

Hapantali

Alfonso Archi (Roma)

About 50 years ago, E. Laroche, in his valuable booklet on the Hittite gods,¹ in less than one page, said most of what there is to be said on Hapantali. G. McMahon, in the three pages he has devoted to Hapantali in his recent work on the Tutelary deities, could not add much.² The only relevant fact which happened to this deity during these last fifty years, is that this god changed sex. In an article published in 1976, A. Kammenhuber suggested that Hapantali is a goddess.³ H. Otten, writing on Hapantali in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, stated: "Das Geschlecht (of Hapantali) ist nicht zu bestimmen".⁴

Ha-ba-ta-li is a masculine personal name in an Old Assyrian text from Kaneš.⁵ It is not unusual that the name of a deity is used also as a personal name in Anatolia of the Old Assyrian time, and later on, in the Hittite period. For example *Pi-ir-wa*, *Pé/Pè-ru-wa/a*, *Pé-ri-wa*:⁶ a masculine name, which is also the name of a deity who in Hittite time is connected with horses and is portrayed on an horse. This deity receives the epithet of "queen", what means that she is a goddess, or at least this deity can be both masculine and feminine.⁷ The same applies to Inar. This is the name of a Hattic goddess; and it is also a much diffused masculine name, among the others of a lord of Kaneš.⁸ Further, from the texts of Kaneš we have personal names like *I-na-ra-wa*, *I-na-ra-wa-da*, which are Hittite, and mean: "strong, vigorous";⁹ and from later documentation we have also names composed

¹ E. Laroche, "Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites", *RHA* 7 (1946-1947) pp. 7-139.

² G. McMahon, *The Hittite State Cult of the Tutelary Deities* (Assyriological Studies No. 25), Chicago 1991, pp. 14-16.

³ A. Kammenhuber, "Die hethitische Göttin Inar", *ZA* 66 (1976) pp. 68-88.

⁴ H. Otten, *RLA* 4, pp. 111-112.

⁵ Laroche, *NH*, p. 59.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁷ Otten, in: *Handbuch der Orientalistik I, VIII, I, Lief. I: Religion*, p. 101.

⁸ Laroche *NH*, p. 79.

⁹ P. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, Paris 1963, p. 143.

with *in(n)ar(a)-*, like Inar-aḥšu, Išput/daš-inara.¹⁰ The coexistence of these two different elements: the name of the Hattian goddess Inar, and Hittite *in(n)ar(a)-* "strong", are the reasons of the confusion concerning ^dLAMMA / Inara in the Empire period, as A. Kammenhuber and E. Laroche have shown.¹¹ However, the personal name Inar reproduces the name of the goddess, and has not to be connected to Hittite *in(n)ar(a)-* "strong". Now, a type of Anatolian theophoric name (pre-Hittite and Hittite) can be just identical to a divine name (Telepinu, Mezzulla). At least formally, these do not seem to be hypochoristic names, and present an unusual pattern for both Indo-European and Semitic name-giving.¹² In any case, we are not able to assert simply that, if the name of a deity is used also as a masculine personal name, that deity is a god and not a goddess.

In the treaty with the Kaska-people, KBo VIII 35 (and duplicates; CTH 139), which probably dates back to Arnuwanda I, and includes a short list of deities, the tutelary gods are only KAL / LAMMA and Z[itharija], following Zababa and preceding Ištar. In the Hukhana treaty the canonical order of the tutelary gods is already established. The group of the KAL / LAMMA deities follows immediately the opening group, with the Sungoddess of Arinna and the Weathergod, that is the divine couple at the head of the pantheon, the other Weathergods, and Hepat, who finds her place there because she makes couple with Tešup, and will be equated with the Sungoddess of Arinna in the syncretistic process. The group of the KAL / LAMMA gods is made up by eight deities: LAMMA (without epithets), LAMMA URU^{Hatti}, Zitharija, Karzi, Hapantali, LAMMA URU^{Garahna}, LAMMA LIL, LAMMA KUŠ^{kuršaš}. This order is to be found in all the god lists of political treaties, with few not relevant variants. In the treaty of Muwatalli with Alakšandu, Zitharija is not attested. In the treaty of Tuthaliya IV with Tarhuntašša, the so-called "bronze tablet", Zitharija follows LAMMA KUŠ^{kuršaš}.

The Sumerogram KAL is here clearly a classifying element; and there is not reason to refuse to interpret KAL as LAMMA, that is "tutelary god", whatever that meant in Anatolia. Those tutelary deities have different names. They were autonomous deities, and had a different personality. As Laroche says, we have here a kind of syncretism which affects deities who had their one personality. Unfortunately, the ritual and liturgical texts do not offer much to define those gods.

The classification given in the gods' lists of the treaties is to be found in several festivals of the Empire period. For example, in the festival of Hurrian origin for Ištar of Šamuha (of Hattušili III; CTH 712), and in the festival published in StBoT 13, compiled for Tuthaliya IV according to the Hattic-Hittite tradition. This classification represents a simplification. This fact can be seen, for example, from also a later text, as the prayer of Muwatalli to the Weather-god *piḥaššašši* (CTH 381). Here the gods are quoted according to an order determined in part by topographical reasons. In one section (I 54-56) we find that only Karzi is bound to Hapantali. And they are kept separately from the LAMMA gods. In fact, we have:

¹⁰ Laroche, *NH*, pp. 79, 81.

¹¹ Laroche, *RIA* 6, 456.

¹² Laroche, *NH*, p. 281.

Ištar of Hattarina, Pirwa, Ašgašepa, Mt. Puškuruuwa, gods and goddesses, mountains and rivers of Hatti. Then, Karzi, Hapantali, Mt. Tatta, Mt. Summijara. The following section has the Weather-god of Ziplanda, Mt. Taḥa, gods and goddesses, mountains and rivers of Ziplanda. The place names show that we are here in the core of the Hatti land. The Weather-god of Ziplanda, who in the canonic lists precedes Hapantali, here follows in the next section. Zitharija, with the other Tutelary gods, like LAMMA KUŠ^{kuršaš}, appears in the following section: that concerning the town of Zithara.

Hapantali's cult goes back to the Hattic period.¹³ This deity appears in the Hattic myth of the Moon that Fell from Heaven, unfortunately in the last and rather obscure section. When the Moon fell down, it is "Hapantali (who) went there. She stood [beside him] and uttered over him the word of the spell (*uddaniškizzi*).". Nothing positive seems to happen. Then, it is introduced the mythologem of Kataḫziwuri, who "looks from the sky", which is rather widespread in Hattic ritual practice, as G. Del Monte has shown.¹⁴ According to it, it is the goddess Kataḫziwuri (in the Hittite version: Kamrušepa) who shows how to overcome an adverse situation, a dangerous event. In the myth, it seems that Kataḫziwuri repeats to herself what happened. What follows is a dialogue, perhaps between Hapantali and Kamrušepa: "What will you proceed to do? Kamrušepa will send after him (that is: the Moon). So I will go to Mount [...] and release [...] from the rock."¹⁵ Perhaps, but it is not sure at all, it is Hapantali who goes to the Mountain in order to get something necessary for the ritual. In any case, she seems to be in a subordinate position in front of Kamrušepa.

There is another myth, the Telepinu myth, where Hapantali appears beside Kamrušepa. And another time the personality of Hapantali is rather pale. Also in this case, the connection between the two goddesses is not clear. Telepinu, who was found by the bee, comes in anger. It is Kamrušepa who establishes the magic action to pacify him, KUB XVII 10 III 3-5: "Kamrušepa says to the gods: 'O gods! Now tend the Sun-god's sheep for Hapantali, and cut out twelve rams, so that I may treat Telepinu's *karaš*-grains'"¹⁶ A. Goetze translated: "Hapantali is shepherd-

¹³ The name, however, which presents the Hittite suffix *-al(i)-*, seems to go back to Hittite *hapa-* "river". Cfr. ^dHapaliya- "River-deity", attested in the ritual KUB XII 63 Rs. 14, perhaps Lycian *Qebeliya*, see G. Neumann, in: *Florilegium Anatolicum*. Mél. E. Laroche, Paris 1979, p. 270. On *hapa-* and some compounds with *hapa-*, see J. Puhvel, *HED* 3, pp. 114-115; J. Tischler, *HEG* I, pp. 159-160. In the KBo IV 13 + KUB X 82 festival, a late text (but not in the parallel KBo XIX 128), CTH 625, the name of the deity is written usually: ^dHapa-ta-li-ja: II 12, III 30, IV 17; with *-an-* in IV 40.

If Hapantali was a river-goddess, the epithet *wattarwaš* SAL.LUGAL-aš "Queen of the fountain" in KUB XXXIII 45+ III 23 fits her well; see below.

¹⁴ G. Del Monte, "Il mitologema di Kataḫziwuri", in: *Studia Mediterranea P. Meriggi dicata*, Pavia 1979, pp. 109-120.

¹⁵ Kammenhuber, *ZA* 51 (1955) pp. 102-123; Laroche, *RHA* 23 (1965) pp. 73-78. The last translations are: H.A. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, Atlanta 1990, pp. 33-35; F. Pecchioli Daddi - A.M. Polvani, *La mitologia ittita*, Brescia 1990, pp. 109-114.

¹⁶ A parallel text is KBo VIII 73 II.

ing the Sun-god's sheep."¹⁷ and he was followed by other scholars, for example, Laroche, who transliterated: *ú[-e-ši-ia(?)]* "Hapantali pa[stures]".¹⁸ But the text has: ^D*Hapantali*, without the nominative ending, and H. Hoffner takes it for a dative.¹⁹ Consequently, Hapantali loses the function of shepherding the sheep. Here, Kamrušepa assumes the responsibility of prescribing the selection of the victims from the flocks of the Sun; and it is she who founds the ritual. Hapantali, again, as in the Hattic myth, stays in the shadow of Kamrušepa. That Hapantali plays a secondary role in the motif of Kamrušepa founding the ritual, is demonstrated by a parallel version of this mythologem in the Tunnawi ritual. Here the Sun-god and Kamrušepa are combing the sheep. Then they contend, but Kamrušepa is able to reestablish harmony, and she together with the Sun-god celebrate a reconciling ritual. Hapantali is not at all mentioned.²⁰

On the contrary, Hapantali has an active role in another version of the myth of the vanished god, that for the DINGIR.MAH/Hannahanna, KUB XXXIII 45+, (parallel to it is XXXIII 51),²¹ restored by the Mašat ritual.²² Because DINGIR.MAH is enraged, it is Hapantali (called *nakkis* DINGIR^{LUM} "the mighty deity"; Mašat, l. 12) who brings from the mountain wood of *karšanija* tree for the hearth, and pure pebbles to be heaped on the hearth. At this point, it is said that "the queen of the fountain", *wattarwaš* SAL.LUGAL-aš (XXXIII 45+ III 23), brings pure water. The fire is extinguished; dew comes from a cloud, and rage leaves the refreshed DINGIR.MAH. In the parallel version from Mašat, also herbs are cooked, and the smell of the decoction (in which also resin was boiled) appeases the goddess. Who brings the herbs is "the queen of remedies", *w]aššiaš* SAL.LUGAL-aš, (Mašat, l. 19), as Güterbock translates it. It is tempting to identify "the queen of remedies" of one text, and "the queen of the fountain" in the other with Hapantali.²³ This would be decisive for determining the sex of this deity. But is also possible, that here one refers to another kind of beneficent genius or fairy.

Another parallel text, KUB VII 23,²⁴ can even be used to demonstrate that Hapantali was male. Who brings here the pebbles and probably also vegetal products, exactly as Hapantali in the Mašat tablet, is a no further identified "shepherd", ^LUSIPAD. So, Hapantali, who as a shepherd had disappeared from the Telepinu version (as we have explained above), insinuates himself as a shepherd in this other text! However, I would exclude the identity of this shepherd with

¹⁷ A. Goetze, in: *ANET*², p. 127 b.

¹⁸ Laroche, *RHA* 23 (1965) p. 94.

¹⁹ Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, p. 16.

²⁰ On this mythologem concerning Kamrušepa, see Archi, *Or.* 62 (1993), pp. 404-409, with previous literature.

²¹ Laroche, *RHA* 23 (1965), pp. 140-141.

²² The text has been studied by H.G. Güterbock, *Anadolu Araştırmaları, JKIF* 10 (1986) pp. 205-214. The copy of the tablet has been published by S. Alp, *Hethitische Keilschrift-tafeln aus Mašat-Höyük* (Ankara 1991) no. 116.

²³ On this point, see the interpretation of Hapantali's name in note 13.

²⁴ It has been identified as such by Hoffner, *apud Güterbock, op. cit.*, pp. 210-211.

Hapantali, because this deity is always connected with goddesses in all the mythological tales. This fact makes high probable that Hapantali too is a goddess.

There is a last version of the vanished god where Hapantali appears, KUB LVII 105. It is a rather obscure text. Hapantali is quoted in connection with a meadow, *ú-e-el-lu* (III 3), and someone (perhaps Hapantali herself) brings the souls to the river; at this point, it is DINGIR.MAH who brings the souls from the river to a cloud: (4) *ZI^{HLA}-uš da-a-aš nu-uš-ša-an an-da ID-i [x x x]* (5) *an-da-aš-ša-an pa-it DINGIR.MAH-aš na-aš-ta ZI^{HLA}-u[š] ID-az* (6) *ša-ra-a ú-da-aš nu-uš-ša-an an-da [a]l-pi da-a-aš*. In the following fragmentary lines there is the intervention of Kamrušepa.

As it was said above, in this genre of texts, it is Kamrušepa who find the way to overcome a situation with the fitting ritual. Hapantali plays always a secondary role. She brings what is necessary for the ritual; she makes ready "the sheep of the Sun". It is possible that also in the Myth of the Moon that Fell from Heaven, the dialogue at the end is between Kamrušepa and Hapantali, who has to bring something from the mountain. Here too, she tries to be helpful: "she uttered over the Moon-god the word of the spell (*uddaniškizzi*)".

The personality which emerges from all these myths is that of a benevolent goddess, who help to restore prosperity. As such, she appears at the end of the Telepinu myth (together with ^DLAMMA) after the fate goddess: Papaja and Išduštaja, the Gulšes and Hannahanna; and the vegetation gods: Halki, Mijatanzipa and Telepinu himself. It is not possible to define closer the functions of this goddess founding himself on these myths included in rituals.

Among the liturgical texts where Hapantali is attested, one is of significance: the KILAM festival, which is dated to the Old Kingdom.²⁵ Here Hapantali is always paired with Inar in the manuscripts in Old and Middle Hittite script, while in those in New Hittite script she is paired with LAMMA: the well-known substitution already mentioned. In two parallel texts (StBoT 25, 12 II 13-16: 19 Vs. 13-16), first the king and the queen "drink" Inar and Hapantali; then, one brings the so called "animals of the gods" out of the temple of Inar. These cult symbols were reproductions in precious metals of wild animals. In the procession before the king and the queen, the ceremonial carts (^{GI}S²MAR.GID.DA) are followed by the holy priest of LAMMA (that is originally Inar), the spears ^{GI}S²SUKUR; ten or twenty copper hunting bags (^{NA}4⁴*kunannaš* ^{KU}Š²*kuršaš*), the animals of the gods, and then the hunters.²⁶ Here, clearly a sacred hunt is symbolized.²⁷ And Inar, in whose temple the animals were kept, was surely the tutelary deity of hunting. This evidence throws new light indirectly also on Hapantali. Inar and Hapantali are the third of four unisex divine couples, where the second element is homogeneous to the first one: Weathergod (^DIM) and

²⁵ The text has been edited by I. Singer, *The Hittite KILAM Festival* I, II (StBoT 27, 28); Wiesbaden 1983-1984.

²⁶ Singer, StBoT 27, pp. 89-97.

²⁷ For this interpretation of that section of the KILAM festival, see A. Archi, in: F. Imparati ed., *Studi di storia e di filologia anatolica dedicati a G. Pugliese Carratelli*, Firenze 1988, pp. 29-31.

Wašezzili (male); Sun-goddess (^DUTU) and Mezzulla (female); Inar and Hapantali (female); the Moon-god (^DEN.ZU, surely the Hattic Kašku) and Kuzanišu (probably male). Because Hapantali is associated to Inar, her tutelary influence extended also on the sphere of the wild animals. Further, the KILAM festival shows that in the Old Hittite period a great goddess of the type called "Mistress of animals", probably of Hattic origin, still survived. She presided over the wild animal and hunting.

Later, perhaps at the beginning of the Empire, these functions were assigned mostly to male deities. There is a festival for the renewing the hunting bag, KUS¹kurša, probably of this time, dedicated to Zitharija, whose cult too goes back to the Hattic period.²⁸ In the cult inventory of Tuthaliya IV, KUB XXXVIII 35 I 1-5, the image of Zitharija is a hunting bag with a sundisk of gold on it.²⁹ And there is also a ^DLAMMA KUS¹kurša.³⁰ The frieze on the rhyton of the Schimmel Collection, which not necessarily has to be dated to the end of the Empire, has male deities clearly related to hunting.³¹ However, it is difficult to say from what time Inar was considered to be male.

The fact that the Sumerogram KAL was given to Inar, and that Hapantali, together with Zitharija, belongs to the group of the KAL / LAMMA deities, shows that originally the Hittites understood as a "tutelary deity" a deity who protected nature with its animals; that is the environment from which man emerged and which opposes and surrounds his urban world. The goddess Artemis symbolizes well this idea. The tutelary god of the person is a later development. In the same time the understanding developed that a god presides over each activity. The idea of such genii was already well known. Under Tuthaliya IV these genii were collected in a long list (KUB II 1 and duplicates), and called LAMMA,³² a late development, parallel to the Latin *indigumenta*.³³

Hittite Provincial Administration in Anatolia and Syria: the View from Maşat and Emar¹

Gary Beckman (Ann Arbor)

Sometime in the 13th century a high-ranking Hittite official whose name and title have not been preserved wrote to the Great King: "However difficult it has been for me on this mission, and whatever has happened to me, I have in no instance found fault with the command. (Indeed) the gods of Your Majesty carried me away (i.e., rescued me?). I have, rather, taken up that very command of which you, Your Majesty, my lord, approve. This year has been wasted(?), (but) during this year there will be no further difficulty. May my 'friends' not [seek(?)] any further to call attention to me. May they not write in a timely fashion(?) seeking disapproval or approval for me. May they not broadcast untruth(?) about me. May they leave me alone! And when I bring back (the results of) the command to Your Majesty, the Sun-Goddess of Arinna will treat (me) graciously for the sake of Your Majesty, my lord, (so that it will be said:) 'Nothing has been done which should be considered a crime.' Let this tablet be saved, so that on the day when I meet Your Majesty, my lord, they may interrogate me on the basis of this tablet."²

¹ I have employed the abbreviations listed by H. G. Güterbock and H. A. Hoffner, *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* Vol. L-N (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1989), xv-xxx. In addition, note:

ActaSum – *Acta Sumerologica* (Hiroshima)

AuOr – *Aula Orientalis* (Barcelona)

Emar 6 – texts published by D. Arnaud in work cited in note 11 below

Hirayama – texts published by A. Tsukimoto in work cited in note 12 below

HKM – texts published by S. Alp in work cited in note 4 below

HZ – C. Rüster and E. Neu, *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon* (Wiesbaden, 1989)

Maşat – work of S. Alp cited in note 4 below

Msk – excavation number of tablets recovered by French expedition to Meskene-Emar

RE – texts published by G. Beckman in work cited in note 14 below

TBR – texts published by D. Arnaud in work cited in note 12 below.

² KUB 40.1 rev.¹ 18-31 (CTH 203):

18 [a]m-mu-uk-ma ke-e-da-ni KASKAL-¹ši¹ GIM-an GIM-an na-ak-ke-e-eš-ki-it

19 GIM-an-za¹ GIM¹-an ki-iš-ḫa-ḫa-at ta-pár-ri-ia-an¹ma¹ UL ku-e-da-ni-ki pí-di

²⁸ KUB LV 53 and duplicates, see McMahon, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-188.

²⁹ See L. Rost, *MIO* 9 (1963) pp. 195-196.

³⁰ See McMahon, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

³¹ K. Bittel, *Beitrag zur Kenntnis hethitischer Bildkunst* (SHAW 1976/4), Heidelberg 1976, pp. 12 ss.; Alp, in: *Studi ... Pugliese Carratelli*, pp. 17-23.

³² See Archi, *SMEA* 16 (1975) pp. 89-117; McMahon, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-165.

³³ On this point, see G. Dumézil, *La religion romaine archaïque*, Paris 1966, pp. 46-59.