

CHAPTER SIX
ASPECTS OF LUWIAN RELIGION

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A. INTRODUCTION

'Text is not religion' is a well-known methodological principle in the study of religions, and one also might say 'language is not ethnicity'. When defining Luwian religion we have to rely upon both—namely *texts* in Luwian *language*, mainly from the second millennium BCE, because for this period the best-known Luwian topic is language. Judging from this philological and linguistic background we find some kind of Luwian 'identity' across southern and southwestern Anatolia, and there we have to seek Luwian culture. Sometimes it seems as if such a proper culture tries to escape our grasp: up to the present our knowledge about the Luwians comes almost exclusively from sources which have been found within the political units of the Hittite empire. Onofrio Carruba (1995b 63) mentions that the Luwians, though extending from the Aegean sea to Kizzuwatna and northern Syria, do not seem to have a culture or history of their own. It appears that language alone allows us to talk of Luwians at all. Maybe this lack of understanding is partly due to our own miscomprehension of Luwian history. Another reason why they partly escape our comprehension is that parts of the Luwian population possibly were not sedentary, but only half-sedentary (cf. Forlanini 1998 224). We further have to be aware that almost all the written sources at our disposition have not been found within the Luwian lands proper but mostly in the Hittite capital Hattusa. Therefore these sources may be limited, as they were preserved only in case they were of some (special) interest for Hittites—and not for Luwians in the first instance. Therefore describing Luwian religion has to consist in large part of reconstructing Luwian religion.

1. *Defining 'Luwians' chronologically and geographically*

Our earliest traces of Luwian lead us back to the 18th century BCE when texts in Old Assyrian language from Kültepe-Kanesh already mention some Luwian names and words; also Hittite rituals from the Old Hittite period show already some Luwian features. Furthermore, the Hittite laws (§§5,19-21,23) clearly tell us about contacts between the Luwian lands in (south)western Anatolia and the Hittites. Thanks to the efforts of Frank Starke (1985) it has become clear that the earliest texts in Cuneiform Luwian (= CLuwian) date from the 16th century, while the earliest Hieroglyphic Luwian (= HLUwian) seal inscriptions date back to the 15th century. For the historian of religions it is also worth mentioning that from the Old Hittite period onwards also within Hittite texts we can find motifs belonging to Luwian religious and magical traditions. The earliest ones stem from the Kizzuwatna area.¹ We can therefore establish a time-span of Luwian religion of about 400 years focusing on Cuneiform Luwian—and to a minor degree, also Hieroglyphic Luwian—texts (cf. Hawkins 1995a with appendices 1-3) and references to Luwian religion in Hittite and Hurrian texts. After the collapse of the Hittite empire cuneiform sources disappeared, but HLUwian texts from southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria (Hawkins 2000) give some further information, showing continuity and change within Luwian religion in this area until the 8th century. Up to the present there are no HLUwian texts of the post-Empire period for western Anatolia which could highlight the continuity of Luwian religion in that part of the country. From Lycian texts, which date to the 5th and 4th centuries, we can detect that some aspects comparable to Luwian religion continued also in Lycia.²

Even if we assume that Luwians are occupying large parts of southern and southwestern Anatolia during the second and first millennia, not all these areas are Luwian centers to the same degree. Running from the west to the east we should at least distinguish the following areas—not only according to their political role but also to their contribution to our understanding of Luwian religion.

¹ Cf. Taracha 2001 692 pace Starke 1985 275, who suggested that Luwian magical rituals only can be dated from the Middle Hittite period onwards.

² For one recent corpus of Lycian texts see the online version by H. Craig Melchert at <http://www.unc.edu/~melchert/lycian.pdf>.

The Arzawa lands clearly mark the center of western Luwia (Carruba 1995b 64; Starke 1997a 450ff; Bryce 1998 54f with refs), with Arzawa proper as the core of this area. As early as the middle of the second millennium Arzawa was an independent state as is shown by Tarhuntaradu's letters to the Egypt pharaoh Amenhotep III (Klengel 1999 131-134). During the reign of Mursili II the Arzawan lands however are incorporated into the Hittite realm, namely Mira-Kuwaliya, the Seha River Land and Hapalla.³ Most recent findings and the reading of the inscription of the rock monument at Karabel by John David Hawkins (1998b) demonstrated that this monument might mark the northern frontier of Mira. The discovery of rock inscriptions at the Latmos mountains gives the fragmentary names of princes of the land of Mira (Peschlow-Bindokat—Herbordt 2001): therefore we can now judge with certainty that Mira spread across the Maeander valley, thus fixing one of the geographical parameters for western Anatolia. These Arzawan lands can be considered as the largest and most populous region of Luwian settlements in western Anatolia,⁴ and the cults practised there were not influenced by Hattian or Hurrian background. The same seems to be true for the Lukka lands covering the mountainous areas of later Hellenistic Lycia and Caria (Steiner 1993; Bryce 1998 55-57 with refs; Keen 1998 214-220; Klengel 1999 263-65).⁵ The Lukka lands were less an organized political entity than a conglomerate of communities, possibly partly half-sedentary.

Turning closer to central Anatolia—but not crossing the Maras-santiya (= Halys = Kızıl Irmak)—we come to the 'Lower Land' (Bryce

³ I can leave aside the question whether Wilusa should be identified with Homeric Troia or not, as the texts referring to Wilusa give nearly no information on Wilusa (cf. section E.1.). At present—I think—we should not take the HLUwian seal from the second half of the 12th century found in Troia as a direct proof that Luwians inhabited Troia or that Luwian was spoken there as recently has been assumed by Starke (1997a 458). Neumann (1999 16-19) has given good arguments that the local language of Troia might have been an Anatolian one, not belonging to the southern branch of these languages (CLuwian, HLUwian in the second and first millennia; Lycian, Carian, Sidetic in the first millennium), but rather to the 'northern' offshoots such as Palaic, Hittite or first millennium Lydian.

⁴ Cf. also the recently found HLUwian seal at Metropolis in Ionia from the end of the 13th century or even later (Schachner—Meriç 2000 89-95).

⁵ But cf. also Otten 1993, who points out that the linguistic connection between Lukka and first millennium Lycia may hold good. However, judging from the scanty texts referring to Lukka in Hittite sources, Otten favors a location of Lukka in the (south)west of Anatolia but not bordering the Mediterranean or Aegean sea, thus not equating geographically Lukka with later Lycia.

1998 50 & 163f) with its Luwian population, and also with other people, e.g. Hurrians since the middle of the second millennium. The Lower Land had already been incorporated into the Hittite kingdom during the Old Hittite period. It was some kind of buffer against the Arzawan lands. During the later Middle Hittite period the Lower Land was captured by Arzawa until Suppiluliuma I could restore the Lower Land to Hatti. Generally speaking, in the Lower Land throughout Hittite history we find components of Hittite and Hurrian culture mixing with Luwian ones. Among the main centers we would like to mention only Tuwanuwa, Hupisna, Landa and of course Tarhuntassa. Though the precise localization of the cultic center Istanuwa is still unknown, it may have been located perhaps in the western part of the Lower Land. Within this region we not only find local cults which can be attributed to Luwians, but also after the collapse of the Hittite empire we find local Luwian states like Tabal preserving the older traditions (cf. Starke 1999a 528f; Hawkins 2000 425-33).

Another important region for Luwian religion is Kizzuwatna. Here we find—as Volkert Haas and Gernot Wilhelm (1974 5-7; cf. Gurney 1977 16) have shown—a vivid symbiosis between Luwian and Hurrian (and northern Syrian) cults which exerted heavy influence on official cults within the Hittite empire from the 15th century onward (Wilhelm 1982 98ff). Thus we have a bulk of ritual and religious texts from Hattusa that can be traced back to religious traditions of Kizzuwatna, being either Luwian or Hurrian. Therefore these sources provide further materials for Luwian religion, as this border land between Anatolia and Syria not only has large segments of Luwian population during the period of the Hittite empire, but Luwian speaking and writing people lived on there until the first millennium. When we compare Kizzuwatna with the Arzawan lands, we find that Luwian traditions are here intermingled with northern Syrian and Hurrian concepts from at least as early as the middle of the second millennium. Because of Hittite expansion to Kizzuwatna and Syria, Kizzuwatna was much more at the crossroads of various ideas than Arzawa. Therefore we find less ‘pure’ Luwian traditions here than in the western parts of the Luwian settlements in Anatolia.

So I will conclude for the moment: Luwians are a substantial factor in Anatolia from the 18th century, spreading from the southwest across the south of Anatolia as far as Kizzuwatna and north of the Taurus to the shores of the Halys river. In Kizzuwatna as well as in

the plain of present-day Konya Luwians also mingled with Hurrians and Hittites. Against such a background, I take those traditions as aspects of Luwian religion that can be located within this relatively large region *and* that can—according to textual sources—be attributed to Luwian language or show philologically Luwian features. In addition—to use a negative definition—these traditions have to differ from Hurrian or Hattian traditions also found partly in or at the margin of this region.

2. *Defining Luwian Religion as a religion of its own*

Luwian religion covers more than one thousand years, but this outline will focus mainly on the period contemporary with the Hittites. Within this chronological context one must not only consider the contacts of Luwians with other people living in Anatolia at that time. The possibility of outside influences on Luwian religion should also be considered. While the Luwians may show some common features with Indo-European religion (and Luwian religion seems to be closer to early Indo-European thought than ‘Hittite’ religion), from an early date Hattian and Hurrian elements can also be detected penetrating into Luwian religion. Even in the Old Hittite period there are traces of Hattian elements within Luwian religion which hint at early contacts between these two peoples. It can be supposed that the Luwians met their Hattian fellow people in central Anatolia. From the Old Hittite period a steady influx of northern Syrian and Hurrian origin also reached Luwian culture, starting geographically in Kizzuwatna and thus bringing—partly through Luwian intermediaries—Hurrian cults and culture also to the Hittite capital (cf. recently Taracha 2000 212; for a fuller treatment of such contacts see Haas—Wilhelm 1974). Due to such religious contacts there are ‘cultic strata’ discernible within ‘official Hittite’ religion, serving sometimes the needs of individual groups within the Hittite empire or the political need to apply official cults to a multi-ethnic society.⁶ But our analysis will fall short if such influences are only interpreted in terms of cultic strata, because even religions in contact preserve their own religious systems. The main question that is still to be answered is

⁶ In his history of Hittite religion Volkert Haas (1994a) has dealt also with the various local cultic centers, including the Hurrian regions and northern Syria to a large degree. But it is astonishing that Haas has widely neglected the Arzawan lands and the question of Luwian religious concepts.

whether it is possible to trace Luwian religion as a system of its own or whether we can only gain an awareness of a Luwian cultic stratum as an inseparable part of 'Hittite religion'. This would be comparable to the case of the Hattian cult about which Jörg Klinger (1996 753f) has concluded that we cannot detach Hattian cults as an entity of their own from the Hittite cult. I think it is another case with the Luwians—and even the Hittites made the distinction between their own gods and the gods of the others. And the same has also to be adopted for Luwian religion in general, in opposition to Hittite religion.

Already in the oldest Hittite historical account, the Anitta text, we can find an aspect of Hittite theological thought, namely a distinction between Hittite gods—labeled as 'our god(s)' (*šiuš-šummiš*)—and gods of the others—labeled as 'their god(s)' (*šiuš-šmiš*), as Itamar Singer (1995) has pointed out. Partly such other gods became integrated into the pantheon of the Hittite cult, but such a distinction between foreign and autochthonous gods also leads to the possibility that foreigners were not allowed to enter (some) Hittite temples. The instructions for priests and temple officials, a text which seems to go back to the time before the reign of Suppiluliuma I, gives the following prohibition (KUB 13.4 ii 14ff; McMahon 1997 218): 'If a guest comes to anyone, if he (the host) in order to go up to the temple normally crosses the threshold of the god [or the king, that] one (the host) may [take] him up. He may eat and drink. If, however, he is a [forei]gner, if he is not a native of Hattusa and he approaches the gods, [he will die]. And it is a capital offence for whoever takes him in.' We do not know the reasons why such a foreigner was forbidden to approach the gods. That other people—in this case the Kaskeans—cannot revere Hittite deities in the proper way is said by Arnuwanda and Asmunikkal in their prayer concerning the ravages that met Hittite cult centers through the Kaskeans (KUB 17.21 i 1-3. iii 8-16; Goetze 1969 399): 'The land of the Hittites is a land [that is devoted] to you, the gods. In the land of the Hittites we are accustomed to present to you pure and really [holy] sacrifices. In the land of the Hittites we are accustomed to show you, the gods, reverence... They (the Kaskeans) also scattered your cattle and your sheep. They shared out among themselves your fields and lands, the source of the sacrificial loaves and the vineyards, the source of the libations. Those the Kaskeans took for themselves. Thus it has come about that in

those countries no one invokes the names of you, the gods, any more; no one presents to you the sacrifices due to you for (each) day, (each) month, and for the course of (each) year; no one celebrates your festivals and pageants.' Looking for further features of distinction between 'Hittites' and 'foreigners' concerning religious matters, we could mention the SU-oracle in KUB 16.16 obv. 23'-28': Some *dammara*-women did not purify themselves after having sexual intercourse with men from Arzawa before they went up to the temple to do their religious service. But their sin was even greater, not only because they entered the temple in an impure state, but because their impurity resulted from their contacts with the foreign Arzawan men.

Thus we can conclude that from a Hittite theological point of view 'foreigners' had partly another set of morals and religious values, as is also indicated in some treaties (cf. Cohen 2002 168 with refs). Therefore they also could not revere Hittite gods in the right manner. But the other way round, 'foreign' gods also did not belong to the 'Hittite' pantheon in a strict sense. This idea is clearly documented by a number of Hittite treaties (cf. Singer 1994 93-96): among the lists of divine witnesses of the contract, always in the first instance and with many details a list of the gods of Hatti is given and then in an abbreviated form the list of the gods of the contracting party. It is a pity for the historian of religions that these lists usually only mention very few proper names of gods and end with the general formula 'all the gods of the land of so-and-so'. The god lists start usually with the innermost circle of the political sphere of the Hittite empire and then proceed to the gods of the 'outer' sphere. Depending on historical developments the gods of the contract partners could be incorporated into the Hittite state pantheon, but they nevertheless were always considered as a separate entity. Concerning the Luwian gods we have even to go one step further: according to the god-list in Muwattalli's prayer to the Storm-god *piḥaššašši* the gods of the Arzawan lands and of Lukka have not been incorporated within the list of the Hittite empire—though Lukka and the Arzawan lands had clearly been a part of the Hittite empire during that time (Singer 1996b 175-177; Hutter 2001a 226). But the gods of Kizzuwatna and the Lower Land with Tarhuntassa figure within this list as part of the Hittite gods. Thus our geographical limits given above for defining Luwians are confirmed: Luwian religion of Arzawa and Lukka is to be kept apart from Hittite religion while elements of Luwian religion

in the Lower Land, Tarhuntassa and Kizzuwatna also found their way into the Hittite cult.

As a starting point in defining 'Luwian religion', Maciej Popko (1995 91) can be quoted: 'The Luwians inhabited vast territories in the south and southwest of Asia Minor and were divided into a number of communities. Also their religious beliefs do not constitute a uniform complex, but comprise many local systems...The Old Hittite period has yielded a number of Luwian cult rituals addressed to the main gods of the Hittite state. And Luwian gods in turn are observable in Hittite religion from the Middle Hittite period on. It is possible to make a distinction between these two religions only to a certain degree, primarily in the geographical and linguistic aspects.' The main arguments for such a working definition have been explained with some details above, providing a framework for reconstructing aspects of religious concepts and practices. But presently it is far from possible to describe Luwian beliefs in full.

B. THE GODS OF THE LUWIANS

1. General outline

The common Luwian word for god is *maššan(i)-*, whose corresponding Lycian form is *mahan(a)-*, as was pointed out by Emmanuel Laroche (1980 1f). The noun (also written logographically DINGIR^{MES}-) and its derivatives (Melchert 1993a 142-144 with refs) is used as general term for 'god'/'deity' or 'divine'. Within a festival for Huwas-sanna (KBo 14.89 i 3) also one cultic functionary among others is mentioned, the ^{LÚ}*maššanāma/i-*, but his precise cultic function is far from being clear at the moment. Of special interest is also the once attested divine name *Kuišhamaššani* 'any god', who was a female deity as Hans Gustav Güterbock (1983 210) has suggested and who was connected with grapes and wine (KUB 38.25 ii 8). Also worth mentioning is the divine name Urammassani (KBo 20.118 ii 5), the 'great god', who has a shrine in the temple of Nubadig where the king makes offerings during the *išuwa*-festival (Haas 1994a 858). But there is nothing more known about this deity. Perhaps a similar general designation of a god, which became a 'name', can be seen in Urza-massani (KUB 46.17 iii 1; VS NF 12.1 obv. 12), and we can analyze this divine name also as the 'great god', with a shortened

form of *urazza-* ('great') in the first part of the title, which became the god's 'name'.⁷ Also in personal names we find this general Luwian word for god—just to mention the most important examples. Within administrative lists found in Hattusa there is a certain ^MDINGIR^{MES}.GAL (KUB 31.62 i 10). The same name (not the same person) is also written phonetically as *Maššana-ura* in several seals (cf. Laroche 1966 No. 774). With the female name ^fAnni-*maššani* (Laroche 1966 No. 72) in KUB 31.59 ii 31 the title of the female cultic functionary ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}, the 'god's mother', can also be compared. As a personal name we find *maššan(i)-* also in the onomasticon of HLUwian, e.g. the scribes' names Masani and Masanazami⁸ at KARATEPE 4, §2 (Hawkins 2000 69f) or names in the KULULU lead strips, e.g. a certain Masani of the town Tunna (Hawkins 2000 509ff). In seeking the Luwian perception of 'god' we can conclude for the moment that within the Luwian language we find a terminology different from that in Hittite. The common Hittite expression for 'god', *šiu(ni)-*, not only has cognates in other Indo-European languages, meaning 'light'; but the Indo-European root of *šiu-* is also attested in the Luwian divine name Tiwad. While Hittite *šiu(ni)-* is god in general, Tiwad is the Sun-god. For the history of Anatolian religions I think this difference is most important: of course, Hittite and Luwian religion share a lot of common perceptions, but in the most central place in religion, the 'god', the two languages use totally different words. As a result we can conclude that it is necessary to concede that the Luwians had their own gods who were to some degree also theologically different from the Hittite ones.

Giving first an overview, we find the following Luwian gods (for refs see van Gessel 1998; 2001 s.v.; Melchert 1993a s.v.): Arma, Assiya, Ayanti, Hapantaliya, Huwassanna, Ilali, Ilaliyant-, Immarniya, Immarsiya, Inara, Innarawant, Iyarri, Iyasalla, Kamrusepa, Kinaliya, *Kuišhamaššani*, Gurnuwala, Kurunta (LAMMA), Maliya, Marwainzi, Pirwa, Santa, Siuri, Suwasuna, Darawa, Tarwalliya,

⁷ One might also mention the Hittite epithet *šalliš* DINGIR^{LIM} in KUB 9.34 iii 28 for the god of Landa. Though in Hittite, the ritual has clearly elements of Luwian religion, cf. Hutter 1988 38f & 123f. Within a Luwian ritual a DINGIR^{LUM} *RABŪ* and the Sun-goddess of the earth act side by side (KUB 35.107 ii 11f; Starke 1985 237).

⁸ W. Röllig apud Çambel 1999 70 also points to the name *msn^czmš* in the Phoenician inscription from Cebel Ires Dağı A/B line 1.7.8 and C 2; the correct reading of this name is without doubt Masanazami.

Tarhunt, Tiwad, *tiyammaššiš* Tiwad (Sun-goddess of the earth), Uliliyassi, Uramassani, Urzamassani, Utiyanuni, Walippantalla/i, Wandu, Warwaliya, Waskuwatassi, Winiyanta, Wistassa/i, Zilipura. Alongside such gods with individual names also mountains and springs or rivers were considered as divine among the Luwians, a common idea shared with their contemporaries in Anatolia. I take these gods as 'Luwian' either because they are named within Luwian contexts or their name might indicate a Luwian origin. Not all of them are of the same importance, as a significant number only occur once in a limited context, as is the case with the gods in the cult of Istanuwa. They are evidently only of local importance for Istanuwa as will be seen later (section C.2.1.). In some other cases (cf. Uramassani above) it is not clear whether we find the name of an individual god or only a divine epithet. Some other god-names I did not incorporate in this list, like Siwata, which is a Hittitized form of Tiwad. Of greater importance is the exclusion of some gods of Hurrian (in some cases—originally—Mesopotamian—background): Ea, Hebat, Nergal (U.GUR), Nubadig, Sharruma, Shaushka. They are surely part of Luwian cults and receive offerings in festivals, but they do not yet belong to a Luwian pantheon in the strict sense in the second millennium.⁹ For the history of Luwian religion it is also noteworthy that some of these gods are already mentioned in the Old Assyrian sources from Kanesh-Kültepe. These 'gods of Kanesh'—Pirwa, Ilali, Darawa, Assiya, Kamrusepa—are the earliest witnesses for a Luwian pantheon (cf. Gurney 1977 13; Popko 1995 89; Taracha 2000 188).

2. *Tarhunt and Tiwad: gods of all Luwians*

2.1. *The Storm-god*

The main Luwian god was the Storm-god Tarhunt. The verbal base of his name is comparable to Hittite *tarhu-* 'to conquer, to overcome' thus Tarhu(wa)nt being the 'conquerer'. Norbert Oettinger (2001 474; cf. Starke 1990 136ff) has argued recently that the Anatolians were aware of their inherited Indo-European Storm-god **Perk^uuh₃no-*

⁹ In the first millennium Hebat and Sharruma had become 'Luwianized' as we see from HLUwian inscriptions at Tabal or Kummani, where we find similar god-lists mentioning them (ÇİFTLİK, KULULU 5; ANCOZ 9), cf. Hawkins 2000 359 & 485f; Hutter 2001b 179f.

('the one with oak-trees'). They did not preserve the old name but coined in Anatolia the new epithet **trh₂w-ent-* 'conquering' which sounded close to the name of the Hattian Storm-god Taru. Among the Luwians the epithet became the proper name of the overwhelming and victorious Storm-god Tarhunt. The god's name is also well attested within Hieroglyphic Luwian (Savaş 1998 47-63)¹⁰ and lives on as *Trqqas/Trqqiz* in Lycian (Laroche 1980 3; Melchert 1989b 72 & 118; Keen 1998 201f with refs) and also in the onomastics of Anatolia until Hellenistic times (Houwink ten Cate 1961 125-128 with refs; Zgusta 1964 §§1512 & 1603).

Concerning the rank of the Storm-god in the Luwian pantheon our knowledge is poor. The treaties of Hittite kings with the Arzawan lands unfortunately have not preserved the lists of divine names as witnesses for the treaty which would have provided us with the hierarchy of the 'official' pantheons. Only the treaty of Muwattalli II with Alaksandu of Wilusa mentions as the first among the gods of Wilusa the Storm-god of the army (KUB 21.1+ iv 26). In one of the plague prayers of Mursili II the Storm-god of Arzawa is invoked (KUB 14.13 i 16) and a festival text from the time of Hattusili III mentions the Storm-god of Kuwaliya. We may conclude that these Storm-gods are mentioned because they were then the main 'official' gods of Arzawa respectively Kuwaliya. Other Storm-gods are either local manifestations or they are especially characterized by some epithets.

One of the Storm-god's attributes is his might or strength, therefore he receives the epithet *muwattalla/i-* (in Hittite also written with the Sumerogram NIR.GÁL) 'overpowering, mighty' (Starke 1990 173f), which also lives on in local Luwian states after the fall of the Hittite empire. Of special importance is the archaic (late 12th cent.) HLUwian inscription KIZILDAĞ 2 (Hawkins 2000 438): 'Be-loved (??) (of) the mighty Storm-god, the Sun, Great King Hartapu'. Maybe to the 11th (or 10th) century dates the inscription KARKAMİŞ A4b, §4 (Hawkins 2000 80): '(To) Ura-Tarhunza the King the mighty Storm-god and Kubaba gave a mighty courage.' Without doubt, 'might' was seen as a distinctive feature of Tarhunt by the

¹⁰ Despite the misreading and repetition of many entries from different (and also highly dated and wrong) publications the book of Savaş has to be taken into account as the only reference work for Hieroglyphic Luwian names, covering the available materials almost fully.

Luwians. This also allows us to reconstruct two further characteristics of the god, namely he is the one who brings help to his followers but also brings revenge to evildoers. Frank Starke (1990 155) refers to a 'helping storm-god' (^PU *warraḫitaššaš*) and one is also reminded of the god who 'runs in front' to help the king. This formula which is known from Hittite also lives on in Luwian contexts, as we can see e.g. in TOPADA, §17 (Hawkins 2000 453; cf. Hutter 2001b 175). But the Storm-god can also punish (Starke 1990 478 with refs) if his cult is not performed properly. Also in curse-formulas we find the god striking his enemies, an idea which stills lives on with the Lycian *Trqqas*.

The just mentioned features are of course important for the Luwian Storm-god, but bringing revenge or help is also a feature of other Storm-gods. One special aspect has still gone unmentioned. In contrast to the Hurrian Storm-god whose chariot is drawn by bulls, the Luwian god has a horse-drawn cart. The close relationship of the Storm-god (but other gods, too) to horses is worthy of note. Volkert Haas (1994a 88) is surely right in focusing his attention on the fact that most of the gods related to horses can be found in Cappadocia and southeastern Anatolia. Perhaps this might even reflect some general Indo-European heritage which might also be shared by the Mittani-Aryans.¹¹ Thus we find a central mark of the Luwian Storm-god separating him from other Anatolian Storm-gods. Within the ritual of Uḫhamuwa from Arzawa against a plague the horses of the god are mentioned (HT 1 ii 34ff; Collins 1997 162; Haas 1994a 83 mistakenly attributes this ritual to Zarpiya from Kizzuwatna): 'Afterward they bring fodder for the god's horses and sheep fat, and they recite as follows: "You have harnessed your horses. Let them eat and let them be satiated. Let your chariot be anointed with this sheep fat. Turn toward your land. O Storm-god, turn in friendship toward the land of Hatti".' A remote echo of Tarhunt's connection to horses even can be seen in Hellenistic times when once the god Trikasbos is mentioned in a Greek inscription (TAM II 13; cf. Neumann 1979 265; Starke 1995 119 with fn. 241) accompanied by the image of a horse with a rider.

¹¹ For the famous Kikkuli text see recently Starke (1995 114-116 & 127f) who admits general knowledge of horse training on the part of the Mittani-Aryans but minimizes the influence of this knowledge in the Kikkuli text.

There are also local forms of the Storm-god. The most important one is the Storm-god *piḫaššašši*, the Storm-god of lightning. The combination of a Storm-god and thunder or lightning here leads to one important god who even enters the Hittite pantheon, as Muwatalli II made the Storm-god *piḫaššašši* his personal god. In Muwatalli's prayer to this god we read the following lines (KUB 6.45 iii 25-31; Singer 1996b 40): 'Thereafter the king says as follows: Storm-god of lightning, my lord, I was but a mortal, (whereas) my father was a priest to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and to all the gods. My father begat me, but the Storm-god of lightning took me from (my) mother and reared me; he made me priest to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and to all the gods; for the Hatti land he appointed me to kingship.' That Muwatalli is addressing the Luwian god here also becomes clear some lines later on, when we read (iii 68-70; Singer 1996b 42): 'Storm-god of lightning, glow over me like the moonlight, shine over me like the Sun-god of heaven'. Although the comparison with the moon seems at the first glance to be of general nature only, it is worth mentioning that the word *armuwalašḫa-* in iii 68 and the verb *wantai-* in iii 70 are of Luwian origin. Also bearing in mind the importance of the Moon-god Arma in Luwian, we can conclude that we are dealing here with some reference to Luwian religion within Muwatalli's personal choice of this god (cf. further Hutter 1995 79-86; Singer 1996b 185-189). This Storm-god is one of the local Luwian gods expressing the special relationship of the god with lightning, as his epithet is a derivative of Luwian noun *piḫaš* 'shining, lightning', which in a wider semantic range also means 'powerful' (Starke 1990 103-106). Some of the cultic centers of this Storm-god—within the border of the Luwian lands—are at Tunna, where a *kuwappal-*, maybe some cultic utensil (Starke 1990 317), is given to the god, also at Hissashapa, Parsa, and Tarhuntassa (cf. Haas 1994a 326). There exists still another Luwian Storm-god of lightning (^PU *piḫa(i)mmi*) who cannot be identified with the first one because both are mentioned side by side in the Ulmi-Teshub Treaty (KBo 4.10 obv. 53) or in a cultic inventory text from Karahna (KUB 38.12 iii 18f). Both Storm-gods of lightning thus are local manifestations of Tarhunt whereby the former one became wider known and was even integrated in Greek epic as Pegasos by Hesiod. That Pegasos is also horse-shaped is a further reflex of the above-mentioned connection of the Luwian Storm-god with horses (Hutter 1995 91-95).

Another interesting feature of the Luwian god can be seen in his connection with vineyards—though fertility in general can be easily linked to any Storm-god who together with lightning and thunder brings rainy seasons. The Middle Hittite ritual KUB 43.23 invokes the Storm-god of the vineyard (Haas 1988 134f). Vine and fertility are connected with the Storm-god also in other festival texts (e.g. KUB 35.1) with Luwian spells and songs. The close connection of the Storm-god with grapes and grain lives on to the first millennium, as can be seen from various reliefs from the region of Tabal in the 8th century. Tarhunt as the god of Tabal and Tuwana provides then fertility, grain and wine, and his main cultic center perhaps can be found at the Göllüdağ (Berges 1998/99 43; Schirmer 2002 214-216; cf. further Şahin 1999). Also some Hieroglyphic inscriptions refer to these attributes of the Storm-god. In SULTANHAN, §2 & 22 (Hawkins 2000 465f) we read: 'I set up this Tarhunt of the vineyard (saying): ...Tarhunt shall make this vineyard grow, and the vine shall grow.' In a similar way Warpalawa, whose favorite god had been Tarhunt (Berges 1998/99 42) said according to the stele from BOR, §§3-4 (Hawkins 2000 520): 'I myself planted this vineyard and this Tarhunt of the vineyard I set up.' We therefore may conclude that according to climatic conditions the Luwian Storm-god had close ties to vineyards, as they were especially cultivated within that area of Anatolia where Luwians settled.

In conclusion we can consider the Storm-god as the most important god of the Luwians, bringing with his lightning rain and fertility, which also made him a god of vineyards. Though he can be interpreted as a general god of the Luwians, he was also worshipped in local centers or with local aspects throughout Luwian history.

2.2. The Sun-god

The male Sun-god Tiwad had a similar rank for all Luwians. The name can etymologically be linked to Indo-European **diēu-* meaning '(sky) light'. While Hittite developed a general semantic 'god' (*šiu-*) or 'day' (*šiwatt-*) from this root, the Luwians (and Palaians) made this word the basis for the Sun-god's name, Tiwad among the Luwians and Tiyad among the Palaians (Carruba 1970 75). Because of the apposition *tāta/i-* 'father' to Tiwad (e.g. KBo 9.143 iii 10; KUB 35.107 iii 10; cf. Watkins 1993 469) we surely know that Tiwad was male. The importance of a male Sun-god demonstrates that Luwian

religion is somehow different from the early religious beliefs of the Hattians and the Hittites, where we find the female Sun-goddess Estan (Klinger 1996 141ff) or Hittitized Istanu. The divine name is also attested in the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus (Savaş 1998 67-71) but not in Lycian. We can conclude from a personal name like Tivda in Lydian (Zgusta 1964 §1569; cf. Starke 1990 150) that the Luwian god did not become totally obscure in western Anatolia in the second half of the first millennium.

According to the text KBo 9.127+ (Starke 1985 241) Tiwad is the husband of Kamrusepa and their son is the Tutelary Deity (^DLAMMA) of Taurisa. This Tutelary Deity is also attested in a Kizzuwatnean ritual and celebrated at the 32nd day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival together with Assiya (KUB 2.8; cf. McMahon 1991 38; Starke 1990 453). Another goddess of the circle of Tiwad is Hapantaliya. Recently Volkert Haas (2002 145f) has argued convincingly that Hapantaliya is the goddess of shepherds and her name seems to be derived from the Luwian word *hāwa/i-* 'sheep' (cf. also Ofitsch 1998). For his interpretation Haas refers to the variant of the divine name as *Ha-wa-an-ta-li-i* in Hattian texts with an interchange between /w/ and /p/. The shepherds' goddess Hapantaliya looks after the sheep of the Sun-god in the Telipinu myth (KUB 17.10 iii 3ff; Hoffner 1990 16). Haas draws the interesting conclusion that the integration of the Luwian goddess in the Hattian cultic stratum is a further example for early contacts between Hattians and Luwians (Haas 2002 146).

A minor group of Luwian deities associated with Tiwad are the Ilaliyant-deities (Hutter 1988 125f). The earliest references to them we find already in the pantheon of Kanesh, and they correspond to the Palaic Ilaliyantikes (Carruba 1970 57). In a ritual of the Luwian 'Old Woman' (^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI) Tunnawiya the Sun-god sends them to harm the patient for whose recovery the (healing) ritual is carried out (KUB 9.34 iii 35-38). In a fragmentary mythological text they also are mentioned. After the disappearance of the Sun-god some animals were afflicted with evil and then the Ilaliyant-gods had to give some oracle, possibly as an auspicious message. So we can conclude that they are some minor deities associated with the Sun-god, but usually only acting when something negative has to be performed. Maybe also the Ilali (KUB 35.111 iii 9; cf. KUB 48.99 obv. 14) can be mentioned here, but there is nearly nothing known about these gods.

One word must be said about the Sun-god of Lusna.¹² In KUB 17.19 i 9 we read about his festival: EZJEN ^DUTU-li-ya ^{URU}Lu-uš-na a-ni-ya-an-te-eš (Laroche 1971b 183). René Lebrun (1995 252) has suggested a hypothetical reading for ^DUTU-li-ya as a divine name *Šawaliya or *Hawaliya, comparing it with the Greek Helios. This must remain highly speculative and presently it is surely more likely to take ^DUTU-li-ya as an adjective *tiwaliya*, derived from the Sun-god's name (cf. Starke 1990 375 with fn. 1353 and Melchert p. 181 in this volume).

The position of the Sun-god to mankind can be ambiguous, as we may deduce from his epithets. In the ritual of Kuwattalla, the Old Woman offers a sheep, uncooked meat and some thick bread—and every time she invokes *hirutalliš Tiwaz* 'the Sun-god by which one swears' or 'the Sun-god of the oath' (KUB 35.78 obv. 8ff; Starke 1985 134). On the negative side the god also curses evildoers. The verb *tiwadani(ya)-*, which is an obvious denominative from the god's name, is attested several times within rituals (Starke 1990 147 with fn. 467; Watkins 1993 470), e.g. in the following one (KBo 31.6 iii 8ff; Starke 1990 254): 'Words of Mashuiluwa: When the tongue of [...] or blood(shed) or ... the (sun-god's) curses (*tiwadaniyamman*) reach a person, I treat him as follows.' We do not know the precise purpose and the contents of the ritual, but the 'author' Mashuiluwa has the same name as the famous Mashuiluwa in KUB 5.6. Though we cannot prove the identity of both persons, Mashuiluwa in KUB 5.6 had cursed Mursili II, and he has ultimately to perform a ritual to purify himself (and the Hittite king). Perhaps we may conclude that the ritual KBo 31.6 iii 8ff had its historical setting within the Mashuiluwa affair, too (cf. Klengel 1999 194f; Hutter 2001a 228) and does not only show Luwian ritual practice, but also illustrates the function of Tiwad as judge who curses evildoers. Whoever transgresses his oath or the command of the Sun-god therefore will be cursed by him who on his daily journey across the sky recognizes everything men do. Though the idea of the Sun-god as a divine judge is well-known in the Ancient Near East we may not only carry over this interpretation also to Tiwad but can also deduce it from his epithets.

¹² Cf. further for the Luwian pantheon of Lusna KBo 7.66 iii 6-8, mentioning the following gods: Suhili, Muhili, the Storm-god, the Tutelary Deity (Starke 1985 360).

It appears that the Sun-god generally is closely connected with mankind—at least for the Luwians in the first millennium, as the title (DEUS)SOL-mi-sá CAPUT-ti-i-sá (KARATEPE 1, §I) indicates. The title has been translated traditionally as 'the sun-blessed (?) man', but this cannot be assured with certainty (Hawkins 2000 58; cf. Röllig apud Chambel 1999 58). Within the HLuwian corpus we find this title ten times and once as a personal name (SOL-wa/i+ra/i-mi-sá; CEKKE, §17i). The word is best understood as '(devoted) to the Sun-god', thus marking a concept of a close connection between the Luwian Sun-god and mankind. The god cares for his people and blesses them, but also curses those who do not behave in the right way.

As mentioned above, in central Anatolia the Hattian Sun-goddess Estan held a high position. The Luwians had their own Sun-goddess of the earth (*tiyammaššiš Tiwad*), who probably originated not in the western Luwian region but in Kizzuwatna (cf. recently Taracha 2000 179 with refs). In a longer passage of one of Kuwattalla's rituals the Sun-goddess of the earth and the Sun-god above are invoked together by the Old Woman on behalf of the patient (KUB 35.45 ii 25-27; cf. also KUB 35.48 ii 19-23; Kammenhuber 1986, 88f): 'If he is living, Tiwad shall deliver him above; if he is dead, the Sun-goddess of the earth shall deliver him, the man of curse and perjury'. That the Sun-goddess of the earth is competent to remove all kinds of evil is very well-known in Luwian religion. This motif, too, had found its way to Hittite religion since the Old Hittite period, mainly from Kizzuwatna. The Kizzuwatnean background of the Luwian Sun-goddess of the earth made it possible for this goddess to be identified with the Hurrian Allani and in this syncretistic way then also to attain her famous rank in later Hittite texts (cf. Torri 1999 94-98).

3. Some further male gods: Arma, Santa, LAMMA

Besides the Hattian Kasku and the Hurrian Kushuh we find in Anatolia also the Luwian Moon-god Arma. His worship seems to have been restricted nearly exclusively to the Luwians, focused more in the (south)western parts of Anatolia, while in Kizzuwatna the Hurrian Moon-god Kushuh and the local Moon-god of Harran were dominant, who also entered the cult of Tarhuntassa (KUB 56.13 rev. 23; Haas 1994a 374). Rituals to facilitate pregnancy or birth-giving sometimes refer to the Moon-god (cf. KUB 35.102 ii 11 & iii 1), but they also mention some distress which can be caused by this god, as

a mythological passage within the ritual KUB 44.4+ rev. 1ff shows (Beckman 1983 177). Generally speaking, the Luwians shared the idea that there is a connection between the Moon-god and the months of pregnancy (cf. also Zeilfelder 1998 438-440&443ff). The importance of the Moon-god is also reflected by a number of Luwian personal names (Laroche 1966, no. 131-142), e.g. Armati, who authored two rituals together with his mother Anniwiyani (cf. section C.1.). The popularity of Arma did not cease in the first century when he—according to a number of proper names—was worshipped in Pamphylia and Cilicia as well as in Caria and Lycia (Houwink ten Cate 1961 132; Zgusta 1964 §§97.355; Neumann 1979b 263-265; Lebrun 1987 244f). Judging from references in the Hieroglyphic inscriptions (Savaş 1998 3-5), the first millennium also brought some change in the history of Luwian religion. In the eastern parts of the Luwian territory Arma clearly lost ground against the Harranean Moon-god (KAYSERİ, §16; SULTANHAN, §31).

Santa (Kammenhuber 1990 191-193; Melchert 2002e 241-243; Polvani 2002) is attested within the onomasticon of personal names from Kültepe and directly attested in the well-known ritual of Zarpiya where he and the Innarawantes-deities are invoked (HT 1 obv. 29-34; Collins 1997 163): 'Come, Santa! Let the Innarawantes-deities come with you, (they) who are wearing bloodied (clothes), who have bound on (themselves) the sashes (?) of the mountain dwellers, who are girt (?) with daggers, who hold strung bows and arrows. Come and eat! We will swear (an oath).' In the Luwian version of this ritual, Santa is accompanied by the Annarummenzi-deities, the 'forceful ones'. The god is best characterized as a warrior god.¹³ Other sources show a close association of Santa with Iyarri, who was definitely a war-god. Both Santa and Iyarri are also accompanied by the Marwainzi-deities, the 'dark ones'. As a war-god Santa can be dangerous to his enemies, and therefore it makes sense to derive his name as a participle from *šā(i)*- 'being angry'. In general his power is positive for his followers, as also can be assumed for his role in Hieroglyphic texts: He is invoked to protect the funerary stele of a certain Panuni together with the Marwainzi-deities (KULULU 2, §6; Hawkins 2000 488; cf. BEIRUT, §3). That

¹³ I think it is wrong to connect his name and character historically to the Indian god Skandha (pace Carruba 2000 52).

Santa lives on until Hellenistic times is long known (cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961 136f; Zgusta 1964 §1370; Lebrun 1987 247), identified by Greeks with Heracles and by Arameans with Baal of Tarsus. In southwestern Anatolia Santa and even the Marwainzi-deities (as Marivda; Melchert 2002e 242 with fn. 9) were known to the Lydians and Santa possibly even to the Lycians as *Hāta- (TL 44a,41ff; 44b,55ff according to Melchert 2002e 243ff).

The Luwians shared also the idea of tutelary deities with their contemporaries in Anatolia in the second millennium. As McMahon (1991 5) has shown, most tutelary deities had a Hattian origin. From a cult image description we get a general idea about the appearance of such a deity (KUB 38.2 ii 24ff; Hoffner 2002a 65 with refs): 'The Tutelary Deity (^DLAMMA): a gold-plated cult image of a standing man with gold-plated eyes. In his right hand he holds a silver lance; in his left hand he holds a shield. He stands on a stag. Beneath him is a silver-plated base.' Among the Luwians we find some of these deities, mostly specified by some epithet. Judging from Hieroglyphic evidence (Savaş 1998 29f) which shows a god's name written either with the sign of a stag or an antler it has been suggested that the general name for the Luwian 'stag-god' or tutelary deity was Kurunta. This is attested in the onomasticon of the second millennium and continuing to the first millennium as Runt(iy)a in personal names (cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961 128-131; Zgusta 1964 §1339). In some Luwian rituals and festivals we find other tutelary deities: in Anniwiyani's ritual (VBoT 24) both a ^DLAMMA *lulimmi*- and a ^DLAMMA *innarawant*- are addressed (McMahon 1991 49f; Popko 1995 92f), in order to help restore sexuality and strength. These tutelary deities—at least partly—were also conceived in the form of a stag as is indicated by the epithet *lulimmi*- which cautiously can be connected with the Akkadian word *lulimmu* 'stag' (Haas 1994a 450 fn. 10). Also the tutelary deity of the hunting bag (^DLAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*) is addressed in some rituals which originate from Arzawa (c.g. VBoT 24 iii 4ff; KBo 12.96) in connection with bird oracles (Bawanypeck 2001 225-227.265f). The goddess Huwassanna who has a tutelary deity of her own (cf. McMahon 1991 49) is also worth mentioning.¹⁴ In her cult at Hupisna the 'exalted tutelary deity' (^DLAMMA *šarlaimi*) has an

¹⁴ Cf. further the proper name ^mHuwassanna-^DLAMMA, mentioned in the fragmentary letter KBo 18.104 7f.

important position. He receives not only offerings but also has his own temple with cult personnel. McMahon (1991 50) rightly concludes that this tutelary deity does not play any role in the Hittite state cult but is one of the central deities of a provincial cult, or to be more precise—a central Luwian tutelary deity in association with Huwassanna. In the Istanuwian cult a 'great tutelary deity' is mentioned. The popularity of the tutelary deities may be deduced from their character which was similar to war-gods and hunting gods, as may be indicated by their association with the stag and bow and arrow. Therefore these gods could bestow both fertility (in form of nourishment) and protection. Both aspects also continue among Luwians in the first century as we see e.g. in the inscription BOHÇA, §4f (Hawkins 2000 479): 'I am good to Runtiya, here he grants to me the beasts.'

4. The main Luwian goddesses: Kamrusepa, Maliya, Huwassanna

Kamrusepa is attested from the Old Assyrian trading period. From the Old Hittite period she is also identified superficially with the Hattian goddess Katahziwuri, and Jörg Klinger (1996 159) pointed out that both goddesses could preserve their own traditions. Her name defines her as a 'genius (*šepa-*) of **kamru-*', and at the level of folk-etymology her name could be connected with *kammara-* 'smoke', as may be the case in KBo 9.127 i 12, when the goddess's name is written as ^D*Kam-ma-ru-še-pa*. Such a popular interpretation of her name can derive from her nature as a goddess associated with the fireplace in the house (cf. Haas 1994a 261); but a magical incantation also connects Kamrusepa with fire and smoke. To cure a sick person, Kamrusepa's 'spell of the fire' (*ŠI-PAT IZI-na-aš*) is recited to make the illness of the head become 'smoke' (KUB 17.8 iv 7; Kellerman 1987; cf. Hoffner 1990 32). Her competence in magic is widely acknowledged in Hittite religion too, as can be seen from the Teli-pinu myth when Kamrusepa is the one who knows to treat the angry god magically in order to calm his anger (KUB 17.10 ii 33ff; Hoffner 1990 16). Within Luwian religion one can characterize her as the goddess of the household who gives divine help at pregnancy and birth to mother and child (cf. Starke 1985 204-210). Some Luwian birth rituals center around her magic, where she cares for the mother and functions as a midwife (KUB 35.88 iii 12-17): 'They sent for the midwife: She lifted up the child. She, Kamrusepa, takes nine combs

(speaking): "These *melta*-evils shall be combed away: the illness of the head, the illness of the eyes, the illness of the ears, the illness of the mouth, the illness of the throat, the illness of the hands." For all the parts of the body she makes the rounds.' Combing away all evil as an act of purification is also attested in another ritual where Kamrusepa and the Sun-god together comb some sheep (KUB 12.26 ii 1ff; cf. Gurney 1977 54; Haas 1994a 441). That Kamrusepa in Luwian religion specializes in purification magic and healing magic also becomes clear from other texts, e.g. KUB 7.1 + KBo 3.8 iii 14ff where she is mentioned—together with the goddess Maliya and the god Pirwa (Kronasser 1961 157f). On this 'Sammeltafel' there are five rituals: both in a ritual against gossip (KBo 3.8 ii 18ff; cf. KUB 7.1 iv 13) and against binding (KUB 7.1 + KBo 3.8 iii 28) Kamrusepa is invoked. Within cult festivals Kamrusepa is less often mentioned, but she is conceived as the mother of the Tutelary Deity of Taurisa and at least in some traditions she appears to be the partner (or parhedra) of Tiwad (cf. KUB 43.23 rev. 35-37). But at present no cult centers related exclusively to her are known. Possibly due to this, the knowledge of Kamrusepa was lost among the Luwians in the first millennium.

Maliya is another great goddess whose origin is not to be sought with the Luwians, but she was highly esteemed among them too. The description of a cult image (KUB 38.33 obv. 5) mentions a river Maliya as a woman and in KUB 40.101 obv. 8 the 'lady Maliya' gets offerings together with rivers and mountains. Sometimes she is associated with Kamrusepa as already mentioned above, and with Pirwa (Haas 1994a 78-80). Another aspect of her nature we learn from a Middle Hittite ritual: Tarhunt is invoked to give prosperity to the royal vineyard; and then offerings of long bread, wine, goats, sheep, and a bull are presented to various gods, namely to the Sun-god Tiwad, to Kamrusepa, and to Maliya, 'the mother of wine and grain' (KUB 43.23 rev. 51; Haas 1988 137). As a hypostasis of Maliya, we can interpret the (two) Maliyanni-goddesses; they are the main goddesses in the ritual of Anna, which is performed to make a vineyard prosper again (Haas 1988 138ff). Maliya's cult continues to the first millennium, and the goddess is mentioned in Lycian inscriptions (e.g. TL 44c.5; 75.5; 80.3; 149.2f; 150.6). This Lycian Maliya was partly identified with Athena from the fourth century onwards; sometimes she also was associated with Artemis (cf. Lebrun 1987 242; further Laroche 1980 4f; Keen 1998 202-204). There are also

traces of a continuity of this goddess in Lydia (Haas 1994a 411; cf. also the proper name given by Zgusta 1964 §849). For a continuity of the 'river Maliya' it is worth mentioning that even a nymph Malis is attested from the Greek tradition in western Anatolia (cf. Neumann 1979b 269 fn. 37).

As a final important Luwian goddess we have to mention Huwassanna whose main cult center was at Hupisna. From this town—and also from Kuliwisna—we know about some of her festivals (section C.2.2.), which were not integrated into the state cult of the Hittites (Güterbock 1962 347). The goddess's family is not known, but according to the festival texts, there are some otherwise less known (local) gods belonging to her circle, e.g. Lallariya, Awatta, Kupilla, Muli or Liliya (cf. KBo 41.105+ ii 8ff; Groddek 2002 85). Some other gods alongside the just mentioned ones—e.g. a tutelary deity, Maliya and 'Maliya of the river'—may be associated with her at her local cult at Kuliwisna (KBo 20.51+ ii 19ff; Trémouille 2002 354f). The goddess has some special cult functionaries, and a certain Bappi, the *huwaššannalli*-priestess, is the authoress of a healing ritual (KBo 29.1; KUB 17.12; 54.34) by which Huwassanna's help is invoked. The cult and the goddess of Hupisna, which is located in the Lower Land, is also part of Hittite religion, and therefore the goddess is mentioned in some Hittite treaties from Suppiluliuma I onward (Frantz-Szabó 1972-1975) and among the gods in Muwatalli's prayer to the Storm-god *piḫaššašši* (KUB 6.45 ii 15-17; Singer 1996b 36): 'Huwassanna of Hupisna, Storm-god of Hupisna, ZABABA of Hupisna, Mount Sarlaimi, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Hupisna.' Mount Sarlaimi mentioned here might be identical with the 'exalted tutelary deity' (^DLAMMA *šarlaimi*) who receives offerings in Huwassanna's cult in Hupisna. With this goddess again we have to conclude that though she was a main goddess in the Hupisna region we do not have any traces of a continuity of her cult to the first millennium.

C. FESTIVALS AND MAGICAL RITUALS FROM LOCAL LUWIAN CENTERS

As I outlined in the introduction, Luwian inhabitants covered large parts of southern and southwestern Anatolia. Therefore we should not suppose that their beliefs and religious practices were the same in all these areas, but we rather have to reckon with a number of local

systems which correspond to the different Luwian communities during the second millennium. As all our knowledge of Luwian cults up to the present depends on sources found in Hattusa only, we have to take into account that some of the cults were preserved because they also were of some interest for 'Hittite religion', while some other aspects of Luwian cult remain unknown up to now. In trying to differentiate Luwian cults according to local centers, the main information we find is about Arzawa, the Lower Land, the areas of Istanuwa and Lallupiya, and Kizzuwatna. It has to be mentioned that the sources at our disposal show some further distinctions. For the bulk of magical rituals Oliver R. Gurney (1977 44) has already emphasized: 'The name of the practitioner, with his or her profession and sometimes nationality and the nature of the emergency are stated explicitly in the opening words and in the colophon at the end of the tablet. The text purports to be the actual words of the author, sometimes in the first person but more often in the third... A large proportion of the practitioners are said to be provincials from outlying parts of the kingdom, especially Kizzuwadna and Arzawa.' I think we should also add practitioners from the Lower Land. But what is more important: with the names of these individual authors from Luwian countries we can get a grasp of autochthonous religious beliefs of Luwians¹⁵ even if they were integrated into the official religion of the Hittite kingdom. There is another important fact: among the 'text-books' for rituals for festivals and cults of (local) gods, the names of individual authors are missing, but we can attribute them to Luwian religion by the names of gods, who—at least partly—had received some acceptance within the 'Hittite religion of the kingdom'. But again we must draw an interesting conclusion: we do not have texts of festivals from Arzawa—this may not only be some indication that religious festivals (and gods) from Arzawa did not play a central role in the religion of the Hittite kingdom, but we also may take the scanty evidence from Arzawa as the 'purest' expression of Luwian religion (cf. Hutter 2001a 231f). Thus it seems best to describe the festivals and rituals which seek the gods' help in different situations of life according to the various local expressions.

¹⁵ And of Hurrian authors and beliefs of Hurrian religion too. For some famous Hurrian authoresses known by name from Hittite or Hurrian texts from Hattusa cf. e.g. Haas—Wegner 1988.

1. *Greater Arzawa*

The treaties of various Hittite kings with local rulers of the Arzawan lands do not mention the gods of these lands in detail, as we see in the treaty between Mursili II and Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira-Kuwaliya where we read about the following divine witnesses (Beckman 1996 77, §31): 'All the [deities] of the land of Mira, [... the male deities], the female deities, the mountains, the rivers [...]' In a similar way, we learn about these natural phenomena in a list of offerings for the tutelary deities from the time of Tudhaliya IV (KBo 11.40 vi 13-22; McMahon 1991 131): 'One *t/uhjurai*-bread, one bare bone (?) (to) all [the mountains] (and) all the rivers [of the land] of Arzawa which His Majesty regularly [hu]nts; [one *tuhur*]-ai- [bread], one kidney (to) the mountains (and) all the rivers [of the land of] Masa which His Majesty regularly [hu]nts; [one *tuhjurai*]-[bread], one shoulder (to) the mountains (and) all the rivers [of] the Lukka [land] which His Majesty regularly [hu]nts.' From this entry we do not learn much about Luwian religion, as in the similar case with an offering of thin bread to the Storm-god of Kuwaliya in a festival for the Hurrian Shaushka of Samuha during the time of Hattusili III (KUB 27.1 i 58). These offerings date back at least to the reign of Mursili II who also invokes the Storm-god of Arzawa in one of his plague prayers (KUB 14.13 i 16). The fact that such Luwian gods or divine mountains are occasionally mentioned in Hittite cult does not really shed light on Arzawan cults.

From some oracle protocols we learn more about some special form of cults in Arzawa: one oracle inquiry deals with the question of how to remove a curse which was spoken against the god Zawalli—namely if the god has to be purified from 'mouth and tongue' (slander and curse) in the way of Arzawa (KUB 18.67 i 12; cf. van den Hout 1998 13). Within a comparable context we know from KUB 5.6 the Mashuiliwa affair: somebody would like to know whether Mashuiliwa has uttered curses against his Majesty (Mursili II) and against Zawalli. The answer was affirmative and therefore Mursili and Mashuiliwa have to purify themselves ritually, the one in the ritual way of Hattusa, the other in the ritual way of Arzawa (KUB 5.6 iii 24-26. 35-37; cf. for the oracle van den Hout 1998 3ff; further Klengel 1999 194f). I think it is important to observe that Mashuiliwa, the son of a king of Arzawa, has not only to perform magical purification rites in the Arzawan manner, but that a certain

Mashuiliwa is also known as the author of a magical ritual against 'tongues' and blood(shed) (KBo 31.6 iii 8ff). By chance we also know one Arzawan cultic center, namely the sacred city of Mashuiliwa situated on the Siyanta River, which is explicitly mentioned by Mursili in his treaty with Mashuiliwa's successor Kupanta-Kurunta (Beckman 1996 71, §10).

One aspect of interest is a number of authors and authoresses of magical rituals who come from Arzawa—either with certainty if this is written on their tablets—or probably as we can see by comparison. There is an impressive group of such authors who have composed rituals to eliminate the plague or any other kind of pestilence. At least six Arzawan men are known by name: Tarhuntapaddu's and Adda's rituals are still unpublished (cf. Otten 1973 82). Uhhamuwa (Laroche 1966, no. 1411) has authored the following text (HT 1 ii 17ff; Collins 1997 162): 'Thus says Uhhamuwa, man of Arzawa. If in the land there is continual dying or if some god of the enemy has caused it, then I do as follows.' The other authors composing such ritual texts are Maddunani (KUB 7.54 i 1ff; cf. Laroche 1966, no. 793), Tapalazunawali¹⁶ (KUB 34.74 i 1, cf. KUB 41.17 ii 14ff; ed. by Souček 1963), and Ashella from Hapalla (KUB 9.32; cf. Laroche 1966, no. 163; Dinçol 1985), who has composed his ritual against a plague in the army. I think we can even add two more rituals with their authors, namely Dandanku (KUB 7.54 ii 7ff; cf. Laroche 1966, no. 1243; ed. by Klengel 1984) and Pulisa (KBo 15.1 i 1ff; ed. by Kümmel 1967 111ff).¹⁷ Though they are not characterized as men from Arzawa, they share with the other rituals not only the common theme of the plague in an army, but also the topos of a 'scapegoat' who carries the impurity (plague, infection) into a foreign country. In Uhhamuwa's ritual we read (Collins 1997 162): '...“What god of the enemy has made this plague, now this wreathed wether we have brought for your pacification. O god! Just as a fortress is strong and (yet) is at peace with this wether, may you, the god who has made this plague, be at peace in the same way with the land of Hatti. Turn again in friendship to the land of Hatti.” Then they drive the

¹⁶ May we suppose that this Arzawan author is identical with the prince Tapalazunawali (Klengel 1999 190f), the son of Uhhaziti from Apasa?

¹⁷ Pulisa's ritual is followed on the Sammeltafel KBo 15.1 by a ritual of the MUNUSŠU.GI Ummaya who recites in Hurrian language (ed. by Kümmel 1967 141-147; Haas-Wegner 1988 15-17, 233-247). Within her ritual Mursili II is mentioned.

wreathed sheep into the enemy territory.' With a similar procedure the plague is removed in the rituals of Ashella or Pulisa, where we read (Collins 1997 161): 'You, o male god, be pacified. Let [th]is bull carry [the plague] back into the land of the enemy. [Turn again in friendship to the king, to the prin]ces, the lords, the army and to the la[nd of Hatti].' The theme within these rituals has since long been compared with the scapegoat in the Old Testament (cf. Gurney 1977 47f). We even can reach a more precise result: there is one 'eastern' tradition—stemming from Kizzuwatna and northern Syria with a Hurrian background—which is to be connected with the biblical scapegoat in Leviticus 16 (Janowski-Wilhelm 1993), and there is also another 'western' tradition—stemming from Arzawa and a Luwian background. Perhaps there is also some faint echo of this tradition preserved in the Bible in connection with the Philistines (1 Sam 5-6). Central for this western 'scapegoat' motif is its connection with the removal of a plague.

Considering all these rituals from Arzawa, we can define one special aspect of Luwian religion: there was obviously some fear of, but also some competence against pestilence which fostered Luwian beliefs in Arzawa. The Marwainzi-gods and Yarri, who sometimes is not only seen as a god of war but also of pestilence, who act together in Dandanku's ritual, are Luwian gods. Further we might remember the Greek god Apollo who until the early first millennium CE was worshipped in western Anatolia as a god who was contacted for oracles regarding how to behave in the case of pestilence (cf. Hutter 2001a 231 with refs). We can therefore recognize some special features of Luwian beliefs and practices in Arzawa. Another interesting fact is that these rituals against pestilence were also prominent in the Hittite Empire. Why was that the case? To answer this question (Hutter 2001a 230f) we have to refer to the severe pestilence among the Hittites from the times of Suppiluliuma I to Mursili II (Bryce 1998 223-225; Klengel 1999 144f). Though it is said that this plague had its origins in Syria, measures to counteract this plague were not taken from Syrian 'medical' or 'magical' traditions, but from Arzawa. Although Arzawa was then at odds with Hattusa, the competence of religious practitioners from Arzawa in this field was too important to be neglected.

Daliah Bawanypeck (2001) has brought a further group of rituals to our attention which originated within the Arzawan cult, namely the

rituals of the augur (^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÙ). Besides the above mentioned Dandanku and Maddunani, especially the ^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÙ Huwarlu (KBo 4.2) must be mentioned, but also three rituals for the ^DLAMMA ^{KUŠ}kuršaš (KBo 12.96; KBo 17.105+; KBo 20.107+). The most important results of Bawanypeck's study are the following (Bawanypeck 2001 301ff): The augurs' rituals must be considered a special feature of Arzawan ritual practice, and they deal either with counteracting a plague or with the removal of unfortunate omens which were predicted by flying birds. In this case the augurs—during their ritual treatment—work together with the Old Woman (cf. Anniwiyani who acts together with her son Armati, the augur, VBoT 24 i 1; Pupu-wanni and a ^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÙ, whose local provenience is no longer known, IBoT 2.115+ i 1). In most of these rituals the tutelary deity of the hunting bag, who is closely related to natural life, animals and birds, is invoked by the augurs.

While the topic 'plague' is very common to the rituals composed by Arzawan men just mentioned, there are some texts written by women that serve different purposes. The three women identified as Arzawans are Alli, Paskuwatti and NÍG.GA.GUŠKIN (cf. Otten 1973 81f). The ritual of the last one deals with the treatment of a man or a woman who is bewitched (cf. KBo 31.6 iii 14f). It is quite possible that the same women played an active part during the purification rites performed by Mashuliwa where we read (KUB 5.6 iii 20-23, cf. 31; van den Hout 1998 3-5): '(Then) they will bring the regalia and keep them in a pure state. Mashuliwa and Zaparti-ŠEŠ will stand far off holding the apparel of (the woman) NÍG.GA.GUŠKIN. Zuwahallati and Mapili will (ritually) treat the gods, subsequently they will treat the regalia.' If the identity of both women is granted, then we not only know when NÍG.GA.GUŠKIN's ritual was composed, but we can further assume that her ritual against sorcery is to be interpreted as a 'local' Luwian form of magic. The other authoress, Alli, has composed another ritual against sorcery (KBo 11.12; cf. Jakob-Rost 1972; Otten 1973). The purpose of Paskuwatti's ritual, which dates from the Middle Hittite period, is to be sought in restoring a man's potency to have sexual intercourse again. Within the ritual context the practitioner Paskuwatti speaks as follows to the patient (KUB 9.27 i 23-29; Hoffner 1987 277): 'I take the spindle and distaff away from him. I give him a bow (and) [arro]w(s), and say (to him) all the while: "I have just taken femininity away from

you and given you masculinity in return. You have cast off the (sexual) behaviour expected [of women; you have taken] to yourself the behaviour expected of men!” Though some of the symbols used here are widely known, there are again some special Luwian aspects to be found. Besides Arzawa as Paskuwatti’s homeland we find the Luwian goddess Uliliyassi as the main goddess invoked during the ritual. The prominent position of Uliliyassi in this ritual also becomes clear from the fact that the ritual is also referred to with the goddess’s name, as is written in the tablet catalogue KUB 30.65 i 6: ‘One tablet, words of Paskuwatti: when I invoke Uliliyassi’ (cf. Laroche 1971b 169). The goddess’s name can be derived from Luwian /walili(d)-/ ‘(open) field, plain’, where she may have been the patroness of growth of both wild plants and animals (Hoffner 1987 281; cf. Popko 1995 93), thus being a suitable goddess also to be invoked to give back sexual potency and fertility. The topic of fertility and restored sexuality is shared by Paskuwatti’s ritual with Anniwiyani’s first ritual (VBoT 24 i 1-iii 3). Anniwiyani is not identified as a woman from Arzawa, but her own name and the name of her son Armati are Luwian, also the gods within her ritual, namely ^DLAMMA *lulimmi* (cf. McMahon 1991 49), to whom the tablet catalogue KUB 30.65 i 11 refers, and ^DLAMMA *innarawant-*, show a Luwian background. A further (festival) ritual for ^DLAMMA *lulimmi* is attested in this tablet catalogue (KUB 30.65 i 4), but the text is not preserved. Also Anniwiyani’s second ritual (VBoT 24 iii 4-iv 31) for the ^DLAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršas* reflects her setting in Luwian religion. Daliah Bawanypeck (2001 44ff, 223ff) has recently studied both rituals in detail. Despite their different topics the rituals of the two women Paskuwatti and Anniwiyani have in common that they are performed for ‘private’ persons—neither king nor queen is treated by these rituals. We may interpret this as a hint that the rituals were conceived as Luwian and ‘foreign’ in Hattusa—and therefore not included within practices suitable to treat the royal family, but perhaps in use with the Luwian people living in Hattusa then.

2. The Lower Land

The Lower Land was situated south of the Marassantiya river, its neighbours in the west being the Arzawan lands and in the southeast Kizzuwatna. As mentioned above (section A.1.) the population of the Lower Land consisted of Hittites, Luwians and probably also of

some Hurrians (at least in the later period of the Hittite empire). Some of the traditions preserved in the region show Hattian origin, too. We know about some local centers.

2.1. *Istanuwa and Lallupiya*

One important cult center was at Istanuwa. A precise localization of that center has remained impossible up to the present. Massimo Forlanini (1987 115 fn. 23) has suggested locating Istanuwa in the area of Gordion, because a river Sahiriya (to be identified with classical Sangarios and modern Sakarya) is mentioned in the ritual texts for Istanuwa (KUB 35.135 iv 16). Volkert Haas (1994a 582) favors localization in western or northwestern Anatolia because within the local pantheon of Istanuwa there are generally speaking no traces of Hurrian¹⁸ influence. That we have to keep Istanuwa apart from the southeast and Kizzuwatna with Hurrian influence can further be deduced from the language of the rituals. The Luwian language of these texts shows some peculiarities in comparison with the CLuwian texts from Kizzuwatna (cf. p. 174f in this volume). So it seems probable to separate Istanuwa also on linguistic grounds from Kizzuwatna. Therefore I think we can mention Istanuwa among the cult centers of the Lower Land or maybe of the (western) border of the Lower Land. The men of Lallupiya who sing in Luwian language during the festival do not help to locate the place, as Lallupiya’s localization also remains unknown.

Thanks to the efforts of Frank Starke we have an edition of the festival texts that provide us with some knowledge about this local Luwian cult. There existed at least two different textual versions of the festival, one that included both the description of the ritual and the songs, and another which had the descriptions of the ritual and the songs written on different tablets (Starke 1985 296f). This was possible because some of the songs could be omitted during the festivals. Therefore they were not necessarily written down on the same tablet, as we read in KUB 55.65 iv 38-42: ‘The songs which are for them (the gods, who were addressed before) they sing. But if they do not wish to, they do not sing. It is nothing (of any importance). The songs are (written) on the last tablet.’ We get the same impres-

¹⁸ But cf. the *hu-ur-la-aš* ^D*l-na-ar* in KUB 35.135 iv 15 (king and queen drink several gods).

sion from the tablet catalogue, where only 'songs of the men from Istanuwa' are mentioned (KUB 30.42 iv 14; Laroche 1971b 163). The songs—performed by the men of Istanuwa or Lallupiya—accompanying the offerings to the gods at the festival seem to be a special feature of the Istanuwian cult, as other festivals we know from the Hittite realm do not have such a wealth of songs. Though we have no external evidence for dating the festival, the oldest preserved textual version may date as early as the beginning of the 15th century, and the performance of the festival may even have started in the 16th century (Starke 1985 301.303).

The festivals lasted at least four days (cf. Starke 1985 295), celebrating the main gods of Istanuwa with the king and the queen offering at the sacrifice. It is interesting to note that the amount of offerings depended on whether the king and queen were offering together or alone (KUB 32.123+ ii 34f). When the king's sons were also involved in the offerings, their share was given from the palace (KUB 32.123+ ii 35-37a). Parts of the festivals were celebrated in the open field or in a tent (KUB 32.123+ i 10ff), with sacrifices of animals in front of the stele of the Storm-god and the Sun-god (KUB 32.123 iii 28ff). These two gods held the leading position within that pantheon and the festival. Even though their names were only written logographically (with Hittite declination morphemes), it is reasonable to assume them to be local Istanuwian representations of Tarhunt¹⁹ and Tiwad.²⁰ In the course of the festival they are addressed first, and the participants drink these gods together with others, namely Tarwalliya, Winiyanta, LAMMA, Suwasunna, Yarri, Siuri, Iyasalassi, Wandu, Wistassi, the Sun-god of the gatehouse (KUB 55.65 iv 4-36; cf. KUB 25.37 + 35.131 + 35.132 + 51.9 iv 8-15). Comparable are the gods who receive offerings in KBo 4.11 obv. 5-7 (cf. rev. 39ff): Storm-god, Sun-god, ^DLAMMA, Suwasunna, Wandu, Siuri, Iyasalla, ^DLAMMA GAL, Immarsiya. A comparable god-list can also be found in KUB 12.42 (Yoshida 1996 253). Therefore this fragment mentioning Luwian gods can perhaps also be taken as belonging to the cult of Istanuwa. A different god-list comprises the Storm-god of

¹⁹ Maybe the Storm-god of Istanuwa is also attested in KBo 29.31 iv 10: ^DU URU I/š-ta-nu-wa], Starke 1985 364 fn. 19.

²⁰ I cannot see the evidence by which Starke (1985 294) thinks of a Sun-goddess. Also the suggestion by Haas (1994a 582) to interpret Wandu, one of the Istanuwian gods, as a Sun-god lacks support.

Istanuwa, Kinaliya, Gurnuwala, Maliya of the horn, the Hurrian Inara and the river Sahiriya (KUB 35.135 iv 14-16). Most of these gods are restricted to the Istanuwa festival. If Siuri could be equated with the Carian god Sinuri (Lebrun 1995 255) that might be an argument for the localization of Istanuwa closer to the western parts of Anatolia. Concerning the god Tarwalliya, I propose to interpret him as a 'dancing god' (cf. Hittite *tarwai-*), because of his connection with *huhupal* 'drum' or 'cymbal' (cf. Kühne 1999 with fn. 63) in our ritual. Tarwalliya might be a genius of sowing or growing (Starke 1990 483; Melchert 1993a 262), while Winiyanta seems to be a deity connected with wine (Starke 1990 381 with fn. 1378; Melchert 1993a 269). The character of the other gods, who are only mentioned here, still remains obscure.

What is the purpose of this festival then? Despite the large number of various texts describing the festival we cannot reconstruct the sequence of all the rites and sacrifices of the festival in detail. Therefore it is only possible to name some of the main topics within the festival which can highlight its purpose. In the shelf list KUB 30.42 i 1 we read (Laroche 1971b 161): 'First tablet. Song(s) of conciliation of the men of Istanuwa'. The same we read in Luwian language in broken context in KUB 32.13 i 6-11: 'I will conciliate, I will conciliate [...] they shall conciliate him, the gods [...], the pure ones [...]; they shall conciliate him [...] above the Sun-god [...]' It is neither clear who is the one to be conciliated nor why this has become necessary, but some general rite of conciliation or pacifying is possible within a festival.

Another aspect of one of the purposes of the festival we see in KBo 4.11 when we read the colophon: 'They sing the songs of thunder'. According to the tablet these songs accompany the offerings to different gods in the cult. To interpret this line—for the purpose of the festival—we can generally refer to the fear of thunder in Anatolia, an aspect that we find in some Hittite rituals in general and which might be due to climatic conditions in Anatolia (cf. also Oettinger 2001 472-474). Thus we might conclude that this festival was either celebrated in spring or autumn, as one of the seasonal festivals. But if we combine the 'songs of thunder' with the 'songs of conciliation' we can understand a little bit more concretely the reason for the festival: it is celebrated (annually) as a reconciliation of the people of Istanuwa and Lallupiya with their gods, removing all 'misdeeds' which

might have caused the Storm-god's anger and thus also his thunder. Therefore a huge part of the festivals deals with 'songs of thunder'. As a result of this reconciliation with the gods we find a 'merry-go-round' with dancing and music, general happiness and wine (KUB 25.37 + 35.131 + 35.132 + 51.9 iv). That there is a close relation between this part of the festival and the 'songs of thunder' can be assumed on the basis that in the description of both parts of the festival we find nearly the same gods. In the course of this merry-go-round there also was sung a 'dancing song' (KUB 25.37+ ii 19f) which—with due reserve—gives some further basis for our interpretation: dancing functions as a substitute to remove 'evil' and shall give something 'divine' (and reconciliation too). Also an exchange of kisses in this context of the festival, as supposed by Cord Kühne (1999 107f), may indicate the happy union with the gods, reached by the festival.

The participants of the festival are some professional cultic functionaries (cf. Starke 1985 294) and the Hittite king and queen, whose well-being is sought (KUB 25.37+ iv 25-28). Therefore we have surely to concede that the cult of Istanuwa was (superficially) integrated into the Hittite 'state cult'. But the royal family does not play a dominant role within the festival. The central community of the festival is made up by the local people of Istanuwa and Lallupiya, who celebrate their own gods. If the given interpretation is right, the festival has mainly to do with their well-being and reconciliation with their gods. A special and different feature in comparison with other Hittite festivals is the central role of songs and (ecstatic)²¹ dances in this festival.

Besides this festival,²² we also know one man from Lallupiya by name, Yarri, who is the author of a ritual against impurity (KUB 7.29). Generally speaking, the preserved parts of the ritual only deal with magical practices and preparations also known from other similar magical rituals, but there is one point of special interest: the text mentions that in the case of impurity there is one ritual, and all the people of Lallupiya carry it out (KUB 7.29 i 4). Usually rituals are

²¹ Cf. Kühne 1999 106.

²² Maybe another festival mentioning the people of Lallupiya is attested in KBo 29.201 and VS NF 12.26, but the fragmentary texts do not allow the conclusions drawn by V. Haas (1994a 280f, 689) that the Lallupiyans celebrate the festival in Hattusa.

executed by the practitioner(s) and the patient only, while here the whole community is involved. In other words: we find a setting in this text comparable to the Istanuwian festivals, with the participation of the men of Lallupiya to reconcile either the gods or to purify a house from bloodshed. From a sociological point of view we here are dealing with some religious expressions which lay their accent on the community as a whole, not on an individual or the royal family only.

2.2. *Huwassanna's cult at Hupisna*

Considering Luwian religion in the Lower Land, we next can refer to the cult of Huwassanna. She was a local goddess who was worshipped as the queen of Hupisna (Popko 1995 94), but also at Kuliwisna festivals and rites were regularly performed for her. Her cult center Hupisna has been identified with classical Kybestra and modern Ereğli. For her cult we have a lot of ritual fragments which give us some names of her festivals, the EZEN *witaššiyaš* or the EZEN *šahhan* (Jie 1990). From more recently published fragmentary texts of the cult we also learn that there was a special festival to install a new *alhui*tra-priestess who is only known as a priestess in the cult of Huwassanna, as we read in the colophon (KBo 29.65 + KBo 41.12, left edge 1f; Groddek 2002 82): 'First tablet of the festival of the *alhui*tra-ship: When they install a new *alhui*tra for Huwassanna'. Judging from the number of preserved fragments (cf. CTH 690-694; KUB 54.2-35; KBo 24.18-38; 29.64-193; 34.221ff etc.) and some day-counts in the various festival texts, we must conclude that the goddess held a very high rank in Hupisna. As already Hans Gustav Güterbock (1962 347) has pointed out, in these festivals for the goddess the main person and celebrant was not the Hittite king (or queen),²³ but generally speaking the EN.SISKUR, the 'lord of the offering', who is a private person, maybe of local higher rank. He is responsible for this cult, which does not seem to be part of the official cult of the Hittite empire.

The festival focuses on Huwassanna and local gods and goddesses of her circle (cf. for some sections where these gods are named, Yoshida 1996 244-251; further Groddek 2002 95f). Some of them

²³ There are also some ritual fragments of the festivals for Huwassanna with the king and/or the queen being active (cf. Güterbock 1962 347; Lombardi 1999 236-244; Trémouille 2002 358).

remain unknown outside the cult of Huwassanna: Lallariya, Auwatta, Kupilla, Asdutta, Zarnizza, Muli²⁴, Lilaya, Anna, Aruna, the river Sarmamma or the mountain Sarpa. Besides these there are also some gods who are generally known like the (local) Sun-god or (local) Storm-god. For the Luwian setting of the festival(s) and its gods there are some further observations of interest. Up to the present only one fragmentary tablet from the 14th century with one line in Luwian language has been identified as belonging to this cult (KUB 35.7 i 9; Starke 1985 365f). But it is definitely important that within this fragmentary context the god Harduppi is named, who in KUB 46.18 obv. 19 has the Luwian epithet *im(ma)ralla/-*, 'Harduppi of the open country'. Also worthy of mention is the exalted tutelary deity (^PLAMMA *šarlaimi*) among the gods of Huwassanna's cult (McMahon 1991 50).

Since a general study and reconstruction of the festivals for Huwassanna is still lacking, only some preliminary comments are possible for the time being. To a high degree the festivals present series of offerings to the various gods of Huwassanna's circle as is also known from Hittite festivals. Just to quote a few lines from the festivals according to the reconstruction of the text KBo 41.105+ ii 4ff by Detlev Groddek (2002 85): 'They clean. Then they drink the 'holy' with wine. For the first time they drink Huwassanna's ladle while seated. The singer sings. The singer recites. But next they drink Muli while seated. The singer sings. The singer recites. But then they drink Huwassanna's inner soul while seated. The singer sings. The singer recites. But then they drink Lilaya's ladle while seated. The singer sings. The singer recites. But then they drink the great Sun-god while seated. The singer sings. He does not recite. But then they drink Auwatta and Kupilla while seated. The singer sings. He [does not] recite.' Afterwards various breads are brought and distributed among the *alhui*tra-priestess, the 'lords of the god(ess)' and the temple functionaries. They lay the bread upon some tables as offerings to the gods; some breads are broken, others not.

Such actions within festivals are not uncommon among festivals in Anatolia, but the Huwassanna text—comparable to a further text from the cult in Istanuwa—also provides one interesting detail, namely

²⁴ For some possible attestations of this god as a theophoric element in proper names in the first millennium cf. Lebrun 1995 251f. Cf. also below section E.2.

the exchange of a liturgical kiss. Cord Kühne has recently drawn our attention to this liturgical detail in Hittite cultic texts. Within the *šahhan*-festival as one of the festivals for the goddess in Hupisna, the following happens (KBo 24.28+ KBo 29.70 iv; Kühne 1999 102f): the *alhui*tra-priestess and the person on whose behalf the festival takes place bow down three times; then bread is distributed among them and among all those who take part in the festival. At that moment all the people share their community with the gods and each other. The *alhui*tra-priestesses now kiss each other: Kühne interprets this 'ritual' or 'cultic' kiss as a way to express the community with each other and to strengthen the family bonds. Therein we can see one aspect of this 'private festival' and its use for Luwians in Hupisna.

There are some other special features within this festival which are (nearly exclusively) restricted to the cult of Huwassanna. First of all we have to mention two types of priestesses, the ^{MUNUS}*huwaššan-nalli* and the ^{MUNUS}*alhui*tra. The first title has an obvious connection to the goddess's name, the other one is only active in this cult. That the *alhui*tra has a special connection to the festival in Hupisna becomes evident from the fact that some texts refer to her installation, and often she and the 'lord of the offering' act together, drinking the gods (e.g. KBo 14.92+ obv. 23-26, Groddek 2002 92; cf. already Güterbock 1962 348): 'Now they give to drink to the *alhui*tra-priestess and the 'lord of the offering'. And they drink the great Sun-god while seated. The singer sings. The *huwaššan-nalli*-priestess recites.' Within another fragment—belonging to the *šahhan*-festival for the goddess—we find some other functionaries,²⁵ e.g. the priest of the temple of the exalted tutelary deities or the *maššanāmi*-priest. Also special to the cult of this goddess is the ladle (*ziyadu*), as a cultic equipment, which is associated with the gods in the festival.

The festival lasted several days, and it was executed 'in the course of the year' (*witti meyani*), as Marie-Claude Trémouille (2002 368) has pointed out recently, while Hans Gustav Güterbock (1962 348f) had suggested that the festival took place in autumn because at several occasion a pithos (*haršiyalli*) is mentioned which could hint to the storage of the harvest. Taking into account that the festival(s)

²⁵ Some more functionaries are mentioned by Laroche 1959 176. On the role of women within the Huwassanna festivals cf. also Lombardi 1999 219f.

were celebrated by private—either rich or poor—persons (cf. also KUB 27.59 i 26-28; Güterbock 1962 347f), we can certainly reckon with several occasions for this ‘festival’. The celebration of the festival thus could depend on a specific situation that made the worship of Huwassanna necessary as a means of individual religiosity by anybody in Hupisna who could (financially) afford to have these rites for the goddess performed. With further investigation in the reconstruction of the still fragmentarily known festival it is hoped that new information about such aspects of religious behaviour of Luwians can be attained.

Such a preliminary interpretation of the festival also allows us to incorporate within the cult of Huwassanna those texts which tell us that comparable rites also were performed for her at Kuliwisna—either by private persons or by the royal family. Obviously there are some differences between the festival in Hupisna and in Kuliwisna (cf. Trémouille 2002 360-363). Some gods missing in Hupisna are associated with Huwassanna in Kuliwisna, and also the *alḫuitra*-priestess and the *ḫuwaššannalli*-priestess do not appear in Kuliwisna. On the other hand, the worship of Huwassanna at Kuliwisna shows some common features with the worship of NIN.TU (DINGIR.MAḪ), Ishtar of Kuliwisna and of Taminga (Trémouille 2002 368). But also at Kuliwisna this cult is not centrally linked to the state cult, though the queen executes rites for Haristassi. Therefore we reach the following conclusion: Huwassanna of Hupisna attracted local Luwian worshippers who could perform her festivals on their own behalf with the help of the local cultic functionaries. The same happened in Kuliwisna, but as there special local functionaries from Hupisna were missing, the ceremonies were not exactly the same as at Hupisna. These various forms of worshipping Huwassanna can be explained by assuming her cult to be part of ‘private religion’ in the Lower Land. As an expression of ‘everybody’s religion’ the goddess’s worship could vary according to the individual needs of the ‘lord of the offering’.

Furthermore we know of a purification or pacifying ritual²⁶ for Huwassanna, authored by a certain Bappi, a *ḫuwaššannalli*-priestess (KBo 29.191 i 1). The rather fragmentary text has a duplicate in

²⁶ Another fragmentary purification (?) ritual for the goddess also mentions the god Gursantati (KUB 54.35 rev. 8,11) who belongs to Huwassanna’s circle and—like other male and female gods—to her temple (cf. KBo 29.194 rev. 5f).

KUB 54.34. Probably also KUB 17.12 can be seen as another version of this ritual. The central goddess to whom this ritual applies is Huwassanna, logographically written as ^dGAZ.BA.A.A (cf. KBo 29.191 i 2.4.5; KUB 54.34 i 6; ii 4; KUB 17.12 ii 15). The purpose of this ritual, which lasted at least three days (KUB 17.12 ii 18), is to cure a ‘sick’ person who is affected by the anger of the goddess (KUB 17.12 iii 4; KUB 54.34 ii 4) and by some adversaries (KUB 17.12 ii 16; cf. Güterbock 1962 349f). One portion of the ritual is carried out at the crossroads (KUB 17.12 ii 8: KASKAL-aš *ḫa-tar-ni-ya-aš-ḫa-aš*; KUB 54.34 ii 12: KASKAL]-aš *ḫa-at-ta-re-eš-na-aš*). Besides the name of the goddess and the *ḫuwaššannalli* priestess(es) functioning in the ritual (KBo 29.191 i 6; KUB 54.34 i 7), this ritual is interesting because it mentions some types of bread with their Luwian names: ^{NINDA}*warmani(n)zi*, ^{NINDA}*alalunza*, ^{NINDA}*partaninzi*, ^{NINDA}.GUR₄.RA *šarlattaššiš*, ^{NINDA}.GUR₄.RA *piḫaddaššiš*, ^{NINDA}.GUR₄.RA *kuwanzunaššiš*. These various breads, which are typical for this ritual, also may serve as a hint for the local Luwian tradition within this ritual for Huwassanna. Judging from the festivals for the goddess at Hupisna we therefore may suggest that the homeland of the authoress Bappi is to be sought in the Lower Land.

2.3. *Magical rituals from the Lower Land*

A famous authoress who might have originated from the Lower Land is the ‘Old Woman’ (^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI) Tunnawiya (Hutter 1988 55-57) who composed at least four (or maybe even five)²⁷ different rituals: KUB 7.53+ deals with impurity of man and woman; KUB 30.57 left column 5-7 is only the shelf list of a ritual to invoke a dead person; KBo 21.1 is a ritual to ‘take king and queen from the earth’; and KBo 17.62+ belongs to the group of birth rituals (cf. Beckman 1983 32-

²⁷ The ‘ritual of the ox’ (tablet 2: KUB 9.4+; tablet 5: HT 6+KBo 9.125) runs for long passages closely parallel to tablet 2 of the *taknaz dā*-ritual KUB 9.34. For the ‘ritual of the ox’ no name of an authoress is given in the colophon, but I think that Beckman (1990 35) is wrong in taking the ‘ritual of the ox’ and the ‘*taknaz dā*-ritual’ as one single composition only referred to by two different titles. It is possible that the ritual of the ox is also composed by Tunnawiya (but then we have to ask why is her name not mentioned). Cautiously I will suggest another solution: maybe this ritual was composed by a pupil of Tunnawiya who relied heavily on her teacher by incorporating large portions of Tunnawiya’s ritual into the new ritual. Another solution concerning authorship is proposed by Taracha 2000 216 who thinks that Tunnawiya incorporated the ‘ritual of the ox’ into her *taknaz dā*-ritual.

41). In this last text Tunnawiya is called a 'midwife' (^{MUNUS}ŠA.ZU), while the other three texts say she is an 'Old Woman'. Thus we might conclude that the birth ritual is the first ritual composed by her. According to KBo 21.1 i 1 she was practicing in Hattusa but judging from her name, her hometown was Tunna near Tarhuntassa. Within her rituals there are also some aspects which strengthen the idea that she originated in the Lower Land. Of foremost importance is KUB 7.53+ i 58f with the following Luwian spell: *a-ri-ya-ad-da-li-iš* ^DIM-an-za šar-ri tap-pa-ši-i hu-u-e-hu-u-i-ya tap-pa-aš-ša-{it} šar-ri ti-ya-mi hu-i-hu-i-ya: 'Storm-god of the mountain(s) (*ariyaddalli*), run above heaven; heaven, run above earth.' The same spell is also incorporated in another ritual by Tunnawiya, however only fragmentarily preserved and just in Hittite translation (KUB 9.34 i 11f), but again with the Luwian epithet *ariyaddalli* for the Storm-god (cf. Hutter 1988, 67f; Starke 1985 44). This Luwian epithet of the Storm-god is also attested in the HLuwian inscription KULULU 1, §5f (Hawkins 2000 443): 'Also I myself set up this Tarhunzas of the ARATALI-, and I shall offer to him every year with one ox (and) three sheep'. Comparing these texts, we learn some details for Luwian religion: Tunnawiya's rituals date to the late 15th or early 14th century, and the KULULU text can be attributed to the mid-8th century. So we observe an interesting continuity in worshipping this (local) 'Storm-god of the mountain(s)'. As KULULU lies within the area of Tabal, the first millennium successor of the Lower Land of Hittite times, we also know the area where this Storm-god was venerated. So it seems not too far-fetched to conclude that Tunnawiya's rituals present Luwian ideas from the Lower Land, as the geographical frame within her *taknaz dā*- ritual KBo 21.1+ exclusively refers to this area (Hutter 1988 128f).

From the shelflist in KUB 30.57+59 left column 2-4 we know another authoress, Kuranna by name. She had composed an invocation of the DINGIR^{MEŠ} *imraššiš* on behalf of [sons ? and] daughters (Laroche 1971b 156). From these lines we can argue that Kuranna composed her ritual perhaps for some 'private' purpose and not as a part of 'official' religion. That it has some Luwian contents we can conclude from the invoked 'gods of the open country'. As we do not have the entire text of this ritual we cannot reach absolute certainty about this authoress. But as the library label names her

ritual beside one of Tunnawiya's it might be possible that this woman originated from the Lower Land too.²⁸

We also have to mention the woman Zuwi whose ritual is carried out when somebody has been frightened by the Storm-god (KBo 12.106+KBo 13.146 i 2: ^DU-aš ú-e-ri-da-nu-zi). This ritual deserves our interest, because Zuwi is characterized to be either a woman from Durmitta (KBo 12.106+) or from Angulla (KUB 7.57 iv 25ff). For a localization of Durmitta we may refer to Muwattalli's prayer to the Storm-god of lightning, where it is followed immediately by Nenassa, Hupisna, and Tuwanuwa, centers of the Lower Land (KUB 6.45 ii 10-19). Thus we may conclude that Durmitta was a center at the border of the Lower Land, too, but still southwest of the Halys river, maybe close to present-day Tuz Gölü (Forlanini 1987 106; cf. Singer 1996b 176), and not northeast of that river (cf. Klengel 1999 180). Locating Durmitta next to the Lower Land corresponds to some personal names from the town which seem to be Luwian. Therefore we can argue that Durmitta's population was made up by Luwians and other ethnic groups.²⁹ This Luwian background can also be seen in Zuwi's ritual (cf. Hutter 2000 104 with refs): when the patient's virility is restored again by the 'Old Woman' the patient is given *nut*- (Hitt. *nū*-), 'assent, approval' and *tummantiya*-, 'obedience'. Both words are not only Luwian, but they are also common within contexts of magical spells which tend to restore the patient's wellness. Other elements of 'Luwian magic' used by Zuwi are the spitting out of all evil or the use of an animal as a substitute which is laid on the body parts of the patient. Further, in KUB 35.148 iv 13 we read a Luwian construction: *hur-ki-la-aš-ši-in-za* LÚ^{MEŠ}-in-za. The purpose of the ritual is to remove the consequences of sexual misbehaviour which is called *hurkil*. For the ritual treatment of the patient some wild animals are used, and he has to overcome them to get purified again. In general it seems that *hurkil* in this ritual has to be understood as some kind of sodomy. Through the performance of the ritual

²⁸ It is not unproblematic to try to attribute such rituals to local areas based on very scanty evidence. If we might connect the 'gods of the open country' in Kuranna's ritual with the Immarsiya-gods in the Istanuwa-tablet KBo 4.11 rev. 7, we could have a further argument for the localization of Istanuwa in the Lower Land.

²⁹ That not all authors from Durmitta are Luwian, is illustrated by the ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI Mallidunna; her ritual (KUB 33.70 iii 60ff; cf. KUB 30.51+ obv. 15f; KUB 30.67+ iv 3-5; cf. Laroche 1971b 158.171) does not show Luwian traces, but with ^DUD.SIG₃ refers to the Hattian sphere.

the patient's sexual behaviour shall change so that he returns to those 'normal' sexual practices which were accepted in his society (cf. Hutter 2000 101ff). Two more aspects of this ritual are of general interest: judging from the (Hittite) language of the ritual, we can see that the textual tradition reaches back to the Old Hittite period, which shows that Luwians had already reached the Lower Land at a relatively early time of Hittite history. So we might conclude that Zuwi may have originally composed her ritual as early as the 16th century. The other point of interest is that the field of application of the ritual is not (Hittite) royalty but a private person. So this text, though preserved in Hattusa, can be taken as a document of a religious-magical way to 'cure' somebody who has aroused the (Luwian) Storm-god's anger in the Lower Land by sexual misdeeds.

As already mentioned (cf. section B.4.), the goddess Maliya was connected with wine. Wine was cultivated mainly in the Lower Land and Kizzuwatna (Haas 1988 142). Thus perhaps we can propose to look for the origin of the woman Anna from Kaplawiya (KUB 12.44 + KBo 27.108 ii 25) also in the Lower Land. Anna's ritual is intended to cure a vineyard which does not prosper, and her ritual invokes the Maliyanni-goddesses. At the end of Anna's ritual there is also one interesting speech in an unknown language (KUB 12.44 + KBo 27.108 iii 31-35),³⁰ which does not contradict Anna's provenience from the Lower Land, as this area was not only inhabited by Luwians, but by other people too.

3. *Luwian rituals from Kizzuwatna*

The corpus of CLuwian texts found at Hattusa is made up nearly exclusively by purification and healing rituals and by festival texts. Apart from the texts referring to the local cult at Istanuwa, showing linguistic peculiarities, all these texts originated in Kizzuwatna, though some of them may have been written or even composed in Hattusa. This is the case with the festival for the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna (KUB 35.133; Starke 1985 270ff). The long festival—it lasted at least 19 days (KBo 17.36+ iv 8)—does not reflect some local Luwian cult, but judging from the two main gods celebrated in the festival, it was part of the Hittite 'state religion'. For the benefit of Hattusa some rites were carried out, even when the Storm-

³⁰ On this section in an "unknown language" see Haas (1988 141 n. 64).

god was invoked in Luwian (KUB 35.133 ii 29f: ^{URU}*Ha-at-tu-ša-ya ap-pa-ra-an-ti-en a-ri-in an-na-ru-ma-a-ḫi ḫu-u-it-wa-la-a-ḫi-ša-ḫa ú-pa*; cf. iii 14-16): 'For Hattusa in future time grant forcefulness and life!' Another text for the celestial Storm-god (KUB 35.1) also may reflect some festival from the Hittite cult although the ^{LU}NAR is singing in Luwian. As Frank Starke (1985 354) has mentioned, this cultic functionary is restricted to Hittite cultic contexts, so this festival probably does not refer to Luwian religion proper. These festival texts³¹ are surely of some interest for the question of Hittite-Luwian cultural connections because they obviously show that there was a steady influx of Luwian culture to Hattusa which began—according to the earliest portions of these texts—as early as the 16th century. The import of Luwian language from Kizzuwatna to Hattusa made it possible to use Luwian language in some religious festivals, but these texts do not shed light on special Luwian cults.

While thus discarding such festivals as sources for Luwian religion, we reach better ground with the purification and healing rituals from Kizzuwatna. As has been clearly shown by Volkert Haas and Gernot Wilhelm, there was a close cultural symbiosis between Luwians and Hurrians in Kizzuwatna, which not only left its impact in Luwian (and Hittite) language with loanwords from the Hurrian language. Also ritual texts with Luwian speech mention occasionally Hurrian gods like Hebat, Shaushka, Ninatta or Nubadig (Haas—Wilhelm 1974 6 with refs). Also typical for this symbiosis of Luwian and Hurrian concepts are evocation rituals (Haas—Wilhelm 1974 18; cf. Popko 1995 107; Trémouille 2000 160-163) and substitution rituals (Taracha 2000 202-204). Further worthy of mention are the lists of good things that shall be bestowed on or given back to the patient after he is treated magically by the ritual practitioner. One incantation mentions the following good things to be restored to the patient (KBo 13.260 iii 18-20; Starke 1985 262): 'They shall bring (him) life, *wayahit*-, health (and) virility.' Another blessing formula in a ritual of Kuwattalla has the following items (KUB 35.43 ii 38-

³¹ The same may apply to KBo 8.74+ and KBo 19.155 (Starke 1985 37ff): both rituals contain portions in Palaic and Luwian language. As the first text shows similarities with the Old Hittite ritual for the king and the queen (Otten—Souček 1969), it is not impossible that these texts were composed within the Hittite cultural sphere but reflect the multi-ethnicity in Hattusa from the Old Hittite period, thus incorporating both Palaic and Luwian portions.

40; cf. KUB 35.45 ii 8-10; further Kammenhuber 1986 87f): life, virility, a long future, health, favor from the gods, long years. As we find similar lists also in Hittite and Hurrian texts, with positive and negative items (cf. further Haas—Wilhelm 1974 21 & 56ff; Kammenhuber 1985 88-99), we have to conclude that especially in Kizzuwatna and the texts brought from there to Hattusa it is not always easy to discern between Luwian, Hurrian and other syncretistic traditions. This applies to the ritual of Hantitassu from Hurma (KBo 11.14) or that of Hebattarakki from Ishuruwa. In her ritual (KUB 24.14) the Luwian god Annamiluli is also mentioned. Such examples make clear that Kizzuwatna was at the crossroads of different religious traditions that together had been brought to the Hittite capital, partly for the benefit of the royal court at Hattusa.

In addition, there are also some magical rituals and incantations from Kizzuwatna that include portions of Luwian spells or speeches. They again reach back to the 16th century and were copied in Hattusa. The ritual of Zarpiya, the physician from Kizzuwatna, (KUB 9.31 i 1) deals with 'broken years' and continuous dying in the land (Collins 1997 162f). The ritual is both preserved in a Hittite (HT 1) and Luwian version (KUB 9.31). Here we have to deal with some genuine Luwian tradition, as Zarpiya invokes the god Santa and the Annarummenzi-gods,³² the 'forceful ones' (KUB 9.31 ii 22), but also Tiwad, the 'gods the fathers' and ^DÉ.A (KUB 9.31 ii 30f). The last two mentioned deities show for Zarpiya's ritual that there might be a slight Hurrian influence in the ritual, as one might compare the 'gods the fathers' to the 'olden gods', famous in the Hurrian cultic stratum. The Babylonian god Ea came to Anatolia through Hurrian transmission (cf. Popko 1995 99). Another Luwian practitioner (from Kizzuwatna) was the man Puriyanni, who composed a ritual against impurity within the house. To remove this impurity, he sacrifices to the Storm-god of the open country who was affected by this impurity (cf. KUB 7.1 i 3). Besides this Luwian Storm-god of the open field (cf. KBo 22.137 iii 6; KUB 35.54 ii 37. iii 7) also Tiwad is mentioned, once wrongly spelled als 'Hittitized' ^DŠi-wa-ta (KBo 22.137 iii 8).

³² The Hittite version gives the 'Hittitized' name of the gods, Innarawantes (HT 1 i 29).

Three further Luwian rituals were composed by the ^{MUNUS}SUHUR. LÁ, the attendant woman, Kuwattalla (Starke 1985 72ff). Sometimes she performs her rituals together with the 'Old Woman' Silalluhi (KUB 34.33 iv 2ff). The earliest versions of the rituals date to the end of the 15th century. According to KBo 5.7 Kuwattalla was granted some land by the Hittite king Arnuwanda and the queen Asmunikkal, perhaps for her work as an authoress who was highly esteemed in the Hittite capital (Starke 1985 79). The ritual '*šalli aniur*' is the most extensive composition by Kuwattalla, one that also comprises some different sub-rituals, like the SISKUR.SISKUR *ħalliyatanza* and the *katta walħuwaš* SISKUR.SISKUR. The first aims to counteract sickness³³ and should not be identified with the second ritual as Frank Starke (1985 76) has assumed. The second of Kuwattalla's compositions is the 'ritual against punishment' (SISKUR *dūpadupar-ša*). Because of Kuwattalla's authorship the origin of the ritual also reaches back to the 15th century, but two copies were made during the reign of Tudhaliya IV, as we learn from colophons mentioning the scribe Anuwanza (cf. Starke 1985 110f), showing clearly the long interest in this ritual in Hattusa. The purpose against 'punishment' may be connected with a local form of the Luwian Storm-god, namely the Storm-god of punishment (KBo 3.63 i 6: *dupattanaššin* ^DU-an). This god has been known since the 15th century according to KBo 3.63 which mentions him in connection with Hantili (II). The idea that the Storm-god brings punishment to evildoers still is well established in HLuwian and Lycian texts (Starke 1990 477ff with refs). The punishment that has to be removed by Kuwattalla's ritual might result from some kind of perjury. As we see from one fragment (KUB 35.78) belonging to this ritual, the 'Sun-god by whom one swears' is invoked several times.

For the third ritual (Starke 1985 135ff) no title has been preserved in the fragmentary colophon (KBo 10.42 iv 6ff). Therefore we only want to refer to some general motifs within this ritual and also in other rituals containing Luwian traditions. One way to remove impurity and evil deals with the spitting out of all kinds of evil by the patient (cf. Kammenhuber 1985 78-88 with refs); the 'evil tongue' (and gossip) should be removed (cf. Kammenhuber 1986 98 with

³³ Judging from the context that the SISKUR.SISKUR *ħalliyatanza* is part of the *šalli aniur* it seems to me less likely to interpret it as a 'daily' ritual (both proposals have been made by Melchert 1993a 48).

refs); and a piglet is used to bring all evil to the netherworld and deliver it to the Sun-goddess of the earth (cf. Kammenhuber 1986 95; further Hutter 1988 123; Beckman 1990 53f).

4. *The function of Luwian religious texts in the Hittite capital*

I have made an attempt to distribute our sources to different geographical areas in the Luwian countries, but we must not forget that all these sources have been found in Hattusa. These texts were preserved and used over a longer span of time also in 'Hittite' contexts, as we learn from a quite good number of different manuscripts. It is also worth mentioning that there exist different versions of several rituals.³⁴ So we have to ask 'why' these texts were collected and used in the Hittite capital. Further we must ask whether we find some different levels of interest in these Luwian traditions in Hattusa. Even a preliminary answer to such questions will be helpful in gaining some more precise knowledge of Luwian religion. I think we can discern at least three different levels of interest.

Both festival texts—for the local cult of Istanuwa and for Huwas-sanna in Hupisna—are primarily local festivals, whose most important participants were the people of Istanuwa (and Lallupiya) as well as the Luwians in Hupisna. As both cultic centers were politically part of the Hittite empire, these local cults were also celebrated by the Hittite king, as was the case with many other local festivals within the Hittite realm. Thus it is not to be wondered at that the description of the festival also was preserved in Hattusa. But as shown above, both festivals retained their local importance for the Luwians in the Lower Land, where these festivals were celebrated regularly. The presence of the Hittite king (and queen) in the festivals was not really important for the celebration of the Luwian gods in this festival. Since the king, however, could take part, the texts found their way to the archives in Hattusa.

As another group of texts I will take those that reflect Luwian religion, but that clearly have been incorporated or imported to Hattusa on behalf of the king's or the land's welfare. This seems surely to be the case with the *taknaz dā*-ritual by Tunnawiya: it expresses

³⁴ Cf. e.g. Puriyanni's ritual with the practitioner referred to either in the first or third person (Starke 1985 55). For the *šalli aniur* there exist three redactions, by Kuwattalla, by Silalluhi and by Kuwattalla and Silalluhi (Starke 1985 74). The texts for the Huwas-sanna and the Istanuwa festival also reflect various redactions.

Luwian ways to provide well-being to the king, but it seems to be a composition by Tunnawiya for the Hittite king and queen—thus using Luwian religious traditions in a 'syncretistic' milieu in the Hittite capital. Also the function of the rituals from Arzawa against plague or constant dying in the land can be understood in a similar way: these Luwian traditions were helpful in the Hittite capital to remove the plague from there. When we take a closer look at the preserved tablets it is worth mentioning that we find these rituals on the 'Sammeltafel' HT 1 and KUB 9.31. On both tablets the first is Zarpia's ritual, then Uhhamuwa's and third Ashella's ritual. The common topic 'plague' allows combining these three compositions on one tablet, though they originally reflect Kizzuwatnean or Arzawan thoughts. But these differences were not important for their 're-use' in Hittite society and the Hittite kingdom. Similarly Pulisa's ritual is combined on one tablet with Ummaya's text with a Hurrian background. If we further consider that Kuwattalla was granted land for her successful authorship of rituals at the Hittite court, we reach the following conclusion: some practices of Luwian religion were thought to be helpful also within the Hittite political sphere in Hattusa, and therefore such originally 'foreign' practices found their way into 'Hittite political religion'.

As a third group I will label rituals that deal with curing sick or bewitched persons or serve for similar purposes. Paskuwatti's ritual to restore a man's potency again, Anniwiyani's composition to provide fertility, Tunnawiya's ability to remove impurity or to help giving birth, also Puriyanni's care to undo impurity or Anna's ritual for an unfruitful vineyard focus on 'everyday life' and religious help in daily or private occasions. As far as general help in an inauspicious situation is concerned, these rituals probably were thought to be useful for people in Hattusa irrespective of their ethnical background. We can suppose, however, that the main group of people in Hattusa who sought remedy by rituals of this Luwian kind were of Luwian stock.³⁵

Such an analysis leads to the result that Luwians in Hattusa practiced their own religion in the Hittite capital. Perhaps by good

³⁵ I assume this on grounds of analogy, as we know that some religious texts only were of relevance for some clearly ethnically restricted group. This is e.g. the case with the *hiyara*-festival, celebrated by people from Aleppo living then in Hattusa. For further examples cf. Hutter 2002 194-95.

fortune it will be possible in the future also to attribute religious architecture found in Hattusa to Luwian gods and their worshippers. For our present state of knowledge about Luwian religion one more thing is important, namely that the Luwians also transmitted aspects of their religion to the Hittite state cult as seen above. Thanks to that, the archives from Hattusa have brought to light Luwian texts and Hittite texts featuring Luwian traditions. To some degree it is also possible to attribute different traces of Luwian thought to the various Luwian centers in southern and western Anatolia. It remains for the future that we—hopefully—may wait for further materials coming directly from Luwian settlements outside the Hittite capital to broaden our knowledge of cultic and ritual practices among the Luwians.

D. RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE, VALUES, AND THE PEOPLE

1. *Approaching the gods' sacredness*

One essential concept in Luwian religious thought may be described as the notion of sacredness and purity, which marks the main difference between 'everyday' life and the religious sphere. Such a distinction of course is not unique to Luwian religion, as it is also well-known among the Hittites. On terminological grounds we can distinguish both religious concepts at least partly. While among the Hittites such ideas are expressed by the word *šuppi-* and its cognates, the Luwian word is *kumma-* (cf. Laroche 1980 2). The word characterizes both gods and men; e.g. in an Istanuwa text this sacredness is a feature of gods (KUB 32.13 i 7f): 'The pure/holy gods shall pacify him'. In an incantation to facilitate birth the Old Women, who act as midwives, are characterized by the same word (KUB 35.102 iii 1-3, cf. KUB 35.15 ii 5): 'The months (of pregnancy) shall go...to the pure Old Women, they shall hand him over'. That gods are endowed with sacredness is also reflected in the name of a (divine) spring, namely Kummayanni.³⁶ That springs and rivers can be conceived as divine (like other natural phenomena) is well-known—just remember all the rivers of Mira-Kuwalliya among the divine witnesses in the treaty between Mursili II and Kupanta-Kurunta (Beckman 1996 82). The

³⁶ Cf. Starke 1990 175 with fn. 582; Melchert 1993a 109. The interpretation by Laroche 1980 4 as 'sainte Mère'—and his religio-historical conclusions—must now be discarded.

semantic range 'sacred' also applies to some derivations from the word *kumma-*, attested in HLuwian and Lycian. As ritual functionaries are said to be 'sacred' (*kumma-*) it is not surprising that we also find a general designation for 'priest' in the word *kumaza-* both in a Hieroglyphic text (KAYSERĪ, §17; Hawkins 2000 474) and in Lycian (Bryce 1986 131; Keen 1998 213). The notion of holiness is also applied to the cultic sphere, as we learn from Katuwa's inscription, who says that he built 'the holies of the temple' (or: the Holy (One)'s temple), referring to a temple for Tarhunt (KARKAMİŞ A11a, §4; Hawkins 2000 95.98; cf. Starke 1990 428). Animals that are fitting for sacrifice also have to be 'holy' (MALPINAR 2, §7; Hawkins 2000 342f; cf. Starke 1990 161 fn. 526). Thus one of the general values in Luwian religion is the idea of the necessity of purity and holiness for everything that comes in contact with the gods, who also are sacred. In order to behave properly in religious contexts, men have to take heed of this kind of interdependence between men and gods.

This concept is further highlighted by the set of words *wašha-*, *wašhaya-* and *wašhazza-*; these expressions have a similar semantic range as *kumma-* and related words, referring either to the divine or sacred sphere. Thus we find for the tutelary deity of Taurisa the epithet *wašhazza-* 'sanctified, holy' (KUB 35.107 ii 10; KUB 25.32 i 7).³⁷ This god is thought to be the child of Tiwad and Kamrusepa (cf. Starke 1985 211), and therefore also the adjective *wašhaya-* 'sacralized' in KBo 12.100 rev. 13 may refer to him in this festival text. Also various items used in the cult can be specified and characterized by *wašhaya-* as 'holy' and suitable for cultic use in a festival (KBo 7.68 ii): a table, various types of bread, crumbs (of bread), wine, but also some cultic functionaries who are active during the festival. As we learn from the HLuwian inscription BABYLON 2, §§2-4, there existed also a cultic (?) or holy object; such objects were presented as a votive gift to Tarhunt (Hawkins 2000 395): 'Because I was woeful (?) to him, he heard me, and for him I made WASHAI(N)ZA.'

Concerning the relationship of men and gods, these concepts of 'holiness' or 'sanctity' show us that approaching the gods demanded a state of 'purity'. Whatever is served or offered to the gods must be

³⁷ The suggestion by McMahon 1991 59 fn. 26 following Laroche to connect *wašha-* with Hittite *išha-* 'lord' is to be discarded (cf. also Hawkins 2000 153)

holy, because the gods are holy too, and misuse by common people is clearly interdicted (cf. Cohen 2002 53-56): within the Istanuwa festival e.g. the cupbearer drinks from the *huḫupal*-vessel to the last drop, and nothing is allowed to be spilt, because all the liquid is holy to the gods (KUB 25.37+ i 41-45). A similar thought is expressed by Ashella: everything that is offered to the gods for eating and drinking, namely the cooked flesh, bread and beer, must not be handed over to an ordinary man and removed from the sacred sphere (HT 1 iv 1-7). Therefore also cultic functionaries have to rely on their purity (cf. KUB 35.102 iii 2; KBo 7.68 iii 11f, where KI.MIN clearly refers to *wašḫaiš* in ii 8). That the various groups of priests within local Luwian cults are conceived to hold close relations to the gods is clearly shown by some priestly terminology. A general designation for priests might have been *maššanāma/i-*, derived by the suffix *-ama-* from *maššan(i)-* 'god'. We can interpret this priestly title as 'the one who belongs to a god'. Priestly titles also can be derived from divine names, thus indicating the close relationship of (a special category of) men to the gods. That is the case with the *ḫuwaššanna*-priestesses, restricted to the cult of that Luwian goddess. Other titles of cult functionaries are only written logographically, so we cannot judge whether the corresponding Luwian word may express such a notion of 'sacredness'. In the festivals, functionaries like the ^{LÚ}NINDA.DÜ.DÜ, the 'baker', the ^{LÚ}SILÀ.ŠU.DU₈ (^{LÚ}SAGI.A) the 'cupbearer', or the ^{LÚ}SANGA, the 'priest', and also the ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI, the 'Old Woman', are active. In the Kizzuwatnean region a *dāniti*-priestess³⁸ is attested several times (cf. Starke 1990 205ff with refs; Beckman 1983 258), a title that may be derived from yet another term referring to cultic purity (see Melchert 1997c).

All these attestations show a connection of this 'priestly terminology' to the cultic sphere of purity and holiness, but it must remain uncertain whether we have to deal here with exclusively Luwian ideas. This, however, seems to be the case with the ^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÜ, the 'augur', for whom Daliah Bawanypeck has recently shown one specific aspect: through oracle inquiries he approaches the gods in order to get some answer concerning questions or unsolved problems. The special technique used by the augur is observing the flight

³⁸ Cf. also the HLuwian word (FEMINA.PURUS.INFRA)/tanidi-/ at TELL AHMAR 1, §24 (Hawkins 2000 241 & 243).

of a bird. While this function of an augur is generally known in Anatolian religion and culture (Bawanypeck 2001 1-6), in Arzawa he also acts as a cultic functionary and author of rituals. The rituals deal either with magical practices to counteract unfavorable oracles (e.g. the ritual performed by Huwarlu and his pupil Armati, together with the woman Anniwiyani) or with the removal of a plague from the community (e.g. the rituals of Dandanku or Uhhamuwa) after revealing the reason for the plague by an oracle inquiry and an accompanying ritual (as performed by Maddunani from Arzawa). Thus, these Arzawan augurs can be taken as a typical group of functionaries dealing with a special way to get in touch with the divine, marking a special feature of Luwian religion (cf. also section C.1.).

One direct way for man to approach the gods are festivals, as was already outlined above. Individuals also express their experience or hopes in the encounter with the gods, as we learn from divine epithets like the Storm-god of help (IBoT 1.22+ 12) or the Storm-god of punishment (KBo 3.63 i 6). Impressive is the term /tiwadama/i-/, the '(one) of the Sun-god'. The word is attested in HLuwian only. Its use as adjective—specifying both rulers and 'common' people (cf. Hawkins 2000 58 for the refs in the HLuwian corpus)—leads us to the conclusion that this adjective expresses some special personal devotion to the Sun-god, but also the favor of the god to such a person. This relationship between god and man also enables men to pray to their gods, and they will be assured that the gods will hear them. In the CLuwian texts there are not any compositions of prayers preserved, and only some examples from HLuwian inscription can be cited: from the author of the inscription TELL AHMAR 1, §§21-26 we learn the following (Hawkins 2000 241): 'But I [raised] up (my) han[d(s)] to this celestial Tarhunza, to him those (?) words (?) [I spoke (?)]': ... [and] I myself shall make [my] *enemy's* daughter a hierodule for him. This celestial Tarhunza heard me, to me [he] ga[ve(?)] my *enemy*.' Another example mentions the presentation of votive gifts and offerings to the god (MARAŞ 3, §§2-6; Hawkins 2000 268: cf. BABYLON 2, §§3-4): 'Tarhunza heard me, and I made him (as) a statue, and to him two fat sheep I burnt (?), and one ox to him I offered, and to him (as) annual sacrifices one sheep I [...].ed.' We also can judge that some of the steles had a similar dedicatory function (Hutter 1993 96-99), and they also served as cultic objects in front of which some offerings were handed over to the god. In

CEKKE, §§3-5 (Hawkins 2000 145) we read: 'And this *stele* the latter *composed*. For this celestial Tarhunza they shall *burn* up a *calf*, and in future they shall offer an ox and a sheep.' The just mentioned examples from the first millennium can mainly be incorporated because of their Luwian language, though none of these inscriptions comes from the core of the Luwian lands. I think it is not too far-fetched to refer to them as some (scanty) evidence that can illustrate to some degree the way in which Luwians could express their positive experience with their gods. By such prayers or offerings the people might have been showing their thankfulness to the gods who had answered the earthly needs of man.

2. Elements of the Luwian idea of man

In Luwian society we find occasionally the idea of a distinctive division of the sexes and that it is undesirable to change sex. We can deduce this e.g. from Paskuwatti's healing ritual which restores symbols of manly sexuality to the patient and removes female symbols from him. Paskuwatti does the following (KUB 9.27+ i 20-29; Hoffner 1987 277; cf. 283 with refs.): 'I place a spindle and a distaff in the patient's [hand], and he comes under the gates. When he steps forward through the gates, I take the spindle and distaff away from him. I give him a bow (and) [arro]w(s), and say (to him) all the while: "I just have taken femininity away from you and given you masculinity in return. You have cast off the (sexual) behaviour expected [of women]; [you have taken] to yourself the behavior of men!"' As masculinity and femininity are considered different values, we also find within the cultic sphere that sometimes men and women are treated in a different way (cf. Cohen 2002 60-62 with refs.): in Tunlawiya's purification ritual, the Old Woman uses either male or female animals in order to heal her patient, matching the client's gender. Similarly we can observe that sacrificial animals correspond to the deity, being either male or female. This kind of polarity can even lead to the exclusion of women from the temple of a male god, as we see from a Kizzuwatnean ritual (KBo 24.45 obv. 20f; Cohen 2002 60): 'If the deity is a male, the woman is not permitted to enter to him (in his temple). (In that case) the exorcist takes pure dough and wool and he performs (the rites) at the temple. He indeed does enter the temple.' Therefore we may conclude that—certainly not as

a general theme—in some cases within Luwian religion a division of the sexes was thought to be important.

Further qualities of Luwian men and women we deduce from descriptions of different parts of the body, of the soul or of the polarity of 'living' and 'dead.' One important aspect is the integrity of the body-parts and the head, as—in a negative way—the incantation text KBo 9.127+ i 23f tells: 'He (the great god, who has grown angry) separated the man's head from his members'. Also other Luwian texts focus on the close association of body and head (KUB 35.24+ i 15; KBo 8.129 obs. 3f; KBo 29.63 ii 5f). Other constituents of a person can be enumerated as ALAM (Hittite *ešri-*), *haštai-* and *meluli-* (cf. KUB 7.53+ ii 9-11; further Hutter 1988 70): the shape (of the body), the bones and soft inner parts of the body. If these parts are afflicted with sickness or magic, the person's integrity and ability to live can be shortened. To counteract such bad conditions the Luwian magical rituals treat all the body parts of such a person (cf. Kammenhuber 1985 77).

For the distinction between the living and the dead person, we can refer to one of Kuwattalla's rituals. The Old Woman makes a clear distinction between such persons. The first one is under the care of the (heavenly) Sun-god, the latter belongs to the Sun-goddess of the earth (KUB 35.45 ii 25-27; cf. also KUB 35.48 ii 19-23; Kammenhuber 1986, 88f): 'If he is living, Tiwad shall deliver him above; if he is dead, the Sun-goddess of the earth shall deliver him, the man of curse and perjury'. As mentioned above (section D.1.) the epithet */tiwadama/i-/* expresses man's devotion to that god. This god also installs the soul in the person: Ruwa, a Tabalean ruler from the middle of the 8th century, tells us in his funerary inscription (KULULU 4, §§1-4; Hawkins 2000 445): 'I was Ruwa, the Ruler, (devoted) to the Sun-god.³⁹ Also my posterity (?) (is devoted) to the Sun-god. The gods loved my time(s) (?), and they put into me a beloved soul.' We notice in comparison with a passage in a Hittite prayer (14th century) to the Sun-god that the Sun-god is the main agent for this (KUB 31.127+ iv 24f): 'As formerly I was born from (my) mother's womb, o my god, put that soul back into me.' We might conclude that there was a feeling among the Luwians that life was dependent on the Sun-god.

³⁹ My translation differs here from Hawkins, who has 'the sun-blessed (man)'.

Kuwattalla's reference cited above only gives us a slight idea about the dead: they obviously are thought to have a connection to the netherworld and to the Sun-goddess of the earth. Since we have no further information about the Luwians' concern with the netherworld, we only can cautiously suppose that some descriptions from the Hittite royal funerary rituals may also fit the 'Luwian worldview', as there are some elements from southeastern Anatolia. On the 8th day we find a ritual treatment of the image of the dead person, adorned either with bow and arrow for a male dead or with spindle and distaff for a female. Further rites refer to grapes and wine (mainly on the 12th and 13th day) as symbols of fertility and life (cf. Haas 1994a 224-228). The symbolism of wine is also well attested elsewhere in Luwian religious thought (cf. section B.2.1.). In the Hittite ritual the Hurrian goddess Allani, whose association with the Netherworld is obvious, is addressed regularly. Allani corresponds to the Luwian Sun-goddess of the earth (cf. Torri 1999 94ff).

We see making up the concept of man the close interrelation between the dead and the living as well as the notion of the necessary integrity of the body parts. Concerning man we have to mention a final feature: curses and blessings, expressed most frequently in magical rituals, can affect everybody, bringing either life and prosperity, or sickness and death. Annelies Kammenhuber (1985; 1986) has analyzed long formulas expressing blessings, curses and troubles in Luwian rituals in two important articles that advance our knowledge of these texts. To get an impression of fears and sorrows, but also of hopes and wishes that concerned Luwian people, we can quote some passages from such rituals. Within Kuwattalla's third ritual we read the following (KUB 35.43 iii 28-37; Starke 1985 147; cf. Kammenhuber 1986 96f):⁴⁰ 'It (the piglet) shall take away imprecation (*taparu-*), curse (*tatarīyamman-*), oath (*hīrūn-*)—(those) of illness (*irḫwalliya-*), of supine (?) (*parittarwalliya-*), of a dead person (*ulantalliya-*), of a living person (*huitwalliya-*), of the past (*puwatil-*), of the future (*parīyanalla-*), of the mountain-dwellers (*lulaḫiya-*), of the bedouin (*ḫapiriya-*), of the military division (*kuwaršašša-*), of the assembly (*tulīya-*). Then they wave the piglet above the ritual's patient. Then he spits on it (the piglet). The Old Woman recites: "Pain (*aḫra-*), woe (*wahra-*) he spit out, (further) imprecation, curse,

⁴⁰ KUB 35.43 iii 32-35 are in Hittite.

(and) the slander of the adults (*mayaššin EME-in*)". Such formulas occur in several rituals (cf. Kammenhuber's listing, 1985 89-91). Spitting out and waving the piglet are also well-attested practices in similar contexts. To treat the patient and bring back the integrity to the parts of his body, Tunnawiya treats him as follows (KUB 9.34 iii 18-32; Hutter 1988 36-39; cf. also Beckman 1990 46f for KUB 9.4 ii 36-45): 'She continues to recite in the same way and treats the twelve body parts in that matter. Then they hold it (the sheep) out to him and he spits into its mouth twice. The Old Woman speaks as follows: "Spit out pain and woe, the gods' anger, the community's slander, three times (or) four times!" Then they bring a piglet of dough and a living piglet. They wave the living piglet at some distance, but she holds up the piglet of dough to him, and the Old Woman speaks as follows: "Great god, you have driven here from Landa, and you have loosed. In front, in the middle, the tongues of illness are running, those which frightened him and those which agitated him." She mentions by name the one for whom she recites.'

One of the results of such a treatment is to undo all evil and bring back well-being. In Kuwattalla's *dūpadupar-ša* ritual we find the symbolism of honey and oil, expressing the idea of recovering and well-being: all curses and other evil conditions as mentioned in Kuwattalla's ritual now shall turn to oil and honey (KUB 9.6+ i 26-31; Starke 1985 113f; cf. Kammenhuber 1985 96f). Another aspect of blessings and wishes for the well-being of the patient that shall be attained by the Old Woman's treatment concerns general prosperity. After Kuwattalla has removed all the evil (KUB 35.45 ii 1-4), the patient is restored 'with life, with virility, with long years, with future, with the favor of the gods, with vitality' (KUB 35.43 ii 8-10). Other formulas of such blessings add the sphere of the family (cf. Kammenhuber 1985 99 with refs.), wishing the patient welfare through 'grandchildren, great-grandchildren, long years, future times, health, the favor of the gods, vitality' (KBo 9.143 iii 13-15). Such formulas of well-wishing survive among the Luwians down to the Iron Age, as we find similar formulas still well attested in HLuwian texts, mentioning both the general good aspects and the family bonds as well. KARATEPE 1, §§XLIX & LII (Hawkins 2000 55) has the following blessings: 'Let him (Tarhunza) bless Azatiwada with health and life...And may Tarhunza the highly blessed and this fortress's gods give to him, to Azatiwada, long days and many years and good

abundance.' Similar hope for the future is expressed in ÇİFTLİK, §§15-17 (Hawkins 2000 449): 'For Tuwati may also these gods come well, and to him to eat and to drink, and to him life of person may they give, and to him long days.' The wish for long life, seeing even great-great-grandchildren, finds its best expression in Kupapiya's funerary inscription, who lived so long as a result of her justice (SHEIZAR, §4). Of course, some of such fears and hopes are not restricted to Luwians, but are common to all men. But the attention these topics receive within the Luwian rituals leads us to the conclusion that they deserved special attention as an important set of values in Luwian society.

E. CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE FIRST MILLENNIUM

After the collapse of the Hittite New Kingdom in the early 12th century there occurred a significant change in Anatolia, as from now on a central political power was lacking. We face the rising of small (city)-states, which at their best tried to keep up ties to various traditions from the Hittite empire (cf. Bryce 1998 381-91; Klengel 1999 309-319). Especially king Hartapu and his father Mursili who both bear the titles 'great king, hero' (cf. Hawkins 2000 429 & 437f) show the struggle of these kingdoms to present themselves as heirs of Hittite kingship, as we learn from the KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ group of HLuwian inscriptions. The same can be noticed out for Kuzi-Teshub's relation to the great kings of Karkamish and further dynastic links with Malatya (cf. Hawkins 1988). Historical circumstances of such a kind form a background for continuity of Luwian culture(s), but we also have to bear in mind that with the end of the Hittite New Kingdom all our cuneiform sources disappear. Even if we can concede that HLuwian texts like those by Hartapu or the earliest texts from Karkamish date to the 12th century, nevertheless evidence becomes more limited. We must be aware that the HLuwian inscriptions cannot be taken as a direct proof that everything that is written in these texts in *Luwian language* also refers to *Luwian culture*. Keeping in mind the regions where HLuwian inscriptions have been discovered until today, it is worth mentioning that only the inscriptions found in Tabal come from an area for which we can assume a relatively large percentage of Luwian people. For all the other regions in southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria we must

also reckon with high numbers of non-Luwian people. Turning to western Anatolia, written sources in Anatolian languages are largely restricted to the Lycian corpus from the 6th to 4th centuries. But Lycia cannot be considered as continuing Luwian culture directly. Lycia clearly had religious concepts of its own, of course also sharing some Luwian traditions (e.g. some gods), but also integrating 'Greek' and other traditions.⁴¹ Trevor Bryce (1986 172-202; cf. Keen 1998 193-213) has described some outlines of Lycian religion in a comprehensive way but it is eye-catching that only *Trqqas/Trqqiz* and *Maliya* can be traced back to Bronze Age Luwian antecedents with certainty. While some other gods may have their forerunners in the Bronze Age, there is also a group of Greek deities who were introduced to the Lycian pantheon (cf. also Neumann 1979b). Despite such limitations some aspects of continuity and change in Luwian traditions during the Iron Age will be described in this concluding section.

1. *Western Anatolia and contacts with the '(Pre)-Greek' world*

From the 14th century western Anatolia and the Arzawan lands had at least occasional contacts with Mycenaeans. Archaeological evidence indicates that settlements were established by Mycenaeans on the southwestern coast of Anatolia. It is also possible that some Luwian names are attested in Linear B tablets (cf. for further refs Schachner-Meriç 2000 94-99; Morris 2001 137 fn. 8). When Greek colonists settled on the western Anatolian shores they met a Luwian environment (Starke 1997a 459). Therefore it must be acknowledged that traditions that have been preserved in Greek sources may originate from a western Anatolian context, but not in any case from a necessarily Luwian context. As we have no direct knowledge about western Anatolia after the collapse of the Hittite New Kingdom only some outlines can be sketched.

I start with the highly problematic case of Wilusa: Frank Starke (1997a 456) is right in stressing that our knowledge about Wilusa is marked by a Hittite point of view, namely connecting Wilusa loosely to the Arzawan lands. But we should not overestimate the Luwian

⁴¹ Popko 1995 172-176 is certainly well advised in describing the 'beliefs of the Lycians' in a separate chapter beside the 'gods of the Luwians in the first millennium' (Popko 1995 163-171).

component or influence on Wilusa. The main argument by Starke (1997a 458) that the Luwian language was the common bond to connect Wilusa and Arzawa cannot be proven; Luwian certainly was not the only language in western Anatolia. Hans Gustav Güterbock in his very balanced treatment of the possibilities of identifying Wilusa and Troy shows us that the names of famous Wiluseans like Alaksandu and Kukkunni may be either Anatolian or Greek, but there is no recognizable meaning in Luwian for these names (Güterbock 1986 223f). Further arguments for finding Luwians in Wilusa depend on the question of how one considers the equation of Wilusa with (Homer's) Troy. I think we cannot go further today than to quote Güterbock's cautious conclusion (1986 228): 'We cannot claim with any certainty that Wilusa is Ilios or that Alaksandus is Alexandros'.

This we should bear in mind especially because within recent years there has been some heavy emphasis on popularizing the equation of Wilusa with Troy and in making Troy the (most northern) *Luwian* center. From the philological point of view this seems problematic. The single seal bearing HLuwian names found in 1995 in Troy (Hawkins—Easton 1996) cannot be taken as a definite (but isolated) proof for Luwians there.⁴² Even Frank Starke has to admit that the name of the Trojan king Priamos does not neatly fit Luwian philological rules.⁴³ Therefore we should better keep Wilusa (and Troy) apart from our reconstruction of Luwian religion in western Anatolia. I will dwell on Wilusa for a moment, because in another way it is of interest for the history of religions in western Anatolia. Among the gods of Wilusa mentioned at the end of the Alaksandu treaty (Beckman 1996 92) we find a fragmentary god-list of the pantheon of Wilusa: at the top the Storm-god of the army is mentioned, followed by a (short) break which may have contained the

⁴² It would be the same to conclude from objects with HLuwian inscriptions found in Greece that Luwian language also dominated on the Greek mainland. The bronze bowl TRAGANA/LOCRI (Hawkins 2000 569), probably from the 8th century, can hardly be taken as an argument that this area was a 'Luwian land', even if Muwizi, the putative owner of the bowl, whose name is inscribed on it, may have lived there.

⁴³ Starke 1997a 458: the second element (-*mos*) in the name does not exactly match to its Luwian counterpart *mūwa-*. Cf. also Neumann 1999 16 fn. 3 who stresses that Priamos's name cannot be derived from the Luwian language with any certainty, it being in the best case one possible guess among others.

name of a female goddess at the top of the Wilusean pantheon,⁴⁴ and the highly disputed god Jappaliunas, followed by a general enumeration of the male and female gods, the mountains, rivers, springs and the underground water-course (?) (^DKASKAL.KUR)⁴⁵ of Wilusa. Whether the fragmentary name of the god Jappaliunas is identical with Apollo known from Greek sources remains to be seen. It is possible, but there is presently neither a real argument to prove this point nor to make this god a Luwian one. Manfred Korfmann's claim cannot be upheld when he says (1998 475): 'This god Apollo might be identical with the god who in the land of the Hittites and their capital was called Apulunas/Apaliunas and who was well-known in the Luwian world and in the city/land of Wilusa'.⁴⁶ Such an interpretation is simply far-fetched and one sided. The accompanying argument for Korfmann that the archaeological context in Troia shows in front of one of the city gates four steles also cannot be taken to prove the identification of Jappaliunas with Apollo. Of course, Korfmann is right in saying that offerings in front of steles close to a city gate are well attested all over Anatolia, and also in Syria and Mesopotamia (Korfmann 1998 473ff). Such standing stones were thought to represent the god. This was a widespread phenomenon in Anatolia that had its origins most likely in Syria (Hutter 1993). Therefore in my opinion the archeological evidence from Troy cannot bear more weight than to show that Troy is part of the Anatolian world which is beyond any doubt.

Taking together all the scanty references, we know next to nothing about religion in Wilusa: from the Hittite point of view as given in the Alaksandu treaty the gods of this city are described in a stereotyped way that accords with our general knowledge of Anatolia, but that does not show distinctive Luwian features. Here we also have to refer to the oracle inquiry KUB 5.6 ii 57-64, mentioning the gods of Lazpa and the gods of Ahhiyawa. These foreign gods found their way to the Hittite capital and were treated in the same 'Hittite man-

⁴⁴ As long as we do not know definitely more about the religion of Wilusa my answer is 'no' to Güterbock's (1986 227 fn. 28) question: 'Should we venture a restoration ^D[IŠTAR-li-iš] as *interpretatio Hethitica* of Aphrodite?'

⁴⁵ Cf. most recently Hawkins 1995a 44f with refs.

⁴⁶ Original in German: „Dieser Gott Apollon dürfte mit dem Gott identisch sein, der im Hethiterland und dessen Hauptstadt den Namen Apulunas/Apaliunas hatte und der luwischen Welt und somit auch der Stadt/Landschaft Wilusa gut bekannt war.'

ner' as the Hittite gods by Mursili II on one special occasion. The enigmatic reference to these gods shows us that we have to reckon with (partly) different religious beliefs and gods in western Anatolia and the islands in the Aegean sea. The gods of Lazpa, of Ahhiyawa, of Wilusa—they indeed may function as an interface between Anatolian and '(Pre)-Greek' gods and religious thought. Therefore it is important to deal with them too. But as long as further written sources are missing we will not be able to judge about the precise 'ethnicity' or the 'theology' of these gods. Therefore they presently cannot be taken as a part of Luwian religion.

In recent years the geography of the kingdom of Mira has been established and the equation of Apasa with later Ephesos now seems to be certain (cf. Hawkins 1998b 24). Therefore the question arises whether the famous Artemis of Ephesos may have her origins in an Arzawan or Luwian goddess. Just to remember for a moment: unfortunately, we do not know much of the pantheon of Arzawa and at first glance no goddess is known to us who seems to be the Luwian prototype for the Ephesian Artemis. In a recently published article Sarah Morris has concentrated upon some aspects of the goddess of Ephesos showing her non-Greek background leading back to Anatolian traditions. The starting point for Morris (2001 135f) is the Linear B attestation of the name or title *po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja* in tablets from the palace of Pylos in southwestern Peloponnese. The Linear B entry *a-si-wi-ja* is quite possibly to be connected with the land of Assuwa in western Anatolia. Another Greek title in relation to the Ephesian Artemis was 'Lady O/Upis', perhaps the 'Lady of Apasa/Ephesos' (Morris 2001 137). Developing her arguments further, Morris turns to the 'breasts' of the archaic cult statues of the Ephesian goddess and traces them back to small amber pendants found in the early levels of the Artemision. The symbolical value of these pendants as decoration of the goddess lies within the realm of fertility (Morris 2001 142). With the pendants corresponding to Hittite *kurša-* 'hunting bag', Morris draws the conclusion that such aspects of the iconography and history of the Ephesian Artemis allow us to interpret the goddess's non-Greek history within the Anatolian environment. Artemis might originally have been the tutelary deity of the citadel of Apasa/Ephesos, who was fused with the Greek Artemis by Ionian colonists (Morris 2001 151).

Of course, this reconstruction of the prehistory of Artemis remains hypothetical, but tempting. Morris in her argument refers only generally to the use of *kurša-* and the ^DLAMMA *kuršaš*, the 'Tutelary deity of the hunting bag' in Hittite texts (Morris 2001 143-145), and therefore we have to add to the discussion one more precise aspect. According to Daliah Bawanypeck's study of the rituals of the augur (^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÙ) some of these rituals deal with the ^DLAMMA *kuršaš* (cf. section C.1.). Anniwiyani's second ritual (VBoT 24 iii 4-iv 31; Bawanypeck 2001 54ff) and three rituals addressing this god directly (KBo 12.96; KBo 17.105+; KBo 20.107+; Bawanypeck 2001 70ff) can add a closer Luwian background for the tutelary aspect of Artemis than Sarah Morris has suggested. But we also must mention some important differences: ^DLAMMA *kuršaš* is not only a protective deity for animals in general, but within the context of all these rituals the deity is also closely associated with oracle birds; this is not the case with Artemis of Ephesos. Further we have to pay attention to the fact that this tutelary deity is male. Thus the hypothesis of Sarah Morris has to remain what it is—a tempting hypothesis, which should be taken into consideration seriously, but cautiously. It also can stimulate further research that might reveal some aspects of continuing Luwian religion included or even disguised in Greek traditions.

We reach firmer ground with the continuity of a Luwian god during the first millennium and in Greek epic tradition, too, by turning to the Greek Pegasos who is the successor of the Luwian Storm-god of lightning (^DU *piḥaššašiš*). This god (Singer 1996b 185-189) was made Muwattalli II's personal patron deity, though it seems that he had been worshipped within the royal family in Hattusa since two earlier generations (KUB 6.45+ i 41f). With the shift of the Hittite capital from Hattusa to Tarhuntassa the Storm-god of lightning became the main god of the new capital, but surely had been known there already in earlier times as a Luwian god. The Luwian epithet of this god continued in Greek tradition as Pegasos (Hutter 1995 86f & 93 with refs.), for the first time mentioned in Hesiod's Theogony (lines 280-286), connected with the horse, carrying the lightning and the thunderbolt for Zeus. Thus Hesiod incorporates the relevant Luwian elements in his epic tradition (Hutter 1995 92-95 with refs.): the special idea of a Storm-god of lightning and the idea of the association of the Luwian Storm-god with the horse (cf. section B.2.1.), although we do not know from genuine Luwian sources

that the Storm-god of lightning was also associated with a horse. Thus Hesiod can serve as evidence that there was some ongoing continuity of the Luwian god from late Bronze Age to the Iron Age among Luwians in southwestern Anatolia, mixed with new elements.

In conclusion we must say: our limited knowledge does not allow us to recover a history of Luwian religion in western Anatolia after the collapse of the Hittite Empire when our cuneiform sources disappeared. It is possible (and even probable) that some Luwian traditions in the Arzawan lands continued to the Iron Age, as was indicated above. But we should be aware of the danger of taking everything as 'Luwian', as we surely have to reckon with various distinctive religious traditions among people in the western parts of Anatolia in the Iron Age, partly of Anatolian stock (as e.g. was the case with people surviving the fall of the Hittite empire in the Wilusa region, or with the Lydians or Carians),⁴⁷ partly of Aegean or Greek stock. This plurality had already begun before the end of the Hittite empire, as there had been a steady chain of contacts between Anatolia and the Aegean and Greek mainland since the 14th century. Such contacts continued in the following centuries, influencing the formation of Greek religious thought by Anatolian elements. But due to our scanty direct evidence it is at the moment impossible to determine the Luwians' share of this influence in Europe's cultural heritage.

2. *Tabal and the ongoing 'mixed' population in the Lower Land*

The HLUwian inscriptions from Tabal provide some information on religion mainly for the second half of the 8th century. The older 'western' group, mentioning the Great King Hartapu, possibly dates back to the period shortly after the fall of the Hittite empire (Hawkins 2000 434), but besides the name of the Storm-god Tarhunt (e.g. KIZILDAĞ 2; KARADAĞ 1, §1) we do not get information about Luwian religion from them. Though the inscriptions from the first millennium can be geographically distributed to a southern and northern origin, their contents do not allow us to detect different religious concepts within them. According to the contents, these texts can be characterized as dedications of a stele, memorializing the construction of some buildings or as foundation documents for a house. Of more direct—or exclusive—relevance for the history of

⁴⁷ See for their beliefs Popko 1995 177-186.

religions are only a few texts, either some funerary inscriptions or a text mentioning offerings to the (divine) mount Harhara (HĪSARCIK 1; Hawkins 2000 483): 'I (am) Warpiri (?) ... I celebrated Mount Harhara nine *times* (?) with an /irwa/-gazelle. And when (?) the 'year's ninth' comes, (as) I ...-ed you nine *times* (?) with an /irwa/-gazelle, I shall make your SISARALI- Kurti's servant...'. A similar memory of offerings made to this mountain-god was the topic of the text HĪSARCIK 2, but we cannot deduce any general information from such offerings, such as whether gazelles were the most important sacrificial victims in the Tabalean cult.

Another aspect teaches us more about religious concepts. In the inscriptions we find two longer god-lists. One of the servants of Tuwati, the ruler of Tabal and father of the 'Great King' Wasusarma, has built some places (or shrines) for the following gods (ÇİFTLİK, §§8-10,15-18; cf. Hawkins 2000 449): 'Here Tarhunt and Hebat sit(s), [and here] Ea and Ku[baba] sit(s), and here Sharruma and Alasuwa sit(s). ... For Tuwati may also these gods come well, and to him to eat and to drink, and to him life of person may they give, and to him long days, [may] all the gods give these to him!' A similar context can be assumed for KULULU 5, which perhaps also deals with the building of 'houses' for the most important gods (KULULU 5, §§1-3,13-15; cf. Hawkins 2000 485f): 'The gods Tarhunt, Hebat, [Ea], Kubaba, Harranean Sharruma, Alasuwa, in the city Harmana, the Harranean Moon-god, the Sun-god ... [...]house-lord these houses [...] ... they gave them to Hulasaya the Sun-Blessed prince there. ... But (he) who guards these houses with goodness, for him may these gods come well! Let them [give] him to [eat]!'.

These two god-lists⁴⁸ show some interesting features concerning the development of the 'Luwian' pantheon in Tabal: first we notice the continuing leading position of the Storm-god, a feature well established also in other inscriptions (e.g. AKSARAY, §§2,5; BOHÇA, §2; BULGARMADEN, §4). Comparable to the situation of the second millennium, we encounter some local or specified manifestations of the god (cf. section B.2.1.): Warpalawa, the king of Tuwana, made Tarhunt of the vineyard (cf. SULTANHAN, §2) his personal god

⁴⁸ A similar—but shorter—god-list we find in some inscriptions from the Commagene: ANCOZ 1, §4; ANCOZ 9, §2. We can further speculate whether the two unidentified god(desse)s in TOPADA §§17,30f,36,38 might be Hebat and Alasuwa as partners of Tarhunt and Sharruma.

(İVRİZ 1, §1; cf. BOR, §§3-4). The well-known rock relief from Ivriz shows the king with his god, who is holding grapes and grains. KULULU 1, §5, mentioning the Tarhunt of the mountains, shows that the Storm-god could be closely associated with mountains. One new aspect as a result of theological changes must not be overlooked. Tarhunt's companion in Tabal is Hebat,⁴⁹ so we have to assume that the Luwian Storm-god had become identified with or was at least understood as corresponding to the Hurrian Storm-god Teshub. We cannot date precisely when this Luwian-Hurrian syncretism actually took place in Tabal, but the god-lists show a deeply 'Hurrianized' pantheon.⁵⁰ Starting already during the Middle Hittite period in Kizzuwatna, Hebat had established close ties to Sharruma and Allanzu (= HLUwian Alasuwa) and was conceived as their mother. As Sharruma on his part was originally associated with the Hurrian Storm-god, in consequence Hebat and that Storm-god were then combined in priestly circles in Kizzuwatna. For the second millennium we have no further sources informing us whether these theological concepts already were known among the Luwians in the Lower Land, as was the case in Tabal in the 8th century. The other two gods mentioned in the lists, Ea and Kubaba, may also have entered the Tabalean pantheon by similar theological processes.

Kubaba is widely attested in HLUwian texts (Savaş 1998 17-29; Hawkins 1981), and her center has been Carchemish since the second millennium. Due to her dominant position in Carchemish (and the political role of Carchemish during the Hittite empire) her worship was also brought to other parts of Anatolia (cf. Hutter 1996 118f; Roller 1999 45f). Judging from this evidence, she surely gained importance as one of the central goddesses of Anatolia in the first millennium, being worshipped by Luwians and other people in the Tabal area. It is also worth mentioning that the extension of Kubaba's cult to central Anatolia in the early first millennium made it to some degree possible that among the Phrygians some external features of

⁴⁹ Taking the god-lists as a starting point for 'Tabalean' religion, Kubaba cannot be taken as a later version of the Hurrian Hebat in Tabal (pace Bryce 1998 387).

⁵⁰ On the Hurrian pantheon in general cf. recently Trémouille 2000 122ff. Popko 1995 165f (with refs) has already drawn our attention to the Hurrian gods in the HLUwian inscriptions. For Hebat and her circle in the above mentioned god-lists cf. also Hutter 2001b 179f with refs.

the Phrygian Mother⁵¹ were influenced by Kubaba, but such influences remained on a superficial level and did not really touch the character or the symbolism of the Phrygian goddess (Roller 1999 52f). In some inscriptions from Tabal Kubaba is mentioned together with the Harranean Moon-god, especially in curses against evildoers who destroy a monument or erase the inscription (KAYSERİ, §§11,16; SULTANHAN, §§31f; KARABURUN, §§10-12; BULGARMADEN, §§5,17). The Moon-god of Harran was widely known, and his cult was well established from the middle of the second millennium onwards. From the 9th century his worship spread even more from Harran to Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, and to Anatolia too. The HLUwian evidence shows that he clearly overshadowed the Luwian Arma in Tabal.

In spite of these changes, aspects of continuity can be observed. The worship of the 'stag-god' Kurunta/Runtiya (cf. section B.3.), who is already well attested in the second millennium, continues in Tabal. I would like to draw attention to another interesting case: Among the gods of Huwassanna's circle in Hupisna (section C.2.2.) was a certain Muli. The texts for Huwassanna's cult give no details about his character. Now we can add some information from the first millennium. The local ruler Tarhunaza records in his inscription a donation given to him by his overlord Warpalawa (BULGARMADEN, §§2-4,10-12; Hawkins 2000 523): 'To my lord Warpalawa the King I was good, and to me the divine Mount Muti he gave, and for me Tarhunza and Kubaba prospered it...(He) who shall make himself governor for the divine Mount Muti, shall offer to Tarhunaza's gods /kurupi/-sheep year (by) year, and for him <may> the Mutian gods come well.' The rock inscription BULGARMADEN, found in situ on a flank of the Toros Dağ, was most probably placed on Mount Muti itself. This identification of Mount Muti with the Toros Dağ can further be sustained by an itinerary of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III who in 837 BCE on his way to Tabal passed Mount Muli⁵² and then reached Hupisna (cf. Hawkins 1993-97;

⁵¹ Her Phrygian epithet *kubileya* which in later Greek tradition was taken as the goddess's name (Kybele) is not to be confused with the name Kubaba; cf. Roller 1999 46f with refs.

⁵² Bearing in mind a change of /d/ with /l/ attested in Luwian (cf. Starke 1990 445 fn. 1601 and p. 181 in this volume) I think both names Muli/Muti can be taken as identical.

Hawkins 2000 432). From this first millennium evidence I cautiously suggest the following conclusion: the god Muli in Huwassanna's circle might have been a local Luwian mountain-god, located at or connected with the Toros Dağ. For the Luwians living in that area, this divine mountain continued to be a sacred place at least to the end of the 8th century.

Turning from the gods to expressions of religious thoughts in the HLuwian texts from Tabal, we find some interesting funerary inscriptions. In Ruwa's funerary inscription (KULULU 4) we learn about some Luwian values and we get a glimpse of an anthropological concept, a man consisting of his body and his soul that is put into the person by the gods. Also social conduct with others is mentioned as a value that was appreciated and practiced by Ruwa (cf. also section D.2.). Another funerary inscription (KULULU 3) for a certain Ilali, whose name seems to be theophoric referring to the divine name Ilali, mentions his justice as a 'moral value'. The theme of a funerary cult occurs also in KULULU 2, the memorial inscription for Panuni. He died while eating and drinking, accompanied by the god Santa, or—as I propose to take §3: 'I died eating and drinking with the god Santa'. The same idea we find in the Aramaic inscription of Panamuwa from Sam'al, where in connection with offerings to the Aramaic Storm-god Hadad the following is mentioned concerning the dead Panamuwa (cf. Hutter 1996 120 with refs): 'May Panamuwa's soul eat with you (Hadad), may Panamuwa's soul drink with you (Hadad).'

From such inscriptional information we can deduce that among the Luwians—note that also Panamuwa's name is Luwian, despite the Aramaic language of the inscription—there was even in the first millennium the belief that the dead ancestor together with a god receives funerary offerings. This idea is also illustrated by a number of funerary steles or statues, which show the deceased (together with a god) at a sacred meal. Both inscriptions and steles or statues are widespread, Tabal being at the western part of the whole area which covers southeastern Anatolia as well as northern Syria, with stylistically comparable funerary inscriptions in HLuwian, Aramaic and Phoenician (cf. Bonatz 2000 66-72). To a large extent such inscriptions have a common structure. Besides providing biographical and historical data about the dead ancestor, they also focus on the memory of the deceased, mentioning his justice or long life—as a token of

the gods' benevolence for him—and formulate curses against the one who will disturb the monument and the memory of the deceased. Dominik Bonatz (2000 161-167) is right in concluding his study by observing that all these statues and steles intend to preserve the collective identity of the community—either the 'political community' of city-states and dynasties or the 'private community' of a family in general. The evidence for a funerary cult at the end of the second millennium and in the first centuries of the first millennium seems to be a common bond of religious beliefs in the Iron Age in southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria. Religious conduct and acceptance of widely held values during one's lifetime lead as a result to the cultic treatment after death, executed by one's offspring. This is clearly expressed by Ilali (KULULU 3; Hawkins 2000 490f): 'I (am) Ilali, the Ruler, the Scribe. By my justice my [...] I...ed. To me my children ga[ve](?) ... and to me(?) [go]od bread [...] I went away, (my) children had this stele set up for me. (He) who removes this stele, [...]'. The Luwians shared these ideas with their contemporaries in Tabal and elsewhere. Even though these are impressive expressions of religious expectations they were not, of course, exclusively a Luwian religious feature.

Both the gods and the concepts of funeral monuments just mentioned show that Tabal in the early first millennium was by no means only a Luwian territory, thus comparable also to other 'Luwian' or 'Neo-Hittite' states in southeastern Anatolia (cf. Hutter 1996 122). Therefore the symbiosis of daily life, bringing together people of various ethnic origins, is also reflected in a 'Tabalean religion', consisting at least of elements which once may have originated in Luwian, Hurrian or West Semitic⁵³ thought. But we can no longer define this religion as 'Luwian' in a proper sense.

3. Kizzuwatna

At least since the 16th century Kizzuwatna had been a meeting place for Luwians and Hurrians, and its importance for the transfer and transformation of Luwian and Hurrian culture to the Hittite empire since the middle of the second millennium can hardly be over-

⁵³ This may be indicated by the still not fully edited inscription İVRİZ 2 with its HLuwian and Phoenician texts. The inscription dates to the reign of Warpalawa; cf. Hawkins 2000 526 with refs.

estimated (cf. section A.1. & C.3.). Turning to first millennium Cilicia,⁵⁴ the successor of second millennium Kizzuwatna, we find only a few minor HLuwian inscriptions known from that area, except for the famous HLuwian-Phoenician bilingual text from KARATEPE (Çambel 1999; Hawkins 2000 48-58).

The main inscription, KARATEPE 1, is dedicated to the Storm-god Tarhunt, who in the Phoenician text is equated with Baal. One topic among others in the inscription describes how Azatiwada took care that this god should be venerated in his newly erected residence Azatiwadaya (KARATEPE 1, §§XLV-XLIX; Hawkins 2000 54f): 'And I built this (?) fortress, and therein I caused to dwell...Tarhunza, and every river-land will begin to honor him—by(?) the year an ox, and at the cutting(?) a sheep and at the vintage a sheep. Let him bless Azatiwada with health and life.' Thus we learn that the Storm-god was still held in high esteem in the late 8th or early 7th century,⁵⁵ but we cannot be absolutely sure whether the god's character remained unchanged since the second millennium, or if some features of giving general fertility and abundance had been added to the symbolism of Azatiwada's Storm-god, comparable to the case with Warpalawa's Storm-god in southern Tabal. Bearing in mind the relief from Ivriz, showing Tarhunt holding grain and wine grapes, one can assume a similar symbolism for Tarhunt in Azatiwadaya, too. In KARATEPE 1, §§LI-LIII (cf. §LV) we read (Hawkins 2000 55): 'And may Tarhunza the highly blessed and this fortress's gods give to him, Azatiwada, long days and many years and good abundance, and let them give him all victory over all kings. And so let this fortress become (one) of the Grain-god and the Wine-god.' Of course, the Storm-god is not directly identified with the Grain-god and the Wine-god, but the close association of the three might indicate this special aspect showing fertility and abundance connected with

⁵⁴ Taking into account the personal names from Greek sources of the second half of the first millennium, we find further theophoric elements (cf. section B.), showing Luwian gods still known in Cilicia. But these names hardly can offer information on cultic practices or on the gods' main aspects. So we have also to reckon with on-going syncretistic tendencies, as can be seen for Zeus of Corycos (cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961 203ff): a list naming priests for this 'Zeus' from the third to the second century mentions many theophoric Luwian personal names referring to Tarhunt, but the myth of Typhon being slain by Zeus clearly reflects Hurrian mythology from the Kumarbi cycle.

⁵⁵ For the possible date of the KARATEPE 1 inscription cf. Hawkins 2000 44f.

Tarhunt. The inscription teaches us further that also the tutelary deity Runta, who was associated with animals of the open country, was worshipped. Also Ea is mentioned. Azatiwada's name and that of his fortress show a theophoric element relating to the Sun-god (cf. also KARATEPE 1, §LXXIII).

The bilingual text from KARATEPE and the newly published HLuwian-Phoenician bilingual inscription from ÇİNEKÖY (Tekoğlu —Lemaire 2000) show a fusion of people of Anatolian and West Semitic stock in Kizzuwatna. This symbiosis of Luwians and Semites is carried even further in the northern Syrian areas, and inscriptions from the Amuq valley, from Aleppo and its environs, and further from the area of Hama lead us to Syria proper. It is hard to discern whether we still have to deal there with larger numbers of Luwians or whether the Luwian language with its hieroglyphic script was adopted by non-Luwians, mainly Arameans. The spreading of the HLuwian language to northern Syria has one important aspect: it opened the way for an intensive syncretism between Luwians and Arameans in that area (cf. Hutter 1996). It further laid the ground for the historical possibilities of an influx of Anatolian ideas and religious thoughts to the Israelites. We learn from biblical sources and Assyrian historical records that there were both political and military contacts between the northern kingdom of Israel and the Luwian (and Aramean) states in northern Syria. It seems to be possible, but not strictly provable, that Hama, as the most southern state preserving HLuwian inscriptions and population, may have played a major role in transmitting Anatolian traditions to the biblical world (Hutter 2001c with refs). Though contacts between Anatolia and the area of the Hebrew Bible might already have begun during the second millennium (cf. Hoffner 2002b with refs), the contribution of the Luwian-Aramaic states was even more important. Thus it was ultimately due to the Luwians and their language that some slight knowledge about Anatolian culture first became known in Europe.

F. CONCLUSION: LUWIAN RELIGION—A FRAGMENTIZING APPROACH

We know from Hittite, Hurrian und CLuwian sources since the Middle Hittite period that there existed various ethnic groups with their languages in Anatolia. Generally they can be distributed roughly to geographical regions. For the Luwians I think we can also say

that they had religious concepts of their own, partly related to the Hittites, partly influenced by the Hurrians (cf. sections B., C., D.). But we must not overlook the fact that we have to reckon with the existence of 'other religions' too. Our still very scanty knowledge about the religious situation in (south)western Anatolia allows the question whether there existed some other religions⁵⁶ beside Luwian religion (cf. section E.1.). This second millennium situation also holds true for the first millennium in a general way, as these traditions lived on. Therefore we can detect elements of Luwian religion still in the first millennium, but the situation has changed, and we must be aware of some limitations. We clearly have witnesses of the continuing Luwian language after the fall of the Hittite empire. Of course, the Luwian population groups lived on. But as we cannot simply identify language wholly with ethnicity, the historian of religions faces a problem: the HLuwian texts (and—to a minor degree—Luwian words or names preserved in Greek texts) do not necessarily preserve religious ideas of Luwians only,⁵⁷ but also of other people, who might have used this language in the first millennium, as we have seen above from the inscriptions from Tabal and Cilicia. It is also necessary once more to call to our attention the fact that we have no written Luwian sources for the area of the Arzawan lands for the centuries after the end of the Hittite empire. Therefore our investigation of continuity and change necessarily must remain provisional. In my opinion the following preliminary conclusions can be drawn concerning the history of religions in the Luwian area from the second millennium to the early first millennium BCE.

For Luwian religion in the second millennium, we have to take at least a twofold approach. In the Arzawan lands at that time we found political entities of their own, partly even independent from the Hittites. In this area Luwian religion and Luwian ethnicity were closely connected to each other. In the Lower Land and in Kizzuwatna

⁵⁶ One might even speculate whether 'Lycian religion', which is relatively well known and shows some special features not related to our knowledge of Luwian traditions from the second millennium, could be a first millennium successor of such a religion. Though some Luwian gods are also known in Lycian religion, there are also obvious differences from religious traditions known from the HLuwian corpus. Therefore Lycian religion was not included in this study.

⁵⁷ In this sense I think that Popko's (1995 163-171) contribution to 'Gods of the Luwians in the first millennium' with the useful data provided by him is a little bit too optimistic concerning 'Luwian' beliefs.

another situation appeared, as in these areas Luwians lived among people from another ethnic background. This situation continued up to the first millennium, but the emergence of new local (city)-states brought one important change for the history of religion. The HLuwian language still functioned as a common bond in the minor states in Tabal, thus most probably starting a unifying process also among the different population groups concerning their religious concepts. Therefore the traditions from Tabal no longer can be attributed to 'Luwian religion' exclusively, but we find various traditions melting together. In other words, we observe a change from 'Luwian' (or even 'Hurrian' or 'Syrian') religion to a new 'Tabalean' religion, which is made up from these different traditions, but—as is clearly the case with the funerary cult—which works as a system of symbols and thoughts to preserve life and hope for the help of the gods. Some gods bear Luwian names, others continue the Hurrian pantheon of the second millennium. An analogous process took place in Kizzuwatna and the adjacent northern Syrian areas, where HLuwian script and language were in use. So these HLuwian sources show some kind of 'globalisation', bringing various Anatolian religious traditions in contact with northern Syrian and Aramaic traditions. Therefore it will be better to concede that we can speak of 'Luwian religion' only for the second millennium. Elements from this religion continued to the first millennium, but they were open to change due to their mingling with other traditions. As a result we have to reckon with new (local) religions in the 'Neo-Hittite' states. These religions should best not be labeled as 'Luwian' if we do not want to use 'Luwian' as an (unspecific) umbrella term, harmonizing all our knowledge about culture we obtain from the HLuwian corpus of the Iron Age.

At the moment we are far away from writing a *history of Luwian religion*, so it was only possible to describe some *aspects* of Luwian religion. I have taken a fragmentizing approach to the study of religion instead of a harmonizing approach. We should not describe or seek the (philosophical) essence of Luwian religion or any other religion, but we have to analyze all forms of religious practice in relation to its historical and sociological surroundings and contexts. Therefore we had to focus on local Luwian cults, to see how they were practiced for concrete communities or individuals. At the moment such an approach necessarily remains 'fragmentizing', because of our limited sources. Therefore we have to wait to achieve further

CHAPTER SEVEN
ART AND ARCHITECTURE

SANNA ARO

A. SCOPE OF THIS CHAPTER & TERMINOLOGY

A chapter on Luwian art and architecture seems an odd idea, for until now the term 'Luwian' has been used only as an ethnolinguistic and sometimes as a historical designation (Bryce 1997; Starke 1999b). This restricted usage of the term is mostly due to the research history and the general development of terminology in Ancient Near Eastern studies. In the cultural field of the second half of the second millennium BCE all monuments have been considered to be of Hittite craftsmanship, even if H.G. Güterbock already in 1957 stressed the fact that the speakers of the Nesite language were not the only bearers of Anatolian material culture (1957a).

In regard to the first millennium BCE, 'Neo-Hittite', 'Late Hittite' and 'Syro-Hittite' are widely used in recent handbooks to designate the civilization of both the Luwian- and Aramaean-speaking centers in northern Syria, one exception being J. Mellaart using 'East Luwian' (1978 79-83). The reason for this is the general opinion that no obvious stylistic distinction can be made between these two population groups in terms of their art and architectural styles. So the question 'what kind of material culture did the Luwians have' has really not been asked so far.

This chapter concentrates mostly on the Luwians in their Iron Age context for the simple reason that for the Bronze Age period there is very little if any archaeological material at all which could clearly be assigned to be Luwian. Here the newest research will be reviewed briefly in order to show the problems and perspectives in identifying Bronze Age Luwians in the archaeological record.

For the Luwians in the Iron Age the division of what to include and what to exclude is mainly made according to the appearance of