

KUB X 63 I 28 reads: na-an-kán LÚ.MEŠ^{EN} DINGIR^{MEŠ} mar-kán-zi,

"The Masters of the Gods butcher it (a sheep)."

KUB XII 11 IV 13 f. offers: nu-za-kán BE-EL SISKUR.SISKUR LÚ^{NAR}
LÚ^{AZU}-ya GIS^{ZA}.LAM.GAR^{HI.A} / an-da a-da-an-na e-ša-an-da-ri nam-ma-kán
/ ta-ma-iš BE-EL DINGIR^{LIM} GIS^{ZA}.LAM.GAR-aš a-da-an-na / an-da Ú-UL
ku-iš-ki pa-iz-zi, "The Leader of the Ritual, the Singer and the Magician
sit in tents to eat. Further, no other Master of the God goes into the
tents to eat".

KUB XXVII 49 III 10 f. has: nu A-NA LÚ.MEŠ^{BE-EL} DINGIR^{MEŠ}-ya
LÚ.MEŠ^ÉDINGIR^{LIM} LÚ.MEŠ^{hu-u-wa-aš-ša-na-la-aš} / LÚ.MEŠ^É D^{KAL}
šar-la-i-mi-ya-aš LÚ.MEŠ^{NAR} LÚ.MEŠ^{SILÁ.ŠU.DUG.A} / I-NA GAL
D^{Ku-pí-il-la ku-e-da-ni-ya NAG-na I-ŠU pí-an-zi} /³⁵ nu BE-EL-TI ^{TI}
LÚ.MEŠ^{EN} DINGIR^{MEŠ} pí-ya-na-a-iz-zi / ku-in-za-kán im-ma ku-e-iz
du-uš-ki-iz-zi / UŠ-KI-EN-NU na-at-za da-aš-kán-zi, "To the Masters of
the Gods, (i.e.)³⁶ the people of the temple, the huwaššanalaš-people, the
people of the temple of the exalted KAL, the Singers, the Cup-bearers - to
each they give to drink one time in the cup of Kupilla. The Mistress of
the house rewards the Masters of the Gods. Whomever she pleases with
(anything) whatsoever, they bow and take it."

The duplicates KBo XX 68 I 6 ff. and KBo XIV 89 + XX 112 I 2 ff.

give:³⁷ [x LÚ]^{MEŠ} É D^{AŠ(?)}-x[]-š_i iš(?)-ša-ri-iš LÚ^{MEŠ} É
D^{ISKUR} II LÚ^{MEŠ} É D^{KAL} šar-la-i-mi-aš IV SAL.MEŠ^{ha-ah-ha(-al)-la-al-li-š}
I LÚ^{ma-aš-ša-na-a-mi-iš} I LÚ^{pa-la-aš-ši-iš} I LÚ^{wa-a-u-i-iš} na-at XII
LÚ.MEŠ^{BE-EL} DINGIR^{MEŠ} nu-uš-kán par-ni an-da-an hu-u-ma-an-du-uš
hal-zi-an-zi nam-ma EGIR-an-da D^{Tu-u-na-pí-in u-da-an-zi}, "[x people

³⁵ Paragraph line.

³⁶ See following discussion.

³⁷ cf. Otten, Ist. Mitt. 19/20 (1969/70) 86 f.

of the temple of AŠ[], statues^(?), people of the temple of the Weather-god, two people of the temple of exalted KAL, four hahhallalliŠ-women, one maššanamiŠ-man, one palaššiš-man (and) one wauiš-man. They (are) the twelve Masters of the God.³⁸ They call them all into the house and lastly they bring the (statue of) Tunapis."

From KUB XII 11 it is clear that the term "Master/Mistress of the^{house} God(s)" can be applied to a number of different ritual functionaries. Other passages list those functionaries who are Masters of the Gods for a particular ritual, but these functionaries do not belong to any readily recognisable sub-group of ritual functionaries. Thus the meaning of the term "Master of God" must be somehow external to the specific function of people to whom it applies. Perhaps the ritual itself requires its performers to adopt this title. One thing these rituals have in common is that they appear to take place at private houses for private individuals. Is it then possible that bēlu is used here in the sense of "owner" of the statue, a person or persons who would bring a statue of each deity for the suppliant to offer sacrifices to? Rather more information would need to come to light before such a suggestion could be conclusively demonstrated. For the moment it remains no more than a possibility.

The Date of the Texts

Text A contains the old form of nom. pl. c. enclitic pronoun, -e (I 6). The allomorph -z is used (I 6)³⁹ as is the particle -(a)pa

³⁸ The best idiomatic translation would be "There are (in all) twelve Masters of the God".

³⁹ cf. Hoffner 31 (1972) 32.

(IV 12). The enclitic poss. pron. is used three times (I 4, 8, 12). There is at least one, perhaps two, directives in -a (I 12, IV 12^(?)). Šer (I 13) is spelled without plene. No pre-verbs are used, katta (I 4) is a postposition with its object in the genitive case and Šer (I 13) an adverb.⁴⁰ The forms of AZ (I 7) and UK (IV 6, 18) are late while the forms of AK (I 3) and IK (I 9 (x 2), 10) are the earlier ones. It can therefore be concluded that this manuscript was inscribed during or after Arnuwandas I though probably before the 13th century. The older features will be discussed below.

Text B is likewise a late text which contains numerous archaic features. Takku is used (I 5, [6], 13, 32, 40) as well as mān (I 15, IV 8, 11 (x 2), 35, 40). The old sentence connectives Šu (IV 4) and ta (IV 10) are found along with the more common nu. Two archaic forms of the third person enclitic pronoun, -uš (I 11, 15) and -e (IV 5) occur. The sentence particle -(a)pa (IV 5) is used as well as -kan, -šan, and -(a)šta. There is one genitive plural in -an (IV 5). The construction gen. + N + poss. pronoun occurs (I 7, 24). The occurrence of pre-verbs is extremely limited. They are: appa huišnuanzi (I [5], 6); Šer tehun (IV 7); para uizzi (IV 38-39). The negative is written Ú-UL (passim). The second person pl. prt./imp. is written with the one sign -ten (I 19, 21, 27 (x 2), 29 (x 2), 32). Appa (I 6) is written phonetically. The first per. sg. personal pronoun is properly uk (IV 3, 9). The forms of AZ (I 18, IV 11, 14, 16) and UK (IV 3, 37, 38, 40, 41 (x 2)) are late. IK (I 18, 24, 37, IV 9, 15 (x 2), 27) and AK (I 20, 25, IV 7, 14, 15, 27, 31) are written with the earlier form, but AK is once (IV 9) written

⁴⁰ cf. StBoT 8, 86 f.

in the late form. LI is written in both the old (I 25, 36, IV 9, 13, 35, 36, 43, 44, 48) and new (I 11, 41, IV 4, 45) forms. ŠAR (I 10) is in the early form. Û (IV 14, 20) is in a form similar to that of column VII of StBoT 20, a text of Arnuwandas I, which generally followed the later scribal habits. The evidence of ductus from B is somewhat equivocal and illustrates the need for a better understanding of the ductus of post-Arnuwandas I texts. Nonetheless it seems safe to propose a date during the latter half of the 14th century or perhaps somewhat later for the inscription of this text.

The presence of archaic features here, in a text written with generally late scribal habits, raises the question of whether or not this is an archaizing text. It must be admitted that this is/^avery difficult question to answer when there are no obvious and glaring "mis-archaisms" in the text. Until a precise chronological grammar of Hittite appears - and with it the ability to use the finer grammatical and syntactical points to indicate old compositions - one will be unable to answer convincingly questions of this sort. I personally feel, however, that as one cannot point to any indications of archaizing, it should be provisionally assumed that the composition is truly old. Such an assumption may help explain the incongruous elements in text B. That is, if the scribe was copying directly from an old tablet he may have followed it in certain habits, such as spelling appa phonetically, or even in the shape of some signs. Such an occurrence would, of course, have wide implications for the use of these habits as dating criteria, particularly as concerns ductus. Before a suggestion like mine could be fully accepted one would demand a fair degree of certainty concerning just what was acceptable ductus for new compositions at the time in question. The unusual occurrence of archaic sign forms in certain texts could then be used as

evidence that the tablet in question was copied, without dictation, from an older tablet in which archaic forms were the norm.⁴¹ As has been noted elsewhere in these pages there is considerable work to be done before the potential of ductus and linguistic phenomena as aids in textual criticism and dating of texts is realised.

⁴¹ On a young text "contaminated" by an earlier sign form see Otten, Studies ... Götterbock, 246.

CTH 331 - The Weather-god at Lihzina

Literature: E. Laroche, RHA 23 /f. 77, 130-131 (transliteration).

Text: KUB XXXIII 66.

II

x + 1 [] ditto [

2 [they g]av[e.

The soles^(?) [gave] it to the toes.

4 The toes [gave] it to the toe nails.

The toe nails gave it to the dark

6 ea[rth].

The dark earth [brought] it to the Sun-god.

8 The Sun-god brought it to the sea.

Wide vessels of copper lie in the sea.

10 Their lids (are) of lead. He put in

[everything.] He put in a demon.¹ He put in par-[.

12 He put in blood. He p[ut in] hapanzi.

He put in red. He put in tears. He put in [sickness of the] ey[es]²

14 He put in sheaves^(?).³ [He put in s]moke.

He put in white. He put in sickness.⁴

¹ On tarpi- "genius (good or bad)" see now StBoT 7, 27-32.

² cf. 1898/C + 1899/C obv. 7 f., Otten, TM 41 n. 3.

³ cf. Friedrich, HG IIND Tablet § 43.

⁴ cf. HW Erg. 2, 13.

II

-
- 16 For man, for his body
he made it bright. For (his) head ditto. For (his) eyes [ditto].
- 18 For his walula- ditto. For the whites of (his) eyes
ditto. For his front ditto. For (his) eye[brow^(?)]
- 20 ditto. For his eyelash [ditto]
As (he was) formerly, just so
- 22 did he become [again].
-

III

- 1 The Weather-god went. [
2 he is killing []. Him/it (acc.) [
he kills [In^(?)] the city Zihzi-[
4 he grew [] and he harvested it.⁵
-
- He planted a forest and [opened^(?)⁶ it.]
- 6 He [came] back from Lihzina.
-
- The Weather-god [met^(?)] (his) eight divine sons on the road.
- 8 They bowed to him (saying), "O Weather-god, to you [
Where were you?" (He replied), "In Lihzina [I ...
10 and I harvested it. A fo[rest]
I planted and [I] ope[ned^(?)]⁶ it."
-

⁵ cf. KUB XXXIII 34 obv. 8.

⁶ i.e. cut down. Restore ha-aš-š[i-it]. The meaning must be parallel to "harvest" in line 4. Despite the fact that hašš- "to open" is ^{the} only known Hittite word which could conceivably be restored here (cf. HW 61-64) the restoration is not certain.

III

12 (They reply),⁷ "Let it be! In the fallow land⁸ [the ...] of the word
(is) weak. We (are) small. [

14 We []. In the land we (are)^(?) wauš[a^(?)]"

The Weather-god, their father, [] it/them.

16 and [he/I] conquered the lands.

Down a hole [] it.

18 They rounded up the cattle. [They rounded up] the sheep.

They rounded up mankind.

20 the city] Zihzi-[

Date of the Text

The ductus points to a date at least as early as the beginning of the Empire, the forms of AZ (III 6), IK (II 16), ŠAR (III 5) and UK (II 17) are all old. In addition the form of A which resembles the sign for 2 is found (II 16). The dat. 3rd. sg. personal pronoun is -šī (III B), the neuter acc. is -at (III 11). Sentence connectives are mu (13 times), -ma (once) and (-y)a (once). Note that in II 16 the partitive apposition construction is used as opposed to the genitive.⁹ Possibly important

⁷ Following the paragraph line a change of subject is probable here. Certainly the sons are the subject in line 13.

⁸ Of the readings listed by Borger, AOATS 6, 82, this seems most likely. cf. line 14.

⁹ cf. Records, 30, 34; Carruba, et al., Ar. Or. XXXIII (1965), 14-15.

plene spellings are: pi-i-e-ir II 6; pi-e-da-[aš] II 8; e-eš-har II 12; ku-e-en-zi III 3; wa-a-ar-[aš-ta] III 4 (but note wa-ar-šū-un III 10); ^{GIS}ti-i-e-eš-šar III 5; da-a-la III 12. The enclitic possessive pronoun is used five times (II 10, 16, 18, 19, III 15). Appa (III 6) is written phonetically and the 2nd per. pl. prt/imp. (I 15) is written with two signs, -te-en. This text then can be attributed approximately to the time of Tudhaliyaš I (formerly II) and Arnuwandas I.

CTH 764 - The Great God¹

Literature: E. Laroche, DLL 158-162; RHA 23 /f. 77, 172-173.

Text: KBo IX 127 + KUB XXXVI 41.

I

x + 1 [The body and head of mankind was^(?) divided]

2 in half.² [He walke]d in a-ploughed field
[of 'tusk of] ivory'.

4 [] to him
[from his shoe ...] onto (his) [fin]gernail it springs.

6 [] a fire burns on [

[] the head of man[kind

8 [a fire] burns.

[] ...

10 [] ...

[] the Sun-god, in the glowing heaven,

12 [lis]tened. The Sun-god said to Kamrusepa, "What's this?"³

¹ I have only dealt with the Hittite version. For the Luwian version see the literature cited in DLL 158.

² On takšan šarra- cf. Neu, StBoT 5, 153.

³ cf. DLL 160.

I

Inara of Taurisa began to [relate] to [the Sun]-god^(?), her father,
 14 "The Weather-god⁴ has made a feast. He [invite]d
 the [] gods and all the Weather-gods.

16 [He ca]lled Hebat from the chair. [
 he called []-yanahiti. All the [] gods
 18 he invited. []
 he called. [] "

20 The Great God became angry. [
 He went into the house of the potter. Nine [
 22 He went to the sea. The sea (acc.) in [
 he incited (saying), "The body and head
 24 [of man]kind [was^(?) divided] in half".

He [wal]ked in a ploughed field of
 26 'tusk of ivory'. His shoe [
 [to] him from (his) shoe [
 28 it springs. [
 [fi]re burns.

30 ... "

⁴ Note that the Luwian version (KUB XXXV 107 (+) 108), as well as the parallel Hittite version KBo XII 89 III (cf. infra), have the Sun-god at this point. Also note the Weather-god is Inara's father elsewhere in Hittite mythology. Has the scribe mistakenly transposed these two names?

Date of Text

The fact that this text appears to be a translation or a partial translation of a Luwian text (KUB XXXV 107 (+) 108), along with the mention of Hapat (I 16) and the use of the Hurrian ablative taor-laz (I 16),¹ points to a date during the Empire, and possibly quite late. The ductus, however, does not support a date in the late 13th century. An unusual form of A (XXXVI 41, 4) occurs which is elsewhere known only from Old and Middle Hittite texts.² The form of IK (XXXVI 41, 15) is the earlier one, which continued in use to the time of Muršili II. ZU (IX 127, 7) compares to the form shown in columns VII, VIII, IX of StBoT 20, texts of Arnuwanda I and Muršili II while ZU (XXXVI 41, 15) most resembles the form from column III, an Old Hittite text. On the other hand, the form of AZ (XXXVI 41, 7, 18) is late. The only sentence particle used is -kan (I 4, 20, 25, 27). The older construction gen. + N + poss. pronoun (I [1], 7, 23-24) should be noted,³ as should the writings of the "reflexive" pronoun -az.⁴ Finally plene spelling of pahhūr (I 6, 29), hūmandas (I 15,),]-yanāhiti (I 17), and a-ru-ū-ni (I 22, but not in a-ru-na-an I 22) must be mentioned. From this information the text can be dated to the Middle Hittite period.

¹ HW Erg. 2, 24.

² StBoT 20, columns I, III, V and n. 4. See also Szabó, Entstöhnungs-ritual = (KBo XV 10), III 13, 23 and above CTH 329, 330, the Weather-god of Kuliwisna.

³ cf. Howitt ten Cate, Records, 30, 34; Carruba, et al. Ar. Or. XXXIII (1965) 14 f.

⁴ cf. Hoffner JNES 31, 32; Festschrift H. Otten, 103.

KBo XII 89 - The Ruined Feast

III¹

x + 1

]-az[

2

]a-mi-y[a-an-du-uš]²[DINGIR^{MES}-mu-uš⁷ kal-li-iš-ta na-aš-za³ šu-up]-pa-uš A^{MUŠEN}.[HI.A]

4

[kal-li-iš-ta nu DINGIR^{LUM}(?) I-aš(?) kat-ta-a]n^(?)⁴ Ú-UL

a-aš-ta

[na-at-za-an GIŠ³ lu-ut-ta-a-i(?) an-da(?)] ša-an-ta-at na-aš-ta

ar-ha

6

[ú-wa-an-zi nu-uš-ma-aš hu-wa-an-z]a an-da-ma-kán ú-wa-an-zi

[nu-uš-ma-aš tuh-hu-i-iš]

8

t]uh-hu-i-in zu-wa-a-iz-zi

-]ti⁵ ti-wa-da-ni-in-ti na-aš-ta ^DKam-ru-še-pa-aš

10

]x a-uš-ta i-ni-ma-wa ku-it

^D]UTU-uš EZEN-an i-e-it nu-wa-az GAL-la-mu-uš⁶12 [DINGIR^{MES}-mu-uš kal-l]i-iš-ta nu-wa-az a-mi-ya-an-du-ušDINGIR^{MES}-mu-uš⁷[kal-li-iš-ta nu-w]a'-az šu-up-pa-uš A^{MUŠEN}.HI.A kal-li-eš-ta

¹ This composition undoubtedly began in col. II following the double line, where one can read 18.]x^{HI.A}-ŠU SAG.DU-ZU-y[a]/19.]hu-u-uk-zi before the tablet breaks off. The first 17 lines of col. II are part of a conjuration against sickness or binding.

² Restoration of lines 2-7 from lines 12-16 and vice-versa.

³ This restoration does not fill the space completely. There is room for approximately three more signs.

⁴ I owe this suggestion to Prof. Gurney.

⁵ Perhaps [a-ar-ra-an-ha-ni-in/it]-it should be restored here. cf. below lines 17 and 19.

⁶ On this form see EHS § 59, 5.

⁷ For other occurrences of this form see Laroche, JCS 21, 175.

III

- 14 [nu-wa DINGIR^{LUM(?)} I-aš(?) kat-t]a-an Ú-UL a-aš-ta
 nu-wa-ra-at-za-an A-NA GIS^Š_A[B(?)]
 [ša-an-ta-at nu-w]a-kán ar-ha ú-wa-an-zi nu-wa-aš-ma-aš
 hu-wa-an-za
- 16 [an-da-ma-kán ú-w]a-an-zi nu-wa-aš-ma-aš tuh-hu-i-iš

-]x tuh-hu-i-in zu-wa-a-it [n]u-wa
 a-ar-ra-ah-ha-n[i-in/it-ta]
- 13 [⁸k]i-nu-na-ya-wa da-an-du-ki-iš-na-an DUMU-an
 IGI^{HI.A}[
]x nu-wa a-ar-ra-ah-ha-ni-it-ti[
 20 -z]i nu-wa-kán a-pa-a-at-ta-a[n(?)

III

x + 2

] The smal[1]

- [gods he invited. The pu]re eagle[s]
 4 he invited. Not a single god(?)] remained over.
 [At the window(?)] they were angry. They
 6 [came] out, [but the wind (was) at them.] They came in,
 [but the smoke (was) at them.]

⁸ As a possible restoration I would mention [ti-wa-da-ni-in/it-ti].
 cf. above lines 8-9 and n. 5.

- 8 [...] He zuwai's⁹ the smoke.
 They [[...]] (and) light up.¹⁰ Kamrusepa
 10 saw [[...]] (and said) "What's this?"¹¹
-
- [[...]] The Sun-god made a feast. He [invi]ted
 12 the great [gods, and he invited] the small
 gods. He invited the pure eagles.
-
- 14 [Not a single god(?)] remained over. At the win[dow(?)] they
 were angry. They came out, but the wind (was) at them.
 16 They ca[me in,] but the smoke (was) at them.
-
- [[...]] He zuwai-ed the smoke, arrahani-[ed]¹²
 18 [[...]] And now mankind (acc.), (his) eyes [[...]]
 [[...]] He arrahhani-s [[...]]
 20 [[...]] ... [.... "
-

Date of the Text

This text shows marks of a strong Luwian influence, if not origin. In addition to the fact that it is analogous to a text in Luwian (CTH 764, with Hittite version, see above), it contains two Luwian words (arrahhani-, III 17, 19; tiwadani-, III 9) both of which appear to be conjugated in

⁹ This word only occurs here and below line 17. cf. Otten, StBoT 15, 14.

¹⁰ On tiwataniya- see DLL 128 f.

¹¹ cf. DLL 160.

¹² cf. DLL 30. Meriggi, Athenaeum 35, 58, proposes to translate "curse, bewitch".

Luwian. One would therefore expect a date for this tablet some time during the Empire, and this is exactly what other indicators point to. AZ (III 11, 12, 13) is in its late form, but once (II 5) it may be in the earlier form. UK (II 19) likewise shows the late form. However, SAG (II 18), IK (II 3) and ŠAR (II 15) all show the older forms. In addition, the same odd form of A which has already been noted in CTH 329-330 and CTH 765¹³ appears twice (II 14, III 14).¹⁴ The following sentence particles occur: -(a)šta (III 5, 9); -šan (II 5, 11, III 14); -kan (II 7, 16, III 6, 20). The "reflexive" particle -z is consistently written -az (II 5, III 11, 12, 13).¹⁵ Possibly noteworthy plene spellings are]-u-up-pí-iš (II 10),]-hu-u-uk-zi (II 19), tuhhīn (III 8, 17), ārrahhanitti (III 17, 19), apātta[n(?)] (III 20). It should also be mentioned that if IGI^{HI.A} in III 18 is the object of whatever verb is missing, as seems most likely, then it is in partitive apposition to dandukisnan DUMU-an.¹⁶ Taken together this information points to a date for this text of about the time of Arnuwandas I.

¹³ cf. infra.

¹⁴ See StBoT 20 columns I, III, V and n. 4.

¹⁵ cf. Hoffner JNES 31, 32 and Fest. Otten, 103 n. 1.

¹⁶ On this construction, as opposed to the use of the genitive, and dating of texts, see Howink ten Cate, Records 30, 34; Carruba, et. al., Ar. Or. XXXIII (1965).

KUB XLIII 60 - Lament of a Mortal

I¹]x GUD-uš Šu-up-pa-la-ta² UDU-uš2 [Šu-up-pa-la^(?)]-ta ne-pí-iš Šu-up-pa-la-at-t[a³[Šu-up-pa-la^(?)-a]t-ta ul-la-a-pa ka-da-an-ki

4 [x x x d]a-an-du-ki-iš ZI-an-za

[x x x -i]t-še-pa ú-it-ta HUR.SAG-i ku-wa-at-ta'-an⁴6 [NI]M¹.LAL-at u-da'-ú⁵ Ša-an pí-e-di-iš-ši da-a-ú

¹ The colophon reads ki-e-da-ni-iš-Ša-an DUB-BI II INIM^{HI.A} a-ni-ya-an. Columns II and III are too broken for translation and give no certain evidence of which "word" they belong to, but haraš^{MUSEN} III 16 (cf. I 17) and ÍD-i III 17 (cf. I 14, 33) may indicate that the first "word" runs as far as column III. No deities are mentioned in columns II, III or IV.

² Prof. Gurney has pointed out to me that this sign looks more like AT than LA, which is perfectly true. The two signs are not very different, however, and this scribe does not distinguish them clearly in every case. That he is able to do so is shown by the LA signs in ullapa (I 3), huwalaš (I 14) and marnuwalan (I 29). However in lahanza (I 12) and LÜKASKAL-laš (I 30) LA looks slightly more like AT. The difference disappears altogether in Šuppalat(t)a (I 1, 2) and ilalianza (I 17). As ilaliya- is elsewhere attested (cf. HW 81 f.) there need be no hesitation in transcribing Šu-up-pa-la-(at)-ta, particularly as a word Šuppala- is also attested (cf. HW 198; Erg. 1, 19). Also see Commentary.

³ If my restoration of line 3 is correct, a noun is required here. Tekan would be nicely parallel to nepiš.

⁴ Text has ku-wa-at-Ša-an. The first sign is undoubtedly KU not MA (cf. MA lines 7, 9, 12 etc. and KU lines 8, 12, 14 etc.) and therefore must start a new word despite the fact that the scribe left no space after HUR.SAG-i as would be expected. I have emended the -Ša- to -ta!- because sentence particles are never attached specifically to words like kuwat. That is, sentence particles can be attached to any sentence initial word, however they are only attached to nouns or pronouns outside the sentence initial position (cf. Josephson, Sentence Particles, 399-404). The word ku- is here sentence final (no example exists, to my knowledge, for any sentence final occurrence of a sentence particle regardless of the word to which it is attached) as is shown by the enclitic pronoun -at attached to the following word and therefore cannot carry -Šan.

⁵ Text: ú-it-ú.

I

- [x-š]a⁶-an-ni-at wa-aš-ša NIM.LĀL-at da-a-ú
- 8 [na]-at pí-e-di-iš-ši da-a-ú ku-i-ta
[te-r]i-ip-pí-az-ma na-at NIM.LĀL^{MES} u-da-an-du
- 10 [na]-at pí-di-iš-ši ti-an-du NIM.LĀL te-ri-ya-aš UD-aš
[m]i-i-ú-wa UD-aš KASKAL-an pa-a-an-du na-pa i-ya-tar-mi-it
- 12 ú-da-an-du ták-ku a-ru-na-az-ma na-at la-ha-an-za
ú-da-ú na-at-ša-an pí-e-di-iš-ši da-a-ú
- 14 ták-ku ÍD-az-ma na-at hu-wa-la-aš ú-da-ú
na-at-ša-an pí-e-di-iš-ši da-a-ú
-
- 16 ku-i-ta ne-pí-ša-az-ma na-at ta-pa-ka-li-ya
ha-ra-aš^{MUSEN} GIŠ.GUB-ut⁷ u-da-ú i-la-li-an-za GIŠ.GUB-uš-mi-it
- 18 wa-al-ha-an-za e-eš-du MĀS.GAL-ša-an ša-ap-pu-it
wa-al-ah-du UDU-uš-ša-an SI^{HI.A} an-da wa-al-ah-du
- 20 an-na-ša-an UDU-uš ti-it-ti-it-te-it wa-al-ah-du
an-na-aš DINGIR^{LIM}-aš iš-ha-ah-ru-an-za na-aš iš-ha-ah-ru-it
- 22 wa-al-ha-an-za nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an ku-e a-aš-šu-u
VIII-an-da-aš ha-ap-pí-eš-na-aš še-ir ha-a-aš-ša-an IZI
- 24 [wa]-al-ha-an-za e-eš-du ZI-an-za-ma i-ya-at-ni-ya-an-za
[x x]-x-eš-ni-an-za nu-uš-ši-kán li-e a-ri-eš-kat-ta
-
- 26 [Z]I-an-za-wa-kán u-ri-iš⁸ ZI-an-za-wa-kán u-ri-iš

⁶ Or -n]a-.

⁷ On GIŠ.GUB see Goetze, JCS 10, 34 with n. 16, who proposes a translation, in a different context, of "standing part, length" based on the equation of GIŠ.GUB and zagāpu. In the present context perhaps "pole" or "staff" is the best translation based upon this equation (cf. ziqupu A 2., CAD, 21, 127 f.).

⁸ Text: -uš.

I

- ku-el-wa-kán ZI-an-za u-ri-iš da-an-du-ki-eš-wa-kán
- 28 ZI-an-za u-ri-iš nu ku-in KASKAL-an har-zi
- u-ra-an KASKAL-an har-zi mar-nu-wa-la-an KASKAL-an har-zi
- 30 Ša-an-za-pa KASKAL-Ši ^{LÚ}KASKAL-la-aš ha-an-da-a-it
- Šu'-up-pī ^DUTU-aš ZI-an-za an-na-an ZI-an-za
- 32 da-an-du-ki-iš-na-aš ku-wa-at a-ru-[š]a-an pa-i-mi
- [d]a^(?)-a-ša-na-ta-an pa-i-mi ID-p[a-an^(?)] u-uh-hi lu-li-[in^(?)]⁹
- 34 mu-uh-hi¹⁰ te-na-wa-ša-an pa-i-m[i]x x-x-[
- te-e-na-wa-aš i-da-a-l[u-u]š x-x-[
- 36 ú-el-lu-wa li-[
- Ši-u-ni-ya(-)[

I

- [] an ox (is) an animal,¹¹ a cow
- 2 [(is) an anim]al^(?), heaven (is) an anima[l x]
- [(is) an anim]al^(?)¹²
- 4 [] a mortal soul.¹³

⁹ Or, less probably for reasons of space, lu-li-[ya-aš-ha-an^(?)]. cf. Erg. 2, 17.

¹⁰ Is this to be read as an Akkadogram?

¹¹ See Commentary.

¹² To the best of my knowledge both these words are hapax legomenon unless one wishes to understand ullapa as ull(a) + (particle) -(a)pa and equate ull(a) with either (UZU)walla- (cf. ^{UZU}ulan KUB VII 1 III 25) or Hurrian ull- "to change" (cf. Speiser, JAOS 59, 301). Could kadanki be a numeral adverb, "kad(a) times" (cf. I-anki, II-anki, etc.)?

¹³ Or perhaps "Mortal (is) the soul".

I

- To the mountain to which [-i]tsepa came,¹⁴
 6 may the bee bring it and put it¹⁵ in its place.
 But to [] ...¹⁶ May the bee take it
 8 and put it in its place. That which
 is from the [plo]ughed (land), may the bees bring it
 10 and put it in its place. May the bee(s) go
 a journey of three days, of four days. May they bring
 12 my abundance.¹⁷ But if (it is) from the sea, may the
lahanza-bird¹⁸ bring it and put it in its place.
 14 However, if (it is) from a river, may the huwala-bird(?) bring it
 and put it in its place.
-
- 16 But that which (is) from heaven, may the eagle
 bring it to the tapakala- with¹⁹ a staff(?). May my/their desired
 staff(?)
 18 be struck. May the billy-goat strike it

¹⁴ See Commentary.

¹⁵ I can offer no explanation for the change of gender in the enclitic pronouns. It appears to me most probable that this passage is fully parallel to those following and that the subject and object in each case is the same.

¹⁶ On wašši/a see HW 248; Erg. 2, 27; Otten, Gram. Luw. 43 and n. 94. However a verb seems to be required. Perhaps one could restore wa-aš-ša<ru> (cf. Erg. 1, 23) "May he/it be good", or even <aš-an-du>, but without knowing what the first word of the line is, no suggestion can even be examined for probability.

¹⁷ For lines 9-12 cf. Güterbock, RHA 15 /f. 60, 1-3.

¹⁸ Riemschneider, KUB XLIII Inhaltsübersicht VI, suggests that this is a sea fish and that huwala- in the following line is a freshwater fish. He was, however, unaware of the occurrence of lahanza with the determinative MUSEN (KUB XXXIX 7 II 7 f., cf. Otten, TR 36, 133). Thus lahanza is a sea bird and huwala- is probably a bird which frequents river areas.

¹⁹ See Commentary.

I

- with (his) šappu-. May the (male) sheep pierce it with (his) horns.
 20 May the mother sheep strike it with (her) nose^(?).²⁰
 The Mother of God²¹ (is) crying. She (is) struck
 22 by a tear.²² May the good(s), which she (has)
 upon (her) eight limbs be struck
 24 (by) the fire of the hearth. The growing²³ soul
 (is) []. May there be no oracle for it.²⁴
-
- 26 "The soul (is) great."²⁵ The soul (is) great.
 (He) whose soul (is) great, (whose^(?)) mortal
 28 soul (is) great, the road which he holds,
 the great road (which^(?)) he holds, the marnuwala-²⁶ road (which^(?))
 he holds,
 30 the 'road-man' has arranged it on (that^(?)) road.

²⁰ See KUB XLIII Inhaltsübersicht VI.

²¹ The word order here is based upon the logographic writing SAL AMA.DINGIR. Just the opposite happened in KBo XI 29 rev. 10 where we find SAL.MESDINGIR.LIM AMA with the order based upon the compound Hittite word SAL šiwanzanna. See Laroche, JCS 21, 175 f. and Neu, StBoT 18, 124.

²² Differently Friedrich ZA NF 5, 77; but see Neu, StBoT 5, 74 išhahruwa- n.2.

²³ On the absence of assimilation of -tn->-nn- in this word see EHS §67, 1 and, for a possible explanation, Puhvel, KZ 86 (1972) 111 ff.

²⁴ cf. StBoT 5, 13.

²⁵ On uri- see Laroche, RHA 14 /f. 58, 28 and 32 n. 1; DLL 102.

²⁶ This adjective is built from marnu by the addition of the suffix -ala, cf. genzuwala <genzu + ala HE I §49a.

O pure soul of the Sun-deity, soul of mothers.²⁷

32 Why do I go to the aruša- of mortality?

I will go to the [d]ašanata-. I will see²⁸ the river. The pon[d]²⁹

34 I will ... To his^(?) tenawa-³⁰ I will go [

the evil tenawa- (nom.) [

36 in the meadow x[

.... [

Commentary

I 1

Šuppala(t)ta - A word Šuppala(a)- "animal" is amply attested in Hittite literature (cf. HW 198; Erg. 1, 19) but the form Šuppalat(t)a does not occur anywhere else, to my knowledge. The easiest solution to the presence of -(t)ta would appear to be to take it as merely the dat. 2 per. sg. enclitic pronoun. Such an understanding would require a translation like, "To you an ox (is) an animal, ..." or "(There is) an ox, an animal for you". The former translation seems to imply that for the speaker an ox is something else besides an animal. If this was meant one would expect some indication of just what else the speaker thought an ox was. The

²⁷ Or perhaps singular "mother" cf. Laroche, RHA 23 / f. 76, 33-41; StBoT 18, 56 f. Is the latter phrase in apposition to the former? On the Sun-deity as "mother" see StBoT 18, 126 f.

²⁸ For the forms of au(š)- beginning with u- see Erg. 3, 11 f.

²⁹ Or "the mo[or]", cf. n. 9 above.

³⁰ I can only understand this as tenawan + -šan enclitic poss. pro., with -nš->-š-, cf. HE I §36; StBoT 8, 57 f.

latter translation does not have any such difficulty where the ox is concerned, indeed it appears a reasonable (though unparalleled) statement with which to present an offering.³¹ There are two difficulties with this interpretation however. In the first place there is no indication anywhere else in this text that sacrifices are being offered. Secondly, this interpretation would force line 2 to be translated, "(There is) heaven, an animal for you". A suppliant could easily offer an ox or a cow but heaven is certainly beyond the powers of even "My Sun". The attempt to understand -(t)ta as an enclitic pronoun must therefore be abandoned.

In the face of this difficulty I would like to propose that Šuppala(t)ta results from the addition of the Hurrian suffix -ta³² or -t,³³ despite the fact that this suffix only rarely occurs on words not of Hurrian origin.³⁴ There is still the difficulty of understanding in what way "heaven is an animal", but a ready parallel exists in depictions of the Egyptian goddess Hathor as Sky-goddess.³⁵

I 5

uitta - I understand this form as due to Luwian conjugation influence on the Hittite uwa- "to come" (cf. pāitta vs. pāit) replacing here the normal uit.³⁶ The same influence can be seen in the present tense in

³¹ The normal formula is kaš X kitta, "Behold (here) lies X."

³² Thus Friedrich, HE I §92b.

³³ Thus Carruba, RHA 81, 151 ff.

³⁴ Kronasser, EHS §108.5.

³⁵ On Hathor as Sky-goddess see Anthes, "Mythology in Ancient Egypt", in MAW, 16 ff., and Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth, 30 ff, 46 ff.

³⁶ HE I §188 e; EHS §220.

uitti (2 BoTU 7, 10; 17 A III 14) but uitta is not attested elsewhere to my knowledge. No other explanation presents itself to me but it must be admitted that since the context is far from clear this proposal cannot be considered as certain.

I 17

GIŠ.GUB."UD" - Should UD be read -ut as a phonetic complement? Purut (neuter) "clay" would provide a ready parallel for a word ending in -ut, but there are difficulties. In the first place the sentence already has a subject (haraš, comm. gender) and an object (-at, neuter), so what would be the syntax of a GIŠ.GUB-ut neuter nom./acc.? In the second place GIŠ.GUB is common gender as is evidenced by the -anza endings of the adjectives in the next sentence and the pronoun -an in those following. (The use of the "neuter" possessive pronoun -(š)mit will be discussed below). Should then this word be compared to nekut- (c.) "evening", the Luwian lulut- and other -t- stems (e.g. wit- "water", karat- (c.) "intestines, insides")? If so what case could a GIŠ.GUB-ut possibly be? In the face of such, by me, insurmountable difficulties it appears wise to search in other directions for an explanation of GIŠ.GUB."UD". There exists a ganut in KUB XII 63 I 26 which has been understood by Ehelolf (IF 43, 317 n. 3) as an instrumental form of gemu- (c./n.) "knee". Friedrich (HW 107) lists the word with a query. If ganut is accepted (the instrumental in all declensions, except certain -r and -r/n stems which also use -ta, is normally -it), it can then be used as a parallel for a GIŠ.GUB-ut (inst. sg. c.).³⁷ This presents no syntactical

³⁷ cf. HEI §61; Hb. Or. 2/1&2 (1969), 193-199. Recently however Neu, KZ 86 (1972) 288-295 has shown convincingly that this word must be an instrumental of gemu- "knee".

difficulties and has the advantage over a logographic reading of UD that it shows the -u- of the stem. If, on the other hand, instrumentals in -u cannot be accepted there seems no alternative to a logographic reading of UD. In this case BABBAR is the most reasonable reading, as it is easier to explain the absence of this "adjectival" logogram than any other reading when GIŠ.GUB is repeated in the next sentence. Nonetheless, the absence of the sign UD in the second occurrence of GIŠ.GUB makes any logographic reading suspect.

Date

The ductus of this tablet dates its inscription to the 13th century, that is, the time of Hattusili III or later. The form of AZ is always late (I 9, 12, 14, 16, IV 15) as is that of SAG (I 5). LI generally shows its late form (I 16, 17, 25, II 5, 7 (x 2) IV 3, 7) but also shows the earlier form (I 33, III 13). In contrast to this evidence there are many archaic features contained in the text. The sentence conjunction Šu is used twice (I 6, 30) as is takku (I 12, 14). The enclitic poss. pronoun occurs seven times (I 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 17), including once in the wrong gender (I 17).³⁸ There is one genitive in -an (I 31) and three accusatives of direction (I 32, 33, 34). Plene writings which may be of note are: pi-e-di-iš-ši (I 6, 8, 13, 15, but also pi-di-iš-ši I 10); pa-a-an-du (I 11); a-aš-šu-u (I 22); ha-a-aš-ša-an (I 23); ha-an-da-a-it (I 30); [d]^(?)a-ša-na-ta-an (I 33); te-e-na-wa-aš i-da-a-l[u-u]š (I 35). The sentence particles which occur are: -šan

³⁸ In making this statement I have assumed that the adjectives in this sentence and the enclitic pronouns of those following are more likely to reflect the proper gender of the noun than the possessive pronoun is. See below.

(I 13, 15, 22)³⁹; -(a)pa (I 11, 30); -kan (I 25, 26 (x 2), 27 (x 2)).

The infrequent use of pre-verbs (I 19) and post-positions (I 23), characteristic of the older language,⁴⁰ should be noted.

Such diverging evidence can only be due to one of two things, archaizing or later copying of an old text. In the discussion of archaizing in Hittite texts in the Introduction it was concluded that no text has yet been proven to be archaizing but that this did not mean that the possibility could be ignored. What is there which may indicate archaizing in this text? The forms Suppalat(t)a (I 1) and uitta (I 5) would appear out of place in an Old Hittite text if my suggestions for understanding them are correct. Despite the fact the Hittites had early contacts with Luwian and Hurrian peoples, the strong literary influence of these peoples did not occur until the beginning of the Empire. However, it should be noted that both the occurrences of uitti, quoted in the commentary as parallel to uitta, come from texts composed during the early Old Kingdom (2 BoTU 7 = CTH 1; 2 BoTU 17 A = CTH 13). Thus the possibility of such influence cannot be discounted out of hand. The possibility of the intrusion of these forms during the process of copying must also be considered. As was already shown in the Introduction the form GIS.GUB-uš-mi-it points to a late copy of an Old Hittite original and I think the other evidence urges the same conclusion.

³⁹ Perhaps also in I 5, but see n. 4 on a correction of this to -ta-an.

⁴⁰ StBoT 8, 86 f.

PART II

Discussion and Analysis

Section 1

The Motif of the Disappearing Deity and its Ritual

The texts containing the disappearing deity motif diverge not only in respect to the deity who disappears but also in the reason for his disappearance and the method by which his return is brought about. The rituals in which the motif occurs also have differing forms. In this section the myth and ritual of each version will be compared to that of the other versions. Material from texts outside the disappearing deity group will be adduced wherever it can elucidate the myths and rituals under discussion.

Standard Version.

Among the various stories which are subsumed under the heading "disappearing deity myths", one is by far the most common. This is the so-called "Telipinus myth" which can be better termed the "standard" or "recurrent" rendition of the motif.¹ This rendition is recited² during rituals for a number of different deities and occurs in differing versions. In addition to the texts translated in Part I there are two texts which deserve mention before the motif is studied in detail. There exists a Palaic version as evidenced by fragments which contain a description of the unsatisfactory feast and the Sun-god (Tiwat-) sending the Eagle to search for someone.³ The second text⁴ concerns the appeasement of a

¹ cf. Gurney, Hittites 184.

² cf. CTH 329-330 H I 8; CTH 333 A I 24.

³ See Carruba, Bei. z. Pal. 2 - 11, esp. translation p. 10, StBoT 10, 7 - 12 with earlier lit.; Kammenhuber, Hb. Or. 2/1 & 2, 354 translation.

⁴ KUB XXXIII 71 with duplicate KUB XXXIII 70, transliteration by Laroche RHA 25/ f. 77, 160 f.

Sun-deity. The importance of the latter text rests in the fact that it names a Sun-deity as the one who has disappeared. The two manuscripts of this text are not consistent in naming the same Sun-deity; KUB XXXIII 71 III 9 names ^DU[TU?] URU TÚL?-na?-ya, the Sun-goddess of Arinna, while KUB XXXIII 70 II 2, 11, 16 names the Sun-god (^DUTU-uš/-i/-uš). Such a confusion is not unparalleled in Hittite texts.⁵

The plot of the standard version is always basically the same, despite the minor differences which exist between the renditions. The deity becomes angry, sometimes at a specific individual, abandons his duties, and hides in the country. The Sun-god calls the gods together and the deity's disappearance is announced. A search for the deity is carried out. The gods are unable to find him, as is the Eagle sent by the Sun-god. Hannahannas is then called upon and she sends the Bee who succeeds in finding the hiding deity.⁶ A ritual of sympathetic magic is then performed to appease the deity and he returns to his duties. A comparison of all the renditions of the standard version can be most easily accomplished by studying each episode as the myth unfolds. For the order of the episodes the most complete texts, CTH 324 1st version and CTH 325, will be followed.

In those cases where the very beginning of the myth is preserved there is only the statement that the deity became angry and left; no reason is ever given.⁷ The reasons for such vagueness will be discussed in Section 2. In the course of his angry and hasty withdrawal the deity becomes confused and mixes (right to left, front to back) his apparel.⁸

⁵ See KUB XXIX 1, 2, 3 536 (ed. Schwartz, Or. NS 16, 23-55) where ^DUTU URU Arinna takes the place of ^DUTU elsewhere in the text. For a probable explanation see StBoT 18, 126 f.

⁶ It is not known if the Bee is involved in finding Hannahannas for the mythological section of CTH 334 is lost.

⁷ CTH 326 A:7 ff.; CTH 329-330 H I 9 ff.; CTH 333 A I 26 ff.

⁸ CTH 324 1st ver. A I 2 ff.; CTH 326 A:8 ff.; CTH 328 A obv. 3 ff.; CTH 329-330 H I 11 f.; CTH 333 A I 27 ff.

Due to the deity's departure everything becomes lifeless. The fullest expostulation of this catastrophe occurs in CTH 324 1st version A I 5 ff. This text is used as the basis of Table I in which nouns are used as "Stichwörter" for each phrase. Table I is concerned only with the first "catalogue" of disasters, i.e. the description of what happens immediately after the deity's disappearance. A partial repetition of this catalogue occurs after the deity's return and will be discussed later.

The following is a list of the texts arranged in descending order of completeness: CTH 324 1st ver.; 325; 324 2nd ver.;⁹ 333; 326 and 329 - 330; 328. This list approximately follows the chronological ordering of the texts.¹⁰ The disasters in the catalogue can be divided with reference to the spheres of life affected: 1) home, no. 1 - 4;¹¹ 2) agriculture, no. 5 - 12;¹² nature, no. 13 - 17. Numbers 18 and 19 can be seen as the summation and final result of all the disasters catalogued. It is conceivable that the short catalogue of disasters contained in most texts was simply a scribal short hand for the complete list. However, the fact that the shorter lists do not represent all the spheres affected, but are concerned mainly with the home, would indicate that the list was abbreviated purposefully to concentrate upon those areas which were most important to the performers of the ritual. This explanation is supported by the fact that the texts containing the shorter list were all composed for individuals.¹³

After the angry deity has departed in haste, confusing his apparel, and the catalogue of disasters has been listed, the myth continues with the

⁹ This is only probable. Due to the broken condition of the text no certainty is possible, but since most of the missing section is found in all texts, the assumption that it was present here is not without foundation.

¹⁰ The oldest: CTH 324 1st and 2nd versions, CTH 325; then CTH 333, 326 and 329-330; followed by the youngest CTH 328. See each text in Part I individually as well as Part II, Section 3 esp. Table III.

¹¹ The "gods" are most probably those kept in the home, not in the temple. Note that in CTH 329-330 the weather-god of Kuliwisna is worshipped in the home of the supplicant. cf. CTH 329-330 E II 17 ff about travelling to the city of Kuliwisna after having spent a day performing rituals for the deity.

¹² No. 11 & 12 since they refer both to people and animals belong to both 1) & 2)

¹³ See Part II, Section 2.

Table I ¹⁴

CTH	324 1st ver.	2nd ver.	325 ¹⁶	326	328	329	333
1	windows	*	x	x	x	x	x
2	house	*	x	x ¹⁸	x	x	x
3	logs	*	x	x	x ²⁰	x	x
4	gods	*	x	x ¹⁹	x	x	x
5	sheep	*	x	x	o	x	x
6	cows	*	x	x	o	x	x
7	sheep & lamb	*	x	o	o	o	o ²¹
8	cow & calf	*	x	o	o	o	o
9	grain, ... ¹⁵	*	x ¹⁷	o	o	o	o
10	grain & wheat	*	x	o	o	o	o
11	no pregnancy	x	x	o	o	o	o
12	no birth	x	x	o	o	o	o
13	mountains	o	x	o	o	o	o
14	trees	o	x	o	o	o	o
15	shoots	o	x	o	o	o	o
16	pasture	o	x	o	o	o	o
17	springs	o	x	o	o	o	o
18	famine	x	o	o	o	o	o
19	death	o	o	o	o	o	o

Legend: x = present

o = absent

* = broken

¹⁴ During the ritual this episode is mentioned in CTH 334 B and KUB XXXIII 46. These passages have been left out of the table because there is no way of knowing if they are abbreviated from the way the episode was first told in CTH 334.

¹⁵ Halkiš, Immarniš, šalhiantiš, mannittiš, išpiyatar are all taken away.

¹⁶ A large portion of this section has been restored from CTH 324 1st ver. but what is preserved demands such a complete restoration from that tablet.

¹⁷ Probably omitting one item.

¹⁸ "Roof beams".

¹⁹ The altars are mentioned separately from the gods.

²⁰ The hearth is mentioned separately from the logs.

²¹ Mention of a mother and child and a [husband^(?)] and wife are added here. For the importance of this see Güterbock, JAOS 84 (1964) 115 and Part II, Section 2.

Sun-god calling the gods to a feast. The food and drink at the feast cannot satisfy the gods however.²² It is not surprising that it is the Sun-god who calls the feast for he has a "Sargent-at-Arms" function among the gods. The Sun-god rounds up the other deities and assures their attendance at rituals.²³ He is also called upon to be a witness in order to assure that a ritual is not ignored by the deity to whom it is directed.²⁴ In the older religion the Sun-god and the Weather-god are the two primary deities²⁵ and should, therefore, be expected to co-ordinate their activities as they do in this myth.

The mention of feasts is quite common in texts from Boghazköy. Two texts, CTH 764 and KBo XII 89, showing a Luwian background have been translated in Part I because they deal with a feast of the gods. Güterbock says of the Luwian version of CTH 764 that though, like the disappearing deity myth, this text "seems to contain the motif of a feast prepared by the Sun-god [it is] in a completely different setting: this feast is closely linked with the cause of the illness which the ritual is intended to heal".²⁶ In Section 2 it will be shown that the disappearing deity myth/ritual can also be involved in the curing of illness. There is no mention of where the first feast takes place, but in one text after the return of the Weather-god a successful feast takes place in the house of his father.²⁷

²² CTH 324 1st ver. A I 19 f., 2nd ver. A I 4 ff.; CTH 325 A I 16 ff.; CTH 326 A:10 f.; CTH 328 A obv. 12 ff.; CTH 329-330 H I 17 ff.; CTH 333 B II 11 in the first person sing.!

²³ KUB VI 45 III 20-24 (ANET 397 f.); Kl. 138; CTH 372 esp. lines 27 f.; JAOS 78 (1958) 237 ff. esp. 242 right column.

²⁴ KBo XV 25 obv. 33 ff.; StBoT 2, 5 and 48.

²⁵ See the Old Hittite ritual for the erection of a new palace, KUB XXIX 1, 2, 3 (ANET 357 f.); StBoT 8 esp. 104; the Sun-god and his daughter are the only deities mentioned in the Zalpa legend, StBoT 17, 7 f., 64; StBoT 18, 116 ff. Also von Schuler WbM 199.

²⁶ Güterbock, MAW, 150.

²⁷ CTH 325 A II 12 ff. Other texts in which there is a satisfactory feast upon the deity's return are: CTH 327 A III 8 f.; CTH 328 B III 6 f.; KUB XXXIII 34 (= CTH 332):16; CTH 333 A IV 17 f. in the first per. sg.!

A very close and interesting parallel occurs in the text of a new year's festival.²⁸

"At the new year a great feast of heaven and earth was made for the Weather-god. All the gods joined together and came to the house of the Weather-god. Whatever irritation (there is) in the soul of any god,²⁹ may he chase out (that) evil irritation. At this feast (all of) you eat! Drink! Satisfy your hunger! Satisfy your thirst! Declare the life of the King (and) Queen! Declare the [lif]e(?) of heaven and earth!..."

Not only is this passage parallel to the feast motif in the texts of the disappearing deity, but the declaring of the fates at an assembly also apparently occurs in a disappearing deity text.³⁰ Feasts occur in other texts even when the gatherings has no "official" purpose such as declaring the fates. This must reflect the normal customs of the societies which created these myths. Throughout the Ancient East there were apparently standard, formal guest-host conventions.³¹ Whatever their full extent may have been, they certainly involved an obligation on the part of the host to give food and drink to a visitor and the concomitant obligation on the part of the visitor to accept. It appears that the conventions required that this precede any business. Excellent examples of this exist in Hittite mythology of Hurrian background. In the "Song of Ullikummi", the Sea has some complaint against Kumarbi (1st Tab. II 7 ff.)³² but when Kumarbi comes to see him about them, the Sea has a feast prepared for him. After the Sun-god has seen Ullikummi in the sea he rushes to tell the

²⁸ KUB XXXVI 97. See Otten, OLZ 1956 101 ff.; Gurney in Myth, Ritual and Kingship, ed. S.H. Hooke, 108. On the possible relation between this text and Yazılıkaya see Güterbock NHF 73 with earlier literature.

²⁹ Lit. "whatever irritation of the soul to whichever god...".

³⁰ cf. CTH 324 1st ver. A III 28 ff.

³¹ For their existence in Mesopotamia and the way they were used to get Ishtar out of the underworld see Kilmer, "How was Queen Ereshkigal Tricked?" UF 3 (1971) 299 - 309.

³² References are to the edition of Güterbock, JCS 5 (1951) 135 - 161, JCS 6 (1952) 8 - 42.

Weather-god (1st Tab. IV 33 ff.). When the Weather-god sees him coming, he has a table and chair set out for him, but the Sun-god is too excited to accept the hospitality and offends the Weather-god thereby (1st Tab. IV 49 ff.). The Sun-god then explains the situation³³ and is able to enjoy his meal (2nd Tab. I 5 ff.).³⁴ It is clear that this guest-host convention is at the root of the trick played on Illuyankas by Inaras in the first version of the myth (A I 14 - 18, B I 5 - 18).³⁵ The normal meaning of the convention is summed up by a passage in the Tawagalawas Letter, KUB XIV 3 II 63 f., which describes the Hittite "guaranty" or "safe-conduct" (zaršiya-)³⁶ as follows, "If you³⁷ send someone bread and drink, you³⁷ do not intend him harm." Inaras disobeyed the code and defeated Illuyankas by acting dishonorably.

The feast to which the Sun-god calls the deities following the deity's disappearance is totally unsatisfactory. It is possible that the feast was provided only because it was required by the social conventions already outlined and that the gathering was really called in order to organize a search. It is also possible that it was at the feast that the absence of the deity was first noticed. The latter alternative is supported by CTH 328 where the Sun-god notices the absence of the Weather-god in between the calling of the feast and its occurrence.³⁹ In other texts,

³³ This is lost in the break. See Güterbock, JCS 5, 139.

³⁴ Similar passages occur in the Appu legend and in the Hedammu myth. See the edition of Siegelová, StBoT 14, 9 (II 9 - 20), 45 (Text 5), 51 f. (Text 9:17-21), 69 (Text 28:12).

³⁵ Transliteration by Laroche RHA 25/ f. 77, 65 ff.

³⁶ cf. HW 260; DLL 114.

³⁷ Hittite uses the third person plural as the normal way of expressing an indefinite subject.

³⁸ Sommer, AU 11.

³⁹ A obv. 12 f. See also KUB XXXIII 80:2 f.

whichever god is in the role of leader announces that the deity has disappeared⁴⁰ and all the gods set about searching for him. The search by the deities is absent from CTH 328 and apparently from CTH 329-330. This is another point at which these texts are substantially abbreviated (see above concerning the "catalogue of disasters").

Following the failure⁴¹ of the gods' search in those texts which contain it, or immediately after the feast in other texts, the Sun-god sends the Eagle to search for the hiding deity.⁴² The Eagle appears to have been thought of as a speedy messenger able to find out what was happening at great distances. In KUB XLIII 60 I 16 f. (see Part I) the Eagle is asked to bring the portion of things which the suppliant needed⁴³ that was to be obtained from heaven. In an Old Hittite⁴⁴ ritual for the erection of a new palace, KUB XXIX 1-3,⁴⁵ the Eagle is sent to the sea and brings back information concerning the activities of the underworld deities,⁴⁶ Isdustayas and Papayas (I 50 ff.).⁴⁷ Later in the same text the Eagle is sent on another mission to bring a crockery vessel (kinupi)⁴⁸ from the burning places (ukturiya-) and perform a rite to reunite the king's heart

⁴⁰ The Weather-god in CTH 324 1st ver. A I 21 f. and 2nd ver. A I 7 f. the Father of the Weather-god in 325 A I 18 ff.

⁴¹ Not explicit in CTH 324 1st ver. and CTH 325.

⁴² CTH 324 1st ver. A I 23 ff., 2nd ver. A I 12 ff.; CTH 325 A I 23 ff.; CTH 328 A obv. 15 ff.; CTH 329-330 H I 21 ff.

⁴³ It is not at all clear just what was wanted.

⁴⁴ cf. Carruba, Die Sprache 12 (1966) 88.

⁴⁵ Schwartz, Or. NS 16 (1947) 23 ff.; Goetze, ANET 357.

⁴⁶ On the relations between the sea and the underworld see Part II, Section 1 under the "Weather-god of Nerik".

⁴⁷ cf. Güterbock, RHA 6/f. 43, 106, RHA 14/ f. 58, 22 f., MAW 149.

⁴⁸ Goetze, JCS 1 (1947) 313 f.

and soul. In another Old Hittite ritual, StBoT 8, the Eagle again plays an important part,⁴⁹ particularly as a messenger to the Weather-god and the Sun-god, carrying a prayer for blessings on the King and Queen.⁵⁰ In the mythological section of a conjuration against binding, KUB VII 1+, III 6 ff., the Eagle is mentioned as the binder of a partianza and is probably also the binder of bearded snakes, wild sheep, a panther, ulipana, a lion, an antelope and its milk, and ^DKAL of the Throne.⁵¹ Certain movements of eagles call for the performance of a ritual.⁵² The Eagle is also mentioned in texts such as the Hurrian mouth-purifying ritual, KUB XXIX 8,⁵³ and as an attribute of a number of deities, for instance, the Weather-god of Heaven, ^DKAL of the Wildflower and Iyaya.⁵⁴

It is not surprising that the Sun-god chooses to send out the Eagle to search for the hiding deity, since the Eagle often performs similar tasks. In most renditions of the standard version the Sun-god instructs the Eagle where to look.⁵⁵ In CTH 324 2nd ver. the Sun-god only tells the Eagle to go and search; the places where the Eagle searches are then described in narrative. CTH 325 and 329-330 are unusual in that they contain two descriptions of the areas searched, one when the Sun-god is

⁴⁹ cf. StBoT 8, 106.

⁵⁰ ibid. III 3 ff.

⁵¹ Laroche, RHA 25/ f. 77, 169 ff.; Kronasser, Die Sprache 7 (1961) 156 ff. transliteration and translation.

⁵² cf. KUB XXX 46 left 5 ff. (CTH p. 176 f.), KUB XXX 47 I 4 ff. (CTH p. 183ff)

⁵³ cf. Otten, MIO 1 (1953) 142 n. 59.

⁵⁴ Haas, KN 71 with n. 4; Rost, MIO 8 (1963) 179 line II 4, 181 line IV 5, also see the further mention of eagles in this work 184, 193, MIO 9, 183, 186, 195.

⁵⁵ CTH 324 1st ver, 325, 328, 329-330. Despite the fact that CTH 328 and 329-330 are partially broken at this point, the presence of the particle of direct speech, -wa(r), makes it certain that instructions are being given.

giving orders to the Eagle, and another upon the Eagle's return.⁵⁶

There are only three texts which are unbroken following the Eagle's return with the news of his failure. All three texts diverge. The simplest of the three is CTH 324 2nd ver. where Hannahannas sends out the Bee, apparently of her own initiative.⁵⁷ In CTH 324 1st ver., following the failure of the searches by the gods and the Eagle, the Weather-god goes to Hannahannas seeking advice. She urges him to do something himself so he goes to Telipinus' city alone, but he cannot get in and therefore abandons the attempt. Hannahannas then sends the Bee to search. In CTH 325 it is the Weather-god's Grandfather that his Father first goes to for help, but the Grandfather blames the Father, threatens to kill him, and finally sends him to search for the Weather-god. The Father of the Weather-god hastens to Hannahannas for advice. When the situation has been explained to her, Hannahannas promises to solve the problem whether the Weather-god's Father was at fault or not. She then urges the Father to search for the Weather-god, but as he does not know where to look, Hannahannas decides to instruct and send the Bee.

These two new figures, the Father and Grandfather of the Weather-god (of Heaven), do not occur elsewhere in Hittite mythology. It is the Grandfather's presence which is the most unusual. Since the Weather-god is Telipinus' father, it is reasonable to assume that a "Father of the Weather-god" was invented to play the role in the Weather-god's disappearance which the Weather-god plays in Telipinus'. The reason for the Grandfather's appearance in the story remains enigmatic.

⁵⁶ Also KUB XXXIII 13 II (RHA 25/ f. 77, 158 f.)?

⁵⁷ This appears to be the case also in KUB XXXIII 33 (cf. RHA 25/ f. 77, 124 f.), and KUB XXXIII 13 II (RHA 25/ f. 77, 158 f.).

His only purpose in the myth is to blame the Weather-god's Father for the anger of the Weather-god. This is the only indication in any rendition that the deity's anger may have been caused by another god. Haas⁵⁸ holds that this episode reveals the Hattian matrilineal system of descent in which relations would be closer between a (maternal) grandfather and grandson than between father and son.

In spite of the differences in the three versions which are unbroken following the Eagle's unsuccessful search, in each case it is Hannahannas who takes over and solves the problem. The advice and help of female deities is very important in Hittite mythology.⁵⁹ In CTH 322 the Weather-god turns to Hannahannas for advice on whether or not he should pay the bride-price demanded by the Sea. In the first version of the Illuyankas myth, it is Inaras who is the main agent of the dragon's destruction. Similarly, Ishtar plays a large part in defeating Hedammu, though her full role, like much of the myth, is obscured by the broken state of the tablets. In the "Song of Ullikummi" Ishtar also attempts to help.

When Hannahannas proposes to send the Bee⁶⁰ to find the hiding deity, the leader objects that the small weak Bee can hardly succeed where all the gods have failed, but Hannahannas goes ahead with her plan.⁶¹ In CTH 325 A I 48 Hannahannas says that she will instruct the Bee, but the tablet breaks off before she does so. If instructions were given in CTH 324 1st ver. they have similarly been lost. CTH 324 2nd ver. contains the detailed instructions given to the Bee by Hannahannas before the objections of the

⁵⁸ KN 96 f.

⁵⁹ cf. Otten, Hb.Or. 99, 102.

⁶⁰ Prof. Gurney (Hittites, 189 f.) proposes that this close connection between a goddess and bees may have resulted in Cybele's priestesses being called "bees".

⁶¹ CTH 324 1st ver. A I 36 ff., 2nd ver. B II 10 ff.; CTH 325 B II 16 ff.

Weather-god. CTH 324 3rd ver. also contains instructions to the Bee, but if there was an objection to the sending of the Bee, it has been lost.

After a long and tiring search the Bee finds the hiding deity,⁶² and arouses him by stinging his hands and feet.⁶³ The only other text where the Bee is attributed personality is KUB XLIII 60 (see Part I) in which Bees are asked to bring the suppliant his abundance. Their special area appears to be "ploughed land" although wild grass land would seem more appropriate. They are also asked to "take it and put it in its place", though what "it" is remains completely obscure. The Hittites kept bees in hives but there are few text references to them.⁶⁴ A ritual dealing with a bee in some way is noted in a catalogue text but unfortunately the line is broken.⁶⁵

After being found by the Bee and aroused from sleep according to Hannahannas' instructions, the deity is very angry,⁶⁶ and, in one version, causes even worse destruction than when he first disappeared.⁶⁷ The deity is purified with wahesnaš watar⁶⁸ and the Eagle is called upon to help check the deity's anger.⁶⁹ The deity returns home bringing with him all the good things which he had taken away and the disasters are rectified.⁷⁰ A ritual of magic analogies remains to be performed.

⁶² In Lihzina CTH 324 3rd ver. B II 4, KUB XXXIII 33:13, Palaic myth I 14; In Hattusas KUB XXXIII 13 II 25.

⁶³ CTH 324 3rd ver. B II 5; cf. CTH 324 2nd ver. B II 6. For a parallel with the Finnish Kalevala see Gurney, Hittites 189.

⁶⁴ cf. Laws § 91, 92.

⁶⁵ KUB XXX 46 right 3, I TUP-PU ma-a-an NIM.LAL-aš[.

⁶⁶ CTH 324 3rd ver. B II 4 ff.; KUB XXXIII 34 (CTH 332) obv. 1 ff. Should CTH 325 A II 1-2 and CTH 324 2nd D II 11 ff. be seen as parallels to this episode?

⁶⁷ CTH 324 3rd ver. B II 9 ff.

⁶⁸ CTH 325 A II 4 ff.; CTH 332=KUB XXXIII 34 obv. 5. See also CTH 324 1st ver. A II 9 with n. 10, CTH 334 H II 1 with n. 5 and KBo XXI 57 III 6 ff. (under CTH 329-330 frags.).

⁶⁹ CTH 324 2nd ver. D II 15 ff., 3rd ver. B II 19 ff.; KUB XXXIII 34 (CTH 332) obv. 6.

⁷⁰ CTH 325 A II 9 ff.; KUB XXXIII 34 (CTH 332) obv. 13 ff.

In two versions, CTH 324 1st ver. and CTH 325, there is a special ritual performed by Kamrusepa with twelve sheep.⁷¹ This ritual is more fully described in the duplicate KBo VIII 73 II.⁷²

Kamrusepa says to the gods, "Go, O gods! Behold Hapantalis is [grazing] the sheep of the Sun-god. Cut out twelve male sheep!" She treated the se[lect]ed (sheep) of the Weather-god ritually. Its head corr[esponds] to (his) head. Its fore[head corresponds to] (his) foreh[ead. Its nose] (corresponds to his) nose. Its mouth [corresponds to his mouth.] Its throat [corresponds to his th]roat. Its lun[g corresponds to his lung. Its penis cor]responds to his pen[is.]

This is a type of ritual used to cure sickness in humans. Since the "anger, rage, wrath, sins..." of the deity ^{and} is viewed as something physical and moveable like sickness, a ritual for removing sickness can be used to exorcise the "anger, rage,..." also. Kamrusepa, as the Goddess of Healing, is the natural individual to perform the rite.

Ritual activities in the disappearing deity texts can be divided into two types - a "sacrificial" or "cultic" type and a "prayer" or "exhortatory" type.⁷³ Any passage where a deity, a place, or a substance is called upon to act in a certain way or to have certain characteristics is considered to be "exhortatory". "Cultic" passages are those in which directions are given for the preparation of the suppliant or sacrificial materials or for the presentation of the offerings.

The largest proportion of ritual passages in the standard version texts fall into the exhortatory category. Most of these passages involve

⁷¹ On this type of ritual see Haas, Or. NS. 40 (1971) 410 - 430 esp. 421 ff. where this passage is discussed. The conclusions drawn there concerning the origin of the disappearing deity myth/ritual will be taken up in detail in Part II, Section 3.

⁷² Transliteration Or. NS 40,422. Due to the presence of ^DIM-aš in line 11 it appears most probable that this text belongs to a version of the Weather-god's disappearance. cf. ibid. n. f.

⁷³ cf. The distinction between "Magische" and "Kultische" treatment used by Szabó, Entsühnungsritual, 85 ff. which she admits is somewhat arbitrary (88).

the presentation of some substance to the deity with an accompanying request. The request invariably centers on a characteristic of the offered substance, and, by analogy, tries to give that characteristic to the deity or to a part of him. If the characteristic is desirable, the deity's soul or heart is told to adopt it. However, if the characteristic is undesirable, the suppliant requests that it affect the deity's anger. In other passages various places are called upon to allow the deity's anger (when it has left his body) to pass on to the underworld and not enter fertile land.⁷⁴ Cauldrons of bronze (CTH 324 1st ver.) or of iron (CTH 324 2nd ver.) which lie in the underworld⁷⁵ are asked to hold the deity's anger forever.⁷⁶ Such passages comprise the entire ritual contained in CTH 324 1st ver., 2nd ver., CTH 327, CTH 334 and almost all in CTH 325,⁷⁷ CTH 326 (see A:1-6), CTH 328 (see A rev. 5-7).

The ritual portion of CTH 329-330 presents a different picture. By far the larger proportion of the text concerns cultic activities.⁷⁸ It is probable that some exhortatory passages have been lost, for tablet H, which contains the myth, is badly damaged. However in column IV of this tablet, the exhortatory passages which would be expected on the analogy of CTH 324 1st ver. and CTH 325 are not present. Texts A, C, D, E, F, and J are filled with cultic matters, as is most of B which also contains

⁷⁴ CTH 324 1st ver. A IV 8 ff., 2nd ver. D III 3 ff.; CTH 325 A IV 1 ff.; CTH 334 A II 2 ff.

⁷⁵ On the cauldrons in CTH 331 which are in the sea, see Part II, Section 2, under the "Weather-god of Nerik" and "CTH 331".

⁷⁶ CTH 324 1st ver. A IV 14 ff., 2nd ver. D III 7 ff.; CTH 325 A IV 6 ff.; CTH 334 A II 5 ff. cf. StBot 8, 106.

⁷⁷ B I is probably cultic.

⁷⁸ cf. Laroche, CTH 329 "mugawar et rituel".

a prayer for blessings. The only text of any size which contains exhortatory material is G, which may represent part of the lost columns II and III of text H. A few fragments also show exhortatory contents.⁷⁹

CTH 333 is another text which contains a large amount of cultic activity. The twenty-five lines of A I before the beginning of the myth are devoted to the presentation of offerings. It is impossible to tell how much cultic or exhortatory activity there was for much of the tablet is lost. If KUB XVII 23, a mugawar for Anzili and Zukki, belongs to this text⁸⁰ the proportion of cultic to exhortatory activity would be even greater.

When the various ritual activities have appeased the deity and banished his anger, he returns home and takes up his duties once more. In CTH 325 the return is described twice, once (A II 9 ff.) as a return to the deity's divine station and once (A IV 10 ff.) as a return to his worldly duties. CTH 328 also contains two descriptions of the deity's return, but a distinction such as that in CTH 325 does not appear to be maintained. As can be seen from Table II, all versions contain approximately the same description of the effects of the deity's return. It should be noted that, like the versions which abbreviated the "catalogue of disasters" (see Table I), the concentration is upon the home and agriculture.

As a sign that all is well an eya-tree stands before the deity with a sheep's fleece on it filled with good things, (e.g. "long years, sons and daughters, sheep-fat"). It is unclear whether this is cultic instruction or whether it is part of the myth. It is possible that both could be the case - while the myth is being told concerning all the good things which the deity has in the fleece upon the eya-tree, the suppliant would put symbols of such things⁸¹ into a fleece hanging on an eya-tree. In

⁷⁹ KUB XXXIII 64 +; KUB XXXIII 65 (cf. RHA 25/ f. 77, 133 f.); KUB XXXII 138; KBo XXI 57; KBo XXI 59.

⁸⁰ cf. CTH p. 76.

⁸¹ Compare the symbol of "good" held by many statues.

Table II

CTH 324 1st ver.	325	326	327	328	333	334 ⁸²	332 ⁸³	XXXIII 12 ⁸⁴	XXXIII 40 ⁸⁵
1 windows	x	* (?)	x	x ⁸⁶	x	*	x	x	x
2 house	x	* (?)	*	x ⁸⁶	x ⁸⁷	*	* ⁸⁹	x	x
3 logs & hearth	x	x	x	x	x	*	x	x	x
4 gods & altars	x	x	x	x	x	*	* (?)	o	x
5 sheep	x	x	*	x	x	*	* (?)	x	*
6 cows	x	x	x	x	x	*	x	x	
7 mother & child	x	o	*	*	x ⁸⁸	x	x	o	*
8 sheep & lamb	x	o	*	*	o	x	* (?)	x	*
9 cow & calf	x	o	*	*	o	x	* (?)	x	*
10 King & Queen	x	o	*	* (?)	o	x	x	x	*

Legend: x = present
 o = absent
 * = broken

⁸² KUB XXXIII 38, (RHA 25/ f. 77, 144 f.).

⁸³ KUB XXXIII 34.

⁸⁴ cf. RHA 25/ f. 77, 107 f.

⁸⁵ cf. RHA 25/ f. 77, 165.

⁸⁶ In both columns II and III.

⁸⁷ "Floor".

⁸⁸ "Husband and wife" added.

⁸⁹ "Male and female slaves" added.

CTH 329-330 B III 31 ff., F III 17 ff. an eya-tree is brought down from Mt. Sidduwa but there is no apparent connection with the return of a deity. In CTH 326 (C III 9 ff.) and 327 (A III 10 ff.) the fleece is hung before the altar and functions as an offering substance in a magic analogy. There is no mention of an eya-tree. The scene of the eya-tree is the last portion of any text which can be understood. It is unknown how the standard version ends.

Weather-god of Nerik.

The text concerning the disappearance of the Weather-god of Nerik, KUB XXXVI 89, contains a rendition of the myth related to the standard version in only the most general way.⁹⁰ The closest correspondence between the myths is that in both cases the deity withdraws because he is angry. Other parallel points are hinted or can be deduced, but the vague way in which the myth of the Weather-god of Nerik's disappearance is told necessarily limits the possibilities of correspondence or contrast with other myths. The myth can be summarized in the following way.

The Weather-god of Nerik becomes angry and goes down a hole into the underworld⁹¹ to "the shores of the nine seas" and "the banks of the noble rivers".⁹² By doing this he slights the city of Nerik, the Weather-god (of Heaven) and the king and queen.⁹³ The Sun-god of Heaven is informed of the Weather-god of Nerik's disappearance and the Weather-god of Heaven begins the attempt to secure the Weather-god of Nerik's return.⁹⁴ The Weather-god of Heaven gives instructions to the Marassantas River, telling

⁹⁰ cf. KN 106 f.; Macqueen, Anat. St. 9 (1959) 171 ff.

⁹¹ obv. 12, 19 - 20.

⁹² rev. 4 f. In the standard version the deity hides in or near a city (Lihzina: CTH 324 3rd ver. B II 4; KUB XXXIII 33:13; CTH 331 III 6, 9; Palaic myth I 4; Hattusas: KUB XXXIII 13 II 25) or on the moor (CTH 324 1st ver. I 12 f.).

⁹³ obv. 14 ff. if this passage has been correctly restored and understood. Compare the "catalogue of disasters" in the standard version.

⁹⁴ rev. 7 ff. Compare the Sun-god's calling of a feast and the role of the "leader" in the standard version.

it not to allow the Weather-god of Nerik to go anywhere else. The Weather-god of Heaven recites a short myth telling how the Marassantas River came to have its present course, probably to establish his right to give the river orders.⁹⁵ The Weather-god of Heaven apparently gives instructions to Wruntemu also, but the text does not preserve them.⁹⁶ This is virtually the end of the myth. There is no description, or even a mention, of the god's actual return. The text does not relate how the Weather-god of Nerik was persuaded to return or how he was appeased and purged of his anger. The last lines of the text are a plea to the Weather-god of Heaven to bring the weather-god of Nerik back home.

The non-mythical portion of the text is also distinct from that of the standard version texts. Though some offerings are made,⁹⁷ prayer is the main technique used to secure the deity's return. Magic is completely absent. Prayers are directed to the Weather-god of Nerik himself as well as to his relations - the Weather-god of Heaven, the Sun-goddess of Arinna, Wrunsemu, Ereškigal and Sulinkatte.⁹⁸ It should be noted that none of the deities has a "helping" role of the type that Hannahannas, Inaras, or Ishtar perform elsewhere. The pleas to the Weather-god of Nerik to return and resume his duties, along with the requests to other deities to urge or force the Weather-god of Nerik to return, are given a far more prominent place in the text than the mythological passages. This contrasts sharply with the standard version in which the myth appears to be the major element in the text.

It has already been noted that the Weather-god of Nerik hides in a place quite different from that in which the deities of the standard version

⁹⁵ rev. 10 ff. It was the Weather-god of Heaven who moved the river near Nerik, cf. KN 170 under "11 ff." and "13 ff."

⁹⁶ cf. rev. 10. Are the instructions lost in the damaged lines rev. 24-36? The comparable episodes in the standard version are the instructions given by the Sun-god to the Eagle and by Hannahannas to the Bee.

⁹⁷ obv. 2 - 9, 50 - 53.

⁹⁸ For the relationship of these deities to each other and to the Weather-god of Nerik see KN 95 - 100.

hide. The text says explicitly that the Weather-god of Nerik went into a hole (obv. 12) and to the shores of the seas and banks of the rivers (rev. 4 f.), yet he is called upon to return from a wide variety of places. Listed in order of their first appearance they are: the dark earth (obv. 20); Marassantas River (obv. 26); nanakuššiyant- (obv. 27); the four corners (of the world) (obv. 28); the deep wave (obv. 28); the sea (rev. 21); the waves (rev. 21); the nine river banks (rev. 22); the bank of the Nakkiliyantas River (rev. 22 f.); dahanturiya (rev. 37). Leaving aside nanakuššiyant- and dahanturiya which are of uncertain meaning,⁹⁹ and "the four corners (of the world)" which appears to be an all inclusive phrase implying nothing about the Weather-god of Nerik's actual location, the list is reduced to the underworld and two types of water, the sea and rivers. It has been thought that there were two differing conceptions of where the Weather-god of Nerik had gone,¹⁰⁰ but this does not appear to be the case. At one point the text reads (rev. 21 f.), "From down in the sea, from under the [wav]es [may it (the Nakkiliyantas River) bring] him. May it bring him from down by the nine river banks." The consistent use here of kattan "down" along with the mention that the Weather-god of Nerik was in the underworld seems to indicate that rivers and seas could be thought of as being in the underworld.¹⁰¹

A connection between the sea and the underworld occurs in texts of both Hattian and Hurrian background. In the "Song of Ullikummi", after Ullikummi is born ~~and has been~~ and has been named,¹⁰² Kumarbi sends Impaluri, the Sea's vizier,¹⁰³ to fetch the Irsirras who will take Ullikummi and place

⁹⁹ cf. KN 161 f., 171.

¹⁰⁰ Note that in obv. 12 it is only the hole which is mentioned while in rev. 4 f. only the seas and rivers are mentioned. cf. Macqueen, Anat. St. 9, 171, 173.

¹⁰¹ On the connection between the underworld and water viewed from another angle see Macqueen, op. cit. 172 ff. But note that the equation TÚL = hattešsar is based upon the false reading TÚL-ni instead of the correct TÚL-i, cf. KN 170. See also KN 103 ff.

¹⁰² On these activities see Hoffner, JNES 27 (1968) 198-203.

¹⁰³ The background of Impaluri's presence at the side of Kumarbi will be discussed in Part II, Section 1 under "Sun-god".

him on Upelluri's shoulder. The exact instructions are significant:

[This child(?)] take, and as a gift(?) [treat(?)] him, and to the dark Earth carry him! Hurry, hasten! And on Upelluri's right shoulder as a blade(?) put him!¹⁰⁴

Similarly in the Hedammu myth when Mukisanu, Kumarbi's vizier, goes to the Sea to invite him to a feast, Mukisanu, ~~travels~~ "under river (and) earth",¹⁰⁵ and the Sea does likewise in returning to Kumarbi with him. In both cases the route is chosen in order to avoid detection but this does not diminish the idea that there was a direct route to the sea through the underworld.¹⁰⁶ Equally striking is the fact that in the Old Hittite ritual for a new palace, KUB XXIX 1 - 3,¹⁰⁷ when the Throne sends the Eagle to the sea, the Eagle sees two underworld deities spinning when it arrives.¹⁰⁸ In KUB XXXIII 66 II¹⁰⁹ the Sun-god puts a number of evils in copper vessels in order that they perish. These vessels are described as lying "in the sea". This imagery occurs more than once in texts of the disappearing deity motif and is paralleled in other texts.¹¹⁰ But in these other cases the cauldrons are lying "in the dark earth". In the ritual to the underworld deities, CTH 446,¹¹¹ water from the sea is necessary and is brought by a falcon (II 40 ff.). The sea is mentioned in magic analogies (II 52 ff., IV 37 ff) in the same text. A decision as to whether a sea was thought to be part of the underworld or whether the sea was merely an

¹⁰⁴ After Güterbock JCS 5, 155.

¹⁰⁵ Text 9. in the edition of Siegelová, StBoT 14.

¹⁰⁶ cf. KN 104 n. 2.

¹⁰⁷ cf. CTH 414 for literature.

¹⁰⁸ Translation of this section by Güterbock, MAW 149.

¹⁰⁹ Translated in Part I.

¹¹⁰ See Part II, Section 1 under "Standard Version" with n. 76; Hoffner, JNES 27 (1968) 65 f.; Otten, StBoT 8, 106 with n. 22.

¹¹¹ References are to the edition of Otten, ZA 54 (1961) 114-157.

adequate substitute for the underworld in some contexts must await further study, but it is clear that a connection or overlap between the two exists.¹¹²

Inaras

The text of the disappearance of Inaras, CTH 336, is unfortunately so broken that no continuous story can be reconstructed, making already difficult passages even more obscure by their isolation. This discussion, for that reason, will be confined to individual points which require elucidation or which can be profitably compared to other versions of the motif. No all encompassing view of the myth can be achieved.

Like certain other texts¹¹³ cultic activities precede the myth,¹¹⁴ but in this case the offerings are presented to ZABABA who plays a large though obscure part in the myth. The first episode in which ZABABA appears is in 1. B II where he seems to be antagonistic to Inaras, the Bee, or both. His second occurrence is in 5. rev., where Hannahannas is giving him instructions or advice before he meets the Sun-god. The nurses' three sons are probably also present at the meeting. It is tempting to assume that these two episodes are closely connected and that in the meeting the Sun-god will call ZABABA to account for his behavior to Inaras and/or the Bee. If this is the case the statement by Hannahannas, "Year by year

¹¹² On the connection between the underworld and the sea in other ancient Near Eastern societies see Tallquist, Sum.-Akkad. Namen der Totenwelt 8 with n. 5; Heidel, Gilgamesh Epic 178; Kaiser, Myth. Bed. d. Meeres 120 - 1.

¹¹³ CTH 333, 329 - 330, KUB XXXVI 89.

¹¹⁴ 1. A I, B I; 2. I; 3. I. The double paragraph line which Laroche (RHA 25/ f. 77, 147 n. 1) sees in 1. A I appears, from the hand copy, to be simply a twice drawn single line, the first of which does not reach all the way across the column.

may you keep going into battle" (5. rev. 10) could be taken as an assurance to ZABABA that he will be pardoned and will continue fighting battles for the gods.

The clearest parallels between this and other texts of the disappearing deity motif concern the activities of the Bee. The instructions given to the Bee by Hannahannas,¹¹⁵ particularly the mention of wax, recall the instructions she gave it in some texts of the standard version.¹¹⁶ When the Weather-god sends the Bee in search of Inaras (3. II 7 ff.), the Bee goes to Hannahannas, who has just been in conversation with Inaras, and informs her of the Weather-god's concern. Whether or not the Bee also meets Inaras at this point is not known. In another (earlier?) episode (1. B II 5), the Bee is sent to Inaras with a message from Hannahannas. The import of the message or whether it was delivered is not known. The Bee also brings Inaras' shield to Hannahannas (2. III).

A shield is mentioned as an attribute of a number of deities. Zithariya, Zithariya of Halenzuwa and ^DKAL of Halenzuwa are represented in their temples as shields.¹¹⁷ Shields are held by Mt. Isk[isa](?),¹¹⁸ ^DKAL.LÍL, ^DKAL of Dala, and ZABABA of Kammama.¹¹⁹ From the importance of the shield in the myth of Inaras' disappearance it would appear that the ^DKAL who is connected with a shield is Inaras.¹²⁰

The text never states that Inaras became angry, nor is there any other indication of the reason why she disappeared. Whether or not

¹¹⁵ KUB XXXIII 58 (=4.). Not translated here. For the transliteration see RHA 25/ f. 77, 151 f.

¹¹⁶ cf. CTH 324 2nd ver. B II 4 ff., 3rd ver. A II 3 ff.

¹¹⁷ cf. Table in MIO 9, 204 ff. for text references. See also Otten, *Fest. Fried.* 351 ff., Hb.Or. 111; Güterbock, NHF 67 ff; Jacob-Rost, MIO 8, 168 f. with n. 44 & 45.

¹¹⁸ cf. RHA 26/ f. 83 no. 82.

¹¹⁹ cf. Table in MIO 9, 204 ff.

¹²⁰ cf. *kur-ša-aš* ^DKAL-ri KUB XLI 10 IV 15 = CTH 329-330 C. For other readings of ^DKAL cf. NH 289 f., 295.

anger caused her to abandon her duties, her absence had dire consequences. Neither men nor animals were to be seen following her disappearance, for they were all dead (1. B II 8 ff. esp. 13 - 14). In only one other text are the results of a deity's anger so extreme (cf. CTH 324 3rd ver. B II 9 ff. esp. 13), and in this case Telipinus' anger has been redoubled due to the rude awakening of him by the Bee. Whatever caused Inaras to leave apparently required a nurse to cure. Like the "anger, wrath..." which affects the deity in the standard version, the cause, or at least a manifestation of Inaras' disappearance is treated as if it were an illness. The text may have included an aetiological tale of the origin of the nursing profession for instead of calling upon a nurse to help, someone (Hannaharas?) commands someone or something (the rock??) to "become a nurse".¹²¹ Unfortunately the text is in such bad condition wherever the nurse is mentioned that nothing is known of her activities.

Sun-god

There exist two¹²² renditions of the disappearance of the Sun-god, CTH 322, 323, both of them distinctly different from other versions of the motif. In spite of the fact that the two myths vary considerably, on one basic point they are identical: The Sun-god's disappearance is not due to his anger but rather the Sun-god is absent against his will for he has been captured by the Sea. These myths involve, in addition to an attempt to regain a deity, some form of battle against opposing forces.

¹²¹ 5. B obv., not translated here. Transliteration RHA 25/ f. 77, 153.

¹²² Excluding the fragment of a standard version myth mentioned at the beginning of this section.

The two major motifs of Hittite mythology, the battle with a monster and the disappearance of a deity, are combined in these texts.

The Sea's importance in CTH 322 and 323 is considerable. A detailed study of his character is necessary for a full understanding of these myths. In Hittite texts of Hattian, Hurrian, and even Syrian background, the Sea, as a mythical person or deity, is conceived of as antagonistic to the "Olympian" gods, the Weather-god and his circle. Not every occurrence of arunaš contains this concept, for the sea, as a conspicuous natural phenomenon, is often mentioned without being attributed any personality at all. Most occurrences of the latter type are irrelevant to the present discussion and will be omitted,¹²³ but others, for example the sea as the battle ground in both the Illuyankas and Ullikummi myths, deserve some mention. To elucidate the antagonistic character of the Sea, portions of the following texts will be presented and discussed: the "Song of Ullikummi", the Hedammu myth, the tale of Ishtar and Mt. Pisaisa, the Battle between the Weather-god and the Sea. All of these myths have either a Hurrian or Syrian background. The myth of Illuyankas is the only Hattian myth, excluding CTH 322 and 323, from which this characteristic of the Sea can be deduced. It appears that in the second version of the myth at least, Illuyankas lives in or near the sea.¹²⁴ In this regard arunaš illuyankaš, "dragon of the sea" should be mentioned.¹²⁵ A structural

¹²³ For a general survey of references to the sea in Hittite literature and an etymological discussion of aruna- see Puhvel in St. to J. Whatmough, 225 - 237. On the general characteristics of the sea in some other cultures see Kaiser, Myth. Bed. d. Meeres.

¹²⁴ cf. A III 22. Transliteration in RHA 25/ f. 77, 65 ff.

¹²⁵ cf. Laroche, OIZ 1956, 422.

identity between Illuyankas and the Sea will be shown later in this subsection.

In the "Song of Ullikummi" the Sea plays the obvious role of hiding Ullikummi until he has grown so large that he stands out of the water down to his belt (1st Tab. A IV 30).¹²⁶ Although this may not necessarily imply collusion of the Sea with Kumarbi, such a hypothesis would provide a clear explanation for the following episode, which precedes the birth of Ullikummi, so far thought to be obscure.¹²⁷ At the beginning of 1st Tab. A II Impaluri, the Sea's vizier, goes to speak with the Sea after meeting with or spying on Kumarbi. ("He saw Kumarbi. [] to the Sea he went", 1st Tab. II 7 f.).

If Stefanini¹²⁸ is followed in admitting only one verb, šakuwai-, then 1st Tab. A II 12 f. can be translated, "I saw [him]. Kumarbi is seated on (his) throne", i.e. the throne of kingship of the gods.¹²⁹ Thus informed of Kumarbi's strong position, the Sea sends Impaluri back to Kumarbi with a complaint and invitation.

Why against (my) house in anger camest thou, (so that)
trembling the house seized and fear the servants seized?
For thee, cedar(-resin) has long been broken, dishes for
thee have long been cooked, for thee by day and night the
singers the lutes hold set. Get up, and to my house come!
(1st Tab. C II 7 ff.)

Kumarbi comes to the Sea's house and is served food and drink. The feast was a gay one according to 1st Tab. C II 28 ff.,

Once they drank, twice they drank, three times they drank,
four times they drank, five times they drank, six times
they drank, seven times they drank.

The result of this meeting between the Sea and Kumarbi was an order from

¹²⁶ References and translations following the edition of Güterbock JCS 5 (1951) 135 - 161, 6 (1952) 8 - 42.

¹²⁷ cf. Güterbock, JCS 5, 138 right column.

¹²⁸ Pud. 52 f. n. 2; cf. HW Erg. 3, 27.

¹²⁹ cf. Goetze apud Güterbock, JCS 6, 34.

Kumarbi to his vizier, Mukišanu, to tell something to "the waters". Unfortunately the tablet breaks off before the message is learned, but there can be no doubt that Kumarbi accepted the Sea's long proffered friendship and that the two parted on good terms. This is well demonstrated by a later incident. After Ullikummi is born, Kumarbi needs someone to raise him. He decides that Ullikummi should be turned over to the Irsirras to be transported to Upelluri's shoulder. Kumarbi dispatches Impaluri to fetch the Irsirras (1st Tab. A III 37 ff.). ^{That} ~~What~~ the Sea's vizier, Impaluri, is running errands for Kumarbi, is only understandable upon the assumption that the Sea has joined forces with Kumarbi.

The relationship between Kumarbi and the Sea in the Hedammu myth¹³⁰ is parallel to that in the "Song of Ullikummi", or perhaps even closer. Hedammu's home is in the sea,¹³¹ from which he apparently derives strength.¹³² Text L contains a conversation between the Sea and Kumarbi concerning the Sea's daughter, Sertapsuruhi. The full context is not clear but it appears that the Sea is offering Sertapsuruhi to Kumarbi (11 - 13) and that Kumarbi is pleased with the idea (14). It is quite possible that Sertapsuruhi is Hedammu's mother, for in a small fragment containing the names Hedammu and Sertapsuruhi the phrase "my mother" occurs.¹³³ It also appears that the Sea is present at Hedammu's birth which would indicate a close relationship.¹³⁴ As in the "Song of Ullikummi", Kumarbi and the Sea feast together (9. 16 ff.).

¹³⁰ References are to text numbers in the edition of Siegelová, StBoT 14.

¹³¹ cf. 4., 5., 11., 12., 16.

¹³² cf. daššauaš A^{HI.A} -naš 16:6, etc., StBoT 14, 81.

¹³³ 13., StBoT 14, 78.

¹³⁴ 28., but see StBoT 14, 81 f.

Despite the poor state of many relevant tablets and the resultant difficulty in determining to exact relations between Kumarbi and the Sea, the picture which emerges from what can be understood is that of close co-operation between the two, probably including relationship by marriage. Friendship of the Sea for Kumarbi implies a concomitant animosity for the Weather-god and his circle. This animosity is made explicit in two texts which mention or describe a battle between the Sea and the Weather-god. In KUB XXXIII 108,¹³⁵ a myth concerning Ishtar and Mt. Pisiaia,¹³⁶ the battle is mentioned as follows: 16 ff. "I will proclaim (your) life [with that weapon^(?)] with which the Weather-god beat the Sea [and with^(?) wh]ich the mountains, an[gered^(?), b]eat the Weather-god in battle". Of the second battle nothing further is known, but the fragment KUB XXXIII 89 + XXXVI 21,¹³⁷ contains part of a description of the battle between the Weather-god and the Sea. As has often been shown, these texts reflect the famous myth of the conflict between Ba'al and Yamm, the Sea-god.¹³⁸

An obscure text, KUB XXXVI 25,¹³⁹ probably also described some activities of the Sea directed against the Weather-god's circle. The Sun-god has a more prominent role in this myth than in the four just discussed. In column I the Sea and the Sun-god feast together, after

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- ¹³⁵ cf. Güterbock, Kumarbi, 122; Friedrich, JKF 2 (1952) 147 ff.; Otten, MDOG 85 (1953) 35 f.; Laroche, RHA 26/ f. 82 (1968) 71 f. This text contains the very old motif of a sleeping goddess being ravished. For a Sumerian version see Kramer, Arch. Or. 17/1 (1949) 399 ff. For a similar tale involving only mortals see S. Thompson's Motif-Index of Folk Literature (1955-1958) T475.2.1. See listings H81.5, K1325.1, N723, T36 and T475.2 for other permutations of the motif.
- ¹³⁶ Located in Syria. cf. Laroche, JCS 2 (1948) 118; Güterbock, MAW 155; Gonnet, RHA 26/ f. 83, no. 161 esp. the relationship to Mt. Lablana, no. 99
- ¹³⁷ cf. Otten, Mythen vom Gotte Kumarbi; Laroche, RHA 26/f.82, 69 f.
- ¹³⁸ Ginsberg, ANET 129 ff.; cf. Kaiser, Myth. Bed. d. Meeres, 44 - 77; Oldenburg, Conflict Between El and Ba'al.
- ¹³⁹ cf. Otten, Mythen vom Gotte Kumarbi; Laroche, RHA 26/ f. 82 (1968) 72 ff.

which the Sun-god is questioned concerning his lack of entourage.¹⁴⁰ The text breaks off and columns II and III are missing. In column IV the Sea is lamenting his fate. Apparently he offended the gods in some way and is being punished. In the light of what has been presented above concerning the Sea, this is not surprising. Unfortunately the connection between the Sea's meeting with the Sun-god and his offence against the gods is unknown, although the Sea's interest in the fact that the Sun-god is alone in column I could be taken as support of an assumption that the Sea captured the Sun-god as in CTH 322 and 323.

Other texts containing references or supposed references which connect the Sun-god to the Sea or to water deserve mention. In a prayer of Muwatallis, the Sun-god is said to rise out of the sea.¹⁴¹ This is generally understood as relating to the travels of the Sun-god under the earth each night.¹⁴² If this is the case, it is another example for the connection of the Sea with the underworld.¹⁴³ The fact that the Sun-god of Heaven can be represented with fishes on his head,¹⁴⁴ may result from the same concept. The Sun-god of Water (^DUTU ME) is a rarely mentioned aspect of the deity.¹⁴⁵ Any relationship to the "God of Water" (A-aš DINGIR^{LIM})¹⁴⁶ in a ritual for underworld deities is unclear. The so-called "Sun-god in the water" does not exist. The concept is based upon an original misunderstanding of KBo V 2 II 13 by Sommer and Ehelolf¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁰ Or so it seems. Neither LÚ_{ha-} or LÚ_{kallištarwanaš} is fully understood, but the fact that the Sun-god does not have either type of person with him (and is therefore alone?) is certainly the point of I 10 - 11.

¹⁴¹ KUB VI 45 III 13 - 17; cf. ANET 397 ff.

¹⁴² Kl. 137 f.; Hittites, 139 f.

¹⁴³ See Part II, Section 1 under the "Weather-god of Nerik".

¹⁴⁴ cf. Jacob-Rost MIO 8 (1963) 177 line 6.

¹⁴⁵ For references see Laroche, Recherches 106.

¹⁴⁶ CTH 446 II 31, cf. the edition of Otten, ZA 54 (1961) 114 ff.

¹⁴⁷ BoSt 10 (1924) 63 n. 1.

which has persisted. The text reads (II 10 ff.),

nu hu-up-ru-uš-hi-in wa-ar-nu-wa-an-zi nu-za ^{LÚ}AZU / I
 MUŠEN.GAL da-a-i na-an-kán A-NA ^DEN.ZU / ú-i-te-e-ni
^DŠa-a-ri-im-im-ti Ši-pa-an-ti / ¹⁴⁸ nu-za nam-ma I MUŠEN.GAL
da-a-i na-an-kán ŠA ^DUTU ú-i-te-e-ni / ^DŠa-a-lu-uš
pí-i-te-in-hi Ši-pa-an-ti

They burn the huprušhi-vessel.¹⁴⁹ The Seer takes a fowl and sacrifices it to the Moon-god, to the Water (and) to Sarimmati. He takes a further fowl and sacrifices it to the Water of the Sun-goddess¹⁵⁰ (and) to Sala, the Lady of the Palace.¹⁵¹

There can be no doubt that the water referred to in II 13 is a ritual material and not an epithet of the Sun-god. Water is mentioned at other points in the ritual where there is no mention of a Sun-deity. In the list of materials for the ritual there is (I 20 f.), "XIV DUG ME-E Ši-i-il-la-aš ú-i-te-e-ni XIV DUG ME-E ..." and in I 43 "II DUG A" occurs. Following the fowl sacrifices quoted above, "the Seer breaks one (loaf of) mulati-bread into ~~(a vessel)~~ of water and places it on the ground."¹⁵² After a recitation in Hurrian the text states that "the waters pass the night under the stars".¹⁵³

The two texts of the Sun-god's disappearance, OTH 322 and 323, differ in many respects, but the Sea's capture of the Sun-god demonstrating the Hattian-Hittite view of the Sea's animosity to the "Olympian" pantheon, is not the only point of similarity. In some aspects both texts parallel

¹⁴⁸ Paragraph line.

¹⁴⁹ HW 75.

¹⁵⁰ cf. I 52]x ták-na-a-aš ^DUTU-i ú-i-da-a-ar ú-e-wa-ak-ki.

¹⁵¹ cf. Laroche, Rech. 57 on pitenhi.

¹⁵² II 17 f. nu ^{LÚ}AZU I ^{NINDA} mu-u-la-a-ti-in ú-i-te-e-ni a-wa-an
kat-ta pár-Ši-ya na-an ta-ga-a-an da-a-i.

¹⁵³ II 28 nu ú-i-da-a-ar A-NA ŠA-PAL MUL^{HI.A} [š]e-eš-zi.

other versions of the motif. For example, it is the Weather-god who organizes the attempts to get the Sun-god back in both CTH 322 and 323 as he does in most renditions of the standard version and in KUB XXXVI 89. In CTH 322 he sends Telipinus alone to bring back the Sun-god from the Sea. Similarly, in CTH 323, after an unsuccessful search by unidentified deities, the Weather-god sends ZABABA, Inararas and Telipinus individually.¹⁵⁴ In most of the standard versions there is only a general statement that "the great deities and the lesser deities began to search" for the absent god. In CTH 324 1st ver. I 32 ff., however, the Weather-god himself conducts an individual search before calling upon Hannahannas, who sends the Bee. Another reference to an individual search exists in CTH 325 where Hannahannas tells the Father of the Weather-god to search himself, but the Father does not do so.

In CTH 322 and 323 the Sun-god has not gone off to hide in anger, rather he has been captured. In order to restore the Sun-god, it is necessary to defeat those forces which have captured him and are attacking the world. In CTH 322 this causes very little difficulty. Seemingly soon after the Sun-god's capture by the Sea and the resultant disaster, the Weather-god fully understands the situation and dispatches Telipinus to the Sea. Upon seeing Telipinus the Sea becomes afraid and gives both his own daughter and the Sun-god to Telipinus. As in KUB XXXVI 89, the location of the absent deity is known; the only concern is with affecting his return. The capture of the Sun-god by the Sea as told in CTH 322 might even appear to be a mythographer's pretext for getting Telipinus married to the Sea's daughter,¹⁵⁵ but

¹⁵⁴ B I 21 - 31.

¹⁵⁵ cf. Laroche's title in CTH "Telipinu et la fille d'Océan".

such a theory cannot be supported with so much of the text missing. That the marriage was an important part of the myth is demonstrated by the space given to the discussion and enumeration of the bride-price which would legitimize the marriage.¹⁵⁶ There is no way of knowing if this bride-price satisfied the Sea and both sides of the family lived in peace, or if further disputes and conflicts occurred. As in other Hittite myths a "helping goddess", Hannahannas in this case, plays the part of advisor and decision-maker for the Weather-god.¹⁵⁷

Quite a different picture is presented in CTH 323 where the attempt to find and bring back the Sun-god does not meet with effortless success. As appears normal in disappearing deity texts, the Sun-god's whereabouts are not known. The main adversary, Hahhimas, is not as easily cowed as the Sea was in CTH 322. Hahhimas "seizes" one deity after another until the Weather-god is left alone to confront Hahhimas. The relations between Hahhimas and the Sea are unknown but it is certainly possible that they had come to an agreement paralleling the agreements between the Sea and Kumarbi in the "Song of Ullikummi" and the Hedammu myth. It appears that Hahhimas is able to "paralyse" the land only due to the absence of the Sun-god. The Sun-god is called first¹⁵⁸ when the full effects of Hahhimas' activities have been made known to the Weather-god.¹⁵⁹ When the Sun-god cannot be found, the campaign against Hahhimas takes the form of a search for the Sun-god.¹⁶⁰ Hahhimas' goal

¹⁵⁶ cf. CTH 322 I 21. Also see law §29 and commentary, Friedrich, HG 95.

¹⁵⁷ Compare Inaras in the Illuyankas myth, Ishtar in the Hedammu and Ullikummi myths and Hannahannas in the standard disappearing deity myth.

¹⁵⁸ B I 21.

¹⁵⁹ B I 7 - 20. This passage is comparable to the "catalogue of disasters" in the standard version.

¹⁶⁰ B I 25 ff.

is to win for himself the kingship of heaven. This is made clear during his conversation with the Weather-god when Hahhimas announces that he is going to heaven.¹⁶¹ Hahhimas' taunt that the Weather-god "will [never a]gain hold this cup" probably refers to Hahhimas' hopes of de-throning the Weather-god.¹⁶² In describing the reigns of Alalus and Anus in the myth of "Kingship in Heaven", it is said of Anus and Kumuvarbi that, in serving their respective king, they "would sink at his feet and set the drinking cups in his hand".¹⁶³ Cups are also held by deities on reliefs as well as by cult statues of deities who are not kings.¹⁶⁴ This shows that the cup is not a symbol of the kingship of the Gods in every case, but the general context of Hahhimas' remarks makes it probable / ^{that} the cup is symbolic of the kingship in heaven in this case and that Hahhimas is referring to the Weather-god losing his throne.

To the taunt of Hahhimas, the Weather-god replies that the cup is solidly in his hand. He supports this by saying that even though Hahhimas has seized the Weather-god's hands and feet he will never seize his eyes. If this is to be taken literally, it is very difficult to understand why Hahhimas cannot harm the Weather-god's eyes when he has immobilized his limbs. If it is to be understood metaphorically, the hands and feet must refer to either all the deities which Hahhimas has recently seized or the paralysed aspects of nature or both. Before this suggestion can be accepted, a referent for the metaphorical use of "eyes" must be found.

¹⁶¹ B I 43.

¹⁶² B I 35 f. cf. already Gaster, Thespis, 2nd edition (1961) 278, 289.

¹⁶³ KUB XXX 120 10 - 11, 17; Kumuvarbi 6; ANET 120.

¹⁶⁴ von Brandenstein, HG 85 ff.; cf. JAOS 95 (1975) 99 - 101 for texts and reliefs where El is holding a cup.

A comparison of portions of CTH 322 and the second version of the Illuyankas myth using structuralist¹⁶⁵ techniques results in an equation which indicates that the Sun-god is the referent of the metaphorical use of "eyes". The second version of the Illuyankas myth (CTH 321 D III 3 ff.)¹⁶⁶ can be summarized as follows: The Dragon conquered the Weather-god and took from him his heart and eyes. The Weather-god then married the daughter of a poor man and begot a son who married the Dragon's daughter. The Weather-god instructed his son to ask the Dragon for the Weather-god's heart and eyes. The Dragon obliges and they are returned to the Weather-god who

¹⁶⁵ A discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of structuralist theory is not feasible in this work. A full exposition of the various points of view will be found in the following bibliography. Structuralist theory as it pertains to the study of mythology has been developed primarily by Claude Lévi-Strauss. His earliest article, "The Structural Study of Myth" (1955) is contained in the collection Structural Anthropology, Chapter XI. "The Story of Asdiwal" is available in A.S.A. Monograph 5 devoted to Lévi-Strauss' work and entitled The Structural Study of Myth and Totemism (1967) edited by E. Leach, who has published structural analyses of his own. Lévi-Strauss' mature theory is put forth in the four volume Mythologiques, Le Cru et le Cuit (1964), Du Miel aux cendres (1966), L'Origine des Manières de table (1968), L'Homme nu (1971) which are available in English translation. G.S. Kirk in Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures (1970) and The Nature of Greek Myths (1974) discusses Lévi-Straussian structuralism in relation to ancient mythology. R.J.Z. Werblowsky points out the differences and similarities between Jung's and Lévi-Strauss' theories of mythology in "Structure and Archetype", JANES 5 (1973) 435 - 442. For articles based upon structuralist theory in a wide variety of fields see Structuralism, A Reader (1970) edited by M. Lane, especially the introduction which gives a good overview of the variations within structuralism. M. Gluckman's Structural Analysis in Contemporary Social Thought (1974) contains an excellent chapter on "Meanings and uses of the term structure". A structural analysis has been recently published in ZA 64 (1975) 20-34 by B. Alster entitled "On the Interpretation of the Sumerian Myth 'Inanna and Enki'".

¹⁶⁶ Transliteration and literature, Laroche, RHA 25/f.77, 63 ff.

gives battle to the Dragon a second time and kills him. The Weather-god's son urges his father not to save him, so the Weather-god slays his own son.

The structural equivalencies between this myth and CTH 322 can be tabulated thus:

CTH 322

Illuyankas, 2nd version

The Sea takes away the
Sun-god.

The Dragon takes away the Weather-
god's heart and eyes.

Telipinus marries the Sea's
daughter.

The Weather-god's son marries
the Dragon's daughter.

Telipinus brings back the
Sun-god.

The Weather-god's son brings
back the heart and eyes.

A schema of comparable units results: Sea = Dragon, Sun-god = heart and eyes, Telipinus = Weather-god's son, Sea's daughter = Dragon's daughter.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ The structural parallels drawn above should not be taken to indicate that the two myths are fully equivalent. In certain aspects the myths are exactly opposite, one being a "reversal" of the other in Lévi-Straussian terminology. There is no conflict between Telipinus and the Weather-god in CTH 322 as there is between the Weather-god and his son in the second version of the Illuyankas myth. This is due to the fact that in the former myth the marriage is patrilocal - the Sea's daughter leaves her home with Telipinus and the Sea demands a bride-price; in the latter myth the marriage is matrilocal - the Weather-god's son lives with the Dragon and a "groom-price" is demanded. (cf. Güterbock, MAW 152. This is the type of marriage involving an antiyant-. On this word and the institution see Neufeld, Hittite Laws 151 ff. and Friedrich HG 96 who both follow Balkan, Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi 6 (1948) 147-152. It has not been possible to consult the latter article.) It should be noted that the Weather-god's marriage to the poor man's daughter is probably also matrilocal. It is demonstrated by the "postscript" concerning the matrilocal "marriage" of Inaras and Hupasiyas that the opposition matrilocal/patrilocal is involved in the first version of the Illuyankas myth. The obvious moral of these myths is that any man who is involved in a matrilocal marriage can expect a bad end. Such evidence can be adduced in the discussion of social structure in the Old Kingdom and the role of the Tawannanna in determining the succession of kingship. (cf. Riemschneider, 'Die Thronfolgeordnung in althethitisches Reich' in Beiträge zur Sozialen Struktur des Alten Vorderasien, ed. H. Klenzel, pp. 79-102; Bin-Nun, 'Tawannanna, esp. 163-165.)

The degree of support for these equations from other texts is different for each equation. Telipinus is often called the Weather-god's son (e.g. CTH 324 A I 21 f., CTH 323 B I 29 f., CTH 322 A I 16 f.). Independent support for the equivalence of the Sea and Dragon and their daughters consists only of the evidence of the Sea's antagonism for the Weather-god already presented and the phrase arunaš illuyankaš.¹⁶⁸ There is no other information on the activities of these characters. The table above equates the Sun-god with the heart and eyes of the Weather-god. Other texts also suggest that a connection with eyes and seeing is an important part of the Sun-god's character. The Sun-god is said to have three pairs of eyes and see everything which happens in the world which is extremely useful for a god of justice.¹⁶⁹ In mythology this ability to see things first is illustrated by the fact that the Sun-god is the first to spot Ullikummi in the Sea. However Ishtar is the first to see Hedammu. This illustrates the "inconsistency" of mythological and religious thought; it does not diminish the idea that the Sun-god sees everything which happens. That the Sun-god calls the gods together in the standard disappearing deity version before the absence of the deity has been discovered might also be seen as resulting from his ability to see and know everything, if it is felt that the gathering was called primarily to organize a search.¹⁷⁰

If it is accepted that in CTH 323 B I 41 the Weather-god's use of the term "eyes" refers to the Sun-god, by analogy support is provided for assuming that the terms "hands" and "feet" refer to the deities which

¹⁶⁸ See earlier in this sub-section and n. 125.

¹⁶⁹ cf. Kl. 137 f. with texts and literature.

¹⁷⁰ See Part II, Section 1 under the "Standard Version".

which Hahhimas has seized and not to the land which he has paralyzed. The gods often function as "limbs" for the Weather-god, running his errands and doing his bidding.¹⁷¹ The Weather-god's speech to Hahhimas is much clearer when hands, feet and eyes are metaphorically understood as proposed. The Weather-god states that despite the fact that the other deities (hands and feet) are immobilized, the Sun-god (eyes) is safe. It will be recalled that the gods were seized while seeking the Sun-god so that he could combat Hahhimas; they were not trying to fight Hahhimas themselves. Thus in spite of the fact that Hahhimas has won the first battle (because the Sea kept the Sun-god out of the way), the Weather-god is certain of ultimate victory as Hahhimas can never defeat the Sun-god.

Though the description of the battle between Hahhimas and the Sun-god is lost, as is the manner of his return, it is certain that the Sun-god does return and conquer or banish Hahhimas. A problem remains concerning the role of Telipinus. In B IV 13 the text entitles itself "The entreaty of the Sun-god and Telipinus". In B IV 8 it says that the ritual is to be performed "when Telipinus becomes troublesome to someone". This emphasis on Telipinus is difficult to understand since the primary hero of the myth appears to be the Sun-god. As Telipinus rescues the Sun-god from the Sea in CTH 322, it is possible that he does the same in CTH 323 despite being "held" by Hahhimas (B I 31), but only further fragments can provide a definite solution.

Only a tiny portion of the ritual in CTH 322 (if column B IV belongs to the same text) is preserved. It is clear, nevertheless, that this portion of the ritual is of the "cultic" not

¹⁷¹ Akkadian texts KAR 304+337 (Lambert in The Seed of Wisdom, ed. W.S. McCullough, 11 ff.) and KAR 102 (in Falkenstein-von Soden Sumerishen und Akkadishen Hymnen und Gebete 258 f., see also Frankfort, Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man, p. 133) explicitly state that the body of a deity is made up of other deities. These are examples of syncretism (cf. Lambert, op. cit. 3 ff.) which cannot be the case in the unaffected myth CTH 323. They also come from a much later period.

"exhortatory" type. This is also true of the much longer ritual section of CTH 323 which calls itself a tarnaz (B IV 14) "ration, allotment, apportionment". The text also contains instructions for the presentation of the offerings. There is no indication that the offerings were intended to lure the deities home. It is possible that prayer or analogical magic passages have been lost but the lines preceeding the tarnaz do not appear exhortatory in any way.

CTH 331

It is not certain that CTH 331 actually is a text of the disappearing deity motif. This is due largely to the broken state of the tablet. If it does belong, it is a unique version of the motif. The indications that CTH 331 is at least related to the disappearing deity texts were considered sufficient for it to be included in this work. The myth is contained in column III. The Weather-god has departed (III 1) and someone (the Weather-god??) is killing something (III 2, 3). While in Lihzina¹⁷² the Weather-god plants and harvests crops (III 3-5, 7-9).¹⁷³ On his way home he encounters his sons who have been confronted by problems they cannot handle (III 12 ff). It seems that the Weather-god's absence, like the absence of the Sun-god in CTH 323, left the way open for an attack on the country and its inhabitants. The curing myth in column II tells of the locking up of evils in vessels (II 9 ff.). This occurs often in disappearing deity

¹⁷² In CTH 324 3rd version B II 4, KUB XXXIII 33:13 and the Palaic myth I 2, 14 the hiding deity is discovered in Lihzina.

¹⁷³ Compare the similar lines CTH 329-330 G II 4 ff. and KUB XXXIII 34 (CTH 332) obv.:8.

texts.¹⁷⁴ Other portions of column II have their closest parallels outside the disappearing deity texts.¹⁷⁵ The fact that CTH 331 is concerned with curing an illness is no argument against its belonging to the disappearing deity motif. Other disappearing deity texts have a similar function which will be fully discussed in Section 2.

The texts of the disappearing deity motif vary considerably in both ritual and myth. One version, the standard version, is told of numerous deities in renditions differing from each other only slightly. The other myths are told of one deity only. The motif itself, the only thing which all texts have in common, is little more than the barest outline of a story. A deity ceases to occupy his accustomed place and perform his accustomed duties, which results in disaster for both men and gods. The gods, working together, are eventually able to bring the missing deity back. In many versions, and perhaps all,¹⁷⁶ people are also involved in securing the return of the deity through ritual. The myth is always told within a ritual performance. The outline of the motif is similar to that of myths of the "dying god" - Tammuz, Adonis, Attis, Osiris - known in other cultures, as has been pointed out by many scholars.¹⁷⁷ The parallelism between the dying

¹⁷⁴ See n.69 & n.102. It should be noted that the double paragraph line in Laroche's transliteration does not exist in the hand copy.

¹⁷⁵ For the curing of body parts cf. CTH 390 A and B III, Laroche, RHA 25/f. 77, 169-172 (transliteration), Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7 (1961) 156 ff. (transliteration and translation); KUB XVII 8 IV, Laroche, op. cit. 166-168 (transliteration); KUB XII 26 II, esp. II 8-10, Laroche, op. cit. 168 f. (transliteration).

¹⁷⁶ The broken state of CTH 322, 323, 331 and 336 makes certainty impossible.

¹⁷⁷ cf. Eheloff, *Berliner Museen* 1928, 33 n. 3; Otten, TM 1, RAI 3 (1952) 68f., MIO 1 (1953) 134; Güterbock, "Hittite Religion", 95, 101f.; Gaster, *Thespis*; Gurney, *Hittites*, 137, 188f.

god myths and those of the disappearing deity is only superficial.¹⁷⁸ The motifs are similar only if considered purely as literature; their religious usages and backgrounds are totally different. The absence of a dying god is closely connected to the seasons and is thought to reoccur regularly. KUB XXXVI 89 might be thought to resemble the dying god myths more than other versions do because in it the god goes into the underworld. Even in it there is no hint that the god's absence reoccurs regularly; the opposite is the case. There is every indication that the myth/ritual of the disappearing deity was performed, in each case, to remedy a specific situation unconnected with the seasons and not necessarily connected with agriculture or fertility.¹⁷⁹ Despite the wide variation between the versions of the disappearing deity motif, these texts resemble each other much more than they relate to anything found elsewhere in ancient literature.

¹⁷⁸ cf. Güterbock, op. cit. 101f., MAW 144, NHF 61; Gurney, loc. cit.; Macqueen, Anat. St. 9 (1959) 173 ff.; Otten, KGAO 424. Also see Frankfort, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes XXI (1958) 141-151 against the overeasy application of the term "dying god".

¹⁷⁹ See Gurney, Hittites 189 and Part II, Section 2. The only text which is to be performed regularly is CTH 329-330 and this text is specifically impartial as to the season in which it is performed.

Section 2

Purpose and Conditions of Use

Although none of the disappearing deity texts fully describe the circumstances in which the texts were used, scholars have made suggestions as to the possible reasons for the performance of some disappearing deity rituals. These speculations have been based upon the content of the particular myth under discussion,¹ a view of the nature of the particular deity involved,² or both,³ often in conjunction with disasters which occurred about the time a ritual was performed. In religious terms the purpose of the myth/ritual, to effect the return of an absent deity, is clear. The "absence" represents some problem; the "return" represents a solution of the problem.⁴ What is the problem is not often clear. Although possibilities have been noted for a few texts a study of the circumstances of the use of the disappearing deity texts as a whole has not appeared.⁴ Despite the limited number and scope of the relevant passages such an analysis seems worthwhile.

Information relating to the circumstances in which the texts were used and the purpose of their performance is of three types: colophons or titles; passages in the myth which explicitly tell the background; passages from which it is possible to infer the purpose.

¹ cf. Otten, TM 60 f.; Güterbock, MAW 153.

² Macqueen, Anat. St. 9 (1959) 171 ff. esp. 175.

³ Gaster, Thespis (1950), 339 ff., 357 ff.; Haas, KN 141 ff.

⁴ See Güterbock, MAW 144; Gurney, Hittites, 189.

The title of CTH 329-330 (A I 1-5) says that it is to be performed each year (MU-ti meiyani)⁵ but at no specific time. It can be performed at the convenience of the Master of the House. KUB XXXVI 89 (obv. 1 f.) was composed for performance "when the Weather-god of Nerik (is) [gone] from the city, from Nera (and) Lalla". A colophon says that CTH 336 is "the incantation of life", and is performed "if the heart of a man is afraid [and/so that x] exists" (l. B III 10 f.). CTH 323 is a mugawar of Telipinus and the Sun-god which is used "when Telipinus becomes troublesome to someone" (B I 8-13).

The first line of the myths in CTH 326 and 328 say that the Weather-god was angry at Asmunikal and [the house] of Pirwa respectively.⁶ The beginning of the myth in KUB XXXVI 89 says that the god left in anger and appears to blame "bloody, murderous humanity" (DUMU^{MES} -AMELU^{UTU} i^Šharwant-).⁷ CTH 333 also starts with a statement that the deity was angry.

On the grounds that CTH 333 is recited by a midwife and that a wife is mentioned, Güterbock has concluded that this text was performed for a woman having difficulties in child birth.⁸ From CTH 331 II 16-22 it can be deduced that this text was performed to restore bodily health to an individual, even though column II is told as a myth. The similar ritual in KUB VII 1 + KBo III 8 III 1-62⁹ is also presented in mythological form. KUB XXXIII 68 (CTH 332) II 17 ff. may indicate that this text is

⁵ Güterbock RHA 81, 142. See also Josephson, Particles 108 who prefers a translation like "entire year" or "the length of the year".

⁶ cf. CTH 326 n. 2, CTH 328 n. 3.

⁷ obv. 12-14. cf. KUB XXXVI 89 n. 2.

⁸ JACS 84 (1964) 115.

⁹ Kronasser, Die Sprache 7 (1961) 156 ff.

part of a ritual to combat slander, though these particular lines could also be a charm against slander within a ritual devoted to another purpose.

Not all of the passages quoted above are particularly helpful in determining the actual circumstances in which the myth/ritual of the disappearing deity was performed since many of the statements are couched in the mythological terminology for which an explanation is being sought. A deity may be made angry by innumerable actions and also ritual omissions. Each suggestion put before the oracle in an omen text concerned with determining the cause of a deity's anger, whether or not the suggestion applies to the case in question, reveals a possible cause of divine anger. Each omen text contains many such suggestions and this type of text is among the largest in the Hittite archives.¹⁰ There is no way of knowing if the texts where it is merely said that the deity becomes angry and leaves could be used in all or only some cases of divine anger, but the vagueness within the myth on the reasons for the deity's anger would seem to indicate that the possibilities were numerous. In KUB XXXVI 89 the phrase "bloody, murderous humanity" appears to indicate that the conflict between the Hittites and the Kasga folk caused the god's anger. CTH 329-330 differs from all other texts in that it ^{was not} performed at a time of urgency. It seems probable that the Master of the house would choose a time for the performance of the ritual at which he considered the benevolence of the god to be of particular importance, but other considerations may have taken priority. There is no way of knowing upon what grounds the Master of the house made his choice.

A few of the texts quoted above do indicate explicit reasons for

¹⁰ See Gurney apud Wiseman, Alalakh Tablets 116-118, Hittites 158-160; Goetze, ANET 497-498, Kl. 148 f.

their performance. The most important of these is CTH 336 which contains a colophon detailing the conditions for its use. Unfortunately the colophon is partially broken but it is clear that this myth/ritual was used to cure excessive fright. The disappearing deity myth/ritual texts could also be used to cure physical distress or disease as is shown by CTH 333 and 331 (if the latter does belong to the disappearing deity group of texts). The use of literary compositions for healing is not unknown to the ancient Near East. In Mesopotamia, the Epic of Erra was used as an amulet against plague and ill health,¹¹ the myth of Adapa was adapted for medical purposes,¹² and the Atrahasis epic was used as an incantation for easy childbirth.¹³ This ritual usage may have been the original impetus for writing down these works.¹⁴ KUB XXXIII 68 (CTH 332) shows that, at least in part, the ritual of a disappearing deity text could have an apotropaic function.

A large group of texts - CTH 326, 328, 329-330, 333, 336, 323, 331 - were performed for individuals. Another group - CTH 324 1st ver., 2nd ver., 325, KUB XXXIII 68 (332), 334, KUB XXXVI 89 - appear to have been performed for the state.¹⁵ KUB XXXVI 89 was certainly composed for public use as is shown by the presence of the three religious functionaries - the Anointed, the Steward of Takpusa, the Weather-god man, Huzzia - the consistent mention of the dahanga-room as the place which the god left and the indication that the god's anger was caused by "humanity". The other texts have been attributed to the state group because they mention royalty and

¹¹ Reiner, JNES 19 (1960) 148 ff.

¹² Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia 267.

¹³ Speiser, ANET 104.

¹⁴ cf. Reiner-Güterbock, JCS 21 (1967) 257.

¹⁵ Many smaller fragments could be added to this group.

the land of Hatti. When the deity returns he is said to "care for the King and Queen".¹⁶ The deity is called upon to benefit and give blessings to the members of the royal family and the land of Hatti.¹⁷ Both CTH 326 and CTH 329-330, texts composed for individuals, contain parallel passages but there is no mention of "the land of Hatti".¹⁸ The "catalogue of disasters" in the state texts of the standard version covers home, agriculture and nature, a much wider range than the similar catalogue in texts used for individuals.¹⁹ This difference is most easily understood as being due to the public/private distinction in the use of the texts. It has been noted that when the texts of the standard version are arranged in order from the most to the least inclusive "catalogue of disasters", the order roughly corresponds to their chronological ordering from earliest to latest.²⁰ This indicates that the standard version, the most "literary" of all the versions of the disappearing deity myth, was first composed for use in the state cult, but later came to be used for individuals. The same progression cannot be seen for the disappearing deity myth/ritual texts as a whole, since some of the oldest versions were composed for individuals.²¹

Rituals containing the disappearing deity motif were used by individuals to cure physical and mental complaints and probably many other manifestations of divine anger. In one instance, KUB XXXIII 68 (CTH 332), the myth/ritual may have had an apotropaic function. Disappearing deity

¹⁶ CTH 324 1st ver. A IV 25 f.; CTH 325 A IV 14 f.

¹⁷ CTH 324 1st ver. A II 11, 2nd ver. C II 5 f., D III 20 f.; KUB XXXIII 68 (CTH 332) II 14 ff.; CTH 334 C & D III 5 ff., G:3-12, H II 6 ff. On this "Wunschformel" see Kammenhuber, MSS 3 (1953) 30 ff., Fest. Fried. 225 ff.; Carruba, StBot 2 (1966) 18 f.; Part I, CTH 329-330 "Prayer for Blessings".

¹⁸ CTH 326 C III 20 f., C IV 11 f.; CTH 329-330 B I 16 ff., G II 7 ff.

¹⁹ See Part II, Section 1, "Standard Version" and Table I.

²⁰ See Part II, Section 1 under "Standard Version" esp. n. 10.

²¹ cf. Part II, Section 3, Table III.

texts were also used to benefit the community at large. In most state texts there is no indication of the events behind the performance of the ritual, but in one case (KUB XXXVI 89) war seems to have been the cause of the god's anger. Fuller knowledge of the purpose and function of the disappearing deity texts could result from a re-examination of existing sources focusing on this problem or the discovery of more informative inscriptions.

Section 3

Chronology and Background

The results of the dating study on each text can best be summarized in two charts, Table III for the dates of composition and Table IV for the dates of inscription, which will be found on the following pages. For the criteria and arguments used to date each text see the section, "Date of the Texts" at the end of each text in Part I.

Table III presents the texts listed according to their dates of composition. Texts with uncertain attribution are followed by a "?" and are listed in any of the columns in which they may belong. Table III demonstrates that texts of the disappearing deity motif were created and formulated almost solely during the Old Kingdom and Early Empire periods. The earlier history of the motif cannot be determined. It is possible that the extent of its continuation into later periods, however, can be traced.

It is surely of significance that the only text which was definitely composed late in the Empire, KUB XXXVI 89, comes precisely from the area of greatest Hattian ethnic concentration; the ethnic group to which the motif as a whole can be attributed. The area around Nerik had been under Gasgian control for a considerable time before it was brought back into the Hittite Empire by Hattusilis III. Thus the area of Nerik probably escaped the strong Hurrian influences which affected the Hittite Empire during this period and was able to maintain its ancient cult intact.¹ It appears that the only definitely Late

¹ Undoubtedly whatever Gasgian influences had been absorbed during the period were erased by the cult restoration of Hattusili III. cf. KN 24 ff. Also see Güterbock, NHF 59.

Table IIIDates of Composition

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
<u>Old Hittite</u>	<u>Middle Hittite</u>	<u>Late Hittite</u>
CTH 324 1st ver.	CTH 324 3rd ver.	CTH 328 ^(?)
CTH 324 2nd ver.	CTH 326	KUB XXXVI 89
CTH 325	CTH 328 ^(?)	
CTH 327	CTH 332	
CTH 334	CTH 329-330	
CTH 336	CTH 333	
CTH 322 ^(?)	CTH 322 ^(?)	
CTH 323	CTH 331	
<hr/> otal: 7 + 1 ^(?) <hr/>	<hr/> 6 + 2 ^(?) <hr/>	<hr/> 1 + 1 ^(?) <hr/>

Table IVDates of Inscription

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Old Hittite</u>	<u>Middle Hittite</u>	<u>Middle Hittite or later</u>	<u>Late Hittite</u>	<u>Hattusilis III or later</u>
CTH 325 C	CTH 324 1st ver. A,B,D	CTH 324 2nd ver B	CTH 324 2nd ver. D	CTH 325 A
CTH 336 2.	CTH 324 2nd ver. A	CTH 325 B	CTH 324 3rd ver. A	CTH 327 A, D
KUB XXXIII 38 (CTH 334)	CTH 324 3rd ver. B	CTH 326 A, B	CTH 326 C	CTH 328 A
	CTH 329-330 A, B, D, F	CTH 327 B, C	CTH 329-330 E, F	CTH 329-330 H, J
	CTH 332 (both texts)	CTH 328 B	CTH 334 A, H	CTH 334 G
	CTH 333 A	CTH 329-330 C	CTH 323 A, B	CTH 336 3.
	CTH 336 1. A, B, 5. C	CTH 333 B		KUB XXXVI 89
	CTH 331	CTH 334 C, D, E, F		
		CTH 336 5. A		
		CTH 322 A		
Totals: <u>3</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>

Hittite text of the disappearing deity motif could be an anomaly caused by the unusual historical situation of the area from which it comes. This possibility leads to the idea that the motif may have ceased being generally used during the latter part of the Empire. Such a supposition is not amenable to proof as the discovery of more tablets could always alter the present state of knowledge. Nevertheless, it seems worth while to consider the hypothesis in the light of what is known of the disappearing deity texts and Hittite religion in general.

From Table IV it can be seen that tablets containing the disappearing god myth were inscribed throughout the political ascendancy of Hattusas. This does not necessarily mean that the ritual was used throughout this period. Texts of CTH 326 and 327, for example, were used long before the tablets listed in Table IV Col. 4 and 5 were ever inscribed. These tablets were clearly written only for the purpose of preserving the library and the records of earlier traditions which it held. To what extent this applies to other late tablets cannot be determined, but the possibility that it applies to a large proportion, if not all of them, cannot be easily dismissed. If this myth/ritual motif continued in the living religion throughout the Empire, it could be expected that the syncretistic tendencies so prevalent at the time would have resulted in texts concerned with the disappearance of deities such as Hapat, the Sun-goddess of Arinna,² Ishtar of Nineveh, or Sausga.³ It also seems likely that some evidence of the involvement of later kings, queens or princes would have been preserved.

² See Part II, Section 1 on the one possibility of a text involving this deity.

³ The fact that Telipinus received a prayer (cf. Gurney, Prayers) which was originally written for the Sun-god, albeit without elements which would pertain only to Sun deities (cf. Güterbock, JAOS 78 (1958) 327 f.), can be cited as an example.

The absence of texts mentioning gods or people of the late period and the evidence from dating the texts which do exist can best be explained by a theory which would have the Hurro-Luwian religion (containing Mesopotamian elements) replacing, in large part, the Hattian-Hittite religion of the Old Kingdom. The disuse of the disappearing deity myth/ritual during the late Empire would be only one example of such a replacement. This theory suggests many new areas of research. It would be necessary to trace historically not only Hattian-Hittite elements, but also to correlate them with foreign elements and show that the rise of the latter occurs with the fall of the former. A thorough attempt to demonstrate this theory is beyond both the aims and the scope of the present work. Still, a suggestion can be made concerning some possible foreign counterparts of the disappearing deity myth/ritual. It will first be necessary to discuss the background of elements within the disappearing deity texts.

Most scholars have attributed the disappearing deity motif to the Hattian-Hittite level of the religion⁴ on a linguistic basis.⁵ Recently, however, Haas and Wilhelm have shown that some sections of the "Telipinus myth" have a foreign origin and reached Anatolia via the Hurro-Luwian population of Kizzuwatna.⁶ As a result they feel that "die uns vorliegenden literarischen Gestaltungen des Telipinu-Mythos stärkstens dem luwischen Milieu verpflichtet sind und keineswegs als Hauptbelege für die hattische Religion und Magie gewertet werden dürfen". In an earlier article Haas has successfully shown that the episode of Kamrusepa and the sheep of the Sun-god in two texts of the standard version⁷ derives from Mesopotamian tradition⁸

⁴ See for example Gurney, Hittites 180; Güterbock MAW, 143; Goetze, Kl. 143.

⁵ Of names (Laroche, Recherches) and of phrases in various languages (cf. Otten, HbOr. 98).

⁶ Hur. & Luw. Rit. aus Kizz. 22-33.

⁷ CTH 324 1st ver. A II 35 ff.; CTH 325 A III 1 ff.

⁸ Or. NS 40 (1971) 410-430, esp. 421 ff.

and the major arguments are presented again in the joint work of Haas and Wilhelm.⁹ The evidence put forward to show that other elements of the "Telipinus myth" are derived from Hurro-Luwian religion is not so solidly grounded however. The entire thesis presented by Haas and Wilhelm suffers from the methodological fault of not dating the texts from which the evidence is drawn. That kurrešsar, galaktar, parhuena- and other substances are used in rituals of the disappearing deity motif as well as in evocation rituals of Hurro-Luwian background does not prove that the former rituals are dependant upon the latter. If anything, the borrowing is to be sought in the other direction, for the former texts date to an earlier period than the latter. The same can be said for other points of Haas and Wilhelm's argument, such as the Eagle's feather, the drain-pipe,¹⁰ the feast, the plea to let go anger, and the fact that disappearing deity myth/rituals are performed for ^DMAH and Anzili and Zukki, deities which occur in evocation rituals. This is not to deny the possibility of the incorporation of Hurro-Luwian elements into the disappearing deity texts. The presence of Luwian lexical items¹¹ in disappearing deity texts is clear evidence of a degree of Luwian influence on Hittite culture in general at the time, but it does not show that the texts, or even the contexts, in which the Luwian words occur were imported from a Luwian milieu, particularly since the number of foreign words is low. It is probable that the reference to

⁹ op. cit. 23 ff.

¹⁰ Unless the Akkadian passage in KAR 25 should prove older than the Hittite text. KAR 25 is a Šu-il-lá incantation which was inscribed during the Neo-Assyrian period. This type of incantation is always found in Akkadian (cf. Langdon, Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts VI, Preface esp. VII) and, according to Professor Gurney,¹⁵ unlikely to be older than the Kassite period.

¹¹ Haas-Wilhelm, op. cit., 31 with n. 1 and 2.

sprinkling a road with oil¹² is derived from similar practices in Hurro-Luwian rituals. This remains only a reasonable hypothesis until texts from Kizzuwatna should be discovered of an earlier date than the disappearing deity texts which contain this practice.¹³ The possibility that the Hattian-Hittite religion influenced neighboring regions during the political ascendancy of Hattusas in the Old Kingdom and then borrowed the resulting mixture during the Empire must also be considered.

There are other elements in disappearing deity texts which indicate foreign influence or are of foreign origin. The "Old woman" who performs the ritual in CTH 323 occurs most often in a Luwian context.¹⁴ The mention of Ishtar, Marduk and the Singers of Hurri in CTH 329-330 are examples of influence from the south-east.¹⁵ The Mt. Ammuna CTH 324 2nd ver. D II 14 is probably to be located in Arzawa.¹⁶ Exactly what happens to or near this mountain in CTH 324 2nd ver. is not clear. Just before the colophon in CTH 336 the text says of itself (l. B III 9), "(These are) not my words (but) the words of Kamrusepa". This is an exact translation of the well known Akkadian ul yuttun-formula.¹⁷ A similar concept is contained in CTH 323 where the phrase "words of the gods" is used to indicate the text (B IV 5, 8, 10). In contrast, the suppliant in CTH 324 1st version says at one point, "May my mortal words check the rage, anger (and) hate for Telipinus".¹⁸

¹² In CTH 324 1st ver. II 28 f.; 2nd ver. D III 16 f. cf. Haas-Wilhelm, op. cit., 8 f.

¹³ Although a thorough study has not been made, a reading of the texts has indicated that none of the evocation rituals in Haas and Wilhelm's work are older than Middle Hittite and most are much later. On KUB XV 31+ see Haas-Wilhelm, op. cit. 143. See also *ibid.* 180.

¹⁴ cf. Otten HbOr. 112 f.; Haas-Wilhelm, op. cit., 19 and n. 1. However note that Old Women were in Hattusas as early as Hattusili I, cf. HAB IV 67 f.

¹⁵ cf. A I 8; B I 10.

¹⁶ cf. RHA 26/83 no. 1 & 153. The evidence does not require two mountains of the same name although the possibility cannot be excluded.

¹⁷ See for example Biggs, Potency Incant. (=TCS, vol. II) 38 f.

¹⁸ A IV 6 f. Literally "the words of a son of man, myself".

It is only in minor details that the disappearing deity myth/ritual texts show foreign influence. In major respects the disappearing deity texts correspond more closely to other religious texts from the Old Kingdom, which must be almost entirely composed of Hattian and Hittite religious elements,¹⁹ than to texts from late in the Empire which show a great deal of Luwian and Hurrian influence. The major deities in the disappearing deity texts are the Weather-god, the Sun-god, Telipinus, Inaras, Hannahannas, ZABABA, and Kamrusepas. It has already been mentioned that the Weather-god and the Sun-god are the two major deities of the older religion.²⁰ Telipinus is a Hattian name. Inaras has a Hattian background.²¹ Hannahannas is unquestionably Hittite, her name being a reduplication of the Hittite word for "grandmother", hanna-. The Hattian ZA.BA4.BA4 Wuru(n)katte is probably hidden behind the Akkadogram/in many cases;²² the Hittite reading is unknown.²³ Although Kamrusepas often occurs in a Luwian context, she occurs in Hattian texts like the myth of the "Moon that Fell from Heaven" (CTH 727) as the Hittite counterpart to the Hattian Kadahzipiri.²⁴ Similar evidence exists for a Hattian or Hittite background of many minor deities in the disappearing deity texts.²⁵ The locale in which the myth occurs (Lihzina,²⁶ Hattusas²⁷) also indicates a Hattian-

¹⁹ Even Haas and Wilhelm do not challenge this. cf. op. cit. 32 f., "Hethitische Kulte und Riten der Zeit des Alten Reichs dürfen wir im wesentlichen der hattischen Tradition zurechnen".

²⁰ See Part II, Section 1 under "Standard Version" with n. 25.

²¹ cf. Laroche, Recherches 82 f.

²² von Schuler WbM 174, 215.

²³ Laroche, op. cit., 107.

²⁴ cf. Kammenhuber, ZA NF 17 (1955) 112.

²⁵ Halkis, Hapantaliyas (Recherches 22), Istustayas (Recherches 26), Miyantanzipas (cf. Hittite miyatar).

²⁶ CTH 324 3rd ver. B II 4; CTH 331 III 6, 9; KUB XXXIII 33:13; Palaic myth I 2, 14. cf. Kammenhuber, HbOr. 436.

²⁷ KUB XXXIII 13 II 25.

Hittite origin. It has already been shown that the disappearing deity motif is independent of the "dying god" myths of other cultures. Despite the presence of foreign influence in some details, the basic elements of the disappearing deity myth/rituals belong to the Hattian-Hittite level of Anatolian religion.

The hypothesis has been put forward that the Hattian-Hittite disappearing deity rituals were not used in the latter part of the Empire, but were replaced by religious elements of a foreign origin. This is not to say that a foreign religion in its entirety was transplanted in Anatolia. Foreign religious concepts and practices were mixed with the existing religion.²⁸ As a result, some elements of the latter fell into disuse. To accept this hypothesis, it must be assumed that the tablets of the disappearing deity texts which were inscribed late in the Empire were written only to preserve the library. If this assumption is made, the fact that a major monument like Yazılıkaya has a Hurrian pantheon is therefore understandable and not a special case.²⁹ A similar change is already well attested in other areas of Hittite culture.³⁰

In order to discover which non-Hattian-Hittite rituals replaced the disappearing deity myth/rituals it will be necessary to find texts which parallel the disappearing deity texts in function. There are numerous healing rituals of a Luwian or Kizzuwatnian background which could have replaced the use of the disappearing deity myth/ritual for healing.³¹

²⁸ cf. Güterbock, JAOS 78 (1958) 245, who says "the main characteristic of Hittite civilization [was] the way in which this people adapted and transformed elements of the high civilization of Mesopotamia according to its own needs and its own way of thinking".

²⁹ cf. Goetze (Kl. 142) on the Hurrian names. "Das ist eine sehr auffällige Situation, die man selbst im hethitischen Kontext als einzigartig bezeichnen muß."

³⁰ On the changes from the Old Kingdom to the Empire see Güterbock JWH 1954, 383 ff.; Goetze, CAH 37, 55 f.; Gurney, CAH 44, 18 f.

³¹ Note that a feast is important in the two healing rituals CTH 764 and KBo XII 89 translated in Part I. See Haas, Or.NS 40 (1971) 410 ff. on a group of healing rituals.

It is somewhat more difficult to find texts which might correspond to the state texts of the disappearing deity motif because the precise circumstances in which these rituals were performed is uncertain. To the extent to which the state texts were performed in order to secure the return of an absent deity the Kizzuwatnian evocation rituals of "pulling (in) from the road" (KASKAL-az huittiya-) provide a perfect parallel.³² The details in which this group of texts resembles the disappearing deity texts have already been mentioned. Hittite kings of the Empire such as Mursilis II and Muwattalis attempted to appease divine anger by prayer.³³ These prayers represent a mixture of religious influences.³⁴ It appears that during the later Empire/^{religious} literature had become more specialized than previously and the functions of the disappearing deity texts were taken over by a variety of religious practices.

³² Collected and edited by Haas-Wilhelm, Hur. & Luw. Rit.

³³ For example the "Plague Prayers" of Mursilis II and the prayer addressed to the Weather-god pihaššašši by Muwattalis.

³⁴ On their relation to the Mesopotamian influenced Sun-god prayers see Güterbock, JAOS 78 (1958) 327-245, esp. 244 f.