

**THE SUN DEITY OF THE *HILAMMAR*:
AN UNNOTICED “PAN-LUWIAN” DEITY?**

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Abstract

This article examines the importance of the Sun deity of the hila-mar in the Luwian pantheons. This deity is mentioned in the Lallu-piya-Iṣtanuwa festival texts, as well as in the Amarna Letter VBoT 2

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sent by the King of Arzawa to the Pharaoh. As he is shared at least by two distinct Luwian religious spheres, we suggest that the Sun deity of the *hīlammar* is an important “pan-Luwian” deity.

While studying the pantheon of Iṣtanuwa and Lallupiya,²⁾ two neighbouring cities of Western Anatolia, we noticed the presence of a Sun deity of the *hīlammar* (^E*hīlamnaš* ^DUTU) in the following Hittite texts: KUB 17.33 iv? 16’ (partly restored), KUB 32.123 iv 37 and its duplicate KUB 55.65 iv 36, KUB 25.37 iv 10 (partly restored) and KBo 34.246 (partly restored). These texts refer to a cultic festival during which Luwian songs are sung, and they are assigned to the Iṣtanuwa-Lallupiya corpus (CTH 771 to 773).³⁾ This is because they mention the men of Lallupiya (in KUB 32.123+, for example), and refer to gods belonging to the pantheon of these two cities: Iyašallašši, Wandu, Šuwašunna, etc.⁴⁾ Where deities are mentioned in succession, the Sun deity of the *hīlammar* seems always to be placed at the end of the list, with the exception of KUB 25.37 where he appears earlier on.

The Hittite term *hīlammar* is usually translated as “por-tico” or “gatehouse”.⁵⁾ This is partly due to the fact that this word is generally viewed as a cognate of Hittite *hila-* “courtyard”⁶⁾ and would, therefore, imply an open structure. The equivalence between *hīlammar* and KILAM has long been suggested and seems almost certain.⁷⁾ No Sun god of the KILAM is attested, according to Van Gessel’s *Onomas-ticon*, but we do find a “Storm god lord of the KILAM”, who occurs in two texts: in KBo 1.1, the treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Šattiwaza of Mittanni the deity is among the Mitannian gods,⁸⁾ while in KBo 19.43a+, the treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Huqqana of Hayaša,⁹⁾ the same divine name occurs in the Hittite official pantheon.

The *hīlammar* is several times associated with rituals, and more specifically with festivals:¹⁰⁾ apart from the KILAM Festival itself,¹¹⁾ the *hīlammar* is also mentioned in the AN.TAH.SUM Festival,¹²⁾ in a festival for Tešub and Hepat of Lawazantiya,¹³⁾ and in many other religious texts. More interestingly, a ritual sequence can actually take place inside of the *hīlammar*. Thus in Alli’s ritual: “The person that they treat ritually sacrifices a lamb in the *hīlammar* for the Sun god of the sky.¹⁴⁾” Once again we see a connection, in the Arzawan milieu, between the *hīlammar* and a Sun god,

although this time it is not the Sun god of the *hīlammar* himself but another solar deity. The use of the *hīlammar* as a location for animal sacrifices does not seem to be confined to Arzawa, however. The Kizzuwatnian festival KUB 41.48 attests a *Brandopfer* taking place in a *hīlammar*: “They burn one calf and one sheep in front of the Storm god but they burn the bull of the Storm god in the *hīlammar*.¹⁵⁾”

Apart from the texts of the Istanuwa-Lallupiyian corpus, the Sun deity of the *hīlammar* occurs only in two other groups of texts:¹⁶⁾ several fragments belonging to CTH 638, the festival for Telipinu in Hanhana and Kašha,¹⁷⁾ and the Amarna Letter VBoT 2.¹⁸⁾

The composition of the festival for Telipinu CTH 638 dates from the Middle Hittite period. In this text, the Sun deity of the *hīlammar* is mentioned in the following context: “The guardian of the temple seizes one sheep and he slaughters it in the temple, at the hearth, to Telipinu. Then they seize one sheep at the gate of the *urianni*’s house and they slaughter it to the Sun deity of the *hīlammar*. Then they seize one sheep at the *huwaši* of Šulinkatte and they slaughter it at the *huwaši* of Šulinkatte. Then they seize one sheep at the gate and they slaughter it to the Šaliwanaš of the gate.¹⁹⁾” Here the Šaliwanaš deities of the gate are undoubtedly to be identified with the Šalawaneš of the gate.²⁰⁾ The latter are attested in Hattian religious texts,²¹⁾ but also in Luwian contexts, namely in CTH 433.3 and in Alli’s Ritual, both of which can be assigned to the Arzawa corpus.

The association, in CTH 638, between the Sun deity of the *hīlammar* and Telipinu and Šulinkatte might suggest a Hattian origin of this deity: just like the Šalawaneš deities, the Sun deity of the *hīlammar* might have been borrowed by the Luwians from the Hattian substrate. However, another possibility to consider is that this was a Luwian deity who was included very early in the central Anatolian pantheons. This would not be the only attestation of such a phenomenon. Indeed, in his recent synthesis on Hittite religions, P. Taracha has reminded us of the example of the Luwian deity Maliya who was worshiped in Central Anatolia already in the Old Hittite period.²²⁾ He also mentioned the Luwian Sungod

²⁾ This research is part of our common study on Luwian Religion entitled: “The Religion of the Luwians: A Survey of Religious Practice in Western Anatolia in the Hittite Period”. This research program is supported by the British Academy and the CNRS.

³⁾ For this corpus, see Starke 1985, 294-353 and Mouton 2008.

⁴⁾ For a list of the Iṣtanuwa-Lallupiya deities, see Hutter 2003, 240-241. See also Yoshida 1996, 252-253.

⁵⁾ We do not intend to discuss the equivalence between *hīlammar* and *bīt hīlāni*. For this aspect, see Singer 1975 and Naumann 1979.

⁶⁾ See most recently Kloekhorst 2008, 342-343.

⁷⁾ Güterbock 1972-1975, 404 (w. preceding bibliography). Singer 1983, 46 shows that in two quasi-duplicates (KBo 30.13:10’ and KUB 20.4 iv 4), one manuscript has KILAM-naz whereas the other has *hīlamnaz*. See also Singer 1975.

⁸⁾ Beckman 1996, 49.

⁹⁾ Beckman 1996, 24.

¹⁰⁾ Only a few illustrative examples are quoted here. For additional evidence, see HED H, 308-311.

¹¹⁾ Singer 1983 and 1984.

¹²⁾ Otten 1971, 2-3.

¹³⁾ Lebrun 1977, 119.

¹⁴⁾ KUB 41.1 iv 10’-11’ (HED H, 311): *nu KIN-kanzi [k]uin UN-an n=ašta hīlamni anda 1 SILA₄ ^DUTU AN BAL-anti*.

¹⁵⁾ KUB 41.48 iii 12’-15’ (Haas/Wilhelm 1974, 254 and Wegner 2002, 14): *nu 1 AMAR 1 UDU=ya PANI ^DIM warnuwanzi GU₄MAH=ma=kan ŠA ^DIM ^Ehīlamni anda warnuwanzi*.

¹⁶⁾ Van Gessel 1998, 870. Not mentioned here, but also related to the Luwian sphere is KUB 35.84 (Starke 1985, 264-265).

¹⁷⁾ Haas/Jakob-Rost 1984 and Taracha 1986: KUB 53.12 iv 2, KBo 26.185 rev. 13 (restored), KUB 53.14 ii 12.

¹⁸⁾ VBoT 2:17.

¹⁹⁾ KUB 53.14 ii 10-15 (Haas/Jakob-Rost 1984, 41 and Yoshida 1996, 277-278): *1 UDU ^LU^LMAŠAR É.DINGIR^{LIM} épz[i (n)]=an INA É.DINGIR^{LIM} hašši ANA ^DTelipinu huekzi p[(arā=m)]a INA KÁ É ^LU^Lurianni 1 UDU appanzi n=an hīlamnaš ^DUTU-i h[(ūkanzi par)]ā=ma ^DŠulenkattiyaš ^{NA4}hiuwašiya 1 UDU appa[(nzi) n]=an⁷ ^DŠulenkattiyaš ^{NA4}hiuwašiya hukanzi parā=ma I[(NA KÁ.GAL 1 UDU) a]ppanzi n=an KÁ.GAL-aš ^DŠaliwanaš hukanzi*.

²⁰⁾ Haas/Jakob-Rost 1984, 21-22 suggest to read this divine name ^DŠatiwanaš, but the fragmentary cuneiform sign on KUB 53.14 ii 14 is probably a LI rather than a TU (the break is a bit too large for a TU sign and would better fit a LI sign), pace Yoshida 1996, 278 and van Gessel 1998, 369. Furthermore, this would be the only occurrence of ^DŠatiwana whereas ^DŠaliwana is attested several times elsewhere (van Gessel 1998, 369). Besides, the hurrian etymology of this divine name suggested by the Haas/Jakob-Rost 1984, 22 (from hurrian *šal(l)i* “house”) is dubious, as this name mainly occurs in Luwian or Hattian contexts.

²¹⁾ van Gessel 1998, 367-369.

²²⁾ Taracha 2009, 115.

Tiwat who is noticed in the onomasticon of Kaneš at the time of the Assyrian *kârû*.²³⁾ This second explanation of the presence of the Sun deity of the *hílammar* in CTH 638 could be supported by another Luwian feature of this composition, namely the theophoric Luwian name of one of the scribes of the composition — Iyašalla.²⁴⁾ Iyašalla is clearly to be identified with the Luwian deity Iyašallašši who is worshipped in Ištuwa-Lallupiya. As far as we know, the only other attestation of this personal name Iyašalla is in the Middle Hittite oracular report KBo 16.97+ (Rev. 4).²⁵⁾

The second text mentioning the Sun deity of the *hílammar* that does not directly come from the Luwian religious corpus is the Amarna Letter VBoT 2 (= EA 32) dating from the mid-XIVth century BC.²⁶⁾ It is a letter sent by the King of Arzawa to the Pharaoh. At the end of the letter, the Arzawan scribe wrote an additional note to his Egyptian colleague:

“May Ea, the king of wisdom, and the Sungod of the Portico lovingly protect the scribe who reads aloud this tablet, and may they lovingly hold their hands around you. §You, scribe, kindly write to me and put your name at the end. §Always write in Hittite the tablets that they bring here.”²⁷⁾ To the best of our knowledge, this passage has never been commented for its religious content until now.²⁸⁾

The letter mentions two divine names in this context: ^DÉ.A.²⁹⁾ and the Sun deity of the *hílammar* (*hílamnaš*=(š)a ^DUTU-uš). Since the scribe was of Arzawan origin, this letter shows without doubt that the Sun deity of the *hílammar* was venerated in Arzawa, and he must have been a very important deity to be mentioned here. But was he an important member of the official Arzawan pantheon or rather a deity related to the popular sphere? One could argue that the name “(deity) of the portico” could imply the idea that this deity is more easily accessed by ordinary people. Indeed, such a possibility occurs in other cultures, for example in Ancient Greece. At Delphi, Athena is worshipped as “pronaia”, i.e. “in front of the temple”.³⁰⁾

²³⁾ Taracha 2009, 27.

²⁴⁾ Laroche 1966, 292.

²⁵⁾ Schuol 1994, 104.

²⁶⁾ Rost 1956; Moran 1992, 103; Hoffner 2009, 271-272 (w. additional bibliography).

²⁷⁾ VBoT 2:14-25 = Hoffner's translation (Hoffner 2009, 272): *kī tuppi kuiš DUB.SAR-aš halzāi n=an ^DÉ.A. hattannaš LUGAL-uš hílamnaš=(š)a ^DUTU-uš aššūli pahšantaru nu=(t)ta ŠU^{HA}-uš arahzanda aššūli harkandu § zik=mu DUB.SAR-aš aššūli hatrāi namma=za [Š]UM-an EGIR-an iya §DUB^{HA}-k[a]n kue udanzi nu [n]ešumni hatreške.*

²⁸⁾ Haas 1994, 380 n. 517 only mentions the presence of “die ‘Son-nengöttin des Torbaus’” in VBoT 2 without commenting it.

²⁹⁾ Not to be read ^DNUSKA as it was before: see Hoffner 2009, 387 note 213 who collates the photograph of the tablet. The presence of Ea in this Arzawan context is worth noticing. According to Archi 1993, Ea was introduced into the official Hittite pantheon through the Hurrians at the beginning of the “middle Hittite” period, as he is first mentioned in documents dating from the XIVth c. The “hurrianization” of the state pantheon of Hattuša is, indeed, generally dated from this period (Taracha 2009, 80). But if our views about VBoT 2 are correct, we could add that Ea was also adopted in the pantheon of Arzawa at the same time. This observation would lead us to conclude that, contrary to what is usually believed, Western Luwian religions were not totally devoid of Hurrian features when we start knowing about them, i.e. not before the middle Hittite period (Taracha 2009, 107). Another support for this view is the presence of a “hurrian Inar” in the pantheon of Ištuwa-Lallupiya (Taracha 2009, 117), although these two cities are further East compare with Arzawa, so that a Hurrian “influence” would be even more expected.

³⁰⁾ Athene Pronaia: Herodotus 1.92 etc. We also find such epithets as propulaios “before the gates” and prothuraios “before the door”.

It must be admitted that the Hittite religious texts clearly describing Arzawan ritual practices never mention the Sun deity of the *hílammar*.³¹⁾ This could be explained by the hypothesis that these ritual texts do not describe the Arzawan pantheon in full but mention the names only of the limited number of deities required for the rituals. On the other hand, the mention of the Sun deity of the *hílammar* in the Ištuwa-Lallupiya festival texts seems to show his importance in the state cult of this geographical area, i.e. the Lower Land.

In his synthesis on Hittite religion, V. Haas considers the Sun deity of the *hílammar* as female, but without providing any argumentation supporting this view.³²⁾ However, when we consider the Hittite phonetic complements used together with this divine name, we obtain the following results: ^É*hílamnaš* ^DUTU-uš (KUB 35.84 ii 10, KBo 19.134:20,³³⁾ VBoT 2:17³⁴⁾, *hílamnaš* ^DUTU-un (KUB 32.123 iv 37', KUB 55.65 iv 36), ^É*hílamnaš* ^DUTU-i (KUB 53.12 iv 2, KUB 53.14 ii 12³⁵⁾). Thanks to the first two forms of this divine name, namely ^DUTU-uš and ^DUTU-un, we can conclude that behind the sumerogram ^DUTU, the Hittite theonym ^DIštu should probably be restored. As far as we know, this theonym is most of the time used for designating the male solar deities. Although examples of female Ištu-s are also attested, they are much less frequent.³⁶⁾

Conclusion

The Sun deity of the *hílammar*, almost totally ignored in modern scholarship on Luwian religion,³⁷⁾ thus turns out to be a “pan-Luwian” deity, shared between the Arzawa and the Ištuwa-Lallupiya pantheons. His apparent absence from the Arzawa corpus *per se* is probably due to the lack of Arzawan festival texts in the Hittite archives and libraries. In spite of this absence, his mention in the Arzawa letter VBoT 2 certainly shows his importance in the devotion of the Arzawans.

The mention of the Sun god of the *hílammar* in the Middle Hittite Festival for Telipinu CTH 638 could be either considered as evidence for a Hattian origin of this deity or for the adoption by the central Anatolians of a Luwian deity early in the Hittite history.

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³¹⁾ The corpus of Arzawan rituals is to be found most recently in Hutter 2003, 234-238 and Bawanypeck 2005, 241-248.

³²⁾ Haas 1994, 380.

³³⁾ *hi-lam-na-aš-wa-z[a ^DU]TU-uš*. The relationship with Allani is not clear to us in this context, contra Lorenz 2008, 507 n. 62.

³⁴⁾ *hi-lam-na-aš-ša ^DUTU-uš*.

³⁵⁾ *hi-lam-na-aš ^DUTU-i*.

³⁶⁾ Güterbock 1977, 209 quotes a Hittite text mentioning “Ištu of the earth, my Lady”. See also Yoshida 1992, 150-151 and Yoshida 1996, 2.

³⁷⁾ The Sun deity of the *hílammar* is neither mentioned in Hutter 2003, nor in Taracha 2009, 107-118. However, it was briefly mentioned by Haas 1994 (see Haas 1994, 966 sub “Sonnengottheit des Torbaus”).

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