



RELIGIONS OF ASIA MINOR

by

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Translated from Polish by
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PREFACE

The book is an attempt at a synthesis of the religions of Asia Minor from the oldest times to the conquest by Alexander the Great. Its task is to present the variety of local religious beliefs and their adherence to a common cultural tradition of this part of the ancient Near East. No claim is made to completeness, either in respect of the sources or in respect of the research. It can be said of parts of this book that they treat particular regions or issues from a subjective viewpoint; considering the extent of the evidence, this could hardly be avoided. Some problems which have had a good scholarly discussion are treated here more abruptly than could be expected, with reference to recent publications. Instead, the author has considered it purposeful to elaborate upon themes which, in his opinion, have not received enough attention hitherto. The tendency to generalize has been avoided with respect to historical religions; attention is focused rather on distinguishing and describing their elements and the efforts made in antiquity to join them into homogeneous systems.

It is a difficult task to try to delve into the world of beliefs of peoples who died out thousands of years ago. Even with rich textual evidence, it is hard to bridge the gap of past time that has changed the perspective of many issues. For this reason also the meaning of ancient texts is at times hardly understandable. For the periods when only material objects are known, the situation is even worse. Interpretation leads in essence not to any confirmable conclusions, but to more or less probable assumptions. Much is dependent upon the scholar himself and his field of specialization, resulting in deep-rooted methodological differences between syntheses written by archaeologists and philologists. However, the present state of research appears rather optimistic. In the region's archaeology and philology there have been considerable developments recently, and the gaps in our knowledge have diminished. This gives us a broad and relatively lucid statement of particular research problems and facilitates a synthetic approach. Advances in the research at times coerce changes of ideas; therefore, the book can hardly be expected to give a definitive discussion of the subject.

* * *

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology. Liverpool.
AAWLM	Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse. Wiesbaden.
ABoT	Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri. İstanbul.
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung. Berlin, Graz, Vienna.
AION	Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli.
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology. Boston.
Anatolia	Anadolu/Anatolia. Revue annuelle de l'Institut d'Archéologie de l'Université d'Ankara.
Anatolica	Anatolica. Annuaire International pour les Civilisations de l'Asie Antérieure (Institut Historique et Archéologique Néerlandais Istanbul). Leiden.
ANET	J.B. Pritchard (ed.), Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, 3rd ed., with suppl., Princeton 1969.
AnCl	Antiquité Classique. Louvain.
AnSt	Anatolian Studies (Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara). London.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Neukirchen-Vluyn.
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen. Berlin.
ArchAnz	Archäologischer Anzeiger. Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Berlin.
Archaeology	Archaeology. A Magazine Dealing with the Antiquity of the World. Cambridge, Mass.
Athenaeum	Athenaeum. Studi periodici di letteratura e storia dell'antichità. Pavia.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports. Oxford.
BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient. Berlin.
Belleten	Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten. Ankara.
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis. Leiden.
BMECCJ	Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan. Wiesbaden.

- Bo Inventory numbers of Boğazköy tablets excavated 1906-1912.
- ChS Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler. Rome.
- Coll. sur Lycie Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique, Istanbul 1977 (Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes d'Istanbul, 27). Istanbul 1980.
- CTH E. Laroche, Catalogue des textes hittites. Paris 1971.
- Eothen Eothen. Collana di studi sulle civiltà dell'Oriente antico. Florence.
- FHG E. Laroche, Fragments hittites de Genève. RA 45 (1951) 131-138, 184-194, RA 46 (1952) 42-50, 214.
- FHL J.-M. Durand & E. Laroche, Fragment hittites du Louvre. Mémoire Atatürk: Études d'archéologie et de philologie anciennes. Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes: Editions recherche sur les civilisations, Synthèse 10. Paris 1982: 73-107.
- Fs Alp Hittite and other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp. Ankara 1992.
- Fs Bittel² Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasien. Festschrift für Kurt Bittel. Mainz 1983.
- Fs Çambel Readings in Prehistory. Studies Presented to Halet Çambel. Istanbul 1995.
- Fs Friedrich Festschrift J. Friedrich zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet. Heidelberg 1959.
- Fs Güterbock¹ Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday. Istanbul 1973.
- Fs Güterbock² Kaniššuwār. A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock on His Seventy-fifth Birthday May 27, 1983 (Assyriological Studies 23). Chicago 1986.
- Fs Kantor Essays in Ancient Civilization Presented to Helene J. Kantor. Chicago 1989.
- Fs Laroche Florilegium Anatolicum. Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche. Paris 1979.
- Fs Mayer-Opificius Beschreiben und Deuten in der Archäologie des Alten Orients. Festschrift für Ruth Mayer-Opificius mit Beiträgen von Freunden und Schülern. Münster 1994.
- Fs Mellink Ancient Anatolia. Aspects of Change and Cultural Development. Essays in Honor of Machteld J. Mellink. Madison 1986.
- Fs Neve Festschrift Peter Neve (IstMitt 43). Berlin 1993.
- Fs Otten¹ Festschrift Heinrich Otten. Wiesbaden 1973.
- Fs Otten² Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae. Festschrift für Heinrich Otten zum 75. Geburtstag. Wiesbaden 1988.
- Fs N. Özgüç Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbours. Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç. Ankara 1993.
- Fs T. Özgüç Anatolia and the Ancient Near East. Studies in Honor of Tahsin Özgüç. Ankara 1989.

- Fs Pugliese Carratelli Studi di storia e di filologia anatolica dedicati a Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli (Eothen 1). Florence 1988.
- Fs van Loon To the Euphrates and Beyond. Archaeological Studies in Honour of Maurits N. van Loon. Rotterdam 1989.
- Gs Bossert Helmuth Theodor Bossert in Hatırasına Armağan. Anadolu Araştırmaları (JKF) vol. II, 1-2. Istanbul 1965.
- Gs Palmieri Between the Rivers and over the Mountains. Archaeologica anatolica et mesopotamica Alba Palmieri dedicata. Rome 1993.
- Hethitica Hethitica. Louvain-Paris.
- Historia Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte. Revue d'histoire ancienne. Journal of Ancient History. Rivista di storia antica. Wiesbaden.
- HT Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum. London 1920.
- HTAC G. Beckman & H. A. Hoffner, Jr., Hittite Fragments in American Collections, in: JCS 37/1 (1985) 1-60.
- IBoT İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri I-IV. Istanbul 1944, 1947, 1954, Ankara 1988.
- IstMitt Istanbul Mitteilungen. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Berlin.
- JANES The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University. New York.
- JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society. New York, New Haven.
- JCS Journal of Cuneiform Studies. New Haven, Cambridge, Mass. Philadelphia, Ann Arbor.
- JdI, Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Instituts. Berlin.
- JIES The Journal of Indo-European Studies. McLean, Virginia.
- JKF Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschungen (= Anadolu Araştırmaları). Heidelberg, Istanbul.
- JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies. Chicago.
- JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. London.
- Kadmos Kadmos. Zeitschrift für Vor- und Frühgriechische Epigraphik. Berlin.
- KBo Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi. Leipzig, Berlin.
- Kernos Kernos. Revue internationale et pluridisciplinaire de religion grecque antique. Liège.
- KIF F. Sommer & H. Ehelolf (eds), Kleinasiatische Forschungen, vol. 1. Weimar 1927-1930.
- KUB Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi. Berlin.
- Language Language. Journal of the Linguistic Society of America. Baltimore.
- MARI Mari. Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires. Paris.
- MIO Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung. Berlin.

MVAeG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Agyptischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig.
NAS	Newsletter for Anatolian Studies. New Haven, Chicago.
Numen	Numen. International Review for the History of Religions. Leiden.
OA	Oriens Antiquus. Rivista del Centro per l'antichità e la storia dell'arte del Vicino Oriente. Rome.
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications. Chicago.
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung. Leipzig, Berlin.
Or NS	Orientalia, Nova Series. Rome.
Oriens	Oriens. Journal of the International Society for Oriental Research. Leiden.
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale. Paris.
RHA	Revue hittite et asianique. Paris.
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions. Paris.
RIA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie. Leipzig, Berlin.
RSANE	J. Quaegebeur (ed.), Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the International Conference organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 17th to the 20th of April 1991 (= Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica 55). Leuven 1993.
RSO	Rivista degli Studi Orientali. Rome.
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology. Göteborg.
SMEA	Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici. Rome.
SÖAW	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, philosophisch-historische Klasse. Vienna.
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten. Wiesbaden.
StPohl	Studia Pohl. Rome.
SympWien	J. Borchhardt & G. Dobesch (eds), Akten des II. Internationalen Lykien-Symposiums, Wien, 6.-12. Mai 1990. Vols I-II. Vienna 1993.
Syria	Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie. Paris.
TAD	Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi. Ankara.
Tel Aviv	Tel Aviv. Journal of the Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology. Tel Aviv.
THeth	A. Kammenhuber (ed.), Texte der Hethiter. Heidelberg.
TTYK	Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları. Ankara.
TUAT	O. Kaiser (ed.), Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Gütersloh.
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen. Kevelaer & Neukirchen-Vluyn.
VBoT	A. Götze (ed.), Verstreute Boğazköi-Texte. Marburg 1930.
WO	Die Welt des Orients. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes. Wuppertal, Göttingen.

WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. Leipzig, Berlin.
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Vienna.
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete. Vorderasiatische Archäologie. Leipzig, Berlin.
ZVS	Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung (= Historische Sprachforschung). Berlin, Göttingen.

INTRODUCTION

Why Asia Minor? What has made this land with its cultures and religions so fascinating to the author? The answer is complex. Asia Minor is a part of the ancient Near East, distinguished by the exceptional richness and variety of its peoples, languages and cultures. Suffice it to mention the world's most interesting remains of Neolithic cultures, the oldest presently known Indo-Europeans who lived there: the Hittites, Palaites and Luwians, and the largest number of documents in the language of the Hurrians, until quite recently a mysterious people who played such a distinct role in the political and cultural history of the Near East. Noteworthy is also Asia Minor's part in the genesis of the Greek and subsequently European cultural tradition. The most active cultural center in the Near East was Mesopotamia; its accomplishments emanated to other countries. The road from Babylon to Athens led through Asia Minor, and it is clear today that the region was of great importance in the transmission of Oriental thought to the West, and that its impact on the development of Greek culture was considerable. Another side of the matter: Though born in Palestine, Christianity was shaped and developed elsewhere, in Syria and Asia Minor among others. Many of its elements, particularly in the sphere of dogma and liturgy, come from deep antiquity. Possibly, these elements drew upon the local 'pagan' cults. The religions of Asia Minor also provide material for comparative studies of the Old Testament and the religions of other Near Eastern lands.

It is common to use with respect to Asia Minor geographical terms that draw from classical times, simply because they are already known to the reader from other sources. Since these names seem out of place in speaking of the prehistory of the land, authors tend to orient their readers through references to the nearest larger modern city. The very name of Asia Minor comes from the classical tradition; in terms of geography its equivalent is Anatolia, mentioned for the first time in the tenth century by a Byzantine author.

The geographical environment

The history of the cultures and religions of Asia Minor is conditioned by the geography of this land and its natural resources. It is incumbent on us, therefore, to begin with a short geographical description¹.

From both the geographical and historical viewpoint, Asia Minor belongs to the ancient Near East. The Anatolian peninsula is the westernmost part of South-West Asia, forming a bridge between it and Europe. Even in very ancient times the narrow straits of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus were no barrier for migrations of peoples from the Balkans. Other lands of the eastern Mediterranean were also of influence in shaping Anatolian history, particularly Syria which was the geographical center of the ancient world, on the crossroads of great communication routes, where ideas were exchanged along with goods. As for western Anatolia, this land was under Aegean influence from the Early Bronze Age onwards.

The interior of the peninsula, the Anatolian plateau, is bounded on the north by the Pontic Mountains and on the south by the ranges of the Taurus and Anti-Taurus. Inner mountain ranges and highlands form a system of lands and connecting routes which only rarely follow the course of rivers, generally poor in water. The largest of them is the Kızılırmak, Halys of the ancients, which flows in a wide arch through central Anatolia, the ancient Cappadocia. In the western part of the plateau, which was once Phrygia, the Sakarya (the ancient Sangarius) and its tributary, the Porsuk are the most important rivers. The Black Sea littoral is open to heavy winds; it lacks natural harbors and is isolated from the interior by mountains. By contrast, the Aegean coast is developed with many accessible ports; routes run inland from these ports up the fertile valleys of the Büyük Menderes (the ancient Maeander) and Gediz (the ancient Hermus) rivers. This explains why it was open to migrations from the West, i.e. from the Greek islands and mainland or the Balkans. In the cultural sense these coastal regions belonged to the Aegean and later, Greece. The southern coast is also hospitable to settlement, not only in the wide and fertile plains of Pamphylia and Cilicia adjacent to the Taurus, but also in the narrow valleys of the Lycian peninsula. Although connected with the Anatolian interior by routes running along the Göksu river (the Calycadnus) and through the Cilician Gates, Cilicia culturally tended toward the nearby Syria.

¹ Cf. also Turkey. Relief, Hydrology and Settlements (Western & Eastern Part), Wiesbaden 1992 (= Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, A I 2, 24. Lfg.); Brice 1966:115-154; Kündig-Steiner 1974.

In the east Asia Minor ends on the Euphrates. Farther to the east there is eastern Anatolia, that is the historical Armenia. The mountain ranges there are higher and closer together. There the Euphrates and Tigris, the biggest rivers of South-West Asia, have their sources. Just recently several high dams were constructed on these rivers, substantially changing the landscape. On the other hand, the construction works have facilitated and speeded up archaeological research, leading to many valuable discoveries. The history of eastern Anatolia followed its own course, different in many aspects from that of Asia Minor. Mesopotamia and the Transcaucasus region had a strong impact upon the cultures that developed there.

In our times the climate of the Anatolian plateau has become continental and dry, with considerable variations in daily and annual temperatures. In the east the climate is much more severe, with very low temperatures in winter and snows encumbering communication. On the narrow strip of the northern coastline the Pontic climate is warm and humid, giving rise to the wonderful forests there. The western and southern parts of Anatolia remain under the influence of the gentle Mediterranean climate, and agriculture flourishes on the coastal plains and in the river valleys. Arid ground dominates the Anatolian plateau; it is good mainly for animal husbandry, and cultivation is restricted to the river valleys and areas with artificial irrigation. In antiquity the climate of Asia Minor was a little colder and more humid than today², and ancient authors recorded large stretches of forests in this region³. References in cuneiform texts to numerous springs and pools are confirmed by archaeological discoveries. Climatic change and man's destructive economy have resulted in modern visitors from Europe finding the Anatolian plateau a land almost devoid of trees, steppe-like and inhospitable.

In antiquity advantageous natural conditions were an incentive to settlement in Anatolia⁴, especially since local sources of priceless raw materials were well known: first obsidian used to produce tools and weapons, later copper, silver and iron. Settlement flourished in places best suited for it, with a preference for defensible sites. New settlements were often built in place of the older ones. The tumuli or mounds (Turkish *höyük*) covering their remains are a characteristic feature of the Anatolian landscape. A network of routes connecting various regions developed as well.

The location between the Balkans and the Aegean on the one hand and the Near East on the other explains the frequent changes in the ethnic situation of Asia Minor. In historical times we have evidence of the peoples

² See Nützel 1976; Brice 1978.

³ Cf. Planhol 1954.

⁴ Nissen 1988:15ff.

who once inhabited these lands. Owing to written records one can observe how some languages died out and others appeared in their place, and how changes occurred in other aspects of the culture. The natural inner division of the peninsula played a great role there. Some regions remained isolated, with a tendency toward local particularism, so that here and there relics of various peoples and cultures persisted for a long time, while in the open areas constant change is observable. The contrast is obvious also with respect to religious beliefs. Even in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, that is in times of much better interregional communication, many examples of a religious conservatism are to be noted, especially in the mountainous regions on the outskirts of the Anatolian plateau, while the new religious beliefs and cults developed in the other, more easily accessible areas.

It is assumed that in the second half of the third millennium⁵ the first larger political units came into existence in central Anatolia. The evidence would suggest that lively contacts with Mesopotamia and Syria already existed at the time. The cuneiform documents of the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries⁶ discovered at Kültepe, the ancient Kaneš, yielded information about the oldest known states of the region. A little later, in the sixteenth century, the state of the Hittites was established to last until the beginning of the twelfth century. It played a role of utmost importance in the ancient history of the Near East, especially in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries. The existence of this great imperial power was the main historical factor in the development of the culture of Asia Minor. Many traces originating in the Hittite period can be discovered in the cultures and religions of peoples of the first millennium B.C., both the indigenous and immigrated.

The sources

Archaeology provides material to study the religious beliefs of inhabitants of Asia Minor in prehistorical times. Turkish and foreign teams have conducted excavations in Anatolia for a long time. The intensity of works in different regions varies, but on the whole much progress has been made recently. Casual finds often prompt regular archaeological work as do engineering projects of all kinds – building contracting, road construction, hydrogeological work. Archaeological fieldwork accelerated after the

5 All dates referring to ancient Near Eastern history should be understood as B.C.

6 All dates referring to the second millennium B.C. are given according to the short chronology which seems to be borne out by Heinz's research (Heinz 1992:198ff.).

Second World War with the development of new techniques and research methods; today excavations are carried out by teams including highly specialized experts in different disciplines of the sciences. Definite progress has been made in the field of comparative stratigraphy and techniques of absolute dating, all methods constantly being revised and perfected. It can be said that current knowledge of the prehistory of Asia Minor is considerable, although it cannot be excluded that the future will bring new discoveries which will change the present picture.

In the search for traces of ancient beliefs in the artifacts and structures unearthed by archaeologists, we should take into consideration only objects, the religious or magical nature of which is obvious. A definite answer in this respect is extremely difficult. Scholars depend on intuition or avoid the subject altogether as too speculative, or attempt to use the research methods of other scientific disciplines like anthropology⁷. The qualifiers 'probably' and 'presumably' often appear in the discussion, and recourse is sometimes taken to analogies from a later period in the history of Asia Minor. It is a common conviction among scholars that there was a continuity of Anatolian culture and, consequently, religious beliefs as well. The author shares this view, although he would suggest a very cautious use of analogies.

To facilitate the interpretation of facts science provides various hypotheses concerning the course taken by the intellectual and social development of prehistoric man; yet the chances for one of them to become more probable than the others are meager. And each one may be criticized from a given philosophical viewpoint. What the results of the interpretation are is dependent to a large degree upon the scholar's conviction. Most scholars assume, generally speaking, an evolutionary approach. The present author is also convinced of the existence of a link between the degree of cultural development and the level of religious beliefs; consequently, the beliefs proper to primitive societies – animism, fetishism, totemism and primitive magic – must have preceded the polytheistic phase of religion.

The textual evidence is of great importance for studying the historical religions of Asia Minor, being much more precise than the archaeological data. It should be noted that the state of research is unequal as regards beliefs in particular regions and historical periods. The oldest documents, the clay tablets with cuneiform writing in Old Assyrian, come from Kültepe, the ancient Kaneš (near Kayseri). In the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries there was a trading colony established by Assyrian merchants. The texts provide information on the religious beliefs of the Assyrians just as much as of the indigenous population, whose presence is borne out by

7 Cf., for example, Wasilewska 1991, 1993.

the occurrence of personal names other than Assyrian ones. Part of this Anatolian onomastic data includes theophorous names containing the names of local deities. A few Old Assyrian texts were also found in other cities. Seals and seal impressions on clay tablets, mainly from Kültepe, Acemhöyük and Karahöyük, are also valuable evidence.

There is a relatively good knowledge of the religion of central Anatolia in the Hittite period (sixteenth-thirteenth centuries); it is owed primarily to the extensive collections of cuneiform tablets discovered at Boğazkale (Ḫattuša) and, to an extent, at other sites, also outside the borders of Asia Minor, in the Syrian port of Ugarit and at Emar on the middle Euphrates. As for the religions of the western part of the peninsula, there is practically no information about them. As already stated, this region belonged to the Aegean sphere of influence; therefore, one can expect that a reconstruction of the local religious beliefs will benefit from studies of Minoan and Mycenaean religions.

The cuneiform texts from Ḫattuša, the modern Boğazkale, are written mainly in Hittite and deal first of all with religious matters. Also the literature in Luwian is of importance, having enriched our understanding of various local pantheons and cults of Anatolia. The few surviving texts in Palaic are of limited value to our studies. The texts in Hattic are still hardly comprehensible. Hurrian texts constitute a large group and are extremely useful in the study of the religion of the so-called western Hurrians who in the fifteenth to thirteenth centuries lived in Asia Minor, especially in its eastern and southeastern areas. Most of the religious texts in question have already been studied and discussed, but new discoveries can lead to surprises. Thus, Hittitologists are awaiting detailed information about the tablets recently found at Ortaköy⁸ and Kuşaklı⁹. It is already clear that they are concerned with religion on the whole. Also historical documents contain a good deal of information on gods, temples and cults, as well as man's relation to the gods.

Many monographs and articles on selected issues have already been written on the basis of this rich literature, nevertheless, other problems have yet to be analyzed for a better understanding of the religions of the Hittite period. These will be discussed in other chapters of this book. Beside the cuneiform texts also documents in the indigenous Anatolian hieroglyphic writing are of some importance for the study, including texts on monuments of art and architecture as well as the legends on seals and seal impressions.

The Hittite period is well documented archaeologically¹⁰. The capital of the Hittites, Ḫattuša, some 150 km as the crow flies east of Ankara, is especially well-researched¹¹. Many architectural structures there are identified as temples. Most of them did not come into being before the second half of the thirteenth century. Thus, it is not without reason that a document of this time calls Ḫattuša the gods' city¹². Temples have been discovered and studied at many sites outside the capital, beginning with the nearby rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya. Cult complexes are also known in connection with rock reliefs situated often in strategically important places, and with springs and water reservoirs. Many objects of the Hittite art are known: reliefs depicting deities and cult scenes, statuettes of gods, cult vessels, seals. There is no difficulty in their interpretation if the representations of deities are signed with their names in hieroglyphics, as on some rock reliefs. In other cases, attempts to identify the scene are often based on data drawn from cuneiform texts, although this is hardly a sure method in view of the multitude of deities attested in the literature. The gods rendered in art may be divided into a number of iconographical types. Some of these types have analogies on seals of the Assyrian trading colonies period.

The collapse of the Hittite Empire at the beginning of the twelfth century marked the end of cuneiform writing in Asia Minor and in adjacent Syria as well. Thus, a gap appears in the documentation of religious beliefs. Hieroglyphic writing continued in use, however, and its monuments appear more numerous than before, surviving mainly in southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria. Because of a scarcity of textual evidence, the beginning of the Iron Age has been called until recently the Dark Age. The term is still valid for western Anatolia where the history and culture begin to be better known only from the eighth century on thanks to Greek records. In studies of the last phase of Anatolian antiquity, inscriptions in the local languages – Phrygian, Lydian, Lycian, Sidetic and Pisidian are very useful. Constant progress is being made in the reading of Carian. Valuable research material is provided, as in the earlier periods, by the Anatolian theophorous names surviving in Greek and Latin documents.

8 Ünal 1991b; Süel 1992.

9 Müller-Karpe 1995.

10 U.B. Alkim 1968:145-241; Bittel 1976; van Loon 1985; Macqueen 1986.

11 Neve 1992, 1993.

12 KBo 10.39: 9'; duplicate KBo 17.88+ iii 6' (CTH 591.4).

The discovery of Asia Minor

The understanding of the old cultures of Asia Minor had been quite vague in Europe right until modern times. The writings of ancient authors and the Bible were the only source of knowledge. In classical tradition Anatolia was a land inhabited by barbarians, less developed than the Greeks; in any case, the stories about them were treated as fables. A Hellenocentric orientation strongly influenced early attempts to evaluate Anatolian religious beliefs, and for a long time scholars could not drop this orientation. The earlier history of Asia Minor was still submerged in darkness.

This state of affairs changed in the eighteenth century with travellers and scholars supplying information and illustrations of the monuments hidden in the steppes and mountains of the Ottoman Empire. One of these travellers was the Frenchman Charles Texier. In 1834 he discovered the ruins near the village of Boğazköy, later identified with Hattuşa, the Hittite capital. The interest in Anatolia grew extensively as a result of Heinrich Schliemann's excavations at Troy (from 1870), which proved that there was more than met the eye to what the classical authors had to say about the 'barbarian' lands east of Greece. Mesopotamia and Egypt had already at this point surrendered many of their mysteries, and work was progressing steadily on the reading and publication of cuneiform and Egyptian hieroglyphic texts. In comparison with the other lands of the Near East, Asia Minor remained a relatively little known region. The efforts of scholars concentrated mostly on the western and southwestern coastal regions directly related to the sphere of Greek culture. In the late nineteenth century Austrian archaeologists surveyed Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia and gathered a rich set of inscriptions in epichoric languages leading in consequence to successful attempts at their reading. In 1910-1914 the first American excavations took place at Sardis, the capital of Lydia; their publication included the Lydian texts then unearthed.

Already in the seventies of the nineteenth century two British scholars, William Wright and Archibald H. Sayce, arrived independently at the conclusion that the characteristic sculptures, rock reliefs and hieroglyphic inscriptions of Anatolia and Syria belonged to the Hittites, a people mentioned in the Old Testament and Egyptian records. From then on research accelerated. Excavations began in northern Syria, and Ernest Chantre discovered the first clay tablets with cuneiform writing at Boğazköy, now Boğazkale, providing an incentive to begin regular explorations of the site. The excavations of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft under Hugo Winckler in 1906 brought the discovery of Hattuşa and sets of tablets in different

languages. Investigations of the Hittite capital by German archaeologists have continued until the present day with new archives and libraries constantly being discovered. The honor of deciphering the Hittite language fell to the Czech scholar Bedřich Hrozný (1915). Research on the other languages of ancient Anatolia as attested in the texts from Hattuşa, i.e. Hattic, Luwian, Palaic and Hurrian, was drawn out in time and has continued ever since. Already before the Second World War obvious progress in reading the Anatolian hieroglyphics had been made. Documents of importance to the cultures and religions of Hittite Asia Minor came to light in other countries of the Near East, e.g. Ugarit where French archaeologists have carried out excavations since 1929.

Already in 1907 Theodor Makridi conducted the first excavations at Alacahöyük, which turned out to be, at least from the archaeological viewpoint, second in importance to the Hittite capital. Turkish archaeologists have continued explorations of the site since 1935, throwing new light on the religious beliefs of the Early Bronze Age. Beside Boğazköy/Hattuşa and Alacahöyük, the most important archaeological sites of central Anatolia include Alışar excavated by an American expedition in 1927-1932. Archaeological surveys of larger areas are also noteworthy, preparing the ground for later work.

After the Second World War investigations gained momentum. Turkish scholars began exploring Kültepe, the ancient Kaneš, the site excavated by B. Hrozný as early as 1925. The work is ongoing, and so far the results have permitted to reconstruct the development of the central Anatolian culture in times preceding Hittite rule. The same period is represented in the finds from Acemhöyük (excavated since 1962). Many sites from the Early Bronze Age have been explored. The finds which excavations have brought to light include original metal figurines; their religious interpretation seems not to meet with any reservations. In the west explorations were undertaken at various sites known from the ancient tradition, including Gordium, the capital of Phrygia, in 1950, and Sardis where the Americans resumed their work in 1958. Research was also initiated on the earliest history of Anatolia with the discovery in 1947 of Palaeolithic layers in the Kapalıin Cave near Isparta.

In the fifties and sixties spectacular discoveries were made at Neolithic (seventh and sixth millennia) and Chalcolithic sites on the South Anatolian plateau, e.g. Hacilar and Çatalhöyük. Results of research in these regions combined with discoveries in Palestine and the Zagros Mountains prompted the revision of earlier views concerning the geography of human development in the Near East. It turned out that Mesopotamia was not the cradle of civilization as previously presumed and that the Neolithic revolution, that is the transition from food collection to food production, took

place first in the uplands of South-West Asia, Anatolia included. Many artifacts and architectural remains give some idea of the prehistoric religions of the region despite difficulties in their interpretation.

Postwar research covered the regions of eastern Anatolia to a greater extent than before. In the sixties excavations were opened at several sites in the valleys of the Euphrates and its tributaries, usually in connection with hydrogeological projects. Explorations have continued over the years, encompassing an ever growing area and including the valley of the Tigris in recent years. In consequence of these surveys it became clear that many Neolithic settlements existed in the east and flourished at least partly thanks to the copper sources in their vicinity.

Especially noteworthy are two settlements of the Aceramic Neolithic: Çayönü with its mysterious skull-building and Nevalı Çori with its sanctuary. The oldest layers date to the eighth-seventh millennium, so they are older than the above-mentioned cultures of southern Anatolia. Although separated by the inaccessible Taurus range, the two mutually isolated regions developed Neolithic cultures which had much in common. The similarities are also observed in religion, and the analogies reach beyond Asia Minor borders.

Later, in the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age, the valley of the upper Euphrates remained in rather close contacts with northern Mesopotamia; scholars are in fact suggesting that 'colonists' arrived there from the south in search of metals and brought elements of the Halaf, Ubaid and Uruk cultures. Central Anatolia retained its cultural autonomy, although newcomers from Syria and Mesopotamia began arriving there presumably from the middle of the third millennium.

In recent years the process of the discovery of Asia Minor has intensified. Archaeologists are penetrating all the ages of its history, and more written sources are in evidence, although in many cases the publications are overdue. Many studies have appeared both as analyses and syntheses, some of them concerning the religion. Authors emphasize the continuity of religious beliefs in specific regions. Some subjects still await their turn to be studied, others already require a new approach.

1

ANCIENT TIMES TILL THE ORIGINS OF WRITING

General remarks

It is assumed that the transition from the beliefs of primitive peoples to polytheism occurred in the period here discussed. In the early stages of human history magical thinking prevailed¹³, continuing to play a great role even later despite the development of religion. Magical thinking was based on the conviction that the world and everything that exists is a whole, built of an uniform material, and that all things remain in mutual contact. This world ought to be unchangeable, and the order of things should be determined once and for all. It was believed that mysterious, incognizable forces governed the world and man's fate. Consequently, it was thought that particular elements of reality, even singular objects, may substitute for it as a whole, and the similarity of things testified to a close relation. Thus, it was possible to act upon a certain whole through its constituent part, or upon a person through an object similar to her.

It was presumably in Neolithic times that the old cult of the elements and phenomena of nature started turning into polytheistic religion in which these elements and phenomena were personified: the sun became the Sun-deity, the heaven – the Heaven-deity, etc. There is a general agreement that the personification reflects changes in human status, namely that human personality was distinguished from common consciousness and began to make an increasingly strong mark. Anthropomorphization followed in the wake of personification, the deities became like humans in the physical and psychical sense. Presumably, this process took place as early as in the Neolithic age since in historical times the majority of deities already had definitely anthropomorphic features.

Personification and anthropomorphization signify the beginning of the process of turning away from the reality of nature, proper to an observed object, toward a theological freedom in explaining the character and function of deities. However, once established in prehistorical times the gen-

¹³ For the modern views on magic see L. Petzoldt (ed.), *Magie und Religion*. Darmstadt 1978.

eral view as to divine nature remained almost unchanged throughout antiquity. Magic continued to play eral view as to divine nature remained almost unchanged throughout antiquity. Magic continued to play a great role. Certain myths and phenomena from the sphere of cult can be explained only on the grounds of magical premises.

1.1. THE PALAEOLITHIC AGE

The history of man in Asia Minor begins with the older stone age, that is the Palaeolithic. In terms of the history of civilization, it is the time of food gathering and hunting, and of the resultant nomadic way of life. In the ideological sphere, rites of hunting magic were intended to ensure success during the hunt. The engraved and painted representations of animals and the hunt, characteristic of the age in different regions of the world, are explained accordingly. A simulation of the expected course of events was supposed to induce hunting success. Thus the oldest known works of art had a purely practical purpose.

Archaeological evidence of the Palaeolithic comes from the Marmara-Sea region, the vicinity of Ankara and Palanlı (near Adıyaman), the territory of Isparta and Antalya to the south, the region of Antakya and Gaziantep, finally the shores of Atatürk Lake on the Euphrates and Batman Su in the east¹⁴.

It was in 1938 that E. Pittard first investigated engravings from the caves near Palanlı¹⁵. The most interesting finds, however, come from the caves of southern Anatolia discovered only after the Second World War. Here, the evidence of human habitation was unusually distinct¹⁶. The Karain cave near Antalya was found to have been visited by human groups from the Palaeolithic to the Chalcolithic. In the second (Middle Palaeolithic) layer the skeletal remains of *Homo neanderthalensis* and modern man were discovered. Artifacts from this layer include the noteworthy pebbles with engravings and a rib with a human head carved into it at one end. In one of the chambers there are carvings from the Upper Palaeolithic representing humans and animals.

In caves of the Beldibi region (southwest of Antalya) rock paintings occur beside carvings; they were made with a reddish-brown ocher and depicted humans and animals as well as signs in the form of a cross and others. Paintings are also to be found on the rocks near the Kumbucağı cave in the same region. The rock representations as well as the mobiliary art of the age are of great interest. They are usually interpreted as

14 U.B. Alkim 1968:41ff. (with references); Minzoni-Déroche 1988, 1991; Rosenberg & Togul 1991.

15 Anati 1968:29ff.

16 Kökten 1963; Bostancı 1959, 1962; Esin & Benedict 1963.

examples of man's magical activities. E. Anati¹⁷ suggests that the caves may have been connected with cult; not only the engravings and paintings could be considered proof, but also engraved cup-marks near the entrance. Some symbolic motifs of Palaeolithic art appear in later decoration. It is worth mentioning that rock carvings were also discovered in the Sat mountains in southeastern Turkey¹⁸, but it is impossible to date them, and their attribution to the Palaeolithic is doubtful. The caves near Antalya were also inhabited in the Neolithic Age.

1.2 THE NEOLITHIC AGE

The so-called Neolithic revolution¹⁹ occurred in the uplands of the Near East in the later stone age. Man could now produce and store food, and he could exert an influence upon his natural habitat, because he consciously favored the domestication of plant and animal species that served to satisfy his needs. The new way of food production induced a transition to a settled life, and an abundance of food generated population growth. The first settlements came into being, a social division of labor appeared, technology and exchange developed; in a word, the processes were underway, which were to lead to the establishment of historical societies in the future.

The transition from a nomadic to a settled way of life marked a change not just in the nature of basic activities, but in the whole concept of life. As an agriculturalist man was strongly dependent upon the natural run of the seasons. Their regular change was the expected ideal state of affairs with any departure from it threatening to diminish the crop. Hunting magic was gradually superseded by taking care to ensure a regular annual cycle and a good harvest. This care rested at the bottom of new magic rites and the myths and ideas connected with them. In consequence, it led to the appearance of a calendar of agrarian rites which in time was to turn into a calendar of seasonal festivals.

As already mentioned, Neolithic sites are concentrated in two regions: the southern part of the Anatolian plateau and the valley of the northern Euphrates. Until recently the western group of sites was considered older and more interesting; however, the latest finds in the east have gone far to change this opinion. The discovered group of sites comes from the Aceramic Neolithic and some of these are permanent settlements. Nevalı Çori²⁰ is distinguished not just for the storage units and a structure of residential type found there, but also for a room with thick walls which the discoverer believed to be a sanctuary of sorts. Its form changed in the consecutive phases of the settlement's development. The rectangular pillars, of which only the bottom parts have survived, deserve notice because of a relief representation of two hands visible on one of the pillars; it can only be assumed that the missing upper part of the pillar bore the rest of a human figure.

¹⁷ Anati 1968:22ff.

¹⁸ Uyanik 1974.

¹⁹ Mellaart 1975:91ff.; Gebel 1984; Yakar 1991; Özdoğan 1995.

²⁰ Hauptmann 1991-1992, 1993.

The function of these pillars is unclear; judging by their disposition, they may have supported a roof. A much less probable hypothesis is that the pillars are in fact remains of cult stelae representing a personified deity. It is known that the cult of stelae was a characteristic phenomenon in Syria, Palestine, Upper Mesopotamia and Asia Minor and it occurred there from the Neolithic until the first millennium B.C. If at Nevalı Çori we are indeed dealing with worshiped stelae, the fact would bring new light to bear upon the genesis of their cult. But even if it were not so, the building can be regarded as a sanctuary on the ground of the sculptures which were set in a niche in the wall and presumably revered as objects of cult. One of the sculptures is a severely damaged human torso, others depict man-bird hybrids. The functional differentiation of the buildings inside the settlement, including a building for cult purposes, should be noted here as a fact without analogy in so early an age.

Human figurines of clay with schematic heads, up to 5 cm in height, with supposed magical significance, come from other sites of this region, too²¹. Female representations predominate. Figurines of that period have yet to be found in southern Anatolia.

Discoveries in the northern Euphrates valley yielded evidence of the oldest burial customs. The body discovered in a burial at Cafer Höyük was contracted, the skull and face apparently covered with a whitish coating²². Such burial customs are indicative of a belief in the afterlife. Mention must also be made of the mysterious skull-building at Çayönü²³; it continued to exist in a number of phases corresponding to consecutive layers. One of the phases comprises three stone-paved cells with outer pilasters and a large plastered court in front. The walls facing the court were whitewashed, and the pilasters were painted red. A large flat stone in a corner of the court served perhaps as an altar. Many human skulls without any traces of plaster were found in the cells. In other layers the floor of the building was covered with human bones along with large animal horns in a few places. The interpretation of the skull-building presents difficulties; presumably it was a sanctuary connected with an ancestor cult or a skull cult²⁴. Similar finds come from Nevalı Çori and slightly later from southern Anatolia; more distant analogies originate from a number of Syrian sites of the Aceramic Neolithic B date and as early as the Aceramic Neolithic A at Jericho in Palestine. At Çayönü burials below the floors of houses represented a custom typical of Anatolia in the Neolithic and later.

21 Broman Morales 1990.

22 Mellink 1985:557; J. Cauvin et al. 1991.

23 Çambel & Braidwood 1983; Mellink 1985:548f., 1988:103, and 1990:127.

24 M. & A. Özdoğan 1989:71; Bienert 1991:15f.

Possibly, the red color was supposed to emphasize the religious character of the rooms²⁵. If this were so indeed, then it should be noted that remains of similar structures came to light in the western group of Aceramic Neolithic sites as well. In Hacilar²⁶ there occur rooms with carefully plastered floors and walls. The plaster was frequently stained red or decorated with geometric designs in red on cream. At Aşıklı Höyük one of the investigated rooms had a red floor and red-painted walls. However, the function of these rooms remains unclear.²⁷

At Aşıklı Höyük intramural burials are quite frequent. Contracted inhumations were found in pits below the floors; the heads were pointed toward the west. Thus, the dead remained at home, among relatives, and it was believed that they took care of the living. A different custom is attested at Hacilar. No skeletons were discovered there, but only skulls which were propped up on the stones of the floor and also close to the hearth²⁸. Presumably the corpses were decapitated, and only the head was kept, as was the case at one point in the skull-building at Çayönü and in the later settlement at Catalhöyük.

Çatalhöyük near Konya remains the most famous Neolithic site in Anatolia and the largest in the entire Near East; it was excavated by James Mellaart in 1961-63 and 1965²⁹. The population of the settlement numbered several thousand. Houses on a rectangular plan were built on the slope of the hill adjacent to each other. The only access was by a ladder to the roof of a neighboring house. Agriculture and husbandry were the main occupations of the inhabitants. They used tools of flint and obsidian, but copper working was also known. The oldest known objects of gold are worthy of notice along with textiles and seals with geometric and linear designs and abundant pottery. This indicates that the local inhabitants attained a high level of civilization. Mellaart registered about 200 Neolithic sites in the Konya plain, proof of intensive settlement in the area and the fast growth of civilization.

Some of the rooms in the settlement are identified as shrines. Only their equipment – certain structures, wall paintings, human and animal figurines – indicates their special function. There is no difference between dwelling rooms and cult rooms, the two are joined in one complex. It is not unlikely that the shrines were simply dwelling rooms which were also used for occasional religious or magical ceremonies. Here, the absence of altars or clearly marked offering places is worthy of notice³⁰.

25 Wasilewska 1991.

26 Mellaart 1961:70ff., 1965b:80f.

27 Todd 1966:139; on the new excavations at this site see Esin et al. 1991.

28 Mellaart 1961:73.

29 Mellaart 1962, 1963a, 1964, 1965a, 1965b, 1966a, 1967.

30 Heinrich & Seidl 1969.

The shrines were decorated with reliefs modelled in plaster. They represented mainly bull or ram heads with horns. There were also figures cut out of the plaster, usually animals – mostly the bull, but also the ibex, stag, leopard and others. Reliefs were sometimes combined with paintings. Rows of bull horns set in benches and 'bull-pillars' should also be mentioned. Modelled female breasts appear now and then in connection with a bull's head. In one of the shrines a stylized female figure of almost natural size was found in the attitude of childbirth; three bull's heads were placed below it. It is noteworthy that male representations do not occur in the reliefs.

Another way of decorating the shrines – and some of the houses – are wall paintings, often polychrome. In many rooms several layers of painting were noted. Red predominated, its popularity drawing from the magic virtue of symbolizing blood and therefore the life force. Geometric patterns occur, at times repeated to cover larger surfaces, and symbols – hands, crosses and others that are unintelligible today³¹. Even so simple an image as three rows of hands deserves notice: the impression of the left hand clearly predominates, which in the symbolic languages of primitive peoples takes on specific magical meaning. Most probably the symbolism of the wall paintings was connected with protective magic. Representations of humans and animals, both single and in broader contexts are frequent. Some of the scenes are related to the funerary cult (see below). Scenes of death on one wall contrast with scenes of life on the other.

Concerning animal representations in the wall frescoes and reliefs, it is rather difficult to define their symbolic meaning. Anyway, it does not seem justified to consider them as symbols of specific deities in this particular archaeological context. Many frescoes represent hunting scenes with the participation of numerous hunters. They are usually considered to be elements of hunting magic rites similar to those observed in the Palaeolithic. The question arises whether in the Neolithic hunting was still of such importance; if not, then one wonders what was the sense of these rites. The answer lies probably in the conservatism of beliefs: The frescoes reflect images from a past age and testify to their permanence. Presumably the old rites of the hunters were still celebrated, although they were slowly turning into ceremonies, the original meaning of which future generations were no longer to understand.

On the grounds of a unity of rites and the explanatory myths, it can be supposed that some scenes, which are at times quite dramatic, reveal interesting mythological ideas. One of the frescoes may depict the eruption of a volcano near a settlement of considerable size; this was clearly a real event, but so unusual that it required a mythological explanation.

³¹ But cf. Forest 1993.

Human figurines of clay and stone were found in abundance in the shrines. Most of them are female, occurring in three types: a young woman, a mother giving birth and an old woman. The lower part of the body and the breasts are now and then excessively emphasized, a characteristic of the Neolithic in general. Representations of women with leopards (or lions) are also frequent. A figurine shows a woman giving birth. She is seated on a throne flanked by two felines, her feet placed on human skulls. Male figurines are rare, and the types of images can be divided according to age. Sometimes the man is shown seated on a bull. Pairs of women are sporadic, and on a plaque there are two pairs of human figures.

The finds from Çatalhöyük appear to form an interrelated group, although, unfortunately, we fail to understand all the constituents. There can be no doubt that a fertility cult grounded in the realities of Anatolian nature prevailed, yet its details remain unknown. A variety of objects were found in the shrines, starting with small deposits of grain, tools of different kind, stamp seals and ending on human skulls. These objects varied from shrine to shrine, contradicting the view held by Mellaart³² who interpreted them as offerings. He also considered the figurines and reliefs on the walls to be representations of the chief deities of the settlement – a fertility goddess always in anthropomorphic form, and a male deity of lesser standing as represented by a bull in the decoration of the shrines. The female deity appears to be the prototype of the Anatolian mother-goddess who is a characteristic figure of polytheistic religion. It is a typical chthonic deity. The male deity is considered the earliest known form of a storm-god, the lord of thunder and life-giving rain. In historical religions this deity is often worshiped in the form of a bull. It should be emphasized though that the representations of bull's heads or horns as known from Çatalhöyük are an exceptional phenomenon in prehistoric Asia Minor, and one cannot prove the continuity of the bull cult from the Neolithic to historical times (the existence of cult horns in shrines of the Early Bronze Age is uncertain, see below).

Another question which should be answered is whether in view of the variety of female figurine types the number of female deities can be held at one as Mellaart would like to believe³³. In some of the shrines plaster reliefs of twin goddesses were found, the same pair which can be seen in one of the figurine groups. Therefore, it could be assumed that a triad of deities was worshiped here: a mother-goddess, a young female deity and a male god³⁴, although other variants are also possible. The purpose

³² Mellaart 1967:77f.

³³ Mellaart 1967:201.

³⁴ Urbin Choffray 1987.

of the figurines is not known. They appear in Anatolia in different archaeological contexts, not only in shrines. Their religious function was presumably connected with a magical one, the latter perhaps even being foremost. The remark concerns also other elements of the shrines' decoration; they clearly seem to have more in common with magic than with cult.

The dead were buried below the floors of their houses. For the sake of hygiene, the burials were all secondary. The excarnation may have taken place outside the settlement, perhaps by means of vultures. In one of the frescoes there is a man carrying what seems to be two human heads. In two shrines an enormous vulture is shown pecking at headless human corpses. The skeletons were then collected and buried. Mellaart believes that the rite was connected with an annual redecoration of the houses and shrines. The presence of ocher-burials in some of the shrines is particularly interesting. The custom of painting the bones or the body with ocher is well attested in ancient cultures, having to do with the symbolic meaning of the color.

The remains of a skeleton were wrapped in mats or textiles. They were accompanied by burial gifts, quite modest on the whole. Only certain groups of objects testify to the high social status of the dead: In some of the shrines there are burials of women with obsidian mirrors. The assumption that they could have been priestesses³⁵ does not seem justified considering that it is a domestic cult we are dealing with here.

It has already been said that Çatalhöyük is in many ways exceptional. Therefore, an interpretation of the elements of its culture requires great caution. Some of these elements are to be observed in other settlements of that period. At Höyücek-Bucak female figurines and idols were found on a plastered floor, suggesting that the structure was a shrine. At Hacilar of the Late Neolithic Age (layer VI) there were slabs representing female figures with incised features or clay figurines found in the corners of rooms³⁶. They are proof of a domestic cult, in a more modest form than at Çatalhöyük. A variety of types of clay figurines, usually well modelled and presented in realistic attitudes, was discovered in abundance in various parts of the settlement. As at Çatalhöyük, female figurines predominated, the male was of clearly lower status. It would be difficult, however, to infer from this evidence concerning the social system in the Neolithic. The woman is often associated with felines, consequently she has been described in scholarly literature as the Mistress of Animals. Figurines of the Hacilar type are also found at many sites of the South Anatolian plateau.

35 Mellaart 1963a:95-101, 1967:204-209.

36 Mellaart 1958, 1959a, 1960, 1961, 1970.

Pottery was widely distributed; the decoration of vessels includes symbols of protective magic. A peculiarity of Hacilar are theriomorphic vessels; there is also a drinking cup in the shape of a female head. Analogies in later religions suggest that these vessels were used in the cult. Köşk-Höyük-Bor, a transitional site from the Neolithic to the Chalcolithic, has provided many examples of pottery with relief decoration; animal representations prevail, female ones are rarer³⁷.

Characteristically, no traces of human remains have been discovered below the floors of Hacilar houses. Nonetheless, burials under house floors appear at other sites. At Köşk-Höyük-Bor, for example, children were buried in jars or cists. The skull of a child was covered with white plaster and painted red. A red-plastered human skull with eyes inlaid with black stone was found on the floor³⁸. Tomb gifts are attested at many sites.

The Neolithic Age thus brings the oldest proof for the existence of places of worship, usually domestic shrines, and various forms of divine images. The details of cult are still unclear. Although the interpretation of the Neolithic finds cannot be univocal, there are good reasons to believe that the typological diversification of deities may have occurred as early as the period, leading to the formation of certain types which would dominate in the later religions of Asia Minor, the mother-goddess and the storm-god being the most important among these. Later cults also seem to be rooted in the Neolithic. Burial customs are quite similar everywhere, testifying to a belief in the afterlife and a developed ancestor cult.

37 Silistreli 1989, 1991.

38 Mellink 1987:3.

1.3 THE CHALCOLITHIC AGE

The transition from the Neolithic to the Chalcolithic in Anatolia is dated to the end of the sixth millennium. A continuity is apparent in the west, while in the northern Euphrates region the Mesopotamian cultures of Halaf and Ubaid successively influenced the local tradition. In settlements of southwestern Anatolia the houses are now larger than before and 'fortresses' appear as in layer I at Hacilar.

Painted pottery is found in abundance and variety, both monochrome and polychrome. The latter is well-attested at many sites from the Marmara Sea in the west to Mersin and Tarsus in Cilicia. The predominant decoration is geometric. Magical symbols continue to appear, but on the whole the decoration seems to lose its magical meaning. In the future the spread of painted pottery will lead in consequence to the desacralization of art.

Anthropomorphic vessels are considered objects that require a religious interpretation; their function, however, is not clear. The first examples of vessels of this kind had appeared in the Neolithic, but now they became more numerous and varied. A peculiarity of the period are the rectangular storage vessels on conical feet from Toptepe in northwestern Turkey³⁹.

Female figurines, often painted, are still popular, with a tendency toward schematization now clearly noticeable. In the future their place will be taken by idols with barely marked facial features, covered with symbolic or only ornamental decoration. Also in pottery decoration the gradual turning away from realism toward stylized representations of figures is evident.

Among the houses in layer II at Hacilar one is considered a shrine⁴⁰. It has a deep well in an open yard. A stone slab found inside a niche presumably served as the cult object. Contracted burials below the house floors were recorded at the site; jar burials are also encountered. Pottery occurs among the funerary gifts.

Sites in western and southern Anatolia provide extensive evidence of a developed copperworking industry and a high level of civilization. Proof of religious beliefs is scarce, however. Female clay figurines prevail with

male figurines appearing only sporadically. Certain finds at Tarsus in Cilicia might be remains of a shrine according to the excavator: A pillar-shaped stone in bad condition was found lying on a clay floor with deer antlers and red sherds nearby⁴¹. Jar burials occur in a part of the settlement. At Mersin inhumation is well attested, too, but one of the burials represents a mass cremation of an unknown number of adults and another one – a cremation of a child. This burial custom has no analogy in Anatolia in the discussed period and seems to be connected with the Halaf culture (see below)⁴².

Chalcolithic sites were also discovered in the basin of the Halys river in central Anatolia. The northern region is much poorer in finds from the older ages, but the picture changes with the warming of the climate. The following periods will yield a growing body of evidence of human existence in these areas where in historical times the state of the Hittites was to take shape. The most interesting Chalcolithic site here is Büyük Güllücek near Çorum⁴³. Pottery and clay cult figurines were discovered there along with a burial under the floor of a house. Below-house burials are also known at Alacahöyük⁴⁴.

Among the sites in the east, on the peripheries of Asia Minor, Norşuntepe should be noted⁴⁵. In one of the large rooms a fresco depicting an animal (deer perhaps) was found in a niche in the wall. It is uncertain whether this room was a shrine or not. At Arslantepe-Malatya⁴⁶ a temple with an altar and cult pottery was discovered in the Late Chalcolithic layer. It was part of a residential building. As already stated, the region of the northern Euphrates was under influence of the cultures of Upper Mesopotamia. From the end of the sixth until the second half of the fifth millennium, the Halaf culture dominated in the vast area between the Euphrates and Greater Zab rivers. Its most outstanding product is the painted pottery which shows phases of development and increasing elegance. Its decoration evolves from the naturalistic with a preponderance of animal motifs toward a sophisticated geometrical ornament. Bucrania and ram's heads on the pottery are usually connected with the cult of a male fertility element, while the many clay female figurines may demonstrate a cult of the mother-goddess. Halaf culture reached into eastern Anatolia, but also far to the west, to the Mediterranean Sea. Its pres-

41 Goldman 1956:5f.

42 Cf. Akkermans 1989:81.

43 Koşay & Akok 1957.

44 Koşay & Akok 1966 pls. 143, 146. For the Chalcolithic sites with burials see also Orthmann 1957-1961:603f.

45 von Gladiß & Hauptmann 1974.

46 Gates 1994:254f.

39 Mellink 1992:126 fig. 10, 11.

40 Mellaart 1960:100-103; cf. Orthmann 1978.

ence is observed in Mersin, for instance, in layers XIX-XVII. The Ubaid culture later spread along the same routes.

It can be assumed that further transformations in the sphere of religious thought and cult happened in Asia Minor in the Chalcolithic. Following a time of the predominance of female deities, the role of male gods increased. In the next period male and female deities were to become equal partners. Unfortunately, the transformation does not seem, to have been reflected in the fine arts. Evidence is lacking for the cult of a male god represented by the bull or just its horns, that is the storm-god who will become the leading figure of the Anatolian pantheon in historical times. This may be due to the accidental nature of the finds from that period. The traditional burial customs lingered on, although the skull cult disappeared. Examination of skeletal remains provides information on the anthropological types, but relations to the population known from historical times cannot be ascertained. The first examples of cremation burials are noteworthy.

1.4 THE EARLY BRONZE AGE

The Early Bronze Age, a new epoch in the development of Anatolian civilization, began by the end of the fourth millennium⁴⁷. Copper and bronze gradually superseded flint and obsidian, until then the basic material for the production of tools and weapons. Rich sources of metals and technological progress, specifically the skill to achieve the high temperatures necessary to smelt metal, fostered the development of metallurgy. The tin that was necessary to produce bronze was obtained from local mines and imported in part from neighboring lands, giving rise to lively trade. Settlement of an urban nature developed. Archaeologists have unearthed many settlements which resemble the later towns in plan and character. The social differentiation, which started as a process in the Neolithic, increased. The tribal aristocracy concentrated more and more wealth in their hands. The institution of slavery seems to have already existed, but we cannot evaluate its role in the economy. As suggested earlier, there is reason to suppose that the first larger political units appeared in that period.

According to textual evidence from the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries and later on, the early second millennium Asia Minor was inhabited by different peoples who were in residence there as early as the Early Bronze Age. The Hattians are considered the local ethnic substratum presumably of Caucasian origin. They settled in the northern part of the land in the bend of the Halys river. It seems that originally they occupied a much greater area than in historical times. The Indo-Europeans are represented by the so-called Anatolian peoples – the Hittites, Palaites and Luwians. In documents from Kültepe/Kaneš and later Boğazkale there are also remains of other old ethnic substrata of central Anatolia. Possibly, some unknown Indo-European peoples may have inhabited the western part of Anatolia. This is indicated by certain linguistic traces, e.g. Lydian, which belongs to the Anatolian group of languages.

The Anatolians separated from the other Indo-European peoples at an early date, not in the third millennium as was formerly believed, but much earlier – at least in the sixth-fifth millennia. Where the cradle of the Indo-Europeans should be looked for is still the object of debate and so is, consequently, the history of particular groups of peoples which started out

⁴⁷ Cf. Yakar 1985. For the bibliography see Korfmann et al. 1994.

from there on the trek to their historical seats⁴⁸. The predominant view is that the Anatolian peoples arrived in Asia Minor from the region north of the Black Sea, presumably through the Balkans and Black Sea straits⁴⁹. According to some authors, this would have happened in the second half of the third millennium; according to others – even as early as the Late Chalcolithic. Were it so indeed, then the migration must have been preceded by a sufficiently long period of linguistic community, in which the characteristics of Proto-Anatolian would have developed. It is possible, however, for the period to have been divided into two phases, which could be called pre-Anatolian and Anatolian, or for the migration to have occurred before the group split into particular peoples, that is in the fourth or even fifth millennium. One hypothesis even assumes that the Indo-Europeans originated from the Near East and that Anatolia was part of their homeland⁵⁰. In other words, the Anatolians need not have come to Asia Minor because they were already living there. The theory has many adherents in view of the general ambiguity concerning the homeland of the Indo-Europeans⁵¹. The present author holds the view that too much still remains to be explained for this theory to be considered even probable.

During the third millennium one could observe a growing interest in Asia Minor among the peoples of neighboring lands, especially Mesopotamia. This land had trailed the uplands in times of the Neolithic revolution, but soon picked up the pace to become one of the main cultural centers of the Near East in the fourth millennium. It does not come as a surprise that writing was invented there. Another active cultural center was Syria. The city-states there carried on a lively exchange with their neighbors, and one of the ancient trade routes led from Lower Mesopotamia along the Euphrates to Syria with an offshoot to Asia Minor in the north. An echo of those old political and trading contacts can be found in the descriptions of expeditions by the Akkadian kings, Sargon and Naramsin, but these reports are of so late a date and so legendary nature that they cannot be treated as historical sources. Mesopotamian culture exerted a strong influence upon Asia Minor and retained it until the end of the Bronze Age. This is also clearly evident in religious beliefs.

There does not seem to be a significant qualitative difference between the civilizations of the Early Bronze Age and those of the first few centuries of historical times. Thus, it is to be expected that in the third millennium Anatolian religious beliefs and the corresponding facts of mater-

48 Kortlandt 1990, with bibliography.

49 Steiner 1990, with references.

50 Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984, 1985; Gamkrelidze 1989, 1990.

51 Renfrew 1987; Drews 1988:25-40; Zvelebil & Zvelebil 1988; but cf. Brown 1993.

ial culture would represent about the same state of development as in the early second millennium and the Old Hittite period. At least, sites considered the seat of local rulers should yield traces of distinctly separate enclosures of a religious nature, i.e. sanctuaries, and cult objects that could be anthropomorphic and theriomorphic, as well as aniconic. The finds are analyzed from this standpoint as a rule.

Sites of the Early Bronze Age are not uniformly spread throughout Anatolia; in this respect some regions are better explored than others. Investigated extensively is the northwestern part of the peninsula with Troy, which was perhaps the most representative site. Excavations in this legendary town at the mouth of the Dardanelles were first undertaken by Heinrich Schliemann in 1870 and were later continued intermittently. Recently, they were reopened by Manfred Korfmann in 1988. The oldest settlement – Troy I, was presumably established at the beginning of the third millennium. It was a small fortified town then on the coast. Cult objects from that period include stone slabs, one of which bore a human face in relief. These slabs were discovered in Tower R of the South Gate together with two offering tables⁵². It is unlikely that the building was of religious significance, thus the slabs may have come from a domestic shrine.

Troy II was a much more powerful and prosperous town to judge by the hoards of products made of valuable metals, for example, the 'treasure' mistakenly ascribed by Schliemann to King Priam. There are no recognizable traces of religious installations in this layer, although it can be assumed that at least one of the rooms may have served cult purposes⁵³. Small clay vessels with modelled human facial features are noteworthy. They have been interpreted as covers of larger anthropomorphic pots, similar to those found in later layers. In certain cases the whole human figure would have been visible, but only when the cover was in place on the pot. It has been suggested that these vessels were funerary urns, but so far no evidence of cremation has come to light in northwestern Anatolia of the period. Therefore, the function of these vessels remains yet to be explained.

Troy III and IV were poor settlements again. In one of the rooms of layer III an altar-like structure was discovered, possibly indicating the presence of a domestic cult. Similar remains were recorded in Troy Vb which was a slightly more prosperous town than its direct predecessors. Generally speaking, evidence of religious beliefs in the Troas region in this period is extremely modest.

Concerning other sites in western Anatolia the situation is very much similar. At Demircihöyük, a fortified settlement in the valley of the

52 Mellaart 1959b:134.

53 Already interpreted thus by Schliemann, see Mellaart 1959b:152.

Sangarius river, no traces of cult installations were discovered; yet there are many stone idols, exclusively female, and theriomorphic vessels. Objects of a religious nature are very poorly represented in the Hermus and Caicus valleys and in the vicinity of Izmir. At Karahisar-Tavaz in Caria flat stone idols of rectangular shape came to light, similar to those found at Karataş-Semayük in Lycia and at Kusura (south of Afyon). In a layer dated to period B at Kusura a room was discovered which seems to have been a shrine⁵⁴.

An exceptional phenomenon are the shrines from layers XVII-XIV at Beycesultan, a settlement at the source of the Maeander river, which existed as early as the Chalcolithic⁵⁵. These structures have been discussed extensively in the literature because they yielded obvious evidence of cult, contrary to all the other sites of the Early Bronze Age where only traces of cult spaces have survived. The shrines⁵⁶ are directly connected with dwelling rooms. They are arranged in pairs, hence the name 'twin shrines' used in the literature. In each layer one pair of shrines occurs.

Each shrine is a room entered through a portico, with another small room in the back. Inside there is an altar complex placed at the east end of the room. The main element of the altar are twin stelae made of plastered clay, behind which built-in pottery vessels or clay basins are found. In front of them stands a small horn-shaped clay structure. In certain shrines a wooden post or pillar belongs to the altar complex; it occurs in only one of the shrines in each pair. Structures built against the northern wall of the altar room are usually interpreted as 'blood altars'. The upper surface of such an altar has a flat oval space surrounded by a channel sloping towards a circular hole in the floor.

The twin stelae are badly preserved. Consequently certain scholars have suggested that it is a second pair of horns of much larger size. However, the interpretation of these features as stelae appears to be confirmed by the complete stone stelae from the Open Sanctuary in Level V (Middle Bronze Age). The horn-shaped structures are usually considered cult horns or horns of consecration, but the interpretation is questionable because at many sites they have been used as pot-supports in hearths⁵⁷. Moreover, Asia Minor has not yielded any sure analogies for the cult horns, the majority coming from Minoan Crete.

A wooden post or pillar set in front of the twin stelae seems to have had a cult significance, but there is no firm basis to connect it with a tree

cult. Analogies come not from Anatolia, but from other, at times distant lands. Also the attribution of a 'blood altar' function to the structures against the northern wall raises objections seeing that in the later offerings to the gods in Asia Minor blood did not play a significant role. It is, therefore, improbable for the offerings in the Early Bronze Age to have been based on completely different principles.

Despite all the criticism, the rooms in question may indeed have served as shrines, because the cult of stelae was well-known in Asia Minor in historical times. It is believed that a wooden post is characteristic of a shrine devoted to a male deity. It should be added though that twin stelae at other sites are considered representations of the main pair of deities, a male and female one, contradicting the above interpretation of a wooden post. Neither is it clear why at Beycesultan this pair of deities seems to be duplicated in twin shrines. In other words, the issue how many and what kind of deities were worshiped there must remain without an answer, similarly as a number of other questions concerning the function of the discussed structures.

Other finds of religious significance from Beycesultan should also be mentioned, namely flat and violin-shaped stone idols, characteristic of the early phases of the settlement. They were discovered together with votive pottery in the shrines mentioned above, complementing the argument for the religious character of these rooms.

The burial customs of western Asia Minor in that period are quite well known⁵⁸. Extramural burials were the rule; the odd child burial was an exception. The dead were usually buried in cemeteries outside the settlement. Burials in pithoi definitely prevail, as at Babaköy⁵⁹ and Başpınar. Sometimes the dead were laid to rest in a cist made of large stone slabs. At the majority of cemeteries the two forms coexist. The cemetery at Iasos in Caria comprises only cist burials⁶⁰. The phenomenon has no analogies in Anatolia. A peculiarity of the cemetery at Demircihöyük are several interments of pairs of oxen alongside the human burials⁶¹. Some pithoi from the cemetery near Karataş-Semayük are distinguished by incised decoration. At Polatlı⁶² shaft tombs occurred beside the cist burials. A little circular structure with a rectangular porch was discovered above one of the cist tombs; a variety of objects, possibly offerings, were found inside it. Similar buildings are known from other sites in the vicinity, e.g.

54 Lamb 1938:225, 1956:89 pl. V a, and 1973:28.

55 Lloyd & Mellaart, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1962, 1965; Lloyd 1960; Mellink 1967.

56 Yakar 1974.

57 Diamant & Rutter 1969.

58 Stech Wheeler 1974.

59 Bittel 1939-1941.

60 Pecorella 1984.

61 Willeitner 1992:314.

62 Lloyd & Gökçe 1951.

Etiyokuşu; they may have had the function of funerary chapels. The dating of the Polatlı tombs to the Early Bronze Age is confirmed by a small copper jug and a shaft-hole hammer axe, both comparable to metal finds from the 'royal' tombs at Alacahöyük (see below).

Throughout the area in question the burials are accompanied by tomb gifts, which are usually quite modest. In this respect the tombs from Dorak on the Ulubat Lake (the ancient Apolyont) west of Bursa are a peculiarity⁶³. A large cist grave was uncovered there. It contained the burials of a local ruler and his wife. Another grave contained the body of a single man. The graves were accompanied by simple burials in pithoi. The richness of the funerary gifts earned them the name 'The Treasure from Dorak'. None of these objects seems to have been connected with cult; indeed, their profane character is striking at first glance. Many objects are of interest because of the highest level of craftsmanship applied to them and may be compared with the finds from the Alacahöyük tombs (see below). The Dorak graves indicate a clear differentiation of burial furnishings depending on social status.

Farther to the east is the Konya plain with its numerous *höyüks* from the Early Bronze Age, of which only a few have been investigated. The major site in this region is Karahöyük. A peculiarity of the local pottery repertoire are the 'face urns', vessels of unclear function⁶⁴.

There are many sites of the Early Bronze Age in central Anatolia, particularly in the vicinity of Ankara and in the bend of the Halys river. Despite some relations with the western and southern parts of the peninsula, the civilization of this area bears the stamp of originality.

Alişar Höyük (near Yozgat) east of the Halys river is a long-known site. In the Early Bronze Age it was a sizeable fortified town which was the seat of a local ruler. In layer M.9 a room with a structure referred to as a fire-altar was discovered, it might have been a shrine⁶⁵. Objects of mobiliary art include disc- and violin-shaped idols of clay or stone, animal figurines and anthropomorphic vessels.

Slightly farther to the south there is Kültepe⁶⁶. In the discussed period it was a fortified town of considerable size and presumably the seat of a local ruler. Some kind of temple is only to be expected in so large a town, but unquestionable evidence has yet to be found. It has been suggested that a square hall entered through a porch and equipped with a hearth at the center, surrounded by four wooden pillars, may have been a shrine. Smaller rooms are adjacent to the central hall. Of the small finds schematic

alabaster figurines of a seated goddess and alabaster idols with disc-like bodies and projecting heads deserve notice. These idols also illustrate divine pairs and families. Some of these objects were found in a circular tomb divided into two parts, one for the body and the other for offerings.

The sites to the north of the discussed region feature graves which are exceptionally rich in funerary gifts. The most important of these is Alacahöyük⁶⁷ located some 25 km north of Boğazkale. Thirteen single and double burials were discovered there⁶⁸. Bronze objects predominate among the tomb gifts, but there is also gold jewelry and vessels, not to mention a dagger with a blade of iron which at this time was still a rare and valuable material. Metal female figurines should also be mentioned; one had boots and breasts overlaid with gold. The famous standards are mostly openwork pieces, sometimes adorned with animals, including deer and bulls. They were presumably mounted on poles. Similar standards came to light in tombs at Balıbağı near Çankırı, Horoztepe⁶⁹, Oymağaç near Çorum⁷⁰ and Mahmatlar near Amasya⁷¹. All of them are masterpieces of art and testify to the skill of local metalworkers. The tombs at Alacahöyük were lined with rough stone walling and covered with wooden beams. Laid upon this were the skulls and hooves of cattle, presumably traces of a ritual which accompanied the burial and simultaneously a reflection of the local beliefs concerning man's fate after death.

The tombs are located inside the *höyük* in one of the layers of a settlement featuring a long history that goes back to the Chalcolithic. The settlement continued in existence all through the Hittite period. The remains of the architecture and the mobiliary art found there make Alacahöyük the second major Hittite center after Boğazkale (Hattuşa). Until recently the identity of the town was a mystery; presently there are grounds to identify the site with Zippalanda, one of the famous 'gods' cities' often mentioned in Hittite documents⁷². Should this proposed identification be correct, then it would have bearing upon an evaluation of facts from the preceding period. As indicated by the texts, the cult at Zippalanda draws from an old, Hattian tradition. The Early Bronze Age tombs may therefore belong to it as well. If the site was a cult center in this period as well, the graves could hold the burials not of rulers but of

63 Schachermeyr 1959-1960; Mellaart 1966b:131ff.; Lloyd 1967:29ff.

64 Mellaart 1963b:216, fig. 10: 15-24.

65 Schmidt 1932:33-37.90 Veenhof 1980:370, with bibliography.

66 Mellink 1958:93f., 1963:175f.; Porada 1976-1980:379f., with bibliography.

67 Gürsan-Salzmänn 1992, with bibliography.

68 Lloyd 1956:96-101; Mellink 1956:39-58.

69 T. Özgüç & Akok 1958; Tezcan 1960; T. Özgüç 1964.

70 T. Özgüç 1980.

71 Koşay & Akok 1950.

72 Haas 1994a:591ff.; Popko 1994:13, 29ff., 90f.

the local priestly aristocracy. The later documents indicate that such an aristocracy had indeed existed.

As for the standards, many possible explanations of their function have been put forward, but none has gained full acceptance⁷³. Most scholars believe the standards were symbols of particular deities. Interestingly, during the Hittite KILAM festival, celebrated at Hattuša, 'animals of the gods' made of precious metals were carried in a ceremonial procession⁷⁴. It can be presumed that these were the same kind of standards as those from Alacahöyük. It is also possible that the standards were indeed the finials of cult staffs which are well attested in later Hittite texts, both as symbols of deities belonging to the northern, Hattian religious tradition and as cult objects. In favor of the latter interpretation is the fact that female metal figurines, already mentioned here and treated usually as representations of a goddess, were found together with them in the graves. Figurines of this type were also unearthed at Horoztepe and Hasanoğlu.

Attempts were made to identify the deities represented by particular standards. The sun-disc is usually considered a sun-deity, the bull a storm-god, the stag a tutelary deity⁷⁵. It should be noted that we are dealing only with certain types of gods; a full identification with particular deities known from the later Hittite documents is hardly possible.

In central Anatolia the custom persisted of burying the dead inside the settlement. Many sites have yielded evidence of this custom, indicating a differentiation in local traditions as far as the details are concerned. Contrary to this, extramural cemeteries prevail in the area to the north as far as the mouth of the Halys river, for example, at the sites of Göller and Oymağaç⁷⁶, but primarily İkiztepe with its exceptionally numerous burials, mostly dorsal inhumations accompanied by valuable metal objects among the burial gifts⁷⁷.

The eastern borderlands of Asia Minor abound in sites from the Early Bronze Age. A large concentration of them has been recorded in the upper Euphrates area. As already noted, it features the influences of cultures from the south, that is from northern Mesopotamia. Sanctuaries seem to occur in some of the architectural complexes. In layer XI at Pülür two adjacent rooms with altars were discovered. Another five shrines are known in layers VIII-X⁷⁸. In the view of H. Z. Koçay, the discoverer of Pülür, these shrines were dedicated to the fertility goddess and her con-

73 Orthmann 1967b; Bittel 1976b:38-43; Börker-Klähn & Krafzik 1986; Akurgal 1989; Willemaers 1990; Mayer-Opificius 1993.

74 Singer 1983:92ff.

75 Mayer-Opificius 1989:359; 1993.

77 Cf. Mellink 1987:4, and 1988:107.

78 Koçay 1970:143ff., pls. 3-6; 1971: 103ff., pls. 74-77.

sort. In one of them there was a kind of protective screen in the form of a monumental female idol reaching out with arms and feet around the hearth. At Korucutepe the 'Hall Complex' with an altar on a bent axis and a row of fireplaces north of it is regarded as a temple⁷⁹. It is not clear whether the 'RC' building at Norşuntepe was connected with the cult. The possible cult object there was a hearth shaped like a triple horseshoe⁸⁰.

As in western and northern Asia Minor, extramural cemeteries are common in this region. The prevailing form of burial are pithos graves, but cist-graves are also encountered. Stamp and cylinder seals occur among the burial gifts.

In the province of Gaziantep, which also remained in the sphere of Syro-Mesopotamian influences, the cemetery at Gedikli⁸¹ is noteworthy for its simple inhumations, cist burials and cremations. One of the tombs consists of a large chamber and a dromos. The cremation tombs are located in another part of the cemetery; hundreds of densely packed funerary urns were found there along with two places for burning the corpses. The earthen pots were closed with potsherds. Tomb offerings included mainly pottery. A peculiarity of the cemetery at Gedikli are two tombs of sacred animals also containing burial gifts.

Gedikli has thus yielded good examples of cremation burials in Anatolia. As a matter of fact, a specific set of beliefs is prerequisite to this custom⁸². To judge by later Hittite finds, it can be assumed that cremation was supposed to transport the dead, often with part of his belongings, to the sphere of afterlife. This burial custom is often interpreted as evidence for the arrival of a people from the east. In the course of time it will spread throughout Anatolia, although it will not supersede the traditional inhumation.

Another interesting site in this region is Tilmen Höyük⁸³. Under the court of a palace dated to the Middle Bronze Age a flat tomb covered with large slabs of basalt was discovered and investigated; it contained various funerary offerings, mostly pottery dated to the end of the Early Bronze Age.

The last region to be discussed here is Cilicia, located on the great trade route from the Anatolian plateau to Syria. The most prominent prehistoric sites there are Mersin (Yümüktepe) and Tarsus (Gözlükule). In the latter, the so-called 'Street' in the Early Bronze Age I level was bordered on its western and eastern sides by fireplaces⁸⁴ and for this reason is con-

79 van Loon & Güterbock 1972:84f.; van Loon 1978:20ff.

80 von Gladiß & Hauptmann 1974:12f. with fig. 7.

81 U.B. Alkim 1966; 1968:94-97, pls. 34-48.

82 See Schlenther 1960; Barber 1990.

83 U.B. Alkim 1968:93f., pls. 28-33.

84 Goldman 1956:10-11.

sidered to have been an open-air sanctuary, even a 'Processional Way'⁸⁵. Other scholars emphasize, however, that the hearths in question were rather domestic in character.

Extramural inhumations were also the rule in Cilicia. The custom apparently connected all the 'outer' regions of Asia Minor, in contrast to central Anatolia where the intramural burial tradition was still in force.

* * *

The review of finds with religious attribution reveals how little indeed is known of the beliefs of the prehistoric inhabitants of Asia Minor. A common feature of many structures and single objects, even those discovered in specific archaeological contexts, is the impossibility to provide them with an univocal interpretation. Consequently, any scholar of prehistoric religions is left to tread on shaky ground. The results of research are modest to say the least, only the burial customs having been investigated relatively well. This state of limitations is in distinct contrast with our good knowledge of the religions of Asia Minor in historical times.

Presenting religious beliefs, we consider it only natural to attribute them to a specific ethnic group. Although the names are known of some of the peoples who lived in Asia Minor in the late phase of the Early Bronze Age, it is still hard to connect any of these tribes with a specific archaeological culture⁸⁶. The sole exception are the Hattians who can be assigned to a territory in the northern part of central Anatolia. The current state of knowledge excludes any suggestion of where the Indo-European peoples of the Anatolian group – the Hittites, Palaites and Luwians – had their seats at this time. The archaeological data speaks in favor of an ethnically differentiated population and a variety of religious beliefs. Some of the pantheons and local cults in the Hittite period are later traces of this variety. There are features in common, however, which have been revealed at many centers, e.g. the cult of the fertility goddess and her consort, who in historical times will become the storm-god (also of a local character).

2

FROM THE ORIGINS OF WRITING TO THE INVASION OF THE 'SEA PEOPLES'

General remarks

In archaeological terms the period after the year 2000 B.C. down into the twelfth century belongs to the Middle and Late Bronze Age. To the historian the beginning of the second millennium marks the beginning of history as far as Asia Minor is concerned, a history which is relatively well documented, mainly owing to the local cuneiform texts. But to the philologist, who publishes and interprets these texts, the turning-point means the end of the Silent Age. The scholar is given an invaluable instrument to study the history, cultures and languages of Asia Minor. Archaeological evidence does not lose its importance, of course, but continues to supplement and corroborate data obtained from text analyses.

The religions of Asia Minor in historical times are part of the general system of ancient religions. People used to believe then that the world was an entity consisting of many enlivened elements and phenomena such as the earth, water, vegetation and animal life, heaven, stars, wind, rain, storm, etc. These forces and manifestations of nature were treated as divine beings. They were personified, thus gaining consciousness, and partly even anthropomorphized. This resulted in a typical polytheism in which particular deities had their defined functions. The scope covered by these functions, and by the god's capabilities at the same time, was quite limited in fact: even the greatest gods did not overstep their authority.

A derivative of this state of affairs was the multitude of worshiped deities and the relative insignificance of each one when taken separately. The relations between the deities changed, because the original image of each of them could be an object of theological speculation. In the course of this process a tendency to sublimate the nature of a chosen deity became apparent along with a trend toward universality. As a result, some deities gained, while others lost in importance and were even subjected in different ways to the more important ones as, for example, manifestations of their actions or indeed their attributes. The changes in the understanding of the character and function of the deities are easy to discern in Anatolian religions, constituting a qualitative aspect of their history.

⁸⁵ Wasilewska 1993:483, 485f.

⁸⁶ Taracha 1991.

Magic continued to play an important role in religious beliefs. A contradiction of religion in theory, it supplemented it in practice. Given its premises, which were commonly accepted in Hittite Asia Minor, many elements of religious life can be explained. Often enough a man availed himself of magical means also with respect to the gods, testifying to the deep belief in the might of magic and to the conviction that it could influence the gods' actions, too.

2.1 THE OLD ASSYRIAN TRADING COLONIES PERIOD

Preliminary remarks

The beginning of the second millennium is a time of dynamic growth in Asia Minor, partly stimulated by influences coming from the more sophisticated neighbors in Syria and indirectly Mesopotamia. Political and economical activity was concentrated in the traditional regions. The old settlements at Kültepe, Alişar, Karahöyük, Beycesultan and Troy flourished, having grown larger and more prosperous than in the third millennium. Many new cities also came into being. Some of them have already been identified in the field; cuneiform texts, however, mention plenty of unlocated geographical names.

In the period in question, each of the city-states, i.e. the town with the adjacent land, formed an autonomous political and social unit which had its own system of religious beliefs. Nevertheless, there existed typological and historical relations between religions of neighboring towns. As already stated, this system of larger political units began to take shape presumably in the second half of the third millennium. During the period under consideration existence of the states is beyond doubt. The capital of one of the larger states was Kültepe/Kaneš in central Anatolia. At the foot of the *höyük* which covers the ruins of Kaneš a trading colony established by the Assyrians operated in the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries⁸⁷. Documents of this colony, written in the Old Assyrian dialect of Akkadian, found their way to the antiquarian market already in the eighties of the previous century, as a result of accidental discoveries. They were known as Cappadocian tablets because of their provenance. In 1925, a Czech expedition unearthed many cuneiform texts at Kültepe, and in 1948 Turkish scholars embarked upon regular investigations. At present the work continues, yielding every now and then new sets of documents. Most of them still remain unpublished.

The documents, mostly trade agreements, promissory notes and court records, provide insight into the operation of the colony. Being one of many such colonies in Asia Minor, it served as their main center. The network of trading colonies spread in all directions: we have information con-

⁸⁷ Garelli 1963; Orlin 1970; Larsen 1976; Porada 1976-1980a; Veenhof 1976-1980.

cerning the names of many cities, which have unfortunately failed to be located. Small archives of Old Assyrian texts have also been unearthed at Alişar and Boğazkale; moreover, seals and seal impressions are encountered at a number of other sites. Outside Kültepe, the largest collections of seals and seal impressions originate from Acemhöyük and Karahöyük. The trade was of an interregional nature; both texts and artifacts corroborate the existence of ties between the Old Assyrian colonies in Anatolia and cities in the western part of northern Mesopotamia and Syria. The relations with the ruler of Kaneš were the subject of a separate agreement that was of advantage to both sides. It can be assumed that merchants negotiated similar agreements with the rulers of the other city-states.

Personal names in the documents from Kaneš throw some light on the ethnic relations in the town and the surrounding territory. The Anatolians are mentioned in large numbers next to the Assyrians and other Semites⁸⁸; the group is not homogeneous as regards the languages they spoke. Many of these Anatolian names are later recorded in various Hittite documents, providing grounds for a more specific ethnic attribution. Contrary to what is believed at times, the non-Indo-European Hattians did not constitute a majority of the local population; indeed, their importance was much smaller here than in northern Anatolia. The presence of Indo-European peoples is evident: first of all the Hittites, who were represented not just by personal names, but also by common nouns recorded in Assyrian documents⁸⁹. Characteristically, one of the place-names in these documents, Šup(p)ululia⁹⁰, has a purely Hittite etymology. The location of this city is not known.

The Hittite name of Kaneš was Neša. The designation 'Nesite', used by the Hittites themselves in reference to their language, which we call Hittite today, is a derivative of that name. The fact that it was adopted by the Hittites would suggest that they felt quite at home at Kaneš/Neša. The presence of the Luwians, another Indo-European people, is also well documented⁹¹. Many of the personal names encountered there cannot be obviously attributed to a specific language, thus it is not unlikely that apart from the already mentioned peoples there also lived other, Indo-European or non-Indo-European, peoples in this region. Hurrian names appear in the material only sporadically⁹², but it is a noteworthy fact which announces the coming of this people from the east in later ages. Although different

88 Garelli 1963:133ff.; Laroche 1966:297ff.

89 Bilgiç 1954.

90 Veenhof 1980:370, with bibliography.

91 Garelli 1963:139f.; Laroche 1966:315; Carruba 1992.

92 Garelli 1963:155ff.; Edzard & Kammenhuber 1972-1975:510.

peoples participated in creating it, the material culture of Kaneš is rather homogeneous and truly Anatolian in nature. Were it not for the Old Assyrian texts and seals in the North Mesopotamian or Syrian style, the presence of foreign merchants in the town would have remained a mystery.

The events described in the so-called text of Anitta are usually dated to the times of the trading colonies. The document is in Hittite, and one copy comes from the Old Hittite period⁹³. The related story is, in short, that of a certain Piṭhana, the ruler of Kuššara, who conquered Neša and made it the capital of his kingdom. His son Anitta waged war against the kings of different cities to the north, including Zalpa in the Black Sea littoral. Ḫattuša, the later capital of the Hittite state, is mentioned among the conquered and destroyed cities.

There is a serious difference of opinions concerning the ethnic background of Piṭhana and his son. Some consider them to have been the first two known Hittite kings and view the text as document to the expansion of this people into central Anatolia. Others believe that Piṭhana and Anitta were Hattians, and that the events described in the text refer to the contest between local Hattian kings with no interference from the Hittites⁹⁴. The debate has implications also for the history of religion in the discussed period.

Religious beliefs in light of the texts

The religious situation at Kaneš was more complicated than in cities with an ethnically homogeneous population. The coexistence of people of different ethnic origin determined the coexistence of their beliefs which go well beyond the typical religious system of an Anatolian city-state.

Hans Hirsch has devoted an extensive study to the description of religious beliefs from Kültepe⁹⁵. This valuable work will help us in presenting a brief review of the data concerning Assyrian religion and the local beliefs, augmented by non-Assyrian sources. Certain difficulties resulting from the nature of cuneiform writing need to be noted here. Some words, including the names of gods, are written with just one sign – a logogram, and the same logogram can denote several different words or names. For example, the IM sign is the logogram for storm-gods in general, and may have thus concealed a variety of these gods. In this way, cuneiform writing enforced a certain typology of the deities according to Mesopotamian

93 Neu 1974; Steiner 1984, 1989.

94 Cf. Steiner 1981:167f., 1990:188, with references.

95 Hirsch 1972.

patterns. Assigning a god to a specific category may have led in consequence to a modification of his original character and function. Typologization is also a prerequisite for identifying gods within the frames of a single category, that is for syncretism.

In describing the pantheon of the Assyrian merchants, Hirsch first mentions the well-known Mesopotamian deities: Adad, Aššur, Ištar, Sin, Amurru, Anum, Ea and Šamaš. Aššuritu, Belu, GUD (i.e. the Bull – synonym of a storm-god?) and Išara are less frequently attested in the texts. Others occur only occasionally.

These gods are more or less known from the studies of Mesopotamian religion and shall not be discussed here in any detail. Characteristically, Hirsch considers all the gods represented by the IM logogram to be the Semitic Adad. On some rare occasions, however, the logogram occurs together with references to priests bearing Anatolian names⁹⁶. Probably the god referred to by the logogram here is the local storm-god, perhaps Tarḫu(na) (see below).

The documents abound with references to 'Our God' and 'My God', without mentioning his name, as if the god was very well known to the person whom the texts concerned. It is presumably a protective deity that is involved here, a personal god of an individual or a family⁹⁷. Different deities could appear in this role. Many of them are known by name, mostly thanks to theophorous names.

It should be noted that trade treaties with local rulers contained the condition that merchandise which was the property of Assyrian temples would not be charged with taxes. References to the temple of Aššur have survived, and one of them testifies indirectly to the existence of the temple of this god at Kaneš. There is namely mention of a 'gate of the god' which belonged presumably to this temple. It was the place where oaths were sworn. On that occasion a sword of Aššur, the symbolic weapon of the god, or *šugarriā'um*, also his symbol, were brought out for the ceremony. Possibly a stela mentioned in the texts, with three words of the oath inscribed, was erected at this spot⁹⁸. There is no way to determine whether the term *hamrum*, i.e. sacred precinct, refers to the temple of Aššur. Various terms denoting priests are known. The most important one seems to be *kumrum*⁹⁹.

Higiša, Nipaš, An(n)a, Parka and Kubabat are often mentioned in the texts and considered to be local deities¹⁰⁰. The first two appear only in

⁹⁶ Cf., for example, Matouš 1986:142.

⁹⁷ For this class of gods see Vorländer 1975; Steiner 1992:175f. (with bibliography).

⁹⁸ Veenhof 1976-1980:372, with references.

⁹⁹ For *kumrum* see van Driel 1969:175 ("perhaps an older word for 'priest'").

¹⁰⁰ Hirsch 1972 Nachtrag 27f.

the times of the trading colonies. Parka was well known also in the Hittite period¹⁰¹. At the time she belonged to the harvest and fertility deities. Female slaves served in her cult. Kubabat is identified with Kubaba, the famous goddess of Karkemiš, who was later to play an important role in Anatolian religions. Her cult at Kaneš may be proof that the Syrians also lived there. By the way, their presence at Acemhöyük is much better attested. The *kumrum* priests appear in relation to some of the deities mentioned above. Festivals for them are also recorded.

An additional source for the study of the Anatolian deities are the theophorous names¹⁰². Apart from the residents of the city, the bearers of the names include people from other regions, with which the town had trade contacts, mainly in the central and southern parts of Anatolia. These names thus throw some light on beliefs current over quite an extensive area, a fact that contrasts with the situation in previous periods. In addition, the names frequently belong to deities who are known, better or worse, from later cuneiform texts dating to the Hittite period. The group of gods thus identified is not homogeneous. They can be assigned to a number of ethnic substrata which are known from the later history of Asia Minor. Several mysterious elements do not submit to linguistic or religious analysis.

Thus, the Hattian religious substratum comprises the storm-god Taru, the goddess Inar with her companion Habatali, the gods Hazamil, Hešta, Huzzi(ya) and Tamešiet (cf. the name of Tamišiya of the town Tapikka that occurs in a later Hittite text). The sacred mountain Daḫa(ya) also belongs here; today it is identified with Kalehisar near Alacahöyük. Another deity from this group is Nakiliat; in later sources it was a real or mythical river, which ran at least partly underground, thus, according to ancient beliefs, through the Underworld. Some of these deities later appear in the religions of the Indo-European peoples of Anatolia: the Hittites, Palaites and Luwians.

The storm-god Tarḫu(na), the goddess Hanaḫana, and the deities Peruwa, Ḫalki, Ašiet and Ilali(y)a belong to the Hittite stratum. In the Hittite period some of these deities were clearly connected with the town of Kaneš; in fact, one can even speak of a separate Kanesite pantheon. The sacred mountain Liḫša somewhere in Cappadocia is included here, perhaps along with the mountain Tuḫaliya. The sun-god Tiwat and the war-god (?) Šanta belong to the Luwian religion, as do Tarawa, Ala (cf. the personal name Alaziti), who was later one of the tutelary deities, and finally the sacred mountain Šarpa.

¹⁰¹ Otten 1959, 1992.

¹⁰² Goetze 1953, 1954; Laroche 1966:281ff., 298ff.

In the above mentioned text of Anitta, the Storm-god of Heaven, Ḫalmašuit and Šiuš(um)mi are mentioned as the protective gods of Anitta and Anitta's father Piṭhana. Some scholars believe that the name Šiuš(um)mi denotes the Hittite Sun-god and translate it accordingly as 'My/Our Sun'¹⁰³. Its presence in the Anitta text is considered a trace of the old Indo-European beliefs brought to Asia Minor by the Hittites. The word *šiuš* has an Indo-European etymology. Originally, it meant the god of heavenly light. The same root survived in the name of Zeus and in some Anatolian languages in the names of the local sun-gods: Tiya in Palaic and Tiwat in Luwian. In Hittite it became simply an appellative meaning 'deity'. It is not clear when and why the Hittite word stopped meaning the god of heavenly light (Šiuš) and became the appellative (šiuš).

For this reason it is safer to translate Šiuš(um)mi as 'My/Our God'¹⁰⁴. Frank Starke is probably right in treating this form as an attribute of Ḫalmašuit and not as a name of a deity¹⁰⁵. On the other hand, the text of Anitta is damaged in many places, and various proposed reconstructions are open to criticism. It is also worth recalling that the phrases 'My God' and 'Our God' are typical of the documents from Kaneš. The Old Hittite religion (see the next chapter) only distinguishes female sun-deities belonging to Hattian tradition, and the hypothesis of the existence of a male sun-deity fails to find confirmation¹⁰⁶ (apart from the discussed analogy in the religions of the Palaites and Luwians). Likewise, the presence of the sun-god Šiuš in the Hittite pantheon of the Cappadocian period is highly uncertain¹⁰⁷.

Ḫalmašuit of the text of Anitta is a Hattian deity¹⁰⁸ connected with the ideology of kingship (see also Chapter 2.2.1). The name of the Storm-god of Heaven is written with the IM sign, but because of phonetic complements it is very likely that it should be read as Tarḫuna; in any case, only a Hittite version of the name can be expected in a Hittite text. It does not explain, however, the mystery of the god himself, but there is absolutely nothing to connect him with the Indo-European or even Kanesite traditions. On the contrary, he seems to belong to the Hattian system of beliefs, which was taken over by the Hittites. Together with Ḫalmašuit he testifies to the Hattian origin of Piṭhana and Anitta, his wor-

103 Neu 1974:116ff.; Bin-Nun 1975:150.

104 Cf. recently Steiner 1992:175ff.

105 Starke 1979:56ff.

106 Contra Kellerman 1978, 1980:108ff. (cf. already Güterbock 1977:209). For the discussion see also Gurney 1977:6ff.

107 Contra Balkan 1992.

108 Laroche 1946-1947:21f.; Archi 1966:83ff.; von Weiher 1972; Kellerman 1980:116ff.; but see Starke 1979.

shippers. According to the text, Anitta built temples for both the gods at Kaneš. It would mean that before the town's conquest by Piṭhana they had no temple there, and thus they did not belong among the major deities of the local Anatolian pantheon, which presumably consisted of Hittite, Luwian and other deities (see the remarks above concerning the population of Kaneš).

Summing up, it can be said that many of the deities whose names appear in the texts from Kaneš, were worshiped in the Assyrian trading colonies period in a large territory extending from Karkemiš in the south to the Pontus ranges in the north. It is also clear that they originate from different religious traditions. The majority of them can be found in the pantheons of the Hittite period. Thanks to the data of later religious texts it is possible in some cases to determine their character and function.

Religious beliefs as reflected in art

Our knowledge of beliefs in the period under discussion is supplemented by the figurative arts¹⁰⁹, primarily the scenes of religious meaning on seals and seal impressions from Kültepe, Acemhöyük and other sites¹¹⁰. Different deities accompanied by their attributes and in various iconographic settings appear in these scenes¹¹¹. This is, theoretically at least, a chance to see the gods as the Anatolians saw them in figurative terms. Unfortunately, the legends that appear on the seals never refer to the pictured gods.

Cylinder seals are of foreign, Mesopotamian invention. In Kaneš they belong to the earlier phase of the trading colony. Several typological variants can be distinguished in the execution of these seals, including the so-called Anatolian type, although there is nothing to suggest that the local population actually preferred it to all others. Stamp seals are part of the local Anatolian tradition extending deep into the times of the Neolithic, e.g. Çatalhöyük. The number of seals of this kind grows considerably in the younger layer of the settlement at Kaneš.

In the iconography of the seals ascribed to the Anatolian group Mesopotamian and Syrian influences are visible. It is possible to identify the representations of Šamaš, Ištar, Adad, Ea, Amurru and Ušmu, and their cult is confirmed in the cuneiform sources (see above). Also the presence

109 Cf. van Loon 1985:3-9.

110 N. Özgüç 1958, 1959, 1965, 1968, 1971, 1980, 1986; Alp 1968; Porada 1976-1980b; Teissier 1994.

111 Cf. Leinwand 1992 and White 1993, with references.

112 Leinwand 1992:145ff., 158ff.

of some animals and their groups as symbols of nature, denoting a sphere, in which a given deity acts, is a phenomenon of Mesopotamian origin. Many purely Anatolian motifs can be discerned, primarily the variety of local deities, such as the god standing on a bull or worshiped in the form of a bull¹¹², the so-called war-god or hunting god. The double-headed eagle is another local theme that was popular also in the Hittite art and was later adopted in Hellenistic and Roman iconography. Later it appeared on the standards of Byzantine emperors and in Seljuk art. The double-headed eagle as a symbol of royal authority was also inherited from Byzantium by the Russian Empire.

As has already been said the documents from Kaneš reveal the complexity of the religious beliefs of the time. It is, therefore, unacceptable to regard the deities represented on the seals and seal impressions as belonging to the Hattian pantheon¹¹³. In search of the identity of these gods, it is unavoidable to analyze their iconographic features, like age, attitude, dress, type of headdress, place in the composition, finally attributes, especially the animals of gods. A number of iconographic types have consequently been distinguished, although not without reservations as far as details are concerned (see below).

Analogies for particular types are found in the iconography of the Hittite period, for instance, in descriptions of gods' statuettes that do not come from the period earlier than the thirteenth century. Striking resemblances are indeed observable, as in the case of the god standing on a stag and holding a bird and a hare¹¹⁴. The question is, however, whether these similarities justify the transfer of the names or designations of deities from later Hittite texts onto images from the Assyrian trading colonies period. Thus, Nimet Özgüç considers the young deity on a stag seen in the seal impressions to be the Tutelary God of the Fields. But in the cuneiform writing used in Asia Minor the logogram LAMMA designating the protective deity does not appear before the Middle Hittite period, that is the second half of the fifteenth century, and there is absolutely no proof for the separated category of tutelary deities to have existed and been reflected in the iconography of earlier times. One would rather adhere to the earlier hypothesis that this particular deity was simply a hunting god.

Another simplification is to treat the deity standing on a lion as a war-god¹¹⁵. This is not certain seeing that in the Hittite period lions were connected with a number of different deities¹¹⁶. Equally doubtful from the

methodological viewpoint is the attempt to identify the goddess seated on a lion throne with Kubaba of Karkemiš on the grounds of the iconography of this goddess in the first millennium¹¹⁷. A god shown together with a bull is usually considered one of the storm-gods, which is also a simplification. There are other examples of doubtful identifications. What makes the study more complicated are the changing attributes of the deities, a phenomenon observed in the iconography beginning in the Cappadocian period and confirmed by later documents.

Piotr Taracha undertakes an interesting attempt to define more closely the role of animals on Cappadocian seals¹¹⁸. He distinguishes the animals, which are divine attributes from those, which only define the god's sphere of influence, thus explaining the presence of animals difficult to treat as divine symbols. Thus a lion, bull, goat and scorpion form a group which symbolizes the earth. They can accompany, also each one alone, images of various deities as symbols of the earthly powers of nature, over which these gods exercised authority¹¹⁹.

Their chthonic symbolism of Mesopotamian origin is particularly self-evident in the multi-tiered representations of the deity's attendants where they usually appear in the bottom register. Cult façades from the Hittite period, e.g. Eflatun Pınar, supply analogies, revealing a similar structuring of the composition. Upon distinguishing a group of animals symbolizing the earth, the attributes of the Great Goddess are reduced to a goat and a bird¹²⁰. A similar reevaluation of other scenes represented on Cappadocian seals will lead to a better understanding of their meaning. It also becomes necessary to revise the hitherto used typological classifications of the deities. A full identification of these deities continues, however, to be impossible, almost as if we were dealing with a very complex puzzle of many pieces without knowing what the actual pattern was.

The characteristic symbols of gods and various objects connected with the cult, mainly altars of different type and many kinds of cult vessels, also appear in the iconography of the seals. Besides, there is also a variety of figurines which help in understanding religious beliefs of the discussed period. Some of them belong to the same iconographic types as the deities on the seals and seal impressions. An example of this is provided by an ivory figurine from Kültepe depicting a goddess supporting her breasts¹²¹. Figurines were sometimes made of lead. Archaeological evi-

113 As suggested by N. Özgüç 1979:278.

114 von Brandenstein 1943:14f.; N. Özgüç 1965:66f.

115 Cf. N. Özgüç 1965:65f.

116 For a list of these deities see Taracha 1988:111 note 4.

117 Cf. van Loon 1985:9, 1990:9.

118 Taracha 1987, 1988.

119 Taracha 1988:119ff.

120 For the iconography of this deity see Taracha 1988:115ff.

121 Cf. Bittel 1976b, fig. 33.

dence comprises both the figurines and the moulds to make them¹²². The goddess supporting her breasts also appears among them¹²³. An interesting example is the goddess Ištar of Karahöyük¹²⁴. In this category we also find a group representation of the divine triad from Ališar: A goddess holding a child stands next to a bearded god with an axe¹²⁵. Similar statuettes have been discovered at Acemhöyük¹²⁶.

The cult vessels from Kültepe, Boğazkale, Acemhöyük and Karahöyük reflect to some extent the beliefs of the period. Noteworthy are the theriomorphic vessels of highly varied forms. Presumably they were used in offering ceremonies to the gods as indicated by later evidence. Anthropomorphic vessels are known as well¹²⁷. There are many examples of vessels with relief animal decoration. Of considerable interest in this group are the two vases from Boğazkale in the form of towers surmounted by figures of eagles and decorated with the ram and bull protomes¹²⁸.

Religious architecture

In the discussed period the domestic architecture is represented by a large number of houses discovered in the trading colony at Kültepe and at Boğazkale, to which one can add the residential complexes at Kültepe, Acemhöyük, Karahöyük and Beycesultan. Cult structures are rare. At Kültepe there are two buildings featuring a similar plan which have been interpreted as temples. They are located close to the palace on the *höyük* and belong to the younger phase of the site¹²⁹. It is possible that the text of Anitta refers to these two structures (see above). In some houses of the trading colony rooms with stone stelae were discovered. One can interpret these structures as domestic shrines with stelae as cult objects. At Karahöyük a horn-shaped structure with analogies in Beycesultan and Kusura has survived. Noteworthy are twin shrines from Beycesultan which have forerunners at the site, albeit on a slightly different plan, as early as the Early Bronze Age¹³⁰. Their typical feature is now the 'ceremonial

122 Emre 1971, 1993; cf. also van Loon 1985:3ff.

123 Bittel 1976b, fig. 88.

124 Alp 1974; Bittel 1976b, fig. 91.

125 Bittel 1976b, fig. 90.

126 Bittel 1976b, fig. 89.

127 For examples of therio- and anthropomorphic vessels see Bittel 1976b, figs. 51ff.

128 Bittel 1976b, fig. 50.

129 T. Özgüç 1993.

130 Lloyd & Mellaart 1965.

hearth' or 'fire altar'. A wooden pillar of rectangular section stood in front of one of the shrines. Furthermore, in Level V an open-air sanctuary with three complete stelae, all nearly 3.5 m in height, was discovered.

Burial customs

The burial customs in central Anatolia in this period did not undergo any sudden change from previous times. The dead were interred below the floors of their houses, directly in the ground or in terracotta pithoi or coffins, or else in stone or mudbrick cists closed with a slab of stone. They were also provided with funeral gifts, including many valuable objects, made of metal for instance. Intramural burials are attested too on the Middle Euphrates, e.g. at Lidar Höyük¹³¹. The situation in the west is different. Here, cemeteries are located at some distance from the settlements like in the preceding period. A fine example of the necropolis, which was in use (with intervals) from the middle of the third millennium until the eighteenth century, was uncovered near Demircihöyük¹³². As for the times under discussion, inhumation prevails there, but cremation burials are also attested¹³³.

The Old Assyrian trading colonies period in Asia Minor was relatively short but it is of great importance for understanding the situation reflected in the later cuneiform texts from Boğazkale. Unfortunately, we have little information about religion, an additional reservation being that it concerns only the religious beliefs of peoples in central and southern Anatolia. Very little indeed is known of the vast territories to the west, and here, archaeological discoveries remain still the only source of data.

131 Cf. Mellink 1987:8f.

132 Willeitner 1992.

133 Seeher 1993.

2.2. RELIGIONS OF ASIA MINOR IN THE HITTITE PERIOD

General remarks

The network of Assyrian trading colonies in Anatolia ceased to exist presumably with the destruction of Kaneš in the late eighteenth century¹³⁴. More than a hundred years later the state of the Hittites came into being with the capital at Hattuša. Its beginnings and the ethnic configuration of the period remain obscure¹³⁵. In consequence of historical events and the ethnic changes, Hittite (Nesite) became the major language of the state and remained so until its fall. The heart of the Hittite state was the area around the capital, once occupied by the Hattians. Their name is related to that of Hattuša, leading to the conclusion that previously the city had been the main political and cultural center of the Hattian population. The culture and beliefs of this people exerted an enormous influence upon Hittite tradition. It can be assumed that the Hittites settled only gradually in this land, quickly becoming assimilated in a community dominated by the Hattians and taking over the local culture which was much more advanced than their own. Assimilation must have occurred also in the sphere of religion. Consequently, the language and the few known names of Kanesite gods are the only features to distinguish the Hittites from the local population.

The sequence of the first Hittite rulers has not been satisfactorily determined yet, but it is beyond all doubt that Hattušili I was the real founder of the state, its administrative system and political doctrine. His kingdom, which extended from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, included Luwia, that is the vast territory inhabited by the Luwians to the south and west of the Halys river, and Pala, the later Paphlagonia, inhabited by the Palaites.

The focal point of Hittite interest was Syria, the center of the world then, where large cities prospered at the crossing of trade routes connecting the lands of the Near East. Hittite historical documents record wars for domination over Syria, maintained with changing luck. Muršili I, heir to Hattušili I, is known as the conqueror of Haleb, one of the most important Syrian cities, and the initiator of a surprising attack on the distant

Babylon, which led in consequence to the fall of the Old Babylonian dynasty and to the Kassites taking over authority in Mesopotamia.

At the close of the sixteenth and partly in the fifteenth century, the Hittite state suffered a political crisis. The kings died a sudden death and the provinces once conquered by Hattušili I fell away one by one. The control of the routes to Syria was taken over by Kizzuwatna, a state which was established in what would later be Cilicia and Cataonia. The legal reforms of King Telipinu (the first half of the fifteenth century) stayed the fall of the state for a while, but little is known of the reign of his successors. The lands to the west and south, inhabited by the Luwians, fell away and in the north the Kaška people settled in the Pontic region conquering the territory for a long stretch of time. At the same time the Hurrians were streaming in from the east and from northern Syria.

In the late fifteenth century a new dynasty was established in Hattuša. It was presumably of Hurrian origin but soon became anatolized. The military endeavors of the first rulers, Tuthaliya I and his successors, are relatively well studied. It was a period of territorial expansion, the growth of the Hittite state's power and its significance on the international scene. Around the middle of the fourteenth century, through a series of conquests and treaties, Šuppiluliuma I created the vast Hittite Empire covering a considerable part of Asia Minor and Syria. His son Muršili II annexed Arzawa, the confederation of Luwian states in western and southwestern Anatolia, extending the borders of the empire to the Aegean Sea. Hittite interests in Syria and the danger from the Kaška people prompted his successor, Muwatalli II, to transfer the capital to Tarhuntaşša in the south. Hattuša again became the royal seat under Hattušili III who conquered the Kaška and recovered the lost territories in the north. Later the Hittites started gradually losing hold of the provinces across the Euphrates to the Assyrians. In the early twelfth century, presumably during the rule of Šuppiluliuma II, the state disappeared all of a sudden in as yet unexplained circumstances. One of the causes was likely the invasion of the 'Sea Peoples' on the southern coast of Anatolia and the littoral of Syria.

Historians have divided the history of Hittite Asia Minor into three periods: Old Hittite (the sixteenth and first half of the fifteenth century), Middle Hittite (second half of the fifteenth and first half of the fourteenth century) and the empire period which starts with the reign of Šuppiluliuma I.

The term 'Hittite' is used in a narrow sense and in a broader one. To a linguist the Hittites were inhabitants of Asia Minor whose mother tongue was Hittite. The Hittites themselves called their language Nesite, after the town of Kaneš/Neša, with which their earliest known history is connected. When speaking of the Hittite state, its history, culture, religion, etc., we are referring to a structure with various elements dependent upon each other:

134 Cf. N. Özgüç 1968:51ff.; Börker-Klähn 1969/70:79ff.

135 Cf. Steiner 1981, 1990:197ff., with bibliography.

Apart from the Hittites proper, several other peoples participated creatively in its formation, i.e. the Hattians, the Luwians and the Palaites; from the fifteenth century on also the Hurrians, and presumably others unknown of name today. During its heyday, the state included most of Anatolia and a considerable part of Syria. Since, however, one should keep Syrian culture and religion distinct, it does not seem proper to extend the meaning of the term 'Hittite' to Syria as well. The traditional although perhaps not quite correct use of the adjectives 'Hittite' and 'Anatolian' as synonyms with respect to issues of the culture shall be maintained in this book.

The origins of the cuneiform writing used in the Hittite period in Asia Minor are connected with the Syrian expeditions of Hattušili I, which brought back booty and slaves. Among the newcomers from the south there were also scribes taken from the temples of the conquered cities. Thus, the Hittite cuneiform writing draws from Syrian tradition and, consequently, the language which was at first used in writing was probably Akkadian. Some bilingual Akkadian-Hittite texts from this early period have survived only in corrupt copies. Soon documents in Hittite alone started appearing. Since the history of the Hittite text of Anitta discussed in the preceding chapter is highly nebulous, the debate concerning it shall not be brought up here.

Cuneiform writing facilitated contacts with the most important cultural centers of the Near East and it was one of the factors, which helped to strengthen the originally weak cultural ties between Asia Minor and Syro-Mesopotamia. The influence of these highly developed lands is evident in different fields of human activity. Nonetheless, original Anatolian features prevailed in the culture of Asia Minor. A manifestation of this autonomy was the Anatolian hieroglyphic writing. Its oldest dated examples come from the times of King Telipinu, but it is assumed that it was invented much earlier. It is commonly believed that the 'hieroglyphs' were used in writing on wooden, wax-covered tablets which obviously have not persisted. Instead, hieroglyphic inscriptions on seals and in stone have survived, often as legends accompanying representations of gods and men.

In a study of Anatolian religions of the Hittite period, hieroglyphic documents clearly yield in importance to cuneiform texts. The largest collections of the latter come from Hattuša, where the first texts were discovered by H. Winckler as early as 1906 and the latest finds come from excavations conducted in the Upper City in the eighties¹³⁶. The majority of the texts are documents of a religious nature, mainly cult and magic rituals and records of oracles. This fact determines to some extent the narrower interests of Hittitologists and explains why so many publications in the field concern the religious issues. In terms of languages used in the texts, Hittite predominates. The literature in Hattic is modest to say the

least, and the language itself calls for further, thorough studies¹³⁷. The documents known today to be in Luwian, which are almost all religious in nature, have recently been published in transcription¹³⁸. The few Palaic texts in existence were studied a long time ago¹³⁹. They provide only limited information concerning the religion of the Palaites. The relatively copious Hurrian documents are the object of constant study at present¹⁴⁰, as is also the Hurrian language, which had been somewhat of a mystery until recently.

In a diachronic approach, texts from the empire period definitely prevail. Compared to this group, the Old Hittite documents are considerably more modest. Religious texts of the time are now available in transcription with glossary¹⁴¹. Documents of the Middle Hittite period also constitute a relatively small group. Later duplicates, sometimes slightly differing in the details, are of help in the study of the two older groups of texts.

The documents provide us first of all with the names of deities, often in the form of extensive, though usually incomplete lists. There is only scarce information on the nature and functions of the gods; in this matter a scholar is often reduced to making assumptions. The opportunities and at the same time inherent dangers, which the cuneiform writing provides through a peculiar typology of the deities, i.e. a division into categories defined by separate signs, have already been discussed. The name of a deity or her epithet, if translatable, may supply some information, but one should avoid unsure etymologies and superficial associations. A deity may have two or more names, which can appear interchangeably in the lists. This enables us to draw conclusions about her nature. Mentions of divine attributes used in the cult, such as vessels in the form of favorite animals, etc., can also lead to the same goal.

Archaeological and iconographic artifacts are a valuable source, especially when accompanied by explanatory inscriptions (inscribed seals, rock reliefs, etc.). With legends absent, however, the artifacts usually present much greater interpretative difficulties than the written sources, and the conclusions from such studies are often uncertain.

The religions of the Hittite period have been the object of research for a long time. As our cognizability is a derivative of archaeological and philo-

136 Published in the series KBo (since 1916), KUB (1921-1990) and IBoT (1944-1988); cf. also ABoT, FHG, FHL, HT, HTAC and VBoT. For a catalogue of the texts see CTH with Supplements.

137 Laroche 1947; Kammenhuber 1969; Schuster 1974; Girbal 1986. For the Hattian literature see CTH Nos. 725-745.

138 Starke 1985.

139 Kammenhuber 1959a, 1959b; Carruba 1970, 1972.

140 They are systematically edited in ChS (since 1984).

141 Neu 1980, 1983a.

logical investigations, one cannot understate the importance of detailed studies, such as editions of selected religious texts and their groups. Advances in the field of philological research have the effect of a constant evolution of views concerning issues of a religious nature. It is sufficient here to compare older and newer publications of a more general character.

In the first decades after the discovery of the libraries at Hattuša, Hittitologists concentrated primarily on the publication of the documents and the study of the more important ones. The understanding of Hittite religion grew as a result of research on particular texts or their groups¹⁴². The first monographic studies were presented by Albrecht Goetze and Giuseppe Furlani¹⁴³. After the Second World War research intensified. The first important work of the time was Emmanuel Laroche's *Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites* (1946-1947). Later, progress in research was achieved thanks to Albrecht Goetze, Hans G. Güterbock and Heinrich Otten, although it should be remembered that studies on specific issues were more numerous than monographs¹⁴⁴. New opportunities opened with the advances made in the study of Hittite paleography; it was now possible to describe different phenomena in a diachronic plane. Nevertheless, these opportunities are made use of mainly in the edition of the texts, while the studies of a more general nature still offer a traditional, synchronic description of Hittite religion. New publications are appearing constantly, starting with minor encyclopedic entries and ending in extensive works¹⁴⁵. The newer research on Anatolian religions on the basis of iconography should also be mentioned. Volkert Haas's monumental *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* (1994) is a summary of recent progress in the field, providing readers with a general discussion of chosen topics in a larger scope as well as with answers to many detailed questions.

142 Cf., for example, Götze 1930, Gurney 1940.¹⁴²

143 Götze 1933:122-160; Furlani 1936; see also Contenau 1934:175-186, and Delaporte 1936:241-277.

144 For the monographs see Güterbock 1950, 1964; Gurney 1952:132-169; Otten 1964, 1969; von Schuler 1965b.

145 Vieyra 1970a, 1970b; di Nola 1971; Hartmann 1972; Kümmel 1973; Gurney 1977; Ringgren 1979:185-197; V. Haas 1982; Oelsner 1984; Ebach 1986; Beckman 1989; Hoffner 1987a, 1989; Jakob-Rost 1989; Laroche 1991b; Gonnet 1992; Pecchioli Daddi & Polvani 1994.

2.2.1 The Old Hittite period

Preliminary remarks

It has already been said that the number of original Old Hittite texts is relatively small. Hence conclusions drawn only on this basis would be rather limited. Scholars thus reach for later copies, keeping in mind that the copyists could have adjusted the original texts to the standards of their age. The dilemma is particularly poignant in the case of the religious beliefs of the Hattians: Should we refrain from using the texts in Hattic from the empire period being aware that they are not sure sources, but presumably late compilations?¹⁴⁶ In the study of the nature and functions of particular deities it is impossible to avoid later analogies, even though in some cases they may turn out to be deceptive. Because of gaps in the sources, certain issues cannot be presented in this chapter, but they will be studied in the following sections, on account of the fact that only later documents, particularly from the empire period, provide a sufficient basis for their analysis in a general perspective of the development of Anatolian religions.

Hattian tradition is apparently the most important constituent of the religion of the Old Hittite period. The Hittites, who became the major political force in the new state, took over Hattian religious beliefs, as did the Palaites and to some extent the Luwians, too. Indeed, Hattian influence was so considerable that it is difficult to separate the religion of the Hittites themselves from the beliefs they took from the local tradition. What is more, there are some elements of unclear origin recorded in Hittite religion as early as the Assyrian trading colonies period in Cappadocia (see the preceding chapter). Scholars are also attempting to isolate elements from the time of the Indo-European community, seeing them in various manifestations of religious life. However, upon critical analysis these hypotheses have to be discarded. It would seem that the Hittites remained under the influence of other cultures so long that the elements inherited from the common Indo-European tradition disappeared without a trace. Even if the names of certain Hittite gods, e.g. Šiwat 'Day', have an Indo-European etymology, it does not necessarily mean the gods themselves are of Indo-European origin. The Indo-European traces appear to be more evi-

146 For this question cf. Laroche 1973a:89.

dent in the beliefs of the Luwians and Palaites, where the names of the sun-gods, respectively Tiwat and Tiyat, derive from the name of the Indo-European god of heavenly light, *Dyeu-. A characteristic feature of the Old Hittite documents is a lack of any traces of the influence of Mesopotamian or Syrian religious concepts (see also below).

As already stated, the typical Anatolian city-state constituted a certain whole featuring its own system of religious beliefs. Now, the appearance of a larger political unit implicated changes in the religious situation of the area. It is only a natural tendency in this case for the religious beliefs of the main center of authority – in this case Hattuša – to dominate.

The pantheon of the Old Hittite period is known in a form that resulted from all the integrative processes. It is easy to observe that these processes did not lead to the elimination of gods venerated in provincial centers. On the contrary, the principle of assimilating foreign cults, a characteristic feature of Hittite religion, was already in force at the time. It drew from a conviction that once the deity of a given city or land had been placated, its population was in fact under control. As in the entire Near East, the god's statue or symbolic representation was treated as its main manifestation. This statue or symbol could be affected by supplication and worship, and even by magic. Therefore the bringing of divine images from captured cities was an important factor of territorial expansion. The accounts of military expeditions are full of such cases. Already the text of Anitta mentions the recovery of the image of 'Our God' seized once by Uḫna, the king of Zalpuwa¹⁴⁷. In his annals¹⁴⁸ Hattušili I records statues of gods being brought from conquered Syrian cities (nota bene, nowhere in the Old Hittite texts is there any mention of their cult in the new surroundings). Upon conquering Babylon, Muršili I tried to bring to Hattuša the statues of Marduk and Šarpanitum but was forced to abandon them in the city of Hana. In order to placate a god captured one way or another, care was taken to provide him with the conditions he was used to, i.e. worship and incantations in the native language. This custom is responsible for so many religious texts in languages other than Hittite surviving at Boğazkale; these texts were after all an integral part of cult and magic rituals.

147 Neu 1974:12f.; Steiner 1992:171f.

148 For the last edition see Kümmel 1985, 456ff. (the Akkadian version), 459ff. (the Hittite version).

The pantheon of the capital

The pantheon of the capital formed in the above described manner. Apart from it many local pantheons existed. Some of the deities may be classified according to their nature and function. Their typology is to a certain extent dependent upon Mesopotamian cuneiform writing, in which a given type of deity had a definite logogram. The structure of an Anatolian pantheon, however, is clearly different from the Mesopotamian one and recalls more the Syrian system. A storm-god usually stood at its head¹⁴⁹. His name is often concealed under the IM logogram, later also U. The Hattians called him Taru, the Hittites Tarḫuna, the Luwians Tarḫunt, the Palaites Ziparwa. The names Taru and Tarḫuna appear already in the texts from Kültepe; their similarity presumably helped in the syncretization process of the two gods.

It should be made clear that we are dealing here not with a name of a singular god, but with a general term used to refer to the chief deity of the country as well as to the local storm-gods who could easily have had another name or epithet in addition. The storm-god was a leading figure in the pantheons everywhere in the uplands of the ancient world where the harvest was conditioned by the weather and rainfall. He was a heavenly god, a personification of the storm together with accompanying phenomena such as thunder, lightning and obviously rain. His sacred animal was the bull which personified might and vitality. In the Anatolian temples the deity was often worshiped in the form of a bull. A bull's figure stood on the altar, as demonstrated by a vase from İnandıktepe dated to the Old Hittite period¹⁵⁰. In some local pantheons the place of the storm-god was taken by a mountain-god. The worship of mountains was a characteristic phenomenon in the uplands, including Asia Minor and Syria.

The storm-god was accompanied by a mother-goddess. Her aspect comprised different functions of ancient nature deities, one of which was a spring-goddess, especially in the beliefs of the northern part of the land. The mother-goddess could also be the chief deity of a local pantheon. Her companion was at times a young goddess, the storm-god's concubine, recorded in the texts now and then with the Ištar sign; she, too, could be a spring-goddess.

These major deities were accompanied by lesser ones, their functions ordered by the system a given pantheon followed. Some of them appear

149 Deighton 1982 (cf. also a review of this book by Gurney, JRAS 1983:281f.); Houwink ten Cate 1992.

150 T. Özgüç 1988:88 and pl. K 1.

to have exceeded regional boundaries in importance, e.g. the war-god and the chthonic Liluwani along with other gods of the Underworld.

Thus the Storm-god stood at the head of the state pantheon. The god originated from the Hattian tradition, like the whole Hittite religion of the discussed period. Probably, it is the same Hattian storm-god whom we know from the text of Anitta (see the preceding chapter). According to a myth, it was he who had invested the king with authority and in whose name the king exercised his power ever since. Characteristically, both in this myth and in the text of Anitta the god acts together with Ḫalmašuit. In the Old Hittite sources the god's name occurs without the epithet 'of Heaven'. Later, in empire times, he was named the Storm-god of Ḫattuša, in contradistinction to the Hurrian Tešub becoming officially the chief god of the state; however, the concept of the Storm-god of Heaven survived in the 'northern' tradition, in the local pantheons of Zippalanda and Nerik.

The sun-goddess from the nearby sacred city of Arinna was consort of the Storm-god. In Old Hittite texts her name occurs without the epithet indicating her origins. She belonged to the category of deities, which were denoted in cuneiform texts with the logogram for the Sun, corresponding to the Hattic *Eštan* and its Hittite derivative *Ištanu*¹⁵¹. These were exclusively female deities (cf. also the preceding chapter). It should be added that a magical text¹⁵² refers to the Heavenly Sun in contrast to the Sun of the Earth, but there is no reason to consider it a male deity¹⁵³.

The mystery of the origins of the title 'My Sun' used by the Hittite kings is sometimes connected with the issue of the sex of the Old Hittite sun-deities, but there can be no certainty that the title was used already in the Old Hittite period and the whole debate is generally based on later sources.

The Sun-goddess of Arinna remained one of the major goddesses of the Hittite state until its fall. She was called *Urunzimu* (later *Wurušemu*) in Hattic and was a typical mother-goddess. She presumably represented the Earth while her consort represented Heaven. That the divine pair was conceived in this particular way is corroborated by a text¹⁵⁴ which in fact describes a somewhat different pantheon: the Storm-god is accompanied by the Mother Earth, who is called the Sun of the Earth in a later copy¹⁵⁵. As a text has it, the Storm-god and his consort were the real rulers of

151 Cf. also Haas 1994a:420ff.

152 Otten & Souček 1969:22f., 40f.

153 Contra Houwink ten Cate 1987:22ff. Mention of the Sun-god of Heaven in the *Annals* of Ḫattušili I can be seen as a later corruption of the text. Cf. also Archi 1988:11ff.

154 KUB 43.30 (with duplicates) iii 5'; cf. Neu & Otten 1972:184.

155 *daganzipaš* ^DUTU-uš, Bo 3895:10'.

the land, and the king was supposed to govern in their name¹⁵⁶. According to later texts, Mezzulla, another great goddess of Arinna, was considered the daughter of the Sun-goddess of Arinna and held a high position among the main gods of the state.

As stated above, a magical text mentions the Sun(-goddess) of the Earth. This deity occurs often in later documents and it can be said that the Hurrian Allani exercised then a considerable influence upon her image (see the next chapter). In the Old Hittite sources there is no mention of her worship.

The Hattian deity Ḫalmašuit¹⁵⁷, whom we know from the text of Anitta, played an important role in the ideology of kingship¹⁵⁸. She extended her protection to the person of the king and was alleged to have brought from the sea the power and the *ḫulukanni* wagon that symbolized the cult duties of the ruler¹⁵⁹. Although the deity is active in myth, she was never depicted in human form¹⁶⁰. She was simply a personified cult throne; not a decorative chair, but a kind of raised platform resembling the Muslim *takht*, on which the royal pair sat during cult ceremonies¹⁶¹. It is presumably this kind of throne that can be seen in the third register of the vase from İnandiktepe (see below). In one of the myths Zilipura/i appears as a builder of the cult throne. Ḫalmašuit occupied a high position in the cult and was usually mentioned either beside the war-god Wurunkatte or among the worshiped elements of the temple equipment such as the altar, hearth, window and the 'wood of the bolt'.

The pantheon of Ḫattuša also included the goddess Inara¹⁶². Her duties are not clear; in later times, presumably because of the similarity of her name with the Luwian *innara*, she was assigned to the category of tutelary deities. She appears beside Ḫapantali¹⁶³, a deity of whom more is known from later myths. The god Wašezzili often occurs beside the chief Storm-god. Among the more important gods from Ḫattuša one should mention Kuzanišu or Hearth¹⁶⁴, also the Hattian Kait 'Grain' and his Hittite counterpart Ḫalki, Telipinu – the god of agriculture with some features of

156 KUB 29.1 i 17ff., 23ff. (Kellerman 1980:11, 25f., 116f.); cf. also Gurney 1958. 157 von Weiher 1972-1975a.

158 On this function of the deity see recently Carini 1982 and Marazzi 1982.

159 KUB 29.1 i 23ff.; cf. Kellerman 1980:11, 25.

160 Contra Starke 1979:86.

161 Written also *GIŠ/D*DAG in the later texts; for the 'Syrian' interpretation of this term in Anatolia see Butz 1987:334 fn. 91. Cf. also Archi 1966; Popko 1978:59ff., 1993:321f.

162 Cf. Kammenhuber 1976a, 1976-1980a.

163 McMahon 1991:14ff. (with references).

164 Cf. Otten 1980-1983.

a storm-god¹⁶⁵, Ȧaratši, also connected with agriculture, Ȧaşammiu, also called Ȧaşam(m)ila¹⁶⁶; Waḫiši, and, finally, the goddess Teteṣḫapi.

In a text concerning the cult in the *ḫišta* (presumably a charnel house), deities connected with the Underworld are mentioned¹⁶⁷. Leading them is the god Liluwani, then come Šiwat ('Day'), the pairs Tašamat and Tašimmez, and Ištuštaya and Papaya, finally the Sun (of the Underworld?), Ȧaşamila/i and Zilipura/i. The group is not homogeneous. Ištuštaya and Papaya are goddesses of fate, while Ȧaşamila/i and Zilipura/i appear also in other contexts.

Local religious beliefs

The texts contain the names of many other deities, mostly Hattian in origin. A considerable number of them comes from local pantheons. The first to be discussed are the deities connected with the gods' cities of the Hittites. Thus, the pantheon of the still not located city of Arinna included another female deity beside the Sun-goddess and Mezzulla – Mezulla's daughter Zintuḫi. A local storm-god was venerated in Ziḫlanda/Alacahöyük under the name of Ziḫlanti (later attested as Ziḫlantil)¹⁶⁸. Kataḫḫi, later known as Kataḫḫa, from the nearby city of Ankuwa was apparently considered his partner. The local deities included also the sacred mountain Daḫaya (later Daḫa), identified with Kalehisar, north of Alacahöyük¹⁶⁹. Still farther to the north, at Nerik, which – like Arinna – remains to be identified, the local storm-god was called Nerak; accompanying him were other deities better known from later texts. As we see, the names of the local storm-gods could derive from the names of the cities. Katapa should also be mentioned here, although it was not a sacred city; it was a cult center of the 'Queen', a goddess of more than local significance.

Some local pantheons of the Hattians can be studied on the basis of texts connected with a cult journey of the prince to the northern provinces of the land¹⁷⁰. We learn from these documents that some of the gods bore different names for use among humans and among the gods. These texts, although badly preserved, make clear the principles according to which the gods received their names. Thus, in a city not mentioned by name the consort of a local storm-god is Taḫattanuiti, called the 'Mother of the

Spring, Queen' among the gods. The storm-god's concubine in this case is Tašimetti, known among the gods by a name which is written with the Istar logogram – presumably Timmeti. She, too, seems to have been a spring-goddess¹⁷¹.

The companion of the storm-god, Wašezzili, also bears the name 'Lion'. Another god, described as the vizier of the head of the pantheon, is known among the gods as the Storm-god of the Field. The name of a goddess known to humans as Taḫakšaziyati was denoted with the Istar sign and the epithet *arawa*. Sun-deities are mentioned on a number of separate occasions, but in unclear contexts. According to a text, the goddess Ištu, i.e. the Sun, from the city of Kakšat was known among the gods as the 'Goddess of Light, Queen'. Ȧalki ('Grain'), known as Kait in Hattic, bore the name of 'The Goddess of (?) Ȧayamma, Queen' among the gods. The god¹⁷² Miyatanzipa had the mysterious epithet of *baruwapša*. The documents discussed here list many other deities with their epithets, which are often unintelligible.

When speaking of the cults in the northern part of the country, one cannot avoid to describe the pantheon of the Palaite. In Old Hittite texts few traces of beliefs from this circle have survived. Ziparwa stood at the head of the pantheon; his name is usually written with the same IM sign which is the logogram for the storm-gods. Ziparwa's partner was Kataḫzipuri, a goddess of Hattian origin¹⁷³. The names of other Palaite deities are known from later evidence. In an Old Hittite list of gods the chief Palaite storm-god (Ziparwa) and Kataḫzipuri are followed by a group of deities comprising Ilaliyant, then the god Ȧaşam(m)ili, Hearth, Ȧilašši and the Kuwa(n)ša gods. This circle only partly resembles the Palaite pantheon which we know from the later sources.

A similar group of deities is found in the above mentioned text¹⁷⁴, in which the chief gods of the pantheon are the Storm-god and the Mother Earth. Following the main pair and beside the deities whom we have already encountered, as Mezzulla and Ȧalki, there appear Išpanzašepa ('Genius of the Night'), Ȧilašši, Maliya, Waškuwattaši and the Kuwanša gods. The suffix *-ašši-* indicates a Luwian environment. Besides, it is known from later evidence that Maliya, similarly to Ȧaşamili, was honored among the Luwians, too¹⁷⁵. This juxtaposition of the text reveals that Kataḫzipuri could have belonged to the leading figures of the pantheon,

165 Güterbock 1959.

166 Cf. Otten 1972-1975; von Weiher 1972-1975b.

167 Cf. KBo 17.15 obv. 8'ff. (Neu 1980 no. 27, p. 72, with bibliography).

168 Popko 1994:32ff.

169 Haas 1994a:592f.

170 Neu 1980, nos. 109ff.; cf. Forlanini 1984.

171 Popko 1994:38f.

172 Cf. KUB 43.27 rev. 3 in which he is called 'King'.

173 Frantz-Szabó 1976-1980, cf. del Monte 1979.

174 See fn. 154.

175 Cf. Frantz-Szabó 1987-1990b; Haas 1994b:78f.

similarly as other deities of Hattian origin, also in some regions in the south. Unfortunately, only fragments in Luwian have survived in Old Hittite literature. They are not informative enough to allow for a presentation of Luwian beliefs at this point.

Except for Tarḫuna and Ḫalki, the other Hittite deities known from the Old Assyrian texts and connected with the city of Kaneš are only scarcely attested in Old Hittite sources. Later documents are much more informative in this respect.

This review of deities belonging to local pantheons is obviously incomplete. Some cities have been omitted altogether, while for others information is not available. An example of the latter case is Kaštama. According to the textual evidence from the empire period, the gods of this city had considerable significance in the cult in the northern regions of the country, but the Old Hittite sources do not yield any information on the subject. The obvious conclusion is that the religion reconstructed on the basis of Old Hittite sources should not be identified with the beliefs of all the Hittites.

Cult

The temple was the house of the god¹⁷⁶. There he stayed as a statue or a cult symbol, which was not contrary to his simultaneous existence in the world of mythological ideas. It can be assumed that temples or at least modest shrines were to be found in all the cities. Some of them, like Ḫattuša, Arinna, Ziplanda and Nerik, enjoyed special status, the exact nature of which we are unaware. We do know that the local cult personnel was exempted from certain duties and on the occasion of great festivals had the privilege of partaking of food and equipment supplies, for which the governors of neighboring cities were responsible. During the empire period, Ḫattuša, Arinna, Ziplanda and Nerik were called gods' cities; they will be described in detail in the chapter devoted to this period. In later times the famous temples possessed cultivated land and pastures at their disposal and also profited from royal donations.

A number of well known temples was located at the capital itself. Thus the city was not only the administrative center of the state, but also one of the most important religious sites. The texts mention temples of a sun-goddess, presumably that of Arinna, the goddess Inar(a), the war-god and the Palaite god Ziparwa. The chief Storm-god must have had his temple as well. Unclear references to it are found in poorly preserved texts. The

176 Cf. Güterbock 1975a.

mysterious 'House of the *kurša*' (on this object see below) deserves notice, too. Excavations at Ḫattuša have not yielded any sure evidence of cult buildings from the Old Hittite period. Somewhere close to the capital there was a *ḫišta*, a kind of temple dedicated to the gods of the Underworld. The term is translated as a 'charnel house'.

At Arinna there existed, to judge by later texts, temples devoted to the local sun-goddess, Mezzulla and Zintuḫi. At Ziplanda of Old Hittite times a temple of the local storm-god existed on the town's acropolis. Nothing is known of Old Hittite temples at Nerik; much more is revealed in later sources. The temple of the 'Queen' at Katapa is mentioned in a donation act¹⁷⁷.

In archaeological terms, cult buildings are exemplified by the badly preserved remains of a temple at İnandıktepe, northeast of Ankara¹⁷⁸. It was most likely dedicated to the local storm-god as indicated by the finds: a complete statuette of a bull, parts of terracotta bull statues and especially the famous vase with decoration depicting a cult ceremony in front of a bull statue. The temple was located at the top of a hill (similarly as the temple of the local storm-god at Ziplanda); it comprised a complex with terraces rising to the top of the hill, with a rectangular court in the western end where the entrance was presumably located. The cella was situated in the destroyed eastern part of the complex. Numerous small storage units typical of Hittite cult structures surrounded the court. At Eskiyapar one of the rooms of a building in the residential district was considered a cult-room by the excavators on the basis of the finds which included an unusual set of originally shaped and decorated cult vessels¹⁷⁹.

Some kinds of mudbrick structures, possibly serving a religious purpose, are identified on fragments of relief pottery from Boğazkale, Alişar, Kabaklı and other sites¹⁸⁰. The fragments belong to the same category as the vase from Bitik which features a part of a shrine in the upper register with a man and a woman seated in a small room¹⁸¹. Some scholars have interpreted this room as an adyton represented perhaps together with the deities worshiped in it¹⁸². Terracotta models of temples used for cult purposes are also noteworthy. Such a model with a naked deity seated in a niche was discovered at İnandıktepe¹⁸³.

The *ḫalentiū* or royal residence¹⁸⁴ was also a place where cult rituals were performed. Buildings of this kind have been recorded in a number

177 For this text see Balkan 1973.

178 T. Özgüç 1988:70ff., plans 1 and 2.

179 Temizer in T. Özgüç 1988, p. XXVIII f.

180 T. Özgüç 1988:100, 103.

181 T. Özgüç 1957; cf. Bittel 1976b, fig. 140, 144.

182 Cf. Boehmer 1983:31f.

183 T. Özgüç 1988:112 with pl. 23, 4, and 63, 1a-c.

184 For this much discussed term see Güterbock & van den Hout 1991:59f.

of cities outside the capital – at Arinna and Ziplanda for example. The Great Assembly which gathered there consisted of dignitaries who were partaking of a cult meal after the offerings to the gods were made. The main room of this building had to be sufficiently big, much bigger than the cella of a temple where few people could find a place. The ritual equipment of such a room was very much like that of the cella, including the cult image, the cult throne and the hearth.

The gods were worshiped in the form of statues or aniconic representations¹⁸⁵. The first group is characterized mainly by anthropomorphic statues, although the storm-god could also appear as a bull. In the second group it is difficult to distinguish between representations of a deity and its attributes. It has already been said that Ḫalmašuit was worshiped as a cult throne. The throne belonged to the equipment of a cella and was treated as a deity just like the other elements: the hearth¹⁸⁶, the altar, the window and the 'wood of the bolt'¹⁸⁷. The altar should not be identified with an offering table. It was a pedestal to support the figurines of deities and other cult utensils. A common form of divine imagery was the *ḫuwaši* or cult stela. According to later sources, the stela could be decorated with reliefs and could even be inscribed; these elements helped to identify the deity to which it was devoted. The stela stood in a temple or – as in later times – in the open, where it could serve as the focal point of a sacred precinct with an elaborate official entrance. The cult of stelae is confirmed in Anatolia and Syria already in prehistoric times¹⁸⁸.

The staffs of the gods as their attributes were characteristic cult objects in the north. Another object which received worship was a *kursā*; it was made of appropriately prepared sheepskins and sometimes even decorated. Until recently it was thought to have been the sacred fleece; however, there have been suggestions that it was a god's hunting bag¹⁸⁹. It is interesting that the *kursā* became an attribute of different gods only later. Although the older texts are not univocal in this respect, it would seem that originally it was worshiped as an impersonal deity and not as the attribute of another god. It would be difficult to imagine a hunting bag in this role. The issue awaits further study.

Apart from the cult objects, the god's cella and the temple in general contained all kinds of ritual paraphernalia, primarily a variety of vessels for libations and drinking in honor of the gods. The theriomorphic ves-

sels are distinguished for their shape and decoration. Many examples of such vessels have been unearthed in excavations.

Although most of the information about cult personnel comes from later sources, Old Hittite texts also give some insight into the matter. Priests and assistants are perceived as a differentiated group with a strict hierarchy. The GUDU₁₂ priests were active in the cults in the north and central part of the land. Some scholars identified this title with *kumrum* already known from Old Assyrian documents (see the preceding chapter)¹⁹⁰. Thus the function was presumably connected with the ancient local tradition. The *ḫamina* priest is also attested in the north, mainly in the cult at Ziplanda. However, the most frequently encountered priest is the SANGA priest. He was of the highest rank among the cult personnel, e.g. he was the high priest of the temple of the local storm-god at Ziplanda. The *tazzili* priest is a peculiarity of this town, not being known from elsewhere. Men predominate among the personnel; priestesses are much rarer, e.g. 'Mistress of the God' or 'Mother of the God', and are usually connected with the cult of female deities. The duties of particular functionaries are not clearly distinguished; in the ritual texts they are limited to making offerings.

Beside the above mentioned priestly titles, there are several terms referring to other members of the temple personnel. Some of them occur only in reference to a specific cult place and are connected with specific deities, for example, the 'Man of the Storm-god' and the 'Woman of the Storm-god', who belong to the northern tradition. The presence of an 'Old Woman' distinguishes Anatolia from other countries of the Near East. According to the older texts, she belonged to the palace personnel and occupied herself primarily with divination but also with magical proceedings (see below). Also the 'Man of the Storm-god' carried out various magical rituals, mainly the cathartic ones.

Most of the Old Hittite documents concern matters of the cult¹⁹¹. Yet they do not reveal all its aspects. For instance, information on the everyday cult comes only from later sources. The image of the god was the cult object and was treated like the god itself. The statue was washed and dressed, and was given food and drink. These were normal activities, notwithstanding the fact that they are mentioned only rarely in the texts. Bowing or prostration were also forms of worship.

Festivals brought changes in the daily life of the temple. It is unclear how in this period the Hittites classified them. Some festivals were definitely treated as regular events, celebrated at standing intervals. Presum-

185 Güterbock 1983a; Popko 1993, with references.

186 On the cult of the fireplace see Archi 1975b; Popko 1978:48ff.

187 Goetze 1957:163ff.; Archi 1966:83ff.; Neve 1973; Popko 1978:14ff.

188 Hutter 1993, with references.

189 Alp 1983:98f.; Güterbock 1989.

190 Cf. Otten 1992:37ff., with references.

191 Cf. Güterbock 1964:62ff.; Haas 1994a:489ff., 640ff., 674ff. (with references).

ably a monthly festival, which is later well-attested for many gods, was already established at that time. Celebrations of a few or even many days took place as well, according to a cult calendar that was based on the agrarian one. Occasional festivals also were celebrated, all local, connected with a specific deity or cult center. Some important festivals came into being only in the empire period. Their program anticipated a cult journey of the king to different sites and his participation in the local rituals. Available descriptions of cult rituals are too fragmentary as a rule to assign a given text to a specific festival and in many cases it is simply impossible. One of the criteria for classifying these descriptions is their affiliation to a local cult center. It would also be a good point of departure for a religious monograph of the city. Sometimes this association can be proven, but in these cases it becomes apparent how small a percentage of the material is constituted by Old Hittite documents.

The most important standing elements of the celebrations were offerings to the deities and a cult meal¹⁹². One can distinguish various kinds of offerings. The basic term in this respect is the verb *šipant-* 'to libate'¹⁹³. In some studies of Hittite religion, sacrifice is discussed in this context, but it is in fact propitiation, similarly as in the entire ancient Near East¹⁹⁴. The offerings included on the whole bread and portions of sacrificed animals; a libation was also poured and a kind of toast raised to the deity. The descriptions of the offerings usually take on the form of stereotype formulas and monotonous lists, which contain little of interest beside the names of the deities. The celebrations were enriched with singing, music and dance; sports competitions and other entertainments were also included, especially if the ritual was taking place out in the open. Some mysterious elements cannot be explained (and not only because of poorly preserved texts); for example, during a cult ceremony at Nerik some of the participants sing in front of a flock of thirty sheep¹⁹⁵.

The king himself took part in many rituals. He was the governor who ruled in the name of the main Storm-god, and it was his duty as the highest priest of the state to participate in some of the rituals¹⁹⁶. Characteristically, the matters discussed in Old Hittite texts concern mainly the king and his family. The texts are mostly religious in nature and leave the impression that the fate of the king was wholly determined by his ritual duties, notwithstanding his other responsibilities. Obviously, he had more opportunities to participate in rituals in the capital, but he also vis-

ited the provincial cities, especially the ones with famous temples. He was sometimes accompanied by his consort, sons and court officials, and always by his personal guard and pages. On certain occasions the king was represented by one of his sons. All participants, the king and his attendants as well as the priests, their assistants, and others, played the parts assigned to them in the ceremony. On rare occasions the elders or simply the people of a given city are mentioned.

The KILAM festival¹⁹⁷ was celebrated in the capital and lasted three days. Beside the royal couple it was attended by priests from the nearby cities of Arinna and Ziplanda. The peculiarity of this festival was a procession, in which the images of the gods' animals made of precious metals were carried along with other symbols. These objects were kept in the Inar(a) temple¹⁹⁸. Another central ceremony took place in the temple of Halki. The officials of various provincial cities delivered to the royal couple the produce that was brought from the storehouses belonging to their respective towns. Some fragments describing the KILAM festival contain lists of the food rations and ornaments necessary to create the proper setting for the festival. Similar lists are known with respect to the cult at Ziplanda¹⁹⁹; thanks to indirect mentions in these texts it is possible to gain a general idea of what the actual celebrations were like in this city although a detailed account has not been preserved.

A text which belongs to the so-called meteorological rituals²⁰⁰ describes what the king does when he hears thunder that is obviously treated as a sign given by the Storm-god. The course of the proper ritual depends upon where the king is staying at the given moment. Bowing and libation, characteristic elements of this ritual, are made by the king in the window of the residence, confirming the meteorological nature of the Storm-god. Black bread, black sheep and bulls are brought as offerings, and libations are poured from a black vase. Meteorological rituals, which are better known from later texts, constitute a peculiarity of religious life in Asia Minor. There are no corresponding ceremonies in the other religions of the ancient Near East.

A rendering of religious life is to be found in relief pottery decoration²⁰¹. There are representations of temples, as on the above mentioned vase from Bitik; also altars and offering tables, priests and priestesses, musicians with instruments, dancers and worshipers. Ritual scenes in a temple

192 Archi 1979d; cf. also Ünal 1987-1990.

193 Goetze 1971; cf. Frantz-Szabó 1987-1990a; Rittig 1987-1990.

194 Lebrun 1993; cf. Lambert 1993:191, and Leichty 1993:237.

195 KBo 16.72+73 rev.? 7' (Neu 1980, no. 10 on pp. 26f.).

196 Gurney 1958.

197 Singer 1983, 1984, van den Hout 1991-1992b.

198 Singer 1983:89ff.

199 Popko 1994:94ff.

200 Neu 1970.

201 Boehmer 1983:21ff.

are shown in the four registers of decoration on the almost completely preserved vase from İnandiktepe²⁰². In the main frieze, second from the bottom, the worshipers make offerings in front of a statue of a bull set on a base and a seated goddess behind it. The ceremony is accompanied by music. In the first frieze there are two persons, similar in appearance, seated opposite each other on two sides of a table with a large vessel on it; they are feasting to the sounds of music. There is nothing to indicate that they could be gods. Similarly two poorly preserved figures are shown in the third frieze, a man and a woman, seated on a platform that T. Özgüç considers to be a bed, but it could be the *Halmašuit*, i.e. the cult throne (see above). The presence of thrones of this kind in cult rooms is well attested. These figures, presumably the royal pair, also seem to be feasting to the sounds of music. In the fourth frieze at the top a couple is shown during sexual intercourse, attended by musicians and acrobats. The interpretation of this scene as a sacred marriage rite raises doubts since the ceremony is not attested in Anatolian tradition.

Magic, myth and prayer

Magic played an important role in ancient society²⁰³. A magical background is visible in many rituals, similarly as the ritual duties of various priests and priestesses are interwoven with the magical ones. The role of magic is better documented from the Middle Hittite period on; nevertheless, Old Hittite literature also presents some interesting examples. Mythological themes and short prayers appear as elements of magical rituals.

A striking feature of Old Hittite religious texts, including the magical rituals, is their entirely Anatolian character without any trace of Mesopotamian or Syrian influence. The observation is of importance for the research on the genesis of various elements of Hittite religion. Sometimes one can see stated that such and such among later mythological motifs, a prayer or a ritual, draws from the Old Hittite tradition. Yet this may be possible methodologically only if the given unit does not contain any Mesopotamian or Syrian elements. The vanishing god myth can serve as an example. The motif is likely genuinely Anatolian, but the oldest known version of the Telipinu myth reveals elements of foreign origin (see also the next chapter).

Rituals accompanying the construction of a new palace belong to Hattian tradition. One such ritual has partially survived in Old Hittite version, but most of the gaps can be filled in on the basis of a later copy

202 T. Özgüç 1988:84ff., fig. 64-65, pl. F-M, 36-59.

203 Gurney 1977:44ff.; Unal 1988b; Haas 1987-1990, 1994a:876ff.

leaving doubts as to the authenticity of these fragments²⁰⁴. The ritual consists of many acts of protective magic intended to ensure the safety and prosperity of the future inhabitants of the palace, the king and his family. An example of such a spell is found already at the beginning of the text in the charge made to the builder:

[When] you finish [building the palace] and you are plastering [the house on the inside], bind with mortar 'long years (of life)', bind 'goodness' with mortar. And [when you plaster it] on the outside, bind 'fear' with mortar, bind loyalty (of the subjects) with it.

The values fixed in a magical way on the inside walls of the house are intended for the inhabitants, while the ones on the outside are supposed to ensure the king the loyalty and respect of his people. These values were perceived not as empty ideas, but as concrete beings subject to the laws of magic. This kind of treatment of these and similar ideas was typical of the way of thinking in ancient Anatolia and the entire Near East.

A characteristic element of this ritual are the mythological motifs introducing the gods to the scene. They occur especially at the beginning of the text. *Halmašuit*, or the personified cult throne, appears here as a deity from the mountains contrasted with the 'civilized' area governed by the king. She holds a discourse with the king. Included in it are phrases justifying the king's authority by the will of gods. They are treated by scholars as the foundations of the Hittite ideology of kingship²⁰⁵. Then, in a beautiful address the king asks the god for wood to finish the construction. The next passage brings forth a new motif:

When the king enters the house, the Throne calls the Eagle: 'Come! I send you to the sea. And when you go (there), look in the green forest (and see) who is sitting (there)' The Eagle replies: 'I looked. *Ištuštaya* and *Papaya*, the primeval Underworld goddesses, are sitting there bowing down' The Throne answers: 'And what are they doing?' The Eagle replies: '(One) holds a distaff, they (both) hold filled spindles. And they are spinning the king's years. And of the years there is no limit of counting!'²⁰⁶.

As we see, *Ištuštaya* and *Papaya* are goddesses of fate, like the Greek *Moiras* or the Roman *Parcae*. A variety of magical operations are now made in the ritual. They are accompanied by incantations. According to the text, the gods themselves are taking part in preparing the place for a hearth. Then the offerings are made, and the hearth answers already as a deity: 'This suits me'.

Another element of the ritual are short prayers for the health and prosperity of the king and his family. They are usually defined as benedic-

204 CTH 414, cf. Kellerman 1980:6-123.

205 Cf. recently Starke 1979:74ff.; Kellerman 1980:10f., 25f.

206 Güterbock 1961b:149.

tions for the king and such examples may be found in Old Hittite rituals as well as in later texts which draw on the ancient tradition²⁰⁷.

A part of another ritual for building a palace appears to be the myth that relates how the Sun-deity was building a palace for herself in the city of Liḫzina, and other gods were helping her. The text, which has survived in Hattic and Hittite versions, has not been published as yet.

The connection between the myth and the ritual is very clear in the religions of Asia Minor. The myth constitutes an ideological justification of the ritual. The introduction of the gods to the action works strongly on the imagination of the participants, reinforcing in this way the therapeutic nature of the ritual. It seems that it was only in the empire period that some of the myths, usually of foreign origin, escaped this dependency and became part of literature. The workings of myth within the frames of ritual is especially evident in evocation rituals addressed to particular deities. This genre is well documented by later texts. Only one small mythological fragment presumably belonging to this group seems to come from the Old Hittite period. The acting person is Ḫannaḫanna, a goddess known from theophorous names of the Assyrian colony period, who also held a prominent position among the gods in later myths, although this did not find a reflection in the sphere of cult²⁰⁸. In the fragment here mentioned the bee is the goddess' messenger bringing the lost *kurša*; moreover, the god Miyatanzipa appears there. We shall also discuss Ḫannaḫanna in the next chapter.

Magical rituals were carried out mostly by the 'Old Woman'. This characteristic figure of Anatolian magic presumably originated from a prehistoric tradition. A 'doctor' appears as her attendant, reduced in his duties to magical practices intended to remove the illness. The goal of magical rituals was removing all kinds of 'Evil', perceived as concrete beings, as magical impurity of different origin. This was done usually with the help of various acts of magic. A carrier of impurity also played a great role here, cases of substitution are very unsure²⁰⁹. The idea of the carrier was understood as a means of transferring the 'Evil' removed from the patient which was then isolated from society together with the carrier. A certain ritual²¹⁰ mentions the following carriers: the patients' spit, various vessels, a clay bull, an 'army' of clay, 'tongues' of iron, wool and a live he-goat. The goat was driven away, just as the goat for Azazel in the Old

Testament; the other carriers were usually buried. During the same ritual a pair of wooden statuettes of the Ḫantašepa deities 'with blood-shot eyes and blood-red robes' were used; the context is, unfortunately, unclear. The ritual closes with acts and incantations designed to assure the patient's health, longevity and prosperity. The 'Old Woman' appeals in this matter to the chief pair of gods, the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess. The messenger is an eagle which is freed at the appropriate moment. Certain theatrical elements are obvious in the ritual. Enriched in later times, they helped to create a very suggestive rite. Its psychotherapeutic efficiency depended upon the impact it had.

Black magic was practiced alongside white magic. It was commonly considered harmful and was officially prohibited. Mentions from the times of Ḫattušili I and Telipinu indicate that black magic played a role even at the royal court, as an element of the intrigues and plotting, which Old Hittite history was so full of²¹¹.

Divination

The 'Old Woman' also occupied herself in looking for divine signs and interpreting them. An Old Hittite text provides proof for two of the rich repertory of ways to foretell what fate would bring: observations of the fire in the hearth and divination using the mysterious *tarlipa* liquid²¹². Attention was paid to heavenly signs, especially thunder and lightning. Also extispicy (examining the entrails of sacrificial animals) was already known, having come from Mesopotamia. At Ḫattuša some liver models with explanations in Akkadian and Hittite were discovered; they can be dated to the Old Hittite period or slightly later²¹³.

This outline of religious beliefs in the Old Hittite period is by necessity superficial and incomplete. It has already been said that later sources are in many cases able to throw more light on various aspects of religious life.

207 Cf. Archi 1979b.

208 Beckman 1983:239ff.; Kellerman 1987a; Haas 1994a:433ff.

209 For the terms 'carrier' and 'substitute' see Kümmel 1968 and Gurney 1977:47ff.

210 Otten & Souček 1969.

211 Cf. recently Giorgieri 1990.

212 Otten & Souček 1969:36f.

213 Güterbock 1987; on the liver models in the ancient Near East see Biggs 1980-1983, Meyer 1980-1983.

2.2.2. The Middle Hittite period

Preliminary remarks

The times after the reign of King Telipinu, especially the second half of the fifteenth century, still belong to the Dark Age in the history of Asia Minor. There is a certain body of evidence referring to the period, but many historical questions find no answer in the sources. Some of the kings are known by little beyond their names. It is also unclear how the new dynasty took over authority in Ḫattuša. That it was of Hurrian origin²¹⁴ is deduced from the Hurrian names of the kings who changed them to Hittite ones only after coming to the throne; however, their royal consorts did not. There are also rituals in Hurrian concerning the royal family. To judge by their names, the courtiers were both Hittites and Hurrians. Thus, it would appear that a compromise was reached between the local elite and the incomers. There seems not to have been any resultant cultural break; indeed, some development can be discerned. The Hittite texts of this time are written in good language and continue the local tradition to some extent.

The Hurrians²¹⁵ were a people of eastern Caucasian origin; they made an appearance to the north of Mesopotamia in the second half of the third millennium. In the second millennium they spread to northwestern Mesopotamia, Syria and southeastern Asia Minor. The largest Hurrian state, Mitanni, came into being presumably in the late sixteenth century; its capital was the still unidentified Wašukanni. At the height of its power, the state comprised a vast territory from the Zagros ranges in the east to Cilicia in the west. Hurrian warriors, especially the chariot units of the *mariyanni*, penetrated and conquered ever new lands. In this way principalities ruled by Hurrian elites were established in southern Syria and Palestine. Presumably one such active group of Hurrians reached Ḫattuša and seized power.

The Hurrian migration into Asia Minor had its beginnings in the times of the Old Assyrian trading colonies. At least that is when the first Hurrian names appear in the documents from Kaneš. Hurrian impact is

evident in the Old Hittite period; Hittite chronicles are full of descriptions of skirmishes with Hurrian military units²¹⁶. It would seem that the Hurrians were already quite at home in northern Syria and presumably also on the middle Euphrates. Farther to the west they had occupied Kizzuwatna, a land in southern Anatolia; the name of its first known ruler, Pilliya, is Hurrian.

Another population group to make their presence in the Hittite state increasingly obvious were the Luwians. In the Old Hittite period they had inhabited the lands to the west and south of Hittite borders, presumably all the way to the western and southern coasts of Asia Minor. Some Luwian groups must also have lived in the bend of the Halys, and Luwian even had some influence on the Old Hittite language. The Luwians inhabited Kizzuwatna as well as perhaps the neighboring lands where the Hurrians took power. One can distinguish several dialects of Luwian. During the Middle Hittite period the Luwians were moving to the north together with the Hurrians. From this time on Luwian and Hurrian names constituted an ever growing part of Hittite anthroponymy.

The changes in the north of Asia Minor were of a serious nature. The Palaites seem to have disappeared from the ethnic map as early as the Old Hittite period, indeed in unexplained circumstances. The mysterious Kaška people²¹⁷ settled in the lands along the Pontus ranges, taking over territories which had previously belonged to the Hittites. These lost lands (the gods' city of Nerik was located there) featured the Hattian culture. It is assumed that the Hattians had become assimilated to the Hittites in Old Hittite times. The question arises now how their culture managed to survive more than two centuries of the Kaška occupation until its renaissance after reconquest of the northern territories by Ḫattušili III²¹⁸. Clearly, some carrier of the tradition must have existed, but it is highly unlikely that it was the Kaška people. The ethnic and religious history of northern Anatolia in the times of the Kaška occupation remains unclear and in need of further research.

As in the previous period, little is known of the peoples who inhabited the western part of the Anatolian peninsula. Archaeological data would indicate that the lands were influenced first by the Minoan culture, and then by the Mycenaean one. One of the documents speaks of warriors from the land of Aḫḫiya who appeared at the beginning of the fourteenth century in southwestern Anatolia²¹⁹. They attacked the local kingdoms subjected to the Hittite king. Some scholars are apt to see the Achaeans in

214 See already Güterbock 1954:386ff., and recently Haas 1994a:19f.

215 Cf. Wilhelm 1989.

216 Cf. Wilhelm 1989:20ff.; Soysal 1989:137ff.

217 von Schuler 1965a, 1976-1980.

218 For the texts connected with the Hattian tradition at Nerik see Haas 1970.

219 CTH 147 obv. 1, 60; cf. Güterbock 1983b:133f.

these incomers²²⁰. From an archaeological viewpoint, it is certainly probable that Aegean settlers came at the time to the western coasts of Asia Minor²²¹. Their presence in this region and contacts with the Hittites are much more obvious in empire times.

The basis for a study of religion of Asia Minor in the Middle Hittite period are cuneiform texts which are much more numerous now. In contrast to the Old Hittite period, however, we do not have yet at our disposal a corpus of religious documents, not to say a catalogue of such texts. Work is under way. Some documents belong to the old tradition and help to explain it better; they are at times continued in later copies. But many new compositions shed light on changes in the religious situation of Asia Minor. Our knowledge in this respect is, unfortunately, reduced to just the names of deities, while their nature and functions remain largely conjectural.

Changes in Hittite religion

The loss of the northern territories which had constituted the mainstay of Hattian tradition and the simultaneous influx of new peoples must have affected the structure of Hittite religion. The changes then had a breakthrough character, while the processes which took place later, under the empire, may be described as evolutionary. Firstly, the proportion of particular ethnic elements changed and, secondly, certain qualitative changes occurred in the religion in consequence of the introduction of Hurrian beliefs which were connected with Syrian and Mesopotamian traditions. The second aspect will be discussed in greater detail when the west Hurrian religion is presented later on. The information provided here is limited therefore to the ethnic aspect of Hittite religion, although changes in understanding the nature of some of the deities or even whole groups of gods are also signalized.

To be sure, the old gods of the lands lost in the north continued to be formally worshiped, in accordance with the general principles of Hittite religion. But in fact their cult was constrained, with the result that certain gods were gradually forgotten. Only the major gods lasted out that difficult period of the Kaška occupation. The cult ceremonies for the storm-god of Nerik were now held at Ḫakmiša, and partially also at Katapa and Ḫattuša. The documents also bring names of gods attributed to the Hattians but not known from the earlier period. One of these is Zithariya, listed among the main deities of the Middle Hittite treaties with Kaška

(see below). A later text reveals that Zithariya was considered the chief god of the lands occupied by the Kaška people. In empire times this god was worshiped in the form of the *kurša* object; he was taken along on military expeditions and upon returning was ceremoniously brought back into his temple in the capital²²².

The cult of the main gods of the capital and the neighboring gods' cities of Arinna and Ziplanda was entrenched. Also the chief gods of the Palaites continued to be worshiped; a text from the transition between the Old and Middle Hittite periods mentions a storm-god, to be identified with Ziparwa, the goddess Kataḫzipuri and the Sun²²³.

New deities appeared as well. Beside the Luwian and west Hurrian traditions, to which separate sections will be devoted, the Hittite religion itself reveals elements not attested in the Old Hittite documents. Some elements can be traced back to the religious beliefs described as Hittite in the Old Assyrian trading colonies period. Their disclosure in Middle Hittite times was a result of the ethnic changes and the dislocation of the geographical center of the state more to the south. Of course, it cannot be excluded that only accidentally have these elements failed to be preserved in Old Hittite sources, a likely case considering the condition of these sources.

The vanishing god myths²²⁴ reveal such a new circle of deities; they are connected with evocation rituals and will be discussed below in a section devoted to magic. In the majority of them Telipinu occurs as a disappearing deity. Some scholars consider the Telipinu myth an archetype for the whole group, but without sufficient grounds for this opinion. The linguistically oldest version of the myth mentions seven doors and seven bars of the Underworld²²⁵. The motif comes from Mesopotamian mythology; since there is no trace of Mesopotamian influence in the documents of the Old Hittite period (see the preceding chapter), the Telipinu myth is to be dated to the Middle Hittite period at the earliest.

The other gods of this circle are the Storm-god, the Great Sun and the goddesses Ḫannaḫanna and Kamrušepa. To explain the relations between them, we have to turn to account thematically close myths from the empire period. In all of them Ḫannaḫanna holds a prominent position²²⁶; she is also called the Great Goddess, whose advice the other gods listen

220 See recently Güterbock 1983b, 1986b, but cf. Röllig 1992.

221 Cf. Mellink 1983b.

222 For this deity see recently McMahon 1991:19ff.

223 Neu 1980 No. 137 (p. 220ff.); Starke 1985:37ff.

224 For this mythological motif see Moore 1975. Recent English edition of these myths: Hoffner 1990:14ff.

225 KUB 17.10 iv 13-14; Hoffner 1990:17.

226 Beckman 1983:239; Kellerman 1987a; Haas 1994a:433ff.

to, and who herself takes effective action as a last resort. Noteworthy is her role in magical rites, especially in rituals connected with pregnancy and birth, which throws some light on her function. In the sphere of cult she seems not to have played a role. The Storm-god is the father of Telipinu. In one of the myths²²⁷ the 'Father of the Storm-god' and the 'Grandfather of the Storm-god' appear. It should be added that the Sun is sometimes called the 'Father of the Gods'. Thus, it is at least four generations of gods that are represented here. The position of Hannehanna within this family is unclear; Galina Kellerman considers her the mother of the Storm-god²²⁸, but this is not certain.

Kamrušepa in Hittite and Luwian corresponds to the Hattian Katahzipuri²²⁹. In the Palaite realm she retained her old, Hattian name and continued to hold a high position as the consort of Ziparwa. In Hittite and Luwian myths she is a goddess of magic; it is in her name that the Anatolian 'Old Woman' acts, evoking the gods to the scene of the ritual through recitation of the myth and magical incantations. Kamrušepa is often encountered in company with the Sun; in some texts they are the parents of the tutelary deity of the unidentified city of Tauriša, constituting thus a local pantheon of clearly Luwian coloring²³⁰.

In a Middle Hittite ritual²³¹ offerings are presented to yet another group of deities. The ruling pair comprises a storm-god and a still mysterious goddess Mamma; following in their wake are the 'Waters' and an irrigation canal treated as deities²³², then the Sun and Kamrušepa, a tutelary god written down with the LAMMA logogram along with the goddess Ala, Telipinu, the goddess Maliya and her companions, lastly the Earth and the Sun-goddess of the Earth. This circle of gods has much in common with Luwian beliefs.

The presence of deities of Hattian origin is perceptible in these divine groups, including Telipinu and a number of minor deities that are not discussed here. Some of the divine names refer to the old religious tradition of Kaneš. In the Hittite period the local pantheon was enriched by new elements. Since the town itself was then of little importance, this gods' circle was likely connected with an area around Kaneš. The occurrence of the Kanesite gods is a characteristic of the myths and magical rituals in which Kamrušepa plays a central role. Appearing with her are Pirwa,

Haššušara ('Queen'), Aškašepa, Šiwat, Aššiyat, Išpant, Halki, Iliya(nt), Maliya and Tarawa (this list is reconstructed partially on the grounds of later texts). Presumably the storm-god Tarḫu(na) headed the pantheon; Hannehanna and the Sun must have belonged to it as well²³³. It seems that Kanesite beliefs are a continuation of the oldest known form of purely Hittite (Nesite) religion. In the Middle Hittite period and later they display an obvious Luwian influence; indeed, elements considered Luwian may have appeared as early as the Old Assyrian trading colonies period, as indicated by texts from Kaneš.

The Sun is in these new religious circles not a goddess, but a god, as in Luwian religion (see below). His concept was shaped to a large extent by the Hurrian sun-god Šimige, who in turn reflects many features of the Mesopotamian UTU/Šamaš. To avoid mistakes, the logogram for the old Sun-goddess, the consort of the Storm-god of Hattuša, was now accompanied by the epithet 'of Arinna'. The Sun-goddess of the Earth was also worshiped as a deity of the Underworld; her train included gods which at least partially were Luwian. Her cult in the Old Hittite period is debatable, but under the empire it is attested in many cities, also in the center and in the north. At Zippalanda, to judge by evidence from the empire period, she was considered the consort of the old Storm-god of Heaven and the mother of the local storm-god. The Hurrian Allani (see below) exerted considerable influence upon the character and function of this goddess.

The above mentioned goddess Ala was a tutelary deity²³⁴. Most of the gods of this type were determined in that period by the newly introduced LAMMA sign, which could be read *annari* or *innara*²³⁵. This new category of deities can be divided into two groups. Gods with a stag as their attribute constitute one of them²³⁶. They belong to the ancient Anatolian tradition, but are easier to identify on the Iron Age reliefs thanks to hieroglyphic legends accompanying their images and recording the gods' names. The group is represented in the Hittite period by the Luwian Kurunta, who is identical with the later Runt(a)²³⁷, and likely by the Hurrian god Nubadig. Some of the tutelary gods resemble the war-gods in their attributes. The second group, which is connected with the 'northern' tradition, comprises the impersonal deities worshiped as the *kurša* object, discussed in the preceding chapter. The already mentioned Zithariya also belongs

227 CTH 325.

228 Kellerman 1987a:118.

229 Kellerman 1987b:229-231; Haas 1994a:438ff.

230 See Starke 1985:210ff.

231 KUB 43.23, cf. Haas 1988:131ff.

232 Cf. also the later text KUB 35.1 obv.? 5', 8'.

233 On the Kanesite gods see Laroche 1966:288ff., Haas 1994a:612ff.

234 See recently McMahon 1991:11ff., with references.

235 Cf. Laroche 1980-1983; McMahon 1991:9ff., and Haas 1994a:449ff.

236 See also von der Osten-Sacken 1988. For the stag in Anatolian iconography see Crepon 1981.

237 Laroche 1954:107ff.; Houwink ten Cate 1961:128ff.

here. Another deity to appear was a LAMMA-god with the *kurša* as his attribute; he seems to have been either a synthesized representative of the two groups or the result of personification of the *kurša* object. The latter interpretation would appear to be the more probable one²³⁸. The texts indicate that this LAMMA was a male deity. Due to a similarity of pronunciation, the LAMMA sign became also the logogram for the goddess Inar(a)²³⁹. In consequence of this rebus record, the goddess is sometimes baselessly treated as a tutelary deity.

The official pantheon

The Hittite state treaties list the witnessing gods in an order determined by certain set principles. These principles were introduced at this time, although the first attempts to put the pantheon in order were made in the Old Hittite period (in certain rituals the gods appear to be listed in a constant order). In a treaty with the Kaška people²⁴⁰ the Sun(-goddess) and the chief Storm-god appear at the head. They are followed by a war-god, (all?) the LAMMA gods, Zithariya, a goddess concealed under the Ištar sign, Išhara, gods of heaven and earth, the Former (i.e. underworld) Gods, gods of the Hittites and gods of the Kaška people, finally heaven, earth, mountains and rivers. In another treaty²⁴¹, the text of which is partially damaged, the main triad comprises the Sun(-goddess), the Storm-god and the LAMMA god, and is followed by local storm-gods, local LAMMA gods, Lilwani (god of the Underworld), 'Ištar', a war-god, mother-goddesses of various cities, the mysterious gods of the nomadic peoples of Lulahi and Hapiri, finally the Sun-goddess of the Earth, the Great Sea, i.e. the Mediterranean Sea, and 'the thousand gods'. This last term appears also in the vanishing god myths. It will become a characteristic feature of many documents from the empire period.

The order of the lists presented here is close to the canon which will appear in the later state treaties. It is noteworthy that the male Sun is not yet represented in these lists. Under the logogram for the sun-deity the great goddess of Arinna is concealed, as indicated by a prayer of King Arnuwanda and Queen Ašmunikal (CTH 375)²⁴². Of interest also is the prominent position of the LAMMA god, who is listed among the first

238 Cf. case endings in declension of the god's name (Popko 1975:67f.).

239 Cf. also Kammenhuber 1976, 1976-1980a.

240 CTH 139, cf. von Schuler 1965a:110f.

241 KUB 23.77a, cf. von Schuler 1965a:117. For the date of this text see Neu 1983b:397.

242 Contra Gurney 1977:7.

three deities of the official pantheon. The triad: the Sun – the Storm-god – the LAMMA god appears in the later religious texts as well²⁴³ and seems to be a characteristic feature of the Luwian realm. In Luwian religion these three gods correspond to Tiwat, Tarhunt and presumably Kurunta (see below).

Beliefs of the Luwians

As already indicated, the Luwians inhabited vast territories in the south and the southwest of Asia Minor and were divided into a number of communities. Also their religious beliefs do not constitute a uniform complex, but comprise many local systems²⁴⁴. The Luwian and Hittite cuneiform texts, including later documents from the empire period, allow insight into some of them. At least from the Assyrian trading colonies period the Luwians lived alongside the other Anatolian peoples, and this fact explains why Hittite and Hattian elements are discernible in their culture. The Old Hittite period has yielded a number of Luwian cult rituals addressed to the main gods of the Hittite state²⁴⁵. And Luwian gods in turn are observable in Hittite religion from the Middle Hittite period on. It is possible to make a distinction between these two religions only to a certain degree, primarily in the geographical and linguistic aspects.

Certain types of gods were of general importance, and their local variants were worshiped by the majority of Luwians. As in Hittite religion, some general terms concerning the gods mark Luwian beliefs, such as Tarhunt (the storm-god), Tiwat (the sun-god) and presumably Kurunta. These terms when referred to a specific city meant the local god of the type. The syncretism of gods of a specific category would take place in the future at a certain level of the religion's development. Possibly, even at an earlier date the priests perceived the nature of the gods in terms of syncretism, but in the popular religion these were still separate deities, belonging to regional pantheons.

The main figure of Luwian religion is the storm-god Tarhunt, corresponding to the Hattian Taru and Hittite Tarhu(na). In his nature and functions he resembles the 'northern' storm-gods discussed in the preceding chapter, but in time he was to turn into a god of vegetation and agri-

243 For the examples see McMahon 1991:32f.

244 Luwian religion has not been studied yet in a separate monograph; its mostly quite superficial descriptions have been published on the margins of studies on Hittite religion as a rule.

245 Starke 1985:270ff.

culture, like many other storm-gods in the eastern Mediterranean (see the next chapter). According to a magical ritual he used a horsedrawn cart²⁴⁶, which distinguished him from the Hurrian Tešub (see below). He appeared in a variety of forms, usually at the head of local pantheons. In empire times the cult of the Luwian storm-god with the epithet *piḥaššašši* 'of the Lightning'²⁴⁷ spread widely; he enjoyed particular worship at Tarḫuntašša, the temporary capital of the Hittites, and King Muwatalli II made him his patron deity. Tatta also belonged to this group; his name is rarely mentioned and little is known about him. In a Middle Hittite fragment Tatta appears among the main Hittite gods²⁴⁸.

The sun-god Tiwat enjoyed an elevated position. His popularity exceeded regional boundaries, and he was worshiped in different forms and with various epithets. His presence and role in myths recited as part of magical rituals is noteworthy. Among others, it is he who holds a feast and invites all the gods²⁴⁹. His image exerted considerable influence upon the concept of the male Sun who appears at the time in the religion of the Hittites. In certain local circles Kamrušepa, who acts as the goddess of magic in myths, is the partner of the Sun, but she apparently fails to play a role in the cult.

The Luwians also worshiped the Moon, Arma in Luwian²⁵⁰. Contrary to the 'northern' beliefs, where this deity was of minor importance and presumably was not even anthropomorphized, the Luwian moon-god enjoyed considerable popularity, as indicated by theophorous names which are particularly numerous in the first millennium B.C. In art Arma was represented similarly to the Hurrian Kušuh – winged and wearing a pointed headdress with a superimposed crescent.

Another prominent figure of the pantheon was a LAMMA god, one of the protective gods, to be identified with Kurunta in many cities. A stag was apparently his symbol. He, too, was worshiped under many variant forms. It has already been mentioned that one of the LAMMA gods belonged to the main gods of the Hittite state in the Middle Hittite period, but it is unclear to what extent the changes of beliefs in the north were induced by the Luwian substratum, and to what degree they were a result of Hurrian influence. By nature the LAMMA god here discussed is similar to the war-gods, a fact which is determined by his role as a protective deity. It should be remembered that a variety of different gods

246 CTH 757, see Haas 1994b:83ff.

247 For this epithet see recently Starke 1990:103f., and Haas 1994b: 84.

248 KBo 34.198: x+1.

249 See recently Houwink ten Cate 1987:17.

250 Laroche 1955, 1962.

could belong to the LAMMA category. The mysterious Annarumenzi ('Stout Ones') constituted one of the groups of LAMMA gods. Another LAMMA with the *lulimi* epithet was an unwanted deity, repelled in one of the magical rituals.

The chief Luwian war-god was Iyarri²⁵¹. It would seem that he was conceived partially under the influence of the Mesopotamian Erra, a god of plague with a similar name. For this reason Iyarri is referred to as the 'Lord of the Bow' who strikes with his deadly arrows. He was considered responsible for epidemics, in the army for example, and appropriate rituals were performed in order to overcome them. One of the centers of his cult was Hartana, but he was worshiped in many other towns.

The mysterious Marwainzi ('Dark Ones') belonged to Iyarri's environment. In the first millennium they appeared alongside Šanta²⁵², another great Luwian god attested as early as the times of the Assyrian trading colonies. The function of the last deity is not known precisely²⁵³; he appears to be a syncretic combination of different local gods and resembles a war-god. His name was often replaced with the AMAR.UTU logogram, the same which was used for the Babylonian Marduk. In some local cults Iyaya, presumably a spring goddess, is Šanta's consort. The god can also appear together with a number of other deities, notably the Annarumenzi and the gods of Lulahi, and elsewhere with the group of deities Irḫant and Hiššalant. Šanta is also encountered in the company of gods of different provenience in a ritual of the late thirteenth century dedicated to the Great Sea (the Mediterranean Sea) and the mysterious *tarmana* sea²⁵⁴. The ritual may have something to do with the cult of Šanta at Tarsus in Cilicia attested in the sources from the first millennium (the god was then named Sandes and identified with Heracles there). There is other data to confirm that Cilicia was the main region of Šanta's worship²⁵⁵.

This review indicates that male deities were the most worshiped among the Luwians. As regards goddesses, apart from Kamrušepa (see above), figures of major significance include Uliliyašši from Arzawa in southwestern Anatolia, a goddess of love who was presumably identical with 'Ištar of the Field'²⁵⁶. She is the main figure of Paškuwatti's ritual against sexual impotence²⁵⁷. In the Luwian religious literature a variety of goddesses

251 Otten 1976-1980:267f.; Haas 1994a:368f.

252 In a hieroglyphic text on a lead strip found at Kululu, cf. Oettinger 1989-1990: 97 fn. 35.

253 Cf. Kammenhuber 1990.

254 Popko 1987.

255 Houwink ten Cate 1961:136f.; Laroche 1973b.

256 Wegner 1981:31.

257 Hoffner 1987b.

representative of the type are concealed under the Ištar sign; some of them belong to Hurrian religion which began exerting an influence as early as the Middle Hittite period. One of them is Šauška, the great Hurrian goddess of love and war, Lady of Nineveh. She is usually accompanied by her maidservants Ninatta and Kulitta. Hebat, Tešub's consort, is another great Hurrian goddess worshiped among the Luwians (for both goddesses see below). The Mesopotamian and Syrian Išhara and her hypostasis Hamrišhara penetrated into Luwian religion with Hurrian aid²⁵⁸.

The presence in Luwian religion of some other deities, like Ea, the Mesopotamian god of wisdom, can also be explained in this manner. Also the cult of Nubadig and the river Mala (the Euphrates) is of Hurrian descent. But Šarruma, although included in the Anatolian version of the Hurrian pantheon, is really an ancient god of the Anatolian and Syrian borderland²⁵⁹.

Well attested in Luwian religion are the deities of Hattian origin belonging to the 'northern' tradition, such as Šulinkatte and Zilipuri, as well as the Kanesite gods with Pirwa²⁶⁰ and the 'Queen' in first place. This medley of gods of various ethnic provenience is a characteristic feature of the late texts and can be interpreted as a manifestation of the different ethnic and cultural components having been fully integrated as was the case at least in some of the regions or urban centers.

Mention must be made also of local Luwian cults. A mother-goddess often stood at the head of local pantheons, many a time addressed as 'Queen'. Exemplifying this kind of goddess is Huwaššanna²⁶¹ of Hubešna (Cybistra of classical times, today Ereğli, located north of Bolcardağ). Many rituals concerned with her worship survive²⁶², listing a variety of gods from her environment. A list of gods begins with the triad: the Sun, the Storm-god and the LAMMA god, followed by another LAMMA god with the epithet 'sublime', a war-god, the deity named Lallariya, the sacred mountain Šarpa, and numerous minor deities.

Huwaššanna was also worshiped at the city of Kuliwišna, but the triad of ruling gods there comprised the local storm-god, 'Ištar' and a tutelary god. It should also be added that the worship of 'Ištar' of Kuliwišna is attested in a Hurrian context as well. At Lušna (the classical Lystra) the Sun, the Storm-god and the LAMMA god were worshiped along with the deities named Suḫili and Muḫili²⁶³.

258 On these goddesses see recently Haas 1994a:393ff.

259 Laroche 1963.

260 On this god see recently Haas 1994b:79ff.

261 Frantz-Szabó 1972-1975:528f.; Laroche 1991a:221.

262 Cf. Güterbock 1962.

263 KBo 7.66, cf. Starke 1985:358ff.

In the pantheon of the unidentified city of Ištuwa a mysterious Sun of the local storm-god is mentioned in first place, followed by the local storm-god himself and a whole series of less known gods, mainly Luwian, but also Hittite and Hurrian²⁶⁴.

The gods of the Luwians described here are known somewhat superficially. Their functions can be ascertained in rare cases and only in approximation for that matter. The cuneiform texts bring interesting data on the local Luwian cults, the forms of which are quite varied. Further studies will doubtless lead to a more complete picture of Luwian religion.

Beliefs of the Hurrians of Anatolia

The Hurrian tribes which came from the Armenian uplands in the third millennium and streamed into northwestern Mesopotamia and, later, northern Syria brought with them religious ideas connected with the East Caucasian tradition. However, upon contact with the peoples of Mesopotamia they deferred to the local civilizations and cultures. Following assimilation processes many names of Mesopotamian and Syrian origin were used for gods of the Hurrian realm; also the nature and function of old Hurrian gods changed in consequence of later theological speculations and a syncretization with typologically similar deities of different origin. Therefore, in no case should Hurrian religion be expected to constitute a uniform system. Although the beliefs of the Hurrian tribes spread over vast stretches of country from the Zagros ranges to Anatolia are surprisingly consistent, differences between the pantheons in the east and in the west are easily discernible, resulting from contacts with local cultures. There is a considerable body of textual evidence, also in Hurrian, concerning west Hurrian religion, but relatively little is known of the Hurrian gods and cults in the Armenian uplands and northern Mesopotamia, that is the lands where the Hurrians first appeared²⁶⁵.

The Hurrians came to Anatolia mainly from northern Syria. Consequently, the Anatolian version of their religion resembles the Syrian one, which is connected with the city of Ḥalab, the main religious and political center and long-time capital of the powerful Syrian state of Yamḥad. We shall recall that already Ḥattušili I led military expeditions to Syria and brought back to Ḥattuša statuettes of the gods of the cities conquered there; among them were also deities whose names later appeared in the

264 See Starke 1985:294ff., with references.

265 On the Hurrian religion see Wilhelm 1989:49ff. and also Haas 1994a where it is treated as an integral part of Hittite religion.

Hurrian pantheon of Anatolia. The statuettes came together with the Syrian temple personnel, but there are no grounds to claim that Hurrian cults were established in the Hittite capital as early as then.

The culture and religion of northern Syria continued to emanate during the Hittite Empire. Also changes in the Syrian pantheons found reflection in the religious literature of Asia Minor. By contrast, for a full reconstruction of Syrian religion local sources are lacking, the archives at Alalakh and Ugarit providing only limited data. The texts from Hattuša are thus considered of great significance for these studies.

It is assumed, perhaps correctly, that the religious beliefs of the Hurrians from Kizzuwatna exerted the greatest influence upon Hittite religion, but in the Middle Hittite period Hurrian culture and religion may have also been infiltrating directly from the east to the exclusion of Kizzuwatna.

Anatolian cosmological ideas from the time before the arrival of the Hurrians are unclear and there is no saying to what degree they were subjected to the impact of the more developed systems of Syria and Mesopotamia. In Hurrian myths the pair consisting of Heaven and Earth is the basis and the beginning of everything; they were perceived as ancient and already passive deities. The cult of mountains is obviously evident in the Hurrian tradition, the mountains being treated as the companions of the main Storm-god and also separately as an independent group of deities. Thus, the ancient Anatolian worship of mountains and rivers was reinforced under Hurrian influence. From this time onwards heaven and earth, mountains and rivers would be an integral part of both the official and the local pantheons²⁶⁶.

The main group of Hurrian deities in Asia Minor comprises the storm-god Tešub, his consort Hebat and sister Šauška. The triad was formed already at the city of Halab, at the time when it became the main Hurrian center in northern Syria. It is noteworthy that in other Syrian cities the chief Hurrian gods appear in different configurations, e.g. at Alalakh it was the Storm-god, the Sun and Išhara who stood at the head of the pantheon²⁶⁷. In the third millennium Tešub did not yet hold his supreme position in the Hurrian pantheon; his cult spread at the beginning of the second millennium when the significance of storm-gods rose in the entire Near East. Originally the main center of his cult seems to have been Kummē in the mountainous area north of Mesopotamia. Reminiscences of the god's links with this city endured in myths and in cult.

Apparently, in Mesopotamia and Syria the worship of Tešub was intermingled with the older bull worship, which facilitated the later fusion of

this god with Anatolian storm-gods²⁶⁸. In texts from Hattuša Tešub often appears in the company of the sacred bulls Šeri and Hurri (Šeri and Tilla in the eastern tradition); the bulls also pull the chariot he enters the battle in. The motif is of Mesopotamian descent; a storm god's chariot drawn by bulls appears already in the Old Akkadian iconography²⁶⁹. The train of the 'western' Tešub included the Syrian mountains of Namni and Hazzi, the classical Amanus and Casius; this is presumably the source of a representation in Hittite iconography: the god standing on the backs of two anthropomorphized mountains, the motif itself likely borrowed from the tradition of Halab²⁷⁰.

The other attributes of Tešub, primarily the lightning bolt, are typical of the storm-gods. The god is a donor of rain which would make him in time a protector of vegetation and agriculture. In Hurrian mythology Tešub is a descendant of Heaven. Upon defeating Kumarbi, a representative of the preceding generation, he receives authority over the world. His youth and fighting capabilities are his strongpoints, but in making decisions he considers the advice of other, usually older gods. His brother Tašmišu is his companion and advisor; in Asia Minor he was identified with Šuwaliyat who in turn reveals an affinity to Telipinu²⁷¹.

Among the western Hurrians Hebat was worshiped as Tešub's consort²⁷². She was an ancient Syrian great goddess, attested already in the third millennium texts from Ebla. In Anatolia she was depicted standing on a lion, dressed in a long cloak and a polos on her head. The lion symbolized her chthonic connections, although in texts she is referred to with the epithets 'Queen of Heaven' or 'Lady of Heaven'. She was worshiped in many Syrian cities and, from the Middle Hittite period on, also in Anatolia, especially in the east and also in the south, in the Luwian realm. In the thirteenth century efforts were made to introduce her cult also in centers connected with the ancient northern tradition, e.g. in Zippalanda, Katapa and Ankuwa. This could have been in connection with trends towards syncretism; e.g. in a prayer of Queen Puduhepa, wife of Hattušili III, Hebat is identified with the Sun-goddess of Arinna²⁷³.

Tešub and Hebat are considered the parents of Šarruma²⁷⁴. This originally independent, great mountain-god of the Anatolian and Syrian borderland, who was worshiped as a bull, was included in the pantheon of

268 Cf. Haas 1994a:317ff.

269 Leinwand 1992:164f.

270 Cf. also Alexander 1993.

271 Güterbock 1961a.

272 Cf. Haas 1994a:383ff., with references.

273 KUB 21.27+ i 3ff., cf. Goetze, ANET 393, and Sörenhagen 1981:108f.

274 Laroche 1963; Haas 1994a:390ff.

266 Laroche 1976.

267 Cf. Archi 1992:10.

the Hurrians in Anatolia becoming the 'Calf of Tešub'. In this form one can find him in the modified pantheon of Ḫalab, where he apparently did not belong originally. In the cult he appeared together with other companions of Tešub, mainly the sacred mountains, or together with Hebat, but in his native lands he remained one of the major gods. King Tuḫaliya IV chose Šarruma for his protective god.

Šauška, sister of Tešub and great Hurrian goddess of love and war, took over many of the characteristics of the Sumerian Inanna and Babylonian Ištar²⁷⁵. Nineveh was her main cult center. Among the Hurrians in the East, Šauška and Tešub were worshiped as the main pair of gods; in myths they appear as siblings, but their original mutual relation is unclear. In the kingdom of Mitanni Šauška stood at the head of the pantheon; King Tušratta called her 'Mistress of My Land'.

Replaced in Ḫalab by Hebat, Šauška retained her supreme position in Alalah and among the Hurrians in the coastal town of Ugarit. Simultaneously, one can discern a tendency to identify her with Išhara (see below) and the Semitic Aštarte. In Anatolian tradition the goddesses Ninatta and Kulitta appear as her maidservants. Also her male aspect becomes emphasized. In the rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya near Ḫattuša she is depicted twice, among the gods and the goddesses. Šauška was the main deity of many cities in the east where a Hurrian population predominated. Šauška of Šamuḫa, the protectress of King Ḫattušili III, commanded deep veneration²⁷⁶. Another known center of her cult was Lawazantiya in Kizzuwatna.

Išhara²⁷⁷ was worshiped in Syria and Mesopotamia in the third millennium as a goddess of love, and in this role she was identified with Ištar at an early date. In the cities of Syria she belonged to the leading figures of the local pantheons; at Alalah and Ebla in the second millennium she was Tešub's consort. Her functions are slightly different in various regions of her worship. In Asia Minor Išhara is first attested at Kaneš, where she had a temple. The cult was reintroduced in the Middle Hittite period, but the goddess was now equipped with a new face: connected with the Underworld, she belonged to the entourage of the goddess Allani (see below) and bore many negative features arousing fear. There are even records of a killing 'disease of Išhara'. The goddess occurs as a witness of oaths, also in state treaties, sometimes paired with the Moon; she is also called upon in magical rituals. Ḫamrišhara was apparently one of her hypostases. Išhara seems to have been connected with extispicy, too; in

275 Wegner 1981.

276 Lebrun 1976: 15ff., 42ff.

277 Cf. Archi 1993:72ff.; Haas 1994a:393ff.

the Syrian city of Emar she is called the 'Mistress of Prophetesses', and her temple is called the 'House of Prophets'. She enjoyed special worship in Kizzuwatna, and somewhere in Cilicia there was a mountain of her name.

Allani, 'Mistress of the Underworld', is presumably of Hurrian origin, but was also worshiped in Mesopotamia under the name of Allatum²⁷⁸. Her nature and functions are partially discernible owing to her identification with the Mesopotamian Ereškigal. In the mythological part of a Hurrian ritual from Ebla, Allani is called the 'Wood of the Bolt of the Earth'²⁷⁹. Some texts indicate that she decided who could enter the Underworld. Allani had a palace there. In Asia Minor she was identified with the Sun-goddess of the Earth; the latter is better known from the Middle Hittite period on, partly as a counterpart of Allani and partly as a Anatolian mother-goddess. She, too, had an underground palace and a court which also included some Luwian deities.

The Hurrians adopted the Mesopotamian concept of the gods of the Underworld, the Anunnaki, but added their own figures to this group²⁸⁰. In the circle of the 'Inferior Gods', also called the 'Former Primeval Gods', we find the mysterious pairs of divine primeval parents, such as Anu and Antu, Enlil and Ninlil, Nara and Namšara/Napšara, Minki and Amunki, Muntara and Mutmuntara; also the prophet Aduntarri, the goddess Zulki 'who interprets dreams' and Irpitiga, 'Lord of Judgement'. These gods are evoked in cathartic rituals following a bloody crime²⁸¹. Offerings of birds are reserved for them in the cult. In other lists of these deities still more names appear.

The category of 'Inferior Gods' includes the Mesopotamian Ea with the epithet 'King', who took over many of the characteristics of the Sumerian Enki. In myths he is the 'Lord of Wisdom', a benevolent advisor of all. In Anatolia, Ea and the minor deities from his environment occupied a rather prominent position in the official cult.

Kumarbi, who like Tešub draws from a genuine Hurrian tradition, also belongs to this group²⁸². According to the myths, he was a representative of the older generation of gods and an opponent of the Storm-god. His intrigues against the new Lord of Heaven and other heavenly gods are the substance of many myths. His seat was alleged to be the town of Urkiš. Identified with the Sumerian Enlil, Mesopotamian Dagan, Ugaritic El and Hittite Ḫalki ('Grain'), Kumarbi was considered a god of harvest.

278 Haas 1994a:405f.

279 For this important text see Otten 1985; Neu 1988.

280 Archi 1990.

281 See, for example, a ritual edited by Otten 1961.

282 See Güterbock 1980-1983.

Another great god of the Hurrians in the third millennium was Ner(i)gal, a chthonic god borrowed from Mesopotamia; his Anatolian counterpart was Šulinkatte. Lubadaga, known later as Nubadig, was an ancient Hurrian god of unclear function, included among the protective deities in Asia Minor. He is accompanied by Aštabi, the Hurrian war-god and a daring companion of Tešub in the latter's struggles against the opponents created by Kumarbi.

The Hurrians also worshiped the Sun and the Moon. The sun-god Šimige displays many features of the Babylonian Šamaš. In the myth he is the first to observe unusual events on earth and to tell Tešub about them, so that he is considered among the allies of the Storm-god and the major heavenly gods; he is also the god of oracles and divination. The Moon²⁸³ is mentioned mainly as a god of oaths, their guarantee; in this aspect he is close to the gods of the Underworld. In the common Hurrian tradition he was called Kušuh, but in the 'western' pantheon he also occurs under the name of Umbu. Ethnic origins of the latter are unclear. Beside, the Hurrians assimilated the ancient Moon cult from the Syrian town of Harran. In Anatolian art of the second half of the second millennium the Moon is depicted winged, wearing an open robe and a pointed headdress with a superimposed crescent. This custom has survived in the god's iconography of the first millennium²⁸⁴.

The consorts of Šimige and Kušuh both draw from Mesopotamian tradition. Aya was Šamaš' partner also in Babylonia. The goddess Ningal, Nikkal in Hurrian, who was a spouse of the Moon, is of Sumerian origin. In Syria her major place of worship was Ugarit. Hittite queens of the Middle Hittite period bore theophorous names containing the element Nikkal. A ritual from this time mentions the deities from her entourage as well as the 'Gods of the Father of Ningal'. In cult texts Nikkal appears among the great Hurrian goddesses²⁸⁵.

The worship of other North Syrian deities became widespread in Asia Minor only under the empire when new territories in Syria were incorporated into the state. One of these deities was Kubaba, the great goddess of Karkemiš²⁸⁶. Her local partner's name was concealed under the LAMMA sign in the *Deeds of Šuppiluliuma* I²⁸⁷; this was likely Karḫuḫa, known as the goddess' companion in the first millennium. The name of Kubaba occurs already in documents from the time of the Assyrian trad-

283 Laroche 1955, 1962.

284 Collon 1992:25ff.

285 On this goddess see also Imparati 1979.

286 Bittel 1980-1983; Hawkins 1980-1983.

287 KBo 5.6 iii 32ff., see Güterbock 1956:95.

ing colonies. Presumably she was a deity of the Syrian merchants who traded with the Anatolians.

The cult of Kubaba is attested in Anatolia again from the fourteenth century on. She was now paired with Adamma, a mysterious god of Syrian origin, and accompanied by Hurrian deities. In the first millennium the Phrygians worshiped the goddess under the name of Cybele. Her cult spread also to Lydia and in time through almost all of Anatolia²⁸⁸. This phenomenon was accompanied by a fusion of Cybele with other goddesses and a simultaneous sublimation of her nature, so that in Roman times she had indeed become an universal deity.

Only the most important Hurrian gods worshiped in Anatolia have been discussed here. A full list would be extremely long. There is also sufficient evidence for the cult of Hurrian deities in various combinations at local centers. Noteworthy is e.g. the circle of the gods of Kummanni, the later Comana Cappadociae, which was the capital and at the same time the holy city of Kizzuwatna²⁸⁹. The pantheon of this city includes local variants of Tešub and Ḫebat, but Šauška and Šarruma are missing. The chief god is the storm-god Manuzi, called after the mountain of this name and identified with Tešub. His consort is the goddess Lelluri. Manuzi's temple was located in Kummanni; the god was represented as a statue with his favorite eagle Eribuški on the shoulder. Išhara and Allani also have temples in this city, but the Anatolian goddess Maliya was worshiped there as well, in a separate temple, not to mention a multitude of other deities.

As regards cult, the Hurrians brought to Asia Minor some ideas and customs which differed from the local ones. The god's statue was identified with the god himself and was usually anthropomorphic, although aniconic representations of deities were also worshiped: these included cult stelae, solar discs, vessels, weapons and other objects of sometimes unknown appearance. Compared to the Old Hittite period, the number of worshiped objects grew sizeably under Hurrian influence, and more parts of the temple itself were perceived as divine and deserving worship. Some of these objects may have been divine attributes, while symbolizing the god himself. This paradox, which is unexplainable in the categories of two-value logic, also concerns different hypostases of the same god known under different names; each could replace the other, while remaining a separate deity. Yet another case are different gods who appear in pairs. In the cult they were considered an entity and received offerings as one deity²⁹⁰. Such pairs are a peculiarity of Hurrian cult, presumably of Syrian origin²⁹¹. It

288 Laroche 1960; see also Chapters 3.1. and 3.5.

289 Kümmel 1980-1983:335f.; Haas 1994a:580f.

290 Cf. Haas 1994a:469ff.

291 See Archi 1979a and Haas 1981.

would seem that the deities in question occurred next to each other on an altar in the temple. This brought about a simplification of the forms of cult, but did not lead to an identification of the paired deities.

Everything considered, the group of objects which received cult among the Hurrians of Anatolia is much richer than in the genuine Hittite tradition. Yet Hurrian rituals are much less diversified, and their descriptions schematic with repeated constituents. Extensive descriptions of various festivals are known, mostly connected with the agricultural calendar. Knowledge of these is still incomplete because of difficulties in understanding Hurrian texts.

The Hurrians introduced new forms of communicating with the gods, borrowed from the rich repertory of forms developed by Mesopotamian religion. The prayer itself changed considerably (see below), and new methods of divination appeared in Asia Minor²⁹². The interpretation of gods' signs, whether natural or induced, was considered an art in the ancient Near East, but it reached unparalleled heights in Mesopotamia. Examining the liver and entrails of sacrificial animals was the most common form of divination there, along with divination from the appearance of an embryo, the physiognomy of an encountered person, natural phenomena, the arrangement of the heavenly bodies, etc. The Hurrians spread this knowledge to Asia Minor. Hurrian prophets from Syria enjoyed great esteem among the Hittites. Also the technical terminology of Hittite oracle texts reflects Hurrian mediation in promoting various forms of divination²⁹³.

The Hurrians exerted great influence upon Anatolian magic, too, bringing to it their Syrian experiences. Consequently, the traditional repertory of ideas and means in this field was developed to a large extent, including the techniques of substitution which seem not to have been practiced before. The issue of magic will be discussed in one of the sections below.

Prayer

Prayer underwent considerable changes in the Middle Hittite period²⁹⁴. Earlier this category was modestly represented and was reduced to spells recited during magical rituals, containing benedictions for the king and his family. Benedictions are also encountered in the discussed times, but in a

292 See Kammenhuber 1976b; Archi 1987, 1991.

293 Cf. Laroche 1952, 1970.

294 Cf. also Laroche 1964-1965; Houwink ten Cate 1969; Güterbock 1978; Lebrun 1980.

more developed form, e.g. the invocation to the Sun-goddess of Arinna as edited by Alfonso Archi²⁹⁵. It resembles the earlier benedictions but contains new elements presumably borrowed from a non-Anatolian hymn to the male Sun; namely, this chthonic goddess is addressed as the heavenly Sun and is given his characteristics²⁹⁶. The prayer is recited by the goddess' priest during a short ritual, which is no longer magical as before, but cultic.

The invocation of the royal pair Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal concerns the lands captured by the Kaška people²⁹⁷. It is a lament about the ravages inflicted by the enemy upon the Hittite cult centers. Its goal was to win divine favor and obtain the gods' help in the battle against the Kaška.

The prayer to the Sun-goddess of the Earth was recited as part of a ritual of entreaty²⁹⁸. The text is incomplete, but presumably it contained typical benedictions for the king. A new element is an appeal to the goddess not to listen to slander brought against the applicant by his relatives. We can discern a new quality in the prayer, a promise of the more personal tone. The appeal is also directed to the gods of the goddess' entourage – her protective god, her vizier, etc. The appearance of gods-mediators in prayers is also a feature of the new times.

The qualities of personal prayer are represented in the oldest version of the prayer of prince Kantuzzili²⁹⁹. Its structure is based on a Babylonian 'incantation for appeasing an angry god' and is a combination of a hymn to the Sun and requests addressed to the god. The prince complains of his illness and asks the god to reveal to him the cause of his anger. His utterance has an individual character and is certainly dependent upon new formulas borrowed from foreign patterns. The prayer contains also elements of a negative confession: 'Never did I swear by my god and never did I break an oath. What, (being) sacred to my god, was not right for me to eat, that I never ate, and I did not (thereby) make my body unclean. I never separated an ox from the pen, I never separated a sheep from the fold. When I found bread, I never ate it by myself, when I found water, I never drank it by myself'³⁰⁰. We see, the prince presents himself to the god as a honest man. It is a new phenomenon, too: A system of moral standards becomes part of religion. There is no indication that the prayer was accompanied by an appropriate ritual. In a later edition of this text,

295 See Archi 1988.

296 Obv. ii 16ff.

297 CTH 375, ed. von Schuler 1965a:152ff.

298 CTH 371, cf. Friedrich 1957.

299 CTH 373-374, cf. Goetze, ANET:400f., and Güterbock 1978:130ff.

300 Güterbock 1978:133.

some hymnologic parts were added along with the prayer of a worshiper called the Son of Mankind.

The prayer of Kantuzzili confirms the fact that in the time under discussion the Hittites were already acquainted with Babylonian hymns and prayers and made creative use of this knowledge in their own compositions. The forms presumably reached Anatolia together with other elements of Mesopotamian culture and religion, and like them became constituents of Anatolian culture. Later prayers would provide many examples of dependency on Babylonian archetypes and yet of their creative transformation. In summary, the Middle Hittite period brought about a considerable development of forms of prayers, from simple benedictions to complex and individualized utterances, mostly based on foreign patterns.

Magic

In the discussed period many new magical rituals appeared. Their authors, both male and female, were mainly incomers from the south, from lands inhabited by the Luwians and Hurrians. Some arguments would suggest that the majority of the magical rituals known today from later copies came into being just then. For different reasons it is still difficult to distinguish a Middle Hittite ritual from a later one. Hittite magic has been the object of many studies³⁰¹, therefore we shall not devote as much space to its discussion as to other issues.

Two mutually combined ideas were exploited in magical rituals: fixation (*katadesis*) and release (*apolysis*). They allowed conditions of nature and man to be described and then exploited analogies between them. In reference to man, fixation meant the results of contamination with magical impurity. Purposeful action to this effect is the objective of black magic which, as we have said, was prohibited and repressed. Release from fixation came with a purification rite.

Cathartic rituals predominate among magical texts. They were aimed at removing magical impurity in every sense of the word, that is contamination during birth, illness, plague, impotence, bad harvest, dissension and intrigue, the consequences of bloody crime, bewitchment, defeat in battle, etc. A considerable part of the magical rituals from the Middle Hittite period concerns intrigues at the royal court, crimes, etc. The texts also refer to a state of emergency caused by the 'stranger'. It is assumed that this subject reflects the uncertain political situation of the time³⁰².

301 Cf. Engelhard 1970; Gurney 1977:44ff.; Ünal 1988; Haas 1987-1990:234ff., 1994a:876ff.

302 Hutter 1991.

Purification was obtained by means of sympathetic magic. The chief means of cleansing was water from a river, a trench next to a river, or from a holy spring, which was best of all. In rituals from Kizzuwatna there is mention of the water of seven springs called the water of cleansing. Sometimes a vessel filled with water was left on the roof of a house for the night to 'sleep under the stars' and to take on magical force in this way. Water was used for ablutions, sometimes for a ritual bath. Also a salt solution was used, or a solution of the *nitri* substance or even wine. Sprinkling the patient with water was a simplified version of the rite. Appropriate magical incantations accompanied these actions.

Cleansing substances were rubbed into the patient's skin, the hair was combed clean, and the contamination was removed to other objects which were subsequently destroyed or buried. The conviction that silver had magical properties spread in Asia Minor together with the coming of the Hurrians.

The ancient ritual of passage was known among the inhabitants of Asia Minor. A gate of thorny bushes was often employed, the thorns intended to keep back the 'Evil', and two halves of a dead animal or even a human could serve the same purpose³⁰³.

Magical rituals were performed by the 'Old Woman', a characteristic figure of Anatolian cult practice, active in different ethnic and religious environments. She acted alone or with the aid of other persons – a doctor, diviner or augur. In the 'northern' tradition the 'Man of the Storm-god' is conspicuous by his position and function; he was a priest and a performer of certain cathartic rituals at the same time. And in the Hurrian religious realm it was an incantation priest who was a leading person in magical rituals.

The performers of magical rituals applied the ideas of fixation and release with aptitude. They combined simple acts and incantations into a complicated but spectacular ritual which was meant to act upon the patient's imagination, to fix in him the conviction that he was really freed of magical impurity. They also shifted the 'Evil' back to the person who had called down curses upon the patient. They readily used symbols, for instance, a sorcerer could be replaced with a figurine or a vessel; their destruction meant, in terms of magic, the death of the author of the evil spell.

One of the ways of magic was to bring the gods to the scene of the ritual. This was done with the help of myth, usually based on some kind of narrative known to the listeners but adapted to the circumstances. The myth could tell of the 'fixation' of nature and then its 'release' as a result of divine intervention; the patient's release came through analogy. The goddess most often called on in such cases was Kamrušepa.

303 See already Masson 1950.

Most of the genuine Anatolian myths are known only because they were parts of such rituals. Beside the stories of 'fixation' and 'release' of nature, vanishing god myths deserve notice³⁰⁴. They were associated with the rituals of entreaty which were intended to bring back the god, appease him and win his favor for the community or a single patient³⁰⁵. To the inhabitants of ancient Anatolia the presence of deities was a prerequisite of prosperity, thus they were always afraid of the gods' vanishing and its consequences. It has already been said that the myths in question likely derive from an ancient tradition. Also their gods have been described earlier in this chapter. Telipinu, the god of harvest and agriculture, most frequently appears in the role of the vanishing god as does also the Storm-god, but other gods and goddesses are possible actors as well, even Lilwani who represents the Underworld, and impersonal deities like the worshipped *kursa* object.

The general structure of the myth is simple. An angry god departs and hides away. His absence causes all kinds of unusual and negative phenomena: 'Mist seized the windows, smoke seized the house. In the fireplace the logs were stifled, at the altars the gods were stifled... The god went away and removed grain, animal fecundity, luxuriance, growth... Therefore barley and wheat no longer ripen. Cattle, sheep, and humans no longer become pregnant... The pastures and the springs dried up, so that the famine broke out in the land. Humans and gods are dying of hunger.' The gods discover that this is all happening because one of their rank is missing. The search begins, in which the gods participate with their messengers – an eagle and a bee. They finally find the god who appears showing his anger.

The myth gradually turns into a magical ritual; the 'Old Woman' recites incantations of sympathetic magic intended to appease the god and reconcile him with humans: 'Just as an olive holds its oil in its heart, just as a grape holds its wine in its heart, so you must hold goodness in your soul and heart in the same way... Telipinu, let anger go, let wrath go... And just as the water in a drain pipe doesn't flow backward, so may the anger, wrath, and sullenness of Telipinu likewise not come back.' The ritual ends with an idyllic scene of reconciliation to the satisfaction of gods and people.

Only small fragments of the discussed myths have survived, but it would appear that certain departures from the scheme were possible. The ritual and the myth remained in strict connection with the characteristics

of the vanishing deity. The imagination and creativeness of a person performing the ritual, his ability to improvise were of importance there. The myth tends to be a rather simple, unsophisticated story, which distinguishes it from the more elaborate foreign myths, but it is its simplicity that gives it a peculiar charm.

Another way to bring out a god and win his favor was the ritual of evocation. Unlike the ritual of entreaty, the idea is presumably of foreign origin. Also here a mythological element is present, but is of clearly lesser significance, and incantations resemble prayers more than anything else. Most of the known rituals of this type came from Kizzuwatna; they were performed by incantation priests³⁰⁶. The main part of the ritual focused on the symbolic attraction of gods over a 'road' of colored ribbons with flour, wine and olive-oil added. The ritual was usually performed outside the town, at the parting of ways, or near a spring or pool, if only it was surmised that the deity in demand was there.

Evocation rituals are characterized by a separate vocabulary and contain many foreign terms. Also the names of different countries where the gods could possibly be found are frequently mentioned; omitting anyone of them could cause the ritual to fail. These names reveal the geographical horizon of the performers. Part of the incantations were directed against the inhabitants of the land where the called gods were residing at the time; these people were treated as potential enemies.

Substitution rituals, too, were of foreign provenience³⁰⁷. If a diviner foretold somebody's evil fate, for example, illness or death, then it was necessary to give a substitute for the person in danger and direct the gods' attention to it. These rituals were performed particularly in the case of evil omens with respect to the most important person in the country, that is the king. In one such ritual the substitutes were a war captive and a figurine, intended for the heavenly and underground gods respectively. The king hid for a while, pretending that an usurper had taken his throne, whereas the captive dressed in the king's robes played his role and died on the seventh day, the ritual does not say how. In another ritual the substitute was a bull; the animal was burned, and the god was supposed to see the smoke and be satisfied with the bull, thus sparing the king.

The texts of this and similar rituals provide many valuable bits of information. The evil omen and the shortened life of the king are considered specific, personified entities. Prayer was of much greater importance here; the efficacy of the ritual as a whole depended to a high degree on the content of this prayer. Substitution also appears in rituals in which the

304 Hoffner 1990:14ff. (with bibliography).

305 See already Güterbock 1961b:143f.

306 Cf., for example, CTH 483, translated by Goetze, ANET:351ff.

307 van Brock 1959; Kümmel 1968; Gurney 1977:52ff.

patient is rescued 'from the Earth', that is from the circle of threatening forces connected with the Underworld³⁰⁸.

A carrier should be distinguished from the substitute³⁰⁹. It was put in charge of the patient's sin and then isolated from the community. Practices of this kind were known in Asia Minor as early as the Old Hittite period. Various objects and substances could have had this function, and the common method of isolation was to bury them in the ground. Living beings – animals or captives – could also act as carriers. Burdened with the magical contamination, they were then driven out of the borders of the city or the land. In one ritual a mouse appears as a carrier³¹⁰. The roles of the carrier and substitute are sometimes confounded; indeed, ancient performers of magical rituals made mistakes as well.

Many of the magical rituals, which are essentially derived from an ancient Anatolian tradition, were enriched with new elements in the Middle Hittite period and later. Various rituals for the construction of a new palace or a temple can be cited here as examples³¹¹. Their characteristic features are foundation deposits that were offered to various *loci numinosi* of the new building.

Thus, from the Middle Hittite period on foreign elements played a great role in Anatolian magic. They were brought in by the newcomers from foreign lands, most often by the Hurrians. These elements were creatively transformed and absorbed into the local tradition. New magical techniques were spread by performers of rituals from the south of Asia Minor, where the process of adapting foreign elements was at the fastest. The changes which occurred in Anatolian magic in that period became fixed for a long time. Little new in this respect was introduced in empire times.

2.2.3 The empire period

Preliminary remarks

The Hittite Empire came into being around the middle of the fourteenth century. The cuneiform documents from Hattuša and other cities come mostly from the time in question, therefore the history and culture of the empire are quite well known. In this rich literature religious texts have a considerable quantitative preponderance.

During the reign of King Šuppiluliuma I the Hittite state covered much of Asia Minor and considerable stretches of Syria, reaching the Euphrates in the east and the mountains of Lebanon in the south. Its territory grew following the conquests of Muṣili II, but in the north the Kaška people still constituted a threat. In the early thirteenth century, during the reign of Muwatalli II, the capital was transferred to the as yet not located city of Tarḫuntašša. As the king occupied himself with defending Hittite interests in Syria and with war against Egypt, he entrusted the pacification of the Kaška to his brother, later King Hattušili III. The latter succeeded in the reconquest of the northern territories and earned himself the respect and favor of part of the aristocracy. Later, he used this position to banish the next legitimate ruler, his nephew, and to become the king himself, making Hattuša again the capital. He also concluded a treaty with Egypt, which resulted in the stabilization of the international situation for a longer time. His successor, Tuthaliya IV, had to face the growing might of Assyria. In the early twelfth century the Hittite state fell under vague circumstances during the reign of the last king, Šuppiluliuma II.

In the history of Hittite religion, the territorial expansion of the state meant further penetration of foreign elements from the east and south. Since these were the same directions from which foreign influence had come to Asia Minor in preceding periods, its continuation did not herald any significant qualitative changes. On the other hand, documents from Ugarit (fourteenth-thirteenth centuries) and Emar (second half of the thirteenth century) attest an expansion of Anatolian beliefs in Syria. Border changes and other events in northern Anatolia also played an important role. The wars with the Kaška people ravaged and depopulated large stretches of the country. The transfer of the capital back to Hattuša under Hattušili III brought about an influx of the Luwians from the south and, consequently, a significant shift in the ethnic structure of central and

308 Taracha 1985, 1990.

309 Cf. already Kümmel 1968.

310 CTH 391, ii 34ff., cf. Goetze, ANET:348.

311 CTH 413 and 415, cf. Kellerman 1980:124ff.

northern Anatolia with the dynamic Luwian factor now predominating. The assimilation of the native Hittites was accomplished under this influence. Also the time of the Hurrians had passed, not only in Anatolia. The importance of this ethnic factor, also for the matter of religion, clearly diminished, and the protective religious policies of Hattušili III and Tuthaliya IV could not set back this process.

Despite the ethnic changes, traditionalism called for the local gods to be worshiped continuously, and for care to be taken of their ancient cult centers. The holy cities of Arinna and Zippalanda belonged to this group. Following the reconquest of territories in the north, the Hittites regained Nerik, a cult center of great importance. Tuthaliya IV ordered cults to be restituted in the devastated lands³¹². Available fragments of his decrees concern certain cities and areas in the north as well as areas, which have not been located yet, inhabited by a native population and Luwian immigrants. A characteristic of the cults in the north was the coexistence of local and new Luwian deities, which of course meant the presence of Luwians. To judge by what the texts say, the ancient cults continued in unchanged form only in a few cities. Although almost all of Asia Minor now found itself within the borders of the empire, only the religions of the central, southern and eastern parts are better known. Our knowledge of gods and cults in the west of the peninsula is rather poor.

Gods and pantheons

The typological differentiation of the gods, which was a result of the changes in the Middle Hittite period, was maintained under the empire. The storm-gods continued to hold their supreme position, at times being replaced in the local pantheons by mountain-gods of similar function or, in the north, by Telipinu, the god of agriculture with features of a storm-god. An evolution is also apparent in the understanding of the role of a storm-god, who gradually turned into a god of vegetation and agriculture. It would seem that the Luwian Tarhunt was already a god of this kind. In a later relief from İvriz (eighth century) he has the attributes of a god of vegetation³¹³.

The consorts of the chief gods were usually the mother-goddesses, but certain differences can be discerned in this group. Some of them continued in their character of chthonic deities. Sometimes they were called god-

312 Laroche 1975.

313 Cf. Bittel 1976b, figs. 327, 328.

desses of springs in Hittite sources³¹⁴ and were depicted seated. Also the young concubines of the storm-gods were goddesses of springs but they were shown standing. The occurrence of the two types of goddesses as the partners of a male deity is a characteristic of local pantheons in the north of Asia Minor.

Some of the mother-goddesses lost their chthonic qualities, partially due to assimilation with Hurrian goddesses. The Sun-goddess of Arinna, for example, was identified with the Hurrian Hebat who was at the time a deity with heavenly characteristics. Consequently, the Sun-goddess of Arinna also became a goddess of heaven, at least in the perception of the priests connected with the Hurrian realm. The concept of the Sun-goddess of the Earth remained; the goddess was equated with the Hurrian Allani. In some pantheons in the north, as, for example, at Nerik and Zippalanda, she was considered the mother of local storm-gods³¹⁵. The heavenly Sun and Moon were male deities with features shaped by Mesopotamian and Hurrian religious imagery (see the preceding chapter).

Gods of war and plague resembled each other from the typological point of view. Also some of the protective gods from the Luwian and Hurrian circles, usually depicted armed, were related to them; as a matter of fact, these types of gods appear next to each another in various listings. The group of LAMMA gods increased immensely³¹⁶. Rituals mention separate LAMMA gods responsible for the king and queen, their bodily parts, senses, talents, etc., different aspects of royal activity and even certain concepts connected with these activities. It is noteworthy that at the time numerous abstract terms were worshiped as deities: Joy, Judiciousness, Health, etc. These deities have obvious counterparts in Hurrian rituals. Among the LAMMA gods a separate group was constituted by the *kurša* objects that were worshiped as impersonal tutelary deities or as attributes of personified tutelary gods. Also this group is not homogeneous.

A distinct group of goddesses was connected with certain aspects of human life – goddesses of fate, called upon in matters of health, vital life forces and longevity³¹⁷. This group increased in number in the Middle Hittite period under Syrian influence. Similar roles were played by the harvest and fertility deities; some of these concentrated around Telipinu to form a group of agrarian deities³¹⁸. Deities of nature stood close to them; they are mentioned only generally in texts.

314 Cf. Haas 1994a:464ff.

315 Cf. respectively Haas 1970:99f., and Popko 1994:34.

316 Cf. Archi 1975c and McMahon 1991 (especially pp. 83ff.).

317 See Beckman 1983:238ff. (with references).

318 Laroche 1984.

Beginning in the Middle Hittite period, a new category of deities, namely demons, appears. Some of them are of foreign, mostly Babylonian origin. They occur almost exclusively in magical rituals.

The integration of the old and new, and the native and foreign components of Anatolian religious beliefs progressed steadily. Yet the proportions varied, conditioned by geographical and social factors. The Hurrian milieu had considerable influence in the capital and at the royal court; this fact explains the presence of many west Hurrian deities in the official pantheon created for the use of the royal office as well as in the pantheon of Hattuša.

As noted in the preceding chapter, the listing order of deities in official documents, such as state treaties, began forming in the Middle Hittite period and became a canon under the empire. The first part of a list comprises the sun-deities and storm-gods. The Sun-goddess of Arinna appears in first place as Queen of the land of the Hittites. The male Sun, King of Heaven, comes second, and only after him does Tešub accompanied by his sacred bulls Šeri and Hurri and the Syrian mountains Namni and Hazzi. Different storm-gods are mentioned next, including those from the most important administrative and cult centers, as far away as Haleb in Syria. Following them are various forms of protective deities and gods from different religious circles and traditions: Li/elwani, Ea with his wife Damkina, Telipinu from the cities of Tawiniya, Durmitta and Hanhana, the goddess Šauška, the mountain Aškašepa, Halki ('Grain'), the Moon paired with Išhara, a series of local forms of Hebat, war-gods, the major mother-goddesses from different cities, the mysterious nomadic gods Lulahi and Hapiri, 'Inferior Gods' (Hurrian Underworld deities of Mesopotamian origin), 'all the Hittite gods and goddesses', mountains and rivers, finally heaven and earth. All these deities were witnesses to the treaty; their list could be modified, but the changes were rather insignificant. In each particular document the deities of the other side in the treaty were included, usually before the 'Inferior Gods'³¹⁹.

This list reflects attempts at ordering a pantheon according to functional and geographical criteria. The presence of Hurrian deities is clear, and the effects of a religious syncretism are also apparent. Gods of different origin resembled each other in terms of character and function; in this situation, syncretism was unavoidable. The Sun-god now played a greater role than in the Middle Hittite period, in treaties particularly. The iconography of the god who sees everything was inspired by the Babylonian Šamaš, whose appearance was first transferred to the Hurrian Šimige. Just like the latter god, the Sun yielded in the cult to the pair of supreme deities of the state.

Another attempt at setting the pantheon in order is a prayer of Muwatalli II, in which the deities are arranged according to the place of their worship, i.e. according to the geographical criterion³²⁰. This list of gods enables us to recognize various local pantheons, which in most cases are not described anywhere else. Long lists of gods in certain rituals, mainly from the Hurrian realm, also deserve attention; they show an evident structural similarity to the lists of gods included in treaties.

The pantheon of the capital changed and became formalized³²¹. It is reconstructed on the basis of lists of deities to whom offerings and libations were made during cult ceremonies. The mysterious Taurit attested as early as the Old Hittite times appears in the first place, the Sun-goddess of Arinna came next, then her daughter Mezzulla, the Storm-god and his sons, the Storm-gods of Zippalanda and Nerik, the protective deities, the sacred mountain Hulla, Telipinu, the War-god, the 'Lucky Day', the mysterious GAL.ZU and minor deities. The list would change, but never in a major way.

The ancient gods of the Hattians and Palaites continued to be worshiped. Their lists have been reconstructed presumably on the grounds of older documents; although some modifications did occur, there is abundant evidence for a tendency to preserve the old tradition³²². The pair Eštan and Taru, i.e. the Sun-goddess and the Storm-god respectively, stood at the head of the Hattian gods. The goddess Tappinu (otherwise Mezzulla) comes next followed by the mountain Hulla, the Storm-god of Zippalanda named Ziplantiel at the time, Kamamma, Hapantali, Nerak (the storm-god of Nerik), [Ikappu, Wašhulili, the goddess Kattahha of Ankuwa, Telipinu, Ulza, the war-god Wurunkatte, Iyahšul with Ištarazzil and many other deities. A comparison of different lists indicates that Kammama was one of the protective gods not attested in Old and Middle Hittite texts³²³.

The concept of the pair Iyahšul-Ištarazzil, i.e. Heaven and Earth, was adopted from Hurrian tradition. In a variant of the list the name of Taparwašu occurs, i.e. presumably the Palaite Ziparwa. In another variant Kattahha is replaced with Kattelikamma, a protective deity of the king (usually written as D^LAMMA.LUGAL) who is a new figure in the pantheon. In yet another variant both Kattahha of Ankuwa and Kattahhi appear, although it is presumably one and the same goddess.

In the Palaite pantheon the supreme position goes to the storm-god Za/iparwa, followed by Kattahzipuri, the sun-god Tiya, the Ilaiyant

320 CTH 381, cf. Goetze, ANET:397f.; Garstang & Gurney 1959:116ff.

321 Laroche 1991a:221f.

322 Cf. Laroche 1973a:83ff.

323 Laroche 1973a:85.

319 Cf. Gurney 1977:14ff.; Laroche 1991a:218ff.

deities, *Hašamili*, the just mentioned protective god *Kamamma* with the epithet *hašawanza*, a mysterious deity called *Šaušha/il(l)a*, *Ḫilašši*, the deities of fate *Gulzannik(a)* and, finally, the deities called *Aššanuwant*.

The Kanesite pantheon which was discussed in the preceding chapter constituted a separate unit. *Pirwa* and the 'Queen' continued to dominate in it. It is unlikely that *Kaneš/Neša* itself was its seat, because in the Hittite period the town played only a minor role. *Pirwa*³²⁴ is mentioned in connection with various cities which have not been identified as yet, moreover, a particular type of temple called *ḫekur* (see below) was his cult place. The horse was his cult animal. Possibly, *Pirwa* and the Hurrian goddess *Pirinkir*, considered one of the forms of *Šauška*, were assimilated, and a similarity of names presumably helped in this. *Pirinkir* apparently also had some kind of connection with horses. It is noteworthy that in certain lists *Pirwa* is replaced by 'Ištar' and, consequently, in late texts this god becomes a goddess. There is no basis, however, to consider him an androgynous god.

The texts contain a large body of evidence concerning the pantheons of provincial cities. The local gods of areas inhabited by Luwians were discussed in the preceding chapter. In the cities of the heartland around the capital and to the north of it, storm-gods prevailed on the whole. They were sometimes replaced by local variants of *Telipinu* and other deities. In some cities the cult of ancient mother-goddesses survived, e.g. *Kataḫḫa* at *Ankuwa*, the 'Queen' at *Katapa*, *Ḫantitaššu* at *Ḫurma*, (A)mamma at *Taḫurpa* and *Ḫallara* at *Dunna*. At *Kaštama* a mountain-god called *Zaliyanu* was worshiped with his consort *Za(š)ḫapuna* and concubine *Tazzuwaši*. The gods of the so-called gods' cities will be discussed separately.

The regional Hurrian pantheons in the east and southeast underwent change. The cult of certain gods spread, like that of *Šarruma* who was included in the circle of gods from the Syrian town of *Ḫalab*. In the cities of eastern Anatolia a progressing integration of the ancient local gods and the new Hurrian ones is observable. This process is exemplified by the pantheon of *Šamuḫa*³²⁵. Listed alongside each other are the local mother-goddess *Abara* and the Hurrian *Šauška*. The Hurrian cult of the mysterious Goddess of the Night (one of the forms of *Šauška*?) was brought there from *Kizzuwatna* as early as Middle Hittite times³²⁶. Furthermore, in one of the prayers of *Muwatalli II Tešub* and *Ḫebat* of *Ḫalab* are mentioned as the gods of *Šamuḫa* along with the 'Mistress of the Sanctuary' (per-

324 Haas 1994b:79ff.

325 Lebrun 1976.

326 Kronasser 1963.

haps this is an epithet of the local *Šauška*). As we see, Hurrian deities clearly predominated there.

In the famous rock sanctuary of *Yazılıkaya* near *Boğazkale/Ḫattuša*, dated to the time of *Tuthaliya IV*, the structure of the pantheon is similar³²⁷. The reliefs in the main chamber represent two processions of gods and goddesses meeting at the central point. Beside each god his name is written in Hurrian using hieroglyphic signs; unfortunately, some of the inscriptions have been obliterated. On the wall facing the entrance one can see *Tešub* standing on two mountain-gods and *Ḫebat* with their son *Šarruma*, their daughter *Allanzu* and their granddaughter. *Šarruma* is additionally depicted twice as a bull with the legends respectively: 'Calf of *Tešub*' and 'Mountain of *Tešub*'³²⁸. The group of male deities includes *Tašmišu* who is the 'Brother of *Tešub*', *Kumarbi*, *Ea*, *Šauška* with *Ninatta* and *Kulitta*, the Moon, the Sun of Heaven, *Aštabi*, *LAMMA-ti*, i.e. presumably *Nubadi(g)*, *Pirinkir* and other gods. On the side of the female deities beside the ones already mentioned it is possible to identify *Taru* and *Takitu*, the goddesses of fate called *Hudena* *Hudellura*, *Allatu* who is the counterpart of the Hittite Sun-goddess of the Earth, *Nabarbi*, *Šaluš-Bitinḫi*, *Tapkina*, *Nik(k)al*, *Aya*, and again *Šauška*. This is essentially the Anatolian version of the Hurrian pantheon.

It has been possible to identify the names of many of the gods represented in rock reliefs and on other objects of art. There are cases, however, in which the identification remains a matter of doubt, just like the dating and provenance of the object itself. The stag rhyton in the Schimmel collection is a good example³²⁹. Depicted on it are two deities with birds, presumably falcons; one of the figures is shown standing on a stag. The hieroglyphic legends are hardly legible and of no help in identifying the deities, with the result that scholars studying these representations have reached very different conclusions³³⁰.

The gods of neighbors

The libraries of the empire period have provided rich evidence of Hittite contacts with the neighboring peoples. Sometimes the records even mention the names of foreign gods. The *Kaška* lived closest to the genuine Hittite lands. One of the treaties with this people refers in general to the gods of

327 Otten 1967; Laroche 1969a; Güterbock 1975b, 1982; Gurney 1977:19ff.

328 For the whole Storm-god group see Alexander 1993.

329 Muscarella 1974:133; Bittel 1976c.

330 See Alp 1983:93ff., 1988; Güterbock 1983a:217, 1989; van Loon 1985:32, 1990:9; Mayer-Opificius 1989.

the land of Kaška, the sky, earth, mountains and rivers as witnesses to the oath³³¹. In another treaty specific names are given, unfortunately, they are only partially preserved. Included among them is a war-god and storm-gods with the epithets *hanupteni*, *kutappapurruz[li]* and *pazim-x[]-iš*³³².

Nothing more is known of the Kaška gods. In a Middle Hittite prayer the Kaška people were accused of destruction of Hittite cult centers in the north, which was in contradiction with the common way of proceeding with gods of a seized city³³³. The accusation was probably tendentious.

Many as yet unresolved problems are connected with the geography of western Anatolia in Hittite times. One of the lands of this region which has not been identified yet is Wiluša. In a treaty of Muwatalli II with Alakšandu, king of Wiluša, only general terms are used in reference to gods of this land³³⁴, such as 'Storm-god of the Army of the Land of Wiluša' and the 'Goddess'. The exception is the god named Iappaliuna, whom some scholars identify with Apollo; were this correct, it would be the oldest mention of this great god of the Greeks whose origins are obscure.

Another western neighbor of the Hittites was the land of Ahhiyawa. Again its identity is a moot point, but the cumulative evidence would suggest that it may have been the state of the Achaeans in mainland Greece. Achaean settlement probably existed also in the western coasts of Anatolia, as indicated by the local pottery and burial customs which were proper to Mycenaean culture and different from Anatolian tradition. A text from the empire period alludes to ambassadors being sent to Ahhiyawa and Lazpa with the request to borrow the statues of local gods, which, according to an oracle, was the condition for a royal family member to recover from the illness³³⁵. Similar acts took place in other countries of the Near East; for example, the statue of Šauška of Nineveh twice travelled to Egypt with the intent that the goddess heal Amenhotep III. The location of Lazpa is not known; it is assumed that the name refers to the island of Lesbos.

To move now to eastern Anatolia, mention must be made of the land of Hayaša which was located somewhere on the Upper Euphrates; Šuppiluliuma I concluded a vassal treaty with this state before embarking on his Syrian expedition. In a copy of this document he records the names of the gods of Hayaša, but the relevant part of the text is badly damaged unfortunately; the only names which have been preserved in full are those

331 CTH 139 ii 12, von Schuler 1965a:78f, 110f.

332 KUB 23.77a(+) obv. 12ff., von Schuler 1965a:117.

333 CTH 375, cf. von Schuler 1965a:152ff.

334 CTH 76 iv 27ff., cf. Friedrich 1930:80f.

335 KUB 5.6 ii 57, 60; cf. Güterbock 1983b:134, with references.

of Tarumu, Terittuni, Unagašta and Baltaik³³⁶. According to another source, the dominant position in the pantheon of Hayaša was occupied by a god whose name was concealed under the U.GUR ideogram, thus he was a counterpart of the Babylonian and Hurrian Ner(i)gal and the Hittite Šulinkatte.

This review shows how little indeed we know of the culture and religious beliefs in the peripheral regions of Asia Minor.

Syncretism

The multitude of deities and their mutual similarities inevitably led to a religious syncretism. It has already been indicated how cuneiform writing exerted an influence upon the way in which the gods' character and function were conceived. This was one of the premises of syncretism; however, it was stimulated first of all by political considerations. The fusion of some gods into one was supposed to help different ethnic components of the Hittite society to assimilate. There is no saying, however, to what degree these theological speculations had an effect on popular belief. The conviction about the identity of certain deities may well have been restricted to just the upper class of society, perhaps even to the priests alone. The texts would indicate that, despite the efforts of theologians, each deity was still worshiped separately and in its own ethnic environment. This situation is especially observable in the provinces.

The phenomenon of syncretism is attested as early as the Old Hittite period. The storm-god Tarhuna was assimilated to the Hattian Taru, Halki ('Grain') to the Hattian Kait, etc. As regards later times, the interchangeability of certain divine names in the lists of gods in treaties and rituals can be considered a manifestation of syncretism. The phenomenon is to be discerned in reference to quite a number of gods, although it can be assumed that in some cases it was only an individual attempt at syncretism on the part of a scribe. The Hittite name was replaced with a Hurrian one, but sometimes one finds a Hittite form where a Hurrian one would rather be expected. An example of this exchangeability are the names of the Hurrian god Tašmišu and the Hittite Šuwaliyat³³⁷.

Syncretism indeed exceeded the borders of Asia Minor. For example, the goddess Halki, a counterpart of the Hattian Kait, was identified with the Hurrian Kumarbi; the latter in turn corresponds to the Babylonian Enlil, Semitic Dagan and Ugaritic El. At the same time there was a clear trend

336 CTH 43; Goetze 1957:135 fn. 12.

337 Güterbock 1961a.

toward a supersession of the old Anatolian deities. Their names apparently became the property of the new Hurrian gods and could be used instead of the Hurrian names. Lilwani, the great Hattian and Hittite god of the Underworld, is a good example; in the thirteenth century he became assimilated to the Hurrian goddess Allani and the Babylonian Ereškigal, who as early as the fifteenth century were identified in Asia Minor with the Sun-goddess of the Earth. Also the god Pirwa, as stated earlier, appears in later texts as a goddess in consequence of a similar process.

In some texts the idea of syncretism is expressed in a particularly distinct way. Such an example is provided by a prayer of Queen Puduḥepa in which she treats the Sun-goddess of Arinna and Ḫebat as one and the same deity worshiped under different names in the land of the Hittites and in Syria³³⁸. It should be remembered that Puduḥepa was a priestess and daughter of a high priest of the city of Lawazantiya³³⁹. Consequently, one wonders about the possible reaction of the other great cult centers where the ancient gods were worshiped, like the gods' cities of Arinna and Zippalanda; unfortunately, the surviving documents do not give an answer. It seems that in the latest phase of the empire period attempts were made to introduce the cult of Ḫebat – at Ankuwa, Zippalanda and Katapa; it is not clear, however, whether she appeared there as a separate deity or was identified with one of the local goddesses.

Syncretism was also manifested in the approach to each particular deity. Starting in the Middle Hittite period, prayers contain epithets of the gods which were unknown in the local tradition and phrases taken bodily from descriptions of statues in Babylonian temples, e.g. 'your beard is of lapis lazuli'³⁴⁰. The exquisite expressions of the prayers inspired by foreign patterns must have exerted a strong influence upon the local concepts of the gods, leading up, among others, to a sublimation of the god's nature. A bar to syncretism was the custom of using in the worship of a god the language of the people to whom this god had originally belonged. This principle was upheld at least in theory until the decline of the empire. In practice, on occasion deities of Hattian provenance were sung to in Hurrian; the misunderstanding may have been rooted in the fact that the priests responsible for the cult were either Luwians or Hurrians from southern Asia Minor, and they had no idea of northern traditions.

338 KUB 21.27 i 3ff., cf. Sörenhagen 1981:108f.

339 On this queen see Otten 1975.

340 As in a prayer to the Sun, CTH 372; cf. Güterbock 1958:237ff.

Mythology

Hittite myths arouse great interest and are well known in scholarly translations³⁴¹. Two major reasons for this interest are apparent. The first one is the fact that the genuinely Anatolian myths were an integral part of cult and magical rituals. To be sure, in other lands of the Near East myths also appear sporadically in similar contexts, but, as a rule, they have already lost their close relation with cult and magic, becoming literature instead. Hurrian myths preserved in Hittite translation in the libraries at Ḫattuša belong to this category. They provide valuable comparative material for studies on the origin of Greek cosmogonic and theogonic ideas, and this is the second reason why Hittite mythology evokes such interest.

Thus, the Anatolian myths set deeply in the realities of ritual are an exceptional phenomenon and a starting point for studies of links between myth and ritual as well as of the history of myth in antiquity. Their non-literary character manifests itself in the simplicity of the narrative and the sparing use of stylistic devices; in some of the myths not even adjectives are used. For this reason, the elites of the time, which were accustomed to the more flowery forms borrowed from Mesopotamia, presumably deemed the texts less literary, but, according to modern criteria, they deserve the better grade.

The simplest form of myth was a short enunciation included in the text of a ritual, sometimes interrupted by benedictions for the patient. Examples were cited in the chapter on the Old Hittite religion, but they can also be encountered in later texts, as in a fragment of a Hattian-Hittite bilingual: 'An apple tree stands over a spring and bleeds(?). The Sun-goddess of Arinna saw it, and covers it with her splendid garment'³⁴².

The discussion of the main myths of the magical rituals, namely stories of 'fixation' and 'release' of nature, as well as of the vanishing god myths was given in the preceding chapter. They have been a source of fascination to scholars for a long time. Some considered them, for instance, to be vegetation myths like the Babylonian story of Tammuz or the Syrian tale of Adonis, but the similarity is accidental. It has already been point-

341 For the latest translation into English see Hoffner 1990. Cf. also Güterbock 1961b; von Schuler 1965b; Goetze, ANET: 120ff.; Laroche 1969b; Hoffner 1975; Jakob-Rost 1977; Haas 1977, 1982; Kühne 1978; Mora 1979; Lebrun 1983; Bernabé 1987; Cornil 1988; Neu 1990; Pecchioli Daddi & Polvani 1990; McMahon 1992; Ünal 1994.

342 KUB 28.6 i-ii 10-13, cf. Friedrich 1932:5.

ed out that the myths of the 'fixation' and 'release' of nature occurred in rituals that had nothing to do with the calendar. The same concerns Anatolian myths of the disappearing god. They were an integral part of the ritual of entreaty, the aim of which was to reconcile the deity with the patient. As we have seen, various deities, even impersonal ones like the worshiped *kurša* object, could appear in the role of the vanishing god. Most of the surviving versions of the myth³⁴³, including the oldest one, give Telipinu as the main figure, but it does not necessarily mean that the Telipinu myth was archetypal for the whole group³⁴⁴. In the preserved versions of the ritual the patient is most frequently the king himself; this is, of course, due to the fact that the cuneiform texts discovered so far mostly belonged to royal libraries and concerned the affairs of the king and his family. In some cases it was the queen who was the patient and, on one occasion, a scribe of the name Pirwa. Another text of this kind found at Maşathöyük concerned presumably a citizen of the town³⁴⁵. Thus, the ritual of entreaty, in which the myth was included had a universal character. It served the one who requested it, be it an individual or a community.

The general structure of the vanishing god myths is discernible in evocations of the Storm-god of Nerik from the closing phase of the empire³⁴⁶. It is a kind of prayer combined with offerings that contains several secondary mythological themes, all focused on the addressee. The god is summoned from the bowels of the Dark Earth, where he is said to be visiting his mother, the Sun-goddess of the Earth. In its structure, the evocation only loosely recalls myths of the disappearing god; nor does it contain any spells of sympathetic magic which are characteristic of rituals of entreaty.

The story of the disappearance of the Sun, which was also part of a ritual, reveals some features of a seasonal myth³⁴⁷. A variety of gods occur in it, and their opponent is the mysterious *ḫahḫima* which has the ability to paralyze nature and everything that is alive. Some scholars have believed it to be Frost; if they are right, the myth would refer to natural winter phenomena. However, there is nothing to prove that this particular ritual was performed in winter.

In another myth the vanishing Sun is only mentioned. The hero is Telipinu who is sent by the Storm-god to the Great Sea to bring back the

Sun, but he also brings back a daughter of the Sea³⁴⁸. After some time the Great Sea demands from the Storm-god a bride-price for the daughter. On the advice of Ḫannaḫanna this demand is fulfilled. This myth, too, is accompanied by a ritual.

Myths of a different nature have also been preserved, yet always connected with ritual. One of them, attested in a bilingual Hattic-Hittite version, relates the story of the Moon that fell from Heaven³⁴⁹. The actors are the Storm-god, Ḫapantali and Kamrušepa; the Moon itself is completely passive. Unfortunately, the text is damaged and, consequently, unclear. The myth was part of a Hattian ritual celebrated by the 'Man of the Storm-god' in a situation 'when the Storm-god thunders frightfully'. Some constituents are of very late date, presumably introduced as an innovation with respect to the original course taken by the ritual. Yet the ritual itself and the related myth are apparently earlier than the times of the empire.

The myth about the struggle between the Storm-god and the Serpent, known also as the *Illuyanka Tale*³⁵⁰, belongs to the 'northern' tradition, more precisely to the cult in the gods' city of Nerik. The story was told by Kella, the priest of the Storm-god of Nerik. In the introduction, he described the circumstances in which the *purulli(ya)* festival was celebrated. The myth itself narrates how the Serpent vanquished the Storm-god and how with the help of another god or thanks to deceit the Storm-god gained advantage and slaughtered his opponent.

There are two versions of the story. In the first one, the Storm-god owed his ultimate victory to his daughter Inar(a). She obtained the help of a mortal called Ḫupašiya and hid him in her house; then she arranged a feast and invited the Serpent. He came with his sons. 'They ate and drank. They drank up all the vessels, so that they became drunk'. In this condition they could not hide in their burrows, thus Ḫupašiya could tie up the Serpent. The Storm-god then appeared and killed his opponent, 'and the gods were with him.' A collateral thread of the story concerns Ḫupašiya. The goddess settled him in a house built upon a rock in the land of Tarukka and instructed him: 'When I go out..., don't look out the window. If you look out, you will see your wife and children.' After twenty days Ḫupašiya looked out the window and saw his family. When Inar(a) returned, he besought her to let him return home. The text now is in a poor state of preservation, so much so that we do not know how the goddess reacted. Also a subsequent fragment, which seems to have explained the relation between the myth and the *purulli(ya)* festival, is

343 See Otten 1942.

344 Contra Kellerman 1986 and Haas 1994a:707.

345 Güterbock 1986a.

346 Haas 1970:140ff.

347 CTH 323; see Hoffner 1990:26ff.

348 CTH 322; see Hoffner 1990:25f.

349 Kammenhuber 1955; Hoffner 1990:33ff.

350 Beckman 1982; Hoffner 1990:10ff.

damaged beyond restoration, leaving us unaware of the exact nature of this connection.

In the second version the Serpent took away the Storm-god's heart and eyes. To retrieve them, the vanquished god acted alone. First he took as his wife a daughter of a certain poor man and had a son with her. When the son grew up, he married a daughter of the Serpent. As a pauper, he was to live with his wife's family. Before he went there, the Storm-god, his father, instructed him what he should do. Upon arriving at the house of his father-in-law, he demanded the heart and eyes of the Storm-god; he received them and gave them back to his father. Having gained his old appearance, the Storm-god sought to do battle once again. They fought on the sea shore. The son, who was now on the side of the Serpent, called to his father not to spare him, and the Storm-god killed them both.

The two versions are included in a kind of hymn to Zašḫapuna, the main goddess of Kaštama, who was worshiped at Nerik in the empire period. Scholars have devoted considerable attention to a discussion of the character of this 'hymn' and the myth itself and to an appraisal of the acting figures. Most of the debate has obviously referred to the legal and customary aspects, but there are more questions which still lack a satisfactory answer. First of all, why was the myth handed down in two versions? And how can it be dated? The copies come from the times after the reconquest of the northern lands and the recovery of Nerik, but, in linguistic terms, both versions display archaic features. Some scholars are inclined therefore to place the origin of the myth in the Old Hittite period, notwithstanding many late elements in the accompanying statements by Kella. It should be taken into consideration that Nerik remained outside the Hittite state for a long time. Ancient rituals and the related myths could have survived there, had the proper conditions only existed there, i.e. a continuity of cult. We do not know to what extent it could have been possible under the Kaška rule. It is not unlikely that the text may refer to the situation after Nerik was reconquered and may have something to do with the transfer of cults from Kaštama to Nerik.

Characteristically, certain details of the two versions of this myth have counterparts in some variants of the Typhon story³⁵¹. These variants were recorded by ancient authors originating from southern Asia Minor, and it was there that the Typhon myth was located most frequently; his cave was said to be somewhere near Corycus. The age of these legends is not known. Besides, there is no indication that the *Illuyanka Tale*, as recorded by Kella, is a synthesis of two traditions: the northern and the southern.

³⁵¹ Cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961:203ff., and recently Neu 1990:102ff., with bibliography.

The *Illuyanka Tale* is usually treated as a myth illustrating the cycle of seasons. This interpretation obviously affects any discussion of the *purulli(ya)* festival with which the myth was connected (see also below).

* * *

Hurrian myths are known exclusively on the basis of the cuneiform texts from Hattuša. Their corpus includes fragments in Hurrian - still hardly understood - and translations into Hittite³⁵². Besides, mythological themes appear as an integral part of Hurrian magical rituals, as was the case in the ritual against bloody crime mentioned earlier³⁵³. However, the majority of Hurrian tales of the gods are separate pieces of literature which are called songs by the scribes. These mature compositions are derived from a specific literary tradition. They are distinguished by elaborate artistic means of expression. What is particularly worthy of admiration is how easily the authors managed to obtain a dramatic effect using established stylistic schemes.

The linking figure of Hurrian myths is Kumarbi³⁵⁴, once the ruler of the world who was defeated and banished by Tešub. The myths take place in a fantasy land, but there are also realities borrowed from the geography of the Near East³⁵⁵. On the basis of toponymy and the names of gods it is possible to determine where a given tale came into existence. It is clear at first glance that the myths were composed mainly in Syria, and only a few refer to the lands north of Mesopotamia.

In the latter group there is a fragmentarily preserved myth of successive generations of gods struggling for domination over the earth³⁵⁶. The oldest generation is represented by Alalu; he was defeated by Anu, the Sky, who in turn lost to Kumarbi. Other gods, including Tešub, developed from Anu's semen swallowed by Kumarbi, partly in the god's insides and partly in the Earth. The birth of the later generation of gods and the role played in this process by Ea, the wise god, are the main subjects of the tale which, unfortunately, is replete with gaps.

Other texts inform that Tešub replaced Kumarbi on the throne; thus, the era of the domination of the heavenly gods began, and the primeval gods were banished to the Underworld. The myth justifies the multi-generation structure of the Hurrian pantheon and introduces the theme of a generation conflict. Subsequently, these elements were adopted by the

³⁵² Hoffner 1990:38ff.

³⁵³ CTH 446, cf. Otten 1961.

³⁵⁴ See Güterbock 1980-1983.

³⁵⁵ Cf. Haas 1980, 1982:130ff.

³⁵⁶ Cf. Hoffner 1990:40ff.

Western Semitic, Anatolian and Greek mythology. The discovery of similarities between the myth described here and Hesiod's *Theogony* turned out to be a revelation in the thirties³⁵⁷, showing the baselessness of the widely held belief in the originality and independence of Greek religion and mythology. Hesiod describes only three, not four, generations of the gods, but their representatives: Uranos, Kronos and Zeus, correspond to the Hurrian triad comprising Anu, Kumarbi and Tešub. Greek tradition also contains the theme of the castration of the Sky. In both myths the Earth is a mother.

The Hurrian myth was also well known to the Semitic population of Canaan as indicated by its echo in the *Phoinikika* by Philo of Byblos (first/second century A.D.) which survived but in excerpts in the work of bishop Eusebius of Caesarea (fifth century A.D.)³⁵⁸.

Philo mentions four generations of gods and records the names of their representatives; thus, his concept is closer to the Hurrian version rather than to the Greek one. The similarity between Philo's report and the *Theogony* was noticed early on, but Philo's work was generally considered a plagiarism. The discovery and publication of the Hurrian myth led to his rehabilitation.

In Greek mythology, the last scene of the Titanomachy, i.e. the struggle of the young gods against the ancient ones, describes a combat between Zeus and Typhon, son of Gaea. The story has been preserved in a number of variants. Some of them originate from the southern parts of Asia Minor and were mentioned while discussing the *Illuyanka Tale*. Others are based on Hurrian and Syrian archetypes connected with the Kumarbi Cycle. They speak of the intrigues of Kumarbi, 'Father of the Gods', who failed to accept defeat and did his utmost to recover rule. That is why every now and again he raised up someone to supplant Tešub as king of the gods.

Ullikummi was such creation. The *Song of Ullikummi*³⁵⁹ which relates his story is a long literary piece, preserved only fragmentarily. In order to create an opponent for Tešub Kumarbi has sexual intercourse with a Great Rock. Then he allies himself with the Sea. Soon Ullikummi is born. The goddesses of fate Hūdēna Hūdellura who help at birth bring the child to Kumarbi, he nurses it and gives it a name. On this occasion the god reveals his plans: 'Let him go up to heaven to kingship... Let him strike Tešub. Let him chop him up fine like chaff. Let him grind him under foot like an ant... Let him scatter all the gods down from the sky like flour. Let him smash them like empty bowls!'

357 See Forrer 1936, Dornseiff 1937.

358 Attridge & Oden 1981; Baumgarten 1981.

359 Güterbock 1952; Hoffner 1990:52ff.

But first it is necessary to conceal the child from the heavenly gods. Impaluri, the vizier of the Sea, summons the underground deities Irširra, who bring Ullikummi in the Underworld and place him on the right shoulder of the giant Ubelluri. Before that they show the child to Enlil, and he perceives that its body is of basalt.

Ullikummi grows quickly and soon starts to surface from the sea. He looks like a constantly growing basalt monster. The Sun-god notices him and grows worried. He goes to Tešub and tells him what he saw. Tešub and his brother Tašmišu set out for the sea, taking along Šauška, their sister. They stand on the Hazzi mountain and look at the monster. Tešub is scared. He sits on the ground, 'his tears flowed like stream'. Šauška tries to soothe his fear, then she adorns herself, goes to the seaside and sings to the monster in order to seduce him. But a Great Wave convinces her that her efforts are to no avail: 'He is deaf; he cannot hear. He is blind; he cannot see. He has no compassion...'

Tešub and Tašmišu prepare for battle while Ullikummi continues to grow all the time. The war-god Aštapi and the other gods cannot defeat him. Ullikummi stands at the gates of Kummiya, Tešub's city. Hebat is worried with no news from her consort and sends for him. Tešub sends Tašmišu to her. When he returns they both meet in council as to what can be done. They conceive the idea of seeking help from Ea, the god of wisdom, who is a benevolent advisor of the heavenly gods in this story as well.

Ea goes to the Underworld and visits Enlil who in turn sends him to Ubelluri. A conversation ensues with the giant who answers the questions of the Lord of Wisdom: 'When they built heaven and earth upon me, I was aware of nothing. And when they came and cut heaven and earth apart with a *kuruzzi*, I was even unaware of that. But now something makes my right shoulder hurt, and I don't know who this god is'. Ea looks at Ubelluri's shoulder and finds the basalt monster there. He summons the Primeval Gods to bring the tools which had once served to cut apart heaven and earth; they are now to cut off Ullikummi. The monster has lost its power, and Ea passes the news on to Tašmišu. The heavenly gods are ready to give battle again. Ullikummi speaks to Tešub, but the tablet is damaged here, and the text ends altogether a few lines later.

As already pointed out, this long tale is a translation from Hurrian. The original presumably had a metrical structure. The Hittite version reflects the poetical qualities to some extent, the translator obviously having made an effort to retain the metrum and even to introduce a morphological rhyme in places. Certain realities mentioned in the myth indicate the place of its origin. The personified Sea who is an ally of Kumarbi is the Mediterranean Sea. Standing there Ullikummi is visible from the

Ḥazzi mountain which is the classical Casius Mons, today the Jabal al-Akra on the Syrian-Turkish border. Ugaritic myths located the seat of Ba'al on the summit of this mountain. In the religious texts Ḥazzi appears together with Namni (Amanus) among Tešub's attendants. This would indicate that the myth came into being at a relatively late date, only after the Hurrians had settled in Syria. It is thus one of the chronologically youngest compositions of the Kumarbi Cycle. The basalt monster which threatens the heavenly gods appears at about the same moment as Typhon, Gaea's son, in Greek mythology. But Ullikummi does not resemble Typhon. The author achieved a thrilling effect by drawing an image of a figure totally different from any living creature; Ullikummi acts in a strange manner, it is like an unknown elemental force which one cannot even think to oppose.

The actors of the myth include the gods and personified elements of nature. Kumarbi begets the monster with the Rock, the Sea holds a feast, a Sea Wave speaks to Šauška when she tries to seduce Ullikummi. The world of the gods resembles an earthly kingdom with its formalized customs. When the Sun-god comes to his seat, Tešub has a table laid for the guest: 'let them set up a chair for him to sit in; let them lay a table for him to eat from'. But the Sun is too shaken to partake of a feast and immediately launches into a description of what he had seen. Preparations for the feast and the opening dialogue seem to slow down the action but are actually calculated to increase the dramatic suspense. This method is also used in other compositions of the Kumarbi Cycle.

Another opponent of Tešub, the giant serpent Ḥedammu resembles Typhon more closely³⁶⁰. He, too, was begotten by Kumarbi. His mother was Šertapšuruhi, daughter of the Sea, a mysterious being of exceptional size. Ḥedammu lived in the sea and developed very quickly, devouring thousands of animals and ravaging the region. Šauška is the first to notice the destruction. Seeing the monster emerge, she is stricken with terror and escapes to heaven with the words: 'I am afraid of snakes'. The next scene recalls the just discussed passage of the *Song of Ullikummi*. The gods wish to prepare a suitable reception for the 'Queen of Nineveh', but she is too terrified: 'They set up a chair for her to sit in, but she didn't sit down in it. They decked a table for her to eat at, but she didn't reach out to it. They gave her a cup, but the Queen of Nineveh didn't put her lip to it'. In an atmosphere of suspense, she tells what she saw. The news scares the listeners. Tešub is terrified, 'his tears flow forth like streams'.

In the next fragment Ea tries to persuade Kumarbi and his associates to forgo their plans: 'Why are you destroying mankind?... If you destroy

360 See Siegelová 1971:35ff., Hoffner 1990:48ff.

mankind, they will no longer worship the gods. No one will offer bread or libations to you any longer. Even Tešub, Kummiya's brave king, will himself grasp the plow. Even Šauška and Ḥebat will themselves grind at the millstones'. In this way Kumarbi learns that Ea is against his plans. Šauška appears again. Disregarding the consequences, she tries to seduce Ḥedammu: 'She washed herself... She anointed herself with perfumed oil. She adorned herself...' Her maidservants Ninatta and Kulitta accompany her with musical instruments. Upon seeing the naked goddess Ḥedammu takes an interest in her. A dialogue ensues, but again the text is severely damaged. Šauška tries to decoy the serpent out of the sea and finally she succeeds. The text then breaks off.

It can be assumed that Šauška was acting in agreement with Tešub. It would have been easier to defeat Ḥedammu on dry land, and it was her task to decoy him out of the sea. In general terms the myth of Ḥedammu resembles other ancient tales about water monsters, which could be defeated only with great effort and by a trick. These monsters include Tiamat of the Babylonian epic *Enuma-Eliš*, the Biblical Leviathan, and Yam of the Ugaritic myths. The last mentioned seems to have the most in common with Ḥedammu. In a version of the myth found in Egypt, Yam demands that the gods pay him regular tribute. The gods send Aštarte (the western Semitic counterpart of Šauška) to the coast; she sings to the monster and engages him in conversation. Similar stories were told in all the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean, and some of them were adopted into Greek tradition.

Successive myths of the Kumarbi Cycle are so badly preserved that the course of events and their sense are not clear. In one story a god whose name is concealed under the LAMMA sign appears as the ruler of the world³⁶¹. He owes his position to the support of Ea and Kumarbi, but he is reckless and commits many errors. When he also becomes arrogant towards the gods, he loses their protection. In the *Song of Silver*³⁶², the hero is Kumarbi's son. Having conquered the world he threatens the Sun and the Moon; they plead with him not to kill them, for should he do that, he would rule the world hidden in darkness.

Fragments of other Hurrian myths have survived in Hittite translations. Some of them were apparently created in Hurrian centers in Syria. The mountains Wašitta and Pišaiša were the heroes of these myths. Tales with the participation of mortals and deities are stories with a moral, which is stated at the beginning of the text. One of them tells the story of Appu and his two sons, Right and Wrong³⁶³. The action of the story develops

361 Güterbock 1961b:161ff.; Hoffner 1990:43ff.

362 Hoffner 1988, 1990:45ff.

363 Siegelová 1971; Hoffner 1990:63ff.

around the quarrel between the sons of Appu; unfortunately, the text has been preserved only in fragments. The theme of another composition is the romance of the Sun with a cow; the fruit of this affair was a child whom a fisherman undertook to bring up. Both stories have many elements in common, and it cannot be excluded that they belonged to the same composition. Still other tales, such as the story of Kešši or that of Gurparanzaḫ, seem to concern mortals.

One should add that the Hittites and Hurrians were well acquainted with the *Gilgamesh Epos*, a remarkable literary work which enjoyed popularity throughout the ancient Near East³⁶⁴. The Hittite fragments which have so far been discovered correspond to the contents of the first book of the later version from Nineveh. The hardly intelligible excerpts in Hurrian are parts of a number of separate stories to judge by the colophons. The main hero of one of these tales is the mythical monster Huwawa, a guardian of the Land of the Cedars. It seems that in comparison with the Sumerian and Babylonian versions, this episode is much more developed. It can be assumed that the special interest the story of Huwawa held for the Hurrians in Syria was given expression in the Hurrian version of the tale. As regards the remaining fragments, at least the ones that are understandable, they all depart from Mesopotamian archetypes.

The Canaanite myths, as attested in Hittite translations found among the documents from Hattuša, are connected with northern Syria. Western Semitic deities are the actors of these compositions. In the best preserved tale, Ašertu, the wife of Elkunirša, attempts to seduce Ba'al³⁶⁵. The Storm-god reveals everything to her husband and insults her on his inspiration. Thirsting revenge, Ašertu regains the favor of her husband who then lets her do whatever she likes with Ba'al. The goddess Anat now comes on the scene. Having overheard the conversation between Elkunirša and Ašertu, she warns Ba'al. Here the text breaks off. Elkunirša is the Hittitized form of the Semitic phrase 'El Creator of the Earth'. Both he and the other gods of this tale are known from texts discovered in the Syrian town of Ugarit, but the tale itself has no analogy in Ugaritic mythology.

The Hittite and Hurrian tales of the gods correlate either by theme or by origin with the mythological motifs encountered in other lands of the Near East, also in Egypt and Greece. A knowledge of them is of great help in understanding of Greek mythology which, in turn, exerted a strong influence upon the European cultural tradition.

³⁶⁴ See Otten 1958a, 1960; Kammenhuber 1967; Wilhelm 1988.

³⁶⁵ Otten 1953; Hoffner 1965, 1990:69f.

Cosmogony

The myths and enunciations included in rituals provide sufficient evidence to reconstruct at last in part the views on the origin and structure of the world³⁶⁶. The oldest texts do not contain any explicit assumptions on the subject. In an Old Hittite magical ritual³⁶⁷ we find the following wish: 'Just as the Sun and the Storm-god, heaven and earth are everlasting, so let the king, queen and the children be everlasting!' The formula refers to the present state of the world. We do not know, however, what beliefs were current then concerning the remote past. Not much light is shed on the matter by a statement which is in any case of later date; it is said there that the gods assumed authority over the world and divided it among themselves. This would indicate that the world came into existence before then; nonetheless, the described situation may also be connected with one of the concepts of creating the world in stages, which are characteristic of Mesopotamian cosmogony.

Mesopotamian views on the origin of the world reached Asia Minor in the Middle Hittite period at the latest. From this time on people were firmly convinced that the world was constructed. The consistent belief imagined it as a great building with four corners, set upon the earth as the foundations and with the sky as the roof. Words by Ubelluri quoted above in the discussion of the *Song of Ullikummi* contain an allusion to the creation act of the world ('When they built heaven and earth upon me...'). This giant who stayed in the Underworld was to support this world on his shoulders, as did Atlas in Greek mythology, clearly being derived from an Oriental tradition. The same enunciation reveals that the sky was later divided from the earth. The idea of division is connected with the concept of putting the world in order; both can be found in various cosmogonies of the ancient Near East formed to a large extent under Mesopotamian influence.

Presumably only after introducing order to the world did the gods actually assume authority over it: 'Taking heaven and the earth, the gods divided. The upper gods took heaven, the lower gods took the earth and the Underworld. Each took his own...'³⁶⁸.

It is noteworthy that here the gods are not divided into the Primeval Gods and the later ones, and there is no talk of the expulsion of the

³⁶⁶ Cf. also Haas 1994a:106ff.

³⁶⁷ CTH 416; Otten & Souček 1969.

³⁶⁸ Otten & Siegelová 1970:32ff.

Primeval Gods to the Underworld. Thus, this concept is diametrically different from the Hurrian myth about the struggle between generations of gods for control over the world. But it is hardly enough to assume on this ground that the Anatolian theogonic concept widely differed from the Hurrian one.

There is nothing to suggest that the Mesopotamian idea of the sky being divided into zones was known in Asia Minor. As for the Underworld, many more statements treat its structure³⁶⁹. The Mesopotamian vision of the 'Land of No Return' was associated, we shall recall, with a dark desert and the all-pervading dust that floats above it. Anatolian ideas are quite different. According to them, there were the seas and rivers in the Underworld. An evocation of the Storm-god of Nerik mentions nine underground seas and Nakkiliyata, the Noble River. Also Maraššanta (the Halys of the ancients) was considered a river of the Underworld. In another text offerings are presented to the nine underground rivers.

Caves and springs gave access to the Underworld. In rituals belonging to Hurrian tradition a simple pit dug in the ground, preferably close to a river, served the same purpose. Inside the depths of the earth the bronze *palhi*-vessels stood, with their lids of lead and latches of iron. The performers of magical rituals directed impurity taken from a patient to these pots, thus condemning it to neverending isolation. Apparently, these vessels are archetypes of Pandora's box of the Greek myth³⁷⁰. One could say that Pandora's box was filled by the performers of Anatolian rituals. The motif finds analogies in various ancient stories, not to mention the Arabian *Tales of the Thousand and One Nights*.

In Hurrian mythology, the palace of Allani, the deity identified with the Anatolian Sun-goddess of the Earth, was located in the Underworld. It was on her order that the gatekeeper opened the seven doors closed with seven bars that protected this land. No one but she could let out the underworld deities that were summoned in various magical rituals³⁷¹.

As we see, the Anatolian Underworld is very similar to that which is known from Greek myths. Underground rivers flowed there, too, and access to Hades was through lonesome places, such as caves on the seacoast. The landscapes of Asia Minor and Greece resemble each other in many parts. A strong erosion of bedrock, underground voids and streams must have influenced the concepts concerning the structure of the inside of the earth. Ancient beliefs were originally expressed in myths and later developed in

369 Cf. also Haas 1976; del Monte 1987.

370 See already Riemschneider 1960:33f. and Hoffner 1968:65f.

371 Cf. Otten 1961:121, and Neu 1988:15f., 25.

the works of Greek and Latin authors: Aristotle, Theophrastus and Lucretius.

It should be added that the Hittite texts are silent on the issue of man's creation, contrary to a number of well-known ancient tales on the subject.

God and man

The myths reveal how the ancient peoples of Anatolia imagined their gods³⁷². Human imagination molded the world of the gods to reflect an earthly kingdom, transferring to it the value system that was in force among the mortals. The Storm-god as the king of heaven ruled over the state of gods, as did the king on earth. Other deities, their families and groups were put in order according to principles of hierarchy. The gods were invisible and immortal, but in other respects quite similar to human beings: 'Is the disposition of men and of the gods at all different? No, ... but (their) disposition is quite the same'³⁷³. They were just as emotional as the mortals, which is attested on many occasions in the myths. They also had similar needs.

According to Sumerian mythology, the gods were equipped with various ME capacities to act in different fields, which were conceived as material beings with a divine nature³⁷⁴. Consequently, each god was capable of fulfilling specific duties in a strictly defined sphere of his activity. In Babylonian religion the concept of the ME became obliterated; the only traces to remain were the ideas of *melammu* 'Radiance' and *puluhtu* 'Fear', but they were now regarded as just general features of any god. An echo of these beliefs is the idea of God's grace in Christianity and the aureole round or about the heads in representations of God, Christ and the saints. Concerning Hittite literature, these Babylonian notions appear mostly in prayers and rituals of foreign origin; *naḥšaratt* 'Fear' and *weritema* 'Terror', divine beings which accompanied the Anatolian main gods from the Middle Hittite period onward³⁷⁵, may possibly be derivatives.

The transfer of the earthly order to the sphere of religion connotes that the gods were the lords and humans were there to serve them. The gods protect man, but they are not bound to do so and sometimes leave man to his own fate. Man satisfies the needs of the gods and shows his respect. Man deserves punishment just like a bad servant, if he fails to fill his

372 Cf. Steiner 1957-1971; Haas 1994a:294ff.

373 KUB 13.4 i 21f., cf. Sturtevant & Bechtel 1952:148f.

374 See Oberhuber 1963; Cassin 1968; Cavigneaux 1978.

375 As in a hymn to the Sun, CTH 372 i 59ff., cf. Güterbock 1958:239.

duties. His family is also responsible for his misdeeds, as are the generations to come³⁷⁶.

Sin was considered an inherent quality of human nature, but it was conceived as a breach of the laws established by the gods, which should not be mistaken for moral standards. The rationality of Hittite religion has been remarked for a long time. Man's attitude toward the gods was defined not in categories of emotion (e.g., fear in Babylonian religion) but in categories of the law³⁷⁷. The god was the lord, but he was also a just judge. Under certain circumstances, for instance, in connection with a declaration of war³⁷⁸, the concept of divine judgement appears. It was possible to present one's arguments, and situations of this kind are frequently encountered in the prayers. In fact, one could try to argue the gods out of their actions, proving their shortsightedness or even contradictory behavior. Thus, in the times of the great pestilence King Muršili II warned the gods that if they did not reverse fate, the people responsible for offerings would die, with the result that the gods would suffer as well. As we have seen, a similar argument was used by Ea in the myth of Hedammu.

Prayer was the form used to present requests and arguments to the gods³⁷⁹. Its development in the Middle Hittite period has been discussed in the preceding chapter. Under the empire, brief requests on behalf of specific persons continued to appear, but the more complex forms prevailed, often being modelled on Babylonian prayers. Sometimes the circumstances connected with a prayer were described in detail, and argumentation was very rational indeed; it included promises of larger and more frequent offerings, at times in official oath form. An example are the prayers of Queen Puduhepa for her husband's recovery³⁸⁰. They show how many costly objects, ornaments, etc. became in this way the property of the temples. Sometimes a lesser deity was requested to act as a mediator between the supplicant and the god insulted by him, assuming of course that there was an affinity between both gods. The help of a mediator was absolutely necessary when it was not known who the insulted god was. The common addressee of prayers in such cases was the Sun who saw everything and knew all the gods.

Praise to the god was an important component of any prayer. The hymns as a separate category of compositions were inspired by Meso-

potamian religious literature and are distinguished for their language³⁸¹. Phrases and even whole excerpts were translated from Akkadian. Included in the Hittite text, they imbued it with features of Babylonian religious lyrics. Hittite authors were at a loss to render the richness of foreign poetic forms, the meaning of various epithets and the subtle metaphors. The last were sometimes used incorrectly, as indicated by the phrase of a prayer to the Storm-god *piḥaššašši*: 'So, Sun-god (sic!) *piḥaššašši*, my lord, beam upon me like the full moon, and shine above me like the sun in the sky!³⁸².

Mesopotamian influence also meant a withdrawal from cool rationalism. In hymns which express an unselfish love of the god growing emphasis is placed on emotions. When combined with the extended role of the god, it had to lead to the sublimation of the god's essence, at least among the people connected with the temple. Among the elements borrowed from Mesopotamia in the Middle Hittite period was the negative confession, as stated in the preceding chapter. This listing of sins should be treated as indicative that a system of moral standards conceived now as divine laws was becoming widespread in Asia Minor.

Under certain circumstances man and god were connected by closer ties than usual, which explains the notion of a personal deity³⁸³. It is frequently encountered in the texts of the Assyrian colonies period, but is also recorded later on. It could have been a single deity or a group of gods. The personal gods of Hittite kings are relatively well known. For Muwatalli II it was the Storm-god *piḥaššašši* 'of the Lightning' worshiped at Tarḫuntašša, the town to which the king transferred the capital from Ḫattuša. The patron deity of Ḫattušili III was Šauška of Šamuḫa, and that of Tuthaliya IV Šarruma. Ḫattušili III refers to Šauška in his *Apology*³⁸⁴, he emphasizes the role she played in his career and in the coup d'état which brought him to power. According to his words, the goddess is responsible for the events which then took place. Hardly surprising then that the king felt obliged to treat Šauška of Šamuḫa with special reverence and to raise her above the other gods: 'In the future let the son of My Majesty, his grandson and the descendants of My Majesty hold in reverence Šauška most of all the gods'. The document is an extremely valuable source for the study of the genesis of henotheism and is still insufficiently taken advantage of. The relation between Ḫattušili III and

376 KUB 13.4 i 34ff., cf. Sturtevant & Bechtel 1952:148f.

377 Gurney 1940:9; Laroche 1964-1965:17.

378 See recently van den Hout 1991-1992a, with bibliography.

379 See Lebrun 1980 and recently Ünal 1991a, with references.

380 de Roos 1984.

381 Güterbock 1958, 1978.

382 CTH 381 iii 67ff., cf. Goetze, ANET:398.

383 See also Vorländer 1975:121-137.

384 Otten 1981; Otten & Kümmel 1985.

his patron deity can be considered an analogy to the Hebrew Covenant, which provided the basis for henotheism in the times of Moses.

The world of gods was separated from that of humans by an invisible border. The gods could hear man's request but they remained out of his reach. Nevertheless, efforts were made to develop closer ties. The god could personally give information to a man – in a dream or through the medium of an enthusiast or using special signs³⁸⁵. Mentions of theophany, that is the god's appearance, are limited to mythological situations. Much more frequently the deity appeared to man during his sleep; numerous records of such dreams have survived³⁸⁶. The god could reveal his will, give advice, demand offerings. Most descriptions put special emphasis on the god's words. Less frequently notice was taken of the god's outward appearance or, more specifically, of the deviations from the generally accepted iconographic type. Third parties, either known persons or strangers, could also play a role in dreams, acting as the god's messengers.

The records under study concern the king's or queen's dreams and they always contain information about the decision taken in consequence, for it was important to record not so much what the king had dreamed as how much and what kind of offerings were given to a temple. Episodes in which a deity appears in a dream occur also in political documents, such as the mentioned *Apology* of Hattušili III. This kind of dream should be distinguished from the prophetic, symbolic dream which is so characteristic of the culture of the ancient Semitic peoples, but was a rarity in Asia Minor and in Greece. Among the texts from Hattuša there are only small fragments of predictions based on the symbols seen in dreams, all inspired by the Mesopotamian tradition.

Incubation was applied in order to induce a meeting with a god during the patient's sleep by way of acting on the patient's imagination³⁸⁷. A priest could undergo incubation on request and later relate to the patient the god's message. Also enthusiasts, perhaps prophets in a state of inspiration, served as mediators in making contact with the gods. As late as Christian times numerous 'inspired' people were to be found in Asia Minor; they kept close to the churches, and the local communities respected them with a dose of fear. Even today, picturesque figures of the kind can be encountered near the mosques and tombs of Moslem saints.

385 Cf. the prayer of Kantuzzili, KUB 30.10 obv. 24ff. (Goetze, ANET:400f.), and the Second Plague Prayer of Muršili II, § 2, l. 5, and § 11, l. 3 (Götze 1930: 206ff., 218f.).

386 Oppenheim 1956:254f.; de Roos 1984; van den Hout 1994.

387 Cf. Kammenhuber 1976-1980b.

Divination

The interpretation of symbols seen in dreams was part of the art of divination which was, apart from magic, the most important field of knowledge (in the ancient sense of the word, of course) in the entire Near East. Both magic and divination were based on the same premises: the conviction that the universe is homogeneous and that all the beings are in mutual relation with each other. Theoretically, divination knows no limits; in practice, it was reduced to examining a god's will. Natural omens were interpreted, i.e. dream symbols, lightning, the appearance of a specific kind of bird, accidental meeting, etc., on the other hand signs from the gods were induced by a variety of means.

The explanation of such signs required skilled interpreters. Very early different professions were established, based on a given way of divining. The Anatolian 'Old Woman', augur and prophet belonged to the intellectual elites of their times, for the art of divination was considered extremely important for the proper operation of society. Their talents manifested themselves also in other fields, for example, they were the authors of hymns, prayers and myths incorporated in the rituals, and thus precursors of poetry.

Divination texts make up a considerable part of the cuneiform literature from Hattuša³⁸⁸. They may be classified in two groups of which the first comprises theoretical works: prophecies on the basis of eclipses and other apparent deformations of the moon and the sun, by the position of the stars and planets, accidental meetings, physiological phenomena, and the strange appearance of a fetus, then oil divination, lists of good and evil days, clay liver models and their interpretation, ornithomancy, etc. This 'scientific' literature was mostly translated from Akkadian and provides evidence of the special position of Babylonian culture and its influence in neighboring lands. The second group of texts concerns the practice of divination. It comprises descriptions of all kinds of divinations – establishing the truth through an oracle, records of symbol oracles, interpretation of the entrails of sacrificial animals, behavior of birds, or 'snakes' in a basin of water, etc. These texts are usually connected with the plans of the king and his family, the life of the court and the temple. Their language is sparing and simplified, the writing itself hasty and full of graphic abbreviations.

388 Kammenhuber 1976b; Bin-Nun 1979; Gurney 1981; Archi 1987, 1991.

From the viewpoint of magic, an omen is an expression of magical force, which changes the habitual course of events. The ancients narrowed the original meaning of the word, considering it exclusively a divine sign; thus it came to the transition from magical to religious ideas in this field.

Among many natural signs passed on voluntarily by the gods, lightning and thunder are distinguished as omens attributed to the Storm-god. They are recorded in a number of religious and historical texts. The thunderbolt frequently appears as a sign and, at the same time, an instrument in the hands of the god. For instance, King Muršili II describes in a magical text how he lost the ability to speak as a result of shock following a crash of thunder; only an appropriate ritual could remove the aphasia³⁸⁹. A certain group of texts called 'tablets of thunder' has already been discussed in reference to the Old Hittite period. We shall recall that these tablets described what the king was obliged to do in case of a thunder clap under specific circumstances. Asia Minor was the only land of the Near East where thunder and lightning were considered an omen. There was even a set of predictions on the basis of thunder – a brontosopic calendar. Such collections enjoyed immense popularity until Byzantine times. In Etruscan culture, the interpretation of thunder and lightning, the *libri fulgurales*, was part of the famous *disciplina Etrusca*, a religious and magical knowledge underlying the Romans' own divination practices. It is believed that both in Greece and Italy this particular kind of divination was inspired to a large extent by Oriental patterns.

Divination and prediction on the basis of astral signs had their beginnings in Mesopotamia presumably in the second millennium. Observations of the sky were made over a calendar year; a longer cycle was introduced only in the first millennium, leading in consequence to the development of astrology, or the art of setting horoscopes. Babylonian sets of auguries of this kind became common among diviners in other lands. A part of this literature survived at Hattuša in Akkadian and Hittite. All the predictions follow a simple composition: If at such and such a time this and this kind of astral sign appears, then this and this will take place.

Inhabitants of Mesopotamia divided their days into good and bad ones. Lists of such days, called hemerologies, have been preserved in Hittite libraries. Particular importance was ascribed to predictions on the basis of the exact date of birth; later this was combined with observation of astral signs in order to establish the basis for horoscopes. The unusual appearance of a fetus generated great interest; apart from Mesopotamia, prediction on this basis is attested at Hattuša and Ugarit. Another group includes situational presages when the foretelling is based on a person's appear-

389 CTH 486, cf. Lebrun 1985, with references.

ance, a meeting with someone of untypical physiognomy, physiological signs during sleep, etc. They come from the Babylonian collection *If a town*, of which extensive fragments have been preserved at Hattuša.

Augury, that is observation of birds and foretelling by omens in their behavior was known throughout the Near East, but in Syria and Asia Minor it enjoyed particular popularity³⁹⁰. According to the Hittite Laws, the augur received 25 shekels of silver for his work, and this was no mean sum. The arcana of this profession have not been wholly revealed. The augur observed the behavior of birds, their flight patterns and spots where they perched, how they caught food, etc.; he also listened to the sound of birds' voices. It is not clear which particular signs were considered fortunate and which were not. There is nothing to indicate that the field of observation was limited, as was the case with Roman augury. Possibly, a river could in some way divide this field seeing that observations were usually made close to it. In various texts, not only the ones concerning divination, the term 'bad birds' appears. It is a brachylogy from 'birds portending misfortunes by their behavior'. A popular bird used in ornithomancy was the *hurri* bird, presumably some kind of domestic fowl. The respective texts are limited to the condensed statement: '*hurri* bird – result auspicious (or inauspicious)'. It can be assumed that the result depended upon whether the bird pecked at the corn thrown to it or not, in similarity to later Greek and Roman practices. It was common to use two *hurri* birds every time.

Signs supplied in the entrails of sacrificial animals, most often a sheep, were obtained by entreaty from the gods. Hepatoscopy and extispicy were born in Mesopotamia, where they were originally considered the secret knowledge. As already mentioned, the Hurrians were intermediaries in spreading it to Asia Minor. Clay models of liver, lungs and entrails were helpful in reading animal bowels. Many of them were discovered at Hattuša; since liver models predominate in this category of finds, it can be assumed that hepatoscopy was preferred to all other forms³⁹¹. The parts of models used in divination are marked in drawing or rendered in relief, and sometimes explanations in cuneiform writing are included.

The models can be classified by functions in three groups: school models, training objects and archival records, the last having been collected presumably in the hope that later events would confirm the prediction. The training models have just a few zones marked along with explanations. Sometimes, they also bear simple questions expressed in plastic terms. Concerning the school models, several dozen zones of augury can

390 Archi 1975d; cf. also McEwan 1981:61ff.

391 Güterbock 1987; cf. also Biggs 1980-1983, Meyer 1980-1983.

be identified on the two sides of the liver. Each side was additionally divided into two main areas: the right one which was friendly and the left one which was not. The signs could be good or bad. A good sign appearing on the right side was auspicious. This would suggest that a bad sign on the left side could also be regarded as a favorable presage.

A certain group of texts is connected with a peculiar divination technique whose secrets have not been penetrated satisfactorily as yet³⁹². Until recently, this technique was called lot oracles, but lately the more appropriate term – symbol oracles – has been suggested³⁹³. It was presumably a kind of game using figures and symbols. The figures represented familiar and unfamiliar persons, and the symbols stood for concrete and abstract ideas of a positive and negative meaning. The figures seem to have been active during the whole process of divination, but the factors in their activity remain unknown. It is also not known what the results of the augury depended upon. Symbol oracles were presumably the specialty of the 'Old Woman'. According to the texts, each oracle took much time with just one stage of the divination lasting a day.

A variant of symbol oracles is divination by omens from the behavior of 'snakes', as the texts call these mysterious swimming creatures³⁹⁴. A basin of water was required with hiding-places set at different heights on the sides; some parts of the pool were also marked. These hiding-places and spots had conventional names, e.g. Fireplace, Palace, Arms. The 'snakes' were given the names of persons who ordered the divination. They moved around in the water, and their routes were observed and recorded. But again there is no proof to indicate what kind of signs decided the results of the augury.

Divination played a very important role in the life of the people. Descriptions of oracles which are frequently added to political documents shed new light on events that are already familiar to us. Many questions concern life at the court, gossip, corruption, a break in cult duties, etc.³⁹⁵ Different kinds of divination techniques were usually combined in one session, during which a whole series of questions were asked of the gods. These questions were posed in a set sequence and were phrased in such a way as to receive a 'Yes' or 'No' answer. It was somehow a form of determining jointly with the gods what would be the best action to take in the future and obtaining their agreement to the steps that had already been taken. In reference to the past, the goal was not to reveal the truth,

392 Archi 1974.

393 See Beal, JAOS 112 (1992) 128.

394 Laroche 1958.

395 Cf., for example, KUB 22.70, edited by Ünal 1978.

but to discover the reasons for the god's anger in order to be able to remove them.

Of course, this contact with the gods was an illusion, the diviners acted in a world of fantasy, but their oracular statements often exerted an influence upon political and military decisions. The oracle protocols often reveal personal affairs, frequently being a discredit to the person seeking advice, who was either the king himself or a member of his family. On the other hand, in reading these texts one has the impression that on the pretext of asking about the future, the diviner attempted to acquaint himself with the gods and their secrets in greater detail. This attitude must have had an effect upon the sublimation of religious beliefs, at least in the upper classes of society, and it could have resulted in a qualitative development of religion.

Cult

Some issues connected with the cult have been presented in the chapter on the Old Hittite religion. Changes in the Middle Hittite period, partially inspired by Hurrian influence, have also been discussed. It is now time to present other topics, which have been made well known by the rich textual and archaeological evidence.

The number of worshiped objects considerably increased. Mentions of gods' images abound in the texts, and their descriptions as well³⁹⁶. Anthropomorphic statues prevailed, usually small, standing or seated figurines made of wood and plated with a precious metal. A variety of cult utensils included gods' attributes, accompanying animals, etc. As regards the finds, the remains of a great statue made of copper were recently discovered near Ahurhisar north of Afyon³⁹⁷. Fragments of a stone statue of outstanding size come from Fasillar in the vicinity of Beyşehir. The gods were also depicted in relief. The numerous rock reliefs from the empire period are a tourist attraction today. Scholars find them an important source for studies on the iconography of particular deities, supplementing the descriptions of statues.

In the preceding chapters, aniconic representations of the gods have been discussed; however, the texts from empire times bring new information on the subject³⁹⁸. Although there existed fixed iconographic stereo-

396 See Jakob-Rost 1961, 1963; Carter 1962; Güterbock 1983a.

397 Ilashi 1993.

398 Cf. Popko 1993.

types, the same deity could be worshiped under different forms, as suggested by this fragment of a ritual: '(The patient) comes and worships the goddess. In addition, if he prefers pithos vessel, he will make her stand as a pithos vessel. But if not, he will make her stand as a *ḫurwaši* stela. Or he will make her as a statue'³⁹⁹. Beside the pithos, also other forms of vessels appear as divine representations. Solar deities were sometimes depicted as a golden disc, and the mountains as maces.

Apart from the statues which were set up in temples, there probably existed mobile representations of the major gods. This assumption is based on descriptions of military expeditions; according to them, the major state gods preceded the attacking armies, and this information should perhaps be understood in a more literal sense. The Assyrians, for instance, had the *šurinnu* and *urigallu* standards as such mobile divine representations⁴⁰⁰. Unfortunately, specific mentions of these standards are very rare in Hittite texts.

The worship of divine attributes has already been discussed. This group should be augmented by apparently abstract notions which were connected with particular deities and conceived as specific beings. Notions of this kind are especially characteristic of documents from the Hurrian cultural realm. As before, various paraphernalia and parts of the temple were worshiped. Generally speaking, their lists in ritual texts became considerably longer; this testifies to a tendency of enriching the equipment of the cella in newly built temples. On the other hand, existing temples retained their character indicating in turn a strong attachment to tradition.

A few types of structures which could have served as cult places are distinguished⁴⁰¹. The simplest form is an open space, sometimes surrounded by a wall, with a stela or a spring as cult objects. There are many mentions of such places and of ceremonies held there. Simple shrines comprised one or more rooms, immediately adjacent to larger buildings. Traces of such a structure from the Middle Hittite period were discovered at Hattuša within the royal palace on Büyükkale. It was a small rectangular construction incorporated into a larger building. The empire period 'rain temple' on Büyükkale revealed a similar character⁴⁰².

Among the surviving structures the large temple complexes prevail, consisting of courts and a multitude of rooms. The main cult room usually contained a pedestal with the gods' statues, a cult throne, fireplace and other typical elements of temple equipment⁴⁰³. The plans of many

399 CTH 406 iv 11ff.; the text was edited by Hoffner 1987b.

400 Cf. Pongratz-Leisten et al. 1992:301ff.

401 Cf. Güterbock 1975a; Bittel 1981.

402 Neve 1971:16ff., 20ff.

403 Cf. Neve 1973; Popko 1978:14ff.

temples, mainly from the times of Tuthaliya IV, can be identified in the Hittite capital⁴⁰⁴. The largest – Temple I or the Great Temple – was consecrated to Tešub and Hebat⁴⁰⁵. The central sanctuary with ceremonial gates, a court, two cellae and other rooms are parts of a large sacred precinct including several buildings with storerooms, archives, etc. Next to this complex there was a building where the temple attendants worked, including the scribes. One can recognize the plan of this sanctuary in other temples in the capital, both in the Upper City where over thirty of them came to light and in front of the rock sanctuary at Yazılıkaya⁴⁰⁶. A Middle Hittite temple with its paved court and narrow storerooms found in the Lower City at Maşathöyük also belongs to this category⁴⁰⁷.

At times, the temple complex also had a ritual pool as was the case with the so-called 'Südburg' at Hattuša, dated to the times of Šuppiluliuma II. The pool could also form the central part of a sanctuary, as at Karakuyu⁴⁰⁸ (on the Kayseri-Maatya road) and Yalbur⁴⁰⁹ (near Konya). At the latter site there is a lengthy hieroglyphic inscription from the times of Tuthaliya IV on three walls of the pool⁴¹⁰. A cult monument sometimes stood next to a pool or lake. The most interesting complex of this kind was located at Eflatun Pınar near Beyşehir where a sizeable cult façade with rich decoration is situated ashore⁴¹¹; it may have served to mount a statue, perhaps even the one that was found nearby at Fasillar.

Places of worship called *ḫekur* are relatively well attested⁴¹². It is generally believed that these places must have been located somewhere in the rocks or on mountain tops. However, there is no mention of the *ḫekur* in the descriptions of rituals of sacred mountains; instead, other cult installations are recorded. In the capital itself, the cult structure on Nişantepe can be considered a *ḫekur*⁴¹³; it was founded by Šuppiluliuma II and devoted to the memory of his father Tuthaliya IV. Outside the capital, Gâvurkalesi, southwest of Ankara⁴¹⁴, with its rock reliefs and remains of a structure on the summit is a good candidate for a *ḫekur*⁴¹⁵.

404 Neve 1992, 1993.

405 Bittel 1976a.

406 Bittel et al. 1941; Bittel et al. 1975.

407 Cf. Mellink 1985:550f.

408 Bittel 1984:13ff.

409 Temizer in T. Özgüç 1988:XXVff., pl. 85-95, fig. 60-63.

410 Poetto 1993.

411 Cf. recently Börker-Klähn 1993, and, for the older literature, Bittel 1976b:312.

412 For this term see recently Silvestri 1983; Otten 1988:42ff.

413 Neve 1992:58ff.

414 von der Osten 1933, 1937.

415 For this interpretation see Güterbock 1967:81.

As already said, cult rituals were also celebrated in the royal residences, *ḫalentuwa* in Hittite⁴¹⁶, which existed in different towns. The main hall of the residence was the site of a Great Assembly, usually connected with a cult feast. The room contained representations of deities, the cult throne, fireplace and other typical temple equipment. An inn, too, could be the place of certain rites; for instance, the initiation ritual of the young prince was performed there with the participation of many priests and twelve temple hierodules⁴¹⁷.

Every temple, even the poorest one, had its own priest. The other attendant was a diviner who examined the entrails of sacrificial animals. In the larger temples there were hosts of priests and priestesses of different rank, and the secondary cult and administrative personnel as well. Instructions for temple officials⁴¹⁸ give us an insight into the everyday operation of the temple. The discipline was severe. The priests may have had families, but their wives and children remained at home. The day was devoted to temple duties, and only in the evening was it possible to settle personal affairs and see the family. Nevertheless, one had to return to the temple before the gates were closed for the night. The temple was guarded on the outside, while inside there was always somebody on duty. In the small temples the priest and diviner slept in front of the entrance, solving the problem of night watch.

The notion of holiness conceived as a state of ritual purity⁴¹⁹ was characteristic of the operation of the temple. Ritual purity meant freedom from contamination of a magical nature which could come from beings, objects or substances habitually considered impure. The deity was holy by definition, and impurity insulted it; this is indicated by many oracle texts in which the reasons for gods' anger are sought. Thus, the chief aim of the temple personnel was to guard its ritual purity. Performers of rituals, cult utensils as well as offerings had to be ritually pure, the sacrificial animals without blemish and in good condition; it was sometimes required for them not to have been mated yet. The requirements of ritual purity had a bearing on the selection of candidates for priests; often the son inherited the position of priest from his father⁴²⁰. The simplest way of cleans-

416 For this term see Alp 1983 and a review of this book by G. Beckman, JAOS 104 (1984) 583f., further Alp 1991:317ff. and Güterbock & van den Hout 1991:59f.

417 Güterbock 1970a.

418 Sturtevant & Bechtel 1952:148ff.; Korošec 1974.

419 See Moyer 1969 and Lebrun 1976. For the meaning of this term in Mesopotamia see Wilson 1994.

420 KUB 38.37, see Jakob-Rost 1963:199f.

ing oneself of impurity was to wash one's hands or take a bath. More serious sin required a complicated purification ritual.

In texts the epithet 'holy' refers to temples in general, but certain buildings within the larger temple complexes were used for various, economic and other purposes. Presumably only the cella of the deity was considered *sacrum*. It is not clear who could enter it beside the priests. Foreigners were not to be admitted at all⁴²¹, but 'guests' belonging to the king's entourage sometimes participated in rituals. A newcomer from subject territories, e.g. from Syria, could become a member of one of the local religious brotherhoods upon payment of an appropriate fee; yet we know practically nothing about these brotherhoods⁴²².

Cult centers and gods' cities

Since the religious texts constitute the majority of surviving documents, many names of cities are recorded mainly in a religious context. One is left with the impression that the cult of local deities was the only reason why a city should exist. Information on the other functions of towns is scarce.

A number of such cities which are known mostly owing to their chief deities were located in genuine Hittite territory around Ḫattuša. Let us mention Taḫurpa, the place of the worship of the goddess (A)mmamma, Ankuwa with a temple of Kataḫḫa, Katapa with the cult of her 'Queen', and Karaḫna where a local storm-god and protective god headed the pantheon. Ḫanḫana and nearby Kašḫa were centers of cult somewhere in the north, their chief god being Telipinu⁴²³. Kaštama and its gods have already been mentioned. In the Luwian south, Ḫubešna with its cult of Ḫuwaššanna was still prominent.

During the reign of Tuḫaliya IV most of the southern part of Asia Minor constituted a separate state with the capital at Tarḫuntašša whose chief deity was a local storm-god with the epithet *piḫaššašši*. Judging from a treaty with Kurunta, the king of this state, Tarḫuntašša seems to have enjoyed the status of a gods' city at the time⁴²⁴. Its importance had presumably grown earlier on, when Muwatalli II transferred the Hittite capital there. In the ancient territory of Kizzuwatna, the most important place of cult was Kummanni and it was perhaps a gods' city, although there is

421 CTH 264 ii 6ff., cf. Sturtevant & Bechtel 1952: 152f.

422 von Schuler 1963.

423 Cf. Haas & Jakob-Rost 1984.

424 Cf. Otten 1988:52.

no actual proof of this in the texts. The gods of Kummanni were discussed in the preceding chapter. Kummanni survived into the Roman period under the double designation: Comana Cappadociae and Hiera/opolis, or Holy City. Other known cult centers in the southeast and east included Lawazantiya, Šarišša and Šamuha. In the local pantheons Hurrian deities prevailed.

It has already been said that the gods' cities enjoyed special status resembling that of the holy cities of the Hellenistic and Roman periods⁴²⁵. This category included four main cult centers: Hattuša, Arinna, Zippalanda and Nerik. The chief gods of these cities were the major gods of the state, and their cult originated mainly in the ancient Hattian tradition. To be sure, the local temples owned vast estates. The priests and certain individuals connected with the temple were exempted from some duties; thus they were privileged in a legal sense; moreover, they took advantage of special food and equipment rations during some of the festivals. These rations had to be supplied by officials from some cities in the vicinity which were designated in a royal decree. Also royal gifts were sent to the temples, and even tributes from subjected lands.

Apart from Hattuša, all the other gods' cities were nothing but cult centers. To judge by customs known from the sacred cities of the Roman period, the high priests of these cult centers were very likely related to the royal family; this principle was another element of these units' rank. It is noteworthy in this context that King Šuppiluliuma I appointed his son Telipinu the high priest of Kummanni, presumably a gods' city as well (see above). Lastly, according to a ritual text, the king made his low bow to Zippalanda upon leaving the city, which may suggest that he treated it as a holy place⁴²⁶.

Of the mentioned cities, most of the information we have concerns Hattuša, the capital of the state. Its role in the cult is paralleled by its administrative function. The king resided here, ruling in the Storm-god's name. There were located the most important temples of the state, and their number increased considerably in the times of Tuḫaliya IV. It was then that the Great Temple in the Lower City was built, as well as numerous cult complexes in the Upper City, discovered only in recent years. At the time the capital turned into a real gods' city, at least in outward appearance, but it certainly continued to serve other functions as well. It is impossible to identify the deities worshiped in each of these new temples, but one can surmise that they were mostly of Hurrian origin. Many religious rituals were performed there, both those originating in the Hattian tradition

and new ones which came into existence only under the empire. Although scholars have rich written sources requiring examination at their disposal, the religious life of the capital is still in need of a monographic study.

It is somewhat easier to describe the provincial gods' cities. To emphasize a point, these towns were the mainstay of the ancient, pre-Hittite tradition. Arinna was perhaps the most important of them. The city lay somewhere close to the capital, but it has yet to be located. Nor is there a monograph of the city. The temples of the local sun-goddess and of Mezzulla, leading figures of the Hittite pantheon, stood there⁴²⁷. Their cellae were unlike the others: they presumably lacked windows and a cult throne, but instead there were steps leading to them. A royal residence was situated near the temple of Mezzulla. Texts also mention temples of Zintuḫi and of a local(?) storm-god, and the queen's palace as well. Objects of worship include mysterious *šur(a)* objects and 'stones'.

The temple personnel must have been quite numerous; it was headed by three SANGA priests, two GUDU₁₂ priests and two or three priestesses, including a priestess with the title *ammama*. The city was presumably fortified; in front of the city gate there was a building called *taštappa* where the king accomplished ritual ablutions before entering the city. An inn was situated outside the city walls, as well as a mysterious cult structure called *gazzidduri*.

Zippalanda (Ziplanda of the Old Hittite texts) was the cult center of a local storm-god⁴²⁸. It has been identified with Alacahöyük, some 25 km north of the Hittite capital. Officially, the Storm-god of Zippalanda was the son of the Storm-god of Hattuša and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, but in the local tradition his parents were the Storm-god of Heaven and the Sun-goddess of the Earth.

The city was divided into a lower and upper one. A royal residence was the most important building of the lower city. The upper city, of which the remains came to light on the *höyük*, comprised a complex of two temples belonging to the young storm-god and his mother. A monumental entrance, the famous Sphinx Gate with reliefs, is dated to the times of Šuppiluliuma II⁴²⁹. As at Arinna, the king could cleanse himself in the *taštappa* before entering the temple complex, and there was also an inn somewhere outside the city walls.

The temple of the Storm-god of Zippalanda had a courtyard. In the cella there were an altar and a fireplace in the cella as well as a window decorated with spearheads. The statues of the three chief deities of the city:

427 For the temple of Mezzulla see Popko 1992.

428 Popko 1994.

429 Neve 1994.

425 Goetze 1957:103; Archi 1975a.

426 KBo 13.214 iv 9'ff., cf. Popko 1994:184f.

the young Storm-god of Zippalanda, the Sun-goddess of the Earth and the old Storm-god of Heaven, were placed on the altar. Images of minor gods were also to be found inside the cella and included Ḫašamili, 'Lucky Day', Ḫalki and a protective god, the last perhaps in the form of a *kurša* object. It is unclear whether this god should be identified with the *kurša* of the Storm-God of Zippalanda which played an important role in the local cult.

Religious rituals took place inside the temples, in the royal residence, in front of stelae set up in different parts of the city and, finally, at the place of threshing outside the walls. The mysterious 'Wood (or Tree) of the Protective God', located in the vicinity of the town, may have also been an object of cult. As already mentioned, the cult personnel was quite numerous. The town was presumably governed by the SANGA priest, i.e. the high priest of the temple of the young storm-god; high up in the hierarchy were the *tazzili* priest, GUDU₁₂ priest and *ḫamina* priest.

Zippalanda and the nearby rocky peak of Daḫa (Kalehisar, 4 km north of Alacahöyük) formed what could be called a cult complex. On the slope of Kalehisar one should expect to find the remains of a cult structure with the sacred well of a goddess concealed under the Iṣtar sign in the texts. Somewhere on this slope there was a 'stone', presumably a cult object. There is also mention of a cult stela where the Mountain-god received offerings consisting of thirty goats. Possibly, there was a small shrine near the summit; it is recorded in a certain document. In the Iron Age, when a Phrygian settlement occupied the site of Zippalanda, Kalehisar continued to be a place of cult; proof of this is provided by a rock throne bearing a Phrygian inscription located on the lower summit of the mountain⁴³⁰.

Even farther to the north lay Nerik⁴³¹, a city which has yet to be located. As discussed above, the cult of the local storm-god was of great significance in the Old Hittite period. Later the city fell to the Kaška people, but there are grounds for believing that it continued in its role as a cult center, even though the Hittites transferred the cult of Nerak, the local storm-god, to Ḫakmiš. Ḫattušili III recaptured Nerik and again made the surrounding territories part of the Hittite state. The evidence of cult in this city comes mainly from the brief period which followed the conquest and preceded the fall of the empire.

The local storm-god, one of the main gods of the Hittites, was officially considered the son of the Storm-god of Ḫattuša and the Sun-goddess of Arinna. However, according to the local tradition, he was the son of Šulinkatte, and his mother was the Sun-goddess of the Earth. The god-

430 Cf. also Haas 1994a:592f.

431 Haas 1970, 1994a:594ff.

dess Tešimi appears as his concubine. Other gods were worshiped as well, including the mountain Ḫaḫarwa.

The cult of the gods of the neighboring cities of Kaštama and Zaḫalukka was introduced to Nerik presumably as part of Tuthaliya IV's program for the reconstruction of cults in the devastated territories in the north. It would seem that at the time also statues of the mentioned gods could have been transferred to Nerik. Since then the statuette of Zašḫapuna, the main goddess of Kaštama, stood on the same pedestal with that of the Storm-god of Nerik. On these grounds both deities are treated as a pair by some scholars, but this is very uncertain. Late texts also attest the cult of various Luwian deities, brought in with the immigrant population from the south. In the Storm-god's temple the *daḫanga* was the cult room⁴³². A mysterious 'stone' appears in it as an object of cult. A 'Great Tree' (perhaps an oak) was also found somewhere there and worshiped. Little else is known of this temple and of the city likewise. Like the other gods' cities, Nerik, too, had a royal residence.

Gods' cities existed also outside the genuine Hittite territory. We have seen that Tarḫuntašša may have had the status of a gods' city at least for a while. Kummanni, the ancient capital of Kizzuwatna, is another candidate (see above). A 'city of a deity' lay on the banks of the Šiyanta River in the land of Mira in southwestern Asia Minor⁴³³. Yet the epithet 'city of (my) deity' has a different meaning; it occurs in the *Apology* of Ḫattušili III with reference to Šamuḫa, a cult center of Šauška.

Cult festivals

Most of the texts from Ḫattuša present descriptions of cult festivals⁴³⁴. Some of the compositions are quite brief, but as a rule these texts extended to cover several or even many tablets. The first task of Hittitology is to reconstruct a textual continuum, without which one cannot arrive at a deeper understanding of any given festival. Studies in this direction are proceeding gradually, and works dealing with festival texts in their entirety are still very few.

Many names of festivals are known, yet not all of them are well understood. A number of the festivals concern the capital, nevertheless, it is clear that each cult center had its own festival calendar. Knowledge of these local rituals is also quite extensive. The festival ceremonies were

432 For this term see Sørenhagen 1981:107f., Haas 1994a:601.

433 Friedrich 1926:116ff.; cf. Otten 1975:15.

434 CTH 591ff. Cf. Güterbock 1964, 1970b; Archi 1978; Haas 1994a:674ff.

mostly connected with the agricultural calendar. Frequent mention is made of local spring and fall festivals, i.e. ceremonies to celebrate the beginning and end of agricultural activity⁴³⁵. In some temples a pithos was kept in a separate room; it was filled with grain during the harvest and stored until spring when it was opened. Bread made from the corn was offered to a god so that he would grow in strength before the season.

Another practice with the same purpose of stimulating the deity's vital forces was the ceremony of lavatio; the deity's statue was taken out of the temple and set up in front of or behind a stela of this deity located somewhere in the open⁴³⁶. The statue was then washed, the custom being grounded in magic. The washing of divine statues usually took place beside a river or sacred pool. The ceremony was connected with offerings to the gods and a common feast of the local community. It was followed by sport competitions 'to entertain the deities', as put by the authors of the descriptions⁴³⁷; wrestling and throwing a stone were the two common events. The fall ceremonies were similar, except for the washing of the statue.

'Meteorological' rituals belonged among the very ancient forms of cult. They were mostly intended for the Storm-god and celebrated when the first spring thunder could be heard. One such ceremony has been described in the chapter on Old Hittite religion. These rituals were a peculiarity of religious life in Hittite Asia Minor and have no counterparts in the other religions of the Near East.

These and many other festivals were numbered among the regular, i.e. annually celebrated ones as opposed to the 'great' festivals which were presumably celebrated occasionally, under certain circumstances. The matter is made complicated by the fact that the KILAM festival (see chapter on Old Hittite religion) is treated as regular in one edition and as 'great' in another one. There are formal differences between these editions, but no significant differences in the festival itself⁴³⁸. It is not unlikely that the festival stopped being celebrated regularly and thus became a 'great'. Some potential reasons to justify such a change have been put forward considering the history of the Hittite state. Consequently, different variants of the program of the festival came into being and found expression in its surviving editions.

The KILAM festival⁴³⁹ is of Hattian origin. It was celebrated in the Hittite capital and lasted three days; its central ceremonies have already

been discussed to some extent. There is no evidence to suggest that it was celebrated at Arinna and Zippalanda as well⁴⁴⁰.

The EZEN *purulli(ya)*⁴⁴¹ or 'the Festival of the Land' was also considered a 'great' festival and thus, bearing in mind the above suggestion as to the meaning of the term, it must have been the irregular one. Only minor fragments of its descriptions have so far been identified. It was a festival of Hattian origin, known at Nerik and presumably at Zip(pa)landa as early as the Old Hittite period. There is also a reference to King Šuppiluliuma I who celebrated it in honor of the Storm-gods of Hattuša and Zippalanda and for Lilwani. Presumably the celebrations were limited to just these three cities. During the occupation of Nerik by the Kaška people the city of Utruna was a substitute place to hold the festivities⁴⁴². Upon recovery of Nerik, the local *purulli(ya)* festival was renewed; its description took up 32 tablets, so it must have lasted a couple of days. Also at Zippalanda the celebration of this festival lasted more than one day.

The festivities took place in spring, but the circumstances under which they were held remain unclear. According to Kella, the priest of the Storm-god of Nerik, whose statement precedes the *Illuyanka Tale* discussed above, it was at the time when '(the land) grows and thrives'. This explanation fits the festival name in a way. The tale itself could perhaps explain some of the issues connected with the genesis of this festival, but, unfortunately, the text is incomplete and so ambiguous.

It has been noted in recent years that certain elements of the *Illuyanka Tale* seem to appear in fragments of texts connected with the cult of the goddess Tetešhapi. On the basis of these similarities it has been suggested that these texts are part of the *purulli(ya)* festival⁴⁴³; nonetheless, the arguments in favor of this hypothesis are very weak. Everything would also oppose the belief that the *purulli(ya)* was a single festival connected – as other great seasonal festivals – with the king's or royal pair's journeys to different cities. Most probably there were several *purulli(ya)* festivals – celebrated once at Nerik and to other gods at Zippalanda and Hattuša. There is also no sufficient evidence for believing that the EZEN *purulli(ya)* was a festival of the New Year, as suggested by some scholars.

Definitely more is known of two great festival cycles which were introduced in empire times: the spring Festival of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant⁴⁴⁴

435 Cf. Archi 1973.

436 For examples see Carter 1962: 26ff.

437 Cf. Carter 1988 and Ünal 1988a:1485ff., with bibliography.

438 Cf. Singer 1983:40ff.

439 Singer 1983, 1984; van den Hout 1991-1992b.

440 Contra Haas 1994a:767ff.

441 See recently Haas 1994a:696ff., with references.

442 del Monte 1978.

443 See Pecchioli Daddi 1987a:366ff., 1987b:55ff., and 1988:193ff.

444 See in general Güterbock 1960, 1964:62ff.; Houwink ten Cate 1986; Zinko 1987.

and the autumn Festival of Haste⁴⁴⁵. First of all, there are abbreviated outlines of these festivals, in the order of the successive days of celebrations. Moreover, many fragments describing events on particular days have been identified, and work is progressing at a steady rate. Both of the mentioned festivals were celebrated partially at Hattuša and partially at various towns in its vicinity, following a set program and with the participation of the royal couple or just the king. Each of them lasted for more than a month. It is a well-known fact that the king was obliged to participate in a number of official and local spring and autumn festivals, and this took him a lot of time. Possibly, the discussed festival cycles can be treated as an attempt to solve this problem. It has also been suggested that on this occasion the KILAM festival was incorporated into the Festival of Haste⁴⁴⁶.

The two festival cycles have similar programs. One can observe that the celebrations were held not only in centers of cult connected with the Hattian tradition, but also in cities where Luwian and Hurrian deities were worshiped. Many different geographical names are mentioned in this context, giving an idea of the scope of ethnic changes in genuine Hittite territory. Offerings to the gods of a given cult center, in a very monotonous ceremonial procedure, were the essential part of each of these festivals. Descriptions of local ritual customs and the behavior of participants belong to the more interesting elements, along with comments on the landscape, natural places of worship, buildings, etc.

To judge by the texts, the king, alone or together with his consort, participated in the spring and autumn festivals in gods' cities and other cult centers, sometimes quite distant, like Kummanni and other towns in the south and east. Considering the number of festival days in a year, it is hardly likely that the king personally took part in all these celebrations. Yet the texts at our disposal apparently describe the celebrations he did indeed honor with his presence. If this conjecture is right, the mentioned texts should be treated rather as reports of events which already took place. At the same time, the texts could have served as scenarios for future celebrations, thus we would be dealing with efforts to establish a specific cult tradition. Some scholars have suggested the division of Hittite cults into official and local ones, or into great and small ritual traditions⁴⁴⁷, depending on whether the king attended the celebrations or not; in view of the above remarks, a reevaluation of divisions of this kind is needed.

Of the larger festivals which required the participation of the king, one should mention also the (*h*)išuwa ritual⁴⁴⁸. Originally, it was celebrated in

Kizzuwatna, but the Middle Hittite period saw its description already present in a library of Hattuša; fragments of the description have survived for our benefit. Later on, Queen Puduḥepa ordered the scribe Walwaziti to find the original in Kizzuwatna and to prepare a new edition of the ritual. In its new version the festival lasted nine days and was written down on thirteen tablets. From this time on, it was celebrated in the capital, in six selected temples and other places, for the prosperity of the royal family. The main god of the ritual was the Storm-god of Manuzi, who was accompanied by several deities worshiped at Kummanni. The ritual acts and prayers are evidently Hurrian in character, pointing to the provenance of the festival.

Death and the afterlife

The empire period has yielded much evidence concerning the attitude toward death, the deceased and the notion of the afterlife. In all religions, the body-and-soul structure of man and the inevitability of death are important considerations. In fact, some authors believe that the fear of death is the main force behind the development of religion, and that religion itself is man's way of protesting against death.

Like other ancient peoples, the Hittites distinguished between a natural death, caused either by illness or by fate, and a sudden, unexpected demise⁴⁴⁹. A certain text mentions people 'who have died from weapons and (those) who have died on the day (set by fate)'. The day of death was called the day of fate or the day of the mother. It was said of the deceased man that 'his mother had taken him by the hand and led him'⁴⁵⁰. The corpse was burned or buried, and from this point on texts refer solely to the dead or to his soul. Obviously, death meant separation of the body and soul, and the latter's afterlife. The Hittite term for 'soul', *ištanza(na)-*, connotes also the mind, will, person, etc.⁴⁵¹. The soul was considered a source of thought, while the heart was supposed to be the seat of emotions. The semantic fields of respective Hittite terms are not clearly defined. It should be remembered that also the synonymous Greek terms *phrenes*, *thymos* and *psyche* are translated with considerable leeway.

Man owed his bodily beginning to his mother, from whose womb he was born. But where the soul came from is not as evident. According to

445 Güterbock 1961c; Houwink ten Cate 1988; Nakamura 1993.

446 Houwink ten Cate 1988:191ff.

447 Cf. Wasilewska 1993:473f., with bibliography.

448 See recently Haas 1994a:848ff.

449 Cf. also Steiner 1982.

450 Cf. Haas 1994a:216f.

451 Otten 1958b:122ff.; Kammenhuber 1964.

one of the prayers an undefined god put the soul into a newborn infant, but it is not obvious whether we are dealing with an Anatolian or foreign tradition in this case. The Hittites considered the soul a material being, a liquid substance, which under certain conditions could trickle, flow in drops from a person, and be poured by the gods 'like water'. One of the texts states that birds and foxes may devour the soul of sheep. Thus, the Hittites believed animals to have souls, too. There are also mentions of gods' souls. The soul of a god or dead king could be represented in a symbolic form as an object made of a precious metal.

Not much can be said of the place where the soul went after death and of the afterlife conditions. One text refers to the soul's descent into the depths of the Dark Earth. For the sake of comparison, let us recall that in Mesopotamia and Homeric Greece the fate of the dead was considered much worse than life on earth. Man could expect happiness only during his earthly existence. Antiquity did not produce any mythological image to encourage an ordinary mortal to depart this life; nor was it possible to return from the Underworld.

However, the Hittites anticipated an extraordinary situation which concerned only the chosen few. The king became a god upon his death, which was apparently the primary condition needed to assure him a different afterlife existence than in the case of an ordinary mortal⁴⁵². And it was presumably with the same purpose in mind that at a certain time the kings in Mesopotamia were deified while still alive; after death they became judges in the Underworld. A similar idea occurs in the Homeric tradition – prominent persons were supposed to go to the Elysian Fields already inhabited by the mythical kings who also were called judges. A Hittite magical ritual alludes to the day when the ancient kings will come and purify the customs of the land⁴⁵³. These ancient kings resemble indeed the judges of the Mesopotamian Underworld and the Greek Elysian Fields. Statements made in funerary rituals would suggest that cremation was the act of taking the dead king to a mysterious meadow or pasture⁴⁵⁴ which promptly became his property, guaranteed by the Sun-god. On that occasion objects were also burned, including domestic animals and a vine (see below); in this manner all the essentials needed to assure the ruler a comfortable afterlife existence were transferred to the other world.

The dead were treated as protective deities of lesser rank, and it was expected that they would care for the family⁴⁵⁵. In this respect, the dead

resemble the Roman Manes. In return for their protection, the dead expected offerings and certain rituals. Were these neglected, then the dead could feel insulted and behave like an angry god causing harm. Also those who died a sudden death, whose bodies had not been burned or buried and who were slandered after death were included in this category. To put such a spirit at rest, it was necessary to perform an appropriate ritual combined with offerings.

Obviously then, the Hittites feared the dead⁴⁵⁶. They treated this fear as an objective being, a kind of magical impurity which could be removed with the help of a proper purification ritual. If a dead person appeared in dreams, it was considered an omen which was to be explained by consulting an oracle. Numerous rituals called *mantalli*⁴⁵⁷ were performed to achieve a reconciliation between the living and the dead, especially when the conflict concerned past generations, but its consequences were still felt by the patient. Sometimes it was the king himself, whose ancestors had shed the blood of their political opponents, and who suffered from bad dreams caused by the 'evil tongue' of the remaining relatives of the murdered persons. If that was the case, the common rituals of appeasement were of no use, and repressions against the dead's family could only entail his revenge. For example, Hattušili III, who was haunted by a spirit, offered him a whole 'city' in a *mantalli* ritual; the inhabitants of this city were subsequently required to bring offerings in the everyday cult of the dead. It is worth noticing that a spirit could seek revenge, irrespective of whether the person had been killed lawfully or murdered.

Almost nothing can be said of the cult of the dead among the lower social classes. The evidence at our disposal concerns dead kings and members of their families. The king's soul was worshiped, among others, in the form of a statue kept in the temple of the War-god. Another statue was placed in the 'Stone House' (see below). From a certain text we learn that when Muwatalli II moved the capital to Tarhuntašša he took with him the gods as well as his ancestors, i.e. their statues. Thus, it is obvious that the dead kings were worshiped as protective gods. Their statues received offerings during certain ceremonies and were taken care of in an everyday ritual which resembles the gods' cult. There are many references to the duty of bringing offerings in the ancestor cult, mostly discharged in the temples where the statues of the dead kings were placed. Oracle texts sometimes describe neglects in the dead's cult; we learn that the statues had to be washed at intervals, and the temple personnel was required to maintain ritual purity. Various celebrations in honor of the dead were held, sometimes in connection with a ritual feast.

452 But cf. Haas 1994a:243f.

453 CTH 404 iv 28ff., see Rost 1953:366f., 376.

454 For this term cf. also Puhvel 1969.

455 del Monte 1975, Archi 1979c.

456 Cf. del Monte 1973.

457 Kammenhuber 1976:28ff.

The 'Stone House', which has already been mentioned, was a royal tomb with adjacent buildings⁴⁵⁸. It was a separate sacred precinct, similar to a temple, with its own cult personnel. During the funerary ritual the ashes of the dead king were laid to rest there. The kings presumably built their tombs during their lifetime, and after their death the 'Stone Houses' served as places of their funerary cult. A foundation-document of Queen Ašmunikal⁴⁵⁹ reveals that such temples had extensive estates, and their personnel was exempted from certain duties and isolated, to some extent, from contacts with the outside world, presumably to maintain the ritual purity of the place and to avoid any possible offense which could arouse the dead's anger. No structure of this type has been identified archaeologically as yet.

Burial customs

In Hittite Asia Minor two burial traditions coexisted: inhumation, that is burial in the ground, and cremation, meaning burning of the corpse⁴⁶⁰. It was once believed that the duality of tradition reflected the ethnic heterogeneity of the Hittite state, and the Hurrians were thought to have introduced cremation. Nowadays there is evidence for cremation before the coming of the Hurrians. Needless to say, the different treatment of corpses undoubtedly conceals different religious and mythological ideas. What the Hittites believed in this respect remains a mystery to us. Certain statements in the texts might indicate that cremation was considered a means to remove the soul to a different sphere of existence (see above). Again, we do not know whether only the king had the chance of being transferred to the pasture in the other world. And what was the fate of the other dead who were cremated?

The royal funerary ritual lasted fourteen days⁴⁶¹. The description is, unfortunately, full of gaps; e.g., the part concerning the cremation itself is missing. The ritual comprises a variety of cultic and magical acts. On the first day, immediately after the death of the king, he was mourned, and a ritual was carried out to move his soul into the body of a slaughtered ox. In the evening the corpse was carried to the place of cremation and burnt on a pyre at night. Early in the morning, women extinguished the fire with wine and beer and then used a silver spoon to collect the ashes

458 Otten 1958b:132f.; del Monte 1975:323ff.

459 KUB 13.8, see Otten 1958b:104ff.

460 Cf. Orthmann 1957-1961; Hrouda 1980-1983.

461 Otten 1958b, 1962; Christmann-Franck 1971.

in a silver vessel. Then they wrapped them in linen cloths and placed the bundle on a chair (if it was a man) or a stool (if a woman). It is only from this moment that the notion of the dead appears in the text. The feast which followed was combined with offerings and other activities; then the ashes were taken to the 'Stone House' and put on a bed in a crypt. A feast with offerings ensued.

The ceremonies from day three to day six are obscure; presumably a purification ritual was performed. On the seventh day, the dead man's personal property was burnt before his statue. On the eighth day, oxen, sheep, horses and mules were slaughtered, a spade and a hoe were burnt, followed by the ceremony of giving the dead king his pasture, symbolized by a 'piece of meadow', in the other world. On the tenth day, the ceremony of ploughing was held in front of the statue, using a plough which was subsequently burnt. A vine shrub was burnt on the twelfth day. Each time, the burnt remains were taken to the place of the preceding cremation. On the thirteenth day, purification rituals were held, birds were burnt, and a great ritual feast followed with offerings. Certain acts were definitely magical in nature. e.g. a rope smeared with oil was burnt while the mourners cried: 'When you go to the meadow, do not pull the rope (with you)!'. It is a typical ritual of release, of breaking the relations between the dead and the world of the living. The rituals of the fourteenth day are not known.

The similarities between Hittite royal cremation and that of the Homeric heroes have been noted in the past. The cremation of Patroclus and Hector described in the *Iliad* also took place in the evening, wine was used to extinguish the fire in the morning, and the ashes of the dead were covered with fat and placed in a golden urn, which was wrapped in linen cloths or purple shroud. Since it was a time of war, the rite was shorter than the Hittite one, and the burial mound was built immediately after the ossilegium.

To return to the Hittite realm, it can be said that the customs connected with cremation are relatively well known; there are also fragments of funerary rituals which concern people of lower rank. By contrast, we have no information about the rites accompanying inhumation. Admittedly, inhumation was a local tradition. Probably the kings of the Old Hittite period were buried in the ground, as suggested by a rather obscure fragment of a document of Hattušili I.

The customs described in Hittite texts are confirmed by archaeological finds⁴⁶². The tradition of an intramural interment, which was typical of the lands in the bend of the Halys river in the third and early second millennia,

462 Cf. also Emre 1978:123-132, 1991.

was continued here and there also in the Hittite period. It has been attested in several places at Boğazkale, İkiztepe (at the mouth of the Halys) and Karahöyük near Konya; single burials of this type come from Karaoğlu, Maşathöyük, Polatlı and Kusura. Yet the most popular form of interment on all these sites is inhumation. Only at Karahöyük the occasional cremation graves occur alongside numerous traditional pithos burials. The peculiarity of these graves is the absence of an urn for the ashes; the bodies were burnt, and the remains of the bones were then buried with the burial gifts⁴⁶³.

Separate necropoleis outside the settlements developed at the same time. The cemeteries around the Hittite capital deserve particular attention among all the sites investigated so far. One of these is the Osmankaya hill, used as a burial place from the Old Hittite period until the fourteenth century⁴⁶⁴. Numerous clay urns with ashes of the dead were found there in pits and rocky crevices. The vessels were intentionally damaged, presumably to protect them against theft or desecration of the remains. Burial gifts are rare and modest; there are also traces of animal offerings. Some badly preserved skeleton burials were discovered in the same area. On Bağlarbaşı hill, urns from the empire period were found. The burial gifts there were richer, including even some ivory ornaments.

Most of the ancient cemeteries have been plundered or destroyed, e.g. the necropolis at Ferzant⁴⁶⁵ (east of Çorum) from the Assyrian trade colonies and the Old Hittite period or the Hittite necropolis at Kazankaya (northwest of Çekerek) where the dead were buried in long pits covered with sherds and stones. The necropolis at İlica⁴⁶⁶, west of Ankara, is dated to Old Hittite times; cremation burials predominate there, with beak-spouted pitchers used as urns. Stone monoliths marking rows of graves were characteristic of this cemetery. At the Hittite necropolis in Gordium, the later capital of Phrygia, only inhumations were discovered, buried in three types of graves: directly in the ground, in cists and in pithoi. A Hittite cemetery consisting of pithos burials exclusively was also discovered at Yanarlar⁴⁶⁷ near Afyon. Pithos graves were encountered at Karataş-Semayük, but since no habitation layer dating to the Middle Bronze Age occurred at the site, the necropolis must have belonged to some neighboring settlement.

The burial customs of western Asia Minor are quite well known, too. Anatolian and Aegean influences crossed there, with inhumation and cremation coexisting as elsewhere. The latter came here presumably from the

463 Alp 1956:35.

464 Bittel et al. 1958.

465 T. Özgüç 1986.

466 Orthmann 1967a.

467 Emre 1978.

east, from central Anatolia. At Troy VI (1700-1250 B.C.) there was an extra-mural necropolis with cremation burials; the urns were mostly damaged⁴⁶⁸. At the nearby cemetery of Beşiktepe⁴⁶⁹, which was contemporary with Troy VI and VIIa, different funerary customs coexisted, with inhumations and cremations occurring even in the same tomb. The number of pithos graves is considerable. A small megaron with several burials distinguishes this cemetery; a Mycenaean seal was found as a tomb gift in a large pithos in one of the graves. It should be emphasized that no settlement has yet been discovered in the vicinity, and it is quite likely that the graves may have been used by incomers from the Aegean.

Aegean influence is distinct in the coastal regions south of Troad, but sometimes it reaches far inland, to the city of Burdur. In point of fact, at many sites on the western coast the Mycenaean culture predominated. Consequently, local burial customs differed from the Anatolian ones. Let us mention some of the more important archaeological sites. The necropolis at Pitane in the vicinity of Ayvalık was excavated already in the nineteenth century and was found to consist of pit graves which produced Mycenaean pottery. The cemetery at Panaztepe⁴⁷⁰ south of ancient Phocaea was used in the fourteenth century. Six tholoi were discovered there, all of oval section, containing some cist-graves and a considerable number of pithos burials. There is also some evidence of cremation, presumably the eldest one in Mycenaean culture; the ashes were placed in small jars.

A plundered tholos tomb was discovered during American excavations at Colophon; next to it there was a grave surrounded by large stones with valuable burial gifts. At Selçuk, a Mycenaean tomb was found in the Byzantine citadel. On the hill of Değirmentepe near Miletus a cemetery of Mycenaean rock-cut chamber tombs was located, each with a dromos and stomion. A large cemetery of 48 chamber tombs was found near Müsgebi-Ortakent, west of Bodrum; the interments there are of both the inhumation and cremation type, and Mycenaean pottery constitutes a majority of the burial gifts.

Closing remarks

The efforts of archaeologists and philologists have revealed a large body of evidence concerning both the material culture and written traditions of Asia Minor in the Hittite period. The importance of this fact cannot be underestimated considering the role Anatolia played at the time in the Near East. Reading the chapters devoted to Hittite religion, we have come

468 Blegen et al. 1953:81ff.

469 Mellink 1985:552, 1987:6.

470 Mellink 1988:114f.

to know the numerous gods of the Hittites and their neighbors, including the local deities and the ones who arrived with foreign influence from the east. We have tried to penetrate the thoughts of people at the time, their relations to the gods, to life on earth and life believed to follow death. We have acquired a better understanding of the world of Anatolian myths reflecting the richness of human imagination. Now that we have seen how divination and magic worked, we view with respect these early attempts to learn the truth about the gods and nature, and to use this knowledge for the benefit of man.

The Hittite state, which was one of the largest in the Near East, provided Asia Minor with a relatively peaceful and ethnically stable environment for a long time, creating favorable conditions conducive to the development of material and spiritual culture. In the sphere of religion this development manifested itself in a gradual abandonment of the primitive objects and forms of cult, and in a progressing syncretism which led in consequence to a broadening of the competence of certain gods and to their increased importance. The last phase of the empire saw the appearance of a new institution: the covenant with a chosen god, as in the *Apology* of Hattuşili III. In return for benevolence and protection, the ruler and his family promised to show the god particular reverence. The covenant underlay the later concept of henotheism, a special cult of one exalted deity, which is known in Mesopotamia and other lands of western Asia in the first millennium. Given favorable circumstances, henotheism developed successively into monotheism. We shall remember that in Israel first the Covenant was made with Yahweh, who set the condition that his people would refrain from worshipping other gods; only later, after the exile, did the idea of monotheism actually triumph.

Frequent mention has been made of the relations between the cultures of Hittite Asia Minor and Greece. Although the invasion of the 'Sea Peoples' and the fall of the Hittite Empire preceded Homer and Hesiod considerably, and although at the present state of research we are incapable of tracing a continuity in the Anatolian influence upon Greece, Oriental elements continue to be discerned in the beliefs of the Greeks and other peoples living in the Mediterranean, e.g. the Etruscans. This comes as no surprise with respect to the Greek culture, seeing that in search of its roots we are frequently compelled to turn to the East. After all, Aeolis and Ionia, lands which Greece was much indebted to, lay in Asia Minor, in the sphere of strong Oriental influence. Almost until the Greco-Persian wars, many different patterns and ideas travelled from the East toward Greece. The Oriental heritage is especially clear in early Greek mythology, in the figures of certain gods, in religious life and burial customs as well as magical and divination practices. We should recall the

magical act Odysseus makes at the entrance to the Underworld in order to request an oracle from the dead seer Teiresias⁴⁷¹. It resembles closely a Hittite ritual of entreaty addressed to the gods of the Underworld, which in any case is Hurrian in origin⁴⁷². Summarizing the Hurrian myths of the Kumarbi Cycle, we have noted the motifs of eastern origin in Hesiod's *Theogony*. The times of cuneiform writing in Asia Minor and Syria are separated from the oldest Greek sources by the 'Dark Age'. As the textual evidence from this period is scarce, so it is difficult, if not impossible, to study the exact route by which Oriental concepts reached Ionia.

The next part of this book will be devoted to the constituents of ancient religious tradition which lasted in Asia Minor in the Iron Age, that is in the times following the invasion of the 'Sea Peoples'.

471 *Odyssey* 11.23ff.

472 Cf. Steiner 1971.