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HERE & THERE

ACROSS THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

Studies in Honour of Krystyna Łyczkowska

Edited by Olga Drewnowska



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WHY ḪATTUŠILI CHOSE THE STORM-GOD OF NERIK AND ŠAUŠKA OF ŠAMUḪA

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Like many other Hurrian or Hurrianized royal families of eastern Anatolia, Syria and northern Mesopotamia, including the kings of Mittani, the new dynasty of Kizzuwatnean origin that seized power in Ḫattuša in the first half of the 15th century BC (Taracha 2004; now Carruba 2008: 83 ff. with ref.) regarded Teššub as its divine protector.¹ Hittite kings referred to one of the god's hypostases in a special way as Teššub (of Ḫalab) of Kummani/Kizzuwatna, place of origin of the dynasty, who was worshiped in the Hittite capital as Teššub of Ḫalab of Ḫattuša (Taracha 2008). Consequently, from the outset of the Empire period the Anatolian Storm-god, who traditionally stood at the head of the state pantheon by the side of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, appears in Hurrian garb of Teššub (Taracha 2009: 84 ff.), implying a special relation between the state supreme god and the dynastic one, the latter becoming also a personal god of the ruler.

This is confirmed by Hittite state treaties of Šuppiluliuma I, Muršili II and Muwattalli II. In their preambles the kings call themselves “beloved of the Storm-god” (Beckman 1999: 36, 42, 59, 87), having in mind Teššub rather than the Storm-god of Ḫatti. The allomorphs of Teššub with Luwian epithets, *muwattalli* “Mighty” and *piḫaššašši* “of Lightning,” which had been conceived by Muršili II and Muwattalli II respectively to become their personal gods (Taracha 2009: 93 with ref.), took prominent place in the lists

¹ Impressions of a seal of Kantuzzili MAGNUS.HASTARIUS (= GAL *MEŠEDI*) and Tudḫaliya MAGNUS.LITUUS from the Upper City in Hattuša (Bo 78/56, Dinçol 2001) yielded the earliest evidence of the title *NARĀM*^{DU} “beloved of the Storm-god” with reference to members of the new Hittite dynasty. The seal owners may be identified with later king Tudḫaliya I and his father Kantuzzili (Herbordt 2003: 24).

of divine witnesses to the treaties, and the Storm-god of Lightning also appears in the preamble of the treaty between Muwattalli II and Alakšandu of Wiluša (Beckman 1999: 87).

The iconography of royal seals suggests that the kings of the Empire period, till the reigns of Muwattalli II and his son Muršili III/Urḫi-Teššub, hardly perceived the difference between the Storm-god of Ḫatti and Teššub, the divine patron of the dynasty. The official seals of Muwattalli II and Muršili III (Güterbock 1940: 19 ff. nos 38A-40A; Beran 1967: 79 f. no. 250a; Otten 1993: 22 ff.) show in the central scene a figure of the king embraced by the Storm-god of Heaven (MAGNUS.TONITRUS.CAELUM) in the iconic type characteristic of Teššub, as we see it, for instance, in the main scene on the rocky walls of Yazılıkaya chamber A. In the *Umarmung* scenes on the royal seals the Storm-god is likely to have been considered a personal god of the king (Orthmann 1983: 427 f.; Singer 1996: 68; Klengel 2002: 208 ff.; Herbordt 2006: 86); at the same time, his iconography might reflect an *interpretatio hurritica* of the Storm-god of Ḫatti. The cuneiform legends running around the circumference of the seals mention the supreme pair of the state pantheon, referring to the king as “beloved of the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna.” There are also seals of Urḫi-Teššub as his father’s heir presumptive (*tuhkanti*) which depict him in embrace of Šarrumma, son of Teššub of Kummani, supporting the legitimacy of power and the rights of the heir to the throne (Hawkins 2001). Family relations between the gods of the dynastic pantheon were transposed here onto members of the royal family.

Change did occur under Ḫattušili III, who never mentioned the Storm-god in preambles of his treaties while in other texts he claims to be “beloved of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god of Nerik and Šauška of Šamuḫa” (KBo 6.28 obv. 2, cf. Hutter-Braunsar 2004: 263); thus he refers but to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and his patron deities (see below). His son and successor, Tudḫaliya IV, is also “beloved of the Sun-goddess of Arinna” in the preamble of his treaty with Šauškamuwa of Amurru (Beckman 1999: 103). Apparently, Ḫattušili III and Tudḫaliya IV did not regard Teššub as their personal god anymore, even though they still used the *Umarmung* seals as the means of royal and dynastic propaganda, especially in foreign policy. The peace treaty between Ḫattušili III and Ramesses II was sealed with two seals of the type. As the Egyptian copy of the text tells us, one seal showed the Storm-god (“Set”) embracing Ḫattušili and the other one, the Sun-goddess of Arinna embracing his wife Puduḫepa (Edel

1997: 82 f.; Klengel 2002: 205 f.). Similarly, the Bronze Tablet of the treaty between Tudḫaliya IV and Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša was sealed “with the seal of the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the seal of the Storm-god of Ḫatti” (Bo 86/299 iv 44 f., Otten 1988: 28 f.; Beckman 1999: 123). The supreme pair of the state pantheon appears also in an aedicula composition on the well-known Ugarit seal of Tudḫaliya IV, with several duplicates found at Nišantepe in Ḫattuša (Schaeffer 1956: 19 ff. figs 26-26; Otten 1993: 35 ff. figs 29-31). This seal is impressed on a tablet from Ugarit in which Tudḫaliya sanctions the divorce between king Ammištamru of Ugarit and the daughter of Bentešina of Amurru. Significantly, the Storm-god embracing the Hittite king is called with his Luwian name Tarḫunta (DEUS.TONITRUS.TA). The representation on a unique cylinder seal of Tudḫaliya IV, known from multiple impressions on a sealed bulla from Nišantepe (Bo 91/1980), shows an *Umarmung* scene which is a clear expression of dynastic propaganda, considering a cuneiform inscription at the right of the seal impression that identifies the deity embracing the king as the Storm-god of Kummani, King of Heaven. According to Herbordt (2006: 89 f.), the bulla was probably attached to a document of considerable importance, like a treaty. She argues “that Tudḫaliya’s use of this cylinder seal was also influenced by Assyria, and that it can be viewed as a political statement addressed to Tukulti-Ninurta I.” The *Umarmung* scene with the patron god of the dynasty should be interpreted as an implicit statement of dynastic continuity; thereby, Tudḫaliya laid claim to the Great Throne of Ḫatti that was earlier usurped by his father Ḫattušili III.

This is only one instance out of many to show that continuity did not mean stagnation. Concerning the iconography, there are some points of similarity between the scenes of embrace on the seals of Muwattalli II and Muršili III and the representation of the Storm-god of Kummani as the king’s embracer on the cylinder seal of Tudḫaliya IV. Yet, the meaning of the latter representation was probably different. Several bullae with impressions of aedicula seals of Ḫattušili III, found at Büyükkale and Nišantepe in Ḫattuša, confirm that the royal propaganda with regard to the Deities of Kingship had changed by this time. The cuneiform legends refer to the king’s patron deities, declaring that he is “beloved of the Storm-god of Nerik, beloved of Šauška of Šamuḫa” (Otten 1993: 28 ff. with ref.). They have also counterparts in other documents from the reign of Ḫattušili III. The preamble of KBo 22.73(+)KUB 21.11 might be restored as follows, obv. 1 f.:

[UM-]MA¹ mHA[-AT-TU-ŠI-LI DUMU mMU-UR-ŠI-LI LUGAL URU HA-
AK-MI-I]Š NA-RA-AM D^U URU NE-RI-IK / 'U' D^U IŠTAR U^{RU} [ŠA-MU-HA].²

How to explain that change? The question has to be combined with that about Hattušili's patron deities, Šauška of Šamuha and the Storm-god of Nerik. Why did he choose them? This was undoubtedly a purely political decision and it must not be considered an act of personal piety. As Hattušili claims to have experienced divine providence of the two deities long before he became Great King (see below), his special relation to them did not certainly result from the fact that Urhi-Teššub held for life the office of priesthood of the Storm-god of Hatti and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, thus preventing Hattušili from becoming their priest (Pugliese Carratelli 1959: 126 ff.). Hutter-Braunsar (2004: 265) maintains that Hattušili could not choose any of the gods of Hatti, Arinna and the Land of the Cedars, for king Muwattalli II had taken them to the new capital Tarhuntašša. She states also (Hutter-Braunsar 2004: 266) that

die hurritische – aus Kizzuwatna stammende – Göttin Šauška könnte man *pars pro toto* als hurritische Gottheit ansehen, die anscheinend übrigblieb, als Muwattalli die «Zederngötter» mit nach Tarhuntašša nahm.

In my opinion, however, all such assumptions hardly meet the case. I do not agree, either, that the motivation lay in Hittite religion, as suggested e.g. by Hutter-Braunsar (2004: 265; cf. also Archi 1971: 195):

Der Wettergott von Nerik und Šauška von Šamuha verkörpern geographisch Gebiete, die zu jener Zeit, als Muwattalli II. die Hauptstadt von Hattuša nach Tarhuntašša verlegte, offensichtlich zu den vernachlässigten Gegenden gehörten beziehungsweise zwar am Rande des hethitischen Kernlandes lagen, jedoch mit ihren Hauptgottheiten doch die für das Land Hatti wichtigsten Kulte symbolisierten.

Hattušili eulogized both deities in his official documents and seal legends; still, it was not because of their prominent position in the Hittite pantheon. It was admittedly connected with his entire political career that was eventually crowned with the seizure of the Great Throne in Hattuša. It was his progress through life, not a free choice, which decided about Šauška of Šamuha and the Storm-god of Nerik becoming his personal deities. More-

² For a slightly different restoration, see Groddek 2008: 73.

over, each of the deities apparently gave assistance to Ḫattušili at a different stage of his career.

The so-called “Apology” (for English translations, see van den Hout 1997 and Hoffner 2006), a decree instituting the cult of Šauška of Šamuḫa in the royal family, or rather a veritable covenant made by Ḫattušili III with the goddess towards the end of his reign (Popko 1995: 133 f.; 2003), describes the king’s life history in detail. As a youth, after the enthronement of his elder brother Muwattalli II (and for many years later on), Ḫattušili would never imagine himself becoming Great King of Ḫatti (“Apology” §4, van den Hout 1997: 199 f.):

When my father Muršili became god, my brother Muwattalli seated himself on the throne of his father, while I became army commander in front of my brother. My brother installed me as Chief of the Royal Bodyguard and gave me the Upper Country to govern. So I was in command of the Upper Country.

Then it was natural for Ḫattušili as Governor of the Upper Land to appeal to Šauška, Lady of its capital Šamuḫa, for a charter guaranteeing divine sanction in his authority and subsequent military campaigns against the Kaškaeans. He served Šauška as a priest already in his boyhood, still in the lifetime of his father Muršili II. Under the new circumstances, however, he started to venerate her as his patron goddess, and from that time onwards she always sided with him.

The next important step in Ḫattušili’s career was his becoming King of Ḫakp/miš after Muwattalli II moved the capital to Tarḫuntašša some few years into his reign (“Apology” §8, van den Hout 1997: 201):

Then he (= Muwattalli) gathered the gods of Ḫatti and the Manes on the spot, carried them down to the city of Tarḫuntašša and took (up residence in) Tarḫuntašša. To Durmitta (and) Kuruštama, however, he did not go. In these countries he left me (behind), and these desolate countries he gave me to govern. The lands of Iṣḫupitta, Marišta, Ḫiššašḫapa, Katapa, Ḫanḫana, Daraḫna, Ḫattena, Durmitta, Pala, Tumanna, Gaššiya, Šappa, the Ḫulana River (and their) chariots and “golden” chariot fighters I commanded all. The lands of Ḫakpiš and Ištaḫara he gave me in vassalship and in Ḫakpiš he made me king.

A seal of Ḫattušili “King of the Upper Land” (Bittel – Naumann – Beran – Hachmann – Kurth 1957: no. 9) probably represents this stage of his career, implying that the Upper Land was itself increased by these territories

(which all are located in northern Anatolia encircling Ḫattuša to its north-west, north and northeast), whereas Ḫattuša itself was still controlled by the elderly Mitannamuwa who had been appointed by Muwattalli II (Gurney 2003: 122; cf. also Singer 2001). After that, Ḫattušili devoted all his energies to the task of reconquering the lands at the Kızılırmak estuary, including the holy city of Nerik, which had been taken by the Kaškaeans more than two hundred years earlier in the end of the sixteenth century BC. In his quest to bring the northern territories back into the fold he sought the assistance of the Storm-god of Nerik, whose cult during the Kaškaean occupation of Nerik was moved to Kaštama (Taracha 2009: 102 f. with ref.). Ḫattušili introduced the Storm-god's cult in Ḫakp/miš, declaring him his patron god. In fact, the Storm-god of Nerik became the divine governor of kingship and queenship in Ḫakp/miš. KBo 22.73(+)KUB 21.11 refers to the times after Ḫattušili's marriage to Puduḫepa on his return from Syria, rev. 15' f.: *am-mu-ṛuk⁷ A-NA^mḪ[A-AT-TU-ŠI-LI^DU^{URU}NE-RI-IK EN-]YA e-eš-ta nu-mu^DU^{URU}NE-RI-IK / EN-YA ka-ni-eš-t[a nu-mu^mḪa-at-tu-ši-li-in LUGAL-un i-ya-at^{MUNUS}P]u-du-ḫe-pa-an-ma MUNUS.LUGAL i-ya-at.*³

The “Apology” (§12a-b, van den Hout 1997: 203 f.) is quite explicit about the working of Šauška's divine providence in Ḫattušili's usurpation of the Great Kingship of Ḫatti about ten years later:

Šauška, My Lady, had given me kingship over Ḫatti Land. I had become Great King: She took me as a prince and let me (rise) to kingship. (...) How often had Šauška, the Lady, taken me! She had installed me on “the high place,” into kingship over Ḫatti Land!

Thus the Storm-god of Nerik and Šauška of Šamuḫa became the Deities of Kingship of Ḫattušili at different stages of his career. According to Wyatt (2007: 48),

the term “royal gods” means that, apart from any other functions they performed, they represented in the celestial world of the gods apotheosized aspects of kingship and were believed to be present in some measure in the person of the reigning king.

³ For a different restoration, see Groddek 2008: 75. The “Apology” (§9, van den Hout 1997: 202) alludes to rebellions in Ḫattušili's kingdom during his stay in Syria:

[Then] I [w]ent and [fo]rtified the cities of Ḫawarkina and Dilmuna. Ḫakpiš, however, turned hostile. I sent Kaškaeans and on my own I set it straight again. I became King of Ḫakpiš while my wife became [Queen of] Ḫakpiš.

So they were the king's patron gods, who granted religious legitimization of his authority even in case of usurpation. Consequently, Ḫattušili included the Storm-god of Nerik in the royal propaganda as a guarantee of royal succession for his son Tudḫaliya, proclaimed archpriest of the god (KUB 36.90 obv. 15 ff., Singer 2002: 106; cf. also Taracha 2009: 91). Afterwards, Tudḫaliya was appointed to be priest of Šauška of Šamuḫa ("Apology" §12b, van den Hout 1997: 204):

I handed over to you (= Šauška) in subservience my son Tudḫaliya as well. Let Tudḫaliya, my son, administer the house of Šauška! I (am) the servant of the goddess, let him be servant of the goddess as well!

Change in the royal ideology implied new political theology. It was the root cause of a renaissance of Anatolian cults at the close of the Hittite Empire period. The raise of the Storm-god of Nerik to the position of the king's divine patron brought about efforts of court theologians to revamp the traditional Hittite pantheon according to principles of family ties, presumably based on the organization of the dynastic pantheon. As a result, 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 (Taracha 2009: 91). The construction of the Great Temple in the Lower City of Ḫattuša, which was dedicated to the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, crowned Tudḫaliya IV's reorganization of the state cult in the capital and in the land (Taracha 2009: 132 f. with ref.).

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