADEN CHLI X 45 = vol. I.2, 522-3; ÇİFTLİK: CHLI X 11 = vol. I.2, 449; KARABURUN: CHLI X 18 = vol. I.2, 481.

<sup>32</sup> See, however, Hawkins (1981: 169). <sup>33</sup> See p. 57.

<sup>34</sup> Gusmani (1980–6, 3. 148 (n.4a, with Sandas) and 153 (n.72)). In the first of these *kufav-k* had previously been read as *kufad-k*. For a survey see Payne and Wintjes (2016: 102–3). For the Neo-Hittite texts see n.30 above and p. 129. See Rutherford (2017: 82) for this.

in Anatolia in the 1st millennium BC has recently been made clear by the discovery of ostraca bearing the name of a goddess Kubabos at Amisos on the Black Sea (6th century BC); it is unknown whether this the same goddess as Kubebe, or a related one.<sup>35</sup>

Greek and Roman writers sometimes seem to confuse the goddesses, and it was argued in the 20th century that Cybele and Kubaba were indeed the same, the change in name being explained in some way, e.g. by the hypothesis that a Lydian suffix in *-eli-* had been misinterpreted.<sup>36</sup> More recently, since an alternative hypothesis about the origin of Cybele's name has become accepted (see earlier), it has become clear that the names at least are distinct, albeit part of the reason the theonym Cybele caught on in Greece may have been that it resembled that of Kubaba/Kubebe, who was already known from Sardis.<sup>37</sup> It is also possible that the iconography of Cybele was shaped to some extent by influence from Neo-Hittite states, where Kubaba was worshipped;<sup>38</sup> it has long been known that Midas was in contact with Carchemish and Assyria.<sup>39</sup>

The existence of a third Anatolian goddess with a name beginning with syllable *Kub-/Kup-* has recently been proposed by Rotislav Oreshko. The basis for this is the element *Kupanta-* seen in LBA W. Anatolian onomastics which he suggests could be a theophoric element referring to a goddess with the meaning 'wily', 'deceitful'. If there was a major Western Anatolian deity called *Kupanta* in the LBA, it might help to explain why Kubaba migrated to Sardes.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Şirin and Kolağasıoğlu (2016: 32–4).

<sup>36</sup> Kubaba and Cybele the same: Albright (1928–9); Laroche (1960); cf. Roller (1999: 45n.17). Munn (2006) and Munn (2008) argued that Kubeliya would derive from the name Kubaba + the suffix *-eli* (the second 'b' is lost via dissimilation), and it would mean something like 'of the place of 'Kubaba'. Against this, see Oreshko (2013c: 82–6).

<sup>37</sup> See Brixhe (1979: 42); Bremmer (2020); Hutter (2017); Hutter (2006a: 84); Roller (1999: 44–53); contra Haas (1994a: 408).

<sup>38</sup> See Vassileva (2008); Bryce (2012: 150–2). The pleated skirt on the Boğazköy Phrygian mother resembles the Carchemish stele dedicated by Kamanis (with CHLI IL.26 KARKAMIS A31 on the back; on the pleats, Seidel (2007: 236–7)). See Roller (1999: 46–53); Berndt-Ersöz (2006a: 201). Roller (1999: 49, 82–3) also draws attention to the hybrid creature beside the *matar* on the 7th century relief from Etlik in Ankara, which she suggests has a close parallel in a relief from Ain Dara, and she compares the rosette decoration on Phrygian and Neo-Hittite sculptures (Roller 1999: 101); on rosettes: Seidel (2007:237–8).

<sup>39</sup> Midas: Bryce (2012: 280, 287–9); for the Palaeo-Phrygian inscription from Tyana see Brixhe-Lejeune (1984: T-02); Akçay (2015) published an aniconic doll from Tabal, which suggests a degree of East–West influence.

<sup>40</sup> Oreshko (2013a), (2013b); see further Garcia Trabazo (2017).

Phrygian *matar* has a low profile in Neo-Phrygian inscriptions,<sup>41</sup> but her cult in Anatolia seems to live on in Greco-Phrygian inscriptions in the large number of local ‘Meter’-s, qualified with ‘local adjectives such as Sipyrene (“of Sipylos”) and Dindymene (“of Dindymum”);<sup>42</sup> the Greek versions of the goddess’ name outside Anatolia show much less variety. In the Greco-Roman period Cybele’s main cult was at Pessinous, a temple-city of some sort; by this period the Phrygian Midas City had been abandoned.<sup>43</sup> Our first documentary evidence for Pessinous comes from 163 BC when it was under the control of a priest called Attis (presumably a traditional title) who corresponded with king Eumenes II of Pergamum (*I.Pess.* 1–2). Polybius indicates that there was a second priest called Battacus (21.37.4–7). By the mid 3rd century the territory of Pessinous along with the whole of central and Western Phrygia, had been taken over by the Galatian Tolistobogioi, and it is significant that the Attis who corresponded with Eumenes II had a brother with a Gallic name, Aioiorix.

### 8.3 An Entangled Goddess: Cybele, Kubaba, and Greece

The first evidence for Greek knowledge of *mater kubileya* and Kubaba seems to be graffiti on potsherds from Epizephyrian Locri in Italy dated to around the late 7th or early 6th centuries BC (Qubala, Qubaba).<sup>44</sup> Semonides of Amorgos (7th century BC) is said to have used the word *κύβηβος* in the sense of begging-priest (36W), and Hipponax of Colophon (6th century BC) mentions Kubebe, though apparently as a foreign deity (127West). Pindar wrote a hymn to Cybele/a (fr. 80; probably early 5th century BC); it began: [δέσπ]οιν[αν] Κυβέ[ε]λ[αν] ματ[έ]ρα].<sup>45</sup> There may be an echo of Cybele’s name already in the poet Hipponax who is said to have called Rhea ‘Kubélis’ (with a long second syllable).<sup>46</sup> After the 5th century, it seems that Greek literary

<sup>41</sup> Possibly in no. 18, 4: see O. Haas (1966: 98–100, no. 18.4) = Obrador Cursach (2018: no. 11.2.4).

<sup>42</sup> Roller (1999: 198–9; a good list in CCCA 1.312–14; Schwertheim (1978); Drew-Bear and Naour (1990: 1944–6).

<sup>43</sup> See Thoneman (2013: 22–3).

<sup>44</sup> ‘Qubala’ on potsherd from 7th/6th century BC ([- -]s *ουβάλας*: SEG 35.1820; Guarducci (1970); La Genière (1985); Arena (1998: no. 45); Roller (1999: 123); and ‘Qubaba’ on a lead document from the 6th century BC (*ἐν ρ(υ)βάβας*): SEG 49.1357; Jordan (2000: 95–6).

<sup>45</sup> Henrichs (1972: 85), Lehnus (1973); Lidov (1996). Similar to Arist., *Birds* 877. *δέσποινα Κυβέλη, στρούθε, μήτηρ Κλεοκρίτου.*

<sup>46</sup> Even if this is not an error of transmission, it may be a paronomasia on the word *κυβηλίσ* ‘axe’. The same joke may be implied in Cratinus fr. 66: *ἀγερακύβηλις* (apparently used of a

culture generalizes the form Cybele. Even this early, Greeks may have been vague on the difference between Phrygia and Lydia, and it would not be surprising if the similarity of names created an especially strong tendency to confuse the two Anatolian goddesses. Thus, Sophocles invokes the Mountain Mother as controlling the Pactolus River in Lydia.<sup>47</sup>

In the first half of the 6th century BC Greeks of W. Anatolia start to dedicate small marble reliefs showing the goddess standing in a niche-frame in imitation of Phrygian reliefs. Votive *naiskoi* of the goddess survive from Miletus (2nd quarter of 6th century BC).<sup>48</sup> The timing suggests that one route for borrowing could have been via Milesian colonies on the Black Sea such as Kyzikos and Sinope founded in the preceding decades.<sup>49</sup> The engine for change is another matter: did Greeks adopt the culture of their surroundings, or did Phrygians actively disseminate the cult? A role may have been played by the *metragurtai* or ‘begging priests of the Mother’, who are associated with her in the Greek world from 400 BC and probably earlier.<sup>50</sup>

Soon, Greek iconography begins to show features not attested in the Phrygian material. From the mid 6th century BC the goddess begins to be represented as seated, sometimes holding a lion.<sup>51</sup> One obvious model for the seated image (as Roller suggests) is the Taş Suret, the Hittite rock carving apparently depicting a seated figure on Mt. Sipylus near Magnesia ad Sipylum/Manisa. This carving was probably originally intended to represent a local ruler or governor, but it seems likely that Greeks knew it as the Meter;<sup>52</sup> and that interpretation is likely at least as old as the goddess Meter

mendicant priest), on which see Chantraine (1962: 390n.3). Nonnus used *Κυβηλής* as an adjective of Cybele, but that need not imply anything about earlier usage.

<sup>47</sup> Lydian or Phrygian: Soph., *Philoc.* 393–42: ὄρεστέρα παμβῶτι Γᾶ, μᾶτερ αὐτοῦ Διός, / ἃ τὸν μέγαν Πακτωλὸν εὐχρησον νέμεις, . . . ἰὼ μάκαιρα ταυροκτόνων λεόντων ἔφεδρε. A similar confusion perhaps in Charon of Lampsacus FGrHist 262F5 (= Photius Lex. s.v. κύβηλος) who said that Kubebe was called Aphrodite by Lydians and Phrygians.

<sup>48</sup> Roller (1999: 126–7). Graf (1984) (cf. Graf 1985: 112–15) suggests 7th century BC, arguing that the Phrygian mother must have become known in Greece before the destruction of Gordion by the Cimmerians, and that the influence of the iconographically distinct Lydian Kubaba on Greece would be later.

<sup>49</sup> Rein (1996); Roller (1999: 127–8).

<sup>50</sup> Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3.2.10 reporting an anecdote about Iphicrates and Kallias; possibly implied at Aesch., *Ag.* 1273 and in Cratinus (above n.46).

<sup>51</sup> Roller (1999: 131–2); Berndt-Ersöz (2006a: 196 and n.375); Naumann (1983: nos. 48–55). Matar never holds a lion, though lions sometimes appear next to her on monuments in Western Phrygia: see Roller (1999: 85–6, 104).

<sup>52</sup> There are two Hieroglyphic Luwian graffiti (AKPINAR 1 and 2); the first by Kuwalanamuwa, a prince; the second by Zuwani, the eunuch: see Oreshko (2013a: 368–71); Güterbock and Alexander (1983). The reference to a eunuch is ironic in view of the later associations of

Sipylene, who was honoured at Magnesia and in Smyrna in the mid 3rd century BC.<sup>53</sup> Could veneration of the Meter there go back to the 6th century BC? In that case, perhaps we could think of travellers, perhaps even pilgrims, viewing the statue on the way to Sardes, and bringing back knowledge of it to the Greek islands.<sup>54</sup>

The early Greek evidence does not suggest organized civic cult, but offerings by private individuals who may have been responsible for the cultural transfer as well.<sup>55</sup> The first known cult place is probably the extra-urban rock sanctuary at Daskalopetra on Chios (late 6th, early 5th century BC).<sup>56</sup> In Athens, she becomes an important civic deity, and her temple (the 'Metroon') functions as the state archive. Her canonical form is the Athenian statue by Agorakritos of Paros, pupil of Pheidias, with *polos* and tympanum (mid 5th century BC), the tympanum being a feature first found in the late 6th century.<sup>57</sup>

Instead of two attendants, as we see them on the Boğazköy relief, the goddess has one *paredros*: the young Attis. He is not known from Phrygia, unless his name goes back to a theonym meaning 'father' (Atas) which now seems to be attested in a Palaeo-Phrygian graffito from Çepni near Afyon (see below).<sup>58</sup> The first clear attestation is a dedication to Attis and Angdistis (an alternative name for Cybele) from Athens; there may already be an intimation of him in Pindar's idea of Pan as the companion of Cybele.<sup>59</sup> In the 2nd century BC the name is used as the title of the high-priest at Pessinous (see p. 169); perhaps the high-priest embodied the consort of the goddess.<sup>60</sup>

Cybele. For the ancient interpretation as Meter, see Pausanias 3.22.4 (NB: Pausanias came from the area); Homer's Niobe will be a rock formation (Paus. 1.21.3). André-Salvini and Salvini (2003: 26–8) argue that the Taş Suret was interpreted not as Meter, but as Niobe (in the process of being turned into rock); Rojas and Sergueenkova (2014) defend the interpretation as Meter. The image originally denoted a male figure: Salvini (1995); Ehringhaus (2005: 87); it may have been Arzawan rather than Hittite: Salvini (1995); André-Salvini and Salvini (2003).

<sup>53</sup> Ihnken (1978: no.61 with pp. 89–90); see CCCA 1:313–14. Meter was also worshipped as Plastene at a site a quarter of an hour's walk away: cf. Ihnken (1978: 157–8 with refs and nos. 37–8); De Hoz (1999: 29–30). This could be another name for the same goddess, or a different one.

<sup>54</sup> See Robertson (1996: 296–7) on the route. <sup>55</sup> Roller (1999: 139).

<sup>56</sup> Roller (1999: 137–8). <sup>57</sup> Roller (1999: 136–8).

<sup>58</sup> Brixhe and Drew-Bear (1982: 83); Brixhe and Lejeune (1984: W-10); so Berndt-Ersöz (2006a: 165–6).

<sup>59</sup> IG2.2.4671, 4th–3rd centuries BC; Pindar and Pan: see Roller (1994).

<sup>60</sup> The older theory that Greek Attis reflects the Lydian royal name Atys as we see it in Herodotus seems implausible; Bremmer (2004b: 536–40) (= Bremmer 2008a: 269–72); see, however, Berndt-Ersöz (2006a: 130) and (2006b) who argues that Croesus installed his son Atys

Eunuch priests called *galloi* become a highly visible part of the cult of Cybele in the Hellenistic and Roman world. Phrygian *galloi* met the Romans at Sestos and Pessinous in 190–89 BC, but Greeks were familiar with them by the end of the 3rd century BC.<sup>61</sup> Eunuch priests were a feature of several Hellenistic religious traditions, including that of the Syrian Goddess, where they were also called *galloi*, at least by Greek and Roman writers.<sup>62</sup> A modern parallel are the *hijras* of India, also devoted to the worship of a mother goddess, Bahuchara Mata.<sup>63</sup> Although eunuchs can be documented in Near Eastern empires, including that of the Hittites,<sup>64</sup> they are associated with the royal court, and are not priests or cult officials. Another model might be the Mesopotamian tradition of transgender religious operatives associated with Ishtar usually called *kurgarru* or *assinnu*.<sup>65</sup> However that may be, it seems likely that this is an early to mid 1st millennium development and that they were introduced in a number of religious traditions across the Syro-Anatolian region. The origins of the word *gallos*, which we know only from Greek and Roman writers, is a separate question; one suggestion is that it was originally the same as *Gallos*, the ethnic term for the Gaulish inhabitants of Galatia.<sup>66</sup>

A cult myth was provided, attributed to Timotheus, probably the Eleusinian hierophant, who also developed the religious profile of Sarapis for the Ptolemies.<sup>67</sup> The version we have comes via Arnobius of Sicca (late 3rd century AD): Zeus, enamoured of Cybele, makes love to a rock (Agdos?) and fathers the hermaphrodite Angdistis (also apparently the name of the *Matar* at Midas City).<sup>68</sup> Angdistis is sexually out of control, and Dionysus emasculates him by getting him drunk and tying his genitals to his feet.

as high priest of Cybele in Phrygia, and that this person should be recognized in the name *ates* in an inscription on the Midas monument (M-O1a), which she argued was a dedication by Croesus.

<sup>61</sup> Polybius 21.6, 6; Livy 37.9.9; Lancellotti (2002: 97–8); end of 3rd century: Lane (1996b: 118–20). The best evidence are two epigrams by Dioscurides; AP 6.220 and AP 11.195. As Lane says, ‘Callimachus’ fr. 761, cited anonymously by Hephaestion, need not be by Callimachus. See Dale (2007).

<sup>62</sup> Lightfoot (2002); Lightfoot (2003: 19–32, 61–5). <sup>63</sup> Nanda (1989).

<sup>64</sup> Hawkins (2002); Peled (2013).

<sup>65</sup> See Maul (1992); see Peled (2016: 226–7, 143–4); Henshaw (1993: 284–311).

<sup>66</sup> Borgeaud (2004: 80–2). It could be modelled on a Mesopotamian word, such as *kulu’u* (CAD K529a). Burkert (1979a: 111, 191n.20) linked them to the Gallu demons of Mesopotamia, Eugene Lane (1996b) to the Phrygian river Gallus.

<sup>67</sup> Arnobius, *Ad. Gen.* 5. Cf. also Paus. 7.17.10–12. For the identity of Timotheus, Lane (1996b: 128).

<sup>68</sup> Strabo 12.5.3; Haspels (1971: 200 and 295–302, nos. 1–17).

An almond tree grows from the semen, and Nana, daughter of the Sangarius River, eats or touches one of the almonds, thus becoming pregnant. She gives birth to Attis, who falls in love with Angdistis. Subsequently, Attis is about to marry a local princess, the daughter of Midas, king of Pessinous, but the enraged Cybele causes chaos at the wedding. Attis castrates himself beneath a pine tree and dies. Cybele then appeals to Zeus for the body to be brought back to life, a wish which is granted to the limited extent that Attis remains in his tomb alive and without decaying. Among other things the myth seems to be an aetiology for the *galloi*.<sup>69</sup>

In 212 BC Cybele's cult was officially adopted by the Roman state which received the goddess, symbolized by a baetyl, from Pessinous.<sup>70</sup> Rome's patronage probably stimulates interest elsewhere in the Mediterranean, possibly even at Ilion.<sup>71</sup> In the Roman period we find a ritual cycle corresponding to this myth of Attis, culminating with the Hilaria on 25 March when he was supposed to be reborn or revived. There also seems to have been mystery-cult associated with the goddess, which may have involved the idea that Attis was resurrected.<sup>72</sup>

Some of these features—the Galloi, the cult myth, the mysteries—may go back to Phrygia, but it seems likely the Phrygian cult was radically reshaped in its Greco-Roman context, along the lines of Isiac cult. The ritual practice may have been modified to make it more memorable to worshippers (making it 'imagistic', to use the term preferred by cognitive science).<sup>73</sup> It made sense in Greco-Roman ideological terms to 'project' ecstatic, transgressive religious behaviour onto a foreign 'other' (for projection, see p. 78).

Nevertheless, at least some aspects of Cybele's personality and cult go back to Phrygia, and hers seems to be the one clear case of Greco-Roman adoption of an Anatolian deity. There is, however, a complicating factor: it seems likely that there was a 'Mother' goddess in Greece before Cybele arrived, variously called the Meter Theōn ('Mother of Gods'), the Megale Meter ('Great Mother'), or the Meter Oureia ('Mountain Mother').<sup>74</sup> It has sometimes been suggested that we see her in Rhea, the consort of Cronos

<sup>69</sup> See Bremmer (2004b).

<sup>70</sup> See Takács (1996).

<sup>71</sup> Rose (2014: 211).

<sup>72</sup> For the mystery-cult, see p. 181; on Attis' resurrection, see the sensible remarks of Mettinger (2001: 157–8).

<sup>73</sup> For imagistic and doctrinal modes of religiosity, see Whitehouse (2004).

<sup>74</sup> See index in CCCA 2. Xagorari-Gleissner (2008) surveys the evidence.



and mother of Zeus, often associated with Crete;<sup>75</sup> and a Minoan seal impression depicts a goddess figure on top of a mountain which has lions on either side, though, since these elements occur in Mesopotamian iconography from the same period, this divine image would seem to be widely dispersed.<sup>76</sup> An early trace of a Mycenaean mother goddess may be the ‘*Mater Thehia*’ (‘divine mother’) known from Pylos;<sup>77</sup> the Linear B tablet states that offerings to *Mater Thehia* take place ‘*metuwo newo*’ ‘at the new wine’, which seem to anticipate the 1st millennium associations of Cybele with Dionysus.<sup>78</sup> Since early Greek and Phrygian cultural traditions could have a common heritage, there is at least a theoretical possibility that the Phrygian and Greek Mothers were originally one and the same.

Greek textual sources from the 5th century BC often refer to the ‘Meter Theōn’ or the ‘Megale Meter’ without any reference to her Eastern origins. The best example of this is perhaps Herodotus’ narrative of the story of Anacharsis (*Hist.* 4.76), who imported the cult of the Meter Theōn from Cyzicus to Scythia, and thus incurred the resentment of the Scythians who shunned the customs of foreign countries, particularly those of Greece. This is the cult that the Argonauts were later supposed to have founded (see p. 76). Herodotus’ narrative makes no sense if the Meter is perceived as non-Greek, but this of all areas is one where we would expect to find Phrygian influence.<sup>79</sup>

Thus, when Greeks first came across Cybele (perhaps in the late 7th century BC, perhaps earlier), they may have been particularly receptive

<sup>75</sup> See Roller (1999: 134–6); Robertson (1996) is a vigorous advocate for the view that both the Mother and Kronos had long played a key role in Greek religion, arguing that the name of her festival, the Galaxia, looks Greek rather than Phrygian. Farnell (1896–1909: 3.289–306) argued for Aegean, especially Cretan origin; Will (1960) reasserted the view that all aspects of the Mother were Anatolian.

<sup>76</sup> See Lupack (2010: 253); on Cybele and Minoan Crete, see Moss (2005: 63–4 with 238). Barclay (2001: 373–86); a key image is ‘relief of Lilith’ from Isin-Larsa period (i.e. the ‘Burney Relief’). Minoan background supported by Farnell (1896–1909: 3.289–306).

<sup>77</sup> PY Fr1202: Aura-Jorro (1985–93: 2.325). Bendall (2007: 103). Palmer (1963: 257) compared the Hittite term *siwanzanna* (or *siunzanna*), ‘mother of the god’ (the title of a high-ranking priestess) (see p. 35, n.87), and suggested she was the queen of Pylos. Lisa Bendall has suggested that this offering, like that for Potniya Aswiya, was sent abroad: see p. 113). Could the 1st millennium goddess Theia (Hesiod, *Theog.* 135, 371, Pindar, *Isthm.* 5.1) be related?

<sup>78</sup> For *metuwo newo* see Aura-Jorro (1985–93: 1.446–7); for Dionysus and Cybele, E. *Bacch.* 79 etc.

<sup>79</sup> See Hartog (1988: 74–82).

to her because they already had a similar goddess.<sup>80</sup> To some extent, Phrygian and Greek mother goddesses probably came to be identified, which in turn allowed each of them to take on features of the other, the process known as syncretism.<sup>81</sup> But the process was probably not the whole story, and the two goddesses may have coexisted for period.<sup>82</sup> Philippe Borgeaud argues that there is an example of such coexistence in 5th century Athens with the Greek Mother established in the city itself and the Phrygian Mother in the Piraeus.<sup>83</sup> Similarly, Robert Parker draws a distinction between the public civic cult in Athens, which takes on only limited Phrygian elements, and private cult which is more exotic and adventurous.<sup>84</sup>

#### 8.4 Cybele and LBA Anatolian Religion

It remains to consider what aspects of Greek Cybele, if any, might go back to the Hittite world. We might begin by looking at the name and personality of the goddess. Although the name Cybele is not attested in the LBA,<sup>85</sup> one obvious channel for influence from the Bronze Age is via Kubaba, who, as we saw, has her roots in the 2nd millennium BC. Even if Kubaba and the Phrygian *matar* were for the most part separate in Anatolia, they may have merged in their Greek reception. Such influence would probably be very limited, however, and confined to iconography.

<sup>80</sup> See Parker (1996: 159, 193) on this: even if the Mother was a traditional Greek god, there is no problem with the hypothesis that she absorbed foreign traits, since for Greeks the gods of all peoples were ultimately the same

<sup>81</sup> Greek influence on the Phrygian schema has been suggested on the basis of iconography: see Prayon (1987: 73 with references); Roller (1999: 105–8). So in Lydia the 5th century iconography of Kubebe may have been inspired by the canonical Athenian image of Cybele: Dusinberre (2013: 215).

<sup>82</sup> Robertson (1996: 269) says: ‘although . . . the Mother acquired some Anatolian traits, she is undoubtedly Greek in origin’. Borgeaud (2004: 25) says of the Athenian mother ‘a discourse arose . . . which tended to identify her as a foreign, Lydian or Phrygian goddess, but fell short of actually doing so’.

<sup>83</sup> Borgeaud (2004: 25–6): ‘The foreign cult of the Mother in Attica developed away from the city. It only gained importance later on and ostensibly under the influence of the political cult. It was first of all practiced in Phrygian communities, *metics* (residents of foreign origin) in Piraeus, then by mercenaries in Rhamnous, who worshiped under the name Agdistis, her name in Pessinous. Along with these sedentary communities, there were itinerant ones who collected funds for the goddess, the *metragurtes* who were objects of sarcasm.’

<sup>84</sup> Parker (1996: 193–4).

<sup>85</sup> Unless we except the goddess Hapaliya (for which see p. 54): Oreshko (2013b: 86). Puhvel suggested that the name of the Kouretes, associated with Rhea, goes back to the Hittite *harwant*-‘keeper, caretaker, nurse’ (Puhvel, HED 3.204–5), but this has not gone unchallenged: see Kloekhorst (2008: 304–5).

Greek Cybele is above all a mother goddess. Like all ancient cultures, LBA Anatolia has mother goddesses of various sorts.<sup>86</sup> One obvious candidate is the sun goddess of Arinna, who is often regarded as the Hittite mother goddess par excellence.<sup>87</sup> Another is Hannahanna ('grandmother'), mentioned in many rituals as the 'Mother belonging to the River Bank' ('*wap-puwas* <sup>D</sup>MAH'), a title that reflects the belief that the first humans were created from clay found there. In fragments of myths, particularly those relating to Inara, Hannahanna oversees the world, sometimes using bees for reconnaissance.<sup>88</sup> Another mother goddess is Ammamma, known from the rituals of Zalpuwa on the Black Sea.<sup>89</sup> The Hittite for 'mother', '*anna*' (corresponding to Luwian '*anni*'), was rarely used as a title for goddesses (though see on *annis titaimmis* below); in the 1st millennium BC the cognate word *eni* is used as a divine title in Lycian in the phrase *eni mahanahi* ('mother of the gods').<sup>90</sup>

While *matar kubeliya* and Cybele seem to be associated with mountains, Hittite mountains are personified as male deities, and in iconography storm gods stand on mountains whereas goddesses stand on animals (as in Yazılıkaya Chamber A).<sup>91</sup> A Bronze Age background for mountain-dwelling goddesses has been sought in the epithet *areyasti*- applied to the Phrygian *matar* on the so-called Arezastis monument from near Midas City: scholars have traced this to a Luwian epithet *ariyattali* applied to the Storm god, attested in cuneiform texts and also in a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription

<sup>86</sup> Frantz-Szabó (1997). Helck (1971) provides a survey of 'great goddesses' in W. Asia,

<sup>87</sup> For matriarchy see p. 32. Collins (2002: 224) argued for the importance of the Sun Goddess of Earth, whom she suggests might be referred as simply 'mother' in text relating to the royal funeral ritual, KUB 30.28 rev.1–12; see also Archi (2007a: 176–8). Notice, however, that Steitler (2017: 417–23) argued that Sun Goddess of Earth is heavily indebted to Syrian models and not well integrated into Hittite cult.

<sup>88</sup> See Kellerman (1987: 129); Haas (1994a: 437); Beckman (1983: 239–49). Hannahanna's association with the bee has sometimes been thought to have a parallel in Demeter's priests who were called bees: see Kowalzig DNP s.v. *melissa*; Lavecchia (1996) on Paros; Larson (1995); *melissonomoi* in Aeschylus fr. 87. Haas (1981) (cf. Haas 1994a: 435–6) observes that the cult of Zeus was said to have been introduced into Crete by a man called Melisseus, whose daughter Melissa was the first priestess of the Megale Meter (Didymus cited by Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* 1, 22, 19–20; see Bodson (1975: 30)). At Ephesus the chief priest was called the *ἑσάρην*, which, according to Etym. Mag. s.v. meant 'king of the bees'; for a possible Anatolian origin of the word see Chantraine (1968–80: s.v.); Simon (2018: 390–1).

<sup>89</sup> Haas (1994a: 433).

<sup>90</sup> OHP 3:4; Neumann (2007: 84–5). At Kanesh the chief city deity was Anna, but it is unclear whether this is connected.

<sup>91</sup> Hutter (2006a: 83) observes that the cult of Mt. Daha seems to be paired with that of Ishtar; see KBo 16.49 i 5ff. and Popko (1999: 105). For Ishtar and Mt. Pisaisa in cult, see Haas (1994a: 463). Bachvarova (2019) has recently argued that the role of mountains in Phrygian religion in some respects draws on or adapts LBA Anatolian religion.

from Tabal (8th century BC).<sup>92</sup> If this means ‘of the mountain’, this would give us a link between Phrygian and Luwian; however, the interpretation is not certain.<sup>93</sup>

Cybele was also associated with lions and birds, and it is not hard to find goddesses with similar associations in the Bronze Age.<sup>94</sup> Hittite Inara has links to the natural world (see p. 196). Seals from Middle Bronze Age Kanesh and Acemhöyük depict goddesses with animals,<sup>95</sup> which match later descriptions of goddesses in cult inventories.<sup>96</sup>

Although Attis seems to be a late addition (see p. 171), the name could perhaps come from the Anatolian word for ‘father’ (‘Atta’), complementing the ‘Mother’. This seems to have been found in a Palaeo-Phrygian inscription.<sup>97</sup> It has also been suggested that Attis was a dying-and-rising god *à la* Frazer with an Anatolian precedent in Telipinu.<sup>98</sup> Certainly, the myth-ritual complex associated with Hittite vanishing gods could well have resonated through later religious culture; we may find a trace of it in the disappearing hero Hylas, for example (see p. 165). However, by the Hellenistic-Roman period, there were other models available for the ritual-schema: ‘powerful gods, young *paredros* dies, is mourned and either resurrected or brought

<sup>92</sup> Hutter (2006a: 82); Yakubovich (2007: 143); see also Melchert (1993a: 27); Starke (1979: 253n.27).

<sup>93</sup> KULULU 1, 2§5 and 4§10. Ilya Yakubovich *per literas* expresses doubts about this interpretation.

<sup>94</sup> Roller (1999: 42–62). Roller also suggests an association with springs and rivers, but see Berndt-Ersöz (2006a: 4–7).

<sup>95</sup> Kanesh: Nimet Özgüç (1965: 69–70) pointed out that on seals from Kanesh (levels 2-1b, 20th–18th centuries BC) goddesses were depicted with animals, including lions and birds, and holding cups; Acemhöyük: Özgüç (1980: 74); see further Taracha (1995). Goddess with bird and cup on Hittite seal: Beran (1967, no. 135); Roller (1999: 43).

<sup>96</sup> One inventory describes the goddess Iyaya with two wild sheep seated beneath her and an eagle: KUB 38.1 iv 1–7; see Cammarosano (2018: 313); KBo 2.1 iv 4 is similar.

<sup>97</sup> Brixhe and Drew-Bear (1982: 83); Brixhe and Lejeune (1984: W-10). This analysis of Attis was first suggested by Kretschmer (1896: 350). Bremmer (2004b: 542 = Bremmer 2008a: 275) objects that this is inconsistent with the myth, but the myth may be a later development. Sayce (1928) claimed to have found the name Atis in a symbol-oracle text (KBo 2.6 ii 34), which is now interpreted quite differently; Sayce translated ‘On the 3rd day it is the turn of the god Atis; and he is called the child of the king for a year; then he is given to the supreme goddess (Kybebe)’. For the correct translation see van den Hout (1998: 202–3); the word Sayce read as <sup>d</sup>‘Atis’ is now read as <sup>D</sup>[DA]G-ti-is, the throne deity. Van den Hout’s translation of the whole sequence is: ‘On the third day the THRONE DEITY has arisen and has taken the KING’S BLOOD and Year, and gave it to the MOTHERGODDESS: favourable’. Sayce (1932: 214) read the word now interpreted as the Akkadian for blood here (*A-DAM-MA*) as the name of the minor deity Adamma, often associated with Kubaba.

<sup>98</sup> Cosi (1982: 496); he proposes that Telipinu’s being woken by the bee who lays honey on his eyes and mouth suggests an embalming ritual of some sort, though that is not attested for Attis: see Lancellotti (2002: 19).

back to this world to a limited extent', such as the Adonis–Tammuz–Dumuzi nexus.<sup>99</sup>

Walter Burkert has argued that the Angdistis myth (which he takes to be Phrygian) as we know it from Timotheus incorporates motifs from the LBA Ullikummi narrative.<sup>100</sup> In fact, the only close parallel is the motif of conceiving a child from a rock, but this is hardly so unusual that we can posit a direct connection. Philippe Borgeaud has connected the birth of Angdistis instead with an episode in the Illuyanka myth, that of the monster's being tied up.<sup>101</sup> But even if there are shared motifs relating to birth, which may be Anatolian—birth from a rock, birth from semen spilt at the moment of castration—everything else is different. Ullikummi is a blind and deaf monster that has to be destroyed, Angdistis is part monster but he fathers the divine child Attis, and in some mysterious way he is an alter ego of Cybele herself.<sup>102</sup>

Phrygian religious architecture shows some general parallels to LBA Anatolian models, and it has sometimes been suggested that they could have been passed down either directly from the Hittites<sup>103</sup> or indirectly via the Urartians.<sup>104</sup> It is possible that some of the Phrygian religious sites of the 1st millennium go back to the LBA.

There is little sign of pre-Hellenistic settlement at Pessinous, although there are traces of Late Bronze Age material in the Phrygian rock-cut shrines

<sup>99</sup> See Mettinger (2001). <sup>100</sup> Burkert (1979b); see also Bachvarova (2019:205-8).

<sup>101</sup> Popko (1995: 191); Burkert (1979b); Lancellotti (2002: 24); on Angdistis also Gusmani (1959).

<sup>102</sup> It has also been argued that Angdistis' hermaphrodite nature reflects that of the deity Adamma (interpreted as 'father-mother') found in the *kaluti* (ritual entourage) of Kubaba in some Hittite texts: see Lancellotti (2002: 20–1); on Adamma see further Xella (1999); Lipiński (2009: 60–76). But although some Mesopotamian and Hittite deities were thought to partake in both genders (see Groneberg 1986; Miller 2008: 69), this interpretation of Adamma is no more than a guess. Fauth (1967: 133) suggested that *αδαμμα* in a decree relating to the temple of Angdistis at Rhamnous (Petraou 1999: no. 179, 4) = CCCA 2, no. 24, 4) is the deity Adamma, though it looks more like the title of a cult officer, perhaps to be connected with a gloss in Hesychius: *αδαμμεῖν το φιλεῖν. Φρύγες τὸν φίλον ἀδάμμα λέγουσιν*.

<sup>103</sup> Susanne Berndt-Ersöz (2006a: 143, 196–7, 205) argues that locations on mountains are shared with Hittite practice and that Phrygian step monuments may have been influenced by the Hittite *huwasi*-stone.

<sup>104</sup> Possibilities include façades, step altars, and reliefs: Hutter (2006a: 80); Işık (1995: 62); Barnett (1953b). Roller (1999: 53) points to the motif of the rock niche as a door where the god makes an epiphany, referring to an inscription on the monument at Meher Kapısı, now published as A3-1 in CTU 1; Tarhan and Sevin (1975: 409–10) use the term 'sacred frame' and already make the connection with Phrygian niches. For Meher Kapısı see Salvini (1994). Berndt-Ersöz (2006a: 197) disagrees.

in the Sivrihisar Dağları, and at Tekören, a few miles to the North.<sup>105</sup> None of the Anatolian ‘sacred cities’ of the 1st millennium BC can be proved to go back to the 2nd millennium BC (§2.7.4), and the chances are that this one was established in the early Hellenistic period,<sup>106</sup> making it impossible to verify Waltert Burkert’s otherwise appealing hypothesis that the temple-city of Pessinous goes back much earlier and that it survived partly because the eunuch-priests were not a threat to patriarchy.<sup>107</sup>

In his reconstruction of W. Phrygia, Massimo Forlanini has tentatively identified the Greco-Roman sanctuary of Angdistis the Great Mother at Midas Kale (near ancient Metropolis, modern Kümbet) with the town of Maras mentioned in the Hittite cult inventory KBo 2.1. Here there was a deity called ‘*annis titaimmis*’ (‘nursing mother’ in Luwian),<sup>108</sup> which he suggests is related to Angdistis ‘at least in function’; perhaps the first syllable of Angdistis goes back to ‘*anni-*’ (‘mother’).<sup>109</sup> Unfortunately, the geography of this region in the LBA remains very uncertain. A location somewhere in the central West seems plausible, since a related inventory includes the ritual battle between the men of Masa and the men of Hatti, and Masa is thought to be in the West.<sup>110</sup> But much of the reconstruction is based on vague resemblances of place names in the inventory to names and theonyms known from Greco-Roman Phrygia. Here are the key ones:

Melissa (where Alcibiades died, near Metropolis) is supposed to correspond to Hittite Maliyassa.<sup>111</sup>

The cult of Zeus Syreanos is supposed to continue the Hittite mountain name Mt. Suwara. We have a dedication to Zeus Syreanos from Sögüt Yalası, about 40 km NW of Metropolis.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Pre-Hellenistic settlement at Pessinous: Verlinde (2015b: 63–5); LBA material: Verlinde (2015a: 24–5); Strobel (2003–7:201–11); Devreker and Vermeulen (1991); Roller (1999: 192n.12).

<sup>106</sup> Temple city: Virgilio (1981); founded after Alexander: Strobel (2003–7: 209).

<sup>107</sup> Burkert’s statement (1979a: 105 and n.31) ‘there is evidence for a Bronze Age tradition at Pessinus’ depends on his interpretation of the Angdistis myth, which is based at Pessinous, along with a tradition about Nannakos, king of Pessinous and the flood myth, which looks Hellenistic (Prov.Bodl.140 + FGH795F2).

<sup>108</sup> KBo2.1 i 37, 40; see Cammarosano (2018: 24); some scholars have interpreted it as ‘mother and suckling child’. KBo 2.1 is translated by Cammarosano (2018: 193–203); part of it by Hoffner in CoS 3.63–4).

<sup>109</sup> Forlanini (1996: 9–10); for the sanctuary of Angdistis, see Haspels (1971: 1.154–5 and 199–200). Lebrun (2000: 116–18) agrees.

<sup>110</sup> See §10.8.

<sup>111</sup> For Melissa, see Robert (1980: 259, 263, 266, 285).

<sup>112</sup> See Haspels (1971: 183–4 with map = plate 493); Drew-Bear (1976: 251–2); Sahin (2001: 181). The identification is accepted by Thonemann (2013: 5n.19).

Hittite Haruruwa is supposed to survive in the place name Korosa implied in the name Korsoseanoi in a dedication from Avdan, about 50 km north of Metropolis.<sup>113</sup>

If the geography is correct,<sup>114</sup> this would be extremely significant, but there seems no way of confirming it. It has been claimed that there were reliefs with Hittite hieroglyphs at Midas City, but these have subsequently been identified as Phrygian.<sup>115</sup> Forlanini speculates that early Phrygian settlers might already have been in the region.<sup>116</sup>

Some similarities have been noticed between ritual behaviour associated with Cybele and Hittite-Luwian rituals from Istanuwa and Lallupiya, which are usually placed in central W. Anatolia on the basis of a reference in one of the texts to the Sahiriya River, which sounds like the later Sangarios.<sup>117</sup> The key ritual is drinking from a musical instrument called a *ḫuḫupal*.<sup>118</sup> In one text, *marnuwan*-beer is poured from one *ḫuḫupal* into another, with care being taken not to spill any on the ground. Later on a *ḫuḫupal* is filled with wine. A deity is said to drink from the lower *ḫuḫupal* containing beer (presumably a libation), and a cupbearer and apparently all the men of Lallupiya drink from one containing wine. Meanwhile there is singing of Luwian songs. The cupbearer sings 'like a woman'.<sup>119</sup> In another text they drink to the deity Tarwalliya, whom Manfred Hutter interprets as the 'dancing god', then drink from the *ḫuḫupal*, and strike the *ḫuḫupal* of the deity. The section immediately afterwards concerns libations to the Winiyanta, apparently a deity connected with wine (see p. 206 and p. 261).<sup>120</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Haspels (1971: 354, no. 144).

<sup>114</sup> Hawkins (1998a: 20n.120) raises the problem that the Siyanti River, which is the Eastern border of Arzawa-Mira, ought to be one of the tributaries of the Sakarya (Sangarius), either the Porsuk (Tembris) or the Seydi (Parthenios), whereas Forlanini identifies the Porsuk with the Hulana and the Seydi (Parthenios) with the Maliya, the latter supported by the hypothesis (Forlanini 1996: 8) that the name Parthenios is a 'transposition grecque' of the name of the goddess Maliya.

<sup>115</sup> Hittite: Forlanini (1996: 7n.12); Laroche (1972: 120); Akurgal (1959: 147–55); Phrygian: Prayon (1987: 87–9).

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Forlanini (1996: 9n.23); so too Drews (1993) argued for early Phrygian presence in NW Anatolia.

<sup>117</sup> See de Martino (2017: 258).

<sup>118</sup> See Taylor (2008); Schuol (2004: 110–11); Puhvel, HED 3.359 and 10.209 (published in 2017, apparently in ignorance of Taylor); Güterbock (1995); Polvani (1988: 173).

<sup>119</sup> KUB 25.37 + (CTH 771.1); see Güterbock (1995: 64–7).

<sup>120</sup> KUB 55.65 iv 4–7 and 16–18 (CTH 772.3); see Starke (1985: 312–13). Tarwalliya: Hutter (2003: 241).

This has reminded scholars of the Greco-Roman mysteries of Cybele, where initiants ate from a drum and drank from a cymbal.<sup>121</sup> A *huhupal* could have been cymbals, a tambourine or drum, or a lute.<sup>122</sup> One reason the identification with the cymbal or drum has appealed may be precisely that scholars were aware of the general parallel with the mysteries of Cybele.<sup>123</sup> There are other differences as well: the Hittite text does not describe an initiation ritual of the Greco-Roman type, but a ritual performed on members of the royal family (could the later mysteries of Cybele have originated in a royal initiation?), and there is no sign of a Great Mother type goddess in the pantheon of Istanuwa as we know it.<sup>124</sup> Despite all this, there is a chance that the practice was somehow preserved through the Phrygian period before surfacing again in the Roman Empire.<sup>125</sup>

Finally, it has also been argued that the *galloi* might go back to the LBA. An early attempt was made by A. B. Sayce in 1928 who found in one text a reference to Kubaba with the deity Iskalla, whom he linked to the Hittite verb *iskalla-* ‘slash, mutilate’, and suggested that it was cognate with the name of *gallos*. In fact, the theonym Iskalla probably comes from the Hurrian zone, and has nothing to do with that root.<sup>126</sup> More recently it has been proposed that the cupbearer’s singing like a woman in the Istanuwa ritual (as noted above; a unique occurrence in the Hittite corpus) suggests the Mesopotamian GALA priests (Sumerian GALA, Akkadian *kalu*) who

<sup>121</sup> Clement of Alexandria (*Protrep.* II) gives the symbolon of the mysteries of Cybele: ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον· ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον· ἐκερνοφόρησα· ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδην ‘I ate from the *tympanon*-drum, I drank from the cymbal, I carried the kernos, I went behind the curtain of the nuptial bed.’ Cf. Firmicus Maternus, *De err. prof. rel.* 18.1, on the similar ritual formula spoken by the initiates of Attis: ἐκ τυμπάνου βέβρωκα· ἐκ κυμβάλου πέπωκα· γέγονα μύστης Ἄπτεως.

<sup>122</sup> Cymbals: Polvani (1988: 173); drum: Güterbock (1995: 70–1), on the grounds that the Hittite for cymbal was *galgaturi*; lute: Schul (2004: 108–10). Two pairs of Hittite cymbals in fact survive: see Güterbock (1995: 61–2), and a figure playing cymbals is represented on the Boston fist-rhyton. Cymbals have been found from Phrygia: Bittel (1963).

<sup>123</sup> See Schul (2004: 111).

<sup>124</sup> For the pantheon of Istanuwa see Haas (1994a: 582–3). Taylor thinks that the *hurlas* *DInara* (Hurrian Inara?), one of the gods involved in an Istanuwan ritual (KUB 35.135 iv 14–17), could be an antecedent of Cybele.

<sup>125</sup> Taylor (2008: 176–7) pointed to a second parallel: the Istanuwa rituals mention a ‘physician’ piercing himself with two copper pins, and doing the same to other people involved (KUB 41.15+ 19–26; Starke 1990: 319–20). This piercing is very rare in Hittite rituals (the only other case known is a ritual with Hattic elements in which so-called *zilupuriyatalla*-men prick themselves: KUB 1.14 ii 8–12), and it has been supposed to anticipate the self-mutilation which is attested for the cult of the Mother: see Graillot (1912: 126n.4); Burkert (1987: 103–4); the Roman poet Prudentius, *Philostephanos* 10:1076–85 describes pricking the skin in the context of tattooing.

<sup>126</sup> See Haas (1994a: 407). Puhvel, HED 1.414–15 says that the Greek *gallos* might be cognate with *iskalla-*.



sing in EME.SAL (women's) dialect; hence if there were GALA priests at Istanuwa, the argument is that one might derive *gallos* from there. The problem with this is that GALA/*kalu* does not occur in the text and its only use in Hittite texts is as a logogram corresponding to Hittite *sahtarili*.<sup>127</sup>

To sum up, if someone were to maintain that LBA Anatolian religion made no contribution to Cybele at all, it's hard to see how they could be easily refuted. It is true that the Greek image of the seated Cybele may have been an imitation of a Hittite rock relief that had been reinterpreted as a seated goddess, but that is continuity only in a very minimalist way. The strongest point is the Kubaba factor, which may, however, have been superficial. The parallels with the Istanuwa tradition, particularly drinking from the drum, are tantalizing, particularly since Istanuwa was in the geographical area that was later Phrygia. Although there are signs of cultic continuity at Tekören near Pessinous, explaining the transmission is difficult, and we have to assume that the practice survived in the region for at least five centuries, during which the ethnic make-up in the region changed from Luwian to Phrygian. It's true that ritual practices survived major shifts in population elsewhere (Phrygian Cybele survived the Galatian invasion, for example), but it seems odd that in this case so much else seems different, especially the theonyms and the personality of the mountain mother goddess. Still, 'drinking from the drum' is sufficiently strange that we should not write it off as a coincidence but leave the door open to the possibility that future discoveries may confirm it.

## 8.5 Conclusion

Thus, while Cybele is without doubt the best example of an Anatolian deity adopted by Greeks, it is uncertain whether she was influenced by any LBA Anatolian traditions at all. It is true that the Hittite pantheon includes powerful mother goddesses, but as a mother goddess associated with the male space of mountains, she would have been somewhat baffling to Hittite ideology. It is even possible that one factor in her development was early conflict between the Phrygians and Anatolian cultures, which may have encouraged the Phrygians to reshape their own religious traditions in ways that contrasted with and challenged the older Anatolian ones.

<sup>127</sup> Taylor (2008); on GALA/*sahtarili* CHD s.v., Peled (2017); Emesal: Peled (2016: 129ff.); for the etymology of *gallos*: see p. 172.

How we reconstruct the earliest religious interaction between Greeks and Phrygians depends on how we reconstruct their early history (see p. 164). When Greek colonies were founded on the Propontis and Black Sea coast, there had probably already been contact between the two cultures in the period of Midas in the 8th century BC, and possibly much earlier, if the ancestors of the Phrygians had lived in Thrace or the Balkans, or indeed if proto-Greeks and proto-Phrygians had once lived in the same region.

We can propose three models for interaction:

Model 1: One hypothesis would be that Greeks borrowed Cybele from Phrygia. I mentioned above that this could have happened around 600 BC in a contact zone in the area of the Milesian colonies where Greek and Phrygian populations may have lived side by side (see p. 170). A complicating factor would be that even quite early there may have been confusion between Cybele with Lydian Kubebe with whom Greeks were becoming familiar at the same time.

Model 2: Since it seems likely that Greeks already had a powerful mother goddess of their own, the Great Mother, their response when they first encountered Cybele is likely to have been one of 'translation', equating the foreign deity with their own. Subsequently, this may have led to the adoption by each worshipping group of traits belong to the other's deity and thus to a degree of syncretism.

Model 3: Perhaps the Greek and Phrygian mother goddesses were not just similar but originally the same, manifestations of a much earlier regional mountain mother goddess who dates back to when Greeks and Phrygians lived in proximity to each other, if they did. In that case, Cybele's arrival in Greece would have been in some ways a return to familiar territory.

So there are many possibilities, and at the very least it's clear that the Greek conception of an Anatolian mother goddess may represent the superimposition of several different goddess-schemata borrowed at different periods. The process of borrowing probably goes on for some time; additional elements may have been borrowed in the Hellenistic period, when the cult had come under Galatian influence.

# 9

## Comparing Pantheons

### 9.1 Introduction: Divine Schemata

The previous chapters have thrown up a few cases of similarity between Anatolian and Greek deities. In Chapter 5 I discussed the common schema of young warrior gods. In Chapter 7 I observed the collective resemblance between major players in the Kumarbi-Cycle and early Greek myth. In Chapter 8 I looked at resemblances between Cybele and LBA Anatolian deities, such as Kubaba. In this chapter I offer a more general comparison between the Greek and Anatolian pantheons.

Hittite gods, like Greek ones, were most commonly anthropomorphic. They were imagined as bigger than men and eating a similar diet (on the latter point Greek gods are different since their diet is nectar and ambrosia).<sup>1</sup> Gods could even be mistaken for humans.<sup>2</sup> The most famous Hittite visual art—the processions at Yazılıkaya Chamber A—in fact depicts such anthropomorphic deities, albeit some of them stand on mountains or animals and the gods wear pointed head-gear. It wasn't all anthropomorphism, however. We have seen that 'hunting bags' made of animal skins were worshipped as tutelary deities (see p. 33); in one of the festivals an oak (*eian*) tree is called an 'image' (*esari*) of Telipinu and his Luwian Hieroglyphic is a tree.<sup>3</sup> In the cult inventories we find both anthropomorphic and non-anthropomorphic representations: at Tarammeka (in Cappadocia) six deities are listed, three gods and three spring goddesses, all anthropomorphic except for a war-god, who was in the form of a silver fist, complete

<sup>1</sup> Mouton (2004a: 310–19).

<sup>2</sup> In one Hittite text, KBo 3.60, one character tests whether an enemy is divine or human by offering him impure meat; he eats it, and is thus shown to be a mortal, it being presupposed (i) that gods are omniscient; (ii) that gods eat the same things as men; and (iii) that a god would not eat impure food. Mouton (2004a) compares the Greek myths of Lykaon and Tantalos, both of whom are said, at least in some versions of the myths associated with them, to have offered a god human flesh.

<sup>3</sup> KUB 53.8 rev 1–7; Haas and Jakob-Rost (1984: 77), apparently a new year festival.

with copper and bronze weapons; a Hittite fist-*rhyton*, in fact, survives;<sup>4</sup> at nearby Kunkuniya the Strong Storm God was in the form of a *BIBRU*-vessel (*rhyton*) shaped like a bull, accompanied by a libation vessel, tankards, and other items; the Storm god of Lihzina at Tiliura was represented in a similar way. At Nerik Telipinu was worshipped in the form of a small tankard of silver. This was clearly designed for ‘god-drinking’, in which liquid poured from the *rhyton* was believed to embody the presence of the god (see §12.4).<sup>5</sup>

Gods could also take the form of *huwasi*-stones, which seem to have been regarded as places the gods inhabited, written with the logogram ZI.KIN (‘soul object’).<sup>6</sup> The cult inventories confirm that gods were worshipped in this form. A passage from Paskuwatti’s *Ritual Against Impotence* adds a third option: it implies that the goddess could choose to be represented not just as a statue or *huwasi* but (uniquely here) as a *pithos* (a *haršiyalli*-vessel).<sup>7</sup> There is a natural temptation to think of *huwas* as something that the Hittites shared with, and possibly borrowed from, Syria; but, as Milette Gaifman has recently shown, there are many examples of stones functioning as cult objects in early Greece; as often, it may be that we get a false impression from Greek intellectual discourse which downplayed stone worship because they came to see it as primitive.<sup>8</sup>

## 9.2 Pantheons

While the Hittite state pantheon was huge, local pantheons are different. If you look at the gods of a typical Hittite town, you tend to find a simpler structure, with a top-tier, comprising a storm god and either a sun deity or a mother goddess; a ‘tutelary deity’ or deities, often associated with the wilds;

<sup>4</sup> Güterbock and Kendell (1995).

<sup>5</sup> Tarammeka, Kunkuniya: KUB 38.1+ §2, §6 in Cammarosano (2018: 308–11); Tiliura: KUB 38.3 §1; Cammarosano (2018: 322–3); for the Storm god as bull, see Cammarosano (2018: 64). Nerik: KUB 42.100 iv 9; Cammarosano (2018: 353).

<sup>6</sup> See p. 31.

<sup>7</sup> CTH 406 §19. ‘He goes and celebrates the goddess. Then if a *haršiyalli* is acceptable to her, he installs her as a *haršiyalli*-pithos. But if it is not, he installs her as a *huwaši*-stone or makes her as a statue.’ The last perhaps suggests Pandora in Greek art. See LIMC, s. Pandora, no. 5.

<sup>8</sup> See Gaifman (2012: 50–4) on the stones of Pharai in Achaea with Paus. 7.22.4: ‘quite close to the image stand square stones, about thirty in number. These the people of Pharai adore, calling each by the name of some god. At some more remote period all of the Greeks alike worshipped uncarved stones instead of images of gods’. Numerous pillars associated with deities and heroes are mentioned in the inventory of sacred lands from Larisa (late 3rd century BC), for which see Helly (1970). See Donohue (1987: 223–6); Dietrich (1985–6); Warren (1990).

sometimes a god of war, and various local deities associated with mountains, rivers, and/or springs.<sup>9</sup> The cultic calendar of the small town of Gursamassa seems to have catered for five deities: a local Storm God plus the Sibitti, the ‘Sun-Goddess of the Water’, presumably his consort, and the deity of the Great Spring, a daughter, along with the local form of Yarri and Mt. Suwara (see p. 233). Mt. Suwara was also part of the pantheon of several neighbouring villages, as we can see from a related inventory; perhaps there was a joint festival.<sup>10</sup> One fragmentary document lists the local pantheons of fifteen towns in the area of the Zuliya River (probably the Çekerek), showing that they each comprised between seven and eleven deities;<sup>11</sup> most towns seem to have a standard core set of male deities: the Sun god, the Storm god, LAMMA (all three usually without qualification), three deities who seem to make up a sort of ‘triad’.<sup>12</sup> To these are often added the war-gods ZABABA or Santa.<sup>13</sup> Two have the goddess Hatepinu, who is occasionally attested elsewhere in the N. central region (see p. 191). Besides that we have ‘local’ deities: minor storm gods, mountain gods, river goddesses, and spring goddesses. No two towns have exactly the same pantheon.

Deities are often found in groups, sometimes as a set (*‘kaluti’*) for the purpose of cultic activity.<sup>14</sup> The numbers vary.<sup>15</sup> Sometimes there are twelve, a number with obvious calendrical significance; for example, on Day 3 of the festival of Telipinu at Hanhana, which seems to have happened at the new year, twelve offerings are made, one at the oak of Telipinu, and the rest at eleven *huwasi-s*, one of which belongs to Telipinu, who is thus counted twice.<sup>16</sup> Twelve is also the usual number of the Former Gods, as apparently represented in Yazılıkaya Chamber B (see p. 159).<sup>17</sup> However, there is no sign of a regular Dodekathemon, as in Greek religion.<sup>18</sup>

Hittite deities sometimes have epithets, which can relate to their home town (cf. Haas 1994a: 539), or to a special sphere of activity. An example of the former would be the Storm god of Lihzina in the inventory from Tiliura

<sup>9</sup> Lebrun (1998: 143–4). <sup>10</sup> KBo 2.1; Cammarosano (2018: no. 2).

<sup>11</sup> KBo 47.76; Lebrun (2007b).

<sup>12</sup> See Cammarosano (2018: 54–5).

<sup>13</sup> Santa is surprisingly far North here; I omitted this in Rutherford (2017).

<sup>14</sup> HED 4.33–4. The verb *kalutiya-* can mean ‘lump together (for worship), treat jointly (for cultic purposes)’.

<sup>15</sup> For numbers in Hittite religion see Haas’ index (1994a: 975); also Haas (1994a: 487–8).

<sup>16</sup> KUB 53.4, Haas and Jakob-Rost (1984: 77); Haas (1994a: 744); twelve *huwasi-s* also at Zalpa: Corti (2010a: 95); other new year festivals: Ardzimba (1986: 96) etc. KBo 11.32, 1–9 in Archi (1975b: 81).

<sup>17</sup> The ‘twelve gods of the crossroads/of the way’ (e.g. KUB 35.145 ii 10) mentioned in some texts must be chthonic: see Haas (1994a: 488).

<sup>18</sup> On twelve gods in Greek religion: Rutherford (2010).

mentioned above; so too the Storm god of Zippalanda was worshipped in a number of towns.<sup>19</sup> An example of the latter would be the Sun goddess of water in the Gursamassa inventory, or the ‘Storm god of the army’.<sup>20</sup> Sometimes the cult of a god was duplicated by the technique of ‘splitting’.<sup>21</sup>

Greek local pantheons are somewhat similar: they don’t have mountain gods (although gods, particularly Zeus, can certainly be associated with mountains and rituals may take place on them),<sup>22</sup> and usually have more goddesses, but they too combine a more or less regular set of national deities with local deities, including heroes (to which nothing in Hittite religion corresponds) and nymphs (cf. Hittite fountain goddesses: below §9.5.3). The epithets of Greek deities have similar purposes to Greek ones: to identify regional and transregional deities (e.g. Apollo Pythios) and to identify function or sphere of activity (Demeter Thesmophoros, Poseidon Hippios); there must have been a mechanism for introducing new gods as well, though we have limited information about it.<sup>23</sup>

### 9.3 Theonyms as Evidence for Borrowing?

Considering that so many Hittite and Anatolian gods’ names are known, it’s surprising how few seem to resemble names in the Greek pantheon. One example was Apaliuna of Wilusa, which, as I suggested earlier, is best understood as a Greek deity imported to NW Anatolia than vice versa (p. 113). Here I list some of the more promising candidates:<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Only exceptionally was a god of city X worshipped in city Y. As Ishtar of Taminga at Samuha: Lebrun (1976: 33–4), comparing Istar of Samuha at Hattusa and Urikina and the Storm god of Nerik at Hakmis.

<sup>20</sup> Houwink ten Cate (1992: 85) offers a detailed typology of the epithets of the Storm god, comprising: 1. epithets consisting of place names; 2. other epithets denoting: a. forces of nature; b. relationship to mankind; c. locations outside towns; d. locations in town area; e. role regarding warfare or political authority.

<sup>21</sup> Splitting (*sarra*-): Beal (2002a). Miller (2008). Key texts are: KUB 29.4: the Goddess of Night is introduced from Kizzuwatna into Samuha); KUB 21.17 ii 5–8 (edict to Ishtar of Samuha): Hattusili divided Sauska of Samuha and made her new temples in Urikina; and KUB 5.6 ii 70–2: the goddess who was determined to be divided will be carried to Zithara.

<sup>22</sup> See Buxton (1992: 5–6). The nearest Greek religion gets to a mountain god is apparently in Corinna’s poem on the contest between Helicon and Kithairon: PMG654.

<sup>23</sup> Greek pantheons: Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel (1992: 207–14); epithets: Parker (2003); for *aphidrumata* and introduction of new gods see Malkin (1991); generally Garland (1991).

<sup>24</sup> Other possibilities worth mentioning: Asclepius from hypothetical Hittite *’assula-piya*, i.e. ‘health-giver’, proposed by Szemerényi (1974: 155); another Hittite etymology for Asclepius in Puhvel, HED 1.215–16; Maira, a Greek theonym associated with the star Sirius may be cognate with the Hittite *marra-/marri-* ‘(sun)-light’: Kloekhorst (2008: 556); Maira: RE 14.605; HEG L/M 135–6.

## 9.3.1 Hasamili and Kasmilos

Hasamili (Hattic Hasamel; Hasmaiu seems to be an alternative form) is an obscure proto-Hattic deity, known also from the region of Pala. In one sacrificial list he seems to be grouped with celestial deities.<sup>25</sup> In the *Annals of Mursili II* he is credited with making the king invisible on a campaign, an action reminiscent of a Homeric god.<sup>26</sup> Ritual texts linked to Mt. Piskurunuwa mentioned a cult object or cult place called the ‘wood of Hasamili’.<sup>27</sup> It has been suggested on the basis of a Hattic myth, ‘*The sun-goddess built in Lihzina a house*’ that he was a smith deity, since an appeal by the gods for a smith seems to be answered by the appearance of Hasamili.<sup>28</sup> In one ritual text he is linked to children.<sup>29</sup>

In 1925 two scholars, A.B.Sayce in England and A. Smieszek in Poland, independently suggested that the name was reminiscent of the theonym Kasmilos, the brother of the Kabeiroi at Samothrace,<sup>30</sup> sometimes identified with Hermes; the form Kadmilos is also found.<sup>31</sup> Kasmilos, which has no obvious Greek etymology, is also found on Imbros.<sup>32</sup> Hipponax swears by Kasmilos (fr. 155). Sayce also suggested the Kabeiroi might be Hittite in origin.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>25</sup> General: E. von Weither RLA 4.127–8, s.v. Hasamili; Palaic: Steitler (2017: 222); celestial deities: ‘Goddesses of fate, hearth, Ugur, Ugur of Hayawa, moon, star(s), night, eli’: KBo 19.128; Haas (1994a: 144).

<sup>26</sup> KBo 4.4 rev. 33–5, Goetze (1933: 126). Burkert (1985: 410) compares with Hermes in *Iliad* 24.337. Notice that the Storm god asks Hasameli to do this, as Zeus asks Hermes.

<sup>27</sup> One of a sequence: ‘the pedestal, the hearth, the throne, the window, the wood of *Hasamili*, wood of the door-bolt, the spring, storage vessel’; KUB 25.18 iii 17–23 etc. Cf. Galmarini (2014: 283n.27).

<sup>28</sup> CTH 726.1 (G. Torri (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 726.1 (Expl. A, 01.10.2012)) obv.17 See Klinger (1996: 640–1); Schuster (1974–2002: 2.200). On smith gods, Haas (1994a: 585).

<sup>29</sup> Susumanniga’s Ritual: KUB 7.1 iii 29–36 = iv 1–5 Haas (1994a: 259n.61); Kronasser (1961: 162–6); catalogue entry in Dardano (2006: 102–3).

<sup>30</sup> Sayce (1925); Śmieszek (1925 [published in 1927]: 153–7).

<sup>31</sup> See Fowler (2000–13: 2.41). Akousilaos (FGrHist2F20) said that he was the son of Hephaistos and Kabeiro, and *father* of the Kabeiroi. One Hittite text—KBo 1.2 rev.25—has the spelling *Ha-as-mi-li-is*. Many scholars had speculated over the name, e.g. Schelling (1815: 74–5) gave it a Hebrew etymology, ‘Qadmi-el’, ‘prior-lord’.

<sup>32</sup> Imbros: IG12.8.74. Blakely (2019: 271); Clinton (2003: 68) suggests that at Samothrace and Imbros Kasmilos is an addition to the Kabeiroi and an outsider, like Kadmos in the myth. A complicating factor is that Kadmilos is said to be a name of Hermes in Tyrrenia (Schol. Lyc. *Alex.* 162 etc.; Call. *Iamb* 9, fr. 199 Diegesis), which raises the possibility of a link to Lemnos.

<sup>33</sup> Sayce (1925: 163) wanted to link them to the *ḥabiri* of Hittite texts, ‘nomadic mercenary troops/workers’ (Weeden 2011: 602; see J. Bottéro RLA 4: 14–27 s.v. *ḥabiru*; so too Hrozný 1929: 338–9). Gods called *ḥabiri* (or gods of the *ḥabiri*?) are often mentioned in treaties alongside the *lulaḥḥi* gods/gods of the *lulaḥḥi* (*lulaḥḥi* means ‘mountain dweller: see CHD s.v.). Beckman regularly translates them ‘mountain-dweller gods and mercenary gods’. This seems an implausible interpretation of Kabeiroi, though the *lulaḥḥi* may well lie behind the Greek term Leleges:

The later discovery (not until Friedrich in 1969) that Hasamili was a smith deity seems to support Sayce's suggestion about Kasmilos, since the cult of the Kabeiroi is very much bound up with metallurgy.<sup>34</sup> The Kabeiroi do not have to be Anatolian themselves, however.<sup>35</sup> The broader context is that Samothrace is in the Anatolian orbit, since Greek myth gave Samothrace an important role in the early history of Troy;<sup>36</sup> it has also been suggested that the local language of Lemnos might be related to Anatolian languages.<sup>37</sup> It is possible, then, that a Hittite smith god, known to have been worshipped as far NW as Pala, somehow found his way to Samothrace, perhaps via Assuwa or Wilusa.

### 9.3.2 Yarri and Ares?

The standard designation of the war-god, a distinctive category in the god lists, is the logogram ZABABA, and the local Hattic form was Wurunkatte, 'lord of the land'. Other avatars of the war-god are Santa and Yarri.<sup>38</sup> Yarri tends to turn up in the West: in Dandanku's Ritual, where he is represented as an archer (see p. 127); in the Istanuwa rituals; and also in Arnuwanda's agreement with the people of Ura (CTH 144) (Ura here probably being in the West), where various people are required to 'drink Yarri' from a silver

see Hrozný (1929: 339) and HEG 5–6:71. Notice that one Greek tradition makes the Kabeiroi of Miletus Phrygian in origin: see Massimilla (1993).

<sup>34</sup> Sayce (1925: 163); Hasamili the Smith: Friedrich (1969: 436); and Gurney (1977: 12–13.) Beekes (2004) also accepts it and wonders if Kadmos is also Anatolian (cf. Hasammiu). Bremmer (2014:35–6 with note 83) is sceptical. NB: Murtilos, Pelops' charioteer, was son of Kadmilos (Lycophron, *Alex* 162; Hemberg (1950: 316)). For Samothrace in general, see Burkert (1993b). Kadmilos: RE s.v.; metallurgy: Blakely (2006).

<sup>35</sup> Many other attempts have been made to explain the name 'Kabeiroi'; most recently, Beekes (2004) has argued vigorously for an origin in the 'pre-Greek' substrate language (which in his view was also a pre-Hittite Anatolian substrate language). For his views on the pre-Greek language, see now Beekes (2007).

<sup>36</sup> For the Lemnian language see R. Wallace, <https://oxfordre.com/classics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.001.0001/acrefore-9780199381135-e-8222>.

<sup>37</sup> The argument would be that (i) Lemnian is related to Etruscan and (ii) Etruscan is related to Anatolia. For these issues, see Beekes (2002) and (2003a).

<sup>38</sup> Santa: Rutherford (2017); Yarri: H. Otten, RIA 5.267–8 s.v. Jarri; Taracha (2009: 100). Millington (2013: 548) doubts that Yarri was a war-god, needlessly. General category: Haas (1994a: 363–70).



*rhyton* representing him.<sup>39</sup> He had a cult in Gursamassa in W. Phrygia, where, at his autumn festival, a mock battle took place between the men of Hatti and the men of Masa (see pp. 222–223).

Yarri's schema in Dandanku's Ritual resembles the Homeric Apollo (see pp. 112, p. 134), but his name has been thought to resemble that of the Greek war-god Ares,<sup>40</sup> the god of war who was sometimes associated with plague.<sup>41</sup> Greeks thought of Ares' home as in Thrace, but we also find him worshipped in Anatolia, e.g. at Metropolis in Ionia, where he may stand for a local Anatolian warrior deity.<sup>42</sup> 'Ares' already seems to occur in Linear B (from Knossos), so if the name was borrowed, it would have to have been early (with the initial *y*- somehow lost in the process).<sup>43</sup> Alternatively, perhaps Greeks identified their own deity Ares with the war-god Yarri, a process that may have led to the schema of Ares being reconfigured as a war-god.

### 9.3.3 Apollo Delphinios and Telipinu

Telipinu is the son of the Storm god and the Sun goddess of Arinna; in one mythical text he marries the daughter of the sea.<sup>44</sup> His name means 'strong son' in Hattic.<sup>45</sup> He has often been seen as a god of vegetation, but it makes just as much sense to see him as a storm god.<sup>46</sup>

To Bedrich Hrozný Telipinu seemed likely to be connected with the Telephus king of Mysia, whom the Greeks encountered when they attacked Asia Minor for the first time.<sup>47</sup> According to the *Odyssey* (11.521) his son

<sup>39</sup> Devecchi (2015: 93–4); De Martino (1996: 76–9); Giorgieri (2001: 433–5). Hawkins (1998a: 27n.167) puts this *Ura* in the West, as does Devecchi (2015: 93), though Singer (2005b: 436) has doubts.

<sup>40</sup> See Carruba (1968); Millington (2013: 545–6) cites bibliography. 'Drinking Yarri' in Arnuwanda's agreement reminds us of the Greek practice of swearing an oath by Ares, as in Aesch. *Seven* 45: see pp. 220, 221–222.

<sup>41</sup> For Ares and plague, see Soph. *OR*: 190–5, of which Faraone (2004: 221) comments: 'The chorus identify the plague-bringing god as Ares, but they also carefully distinguish him from the familiar war god of the *Iliad* with his brazen armor: this is a "savage", "devouring" or perhaps "wolfish" god, who attacks with fire and shouts.'

<sup>42</sup> Dreyer (2008); Engelmann (1993: 175–6). For Ares in Greco-Roman Asia Minor, see Robert (1955: 77); Gonzales (2005).

<sup>43</sup> See Aura Jorro (1985–93: 1.96–7); Gulizio (2001).

<sup>44</sup> See Hoffner (1998: no. 6). See G. Beckman *RLA* 13 5/6:509–11 s.v. Telipinu A.

<sup>45</sup> See Soysal (2004a: s.v.).

<sup>46</sup> Vegetation: Haas (1994a: 442–5); storm god: TRH:109; Güterbock (1959).

<sup>47</sup> Hrozný (1917: 3n.2); cf. also Sayce (1925: 163); Sayce (1930: 303); Kretschmer (1930a: 13–14).

Eurypylos led the Keteioi, whom some have interpreted as Mysian Hittites.<sup>48</sup> In Greek mythology Telephus was believed to have come to Anatolia as a young man, having been born in Arcadia, the son of a local princess and the visiting Heracles. In Pausanias' time he had a *temenos* on Mt. Parthenios (Paus. 8.54.6–7). In some versions he went on to found the Etruscan royal dynasty, becoming the father of Tarkhon (an echo of the Hittite Storm god Tarhunna?) and Turrhenos (Lycophron, *Alex.*1247).<sup>49</sup> This could be right, though notice that even if the name Telephus goes back to Hittite, it might be the royal name Telipinu rather than the theonym.

The theonym has reminded some scholars of Apollo's epithet Delphinios, known from Athens, from various cities of Ionia, especially Miletus, from Milesian colonies on the Black Sea, and other places. It was originally suggested by Barnett in 1956 and supported by Burkert in 1979, who saw an echo of Telipinu's *eian*-tree in the *eiresione* branch that Theseus presents to Apollo Delphinios.<sup>50</sup>

The equation between Delphinios and Telipinu was rejected by Fritz Graf on the grounds that Apollo Delphinios was primarily a god of initiation while Telipinu was not; however, initiation has lost some of its appeal as a model for interpreting Greek religion since then.<sup>51</sup> The equation makes sense on broad functional grounds—both are young gods, sons of the head of the pantheon, and of central importance to the state. It is true that similar parallels could be drawn between Telipinu and other Greek gods—Isabelle Tassignon argued for an equation between him and Dionysus (see p. 206); but the similarity of the names itself counts for something.

One factor that could have been made more of in the discussion is that both Telipinu and Apollo Delphinios have links to the sea: Haas situated Telipinu's cult in the area North of Hattusa, where his consort was Hatepinu, perhaps herself the 'daughter of the sea' whom Telepinu marries

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Alcaeus fr. 177; Heubeck and Hoekstra (1989: 108) Gladstone (1876: 171–83); Kretschmer (1930a: 8). Huxley (1959a) points to an alternative reading in the *Odyssey* passage: *Χήτειοι*. Bryce (2006: 130) is sceptical.

<sup>49</sup> For the Etruscan dimension: Kretschmer (1930a:13); Schachermeyr (1929); Cornelius (1973) argued that the myth of the Greek war against Telephus has a model in Ahhiyawa–Hittite relations.

<sup>50</sup> Barnett (1956: 218–19); Burkert (1979a: 134); for the *eiresione* see Plutarch, *Thes.* 18.1 and 22.6. Huxley (1961: 25–6) linked the name to Delphi, though Durnford (1975: 50) found a problem in the labio-velar. Further references Herda (2005: 286–7 with n.208); Herder (2006: 275n.1942). For the hypothesis that Telipinu resembles Apollo as a god of foundation see p. 91, n.42.

<sup>51</sup> Graf (1979: 21–2n.161); Faraone (2003). Della Casa (2010) connects Telipinu with initiation in a different way.

in a Hittite myth.<sup>52</sup> Apollo Delphinios has been widely regarded as a god of the sea owing to the fact that the epithet can be interpreted as ‘of the dolphin’ in Greek (although that may not work etymologically); but a link to the sea is also suggested by the places where the god is worshipped, largely Greek islands and maritime areas; at Miletus, the altar of Apollo Delphinios was actually on the seashore.<sup>53</sup>

### 9.3.4 Piḫassassi and Pegasos

*Piḫassassi* and *piḫa(i)m(m)i* are epithets of the Storm god, probably of Luwian origin, apparently formed from a root *piḫa-*;<sup>54</sup> the Storm god *piḫassassi* was particularly favoured by Muwatalli II, and thus associated with Tarhuntassa in the South.<sup>55</sup> These and related forms are later used as personal names in Lycia and Caria.<sup>56</sup> The meaning has often been thought to be ‘of lightning’ (from the same root as Greek *phaos*, ‘light’), but a more recent suggestion is ‘powerful’.<sup>57</sup> No Greek deity has a name like this, but it was argued by Helmuth Bossert that there might be a link to Bellerophon’s divine horse, Pegasos (with Anatolian *ḫ* corresponding to Greek *g*, as in the case of *Parḫa:Perge*).<sup>58</sup> There was already a feeling that Pegasos might have Anatolian connections, both because of the form of the name and because of the myth of Bellerophon, whose main exploit was in S. Anatolia, slaying the Chimaira among the Solymoi.<sup>59</sup> The link with *piḫassassi* was developed by Peter Frei and by Manfred Hutter, who both pointed out that in Hesiod Pegasos carries the thunder and lightning for Zeus (*Theog.* 284ff.); that seemed impressive as long as it was thought that the epithet has to do with lightning, but now that’s not so certain.<sup>60</sup> There is also the inherent improbability of a Hittite Storm god lending his name to a Greek divine horse.<sup>61</sup> There is, however, one reason to think *piḫassassi* might have been associated with horses, namely that on Day 19

<sup>52</sup> CTH 322. See Haas (2011: 273); Laroche (1946–7: 24).

<sup>53</sup> Herda (2005). Etymological doubts: see Graf (1979: 4).

<sup>54</sup> Also <sup>D</sup>*piḫassi-* in KBo 46.83; Lebrun (2007b: 463).

<sup>55</sup> Muwatalli and Piḫassassi: see the Wilusa treaty: Beckman (1999a: no. 13§1); I. Singer RLA 10.7/8:559–60 s.v. Piḫassas(s)i at 560.

<sup>56</sup> Melchert (2013a: 34); Adiego (2007: 337).

<sup>57</sup> Light: Starke (1990: 104–6); ‘powerful’: Kloekhorst (2008: 674–5); HEG 9:74–6.

<sup>58</sup> Bossert (1952–3b: 333).

<sup>59</sup> Malten (1925:151).

<sup>60</sup> Frei (1993:48–9); Hutter (1995: 93–5).

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Lane-Fox (2008: 220).

of the AN.TAH.SUM festival a horse race was apparently run in his honour (see p. 230).<sup>62</sup>

## 9.4 Translation

The Hittites, like other LBA states, engaged in diplomacy with each other. In general, there were two sorts of treaty: with major powers, and with vassal states. The process encouraged awareness of each other's gods, because the gods of each side were generally included in the gods list in treaties. We see this, for example, in the Wilusa treaty (p. 109). In the Egyptian version of the Qadesh treaty, the names of Hittite deities appear in *interpretatio Aegyptiaca*.<sup>63</sup>

The Mycenaeanans no doubt were aware of the principle of 'translation', and it may be observable in Linear B texts from Knossos, where Zeus is equated with at least one local deity.<sup>64</sup> It is also likely that there were translations between Ahhiyawan gods and those of W. Anatolia, but again we have no evidence.<sup>65</sup>

As far as Ahhiyawa and Hatti are concerned, the closest we come are references in letters that seem to imply a common religious mentality: in a letter between the Hittite and Ahhiyawan kings reference is made to a storm god having given something (a group of islands?) to the writer into vassalship.<sup>66</sup> There are also general references to the 'sun god' and the 'storm god' in the Tawagalawa letter, written by a Hittite king to a king of Ahhiyawa.<sup>67</sup> This suggests a common religious mentality of the sort we find in other diplomatic correspondence and treaties.<sup>68</sup>

However, no case is known of an equivalence between a Hittite and a Greek deity in the LBA. If a treaty between Ahhiyawa and the Hittites survived (or one between Ahhiyawa and any other Anatolian state), the

<sup>62</sup> Singer (2005a: 560); Singer also points out that in Ushamuwa's Ritual (from Arzawa) the Storm god's divine horses play a central role.

<sup>63</sup> Thus, all the various local storm gods appear as forms of Seth (since the Egyptians had no other storm god), while the "LAMMA of the land of Hatti" appears mysteriously as 'Astartu of the Land of Hatti', i.e. Ishtar. See texts in Edl (1997: 71-3 and commentary on pp. 99-100); also Edl (1992); Singer (2013).

<sup>64</sup> Lévêque (1975); Hägg (1997).

<sup>65</sup> Watkins (1986) speculates on translations between Greek and Anatolian gods at Wilusa.

<sup>66</sup> AhT 6 (KUB 26.91), 6-7; there is a similar expression in line 22 of the so-called Manapa-Tarhunta letter AhT7 (KUB 19.5 +), 22-3.

<sup>67</sup> Sun god AhT4 §15; Storm god AhT4 §3.

<sup>68</sup> In the "Tawagalawas letter" (AhT4§8), reference is a pledge of safe conduct (*zarsiya*), which involves the sending of bread and/or something else: see Cohen (2002: 118-22) and HEG s.v.; on the role of meals in peace-making Karavites (1992: 181-7).

text might have been informative. Presumably, the Hittite Storm god would have been identified with Zeus, unless the chief Ahhiyawan deity was Poseidon. Which Mycenaean deity would have been identified with the Hittite Sun deity is less clear (see p. 198).

As Emmanuel Laroche pointed out, the first attested cases of Greek: Anatolian translation in fact seem to be from the 1st millennium BC:<sup>69</sup>

- between Sandas and Heracles (see Rutherford 2017);
- between Maliya (Lycian)/Malis (Lydian) and Athene;
- possibly between Runta (i.e. Kurunta) and Hermes (see p. 53, p. 152).

Heracles is unattested in Mycenaean texts, and it has been suggested that he arose in the early 1st millennium BC, perhaps under the influence of the Syrian Nergal (one of whose names was Erragal).<sup>70</sup> Similarly, the name of Heracles' consort Hebe ('Youth') may reflect that of the Syro-Hurrian goddess Hebat.<sup>71</sup>

The equation of Athene with the Lydian goddess Malis,<sup>72</sup> and with the related Lycian Maliya is now well established.<sup>73</sup> The question arises of the relation of these 1st millennium goddesses to the Hittite-Luwian goddess Malia, known from the (H)isuwa festival and many other texts, including one from Istanuwa. *Prima facie* she looks different, being associated with rivers and vineyards, whereas Athene's defining features are craft and war.<sup>74</sup> However,

<sup>69</sup> Laroche (1973); see also Lebrun (1994b).

<sup>70</sup> Schretter (1974: 170), Dalley (1987: 65); Rutherford (2017: 89).

<sup>71</sup> The name Hebat has also been thought to lie behind the theonym Meter Hipta, known in four imperial Greek inscriptions from the Katakaumene region of Lydia and Maeonia (TAM5.1, 264 = Petzl (1994: no. 50) = CCIS II 40; TAM 5.1, 352 = CCIS II 37; TAM 5.1, 459 = Petzl (1994: no.49) = CCIS II 36; TAM 5.1 529 (Morand (1997: 173–8)); usually as the consort of Zeus Sabazios; on her own only TAM5.1. 529. She is probably identical with the nurse of Dionysus Hipta, mentioned in the Orphic Hymns. Trémouille (1997: 42); Kretschmer (1927a: 76–8); Picard (1922: 443n.2, 450) suggested that Opis/Oupis, a name of Artemis at Ephesos, derives from Hebat. Puhvel, HED 1.378–9 connects Ipta with Hittite *ippi(y)a* = grapevine, appropriate for the wife of a Dionysiac god.

<sup>72</sup> A 4th century BC inscription from Pergamum identifies Malis with Athene (Payne and Sassville 2016); she is invoked as a deity by Hipponax fr. 40 (possibly also in a fragment of Lesbian lyric, Lobel and Page (1955: 295); see Neumann GL 193. Hesychius,  $\mu$  190 = ii. 626Lette, tells us she was the same as Athene.

<sup>73</sup> Neumann (1967a: 36) saw the Lycian theonym *maliya wedrenni* from Rhodiapolis as a calque of Greek Athene Polias. See Neumann, GL s.v. Crucial evidence is provided by a silver vase from the 4th century BC found in Egypt depicting the judgement of Paris. On it an image of Athene is labelled with the Lycian letters "Mal" (see Neumann 1967a: 35–8); Barnett (1974) = LIMC Athena no. 420/Aphrodite no. 1420). See also Hawkins in Barnett (1974).

<sup>74</sup> See Hutter (2003: 231–2); Lebrun (1982). Watkins (2007) argued that Hittite Malia is not connected. For Malia and wine, see p. 206.

there are similarities; LBA Malia was associated with horses, like Athene Hippiā in the classical period,<sup>75</sup> and a central Anatolian cult inventory mentions ‘Malia of the Carpenter’, which seems to anticipate Athene’s association with carpenters.<sup>76</sup> No other Anatolian associations of Athene are convincing.<sup>77</sup>

Some degree of translation is also presupposed in Greek adaptation of the KIHC (Ouranos corresponds to Anu, Kronos to Kumarbi, Zeus to Tesub, and so on), but this does not need to involve Hittites directly.

## 9.5 Similar Types and Spheres of Activity

As generally understood, the personalities of Greek gods are made up of different elements: by their position in the divine family (Zeus is the ruler, Hera his consort, Apollo his child, etc.; the Titans belong to the previous generation); by their spheres of activity (e.g. Aphrodite: love; Demeter: grain; Dionysus: wine, Apollo: prophecy; Artemis and Eileithuia: childbirth, etc.); and also by different ‘modes of action’, e.g. Aphrodite tends to create harmony, Athene uses cunning intelligence.<sup>78</sup> Divine personality is thus not a simple matter: any deity may have multiple spheres of activity, many of which may be shared with others (e.g. war). If we factor in differing modes of action as well, it’s clear that most deities will be idiosyncratic.

How, then, do we go about comparing them to Hittite and Luwian deities? It’s particularly hard, because although their deities are probably idiosyncratic in much the same way, there tends to be less evidence. For example, it’s hard to determine the ‘mode of action’ of any god. Is Hasameli’s mode of action making people invisible (see p. 188)? Is Hannahanna’s sending bees (see p. 176)? ‘Spheres of action’ seems a more promising category. Hittite religion was capable of great inventiveness in creating tailor-made deities, as we see from the so-called ‘festival for the tutelary deities’, which lists LAMMA deities for dozens of aspects of the king:<sup>79</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Serangeli (2015); Haas (1994b). For Athene Hippiā and Isthār of the Horses see Yalouris (1950).

<sup>76</sup> Cammarosano (2018: 447, text 17§12) = Cammarosano (2015: 216). Athene in Stesichorus, fr. 100 Davies Finglass; see Rutherford (2020d) for more.

<sup>77</sup> It has been suggested that the epithet Pallas echoes Hittite *palahsa* ‘cloak’, which Ishtar holds over her worshippers: see Teffeteller (2001: 357n.43); Morris (2001a: 148); cf. Puhvel HED 8 (2011), 62–3.

<sup>78</sup> Parker (2011: 88–90) summarizes earlier structuralist work.

<sup>79</sup> KBo 2.1 ii 16–24; see McMahon (1991: 83–141). Archi (1975e) compared the Roman genius.

. . . to the <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of the animals [of the Labarna], the <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of the strengthening [of the Labarna], the <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of the shoulder [of the Labarna], the <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of the encircling(?) [of the Labarna], the <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of the divine power [of the Labarna], the <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of the life [of the Labarna], the <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of the heroism [of the Labarna], the <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of the army [of the Labarna], the <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of battle [of the Labarna]

This is an extreme case. For the most part, Hittite deities had more limited spheres of action and we can observe general agreement with Greek deities. Thus:

- War: corresponding to the Hittite category of war-gods are Greek war-gods: principally Ares (see §9.3.2), but also Apollo and Athene.
- Nature: the Hittite LAMMA deities are generally concerned with nature (e.g. Inara, Hapantaliya); Greek nature gods are Artemis and Apollo, Dionysus, and Pan, as well as the Great Mother Cybele. I have already mentioned possible links between Apollo and LAMMA deities (see p. 112) and between Cybele and Anatolian goddesses of nature (p. 176). The parallel with Greek Artemis also seems worth exploring, since one of Artemis' main cults was at Ephesos, once the capital of Arzawa. In iconography Artemis tends to be associated with deer, like a <sup>D</sup>LAMMA.<sup>80</sup> However, the name Artemis does not look obviously Anatolian,<sup>81</sup> nor does her famous multi-breasted iconography at Ephesos,<sup>82</sup> which in any case may be no older than the Hellenistic period.<sup>83</sup> Although Lydian texts refer to this goddess as Artimus, her local name is supposed to have been Opis/Oupis, the cultural affiliations of which are obscure.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>80</sup> See LIMC II: 805–6 s. Artemis/Diana no. 27. See also E. L. Brown (2004: 250–1).

<sup>81</sup> Several derivations have been proposed: from Luwian (Meriggi (1967: 51); cf. Lebrun (1987a: 261) (impossible); from Hittite: E. L. Brown (2004) ('bear'), from Luwian: García Trabazo (2017).

<sup>82</sup> Cf. the catalogue in Fleischer (1973) and (1983); Larson (2007: 108–12). The 'breasts' are not a specifically female feature, since they are shared with male deities. Zeus at Labraunda: S. Morris (2001a: plate 107b). Fleischer (1973) sees the iconography of Ephesian Artemis as common in the West and SE of Turkey, and derives it from Syria. A suggestive recent interpretation is that of Sarah Morris (2001a) and (2001b) that the breasts are misunderstood ritual hunting bags of the Anatolian type (*kursa-s*). Hutter (2003: 268–9) cautiously compares the <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of the *kursa* who is attested in Arzawan rituals (see p. 128).

<sup>83</sup> Fleischer (1973: 128–37).

<sup>84</sup> Macrobius, *Sat.* 5.22.4–5 = Timotheus PMG778a; G. Radke, RE 17, 926–7 s. Opis. See Fauth (1969). See p. 194 on Hebat.

### 9.5.1 The Storm God, Sun Deity

I discussed the Storm god and Sun deities on p. 32. The Hittites saw the Storm god as the most important deity in the pantheon, as is implied in the *Instructions for the Frontier Post Governors* (Miller 2013: no. 17; CTH 261.1, §33):<sup>85</sup>

Further, reverence (*nahsaraz*) for the deities shall be maintained; for the Storm God, though, reverence shall be firmly established.

The total number of epithets used of him, which gives us a rough guide to the number of forms he took, runs into the hundreds.<sup>86</sup> Of all Hittite LBA theonyms, this is the one that survived best in the Anatolian and Neo-Hittite religious systems of the 1st millennium BC (see p. 54).

Tarhunna readily undergoes identification with analogous deities of other religious systems. He is similar to the N. Syrian Storm god Adad, and in the Hurrian pantheon he was identified with Tesub. His major associations included rain, fertility and, at least in the South-East, the growth of the vine.<sup>87</sup>

Zeus is obviously a similar figure, although he was originally a sky god (\**Diweus*). The Storm god has the epithet *heuwaz* ('of rain') in a calendar from Hakmis and Zeus is called Huetios or Hues 'of rain'.<sup>88</sup> The symbol of Zeus' lightning bears a resemblance to the Storm god's thunder, at least as we see it on Neo-Hittite monuments; the trident of Poseidon (in some ways a Storm god himself) bears a resemblance as well.<sup>89</sup>

Notice, however, that in one important respect the Greek pantheon seems closer to the Ugaritic one than the Hittite one, namely that the three brothers Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades, sons of Kronos seem to be a close equivalent to Baal, Yamm, and Mot, the sons of El. This would be one more

<sup>85</sup> See Cammarosano (2018: 113).

<sup>86</sup> See Houwink ten Cate (1992); for an idea, see OHP 2.772–813 and 658–78.

<sup>87</sup> Haas (1994a: 325–8). D. Schwemer in RLA15 1/ 2: 69–90 s. Wettergott(heiten) (A).

<sup>88</sup> The words are similar but not apparently related etymologically. Attes is called Hues in a ritual cry preserved by Demosthenes, *De Corona* 260 and Hesychius, *v* 110–12, says Sabazios was called Hues. See H. Schwabl, RE XA.368.22–37 s. Zeus Ὑέτιος, 368.38–9 s. Zeus Ὑης; Jessen, RE Hyes 88.8–89.29 s. Hyes, 89.30–90.5 s. Hyetios. Cook (1914–40: 3.873–4). Could this be a horizontal borrowing?

<sup>89</sup> Blinkenberg (1911); Cook (1914–40:2.1.722–806); Hawkins (1992).



reason for believing that the Levant played a role in the development of early Greek mythology.<sup>90</sup>

With respect to the Sun deity, Greek religion seems very different, since neither Helios nor any other sun deity has such an important position either in the 1st millennium or in the LBA.<sup>91</sup> Nevertheless, Helios was important in oaths, a role he has already in the *Iliad*.<sup>92</sup> Thus, when the Hittite king in the Tawagalawa letter (AhT4§15) referred to the Sun god (as was common in diplomatic contexts), the Mycenaean may well have understood this as Helios (\*Hawelios).

### 9.5.2 Birth and Fate

A Hittite deity often associated with the birth was Hannahanna (often written DINGIR.MAH or <sup>D</sup>MAH) (see the *historiola* cited on p. 49; see also p. 176); also associated with birth were the mother goddess written as the same name in the plural: DINGIR.MAH<sup>MES</sup>; their Hittite name is uncertain, but they may be modelled on Hurrian deities.<sup>93</sup>

The DINGIR.MAH goddesses are associated with the so-called Guls-goddesses who presided over fate (so in Greek myth fate goddesses tend to be present at important births);<sup>94</sup> their name is connected with the verb *guls*-‘engrave’. One ritual text calls the Guls-goddesses of the river bank and the DINGIR.MAH goddesses ‘those who created men’.<sup>95</sup> There were also two fate goddesses derived from the Hattic stratum Papaya and Isdustaya, who

<sup>90</sup> M. S. Smith (1994: 94–5).

<sup>91</sup> A Hittite catalogue of festivals (KUB 17.19 obv. 9; Dardano 2006: 222–3) mentions a deity at Lusna (probably = Lystra) called <sup>D</sup>UTU-liya, i.e. a sun-deity whose name ends in -liya. This cannot be the normal Anatolian sun god, whose name was probably Istanus. There has been speculation that the theonym might be related to the PIE root \**seh<sub>2</sub>ul*, representing \*Sahhulia or even a cognate Mycenaean theonym \*Haweliya (i.e. \*Haweliyos, the earlier form Halios). The latter case would imply Mycenaean influence considerably inland, perhaps starting from Pamphylia. However, the deity is likelier to be Luwian Tiwaliya, an adjective derive from Tiwad. See Steitler (2017: 179); Lebrun (1995: 252); M. L. West (2007: 194–5); originally suggested by Huld (1986: 194n.1); Hutter (2003: 226).

<sup>92</sup> See E. Jessen, RE 8 (1913) s. Helios 59–60; Hom. *Il.* 3 277. At *Il.* 3.104, where Menelaus and the Trojans sacrifice to Helios and Ge and the Greeks to Zeus. Burkert (1990: 7) argues that this reflects a perception that the two sides would swear by different gods.

<sup>93</sup> Kellerman (1987); Haas (1994a: 433–6); Beckman (1983: 238–47).

<sup>94</sup> Hoffner (1968). Cf. Pindar’s account of the birth of Apollo: Rutherford (2001a: 41).

<sup>95</sup> CTH 434.1; quoted in p. 49.

wove destiny.<sup>96</sup> Our best source for them is a mysterious passage from the Ritual for the Erection of the New Palace.<sup>97</sup>

The Throne-goddess hails the Eagle: Go! I am sending thee to the Sea . . .  
 The Eagle says: I have searched. Only Išduštaya (and) Papaya, the nether-world former deities the daughters-in-law, are kneeling . . . One holds a distaff, they hold full spindles. They are spinning the years of the king.  
 The shortness of the years, their calculation cannot be seen.

Their status as chthonic deities is indicated by the fact that they are included with Lelwani in the *kaluti* of deities to whom sacrifice is made in the *hesti*-house on the 11th Day of the AN.TAH.SUM festival, when they lay the Old Year to rest (see p. 230).<sup>98</sup>

It goes without saying that there is an excellent analogy with the Greek Moirai, who are also imagined as spinning, at least from the time of Homer. The idea that the Fates are primeval deities also suits the Greek tradition (daughters of Night in Hesiod, *Th.* 217), as does their association with the chthonic sphere.<sup>99</sup> The number is different (three), although the number was not always the same in Greece, and at Delphi there were two of them.<sup>100</sup> It has been suggested that the idea of the Fates spinning human destiny is an Indo-European trait, though we should be aware that the chances are that Papaya and Isdustaya were already present in the non-Indo-European Hattic stratum of Hittite religion.<sup>101</sup>

### 9.5.3 Fountains, Rivers, and the Sea

Fountains and rivers are important in Anatolian religion, and they are generally identified as female, even rivers.<sup>102</sup> Cult statues of fountain goddesses are

<sup>96</sup> See Archi (2013a).

<sup>97</sup> CTH 414.1§15–18 = KUB 29.3 obv.i.50–ii.10; tr. Archi (2013a: 1); cf. Beckman (2010: 73).

<sup>98</sup> VAT 6470 ii 1–8; Haas (1994a: 793–4); Haas and Wäfler (1977: 100), Torri (1999:24).

<sup>99</sup> LIMC 6.1 s. Moirai: Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2015). A. Henrichs s. Moirai, DNP (English), 9. 125. Chthonic status: associated with Pluto, Persephone, Erinues, Hecate: SEG30, 326; associated with the Erinues at Sicily: Paus. 2.11.4.

<sup>100</sup> Plutarch, *E at Delphi* 385c; Paus. 10.24.4.

<sup>101</sup> Indo-European: M. L. West (2007: 379–85); Hattic: Archi (2013a: 1).

<sup>102</sup> Haas (1994a: 464–6); 501ff. For “spring” in Hittite, see CHD s.v. *sak(k)uni*-.

also found in the cult inventories, e.g. that for the obscure town of Tarammeka, which had three of them:<sup>103</sup>

Spring Ishashuriya: the divine image is 1 statuette of a woman, of wood, plated with silver; she is veiled; (the statuette is) seated, (it is) one short cubit in height; in her right hand she holds a silver cup. (She has) 1 bracelet of silver, 20 fruits of gold on her forehead, of which 7 are of silver (and) 3 moon-crescents of silver on her chest...

[Spring...] the divine image is 1 statuette of a woman, of wood, plated with silver; she is [vei]led; (the statuette is) seated, (it is) one short cubit in height; [in her right hand] she holds a silver cup. (She has) 3 fruits of silver, of which 1 is of gold, on [her forehead (?)].

[Spring... : the divine image is 1 stat]uette of a woman, of wood, plated with silver; [she is ve]il[ed; (the statuette is) seated, (it is) 1 short cubit [in heigh]t; in her right hand [she holds a silver] cup. (She has) [n frui]ts of gold, of which 1 is of silver, on her forehead. Total: three statuettes of wome[n] . . . [ ] We built a new shrine for them...

So too Greek nymphs are depicted holding dishes, large shells, and similar objects;<sup>104</sup> specific cases include Corinthian Nymph Peirene, who tends to be represented as holding a jug, or the Argive fountain nymph Amymonne.<sup>105</sup>

In one case they even have the same name: one of the Hittite fountain goddesses is called Ku(wa)nnaniya, presumably from *kuwanna*, i.e. ‘of lapis lazuli’. That word is often said to be the origin of Greek *kuanos/kuaneos* (‘dark substance/blue’) which is already attested in Linear B.<sup>106</sup> Kuane (‘blue’) was the name of a nymph of Syracuse, and of another at Miletus; this may not be significant, however, since it is such an obvious name for a nymph.<sup>107</sup>

The sea is of great importance in Greek religion, one of the spheres associated with Poseidon. It’s much less important in Hittite religion,

<sup>103</sup> KUB 38.1 i 10–28; Cammarosano (2018: 308–9), from where this translation comes.

<sup>104</sup> Halm-Tisserant and Siebert (1997) adduce many examples, e.g. under their ‘category E’ (‘Nymphes à la vasue’). Parker (2016: 10) warns that images of water deities holding vessels are too common and obvious for us to be able to posit a connection.

<sup>105</sup> Peirene: Lanara (1994); Amymonne: Simon (1981).

<sup>106</sup> Simon (2018: 396); cf. Goetze (1947); Lebrun (2007b: 462); Puhvel took a different view.

<sup>107</sup> Syracuse: Diod. 5.4: bulls were throw into it; Ovid, *Met.* 5.412; Miletus: Ovid, *Met.* 9.452. Theocritus, *Id.* 13.45 mentions a water nymph called Malis at Kios on the Propontis. This could be a continuity, since the goddess Hittite goddess Maliya is associated with water; see further Lebrun (1982: 124), Lebrun (1989); see p. 194.

though we find occasional cults of it in the South-East: Aruna (Hittite for sea) was worshipped along with other deities in the vicinity of Tuwanuwa (CTH 719),<sup>108</sup> and there was cult in honour of two seas, the Great Sea (probably the Mediterranean) and the Tarmana Sea, along with the Luwian deity Santa, whose presence surely indicates the South-East of Anatolia (CTH 722).<sup>109</sup> At Zalpuwa on the Black Sea a procession seems to have started from the sea, but it's not clear what role it had in cult.<sup>110</sup>

## 9.6 Two Greek Deities with Anatolian Connections

It remains to discuss two Greek deities with strong claims to have an Anatolian connection: Hecate and Dionysus.

### 9.6.1 Hecate: Multiple Correspondences

Hesiod thought of Hecate as a universal goddess (*Theog.* 411–20), but in later times her main spheres of activity were the chthonic realm and arcane purification rituals (the modern term ‘magic’ suggests itself); she was associated with crossroads, doors, and puppy sacrifices, and regarded as having three forms. She was often identified with other goddesses, including Thessalian En(no)dia, if she was ever distinct,<sup>111</sup> and Artemis; in fact, the name ‘Hecate’ looks like the feminine of ‘Hekatos’, an epithet used of Apollo. Her main seat of residence from the Hellenistic period, if not earlier, was recognized as Lagina in Caria;<sup>112</sup> she was worshipped earlier in Miletus, and her name is reflected in local onomastics, starting with Hecataeus of Miletus (6th century BC). It may well be that she was identified there with an unknown Carian goddess.<sup>113</sup>

Was Hecate Anatolian, wholly or in part? It's worth asking, especially since Lagina was close to Çine Tepecik, now known to be a site of Mycenaean–Anatolian interaction in the LBA (see p. 101). The answer

<sup>108</sup> Beckman (2015). <sup>109</sup> Popko (1987).

<sup>110</sup> KUB 59.17; Corti (2010a: 98–9); Popko (2004). <sup>111</sup> See Mili (2015: 147–58).

<sup>112</sup> For Lagina, Laumonier (1958:344–425) is still a useful guide.

<sup>113</sup> For Hecate: Henrichs in OCD: DOI:10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.013.2957; Kraus (1960); Berg (1974) has argued against Anatolian origin and in favour of Mycenaean Greek background. Debord (2009: 256) suggests that her Carian name was χt, inferred from the Carian equivalent of the Greek theophoric name Hekatomnas; he thinks χt also appears in Greek theophoric names as Akta-.

may be found in either or both of two areas: first, Hittite goddesses with similar personalities, and secondly ritual motifs associated with her.

To consider first goddesses with similar personalities, there are two obvious possibilities.

- (i) Mary Bachvarova has pointed to resemblances to the Sun Goddess of Earth, who controls the gate of the underworld in the Purifying a House ritual. Hecate has similar powers in a Greco-Egyptian magical papyrus in Paris (4th century AD), where she is addressed as one of a number of chthonic deities, some of them Egyptian. The epithet 'keyholder' is sometimes applied to chthonic deities with reference to the Gates of Hell, and it has been suggested that the ritual of the *kleidos agōge* ('bringing of the key') at Lagina may have a similar meaning.<sup>114</sup>
- (ii) The Hittite goddess most concerned with purification rituals is Kamrusepa (Hattic *Katahziwuri*).<sup>115</sup> In the Telipinu myth, she calms the anger of Telipinu using the 'mortal words', which implies ritual authority.<sup>116</sup> Other texts mention 'words of Kamrusepa' or 'words of the sun god (her consort) and Kamrusepa'.<sup>117</sup> A common tool she uses is a comb. Like Kamrusepa, Hecate can be invoked as a ritual authority, as in the recently published Getty Hexameters,<sup>118</sup> or in Theocritus' *Second Idyll*. Kamrusepa's role in the Telipinu myth, can be compared to Hecate's in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (see p. 95), though Kamrusepa does not seem to be associated with the underworld. The association of Hecate and Helios in the *Homeric Hymn* suggests the established pairing of Sun god Tiwad and Kamrusepa in the Luwian zone.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>114</sup> See Bachvarova (2010). The magic text is PGM4 1460–70 in Betz (1986: 65–6); for Hecate and the doors of Hades see Heckenbach in RE 7 (1912) 2769–82, 2773. *Kleidos agoge*: Johnston (1990: 41–2).

<sup>115</sup> Could *Katah-ziwuri* have anything to do with the name Hecate? For the name, see Soysal (2010).

<sup>116</sup> In Hoffner this is Telipinu 1, §25; §35 in Rieken's edition (E. Rieken et al. (ed.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 324.1 (INTR 2012-05-10)). See Kellerman (1986: 120–3).

<sup>117</sup> See Haas (1994a: 439); Archi (1993); as in Hantitassu's ritual: Ünal (1996: 29): 'Are my [word]s not (identical with) the words of the Sun God and of Kamrusepa? [Accept] them as the conj[urations] of a mortal!'

<sup>118</sup> See R. Kotansky, <https://oxfordre.com/classics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.001.0001/acrefore-9780199381135-e-8123>.

<sup>119</sup> See Hutter (2003a: 225).

Hecate could be said to combine elements of both of these goddesses. Others could perhaps be added to this list, including Hannahanna who helps to find disappearing gods as well by sending out a reconnaissance-bee; and Huwassanna, whose anger is appeased by offerings at a crossroads (see below).<sup>120</sup> Not every feature of Hecate can be paralleled in the Anatolian material, though, for example her association with the moon;<sup>121</sup> and her three-form appearance.<sup>122</sup>

There are also some ritual motifs associated with Hecate which may have Anatolian resonances:

- The use of dogs in ritual is not common in Greek religion, but dog sacrifice is found in association with Ares/Enealios, Hecate, and Eileithuia. At Colophon a black dog was sacrificed to Hecate at night (Paus. 3.14.9).<sup>123</sup> The Hittites do not sacrifice dogs, but they do use them in purification rituals, such as 'between the pieces' rituals and waving rituals which would end with the puppy being killed and burned or buried.<sup>124</sup> Dog sacrifices to Hecate may have overlapped with purification rituals (see 9.5.2).
- 'Puppying around' (*periskulakismos* from *skulax*: puppy) is a form of contact ritual in which miasma is removed via the application of puppies. This is described by Plutarch in his account of the Roman *Lupercalia* festival.<sup>125</sup>

Nearly all the Greeks used a dog as a sacrificial victim for ceremonies of purification; and some, at least, make use of it even to this day. They bring forth for Hecate puppies along with the other materials for

<sup>120</sup> Kraus (1960: 55) thought of Hepat. David West (1992) has looked for origins in the Mesopotamian demon Lamashtu who has various parallels with Hecate, including that of being associated with dogs.

<sup>121</sup> See Zographou (2010: 203–8).

<sup>122</sup> Haas (1994a: 477–8) argued that this has a parallel in EBA figures from Kültepe. However, three-form deities can be found in many religions, e.g. the triple headed Egyptian Mut (Book of the Dead, Spell 163).

<sup>123</sup> ThesCRA I 2a s. 49–51 (Ares), 158 (Hecate), 279 (Eileithuia). Dog sacrifice to Enealios at Lindos is confirmed by a 5th century inscription: LSS85. 29–30. See Laumonier (1958: 419–20); Robertson (1982a: 130–1); Graf (1985: 422n.112). Enealios: Day (1984: 27).

<sup>124</sup> Collins (1990).

<sup>125</sup> QR 68, 280b–c; tr. Babbitt Loeb. Plutarch says something similar at *Romulus* 21.8 (both accounts come in the context of the Roman *Lupercalia* where dogs were said to be sacrificed). A dog is part of a magical rite (probably of Hecate) at Sophron, CPG fr. 4, 7; Hordern (2004: 132–3). See also Parker (1983: 230); Zografou (2010: 273); Burris (1935); Mainoldi (1984: 55). For the use of 'Melitaeian' puppies in medicine, see Pliny, *NH* 30: 42–3, 64.

purification and rub round about with puppies such persons as are in need of cleansing, and this kind of purification they call *periskulakismos*.

The carrying around of a puppy is mentioned by Theophrastos (*Char.* 16.14): 'if he ever sees one of the figures of Hecate at the crossroads wreathed with garlic, he is off home to . . . summon a priestess whom he bids purify him with the carrying around of a squill or a puppy dog'. *Periskulakismos* has antecedents in Hittite texts, e.g. in the (unfortunately fragmentary) *Ritual of Zuwi*, where the dog is touched to different parts of the patient's body.<sup>126</sup> Behind this are two Near Eastern traditions: that of touching parts of an animal substitute to the corresponding parts of the patient's body, and religious use of the dog in healing cults such as that of Gula.<sup>127</sup>

- Roads and crossroads were frequently associated with Hecate ('Enodia'), and meals for her were left there.<sup>128</sup> Crossroads feature in Hittite and Luwian ritual texts; in two from Arzawa offerings are made at the crossroads to deter angry deities;<sup>129</sup> in Bappi's Ritual the anger of the goddess Huwassana (from Hupisna in the Lower Land) is appeased by offerings at the crossroads, which seems close to Hecate's *deipna*.<sup>130</sup> Ritual significance of crossroads is also found elsewhere in the Ancient Near East, and it may be universal.<sup>131</sup>

These parallels prove only that Greek magical rituals, with which Hecate was associated, are much the same in different cultures of the E. Mediterranean and W. Asia, although the use of the crossroads as a place to deter angry deities in Luwian areas is suggestive. Going back to divine personalities, we could perhaps form the hypothesis that Hecate

<sup>126</sup> CTH 412; cf. Haas (2003a: 18, 525–6); Collins (1990: 214). Earlier parts: Haas (2003a: 257, 440, 628). A similar touching of body parts is found in Tunnuwiyā's 'Ritual of the Ox', KUB 55.20+; see Beckman (1990); Collins (1990: 215).

<sup>127</sup> For the former, see the Akkadian-Sumerian bilingual, Schramm (2008: no. 4), cf. Haas (1971); for the latter Lorenz (2004: 342–8).

<sup>128</sup> Johnston (1991); ThesCRA II.246; Parker (1983: 30, 224).

<sup>129</sup> Haas (1976: 202 and n.40); CHD s.v. KASKAL-as *ḥattaresar/ḥatarniyashas* (s. *palsa*, 72). Allī's Ritual KUB 24.9 ii 34–9 CTH 402 §22; Dandanku's Ritual CTH 425§2: Bawanypeck (2005: 257). 'Gods of road' are mentioned in Allī's Ritual and Uhhamuwa's Ritual: see pp.124, 128 n.24.

<sup>130</sup> CTH 431§8 (KBo 29.191 ii 8). See S. Görke (ed.), *hethiter.net/*: CTH 431 (TRde 09.06.2015); see Hutter (2003: 247); del Monte (2004: 343).

<sup>131</sup> Ancient Near East: Steinert (2014: 139–40); Yoruban rituals of Africa: Drewal (1992: 45, 205).

resembles a combination of two major Anatolian deities; the Sun Goddess of Earth and Kamrusepa, and that Greeks came to know her via her cult in Caria. But there is a problem there, namely that we have to assume that the Greek view of Hecate corresponds to her native personality in Caria. However, it is equally possible that their Greeks ‘externalized’ their own goddess of chthonic magic, projecting it onto a culture that they saw as part of the barbarian other. In fact, the early use of her name in theophoric anthroponyms at Miletus suggests that the local view of her there may not have been so negatively marked.

### 9.6.2 Dionysus: A Greek Deity

Greek sources regularly associate Dionysus with distant lands: Herodotus says that much of his cult originated in Egypt, and in the Hellenistic period he was said to have led an expedition to India. He was also identified with the god of Israel.<sup>132</sup> He had a strong association with Thrace;<sup>133</sup> but was also linked to Lydia and Phrygia, already in Euripides’ *Bacchae*. In view of this, and the fact that Cybele and possibly Sabazios migrate from Phrygia (see Chapter 8), scholars have naturally been interested in probing whether there really was some early Anatolian influence on Dionysus. As early as 1890 Paul Kretschmer proposed that his mother’s name Semele might originate in Phrygian *zemelo-* ‘earth’, attested in the Roman period.<sup>134</sup>

A link with Lydia is suggested by the theonym Paki, which occurs alone and as part of a theophoric anthroponym Pakiwas and a month name Pakilli. Pakiwas corresponds in an inscription to Greek Dionysokles, making it certain that Paki- was understood as a translation of Dionysus.<sup>135</sup> This raises the possibility that the Greek theonym Bakkhos is a borrowing from Lydia, but borrowing in the other direction cannot be excluded,<sup>136</sup> nor that

<sup>132</sup> See Burkert (1985: 163); Farnell (1896–1909: 5.86); Dionysus and the god of Israel: Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.5.

<sup>133</sup> Burkert (1985: 136).

<sup>134</sup> Cf. Heubeck (1961: 77); Kretschmer (1890: 18–19), Lubotsky (1998); Willi (2007: 171); but this is quite uncertain: see Astour (1965: 169). In fact, Kretschmer believed that the word, along with the deity, was Thracio-Phrygian, since he thought Thracian was closely related to Phrygian (cf. Kretschmer (1896: 171–243); there is now doubt about the latter: see Brixhe (2004: 780); Brixhe and Panayotou (1997: 202); hence the model of ‘Thracio-Phrygian religion’ loses much of its support.

<sup>135</sup> W. H. Buckler in Littmann (1916: 38); Payne-Wintjes (2016: 105); Gusmani (1964: 74–5) for bibliography.

<sup>136</sup> For Greek deities in Lydian religion see pp. 77–78.



the deity Paki was chosen as a translation for Dionysus only because it sounded like Bakkhos.<sup>137</sup>

Many attempts have been made to find Hittite antecedents for Dionysus. Some have pointed to Telipinu. Isabelle Tassignon argued that he resembles Telipinu in being a vanishing god: he gets angry, disappears, is hunted for, summoned and reappears.<sup>138</sup> She also suggested links between the *eian*-tree and the role of trees in Greco-Anatolian religion, mentioning the *aphidruma* of Dionysus found in a tree at Magnesia, and drawing in particular on Louis Robert's reconstruction of the 'dendrophoric' ritual involving both Apollo and Dionysus at Aulai near Magnesia on the Maeander.<sup>139</sup> One objection to Tassignon's general thesis is that not all of this is specific to Telipinu; for the summoning of the deity from the abyss, the best Anatolian parallel is in fact the Storm god of Nerik, Taru, who vanishes 'into a hole'; more generally, this pattern is not confined to Greece or Anatolia.<sup>140</sup>

Other Dionysiac suggestions include the hypothesis that Greek *tragoidos* goes back to the Hittite *tarkuwant* 'dancer',<sup>141</sup> and that Orphic-Bacchic beliefs about immortality have their best parallel in a Hittite text which seems to describe the journey of the human soul after death.<sup>142</sup>

The Hittites had viticulture, and there were associated deities.<sup>143</sup> The goddess Malia is called 'mother of wine and grain' in one Hittite ritual (see p. 194).<sup>144</sup> Winiyanta in the Istanuwa rituals may be a wine god (see p. 180). In the 10th century BC Hieroglyphic Luwian ARSUZ inscription the

<sup>137</sup> For similar cases Bergman (1969).

<sup>138</sup> Anger: Tassignon (2001: 310ff.); disappearing: Tassignon (2001: 314ff.) and Tassignon (2003); quest, e.g. at Chaeroneia (Plutarch, *QC* 8.1, 717a); being summoned, e.g. at Argos: see p. 92. Tassignon (2002) argued for a Hittite background of local forms of Dionysus attested in Roman Phrygia.

<sup>139</sup> Tassignon (2004); Kern (1900: no. 215); SGO 1. 02/01/02.

<sup>140</sup> See §4.7.1 Andrew Stewart (1996) argued for this ingeniously via the identification Telipinu with the Mysian hero Telephus (see p. 8), pointing to the myth in which the Greek heroes confronted with Telephus are helped by Dionysus Sphaleotas of Mysia who trips him up; this suggests Dionysus and Telephus-Telipinu are the same, if and only if one accepts the theory that gods and their mortal 'ritual antagonists' tend to mirror one another; more likely, it indicates that they are different. For the myth: Lycophron, *Alex.* 205–15, 1245–9; Daux and Bousquet (1942–3). As Stewart says (1996: 180n.112) there may be an echo in Pindar, *Isth.* 8.49–52.

<sup>141</sup> Szemerényi (1975: 326–8); rejected by Simon (2018: 406).

<sup>142</sup> KUB43.60; Archi (2007a); Bernabé and San Cristóbal (2008: 216–17) in their study of Orphic tablets, compared them to funerary evidence from other cultures, including Egypt and India, and came to the conclusion that the Hittite evidence was the closest.

<sup>143</sup> See now the essays in Corti (2018a).

<sup>144</sup> KUB 43.23 rev. 51; in Anna's Ritual for the vineyard the Maliyanni goddesses are involved (KUB 12.44+); for both of these see Haas (1988a).

parents of the Storm god were apparently the grain god Kumarbi and the wine god Tipariya.<sup>145</sup>

Twice in Hieroglyphic Luwian Neo-Hittite texts we have references to the Storm god of the vineyard (*tuwaris(a)-*):

CHLI X.44 (BOR), vol.I.2, 520: I (am) Warpalawas . . . I myself planted this vineyard, and this Tarhunza of the Vineyard I set up . . .’);

CHLI X.14 (SULTANHAN), vol.I.2, 465: ‘I am Sarwatiaras . . . I set up this Tarhunza of the Vineyard . . .’).

It was suggested by Helmuth Bossert in 1952 that *tuwaris(a)-* might be linked to a Greek word that has to do with the vinous sphere, *θύρσος* (‘thyrsus’), the wand carried by Dionysus and his worshippers.<sup>146</sup> The sense is not a perfect match, especially since vine tendrils are only one component of a *thyrsus* which is basically a fennel-staff with a pine cone on the end, but it might be right.<sup>147</sup> In the famous relief from Ivriz in Cappadocia also set up by king Warpalawa (late 8th century BC) the Storm god (not identified as ‘of the vineyard’ in this case) carries grapes and sheaves of grain,<sup>148</sup> so in the Aramaic stele of Kuttamuwa of Zincirli (750–725 BC) the deities honoured include a ‘Hadad of the vineyards’, who is clearly equivalent to the Luwian deity. Notice that in the accompanying image Kuttamuwa holds a pine cone, which again reminds us of the thyrsus of Dionysus, though in this case perhaps borrowing from Greece is more likely.<sup>149</sup>

In the end, there is no reason to think that Dionysus has been shaped by Hittite or Luwian models very much, except perhaps for the name of the *thyrsos*.

## 9.7 Conclusion: An Embargo on Gods?

Overall, there is little sign of extensive Hittite influence on the Greek pantheon. Even for Cybele, as we saw in Chapter 8, the case is less than

<sup>145</sup> Weeden (2018: 353). <sup>146</sup> Bossert (1952–3a: 180–1).

<sup>147</sup> Supported with reservations by Beekes (2010: 566), and Simon (2018: 391). NW Semitic connections are explored by J. P. Brown (1969: 168–9).

<sup>148</sup> IVRIZ 1 = CHLI X.43, vol.I.2, 517–8 with plate 292.

<sup>149</sup> ‘*Hadad krmn*’: Pardee (2009: 62). See Struble and Herrmann (2009: 25) for the parallel.

compelling. It's possible that Samothracian Kasmilos goes back to Hasameli, and that Yarri has something to do with Ares. It is also possible that Potniya Asiwiya was originally a goddess of Assuwa, though Apaliuna in the Wilusa treaty seems more likely to be a Mycenaean deity abroad. The Titans resemble the Hittite Former Gods in many respects (§7.5), but knowledge of these, as of the divine succession myth, could have come to the Aegean via Hurrians in Syria. Otherwise, we are dealing for the most part with general similarities in divine schemata of the sort that are likely to arise in cultures which had developed in the same geographical zone and in similar social and environmental conditions over millennia and where there may have been a degree of gradual cultural diffusion over the same period.

This picture might change if we knew more about the pantheon of W. Anatolia in the LBA (see §6.4). Several of the indications we have for interaction come from the West, and we should factor in also the similarities between Arzawan rituals and Greek religion. It is suggestive that the practice of making apotropaic offerings at crossroads, which the Greeks associated with Hecate, has parallels in Arzawa and the Lower Land.

As for the Hittites and Greeks, the lack of evidence for mutual influence is striking, especially since these states were in diplomatic contact, and the Hittites even had an Ahhiyawa deity at their court for a while. But we should remember that the result of contact can just as easily be resistance as absorption. Eric Cline suggested that the best way to explain the lack of evidence for trade between the Hittites and Greeks is that of a trade embargo,<sup>150</sup> and similarly religious relations between the two states could perhaps be termed an embargo on gods.

<sup>150</sup> Cline (1991b).

# 10

## War-Rituals

### 10.1 Introduction: Towards A Gazetteer of Battle Rituals

In Chapter 5 I suggested that political alliances and diplomatic contact could have led to some sharing of religious practice. At the opposite end of the spectrum, another form of contact between states is warfare, which is also a highly ritualized activity in the ancient world, war-rituals being known from many ancient cultures, including Hittite Anatolia and Greece, but also Babylon and Assyria, Israel and Rome.<sup>1</sup>

If we compare the military rituals of different ancient cultures, we find similarities and also differences. Aside from conducting plague rituals, the Greek *manteis* gave oracles to the generals while on campaign, like the *baru* in the Assyrian army.<sup>2</sup> Hittite augurs were consulted about military matters,<sup>3</sup> and may have accompanied the army and made predictions immediately before battle, though our sources tend to stress the role of diviners back in the capital.<sup>4</sup> An Assyrian military ritual which involved ritual figurines with their heads or arms twisted has a parallel in a Thracian ritual mentioned by

<sup>1</sup> In general Ulanowski (2016a); Hittites: Beal (1995); Greece: Pritchett (1979); Ducrey (2012); Tomkins (2013); Babylon and Assyria: Melville (2016) with bibliography cited there; Israel: Kelle et al. (2014); and Rome: Rüpke (1990).

<sup>2</sup> Mantis in war: Flower (2008: 153–87); Baru: Ulanowski (2016b); Flower (2008: 30–1) compares *mantis* and *baru*.

<sup>3</sup> Bawanypeck (2014); Haas (2008: 103–17). A well-preserved military-themed oracle report from the reign of Hattusili III relates to a campaign against the Kaska (KUB 5.1): approval is sought not just for the beginning of the campaign, but for every stage; several alternative campaign routes seem to be set out, most of which are approved, so that it seems the oracle's role may have been to eliminate options rather than to decide on one (Beal (2002b: 33); translation in Beal (1999)). Some of the themes of consultation were similar to those we find in Greek sources, e.g. on the 'way': see Högemann and Oettinger (2008).

<sup>4</sup> In the *Annals* of Mursili II Nuwanaza has to send back a messenger to the king in Kizzuwatna to get an oracle before he makes an attack, apparently because he doesn't have an augur and diviner with him: KBo 4.4 ii 27–33 and 50–7 (Goetze 1933: 117–19, tr. CoS2:89; Haas 2008: 103–4). A surviving letter, KBo 18.151, reports the result of oracle inquiries in the capital to the king on campaign: Haas (2008: 105–8).

Greek writers of the Roman period;<sup>5</sup> similarly the Hebrew Bible describes a pre-battle ritual in which an arrow is shot in the direction of the enemy land, which is similar to the practice of the Roman *fetiales* who threw a spear at the enemy land as a declaration of war.<sup>6</sup> Many of the similarities can be explained as responses to the crisis of war that would occur in any culture—consulting oracles before battle, appealing to the gods for justification, for example (see below). However, diffusion is also possible, particularly since military techniques themselves spread: in the 17th century BC the Hittites borrowed the battering ram from the Hurrians;<sup>7</sup> and chariot warfare seems to have been introduced into Anatolia from the East in the mid 2nd millennium, spreading to Egypt among other countries.<sup>8</sup> Military technology and accompanying rituals could have spread by something like peer polity interaction, as states sought to maintain their position in the LBA arms race.<sup>9</sup> Other agents of change might have been mercenaries (such as the Drdny, probably from the Troad = Dardanoi, who fought at Qadesh),<sup>10</sup> or prisoners of war.

Hittites and Greeks probably came into direct military conflict at various times in the 14th–13th centuries BC, particularly around Miletus when Mursili II attacked, but perhaps much earlier during the Assuwa campaign.<sup>11</sup> In this chapter, I want to examine whether military contact between the two sides could have had an impact on religion. There is as usual little hard evidence, either archaeological<sup>12</sup> or linguistic.<sup>13</sup> What we do have are general parallels between rituals.

## 10.2 Between the Pieces

In §6.7.1 we saw one possible case of borrowing of a military ritual: Book I of the *Iliad* describes a plague ritual complex, with the archer-Apollo, which

<sup>5</sup> Olympiodorus of Thebes quoted by Photius (*Bibl. cod.80*, p. 177 = FHG4.63.27 = Blockley (1981–3 fr. 27)); cf. Faraone (1991: 170, 176), drawing on Elat (1982).

<sup>6</sup> 2 Kings 12:14–19; cf. Schmitt (2004: 275–9); Schmitt (2014: 151–2); Rüpke (1990: 105–8).

<sup>7</sup> KBo 1.11 obv. 10–18 (CTH 7, the Siege of Ursa; see Gilan 2015: 280). So too Greek battering rams could be inspired by Persia: Garland (1974: 139–40).

<sup>8</sup> See Shaw (2001); Moorey (1986). Cf. on Athene Hippias C9.P29.

<sup>9</sup> Freidel (1986) proposed peer-polity interaction as a model for explaining Mayan warfare.

<sup>10</sup> On the Dardanoi, Garstang and Gurney (1959: 104–5); Hawkins (1998a: 30n.182).

<sup>11</sup> See pp. 99–100.

<sup>12</sup> For the bronze sword found at Hattusa in 1991, which has been thought to be Mycenaean see p. 100.

<sup>13</sup> The Hittite word for ‘campaign’ *lahḫa* resembles Greek *laos* ‘people/army’ and may be connected with it (cf. Kloekhorst 2008 s.v.; Puhvel HEG 5:5–6), though Gusmani (1968: 14–17) suggests rather a link to Greek *δαί* battle. Hittite/Hurrian *kubahi* ‘headgear’ has been lined to Greek *kumbakhos*: see Puhvel HEG 4:257–8 for references; Simon (2018: 396–7).

shows some similarities to (and also some differences from) Arzawa plague rituals, and since we know that there had been Greeks in this area since the Bronze Age, there is a context for transmission—for the ritual, but, before that, also for the plague which would have necessitated it. We also saw that the tradition of Chrysame's ritual at Erythrae where a mad bull is sent in the direction of the enemy might be an echo of such a ritual. Little else is known about the purification of actual Greek armies, except that it sometimes happened.<sup>14</sup>

A number of Hittite military rituals were performed to purify the army when it returned from battle. One example is Pulisa's ritual concerning a post-campaign epidemic (see p. 127); another, the so-called 'Ritual of the Sea', performed by the king on the seashore when he returned from a military campaign, involved a clay model of a chariot and horses.<sup>15</sup> A third example is the short anonymous 'Between the Pieces' ritual performed when the army has been defeated (see §10.2). It is worth observing that there is no sign that Greek armies performed purification rituals after battle—for them, defeat in battle was not something that required ritual treatment.<sup>16</sup>

Here is the text of the 'Between the Pieces' ritual:<sup>17</sup>

If the troops are defeated by the enemy, then prepare the 'behind the river' ritual as follows: Behind the river they sever a human, a billy goat, a puppy, and a piglet. On one side they set halves and on the other side they set the (other) halves. In front (of these) they make a gate of hawthorn and stretch a cord (?) up over (it). Then, before the gate, on one side they burn a fire and on the other side they burn a fire. The troops go through, but when they come alongside the river, they sprinkle water over (themselves). They perform the ritual again in the steppe. They celebrate the ritual of the steppe in the same way.

<sup>14</sup> Pritchett (1979: 196–202). Xenophon (*Anab.* 5.7.35) describes purification of the army after mutiny at Kerasos.

<sup>15</sup> CTH 436. Fuscagni (ed.), [hethiter.net/](http://hethiter.net/): CTH 436 (INTR 2016-08-05). See Rutherford (2019d). Assyrian texts mention that the king washes his weapon in the sea and the army of Yahdun-Lim of Mari washed in the sea: here the symbolism is partly ritual, partly territorial: see Rollinger (2012); Malamat (1965).

<sup>16</sup> See Parker (1983: 113 with n.37); Burkert (1995b) on Aristotle fr. 611, 25 Rose.

<sup>17</sup> CTH 426.2; F. Fuscagni (ed.), [hethiter.net/](http://hethiter.net/): CTH 426.2 (INTR 2016-10-19). The source is a Sammeltafel KUB 17.28 iv 45–56; tr. Collins in CoS1.160–1. One might compare the purification ritual by a river at Hisurla involving the king performed on Day 4 of the *nuntarriyasha* festival (Haas (1994a: 830); the *nuntarriyasha* took place after a military campaign (see p. 231).

So here we have four elements: (1) location by a river, with water from which the army later sprinkles itself; (2) cutting four victims in half and laying them on either side; (3) making a gate of hawthorn, through which the army passes; (4) burning a fire on either side of the gate. The army does not seem to cross the river, but rather army and river are both within the severed halves. So we have three modes of passage ritual: between the pieces of an animal, through a gate, and between fires.

Between the pieces rituales, particularly involving puppies, are common in Hittite religion.<sup>18</sup> They are sometimes found embedded in military rituals, e.g. in two of the Arzawa military rituals (see §6.2); and in a ritual in honour of the goddess Pirinkir (associated with Samuha) a 'between the pieces' ritual was performed for war-horses.<sup>19</sup> The ritual translated above is the only one where a human being is explicitly severed, though in a number of other texts a human was listed among the ritual equipment (see §10.3).

The ritual technique of 'between the pieces' is widely attested in other religious traditions.<sup>20</sup> One of its uses was to ratify an agreement, a practice which was presupposed by the famous 'Covenant of the Pieces' in Genesis 15, where Abraham dreams that a flaming torch passes between the halves of animal victims which he has cut up; military uses are harder to parallel.<sup>21</sup> Greek writers, however, mention between the pieces in both military and non-military contexts. Examples of the latter are Plato's incorporation of it into a voting ceremony, and Plutarch's statement that in Boeotia public purification involved passing through the pieces of a bisected dog.<sup>22</sup> An example of the former is that Greek and Roman writers mention a Macedonian military purification ritual carried out in the month of Xandikos in which the army passes between the pieces of a dog.<sup>23</sup> One source says that it was performed with armed/equipped horses; this suggests the Hittite ritual for the

<sup>18</sup> See Haas (2003a: 409–10); Collins (1990: 221–2); earlier Masson (1950).

<sup>19</sup> CTH 644.1, KBo 10.44, obv.13–18; ed. Beckman (1999c).

<sup>20</sup> For passage rituals see Van Gennep (1960: 15–25); Frazer (1911–36: 11.168–95); Gaster (1969: 148–55, with 362–4).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. also Jeremiah 34:18–29. The phenomenon is well discussed by Bickerman (1950); M. L. West (1997: 22–3). Priest (1964) proposed that some oaths in the *Iliad* are made with the swearer standing between the pieces of a victim.

<sup>22</sup> *Laws* 6, 753d; Plutarch, *QR*111, 290d. Cf. also Pausanias, 2.34.2: a ritual at Methana against a baleful wind called 'Lips' which damages the vines: two men cut in half a white-feathered cock and run round the vineyard in opposite directions until they return to the starting point, where they bury the bird.

<sup>23</sup> Livy 40.6; Suda s.v. ἐναγίζων = Polybius 23.10.17; Quintus Curtius, *Hist Alex* 10.9.11–15. Masson (1950); cf. also Parker (1983: 22), earlier Nilsson (1906: 404–9); Faraone (1993: 71). It took place after the death of Alexander according to Quintus Curtius.

goddess Pirinkir which included purification of horses and their equipment, the horses being made to pass between the severed halves of the bodies of dogs.<sup>24</sup> Livy says that the Macedonian ritual was accompanied by a sham battle.<sup>25</sup>

Herodotus describes a similar ritual being carried out by the Persian army in Phrygia (*Hist.* 7.39–40): Xerxes has his army pass between the two halves of the body of a son of Pythios the Lydian whom he had refused to send to war; the context here is Greeks' disdain for a barbarian practice.<sup>26</sup> The fact that Greeks and Romans associate between the pieces rituals with Macedonians perhaps suggests the same attitude, though Macedonians were regarded as at least quasi-Greeks.<sup>27</sup> The only between the pieces ritual where the ritual agent is unambiguously Greek is mythological: Peleus after he sacked Iolkos, is supposed to have done this to the body of Akastos' wife Astydameia whom he killed because she had slandered him to her husband; this story could perhaps have arisen as a misunderstanding of a purification ritual of the Hittite type.<sup>28</sup>

### 10.3 Human Sacrifice Before Battle?

Several other fragments of Hittite rituals make use of human victims as well, usually designated as 'prisoners'.<sup>29</sup> One seems to refer to the killing of a human, sacrifice, and a military campaign.<sup>30</sup>

They kill a [hum]an being [  
 ] they cook? it in a pot[  
 ]from the body *tassi*-[

<sup>24</sup> Suda s.v. *ἐναγιζέων* = Polybius 23.10.17; CTH 644; see above n.19.

<sup>25</sup> Livy 40.6.5–7; cf. also Quintus Curtius 10.9.13. For a sham battle in a Hittite local festival, see §10.8.

<sup>26</sup> Hellmann (1931). For an interesting elaboration of the story, in which the grief-stricken Pythios gives up the throne and his wife takes over (Lydian matriarchy?), see Plutarch, *De mul. virt.* 263b.

<sup>27</sup> See J. M. Hall (2001).

<sup>28</sup> Apollodorus 3.13.7; Pindar, *Nem.* 3.34 seems to deny this version when he says that Peleus captured Iolkos single-handed, which would indicate that he knows it (cf. D. S. Robertson 1923: 6). Eitrem (1947: 36) saw something similar in Hesiod, *Theog.* 431–3, the power of Hecate in war.

<sup>29</sup> See Kümmel (1967: 152–6). In most cases, the only evidence is a list of ritual equipment, suggesting imminent human sacrifice: KUB 17.17, KBo 12.106 (ritual of Zuwi), KBo 21.1, KBo 49.59, KBo 31.88.

<sup>30</sup> KBo 15.4 (CTH 455); Kümmel (1967: 156–8); Haas (2003a: 546).



] they [ ]. The head [  
 5 ]and a mortal[  
 ]let it be so[  
 [Colophon?] ... on] the campaign[

Not everything in these lines is clear (Alice Mouton points out that in line 2 the word translated ‘cook’ is uncertain), but this seems to be ritual linked in some way to a military context, as line 7, possibly a colophon, makes clear.<sup>31</sup> Cooking the victim’s body in a pot would normally suggest cannibalism.<sup>32</sup> Another fragment, KUB 17.17, includes references to a man, the enemy land, and cutting of a finger.

It is hard not to be reminded of attestations of human sacrifice before battle in Greek narrative texts, and supporting evidence has even been adduced from LBA archaeology. The Greek narratives are often written off as imaginary, but the Hittite texts at least give a parallel from a not too distant culture.<sup>33</sup> One thinks of the myth of king Codrus of Athens, who gets himself killed by the enemy when an oracle indicates that this will ensure victory, or Euripides’ Menoecus who throws himself from the walls of Thebes for a similar reason.<sup>34</sup> The *Iliad* presupposes the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, and culminates in the funeral of Patroclus where twelve Trojan captives are slaughtered and burnt on the pyre like a sort of offering (*Il.* 23.175–82).<sup>35</sup> Roman religio-military tradition made it even more explicit: a warrior could perform *devotio* ritual, undertaking to die for the sake of his army and pledging himself to the underworld gods for his country.<sup>36</sup>

### 10.4 Some Pre-Battle Rituals

A little more about Hittite attitudes to war and religion can be gleaned from other rituals, mostly pre-battle:<sup>37</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Mouton (2004a: n.39). <sup>32</sup> Haas (2003a: 546); contra Kümmel (1967: 157).

<sup>33</sup> Archaeology: Hughes (1991: 13–48); imaginary: Hughes (1991: 107–15).

<sup>34</sup> Codrus: Burkert (1979a: 62–3); Fowler (2000–13: 2.490); Menoecus: Eur., *Pho.* 1090–2.

<sup>35</sup> Bonnechère (1994: 284–5).

<sup>36</sup> Livy, 8.10.12; Rüpke (1990: 156–61). (In the event that such warriors survived the battle, they were obliged to bury a colossal statue as a substitute.)

<sup>37</sup> See Beal (1995); Trimm (2017: 571–5); some of these are grouped under CTH 426.

- the ritual of Azzari the female Hurrian doctor, known from a catalogue tablet:<sup>38</sup> ‘One tablet: of the fine oil, composed by Azzari, the Hurrian doctor. If a man leads troops anywhere in battle against an enemy city, the commander in charge of the army, how she recites an incantation over the fine oil, and anoints the commander, his horses and his chariot’;
- the ritual ‘when the soldiers go away from the land and they go to the enemy land to fight’, the surviving part of which describes the lighting of a small fire and the summoning of gods; this could perhaps be compared to the Spartan practice of having a ‘fire-bearer’ (*purphoros*) bring fire from sacrifices at home on campaign;<sup>39</sup>
- the ritual of Nikkaluzzi, in which the name of the enemy king is inscribed on cedar, and that of the Hittite king on clay and in an act of analogical magic they are both put into a fire, destroying the former and baking the latter;<sup>40</sup>
- the ritual ‘when it goes badly for our boys’ (only the title survives);<sup>41</sup>
- another analogical rite in which hot fir cones and hot stones are put into cold water, which is supposed to bring about the neutralization of the enemy forces;<sup>42</sup> it ends with a rousing appeal to battle: ‘the gods march on our side. The kings speak on our behalf. The multitude has hurried to our side. The gods have given our troops courage and *walkiyauwar*.’

The strangest ritual is the fragmentary ‘ritual of heaven and earth’ which involves the sending of a horse in the direction of the enemy, having first brought it a ‘mare of the place of procreation’; rolling a wheel (in the direction of the enemy); and a symbolic washing away of the enemy forces with water left over from washing sacrificial implements. Beal suggested that this was used ‘when the enemy closed in on a Hittite city’ and specifically against enemy chariotry.<sup>43</sup> The first segment where a crazed horse was sent in the enemy’s direction, perhaps reminds us of Chrysame’s ritual, where a bull is sent towards the enemy.

<sup>38</sup> KUB 30.42 i 8–14; Beal (1995: 66); Dardano (2006: 23); van de Hout RIA 10 5/6:482–90 s. PferdAII at 488–9; she has a second ritual: KUB30.51 iv 17–18; Dardano (2006: 133).

<sup>39</sup> F. Fuscagni (ed.), *hethiter.net/*: CTH 426.3. See Xen. *Lac.Pol.*13.2–5; H. v. Geisau in RE 24 (1963), 76–7.

<sup>40</sup> KUB 7.58 i 1–17; F. Fuscagni (ed.), *hethiter.net/*: CTH 417.1. Beal (1995: 67).

<sup>41</sup> KUB 7.58 i 18–22; CHD L–N, 116b.

<sup>42</sup> Beal (1995: 73); F. Fuscagni (ed.), *hethiter.net/*: CTH 426.1.1 (Expl. A, 07.10.2016).

<sup>43</sup> KUB9.1 ii 13–iii 30; Beal (1995: 73–4).

Needless to say, such analogical rites have no parallel in the Greek evidence. It may also be noted that key aspects of Greek military ritual are absent from the Hittite material: there's no paean-singing (though we do have a military song); and no setting up of a *tropaion*.

### 10.5 *Epitheiasmos* and *Evocatio*

In some rituals people invoke or summon the gods of the other side. In the *Invocation Ritual at the Enemy Border* sacrifice was made to a selected pantheon, culminating in Zithariya, one of the tutelary deities worshipped in the form of a hunting bag, who has a special relation to war.<sup>44</sup> The context is war against the Kaskeans, and the speaker reports an appeal to the gods by Zithariya, then apparently a summoning of the enemy gods and a justification of war.<sup>45</sup> Zithariya's appeal to the gods has a rough parallel with the Greek practice of *epitheiasmos*, calling on the gods, found for example in Thucydides' account of Sparta's preparations for the siege of Plataea.<sup>46</sup>

Several Hittite rituals emanating from the area of Kizzuwatna aim to summon deities from foreign cities, and in one case, the context is clearly military: an enemy city has been captured (CTH 423).<sup>47</sup> (As a strategy for dealing with enemy gods this can be seen as an alternative to 'godnapping'.)<sup>48</sup> In this ritual, the gods are summoned (*talliya-*) and encouraged to follow 'paths' of food and drink; the king then proclaims that the land is sacrosanct (*suppiahhi-*) and no one shall settle there; it will be grazing ground for the bulls of the storm god. One obvious parallel to the Hittite ritual is the Roman *evocatio deorum*, which, however, seems to have been performed before the

<sup>44</sup> CTH 422; Beal (1995: 67–8) = ANET<sup>3</sup> 354–5; Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 422 (INTR 2016-08-04).

<sup>45</sup> See O. Soysal in RIA15 5/6:334–5 s.v. Zithariya. For Zithariya as a *kursa*, see KUB 38.35 i 4 (Hazenbos 2003: 48–51). For Zithariya and war see the oracle text ABoT 1.14++ Rs. v 12'-17' (CTH 568). 'When the king returns from campaign and they leave Zithariya in his temple, they arrange a festival for him, and give ten goats and provision from the palace of the king's father.' Haas (1994a: 829) relates this to the second day of the *nuntarriasha* festival; cf. Lebrun (1994a: 54, 67); Archi (2015b: 20). Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 422 (INTR 2016-08-04) suggests that Zithariya is involved because the Kaskeans have temporarily seized his own town Zithara. For the idea of a just war in Ancient Near East, see Liverani (2002).

<sup>46</sup> Thucydides 2.74–5. See Pritchett (1979: 322–3), with further references. N. G. L. Hammond (1981) reviewing Pritchett (1981) suggests comparing Alexander invoking the gods of Troy as he crossed into Asia; Rüpke (1990: 103).

<sup>47</sup> KUB 7.60+ Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 423 (INTR 2015-01-12). See Lebrun (1992); Fuscagni (2007). Wohleb (1927) already suggested a parallel with *evocatio*.

<sup>48</sup> Schwemer (2008: 143–4); Gilan (2014).

capture of the enemy city, unlike the Hittite ritual.<sup>49</sup> Notice, however, that some of the other Hittite evocation rituals mention the enemy as well, and it has been suggested that they could have been performed earlier on in a campaign.<sup>50</sup> Greek religion is different: as Martin Nilsson observed, it would have made no sense for Greeks to summon deities away from other Greek cities, because all deities were part of the shared panhellenic pantheon<sup>51</sup> (gods can leave besieged cities but that's another matter);<sup>52</sup> the role of local protector fell to heroes, and city-states sometimes tried to appropriate them.<sup>53</sup>

The parallel between Hittite and Roman practice is striking, but it would be rash to conclude that the ritual has been borrowed, because it's a fairly obvious thing to do, given that one believes that the enemy needs the support of his gods to win, and that all gods can be influenced.<sup>54</sup>

The consecration of a city after its capture is also found in the Proclamation of Anitta; Anitta consecrated cities to the god of Kanesh (§6) and, after taking Hattusa, he sowed cress there, so that no one could settle it (§11).<sup>55</sup> But such practices were common to many cultures of the Ancient Near East,<sup>56</sup> and it resembles the Roman technique of '*devotio*' of the enemy, as in the case of the destruction of Carthage, where the Romans are supposed to have scattered salt.<sup>57</sup>

## 10.6 Truces

In Greece, war can be postponed or interrupted on the pretext of a festival truce, usually imagined as being symbolised by the pouring of libations (*spondai*). Two applications of it are particularly common. In one, a truce is proclaimed for the duration of the festival to allow people to travel to it

<sup>49</sup> Rüpke (1990: 162n.60); cf. Basanoff (1947: 141–52); Ferri (2008); Schwemer (2008: 145–6).

<sup>50</sup> Haas and Wilhelm (1974: 235). <sup>51</sup> Nilsson (1925: 233).

<sup>52</sup> Aesch., *Sept.* 217; Sophocles, *Radt* p. 374; Verg. *Aen.* 2.351 etc.

<sup>53</sup> As with Athens and Aiakos: Herodotus 5.80.3.

<sup>54</sup> Cornelius (1942: 220) believed that this was an Indo-European technique (unlikely, since the Hittite examples come from Kizzuwatna). He also believed, as did other scholars, that it was also attested in New Zealand, and that it might have reached there via the Indus Valley culture (!). In fact, neither he nor a number of other scholars bothered to check the original ethnographic source Ellis (1842: 1.316), which refers to Tahiti, not New Zealand.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Ulma in *Annals of Hattusili I*, §19; KBo 10.2 obv.1.36–8; Beckman in Chavalas (2006: 220).

<sup>56</sup> See Ridley (1986: 144–5); Stern (1991) on biblical *herem*; 72–7 on Hittites.

<sup>57</sup> *Macr. Sat.* 3.9.10; notice that the theology (consecration to the gods of the underworld) is different: Rüpke (1990: 157–8), and *devotio* does not follow *evocatio*, as it does in the Hittite example: Schwemer (2008: 146–7).

and back without being attacked. Secondly, the truce that accompanies a festival is cited as a reason for not participating in a war, which is particularly common in Sparta. A presupposition of this practice is that festivals are tied to a particular month, though in some cases the calendar was manipulated.<sup>58</sup>

There's evidence for such practices in other cultures, but little from the Ancient East, except for Israel.<sup>59</sup> For the most part, there's no sign in Anatolia either, where festivals were not fixed to a certain time of the year (see pp. 238–239). Hittite kings occasionally interrupt war for festival, as Mursili II (around 1300 BC) broke off a campaign late in his reign so that he could return to the capital and celebrate the *purulli* festival of the goddess Lelwani in the *hesti* house; he says that he had omitted this when he celebrated the *purulli* of the storm gods of Hatti and of Zippalanda, so apparently this was not simply a matter of timing.<sup>60</sup> Earlier on in his reign Mursili interrupted a campaign to celebrate the festival of Hepat at Kummani.<sup>61</sup> He also says that he celebrated the regular festival of the Sun Goddess of Arinna at the start of his reign, and observes that festivals were neglected while his father Suppiluliuma was campaigning in Mitanni. In an oracle text a king asks whether he should attack the enemy first or celebrate the *purulli*.<sup>62</sup>

However, there is one text where we seem to find a practice similar to the Greek one. This is a letter reporting communication with the authorities of Pitassa, apparently the territory in SW Anatolia, between the Hittite homeland and Arzawa, concerning the Catalogue de textes Hittites *ḫarpiya*-festival.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>58</sup> See Rutherford (forthcoming b).

<sup>59</sup> Israel: Goodman and Holladay (1986: 165–71). In Islam, the Hajj pilgrimage is supposed to be a time of sacred truce, apparently based on pre-Islamic tradition; indeed, the Quran lays down a period of four 'sacred months' (9.36) (months 1 and 7, and 11 and 12, the last being the month of the Hajj). In his study of the Maring of New Guinea the anthropologist Rappaport (1968: 51–2) observed alternation between periods of warfare and sacred truces during which the tribesmen were expected to pay their obligations to gods and ancestors), and Fortes (1987: 48, 99–100) describes an obligatory truce imposed during the festival cycle among the Tallensi of Ghana. For a truce among the Germanic Suebi see Tacitus *Germania* 40; 44.3.

<sup>60</sup> *Extensive Annals of Mursili II* year 27?, Goetze (1933: 188–90); del Monte (1993: 129); Haas (1994a: 720). First pointed out in Goodman and Holladay (1986: 151n.2).

<sup>61</sup> *Extensive Annals* year 9, Goetze (1933: 108–11); CoS2.889; Bryce (1998: 219–20); Mursili mentioned the same god in the accusation against the Tawannanna CTH 70§5 = Singer (2002: 76, no. 17); Bryce compares the meeting between prince Telipinu and Suppiluliuma I while the latter was celebrating festivals: Deeds of Suppiluliuma KBo 5.6 ii 13; tr. del Monte (2008: 106–7); CoS1.189.

<sup>62</sup> KUB 22.25 obv. 19–21; see CHD s. *purulli* 392.

<sup>63</sup> KBo 18.78, 1–11 (CTH 209) = Hagenbuchner (1989: 2.214–15, no. 164); see Beal (1992b: 127); Cammarosano (2018: 156–7). For the *ḫarpiya* festival, whose timing is unknown, see Puhvel ad voc., Cammarosano (2018: 136–7).

- 2: [See, I have] written to [the state governor? of Pitassa] ‘Send me [the troops] of the city of Pitassa’
- 3–4: But he has not sent me the troops of Pitassa. He has greatly embarrassed? me (saying):
- 5–7: ‘The men of Pitassa will not come in the month in which they are celebrating the *harpiya*-festival.
- 8–11: But when the men of Pitassa have celebrated the *harpiya* festival in this month, (thus) they will come.’

Is this a one-off, or was the practice common, but rarely mentioned? Since the single attestation comes from West Anatolia, we might perhaps see it as a W. Anatolian-Aegean regional pattern. However, we might have expected to find it mentioned in Hittite treaties with Western states, which anticipate that treaty-partners may use bird oracles as a pretext not participate in war.<sup>64</sup>

## 10.7 Oath Ceremonies

We think of oath ceremonies as primarily a technique of diplomacy, part of the process by which states make treaties, but in fact they sometimes have a military dimension: Hittite soldiers had to swear military oaths of allegiance, and such oaths are attested from the Greek world as well, e.g. the Epehebic Oath sworn by young men of military age at Athens. Aeschylus’ Seven swear an oath of mutual loyalty (discussed further below). In addition, Homer describes oath ceremonies between the two combatants being performed on a battlefield as part of a truce-ritual.

Because oaths are always made between two parties, it is easy to see how the practice of making treaties could have crossed borders, disseminating the technique of oath-making and perhaps the names of gods as well.<sup>65</sup> In fact, if we compare different traditions of oath-making, we find plenty of general parallels. Take the analogical oath. In Book 3 of the *Iliad* Agamemnon administers an oath, swearing by Zeus, the Sun, the rivers, Earth and the gods below (line 276).<sup>66</sup> He cuts hair from the heads of three lambs, and they

<sup>64</sup> See p. 132.

<sup>65</sup> ‘Oath-taking rituals of international character have the best chances to cross cultural borders.’ Burkert (1992: 68).

<sup>66</sup> For the gods, see M. L. West (1997: 20). At *Il.* 3.104 there may be a distinction between Trojan gods (Helios, Ge) and Greek (Zeus): see Burkert (1990: 7).

distribute it to the participants; then he slaughters the victims, and they draw wine from a bowl and pour it on the ground. Agamemnon prays (ll. 298–301):

Zeus, most glorious, most great, and you other immortal gods whichever army of the two will be first to work harm in defiance of the oaths, may their brains be poured out on the ground just as the wine is, theirs and their children's; and may their wives be made to serve other men.

This analogical oath is rare in Greek tradition, but not unique. Aeschylus' Seven heroes swear (with each other), having killed a bull and caught its blood in a shield, either to sack Thebes or to die and 'wet the earth with their gore' (*Seven Against Thebes* 42–8), implying an analogy between the bull's blood and human blood. And the West Greek Molossians are said by a later source to break cups of wine and aver that their blood will be poured out in the same way if they break the oath.<sup>67</sup> A document from Cyrene includes a curse using the analogy of the melting of wax images.<sup>68</sup>

Analogical oaths are found in several Hittite texts.<sup>69</sup> The '*First Military Oath*' (MH) sworn by officers in the army<sup>70</sup> includes analogies based on yeast, wax (cf. the wax images at Cyrene), and sheep fat. The *Second Military Oath* (NH)<sup>71</sup> draws an analogy between wine and blood:

§11. [Aft]erwards he pours out the wine and simultaneously [he says as follows:] '[This] is not w[ine], it is your blood. [Just as] the earth swallowed (this) dow[n], may the earth swallow down your [blood] and [. . .] in the same way.'

A similar analogy is explicit in the Molossian Oath, and implicit in the Homeric one. Another Hittite oath<sup>72</sup> draws an analogy between water and the soul:

<sup>67</sup> Gaisford (1836: 126); cited by Faraone (1993: 73); see Seaford (2017).

<sup>68</sup> ML n.5, 44–9: ' . . . May he who does not abide by this agreement but transgresses it, melt away and dissolve like the images, himself, his seed and his property'; Ogden (2002: no. 236).

<sup>69</sup> Beal (1995: 63–6).

<sup>70</sup> *First Military Oath*, CTH 427; see Oettinger (1976: 7–17), trans. Collins in CoS 1.165–7.

<sup>71</sup> CTH 493; KUB43.38 i 13–16; Oettinger (1976: 20); see CoS 1.167–8.

<sup>72</sup> *Instructions and Oath Imposition for Royal Servants Concerning the Purity of the King* (CTH 265), KUB 13.3 ii 20–30; tr. Miller (2013: 81–3).

... You shall fill a ceramic cup with water, and you shall pour it out before the Sun Deity, and you shall speak as follows: 'He who causes impurity and gives the king impure water, may you, o gods, pour out his soul like water!'

The soul here seems similar to the 'brains' in Homer. Interestingly, the water seems to be poured like a libation here.<sup>73</sup> However, analogy oaths probably occurred in many cultures.<sup>74</sup> The wax images of Cyrene look Assyrian, for example, and it may well be that other elements in Greek oaths come from Assyria.<sup>75</sup>

One apparent difference between Hittite oaths and those of Greece and many areas of the Ancient Near East is that in most cultures it was normal to ritualize the oath with the sacrifice of an animal, thus 'cutting' the oath.<sup>76</sup> The texts of Hittite treaties do not refer to this practice, though that might be because they took it for granted. Two exceptions are Zarpia's Ritual, where an oath made with the god Sandas is accompanied by sacrifice (see p. 267), and also the Middle-Hittite treaty with Huhazalma, who seems to have been king of Arzawa, thus both from the edges of the Hittite kingdom. Both could thus reflect influence from other cultures, in the latter case from Ahhiyawa.<sup>77</sup>

Another early W. Anatolian text, the MH agreement between Arnuwanda and Ura refers to a different sort of oath ritual, 'god-drinking' to Yarri at Ura.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Starke (1997: 465 and 483n.195); Haas (2007: 2–3) (contra Giorgieri 2001: 428–31). Starke also mentions a second parallel, namely that the arrangement of the Homeric utterance, with the invocation of gods preceding the conditions and curse, finds a parallel in Middle Hittite treaties (Arnuwanda I's treaties with the Kaskans (CTH 137-9) and with the men of Ismeriga (CTH 133)) (though it differs from 'normal' Hittite practice) and in Neo-Assyrian and Aramaic treaties from the 1st millennium. See also M. L. West (1997: 22). Haas (2007) compares also Hom. *Il.* 7.99–100: 'May you be water and earth, you are so cowardly' with the Second Military Oath §10.

<sup>74</sup> Haas (2007: 6).

<sup>75</sup> Faraone (1993: 60–3); Giorgieri (2001: 420–1). Oettinger (1976: 74–6) presents a useful collection of parallels to the language of the Hittite military oaths. Faraone (1993: 62–3) has suggested that this could have been introduced via Greek mercenaries, who had acquired knowledge of the ritual practices involved in making treaties. Rollinger (2004a: 7–8) and (2004b: 383n.124) is dismissive of the theory that the Homeric oaths point to the Hittite world, and argues for a Neo-Assyrian context.

<sup>76</sup> M. L. West (1997); Bickerman (1950).

<sup>77</sup> Giorgieri (2001: 435–40); Faraone (1993: 65–72). Treaty with Huhazalma: KBo 16.47, i 8–15; text in de Martino (1996: 63–72); comment in Singer (2005b: 436).

<sup>78</sup> KUB 26.29 obv. 8–10; de Martino (1996: 76–9); Giorgieri (2005: 341–2). For 'god drinking' and community, see p. 260. The Loyalty Oath of the town commanders CTH 260§14 (Miller 2013: 200–1) refers to an oath being stored in a temple of Yarri, with H. Otten RIA 5 267–8 s. Jarri.



[behold for you] the tablet of [the o]ath I have made and this rhyton of silver  
 I? in the city of Ura for [the go]d Yarri have sent.  
 [the god Yar]ri drink!

In so far as Yarri and Ares are similar (see §9.3.2), this text encourages us to take a fresh look at the oath in Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes* 42–8, where the Seven slaughter a bull into a shield, touch its blood with the hands and swear by Ares, Enyo, and Phobos.<sup>79</sup> The detail is different—the liquid is not drunk but poured into a container—but the force is the same.<sup>80</sup> Could this be a trace of an old Aegeo-Anatolian custom of swearing military oaths by Ares?

### 10.8 Commemorating Battle

For the most part there is no sign that Hittites commemorated military victories,<sup>81</sup> but there is one exception. According the cult inventory of Gursamassa (in W. Phrygia), the autumn festival of the war-god Yarri includes a mock contest between the men of Hatti, who have bronze weapons, and the men of Masa, who have weapons of reed.<sup>82</sup>

And the *hazkara* women rejoice over god. They divide the young men into two (groups), and name them. One half they call 'men of Hatti' and (the other) half of them 'men of Masa': the 'men of Hatti' have weapons of bronze, but the 'men of Masa' have weapons of reed. And they fight: the 'men of Hatti' win, take a captive, and consign him to the god.

The last sentence has been taken to imply that a member of the losing team was sacrificed to the deity. Even if the Hittites performed human sacrifice in the course of crisis-rituals (see above), it is disconcerting to think that humans were killed as part of the ordinary cultic calendar; more likely 'consign him the god' means something more innocent.<sup>83</sup>

Masa is a minor state or tribe probably to be located at this time in the central NW of Anatolia. It has been variously associated with proto-Lydians

<sup>79</sup> So in the synoecism treaty between Orchmenos and Euaimon in Arcadia the signatories swear by Zeus Ares, Athene Areia, Inualios Ares (IG V.2.343, 53–90).

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Herodotus 4.70 on Scythians.

<sup>81</sup> Gilan (2011) points out that there is no triumph ritual.

<sup>82</sup> KUB 17.35 iii 9–15. Cammarosano (2018: 175).

<sup>83</sup> Kümmel (1967: 160–2); Cammarosano (2018: 185).

and proto-Phrygians.<sup>84</sup> It was suggested long ago that what is being commemorated here is probably an actual battle (or war) fought between them and the Hittites.<sup>85</sup> This would be the only ritual commemorating a battle in a Hittite text; something similar might be going on in a fragment of a festival text where the king addresses the chief of the men of Tissaruliya who declares that he has come for battle.<sup>86</sup>

While festivals commemorating battles are common in ancient Greece,<sup>87</sup> ritual battles are rare. Pausanias records one at Platanistas in Sparta, where ephebes fought each other after sacrificing a dog to Ares (Paus. 3.14.9). The Macedonian army is supposed to have fought a sham battle in 331 BC before the battle of Gaugamela, with the army dividing itself into two halves representing Alexander and Dareios.<sup>88</sup>

### 10.9 Hittite Rituals in Homer?

Given that the best Greek parallel for a Hittite military ritual comes from the *Iliad* (pp. 133–134), it's worth asking whether there are other examples in Homer. This question has been extensively researched; scholars have suggested that Homeric similes have elements analogous to Hittite rituals,<sup>89</sup> and that episodes of Homeric narrative reflect Hittite history.<sup>90</sup> A common feature of Homeric battle narratives, as of later Greek literary accounts of battles, is the participation of gods in combat;<sup>91</sup> there are Hittite parallels; for example in his account of his attack on Arzawa Mursili describes how the

<sup>84</sup> See Gander (2017: 274–5); Oreshko (2017: 55–9); for Masa and Proto-Lydians, see p. 51, for Masa and Proto-Phrygians, see p. 164. Oreshko himself links Masa to Mysia.

<sup>85</sup> Ehelolf (1925); some have seen it as a ritual without historical significance: Lesky (1926); Puhvel (1988: 28); Gilan (2001: 119–20).

<sup>86</sup> Van den Hout (1991). <sup>87</sup> Pritchett (1979: 154–209).

<sup>88</sup> Plut. *Alex.* 31; Eratosthenes FGrHist 241F29; cf. also Livy 40, 6; cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 2.3.17–20; it has been argued that Argos and Sparta engaged in ritual conflict over the Thyreatis: Brelich (1961: 22–34).

<sup>89</sup> Similes reflect rituals: Puhvel (1991b) suggests we find similar patterns in the similes of Greek poetry, e.g. in the 'Purifying a House' Ritual (KUB 41.8 ii 15–19) 'as the wind sweeps chaff and carries it over the sea, let it likewise sweep the blood defilement of this house and carry it over the sea' is compared to Hom. *Od.* 5.368–70; and again (KUB 41.8 i 3–6 = KUB 7.41 i 24–7) 'even as I cut this stick and it does not reattach itself, may this house likewise cut evil bloodshed and may it not come back' is compared to *Il.* 1.234–7, 240–2. Haas (2006: 317–20) compares the 'pathetic fallacy' in a Hittite ritual text with Latin pastoral poetry; but of course this is Greek also: see Copley (1937).

<sup>90</sup> I exclude minor narrative features: Gindin and Cymburskij (1986); Smit (1988–9).

<sup>91</sup> Epiphanies: the gods running before. Ducrey (2012: 195–7); Pritchett 3.11–46; meteorology: Ducrey (2012: 198–9); meteors: Pritchett (1979: 122–4).

Storm god launched a lightning bolt at Apasa, and then ‘The Sun-Goddess of Arinna, My Lady, the Powerful Storm-God, My Lord, Mezzulla, and all the gods ran before me’.<sup>92</sup> Elsewhere Mursili claims that the god Hasamili made him invisible during a campaign, an action reminiscent of a Homeric god; cf. p. 188).<sup>93</sup> But similar things are described in Neo-Assyrian texts, and were presumably common in many traditions.<sup>94</sup>

A number of Hittite rituals are supposed to have left their mark on Homer. Some of these are not military rituals; for example the chthonic ritual performed by Odysseus to access the ghosts of the underworld has been thought to resemble Hittite pit rituals.<sup>95</sup> Again, the Royal Funerary Ritual (CTH 450) has some striking parallels to the funeral of Patroclus in *Iliad* 23, mostly related to the cremation and to the subsequent gathering and arrangement of the bones—although there are also major differences. (Thus, the *Iliad* ends as it began with a ritual which resembles an Anatolian one.)<sup>96</sup> Comparison with Hittite evidence has value for Homerists because it shows that rituals similar to the ones described in the poems are actually recorded as having happened in Late Bronze Age societies of the region. It also allows us to appreciate what’s different about Homeric rituals, which are not crude transcriptions of ‘actual’ rituals, but creative adaptations of them, alluding to and resonating with them. Thus, Patroclus is not a king, but the fact that his funeral echoes the Hittite Royal Funerary Ritual (or other early royal funerary rituals) reveals the strength of Achilles’ emotion, honouring his fallen comrade, marking the difference between that and the treatment of Hector (who actually is royalty), and anticipating his own funeral.

A Hittite background has also been suggested for Hecabe’s offering a *peplos* to Athena while Theano prays on her behalf that Diomedes’ spear should break (*Iliad* 6, 305–10). Sarah Morris compares this to the vows made by Puduhepa in two locations on Kizzuwatna on condition that

<sup>92</sup> *Ten Year Annals* (Year 3); Goetze (1933: 51) = AhT 1A§17.

<sup>93</sup> Goetze (1933: 126), KBo 4.4 iii 33–5.

<sup>94</sup> See Rollinger (1996: 172–7); cf. the ritual discussed by Schwemer (2012).

<sup>95</sup> Hom. *Od.* 11.24–36; Steiner (1971). Note that the sacrifice takes place at a confluence of rivers (*Od.* 10.513–15), a sort of crossroads.

<sup>96</sup> For the ritual, see Kassian et al. (2002); parallels with Homer: Sommer (1939); Rutherford (2007). Notice also that the idea of ‘becoming a god’ at the start of the Royal Funerary Ritual has a parallel at *Il.* 16.456–7 = 673–5 where the dead Sarpedon’s relatives will ‘*ταρχύειν*’ him in Lycia with a *tumbos* and a *stele*. Blümel (1926) suggested that this might be linked to a native Lycian name of the Storm god, *Trqq-*. The meaning would be ‘make like the Storm god, make immortal’. Blümel (1926). So Kretschmer (1939: 104). For further references, see Neumann (2007: 379); contra Janda (1996).

Piyamaradu is captured.<sup>97</sup> In both cases a queen makes a vow on condition that the gods act against one specific opponent. Here the specific link with the Aegean is provided by Piyamaradu; notice also that other royal vows from the same dossier mention war against Arzawa.

It has also been claimed that the plot of the *Iliad* incorporates the idea of 'ritual substitution' derived from Hittite or Luwian religion. It is supposed to be significant that Patroclus, who is killed wearing Achilles' armour, is called the '*therapon*' ('servant') of Achilles, '*therapon*' being derived from the Anatolian *tarpanalli* 'ritual substitute', a synonym of *tarpalli*.<sup>98</sup> Patroclus' death would thus originally have had a ritual resonance, which has been suppressed. Even if the etymology were certain, this would be unlikely. Nothing in the *Iliad* requires us to interpret *therapon* in anything but its obvious sense. If Patroclus was a ritual substitute we might expect Achilles to be spared death, but in fact he dies in the end and, if anything, Patroclus' death hastens the process.<sup>99</sup> It is also hard to see why this idea should have been suppressed, since human sacrifice is well attested in Greek mythology (see p. 214).

If we want an example of ritual substitution in Greek or Roman epic, the most promising example is in the *Argonautica* of the Roman poet Valerius Flaccus (3:439–43), where the Argonauts, having accidentally killed the Doliones, are advised by Orpheus to perform a complex purification ritual which culminates in the erection of armed wooden effigies of themselves to deflect the anger of the dead. These are, in fact, ritual substitutes.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>97</sup> Morris (2013). KUB 56.15. For an alternative treatment of this ritual, see Rutherford (2019d).

<sup>98</sup> Van Brock (1959); Greek *theraps* corresponds to Hittite *tarpasa* in the same way. Chantraine (1968–80 s.v.); Josephson (1979: 180–1). Against: Tischler (1981: 22); Frisk (1972:104); Starke (1990: 233n.793): 'auf semantischen und morphologischen Gründen kaum wahrscheinlich'. Beekes (2010: 541). Hawkins (1987: 150) apropos the Luwian word *tarpalanza* (dative plural) which occurs in the Kululu Lead Strips (early 1st millennium; cf. CHLI X.36–40 = vol.I.2, 510 and 512) suggests that *tarpala* here means the same as *therapon* in Greek, i.e. 'esquire, attendant'. If *tarpanalli* and *tarpasa* meant something similar, then the possibility arises that Greek *therapon* does indeed go back to Anatolian, but never meant 'substitute'. Ilya Yakubovich in the Luwian Corpus suggests it means 'farmers'.

<sup>99</sup> For the theory, see Lowenstam (1981); Kitts (2005) etc. Householder and Nagy (1972: 55–7); Nagy (1979: 292–3). I discussed this further in Rutherford (2020a).

<sup>100</sup> On this text, see Boyancé (1935); Parker (1983: 226). There are several stages to this. 1. They march under a bay leaf held by Orpheus; 2. They invoke the sun (Apollo); 3. Animals are sacrificed and parts of them are passed through the army; 4. They set up armed tree-trunks as models of themselves with armour. Much of this can be paralleled in Anatolian purification rituals; for example, stage 1 looks like a ritual gate.

## 10.10 Conclusion

Military rituals provide an interesting case study for comparative work. All ancient cultures have military rituals, and because the warfare is broadly similar in different cultures, military rituals show similarities well. Some of these parallels (not all) may be the result of historical influence, especially since there's reason to believe that military techniques sometimes travel.

For any two cultures, we can ask whether their military rituals show similarities which seem unlikely to arise from coincidence and may reflect an historical connection of some sort. Greek military rituals of the 1st millennium look very different from Hittite ones, just as Greek hoplite warfare seems very different from the chariot-based warfare of the battle of Qadesh. On the other hand, Homer's *Iliad* provides one striking parallel to an Arzawan-Hittite military purification ritual (though it is a mistake to see Anatolian rituals everywhere in the *Iliad*). And Greeks know about between the pieces military rituals, albeit they associate them with Macedonians. Some of the other parallels I've noticed—the oath ritual to Yarri/Ares and the truce at Pitassa—are suggestive, but inconclusive. The most we can say is that there may be a case for a common tradition of military rituals in Anatolia and the Aegean (including the North Aegean in this case).

On the other hand, the differences are in the end just as striking, as so often. One difference that I've highlighted here is that the Hittites seem to have been concerned about the purification of the army after battle, particularly after a defeat, which is not something we find in Greek sources at all.

# 11

## Festivals, Amphictiones, and the Calendar

### 11.1 Introduction

All ancient cultures have festivals—periods of intense worship of a deity, usually tied to a specific geographical locale and date within the year.<sup>1</sup> To some extent they follow the seasons of the year and the agricultural cycle, which may indicate that their roots were in the Neolithic period. Festivals are recurring events, usually every year (the start of the year being the most significant point), sometimes on a different cycle. They are thus often conservative, preserving, or purporting to preserve, ancient practices. For the participants, their effect can be to pass on social memory, reinforcing a sense of who they are.<sup>2</sup> Another dimension, just as important, is social: festivals generally bring together a group of people, whether from a town or a region; festival culture reflects social and political structures (and it may change as they change), but to some extent festivals may help to create and define communities.<sup>3</sup>

These features can be illustrated by both Greek and Hittite festival culture. Greek festivals tend to be held at a regular point in the year, on a fixed day in a specific month; some festivals happen every few years; sometimes a ‘great’ version happens quadrennially, though we find six-year cycles also.<sup>4</sup> Greek festivals can draw people from a city, a region (e.g. the Panionia), or even the whole of Greece (the Olympic Games). Greek festivals often look back to the past, presenting themselves as commemorating or reacting to their foundation or other ancient events—a famous case is the Peloria festival of

<sup>1</sup> Johnston (2004: 243–87).      <sup>2</sup> Connerton (1989).

<sup>3</sup> The Greek philosopher Plato, who was perhaps closer to ancient festival culture than we are, defined the purpose of civic festivals as being ‘so that . . . people may fraternize with one another at the sacrifices and gain knowledge and intimacy, since nothing is of more benefit to the state than this mutual acquaintance’ (*Laws* 5.738d–e).

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias 9.3.3; Arist. *Ath. Pol* 54.7. See Taracha (2009: 70n.386).

Thessaly, which commemorates a primeval catastrophe, which created the Vale of Tempe.<sup>5</sup> But we also see new festivals being established and old ones re-engineered, e.g. the imperial Dionysia at Athens.

Hittite festival culture can involve a group of people from the same town (§11.5) or officials and delegates representing a broader region (§11.6). In some of the major festivals participation of the broader community comes about via the cultic journeys of the king or other members of the royal family. Hittite festival culture seems on the whole conservative, and the big state festivals are full of details that could hark back to the Hattic period (it is difficult to be sure about this because we cannot be certain that the texts correspond exactly to the reality of festival performance). The Luwian festivals of Istanuwa could be old as well, since they seem to presuppose that Istanuwa was a more important place than it was in the Empire period. Explicit commemoration of the past in festivals is rare—the festival at Gursamassa which re-enacts a battle may be an exception here (see §10.8). Hittite festival culture also shows a capacity to innovate, as we see from the fact that the major (H)isuwa festival was introduced in the 13th century BC. New elements could be added to established festivals: the AN.TAH.SUM festival includes a section where the king visits the sacred deer on Mt. Piskunuruwa, which could also be mistaken for an old hunting ritual, but it is known to have been added by Tudhaliya IV in the 13th century BC.<sup>6</sup>

The relation between festivals and the calendar is a little different in the two traditions. As in Greek festivals, some of the major festivals had both ‘great’ and ‘regular’ versions; these alternatives are attested for the KI.LAM festival, for example.<sup>7</sup> In his *Annals* Mursili II says he celebrated ‘great festivals of the 6th year’.<sup>8</sup> A difference is that Hittite religion has monthly ‘festivals’, probably performed at the start of the month,<sup>9</sup> whereas although in Greek religion the first of the month, the Noumenia, was regarded as a sacred day, and offerings called *epimenia* were sometimes made, this does not seem to have been very important.<sup>10</sup> More broadly, Hittite festivals were

<sup>5</sup> Mili (2015: 239–41).

<sup>6</sup> Collins (2010b: 66); for the text see Galmarini (2014: 282).

<sup>7</sup> Singer (1983–4: 47–8); for Zippalanda: KBo 23.103 iv 14; Popko (1994: 155). ‘Regular’ in Hittite may be *ukturi*: HEG 4.15:29. For the possibility that the festival name *nuntariyasha* means ‘variable’, i.e. ‘not regular’, see p. 231, n.28.

<sup>8</sup> See Goetze (1933: 138, KBo 4.4 iv 41), year 10, and Goetze (1933: 163; KBo 5.8 iv 22), year 22. Singer (1983–4: 48); Furlani, RIA 3.43–7, s. Fest bei den Hettitern at 44, compared these to Egyptian jubilee-festivals.

<sup>9</sup> Cammarosano (2018: 114–15). Also CTH 377 (Mursili’s Prayer to Telipinu) ii.3–8: ‘for you in the land of Hatti there are month-festivals, festivals of the time of the year (MU-a *mena*), spring and winter festivals, sacrificial animals (*aulius*) and festivals of summoning (*mukessar*)’.

<sup>10</sup> Mikalson (1972); on the *epimenoioi* see Carbon and Pirenne-Delforge (2013: 83–95).

not tied to particular months as far as can be seen, but coordinated with seasons (see §11.4.1).

Major festivals can draw people from a wider area, such as merchants, if the festival doubled as a market. They are known to have been witnessed by ‘UBARU-men’ (a logogram; the corresponding Hittite term is unknown) who appear in many rituals alongside Hittite officials, and take part in the ‘grand assembly’. These are usually interpreted as foreigners or high status dignitaries, possibly diplomats of some sort, with long-term residence at the Hittite court.<sup>11</sup> These and other foreigners attending festivals in the Hittite capital or elsewhere brought knowledge of what they had witnessed back to their homelands.<sup>12</sup>

## 11.2 Hittite State Festivals

The AN.TAH.SUM festival, which lasted 38 days,<sup>13</sup> took its name from the AN.TAH.SUM plant, which may be a variety of ‘crocus’ (for the Minoan and Thera parallels see pp. 61 and 63).<sup>14</sup> The plant played a minor role in the festival, taken to Arinna and Hattusa by the king and queen respectively on Day 9, and on Days 32 and 33 as part of an offering.<sup>15</sup> It seems to have symbolized the beginning of the year, though we cannot say for sure it was a new year’s festival because we don’t know when the year began.<sup>16</sup> It was mostly held in the Hittite capital, punctuated by movements of the royal family and the *kursa*, and by ‘great assemblies’. It ended with a rain festival

<sup>11</sup> Süel (1976–7); Bodi (2003); Na’aman (2005); Görke (2014); CAD s.v. Wilhelm (2005) argues that the meaning could have been ‘exile’ on the basis of a parallel Hurrian word which seems to be derived from a root meaning ‘loosen, release’.

<sup>12</sup> I have already mentioned this possibility with respect to Lesbos (see p. 116), and to North Syria and Ugarit (see p. 156). See further Rutherford (2019a). Bachvarova (2016: 225–6).

<sup>13</sup> KBo 10.20; Güterbock (1960).

<sup>14</sup> Abusch and Schwemer (2011: 1.468): ‘an unidentified alliaceous plant or variety of crocus’; Erkut (1999).

<sup>15</sup> Farber (1991); Haas (1994a: 773).

<sup>16</sup> The Hittite year probably began in spring. The local cult inventories regularly start with the autumn festival, which perhaps is to be explained by the logic of ritual (the closing of the *harsi*-vessel in the autumn is naturally thought of as preceding its opening in the spring). In Greece the year usually started in mid-summer, though in the spring in a few places such as Miletus: see Trümper (1997: 283–4). One text, KUB 38.32 obv.8–18 has autumn beginning in month 8, implying that the year begins in February or March: see Cammarosano (2018: 118); Hoffner (1974: 12–13). Haas (1994a: 693) suggested that the position of new year in the summer was earlier, and that this was later replaced by the spring derived from Babylonian practice; Archi (1973a: 11–12) had seen the year as always beginning in winter.



in Ankuwa.<sup>17</sup> One major feature was the opening of storage vessels belonging to the Storm gods of Zippalanda and Hatti (Days 5 and 12); another was the taking of the (old) Year to the *hesti*-house to be symbolically buried (Day 11).<sup>18</sup>

It seems to have featured sporting events: there was a foot-race on Day 2 at Mt. Tippuwa, where ‘the bodyguards’ ran a race between two *stelai* and the winner took an ass’s bridle.<sup>19</sup> There were also horse-races: on the 11th day, immediately after burying the year, and on the 19th day (in honour of the Storm god *piḥassassi*).<sup>20</sup> So too in the KILAM festival, there was a foot-race for ten runners; in an earlier version the winner is said to have got ‘two *wagada* breads and a mina of silver’, whereas in the later version the ones who came first and second got ‘tunics’, which seems to imply an evolution in the conventions of prize-giving.<sup>21</sup>

Friedrich Cornelius linked the AN.TAH.SUM festival to the Greek spring festival the Anthesteria; he even suggested that the Greek word ‘*ἄνθος*’ might be derived from AN.TAH.SUM, and he also pointed out that, like the AN.TAH.SUM festival, Anthesteria was connected with the dead. This is typologically interesting, but a direct connection is unprovable.<sup>22</sup>

The other spring festival was the *purulli* (perhaps ‘festival of earth’),<sup>23</sup> whose celebration at Nerik was the frame for the Illuyanka myth (see p. 150). There seems to have been a royal pilgrimage there, stopping at way-stations en route.<sup>24</sup> While Nerik was occupied by Kaskeans, the festival seems to have been celebrated at other places, including Hakmis.<sup>25</sup> Dragon slaying myths are universal, but we may be reminded of the Pythian festival at Delphi the associated myth of which has to do with Apollo’s fight with a snake-like monster.<sup>26</sup> The analogy between Nerik and Delphi—both

<sup>17</sup> Haas (1994a: 822–6).      <sup>18</sup> Haas (1994a: 790).

<sup>19</sup> KUB 10.18 i 18; Puhvel (1988: 27); Haas (1994a: 784–5); Beal (1992b: 217).

<sup>20</sup> KBo 10.20 ii 13, iii 8–9, ed. Güterbock (1960: 86); Kühne (1973: 106n.523). In one inventory-text a copper sickle is specified for the winner of the horse-races, apparently in the AN.TAH.SUM: KBo 9.91 rev. B 4; see Kosak (1982: 27).

<sup>21</sup> Singer (1983–4: 1.103–4); Haas (1994a: 678).

<sup>22</sup> Cornelius (1970); he did not acknowledge Neumann’s (1967b) observation that opening the *ḫarsi*-vase resembled the Pithoigia of the Anthesteria (see p. 239). For the crocus in Minoan wall-painting, see Day (2011) and p. 60. The Anthesteria had already been identified as a possible import from the Near East because of the ‘sacred marriage’, which is rare in Greek religion: see Palmer (1965: 136–7); Cowell (1971: 17–18).

<sup>23</sup> Haas (1994a: 696); the root will be the same as in the first element of the theonym Wurusemu; for an alternative view: see Southern (2006).

<sup>24</sup> Corti (2018b).      <sup>25</sup> See Görke (2010: 61–3).

<sup>26</sup> For Illuyanka and Typhon, Bachvarova (2016: 255).

important religious centres, remote from the main centres, and associated with pilgrimage—is appealing, but we should be wary of pushing it too far.<sup>27</sup>

The *nuntarriyasha* festival was an autumn festival celebrated when the king returned from campaign. Like the AN.TAH.SUM it included royal pilgrimages, but more of them; the name ‘*nuntarriyasha*’ which seems to mean ‘haste’ or ‘timeliness’, probably refers to the journeys.<sup>28</sup> It was over 40 days long, and consisted of four tours by the king and one by the divine *kursa* Zithariya:<sup>29</sup>

Tour 1 (days 1–6): Katapa, Tahurpa, Arinna, Tatiska, Hattusa

Meanwhile the divine *kursa* Zithariya goes to Hakkura, Tatasuna, Istuhila, Hakkura and finally back to Hattusa.<sup>30</sup>

(Hattusa: days 6–11)

Tour 2 (days 12–16): Harranassi, Zippalanda, Katapa, Tahurpa, Nirhanta, Tippuwa, Hattusa (Day 16); ‘festival of the road of Nerik’.

Tour 3 (days 17–9): Arinna etc.

(Hattusa: days 20–30);

Tour 4 (Day 31–): Tawinia etc.

The three-day festival of the KILAM (‘gatehouse’—Hittite *hिलаммар*) seems to have been incorporated into the *nuntarriyasha* as Days 25–27.<sup>31</sup> The basic events of the first day (*nuntarriyasha* Day 25) were these:

The king’s preparation.

The description begins with the preparation of the king and his journey to the structure called the <sup>E</sup>*katapuzna*, from where he views the main procession.<sup>32</sup>

The great procession.

The procession consists of cult officials, followed by ‘spears’, ‘copper fleeces’, and the ‘animals of the gods’: a silver leopard, a silver wolf, gold lion, two boars, one of silver, the other of lapis lazuli, a silver bear, another silver

<sup>27</sup> The Delphic festival was on a nine-year cycle, and it has been suggested that the Purulli was as well: Haas (1994a: 698–9), though this depends on the assumption that the *Kasha* festival was part of the Purulli.

<sup>28</sup> Cammarosano (2018: 399). Another possibility, suggested by Starke (1990: 367–9), is that it might mean of ‘the moment’, i.e. ‘variable’, being opposed to other festivals which are ‘*ukturi*’ or ‘eternal’, i.e. ‘regular’.

<sup>29</sup> Nakamura (2002: 11).

<sup>30</sup> Haas (1994a: 829–30).

<sup>31</sup> See p. 37.

<sup>32</sup> Singer (1983–4: 1.58ff.); Haas (1994a: 751–3).

boar; then the ‘dog-men’ and then figures of stags, drawn by various groups.<sup>33</sup>

The ceremony of the AGRIG-s

The king and queen proceed to the temple of the grain-goddess (Halki), and the king inspects the gifts of cities at different locations, presented by local representatives of each place. These AGRIG officials represent a broad pan-Hittite economic-religious network: one comes from Ankuwa in the Hittite homeland, others from Nenassa, Tuwanuwa, Zallara, and Hupisna in the Lower Land to the south, and there is another from Sukziya in the Upper Land to the East towards Samuha.

The ritual offerings at the *huwasi* of the Storm god. This may be Chamber A in the rock sanctuary at Yazılıkaya.<sup>34</sup>

Very little information for Day 2 survives, rather more for Day 3, which seems to have included a ‘Great Assembly’, held in a tent at the *huwasi* of the Storm god, with drinking in honour of a large number of deities. In the middle of this, a foot-race was staged (see above). After the king and queen leave, a ‘ritual of the bath’ takes place involving two ‘comedians’ who wash in a basin of beer.<sup>35</sup> Haas assigns to the KILLAM two subsequent episodes in Arinna and in Zippalanda.<sup>36</sup>

One of the striking things about the KILLAM festival is the geographical range, covering the whole of central Anatolia. The size of the network is comparable to that associated with panhellenic festivals in classical Greece, and it may have served to articulate a sense of common cultural identity similar to that of major Greek festivals. One might think of the Olympic festival in Greece,<sup>37</sup> or perhaps the great festival at Eleusis organized by Athens in the late 5th century, to which subject allies sent first fruits of grain.<sup>38</sup> Presumably there

<sup>33</sup> Singer (1983–4: 89–97; Archi (1988) interpreted this as a legitimization of the hunt; see also Collins (2010b: 60–1, 66).

<sup>34</sup> Singer (1986).

<sup>35</sup> KUB 2.3 ii 13–31; Singer (1986: 1.78, 2.64); ‘comedian’ is written as the sumerogram ALAM.KAxUD, which corresponds to Akkadian *aluzinnu*; for the possibility that this word is the model (via Hittite?) for Greek *alazōn* (‘braggard’), see Griffith and Marks (2011).

<sup>36</sup> Haas (1994a: 767–71). Singer (1983–4: 128–31) differed in his reconstruction fundamentally from Haas, arguing that the running order of the three days was basically the same, with a ‘Great Assembly’ taking place on Day 1 and Day 2 as well.

<sup>37</sup> Singer (1984: 111n.76) compared the filial ‘houses’ at the KILLAM to the treasuries at Olympia.

<sup>38</sup> Rutherford (2013a: 42–3).

were many festivals of this type in the E. Mediterranean and W. Asia. Compare the ‘festival of the grain pile’ below.

### 11.3 Local Festivals

Most of our information for these comes from the so-called Hittite ‘cult inventories’, which record and prescribe religious practice in towns in the core of the Hittite kingdom. All of them date from the 13th century BC. It has in the past been assumed that they are evidence for a cult reform undertaken by Tudhaliya IV; however, it is just likely, as Cammarosano has argued, that the practice of compiling such documents was much older, and that the reason why the surviving copies are all late is that earlier ones were discarded.<sup>39</sup>

Take for example the inventory of Gursamassa, a town located in what was to become Western Phrygia.<sup>40</sup> This lists festivals by deity:

local Storm god:	autumn?, spring, festival of lots, other festivals,
Sun goddess of the Water	autumn, spring
Yarri with Sibitti	autumn, with mock combat between men of Hatti and the men of Masa (see §10.8) spring
Great Spring	spring
Mt. Suwara	?

The range of deities is surprisingly limited: the Storm God, the Sun Goddess of the Water (apparently his consort) and Great Spring (their daughter?), all apparently worshipped in the same shrine, the war-god Yarri, for whom a shrine is constructed, and the local mountain god Mt. Suwara.

<sup>39</sup> Cammarosano (2018: 20–3); older view: Laroche (1975).

<sup>40</sup> KUB 17.35 = Cammarosano (2018: 162–81); for the location, see p. 179. The festivals mentioned in the fragmentary fourth column probably come from a different town.

A striking feature of these local festivals is the storage jar (<sup>DUG</sup>*ḫarsi-* or <sup>DUG</sup>*ḫarsiyalli*<sup>41</sup>) of wheat<sup>42</sup> which is stored away at the autumn festival and then opened at the spring festival. In the spring a special sort of bread, called *ḫarsi-bread*, was prepared.<sup>43</sup> The association between *pithos* and the New Year was so close that the symbol for the year in Hieroglyphic Luwian was a *pithos* with its lid.<sup>44</sup> At the springtime festival, the bread made from the stored grain was taken out in a sacred procession to a *ḫuwasi*-stele, where it was offered to the deity.<sup>45</sup> Compare, for example, the accounts of the autumn and spring festival for the Sun Goddess of Gursamassa:<sup>46</sup>

(Autumn festival)

When they pour into the pithos of the Storm God of Gursamassa, they pour (wheat to make) loaves of bread into the pithos for the Sun goddess of the Water as well. 3 loaves of one handful (of flour), 1 jug of beer (as offerings).

(Spring festival, Day 1)

When spring comes, (and) they hear the thunder, on whate[ver] day the festival of the opening the pithos (for the Storm God) is completed, on that day they open the pithos of the Sun goddess of the Water with the (wheat to make) loaves of bread. 3 loaves of one handful (of flour), 1 jug of beer (as offerings). They grind (and) mill the (wheat of the) pithos.

(Spring festival day 2)

The next day, they take up the deity from the altar, and they carry the deity to the stela. They present loaves of bread of the pithos before the deity. The *ḫazkara*-women stand behind. They wash and anoint the stela. They place the deity in front of the stela, and the priest offers 1 bull and 1 sheep to the Sun goddess of the Water. They slaughter (them) at the stela, place the meat (there), (and) break loaves of bread of the pithos. They place the

<sup>41</sup> Puhvel, HED, speculates that there were two homophones: *ḫarsi-* = bread and *ḫarsi-* = jug (the latter derived from the same root as *ḫarsan-* 'head'). The word *ḫarsiyalli* = pitcher is derived from the former. Popko (1978: 84–7).

<sup>42</sup> Cammarosano (2018: 119; spelt according to Archi (1973:15).

<sup>43</sup> This also happened at the AN.TAH.SUM festival at the opening of the *pithoi* of the storm-gods of Zippalanda (day 5) and Hatti (day 12) (Archi (1973a: 16n.44).

<sup>44</sup> Melchert (1988: 228); HL sign 336.

<sup>45</sup> Archi (1973a: 19). This procedure is illustrated, he argues, in a section from one of the festivals of the town of Karahna (KUB 25.32 ii 19–54; McMahon 1991: 65–7).

<sup>46</sup> KUB 17.35 ii 9–34. Here and elsewhere I follow Cammarosano's translation. For the measures, see Cammarosano (2018: 142): a *PARISU* (about 50 litres) = 6 *BĀN*.

*ippiya* and *marha* (dishes there). 6 loaves of *dannas* bread, 6 loaves of *gahari* bread, 6 loaves of sweet bread, 1 KA.GAG-vessel (of beer), 1 vessel of beer at the altar. They break the loaves of bread (and) fill the *BIBRU*-vessel(s). 1 *PARISU*-measure (and) 2 *BÁN*-measures of flour, 4 vessels of beer (are) the provisions. They eat (and) drink. They provide the cups. The *hazkara*-women bring fruit. They put a wreath on the deity; also on the priest they put a wreath. They rejoice over the deity. They step into a wrestling fight; they throw the stone (i.e. a shot put contest takes place). When evening comes, they take up the deity; the *hazkara* women bring the deity away to the shrine. They place the deity upon the altar and place the liver before the deity. They break one loaf of one handful (of flour); (the priest) offers beer.

(Spring festival, Day 3)

The next day is the day of the liver. They make a *siyami* dish out of the meat; they place (it) in front of the deity. They break 3 loaves of one handful (of flour); they offer beer— $\frac{1}{2}$  *BÁN*-measure of flour, 1 jug of beer.

The same pattern is found in the local cult calendars of many other areas. The calendar of *Hakmis* to the NE of *Hattusa* records festivals<sup>47</sup> for the mountain deity *Halwanna*, and the Storm god of the Meadow, performed by the men of *Uresta*, and also various deities of *Hakmis*, including the Storm god of Rain. The situation here is unusual, because it is anticipated that an enemy may control the area. Here is the description of the spring festival of *Mount Halwanna*:

When in spring it thunders, [they open] the pithos, and the men of *Urista* grind and mill [it]s content]

The next day the priests, the *GUDU*-priests, the lords, the free men (fragmentary) come in, and carry *Mount Halwanna* up to the mountain. If (the valley) is under control by the enemy, they carry him to the mountain and [place] him [in front of the stela (?)]. And the stela stands under a poplar. They break 3 loaves of (one) handful (of flour) and they offer beer. If (the valley) is not under control by the enemy, they place him at the stela under the poplar (which is) by the side of the river. And [the priest]t offers 1 ox (and) 8 sheep—the lord of the district supplies (the offerings). They place the meat (there), from the raw (and) from the

<sup>47</sup> KUB 25.23; Cammarosano (2018: 363–9); Hazenbos (2003: 36–7); cf. Archi (1973a: 22).

cooked. Loaves of bread of the pithos, 1 vessel of beer at the altar, 30 loaves, 4 vessels of beer (are) the provisions. And one brings bread (and) beer from all the towns that are around the mountain. They break loaves of bread and fill the *BIBRU*-vessels; they eat (and) drink; they fill the cups. Before the god they step into the fight of boxing (and) wrestling. They rejoice (over the god). When leafy branches seize the Sun God of Heaven, they carry the god away to the town and arrange him in the temple. They place the meat in front (of him), they break loaves of bread and (the priest) offers beer.

The next day there is a second celebration in the priest's house, and the day after that they carry the god back to Hakmis.

Storage vessels are used in all ancient cultures, and they naturally become a symbol of prosperity;<sup>48</sup> in some cases, they may also become symbols for rebirth or rites of passage, partly perhaps because they were sometimes actually used for human burials.<sup>49</sup> As we saw earlier, Paskuwatti's Ritual implies that the *ḫarsi*-vessel can be the form of a divinity.

Not all local festivals conformed to this pattern. Consider for example the calendar for the town of Suwarzapa,<sup>50</sup> which describes the 'festival of the grain pile (*seli*)'.<sup>51</sup> This is a three-day festival:

Day 1: cleaning of the town and shrine;

Day 2: the whole town has to bring in 'grain piles', which are placed in front of the god; a staff is placed on top of it, and a priest slaughters a sheep by it; bread and beer are provided at the altar and for provision; celebration takes place; and they impose a penalty on whoever fails to bring a grain pile.

Day 3: A *siyami*-dish is offered to the god

*Seli* may be cognate with Greek *siros*, used for an underground storage facility for grain, attested at among other places Eleusis in the context of a festival where people brought grain.<sup>52</sup>

Whereas the major state festivals have running and horse-racing, the local festivals have other activities. As Cammarosano (2018: 129) says:

<sup>48</sup> For the political importance of *pithoi*, see Ebbinghaus (2005); Cullen and Keller (1990); Garfinkel et al. (2009).

<sup>49</sup> See Muelner (1998).

<sup>50</sup> KUB 56.39 = Cammarosano (2018: 247–57).

<sup>51</sup> For the use of *seli*-s elsewhere, Cammarosano (2018: 132–5).

<sup>52</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 78, a:10. See Cornford (1913: 155n.4) and Harrison (1913: 141).

The so-called state cults reflect the official, institutionalized ritual tradition, where physical exuberance and their manifestations of sheer “joy” may have been considered not quite appropriate and hence inhibited. The cult inventories, on the other hand, tend to reflect local cult practices that are closer to commoners.

At the local festivals people ‘rejoice over the gods’ with music and dance, boxing, wrestling, shot put, weightlifting, and cheese-fighting, the last activities being carried out by young men. For example, the cult inventory for Gursamassa mentions a string of sporting activities that took place in the latter stages of the Festival for the Sun Goddess of the Water for the ‘entertainment’ (*duskaraz*) of the deity.<sup>53</sup>

The *ħazkara*-women bring fruit. They put a wreath on the deity; also on the priest they put a wreath. They rejoice over the deity. They step into a wrestling fight; they throw the stone . . .

A related formula at a similar point in another cult inventory seems to refer to combat sports:<sup>54</sup>

Before the god they step into a fight of boxing (and) wrestling. They rejoice (over the god).

A common pattern, identified by Michele Cammarosano is that they press cheeses, lay them before the deity, give them to people, and then young men fight with them. Cammarosano compares the Spartan ritual in which boys stole cheese from the altar of Artemis Orthia and were whipped.<sup>55</sup>

Other things suggest Greece as well, such as the occasional appearance of the wearing of garlands. In some Hittite local festivals, the population is described as ‘crowning themselves’:

- In KUB 44.42 rev.20 (spring festival for Kurhazussara): ‘all the people crown themselves’.
- In KBo 2.13, obv.18 (town of Panissa, spring festival): after the people are called to eat, they crown the gods, then put on crowns themselves.

<sup>53</sup> Cammarosano (2018: 43–4, 127–9, 173).

<sup>54</sup> KUB 25.23 i 23ff.; Cammarosano (2018: 365).

<sup>55</sup> Cammarosano (2014: 153–64); cf. Cammarosano (2018: 129); Xen. *Lac.* 2.9.



- In KUB 17.35 iii 33 (spring festival of Great Spring at Gursamassa): they crown the goddess and put on crowns themselves. Slightly different is ii 25–6 of the same text (spring festival of Sun Goddess of Water), where they crown the god and the priest.

The make-up of these crowns is not specified, but we should probably think of crowns or garlands made of plants of some sort.<sup>56</sup> Greek religion of the 1st millennium BCE shows parallels both for the wearing of garlands on the part of the whole community and for garlanding the statue of a god.<sup>57</sup>

## 11.4 Three Differences

### 11.4.1 The Calendar

Much less information survives about the Hittite sacred calendar compared to Greece. In 1st millennium Greece, although there was great variation between the lunar-solar calendars of particular regions and city-states, it seems that in general any given festival was regularly celebrated in a particular month and on a particular day, and there usually seems to be a relation between the name of a festival and the name of the month in which it was celebrated. There is also some relation to the agricultural cycle, but it is not close, perhaps because the agricultural cycle was unpredictable.<sup>58</sup> Mycenaean month names are known from Pylos and Knossos but not well enough to establish a pattern.<sup>59</sup> Mesopotamian months also had names, and these also often reflect the agricultural year or rituals taking place during the period.<sup>60</sup> For Hittite Anatolia, by contrast, we have no information about month names (in fact it may be that the months were identified by number alone),<sup>61</sup> and festivals do not seem to have a fixed position within the sequence, with a few exceptions, such as the ‘festival of washing’ which

<sup>56</sup> In one of the Lallupiya rituals (KUB 35.142 iv) we hear of crowns of *alanzana*.

<sup>57</sup> Whole community: Blech (1982: 302ff.); cf. also Plut. *Dion* 27.2; statue of god: Blech (1982: 270ff.); see also Cammarosano (2018: 125).

<sup>58</sup> Jim (2014: 97–116); Foxhall (1995); Horden and Purcell (2000: 427).

<sup>59</sup> Trümpy (1997: 2).

<sup>60</sup> See e.g. M. Cohen (1993: 5). Martin West (1997: 28) may have been wrong to say that there was no influence on Greece in this respect. George Thomson (1955: 113–14) had postulated influence on the Mycenaean calendar via Minoan Crete.

<sup>61</sup> The Roman calendar names some months after their number: September, October, and so on. Numbered months were used in the federal calendars of Lokris and Phokis in the Hellenistic period and in the calendars of a few other Greek city-states in Arcadia and Asia Minor.

takes place in month 12 in one local calendar.<sup>62</sup> The *Instructions for Priests and Temple Personnel* urges that festivals be celebrated at the right time, and excuses for not doing so be ignored, but it also implies that autumn festivals were sometimes performed in spring and vice versa.<sup>63</sup>

For the most part, it seems more likely that the timing of festivals reflected seasonal patterns, which might vary from place to place and from year to year. Notice in particular the formula for celebrating the spring festival in local festival calendars, ‘when spring comes and it thunders, they break open the *pithos*’.<sup>64</sup>

A striking contrast in respect of the timing of festivals thus emerges. In Greece of the 1st millennium BC festivals seem to have been embedded in the local calendar, while in Hittite Anatolia their timing was for the most part not tied to specific months and a major factor was the seasonal cycle.

#### 11.4.2 Opening the *Pithos*

One of the basic patterns of pan-Hittite festival culture is the opening of the *pithos* of grain in the spring, which also happens at the AN.TAH.SUM festival.<sup>65</sup> This completes the cycle beginning with the closing of the *pithos* in the autumn. The associated offering of *ħarsi*-bread to the gods in the spring may be meant as thanks for the thunder and as analogous magic to encourage the harvest.

In Greece, festivals with agricultural significance—it’s debated which ones these were—were celebrated mostly in the autumn.<sup>66</sup> If the Thargelia (June) was agricultural, that would be an exception. Strangely, the best parallel comes from wine-production: the second day of the Anthesteria festival in

<sup>62</sup> KUB17.35 iv.3–15; this is the tablet that contains the Gursamassa calendar, though col. iv seems to relate to somewhere else. Other examples: in the twelfth month, the *kursa* went south from Zippalanda: KUB 20.25+ vi 7–11, Popko (1994: 309); in KUB 38.32 (see above n.16) the autumn festival of Mt. Ziwana happens in the eighth month when it becomes autumn; the *pudaha* festival of Tesub of Aleppo is celebrated in the eighth month (full moon): KBo 14.142 ii 5–7. See Del Monte (1987: 55–6); Demirel (2017: 395). A tenth-month festival associated with Astata is mentioned in AhT 20§6.

<sup>63</sup> CTH 264§9; for performance of festivals in the wrong season Miller (2013: 393) compares Tudhaliya’s Prayer. KBo 12.58+ obv.7–9; Singer (2002: 108).

<sup>64</sup> Cammarosano (2018: 39). This could perhaps be compared to the Puthais-*theoria* in Athens which set off when lightning was seen over Mt. Parnes: Rutherford (2013a: 312). Taracha (2009: 71): ‘Meteorological rituals, which were celebrated “when the Storm-god thundered”, find no parallels anywhere in the Ancient Near East.’

<sup>65</sup> See Cammarosano (2018: 117).

<sup>66</sup> See Foxhall (1995); Jim (2014: 97–116); Parker (2005: 195–206).

February was called the Pithoigia ('Opening of the *pithos*'), when the new wine was first tasted, having been presumably put into the *pithos* (or 'angos?') after the vintage and the wine-pressing in September–October. No reference to any Greek 'Closing of the *pithos*' festival survives.<sup>67</sup> The Greek practice makes more sense in so far as wine will presumably have fermented over time, while nothing happens to the grain at all, except that it survives.

Thus, the Greek ritual calendar emphasizes wine, while the Hittite one emphasizes grain. For Hittite Anatolia, emphasis on grain seems to reflect the high importance of grain in the economy, and wine gods have a low profile (see p. 206; see also p. 250). Wine does, however, play some role in the festival calendar.<sup>68</sup> For Greece, it's perhaps more about culture than the economy. Wine was also of great importance in the festival culture of Ugarit, though the main festival there was in the autumn.<sup>69</sup>

### 11.4.3 The Role of Women

Another way Greek festival culture differed from Hittite is that it included festivals in which the participants were primarily women, like the Thesmophoria. These were rare in the Ancient Near East, although in the Levant the ritual of the mourning for Tammuz constitutes a sort of women's festival.<sup>70</sup> Hittite festivals certainly involved women:<sup>71</sup> there are plenty of priestesses, and female cult officials, particularly when the festival was for a goddess.<sup>72</sup> References are often found to '*ḫazkara*-women', a class of female

<sup>67</sup> First in Neumann (1967b: 34); see also Puhvel, HED s. *ḫarsi-*, 195. Even among the Hittites, the *ḫarsi-* can contain wine, as we see from an edict of Hattusili III (KUB 21.17 ii 11–13) where he says he has given Ishtar of Samuha *ḫarsiyalli* of both wine and grain. At Gursamassa there was a 'festival of *pithos*-opening' (EZEN <sup>DUG</sup>*ḫarsi- ḫesuwas*): KUB 17.35 ii 3; see Cammarosano (2018: 171).

<sup>68</sup> Cammarosano (2018: 108–9, 130–1): *ippiyas* (of the vine") in KUB 12.2 iv 3–4, where it is coordinated with the opening of the *pithos*; <sup>GIS</sup>GESTIN *tuḫsuwas* ("of the grape harvest") in KUB 38.12 i 23.

<sup>69</sup> RS1.003 = Pardee (2002: n.15); the last month of the year is called Ra'šu-Yēni, the 'First Wine'; cf. also Pardee (2002: 58), RS 19.015, a list of towns contributing wine to a central festival in Ugarit.

<sup>70</sup> See Stol (2016: 640–1).

<sup>71</sup> Pecchioli-Daddi (1982: 381–435, 609); Schuol (2004: 147–53); *alḫuitra*-women in cult of Huwassana: Jie (1990).

<sup>72</sup> Collins (2002) draws attention to a parallel between the burying of piglets in the Thesmophoria and the burying of pigs in ritual pits in Luwian rituals, many of them by female authors. For participation of women officials, see Lombardi (1999); Jie (1990).

‘multipurpose’ cultic assistants.<sup>73</sup> One role often performed by women and girls was that of singers, as at Nerik where the local women sang the ‘song of the bull’ in honour of a Storm god.<sup>74</sup> Hittite queens also play a role in festivals, for example those of the Luwian goddess Huwassana.<sup>75</sup>

### 11.5 Festivals and the Town

The state festivals involve the whole Hittite homeland. But equally local festivals, though centrally organized, show a focus on the individual town.

Often the whole town is involved,<sup>76</sup> as in the ‘festival of the grain pile’ (KUB 56.39). According to a model proposed by the French classicist François De Polignac, early Greek city-states typically staged festivals both inside the city and also at an external sanctuary, on the fringes of their territory; the emergence of this ‘bipolar’ model in the eighth century BC is supposed to have been a critical element in the development of the *polis*. The same point could surely be made for the use of extra-urban *huwasi* in the Hittite local cults.<sup>77</sup> However, the Hittite cult inventories suggest that a similar bipolar model already existed in Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age.

Secondly, the town can also act as supplier of provisions for the cult. According to the local cult inventories they are supplied either by central authorities, sometimes via their local representatives, or sometimes by local town authorities. Individual cities are thus to some extent responsible for their own sanctuaries.<sup>78</sup> The role of the town is stressed in this inventory for the cult of the Storm god of Wattarwa:<sup>79</sup>

For the Storm god of Wattarwa the daily (offering of) loaves of bread is as follows: 1 handful of flour, 1 cup of beer. 2 festivals (are envisaged): 1

<sup>73</sup> Cammarosano (2018: 155).

<sup>74</sup> KUB 20.10, iv; Haas (1970: 63 and 94). So at Elis women sang in honour of Dionysus the bull: Plutarch, *Greek Questions* 36; PMG 871. For the role of girl singers (*zintuhis*), see Rutherford (2008).

<sup>75</sup> Lombardi (1999); Trémouille (2002); also Ishtar of Tameninga: KUB 12.5.

<sup>76</sup> Cammarosano (2018: 155–6). <sup>77</sup> De Polignac (1995).

<sup>78</sup> Archi (1975a: 22) writes: ‘Les communautés, elles, vivaient essentiellement en régime d’auto-suffisance économique, et leurs membres étaient solidaires entre eux... même si la propriété collective persista seulement sous une forme très limitée. Elles s’exprimaient par des conseils d’Anciens, les <sup>LU.MES</sup>SU.GI dont l’autorité fut rétablie quand l’Etat hittite, centralisant le gouvernement à Hattusa, abattit les cités gouvernées par des princes, formées à l’époque des colonies assyriennes.’

<sup>79</sup> KBo 2.1 ii 21–9; Cammarosano (2018: 197); trans. Hoffner CoS 3.63–4.

autumn festival, 1 spring festival. (As offerings): bull, 14 sheep, 5 PARISU-measures and 4 BĀN-measures of flour, 4 KA.GAG vessels (of beer), 10 vessels of beer, 1 bowl of beer, 3 BĀN-measures of wheat for the pithos- His Majesty instituted (them). The town regularly supplies (the offerings) . .

In this case the city carries out a programme of offerings that has been fixed by the king. So in another cult inventory we find references to celebration of festivals by the ‘men of Kammama’, the ‘men of Pada’, and the ‘men of Dala’.<sup>80</sup> The inventory of Karahna shows a more complex arrangement, with some items delivered from the palace of the king, some by the palace of Karahna, and some by the men of Karahna.<sup>81</sup>

Sometimes the texts seem to give a sense of a local idiosyncratic religious tradition different from the ordinary unmarked pan-Hittite one. The unusual traditions of the Luwian towns of Istanuwa and Lallupiya are a good example of that. Consider also the strange customs of the men of the town Tuhumiyara who drag an ox-hide along the ground.<sup>82</sup>

So too in ancient Greece, the *polis* is very much involved in religion.<sup>83</sup> There may have been a tendency sometimes to think of this as a characteristic of Greek culture as opposed to the ‘orient’, but this is misleading. Daniel Fleming pointed out in a study of festivals of Emar/Astata in the 13th century BC that the civic participation resembled the Athenian Panathenaia.<sup>84</sup>

A key feature of *polis* religion has been argued to be the city’s capacity to make decisions about religion, e.g. in appointing priests.<sup>85</sup> Fleming took the installation of the NIN.DINGIR priestess in 13th century BC Emar as a form of communal involvement, particularly since she could be the daughter of any citizen, determined by lot.<sup>86</sup> At Gursamassa also we have evidence for

<sup>80</sup> KUB 38.2; tr. Cammarosano (2018: 297–9); trans. Hoffner, CoS 3.64–5.

<sup>81</sup> KUB 38.12; Cammarosano (2018: 421–7). <sup>82</sup> CTH 739.

<sup>83</sup> See e.g. Sourvinou-Inwood (1990).

<sup>84</sup> Fleming (1996: 98n.54), on the *zukru* festival in honour of Dagan at Emar: ‘it is interesting to find that the Greek Panathenaia, a festival with a mission similar to the *zukru* by its attention to the chief deity of city and region, Athena, made a special effort to represent all ages and classes in festal procession . . . The Emar festivals thus preserve a native identity based on a stable town known to have existed at least a thousand years before the Late Bronze texts. Performance of these rites would have anchored the Emar community in a heritage noticeably distinct from both Hittite religion, which may have been observed separately for resident imperial representatives, and Mesopotamian religion, which the scribes held in honour of their training’ (Fleming 1996: 107). On Emar, see also Sallaberger (2012a). A similar point has been made for Mesopotamian city-states: see Barjamovic (2004); Fleming (2004: 240); Vlassopoulos (2007: 101–22).

<sup>85</sup> Burkert (1995a: 202–3).

<sup>86</sup> Fleming (1996: 88–90, 96–8).

the ritualized selection of new priest of the local Storm god, in this case involving a lottery, apparently independent of any central authorities.<sup>87</sup> Here too the selection of the priest by lot may be a sign of the independence of the local community.<sup>88</sup>

## 11.6 Amphições and Networks

The Hittite texts provide considerable evidence for participation in central religious sites by people or officials from surrounding towns and regions. One pattern is that officials from surrounding towns deliver foodstuffs to the capital or a sacred city, to be stored in filial ‘houses’ there. These AGRIG officials, known from the Telipinu Edict, are well documented for the KILAM festival at Hattusa, but also attested for Zippalanda in the MH period and believed to have been involved at Arinna.<sup>89</sup> In a similar way a recently published cult inventory from Samuha-Kayalıpınar says that contributors to the yearly festival expenses include the ‘Great Houses’ of Karahna, Haryasa, Kasaya, and Səhpina, four neighbouring towns.<sup>90</sup>

Similar patterns are attested in other local cult inventories. According to one of these, provisions for a cult of the horse-riding deity Pirwa were the responsibility of a dozen towns (these were probably staggered over the year).<sup>91</sup> In another inventory (the one that gives us our information about Gursamassa), the ‘festival of washing’ in the twelfth month in an unknown location is supplied by at least five villages.<sup>92</sup> In the cults of Hakmis ‘the towns around’ contribute bread and beer.<sup>93</sup>

Often expected offerings did not materialize. In a text relating to Zippalanda a complaint is made that the town of Santiwara which has an obligation to provide for festivals on Mt. Dəha had in fact omitted to deliver.

<sup>87</sup> Cammarosano (2018: 169); Taggar-Cohen (2006a: 217–19); Taggar-Cohen (2002a) and (2002b).

<sup>88</sup> Something similar may be happening in KUB 44.21: see Taggar-Cohen (2002a: 140–3). In another text, KUB 60.152, a new priest seems to be appointed at the town of Zuppāra in a different way, arriving from outside, though the local elders are involved (Taggar-Cohen 2002a: 143–6). For the ‘elders’ in cult, see Klengel (1965a: 231–2).

<sup>89</sup> AGRIGs: Singer (1984); involved at Arinna; see Popko (2009: 6–7).

<sup>90</sup> Cammarosano (2018: 397).

<sup>91</sup> IBoT 2.131 with KBo 14.21. See Cammarosano (2018: 258–67). See Imparati (1990).

<sup>92</sup> KUB 17.35 iv.17–18 = Cammarosano (2018: 179).

<sup>93</sup> KUB 25.23+ i.19 = Cammarosano (2018: 365). For a festival network based round Amaseia in the Roman period see French (1996).

Complaints about towns reneging on their duty to provide contributions are familiar from the records of Greek festival leagues.<sup>94</sup>

There are other forms of participation as well. For the (H)isuwa festival held in honour of the Storm god of Manuzziya at Kummani in Kizzuwatna we have evidence for participation by delegates (called ‘Old Men’) from a number of towns in the region—Kummana, Zunahara, Adaniya, Tarsa, and Ellipra.<sup>95</sup> According to the Middle Hittite records of the KILAM festival, participants included representatives from various towns in the Hittite homeland, within a day or two’s journey of the capital, who dance and wear special costumes. Lists of ornaments (*unuwashu-s*) handed out from ‘the house of the scribes on wood’ show that there were fourteen men from the town of SIG<sub>4</sub>nahila, fifteen men from Angulla, ten *hapi*-delegates from Ankuwa, and eighteen *hapi*-delegates from Alisa. Most of the *hapi*-delegates and town-delegates seem to have been equipped with red shirts, waistbands, usually red, and girdles of various precious metals, but there were also distinguishing ornaments.<sup>96</sup> In the Great Assembly phase of the KILAM festival many of the town delegations performed: the men of SIG<sub>4</sub>nahila danced; the *hapi*es of Alisa and the ‘wolf-men’ of Ankuwa did something as well, probably dancing, and men from Hariyasa drag a silver stag during the procession of the ‘animals of the gods’. Haas ascribes to the KILAM a text where the men of Kilisra dance with bull’s testicles on their heads.<sup>97</sup>

These patterns have parallels in other cultures. It was suggested sixty years ago that early Mesopotamia might have had amphictiones (the so-called Kengir League),<sup>98</sup> and even earlier that early Israel was organized on an amphictionic structure based on a central sanctuary at Shechem.<sup>99</sup> In the last few decades there has been a trend to interpret archaeological sites that show signs of being early religious centres as hubs of major religious networks and pilgrimage, starting with Göbeklitepe in SE Anatolia (10th millennium

<sup>94</sup> KUB 55.1; Popko (1994: 303). For a Greek example from Hellenistic Iliion, see Rutherford (2013a: 61).

<sup>95</sup> KUB 20.52 (transliterated in Goetze 1940: 54–5); Haas (1994a: 869–70). Archi (1973a) suggests that this example is a relic of an old political structure in the region. For the geography see Hawkins and Weeden (2017: 284).

<sup>96</sup> Singer (1983–4: 1.163–5).

<sup>97</sup> SIG<sub>4</sub>-nahila: Singer (1983–4:1.82); *hapi*es of Alisa and the ‘wolf-men’ of Ankuwa: Singer (1983–4:1.76); men from Hariyasa: KBo 10.23 vi 23 = Singer (1983–4: 2.15) ; men of Kilisra: KUB 20.38 obv. 5–7; Haas (1994a: 687). Part of the text is De Martino (1989: no. 4).

<sup>98</sup> Hallo (1960); Steinkeller (2002); cf. the texts translated by W. Hallo in CoS 3.315–16; Steinkeller (1987).

<sup>99</sup> Noth (1930); against: Chambers (1980); Weingreen (1973); Weiseman (1992); Bächli (1977).

BC).<sup>100</sup> Greece had many amphictiones, religious leagues and festival networks, and they have even begun to be recognized in the Linear B data.<sup>101</sup> In the 1st millennium there were major networks based round panhellenic cults in which delegates (*theoroi*) from cities all over the Greek world participated; and there were ‘amphictiones’, simple networks based round sanctuaries, in which a number of towns share the management of a cult, which may thus become a focus for a common political or cultural grouping (a ‘league’).<sup>102</sup> The best known of these is the Delphic Amphictiony, attested from the 7th century BC or earlier, but they are found in all parts of Greece, e.g. in Ionia (based round the Panionion) or in the Aegean (the so-called Delian Amphictiony). There is one in the Troad in the Hellenistic period, devoted to the cult of Athene at Ilion, and there may have been another at Tlos in Lycia.<sup>103</sup> The Greek evidence is more informative for who visits the sanctuaries and what rituals and performances they take part in there,<sup>104</sup> but tells us less about the institutional mechanics by which the joint administration of such cults was managed.<sup>105</sup>

In discussing the KILAM above (p. 232) I suggested a comparison to Greek festival networks. Similarly, networks of Zippalanda-type where towns supply a central sanctuary resemble Greek amphictiones and leagues.<sup>106</sup> The Hittite cases may seem different, in so far as they are organized under the authority of the Hittite state, rather than a cooperative effort by a group of towns, but in Greece too festival networks can be centrally run, as the so-called Delian Amphictiony was run by Athens for some of its history.

## 11.7 Conclusion

It’s hardly surprising that Hittite festivals—both the major state ones and the smaller local ones—resemble Greek festivals in many respects, because

<sup>100</sup> See Schmidt (2006); on Gilat in Israel in the Chalcolithic period = 4500–3500 BC see Alon and Levy (1989).

<sup>101</sup> Piteros et al. (1990).

<sup>102</sup> For Greek festival networks and amphictiones, see Rutherford (2013a: 66–8).

<sup>103</sup> TL26. Raimond (2002a); Raimond and Vismara (2007); Neumann (1976). We have no way of knowing whether this is a continuation of an LBA practice or something the Lycians had borrowed from the Greeks.

<sup>104</sup> Rutherford (2004).

<sup>105</sup> A rare example is a Hellenistic inscription from Crete IC 4.80 which sets out the duties of the cities of Gortyn and Rheaenia in providing offerings for the Idaean Cave.

<sup>106</sup> Popko (2009: 7); Popko (1994: 142); Popko attributes the idea to O. Gurney. For an earlier attempt at this see Rutherford (2005).



festivals have much in common everywhere. Some Greek festivals also contain elements which look like Anatolian rituals: the burying of pigs in the Thesmophoria, for example, or the expulsion of the *pharmakos* in the Thargelia. But there are also striking differences, particularly the apparent lack of correlation between festivals and specific months; in this respect Greece agrees with the rest of the Ancient Near East against the Hittites.

The main value of the Hittite evidence for the student of Greek religion is comparative. As far as the local festivals described in the cult inventories are concerned, it's not impossible there was some direct contact: Gursamassa was probably less than 300 miles from the Aegean coast, so the practice of wearing festival garlands might have spread. But the main value of these records is that they show that the Hittites regarded religious practice at the level of the individual small town as important. This confirms what perhaps we would already have guessed, that towns and villages of all of the Aegeo-Anatolian region in this period would have had their own festival culture. This is important, because '*polis* religion' has come to be seen as a distinctive feature of Greek society, but it is now clear that the building blocks for *polis* religion must have existed in many cultures of the region.

The larger state festivals have parallels with Greek festivals as well: the national reach of the KLLAM and the foot-race bring to mind the Olympic Games, and the focus on grain suggests the Eleusinia; the procession of animals, on the other hand, doesn't resonate with any Greek festival. It is possible that Hittite festivals influenced early Greece: one way would be via hypothetical festivals in W. Anatolia which may have been modelled on Hittite ones; another would be via the mysterious *ubaru*-men, who attended the festival and may, for all we know, have included visiting Mycenaeans.<sup>107</sup> On the other hand, if early Greek festivals adopted elements from other religious traditions, it could just as easily have been from Ugarit, where there was a thriving festival culture.

<sup>107</sup> For these possibilities, see Bachvarova (2016: 224–6, 344–5).

# 12

## Animal Sacrifice

### Understanding Differences

#### 12.1 Introduction

In all ancient cultures a primary mode of interaction between humans and gods is the making of offerings to the latter by the former. Important classes of offering are domestic animals, other foodstuffs, such as bread and cakes, and liquid offerings or libations. The sacrifice of animals, attested in most ancient cultures, and many modern ones, must have originated in the distant past of human history, at least as early as the Neolithic period when animals were first domesticated.<sup>1</sup> In some ways it may continue aspects of human interaction with animals that predate domestication. Although some aspects of it seem almost universal, no two religious systems organize it in exactly the same way, and even within one religious system different forms may coexist.<sup>2</sup>

Animal sacrifice in 1st millennium Greece (much less is known about the Mycenaean period<sup>3</sup>) is heavily ritualized, with an implicit script for how offerings are to be made, by whom and in what sequence. A particular contrast was made between ordinary sacrifice and chthonic or burned sacrifice made to lower deities.<sup>4</sup> Over the last few decades classicists have speculated intensely about its meaning: is it simply a gift to the gods, made in the hope of reward or in gratitude? Is it a meal shared between gods and men, which brings them together and/or defines their differences? Or is it part of a feast which consolidates a group or brings out hierarchies within it by the distribution of the meat? The sociological view of sacrifice has been

<sup>1</sup> Insoll (2011).

<sup>2</sup> There is a massive bibliography on animal sacrifice in the ancient world, though no overall survey; for a general guide, see the essays in Johnston (2004: 325–48).

<sup>3</sup> See Nikoloudis (2001); Stocker and Davis (2004); Whittaker (2006–7).

<sup>4</sup> For detailed information about the minutiae of sacrificial practice, the recently published survey in ThesCRA is useful, though it is still sometimes necessary to look at older works, such as Stengel (1910).

particularly popular in the last few decades; it was championed by Jean-Paul Vernant and Marcel Detienne, and also by Walter Burkert who argued in his book *Homo Necans* ('Man the Killer') that the ritual violence of animal sacrifice bonded the group together by deflecting aggression onto the victim, which thus resembled a scapegoat.<sup>5</sup>

Another preoccupation among scholars of ancient Greek religion has been to explain sacrifice via the hypothesis of links to the Ancient Near East: not so much to Mesopotamia, where offerings were most commonly presented as regular meals for the god, without much emphasis on the manner of killing or on the spilling of blood<sup>6</sup> or on the subsequent division of the animals among worshippers,<sup>7</sup> but rather to NW Semitic cultures, which show a similar emphasis on killing and similar types of sacrifice, e.g. burned offerings. It has been suggested that the vocabulary of Greek sacrificial practice might owe something to those cultures.<sup>8</sup>

If we are looking for Eastern correlates to Greek sacrifice, Hittite sacrifice is actually more promising especially since the Hittite verb for 'make a sacrifice' or 'consecrate'—*spand*—is cognate with Greek verb for 'pour a libation': *σπένδω*, presumably a common Indo-European inheritance (although 'libation' is the sort of thing that could have travelled).<sup>9</sup> And there is one piece of indirect evidence that the Hittites were familiar with Mycenaean animal sacrifice, namely that the oracle text which mentions deities of Ahhiyawa and Lazpa asks whether sacrifice to them should be made 'in the style of Hatti', apparently implying a contrast with sacrificial styles of those areas;<sup>10</sup> perhaps Mycenaeans were familiar with Hittite sacrifice as well.

<sup>5</sup> Detienne and Vernant (1989); Burkert (1983).      <sup>6</sup> See Abusch (2002).

<sup>7</sup> Though cf. on Neo-Assyrian sacrifice: Pongratz-Leisten (2012).

<sup>8</sup> Burkert (1975) suggested sacrifice was introduced via Cyprus; M. L. West (1997:39-41) also argued for borrowing on the basis of lexical parallels, e.g. Greek *σφάζω*, *σφαγ-* ('slaughter') is supposed to go back to Ugaritic *dbh*, Phoenician/Hebrew *zbh* ('sacrifice'); see also Burkert (1992); J. P. Brown (1979, 1980). The one certain thing is that the use of frankincense (*libanos*) in Greek sacrifice is probably influenced by Syrian practice in the early 1st millennium.

<sup>9</sup> See p. 38. the Greek verb *θύω*- 'sacrifice' also seems to have a parallel in the Hittite noun *tuhhui-/tuhhuwai* = 'smoke'; that word is not much used in cultic contexts, though it is sometimes linked to the substance *tuhhuessar*, frequently used before sacrifice (see Peterson 1937: 201, HEG III.10, 418 contra Zeitfelder 2000). Kloekhorst (2008: 894-5) suggests that *tuhhuessar* means, of all things, 'sponge'. The Hittite for 'make an incense offering' seems to be *samesiya*, which Puhvel, HED s.v. has recently suggested is also cognate with Greek *θύω*—sacrifice.

<sup>10</sup> See p. 107. Compare the distinction between *ritu Graeco* and *ritu Romano* in Roman religion: F. Prescendi in ThesCRA I.193-4.

The textual sources for Hittite sacrifice are rich, but it has been studied rather less than Greek sacrifice, and certainly not from a theoretical point of view.<sup>11</sup> One thing that has become clear is that there are major regional differences, between the Hittite homeland and the Hurrian-Semitic zone. Pigs are a common offering in the former (as in ancient Greece) but not in the latter. And the latter tends to distinguish modes of offering to the upper and to the lower deities, as in the famous *historiola* from *Purifying a House*: the Former Gods are to get not cows and sheep (like upper gods) but birds in pits, a principle laid down by Tessub when he originally drove them down (§33).<sup>12</sup> (So Greek religion distinguished ‘Olympian’ and ‘chthonic’ forms of sacrifice for upper and lower deities in a similar way, albeit without using birds.)

Most of the sources are brief descriptions of sacrifice within rituals and festivals, which tell us little about its significance. There are also some revealing *historiolae* in rituals, such as one in *Purifying a House* just mentioned which explains why lower deities received different offerings. In some myths and *historiolae* the goddess Kamrusepa performs rituals (sometimes perhaps sacrifice) on sheep belonging to the Sun deity, and Alfonso Archi has compared this to Greek myths where the first sacrifice is performed on animals that were stolen from the gods, such as Hermes’ primeval sacrifice of Apollo’s cattle in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*.<sup>13</sup> The KIHC seems to contain aetiologies of sacrifice and the *Song of Kurunta* narrates the cessation of sacrifice during Kurunta’s rule (see p. 161). Another revealing text is a passage in the MH *Instructions for Priests and Temple Personnel* which warns people that in respect of their appetite for food, as in other respects, gods are just like human beings, and it forbids the appropriation of food-offerings by temple staff.<sup>14</sup>

## 12.2 Primary Forms of Offering: Bread, Libation, Sacrifice

The three primary forms of offering are illustrated by Mursili II’s prayer to the Sun goddess of Arinna where he complains that because of the plague:<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> See Alice Mouton, e.g. (2008b), (2017a); earlier Collins (1995a); Archi (1979b), Ünal (1987–90); Lebrun (1993).

<sup>12</sup> See p. 149.

<sup>13</sup> Archi (1993: 408).

<sup>14</sup> Miller (2013: no. 20: §2).

<sup>15</sup> CTH 376A, §6–7; Singer (2002: no. 8).

no one prepares for you the offering bread and libation anymore. The ploughmen who used to work the fallow fields of the gods have died, so they do not work or reap the fields of the gods. The grinding women who used to make the offering bread for the gods have died, so they do not [take] the god's offering bread any longer. The cowherds and shepherds of the corrals and sheepfolds from which they used to select sacrificial cattle and sheep are dead, so that the corrals and sheepfolds are neglected. So it has come to pass that the offering bread, the libations and the offering of animals have stopped.

In other texts only bread and libation are mentioned, as in Muwatalli's *Prayer to the Assembly of the Gods*, where there is a list of ritual offerings to different deities comprising in each case bread dipped in honey mixed with oil, and wine.<sup>16</sup>

Before I turn to sacrifice, it is worth saying something about bread and libation. If a Greek of the 1st millennium BC had witnessed Hittite offerings, one thing s/he could not have failed to notice is the strong focus on bread. Hittite Anatolia was in some sense a 'bread culture'.<sup>17</sup> We saw (§11.3) how local sacred calendars tend to be constructed round *ḫarsi*-grain, which is stored through the winter and turned into loaves of bread in the spring. In Greek sacrificial ritual, we do not normally think of bread as being so important, although there are occasional references to *artos*, *pelanos*, and *pemmata* in Greek sacred laws.<sup>18</sup> And there are also some precise parallels; e.g. in both cultures loaves can be made in the form of bovines.<sup>19</sup>

The symbolic value of libation<sup>20</sup> in Hittite ideology is well illustrated in the Firaktin relief where Hattusili III and Puduhepa are represented pouring libations to Tessub and the Hepat.<sup>21</sup> Indirect evidence is provided by so-

<sup>16</sup> CTH 382, Singer (2002: no. 19).

<sup>17</sup> For forms of bread used in ritual see Hoffner (1974: especially 217–20); cf. Burkert (1983: 45n.42).

<sup>18</sup> See Sokolowski, LSCG, LSS, LSAM s. these words. A good example of the use of loaves is a sacred law from Sparta, where we have the stipulation of a combination of a pig and bread: LSCG 63 (IG5.1.364).

<sup>19</sup> For example the Hittites had a 'thick bread in the form of an ox'; for others, see Hoffner (1974: 208); Haas (1994a: 644n.35). A Greek parallel for that is the so-called 'seventh ox' (ἑβδομος βοῦς), a cake in the form of cow offered in addition to six other cakes. Stengel (1903), (1910: 222ff.). Mau RE 2.2734–2743, s.v. Bäckerei, 2734–5 suggested an oriental origin for Greek bread.

<sup>20</sup> The *vox propria* is the verb *sipand/ispand*, which also covers 'sacrifice'; *laḫuwai-* can be used too. Notice, however, that *ispantuwa-*, *ispantuz(z)-*, and *ispantuziyassar* mean 'libation-vessel', and *ispantuziyala-* means 'libation-bearer': HED 1.38–9.

<sup>21</sup> Ehringhaus (2005: 59–65).

called ‘cup marks’ cut into bedrock, which are found at various sites in the 2nd millennium BC, including Kaymakçı in Western Anatolia.<sup>22</sup> Libations were commonly of wine or beer or both, sweet milk, oil and honey; the unidentified liquids *tawal* and *walḫi* are frequently mentioned as well; occasionally we find blood or fat; libation of water is rare.<sup>23</sup>

Libation usually takes place in the context of a longer ritual programme.<sup>24</sup> Sometimes the person performing the ritual is said to speak during or after the libation, as at the spring festival of the Storm God of the Rain at Hakmis, where the participants are said to pour a bowl of beer on the ground and make a short prayer for the rain: ‘O Storm God, my lord, make the rain plentiful! And make the dark earth satiated! And, O Storm God, let the loaves of bread be plentiful!’<sup>25</sup> This parallels the association between libation and invocation or prayer in Greek ritual.<sup>26</sup> Libation can take place at the crossroads, as in Greece, or front of the altar.<sup>27</sup> On the third day of the Royal Funerary Ritual, the embers of the funeral pyre are extinguished by ten vessels of beer, ten vessels of wine, and ten vessels of ‘*walḫi*’, surely a form of libation, as in the *Iliad* the Myrmidons extinguish the embers of Patroclus’ funeral pyre with wine.<sup>28</sup>

### 12.3 Key Elements of Hittite Animal Sacrifice

There is an initial problem of definition, especially since there is an obvious cross-over with the use of animals in purification rituals. It seems sensible to distinguish six main types of sacrifice:<sup>29</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Luke and Roosevelt (2017) have an excellent survey with more bibliography; Ussishkin (1975).

<sup>23</sup> See Goetze (1970–1). For *tawal* and *walḫi*, see HEG s.v. For libations of blood, see 12.3.3.

<sup>24</sup> See Collins (1995a: 84–5).

<sup>25</sup> KUB 25.23+ iv 56–9; see Cammarosano (2018: 375). Ochsenschlager (1970) suggested that the vessel known as the *plemochoe* at Eleusis was used in a similar way. See Smith (1927: 231–2); Frazer (1911–36): 1.248–9; Burkert (1985: 73 and 375n.66).

<sup>26</sup> Burkert (1985: 71).

<sup>27</sup> Libation at crossroads: KUB 24.11 ii 14–7 = Goetze (1970–1: no. 73); Burkert (1985) with Theoph. *Char.* 16, 5 (pours oil) with the note in Diggle (2004). At an altar: KBo 15.33 ii 41f. (Storm god of Kuliwisna); Greek libations on altars, e.g. Sokolowski LSS no. 62 (libation of honey on altar of Zeus in Paros).

<sup>28</sup> Kassian et al. (2002: 260–1) = KUB 30.15+ obv.1–9; *Il.* 23.237; see Rutherford (2007: 225).

<sup>29</sup> Beckman (2003: 108–9) has a similar list, but (110) says that he does not include substitute or scapegoat (*tarpalli-*) rituals because these are not intended for the purpose of a gift.

1. Ordinary sacrifice in which an animal is killed and parts of it are offered to the god, either on an altar or a sacrificial table or in some other recognizably divine space;
2. sacrifice in which the animal, having been killed, is placed in a ritual pit; and
3. burned sacrifice (usually referred to with the Hurrian term *ambassi*).
4. ‘God-drinking’, a special form of drinking ritual in which the liquid used for both drinking and libation is apparently perceived as charged with the divinity (see §12.4).
5. *Tarpalli*-sacrifice, in which an animal is killed as a substitute, need not be considered as wholly distinct, but simply showing a different emphasis.
6. ‘Attraction offerings’ in which offerings of food (bread, cakes, not meat) together with libations were made along ritual paths, with the intention of attracting deities.<sup>30</sup>

Types 2 and 3 tend to be associated with the SE and Kizzuwatna, where birds are often killed.<sup>31</sup>

If we compare Hittite sacrifice to Greek sacrifice, there are similarities and differences.

### 12.3.1 Animals

In ordinary Hittite sacrifice, the preferred animals seem to be sheep, oxen, and goats, as in Greece. Horses are attested in the *Royal Funerary Ritual*, but not elsewhere. In *ambassi* rituals in the Kizzuwatnian-Hurrian sphere we regularly find the use of birds, something alien to ordinary Hittite practice, and rare in Greece.<sup>32</sup> Dogs are not used for ordinary sacrifice, but they can be killed in purification rituals.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> See for example CTH 483.IA = KUB 15.34, which is translated in ANET<sup>3</sup> 351–3 under the heading ‘*evocatio*’.

<sup>31</sup> Mouton (2007a) has discussed regional variations between Hattic sacrifice and other forms in the division of the meat. See also Mouton (2017a).

<sup>32</sup> Hittite: Minunno (2013: 121–6). Greek: see now Villing (2017). In the Orphic Derveni Papyrus col. 2 and col. 6 ‘something from a bird’ as a preliminary sacrifice; cf. Burkert (2004: 118–19); Betegh (2004: 76–7); Kouremenos et al. (2006: 144–5); notice, however, that these references to birds do not appear in the text of Kotwick (2017: 70–1 and 74–5).

<sup>33</sup> See Collins (1990); for dogs in Greek religion see p. 203.

The issue of pigs is more complicated, as I mentioned. While Greeks sacrifice pigs, in Anatolia some texts, probably all from the Kizzuwatnian sphere, imply that the pigs are polluting and their use in sacrifice banned, as in the ancient Semitic world.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, in the Hattic tradition of central Anatolia we find signs that pigs were used in rituals and sacrifices, and even in some cases consumed. Billie-Jean Collins has argued that the ritual use of pigs tends to be associated with fertility, basing this partly on the goddesses who receive pigs and partly on the queen's involvement in pig sacrifices. This would provide an interesting point of comparison with Greek religion, which also seems to show a degree of correspondence between the ritual use of pigs, and women, as in the Thesmophoria festival.<sup>35</sup>

Some texts specify a specific number of victims. In Ašhella's Ritual, for example, they offer on Day 2 six rams and six goats, on Day 3 one goat, one male sheep, and one pig, and on Day 4 (apparently) a bull, a ewe, and three sheep. The three animals on Day 3 correspond precisely to one attested combination of Greek *trittōia* (i.e. 'group of three sacrificial victims'), and the twelve animals on Day 2 suggest the Greek *dodekais* (although the combination of animals is different).<sup>36</sup>

### 12.3.2 Preliminary Rituals

Animal sacrifice is a ritual complex with several stages. For ordinary sacrifice, Alice Mouton suggests we think in terms of six stages: i. consecration; ii. killing; iii. cutting up; iv. cooking; v. deposit of meat before deity; and vi. consumption.<sup>37</sup>

Hittite texts mention a wide variety of rituals that precede sacrificial killing. As Cord Kühne showed, some of these (by no means all)<sup>38</sup> have parallels in Greek ritual scripts. For example, in Hittite-Hurrian ritual it is common to make a preliminary offering (called *anaḥi*) of a burned sacrifice

<sup>34</sup> Collins (2006a: 168); Mouton (2004b) on Walkui's Ritual; for pigs in Greek religion: Clinton (2005).

<sup>35</sup> Collins (2006a: 168–71); on the queen, Collins (2006a: 161–2); on divinities: Collins (2006b); de Martino (2004: 52–3).

<sup>36</sup> For these, see ThesCRA I.1110–11; Oettinger (2008b) argued that references to nine victims in Hittite and Neo-Hittite sources may have an Indo-European background. For numbers, see Haas (1994a)'s index, p. 975.

<sup>37</sup> Mouton (2007a). Collins (1995a: 78) has 1. preparation, 2. killing and butchering, 3. setting the table, 4. calling the gods to eat, 5. feasting, and 6. withdrawal.

<sup>38</sup> One that doesn't is the mysterious holding out of the *tuhhuessar*-substance: Kühne (1993: 230–1).



from part of the animal to the deity before the sacrifice proper. Kühne deduced that this probably consisted of offerings of hair, for which the only attested parallels in the ancient world come from Greece.<sup>39</sup> Again, some Hittite texts talk of lifting the animal up before killing it, for example the OH ritual for the Storm god of Kuliwisna,<sup>40</sup> in which the lifters are cooks. This practice is attested in Western Anatolia in the Greco-Roman period, and there is evidence for it from Greece as well.<sup>41</sup> Thirdly, Kühne inferred from a Hittite text in which the golden horns of a bull are removed before killing that it was standard practice to gild the horns, and he draws attention to parallels for this from Greece, for example from Homer's *Odyssey*; it must be said, however, that parallels can be found in a much broader area: we find evidence for this from Rome as well, and from other cultures.<sup>42</sup>

### 12.3.3 Killing and Blood

The central act was the cutting of the animal's throat and the shedding of its blood. Thus, the word '*auli*' ('throat') is used as a synecdoche for the animal and '*es̄har*' ('blood') can be used to denote the whole process.<sup>43</sup> Killing without shedding blood was rarer.<sup>44</sup> The moment is described as one of excitement, accompanied by human shouts.<sup>45</sup> A distinction is sometimes made between 'killing up' (*sara h̄uek-/h̄uk-*) and 'killing down' (*kattanda h̄uek-/h̄uk-* or *hatta-*);<sup>46</sup> these superficially resemble the Greek categories of Olympian and

<sup>39</sup> Kühne (1993: 272–6); one of his examples, KUB 39.71 = CTH 718.1, is now edited by Beckman (2014) (KUB 39.71 iii 27 = CTH 718.1§24 in Beckman's text, p. 37). For Greek hair offerings cf. ThesCRA I.116, #475.

<sup>40</sup> Kühne (1986: 88); KBo 15.33 iii 9–13 (see Glocker 1997: 71); Kühne (1986: 98–100) also cited KBo 17.11+ i 44–9.

<sup>41</sup> Anatolia: Kühne (1986: 97–8), for Nysa in Caria; Greece: see Van Straten (1995: 109–13), contra Stengel (1910: 105–12) = Stengel (1895); ThesCRA I.118; Kritzas (1996–7).

<sup>42</sup> Kühne (1993: 276–7); the Hittite text is KUB 30.41 i 5' ff. (CTH 669.19) for which see Kühne (1993: 239–40); Greek: Homer, *Od.* 3.425ff., 432–9; ThesCRA I.112; Polyainos, *Strat.* 8.43; 'In Greek manner': Livy, Bk. 25.12.

<sup>43</sup> *Auli*: Kühne (1986); *es̄har*: Beckman (2011b). *es̄har* is cognate with the Greek word for blood *ἄρα* which is attested in Hellenistic poetry.

<sup>44</sup> In one text, IBoT 3 1 52–4, out of eight sheep destined to be sacrificed one is beaten to death with a *tahapsettai* object, presumably to avoid bloodshed (Torri 1999:17–18). Cf. Scythian sacrifice in Herodotus 4.60.

<sup>45</sup> A key word is '*palwai-*' which has often been taken to mean 'clapping', but Collins (1995a) (cf. CHDP1/83) has suggested that here it means 'cry out', and that the *palwatalla*-women is a 'crier'. The activity is thus analogous to the shouting of *ololuge* by women at Greek sacrifices.

<sup>46</sup> Kühne (1986); Hoffner (1967a); Gurney (1977: 30).

chthonic sacrifice, directed upwards or downwards into the ground,<sup>47</sup> but in fact ‘killing down’ did not need to be done with pits, and could signify ‘direct downwards onto a specific object or area’, while ‘killing up’ could mean directing the blood into a container rather than onto the ground, or directing it towards a person, a tree or foliage.<sup>48</sup>

In Hittite religion the blood was usually part of the offering. In one case they slaughter a pig, dip bread in the blood and set it before the deity;<sup>49</sup> in another, it is collected in a beaker and some of it is placed in a pit; it can also be libated.<sup>50</sup> In *Purifying a House* (which is intended to cleanse a house of amongst other things blood (§1)) the blood of a lamb is offered in a bowl to the ‘god of blood’ (§30).<sup>51</sup> There is no explicit sign that humans consumed blood, though they may have. In Greek ritual too, some of the blood was probably offered to the god, possibly by being splashed on the altar, or poured into the ground,<sup>52</sup> or into a container,<sup>53</sup> but some of it may have been intended for human consumption.<sup>54</sup>

Another function of blood in ritual is purification. The spreading of blood over surfaces is attested in Luwian-Kizzuwatnian purification rituals.<sup>55</sup> It may be smeared on ritual implements, buildings, and even around a grove.<sup>56</sup> The ‘rite of blood’ performed by Suppiluliuma I and Mursili II after the murder of prince Tudhaliya could have involved elements of either of

<sup>47</sup> Gurney (1977: 30); Hoffner (1967a). For Greek ideas see Stengel (1910: 113–25), correcting the earlier treatment by von Fritze (1903), who discussed coins from Ilion where animals hang from a tree. Hoffner (1967a: 399) cited Guthrie (1950: 221), who oversimplifies. See also Burkert (1985: 200 and 428n.5).

<sup>48</sup> Striking up into a beaker: KBo 29.65 iv 20 (relating to the goddess Huwassana at Hupisna: Kühne (1986: 94 with n.37); see Groddek (2002) for the text. Kühne draws a comparison with an image of sacrifice from a marble disk from Naples cited by Stengel (1910: 117), in which blood from an animal held by two men flows down into a bowl. Blood can also flow onto the person of priests: KBo 45.60 iv 18: see Popko (2009: 88). For other targets of ‘killing up’ see HW<sup>2</sup> III/2 Lief.19, 625.

<sup>49</sup> KUB 43.56 iii 11’–15’; Beckman (2011b: 99); Mouton (2007a: no. 36).

<sup>50</sup> KUB 10.63 i 21–8; KUB 10.11 vi 1–7; Beckman (2011b: 100).

<sup>51</sup> KUB 7.41. Beckman (2011b: 97). <sup>52</sup> Ekroth (2000).

<sup>53</sup> See Stengel (1910: 117); van Straten (1995: 104–5): it is called *amnion* in Hom. *Od.* 3.444, *sphageion* elsewhere; ThesCRA I.116. Possibly the *sphageion* was a way of marking the blood as intended for the god. See Durand (1989: 90) (= 1979, 137); cf. Mouton (2007a: 84).

<sup>54</sup> Ekroth (2005: 10–11).

<sup>55</sup> Beckman (2011b: 101); Haas (2003a: 511–14). A term often used is ‘*zurki*’, a Hurrian word for blood.

<sup>56</sup> Thus, in Ulippi’s Ritual §32 (KUB 29.4 iv 34–41; cf. Miller 2004: 296–7), ‘Then they sacrifice one sheep to the deity . . . and they slaughter it down into the pit . . . and they smear with blood the golden deity, the wall and all the paraphernalia of the new deity; and the new deity and the temple becomes pure’; Beckman (2011b: 101). For other examples, Haas (1993: 74–6); Haas (2003a: 513).

these.<sup>57</sup> Greek religion also knows of purification by blood: sacred buildings are said to be purified in this way;<sup>58</sup> as was the Athenian Assembly by the so-called *περιστάρχοι*.<sup>59</sup> There is, however, a striking difference: the standard way of purifying a murderer is to apply the blood of an animal directly to his body.<sup>60</sup> In Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica*, Circe purified Jason and Medea of the murder of Medea's brother using the blood of a pig.<sup>61</sup> The application of blood to the body does not occur in Hittite texts, and the best parallel may be from a Late Babylonian incantation.<sup>62</sup>

### 12.3.4 The Division

After the kill, the carcass is divided up. An important distinction is between parts of the animal (most commonly the heart and liver) that are roasted in a *happina* (a grill or an oven), and parts that are cooked in a pot, to make something like stew. The division somewhat resembles that in Greece sacrifice between the *splankhna* (which went to the important participants) and the rest.<sup>63</sup> Where the Greek parallel breaks down is that it also seems to be possible to offer raw meat (*huesu-* v. *zeyant*: 'cooked') to the deity, at least in the Hattic sphere; in Greek ritual this happens at theoxenies,<sup>64</sup> but it is also regarded as an abnormal practice associated with Dionysus: he was called the 'the Raw-Eater' (*omophagos*, *omestes*), and as such associated with

<sup>57</sup> Bryce (1998: 154–6); Haas (1993); Haas (2003a: 511–14). The text is Mursili's 'First' Plague Prayer, CTH 378.1§6; translated Singer (2002: 62) with Haas (2003a: 511–12).

<sup>58</sup> Eleusis: IG2.2.1672.126–7: two pigs for the sanctuary and the priest's house; LSCG 39, 23: Athenian law for Aphrodite Pandemos: a dove used for 'katharsis of the temple'; LSAM 36, 36: Priene, sacred law to Sarapis, with a *n(e)ossos* (a bird). Frequently on Hellenistic Delos, e.g. LSCG 156A14 (priest eats something bad). Mantinea: Polyb. 4.21.8–9 temples, especially Apollo's temple by pig's blood; Parker (1983: 30n.66; 230 and 339ff.).

<sup>59</sup> Parker (1983: 21ff.); Jacoby on Istros 334FGHfr.16.

<sup>60</sup> See Parker (1983: 230–1, 370–4); ThesCRA II.13–17; Burkert (1985). Parker thinks that in Greek tradition 'washing blood with blood' is secondary; Moulinier (1952: 106).

<sup>61</sup> Arg. 4. 685–717. Cf. also Aesch. *Eum.* 449f, fr. 327; Eur. *IT* 1223f; TGF5fr.661, 17–18; Heraclitus made fun of it (DK B5).

<sup>62</sup> Burkert (1992: 56–7); M. L. West (1997: 51–2). For the text see Schramm (2008: 37), though it's not clear that blood is poured on the patient. Feder (2011) has argued plausibly for an historical connection between the use of blood in Hittite purification rituals and a similar ritual use in early Jewish ritual, this being one of a number of ritual features that connect SE Anatolia and the Levant. On the other hand, Mesopotamian and Greek uses of blood are different for Feder: the Hittite and Israelite rituals are designed to ward off 'metaphysical' evil, while Mesopotamian and Greek ones are concerned with appeasing chthonic deities and with the application of blood to the body to cure illness (e.g. epilepsy) or purify from murder.

<sup>63</sup> Pointed out by Archi (1979a: 199n.6); for the division in Hittite sacrifice, see Mouton (2007a).

<sup>64</sup> Ekroth (2011).

human sacrifice in some places, including Lesbos; his worshippers were supposed to feast on animals raw.<sup>65</sup> Homer's description of sacrificial practice includes what is called 'raw-putting' (*ᾠμοθετέω*), i.e. the laying of raw pieces of flesh on the thigh-bones before they are burned on the altar, and it is perhaps possible that this practice preserves a trace of an earlier practice of offering raw flesh without subsequent burning.<sup>66</sup>

Meat offered to the god, known as *suppa* ('consecrated (parts)'),<sup>67</sup> was usually placed on bread which was deposited in front of the statue of the deity, in front of the altar, or on the ground in front of the deity.<sup>68</sup> In some ritual texts it is placed on foliage,<sup>69</sup> which finds a rough parallel in the Greek practice of dining *al fresco* on *stibades* ('beds of leaves').<sup>70</sup> In some cases, the animal is slaughtered into a spring or river, as in the festival of the Great Spring at Gursamassa;<sup>71</sup> there are Greek parallels, such as sacred law from Mykonos relating to River Acheloos which specifies that three victims be slaughtered on the altar, 'and the rest into the river'.<sup>72</sup>

Hittite texts occasionally state that the bones are to be disposed of: sometimes burned, in contexts that seem to involve hostile or chthonic deities;<sup>73</sup> sometimes sold.<sup>74</sup> This is obviously of interest to students of Greek sacrifice where the bones were routinely burnt.

There is considerable uncertainty about the realities of which parts, if any, the human participants get. The chief possibilities are:

<sup>65</sup> *Omophagia*: see J. Schmidt, article s. 'Omophagia' in RE 18.1 (1942), 380–2 with references there; Schwenn (1915: 71–5). Dionysus Omestes on Lesbos: Alcaeus, fr. 129, 9; feasting on animals raw: Euripides Cretans fr. 472:12–15; a sacred law from Miletus regulating a Dionysiac cult (early 3rd century BC) speaks of throwing in an *omophagion*: LSAM 48, 2; see Obbink (1993). Raw flesh is occasionally found in Hebrew sacrifice: Ottoson (1987); for Syria, Loretz (2000).

<sup>66</sup> See Burkert (1983: 6). Ekroth (2011) has a different explanation.

<sup>67</sup> For supposed Italic cognates of the word, see HEG s.v., Pfeiffig (1964: 73); Watkins (1973).

<sup>68</sup> Mouton (2007a: 88–9).

<sup>69</sup> <sup>GIS</sup>*lahhurnuzzi*: attested Ashella's Ritual (see p. 268); and in Anniwiyani's Ritual; see CHD s.v. for other references.

<sup>70</sup> Greek practice: Gernet (1981: 14–15) etc.; RE s. *στυβάς*; Verpoorten (1962); Burkert (1979a: 44), with comparisons to Iran and India; see ThesCRA II.238.

<sup>71</sup> KUB 17.35 ii. 28–9. For the festivals of Gursamassa see p. 233.

<sup>72</sup> LSCG 96, 36–7. See Stengel (1910: 120); Stengel (1920: 135–6); ThesCRA III.305–6; Horace, *Odes* 3.13 ('O fons Bandusiae') with Nisbet and Rudd (2004: 172, 176). In a fragment of Aeschylus' *Psychagogoi* (F273a) Odysseus is encouraged to let the blood of a sacrificial victim flow into the River Acheron.

<sup>73</sup> Festival of Karahna: KUB 25.32 obv.ii, 4.10; see McMahon (1991: 62–3); Cammarosano (2018: 152). See also Hatiya's Ritual against Wišuriyant §10: see Collins (1995a: 84); and in the Ritual against the Ill-Omened Bee: CTH 447§25–6.

<sup>74</sup> As in the MH ritual KUB 17.28 i 24; see de Martino (2004: 52). This is also interesting because pigs apparently used for purification are subsequently in part eaten by the ritual practitioners, the SUHUR.LÁL women.

1. Only parts of the animal are ‘*suppa*’, and these go to the god, while the mortals get the rest; these categories may coincide with the parts roasted in the *ḥappina* (plus raw parts in the Hittian tradition) and those boiled in the pot.<sup>75</sup>
2. The whole animal is *suppa* and goes to the god; the mortals get nothing.
3. Whether all or part of the animal is ‘*suppa*’, mortals in reality consume the ‘*suppa*’ parts as well. That would mean that the *Instructions for Priests and Temple Personnel* is legislating against what was in fact common practice.<sup>76</sup>

The god’s portion is a point of difference between Hittite and Greek sacrifice. In Hittite sacrifice the offering of raw flesh seems ordinary, whereas in Greece it was often considered abnormal (though apparently used in theoxenies: see above). Again, in Greek sacrifice the gods’ portion was small—probably just the tail burned on the altar, although in the early poetic tradition and in Hesiod’s account in the *Works and Days* they received the outwardly more impressive share of the thigh-bones wrapped in fat.<sup>77</sup> In Hittite sacrifice the *suppa* could be much larger. This difference seems to presuppose a different theory about how gods are to be nourished: whereas Hittites treat them like humans (cf. the *Instructions to Temple Officials*), the Greek belief is that they feed off the smoke and savour, or in a purely symbolic way.<sup>78</sup>

### 12.3.5 Commensality

In the study of Greek religion of the 1st millennium BC great emphasis has been placed on how sacrifice defines social relations between participants, both human and divine. Dining together (commensality) can define a community, just as differences in division can define a hierarchy.<sup>79</sup> Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East has been less intensively studied, but it

<sup>75</sup> Haas (1994a).

<sup>76</sup> Mouton (2007a: 89–90); see Cammarosano (2018: 153). The Egyptian practice of ‘reversion of offerings’ (*wḏb-ihṯ*) may have been similar in some respects.

<sup>77</sup> See Van Straaten (1995).

<sup>78</sup> It has been thought that in Hittite festivals men can consume ‘by aroma’, an interpretation of the word *warsuli*, but this is far from certain; see Cammarosano (2018: 184).

<sup>79</sup> Detienne and Vernant (1989); ultimately W. R. Smith (1927) on Semitic sacrifice.

seems different in some respects; for example the emphasis (at least in early Mesopotamia) was on regular feeding of the god rather than ritual killing and commensality. However, Syrian sources mention involvement of communities, sometimes of a whole city,<sup>80</sup> and they also suggest that here participation was as much a matter of contribution as of consumption, and this may well be true of Hittite religion as well.<sup>81</sup>

We saw that in Hittite religion a share of the sacrifice goes to the god, possibly to be consumed by humans afterwards (pp. 257–258). How human participants share the offerings is not well understood, but it depends in part on the sort of occasion. We can distinguish:

- Local Cult Festivals (§11.3) which imply a division between offerings (e.g. bread and beer) ‘for the altar’, i.e. the god, and offerings ‘for provision’ (*assanuwar*), i.e. for the celebrants. The latter is several times greater. Sacrificial meat tends to be mentioned as part of the portion ‘at the altar’, but it is clear that men consumed it as well, as they did the ‘*siyami-stew*’ on Day 2.<sup>82</sup>
- Purification Rituals, such as Ashella’s Ritual (§12.6), which seems to distinguish a non-participatory sacrifice where sacrificial animals are left for the god, from participatory sacrifice. In Anniwiyani’s Second Ritual (from Arzawa) the right ear, liver, heart and right shoulder are roasted and given to the god, while the rest is made into a stew and consumed by the humans.<sup>83</sup>
- The Great Assembly (*salli aassar*) attached to the main festivals (see earlier), where there was a banquet: here food (e.g. bread, particularly, sarama-bread, oily soup, liver on bread) was shared among dignitaries, e.g. ‘dignitaries of the feast’, ‘old men’, and ‘foreigners’ (*ubaru-men*) as a sign of status.<sup>84</sup> It can also be given to everyone present. Francesco

<sup>80</sup> See Sallaberger (2012a: 169–171) on Emar; a sacrifice for Dagan at Tuttul is described in a Mari letter (Sasson (2015: 149, 2.1.d.ii4): ‘. . . the whole land feasted. The whole land was very pleased with my lord’s sacrifice’. For Syrian cities, see Thuesen (2000).

<sup>81</sup> For contributions see the festival of the grain pile: p. 236 with Cammarosano (2018: 148–50); see also Barsacchi (2019); on contribution at Emar see Sallaberger (2012a: 171–2).

<sup>82</sup> Cammarosano (2018: 152–5).

<sup>83</sup> Anniwiyani (CTH 393) §31, VBoT 24+ iv 22–7.

<sup>84</sup> Archi (1979a: 204–9); for the text, Archi (1979a: 207nn.23–4). Text in Gonnet (1982: 58–9). Archi (1979a: 209): ‘Auf diese Weise bildete das Kultmahl ein Element des Zusammenhangs zwischen den verschiedenen Gruppen des hethitischen Staates: das Personal des Palastes und das des Tempels, die Funktionäre der staatlichen Verwaltung und die Bevölkerung, vertreten durch die “Ältesten”, endlich die verschiedenen Länder, die das Hatti-Reich bildeten, die durch “Fremdlinge” vertreten wurden.’

Barsacchi has recently suggested that we distinguish two types of distribution: to dignitaries at the banquet, and to non-dignitaries outside the banquet (the latter is more like a payment).<sup>85</sup>

One aspect very common in Greek sources but apparently missing from the Hittite evidence is the idea that different parts of the animal go to different people as sacrificial prerogatives, which is occasionally found in Assyrian sources (see above).<sup>86</sup>

## 12.4 God-Drinking

In many Hittite ritual and festival texts, participants are said to ‘drink’ (*eku-*) the god or gods (accusative) in whose honour the ritual or festival takes place. God-drinking sometimes comes at the end of a sacrifice, as on Day 4 of Ashella’s Ritual: ‘He drinks three times the Sun god of Heaven, the Storm god and all the gods’, or on Day 2 of Dandanku’s Ritual, where the patron drinks both Yarri and his Sibitti.<sup>87</sup> It can also be a communal ritual, as in Arnuwanda’s treaty with Ura, in which a group of potentates are told to ‘Drink Yarri’, apparently from the rhyton that has accompanied the message (see p. 189, pp. 221–222). So also in Anniwiyani’s Ritual, where the augurs drink the relevant gods three times.<sup>88</sup> In the rituals of Istanuwa and Lallupiya participants frequently ‘drink’ deities, drinking being sometimes accompanied by song (as in the famous ‘Songs of Thunder’ text: KBo 4.11). The ‘drinking from the *huhupa*’ ritual discussed in Chapter 8 (p. 180) is introduced with ‘they drink Tarwalliya’ (in fact, it is possible that ‘drinking from the *huhupa*’ is a form of god-drinking here). Notice that in this text, ‘god-drinking’ alternates with making libations (see KUB 55.65 iv 43-4: ‘They drink to those gods with a cup / They make libations separately with the (same) cup’). God-drinking also appears frequently in state banquets, where the king and queen can drink a long sequence of deities.

God-drinking has divided Hittitologists. In 1940 Forrer suggested that this might have inspired the Christian Sacrament.<sup>89</sup> Since then attempts

<sup>85</sup> Barsacchi (2019).

<sup>86</sup> For distribution of meat in Neo-Assyrian sacrifice see Pongratz-Leisten (2012); in Neo-Babylonian sacrifice: McEwen (1983).

<sup>87</sup> Ashella’s Ritual (CTH 394) §9: Collins (1995a: 85); see §12.6. Dandanku’s Ritual (CTH 425.2) §8.

<sup>88</sup> VBoT 24 iii 1–3, iv 27–31.

<sup>89</sup> Forrer (1940: 128)

have been made to explain it away: either it means ‘cause to drink, give to drink’;<sup>90</sup> ‘drink in honour of the deity’, toast the deity (possibly there has been a linguistic confusion),<sup>91</sup> or perhaps ‘pour a libation to the deity’ (i.e. ‘cause the deity to drink’).<sup>92</sup> But scholars have on the whole gone back to the idea of consuming the deity. As Hans Güterbock observed in 1998: ‘the liquid is the deity, or the deity is the liquid, since here the liquid is poured from a *bibru* into a cup from which the celebrant then drinks it’.<sup>93</sup> More recently Yağmur Heffron has argued that ‘drinking’ is a multi-stage process involving first pouring wine or beer into the rhyton (*BIBRU*) which represented the god and then its being poured from the rhyton into a drinking cup. We have seen (p. 184–5) that a god can be represented as a rhyton. Passage through the rhyton means that the wine becomes charged with the spirit of the deity. Since the same rhyton was used to pour libations to the god on some occasions, this ritual could be seen as bringing human and divine participants together.<sup>94</sup>

Forrer was thus right to think of the Christian Sacrament, but we should also be reminded of Teiresias’ statement in Euripides’ *Bacchae* (284) *οἶτος θεοῖσι σπένδεται θεὸς γεγώς* (‘Dionysus, being a god, is poured out in offering to the gods’),<sup>95</sup> which seems to equate the god with wine. Admittedly, this is a special case, since wine is Dionysus’ main sphere of interest, but we could think of the Hittite practice as having generalized a more specific one. For the wine god being equated with wine in the Hittite world, we might compare an Istanuwa ritual where they ‘drink Winiyanta’ and ‘drink wine (from the cup) of Winiyanta’.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Otten (1958: 132).

<sup>91</sup> Puhvel (1957); Melchert (1981). Soysal (2008) (supported by Goedegebuure 2008) argued that the Hittite idiom can be understood as reflecting a misunderstanding of an equivalent formula in the Hattic language: in Hattic, ‘drink for a god’ was expressed with the name of whatever god it was in the dative case, which regularly ended in *-n*; in translating this formula the Hittites substituted not the dative case of the god’s name which generally ended in *-i*, but the accusative, which generally had final *-n*. In other words the Hittites misunderstood Hattic ‘drink to god X’ as ‘drink god X’. This misunderstanding would have happened in the early stages of contact between Hittites and Hattic people, sometimes around 1700 BC.

<sup>92</sup> Archi (1979a: 200).

<sup>93</sup> Güterbock (1998: 129); see also Rosenkranz (1973).

<sup>94</sup> Heffron (2014).

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Obbink (1993); Dodds (1944: 106), who compared Vedic Soma: ‘it is tempting to see here not merely the rediscovery but the survival of an ancient religious idea’ (cf. Farnell (1896–1909: 5.97, 121 on the Thracian cult of *Διόνυσος Βότρυς*, ‘Dionysus of the Vine-Cluster’). See Hobden (2011: 46). Collins (1995a: 86n.46) refers to a similar idea in Greco-Egyptian magical text published by Brashear (1979: ad 271).

<sup>96</sup> KUB 55.65 iv 16–18; see Starke (1985: 313). If Hittite rhyta represent the god, it might be worth considering the possibility that ones from other cultures do as well, for example Dionysiac rhyta from Thrace; see Theodossiev (1998).



## 12.5 Upper and Lower: Pits and Burned Offerings

### 12.5.1 Pits

Scholars of Greek sacrifice over the last few decades have been greatly interested in the so-called Olympian/Chthonian distinction: Olympian means a normal sacrifice in which people participate, chthonian means abnormal one, in which people don't participate, often involving burning the whole victim at a hearth (*eskhara*) or a pit (*bothros*). The conventional view is that the two forms corresponded to two types of deity. This was called into question several decades ago by scholars who argued that chthonic offerings and *thusia* could be seen as two aspects of the same ritual (a 'ritual-immanent antithesis'), and that the form of the offering was determined entirely by the purpose of the sacrifice, and had nothing to do with deities involved.<sup>97</sup> More recently, it has been reasserted that the traditional correlation of forms of deity and forms of sacrifice is roughly right, albeit some deities can belong to either category.<sup>98</sup>

Hittite ritual texts record many instances of offerings, including animals, made into purpose-dug pits, a process which in the case of animals can be expressed by 'killing down'.<sup>99</sup> In the MH *Purifying a House* ritual (CTH 446) an exorcist purifies a house by summoning the Former Deities who are presumed to be in the underworld. It consists of a series of rituales, performed over two days in three locations. It begins in the house itself, then the action shifts to the river bank, where he calls on the Sun Goddess of Earth to open the gate of the underworld and let the Anunnaki come up (§11–12, tr. Collins):

He goes to the river bank and takes oil, beer, wine, *walhi*-drink, *marnu-wan*-drink, a cupful (of) each in turn, sweet oil cake, meal (and) porridge. He holds a lamb and he slaughters it down into a pit. He speaks as follows: 'I am human being, I have now come! As Hannahanna takes children from the river bank and I, a human being, have come to summon the Primordial Deities of the river bank, let the Sun goddess of Earth open the Gate and let the Primordial Deities and the Sun God(dess) of the Earth (var. the Lord of the Earth) up from the Underworld (lit. the Earth).'

<sup>97</sup> Burkert (1983: 9n.41).

<sup>98</sup> See Ekroth (2002); Scullion (1994).

<sup>99</sup> Pits: Collins (2002a); 'killing down': Kühne (1986: 94n.37).

Then he fashions clay figurines of the Primeval Gods in the form of daggers (§18), and water is brought by Ishtar (§21–4). After that the action shifts back to the house: a figurine is made of the Deity of Blood and a sacrifice is made to it (§28–30). He opens up a deified Pit (§31) before the Former Deities, pours in libations, together with a shekel of silver and offers three birds, explaining that this is the appropriate offering for deities of the underworld (§33):

He takes three birds and offers two of them to the Anunnaki deities, but the other bird he offers to the Pit and he says as follows: ‘For you, Oh primordial deities, cattle and sheep will not be forthcoming. When the Storm god drove you down to the Dark Underworld he established for you this offering’;

making an explicit distinction between two types of offering (*‘sippandu-war’*): for the Upper gods cattle and sheep, for the Lower gods birds in a pit.<sup>100</sup> On the second day (§37–), the action begins again in the house with a sacrifice and invocations; and then the Former Deities are taken to the steppe, where burned offerings are made of one lamb and eight birds and the place of the offerings is specified as ‘hearths’, i.e. not a pit this time (§47). Further invocations to the Former Deities follow, including an appeal that whatever evil blood the house gave birth to be kept within the earth. The transferal of the action to the steppe seems to symbolize the removal of impurity and evil from the house. The colophon states that this is the first tablet in a sequence.

Here, then, we have a clear correlation between the offerings made into pits and burned sacrifice at hearths with Chthonian deities, much as in Greek sacrifice, as now understood. Greeks rarely use birds, however.<sup>101</sup>

Another animal often sacrificed or buried in pits is the pig.<sup>102</sup> So in Mastigga’s *Ritual Against Family Quarrel* a pig is buried after being used as a carrier.<sup>103</sup> *Hantitassu’s Ritual*, ‘If for a human being, man or woman, the years are disturbed’, has a more complex form.<sup>104</sup> In the first part, a ritual for the Sun deity is performed on the roof during the day, comprising an offering of loaves and various sorts of seeds; this is followed by a

<sup>100</sup> Birds are also found in pits in Wessex, England in the Iron Age (ca. 700 BC–400 AD): Hill (1995: 105).

<sup>101</sup> See above p. 252, n.32. <sup>102</sup> Collins (2002a: 231–4).

<sup>103</sup> CTH 401.1§24–5; see Miller (2004: 77–8).

<sup>104</sup> CTH 395, Únal (1996); A. Chrzanoska (ed.), [hethiter.net/](http://hethiter.net/): CTH 395.3.1 (INTR 2015-11-04).

‘conjunction’ to the Sun to free the client from the jaws of Agni.<sup>105</sup> The second part takes place inside the house and at night: a pig is slaughtered into a pit: first its blood, then the dead animal with various grains and breads, then, after an invocation of primeval deities, wine. Then the ritual practitioner ‘conjures’ the door-bolt to call on the Former Deities to come up and consume the offerings and then return, and he asks them what evil thing he has committed. After that, the dead pig is brought up again and parts of it seem to be offered to the Sun god. Next, in what seems to be an elaborate contact-ritual, the pig’s flesh is attached round the neck of the king, who wears it in this way for nine days. Afterwards, the flesh is placed in a chest, never to be opened again, which is deposited in the ‘seal house’. The burial of pigs’ flesh in the pit will remind Hellenists of the digging up of the burial of dead pigs in underground chambers in the Greek Thesmophoria festival.<sup>106</sup>

All these examples come from the Hurrian-influenced South-East, and it is not impossible that there has been East–West influence, albeit Greek religion does not use birds in the same way. We should remember that pit rituals are common in many cultures (see p. 82).

### 12.5.2 Burned Offerings

A common form of offering, at least in the Kizzuwatnian zone, was the ‘*ambassi*’, apparently a type of burned offering, the word being derived from Hurrian *am-* ‘burn’.<sup>107</sup> *Ambassi* corresponds to burned sacrifice in W. Semitic sources, for example *ʾlh (olah)* in Israel. *Ambassi* offerings are occasionally attested in the Hittite world beyond Kizzuwatna,<sup>108</sup> and also at Emar.<sup>109</sup> Burned offerings seem to be carried out alongside ordinary sacrifice as a ‘double rite’ in several traditions: Israelite, Ugaritic, Hurrian, and even

<sup>105</sup> See p. 44.

<sup>106</sup> The parallel developed by Collins (2002a: 235–7). Collins (2006b) discusses correlations between pigs and chthonic deities and purification in KUB 12.2. For the Thesmophoria, Burkert (1983: 257).

<sup>107</sup> Haas (1998: 210n). BGH s.v. Thus, in the ‘dislocation’ ritual performed for Tarhunz and Hebat (ChS9no.53) *ambassi*-offerings were among a range of sacrifices stipulated for the different stages of the ritual. The best survey is Haas (1994a: 661–5).

<sup>108</sup> An expanded version of the same pattern occurs in a Nerik text where the nightly *ambassi*-offerings (written in the standard abbreviation ‘*amsi*’) are offered to the Storm god in his *dahanga* (inner sanctum) (Haas 1970: 284–5; KBo 2.4 iii), followed by an ordinary sacrifice the next day.

<sup>109</sup> For Emar, see Archi (2001: 21n.8): 471.33, 473.19; Haas (1994a: 662–3).

Neo-Hittite.<sup>110</sup> It has even been suggested that pairs of ritual terms in Hebrew and Ugaritic should be interpreted on the basis of Burkert's functional analysis of Greek sacrifice as parts of a single whole in a 'ritual immanent' opposition.<sup>111</sup>

In Greek religion holocaust offerings are made mostly to chthonian or quasi chthonian deities or heroes, though in some cases they may be what A. D. Nock called '*heilige Handlungen*', ritual acts designed:

to exercise direct and efficacious influence upon divine powers or upon forces of nature . . . sphagia in general, oath-sacrifices . . . offerings of victims in a crisis, cathartic sacrifices . . . and various ceremonies to avert evil.<sup>112</sup>

From the comparative point of view, one might ask whether the Hurro-Hittite evidence suggests a correlation between burned offerings and deities of the underworld. The answer to that question is, predictably, ambiguous. On the one hand there are some signs that associate *ambassi* with the underworld: they are made at night, for example, and in some cases they are made by a river, for example in the *Ritual of Ammihatna, Tulbi and Mati*.<sup>113</sup> Burned offerings not specified as *ambassi*-s can also be made in chthonic contexts, e.g. the lamb and eight birds burned on three hearths to the Former Deities at the end of *Purifying a House*. On the other hand, *ambassi*-offerings are made to deities whom we would not define as belonging to the chthonic sphere, or at least not entirely. So in the case of the Storm god of Nerik, who can be called chthonic only in so far as in his vanishing-god myth-ritual he was believed to disappear to the underworld. Equally, *ambassi*-offerings were made in the context of substitution, e.g. in the case of the *puhugari*-ox in the text describing Mursili's *aphasia*, or in the royal

<sup>110</sup> In Jewish sources *ʾlh (olah)* is often paired with *slmym*, and these two seem to correspond to Ugaritic '*slm(m)*' and '*srp*' (the latter associated with an established Semitic root meaning 'burn'). In Hurrian sources *ambassi*-offerings are often mentioned alongside the '*keldi*', which seems (at least some of the time) to denote a different type of animal offering; Schwemer (1995); on *keldi* 'for well-being' see Strauss (2006: 113–18); BGH s.v. For Neo-Hittite practice see CHLI I.1, 147 on II.27 CEKKE§4: which has an opposition between *kinuti* burn and *sarl(a)i* normal sacrifice.

<sup>111</sup> Janowski (1980: 253n.50). This view was subsequently criticized by Daniel Schwemer (1995: 84) for whom the pairs of terms in Hurrian, Ugaritic, and Hebrew are separate ritual acts: a burning-offering and a gift-offering.

<sup>112</sup> Nock (1944 = 1972: 589–91); ThesCRA I.118; Ekroth (2002: 217–42, esp. 242).

<sup>113</sup> Haas (1994a: 662–3); KUB 30.38 i 49–50; Strauss (2006: 266–7). The river is a context also in the 'dislocation' ritual performed for Tarhunz and Hebat (ChS9 no.53).

substitution ritual,<sup>114</sup> which suggest that *ambassi* was associated with specific ritual functions—purification or the deflection of divine anger, i.e. ‘*heilige Handlungen*’.

The overall distribution therefore is not dissimilar to Greek religion, which is not to say there has been direct borrowing.<sup>115</sup>

## 12.6 Attraction and Deterrence

In sacrifice, as in other rituals, an important variable is where the deities are believed to be located and how the rituals are intended to affect their location. Often, no doubt, the deity was understood to be already present, a permanent resident of a major temple, desiring regular feeding. In other cases, offerings must have been intended to attract an absent deity from a distance. This pattern is illustrated by the Hittite evocation rituals, where deities are summoned with making offerings (libations, grain) along ritual paths. In one text the ‘cedar deities’ were summoned from the edges of the Hittite world (CTH 483.IA; see p. 26). Something similar happens in the ritual part of the Telipinu myth, which involves the offering of various foodstuffs, intended to work on the deity by magical analogy (e.g. ‘Just as [a fig] is sweet, so let [your soul], Telipinu, become sweet...’ (§12)), and paths are created in the same way (‘I have just sprinkled your paths, Telipinu, with sweet oil. Set out, Telipinu, on paths sprinkled with sweet oil’ (§15)). An early Greek analogy to this practice is Sappho’s cletic hymn to Aphrodite, who is summoned from Crete to Lesbos where there are altars smoking with incense (fr. 2).

In other Hittite rituals the intended effect of sacrifice is not attraction but deterrence. Thus, the Ritual of Zarpiya of Kizzuwatna<sup>116</sup> is presented as part of an apotropaic ritual aimed at the god Santa. The ritual has two parts: in the first the practitioner makes a sort of gate, and in the second he performs a sacrifice in which the humans and divine agents participate. Light is shed

<sup>114</sup> Mursili’s Aphasia: CTH 486; S. Görke (ed.), *hethiter.net/*: CTH 486 (INTR 2015-10-21); Lebrun (1985); ritual substitute: KBo15.7; Kümmel (1967: 37–42), cited in Haas (1994a: 663).

<sup>115</sup> An indication of a special link between Greek and Israelite practice might be the phonetic similarity between the Hebrew *’olah* and the Greek *λόλαστος*: see Rost (1965). Höggemann (2000: 190) thinks burned thigh-bones are Anatolian, based on Neo-Hittite texts. The discovery of burned animal bones at Pylos (Stocker and Davis 2004; cf. Whittaker 2006–7) put the thesis that burned sacrifice is NE Mediterranean in a different perspective.

<sup>116</sup> CTH 757; see Hutter (2007); and the edition of S. Görke (ed.), *hethiter.net/*: CTH 757 (INTR 2015-12-15).

on the logic by the five speeches made by the ritual practitioner, the first three Hittite, the second two in Luwian, which show that sacrifice is the vehicle for an oath between Santa and the human participants witnessed by other gods. The second speech says: ‘O Santa and the Innarawantes deities, do not approach my gate again’ (§11).<sup>117</sup> This is echoed in the fourth speech, in Luwian, which also gives the gods instructions about what to eat (§17):

‘Do not again approach this door in malice. Eat sheep and cows; do not eat a man, *zaganin*, *tuwiniya*.’

So here, animal sacrifice seems to serve two purposes: first, it’s part of a treaty ritual, which binds the god to stay away; and secondly, it’s a substitute meal, aimed at preventing the god from eating the sacrificers. This is quite different from Greek religion where sacrifice is normally supposed to elicit a benevolent response from the god. A good parallel would be the Hecataia-meals offered to Hecate at the crossroads every month, which were clearly intended to keep her away.<sup>118</sup>

The *Ritual of Ashella of Hapalla* (CTH 394, ‘if the year is bad and there is an epidemic in the army’) also uses animal sacrifice to pacify an unnamed hostile deity (‘whichever god caused the plague’), though in a different way.<sup>119</sup> The action takes place over four days, starting the evening before Day 1, each day corresponding to a different ritual act making use of animals. The night before Day 1 rams are tied outside the tents of the lords of the army, while an adorned woman spends the night outside the king’s tent.<sup>120</sup> Next day, i.e. Day 1, the lords of the army put their hands on the rams, and they are passed through the army before they and the woman together with the bread and beer are led off to the steppe and abandoned.

<sup>117</sup> See Hutter (2007: 404).

<sup>118</sup> Parker (1983: 30 and 224); ThesCRA II.246. Sophron fr. 3–4 (‘Women who Say they are Expelling the Goddess’ with Hordern (2004). Compare also the holocaust of a black bull to the deity Boubrostis (‘ravenous appetite’) made at Smyrna, presumably aimed not to establish a reciprocal relationship with Boubrostis, but to banish: Metrodorus FGrHist43F3; Ekroth (2002: 221–2).

<sup>119</sup> For the text, see the excellent new edition by Mouton (2016: 172–89). The online edition by A. Chrzanowska (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 394 (Expl. A, 13.07.2016), currently has only the text of KUB 9.31. There is an earlier edition by Dinçol (1985) and see Kümmel (1987: 285–8).

<sup>120</sup> The adorned woman is surprising because one might have expected the gender of the substitute to correspond to the gender of the person undergoing the ritual, in this case the king. Perhaps she was also meant to be an enticing gift for the deity who caused the plague, who would usually be imagined as male. Marrying the demon: Schwemer (1998: 59–67); Maul (1994: 78); Haas (2003a: 140). Oettinger (2010) sees the adorned woman in such rituals as the model for Hesiod’s Pandora.

The second day involves rams and goats, six of each, making twelve a common number for sacrificial victims also in Greek tradition (the ‘*dodekais*’).<sup>121</sup> They are led out to the steppe at dawn, to another place. This time, the animals are killed, and a sacrifice or ritual meal is prepared, with fat, bread, and beer laid out on foliage. The men are not said to eat or drink, which means they did not. This stage of the ritual is the most dangerous: the place is impure; ritual implements must not be put on the ground; and on leaving the participants are purified with salt water, hand washing, fire, and a sacrifice of two goats to the ‘god of ritual equipment’ (here the human participants do eat).

At dawn on the third day, another sacrifice takes place in ‘yet another place’ with an assortment of three animals (a goat, ram, and pig), and this time the men eat. Finally three different animals (a bull, a virgin ewe, and a ram) are sacrificed at dawn on the fourth day, but this time the ritual is directed to the Sun god of heaven, the Storm god, and all the gods.

Here, then, we see a progression from crisis to normality in four stages corresponding to the four days. The first two days are the days of crisis: on Day 1, they just abandon the offerings in the wilderness, and on Day 2, they arrange them for a ritual meal/sacrifice without themselves taking part. Days 3 and 4 bring things back to normal: Day 3 normalizes relations with the unknown and unnamed god; Day 4 normalizes the situation a stage further by substituting the ordinary gods of the pantheon who perhaps are thought of as witnesses, as in Zarpiya’s Ritual. In ritual terms, Days 1–3 show a progression from what we might call non-sacrifice to normal sacrifice. Day 2 is half way between elimination ritual and sacrifice, and thus transitional.

The five speeches included in the text—three on Day 1, one each on Days 2 and 3—fit into this pattern as well. All of them are descriptions of the ritual act and requests to the deity how to behave. Of the three on Day 1, the most important is the second, which begins (§4, obv. 19–21):

‘Whichever god has caused this epidemic, now rams are standing (here for you). They are very fat with (their) liver, (with their) heart and with (their) member.’<sup>122</sup>

It is followed by the key phrase (obv. 22–3):

<sup>121</sup> See p. 253.

<sup>122</sup> The praise of the victims has parallels in other rituals, both Hittite and Palaic: see Eichner (2010).

‘May the flesh of human beings be repulsive (for you)! Be soothed with those rams!’

This is an explicit instruction to avoid human flesh, for which the fourth incantation in Zarpīya’s Ritual provides a good parallel.

The speech on Day 3 is a more conventional appeal for reciprocity, ‘*do ut des*’ (§7, rev. 14–17):

‘Whichever god / has caused this epidemic in the army, may this god eat and drink! May he be in peace towards the land of Hatti and the army of Hatti! May he turn in favour to them!’

The utterance on the transitional Day 2 begins with the statement that they have given the deity offerings, and then a section which is difficult because the two manuscripts are damaged (§5, obv.43–4). It looks like it begins with an invitation to take part in the sacrifice, appealing to what we might call a principle of theology: gods are supposed to eat and drink. Then it may say ‘don’t give any to the humans’, i.e. ‘eat all of it’, reflecting the ritual action on Day 2, when the men prepare a ritual meal, but take no share of it themselves.<sup>123</sup>

Thus, the speeches give us an idea of how gods are supposed to relate to humans through sacrifice: on Day 1: they are told not to eat human flesh; on Day 2: they are encouraged to take part in the sacrifice, as gods are supposed to; and on Day 3: they are supposed to engage in reciprocal relations. In this way, the savage god, like a wild animal, is domesticated.

In Ašḫella’s Ritual, then, animal sacrifice and elimination rituals are distinct, but related. Animal sacrifice is the normal way of interacting with a deity, allowing for safe interaction and negotiation between humans and gods, via the frame of commensality. Most gods know how this works, but some gods may have to be instructed. However, this model is quite different from crisis situations of plague, where the deity may be imagined as capable of ‘eating’ humans rather than normal sacrificial meat; and the immediate way for humans to deal with that threat is an elimination ritual. In Ašḫella’s Ritual, purificatory elimination and commensal sacrifice are presented as

<sup>123</sup> HT 1 iv 2–3 and KUB9.32, obv.44: *nu-wa-za DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-nili ez-za eku antuhsi-ma-wa-za kattan le pesti*. The first part (*nu-wa-za . . . eku*) could be one sentence: ‘O god, eat (*ezza* or *et-za* with *za* repeated) and drink like a god’, or two sentences: ‘You are a god, and act like a god’, then ‘eat (*et-za*) and drink!’ (see CHD S fascicle 3:508 s. *siunili*). For the second part (*antuhsi . . . pesti*), see J. Hazenbos in HW<sup>2</sup> III/2: Lief. 18, 607.



being on a sort of spectrum, and as you gradually change the ritual, the god is gradually pacified and the situation returns to normal. The pattern is different from Zarpiya's Ritual, where Santa is not so much pacified as deterred.

Walter Burkert placed the emphasis on the violence involved in killing the sacrificial animal, calling his book *Homo Necans*, 'Man the Killer'. As has frequently been observed, this aspect of his theory seems not to fit most ancient societies, and is perhaps not even a good fit for ancient Greece, where there is little stress on the action of killing. A more plausible theory about sacrifice is in fact offered by Ashella and if we want a Latin name for that, we could perhaps call it 'Deus Necans', 'God the Killer'. Simply put, we feed animals to the gods in order to prevent them from feeding on us.<sup>124</sup>

## 12.7 Conclusion

Comparison between Greek and Anatolian traditions of sacrifice is complicated by the fact that there are (at least) two different traditions within the Anatolia tradition, that of central Anatolia and that of the South-East. Overall, Greek and Anatolian sacrificial practice share numerous details, many of which occur in other sacrificial traditions as well, and also these key parallels:

1. The distinction between ordinary sacrifice and a special form of sacrifice intended for the 'lower gods'; there are differences, however, for example that Greeks do not sacrifice birds.
2. The distinction between ordinary sacrifice and burned sacrifice, which seems to be correlated for the most part with the distinction mentioned in the previous paragraph.
3. The distinction between the gods' portion and the human portion; there are differences here, however: the gods' portion is often raw flesh, at least in central Anatolia, which would be aberrant from the Greek point of view.
4. Some Hittite rituals use sacrifice as an apotropaic device to keep a dangerous deity away, or to appease them. Here the closest Greek equivalent seems to be Hecate's dinners.

<sup>124</sup> For criticism of Burkert, see Mouton (2017a: 251).

Greek sacrifice in general resembles central Anatolian sacrificial practice, except for the use of raw flesh, and it resembles the sacrificial practice of Kizzuwatna, except for the use of pigs, and the avoidance of birds. Aspects of the central Anatolian use of pigs seem particularly close to Greek ritual.

All these cultures had been in contact for millennia, and this probably reflects shared traditions, but there's no evidence for recent borrowing. Burkert proposed that the Greeks derived burned sacrifice from the Levant in the early 1st millennium BC; that is no longer believed, because burned sacrifice is known to be Mycenaean. But it's tempting to think that contact with the culture of the NE Mediterranean might nevertheless have influenced Greek sacrifice, since that was the area where Greeks came into contact with the Succession Myth, which may have contained an aetiology for chthonian sacrifice.

But there are differences as well, and the Hittite texts show that the idea of countries having their own norms was already there in the LBA. Apart from the use of raw flesh, it may be observed that the Hittite texts presuppose a different theory about how gods consume the victims: the Hittites work on the principle that gods consume animal flesh like humans, whereas Greeks seem to imagine them nourished by the smoke. The theology underlying the practice of god-drinking also seems different from what one would find among the participants at a Greek symposium. More generally, it is striking that the Hittite texts tell us so much about the ritual of killing the animal, and so little about how its meat is divided among participants, which is a major concern of Greek sacred laws.

## Epilogue

The problem I started with was the relationship between the amply documented archives of Hittite religion and ancient Greek religion. How can historians of Greek religion make use this material, if at all? Any conclusions are bound to be provisional when there are such large gaps in our knowledge—ignorance of Mycenaean religion, and of the religion of W. Anatolia in the LBA, and limited information about EIA religious traditions in Anatolia. And ignorance too about what was going on before the first written records, i.e. in the first part of the 2nd millennium BC and earlier.

Contact between Greeks and Anatolian cultures is well attested, even in the LBA. In the West there was political cooperation, and populations may have lived side by side in contact zones, e.g. at Millawanda/Miletus or Çine Tepecik. I suggested that Lesbos might have been a focus for shared religious traditions. Evidence for Mycenaean–Hittite religious contact is limited, but if the Hittites imported a deity from Ahhiyawa in the early 13th century, it seems that almost anything is possible. Another form of contact must have been war. In the EIA there was contact too, as Greeks settled close to Anatolian cultures which had inherited at least some Hittite and Luwian religious traditions.

If Greeks borrowed from Hittite or Luwian religious traditions, either in the 2nd millennium or indirectly in the 1st, it has not left much evidence. The goddess Potniya Aswiya from Pylos may be an exception. Few Greek theonyms seem to match those of Hittite or Luwian deities: the main cases are the pairs Kasmilos/Hasameli, Ares/Yarri, and Delphinios/Telipinu, none of them certain. More evidence for the theonyms of Western Anatolia might change the picture. The Greeks associated some of their deities, such as Hecate and Dionysus, with Anatolia, but although there are some striking parallels—the thyrsus and Hecate's dinners at the crossroads—the resemblances between these deities and Hittite or Luwian ones are too general to establish a link. Greek Cybele, on the other hand, probably does go back to a Phrygian prototype, at least in part, and it is possible that the Phrygians

inherited some ideas about mother goddesses and their rituals from the Hittites, though this is far from certain and in some ways she looks rather unHittite.

Our best source for W. Anatolian religion in the LBA is the corpus of Arzawa rituals. Some of these—those concerned with military purification and performed by augurs—show parallels to Greek religion and to the depiction of ritual in Homeric epic. Again, however, these parallels are mostly quite general, and even if there is a link, the explanation may be not borrowing from East to West but a common Aegeo-Anatolian religious tradition.

The most plausible case for a connection remains, as it has always been, that between early Greek theogonic narrative, as we see it in Hesiod, and the Hurrian-Hittite Kingship in Heaven Cycle. These narratives reinforce shared ideas about the generations of gods, and we saw the Greek Titans have a lot in common with the Hittite Former Gods. These parallels point to a contact zone in Levant and SE Anatolia, centre of a mercantile network stretching all the way to the Aegean already in the 2nd millennium. However, although we owe much of our knowledge of these narratives to the Hittites, it is quite possible that neither they nor their Anatolian successors were directly involved in the process of transmission to Greece, and that Syrians or Phoenicians were more important.

So there was contact, but little sign of borrowing, at least by the Greeks from the Hittites. If that was all there was to it, this would be a disappointing end to our inquiry. However, the Greek and Hittite religious systems may be able to illuminate each other in other ways, because they are in many respects so similar. Both seem to have begun with the fusion of the pre-Indo-European cultures (Hattic, 'Pre-Greek') that had long existed in the regions with Indo-European culture originating around the Black Sea. Both of them at different times drew also on the religious cultures of Syria and Mesopotamia. In the case of Greek religion these processes are mostly inferred whereas the Hittite texts capture the different traditions coexisting and blending. Originating in this way, developing over millennia in roughly similar environment and experiencing a degree of intra-regional diffusion, these religious systems probably ended up more alike than any two randomly chosen ancient cultures, and we can perhaps think of them as parts of a single Aegeo-Anatolian religious region.

Sometimes we can detect regional patterns. Patterns common to W. Anatolia and the Aegean are augury and certain types of elimination ritual. In the case of animal sacrifice we see two regional patterns: the use of

pigs links Greece to central Anatolia, the use of burnt offerings links it to Kizzuwatna and N. Syria: Greek religion thus seems to have combined two traditions, but we know neither when nor where this combination came about. The personalities of gods may also follow regional patterns to some extent: the fate goddesses and goddesses associated with fountains could be considered Anatolian-Greek divinities.

Because the two religious systems are broadly similar, it may sometimes be possible to use what we know about one of them to supplement what we know about the other. In practice, it is usually a matter of illuminating our knowledge of Greek religion with the richer Hittite evidence. One case that I have mentioned is the ritual context of myth where the Hittite texts are particularly informative. Another gap in our knowledge of Greek religion is purification rituals of various sorts and the rich repertoire of these, many of them lasting several days and deploying an arsenal of techniques, gives us a hint of what early Greek purification rituals might have been like. Similarly, the Hittite evidence might provide clues about how to reconstruct the roughly contemporaneous but much less well documented Mycenaean religious system.

Comparison with Hittite religion can also help us get a sense of what is unique about Greek religion and vice versa. Thus, Greek and Hittite military rituals are similar in some respects, but different in others, for example in that the purification of an army after battle is attested in Hittite texts, but not in Greek. As for purification rituals, most of the Greek techniques have Hittite parallels (with the possible exception of song), but some Hittite ones have no Greek equivalent—passing through a ritual gate, for example. Comparison of Hittite and Greek festival cultures shows some similarities, but also some striking differences, especially on the point of correlation between festivals and calendrical months. Techniques of animal sacrifice in the two cultures show many similarities but Hittite texts put less stress on commensality and the distribution of parts of the animal to participants. Comparison of the pantheon leads to a similar conclusion: although Greek deities such as Apollo, Dionysus, and Hecate share many features with Anatolian ones, in the end they seem stubbornly unique.

All aspects of this picture are likely to require revision as more evidence becomes available. This means evidence not only from Anatolia and Greece, but also from other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean and Western Asia, since (as I hope to have shown) a general understanding of the other religious cultures of the region is important for assessing the relationship between any two of them. However, new evidence from the contact zones is

likely to be particularly critical, particularly from the primary contact zone of Western Anatolia, and it is to be hoped that investigation of new sites in these regions (such as Kaymakçı in the West) will provide important new perspectives. Whatever surprises future research has in store for us, I hope that this book has taken at least a first step in comparing the Greek and Anatolian religious traditions, and exploring contact and interaction between them.



# Appendix: Hittite Texts Often Cited

I include here a checklist of some of the texts mentioned in the volume.

## 1. Ahhiyawa Texts (references as in Beckman et al. (2011))

AhT 1A Ten Year Annals of Mursili II, Years 3–4 (CTH 61.I).

See under Historical Texts below.

AhT 1B Extensive Annals of Mursili II, Years 3–4 (CTH 61.II).

See under Historical Texts below.

AhT 2 Treaty between Tudhaliya IV of Hatti and Sausgamuwa, king of Amurru (CTH 105, KUB 23.1+).

AhT 3 Indictment of Madduwatta (CTH 147, KUB 14.1+).

Translation: Beckman (1999a: no. 27).

AhT 4 ‘Tawagalawa Letter’ (CTH 181, KUB 14.3).

Hoffner (2009: 296–31).

Miller, TUATNF 3, 2006, 240–7.

Full study: Heinhold-Krahmer and Rieken (2020).

AhT 5 Milawata Letter (CTH 182, KUB 19.55 + KUB 48.90).

Hoffner (2009: 313–21); Beckman (1999a: no. 23A).

AhT 6 Letter from a king of Ahhiyawa to a king of Hatti mentioning Assuwa (CTH 183, KUB 26.91).

Hoffner (2009: 290–2).

AhT 7 Manapa-Tarhunata Letter (CTH 191, KUB 19.5 + KBo 19.79).

Hoffner (2009: 293–6).

AhT 8 Letter from a Hittite official to a king of Hatti partly concerned with a diplomatic gift for the king of Ahhiyawa (CTH 209.12, KBo 2.11).

Hoffner (2009: 352–4).

AhT 9 Letter from a king of Hatti(?) to a king of Ahhiyawa(?) (CTH 209.16, KUB23.95).

AhT 10 Fragment of Letter (CTH 209.17, KUB 23.98).

AhT 11 ‘Offences of the Seha River Land’ (CTH 211.4, KUB 23.13).

AhT 12 Prayer of Hittite king (CTH 214.12.A, KUB 14.2).

AhT 14 Extract from a letter(?) from a king of Hatti concerning Urhi-Tessub (CTH 214.12.C, KBo 16.22).

AhT 18 ‘Boundary list’ (CTH 214.16, KUB 31.29).

Heinhold-Krahmer (2007b).

AhT 19 Inventory (CTH 243.6; KBo 18.181).

Editions: Košak (1982: 118–26); Siegelová (1986: 363–77); see Singer (2011a).



- AhT 20 Oracle report mentioning deities of Ahhiyawa and Lazpa (CTH 570.1; KUB 5.6 +)
- AhT 22 Oracle report, mentioning enemy of Ahhia (CTH 571.2; KBo 16.97 + KBo 40.48).
- AhT 26 Votive prayer of Puduhepa (CTH 590; KUB 56.15).  
De Roos (2007: 240–3).
- AhT 27A, B. Letters from Suppiluliuma II and Penti-Sharruma, a Hittite official to Ammurapi, king of Ugarit (Akkadian), mentioning a man/men of Hiyawa in Lukka  
Singer (2006).
- AhT 28. Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription ÇINEKÖY, mentioning Hiyawa.  
Tekoğlu and Lemaire (2000).

## 2. Arzawa Rituals

- Alli of Arzawa, Against bewitchment (CTH 402).  
Editions: Mouton on hethiter.net; Mouton (2016: 190–228).
- Anniwiyani, mother of Armati, the augur, ritual 1, for the <sup>D</sup>LAMMA *kursa*, ritual 2 for the *lulimi* (CTH 393).  
Editions: Bawanyeck on hethiter.net; Bawanyeck (2005: Text II).
- Aṣḥella of Hapalla against an epidemic in the army (CTH 394).  
Editions: Chrzanowska (ed.) on hethiter.net; Mouton (2016: 169–89); Dinçol (1985).
- Dandanku the augur against an epidemic (CTH 425.2).  
Editions: Fuscagni on hethiter.net; Bawanyeck (2005: Text VII);  
Huwarlu the augur concerning frightening birds (CTH 398).  
Editions: Bawanyeck on hethiter.net; Bawanyeck (2005: Text I).
- Maddunani, of Arzawa the augur concerning frightening birds (CTH 425.1).  
Editions: Fuscagni on hethiter.net; Bawanyeck (2005: Text VI).
- Paskuwatti of Arzawa, Against sexual impotence (CTH 406).  
Editions: Mouton on hethiter.net; TRH 14; Hoffner (1987).  
Translation: ANET<sup>3</sup> 349–50; Mouton (2016: 230–50).
- Pulisa's Plague Ritual against an epidemic in the army (CTH 407).  
Edition: Collins on hethiter.net.  
Translation: CoS 1.161.
- Uhhamuwa of Arzawa, against epidemic in the land (CTH 410).  
Editions: Görke on hethiter.net; TRH no. 15.  
Translations: CoS 1.162; ANET<sup>3</sup> 347.
- Anonymous of Arzawa, concerned with sending sheep to an enemy country (CTH 424.2).  
Edition: Fuscagni (ed.) on hethiter.net.
- Anonymous, mentioning the deities Apaluwa and Lapana, perhaps from Arzawa (CTH 424.4–6).  
Edition: Fuscagni on hethiter.net.

### 3. Kizzuwatna Rituals

- Mastigga's Ritual Against Domestic Quarrel (CTH 404.1, KBo 2.3+).  
 Editions: Miller (2004: 61–124); J. TRH 13; Mouton on [hethiter.net](http://hethiter.net);  
 Miller, TUATNF 4, 223–30.  
 Translation: ANET<sup>3</sup> 350–1, Mouton (2016: 374–419).
- Zarpiya's Ritual (CTH 757).  
 Edition: Görke on [hethiter.net](http://hethiter.net).  
 Translation: CoS 1.162–3.
- Purifying a House: Ritual for the Infernal Deities (CTH 446).  
 Edition: Otten (1961).  
 Translation: Collins, CoS 1.168–71; Miller, TUATNF 4, 2008, 206–29.

### 4. Other Purification Rituals

- Anna's Ritual, If a vineyard does not flourish (CTH 392).  
 Edition: Haas (1998a).
- Ambazzi's Ritual (CTH 391.1.A, KUB 27.67).  
 Edition: Christiansen (2006: 34–68); TRH no. 12.  
 Translation: ANET<sup>3</sup> 348–9.
- Bappi's Ritual (CTH 431).  
 Edition: Görke on [hethiter.net](http://hethiter.net).
- Hantitassu's Ritual (CTH 395.1).  
 Editions: Ünal (1996); Chrzanowska on [hethiter.net](http://hethiter.net).  
 Translation: Mouton (2016: 144–67).
- Hatiya's Ritual for Wissuriyant (CTH 396).  
 Editions: Carruba (1966); Chrzanowska on [hethiter.net](http://hethiter.net).
- Iriya's Ritual (CTH 400.1).  
 Edition: Melzer and Görke on [hethiter.net](http://hethiter.net).
- Ritual Against an Ominous Bee (CTH 447).  
 Editions: Popko (2004); Görke and Melzer on [hethiter.net](http://hethiter.net).
- Ritual at the River Bank (CTH 434.1).  
 Editions: Otten and Siegelova (1970); F. Fuscagni on [hethiter.net](http://hethiter.net)
- Ritual of Samuha (CTH 480.1).  
 Edition: Görke and Melzer on [hethiter.net](http://hethiter.net)  
 Translation: ANET<sup>3</sup> 346–7.
- Ritual occasioned by Mursili's Aphasia (CTH 486).  
 Edition: Görke on [hethiter.net](http://hethiter.net); Lebrun (1985).

### 5. Military Rituals

- Between the pieces ritual (CTH 426.2, KUB 17.29 iv 45–56).  
 Edition: Fuscagni on [hethiter.net](http://hethiter.net).  
 Translation: CoS 1.160–1.

- Evocatio in battle (CTH 423, KUB7.60).  
 Edition: Fuscagni on hethiter.net.
- Human sacrifice (CTH 455, KBo 15.4).  
 Edition: Kümmel (1967: 156–8).
- Ritual of the sea (CTH 436).  
 Edition: Fuscagni on hethiter.net.
- Ritual at border before battle (CTH 422, KUB4.1).  
 Edition: Fuscagni on hethiter.net; TRH 17.  
 Translation: ANET<sup>3</sup> 354–5.

## 6. Festival-Calendar and Cult Inventories

- Gursamassa (KUB 17.35).  
 Edition: Cammarosano (2018: 162–81).
- Hakmis (KUB 25.23).  
 Editions: Cammarosano (2018: 358–83); Hazenbos (2003: 30–40).
- Karahna (KUB 38.12+).  
 Edition: Cammarosano (2018: 421–7).
- Maras etc. (KBo 2.1).  
 Edition: Cammarosano (2018: 193–203).  
 Translation: Hoffner in CoS 3.63–4.
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 Edition: Cammarosano (2018: 247–57).
- Cult of Pirwa (IBoT 2.131 with KBo 14.21).  
 Edition: Cammarosano (2018: 258–67).
- Festival of Telipinu at Kasha and Hanhana (KBo 54.125).  
 Haas and Jakob-Rost (1984).

## 7. Cult Image Descriptions

- Inventory of Tarammeka, Kunkuniya, Wiyanawanta (KUB 38.1).  
 Cammarosano (2018: 308–11, no. 9).
- Inventory concerned with Sauska (KUB 38.2).  
 Cammarosano (2018: 295–9, no. 8); Hoffner CoS 3.64–5.
- Inventory of Tiliura etc. (KUB 38.3).  
 Cammarosano (2018: 322–3).

## 8. Oaths

- Military Oath 1 (CTH 427, KBo 6.34+).  
 Edition: Oettinger (1976: 6–17, 22–52), TRH 18.  
 Translation: CoS 1.165–7 ANET<sup>3</sup> 353–4.

Military Oath 2 (CTH 493, KUB 43.38).

Edition: Görke on hethiter.net; Oettinger (1976: 18–21, 52–8).

Translation: CoS 1.167–8.

## 9. Instructions

Instructions of Arnuwanda I for Frontier Post Commanders (CTH 261.1, KUB 13.2).

Edition: Miller (2013: no. 17).

Translation: ANET<sup>3</sup> 210–11, CoS 1.221–5.

Instructions for Temple Servants Concerning the Purity of the King (CTH 265, KUB 13.3).

Edition: Miller (2013: no. 2).

Translation: ANET<sup>3</sup> 207.

Instructions for Priests and Temple Personnel (CTH 264, KUB 13.4+).

Edition: Miller (2013: no. 20).

Translation: CoS 1.217–221 (also Kühne in Beyerlin 1978: 180), ANET<sup>3</sup> 207–10.

Instructions to Royal Guard (CTH 262, IBoT 1.36)

Editions: Miller (2013: no. 4); Güterbock and van den Hout (1991).

Translation: CoS 1.225–30.

## 10. Prayers

Muwatalli's *Prayer to the Assembly of the Gods through the Storm God Pihassassi* (CTH 381).

Editions: Singer (1996a); Rieken on hethiter.net.

Translation: Singer (2002: no. 20); Mouton (2016: 608–65).

Mursili's *Prayer to Telipinu* (CTH 377).

Edition: Rieken on hethiter.net.

Translation: Singer (2002: no. 9).

Mursili's *Prayer to the Sun Goddess of Arinna* (CTH 376.1).

Edition: Rieken et al. on hethiter.net.

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Translation: Singer (2002: no. 4c).

*Ritual and Prayer to Ištitar of Nineveh* (CTH 716, KUB 15.35).

CoS 1.164–5.

## 11. Foundation Rituals

- Palace-Foundation Ritual (CTH 414.1, KUB 29.1).  
 Edition: Görke on hethiter.net; TRH 16.  
 Translation: Beckman (2010: 3.2); ANET<sup>3</sup> 357–8; Mouton (2016: 88–119).
- Temple Foundation Ritual (CTH 413, KBo 4.1+).  
 Translation: Beckman (2010: 3.7); ANET<sup>3</sup> 356–7.
- Establishing a New Temple for the Goddess of the Night (Ulippi's Ritual) (CTH 481).  
 Editions: Miller (2004: 273–310); Mouton (2016: 334–73); Miller, TUATNF 4.223–9.  
 Translation: CoS 1.173–7.

## 12. Oracles

- KIN oracle on 'campaign strategy' (CTH 561, KUB 5.1+).  
 Edition: Beal (1999).
- About the cult of the deity of Arusna (CTH 566, KUB 22.70).  
 Translation: Beal CoS 1.204–6.
- About the king's safety in the winter (CTH 563, KUB 5.3, 5.4).  
 Translation: Beal CoS 1.207–11.
- About the king's health (CTH 570.1, KUB 5.6+).  
 See AhT 20 above.
- About the correct performance of festivals (CTH 568).  
 Edition: Lebrun (1994a).

## 13. Historical Texts

- Proclamation of Anitta (CTH 1).  
 Translation: Hoffner, CoS 1 2003, 182–4; Beckman in Chavalas (2006: no. 104).
- Annals of Hattusili I (CTH 4).  
 Translation: P. Goedegebuure in Chavalas (2006: no. 105).
- Telipinu Edict (CTH 19).  
 Translation: van den Hout in CoS 1.194–8; Goedegebuure in Chavalas (2006: no. 107).
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- Deeds of Suppiluliuma (CTH 40).  
 Edition: del Monte (2008).  
 Translation: Hoffner, CoS 1.185–6; Hazenbos in Chavalas (2006: no. 108).
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 Edition: Goetze (1933).  
 Translation: Beal, CoS 2.82–90; Mineck in Chavalas (2006: no. 112); Grélois (1988); del Monte (1993: 57–72). For Years 3–4, see AhT IA.

Extensive Annals of Mursili II (CTH 61.II).

Edition: Goetze (1933).

Translation: del Monte (1993: 73–132). For Years 3–4, see AhT 1B.

Apology of Hattusili III (CTH 81).

Edition: Otten (1981).

Translation: van den Hout, CoS 1.199–204; Hoffner in Chavalas (2006: no. 115).

## 14. Myths

Song of Going Forth (CTH 344).

Translation: Hoffner (1998: no. 14).

Edition: Rieken et al. on hethiter.net.

Ea and the Beast (CTH 351.1).

Edition: Archi (2002); Rieken et al. on hethiter.net.

Song of Kurunta (CTH 343).

Edition: Rieken et al. on hethiter.net.

Translation: Hoffner (1998: no. 15).

Song of Hedammu (CTH 348.I.1).

Edition: Rieken et al. on hethiter.net.

Translation: Hoffner (1998: no. 17).

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Edition: Rieken et al. on hethiter.net.

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Beckman (1982); Mouton (2016: 439–57).

Translation: Hoffner (1998: no.1).

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Mouton (2016: 458–83); Beckman CoS 1.151–3.

Translation: Hoffner (1998: no. 2.1).

Tale of the Queen of Kanesh (CTH 3)

Translation: Hoffner in CoS 1:181–2

## 15. Law Code (CTH 491–2)

Edition: Hoffner (1997); translation: Hoffner (1995)

## 16. Royal Funerary Ritual (CTH 450)

Kassian, Korolëv and Sidel'tsev (2002).

## 17. Istanuwa Texts

- Lallupiyan drinking ritual (CTH 771.1, KUB 25.37).  
 Starke (1985: 342–51).  
 Istanuwan festival (CTH 772.3, KUB 55.65).  
 Starke (1985: 312–15).  
 Antiphonal songs (CTH 772.2, KUB 35.135).  
 Starke (1985: 321–3).  
 ‘Songs of Thunder’ (CTH 772.1, KBo 4.11).  
 Starke (1985: 339–42).

## 18. Treaties

- Arnuwanda I and Ura (CTH 144, KUB 26.29).  
 See De Martino (1996: 73–9).  
 Muwatalli II and Alaksandu of Wilusa (CTH 76): Beckman (1999a: no. 13).  
 Tudhaliya IV and Sausgamuwa of Amurru (CTH 105): Beckman (1999a: no. 17);  
 AhT 2.

## 19. Vows

- Votive prayer concerning Arzawa (CTH 590, KUB 31.69): De Roos (2007: 204).  
 Votive prayer of Puduhepa (CTH 590, KUB 56.15): see AhT 26; De Roos (2007:  
 240–3).  
 Dreams of the queen (CTH 584.1, KUB 15.1): see CoS 3.66–7; Mouton  
 (2007b:260–6).

## 20. Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions

- LBA  
 YALBURT: Hawkins (1995: 66–85)  
 SÜDBURG: Hawkins (1995: 22–45)  
 KARABEL A: see Hawkins (1998a)  
 EMIR-GAZI altars: Hawkins (1995: 86–102)  
 AKPINAR 1 and 2: Oreshko (2013: 368–71)  
 EIA  
 ARSUZ 1 and 2: Dinçol et al. (2015)  
 ÇINEKÖY: see AhT 28  
 TOPADA: CHLI X.12; d’Alfonso (2019)  
 (For other EIA inscriptions see CHLI).

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