"The Great Sun God Made a Feast" A Mythical topos in Hittite Ritual Literature*

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In the myths of the "vanishing god," the feast organized by the Sun God represents a key moment of the story¹.

In every myth about the disappearance of a god, the episode of the feast, when preserved, is referred to with words analogous to those found in the first version of Telepinu myth:

"The great Sun God made a feast and invited the thousand Gods. They ate but couldn't get enough. They drank but couldn't quench their thirst. The Storm God thought about his son Telepinu. 'My son Telepinu is not there. He became enraged and removed everything good'. The great and the small gods began to search for Telepinu "2.

Just in this moment, when famine and aridity are already spreading throughout the human and divine worlds, the gods understand the cause: Telepinu disappeared and took away with him the wellbeing of the cosmos.

After the description of the god's wrath and its consequences, the banquet represents the real beginning of the narrative. The gods are not able to enjoy the food, and after understanding that one of them is missing, they discuss possible solutions; and the small and great gods begin to search for the god who disappeared.

These myths are built through a schema of motifs that recurs in every composition3. The chain of happenings is linked by finding and appeasing the vanished god,

^{*} I would like to thank Professor Elisabeth Rieken for her comments and remarks about a former version

About this motif see Haas = Wilhelm 1974, p. 29. For a general view about these myths see Pecchioli Daddi = Polvani 1990, pp. 57-108.

² CTH 324: § 4-5, 18-24 in the translation of Hoffner Jr. 1990, p. 15.

³ See Pecchioli Daddi – Polvani 1990, p. 58. They enumerate: "ira, allontanamento, rovina, ricerca, magia, placamento, ritorno benessere".

and reaches its conclusion in another assembly in which the hunger and the thirst of the gods are satisfied, thus assuring that the human world can live again.

Here I would like to offer an analysis of the function of this same scene in magical rituals, in which it appears as magical historiola and is used to establish a relationship on an analogical level between "the mythic time and the present circumstances"⁴.

Two variations of the motif of a gods' feast are preserved in a Hittite-Luwian bilingual ritual: KBo 43.223+ KBo 9.127 + KUB 36.41 + KUB 35.107⁵ (CTH 764). The motif of the feast is very similar to the ones of the abovementioned myths, but in this case the Sun God causes the anger of a deity by not inviting her to the feast.

The middle Hittite text KBo 9.127 + KUB 36.41 has been known for many years but it is now recognizable as a single tablet with KUB 35.107, containing at least two (if not more) similar compositions, the first one in Hittite and the second one in Luwian language⁶. The text is not a bilingual tablet, but it should be considered a Sammeltafel which contains magical-mythological texts concerning the disease of a mortal⁷. The Luwian version follows the Hittite part on the second column, after a double paragraph-line, a white space and a single paragraph line.

The Hittite version of the feast that is preserved on first column of the tablet says⁸:

obv. I

- [ma-a-a]n dUTU-uš wa-an-d[a-n]i-ya ne-pí-ši 18
- [an-da iš-ta-m]a-aš-ta UM-MA dUTU A-NA dKam-ma-ru-še-pa i-ni-wa ku-^rit
- [nu dlam]ma uru Ta-ú-ʿriʾ-ša A-NA d[utu] A-BI-ŠU t[ar-kum-mi-ya-u-wa-an-z]i ti-i-e-et
- [dI]M-aš-wa-「az」 EZEN4-an <i->e-et [nu-wa-]za DIN[GIRMEŠ-uš] 21
- [hal-za-i]š nu-wa-za dIMHI.A-uš h[u-u-m]a- an [du-uš hal-za-iš] 22'
- [nu-wa-z]a dHé-pát ta-ap-ri-ta-az h[al-za-iš nu-wa-za]

-ya-na-a-hi-ti hal-za-iš nu-wa-za DINGIRMEŠ[.GALMEŠ DINGIRMEŠ.TURMEŠ] [hu-u-m]a-an-du-uš hal-za-iš nu-wa-za DINGIR[LAM RA-BU-Ú] 25' [U-U]L hal-za-iš 26'

[nu-w]a-kán DINGIRLUM RA-BU-Ú kar-di-^rmi-va-at-ta-at⁻

nu-w]a-ra-aš I-NA É LÚBAḤAR pa-it nu-wa-za 9 [GU4-uš da-a-aš]

[nu-wa-r]a-aš a-ru-ni pa-it nu-wa a-ru-na-an t[e-e-kán-na]

[ták-š]a-an ḥar-nam-ni-it da-an-du-ki-iš-na-ša-wa [DUMU-aš]

[tu-]ek-ku-uš SAG.DU-SÚ-ya an-da ták-ša-a[n ḥar-nam-ni-it]

When the Sun God in the shining sky heard about, he spoke to Kamrušepa in the following way: 'Why is that there?' / The Tutelary Deity of the city of Tauriša started to speak to his father, the Sun God: 'The Storm God made a feast. He invited the gods and he invited all the Storm gods. / He invited Hepat from the throne, [...] yanahiti he invited. He invited all the great gods and the small gods. He didn't invite the Great God. / The Great God got angry; he went to the workshop of the potter and took nine oxen. He went to the sea; he made the sea and the earth swell together, he made the body and the head of the hu[man] swell together.'

In this context clearly the Great Deity¹⁰ provoked the illness of the child, while in the Luwian version the represented situation is quite different.

Two parts in Luwian language are preserved: the first one consists of 16 lines on the second column of the obverse; the second part is preserved in 27 lines on the third column of the reverse. It is difficult to say if both parts pertain to the same composition. It seems, however, that they are two different rituals. The formulas on the obverse II don't find any correspondence in the Hittite part¹¹. F. Starke has suggested that also these lines preserve the story of the arrival and the welcome of several entities to a feast¹². In this case mythical and human levels are both represented respectively by the natural elements and by the body parts of the mortal:

obv. II

24'

5' x x x [a-ú-li-ti pa-an ku-iš a- ri - sit-ti

^{*}See Frankfurter 1993 465.

⁵ Jared Miller found the join between KBo 43.223 and KBo 9.127+KUB 36.41. In October 2007 independently but almost simultaneously to Jared Miller, I discovered the indirect join of this tablet with KUB 35.107. The indirect join between KUB 35.107 and KUB 35.108 has to be dismissed, see Miller forthcoming. I would like to thank him for supplying me with the photos of the fragments.

⁶ Starke 1985, pp. 240-242

Starke suggests that these compositions are connected with the birth of a child, see Starke 1985, pp. 210-211. In my opinion and as I will show in the following of the text, not all the rituals are connected with the birth, but in general with different illnesses affecting human beings.

⁸ For a complete treatment of this ritual in Hittite language, see Groddek 2007, pp. 317-326. In the first lines of this version, partly broken, there is the description of the same story: the festival organized by the Storm God and the wrath of the Great Deity for not being invited. The lines here presented are the account of the tutelary deity of Tauriša to his father the Sun God. About this technique of narration see Groddek 2000/2001, pp. 23-30, especially pp. 23-24.

^a The presence of Hepat, and the presence of the god Nubatig in KUB 35.108 IV 13, is a proof that this ancient Luwian - Anatolian tradition was already influenced by the Hurrian cultural elements, even though they were not pervasive. See Miller 2006, p. 443 ff.

¹⁸ Probably Nergal. See Starke 1985, pp. 210-211.

¹¹ Already E. Laroche noticed several similarities between the Hittite part on the column I (KUB 36.41 and the Luwian part on the III column (KUB 35.107). Laroche 1959, pp. 158-162.

¹² Starke 1990, p. 304.

¹³ The integration is uncertain. Surely there is no place for word *alasšamma/i-* (see about Melchert 1993, p. 8).

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[tap-pa-aš-ša<sup>14</sup> te-] [ra<sup>7</sup>-a-im-ma-an-za a-ú-i-ti pa-t[a ku-iš a-ri-it-ti]<sup>15</sup>
       the line is erased
       [du-ú-wa-az-za-aš t]i-va-am-me-iš a-ú-i-ti pa-an[-
 8;
 9,
                     a-lú-i-ti pa-an ku-iš a-ri-i-it-tli
       [ŠA DUMU.LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>,L]U-kán SAG.DU-SÚ a-ú-i-ti pa-<sup>r</sup>an [ku-iš a-ri-it-ti]
10
       [A.AB.BA-in a-li-i]n kur-ša-ú-na-an-ti-in-zi<sup>16</sup> a-ri-i[n-ta
11
12
                      x a-ap-pu-wa-ni-in-zi a-a-ri-in-t[a
       [tap-pa-aš-š]a erasure te-ra-a-im-ma-an-za dIŠKUR-za dl
13'
14
       [a-a-ri-]in-
                                ta
       [du-ú-]wa-az-za-an ti-va-am-me-in DINGIRLUM RA-BU-Ú[ dU.GUR (?)<sup>17</sup>]
15
16
       [ti-y]a-am-ma-aš-ši-iš-ha dUTU-wa-za a-ri-in[-ta]
                      ]GIŠar-ta-an-na-al-li-iš a-ri-i[t-ta
17'
18'
                         ]har-ma-hi-in hu-pa-al[-li-i]š[
19:
                          (-)]al-ma-at-ta-an pa-an [
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The [deep] se[a]¹⁸ comes, and who will take care of it? [......] comes, and who will take care of it? / The *t.* [sky] comes, and [who will take care of i]t? The wide earth comes, and who will take care of it? / [.....] comes, and who will take care of it? / The head of the mortal comes, and [who] will take care of it? / The islands took care of the [deep se]a, *a.* took care of the [....]. / The Storm God and the [Sun (?)] god took care of the [*t.* sky]. The Great god [Nergal (?)] and the Sun Goddes of the Earth took care of the wide earth ¹⁹, / *a.* took care of the [.....], the skin of the head (?) took care of the head of the [mortal].

The third column of the reverse preserves instead the episode of the gods' feast and of the neglected deity:

¹⁴ In the gap should be probably emended the sky. See also Melchert 1993, 227.

Rev. III ²⁰			
4' 5'	[]x-ša <i>erasure</i> a-an-na-an pa-a-ˈḫu-u-ur []x pa-al-pa-ti-it-ta-ri a-na-a-it-ˈta'-r[i		
6°, 7°,	[pa-]a ta-ap-pa-aš-ša wa-an-da-ni-ya-an-za ta-pí-[DINGIR ^{MEŠ} -in-zi pu-u-na-ti-in-za ²¹ erasure 3-ŠU tar-ši-y[a-an-ta]		
8,	dUTU-wa-az dKam-ru-še-pa-i da-u-e-ya-an ma-am-ma[-an-na-at-ta] za-a-ni-wa ku-wa-ti dKam-ru-še-pa a-wa ku-wa-ti na-a[wa]		
10', 11', 12',	URUTa- ^r ú-ri ⁷ -ši-iz-za-aš wa-aš-ḫa-az- <za-aš> dLAMMA-aš <i>erasure</i> ²² dUTU-ti-i da-a-ti-i tar-kum-mi-i[-ta] dUTU-wa-ti <i>erasure</i> EZEN-in a-a-ta²³ a-wa-ti za-ri-e[-ya-an-za] ra⁷-wa-ti a-li-in-za <i>erasure</i> ḤUR.SAGḤLA-ti-in-za <i>erasure</i> KI.MIN <i>erasure</i></za-aš>		
13' 14'	[a-w]a-ti a-li-in a-la-aš-ša-am-me-in KI.MIN a-wa-t[i [-g]a-ta-ga-na-an KI.MIN a-wa-ti KASKALḤI.A-wa-an-za ḥa-r[u-wa-an-ni-in-za KI.MIN]		
15' 16'	[a-wa-t]i ÍDḤLA-in-za <i>erasure</i> ḫa-pí-in-ni-in-za Kl.MIN a-wa-t[i] [SAG.D]U-aš-ša-an-za IGIḤLA-wa-aš-ša-an-za GIG-an-za na-a-wa [Kl.MIN]		

"Under [....] the fire [....] burns and $consumes^{24}$ / And the shining sky t. [....]. All the gods vomited three times / The Sun God looked towards Kamrušepa: "Why is this? Kamrušepa, why is it not (that)?²⁵" / The holy Tutelary Deity of Tauriša reported to the Sun God, the father: "<The Storm God> made a feast <<for the Sun God>>(?)²⁶. He invited the z. [...]²⁷, he invited the high mountains / he invited the deep sea (?), he invited the [....], he invited the paths and the roads, he invited the rivers and the creeks, the illness of the head and of the eyes he did not invite.

¹⁵ According to Melchert 1993, 161.

¹⁶ Starke, *StBoT* 31, pp. 535-536.

¹⁷ I suggest Nergal for its connection with the underworld also in this cultural tradition. See Starke 1985, pp. 210-211. Houwink ten Cate 1994, ell. 257.

¹⁸ But see Starke 1990, p. 374 with footnote 1346, according to whom *ala*-means "sea". Compare Melchert 1993, p. 6 with reference to Watkins 1986, p. 59 (with footnote 29). The sea is quite possible as mentioned element, since in 1. 11' it is said that this element (again the word is lost in the gap) will be cured by the islands. See also footnote 13.

¹⁹ Here is clearly represented the motif of the division of earth and sky among the deities. See Otten Siegelová 1970, pp. 32-38.

²⁹ See Otten 1953, pp. 97-98, Starke 1985, pp. 236-239. See also the comment of Meriggi 1957, pp. 213-218.

²¹ Starke 1985, p. 238 takes this form as scribal mistake for *pu-u-na-ti-in-zi* in accordance to the preceding term DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*inzi*. Here I follow his suggestion but see also Yacubovich 2008, p. 34 with footnote 16. He suggests that DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*inzi* could be a scribal modification for DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*inza*. He observes however that the context is too fragmentary for a stating of his hypothesis.

²² These last two words are written over the paragraph divider.

²⁵ Laroche 1954, c. 124.

²⁴ About the verb ana/i- see Starke 1990, p. 158.

²⁵ Compare this sentence with the Hittite parallel in I 19'.

²⁶ It is possible that the scribe made a mistake and forgot to insert the mention of the Storm God, who is the organizer of the feast (obv. I 21'). It seems not possible that the Lamma of Tauriša would report to the Sun God a feast organized for him. For this reason I suggest that this form is a scribal mistake. See Meriggi 1957, p. 213. See also Laroche 1959, p. 160.

²⁵ See Melchert 1993, p. 279.

In the following lines are described the bad effects provoked by not inviting the illness of the head and the illness of the eyes²⁸.

Interesting in this respect are the mechanisms, the forms and the reasons of these insertions in rituals performed to cure a person. The mythical part is introduced in the ritual as *historiola*, a "declarative utterance", which works as a part of "similia similibus formula"²⁹. What is peculiar about these compositions is not only that the myth explains analogically the actions described in the magical ritual, founding it in *illo tempore*³⁰. The two levels, the divine and the human merge together in the mythical world, and simultaneously the cure is adopted in both dimensions by gods and humans as performers whenever a patient is ill³¹.

In the magical rituals of Anatolian Luwian origin these short narrations have two distinct functions, and often recur together in the same composition:

- They explain the reason of the illness of the patient.
- They describe the actions performed to cure the patient³².

The scene of the gods' feast – very similar to the one described in the Telepinu myth and its cognate texts – appears in some other magical rituals of Anatolian–Luwian tradition³³, and every time is built with the same phraseological structure but with some fundamental variations. Its function is clearly to explain the reason why a patient got ill³⁴.

This same motif is attested in the text KBo 12.89, a fragment from the House on the Slope dating back to the early empire period, in which probably a few rituals to cure eye disease are recorded. The text is characterized by several Luwian insertions³⁵:

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rev. III

8' [ t]uḥ-ḥu-i-in zu-wa-a-iz-zi

9' [ -]ti ti-wa-da-ni-in-ti na-aš-ta dKam-ru-še-pa-aš

10' [ša-ra-a ne-pí-š]a a-uš-ta i-ni-ma-wa ku-it

11' [UM-MA dIM GAL-iš] dUTU-uš EZEN4-an i-e-et nu-wa-az GAL-la-mu-uš
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[DINGIRMEŠ-mu-uš kal-l]i-iš-ta³⁶ nu-wa-az a-mi-ya-an-du-uš DINGIRMEŠ-mu-uš [kal-li-iš-ta nu-w]a-az šu-up-pa-uš TI₈MUŠEN-ḤI.A kal-le-eš-ta 13' -t]a-an Ú-UL a-aš-ta nu-wa-ra-at-za-an A-NA GIŠx[14'-a]z-kán ar-ha ú-wa-an-zi nu-wa-aš-ma-aš ḥu-wa-an-za 15 an-da-ma-kán u-w]a-an-zi³⁷ nu-wa-aš-ma-aš tuh-hu-i-iš 16' -ta-a]n tuh-hu-i-in zu-wa-a-it nu-wa a-ar-ra-ah-ha-n[i-it-ta] 17 k|i-nu-na-va-wa da-an-du-ki-iš-na-an DUMU-an IGIHI.A| 18' [....] The smoke (obj.) he spreads (?), the [....] they curse. Kamrušepa looked up in the sky: "Why is that there?" / [So (answered) the Storm God: "The great Sun God made a feast. He invited the great gods and he invited the small gods. He invited the pure eagles. / [....] did not stay. It [....] to [.... The gods] abandon [the feast(?)].. The wind [....] to them. They [enter (?) and the smoke [....] to them. / [.....] he spread the smoke and he cur [sed] and now the eyes of the mortal [are ill].

It is not known which being is missing in the divine world. Since the eagles are invited to the party, it is possible that one of them is missing, and that, in its fury, it spread the smoke among the gods and among the mortals, therefore provoking the eye disease of the patient.

A further example is in the ritual of Ḥantitaššu, CTH 395, and it is recited by the practitioner (EN AWATI / uddanaš EN)³⁸:

KBo 11.14 I

- 23 nu IGI-zi pal-ši ud-da-na-aš EN-aš dUTU-i kiš-an ḫu-u-uk-zi
- 24 dUTU-uš-za EZEN4-an DÙ-at nu-za da-pí-uš DINGIR^{MEŠ} ḫal-^rza-iš
- 25 [nu-]za ḫu-u-ma-an-da-an 「DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU-an」 「ḫal-za-a[¬]-i[š

"For the first time the performer conjures to the Sun God in the following way: The Sun God made a feast. He invited all the gods and he invited all the human beings".

The following of the text is unfortunately broken. Of course, in comparison with the Telepinu myth, the first striking difference is that also the human world is invited to take part in the banquet. The second significant divergence is that the missing person is probably the ritual client:

²⁸ About these kinds of disease see Burde 1974.

²⁹ Frankfurter 1993, pp. 456-476. Torri 2003a, pp. 10-11.

³⁰ Archi 1993, p. 408.

³¹ See Sanders 2001, pp. 429-440.

³² This is the case of Kamrušepa and the Sun God combing the sheep, treating at the same time the twelve parts of the body of the mortal. See already the examples by Haas 1971, pp. 410-430 (especially pp. 421-424), Haas = Wilhelm 194, pp. 22-31, Archi 1993, 404-409.

³³ See also Giorgieri 2004, pp. 409-426.

³⁴ The representation of the gods' feast as the initial point of different happenings is common in other cultures. In the Greek mythology the wedding feast of Cadmos and Harmonia starts the Theban tragic events. The wedding feast of Peleus and Thetis and the anger of Eris who was not invited to the feast mark the beginning of the Trojan wars. Calasso 1988, p. 69.

³⁵ See F. Starke 1990, pp. 242-243.

³⁶ About this form Puhvel 1997, pp. 22-23.

³⁷ Compare obv. III 6' for this emendation.

³⁸The text was edited by Ünal 1995.

KUB 58.94 Vs. I // KUB 57.79³⁹

- 7' ... UM-MA dUTU ki-i-wa ku-^rit[¬] [...]
- 8' nu-wa-za da-pí-an-du-uš DINGIRMEŠ-uš ḥal-zi-iḥ-ḥu-un
- 9' nu-wa-za da-pí-an-du-uš DUMUMEŠ.LÚ.U₁₉.LU [*ḫal-zi-iḫ-ḫu-un* EN.SISKUR-*ma*⁴⁰]

10' *me-er-ta-at...*

"Thus (spoke) the Sun God: "Why is this [...]? I invited all the gods and I invited all the mortals, but [the ritual client] disappeared..."

Meetings between gods and humans in Hittite mythology are quite rare⁴¹. The most well known Hittite episode concerns the alliance of Inara with the mortal Ḥupašiya and has a tragic end. The hero misses the human world and for that is punished to death by the goddess⁴².

The *historiola* of the feast in CTH 395 could explain the illness of the patient and the consequent ritual performance: although invited to the gathering, the client doesn't appear, thus provoking the anger of the Sun God. The story is inserted at the beginning of the ritual, after the preparation of offerings on the roof of the house for the Sun God (here surely the Luwian god Tiwad)⁴³, and it represents its *aition*. In the second column of KBo 11.14 different seeds and precious materials are offered to the deity in exchange for the recovery of the ritual client (KBo 11.14 II 6 ff.)⁴⁴.

Jared Miller rightly argues that this ritual preserves several themes common to this old Hittite-Luwian tradition⁴⁵. Another motif is the invocation of the deity Kamrušepa: "They are not my [words]. They are the words of the Sun God and of Kamrušepa"⁴⁶. It is clear that this cultural tradition had as its most typical feature the inclusion of mythologems connected with these two gods acting as husband and wife⁴⁷, often

accompanied by the deity Ḥapantali⁴⁸. A difference exists, however, between the myths of the vanishing god and rituals analyzed above: the feast is not only the moment when the gods understand the danger – it represents the place of the accident itself.

All the collected examples pertain to the Hittite Luwian substrate in which the central northern area is probably the original core of this tradition⁴⁹. The deity Kamrušepa is part of the pantheon of Kaneš⁵⁰. The city of Tauriša, place of the Tutelary Deity (son of the goddess and of the Sun God Tiwad) has to be located in the vicinity of Zippalanda⁵¹.

The story of the feast is developed in every composition—both in myths of vanishing gods and in rituals—in a formally similar way: dUTU-uš=(wa)=za / dIM=za EZEN4-an iyat; X halzaiš.... Y halzaiš... (var. kallešta) "The Sun God / the Storm God made a feast: X he invited.... Y he invited". The most significant discrepancies involve who is invited and which entity disappears or is neglected. In this cultural milieu the transmission and the use of the magical practices was essentially based on the oral system, in which the different spells were memorized, repeated and adapted to different situations. Surely the written version of these stories is the last stage of a system of transmission in which the same motif, with all its variations and changes, was a part of the Anatolian collective memory⁵². Only later in the Hittite archives was this tradition canonized by the scribes. They then used these historiolae to enrich different compositions⁵³.

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³⁹ For a transliteration of KUB 58.94 see García Trabazo – Groddek 2005, p. 240-241.

⁴⁰ Emended on the basis of KUB 57.79 rev. 12.

⁴¹ For an analysis of this pattern in Hittite, Mesopotamian and Syrian mythology see Brison 2007, pp. 67-74. See also Bachvarova 2005, pp. 45-58

¹² Pecchioli – Polvani 1990, 50 ff. Another significant contact between humans and gods (in a different cultural milieu than the one here considered) is represented in the Hurro-Hittite bilingual text, in which the Storm god instructs Megi, king of Ebla, to release the people of Ikinkališ (KBo 32.19, Neu 1996, pp. 378-395. See also Beckman 2005, pp. 255-263.

⁴³ About Tiwad see Hutter 2003, pp. 224-230.

H A further possibility is that the man does not participate in the feast because he is ill. As in the case of the disappearance of Telepinu, it is during the gathering that the Sun God notices his absence and understands that something is wrong in the world. In this case we would have a stricter parallelism with the myths of the vanishing gods. However I prefer the first suggested possibility because of the offer presented in the following part of the ritual to the Sun God in exchange for the patient's life: for ex.: KBo 11.14 II 8: "Take the gold, but give me back the patient!...". See Unal 1995, p. 19 ff.

¹⁵ Miller 2006, pp. 447-452.

⁴⁶ KBo 11.14 II 24-25. See also Starke 1985, p. 207. It seems that this couple in Hittite magical rituals plays a very similar role to the couple Marduk and Ea (or better Asarluhi and Enki; see about this Sanders 2001, p. 429 with footnote 1).

⁴⁷ Archi 1993, pp. 404-409.

⁴⁸ Haas 2002, pp. 143-146.

⁴⁹ See I. Yacubovich 2008, pp. 27-28

⁵⁰ See Klinger 1996, p. 157.

¹¹ Haas 1994, p. 816.

⁵² See Francia 2004, 390-408, especially pp. 391-392. See recently Archi 2007, pp. 185-203, about the relationship between oral and written tradition among Hittites. Oettinger suggests the existence of an original "Basisstruktur" from which rituals and myths would have developed. Oettinger 2004, pp. 347-356. About the relationship between orality and scripture and the strategies of the human memory see Goody 1981, pp. 105-107.

⁵³ This can be the case, for example, of the Ḥantitaššu ritual. Here the image of the gods' feast is embedded in a complex ritual which also preserves incantations and spells present in other rituals and prayers. See Torri 2003, pp. 216-222.

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