



VII. ULUSLARARASI HİTİTOLOJİ KONGRESİ BİLDİRİLERİ

Çorum 25-31 Ağustos 2008

*Acts of the VIIth International
Congress of Hittitology
Çorum, August 25-31, 2008*

II. CİLT

VOLUME II

Ankara 2010



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STUDYING HITTITE RELIGION: SELECTED ISSUES

*Piotr TARACHA**

In studies on Hittite religion, discrepancies existing between earlier views concern not only the identity of particular deities and the nature of their cult, but also the fundamental question of why the religion changed so radically in the Empire period. I am fully aware that definite answers to many questions are still lacking. Neither can I presume to gain general approval for all the views presented. In particular, the opinion that a new dynasty originating from a strongly Hurrianized Kizzuwatnean milieu seized power in Ḫattuša at the outset of the Empire period still finds many opponents. In my view, however, it was this fact that determined the new cultural image of Hittite Anatolia and with it the change that occurred in the official pantheon and cult of the Hittite state.

This paper refers to some of the issues discussed in my new book on religions of second millennium Anatolia, which has been published in the Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie series.¹ Of course, I cannot even outline here the contents of the book. In what follows I shall offer some reflections on the subject, with regard to the nature and real value of the textual evidence at our disposal, and point out crucial elements of change in Hittite religion under the Empire. Manfred Hutter (earlier in this volume) deals with similar topics relative to the study of religions of Hittite Anatolia. He also summarizes the history of research and puts forward a new approach to popular beliefs. In fact, it is a good opportunity to juxtapose our opinions.

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1 P. Taracha, *Religions of Second Millennium Anatolia*, DBH 27, Wiesbaden 2009.

The cuneiform texts from Ḫattuša, mostly concerning magic and cult, have contributed to remarkable insights into religions of Asia Minor under the Hittites.² Most attention in the texts, however, is focused on the official religion which was influenced by the politics of Hittite kings, who were responsible for establishing and maintaining the state cult. With regard to local beliefs and folk religion, the problem is more complex. It is not merely because of the state of preservation of the texts but, first of all, due to their nature as documents recorded foremost for the needs of the ruler, court, and state administration.

Anatolian religions of the second millennium BC never constituted an isolated system which could be attributed to specific ethnic groups. From the very beginning we are confronted with different religious traditions in a multi-ethnic society, which resulted in equations or translatability of deities of different cultural milieus. During the nascency of the Hittite state, in the first half of the second millennium BC, central and northern Anatolia was inhabited by peoples of different origins. In the northern territories on the Lower Kızılırmak, the most numerous or even the sole ethnic group were the Hattians, the natives of this part of Anatolia.³ The ethnic situation was more complicated farther to the south, in the middle section of the Kızılırmak great bend. In this area, the Hittites and Luwians appear to have formed a considerable part of the population, next to the Hattians, already presumably in the third millennium BC or even earlier.⁴ The Hittites remained under the strong influence of Hattian culture, a process that was also reflected in the religious sphere inasmuch as the official cult is concerned. Yet, the preserved texts have little to say about popular beliefs of the inhabitants of the Hittite heartland in the

2 Note, first of all, two monographs on Hittite religion, which have remained a principal source of knowledge for the past decade or so: V. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*. HdO I.15, Leiden–New York–Köln 1994; M. Popko, *Religions of Asia Minor*, Warsaw 1995. For synthetic approaches to a study of Hurrian and Luwian beliefs, see M.-C. Trémouille, “La religione dei Hurriti,” in *La civiltà dei Hurriti* (= Pdp 55), Napoli 2000, 114–70; M. Hutter, “Aspects of Luwian Religion,” in *The Luwians*, H.C. Melchert, ed., HdO I.68, Leiden–Boston 2003, 211–80.

3 For peoples of Anatolia, see now M. Popko, *Völker und Sprachen Altanatoliens*, Wiesbaden 2008.

4 Cf. P. Taracha, “Hittites in Alaca Hüyük? An old question reconsidered,” *Archaeologia Polona* 29, 1991, 71–8. My position on this problem is a compromise between P. Garelli, who extended the ethno-linguistical conditions of Kaneš to the overall Anatolian picture, with the consequent Hittitization of the entire milieu, and I. Singer’s opinion (“Hittites and Hattians in Anatolia at the Beginning of the Second Millennium B.C.,” *JIES* 9, 1981, 131) that, before the conquest of Anitta, the land of Ḫatti had not been largely Hittitized. See also, e.g., O. Soysal, “Zur Herkunft eines gemeinsamen Wortes in Anatolien: *parninkai*,” in *Silva Anatolica. Anatolian Studies Presented to Maciej Popko on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, P. Taracha, ed., Warsaw 2002, 331–2, n. 44; R. Stefanini, “Toward a Diachronic Reconstruction of the Linguistic Map of Ancient Anatolia,” in *Anatolia Antica: Studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati*, S. de Martino – F. Pecchioli Daddi, eds, Eothen 11, Firenze 2002, 793; P.M. Goedegebuure, “Central Anatolian languages and language communities in the Colony period: A Luwian-Hattian symbiosis and the independent Hittites,” in *Anatolia and the Jazira during the Old Assyrian Period*, J.G. Dercksen, ed., OAAS 3, Leiden 2008, 137–80.

vicinity of Ḫattuša and toward the Zuliya/Çekerek basin. It seems justifiable to assume that Hittite-Luwian deities were worshiped there as early as (and presumably much earlier than) the Old Hittite period.⁵ At the beginning of the second millennium BC, Hattian influence does not seem to have reached far south of Ḫattuša. Anatolians living in Kaneš in the times of the Old Assyrian colonies seem to have merged Hittite-Luwian traditions with the influence of a local (non-Hattian) substrate. The Kanesite pantheon apparently reveals ties with southern Anatolia, while there is no influence of the northern, Hattian tradition to note in it.⁶

The kingdom of the Hittites with the capital in Ḫattuša grew from the Hattian cultural tradition. Upon seizing power in Ḫattuša, the Old Hittite dynasty took from the Hattians the name of the land, ideology of kingship, and most of the state institutions. It was only natural that Hattian gods, especially those belonging to the pantheon of the capital city, filled the state pantheon.⁷ Indeed, it is difficult to point out any elements of the official Hittite religion that could be derived from the common Indo-European heritage of the Anatolians. Yet, elements of this tradition were present in the domestic cult celebrated by the royal family venerating deities that demonstrated ties with the Kanesite pantheon. Some of these gods had Luwian names.⁸ It can be concluded from the above evidence that the ruling family had Hittite roots. In confirmation of this, Hittite became with time the official language of the royal chancery.⁹

An important criterion for attributing a given deity to a specific ethnic tradition is the language of her cult. A rule well known and abided by in different regions and cultures of the ancient world was to address a deity in her own language.¹⁰ The criterion of cult language is even more important than the god's name, especially in the case of sources from the Empire period in which foreign gods tended to be given appellations of their

5 P. Taracha, "Local cults in the Zuliya basin," in *Pax Hethitica: Studies on the Hittites and their Neighbours in Honour of Itamar Singer*, Y. Cohen - A. Gilan - J. L. Miller, eds. StBoT 51, Wiesbaden 2010, 351-5.

6 P. Taracha, DBH 27, 27-31.

7 P. Taracha, DBH 27, 38-50.

8 CTH 645, cf. V. Haas – M. Wäfler, "Bemerkungen zu ^Ḫheštūā- (1. Teil)," *UF* 8, 1976, 82ff.; V. Haas, *GhR*, 273-4; P. Taracha, DBH 27, 50-2.

9 According to M. Popko, "Althethitisch? Zu den Datierungsfragen in der Hethitologie," in *Tabularia Hethaeorum. Hethitologische Beiträge Silvin Košak zum 65. Geburtstag*, D. Groddek – M. Zorman, eds, DBH 25, Wiesbaden 2007, 579, the language of the royal office in Ḫattuša was initially Akkadian. The first Hittite texts would have been written presumably in the reign of Telipinu (c. 1550-1530) or one of his successors.

10 Cf. A. Goetze, "The Theophorus Elements of the Anatolian Proper Names from Cappadocia," *Language* 29, 1953, 263. See now also A. Archi, "The Singer of Kaneš and his Gods," in *Offizielle Religion, lokale Kulte und individuelle Religiosität. Akten des religionsgeschichtlichen Symposiums „Kleinasien und angrenzende Gebiete vom Beginn des 2. bis zur Mitte des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.“* (Bonn, 20.-22. Februar 2003), M. Hutter – S. Hutter-Braunsar, eds, AOAT 318, Münster 2004, 11-26.

Anatolian counterparts, in accordance with the process of the cross-cultural recognition and translatability of deities.¹¹ It seems, however, that already in Old Hittite times, Hittite-Luwian or Palaic deities occasionally received Hattian names in the Hattian cultural milieu.

The supreme pair of the Palaic pantheon can be mentioned here in illustration of this assumption.¹² The relation between the name of the Palaic god Zapparwa/Ziparwa and the Hattian epithet of the Storm-god of Hatti, Tapparwašu, was pointed out by Emanuel Laroche a long while ago.¹³ Zapparwa's partner was Kataḫzipuri, whose name or epithet is of Hattian origin, too; still, this Hattian appellation most probably concealed a goddess close or even identical in nature with Kamrušepa, who held a prominent position in Luwian pantheons and among the Kanesite gods.¹⁴ In bilingual texts, Kamrušepa of the Hittite version corresponds to Hattian Kataḫzipuri,¹⁵ which may suggest that the goddess, who was worshiped by the Luwians and Hittites as Kamrušepa, was given the name Kataḫzipuri among the Palaians under the influence of Hattian communities with which they remained in direct contact. The Hattian name of the Palaic Storm-god, Ziparwa/Zapparwa, might be explained in a similar fashion. The phonetic complement with the logogram used in some texts to denote his name, ^DIŠKUR-*ni* (dative),¹⁶ suggests that the Hittites called him Tarḫuna, like all the other storm-gods. It is quite possible that the Palaic term for the Storm-god sounded similarly with regard to Hittite Tarḫuna and Luwian Tarḫunt.

A good example are also the Moon-god and Hearth in the list of deities worshiped during the KI.LAM festival.¹⁷ Characteristically, singing in the cult of the Moon and Hearth was in Hittite. The phonetic complement in the writing of the Moon-god's name

11 P. Taracha, "Fremde Gottheiten und ihre anatolischen Namen. Betrachtungen zur hethitischen Religion der Großreichszeit," in *Offizielle Religion, lokale Kulte und individuelle Religiosität...*, 451-60.

12 Cf. P. Taracha, DBH 27, 58.

13 E. Laroche, "Études de linguistique anatolienne, 12. Une liste de divinités hatties," *RHA* XXXI, 1973, 85; see further D. Yoshida, "Das AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}-Fest im Tempel der Sonnengöttin," *BMECCJ* 6, 1992, 149 with n. 84. Cf. also a bread called *tapparwašu* as an offering for the Storm-god, E. Laroche "Études de vocabulaire V," *RHA* XIII/57, 1955, 77; id., "Études de linguistique anatolienne, II," *RHA* XXIV/79, 1966, 170; D. Yoshida, *Untersuchungen zu den Sonnengottheiten bei den Hethitern*. THeth 22, Heidelberg 1996, 321-2.

14 P. Taracha, DBH 27, 114-5 with ref.

15 G. Kellerman, "KUB XVII 8 iv: un mythe du feu," *Hethitica* 8, 1987, 229-231; V. Haas, *GhR*, 438ff.; cf. also O. Soysal, *Hattischer Wortschatz in hethitischer Textüberlieferung*, HdO I.74, Leiden-Boston.2004, 287, 541ff.

16 KBo 17.35 rev.⁷ 6'f., E. Neu, *Althethitische Ritualtexte in Umschrift*, StBoT 25, Wiesbaden 1980, 217 (no. 134); KBo 8.74++ iii 16', *ibid.*, 223 (no. 137).

17 Cf. P. Taracha, DBH 27, 43-4.

in the accusative (^DXXX-*an*)¹⁸ shows that it is not Hattian Kašku, but rather the Hittite-Luwian Arma. Thus, the Moon and Hearth here are not Hattian divinities, even though the latter bears the Hattian name Kuzanišu.

A deity could become common in a new cultural milieu where she had no counterpart and it was common then for her to be venerated in this new ethnic environment under her old name. One example from the early period is the Hattian god Ḫašam(m)ili worshiped in Hittite-Luwian circles, appearing also among the Kanesite gods; the same is true of a number of foreign deities, like Mesopotamian Ea and deities of his circle¹⁹ or Syrian Išhara,²⁰ who were worshiped in Hittite Anatolia during the Empire period.

As far as a study of Old Hittite religion is concerned, the methodological principle is that the religious texts of the period, the cultic and the magical both, demonstrate no trace of any Mesopotamian or Syrian influence so heavily present in texts from the Empire period.²¹ One should bear this in mind when considering scholarly opinions on the Old Hittite origins of particular rituals, rites and mythological themes which are evidenced solely in the late texts. Many of these opinions are in need of verification, but it does not mean that the late sources which can document an earlier tradition should be rejected in a reconstruction of Old Hittite beliefs and cults. In fact, if we agree that most of the existing texts written in the Old Script come from an early phase of the Empire period, the whole textual evidence for the Old Hittite religious tradition would be of later date.²²

The sources of key importance for a study of the pantheon structure and cult practices are descriptions of religious ceremonies, during which sacrifices were made to the gods. The sequence of offerings was never accidental and it reflected the divine hierarchy. Differences in the lists of gods worshiped during ceremonies celebrated as part of the state cult beyond the capital city, appearing in texts from the Empire period, are a good starting point for a detailed study of the forms of this cult and its changes over time.

18 KBo 25.154+KBo 21.68 i 7', D. Groddek, *Eine althethitische Tafel des KI.LAM-Festes*. IJDL Suppl. 1, München 2004, 16-7.

19 A. Archi, "The God Ea in Anatolia," in *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbors, Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç*, M.J. Mellink – E. Porada – T. Özgüç, eds, Ankara 1993, 27-33; P. Taracha, DBH 27, 126.

20 A. Archi, "Divinités sémitiques et divinités de substrat: le cas d'Išhara et d'Ištar à Ebla," *MARI* 7, 1993, 71-8; id., "Formation of the West Hurrian Pantheon: The Case of Išhara," in *Recent Developments in Hittite Archaeology and History. Papers in Memory of Hans G. Güterbock*, K.A. Yener – H.A. Hoffner, Jr. eds, Winona Lake, Indiana 2002, 21-33; P. Taracha, DBH 27, 123-4.

21 Cf. M. Popko, *Religions*, 68, 80.

22 M. Popko, in DBH 25, 575-81; Th.P.J. van den Hout, "Reflections on the Origins and Development of the Hittite Tablet Collections in Hattuša and Their Consequences for the Rise of Hittite Literacy," in *Central-North Anatolia in the Hittite Period: New Perspectives in Light of Recent Research*, F. Pecchidi Daddi - G. Torri - C. Corti, eds. Studia Asiana 5, Roma 2009, 71-96.

To cite one interesting instance. In some lists of gods,²³ the deity mentioned right after the Sun-goddess of Arinna (with Mezzulla) and the Storm-gods of Ḫatti and Ziplanda, is the Mountain-god Zali(yan)u from the city of Tanipiya, who was also worshiped in Kaštama, where the local city goddess Za(š)ḫapuna became his consort.²⁴ This can be good evidence for the gods of Kaštama being included in the state cult, which may refer to the fact, of which we learn from a later prayer of Muwattalli II (CTH 381),²⁵ that Kaštama had become a new seat and cult place of the Storm-god of Nerik after the northern territories with the holy city of Nerik succumbed to the Kaška tribes moving down from the Pontic region in the reign of Ḫantili II at the end of the sixteenth century BC.²⁶

The lists of gods including Zaliyanu belong to descriptions of various ceremonies which took place in Kaštama with the participation of the king or prince. Other texts from the early Empire period²⁷ confirm that during state cult festivals, celebrated outside the capital, offerings were made to the prominent deities of a given city immediately after the supreme gods of the land — Sun-goddess of Arinna (with Mezzulla) and Storm-god (in these texts he appears already in the disguise of Hurrian Teššub with his companion Šuwaliyat/Tašmišu) — and before the tutelary LAMMA god (accompanied by Ala and Zithariya), who at the time took Inar's place as the third in the chief divine triad of the capital and the Hittite state pantheon as a result of its *interpretatio luvitica*.²⁸ This also

23 D. Yoshida, THeth 22, 67ff., 296 (A.1 a).

24 Cf. V. Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik. Ein Beitrag zur hethitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Studia Pohl 4, Rome 1970, 79ff.; id., *GhR*, 598-9; P. Taracha, DBH 27, 44-5.

25 KUB 6.45 i 68, with its duplicate KUB 6.46 ii 33, I. Singer, *Muwattalli's Prayer to the Assembly of Gods Through the Storm-God of Lightning (CTH 381)*, Atlanta 1996, 12, 34.

26 KUB 1.1+ (with its duplicates) iii 46'f.; KUB 25.21 iii 2ff.; KUB 21.29 i 11f. Cf. O. Carruba, "Stato e società nel Medio Regno eteo," in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale a cura del Seminario di Orientalistica dell'Istituto Gramsci Toscano (Firenze 1984)*, Milano 1988, 200-1 (reprint in O. Carruba, *Analecta Philologica Anatolica*, Studia Mediterranea 15, Pavia 2005, 62-3); J. Freu, "De l'ancien royaume au nouvel empire: les temps obscurs de la monarchie hittite," in *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia: Pavia, 28 giugno – 2 luglio 1993*, O. Carruba – M. Giorgeri – C. Mora, eds, Studia Mediterranea 9, Pavia 1995, 135; J. Klinger, "Das Corpus der Mašat-Briefe und seine Beziehungen zu den Texten aus Ḫattuša," *ZA* 85, 1995, 84; T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, Oxford 1998, 121; H. Klengel, *Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches*, HdO I.39, Leiden–Boston–Köln 1999, 92-3; J. Freu – M. Mazoyer, *Des origines à la fin de l'ancien royaume hittite: Les Hittites et leur histoire*, Collection KUBABA Série Antiquité VII, Paris 2007, 162-3.

27 E.g., KBo 30.120+KBo 34.197(+)KBo 34.198 rev. i iv 9'ff.; KBo 34.200(+)KBo 34.201(+)KBo 34.191 obv. i 1'ff., P. Taracha, "Zu den hethitischen Ritualen des Königssohns (CTH 647)," in *V. Uluslararası Hittitoloji Kongresi Bildirileri: Çorum 02-08, Eylül 2002 = Acts of the Vth International Congress of Hittitology: Çorum, September 02-08, 2002*, A. Süel, ed., Ankara 2005, 708, 712; id., *A Spring Festival Celebrated by a Hittite Prince (CTH 647)* (forthcoming); cf. also D. Yoshida, THeth 22, 143ff. The texts (CTH 647.II.2a and II.2b respectively) date to the very beginning of the Empire period.

28 P. Taracha, DBH 27, 84-5, 110-13.

discloses the principle behind the structure of the triad (first attested in the texts of the Empire period). The third place, beside the solar deity and the Storm-god, was given to the city's divine protector. At Kaneš in the Assyrian Colony period it was Anna, at Ḫattuša it was Inar, and elsewhere other deities were invariably in this position. Thus, we are given an additional criterion for attributing fragmentarily preserved descriptions of festivals to the cult of various centers. The majority of gods charged with caring for a city belonged to the category of tutelary deities, irrespective of what was their sex, although in the old religious tradition of central and northern Anatolia, as for example in Kaneš, Ḫattuša, Tawiniya, Katapa, Kaštama, etc., they were generally female. Kataḫḫi/a ('Queen'), Am(m)am(m)a, Waḫiši, Z/Tašḫapuna, Inar, Tetešḫapi, and other prominent goddesses of local pantheons probably belonged to the same category.

It should be kept in mind that the texts refer to particular festivals celebrated in the capital or another religious center. Therefore, if a deity is missing from a list, but is known from other sources to have held a high position in the state pantheon, it may indicate only that this deity was not taking part in this ceremony because the center of her cult was situated far from the capital. It is likely also that she did not have her cult at the time in Ḫattuša. This is in my opinion the reason why the Storm-god of Nerik is missing from the list of gods worshiped during the KI.LAM festival.²⁹

At this point, it is deemed essential to comment briefly on the nature of the sources upon which the reconstruction of Hittite festivals is based. The description of cult ceremonies in the preserved texts is never a protocol of specific events, but rather a scenario of sorts for celebrating a given festival, or – to put it even more clearly – a set of stage instructions for the organizers. All through the existence of the Hittite state, these texts were copied repeatedly and edited in changed versions, especially in the case of the most important festivals. The new editions and different versions of the festival description are evidence of changes it underwent over time. On the other hand, copyists often simplified and abbreviated the original texts for their own, immediate needs, making them into a practical reminder of what should take place during a ceremony. An extreme case in point are the outline tablets of the two great festivals of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM

29 I. Singer, *The Hittite KI.LAM Festival: Part One*, StBoT 27, Wiesbaden 1983, 101-3; D. Yoshida, THeth 22, 77ff. Reconstructing the list of gods worshiped during the 'great assembly,' Singer, and after him Yoshida, joined two separate rounds of offerings together. Actually, the Storm-god with Wašezzili should not appear twice at the beginning of the list. For a similar list belonging to the festival of 'the thunder and the Moon' (CTH 630), see E. Laroche, *RHA* XXXI, 1973, 83-99.

and *nuntarriyašḫa* from the late phase of the Empire period.³⁰ Another source for studying the organization of festivals are the so-called *MELQĒTU* lists of food products and other goods received by those participating in a ceremony.³¹ These texts are of limited value for understanding the course of the functions, but they are sometimes, unfortunately, the chief source of our knowledge.

Complex reasons were responsible for change in Hittite religion under the Empire. In effect of Muwattalli I's usurpation, followed by another palace coup and internal conflict from which Tuthaliya I, son of Kantuzzili, emerged victorious, a new dynasty originating from Kummani in Kizzuwatna seized power in the first half of the fifteenth century BC³² and ruled the Hittite kingdom until its ultimate fall. As part of their dynastic cult, Hittite kings of the Empire period worshiped the gods of the Hurrians living in Kizzuwatna and northern Syria, including Syrian deities and gods of Mesopotamian origin. There were therefore two pantheons in the official Hittite religion of the Empire period — a dynastic one, comprising Hurrian-Kizzuwatnean deities worshiped by the royal family (we can see them, for instance, depicted in a procession on rock faces at Yazılıkaya), and a state one, in which significant changes were stimulated by the beliefs of the royal house.³³ The most important of these changes was the recognition of the Hurrian Storm-god Teššub, the dynasty's patron god, as the main god of the state pantheon. Divinities of foreign origin penetrated also into the pantheon of the capital and local beliefs.

The state pantheon as reflected by the lists of gods invoked to witness state treaties was to a much bigger degree than in the Old Hittite period an outcome of the kings'

30 H.G. Güterbock, "An Outline of Hittite AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival," *JNES* 19, 1960, 80-9 (reprint in *Perspectives on Hittite Civilization: Selected Writings of Hans Gustav Güterbock*, H.A. Hoffner, Jr., ed., AS 26, Chicago 1997, 91-8); Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, "Brief Comments on the Hittite Cult Calendar. The Outline of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival," in *Kaniššuwat: A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock on His 75th Birthday, May 27, 1983*, H.A. Hoffner – G.M. Beckman, eds, AS 23, Chicago 1986, 95-110; id., "A New Look at the Outline Tablets of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival: The Text-Copy VS NF 12.1," in *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, G. Beckman – R. Beal – G. McMahon, eds, Winona Lake, Indiana 2003, 205-19; M. Nakamura, "Zu den Übersichtstafeln des *nuntarriyašḫa*-Festes," in *III. Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri: Çorum 16-22 Eylül 1996 = Acts of the IIIrd International Congress of Hittitology: Çorum, September 16-22, 1996*, S. Alp – A. Süel, eds, Ankara 1998, 445-9; id., *Das hethitische nuntarriyašḫa-Fest*. PIHANS 94, Leiden 2002, 15-75.

31 Cf. I. Singer, *StBoT* 27, 147ff.

32 For a review of the debate, see P. Taracha, "On the Dynasty of the Hittite Empire," in *Šarnikzel. Hethitologische Studien zum Gedenken an Emil Orgetorix Forrer (19.02.1894 – 10.01.1986)*, D. Groddek – S. Röble, eds, DBH 10, Dresden 2004, 631-8; further id., "The Storm-God and Hittite Great King," in *VI Congresso Internazionale di Ittitologia: Roma, 5-9 settembre 2005*, A. Archi – R. Francia, eds, vol. II (= SMEA 50, 2008), 745-51. For the history of the early Empire period, see now O. Carruba, *Annali etei del Medio Regno*, Studia Mediterranea 18, Series Hethaea 5, Pavia 2008, 83ff.

33 P. Taracha, "Zur Entwicklung des offiziellen Pantheons im Staats- und dynastischen Kult der hethitischen Großreichszeit," *JANER* 5, 2005, 89-106; id., DBH 27, 84ff.

theological policies.³⁴ A new, geographic concept of this pantheon was taking shape even as the center of gravity of the state moved in a southerly and southeasterly direction. The deities from the Lower Land and Kizzuwatna took a prominent place in the Hittite state pantheon next to the old Hattian gods. Standing out in this concept of the state pantheon is the idea of a territorial state, which nonetheless failed to cover all of the lands making up the Hittite Empire after the conquests of Šuppiluliuma I and Muṣṣili II.

The state pantheon expressed the idea of the ‘Thousand Gods of Hatti’ developed by court theologians.³⁵ This peculiar product of political theology, an amalgam of Anatolian, Hurrian, Syrian and Mesopotamian religious traditions, had no ties with the earlier cult practice. Not accidentally, the Sun-goddess of Arinna does not appear with Mezzulla, her daughter and inseparable companion from the lists of gods to whom offerings were made during cult ceremonies. Teššub’s consort Hebat also retreats to a secondary position, leaving the position of the chief goddess of the land to the Sun-goddess of Arinna. Other gods, who are known to have played an insignificant role in the cult, owe their high position to the importance of the center they originated from, for example, the Storm-god of Arinna.³⁶

The change in the state pantheon and cult did not occur immediately after the advent of the new dynasty. It was not until Šuppiluliuma I or rather his father Tuḫaliya III that the state pantheon took on its final typological shape. It took much longer to create a proper setting for the worship of divinities of this new state pantheon and occurred only in the reign of Tuḫaliya IV when the Great Temple in the Lower City of Ḫattuša was built as part of his policy of the reorganization of cults throughout the country.³⁷ Time was also needed for change in Hittite royal ideology. This new ideology was expressed for the first time in lists of divine witnesses to treaties and in royal seal iconography of the times of Tuḫaliya III and Šuppiluliuma I.

Now a short comment upon these issues. Continuity and change in the Hittite state pantheon and royal ideology of the Empire period perfectly fits the conclusions drawn

34 G. Kestemont, “Le panthéon des instruments hittites de droit public,” *Or NS* 45, 1976, 147-77; D. Yoshida, *THeth* 22, 7ff.; P. Taracha, *JANER* 5, 92ff., 101ff.; D. Schwemer, “Das hethitische Reichspantheon: Überlegungen zu Struktur und Genese,” in *Götterbilder, Gottesbilder, Weltbilder: Polytheismus und Monotheismus in der Welt der Antike*, Bd. I: Ägypten, Mesopotamien, Persien, Kleinasien, Syrien, Palästina, R.G. Kratz – H. Speckermann, eds, Tübingen 2006, 243ff.

35 I. Singer, ““The Thousand Gods of Hatti”: The Limits of an Expanding Pantheon,” in *Concepts of the Other in Near Eastern Religions*, I. Alon – I. Gruenwald – I. Singer, eds, IOS 14, Leiden 1994, 81-102; C. Karasu, “Why Did the Hittites Have a Thousand Deities?,” in *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, G. Beckman – R. Beal – G. McMahon, eds, Winona Lake, Indiana 2003, 221-35.

36 P. Taracha, *DBH* 27, 86-7.

37 For the cult of the Storm-god and other deities of the Great House, see P. Taracha, *DBH* 27, 132-3.

from a conference on Steady States at the British Academy in September 2004. In the introductory chapter Harriet Crawford writes: “Continuity did not mean stagnation. Change certainly did occur, (...) but it seems to have occurred not immediately after the regime change, but within one or two generations of that change, that is to say, after about fifty years... When change does come, the reasons for it are varied. We can suggest, for example, that it is only after a period of time that newcomers to the throne feel confident enough to modify the existing ideology (...). Any conqueror may initially be anxious to cast himself as the legitimate successor chosen by the local gods, whose worship and maintenance therefore has to be one of his first priorities.”³⁸

The ideology of kingship in the early Empire period drew upon Old Hittite tradition.³⁹ Testifying to the continuity is the high position of the War-god among the divine witnesses to the treaties of the predecessors of Šuppiluliuma I.⁴⁰ The enthronement and anointing of a new king and his royal consort was a religious act. On this day an ancient tradition called for the royal couple to make offerings to the Sun-goddess of Arinna; cult ceremonies were held simultaneously in the temples of all of the gods (in Ḫattuša?), as well as in Ziplanda, Ankuwa and Taḫurpa.⁴¹ In the treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Šattiwaza of Mittani, the Sun-goddess of Arinna is said to ‘govern kingship and queenship in Ḫatti.’⁴² She was traditionally the real ruler of the land, the king being absolutely in her service.

However, the ideology of kingship had already changed by this time. That change is evident in the arrangement of the lists of divine witnesses to state treaties where the Sun-god of Heaven is mentioned first. Simultaneously the Anatolian War-god lost his exposed place, appearing lower down, together with other war-gods of different origin. This new

38 H. Crawford, “Steady States,” in *Regime Change in the Ancient Near East and Egypt: From Sargon of Agade to Saddam Hussein*, H. Crawford, ed., Proceedings of the British Academy 136, Oxford 2007, 4.

39 On the ideology of kingship and the enthronement ceremonies, see H.M. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König*, StBoT 3, Wiesbaden 1967, 43ff.; Th.P.J. van den Hout, “Hethitische Thronbesteigungsorakel und die Inauguration Tudḫaliyas IV.,” *ZA* 81, 1991, 275-300; V. Haas, *GhR*, 188ff.; D. Groddek, “Ein Reinigungsritual für Muršili II. anlässlich seiner Thronbesteigung,” *Hethitica* 15, 2002, 81-92; I. Yakubovich, “Were Hittite Kings Divinely Anointed? A Palaic Invocation to the Sun-God and Its Significance for Hittite Religion,” *JANER* 5, 2005, 107-37; B.J. Collins, *The Hittites and their World*, SBL Archaeology and Biblical Studies 7, Atlanta, Georgia 2007, 92ff.

40 KBo 28.110+ rev. 80”ff., D. Schwemer, in *Götterbilder, Gottesbilder, Weltbilder...*, 246; KBo 8.35 ii 9”ff., E. von Schuler, *Die Kašäer: Ein Beitrag zur Ethnographie des alten Kleinasien*, Berlin 1965, 110; cf. also D. Yoshida, *THeth* 22, 10.

41 KUB 12.54 rev. 1”ff. with parallels in other texts, A. Archi, “Trono regale e trono divinizzato nell’Anatolia ittita,” *SMEA* 1, 1966, 77; D. Yoshida, *THeth* 22, 197; D. Crasso, “Alcuni aspetti culturali della città ittita di Ankuwa,” *AoF* 33, 2006, 342-3; cf. also H.M. Kümmel, *StBoT* 3, 46f.

42 KBo 1.1 rev. 35’, 40’ (Akkadian), G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*. Second Edition. WAW 7, Atlanta, Georgia 1999, 46-7; G. Wilhelm apud G. Wilhelm – D. Schwemer – J. Klinger, “Staatsverträge mit dem Hethiterreich,” in *TUAT NF, Band 2: Staatsverträge, Herrscherinschriften und andere Dokumente zur politischen Geschichte*, Gütersloh 2005, 119. Cf. also D. Yoshida, *THeth* 22, 12ff.

arrangement of the list of divine witnesses is attested for the first time in the documents of Šuppiluliuma I, but it cannot be excluded that it was introduced already in the reign of Tuthaliya III.⁴³

Significantly, the author of one of the Hittite prayers to the Sun-god, inspired by Babylonian models, was the brother of Tuthaliya III, Kantuzzili.⁴⁴ Perhaps the appearance of these prayers in the royal archives in Hattuša should be connected with the change occurring in the royal ideology discussed above.

From Tuthaliya III,⁴⁵ royal seal iconography had expressed the tutelary role of the Sun-god of Heaven with regard to the king as an aedicula with a winged solar disc above the hieroglyphs of the king's name.⁴⁶ This royal propaganda was given a new expression under Muwattalli II with the emergence of the so-called *Umarmung* scene in which Teššub/Tarḫunt of Heaven extends his protection to the king. The representation of the ruler in the embrace of Teššub/Tarḫunt of Heaven is repeated on seals of the successors of Muwattalli II — Muršili III/Urḫi-Teššub and Tuthaliya IV.⁴⁷ The latter's seal shows

43 The list of divine witnesses in the treaty with Ḫuqana of Hayaša from the early years of Šuppiluliuma I (CTH 42, G. Beckman, *HDT*², 28-9; J. Klinger apud G. Wilhelm – D. Schwemer – J. Klinger, in *TUAT NF*, Band 2, 108-9) probably refers to an earlier redaction of the Hayaša treaty from the times of Tuthaliya III; see O. Carruba, "Die Hajaša-Verträge Hattis," in *Documentum Asiae Minoris antiquae. Festschrift für Heinrich Otten zum 75. Geburtstag*, E. Neu – Ch. Rüster, eds, Wiesbaden 1988, 59-75; cf. also P. Taracha, *JANER* 5, 94 n. 20.

44 See now D. Schwemer, "Hittite Prayers to the Sun-god for Appeasing an Angry Personal God. A Critical Edition of CTH 372-4," in "Mon dieu, qu'ai-je donc fait?" *Les prières pénitentielles (dingir-ša-dab-ba) et l'expression de la piété privée en Mésopotamie*, M. Jacques, ed., Habilitationsschrift Zürich 2009, available at SOAS Research Online, <https://eprints.soas.uk/6304/>.

45 M. Salvini, "Un sceau original de la reine hittite Ašmunikal," *Syria* 67, 1990, 257-68. See, however, J.D. Hawkins, "Doubts on the Seal AO 29722," *Syria* 67, 1990, 736-41.

46 Some scholars (e.g. H. Otten, *Zu einigen Neufunden hethitischer Königssiegel*, Mainz – Stuttgart 1993, 33; A. Dinçol, "»Tabarna«- und »Ädikula«-Siegel: Die Siegel hethitischer Großkönige und Großköniginnen," in *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich. Das Volk der 1000 Götter – Beigleitband zur Ausstellung der Kunsthalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Bonn 2002, 90; O. Soysal, "Kantuzzili in Siegelinschriften," *BiOr* 60, 2003, 53) interpret the winged solar disc in these scenes as a hieroglyphic sign for the royal title ^DUTU^{SI} 'My Sun.' In my opinion, however (P. Taracha, *JANER* 5, 95), the timely appearance of the aedicula composition concurrently with the elevation of the Sun-god in the lists of divine witnesses of Hittite state treaties favors the idea that the winged solar disc actually symbolizes the Sun-god. H. Otten, "Das hethitische Königshaus im 15. Jahrhundert v. Chr. (Zum Neufund einiger Landschenkungsurkunden in Boğazköy)," in *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 123. Jahrgang, 1986, So. 2, Wien 1987, 32, is correct in stating that nothing is better proof of change in ideology than a new iconography of the royal seals. The royal title 'My Sun' is attested already in the Old Hittite period; see O. Carruba, "PUTU^{SI}," in *Anatolia Antica: Studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati*, S. de Martino – F. Pecchioli Daddi, eds, Eothen 11, Firenze 2002, 145-54. It must have been introduced earlier on, regardless of changes in the ideology of kingship in the Empire period.

47 P. Taracha, *JANER* 5, 94; id., *SMEA* 50, 45-51. Cf. also H. Otten, *Zu einigen Neufunden...*, 10ff., 22ff., 35ff.; I. Singer, *Muwattalli's Prayer*, 68; H. Klengel, "An der Hand der Gottheit: Bemerkungen zur 'Umarmungsszene' in der hethitischen Tradition," in *Silva Anatolica. Anatolian Studies Presented to Maciej Popko on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, P. Taracha, ed., Warsaw 2002, 205-10; S. Herboldt, "The Hittite Royal Cylinder Seal of Tuthaliya IV with *Umarmungsszene*," in *The Iconography of Cylinder Seals*, P. Taylor, ed., Warburg Institute Colloquia 9, London–Turin 2006, 82-91, 207-11.

the *Umarmung* scene which is incorporated in an elaborate aedicula with the winged disc of the Sun-god above the hieroglyphs of the king's both names that are flanked by the supreme pair of the state pantheon, the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the Storm-god embracing Tutḫaliya. In thirteenth-century iconography the relation between the king and the Sun-god and Storm-god is visualized in the symbolic identification of the king with both deities: the king as Sun-god in his priestly dress and as Storm-god in military attire.⁴⁸ The Sun-god and the Storm-god were the Gods of Kingship *par excellence*.⁴⁹

In official propaganda which supported the legitimacy of power and the rights of the heir to the throne, family relations between the gods of the dynastic pantheon were transposed onto members of the royal family. The seals of Urḫi-Teššub as his father's heir presumptive (*tuhkanti*) are good examples, for they show him in the embrace of Šarrumma, son of Teššub of Kizzuwatna.⁵⁰ A little later, in a new political situation after the reconquest of the northern territories by Ḫattušili III, who also declared the Storm-god of Nerik his divine patron, court theologians revamped the traditional Hittite pantheon according to principles of family ties, presumably modeling their efforts on the organization of the dynastic pantheon. The Storm-gods of the holy cities of Nerik and Ziplanda became the sons of the supreme couple, the Storm-god of Ḫatti and the Sun-goddess of Arinna. This allowed Ḫattušili III to include the Storm-god of Nerik in the royal propaganda as a guarantor of royal succession for his son Tutḫaliya.⁵¹ At the same time, however, Šarrumma was Tutḫaliya's personal god and remained so even after his accession to the throne.⁵²

48 H.G. Güterbock, "Sungod or King?," in *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbors, Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç*, M.J. Mellink – E. Porada – T. Özgüç, eds, Ankara 1993, 225-6; Th.P.J. van den Hout, "Tudhaliya IV. und die Ikonographie hethitischer Großkönige des 13. Jhs.," *BiOr* 52, 1995, 545-73; D. Bonatz, "The Divine Image of the King: Religious Representation of Political Power in the Hittite Empire," in *Representations of Political Power: Case Histories from Times of Change and Dissolving Order in the Ancient Near East*, M. Heinz – M.H. Feldman, eds, Winona Lake, Indiana 2007, esp. 125-6.

49 Th.P.J. van den Hout, *The Purity of Kingship. An Edition of CTH 569 and Related Hittite Oracle Inquiries of Tudhaliya IV*. DMOA 25, Leiden 1998, 73.

50 J.D. Hawkins, "Urḫi-Tešub, *tuhkanti*," in *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie: Würzburg, 4.-8. Oktober 1999*, G. Wilhelm, ed., StBoT 45, Wiesbaden 2001, 167-79.

51 See also P. Taracha, "Why Hattusili chose the Storm-god of Nerik and Sauska of Samuha," in *Here & There Across the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honour of Krystyna Lyczkowska*, O. Drewnowska, ed., Warszawa 2009, 261-70.

52 For relief no. 81 from Yazılıkaya with Šarrumma embracing Tutḫaliya IV, see W. Orthmann, "Zum Relief Nr. 81 in Yazılıkaya," in *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasien: Festschrift für Kurt Bittel*, R.M. Boehmer – H. Hauptmann, eds, Mainz am Rhein 1983, 427-31 with references; now also H. Ehringhaus, *Götter, Herrscher, Inschriften. Die Felsreliefs der hethitischen Großreichszeit in der Türkei*, Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie, Mainz am Rhein 2005, 28-9.