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HATTIAN MYTHOLOGY AND HITTITE MONARCHY

By J. G. MACQUEEN

The Weather God of Nerik

THE RITUAL TEXT published by H. Otten as *K.U.B. XXXVI* 89 + 88 is of great interest both for its linguistic and lexicographical difficulties and for the religious importance of the myth which it contains. This myth is concerned with the Weather-god of Nerik, and although the state of the tablet is too poor for a complete reconstruction to be made, the mutilated fragment that remains bears a striking resemblance to the well-known Telipinus-myth.¹ It begins (obv. 12) with the withdrawal of the Weather-god in anger :

12. DU URU *Ne-ri-ik-ya-za-kán ša-a-it nu*[

13.]*ha-at-te-eš-ni GAM-an-da pa-a-it.*

Thereafter (ll. 16 sqq.) it seems that prosperity departs from the land. Unfortunately the vital verb is broken away.

16. *nu-ya-ra-aš-kán A-NA*[]*mi-ja-tar TI-tar MUHI.A.GÍD.DA*

17. DU URU *Ne-ri-ik*[

"The Weather-god of Nerik [took away?] increase, life and long years from [the earth?]"

The following lines (18-49) are devoted to attempts to persuade the god to return. Lines 50-57 seem concerned with ritual actions, and a double line after 57 probably indicates the conclusion of a section. When the text becomes intelligible again, a variant form of the myth has begun. Some one (presumably the Weather-god) withdraws from Nerik, this time in fear rather than anger.

Rs 2.]*pi-ra-an u-i-ri-te-eš-ta NINDA har-ši iš-[pa-an-tu-zi-ja (?)*

3.]*li*[]*-at-ta na-aš-kán URU Ne-ri-ik-qa-za É ka-r[i-im-na-za (?)*

4. *Gišda*]-*ha-an-qa-za ar-ḥ[a i-ja-an]-ni-eš.*

"... grew frightened. The thick bread and wine he ... ed. And he went away from Nerik, the temple (?) and the *daḥanka*."

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations are as on page iii of the cover, or in Laroche, *Recueil d'Onomastiques Hittite* (1951), pp. 9-12. Other abbreviations are as follows :—

<i>Chrestomathy</i>	E. H. Sturtevant and George Bechtel, <i>A Hittite Chrestomathy</i> (1935).
<i>Gr</i> ²	E. H. Sturtevant and E. A. Hahn, <i>A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language</i> , Revised Edition (1951).
<i>HG</i>	C. G. von Brandenstein, "Hethitische Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen in Keilschrifttexten", <i>MVAeG.</i> XLVI (2) (1943).
<i>Hitt.</i>	Holger Pedersen, <i>Hittitisch und die anderen indo-europäischen Sprachen</i> (1938).
<i>HuH</i>	F. Sommer, <i>Hethiter und Hethitisch</i> (1947).
<i>HW</i>	J. Friedrich, <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch</i> (1952).
<i>RH</i>	G. Furlani, <i>La Religione degli Hittiti</i> (1936).

¹ Cf. Otten, *KUB.* XXXVI, p. iii. Text *KUB.* XVII, 10, etc., cf. Otten: *Die Ueberlieferungen des Telipinu-mythus* (*MVAG.* 46.1), 1942.

Again his departure means disaster for mankind, for "he named the children of men for destruction" (line 9). Then, despite a good text, follows more obscurity. The Weather-god of Nerik, apparently out of kindness (Rs. 11), changes the course of the River Marasantas. Thereupon the Weather-god of Heaven orders the river back to its original course (19-20) and the River Nakkiliyatas is given the duty, assigned originally to the Marasantas, of carrying the Weather-god of Nerik away from his city. After a break the text resumes (ll. 40 sqq.) with a plea that the god will be as kind to the king as he was to the River Nakkiliyatas. This kindness is apparently to take the form of rain from heaven (ll. 54, 61-65). From line 62 it can be seen that the plea is made by one Huzziyas :

62. ¹ *Ḫu-u-uz-zi-ia-aš* LÚ 600(?) ^{1a} *ne-pi-ši ḫa-lu-qa-an tar-na-i*
 "Huzziyas the 'Six-Hundred-Man' sends this message to heaven."

This is in contrast to obv. 2, which states that the IM.ME-priest is in charge of the ritual, and serves to confirm the fact that there is a break after obv. 57.

Such then in outline is the myth. Obscure as it is in detail, it can reveal much of Hittite and especially of Hattian religion, for it is undoubtedly Hattian in origin. Its connection with Nerik, a site somewhere in Central Anatolia, and the mention of the Hattian god Sulikatte (obv. 14, 27) are sufficient to show that. Of its purpose there is also no doubt. The winning back of the god is simply the winning of rain from heaven (see above). And yet the god's method of disappearance serves to suggest something quite different. At the beginning of the myth (obv. 12) he retires into a *ḫattešsar*. This word has long been recognised² as meaning a "hole" of some kind. It is used of the lair of the dragon Illuyankas (*KUB*. XVII, 5, i, 6, 13) and, according to Forrer, of the hole of a toad or frog.³ Sommer⁴ connects the word with *ḫaddai-* "to hew, cut, dig", and it could be a derivative in *-sar* from this root,⁵ but the form *ḫantešnaz*⁶ suggests that the root may be *ḫant-* rather than *ḫadd-*. In *IBoT*. II, 80, obv. 1-3, the word is used of gods :

1. *na-aš-ta tak-na-aš* DUTU-aš
2. *ḫa-at-ti-eš-sar* DHAL-ki-ia-aš-ša
3. *ḫa-at-te-eš-sar* še-ir
4. *ga-li-iš-ša-an-zi*.

Both the deities mentioned in this passage are connected with the earth or underworld. The name Halki is simply a translation into Hittite

^{1a} Sign GÍŠ+U, taken by Forrer (*IBoTU*. 20, note on sign 202) as "Ner" (600), but by Sedat Alp (*Beamtennamen*, 25 n. 6) and K. Riemschneider (*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung* VI, 355, n. 129) as 60 + 10, i.e. 70. The title LÚ.GÍŠ+U is evidently a variant of UGULA. GÍŠ+U, which occurs in *KBo* V, 7 rev. 54.

² Forrer in Kretschmer, *KlF*. I, p. 310²: Friedrich in Porzig, *KlF*. I, p. 382³.

³ *a-ku-ya-ku-ya-aš*, giving *Bo*. 2738 as reference. Friedrich (*HW*. sub. voc.) cannot trace the example.

⁴ *HAB*. 99.

⁵ Sturtevant, *Gr*² § 96.

⁶ XVII 5, i, 6.

of the Hattian grain-god Kait,⁷ while the Sun-goddess of the Earth⁸ is a deity concerned with the underworld and the dead. In this text the purpose of the "hole" is obviously to communicate with chthonic deities, and this is true also of XXXVI 89. By going down into a "hole" the Weather-god goes through the "gates of black night" (obv. 19) to his mother EREŠ.KI.GAL, and the ritual call (obv. 10) *yi yi purušael purušael* (the latter may be connected with Hattian *fur* "earth") and the sacrifices in the "hole" (obv. 4) are obviously means of summoning him out again. The "hole" in other words is an entrance to the Underworld, a Hell-mouth like those so common in Classical times.

In the second part of the myth we learn more of this "hole". There it is a river into which the Weather-god descends. Then (rev. 16–17) come his orders to the river ;

zi-ik-ma-ya-ra-an ^{1D}*Ma-ra-aš-ša-an-ta-aš tam-me-e-da-ni*

^{1D}*i tam-mi-e-da-ni TÚL-ni li-e tar-na-at-ti.*

"But you, River Marasantas, do not let him (i.e. the Weather-god of Nerik) go into another river or another spring."

Until this point there has been no mention of "springs". The Weather-god has gone into a river, and into a *hatteššar*. Neither of the words listed by Friedrich⁹ as equivalents for TÚL would have a dative ending in *-ni*, so that some alternative must be sought. In this case at least it seems clear that the word in question is *hattešni*, which occurs so often in the text. A *hatteššar* then is more than a "hole": it is the hole from which a river rises, a spring of underground water which could easily be taken as an entrance to the lower world. The god's departure in anger represents in mythological terms a period of drought, a period in which the springs dry up.

We must then assume two levels for the myth, corresponding in all probability to the two sections of the text. The original Hattian version, represented by the first section, was concerned with the drying up of underground waters, and this ritual method of winning back water was later used by the Hittites as a means of encouraging their water supply, which they regarded as coming rather from the clouds of heaven than from within the earth.¹⁰ The same purpose can I think be detected behind the very similar Telipinus-myth. It has been assumed,¹¹ because of this myth's

⁷ Laroche, *RHA.* 46, p. 26.

⁸ Cf. Tenner, *ZA.* NF. 4, pp. 186–90. For this deity as a goddess cf. Otten, *ZA.* NF. 12, p. 220, n. 1 : *JCS.* 4, p. 120, n. 7, i.e. *ták-na-aš* ^DUTU-*uš* GAŠAN-*ja*.

⁹ *HW.* sub voc. Cf. Forrer : *Glotta* Bd. 26 (1938), pp. 178–202.

¹⁰ "On Lykaion, the mountain of Zeus in Arcadia, there was a well called Hagno. When there was a drought, the priest of Zeus went to the well, dipped a twig into its waters, and stirred them up. At once a mist was seen to rise from the well ; it thickened into a cloud, and there was rain all over Arcadia. The rite is the simplest possible example of ordinary rain-magic ; but it is performed by the priest of Zeus, and is accompanied by a sacrifice ; religion has taken it in hand." (Nilsson : *History of Greek Religion* (1925), p. 90.)

¹¹ Most recently by Rutten in *Histoire Generale des Religions* 4, p. 93 : Moscati in *Il Profilo dell'Oriente Mediterraneo*, p. 173 ; Gaster in *Thespis* (1950), p. 357 ; Cavaignac in

superficial resemblance to other Near Eastern vegetation-myths, that Telipinus is a deity of vegetation, and that his myth is of the dying-god type,¹² representing the annual death and rebirth of vegetation. To this interpretation there are two overwhelming objections.

Firstly, there is no hint that the myth is in any way connected with an annual ceremony.¹³ In fact it is related of several gods, and its ritual purpose is turned to private use. Secondly, and more vitally, Telipinus does not die; like the Weather-god of Nerik, *he withdraws in anger*. It is a point of fundamental importance in myths of this type that the god should die, or at least be snatched to the land of death against his (or her) will. A dying-god myth without a dying god is, like "Hamlet" without the Prince of Denmark, a manifest absurdity. It is surely the fact of the death and rebirth of a vegetation deity that gives the myth its impact and its significance. The Telipinus-myth is on no such lofty plane. It is simply an attempt to win back a rather stubborn water-deity in time of drought.

Les Hittites (1950), p. 22; Contenau in *La Civilisation des Hittites* (1948), p. 122. It is interesting to note how Gaster's interpretation has led him astray. "The trees," he says on page 353, "are denuded of leaves, and the springs are frozen over (lit. dried up)". It is clear that the text means exactly what it says; there is no question of "freezing over".

¹² The idea that gods of the Attis-Adonis type are in fact gods of vegetation is deep rooted and, for the historical period at least, almost certainly correct. But there are indications that in origin they too have close connections with underground waters. I hope in a later article to discuss the Sumerian Dumuzi. It is surprising, to say the least, that he is in Sumerian times a shepherd-god and the implacable opponent of the farmer-god. This seems scarcely to indicate a god of vegetation. The myth of his Syrian counterpart Adonis is associated with a river of the same name, which "rushes from a cavern at the foot of a mighty amphitheatre of towering cliffs". (Frazer: *The Golden Bough*, chapter XXX.) Again we may quote from Frazer (chapter XXXVI) the story of Marsyas. "He was said to be a Phrygian satyr of Silenus, according to others a shepherd or herdsman, who played sweetly on the flute. A friend of Cybele, he roamed the country with the disconsolate goddess to soothe her grief for the death of Attis. The composition of the Mother's Air, a tune played on the flute in honour of the Great Mother Goddess, was attributed to him by the people of Celaenae in Phrygia. Vain of his skill, he challenged Apollo to a musical contest, he to play on the flute and Apollo on the lyre. Being vanquished, Marsyas was tied up to a pine tree and flayed or cut limb from limb either by the victorious Apollo or by a Scythian slave. His skin was shown at Celaenae in historical times. It hung at the foot of the citadel *in a cave from which the River Marsyas rushed with an impetuous and noisy tide to join the Maeander*. So the Adonis bursts full-born from the precipices of the Lebanon; so the blue river of Ibreez leaps in a crystal jet from the red rocks of the Taurus; so the stream which now rumbles deep underground, used to gleam for a moment on its passage from darkness to darkness in the dim light of the Corycian cave. *In all these copious fountains, with their glad promise of fertility and life, men of old saw the hand of god and worshipped him beside the rushing river with the music of its tumbling waters in their ears.*" Or rather one would say that they worshipped the water itself as the symbol of the abundance and fecundity which was the partner and offspring of the earth.

Again we find the intimate connection with underground waters. And here too the skin of Marsyas bears a striking resemblance to that hung before Telipinus in his ritual. Another link between that deity and the waters of the earth? Frazer would have denied this. But in his interpretation of these deities as tree and corn spirits he constantly minimises their connection with water, any reference to it being arbitrarily dismissed as a "charm to promote rain". One must ask how the casting of the body of a deity into a river, or the hanging of his skin beside an underground source, can be regarded as a rain charm.

¹³ Already stressed by Gurney, *The Hittites* (1954), pp. 188-9.

Telipinus is a Hattian "weather-god" like the Weather-god of Nerik.^{14, 15} The version of the myth which substitutes "the Weather-god" for Telipinus is in itself sufficient proof for this assertion. It serves to show that the blight that afflicted the unfortunate Pirwas was nothing more than the drying up of his well.¹⁶

The religious significance which the Hattians attached to waters which came from the earth is shown in the myth of the *Puruli*-festival, the Illuyankas-myth. It has already been mentioned that the lair of Illuyankas was in a *hätteššar*, and it can now be seen that the word has here a very pregnant meaning. The battle is fought at the edge of a spring between the force that supplies water (the so-called Weather-god) and the force (the "dragon") which deprives men of it. The struggle is seen as a projection to the divine plane of the struggle between life and death, between drought and plenty, the very struggle with which the *puruli*-festival was concerned.

The Sun Goddess of Arinna

Further chthonic connections for the myth of the Weather-god of Nerik are to be found by an examination of the other deities concerned. The names Uruzimu (obv. 3, rev. 5) and Urunte/imu (obv. 25, 39: rev. 10, 34, 51) occur. From the context it seems clear that a single deity is intended, and that the variation is one of spelling only. This deity is (rev. 5) one of the deities to whom the Weather-god "goes down", and (obv. 39) seems to be in charge of the "gates of black night". The names as well as the

¹⁴ An equation with the Weather-god of Heaven has already been suggested by Von Brandenstein (*HG.*, pp. 72-3). This is rejected by Laroche (*RHA.* 46, pp. 34, 109) on the grounds that an obviously chthonic deity like Telipinus cannot be a "Weather-god". On the contrary it is, as shown above, perfectly possible and natural that this should be so.

¹⁵ These Hattian water deities, although in Hittite times they bore the Sumerian ideogram IM, in reality have a striking resemblance to an entirely different Sumerian god, Enki, lord of the sweet waters. He is well described by Thorkild Jacobsen in *Before Philosophy* (1949), p. 159, where due stress is placed on the active role of water. "The Earth . . . was immobile; hers is the passive productivity, fertility. Water, on the other hand, . . . typifies active productivity, conscious thought, creativity". This is exactly the distinction in Hattian times between goddesses like Wurusemu and gods like Telipinus, and raises again the much discussed question of "Asianic" religion. Is there, for instance, any connection between EN.KI "Lord of the Earth" and Wurunkatte, whose name is usually translated "King of the Land", but may well be "King of the Earth"? He is equated with Zababa and thus presumably has warlike functions, but he is associated with the Weather-god of Nerik, and this with his name suggests that he too may be connected with the creative power of water. An interesting Cappadocian seal discussed by Dussaud (*La Lydie et ses Voisins* (1930), p. 118) shows a water-producing ceremony in which the central figure is Enki, flanked by Adad and a god, presumably local, who clutches a spear. From the arrangement of the seal it may be inferred that this deity is a storm-god like Adad, but the central position of Enki suggests that the water is conceived as coming from the earth rather than from the sky. Have we here a contemporary example of the syncretism which united the Hattian water-god and the Hittite storm-god into a single figure?

It must be noted that the local god's spear is for sacrifice, and that the seal also shows the slaying of a hanging animal. Is this water-sacrifice like that which obviously lies behind the hanging skin of Marsyas? And are the human victims examples of Frazer's "divine king"?

¹⁶ Otten: *Tel.M.*, pp. 63-4.

location bear a striking resemblance to that of the Hattian goddess Wurušemu, and all three must I think be spelling variants. Although I can find no example, it is likely that Hittite might in the absence of a character for *wu*¹⁷ represent an original Hattian *wu* by *ú*. *Ua* is in fact sometimes represented by *ú*.¹⁸ The three forms of the name would then be :—

- (a) *Wuruzimu*.
- (b) *Wurunte/imu*.
- (c) *Wuru(n)šemu*.

All of these could be derived from an original **Wuruntsemu*. For the consonant mutation *t*-<*z*- cf. Zashapuna/Tashapuna,¹⁹ and for Hittite *z* = Hattian *t* cf. *tešha-/zašhai*-.²⁰ For *ts*<*z* cf. also *zikk*- as iterative of *dai*-, i.e. **t-sk*-.²¹ For omission of pre-dental *-n*- cf. ^dHabantali = ^dHabatali.²² Change between *z* and *š* is rarer, but an example may be the variation between *zakkar* and *šakkar*, the identity of which has been suggested by Götze-Pedersen²³ and questioned by Friedrich.²⁴ Compare also the variation between *š* and *z* (written *š*) in Hattian pointed out by Laroche,²⁵ with the example *šipzil* = *šipšil*.

Wurusemu is elsewhere²⁶ equated with the Sun-goddess of Arinna. This goddess is in turn equated with Sumerian Ereshkigal. This is probable from the prayer and ritual text *KUB*. IX, 13 + *KUB*. XXIV, 5, where the following passage occurs (obv. 35–rev. 2: the translation is by Goetze, from *ANET*, p. 355). The king speaks :—

“To (appearing before) thee (i.e. the Sun-god of Heaven), I might prefer appearing before the Sun-goddess of Arinna. (Afterward) he goes into (. . .) and (sacrific)es (one . . . sheep) to Ereshkigal.”

The equation is confirmed by *KUB*. XXXVI 90, ll. 10 sqq.²⁷

10. *e-hu-ya* DU URU^dNe-ri-ik

11. *ne-pi-ša-a-z ma-a-an-za* DU-ni A-NA A-BI-KA

12. *ma-a-an-ma-za da-an-ku-i da-ga-an-zi-pi*

13. A-NA ^dPEREŠ.KI.GAL AMA-KA GAM-an

“Come, Weather-god of Nerik, from heaven, if you are with the Weather-god your father, or in the dark earth with Ereshkigal your mother.”

The parents of the Weather-god are elsewhere well attested. His

¹⁷ The sign *wu*_u is used exclusively in texts in the Hattian and Hurrian languages.

¹⁸ e.g. *varanu* and *uranu* (Fr. *Heth.El.*, § 17a) : cf. *na-a-ūi* and *na-a-ú-i* (Pedersen, *Hitt.*, p. 7) : cf. also *Wašhaniya* and *Ušhaniya* in Cappadocian texts (Finkelstein, *JCS*. X 3 (1956), p. 104).

¹⁹ Laroche, op. cit., p. 39.

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ Fr. *Heth.El.*, § 24.

²² Laroche, p. 23.

²³ *M.Spr.* 35, n. 1.

²⁴ *HW*. sub voc.

²⁵ *RA*. XLI (1947), p. 73.

²⁶ XXVIII, 6, obv. 12. Forrer, *ZDMG*. NF.1 (1922), p. 239. Friedrich : *Klein-asiatische Sprachdenkmäler* (1932), p. 5.

²⁷ cf. Otten, *JCS*. 4 (1950), p. 135.

father is, as here, the Weather-god, and his mother the Sun-goddess of Arinna. Clearly there must be some connection between this goddess and Ereshkigal.

The issue is further complicated by Otten's demonstration²⁸ that in the god-lists contained in Hittite treaties the names Ereshkigal, Lelwani and Allatum are interchangeable, and all refer to the same deity, who is classed among the gods of the underworld. Now the surprising thing about this series of equations is that the Sun-goddess of Arinna, *if she is a solar deity*, is curiously out of place among deities like the Hattian Wurusemu, Sumerian Ereshkigal, Accadian Allatum and Hurrian²⁹ (?) Lelwani.³⁰ These goddesses all have distinctly chthonic connections and Wurusemu, the deity whose name is probably concealed behind all these writing variants,³¹ is a goddess of a type familiar in this area from the earliest times. As far back as our records reach, they stress the supreme importance in Asia Minor of a female deity. In Hattian myth, although the Sun-god may be the titular head of the divine assembly, the prime mover seems always to be a goddess—Hannahanna or Inaras or some other. Early idols excavated in Anatolia confirm this conclusion. Any male figure associated with her seems to have an essentially subordinate position—the Sun-god and Weather-god, for instance, cannot find Telipinus, while she succeeds in doing so—and the reason is clear. She is one of the typical mother-goddess figures of the Eastern Mediterranean and Western Asia, and as the mother of all things she is the queen of all things. A male deity becomes her son, or, if he is her husband, assumes a subordinate position. She is Mother Earth, and all being and all fertility proceed from her.

This is the goddess with whom the Sun-goddess of Arinna is equated. The conclusion must be that she too is primarily a mother-goddess figure. She is the supreme deity of the Hittite pantheon: even the Weather-god of Heaven, the supreme male deity, is subordinate to her. She is easily equated with Hepat, the Hurrian goddess of similar nature. The use of TÚL as an ideogram for her city helps to confirm the idea that she is in some way connected with the earth and its waters. Why then is she called a

²⁸ *JCS.* 4 (1950), pp. 119–136.

²⁹ Otten, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

³⁰ A difficulty in this explanation is that here (obv. 3) Ereshkigal and Wurusemu seem to be expressly distinguished. The Sun-goddess of Arinna appears in the text as mother of the Weather-god of Nerik and in view of *KUB.* XXXVI, 90, 11 sqq., so obviously parallel to this passage, it can be assumed that Ereshkigal and the Sun-goddess of Arinna are here identical. But as shown above, each of these names refers to a Hattian earth-goddess, either equal or equivalent to Wurusemu. The answer to this problem must, I think, be that by the time of this text the original identity of the Sun-goddess of Arinna had been forgotten. She had by this time gained so many solar characteristics (Güterbock in Fern: *Forgotten Religions* (1949), p. 90) that although her name could still be represented by the ideogram EREŠ.KI.GAL, her identity with Wurusemu was no longer recognised. The Hittite priests of Nerik, finding in the present myth both Wurusemu and Ereshkigal (= the Sun-goddess of Arinna) failed to see that they were variants for the same goddess and in their offerings (this is the only place in the texts where the names are expressly distinguished) made sacrifice to both.

³¹ Her very name may again be connected with Hattian *wur* "earth".

sun-goddess? Perhaps this is, as Furlani suggests,³² a purely honorific title. Alternatively, and more probably, it shows that she was one of a class of deities peculiar to Anatolia, a "Sun-goddess of the Earth",³³ whose concern was with the earth, the underworld and the dead. A Sun-goddess of this nature could easily pick up under Semitic influence the solar characteristics mentioned by Güterbock³⁴ and discussed by Gurney.³⁵

The Hittite "Sun-goddess of Arinna" then was, in fact, that same chthonic mother-goddess figure who was, both before and after, supreme in Anatolia. Subordinate to her in Hattian times had been a number of water-gods, designated in the Hittite script by the "Weather-god" ideogram, whose concern was with fertility through underground waters. Further connections with these waters are many and obvious. In *IBoT*. II, 80 rs. 1-3, the Sun-goddess of the Earth and Halki have "holes": the divinity of rivers is amply attested: in *KUB*. XXVIII, 6 (cf. above), Wuru-*semu*, i.e. the Sun-goddess of Arinna, comes up out of a well after an operation involving blood: *KUB*. XV, 34, iii-iv,³⁶ is concerned with the attraction of gods from rivers and springs: and in *KBo*. II, 9, i, 14 sqq., Ishtar of Niniveh is called from the rivers and wells ("which", as Tenner³⁷ pointed out, "lead into the depths of the earth"). This suggests that in this instance at least Ishtar of Niniveh is confused with a local chthonic deity.

The suggestion of R. D. Barnett³⁸ that the existence of spring-sanctuaries in Phrygian times was the continuation of a practice common in the Hittite period has been accepted, in part at least, by Güterbock.³⁹ The proximity of water to many Hittite rock monuments is remarkable, and in some cases (e.g. at Mt. Sipylus⁴⁰ and at Eflâton Pınar⁴¹) it is clear that there must be some connection. This connection is now confirmed from the texts, and it can be seen that association of divinities with springs and sources reaches back into the pre-Hittite period, to a time of Hattian water-gods and mother-goddesses. The remarkable late Hittite rock-sculpture at Ivriz,⁴² although outside the Hattian area proper, gives a good picture of such a deity. He is a "Weather-god", in this area called Tarhuis (𐎲𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎫𐎶), but his attributes are those not of a thunder-deity but of a god concerned with fertilising waters and the fruits of the earth—a bunch of grapes and a sheaf of corn. He is in fact a Telipinus-like figure—"That son of mine is mighty: he harrows, ploughs, irrigates the field and makes the crops grow"⁴³—of a type which was common in ancient Anatolia.

³² *RH.*, p. 29: cf. Delaporte in *Histoire Generale des Religions* I, p. 352.

³³ cf. note 8.

³⁴ In Ferm: *Forgotten Religions*, p. 90.

³⁵ *LAAA*. XXVII (1940), pp. 9 sqq. Furlani, *RH.*, p. 31.

³⁶ Zuntz: *Un Testo Ittita di Scongiri* (1937).

³⁷ *ZA*. NF. 4, p. 189.

³⁸ *Bibl. Or.* X (1953), p. 81.

³⁹ *AS*. VI, pp. 53-4.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*

⁴¹ References *ibid.*, p. 54, n. 3.

⁴² *ibid.* p. 54, n. 4.

⁴³ *VBoT* 58, i, 29-30.

It is evident that *Lelwani* of the treaty-lists⁴⁴ is an underground goddess of some sort. But as Otten shows, there are in reality two deities called *Lelwanis*. The one, equated with *Allatum* and *Ereshkigal*, is an underground goddess, and may have been introduced to Anatolia by Hurrian influence⁴⁵; the other is Hattian, and male. In Bo. 868⁴⁶ he is addressed as “Lord”, and in the bi-lingual 1700c +⁴⁷ he is *Ḫle-e-lu-ua-ni ka-a-at-te*, translated *Ḫle-e-el-ua-ni-ša LUGAL-uš* “the King”. Two texts show us much of his nature. In the *Annals of Mursilis*⁴⁸ it is related that the king came to Hattusas to celebrate the *puruli*-festival of *Lelwani*. This festival was concerned with the earth (Hattian *fur*) and was probably a New Year ceremony. We have in the *Illuyankas*-myth the actual text of the *puruli*-festival at Nerik. In this the Weather-god plays a leading part, and probably this is the part played by *Lelwani* in the festival at Hattusas. His function as a Hattian “weather-god” is confirmed by the text Bo. 7615, 2 sqq.,⁴⁹ which is part of the *Telipinus*-myth with *Lelwani* substituted for *Telipinus*. If *Telipinus* is a Hattian “weather-god”, then the same must be true of the Hattian *Lelwani*. He is presumably, like the rather shadowy *Taru*, a “Weather-god of Hatti”.

But he is not “the Weather-god of Hatti”, also called the “Weather-god of Heaven”, of the Imperial period. This god is no secondary deity, no minor spirit of the springs subordinate to a mother-goddess. He is almost (but not quite) equal in rank to her, and is her husband in the official theology. He is the god of Imperial and later art, the god of the mountain-tops, the wielder of thunder and lightning, a true weather-god of completely different type from these Hattian deities who are concealed behind the same ideogram.

For this boisterous and masterful god there can, I think, be only one explanation. He is an Indo-European weather-god, the swashbuckling deity of the conquering aristocratic Hittites who descended on the Hattians at the beginning of the second millennium.⁵⁰ Attempts to discover his Hittite name have met with little success. The least improbable suggestion is that *ḪIM-un-na-aš* (XX, 43, 4) conceals *ḪZašḫapunaš*, but Gaster⁵¹ has collected arguments against this, the most important being that the ideogram should conceal the Hittite rather than the Hattian name of the god. The theory that the ideogram represents the Hurrian name *Hummuna*⁵² is

⁴⁴ Otten, op. cit. passim.

⁴⁵ Op. cit. p. 135.

⁴⁶ Op. cit. p. 127.

⁴⁷ Op. cit. pp. 128–9.

⁴⁸ *KBo.* II, 5, iii, 13 sqq. Götze, *AM.* pp. 188 sqq.

⁴⁹ Otten, op. cit. pp. 130–1.

⁵⁰ This, of course, cannot be absolutely certain. The Weather-god of Heaven appears already in the *Anittas* text, which is generally taken to be pre-Indo-European. But this may be a different Hattian weather-god. My argument is not that the pre-Hittites had no Weather-god of Heaven, but that the Weather-god of Heaven was in the Hittite period a god whose qualities and attributes were remarkably Indo-European, and uncharacteristic of what is known of the earlier religion.

⁵¹ Gaster: *Thespis*, pp. 334–5.

⁵² Laroche, p. 109, etc.

open to a similar objection.⁵³ It might be suggested, since the Hittite word for "god", *šiu-naš*, is derived from Indo-European **dieu-s*,⁵⁴ from which are derived also the Greek Zeus, the Latin Jupiter, the Sanscrit Dyaus, the Germanic Tiu, etc., that *ḪIM-un-na-aš* in fact conceals *šiu-naš*, the Indo-European name for the Indo-European god.⁵⁵

At their invasion then the Indo-Europeans brought with them their Zeus. They found in Anatolia, as they did in Greece, a goddess heading the native pantheon. Rather than depose her, the conquerors followed the usual polytheistic principle of "cuius regio, eius religio" and married their god to the native goddess. In Greece, Hera had for the most part to be content with a secondary place; in Anatolia the influence of the mother-goddess was so great that she gradually gained authority over her Indo-European husband, and by the time of the Empire was head of the pantheon once more.

Such then is the picture revealed by early Anatolian mythology. It shows a dominant mother-goddess with subordinate male deities, considered as representing the fertilising power of underground water. What is the connection between these deities and the mother-goddess? In the later Hittite theology the Weather-god of Nerik was the son of the great goddess, while the Weather-god of Hatti was her husband. But it may be inferred from comparable Near Eastern mythological situations where a mother-goddess has supreme authority that in Hattian times the fertilising male deity associated with her represented every aspect of this fertilising power, sometimes as lover, sometimes as husband, sometimes as child. Only when the pantheon was standardised by the Hittite theologians, and their own weather-god established as husband of the goddess, were these aspects of the deity fully separated.

Labarnas

It is only natural that in seeking to understand the cosmos as they see it, men should conceive of the divine order as being but a greater instance of the order which prevails among them on earth. "The structure of the universe," as Thorkild Jacobsen has said of Mesopotamia,⁵⁶ "would stand out clearly as the structure of a state". The same is true of Anatolia, and that state structure would naturally be the one which worshippers knew best—that of the state in which they lived. Hierarchical arrangements among the gods are but reflections of those prevailing among the peoples who create them, and it must now be asked if any relic of the Hattian structure, as revealed on a divine plane by Hattian mythology, can be found surviving in the state structure of the Hittite period.⁵⁷

⁵³ Güterbock: *Kum.*, p. 96, n. 22.

⁵⁴ Friedrich, *HW.* sub voc. Pedersen, *Hitt.*, § 51.

⁵⁵ The fact that the word for god is spelt *siunis* or *siunas*, but never *siunnas*, need not invalidate this suggestion, as neither the name nor the word is spelled out often enough to make its correct spelling more than speculative.

⁵⁶ *Before Philosophy*, p. 148.

⁵⁷ It may also be asked if any material relic of Hattian spring-cult remains. The Hittite spring-sanctuaries of Eflâtun Pınar and Mt. Sipylus have already (p. 178) been

Such survivals can, I think, be found in the position, functions and titles of the Hittite king and more especially of the queen. The position of queen among the Hittites is unusual both for the important part she played in matters of cult and state, and for the fact, so often commented upon,⁵⁸ that she continued to reign after the death of her husband. Not until after her death could the new king's wife assume the style of "queen". Of these facts there can be only one explanation. The queen must originally have reigned in her own right. Her queenship merely as consort of the reigning king must be a secondary development. Götze has long ago suggested⁵⁹ that this may be a relic of matriarchy. The connection, if there is one, is rather remote, but the facts can be explained only by an assumption that an earlier system of matrilineal succession had prevailed.⁶⁰ That such was, in fact, the case in parts of Anatolia is shown by Herodotus's remark on the Lycians,⁶¹ and by the numerous references in Greek literature and mythology to princes who went abroad and succeeded to thrones by marrying the reigning monarch's daughter.⁶² Thus it is easy to explain the anxiety felt by Hattusilis III at the banishment of an earlier queen.⁶³ She was in origin the true ruler of the land, the true representative of the mother-goddess. No wonder the pious Hattusilis felt nervous when approaching that mother-goddess in prayer!

It is important here to examine the names *Tabarnas* and *Tawanannas*. These names, allegedly those of the founder of the Hittite line and his wife, were borne by all living kings and queens as a quasi-title, and it is thought that each monarch was regarded as a re-incarnation of the early king or

mentioned, but of Hattian cult-shrines very little is known. The most important archaeological documents for pre-Hittite religion are the graves at Alaca Hüyük, with their famous standards. These are commonly regarded, with complete lack of evidence and probability, as sun-symbols, because their general shape is round. The fact that the circle can enclose a bull or stag is obviously of much greater importance. The former animal is well known from the Imperial sculptures at Alaca as a symbol for the Weather-god, and if its occurrence also in the pre-Hittite layers indicates that in this period too it is the Weather-god's animal, then we may assume that it is the pre-Hittite "Weather-god", i.e. the god of underground waters and vital creativity, who is represented by the bull-standards at Alaca. Bulls are a common river- or water-symbol (it is, for instance, in the form of a bull or bull-headed man that Greek rivers often appear) and if this is the case, it is at least possible that the bull enclosed by the circle symbolises the god emerging from his natural habitat, i.e. a *hatteššar* or spring. Such symbols of life and vitality would be entirely appropriate in these elaborate graves, which indicate an obvious belief in the after-life.

C. A. Burney (*AS. VIII*, p. 218, and Pl. XXXIV) has recently published a rock relief, probably of the Early Iron Age, which depicts the well-known "god on the stag". This relief is in an inaccessible position "high up on a cliff overlooking the winding gorge of the Karasu", and in this is very similar to other Anatolian reliefs above and presumably connected with water. This connection between stags and water may link the stag-symbolism of the Alaca discs with the same religious conception as that which lies behind the bull-symbolism.

⁵⁸ E.g. Götze, *Kleinasien* (2nd ed.), p. 93; Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 66.

⁵⁹ *Kleinasien* (1st ed.), p. 87.

⁶⁰ For abundant evidence of this type of succession see Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, especially Lecture VIII.

⁶¹ Herodotus I, 173.

⁶² E.g. Bellerophon (Homer, *Iliad* VI, 144-195).

⁶³ *KUB*. XIV 7 + XXI 19.

queen. That *Tabarnas* (*Labarnas*) was a name rather than a title has been argued at length by Sommer.⁶⁴ His main point is that in a document of such importance, which was aimed at influencing men even after the death of its author, it would be ridiculous for that author to omit to give his proper name, and substitute "a mere title" ("ein blosser Titel": p. 21). The error in this is that *Tabarnas* is not a "mere" title: it is, as I hope to show, the fundamental title by virtue of which he held kingly power. Later kings headed their edicts with the title "*tabarna*" because it was the title which legitimised their position as king. In a document such as that of Hattusilis I, which was so concerned with the kingly position, it was specially important to stress this title and this legitimacy.

The word *T/Labarna*⁶⁵ is used (a) of an early king, of his son before he assumed the name of Hattusilis, and of his son who was to succeed him, but was replaced by Mursilis; (b) of kings in general during their lifetime, especially in matters of ritual. In this field it is regularly linked with the queen's title of *tawanannas*,⁶⁶ and the two seem to be so linked from the earliest times. The names occur, as pointed out by Laroche,⁶⁷ in Hittite, Palaic and Hattian texts, and so it seems certain that they are Hattian or translations from the Hattian.⁶⁸ Thus it is very unlikely that the words were originally proper names: much more probably they were Hattian titles which came to be used by kings and queens in their official capacity. "Labarnas" no more indicates a particular king than would, say, "Pharaoh" or "Minos".

Attempts to find an etymology for *tabarna* have generally linked it with Luwian *tapar-* "to rule".⁶⁹ This does not, however, explain the *-na* as the ending of a *nomen agentis*.⁷⁰ The only other word which may be compared is *taparnandan*, which is equated⁷¹ with Sumerian NITA. This too causes difficulties. Sommer himself could not decide whether the word is related to an entirely different, true Hittite word-group, or whether a further formation from the borrowed Hattian *tabarna* takes place, and the latter is in fact to be taken as in part an appellative ("= Mann ??"). Thus he serves to destroy his own case for the origin of *tabarna* as a proper name, and also gives a clue to the real meaning of the title. Since a *taparnandan* UDU is certainly not a "ruler-sheep", then a person called *tabarna* must have some function corresponding to Sumerian NITA—he must be a "male", a "man". He holds his position simply because he is the "man" or "husband" of the queen.⁷² The predominance of the Great Goddess in mythology is only a reflection of the original situation on earth.

⁶⁴ *HAB.* 20–29.

⁶⁵ For T/L variation cf. Sommer, pp. 21–26.

⁶⁶ So in XXXVI 89, etc.

⁶⁷ *Ugaritica* III (1956), pp. 100–101.

⁶⁸ Cf. Sommer, *HuH.* 92. If this is true of *tabarna* it is presumably true also of the closely linked *tawananna*.

⁶⁹ E.g. Sturtevant, *Chrestomathy* 172, 194 sqq.

⁷⁰ *HAB.*, 26 n. 2.

⁷¹ *ibid.*

⁷² It can then be assumed that *tapar-* is a later verb-formation from *tabarna*, with meaning based on the ruling functions of the "husband".

Of course, the introduction of a warlike Indo-European aristocracy changed this. Just as in heaven the Indo-European weather-god rose almost to equality with the Sun-goddess of Arinna, so too on earth the Indo-European monarchs strove to legitimise their position and establish their succession, although it was not until the time of Telipinus that this was finally done. Before this monarch's decree there was a long period of internal strife, intrigue and murder. The document of Hattusilis has been taken ⁷³ to show that at this time there was an elective monarchy, and we know that before this ⁷⁴ the nobles had placed a usurper on the throne. This is all easily explicable when it is known that the "king" was simply the husband of the reigning queen. In a situation such as this, when power can be gained by marriage to royalty, a warlike aristocracy will always be internally divided, and factions will attempt to marry their own nominee to the queen and thus gain power for themselves. We need only compare the attempt—apparently successful—made by the Egyptian nobles after the death of Tutankhamen.⁷⁵ Not until the time of Telipinus was a Hittite king strong enough to suppress this tendency and establish the succession in his own family. But even after that the power and position of the queen were upheld, and the traditional kingly title of "tabarna" retained.

What then of King Labarnas, founder of the Hittite line? The main documentary evidence for him is in the Telipinus decree,⁷⁶ in the king-lists,⁷⁷ and in the Alaksandus-treaty.⁷⁸ Several Labarna-seals have been shown by Güterbock ⁷⁹ to belong to various monarchs. Telipinus ⁸⁰ tells of a remarkable series of conquests from sea to sea, and in the Alaksandus-treaty he is said ⁸¹ to have conquered Arzawa. This is vague enough. The king-lists, doubtful as they are as historical evidence, do mention a Labarnas ⁸² who may be identified with Hattusilis I. Text "C" obv. 20 has a name(?)—there is no determinative—beginning with *la-* which may be Labarnas, but in this case an otherwise unknown genealogy is mentioned (ll. 19–20) which seems to indicate ⁸³ that Labarnas was not the first of his line. In fact the evidence for Labarnas as a historical person is very scanty indeed, and if we consider the widespread nature of his conquests, it is much more likely that Labarnas the founder of the Hittite line was a simple concretion of a series of early kings, all of whom bore the title of Labarnas. To the later Hittites, the king with whom their history really began was the Labarnas who had built their capital and assumed the name of Hattusilis. Any events from an earlier date were simply "in the days of Labarnas".

⁷³ Cf. Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 63.

⁷⁴ *HAB.* III, 41–45.

⁷⁵ Gurney, p. 31.

⁷⁶ Sturtevant, *Chrestomathy*, pp. 175–200.

⁷⁷ Otten, *MDOG.* 83, 47–71.

⁷⁸ Friedrich, *SV.*, pp 51–2.

⁷⁹ Güterbock, *SBo.* I, pp. 47–55.

⁸⁰ Sturtevant, *Chrestomathy*, pp. 182–3.

⁸¹ Cf. Note 78.

⁸² Text "A", line 2; Text "B", line 4.

⁸³ Cf. Forrer, *2BoTU.* VI–VII; Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 216, etc.

A difficulty is caused by the occurrence of "Young Labarnas" in the decree of Hattusilis I. Here again it is not difficult—in fact it is easier—to take the word as a very specialised title. In col. II, 2-3, "Young Labarnas I proclaimed to you" (*nu-uš-ma-aš TUR-la-an la-ba-ar-na-an te-nu-un*) is followed by the words of the proclamation, "Let that one sit (upon the throne)" (*a-pa-a-aš-ya-aš-ša-an e-ša-ru*). Col. III, 41-2, tells of a previous instance of a similar kind:

41.

hu-uh-ha-aš-mi-iš

42. [*la-ba-a*]r-na-an DUMU-ša-an URUŠa-na-hu-it-ti iš-ku-na-aḥ-ḥi-iš,
translated by Sommer⁸⁴ "Mein Grossvater hatte seinen Sohn [Laba]rna in Šanaḥuitta als Thronfolger verkündet" and by Gurney⁸⁵ as "My grandfather had proclaimed his son Labarnas (as heir to the throne) in Sanaḥuitta". The meaning of the verb is uncertain,⁸⁶ but it must mean something like "proclaimed". It should, however, be noted that in neither of these instances is there apparently any word or phrase for "as heir to the throne". This must either be understood from the context, where in one case at least the verb is completely general and unspecialised (*tenun* = *aqbi* = I said), or be contained in the words TUR-la-an la-ba-ar-na-an and la-ba-ar-na-an DUMU-ša-an, "Young Labarnas" and "his son Labarnas". The Hittite for "young" and for "son" is in any case the same,⁸⁷ and this, together with the evidence for Labarnas as a definite title and the lack of precision in the verb *tenun*, makes it probable that "Young Labarnas" too was a title, that of "successor" or "heir to the throne", invented or adopted by the Indo-European monarchs in their attempts to stabilise the succession. It is perhaps equivalent to that of the so-called "Crown Prince"⁸⁸ who plays a large part in ritual. The passages may then be translated: "I said (i.e. nominated) the 'successor'," and "My grandfather had proclaimed his 'successor' in Sanahuitta".

"Young Labarnas" is mentioned also in II, 30-31: "Behold, I have given my son Labarnas a house!" In accordance with the above interpretation this should now be translated, "Behold, I have given a house to my successor". It must be assumed that this was still his title until the assembly had ratified the king's decision.

Tawanannas

The queen's title, *tawanannas*, is also very ancient. In tradition, and in the royal offering lists, she is the wife of King Labarnas. It may be significant that in the lists her name is above that of her husband.⁸⁹ The word was translated "queen-mother" by Forrer⁹⁰ and Sommer,⁹¹ and

⁸⁴ *HAB.*, pp. 13, 15.

⁸⁵ Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 172.

⁸⁶ *HAB.*, 164.

⁸⁷ *HAB.*, 32.

⁸⁸ Cf. Laroche, *JCS.* I, 187 sqq.

⁸⁹ Text "B", 3-4.

⁹⁰ *Forschungen* 11, 1, p. 1.

⁹¹ *AU.* 300.

Cavaignac proposed ⁹² an identification with SALAMA.DINGIR^{LIM}. His argument, based on the texts *KUB.* XIV, 4 and *KBo.* IV, 8, is however invalidated by the recent discovery at Ras Shamra of a seal ⁹³ which shows that *tawanannas* in these documents is in fact a proper name, which was assumed by a Babylonian princess on her marriage to Suppiluliumas. She was later banished by his son Mursilis, and it is to this banishment that the documents refer. But although it is impossible in these texts to equate *tawanannas* and SALAMA.DINGIR^{LIM}, *KBo.* IV, 8 does reveal something of the queen's (or rather queen mother's) position. Mursilis is careful to stress how well he treated Tawanannas, depriving her neither of house, nor of servants, nor of food in plenty. "In this alone I punished her, that I banished her from the palace and (l. 15) removed her from the position of SALAMA.DINGIR^{LIM}.⁹⁴" In other words, the queen mother was deposed, but not otherwise punished. It is clear that the office of "mother of god" was vitally linked to the queenship of the Hittite Empire. It is in fact likely from the passage quoted above that this was the office by virtue of which she held the position of queen.

The pious Hattusilis III also mentions the banishment of Tawanannas in a prayer ⁹⁵ in which he disclaims all responsibility for the act. Here Tawanannas is referred to as GEME-KU-NU ⁹⁶ and GEME.-DINGIR^{LIM} ⁹⁷: "Your (pl.) servant" (obviously the servant of the gods) and "Servant of the god(dess) (i.e. the Sun-goddess of Arinna). Again a close connection is implied between the mother-goddess and the Hittite queen. Similarly the ritual text XXV 14 deals with sacrifices by the queen to the Sun-goddess of Arinna of each of her predecessors. Here the connection must, as Dr. Gurney points out,⁹⁸ be very close indeed. A later passage in the prayer of Hattusilis ⁹⁹ might seem to count against the equation of *tawanannas* with SALAMA.DINGIR^{LIM}. As reconstructed by Güterbock ¹⁰⁰ the lines read:—

16. *ma-a-an-ma-kán ú-it ŠA É.LUGAL DI-NU ŠA ʿDa-n[u-ḥe-pa Ū*
17. *ŠA SALAMA.DINGIR^{LIM} -KA ki-ša-at*

which he translates "Als es aber geschah, dass im Palast der Prozess der Dan[uhepa und] Deiner 'Gottesmutter' entstand", with a note that he inserts *Ū* because Sommer has shown ¹⁰¹ that there are in Hittite no examples of repetition of *ŠA* or *ANA* in cases of apposition. In this case, therefore, the queen Danuhepa and the SALAMA.DINGIR^{LIM} must be different people. But Güterbock himself in his footnote provides an

⁹² *RHA.* 11, pp. 98–9.

⁹³ *Ugaritica* III (1956), 1–8, 98–103 and Pl. I.

⁹⁴ *KBo.* IV, 8, ii, 13–15. For translation cf. Cavaignac, *RHA.* 12, pp. 157–8, n. 12.

⁹⁵ XIV 7 + XXI 19.

⁹⁶ XXI 19, i, 21.

⁹⁷ XXI 19, i, 23.

⁹⁸ Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 141, and *ap.* S. H. Hooke (ed.), *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, pp. 120–121.

⁹⁹ XIV 7, i, 16 sqq.

¹⁰⁰ *SBo* I, p. 13.

¹⁰¹ *AU.*, p. 130.

example¹⁰² where there is such a use of ŠA in an apposition, which can only be otherwise explained by an unnatural interpretation of a stock introduction. In view of this example it is at least possible that Sommer's rule is not without exception, and it is thus extremely dangerous to build an interpretation on the insertion of a word which need not be there. But there are I think other indications in the passage that the queen herself is intended. Although it is possible that "Your (i.e. the Sun-goddess of Arinna's) SALAMA.DINGIR^{LIM}" may as Güterbock suggests be one of the priestesses known by that title, the close connection between the queen and the Sun-goddess (see above) suggests that it was primarily she who was the Sun-goddess's "mother of god", while the other "mothers of god" were priestesses of other deities, or minor priestesses under the queen. Again, Güterbock has great difficulty in explaining col. II, l. 13, *nu-za a-pa-a-aš-ša DINGIR^{LIM}-iš ka-ru-ú ki-ša-at*, in a context where it is natural that *apaš* should refer to Danuhepa. There are no examples, he says, of Hittite queens "becoming a god" when they die; the phrase cannot refer to the queen. The villain of the story (der Schuldige, p. 14) must be some third party (neither the queen nor the "mother of god") who is apparently not even mentioned, although if he "became a god" he was presumably a king. The fabric of this reconstruction is very insubstantial indeed. In view of the evidence for the original sacral position of the queen, it is much more reasonable to suppose that she did, like her husband, "become a god" on death. For this assumption there is no definite parallel in the texts, but it might be suggested that the Sun-goddesses of Arinna of dead queens,¹⁰³ to whom the living queen made offerings, were in fact the queens themselves,¹⁰⁴ deified after death as mother-goddess figures.

That *tawanannas* is the title of the queen rather than the queen-mother¹⁰⁵ is shown by its constant use in ritual passages in association with *labarnas*, a use which, as pointed out above,¹⁰⁶ is found in Hittite, Palaic and Hattian texts, and is therefore likely to be Hattian in origin. In documents of the Old Kingdom and Imperial periods, just as early kings were grouped under the title "Labarnas", so early queens were grouped under a vague general ancestress called "Tawanannas". Much later a Babylonian princess, brought from abroad by Suppiluliumas to be queen of the Hittite realms, was given the ancestral title as a quasi-name. Other queens retained their own names, while using the ritual title of *tawanannas*.

If *labarnas* is Hattian in origin, the same is presumably true of *tawanannas*. Yet the word has a curiously un-Hattian appearance. The ending *-annas* must be the Hittite word for "mother", and this, together with the evidence mentioned above for the close connection between queenship and the office of SALAMA.DINGIR^{LIM}, at once makes it likely that Cavaignac's

¹⁰² KBo. VI, 28, obv. 4.

¹⁰³ XXV 14: see above, p. 185.

¹⁰⁴ So already Goetze, *Kleinasien* (2nd ed.), p. 95.

¹⁰⁵ Although the queen was still *tawanannas* after the death of her husband.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. n. 67.

equation may after all be correct. *Annas* and *attas* as words for "mother" and "father" are not distinctively Indo-European. They are of widespread use in Europe and the Near East, and are presumably derived from childish prattle.¹⁰⁷ As such they might well be found also in Hattian. If the Hittite queen is not "mother of god" she is at least "mother" of something. What then of *tawan*? Cavaignac suggested that this word meant "god" in Hattian, but it has now been shown¹⁰⁸ that there is at least one other Hattian word (*(a)šhap*) for "god", which makes the equation less likely, though by no means impossible. A second difficulty is that there is another equivalent for SALAMA.DINGIR^{LIM}, *šüanzanniš*, which has been shown by Ehelolf¹⁰⁹ to be Luwian in form. Is *tawanannas* then the Hattian for *šüanzanniš*? When the words are thus placed together, a much more plausible solution presents itself. *Tawanannas* is not Hattian, but a dialect variant of *šüanzanniš*,¹¹⁰ and the variation can I think be explained by Hattian influence. Laroche¹¹¹ has given abundant evidence for interchange of *-a-* and *-i-*, and variations between *s*, *t* and *z* have been illustrated above.¹¹² The *-z-* is Luwian.¹¹³ The existence of *šüanzanniš* confirms rather than contradicts Cavaignac's suggestion.

At first this solution seems to cause more difficulties than it resolves. First, and most important, if *tawanannas* = *šüanzanniš*, the word must be Indo-European, and it is highly probable that the title is Hattian. Secondly, why should there be two Indo-European words, one used exclusively of queens and the other of priestesses? One can only suppose that at least two waves of Indo-European invasion took place, of which the earlier¹¹⁴ (the "Hittites"?) gained sufficient local control to seize the kingship of some petty state by marriage with the local queen,¹¹⁵ whose title they translated into their own language. Their numbers must have been small, and

¹⁰⁷ Friedrich, *HW.* sub voc.

¹⁰⁸ Laroche, *RA.* 41, p. 78.

¹⁰⁹ *ZA.* NF. 2, p. 318.

¹¹⁰ I am indebted to Dr. O. R. Gurney for this valuable suggestion.

¹¹¹ Laroche, *RHA.* 46, p. 41, *JCS.* I, p. 201.

¹¹² p. 176 and notes 19-21, 23-25.

¹¹³ Ehelolf, *ZA.* NF. 2, p. 318.

¹¹⁴ It must be understood that the terms "earlier" and "later" refer only to arrivals in the Hittite homeland area (roughly that inside the Halys bend), and *not* to invasions of Anatolia itself, where Mellaart has clearly shown that the Luwians were first to arrive (*AJA.* 62 (1958), pp. 9-33).

¹¹⁵ A sidelight on the way in which the Hittite king took over the functions which were originally those of the queen can be observed in the passage of the Apology of Hattusilis (IV 14-15) where it is revealed to Queen Puduhepa in a dream by Ishtar of Samuha that "I will make your husband priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna". From the context this statement obviously means that she will make Hattusilis king. In other words, this office was an essential part of the kingship. From the evidence detailed above, it is likely that this was the office originally held by the queen of Hatti. After her marriage to the conquering invader (a marriage represented among the gods by the wedding of the Sun-goddess of Arinna to the Weather-god of Heaven), this office, by virtue of which she ruled Hatti, was transferred to the king. But the tradition of the queen as priestess—or possibly, to judge from her name, as incarnation of deity on earth (is SALAMA.DINGIR^{LIM}, despite the Accadian genitive ending, to be translated "mother-goddess", rather than "mother of god"?)—lingered on in her title of *tawanannas*.

their language had little effect on the natives, for *tawanannas*, though Indo-European, is fully subject to the vagaries of Hattian phonetics. Later (Luwian?) invasions established other petty princelings in power, and as their cities came under the control of the "Hittites" the local queen-priestesses, called *šīuanzanniš* under Luwian influence, gradually lost their queenly power while retaining their positions as "mothers of god", subordinate of course to the great "mother of god", the queen of Hattusas herself.

This historical reconstruction is a tentative attempt to explain why the title of the Hittite queen should be an Indo-European word heavily influenced by Hattian. Other explanations may of course be possible, but one basic point remains. To be influenced by Hattian phonetics, the word *tawanannas* must have been introduced into Anatolia when Hattian was still a living language, and before the full weight of the Indo-European invasion had driven it finally out of use. *Tawanannas* is a linguistic relic of the earliest Indo-European incursions into central Anatolia, which took place not long after the beginning of the second millennium.¹¹⁶ It is in fact one of the earliest Indo-European words of which we have a record.

¹¹⁶ J. Mellaart in *AJA.* 62 (1958), p. 14, convincingly places the arrival of the Hittites at the end of the Kültepe II period *c.* 1900 B.C.