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The representation of wild animals in Hittite texts

Collins, Billie Jean, Ph.D.

Yale University, 1989

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**THE REPRESENTATION OF WILD ANIMALS
IN HITTITE TEXTS**

**A Dissertation
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of
Yale University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

**by
Billie Jean Collins
May 1989**

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ABBREVIATIONS*

AKA	E. A. W. Budge and L. W. King, eds., <i>The Annals of the Kings of Assyria I</i> , London: Harrison & Sons, 1902.
AnGr	Nimet Özgüç, <i>The Anatolian Group of Cylinder Seal Impressions from Kültepe</i> (TTKY V/22), Ankara, 1965.
<i>L'animal</i>	<i>L'animal, l'homme, le dieu dans le proche-orient ancien</i> (=Actes du Colloque de Cartigny 1981), 1984.
Ann.Nap. 12	J. Siegelová, <i>Gewinnung und Verarbeitung von Eisen im hethitischen Reich im 2. Jahrtausend v. u. Z.</i> , <i>Annals of the Náprstek Museum</i> 12, Prague, 1984, 71-168.
AnOr	<i>Analecta Orientalia</i>
AOAT 31	V. Haas and H.-J. Thiel, <i>Die Beschwörungsrituale der Allaturah(h)i und verwandte Texte</i> , Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978.
AOAT 208	M. Hörig, <i>Dea Syria: Studien zur religiösen Tradition der Fruchtbarkeits Göttin:nin Vorderasien</i> , Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1979.
AOATS 3	V. Haas and G. Wilhelm, <i>Hurritische und luwische Riten aus Kizzuwatna</i> , Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974.
<i>Behexung</i>	Manfred Hutter, <i>Behexung, Entsühnung und Heilung: Das Ritual der Tunnawiya für ein Königspaar aus mittelhethitischer Zeit (KBo XXI 1 - KUB IX 34 - KBo XXI 6)</i> , (=Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 82), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988.
<i>Bergv.</i>	A. Moortgat, <i>Die bildende Kunst des Alten Orients und die Bergvölker</i> , Berlin: Hans Schoetz & Co., 1932.
Boğazköy-Hattuša V	Thomas Beran, <i>Die hethitische Glyptik von Boğazköy</i> (WVDOG 76), I. Teil, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1967.
Boğazköy-Hattuša XI	A. von den Driesch and J. Boessneck, <i>Reste von Haus- und Jagdtieren aus der Unterstadt von Boğazköy-Hattuša</i> , Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1981.
Boğazköy-Hattuša XIII	Rainer Michael Boehmer, <i>Die Reliefkeramik von Boğazköy</i> , Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1983.

*Only abbreviations not found in the *Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* are included in this list. All other abbreviations follow the CHD.

- Boğazköy-Hattuša XVI Rainer Michael Boehmer, Hans Gustav Güterbock, *Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy*, II. Teil, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1987.
- BWL W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960.
- Çatal Hüyük James Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük: A Neolithic Town in Anatolia*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1967.
- CIH L. Messerschmidt, *Corpus inscriptionum Hettitarum*, Berlin: W. Peiser, 1900.
- L'enfant* A. Théodorides, P. Naster, J. Ries, eds., *L'enfant dans les civilisations orientales*, Leuven: Éditions Peeters, 1980.
- FsBittel R. M. Boehmer and H. Hauptmann, eds., *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens, Festschrift für Kurt Bittel*, Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1983.
- FsCarratelli *Studi di Storia e di Filologia Anatolica dedicati a Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*, F. Imparati, ed., Firenze: ELITE, 1988.
- FsDebrunner *Separatum aus Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung, Festschrift Albert Debrunner*, 1954.
- FsDörner S. Sahin, E. Schwertheim, J. Wagner, eds., *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens. Festschrift für Friedrich Karl Dörner zum 65. Geburtstag*, erster Band, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978.
- FsKraus G. van Driel, Th. J. H. Krispijn, M. Stol, K. R. Veenhof, eds., *ZIKIR SUMIM, Assyriological Studies Presented to F. R. Kraus on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1982.
- FsLacheman M. A. Morrison and D. I. Owen, eds., *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians, in Honor of Ernest R. Lacheman*, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1981.
- FsMellink J. V. Canby, E. Porada, B. S. Ridgway, T. Stech, eds., *Ancient Anatolia, Aspects of Change and Cultural Development. Essays in Honor of Machteld J. Mellink*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986.
- FsMoortgat K. Bittel, E. Heinrich, B. Hrouda, W. Nagel, eds., *Vorderasiatische Archaeologie: Studien und Aufsätze zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1964.
- GsKerns Y. L. Arbeitman and A. R. Bomhard, eds., *Bono Homini Donum: Essays in Historical Linguistics, in Memory of J. Alexander Kerns*, Amsterdam, 1981.

- GsKronasser* E. Neu, ed., *Investigationes Philologicae et Comparativae*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1982.
- Horoztepe* Tahsin Özgüç and Mahmut Akok, *Horoztepe, An Early Bronze Age Settlement and Cemetery* (TTKY V/18), Ankara, 1958.
- JANES* *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society*
- Janus* H. Th. Bossert, *Janus und der Mann mit der Adler- oder Greifenmaske*, Istanbul, 1959.
- JIES* *Journal of Indo-European Studies*
- JSS* *Journal of Semitic Studies*
- Kenntnis* K. Bittel, *Beitrag zur Kenntnis hethitischer Bildkunst*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1976.
- Maşat* T. Özgüç, *Excavations at Maşat Höyük and Investigations in its Vicinity* (TTKY V/38), Ankara, 1978.
- N.A.B.U.* *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*, Paris.
- OrAnt* *Oriens Antiquus*
- RGTC* Giuseppe F. del Monte and Johann Tischler, *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes VI: Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*, Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1978.
- RO* *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*
- Spaeth.* Ekrem Akurgal, *Spaethethitische Bildkunst*, Ankara, 1949.
- Studia Pohl 2* Wolfgang Heimpel, *Tierbilder in der Sumerischen Literatur* (Studia Pohl 2), Rome, 1968.
- TCS II* Robert D. Biggs, *Šà.zi.ga, ancient Mesopotamian potency incantations* (Texts from Cuneiform sources, v. 2), Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin, 1967.
- THeth 10* Silvin Košak, *Hittite Inventory Texts (CTH 241-250)*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1982.
- THeth 11* Inge Hoffmann, *Der Erlaß Telepinus*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1984.
- USK* W. Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur Späthethitischen Kunst*, Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1971.
- WVDOG 46* W. Andrae, *Hethitische Inschriften auf Bleistreifen aus Assur* (WVDOG 46), Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1924.

WVDOG 61

K. Bittel, R. Naumann, H. Otto, *Yazilikaya: Architektur, Felsbilder Inschriften und Kleinfunde*, (=61. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft), Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1941.

ZA

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Chapter I. INTRODUCTION

"In the beginning of things men were
as animals and animals as men"

- American Indian¹

Section A. Organization and Content

Animals are an integral part of every society, whether by virtue of their economic importance, their role as work animals or pets, or if only because they are in competition with man for living space and food. The Hittites, who were an agricultural people, were heavily dependent on livestock both for food and as an indicator of wealth. As a culture ensconced in the practice of a rigorous religious and cultic tradition, they were well versed in ritual killing and other forms of ritual involving animals, including the recitation of the myths and incantations that accompanied these rituals. Attempts at a comprehensive analysis of the role of animals in Hittite culture have been necessarily superficial, since the topic is vast, and touches upon nearly every genre of Hittite text. For this reason, I have limited this dissertation to a study of the wild animals.

I have organized the animals in a way that is in keeping with the classification system that the Hittites themselves employed, whether consciously or not.² In Chapter II, I have

¹Quoted in A. S. Mercatante, *Zoo of the Gods: Animals in Myth, Legend & Fable*, New York: Harper & Row, 1974, 223.

²While P. Daly, B. C. Hesse, and D. Perkins, Jr., "Animal Domestication and Species Identification: Inferences from Ancient Art," *JANES* 4, 1972, 80, are correct in pointing out that "there is no reason to assume that the system used by the ancients to classify the animal world around them is the same as our Linnean one," the more obvious animal relationships were by no means lost on them.

treated the predators, or carnivores, and in Chapter III, the prey, or herbivores.³ Within each of these divisions, I have grouped together species of the same genus based on the probability that these relationships were recognized by the Hittites. In Chapter IV, I have treated the insects, reptiles, amphibians, and arachnids, and in Chapter V, the animal names that cannot as yet be identified. In Chapter VI, I have concluded with a discussion of the secular, religious and symbolic uses of wild animals in Hittite texts.

Only animals that are found in the texts are treated in this research. Animals that occur solely in the iconography have been disregarded. Among these are monkeys (in Old Assyrian examples only) and one example of a cat rhyton from Alişar (ca. 1700 BC).⁴ Of the wild animals found in the texts, I have excluded only fish and birds, with the exception of the eagle. This decision may seem arbitrary, since the falcon, for instance, parallels the eagle in many ways. However, the eagle's prominence in Hittite myth and symbolism, features it shares with the mammals, but which separate it from other birds (including the falcon) demand its inclusion. Birds have been excluded for a number of reasons. Primary among these are the fact that they (1) are not easily distinguished from one another on the basis of our sources, (2) are difficult to identify as to species from the Hittite, and (3) are too numerous to treat adequately within the confines of one dissertation.

Originally, this study was to involve the written evidence only, leaving the iconography for others to interpret. It quickly became obvious, however, that such was not possible, since, in many cases, the art has a direct bearing on the issues presented by

³The boar is an omnivore, but is treated here with the herbivores because it is a scavenger and does not actively hunt meat.

⁴E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, München: Hirmer Verlag, 1961, Abb. 40, top. Another example of a "cat" comes from sixth millennium Hacilar, where a female figure holds the animal in her left arm (B. Brentjes, *Die Haustierwerdung im Orient*, Wittenberg Lutherstadt: A. Ziemsen Verlag, 1965, 83, Abb. 85). However, it is probably not a domestic animal, but the cub of a wild feline, since there is no reason to believe that cats were domesticated, or even present, in that period in Anatolia. The cat rhyton from Alişar may also represent a wild feline, unless it is an Egyptian influence.

the texts and, in other cases, it fills in gaps left by an absence of written evidence. Therefore, discussions of the iconography have been included with no claim to completeness.

Although it is not certain to what degree the people of the Old Assyrian Colony period in Anatolia reflected the ideas and beliefs of the Hittites, I have included references to the iconography of that period on the assumption that there was some influence passing between the foreign and native populations, as well as some continuity into the Hittite period. Many similarities in motifs indicate that this was probably the case.

Section B. Animals as Symbols

Man both fears and admires animals. That part of him that recognizes his own animal nature identifies with them, and yet, that part of him that denies his animal-self—the civilized part of man—feels hostility towards animals. John Berger describes man's relationship with the animal world in the following words:

With and against the animal. The duality begins with the magical belief in man's kinship and descent from the animal...man's mastery over the animal could never be complete because of his own biological inheritance. He often experienced this incompleteness as fear. He was bound to fear the eye of the animal *as the carrier of a view of himself over which he had no control*...So the animal world, from being mysterious in itself, became a reference for religion, a metaphor. Men domesticate animals, use them, but they also explain by them. Animals supply examples for the mind as well as food for the body. They carry not only loads, but also principles. (emphasis his)⁵

Similar thoughts are expressed by anthropologist Roy Willis:

The crux of the explanation of the apparent universality of animals as images of profoundest symbolic significance would seem, I argue, to lie in the fact that 'the animal' is both within us, as part of our enduring biological heritage as human beings, and also, by definition, outside and beyond human society. The image of the symbolic animal is therefore necessarily a dualistic image,

⁵"Animal World," *New Society*, 25 November 1971, 1042f.

structurally homologous with the duality in human society and the human self between the real and the ultimate ideal, the actual and the longed for, even if subconsciously.”⁶

Although separate from man, animals are undeniably kin to him as well. It is this kinship that allows animals to become a reservoir of images from which man can draw parallels with his own, human world. In doing so, man often anthropomorphises the animal. Domestication itself, besides reassuring man of his mastery over animals, also serves to anthropomorphize the animal, or at the very least, neutralize it. Hence, dogs become a metonym for man, perceived as almost human themselves, while livestock verge on becoming inanimate objects of movable wealth.

Through the metaphorical relationship between the society of man and the society of animals, the latter influence human emotion and possess the potential for suggesting “a mode of thought.”⁷ The snake, for instance, may fill a person, sometimes an entire culture, with unreasoning fear (opidiophobia). Not all animals possess this potential to elicit symbolic thought, but those that do are more likely than others to become effective cult objects, or in the case of the Hittites, to become associated with the world of the divine.

A link between the non-human worlds of animal and god can be demonstrated from Hittite sources. Such a relationship is neither unique nor surprising, since both spheres present man with a mystery that he can no more understand than control. Their remoteness predisposes wild animals to carry a symbolic range of ideas and values. Among the Hittites, for instance, the wolf is the quintessential outlaw, representing the untamed and the uncontrollable, while the lion is a symbol of political and military power. The animal world, thus, is a mirror, or reflection, of human social order and relationships. As Berger

⁶R. Willis, *Man and Beast*, NY: Basic Books, 1974, 9.

⁷B. Mundkur, *The Cult of the Serpent: An Interdisciplinary Survey of its Manifestations and Origins*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983, 255.

notes, animals “were there to demonstrate laws to men because there was nothing else in the world through which men could so subtly define themselves.”⁸

Section C. Animal Categories

1. *Taxonomy*

That the Hittites recognized animal relationships and maintained their own, albeit informal, taxonomic system is evident in animal lists that group the animals according to types or categories. For instance, KUB 35.142 iv 3'-7' (CTH 772) provides a list of animals domesticated by the Hittites, beginning with the equids (stallion, mare, male and female mule, jackass and jenny), followed by bovines, ovines and caprids (bull, cow, ram, ewe, billy goat, nanny goat). These are followed by the pets or non-livestock (boar, scw, male and female dog). Finally, the male and female deer, which were kept but not domesticated, are listed. This list contains all animals domesticated by the Hittites, along with deer, which represent their only major attempt at keeping. The animals are named in order of size, the horse being the largest of the domestic animals, and the dog the smallest. The deer, again, is exceptional.

KUB 7.33 obv 5-9 (CTH 490) lists animals in the following order: Deer, cow, sheep, eagle, falcon, [...]bird, hare, snake, birds, *mutamut[i-]*, fish, man, horse, mule, donkey. The animals in this group that are not domestic or kept are probably captive. These include the eagle, falcon, snake, birds, fish, and probably the *mutamuti-*. Again, the large animals are listed before the small ones, and again, the deer are out of order. Some standard animal pairs are evident, namely cow and sheep, eagle and falcon, birds and fish (unusually separated by the unidentified *mutamuti-*).

⁸*New Society*, 25 November 1971, 1043.

The consistency of the use of animal pairs in Hittite texts also suggests an informal taxonomic system. The overlapping functions and symbolic roles of the leopard and lion, the eagle and falcon and cattle and sheep are clear examples of the recognition of categories.

No less important is the distinction between predator and prey. This awareness is almost too obvious to mention. It can be seen in the glyptic where one animal is depicted attacking another (usually an eagle and a hare or a feline and a ruminant), and in the texts, where prey and predator are juxtaposed for the varied purposes of the narratives.

2. *Natural Order*

In a number of mythological texts, order and continuity are represented by animals acting and interacting in their natural habitats in a manner appropriate for them. For example, one passage narrates a story that involves frogs and salamanders⁷: “‘You must help me!’ Thus (say) the springs (var. waters): ‘Do not fear them! We will [help you].’ The frog takes (it) with (his) mouth. [...] gulps it down. The salamander? [takes] it with (his) *šappu*- [...]. The frog [will carry] it to the deep. [The salamander? will carry it to the waters. The ri]ver will carry it to the sea” (KBo 13.131 obv 14'-18' || KUB 30.34 iii 16 + Bo 1509 : 2'-7' || 1066/u : 4'-9' [CTH 401], cf. *infra*, pp. 228f.). In another passage, we repeatedly see the phrase “let the X bring it and put it in its place.” The bee is the first animal enjoined, but if “it” is from the sea, the *lahanza*-duck should bring it and put it in its place, if from the river, the *huwala*-animal ditto, if from the sky the eagle. Finally, in lines 18-20, domestic animals are enjoined to butt “it” with the appropriate part—the goat with his *šappu*-, the ram with his horns, the ewe with her nose.⁹ Another passage contains a similar image. In reference to a tree, an eagle is said to perch on its branches, a bee to hover[?] around it, and a snake to coil about its base?¹⁰ The image of order, of each creature having its place and its appropriate habitat, is sustained in this passage.

⁹KUB 43.60 i 5-20. Cf. *infra*, pp. 243f.

¹⁰KUB 43.62 iii 5'-7'. Cf. *infra*, pp. 118f.

Whereas domestic animals represent continuity for man, wild animals are a symbol of change and disturbance in the social order. According to these mythological texts, the Hittites nevertheless attempted to project order onto the natural world around them.

3. *Mischwesen*

Aside from the *awiti*- “winged lion”, and possibly the ^d*dam(a)naššara*- “sphinx?”,¹¹ no *Mischwesen* are attested in Hittite written sources, although they are depicted in the iconography.¹² They are a late addition and reflect Mesopotamian influence. The most common combinations are bull/man, lion/man, eagle or bird/man, and eagle/lion. Each of these animals is aggressive and powerful.¹³

Several explanations for the existence of these strange creatures have been proposed. Bittel suggests an apotropaic function.¹⁴ Others see in such *Mischwesen* an attempt to bridge the gap between the animal and human worlds. Alternatively, “the *Mischwesen*, which seem to be composed of elements of two or more categories of the proposed taxonomy and therefore to lie between those categories, actually delineate the borders of the categories more clearly than the uncombined motifs can ever have done.”¹⁵ Perhaps *Mischwesen* are the philosophical experimentation with cross breeding of species. Perhaps they are an expression of demonic disorder.

¹¹See H. G. Güterbock, *RHA* 68, 1961, 15ff. for the interpretation of this word. Cf. O. R. Gurney, *JRAS* 1977, 207.

¹²C. Hoffman observed that Mesopotamian lexical lists contain almost exclusively real animals (“The Lion, the Eagle, the Man, and the Bull in Mesopotamian Glyptic,” Vol. 2, (diss., Yale University), 1974, 746).

¹³For a full discussion of *Mischwesen* in Mesopotamian glyptic, including the avoidance of feline and herbivore in the same *Mischwesen*, see C. Hoffman (diss., Yale University), 1974, 737ff.

¹⁴K. Bittel, *Yazılıkaya: Architektur, Felsbilder Inschriften und Kleinfunde* (= WVDOG 61), Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1941, 125.

¹⁵C. Hoffman, (diss., Yale University), 1974, 647.

Ultimately, the mystery of the *Mischwesen* is probably unsolvable. For Hittite culture, the important information to be gained from the *Mischwesen* concerns which combinations were created and what significance can be attributed to these combinations.

4. *Wild and Domestic*

In Hittite society an animal belonged to one of three groups, domestic livestock, “pets,” or wild animals. Livestock are domesticated ruminants and equids that are maintained, for economic purposes, on farms on the periphery. The term “pet” is used here to refer to animals that live within towns, in close proximity to man, and while serving various functions, are of less direct economic benefit to man than livestock. Two animals fall into this category in Hittite culture—the dog and the pig.¹⁶

The dog in Hittite society “is treated casually, given great license and little care. It is, in fact, an animal that arouses paradoxical attitudes which are symptomatic of its close bearing on human relationships.”¹⁷ Because it eats garbage, blood and feces, it is unclean and inedible. However, its proximity to man, both physical and emotional, makes of it a “degraded human” in Hittite thought.¹⁸ Lévi-Strauss refers to the dog as a metonymical human being.¹⁹ In Hittite ritual, dogs even substitute for man.

Concerning the pig in rural England, E. Leach comments that “the pig in his backyard pigsty was, until very recently, much more nearly a member of the household than any of the other edible animals. Pigs, like dogs, were fed from the leftovers of their human

¹⁶For arguments for the limited consumption of pork in Hittite society, see Chapter VI, Section A.

¹⁷Said of the dog in Thai village life by S. J. Tambiah, *Culture, Thought, and Social Action: An Anthropological Perspective*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985, 184, it holds true for the Hittites as well.

¹⁸Cf. *Culture, Thought, and Social Action*, 1985, 184.

¹⁹*The Savage Mind*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966, 205.

master's kitchens."²⁰ Similarly, among the Hittites, pigs lived inside human settlements. This fact is demonstrated by the Instructions to Temple Personnel (CTH 264), in which the temple personnel are warned against allowing a pig or dog into the temple kitchen: *nam-ma-kán pá-r-šu-u-ra-aš pí-di ŠAH-aš UR.GI₇-aš KÁ-aš le-e ti-ya-zi UN-aš DINGIR.MEŠ-aš-ša ZI-an-za ta-ma-a-iš ku-iš-ki UL ki-i-pát ku-it UL ZI-an-za-ma 1-aš-pát* "but let not a pig or dog of the gate enter the place of the stew! Is there something different (between) the mind of a human and (that) of the gods? No! Even (in) such (a matter as) this? No! Rather, (they are of) exactly one mind."²¹ Later, the temple personnel are warned against a pig or dog polluting the cooking implements used in the preparation of the deities' food: *ma-a-an Ú-NU-TE.MEŠ IŠ-ŠI Ú-NU-TE.MEŠ GIR₄ ku-e har-te-ni na-aš-ta ma-a-an ŠAH-aš UR.GI₇-aš ku-wa-pí-ik-ki an-da ša-a-li-qa EN.TU₇-ma-at ar-ha UL pé-eš-še-ya-zi nu a-pa-a-aš DINGIR.MEŠ-aš pa-ap-ra-an-da-za a-da-an-na pa-a-i a-pé-e-da-ni-ma DINGIR.MEŠ-eš za-ak-kar :du-ú-úr a-da-an-na a-ku-wa-an-na pí-an-zi* "such implements of wood or implements of fired clay as you possess—if then a pig (or) a dog ever comes near (them), and the 'lord of the pot' does not throw them away, but he gives (it) to the gods to eat from a polluted (implement), then the gods will give that one dung (and) urine to eat and drink."²² In the Laws, both a pig and a dog "of the vestibule" (ŠAH/UR.GI₇ *hilannaš*) are

²⁰"Anthropological Aspects of Language: Animal Categories and Verbal Abuse," *New Directions in the Study of Language*, E. Lenneberg, ed., Cambridge, MA: 1966, 50f.

²¹KUB 13.4 i 20-22 (NH/NS).

²²KUB 13.4 iii 64-68 with dupls. KUB 13.19 iii 7'-11' + KUB 13.6 iii 15'-18' (NS) and KUB 13.5 iii 34'-38' (NS). Cf. I. Singer, "Hittite *hílammar* and Hieroglyphic Luwian **hílan*," ZA 65, 1975, 83, n. 72; A. Goetze, in *Ancient Near Eastern Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. J. B. Pritchard, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969, 207; E. H. Sturtevant and G. Bechtel, *A Hittite Chrestomathy*, Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America, 1935, 149-168; E. H. Sturtevant, "A Hittite Text on the Duties of Priests and Temple Servants," JAOS 54, 1934, 363-406.

mentioned, further supporting the probability that both animals lived within human communities.²³

In KUB 41.7 i 2'-7' (CTH 732), the goddess *Kamrušepa* is said to purify a man's house and hearth, his land, cattle, sheep, humans, piglets, and puppies.²⁴ The two categories of animal that are part of the human realm, livestock and pets, are included in this passage, with the humans named in the middle to separate them from one another as distinct groups.

Both pets and livestock form part of the social life of man. They are within his sphere of influence and control, which wild nature is not. Pets and livestock diverge in the fact that one is perceived as "almost man" and the other as "almost thing."²⁵ Both together provide a bridge that links the human and natural spheres.²⁶

The following chart illustrates the Hittite division of the animal world and how that was manifested in the use of animals:

<u>pets</u>	<u>livestock</u>	<u>wild animals (except red deer)</u>
living within human communities	living on farms or in animal enclosures	living outside civilization
less economically important	economically important	economically <i>unimportant</i>

²³Paragraphs §82 (KBo 6.2 iv 18 [OH/OS] with dupl. KBo 6.3 iv 13-14 [OH/MS]) and §89 (KBo 6.3 iv 26 [OH/MS] with dupl. KBo 6.7 : 9-10) respectively.

²⁴*Kam-ru-ši-pa-aš É-ir-še-et [h]a-aš-ša-an-na pá-r-k[u]-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi ut-ni-še-et pá-r-ku-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi* [GU]D-uš-ša'-an UDU-uš NAM.LÚ.ULÙ.LU-aš [Š]AH.TUR-ša-an UR. TUR-aš-ša-an [pár-k]u-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi. Cf. A. Archi, "Il culto del focolare presso gli ittiti," *SMEA* 16, 1975, 77, n. 3.

²⁵Others who have commented on the distinctions between domestic and wild in Hittite texts include E. Laroche, "Le zoomorphisme en Anatolie hittite," *Dictionnaire de mythologies et des religions des sociétés traditionnelles et du monde antique*, Flammarion: Centre National des Lettres, 1981, 35; and A. Archi, "Société des hommes et société des animaux," *Studi di Storia e di Filologia Anatolica dedicati a Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*, F. Imparati, ed., Firenze: ELITE, 1988, 25-37.

²⁶Cf. R. Willis, *Man and Beast*, 1974, 14.

inedible ²⁷	edible	inedible
occasionally used for sacrifice ²⁸	commonly used for sacrifice	rarely used in ritual and probably not at all for sacrifice
unclean	clean	clean
never associated with divine	associated with divine	associated with divine

Deer straddle the gap between the wild animals and domestic livestock. Unlike other wild animals, they were edible, were used in sacrifice, and were therefore economically significant. The primary edible animals are livestock. This is a function of their social distance from man. That is, their relationship with man is neither too close (pets), nor too remote (wild animals).

Section D. Some General Terms for Animals

1. MÁŠ.ANŠE (n.?) "livestock," (any ruminant): Hittite reading unknown

nom. MÁŠ.ANŠE KUB 8.3 rev 2' (NS), MÁŠ.ANŠE.HI.A KBo 10.47c i 8, 9; gen. ŠA MÁŠ.ANŠE KUB 2.1 iii 30 (NH); d.-l. A-NA MÁŠ.ANŠE.HI.A KBo 10.47c i 14.

The Sumerogram MÁŠ.ANŠE is found in only a handful of Hittite texts. It occurs in a Hittite translation of an Akkadian lunar omen (CTH 533), and predicts the perishing of the livestock: MÁŠ.ANŠE *ma-uš-zi* "the herds will perish" (KUB 8.3 rev 2' [NS]).²⁹ In

²⁷See n. 16.

²⁸The use of pet over livestock in a particular ritual may have been dependent on the type of ritual being performed. This possibility will be examined in another place.

²⁹Cf. CHD 3/2, 1983, 212; E. Weidner, "Astrologische Texte aus Boghazköi," AfO 1, 1923, 6f.

the Festival for the Protective Deities (CTH 682), ŠA MÁŠ.ANŠE is an epithet for the deity Ayala: ^dA-a-la-aš ŠA MÁŠ.ANŠE (KUB 2.1 iii 30 [NH]).³⁰ It is also found in the Hittite version of the Mesopotamian story of Gilgamesh:

KBo 10.47c i with dupl. KUB 17.2 : 5'-10' (+) KUB 8.56 : 2'-5' (CTH 341)³¹

- 7' [o o U]R.SAG-iš ^dEn-ki[(-ta-aš LÍL-ri an-d)a
 8' [na-an MÁŠ.]ANŠE.HLA šal-la-nu-uš[(-kán-zi nu-uš-ši x)
 9' x[o o -]zi nu ku-e-ez MÁ[Š.(ANŠE.HLA ú-e-ši)-ya-u-wa-an-zi]
 10' i-y[a-at-]ta-ri ^dEn-ki-d[u-u(š-ša-ma-aš-ta) GAM-an i-ya-at-ta-ri]
 11' š[a-ku-r]u-u-wa-u-wa-an-zi-ya [ku-e-ez i-ya-at-ta-ri]
 12' [^dEn-k]i-du-ša-aš-ma-aš GAM-a[n i-ya-at-ta-ri]

 13' [nu] ^mŠa-an-ga-šu-uš LÚG[URUŠ-an-za
 14' A-NA MÁŠ.ANŠE.HLA :ak-ku-u[š-ša
 15' tar-ne-eš³²-ki-iz-zi ^dEn[-ki-du-uš-ma-aš pī-ra-an]
 16' i-ya-at-ta-ri nu-k[(án) ...? SAHAR.HLA-az]³³
 17' ša-hi-iš-ki-iz-z[(i :a)g-ga-ti-uš-ma ku-i-e-eš iš-pár-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi?]
 18' na-aš-kán ÍD-i [(an-da i)š-hu-u-wa-iz-ki-iz-zi ...

7' The hero, Enkidu [...] in the steppe.

³⁰Cf. A. Archi, "Divinità' Tutelari e Sondergötter Ittiti," *SMEA* 16, 1975, 100; E. Laroche, *Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites*, Paris: Librairie orientale et américaine, 1947, 78. A deified mountain worshipped in the town of Ariuwa bears the name HUR.SAGMÁŠ.ANŠE-antaš in KUB 38.23 obv 11 (CTH 509) (L. Jakob-Rost, "Zu den hethitischen Bildbeschreibungen," *MIO* 9, 1963, 175f.; M. Popko, *Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion (nach keilschriftlichen Quellen)*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1978, 101).

³¹Cf. H. Otten, "Die erste Tafel des hethitischen Gilgamesch-Epos," *Ist.Mitt.*, 1958, 100f.; E. Laroche, *Textes mythologiques hittites en transcription*, 2^{ème} Partie: *Mythologie d'origine étrangère* (=RHA 26/82), 1968, [122f.].

³²KUB 8.56 : 2' -iš-.

³³Remaining lines restored from lines 23'-26'.

- 8' The [an]imals raised [him] and to/for him
 9' [they ...]. Wherever the animals went to gr[aze],
 10' Enkidu [went with] them.
 11' [Wherever they went] to drink,
 12' Enkidu [went] with them.
-
- 13' Šangašuš, the y[outh]
 14' left hunting pits [
 15' for the animals. En[kidu] went
 16' [before them and] stopped them up
 17' [with dirt. But the] n[ets, which he had spread out],
 18' [he threw] them into the river ...

According to the context provided in this passage, MÁŠ.ANŠE may designate specifically ruminants, since they are said to graze, and in any case ruminants are indicated by the signs themselves (MÁŠ and ANŠE refer to goats and equids, respectively). In Mesopotamia, the designation MÁŠ.ANŠE (Akk. *būlu*) refers to herds of cattle, sheep, or horses, which are moveable property. From context, according to the *CAD*, it may also refer to wild animals, in particular herds of quadrupeds.³⁴

2. šuppal, šuppala-, šupla- (*n./c.*) “livestock”³⁵

sg. com. nom. *šu-up-pa-la-aš* KBo 12.3 iv 15' (OH/NS), KBo 13.34 iii 10' (NS), KBo 3.6 ii 1 (NH); sg. neut. nom.-acc. *šu-up-pa-ai* KUB 36.55 ii 30', *šu-up-pa-la-an* KUB 8.1 iii 13 (NH), KBo 13.16 : 8'; erg. *šu-up-pa-la-an-za* KUB 36.32 : 5, 8 (MH²/MS²); sg. d.-i. *šu-up-li* KBo 6.34 iv 15 (MH/NS).

³⁴Cf. *CAD* B, 313-316.

³⁵For an etymology of this word, see A. Goetze, *Language* 30, 1954, 404.

pl. com. nom. *šu-up-pa-le-e-eš* VBoT 124 i 6' (OS); pl. neut. nom.-acc. *šu-up-pa-la* KBo 6.26 i 22, 26 (OH/NS), KUB 43.60 i 1 (OH/NS); *šu-up-pa-ia«-ia»* KUB 43.60 i 2 (OH/NS); *šu-up-pa-la«-ya»-an-ta* IBOT 2.23 rev 7 (NH); pl. gen. *šu-up-pa-la-an* KUB 30.11+ obv 4' (OH/MS), KUB 31.127+ i 43 (OH/NS); unclear *šu-up-pa[-...]* KUB 24.7 iii 14 (NS).

Until recently, *šuppala* has been accepted as a word designating cattle (German Vieh), referring to domestic livestock in general.³⁶ In the last few years, however, apparently based on a connection with the Hittite word for “pure,” “sacred” (*šuppi-*), scholars have begun to translate *šuppala-* as “wild animal” synonymous with the phrase *gimraš hūitar* “animals of the field.”³⁷ This presumption stems from the view that wild animals have a closer link to the world of the divine than do domestic animals. That is, they are “sacred” animals. The issue of the “sacred” nature of wild animals and domestic ones will be taken up later in this dissertation. Stated simply here, not all wild animals have a special link with the divine, and not all domestic animals are devoid of such a link. In addition, the evidence for *šuppala-* as livestock is so overwhelming that I fail to understand how such a reinterpretation could have come about.

In the following prayer to the Sungod (CTH 372), the deity’s authority is shown to extend to all creatures, including the dog and pig, and the *šuppala-* “who do not speak”:

KUB 31.127 i + KUB 36.79 i (OH/NS) with dupl. KUB 31.133 : 20'-25' (CTH 372)

|| KUB 31.135 obv 11'-13' + KUB 30.11 obv 4'-6' (OH/MS)

41 *kat-te-ra-aš-ša ut-ne-ya-aš hu-u-ma-an-da-aš [(t)]u-el-pāt*

³⁶H. G. Güterbock, *Oriens* 10, 1957, 357; E. Neufeld, “Notes on Hittite Laws,” *ArOr* 18, 1950, 124.

³⁷E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire des Mythologies*, 1981, 35; R. Lebrun, “Le zoomorphisme dans la religion hittite,” in *L’Animal, l’homme, le dieu dans le proche-orient ancien* (=Actes du Colloque de Cartigny 1981), 1984, 95; A. Archi, *FsCarratelli*, 1988, 28.

- 42 ^dUTU-wa-aš <la-lu-uk-ki-ma-aš> ti-ya-ri nu UR.GI₇-aš ŠAH-aš-ša ha-[a]n-ni-eš-ša[r]
 43 ha-an-na-at-ta-ri šu-up-pa-la-an-na ha-an-ni-eš-šar³⁸ iš-ši-it
 44 ku-i-e-eš Ú-UL me-mi-iš-kán-zi a-pa-a-at-ta ha-an-na-at-ta-ri
 45 i-da-a-la-u-wa-aš-ša hu-u-wa-ap-pa-aš-ša³⁹ an-tu-uh-ša-aš ha-an-ni-eš-šar⁴⁰
 46 zi-ik-pát⁴¹ ha-an-na-at-ta-ri⁴²
-
- 41 And on all the low lands your <light>,
 42 O Sun, falls. You decide the case of the dog and the pig.
 43 The case of the livestock who do not
 44 speak with the mouth, even that you decide.
 45 You alone decide the case of the evil and
 46 wicked man.

Here, *šuppala-* clearly does not include the dog and pig, or “pets,” but certainly refers to some group or class of animal. The use of *šuppala-* in this text parallels that of *gimraš huitar* “animals of the field,” or “wild animals,” in the similar prayer, KUB 6.45 iii 16:

KUB 6.45 iii with dupl. KUB 6.46 iii 54-56 (CTH 381)⁴³

15 ... ^dUTU ŠA-ME-E EN-YA ŠA DUMU.LÚ.ULÙ.LU-TI⁴⁴ UR.GI₇-aš¹

³⁸KUB 31.135 obv 11' *ha-an-ne-eš-ša*.

³⁹KUB 30.11 obv 5' *hu-wa-ap-pa-aš*.

⁴⁰KUB 31.135 obv 13' [*ha-a*]n-ne-eš-ša.

⁴¹KUB 31.135 obv 13' + KUB 30.11 obv 6' *zi-ik-pát* ^dUTU-uš.

⁴²KUB 30.11 obv 6' *ha-an-na-at-ta*.

⁴³J. Puhvel, “*Huitar* and *vitnir*: Creatures and Critters in Anatolia and Iceland,” *Sprache* 32, 1986, 54; B. Sergent, “Panthéons hittites trifonctionnels,” *RHR* 200, 1983, 148-150.

⁴⁴KUB 6.46 iii 55 -UT-TI.

16 ŠAH-aš gi-im-ra-aš-ša⁴⁵ hu-iš-na-aš⁴⁶ DI-NAM UD-ti-li⁴⁷

17 zi-ik^dUTU-uš ha-an-ne-eš⁴⁸-ki^l-ši

15 ... O Sungod of Heaven, my lord! Of humankind, of the dog,

16 of the pig, and of the animals of the field

17 ycu, O Sungod, decide the case daily.

Based on these prayer passages alone, one could assume synonymy between *šuppala*- and *huitar*. This is not necessarily so, however, and other attestations of *šuppala*- demonstrate that, indeed, they are not at all synonymous. Rather, *huitar* seems to encompass *šuppala*- in meaning. In other words, *huitar* can refer to either wild or domestic animals, while *šuppala*- designates only domestic livestock. Compare, for instance, the Ritual of Huwariu, where *huitar hūman* “all the animals” are included with humans, and large and small cattle in sympathetic magic for the well being of the royal household:

KBo 4.2 i (CTH 398 [preNH/NS])⁴⁹

58 me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi-ma kiš-an hal-ki-iš-wa ma-ah-ha-an NAM.LÚ.ÛLU.LU GUD
UDU

59 hu-i-ta-ar-ra hu-u-ma-an hu-iš-nu-us-ki-iz-zi LUGAL SALLUGAL ki-i-ya

60 É-ir ka-a-aš hal-ki-iš kal-la-ri-it ud-da-na-az QA-TAM-MA hu-iš-nu-ud-du

58 But he/she speaks as follows: “Just as the grain preserves the people, the large and

⁴⁵KUB 6.46 iii 55 omits -ša, and erroneously adds DI-NAM.

⁴⁶KUB 6.46 iii 56 hu-it-ta-aš, read hu-it-na^l-aš.

⁴⁷KUB 6.46 iii 56 UD.KAM-li.

⁴⁸KUB 6.46 iii 56 -ni-iš-.

⁴⁹Cf. H. Kronasser, “Das hethitische Ritual KBo IV 2,” *Sprache* 8, 1962, 91, 97; H. Otten, *Sprachliche Stellung und Datierung des Madduwatta-Textes*, StBoT 11, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1969, 10, n. 2; H. C. Melchert, “Ablative and Instrumental in Hittite,” (diss., Harvard), 1977, #133.

small cattle,

- 59 and all the animals, may this grain likewise preserve the king and queen
60 and this house from the malicious word.”

Huitar, in this case, refers to livestock other than cattle and sheep, since the grain certainly is not intended for wild animals. *Šuppala-* would have served just as well.

In §163 of the Hittite Laws (CTH 292), *šuppala-* certainly designates livestock in particular. As Neufeld has pointed out, the verb *penna-* usually refers to livestock.⁵⁰ An even more basic argument is that the herder would not be interested in the welfare of wild animals:

KBo 6.26 i (OH/NS) with dupls. KBo 6.18 iv 1-6, KBo 6.10 iv 10'-12', KBo 6.15 iv 13'-16'⁵¹

22 *ták-ku šu-up-pa-la-aš-še-et ku-e-el-qa ši-e-ú-ni-ah-ta*⁵²

23 *ta-at*⁵³ *pár-ku-nu-zí*⁵⁴ *na-at ar-ha pé-en-na-a-i*⁵⁵

24 *i*⁵⁶ *-šu-wa-na-al-li-ma-kán i-šu-wa-an da-a-i*

25 *a-ri-iš-ši-ma-at Ú-UL te-ez-zi* ^{LÚ}*a-ra-aš-ša*⁵⁷

⁵⁰ArOr 18, 1950, Pt. IV, 1950, 124.

⁵¹Cf. J. Friedrich, *Die Hethitischen Gesetze*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959, 74f., 109f.; F. Imparati, *Le Leggi Ittite*, Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1964, 150f., 288-292; A. Goetze, "On §§163, 164/5 and 176 of the Hittite Code," *JCS* 20, 1966, 128f.; *Language* 30, 1954, 404; E. Neufeld, *ArOr* 18, Pt. IV, 1950, 123f.; J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, New York: Mouton Publ., 1984, 486.

⁵²KBo 6.10 iv 10' *ši-ú-ni-ah-ta*; KBo 6.15 iv? 13' *ši-ú-ni-ya-ah-ta*.

⁵³KBo 6.18 iv 2 *na-at*.

⁵⁴KBo 6.18 iv 2 *pár-ku-nu-uz-zí*.

⁵⁵KBo 6.10 iv 11' *-]en-na-i*.

⁵⁶KBo 6.18 iv 3 omits *i-*.

⁵⁷KBo 6.15 iv? 15' omits LÚ.

- 26 *ú-UL ša-ak-ki šu-up-pa-la-aš-še-et pé-en-na-a-i*
 27 *na-at a-ki šar-ni-ik-zi-il*
 22 If someone's livestock are stricken,
 23 and he (the herdsman) purifies them, and he drives them off,
 24 but he puts the scraps on a scrap-heap,
 25 and he does not tell this to his colleague (and) the colleague
 26 does not know, and drives his livestock (there)
 27 and they die, recompense (is due).

In the Soldier's Oath, a curse is laid upon any person who transgresses the oath. *Šuppala-* appears here with *hala-* and *ašawar*.⁵⁸ The *ašawar* is an enclosure for small cattle, and the *hali-* an enclosure for large cattle. The *šuppala-*, then, Goetze surmises, must refer to free roaming livestock.⁵⁹

KBo 6.34 iv (CTH 582 [MH/NS])⁶⁰

- 13 *nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an ú-e-el-lu-uš*
 14 *ha-a-li-iš-ši a-ša-ú-ni-iš-ši*
 15 *šu-up-le-eš-ši le-e lu-lu-wa-it-ta*
 16 *iš-TU A.ŠÀ-ŠU-ma-aš-ši-kán ag-ga-li-it*
 17 *ú-el-ku-wa-an le-e ú-iz-zi*
 13 Let the meadow not survive
 14 for his herd, for his flock,

⁵⁸A. Goetze, *JCS* 20, 1966, 129; A. Archi, *FsCarratelli*, 1988, 28.

⁵⁹*JCS* 20, 1966, 129.

⁶⁰Cf. N. Oettinger, *Die Militärischen Eide der Hethiter*, StBoT 22, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976, 14f., 50; A. Archi, *FsCarratelli*, 1988, 28; A. Goetze, *JCS* 20, 1966, 128f.; *CHD* 3/1, 1980, 83; J. Friedrich, "Der hethitische Soldateneid," *ZA* 35, 1924, 189.

- 15 or his livestock!
 16 But for him from his field
 17 let the grass not come (out) with the furrow!

Clearly, the person in question owns the animals whose welfare he is concerned with. Whether we accept Goetze's translation "animals freely roaming in the pasture," there is no justification for the jump to "wild animal." Free roaming livestock are, after all, still livestock.

The welfare of the *šuppala-* is also a matter of concern when the elements give unfavorable omens, as we see in the Mesopotamian astronomical omen texts (CTH 532): [*ma-a-an ...*] ^dXXX-aš a-ki BURU ki-ša-a[n-da-rī? ...]x-ar šu-up-pa-la-an har-a[k²-zi²] "[if ...] the moon dies, the harvest will occur, [...] the livestock will perish" (KBo 13.16 : 7f.); [*ma-a-an*] I-NA UD.15.KAM ^dXXX-aš a-ki a-ru-na-aš a-aš-šu har-ak-zi [o o š]u-up-pa-la-an te-pa-u-e-eš-zi "[if] on the fifteenth day the moon dies, the good of the sea will perish, [...] the livestock will diminish" (KUB 8.1 iii 12f. [NH]).⁶¹ We find similar fears in a birth omen (CTH 540): *ták-ku SAL-za ha-a-ši nu-uš-ši SAG.DU-ZU ŠA ŠAH ki-ša šu-up-pa-la-aš Ú-UL SIG₅-in* "if a woman bears, and its head is that of a pig, the livestock will not prosper (KBo 13.34 iii 8'-10' [NS]).⁶²

3. huitar (n.) "animals," (any group of animals)

sg. nom.-acc. neut. *hu-u-i-tar* KUB 8.62 i 2 (NS), KUB 33.121 ii 13 (NH), KUB 38.3 ii 9 (NH), KUB 3.94 ii 18, KUB 36.2d iii 43'; *hu-u-i-[tar]* KUB 7.33 obv 8; [*hu-u-]*i-tar KBo 10.25 vi 5' (NS); [*hu-u-i-da-a*]r² KUB 36.2b ii 10'; *ku-u-i-it[-tar²]* KUB 38.38 obv 9'; *hu-u-e-tar* KBo 13.62 obv 18; *hu-u-e-da-ar* KUB

⁶¹Cf. HW², 1980, 352, sub *aruna-*.

⁶²K. Riemschneider, *Babylonische Geburtsomina in hethitischer Übersetzung*, StBoT 9, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970, 26ff. (Text 3).

36.67 ii 9'; *hu-u-i-ta-ar* KUB 52.102 ii 12'; [*hu-u-ḫ-ta-a[r]*] KUB 52.102 i 9'; *hu-i-tar* KBo 10.29 iv 11; *hu-i-ta-ar* KBo 4.2 i 59 (preNH/NS); [*hu-i-]ta-ar* KBo 20.33 obv 14 (OH/MS?); [*h*]*u-i-da-a[r]* KBo 26.108 : 8'; sg. erg. *hu-it-na-an-za* KBo 9.114 : 7' (OS); [*hu²-i*]*t-na-an-za* KUB 34.51 : 13'; gen. *hu-it-na-aš* KUB 2.1 ii 16 (NH), KUB 6.45 iii 16; *hu-it-na¹-aš* KUB 6.46 iii 56; *hu-u-it-na-aš* KBo 11.40 ii 5', KBo 25.180 rev² 10', KUB 33.57 ii 11; instr. *hu-u-it-ni-it* KUB 24.2 rev 15' (NH); *hu-it-ni-it* KUB 26.19 ii 44 (MH/NS).

pl. nom.-acc. neut. *hu-u-i-ta-a-ar* KBo 10.23 iii 9' (OH/NS), KBo 10.24 i 11 (NS); [*hu-i-]ta-a-ar* KBo 21.68 i 3'; [*hu-i-ta-a-]ar* KUB 4.8 obv 5; [*hu-]i-da¹-a-ar* KUB 8.1 iii 9 (NH); *hu-i-da-a-a[r]* KBo 21.70 i 3' (OH²/MS); [*hu-i-da-a-]ar* KBo 22.224 ii¹ 2'; *hu-i-da-q[-ar]* KBo 22.224 ii¹ 3'.

The primary meaning of *huitar* is “wild animals.” As indicated in the previous section, however, it can also refer to domestic livestock. This was demonstrated by the passage KBo 4.2 i 58-60 (CTH 398 [preNH/NS]), which is to be translated, “just as the grain preserves the people, the cattle and sheep, and all the animals...” (supra, pp. 16f.). Another passage that may also testify to this sense for *huitar* is KBo 9.114 : 6f.: [... -]za-wa GUD.MAH.HI.A KI.MIN MÁŠ.GAL.HI.A nu-wa-mu [... -w]a-ra-an am-me-el hu-it-na-an-za a-ni-ya-ad-du “the bulls (and) goats ditto, and for me [...] let my animals deal with him” (CTH 832 [OH/MS?]).⁶³ In addition, a ritual fragment uses *huitar* to refer to animals probably intended for sacrifice.⁶⁴ In light of the fact that domestic animals are almost exclusively used in ritual sacrifice (see Chapter VI, Section B.2.), the reference in this case is probably to domestic animals as well.

⁶³Cf. J. Puhvel, *Sprache* 32, 1986, 55.

⁶⁴KBo 21.70 i 3' (CTH 670 [OH²/NS]). Cf. S. Alp, *Beiträge zur Erforschung des hethitischen Tempels* (=TTKY 23), Ankara, 1983, 260f., 372.

KUB 7.33 obv 5-9 (CTH 490)⁶⁵ lists animals that are called *huitar*. This group includes a deer, a cow, a sheep, an eagle, a falcon, a hare, a snake, birds, a *mutamuti*-, fish, a horse, a mule and a donkey. Once again, it is clear that *huitar* can refer to both domestic and wild fauna.

More often than not, however, *huitar* indicates wild animals. In the KILAM Festival, this word refers to the game animals that parade before the king: *ku-it-ma-an-ma hu-u-i-ta-a-ar hu-u-ma-an-da ut-ta-na-aš-ša BE-LU.MEŠ PA-NI LUGAL ša-me-ya-an-zi LÚ.MEŠ ALAM.ZÚ-ma tar-ú-i-iš-kán-zi pal-ú-i-iš-kán-zi ha-az-zi-iš-kán-zi-ya* “while all the animals and the ‘masters of the word’ pass before the king, the performers’ dance, clap, and play (instruments).”⁶⁶ The animals depart through the upper gate.⁶⁷ The procession itself is described in greater detail in the following:

KBo 10.25 vi with dupl. KBo 30.14 v 5’ff.⁶⁸

- 3' ... NA₄ku-un-na-na-aš
 4' [(KUŠ₁kur-še)]-eš⁶⁹ pa-a-an-zi nu DINGIR.MEŠ-na-aš
 5' [hu-u-ḫi-tar PIRIG.TUR KÙ.BABBAR UR.MAH GUŠKIN
 6' [ŠA]H.GIŠ.GI KÙ.BABBAR ŠAH.GIŠ.GI NA₄ZA.GÌN
 7' AŽ KÙ.BABBAR ú-wa-an-zi nu-za IT-TI
 8' DÀRA<MÁŠ>.HÌ.A A-ŠAR-ŠU-NU ap-pa-an-zi
 3' ... The copper hunting bags

⁶⁵See infra, p. 272.

⁶⁶KBo 10.23 iii 9"-15". Cf. I. Singer, *The Hittite KILAM Festival*, Pt. 2, StBoT 28, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984, 12.

⁶⁷KBo 10.24 i 10-13. Cf. I. Singer, StBoT 28, 1984, 16.

⁶⁸Cf. I. Singer, StBoT 28, 1984, 52. Cf. the parallel passage in KBo 10.23 v 11'-25'.

⁶⁹KBo 30.14 v 7' KUŠ₁kur-še-iš.

- 4' go, and the [ani]mals of the gods—
 5' a leopard of silver, a lion of gold,
 6' a wild boar of silver, a wild boar of lapis,
 7' (and) a bear of silver—come and take
 8' their place with the deer.

Compare one of the outline tablets from the Festival, in which *huitar* refers to the pelts of this same menagerie:

KBo 25.180 rev⁷⁰

- 3' [...]x KUŠ PÌRIG.TUR KUŠ UR.MAH KUŠ ŠAH.GIŠ.GI
 4' [KUŠ AZ? ... KUŠ DÀ]RA.MAŠ *ú-da-an-zi*
 5' [... LÚSANGA dLAMM]A *šu-up-pí-iš* LÚSANGA dLAMMA-ya
 6' [*pa-a-an-zi?* ... LÚ*pal-wa-*]tal-la-aš kat-ti-iš-mi i-ya-at-ta

...

- 10' [...]KÁ *hu-u-it-na-aš da-pí-aš*
 11' [...]x-iz-zi GAL ME-ŠE-DI-ma-at LUGAL-i *pí-i[š-]ki-iz-zi*
 12' [...-z]i na-ar-ša-an GĒBANŠUR-i ti-i[š-kán-zi]

- 13' [...] KUŠ*kur-še-iš pa-a-an-z[i*
 14' [... UR.MA]H GUŠKIN ŠAH.GIŠ.G[I

- 3' [...] a leopard pelt, a lion pelt, a wild boar pelt,
 4' [a bear pelt? ...] (and) [a deer [pelt?]] they bring.
 5' [The priest of the Protec]tive Deity? and the pure priest of the Protective Deity
 6' [go? ... the *palwa*]talla-man walks with them.

...

- 10' [...]... of all the animals

⁷⁰Cf. I. Singer, StBoT 28, 1984, 97f.

11' he [...]s, but the chief of the royal body guards gives them to the king.

12' [...] he[...]s, and [they] s[et] them on the table.

13' [...] the copper hunting bags g[o].

14' [... a lio]n of gold, a wild boar of silver?

Elsewhere in the Festival, animals—specifically a boar and a leopard—are paraded again:⁷¹

KBo 25.12 ii 13'-20' + KBo 20.5 obv! 1'-8' (OS) with dupl. KBo 22.195 ii! 10'-16' + KBo 22.224 ii! 1'-6' (OH/MS) || KBo 21.68 i 1'-6' (LS)⁷²

13' [(LUGAL-uš SAL.LUGAL-aš-š)]a TUŠ-aš 2 a-ku-an-zi dI-na-ar

14' [dHa-ba-an-a]a-li GIŠ dINANNA.GAL LÚ.MEŠ⁷³hal-li-re-eš SÌR-R[U]

15' [IŠ-TU É d]I-na-ar šu-up-pí-iš-tu-wa-a⁷³-re-eš

16' [(ú-en-zi) hu-i-t]a-a-ar še-me⁷⁴-en-zi pé-e-re-eš ú-iz-zi

17' [(I-NA UD.2.KAM p)é-]e-re-eš⁷⁵ hu-i-ta⁷⁶-a-ar-ra NU.GÁL UGULA
LÚ.MEŠ⁷⁷ALA[(M. ZÚ)]

18' [(GŠ⁷⁸ma-ra-a-u)-i] e-eš-zi kur-ša-aš É-ir-za DINGIR.MEŠ ú-en-zi

19' [(ŠA LÚ.MEŠ UR.GI₇ DUGUD)] NÍG.BA-ŠU LUGAL-un pu-ú⁷⁷-nu-uš-ša-an-zi [

⁷¹Cf. the parallel, KBo 20.33, *infra*, p. 74.

⁷²Cf. I. Singer, *The Hittite KILAM Festival, Pt. 1*, StBoT 27, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, 95f.; StBoT 28, 1984, 34f.

⁷³KBo 22.195 ii! 12' omits -a-.

⁷⁴KBo 22.224 ii! 2' ša-m[e-.

⁷⁵KBo 22.224 ii! 3' -iš.

⁷⁶KBo 22.224 ii! 3' -da-.

⁷⁷KBo 22.224 ii! 5' omits -ú-.

- 20' [(I-NA UD.2.KAM NÍG.BA)] NU.GÁL LÚ.MEŠ GŠBANŠUR IN-BA-AM ti-an-
z[(i)]
-
- 13' The king and queen drink to two (deities) sitting: Inar
14' [and Haband]ali. The *haliri*-men play the large Istar instrument.
15' [From the temple of] Inar, the (ornamented) metal vessels?⁷⁸
16' come. [The anim]als pass. The *peri*- comes.
17' On the second day there are no *peri*- and animals. The overseer of the performers?
18' is sitting [on?] the *marau*-. The gods come from the house of the hunting bag.
19' They ask the king about the gift (of?) the dignitary of the dog-men. [
20' On the second day there is no gift. The table-men set out fruit.

The Story of Kešši also uses *huitar* to refer to game animals. When Kešši goes to the mountains to hunt, the gods hide all animals from him, and Kešši wanders about for three months in search of game:

KUB 33.121 ii (CTH 361 [NH])⁷⁹

- 12 na-aš I-NA HUR.SAG Na-ta-ra hu-ur-nu-wa-an-zi pa-it DINGIR.MEŠ-eš-kán mKe-eš-ši-
ya
13 iš-pa-an-du-uz-zi še-er kar-tim-mi-ya-u-wa-an-te-eš nu-uš-ši hu-u-i-tar
14 hu-u-ma-an pí-ra-an ar-ha mu-un-na-a-ir
15 [mK]e-eš-ši-iš ITL.3.KAM-aš HUR.SAG.MEŠ-aš an-da ú-e-ha-at-ta
-
- 13 Then he (Kešši) went to Mt. Natara to hunt. The gods (were) angry with Kešši
14 about the libations (which he had not performed), and they hid away all animals from
before him.

⁷⁸See I. Singer, StBoT 27, 1983, 96 for this translation of *šuppišnuwareš*.

⁷⁹Cf. J. Friedrich, "Churritische Märchen und Sagen in hethitischer Sprache," ZA 49, 1950, 234f.; CHD 3/3, 1986, 331; H. A. Hoffner, Jr., BiOr 40, 1983, 411.

15 Kešši wandered about for three months in the mountains.

In the Gurparanzah Legend, the mention of animals (*hūidar*) prior to the hero killing a *hartagga*- “bear” and to a reference to the *gimra*- “steppe” (KUB 36.67 ii 9’ff. [CTH 362])⁸¹ suggests that, in this case as well, *hūitar* refers to game animals.

In other references to wild fauna, *hūitar* is modified by *gimraš* “of the steppe,” as, for example, in the following passage from the trilingual hymn to the Weathergod (CTH 314):

KUB 4.8 obv⁸²

5 *na-aš LÍL-aš-š[a hu-i-ta-a]-ar*

6 *ú-e-ú-i[-da-i nu] SLHLA'-*q**

7 *ku-e-da-ni-p[á? ta-a]k'-ta-ku-w[a]-an-ta*

8 *LÚ HUL-aš-ma-za ku-iš Ú-UL me-em-ma-i*

9 *na-an SLHLA-it ú-e-ez[-za]-i*

5 He (the Weathergod) also strik[es?]

6 the [animal]s of the steppe, for whom,

7 ho[wever?], his horns are [c]overed.

8 But the wicked man who refuses—

9 him he strikes? with his horns.

The Weathergod will punish a man more viciously than an animal, presumably because a man can choose his actions, while an animal does not have the capability to do so.

In one of the plague prayers of Muršili II, the dichotomy between the animals of wild nature and the animals of the human sphere is clearly visible. The individual listing of each

⁸¹H. G. Güterbock, “Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestattung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern bis 1200,” ZA 44, 1938, 84f.

⁸²Cf. H. C. Melchert, “Three Hittite Etymologies,” KZ 93, 1979, 266; E. Laroche, “Un hymne trilingue à Iškur-Adad,” RA 58, 1964, 69-78, esp. 71ff.

of the domestic animals testifies to the importance of domestic animals for the well-being of Hittite society and contrasts sharply with the grouping of all the wild animals under the single phrase *gimraš hūitar*.

KUB 24.1 iv (NH) with dupl. KUB 24.2 rev 12'-16' (NH) (CTH 377)⁸²

- 9 A-NA LUGAL-*ma* SAL.LUGAL DUMU.MEŠ.LUG[(AL Û A-NA KUR URUHa-at-
ti)]
- 10 TI-tar *ha-ad-āu*⁸³-*la-tar in-na*[(-*ra-wa-tar* MU.KAM GÍD.DA)]
- 11 EGIR UD-MI *du-uš-ga-ra-at-ta-an*[(-*na pē-eš-ki*) *nu-uš-ma-aš* (*ha-l-ki-ya-aš*)]
- 12 GŠGEŠTIN-*aš* GŠše-*e-ša-an*⁸⁴-*na-aš* GUD.H[(I.A-*aš* UDU.HI.A-*aš* MÁŠ.HI.A)-
aš]
- 13 ŠAH-*aš* ANŠE.GİR.NUN.NA.HI.A-*aš* ANŠE.KUR.RA-*aš*⁸⁵ *g*[(*i-im-ra-aš hu-u-it-
ni-it*)]
- 14 DUMU.LÚ.ULÙ.LU-*aš-ša ša* EGIR UD-M[(*I mi-ya-a-tar pī-iš-ki*)]
- 9 But to the king, the queen, the princes and to the land of Hatti
- 10 give life, health, vigor, long years,
- 11 and future happiness! Give them a future abundance
- 12 of grain, of vines, of fruit, of cattle, of sheep, [of] goats,
- 13 of pigs, of mules, of horses (var. donkeys)—together with the animals of the
steppe—
- 14 and of humans!

⁸²Cf. O. R. Gurney, *Hittite Prayers of Mursili II* (=Liverpool Annals of Art and Archaeology 27), 1940, 32-35; H. C. Melchert, (diss., Harvard), 1977, #340; CHD 3/3, 1986, 237.

⁸³KUB 24.2 rev 12' -*at-tu*-.

⁸⁴KUB 24.2 rev 14' omits -*an*.

⁸⁵KUB 24.2 rev 15' ANŠE-*aš*.

The following curse formula, from a document concerning the Kaška, also names domestic animals with the “animals of the steppe,” but groups the latter with another aspect of the natural world—the mountains:

KUB 26.19 ii (CTH 140 [MH/NS])

42 [o o]É? .MEŠ-ŠU GUD.HLA-ŠU UDU.HLA-ŠU ÛZ.HLA-ŠU [

43 [o o o ^{GEŠ}GEŠ]TIN-it A.ŠÀ[.HĪ].A-ŠU KIRI₆.GEŠTIN.HLA-ŠU x[

44 [gi-im-r]a-aš hu-it-ni-it HUR.SAG.DIDLI.HLA-it [

45 [o o o har-ni-]in-kán-du ...

42 [...], his houses?, his cattle, his sheep, his ewes, [

43 [...] with (his) [vi]ne?, his fields, his vineyards, [

44 together with the animals of the [step]pe, with the mountains [and with ...

45 [...] let them [de]stroy.

The term *gimraš huitar* is not the only syntagm used for animals in Hittite texts.⁸⁷ In IBoT 2.9 + KUB 52.102 i 9' and ii 12' (CTH 670), we have a reference to *arunaš hūitar* *hūman* “all the animals of the sea,” which includes fish, frogs, and snakes (MUŠ).⁸⁸ In KUB 8.1 iii 9-10 (CTH 532) we find the phrase *daganzipaš huitār* in reference to grubs or some other form or forms of insect.⁸⁹ In another text, the phrase *taknaš huitar*, which is also to be translated “animals of the earth,” is used. In this instance, however, the reference is to all living creatures:

⁸⁷Other references to *gimraš huitar* include the cult inventory text, KUB 38.3 ii 8f. (CTH 502 [NH]), in which the image of Mt. Iški[-...] is said to have “the name of the king and the animals of the steppe engraved on it” (C. G. von Brandenstein, *Hethitische Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen in Keilschrifttexten*, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1943, 18; L. Jakob-Rost, “Zu den hethitischen Bildbeschreibungen,” *MIO* 8, 1963, 184), and the Hittite Gilgamesh Epic, which twice refers to “animals of the steppe” (KUB 8.62 i 2, 4 [CTH 341 (NS)]).

⁸⁸Cf. *infra*, pp. 229f.

⁸⁹Cf. *infra*, p. 283.

KUB 36.2d iii (CTH 343)⁹⁰

- 40' *nu a-pa-a-aš GIM-an :ni-wa-ra-al-le-e[š KU]R.KUR.MEŠ-ya QA-TAM-MA*
- 41' *[:n]i-wa-ra-la-at-ta nu nam-ma DINGIR.MEŠ-aš[...] NINDA.KUR₄.RA iš-pa-an-
du-uz-zi*
- 42' *[Ú-U]L ku-iš-ki pa-a-i ki-nu-un-ma [...]mu^dNa-a-ra ŠEŠ-mi*
- 43' *[o i]š-ta-ma-aš nu ták-na-aš hu-u-i-tar [h]u-u-ma-an ni-n[i-ik*
- 44' *[nu-uš-š]i⁷-kán HUR.SAGNa-šai-ma-an [...]x x[*
- 40' Just as that one (is) rebellious?, likewise the lands are also
- 41' rebellious?. Then for the gods [...] the offering loaf (and) libation
- 42' [n]o one will provide. But now for me Nara, my brother [...]
- 43' [... h]ear! Li[ft u]p all the animals of the earth! [
- 44' [and for] him [...] Mt. Našalma (acc.) [

Another occasion in which *hūitar* has a more general meaning may be found in KUB 3.94 ii (CTH 306). This vocabulary text provides a list of insect pest names in lines 18-26.⁹¹ The first line of this list gives the Sumerian DAG.KISIM₅xGÍR = Akk. *ši-i-ru* = Hitt. *hu-u-i-tar-za ku-it KLMIN*. Although the Hittite verb is lost behind the KLMIN, it is likely that this designation is a general heading for the animals that follow in the next eight lines, and that *hūitar* means “living creatures,” with the more specific sense in this context of “vermin.”

⁹⁰Cf. H. Otten, *Mythen vom Gotte Kumarbi* (=VIO 3), Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1950, 12. For Mt. Našalma, see H. Gonnet, “Les montagnes d’Asie Mineure d’après les textes hittites,” *RHA* 26/83, 1968, 149. Compare also KUB 36.2b ii 10': *[hu-u-i-da-a]r UR.BAR.RA.MEŠ*.

⁹¹Cf. J. Puhvel, *Sprache* 32, 1986, 55; H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *Alimenta Hethaeorum: Food production in Hittite Asia Minor*, New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1974, 87ff.; *infra*, p. 281f.

According to some scholars,⁹¹ *huitar* is an all-encompassing term for animal life that can be divided into wild fauna (*šuppala-*) and livestock (GUD UDU). This division is not valid, however, since *šuppala-* does not refer to wild animals, but to livestock only. GUD UDU also refers to certain livestock, probably ovines, bovines, and caprines (excluding equines), while MÁŠ.ANŠE refers to herds of wild or domestic ruminants.

When used alone, *huitar* may refer to livestock or to wild animals. If wild animals are meant, sometimes *huitar* will occur with the genitive *ginraš*. Similarly, any time some other subsection of the animal world is at issue, such a specification will be used. Thus we find the terms *daganzipaš huitar* “animals of the earth,” and *arunaš huitar*, “animals of the sea.” On only two occasions does *huitar* appear to be used to refer to both domestic and wild animals in the same context. The phrase used in one case is *taknaš hūitar hūman* “all the animals of the earth.”⁹² The other example is the list of animals in KUB 7.33 obv 5-9 (infra, p. 272), which includes animals from both categories.

⁹¹E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire de Mythologies*, 1981, 35; R. Lebrun, *L'animal*, 1984, 95.

⁹²KUB 36.2d iii 43', supra, p. 28.

Chapter II. CARNIVORES

Section A. UR.MAH (c.) "lion": Hittite **walwa*-⁹³

sg. nom. UR.MAH KUB 8.41 ii 6', iii 18 (OS), KBo 10.2 ii 18, iii 1 (OH/NS), KBo 10.23 v 18' (OH/NS), KUB 2.2 ii 7 (OH/NS), KUB 24.4 rev 3 (MH/MS), KUB 12.62 obv 16 (preNH/NS), KBo 3.8 iii 29 (NH), KBo 4.1 rev 7 (NH), KUB 24.3 ii 45 (NH), KUB 24.7 ii 21 (NS), KBo 18.167 i 6', KUB 23.102 ii 7; UR.MA[H] KUB 31.143 ii 26 (OS), KUB 38.2 ii 19'; UR.MAH-*as* KUB 29.1 i 28 (OH/NS), VBoT 120 ii 5' (MH/NS), KUB 12.62 obv 13, rev 1 (preNH/NS), KUB 24.7 iii 24 (NS), KBo 25.112 iii 16'; UR.MAH-*is* KBo 3.22 obv 26 (OS), KUB 44.1 obv 4', KUB 48.117 obv 9.

sg. acc. UR.MAH KUB 12.63 i 26 (OH/MS), KUB 35.148 iv 11' (OH/NS), KBo 21.6 obv 9 (earlyNS), KBo 10.25 vi 5' (NS), KBo 21.12 rev[?] 19' (NS), KBo 3.8 iii 11 (NH), KUB 38.3 ii 13 (NH), KBo 30.14 v 8', KBo 30.78 rev[?] 5', KUB 11.21 ii 5', KUB 35.145 rev 14', KUB 38.26 obv 24', 643/z i 6⁹⁴; U[R.MAH] KUB 38.26 rev 16; [UR.MAH] KUB 12.63 i 31 (OH/MS); [(UR.MAH)] KBo 25.193 obv 11'; UR.MAH-*an* KUB 44.4 rev 32 (NH), KUB 21.40 iii 23', KUB 36.25 iv 12, IBoT 3.106

⁹³The reading **walwa*- for the sumerogram UR.MAH has been established by H. Otten, "Noch einmal hethitisch 'Löwe'," *WO* 5, 1969, 94-95. For a rehearsal of the argument, see M. Poetto, *La collezione anatolica de E. Borowski* (= *Studia Mediterranea* 3), Pavia, 1981, 21, n. 29. The Hieroglyphic Luwian is *walwa/i-*, the protohittite is *takkiha-* (E. Laroche, *Les noms des hittites*, Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1966, 252; F. Steinherr, "Das Wort für Löwe im Hieroglyphen-Hethitischen, *WO* 4, 1967/68, 320). For UR.MAH as part of a man's name see E. Laroche, *Les noms des hittites*, 1966, 204, 226ff. Cf. *wa-al-ú-i-in* (luw.[?], KBo 12.96 iv 2), edited by B. Rosenkranz, "Ein neues hethitisches Ritual für ^DLAMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*," *Or* 33, 1964, 240, 250.

⁹⁴H. Otten, *Materialien zum hethitischen Lexikon*, StBoT 15, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971, 47.

rev 4'; sg. acc.⁹⁵ UR.MA[H] KUB 15.5 iii 45; sg. nom. or acc. UR.MAH VBoT 87 iv 3', KUB 38.11 obv⁹⁶ 7'.

sg. gen. UR.MAH KUB 1.17 v 28 (OH/NS), KUB 17.34 iv 5 (OH/NS), KBo 19.128 v 40' (OH⁹⁷/NS), KUB 27.1 iv 22, 32 (NH), KBo 4.13 vi 1, KBo 9.91 obv 17, KBo 9.105 : 6', KBo 18.172 obv 10', KBo 24.118 vi 27', KBo 25.180 rev 3', KUB 10.89 : 20, KUB 15.5 iii 48, KUB 22.27 iv 37, KUB 28.87 rev 7', KUB 31.24 : 6', KUB 34.87 obv 3', 6', 8', KUB 42.21 i 4, KUB 42.27 : 4', KUB 43.7 iii 7, KUB 48.119 rev⁹⁸ 9', IBoT 1.31 obv 2, 12, 20; UR.M[AH] KBo 8.63 i 7'; UR[.MAH] KBo 8.120 i 2; UR.MAH-*aš* KUB 1.16 ii 39 (OH/NS), KUB 29.1 ii 54 (OH/NS), KUB 34.19 i 6' (NH), KUB 12.1 iv 22'; ŠA UR.MAH KBo 21.22 obv 13', 27' (OH/MS), KUB 20.54 + KBo 13.122 rev 8' (OH⁹⁷/NS), KUB 29.1 ii 42 (OH/NS), KUB 9.31 i 6 (MH/NS), KBo 12.85 iii 6' (MH/NS), KBo 13.35 iii 9' (NH), KBo 19.131 : 1', KUB 12.24 iv 6, 10, 14, KUB 38.20 obv 3', KUB 43.8 iiia 10', KUB 48.123 i 19', KUB 55.2 rev 4; UR.MAH-*un* (Hattic) KBo 25.121 i 13'.

sg. d.-l. UR.MAH KUB 12.62 obv 11 (preNH/NS), KBo 13.241 rev 11' (NH), KUB 44.4 rev 23 (NH), KUB 38.2 ii 20'; UR.MAH-*i* KUB 16.16 obv 24'; ANA UR.MAH KUB 7.24 i 3 (NH), KUB 15.5 ii 40, KUB 30.37 i 4.

unclear UR.MAH KUB 44.42 obv 7' (NS), KUB 31.59 iii 4 (LS), KBo 12.56 i 14', KBo 17.24 i 2', KBo 18.175 v 14, KUB 4.74 rev 1, KBo 18.176 i 2', KBo 20.36 obv⁹⁹ 6', KBo 22.84 : 7', KBo 25.180 rev⁹⁹ 14', KUB 29.12 i 6, 643/z i 1⁹⁵, KBo 18.153 rev 3', KUB 42.65 rev⁹⁹ 6', KUB 48.117 obv 14, KUB 48.123 iv 24; UR.M[AH] KBo 26.147 : 9'; UR.MAH[...] Bo 563 : 3⁹⁶; UR.MA[H...] KUB 44.16 ii⁹⁷ 3'; UR.MAH-*aš* Bo 1391 obv 2, 3, 6 (NH)⁹⁷.

⁹⁵E. Neu, *Interpretation der hethitischen mediopassiven Verbalformen*, StBoT 5, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971, 47.

⁹⁶L. Jakob-Rost, "Zu den hethitischen Bildbeschreibungen," *MIO* 9, 1963, 175.

⁹⁷F. Starke, *Die keilschrift-luwischen Texte in Umschrift*, StBoT 30, Wiesbaden: Otto

pl. nom. UR.MAH KUB 12.1 iii 36, 38, KUB 42.10 iv⁷ 7'; **UR.MAH.HI.A** KUB 25.17 i 5' (OH⁷/NS), KUB 8.1 ii 3' (NH); **pl. acc. UR.MAH** KUB 26.71 i 8' (OH/NS), KUB 36.98b obv 7', 8' (OH/NS); **UR.MAH.HI.A** KUB 26.71 i 9' (OH/NS); **UR.MAH.MEŠ** KUB 8.50 ii 13 (NH); **U[R.MAH.MEŠ]** KUB 17.3 iii 3 (NH); **pl. gen. UR.MAH** KUB 12.1 iv 17', KUB 33.121 iii 13' (NH); **ŠA UR.MAH.HI.A** KBo 16.68 iv¹ 8' (OH/MS), KBo 10.35 i 10', 1620/c : 6', 11⁹⁸; **UR[.MAH]** KUB 42.11 v 24; **pl. d.-l. ANA UR. MAH[(.MEŠ)]** KUB 17.1 ii 11 (NH).

abstract UR.MAH-tar KBo 8.61 : 3', KUB 48.126 i 22'.

1. Introduction

The lion belongs first in any discussion of the role of wild animals in Hittite culture, since it has perhaps the best documented and most extensive symbolic range of any wild animal to be discussed here. The lion (*Panthera leo*) inhabited Anatolia until the end of the last century. Four bones have been found at Boghazköy—the only lion remains to have been recovered from second millennium Anatolia. No other period or site in Anatolia has produced lion remains in any number.⁹⁹ The small number of remains is consistent with what we find for wild animals in general, both in Anatolia and elsewhere. Although they were not often seen in Hittite daily life, wild animals were used liberally in symbolic thought.

Harrassowitz, 1985, 254f.; H. Th. Bossert, "Untersuchung hieroglyphenhethitischer Wörter," *MIO* 3, 1955, 70; H. Otten, "Pirva—Der Gott auf dem Pferde," *JKF* 2, 1953, 65 (copy).

⁹⁸I. Singer, *StBoT* 27, 1983, 165.

⁹⁹Cf. A. von den Driesch and J. Boessneck, *Reste von Haus- und Jagdtieren aus der Unterstadt von Boğazköy-Hattuša* (=Boğazköy-Hattuša XI), Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1981, 55f.

2. *Lion Motifs in Anatolian Iconography and Hittite Texts*

Felines are one of the most frequently represented animals in the iconography of pre-Hittite Anatolia. It is impossible to certainly determine how many of these representations are of lions. In the second millennium, however, the lion became a distinctive and pervasive image on seals, in sculpture, and in reliefs. It is easily distinguished (except in some sealings) by its large head, open mouth, pronounced teeth and protruding tongue.

A large body of texts testifies to artistic representations of lions in a number of forms, including figurines,¹⁰⁰ rhyta,¹⁰¹ and parts of furniture.¹⁰² Lion figurines in the texts are matched by a number of lion-shaped vessels found at Boghazköy, such as one set of three lion-shaped vessels, which are crouched, and were either mounted on a base or were equipped with wheels.¹⁰³ An early Old Hittite seal impression of a lion with an open

¹⁰⁰Lion figurines in the texts may be found in the following: KBo 4.1 rev 7, KBo 8.61 : 3', KBo 10.25 vi 5', KBo 12.56 i 14', KBo 17.24 : 2', KBo 18.153 rev 3', KUB 12.1 iii 36, 38, KUB 38.11 obv² 7', KUB 42.10 iv² 7', KUB 48.126 i 22', VBoT 87 iv 3'.

¹⁰¹Lion-shaped rhyta are found in KBo 4.13 vi 1, KBo 8.63 i 7', KBo 8.120 i 2', KBo 19.128 v 40', KUB 1.17 v 28, KUB 10.89 i 20, KUB 27.1 iv 22, 32, KUB 34.87 obv 3', 6', 8', KUB 38.20 obv 3', KUB 48.119 rev² 9'. Where material is specified, the rhyton is typically of gold. A lion shaped protome vessel (GÜ UR.MAH) is mentioned in KBo 9.91 obv 17. For GÜ "protome" and BIBRU "rhyton," see H. G. Güterbock, "Hethitische Götterbilder und Kultobjekte," *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasien, Festschrift für Kurt Bittel*, Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1983, 212f., with nn. 64-74; K. Bittel, *Beitrag zur Kenntnis hethitischer Bildkunst*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1976, 10. On lion-head vessels in Mesopotamia and Anatolia, see K. Deller, "'SAG.DU UR.MAH,' Löwenkopfsitula, Löwenkopfbecher," *BagM* 16, 1985, 327-346 and *BagM* 18, 1987, 219f.

¹⁰²A lion's paw of ivory is listed in KBo 18.172 obv 10' (CTH 522); a bed of ivory with four lion feet covered with gold is mentioned in KBo 18.175 v 14; and KBo 18.176 i 2' (CTH 241) refers again to a lion's paws. IBoT 1.31 obv 2, 12, KUB 42.27 : 4', and KUB 42.21 i 4 (CTH 241) describe red reed baskets that have legs shaped like a lion's paw.

¹⁰³W. Orthmann, in *Boğazköy VI: Funde aus den Grabungen bis 1979*, K. Bittel, et al., Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1984, 55 and Abb. 24, 215; 25, 216. Lion vessels have also been found at Kültepe-Kanesh (T. Özgüç, *Kültepe-Kaniş: New Researches at the Center of the Assyrian Trade Colonies* (=TTKY V/19), 1959, Pl. XLIV, 1; *Kültepe-Kaniş II: New Researches at the Trading Center of the Ancient Near East* (=TTKY V/41), 1986, Pls. 114, 1; G, 6). Parts of other lion figurines have been found as well (K. Bittel, et al., *Boğazköy III: Funde aus den Grabungen 1952-1955*, Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1957,

mouth is one of the earliest examples of a lion in Hittite iconography.¹⁰⁴

Lion motifs are equally numerous and varied. In the iconography, these motifs include two lions vis-à-vis,¹⁰⁵ a lion with a bull,¹⁰⁶ a lion with a deer (infra, pp. 151-154), and others. A detailed study of these relationships in the art of Anatolia, similar to Curtiss Hoffman's research into the Mesopotamian glyptic,¹⁰⁷ is badly needed.

Monumental lion statuary was most popular in the Neo-Hittite region of northern Syria and southern Anatolia in the beginning of the first millennium.¹⁰⁸ An early example comes from Kültepe-Kanesh, level Ib, where a piece of the lower jaw of a monumental stone lion was found.¹⁰⁹ Hittite period examples include Hattusa's Lion Gate¹¹⁰ and a fourteenth century cornerstone depicting a lion pouncing on a calf that is held beneath its outstretched forelegs.¹¹¹ Post-Hittite period examples are found at Carchemish,¹¹²

Tf. 26, 1-4).

¹⁰⁴T. Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik von Boğazköy* (=Boğazköy-Hattuša V, 1. Teil), Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1967, Tf. I, 56.

¹⁰⁵K. Bittel, *et al.*, *Boğazköy III*, 1957, Tf. 31, 35.

¹⁰⁶Examples of this motif include a number of Hittite seals published in T. Beran, *Boğazköy-Hattuša V*, 1967, Tf. III, 127, 129, 130, 134, 135; Tf. 10, 125, 126. In each of these examples, the two animals face each other on the outside ring of the stamp seal, except no. 134, where the two animals face away from each other.

¹⁰⁷See C. Hoffman, (diss., Yale University), 1974.

¹⁰⁸For an artistic analysis of lions in late Hittite monumental art see E. Akurgal, *Späthethitische Bildkunst*, Ankara: Archaeologisches Institut der Universität Ankara, 1949, 39-79.

¹⁰⁹See T. Özgüç, *Belleten* 18, 1954, 445-447; K. Bittel, *Historia* 7, 1964, 131, n. 3.

¹¹⁰M. Veyra, *Hittite Art 2300-75 B.C.*, London: A. Tiranti, 1955, Pl. 12. See H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "Histories and Historians of the Ancient Near East: The Hittites," *Or* 49, 1980, 297, who suggests that the Lion Gate at Hattuša may have portrayed royal attributes.

¹¹¹See H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien: Kunst und Handwerk in Kleinasien von den Anfängen bis zum völligen Aufgehen in der Griechischen Kultur*, Berlin: E. Wasmuth, 1942, nos. 524-525.

¹¹²E. Akurgal, *Späth.*, 1949, Tfn. VIb, VII-XI.

Zincirli,¹¹³ Tell Açana,¹¹⁴ Malatya,¹¹⁵ Göllü Dağ,¹¹⁶ Maraş,¹¹⁷ and Havuzköy.¹¹⁸ These statues used to guard entryways.¹¹⁹

Scenes of lion hunts are not quite as popular in Anatolian art as deer hunts. Lion hunts typically involve the use of a spear, or bow and arrow, and dog(s). Some later, Assyrian-influenced examples include a chariot.¹²⁰ One of the most popular themes in the Cappadocian seals is that of the hero or the bull-man vanquishing a lion.¹²¹ Other seals from Kültepe depict a hunter who uses a spear to fell the lion.¹²²

¹¹³E. Akurgal, *Spaeth.*, 1949, Tfn. IV, V, VIa.

¹¹⁴H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, nos. 577-580.

¹¹⁵K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1976, Tf. 277; H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 763; M. Vieyra, *Hittite Art*, 1955, Pls. 60-61.

¹¹⁶K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, 1976, Pl. 323; H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, nos. 798-799.

¹¹⁷K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, 1976, Pl. 314; H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 803; M. Vieyra, *Hittite Art*, 1955, Pl. 71.

¹¹⁸H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 802.

¹¹⁹For the apotropaic use of the lion see M. Hörig, *Dea Syria: Studien zur religiösen Tradition der Fruchtbarkeitsgöttin*, AOAT 208, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1979, 53f.

¹²⁰See the lion-hunt relief from Malatya (H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 767; M. Vieyra, *Hittite Art*, 1955, Pl. 67). Note the posture of the lion, standing on its hind legs, head reversed with its forelegs spread in the air in an impossible gesture that both anthropomorphizes the animal and strengthens the sense of power that it maintains despite the arrow in its back. Compare also the nearly identical deer hunt relief (H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 764; M. Vieyra, *Hittite Art*, 1955, Pl. 66), which depicts dog, chariot, men, and horse in the same manner. The only differences in the deer scene are that there is no arrow piercing the deer's back, and the deer is facing forward and running in a natural pose. Other examples of lion hunt scenes include H. G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy II*, (*AfO Beiheft* 7), Berlin, 1942, no. 220; H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 520.

¹²¹See N. Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group of Cylinder Seal Impressions from Kültepe* (=TTKY V/22), Ankara, 1965, nos. 8, 12, 14, 15, 17, 27, 29, 30, 35, 37, 42, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 58, 62, 75, 77, 78, 83, 86.

¹²²N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, nos. 28, 62, 81, 82, 91.

Lion hunts are mentioned in the texts only in the legendary contexts of the Story of Kešši the Hunter: *nu-kán mKi-iš-ši-iš A-NA UR.MAH[(.MEŠ pa-it)]* “then Kešši went after lions” (KUB 17.1 ii 11' with dupl. KUB 33.121 iii 13' [CTH 361]);¹²³ and in the Hittite Gilgamesh Epic (KUB 8.50 ii 13 and KUB 17.3 iii 3f. [CTH 341]),¹²⁴ both New Hittite texts. The Anitta Chronicle (CTH 1) includes lions in the list of animals hunted and brought back to Neša by King Anitta.¹²⁵

Beyond these few indications, evidence for hunting is limited to the occasional mention of lion hides, heads and so forth.¹²⁶ The scarcity of bone remains in the archaeological record is typical of a wild animal and indicates that lions were not kept. It also suggests that lions were not widely hunted, a notion that is supported by the fact that most lion hunt depictions in the iconography are late and may be a result of Mesopotamian influence.¹²⁷ Lions may have been hunted as dangerous pests in the more rural areas, and were possibly hunted for sport by the nobility. That the lion was a menace to rural life and farming is illustrated by the statue described above from Alaca Hüyük of a lion pouncing on a calf, and by a number of seal impressions that depict lions attacking other animals.¹²⁸

¹²³Cf. J. Friedrich, *ZA* 49, 1950, 238f.

¹²⁴See E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 1968, 19.

¹²⁵KBo 3.22 rev 60-63 (OS), with dupls. KUB 26.71 i 8'-10', KUB 36.98b obv 7'-9'.

¹²⁶Six lion heads are mentioned in KUB 12.1 iv 17' (CTH 504), followed in line 22' by a mention of lion meat (UZU UR.MAH). A lion's head and a leopard's head are mentioned in KUB 28.87 rev 7' (CTH 726), and another can be found in KUB 31.24 : 6' (CTH 522). Lion pelts appear in KBo 21.12 rev? 19 and in KUB 17.34 iv 5 (CTH 732 [OH/NS]). A hunting bag is listed next to a leopard and lion in KUB 11.21 ii 5' (KUŠ_{kuršaš} PIRIG.TUR UR.MAH [CTH 669]).

¹²⁷On this point see A. Ünal, “Löwe,” *RIA* 7, 1987, 86.

¹²⁸See for example, N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, nos. 47, 50, 74, 98. The animals being attacked are a bull, a gazelle or goat, an equid, and a goat, respectively.

3 *Symbolism*

The lion was a dangerous animal, and as such was exploited for apotropaic purposes, both in the art and in the written sources. In the Ritual of Pittei ("CTH 520"), a lion, wolf and snake are introduced amid sanctions for the protection of a newborn child:

KUB 44.4 + KBo 13.241 rev (NH)¹²⁹

- 22 "O tongues, o tongues, where are you goin[g]?" "We are going to the rock for stretching out? ...
- 23 To flint? for breakin[g] we are [g]oin[g]; (to) the lion for pouncing likewise;
- 24 (to) the wolf for prowling likewise; (to) the mortal for seizing? likewise."
- ...
- 30 "Whoever should prepare evil for this chil[d], let him see the broad heaven!
- 31 Let him see the yawning? earth! The great deity, the *:palpadami* deity likewise! The *:papartama* Istar
- 32 let him see! A *zappiya*- fate likewise! The springing lion likewise! The prowling¹³⁰ wolf let him see!
- 33 The feet [of] the snake let him see! —whoever gives the evil eye to? this child, whoever prepares evil for him!"

The Ritual of Tunnawiya mentions a lion and a wolf in an incantation designed to ward off evil:

¹²⁹For a transliteration of this text see G. M. Beckman, *Hittite Birth Rituals*, StBoT 29, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, 178. The translation provided is largely his. Cf. also F. Starke, StBoT 30, 1985, 235f. Cf. the similar text, KUB 35.145 rev 14' (G. M. Beckman, StBoT 29, 1983, 194).

¹³⁰In the context presented here, the wolf should be dangerous or fearsome in the same way as the pouncing lion, hence, H. A. Hoffner, Jr. (personal communication) suggests translating the verb *patalhai*- "to track (a prey)." Cf. J. D. Hawkins, F. Starke, "The Logogram 'LITUUS' and the Verbs 'to See' in Hieroglyphic Luwian," *Kadmos* 19, 1980, 144, n. 6.

KBo 21.6 obv with dupls. KBo 25.193 obv 8'-12' (CTH 448 [earlyNS])¹³¹

- 6 [m]a-ah-ha-an-ma-aš-ša-an G^ŠIG G^Šwa-wa-ar-ki-mi ú-e[(-eh-zī) i-da-a-lu-uš]
 7 [U]D-az ma-ni-in-ku-wa-an-za MU-za DINGIR.MEŠ-aš kar-pí-iš pa-an[-ga-u-wa-aš
 EME-aš]
 8 KASKAL-az EGIR-pa ne-y[a-ru]
-
- 9 UR.MAH za-am-ni-ya-an pé-e-da-ú UR.BAR.RA-m[a¹³² (ták-ša-)ni pé-e-da-ú]
 10 ke-e da-šu-wa-an-te-eš ke-e-ma du-ud-du-m[i-ya-an-te-eš ke-e-ma ú-wa-an-zi]
 11 Ú-UL ke-e-ma iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-an-zi Ú-U[L nu an-ni-iš-ki-iz-zi ku-in]
 12 an-tu-uh-ša-an na-an-kán ŠUM-an te-ez-z[i]
-
- 6 As the door turns on its hinge, (so) let the [evil]
 7 [da]y, the short year, the anger of the gods, (and) co[mmon gossip]
 8 rever[se] (their) path.
-
- 9 Let him/her bring a destructive² lion, but a wolf [let him bring to] the center.
 10 These (are) blind, but these (are) deaf. These] cannot [see,]
 11 but these cannot hear. [Which] person
 12 [she is treating], she names him.

For the Hittites the lion was the quintessential predator. Aggressive and powerful, it represented two fundamentals of Hittite ideology, military might and political power. As a symbol of power, it was inextricably linked with the Hittite throne as a metaphor for the king. Divine power could be represented by the lion, as in the case of Wašezzili and the Weathergod (see *infra*, pp. 45 and 46 respectively). As a symbol of military strength, the lion was used in numerous similes to illustrate aggression and victory and was linked with

¹³¹Cf. M. Hutter, *Behexung, Entsühnung und Heilung: Das Ritual der Tunnawiya für ein Königspaar aus mittelheithitischer Zeit* (KBo XXI 1 - KUB IX 34 - KBo XXI 6), (=Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 82), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988, 42ff., 91ff.

¹³²KBo 25.193 obv 11' UR.BAR.RA-aš.

various deities to represent the aggressive side of their natures.

a. Kingship

The lion is used as a metaphor for the king for the first time in the Anitta Chronicle (CTH 1), one of the few times it is found outside of the documents of Hattušili I.¹³³

KBo 3.22 obv (OS) || KUB 36.98 : 12'-14' (NS)¹³⁴

- 22 *ku-i[(š a)]m-me-el a-ap-pa-an LUGAL-uš ki-i-ša-r[i*
 23 *UR[U -]x-an URUHar-ki-ú-na-an-na URUNe-e-[ša-aš*
 24 *a-a[p-pa] l[e-e] ku-iš-ki a-ša-a-ši URUNe-e[-ša-aš-ša a-pa-aš²]*
 25 *ku-r[u-u]r e-eš-tu nu a-pa-aš ut-ni-an-da-an hu-u-m[a-an-da-an]*
 26 *k[u-ru-ur] e-eš-tu nu UR.MAH-iš ma-a-an ut-n[e-e*

- 22 Whoever becomes king after me,
 23 the city [...] and the city Harkiuuna n[o] one [from] Ne[ša]
 24 will later resettle. Let [he (who does)] be
 25 an enemy of Neša, and let that one be an e[nemy]
 26 of the wh[ole] population. And as a lion the la[nd] ...

Although little is preserved from the reigns of many Old Hittite kings, the texts that are extant, other than those of Hattušili I, do not employ the lion-king metaphor. Muršili I is once referred to as a lion, but this occurs in the Political Testament of Hattušili I, whose author uses it to help justify his controversial appointment of Muršili as his heir:

¹³³Cf. already H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *Or* 49, 1980, 297.

¹³⁴Cf. E. Neu, *Der Anitta-Text*, StBoT 18, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974, 10f.

KUB 1.16 ii (CTH 6 [OH/NS])¹³⁵

37 [k]a-a-aš-ma mMu-ur-ši-li-is DUMU-Y[A nu-z]a a-pu[-u-un še-ek-te-en]
 38 [nu-u]s-sa-an a-pu-u-un a-še-eš-te-e[n a-pé-]e-d[a-ni me-ek-ki ŠÀ-ir DINGIR.
 MEŠ-]za pí-ya-an-pát

39 [DINGIR-]LIM-iš UR.MAH-aš pí-di UR[.MAH-an-pát ti-it-ta-nu-zi ...]

37 But now Muršili (is) m[y] son, [and you must recognize] hi[m]
 38 [and e]stablish him (on the throne). [Upon that one much heart] was placed by (lit.
 from) [the gods] indeed.
 39 [The g]od [will install only] a li[on] in the place of the lion.

Here, the lion is a symbol of kingship. In Hattušili's Annals, it is less a symbol of the king's authority than of his aggression and military might:

KBo 10.2 ii (CTH 4 [OH/NS])¹³⁶

17 nu kap-p[u]-wa-an-da-aš UḪ.KAM.HLA-aš IDPu-u-ru-n[a-an]
 18 zi-ih-hu-[un] nu KUR URUHa-aš-šu-wa UR.MAH GIM-an
 19 GİR.HLA-i[t a]r-ha ša-ak-ku-ri-ya-nu-un

17 And within a few days I cross[ed]
 18 the Euphrate[s] and overcame? Haššuwa
 19 like a lion wi[th] (its) paws.

iii

1 URUHa-ah-ha-an-ma-za-kán UR.MAH ma-ah-ha-an
 2 ar-ha tar-ku-wa-al-li-iš-ki-nu-un

¹³⁵The restorations are based on F. Sommer and A. Falkenstein, *Die Hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattušili I*, 1938, 7.

¹³⁶Cf. F. Imparati and C. Saporetti, "L'Autobiografia di Hattušili I," *SCO* 14, 1965, 40-76, esp. 48f.; Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, "The History of Warfare According to Hittite Sources: The Annals of Hattusilis I (Part II)," *Anatolica* 11, 1984, 47-83, esp. 50.

3 *nu URUZi-ip-pa-aš-ša-na-an har-ni-in-ku-un*

1 Like a lion

2 I fended off¹³⁷ Hahha

3 and destroyed Zippašna.

Compare also the Akkadian:¹³⁸

KBo 10.1 obv

34 i-na u₄-ma-ti-ma ir-ti [Í]^DPu-ra-an ki-i-ma UR.MAH LUGAL.GAL it-te-ti-iq

35 URUHa-aš-šu-wa ki-i-ma UR.MAH i-na ri-it-ti-šu «iš-ta'-pá-ak-šu» ep-ra-am

36 a-na mu-ni-šu iš-ta'-pá-ak-šu ...

34 In a few days the great king crossed the bank of the Euphrates like a lion.

35 Like a lion with its claws

36 he piled up earth upon Haššuwa ...

rev

2 ... ù URUHa-ah-[h]i ki-ma UR.MAH

3 [at-ta-na-]ak-la-mu-šu URUZi-paš_x-na ú-hal-liq

2 And like a lion [I continually looked] angrily at

3 Hahhu, and I destroyed Zip(p)ašna.

In the Empire period, both Muwatalli and Hattušili III used the lion-king epithet. The respective passages are both open to interpretation, however. The broken second column of the well-known letter of Muwatalli to Adadnirari (CTH 171) contains the following

¹³⁷For this translation see H. C. Melchert, "The Acts of Hattušili I," *JNES* 37, 1978, 20: "The image here is that of a lion holding a rival at bay with a threatening gesture while devouring his kill. In the same way Hattušili finishes off Zippašna while fending off the troops of Hahha."

¹³⁸For a discussion of both the Hittite and Akkadian versions, see A. Goetze, *JCS* 16, 1962, 24-28. More recently, see F. Imparati and C. Saporetti, *SCO* 14, 1965, 40-85; H. C. Melchert, *JNES* 37, 1978, 1-22.

tantalizing lines:

KUB 23.102 ii

6 *nu-mu za-ah-ha[-it ú-it]*¹³⁹

7 UR.MAH GIM-a[n

8 A-NA GUD.MAH x[

6 And against me [he came? in?] batt[le].

7 Like a lion [I defeated?

8 to the bull [

If this is indeed an example of the lion-king metaphor in reference to Muwatalli, then it is likely that the use of this metaphor was not specific to Hattušili I in the Old Kingdom after all. Hattusili III, on the other hand, may have used the lion metaphor in imitation of his well-known distant predecessor and namesake. By referring to himself in the same way as the former king, his own position would be validated:

KBo 1.14 obv (CTH 173)

18 ... am-mi-ni a-na ya-ši UR.MAH

19 LÚ.MEŠ URU^{URU}Tu-u-ri-ya SUM-ya ú-uz-za-nu-ni-ni

18 Why do the men of Turiya sniff at? ¹⁴⁰

19 the gift of me, the lion?

This phrase could be a proverbial image, as Beckman suggests,¹⁴¹ and possibly is a

¹³⁹Alternatively, *ú-wa-aš* “you came.”

¹⁴⁰For the translation of this verb see G. M. Beckman, “Proverbs and Proverbial Allusions in Hittite,” *JNES* 45, 1986, 24, n. 34.

¹⁴¹G. Beckman, *JNES* 45, 1986, 24f.

reference to an apologue,¹⁴² in which case the lion metaphor would not be a conscious metaphor for the king at all.¹⁴³

In a passage from the Foundation Ritual (CTH 414), the king is endowed with the most desirable qualities that the eagle and lion have to offer:

KUB 29.1 ii (OH/NS)¹⁴⁴

52 ALAM-iš-ši AN.NA-aš i-e-er SAG.DU-ZU AN.BAR-aš

53 i-e-er ša-a-ku-wa-aš-ši ÁMUŠEN-aš i-e-er

54 ZÚ.HLA-ma-aš-ši UR.MAH-aš i-e-er

52 They made his frame of tin. They made his head

53 of iron. They made his the eyes of an eagle.

54 They made his the teeth of a lion.

Compare to this two passages from CTH 820¹⁴⁵:

KBo 21.22 obv (OH/MS)

25' ... e-eš-ri-še-et-wa GIBIL-an GAB-ŠU GIBIL

26' [SAG-]ZU-wa GIBIL-an LÚ-ar-še-et-wa ne-e-wa-an

27' [ZÚ.H]LA-ŠU-wa ŠA UR.MAH IG[L.H]A-ŠU-wa h]a-a-ra-na-[aš]

28' [nu-wa ha]-a-ra-ni-li ša'-ku->i[š-ki-iz-zi¹⁴⁶]

¹⁴²A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography* (=YOSR 2), New Haven, 1940, 28, n. 113.

¹⁴³KUB 21.40 iii? 23' (CTH 209), which belongs to a letter fragment dating approximately to the reign of Hattušili III, also refers to a lion, although the context is too broken to allow further analysis.

¹⁴⁴Cf. A. Archi, "Trono Regale e Trono Divinizzato nell' Anatolia Ittita," *SMEA* 1, 1966, 111, n. 103.

¹⁴⁵Cf. G. Kellerman, "The King and the Sun-God in the Old Hittite Period," *TA* 5, 1978, 200ff.; A. Archi, "Auguri per il Labarna," *Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi dicata*, O. Carruba, ed., Pavia, 1979, 46f.

¹⁴⁶For this reading, see E. Neu and H. Otten, "Hethitisch 'Mann,' 'Mannheit,'" *IF* 77,

- 25' '... his frame is new, his breast is new,
 26' his [head] is new, his penis is new,
 27' he has the [teet]h of a lion, [he has] the e[yes of] an [e]agle,
 28' [and he] se[es] like an [e]agle.'

KUB 20.54 + KBo 13.122 rev (OH²/NS) with dupl. KUB 55.2 rev 3-5¹⁴⁷

- 6' *e-eš-ri-iš-še-et-wa ne-e-u-wa-an* GAB-ŠU-wa *ne-e[(-u-wa-an)]*
 7' *pí-iš-na-tar-še-et-wa ne-e-u-wa-an* SAG.DU-ZU AN.BAR[(-aš)]
 8' ZÚ.HI.A-ŠU-wa ŠA UR.MAH *ša-ku-wa-še-et-wa har-ra-n[a-aš]*
 9' *nu-wa ha-a-ra-ni-li ša-a-ku-iš-ki-iz-zi*
 6' 'His frame is new, his breast is new,
 7' his penis is new, his head is of tin,
 8' his teeth are those of a lion, his eyes are (those) [of] an eagle,
 9' and he sees like an eagle.'

The eagle's eyes and the lion's teeth are stock elements. The lion's teeth symbolize power, and the eagle's eyes symbolize knowledge or astuteness. Both of these qualities are desired in a king. The prevalence of the lion's teeth, and its mouth in general, in artistic renderings of this animal emphasizes the significance of this recurring theme in the texts.

The lion metaphor was applied to the king either to justify politically his actions or position, or to illustrate and enhance his military strength. The lion therefore symbolizes the two essentials of Hittite kingship, political power and military might.

b. Simile and Metaphor

In the incantation KUB 8.41 (CTH 733), the lion-king metaphor is employed for the

1972, 182.

¹⁴⁷Cf. E. Neu and H. Otten, *IF* 77, 1972, 182; A. Archi, *FsMeriggi* 2, 1979, 44, n. 32.

Hattic deity, Wašezzili:

KUB 8.41 ii (OS)¹⁴⁸

4' *ma-a-an* DUMU-aš A-NA ^dWa_a-še-ez-zi-li *hu-ek-zi* [LÚNAR *me-ma-i*]

5' *da-an-du-ki-iš-ni* ^dWa_a-še-ez-zi-li-iš DINGIR.MEŠ-na-ša [*iš-tar-na*]

6' UR.MAH LUGAL-uš *zi-ik nu ne-pí-iš te-e¹-kán-na* [*har-ši*]

4' When the son swears to Wašezzili, [the singer says:]

5' To the mortal (you are known as) Wašezzili, but [among] the gods

6' you are a lion-king, and [you hold] heaven and earth.

Wašezzili, although not generally regarded as the king of the Hittite pantheon, was a warrior god, hence the equation with the lion. Compare the Hattic parallel, KUB 28.75 iii (CTH 733):¹⁴⁹

11' *ma-a-an* A-NA ^dWa_a-še-ez-zi-li ^{GŠ}TIR-pát *hu-e-ek-zi*

12' LÚGUDÚ *me-ma-i* ut-hu-ru-u ^dWa_a-še-iz-zi-el ha-pí-pu-na-a-an

13' ^dWa_a-še-iz-zi-il ha-wa_a-aš-ha-wi_i-pí ták-ki-e-hal

14' DINGIR-ap ka-a-at-te ...

11' When (in) the forest he swears to Wašezzili,

12' the “annointed priest” says, “you? Wašezzili, to mankind (you are known as)

13' Wašezzili, and among the gods (you are) a hero,

14' a god-king.” ...

Compare finally the following:

¹⁴⁸Cf. J. Friedrich, “Götter- und Menschengesprache in Hethitischen Schriftum,” *Separatum aus Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung, Festschrift Albert Debrunner*, 1954, 137.

¹⁴⁹E. Neu, *Althethitische Ritualtexte in Umschrift*, StBoT 25, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1980, no. 113.

KBo 25.112 iii (OS)¹⁵⁰

13' *ma-a-a*[*n* ^d*Wa*_a-*še-ez-zi-li* ^{GŠ}*TIR-pá*]*t* []*x hu-e-ek-zi* [^{LÚ}*GUDÚ me-e-ma*]-*i*

14' *tu-wa-a*[-*at-t*]*u* ^d*Wa*_a[-*še-ez-zi-li*] *da*[-*an-d*]*u-ki-i*[*š-ni*

15' ^d*Wa*_a-*še-ez-zi-li* *D*[*INGIR.MEŠ-na-na iš-tar-na*] *x x* [?]

16' *UR.MAH-aš zi-i-i*[*k*

13' When (in) [the forest] he swears to [Wašezzili], [the annointed priest say]s, “Mercy
O Wa[šezzili!]

14' To the morta[l] you are Wašezzili,

15' [among the gods] ... [

16' you (are) a lion [

Another lion-god metaphor is applied to the Weathergod: *zi-ik DINGIR.MEŠ-na-na iš-tar-na UR.MA[H]* “among the gods you (the Weathergod) [are] a lio[n]” (KUB 31.143 ii 26 [CTH 733 (OS)]). In the case of KUB 24.7 ii 21, Ištar is the subject of the comparison: *UR.MAH-ma-za GI[M-an ...]* “li[ke] a lion you are [...]” (CTH 717 [NH]).¹⁵¹

One of the plague prayers of Muršili II compares the imperialism of Hatti with the predacity of the lion. A longing for the glory of the past is reflected in these lines:

KUB 24.3 ii with dupl. KUB 24.4 rev 2-3 (CTH 376)¹⁵²

44 *ka-ru-ú*[-*y*]*a* [(*KUR* ^U)]^{RU}*KÙ.BABBAR-ti Iš-TU* ^d*UTU URU**A-ri-in-na*

45 *a-ra-ah-zé-na-aš A*[-*N*]_A *KUR.KUR.HLA-TIM UR.MAH ma-a-an šar-hi-iš-ki-it*

¹⁵⁰Cf. E. Neu, StBoT 25, 1980, no. 112.

¹⁵¹See H. G. Güterbock, “A Hurro-Hittite Hymn to Ishtar,” *JAOS* 103, 1983, 158. Cf. ii 18f. *ANŠE-aš-ma-za GIM-an pu-un-tar-ri-ya-li-iš z[i-ik]* *SAL.LUGAL-aš* ^d*IŠTAR-iš* “like an ass you are stubborn, Queen Ištar” (cf. *CHD* 3/2, 1983, 102; A. Archi, “I poteri della Dea Ištar Hurrita-Ittita,” *OrAnt* 16, 1977, 307, 309; H. G. Güterbock, *JAOS* 103, 1983, 158).

¹⁵²Cf. O. R. Gurney, *AAA* 27, 1940, 30f.

- 44 Previously the land of Hatti, with the Sungoddess of Arinna,
45 used to fall upon¹⁵³ neighboring lands like a lion.

Another example compares a cow to the lion. The idea of the lion's ferociousness is again illustrated through the image of its powerful mouth:

KUB 24.7 iii (CTH 363 [NS])¹⁵⁴

- 24 ... GUD-uš UR.MAH-aš GIM-an KAxU-iš ar-ha
25 ki-nu-ut na-aš DUMU-li a-da-an-na pa-iš-ki-it-ta GUD-uš-za šar-hu[-wa-an-da-še-et]
26 hu-u-wa-an-hu-e-šar ma-a-an hal-lu-wa-nu-ut n[a-a]š DU[MU-l]i [
27 i-ya-an-ni-i[š]

- 24 ... The cow opened her mouth like a lion
25 and went to the child to eat.
26 Like a torrent the cow cast down¹⁵⁵ [her] pla[centa], an[d] went t[o the c]hild
27 [to suckle it?¹⁵⁶].

Again we are reminded of the typical iconographic renderings of lions, which emphasize a mouth that is open in the Hittite style, with a tongue that protrudes, and large teeth.¹⁵⁷

In the Ritual for Allaiturahi, the lion is compared to bitter vetch:

¹⁵³Var. KUB 24.4 rev 3 [za-]ah-ha-it ... a-ar[-aš-ki-it] "used to in[vade] with [b]attle."

¹⁵⁴See J. Friedrich, ZA 49, 1950, 228f.

¹⁵⁵Cf. already HAB, 1938, 76, n. 1 for hallu(wa)- "deep" and halluwanu- "to make deep, low," "to lower."

¹⁵⁶For this suggested restoration, see H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "The Hurrian Story of the Sungod, the Cow and the Fisherman, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians, in Honor of Ernest R. Lacheman*, M. A. Morrison and D. I. Owen, eds., Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1981, 192.

¹⁵⁷For a stylistic analysis of lions in Hittite art see E. Akurgal, *Spaeth.*, 1919, 39-79.

VBoT 120 ii (CTH 780)¹⁵⁸

2' nu SALŠU.GI SAHAR.HI.A-uš A-NA ŠE+NAGA ZÌ.DA G[Ú.ŠEŠ-ya]

3' an-da im-mi-ya-az-zi nu UN-an NÍ.TE.MEŠ-ŠU

4' pa-ši-ha-iz-zi nu SALŠU.GI me-ma-a-i

5' GÚ.ŠEŠ-aš UR.MAH-aš GIM-an šu-up-pí-iš GUDŠe[-ri-in]

6' GUDHur-ri-in ar-ha a-ar-<ri>iš-ki-iz-zi¹⁵⁹ an[-da-ma-kán?? ...]

7' MUŠ.ŠÀ.TÙR GIM-an GAM-an-ma-aš-ši ^dAl-la-ni[-in?]

8' šal-la-nu-ut pár-ku-nu-ut ...

2' The Old Woman mixes together dust with alkali, flour [and] b[itter vetch].

3' Then she wipes off the parts

4' of the man's body, and the Old Woman says:

5' "Bitter vetch is pure like a lion. It washes? the bulls

6' Še[ri] (and) Hurri. [...]

7' is like a (mythological) serpent. Together with it (the bitter vetch),

8' it has raised up (and) purified the god, Allani."

The missing subject in line 6¹⁶⁰ performs the action of purification mentioned in line 8. Cleansing the holy bulls and purifying the deity Allani are parallel actions. The significance of the comparison is not clear.

Lion metaphors, whether in reference to the king, a deity or another animal, are always positive images, and always, in the case of the former, used for the Hittite king,

¹⁵⁸Cf. H. A. Hoffner, Jr. *AlHeth*, 1974, 101; V. Haas and H. J. Thiel, *Die Beschwörungsrituale der Allainurah(h)i und verwandte Texte* (=AOAT 31), Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978, 138-141.

¹⁵⁹Cf. V. Haas and H. J. Thiel, AOAT 31, 1978, 140, who read instead *pa¹-ši-ha-iš-ki-iz-zi*.

¹⁶⁰Either GÚ.ŠEŠ or one of the other ingredients of lines 2'-4' is to be restored.

never the enemy's. Therefore one does not expect to, and will not find a lion used to evoke a negative image in Hittite sources.

c. Verbal Imagery

Beyond simile and metaphor, lion images were skillfully evoked through the medium of ritual incantations. Two distinct themes become immediately apparent. The first involves groups of animals in a pastoral image. The second involves the conferring of certain animal qualities, specifically those of the lion and leopard, onto the king and/or queen. The first group includes the following "Spell Against Binding," which describes how various animals are bound in places that are apparently difficult for them to escape from:

KBo 3.8 iii (CTH 390 [NH])¹⁶¹

- 9 DÀRA.MAŠ-an *kat-ta* ^{GŠ}e-ya *ha-mi-ik-ta pár-ša-na-an*![?]
 10 *ta-aš-ša-u-i pí-di ha-mi-ik-ta ú-li-pa-na-an pár-ga-u-e-i*
 11 *ha-mi-ik-ta UR.MAH za-am-ni-ša-an*
 12 *ha-mi-ik-ta ša-a-ša-an hu-u-ra-at-ti-ša-an ha-mi-ik-ta*
 13 *ša-ša-aš GA ha-mi-ik-ta ŠA ^dLAMMA ^{GŠ}ŠÚ.A ha-mi-ik-ta*
 ...
 27 [DÀRA.MAŠ-a]^š? *kat-ta-an ^{GŠ}e-ya la-a-at-ta-at PIRIG.TUR-aš-ša*
 28 [*ta-aš-ša*]-u-i *pí-di la-a-ad-da-at ú-li-ip-na¹-aš-ša-an*¹⁶²
 29 [*pár-ga-u*]-e *la-a-ad-da-at UR.MAH za-am-na-aš la-a-at-ta-at*
 30 [*ša-š*]-a-aš *hu-u-ra-at-ti-ša-aš*? *la-a-at-ta-at*
 31 [*ša-š*]-a-as GA *la-a-at-ta-at ŠA ^dLAMMA ^{GŠ}ŠÚ.A la-a-at-ta-at*
 9 It (the eagle)¹⁶³ bound a deer beneath the yew tree; a leopard

¹⁶¹Edited by H. Kronasser, "Fünf hethitische Rituale," *Sprache* 7, 1961, 158-160; transliterated by E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 1965, [110f.]; translated by A. Archi, *FsCarratelli*, 1988, 36. Cf. G. Kellerman, *Hethitica* 7, 1987, 140f., n. 60.

¹⁶²A. Goetze, *JCS* 16, 1962, 29, emends this form to either *ú-li-ip-pa¹-aš* or *ú-li-ip-na¹-aš*.

¹⁶³The eagle, as the last agent in the previous paragraph, is probably still the subject here.

- 10 it bound in a strong place; a wolf in a high (place)
 11 it bound; the destructive? lion,¹⁶⁴
 12 it bound; the *huratti*- gazelle? it bound;
 13 the milk of the *šaša*-animal it bound, the throne of the Protective Deity it bound.
 ...
 27 [The deer]r under the yew tree was released, the leopard
 28 in a [stro]ng place was released, the wolf
 29 in [the high] (place) was released, the lion of destruction?, was released,
 30 the *huratti*- [gaz]elle? was released;
 31 the milk of the [gaz]elle? was released, the throne of the Protective Deity was
 released.

The place in which each animal is bound is in some way unique to that animal. The deer and the *eya*-tree are closely linked in both texts and art. The leopard as an animal of fabled strength would not surprisingly be bound in a “strong” place. The “high” place in which the wolf was bound we can only guess refers to an area of high elevation, an area so remote as to render the wolf helpless or harmless. Since the structure of lines 11 and 12 is similar, and *zamna*- represents a characteristic of the lion, *huratti*- may also refer to a quality of the *šaša*-animal.

The Foundation Ritual (CTH 414) presents an incantation in which a supplicatory address is made to the trees before they are cut down for use in the construction of a palace. The incantation refers to the uses of the trees while still standing, namely, as part of nature for the use of animals, both wild (lion, leopard, bear) and domestic (cattle and sheep):

¹⁶⁴For this word see now M. Hutter, *Behexung*, 1988, 93-95.

KUB 29.1 i (CTH 414 [OH/NS])¹⁶⁵

- 28 *ne-pí-ša-aš kat-ta-an ú-li-li-iš-ki-id-du-ma-at UR.MAH-aš<ma-aš>*
 29 *kāt-ta-an še-eš-ki-it PIRIG.TUR-aš-ma-aš kat-ta-an še-eš-ki-it har-tág-ga-aš-ma-aš-*
ma-aš
 30 *ša-ra-a ar-ki-iš-ki-it-ta nu-uš-ma-aš-za* ^dU *ad-da-aš-mi-iš*
 31 *pa-ra-a i-da-a-lu zi-ik-ki-it*
-
- 32 [G]UD.HI.A-uš-ma-aš-ma-aš *kat-ta-an ú-e-ši-it-ta-at* UDU.HI.A-uš-m[a-a]š
 33 [ka]t-ta-an ú-e-še-ya-at-ta ki-nu-na-aš-ma-aš-za LUGAL-uš L[a-ba-a]r-na-aš
 34 *ú-la-nu-un nu* ^{GŠ}DAG-an *a-ra-am-ma-an hal-zi-ih-hu-[un]*
-
- 35 *Ú-UL-wa LUGAL-wa-aš a-ra-aš-mi-iš zi-ik nu-wa-mu i-ni* ^{GIŠ}-ru
 36 *ma-ni-ya-ah na-at-kán kar-aš-mi* ^dDAG-iz-ma EGIR-pa LUGAL-i
 37 *te-ez-zi kar-aš-ša-at-kán kar-aš* ^dUTU-uš-ša-at-ta
 38 ^dIM-ta-aš-ša ma-ni-ya-ah-hi-ir

28 You (the trees) spread out under the sky. The lion
 29 rested beneath y<ou>, the leopard rested beneath you,
 30 but the bear climbed up in you. The Weathergod, my father, kept evil away from
 you.

32 The cattle pastured beneath you, the sheep
 33 pastured beneath you, and now I, the King, L[abar]na,
 34 have united with you and I have calle[d] the Throne 'My Friend' (saying):

35 "Are you not a friend of me, the King? Then to me allot
 36 these trees¹⁶⁶ and I will cut them down!" And the Throne

¹⁶⁵Cf. M. F. Carini, "Il rituale di fondazione KUB XXIX 1: ipotesi intorno alla nozione etea arcaica delle regalità," *Athenaeum* 60, 1982, 483-520, esp. 488f.

¹⁶⁶CHD 3/2, 1983, 165 translates *ini* ^{GIŠ}-ru in the plural. E. Laroche ("Anaphore et deixis en anatolien," *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch: Vergleichende Studien zur historischen Grammatik und zur dialektgeographischen Stellung der indogermanischen Sprach-*

- 37 answers the King: “Cut ~~them~~ down! Cut (them) down! The Sungod
 38 and the Weathergod have allotted (them) to you.”

To interpret this passage as anything other than an attempt to describe animals in their natural habitat—that is, as describing sexual activity—is to miss the point of the passage.¹⁶⁷ The king is summarizing, in a kind of eulogy, the life of the trees to this point. One might paraphrase, “in your day, the wild animals made use of you, the domestic animals made use of you, and now I, the king, have been given the rights to you, and will cut you down to make use of you.” No wild animal image is more widespread than that of the lion lying recumbant in the shade of a tree. Moreover, KUB 12.62 obv 16f. (see below) also uses *GAM-an šeš-*, but of a newborn lion (UR.MAH *haššanza*). Since newborn lions do not participate in sexual acts, to translate *šešk-* as “to sleep with (sexually)” is to disregard a much simpler and more reasonable explanation. Moreover, it is now clear that the verb *šara ark-* can mean “to climb” as well as “to mount (sexually),”¹⁶⁸ as Ünal has demonstrated.¹⁶⁹

The incantation, KUB 12.62 obv 10 – rev 2, involves a similar scene. It concerns “the questioning of the ‘lord of the tongue’ (i.e., the curser/sorcerer) concerning his planned travels and his answer to this inquiry. The sense of this response is not entirely clear, but there can be little doubt that what is intended is the thwarting or destruction of the

gruppe Altkleinasien (=IBS 25), E. Neu and W. Meid, eds., Innsbruck, 1979, 149) takes it as singular.

¹⁶⁷For the sexual interpretations of this passage, see C. Watkins, “La famille indo-européenne de grec ὄρχις: linguistique, poétique et mythologie,” *BSL* 70, 1975, 14; J. Puhvel, “Lexical and Etymological Observations on Hittite *ark-*,” *JAOS* 95, 1975, 263; and *JAOS* 102, 1982, 179; M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60, 1982, 489. Cf. also, however, *HW²*, Lf. 4, 1979, 302.

¹⁶⁸See H. Otten, “Textanschlüsse und Duplikate von Boğazköy-Tafeln,” *ZA* 71, 1981, 142f.

¹⁶⁹“‘You Should Build for Eternity’: New Light on the Hittite Architects and Their Work,” *JCS* 40, 1988, 106 (the building text, KUB 55.28, uses this verb in iii 4 and 18).

evil words.”¹⁷⁰ In this passage, a predator is juxtaposed with its prey in an idyllic scene:

KUB 12.62 obv (CTH 338 [pre-NH/NS])¹⁷¹

- 10 “O lord of the tongue, where are you going?”—“To the road for devour[ing I am going],
 11 (to) the lion for pouncing? I am going. To the *alili*-(bird?) for plucking I am going,
 12 (to) the mortal for speaking I am going.” The road will not refuse devouring.
 13 The lion will not refuse pouncing?. The *alili*-(bird)
 14 will not refuse plucking. The Sungod(dess) the evil tongues
 15 will not refuse.

-
- 16 There stands a spring. Therein stands a tree. Under (it) the newborn lion
 17 sleeps, the yearling deer sleeps. (But) the spring dried up.

rev

- 1 Therein the tree dried up. The newborn lion dried up.
 2 The yearling deer dried up. The sorcerous tongue of evil dried up.

The second group of passages that employ verbal imagery are concerned with bestowing on the royal pair qualities exhibited by the lion and leopard. In the Foundation Ritual (CTH 414), a lion and leopard are used as symbols or representations of the soul and heart of the king:

KUB 29.1 ii¹⁷²

- 39 *e-hu zi-ik Á^{MUŠEN} i-it 1-EN-mu-kán ut-tar*
 40 *ar-ha me-er-ta uk-tu-u-ri-ya-aš i-it*

¹⁷⁰G. M. Beckman, *StBoT* 29, 1983, 192.

¹⁷¹For a transliteration of this text refer to G. M. Beckman, *StBoT* 29, 1983, 192f. The translation provided here is largely his. Cf. now also A. Archi, *FsCarratelli*, 1988, 34f.

¹⁷²M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60, 1982, 483-520, esp. 494f.

41 *nu ki-nu-u-pí ú-da*

42 *ki-nu-pí-ma-aš-ša-an an-da ŠA UR.MAH ši-e-ša-i*

43 *pár-ša-na-aš^U ši-ša-i šu-mu-ma-ah na-at har-ak*

44 *na-at ta-ru-up na-at 1-EN i-ya na-at LÚ-aš ŠÀ-si*

45 *pé-e-da nu LUGAL-wa-aš ZI-aš kar-di-iš-ši-ya*

46 *ta-ru-up-ta-ru*

39 Come you eagle, go! My one charm

40 has died out. Go to the ghat?

41 and bring a pottery vessel.

42 In the pottery vessel braid¹⁷³ a lion's *šišai*-¹⁷⁴

43 and a leopard's *šišai*- and hold them!

44 Unite them and make them one and take them to

45 the heart of the man. (Thus) let the soul of the king with his heart

46 be united!

The role of the lion and leopard in this passage is nearly identical to that of KBo 21.22 obv 13'. The qualities of the two animals are conferred upon the king and queen by means of the incantation and ritual.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³*šumuma-* is a variant of *šum(m)anza-* (AŠLU) "cord." The verb *šumumahh* is a denominative and factitive and should be translated "to cord, braid," or something similar. A. Goetze, *ANET*, 1969, 358, translates "put together."

¹⁷⁴*šišai-* has been variously translated "skin" (G. Kellerman, *TA* 5, 1978, 202, with n. 3), "paw" (F. Starke, *ZA* 69, 1979, 89, n. 89), "tooth" (J. Friedrich, *HW*, 1953, 194; H. G. Güterbock, "Le mot hittite *hartaggaš* 'serpent'," *RHA* 6, 1940, 108), and "tail" (H. A. Hoffner, Jr., personal communication). Cf. now KBo 30.69 iii 17: *nu LÚ.MEŠMUHAL=* DIM GUD-aš *še-e-ša-an ti-an-zi* (M. Popko and P. Taracha, "Der 28. und der 29. Tag des hethitischen AN.TAH.ŠUM-Festes," *AoF* 15, 1988, 85, n. 10).

¹⁷⁵Cf. lines 27f. of this text (*supra*, pp. 43f.), where the teeth of a lion and the eyes of an eagle are magically bestowed on the king.

KBo 21.22 obv (CTH 820 [OH/MS])¹⁷⁶

- 12' [...]x-*pa-aš-ša-an la-a-ah kur-de-en-na-aš*
 13' [*da-a nu o-a*]¹⁷⁷ *dā-a nu šA UR.MAH da-a nu PIRIG.TUR-aš da-a*
 14' [...]x *ar-nu-ut nu-za ku-it la-ba-ar-na-aš LUGAL-uš iš-ta-an-za-na-aš-ša-aš*
 15' [*UZUŠÀ-aš-š*]*a-aš i-la-a-li-iš-ki-iz-zi na-at-ši an-da a-ra-a-an e-eš-tu*
 16' [*nu-za ku-i*]_t *SALTa-wa-[n]a-an-na-aš SAL.LUGAL šA ZI-ŠU šA UZU¹ŠÀ-ŠU i-la-!i-*
iš-ki-zi
 17' [*na-a*]_t *š**i an-dā a-ra-an e-eš-tu*
-
- 12' [...] pour [...]! Take] (that) of the *kurdenna*-
 13' Take (that) of [the ...]! Take that of the lion! Take that of the leopard!
 14' [...] bring! What Labarna, the king, of his soul (and)
 15' [h]is [heart] desires, let those (things) come to him.
 16' [And wha]_t Tawananna, the queen, with respect to her soul (and) her heart desires,
 17' let [those] (things) come to her!

Stock elements from Old Kingdom ideology are being drawn upon in these passages. The Ritual of Zarpiya contains a similar theme:

KUB 9.31 i with dupl. KUB 56.59 iv 4-6 (CTH 757 [MH/NS])¹⁷⁸

5 [*nu šA EN SISKUR.SISK*]_{JUR} *ke-e-lu-un ga-an-ga-ah-hi nu-uš-ši hu-up-pa-li*

ZABAR

¹⁷⁶Cf. A. Archi, *FsMeriggi* 2, 1979, 245-247.

¹⁷⁷Probably a Sumerogram designating an animal is to be restored in the break. Cf. G. Kellerman, *TA* 5, 1978, 199ff., who restores [*UZUšišai*] based on KUB 29.1 ii 42f, rendering the translation "take [a skin] of *kurdenna*!" However, since no *šišai*- is to be found with the lion and leopard that follow in this line, I see no reason to restore it in the beginning of the line.

¹⁷⁸Cf. H. Otten and C. Rüster, "Textanschlüsse und Duplikate von Boğazköy-Tafeln," *ZA* 68, 1978, 276; B. Schwartz, "The Hittite and Luwian Ritual of Zarpiya of Kezzuwatna," *JAOS* 58, 1938, 334f.

- 6 [ha-az-zi-u]l-li-iš-ši-it ŠA KUŠ UR.MAH wa-ar-hu-wa-ya-aš
 7 [(GŠGÌR.GUB-)]ŠU-ma NA₄ku-un-ku-nu-uz-zi-ya-aš ha-az-zi-ul-še-et-ti(a)
 8 [(ŠA NA₄ZA.GÌ)]N ši-ša-i da-aš-šu har-tág-ga-aš ši-ša-i [...]
 9 [ga-an-]ki-ma ša-a-ša-aš [
 5 I hang the *kelu-* [of the offer]ant. Its/his *huppali-* is bronze.
 6 Its [*hazziu*]- are of a shaggy lion-skin.
 7 But its footstool is of basalt, and its (the footstool's) *hazziul-* is
 8 [of lapis]. The strong *šišai-* is the *šišai-* of a bear [
 9 But he h[angs the ...] of a gazelle?

4. Religion

Lions were occasional participants in ritual. This fact is demonstrated by KUB 25.17 i 3'-5' (CTH 669 [OH²/NS]): *ta-at-ša-an*!? *ku-ut-ti an-da ZAG-az da-a-i* UR.MAH.HLA *ku-e-da-ni pí-di iš-hi-iš-kán-ta* “and he sets them in the wall on the right at the place (where) the lions are bound.”¹⁷⁹ Live lions were probably used in this instance, since the verb *išhai-* indicates that they were tethered during the ritual activities. There is no indication, however, that the lions functioned in any way beyond being present, perhaps as apotropaic figures.

In another ritual, the wrapped up gallbladder of a lion is used (KUB 12.24 iv 6 [CTH 487], cf. lines 10 and 14). In yet another, the offerant sprinkles a lion pelt.¹⁸⁰ Finally, a gold lion figurine is among the animals in the procession of the KILLAM Festival (KBo 10.23 v 18', KBo 10.25 vi 5'; cf. KBo 25.180 rev² 3' [CTH 627]).

One obscure passage, from a tablet of liver oracles, suggests the use of lions—

¹⁷⁹Cf. E. Neu, StBoT 5, 1968, 74, who takes line 5' with line 6' of the next paragraph and translates, “an die Stelle, an die die Löwen gebunden sind, kommt aber der Ober-Mešedi zurück.”

¹⁸⁰KBo 21.12 rev² 19' (CTH 767 [NS]): *UM-MA EN.SISKUR.SISKUR UZU UR.MAH-wa pa-ap-pár-aš-ki-iz-mi*.

possibly alive—in the cult:

KUB 16.16 obv (CTH 570)

23' *na-aš nam-ma pu-nu-uš-šu-u-en nu me-mi-ir* SAL.MEŠ *dam-ma-ra-aš-wa ku-i-e-eš da-*
*pí-an-te-eš*¹⁸¹

24' *nu-wa-kán ma-a-an* DUMU.NITA *kú-e-da-ni-ik-ki a-ki nu-wa-aš-ma-aš-kán*
UR.MAH-i da-pí-an-te-eš-pát

25' *še-er ša-lí?-kiš-kán-zi*

23' Then we inquired further of them and they said: "The cultic servant women who are
dapiant-,

24' if for anyone (of them) a son dies, and in regard to them even the *dapiant*-'s

25' approach the lion."

The following text, although ambiguous in meaning, suggests that the lion was being used in a festival context. The meaning of the phrase "house of the lion" in line 37 is uncertain, although Ünal suggests that it refers to a lion preserve.¹⁸²

KUB 22.27 iv with dupls. KBo 24.118 vi 20'-28', KUB 50.82 : 14'-17' (CTH 568)¹⁸³

33 *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-kán ma-ah-ha-an* dUTU-ŠI I-NA HUR.SAG *Piš-kú-ru-nu-wa*

¹⁸¹*dapiant-* (c.) is found only in the nom.pl. It may designate a particular state of purity, as the remainder of our paragraph would suggest: "the *dammara*-women who are *dapiant*-keep sleeping (*še-eš-kiš<-ke-eš>-kán-zi*) with the men of Arzawa, but are found in the temple afterward" (obv 26f.).

¹⁸²RIA 7, 1987, 87. Cf. KUB 36.25 iv 12f. (CTH 346): DINGIR.MEŠ-*uš-mu šal-li-in* [UR.MAH-*an* [...] *an-da kal-le-eš-tar-w[a-* (E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 1968, [188]). Cf. also KUB 44.1 rev 9' and 12', which mention a dUR.MAH LÚSUKKAL "Lion-god, the vizier," to whom bread is offered.

¹⁸³On the relationship of this tablet and its duplicates to the AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival see now Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, "Brief Comments on the Hittite Cult Calendar: The Outline of the AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival," *FsGüterbock*², 1986, 97ff.

- 34 *ša-ra-a pa-iz-zi nu 10 MÁŠ.GAL IŠ-TI[(U É.GA)]L LÚ.MEŠSIPA¹⁸⁴ pī-an-zi*
 35 *hal-ku-eš-šar ŠA É [(d)kur-ša-aš-pā]t [LÚ.MEŠ É.(GAL)] A-BU-BI-TI pī-an-zi¹⁸⁵*
 36 *EZEN ITLKAM-ya-aš-š[(i i-ya-an-zi nu 1 MÁŠ)].GAL IŠ-TU É.GAL LÚ.MEŠSIPA*
pī-an-zi

-
- 37 *dLAMMA UR.MAH I-NA É U[(R.MAH) o o-]ra e-eš-ša-an-zi*
 38 *1 MÁŠ.GAL IŠ-TU LÚ.MEŠIG[LDU₈.A da-an-]zi ...*

-
- 33 But at dawn, when His Majesty goes up to Mt. Piškuruwa,
 34 the shepherds give ten goats from (the property of) the palace.
 35 The cult provisions of the temple of the hunting bag¹⁸⁶, [the men (of) the p]alace of
 the intendants provide,
 36 and they perform the festival of the month for him. The shepherds provide one goat
 from the palace.

-
- 37 They worship [...] the Protective Deity of the Lion in the "house [of] the lion."
 38 [They ta]ke one goat from the supp[liers?] ...

That the lion was not frequently used in ritual is evident. Although its body parts are used on occasion, a more extensive role cannot be demonstrated.¹⁸⁷ Nowhere can it be shown that lions were killed in a ritual or festival context.

The lion plays a more significant role in the cultic iconography, where it is companion

¹⁸⁴KBo 24.118 vi 22' LÚSIPA.

¹⁸⁵KBo 24.118 vi 24' *da-an-zi*.

¹⁸⁶On KUŠ/d*kurša*- see M. Popko, "Zum hethitischen (KUŠ)*kurša*-" *AoF* 2, 1975, 65-70. For KUŠ*kurša*- "hunting bag" see H. G. Güterbock, "A Note on the Frieze of the Stag Rhyton in the Schimmel Collection," ms.

¹⁸⁷Lions also occur in omens, primarily those of Mesopotamian origin: KBo 13.35 + KBo 6.25 iii 9' (K. Riemschneider, *StBoT* 9, 1970, 22f.); KUB 4.74 rev 1'; KUB 8.1 ii 3'; KUB 29.12 i 6; KUB 34.19 i 6' (K. Riemschneider, *StBoT* 9, 1970, 54f.); KUB 43.7 iii 7 (K. Riemschneider, *StBoT* 9, 1970, 52-54).

to a large number of deities. Three major types of Hittite deity are found with lions—warrior gods, mountain gods, and various goddesses.¹⁸⁸ Among the first group are included the gods Šulinkatte, ZABABA and Yarri. The following cult inventory text describes an image of Šulinkatte, the Hattic god of war and pestilence:

KUB 30.37 i with dupl. KUB 12.36 i 1-4 (CTH 516)¹⁸⁹

- 1 [(UM-)]MA mTar-hi-ni LÚ URUTa-ma-ar-ma-ra
- 2 dŠu-ú-li-kat-ti-iš ku-iš DINGIR-LUM ŠA URUTa-ma[-ar-ma-ra]
- 3 [(nu-u)]š-ši ALAM-ŠU ŠA KÙ.BABBAR i-ya-an-za-ma-aš LÚ-aš
- 4 [(i-)]wa-ar na-aš-kán A-NA UR.MAH GIŠ ar-ta-ri

- 1 Thus says Tarhini the man of Tamarmara:
- 2 Šulinkatti who (is) the deity of Tama[rmara]—
- 3 for him his statue (is) of silver, but he is made like a man,
- 4 and he stands on a wooden lion.

In the Cappadocian seals, a Wargod is frequently depicted standing on a lion,¹⁹⁰ and sometimes seated on a cushion that is resting on a lion.¹⁹¹ He sometimes holds a rein in his hand.¹⁹² His other attributes can include a shaft-hole ax, mace, dagger, battle ax, cup and horned skull cap. Özgüç suggests that this deity is the prototype for ZABABA, in whose honor the royal couple drink from a gold lion rhyton in KUB 10.89 i 20 (CTH 591), and who holds a mace and shield and stands on a lion in the following cult inventory passage:

¹⁸⁸For a list of gods on lions in the iconography see K. Bittel, WVDOG 61, 1941, 127f.

¹⁸⁹Cf. C.-G. von Brandenstein, *Bildbeschr.*, 1943, 61.

¹⁹⁰See, for instance, N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, nos. 11a, 64, 65, 73.

¹⁹¹N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, nos. 12, 53.

¹⁹²N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, nos. 52, 55.

KUB 38.2 ii (CTH 521)¹⁹³

- 17' ^dZA-BA₄-BA₄ ALAM KÙ.BABBAR LÚ [GUB-*an-za*]
 18' ZAG-*za* ŠU-*za* ^{GŠ}TUKUL *har-zi* GÙ[B-*za* ŠU-*za*]
 19' A-RI-TUM *har-zi* GAM-ŠU UR.M[AH GUB-*ri*]
 20' GAM UR.MAH *pal-za-ha-aš* KÙ.BABBAR GA.R.RA

- 17' ZABABA: A statue (of) silver (as) a man [standing;]
 18' in his right hand he holds a mace, in his left hand
 19' he holds a shield. Beneath him [stands] a lion.
 20' Beneath the lion is a base inlaid in silver.

Yarri, appearing in a dream in the form of the Weathergod, stands on a lion in KUB 15.5 ii 39f. (CTH 583). The dream prompts a vow to construct a likeness of the deity, and in col. iii, a similar vow is made to fashion a lion of ivory:

KUB 15.5 ii¹⁹⁴

- 39 *za-aš-hi-ya-kán ku-iš* ^dYa-ar-*ri-iš*
 40 A-NA UR.MAH *ar-ta-at* ALAM-*ma-aš*
 41 ŠA ^dU *i-wa-ar e-eš-ta*
 42 A-NA ^dUTU-ŠI *ku-it Û-it me-mi-ir*
 43 ŠA A-BI ^dUTU-ŠI-*wa-ra-aš* UM-MA ^fHé-*pa-SUM*
 44 *a-pa-a-at-wa* ALAM QA-TAM-MA-*pát i-ya-an-zi*
 45 *nu-wa-ra-at* A-NA DINGIR-LIM GAL SUM-*an-zi*
 ...
 iii¹⁹⁵
 48 UM-MA ^fH[é-*e-pa-SUM* 1 U]R.MAH ZÚ.AM.SI-*wa [i-ya-an-zi]*

¹⁹³Cf. C.-G. von Brandenstein, *Bildbeschr.*, 1943, 6f.; L. Rost, *MIO* 8, 1963, 176.

¹⁹⁴Cf. C.-G. von Brandenstein, *Bildbeschr.*, 1943, 62f.

¹⁹⁵Cf. H. G. Güterbock, "Ivory in Hittite Texts," *Anatolia* 15, 1971, 3.

- 39 Such Yarri as
 40 was standing on a lion in the dream: But in image
 41 he was like the Weathergod.
 42 What was spoken to My Majesty by means of a dream:
 43 “He (the deity) is the one of (the time of?) the father of His Majesty.” Thus said
 Hepapiya¹⁹⁶:
 44 “They will fashion this image in exactly the same way,
 45 and they will make a gift of it to the Great Deity.”
 ...
 iii
 48 Thus said H[epapiya:] “[They will fashion one l]ion of ivory.”

Mountain deities are the second group commonly represented on lions.¹⁹⁷ In KUB 38.3 ii 6-16 (CTH 502), the town of Zanzišna is said to possess a divine image of Mt. Iški[...], who holds a silver shield inlaid with an ivory eagle and an ivory lion. He may have been a hunting deity, since line 9 tells us that the king’s name and “animals of the field” (*gimraš huitar*) are engraved on the image.¹⁹⁸ In KUB 38.26 obv 23'-24'¹⁹⁹ (CTH 507), the cult statue of Mt. Halalazipa is described with both a lion and an eagle: [...]x HUR.SAG^{Ha-la-a-la-zi-pa-an} GĒTUKUL IŠ-TU URUDUUD.SAR URUDU^{ši-tar} [u-nu-wa-an-zi UGJU ÁMUŠEN AN.BAR GAM UR.MAH GIŠ DÙ-an-zi “[they decorate?] Mt. Halalazipa, (which is in the form of) a mace with a copper crescent moon (and) a copper solar disk.

¹⁹⁶Hepapiya is the dream interpreter.

¹⁹⁷For mountain gods flanked by lions and supporting Weathergods, see R. Alexander, “The Mountain-God at Eflatun Pinar,” *Anatolica* 2, 1968, 77-85. Cf. a seal depicting a Weathergod standing with his right foot on a lion’s back and his left foot on a mountain (N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, no. 70).

¹⁹⁸Cf. C.-G. von Brandenstein, *Bildbeschr.*, 1943, 18; L. Rost, *MIO* 8, 1963, 184.

¹⁹⁹Restored from the reverse, lines 15-16. Cf. L. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 9, 1963, 182f., 185; F. Sommer, “Aus Hans Ehelolf’s Nachlaß,” *ZA* 46, 1940, 14.

Above (it) they make an iron eagle, below (it) a wooden lion.” In KUB 1.17 v 28f. (CTH 591), the king drinks from a gold lion rhyton in honor of Mt. Gašipa: LUGAL-u[š GU]B-aš²⁰⁰ IŠ-TU BI-IB-RI UR.MAH GUŠKIN HUR.S[AG]Ga-ši-pa-an e-ku-zi.²⁰¹ Finally, an image of Mt. Malimaliya is described as standing on a lion in KUB 7.24 i 1-3 (CTH 506 [NH])²⁰²: HUR.SAGMa-li-ma-li-ya-aš an-na-la-za DINGIR.MEŠ-tar Ú-UL e-eš-ta dUTU-ŠI-an mTu-ut-ha-li-ya-aš ALAM LÚ AN.BAR 1 še-kán 1/2 še-kán-na IGI.HLA GUŠKIN A-NA UR.MAH AN.BAR-aš-kán ar-ta-ri “Mt. Malimaliya: Previously there were no divine images. My Majesty, Tuthaliya, (made) it (as) a statue of a man (in) iron, one and a half spans (in size), its eyes (are of) gold. It stands on an iron lion.”

Statue bases consisting of lion pairs have a number of examples in the late Empire period. On a monument at Fasillar, two lions flank a Mountaingod, who stands with his hands clasped before him and elbows extended, and supports a Weathergod.²⁰³ The Aslantaş at Eflatun Pinar, from the same period, represents the remains of a similar monument.²⁰⁴ Here, according to Alexander’s reconstruction,²⁰⁵ a Mountaingod stood between two lions, its arms reaching over the backs of the animals. It probably supported a Weathergod. Comparable examples have been found at Carchemish and Zincirli.²⁰⁶ A

²⁰⁰[TU]Š-aš is also possible. Cf. H. Th. Bossert, *Ein hethitisches Königssiegel*, Berlin, 1944, 29.

²⁰¹Cf. H. Gonnet, *RHA* 26, 1968, 118, who restores HUR.S[AGAš]-ga-še/i-pa.

²⁰²Cf. C. Carter, “Hittite Cult Inventories” (diss., University of Chicago), 1962, 116-119; H. G. Güterbock, *Or* 15, 1946, 491; H. Th. Bossert, *Belleten* 16, 1952, 519; A. Archi, “Fêtes du printemps et d’automne et réintégration rituelle d’images de culte dans l’anatolie hittite,” *UF* 5, 1973, 22f.

²⁰³H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, nos. 565, 566, 568, 569; K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, 1976, Pl. 264.

²⁰⁴See M. R. Behm-Blancke and D. Rittig, “Der ‘Aslantaş’ von Eflatun Pinar,” *MDOG* 102, 1970, 89-99; R. Alexander, *Anatolica* 2, 1968, 77-85.

²⁰⁵*Anatolica* 2, 1968, 77-85.

²⁰⁶For a discussion of these monuments and others belonging with this group see W. Orthmann, “Hethitische Götterbilder,” *Vorderasiatische Archaeologie: Studien und*

statue from the King's Gate at Carchemish represents the god Atarsuha enthroned and supported by two lions.²⁰⁷ Between the two lions kneels a *Mischwesen* with a bird's head and a human body. It holds the lions by a rope or collar around their necks. Another statue base from Carchemish,²⁰⁸ whose statue survives in fragments, has been identified as the "Weathergod of the Lions."²⁰⁹ The statue at Zincirli is of a god standing on a double-lion base. Between the lions kneels a "hero" who holds the lions by a rope or collar.²¹⁰

The lion's most pervasive and lasting divine association seems to be with various aspects of the Anatolian "Mother" goddess.²¹¹ The second millennium Anatolian goddesses who fall into this category are Šaušga, Hepat, and Kubaba.

The Babylonian Ištar, although not a mother goddess, has a strong warrior aspect that connects her with the lion. On one Cappadocian seal she is depicted holding a lion-headed mace in her right hand.²¹² For the Hittite period, the text KUB 27.1 iv 21f. (CTH 712) describes the king drinking from a lion-shaped rhyton in honor of ^dIŠTAR.LÍL walliwali-: EGIR-ŠU-ma LUGAL-uš ^dIŠTAR.LÍL wa-al-li-wa-li-[y]a-aš ŠA ^mMur-ši-li IŠ-TU BI-IB-RI GUŠKIN UR.MAH GUB-aš 3-ŠU e-ku-zi (cf. lines 31f.).²¹³ Two goddesses, one of

Aufsätze. Anton Moortgat zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1964, 221-29; R. Alexander, *Anatolica* 2, 1968, 80, n. 12; E. Akurgal, *Spaeth.*, 1949, 100, n. 85.

²⁰⁷M. Vieyra, *Hittite Art*, 1955, Pl. 57; W. Orthmann, *FsMoortgat*, 1964, Tf. 24, 1; H. Th. Bossert, *Asienatolien*, 1942, no. 830.

²⁰⁸C. L. Woolley, et al., *Carchemish III: Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on Behalf of the British Museum*, London: Oxford University Press, 1952, 192, 243, 260 and Pis. B 1b, B 53a and b, and B 54a.

²⁰⁹C. L. Woolley, et al., *Carchemish III*, 1952, 192, 260.

²¹⁰W. Orthmann, *FsMoortgat*, 1964, Tf. 25; H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 903.

²¹¹On the lion's association with the various goddesses of Asia Minor see O. Keller, *Die Antike Tierwelt, Bd. I, Säugetiere*, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1963, 48ff.; and more recently, M. Hörig, *AOAT* 208, 1979, 51-128.

²¹²N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, 60.

²¹³Cf. R. Lebrun, *Samuha foyer religieux de l'empire hittite*, Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut

whom is Ištar, stand on lions in a procession of deities on animals on an Assyrian rock relief at Malatya.²¹⁴

Hepat and her son Šarruma stand on felines at Yazilikaya (nos. 43 and 44).²¹⁵ These may also be the two deities represented standing on felines on either side of a stele from Darende.²¹⁶ There is no agreement as to whether these animals are leopards²¹⁷ or lions.²¹⁸ Lions are more likely, however, since they held more prestige symbolically than did the leopard.²¹⁹

Kubaba, the patron goddess of Carchemish, is shown seated on a high-backed chair, with a crouching lion beneath, on a relief from the processional entry of that city.²²⁰ On a stele from Malatya, the god Karhuha, in the form of a Weathergod, stands on a lion facing the goddess Kubaba, who is seated on a high-backed chair with her feet on a stool. The stool and chair are resting on a bull.²²¹ Why Kubaba appears here with a bull rather than a

Orientaliste, 1976, 84f., 93f. See H. Otten, *WO* 5, 1969, 95, for other occurrences of 𒌷IŠTAR.LÍL *walliwal(i)-*. For more on Ištar and the lion see O. Keller, *Die Antike Tierwelt*, 1963, 48ff.; U. Seidl, "Inanna/Ištar," *RIA* V, 1976-80, 88f.

²¹⁴F. Thureau-Dangin, "Les sculptures rupestres de maltaï," *RA* 21, 1924, 187. For Ištar with the lion in Mesopotamia see M. Hörig, *AOAT* 208, 1979, 91.

²¹⁵M. Vieyra, *Hittite Art*, 1955, Pl. 20.

²¹⁶H. G. Güterbock, *Belleten* 7, 1943, 311. For the stele see I. J. Gelb, *Hittite hieroglyphic Monuments*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939, Taf. 34, B and D.

²¹⁷K. Bittel, *WDOG* 61, 1941, 127 suggests that no. 43 could be a lioness while 44 is probably a leopard. H. Th. Bossert takes both animals as leopards (*AfO* 8, 1932/33, 299). E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire des Mythologie*, 1981, 36, refers to both as lions.

²¹⁸See, for example, R. Alexander, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of Yazilikaya*, Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1986, 65.

²¹⁹Cf. a Hittite seal with a goddess, perhaps Hepat again, standing on a lion (H. G. Güterbock, *SBo* II, 1942, no. 101).

²²⁰M. Vieyra, *Hittite Art*, 1955, Pl. 51; E. Akurgal, *Spaeth.*, 1949, Tf. IXb.; H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 845; for Kubaba and the lion at Carchemish cf. H. G. Güterbock, "Carchemish," *JNES* 13, 1954, 109f.

²²¹M. Vieyra, *Hittite Art*, 1955, Pl. 65.

lion, and the Weathergod with a lion instead of a bull is not clear.

Other deities are depicted on lions.²²² On the Cappadocian seals, Adad often stands on a lion or winged lion or in association with a lion-dragon,²²³ sometimes holding a rein.²²⁴ Ningirsu is also identified by both the lion and the lion-headed eagle.²²⁵ Šamaš is shown on a lion facing the Weathergod on one Cappadocian seal.²²⁶ Deity no. 82 at Yazilikaya is depicted in the form of a sword. The deity's head is the handle of the sword, with the front halves of two lions facing outward representing its pommel, and the sword itself being composed of two upside down, vertically positioned, crouched and opposing lions.²²⁷ The Moongod stands on a lion on a Hittite seal.²²⁸ On a relief from Carchemish, the Moongod stands with the Sungod on a crouching lion.²²⁹ That the lion is not more closely associated with the Sungod is noteworthy²³⁰ considering that this association is otherwise quite widespread in the ancient world.²³¹ They are linked only indirectly in Hatti through the person of the king, who is closely identified with the sun and described,

²²²See N. Leinwand, "A Study of Anatolian Weathergods of the Old Assyrian Colony Period," (diss., Bryn Mawr), 1984, passim, for various deities over lions in the Old Assyrian Colony period.

²²³N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, nos. 2, 9, 11, 12, 13.

²²⁴N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, no. 59.

²²⁵E. D. Van Buren, *AnOr* 23, 1945, 40.

²²⁶N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, no. 2.

²²⁷See K. Bittel, et al., *WVDOG* 61, 1941, Pl. 29. For a discussion of the relief, see R. Alexander, *The Sculptures and Sculptors of Yazilikaya*, 1986, 122.

²²⁸H. G. Güterbock, *SBo* II, 1942, no. 102.

²²⁹M. Vieyra, *Hittite Art*, 1955, Pl. 49.

²³⁰The only exception is the ninth century relief from Carchemish mentioned above that depicts the Moongod and Sungod standing together on a crouching lion (K. Bittel, *Die Heihüter*, 1976, Pls. 285, 286; M. Vieyra, *Hittite Art*, 1955, Pl. 49).

²³¹See, for instance, O. Keller, *Die Antike Tierwelt*, 1963, 52, for the lion's association with Apollo in Asia Minor, with Ra in Egypt, and so forth.

through metaphor, as a lion. Finally, a relief from Tell Chuera features seven goddesses, one of whom is holding a lion or leopard on her lap.²³²

The texts add to the list of gods associated with the lion. KUB 34.87 obv 3'ff. contains a list of lion-shaped rhyta that are presented to the deities Kumarbi, Istar of the Field, and Ea.²³³ In the fragmentary Bo 1391 obv 6, a lion is named next to the god, Pirwa.²³⁴

The lion's many divine associations have been noted repeatedly.²³⁵ The large number of deities that it accompanies makes less likely any sacred significance to these relationships. More importantly for this idea, the lion was not central to the cult of any deity. As a symbol of power and strength, the lion conveyed these qualities to any deity associated with it, and in this purpose alone lies its cultic significance.

²³²See V. Haas, *Hethitische Berggötter und hurritische Steindämonen: Riten, Kulte und Mythen*, Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1982, 85, Abb. 19; A. Moortgat and U. Moortgat-Correns, *Tell Chuera in Nordsyrien*, Berlin, 1976, 52-57, Pl. 20a/b.

²³³For lion rhyta, see O. Carruba, "Rhyta in den hethitischen Texten," *Kadmos* 6, 1967, 90.

²³⁴Obv. 3ff.: [o o -]a-mu UR.MAH-aš [GEŠTU]-ar i-ya-u-wa-at-ta-a[t] a-aš-šu [o -]a-mu UR.MAH-aš ^dPi-ir-wa [i-y]a-u-wa-at-ta-at a-aš-šu (cf. H. Otten, *JKF* 2, 1953, 65 (copy); H. Th. Bossert, "Nachträge zu dem Aufsatz: Das Wort "gut" in den kleinasiatischen Sprachen," *MIO* 3, 1955, 70; F. Starke, *StBoT* 30, 1985, 254f.).

²³⁵E. D. van Buren, *AnOr* 18, 1939, 4; K. Bittel, *WVDOG* 61, 1941, 128; E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire des Mythologies*, 1981, 35f.

Section B. PIRIG "tiger": Hittite reading unknown

The tiger (*Panthera tigris*) is a very rare visitor to the eastern region of Asia Minor, but occasional sightings have been reported in this century.²³⁶ At one time the tiger may have wandered freely throughout the Caucasus. However, its range probably never included the heart of Anatolia. Not surprisingly, therefore, the tiger is attested with any certainty²³⁷ only in the vocabulary list, KBo 1.52 i 7', where it is entered between the bear and the leopard. The Hittite translation is, unfortunately, broken. We owe its entrance into the Hittite written remains to the influence of Mesopotamia, where this text originated, and within whose geographical boundaries tigers could be found.²³⁸

²³⁶See H. Kumerloewe, "Zum Vorkommen des Tigers auf türkischem Boden," *Säugetierkd. Mitt.* 22, 1974, 348-350.

²³⁷The possibility exists, however, that occurrences of broken "UG" signs are to be read as PIRIG "tiger" and not PIRIG.[TUR] "leopard."

²³⁸For the tiger's range, see B. Landsberger, *Die Fauna des Alten Mesopotamien nach der 14. Tafel der Serie HAR-RA = HUBULLU*, Leipzig: Verlag S. Hirzel, 1934, 67.

Section C. PÌRIG.TUR (c.) "leopard": Hittite *paršana*-²³⁹

PÌRIG.TUR

sg. nom. PÌRIG.TUR KBo 10.23 v 16' (OH/NS), KBo 3.8 iii 27 (NH), KBo 12.113 : 9', 421/d obv 21²⁴⁰; PÌRIG.TUR-aš KUB 29.1 i 29 (OH/NS), KUB 25.51 i 2'; sg. acc. PÌRIG.TUR KBo 10.25 vi 5' (OH/NS), KUB 44.61 iv 14' (NH), KUB 11.21 ii 5'; sg. gen. PÌRIG.TUR KBo 25.180 rev[?] 3', KUB 28.87 rev 7'; PÌRIG.TUR-aš KBo 21.22 obv 13' (OH/MS); ŠA PÌRIG.TUR KBo 9.105 : 6'; sg. d.-l. ANA PÌRIG.TUR KBo 20.33 obv 14 (OH/MS?); pl. nom. PÌRIG.TUR KUB 42.69 rev 12'; pl. acc. PÌRIG.TUR KUB 26.71 i 9' (OH/NS); PÌRIG.TUR.HLA KBo 23.55 i 10'.

paršana-

sg. nom.[?] *pár-ša-na-a[š]* KBo 21.107 ii 10; *pár-š[a-na-aš]* KBo 1.52 i 8'; sg. gen. *pár-ša-na-aš* KUB 29.1 ii 43 (OH/NS); sg. acc. *pár-ša-na-an* HT 2 iii 11, 20, 27; sg. d.-l. *pár-aš-ni* KBo 21.90 obv 52', 54' (OH/MS); *pár-aš->ni* KBo 21.103 rev 28'; sg. acc. *pár-ša-na-an*[!]? KBo 3.8 iii 9 (NH); pl. nom. *pár-ša-ni-eš* KBo 21.22 rev 38' (OH/MS); unclear *pár-ša-na[-...]* KBo 17.39 : 4'.

adv. *pár-ša-ni-li* KBo 10.23 iii 3" (OH/NS).

1. Introduction

At one time abundant in the hilly countryside of Anatolia, the leopard (*Panthera pardus*) is still present in the region, although greatly diminished in number.²⁴¹ At least

²³⁹The proto-Hattic is *hapraš*-. See W. Steinherr, *WO* 4, 1968, 321.

²⁴⁰S. Alp, *Tempel*, 1983, 310f.

²⁴¹See H. Kumerloeve, *Die Säugetiere (Mammalia) der Türkei*, (Veröffentlichung der Zoologische Staatssammlung München 18), 1975, 102. The use of the term "panther" has been favored over that of "leopard" despite the fact that leopards and panthers are not separate species (E. D. van Buren, "The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia as Represented in Art," *AnOr* 18, 1939, 10, for example, specifically refers to the black leopard ("panther")

two large adult leopards are represented in the faunal remains from Boghazköy, one of only a few sites that have rendered leopard bones.²⁴²

The equation of Hittite *paršana*-²⁴³ with the Sumerian *PÌRIG.TUR* is assured by the ritual text KBo 3.8 where the two words are interchanged between iii 9 and iii 27, and by the vocabulary list, KBo 1.52 i 8', which reads (Sum. pron.) *NI.IB* = (Sum.) *PÌRIGxKAL* = (Akk.) *NI-IM-RU* = (Hitt.) *pár-š[a-na-aš]*.

2. *Feline Motifs in Anatolian Iconography*

Iconographic representations of the leopard present a problem of identification. Typically, felines that cannot be identified as lions, specifically those having small, rounded heads, untufted tails, and slender bodies,²⁴⁴ have been identified as leopards regardless of whether the characteristic spots are present or not. Since its spots are the leopard's most characteristic physical feature, their absence is odd, although potentially attributable to the wearing away of the paint in the case of feline reliefs that may at one time have had spots, or to the simple omission of the spots in the case of the glyptic. However, Williams-Forte is correct to point out that felines with no spots could represent young lions, or lionesses, or unspecified large felines.²⁴⁵ They could also represent black leopards.

as a separate species. See also O. Keller, *Die Antike Tierwelt*, 1963, 64, who treats "panther" and "leopard" as separate species of the genus *Leopardus*, and that "panther" is actually a misnomer for a black leopard, whose dark background coloring hides the dark spots that otherwise identify it as a leopard (see e.g., V. J. Wilson, *Lions, Leopards and Linxes*, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, 1981, 214ff.).

²⁴²A. von den Driesch and J. Boessneck, *Boğazköy-Hattuša XI*, 1981, 56.

²⁴³For an etymology of *paršana*-, see V. Haas, "Leopard und Biene im Kulte 'hethitischer' Göttinnen," *UF* 13, 1981, 106; N. Oettinger, "Reste von e- Hochstufe im Formans hethitischer n-Stämme einschließlich des 'umna'-Suffixes," *Investigationes Philologicae et Comparativae* (=FsKronasser), E. Neu, ed., Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1982, 174, n. 46.

²⁴⁴See also E. Williams-Forte, *RIA* VI, 1983, 601; E. D. van Buren, *AnOr* 18, 1939, 10 (her comments on Mesopotamia hold also for Anatolia).

²⁴⁵E. Williams-Forte, *RIA* VI, 1983, 602.

In Anatolia, only Çatal Hüyük provides iconographic examples of leopards with the spots that identify them as leopards.²⁴⁶ At this Neolithic site, the feline compares with the bull and deer in prominence. The goddess figurines that are so abundant at the site²⁴⁷ are represented in several examples with a feline or pair of felines. In “shrine” VI.A.10, two statuettes of the goddess, seated on a feline, were found (one wearing a leopard-skin cloak) along with a statuette of a boy, who straddles a leopard as if to ride it.²⁴⁸ “Shrine” A.II.1 produced a statuette of a goddess supported on either side by felines.²⁴⁹ Leopard clothing is worn by two other figurines, one a sculpture of a seated female from Level IV,²⁵⁰ and the other a seated male figure with a leopard cap from Level VI.²⁵¹ “Shrine” A.III.1 produced a clay statuette of a goddess holding two feline cubs.²⁵²

Also clothed in leopard skins are the dancer-hunters of the wall paintings in “shrine” A.III.1. They are adorned with costumes that are fitted around their waists perhaps to look as though they, like the statuettes, are seated on leopards. Their costumes were perhaps designed to invoke the power of the deity represented in the statuettes which they are patterned after.

Two rooms decorated solely by leopards were also found at Çatal Hüyük, in levels

²⁴⁶We must also consider the possibility that these markings are simply designs as are typically seen on animal representations in later Anatolian art, and do not, in fact, necessarily indicate leopards.

²⁴⁷For a list of the leopard representations at Çatal Hüyük, refer to V. Haas, *UF* 13, 1981, 105; E. Williams-Forte, *RLA* VI, 1983, 602.

²⁴⁸J. Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük*, 1967, Pls. X, 73-76, 87.

²⁴⁹M. Hörig, *AOAT* 208, 1979, 100, identifies the felines in this case as lions. See J. Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük*, 1967, Pls. IX, 67, 68, fig. 52.

²⁵⁰J. Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük*, 1967, fig. 51.

²⁵¹J. Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük*, 1967, Pl. 85.

²⁵²J. Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük*, 1967, fig. 49.

VI and VII. "Shrine" VII.44 contained paintings of wild goats and reliefs of felines.²⁵³ Both rooms include a pair of opposing leopards. One possible lion representation may be found on the southern half of the east wall of "shrine" F.V.1.²⁵⁴

Among the standards from third millennium Alaca Hüyük is one of a red deer with voluminous antlers flanked within a ring by two slender felines, which are facing the opposite direction from the deer.²⁵⁵ Another standard features a bull similarly flanked within a ring by two felines.²⁵⁶ These animals cannot be more closely identified.

A Hittite ring seal from Konya depicts an animal wearing a conical cap and frontal horn characteristic of divine representations. It supports a winged deity, who holds the animal on a leash.²⁵⁷ This *Mischwesen* is small compared to the lions that flank it, and it looks in general rather like a leopard. A seal impression from Boghazköy depicts another winged deity on a leopard.²⁵⁸ A seal impression from the Schlumberger Collection features a deity holding a bow and standing on a leopard.²⁵⁹

There are a number of cases where felines are more easily identified, most obviously in the monumental lion statuary. These examples set the best standard by which we may determine the identity of felines in reliefs and on seals. Hittite and Neo-Hittite period monumental lions are typically broad in the torso, with equally broad heads and faces.

²⁵³J. Mellaart, *AnSt* 16, 1966, Pl. XLa.

²⁵⁴J. Mellaart, *AnSt* 16, 1966, Pl. LXI.b.

²⁵⁵K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, 1976, fig. 19.

²⁵⁶R. O. Arik, *Les Fouilles d'Alaca Höyük*, Ankara, 1937, Pl. CXCIX.

²⁵⁷See D. G. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920, no. 195; H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 698; K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, 1976, Pls. 236-237. Bittel (WVDOG 61, 1941, 129) interprets the animal with the cap as a divine being in its own right.

²⁵⁸*SBo* II, 1942, no. 102a.

²⁵⁹H. Th. Bossert, "Das hethitische Pantheon," *AfO* 8, 1932/33, 299, Abb. 4, left.

Their tongues protrude and their teeth are prominent. In contrast, other felines are depicted with slender bodies, relatively narrow heads, and no manes. These are not adult male lions, but could be female lions or leopards. Several Hittite seals, published by Güterbock in *SBo* II, contain representations of felines.²⁶⁰ Differentiating only between the two types just described, nos. 96, 97, 98, 99, and 100 are lions, leaving nos. 94, 95, 101, 102a, b and c, and 225 to be interpreted as some other feline.²⁶¹

3. *Symbolism*

Like the lion, the leopard was a symbol of strength and power. Unlike the lion, it was never used as a metaphor for the Hittite king. In almost every respect but this, the roles of the leopard and the lion are intertwined. Wherever the leopard is used symbolically in a text, the lion is also present. Their frequent use together may be attributable to the idea that either alone is not as potent a symbol as the two together. They appear in the passages KBo 3.8 iii 9ff.; 27ff. (supra, pp. 49f.); KUB 29.1 i 28ff. (supra, pp. 51f.); ii 42ff. (supra, pp. 53f.); and KBo 21.22 obv 12'ff. (supra, p. 55). For most of these cases it can be argued that the leopard is included primarily to reinforce the effect of the lion. For instance, in KUB 29.1 i 28ff. the same sentence is repeated for both animals: "the lion rested beneath you, the leopard rested beneath you." The leopard follows the lion as if to add emphasis. In identical phrases in KBo 21.22 obv 12'ff., the lion and leopard are connected with the soul and heart of the king. Similarly, in KUB 29.1 ii 42ff., the physical union of a leopard and a lion is symbolic of the union of the soul and heart of the king.

4. *Religion*

The difficulty in identifying the leopard in the iconography makes this animal's role as a divine attribute equally difficult to assess. Moreover, the identities of many of the

²⁶⁰*SBo* II, 1942, 19, nos. 94, 95, 96-102, 225.

²⁶¹See also nos. 99 and 101, which are too broken to identify, but do contain felines.

deities who stand on felines on the Hittite seals is uncertain.

Like the lion, the leopard is linked with the various manifestations of the Anatolian “Great Goddess.” Its connection with the goddess of Çatal Hüyük has already been discussed. In Hittite texts the leopard is also connected with the goddesses Hapat, Inar and Habandali, and Tetešhapi.²⁶² First millennium Anatolian goddesses associated with the leopard include Ištar,²⁶³ Artemis, and Cybele/Rhea,²⁶⁴ all of whom are also associated with the lion.

The following broken passage links Hapat with the leopard, but neither the nature of their relationship nor the meaning of this passage is clear:

421/d obv²⁶⁵

- 18 [...-i]a ka-a-ša-wa-at-ta pé-e-hu[-te-nu-un
 19 [...] nu-wa Éha-le-en-tu-u-wa ku-e [i-ya-nu-un?]
 20 [...] nu-wa-mu-kán Éha-le-en-tu[-u-wa
 21 [me-e]k-ki nu PIRIG.TUR ú-it na[-
 22 [EGIR-a]n-da-ma-az ^dHé-pát x[

- 18 [...] [I have] just brought them to you
 19 [...] and the *halentu*-house that [I built?]
 20 [...] and to me the *halentu*-house [
 21 [man]y?. And the leopard came. And [

²⁶²In the Sumerian texts the leopard is found with Inanna. See W. Heimpei, *Studia Pohl* 2, 1968, 331 #38.4, 332f. #38.7; A. W. Sjöberg, “in-nin šà-gur₄-ra A Hymn to the Goddess Inanna by the en-Priestess Enheduanna,” *ZA* 65, 1975, 180f. #24, 184f. #73. In the latter, Inanna is tied not only with the leopard, but with the lion and bull as well.

²⁶³V. Haas, *UF* 13, 1981, 111, with n. 101.

²⁶⁴O. Keller, *Die Antike Tierwelt*, 1963, 63.

²⁶⁵Cf. S. Alp, *Tempel*, 1983, 308-11.

22 [After]ward, Hapat [

The Hattic goddesses Inar and Habandali are offered wine from silver rhyta in the shape of a leopard and a boar, respectively, in the KILLAM Festival:

KBo 20.33 obv (CTH 627 [OH/MS?])²⁶⁶

- 13 [TUŠ-aš] ^dI-na-ar Û ^dHa-ba-an-da-li IŠ-TU É ^dI-na-ar
 14 [hu-i-]ta-ar KÙ.BABBAR ú-da-an-zi 1 hu-pár GEŠTIN A-NA PÌRIG.TUR 1 hu-pár
 GEŠTIN A-NA ŠAHLNITÁ la-hu-an-zi
 15 [hu-]i-₂ta-ar ša-mi-nu-an-zi pé-e-ri-in ša-mi-nu-an-zi
 16 [LÚM]Š₂ALAM.ZÚ ša-mi-nu-an-zi kur-ša-aš É-ir-za DINGIR.MEŠ ú-wa-an-zi

- 13 [Sitting,] Inar and Habandali: From the temple of Inar
 14 they bring the silver [ani]mals. They pour out one bowl of wine into the leopard (rhyton) and one bowl of wine into the boar (rhyton).
 15 They carry along²⁶⁷ the [ani]mals, they carry along[?] the *peri*-.²⁶⁸
 16 The performers[?] carry (them) along[?]. The gods come from the house of the hunting bag.

Elsewhere in the KILLAM Festival, the leopard enters the activities just prior to the

²⁶⁶Cf. the Old Hittite parallel, ABoT 5+ ii 13'-17' with dupl. KBo 22.195 (+) 224 ii¹ 10'-14', which does not name the animals: "The king and queen drink to two (deities) sitting: Inar [and Haband]ali ... [From the temple of] Inar, the *šuppišnuwara*- come; [the anim]als go along; the *peri*- comes. On the second day there are no *peri*- and animals." For this text and its duplicates and joins see I. Singer, StBoT 28, 1984, 32ff., 89; StBoT 27, 1983, 95f. Cf. KBo 20.33+ obv. 13-16 (StBoT 27, 1983, 95).

²⁶⁷Singer translates *šamenu*- as "are carried along." For this word, cf. also H. C. Melchert, JNES 37, 1978, 22.

²⁶⁸For *peri*- see I. Singer, StBoT 27, 97, with n. 29. The CHD (forthcoming) refutes Singer's suggestion that it is the syllabic writing for MUŠEN "bird(?)," since birds would be covered in this context by the term *huitar*. Rather, they suggest that it is another object that is carried, e.g. "standard[?]." The silver representations of animals are followed, then, by live animals (*huitar*) and standards[?] (*peri*-).

procession of animals. Here the narrative tells us that some persons²⁶⁹ dance in the manner of a leopard:

KBo 10.23 iii²⁷⁰

- 1" *nu-kán pí-dī-i[š-š]i*
- 2" *ú-e-ha-an-ta-ri*
- 3" *nu pár-ša-ni-li tar-ú-i-eš-kán[-zi]*
- 4" *ŠU.MEŠ-ŠU-NU-ya ša-ra-a*
- 5" *ap-pí-iš-kán-zi*
- 6" *pal-ú-i-iš-kán-zi-ya*

- 1" Then (each) in [hi]s place
- 2" whirls.
- 3" Then they dan[ce] in a crouching manner?²⁷¹
- 4" and their hands they
- 5" hold up
- 6" and they clap?²⁷²

Haas would like to see in this passage a relationship with the leopard-men (LÚ PIRIG.TUR).²⁷³ Unfortunately for this notion, these functionaries do not appear, and in

²⁶⁹Singer suggests the LÚ.MEŠ ALAM.ZÚ, which he translates "comedians?" (StBoT 27, 1983, 59), who appear dancing and gesticulating in l. 12", immediately after the parade of animals.

²⁷⁰Cf. I. Singer, StBoT 28, 1984, 12.

²⁷¹For *paršnai-*, denominal from *paršina-* "cheek?, buttock?," see CHD forthcoming.

²⁷²For *palwai-* see S. Alp, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtennamen im hethitischen Festzeremoniell*, Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1940, 78ff. It is an action characteristic of the *palwatalla-men*.

²⁷³V. Haas, UF 13, 1981, 108.

no text are the leopard-men said to dance. Later in the activities, a silver leopard figurine leads the procession of animals (KBo 10.23 v 16').²⁷⁴

A festival for the Hattic goddess, Tetešhapi, involves a leopard. The presence of the LÚ_{miniya}- indicates that LÚ is to be restored before PÌRIG.TUR as well, since these two functionaries appear elsewhere together in ritual:

KUB 25.51 i (CTH 738 [MH/NS])²⁷⁵

- 2' nu <LÚ> PÌRIG.TUR-aš ú-iz-zi
 3' LÚ_{mi-ni}-ya-aš-ša EGIR-pa-an i-ya-a[t-ta]
 4' nu šA DINGIR-LIM GŠBAN har-zi
 5' na-at A-NA PA-NI DINGIR-LIM ti-ya-zi
 6' nu-uš-ma-aš LÚSÌLA.ŠU.DU_g.A
 7' a-ku-wa-an-na pa-a-i na-at hi-in-kán-z[i]
-
- 2' The leopard<-man> comes,
 3' and the *miniya*-man wal[ks] behind (him).
 4' He holds the bow of the deity,
 5' and it (the bow) steps before the deity.
 6' The cupbearer gives to them
 7' to drink and they bow down.

The LÚ_{miniya}- is an archer or hunter of some kind,²⁷⁶ which suggests that this passage describes a ritual activity symbolic of, or having to do with the hunt. The bow, however,

²⁷⁴Another silver leopard figurine leads a procession of animals in the parallel passage, KBo 10.25 vi 5' (with dupl. KBo 30.14 v 8') just prior to the parading of the deer figures.

²⁷⁵Cf. F. Pecchioli-Daddi, "Aspects du culte de la divinité hattie Teteshapi," *Hethitica* 8, 1987, 376, n. 53.

²⁷⁶For this festival participant, see now *CHD* 3/3, 1986, 290.

belongs to the goddess Tetešhapi, suggesting that she is a hunting deity.²⁷⁷ A parallel text offers another view of the leopard, in this case, with the wolf, in the twice repeated phrase “when I go, be afraid for me regarding the leopard and the wolf!” (KBo 21.90 rev 51'-52' and 53'-54' [OH/MS]).²⁷⁸

One medical text refers to the killing of a leopard. The presence of the ^{KUŠ}MATNU “bowstring,” “sinew” suggests that a hunt may be the cause of the leopard’s death:

KUB 44.61 rev (NH)²⁷⁹

- 12' *nu-uš-ši-kán ŠU-UR-ŠA-ŠU ar-ha da-a[-i]*
 13' *an-da ši-ku-wa-iz-zi A-NA ^{KUŠ}MA-AT-N[I]*
 14' *PÌRIG.TUR ku-it ku-na-an har-zi ma-a-an-m[a²-at-kán]*
 15' *da-a-i na-at-kán lu-uš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi n[u²]*
 16' *na-at pa-ap-pár-ša-an-zi nam-ma-at da-a[n-zi]*
 17' *UZUSA-ma hu-i-it-nc-i-ma-aš-pát²⁸⁰ da-an-zi [*
 18' *a[n-d]a ne-ya-az-zi ...*

- 12' And for him its root [he] takes away. [
 13' he šikuwai-s [it²] in. For the bowstring [
 14' because he has killed a leopard. [But] if [it

²⁷⁷See F. Pecchioli-Daddi, *Hethitica* 8, 1987, 367.

²⁷⁸Cf. *infra*, p. 86f.

²⁷⁹C. Burde, *Hethitische medizinische Texte*, StBoT 19, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974, 20f. (Text A).

²⁸⁰See C. Burde, StBoT 19, 1974, 22 for this unusual derivative of *huitar*.

- 15' he takes, and they *luššanu*-²⁸¹ it, [
 16' and they sprinkle it, then [they] ta[ke] it [
 17' but the sinew of the *h*. they take [
 18' he leads in ...

In the following, a leopard guards the spring of the Sungod. In this passage may lie evidence that the leopard, like the lion, could serve an apotropaic use:

KBo 21.22 rev (OH/MS)²⁸²

- 36' ^d[U]TU-wa-aš wa-at-ta-ru ú-it na-at ma-a-ah-h[a-an i-ya-an]
 37' kat-ta¹-ša-ra-at-kán NA₄-ta ú-e-da-an iš-ki-y[a-an o o o o o] lu-li-i[^t?²⁸³]
 38' na-at pá-r-ša-ni-eš pa-a-ah-ša-an-ta wa-a-tar-še-et-kán x[
 39' [l]u-ú-li-az ar-aš-zi na-an pa-ah-ha-aš-nu-an-du la-b[a-ar-n]a-an
 40' [LUG]AL-un pa-aš-ši-le-eš na-aš ^dUTU-wa-aš AN.BAR ki-ša-r[u?
 36' The fountain of the Sungod came. How is it [made]?
 37' Below (and) above, it is built with stone, cove[red ...] by a pond.
 38' The leopards guard it. Its water [...
 39' flows from the pond. Let the pebbles
 40' protect the king, Labarna! Let him becom[e] the iron of the Sun!

The leopard was primarily perceived as a “big game” animal, and was a popular object of the hunt. Its symbolic role is minimal beyond its connection with the lion. Indeed, in symbolic thought, it is little more than an extension of the lion.

²⁸¹*luššanu*- occurs only here and in an inventory for the cult of the god Pirwa, IBoT 2.131 rev 10-12 (NH): nu LÚ.MEŠ[a-p]a-na-al-li-i[š] 1 UDU hu-u-kán-zi LÚSANGA ŠA DUMU.NITA LÚ.M[^šla-p]a-na-al-l[i].HIA-š[a?] ŠA DUMU.SAL.MEŠ nu lu-uš-ša-nu-an-zi. Both texts involve the ritual manipulation of an animal—in the case of IBoT 2.131, a sheep. *luššanu*- may refer to some purificatory action performed on animal hides. See now *CHD* 3/1, 1980, 87f.

²⁸²Cf. G. Kellerman, *TA* 5, 1978, 200 and 202.

²⁸³For this reading see *CHD* 3/1, 1980, 81.

Section D. UR.BAR.RA (c.) “wolf”: Hittite *ulip(a)na-*

UR.BAR.RA

sg. nom. UR.BAR.RA KBo 6.3 ii 30 (OH/MS), KBo 10.23 v 17' (OH/NS);
UR.BAR.RA-*as* KBo 6.2 ii 12, iv 2 (OS), KBo 8.42 rev² 7 (OS), KBo 6.3 iii 74
(OH/MS); UR.BAR.R[A...] KUB 43.22 i 18', 21' (LS); sg. nom.[?] UR.BAR.RA
KUB 18.32 obv 4'; UR.BAR.RA-*aš* KBo 25.193 obv[?] 11'; sg. acc. UR.BAR.RA
KUB 12.63 obv 26, 31 (OH/MS), KBo 21.6 obv 9 (earlyNS), KUB 31.77 i 17, KUB
33.77 i 19, KUB 35.145 rev 15', KUB 43.6 : 5'; sg. gen. UR.BAR.RA KBo 17.61
obv 19 (MH/MS), Bo 4542 rev 6²⁸⁴; UR.BAR.RA-*aš* KBo 3.27 : 15 (OH/NS); sg.
d.-l. UR.BAR.RA KBo 21.90 obv 54' (OH/MS), KUB 44.4 rev 24 (NH);
UR.BAR.RA-*ni* KBo 6.2 iv 14 (OS), KBo 21.90 obv 52' (OH/MS), KBo 21.103 rev
28'; ANA UR.BAR.RA KBo 6.3 iv 9 (OH/MS), KUB 43.22 obv 22' (LS); unclear
UR.B[AR.RA] KBo 26.147 : 9', KUB 4.52 obv 7; pl. nom.[?] UR.BAR.RA.MEŠ
KUB 36.2b ii 10'.

adv. UR.BAR.RA-*ili* KUB 9.31 ii 12 (MH/NS).

ulip(a)na-

sg. nom. *ú-li-ip-na'-aš* KBo 3.8 iii 28 (OH/NS); sg. acc. *ú-li-pa-na-an*
KBo 3.8 iii 10 (OH/NS); *ú-li[-pa-na-an]* IBoT 3.106 rev 4'; sg. gen. *ú-li-ip-na-aš*
KUB 35.103 rev 9; pl. nom. *ú-li-ip-ni-eš* KUB 42.69 obv 12'.

1. *Introduction*

Wolf (*Canis lupus*) remains are indistinguishable from those of dogs, therefore it is impossible to ascertain whether any were present at Boghazköy. Large dog bones,

²⁸⁴G. M. Beckman, StBoT 29, 1983, 53.

according to von den Driesch and Boessneck, may belong either to dogs bred for size, such as those used for hunting, or to wolves.²⁸⁵

The equation of UR.BAR.RA with *ulip(a)na-* cannot be proved conclusively from the textual evidence, but is strengthened by KBo 6.2 iv 14, which reads UR.BAR.RA-*ni*, thus requiring a stem in *n*.²⁸⁶ Support also comes from KBo 3.8 iii 10 and 28, where *ulip(a)na-* is found with the deer, leopard, lion and *šaša*-animal, a similar menagerie to that found with UR.BAR.RA in the list of animals in KBo 10.23 v 16'-25'.²⁸⁷ In addition, KBo 3.27 : 15f. (infra, p. 87) identifies UR.BAR.RA as an animal that runs in packs, which again suggests "wolf."

2. *Iconography*

The wolf is virtually absent in both Anatolian and Mesopotamian iconography.²⁸⁸ However, the animal procession of the KILLAM Festival includes a silver wolf figurine (KBo 10.23 v 17'), and KUB 42.69 obv 12' lists a gold ornament of wolves: *ú-li-ip-ni-eš* GUŠKIN NA₄ "wolves (of) gold and stone."²⁸⁹ No wolf-shaped rhyta are mentioned in the texts, and no divinities are artistically or textually linked with the wolf.

²⁸⁵A. von den Driesch and J. Boessneck, *Boğazköy-Hattuša XI*, 1981, 52-54. On the wolf in the Proto- Indo-European homeland, see J. P. Mallory, "Indo-European and Kurgan Fauna I: Wild Mammals," *JIES* 10, 1982, 202-204.

²⁸⁶See F. Starke, "Halmašuit im Anitta-Text und die hethitische Ideologie vom Königtum," *ZA* 69, 1979, 89, n. 89.

²⁸⁷Neither UR.BAR.RA nor *ulipna-* is found in the comparable lists, KBo 10.25 vi 4'-8' and KBo 25.180 rev? 3'-4'.

²⁸⁸See E. D. van Buren, *AnOr* 18, 1939, 13, who cites only one example of a wolf representation.

²⁸⁹Cf. S. Košak, "The Inventory of Manninni (CTH 504)," *Linguistica* 18, 1978, 115-117.

3. Symbolism

§§75 and 80 of the Hittite Laws both deal with livestock and the potential for its falling prey to wolves. §75 covers the loss of an animal while in the hands of someone other than the owner. If the animal falls prey to a wolf it must be replaced:

KBo 6.2 iv with dupls. KBo 6.3 iii 73-75, KUB 13.13 rev 1'-5'²⁹⁰

- 1 [(*ták-ku* GUD-*un* ANŠE.KUR.R)]A ANŠE.GİR.NUN.NA ANŠE-*in ku-iš-ki tu-u-ri-iz-zi na-aš a-ki*
 - 2 *na-aš-ma-an* UR.BAR.RA-*aš ka-ra-a-pí na-aš-ma-aš har-ak-zi na-an ša-ku-wa-aš-ša-ra-an-pát pa-a-i*
 - 3 [(*ták-ku te-ez-zi-ma*)] I-NA QA-TI DINGIR-LIM *a-ak-ki-iš nu li-ik-zi*²⁹¹
- 1 If anyone harnesses an ox, a horse, a mule, (or) a donkey, and it dies,
 - 2 or a wolf devours it, or it disappears, then he will give one intact.
 - 3 If he says, "it died by the hand of a god," he must take an oath.

§80 likewise deals with the loss of an animal to a wolf while out of its owner's hands. In this case, the remains of the animal are divided between the owner and the person who brings about the loss of the animal:

KBo 6.2 iv with dupls. KUB 29.13 rev 6'-7', KBo 6.3 iv 9-10²⁹²

- 14 *ták-ku* UDU-*un* UR.BAR.RA-*ní ku-iš-ki pé-eš-ši-iz-zi iš-ha-aš-ši-iš* UZU¹IA *da-a-i*

²⁹⁰See J. Friedrich, *HG*, 1959, 42f. Cf. F. Imparati, *Leggi*, 1964, 257f.; R. Haase, "Zur Bedeutung des Wortes *šakuyāššar*- in den hethitischen Gesetztexten," *MIO* 5, 1957, 37-40.

²⁹¹KBo 6.3 iii 75: *ták-ku te-ez-zi-ma IŠ-TU* DINGIR-LIM-*wa-ra-aš* BA.UG₆ *nu li-in-[ga?]-zi*; KUB 13.13 rev 4'f.: *te-ez-zi-ma IŠ-TU* DINGIR-LIM [...] *li-in-kán[-zi]*.

²⁹²Cf. F. Starke, *Die Funktionen der dimensionalen Kasus und Adverbien im Althethitischen*, StBoT 23, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977, B138; F. Imparati, *Leggi*, 1964, 262f.; R. Haase, "Bemerkungen zu einigen Paragraphen der hethitischen Gesetztexte," *ArOr* 26, 1958, 31ff.

15 *a-pa-a-ša KUŠ UDU da-a-i*

14 If someone throws a sheep to a wolf, its owner will take the fat,

15 and that one will take the hide of the sheep.

However we choose to understand this law, it certainly indicates that the wolf was considered a threat to livestock.²⁹³

In addition to being a competitor with man for food, the wolf was a symbol of the untamed wild. This can be seen in §37 of the Laws, where the wolf becomes a metaphor for a man guilty of either kidnapping or stealing or possibly eloping with a woman:

KBo 6.2 ii with dupl. KBo 6.3 ii 29-30²⁹⁴

10 *ták-ku SAL-na-an ku-iš-ki pít-ti-nu-uz-zi E[(GIR-an-da)-ma-aš-ma-aš š]ar-di-i-eš*
a-ap-pa-an an-da pa-a[-an]-z[i]

11 *ták-ku 3 LÚ.MEŠ na-aš-ma 2 LÚ.MEŠ ak[(-kán-z)]i šar-ni-ik-zi-il NU.GÁ[L]*

12 *zi-ik-wa UR.BAR.RA-aš [(ki-iš-ta-at)]*²⁹⁵

10 If someone causes a woman to run, [but] rescuers go after [them],

11 if three or two men are killed there is no compensation—

12 “You have become a wolf!”

Through his crimes, the criminal has become part of that which is beyond the law, namely, the wilderness as represented by the wolf.²⁹⁶ The man is no longer subject to human law,

²⁹³One oracle text seems to deal with a wolf breaking into a mill house: KUB 18.32 : 4' (CTH 582): *I-NA É NA₄ARÀH UR.BAR.RA kal-la-ra-a[h?...* “in the mill, a wolf *k...* [],” suggesting that the wolf was a threat to more than livestock.

²⁹⁴Cf. F. Imparati, *Leggi*, 1964, 54f., 220ff.; G. M. Beckman, *JNES* 45, 1986, 24.

²⁹⁵KBo 6.3 ii 29f.: *ták-ku SAL-an ku[-iš-ki] pít-te-nu-uz-zi EGIR-an-da[-ma-aš-ma-aš š(ar-d)]i-ya-aš pa-iz-zi ták-ku 2 LÚ.MEŠ na-aš-ma 3 LÚ.MEŠ ak-kán-zi šar-ni-ik-zi[-il NU.GÁ)L (zi-ik-wa)] UR.BAR.RA ki-ša-at.*

²⁹⁶See V. Ivanov, “On the Interpretation of the §37 of the Hittite Laws in the Light of Other Indo-European Traditions,” *Linguistica* 13, 1973, 102-10, for the comparison of a

but will be treated like an animal. His punishment for stealing the woman will be the same as that of a wolf who steals livestock.

In the Palace Chronicle (CTH 9), one narrative tells us that the offender was treated as a wolf by his family until such time as he underwent a river ordeal, whereupon he was once again accepted into human society:

KBo 8.42 rev (OS)²⁹⁷

7 UR.BAR.RA-*aš-mi-iš e-eš-ta ša-an* DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU DUMU[.DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU ...]

8 ^m*Hu-uz-zi-ya ŠUM-ŠU nu-uš-še a-pa-a-aš ti-i-e-ī*[t

9 ^d*ID-ya pa-it ša-aš pār-ku-e-eš-ta u-x*[

10 *a-pí-da-ni-pát pí-i-ir nu-uš-še i-da-a-lu* [*le-e?*

7 He was their wolf, and his sons and [his] gran[dsons shunned??] him.

8 Huzziya (was) his name, and to him that one ste[pped

9 and he went to the River, and he became purified. [...]

10 they gave to that one, and to him [may?] the evil [not return??]

The wolf as representative of a world that is beyond human control can be seen again in the Ritual of Zuwi. The “men of *hurke*” are assigned various tasks by the “Temple of the Weathergod.” The levels of difficulty range from impossible to very difficult. Among the latter are grasping a wolf with one’s hands and a lion with one’s knees, and trapping?? a snake:

criminal to a wolf in Indo-European tradition. Cf. also G. Beckman, *JNES* 45, 1986, 24, with n. 33.

²⁹⁷Cf. H. Otten, “Die inschriftlichen Funde,” *MDOG* 88, 1955, 36; E. Laroche, “Fleuve et ordalie en asia mineure hittite,” *FsOtten*, 1973, 185.

KUB 12.63 i (CTH 412 [OH/MS])²⁹⁸

- 22 UM-MA É ^dIM A-NA LÚ.MEŠ *hu-ur-ki-la-aš te-mi-wa-aš-ma-aš ku[-in? ... nu-wa-aš-ma-aš]*
- 23 *ku-u-un-na pí-ih-hi nu-wa-ra-an-za-an pé-e-hu-<te>et-ta-ni* UM-MA LÚ.MEŠ *hu-u[r-ki-la-aš A-NA É ^dIM]*
- 24 *te-et-wa-ra-at-na-aš i-ya-u-e-ni-wa-ra-at ta-lu-ga-uš-wa KAŠKAL.HLA ma-ni-ku[-an-da-ah-ten ma-ni-ku-an-du-ša]*
- 25 *ta-lu-ga-nu-ut-ten* HUR.SAG.MEŠ *pár-ga-nu-uš ma-ni-ku-an-da-ah-ten ma-ni-ku-an-du-ša p[ár-ga-nu-ut-ten]*
-
- 26 UR.BAR.RA *ki-iš-šar-ta e-ep-ten* UR.MAH *ga-nu-ut e-ep-ten* ÍD-an *k[u-wa-an-ku-nu-ur-ra har-ten?]*
- 27 MUŠ-an *zu-wa-al-wa-la-a-ten na-an* LUGAL-wa-aš *a-aš-ka pé-e-hu-te-et-ten nu DI[-NAM-še-et ha-an-na-ah-hi?]*
- 28 *nu an-ni-iš-ki-mi ku-in na-an-kán ŠUM-ŠU hal-zi-ih-hi nu-uš-ma-aš am-mu-uk*
x[... nu-mu]
- 29 LÚ.MEŠ *a-ap-pa i-ya-an-nir* UM-MA-ŠU<NU>-ma *Ú-UL-za šu-wa-u-e-ni da-lu-ga-uš*
[KASKAL.HLA *Ú-UL ma-ni-ku-wa-an-da-ah-hi-ir*]
- 30 *ma-ni-ku-wa-an-du-ša* KASKAL.HLA-uš *Ú-UL-aš da-lu-uk-nu-la*²⁹⁹
HUR.SAG.HLA *pár-ga-mu-u[š Ú-UL ma-ni-ku-wa-an-da-ah-hi-ir]*
- 31 *kap-pa-uš* HUR.SAG.MEŠ *Ú-UL-uš pár-ga-nu-la* UR.BAR.RA *ki-iš-šar-ta Ú-UL*
e-[ep-pir UR.MAH ga-nu-ut Ú-UL e-ep-pir]

²⁹⁸Cf. J. Friedrich, "Wirkliche und angebliche Formen des Kohortativs beim hethitischen Verbum," *Or* 13, 1944, 208-211, esp. 209f.; A. Goetze, *JAOS* 74, 1954, 188; A. Archi, *FsCarratelli*, 1988, 35f.

²⁹⁹H. Pedersen, "Hittite *dalugnula* and *barganula*," *JCS* 1, 1947, 63, takes *daluknula* in this line and *parganula* in the following line as nom., pl., neut. verbal adjectives expressing possibility. That is, in the negative, they refer to those deeds that are clearly impossible to perform. It is more likely, however, that this text is corrupt, and I have translated these forms as preterite plurals, which seems to make the best sense in the context.

- 32 *ÍD-kán ku-wa-an-ku-nu-ur-ra pé-eš-ši-ir na-at har-ra-at-ta Ú-UL MUŠ-an z[u-wa-al-
wa-la-a-ir na-an LUGAL-wa-aš a-aš-ka Ú-UL]*
- 33 *pé-e-hu-te-er Ú-UL ha-an-ne-eš-ša-še-et ha-an-na-at Ú-UL ut-tar na-ak[-ki]*
-
- 22 Thus said the Temple of the Weathergod to the *hurkel*-men: “Wh[at] I mention to you
[... and to you]
- 23 even that I will give, and you will carry it off.” Thus said the *hu[rkel]*-men [to the
Temple of the Weathergod:]
- 24 “Speak them (the deeds) to us! We will perform them.” “The long roads [make]
sh[ort, and the short (ones)]
- 25 make long! The high mountains make low, and the low (ones) [make] h[igh!]
-
- 26 Grasp the wolf with (your) hands! Grasp the lion with (your) knee! [Hold back the]
c[urrent?] (and) the river!
- 27 Trap?? the snake and take it to the King’s Gate! Then [I will decide its] ca[se]!”
- 28 The one whom I treat, I call him (by) his name. For you I [... . Then to me]
- 29 the men came back (and) they said, “We cannot do (it).” The long [roads—they did
not make them short],
- 30 the short roads—they did not lengthen them. The high mountains[—they did not
make them low,]
- 31 the small mountains—they did not make them high. [They did] not g[rasp] a wolf
with (their) hands, [they did not grasp a lion with their knees.]
- 32 They threw the current? (and) the river, and he *hura*-d them. [They did] not [trap??] a
snake [and did not] take [it to the King’s Gate].
- 33 He did not judge its case. The serious matter [he did] not [...].

The inclusion of the animals in this array of impossible to near impossible deeds demonstrates that they fell into a category within the Hittite world order that was viewed as uncontrollable, that is, wild nature. Dominated by neither human law nor physical

strength, the wolf, along with the lion and snake, was to the Hittites a representative of the uncivilized realm with which their civilization coexisted.

The combination of wolf and feline occurs again in a passage from a festival for the Hattic goddess, Tetešhapi (CTH 738). The danger represented by the wolf and leopard to the herbivores (wild and domestic) is evident:

KBo 21.90 rev (OH/MS) || KBo 25.155 + KBo 21.103 rev 27'-31'³⁰⁰

51' *še[?]-er[?]-wa-aš-š[(a-an³⁰¹ ha-)]an-ku-ri-ya ša-a-aš-ša-aš³⁰² SILÁ nu-wa-aš-ša-an
ma-a-an*

52' *pa-a-i-mi na-a-[(hi)-i(-mu)³⁰³] pá-r-aš-ni³⁰⁴ UR.BAR.RA-ni la-ri-ya-wa³⁰⁵ wa-a-tar
qa-a-aš*

53' *ḏTe-te-eš-ha-p[i_p³⁰⁶] NIN.DINGIR-wa-ša-an³⁰⁷ pa-it ú-ga-wa«ša» ma-a-an pa-i-
m[(i)]*

54' *na-a-hi-i-mu³⁰⁸ p[ár-aš-ni] UR.BAR.RA la-ri-ya-wa wa-a-tar qa-a-aš³⁰⁹ ḏTe-te-eš-
[ha-pi_p]_i*

51' "The gazelle? and the lamb are on the *hankuri*-! When

³⁰⁰Cf. F. Pecchioli-Daddi, *Hethitica* 8, 1987, 366f.; A. Archi, *FsCarratelli*, 1988, 33f.; *CHD* 3/1, 1980, 46.

³⁰¹KBo 25.155 + KBo 21.103 rev 27']x-wa-aš-ša-an.

³⁰²KBo 21.103 rev 27' ša-a-aš-ša-aš.

³⁰³KBo 21.103 rev 28' na-hi-mu.

³⁰⁴KBo 21.103 rev 28' par«-aš»-ni.

³⁰⁵KBo 21.103 rev 28' la-a-ri[-.

³⁰⁶KBo 21.103 rev 29' ḏTe-te-eš-ha-pí.

³⁰⁷KBo 21.103 rev 29' -wa-aš-ša-an.

³⁰⁸KBo 21.103 rev 30' na-a-hi-mu.

³⁰⁹KBo 21.103 rev 30' ka-a-aš.

- 52' I go, be afraid for me regarding the leopard and the wolf! *lariya-* the water!" This
 53' (is) Tetešhapi: "The priestess went, and when I go,
 54' be afraid for me (regarding) the le[opard] (and) the wolf! *lariya-* the water!" This (is)
 Teteš[hap]i.

In the incantation from the birth ritual KUB 44.4 + KBo 13.241 rev 24 (see supra, p. 37), where the image of a prowling wolf is used to protect the newborn from sorcery, the wolf's predatory nature functions apotropaically rather than destructively.

The wolf's habits were not always the object of suspicion. In the following proverb from the Edict of Hattušili I, its instinct for travelling in packs is exploited for a simile intended to evoke unity.

KBo 3.27 obv (CTH 5 [OH/NS])³¹⁰

- 15' [šū-]mī-in-za-na ÌR.MEŠ-am-ma-an UR.BAR.RA-aš ma-a-an pa-an-g[ur-še-me-et]
 16' 1-EN e-eš-tu ...
 15' Let [y]our clan, that of my servants, be united like
 16' that of the wolf! ...³¹¹

The following passage describes a dream of Queen Puduhepa in which a ghost speaks, but the meaning of its words are unclear:

KUB 31.77 i (CTH 584)³¹²

- 15 *ku-it-wa-ra-an za-ah-hi-iš-ki-nu-un ku-it-wa-ra-an*

³¹⁰Cf. G. M. Beckman, *JNES* 45, 1986, 23; F. Sommer and A. Falkenstein, *HAB*, 1938, 75 with n. 2.

³¹¹Cf. the similar passage, KUB 1.16 ii 46 (CTH 6), which uses a *wetna*-animal instead of a wolf (infra, p. 280).

³¹²Cf. H. Otten, *Puduhepa: Eine hethitische Königin in ihren Textzeugnissen*, Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1975, 14, n. 26.

- 16 *za-ah-hi-iš-ki-nu-un nu-wa-ra-an-kán u-un-hu-ún*
 17 *nam-ma UR.BAR.RA-ya-wa-kán ku-iš an-da [o o -]ta*
 18 *[n]a-an-kán ša-ra-a hu-u-it-ti-ya-nu-ún*
 19 *x-ma a-ši UR.BAR.RA ti-an-[z]i ...*
-
- 15 Because I kept striking him, because
 16 I kept striking him and I *unh*-ed³¹³ him,
 17 then I drew up the one
 18 who [...] the wolf.
 19 that wolf they set [...].

The wolf commanded a symbolic range in Hittite society that is similar to modern Western conceptions of this animal. It was notorious for stealing livestock (see §§75 and 80 of the Hittite Laws, *supra*), and hence became a symbol of lawlessness (see §37, *supra*). It also epitomized the “untamed wild” as the Ritual of Zuwi (KUB 12.63 obv 26) attests. In this passage, the LÚ.MEŠ *hurkel* are instructed to take hold of a wolf with their hands, a task clearly considered difficult, and which they fail to accomplish. At the same time, however, its natural instinct to run in packs serves as a model for the members of the king’s entourage.³¹⁴ The wolf was also an animal to be feared, and as such, the image of the prowling wolf was used apotropaically along with the lion in the incantation KUB 44.4 + KBo 13.241 rev 24 and 32 (*supra*, p. 37). and by KBo 21.90 : 52', in a festival for the goddess Tetešhapi.

³¹³For this word see N. Oettinger, *Die Stammbildungen des hethitischen Verbums*, Nürnberg: Verlag Hans Carl, 1979, 183; but cf. S. Košak, *Hittite Inventory Texts (CTH 241-250)*, THeth 10, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1982, 63.

³¹⁴KBo 3.27 : 15f., *supra*, p. 87.

4. Religion

The wolf had cultic uses. One birth ritual requires the burning of a wolf's head: [*na-aš-ta SA*]G.DU UR.BAR.RA-*ma ar-ha wa-ar-nu-mi* "[and] I burn up a wolf's [he]ad" (KBo 17.61 obv 19 [CTH 430]).³¹⁵ The Ritual of Zarpiya (CTH 757) calls for the imitation of wolf behavior:

KUB 9.31 ii

- 9 ... *nu* 8 DUMU.MEŠ.NITA *ú-wa-da-an-zi*
 10 SAL-*ní-iš-ša-an ku-i-e-eš na-a-ú-i pa-a-an-zi*
 11 *nu* A-NA 1 DUMU.NITA KUŠ MÁŠ.GAL *wa-as-ši-ya-an-zi pí-ra-an a-pa-a-aš*
 12 *i-ya[-a]t-ta nu* UR.BAR.RA-*i-li hal-zi-iš-ša-i*
 13 *nu* GŠB[ANŠUR *a*]*n-da wa-ah-nu-an-zi nu* UZU³¹⁶ZAG.UDU UZUGAB
 14 *ar-ha a-d[a-an]-zi*

- 9 ... They bring in eight boys
 10 who have not yet gone (to) a woman.³¹⁶
 11 Then on one boy they put a goat skin, (and) that one
 12 comes forth and calls (out) in the manner of a wolf.
 13 Then they turn the table in, and the shoulder and breast
 14 they devour.

Bossert compares these lines to the fabled image of the wolf in sheep's clothing.³¹⁷ The ritual eating of lines 13f. is presumably symbolically linked to the goat costume and wolf

³¹⁵For context see G. M. Beckman, StBoT 29, 1983, 42f., and 53; H. Berman, "A Hittite Ritual for the Newborn," JAOS 92, 1972, 466ff. Cf. also Bo 4542 rev 6 (G. M. Beckman, StBoT 29, 1983, 53).

³¹⁶That is, have not yet known a woman sexually.

³¹⁷See his comments in *Janus und der Mann mit der Adler- oder Greifenmaske*, Istanbul: Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch Instituut, 1959, 15.

imitation of the previous lines. That is, the eating frenzy is a continuation of the wolf behavior.

Another passage involves a wolf, and although the context is very uncertain, it may refer to a situation similar to that of the passage treated above:

KUB 43.22 obv (CTH 832 [LS])

18' *na-aš me-ek-k[i] x[o o] ku-iš-kán UR.BAR.R[A*

19' *nam-ma-aš-ši-iš-ša-an x x HU.RU[?]-ŠU-NU an-da[*

20' *a[r-ñ]a QA-TAM-MA DA[?] UN[?] I[?] ku-ra-al an-na[*

21' *ma-a-an-ši-kán la[?]-aš-hu-ru-aš an-da UR.BAR.R[A*

22' *É-ri pí-an-zi nu-kán A-NA UR.BAR.R[A*

23' *QA-TAM-MA x x we-eš-kán-zi ...*

18' He [...] many. Such a wol[f

19' then ... [they bring?] in,

20' likewise ... [they ...] a[wa]y.

21' If for him ... a wol[f ...] in

22' they go into the house and to the wol[f

23' likewise ... they cry out. ...

A final example of the ritual uses of wolves may be found in a ritual to the Sungoddess of the Earth (CTH 448), in which a lion and wolf are manipulated in some way during the recitation of an incantation: “Let him/her bring a destructive[?] lion, but a wolf [let him bring to] the center.”³¹⁸

More than most wild animals in Hittite texts, the wolf performs a distinct symbolic function—that of the outlaw. It is the human who has set himself apart from society. In

³¹⁸KBo 21.6 obv 9ff. with dupl. KBo 25.193 obv 11'-12' (NS). Cf. *supra*, p. 38.

this respect, the wolf is comparable to its domestic counterpart, the dog, which also serves as a metaphor for man. Whereas the dog is the degraded human living on the periphery of civilization, the wolf is the outcast human, living beyond civilization.

Section E. KA₅.A (c.) “fox”: Hittite reading unknown

pl. nom. KA₅.A.HI.A KUB 24.14 iv 20, 24 (NH); pl. acc. KA₅.A.HI.A-uš KBo 3.1 i 43 (NH), KUB 36.25 iv 14.

1. Introduction

The fox (*Vulpes vulpes*) was and is common in Anatolia. A small number of bones have been found at Boghazköy.³¹⁹ The fox is absent in the iconography, and the texts do not mention figurines of foxes. Nor does the fox have any role in Hittite religion according to the existing evidence. Its appearances in Hittite literature are mostly symbolic.³²⁰

The signs KA₅.A designate not only the fox, but also a bird that occurs frequently in the oracles.³²¹ Although the latter is never found with the MUŠEN “bird” determinative, the context strongly suggests that a bird is intended, since the formulaic language used to describe the movements of other birds is similar to that always used for this one.³²²

2. Symbolism

Unlike the Sumerian texts, the written sources of the Hittites do not give the fox a personality. Lambert comments that “the cunning fox is proverbial everywhere, and is admired despite its anti-social usage.”³²³ While §14 of the Telipinu Proclamation contains a

³¹⁹A. von den Driesch and J. Boessneck, *Boğazköy-Hattuša XI*, 1981, 54.

³²⁰On the scarcity of evidence for foxes in Bronze Age Germanic culture see M. Paul, *Wolf, Fuchs und Hund bei den Germanen*, Wien: Verlag Karl M. Halosar, 1981, 82.

³²¹For example, KUB 5.11 i 20, KUB 16.44 obv 12, KUB 12.60 iii 19, KUB 18.12 i 11, KUB 18.15 obv 12, KUB 22.38 iv 21, KBo 13.67 obv 11 (restored).

³²²See H. G. Güterbock, “Einige sumerische und akkadische Schreibungen im Hethitischen,” *FsKraus*, 1982, 84.

³²³W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967, 187. See E. I. Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs*, Philadelphia: University Museum, 1959, Collection 2, examples 58-62, 64-70, and 118, for proverbs about the fox. Gordon (pp. 286f.) remarks that “the one wild animal whose character is most clearly delineated in the proverbs is the fox, a small creature who is full of conceit and exhibits continually the tendency to exaggerate, not only his own role in the world, but also the facts in self-evident situations.”

fox simile, this simile does not center on the fox's fabled cleverness, but rather focuses on the fox as a game animal:

KBo 3.1 i with dupls. KBo 7.15 i 2'-5', KUB 3.89 i 4'-7' (Akk.) (CTH 41)³²⁴

43 [... ER]ÍN.M[ĒŠ H]ur-lu-uš KA₅.A.HI.A-uš³²⁵ ha[-ah-hal-la-aš³²⁶ p(ár-ha-an-dū-uš) ū²-] e-ri-ir

44 [...]x [A-]NA K[UR] URUHa-at-ti ú-it n[u ...- t]a

45 [...]x ut-ne-e ú-e-ha-at-ta-a[t ...]x

43 [...] They called to the Hurrian troops (as though they were) foxes that had been chased [into the] bu[shes.]

44 [...] It (the Hurrian army) came [t]o the Hatti [land] and [

45 [...] the country w[as] overturned [

The Hurrians are harassed like a fox cornered in a hunt. One may conclude that the fox was not perceived of favorably, since it is used in a simile to emphasize humiliation and defeat. Similarly, in Mesopotamia, the fox was often the subject of unflattering proverbs, used to illustrate such qualities as cowardice and conceit.

While the fox is frequently seen in Mesopotamian fable, and also appears occasionally on seals,³²⁷ the evidence from Hittite Anatolia is more limited. The passage from the Telipinu Proclamation just treated may hint at the practice of fox hunting, but further clues for this are not to be found.

³²⁴Cf. W. Helck, "Der Sukzija-Episode im Dekret des Telepinus," *WO* 15, 1984, 104f.; I. Hoffman, *Der Erlaß Telepinus*, THeth 11, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1984, 20f.; A. Archi, *FsCarratelli*, 1988, 27.

³²⁵KUB 3.89 i 4' (Akk.), ANŠE.HI.A.

³²⁶Restored from KBo 3.67 ii 7.

³²⁷See E. D. van Buren, *AnOr* 18, 1939, 19.

A Hattic-Hittite bilingual includes the fox in an incantation designed to ward away evil. The fox is portrayed along with birds as a scavenger and is exhorted to devour evil just as it devours the corpse of a sheep:

KUB 24.14 iv (CTH 729)³²⁸

19	[i-]mā-al-le-en za-a-ar-du	nu k[e]-e-el UDU-un GIM-an
20	[]x-wa _a -šu-nu wa _a -a-aš-ti pa-la-a	ZI-ŠU MUŠEN.HI.A KA ₅ .A.HI.A
21	[]e-i-wa _a -aš-hé-ez-ni ú-uk	a-da-an-zi HUL-lu-uš-ša (sic!)
22	[i]š-ga-ap-pu-še-e pa-la-a	UN-aš Û ŠA DAM.MEŠ-ŠU
23	[a-š]a-ah-du li-iz-zu-wa-du	DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU ERÍN.MEŠ UZUGEŠPÚ
24	[i]e-e-i-pi-i-nu	MUŠEN.HI.A KA ₅ .A.HI.A
25	le-e-pa-zi-zi-in-tu	QA-TAM-MA a-da-an-du

The translation of the Hittite reads, “as the birds (and) foxes devour the life of this sheep, let the birds (and) foxes likewise devour the strength (of) the evil man, of his wives, his children, (and his) troops!”³²⁹

³²⁸Cf. E. Laroche, “Une conjuration bilingue hattic-hittite,” *JKF* 1, 1950, 174-81; A. Archi, *FsCarratelli*, 1988, 26; Ch. Girbal, *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Hattischen*, Frankfurt: Verlag Peter Lang, 1986, 99. H. A. Hoffner, “An English-Hittite Glossary,” *RHA* 80, 1967, 23, n. 14, suggests that MUŠEN.HI.A KA₅.HI.A might be a single plural subject rather than a compound one, and designates “vultures.”

³²⁹On the grammatical errors in the Hittite text see E. Laroche, *JKF* 1, 1950, 176.

Section F. AZ (c.) “bear”: Hittite *hartagga-*

AZ

sg. nom. AZ KBo 1.52 obv 6, KBo 9.105 : 7', KBo 10.22 : 4', KBo 10.23 v 21', 24' (OH/NS); **sg. acc. AZ** KBo 10.25 vi 7' (OH/NS); **AZ-an** KUB 25.18 i 17; **sg. gen. AZ** KUB 28.87 rev 5'; **pl. acc. AZ.HI.A** KBo 3.22 obv 61 (OS), KUB 26.71 i 8' (OH/NS), KBo 23.55 i 11'; **unclear AZ** KBo 26.151 i 17'.

***hartagga*³³⁰**

sg. nom. *har-tág-ga-aš* KUB 29.1 i 29 (OH/NS), KUB 9.31 i 8 (MH/NS), KUB 48.80 i 3'; **sg. acc. *har-tág-ga-an*** KUB 36.67 ii 10'; ***har-tág-gán*** KBo 7.14 : 5' (OS); **sg. d.-l. [*har²-t*]a-ak-ki** KUB 43.37 ii 15'.

1. Introduction

Remains of the brown bear (*Ursus arctos*) have been found at Boghazköy.³³¹ This animal can still be found in isolated areas of Turkey. Since bears prefer higher, cooler elevations, they tend to inhabit regions far from populated areas and are therefore typically absent in faunal remains. In Hatti, bears were distant animals, rarely seen, but occasionally hunted,³³² and occasionally depicted in the art.

While the bear does not seem to have been a major element in the lives of the Hittites, it was somewhat more familiar to the Mesopotamians. This is probably due to importation of captive animals to artificial habitats, since there is evidence of the presence of tame bears. They even served as a guard-animals, and bear meat seems to have been a

³³⁰Cf. URU*Ha-ar-táq-qa* in KUB 16.43 rev 3, one of only a few cities whose name is taken from the animal world (see E. Laroche, “Etudes de toponymie anatolienne,” *RHA* 69, 1961, 80).

³³¹See A. von den Driesch and J. Boessneck, *Boğazköy-Hattuša* XI, 1981, 55.

³³²A bear pelt (KUŠ AZ) is mentioned with an ox hide (KUŠ GUD) in a Hattic foundation ritual, KUB 28.87 rev 5' (CTH 726).

delicacy.³³³

2. *The Identity of the hartagga-*

The controversy over the identity of the *hartagga*-animal has centered on a small number of texts whose contexts, almost without exception, become problematic in the passages where this term appears. The translations that have been suggested are “wolf”(as the reading of UR.BAR.RA),³³⁴ “bear” (as the reading of AZ),³³⁵ and “snake.”³³⁶

Support for the translation “snake” is minimal. One unhelpful fragment, the reading highly uncertain, may mention this animal with the serpent, Illuyanka.³³⁷ Understanding *šara ark-* in KUB 29.1 i 30 as “shed one’s skin” supports the translation “snake,”³³⁸ however, this interpretation is no longer widely accepted.

In support of the equation of *hartagga-* with UR.BAR.RA is Professor Otten’s argument that if *hartagga-* = AZ, and thus *LÚhartagga-* = **LÚ* AZ, the latter should be attested, since the Sumerogram is generally used more frequently than the Hittite, and since both *LÚ* UR.MAH and *LÚwalwalla-* are attested. Since *LÚ* UR.BAR.RA is frequently attested, he suggests that the *hartagga*-men must be identified with the UR.BAR.RA-men.³³⁹ Such argumentation is weak, however, since the more frequent use of Hittite *hartagga-* over the Sumerogram **LÚ* AZ may only be due to chance. Moreover, the *LÚhartagga-* appears very rarely compared with other animal-men and therefore it is not

³³³For the Mesopotamian evidence, see B. Landsberger, *Fauna*, 1934, 80ff.; CAD D, 17, sub *āabū*, and CAD A/II, 344, sub *asu* B.

³³⁴H. Otten, ZA 71, 1981, 142f.

³³⁵J. Friedrich, HW, 1952, 61.

³³⁶H. G. Güterbock, RHA 43, 1942/43, 102-109.

³³⁷KUB 43.37 ii 14’f. (CTH 470): [...-i]š-ši-it ^{MUS}il-lu-ya-an-ku / [... har²-i]a-ak-ki.

³³⁸See H. G. Güterbock, RHA 43, 1942/43, 104.

³³⁹ZA 71, 1981, 142f.

surprising to find its Sumerian equivalent absent from these examples. The wolf fits all of the passages that require a big game animal, except that it does not climb trees, a condition that is required by the Foundation Ritual, KUB 29.1 i 28-30: “You (the trees) spread out under the sky. The lion rested beneath y<ou>, the leopard rested beneath you, but the bear climbed up in you.³⁴⁰ The Weathergod, my father, kept evil away from you” (CTH 414 [OH/NS]).³⁴¹ Moreover, there is no good reason to deny the equation of *ulip(a)na-* with UR.BAR.RA.

There are several game animals whose Hittite designation is as yet unknown—the bear (AZ), the wild boar (ŠAH.GIŠ.GI), the fox (KA₅.A), the wild goat (DÀRA), and the deer (DÀRA.MAŠ). The latter two are unlikely possibilities, since they are not predators. We are left with bear, boar and fox as possible translations for *hartagga-*, and since neither the boar nor the fox climbs trees, the bear remains the best option. Indeed, the bear is the only animal that fits in every context. The etymological evidence favors this translation as well. Hittite *hartagga-* is related to Greek ἄρκτος “bear” and proto-Indo-European *h₁rtko-.³⁴²

3. Iconography

Examples of bears are as limited in Anatolian art as they are in the archaeology. One possible late Old Hittite example comes from Büyükkale.³⁴³ This clay stand or pillar retains on one side the head and forelegs of an animal that Boehmer has identified as a lion. The prominent feature of the animal is its very large and pronounced claws. Considering

³⁴⁰See now A. Ünal, *JCS* 40, 1988, 106, on *šara ark-* “to climb.”

³⁴¹Cf. *supra*, pp. 51f.

³⁴²For an etymology of this word, see J. Schindler, *Sprache* 23, 1977, 32f.; J. Tischler, *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar* (=IBS 20), Innsbruck, 1977, 188; H. Kronasser, *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache*, Bd. 1, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1966, 170f.

³⁴³See R. M. Boehmer, *Die Reliefkeramik von Boğazköy*, Boğazköy-Hattuša XIII, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1983, Pl. 27, no. 96c.

the importance of lion's claws in Hittite symbolism, its identification as a lion is more than reasonable. Because the animal's size is so great (especially in comparison with the hooved animal³⁴⁴ on the other face of the stand, which it pursues), and its forelegs and neck quite thick, it could also represent a bear.

Two seals from Kültepe-Kanesh depict what may be bears.³⁴⁵ Each of these representations shows an animal standing upright and walking, with a large bear-like head, small body and thin neck. No other bear representations have been found in Anatolia prior to the first millennium.³⁴⁶ One late relief from Karatepe (ca. 700 BC) depicts a man armed with bow and arrows next to whom a bear stands upright.³⁴⁷

The texts provide evidence of bears in the art, however. An iron figurine of a bear is mentioned in KBo 26.151 i 17', and the KLLAM Festival (CTH 627) lists silver bears among the other animal figurines carried in procession (KBo 10.23 v 21' [=KBo 10.22 : 4' and KBo 11.67 l. c. 2'], 24', KBo 10.25 vi 7').

4. *Symbolism*

Bears were above all game animals. Almost every passage refers to them in this way. They appear in the KLLAM Festival as one of the "animals of the gods" along with the lion, leopard, boar, and deer, and among the animals that King Anitta brought back to Neša:

³⁴⁴Although the body of the second animal does not look equine or caprine, its feet are clearly cloven.

³⁴⁵N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, nos. 70, 71.

³⁴⁶For later depictions of bears, see L. Keimer, "Altägyptische, griechisch-römische und byzantinische-koptische Darstellungen des syrischen Bären," *AfO* 17, 1956, 336-346.

³⁴⁷E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, 1961, Abb. 147.

KBo 3.22 obv with dupls. KUB 26.71 i 8'-10', KUB 36.98b obv 7'-9' (CTH 1 [OS])³⁴⁸

- 59 *nu ma-a-al-tah-hu-un nu [(hu-u-wa-ar)-tah-hu-un]*
 60 *ša-ni-ya ši-wa-at [(2 UR.MAH 70 ŠAH.HLA 60 ŠAH.GIŠ.GD)]*
 61 *1 ME 20 AZ.HLA LU-Ú [(PÌRIG.TUR LU-Ú UR.MAH.HLA LU-Ú DÀRA.MAŠ)]*
 62 *LU-Ú DÀRA! Û LU[Ú T(UR)]*
 63 *URUNe-e-š[(a A-NA URU-ṽA ú-da-ah-hu-un)]*
 ———
 59 I made a vow and [I went] hun[ting].
 60 On the same day I brought two lions, seventy pigs, sixty wild boar,
 61 120 (animals), (among them) bears, and leopards, and lions, and deer,
 62 and wild goats, and [
 63 to my city, Neša.

The Zukraši of Aleppo Text uses the bear in a simile to describe the method by which Hattušili I threatens to dispose of the ruler of Haššu:

KBo 7.14 obv (CTH 15)³⁴⁹

- 3' [...]*x i-it-te-en A-NA LÚ URUHa-aš-ši te-et-te-en*
 4' [...]*x [...]x-ta pa-i-mi nu me-na-ah-ha-an-da e-hu*
 5' [*ták-ku n]a-at-ta-ma ú-wa-ši nu-ut-ta har-tág-gán ma-a-an*
 6' [*o-o]x-iš-ki-mi nu tu-uh-hi-ya-at-ti-it a-ak-ti*
 ———
 3' [...] Go! To the ruler of Haššu say:
 4' "[...] I will go and (you) come against (me)!"
 5' [If] you do not come I will [...] you like a bear,

³⁴⁸Cf. E. Neu, StBoT 18, 1974, 14f.; A. Archi, *FsCarretelli*, 1988, 32, with n. 36.

³⁴⁹Cf. H. Otten, "Die inschriftlichen Funde," *MDOG* 86, 1953, 60f.; H. C. Melchert, (diss., Harvard), 1977, #24; A. Archi, *FsCarratelli*, 1988, 27; Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *Anatolica* 11, 1984, 66; S. Rosi, "Il ruolo delle 'troppe' UKU.UŠ nell'organizzazione militare ittita," *SMEA* 24, 1984, 118f., n. 40.

6' and you will die by means of *tuhhiyatta-*

The Story of Gurparanzah describes how the hero kills a bear:

KUB 36.67 ii (CTH 362)³⁵⁰

10' [o-]az[?] har-tág-ga-an^m Gur-pa-a-ra-an-za[?]-hu[?]-uš[?] x x [

11' [hu-]da-a-ak ku-en-ta gi-im-ra-an ša-ra-a [

10' [...] Gurparanzah a bear [

11' immediately killed. The steppe (acc.) [...] on.

Another passage describes the ritual enactment of a hunt, involving an archer and her quarry, a “bear-man”:

Bo 2740 (NH)³⁵¹

24' ... SAL GŠBAN[!]

25' LÚ har-ta-ag-ga-an GI-it 1-ŠU ši-e-ez-zi

26' [t]a-an wa-aš-ta-i ta-a-na ši-e-ez-zi

27' [t]a-an ha-az-zi-az-zi ta hal-za-a-i

28' [a-w]a_a-a-i-ya a-wa_a-a-i-ya

24' The female archer

25' shoots one time with an arrow (at) the bear-man.

26' She misses him, but she shoots a second (time)

27' and pierces him. She shouts,

28' “*awaiya, awaiya!*”

The implications of this text for the role of animal-men in ritual are discussed in Chapter

³⁵⁰See H. G. Güterbock, ZA 44, 1938, 84ff.

³⁵¹E. Neu, StBoT 18, 1974, 82f.

VI. It is argued there that the animal-men are ritual participants who sometimes play the role of the animal they are named for in ritual enactments of the hunt. The *hartagga*-, like other animals for which there are corresponding “animal-men” (the lion, wolf, and leopard), was a “big game” animal.

In the Ritual of Zarpiya (CTH 757), the *hartagga*- is grouped with a lion and a *šaša*- animal: “I hang the *kelu*- [of the offer]ant. Its/his *huppali*- is bronze. Its *hazziul*- are of a shaggy lion-skin. But its footstool is of basalt, and its (the footstool’s) *hazziul*- is [of lapis]. The strong *šišai*- is the *šišai*- of a bear [...]. But he h[angs the ...] of a gazelle?” (KUB 9.31 i 5-9 [MH/NS], supra, pp. 60f.). That *šišai*- refers to a part of the animal’s body is certain, although which part remains undetermined.³⁵²

5. Religion

The bear was often the subject of cults in Europe and other more northerly climes, where their presence was more strongly felt. Bears figure in Hittite ritual as well, although infrequently. In the AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival (CTH 618), a red deer, bear and goat appear together in a ritual on Mt. Piškurunuwa (KUB 25.18 i 17’f.). The context, however, is unclear. Later in this text, a red deer participates again (cf. infra, p. 160f.). In another ritual passage, involving an athletic contest between men representing “us” and “the enemy,” bears and leopards play a role:

KBo 23.55 i³⁵³

5' *nu ma-ah-ha-an wa-al-ah-zi nu-kán ŠA LÚKÚR kat-ta la[-ak-nu-zi]*³⁵⁴

6' *nu an-ze-el ERÍN.MEŠ hu-u-ma-an-za-aš-ša pal-wa-a-iz-z[i]*

³⁵²Cf. the *šeša*- of a cow in KBo 30.69 iii 17' (M. Popko and P. Taracha, *AoF* 15, 1988, 84).

³⁵³Cf. H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *BiOr* 35, 1978, 247.

³⁵⁴Restored after line 22'.

- 7' *tar-ah-ta nam-ma LUGAL hi-in-ik-zi nu LÚSANGA an-z[e-el*
 8' *da-a-i še-ra-aš-ša-an ku-iš e-eš-zi na-an PA? LÚ?]*
 9' *ŠA LÚKÚR-ma ar-ha-ya kat-ta ti-an-zi x[*
 10' *2 PÌRIG.TUR.HLA QA-TAM-MA ti-an-zi EGIR-ŠI-ma x[*
 11' *QA-TAM-MA da-a-i EGIR-ŠU-ma 2 AZ.HLA GIŠ [QA-TAM-MA ti-an-zi]*
 12' *EGIR-ŠU-ma-aš-ša-an 2 LÚ.MEŠ GIŠ QA-TAM-M[A t]i-an[-zi]*
 13' *a-pé-e ša-ga-e zi-in-na-an-zi nu-uš-ša[-an?*
 14' *ku-e še-er a-aš-ki-iz-zi na-at PA-NI DINGIR-LIM ti[-an-zi?*

-
- 5' When he strikes, [he knocks?] down the one of the enemy,
 6' and all our troops applaud? [and ...]
 7' he conquered. Then the king pays homage and the priest takes ou[r ...],
 8' and who is up, him ... [
 9' But the one of the enemy they set down [
 10' Two leopards they set similarly. Afterward [
 11' he (the priest) sets likewise, but afterward two bears of wood [they set similarly].
 12' Afterward two humans of wood they set likewise.
 13' They eradicate these omens and [
 14' What remains up, these they s[et] before the gods.

How the leopard and bear figurines are connected to the contest described in this text is not clear.

Outside its inclusion with the “big game” animals, the bear does not seem to have played a significant role in Hittite society. Its limited ritual and symbolic roles center on the theme of the hunt. This theme carries over to the function of the bear-man (LÚ^hartagga-) in the Hittite cult, as we will see in Chapter VI, Section B.3.

Section G. ÁMUŠEN (c.) “eagle”: Hittite *hara(n)*-

ÁMUŠEN

sg. nom. ÁMUŠEN KUB 29.1 ii 39 (OH/NS), KUB 5.11 i 20, 21 (NS), KUB 5.14 : 8', KBo 2.6 iii 55, iv 12, 22 (NH), KBo 2.8 i 10, KUB 31.101 obv 2', 4' (NH), KBo 18.153 iv 4', KUB 5.20 iii 17', KUB 5.22 : 24', 26', 33', 37', 45', 48', 56', KUB 5.24 ii 28, 34, 42, 48, KUB 5.25 iii 19', KUB 11.27 i 6', KUB 12.1 iv 6', KUB 12.33 obv 9', KUB 16.47 : 19', 22', KUB 16.60 iii 9, KUB 16.65 i 10, KUB 18.3 rev² 9', KUB 18.5 i 21, 29, 39, ii 12, 36, 51, iii 10, KUB 18.9 iii 17, KUB 18.11 obv 12', KUB 18.12 obv 7, 11, 42, 48, ii 12', KUB 18.15 obv 13', 20', KUB 18.29 iv 14', KUB 18.56 iii 33', 35', KUB 18.57 i 69, KUB 22.15 : 6', KUB 22.33 obv 9', KUB 22.38 iv 20', 22', KUB 22.51 obv 9', KUB 22.65 ii 5', iii 8, 24, KUB 22.68 : 7', KUB 30.47 i 5, KUB 38.1 iv 5, KUB 38.7 iii 17', KUB 43.62 iii 5'; Á[²MUŠEN] KBo 11.68 i 19'; ÁMUŠEN-*aš* KUB 33.13 ii 13' (OH/NS), KBo 2.6 iv 18 (NH), KUB 8.62 iv 2', KUB 17.9 i 14, 35 (NH), KBo 10.6 i 12, 14, KUB 29.1 ii 53, KUB 53.50 i 3.

sg. acc. ÁMUŠEN KBo 15.37 i 21 (MH/NS), KUB 30.33 iv 6 (MH/NS), KUB 31.101 obv 15' (NH), KUB 32.128 ii 3 (NH), KUB 38.3 ii 12 (NH), KUB 5.17 ii 4', KUB 7.33 obv 5, KUB 16.46 i 6, 14, iv 4, 8, 9, 11, KUB 16.69 obv² 12', 16', rev 12', KUB 16.72 : 21', KUB 18.2 ii 20', 22', KUB 18.5 i 20, 28, KUB 18.9 iii 16, KUB 18.12 obv 10, KUB 22.7 obv 6, KUB 22.30 obv 8', 15', KUB 22.45 obv 28', KUB 22.65 iii 22, KUB 38.1 ii 4, KUB 38.26 obv 24', rev 16, KUB 38.27 obv 11', IBoT 2.87 i 6', ABoT 15 rev 6'; Á[²MUŠEN] KBo 9.119 i 9, KUB 38.33 obv 9'; ÁMUŠEN-*an* KUB 29.1 i 50 (OH/NS), KUB 33.80 : 6', 7' (OH/NS), KBo 9.110 : 11; **sg. nom. or acc.** ÁMUŠEN KBo 11.68 i 11', KUB 16.62 rev 19', KUB 16.67 iii 4', KUB 16.69 obv² 8', KUB 22.33 rev 6', KUB 22.51 obv 15'.

sg. gen. ÁMUŠEN KUB 15.34 i 33 (MH/MS), KUB 12.33 rev 6', KBo 18.172 rev 4'; ÁMUŠEN-*aš* KUB 12.58 i 22 (NH), KUB 7.60 ii 15 (LS), VBoT 72 iv 7', FHG 4

: 10'; ŠA Á^{MUŠEN} KUB 15.31 i 35 (NH), KUB 31.101 obv 20' (NH); sg. inst. *IŠTU* Á^{MUŠEN} KUB 29.8 ii 6 (MH/MS), KUB 30.33 iv 5 (MH/NS), KBo 19.140 : 10' (MS?), KUB 30.31 iv 37 (NH), KBo 12.91 iv 10', IBoT 2.113 ii 2.

unclear Á^{MUŠEN} KUB 5.20 iii 19', KUB 5.22 : 4', 18', KUB 5.23 : 11', KUB 12.33 rev 10', KUB 16.47 obv 17', 18', KUB 16.49 : 17', KUB 16.52 : 14', 24', KUB 16.58 obv 3, KUB 16.59 rev? 3', KUB 16.67 iii 7', KUB 16.69 rev? 14', KUB 16.70 obv 4', KUB 18.4 iii 4', KUB 18.15 obv 6', 7', rev 15', KUB 22.65 ii 9', 26', KUB 26.67 i 1, 4, 8, KUB 33.80 : 8', KUB 38.3 ii 19; Á^[MUŠEN] KUB 15.33a iv 5.

pl. nom. Á^{MUŠEN} IBoT 1.32 obv 7, 8, 10, KUB 5.24 ii 30, KUB 12.33 obv 16', KUB 16.64 : 6, KUB 16.78 iii 20', KUB 18.12 i 32, KUB 22.30 obv 4', KUB 22.33 obv 16', rev 10', KUB 22.45 obv 17'; Á^{MUŠEN}.HIA KUB 29.1 iii 50 (OH/NS), KUB 18.15 obv 18', KUB 18.57 ii 77, 78 iii 15, KUB 52.94 : 2'; Á^{MUŠEN}.HIA-TIM KUB 18.5 i 37; [Á^{MUŠEN}.HIA-TIM] KUB 18.5 ii 17; pl. acc. Á^{MUŠEN} KUB 22.30 obv 14'; Á^{MUŠEN}.HIA KUB 5.17 ii 17'; Á^{MUŠEN}.HIA-TIM KUB 18.5 i 35, 45; pl. acc.? (luw.) Á^{MUŠEN}.MES-inza KUB 35.111 rev 6; pl. gen. Á^{MUŠEN} KUB 42.11 v 25; pl. gen.? Á^{MUŠEN}.HIA-an KUB 24.7 iii 68 (NS); unclear Á^{MUŠEN} KUB 16.63 obv 5, KUB 16.72 : 17'.

hara(n)-

sg. nom. *ha-ra-aš*^{MUŠEN} KUB 33.8 ii 17 (OH/NS), KUB 43.60 i 17' (OH/NS); *ha-a-ra-aš* KBo 17.1 ii 41' (OS), KBo 17.3 ii 12' (OS), KUB 33.15 : 4' (MH), IBoT 3.141 i 7' (MH); *ha-a-r[a-aš]* KUB 33.10 obv 20 (MS), KBo 3.8 iii 6 (NH); *ha-a-ra-aš*^{MUŠEN} KUB 17.10 i 27 (OH/MS), KUB 33.10 obv 19 (MS), KBo 3.8 iii 25 (NH), KUB 34.92 : 4; ^{MUŠEN}*ha-ra-a-aš* KBo 12.86 : 7'.

sg. acc. *ha-ra-an* KUB 30.34 iv 38 (MH/NS), KUB 30.35 iv 4 (MH/NS); [*ha-ra-]**na-an* KUB 33.4 : 12'; *ha-a-ra-an* KUB 30.34 iv 12 (MH/NS); *ha-a-ra-na-an* KUB 23.13 : 7; *ha-a-ra-n[a-an]* KBo 17.2 i 9'; ^{MUŠEN}*ha-ra-na-an* KBo 17.4 ii 14'

(OS); MUŠEN^{ha-ra-na-a-an} KBo 13.86 i 16'; MUŠEN^{ha-a-ra-na-an} KBo 17.1 ii 5', 16', 20', 23', 31', 33', 37', iii 3 (OS), KBo 17.6 ii 5' (OS), ABoT 4 ii 4; *ha-a-ra-na-an*^{MUŠEN} KUB 17.10 i 24' (OH/MS?).

sg. gen. *ha-a-ra-na-aš* KUB 33.25 : 6' (OH/MS), KUB 15.34 i 12 (MH/MS); [h]*a-a-ra-na[-aš]* KBo 21.22 : 27' (MH); *ha-ra-na-aš* KUB 15.31 i 59', ii 40 (MH/NS), KUB 15.32 i 61 (MH/NS); *ha-ra-na-aš*^{MUŠEN} KUB 17.10 ii 35 (OH/MS).

pl. nom. *ha-a-ra-ni-iš*^{MUŠEN} KUB 33.62 ii 3' (OH); [...] *ha-a-ra-ni-e-eš* KUB 41.33 obv 12' (MH); *ha-ra-a-ni-iš* Bo 6472 : 13³⁵⁵; *ha-a-ra-aš*^{MUŠEN} KBo 14.132 iii 4'.

adv. *ha-a-ra-ni-li* KUB 20.54 vi 9 (OH²/NS), KBo 21.22 obv 28' (MH).

1. Introduction

The eagle deserves inclusion in a study of animals that otherwise excludes birds because of its importance to the art, mythology and religion of the second millennium. It was important to Anatolian religion and iconography through the Roman period. It is certainly the most prominent bird in Hittite texts. The eagle gave its name to two mountains, a summit (^{NA}*4hegur hāranan*, KUB 23.13 : 7'), and a city.³⁵⁶ It was used in personal names³⁵⁷ and for a weight (KILAL Á^{MUŠEN}), which was probably shaped in the form of an eagle.³⁵⁸ Only one eagle bone, belonging either to an imperial eagle (*Aquila heliaca*) or a spotted eagle (*A. clanga*), was among the twenty-nine bird bones from

³⁵⁵N. Oettinger, *GsKronasser*, 1982, 167, n. 22.

³⁵⁶Cf. G. F. del Monte and J. Tischler, *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes VI: Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*, Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1978, 83f.

³⁵⁷*Harana-ziti* (mÁ^{MUŠEN}-LÚ-iš). Cf. E. Laroche, *Noms*, 1966, #1733; "Le vœu de Puduhepa," *RA* 43, 1949, 59.

³⁵⁸Cf. H. Otten, "Zum hethitischen Gewichtssystem," *AfO* 17, 1954-56, 130.

Boghazköy discussed by von den Driesch and Boessneck.³⁵⁹ The Hittite reading *hara(n)-* for the Sumerogram *ÁMUŠEN* is verified by the alternate use in KUB 15.31 of *ŠA ÁMUŠEN* in line 35 with *ha-ra-na-aš* in i 59.³⁶⁰

2. *Eagle Motifs in Anatolian Iconography and Hittite Texts*

In Mesopotamia, the eagle was most often displayed heraldically. It frequently served to watch over entryways, often shown in the act of capturing prey. In Anatolia, eagle-shaped vessels have been found at Kültepe-Kanesh,³⁶¹ and the eagle appears frequently with the hunting god, *ḫLAMMA*, while the double-headed eagle is a common emblem both in reliefs and on seals.

a. Gods with Eagles

The hunting god on the seals from Kültepe-Kanesh is frequently shown with an eagle in hand.³⁶² A relief from Kültepe depicts a deity with a conical cap holding a spear with his right hand, while an eagle or bird sits on the left, from which a hare also hangs by its feet.³⁶³ On a Hittite relief from Yeniköy, the God on the Stag is depicted holding an eagle in his right hand.³⁶⁴ The Schimmel stag rhyton also features a god on a stag—probably the Protective Deity of the Field (*ḫLAMMA.LÍL*)—with an eagle in hand. A stamp seal

³⁵⁹Boğazköy-Hattuša XI, 1981, 56-58.

³⁶⁰Cf. *infra*, pp. 121. For an etymology of *hara(n)-* see N. Oettinger, "Die *n*-Stämme des Hethitischen und ihre indogermanischen Ausgangspunkte," KZ 94, 1980, 62; J. Friedrich, ZA 39, 1930, 64.

³⁶¹See T. Özgüç, *Kültepe-Kaniš* II, 1986, pp. 64f. and Pls. E, 2; 114, 4; 115, 1, 2; 133, 4; 136, 2, for eagle-shaped vessels and rhyta of the Old Assyrian Colony period; and pp. 60f. for eagle⁷ figurines perched on the rims of vessels. Cf. also T. Özgüç, "Some Rare Objects from the Karum of Kanish," *FsGüterbock*², 1986, 176f.

³⁶²See N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, nos. 64, 65, 70, for hunting deities on stags holding an eagle, and no. 62 for a hunting deity without a stag holding an eagle.

³⁶³H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 816.

³⁶⁴H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 570; K. Bittel, *Hethiter*, 1976, Abb. 247.

from Tarsus depicts a seated deity with an eagle (or other bird) perched on its left hand while a hare hangs from the same hand.³⁶⁵

A ninth century relief from Zincirli shows a lion-headed creature holding a flail in its right hand, while a hare hangs from its left hand and two eagles (or other birds?) perch on either of its shoulders, facing away from each other.³⁶⁶ A ninth century relief from Carchemish depicts two *Mischwesen* vis-à-vis, both with human forms and the heads and wings of eagles.³⁶⁷

The goddess Iyaya, of the town of Lapana, counts a tin-plated eagle among her accoutrements in one inventory text.³⁶⁸ Her statue is flanked by two wooden, tin-plated mountain sheep. This scene is similar to the seals from Kültepe-Kanesh, of the goddess seated over a mountain sheep with a bird.

Aside from the mixed beings that are part eagle or are in association with eagles, and the goddess on the mountain sheep on the seals from Kültepe-Kanesh,³⁶⁹ the eagle does not appear in the iconography with any other divinities than the Protective Deities. The texts indicate, however, that the eagle was associated with many others, particularly mountain gods.

KUB 38.1 ii 1-6 describes the Protective Deity of the Field of the town of Wiyawanta holding a gold eagle and gold hare in his left hand with a gold bow in his

³⁶⁵H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 696.

³⁶⁶H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 941.

³⁶⁷H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 847 (cf. no. 830 where a demon holds two lions that flank the Weathergod; the demon has the same bird's head as we see in no. 847).

³⁶⁸KUB 38.1 iv 4f.: 2 UDU.KUR.RA GIŠ AN.NA *ha-liš-ši-ya-an* A-NA DINGIR-LIM GAM-an ZAG-na-za GÜB-la<-za> TUŠ-an-zi 1 ÁMUŠEN AN.NA GAR.RA. Cf. C.-G. von Brandenstein, *Bildbeschr.*, 1943, 14f.; L. Rost, *MIO* 8, 1963, 181; and *infra*, pp. 177f.

³⁶⁹N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, nos. 70, 71, 72. No. 73 depicts this goddess holding a mountain sheep in her right hand, above which is an eagle. She also typically holds a goblet in one hand.

right.³⁷⁰ This description corresponds with iconographic representations of the hunting god, who is armed with a bow and holds an eagle and/or a hare. J. V. Canby refers to the hares in these representations as “victims of a divine falconer and/or falcons.”³⁷¹ This idea is well met, since the eagle is never dead in these depictions, as the hare is, but rather perches on the hand of the deity. This indicates that the eagle is not a trophy of the hunt, but a participant in it. On the other hand, falcons do not prey on hares. In fact, falcons do not generally depend on mammals for food, preferring a number of small bird varieties. Those mammals they do eat are small, such as squirrels.³⁷² The eagle, on the other hand, is capable of killing even wolves, and habitually preys on hares. Moreover, it is trainable for “falconry” just like the falcon.³⁷³ Therefore, if we interpret the deities in question as “falconers,” the bird he used for this purpose must nevertheless be an eagle.³⁷⁴

In a fragment from the *hišuwā*- Festival (CTH 628), an eagle’s wing is used in a context that mentions the goddess Lilluri.³⁷⁵ In another fragment from the *hišuwā*- Festival, an eagle (or statue of an eagle) is placed on a basket in the temple of the Weathergod, Manuziya:

³⁷⁰Cf. C. G. von Brandenstein, *Bildbeschr.*, 1943, 14f.; L. Rost, *MIO* 8, 1963, 179f.; *infra*, 155f.

³⁷¹“Hase,” *RIA* IV, 1972-75, 131.

³⁷²J. A. Baker, *The Peregrine*, NY: Harper & Row, 1967, 26; F. L. Beebe, *Field Studies of the Falconiformes (Vultures, Eagles, Hawks, and Falcons) of British Columbia*, (= Occasional Papers of the British Columbia Provincial Museum No. 17), Victoria, B.C., 1974, 114.

³⁷³See D. Bruce, *Bird of Jove*, New York: Putnam, 1971.

³⁷⁴But see now K. Reiter, “Falknerei im Alten Orient? Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Falknerei,” *MDOG* 120, 1988, 189-206, who argues that falconry did not come into being in the Near East until late in the first millennium and that Anatolian representations previously interpreted as evidence of falconry have some other, symbolic meaning. If she is correct, we are left with the task of determining what meaning to ascribe to these representations.

³⁷⁵VBoT 72 iv 7'-9': *an-da-ma-kán Á^{MUSEN}-aš pá-r-ta-a-u-ar [...x-la-za ŠA^dLi-lu-ri [...x še-iš-ša-an-zi* “but in [...] the wing of an eagle [...] of Lilluri [...] they sleep.”

KUB 32.128 ii

- 1 [nam-ma-]aš-ša-an I-NA É dIM Ma[-nu-zi-ya]
- 2 [A-NA GŠ^{er-h}]u-u-i-ti 1 TÚG SA₅ ti-an[-zi]
- 3 [še-e]r-ra-aš-ša-an dE-šu-u-en Á^{MUŠEN}[-ma]
- 4 a-še-ša-nu-an-zi ...

-
- 1 [Further,] in the temple of the Weathergod, Manuziya,
 - 2 they pla[ce] one red garment on a [bas]ket.
 - 3 [On to]p of it Ešuen, the eagle,
 - 4 they set. ...

Ešuen is a Hurrian deity.³⁷⁶ The Weathergod Manuziya is linked with the eagle again in the following ritual:

KBo 15.37 i (CTH 485)³⁷⁷

- 20 nam-ma-kán A-NA dIM Ma-nu-zi-ya
 - 21 ku-iš Á^{MUŠEN} GUŠKIN ŠUM-ŠU E-ri-bu-uš-ki-iš
 - 22 GEŠTU-ni-kán ne-ya-an-za
-
- 20 Then, such eagle of gold whose name (is) Eribuški,
 - 21 is turned toward the ear
 - 22 (of) the Weathergod, Manuziya.

Mountain deities associated with the eagle include Mt. Iški[-...] in the town of Zanzišna, whose image holds a silver shield in the left hand, upon which an eagle and a

³⁷⁶Cf. E. Laroche, *Recherches*, 1947, 48, sub Hešueni. V. Haas ("Zwei Gottheiten aus Ebla in hethitischer Überlieferung," *OrAnt* 20, 1981, 255; and *Berggötter*, 1982, 125) suggests that the eagle-god, Ešuen, is the forerunner of the Weathergod, Manuziya.

³⁷⁷Cf. V. Haas, *OrAnt* 20, 1981, 255, with n. 41; *CHD* 3/3, 1986, 348.

lion are inlaid in ivory.³⁷⁸ Engraved on the statue are wild animals (*gimraš huitar*) and the name of the king (lines 8f.). In this case, the eagle's predatory nature, a quality worthy of a shield-bearing deity, may be the reason for its presence. With Mt. Kuwarri in KUB 38.7 iii 16-17 (CTH 521) is an eagle of iron.³⁷⁹ An eagle of iron and a lion of wood are placed above and beneath (respectively) the image of Mt. Halalazipa in KUB 38.26 obv 23'-24', and rev 16 (CTH 507).³⁸⁰ An eagle of iron is also placed above the image of Mt. [-]ummiyara in KUB 38.27 obv 8'-12' (CTH 522).³⁸¹ Also accompanied by eagles are Mt. Taliya and Mt. Arwali[ya(-)...] in KUB 38.33 obv 7'-9' (CTH 522).³⁸²

b. The Double-Headed Eagle

The double-headed eagle supports a number of deities on reliefs and seals, but is also common on Empire period seals without an associated deity. The motif may have come to Anatolia from Mesopotamia, where the lion-headed eagle was a common theme.³⁸³ The lion-headed eagle first appeared in Anatolia on the seals of the Old Assyrian Colony period. This motif later developed into an eagle with two heads in Anatolia and its use continued in Anatolia through the Byzantine period. An early example of the motif can be seen in an early Old Hittite stamp seal that features an eagle in the standard position of the eagle in the

³⁷⁸KUB 38.3 ii 12f. (CTH 502). Cf. C.-G. von Brandenstein, *Bildbeschr.*, 1943, 18; L. Rost, *MIO* 8, 1963, 182ff.

³⁷⁹L. Rost, *MIO* 8, 1963, 193.

³⁸⁰L. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 9, 1963, 183.

³⁸¹L. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 9, 1963, 186.

³⁸²L. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 9, 1963, 192f. Also see V. Haas, *OrAnt* 20, 1981, 251-257, on the relationship of the Eblaite mountaingod, Adarwan, with the eagle in Anatolia.

³⁸³See N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, 73, and no. 70; as well as K. Bittel, *WVDOG* 61, 1941, 125f., who suggests that the transformation from lion-headed to double-headed eagle took place in Mesopotamia and that the latter entered Anatolia no later than the Gudea period. See also H. G. Güterbock, *SBo* II, 1942, 20, who mentions an Akkadian or neo-Sumerian period cylinder seal with a double-headed eagle motif that is similar to a late Cappadocian stamp seal impression.

double-headed motif—with talons and wings extended—but with only one head, which faces left.³⁸⁴

In the Hittite period, two goddesses in the central panel at Yazilikaya, nos. 45 and 46—Alanzu, the daughter of Tešub and Hepat, and the granddaughter of Tešub, respectively—are supported on either wing of a double-headed eagle. Another such eagle is carved in relief on the right side of the right hand monument of the Sphinx Gate at Alaca Hüyük. The eagle in this relief supports a single goddess (only the feet and hem of the skirt are preserved) and clutches two hares in its talons.³⁸⁵ Female deities, however, are not the exclusive owners of this emblem, as is demonstrated by a seal impression from Tarsus depicting a male deity supported by a double-headed eagle. Numerous seals from the Hittite period bear this emblem without an associated deity.³⁸⁶

The divinities with which the double-headed eagle is associated are diverse enough to suggest that this symbol was not sacred to any of them, yet this is not certain since, in many cases, the nature of the deity is unknown. Bittel refutes the idea that this motif was a city-centered heraldic symbol, since it is not associated with common deities who are themselves associated with a city, and concludes instead that this symbol “betreffe ihrer Zugehörigkeit, eine gewisse Freiheit waltete.”³⁸⁷ Güterbock sees the double-headed eagle on the seals and the two monumental reliefs as heraldic emblems, part of the sacred accoutrements of the deity.³⁸⁸ The eagles associated with protective and mountain deities,

³⁸⁴T. Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik von Boğazköy*, Boğazköy-Hattuša V, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1967, Tf. I, 41.

³⁸⁵K. Bittel, WDOG 61, 1941, 125, Abb. 54; M. Vieyra, *Hittite Art*, 1955, Pl. 26.

³⁸⁶See, for example, *SBo* II, 1942, nos. 37, 38, 41, 68, 74, 88, 149, 212, 213, 214, 215, 222, 226, 228, 230, 231; T. Beran, Boğazköy-Hattuša V, 1967, Pl. 4, 32-43 (nos. 32-36 and 41 are single-headed heraldic eagles; nos. 37-40 are double-headed eagles; nos. 42 and 43 are side views of a stylized eagle).

³⁸⁷WDOG 61, 1941, 126.

³⁸⁸*SBo* II, 1942, 19f.

on the other hand, he does not view as sacred.³⁸⁹

Lebrun points out that in Greece and Phoenicia the eagle was a symbol of the sky.³⁹⁰ That the Hittites also viewed the eagle as a symbol of the sky is almost certain, and its association with the mountain deities is as appropriate in this connection as its association with the celestial deities.

3. *Symbolism*

The eagle was noted in Hittite society for its ability to fly swiftly and for its keen eyesight. “Swift” (*pittiyali-*) is an adjective that frequently accompanies the eagle.³⁹¹ It is celebrated in similes, and both its swift flight and its eyesight are factors in its relationship to the Hittite kingship.

In the Gurparanzah Legend (CTH 362), an eagle is used in a simile that further illustrates the pervasiveness of the image of the eagle’s flight: *nu ḪA-ra-an-za-ha-aš ḪMUŠEN-aš GIM-an tar-na-aš [na-a]š URUAg-ga-dè an-da-an pa-it* “like an eagle the Tigris River rose up, and went into the city of Akkad” (KUB 17.9 i 14-15 [NS]).³⁹²

Another eagle simile is contained in a description of the seating of the participants for a ceremony in the Foundation Ritual (CTH 414). Here, young boys are compared to eagles:

KUB 29.1 iii (OH/NS) with dupl. KUB 52.94 : 1'-2' (NS)³⁹³

49 *nu-za-an pa-ap-pa-ni-ik-ni-eš e-ša-an-ta-ri*

³⁸⁹“Hethitische Götterdarstellungen und Götternamen,” *Belleten* 7, 1943, 313f.

³⁹⁰*L’animal*, 1984, 101.

³⁹¹See, for example, KBo 13.86 obv 16' (CTH 328), KUB 33.62 ii 3' (CTH 330), KBo 9.110 : 11' (CTH 335.1), KBo 12.86 : 7' (CTH 459).

³⁹²Cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 1, 1966, 111, n. 103; *CHD* 3/2, 1983, 101f. Cf. i 34f.

³⁹³Cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60, 1982, 500f.

50 *na-at-za Á^{MUŠEN}HLA [GIM-*a_n*³⁹⁴ x *du-uš-kán-ta-ri**

51 *GUNNI-ma te-ez-z[(i a-p)a-at-wa-mu a-aš-]š_u*

49 The young boys sit,

50 and like eagles they play.

51 The hearth says, “Th[is, to me, is go]od.”

Restoring GIM-*an* in line 50 is justified not only by the traces, but also by the duplicate, which has *mahhan*. Moreover, this passage comes soon after other participants in the feast are compared with the *šaša*-animal (iii 43f.) and a similar construction is reasonable to expect. I do not follow Marazzi³⁹⁵ in restoring the verb as *ku<un>-kī[?]-iš[?]-kán-ta-ri* (which we have in line 44) because it requires an emendation of the visible traces, and because there is no reason to assume that the eagle and *šaša*-animal would be used in identical similes. The meaning of the simile in line 50 is clear enough. The carefree nature of the flight of birds as perceived by humans may be the image called upon, and reflected in the verb “play” (*dušk-*).

As a symbol of majesty and power, the eagle shares with the lion a close relationship with the Hittite kingship.³⁹⁶ Both lion and eagle possess qualities desired by the king—power as symbolized by the lion’s strong teeth, and omniscience as symbolized by the eagle’s keen eyesight. These qualities are symbolically transferred to the king in the incantations KUB 29.1 ii 52-54 (supra, p. 43), KBo 21.22 obv 27’-28’ (supra, pp. 43f.), and KUB 20.54 + KBo 13.122 rev 6’-9’ with dupl. KUB 55.2 rev 3-5 (supra, p. 44).

The eagle also acted as intercessor between the king and the gods. It was used

³⁹⁴KUB 52.94 : 1’ *ma-ah-ha-a[n]*.

³⁹⁵VO 5, 1982, 158.

³⁹⁶For evidence for an indigenous sun cult in Hittite Asia Minor that was centered on the kingship, and in which the eagle had a role, see W. Fauth, “Widder, Schlange und Vogel am Heiligen Baum: Zur Ikonographie einer anatolisch-mediterranen Symbolkonstellation,” *Anatolica* 6, 1977/78, 134-136.

most often on behalf of the royal family, and not for the population at large. This is apparent in both the Foundation Ritual and the Old Hittite Ritual for the Royal Couple (CTH 416), where the eagle's aid is called upon on behalf of the king and queen (see *infra*, pp. 126ff.).

4. *Myth*

In the mythological portion of the Foundation Ritual, the eagle is sent out by the king to scout the trees. The eagle's keen eyesight, which was a stock metaphorical element in Hittite thought, makes it the natural candidate for this task.

KUB 29.1 i (OH/NS)³⁹⁷

50 *ma-a-an-ma LUGAL an-da-an pá-r-na ú-iz-zi nu GŠDAG-iz ÁMUŠEN-an*

51 *hal-za-a-i e-hu-ta a-ru-na pé-e-i-mi ma-a-an pa-a-i-ši-ma*

52 *nu ú-li-li-ya GŠTIR-na šu-ú-wa-ya*

53 *ku-i-e-es a-sa-an-zi*

ii

1 *a-pa-a-aš-ša EGIR-pa te-ez-zi šu-wa-ya-nu¹-un-wa*

2 *nu-wa ^dIš-du-uš-ia-ya-aš ^dPa-pa-ya-aš kái-ie-er-re-eš*

3 *ka-ru-ú-e-le-e-eš DINGIR.MEŠ ku-ú-še-eš*

4 *ha-a-li-an-te-eš a-ša-an-zi*

5 *EGIR-pa¹-ma te-ez-zi nu ku-it iš-ša-an-zi a-pa-ša-aš-ši*

6 *EGIR-pa te-ez-zi GŠhu-u-la-li har-zi*

7 *GŠhu-u-šu-uš šu-u-wa-du-uš har-kán-zi*

8 *nu LUGAL-wa-aš MU.KAM.HI.A-uš ma-al-ki-ya-an-zi*

9 *ú-it-ta-an-na ku-ut-re-eš-mi-it kap-pu-u-wa-u-wa-ar-ša-me-et*

10 *Ú-UL du-uq-qa-a-ri*

³⁹⁷Cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60, 1982, 490-493.

50 When the king comes into the house, then the throne calls the eagle (saying):

51 “Go! I am sending you to the Sea. But when you go,

52 then look into the field and forest,

53 whoever remains there.”

ii

1 And that one (the eagle) answers, “I have looked into (them)

2 and Išduštaya (and) Papaya, the infernal

3 ancient deities, the in-laws?³⁹⁸

4 are sitting there, crouched.”

5 He (the throne) answers: “And what are they doing?”

6 That one (the eagle) answers him: “(One) holds a distaff.

7 (they) hold full spindles.

8 They are spinning the years of the king.

9 Of the years a limit to their number

10 is not to be seen (i.e. there is no limit).”

Later in the ritual (ii 39ff.), the eagle is ordered to bring a pottery vessel from the ghat (*ukturi-*) and to braid? (*šumumahh*) the *šišai-* of a lion with the *šišai-* of a leopard, an action symbolic of the union of the heart and soul of the king (see supra, pp. 53f.).

In the myth of the disappearance and return of the god, Telipinu (CTH 324, first version), the eagle is the messenger of the Sungod. The gods have already failed to find Telipinu, so the Sungod approaches the eagle:

³⁹⁸For *kuša-* see J. J. S. Weitenberg, “Hethitisch *kuša-*,” *IF* 80, 1975, 66-70.

KUB 17.10 i (OS?)³⁹⁹

- 23 DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.GAL DINGIR.MEŠ.TUR ^dTe-li-pí-nu-un ša-an-hi-iš-ki-u-wa-
an da-i-ir ^dUTU-uš
- 24 ha-a-ra-na-an^{MUŠEN} le-e-li-wa-an-da-an IŠ-PUR i-it-wa-ra-aš-ta pár-ga-mu-uš
- 25 HUR.SAG.DIDLI.HLA ša-a-ah
-
- 26 ha-a-ri-i-uš-kán hal-lu[-wa-m]u-uš ša-a-ah hu-wa-an-hu-eš-šar-kán ku-wa-a-li-ú ša-a-
ah
- 27 ha-a-ra-aš^{MUŠEN} pa-it na-an Ú-UL ú-e-mi-ya-at nu EGIR-pa ^dUTU-i
- 28 ha-lu-kán pé-e-da-aš Ú-UL-wa-ra-an ú-e-mi-ya-nu-un ^dTe-li-pí-nu-un
- 29 na-ak-ki-in DINGIR-LAM ...
-
- 23 The great gods and the lesser gods began searching (for) Telipinu.
- 24 The Sungod sent the swift eagle (saying), “Go!
- 25 Search the high mountains!
-
- 26 “Search the deep valleys! Search the still waters!”
- 27 The eagle went but did not find him. Afterward he carried the news
- 28 to the Sungod: “I did not find him, Telipinu,
- 29 the noble god.” ...

Once again, the eagle’s eyesight and speed are the characteristics that probably secured its nomination for this task. In this case, however, it is unsuccessful. After the eagle’s failure, the goddess Hannahanna suggests sending a bee, which is ultimately successful in finding Telipinu. The contrast between the eagle and the bee is deliberate. The former is the most majestic of flying animals and the latter the smallest and humblest, yet the bee was

³⁹⁹Cf. E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 1965, [30f.]. For the eagle in other, similar invocations, see KUB 33.25 : 6’ (CTH 325 [OH/MS]); KUB 33.15 : 4’ (CTH 326 [MH]); KBo 13.86 obv 16’ (CTH 328.1); KUB 33.62 ii 3’ (CTH 330 [OH]) with dupl. Bo 6472 : 13’ (CHD 3/2, 1983, 124); KBo 9.110 : 11 (CTH 335); KUB 33.13 ii 13’ (CTH 335 [OH/NS]).

the one to find Telipinu and wake him.

In the second version of this myth, similar, if not quite identical, events are related:

KUB 33.4 : 12' + IBoT 3.141 i 6'-10' (OH/NS)⁴⁰⁰

- 12' [dU]TU-uš li-li-wa-an-d[a]-a[r ha-ra-na-an pí-i-e[-eř]
 13' [i-it-wa dTe-l]i-p[i-nu-un ša-an-]ha ha-a-ra-aš pa[-iř]
 14' [na-aš-kán HUR.SAG.MEŠ-uš] ša-an-ha-ta na-aš-ta ÍD.DIDLHLA
 15' [ša-an-ha-ta na-]an Ū-UL ú-e-mi-it nu EGIR[-pa dUTU-i ha-lu-kán]
 16' [pé-e-da-aš Ū-UL-wa-]ra-an ú-e-mi-ya-nu-[un]

- 12' The Sungod sen[t] the swif[t eag]le (saying):
 13' ["Go! Sear]ch for Telep[inu].” The eagle we[nt].
 14' He searched the [mountains] and [he searched]
 15' the rivers [and] he did not find him. Afterward he [ca]rried [the news to the Sungod:]
 16' “I did [not] fin[d] him.”

In a fragment from a similar myth, the gods are called in apparently this time to search for the eagle:

KUB 33.80 (OH/NS) with dupl. KBo 9.110 : 9'-12' (CTH 335)⁴⁰¹

- 3' [nu-]za dUTU-uš EZ[EN-an i-ya-at nu-za (DINGIR.MEŠ hal-za-iš)]
 4' [(nu)] dUTU-uš IGLHLA-wa x[
 5' [a]n-da Ū-ULIK-ŠU-UD [(nu dUTU)-uš me-mi-iš-ta]
 6' [i-]it-ten-wa-mu ÁMUŠEN-an [(pít-te-)ya-li-in ú-da-at-ten]
 7' [pa-]a-ir ÁMUŠEN-an pít-t[e-ya-li-in]

⁴⁰⁰Cf. E. Laroche, *Textes mythologiques hittites en transcription 1^{ère} Partie: Mythologie anatolienne* (=RHA 23/77), Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1965, [39f.].

⁴⁰¹Cf. E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 1965, [97ff.]. Cf. also KUB 33.13 obv 13' (CTH 335.2 [OH/NS]).

- 8' []x x[]ÁMUŠEN A[N ... (ša-an-ha)
 3' The Sungod [prepared] a festi[val and] called the gods.
 4' Then the Sungod (his) eyes [
 5' he did not find [him] and the Sungo[d said (to them):]
 6' "[G]o, [bring] to me the sw[ift] eagle!"
 7' They [we]nt. The sw[ift] eagle [
 8' [...] eagle [...] search!

The following mythical passage describes an eagle, snake and bee in the midst of a tree. One is reminded of the Indo-European "World Tree," which is typically depicted with birds, snakes and other animals.⁴⁰²

KUB 43.62 iii (CTH 457)⁴⁰³

- 3' GŠka-pa-nu-ma-za-kán MUŠ-aš har-zi
 4' iš-tar-na pí-di-ma-at-za-kán NIM.LÀL har-z[i]
 5' GŠla-ah-hur-nu-uz-zi-aš-ša-an še-er ÁMUŠEN ti-ya-a[i]
 6' kat-ta-ma-an-za-an GŠga-pa-nu-uš-ši MUŠ-aš
 7' ne-ya-at iš-tar-na pí-di-ma-kán NIM.LÀL ne-y[a-at?]
 3' The snake holds the *kapanu*-,
 4' but inside a bee holds it.
 5' Above an eagle perched on the branches,⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰²See now G. Höhler, *Die Bäume des Lebens: Baumsymbole in den Kulturen der Menschheit*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1985, 18ff., for the *Weltbaum* with birds and other animals; see pp. 22f. for the Mesopotamian evidence, and cf. 45ff. See also the comments of W. Fauth, *Anatolica* 6, 1977/78, 131, 134 on the eagle's connection with the World Tree according to near eastern evidence.

⁴⁰³Cf. H. Eichner, "Hethitisch *gēnuššuš*, *ginušši*, *ginuššin*," *Heth.u.Idg.*, 1979, 45, n. 9.

⁴⁰⁴Cf. *CHD* 3/1, 1980, 16.

6' below a snake coiled about its base?

7' in the midst a bee hove[red?].

In another mythological text, KUB 43.60 i (CTH 457 [OH/NS]), several animals are named to represent the various regions of the natural world. The bee represents the land (line 6f.), the *'ahanza*-duck the sea (line 12), the *huwala*-animal the river (line 14), and the eagle the sky (line 17) (cf. infra, Section 3.IV.D).⁴⁰⁵

The story of the Sungod, the Cow and the Fisherman includes eagles and various other birds in what may be a reference to the bird waving rituals that are so popular in the Hittite ritual texts. In the following passage, the Sungod instructs a divine messenger:

KUB 24.7 iii (CTH 363 [NS])⁴⁰⁶

65 ŠU-za GŠPA-an da-a I-N[A GİR.MEŠ-KA-ma-za KUŠE.SIR.HI.A] li-li-wa-an-za⁴⁰⁷

66 IM.MEŠ šar-ku 1-ŠU šar-x[-o o o o o o DU]MU²-[I]i še-er MUŠEN[.HI.A

67 za-r[i-y]a-[n]a-al-la^{MUŠEN}[o o o o o o -]a-te-li nu MUŠEN.HI.A [

68 [ar²-wa-na-al-I]a DUMU-li [še-e]r a[r-ha wa-ah-nu-an-d]u? Á^{MUŠEN}.HI.A-an IŠ-T[U?

69 [IŠ-T]U KAK.HI.A-ŠU-NU-ma-aš-ši še-er ar-ha [šā]r-ra-an-du

65 Take a staff in (your) hand! On [your feet] put the winds [as] winged [shoes]!

66 One time ..[...] over the [ch]ild² bird[s

67 the *zariyanalla*-bird, [...] ... and birds [

68 An *arwanalla*²-bird² [ov]er the child [let them wave. Of² eagles [

69 But let them divide (it) up above him with their pegs!

⁴⁰⁵See V. Haas, *OA* 20, 1981, 254, n. 25.

⁴⁰⁶Cf. J. Friedrich, *ZA* 49, 1950, 230f.; H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *FsLacheman*, 1981, 193.

⁴⁰⁷This line is restored from KUB 36.7a iii 40-41 + KUB 17.7 iii 10-11 (CTH 345). See *CHD* 3/1, 1980, 62, sub *liliwant*-.

5. Religion

Neither the double-headed eagle nor the eagle itself was the attribute of a single deity, and both should be compared with the lion in the multiplicity of their divine associations. Just like the lion, the eagle is associated with specific types of deities, in this case, the mountain gods (for which the evidence is primarily textual) and hunting gods.

In the texts, the mountain deities are most consistently found with eagles. In the iconography, on the other hand, the eagle's divine associations are much more diverse. It is possible that both eagle and mountain were perceived as having connections with both the earth, the realm of man, and the heavens, the realm of the gods. As a game animal and a predator itself, the eagle's association with the protective deities or hunting gods is fitting. These are probably associated with the eagle because it was a very successful hunter itself. In addition, the eagle's obvious talents, such as speed and keen vision, would have been attributes desired in a hunting deity.

The eagle does not appear to be sacred to any one divinity. No eagle-shaped rhyta are employed to honor a particular god, as is the case with the lion.⁴⁰⁸ One ritual mentions the sacrifice of an eagle along with a bull, lamb and falcon (IBoT 2.87 i 6f. [CTH 670]). The offering is intended for the Weathergod, and a Weathergod is indeed connected with the eagle in two texts described above. Yet, because the eagle is sacrificed only in the company of a number of other animals, and because there is no demonstrable iconographic connection between the Weathergod and the eagle, we cannot conclude that the eagle was sacred to the Weathergod.

The eagle's frequent use in ritual is attributable to its appropriateness for the purification rites and invocations described below. Its appropriateness may in turn be due

⁴⁰⁸Eagle rhyta may be mentioned in KUB 41.33 obv 12f. (CTH 458), where a Weathergod is cited in the next line: *ha-a-ra-ni-e-e*[š o o] KÙ.BABBAR-*aš BI-IB-RU.HI.A* [...]x nu ^dU-ni-ya *šu-un-na-[a]n-du Û A-NA LUGAL SAL.LUGAL [a-]ku-an-du* "eagle[s ...] rhyta of silver [...] and let them fill (them) for the Weathergod and for the king and queen let them drink."

to the fact that the eagle's role in ritual is defined by its symbolic and mythological role as messenger to and for the gods. That is, the eagle was used to release the patient from evil symbolically through flight, to carry the practitioner's words to the gods or to carry the gods themselves to, or away from, the practitioner. Hence the eagle's main purpose in ritual was to fulfill its own symbolic and mythological role as messenger.

One ritual procedure uses the wing of an eagle, or a live eagle, in the company of other objects, either to evoke particular deities, or else to purify the offerant by means of waving the wing, feather or eagle over him/her. Sometimes both functions are served. The wing in such rituals is representative of the entire animal, which is a phenomenon unique to the eagle. An example of this format is an evocation ritual of Kizzuwatnaean origin, which seeks to evoke the Mother-goddesses and Gulšeš deities by means of a fleece and an eagle's wing, among other objects:

KUB 15.31 i with dupl. KUB 15.32 i 35-37 (CTH 484 [MH/NS])⁴⁰⁹

33 ... *na-as iš-tu síg sa₅*⁴¹⁰

34 *hu-ut-tu-ul-li-it* ^{TUG}*ku-ri-iš-ni-it-ta*⁴¹¹ *hu-it-ti-ya-zi*

35 *ša ámušen-ya pá-r-ta-a-u-ni-it ú-i-ya-an[(-zi)]*⁴¹² ...

33 ... He draws (the deity)

34 with red wool, with a tuft of wool, and with a web of cloth.

35 (Gesturing) with the wing of an eagle one cries. . . .

An incantation for the Mother-goddesses and Gulšeš deities follows, which attempts to

⁴⁰⁹Cf. V. Haas and G. Wilhelm, *Hurritische und luwische Riten aus Kizzuwatna*, AOATS 3, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974, 152f., 173f.

⁴¹⁰KUB 15.32 i 35 adds *i-ya-an-da-aš*.

⁴¹¹KUB 15.32 i 36 *ku-re-eš-ni-it-ta*.

⁴¹²KUB 15.32 i 37 *ú-i-ya-iz-zi*.

effect their return from wherever they are, “be it in the sky, be it in the earth, in the mountains, in the rivers.”⁴¹³ At the conclusion of the incantation, the eagle’s wing is used again:

KUB 15.31 i with dupl. KUB 15.32 i 60-62⁴¹⁴

- 58 *nu ma-ah-ha-an zi-ì n[(-na-i nu x)*
 59 *ha-ra-na-aš par-ta⁴¹⁵-u[(-ar GŠ BANŠU)R-az?*
 60 *nam-ma ŠA KASKAL 1 x[*
 61 *1 NA₄pa-aš-ši-lu-un [(ŠA KA.GÌR-y)a*
 ———
 58 And as soon as he is finished [
 59 the eagle’s wing [from?] the table [
 60 Then of the road [
 61 One pebble of the side road [

A bird burning ritual, involving a number of birds along with a lamb, takes place immediately after, but the eagle’s wing is not specifically mentioned again.

Very similar to this ritual is KUB 15.34 i (CTH 483 [MH/MS]) with dupls. KUB 15.33a + 33b + 38.⁴¹⁶ Also Kizzuwatnaean, this ritual is an evocation designed to entice the Cedar-gods back to Hatti from the enemy lands, a feat it attempts to accomplish in part by wrapping various objects up together, including the fleece of an unblemished sheep and an eagle’s wing (i 12), and placing them in a basket. Trails of wine, honey, flour, oil and so forth for the gods to travel on are laid extending outward from the prepared basket.

⁴¹³Line 39 with dupl. KUB 15.32 i 42: *[m]a-a-an-wa-za [(ne-pí-ši ma-a-an-wa-za ták-ni-i HUR.SAG.MEŠ-aš ÍD.MEŠ-aš)]*.

⁴¹⁴Cf. V. Haas and G. Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 1974, 154f.

⁴¹⁵KUB 15.32 i 61 adds *-a-*.

⁴¹⁶Cf. L. Zuntz, *Un Testo Ittito di Scongiuri*, Venice: Premiate Officine Grafiche Carlo Ferrari, 1937, 477-546; translated by A. Goetze, ANET, 1969, 351-53.

While the trails are being prepared, one diviner lifts the eagle's wing and cries a lament (i 34).

Similarly, in the following evocation ritual, nine trails are made for the gods, while wool and an eagle's wing are used in an effort to integrate the gods of the enemy city into the Hittite cult:

KUB 7.60 ii (CTH 423 [L.S])⁴¹⁷

- 14 nu SALŠU.GI UDU!i-ya-an-da-as s^Ghu[-ut-tu-ul-]li
 15 Á^{MUŠEN}[-aš] pá-r-ta-u-wa-ar ga-ia-ak-ta[r]
 16 [DIN]GIR.MEŠ-na-aš pá-r-hu-u-e-na-aš ZAG-na-aš
 17 [ZA]G-[n]a-az šU-az har-zi ...

- 14 In (her) right hand, the Old Woman holds
 15 a t[uf]t of sheep's wool,
 16 the wing of an eagle, the *galaktar*-food, (and) [the ...]
 17 of the right of the *parhuena*-drink⁴¹⁸ of the [g]ods.

With these items in hand, the Old Woman invokes the gods of the enemy city to leave their own country. She then sacrifices a sheep to the gods and one to the goddesses of the enemy city. The liver and heart are burned and placed on the table of the gods.

The Ritual of Tunnawi (CTH 409), Kizzuwatnaean in origin like those above, describes various objects that the "Old Woman" wraps together (KUB 12.58 i 19-27). An eagle's wing (*pattar*) is included in this list (line 22). Like most of the other objects, it is held over the offerant and waved while charms are spoken:

⁴¹⁷See V. Haas and H. Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 1974, 234ff. Other examples of this form of ritual are KUB 32.122 (CTH 500), which mentions a wing (lines 4', 6'), perhaps of an eagle, and *galaktar*-food (line 5'), and FHG 4 : 10', a ritual that uses "paths" and an eagle's wing.

⁴¹⁸For *parhuena*- (and *galaktar*) see V. Haas and G. Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 1974, 14, n. 2.

KUB 7.53 ii⁴¹⁹

- 4 ... EGIR-ŠU-*ma pá-tar*
 5 *da-a-i na-at-kán še-er ar-ha wa-ah-nu-zi*
 6 *hu-uk-ma-uš¹-ma hu-uk-ki-iš-ki-iz-zi ...*
 ———
 4 ... Afterwards she takes the wing,
 5 and waves it over (him/her),
 6 and pronounces the charms ...

The objects are ultimately thrown into the river (KUB 12.58 iii 12-14). The ritual's purpose is purificatory, and is performed in everyday life for ordinary people.

The ritual portion of the Telipinu Myth, which shares many of the features of the rituals already discussed, uses an eagle. The relationship between purification and evocation in this ritual is clear. The god must be purified of anger before he can be summoned. Toward this end, the eagle is well suited, since it can be used both to purify and to carry the god to the practitioner. The eagle's ability to transport the god ritually is demonstrated in the following passage, when Kamrušepa transports the angry Telipinu by means of an eagle's wing:

KUB 17.10 ii (CTH 324 [OH/MS])⁴²⁰

- 33 *ṽTe-li-pí-nu-uš le-e-la-ni-ya-an-za ú-it ú-wa-an-ti-wa-an-ta-az*
 34 *ti-it-hi-iš-ki-it-ta kat-ta da-an-ku-i te-e-kán za-ah-hi-iš-k[i-i]z-zi.*
 35 *a-uš-ta«-ta»-an ṽKam-ma-ru-še-pa-aš nu-za ha-ra-na-aš^xMUŠEN pá-r-ta-u-wa-[ar]*
 36 *[an-]a[a-a]n[?] ar-nu-ut na-an a-r[a-a-i]*

⁴¹⁹Cf. A. Goetze, *The Hittite Ritual of Tunnawi* (=AOS 14), New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1938, 8-11.

⁴²⁰Cf. V. Haas and G. Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 1974, 23, with n. 4; E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 1965, [33f.]; HW², 1979, 247b.

iii

1 *kar-pí-iš na-an a-ra-a-it kar-di-mi-y[a-az na-an a-ra-a-it wa-aš-du-ul]*2 *a-ra-a-it ša-a-u-ar a-ra-a-it*

33 Furious, Telipinu came. With lightening

34 he thundered. The dark earth [he] beat.

35 Kamrušepa saw him, and the win[g] of an eagle

36 she brought and she sto[pped] him.

iii

1 The hatred—she stopped it. The ang[er—she stopped it. The sin]

2 she stopped. The fury she stopped.

From another version of the ritual, the following lines clarify further the purpose of the eagle's wing:

KUB 33.10 obv || KUB 33.8 ii 14-17⁴²¹17 [DUMU.LÚ].ULÙ.LU *hal-zi-i[t¹-ta ...] a-pa-a-a[š ... HUR.SAGAm-mu-na*18 [(TÚ.L²H)]*a-at-ta-ra-an [...-d]a²-a-ú nu[-wa-r(a-an a-pa-a-aš ar-nu-ud-du)]*19 [(ha-)a⁴²²]-*ra-aš^{MUSEN} ti-x[... (pár-ta-ú-ni-it a)]r-nu-ud[(-du da-an-)*20 [*a]r-nu-ud<-du>*⁴²³ *ha-a⁴²⁴-r[(a-aš-ša-an pár-ta-ú-n)i-]t a[r¹?-nu-ud-du?*17 [The mo]rtal is summon[ed?] “[...]. Let that one [...] the spring², Hattara,18 [to² Mt. Ammuna ...]! [Let that one bring him!]”

19 Let the e[a]gle bring [...] with (his) wing! [...] let [the eagle?]

20 bring [him]! With (his) wing let the eagle bring him!

⁴²¹Cf. H. Otten, *Die Überlieferungen des Telipinu-Mythus* (=MVAeG 46), Leipzig, 1942, 32ff.; E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 1965, [46].

⁴²²KUB 33.8 ii 15 omits -a-.

⁴²³KUB 33.8 ii 17 *a-ra-nu-ud-du*.

⁴²⁴KUB 33.8 ii 17 omits -a-.

Telipinu's arrival from the earth on the wing of an eagle should be compared with the rituals that use an eagle's wing to summon the deities.

We have seen already how the eagle is used as a messenger in the Foundation Ritual, KUB 29.1 ii 39ff., where it is sent to bring a pottery vessel and braids⁷ the *šišai-* of the lion and leopard upon it (supra, pp. 53f.), and in the Telipinu Myth, where it is sent out to find the missing god (supra, pp. 116). The eagle as messenger was also charged with the task of eliciting the good will of the gods on behalf of the king and queen. This aspect is demonstrated by the Old Hittite Ritual for the Royal Couple (CTH 416). Predating the Kizzuwatnaean rituals discussed above, this ritual boasts the most extensive use of the eagle, and is probably unique in its use of a live eagle:

KBo 17.1 ii (OS) with dupls. KBo 17.3 ii 1'-4', 8'-14', 15'-iii 5 + KBo 17.4 ii 14'-15' (OS), KBo 17.6 ii 5'-6', 10'-14', 18'-19' (OS) || KBo 17.2 i 9'⁴²⁵

5' *ma-a-an* ^{MUŠEN}*ha-a-ra-na-an hu-š[(u-wa-an-da-an ap-pa-an-zi)]*

6' *na-an ú-da-an-zi ú-ga ú-i[(-il-na)-aš ER(ÍN.MEŠ-an i-ya-mi)]*

...

11' [*ma-a-a*]n *mi-iš-ti-li-ya me-e-[(hu-ur* ^{MUŠEN}*ha-a-ra-na-an an-da)]*

12' [*pé-e-ta*]h-hi ERÍN.MEŠ-na-an *pé-e-[(tah-hi te-eš-šum-me-uš-ša pé-e-tah-hi)]*

...

16' ^{MUŠEN}*ha-a-ra-na-an L[UGAL-aš SAL.LUGAL-aš-š]a še-e-er-ša-me-et 3-[(šU)]*

17' DUMU.É.GAL *wa-ah-nu-[zi o o ú-]ga-aš-ma-aš-ša-an ERÍN.MEŠ-an še-e-[(er)]*

18' 3-šU *wa-ah-nu-ú-mi L[UGAL-uš? 3]-šU SAL.LUGAL-aš-ša 3-šU ERÍN.MEŠ-an*

19' *al-la-ap-pa-ah-ha-an-z[i ERÍN.MEŠ-]ti-ma-aš-ša-an še-e-er GÍR ZAB[(AR)]*

⁴²⁵Cf. H. Otten and V. Souček, *Ein althethitisches Ritual für das Königspaar*, StBoT 8, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1969 (the line numbers here correspond to their lines ii 19 - iii 5, variants are given here); E. Neu, StBoT 25, 1980, 5-21 (texts 3, 4, 5, 6). See V. Haas and G. Wilhelm, AOAT 3, 1974, 47f. for a discussion of the ethnic and geographical origins of this ritual as compared with the Telipinu myth and the Kizzuwatnaean evocation rituals. Waving an eagle, a practice that is common to all of these rituals, seems to argue for "eine frühe Interdependenz nord- und südostanatolischer Riten" (AOAT 3, 1974, 49).

- 20' *ki-it-ta* ^{MUŠEN}*ha-a-ra-n[a-an]* ERÍN.MEŠ-*an-[n]a* LUGAL-*a[(š)]* SAL.LUGAL-*aš-ša*
še-e-[(er-še-me-et)]
- 21' *wa-ah-nu-me-ni* ...
- 23' ^{MUŠEN}*ha-a-ra-~~n~~a[n-n]a-aš-ta* [*pa-ra-(a pé)*]-*e-ta-an-zi* DUMU.É.GA[(L)]
- 24' LUGAL-*aš* SAL.LUGAL-*aš-ša* *ki-iš-ša-r[a-az-(me-et te-e)]š-šu-um-mi-uš da-a-[(i)]*
 ...
- 30' *ma-a-an lu-uk-kaš-ta-ma* 𐎶[
- 31' *ú-ga-an na[m-m]a² an-d[a² pé-e-tah-hi* ^{MUŠEN}*ha]*-*a-ra-[na-an*
- 32' LUGAL-*aš* SAL.LUGA[L-*aš-š*]a *še-e-er[-še-me-et w(a-ah-nu)]-uz-zi* 3[-šU
- 33' [*a*]-*pé-e* ^{MUŠEN}*ha-a-ra-na-an wa-c[h-nu-wa-an]-zi i*Š-TU É.[(ŠÀ ERÍN.ME)Š-*an]*
- 34' [*t*]*e-eš-šu-mi-uš-ša* ù ^{GŠŠ}ŠUKUR ZABAR *ú-da-an-zi* ...
- 37' *ma-a-an* ^{MUŠEN}*ha-a-ra-na-an* ERÍN.MEŠ-*an-na* 3-šU *wa-ah-nu-mi ha-a-ra-na-an-aš-*
ta
- 38' *pa-~~n~~a pé-e-ta-~~n~~-zi* ERÍN.MEŠ-*ta-an te-eš-šu-mi-uš-ša* ù ^{GŠŠ}ŠUKUR ZABAR
- 39' [... (*x-ni ta-aš-t*)]a *pa-ra-a pé-e-tu-me-ni*
-
- 40' [(*ta* HUR.SAG-*a* ^dUTU-*i me-*)]*ē-na-ah-ha-an-da pa-i-mi. ta* ^dU[(TU-*i*)] ^dIM-*ya*
- 41' [(*ki-iš-ša-an me-e-ma-ah-hé*)] *tū-wa-at-tu* ^dUTU ^dIM-[*y*]a *h[(a)]-a-ra-aš*
- 42' [(*a²-ri-ya-la-aš-mi-iš* LUGAL-*u*)]*š ku-ul-lu-pí har-z[(i S)]AL.L[(UGAL-š)]a*
^{NA4}ARÀ-*an*
- 43' [*har-zi* ...
- iii
- 1 [*ma-a-a(h-ha-an-da)*] ^dUTU-*uš* ^dIM-*aš ne-e-pí-iš te-e[(kán-na)]*
- 2 [(*uk-tu-u-ri* L)]UGAL-*uš* SAL.LUGAL-*aš-ša* DUMU.MEŠ-*ša uk-tu-u-re-eš a-š[(a-*
a)]n-d[u]
-
- 3 [(*ta nam-ma* ^{MUŠEN}*ha-)*]*ā-ra-na-an ne-e-pí-ša tar-na-ah-hi*
- 4 [(*a-ap-pa-an-an-da-ma-)*]*aš-še ke-e me-e-ma-ah-hi na-at-ta-an ú-uk*
- 5 [*(ar-na-ah-hu-un* LUGAL-*)š*]a-*an* SAL.LUGAL-*ša tar-na-aš nu i-it* ^dUTU-*i*

- 6 [(^dIM-*ya me-e-mi-i*)]š-*ki* ^dUTU-*uš* ^dIM-*aš ma-a-an uk-tu-u-re-eš*
 7 [(LUGAL-*uš* SALLUGAL-*aš-ša*)] QA-TAM-MA *uk-tu-u-re-eš a-ša-an-tu*

ii

- 5' When they capture a live eagle,
 6' they bring it. I make soldiers of clay.
 ...
 11' [Whe]n (it is) the *mišniliya*-time,⁴²⁶ I [brin]g in the eagle,
 12' I bring in the (models of) soldiers and I bring in the cups.
 ...
 16' The eagle over the k[ing] and [the queen] three times
 17' the palace servant wave[s ...]. But I wave the soldiers over
 18' them three times. The k[ing thre]e times and the queen three times
 19' spit (on) the soldiers. Over [the soldi]ers a dagger of bronze is
 20' laid. We wave the eag[le] and the soldiers over the king and the queen.
 ...
 23' They carry the eagle [for]th. The palace servant
 24' takes the cups [from] the hand of the king and the queen.
 ...
 30' But when it becomes light [
 31' I [bring] him i[n] ag[ai]n. The [e]ag[le]
 32' he waves over the king and the quee[n]. Three [times
 33' they wa[ve] the eagle. From inside the bedroom they bring
 34' the soldiers, the cups, and the bronze spear ...
 ...
 37' When I wave the eagle and the soldiers three times,
 38' they bring forth the eagle. The soldiers, the cups and the bronze spear
 39' we [...] and we bring (them) forth.
-
- 40' Then I go on a mountain before the Sungod. To the Sungod and the Weathergod

⁴²⁶Cf. CHD 3/3, 1986, 301.

- 41' I say as follows, "Mercy!, O Sungod and Weathergod! The eagle (is)
 42' my? *ariyala-??*." The king holds the sickle. The queen [holds]
 43' the millstone. ...
 ...
 iii
 1 "[A]s the Sungod, the Weathergod, the Heaven and the Earth
 2 (are) eternal, let the king and the queen and (their) children be eternal!"
-
- 3 Then I release the eagle to the sky again,
 4 and after it I say these (words), "I have not
 5 releas[ed] it, the king and queen have released it. Now go! To the Sungod
 6 and the Weathergod say, 'As the Sungod (and) the Weathergod (are) eternal,
 7 let the king and the queen likewise be eternal!'"

This ritual combines the purification accomplished through the model soldiers with the eagle as an intercessor to the gods. Once the eagle is released, its role is to carry the practitioner's words, on behalf of the king and queen, to the Sungod and Weathergod, who inhabit the realm of which it is a symbol and an inhabitant.

Other birds are not generally used alone in this form of ritual—that is, purification and evocation by means of waving the bird or its wing over the offerant. The only examples involve a series of birds, and an eagle is always among them. The rituals that include a series of animals are usually directly followed by a purification with water. For example:

KUB 30.31 iv (NH) + KUB 32.114 rev 4'-8' (CTH 479)⁴²⁷

36 [(*lu-uk-kat-ta-m*)] UD.23.KAM É^dIM É^dHe-pát

37 [(É DINGIR.MEŠ-ya)] *hu-u-ma-an-da* IŠ-TU ÁMUŠEN SÚR.DÙ.ÁMUŠEN

⁴²⁷Cf. H. Ertem, *Boğazköy Metinlerine Göre Hititler Devri Anadolu'sunun Faunası*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1965, 187.

38 [(*ha-pu-pí-it*)] MUŠEN.HUR-RI *hu-uš-ti-it-ta*

39 [(*wa-ah-nu-wa*)]-an-zi *še-he-el-li-ya-az ú-i-te-na-az*

40 [(*šu-up-pí-y*)]*a-ah-ha-an-zi*

36 But on the morning of the 23d day, the temple of the Weathergod, the temple of Hepat,

37 and all the temples of the gods, with an eagle, a falcon,

38 a *hapupi*-bird, a shelduck, and a *hušti*-(stone)

39 they wave. By means of pure water

40 they sanctify.

Compare the following, in which livestock (cow, sheep and goat) are included in the ritual:

KBo 9.119 iv (CTH 475)⁴²⁸

6 [*lu-u*]k-kat-ta-ma I-NA [UD.N.KAM É^d]U-an *še-he-el-li-ya-az*

7 [IŠ-T]U 7 ME-E wa-a[r-pa-an-z]i nam-ma A-NA^dU

8 [É]ka-ri-im-me-ya [o 1] GUD hu-ur-ša-la-mi-in

9 [1 SIL]Á 1 MÁŠ.TUR 1 Á^[MUŠEN] 1 SÚR.DÙ.A^{MUŠEN} 1 I-RI-BU^{MUŠEN}

10 [1 ha-]pu-pí-in 1 [x^{MUŠEN}], 1 su-ra-su-ra-an^{MUŠEN}

11 [1 x-]ib-ri-ti-in^M[UŠEN pí-]an-zi nu^dU-an

12 [É]ka-ri-im[-me-ya a]r-ha wa-ah-nu-wa-an-zi

6 On the [morning of [the Nth day, the temple of the] Weathergod, by means of seven

7 pure waters th[ey wa]sh. Then for the Weathergod

8 in the temple [... one] ox *huršalami*-

9 [one lamb], one kid, one eag[le], one falcon, one raven?,

10 [one ha]pupi-(bird), one [x-bird], one *šurašura*-bird,

11 (and) [one ...]-ibriti-[bird] they [pro]vide, and they wave (them over)

⁴²⁸Cf. H. Ertem, *Fauna*, 1965, 189f.

12 the Weathergod in the tem[ple].

The following adds a goat to the group:

KUB 29.8 ii (CTH 777 [MH/MS])

- 6 *nam-ma* EN.SISKUR.SISKUR *iš-tu* ÁMUŠEN SÚR[.DÙ.AMUŠEN
 7 *ha-pu-pli-it hu-uš-ti-it-ta* MÁŠ.TUR x[
 8 *wa-ah-nu-an-zi* ...
-
- 6 Then the offerant with an eagle, a fal[con,
 7 a *hapupi*-(bird), and a *hušti*-(stone), a kid, [...
 8 they wave ...

The following ritual against impurity includes a similar rite:

IBoT 2.113 ii with dupl. ABoT 29 ii 2-5 (CTH 472)

- 2 DINGIR-LAM *iš-tu* ÁMUŠEN SÚR.DÙ.AMUŠEN M[(ÁŠ.TUR)]
 3 [(MUŠE)]N.HUR-RI ^{NA4}*hu-uš-ti-it wa-ah-nu[-wa(-a-an-zi)]*
-
- 4 [(EGIR)]-an-da-ma DINGIR-LAM *še-he-el-li-y[a-(aš)]*
 5 [(ú-e-)]te-ni-it *šu-up-pli-ya-ah-ha[-a(n-zi)]*
-
- 2 They wave the deity with an eagle, a falcon, a kid,
 3 a shelduck, and a *husti*-stone.
-
- 4 Afterward, with water of purity
 5 they purify the deity.

And finally:

KBo 19.140 (CTH 457 [MS?])⁴²⁹

10' [nam-ma EN.SISKUR.SISKU]R IŠ-TU ÁMUŠEN SÚR.DÙ.AMU[ŠEN]

11' [ha-pu-pí-it hu]-uš-ti-it wa-ah-nu-[a]n-z[i EGIR-ŠU-ma še-he-el-li-ya-aš]

12' [ú-i-da-a-ar pa-ap-p]ár-ša-an-z[i ...

10' [Then] they wave [the offerant] with an eagle, a falcon,

11' [a hapupi-bird], (and) a [hu]šti-stone. [But afterward] they

12' [sp]rink[le water of purity].

Although the eagle is not indispensable to this ritual format—examples can be found without the eagle's presence⁴³⁰—it is nevertheless the animal most extensively used. Another variation on the eagle's use in ritual involves the captivity and release of an eagle and a falcon:

KUB 30.34 iv (CTH 401 [MH/NS]) with dupls. KUB 39.103 rev 1'-5', 691/z iii?⁴³¹

1 ... an-da URU-ri ú-wa-aš

2 na-aš-za na-aš-šu Éha-li-in-du-wa-aš⁴³² šu-uh-hi

3 e-eš-ta-at na-aš-ma-az-za-an I-NA É DINGIR.MEŠ šu-uh-hi

4 e-eš-ta-at ki-nu-na Éha-li-in-du-wa«-aš»⁴³³ É DINGIR.MEŠ-ya

5 pár-ku-nu-ut nu ki-i <i>na-an e-eš-har NI-IŠ DINGIR-LIM ku-wa-pí

⁴²⁹Cf. V. Haas and G. Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 1974, 42 with n. 3.

⁴³⁰Cf. for example, IBoT 3.52 : 3-5: [t]a-an LÚAZU IŠ-TU MUŠEN.HUR-RI [NA₄hu-]uš-ti-it ú-e-te-na-az-zi-ya [wa-a]h-nu-zi "the seer waves him (the king) with the shelduck, with the hušti-stone, and with water" (cf. H. C. Melchert, (diss., Harvard), 1977, #104).

⁴³¹Cf. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, "Zur Topographie von Hattuša und Umgebung I.," *OrAnt* 16, 1977, 229ff.; *CHD* 3/1, 1980, 68; S. Alp, *Tempel*, 1983, 112f.

⁴³²691/z iii? Éha-li-in-du-wa.

⁴³³691/z iii? Éha-li-tu-wa.

- 6 *pa-iz-zi zi-ik šu-u-ra-šu-u-<ra>-wa-aš^{MUŠEN434} a-pád-da i-it«-te-en»*
 7 *nu e-eš-ha-na-an-za li-in-ki-ya-az É^{ha}-li-in-du-wa«-aš»⁴³⁵*
 8 *É.DINGIR.MEŠ⁴³⁶ le-e e-ep-zi*
-
- 9 *nu kar-tim-mi-ya-az le-e ku-it-ki nu ša-a-wa-ar*
 10 *le-e ku-it-ki nu-uš-kán É-ri an-da wa-ah-nu-ši*
 11 *MUŠEN.HLA MÁŠ.GAL-an-na nu-šs-kán 4 hal-hal-du-ma-ri wa-al-ah-zi*
 12 *nu-uš-kán pa-ra-a u-un-na-at-ti nu ha-a-ra-an*
 13 *kcl-li-kal-li-in-na ar-ha tar-na-at-ti¹*
 14 *nu wa-a-tar EGIR-pa^{GŠPISÀN} la-ah-hu-ut-ti*

1 ... You (the *šurašura*-bird) came into the city.

- 2 You were either on the roof of the palace,
 3 or you were on the roof of the temple.
 4 Now purify the palace and the temple!
 5 Wherever this illness, the blood, (or) the oath goes, you, the *šurašura*-bird,
 6 go¹ there!
 7 Let not the blood (or) the oath
 8 seize the palace (or) temples!
-

- 9 Let there be not anger in any way,
 10 let there be no fury in any way. You will wave them in the house,
 11 namely, birds and a goat. He will strike them in[?] the four corners.
 12 Then you will drive (them) forth. The eagle
 13 and the falcon you will release.
-

⁴³⁴691/z iii? *šu-u-ra-šu-u-wa^{MUŠEN}.*

⁴³⁵691/z iii? *É^{ha}-li-in-tu-u-wa.*

⁴³⁶KUB 39.103 rev 5' [É.]MEŠ.DINGIR.MEŠ.

14 You will pour out water back (into) a water pipe.

Later in the ritual, the eagle and falcon are waved over the deities and then, in accordance with the instructions given above, are taken outside and released to the sky:

KUB 30.34 iv || KUB 30.35 iv 2'-4' with dupl. KBo 12.91 iv 9'-12'

- 36 [nu k(a-r)]u-ú-i-li-uš⁴³⁷ DINGIR.MEŠ-mu-uš š[(a-ra)-a
37 [da-a-ī] na-aš-ta MUŠEN.HLA⁴³⁸ an-da wa-[(ah-nu-zī)]
38 [(nu-uš)] a-ra-ah-za pé-e-da-i ha[(-ra-an)]
39 [(kal-l)]i-kal-li-in-na⁴³⁹ ar-ha [tar-na-ī]

- 36 The ancient deities [he takes?] u[p].
37 He waves (them with) the birds (var. the eagle and fal[con]).
38 Then he carries them outside (and)
39 [he] rel[eases] the eagle and the falcon.

Compare the parallel text, which includes a goat with the birds:

KUB 30.33 iv (CTH 401.2 [MH/NS])

- 5' nu-za LUGAL-uš IŠ-TU ÁMUŠEN SÚR.DÙ.AMUŠEN MÁŠ.GAL w[a²-ah-nu-zī?]
6' nu ÁMUŠEN SÚR.DÙ.AMUŠEN ar-ha tar-na-an-zi
7' na-aš-ta an-da kiš-an me-ma-an-zi ka[-a-ša
8' da-an-ku-i da-ga<-an>-zi-pát kat-ta-an-da [
9' li-in-ga-iš¹ pa<-an>-ga-u-wa-aš EME-aš QA-TA[M-MA

⁴³⁷KBo 12.91 iv 9' ka-ru-ú-i-li-ya-aš.

⁴³⁸KBo 12.91 iv 10' IŠ-TU ÁMUŠEN SÚR.D[Ù.AMUŠEN, followed in the next line by DINGIR.MEŠ ša-ra-e], not in KUB 30.34.

⁴³⁹KBo 12.91 iv 12' SÚR.DÙ.AMUŠEN-ya [

- 5' The king with an eagle, a falcon, a goat [

6' They release the eagle and the falcon.

7' Thereby they speak as follows: "[As] n[ow these]
8' down to the dark earth [have gone, may]
9' the oath (and) common gossip like[wise go!]"

Eagle and falcon are once again found together in the Hurrian fragment KBo 14.132 iii 3'ff. (CTH 791), in a list of domestic animals: "three rams, three ewes, nine [...] three eagles, three fal[cons ...] one mare, one stall[ion ...] thirty shekels of silver, 4 1/2 shekels of gol[d]."440

Although other birds were frequently killed in ritual,⁴⁴¹ this was seldom the fate of the eagle. Only one fragment describes the ritual killing of an eagle. It is listed among several animals that are killed for the Weathergod: [1? G]UD.MAH 1 SILÁ 1 Á^{MUŠEN} 1 SÚR. DÙ[!].AMUŠEN [...] Û A-NA ZI dU BAL-ti "[one?] bull, one lamb, one eagle, one falcon [...] and he sacrifices for the life of the Weathergod."⁴⁴² Eagles, although wild, are also birds, and as such, would be subject to ritual sacrifice. KUB 7.33 obv 5-9 (infra, p. 272) demonstrates the distinction drawn in the Hittite conception between wild mammals and other categories of wild animal. In this passage, an eagle, falcon, snake and fish are included in a list with domestic or kept animals. Such a grouping suggests that wild non-mammals were perceived as in a separate category from wild mammals.

Thirty-eight percent of the texts mentioning eagles are oracles.⁴⁴³ Invariably in these

⁴⁴⁰3 UDU.NITÁ 3 UDU SÍG.SAL 9 x[...]x 3 ha-a-ra-a^{AMUŠEN} 3 kal-li-ka[l-li- ...]x-en 1 ANŠE.KUR.RA SAL.AL.LAL 1 ANŠE.KUR.R[A ...]x 30 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR 4 1/2 GÍN GUŠK[IN ...].

⁴⁴¹On bird sacrifices to the underworld deities see V. Haas and G. Wilhelm, AOATS 3, 1974, 50.

⁴⁴²IBoT 2.87 i 6f. (CTH 670). Cf. H. Ertem, *Fauna*, 1965, 196.

⁴⁴³For a list of bird oracles involving eagles, see H. Ertem, *Fauna*, 1965, 181, n. 11.

texts, the Sumerogram is preferred to the Hittite, and phonetic complements are generally omitted. These ornithomantic texts record the flight of birds, from which the augur (LÚIGL.MUŠEN or LÚMUŠEN.DÙ) could divine favorable and unfavorable omens.⁴⁴⁴ These texts are repetitive and have been discussed extensively by others and therefore will not be discussed further here.

⁴⁴⁴For in-depth discussions of Hittite ornithomancy see A. Archi, *SMEA* 16, 1975, 119-80; A. Ünal, "Zum Status der 'Augures' bei den Hethitern," *RHA* 31, 1973, 27-56. For a "typical" example of these texts refer to A. Ünal, *RHA* 31, 1973, 43-46 (KUB 18.12 + KUB 22.15 i 1-14).

Chapter III. HERBIVORES

Section A. DÀRA.MAŠ (c.) “red? deer,” Akkadian *AYALU*: Hittite reading unknown;
LU.LIM (c.) “fallow? deer,” Akkadian *LULIM(MU)*: Hittite reading unknown

DÀRA.MAŠ

sg. nom. DÀRA.MAŠ KUB 26.71 i 9' (OH/NS), KBo 10.23 vi 13, 16, 21, 25 (OH/NS), KUB 12.62 obv 17' (pre-NH/NS), KBo 10.24 i 1 (NS), KUB 36.98b obv 9 (OH/NS), KBo 18.172 rev 3; [DÀRA.MAŠ] KBo 3.22 obv 61 (OS); DÀRA.MAŠ-*aš* KUB 12.62 rev 2 (pre-NH/NS); [DÀRA.MAŠ-*a*]š^{i?} KBo 3.8 iii 27 (NH); **sg. acc.** DÀRA.MAŠ KBo 6.2 + KBo 19.1 iii 44 (OS), KBo 6.3 iii 49 (OH/MS), KUB 7.33 obv 5 (NH), KBo 6.8 iii[?] 3, KBo 25.180 rev[?] 4'; DÀRA.MAŠ-*an* KBo 3.8 iii 9 (NH); **sg. gen.** DÀRA.MAŠ KBo 19.128 iv 49' (OH[?]/NS), KUB 38.3 ii 14 (NH); **unclear** DÀRA.MAŠ KUB 41.36 i 13; DÀRA.MAŠ[...] KUB 4.22 obv 10; DÀRA.MA[Š] KBo 30.37 i 6'; DÀRA[.MAŠ] KUB 9.34 ii 32 (NH).

pl. nom. DÀRA.MAŠ KUB 41.36 i 3; **pl. d.-l.** *IT-TI* DÀRA.MAŠ.HI.A KBo 10.25 vi 8' (NS).

AYALU

sg. nom. A-YA-LU KBo 10.2 ii 46, iii 13 (OH/NS); **sg. gen.** A-YA-LI KUB 13.4 i 39 (preNH/NS); Bo 5036 iii 13⁴⁴⁵.

⁴⁴⁵H. Otten, *Ein hethitisches Festrinual*, StBoT 13, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971, 42, n. 76.

LU.LIM/LU-LI-IM⁴⁴⁶

sg. nom. LU.LIM KUB 42.69 rev 10' (NS); LU.LIM.NITÁ KUB 35.142 iv 7; LU.LIM[.SAL.AL.LAL] KUB 35.142 iv 7; **sg. d.-l. A-NA** LU.LIM KUB 38.1 ii 6, KUB 38.2 iii 1; **unclear** LU.LIM KUB 38.4 obv 9.

pl. nom. [LU-LI-I]M KBo 18.153 rev 4'; LU-LI-IM.MEŠ KUB 15.22 : 12';
pl. acc. LU-LI-IM.HLA KUB 25.18 ii 9, 11.

1. Introduction

Three varieties of deer were common to Anatolia in the second millennium BC. These were the red deer (*Cervus elaphus maral*), the fallow deer (*C. dama dama*), and the roe deer (*C. capreolus capreolus*). Iconographic evidence testifies to the presence of the red and fallow deer in second millennium Anatolia, but not the roe. The latter's physical presence is attested, however, at Hacilar and at Boghazköy.⁴⁴⁷ The roe typically leaves little trace, since it is a shy, somewhat solitary animal that inhabits thick undergrowth and is therefore difficult to hunt.⁴⁴⁸

There is no evidence of fallow deer remains from Boghazköy, but bones have been found at Çatal Hüyük, Kumtepe, and Hacilar.⁴⁴⁹ It is easily identified in the iconography by its palmate antlers (Fig. 3-1). The common fallow deer in nature has a spotted coat, although this is never depicted in Anatolian representations. It inhabits the coast of Asia Minor, extending from the Sea of Marmara in the north to Adana and the Taurus Moun-

⁴⁴⁶The plural is always written *LU-LI-IM* and the singular *LU.LIM*.

⁴⁴⁷Two roe bones were found at Boghazköy. See A. von den Driesch and J. Boessneck, *Boğazköy-Hattuša* XI, 1981, 22.

⁴⁴⁸I. W. Cornwall, *Prehistoric Animals and Their Hunters*, London: Faber and Faber, 1968, 177.

⁴⁴⁹P. Crepon, "Le thème du cerf dans l'iconographie anatolienne des origines à l'époque hittite," *Hethitica* IV, 1981, 119; J. Mellaart, "Excavations at Hacilar. Fourth Preliminary Report," *AnSt* 12, 1962, 56.

tains.⁴⁵⁰ Representations of fallow deer at Carchemish and Zincirli suggest that its range at one time may have extended as far as the Euphrates.

Red deer are one of the most popular of food animals and have been hunted since the Paleolithic. In Anatolia, remains of this animal have been found at Beycesultan, Çatal Hüyük, Alishar Hüyük, Korucutepe,⁴⁵¹ and Boghazköy, suggesting that it was widely exploited.

Two varieties of deer are named in Hittite texts: LU.LIM and DÀRA.MAŠ or AYALU. Both terms are usually translated "deer" or "stag," and no attempt has been made to distinguish which variety is designated by which term, if in fact they are distinguishable. In the Ur III period in Mesopotamia, LU.LIM was used exclusively in economic texts, to be superseded later by DÀRA.MAŠ.⁴⁵² It is unlikely that each term was used to denote both red and fallow deer, since they do on occasion occur together in Akkadian texts.⁴⁵³ The designation most in use in Mesopotamian texts at the beginning of the Hittite period was DÀRA.MAŠ, and the Hittites may have adopted it for the common, or red deer.

Evidence for identifying LU.LIM as "fallow deer" includes two inventory texts that use LU.LIM to describe the deer that supports the Protective Deity (see *infra*, pp. 156ff.). Hittite period representations of the "God on the Stag" always show this deity with a fallow deer (see Table 3-1). Thus, we have a correlation between the textual description of a Protective Deity on a LU.LIM and the actual iconographic examples, which show fallow

⁴⁵⁰See F. E. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals*, New York: Harper Row, 1963, 430.

⁴⁵¹At Korucutepe, 342 red deer bones were found. Only domestic sheep, goats, cows and pigs exceeded this number (dogs and all the equids were fewer in number). See J. Boessneck and A. von den Driesch, in M. N. van Loon, ed., *Korucutepe 1*, New York: American Elsevier Publ. Co., Inc., 1975, Tabelle 3, pp. 24f.

⁴⁵²B. Landsberger suggests that DÀRA.MAŠ may originally have designated some other animal than deer (*Fauna*, 1934, 98). Cf. W. Heimpel, *RIA* IV, 1972-75, 418-421.

⁴⁵³See, for example, Gilgamesh, Tablet VIII obv 10 (O. R. Gurney, "Two Fragments of the Epic of Gilgamesh from Sultantepe," *JCS* 8, 1954, 92).

deer.

§65 of the Hittite Laws (see *infra*, pp. 142f.) offers evidence for understanding DÀRA.MAŠ as “red deer.” It includes a DÀRA.MAŠ with a MÁŠ.GAL (“billy goat”) and an UDU.KUR.RA (lit. “mountain sheep”) within a series of laws that deal with domesticated animals. Evidence for deer keeping in Hittite society will be discussed in greater depth below. For now, we can say that since *C. elaphus* is the only deer species represented in the remains from Boghazköy and the only species that was extensively exploited by the Hittites, DÀRA.MAŠ probably refers to a red deer rather than a fallow deer. Similar evidence is found in KUB 41.36 (CTH 677), which lists eleven DÀRA.MAŠ (a large number for a wild animal), with a number of cattle and sheep (line 3), and later (line 13) mentions venison “UZU DÀRA.MAŠ.”

Other evidence suggests, however, that fallow deer were also kept. KUB 35.142 (CTH 772) lists a male and a female LU.LIM (LU.LIM.NITÁ, LU.LIM.SAL.AL.LAL) last in a series of domesticated animals (see *infra*, p. 142). In addition, two passages that describe a drinking ritual for the Protective Deity use rhyta in the shape of a DÀRA.MAŠ and an AYALU (see *infra*, p. 158), suggesting that, if our translations are accurate, red deer as well as fallow may have been sacred to the Protective Deity. In the end, we are forced to acknowledge the inconclusiveness of the evidence and to provide only a tentative translation for both terms.

4. *The Question of Domestication*

A total of at least twenty red deer are represented by the bones at Boghazköy, comprising 3.9% of all animal remains and well over half the wild animal remains.⁴⁵⁴ This large number suggests that red deer were plentiful in central Anatolia. The fact that such a large percentage of the animal remains were of deer also suggests that deer were kept by the

⁴⁵⁴A. Von den Driesch and J. Boessneck, *Bogazköy-Hattuša* XI, 1981, 21.

Hittites, and probably comprised a significant portion of Hittite meat consumption.

Sufficient evidence exists to show that the deer was kept in captivity in much of the ancient world.⁴⁵⁵ The raising of deer was practiced in Rome.⁴⁵⁶ Wealthy Romans maintained deer on their country estates and stags were sometimes kept as pets. In Mesopotamia, the presence of at least one "game park" is demonstrated by the "Broken Obelisk" of Assur-bel-kala⁴⁵⁷ (eleventh century BC), which reveals that red and roe deer were maintained, along with gazelle and ibex. In addition, there is evidence that deer served as draft animals at an early period in Mesopotamia.⁴⁵⁸ The Y Cemetery at Kish (ED II) produced a model of a chariot to whose rein ring a copper stag was attached.⁴⁵⁹ In first millennium Anatolia, a Lydian coin depicts Artemis of Ephesos in a chariot pulled by deer.⁴⁶⁰ In a yearly festival in Rome in honor of Artemis, a priestess rode at the end of a procession in a cart pulled by stags.⁴⁶¹

Deer were kept in Hittite Anatolia as well. One text contains a list of domesticated animals, and includes deer with them:

⁴⁵⁵B. Landsberger, *Fauna*, 1934, 98; B. Brentjes, *Wildtier und Haustier im Alten Orient*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962, 37; H. Yorkoff, "A Mold from Mari and its Relations," *JANES* 4, 1972, 30f.; W. Heimpel, *RIA* IV, 1972-75, 419f.

⁴⁵⁶J. M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1973, 143; O. Keller, *Die Antike Tierwelt*, 1963, 278.

⁴⁵⁷E. A. W. Budge and L. W. King, eds, *AKA* I, 1902, 141. See K. Jaritz, "The Problem of the 'Broken Obelisk'," *JSS* 4, 1959, 204-15 on the authorship of this text.

⁴⁵⁸B. Brentjes, *Wildtier und Haustier im Alten Orient*, 1962, 37-38; E. D. van Buren, *AnOr* 18, 1939, 41.

⁴⁵⁹E. D. van Buren, *AnOr* 18, 1939, 41.

⁴⁶⁰V. Haas, *Berggötter*, 1982, 15.

⁴⁶¹G. Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1937, 25.

KUB 35.142 iv (CTH 772)

- 3' [1 AN]ŠE.KUR.RA.NITÁ 1 ANŠE.KUR.RA.SAL.AL.LÁL 1 A[NŠE.GÌR.NUN.
NA.NITÁ]
- 4' [1] ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA.SAL.AL.LÁL 1 ANŠE.NITÁ 1 A[NŠE.SAL.AL.LÁL]
- 5' 1 GUD.MAH 1 GUD.ÁB 1 UDU.SIR 1 UDU.SÍG.SAL [1 MÁŠ.GAL]
- 6' 1 ÛZ 1 ŠAH.NITÁ 1 ŠAH.SAL.AL.LÁL 1 UR.[GI₇.NITÁ]
- 7' 1 UR.GI₇.SAL.AL.LÁL 1 LU.LIM.NITÁ 1 LU.LIM[.SAL.AL.LAL]
- 3' [one st]allion, one mare, one [male] m[ule],
- 4' one female mule, one jackass, one je[nny],
- 5' one bull, one cow, one ram, one ewe, [one billy goat],
- 6' one nanny goat, one boar, one sow, one [male] do[g],
- 7' one female dog, one fallow? buck, one fallow? [doe].

A similar list occurs in KUB 7.33 obv 5f. (CTH 490). In a similar vein, in KUB 41.36 i 3 (CTH 677), eleven DÀRA.MAŠ are listed with cattle and sheep, and ten lines later we find mention of venison (UZU DÀRA.MAŠ).

In §65 of the laws, the theft of a DÀRA.MAŠ *annuhha-* is compensated for in the same way as a plow ox. In this law, it appears with a MÁŠ.GAL *enant-* and an UDU.KUR.RA *enant-*, a domesticated?? billy goat and sheep, respectively. Moreover, §65 comes in the middle of a group of laws (§§57-92) that deal with crimes involving domesticated animals:

KBo 6.2 + KBo 19.1 iii (OS) with dupls. KBo 6.3 iii 49-50 (OH/MS), KBo 6.8 iii? 3-5,
KUB 13.12 obv 7'-9' (OH/NS)

§65

- 44 *ták-ku* MÁŠ.GAL *e-na-an-da-an* *ták-ku* DÀRA.MAŠ *an-na-nu-uh-ha-an* *ták-ku*
UDU.KUR.RA *e-na-[(an-da-an)]*

45 *ku-is-ki ta*⁴⁶²*-a-i-iz-zi ma-a-a₁-na-an-da*⁴⁶³ ŠA GUD.APIN.LÁL *ta-ya-zi-la-as*⁴⁶⁴

46 *ki-in-za-an*⁴⁶⁵ QA-TAM-MA⁴⁶⁶

44 If someone steals a domestic? goat, or a tamed? red? deer, or a domestic?

45 UDU.KUR.RA,⁴⁶⁷ then like the penalty (var. compensation) of the plow ox (var. the goat),

46 that of this one is likewise.

Current opinion favors taking *annanuhha-* as indicating a form of domestication.⁴⁶⁸ Although neither fallow nor red deer have ever been domesticated, both species are easily tamed. Deer are very easy to keep in large enclosed areas⁴⁶⁹ and the practice of keeping deer in game parks is widespread. Hence, “tamed” or “kept” are possible translations. Since even at this early period deer were used to pull chariots and carts, the translation “trained” is also plausible.

The Hittites, like their neighbors in Mesopotamia and Egypt, and like members of many other cultures, both modern and ancient, probably viewed deer antlers as having special, medicinal qualities. In Mesopotamia, pulverized antler was thought to cure illness,

⁴⁶²KBo 6.8 iii? 4 and KBo 6.3 iii 50 *da-*.

⁴⁶³KUB 13.12 obv 9' *ma-a-ah<ha>-an*; KBo 6.3 iii 50 and KBo 6.8 iii? 5 *ma-ah-ha-an*.

⁴⁶⁴KBo 6.8 iii? 5 ŠA MÁŠ.GAL *šar-ni-ik-ze-el*; KBo 6.3 iii 50 ŠA MÁŠ.GAL *šar-ni-ik-zi-i-il*.

⁴⁶⁵KBo 6.3 iii 50 *a-pé-e-el-la*.

⁴⁶⁶KBo 6.3 iii 50 adds *-pát*.

⁴⁶⁷I have avoided translating UDU.KUR.RA in this context because its literal meaning “mountain sheep” would give the false impression that this animal is wild. In Section C of this chapter, I will argue that the UDU.KUR.RA is in fact a form of domestic sheep.

⁴⁶⁸See especially HW², 1975, 77f.; F. Imparati, *Leggi*, 1964, 255; H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 15, 1961, 77.

⁴⁶⁹J. Clutton-Brock, *Domesticated Animals from Early Times*, Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981, 182; F. E. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals*, 1963, 430.

whether in a paste (with oil) or mixed with beer for drinking. In Egypt as well, deer antler was used as an ointment, inhaled after burning, or as a powder for brushing teeth.⁴⁷⁰ Hittite sources are silent in this respect, but fallow deer antlers (SI DÀRA.MAŠ) are mentioned,⁴⁷¹ and the distinction between antlered and non-antlered deer is apparently important, as the KILLAM Festival's description of the deer indicates (see *infra*, p. 161). Moreover, the detail and exaggerated size of the antlers in the iconography suggest again that some importance was ascribed to these appendages.⁴⁷²

3. *Deer Motifs in Anatolian Iconography and Hittite Texts*

Although in many cases the deer representations have antler shapes that are impossible in nature, that is, not belonging to any known species, I have assumed that the artists were not concerned wholly with accuracy and have followed convention in interpreting all deer with palmated antlers as *C. dama dama*, or fallow, and all deer without them as *C. elaphus maral*, or red. For red deer, I use the terms hart and doe for the male and female, respectively, in an attempt to remain technically faithful to the biological nomenclature.

Von Brandenstein has suggested that the fallow deer was more common in Asia Minor than red or roe based on the fact that the Hieroglyphic Luwian signs, Meriggi #116-120 (= Laroche ##102, 103), are all palmated antlers.⁴⁷³ However, the bone remains strongly suggest that the red deer was either more numerous, or else was selectively hunted and/or maintained by the Hittites, who must have deliberately disregarded the fallow deer in these respects. The use of palmated antlers for the hieroglyphs may only be due to their more distinctive shape, which renders them easier to engrave and to distinguish.⁴⁷⁴ Also

⁴⁷⁰R. J. Goss, *Deer Antlers: Regeneration, Function, Evolution*, New York: Academic Press, Inc., 1983, 298.

⁴⁷¹KUB 38.3 ii 14 (CTH 502 [NH]).

⁴⁷²Cf. W. Heimpel, *RIA* IV, 1972-75, 420, §5.

possible, however, is that their use in the hieroglyphs is due to the fact that the hieroglyphic sign is directly connected with the deer that is depicted with the God on the Stag,⁴⁷⁵ who, from the Hittite period onward, in all but one dubious example,⁴⁷⁶ is shown with fallow deer (see Table 3-1).

In a similar vein, Bittel has observed that exclusively the red deer is depicted in third millennium representations, but recedes into the background in the Hittite period, when the fallow deer makes its appearance in the art.⁴⁷⁷ In fact, the red deer recedes from the iconography only in respect to the God on the Stag. The issue is not the lessening frequency of red deer, but the growing frequency of fallow deer. The earliest examples of a god supported by a deer, from the Old Assyrian Colony period at Kültepe-Kanesh, depict red deer only as supports for deities on the seals, and this species was more common in general than fallow deer (see Table 3-1). In the Hittite period and later, red deer are still commonly found in the art, but not with a deity. This fact may only be an accident of discovery.

Table 3-1 illustrates that red deer appear with much greater frequency in the iconography of the Neolithic. In the third millennium, the ratio is about the same. Only in the Hittite period does the fallow deer emerge significantly and dominate by a slight margin over the red deer. By the Neo-Hittite period, however, the red deer again dominates, although the fallow deer continues to be common.

Why were fallow deer the animal of the Protective Deity in the Hittite period, when the red deer was more important economically? This phenomenon is attributable to separate

⁴⁷⁵For the deer antler sign as an element in the names of various Protective Deities, see H. G. Güterbock, *SBo* II, 1942, 16; *Belieten* 7, 1943, 315f.

⁴⁷⁶The Neo-Hittite relief from Malatya (cf. *infra*, p. 156). The inscription on this relief tells us that the deity's name contains the DEER (phonetic *rú*) sign, but does not begin with it.

⁴⁷⁷K. Bittel, *Kenntnis*, 1976, 12.

functions for the two animals in Hittite society. The role of the red deer itself seems to have undergone a change sometime between the third millennium and the Hittite period. In the third millennium at Horoztepe and Alaca Hüyük, exclusively red deer are represented in the burial iconography. In the Hittite period, however, the red deer was the primary, if not sole, source of venison, was probably the only type of deer that was extensively kept, and generally seems to have taken on a primarily secular/economic role similar to that of livestock. The fallow deer, on the other hand, was not an exploited food source in the Hittite period, and/or not kept, but served as a support for the Protective Deity and outnumbers the red deer in terms of iconographic representations.⁴⁷⁸ In addition, in the ritual text KUB 25.18, it is *LU-LI-IM.HI.A* “fallow? deer” that are sacrificed (ii 11, cf. *infra*, pp. 160f.).

Although deer are depicted frequently in Anatolian art, there is little diversity in these representations. They are largely limited to four identifiable themes or traditions, which we will call the deer hunt, the deer under a tree, the deer and the feline, and the “God on the Stag.”

a. The Deer Hunt

The deer hunt tradition in Anatolian art incorporates two types of scenes, those in which the animal is pursued by an armed human, sometimes accompanied by a hunting dog, and those in which the animal is involved in a religious or ritual scene. The Neolithic wall paintings of “shrines” A.III.1 and F.V.1 at Çatal Hüyük illustrate how these two aspects of the deer hunt motif come together. Of the five related scenes on the four walls of F.V.1, the first “sanctuary of the hunt,” three include deer. On the southern half of the west wall, a red deer is held by its muzzle, tail, and foreleg by bearded, costumed men,

⁴⁷⁸On Hittite seals, the number of fallow deer and red deer representations are fairly even. Fallow deer: *SBo* II, nos. 8*, 74†, 75†, 230; Red deer: *SBo* II, nos. 5, 6, 35, 123*, 191*, 220 (* = antler only; † = antler and head only).

while other, similarly attired men appear to be dancing around the animal.⁴⁷⁹ On the north end of the west wall a fallow deer, boar and other animals are surrounded by dancing humans, some of them in costume, two with nets, others with bows or weapons of some sort.⁴⁸⁰ On the eastern section of the north wall, a hart and a boar are present. One man holds the deer and one holds the boar by the muzzle, not all the men are costumed, and one has a bow.⁴⁸¹

In "shrine" A.III.1, half a century younger than F.V.1, a painting on the east wall features two harts. One is surrounded by humans who are costumed and dancing.⁴⁸² Other animals are depicted in the same manner elsewhere in this sanctuary. In the ante-chamber, "shrine" A.III.13, three harts, one on its knees and two with head reversed, two hinds, and two fawns, one with head reversed, are fleeing before a hunter who has just released an arrow. His dog accompanies him in the pursuit.⁴⁸³

Without reading too much into the anepigraphic evidence at Çatal Hüyük, we can say that animals were a significant factor in the lives of the people there. They practiced hunting and had begun the process of domestication with ovids and caprids, and clearly found reason to paint animals, along with human figures, on their walls. Ritual and hunt are often closely linked in prehistoric and primitive societies, and should not come as a surprise in the wall paintings of Çatal Hüyük. Masked humans participating in ceremonial activities of some kind have been depicted in art since the Upper Paleolithic in Europe. Masked dances are, moreover, commonly a part of primitive cultures. Such paintings as

⁴⁷⁹J. Mellaart, "Excavations at Çatal Hüyük, 1965. Fourth Preliminary Report," *AnSt* 16, 1966, Pl. LII.

⁴⁸⁰J. Mellaart, *AnSt* 16, 1966, Pl. LIII.

⁴⁸¹J. Mellaart, *AnSt* 16, 1966, Pl. LIX.

⁴⁸²See J. Mellaart, *AnSt* 12, 1962, 62, Pl. XVc.

⁴⁸³J. Mellaart, *AnSt* 12, 1962, 62, Pls. XVI, XVII; also *Çatal Hüyük*, 1967, Pls. 56, 57.

are found at Çatal Hüyük are typically part of the ritual events they depict.⁴⁸⁴ The Çatal Hüyük examples would suggest that the hunt and the ritual that celebrated it were complimentary activities.

In the Hittite period, the connection between hunt and ritual was not completely lost with the loss of dependence on hunting for food.⁴⁸⁵ The combination of hunt and ritual is apparent in a Hittite seal that shows a seated deity opposite a cultic scene in which an archer pursues a red deer and a lion or leopard (the front half of the body is not preserved).⁴⁸⁶ The Schimmel stag rhyton also demonstrates the close association between ritual and hunt.⁴⁸⁷ Near a dead fallow stag are placed spears, a quiver, a "hunting bag," and the deer's own severed legs. The deer lies beneath a tree behind a seated deity. Before this deity, an attendant pours liquid from a pitcher at the feet of another fallow stag that supports a deity.⁴⁸⁸ The deer, killed in a hunt, is being presented to the deity. The rhyton on which this scene is engraved was itself probably used in the cult of the seated deity represented on it.⁴⁸⁹

Other deer hunt scenes include a fragment of a relief vase (15-14th century BC) from Selimli depicting a hunter pursuing a hart. The deer faces the hunter, but its head is turned away. Triangles decorate the deer's body up to the neck. Another similarly decorated hart

⁴⁸⁴A. F. C. Wallace, *Religion: An Anthropological View*, New York: Random House, 1966, 232.

⁴⁸⁵Ritual enactments of the hunt continued in the Hittite period. See Chapter VI, Section B.2 for the hunt in Hittite ritual.

⁴⁸⁶H. G. Güterbock, *AnSt* 6, 1956, 55 and fig. 4; *SBo* II, 1942, no. 220.

⁴⁸⁷Cf. E. Porada, "A Subject for Continuing Conversation," *FsMellink*, 1986, 90.

⁴⁸⁸See S. Alp, *Tempel*, 1983, Abb. 5a-h for this rhyton.

⁴⁸⁹Cf. a stamp-cylinder seal in the Louvre (AO 20138) of a hunting scene in which chariots pursue a herd of red deer. In an adjacent scene four dead animals of uncertain identity are lined up in front of a god on a lion (A. Parrot, *Syria* 28, 1951, Pl. XIII, 1).

is shown behind the hunter.⁴⁹⁰ The left façade of the Sphinx Gate at Alaca Hüyük also features two hunt scenes. In the lower register of one, a fallow stag is tethered to a plant. The register above shows an archer aiming at a boar.⁴⁹¹ In the other scene, three fallow stags and one fawn are depicted in the lower register (the upper is unfinished). One of these stags and the fawn are shown with head reversed.⁴⁹²

On a relief from the Neo-Hittite southern gate at Zincirli, a hart, with head turned to the rear, has been pierced through the neck by a spear. A dog pounces for the kill.⁴⁹³ Another relief from the same site shows a fallow stag walking. An archer is portrayed aiming at him from behind. In front of the stag is a doe? with head reversed.⁴⁹⁴ A similar relief can be found at Carchemish. Here an archer aims at a fallow stag, which is facing right and walking.⁴⁹⁵ A deer under attack, whether by lion, hunter, or dog, is most often shown with its head turned back toward its attackers, but can also be depicted in this way when it is not under attack.

b. The Deer under a Tree

The frequency with which deer are represented with trees requires comment.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹⁰K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, 1976, Pl. 146; R. M. Boehmer, *Boğazköy-Hattuša XIII*, 1983, Abb. 48a.

⁴⁹¹E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, München: Hirmer Verlag, 1961, Pl. 94; H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 521; M. Vieyra, *Hittite Art*, 1955, Pl. 34.

⁴⁹²E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, 1961, Pl. 96; H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 522; M. Vieyra, *Hittite Art*, 1955, Pl. 32.

⁴⁹³F. von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli III*, Berlin: W. Spemann, 1902, Pl. 34h; W. Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur Späthethitischen Kunst*, Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1971, Tf. 56c.

⁴⁹⁴Zincirli B/6, 7, 8 in W. Orthmann, *USK*, 1971, Tf. 57f, g, h; F. von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli III*, 1902, Abb. 109-110; H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, nos. 914-916.

⁴⁹⁵Carchemish H/6 (W. Orthmann, *USK*, 1971, Tf. 33d).

⁴⁹⁶Cf. H. G. Güterbock, *SBo II*, 1942, 51, and nos. 119, 120, 216-219 (on each of these seals two animals are antithetic about a stylized tree); and K. Bittel, *WVDOG* 61, 1941,

Numerous examples throughout the second and first millennia and throughout the Near East in general suggest that some meaning, beyond the desire to represent the animals in their natural habitat, was attached to this composition—particularly since other animals, aside from goats, are not represented thus.

Early examples from Kültepe-Kanesh Ib include a krater fragment of a hart walking in the direction of an object. Above the deer walks a fawn, head reversed. Özgüç interprets the stylised designs on either side of the animals as branches of trees. A four-handled jar from the same level bears on its shoulder a scene of a red deer and a fawn (head reversed) surrounded by a field of geometric designs that may represent trees.⁴⁹⁷

Similar depictions can be found in Iron Age Anatolia. Early iron age kraters from Maşat Hüyük depict stylized deer and goats among geometric designs and concentric circles.⁴⁹⁸ A krater from Alişar IV depicts two red deer standing between two trees that may indicate forest.⁴⁹⁹ A four handled vessel from Alişar (eighth century BC) features two stylized red deer between each handle, surrounded by concentric circles. On one quarter, they face a stylized tree.⁵⁰⁰ A jar from Alişar VI, dating to the second half of the first millennium BC, features three very stylized harts with trees and lozenges.⁵⁰¹

For the Hittite period, we turn again to the frieze on the stag rhyton from the Schimmel collection where a fallow stag lies dead beneath a tree behind the seated deity.⁵⁰²

163, n. 1.

⁴⁹⁷T. Özgüç, *Excavations at Maşat Höyük and Investigations in its Vicinity* (TTKY V/38), Ankara, 1978, Pl. 81, 1-2; fig. 110.

⁴⁹⁸T. Özgüç, *Maşat*, 1978, 109, Pls. 80, 6, 10.

⁴⁹⁹S. Przeworski, "Notes d'archéologie syrienne et hittite: IV. Le culte du cerf en anatolie," *Syria* 21, 1940, 68, fig. 5.

⁵⁰⁰K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, 1976, Pl. 332-334.

⁵⁰¹No. c89. H. von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük, 1930-1932*, Part III, 1937, 22, and fig. 42.

⁵⁰²Cf. also an Old Hittite seal in the British Museum (S. Alp, *Tempe*, 1983, Abb. 12a,b;

A comparison with the textual occurrences of the *Gēya*- “yew” suggests that the tree on this rhyton is to be identified with the *Gēya*- of the texts.⁵⁰³ In KBo 3.8 iii 9, a deer is bound under a *Gēya*-, while a leopard, wolf, lion and *šaša*-animal are bound in various other places, all to be released later (iii 27-31).⁵⁰⁴ Similarly, in the incantation KUB 12.62 obv 16'-rev 2 (CTH 338), a newborn lion and a yearling deer are described as sleeping beneath a tree beside a spring.⁵⁰⁵

The deer under a tree can be found elsewhere in the Near East. For example, a Kassite seal shows recumbent harts grouped in pairs on either side of a tree in the top register, while in the lower register, harts walk in single file, and in the middle an archer in a chariot shoots at animals, including a hart, in a field of animals resting or walking.⁵⁰⁶

The tree motif is not limited to deer. Certain horned animals, particularly the wild goat and ibex, are frequent participants in this motif (cf. Section B).

c. The Deer and the Feline

The symbolism present in the juxtaposition of the deer and the lion in both art and texts stems from their complimentary roles in the wild as prey and predator respectively.⁵⁰⁷

D. G. Hogarth, *HS*, 1920, 75, fig. 78) and an Old Hittite seal in Dresden (H. Th. Bossert, *Janus*, 1959, Pl. 3, Abb. 8; L. Messerschmidt, *CIH*, 1900, Berlin, W. Peiser) that contain similar elements.

⁵⁰³See also S. Alp, *Tempel*, 1983, 98ff.

⁵⁰⁴Cf. *supra*, pp. 49f.

⁵⁰⁵A similar passage may be found in the foundation ritual KUB 29.1 i 28-33 (CTH 414). In this case, cattle and sheep, rather than a deer, pasture beneath the same trees under which a lion and leopard rest.

⁵⁰⁶VA 553. See E. D. van Buren, *AnOr* 18, 1939, 39, and fig. 37.

⁵⁰⁷A relationship between the deer and feline can be seen in Mesopotamia (E. D. van Buren, *AnOr* 18, 1939, 38ff., *passim*) and Mycenae (for example, D. B. Huli, *Hounds and Hunting in Ancient Greece*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964, Pl. XV) as well. All the motifs discussed so far are combined in an Urartean fresco from the palace at Altintepe, described by U. B. Alkim (“Archäologischer Bericht aus Anatolien (1961),” *Or* 32, 1963, 78), in which geometric motifs, *Mischwesen*, a deer beneath a tree, a crouching lion, and other deer attacked by a lion are all represented.

This “natural enemy” motif is manifest in the numerous artistic representations where a feline seems to attack a deer. Deer are typically represented with felines in one of three ways: 1) A feline attacks a deer, 2) the two animals are simply juxtaposed,⁵⁰⁸ or 3) both animals are pursued by a hunter.

A late third millennium sistrum from Horoztepe consists of a frame surrounded on three sides by animal figures.⁵⁰⁹ On the upper edge is a large hart with greatly exaggerated antlers, walking behind three smaller hinds or young harts. This group may indicate a herd, with all sexes and ages represented. On either side of the sistrum, two wild goats walk upward toward the deer and are followed by felines. One feline is biting the tail of the goat in front of it.

In several Cappadocian cylinder seal impressions from the Old Assyrian Colony period that depict deer, a feline is also present. One seal shows a procession of deities. A deity on a hart is followed by a deity on a feline. Another small feline appears to cling to the front of the hart.⁵¹⁰ Another seal shows a deity seated on an animal with a single crooked horn—probably a wild goat. Behind the seated deity, a lion and a hart walk in procession on their hind legs.⁵¹¹ Another procession of deities on their respective animals on a seal includes a deity standing on a hart walking behind a lion and its deity. In front of the lion a hind is represented on its knees with head reversed, and above the lion a wild goat appears to be running in an upward direction. Above the hind on its knees is what

⁵⁰⁸See for example, relief from the southern gate at Zincirli, which depicts a hart in the upper register and a lion in the lower, both facing right and walking (P. Crepon, *Hethitica* IV, 1981, 139, fig. 13; F. von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* III, 1902, Pl. 34i; W. Orthmann, *USK*, 1971, Tf. 56d.).

⁵⁰⁹T. Özgüç, M. Akok, *Horoztepe*, 1958, Pl. XII, 1a-b; F. Edgü, ed., *The Anatolian Civilizations*, Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 1983, A.250.

⁵¹⁰N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, no. 19.

⁵¹¹N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, no. 25.

may be a stylised tree.⁵¹² In another example, a deity stands on a fallow stag, face to face with a deity who stands with one foot on a lion and holds a doe by the forelegs. The doe's hind legs rest on the lion. The lion appears to be about to grasp the neck of the stag in its open mouth.⁵¹³ Another seal depicts a human with a lance attacking a feline, which seems in turn to attack a wild goat that is shown with its head turned back toward the attacking animal. Facing the opposite direction, a hart on its knees is depicted above another feline.⁵¹⁴ On a seal from *kārum* Kanesh Ib, a hart is attacked by a small feline that stands on its back, while two humans battle next to them.⁵¹⁵ A seal from Karahüyük depicts a hart and a wild goat walking and grazing. Above the goat sits the god Ea,⁵¹⁶ and above the hart stands the two-faced god, Ušmu. Next to them are two opposed lions.⁵¹⁷

One Hittite seal shows both felines and deer pursued by a hunter armed with arrows.⁵¹⁸ In the incantation KUB 12.62 obv 16'-rev 2 (CTH 338), a newborn lion and a yearling deer are juxtaposed in an idyllic scene. On a Neo-Hittite relief from Zincirli, a hart follows a hind[?], which follows a winged lion standing on its hind legs, which in turn follows a deity.⁵¹⁹ A relief from Carchemish from the same period shows a lion pouncing on a hart. The hart's head is turned back as though the animal is rearing, and the antlers

⁵¹²N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, no. 65.

⁵¹³N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, no. 76.

⁵¹⁴N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, no. 81.

⁵¹⁵N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, no. 3; P. Crepon, *Hethitica* IV, 1981, 137. Crepon's suggestion that the fighting of these two animals may represent a mythological combat between the divinity associated with each seems unlikely.

⁵¹⁶The association of the stag and this Mesopotamian deity is strictly an Anatolian phenomenon (P. Crepon, *Hethitica* IV, 1981, 147).

⁵¹⁷S. Alp, *Zylinder- und Stempelsiegel aus Karahöyük bei Konya* (TTKY 26), Ankara, 1968, no. 23.

⁵¹⁸H. G. Güterbock, *SBo* II, 1942, no. 220.

⁵¹⁹W. Orthmann, *USK*, 1971, Tfn. 57f-h-58a (=Zincirli B/6-10).

point downward to overlap with the body—a unique rendering indeed.⁵²⁰ Another Carchemish relief features a hero grasping a lion by its hind leg and a bull by its horn, while a fallow stag stands in the upper right corner above the bull, and two other animals crouch below the lion in the lower left corner.⁵²¹

d. The God on the Stag

The close relationship of the deer to the Protective Deity of the Field (dLAMMA.LÍL), or the “God on the Stag,” has been well established.⁵²² The connection can be seen in the fact that one of the names of the God on the Stag begins with the hieroglyphic sign of a stag’s head. Moreover, the deity appears repeatedly in the texts and iconography on a deer.

The identity of this deity or deities is another issue that has been long belabored. According to inscriptions, he has a number of names, among them Ruta (also found as Runda, Ruwa, and Ruwa(n)da), which is the reading of the Hieroglyphic Luwian sign of the stag’s head, *ru*, with the compliment, *-ta*. Since *-ta* is never compliment to dLAMMA, Ruta cannot be the reading for this deity. However, two other compliments, *-r-* and *-ya*, do occur with dLAMMA.⁵²³ Hence, there are several names involved, and the question is whether these are names for different deities, or only regional names for the same deity.⁵²⁴

The hunting god of Kültepe-Kanesh is the earliest manifestation of the Hittite and Neo-Hittite God on the Stag. A number of seals of the Old Assyrian Colony period depict

⁵²⁰W. Orthmann, *USK*, 1971, Tf. 33g.

⁵²¹H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 853; W. Orthmann, *USK*, 1971, Tf. 26a.

⁵²²H. G. Güterbock, *Belleten* 7, 1943, 313-16; S. Przeworski, *Syria* 21, 1940, 62-76; P. Crepon, *Hethitica* IV, 1981, 146-48. For a full bibliography on the names and function of the God on the Stag see H. Hellenkemper and J. Wagner, “The God on the Stag: A Late Hittite Rock-Relief on the River Karasu,” *AnSt* 27, 1977, 170, n. 15.

⁵²³See H. G. Güterbock, *SBo* II, 1942, 16, n. 56.

⁵²⁴Cf. H. G. Güterbock, *SBo* II, 1942, 16; E. Laroche, *Noms*, 1966, 289f.

him standing on a hart, holding an eagle, or both an eagle and a hare.⁵²⁵ A similar deity, without the stag, is shown on other seals, in the company of a hero who hunts a lion with a spear.⁵²⁶ N. Özgüç has therefore identified him as the god who protects the hunters in the field.⁵²⁷ To this group of protective deities must be added a goddess featured on a seal from the same site. She stands on a fallow stag and holds a rein and an eagle in her right hand. Her left hand holds another animal, perhaps meant to be a hare, but somewhat oversized.⁵²⁸

A number of rock reliefs depict a Protective Deity with attributes similar to the God on the Stag, but only four reliefs show him standing on a stag, and only one is from the Hittite period. This relief comes from Yeniköy, near Alaca.⁵²⁹ The deity stands on a fallow stag and carries a crosier in one hand and a bird in the other. Another Hittite period example is found on the frieze of the Schimmel stag rhyton. The scene it carries depicts one deity, seated and holding an eagle, while next to it another⁵³⁰ stands on a fallow stag, also holding an eagle. The hieroglyphic inscription identifies the seated deity as *dLAMMA.LÍL*.⁵³¹

The Neo-Hittite reliefs of the God on the Stag come from Hacı Bebekli, Karasu, and Malatya. In the Hacı Bebekli relief, the deity wears a conical cap, shoulders a bow with his

⁵²⁵N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, nos. 64, 65, 69.

⁵²⁶N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, nos. 63, 68.

⁵²⁷N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, 67.

⁵²⁸See N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, 70, no. 76.

⁵²⁹E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, 1961, Pl. 47; R. O. Arik, "Les premiers résultats des fouilles d'Alacahöyük," *Bulletin* 1, 1937, 236, fig. 2; H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolian*, 1942, no. 570.

⁵³⁰Cf. S. Alp, *Tempel*, 1983, 96ff., who thinks both gods are Aštabi, the same deity represented as no. 33 at Yazılıkaya, whose name is written with the hieroglyphic antler sign.

⁵³¹H. G. Güterbock, *FsBittel*, 1983, 207.

right hand, and carries an animal, probably a hare, by its hind legs in the left hand. The deer he stands on is too damaged for identification.⁵³² At Karasu, a god on a fallow deer stag shoulders a bow with his left hand and carries a spear with his right.⁵³³ The Malatya relief depicts a deity with a conical cap standing on a red deer stag. He shoulders a bow with his left hand and holds a rein in his right.⁵³⁴ Comparable to these is a ninth century relief from Kültepe, which depicts a protective deity, standing, and holding a staff in his right hand and a bird and a hare in his left. The relief is broken at the bottom and therefore it is impossible to tell whether he stood on a stag or not.⁵³⁵

Two inventory texts describe divine images of protective deities that are similar to what we have seen in these reliefs and on the seals. The first is for the Protective Deity of the town of Wiyanawanta:

KUB 38.1 ii (CTH 501 [NH])⁵³⁶

- 1 URU^UWt-ya-na-u-wa-[a]n-ta ^aLAMMALÍ[L DINGIR-LIM-tar]
- 2 1 ALAM GUŠKIN LÚ [GU]B-an ku-ru-ta-a-u-wa[-an-za]
- 3 ZAG-na-za ŠU-za ^{GŠ}[BA]N GUŠKIN har-zi GÜB-l[a-za ŠU-za]
- 4 ÁMUŠEN GUŠKIN AR-NA-BU GUŠKIN har-zi
- 5 1 GÍR GUŠKIN GURUN GUŠKIN-si-kán an-da
- 6 A-NA LU.LIM GUŠKIN-kán 4 KI.GUB GUB-ri ...

⁵³²W. Orthmann, *USK*, 1971, Tf. 14a.

⁵³³W. Orthmann, *USK*, 1971, Tf. 14f. See also the article devoted to this relief, by H. Hellenkemper and J. Wagner, *AnSt* 27, 1977, 167-173.

⁵³⁴H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 775; W. Orthmann, *USK*, 1971, Tf. 41b. As Orthmann notes, it is no longer certain that this representation is a deer. It may, rather, be a bull and the Weathergod (see H. Demircioğlu, *Der Gott auf dem Stier*, Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt Verlag, 1939, 129, n. 339).

⁵³⁵K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, fig. 321.

⁵³⁶C.-G. von Brandenstein, *Bildbeschr.*, 1943, 14f.; L. Rost, *MIO* 8, 1963, 179f.

- 1 Wiyanauwanta: [Divine image (of)] the Protective Deity of the Field:
- 2 One gold image of a man, standing, helmet[ed]⁵³⁷
- 3 In his right hand he holds a gold bow, in [his] left [hand]
- 4 he holds a gold eagle (and) a gold rabbit.
- 5 One gold sword¹—on it are gold fruits.
- 6 He stands on a fallow² deer of gold, standing on four legs ...

The second describes a deity on a deer, holding only weapons:

KUB 38.2 ii (CTH 521 [NH])⁵³⁸

24 𐎶LAMMA.ALAṢ LÚ GUB-*an* IGI-*su* GUŠKIN GAR.RA

25 ZAG-*za* ŠU-*za* *ma-ri-in* KÙ.BABBAR *har-zi*

26 GÙB-*za* ŠU-*za* A-RI-TUM *har-zi*

iii

1 <*nu-kán*>A-NA LU.LIM <*nu-kán*> GUB-*ri* GAM-ŠU *pal-za* [K]Ù.BA[BBAR
GAR.RA]

2 2 EZEN-ŠU *zé-e-ni* *ha-me-eš-hi* [

3 LÚ!«*.URU*»..MEŠ⁵³⁹ URU*Da-a-la e-e[š-š]a-an-z[i*

4 ÌR-ŠU NU.GÁL

ii

24 Protective Deity, image of a man, standing, his eye(s) are inlaid with gold

⁵³⁷On this word, see H. G. Güterbock, *FsBittel*, 1983, 207, n. 25; M. van Loon, *Anatolia in the Second Millennium*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985, 29, n. 119.

⁵³⁸C. G. von Brandenstein, *Bildbeschr.*, 1943, 7ff.; L. Rost, *MIO* 8, 1963, 176f.

⁵³⁹For this emendation, cf. ii 22, iii 8, 11, 16, 20 and iii 24 (“people from Dala”). The only other line with a possible reading of TE.URU.MEŠ (which is the transliteration offered by von Brandenstein, *Bildbeschr.*, 1943, 36f.) is ii 7. The sign that von Brandenstein reads as TE, should be amended to LÚ and the following URU should be taken as a scribal error.

- 25 In the right hand he holds a silver *mari*-(spear?)
 26 in the left hand he holds a shield.
 iii
 1 He stands on a fallow? deer. Under him the pedestal is [inlaid] with [s]ilve[r].
 2 His two festivals in autumn and spring [...]
 3 the people! of Dala prepare.
 3 He has no servant.

Drinking rituals to the Protective Deity using deer-shaped rhyta are described in two passages, Bo 5036 iii 13f.: LUGAL SAL.LUGAL TUŠ-aš IŠ-TU BI-IB-RI A-YA-LI dLAMMA a-ku-wa-an-zi “the king and queen, sitting, drink from a red? deer rhyton to the Protective Deity”⁵⁴⁰; and KBo 19.128 iv 47’ff.: LUGAL SAL.LUGAL TUŠ-aš dLAMMA a-aš-ka-az IŠ-TU BI-IB-RI DÀRA.MAŠ a-ku-wa-an-zi “the king and queen, seated, (to) the Protective Deity, outside, from a red? deer rhyton drink.”

Several Hittite period examples of a similar deity, without the deer, can be found. Two Old Hittite seals feature a seated deity with a bird in his hand and the deer antler sign in the inscription. Only the hare and the bow are missing.⁵⁴¹ One thirteenth century Hittite relief recovered from Assur shows a deity with a hare and bird.⁵⁴² At Yazilikaya, deity no. 32 has the deer antler sign in his name and holds a crosier, but does not stand on a stag. No significance has been attributed to the absence of deer in these cases.⁵⁴³ However,

⁵⁴⁰Cf. H. Otten, StBoT 13, 1971, 42, n. 76; E. Neu, StBoT 18, 1974, 32.

⁵⁴¹L. Messerschmidt, *CIH*, 1900, Tf. XLIII 3, 4; S. Alp, *Tempel*, 1983, Abb. 11, 12; E. Porada, *FsMellink*, 1986, Figs. 8-6, 8-7. Cf. L. Messerschmidt, *CIH*, 1900, Tf. XLIII, 1d (= H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 696), without the deer’s head.

⁵⁴²W. Andrae, *Hethitische Inschriften auf Bleistreifen aus Assur* (= WVDOG 46), Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1924, Tf. 8, f; H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 595. Cf. E. Porada, *FsMellink*, 1986, 85.

⁵⁴³H. G. Güterbock, *Belleten* 7, 1943, 315; N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, 67; W. Orthmann, *USK*, 1971, 262.

differences in attributes have been credited with meaning.

Because the attributes of these divine representations vary, Güterbock suggests that not one, but many deities are represented.⁵⁴⁴ These differences, however, could be attributable to regional variation. Güterbock's view is also based on the fact that several different names serve as the reading for ^dLAMMA. The different names may also be attributed to regional variations, or, as Güterbock suggests, to different names in different languages. Even if several deities are represented, we do not know whether each name strictly corresponds to a certain combination of attributes or not. If we assume different gods for different attributes, we also have to conclude that no single Protective Deity was ever represented twice, since no two representations are quite the same.

There seem to be both chronological and thematic criteria for the use of fallow and red deer in Hittite iconography. Table 3-1 lists the occurrences of red as opposed to fallow deer in each period in Anatolia. The examples with asterisks are cases where the animal supports a deity. Red deer, although frequent, do not appear as supports for gods in the Hittite period. In the Neo-Hittite period as well, only the Malatya relief can be cited as an example of a god on a red deer. In this case, however, the identification of the animal as a deer is uncertain (see *supra*, p. 156, n. 534). This phenomenon is in marked contrast to the Old Assyrian period, where red deer are almost exclusively used for divine supports. The inference then is that red deer were not generally associated with the Protective Deity in Hittite iconography, based on the surviving examples.

As with the lion and leopard, the deer's association with certain deities continued well into the first millennium. Artemis' connection with the stag, for instance, is well known.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴⁴H. G. Güterbock, *Belleten* 7, 1943, 316.

⁵⁴⁵For the possible linguistic connections between Runda and Artemis, see O. Carruba, "Anatolica Runda," *SMEA* 5, 1968, 40-41; E. Laroche, "Études sur les hiéroglyphes hittites," *Syria* 31, 1954, 113, with n. 59. Artemis was a protector of wild life and a huntress, and was associated with the deer, hare, and lion. Her weapon was the bow and

4. Religion

So far our discussion of the deer in Hittite Anatolia has centered largely on artistic evidence. The reason for this is the paucity of textual references to deer. However, a handful of ritual texts do yield some information on the role of deer in Hittite religion and ritual.

a. Ritual

The following passage from a ritual on Mt. Piškurunuwa describes a deer sacrifice performed in the presence of the king:

KUB 25.18 ii (CTH 618)⁵⁴⁶

- 6 LUGAL-uš-kán ḪŠGI[GI]R-az kat-ta ti-ya-zi
 7 LUGAL-uš-kán ti-ya-[w]a-aš pī-di e-ša
 8 LÚHUB.BÍ-kán 1-[ŠU] ne-i-ya
-
- 9 na-aš-kán LU-LI-IM.HLA pī-ra-an ar-ha
 10 pa-iz-zi LÚŠILA.ŠU.DU₈.A ta-pī-ša-ni-in GUŠKIN
 11 har-zi ták-kán <LU>LI-IM.HLA šī-pa-an-ti
-
- 6 The king steps down from the chariot.
 7 The king seats himself on the place of stepping.

arrow. She was equated by the Greeks with a Minoan-Mycenaean "Mistress of Wild Animals" (G. Levy, *The Gate of Horn*, London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1948, 223; P. Mayerson, *Classical Mythology in Literature, Art and Music*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971, 150), who was occasionally replaced by a young male hunter wearing a peaked cap (G. Levy, *The Gate of Horn*, London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1948, 225). She hunted deer, and deer were sacrificed to her. She was also known to theriomorphize into a deer. For deer sacrifices to the Greek goddess Artemis see A. Bammer, F. Brein, and P. Wolff, "Das Tieropfer am Artemisaltar von Ephesos," *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens. Festschrift für Friedrich Karl Dörner zum 65. Geburtstag*, erster Band, S. Sahin, et al., eds., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978, 107-157.

⁵⁴⁶Cf. V. Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik* (=Studia Pohl 4), Rome, 1970, 65, n. 4; S. Alp, *Tempel*, 1983, 338.

- 8 A dancer turns himself on[ce].
 9 He goes away before the fallow² deer.
 10 The cupbearer holds a gold *tapišani*-vessel
 11 and he sacrifices the fallow² deer.

Deer sacrifices are known to have occurred in Mesopotamia as well. However, they are extremely rare in comparison with sacrifices using domestic animals.

The deer is most prominent in Hittite sources in the animal procession of the KILLAM festival.⁵⁴⁷ Viewed by the king from the *katapuzna*-building, the procession begins with the “animals of the gods” and the “masters of the word(s).”⁵⁴⁸ Performers, oxen-pulled carts, and dancers follow, in that order. Next come priests of ^dLAMMA, followed, after a break of some twenty-four lines, by “spears,” “copper hunting bags” and then again the “animals of the gods.” In KBo 10.25 vi 9', the “dog-men” or “hunters” follow. After some singing in Hattic by the men of the town Anunuwa, the deer standards follow. They are described as follows: “Golden red² deer; drawn by the men of the palace. Silver red² deer with antlers; drawn from the palace by the ‘shepherds of the right- and the left-side.’ Silver red² deer with golden antlers; drawn by the men of Hariyaša. Silver red² deer without antlers; drawn by the *zizzimara*-men. They hold their torches in front.” KBo 10.24 i 10-13 records the exit of the procession of “animals” through the upper gate.

Aside from KUB 25.18 and the KILLAM Festival, the only insight into the deer's role in Hittite cult is the mention of a deer festival (EZEN AYALI) in a list of festivals in KUB 13.4 i 39 (CTH 264 [pre-NH/NS]). Other obscure references can be mentioned, such as KBo 18.172 rev 3 (CTH 522), which lists a red² deer figurine with those of a wild

⁵⁴⁷The following description of events is based on I. Singer's edition of the festival in StBoT 27, 1983, and StBoT 28, 1984.

⁵⁴⁸KBo 10.23 iii 9'f.; the designation “animals of the gods” comes from KBo 10.25 vi 4'-5': DINGIR. MEŠ-naš [hu]itar.

goat and an eagle's head, all of gold.⁵⁴⁹ A silver red⁷ deer is listed in KBo 10.2 iii 13 (CTH 4). A red⁷ deer follows a list of deities, including Ea, and ^dDam[kina] in KUB 4.22 obv 10' (CTH 819). Fallow⁷ deer are found in KUB 15.22 : 12' (CTH 590) in connection with the Sungoddess of Arinna and her cult center in Arinna. Two fallow⁷ deer figurines of gold appear in KUB 42.69 rev 10'.

Deer were sacrificed in Hittite ritual as KUB 25.18 ii 6-11 demonstrates. Although this is one of only a very few examples in Hittite texts of the ritual killing of a wild animal, it is not unexpected for deer since they were kept animals and an exploited food source. Thus, they had something in common with livestock, which were commonly used in ritual sacrifice.⁵⁵⁰

In the Ur III period, deer are mentioned in festivals. In particular, in CT 32, 14, they are used as an offering for Enlil.⁵⁵¹ On an Assyrian cylinder seal, a seated goddess is shown with a table set before her upon which the head of a hart rests. The goddess' right hand lies on the head of the deer. Other animals present are a monkey, a bird, a rooster, a dog⁷, and a lion. The lion is placed directly above the hart's head. An attendant holds another animal head.⁵⁵²

b. The Anatolian Deer Cult

Several factors suggest that Anatolia was host to a deer cult of long duration. This

⁵⁴⁹1 UDU.KUR.RA GUŠKIN 4 GÌR GUB.BA 1 DÀRA.[MAŠ GUŠKIN?...GUŠK]IN GAR.RA 1 SAG.DU ÁMUŠEN G[UŠ]KIN *pít-tal-wa-an-za*(-).

⁵⁵⁰H. Yorkoff, *JANES* 4, 1972, 30f., asserts that deer were sacrificed, based on the number and circumstance of Cyprus finds, which suggest sacrifice and interment. However, as she admits, these finds may only suggest the gathering together of frontals and antlers, or ritual without the implied sacrifice.

⁵⁵¹W. Heimpel, "Hirsch," *RIA* IV, 1972-75, 420.

⁵⁵²F. Hançar, "Der Kult der Grossen Mutter im Kupferzeitlichen Kleinasien: Zur Deutung der Kultstandarten des Alaca Höyüks," *AfO* 13, 1939-41, 296, Abb. 11; E. Porada, *FsMellink*, 1986, Fig. 8-1, Ill. 8-1.

cult was localized in the eastern region of Anatolia, whence almost all of the evidence, both iconographic and written, derives.⁵⁵³ The places in question include Alaca Hüyük, from whose third millennium royal tombs the famous deer standards come;⁵⁵⁴ Arinna, which is associated with the red deer in KUB 15.22 : 12'; Mt. Piškunuwa, the location for the deer sacrifice in KUB 25.18 ii 6-11 of the AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival; Horoztepe, near the Black Sea in the northeastern corner of Anatolia, whence comes an early Bronze Age sistrum with deer figurines on it;⁵⁵⁵ and Korucutepe, again in eastern Anatolia, where antlers are embedded in clay "andirons" in a late third millennium building.⁵⁵⁶ Other sites providing evidence of a deer cult include Tokat, Acemhöyük, Kanesh, Zincirli, and Tarsus. The areas west and further east of this region offer no deer representations.⁵⁵⁷ With the Hellenization of Anatolia in the Classical Age, deer representations remained limited to places east of the Kizil Irmak.⁵⁵⁸

In addition to the geographical limitations of this phenomenon, the fact that certain of the deer motifs seen in the Cappadocian seals are uniquely Anatolian negates the possibility of foreign influence. These unique motifs include the association of the Mesopotamian god

⁵⁵³See already A. Goetze's comment in *Kleinasien*², München, C. H. Beck, 1957, 40.

⁵⁵⁴The prevalence of the stag at Alaca Hüyük prompted H. Frankfort to speculate on an ethnic connection between the people buried in the Alaca Hüyük tombs and the Hittites (*The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1954, 116). On the question of the emergence of the Indo-Europeans in Anatolia, see M. Gimbutas, "Proto-Indo-European Culture: The Kurgan Culture during the Fifth, Fourth, and Third Millennia B.C.," in G. Cardona, ed., *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, Philadelphia, 1970, 155-197; S. Winn, "Burial Evidence and the Kurgan Culture in Eastern Anatolia c. 3000 B.C.: An Interpretation," *JIES* 9, 1981, 113-118; J. Yakar, "Anatolia and the 'Great Movement' of Indo-Europeans ca. 2300 B.C.E.—Another Look," *TA* 3, 1976, 151-157.

⁵⁵⁵T. Özgüç and M. Akok, *Horoztepe, An Early Bronze Age Settlement and Cemetery* (TTKY V/18), Ankara, 1958, 57.

⁵⁵⁶See H. Yorkoff, *JANES* 4, 1972, 30, n. 25.

⁵⁵⁷Cf. P. Crepon, *Hethitica* IV, 1981, 145.

⁵⁵⁸S. Przeworski, *Syria* 21, 1940, 64.

Ea with deer, the association of hares with deer in the iconography, and the depictions of the deer hunt.⁵⁵⁹ Mesopotamia did not provide the impetus for these developments, since the deer was not generally considered sacred there,⁵⁶⁰ and since the iconography offers no prototypes for what we find in Anatolia. Nor can this motif be shown to have its roots in the Indo-European tradition north of the Black Sea, where there is no evidence of the motif prior to the Anatolian examples. Based on Mesolithic finds in the Transcaucasus and around the Mediterranean and Caspian Seas, Crepon has concluded that the deer cult was part of an indigenous tradition that had long pervaded Anatolia and the surrounding region, and is older and more widespread than the Anatolian evidence alone indicates.⁵⁶¹

One can further point out that despite the popularity of the deer in art and in the hunt, the animal is as limited in the written sources as its cult is limited geographically. Yet, although it appears infrequently in ritual, when it does occur, its role is uncommonly central. We have seen this, for instance, in the KILAM festival. Singer has already stressed the uniqueness of the stag figures here: "It may then be regarded as a peculiarity of the KILAM festival and could very well serve as a designation for it."⁵⁶² Singer suggests three possibilities for an alternate name for the KILAM festival, and EZEN AYALI is his favorite. This kind of ritual use is unique in Hittite religion and testifies more to a deer cult than simply to the manipulation of deer in ritual for purposes of purification, evocation, and the like.

⁵⁵⁹Cf. P. Crepon, *Hethitica* IV, 1981, 137.

⁵⁶⁰Cf. however W. Heimpel, *RIA* IV, 1972-75, 420, on the cult of Ninhursag and Ninmah; and B. Landsberger, *Fauna*, 1934, 98, on the deer's association with the cult of Ningirsu. Cf. a sculpture from early third millennium Ubaid of two red deer stags antithetic about the Zu-bird (A. Parrot, *Sumer*, München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1960, Abb. 187).

⁵⁶¹Cf. P. Crepon, *Hethitica* IV, 1981, 145.

⁵⁶²I. Singer, *StBoT* 27, 1983, 137f.

Section B. DÀRA (c.) “bezoar goat”: Hittite reading unknown

sg. acc. DÀRA KBo 3.22 obv 62 (OS), KUB 26.71 i 9' (OH/NS), KUB 49.90 : 7'; sg. acc.[?] DÀRA KUB 39.33 ii 1; sg. gen. DÀRA KUB 38.3 ii 14 (NH); DÀRA-aš KBo 9.105 : 9.

1. Introduction

The bezoar goat (*Capra aegagrus*) is well represented in the faunal remains from Boghazköy.⁵⁶³ It still roams Asia Minor, Persia and the Caucasus and is widely held to be the primary ancestor of the domestic goat (*C. hircus*). In fact, Honacki, et al. classify *aegagrus* with *hircus* rather than as a separate species.⁵⁶⁴ The European ibex (*C. ibex*), which has not been identified in the faunal remains at Boghazköy, is no longer native to the mountains of eastern Anatolia. It can be found today, however, in Syria and Turkestan. Unlike the bezoar goat, the ibex has never been domesticated. The reason for this may be that ibexes are rock jumpers, preferring the high mountains above the timber line, while bezoar goats inhabit slightly lower elevations. Ibexes and bezoar goats do not overlap in geographical distribution. Their isolation from one another keeps them from interbreeding, which they do readily under human influence, producing fertile offspring. Since they do not overlap geographically they are rarely found together in faunal remains.⁵⁶⁵

Since the *aegagrus* was more common in Anatolia than the *ibex*, and no physical remains of the latter have been found, there is more than a little probability that DÀRA

⁵⁶³See A. von den Driesch and J. Boessneck, *Boğazköy-Hattuša XI*, 1981, 44.

⁵⁶⁴*Mammal Species of the World: A Taxonomic and Geographic Reference*, Lawrence, KS: Allen Press, Inc. , 1982, 330.

⁵⁶⁵See F. E. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals*, 1963, 140.

denotes the *aegagrus* and not the *ibex*.⁵⁶⁶ At best, the term may denote both varieties, in which case we may translate DÀRA more generally as "wild goat" but not "ibex."

The large number of wild goat bones in the finds from Boghazköy suggests that wild goats, like the red deer, may have been kept. If this is the case, however, one would expect them to have been included in the lists of domesticated animals along with the deer (see *supra*, Section A.4), which they are not. The question therefore remains open.

2. *Iconography*

Wild goats are a popular subject in Anatolian art, although they never gain the vogue that was enjoyed by the deer, bull and lion. The bezoar goat is more common in the iconography of Anatolia than the ibex. Domestic goats are also frequently found.

a. Problems in Identification

The wild goat can be found in Anatolian art from Neolithic Çatal Hüyük through the Hittite period. The only way to distinguish this animal from other horned ruminants in ancient iconography is by its horns, but this method is highly problematic. The bezoar goat has scimitar-shaped horns that appear to be flat on the underside, while the anterior surface forms a sharp keel (Fig. 3-2a). Protrusions along the anterior surface give the horns an angular appearance. The ibex also has scimitar horns, but they can be distinguished by the horizontal anterior ridges that protrude irregularly from the otherwise flat anterior surface of the horn (Fig. 3-2c). The ridged horns characteristic of the ibexes are never found in domestic goats, which is one reason that it is not considered a progenitor of the domestic goat.

Applying these characteristics to the Anatolian (and Mesopotamian) representations of goats is not as straightforward as one might wish, since detail is usually lacking. These

⁵⁶⁶Cf. W. Nagel, "Frühe Tierwelt in Südwestasien," ZA 21, 1963, 185, and 210, Table IIA.

renderings simply do not exhibit sufficient interest in detail or accuracy to allow specific identification.⁵⁶⁷ Indeed, in some cases, the artist seems to be interested in nothing more than presenting the idea of an animal type.

Van Buren's attempt to analyze the differences between *aegagrus* and *ibex* in the iconography of Mesopotamia has been shown to be invalid.⁵⁶⁸ Zeuner and Nagel are pessimistic regarding the absolute identification of horned animals in Near Eastern iconography. Nevertheless, Zeuner is probably too critical when he says that the Mesopotamians were "bad observers."⁵⁶⁹ They were certainly capable of noticing the differences between species of goat. Their interests clearly lay elsewhere, perhaps in the symbolism and meaning of the final product, rather than in the execution.

Moreover, some identifications in the Anatolian examples can be made. Because the Anatolian examples vary a great deal less than the Mesopotamian examples in the manner in which horns are depicted, we can assign them to one of three or four species of horned animals (excluding bovines and ovines).

Further complicating the problem of identification is the difficulty in distinguishing wild from domestic. The horns of domestic goats are shorter than those of their wild relatives, but may be either scimitar-shaped, like the *aegagrus*, or twisted. The length of the horns, therefore, may give an indication of domesticity. However, we are again relying on artists who were not interested in accuracy. In some cases, in fact, the length of the horn seems to have been dictated by the amount of space available.⁵⁷⁰ The following principles have been used to identify goats in the iconography:

⁵⁶⁷Cf. W. Nagel, *ZA* 21, 1963, 178, who draws a similar conclusion regarding Mesopotamian representations of goats.

⁵⁶⁸E. D. van Buren, *AnOr* 18, 1939, 50. Her ideas have been invalidated by F. E. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals*, 1963, 136; and W. Nagel, *ZA* 21, 1963, 178, n. 9.

⁵⁶⁹*A History of Domesticated Animals*, 1963, 136.

⁵⁷⁰For example N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, nos. 55, 64.

- 1) Long scimitar horns may indicate either the bezoar goat or the ibex.
 - 1a) If the scimitar horn has ridged edges, it is probably an ibex.
 - 1b) If the scimitar horn is smooth, it is probably a bezoar goat. However, in cases where the artistry seems to lack detail, the representation may simply be identified as a wild goat, since an ibex could be intended as well.
- 2) Short horns denote domestic goats (*C. hircus*).
- 3) Short or medium length horns with a slight twist may denote either domestic goats or gazelles. Domestication caused not only the shortening of the horns, but the presence of both twisted and straight scimitar horns.⁵⁷¹ In some cases, gazelles may be intended, but certainly not antelope (which are not native to Anatolia).

b. Goat Representations

In the Leopard Shrine of Level VII (Shrine VII.44) wild goats appear for the first time in the wall-paintings of Çatal Hüyük.⁵⁷² The wild goat is the only animal besides the leopard that is represented in this particular shrine. In the alcove of this shrine, a stylized tree is depicted with wild goats flanking it from below.⁵⁷³ On the west wall of the same building, where two opposing leopards are also to be found, there are two more paintings superimposed on one another and located below the right-hand leopard. The upper one shows wild goats and their tracks,⁵⁷⁴ while the lower shows another tree amid several wild goats. The horns of these animals are long, sweeping, and thick, and, in some cases,

⁵⁷¹Straight scimitar horns, like the bezoar's, only shorter, predominated in the early centuries of domestication. Twisted horns appeared in the fourth millennium and gradually became dominant, as they are today. However, at all times, both types of horn can be found in all regions.

⁵⁷²Two other rock paintings with wild goats, of earlier or coterminous date (ca. 6200 BC), have been found in southern Anatolia (see J. Mellaart, *AnSt* 16, 1966, 177).

⁵⁷³J. Mellaart, *AnSt* 16, 1966, Pl. XXXVb.

⁵⁷⁴J. Mellaart, *AnSt* 16, 1966, Pl. XXXVI c, d.

angular. These features are general enough to make absolute identification of the animals impossible. However, Mellaart's use of "ibex" should be amended to the more general "wild goat."

A sistrum from Horoztepe provides the only third millennium example for wild goats. On either side of the sistrum a wild goat walks upward and is followed by a feline.⁵⁷⁵ One of the attributes of the main goddess of Kanesh on the seals from Kültepe-Kanesh is a horned animal that she either holds in her hand,⁵⁷⁶ or sits on.⁵⁷⁷ N. Özgüç identifies this animal as either an ibex or an antelope.⁵⁷⁸ The horns in all four examples are quite short, and two of them (nos. 70, 74) are twisted. Hence, the animals are probably domestic goats.⁵⁷⁹ Several texts of the Hittite period describe various goddesses seated on UDU.KUR.RA, but none describe a goddess associated with a goat, domestic or wild.

A wild goat decorates a nineteenth century pithos jar from Boghazköy. The animal has scimitar horns.⁵⁸⁰ One late fifteenth/early fourteenth century cultic vessel is decorated with a scene of two wild goats and two red deer.⁵⁸¹ In the center is a large container flanked by the wild goats whose heads are reversed looking toward the red deer that walk toward them from either side of the vessel. The horns of the goats have cross markings

⁵⁷⁵T. Özgüç, M. Akok, *Horoztepe*, 1958, Pl. XII, 1a-b; F. Edgü, ed., *The Anatolian Civilizations*, 1983, A.250.

⁵⁷⁶N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, no. 73.

⁵⁷⁷N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, nos. 70, 71, 74.

⁵⁷⁸N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, 69.

⁵⁷⁹Cf. a Hittite stamp seal, in H. G. Güterbock, *SBo* II, 1942, no. 220 and p. 17, depicting a goddess seated on a bearded goat.

⁵⁸⁰R. M. Boehmer, *Boğazköy-Hattuša XIII*, 1983, Tfn. I, 1; II, 1e; K. Bittel, et al., *Boğazköy VI*, 1984, Tf. 1.

⁵⁸¹R. M. Boehmer, *Boğazköy-Hattuša XIII*, 1983, Tfn. XXIX, XXX, XXXIII, 97; XXXV, 97 and XXXVI, 97.

along their entire length and extend left and right from the head rather than sweeping backward, as is the usual method. The cross markings may be intended to denote ibexes.

In the seals from Boghazköy, where the wild goat is a frequent subject, a variety of horn shapes can be found.⁵⁸² All but one are scimitar-shaped.⁵⁸³ Some have an upper or lower surface that is ridged with saw-like teeth.⁵⁸⁴ The horn can have as few as three of these ridges or can be covered with them on both sides. Other horns are smooth.⁵⁸⁵ On one stamp seal impression the horns are long and smooth, and are marked by transverse lines.⁵⁸⁶ The ridged horns are probably intended to denote ibexes. The smooth scimitar horns probably indicate bezoar goats.

There are a number of examples of goats with beards.⁵⁸⁷ Domestic goats are probably represented in a relief from Carchemish of three goats with twisted horns being carried for sacrifice,⁵⁸⁸ and on a stamp seal impression from Boghazköy of a goat with a

⁵⁸²H. G. Güterbock, *SBo* II, 1942, nos. 8, 9, 30?, 36-41, 67, 76-79, 154?, 218?, 220-222, 235. See also his discussion on pp. 17f. Güterbock refrains from trying to identify the specific animals depicted on these seals, noting only that nos. 39 and 40 have grooved horns, while 37, 38, 41 and 222 do not.

⁵⁸³The exception is *SBo* II, 1942, no. 218, which shows a twisted horn.

⁵⁸⁴For example, *SBo* II, 1942, nos. 8, 39, 40, 79, 154; K. Bittel, et al., *Boğazköy* III, 1957, Tf. 29, 18.

⁵⁸⁵For example, *SBo* II, 1942, nos. 9, 36, 37, 38, 41, 67, 76?, 78, 218?, 221, 235.

⁵⁸⁶K. Bittel, et al., *Boğazköy* III, 1957, Tf. 29, 17.

⁵⁸⁷K. Bittel, et al., *Boğazköy* III, 1957, Tf. 29, 17; *SBo* II, nos. 218, and 220, depicting a goddess seated on a bearded goat (cf. H. G. Güterbock's discussion, *SBo* II, 1942, 17), and no. 222, with another seated deity.

⁵⁸⁸In cases where the animal is being carried, it is probably not fully grown, suggesting in turn that it is domestic, since the young of a wild animal would not survive in captivity without its parents. (See, e.g., E. Akurgal, *Kunst der Hethiter*, 1961, Abb. 148, which is a relief from Karatepe showing a goat carried over the shoulder of a man. A relief from the processional entry at Carchemish (M. Veyra, *Hittite Art*, 1955, Pl. 55; K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, 1976, Abb. 288; H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 844, and cf. 910) shows three men, each with a young goat over his shoulder. In cases where an adult animal is being led to the offering, a distinction cannot be so easily made. (See, e.g., a relief from Malatya in E. Akurgal, *Kunst der Hethiter*, 1961, Abb. 104, second from bottom, in which, to the right of the God on the Stag, a man holds an adult male goat with

twisted horn.⁵⁸⁹ Another relief, from the Sphinx Gate at Alaca Hüyük, shows four animals being led to sacrifice, three of which are rams and one a goat with long scimitar horns.⁵⁹⁰ Twisted horns on domestic goats bound for sacrifice are also visible on a relief from Zincirli. The cross markings on the horns are pronounced in this example.⁵⁹¹ On a stamp seal from Boghazköy, a seated deity faces a tree. Behind him is depicted a short-horned goat.⁵⁹²

The Hittite period at Maşat has produced krater fragments with wild goat designs.⁵⁹³ In these examples, the animal has scimitar horns. Similar figures occur on kraters of the Phrygian period from Alishar and Boghazköy.⁵⁹⁴ In a relief from Zincirli, two scimitar horned goats are depicted in great detail, climbing a stylized tree or mountain that is placed between them. Only one horn is visible on each animal.⁵⁹⁵ According to Zeuner, "there are many seals showing a tree, with two goats raised on the hind legs in an attempt to get at the foliage. This is exceedingly characteristic of the goat ..."⁵⁹⁶

scimitar horns. In this case, the goat is not carried because it is adult and too heavy.) However, there is no evidence to show that wild ruminants are ever killed in Hittite ritual, and even if they were, certainly this would have been a much rarer occurrence than the killing of domestic animals.

⁵⁸⁹K. Bittel, et al., *Boğazköy III*, 1957, Tf. 32, 42.

⁵⁹⁰M. Vieyra, *Hittite Art*, 1955, Pl. 29; H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 519.

⁵⁹¹F. von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli IV*, 1914, Tf. LXIII.

⁵⁹²T. Beran, *Boğazköy-Hattuša V*, 1967, Tf. I, 83.

⁵⁹³T. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1978, Pl. 80, 3, 7.

⁵⁹⁴H. H. von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük, Pt. II*, 1937, Pl. X; R. Opificius, "Altphrygische Keramik von Büyükkale (Boğazköy)," *MDOG* 95, 1965, 81ff.; E. Akurgal, *Phrygische Kunst*, 1955, 8, Abb. 15ff.

⁵⁹⁵H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 938.

⁵⁹⁶F. E. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals*, 1963, 134.

3. Religion

One text provides possible evidence of the ritual killing of a wild goat. The Sungod is the recipient of the offering:

KUB 39.33 ii (CTH 450)⁵⁹⁷

- 1 [ooooooo] DÀRA
- 2 [oo-a]n-zi nu GŠŠUKUR ZABAR
- 3 ti-it-ta-nu-u-wa-an-zi
- 4 na-aš-ta GŠŠUKUR ZABAR
- 5 pi-ṛā-ān kat-ta ti-an-zi
- 6 nam-ma ak-kán-t[i]
- 7 a-ku-u-wa-an-na pi-an[-zi]
- 8 nu dUTU-un e-ku[-an-zi]

-
- 1 [...] a bezoar goat
 - 2 they [...] and a bronze spear
 - 3 they set (in place).
 - 4 Then they set
 - 5 the spear down in front.
 - 6 Thereupon, to the deceased
 - 7 they gi[ve] to drink,
 - 8 and [they] drink (to) the Sungod.

A cult inventory for the town of Zanzišna mentions wild goat horns as part of the accoutrements of the mountaingod, Iški[-...]:⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁷H. Otten, *Hethitische Totenrituale* (=VIO 37), Berlin, 1958, 114f.

⁵⁹⁸Cf. KUB 4.48 iv 7, which also mentions wild goat horns.

KUB 38.3 ii (CTH 502)⁵⁹⁹

- 12 GÙB-*la-za* ŠU-*za* A-RI-TUM K[Ù.BABBAR]Á^{MUŠEN} ZÚ.AM.SI SI
 13 UR.MAH ZÚ.AM.SI SI *har[-z]*i
 14 1 GŠ^{NAG.NAG} 2 SI DÀRA 10 UDU *ta-al-la*
 15 ÌGÁL-*iš* ŠA DINGIR-LIM
 16 É DINGIR-LIM GIBIL-*ši* DÛ-*an* x x
-
- 12 In his left hand he holds a s[ilver] shield inlaid with an ivory eagle,
 13 (and) inlaid with an ivory lion.
 14 One wooden drinking vessel, two bezoar goat horns, ten *talla*-sheep
 15 are present for the deity.
 16 A new temple is built for him ...

Evidence for a sacred role for the goat is limited. Its horns were part of the accoutrements of a mountaingod. In addition, a goat-shaped rhyton is mentioned in 636/u : 8,⁶⁰⁰ and the cultic fragment KBo 9.105 (CTH 653) lists a series of animals, last of which are the *šaša*-animal and wild goat (line 9) (cf. *infra*, p. 187). In the iconography, deities represented on goats are always seated, never standing.⁶⁰¹ This clearly significant feature must have a bearing on the role of the animal in relation to the deity. Judging by the length and shape of the horns of these animals, only domestic goats are depicted with deities.

The wild goat is also one of the animals that is included in the Anitta Chronicle (*supra*, p. 99). However, it is excluded from the parallel lists in the KILAM festival

⁵⁹⁹Cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 8, 1963, 182ff.; C.-G. von Brandenstein, *Bildbeschr.*, 1943, 18ff.

⁶⁰⁰See O. Carruba, *Kadmos* 6, 1967, 89; H. Otten, *StBoT* 13, 1971, 42, n. 75.

⁶⁰¹Cf. P. Taracha, "Göttertiere und Kultfassaden. Ein Beitrag zur Interpretation hethitischer Kultdarstellungen," *AoF* 14, 1987, 266, who identifies the goat and eagle as attributes of the Anatolian nature goddesses.

(*infra*, pp. 298f.) and is replaced by a *šaša*-animal in the ritual of binding, KBo 3.8 iii 12, 13, 30, 31 (*supra*, pp. 49f.).

Section C. UDU.KUR.RA (c.) (a breed of domestic sheep?): Hittite reading unknown

sg. nom. UDU.KUR.RA KBo 18.172 rev 3'; **sg. acc. UDU.KUR.RA** KBo 6.3 iii 49 (OH/MS), KUB 13.12 obv 8' (OH/NS), KBo 6.8 : 4, KBo 19.1 iii 44, KUB 38.38 obv 10'; **sg. gen. UDU.KUR.RA** KUB 42.100 iii 28' (NH), KUB 12.1 iv 13'; **sg. d.-l. ANA UDU.KUR.RA** KUB 20.99 ii 15; **unclear UDU.KUR.RA(-)x[...]** KBo 12.113 : 11'.

pl. nom. UDU.KUR.RA KBo 2.1 iv 4 (NH), KBo 18.172 rev 11', KUB 12.1 iv 10', KUB 38.1 iv 4; **pl. d.-l. ANA UDU.KUR.RA** KBo 2.8 ii 3 (NH); **pi. acc. UDU.KUR.RA** KBo 2.8 ii 9 (NH).

1. Introduction

Although it is tempting to view UDU.KUR.RA as designating a variety of wild sheep, there is no evidence to substantiate the idea that the UDU.KUR.RA is a wild animal. It does not occur in any list of wild animals, and in fact is noticeably missing from the lists of "animals of the gods" where the wild goat and deer are included (cf. *infra*, pp. 298f.). Where it does occur in the texts, it is most often as an attribute of a goddess, a role that is assumed in the iconography by goats that are probably domestic. In §65 of the Laws, UDU.KUR.RA is classed with MÁŠ.GAL and DÀRA.MAŠ, the first certainly a domestic animal, the second a kept animal. Hence, it is difficult not to conclude that UDU.KUR.RA does not designate a wild sheep at all, but a variety of domestic sheep that was distinguished from, and probably rarer than the common variety familiar to the Hittites—possibly a breed imported from Mesopotamia or elsewhere. It is also possible, although less likely, that this designation refers to a sheep with a particular function rather than to a particular breed. That is, UDU.KUR.RA may designate a sheep exploited for its unique wool, or something similar.

2. *Iconography*

It is virtually impossible to distinguish domestic sheep from the wild species in the iconography. According to van Buren, wild sheep can be distinguished in Mesopotamian art by their erect ears, the absence of fleece, curly horns, and a mane along the throat and chest, characteristics not found in the domestic varieties of sheep.⁶⁰² Yet, these features are not consistently or systematically represented, particularly in the Anatolian examples.

Sheep and goats are common on seals from Kültepe-Kanesh of the Old Assyrian Colony period as well as on Hittite seals from Boghazköy. Rhyta in the shape of rams (wild or domestic cannot be certainly determined) have been found. Figurines and rhyta in the shape of UDU.KUR.RA are mentioned on occasion in the texts.⁶⁰³

Seals of the Old Assyrian Colony period have been found that show a seated goddess who is flanked by sheep or goats and usually carries a cup and a bird.⁶⁰⁴ Two seals, one in the Louvre and one in the Kayseri Museum, correspond to the description of the goddess.⁶⁰⁵ The Hittite cult inventories describe similar goddesses. One such occurs in a description of the Sungoddess of Šanantiya:

KBo 2.1 iv (CTH 509 [NH])⁶⁰⁶

- 1 [dU] URUŠa-na-an-ti-ya 3 ši-it-tar KÙ.BABBAR ŠÀ.BA 1 ši-it[-tar] AN.BAR
- 2 [1] wa-ak-šur ZABAR 1 SI KAxi[M] an-na-al-la-an
- 3 1 GUD.MAH AN.BAR 4 GUB-aš 2 še-kán IGLHLA [š]A GUŠKIN GAR.RA

⁶⁰²AnOr 18, 1939, 63.

⁶⁰³For example, KBo 18.172 rev 3' and 11' (CTH 522) with cow, deer and eagle figurines.

⁶⁰⁴N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, 69.

⁶⁰⁵Cf. N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, 69.

⁶⁰⁶Cf. H. G. Güterbock, *FsBittel*, 1983, 216; H. Ertem, *Fauna*, 1965, 144f.; J. Siegelová, *Gewinnung und Verarbeitung von Eisen im hethitischen Reich im 2. Jahrtausend v. u. Z.*, *Annals of the Náprstek Museum* 12, Prague, 1984, 114.

- 4 1 ALAM SAL TUŠ-aš KÙ.BABBAR 1 še-kán GAM¹-an¹ 2 UDU.KUR.RA AN.BAR
 5 «AN¹.BAR»? GŠ¹pal-za-ha-aš AN.BAR 10 kal-ma-ra GUŠKIN dUTU-š¹ URUŠa-na-
 ti-ya
-
- 1 [Weathergod] of Šanantiya: Three silver sun disks, among them one sun di[sk]
 of iron,
 2 [one] wakšur-vessel of bronze and one “thunder horn” (from) previously.
 3 One iron bull, standing on all fours, two spans (high), its eyes are inlaid with gold.
 4 One image (of) a seated woman of silver, one span (high). Beneath¹ (are) two
 UDU.KUR.RA of iron,
 5 an iron base, (and) ten kalmara- of gold: The Sungoddess of Šanantiya.

Another inventory text describes the image of the goddess Iyaya of the town of Lapana seated on two UDU.KUR.RA:

KUB 38.1 iv (CTH 501)⁶⁰⁷

- 1 URULa-pa-na dI-y[a]-ya-aš DINGIR-LIM-tar
 2 1 ALAM GIŠ SAL-TI TUŠ-an :hu-u-pí-ta-a-u-wa-an-za ŠA 1 [SIG.Ú]
 3 SAG.DU-ZU GUŠKIN GAR.RA [N]Í.TE-aš-ma GŠ¹DAG-iš-ša AN.NA GA[R.RA]
 4 2 UDU.KUR.RA GIŠ AN.NA ha-liš-ši-ya-an A-NA DINGIR-LIM GAM-an
 5 ZAG-na-za GÙB-la<-za> TUŠ-an-zi 1 ÁMUŠEN AN.NA GAR.RA
 6 2 URUDUPA 2 GAL ZABAR Ú-NU-UT DINGIR-LIM Ì.GÁL-iš
 7 É DINGIR-LIM GIBIL-ši LÚSANGA-ši LÚIŠ an-na-al-liš
-
- 1 City of Lapana, divine image of Iyaya:
 2 One statuette (made) of wood, of a woman seated, veiled, of one [cubit],
 3 its head inlaid with gold. The body and the throne (are) inla[id] with lead.

⁶⁰⁷Cf. C.-G. von Brandenstein, *Bildbeschr.*, 1943, 14f.; L. Rost, *MIO* 8, 1963, 181; H. Ertem, *Fauna*, 1965, 145; J. Siegelová, *Ann.Nap.* 12, 1984, 114.

- 4 Two wooden UDU.KUR.RA covered with lead, are seated under the goddess,
 5 to the right and left. One eagle inlaid with lead,
 6 two copper scepters, two cups of bronze. Utensils of the goddess are present.
 7 She has a new temple; she has a priest; the groom (is) old.

Notably, in the description of the same goddess in the town of Tiura, which follows in lines 8-14, no UDU.KUR.RA are mentioned. In other respects the images are similar. Compare also KUB 12.1 iv 12'f. (CTH 504), which describes an image of a woman with figurines of the heads of UDU.KUR.RA inlaid with gold.

KUB 12.1 iv (CTH 504)⁶⁰⁸

- 6' [... GU]Š'KIN 1-EN Á^{MUŠEN}ZÚ.AM.SI 2 AŠ-RA GUŠKIN GAR.RA
 7' [... GU]ŠKIN GAR.RA 1-NU-TUM K^{UŠE}.SIR *za-az-za-pl-iš* TUR-uš
 8' [... N AS-R]A GUŠKIN GAR.RA 7 GAM-an *ti-ya-u-wa-aš* ŠÀ.BA 1 ZÚ AM.SI
 9' [... -z]a-an GUŠKIN *šu-uh-ru-uh-hu-u-wa-at-ra* GUŠKIN A-NA GAD an-da
 10' [... N BI-I]B-RU GUŠKIN ŠÀ.BA 2 UDU.KUR.RA IGI-zi DU-an-te-eš
 11' [... DU-a]n-te-eš EGIR-pa *pár-za uš-kán-te-eš* 1-EN GÚ Á^{MUŠEN}
 12' [... -]zi ŠÀ.BA 1 GUŠKIN KÙ.BABBAR GIŠ-ru ALAM GUŠKIN SAL-TI
 13' [... SA]G.DU UDU.KUR.RA GUŠKIN GAR.RA 4 G^ŠBAR.KÍN GUŠKIN an-da
 14' [...] *Ú-UL zi-in-na-an*
-
- 6' [...] of gold, one eagle made of ivory, in two places inlaid with gold
 7' [...] inlaid with [g]old, one pair of small *zazzapi*-shoes,
 8' [... in N pla]ces inlaid with gold, seven (implements) for laying, among them one of ivory,
 9' [...]... of gold, golden *šuhruhhuwatra* (sewn) into the linen.
 10' [... N] rhyta of gold, among them two UDU.KUR.RA, going forwards,

⁶⁰⁸Cf. S. Košak, *Linguistica* 18, 1978, 101ff.; H. Ertem, *Fauna*, 1965, 145f.

- 11' [... wal]king [...], looking backwards; one eagle protome,
 12' [...] among them one of gold, silver (and) wood, a golden statue of a woman,
 13' [...] head of a UDU.KUR.RA inlaid with gold, four gilded covers, in
 14' [...] unfinished.

Compare also the goddess sitting on a goat on the Hittite seal *SBo* II, no. 220. A solar disk is present in this seal just as in *KBo* 2.1, and the goddess carries a cup in her left hand and a bird in her right in both examples.

KUB 38.38 obv (CTH 522)⁶⁰⁹

- 7' [... A]LAM URUDU GUŠKIN GAR.RA *hu-u-pí-t[a-u]-w[a-an-za]*
 8' [... 1-]NU-TUM HÚB.BI GUŠKIN NA₄ 1-NU-TUM MUŠEN H[UR-R]I GUŠKIN
 9' [...] GUŠKIN ZAG-za ŠU-za ^dUTU-aš-ra-za GUŠKIN *hu-u-i-it-t[ar?]*
 10' [GÙB-za] ŠU-za UDU.KUR.RA GUŠKIN NA₄ *har-zi*
 11' [...] GUŠKIN GAR.RA GAM-ra-za KÙ[.BABBAR] GAR.RA
-
- 7' [...] image of bronze, inlaid with gold, veil[ed].
 8' [...] 1] pair of earrings of gold and stone, one pair of shelducks of gold
 9' [...] of gold. She holds in (her) right hand the animal of the Sungoddess² of gold,
 10' [(and) in (her) left] hand a UDU.KUR.RA of gold and stone.
 11' [...] inlaid with gold, inlaid with sil[ver] beneath.

Although the UDU.KUR.RA appears to have been used only rarely in Hittite ritual, its association with the seated goddess described here indicates that it may have been sacred to her. Only one text associates the UDU.KUR.RA with a deity other than these goddesses. This deity is male, and the UDU.KUR.RA is a rhyton that only accompanies his image, but is not a part of the statuette, as it is with the goddess.

⁶⁰⁹Cf. L. Rost, *MIO* 8, 1963, 209f.

KUB 42.100 iii (CTH 525 [NH])

27' [Ú-NU-T]UM? ŠA dU AN-E *kap-pu-wa-a-an* 3 GÚ GUD KÙ.BABBAR

28' [o o o] KÙ.BABBAR 1 *BI-IB-RU* UDU.KUR.RA KÙ.BABBAR 4 GÌR.MEŠ *a-ra-an-za*

27' [The equip]ment² of the Weathergod of the Sky is accounted for: Three ox protomes of silver

28' [...] of silver, one rhyton in the shape of a UDU.KUR.RA, silver, standing on four feet.

The consistent association of the goddesses with UDU.KUR.RA in the iconography and the texts alike cannot be coincidence. Was there some connection between them, or did the sheep contribute some symbolic significance that reinforced a part of the deity's character?

3. Religion

Examples of UDU.KUR.RA in ritual are few. In the following passage, groups of women participate in a ritual that involves the manipulation of UDU.KUR.RA:

KBo 2.8 ii (CTH 519 [NH])⁶¹⁰

1 *SAL pál-wa-tal-la-aš* 1-ŠU *pál-wa-an-zi*

2 [*SAL.MEŠ*] *ha-az(-ga)-ra-ma iš-ha-mi-iš-kán-zi kiš-an*

3 [*ka-a-šá-wa-za* DINGIR.GE₆¹-ŠI nu GEŠTIN SUM? A-NA UDU.KUR.RA-wa

4 [*tu-]u²-ri-ya-u-wa-an-te-iš a-ra-an-ta-ri¹*

...

9 [...]x x[...]x-LUM-ma UDU¹.KUR.RA *hal-ze-eš-kán-zi*

10 [...]x-aš *pí-ra-a-an i-ya-an-ta-ri*

⁶¹⁰This text—or the copy—is corrupt. In its present form, it is unintelligible.

- 1 The *palwatalla*-women clap one time,
 2 (while) the *haz<ga>ra*-women sing continually thus:
 3 “[He]re is the Deity of the Night. Wine will be given? to the UDU.KUR.RA,
 4 (which) stand [*tu*]riyauwant-.
 ...
 9 [...]... they call the UDU.KUR.RA
 10 [...] they step forward

The UDU.KUR.RA in this ritual appear to be substitutes for the deity. In another ritual, the offering is placed on the horns of an UDU.KUR.RA:

KUB 20.99 ii (CTH 636)⁶¹¹

- 12 EGIR-an-da-ma LUGAL-uš 1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA BABBAR *pár-ši-ya nu a-pu-u-un-na*
 13 QA-TAM-MA i-e-ez-zi 1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA SA₅-ma 1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA BABBAR
 14 A-NA TÚLŠu-up-pí-ta-aš-šu-ú-i *pár-ši-ya*
 15 na-an-ša-an A-NA UDU.KUR.RA A-NA SI.HI.A-ŠU *še-er*
 16 *da-a-i ...*

- 12 Afterward, the king breaks one white offering loaf and that
 13 he prepares likewise. But one red offering loaf (and) one white offering loaf
 14 he breaks for the spring Šuppitaššui.
 15 Then he sets it on the UDU.KUR.RA, namely,
 16 on its horns...

Although it is unlikely that UDU.KUR.RA designates a species of wild sheep, some general comments about wild sheep in Anatolia may nevertheless be in order. There are thirty-six to forty varieties of wild sheep living today. The taxonomy of the various species

⁶¹¹Cf. H. Ertem, *Fauna*, 1965, 146.

of sheep is confused and elaborate. Some scholars distinguish simply between Eurasian sheep (*Ovis ammon*) and American sheep (*O. canadensis*).⁶¹² Zeuner, among others, divides the Asiatic sheep into three species groups, namely moufflons, urials and argalis.⁶¹³ In Hittite Anatolia, two of these species were present in the wild, the *O. orientalis*, or urial, and the *O. ammon*, or argali. Today the latter, a giant sheep, is relegated to eastern Asia. It alone, however, has been identified from the animal remains at Boghazköy and represents a substantial presence, although the exact number is difficult to determine since the bones of the smallest of these are difficult to distinguish from the larger domestic sheep bones.⁶¹⁴

Wild or domestic, the UDU.KUR.RA in Hittite texts is almost exclusively a cultic animal, representing a divine accoutrement and participating occasionally in ritual, although apparently not as a sacrificial animal.

⁶¹²V. Geist, *Mountain Sheep: A Study in Behavior and Evolution*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971, 1-14. A useful introduction to the problems of wild sheep taxonomy is provided in the preliminary pages of this book. See also W. Nagel, ZA 21, 1963, 176-186.

⁶¹³A *History of Domesticated Animals*, 1963, 153.

⁶¹⁴A. von den Driesch and J. Boessneck, Boğazköy-Hattuša XI, 1981, 44.

Section D. ŠAH.GIŠ.GI (c.) “wild boar”: Hittite reading unknown

sg. nom. ŠAH.GIŠ.GI KUB 19.8 iv 15, KBo 10.23 v 22', 25'; sg. acc. ŠAH.GIŠ.GI KBo 10.25 vi 6' (NS), KUB 26.71 i 8'; sg. gen. ŠAH.GIŠ.GI KBo 25.180 rev² 3', 412/b rev 22⁶¹⁵; sg. gen. ŠAH.GIS.GI KBo 9.105 : 7'; pl. gen. ŠAH.GIŠ.GLHLA KBo 30.20 iii 5'; unclear ŠAH.GIŠ.GI 1166/u ii 3'⁶¹⁶; ŠAH.GIŠ.G[I] KBo 25.180 rev² 14'.

1. Introduction

The remains of several adult wild boar (*Sus scrofa*) have been recovered from Boghazköy.⁶¹⁷ The hide of this animal was a valuable commodity, and a significant proportion of the references to wild boar concern the hide in particular.⁶¹⁸ In Mesopotamia, the wild boar apparently was kept in captivity and fattened for slaughter in the same way as a domestic pig.⁶¹⁹ However, there is no evidence of such a practice among the Hittites.

The origin and meaning of the Sumerogram ŠAH.GIŠ.GI, translated by Neu in his edition of the Anitta text as “Röhrriechschweine”⁶²⁰ is not explained in the texts. The 14th tablet of HAR-RA = HUBULLU gives the Akkadian equivalent as ŠAHHAPU, which Landsberger translates “Rohrschwein.”⁶²¹ Oppenheim, however, has suggested that

⁶¹⁵E. Neu, StBoT 18, 1974, 31.

⁶¹⁶E. Neu, StBoT 18, 1974, 31.

⁶¹⁷A. von den Driesch and J. Boessneck, Boğazköy-Hattuša XI, 1981, 51. Bones of younger animals are harder to identify since they are comparable in size to those of domestic pigs.

⁶¹⁸KBo 25.180 rev² 3', 412/b rev 22.

⁶¹⁹See B. Landsberger, *Fauna*, 1934, 102.

⁶²⁰StBoT 18, 1974, 14f.

⁶²¹*Fauna*, 1934, 12f.

GIŠ.GI refers to reed-fed pigs.⁶²² This may be the best explanation offered, although in Mesopotamia this term always refers to domestic animals. Since it does refer to domestic animals, we cannot argue that GIŠ.GI is a reference to the habitat of this animal, which is included to identify it as a wild species.

The wild boar is included in the list of animals in the Anitta text (*supra*, p. 99) as well as in the lists of the KILAM Festival (KBo 10.23 v 25'; KBo 10.25 vi 6'; KBo 25.180 rev² 3', 14'). Because of inconsistencies in discussions of this animal, it is not altogether clear whether scholars have used the translation "boar" to indicate "wild boar" or the domestic uncastrated hog. For example, Singer understands ŠAH.NITÁ as a wild boar in the text KBo 20.33+ obv 14 (CTH 627 [MH]).⁶²³ However, since the Sumerogram ŠAH refers to a domestic pig, and NITÁ is nothing more than an indicator of sex, a domestic boar, not a wild one, is indicated.

2. *Iconography*

The boar is featured at Çatal Hüyük on the east wall of "shrine" VII.45, where, fairly late in its occupation, the silhouette of a gigantic boar's head was cut into the wall.⁶²⁴ A baked clay model of a boar's head, similar to the silhouette, was found in a pit in Level VI. The snout of this animal is slightly exaggerated.⁶²⁵

The two-faced Mesopotamian god, Ušmu, is depicted standing on a boar on seals from Kültepe-Kanesh.⁶²⁶ Typically in these seals he is armed with dagger and mace. Ušmu does not appear with the boar before this time, leading Özgüç to suggest "a direct

⁶²²A. Leo Oppenheim, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets of the Wilberforce Eames Babylonian Collection* (=AOS 32), New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1948, 42f.

⁶²³I. Singer, *StBoT* 28, 1984, 216.

⁶²⁴J. Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük*, 1967, fig. 27.

⁶²⁵J. Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük*, 1967, Pl. 13.

⁶²⁶N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, nos. 20, 21, 22.

connection between the god and his animal. The new image must have originated in Anatolia around the beginning of the second millennium BC.”⁶²⁷ On another seal from Kültepe-Kanesh, boar-like animals draw a two-wheeled cart on which stands a god. It leads a procession of deities approaching the main god. The boars are held by a nose ring attached to a rein held by the god.⁶²⁸ This seal should not lead us to assume that boars were ever actually used to pull wagons, since the equipment, designed for equines and bovines, would not have fit a boar. Moreover, regarding this seal, Littauer and Crouwel remark that

it is often impossible to identify with certainty the kind [of equid] intended, as, for instance, that of animals pulling four- and two-wheelers in Anatolian glyptics. Of the wagon teams it may only be said that they do not seem to be horses. One of the sealings showing two-wheelers (fig. 28), where the animals have been called “boars” may in fact represent an effort to depict an animal unfamiliar to the artist and and to distinguish it from previously depicted equids.⁶²⁹

A number of boar rhyta have been recovered from Kültepe-Kanesh, *kārum* level II.⁶³⁰ The herringbone pattern apparent on these examples seems to be a characteristic decoration for the boar and is perhaps intended to represent the animal’s bristly outer layer of hair.

⁶²⁷AnGr, 1965, 61.

⁶²⁸N. Özgüç, AnGr, 1965, nos. 24a, b.

⁶²⁹M. A. Littauer and J. H. Crouwel, *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals in the Ancient Near East*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979, 57.

⁶³⁰T. Özgüç, *Kültepe-Kaniş*, 1959, Pls. XLV, 4; XLVII, 3, 4; *Kültepe-Kaniş II*, 1986, 63f. and Pl. 114, 2, 3; E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, 1961, Abb. 31. According to Özgüç, these rhyta were used in the cult of Ušmu.

3. *Symbolism*

Only one simile that may feature a boar is to be found in the Hittite texts. The fragmentary condition of this passage, from the records of the campaigns of Šuppiluliuma, allows us only to speculate that the boar symbolized strength and warrior-like aggression.

KUB 19.8 iv (CTH 83)⁶³¹

12 [A-NA ^mTu-ut-ha-li-ya] GAL ME-ŠE-DI GŠar-mi-iz-zi

13 [... ^mTu-:]ut-ha-li-ya-aš-ma

14 [... ^m...]ar²-UR.MAH-ya Ú-UL [

15 [... -y]a-zi na-aš ŠAH.GIŠ.G[I ma-ah-ha-an??

12 [For Tuthaliya], the chief of the royal body guard, the bridge [...]

13 [...] but Tuthaliya

14 and [...]UR.MAH [does] not [

15 He [...]-s. And [like??] a boar he [...]-s.

The boar was often a symbol of power and strength in medieval literature, appearing as a simile for King Arthur and on the coats of arms of English royalty,⁶³² and may be intended as such a symbol here.

4. *Religion*

The boar was commonly associated with eating in Greek ritual.⁶³³ In Hatti, this does not seem to have been the case for the boar, although the domestic piglet was used in ritual eating.⁶³⁴

⁶³¹Cf. K. Riemschneider, "Hethitische Fragmente historischen Inhalts aus der Zeit Hattušilis III," *JCS* 16, 1962, 116.

⁶³²B. Rowland, *Animals with Human Faces*, 1973, 42.

⁶³³B. Rowland, *Animals with Human Faces*, 1973, 39.

⁶³⁴For example, in KUB 17.28 i 22-24.

In the KILLAM Festival (CTH 627), fifteen boar's teeth are listed in one broken passage (KBo 30.20 + KBo 16.80 iii 5'),⁶³⁵ while elsewhere in the festival, the boar is part of the parade of "animals of the gods" (KBo 10.23 v 16'-25', KBo 10.25 vi 4'-8'). KBo 9.105 also lists the boar with a number of animals, both wild and domestic:

KBo 9.105 (CTH 653)

- 4' [... KÙ.]BABBAR 5 UZUNÍG.GIG.HLA
 5' [...p]a-ra-a ap-pa-an-zi
 6' [...š]A PÌRIG.TUR UR.MAH
 7' [UR.BAR.RA?⁶³⁶ Š]AH.GIŠ.GI AZ
 8' [...] ŠÀ-ya-a[š-ma-]aš
 9' [... ša-]a-ša-aš DARÀ-aš
 ———
 4' [... of si]liver. Five livers
 5' [...] they hold out,
 6' [...(including) those] of a leopard, lion
 7' [a wolf?], a [w]ild boar, a bear,
 8' [...] and the heart for them
 9' [...] of the [ga]zelle? (and) of the wild goat.

The wild boar is not sacred to any Hittite deities. The Greek Kalydonian Legend identifies the boar as sacred to Artemis, and it was ritually offered to her in Samos.⁶³⁷ The boar (ŠAH.NITÁ) is offered in the Hittite sources only in a Ritual Against a Plague in the Land (KBo 22.125 i 4' [CTH 456 (NS)] with dupl. KUB 41.16), but here again we are dealing with a domestic animal, not its wild counterpart.

⁶³⁵Cf. K. Riemschneider, StBoT 9, 1979, 79, n. 5; I. Singer, StBoT 28, 1984, 115

⁶³⁶For this restoration cf. comparable lists of wild game animals, *infra*, p. 298f.

⁶³⁷V. Haas, UF 13, 1981, 107, n. 63.

The following fragment from the KILLAM Festival (CTH 627) appears to be part of a ritual for a Protective Deity. It illustrates, without explaining, the relationship between this deity and the wild animals named. Note also that no animal is singled out above the others as the god's "sacred" animal. The presence of the *kurša*- "hunting bag" reinforces the identification of this Protective Deity as a hunting god.

KBo 25.180 rev?⁶³⁸

3' [...]x KUŠ PÌRIG.TUR KUŠ UR.MAH KUŠ ŠAH.GIŠ.GI

4' [...] KUŠ DAR]À.MAŠ *ú-da-an-zi*

5' [...] LÚSANGA ḏLAMMA]A *šu-up-pí-iš* LÚSANGA ḏLAMMA-ya

6' [...] LÚpal-wa-]tal-la-aš *kat-ti-iš-mi i-ya-at-ta*

7' [...] ha]r-zi LÚSANGA ḏLAMMA-ma *ta-pí-ša-na-an* KÙ.BABBAR

8' [...]x *da-a-an-zi* LÚSANGA *ta-pí-ša-ni-it ši-pa-an-ū*

9' [...]iz-zi

10' [...]KÁ *hu-u-it-na-aš da-pí-aš*

11' [...]iz-zi GAL ME-ŠE-DI-ma-at LUGAL-i *pí-i[š-ká]n-zi*

12' [...]z]i *na-at-ša-an* GŠBANSUR-i *tí-iš[-kán-zi]*

13' [...] KUŠ *kur-še-iš pa-a-an-z[i]*

14' [...]x GUŠKIN ŠAH.GIŠ.G[I

15' [...] ḏLAM[MA?

3' They bring [...], a leopard-skin, a lion-skin, a wild boar-skin,

4' [...], a dee[r-skin].

5' [... the ... -priest of the Protective Deity], and the pure priest of the Protective Deity

6' [... the *palwa*]talla-man goes with them.

⁶³⁸Cf. I. Singer, StBoT 28, 1984, 97f.

7' [...] he holds. The priest of the Protective Deity [...] a silver *tapišani*-vessel.

8' [...] they take. The priest libates with the *tapišani*-vessel.

9' [...] he [...]s.

10' [...] the gate, of all the animals

11' [...] he [...]s, but the chief of the royal body guard presents them to the king.

12' [...] then they st[ep] up to the table [

13' [...] the hunting bags go [

14' [...] a golden boar (figurine) [

15' [...] the Pro[ective] Deity? [

This ritual shares certain characteristics with other rituals involving wild animals. These include the presence of a *kurša*- “hunting bag,” the act of libating in the presence of animals (here their pelts only) and the involvement of the Protective Deity. Such a combination of features suggests that this ritual relates to the hunt (cf. Chapter VI, Section B.2).

Section E. *liḫša*- “bison,” “wisent”; *tišanu*- “aurochs”

Both the European bison, or wisent (*Bison bonasus*) and the aurochs (*Bos primigenius*), were present in the ancient Near East. The former is still known in Europe, while the latter has long been extinct and survives now only in its domestic form, *Bos taurus*.

The lexical list KBo 1.52 i 11f. makes the following identifications: ALIM = KARŠA-NU = *ti-ša-nu-us* / ALIM = KU-ŠA-RI-IH-HU = *li-ih-ša-a[š]*.⁶³⁹ Landsberger translates *tišanu*-/KARŠANU as “aurochs” rather than “wisent” because KARŠANU, which is an adjective meaning “with a large belly,”⁶⁴⁰ “weist auf ein Tier, das durch die Größe seines Bauches bzw. Verdauungsapparates hervorrage, was zu dem im Vergleich etwa zum Aurochsen recht dickbäuchig anmutenden Wisent nicht übel paßt.”⁶⁴¹ Although certain evidence in either direction is not available, it seems clear that one word must indicate the aurochs while the other designates the wisent.

The aurochs, “the great wild ox that once roamed most of Europe and North Africa,” is believed to be the ancestor from which Europe’s domestic cattle are descended.⁶⁴² It vanished from the Near East perhaps as early as 2500 BC.⁶⁴³ Therefore, it was not known in Anatolia in the second millennium and is attested in Hittite documents only in the lexical list cited above. The KUŠARIKKU in Mesopotamian texts is primarily a mythological beast, occurring frequently with monsters and other mythological creatures.⁶⁴⁴ This fact could be

⁶³⁹Cf. HAR-RA = HUBULLU, 14th tablet, where am = *ri-i-mu* “aurochs,” (B. Landsberger, *Fauna*, 1934, 4f.), alim = *di-ta-nu* “wisent(?)” (pp. 10f.). See also Landsberger, *Fauna*, 1934, pp. 89, 92-94.

⁶⁴⁰Cf. CAD K, 223, sub KARŠANU.

⁶⁴¹*Fauna*, 1934, 94.

⁶⁴²L. S. Crandall, *The Management of Wild Mammals in Captivity*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964, 639.

⁶⁴³M. Hiltzheimer in E. D. van Buren, *AnOr* 18, 1939, 74.

⁶⁴⁴See CAD K, 584; B. Landsberger, *Fauna*, 1934, 89 and 93.

explained if the animal had been long extinct. One wonders, therefore, if *lihša-/KUŠARIKKU* should not be translated “aurochs” instead of “wisent.”

Few artistic attestations of either animal are to be found in Anatolia. The bison-men of the Cappadocian seals are the only example known to me, if indeed they are truly to be identified as bison and not simply bulls.

Section F. AM.SI “elephant”: Hittite reading unknown

The elephant is attested only indirectly in Hittite texts, through the few mentions of objects made of ivory.⁶⁴⁵ The elephant's range did not extend into Anatolia in the second millennium, although the animal could still be found along the Euphrates until ca. 800 BC. It is found occasionally in Mesopotamian art, and when the species is identifiable, the Asian variety (*Elephas indicus*) is indicated.⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴⁵Cf. H. Ertem, *Fauna*, 1965, 121f. For ivory in Anatolia see H. G. Güterbock, *Anatolia* 15, 1971, 1-7.

⁶⁴⁶For the elephant in Mesopotamia see E. D. van Buren, *AnOr* 18, 1939, 77f.; M. Hilzheimer, “Elefant,” *RIA* II, 1938, 354; B. Landsberger, *Fauna*, 1934, 87-89.

Section G. *ARNABU*⁶⁴⁷ (c.) “hare”: Hittite reading unknown

sg. nom. *AR-NA-BU* KBo 10.31 iv 4' (OH/NS); sg. acc. *AR-NA-BU* KBo 26.192 : 2', KUB 15.5 ii 37, KUB 38.1 ii 4', KUB 7.33 obv 6 (NH); *AR-NA-BI* Bo 2973 i 12'⁶⁴⁸; sg. acc.? *AR-NA-BI*! KUB 54.72 i? 20'; sg. gen. *AR-NA-BI* ABoT 54 i 5; *ER-NA-BU* HT 12 : 13'; unclear *AR-NA-A-BI* KBo 18.170a rev 10'.

pl. nom. *AR-NA-BI* KBo 10.31 iv 19' (OH/NS), KBo 10.52 obv 10' (MS), KBo 10.36 rev 4'; *AR-NA-BU* KUB 30.32 iv 11' (MS?).

1. Introduction

Hares (*Lepus capensis*) were native to the Near East. Rabbits, on the other hand, were not introduced until the Romans brought them out of Spain where they were first domesticated. The Luwian word for hare is *tapa(ra)*-, which is the phonetic value of the hieroglyphic sign in the shape of a hare's head.⁶⁴⁹

Eighty bones of hares, representing at least eleven animals, have been recovered from the animal remains at Boghazköy.⁶⁵⁰ This substantial presence corresponds with the textual evidence that indicates that hare meat was an important part of the Hittite diet.⁶⁵¹ Two fragments from the KILLAM festival (CTH 627) demonstrate that hare meat was eaten along with mutton, beef and other forms of meat. One lists “beef, mutton, hare meat,⁶⁵²

⁶⁴⁷Cf. CAD A/II, 294.

⁶⁴⁸H. Otten, StBoT 15, 1971, 23.

⁶⁴⁹Cf. E. Laroche, *Les hiéroglyphes hittites I*, Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1960, no. 115; H. Th. Bossert, “Die phönizisch-hethitischen Bilinguen vom Karatepe,” *JKF* 1, 1951, 278.

⁶⁵⁰A. von den Driesch and J. Boessneck, *Boğazköy-Hattuša XI*, 1981, 56.

⁶⁵¹See H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *AlHeth*, 1974, 125f.

⁶⁵²For an explanation of this translation of UZU EDIN.NA (lit. “meat of the plain”), see H. Berman and H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *JCS* 32, 1980, 49, n. 2.

bir[ds], dried *parhuwaya*-meat.”⁶⁵³ The other describes the distribution of such food stuffs:

KBo 10.31 iv (OH/NS)⁶⁵⁴

- 3' [N GA.KIN.]AG 1/2 UZU UDU UDUN
 4' 1 UZ[UÚ]R? GUD 1 AR-NA-BU
 5' 1 NINDA^{ha-a-li-iš} 2 MUŠEN.HI.A
 ...
 17' [G]A.KIN.AG Ì.NUN NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A
 18' [LÚ]AGRIG [UR]U^{Ha-at-ti pa-a-i}
 19' U[DU.H]I.A UDUN UZU GUD.HI.A AR-NA-BI
 20' LÚ.MEŠ^{ta-mi-ša-ta-li-iš}⁶⁵⁵
 21' *pl-an-zi*

- 3' [N chee]ses, half of the meat of a sheep (suitable for) roasting,
 4' one beef loin, one hare,
 5' one *hali*-loaf, two birds,
 ...
 17' cheese, butter, (and) fat bread
 18' the administrator of Hatti provides.
 19' The meat of a sheep (suitable for) roasting, beef, (and) hares
 20' the *tamišatalli*-men
 21' provide.

⁶⁵³KBo 10.28 + 33 v 1f.: UZU GU[D] UZU UDU UZU EDIN.NA MUŠE[N.HI.A] UZU [HÁD.]DU.A *pár-hu-u-wa-ya-aš*. Cf. I. Singer, StBoT 28, 1984, 86; H. Berman and H. A. Hoffner, Jr., JCS 32, 1980, 49.

⁶⁵⁴Cf. I. Singer, StBoT 28, 1984, 104.

⁶⁵⁵Cf. E. Neu, “Akkad. LÚ^{MU-RI-DI} = hethit. LÚ^{damšatallaš},” RO 41, 1980, 84, for this and the preceding line.

Two fragments from CTH 669 mention hare meat with fish, birds, and other forms of meat: “hare meat, birds, *parhu[waya-meat]*”;⁶⁵⁶ “hare [meat], birds, fish, [...]”⁶⁵⁷ A hare’s head ([SAG.]DU AR-NA-BI) is mentioned in the inventory text ABoT 54 i 5 (CTH 241.2).⁶⁵⁸ The high proportion of mentions of hare meat among the occurrences of hares in the texts suggests not only that it was relatively important to the Hittite diet, but also that its primary significance for that population was its value as a foodstuff. In Mesopotamia there is evidence that hares were hunted.⁶⁵⁹ Such was probably the case in Anatolia as well, but here, evidence is lacking. Hares have never been domesticated, but they have been kept. The Romans, for example, established *leporaria*, or warrens, not only for hares, but also for deer, snails, bees, and so forth, whose population they could then exploit for food and sport.⁶⁶⁰

2. Iconography

Since it occurs primarily as a foodstuff in the texts, any symbolic role that the hare might have had must be gleaned from the iconography. Examples of hare in the iconography of the Near East before the second millennium are rare. For the second millennium, they are more easily found in Anatolia than Mesopotamia.

⁶⁵⁶KBo 10.36 rev 4': UZU AR-NA-BI MUŠEN.HLA *pár-hu[-u-wa-ya-aš]*. Cf. H. Berman and H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *JCS* 32, 1980, 48.

⁶⁵⁷KBo 10.52 obv² 10' (MS): [UZU A]R-NA-BI MUŠEN.HLA KU₆.HLA U[ZU ...]. Cf. H. Berman and H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *JCS* 32, 1980, 48. The duplicate, HT 12 : 13', contains a variant² UZU ER-NA-BU. Cf. also KUB 30.32 iv 11': 80 AR-NA-BU ŠA-BU-LU x[...] MUŠEN.HLA ŠA-BU-LU “eighty dried hare, [...] dried birds.”

⁶⁵⁸Cf. S. Košak, *THeth* 10, 1982, 18.

⁶⁵⁹See W. Heimpel, *RIA* IV, 1972-75, 131 for a Mari letter mentioning a hare hunt. Cf. also the wall reliefs in Assyrian Palaces depicting hares as trophies (E. D. van Buren, *AnOr* 18, 1939, 27).

⁶⁶⁰See J. Clutton-Brock, *Domesticated Animals from Early Times*, 1981, 146.

In Hittite iconography, two motifs feature the hare. The first features the Protective Deity, who almost always holds an eagle in addition to a hare,⁶⁶¹ and sometimes stands on a deer. The second motif occurs primarily on stamp seals, in which the hare is the victim of one or two swooping eagles.

In the Hittite period, the hare takes its place with the eagle and the deer as a characteristic companion of the Protective Deity of the Field. In the inventory text, KUB 38.1 ii 4', the Protective Deity of the Field of the town of Wiyanawanta is described as holding a gold bow in his right hand and in his left a gold eagle and a gold hare.

This image is paralleled in the iconography of Kültepe-Kanesh, where one relief features a god holding a spear in his right hand while a hare hangs from the left hand and an eagle perches above it.⁶⁶² A seal from Kültepe-Kanesh depicts a series of gods on animals, all with heads of hares next to them.⁶⁶³ Another seal from the same site features four hunting gods on stags with eagles and hares in their left hands.⁶⁶⁴ The hares dangle by their forelegs, while the birds are perched on the hands. Yet another seal shows a hunting god on a red deer, a curved weapon on his left shoulder, a hare in his right hand. Near the hand holding the hare is a heraldic eagle.⁶⁶⁵

The Hittite period also has parallels. One seal from Boghazköy depicts a god holding a bird and hare in his right hand.⁶⁶⁶ Another seal from Karahüyük shows Ušmu, the two-

⁶⁶¹The exceptions include the late-Hittite relief, Zincirli B/33 (see W. Orthmann, *USK*, 1971, 259, and Tf. 61a), of a deity holding an animal, probably a hare, by the hind legs, and the Hacı Bebekli stele, which features a god on a stag, who shoulders a bow and holds a hare by the hind legs (H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 816).

⁶⁶²H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 816.

⁶⁶³N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, no. 65.

⁶⁶⁴N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, no. 66.

⁶⁶⁵N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965, no. 19, 20.

⁶⁶⁶T. Beran, *Boğazköy-Hattuša V*, 1967, Pl. 10, 136, and p. 30.

faced god, standing above a hart with a hare's head at his feet.⁶⁶⁷ One Hittite period seal from Tarsus depicts a seated deity holding a hare by the forelegs while an eagle perches on his hand.⁶⁶⁸ A relief from Karatepe depicts a male figure who faces left and holds a hare by its hind legs in his left hand while an eagle perches on his right.⁶⁶⁹

Hittite period representations of hares without a deity abound. Stamp seals frequently display the motif of the eagle preying on a hare. Sometimes a single eagle is shown swooping down on a hare,⁶⁷⁰ and sometimes the hare sits between two opposed eagles.⁶⁷¹ Other examples show the hare alone.⁶⁷² In one case, a double-headed eagle hovers over a hare.⁶⁷³ On the Sphinx Gate at Alaca Hüyük, a double-headed eagle emblem clutches a hare in either talon (cf. *supra*, p. 111).⁶⁷⁴ In some of the stamp seals the hare seems to be a hieroglyphic symbol.⁶⁷⁵ On a seal from Karahüyük depicting a ritual scene, a hare is shown in a crouched position. Above it the head of a wild goat is placed and above that is a single-headed eagle emblem.⁶⁷⁶

⁶⁶⁷S. Alp, *AnGr*, 1968, no. 23.

⁶⁶⁸H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 696; D. G. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, 1920, no. 196e.

⁶⁶⁹Karatepe B/15 in W. Orthmann, *USK*, 1971, Tf. 19b. Cf. Karatepe B/16, *USK*, 1971, Tf. 19c.

⁶⁷⁰H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, fig. 684; T. Beran, Boğazköy-Hattuša V, 1967, Tf. 7, 66-68. K. Bittel, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy im Jahre 1937," *MDOG* 76, 1938, 22, Abb. 11; *Boğazköy* III, 1957, Tf. 32, 40; A. Moortgat, *Die bildende Kunst des Alten Orients und die Bergvölker*, Berlin: Hans Schoetz & Co., 1932, 71, Tf. LXVI, 2.

⁶⁷¹T. Beran, Boğazköy-Hattuša V, 1967, Tf. 7, nos. 70-72; H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 682.

⁶⁷²T. Beran, Boğazköy-Hattuša V, 1967, Tf. 5, 44-47.

⁶⁷³A. Moortgat, *Bergv.*, 1932, 71 and Tf. LXVI, 3.

⁶⁷⁴H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, fig. 498.

⁶⁷⁵See H. G. Güterbock, *SBo* II, 1942, nos. 90, 92, 93, 137.

⁶⁷⁶S. Alp, *Siegel*, 1968, no. 22.

One can argue that the hare with the Protective Deity and the hare as a victim of an eagle are not two separate motifs, but a single theme. Based on the presence of an eagle or unidentified bird in almost every representation of the hare in Hittite iconography (with the exception of those stamp seals that depict a hare alone), it seems reasonable to suppose that the primary association to be stressed is not the hare with the Protective Deity, but the hare with the eagle. The Protective Deity, who is a hunting god, uses the eagle in his pursuit of game, which is frequently a hare. The hare is the victim of the eagle in these depictions, just as it is in the seals already mentioned.

Other deities besides the Protective Deity appear with the hare. Two reliefs from Zincirli feature a lion-headed god. In one, eagles perch on either shoulder of the deity, who flails a somewhat oversized hare that hangs by the hind legs from his left hand.⁶⁷⁷ In the other, a single eagle perches on the deity's left hand above the hare. Again, the deity holds a flail in his right hand.⁶⁷⁸

3. Religion

In addition to the number of rituals that mention hare meat, two fragmentary passages suggest a more extensive ritual role for the hare:

Bo 2973 i⁶⁷⁹

10' GA.KIN.AG TUR 1 NINDA *wa-ak-šur* x x 1 SIL[Á

11' *nu* SISKUR.SISKUR *zu-úr-ki-an-za* PA-NI x[

12' *nam-ma* EN.SISKUR.SISKUR *AR-NA-BI* [

13' []x EN.SISKUR.SISKUR *IT-TI* [

14' []*x-an-zi nu* SISKUR *zu-ú[r-ki-an-za?*

⁶⁷⁷H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, nos. 939, 941.

⁶⁷⁸H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 947.

⁶⁷⁹H. Otten, *StBoT* 15, 1971, 23.

-
- 10' A small cheese, one *wakšur*-loaf, ... one lam[b
 11' A *zurkiya*- offering before [
 12' Then the offerant a hare [
 13' [] the offerant with [
 14' they [] and the *zu[rkiya]*- offering [

The following fragment is a cult inventory that describes an eagle and a hare, and may refer to an example of the motif of the eagle swooping down on a hare that is so popular on the seals:

KBo 26.192 :

- 2' [... Á]^{MUSEN} *AR-NA-BU* [*har-zi*?
 3' [... A-]^{NA} *DINGIR-LIM ú[-*
 4' [... A-N]^{A?} *DINGIR-LIM u-un-x* [

 5' [... -]*an-zi na-an I-NA* [
 6' [...] ^d*Pí-ir-wa-an-kán* [
 7' [... -]*tí nu-kán* *UDU BAL-t*[ⁱ? 680

 2' An [eagl]e [holds] a hare [
 3' for the god [
 4' [... fo]r² the god ... [

 5' they [...] and him to [
 6' [...] the god, Pirwa [...] him [
 7' [...] and he sacrifices a sheep [

⁶⁸⁰The sign looks like -z[i].

The fragmentary KUB 7.33 (CTH 490) names the hare after the eagle and falcon and before the snake in a list of domestic and wild animals: “One red? deer, one cow, one sheep, one eagle, one falcon, [one ...], one hare, one snake, five birds, one *mutamur*[i-animal], five fish, one human, one horse, one mule, and one donkey she takes. But these, ani[mals] such [...] each livin[g...]” (KUB 7.33 obv 5-9 [NH]).⁶⁸¹

⁶⁸¹See *infra*, p. 272.

Section H. PÉŠ.TUR (c.) “mouse”: Hittite **mašhuil-/*mašhuiluwa*-⁶⁸²

sg. nom. P ÉŠ.TUR KUB 40.2 obv 10' (LS); sg. d.-l. ANA PÉŠ.TUR KUB 27.67 ii 37, 38; iii 41, 42 (MH/NS); sg. sec. PÉŠ.TUR KUB 27.67 i 42, ii 39, 41, iii 42, 44, 52 (MH/NS); PÉS KBo 15.10 iii 49' (MH/MS).

1. Introduction

In both Syria and Mesopotamia the mouse had a divine counterpart. In Mesopotamia, Humunsir (*humunširu* = “mouse”) is the reading of the divine name *ḫmar-dú-lá-an-ki*.⁶⁸³ In Syria, the god ‘Akbar “Mouse” was the bringer of plagues.⁶⁸⁴

An oracular bird is designated with the Sumerogram PÉŠ or PÉŠ.TUR.⁶⁸⁵ That a bird is intended in a given ornithomantic text can be determined by context, because the language is formulaic and that used in reference to the PÉŠ.TUR is similar to that used for the movements of other birds.

2. Religion

In the Ritual of Ambazzi (CTH 391), three mice are presented as “scapegoats” for the deities Tarpatassa (cols. i and iv), Alauwaimi (col. ii), and “the one who turns before the *tarpatassa*- deities” (col. iii), so that they will bestow misfortune on it rather than the offerant. One ritual with the mouse is described in each column (i, ii, and iii) of this tablet. Only col. iii will be treated here:⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸²Unattested except as a PN, this reading could be Luwian rather than Hittite.

⁶⁸³W. G. Lambert, *RLA* IV, 1972-75, 493f.

⁶⁸⁴B. Beckman, *Die Maus im Altertum: Vorbereitende Untersuchungen zu einer Herausgabe der hoch mittelalterlichen Mäusesagen*, Zürich: Art. Institut Orell Füssli, 1972, 50.

⁶⁸⁵The oracle bird occurs in the following: KUB 5.11 i 20, KUB 16.50 : 4', KUB 18.26 iii 7', KUB 18.39 rev² 2, KUB 22.22 : 6'.

⁶⁸⁶Cf. i 34-42, ii 38-42.

KUB 27.67 iii (MH/NS)⁶⁸⁷

- 38 *nu-uš-ša-an* AN.N[A] *te-pu* ^{SIG}*i[š-tóg-g]a-i hu-u-la-a-li-ya-zi*
 39 *na-at-kán* A-NA BE-LU ZAG-ni A-NA QA-TI-ŠU GÌR-ŠU *na-a-i*
 40 *nam-ma-a[i-š]a-ma-ša-at-kán ar-ha da-a-i na-at-kán*
 41 A-NA PÉŠ.TUR *na-a-i nu me-ma-ah-hi ar-ha-ma-aš<ma-aš>kán da-ah-hu-un i-da-lu*
 42 *na-at-kán* A-NA PÉŠ.TUR *ne-eh-hu-un na-at ka-a-aš* PÉŠ.TUR
 43 *pár-ga-a-u-wa-aš* HUR.SAG.MEŠ-aš *hal-lu-u-wa-a-aš ha-a-ri-aš*
 44 *da-a-lu-ga-u-wa-aš* KASKAL-as *pé-e-da-ú nu* PÉŠ.TUR *ar-ha tar-na-a-i*
-
- 45 *tar-pa-at-ta-aš-ša-aš ku-iš pi-ra-an ú[-e-h]a-at-ta*
 46 *ku-u-un-za da-a a-da-an-na-ma-at-ta da-m[a-i-i]n*
 47 *pi-i-ú-e-ni nu ku-up-tar ar-ha šu-uh-h[a-a]i*
 ...
 52 *nu da-ma-i-in* PÉŠ.TUR *pár-ku-in ú-da-an-zi nu* ^d*tar[-pa-at-ta-aš-ša-an]*
 53 *ku-iš p[i-r]a-an ú-e-ha-at-ta na-an-kán a-pé-e-da-n[i*
 54 *ši-pa-an-ti zi-ik az-zi-ik-ki ...*

- 38 She wraps a small (piece of) tin in a b[ow]string.
 39 She wraps it around the offerant's right hand (and) foot.
 40 then she takes it away from them and she
 41 transfers it to the mouse and she says, "I have taken away the evil from you
 42 and transferred it to the mouse, now let this mouse
 43 take it to the high mountains, the deep valleys,
 44 the long roads." Then she releases the mouse.
-
- 45 The one who turns before the *tarpattašša*- deities,
 46 you take this one for yourself! We will provide another

⁶⁸⁷Cf. A. Goetze, *ANET*, 1969, 348f.; H. Eichner, "Einige Fehlschreibungen und Fehllesungen in hethitischen Texten," *Sprache* 21, 1975, 161f.

- 47 for you to eat. She scatters the remains.
 ...
 52 They bring another “clean” mouse and she offers it
 53 to the one who turns before
 54 the *tarpattašša*- deities (saying): “You eat!” ...

The mouse takes the impurity away from the offerant, while a second mouse is provided as a food offering. In a ritual against magic (CTH 443), mice are ritually killed:

KBo 15.10 iii (MH/MS)⁶⁸⁸

- 47' ... nu 1 ku-úr-da-li Ì LÀL ku-wa-a-pí
 48' [la-a-hu-wa-an] na-at^{NA} pé-e-ru-ni da-a-i pí-ra-an kat-ta-ma la-ah-hu-ur-nu-zi
 49' [da-a-i nu- kán] NINDA.KUR₄.RA pár-ši-ya nu-kán 1 PÉŠ ga-pár-ta-an ši-pa-an-ti
 50' [nam-ma ki-iš-ša-]an me-ma-i a-is EME-aš ga-ga-aš šu-me-eš az-zi-ki-te-en
 ...
 58' ... na-ta-pa EGIR-pa le-e ú-iz-zi PÉŠ ga-pár-ta-na-kán
 59' ku-in A-NA UH_x![?] EME ši-pa-an-ta-aš nu UZU^{NÍG}.GIG UZU^{ZAG}.UDU ha-ap-pí-ni-
 it za-nu-zi
 60' na-at-ša-an^{NA} pé-e-ru-ni-pát da-a-la-i PÉŠ ga-pár-ta-an-na-aš-ša-an
 61' ha-aš-ši-i da-a-i na-an ar-ha wa-ar-nu-zi
-
- 62' EGIR-pa-ma 3 pé-e-da-an la-ah-hu-ur-nu-zi da-iš
 63' nu li-in-ki-ya-aš^{IM} Û DINGIR.LÚ.MEŠ-ŠU 3 NINDA.KUR₄.RA pár-ši-at
 64' nu-kán PÉŠ ga-pár-ta-an ši-pa-an-da-aš nu-uš-ša-an e-eš-har har-ša-aš
 65' še-er tar-na-aš[>] EGIR-pa-ma A-NA^{UTU} Û DINGIR.LÚ.MEŠ-ŠU 3 NINDA.
 KUR₄.RA pár-ši-~~a~~
 66' nu-kán PÉŠ ga-pár-ta-an ši-pa-an-ta-aš nu-uš-ša-an e-eš-har har-ša[-aš] še-er

⁶⁸⁸Cf. G. Szabó, *Ein hethitisches Entsühnungsritual für das Königspaar Tuthaliia und Nikalmati*, THeth 1, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1971, 42-47, 70f.

67' *tar-na-aš EGIR-pa-ma ne-pí-ša-aš* ^dIM-ni ù DINGIR.LÚ.MEŠ-ŠU 3 NINDA.KUR₄.
RA

68' *pár-ši-ya-at nu-kán PÉŠ ga-pár-ta-an ši-pa-an-da-aš nu-uš-ša-an*

69' *e-eš-har [ha]r-ša-aš še-er tar-na-aš nu šu-up-pa* UZUNÍG.GIG.HLA UZUZAG.UDU.
HLA

70' *ha-ap-pí-ni-it za-nu-ir*

47' ... Then as soon as one *kurdali-* of oil and honey

48' [is poured out], he sets them (the images) on the rock, but alongside he [sets] down
greenery,

49' [and] he breaks an offering loaf, and offers one *gaparta-* mouse.

50' [Then] he says [as foll]ows, "Mouth, tongue, *gaga-*, may you feast!"

...

58' [...] May they (evil tongues) not return!

59' And the *gaparta-* mouse, which he offered for the sorcery of the tongue(s), he roasts
(its) entrails and shoulder on an open flame.

60' Then he leaves it right on the rock. The *gaparta-* mouse

61' he sets on the hearth and burns it up.

62' Afterward he set greenery in three places.

63' To the Weathergod of the Oath and his male gods he broke three offering loaves.

64' He offered a *gaparta-* mouse, the blood he let (drip)

65' over the offering loaves. Afterward he broke three offering loaves to the Sungod and
his male gods.

66' He offered a *gaparta-* mouse, the blood he let (drip) over the offering loaves.

67' Afterward he broke three offering loaves to the Weathergod of the Sky and his male
gods.

68' He offered a *gaparta-* mouse,

69' the blood he let (drip) over the offering loaves. Then they roasted the meat, the
 entrails (and) the shoulders
 70' over an open flame.

“*Gaparta-* mice” are offered to the Weathergod of the Oath and “his male gods,” the Sungod and “his male gods,” and the Weathergod of the Sky and “his male gods.” Why these particular gods were chosen to receive such an unusual offering is not explained.

KUB 40.2 obv (CTH 641 [LS]) deals with a temple of the cult of Mt. Išhara and its property. In a mythical introduction, the Weathergod is rescued by certain deities. In line 9' he is perhaps rewarding these deities: “to these deities [...]” This is followed in line 10' by a list of undesirable animals—perhaps a curse: UH.ŠE MUŠ GÍR.TAB PÉ[Š.TUR] “grain weevil, snake, scorpion, mo[use].” In the line that follows we find only the word *tarhuilatar* “strength.”⁶⁸⁹ The inference from this particular grouping of animals is that the mouse, along with the snake and scorpion, was considered vermin.

⁶⁸⁹Cf. A. Goetze, *Kizz.*, 1940, 60f.

Chapter IV. REPTILES, AMPHIBIANS, INSECTS AND ARACHNIDS

Section A. MUŠ (c.) “reptile?” “snake”

sg. nom. MUŠ KBo 25.1b 1 (OS), KUB 22.19 : 7', 14' (NH), KUB 40.2 obv 10' (LS), KBo 23.117 rev 6', 8', 9', 10', 15', 16', 17', 18', 19', KBo 26.14 : 7', 8', KUB 7.33 obv 6, KUB 18.6 i 21', 23', 26', iv 5, 9, 11, KUB 22.38 i 5, 7, 10 (NH), KUB 43.62 ii 7, KUB 49.1 i 8, KUB 49.2 i 19', 20', ii 10', iii 7', HT 31 : 9', IBoT 1.33 obv 4, 11, rev 102, 107, 112; [MUŠ] KUB 35.145 rev 16'; MUŠ-*aš* KBo 3.27 obv 27 (OH/NS), KUB 1.16 ii 10, 20 (OH/NS), KBo 13.29 ii 12, KUB 30.43 iii 6', KUB 43.62 iii 3', 6', KUB 43.68 rev? 8', KUB 53.50 i 4, HT 42 obv 1'; MUŠ-*iš* KUB 35.108 rev? 19'; sg. nom.? MUŠ KBo 23.117 obv 3, 5, 7, 9, 12, i.e. 2, rev 17', KUB 18.6 i 5', KUB 49.2 i 19'.

sg. acc. MUŠ KUB 16.16 obv 13', KUB 18.6 i 17', KUB 22.48 : 1', KUB 30.43 iii 6'; KUB 49.1 iv 4', KUB 49.1 i 11, 16, 21, 22, iv 11', 12', KUB 49.1 i 4, 15, 20, 26; iv 10', 22', KUB 52.102 i 10', ii 13', IBoT 1.33 obv 5, 9, 13, 17, 21, 25, 28, 31, 35, 39, 44, 47, 50, rev 54, 57, 61, 64, 67, 70, 75, 79, 85, 91, 96, 108, 112; MUŠ-*an* KUB 12.63 obv 27, 32 (OH/MS), KBo 6.26 ii 1 (OH/NS), KBo 6.13 i 10; MUŠ-*in* KUB 35.88 ii 13.

sg. gen. MUŠ KBo 26.78 : 3', KUB 36.37 iii 12'; MUŠ[-*aš*?] KUB 44.4 rev 33 (NH); ŠA MUŠ KBo 12.85 iii 7' (MH/NS), KBo 13.34 iii 12' (NS), KUB 30.55 rev 2' (NH); sg. d.-i. ANA MUŠ KUB 34.51 : 16'; sg. instr. *iš-tu* MUŠ[...] KBo 26.82 obv 6.

unclear MUŠ KBo 13.31 iii 2', KBo 13.203 : 7', KBo 23.117 obv 9, i.e. 3, KBo 26.143 : 2', KUB 22.19 : 8', 15' (NH), KUB 22.38 iv 8', KUB 22.61 i 25', KUB 27.2

ii 3', KUB 35.98 obv 7, KUB 35.99 : 6', KUB 49.1 i 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 17, iii 7', iv 13', 14', 23', 25', KUB 49.2 ii 4', 10', iii 7', KUB 49.54 obv 8', KUB 52.103 : 8'; MUŠ[...] KBo 9.105 : 15', KUB 18.6 ii 23', KUB 49.2 ii 2', IBoT 2.135 obv 3', HFAC 95 : 7'; MUŠ-*aš* KUB 44.53 rev 6' (NS), KUB 8.70 ii 5'.

pl. nom. MUŠ.HI.A KBo 3.8 + KUB 7.1 iii 25 (NH), KBo 12.100 obv 4', 17';

pl. acc. MUŠ.HI.A-*uš* KBo 3.8 + KUB 7.1 iii 7 (NH); unclear MUŠ.HI.A KBo 8.99 : 8', KBo 22.222 iii 10', KUB 35.97 : 4'; MUŠ KUB 22.38 i 23.

MUŠ.ŠÀ.TÙR (c.) (a mythological serpent)

sg. nom. MUŠ.ŠÀ.TÙR VBoT 120 ii 7 (MH/NS); pl. acc. MUŠ.ŠÀ.TÙR-*uš* KUB 24.7 iv 28 (NS); unclear MUŠ.ŠÀ.TÙR KUB 34.53 obv 4'.

(MUŠ)*illuyanka-* (c.) (a serpent)

sg. nom. MUŠ*il-lu-i-ya-an-ga-aš* KUB 36.55 ii 28' (MH); sg. acc. [MUŠ_e]*l-li-ya-an-ku-un* 1313/u + 1378/u iv 17'⁶⁹⁰; pl. acc. *el-li-ya-an-ku-uš* KUB 24.7 iii 70; MUŠ*il-l[i-ya-an-ku-uš]* KUB 8.65 i 22'; *el-li-ya-a[n-ku-uš]* KUB 17.1 ii 12 (NH); unclear MUŠ*il-lu-ya-an-ku* KUB 43.37 ii 14'; [MUŠ[?]*el-li-i[-ya-an-...]* KUB 36.4 : 5'.

1. Introduction

As in Akkadian and Sumerian texts, many designations for snakes (genera *Ophidia*, *Vipera*, and *Echis*) may be found in Hittite texts. Of these, only MUŠ, MUŠ.ŠÀ.TÙR and MUŠ.GAL occur in Mesopotamian texts. It is possible that MUŠ does not refer to snakes in every instance, as Laroche has observed.⁶⁹¹ The fact that a mythological fragment (KUB 36.55 obv 28 [CTH 351]) contains the phrase “serpent of the sea” (*arunaš*

⁶⁹⁰J. Siegelová, *Appu-Märchen und Hedammu-Mythus*, StBoT 14, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971, 68f.

⁶⁹¹“Lécanomancie hittite,” RA 52, 1958, 159.

MUŠ*illuiyangaš*), and that a list of offerings to the gods of Zalpa (IBoT 2.9 i + KUB 52.102 i 8'-10' [NH]) names snakes (MUŠ) along with fish and frogs as “animals of the sea” (*arunaš huiatar*) suggests that MUŠ does not refer to snakes in these cases, since sea snakes as a species are not found north of the Persian Gulf area, and the Hittites as an inland population would have had little contact with them anyway. Therefore, MUŠ and MUŠ*illuyanka-* may refer to some form of reptile or possibly amphibian in these cases. Indeed, MUŠ may be a generic designation for reptiles, just as MUŠEN is for birds.

MUŠ.ŠÀ.TÙR seems to refer to a mythological animal. Literally “womb snake,” it is given the Akkadian equivalent *BAŠMU* in the 14th tablet of HAR-RA = *HUBULLU*.⁶⁹² According to Laroche, “le mot *illuyanka-* est un nom commun, un appellatif pour tout ‘serpent monstrueux’, et sans doute la lecture phonétique du sumérogramme MUŠ.ŠA.TUR.”⁶⁹³ However, it is more likely that *illuyanka-* is the true Hittite word for snake, a sub-category of the various species of reptile included in the Sumerogram MUŠ.

2. *Iconography*

The snake seems to have been largely ignored in all periods in Anatolian iconography, where it received little attention compared with that given it in Mesopotamia and Egypt. In the iconography of Mesopotamia, for instance, snakes were found on cylinder seals in almost every period, whereas only a few examples of serpents have been found in Anatolian iconography. In the words of Balaji Mundkur, “the art of the Hittites and their precursors, the Hattians, is not rich in ophidian themes.”⁶⁹⁴ A few examples may be cited, however. Among them is a jar sealing from Kültepe, which displays two donkey-like animals that are encircled by the coils of entwined serpents.⁶⁹⁵ Two first millennium

⁶⁹²Cf. CAD B, 141f.

⁶⁹³OLZ 51, 1956, 422.

⁶⁹⁴*Cult of the Serpent*, 1983, 197.

⁶⁹⁵E. D. van Buren, *AnOr* 23, 1945, 41f.

representations may illustrate the battle between the serpent Illuyanka and the Weathergod. One is an eighth century relief from Malatya depicting a single coiled snake beside which are two representations of the Weathergod.⁶⁹⁶ The other relief comes from Karatepe and depicts a man attacking a snake with a sword.⁶⁹⁷ One painted ceramic image of a seated woman, possibly from Hacilar and dating to the Neolithic (ca. 5500 BC), displays various ophidian patterns over the body, and has a head that is more animal than human.⁶⁹⁸ A disc-shaped alabaster idol from Kültepe also lends itself to a serpentine interpretation. Pudenda, covered with zig zag patterns (as is the disc itself), are attached to the middle of the disc.⁶⁹⁹ Extending from these are two triangular heads (similar to a viper's) with round eyes and long slender necks. A rhyton in the shape of a pointed shoe from nineteenth century Kültepe also carries serpentine designs.⁷⁰⁰ However, with little else to support a serpent cult in Anatolia, ophidian interpretations of such objects remain uncertain.⁷⁰¹

⁶⁹⁶E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites*, 1962, fig. 104; H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 769. According to H. G. Güterbock, "Narration in Anatolian, Syrian, and Assyrian Art," *AJA* 61, 1957, 64f., these are the same Weathergod at different stages in the narrative.

⁶⁹⁷H. Th. Bossert and U. B. Alkim, *Karatepe: Kadirli and its Environments*, Istanbul: Pulhan Basımari, 1947, 26 and fig. 137.

⁶⁹⁸A. Parrot, "Figurines et céramiques anatoliennes," *Syria* 46, 1969, 45-56, Pl. 3, 4. Cf. also Pl. 3, 1-3.

⁶⁹⁹J. Börker-Klähn, "Zur Bedeutung der Aufsätze aus Alaca Höyük," *WO* 17, 1986, 47-60, Abb. B:4. Cf. Abb. B:3, 5, 6, 7, 10 and 11.

⁷⁰⁰E.g. E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, 1961, Abb. 33.

⁷⁰¹For ophidian themes in the iconography of Mesopotamia see M.-L. and H. Erlenmeyer, "Über Schlangen-Darstellungen in der frühen Bildkunst des Alten Orients," *AfO* 23, 1970, 52-62.

3. *Myth*

The serpent figures prominently in Hittite mythological texts. In these myths, it is first and foremost a symbol of the earth, and serves most often as the antithesis of the Weathergod, whose realm is the sky.

In the Myth of Illuyanka (CTH 321),⁷⁰² the Serpent and the Weathergod “come to grips” in the town of Kiškiluşša. Upon being defeated by the Serpent, the Weathergod invites the aid of the goddess, Inara, who in turn enlists the aid of the mortal, Hupašiya. Inara prepares a feast and invites the Serpent and his children. The latter eat and drink to the point that they are no longer able to go back down into their hole, leaving them vulnerable for Hupašiya to tie them up with a cord. The Weathergod, with the rest of the gods by his side, then slays the Serpent.

A second version of the story relates again the defeat of the Weathergod at the hands of the Serpent, who then takes his heart and eyes. The Weathergod subsequently marries the “daughter of a poor man” and begets a mortal son. The son grows up and takes the daughter of the Serpent as his wife. The Weathergod instructs his son to demand the return of his heart and eyes when the latter goes to the house of his wife. This he does, and they are returned. The Weathergod, now whole, fights the Serpent again, this time defeating him, and killing both Illuyanka and his own son, at the latter’s insistence.

This myth clearly involves the traditional element of the alternating seasons of growth and stagnation, the Weathergod symbolising the growing season, and the Serpent the period of stagnation and death.⁷⁰³ In addition, however, the Serpent is certainly perceived

⁷⁰²Cf. G. Beckman, “The Anatolian Myth of Illuyanka,” *JANES* 14, 1982, 11-25. Cf. KUB 8.70 ii '5 (CTH 276): MUŠ-aš dI[M] “serpent (of) the Weathergod” (E. Laroche, “La bibliothèque de Hattuša,” *ArOr* 17, Pt. 2, 1949, 15).

⁷⁰³See G. Beckman, *JANES* 14, 1982, 24 for a more detailed analysis of this myth as a whole.

as representative of the earth. He and his family are said to live in a hole in the first version of the story. Outside their natural habitat, they are vulnerable.

The Myth of Hedammu (CTH 348)⁷⁰⁴ contains several unrelated mentions of snakes. In the following passage, young boys are given tools or weapons, possibly with snake designs on them:

KBo 26.82 obv⁷⁰⁵

- 5 [... Š]U-ŠI LÚ.MEŠGURUŠ-*ma-kán* URUDu-ud-du-la-az [
 6 [...] A-NA ŠU-ŠI LÚ.MEŠGURUŠ-*ma* GŠTUKUL.HLA IŠ-TU MUŠ[
 7 [... Š]U-ŠI SAL.MEŠKLSIKIL-*ma-kán* URUDu-ud-du-la-az x[
 8 [... KÙ-KU-B]I.HLA GEŠTIN-*ma-aš-ma-aš* NA₄ZA.GÌN-*aš pa-a-i* ...
-
- 5 [...] sixty youths from the town of Duddul [
 6 [...] but to the sixty youths, wooden weapons with serpent [
 7 [...s]ixty maidens from the town of Duddul [
 8 [...] to them he gives [contain]ers of wine (made of) lapis...

In another fragmentary part of the myth, according to Otten's restoration, MUŠ_{illuyanka}- and MUŠ_{hedammu}- are mentioned together:

KUB 8.65⁷⁰⁶

- 19' dŠSTAR-iš-*ma-kán a-ru-ni p[a²-i²]*
 20' dŠSTAR-in a-uš-ta nu M[_{UŠ}hé-dam-mu-uš
 21' nu ne-pí-iš ša-ra-a x[

⁷⁰⁴Cf. J. Friedrich, *ArOr* 17, 1949, 230ff.; J. Siegelová, *StBoT* 14, 1971, 35-88; E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 1968, [169-176].

⁷⁰⁵Cf. J. Siegelová, *StBoT* 14, 1971, 70.

⁷⁰⁶Cf. J. Friedrich, *ArOr* 17, 1949, 244; H. Otten, *MIO* 1, 1953, 147, n. 77; E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 1968, [174].

22' *na-ah-mi-uš* ^{MUŠ}*il-l[i-ya-an-ka-an* ^{MUŠ}*hé-dam-mu-un-na]*⁷⁰⁷

19' But Ištar [went?] to the sea [

20' saw Ištar, and the se[rpent Hedammu

21' The sky, above [

22' "I fear them, (namely) the se[rpent Illuyanka and the serpent Hedammu.]"

Another passage from the Myth of Hedammu mentions *illuyanka*:- [^dKu-]mar-bi-iš
ud-da-a-ar ^dU-ni EGI[R-pa me-mi-iš-ki-u-wa-an da-a-]iš ^{HUR.SAG}hu-u-ur-ša-na-za-kán
x[... ^{MUŠ}e]l-li-ya-an-ku-un x[...] "[Ku]marbi [bega]n to re[spond] to the Weathergod
(with) the words: 'From Mt. Huršana [...] the serpent (acc.) [...]' (1313/u + 1378/u iv
15'-17').⁷⁰⁸

In the Story of Kešši, the Hunter (CTH 361), the hero has a series of dreams. In his seventh dream, he encounters serpents:

KUB 33.121 iii with dupl. KUB 17.1 ii 11'-13'⁷⁰⁹

12' [(7^l-an-na-za-kán za-aš-ha)]-in a-uš-ta

13' [(nu-kán ^mKi-iš-ši-iš A-NA UR.MAH).MEŠ pa-it (na-aš-kán pa-r)]a-a a-aš-ka-aš⁷¹⁰

14' [(píd-da-a-it a-aš-ki-ma-za pí-ra-an el-li-ya-a)n-ku-uš (dam-ma-na-aš-š)]a-ru-uš ú-e-
mi-at⁷¹¹

12' He saw a seventh dream:

13' Kešši [went] after lion[s], and forth to the gate

⁷⁰⁷Restoration follows H. Otten, *MIO* 1, 1953, 147, n. 77.

⁷⁰⁸J. Siegelová, *StBoT* 14, 1971, 68f.

⁷⁰⁹Cf. J. Friedrich, *ZA* 49, 1949, 238f.

⁷¹⁰KUB 17.1 ii 12 a-aš-ki.

⁷¹¹KUB 17.1 ii 13 ú-e-mi-ya-at.

14' he ran, but before the gate he found serpen[ts] (and?) sphinxes⁷⁷⁷¹².

Kešši's mother interprets the seven dreams (KUB 17.1 ii 19ff.), and although this portion of the text is badly preserved, the portent appears to be unfavorable.

Another mythological text, KUB 43.62 (CTH 457, cf. supra, pp. 118f.), describes a tree around whose base⁷ a snake is coiled, within which a bee hovers, and on whose branches an eagle perches (iii 2'-10'). The snake is again symbolic of the earth, the lowest level in the Hittite's tiered perception of the world.⁷¹³ Earlier in this same myth, the eagle and snake are attested in a different setting:

KUB 43.62 ii⁷

5 *hu-uk-ke-eš-ki-iz-zi-ma-an kiš-an pa-ah-hur šA A-N[A?*

6 *šA dUTU DUMU-šU na-at ú¹?-it GE₆-an-ti pa-it x[*

7 *GE₆-an-ti ú-le-eš-ta-at MUŠ i-wa-ar [*

8 *ta-ru-up-ta-at ...*

5 But he enchants him thus: "Fire ...[

6 of the Sungod, his son. It came (and) went into the darkness [

7 joined to the night. Like a snake [

8 he was gathered ...

4. *The Serpent as Symbol*

In the mythological texts treated above, the snake symbolised the antithesis of growth—namely, stagnation. The snake's most pervasive symbolic role—as a sexual

⁷¹²For the interpretation of this word, see H. G. Güterbock, *RHA* 68, 1961, 15f., 18 with n. 21; but cf. O. R. Gurney, *JRAS* 1977, 207, who suggests identifying them as "bovine-headed monsters."

⁷¹³Cf. the comments of W. Fauth, *Anatolica* 6, 1977/78, 131f.

symbol⁷¹⁴—is, however, not to be found in Hittite society. In Mesopotamian art, in contrast, “all the evidence tends to prove that the motive [of the snake] was a symbol, not of any particular divinity, but of the blessing of fertility ensured by the union of male and female; thus it was a symbol of happy augury, not only for mankind, but also for the increase of all the kindly fruits of the earth.”⁷¹⁵ Nintu, a mother goddess, had serpentine associations, as did the god of agricultural fertility, Ningishzida. Serpents were among the attributes of the goddesses Inanna, Ištar, and Aštar, as well.⁷¹⁶ However, in Anatolia there is no evidence to suggest that the snake was a symbol of abundance, sexuality or fertility. Rather, the consistent representation of this creature as a fearsome, dangerous thing suggests that the Hittites harbored a dislike for snakes that many societies have shared.⁷¹⁷

The Political Testament of Hattušili, a text rich in animal symbolism, compares the Tawananna with a snake. In this passage, the snake becomes an effective vehicle for insult:

KUB 1.16 ii (CTH 6)⁷¹⁸

9 ... [... LUGAL-*aš ut-tar*]

10 *Ú-UL da-a-aš nu an-na-aš-ša-aš MUŠ[-aš ud-da-a-ar da-a-aš]*

⁷¹⁴See B. Mundkur, “The Serpent as Sexual Symbol,” *The Cult of the Serpent*, 1983, 172-208.

⁷¹⁵E. D. van Buren, *AnOr* 23, 40.

⁷¹⁶For the serpent in the Near East see B. Mundkur, *Cult of the Serpent*, 1983, 185-197. Cf. KUB 4.48 iii 32 (CTH 802, R. D. Biggs, *Šà.zi.ga, ancient Mesopotamian potency incantations* (=TCS II), Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin, 1967, 56 and 58).

⁷¹⁷For the phenomenon of ophidiophobia see B. Mundkur, *Cult of the Serpent*, 1983, 211-254.

⁷¹⁸Cf. F. Sommer, *HAB*, 1938, 3-5. The restorations are largely based on this edition.

- 11 *nu-uš-ši ŠEŠ.MEŠ-uš DAMMEŠ-uš u[d-da-a-ar e-ku-na pé-e-da-eš-kír nu a-pé-en-
za-an]*
- 12 *ud-da-a-ar iš-ta-ma-aš-ki[-it LUGAL-uš-ma iš-ta-ma-aš-šu-un*
- 13 *[nu šu-ul-la-tar šu-ul-li-ya-mi]*
-
- 14 *da-a-la Ú-UL DUMU-YA a-p[a-a-aš an-na-aš-ši-iš-ma GUD-uš ma-a-an tar-ú-eš-ki-it]*
- 15 *hu-iš-wa-an-ti-wa-mu-kán G[UD]-i x[... ÚR šar-ri-ir har-ga-nu-ir-wa-ra-an nu-wa-
ra-an]*
- 16 *ku-e-ti LUGAL-ša-an i-da-a-lu k[u-it-ki i-ya-nu-un Ú-UL-an LÜSANGA i-ya-nu-un]*
- 17 *na-an pa-ra-a aš-šu-ú-i hu[-it-ti-ya-an-ni-eš-ki-nu-un Ú-UL-ma-aš ZI]*
- 18 *LUGAL-aš ge-en-zu-wa-it m[a-ah-ha-na-aš a-pé-el ZI-aš aš-šu-li]*
- 19 *URUKÙ.BABBAR-ši ge-en-zu h[ar-zi]*
-
- 20 *[a]n-na-aš-ši-iš MUŠ-aš nu ú[-iz-zi ŠA AMA-ŠU ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ŠU DAMMEŠ-ŠU-ya]*
- 21 *[u]d-da-a-ar iš-ta-ma-aš-ki[-iz-zi na-aš-ta ma-ni-in-ku-wa-ah-hi]*
- 22 *[ka]t-ta-wa-a-tar ša-an-he-eš-ki[-u-an-zi ma-ni-in-ku-wa-ah-hi ...*
-
- 9 ... [The word of the king]
- 10 he did not take, but [he took the words] of his mother, the sna[ke],
- 11 (His) brothers and sisters [kept sending cold words] to him [and their]
- 12 words he heard. [But I, the King, have heard,]
- 13 [and I quarrel.]
-
- 14 Enough! H[e] is not my son! [But his mother kept bellowing like a cow,]
- 15 “[They have torn apart the womb] in the living body of me, a c[ow]. [They have
ruined (him) and] you
- 16 will kill [him!] Have I, the king, [done s]ome evil (to) him? [Did I not make him
priest?]
- 17 [I have continually] dra[wn] him out for (his) good. [But he has not]
- 18 been sympathetic to [the will] of the king. H[ow]

18 w[ill he be sympathetic to his will for the well being] (of) Hattuša?

20 His mother is a snake. And [it will co]me (that) the words [of his mother, his brothers and his sisters]

21 [he] will he[ar, and he will approach.]

22 [He will approach to] seek [re]venge. ...

In his Edict (CTH 5), Hattušili I enjoins his subjects to “keep the home fires burning” to prevent evil, symbolized by the serpent, from entering Hattuša:

KBo 3.27 obv (OH/NS)⁷¹⁹

23' [nu-uš-ša-an] ha-aš-ši[-i]

24' [p]a-ah-hu-ur pa-ra-iš-t[e-ni n]a¹-aī-ta-it u[d-da-]a-ar-me-e[i]

25' šar-ra-at-tu-ma m[a-a-an-]ša-an ha-aš-ši-i p[a-ah-]hu-ur

26' na-at-ta pa-ra-iš-te-ni ta ū-iz-zi ^{UR}[UHa-]at-[tu-ša-an]

27' MUŠ-aš hu-la-a-li-az-zi

23' You (pl.) will kindle

24' fire on the hear[th]! But indeed you will not violate

25' my words. If you do not kind[le] fire

26' on the hearth, then it will happen (that)

27' a serpent will encircle [Ha]t[tusa].

Fire keeps out evil, and the undesirable, as symbolized by the serpent. It is doubtful that this is a reference to the Tawananna similar to the comparison made in KUB 1.16, as

⁷¹⁹Cf. A. Archi, “Il Culto del Focolare presso gli Ititi,” *SMEA* 16, 1975, 83f.; M. Popko, *KO*, 1978, 57f.; S. R. Bin-Nun, “The Anatolian Background of the Tawananna’s Position in the Hittite Kingdom,” *RHA* 30, 1972, 73 with n. 113.

Sommer suggests.⁷²⁰ More likely, the serpent is symbolic of external—not internal—dangers here.

The Canzanite myth of Elkunirša (CTH 342) makes use of a snake in a simile for the Weathergod. The context is unfortunately broken: *nu* ^dU NÍ.TE-ŠU AMAR.HI.A MUŠ *ma-a[-an ...]* “the Weathergod [...] his body li[ke] young snakes” (KUB 36.37 iii 12’).⁷²¹ Another simile using a snake is provided in the following prayer fragment:

KUB 36.91 rev? 5’-6’ + KUB 43.68 rev? (CTH 389 [MH?/MS])

8’ ... *nu* MUŠ-*aš* *ma-ah-ha-an*

9’ *ha-at-te-eš-šar* *Ú-UL* x[...*i-da-a-lu-ya* u]t-tar EGIR-*pa a-pé-e-el-pát iš-ša-ni!*⁷² *pa-id-du*

8’ ... And just as the snake does not

9’ [...] the ritual pit, [...] and] let [the evil w]ord to the mouth of that one go back!

5. Religion

In a ritual of binding and releasing, a series of animals are treated in an incantation (see *supra*, pp. 49f.). The snake and the eagle are separated out from the other animals in the following two sections. Why the snakes are referred to as “bearded” is not clear:

KBo 3.8 iii (CTH 390 [NH])⁷²²

5 ^dIM-*aš* *ú-el[-lu]* *ha-mi-ik-ta na-aš-ta an-da* [*šu-up-pí*]

6 *šu-ma-an-za ha-mi-i[k]-ta pár-ti-an-za ha-a-ra-aš*[MUŠEN]

7 *ha-mi-ik-ta š[a]-ma-an-ku-úr-wa-du-uš-kán* MUŠ.HI.A-*uš*

8 *an-da hu-u-la[-le-eš-ni?]* *ha-mi-ik-ta*

...

⁷²⁰F. Sommer, *HAB*, 1938, 212. Cf. also S. R. Bin-Nun, *RHA* 30, 1972, 73.

⁷²¹Cf. E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 1968, [142]. See also H. Otten, *MIO* 1, 1953, 125-149; H. A. Hoffner, Jr., “The Elkunirša Myth Reconsidered,” *RHA* 23/76, 1965, 5-14.

⁷²²H. Kronasser, *Sprache* 7, 1961, 156-162; E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 1965, [109f.]; A. Archi, *FsCarratelli*, 1988, 36.

- 22 *pár-ga-u-uš* HUR.SAG.HLA *la-a-at-ta-at hal-lu-u-e-eš ha-a-ri-i-e-eš*
 23 *ia-a-[a]t-ta-at* ^dIM-aš *ú-el-lu la-a-at-ta-at*
 24 *[na-aš-i]a an-da šu-up-pí ša-ma-an-za la-a-at-ta-at pár-ti-an-za*
 25 *[ha-a-ra-aš]*^{MUŠEN} *la-a-ad-da-at ša-ma-an-ku-úr-wa-an-te-eš* MUŠ.HLA
 26 *[hu-u-la-le-eš-n]i?? ia-a-at-ta-at*

- 5 The pasture of the Weathergod was bound, the [pure]
 6 string was bound. The *partiant*- eagle was bound.
 7 The bearded snakes
 8 were bound in the circle.
 ...
 22 The high mountains were released, the deep valleys were released,
 23 the pasture of the Weathergod was released.
 24 Then the pure string was released, the *partiant*- [eagle] was
 25 released, and the bearded snakes
 26 [in the circle] were released.

The Tale of the Fisherman and the Cow contains some obscure lines that describe a ritual involving eagles and snakes:

KUB 24.7 iii (CTH 363)⁷²³

- 68 *[a]r-wa-na-a[l-l]a DUMU-li [še-e]r a[r!]-ha wa-ah-nu-an-d]u?* ^ÁMUŠEN.HLA-an *iš-x[*
 69 *[Iš-T]U?* KAK.HLA-ŠU-NU-ma-aš-ši *še-er ar-h[a ša]r-ra-an-du*
 70 *[a]n-da dam-me-en-kán-du-uš-ma-an el-li-ya-an-ku-uš*
 iv
 edge broken
 ...
 28 [...] MUŠ.ŠÀ.TÙR-uš *tu-u-wa EGIR-pa ti-e-er*

⁷²³Cf. J. Friedrich, ZA 49, 1949, 230ff.; H. A. Hoffner, Jr., AlHeth, 1974, 201; FsLacheman, 1981, 193.

- 29 [... *nu-uš-ši*] NÍ.TE-*aš IT-TI* SAG.DU-ŠÚ *ha-ah-re-eš-ki-iz-zi*
 68 [Let them wave] an *arwanalla*²-bird? [ov]er the child. Eagles him? [
 69 But let them divide up above him with their pegs!
 70 Should snakes, joined together, ...
 iv
 ...
 28 The serpents moved far back
 29 [... and for him] (his) body along with his head he keeps scratching^{??}

The Ritual of Zuwi (CTH 412) describes a series of difficult or impossible tasks that the priests of the Temple of the Weathergod give to the *hurkel*-men to perform (KUB 12.63 i 22-33 [OH/MS]). Included among them is trapping² a snake, grasping a lion with one's knee and a wolf with one's hands (cf. *supra*, pp. 84f.). The snake, lion and wolf are threatening and dangerous animals. The snake is linked with the wolf and the lion again in post-parturition rituals in two Luwian-derived incantations:

KUB 44.4 + KBo 13.241 rev (CTH 767)⁷²⁴

- 32 ... ÚŠ-*an za-ap-pl-a[n]* KLMIN UR.MAH-*an GIŠ-ru-an-da-an* KLMIN UR.BAR.
 RA :*pa¹-tal-ha-an-da-an* KLMIN
 33 MUŠ-[*aš?*] GİR.MEŠ KLMIN *ku-iš-wa ku-u-un!* DUMU¹-*an :da-wa-al-li-it-ti ku-iš-*
wa-aš-ši-kán HUL-*lu ták-ke-eš-iz-zi*
 32 “.... A *zappiya*- fate likewise (let him see)! The springing lion likewise! The
 prowling wolf likewise!
 33 The feet [of] the snake likewise!—whoever gives the evil eye to² this child, whoever
 prepares evil for him!”

⁷²⁴Cf. G. M. Beckman, StBoT 29, 1983, 178f. For similar lines occurring previously see also *supra*, p. 37.

KUB 35.145 rev (CTH 767 [NH])⁷²⁵

14' [hi-in-ga-a]n za-ap-pl-ya-an a-uš-du UR.MAH ki-ša-a-a[n-da-an]

15' [a-uš-du] UR.BAR.RA pa-tai-hi-ya-ma a-uš-du

16' [MUŠ] GÌR.MEŠ-ŠU a-uš-du ...

14' The *zappiya*-[fate] let him see! The *kiša*[nt-] lion

15' [let him see!] The prowling wolf let him see!

16' The [snake], his feet, let him see! ...

What is meant by the “feet of the snake” is not clear, unless the idea of a snake with feet in itself is a frightening thing. To these texts, we may compare the following Luwian fragment. As in the Hittite passage above, this one begins with the words, “[whoever] does evil to [this] child,” and uses the phrase “(such-and-such) let him see” (*manādu*). One of the frightful things invoked is the tail of a snake:

KUB 35.88 ii (NH)⁷²⁶

11 [ku-iš-wa-tar za-a-ti-ī] DUMU-ni a-ad-du-wa-a-al a-a-ān-ni-i-t[ī]

12 [...] du-ú-up-ša-am-ma ma-na-a-du x[

13 [...-i]n ma-na-a-du MUŠ-in KU[N-in ma-na-a-du]

The following passage contains a ritual against infant illness that also mentions serpent tails:

⁷²⁵Cf. F. Starke, *StBoT* 30, 1985, 231f.; G. M. Beckman, *StBoT* 29, 1983, 194.

⁷²⁶Cf. F. Starke, *StBoT* 30, 1985, 226; F. Starke, *Kadmos* 19, 1980, 144; H. Otten, *Luwische Texte in Umschrift* (VIO 17), Berlin, 1953, 86.

KBo 12.100 obv (CTH 765)⁷²⁷

- 1 [ma-a-an DU]MU-an ge-en-zu iš-tar-ak-zi
 - 2 [na-aš-]ma SAL-te¹-in-pát ku-in-ki iš-tar-ak-zi
 - 3 [n]a-an lu-ú-li kiš-an hu-u-uk-ki-iš-ki-iz-zi
-
- 4 Ma-a-la-kán ÍD-i MUŠ.HLA iš-TU KUN.HLA-ŠU-NU ha-me-in-kán-ta-at
 - 5 SAL.MEŠ²wa-su-um-ma-ni-ya-ú-le-en-zi an-da GAD³du-ú-ti-ya
 - 6 ha-me-en-ga-an-ta-at AT-HU-TIM an-da TUG⁴še-ek-nu-uš
 - 7 ha-me-en-ga-an-ta-at

-
- 1 [If] (his) genitalia make a child sick,
 - 2 [o]r some woman is made ill
 - 3 then one conjures him/her in Luwian as follows:
-
- 4 “In the Euphrates River the snakes were bound (together) by their tails.
 - 5 The *wašummaniyali*-women were bound (together)
 - 6 [by their] *dutiya*- cloths. The brothers
 - 7 were bound (together) by their robes.

In the Ritual of Allaiturahhi (VBoT 120 ii 5'-8' [CTH 780]), snakes and lions are used in incantations as similes for substances that effect a purification.⁷²⁸ The significance of the use of the lion and the snake in these incantations may be explained in the following lines from the same ritual: *na-at PA-NI^{dÉ}.A ma-uš-ta S[ÍG...] za-nu-ut nu IGI-an-da ŠA UR.MAH na-ah-š[a-ra-at-ta-an ...] ŠA MUŠ-ya ú-e-ri-te-ma-an INIM[(-)...]* “it fell before Ea [...] he roasted, and fe[ar] of the lion and dread of the snake the word[...]” (KBo 12.85

⁷²⁷Cf. F. Starke, StBoT 30, 1985, 213, 244; E. Neu, StBoT 5, 1968, 38; R. Lebrun, “Notes sur la terminologie et le statut de l’enfant hittite,” *L’enfant*, 1980, 56; V. Haas and J. Thiel, AOAT 31, 1978, 189, n. 225. A similar incantation occurs in KBo 12.100 obv 15-20.

⁷²⁸Cf. H. A. Hoffner, Jr. *AlHeth*, 1974, 101; V. Haas and H. J. Thiel, AOAT 31, 1978, 140f.; *supra*, p. 48.

iii 5'-7' [MH/NS]).⁷²⁹ Each of the two animals evokes fear, and is used in the incantation for that reason. Where the snake caused trepidation and perhaps disgust, the lion caused awe and respect.

§170 of the Hittite Laws (CTH 292) concerns of the illegal use of sympathetic magic:

KBo 6.26 ii (OH/NS) with dupls. KBo 6.13 i 10-12, KUB 29.30 iii 15', KUB 29.35 iii 8'⁷³⁰

1 *ták-ku LÚ EL-LAM MUŠ-an ku-en-zi da-me-e-el-la*⁷³¹ *ŠUM-an*

2 *te-ez-zi 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i ták-ku ÌR-ša*⁷³² *a-pa-a-aš-pát a-ki*

1 If a free man kills a snake, and he says the name of another,

2 he will pay one mina of silver. If (he is) a slave, he will die.

The perpetrator kills a snake and recites the name of the person whom he wishes to see dead, or perhaps only afflicted with misfortune.

Snakes are offered in Hittite ritual, often along with other creatures. Such offerings include KUB 7.33 obv 6 (cf. *infra*, p. 272), where a snake is listed with a number of domestic animals, a human, birds and fish, and IBoT 2.9 + KUB 52.102 i 10', where the snake, frog and fish are offered to the gods of Zalpa as "animals of the sea" (cf. *infra*, pp. 229f.).

One cultic fragment seems to suggest that the snake was present in a ritual in honor of the Weathergod. Unfortunately it is too broken for certain understanding, but refers to snakes, and the following line names the Weathergod of the town of Arihaziya:

⁷²⁹Cf. I. Wegner, AOAT 36, 1981, 64, with n. 232; V. Haas and H. J. Thiel, AOAT 31, 1978, 146f.; F. Starke, ZA 69, 1979, 92, n. 95.

⁷³⁰Cf. J. Friedrich, *HG*, 1959, 76f., 111; F. Imparati, *Leggi*, 1964, 156f., 300f.

⁷³¹KBo 6.13 i 10 *ta-me-el-la*.

⁷³²KBo 6.13 i 12 *ÌR-ma*.

MUŠ.HI.A NÍ.TE-ŠU *na-ú-i ti-i-ya*[-...] A-NA ^dU URU A-ri-ha-zi-ya “snakes his body not yet ... for the Weathergod of Arihaziya” (KBo 22.222 iii 10f. [CTH 530]).⁷³³

The following omen fragment brings together an unlikely group of animals. The primary concern in this passage is the procedure to follow if one finds one of these creatures in a particular place, or a particular circumstance:

KUB 53.50 i (NH)⁷³⁴

- 1 [UM-MA ...-]az-zi SALŠU.GI *ma-a-an-za-kán* NIM.LÁL
- 2 [an-tu-uh-š]a-an e-ep-zi *na-aš-ma-za-kán hu-un-hu-ni-eš-šar* x x
- 3 [na-aš-ma-ká]n Á^{MUŠEN}-aš URU-aš i-di *ku-ut-ti na-aš-ma GŠi-ya-u-x-x*[
- 4 [...] *na-aš-ma-kán MUŠ-aš iš-ta-na-ni a-ki*
- 5 [na-aš-ma-a]š-kán DUG^{har-ši-al-li} an-da a-ki *na-aš-ma-aš-kán GŠhu-im-pa[-aš]*
- 6 [a-k]i? *na-aš-ma-aš-kán GŠNÁ-aš a-ki na-aš-kán a-pé-e-ni-eš-[š]a?-a[n]?*
- 7 [DÜ-]zi *na-aš-ma-kán hal-li-ya<-aš> GŠNÁ-aš a-ki*
- 8 [na-aš-m]a la-la-ú-e-ša-aš *iš-ta-na-ni-it ha-aš-ši-it*
- 9 [na-aš-m]a-aš-kán É-ri *iš-tar-na pí-di ú-iz-zi*
- 10⁷³⁵ [na-aš-m]a-kán a-aš-ku-uš *iš-TU GŠÜR na-aš-ma-at-kán ŠÀ É-IT*
- 11 [ku-e-ez] im-ma *ku-e-ez pé-e-da-az wa-at-ku-uz-zi*⁷³⁶
- 12 [na-aš-ma GI]Š-ru *ta-a-an a-ii-le-eš-zi na-aš-ma ku-iš i[(m-ma ku-iš)]*
- 13 [(IZKIM-i)]š *ki-ša-ri nu ki[-i] SISKUR-ŠU*

- 1 [Thus says ...-]azzi, the Old Woman: If a bee

⁷³³Cf. V. Haas and L. Jakob-Rost, “Das Festritual des Gottes Telipinu in Hantana und in Kašha: Ein Beitrag zum hethitischen Festkalender,” *AoF* 11, 1984, 13.

⁷³⁴Cf. H. Otten, *ZA* 66, 1976, 98; *ZA* 72, 1982, 285.

⁷³⁵The remainder is restored from the unpublished dupl. Bo 3471 : 5'ff. in H. Otten, *ZA* 66, 1976, 98.

⁷³⁶Bo 3471 i 5' *wa-at-ku-uz-zi*

- 2 stings [a ma]n, or a body of water ...
 3 [or] an eagle on that wall of the city, or the wooden ...
 4 [...], or a snake dies on the altar,
 5 [or] he dies in a *haršiyalli*-vessel, or [he dies? in] a *huimpa*-
 6 [...] or he dies on the bed and he [do]es as before,
 7 or a *halliya*- dies on the bed;
 8 [or] an ant by means of a pedestal (or) a hearth,
 9 [o]r at a place inside the house comes;
 10 [or] *ašku*-(pl.) jump from the roof, or from inside the house,
 11 or from [wh]atever other place,
 12 [or wo]od for a second time he *alili*-s, or whichever
 13 omen occurs, th[is] is its ritual.

Snake oracles comprise approximately 23% of the Hittite texts in which the MUŠ sign appears (but a much larger proportion of its actual occurrences). These texts have survived in much smaller number than bird oracles, and were probably used with less frequency. Due to their arcane vocabulary, they are poorly understood.⁷³⁷ They contain such odd designations as MUŠ *ariyašešnaš*; MUŠ EZEN.MEŠ, MUŠ.GUNNI-iš, MUŠ ^dHepat, MUŠ MU-ti, MUŠ.SAG.DU ^dUTU-šī, MUŠ *šUM* LUGAL, MUŠ GIG, MUŠ GÌR.HI.A, MUŠ.LUGAL, MUŠ MU.HI.A, MUŠ SISKUR.MEŠ, MUŠ.ŠU.LÚ, MUŠ ^dU.TI, MUŠ ÚŠ-aš, MUŠ *purulli*-, MUŠ TI-aš, MUŠ ^dUTU-šī, AMAR.HI.A MUŠ, MUŠ-aš ^dI[M], MUŠ.GAL, MUŠ :*arpaš*, MUŠ AN.TAH.ŠUM, MUŠ ITL.8.KAM, MUŠ URUGaz-m[an-ni], MUŠ URUNe-ri<-iq-qa>, MUŠ URUZi-pa-la, MUŠ-aš ŠA TUKU, and MUŠ ZÚ.MEŠ. The meanings of such terms are not revealed in the oracles in which they appear.

⁷³⁷The most in depth discussion of these texts may be found in E. Laroche, *RA* 52, 1958, 150-162.

Among the wild animals, the snake possesses one of the most well defined symbolic roles. It is a mirror of Hittite society's anxiety over the natural processes of growth and decline, over natural, unfathomable and uncontrollable "evils" as embodied in the motif of the mythological serpent. A snake will encircle the city if the hearth—itsself a symbol of civilization and order—is not kept burning. The snake also serves as a metaphor for only the most evil of humans. The snake was certainly the object of animosity and fear.

Even in ritual, the snake's participation is primarily symbolic, used in incantations to frighten off other evils or evil intent. Although occasionally found in offerings, the snake did not participate significantly in the Hittite cult.

Section B. BÍ.ZA.ZA (c.) “frog”: Hittite reading unknown

sg. nom. BÍ.ZA.ZA KBo 13.131 obv 15', 17', KBo 18.165b : 2', Bo 1509 : 4'⁷³⁸, 1066/u : 6'⁷³⁹; **sg. gen. BÍ.ZA.ZA** KUB 36.83 iv 9'; **unclear BÍ.ZA.ZA-aš** KUB 31.40 obv 16'.

pl. nom. BÍ.ZA.ZA.HI.A KUB 52.102 i 10', ii 12'; **pl. acc. BÍ.ZA.ZA** KUB 33.84 + KBo 19.109 obv 10', KBo 19.111 obv 8; **BÍ.ZA.ZA.HI.A** KUB 8.67 iv 14'.

In the Myth of Hedammu, the dragon is described as having a voracious appetite for cows, horses, kids and lambs. Although the passage in question mentions salamanders⁷³⁸ and frogs, it does not say that Hedammu ate them, although a few lines later (17'f.) he is said to eat the “fish of the field” and the “dog of the river”:

KUB 8.67 iv (CTH 348 [MH/NS])⁷⁴⁰

- 10' [... a-d]a-an-na-ma-aš-ši 2 LI-IM GUD.HI.A
11' [ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ya p]é-eš-kán-zi MÁŠ.TUR-ma SILÁ-ya ku-in
12' [... pé-eš-kán-]zi nu-uš kap-pu-wa-u-wa-ar-pát Ú-UL
13' [... GUD.HI.]A ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ya LI-IM-ti-li az-zi-ik-ki-iz[-zi]
14' [... i-da-]a-la-mu-u-uš har-zi-ya-lu-uš BÍ.ZA.ZA.HI.A
15' [...]pa-ra-a ^{GĚ}ME-ŠE-ED-DU ma-a-an
16' [...-i]š-ki-iz-zi na-aš-kán ú-e-te-ni
17' [... an-da? da-li-ya??-]zi IKU-aš-ma KU₆.HI.A-uš ÍD-aš UR.GI₇
18' [... LI-I]M-ti-li-ya az-zi-ik-ki-iz-zi

⁷³⁸J. Siegelová, StBoT 14, 1971, 72.

⁷³⁹J. Siegelová, StBoT 14, 1971, 72.

⁷⁴⁰Cf. J. Siegelová, StBoT 14, 1971, 40f.; J. Friedrich, ArOr 17, 1949, 232ff.; H. A. Hoffner, RA 81, 1987, 188f.

- 19' [... *mi-l*]*i-it* GIM-*an* *kat-ta* :*pa-aš-ki*[-*iz-zi*]
 20' [... G]IM-*an* *le-el-li-pa-a-i*
 21' [...-]*lu a-da-an-na zi-en-ni*[-*iz-zi*]

 10' [...] They [g]ive him two thousand cows
 11' [and horses to e]at. But the kid and lamb that
 12' [...] they gi]ve (are) without number.
 13' [...] Cow]s and horses [he] devour[s] by the thousands.
 14' [...] vi]lle salamanders? (and) frogs.
 15' He [...-]s forth like a lance
 16' [his tongue?], and [leave]s? (them)
 17' in the water. But fish of the field (and) dogs of the river
 18' [...] he devours by the [tho]usands.
 19' [...] [he] gulps down like [hon]ey .
 20' [...] he licks up [l]ike [...]
 21' [...] he end[s] the meal.

Another passage describes Hedammu in a drunken stupor. So befuddled is he by the beer he has consumed that he becomes sleepy and is no longer able to discern what he is eating, thus mistakenly consuming frogs and salamanders?:

KUB 33.84 + KBo 19.109 obv with dupl. KBo 19.111 obv 5-8 (CTH 348)⁷⁴¹

- 8' [(*nu* GIM-*an* ^{MUŠ}*hé-dam-mu-uš*) *wa-ar-š*]*u-la-an* KAŠ *iš-tah-ta nu-kán* [(A-NA
 M)]^{UŠ}*hé-dam-mu tar-hu-u-i-li*
 9' [(ZL.HI.A-Š)*U ša-ne-ez-zi-iš*] *te-eš-ha-aš e-ep-ta na-aš* GUD-*aš* A[(NŠ)]E[(-*aš-š*)]*a*
i-wa-ar šu-up-pa-ri-an-za

⁷⁴¹Cf. J. Siegelová, StBoT 14, 1971, 58f.; J. Friedrich, ArOr 17, 1949, 234. Line numbers are based on KBo 19.109.

10' [(x) ... *Ú-UL?* *ku-i*]*t-ki ka-ni-iš-zi*⁷⁴² *nu BÍ.ZA.ZA har-zi-ya-lu-uš-ša KÚ-iz-zi*

8' When Hedammu sipped [a taste] of beer, for the mighty Hedammu

9' [sweet] sleep seized hi[s] soul, and, just like a sleeping ox or donkey,

10' [...] he distinguishes [not]hing and he eats frogs and salamanders?.

That a serpent like Hedammu would be considered not to like frogs and salamanders, a standard part of the diet of many species of snake, tells us that Hedammu was conceived of, for the purposes of the narrative, primarily as a deity, and only secondarily as an animal. He eats what a god would eat, namely kids, lambs, and so forth, but reviles what a snake, or any reptile, customarily eats, namely frogs and salamanders.

In the following magic ritual, the deified springs along with a frog and a salamander?, animals associated with water, offer aid to some distressed person or thing:

KBo 13.131 obv || KUB 30.34 iii 16 + Bo 1509 : 2'-7' || 1066/u : 4'-9' (CTH 401)⁷⁴³

14' [(*nu-mu-uš-ša-an šu-me-eš-š*)]*a har*⁷⁴⁴-*ap-ten UṢ-MA*⁷⁴⁵ *TÚL.HLA le-e-ya-aš*⁷⁴⁶
na-a-hi

15' [*ú-i-e-eš-ta har-ap-p(u-u-)*]*e-ni BÍ.ZA.ZA*⁷⁴⁷ *KA[xU]-za*⁷⁴⁸ *da-a-i*

16' [...(*kat-ta pa-aš-*)]*zi har-zi-ya-al-la-aš-ša-at*⁷⁴⁹

⁷⁴²KBo 19.111 : 8 *ka-ni-eš-zi*.

⁷⁴³Cf. J. Siegelová, StBoT 14, 1971, 72; C. Watkins, "Hittite *harziyalla-*," *Bono Homini Donum: Essays in Historical Linguistics, in Memory of J. Alexander Kerns*, Y. L. Arbeitman and A. R. Bomhard, eds., Amsterdam, 1981, 345-348.

⁷⁴⁴KUB 30.34 + Bo 1509 iii 16 *ha-ra-*.

⁷⁴⁵Bo 1509 : 2' *ú-e-te-na-an-te-e[š]*; 1066/u : 4' *ú[-*.

⁷⁴⁶Bo 1509 : 3' *le-e-et-ta*; 1066/u : 5' *-w]a-at-ta*.

⁷⁴⁷Bo 1509 : 4' and 1066/u : 6' add *-at*.

⁷⁴⁸Bo 1509 : 4' *iš-ši-i[t]*.

⁷⁴⁹1066/u : 7' *-]ya-lu-ša-at*.

- 17' [(ša-ap-pu-it)⁷⁵⁰ da-a-i ...] BÍ.ZA.ZA-at-kán⁷⁵¹ hal-lu-u-wa-aš
 18' [píd-da-i har-zi-ya-al-la-aš-ša-at-kán A.HLA-aš píd-da-i Í]D-at a-ru-ni pí⁷⁵²-da-i
 14' 'You must help me!' Thus (say) the springs (var. waters): 'Do not fear them!
 15' We will [help you]. The frog takes (it) with (his) mouth.
 16' [... and] gulps it down. The salamander?
 17' [takes] it with (his) šappu- [...]. The frog [will carry] it to the deep.
 18' [The salamander? will carry it to the waters. The ri]ver will carry it to the sea.

This text and the Hedammu passage relating how the Serpent left the frogs in the water (KUB 8.67 iv 14'-17') indicate that the frog was considered an aquatic animal, which is no surprise for an amphibious creature. An aquatic animal, it was considered kin to fish and reptiles, a relationship that is apparent in the following list of offerings, which twice lists these animals together as *arunaš huītar* "animals of the sea."

IBoT 2.9 + KUB 52.102 i (NH)⁷⁵³

- 5' ma-a-an DUMU-aš I-NA U^[RU]Za-al-pa a-ri
 6' [n]u IŠ-TU É LÚ[u-r]i-ya-an-ni GÜB-la-aš
 7' [1] ŠAH.TUR 3[6] NINDA.KUR₄.RA 1/2 UP-NI
 8' [š]A ZÍD.DA ZÍZ q-ru-na-aš-ša
 9' [hu-u-]i-ta-a[r] hu-u-ma-an 6 KU₆.HLA
 10' [6?] BÍ.ZA.ZA.HI.A 1 MUŠ
 ...

⁷⁵⁰Restored from Bo 1509 : 6', which has a paragraph marker following.

⁷⁵¹Bo 1509 : 7' n[a-a]t-kán BÍ[.].

⁷⁵²1056/u : 9' adds -e-.

⁷⁵³St. de Martino and H. Otten, ZA 74, 1984, 301; M. Forlanini, "Die 'Götter von Zalpa.' Hethitische Götter und Städte am Schwarzen Meer," ZA 74, 1984, 254 with n. 38; A. Archi, KUB 52, 1983, "Inhaltsübersicht."

- 15' ... *ha-an-ta-a-an-zi*
 5' When the youth arrives in Zalpa,
 6' from the house of the “*urianni* of the left,”
 7' [one] pig, 36 offering loaves, one-half handful
 8' [o]f meal, spelt, and all the
 9' animals the [se]a: six fish,
 10' [six?] frogs, one snake
 ...
 15' ... they arrange.

Frogs and fish are linked elsewhere in a list of figurines.⁷⁵⁴ A frog figurine also is used in a ritual for the hunting deity, ^dLAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*. The frog and puppy images have a similar use in this ritual: BÍ.ZA.ZA-*ma še-e-na-aš* IM UR.TUR QA-T[AM¹?-MA ...] x UZU HÁD.DU.A ^{TÚG}*iš-hi-ya-li ú-e-ru-uš-ša* EGIR ÍD [*tár-na-an-zi*?] “the frog, the image of clay, and the puppy lik[ewise? ...] dried meat, a bandana and *weru*- behind the river [they release?]” (KUB 36.83 iv 9-10 [CTH 433]).

As a Hittite equivalent for the Sumerogram BÍ.ZA.ZA, *akuwakuwa*- has been suggested by some,⁷⁵⁵ and disputed by others.⁷⁵⁶ Since the *akuwakuwa*- makes its home in the ground, the equation is unlikely (cf. *infra*, Chapter V, Section A.).

⁷⁵⁴KBo 18.165b : 1'f.

⁷⁵⁵P. Kretschmer, *KlF* 1, 1930, 310, n. 2; H. Ertem, *Fauna*, 1965, 138; H. Kronasser, *EHS*, 1966, 121.

⁷⁵⁶J. Puhvel, *GsKerns*, 1981, 237-42; H. Otten, *ZA* 66, 1976, 94.

Section C. NIM.LÀL (c.) “bee”: Hittite reading unknown

sg. nom. NIM.LÀL KBo 6.2 iv 36' (OS), KBo 6.3 iv 33 (OH/MS), KUB 33.33 : 8' (OH/NS), 9', KUB 43.60 i 6, 7 (OH/NS), KUB 43.62 iii 4', 7', KUB 53.50 i 1; **NIM.LÀL-aš** KBo 30.17 r. c. 7', 8', KUB 33.5 ii 12, 16 (OH/MS), KUB 33.10 obv 1 (MS), KUB 33.57 ii 8', KUB 33.58 : 6', KUB 33.59 iii 5', 11' (OH/MS), KUB 48.7 iii 17, 18, Bo 4130 rev 6⁷⁵⁷; **NIM.LÀL-ša** KUB 33.58 : 9'.

sg. acc. NIM.LÀL KUB 33.58 : 5', KUB 48.7 iii 1; **NIM.LÀL-an** KBo 6.7 : 15, KBo 11.10 ii 22' (MH[?]/NS), KBo 11.72 ii 26' (NH[?]/NS), KUB 33.5 ii 4' (OH/MS), KUB 33.52 ii 4, KUB 33.55 ii 11', KUB 33.57 ii 7', KUB 33.59 iv 12 (OH/MS); **NIM.LÀL[-an]** KUB 33.55 ii 5'; **[NIM.LÀL-an]** KUB 17.10 i 35 (OH/MS); (luw.) **NIM.LÀL-in** KUB 35.98 : 9'.

sg. gen. NIM.LÀL KBo 6.2 iv 34', 35' (OS), KBo 6.3 iv 31, 33 (OH/MS); **ša NIM.LÀL** KBo 11.10 ii 23' (MH[?]/NS), KBo 6.2 iv 34' (OS), KBo 6.3 iv 32 (OH/MS); **unclear NIM.LÀL-aš** KUB 33.59 iv 3'; **NIM.LÀL-x[...]** KUB 35.98 : 6'; **NIM.L[ÀL(-)...]** KUB 33.56 obv 3.

pl. acc. NIM.LÀL KUB 43.60 i 10 (OH/NS); **NIM.LÀL.MEŠ** KUB 43.60 i 9 (OH/NS); **NIM.LÀL.HLA-an** KBo 6.2 iv 32' (OS), KBo 6.3 iv 29 (OH/MS).

1. Bee Keeping

Bees were valued in Hittite society. Their products, honey and wax, were widely used, and bee-keeping was practiced at least as early as the Old Kingdom.⁷⁵⁸ A passage from the Vow of Puduhepa (CTH 585) indicates that bees were maintained by beekeepers as property of the temples:

⁷⁵⁷Cf. H. Otten, ZA 72, 1982, 286.

⁷⁵⁸On the uses of honey and beeswax in Hittite society see H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *AlHeth*, 1974, 123f.

Bo 2628 + Bo 7878 (+) VAT 6697b (S), with dupls. KUB 31.51 + rev⁷ 7' (D), and KUB 31.58 rev 11' (J)⁷⁵⁹

iii

24 É ^mKu-uk-ku 2 LÚ 3 SAL Š[U.NIGI]N 5 S[AG.DU

25 GŠTUKUL-ma-aš-ši LÚNIMLÀL <ar-ta-ri>?

24 The household (of) Kukku: two men (and) three women. T[ota]l: Five p[eo]ple.

25 But (for) its service, a beekeeper <stands>? (ready)?

The "House of Kukku" includes a wife, two daughters, and one son from the land of Pala, as described in ii 19-21. The inclusion of bees in the Hittite Laws demonstrates their economic value as a source of honey:

KBo 6.2 iv with dupls. KBo 6.3 iv 29-34, KBo 6.7 : 15-16 (CTH 291)⁷⁶⁰

§91

32' [ták-ku NIM.LÀL.HI.(A-an)] kam-ma-ri ku[(-iš-ki ta-a-i-iz-zi ka-ru-ú) 1 + N GÍN KÙ.BABBAR]

33' [pé-eš-(kár ki-nu-na 5 G)]ÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a[(-i pá-r-na-aš-še-a šu-wa-a-iz-zi)]

§92

34' [ták-ku 2 É NIM.L]ÀL ták-ku 3 É NIM.LÀL ku-iš-ki t[(a-a-i-iz-zi ka-ru-ú BU-BU-Ú-TA-NU-UM) ŠA (NI)M.LÀL]

35' [(ki-nu-na 6 GÍN K)]Ù.BABBAR pa-a-i ták-ku É NIM.LÀL k[(u-iš-ki ta-a)-i-iz-zi ták-k(u)]

36' J-NA ŠÀ-BI NIM.LÀL NU.GÁL 3 GÍN KÙ.BA[(BBAR pa-a-i)]

§91

32' [If] someone steals [bee]s in a swarm?, formerly one [pa]id [N shekels of silver],

⁷⁵⁹Cf. H. Otten and V. Souček, *Das Gelübde der Königin Puduhepa an die Göttin Lelwani*, StBoT 1, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965, 30f. (line numbers and letters assigned to the manuscripts follow their edition); E. Laroche, *RA* 43, 1949, 61.

⁷⁶⁰Cf. J. Friedrich, *HG*, 1959, 44ff., 102; F. Imparati, *Leggi*, 1964, 90f., 265f.

33' Now one will pay five shekels of silver. But in regard to it he will look into the house.

§92

34' [If] someone steals [two be]e[hives] (or) three beehives, formerly (it meant) a bee-sting?

35' Now one will pay six shekels of silver. If someone ste[als] a beehive [and if]

36' there are no bees inside, one will pay three shekels of silver.

§§91-92 concern the theft of bees without a hive, bees with a hive, and a hive without bees, in that order. For §91, the difficulty in determining ownership of bees existing in swarms, temporarily outside of a hive, leaves us in question as to the interpretation of this law. In some societies, bees who have left a hive to begin a new colony are considered the responsibility, if not the property, of the person who owns the hive from which they originated. Stealing these animals would entail attracting them to an empty hive belonging to the thief. Besides the “poetic justice” of such a penalty, support for the translation of *BUBUTANUM ŠA NIM.LĀL* as “bee-sting” in §92 comes from the Akkadian *bubu'tu*, whose meaning is given in the *CAD* as “inflammation, boil, pustule.”⁷⁶¹ The second stipulation of this law concerns a beehive not yet inhabited by bees and therefore valuable only in its potential as an active hive.

2. *Myth and Ritual*

The Sungoddess of the Earth is connected with the bee in a ritual for the goddess who has apparently sent the bee as a bad omen. Whether its negative import is a function of its origin (the malevalent goddess) or of its inherently malevalent qualities, remains uncertain. In either case, it stands in contrast to birds of good omen:

⁷⁶¹*CAD* B, 300f.

KBo 11.10 ii (MH²/NS) with dupl. KBo 11.72 ii 26'-30' (CTH 447 [NH²/NS])⁷⁶²

21' ... *zi-ik-ka₄ KI-aš⁷⁶³ dUTU-uš*

22' *ku-u-un NIMLÀL-an ku-in u-i-e-eš nu-ut-ta*

23' *ka-a-ša LUGAL-uš SALLUGAL-aš ke-e-el šA NIMLÀL*

24' *maš-kán ku-u-un SISKUR pé-eš-kán-zi⁷⁶⁴*

25' [*z*]i-ik-ka₄-an KI-aš dUTU-uš *ma-a-an HUL-an-ni-ya⁷⁶⁵*

26' [(*u-i*)]e-eš *ki-nu-na-an-kán wa-ah-nu-ut na-an SIG₅-in*

27' MUŠEN-in *i-ya ...*

21' Regarding this bee, which you,

22' O Sungoddess of the Earth, have sent,

23' the king and queen are giving you

24' this offering as a propitiatory gift of this bee.

25' O Sungoddess of the Earth, if you sent it (the bee) for evil,

26' change it now and make it

27' a bird portending good.

The bee is central to the cult of the Mother-goddess, Hannahanna.⁷⁶⁶ Its relationship to Hannahanna is most evident in the many versions of the disappearing god myth. In the Telipinu Myth (CTH 324), the bee is sent out by Hannahanna (also written dNIN.TU or dMAH) to find the missing god. It is the last hope, since all others, including the swift and

⁷⁶²Cf. V. Haas, *UF* 13, 1981, 113; *CHD* 3/2, 1983, 210.

⁷⁶³KBo 11.72 ii 26' [*ták-n*]a-aš.

⁷⁶⁴KBo 11.72 ii 28' SISKUR.SISKUR *pí-iš-kán-zi*.

⁷⁶⁵KBo 11.72 ii 29' *i-da-la-u-wa-an-ni-ya*.

⁷⁶⁶For the role of Hannahanna in Anatolian myth see now G. Kellerman, "La deesse Hannahanna: son image et sa place dans les mythes anatoliens," *Hethitica* 7, 1987, 109-47.

keen-sighted eagle, have failed. The bee succeeds in finding Telipinu and stings him into wakefulness and rage:

KUB 17.10 i (CTH 324, first version)⁷⁶⁷

- 34 ... ^dNIN.TU-*aš*
- 35 [^dNIM.LĀL-*an iš-P*]UR *i-it-wa* ^dTe-li-pi-nu-un *zi-ik ša-an-ha*
-
- 36 [^dIM-*aš* ^dMAH *me-mi-*]*iš-ta nu-wa-ra-an* DINGIR.MEŠ.GAL.GAL DINGIR.MEŠ.
TUR *ša-an-hi-iš-ki-ir nu-wa-ra-an*
- 37 [^úUL *ú-e-mi-e-er*] (erasure) *nu-wa-ra-an pa-iz-zi ka-a-aš*
- 38 [^dNIM.LĀL-*aš ú-e-mi-ya-zi pā*]*r-ta-u¹-wa¹-aš-še-et-wa a-mi-ya-an-ta a-pa-aš-ša-u-wa*
a-mi-ya-an-za¹
-
- 34 ... Hannahanna
- 35 [se]nt out a [bee] (saying) “Go! You search for Telipinu!”
-
- 36 [The Weathergod sa]id [to Hannahanna], “The great gods (and) the minor gods have
searched for him and
- 37 [did not find] him. Now will this [bee] go
- 38 (and) [find] him? Its wings are small, it itself is small.”

In the second version of the myth, the bee wakes the sleeping Telipinu by stinging him and purifies him by means of beeswax:

KUB 33.5 ii (OH/MS)⁷⁶⁸

- 4 ^dMAH-*aš* NIM.LĀL-*an u-i-e-et i-it-za* x[oooo]x
- 5 ^dTe-li-pi-nu-un *zi-ik ša-an-ha ma-a-n[a-an ú-e-mi-]ya-si*
- 6 *na-an QA-TI.HLA-ŠU GÌR.HI.A-ŠU ši-ya-an na-aš ša-r[a-a]*

⁷⁶⁷Cf. E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 1965, [31f.]

⁷⁶⁸Cf. E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 1965, [39f.]

7 *tí-it-ta-nu-ut nu-za GAB.LÀL da-a na-an ar-ha a-an-a[š]*
 8 *[n]a-an pá-r-ku-nu-ut na-an šu-up<pf>-ya-ah na-an am-me-el*
 9 *[k]at-ta ú-wa-te*

10 *ᵀIM-aš ᵀMAH me-mi-iš<-ta> nu-wa-ra-an DINGIR.MEŠ! GAL.GAL-TIM*
 11 *[DI]NGIR.MEŠ TUR.TUR-TIM ša-an-hi-iš-ki-ir nu-wa-ra-an Ú-UL ú[-e-mi-i]r*
 12 *[nu-w]a-ra-an pa-iz-zi ka-a-aš NIM.LÀL-as ú-e-mi-ya[-zi]*
 13 *[pár-i]a-a-u-wa-aš-ši-it-wa a-mi-ya-an-da a-pa-aš-ša-w[a]*
 14 *[a-mi-y]a-an-za ...*

15 *[ᵀMAH-]aš ᵀIM-ni me-mi-iš-ta da-a-la-wa a?[-pa-a-ša-an*
 16 *[pa-iz-zi]i ú-e-mi-iz-zi NIM.LÀL-aš [pa-it ᵀTe-li-pf-nu-un*
 17 *[ša-an-hi-]iš-ki-u-wa-an da-iš a-ra-m[u-*
 18 *[ša-ah-i]a na-aš-ta ÍD.HLA-uš [*
 19 *[ša-ah-i]a TÚL.HLA-kán ši-i[-*

4 Hannahanna sent the bee: “Go! [
 5 You search for Telipinu! When you[fi]nd [him],
 6 sting him (on) his hands and his feet! Make them
 7 swell (lit. stand up)! Then take wax and wipe him,
 8 purify him and sanctify him! Then bring him
 9 here to me.”

10 The Weathergod said to Hannahanna, “The great gods
 11 (and) the minor gods searched for him and they did not f[in]d him.
 12 Is this bee (now to) go (and) fi[nd] him?
 13 Its wings are small, it itself
 14 is [sm]all. ...”

15 [Hannahanna] said to the Weathergod, “Enough! [That one]

- 16 [will g]o (and) find [him].” The bee [went] (and)
 17 began to [search for Telipinu].
 18 He [search]ed the [...]. He [search]ed the [...] rivers,
 19 [He searched the ...] springs.

The third version describes how the bee runs out of the items needed to soothe the angry god:

KUB 33.9 ii (OH/NS) with dupl. KUB 33.10 obv 1-5 (OH/MS)⁷⁶⁹

- 3' [^dTe-li-pí-nu-un zi-ik ša-an-h]a ma-a-na-an ú-e[-mi-ya-ši]
 4' [na-an QA-TI.HLA-ŠU GÌR.HLA-ŠU š]i-i-ya-a na-as ša-r[a-a]
 5' [ti-it-ta-nu-ut nu-za GAB.LÀL da-a] nu IGL.HLA-ŠU QA-TI-ŠU
 6' [ar-ha a-an-aš na-an pár-k]u-nu-ut na-an am-me-el kat-t[a ú-]wa-ti

 7' [nu pa-it (NIMLÀL-aš pár-ga-mu-)]uš HUR.SAG.MEŠ-uš ša-a-an-ah-ta [ha-a-ri-i-
 iš-kán
 8' [hal-lu-wa(-mu-uš ša-)an-h]a-at-ta⁷⁷⁰ hu-u⁷⁷¹-wa-an-hu[(e)š-šar-kán ku-wa-a-li-ú]
 9' [ša-an-ha-at-ta ŠÀ-i(t-za-t)]a LÀL-it zi-in[(ni-i)t
 10' [GAB.LÀL] zi-in-ni-it [(na-an ú-e-el-lu-i ^U)RU Li-ih-z]i-ni
 11' GÌŠTIR[-ni u-e-mi-ya-at
 12' [na-an-ká(n ŠU.HLA-ŠU GÌR.HLA-ŠU š]i-i-e)-e]t ...

 3' [You search for Telipinu!] When [you] fin[d] him,
 4' sting [him on his hands and his feet.] [Make] them [swell] u[p]!
 5' [take wax] and (with it) [wipe off] his eyes and hands.

⁷⁶⁹Cf. E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 1965, [45]. For a description of the similar myth in KUB 33.58, see G. Kellerman, *Hethitica* 7, 1987, 125.

⁷⁷⁰KUB 33.10 obv 2 ša-ah-ta.

⁷⁷¹KUB 33.10 obv 2 omits -u-.

- 6' [Pu]rify [him] and [br]ing him to me.”
-
- 7' [He], the bee, [went] (and) searched the high mountains,
 8' he sea[rc]hed the [de]ep [valleys], [he searched the dark] w[aves.]
 9' [Inside hi]m the honey came to an end, [
 10' [the wax] came to an end. Then [he found] him in a meadow,
 11' in [the town Lihz]ini, [in] a grove.
 12' [Then] he stung [him] on the hands and feet. ...

The town of Lihzina is mentioned another time in a similar myth. The bee is referred to here as “swift” or “winged,” an epithet that is more familiar in connection with the eagle:

KUB 33.33 (CTH 332; OH/NS)⁷⁷²

- 8' NIMLÀL *li-li-wa-an-da[-an pí-i-e-et*
 9' [*ša-an-ḥ*]a *zi-ik* NIM[LÀL
 10' [o o o] *ḫIM-an zi-i[k ša-an-ha*
 11' [HUR.SA]G.MEŠ-*uš ša-an-ha-ta* [
 12' [z]i-in-ni-it *kad-du-u-wa-i[i?*
 13' [UR]^U*Li-ih-zi-ni* GŠ^TTIR[-ni

In the following mythological passage, Hannahanna addresses Inara after a conflict between Inara and the Weathergod:

KUB 33.57 ii (CTH 336.3)⁷⁷³

- 4 *ḫNIN.TU-ša tar-aš-ki-iz-zi le-e-wa k[u-wa-pí pa-i-š]i*
 5 *ka-a-pát-wa-za e-eš*
-

⁷⁷²Cf. E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 1965, [65].

⁷⁷³Cf. G. Kellerman, *Hethitica* 7, 1987, 124f.; E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 1965, [91].

- 6 *ú-uk-ta pī-ih-hi ut-ni-e LÚ-na-an-na-ta pī-ih-hi*
 7 *ᵀU-aš<-za> ᵀKAL-an kap-pu-u-wa-a-it NIM.LÀL-an pī-i-e-et*
 8 *i-it-wa-ra-an zi-ik ša-an-ha NIM.LÀL-aš pa-it*
 9 *[ᵀ]NIN.TU-an ú-e-mi-ya-at nu-uš-ši tar-aš-ši-ki-iz-zi*
 10 *[ᵀ]M-aš-wa-za DUMU.SAL-ZU kap-pu-u-wa-a-it*

-
- 11 *[nam-m]a-aš ku-e-el-la hu-u-it-na-aš ša-ak¹-ta-i-ta-a-aš*
 12 *[na-an an-d]a^{KLŠ} kur-sš pé-eš-ši-ya-at še-er-ra-aš-ša-an*
 13 *[o o o]x da-a-i[š] ᵀNIN.TU-aš NIM.LÀL-ša*

-
- 4 Hannahanna said, “Do not [g]o a[nywhere]!”
 5 Remain here!

-
- 6 “I myself will give you a country and I will give you a man”
 7 The Weathergod was concerned for Inara. He sent the bee, (saying):
 8 “You go! Search for her!” The bee went
 9 and found Hannahanna and said to her:
 10 “The Weathergod was concerned for his daughter.”

-
- 11 [Th]en he cured? (the illness)? of this creature
 12 [and he] threw [it] in a hunting bag. (It)
 13 he set upon [...]. Hannahanna and the bee [

How lines 11-13 are related to the previous paragraphs is not clear. The *huitar* in line 11 probably does not refer to the bee. The reference may be to the cause of the rift between Inara and the Weathergod, which the latter is attempting to set aright.

In the following version of the vanishing god myth, everything disappears, including humans, cattle, and sheep. The bee is sent as Hannahanna’s messenger to Inara, who reports the current state of affairs, and this report sparks the god ZABABA to action:

KUB 33.52 ii with dupls. KUB 33.55 ii 11-16 || KUB 33.56 obv 3'-5' (CTH 336.1)⁷⁷⁴

- 4 ^dMAH NIM.LĀL-an A-NA ^dKAL IŠ-PUR SI MÁŠ-wa-za⁷⁷⁵ d[(a-a nu-wa)]
 5 ha-lu-ga-an i-ya ^dKAL ha-lu-kán i-ya-at ur¹-ne[
 6 nu ku-iš-ša ku-wa-at-ta pa-it ^dZA-BA₄-BA₄-a[s IŠ-ME]
 7 ša-an na-ah-ta ^{GŠ}ŠUKUR-it GÍR-it da-a-aš [
 8 i-ya-at na-aš-ta pa-it nu DUMU.MEŠ<LÚ>.ULÙ.LU GUD.HI.A [UDU.HI.A]
 9 Ú-UL ku-iš-ki ú-e-mi-ya[-at]

- 4 Then Hannahanna sent the bee to Inara: “Take the horn of a go<ab> and
 5 make a report!” Inara made the report: “The land [...].
 6 Each has gone somewhere.” ZABABA [heard] and feared it.
 7 By means of a spear and a dagger he took (it). [...]
 8 he made. Then he went. Humans , cattle (or) [sheep]
 9 he did not fin[d].

Yet another mythological passage relates the “Quest for a *kurša*.” The bee is sent out to retrieve the *kurša*- “hunting bag,” while Hannahanna remains to prepare a ritual:

KUB 33.59 iii (CTH 336.2; OH/MS)⁷⁷⁶

- 3 an-da-an le-e ú-da-ad-di pé-e-ra-an [ú-da]
 4 a-pa-a-ša ^{KUŠ}ku-úr-ši-iš-ši EGIR-an i-ya-an-n[a-i]
 5 pa-it NIM.LĀL-aš na-an ar-nu-ut ^{KUŠ}ku-úr-ša-an
 6 ku-it-ma-an ú-iz-zi ^dHa-an-na-ha-an-na-š[a]
 7 3 wa-at-ta-ru i-e-et ke-e-da-ni ^{GŠ}i-ip[-pí-aš]

⁷⁷⁴Cf. G. Kellerman, *Hethitica* 7, 1987, 120; E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 1965, [87f.]. Cf. also KUB 33.58 : (CTH 336.4).

⁷⁷⁵KUB 33.56 obv 4' omits -wa-za.

⁷⁷⁶Cf. G. Kellerman, *Hethitica* 7, 1987, 123; M. Popko, *AoF* 2, 1975, 70; E. Neu, *StBoT* 5, 1968, 189; E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 1965, [89f.].

- 8 *še-e-er ar-ta ke-e-da-ni-ma* ^{GŠ}*hu-up-pa-ra-aš*
 9 *kat-ta ki-it-ta ke-e-da-ni-ma pa-ah-hur ú-ra-a-ni*

 10 ^d*Ha-an-na-ha-an-na-ša e-eš-zi me-e-na-ah-ha-an-da*
 11 *ú-uš-ki-iz-zi ú-e-et NIM.LÀL-aš* ^{GŠ}*hu-up-pa-ri an[-da]*
 12 ^{KUŠ}*kur-ša-ša-an [d]a-iš ú-e-et* ^d*Mi-ya-da-an[-zi-pa-aš]*
 13 ^{GŠ}*i-ip-pí-aš kat[-i]a-an e-ša-di*

- 3 Do not bring it in! [Bring?] forth!
 4 That one will go behind his hunting bag.
 5 The bee went and brought it, the hunting bag.
 6 While it was on its way, Hannahanna made
 7 three springs. Over one an *ip[piya]*-tree
 8 stands, but by another lies a wooden bowl,
 9 but by another a fire burns.

-
- 10 Hannahanna sits (and) awaits⁷⁷⁷ (the bee).
 11 The bee came and put the hunting bag in
 12 the bowl. Miyadan[zipa] came
 13 (and) sat beneath the *ippiya*-tree.

In all of the myths of the missing god, the bee, as a tool of Hannahanna, is the restorer of prosperity and fertility. It is no surprise, therefore, that we find it here as the retriever of the hunting bag, itself a symbol of abundance. Thus, the bee is an appropriate companion for Hannahanna, who is the nurturing mother.

The bee is a symbol of the attributes of Hannahanna. An indication of why the bee is associated with Hannahanna is provided by the following Hattic recitation from the

⁷⁷⁷For the idiom *menahhanda au(š)-*, see CHD 3/3, 1986, 286f.

KILLAM Festival, in which the idea of the “Mother-bee”—that is, the bee as a nurturing, fostering, creating force—is evident:

KUB 48.7 iii (CTH 627)⁷⁷⁸

1 NIM.LÀL-aš-ma-aš-ša-an

2 É.ŠÀ-ni an-da

3 ú-te-er-ma ...

...

17 [an-n]a-aš NIM.LÀL-aš

18 [an-na-aš] NIM.LÀL-aš

19 [NIM.LÀL-aš] e-eš-zi⁷⁷⁹

1 The bee

2 they brought for themselves

3 into their house.

...

17 [Mot]her-Bee

18 [Mother]-Bee

19 [The bee] is present.

The bee is brought into the house as a symbol of the home. The phrases “Mother-Bee” and “the bee is present” are used again in the following ritual passage:

KBo 30.17 r. c. (CTH 627)⁷⁸⁰

7' an-na-aš NIM.LÀL-aš an-na-aš NIM[LÀL-aš]

8' NIM.LÀL-aš e-eš-z[i]

⁷⁷⁸Cf. I. Singer, StBoT 28, 1984, 100f.; V. Haas, UF 13, 1981, 112.

⁷⁷⁹Lines 17-19 might be a translation of the Hattic in lines 15-16.

⁷⁸⁰Cf. I. Singer, StBoT 28, 1984, 99f.

7' Mother-Bee, Mother-Be[e]

8' The bee is present.

The bee is the servant of another Hittite goddess in the mythological passage KUB 43.60 i 5-20. In this example, the bee is the messenger of Kamrušepa. The object of the bee's search is abundance (*iyatar*).

KUB 43.60 i (CTH 457; OH/NS)⁷⁸¹

- 5 [dKam-r]u^l-še-pa ú-it-ta HUR.SAG-i ku-wa-at-ša-an
 6 [N]IMLÀL-at ú-da-ú ša-an pé-e-di-iš-ši da-a-ú
 7 [zák-]ša-an-ni-ma-wa-aš-ša NIMLÀL-at da-a-ú
 8 [na-]at pé-e-di-iš-ši da-a-ú ku-i-ta
 9 [te-r]i-ip-pí-az-ma na-at NIMLÀL.MEŠ ú-da-an-du
 10 [na-]at pí-di-iš-ši ti-an-du NIMLÀL te-ri-ya-aš UD-aš
 11 [m]i-i-ú-wa-aš UD-aš KASKAL-an pa-a-an-du na-pa i-ya-tar-mi-it
 12 ú-da-an-du ták-ku a-ru-na-az-ma na-at la-ha-an-za
 13 ú-da-ú na-at-ša-an pé-e-di-iš-ši da-a-ú
 14 ták-ku ÍD-az-ma na-at hu-wa-la-aš ú-da-ú
 15 na-at-ša-an pé-e-di-iš-ši da-a-ú
-
- 16 ku-it-ta ne-pí-ša-az-ma na-at ta-pa-ka-li-ya
 17 ha-ra-aš^{MUŠEN} iz-du-ut ú-da-ú ...
 18 ... MÁŠ.GAL-ša-an ša-ap-pu-it
 19 wa-al-ah-du UDU-uš-ša-an SLHLA an-da wa-al-ah-du
 20 an-na-ša-an UDU-uš ti-it-ti-it-te-et wa-al-ah-du
-

⁷⁸¹Cf. H. C. Melchert, (diss., Harvard), 1977, passage 52; V. Haas, *UF* 13, 1981, 114; *CHD* 3/3, 1986, 308; C. Watkins, *GsKerns*, 1981, 346, for lines 18-20; A. Archi, *FsCarratelli*, 1988, 34, n. 39. For the parallel text KUB 43.62, see *supra*, pp. 118f., in which a bee is described with an eagle and a snake hovering within the branches of a tree.

- 5 [Kamr]ušepa came to the mountain (saying): “Wherever (it is),
 6 let the [be]e bring it and put it in its place.
 7 (If it is) in the [mi]ddle, let the bee take it
 8 [and] put it in its place. But whatever
 9 is from the field, let the bees bring it
 10 and put it in its place. Let the bees go
 11 on a journey of three days, (or) of four days, and let them bring my abundance.
 12 But if from the sea, let the *lahanza*-duck bring it
 13 and put it in its place.
 14 But if from the river, then let the *huwala*-animal bring it
 15 and put it in its place.
-
- 16 But whatever is from heaven, let the *tapakaliya*-
 17 eagle bring it ...
 18 ... Let the goat butt it with (his) *šappu*-.
 19 Let the ram[?] butt it with (his) horns.
 20 Let the ewe butt it with (her) nose.

The bee had a unique position among insects in Hittite culture. This is perhaps due to the fact that it was the only such animal to be cultivated by man to his advantage, and that it did not play a part in crop damage. The bee is also unique in that, aside from the UDU.KUR.RA, it is the only animal whose divine associations are exclusively female.

Section D. *lalaweš(š)a-, lalakueša-* (c.) “ant.”

sg. nom. *la-la-ú-e-ša-aš* KUB 8.63 iv 12 (NH); sg. acc. *la-la-ku-e-ša-an* KUB 33.93 iii 22' (NH); *la-la-ú-e-ša-an* KBo 26.91 ii 4' (NH); [*la-la-*]ú-e-ša-an KUB 8.63 iv 8 (NH); pl. gen. *la-la-ú-i-iš-ša-aš* KBo 13.29 ii 5' (NH); unclear *la-la-ú-[e-ša-aš?]* KUB 17.27 ii 5 (MH/NS).

lalawiššar, lalakueššar (n.) “colony of ants?”

sg. nom. *la-la-ku-e-eš-šar* ABoT 38 l. c. 3 (NH); sg. gen. *la-la-wi₅-iš-n[a-aš?]* KUB 3.94 ii 26 (NH); *la-la-ú-e-eš-na-aš* KUB 55.67 i 3; sg. gen.[?] *la-la-ú-i-iš-na-aš* KUB 43.59 i 3 (NH).

The meaning “ant” is certain based on the Akkadian equivalent, *KULBABTU* (=KULBABU), provided in the vocabulary text, KUB 3.94 ii 26 (CTH 306 [NH]), where this insect is listed last in a long series of grain pests: (Sum.) KIŠI₈ = (Sum. pron.) :ki-ši-iḅ = (Akk.) *KÚL-BÁ-AB¹-TÙ* = (Hitt.) *la-la-wi₅-iš-n[a-aš?]*.⁷⁸²

The ant has a dual role in Hittite texts. It was a threat to the harvest, and yet, at the same time, it seems to have symbolized industriousness, just as it does today in Western culture. In the Story of Atramhaši (CTH 347), the ant is cited as a pest:

KUB 8.63 iv (NH)⁷⁸³

- 7 [I-NA M]U.3.KAM-*ma-kán* ^dKu-mar[-*bi*
8 [*la-la-*]ú-e-ša-an ú-e-ri-t[e²-e]z-z[i
9 [o o o -]ha-ri-an-za nu hu-u-ma-an iš-ta[-
10 ¹⁰Hia-am-ša-aš A-NA ¹¹At-ra-am-ha-ši DUMU-ŠU x[
11 ^dKu-mar-bi-iš ke-e-da-ni MU.KAM-ti la[.... BURU]

⁷⁸²Cf. CHD 3/1, 1980, 27.

⁷⁸³Cf. CHD 3/1, 1980, 27.

- 12 *la-la-ú-e-ša-aš ga-ra-pí nu ki-iš-ša-an?*
 7 But in the third [y]ear Kumar[bi
 8 [He] fea[rs]? the ant [
 9 [...]. . . and every ...[
 10 Hamša to his son Atramhašiš [
 11 Kumarbi in this year [
 12 An ant will devour [the crops] and as f[ollows?

As with other insect pests, there was a ritual designed to ward off and protect from these marauders: [*ma-a-an . . .*]-*si la-la-ku-e-eš-šar ú-iz-zi [ki-iš-ša-a]n hu-uk-ki-iš-ki-mi* “[if . . .] a swarm of ants comes I conjure [as follow]s” (ABoT 38 l. c. 3f. [CTH 790]).⁷⁸⁴

A ritual performed for the Mother-goddesses and Gulšeš deities describes the participation of an ant in a sympathetic magic ritual:

KUB 17.27 ii (CTH 434 [MH/NS])⁷⁸⁵

- 4 *nu ša-ku-ni-ya-aš pu-ru-ut da-a-i [na-at-kán*
 5 *an-da iš-ha-a-i EGIR-ŠÚ-ma la-la-ú[-e-ša-aš? . . . pa-iz-zi*
 6 *ták-na-az-kán ku-it ša-ra-a pí-d-da[-iz-zi na-at ha-at-te-eš-ni*
 7 *pé-eš-ši-iš-ki-iz-zi nu kiš-an me-ma-[i . . . ša-ku-ni-iš-kán]*
 8 *GIM-an pu-ru-ut ták-na-az ša-ra-a [ú-da-i na-at . . .]*
 9 *hi-in-kán-zi ke-e-el-la-kán UN-a[š la-az-zi-ya-u-wa-ar-še-et]*
 10 *TI-tar-še-et QA-TAM-MA ša-ra-a ú-da[-a-ú?]*
 4 He takes the clay of the spring [and] together [with . . .]
 5 he wraps [it] up. But afterward the an[t goes

⁷⁸⁴Cf. H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 6, 1952, 37.

⁷⁸⁵H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 6, 1952, 37; *CHD* 3/1, 1980, 27. Restorations partially follow A. Goetze’s unpublished notes.

- 6 that which [he (the ant?)] dig[s] up from the earth he throws [it]
 7 [in the hole] and he speak[s] as follows: [...] “As [a spring,]
 8 [brings] clay up from the earth, and
 9 one entrusts [it to ...], o[f] this person, [his well being?,]
 10 his life, likewise [let it?] bri[ng] up.

This passage is comparable to the mention of the “mud of an ant” in the Ritual of Šehuzzi. Although the circumstance is not altogether clear, it seems that the ant is viewed as an industrious creature:

KUB 43.59 + KUB 9.39 i (CTH 453 [NH])⁷⁸⁶

- 1 UM-MA Še-hu-uz-zi ma-a-an UH_x-ah-ha-an-da-an SIG₅-ah-mi
 2 na-an pa-an-tu-ga a-ni-ya-mi nu-za šal-ú-i-na-aš pu-ru-ut
 3 la-la-ú-i-iš-na-aš pu-ru-ut wa-ap-pu-wa-aš IM-an
 4 NUMUN.HLA hu-u-ma-an-da MUNU₈ BAPPIR <da-ah-hi>? na-at EGIR-pa pár-aš-
 za
 5 ma-al-la-an-zi na-at IM-ni I[GI-an-da im-mi-an-zi
 6 nu ALAM.HLA KA_xU EME.HLA DÙ-mi

- 1 Thus (says) Uzuzzi: “When I make a bewitched person well,
 2 I treat him ... The mud of mortar,
 3 the mud of the ant, the clay of the riverbed
 4 all types of grains, malt, (and) beer-bread <I take>, and
 5 they mill it ‘backwards,’ and [they mix] it with clay
 6 and I make (thereof) figures, teeth, and tongues.

⁷⁸⁶Cf. CHD 3/2, 1983, 125.

The reference here may be to an anthill and the ant's skill at manipulating earth. Anthills are again at issue in a divination passage (CTH 544), which juxtaposes the ant with the bee: *ma-a-an-za-an* NIMLÀL *la-la-ú-i-iš-ša-aš* É x[...] ... *ma-a-an-za-an* É.HLA NIMLÀL *na-x*[...] "if a bee [...] an anthill [...] ... If beehives [...]" (KBo 13.29 ii 5-6 [MH?])⁷⁸⁷ A fragment from an incantation offers little new information regarding the ant. It is named once again with the bee, along with fish and birds:

Bo 4130 rev⁷⁸⁸

6' *le-e-m[a-at] NIMLÀL-aš d[a-a-i]*

7' *le-e-ma-at la-la-ú-i-iš[a-aš]*

8' *le-e-ma-at KU₆-uš ME-x[*

9' *le-e-ma-at MUŠEN-iš ME-x[*

6' Let the bee not take it!

7' Let the ant not [take] it!

8' Let the fish not take it!

9' Let the bird not take it!

One fragment from the Ritual of Mastigga contains an enigmatic phrase:

KUB 55.67 i with dupl. Bo 2738 i⁷⁸⁹

2 *na-an-kán a-pl-ya-ya 7-š[(U SUD-zi nu kiš-an me-mi-iš-ki-i)z-zi]*

3 *la-la-ú-e-eš-na-aš AMA-aš GUD-uš ke-e-el-wa ŠA EN.SISKUR*⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁸⁷Cf. K. Riemschneider, StBoT 9, 1970, 83f.

⁷⁸⁸Cf. H. Otten, "Bemerkungen zum Hethitischen Wörterbuch IV," ZA 72, 1982, 286.

⁷⁸⁹Cf. H. Otten, "Bemerkungen zum Hethitischen Wörterbuch," ZA 66, 1976, 94f.

⁷⁹⁰This line is taken from H. Otten, ZA 66, 1976, 94f. It is not clear whether he is restoring the end of the line from a duplicate or whether there was more preserved in this text at an earlier time, since line 3 of KUB 55.67 i ends with GUD[-. The -*wa* particle indicates a new sentence, requiring us to translate the previous three words as a nominal sentence (that this sentence has no speech particle is another oddity of the passage).

4 *ZI-ŠU SI-it le-e kar-ap[-zi?*

2 She pulls it there seven times (while) s[he] speaks as follows:

3 “The mother of the ant (is) the cow. Of this offerant the life

4 [let it (the cow)] not lif[t] up with (its) horn!”

Elsewhere in the duplicate to this fragment, a comparable phrase to that in line 3 occurs, referring instead to the *akuwa(kuwa)*-animal (cf. *infra*, p. 258).

Finally, in the Song of Ullikummi (CTH 345), when presented with his new son, Kumarbi professes his hopes for his future accomplishments, using a simile that is familiar today:

KUB 33.93 iii⁷⁹¹

21' *ḫU-an-ma-wa GUL-ah-du nu-wa-r[a-an i]z?-za?-an GIM-an ar-ha pu-uš-ša-id-du*

22' *la-la-ku-e-ša-an-ma-wa-ra-an[-kán? GIM-an?] GİR-it an-da pa-ši-ha-id-du*

21' “But let him (Ullikummi) strike the Weathergod. Like chaff let him pound [him].

22' Let him crush him with (his) foot like an ant.”

⁷⁹¹Cf. H. G. Güterbock, “The Song of Ullikummi: Revised Text of the Hittite Version of a Hurrian Myth,” *JCS* 5, 1951, 152f.

Section E. BURU₅ “locust,” (c.): Hittite *maša*-⁷⁹²

BURU₅

sg. nom. BURU₅ KUB 8.1 iii 3 (NH); **BUR[U₅]-aš** KBo 10.6 i 6; **sg. acc. BURU₅-an** KBo 12.94 : 8'; **sg. gen. BURU₅-aš** KBo 12.94 : 6'; **ŠA BUR[U₅]** KBo 10.6 i 7; **unclear BURU₅** KUB 23.124 iv 42, KUB 42.11 i 10'.

pl. nom. BURU₅.HLA Mašat 75/15 obv 8 (MH/MS); **pl. acc. BURU₅.HLA** KUB 15.34 ii 47 (MH/MS), KUB 24.1 iv 8 (NH) = KUB 24.2 rev 11 (NH); **pl. gen. ŠA BURU₅.HLA** KUB 30.42 i 18 (NH); **unclear BURU₅¹.HLA-aš** KBo 14.84 iv 3; **BURU₅.HLA** KBo 26.117 : 3.

masa-

sg. nom. [m]a-ša-aš KUB 8.1 ii 17 (NH); **sg. acc. ma-a-ša-an** KUB 24.1 iii 17, iv 8 (NH).

Although one will not find insects like the locust in preserved examples of Anatolian iconography, art works of such animals did exist, as demonstrated by the inventory text, KUB 42.11 i 10 (CTH 241), in which a golden figurine of a locust (BURU₅ GUŠKIN) is mentioned.

Passages mentioning the locust focus, not surprisingly, on its role in crop destruction. For an agrarian society, pests were a major concern, and foretelling the invasion of an insect horde or ritually forestalling or eliminating one is the primary aim of these passages. In the plague prayers of Muršili II, Telipinu is exhorted to rid the land of a number of evils, including locusts, and inflict them instead on the enemy:

⁷⁹²For discussions of this word, see K. Riemschneider, *KZ* 90, 1976, 149-51; *CHD* 3/2, 1983, 203f.

KUB 24.1 iii with dupl. KUB 24.2 rev 1'-2' (CTH 377 [NH])⁷⁹³

16 *IŠ-TU KUR URUHa-at-ti-ma-kán i-da-lu-un ta[-pa-ša-an]*

17 *hi-in-kán ka-aš-ta-an mā-u-ša-an-na a[r-ha da-a]*

16 But from the land of Hatti [take] a[way]

17 the evil f[ever], plague, famine and locusts.

...

KUB 24.1 iv with dupl. KUB 24.2 rev 10'-11'⁷⁹⁴

7 *nu i-da-lu-un ta-pa-ša-an*⁷⁹⁵ [*hi-in-kán (ka-a-aš-ta-an-na)*]

8 BURU₅.HLA-ya a-pé-e-da-aš A-NA KU[R.KU]R L¹[ÚK]ÚR pa-q-i

7 You give the evil fever, [plague], and famine,

8 and locusts to those enemy lands!

The following ritual invokes the gods to remove similar evils from Hatti. Fever (*tapašša-*), plague (*hinkan*), and locusts are mentioned in both this text and the passage treated above:

KUB 15.34 ii with dupl. KBo 8.70 : 9'-11' (CTH 483 [MH/MS])⁷⁹⁶

46 ... *na-aš-ta i-da-a-lu i-da-a-lu-un GIG-an*

47 *ta-p[(a-aš-š)a-an i-da-a-lu-un] hi-in-ga-an BURU₅.HLA hu-wa-ap-pa-aš ut-tar*

48 *du-ud-du-[(m)i-in? ... IŠ-]TU KUR URUHa-at-ti ar-ha har-ni-ik-ten*

46 ... You (pl.) eliminate evil, evil sickness,

47 feve[r], [evil] plague, locusts, the word of the wicked,

⁷⁹³Cf. O. R. Gurney, AAA 27, 1940, 22f.; H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *AlHeth*, 1974, 93.

⁷⁹⁴O. R. Gurney, AAA 27, 1940, 74. Cf. the plague prayer of Muršili II, KUB 23.124 iv 42 (CTH 378): *hi-in-kán [o o o]x BURU₅ [...]* "the plague [...] locusts [...]" (A. Götz, *KIF* 1, 1930, 250f.).

⁷⁹⁵KUB 24.2 rev 10' *ta-pa-aš-š[a-...]*.

⁷⁹⁶Cf. A. Goetze, *JCS* 11, 1957, 111; L. Zuntz, *Scongiuri*, 1937, 506f.; A. Ünal, "Naturkatastrophen in Anatolien im 2. Jahrtausende V. chr.," *Belleten* 41, 1977, 463 w. n. 99.

48 the dea[f? ... fr]om Hatti!

One incantation invites the Sea to remove a different list of evils:

KBo 12.94 (CTH 458 [NH])⁷⁹⁷

- 7' [H]UL-un ir-ma-an HUL-un hu-ul-la[-an-za-in?
 8' BURU₅-an mi-ša-ra-an ma-ni-in-ku-u-wa-an[-da-an MU-an
 9' [a-]ru-na-aš an-da e-ep[-du]
 ———
 7' evil illness, evil rebell[ion?],
 8' the locust, the *mišara*-insect, the short [year,
 9' [let] the Sea sieze!

In addition to this kind of preventive approach, the Hittite translations of Akkadian astronomical omens could foretell the arrival of a plague of locusts:

KUB 8.1 ii (CTH 532 [NH])⁷⁹⁸

- 16 [m]a-a-an I-NA UD.15.KAM dXXX-aš a-ki KUR-e an-da
 17 [m]a-ša-aš pa-ra-a-i BURU.HLA ka-ra-a-pí
 ———
 16 If on the fifteenth day the moon “dies,” in the land
 17 a swarm of locusts will emerge and devour the crops.
 iii⁷⁹⁹
 3 ma-a-an I-NA UD.12.KAM dXXX-aš a-ki KUR-e an-da BURU₅ a-ra-a-i
 ———
 3 If on the twelfth day the moon “dies,” a swarm of locusts will arise in the land.

⁷⁹⁷Cf. *CHD* 3/2, 1983, 204.

⁷⁹⁸Cf. H. Otten and M. Mayrhofer, “Der Gott Akni in den hethitischen Texten und seine indoarische Herkunft,” *OLZ* 60, 1965, 547; H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *AlHeth*, 1974, 93; *CHD* 3/2, 1983, 204; and *infra*, p. 283 for iii 8-11.

⁷⁹⁹Cf. *CHD* 3/2, 1983, 204.

A letter found at Maşat tells of the devastation of crops by locusts in the Kaška region:

Maşat 75/15 obv (MH/MS)⁸⁰⁰

- 1 [U]M-MA dUTU-šī-ma
 - 2 A-NA mKa-aš-šu-ú
 - 3 Û A-NA mPu-ul-li Qf-Bf-MA
-
- 4 ki-iš-ša-an-mu ku-it
 - 5 ha-at-ra-a-eš ka-a-ša-wa-aš-ša-an
 - 6 hal-ki.HLA-aš ka-ru-ú a-ra-an-te-eš
 - 7 I-NA URUGa-aš-qā-[m]a-wa hal-ki.HLA-uš
 - 8 BURU₅.HLA e-ez-za-aš-ta
-

- 9 nu-wa-aš-ma-aš-kán ŠA URUGa-ši-pu-u-ra
 - 10 hal-ki.HLA-aš zi-ig-ga-an-zi
-

- 1 Thus (says) His Majesty:
 - 2 To Kaššu
 - 3 and to Pulli speak:
-
- 4 What you have written me
 - 5 (is) as follows: “Now
 - 6 the grain is already ripe.
 - 7 But in Kaška a swarm of locusts
 - 8 has devoured the crops.
-
- 9 “They (the Kaška) are setting (i.e. hoarding?) the grain
 - 10 of the town of Gašipura for themselves.”
-

⁸⁰⁰Cf. S. Alp, “Die hethitischen Tontafelentdeckungen auf dem Maşat-Höyük—Vorläufiger Bericht,” *Belleten* 44, 1980, 42f.

Lines 9f. report that the town of Gašipura is helping to establish a second planting in the Kaška region after the loss of the first crop to locusts. Such devastation was a serious enough matter to warrant a ritual specifically designed to end it: *ma-a-an* BUR[U₅]-*aš ku-e[-d]a-ni* URU-*ri ki-ša-an-za nu a-pé-e-da-ni* URU-*ri šA* BUR[U₅] SISKUR DÙ-*an-zi* “if a swarm of locusts is occurring in any city, they perform the ritual of the locust swarm in that city” (KBo 10.6 i 6f. [CTH 276]).⁸⁰¹ Compare KUB 30.42 i 18 (CTH 276 [NH]): DUB.1.KAM šA BURU₅.HLA *hu-uk-ma-iš QA-TI* “one tablet: Incantation of the locust swarm—finished.”⁸⁰²

⁸⁰¹Cf. E. Laroche, *CTH*, 1971, 184f.; *CHD* 3/2, 1983, 204.

⁸⁰²Cf. E. Laroche, *CTH*, 1971, 162f.

Section F. *auwauwa-* (c.) “spider”

sg. nom. [*a-u-*]*wa-u-wa-aš* KBo 16.101 : 2'; sg. gen. *a-u-wa-wa-aš* KBo 1.44 + KUB 13.1 i 50; *a-u-wa-u-wa-aš* Bo 2583 ii 8'⁸⁰³; sg. acc. *a-u-wa-u-wa-an* KBo 16.101 : 6'; sg. inst. *a-u-wa-u-wa-a-it* KBo 16.100 : 6'; *a-u-wa-u-wa-a[-it]* KBo 16.100 : 4'.

The translation “spider” for *auwauwa-* is based partly on KBo 1.44 + KUB 13.1 i 50,⁸⁰⁴ which equates the Sumerian [G]U.ZI with the Akkadian *QÚ-U ET-T[Ú-TI]* and with the Hittite *a-u-wa-wa-aš ha-an-za-na-aš*, meaning “cobweb.”⁸⁰⁵

The spider is unique because it occurs in the texts almost exclusively as an art object. Since it is not a pest, like ants and locusts, it is not found in omens. All but one of its textual attestations are as a spider-shaped rhyton, as in Bo 2583 ii 8': *BI-IB-RA GUŠKIN-ya-aš-ma-aš a-u-wa-u-wa-aš KAŠ-it šu-u-wa-an-da-an pí-ra-an pé-e har-kán-zi* “they hold out for them a gold spider-shaped rhyton filled with beer.”⁸⁰⁶ KBo 16.101 : 2' (CTH 832) mentions an *auwauwa-* in a broken context, and then in line 6', a gold spider-shaped rhyton is listed among other rhyta. Lastly, KBo 16.100 describes the use of a spider rhyton in a ritual for the deity, Huwaššanna:

KBo 16.100 (CTH 694)⁸⁰⁷

4' [^d*Hu-wa-aš-ša-an-]na-an IŠ-TU BI-IB-RI a-u-wa-u-wa-a[-it]*

⁸⁰³H. Otten, StBoT 7, 1968, 16.

⁸⁰⁴Cf. H. Otten and W. von Soden, StBoT 7, 1968, 11 and 16.

⁸⁰⁵Cf. J. Puhvel, *GsKerns*, 1981, 237; *HED*, 1984, 244f.

⁸⁰⁶Cf. *HW*², 1984, 636; H. Otten, StBoT 7, 1968, 16.

⁸⁰⁷Cf. A. Kammenhuber and A. Archi, *Materialien zu einem hethitischen Thesaurus*, Lfg. 5, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1976, 188; *HW*², 1984, 636; H. Otten and W. von Soden, StBoT 7, 1968, 16; J. Puhvel, *GsKerns*, 1981, 240.

- 5' [TUŠ-aš e-ku-zi E]GIR-ŠU-ma ^dHu-wa-aš-ša-an-na-an ^dIIM
 6' [IŠ-TU BI-IB-R]I a-u-wa-u-wa-a-it-pát TUŠ-aš e-ku-zi n[a-
 7' [o o o o o la-]a-hu-i nu EGIR-ŠU ŠA GUD BI-IB-R[A
 4' [He/she drinks, seated] to [Huwaššan]na from a spider rhyton
 5' Afterward, to Huwaššanna (and) the Weatherg[od
 6' he/she drinks, seated, [from a] spider [rhyt]on. [
 7' [...] he/she [em]pties, and afterward, of an ox rhyto[n

Kammenhuber rejects the translation spider⁸⁰⁸ because no spider rhyton has ever been recovered and argues against Puhvel's suggestion that these references are to spider designs on rhyta,⁸⁰⁹ citing the fact that vessels painted with animal designs are neither archaeologically nor philologically attested. However, we cannot ignore the vocabulary entry treated above. Moreover, absence of archaeological evidence does not make a good argument against the existence of spider-shaped rhyta.

⁸⁰⁸HW², Lfg. 8, 1984, 636b.

⁸⁰⁹GsKerns, 1981, 237-242.

Chapter V. ANIMALS OF UNCERTAIN NATURE

Section A. *akuwakuwa-* (c.)

sg. gen. *a-ku-wa-ku-wa-aš* Bo 2738 iii 7⁸¹⁰; *a-ku-wa-ku[-wa-aš]* KUB 55.67 i 8; *a-ku-ku-wa<-aš>* Bo 7230 : 7⁸¹¹; *a-ku-wa<-ku-wa>-aš* Bo 2738 i 7.

The *akuwakuwa-* is attested only in some fragments from a ritual performed by the woman named Maštigga. Each passage concerns the purification of the offerant. The portion of the text that follows describes a ritual that occurs before the hole (*hatteššar*) of the *akuwakuwa-*:

KUB 55.67 i with dupls. Bo 2738 i 7ff., Bo 7230 : 7⁸¹²

7 *nu-kán* SALŠU.GI⁸¹³ EN.SISKUR-ya *a-ku-w*[(*a-ku-wa-aš ha-at-te-eš-ni*⁸¹⁴)]

8 *pa-a-an-zi nu* SALŠU.GI *a-ku-wa-ku*[(*-wa-aš ha-at-te-eš-ni*)]

9 *pí-ra-an a-pí-ša i-ya-zi* N[(INDA SIG *pár-ši-ya*)]

10 x[o o]x BA.BA.ZA *ha-at-te-eš-ni* [(*pí-ra-an kat-ia da-a-i*)]

7 The Old Woman and the offerant go to the hole

8 of the *akuwakuwa-* and the Old Woman makes a ritual pit?

9 before the hole of the *akuwakuwa-* and breaks a loaf of flat bread.

⁸¹⁰H. Otten, ZA 66, 1976, 94.

⁸¹¹H. Otten, ZA 66, 1976, 94.

⁸¹²Cf. H. Otten, ZA 66, 1976, 94f.

⁸¹³Bo 2738 i 7 inserts *Ú-NU-UT* here.

⁸¹⁴Bo 7230 : 7]*a-ku-ku-wa<-aš> ha-a*[*t-*.

10 [Then the Old Woman?] sets porridge down before the hole.

Following this part of the text, the duplicate refers to an *akuwakuwa*- in a phrase that is almost identical to that used for an ant (*lalaweššar*) in previous lines (KUB 55.67 i 2-4 with dupl. Bo 2738 i, supra, pp. 248f.): [*na-an-kā*]⁸¹⁵ *a-pé-e-ta-az 7-šU SU[D-y]a-zi [nu me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi k]iš-an a-ku-wa-aš*⁸¹⁵ AMA-aš GUD-uš [...] ŠA EN.SISKUR GUŠKIN ZI-a[n SI-it le-e kar-ap-zi??]⁸¹⁶ “from there seven times she pu[lls [it], [(while) she speaks as follows: The mother of the *akuwa(kuwa)*- (is) the cow. [...] the golden life⁸¹⁷ of the offerant [let it (the cow) not lift up with (its) horn!]” (Bo 2738 i 16ff.).⁸¹⁸

Kretschmer, Ertem and Kronasser have suggested “frog” as the meaning of this word.⁸¹⁹ Others have provided an etymology for *akuwakuwa*- that connects it with Indo-European “frog.”⁸²⁰ Kammenhuber doubts this translation and cites “toad,” “mole,” or some other “Erd-Tiere” as better possibilities.⁸²¹ Puhvel suggests that *akuwakuwa*- and *auwauwa*- are phonetic variants along the lines of *lala(k)ueša*- “ant” or *tar(k)uwai*- “dance,” and designate a spider.⁸²²

⁸¹⁵Probably a haplographic writing of *akuwakuwa*-. Cf. *akukuwaš* in Bo 7230 : 7. Cf. also H. Otten, ZA 66, 1976, 95; J. Puhvel, *Kratylos* 25, 1980, 137.

⁸¹⁶Restored from KUB 55.67 i 4.

⁸¹⁷If an adjective, as I have taken it here, GUŠKIN should follow the noun it modifies, namely ZI. Another possible translation would put GUŠKIN in the nominative, and require a different restoration than the one proposed here: “The gold of the offerant [...] (his) soul”

⁸¹⁸Cf. H. Otten, ZA 66, 1976, 94f.

⁸¹⁹P. Kretschmer, *KIF* 1, 1930, 310, n. 2; H. Ertem, *Fauna*, 1965, 138; H. Kronasser, *EHS*, 1966, 121.

⁸²⁰For bibliography on this see *HW*², 1975, 54.

⁸²¹*HW*², 1975, 54.

⁸²²*GsKerns*, 1981, 237-42; *HED*, 1984, 244.

Both frog and toad are unlikely, since they do not dig holes for dwellings. Spiders are also unlikely for the same reason, despite Puhvel's consideration of such candidates as tarantulas, which anyway are not native to Anatolia. Ultimately, any burrowing animal may be considered, including snake, mole, mouse and so forth, although it is more likely to be larger than an average insect for its hole to be noticed.

Section B. *ašku-* (c.)

sg. nom. *aš-ku-uš* 795/c rev 1⁸²³.

pl. nom. *a-aš-ku-e-eš* KUB 34.22 i 2', 5', 7'; *a-aš-k[u-e-eš]* KUB 34.22 i 2'; *a-aš-ku-uš* KUB 53.50 i 10 (NH); *aš-ku-uš* Bo 3471 : 4'⁸²⁴; unclear *aš-ku-uš* KUB 16.34 i 26; *aš-ku-uš* KUB 34.47 obv? 8' (NH)⁸²⁵.

A small number of omen texts refer to an *ašku*-animal. In the following passage, *ašku-* are said to “spring” (*watku-*) from both outside and inside the house. Whatever the situation, there is a ritual that addresses it:

KUB 53.50 i with dupl. Bo 3471 i 4'ff. (NH)⁸²⁶

- 10 [n(a-aš-m)]a-kán a-aš-ku-uš⁸²⁷ IŠ-TU GÌŠ-ÙR na-aš-ma-at-kán ŠÀ É-TT
 11 [ku-e-ez] im-ma ku-e-ez pé-e-da-az wa-at-ku-an-zi⁸²⁸
 12 [na-aš-ma GI]Š-ru ta-a-an a-li-le-eš-zi na-aš-ma ku-iš i[(m-ma ku-iš)]

⁸²³H. Otten, StBoT 7, 1968, 31.

⁸²⁴H. Otten, ZA 66, 1976, 98.

⁸²⁵HW², 1982, 424 lists this as a separate entry from *ašku-*. See rather, sub *aš-ku-x*].

⁸²⁶H. Otten, ZA 66, 1976, 98; ZA 72, 1982, 285; HW², 1982, 424.

⁸²⁷Bo 3471 i 4' *aš-ku-uš*.

⁸²⁸Bo 3471 i 5' *wa-at-ku-uz-zi*.

- 13 [(IZKIM-i)]š *ki-ša-ri nu ki[-i]* SISKUR-šU
 10 [Whether] *ašku-* jump from the roof, or from inside the house,
 11 or from [what]ever other place,
 12 [or wo]od for a second time he *alili-s*, or whichever
 13 omen occurs, th[is] is its ritual.

Of similar tone, the following omen passage is also concerned with the place of origin of the “springing” *ašku-*:

KUB 34.22 i (CTH 544)⁸²⁹

- 1 *taḳ-ku-wa-aš-ta É-ir-z[a]*
 2 *pa-iz-zi na-aš-ta a-aš-k[u-e-eš]*
 3 *pa-ra-a ha-an-ti wa-at-ku-an-z[i]*
 4 *ma-uš-zi*

 5 *taḳ-ku-wa-aš-ta a-aš-ku-e-eš* GĒPISÀN-az [*pa-ra-a?* *wa-at-ku-an-zi*]
 6 SAG.GEME.ÌR.MEŠ-*kán* *ma-uš-k[án-zi]*

 7 *taḳ-ku-wa-aš-ta a-aš-ku-e-eš* ŠA-PAL GĒGU.Z[A *pa-ra-a*]
 8 *wa-at-ku-wa-an-zi nu a-pa-a-at* GĒŠÚ.A [
 9 *ar-ha pí-ip-pa-at-ta-ri*

 1 If he goes fr[om
 2 the house and *ašku-*
 3 spring forth individually, [the ...]
 4 will fall.

 5 If *ašku-* [spring from] a wooden drain,

⁸²⁹Cf. J. Puhvel, *GsKerns*, 1981, 241f.; J. Friedrich, *AfO* 15, 1945-51, 106 with n. 23; and *BiOr* 5, 1948, 50, n. 15; H. Ertem, *Fauna*, 1965, 161f.

- 6 the servants will fal[l.]
-
- 7 If *ašku-* spring [forth] from under
- 8 the throne, that seat
- 9 will be overturned.

Finally, one fragmentary omen text warns of death if an *ašku-* appears:

795/c rev⁸³⁰

- 1 [...]x *aš-ku-uš ú-iz-zi*
- 2 [...] *a-ki*
-
- 1 (If) an *ašku-* comes,
- 2 [...] will die.

In each case, the *ašku-* is a harbinger of ill fortune. An insect would be a likely candidate then, since, as a threat to the harvest, insects are primarily regarded as evil omens. Friedrich suggested “mouse” as a possible translation for *ašku-*.⁸³¹ Hoffner offers several possible meanings, among them, “mouse,” “grasshopper,” “small lizard,” “frog,” and “toad.”⁸³² In *HW*², this word is cited as a “kleineres Tier (wohl Insekt), das springt,”⁸³³ and the possibilities “Maus,” and “Frosch” are rejected.

Puhvel suggests that *ašku-* designates a mole, “the blind, chthonian permutation of the mouse whose daylight emergence would be ominous and whose subterranean burrowings were literally conducive to collapse and downfall.”⁸³⁴ Against this argument is the

⁸³⁰Cf. H. Otten, *StBoT* 7, 1968, 31; J. Puhvel, *GsKerns*, 1981, 241; H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *AlHeth*, 1974, 91f.

⁸³¹*BiOr* 5, 1948, 50, n. 15; and *Afo* 15, 1945-51, 106, n. 23.

⁸³²H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *AlHeth*, 1974, 92.

⁸³³J. Friedrich† and A. Kammenhuber, *HW*², 1982, 424.

⁸³⁴*GsKerns*, 1981, 242.

fact that KUB 34.22 i 2-8 indicates clearly that the *ašku-* travels in groups of more than one. Indeed, lines 2f. of this text suggest that it is unusual for this animal to “jump forth individually.” Since moles are primarily solitary animals, and probably would not wander out of the ground long enough to make their way into the throne room of the palace anyway, let alone spring from the roof,⁸³⁵ this suggestion is unlikely. Mice, frogs, and toads can all be found in groups of more than one. However, we probably need to look for an animal or, more likely, an insect that characteristically is found in a large group, such as “termite,” or something similar.

Section C. *halliya-* (c.)⁸³⁶

sg. nom. *hal-li-ya-aš* KBo 10.6 i 14, KUB 34.22 iv 5; *hal-li-ya<-aš>* KUB 53.50 i 7; sg. acc. *hal-li-ya-an* KUB 34.22 iv 3; unclear *hal-li-ya[(-)...]* KUB 30.53 iii? 10' (NH).

Friedrich lists this word as a “(kleines Tier; Ungeziefer ?).”⁸³⁷ Ertem offers nothing new to this assessment.⁸³⁸ Riemschneider suggests translating “Eidechse,” “lizard.”⁸³⁹ According to the divination text, KUB 34.22, the *halliya-* can be either black or red.

KUB 34.22 iv (CTH 544)

1 *É-ri an-da ú-iz-zi par-na-aš* [

2 *ša-ak-ku-ri-ya-u-wa-ar* [

⁸³⁵Cf. already HW², 1982, 637, sub *auwauwa-*.

⁸³⁶Cf. KBo 21.107 ii 8, LÚ.MEŠ *hal-li-y[a...]*.

⁸³⁷HW, 1953, 47.

⁸³⁸*Fauna*, 1965, 162f.

⁸³⁹Apud H. Otten, ZA 72, 1982, 285, n. 9.

- 3 *ták-ku hal-li-ya-an-ma* SA₅ *ú-wa-an-zi* [
 4 *par-na-aš aš-šu-ul ki-ša[-ri?*
 5 *ták-ku hal-li-ya-aš-ma* GE₆ [
 6 *an-da ú-wa-an-zi nu* [
 1 He comes into the house. Of the house [
 2 an overpowering [
 3 If one sees red *halliya-* [
 4 of the house well-being will resul[t
 5 If black *halliya-* [
 6 come in [

The portent for a red *halliya-* seems to be positive, while that for a black one is not preserved. In a catalogue of tablets, the “omen of the *halliya-animal*” is listed as a separate entry: [DUB.N.KA]M *hal-li-ya-aš ša-ki-y[a-aš]* “[Nth tablet:] of the omen of the *halliya-animal*” (KBo 10.6 i 14 [CTH 276]).⁸⁴⁰

In KUB 53.50 i 7 the *halliya-animal* appears in a passage with the bee, eagle, snake ant and *ašku*—all important for divination, as, apparently, is the *halliya-*: *na-aš-ma-kán hal-li-ya-aš* ^{GŠNÁ}*-aš a-ki* “or if a *halliya-* dies on the bed” (cf. supra, pp. 223f.).

⁸⁴⁰Cf. J. Friedrich, CTH, 1971, 185.

Section D. *halmešna-* (c.); *:huwahuwanala-* (c.), hapax; *:malušteya-* (c.), hapax⁸⁴¹

sg. nom. *hal-mi-eš-na-aš* KUB 36.25 iv 7 (NS); [*hal*]-*mi-eš-na'-aš* KUB 3.94 i 8'; [*hal-mi-e*]-*š-na-aš* KUB 3.94 i 5'.

sg. nom. *:hu-u-wa-hu-wa-na-la-aš* KUB 36.25 iv 10 (NS).

sg. nom. *:ma-lu-uš-te-ya-aš* KUB 36.25 iv 11 (NS).

All three of these animals appear together in one text. Only the *halmešna*-animal is found elsewhere, in a broken vocabulary entry in KUB 3.94 i 8' (CTH 306). KUB 36.25 is part of the Kumarbi Cycle of myths (CTH 346). In iv 6-14 the role of the animals is uncertain, but each seems to be causing the deified Sea physical pain:

KUB 36.25 iv (CTH 346 [NS])⁸⁴²

6 *nu-za a-ru-na-a-aš ú-e-eš-ki-u-wa-an-za ZI-ni-sš* [*me-mi-iš-ki-u-wa-an*]

7 *da-a-iš NÍ.TE.HLA-uš-mu-za hal-mi-eš-na-aš ki-š[a'-*

8 [*U*]R.GI₇.HLA-uš ŠAH.HLA-uš *nu-mu-kán an-da pár-hi-iš-kán[-zi*

9 *ki-iš-ha-ha-at nu-mu-kán ku-iš wa-a-ki n[u'-mu-kán? ku-iš]*

10 *:pu-uš-ša-iz-zi :hu-u-wa-hu-wa-na-la-aš[-mu*

11 *:ma-lu-uš-te-ya-aš-ma-mu wa-a-ki-it nu G[IM-an*

12 DINGIR.MEŠ-uš-mu *šal-li-i[n U]R.MAH(-)an* [

13 *an-da kal-le-eš-tar-w[a-*

14 KA₅.A.HLA-uš x x[

6 Then the Sea, wailing, began [to say] to himself

7 "But the *halmešna*-animal? [has] *k*-[ed] the bodies to me. [

⁸⁴¹For *malušteya-* cf. CHD 3/2, 1983, 137f.

⁸⁴²Cf. H. Otten, *MGK*, 1950, 32f.; E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 1968, [188f.]

- 8 the dogs (and) pigs (acc.), and me the[y?] chase in [
 9 I have become. Who is biting me? [Who]
 10 is ...-ing [me], the *huwahuwanala*-animal? [...-ed me],
 11 but the *malušteya*-animal bit me!" And I[like?]
-
- 12 The gods (acc.) to me a grea[t l]ion [
 13 a calling [
 14 foxes [

With no verb to characterize the action performed by the *huwahuwanala*-, we cannot be certain that it is an animal, although context suggests this is so.

Section E. *harziyal(l)a*- (c.) "salamander?"

sg. nom. *har-zi-ya-al-la-aš* KBo 13.131 obv 16'; [*har-zi-]ya-la'-ša* 1066/u : 7'⁸⁴³; *ha-ar-zi-ya-al-la-aš* 1744/c : 4'⁸⁴⁴; sg. acc. *har-zi-ya-al-la-an* IBoT 2.109 + KUB 15.39 ii 21 (MH/NS); *ha-ar-z[(i-ya-al-la-an)]* KUB 34.84 + IBoT 2.111 iii 8.

pl. acc. *har-zi-ya-lu-uš* KUB 8.67 iv? 14' (MH/NS), KUB 33.84 + KBo 19.109 obv 10', 5/i : 9'⁸⁴⁵; *har-zi-ya-al-lu-u[š]* KUB 54.72 i 21'; *har-zi-y[(a-lu-uš)]* KBo 19.111 : 8.

The *harziyala*-animal is one of the better attested animal names that have not yet been certainly identified. It is mentioned in three passages with the frog—twice in the Myth of Hedammu as part of that serpent's diet (KUB 8.67 iv? 14' and KUB 33.84 + KBo 19.109

⁸⁴³J. Siegelová, StBoT 14, 1971, 72, n. f. The text has [*har-zi-]ya-lu-ša*, but compare the parallel KBo 13.131 obv 16', which gives the correct form, *har-zi-ya-al-la-aš*.

⁸⁴⁴E. Neu, IF 86, 1981, 349.

⁸⁴⁵J. Siegelová, StBoT 14, 1971, 72, n. 2.

obv 10', see *supra*, pp. 226ff.), and once in a magic ritual in which the Springs along with the animals associated with them, i.e. the frog and the *harziyala*-, take action to aid an unnamed person: “‘You must help me!’ Thus (say) the Springs: ‘Do not fear them! We will [help you].’” The frog takes (it) with (his) mouth. [... and] gulps it down. The salamander? [takes] it with (his) *šappu*- [and ...]. The frog [will carry?] it into the deep. [The salamander? will carry it to the waters. The ri]ver will carry it to the sea” (KBo 13.131 obv 14'-18' || KUB 30.34 iii 16 + Bo 1509 : 2'-7' || 1066/u : 4'-9', cf. *supra*, p. 228f.).

The *harziyala*- is mentioned in another unhelpful fragment, 5/i : 9',⁸⁴⁶ and in a translation of an Akkadian ritual against sexual impotence.⁸⁴⁷ In KUB 54.72 i? 21', two *harziyala*- are found in a list of offerings after two fish. In the previous line a hare was listed, and in the following line rams, cows and sheep. In addition to these texts, the *harziyala*- appears in the Ritual of Maštigga⁸⁴⁸ (CTH 404), where it is used in a purification ritual, followed by an incantation:

Maštigga iii (MH/MS) with dupl. KBo 9.106 ii 21-27 || IBoT 2.109 + KUB 15.39 ii 21-24 (MH/NS)⁸⁴⁹

8 *nu* SALŠU.GI *ha-ar*⁸⁵⁰-z[(i-ya-al-la-an d)]a-a-i *nu-uš-ši-kán*

9 SÍG ZA.GÌN SÍG SA₅⁸⁵¹ *an*[(da hu-u-la-li-y)]a-zi⁸⁵² *na-an-kán*

⁸⁴⁶J. Siegelová, StBoT 14, 1971, 72, n. 2.

⁸⁴⁷KUB 4.48 ii 5. Cf. R. D. Biggs, TCS II, 1967, 55-57.

⁸⁴⁸For the largely unpublished fragments of the main text, see CTH 404.2A

⁸⁴⁹Cf. L. Rost, “Ein hethitisches Ritual gegen Familienzweist (CTH 404),” *MIO* 1, 1953, 358f. Line numbering of the main text follows her edition.

⁸⁵⁰IBoT 2.109+ ii 21 *har*-.

⁸⁵¹IBoT 2.109+ ii 22 SÍG SA₅ SÍG ZA.GÌN.

⁸⁵²KBo 9.106 ii 22 *hu-u-la-li-iz-zi*.

10 [(A-N)A [(2 B)]E-E[L (SIS)]KUR.SISKUR⁸⁵³ š[(e-er ar-ha wa-ah-nu-uz-zi⁸⁵⁴)] nu
ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i⁸⁵⁵

11 [(kar-ap) ... (pūt-ti-ya-li-iš⁸⁵⁶ GÌR-aš)] i-da-a-lu-un EME-an

12 [(nu-wa-ra-an iš-ki-ša-az kar-ap-du) IŠ(-TU EME.HLA-ŠU)]-ya-wa-ra-at⁸⁵⁷

13 [(kar-ap-du i-da-a-lu KAxU-iš i-da-a-lu-un)] EME-an

8 The Old Woman takes a salamander?

9 and wraps on it blue wool and red wool.

10 Then she waves it over the two offerants and speaks as follows:

11 “Lift [...], O ‘swift-foot,’ the evil tongue!

12 Let it lift it with its back, and with its tongues

13 let it lift them—namely, the evil mouth (and) the evil tongue!

Friedrich suggested “Eidechse(?)” (“lizard?”) as a translation for this term.⁸⁵⁸ This translation has been used generally since. Siegelová, observing that the contexts in which it occurs suggest an animal that inhabits the water, tentatively translated instead “Molch” (“salamander?”). Most recently Watkins has suggested “snail,”⁸⁵⁹ based on a mythological text (KUB 43.60 i 18-20) that refers to a goat’s *šappu-*, just as KBo 13.131 obv 16-17 refers to the *šappu-* of a *harziyala-*. He concludes from KUB 43.60 that *šappu-* must be a type of horn: “Let the goat butt it with (his) *šappu-*. Let the ram butt it with (his) horns.

⁸⁵³IBoT 2.109+ ii 23 EN.SISKUR.SISKUR.

⁸⁵⁴IBoT 2.109+ ii 24 wa-ah-nu-zi.

⁸⁵⁵KBo 9.106 ii 24 omits paragraph marker.

⁸⁵⁶KBo 9.106 ii 24 pld-da-al-li-iš.

⁸⁵⁷IBoT 2.109+ ii 27 EME.HI.A-ŠU-ya-wa-ra-an.

⁸⁵⁸ArchOr 17, 1949, 235.

⁸⁵⁹GsKerns, 1981, 345-48.

Let the ewe butt it with (her) nose" (KUB 43.60 i 18-20 [CTH 457 (OH/NS)], cf. supra, pp. 243f.).

Although I do not know what *šappu-* is, it seems to me unlikely that a snail's sensory antennas, which only superficially resemble tiny horns, would be referred to as horns. I also doubt that the Hittites distinguished horn shapes with different words, but would have used adjectives such as "bent," "curved," and so forth. Moreover, the goat's horn is referred to elsewhere as *SI/karawar*.⁸⁶⁰ *Šappu-* may designate nothing more than a part of the goat's body, like the nose of the ewe in KUB 43.60 i 20. We may also point out that in KBo 13.131, the *harziyala-* is conveying something to the waters (A.HI.A), and one is not likely to choose a slow moving snail for such a purpose, even in myth. The same argument holds for the passage in the Ritual of Maštigga, where the *harziyala-* is enjoined to carry away the evil tongue and mouth. A snail would not be particularly effective at this task.⁸⁶¹

Recently, M. Poetto⁸⁶² has suggested "hoof" as a translation of *šappu-*. It should be noted, however, that he does include in his discussion KBo 13.131 obv 17', where the *šappu-* is part of the *harziyala-*. Even if *harziyala-* is not salamander, it certainly is not a hooved animal.

Siegelová is correct that context suggests an aquatic or semi-aquatic animal. More than one text supports this idea. Moreover, we have to consider its close association with the amphibious frog. A salamander is a lizard-like amphibian related to the frog and toad and thus fits well in context with the frog. Hence, salamander is the best alternative so far presented.

⁸⁶⁰For example, KBo 11.32 obv 23f., to describe the anointing of the horns of a billy goat with oil before ritually killing it.

⁸⁶¹Cf. C. Watkins, *GsKerns*, 1981, 347f.

⁸⁶²"Eteo *sappu-*," *AION*, 1979, 117-121.

Section F. *huwala-* (a river animal or bird), hapax

sg. nom. *hu-wa-la-aš* KUB 43.60 i 14 (OH/NS).

This word appears in a mythological passage describing a bee's quest for abundance (*iyatar*): "Let the bees go on a journey of three days, (or) of four days, and let them bring my abundance. But if from the sea, let the *lahanza*-duck bring it and put it in its place. But if from the river, then let the *huwala*-animal bring it and put it in its place. But whatever is from heaven, let the *tapakali*- eagle bring it ...!" (KUB 43.60 i 10-17 [CTH 457], cf. supra, pp. 243f.). Since every animal in this passage is a bird, except for the bee, which is a flying insect, it is tempting to understand *huwala-* as a bird, whose habitat is the river. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that it could also be a mammal or insect.

Section G. *gagaštiya-* "grasshopper?"

sg. nom. *ga-ga-aš-ti-ya-aš* KUB 33.106 iv 21; [*ga-ga-aš-ti-ya-aš*] KUB 33.106 i 4'.

Only in the third tablet of the Song of Ullikummi (CTH 345) can reference be found to the *gagaštiya*-animal. In this myth, it is used as a simile for the Wargod, Aštabi, and the Weathergod:

KUB 33.106 i⁸⁶³

2' *nu ma-ah-ha-an* DINGIR.MEŠ *me-mi-ya-an iš-t[a-ma-aš-ši-ir*

3' *nu* GŠMAR.GÍD.DA.HLA *an-da ha-an-ta[-a-ir*

4' *ma-ni-ya-ah-hi-ir* dAš-ta-bí-iš-kán [GŠti-ya-ri-da-aš ša-ra-a *ga-ga-aš-ti-ya-aš ma-a-an*]

5' *wā-at-ku-ut na-aš-kán* GŠMAR.GÍD[.DA

⁸⁶³Cf. H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 6, 1952, 18f.; H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *AlHeth.*, 1974, 92.

- 6' *GŠti-ya-ri-ta ni-ni-in-ki-iš[-ki-iz-zi*
 7' *nu te-et-he-eš-ki-iz-zi dAš-d[a-bí-iš*
 8' *nu-kán te-et-he-eš-na-an-za dA[š-ta-bí-iš*
 9' *a-ru-ni GIM-an-da tar-na-aš ...*

- 2' When the gods h[ear]d the word,
 3' [they] prepa[red] the wagons [and ...
 4' they assigned. Aštabi jumped [up onto the cart like a *gagaššiya*].
 5' He [...] -ed the wag[on], [
 6' [he] muster[ed] the carts,
 7' and he thundered. Ašt[abi
 8' and with thunder A[štabi
 9' released [it] down towards the sea....

...

iv⁸⁶⁴

- 21 *dU-aš-kán GŠti-ya-ri-da-aš ša-ra-a ga-ga-aš-ti-ya-aš ma-a-an wa-at-ku-ut na-aš-kán*
te-et-he-eš-na-za
 22 *kat-ta a-ru-ni a-ar-aš na-an za-ah-he-eš-ki-iz-zi dU-aš NA₄ku-un-ku-nu-zi-in*
 21 The Weathergod jumped up onto the cart like a *gagaššiya*- and with thunder
 22 he arrived down to the sea and battled him. The Weathergod (battled) the
kunkunuzzi.

From these passages we can determine that “jumping” (*watku-*) is characteristic of the *gagaššiya*’s movements—hence, the suggested meaning “grasshopper.”⁸⁶⁵

⁸⁶⁴Cf. H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 6, 1952, 30f.

⁸⁶⁵H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *AlHeth*, 1974, 92.

Section H. *mišari-*, *mišara-* (c.) (an insect)⁸⁶⁶

sg. nom. *mi-ša-ri-iš* KUB 3.94 ii 25 (NS), KUB 8.1 iii 19 (NS); *mi-ša-a-ri-iš* KBo 13.18 : 8' (NS); sg. acc. *mi-ša-ra-an* KBo 12.94 : 8 (NS).

This designation occurs with a list of insects in the vocabulary text, KUB 3.94 ii 25: (Sum.) GARA_x = (Sum. pron.) :ga-ra = (Akk.) *hu-ur-še-en-nu* = (Hitt.) *mi-ša-ri-iš* (cf. infra, pp. 281f.). The meaning of the Akkadian is unknown. Like the locust (supra, pp. 250ff.), the *mišara*-insect appears in omen texts:

KUB 8.1 iii with dupl. KBo 13.18 : 8' (CTH 532 [NS])⁸⁶⁷

- 17 [ma-a-an I-NA I]TL9.KAM iš-TU UD.21.KAM ku-it-ma-an
 18 [ITI LIBIR.RA zi-in]-na-at-ta-ri ku-it-ma-an ITI GIBIL ti[-i-e-ez-zi
 19 [dXXX-a]š a-ki BURU mi-ša-ri-iš⁸⁶⁸ ka-ra-a[-pī]
- 17 [If in the] ninth [m]onth from the twenty-first day until
 18 [the old month en]ds, until the new month b[egins,
 19 [the Moongo]d dies, the *mišari*-insect will devour[r] the crops.

Also like the locust, the *mišara-* is named in incantations designed to ward off evil, as in KBo 12.94 : 7'-9' (CTH 458 [NS]): "O Sea seize evil illness, evil rebell[ion? ...] the locust, the *mišari*-insect, the short [year? ...]!" In both of these texts, the *mišara*-insect is paired with the locust (*maša-*), suggesting a similar type of insect, or at least one with a similar effect on the crops. Friedrich lists this word as "(ein den Feldfrüchten schädliches Insekt; 'Larve(?)')." ⁸⁶⁹ Hoffner translates "grain weevil." ⁸⁷⁰ Landsberger⁸⁷¹ has

⁸⁶⁶Cf. CHD 3/3, 1986, 296f.

⁸⁶⁷Cf. H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *AlHeth*, 1974, 25; H. Otten, *OLZ* 60, 1965, 547; H. Ertem, *Fauna*, 1965, 248.

⁸⁶⁸KBo 13.18 : 8' *mi-ša-a-ri-iš*.

⁸⁶⁹HW, 1953, 143.

tentatively identified the Akkadian equivalent of KUB 3.94—~~huršapnu~~—with Akkadian *harsapnu*, which is defined variously as “date-worm” and “clothes moth.”⁸⁷²

Section I. *mutamuti*-, hapax⁸⁷³

sg. acc. *mu-ú-ta-mu-t[i-in?]* KUB 7.33 obv 6 (NH).

In its only attestation, the *mutamuti*(-) animal is listed with domestic and kept animals:

KUB 7.33 obv (CTH 490 [NH])⁸⁷⁴

- 5 1 DÀRA.MAŠ 1 GUD 1 UDU 1 ÁMUŠEN 1 SÚR.DÙ.AMUŠEN [1 ...MUŠEN
6 1 AR-NA-BU 1 MUŠ 5 MUŠEN.HLA 1 *mu-ú-ta-mu-t[i-in?*
7 5 KU₆.HLA 1 LÚ-LUM 1 ANŠE.KUR.RA 1 ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.N[A]
8 1 ANŠE-ya *da-a-i ki-i-ma ku-e hu-u-i[-tar*
9 *nu hu-u-ma-an-pát hu-u-iš-wa[-an*
-
- 5 One red? deer, one cow, one sheep, one eagle, one falcon, [one ...]-bird,
6 one hare, one snake, five birds, one *mutamut*[i-animal,]
7 five fish, one man, one horse, one mule,
8 and one donkey she (the Old Woman) takes. But these ani[mals] such [...]
9 each livin[g

⁸⁷⁰*AlHeth*, 1974, 25.

⁸⁷¹MSL 2, 1951, 116.

⁸⁷²See H. A. Hoffner, *AlHeth*, 1974, 90.

⁸⁷³Cf. *CHD* 3/3, 1986, 337.

⁸⁷⁴Cf. H. M. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König*, StBoT 3, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz 1967, 159. For the unpublished duplicates and their variants see H. Otten, “Ein Ritual von Ašdu, der Hurriterin,” *Kaniššuwat: A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (=AS 23), H. A. Hoffner and G. M. Beckman, eds., Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1986, 167.

The most we may conclude from this passage is that the *mutamuti*-animal is probably not a predatory mammal. Each of the other animals in this list is either frequently used in offerings (livestock, fish, birds), or significant in cultic practices (eagle, snake, falcon), whereas predatory mammals are neither used in offerings nor significant in the cult.⁸⁷⁵

Section J. *šayu*- (c.)

sg. nom. *ša-a-i-u-uš* KUB 12.1 iv 23'; unclear *ša-a-i-u* KUB 1.17 i 32, ii 51, iii 1, vi 2; *ša-i-u* KUB 1.17 i 43.

The *šayu*-animal appears in both Hittite and Hattic passages.⁸⁷⁶ In the Inventory of Manninni, it appears in the form of a gold vessel:

KUB 12.1 iv (CTH 504)⁸⁷⁷

20' ... 6 *BI-IB-RU* GUŠKIN

21' [ŠÀ.B]A 4 GUD IGI-zi GUB-*an-te-eš* ŠÀ 3 GUŠKIN NA₄ 1-EN GUŠKIN *pu-u-ri-in*

22' [*tī-i*]t-ta-li-ta-i-me-eš NA₄ ar-ha iš-hu-u-wa-an 1-EN GÚ UR.MAH

23' [GUŠKI]N NA₄ 1 *ša-a-i-ú-uš* GUŠKIN

20' ... Six rhyta (of) gold.

21' [amon]g them, four oxen marching forwards—among (these), three (are) of gold and stone, one with golden muzzle,

22' [da]maged—stones are falling out (lit. “thrown away”). One (is) a lion protome

23' [of gol]d and stone, (and) one (is) a *šayu*-animal of gold.

⁸⁷⁵Cf. the discussion in Chapter VI, Section B.

⁸⁷⁶E. Laroche, *JKF* 1, 1951, 180, identifies *šayu*- as a Hattic word.

⁸⁷⁷Cf. S. Košak, *Linguistica* 18, 1978, 102 and 105; C. G. von Brandenstein, *Bildbeschr.*, 1943, 24, n. 1; O. Carruba, *Kadmos* 6, 1967, 91.

The gold *šayu-* is probably one of the six rhyta mentioned in line 20', hence, the *šayu-* is probably an animal.⁸⁷⁸ In KUB 1.17 (CTH 591 [OH/NS]), *šayu-* appears repeatedly in the Hattic phrase, *šayu liggaram*: i 32 *ša-a-i-u ši-x[o o o o -]an*; i 43 *ša-i-u [o o o]a'-an* KUR *ku-pé-en-na*; ii 51 *ša-a-i-u li-ig-ga-ra-a-an*; iii 1 *ša-a-i-u li-ig-ga[-ra-a-am*; vi 2 *ša-a-i-u li-ig-ga-ra-a-a[m*. Whether we are dealing with the same word in these two texts is not certain. Nor is it clear whether this word designates a mammal, an insect, or something else.

Section K. *šaša-* (c.) “goitred gazelle?” or “ibex?”

sg. nom. *ša-a-ša-aš* KUB 29.1 iii 43 (OH/NS), KBo 3.8 iii 30 (NH); *ša-a-aš-ša-aš* KBo 21.103 rev 27'; *ša-a-aš-ša-aš* KBo 21.90 rev 51'; *ša-ša-aš* KUB 9.31 i 9 (MH/NS); *ša-aš-ša-aš* KBo 21.103 rev 15; sg. acc. *ša-a-ša-an* KBo 3.8 iii 12 (NH); sg. gen. [*ša-*]*a-ša-aš* KBo 9.105 : 9'; *ša-a-ša-aš* KUB 41.23 ii 15 (OH/NS), KBo 16.61 rev? 4', 14', 503/s : 6⁸⁷⁹; *ša-ša-a-aš* KUB 44.6 obv 5; *ša-ša-aš* KBo 3.8 iii 13, 31 (NH), KUB 38.29 obv 11.

The *šaša-*animal was depicted in art, as we may assume from a reference in KUB 44.6 obv 5 to a bronze rhyton in the form of a *šaša-*, listed along with two pig-shaped rhyta of bronze,⁸⁸⁰ and from KUB 38.29 obv 11 (CTH 522), which refers to an image of a *šaša-* (ALAM *ša-ša-aš*).⁸⁸¹

The following passage links the *šaša-*animal with the lamb in a conjuration that offers the soul of these animals in exchange for the rejuvenation of the king:

⁸⁷⁸C. G. von Brandenstein, *Bildbeschr.*, 1943, 24, n. 1.

⁸⁷⁹O. Carruba, *Kadmos* 6, 1967, 90, n. 7.

⁸⁸⁰Cf. H. Ehelolf, *ZA* 45, 1939, 72.

⁸⁸¹L. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 9, 1963, 188f.

KUB 41.23 ii (CTH 458 [OH/NS])⁸⁸²

- 11 *na-an EGIR-pa ma-ya-an-ta-ah i-da-lu ut-ta[r ... ar-^hca]*
 12 *pé-e-da ši-ú-na-aš-ša-aš ta-ri-ya-an-za x[-o-o-aš-ša-aš ta-ri-ya-an-za]*
 13 *ši-ú-wa-at-te-ya-as ta-ri-ya-an-za iš-pa-an-[ti-ya-aš ta-ri-ya-an-za]*
 14 *ši-ú-wa-at-te-ya-aš ar-ta iš-pa-an-^{ti}-ya-aš [ar-ta*
 15 *SILÁ-aš iš-ta-an-za-na-an da-a ša-a-ša-aš HA[...an? da-a]*

- 11 Rejuvenate him (Labarna) again! The evil wor[d
 12 send [away]! His deity was invoked, [his ... was invoked]
 13 He was invoked by day; [he was invoked] by night.
 14 He arrived by day; [he arrived] by night.
 15 Take the soul of the lamb! [Take? the ...] of the šaša-animal!

The lamb and the šaša- are paired again in KBo 21.90 rev 51'-52' (OH/MS) !! KBo 25.155 + KBo 21.103 rev 27'-28' (CTH 738): “A šaša-animal (and) a lamb are on the *hankuri*-. And when I go, be afraid for me regarding the leopard and the wolf! *lariya*- the water!” (cf. *supra*, pp. 86f.).

One might argue from these two texts alone that šaša- designates “kid” or “calf,” and is the reading of MÁŠ.TUR or AMAR. However, another passage reveals that the šaša- is capable of giving milk and therefore must be a fully grown animal: “A šaša-animal, its *huratti*-, it bound, the milk of the šaša-animal it bound” (KBo 3.8 iii 12-13), and “[the šaš]a-animal, its *huratti*-, was released, the milk of the [ša]ša-animal was released” (KBo 3.8 iii 30-31 [CTH 390], cf. *supra*, pp. 49f.).

In the Ritual of Zarpiya, KUB 9.31 i 9 (CTH 757), a šaša-animal is juxtaposed with a lion and bear in an obscure ritual: “I hang the *kelu*- [of the offer]ant. Its *huppali* is bronze. Its *hazziul* are of a shaggy lion-skin. But its footstool is of basalt, and its *hazziul* is

⁸⁸²Cf. H. Ehelolf, “Hethitisch-akkadische Wortgleichungen,” ZA 43, 1936, 182.

[of lapis]. The strong *šišai-* is the *šišai-* of a bear. But he h[angs the ...] of a *šaša-animal*” (cf. *supra*, pp. 55f.). Unfortunately this passage is not revealing.

A passage concerning Hittite legal proceedings (CTH 295) apparently refers to the theft of pelts of a *šaša-animal*:

KBo 16.61 rev⁸⁸³

- 4' UM-MA ^mŠa-mu-u-ha-LÚ ŠA KUS.HLA ša-a-ša-aš š[a?]-
 5' ku-in šar-ni-in-kir na-aš-ta ^mMa-ṛa-ṣš-ša-a-aš[
 6' kar-aš-ta pa-i-mi-wa-ṛa-aš A-NA NAM.RA URUŠu-wa[-aš-šu-wa
 7' pi-ih-hi nu-wa A-NA NAM.RA URUŠu-wa-aš-šu-wa[
 8' 2 KUŠha-ap-pu-ut-ri GUD.HLA AD-DIN a-pu-u-na-wa[
 9' 22 GUD.HLA x x x x pé-en-ni-i[r?

- 4' Thus (says) Šamuha-ziti: “Regarding the pelts of the *šaša-animal* [
 5' that which they have replaced. Then Marašša [
 6' neglected (that he had said): “I will go and give them to the NAM.RA people of the
 town of Šuwa[ššuwa].
 7' To the NAM.RA people of the town of Šuwaššuwa[
 8' I have given two *happutri-* of oxen, and that one [
 9' twenty-two oxen ... [they?] drove in.”

...

- 14' UM-MA [^m]Ša-mu-u-ha-LÚ ŠA KUŠ ša-a-ša-aš 1 ME [
 15' nu ka-a-aš MU.7.KAM ku-i-ta-aš A-NA LU.MEŠSI[PA
 16' EGIR-an ŠA LUGAL-ma-an-kán A-NA GŠHUR.HI.A[
 17' da-i-e-er ṛu-up-ṛu-ma-an ^mGul-lu-x[

- 14' Thus (says) Šamuha-ziti: “Regarding the pelt of the *šaša-animal* (and) one hundred [
 ...

⁸⁸³Cf. R. Werner, *Hethitische Gerichtsprotokolle*, StBoT 4, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967, 60-63.

- 15' This (is) the seventh year since for the sheph[erds]
 16' behind. Had they put it down on the wooden ta[blets] of the king,
 17' then Gullu summarized (lit. "gathered") (it) [

We can determine from this passage that the *šaša*-animal possessed a valuable hide. The reference to shepherds in line 15' suggests that the *šaša*- may have been kept and maintained in herds. Moreover, the "one hundred" in line 14' probably refers again to animals, and some form of livestock is more than likely to be restored, since the large quantity almost certainly rules out wild animals. The association of the *šaša*-animal with livestock and with the cows in lines 8'ff. would indicate again that it was a kept animal, if not a domestic animal, as Werner suggests.⁸⁸⁴

In the Foundation Ritual (CTH 414) a feast and its participants are described using animal similes:

KUB 29.1 iii (OH/NS)⁸⁸⁵

- 41 *nu-za-an É-aš BE-LU.MEŠ-TIM*
 42 *LUGAL-uš SAL.LUGAL-ša DAMMEŠ pa-ah-hu-wa-ar-še-eš*
 43 *e-ša-an-ta-ri na-at-za-kán ša-a-ša-aš*
 44 *ma-ah-ha-an ku-un-ki-iš-kán-ta-ri*
 ———
 41 In the house, the lords, (namely?)
 42 the king, the queen, the wives (and) the princes?
 43 sit down, and like a *šaša*-animal
 44 they *kunk*-.

⁸⁸⁴“Wohl weder ‘Antilope’ noch ‘Hase’ sondern eher eine Haustierart” (StBoT 4, 1967, 62).

⁸⁸⁵Cf. M. F. Carini, *Athenaeum* 60, 1982, 483-520.

In the lines that follow (49-51), the text describes the young boys, while seated at this banquet, as playing (*dušk-*) like eagles.⁸⁸⁶ The simile with *šaša-* presumably carries a similarly festive connotation.⁸⁸⁷

Among the translations proposed for *šaša-* are "antelope" (possibly corresponding to the Sumerogram UDU.KUR.RA),⁸⁸⁸ "hare,"⁸⁸⁹ "mountain goat" (corresponding to DÀRA),⁸⁹⁰ "deer?,"⁸⁹¹ and "ibex."⁸⁹² The only argument that favors the translation "hare" is that the Sanskrit word for "hare" is *śaśa-*.⁸⁹³ The equation of *šaša-* with DÀRA, which Goetze based on their occurrences at similar points in separate but similar lists of animals,⁸⁹⁴ we can exclude immediately based upon KBo 9.105 : 9' where the two designations are found side by side. ŠAH (from KUB 44.6 obv 5) and DÀRA.MAŠ (from KBo 3.8 iii 9 and 27) must be eliminated for the same reason. However, the *šaša-* could be an animal similar to any of these, such as ibex or gazelle.

Although the reference to a milk-producing animal in KBo 3.8 iii 13 technically narrows the possibilities only to the category of mammal,⁸⁹⁵ chances are that a domestic or

⁸⁸⁶Cf. *supra*, pp. 112f.

⁸⁸⁷A number of translations have been posited for *kunk-*, among these "aufrichten" (E. Neu, *StBoT* 5, 1968, 102), "to jump (with joy)" (H. Ertem, *Fauna*, 1965, 168), "sway" (A. Goetze, *JCS* 16, 1962, 29, n. 12), "dress up" (O. R. Gurney, *AAA* 27, 1941, 104). J. Friedrich (*ZA* 45, 1939, 72) suggests that the simile is a comparison of the carriage or posture of the king and queen with that of the *šaša*-animal.

⁸⁸⁸E. Laroche, *Syria* 31, 1954, 109, n. 45; H. Kronasser, *Sprache* 7, 1961, 161.

⁸⁸⁹F. Sommer in J. Friedrich, *HW*, 188; cf. A. Goetze, *JAOS* 74, 1954, 188, n. 11.

⁸⁹⁰A. Goetze, *JCS* 16, 1962, 29, n. 12.

⁸⁹¹O. Carruba, *Kadmos* 6, 1967, 90, n. 7.

⁸⁹²A. Archi, *FsCarratelli*, 1988, 34.

⁸⁹³A. Goetze, *JAOS* 74, 1954, 188, n. 11. Cf., however, E. Neu, *StBoT* 5, 1968, 102.

⁸⁹⁴*JCS* 16, 1962, 29.

⁸⁹⁵In other words, technically, we may not eliminate any proposed animal based on this text alone. Cf. H. Kronasser, *Sprache* 7, 1961, 161, who rejects the translation "hare."

kept animal that provides milk for human use is intended. This requirement does not necessarily rule out wild goats, or gazelles, which are ruminants also, and even if not exploited for their milk, may have been viewed as the wild counterparts to domestic livestock.

The *šaša-* is an animal that, like the deer, straddles the distinction between domestic and wild. Like the deer, it is found both with wild animals (KBc 3.8 and KBo 9.105⁸⁹⁶) and with domestic animals, namely, the lamb (SILÁ) (KUB 41.23 ii 14 and KBo 21.90 rev 51'-52' || KBo 25.155 + KBo 21.103 rev 27'-28'). Like the deer, the *šaša-* has its own festival (EZEN *ša-a-ša-aš*), according to the fragment 503/s : 6.⁸⁹⁷ Like the deer, the *šaša-* was probably a kept animal.

The hieroglyphic Luwian sign of the goat-like head has the phonetic value *sà* (Laroche #104). Laroche observed that "la valeur acrophonique dérive du nom de l'animal ... ou d'un nom de la corne (cf. hitt. louv. *šawatar*), partie essentielle du signe."⁸⁹⁸ It is more likely that the entire animal is intended. The *sà* sign does not often emphasize the horn and some variations show an entire animal. If the *sà* sign is acrophonic to *šaša-*, then there are only a handful of possibilities to choose among. This list includes the domestic goat, the ibex, and the goitred gazelle (*G. subgutturosa*, the only species of gazelle native to Anatolia). Sheep, domestic or wild, must be eliminated since the horns of the *sà* sign are the wrong shape—that is, they do not curve around the sides of the head. The shortness of the horns would favor identifying the animal as a domestic goat. However, too much credence cannot be given this feature, since the length of the horns may have been a function of the available space rather than accurate rendering. Nor should the variations

⁸⁹⁶KBo 9.105 : 9' mentions the *šaša*-animal directly next to a wild goat and within a few lines of the leopard, lion and boar.

⁸⁹⁷O. Carruba, *Kadmos* 6, 1967, 90, n. 7.

⁸⁹⁸*Les hiéroglyphes hittites*, Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1960, 66; cf. H. G. Güterbock, *SBo* II, 1942, 17.

occurring in the *sà* sign be considered indicative of different species, since they are probably the result again of indifferent artists.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the evidence is unsatisfying. We know that the *šaša-* is not a predator, but we cannot be certain that it was wild. Process of elimination still leaves us with an uncomfortable number of choices. As I have indicated in the heading to this section, I favor either “goitred gazelle” or “ibex,” (see Fig. 3-2, [c] and [d]) although archaeologically, neither has left remains at Boghazköy. However, both are probably included in the iconography among the many horned ruminants that are difficult to identify.

Section L. *wetna-* (c.) “hyena??”

sg. nom. *ú-e-et-na-aš* KUB 1.16 ii 46; *ú-e-te-na-aš* KUB 52.102 ii 20'.

The *wetna*-animal is used in a simile in the Political Testament of Hattusili to exemplify a state of political unity:

KUB 1.16 ii (CTH 6)⁸⁹⁹

46 [šu-me-en-za-na] *ú-e-et-na-aš* *ma-a-an pa-an-ku-ur-še-me-e*[t 1-EN] *e-eš-du*

46 Let your clan be [united] like that of the the *wetna*-!

This animal's only other attestation occurs in the fragmentary KUB 52.102 ii 20', a text that elsewhere mentions the frog (i 10', ii 12'), the snake (i 10', ii 13'), and fish (ii 12') as the “animals of the sea.” An alternative reading has been proposed for KUB 1.16 ii 16.⁹⁰⁰ This reading restores [*hu-*]*ú-e-et-na-aš* instead of *wetna-*. However the simile

⁸⁹⁹Restored from KBo 3.27 :15f. Cf. G. Beckman, *JNES* 45, 1986, 23 with n. 25.

⁹⁰⁰E. Laroche, *RA* 62, 1968, 88; A. Archi, *FsCarratelli*, 1988, 27, n. 17.

makes less sense read in this way, since animals as a whole were not considered particularly united.

Since "wolf" has been excluded as a translation for *wetna*-, and since some similar predator must be intended, we are left with only a few possibilities. The striped hyena (*Hyaena hyaena*) is native to Anatolia and the golden jackal (*Canis aureus*) is native to the Middle East through Russian Turkestan. Jackals belong to the family Canidae, and hyenas to the family Hyaenidae, and both travel in groups or clans. Such animals would occur infrequently in Hittite texts since they are naturally elusive animals.⁹⁰¹ Could one of these be the *wetna*-animal?

Section M. Insects

Despite the impressive list of insects already discussed in this and the previous chapter, we have by no means exhausted the roll of insect names in Hittite. The remainder can be found in three texts. The first is a vocabulary list of insect pest names, giving the Sumerian in the first column, the Sumerian pronunciation for some entries in the second, the Akkadian in the third, and the Hittite in the last column:

KUB 3.94 ii (CTH 306 [NH])⁹⁰²

18	DAG.KISIM ₅ xGÍR	<i>ši-i-ru</i>	<i>hu-u-i-tar-za ku-it</i> KLMIN
19	DAG.KISIM ₅ xKÀD	<i>nap-pí-lu¹</i>	<i>mu-uš(coll.)-gal-la-aš</i>
20	DAG.KISIM ₅ xNE	<i>ši-ir-ru</i>	<i>zi-ir-liš</i>
21	DAG.KISIM ₅ xDÚB	<i>e-te¹-em ap-pa-nu</i>	<i>ak-kán-ta-aš hu-u-la-li[-iš]</i>

⁹⁰¹Cf. Akkadian *bušu* "hyaena," which is frequently found in lists of wild animals in Mesopotamian literature.

⁹⁰²Cf. H. A. Hoffner, *AlHeth*, 1974, 87ff.; B. Landsberger, *Ur-e-a = nâqu* (=MSL II), Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1951, 111 and 115f.; A. Ünal, *Belleten* 41, 1977, 463f.

22	DAG.KISIM ₅ xNE	<i>za-zi-in</i>	<i>zar_x-zar_x-ra-aš</i>
23	DAG.KISIM ₅ x?	<i>zi-zi-in-nu</i>	[...-] <i>za-ar-ti</i>
24	DAG.KISIM ₅ x?	<i>i-ši-ku-ú</i>	<i>pa-aš-pa-na-aš</i>
25	GARA _x	<i>.ga-ra hu-ur-še-en-nu</i>	<i>mi-ša-ri-iš</i>
26	KISI ₈	<i>.ki-ši-ib kál-bá-ab¹-tù</i>	<i>la-la-wí-iš[-na-aš[?]]</i>

Some of these insect names have been discussed above, namely, *mišari-* (line 25) and *lalaweš(š)a-* (line 26). All have been dealt with in detail by Hoffner.⁹⁰³ Landsberger suggested that Akkadian *ši-i-ru* of line 18 might be a misreading of *ši-i-hu* “vermin, living creatures.” Perhaps this line serves as the “heading” for the insects that appear in the following lines.

The Hittite column in line 19, after collation, reads *mušgalla-*,⁹⁰⁴ not *mutgalla-*. Landsberger suggested the emendation of the Akkadian column from *nappidu* to *nappilu*, which would give the meaning “larva, caterpillar.” Hoffner suggests that *širru* in line 20 = *ziru* “dwarf locust,” which then would be *zerliš* in Hittite. *akkantaš hulali[š]* “wrapping of the dead,” is probably a direct translation of the Akkadian *eṭem appanu* which also refers to a “larva,” perhaps because a larva resembles a prepared corpse.⁹⁰⁵ Hoffner suggests emending the Akkadian column of line 22 from *za-zi-in* to *šāširu* “cricket.”⁹⁰⁶ Hittite [...-]*zarti* and *pašpana-*, along with their Akkadian equivalents, remain obscure.⁹⁰⁷

⁹⁰³*AlHeth*, 1974, 86-91.

⁹⁰⁴Cf. *CHD* 3/3, 1986, 334.

⁹⁰⁵See H. A. Hoffner, *AlHeth*, 1974, 88; B. Landsberger, *MSL* II, 1951, 115f.; A. Ünal, *Belleten* 41, 1977, 463f.

⁹⁰⁶*AlHeth*, 1974, 90.

⁹⁰⁷For a discussion of possible interpretations of these lines, see H. A. Hoffner, *AlHeth*, 1974, 90.

In addition to this list of insect names, KUB 40.2 obv 10',⁹⁰⁸ names UHŠE “grain weevil,” and GÍR.TAB “scorpion,” with MUŠ “snake,” and PÉ[Š.TUR] “mo[use],” as a group of vermin. To these terms we may add, finally, *daganzipaš huidar* “animals of the earth,” which is attested only once in a divination text:

KUB 8.1 iii (CTH 532)⁹⁰⁹

8 [ma-]a-an I-NA ITL8.KAM IŠ-TU UD.15.KAM dXXX-aš a-ki hé-e-u-e-eš

9 [ki-]i-ša BURU.HLA SIG₅-an-ta da-ga-an-zi-pa-aš

10 [nu-]i-da¹-a-ar pa-ra-a-i na-pa hal-ki-in ka-ra-pa-an-zi

11 [nu I-]NA KUR-ŠU ha-du-ki-iš-zi

8 [Wh]en, in the eighth month, from the fifteenth day, the moon “dies,” the rains

9 will [oc]cur, the harvest will be good. The “[an]imals of the earth”

10 will emerge and devour the grain,

11 [and i]n his (own) land he will become afraid.

For this term, Hoffner suggests “grub,”⁹¹⁰ and Ünal “eine Wurmart.”⁹¹¹ However, the context suggests that no one specific animal or insect is intended, but rather that the term *daganzipaš huidar* encompasses all pests harmful to a crop.

⁹⁰⁸Cf. *supra*, p. 205.

⁹⁰⁹H. Otten, *OLZ* 60, 1965, 547; H. Hoffner, *AlHeth*, 1974, 87; O. Carruba, “Hethitisch -(a)sta, -(a)pa und die anderen ‘Ortsbezugspartikeln’,” *Or* 33, 1964, 424.

⁹¹⁰*AlHeth*, 1974, 87.

⁹¹¹*Belleten* 41, 1977, 464.

Chapter VI. CONCLUSION

Section A. Secular Uses of Animals

1. *Diet*

Sheep, goats, cattle, deer, hares and certain birds formed the animal portion of the Hittite diet.⁹¹² There is no evidence that insects were eaten by the Hittites, as they were in Mesopotamia.⁹¹³ Although there is no direct textual evidence for the consumption of venison, it was almost certainly a food source, since red deer were kept, and the number of remains cannot have been the result solely of ritual killing, particularly considering the limited occurrences of deer in ritual texts. The hare also was eaten, since it usually appears in the texts in the form of meat.

The value of pork as a staple among the Hittites is questionable, although it was eaten throughout Mesopotamia and Greece. Gurney perceived the pig as having a high value as a staple among the Hittites and attributed this fact to the northern origin of Hittite religion. The "abhorrence" of the pig in post-Hittite eastern Anatolia he viewed as a Semitic influence.⁹¹⁴ In Hittite society both the dog and the pig were considered unclean. Therefore, the fact that pork may have been eaten, while dog was not, would suggest that more is involved here than taboo. Leach theorizes on this apparent contradiction:

Some animals seem to carry an unfair load of abuse. Admittedly the pig is a general scavenger but so, by nature, is the dog and it is

⁹¹²Cf. A. Ünal, "Beiträge zum Fleischverbrauch in der hethitischen Küche: Philologische Anmerkungen zu einer Untersuchung von A. von den Driesch und J. Boessneck über die Tierknochenreste aus Boğazköy-Hattuša," *Or* 54, 1985, 438.

⁹¹³See W. Heimpel, *RIA* V, 1976-80, 107f.

⁹¹⁴AAA 27, 1940, 101.

hardly rational that we should label the first ‘filthy’ while making a household pet of the second. I suspect that we feel a rather special guilt about our pigs. After all, sheep provide wool, cows provide milk, chickens provide eggs, but we rear pigs for the sole purpose of killing and eating them, and this is a rather shameful thing, a shame which quickly attaches to the pig itself.⁹¹⁵

The answer to this paradox for the Hittites may lie in the circumstances under which the texts tell us that pig meat was consumed. That is, the only persons actually said to eat pork in Hittite texts are hierodules⁹¹⁶ and gods.⁹¹⁷ In each case, the context is ritualistic and the animal is young (ŠAH.TUR). Compare the following passage from CTH 17:

KBo 3.60 ii (OH/NS)⁹¹⁸

- 12 ^mK₂-ni-ú-uš UZU ŠAH zé-e-an-da-an da-a-aš
 13 ta-an ^mDUMU.MAHLÍL-aš⁹¹⁹ pí-ra-an da-a-iš
 14 ták-ku-wa-aš-ša-an ki-i ha-az-zi-zi ta-wa DINGIR-L[UM]
 15 ták-ku-wa-aš-ša-an na-at-ta-ma ha-a[z-zi-zi]
 16 ta-wa an-tu-wa-ah-he-eš ta-wa t[a?]-

⁹¹⁵E. Leach, “Anthropological Aspects of Language: Animal Categories and Verbal Abuse,” *New Directions in the Study of Language*, E. Lenneberg, ed., Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1966, 50f.

⁹¹⁶KUB 17.28 i 22-24: ŠAH.TUR-an da-ah-hi na-an É.ŠÀ-na an-da pé-e-da-ah-hi na-an SAL.MEŠŠUHUR.LÁL a-da-an-zi ha-aš-ta-e-ma A-NA É.MUHALDIM pé-e-da-an-zi na-at ha-ap-pa-ri-ya-mi “I take a piglet and I take it into the inner part of the structure and the hierodules eat it. The bones, however, they take to the kitchen and I give them out” (CTH 730 [NS]). The “giving out” of the animal’s bones after the ritual meal is curious. Would the bones have then been used in a stew for eating, or would they have had some other value, perhaps in ritual or for fertility? Without supporting evidence for the general consumption of pork, we cannot take this line as an indication that pigs or piglets were eaten.

⁹¹⁷KBo 20.89 obv² 9f.: 1 ŠAH.TUR A-NA ^dNIN.TU x[... ŠAH.]TUR-pát IŠ-TU DUGUTÚL za-nu-wa-an-z[i] “one piglet for Hannahanna [...] they cook the piglet in a pot” (CTH 646). In addition, a few passages refer to pigs that are offered to various deities. See, for example, KBo 10.37 iv 41f., and KUB 7.19 obv 2ff.

⁹¹⁸H. G. Güterbock, ZA 44, 1938, 104f., 111; F. Starke, StBoT 23, 1977, 190; E. Neu, StBoT 18, 1974, 83.

⁹¹⁹This name means literally “mighty son of the steppe,” and may refer to a feral human or some other outcast individual. Cf. Akkadian *lullû* (CAD L, 242).

- 17 *za-ah-hu-u-e-ni* ^mDUMU.MAHLÍL UZU ŠAH [*da-a-aš*]
 18 *ša-na-ap e-ez-ta* ...
 12 Kaniu took cooked pig's meat
 13 and set it before DUMU.MAHLÍL (saying):
 14 "If he carves⁹²⁰ this up then (he is) a god,
 15 but if he does not ca[rve] (it) up
 16 then (he is) a man and [
 17 we will fight. DUMU.MAHLÍL [took] the pig's meat
 18 and ate it ...

The evidence suggests that the consumption of pork had great significance for Hittite religion, but not for the Hittite diet. Pigs were eaten only in ritual contexts, and only by certain designated religious officials. Such a phenomenon is not by any means unprecedented for the pig. Piglets are distributed extensively for festival purposes in KUB 12.2 *passim* (CTH 511), while KBo 20.16 + KBo 17.14 + KBo 20.3 (with dupl. KBo 2.12 (+) KBo 20.30)⁹²¹ reports the distribution of pigs to the religious functionaries of various towns. While these animals were probably destined for purification and fertility rituals, for which piglets, at least, were frequently used, they nevertheless further demonstrate an important ritual role for the pig. In favor of the argument against the general consumption of pork is the fact that in each of these cases, the religious official receives only one pig or a part of one pig (e.g., the head or genitalia) from the distributor.

The deer, hare, snake, frog, *harziyala*-, eagle and mouse were occasional offerings according the texts, but this fact does not mean that these animals served as food for

⁹²⁰For discussions of *hazziya*-, see H. G. Güterbock, ZA 44, 1938, 111; E. Neu, StBoT 18, 1974, 82-84. It is used elsewhere in reference to a pig (KBo 11.34 i 3f.) with the meaning "pierce," and is translated "engrave" in yet other contexts. Perhaps, therefore, it is another term for animal butchery, similar to *mark*-, *kuer*-, and *huk*-.

⁹²¹Erroneously attributed to CTH 627 (see I. Singer, StBoT 27, 1983, 23ff.).

humans. The markings that von den Driesch and Boessneck identify as evidence that the lion and leopard were eaten,⁹²² indicates only that the meat was taken off the bone but does not necessarily indicate that the flesh was consumed. We know from the texts that lion and leopard body parts were used in ritual, and we know that there is no example of these animals being offered as food for the gods. In short, there is no philological support for the notion that these animals were consumed. Hoffner's assertion that "royal hunts and the occasional inclusion of wild game in the offerings does not prove the existence to any appreciable degree of hunting as a means of food supply among the Hittites"⁹²³ is certainly correct. Indeed, predatory mammals are not included in the offerings at all and probably did not constitute any significant percentage of the food supply.

2. *Hunting*

Evidence for hunting in the Hittite period rests largely on the presence of wild animal remains at Boghazköy and other sites, and from the use of live animals and of animal parts as described in the texts. Texts mentioning hunts are rare. The Anitta Chronicle (CTH 1) describes a major hunt undertaken by King Anitta, in which a large number of animals are brought back to his capital, Neša. All other references to hunts are legendary in nature. The Hittite Gilgamesh Epic describes hunting by means of hunting pits (*akkuša-*) and nets (*aggati-*). The Story of Kešši reinforces the iconographic examples when it describes Kešši's trip to the mountains with his spear and dogs to hunt:

KUB 33.121 ii (CTH 361 [NH])⁹²⁴

11 ... ^mKe-eš-ši-iš-za GŠŠUKUR ša-ra-a da-a-aš UR.TUR.HI.A-ya-za EGIR-an-še-et
hal-za-iš

⁹²²Boghazköy-Hattuša XI, 1981, 56. Cf. A. Ünal, *Or* 54, 1985, 419-438.

⁹²³*AlHeth.*, 1974, 125f.

⁹²⁴Cf. J. Friedrich, *ZA* 49, 1941, 234f.

12 *na-aš I-NA HUR.SAGNa-ta-ra hu-ur-nu-wa-an-zi pa-it*

11 ... Kešši took up his spear and called his puppies behind him

12 *and* went to Mt. Natara to hunt.

The presence of a falconer god in Hittite iconography suggests that this sport at least may have been known in Hatti, and if the iconography is an indication, hares were its primary game. Hunt scenes in the iconography tell us that the favorite prey of the hunt were the lion and deer, and, in one instance, a wild boar. According to these depictions, the primary weapon of the hunt was the bow and arrow, but spears were also used.

Hunting was not an important part of Hittite life, and animals were probably only hunted as pests and sometimes for sport. Although hunting did not provide a significant percentage of the food supply, it did provide animals for keeping, and for use in ritual. The notion of a hunting preserve is not unlikely. The fact that lions, leopards, eagles and falcons existed in captivity supports the idea.

3. *Domestication and Keeping*

The domestication of animals involves "the capture and taming by man of animals of a species with particular behavioural characteristics, their removal from their natural living area and breeding community, and their maintenance under controlled breeding conditions for profit."⁹²⁵ The breeding must involve purposeful selection. As a result of selected breeding by man, the animals have "certain inherent morphological, physiological, or behavioural characteristics by which they differ from their ancestral stocks."⁹²⁶ The breeding is designed to optimize certain qualities of the animal population "in order to increase the efficiency of the species to meet its more varied social and economic

⁹²⁵S. Bökönyi, "Archaeological Problems and Methods of Recognizing Animal Domestication," in *The Domestication and Exploitation of Plants and Animals*, P. J. Ucko and G. W. Dimbleby, eds., London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 1969, 219.

⁹²⁶R. G. Van Gelder, cited in J. Clutton-Brock, *Domesticated Animals*, 1981, 104.

roles...unless behavioral reliability and controlled breeding can be demonstrated, an assertion of domestication is indefensible."⁹²⁷ Animals domesticated by the Hittites include the dog, pig, horse, ass, mule, goat, cattle and sheep.

Animal keeping is the practice of maintaining an animal population in captivity, whereby artificial herds (as with deer) or warrens (as with hares) are established. The animal "no longer is constantly dangerous to handle, and he is less likely to seize every opportunity for escape."⁹²⁸ These animals may then be regularly culled for meat or hides. Keeping involves animal breeding without purposeful selection (that is, unintentional selection is carried out through the killing of some of the animals, leaving others to breed through natural selection) or controlled feeding. Morphologically, the population remains identical to the wild species. Bökönyi refers to keeping as a "phase" of domestication,⁹²⁹ but since kept animals do not often develop into domestic animals, the two practices should not be confused as steps in a single process.

The evidence required to make a case for animal keeping in a given society may include finding a large number of bones from a particular wild animal in the archaeological remains where hunting is not a major factor in the food supply. Textual evidence grouping the animal with domestic animals is also indicative, as are references to large amounts of the meat of the animal in question. The iconography does not provide clues to animal keeping or domestication, since the fact of tethering or holding an animal in the iconography only shows that it was too unreliable to be handled without a restraint.⁹³⁰

⁹²⁷P. Daly, *et al.*, *JANES* 4, 1972, 79.

⁹²⁸P. Daly, *et al.*, *JANES* 4, 1972, 79.

⁹²⁹S. Bökönyi, in P. J. Ucko and G. W. Dimbleby, eds., *The Domestication and Exploitation of Plants and Animals*, 1969, 219.

⁹³⁰P. Daly, *et al.*, *JANES* 4, 1972, 80.

The Hittites practiced animal keeping, although on a much smaller scale than other groups, such as the Egyptians and Mesopotamians. According to Oppenheim, in Mesopotamia, attempts at the domestication of deer and antelope “proved a failure” and “such experiments in domestication...ceased in Mesopotamia with the Ur III and the early OB periods.”⁹³¹

There is sufficient evidence, however, to show that the Hittites kept deer. Hares too are likely to have been exploited. Wild goats and sheep, which had proven their propensity for domestication millennia before, and are common in the Boghazköy bone remains, may also have been kept, although there is little evidence for this. Bees, on the other hand, were undoubtedly kept, to which §§91-92 of the Hittite Laws testify.

“Captive animals” are individual animals that were born in the wild, but have been captured and confined by man. Hoffman observes that, according to one Ur III text, herbivores were given over to lions daily over a period of a month (bulls, cows and donkeys), implying that lions were kept animals for show or cultic purposes, and the herbivores delivered to them were a ration needed to keep them alive.⁹³² Among the Hittites, the use of live wild animals in ritual demonstrates the presence of captive animals.

“Exploited captives” are individual animals that are in some way controlled by man, but whose breeding is by natural selection rather than artificial. The reason for this is that the animal already exists in a form that is of optimal benefit to man. For example, the camel cannot be made to be more tolerant of desert climates than it already is.⁹³³ Among the animals that fit into this category, besides camels, are reindeer and elephants. In Hittite

⁹³¹*Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*, revised edition, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977, 45.

⁹³²(Diss., Yale University), 1977, 750f.

⁹³³Cf. J. Clutton-Brock, *Domesticated Animals*, 1981, 104.

society, the eagles used in falconry, if this sport was, in fact, practiced, would be considered exploited captives.

"Tame" refers to individual animals that were born in the wild, but in captivity have been made tractable, so that they no longer try to escape and are trainable as draught animals or for other uses. The term "semi-domestic" is functionally synonymous to tame. It refers to "individuals that have been made more tractable or tame but whose breeding does not involve intentional selection."⁹³⁴ Semi-domestication implies a state in which the living conditions of the individual animal are controlled by man. Among the Hittites, some deer may have been tamed for use as draught animals, as they were in other ancient cultures.

Section B. Religious and Cultic Uses of Animals

1. *Sacred Animals*

As the cult inventories and the iconography have demonstrated, animals are frequently an attribute of the gods. This phenomenon has been explained in a number of ways. According to Collon, animal attributes in the Near East have three possible functions—to symbolize either one aspect of the god's nature, or the defeated and now subservient evil power, or the ethnicity or native region represented by the god.⁹³⁵ Taracha asserts that the animal-god associations of the Hittites had two possible significances:⁹³⁶ In some cases, the animal was part of the "numen" of the god—for example, the bull and the Weathergod. In other cases, it served as an attribute of the earthly sphere of influence of the deity.

⁹³⁴R. G. Van Gelder, in J. Clutton-Brock, *Domesticated Animals*, 1981, 104.

⁹³⁵D. Collon, "Les animaux attributs des divinités du proche-orient ancien: Problèmes d'iconographie," *L'animal*, 1984, 83.

⁹³⁶P. Taracha, *AoF* 14, 1987, 263-273.

In Hittite religion, Laroche characterizes the bull with the Weathergod as the most predominant sacred animal, followed by the deer—although the identity of its god and their function are less clear—followed by the lion with the Wargods. These three he calls “le triptyque fondamental sur lequel repose le système panthéistique des Hittites, du moins au second millénaire.”⁹³⁷ Indeed, the bull and the deer have very long histories in Anatolian iconography. Their divine associations with the Weathergod and Protective Deity, respectively, are unique to Anatolia and are deeply ingrained in the religious ideology. The feline who supports the goddess in the Neolithic iconography has parallels in second millennium Anatolia. However the lion as an attribute for other gods does not have a long history, and its use may be due to Mesopotamian influence.

Other animals have been called “sacred” in Anatolian religion, and questions such as what circumstances qualify an animal as sacred, and when this designation is inappropriate must be addressed. Based on both textual and iconographic examples, I define a sacred animal as any animal that can be shown to have an indispensable role in the cult of a deity.⁹³⁸ Fitting this definition in Hittite religion are the bull, which is tied so closely to the

⁹³⁷*Dictionnaire des Mythologies*, 1981, 36.

⁹³⁸No deity can be found who is not associated with more than one animal. Exclusive iconographic and textual associations of a god and an animal are not to be found. The Weathergod appears with animals other than the bull and a number of hunting gods appear with the deer, not all of them protective deities. To label the few occurrences of the Weathergod with the lion, or any other rare associations of gods with animals as anomalies is a mistake. We cannot assume that there is something unique or abnormal in depicting the Weathergod with a lion instead of a bull, or Kubaba with a bull instead of a lion since we do not have enough information regarding the function and meaning of these representations. The tendency to categorize gods with animals as “Protectors or Masters of the Wild” (for example. M. Hörig, *AOAT* 208, 1979, 88, 107, 91f. and passim; V. Haas, *Berggötter*, 1982, 51; P. Taracha, *AoF* 14, 1987, 265) is inappropriate. Many deities can be shown to have a connection with the hunt, whether by the weapons they carry, or by the animals they are depicted with. The large number of gods that were recognized in second millennium Anatolia make the overlapping of some of their divine roles and attributes inevitable, and indeed necessary. A god who hunts is not necessarily to be identified as the Protective Deity of the Field (𐎎𐎵𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠), and a god or goddess associated with an animal is not necessarily a “Master or Mistress of the Wild.” Almost every goddess depicted in Anatolian iconography with an animal has been referred to somewhere as a prototype of the Greek *potnia therôn*. Surely not all were.

cult of the Weathergod that it sometimes substitutes for him, and the deer, whose presence defines the nature of the Protective Deity it supports. The lion is a more dubious case. It falls better into the category “symbolic animal” than “sacred animal.” It is an attribute to a number of deities but essential to the cult of none. According to the definition given here, we may also place the UDU.KUR.RA and the bee among the sacred animals. The UDU.KUR.RA supports a goddess in the texts and is probably the animal who supports the goddess in the seals (see *supra*, Section III.C). The bee is a symbol of Hannahanna in mythological texts and embodies the qualities that constitute her divine nature. To this list, we must also add the horse, which is closely associated with the god Pirwa.

The idea that wild animals have a closer connection with the divine than do the domestic animals is an attractive one, especially when we consider that, with the exception of the bull and goat, only wild animals support deities in Hittite iconography.⁹³⁹ However, the connection of the UDU.KUR.RA with the seated goddess, the horse with Pirwa, and the bull with the Weathergod⁹⁴⁰ argues against this notion. Indeed, one might argue that the opposite is the case, since domestic animals, through ritual killing, are the main means of communication with the gods.

Connected to the theme of the god with his sacred animal is the issue of theriomorphism. Concerning the Alaca Hüyük artifacts, Goetze commented that there is no doubt that the divinities of early Anatolia were depicted as bulls and deer and that they were worshipped in these animal forms.⁹⁴¹ The view that the animals themselves were worshipped

⁹³⁹On this point see already E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire des Mythologies*, 1981, 35.

⁹⁴⁰The relationship between the bull and the Weathergod may indeed predate the domestication of cattle, in which case this connection could be considered as that of a wild animal with a deity. On the other hand, in the Hittite period, wild bulls had long ceased to exist, and therefore the Hittite perception of this animal would have been of a domesticated form (cf. *supra*, Section III.E).

⁹⁴¹KI², 1957, 40.

has been held by several authorities.⁹⁴² Bittel describes the god-animal association as a relic of a period before the anthropomorphization of the gods, a process that was still underway in the second half of the third millennium.⁹⁴³ One anthropological theory maintains that with domestication came the decline of theriomorphism. Once animals were subjugated they “ceased to represent spirits which had to be propitiated, ceased to coexist with the gods.”⁹⁴⁴ The powerful beast of the wild was replaced by a domestic creature that formed part of the social world of man. At this point, the theory continues, anthropomorphism took hold.

The Neolithic evidence from Çatal Hüyük suggests that the bull at least may have been an object of veneration. Similarly, in one Hittite cult inventory text, a statue of the Weathergod of the Sky is said to be in the form of a bull: DINGIR-LUM DINGIR-LIM-tar GUD.MAH 4 GUB-an KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN GAR.RA “the deity, (his) image is (in the form of) a bull standing on all fours, made of silver (and) gold inlaid” (KUB 38.12 ii 13'). Similar evidence is provided by a relief from Alaca Hüyük depicting the king and queen before an altar. On the next block, behind the altar, a bull figurine is depicted standing on a pedestal.⁹⁴⁵ The bull in this case probably acts as a substitute for the Weathergod. However, I am not convinced that this evidence requires a theriomorphic interpretation. Could these not be examples of a sacred animal standing in as a symbol of the deity and nothing more? After all, Šeri and Hurri in the texts are not identified with the Weathergod, but are divinities in their own right (their names bear the divine determinative)—a status no doubt attributable to their association with the Weathergod.

⁹⁴²H. G. Güterbock, *Belleten* 7, 1943, 316; E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire des Mythologies et des Religions*, 1981, 35; R. Lebrun, *L'animal*, 1984, 95ff.

⁹⁴³K. Bittel, *Kenntnis*, 1976, 10.

⁹⁴⁴J. Berger, *New Society*, 25 November 1971, 1043.

⁹⁴⁵H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, 1942, no. 510.

2. *Animals in Ritual*

Sacrifice is the ritualized (i.e., patterned) killing of an animal in order to achieve communication with a god or gods. Recent research has revealed not only that there is no longer any clear evidence of animal sacrifice in the Paleolithic—that is, prior to domestication—but also that the animals used in sacrifice in agricultural and pastoral societies are exclusively domestic ones.⁹⁴⁶ Jonathan Smith defines sacrifice as follows: “Sacrifice, in its agrarian or pastoral context, is the artificial (i.e., ritualized) killing of an artificial (i.e., domesticated) animal.”⁹⁴⁷ Burkert offers one explanation for this phenomenon, which is that “the domesticated animal can be paraded as a consenting victim, which is impossible with a ‘wild’ one.”⁹⁴⁸ When wild animals are killed and/or eaten in ritual, the purpose is not sacrificial but serves some other, specialized function, such as an initiation to a secret society or some other “mode of ordeal.”⁹⁴⁹

In Mesopotamia and Anatolia, there is no doubt that domestic animals greatly outnumber wild animals in ritual use. According to F. Blome, “das absolute Gros des animalischen Opfermaterials stellten im vorderen Orient Rinder, Schafe und Ziegen, und zwar waren es selbstverständlich die als Haus- oder Herdenvieh gehaltenen Tiere. Es ist kein Zweifel, daß daneben die Zahlen anderer Opfertiere im ganzen genommen sehr klein waren; namentlich für die regelmässigen Opfer sind andere Tiere wohl kaum zu erwähnen.”⁹⁵⁰ Can it be demonstrated, however, that wild animals are, in fact, never sacrificed in Hittite society?

⁹⁴⁶J. Z. Smith, “The Domestication of Sacrifice,” in W. Burkert, R. Girard and J. Z. Smith, *Violent Origins*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987, 202.

⁹⁴⁷J. Z. Smith, in *Violent Origins*, 1987, 201.

⁹⁴⁸“The Problem of Ritual Killing,” in *Violent Origins*, 1987, 166f.

⁹⁴⁹In *Violent Origins*, 1987, 204.

⁹⁵⁰*Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel*, (=Sacra Scriptura Antiquitatibus Orientalibus Illustrata 4), Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1934, 111.

The horns of an UDU.KUR.RA are offered to the spring Šuppitaššui in KUB 20.99 ii 13-16 (CTH 636): “One red offering loaf (and) one white offering loaf he breaks for the spring Šuppitaššui. Then he sets it on the UDU.KUR.RA, namely, on its horns.”⁹⁵¹ A hare is offered on one occasion,⁹⁵² and a mouse is offered as food in the Ritual of Ambazzi.⁹⁵³ In these cases, we must distinguish between the post-mortem offering or use of some portion of an animal and the ritual killing of an animal. Each of the cases described here is an offering, not a sacrifice.

Clearly, wild animals are occasionally offered to the gods as food. However, the only wild animals that are indisputably sacrificed in Hittite ritual are the mouse (PÉŠ), the deer (LU.LIM), and the eagle. In a ritual against magic (CTH 443), mice are sacrificed three times, to three different deities in a manner described in the following passage: “He offered a *gaparta*- mouse, (and) the blood he let (drip) over the offering loaves. Afterward he broke three offering loaves to the Weathergod of the Sky and his male gods. He offered a *gaparta*- mouse, (and) the blood he let (drip) over the offering loaves. Then they roasted the meat, the entrails (and) the shoulders over an open flame” (KBo 15.10 iii 66'-70' [MH/MS]).⁹⁵⁴

Deer are killed in a ritual performed on Mt. Piškurunuwa: “The king steps down from the chariot. The king seats himself on the place of stepping. A dancer turns himself on[ce]. He goes away before the fallow² deer. The cupbearer holds a gold *tapišani*-vessel and he sacrifices the fallow² deer” (KUB 25.18 ii 6-11 [CTH 618]).⁹⁵⁵ Finally, an eagle is

⁹⁵¹Cf. H. Ertem, *Fauna*, 1965, 146, and *supra*, p. 181.

⁹⁵²Bo 2973 i 12' (*supra*, pp. 198f.).

⁹⁵³KUB 27.67 *passim* (*supra*, pp. 202f.).

⁹⁵⁴Cf. G. Szabó, *THeth* 1, 1971, 42-47, 70f., and *supra*, pp. 203f.

⁹⁵⁵Cf. V. Haas, *KN*, 1970, 65, n. 4; S. Alp, *Tempel*, 1983, 338, and *supra*, pp. 160f.

offered “for the life of the Weathergod,” along with a bull, lamb and falcon in IBoT 2.87 i 6’f.

The mouse is a unique case for which I have no explanation. The deer on the other hand, is easily explained because it was kept and maintained by the Hittites. This status brought the deer close enough to the category of domestic animals to allow its occasional sacrifice. The sacrifice of an eagle also has an explanation. Because it falls into two categories, that of wild animal, and that of bird, it can be used in a manner appropriate for either. Since ritual sacrifice is common for birds, the eagle (and falcon) are susceptible to sacrifice as well.

The sacrificial animal serves as a substitute for the sacrificer. It is man’s intermediary with the divine level. Smith comments that “if the domesticated animal stands, in native taxonomies, between man and the wild animal, then...the sacrificial animal stands in an analogous position between man and ‘the gods.’”⁹⁵⁶ Sacrifice, however, is by no means the only use for animals in ritual. Apotropaism, fertility and purification are other ritual ends to which animals may be applied.

Wild animals, although not generally sacrificial animals, nevertheless participated occasionally in Hittite ritual. Their purpose in these rituals varies according to the animal. The eagle may have had the largest ritual role. This fact is due in part to the frequency of birds in general in ritual, and in part to the perceived stature of the eagle, which was comparable to that of the lion. Its main functions are in “waving” rituals and in drawing the gods to the sacrificer. Dangerous animals, including the lion, leopard, wolf and even snake, were used primarily in incantations, for apotropaic purposes. Frogs and salamanders[?], both unclean animals, could be used in purifications, as indicated in KUB 36.83 iv 9f. (*supra*, p. 230) and Maštigga ii 8-13 (*supra*, pp. 266f.), respectively.

⁹⁵⁶*Violent Origins*, 1987, 201.

Other wild animals were apparently not employed in purifications, and none seem to have been useful in fertility rituals. These are areas where domestic animals were no doubt best suited. Indeed, it seems that both wild and domestic animals were used only in ways appropriate for the characteristics attributed to them by the Hittites. Domestic animals, as part of the society of man, could effect a purification, or magically cause a field to produce an abundance of grain. Wild animals, on the other hand, were not appropriate by nature to perform such functions, and instead were relegated to apotropaic or hunt-related themes.

For the wild animals that may be considered “big game”—namely, the lion, leopard, wolf, bear, deer and wild goat—the primary role in Hittite religion lay in ritual enactments of the hunt. A relationship between hunt and ritual in Anatolia is first visible in the Neolithic wall paintings at Çatal Hüyük. The human figures in these representations wear leopard skins and perform what appear to be dances involving animals controlled with tethers. The ritualization of the hunt was still occurring in the Hittite period even though hunting itself was practiced on a limited scale. It can be seen in a number of ritual texts—such as the KLLAM Festival—that describe hunting activities, and in a number of artistic representations indicating that animals killed in a hunt were sometimes ritually presented to a god.⁹⁵⁷

In his edition of the KLLAM Festival, Singer remarks on the three different lists of animals contained in it, and the fact that they all include the most impressive wild beasts in Anatolian fauna.⁹⁵⁸ Comparable lists from other sources have been identified and discussed⁹⁵⁹ and are included here:

KBo 10.25 vi 5'-8': (KLLAM Festival)	PIRIG.TUR, UR.MAH, ŠAH.GIŠ.GI, AZ, DÀRA<MAŠ>.

⁹⁵⁷See H. G. Güterbock, “A Note on the Frieze of the Stag Rhyton in the Schimmel Collection,” ms.

⁹⁵⁸StBoT 27, 1983, 93.

⁹⁵⁹Cf. A. Goetze, *JCS* 16, 1962, 29.

KBo 25.180 rev ² 3'-4': (KLLAM Festival)	PÌRIG.TUR, UR.MAH, ŠAH.GIŠ.GI, [AZ?], DÀRA.MAŠ.
KBo 10.23 v 16'-25': (KLLAM Festival)	PÌRIG.TUR, UR.BAR.RA, UR.MAH, ŠAH.GIŠ.GI, AZ; vi 13'-29': 4 sets of DÀRA.MAŠ.
Anitta Chronicle: (CTH 1)	UR.MAH, ŠAH, ŠAH.GIŠ.GI, AZ, PIRÌG.TUR, UR.BAR<RA>, DÀRA.MAŠ, DÀRA, [šaša-?].
KBo 3.8 iii 9-13, 27-31: (CTH 390)	DÀRA.MAŠ, PÌRIG.TUR (<i>paršana-</i>), <i>ulipana-</i> , UR.MAH, <i>šaša-</i> .
KBo 9.105 : 6'-9' (CTH 653)	PÌRIG.TUR, UR.MAH, [UR.BAR.RA?], ŠAH.GIŠ.GI, AZ, <i>šaša-</i> , DÀRA.

Included in all of the lists are the leopard, lion, boar, bear and deer. Included in at least one of them are the wolf, the wild goat (DÀRA), and the gazelle? (*šaša-*). The KLLAM Festival identifies this group of animals as “animals of the gods” (DINGIR.MEŠ-naš [hū]itar, KBo 10.25 vi 4f.). The meaning of this phrase is not explained in the context in which it is used. Not all of the animals included under this heading were held as sacred, and it may simply refer to the wild animals that were worthy quarry for divine hunters and/or likely to be found in the company of deities in the iconography.

The presence of game animals in the KLLAM Festival suggests that this festival was partially concerned with the hunt. Indeed, the portion that describes the animal procession before the king seems to be a celebration of the hunt. This idea is borne out by the individual elements that make up the procession. Viewed by the king from the *katapuzna*-building, the procession begins with the “animals of the gods” and the “masters of the word(s).” Performers?, oxen-drawn carts and dancers follow, in that order. Next come priests of dLAMMA, who, in some of his forms, is a hunting god. These are followed, after a break, by spears, copper hunting bags and then again the “animals of the gods.” In KBo 10.25 vi 9', the “dog-men” or “hunters” (LÚ.UR.GI₇) follow. After some singing in Hattic by the men of the town Anunuwa, the deer standards follow, drawn by various officials. The procession then exits through the upper gate. Later (KBo 10.24 iii 23ff.) the king is relieved of the ceremonial? iron spear with which he was presented before the

ceremony (KBo 10.23 i 22'-34'), and it is replaced with an iron axe. Elsewhere in the KILLAM Festival, one text describes the use of leopard and boar rhyta in a ritual performed near the temple of the goddess Inar and the "house of the hunting bag" (KBo 20.33 obv 13-16, *supra*, p. 74).

Other ritual texts describe hunting activities. For example, the treatment of a slain leopard's carcass is described in the medical text KUB 44.61 rev 12'-18' (*supra*, pp. 77f.). The mention of a bowstring prior to the reference to the slain leopard indicates that the leopard was killed in a hunt, or an imitation of a hunt. Another passage describes a *meneg*-man, "archer?," who walks behind a leopard-man, and presents a bow to a deity (KUB 25.51 i 2'-7', *supra*, p. 76). Bo 2740 : 24'-28' (*supra*, p. 100) describes a ritual enactment in which a female archer kills a "bear-man." She shoots the "bear-man" twice, and according to the passage, misses once but hits the second time, and then shouts a cry of victory. A wild goat may be killed with a spear in KUB 39.33 ii 1-8: "A wild goat they [...] and a bronze spear they set (in place). Then they set the spear down. Thereupon, to the deceased they gi[ve] to drink [...] and [they] drink (to) the Sungod" (CTH 450).⁹⁶⁰ Again, a hunt, or ritual enactment of one, may be indicated. From these examples, it seems that the ritual role of the "big game" animals is an extension of their actual role as prey for human hunters.

3. *Animal-men*

The term "animal-men" refers to a number of Hittite religious functionaries who bear names of animals as titles. These festival participants include the lion-men, leopard-men, bear-men, wolf-men and dog-men. In some cases these festival participants are more common in Hittite religious texts than the animals themselves. The question that has remained unanswered is that concerning the function of these festival participants. Jakob-

⁹⁶⁰Cf. H. Otten, *HTR*, 1958, 114f., and *supra*, pp. 172.

Rost, in the only article devoted to an aspect of the subject, has suggested that, in light of their frequent association with proto-Hattic deities, the animal-men are a hold-over from a pre-Hittite practice of animal totemism in which the strength and protection of the animals were sought through a cultic masquerade.⁹⁶¹ By Hittite times, however, this practice seems to have lost its meaning. She further suggests that “es handelt sich m. E. um Maskenträger bzw. Maskentänzer, die sich durch Zuhilfenahme von äusseren Mitteln wie Masken oder Tierfellen den Anschein des betreffenden Tieres zu geben suchten.”⁹⁶²

However, this theory does not address the question of what these persons represented for the Hittites. Nor does it give us a complete picture of how they functioned in the Hittite cult. Were they meant to represent protective animals, utilized to ward off evil?⁹⁶³ This is possible, but not provable. Did they represent deities with whom the animals themselves were elsewhere associated? This is unlikely, since neither the dog nor the wolf has an associated deity in either the iconography or the texts. Before discussing the problems further, I will examine the attestation of each of the animal-men individually to assess similarities and differences in their respective roles in the Hittite cult.

a. LÚ UR.MAH (Hittite LÚ_{walwalla}-) “lion-man”⁹⁶⁴

The lion-men are poorly attested. When they do occur, the context is either broken, or unrevealing, or both. They are found most often in the company of the *hazgara*-women.⁹⁶⁵ The juxtaposition elsewhere of the *hazgara*-women with LÚ.MEŠ_{walwalla}-⁹⁶⁶

⁹⁶¹“Zu einigen hethitischen Kultfunktionären,” *Or* 35, 1966, 421.

⁹⁶²*Or* 35, 1966, 420. Cf. also H. Th. Bossert, *Janus*, 1959, 15f. with Abb. 9.

⁹⁶³As Jakob-Rost (*Or* 35, 1966, 421) suggests.

⁹⁶⁴Cf. F. Pecchioli-Daddi, *Mestieri, Professioni e Dignità nell'Anatolia Ittita*, Rome: Edizioni dell'Alteneo, 1982, 375f.; *Hethitica* 8, 1987, 365. For neo-Hittite iconographic examples of “lion-men” see W. Orthmann, *USK*, 312, 442.

⁹⁶⁵For example, KBo 2.8 iii 11f.: DINGIR.MEŠ URU-LIM LÚ.MEŠ UR.MAH -pá SAL.MEŠ_{ha-az-qa-ra-ya} EGIR *i-ya-ta-ri*; and 20-26: 1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA pá_r-š_i-ya-zi na-

has led Otten to identify the latter with LÚ.MEŠ UR.MAH.⁹⁶⁷ In KBo 12.65 ii 3ff. (CTH 237), the lion-men are also found with songstresses (SAL.MEŠ ŠÎR) of the town of Tid[a]liya, a *hapiya*-man and a *miniya*-man.

KBo 16.68 iv¹ 8f. hints that some clothing may have been made from lion skins: [15 TÚG.GÚ.É.A S]A₅ 10 TÚGŠÀ.GA.DÙ GAD 10 ŠA UR.MAH.H[LA ...]x *hu-ul-pa-an-zi-ni-eš-ši-iš* KÙ.BABBAR “[fifteen r]ed [shirts], ten waist bands of linen, ten [...] of lions, their studs? (made) of silver” (CTH 627 [OH/MS]).⁹⁶⁸ In line 11 the LÚ.MEŠ *ha-a-pé-eš* are present and in line 13 we find the LÚ.MEŠ UR.BAR.RA. The *hapiya*-men are closely associated with both the lion-men and the wolf-men in the festival texts.⁹⁶⁹

The lion-men are also associated with various locations, including the town of Lakimišša (KBo 12.65 ii 3 [CTH 237]) and the land of Amurru (KUB 42.65 rev² 6' [CTH 247]). Rost's reference to KUB 12.62 obv 11ff. as a hint of a “lion-dance” is highly dubious,⁹⁷⁰ and cannot be used as evidence for the activities of these functionaries. This leaves very little evidence for any sort of function on the part of the lion-men. In most cases their presence, along with other participants, is simply announced.

an-kán A-NA KAŠ an-da pár-ša-an-zi na-at pa-ra-a tar-nu-zi ku-it-ma SAL *pál-wa-tal-la-aš* EGIR *ú-iz-zi* LÚ.MEŠ UR.MAH SAL.MEŠ *ha-az-qa-ra* A-NA GURUN *pa-a-an-zi* SAL *pál-wa-tal-la-aš* EGIR *ú-iz-zi na-aš PA-NI ti-ya-zi nu 3-ŠÚ* *pál-wa-iz-zi* LÚ.MEŠ UR.MAH SAL.MEŠ *ha-az-qa-ra-i* GURUN *ú-da-an-zi* (CTH 519 [NH]); KUB 17.36 : 10: [SAL.MEŠ *ha-a*] *z-qa-ra-ya-za* LÚ.MEŠ UR[.MAH ...] (CTH 530); KUB 44.42 rev 19': LÚ.MEŠ UR.MAH SAL.MEŠ [*ha-az-ga-ra?*] (CTH 525 [NS]).

⁹⁶⁶KUB 12.2 i 4, 1461/u : 2f.

⁹⁶⁷WO 5, 1969, 94.

⁹⁶⁸Cf. I. Singer, StBoT 27, 1983, 165; StBoT 28, 1984, 113; A. Ünal, RIA 7, 1987, 86; L. Jakob-Rost, Or 35, 1966, 417ff.

⁹⁶⁹This has already been noted by I. Singer, StBoT 27, 1983, 165, with n. 43, who also commented on the usually elaborate ornamentation of the *hapiya*-men. Could the fact that one functionary was ornamented suggest that those closely associated with it were ornamented—i.e., costumed—as well?

⁹⁷⁰Or 35, 1966, 420.

— One observation may be made, however. A *LÚminiya-* (an archer⁹⁷¹), who is found often with the leopard-man, is present in one context (KBo 12.65 ii 5') with the lion-man (and *hapiya-man*).

b. *LÚ PÌRIG.TUR* (Hittite *LÚparašna-*) “leopard-man”⁹⁷²

One passage involving this functionary has already been treated. It is translated: “The leopard-<man> comes, and the *miniya*-man wal[ks] behind (him). He (the *miniya*-man) holds the bow of the deity, and it (the bow) steps before the deity. The cupbearer gives to them to drink and they bow down” (KUB 25.51 i 2'-7' [CTH 738 (MH/NS)], *supra*, p. 76).

An equally interesting line is found in Bo 6594 i 11': *LÚ PÌRIG.TUR-an ša-ra-a HUR.SAG-a pâr[-ha-an-zi]* “the leopard-man [they] cha[se] up into the mountains” (CTH 738).⁹⁷³ Unfortunately, the meaning of this line is not clear. We might interpret it as a ritual performed to symbolically keep threatening animals away from human settlements, but this is only speculation.

In line 12' of this text, the Hittite equivalent, *LÚpâr-aš-na-aš=![a(-)]*, is used instead. The Hittite appears also in KBo 19.163 i 21 (*LÚpâr-aš-na-an* [OH/NS])⁹⁷⁴ and KBo 25.48 ii 10 (*LÚpâr-aš-ša-na-aš*)⁹⁷⁵—in both cases with servants of the palace, *hapiya*-men, a priest of Tetešhapi, a *miniya*-man, and a *šerhala*-man, in contexts that are otherwise

⁹⁷¹Cf. *CHD* 3/3, 1986, 290.

⁹⁷²Cf. F. Pecchioli-Daddi, *Mestieri*, 1982, 252; *Hethitica* 8, 1987, 365f.

⁹⁷³E. Neu, *StBoT* 25, 1980, 98f. (#41); V. Haas, *UF* 13, 1981, 109 with n. 80. Haas suggests that the leopard-man functions here as a kind of substitute who takes the impurity that clings to him into the mountains.

⁹⁷⁴Cf. *CHD* 3/3, 1986, 290.

⁹⁷⁵Cf. *CHD* 3/3, 1986, 290.

unrevealing.⁹⁷⁶ In the case of KBo 25.48 ii 9'-11', the participants in the festival are simply being seated.

c. LÚ UR.BAR.RA “wolf-man”⁹⁷⁷

This functionary is the best attested of the “animal-men,” yet the texts reveal little that is unusual regarding his function. Jakob-Rost has already noted the association of the wolf-men with proto-Hattic deities,⁹⁷⁸ including Titiwatti, Zithariya, the deified hunting bag (^d*Kurša*), and a number of Protective Deities.⁹⁷⁹

In a festival ration list (KBo 20.16 with its joins and duplicates [OH/NS]),⁹⁸⁰ pigs are provided to specific officials. In col. i, pigs are given to the chamberlain (LÚ*hamina*) and the “annointed” priests (LÚGUDÚ) by the *hapiya*-men and wolf-men of the towns Šalampa, Katapa and Kartapaha. In col. ii, the Old Women of the palace and the cupbearers of the deity are the recipients of the animals. In the duplicate (KBo 2.12 v 16-28), the *hapiya*-men and wolf-men of the same cities distribute the genitalia of pigs to the LÚMUHALDIM DINGIR-LIM “the cook of the god” and the LÚGŠPA DINGIR-LIM “the scepter bearer of the god.” The *hapiya*-men and the wolf-men, officials from each of the three towns named in this text, are apparently in charge of supplying pigs and bulls for festival use to persons in charge of the festival at the capital.

Aside from this text, the wolf-men perform a number of activities, among them dancing (*tarkuwai*-) and running (*huya*-)⁹⁸¹ before the king.

⁹⁷⁶Cf. KUB 46.9 iii 8' LÚ*pár-aš-na-u-w[a-aš*.

⁹⁷⁷Cf. F. Pecchioli-Daddi, *Mestieri*, 1982, 373-375.

⁹⁷⁸Or 35, 1966, 419.

⁹⁷⁹See Jakob-Rost, Or 35, 1966, 420, n. 1.

⁹⁸⁰Cf. I. Singer, StBoT 27, 1983, 23f.; E. Neu, StBoT 25, 1980, 37-40 (#13).

⁹⁸¹KBo 11.48 obv 13, KUB 7.19 obv 5f., 160/f : 7ff., 171/p obv 13, 10/o : 4, 491/b : 12. In the KI.LAM Festival, the LÚMEŠ UR.BAR.RA, along with the LÚMEŠ*kalaha*-, a royal

KUB 7.19 obv with dupls. KBo 20.78 obv 1'-3', KBo 23.97 obv 5-11 (CTH 639)⁹⁸²

2' [(*ma-ah-ha-an-ma* L)]Ú UR.BAR.RA ŠA ŠAH U[(ZU *hu-ul-hu-li-y*)a[?]-zi[?]

3' [n(*a-at* A-NA)] LÚSANGA ^dTi-ti-wa-at-ti p[(*a-a-i na-at-ša*)-an

4' [LÚ(SANGA)] ^dTe-te-wa-at-ti PA-NI DINGIR-LIM Z[(AG.GAR.RA *da-a*)-i

5' *naṁ-ma* 2 LÚ.MEŠ UR.BAR.RA PA-NI DINGIR-LIM *tar-ku*[(*-wa-an-zi*
SAL.MEŠKAR.KID)-ya]

6' *me-na-ah-ha-an-da tar-ku-wa-an-zi* GAL SALME[ŠKAR.KID SALSANGA ^dTe)-te-
wa-at-ti]

7' *pí-ra-an-pát hu-u-ya-an-te-eš nu tar-ku-iš-k*[(*án-zi ...*)

2' When the wolf-man grasp[s] the meat of the pig,

3' he gives it to the priest of Titiwatti and

4' the priest of Titiwatti sets it on the offering table before the deity.

5' Then two wolf-men dance before the deity [and] the hierodules

6' dance facing (them). The chief of the hierodules runs

7' before the priestess of Titiwatti, and they dance. ...

The phrase in 5'f. "then two wolf-men dance before the deity [and] the hierodules dance facing (them)" suggests that the two participants served as dancing partners for each other. Bo 2898 : 7' groups 15 LÚ.MEŠ UR.BAR.RA with 15 SAL.MEŠKAR. KID, along with other religious functionaries.⁹⁸³ We find the same grouping in Bo 88 obv 17ff. + Bo 326:

body guard, and male and female priests, run before the king (KBo 23.9 iv 2'-4' [OH/MS?]). Cf. I. Singer, StBoT 28, 1984, 28.

⁹⁸²Cf. H. Otten, "Zur Kontinuität eines altanatolischen Kultes," ZA 19, 1959, 181, n. 42. Cf. also F. Sommer, HAB, 1938, 42f.

⁹⁸³Cf. I. Singer, StBoT 27, 1983, 30.

2ff. of 15 LÚ.MEŠ UR.BAR.RA with 15 SAL.MEŠ KAR.KID.⁹⁸⁴ In light of the passage above, it is likely that the two groups are paired off for dancing in these fragments.⁹⁸⁵

The “running” activities of the wolf-men are illustrated in the following festival passage:

KUB 10.28 i (CTH 598)⁹⁸⁶

1 LUGAL-uš-ša-aš GŠDAG-za kat-ta

2 ú-iz-zi ta-aš GŠAB-ya

3 ta-pu-uš-za ti-ya-az-zi

4 ta GAL LÚ.MEŠ MUHALDIM A-NA LÚ.MEŠ UR.BAR.RA

5 pí-ra-an hu-u-wa-a-i

6 nu-kán ha-aš-ša-an 1-ŠU hu-u-ya-an-zi

7 na-at-kán pa-ra-a pa-an-zi

8 na-at Éhi-lam-ni KÁ.GAL-aš

9 ZAG-za pí-an-zi

1 The king comes down from the throne

2 and steps to the side

3 of the window.

4 The chief of the cooks runs before

5 the wolf-men.

6 Then they run one time (to) the hearth.

⁹⁸⁴Cf. H. Otten, ZA 53, 1959, 181, n. 42.

⁹⁸⁵See already H. Otten, ZA 53, 1959, 181, n. 42.

⁹⁸⁶Cf. A. Archi, SMEA 16, 1975, 80, n. 22. Cf. ii 9: UGULA LÚ.MEŠ MUHALDIM A-NA LÚ.MEŠ U[R.BA]R.RA pí-ra-an hu-u-wa-a-i; and iii 13ff.: ... LÚ.MEŠ UR.BAR.RA [...-]ša?-ti LUGAL-i [pí-ra-an] hu-u-ya-an-te-eš.

- 7 Then they go forth.
 8 Then they go to the right
 9 of the great gate in the vestibule.

It is not clear from the passages treated here whether the wolf-men actually behaved in any way as wolves. That such behavior was imitated by some participants in Hittite ritual, however, is demonstrated by KUB 9.31 ii 9-14: "They bring in eight boys who have not yet gone (to) a woman. Then on one boy they put a goat skin, (and) that one comes forth and calls (out) in the manner of a wolf. Then they turn the table in, and the shoulder and breast they devour" (CTH 757 [MH/NS], *supra*, p. 89.). Unfortunately, it is impossible to claim a connection between this passage and the "wolf-men" when no clear connection is made in the texts themselves.

d. *LÚhartag(g)a*- "bear-man"⁹⁸⁷

Only slightly better attested than the lion- and leopard-men, the bear-man is a principal player in one ritual passage, already treated above (p. 100). Here a female archer "kills" a bear-man: "The female archer shoots one time with an arrow (at) the bear-man. She misses him, but she shoots a second (time) and pierces him. She shouts, 'awaiya, awaiya!'" (Bo 2740 : 24'-28' [NH]).⁹⁸⁸ Bear-men are also mentioned in a number of unpublished fragments, including Bo 2740a l. c. 6 (*LÚhar-ta-ka-aš*), Bo 3202 : 17 (*LÚhar-ta-ak-ka*), Bo 2604a : 2 (*LÚhar-tág-ga-aš*) and Bo 6724 : 4 (*LÚhar-tág-ga-aš*).⁹⁸⁹ In KBo 17.100 i (CTH 635 [OH/MS?]), a bear-man appears with the *SALMEŠAMA.DINGIR-LIM*. In yet another festival passage, the bear-man performs a strange ritual:

⁹⁸⁷Cf. F. Pecchioli-Daddi, *Mestieri*, 1982, 233f.; *Hethitica* 8, 1987, 366.

⁹⁸⁸E. Neu, *StBoT* 18, 1974, 82f. Cf. line 8': *LÚhar-ta-ag-ga-an GI-üt 1-ŠU ši-e-ez-zi*.

⁹⁸⁹These are listed by H. G. Güterbock, *ZA* 44, 1938, 87. One other fragmentary occurrence is IBoT 2.88 : 15' (CTH 670) *LÚhar-ták-k[i-*. Cf. KUB 16.43 rev 3 *URUHa-ar-táq-qa*.

KBo 17.43 i with dupl. KBo 17.99 i 5'-10' (CTH 745 [OS])⁹⁹⁰

14' [(LÚ_{har-ta-ga-})]aš LÚ.MEŠ_{ALAM.ZÚ-an} GÌR-ŠU-NU še-e-er-hi-it šar-ta-i ta nam-ma
tar-uk-zi⁹⁹¹

15' [nam-m]a-pát-ta QA-TAM-MA i-e-ez-zi ta⁹⁹² DUGUTÚL-ša ša-li-ga UZUÚR-aš-ta da-a-i
ta-a[í]

16' [(a-ap-p)]a DUGUTÚL-ša pé-eš-ši-i-e-ez-zi ta-aš píd-da-a-i 1 LÚ_{ha-a-pé-eš} LÚ_{har-ta-}
ga-aš-ša⁹⁹³

17' [...-z]i ...

14' The bear-man smears the performers?²—(specifically,) their feet—with *šerha-*,⁹⁹⁴
and then he dances.

15' [Then] he does likewise and he approaches the pot, takes a penis and

16' throws it behind the pot. Then he runs. One *hapiya*-man and the bear-man

17' [...] ...

Although obscure, this passage tells us that, like the wolf-man, the bear-man danced, and was associated with the *hapiya*-man.

e. LÚ UR.GI₇ “dog-man”

Unlike the titles of the other animal-men, the title LÚ UR.GI₇ has a meaning outside of festivals as the designation for a hunter. It has this meaning in the Hittite Laws, in the

⁹⁹⁰Cf. F. Pecchioli-Daddi, *Mestieri*, 1982, 233; *Hethitica* 8, 1987, 366; E. Neu, *StBoT* 25, 1980, #43.

⁹⁹¹KBo 17.99 i 6' ta-ru-u[k-.

⁹⁹²KBo 17.99 i 7' ta-aš.

⁹⁹³KBo 17.99 i 9' LÚ_{har-ta-ka-aš-ša}.

⁹⁹⁴For this “Reinigungssubstanz” see E. Neu, *Glossar zu den althethitischen Ritualtexten*, *StBoT* 26, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, 165, n. 484.

Story of Kešši (KUB 33.121 ii 3'), in the fragment KUB 33.57 iii 11' (CTH 336)⁹⁹⁵ and possibly in the following passages from the Ritual of Malli:

KBo 12.126 i (CTH 402 [MH/NS])⁹⁹⁶

- 27 [ki-i]š-še-ra-aš ^dUTU-uš LÚ UR.GI₇-aš-ša LÚ-aš pí-ra-an nu-uš-ši ^GŠBAN-šU e-eš-z[i]
- 28 [nu-uš-ši G]I¹.HLA-šU e-eš-zi nu-uš-ši A-NA UR.GI₇-šU NINDA UR.GI₇-šU e-eš-zi
- 29 [nu A-NA A]NŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ im-mi-u-ul e-eš-du nu UN-aš ALAM.HLA IM e[-eš-du]
- 30 [ša-at ^{SAL}Š]U.GI kat-ta da-a-i
- 27 The “Sungod of the [n]and” and the hunter are before the man. His bow is present for him,
- 28 [and] his arrows are present [for him], and for his dog there is his dog’s bread.
- 29 [For the h]orses let there be fodder and for men [let there b]e clay images!
- 30 [And the O]ld [Woman] sets [them] down.

This passage seems to describe a hunter fully equipped and ready for the hunt. The hunter is mentioned again in the following obscure context:

KUB 24.9 ii with dupl. KUB 24.11 ii 7'-11' (CTH 402 [MH/NS])⁹⁹⁷

- 26' na-aš-kán a-pé-e-ez ar-ha te-pu ú-iz-zi nu pá-t-te-eš-ni ta-pu-uš-za
- 27' 1 NINDA.SIG A-NA ^dMar-wa-ya-an pár-ši-ya LÚ UR.GI₇-aš LÚ-aš ku-i-e-eš

⁹⁹⁵LÚ UR.GI₇ gi-im-ra.

⁹⁹⁶Cf. L. Jakob-Rost, *Das Ritual der Malli aus Arzawa gegen Behexung (KUB 24 9+)* (=THeth 2), Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1972, 24f.

⁹⁹⁷Cf. L. Jakob-Rost, THeth 2, 1972, 35; CHD 3/3, 1986, 235.

- 28' *pt-ra-an ú-e-ha-an-da <...>*⁹⁹⁸ 1 NINDA.SIG *mi-ya-ni-it*⁹⁹⁹ EME *pár-ši-ya*
 29' 1 NINDA.SIG *da-an-ku-wa-i ták-ni-i pár-ši-ya* 1 NINDA.SIG *ḏUTU-i pár-ši-ya*
 30' *nu te-ez-zi ki-i zi-ik pa-ah-ši ...*
-
- 26' She comes a little away from there and beside the hole
 27' she breaks one unleavened loaf for the deity Marwaya. The hunter (and) the men!
 who turn before (him) <...>.
 28' She breaks one unleavened loaf for the tongue of¹ *m.*;
 29' she breaks one unleavened loaf for the Dark Earth; she breaks one unleavened loaf for
 the Sungod,
 30' and she says: "You, protect these things!"

Finally, in the following passage, it seems the hunter is responsible for conveying the sorcery back to its person of origin.¹⁰⁰⁰

KUB 24.9 ii with dupls. KBo 10.41 : 6'-10', KUB 24.10 ii 6'-9', KUB 24.11 ii 27'-30'
 (CTH 402 [MH/NS])¹⁰⁰¹

- 48' *I-NA UD.2.KAM ma-a-an lu-uk-kāt-ta*¹⁰⁰² *nu*¹⁰⁰³ *p[(át-tar ḠNÁ-az kat-ta-an)]*
 49' *ar-ha da-a-i na-at-kán UN-ši*¹⁰⁰⁴ *š[(e-er ar-ha wa-ah-nu-uz-zi)]*
 50' *nu me-ma-i LÚ UR.GI₇-aš LÚ-aš k[(e-e al-wa-an-za-ta)]*

⁹⁹⁸Since the clause is not resumed, it seems clear that some text is missing here.

⁹⁹⁹KUB 24.11 ii 9' *mi-ya-na-aš*.

¹⁰⁰⁰Compare the role of the dog itself in Hittite ritual. Used largely for purificatory purposes, the dog was viewed as having the ability to absorb impurities, as, for example, in KUB 17.28 iv 45-55 and KBo 4.2 ii 5-14.

¹⁰⁰¹Cf. L. Jakob-Rost, THeth 2, 1972, 38f.

¹⁰⁰²KBo 10.41 : 6' *lu-uq-qa-ta*.

¹⁰⁰³KUB 24.10 ii 6' omits *nu*.

¹⁰⁰⁴KBo 10.41 : 7' *an-t[u-uh-ši]*.

51' *al-wa-an-zi-ni* UN-ši EGIR[(-*pa zi-ik pa-a-i*)]

48' On the second day when it becomes light he/she takes away the basket down

49' from the bed, waves it over the person,

50' and says: "O hunter, o man, these enchantments you

51' give back to the sorcerous person!"

Other examples of LÚ UR.GI₇ seem to refer instead to a cultic functionary. These dog-men are found in festivals of ZABABA (KUB 2.5 ii 20' [CTH 612]), Zithariya (KBo 4.13 vi 7 [CTH 625]), and possibly of Zawi (KUB 20.90 iv 4-5, 14-16 [CTH 649]), among others. The latter two are Hattic deities. The following passage describes the 16th day of the festival performed in the temple of the Wargod, ZABABA:

KUB 2.5 ii with dupl. KUB 25.1 iii 43'-44' (CTH 612)¹⁰⁰⁵

20' GAL LÚ ME-ŠE-DI ŠA LÚ.MEŠ UR.GI₇ IGLDU₈.LIŠ.A

21' LUGAL-*i tar-kum-mi-ya-iz-zi*

20' The chief of the royal body guard announces to the king

21' the gift of the dog-men.

The dog is a common sight among armies on campaign. Should we then be surprised to find "dogs" represented in a festival to the god of war?¹⁰⁰⁶ The action performed by the dog-men here—presenting gifts—is one of their most common activities¹⁰⁰⁷ and is a

¹⁰⁰⁵KUB 25.1 iii 43'-44': *nu-kán GAL ME-ŠE-DI an-da pa-iz-zi nu LUGAL-i ŠA LÚ.MEŠ UR.GI₇ IGLDU₈.A tar-kum-mi-ya-iz-zi*. Cf. E. Neu, StBoT 18, 1974, 115; A Archi, RSO 52, 1978, 25.

¹⁰⁰⁶Cf. S. Lonsdale, *Animals and the Origins of Dance*, New York: Thames & Hudson, 1981, 130: "In keeping with the belief that the dog has close ties with death, danced imitations of the dog are performed in funeral and war dances."

¹⁰⁰⁷KUB 10.65 iv 4f. (CTH 653); KUB 22.27 iv 17 (CTH 568); and KBo 17.88 ii 16 (CTH 591 [cf. ii 21]): [*š*]A LÚ.MEŠ UR.GI₇ *hi-in-ku-wa-ar tar-kum[-mi-ya-iz-zi]* "[he] anno[unces] the gift [o]f the dog-men" (A. Archi, RSO 52, 1978, 25, n. 15; E. Neu, StBoT 18, 1974, 115).

unique action among the animal-men. In KBo 10.25 vi 9f. (with dupl. KUB 53.32 obv 3') of the KILAM Festival, rather than presenting a gift, the dignitary of the "dog-men" receives a festive garment (^{TÚG}*adupli-*): A-NA LÚ.MEŠ UR.GI₇ DUGUD ^{TÚG}*a-du-up-li pí-an-zi* LUGAL-*i hi-in-kán-ta*.¹⁰⁰⁸

That the dog-men did in fact carry on in the manner of dogs is indicated by a passage from a text of the cult of the Hattic god, Zithariya (CTH 625), where the dog-men "bark" (*wappiya-*) to the music of the "large Ištar" instrument: GIŠ.INANNA GAL ŠÌR-RU LÚ.MEŠ UR.GI₇ *wa-ap-pí-ya-an-zi* "they play the "large Ištar" instrument (while) the dog-men bark" (KBo 4.13 vi 7). Another text mentions "barking" (but not dog-men) in a festival for the Hattic gods Zithariya and Zawi:

KUB 20.90 iv (CTH 649)¹⁰⁰⁹

- 4' [LUGAL ^{dZ}]*i-it-ha-ri-ya-an* TUSŠ-*aš e-ku-zi*
 5' [*a-še-eš-*]*šar ar-ta wa-ap-pí-ya-an-zi*
 6' [...]x *še-ri-za-aš ú-iz-zi* LÚ.MEŠ *ha-pí-ya-aš*
 7' [^{TÚG}]*ši-ik-nu-uš pé-eš-ši-ya-an-zi*
 ...
 14' ^{dZa-i-ú-un} TUSŠ-*aš IŠ-TU BI-IB-RI GUŠK[IN GEŠ]TIN*![?]
 15' *pí-an-zi a-še-eš-šar ar-ta* ^{TÚG}*ši-ik-nu-uš*
 16' *pé-eš-ši-ya-an-zi wa-ap-pí-an-zi* ...

4' [The king], seated, drinks to Zithariya.

5' [The congre]gation stands; they bark.

6' ... comes. The *hapiya*-men

7' throw off the cloaks.

¹⁰⁰⁸Cf. I. Singer, StBoT 28, 1984, 53.

¹⁰⁰⁹Cf. J. Friedrich, ZA 49, 1950, 253; and H. Th. Bossert, *Janus*, 1959, 16, who suggests dog-men are meant.

...

14' Seated, they give [wi]ne? from a gol[den] rhyton

15' (to) Zayu. The congregation stands. They

16' throw off the cloaks; they bark ...

Is this an imitation of a dog's bark? If so, it probably was not imitated out of admiration for this animal, but rather, out of an attempt to utilize the magical power the dog was thought to possess in warding off evil, and in promoting healing.

Yet another activity performed by the dog-men was "singing." This function is limited to one festival which follows:

KBo 4.13 v (CTH 625)¹⁰¹⁰

39 [LUGAL SAL.]LUGAL TUŠ-aš dLAMMA a-aš-ga-za a-ku-wa-an-zi

40 [LÚ.MEŠ U]R.GI₇ EGIR GŠAB-ya ŠÌR-RU 1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA pá-r-ši-ya

41 [LUGAL SAL.LUGAL TU]Š-aš dLAMMA an-dur-za a-ku-wa-an-zi

42 [LÚ.MEŠNAR URUKa-]ni-eš ŠÌR-RU 1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA pá-r-ši-ya

39 [The king and queen, seated, drink to the Protective Deity outside.

40 The dog[-men] sing behind the window. He/she breaks one offering loaf.

41 [The king and queen, seated, drink to the Protective Deity inside.

42 [The singers of Ka]nesh sing. He/she breaks one offering loaf.

KBo 19.128 iv (CTH 625 [OH?/NS])¹⁰¹¹

47' LUGAL SAL LUGAL TUŠ-as dLAMMA

48' a-aš-ka-az IŠ-TU BI-IB-RI

49' DÀRAMAŠ a-ku-wa-an-zi

¹⁰¹⁰H. Otten, *Ein hethitisches Festritual* (KBo XIX 128), StBoT 13, 1971, 42.

¹⁰¹¹Cf. E. Neu, StBoT 18, 1974, 32 for lines 47'-49'.

- 50' [GIŠ] dINANNA.GAL LÚ.MEŠ^{hal-li-ya-ri-eš}
 51' [SÌ]R-RU LÚSÌLA.ŠU.DU₈.A-aš 1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA KU₇
 52' [a-aš-g]a-az pa-a-i LÚ.MEŠ UR.GI₇
 53' EGIR GŠAB.HLA <SÌR-RU>?

-
- 47' The king and queen, seated,
 48' drink to the Protective Deity
 49' outside from a deer rhyton.
-

- 50' The *halliyari*-men play the
 51' great Ištar instrument, the cupbearers
 52' provide one sweet loaf outside. The dog-men
 53' <sing> behind the window.

On two occasions we find the term LÚ UR.TUR “puppy-man.” One of these is in the KLLAM Festival: [...]MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ UR.TUR DINGIR.MEŠ x[...] (KBo 21.68 i 2' [OS]). The fragmentary state of the passage does not allow us to determine if this attestation is a scribal error for LÚ.MEŠ UR.GI₇, or if in fact LÚ UR.TUR refers to a separate functionary. The other occurrence is found in an Old Hittite storm ritual:

KBo 17.74 ii (CTH 631 [OH/MS])¹⁰¹²

- 26 LUGAL-uš tu-un-na-ak-ki-iš-na pa-iz-zi NINDA ša-ra[-a-m]a hal-zi-ya
 27 LÚ U[R.TU]R¹⁰¹³ kur-ša-an ú-da-an-zi ta-an a-ap-pa k[ā]n-kān-zi
 28 [LUGAL-uš-z]a a-ni-ya-at-ta da-a-i ta-aš-ta pa-ra-a pa-iz-zi
-
- 26 The king goes into the inner room. šar[am]a-bread is called for.
 27 The “p[up]py-man” brings¹ a hunting bag and they h[a]ng it again.

¹⁰¹²Cf. E. Neu, *Ein althethitisches Gewitterritual*, StBoT 12, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970, 20f.

¹⁰¹³The signs have been collated (E. Neu, StBoT 12, 1970, 20, n. 37).

28 [The king] takes the object [for hi]mself and goes out.

Neu¹⁰¹⁴ identifies LÚ UR.TUR with Hittite LÚ*huldala-* based on the fact that in i 33 of this same text, the LÚ*huldala-* brings the hunting bag (*kurša-*). LÚ*huldala-* is a hapax, and Neu suggests a meaning like “watchman” (German *Bewahrer, Bewacher, Wächter*), extrapolated from the verb *huldalai-* “protect.”

Despite the scantiness of the evidence, which allows little insight into the purpose and significance of these functionaries, some general observations can be made. We know, for example, that the “animal-men” were a widespread phenomenon, since they come from various towns and are not limited to Hattuša. We also know that no two animal-men are ever found together in one context. Whether there is any significance to this fact is not clear.

We can also define some similarities and differences in their respective functions. For example, the dog-men “sing,” “bark,” and present gifts, but do not “dance” or “run.” The wolf-men “dance” and “run,” but do not sing or present gifts. The other three functionaries are not well enough attested for a clear role to be defined, although the bear-man participates in a ritual enactment of the hunt, and the leopard-man may perform a similar ritual role.

Most scholars seem to agree that the animal-men wore animal masks or hides, although there is no real evidence of this. Unfortunately, supporting evidence in the iconography for humans in animal costume is sparse. One Old Hittite relief fragment of a human figure with an animal’s head, playing a tamborine, provides one possible correlation.¹⁰¹⁵

¹⁰¹⁴StBoT 12, 1970, 39f.

¹⁰¹⁵R. Boehmer, *Boğazköy-Hattuša XIII*, 1983, Taf. IX, X, no. 25.

I do not believe that these persons were a relic of an ancient practice of animal totemism. Based on what evidence we have, I do believe that there is some evidence of a connection with the hunt, the roots of which certainly predate the Bronze Age. The very fact that game animals were chosen for the names of these functionaries suggests this connection. The presence of “dog-men” functionaries suggests a hunt as well, since the dog’s most valuable role in Hittite society was in hunting. In addition, the dog-men of the KILLAM Festival are found with articles associated with the hunt. I have already summarized the animal procession of this Festival and its connection with the hunt (*supra*, p. 299f.). In this procession, the dog-men follow the “animals of the gods” and precede the singer of ^dLAMMA, the musicians who play music and sing in Hattic, and the deer figures.

If the KILLAM Festival (and others) were intended in part as celebrations of the hunt, the “dog-man” probably represented both the hunter and the dog who was his companion. Hence, the term “dog-man” would have a dual significance. The *hapiya*-man, who is closely connected with nearly all of the animal-men, represented some person connected with the hunt, similar to, but more common than the *miniya*-man.¹⁰¹⁶

Section C. Symbolic Uses of Animals

Although domestic animals are used often in symbolic language, they were not as effective as wild animals in suggesting “a mode of thought.” They did not reflect human social order so much as participate in it. References to domestic animals in symbolic language are most often an outgrowth of their domesticity. For example, we find similes like the following: “You are stubborn like an ass O Queen Ištar!”;¹⁰¹⁷ “for the mighty

¹⁰¹⁶For ^{LÚ}*hapiya*-, see L. Jakob-Rost, “Zu hethitisch ^{LÚ}*hapija*,” *AoF* 5, 1977, 263-267.

¹⁰¹⁷KUB 24.7 ii 18f.: ANŠE-*aš-ma-za* GIM-*an pu-un-tar-ri-ya-li-iš* z[i-ik] SAG.LUGAL-*aš dIŠTAR-iš*. Cf. H. G. Güterbock, *JAOS* 103, 1983, 158.

Hedammu [sweet] sleep seized hi[s] soul, and, just like a sleeping cow or donkey, [...] he distinguishes [not]hing and he eats frogs and salamanders?";¹⁰¹⁸ "as this mule does not give birth ...";¹⁰¹⁹ "just as the ram mounts the ewe and she becomes pregnant";¹⁰²⁰ "just as the dog does not get along with the pig";¹⁰²¹ "just as a single pig gives birth to many piglets, let every single branch of this vineyard, like the pig, bear many grape clusters!"¹⁰²²

In Hittite thought, the wild animals most likely to embody symbolic meaning were the large, powerful animals. The large wild animals that are noticeably lacking in symbolic significance are the boar, deer and wild goat. The remainder of the wild animals, including hares, mice, insects and so forth, are virtually devoid of symbolic meaning—at least as far as the texts reveal—with the notable exception of the bee, whose symbolic role is partially dependent on its association with the Mother-goddess. It is virtually certain, however, that the texts offer only a small glimpse of a much vaster and broader store of symbolic meanings, which undoubtedly pervaded the everyday existence of the Hittites.

Among the wild animals, the wolf was the antithesis of civilization, and served as a metonym for the outcast human (while the dog was the degraded human living on the periphery of civilization). The snake was one manifestation of various forms of natural evil,

¹⁰¹⁸KUB 33.84 + KBo 19.109 obv 8'-10' with dupl. KBo 19.111 obv 5-8. Cf. supra, pp. 227f.; J. Siegelová, *StBoT* 14, 1971, 58.; J. Friedrich, *ArOr* 17, 1949, 234. Line numbers are based on KBo 19.109.

¹⁰¹⁹Bo 550 iv 7f.: *ka-a-aš-ma-wa-za* ANŠE.GÌ[R.NUN.NA]x *Ú-UL ha-a-ši* Cf. H. Otten, *HTR*, 1958, 138.

¹⁰²⁰Bo 2072 iv 30 with dupl. KBo 10.45 iv 30: *UDU.A.LUM* (dupl. adds *GIM-an*) *UDU.SIG+SAL-ya* (dupl. omits *-ya*) *a[(r-)g]a* (dupl. *a-ar-ki*) *nu-za ar-ma-ah-hi*. Cf. H. Otten, "Eine Beschwörung der Unterirdischen aus Boğazköy," *ZA* 54, 1961, 138f.

¹⁰²¹KUB 24.7 i 34 (CTH 717): *nu UR.GI₇ GI[M-an ŠA]H[?] Ú-UL ha-an-ta[-iz-zi[?]]* (according to H. G. Güterbock's restoration in *JAOS* 103, 1983, 156f.).

¹⁰²²*nu-za* 1 ŠAH *ma-a-ah-ha-an* ŠAH.TUR.HLA *me-ek-ku-uš ha-aš-ki-iz-zi ke-e-el-la-az* ŠA GŠKIRI₆.GE[ŠTIN] *1-aš-ša* GŠ *ma-a-ah-la-aš* ŠAH-aš *i-wa-ar mu-u-ri-uš me-ek-ku-uš ha-aš-ki-id-du* (KUB 43.23 rev 19'-22' [OS]).

and became an effective vehicle for insult. The lion and eagle were symbols reserved for royalty. Both evoked an image of awesomeness and competence. Because of their close association with Hittite kingship, they carry the greatest symbolic meaning in the texts.

Animal imagery as it is used in the Hittite texts was entirely appropriate for Hittite culture, whose economy and way of life was primarily agrarian. A pastoral-agricultural people could relate to pastoral images and to the system of animal symbolism revealed in Hittite texts. The images drawn from nature are merely a reflection of how the Hittites perceived each animal in nature. Many of the symbols and images contained in Hittite sources are traditional, that is, they belong "to the mythology of everyone." Some, however, "are strictly contemporary and some are esoteric, relying on a private code which only the initiate can interpret."¹⁰²³

¹⁰²³B. Rowland, *Animals with Human Faces*, Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1973, xvii.

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(a)



(b)

Fig. 3-1. (a) Common Fallow Deer stag (from J. Clutton-Brock, *Domesticated Animals*, 1981, Fig. 18.5); (b) Red Deer stag (hart) (from J. Clutton-Brock, *Domesticated Animals*, 1981, Fig. 17.2).



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

Fig. 3-2. (a) Bezoar goat (*C. aegagrus*) (from J. Clutton-Brock, *Domesticated Animals*, 1981, Fig. 5.6); (b) Bezoar goat (*C. aegagrus*) (from W. Nagel, ZA 21, 1963, Taf. III, 3); (c) Ibex (*C. ibex*) (from J. Clutton-Brock, *Domesticated Animals*, 1981, Fig. 5.8); (d) Goitred gazelle (*Gazella subgutturosa*) (from J. Clutton-Brock, *Domesticated Animals*, 1981, Fig. 17.10).

Neolithic: Çatal Hüyük, F.V.1, west wall (p. 147 with n. 480)

Çatal Hüyük, VII.10, northeast corner (*AnSt* 14, fig. 17, Pl. Xb)
 Çatal Hüyük, F.V.1, west wall (p. 146f. with n. 479)
 Çatal Hüyük, F.V.1, eastern section of north wall (p. 147 with n. 481)
 Çatal Hüyük, A.III.1, east wall (p. 147 with n. 482)
 Çatal Hüyük, A.III.13, north wall (p. 147 with n. 483)

Third millennium:

Horoztepe sistrum (p. 152 with n. 509)
 Horoztepe figurine (*Horoztepe*, Pl. XIV, 1)
 Alaca Hüyük standard, AI 656 (Arik, Pl. CXCVI)
 Alaca Hüyük standard, AI 657 (Arik, Pl. CXCIIX)
 Alaca Hüyük standard, AI 658 (Arik, Pl. CC)
 Alaca Hüyük standard (Arik, Pls. CCII-CCV)
 Alaca Hüyük standard, Tomb D (Kosay, Pl. CLII)
 Alaca Hüyük standard, Tomb L (Kosay, Pl. CXCIH)

Old Assyrian: Özguç, no. 23
 Özguç, no. 76* (p. 153 with n. 513)

Özguç, nos. 19*, 25, 65* (pp. 152f., nn. 510-512)
 Özguç, no. 81 (p. 153 with n. 514), 95
 Özguç, nos. 64*, 69*, (p. 155 with n. 525)
 Kültepe-Kanesh Ib krater fragment (p. 150)
 Kültepe-Kanesh Ib seal (p. 153 with n. 515)
 Kültepe-Kanesh Ib four handled jar (p. 150 with n. 497)
 Kara Hüyük seal (p. 153 with n. 517)

Hittite: *Schimmel stag frieze (pp. 148, n. 488, 155)
SBo II, nos. 8, 74, 75, 230 (p. 146, n. 478)
 *Yenikoy relief (p. 155 with n. 529)
 Alaca Hüyük Sphinx Gate relief (p. 149, with n. 491)
 Alaca Hüyük Sphinx Gate relief (p. 149, with n. 492)
 Carchemish seal (Woolley, Pl. 25.b,3)
 Dresden seal, British Museum seal (p. 150, n. 502)

Schimmel stag rhyton (pp. 148 with n. 488)
SBo II, nos. 5, 6, 35, 123, 191 (p. 146, n. 478)
SBo II, no. 220 (p. 148 with n. 486)
 OH vessel fr. Boghazköy (Boehmer, Pl. XXIXff.)
 Selimli vase (p. 148f. with n. 490)
 Hittite seal in the Aleppo Museum (Schaeffer, p. 96)
 Hittite stamp seal (Beran, Tf. I, 54)

(cont'd)

Neo Hittite:	*Karasu relief (p. 156 with n. 533)	Alishar IV krater (p. 150 with n. 499)
	Zincirli B/6, 7, 8 (p. 149 with n. 494)	Alishar vessel (p. 150 with n. 500)
	Carchemish E/1 (p. 154 with n. 520)	Zincirli A/8 (p. 149 with n. 493)
	Carchemish H/6 (p. 149 with n. 495)	Zincirli A/9 (p. 152 with n. 508)
	Carchemish H/7 (Orthmann, Tf. 33e)	*Malatya A/9 (p. 156 with n. 534)
		Malatya relief of deer hunt (p. 35, n. 120)
		Maşat krater fragments (p. 150 with n. 498)
		Carchemish H/9 (p. 154 with n. 520)

*Stags supporting deities.

Abbreviations used in this table:

Arik = R. O. Arik, *Les fouilles d'Alaça Höyük*, 1937.
 Beran = T. Beran, *Boğazköy-Hattusa V*, 1967.
 Boehmer = R. M. Boehmer, *Boğazköy-Hattusa XIII*, 1983.
Horoztepe = T. Özgüç and M. Akok, *Horoztepe*, 1958.
 Kosay = H. C. Kosay, *Les fouilles d'Alaça Höyük*, 1951.
AnSt 14 = J. Mellaart, *AnSt* 14, 1964.
 Orthmann = W. Orthmann, *USK*, 1971.
 Özgüç = N. Özgüç, *AnGr*, 1965.
SBo II = H. G. Gitterbock, *SBo* II, 1942.
 Schaeffer = C. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* III, 1956.
 Woolley = L. Woolley, *Carchemish* II, 1921.

Unless otherwise indicated, page numbers refer to this volume.

Table 3-1. A diachronic list of the surviving artistic representations of deer in Anatolia, comparing the number of fallow deer with red deer (antlered animals only).

APPENDIX: Index of Treated Texts and Passages

volume	text	column	lines	page	KBo	8	70	:	9'-11'	251f.	
KBo	1	14	obv	18-19	42	9	120	i	2'	33,n.101	
		44	i	50	255		:	4'-9'	187		
		52	i	7'	67		ii	21-27	266f.		
				8'	69		:	9'-12'	117f.		
2	1	iv	11-12	190	10	114	:	6'f.	112,n.391		
			1-5	176f.		119	iv	6-12	20		
			1-4	180f.		1	obv	34-36	130f.		
			9-10	180f.		rev	2-3	41			
3	1	i	11-12	301,n.965	2	2	ii	17-19	40		
			20-26	301,n.965		iii	1-3	40f.			
			43-45	93			13	162			
			5-8	217f.		6	i	6-7	254		
4	1	ii	9-13	49f.	23	iii	14	263			
			22-26	218			1"-6"	75			
			27-31	49f.			9"-15"	21f.			
			22-26	39			v	16'	76		
6	2	iii	59-63	99	25	vi	18'	56			
			15'-16'	87			3'-8'	21f.			
			23'-27'	216			5'	56			
			12-18	285f.			9'-10'	312			
7	1	rev	7	33,n.100	28	v	1f.	194,n.653			
			58-60	16f.			31	iv	3'-5'	194	
			39-42	313			17'-21'	194			
			1	33,n.101			33	v	1f.	194,n.653	
8	2	iv	10-12	82	36	rev	4'	195,n.656			
			44-46	142f.			45	iv	30	317	
			1-3	81			47c	i	7'-18'	12f.	
			14-15	81			52	obv?	10'	195,n.657	
9	3	ii	18	9,n.22	11	10	ii	21'-27'	234		
			32-36	232f.			72	ii	26'-30'	234	
			29-30	82			12	56	i	14'	33,n.100
			49-50	142f.			85	iii	5'-7'	221f.	
10	3	iii	73-75	81	86	:	7'	112,n.391			
			9-10	81f.			91	iv	9'-12'	134	
			13-14	9,n.22			94	:	7'-9'	252,271	
			26	9,n.22			100	obv	1-7	221	
11	7	:	29-34	232f.	126	i	27-30	309			
			9-10	9,n.22			13	16	:	7'-8'	19
			15-16	232f.			18	:	8'	271	
			3-5	142f.			29	ii	5-6	248	
12	8	iii?	10'-12'	17f.	34	iii	8'-10'	19			
			10-12	222			35	iii	9'	58,n.187	
			13'-16'	17f.			86	obv	16'	112,n.391	
			1-6	17f.			122	rev	6'-9'	44	
13	15	v	9'	58,n.187	131	obv	14'-18'	228f.			
			22-27	17f.			241	rev	22-24	37	
			1-2	222					30-33	37	
			13-17	18f.					32-33	219	
14	14	obv	3'-6'	99f.	15	132	iii	3'ff.	135,n.440		
			2'-5'	93			iii	47'-50'	203ff.		
			7-10	83					58'-70'	203ff.	
			3'	33,n.100			37	i	20-22	109	
15	63	i	7'	33,n.101	16	61	rev	4'-9'	276f.		

KBo	16	61	rev	14'-17'	276f.	KBo	25	12	ii	13'-20'	23f.
		68	iv ¹	8f.	302			112	iii	13'-16'	46
		100	:	4'-7'	255f.			155	rev	27'-31'	86f.
		101	:	2'	255			180	rev ⁷	3'-6'	22f.
17		1	ii	5'-6'	126ff.					3'-15'	188f.
				11'-12'	126ff.					10'-14'	22f.
				16'-21'	126ff.			193	obv	8'-12'	38
				23'-24'	126ff.		26	82	obv	5-8	211
				30'-34'	126ff.			192	:	2'-7'	199
				37'-43'	126ff.		30	14	v	6ff.	21f.
				1-7	126ff.			17	r. c.	7'-8'	242
	2		iii	9'	126ff.			69	iii	17'	54,n.174
	3		ii	1'-4'	126ff.						
				8'-14'	126ff.						
				15'-iii 5	126ff.	KUB	1	16	ii	9-22	214ff.
	4		ii	14'-15'	126ff.					37-39	40
	6		ii	5'-6'	126ff.					46	280
				10'-14'	126ff.			17	i	32,43	274
				18'-19'	126ff.				ii	51	274
	24		i	2'	33,n.100				iii	1	274
	43		i	14'-17'	308				v	28f.	62
	61		obv	19	89				vi	2	274
	74		ii	26-28	314f.			2	iii	30	12
	88		ii	16	311,n.1007			5	ii	20'-21'	311
	99		i	5'-10'	308		3	89	i	4'-7'	93
	153		rev	3'	33,n.100			94	ii	18	28
18	165b		:	1'-2'	230,n.754					18-26	281f.
	172		obv	10'	33,n.102		4	8	obv	5-9	25
			rev	3	161			22	obv	10'	182
	175		rev	14	33,n.102			74	rev	1'	58,n.187
	176		i	2'	33,n.102		6	45	iii	15-17	15f.
19	1		iii	44-46	142f.			46	iii	54-56	15f.
	109		obv	8'-10'	227f.,317		7	19	obv	2'-7'	305
	111		obv	5-8	317			24	i	1-3	62
	128		iv	47'-53'	313f.			33	obv	5-9	272
				49'	33,n.101			53	ii	4-6	124
20	5		obv ¹	1'-8'	23f.			60	ii	14-17	123
	33		obv	13-16	74		8	1	ii	3'	58,n.187
	78		obv	1'-3'	305					16-17	252
	89		obv ²	9'-10'	285,n.917				iii	3	252
21	6		obv	6'-12'	38					8-11	283
	12		rev ²	19'	56,n.180					12-13	19
	22		obv	12'-17'	55					17-19	271
				25'-28'	43f.			3	rev	2'	11
			rev	36'-40'	78			41	ii	4'-6'	45
	68		i	1'-6'	23f.			50	ii	13	36
				2'	314			56	:	2'-5'	12f.
	90		rev	51'-54'	86f.			63	iv	7-12	245f.
	103		rev	27'-31'	86f.			65	i	19'-22'	211f.
22	195		ii ¹	10'-14'	74,n.266			67	iv	10'-21'	226f.
				10'-16'	23f.			70	ii	5'	210,n.702
	222		iii	10'-11'	223		9	31	i	5-9	55f.
	224		ii ¹	1'-6'	23f.				ii	9-14	89
				10'-14'	74,n.266			39	i	1-6	247
23	55		i	5'-14'	101f.		10	28	i	1-9	306f.
	97		obv	5-11	305				ii	9	306,n.986
24	118		vi	20'-28'	57f.				iii	13ff.	306,n.986
								89	i	20	33,n.101

KUB 11	21	ii	5'	36,n.126	KUB 24	2	rev	1'-2'	251
12	1	iii	36,38	33,n.100				10'-11'	251
		iv	6'-14'	178f.				12'-16'	26
			17'	36,n.126		3	ii	44-45	46f.
			20'-23'	273		4	rev	2-3	46f.
	24	iv	6,10,14	56		7	i	34	317
	36	i	1-4	59			ii	18f.	316
		iii	12-14	124				21	46
	62	obv	10-17	53			iii	24-27	47
		rev	1-2	53				65-69	119
	63	i	22-33	84f.				68-70	218f.
13	1	i	50	255			iv	28-29	218f.
	4	i	20-22	9		9	ii	26'-30'	309f.
		iii	64-68	9				48'-51'	310f.
	5	iii	34'-38'	9		10	ii	6'-9'	310f.
	6	iii	15'-18'	9		11	ii	7'-11'	309f.
	12	obv	7'-9'	142f.				27'-30'	310f.
	13	rev	1'-5'	81		14	iv	19-25	94
	19	iii	7'-11'	9	25	1	iii	43'-44'	311
15	5	ii	39-45	60f.		17	i	3'-5'	56
		iii	48	60f.		18	i	17f.	101
	22	:	12'	162			ii	6-11	161f.
	31	i	33-35	121		51	i	2'-7'	76
		i	58-61	122	26	19	ii	42-45	27
	32	i	35-37	121		71	i	8'-10'	99
			42	122,n.413	27	1	iv	21f.	63
			60-62	122				22,32	33,n.101
	34	i	12	122		67	iii	38-47	202f.
			34	123				52-54	202f.
		ii	46-48	251f.				11'-14'	45
	39	ii	21-24	266	28	75	iii	5'-7'	36,n.126
16	16	obv	23'-25'	57	29	87	rev	28-38	51f.
17	1	ii	11'-13'	212f.		1	i	50-53	114f.
	2	:	5'-10'	12f.			ii	1-10	114f.
	3	iii	3f.	36				39-46	53f.
	7	iii	10-11	119,n.407				52-54	43
	9	i	14-15	112			iii	41-44	277
	10	i	23-29	116				49-51	112f.
			34-38	235		8	ii	6-3	131
		ii	33-36	124f.		12	i	6	58,n.187
		iii	1-2	124f.		13	rev	6'-7'	81f.
	27	ii	4-10	246f.		30	iii	15'	222
	34	iv	5	36,n.126		35	iii	8'	222
	36	:	10	302,n.965				4'-6'	14f.
18	32	:	4'	82,n.293	30	11	obv	36-40	129f.
19	8	iv	12-15	186		31	iv	11'	195,n.657
20	54	rev	6'-9'	44		32	iv	5'-9'	134f.
	90	iv	4'-7'	312		33	iv	16	228f.
			14'-16'	312f.		34	iii	1-14	132ff.
			12-16	181			iv	36-39	134
21	40	iii	23'	43,n.143		35	iv	2'-4'	134
22	27	iv	33-38	57f.		37	i	1-4	59
23	13	:	7'	98		42	i	18	254
	102	ii	6-8	42		24	:	6'	36,n.126
	124	iv	42	251,n.794	31	51	rev?	7'	232
24	1	iii	16-17	251		58	rev	11'	232
		iv	7-8	251		77	i	15-19	87f.
			9-14	26		127	i	41-46	14f.

KUB 31	133	:	20'-25'	14f.	KUB 38	26	rev	16	110
	135	obv	11'-13'	14f.		27	obv	8'-12'	110
	143	ii	26	46		33	obv	7'-9'	110
32	114	rev	4'-8'	129f.		38	obv	7'-11'	179
	128	ii	1-4	109	39	33	ii	1-8	172
33	4	:	12'f.	117		103	rev	1'-5'	132f.
	5	ii	4-19	235ff.	40	2	obv	9'-10'	205
	8	ii	14-17	125	41	7	i	2'-7'	10
	9	ii	3'-12'	237f.		23	ii	11-15	275
	10	obv	1-5	237f.		33	obv	12'f.	120,n.408
			17-20	125	42	10	iv?	7'	33,n.100
	33	:	8'-13'	238		11	i	10	250
	52	ii	4-9	240		21	i	4	33,n.102
	55	ii	11-16	240		27	:	4'	33,n.102
	56	obv	3'-5'	240		69	obv	12'	80
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