Studying external stimuli to the development of the ancient Aegean

The 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme from Kumarbi to Kronos via Anatolia.

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PhD Thesis

I, Erik Wilhelmus Maria van Dongen, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Thesis abstract

It is commonly accepted nowadays that ancient Aegean culture included many elements that were not indigenous. But scholars still question the importance of these for the development of the region. I contend that such scepticism is mistaken. Ideas about the ancient Aegean's cultural independence are founded in the history of research in this field, and could be countered by more detailed studies of specific cultural elements. The following issues should be addressed: the likelihood of an indigenous development of elements; reasons for transmission and the process of embedment; the process of transmission.

These issues I discuss in the introduction. Next, a case study follows on the connection between the appearances of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme in the Hittite *Song of Going Forth* ('Song of Kumarbi') and the Hesiodic *Theogony*. I explain these by proposing a specific scenario.

An analysis of the song shows that it focused on the storm-god more than is commonly assumed. Subsequently, the variant of the theme in the *Theogony* and its similarities with that of the song are described. Various elements of the theme that appear similarly in the *Theogony* and the song probably originated outside the Aegean. Their inclusion together implies that the composer of the *Theogony* knew of a version of the entire song. I suggest that he intended to create a pan-Hellenic genealogical system, and considered this text particularly fit as a framework to structure his poem with.

The song was Hurrian originally, and probably connected to kingship legitimisation. This was also its use in the Hittite and Neo-Hittite kingdoms. Intra-Anatolian interaction from ca. 1200-650 BCE is surveyed. The Phrygians probably adopted the song from the Neo-Hittites, perhaps again in the context of kingship rituals. After 750 BCE, the song reached the Aegean, where, soon afterwards, it was used for the *Theogony*.

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Preface

In a sense, work on this thesis started in 2002. In that year, during a class on Greek literature at the Radboud University Nijmegen, I heard about the work by Burkert and West on external stimuli to the development of the ancient Aegean. This subject immediately struck me as interesting, not only in itself, but also because of its importance for ideas about the cultural history of 'modern western culture'. To my mind, in turn these also influence ideas about the relation between 'west' and 'east' in the current day.

Consequently, I read Burkert's *The Orientalizing Revolution* (1992b) and West's *The East Face of Helicon* (1997), the most famous books of this field of study, and decided that I wanted to do something with this subject for my MA thesis. But in the course of my studies, I became sceptic. Many ideas concerning specific stimuli and their transmission appeared to be difficult to accept in their current form. In my opinion, these ideas lacked a proper substantiation. Therefore, I became interested in the research methods of this field of study, and how these could be improved. As this thesis testifies, around this subject my work has revolved since.

My research has taken me to many different universities. As mentioned, I obtained my MA from the Radboud University Nijmegen. My supervisors were André Lardinois and Marten Stol, who helped me on my way, and guided me in my voyages into scholarly territories which before had been unknown to me. I still go to Nijmegen regularly, to meet up with friends and colleagues in the good atmosphere of the university's Department of Classics.

After Nijmegen, a stay at the University of Helsinki followed. There, funded by a CIMO Fellowship, I worked for the Melammu Project for nine months in 2005/2006. For their help and support, the opportunity to come to Helsinki, and for their interest in my work, I would like to thank Robert Whiting and, especially, Simo Parpola.

Next stop: UCL! I started with my PhD research in September 2006. This research has not always been straightforward. Because of the breadth of my subject, I had to do a considerable amount of reading. This in turn led to many new questions and, hence, more reading (in my count, I have visited fifteen academic libraries in eight cities in five different countries). Not only was this process very time-consuming, but it also

made it difficult to define a thesis subject that was both doable and meaningful. Consequently, my plans have undergone numerous revisions, both large and small, and I have to thank my PhD supervisors, Amélie Kuhrt and Hans van Wees, for their guidance in this matter, as well as, of course, for their help and advice in all other matters concerning my PhD work. Also, I would like to thank the Sidney Perry Foundation and the Reiman-de Bas Fonds of the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds for the grants that I received from them.

The research for my PhD thesis I did not do only in London. Six months I spent at the University of Innsbruck. I had a very pleasant time there, not in the least because of my great colleagues at the Department of Ancient History and the Near East. For help, many conversations, stimulating discussions and hospitality, also when I visited Innsbruck again later for conferences, I would like to single out Irene Huber, Martin Lang and Robert Rollinger. Financial support for this stay was provided by the Academic Cooperation and Mobility Unit of the Austrian Exchange Service (Ernst Mach Grant), Studiefonds Ketel I and the Ancient Near Eastern Travel Fund of UCL.

Additionally, I studied at the Ecole Normale Supérieure of Paris for three months, where I worked mainly on the history of research in my field of study. I would like to thank Axel Körner and Sophie Coeuré for their help in organising this stay, which was made possible by a Marie Curie Fellowship within the framework of the European Doctorate in the Social History of Europe and the Mediterranean "Building on the Past".

After the submission of my thesis, I moved again to the University of Helsinki for a postdoctoral research project. However, after my Viva, I have also had to use part of my time in Helsinki to make the revisions to my thesis required by the examiners. I would like to thank Raija Mattila and Sanna Aro-Valjus for their help with my application, Raija Mattila again for her help in practical matters, and all my colleagues at the Institute of Asian and African Studies of the Department of World Cultures for making my stay enjoyable. For funding, I thank the Niilo Helander Foundation.

Finally, I visited a number of seminars and conferences, most notably in Venice, Innsbruck and Sofia, as well as meetings in the context of 'The Sacred and the Profane', a research group of OIKOS, the Dutch national research school in classical studies. Being present at these events, hearing papers and having discussions with colleagues

has often been inspiring. I would like to mention especially the two-tiered 'Advanced Seminar in the Humanities 2006-2007: *Literature and culture in the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece, Rome, and the Near East*' at Venice International University, which I could attend thanks to a grant from that institution. The paper that I presented there in 2007 (see van Dongen 2008) laid the groundwork of what would eventually become sections 1.2 and 1.3 of my PhD thesis.

Various people in the past years have been kind enough to read my text and comment upon it. Of course, my PhD supervisors, Amélie Kuhrt and Hans van Wees, read everything. So did also my thesis examiners, Stephen Colvin and Daniel Schwemer, who provided numerous comments which significantly improved my proposals. At an earlier stage, the entire text was read by Jeske van Dongen and Joost van Dongen. Sections 1.2 and 1.3 benefited from the detailed comments by Jerry Cooper, Stephanie Dalley and Martin West on the Venice paper that would eventually become van Dongen 2008. Remarks on section 1.3 were also offered by Saana Svärd. Alwin Kloekhorst read all of chapter two, part of which in an earlier stage was read by Greta Van Buylaere. Mark Weeden helped me with the section on the title of the *Song of Going Forth* and with various other logographic writings, while Marten Stol provided advice on the appearance of 'learned writings' in cuneiform texts, and Willemijn Waal on the use of horizontal lines in Hittite texts. I would like to thank all of these for their help – and of course exempt them from responsibility for the opinions expressed in the final version of my PhD thesis.

Finally, I would like to mention the people that I have met everywhere during all these years, and who shared conversations, drinks, concerts, nights going out and everything else with me. It would be too much to give a complete list of all the relevant friends, acquaintances, colleagues and others (which does not mean that I have forgotten about you!), but a number of them I would like to single out. First, my Dutch friends that came visit me abroad: Casper, Frenk, Geert, Mark and Roes (apologies for not having gone to more 'exotic' places!). Then, among the aforementioned friends and colleagues in Nijmegen, Floris Overduin and Werner Gelderblom, with whom I have had many conversations on the 'vicissitudes' of life and our (PhD) studies (gedeelde smart is halve smart!). Furthermore, Stéphanie, Gunther and the Tsemppiläiset in Helsinki, my fellow PhD students in London (and especially Dave; thanks for the

hospitality!), the Vorarlberg gang in Innsbruck, Theo in Paris, as well as everyone that I have played football with everywhere and whoever is not yet included in this list: thanks for making life fun! This goes especially for Steph, who has been 'bothering' me during and after work for quite a few years now. Thanks – and please feel to free to continue doing so for a long time still! Lastly, I would like to thank my family – Joost, Luuk, Jeske, as well as Robert Jan, Mijnke, Has, Sjef (and Fons) – for always having been there in all kinds of ways. If my mum seems to be missing from this list so far, this is because she should be singled out. For constant support, help and everything else: bedankt - and apologies for all the stress!

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Prologue

Notes on terminology and spelling

Terminology is a thorny issue. Words may have different meanings in different contexts, or evoke different connotations to different people. For that reason, below, I provide definitions of and explanations for a number of terms and designations that might be problematic. I also include notes on the spelling of names and the transliteration of cuneiform texts in this study.

'Culture'.[1] In general, the term 'culture' in scholarship has been considered in two ways: as a dimension of social life, on a par with economy, politics and biology, and as "a concrete and bounded world of beliefs and practices",[2] such as 'Sumerian culture' or 'working-class culture'. However, in a study on interaction, it is most practical if 'culture' refers to everything that can be transmitted from one place to another. It is therefore defined in this study as 'anything developed, created or conceived by humankind', so as opposed to 'natural'. 'Aegean culture' or 'Hittite culture' thus refers to anything cultural that was available in the Aegean or where Hittites lived. The term 'cultural element' refers to any single item within such a cultural whole.

'Influence'. 'Influence' is a term that is commonly used in studies when reference is made to a cultural element that has been taken over from elsewhere. However, despite this use, 'influence' is not a neutral designation for any kind of transmission. It implies a conscious attempt by one party (the 'influencer') to have an impact on another (the 'influencee').[3] Elements may indeed be transmitted in this way. But other scenarios are equally possible.[4] Therefore, I prefer not to use this term. Instead, I make use of

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[1] For detailed discussions on this topic, see e.g. Sewell 1999, Dougherty/Kurke 2003, pp. 2-4, Hall 2004.

[2] Sewell 1999, p. 35.

[3] See also Henkelman 2006, p. 809n6.

[4] See Attoura 2002 for an analysis of all variants.

expressions such as 'take over' and 'adopt', with cultural elements that have been transmitted representing 'inspiration from elsewhere'.

'Hesiod'. In section 3.1.2 (pp. 119-22), I argue that there is little certainty about the figure of 'Hesiod' and his literary output. His name may well refer only to a literary persona, while there is no reason to assume that the texts ascribed to him were really all written by the same poet. Therefore, the name 'Hesiod' I have consistently written with apostrophes. When reference is made to the author of the *Theogony*, I use words such as 'the author', 'composer' or 'poet'. The adjective 'Hesiodic' refers to the textual material that has traditionally been ascribed to 'Hesiod'. Also, because it would be cumbersome to write 'he/she' all the time, and because, considering the social circumstances in the contemporary Aegean, it is likely that the author of the *Theogony* was a man, this person I refer to with 'he', 'him, 'his'.

'Kingship in Heaven'-theme. The 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme, also known as the 'Succession Myth', is the subject of the case study of this thesis. This designation refers to the following: the narration of a succession of several kings of the gods. That is all; there are no requirements regarding the number of kings or the nature of the succession (be it violent or peaceful).

'Metacultural concepts'. This term refers to cultural elements of any kind that are so obvious, that they can develop at many places independently, without interaction with others who have the same elements (see also the discussion in section 1.3.1, pp. 31-32). The term was introduced in van Dongen 2008, p. 242, because no such term seemed to exist yet, and it would be tedious to have to write the description in full each time I refer to this kind of cultural element.

Periodisation. Using terms for specific periods implies that these can be fenced off as a unit, and have value as such. However, this is often not correct. In most cases, continuity is far stronger than any breaks that may have occurred. Furthermore, how time is divided into period depends on the perspective that is used; a different focus requires a different periodisation. I therefore refer to specific years and centuries

whenever possible. Sometimes generalising terms are practical nonetheless. In those cases, I will refer to 'the Late Bronze Age' and 'the Iron Age'. The reason for choosing these, is because of their correspondence to the historical developments that are most relevant in the context of this study (see especially chapters seven and eight). The Late Bronze Age covers the time of the Hittite kingdom, which lasted from ca. 1650-1200 BCE, while the Iron Age refers to the entire period after that. Due to the latest possible date of the composition of the *Theogony* (see section 3.1.3, pp. 123-26), this here extends to ca. 650 BCE.

Regions and their inhabitants. By referring to 'the Aegean' and other regions, I do not mean to suggest that these were separate areas, with some kind of boundaries in between them. I think that such demarcations to a large extent are anachronisms; in antiquity, people generally interacted constantly with everyone around them, regardless of modern geographical definitions.[5] But to be able to discuss interaction, some kind of demarcation of areas is necessary. For this, I use general geographical terms, such as 'Anatolia', 'Mesopotamia' or 'the eastern Mediterranean'.

The inhabitants of the Aegean are usually referred to as 'Greeks'. However, only in the course of the first half of the first millennium BCE did people in the Aegean develop a sense of belonging together (see section 6.1, pp. 179-83). Until that time, they probably thought only in terms of much smaller groups. To describe the development of this idea, I use the terms 'Hellenicity' and 'Hellenic'. These correspond closely to 'Greekness' and 'Greek'. But as these last two are never used in this sense in scholarship, and as 'Ἕλληνες' is the term that the inhabitants of the Aegean came to use themselves, I prefer 'Hellenicity' and 'Hellenic'.[6] Consequently, the people who thought of themselves as Hellenic I refer to as 'Hellenes'.

This feeling of Hellenicity should be seen in addition to the self-identification of people as inhabitants of certain places and regions (Athenian, Thessalian, etcetera). However, when I apply these terms to a text, such as when I call the *Theogony* 'Hellenic', this is explicitly in opposition to it being e.g. Boeotian in nature. The word 'Greek' in this study consequently refers only to the language. Thus, when I refer to a

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[5] See also Gunter 2009.

[6] For the use of this term, see J.M. Hall 2002, p. xix, which in turn points to E. Hall 1989, p. 177.

text as 'Greek' or 'Hellenic', this does not refer to the same quality of a text.

Geographically, I use the term 'extended Aegean'. Hellenicity existed not only among people from the Aegean, but also in the new settlements that were founded in the course of the Iron Age in southern Italy and Sicily, as well as along the coasts of the Black Sea and the eastern Mediterranean. As these settlements all ultimately originated in, and as the concept of Hellenicity centred on, the Aegean, I introduce the term 'extended Aegean'.

Also problematic are the terms 'the Near East' and 'Phoenicia'. Regardless of its use in scholarship, 'the Near East' was never a cultural entity in any sense, is unclearly defined, and carries negative connotations. As a consequence, its use contributes to the persistence of the feeling that a dichotomy existed between 'the Aegean' and 'the Near East'.[7] Therefore, I will not use this designation. When larger geographical terms are required, I will refer to, for example, 'the eastern Mediterranean and southwestern Asia'.

'Phoenicia' is a term that was first used in Greek texts. No similar designations existed in southwestern Asia, neither for the relevant area, nor for the people who lived there. An analysis of Syro-Palestinian culture also demonstrates that, while there was indeed a 'Phoenician' dialect of Canaanite, delineating 'Phoenicia' in archaeology is difficult, while such an entity not at all existed socio-politically.[8] Therefore, instead of talking about 'Phoenicians', I will refer to 'people from Syria-Palestine'.

'*Song of Going Forth*'. The title of the Hittite text that features prominently in this study is a complicated matter. As the fragment that mentions it was identified only in recent years,[9] scholars formerly had to refer to it with invented titles, which vary from the 'Epic', 'Myth' or 'Song of Kumarbi' to 'Kingship in Heaven' or 'Theogony'. Unfortunately, none of these are close to the actual title of the text, which the new fragment has shown to be 'šìʀ ɢá×è.ᴀ', 'Song of Going Forth' (see section 2.2.8, pp. 105-9). It might be confusing not anymore to refer to the text with one of its conventional titles. Nonetheless, I think that, when it is known, the real title of a text

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[7] Van Dongen *forthcoming*.

[8] Van Dongen 2010.

[9] See Corti 2007.

should always be preferred over modern inventions. Therefore, in this study I will consistently refer to the relevant text as the *Song of Going Forth*.

Spelling. I have not attempted consistency in the spelling of names. Although I have often used Latinisations, my only real criterion has been that it should be immediately clear who or what is meant. The exception to this rule are the figures featuring in the *Theogony*. Instead of translating some names and transliterating others, I always transliterate the Greek. Thus, 'Νὺξ' becomes 'Nyx', not 'Night'. I give here an alphabetical list of translations of the names that are mentioned in this study, as far as they concern straightforward personifications:

> Aither: sky; Bia: force; Erebos: darkness; Eris: strife; Eros: desire; Gaia: earth; Hemera: day; Horkos: oath; Hypnos: sleep; Keres: dooms; Kratos: might; Limos: hunger; Metis: wisdom; Moirai: fates; Nike: victory; Nyx: night; Okeanos: (a) sea-god; Ouranos: vault of the sky; Phonoi: murders, Ponos: toil; Pontos: (a) sea-god; Tartaros: netherworld; Thanatos: death; Zelos: rivalry.

The case of 'Χάος' is different. A simple transliteration as 'Chaos' would not do, as the English meaning of this word does not correspond to the Greek one. 'Chasm' is a common alternative in studies,[10] but this, too, is problematic: the etymological connection between 'χάος' and 'χάσμα' is not certain, while Χάος does not necessarily signify a gap or an opening; the concept may be much more complicated.[11] Further discussed follows in section 3.2.2 (pp. 129-30); but because of this, I prefer to retain the Greek. Also, due to these issues, and in accordance with the gender of the Greek word, I will refer to Χάος as a neuter substantive.

Transliterations of cuneiform texts. For the transliteration of Hittite cuneiform texts, I follow the conventions outlined in GHL, pp. 10-24. Note additionally the use of 'x' for signs that are partly visible, but cannot be identified; and of ⌈...⌉ when sections are partly lost, but a plausible identification of the signs written there can be made nonetheless.

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[10] See e.g. West 1966, p. 192, Most 2006, p. 13n7.

[11] K. Werner 1967, pp. 10-11, Mondi 1989, pp. 4-21 (on the etymology of 'χάος', see p. 7).

Chapter I: Introduction

Studying external stimuli to the development of the ancient Aegean

1.1 Subject and aim of this study

The culture of the ancient Aegean was pervaded by elements that originated in the wider eastern Mediterranean and southwestern Asia, which were an important factor in its development. This is not surprising, as throughout antiquity the Aegean was an intrinsic part of a larger world, that extended at least from Spain and Morocco to Iran and Arabia. Consequently, the ancient Aegean should no longer be seen as the monogenetic origin of modern European culture. To be able to understand the early history of Europe correctly, the eastern Mediterranean and southwestern Asia should be considered part of it.

These ideas underlie the current work. Some are uncontested: it is beyond discussion now that many elements in pre-Hellenistic Aegean culture display traces of inspiration from elsewhere. What is still less clear, however, is how this fact should affect our understanding of the development of the Aegean.

On the one hand, scholars increasingly consider the entire world of the ancient Mediterranean and southwestern Asia as a cultural continuum. The Aegean in this view was not an independent or separate unit. It was intrinsically connected to its surrounding regions, and so was its cultural development. This point of view can be illustrated by the following quotation:

> "Civilization (...) develops through contact with foreigners and distant partners, mainly by way of travel and commerce. Interaction gives people the chance to "see the cities of many humans, and to learn about their minds," as Homer says in praise

of Odysseus right at the start of the *Odyssey*.[12] Culture, including Greek culture, requires intercultural contact." (Burkert 2004, p. 1)

Nevertheless, other scholars see the Aegean as a distinctive region. In their view, people in the Aegean certainly received ideas from others, but the emphasis must be on how they adapted these ideas, transforming them into what became the backbone of 'modern western culture'. Inspiration from elsewhere then played only a minor role in the development of the Aegean. Another quotation demonstrates this line of thought:

> "Es spricht manches dafür, die europäische Geschichte mit Griechen und Römern beginnen zu lassen. Und sei es nur die Tatsache, dass wir uns viele Jahrhunderte lang intensiv – und in stets neuem Studium ihrer Quellen – mit ihnen auseinandergesetzt haben. Umgekehrt wird man kaum den Orient der griechischen Geschichte zuschlagen wollen. Denn da haben wir es nur mit vorübergehenden Übernahmen zu tun. Die Griechen haben seine Früchte gleichsam aufgesogen, ohne sich, aufs Ganze gesehen, weiter um die Pflanzen zu kümmern, auf denen sie gewachsen waren." (Meier 2008)

However, in the current state of research, it is difficult to argue for either position. The main problem is that not all the relevant issues are being studied yet. Scholars have focussed mostly on cataloguing similarities between cultural elements from different regions and mapping patterns of interaction. It is indeed necessary to look for cultural elements from elsewhere that may have inspired Aegean ones; to pinpoint similarities and differences; to find out how, when and where knowledge of elements may have spread; and how, when and where people from the Aegean may have learned about them. But in addition to this, we should also study why people from the Aegean are unlikely to have developed a specific cultural element independently; why they adopted it; and how they adapted it to their own society.

These last three questions have barely been addressed in scholarship. But unless answered, it will always remain difficult to argue convincingly that a specific cultural element originated outside the Aegean. It would then also be unlikely to find general acceptance of the idea that stimuli from abroad were an important factor in the development of early Aegean culture, and that the Aegean essentially belonged to a wider context, and should not be studied in isolation.

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[12] *Odyssey* 1.3.

It is the aim of this study to suggest a possible solution to this situation. This I will do first by a discussion of methods. What are the questions to ask, what issues should be dealt with, and in what order, to be able to study fruitfully the development of culture in the Aegean in light of interaction with other regions? These issues will occupy section 1.3.

However, if I were to offer only theoretical observations, the reader would be justified in wondering how they might apply in practice. To anticipate this criticism, the bulk of this thesis is occupied by a case study, to test the validity and practicalities of the ideas proposed in the introduction. Its subject is the relation between the appearances of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme in the Hittite *Song of Going Forth* and the Greek Hesiodic *Theogony*. The reason for choosing this specific case study, is because relatively much can be said about it. This make it somewhat unrepresentative, as most instances of transmission of cultural elements are considerably harder to investigate. However, there is room for only one case study here. In that situation, it makes more sense to choose a subject that I can discuss in detail, than something that will constantly lead to issues that due to a lack of evidence cannot be dealt with. An introduction to the contents of the relevant chapters features in section 1.4.

The scholarly emphasis on the independent development by the people of the Aegean makes them virtually unique, a situation only shared by the ancient Israelites. The normal practice would be to consider population groups as an intricate part of the wider region in which they lived, while the idea that they developed more or less independently would be the point at issue. Why is this different for people from the Aegean and Palestine?

The answer probably has to do with the conception of 'western' culture being founded on two pillars, Graeco-Roman and biblical, which therefore themselves must have been monogenetic. This old idea proved to be very persistent, its basic tenets underlying presuppositions about antiquity still held today. Since the publication of the first volume of Bernal's *Black Athena* project in 1987, much research has been devoted to this subject. It is therefore not necessary to discuss it in detail in the current study. However, considering how much ideas conceived throughout the history of studies on the independence (or not) of ancient Aegean culture still influence current investigations into interaction in the Mediterranean and southwestern Asia, it is nonetheless useful to

briefly sketch the history of the field. I shall do so in section 1.2, before the discussion of methods. Note that this will not be about how correct statements of the past have been. In the current context, what is of importance is only what the attitudes have been, and why.[13]

1.2 History and current state of research

Already in antiquity, authors discussed the originality of Aegean culture.[14] Many elements were considered to have been derived from elsewhere, especially from Egypt. Such claims were based on various considerations, but most frequently on the principle of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. Literally translated 'after this, therefore because of this', it involves the idea that an element derives from a similar one, because it follows chronologically. How widespread this idea was, can be seen for example in the many references to wise men who are supposed to have studied abroad, because part of their teachings resembles what was thought to have been known elsewhere.[15] Similarly, the idea underlying Herodotus' claims about the Egyptian origins of many elements of Aegean culture, including even the names of their gods, is that Egyptian culture is much older, and therefore could have developed the relevant concepts earlier.[16]

Although these views represent the general opinion, the subject was not uncontested. For example, a few Jewish and early Christian authors accused people from the Aegean of having taken all of their knowledge from elsewhere, especially from

[13] Historiographical overviews in this context usually start with the nineteenth century. But this suggests some kind of sudden break around that time, which in reality there was not. I think that a better impression of the background of current work in the field can be gained through a survey of its entire history, starting from antiquity.

[14] Overviews can be found in Froidefond 1971, Bernal 1987-2006, pp. 1.71-120, Lefkowitz 1997. See also numerous entries in the Melammu Database (http://www.aakkl.helsinki.fi/melammu/; last accessed: 12.11.2010).

[15] Lefkowitz 1997, pp. 238-45. See e.g. the enumeration in Diodorus Siculus 1.96-98. Wise men for whom this claim was made include Democritus, Eudoxus, Homer, Lycurgus, Plato, Pythagoras and Thales.

[16] See Herodotus 2.4, 2.43, 2.48-49, 2.50, 2.57-58, 2.81, 2.109, 2.123. For a discussion of this thinking in Herodotus, see Hartog 1980.

biblical books.[17] Conversely, several Greek authors attacked others on specific points, or even in general, for having claimed Aegean dependency on foreign cultures.[18] But such claims are few, and far outnumbered by the opposite view.[19] It seems fair to say that, in general, the Hellenes were open to the idea that part of their culture had been taken over from elsewhere, and did not mind either way.

The study of the ancient Aegean together with knowledge of Greek largely faded out in the Middle Ages. Interest in it was rekindled at the end of the fourteenth century.[20] But even then, new studies on the origins of Aegean culture were sparse. Until the eighteenth century, when the subject was treated at all, it was mostly in books that claimed that everything in the world ultimately originated in biblical culture.[21] Studies that compared the Homeric and biblical texts can be seen in the same light.[22] Only a few authors thought differently. They, too, saw the world of the Old Testament as the starting point of all cultures, but they considered the 'Phoenicians' to have been instrumental in the transmission of cultural elements to the Aegean.[23]

The ideas of this last group of authors were expanded upon in the eighteenth century. 'Phoenicia' continued to receive special attention, but the role of Egypt was emphasised in particular.[24] Indeed, interest in Egypt soared in this period.[25]

[17] See e.g. Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.6-18, Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 1.15-16 (66-80), 5.14 (89-141), 6.3 (28-34), Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospels*, books 10-12 (in brief: 10.1.2). In general on this subject, see Droge 1989.

[18] See e.g. Diodorus Siculus 5.57.1-5, Plutarch, *On the Malice of Herodotus* 14-16, Diogenes Laërtius 1.1-12. In general, see P. Gordon 1993.

[19] In fact, regarding Plutarch's criticism on Herodotus, cf. some of his other writings, in which he mentioned that Homer, Thales (*Isis and Osiris* 34 (= 364c-d)), Lycurgus (*Lycurgus* 4.5-6) and Plato (*Solon* 2.4) all had travelled to Egypt to learn things.

[20] See Pfeiffer 1976, pp. 3-66, Hale 1993, pp. 189-215, Ciccolella 2005, pp. 3-12. On the study of ancient history in the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries, see Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 1995, Stroumsa 2009.

[21] Thus e.g. Postel 1538, Voss 1641, de Groot 1644, Stillingfleet 1662.

[22] Bogan 1658, Duport 1660. See also Pontani 2007, pp. 404-10, on Budé. For a general overview, see Gruppe 1921, pp. 42-58.

[23] E.g. Heins 1627, Bochart 1646, Thomassin 1681-1695 (who also ascribed an important role to the Assyrians and the Egyptians in this regard).

[24] See e.g. Newton 1728, Blackwell 1735, Michaelis 1769.

[25] See in Bernal 1987-2006, pp. 1.169-88, on this subject to be read together with Palter 1996,

Consequently, Herder in an essay on the history of humankind granted it a special position. According to him, the 'Phoenicians' had been just the uninspired mediators of the achievements of others.[26] But, in the same text, another trend could also be discerned, which developed especially in the second half of the eighteenth century: the exaltation of classical antiquity. What people from the Aegean took over from others, they made uniquely their own, changing and improving it beyond recognition. Only with them did humankind reach adulthood.[27] Such views about the superiority of ancient Aegean culture were coupled with the idea that 'western' culture as its direct descendant had a special link with it.[28] Once this conception of history had become dominant at the end of the eighteenth century, little room was left for the idea that people from the Aegean might have taken over anything important from elsewhere.

The nineteenth century witnessed two more developments that are of importance in the current context.[29] First, there was the increasing compartmentalisation of knowledge and research. Previously, individual scholars could still practice 'Universalgeschichte'. But in the nineteenth century, excavations in southwestern Asia and Egypt started in earnest. Finds included objects that shed light on the material culture of these areas, as well as texts, the scripts and languages of which were soon deciphered.[30] This provided scholars with a new perspective on the people who had lived there. No longer could they be studied only through biblical, Greek and Roman texts; now expressions of their own became available. But this also caused the available information on antiquity to increase so much, that it became nearly impossible for a single scholar to master it all.

Marchand/Grafton 1997.

[26] Herder 1891 (first published in 1774), pp. 487-94.

[27] Herder 1891 (1774), pp. 494-99. On Herder's views in this regard, see Norton 1996. See also Van De Mieroop 1997, pp. 288-89, Wiesehöfer 2007, p. 604, on the idea of these stages in the development of humankind.

[28] See e.g. Bernal 1987-2006, pp. 1.192-223 (again, cf. Palter 1996, Marchand/Grafton 1997), Lohse 1997, Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2007, pp. 511-28.

[29] For historiographical surveys of the field from the nineteenth century onwards, see e.g. Burkert 1991, Marchand/Grafton 1997, pp. 9-31, Casadio 2009, pp. 143-53.

[30] For these developments, see e.g. Daniels 1995, Whitehouse 1995, Larsen 1996. Note that the study of the Hittites commenced somewhat later, in the decades around 1900, while the language was deciphered in 1915 (see Canpolat 2001; more briefly also Klengel 1999, 5-15, Klinger 2002, Seeher 2002).

Specialisation was required.[31]

Second, it was the age of Romanticism. For academic writing, this meant that scholars began to think of inhabitants of regions in terms of 'peoples' ('Völker'[32]), which were self-contained units, each with their own unique innate characteristics ('Geist'). These could then be compared and classified.[33] This provided a further impetus to the aforementioned compartmentalisation of research: if 'peoples' were self-contained units, then there is no real need to study them in relation to others.[34]

Concerning conceptions of the ancient Aegean, this approach was added to the existing idea of the superiority of its inhabitants. The idea that they might have adopted cultural elements from others was generally considered impossible. Consequently, the results of the excavations in Mesopotamia, Egypt and elsewhere, which might previously have been used to shed new light upon the development of the Aegean, were now considered interesting only for their own sake. A further consequence of these ideas was that the Aegean came to be seen not only as different from, but also as opposite to 'the Orient', or 'the (Near) East'. Thus, the masculine, inventive people from the Aegean were contrasted with the effeminate, derivative 'Orientals'.[35]

Not everyone agreed. Most importantly, despite a few influential publications on the subject,[36] many art historians did not support the idea of Aegean culture as monogenetic; links with the material culture of other regions were too obvious to ignore.[37] Nonetheless, they, too, generally subscribed to the idea of the superiority of

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[31] 'Nearly' refers to Meyer, who between 1884 and 1902 nonetheless managed to present a complete and authoritative history of all of antiquity in five volumes.

[32] German scholarship played an important role in the development of these ideas. Therefore, I provide the German terms as well, as they are probably better known than any English equivalents.

[33] Studied in Bunzl 1996. See also Holst-Warhaft 1997, for an example of how this coloured thinking about population groups.

[34] For examples of this approach, see e.g. the scholars discussed in Marchand 1996, pp. 43-51 (Müller), 110-11 (Brunn), 310-11 (Wilamowitz).

[35] Studied in Bahrani 1998, Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2007, Wiesehöfer 2007, 607-12, van Dongen *forthcoming*. On 'Orientalism' and 'Philhellenism' in general, see also Said 1978, Marchand 1996, Hauser 2001, Bohrer 2003, Most 2008.

[36] E.g. K.O. Müller 1840 (first published in 1820), Brunn 1856, 1893.

[37] See e.g. Raoul-Rochette 1848, Conze 1874, Heuzey 1882, Milchhöfer 1883, Dumont/Chaplain 1888/1891, Montelius 1899.

people from the Aegean, and hence of their material culture, to anything 'Oriental'. What was beautiful and interesting about Aegean art was what had been developed in the Aegean, not what was taken over from elsewhere. Moreover, art historical studies existed mostly in isolation from other disciplines, such as philology, history and philosophy. In fact, to my knowledge, in the field of interaction studies these were all treated together for the first time only in 1984, by Burkert.[38] There were thus little or no connections with non-art historical scholars who continued to write about the impact of inspiration from elsewhere on the development of culture in the Aegean. These in their own scholarly contexts stood outside the mainstream of scholarship and were not taken seriously, or simply ignored.[39]

Around the turn of the century, even the role of the 'Phoenicians' came under attack.[40] In an article from 1894, Beloch argued that they could not have reached the Aegean before the eighth century. Consequently, they could not have exerted much influence on the culture of the region, which had developed already earlier. Only the alphabet, which too clearly derived from Syro-Palestinian predecessors to be able to argue differently, remained. Beloch was followed by a number of others in this view.[41]

However, the tide was turning. Knowledge about eastern Mediterranean and southwestern Asian literature and material culture continued to expand, providing more and more similarities to elements from Aegean culture. Consequently, in the course of the first half of the twentieth century studies that concentrated on, or at least mentioned, the relevance of this subject appeared in increasing numbers.[42] Because they were

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[38] On this separation, see also in Marchand 1994.

[39] Such as Kenrick 1846, 1855, Gladstone, 1868, Gruppe 1887, Gladstone 1890, pp. 127-60, Muss-Arnoldt 1892, Bérard 1894, Lewy 1895, R. Brown 1898. See also the discussion in Dowden 2001, pp. 169-70.

[40] Bernal 1987-2006, pp. 1.337-99, features a study of the development of scholarly opinions concerning the 'Phoenicians'. However, due to inaccuracies and exaggeration, this should be used with caution. See e.g. the title of volume one, chapter nine: 'The final solution of the Phoenician problem, 1885-1945'.

[41] See e.g. Latte 1919 (Kadmos not from Syria-Palestine, but from Caria), Farnell 1921, pp. 44-45 (the idea of the transmission of Syro-Palestinian cultural elements to the Aegean is untenable now).

[42] Most often mentioned are the numerous articles that Dornseiff published in the 1930s and 1940s (collected in Dornseiff 1959), but see for example also the many studies by Fries (1902a, 1902b, 1903, 1904, 1910-1911, 1926, 1937).

grouped with the so-called 'pan-Babylonian school', which assumed that all culture had radiated from Babylonia and therefore was not taken seriously by academics,[43] these studies were not very influential. But they did make it progressively difficult to deny outright that inspiration from elsewhere had played a role in the development of Aegean culture. In art history and archaeology, this idea was accepted in the course of the first decades of the twentieth century. When volume four of the *Cambridge Ancient History* came out in 1926, it had a chapter entitled 'Early Greek art; Oriental influences; and the earliest Archaic art'.[44]

These developments were accelarated by the discovery and publication in the 1930s and 1940s of the Hittite *Song of Going Forth*, the story of which displayed undeniable similarities to the Hesiodic *Theogony*.[45] Consequently, in the following two decades, an unprecedented number of studies on interaction appeared, including some by leading scholars in their fields.[46] But this was not to last. Too much optimism resulted in books that considered any kind of a similarity to have been the result of inspiration from elsewhere. By virtually claiming that Aegean culture was largely derivative, the field of interaction studies again came to be regarded with scepticism.[47]

This setback turned out to be only temporary. Archaeological and art historical research on the subject went on unabated, while philologists, too, albeit in smaller numbers, continued to look for cultural elements that may have been taken over from elsewhere. In this regard, Burkert and West deserve special mention.[48] The issue was settled conclusively in the 1980s and 1990s, in the wake of studies by these two scholars.[49] The impact of these studies was caused in part by advances in research methods: compared to earlier work, there were more complex structures of similarities,

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[43] Discussed in Parpola 2004.

[44] Beazley 1926. See also e.g. Buschor 1904, Hogarth 1909, Poulsen 1912, Karo 1920, V. Müller 1929.

[45] For the history of research on the *Song of Going Forth*, see section 2.1.1 (pp. 43-45).

[46] E.g. Albright 1950, Hölscher 1953, Heubeck 1955, Webster 1958, Schwabl 1962. See also the edited volumes Weinberg 1956, Eissfeldt et al. 1960.

[47] Most notably C.H. Gordon 1955, 1962, Astour 1965. The reception of these publications can be gauged from some of their reviews; on C.H. Gordon 1962, see e.g. Driver 1963, Ginsberg 1963, Knight 1964; on Astour 1965: Muhly 1965, Boardman 1966, Barnett 1968.

[48] Studies by Burkert on this subject have been collected in Burkert 2003; publications by West include West 1966, 1969, 1971, 1978. See also the studies by Duchemin collected in Duchemin 1995.

[49] Burkert 1984, West 1988, Burkert 1992b, West 1997. Important was also S.P. Morris 1992.

less use of etymologies or ancient historical and mythological accounts to show how the Aegean had been linked to the eastern Mediterranean and southwestern Asia, and more references to archaeological finds.[50] But it was also due to the sheer number of similarities adduced in these studies that made it impossible henceforth to deny that many cultural elements from elsewhere must have been taken over by people from the Aegean.[51]

The current general acceptance of this idea does not mean that discussions in the field of interaction studies have stopped. As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, one issue remains: it is still thought by many that what makes the cultural elements that were taken over from elsewhere interesting and valuable for the cultural history of 'the west', is how they were adapted and improved upon by people from the Aegean. This view can now be seen to follow seamlessly from the history of the field. For what has not changed, despite the developments of the past century, is the idea that people from the Aegean are somehow different from others. Many studies on antiquity still work from the unspoken presupposition that, as the initiators of modern 'western' culture, people from the Aegean are unique and incomparable.[52]

It is my opinion that the reason for this concept of the nature of people in the Aegean cannot be found in the available evidence. Only the way in which research on the ancient Aegean has been conducted is responsible. If correct, this means that it

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[50] Because of these developments, the arguments pertaining to antiquity in Bernal 1987-2006 cannot be taken seriously. Half a century of reflection on the subject seems to have passed him by: his linguistics make little sense, he takes the ancient sources at face value, and he hardly ever takes into account the archaeological evidence; cf. Lefkowitz/Rogers 1996.

[51] That this is the case can be seen, for example, in the great number of conferences that have been organised on the subject of interaction since the 1990s, or in the fact that handbooks and companions on the ancient Aegean now usually feature sections on supraregional interaction.

[52] For an extreme example, see Hanson/Heath 1998. Cf. Gunter 1990, pp. 132-35, on how art historical studies in the twentieth century regularly keep expressing the idea that Aegean material culture is more interesting than that from other regions, and that inspiration from elsewhere is responsible only for its lesser traits. On this 'Philhellenism', see also Pingree 1992, Rollinger 2004a, Detienne 2007 (especially pp. 1-14). See additionally Most 2008, pp. 162-63, on the idea that cultural elements taken over by people from the Aegean first had to be 'debarbarised' by them to be able to become meaningful for later 'western' culture.

should be possible to use the existing evidence to argue against this concept. However, simply adducing more material will not suffice. Studies of the past few decades have already pointed out so many similarities between cultural elements from the Aegean and elsewhere, that adding new ones can have little argumentative force. Rather, the problem is that scholars have spent much time cataloguing and describing similarities, but have not yet started investigating their transmission in detail, or asking what their existence implies. Consequently, interesting similarities sometimes appear indiscriminately alongside banalities, while it remains unclear in the case of specific similarities whether they were caused by culture contact, or whether, how, and to what extent their adoption by people from the Aegean shaped culture in the region.[53] As suggested at the beginning of this chapter, in my view, what is needed to improve this situation, is an adaptation of research methods.

1.3 Research methods: A proposal

In this section, I set out to explain how I think that the transmission of cultural elements to the Aegean should be studied. This requires first an explanation of how I would reconstruct processes of transmission in general. In my view, this runs as follows.

Communities, i.e. groups of people of any scale, want to lead and organise their lives and society in certain ways. To be able to do so, they develop the appropriate tools, i.e. cultural elements, ranging from knapping flint for cutting tools to religious systems, and from architectural structures and designs to singing songs for educational, entertainment and other purposes ('indigenous developments'). For various reasons, not every community comes up with everything that could theoretically be invented. Consequently, through their interaction with other communities, people might learn about other cultural elements, which they had not thought of themselves, but appear useful in one way or another nonetheless, be it practical, social, aesthetic or otherwise. Alternatively, in situations with asymmetrical power relations, cultural elements may be forced upon the weaker community. Either way, when elements are taken over, they are

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[53] This issue was raised also in e.g. Mondi 1990, pp. 144-45, Osborne 1993, Halliwell 1998, p. 235, Haubold 2002, pp. 1-3, Allan 2006, pp. 30-31.

adapted in the process to make them fit their new context ('embedment').

Several observations follow from this. First, not all similarities between cultural elements existing in different communities are necessarily the result of interaction. The same element may have been developed independently in different areas, for example to deal with similar issues. Furthermore, elements are unlikely to remain the same during the entire process of transmission, as they will have to fit their new context, which is likely to be at least somewhat different from the one whence they originated. Third, for transmission to take place, interaction is necessary, while the perception of formerly unknown cultural elements will be affected by the circumstances and extent of interaction. Therefore, even in larger geographic areas where interaction between communities was intense and a considerable number of cultural elements appears to have come in use throughout, the specific characteristics of this interaction will have to be studied.

From these observations, it follows that there are three issues that demand treatment in research on the transmission of cultural elements to the Aegean. These I formulate as the following three questions. Why should one think that a specific cultural element was not developed indigenously? What was the reason that it was taken over in the Aegean, and how was it embedded in its new context? And how could transmission have taken place? In sections 1.3.1-3, I discuss these questions in order. Section 1.3.4 offers a summary of the approach advocated.[54]

1.3.1 The possible origins of cultural elements: Alternatives to transmission

Transmission is not the only possible reason for the existence of similarities between cultural elements from different areas. Alternatives are a shared cultural-historical background and unconnected, indigenously developed occurrences of metacultural concepts.[55] Both will be discussed below, and in that connection I shall suggest how one may try to establish how likely it is that a specific cultural element was taken over from

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[54] Note that I am concerned only with similarities that may have resulted from interaction. Similarities can also be interesting if they did not, for example for the purpose of comparative anthropology. But that is a different field of study, which plays no role here (see also Malul 1990, pp. 13-19).

[55] These three alternatives can be compared to the categories delineated in Puhvel 1987, pp. 127-29, where it is said that cultural elements are either 'substratal' (indigenous developments, i.e. metacultural concepts), 'superstratal' (culture-historical) or 'adstratal' (transmitted from elsewhere).

elsewhere or not.

In the case of people in the Aegean, the cultural-historical background refers to the fact that Greek belongs to the Indo-European language family. This also applies to most Anatolian languages, such as Hittite, Luwian, Lydian and Phrygian, as well as to Persian, an Iranian language. The idea is that all Indo-Europeans in prehistoric times lived together in one area, i.e. the 'Proto-Indo-Europeans', and dispersed from there.[56] So although groups of Indo-Europeans lived separately from each other later, cultural developments took place on the basis of the culture that they once shared, which is unlikely to have changed beyond recognition in all respects subsequently. That the latter indeed did not happen can be seen best in the languages of these groups, which display many similarities on various levels. Consequently, similarities between other cultural elements of different groups of Indo-Europeans may also have been caused by their shared background.[57]

In principle, this approach is entirely valid. It might even seem to take priority over claims for adoption through interaction: there is a straight line between the Proto-Indo-Europeans and later population groups, while claims for adoption through interaction have to deal with complicated historical issues, which can seldom be resolved definitively (see also section 1.3.3, pp. 34-38). Using this line of thought, Indo-European origins have been postulated for any kind of similarity.

However, this research method is unsound. There is no direct evidence for what Proto-Indo-European culture may have been like. It can only be reconstructed by comparing evidence from later Indo-European groups. But assuming similarities between these to have been caused generally by their shared origins ignores the

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[56] The Proto-Indo-Europeans are usually assumed to have lived north or south of the Black Sea, while their dispersal should have taken place at a time between 10,000 and 6,000 years before present (for an overview of various theories, see Fortson 2004, pp. 35-44). Note that it is irrelevant in the current context how they came to live together. Whether they developed as a group throughout prehistory (the traditional view), or constituted of originally separate groups who came together in the same area temporarily, becoming strongly intermingled during that period (the punctuated equilibrium model; see Dixon 1997): the point remains that, at the moment of dispersal, they shared one common culture, which may have lived on in later times.

[57] See also Pinchard 2009, pp. 91-129.

possibility of parallel, but independent, later developments. It is unlikely that a specific group of Indo-Europeans after the Proto-Indo-European phase only developed new cultural elements that were completely different from what was developed by all other groups. Further, close similarities between cultural elements in different groups of Indo-Europeans may also have been caused by one group taking over elements from another, or by several groups having been in contact with the same non-Indo-European group that developed the relevant cultural element first. Finally, considering the cultural diversity found within any group of people, variations and differences are likely to have existed within Proto-Indo-European culture as well. Thus, even the underlying idea of Indo-European studies, i.e. that there would have been one uniform 'original' group of people from which later Indo-European groups descended, is problematic.

Because of these issues, claims for Indo-European origins require detailed argumentations concerning why the relevant cultural element is likely to be Proto-Indo-European in origin, and why it may have survived in a recognisable form for millennia among different groups of Indo-Europeans. This is not the place to expand on research methods for Indo-European studies in full. But even so, it may be clear that there can be no *a priori* preference of claims concerning Indo-European origins over claims concerning adoption through interaction.

Metacultural concepts present a much more difficult issue. As mentioned in the Prologue (p. 14), this term refers to cultural elements of any kind that are so obvious, that they can develop at many places independently, without interaction with others displaying the same features. But when is something 'obvious'? How complex or intricate can such a concept be? And how specific should similarities be before they become unlikely to have been developed separately in that way?

It is impossible to establish clear-cut criteria to answer these questions. A strong subjective element will always be involved. In general, this provides another reason why research methods in the field need to be refined; with simple enumerations of similarities, sceptics can review each individual item to show that it could be a metacultural concept. The cumulative value of such a list would thus be lost.[58] But if it is demonstrated how, why and to what effect specific cultural elements were taken over,

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[58] Criticism in reviews such as Dowden 2001, pp. 172-75, Stol 2004 pertains specifically to this issue.

denying claims about adoption through interaction by reference to metacultural concepts becomes much harder.

But apart from trying to present a strong case in general, the idea of something being a metacultural concept can also be argued against. Two approaches are available. First, it is possible to investigate how likely specific cultural elements are to have developed indigenously. If they would have, they should fit well with the context in which they had come into existence. But if elements are inconsistent with, or a novelty in, the cultural context of which it had become part, the likelihood of indigenous developments diminishes considerably.[59]

Second, it is helpful to describe similarities in detail. Especially in longer lists, the exact point of comparison is sometimes mentioned only briefly or not at all. That does not add to the strength of the argument. It must be specified exactly what is similar and different. Only in that way can a case be evaluated properly. This would make it easier to sift out weaker material at an early stage already. Of course, 'weak', like 'obvious', is a subjective term. When is a similarity not 'strong enough'? Preferably, parallels should be "numerous, complex and detailed". Also, "the fewer (...) differences and the more similarities, the more plausible [a] claim will seem."[60] But this still can hardly be called a definition. It thus seems that making sure that the similarities discussed are 'strong enough' will have to be left to the discretion of individual scholars.[61]

Nonetheless, the combination of both approaches – investigating how the relevant cultural element fits with its context and describing similarities in detail – would be a good way both to prevent metacultural concepts from becoming the subject of interaction studies, and to clarify that something is not a metacultural concept.[62]

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[59] See also Bernabé 1995, pp. 17-18.

[60] The quotations are from Penglase 1994, p. 7, Tigay 1993, p. 255, respectively. For a list of similar criteria, see Henkelman 2006, pp. 815-16.

[61] See also Malul 1990, pp. 93-97, Rutherford 2009, pp. 19-22.

[62] See e.g. Seeher 2008 (with further references), a study of Hittite sawing and drilling techniques, which also included a comparison with Mycenaean practices. Scholars previously had claimed that the similarities between the Hittite and Mycenaean practices that they observed were likely to have been caused by interaction. But through a detailed investigation, Seeher made clear that the relevant similarities are in fact too general and superficial to necessitate ascribing them to transmission of the skills in question.

1.3.2 The recipient society: Reasons for transmission and the process of embedment

In studies on interaction in antiquity, interest in why cultural elements were transmitted and how they were included in the recipient society, is a relatively recent. To my knowledge, archaeologists and art historians introduced this subject in the 1990s.[63] Scholars from other disciplines have referred to it only seldom; even now, studies usually stop once it has been established what cultural elements was transmitted, and how it could have travelled.[64]

However, people do not take over, trade or acquire things at random; there is always a reason, be it practical, social, aesthetic or something else. Furthermore, anything that moves from one cultural sphere to another is adapted to its new context; it is hardly ever the case that something is taken over completely, without changes in its appearance or function. The keyword here is 'embedding'. A cultural element is taken over only, if the recipient can embed it in her or his own cultural context. If this cannot be done, the relevant element will seem useless, and will not be able to transcend the status of a curiosity.

Consequently, in principle, when it is said that people in the Aegean transformed what they took over into something that fitted their own world, this is not surprising. Only the opposite would have been surprising. But scholars who downplay the importance of interaction go further than this. They claim that people in the Aegean changed adopted cultural elements beyond recognition, and that these elements could become important for the development of Aegean culture only because of that.

Clearly, then, tracing in detail why cultural elements were taken over and what happened to them afterwards, is essential. Otherwise, the aforementioned ideas cannot be countered, and there will be no way of demonstrating the relevance of research in this field for the understanding of the development of culture in the Aegean. Questions pertaining to the reasons for transmission and the process of embedment can no longer be ignored.

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[63] For studies since then, see e.g. Matthäus 1993, M.C. Miller 1997, pp. 243-58, I. Morris 1999, van Wijngaarden 1999, Dirlmeier-Kilian 2000, Maran 2004, Manning/Hulin 2005, Osborne 2006, Sader 2010.

[64] I know of several discussions in purely theoretical papers (Bernabé 1995, pp. 16-17, Attoura 2002, Blum 2002b, Gilan 2004, pp. 19-24, Ulf 2009b, pp. 26-43), but only five in publications that also included case studies (Mondi 1990, Bernabé 2004, Allan 2006, pp. 30-31, Lane Fox 2008, Ulf 2010).

1.3.3 The historical perspective: Routes of transmission

The final issue to be taken into account is the historical route of transmission. It is another safeguard against postulating too easily the transmission of specific cultural elements to the Aegean. If no route of transmission can be established, for example because the 'source' element is obscure in its own context and is unlikely to have become known elsewhere, or because evidence for its occurrence postdates the Aegean element supposedly inspired by it, then different reasons for the existence of the similarity need to be sought.[65] Nonetheless, I should admit from the outset that reconstructing historical routes of transmission is a difficult matter. Specific information that can provide evidence for the transmission of individual cultural elements is sparse, incomplete and often ambiguous.

For example,[66] for the Neo-Assyrian Period (ca. 900-610 BCE), only one Greek name and only one pottery sherd from the Aegean have been found further inland than Anatolia and Syria-Palestine so far.[67] It is thus unlikely that many people from the Aegean reached Mesopotamia in that period. Also unlikely is that any of them ever mastered Akkadian or its cuneiform script.[68] After all, the *lingua franca* in Syria-Palestine was Aramaic, and there is no reason to assume that Akkadian was spoken in Anatolia. Consequently, people from the Aegean probably only got to know about Mesopotamian texts in translation. But apart from the Old Testament, no literary texts have survived from Anatolia or Syria-Palestine from this period, while it is known that different versions of the same text could vary significantly.[69] This situation complicates attempts to show historically how people in the Aegean may have taken over elements

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[65] See also Malul 1990, pp. 81-85. Thus, it should also become clear who were the transmitters of a specific cultural elements, and who its recipients. If transmission was indeed involved, people from elsewhere may just as well have adopted elements from the Aegean as the other way round (see e.g. the cases discussed in Walcot 1962, Burkert 1993b, Most 1997/1998, W. Schmitz 2004). As long as cases are studied in detail, it is unlikely that a trajectory is reconstructed that is contrary to what the historical route actually was.

[66] The following examples are discussed in more detail in van Dongen 2008, pp. 236-40.

[67] See Rollinger/Korenjak 2001, Boardman 1997, respectively.

[68] See also Schmitt 1992.

[69] On the practice of translating texts, see e.g. Hallo 1996, pp. 154-68; on how translations could vary, e.g. Salvini 1988, Tigay 1993, pp. 253-55, Giorgieri 2001.

from specific texts known only in Akkadian versions from Mesopotamia.[70]

Furthermore, it is difficult to establish on the basis of pottery finds alone who was present where and in what capacity. Do finds of Aegean ware indicate presence or trade? And if it was brought there through trade, then who were the traders?[71] The problem with basing conclusions concerning interaction on archaeological finds can also be demonstrated by reference to the Old-Assyrian trading post in Kaneš in southeastern Anatolia (nineteenth to eighteenth centuries BCE) and the settlement of the Philistines in Palestine after the Late Bronze Age. In both cases, the material record does not allow for easy conclusions regarding the arrival of people from elsewhere in the relevant areas. It is only through texts that it can be shown that this happened.[72]

Further, while interaction and transmission take place through the activities of individuals, there is little evidence for their actions. For the eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, just two persons can be more or less reliably identified: the Egyptian Wenamun, who in the early eleventh century sailed from Egypt to Dor, Byblos and Cyprus; and Antimenidas of Lesbos, the brother of the poet Alcaeus, who served as a mercenary in the Babylonian army in the sixth century in Syria-Palestine.[73] It is also not helpful to refer to itinerant diviners, magicians and singers, as often happens in studies on the transmission of cultural elements.[74] The travels of such people within the extended Aegean have been discussed extensively.[75] But to my knowledge, there is no concrete evidence that they performed similar rituals or songs in different languages or outside their own linguistic zone, however likely it may be that this did happen in multilingual areas.[76]

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[70] Also Bernabé 1995, pp. 10-17.

[71] See e.g. the discussions in Papadopoulos 1997, Waldbaum 1997.

[72] For Kaneš, see e.g. Gräff 2005; for the Philistines: Gitin 2003.

[73] Wenamun: Schipper 2005; Antimenidas: see Alcaeus fr. 48 (PLF), Strabo 13.2.3 (= Alcaeus fr. 350).

[74] E.g. in Burkert 1983, Rollinger 1996, pp. 202-210, West 1997, 593-606, Bachvarova 2009, Rutherford 2009, p. 33.

[75] See e.g. Neesen 1989, Hunter/Rutherford 2009.

[76] As also observed in Rollinger 1996, p. 204. For southwestern Asia, there is good evidence for the existence of itinerant diviners and others in at least the second and first millennia BCE; see Zaccagnini 1983, Radner 2009.

Perhaps these issues do not apply to the transmission of elements from material culture in the same way, as their spread is obvious from finds of foreign objects in Aegean contexts. But the problem remains at least for other forms of culture. In an attempt to resolve this situation, one could try a more diffusionistic approach, assuming that most people will have travelled from one area to another without leaving traces, carrying along with them, and thus spreading, their stories and ideas in oral form. Several observations and models provide arguments for this idea.

One example is the field of folklore studies.[77] There, the dissemination of narrative themes through time and space is taken for granted. Evidence for it is considered to be provided by occurrences of the same theme rather than by data on historical connections. Only certain types of stories are discussed in this context. But there is no reason to think that the means by which these could spread, could not also be used for the transmission of other kinds of stories and ideas; it has been argued repeatedly that oral traditions predominated in cultural interaction.[78]

This can be linked to the idea that the Mediterranean Sea rather than dividing people actually connects them.[79] This is not based on concrete evidence for trade and migrations, but on general observations of ecological, sociological and anthropological mechanisms within the area. These are assumed to apply throughout its history, and show how well suited it is for small-scale enterprises by sea, which may have connected its coasts.

However, thinking in terms of diffusionism does not settle the issue. The repeated retelling of stories and ideas by different people with different languages is unlikely to retain more than basic themes and general outlines.[80] It does not account for more detailed similarities. The same goes for the transmission of cultural elements such as, for example, scholarly lore, and palatial architecture and iconography.[81]

The idea of an inherently interconnected Mediterranean is also not without problems. It is unclear why this should be considered a distinct region. If coastlines

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[77] For an overview of the history and methods of folklore studies, see Hansen 2002, pp. 1-31.

[78] E.g. George 2003, pp. 55-57, Henkelman 2006, pp. 809-16.

[79] See Horden/Purcell 2000 (especially pp. 123-72).

[80] Comparable to the 'conceptual foci' mentioned in Mondi 1990, p. 145; also Bernabé 1995, pp. 15-16.

[81] That such cultural elements were transmitted nonetheless can be seen, for example, in the impact of Mesopotamian thinking on the early Greek philosophers; see e.g. Burkert 2008.

connect people, then why would the Mediterranean have been more connected internally than with the areas of the Black Sea and the Red Sea, as well as with the coasts of the Atlantic and beyond? And although interaction overland was considerably slower than by sea, that is no reason to ignore it completely. On the other hand, surely there is nothing to be gained by thinking of all of Asia, Europe and Africa as having been inherently interconnected; especially since that is not what the historical evidence for interaction suggests. For instance, although the environment did not change, it seems that there was a significant dip in supraregional relations in the eastern Mediterranean in the centuries after the end of the Late Bronze Age.[82]

Finally, diffusionistic reconstructions make it difficult to include the recipient society in the discussion. Assuming cultural elements to have spread 'naturally' in the course of contacts leaves no room for the questions of why they were transmitted and how they were embedded, the importance of which was discussed in section 1.3.2 (p. 33). The underlying supposition of diffusionism seems that culture in one area was so preferable, interesting, or even superior, that its spread to adjoining areas was unavoidable. But while this idea was acceptable in nineteenth century thought, it is not anymore now.[83]

A diffusionistic approach thus does not supply all the answers. It cannot account for all the cultural elements that may have been transmitted from one place to another, while it glosses over historical developments and the questions of the reasons for transmission and the process of embedment, thus presenting an oversimplified image of the mechanisms of interaction.

A final observation is that arguments for transmission acquired by diffusionistic means are rather 'soft'. It can only be assumed that stories and ideas existed in oral form, and that people travelled all over the relevant area. Solid evidence is lacking.

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[82] See the discussion on the Aegean in this period in section 6.1 (pp. 179-83). For criticism of the concept of 'Mediterraneanism', see also I. Morris 2003, Timpe 2004.

[83] On nineteenth and early twentieth century theories of diffusionism, see Trigger 2006, pp. 217-48. J.M. Hall 2004 discussed several recent publications in which a similar approach seems to have been adopted; see e.g. the first sentence of West 1997 (p. 1): "Culture, like all forms of gas, tends to spread out from where it is densest into adjacent areas where it is less dense" (as pointed out in J.M. Hall 2004, pp. 35-37, this signifies thinking in terms of 'high culture' and 'low culture').

Consequently, such assumptions can be dismissed as easily as they are made. Especially in a field that is still struggling to find acceptance for its basic ideas, this is unhelpful, if not counterproductive, Rather than something vague, precise examples are required to demonstrate how interaction between the Aegean and elsewhere may have worked specifically. The evidence adduced may remain inconclusive; but at least real historical possibilities could be indicated. These do not exclude alternative routes of transmission. But if one variant is worked out in full, at least it will become imaginable how a specific cultural element may have travelled from one area to another.[84]

1.3.4 Summary

At the beginning of section 1.3, I formulated three questions, summarising the issues that need to be treated in studies on the transmission of cultural elements to the Aegean. Below, I repeat these questions, followed by summaries of the method that I have proposed.

Why should one think that a specific cultural element might have been taken over from elsewhere? Any cultural element in the Aegean has one of three possible origins: indigenous developments, Proto-Indo-European culture, or transmission from elsewhere. To be able to claim for specific elements that the last is the case, the inapplicability of the other two must be clarified. In the case of Indo-European origins, this is relatively straightforward. As with transmission from elsewhere, detailed arguments are required to make claims in this regard. The strength of these can then be compared to claims about transmission. That something is not a metacultural concept is less easily demonstrated. Two approaches are available: investigating how well something fitted into its cultural context should make clear how likely it is to have been developed indigenously; and describing similarities in detail may help with arguing that

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[84] Because of this, general sociological approaches to interaction (or 'culture contact'; see e.g. Schortman/Urban 1998, Blum 2002b, Gilan 2004, Ulf 2009b) are in my opinion not (yet) very applicable to studies on interaction and the transmission of cultural elements concerning the pre-Hellenistic Aegean. Their reflections on the mechanisms of interaction and transmission are interesting as well, but too little is known about the region and period in question to be able to apply general models to predict what may have happened how. More specific research will have to be conducted first, to see whether the relevant generalisations actually fit the context. Until that time, I prefer the method advocated here.

they are too specific not to attribute their existence to transmission from elsewhere.

What impact and/or use did it have in the Aegean? If it is not studied why cultural elements were transmitted and how they were embedded in the recipient society, it will remain unclear what impact they had there. Consequently, it would remain unknown whether or not investigating possible instances of the adoption of elements from elsewhere has any importance for the understanding of the development of culture in the Aegean. Investigations of the transmission of cultural elements should therefore include the questions of the reasons for transmission and the process of embedment.

How could it have been transmitted to the Aegean? The historical trajectory of transmission has to be studied to make sure that it is actually possible that a specific cultural element reached the Aegean. Unfortunately, due to the sparsity, incompleteness and ambiguity of the evidence, this is not easy. Diffusionistic approaches might seem to offer help. But they can only account for the transmission of basic themes and general outlines of stories and ideas; they do not take into account fluctuations in the intensity of supraregional interaction. Also, lacking solid evidence, assumptions resulting from this approach can too easily be dismissed. Therefore, it is preferable to work out real historical possibilities to demonstrate how interaction between the Aegean and elsewhere may have worked, even if the evidence remains inconclusive.[85]

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[85] In this context, the final sentences of West 1997 (p. 630) may be discussed. Dismissing the importance of investigating the background of similarities, they conclude the chapter on 'The question of transmission' thus: "In the final reckoning, however, the argument for pervasive West Asiatic influence on early Greek poetry does not stand or fall with explanations of how it came about. A corpse suffices to prove a death, even if the inquest is inconclusive." This metaphor can now be seen to be irrelevant. A corpse certainly does prove a death (i.e. a similarity shows that something is similar), but it does not by itself demonstrate the cause of death (i.e. why this similarity exists). Deaths caused by murder are as uninteresting in the context of statistics on natural deaths, as similarities caused by the appearance of metacultural concepts in the context of a study on the effects of interaction. The responsibility of investigating the possible causes of the appearance of specific similarities thus remains.

1.4 Contents of chapters 2-9

The problem with theoretical studies is that it can be hard to imagine how the relevant considerations can be applied in practice. I have therefore chosen not to work out the research methods in detail, but to concentrate on a case study that illustrates them. This is the appearance of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme in the Hittite *Song of Going Forth* and in the Greek Hesiodic *Theogony*. In chapters two to eight, I investigate how the version of the former may have inspired that of the latter.

I would like to emphasise that I do not see the reconstruction offered in this study as the only possible scenario for how and why the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme was transmitted towards the Aegean and included in the version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved. As I will also indicate at the relevant places, at various points in my argumentation – most notably regarding the period of transmission of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme, the process of composition of the *Theogony*, and the route of transmission in the Iron Age[86] – conclusions different from mine could be drawn, perhaps even equally valid, which would lead to different scenarios. But my aim is not to show how things *must* have happened, but how they *could* have happened; and not to provide a general discussion of all possible options, but to work out one scenario in detail. This should make it more easily conceivable how the process of transmission of cultural elements such as the one discussed here could have taken place. In this way, I hope that I can strengthen my case regarding the importance of elements taken over from elsewhere for the development of the ancient Aegean.

To be able to do so, first, I need to establish how the theme appears in the *Song of Going Forth* and the *Theogony*. Therefore, chapters two and three feature detailed analyses of their contents. Because the *Song of Going Forth* has not received this kind of attention in previous scholarship, this is a sizeable undertaking, which includes new proposals for the sequence of events in the text. I argue that the storm-god plays a much larger role than previously assumed. Chapter three on the *Theogony* is short by comparison, dealing with matters of composition, authorship, date and the appearance of the theme.

Chapter four compares the *Theogony* with other texts that feature a variant of the

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[86] See sections 7.2.2 (pp. 212-14), 3.1.1 (pp. 114-17) and 8.1 (pp. 221-22), respectively.

'Kingship in Heaven'-theme: the *Theogony of Dunnu*, *Enūma Eliš* and the *Song of Going Forth*. I argue that the similarities between the appearances of the theme in the *Theogony* and the song are by far the most numerous and specific. Therefore, only the Hittite text is discussed further. The chapter concludes with proposals concerning the process of composition of the version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved and the reconstruction of a lost part of the *Song of Going Forth*.

Next, I study the position of the theme in its contemporary context. Specific elements are found not to fit there very well, which suggests that the theme was not indigenous to the Aegean, but taken over some time before the composition of the Hesiodic *Theogony*. As I argue in chapter five, the poem should be considered in the context of a growing feeling of Hellenicity in the extended Aegean. It contributed to that by means of mythological syncretism, using genealogical structuring to provide one mythological system that all Hellenes could subscribe to. The theme was included in the poem because it provided the *Theogony* with a framework that allowed it to serve this purpose effectively.

Chapters seven and eight concern the possible route of transmission. The former argues that the song in its Hittite context functioned in rituals concerning the legitimisation of the position of the king. After the fall of the Hittite kingdom, it continued to function in this way in one or more Neo-Hittite kingdoms. In chapter eight I investigate how it may have reached the Aegean from there. Due to the earlier neglect of this route, the focus here is on an Anatolian overland route. I suggest that the Phrygians played an important role in the transmission of the theme, by taking it over from the Neo-Hittites in the early centuries of the first millennium BCE, and passing it on to people from the Aegean, with whom they came into contact afterwards.

In chapter nine, the conclusion, I present a summary of the history of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme, from its earliest use in Anatolia to its inclusion in the Hesiodic *Theogony*. I also evaluate the research method proposed above. Following its application to a case study, particular strengths and weaknesses can be demonstrated.

Chapter II

The *Song of Going Forth*

The *Song of Going Forth* is famous among Hittite texts, not in the last place because of the similarities between the appearance of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme there and in the *Theogony*. Although this makes the text fairly well-known, the song is seldom treated beyond a few general remarks. To gain an understanding of its contents, it is therefore helpful to provide a full analysis of the *Song of Going Forth*, as well as to position it within the context of the time, place and people that it was a part of.

Another reason why a thorough examination of the text is in order, is because current views can still be improved significantly in several points. Scholars so far have generally only looked at its general theme and contents, or, alternatively, they have focussed on specific events, lines or sections. A detailed study of how the narrative evolves line by line – for as far as they are preserved – and how its elements interlock, has not been conducted as yet. Nonetheless, such an approach could advance interpretations of the text in important ways, especially concerning the role of the storm-god. In turn, this would influence reconstructions of the position of the song in the contemporary context and its survival after the Late Bronze Age.

The discussion of the *Song of Going Forth* in this study I have organised as follows. Section 2.1 provides the context of the song, focussing in turn on its scholarly history (2.1.1), the state of the text (2.1.2), the term 'šìʀ', which was a genre indication for the text (2.1.3), and what should be made of the possible existence of a 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle' (2.1.4). The actual analysis of the text I shall conduct in section 2.2. Finally, section 2.3 provides a summary of the contents of the song as I have reconstructed it.

It may be noticed that I have not mentioned the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme in this list. This is because special focus on this is unnecessary: for as far as the song remains, every event narrated in it is related to the theme directly. Finally, my work on this chapter has been aided by being able to use the photographs related to CTH 344.A

held by the Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur, Mainz. I would like to thank Gernot Wilhelm for his permission to use these, and Daniel Schwemer for making them available to me.

2.1 Context

2.1.1 Scholarly history

Forrer was the first to mention the *Song of Going Forth*, in an article from 1930. A few years later two brief articles followed, as well as a longer study, that included a transliteration and translation of part of the text, which Forrer called the 'Kumarbi Saga'.[87] The potential of linking the text with theogonic myths from Babylon and the extended Aegean was immediately recognised, which aroused the interest of other scholars. Already in 1937, Dornseiff referred to the newly discovered text in his discussion of possible foreign elements in the Hesiodic *Theogony*. Subsequently, Eisler compared it to Babylonian and Hellenic stories about the origins and battles of the gods. Nilsson expressed scepticism regarding the similarities with the *Theogony*, but emphasised the importance of the study of possible foreign sources for myths from the extended Aegean. Following a suggestion by Güterbock, Speiser proposed that the text was ultimately Mesopotamian in origin. Finally, Staudacher discussed it in the context of a comparative study of myths that recount the separation of heaven and earth.[88]

In 1943, as item 120 in volume 33 of the *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy* series, Otten published drawings of the tablet that Forrer had referred to.[89] He also managed to connect the text more closely to the corpus of texts from Ḫattuša: considering the god Kumarbi's struggle for divine kingship to be the central element of the story, Otten grouped it together with fragments of other texts in which Kumarbi featured in a similar way. These texts are now known as the *Song of Going Forth*, the

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[87] See Forrer 1930, pp. 237-39, 1935, 1936a, 1936b.

[88] See Dornseiff 1937, Eisler 1939, pp. 57-65, Nilsson 1967, pp. 514-16 (first published in 1941, with a briefer version of the same discussion featuring on p. 486n2), Speiser 1942 (see also Güterbock 1938, pp. 90-93), Staudacher 1942 (especially pp. 15-16).

[89] Originally Ehelolf had set out to publish this volume, but after his death Otten took over (Güterbock 1943, p. 339).

Song of ᴰ*KAL*,[90] the *Song of Silver*, the *Song of Ḫedammu* and the *Song of Ullikummi*. The book triggered an extensive review by Güterbock, itself a prelude to his 1946 monograph on the subject, which featured a transliteration, translation, commentary and analysis of the 'Kumarbi texts'.[91] These publications, coupled with two articles for the general academic public by Barnett and Güterbock,[92] marked the true beginning of Kumarbi studies: not only could scholars now for the first time investigate the relevant texts independently, but a considerable interest had also been raised.

As a result, a flurry of publications followed in the late 1940s and 1950s, with researchers focussing especially on the possible links with myths from the extended Aegean.[93] Foremost among these was Lesky, who referred to the Anatolian texts at every possible occasion;[94] but scholars such as Fontenrose, Heubeck, Webster and others should be included too.[95] After the 1950s, the comparative aspect continued to receive most attention. Special mention in this context may be made of several scholars who mentioned the Kumarbi myths repeatedly and/or in important studies: Burkert, Duchemin, Güterbock, Haas, Walcot and West.[96] However, important research by Kirk,

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[90] Also known as the *Song of* ᴰLAMMA or the *Song of* ᴰLÀMA, in accordance with the various possible readings of the logogram 'KAL'. Two readings for 'ᴰKAL' have been established, the Hattian name 'Inar', which became 'In(n)ara' for the Hittites, as well as the Luwian name 'Kurunta' (Hawkins 2005). But as this text is usually referred to as the *Song of* ᴰKAL (or LAMMA, or LÀMA) in scholarship, I will use the logographic writing to avoid confusion.

[91] Güterbock 1943, pp. 344-57, 1946.

[92] Barnett 1945, Güterbock 1948.

[93] This historiographical paragraph provides a concise overview of studies on Kumarbi-related myths since the 1940s. Discussion of specific contents of publications takes place at the relevant places in the sections and chapters that follow.

[94] Lesky 1949, 1950a, 1950b, 1954, 1955.

[95] See Dussaud 1949-1953, Wikander 1951, Eissfeldt 1952, pp. 60-66, Bianchi 1953, pp. 150-57, 160-61, 183-88, Hölscher 1953, pp. 391-97, Anderson 1954, Dirlmeier 1955, Heubeck 1955, Steiner 1957, Webster 1958, pp. 64-90, Fontenrose 1959, pp. 209-16. See also Otten 1949.

[96] Burkert (who treated it usually only briefly): 1979a, pp. 20-22, 110, 1979b, 1987b, pp. 19-24, 1992b, p. 94 (revision in English of Burkert 1984), 1999, pp. 90, 93-94, 97, 2004, pp. 33, 62, 92-93 (update of the 1999 Italian original). Duchemin: 1952, 1977, 1978, 1979 (her many comparative studies have been collected in Duchemin 1995). Güterbock: 1951b, 1952, 1961b, pp. 155-72, 1978, pp. 234-40, 1980-1983. Haas: specifically 1980, 1983, 1995, 2002b; but see also in his more general studies 1982, pp. 126-38, 1994, pp. 82-99, 2002a, p. 107, 2006, pp. 130-76. Walcot: 1956, 1966, pp. 1-26. West 1966, pp. 18-31 (as

Mondi, Murray and Schwabl, as well as studies and remarks by numerous others, should not be ignored.[97]

  Hittitologists have also continued to discuss the text and its context. Additional fragments of the song, two joins, new transliterations, and a related fragment in Hurrian have been published in the meantime.[98] Furthermore, the song has repeatedly been included in general surveys of the world or specific parts thereof (literature, mythology, religion) of the Hittites, the Hurrians or their wider context.[99] Related specialised studies appeared as well, such as new editions of several other texts that feature Kumarbi.[100] Finally, there have been a number of translations of the song.[101]

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well as throughout the commentary), 1988, p. 170, 1997, pp. 103-5, 278-92.

[97] Schwabl 1962, pp. 1484-1514, Kirk 1970, pp. 213-20, Murray 1980, pp. 86-89, Mondi 1990. See also Schwabl 1960, Wüst 1961, pp. 976-80, von Fritz 1962, pp. 17-20, Thompson 1967, James 1969, pp. 66-71, Littleton 1969, 1970a, 1970b, Reinhold 1970, p. 349, Kirk 1972, Komoróczy 1973, Meltzer 1974, Briquel 1980, Jacobsen 1984, pp. 17-20, 26, Podbielski 1984, pp. 209-11, Yu-Gundert 1984, pp. 110-22, Graf 1987, pp. 86-92, Puhvel 1987, pp. 21-32, Bernabé 1989, Caldwell 1989, pp. 82-84, Solmsen 1989, Versnel 1994, pp. 92-93, Feldman 1996, Blam 1999, Pecchioli Daddi 2001, pp. 404-7, Annus 2002, pp. 171-86, Athanassakis 2004, pp. 1-3, Bernabé 2004, pp. 298-307, Betegh 2004, pp. 169-72, Hard 2004, pp. 34-35, Bachvarova 2005, Csapo 2005, pp. 67-79, López-Ruiz 2006, pp. 76-79, Woodard 2007, pp. 92-104, Lane Fox 2008, pp. 273-94, Raaflaub 2008, pp. 44-51, Rutherford 2009.

[98] See Otten 1950, pp. 5-9, Meriggi 1953 (this study also benefited from remarks in reviews; see Sturtevant 1947, Laroche 1947/1948, Goetze 1949, Güterbock 1951a), R. Werner 1961, Laroche 1968 pp. 39-47, Otten/Rüster 1973, p. 88 (no. 27), Salvini 1991, pp. 129-30 (no. 5), ChS 1/6, pp. 17-18, 38-39 (no. 7), Corti 2007. The state of the text I will discuss in the next section.

[99] See Gurney 1952, pp. 190-92, Laroche 1955, Vieyra 1959, von Schuler 1965, Vieyra 1970, Hoffner 1975, pp. 138-40, Wilhelm 1989, pp. 59-63 (update of the 1982 German original), Neu 1990, pp. 103-11, Beckman 1993-1997, Archi 1995, p. 2373, Lebrun 1995, Popko 1995, pp. 123-27, Hoffner 1998b, pp. 190-93, Trémouille 2000, pp. 135-45, Schwemer 2001, pp. 444-59, Bryce 2002, pp. 222-29, Graf 2004, Lebrun 2004, Beckman 2005, pp. 260-61, Collins 2007, pp. 151-52, Schwemer 2008c, pp. 5-8, Taracha 2009, pp. 156-57.

[100] New editions: Friedrich 1949, Güterbock 1951b, 1952, Siegelová 1971, Hoffner 1988, Rutherford 2001, Archi 2002, Blam 2004, 2005. See also Meriggi 1953, Friedrich 1951/1952, pp. 150-52, de Vries 1967, pp. 23-31, 168-78, Astour 1968, Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, pp. 115-31, Houwink ten Cate 1992, pp. 109-20, Dijkstra 2000, Giorgieri 2001, Rutherford 2001, Haas 2002b, 2003a, Archi 2007, pp. 197-201, Kloekhorst 2007, Archi 2009.

[101] See (translations of the full text are marked with *) Forrer 1936a, Güterbock 1946*, 1948, Goetze 1950, pp. 120-21, Otten 1950 (only additional fragments), Meriggi 1953*, Vieyra 1959, pp. 160-63,

2.1.2 The state of the text

An analysis of the *Song of Going Forth* is not a straightforward task. Although the surviving fragments imply that the text spanned at least two tablets (see section 2.2.8, p. 104), only parts of the first have been identified. The main fragment is KUB 33.120. The length of its second column indicates that each of its four columns must have contained about ninety lines originally, but unfortunately, much of their contents is lost. In column one, the first forty-six lines have survived in a reasonably good state. Eighty-seven of the second can be identified, most of them more or less problematic.

Columns three and four require more attention. Of the former, the original edition consisted of two separate parts, adding up to about fifty lines, all of which at least half broken. Considering the size of the gap between these parts, Otten in his initial publication numbered the remaining lines 1-40 and 62-72. However, as Meriggi observed, line iii 72 is at the bottom of the tablet, which means that nothing can have followed there. As a result, the existence of a gap of circa twenty lines has to be assumed before what is currently called line iii 1.[102] Additional information on the contents of this column was provided by Otten's 1950 publication of Bo 3120 and 6972. The former is a duplicate, i.e. a fragment of the same song, but from another copy. It allowed for partial completion of lines iii 27-36 of KUB 33.120. Bo 6972 belonged to the same tablet as KUB 33.120 and gave the beginnings of lines iii 64-70.[103]

Column four is currently made up of a combination of four fragments. Following a suggestion by Laroche, Otten in 1950 joined KUB 33.120 with KUB 33.119. This

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Güterbock 1961b, pp. 156-60, de Vries 1967, pp. 23-31, Vieyra 1970, pp. 544-46, Kühne 1975, pp. 175-77, Güterbock 1978, pp. 235-36, Haas 1982, pp. 131-33, 1983, pp. 10-11, Bernabé 1987b, pp. 146-55*, 1989, pp. 161-62, Wilhelm 1989, p. 59, Neu 1990, pp. 105-6, Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, pp. 115-31, Haas 1994, pp. 83-85, Ünal 1994, pp. 829-30, Lebrun 1995, pp. 1973-74, Hoffner 1998a, pp. 42-45*, Blam 1999, Schwemer 2001, pp. 447-49, Trabazo 2002, pp. 160-75, Haas 2006, pp. 134-42. For transliterations and translations I generally follow Laroche 1968, pp. 39-47, and Hoffner 1998a, pp. 42-45, respectively, except where I disagree with their interpretations, or where a more literal translation seems preferable (written for a more general audience, Hoffner's translation had to ignore problematic issues and is sometimes somewhat free; see Hoffner 1998a, pp. 4-5).

[102] Meriggi 1953, p. 122. Cf. the drawings in KUB 33, p. 50.

[103] On Bo 6972 (later published as KUB 36.1), see Otten 1950, pp. 5-6. Bo 6972 (KUB 36.31) was included in Otten 1950 as a last minute addition (see p. 6n1); its connection to KUB 33.120 was confirmed in Güterbock 1951a, p. 92n9.

created a section that consists of over half the left side of the bottom 35 lines of the column.[104] Bo 4301, a small piece published by Otten and Rüster in 1973, added most of the right half of the last eight lines (iv 28-35), which were restored completely in 2007 by Corti's discussion of fragment 1194/u.[105] The fragment also provided part of what had been lost of the preceding seven lines (iv 21-27). However, regardless of all these additions, with just thirty-four lines preserved, and over half of them not very well, column four is the least known of the tablet.

In summary, the main copy of the *Song of Going Forth* comprises the fragments KUB 33.120 (Bo 2388) + KUB 33.119 (Bo 3892) + KUB 48.97 (Bo 4301) + KUB 36.31 (Bo 6972) + KBo 52.10 (1194/u), while the duplicate consists of KUB 36.1 (Bo 3120). What this adds up to concerning the state of the tablet as a whole can be seen in figures 2.1 and 2.2. Since the inclusion of the song in the *Catalogue des Textes Hittites* under number 344 by Laroche, these two versions have been known as CTH 344.A and CTH 344.B respectively.[106] Following normal practice, line numbers I use refer to CTH 344.A.

Three additional remarks may be made regarding the state of the text of the *Song of Going Forth*. First, Ašḫapala, the scribe of the main copy, reports in the colophon that he had to work from an original that was damaged.[107] What this means exactly is unclear: there is no telling what the problem with the original was, nor how well Ašḫapala managed to resolve it. The duplicate cannot be used to find out more about the textual quality either. It is short and corresponds to a fragmentary part of CTH 344.A (lines iii 26-37), while it is itself broken as well. Overlap between both copies is therefore slight. Furthermore, as it is unknown how they relate to each other, it is

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[104] Otten 1950, pp. 6-9.

[105] Otten/Rüster 1973, p. 88 (no. 27), Corti 2007. Bo 4301 was published later as KUB 48.97; 1194/u has now appeared as KBo 52.10.

[106] For the original publication, see Laroche 1971, p. 60 (no. 344). For the CTH, see now http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/ (last accessed: 12.11.2010), which also provides a bibliography for each catalogue entry. References to relevant linguistic and lexicological discussions, which have not featured *in extenso* here, feature there as well.

[107] Lines iv 32-33: "*ki-i ṬUP-PU ar-ḫa ḫar-ra-an e-eš-ta*", 'this tablet was worn' (Corti 2007, pp. 112-13).
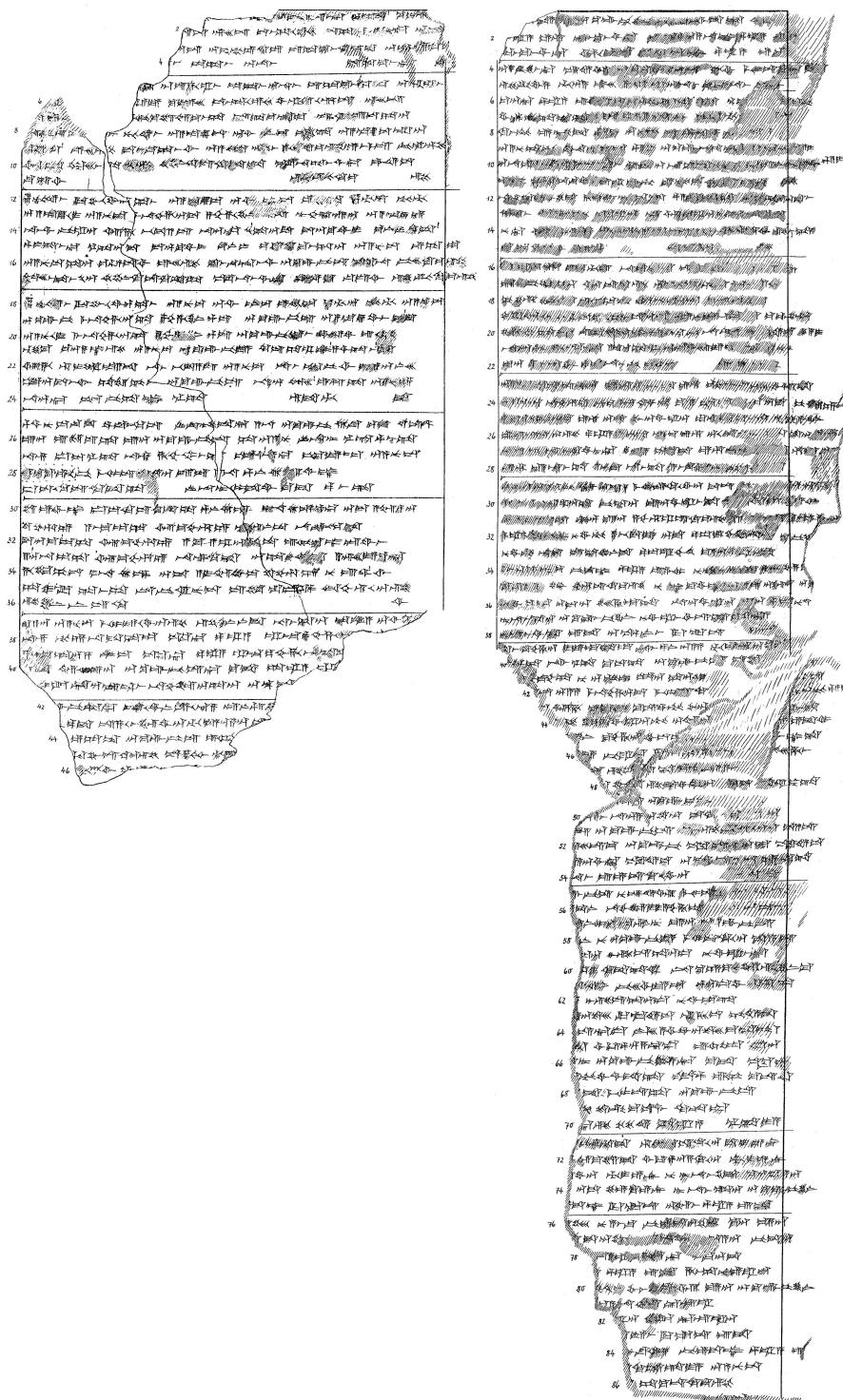
Fig. 2.1: Columns one and two of CTH 344.A. Figure combined from drawings of KUB 33.120.
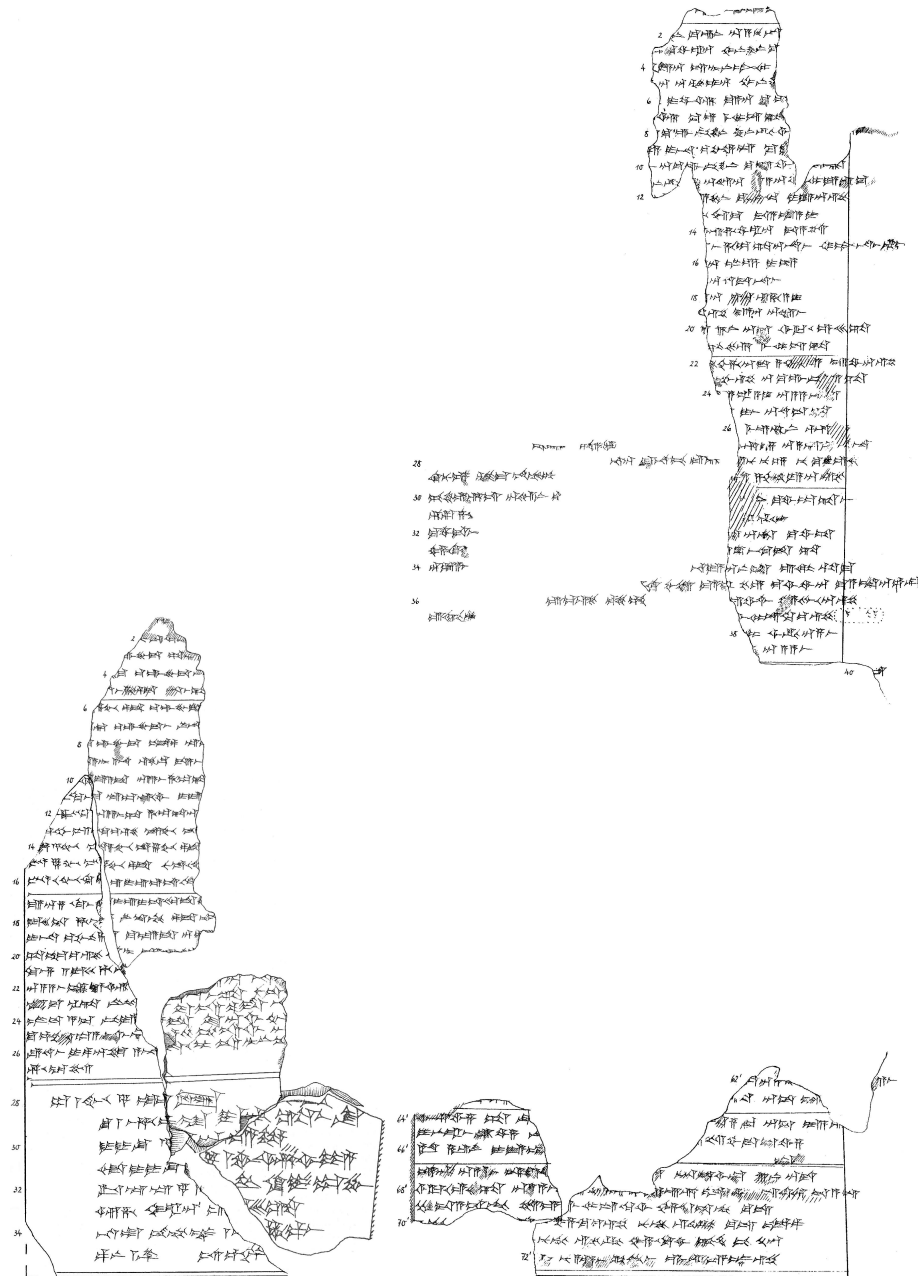
Fig. 2.2: Columns three (right) and four (left) of CTH 344.A. Figure combined from drawings of KUB 33.120 (main fragment), KUB 36.31 (column three, down left), KUB 33.119 (column four, top right), KUB 48.97 (column four, down right) and KBo 52.10 (column four, middle right). Because the signs have been divided differently over the lines in the duplicate (CTH 344.B), the extra information added by the relevant fragment (KUB 36.1) I have included without the fragment outline.

impossible to gauge the reason for possible differences between them. CTH 344.B may even be a copy of 344.A, by a scribe who read the remark in the colophon as an invitation to freely 'correct' the text where he deemed this necessary, thus possibly steering the text away from earlier versions. The duplicate therefore cannot serve an exemplary function when attempting to assess the quality of CTH 344.A as a whole. Consequently, although the fragmentary status of the text makes any reconstruction of its contents difficult, it is better not to emend the text where it is hard to follow, but to try to interpret it as it is.[108]

Second, ever since the publication of KUB 33.120 it had been known that there was also a possibly related fragment in Hurrian.[109] This piece, Bo 2176, was published in 1977 as KUB 47.56, and has since been discussed by Salvini. Recently, it was included in the series *Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler* as ChS I/6 7.[110] Due to the mention of Alalu, Anu and Kumarbi in obv. lines 9'-12' of this text, its link with the *Song of Going Forth* seems certain. But current knowledge of Hurrian does not yet allow for a full understanding of its contents, which are again preserved fragmentarily. Nonetheless, it has been possible to recognise repeated references to incense.[111] This probably refers to certain rituals and is therefore useful when trying to position the song within Hittite culture (see section 7.2.1, pp. 206-12). However, as this does not connect to anything known from the Hittite version of this text, I conclude that the fragment in Hurrian cannot be used for the interpretation of specific sections of CTH 344.A.

Third, a note has to be added on the arrangement of the sections as they follow below. As usual with cuneiform texts, to mark different sections, horizontal lines that span the entire width of the column have regularly been drawn on the tablet between lines of text. In Hittite texts, these usually serve to mark off small sections of the text, comparable to modern paragraphs. A few instances are known where the position of a horizontal line seems to make little sense, or where horizontal lines have been drawn

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[108] Several authors (Forrer 1936a, p. 690n1, Güterbock 1946, p. 41, Meriggi 1953, pp. 121n46, 131, De Vries 1967, p. 30) have suggested that difficulties with the interpretation of the text may be due to the original having been so badly damaged, that the plot of the story had become unclear to Ašḫapala as well. However, they have not proposed any emendations.

[109] See the remark in KUB 33, p. 1n4.

[110] Salvini 1991, pp. 129-30, ChS 1/6, pp. 17-18, 38-39 (no. 7).

[111] Hurrian *aḫ(a)ri*; see ChS 1/6, p. 18.

differently in duplicates. But this mostly concerns texts that contain other errors as well, or that are highly multi-interpretable. In general, the reasons for the position of specific horizontal lines is clear.[112] Hence, in my view, except if their positioning is just impossible to understand, these horizontal lines should be taken to provide information regarding the original interpretation of a text, even where their appearance seems illogical at first glance.

In the *Song of Going Forth*, too, horizontal lines seem to have been used consistently and logically.[113] For as far as the text can be followed, they never break off a running sentence, and divided the text into clear narrative units. Visually, this is confirmed by the frequent leaving open of spaces between signs on the preceding line of text, so that the last sign of the sentence appears at the end of that line. This ensures that no further text can be added before the horizontal line. Furthermore, the horizontal line drawn between lines 5 and 6 of CTH 344.B corresponds exactly to the one between lines iii 29 and 30 of CTH 344.A, despite the different distribution of the text over the relevant lines of both versions, the column widths of which are different. The only two exceptions to this rule are the horizontal lines that follow after lines i 4 and ii 70 of the text. But considering the preceding observations on the use of horizontal lines elsewhere in Hittite texts and in the *Song of Going Forth*, I think it justified to try using these horizontal lines as guidelines for the interpretation of the relevant parts of the text, rather then dismissing them as erroneous.[114]

I will not follow the Hittite division of the text exactly in my discussion of it, as the resulting number of sections would simply be too large to be practical. In column one, the interval between horizontal lines ranges between four to seven lines of text, while it varies from three to twenty in columns two, three and four. Therefore, in order to keep the analysis clear, parts of the text that can easily be connected from a narrative point of view I will discuss together.

Finally, on the basis of palaeography and the appearance in the colophon of Ziti as the supervisor of Ašḫapala, this copy of the *Song of Going Forth* has been dated to the late

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[112] On this use of horizontal lines in Hittite texts, see Justus 1981, Waal 2010. To the difficult cases mentioned there can be added the one from J.L. Miller 2004, p. 279, between §§9-10 (see also p. 303).

[113] The division of CTH 344.A can be seen in figures 2.1 and 2.2 above.

[114] See sections 2.2.1 (p. 59) and 2.2.5 (pp. 84-89) respectively.

thirteenth century BCE.[115] Although this shows that the text was known at least in that period, still, judged by itself, it is of little consequence for the interpretation of its contents. While nothing can be surmised from this date regarding the circulation of further copies and other versions of the story, Ašḫapala's remark that he copied from a worn original, the existence of the duplicate, the related fragment in Hurrian, and the occurrence of Hurrian and Mesopotamian deities in the song, show that the song was part of a tradition that was both older and wider than this one copy. This subject as a whole is of great importance for the positioning of the text in its contemporary context, as well as for research into its survival after the Late Bronze Age.[116] However, the influence of this specific date on the analysis of the contents of the *Song of Going Forth* that follows in this chapter is limited, and for that reason, I shall not discuss it further.

2.1.3 The genre of the song: Šìʀ

At the end of a tablet, in what is called the 'colophon', scribes added a few practical notes concerning the scribe and the larger text or series that the tablet belonged to. Due to the combination of several fragments, the colophon of the *Song of Going Forth* (lines iv 28-35) can now be read completely. There, this larger text is called "šìʀ GÁ×È.A" (iv 28). What this means exactly I will discuss in section 2.2.8 (pp. 105-9); the word that I shall focus on here, is 'šìʀ'. This is a logographic writing for Hittite *išḫamāi-*, 'song', which is also what 'šìr' means in Sumerian.[117] So far, six such songs are known among

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[115] CTH online and Archi (2007, p. 197) agree that the text is in the New Hittite script, which dates it to the period from the second half of the fourteenth century to the end of the thirteenth. A thirteenth century date was advocated in Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 21, Blam 2004, p. 69, Haas 2006, p. 130. This was specified further to the second half of the thirteenth century in Otten/Rüster 1973, p. 88 (no. 27), Mascheroni 1984, pp. 153-54 (no. 2), Corti 2007, p. 121. Earlier, Kühne (1975, p. 175) dated the text to the first half of the fourteenth century.

[116] See section 7.2 (pp. 205-20).

[117] See HED 2, pp. 394-95 (under 'ishamai-'), Schwemer 2001, p. 447n3710. This term has often been written as 'šìʀ' (e.g. Güterbock 1946, p. *6, Meriggi 1953, p. 128, Laroche 1968, p. 47, Otten/Rüster 1973, p. 88 (no. 27), Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, pp. 17-25, Bachvarova 2002, pp. 120-28, Corti 2007, p. 112; 'šìʀ' is used in Güterbock 1978, p. 232, Beckman 1993-1997, p. 569, Schwemer 2001, p. 447n3710). The HZL gives both 'šìʀ' and 'šìʀ' as readings for the sign (p. 143, no. 106). However, as indicated by Schwemer and confirmed by the ePSD (under 'šir [sing]'), the sumerologically most correct reading would be 'šìʀ'. This transliteration I have therefore used.

the texts found in Ḫattuša, as evidenced by the appearance of the word 'šìʀ' in the colophons of their tablets: the *Song of Going Forth*, the *Song of the Sea* (Hurrian version), the *Song of Ullikummi*, the *Song of Release* (Hittite version), the *Tale of the Hunter Kešši and his Beautiful Wife* (Hurrian version)[118] and the *Gilgameš Epic* (Hittite version).[119] Additionally, the occurrence of the phrase 'I sing of him, Silver the fine', has lead Hoffner to think that the *Song of Silver* should be part of this list as well.[120]

If one wants to see šìʀ as a genre indication by the Hittites instead of just translating it as 'song' and leaving it at that, one should look for a definition.[121] This is a complicated matter: the small number of relevant texts and their often fragmentary nature do not allow for much certainty yet. Missing colophons are especially unfortunate in this context. The term 'šìʀ' implies that the texts were sung,[122] but it is difficult to say anything about specific musical features that they may have had. The metre (or rhythm) and rhyme employed by Hurrians and Hittites are still poorly understood.[123] There is considerable knowledge about their music, both regarding theory and performance practice, but it is still unclear when the šìʀ was performed, or where, by whom, for what audience, and with what musical accompaniment.[124]

Nonetheless, I can make three observations regarding the general characteristics of šìʀ texts. First, all of them involve relatively long stories about divine and human (but never completely without divine involvement) exploits. Second, it has been

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[118] This is a translation of the current title of the song in the CTH (no. 360): *Das Märchen vom Jäger Kešši und seiner schönen Frau*. Hoffner (1998a, pp. 87-89) has *The Hunter Kessi and his Beautiful Wife*; Archi (2007, p. 198) calls it *Romance of the Hunter Kešši*.

[119] In general, see Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 17, Beckman 1993-1997, p. 568, Bachvarova 2002, p. 120. For the *Song of the Sea*, see Rutherford 2001, Haas 2006, pp. 147n29, 151-52.

[120] Hence also his suggestion for this name; see Hoffner 1988, p. 143n1. The quote is from fragment 1 (HFAC 12 i), line 7.

[121] First by Güterbock (1978, pp. 232-33; see Neu 1996, pp. 7-8)

[122] See also the discussion of the meaning of *išḫamāi-* in Melchert 1998a, pp. 47-50.

[123] The relevant literature is small. For the Hittites, see Güterbock 1951b, pp. 141-45, McNeill 1963, Durnford 1971, Eichner 1993, pp. 99-114, 155-57, Carruba 1995, Watkins 1995, pp. 247-48, Carruba 1998, Melchert 1998b, Haas 2006, p. 297. For the Hurrians: Neu 1988, pp. 246-48, 1996, pp. 7-8, Hoffner 1998b, p. 180, Haas 2006, pp. 190-92.

[124] For overviews of this subject, see Collon 1993-1997, West 1994b, de Martino 1995, Schuol 2004 (with Polvani 2007 for additional references).

demonstrated that formulas such as noun-epithet combinations, specific phrases and entire scenes feature strongly in these songs, which is not the case similarly in other texts found in Ḫattuša.[125] And third, among the Ḫattuša texts known so far, this designation has only been applied to texts known to have had a Hurrian background in one way or another.[126] On the basis of these three points, I suggest that, for the Hittites, the designation 'šìR' referred to a tradition of longer narrative compositions that were performed musically (i.e. sung), which had not been theirs originally, but had been taken over from the Hurrians.[127]

The nature of the available evidence means that this definition must remain general. Still, even in this form it answers the criticism by Wilhelm. Responding to the common association between šìR texts and the genre of epic,[128] he argued that several elements of the definition of 'epic', such as those regarding the nature of the contents and specific musical features, do not apply to all šìR texts.[129] This I agree with. In

[125] Güterbock 1951b, pp. 142-44, McNeill 1963, Bachvarova 2002, pp. 120-28, 2005, Archi 2007, pp. 197-201.

[126] Suggested by Beckman 1993-1997, p. 568, Archi 2009, p. 210, Lorenz/Rieken 2010, pp. 219-20. The *Gilgameš Epic*, too, probably reached the Hittites via a Hurrian intermediary; see Beckman 1993-1997, p. 568, Klinger 2005, Archi 2007, pp. 186-88. The foreign background of several Hittite texts has been challenged (Singer 1995; cf. Hoffner 1998a, p. 82, who points out how difficult certainty in this matter is, due to the paucity of the relevant sources), but this does not affect the šìR ones.

[127] Bachvarova (2005) suggested the existence of an 'eastern Mediterranean epic tradition', of which texts from Mesopotamia, Ugarit and the extended Aegean had been part as well (less specifically also Burkert 1992b, pp. 114-20, West 1997, pp. 168-76, 220-42). As she did not discuss how the historical context may have facilitated this, one may question her idea by pointing to similar traditions from around the world, which certainly were not all connected (see Foley 2004 for a summary). On the other hand, if the similarities that Bachvarova listed are specific enough to call them common features of a regional tradition (on whether or not this should be called 'epic', see directly below), the issue arises whether this tradition was a general regional development or spread out from a single origin (e.g. Mesopotamia). The former would be interesting in the context of interaction in the wider eastern Mediterranean, the latter would have consequences for ideas about Hurrian literature; but either way, what would be needed to further substantiate Bachvarova's thesis, is a study into its historical dimension. However, as the background of Hurrian literature does not affect the current study, which will also give full attention to the historical dimension of its own subject, there is no need to investigate further the concept of a possible 'eastern Mediterranean epic tradition' here.

[128] Already Güterbock 1978, pp. 232-33. See also e.g. Bachvarova 2005.

[129] Wilhelm 1997, pp. 277n1.

general, with so much information about Hittite and Hurrian texts and traditions still missing, it is better not yet to assign them a fixed place in literary theory. That would also influence interpretations of the texts, by forcing them into some kind of mould. In the case of the genre of epic, this applies even stronger, as this genre was modelled after Greek texts, especially the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.[130] However, this does not contradict the definition of šìʀ suggested above. It thus seems justified to interpret this designation as an ancient genre indication.

Additionally, this definition allows for a further extension of the list of šìʀ texts, with the *Song of* ᴰ*KAL* and the *Song of Ḫedammu*. For although for both texts the colophon and phrases such as the one from the *Song of Silver* are lacking, with the aforementioned criteria, their form and contents suggest that they were categorised as šìʀ texts as well.[131]

2.1.4 The 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle'

From the 1940s on, the *Song of Going Forth* has been seen as the opening part of a series of texts, the so-called 'Kumarbi Cycle', about attempts by competitors of the storm-god to replace him on the throne.[132] Recently, however, Polvani objected to this idea, which she considered too inclusive.[133] In her opinion, a few mythological cycles should be distinguished, centring in turn on the rivalry between the storm-god and Kumarbi, on independent competitors to the throne, and, perhaps, on other themes. If a larger corpus of Hittite texts would have survived, this proposal might well turn out to be correct. But currently, there are too few texts, which are often too fragmentary, to be able to fruitfully make this kind of division. How to distinguish between different cycles is not always clear either. For example, according to Polvani, the *Song of* ᴰ*KAL* and the *Song of Ullikummi* did not belong together. But when in the former Ea mentions how he

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[130] See the discussion in Haubold 2002, pp. 3-5.

[131] Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 17, Hoffner 1998a, pp. 66-67, Haas 2003a, p. 298. It may be noted that, as their colophons are missing, the original titles of these texts are unknown. The only reason for calling them 'Song of' is their attribution to the šìʀ category. Also, note the remark on the possible connection between the *Song of Ḫedammu* and the *Song of the Sea* (see directly below).

[132] First in Güterbock 1946, p. 4.

[133] Polvani 2008.

and Kumarbi together placed ^DKAL on the throne instead of the storm-god,**¹³⁴** this cannot be seen separately from the raising of Ullikummi by Kumarbi for the same purpose in the latter. Therefore, under the current textual circumstances, it is more useful to retain the usual, wider definition.

The designation 'Kumarbi Cycle' is problematic.¹³⁵ The storm-god features much more prominently than Kumarbi in the relevant compositions, who is not even always certainly the instigator of the attempted overthrow. Moreover, although the text under discussion in this study used to be known as the 'Song of Kumarbi', it is known now that the actual title was *Song of Going Forth* (see section 2.2.8, pp. 105-9). A designation 'Cycle of the Storm-God' might therefore be preferable;¹³⁶ but considering the wide definition of the cycle, I think that it would be more appropriate to call it the 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle'.¹³⁷ This designation I will therefore use.

So far, the *Song of* ^D*KAL* (CTH 343)*,* the *Song of Silver* (CTH 364), the *Song of Ḫedammu* (CTH 348) and the *Song of Ullikummi* (CTH 345) – all of them šIR texts – have been identified as belonging to the 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle'.¹³⁸ Perhaps the *Song of the Sea* (part of CTH 346.II) should also be added to this list, but this is still uncertain: current knowledge does not allow for a translation of the Hurrian fragment, and the one known text that may have belonged to a Hittite version is obscure. Alternatively, the *Song of Ḫedammu* and the *Song of the Sea* may have been part of the same narrative, or the *Song of the Sea* described a primordial flood, which would make it fit less easily with the other songs of the 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle'.¹³⁹ Further possible members of the cycle include *Ea and the Beast* (CTH 351), KBo 22.87 (on the kingship of Eltara; part of CTH 370) and the *Song of Oil* (no CTH number), as well as a number of fragments of texts that seem to share the same theme, but are too short and/or

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¹³⁴ Lines A iii 15-16 (Laroche 1968, p. 34; also Hoffner 1998a, p. 47, § 6).

¹³⁵ See also Corti 2007, p. 120, Archi 2009, p. 211.

¹³⁶ Corti 2007, p. 120.

¹³⁷ As used in Rutherford 2009, p. 10.

¹³⁸ Translations with introductions: Hoffner 1998a, pp. 40-65. See also Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, pp. 115-62, Lebrun 1995, Schwemer 2001, pp. 446-59, Haas 2006, pp. 130-76.

¹³⁹ Houwink ten Cate 1992, pp. 116-19, Dijkstra 2000, Rutherford 2001, Blam 2004, Haas 2006, pp. 151-52. On the confrontation between the storm-god and the sea, see also Schwemer 2001, pp. 226-37.

fragmentary to be able to assign them securely to the 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle'.[140]

That such a cycle existed is not a simple fact. As West pointed out, apart from the thematic relation, there is no explicit proof of a connection between the songs, nor of there being any particular order.[141] Additionally, according to Archi, the texts were "probably composed at different times and in different places".[142] Nonetheless, while it may be mistaken to place too much emphasis on their connectedness, it also makes little sense to ignore the strong thematic link between these songs.[143] Perhaps this situation can be compared to that of the Greek 'Trojan Cycle': although it is not referred to explicitly anywhere in the *Iliad* or in the *Odyssey*, remarks in Greek scholarly texts make it nonetheless clear that such a cycle was conceived to exist.[144]

In the absence of Hurrian or Hittite literary or scholarly texts that could shed light on this matter, this parallel can be taken even further. Combining all texts that constitute the Greek 'Trojan Cycle', a grand narrative can be created, the order of which can be determined by analysing how the contents of the individual texts relate to each other. Similarly, on the basis of their contents, mainly regarding the nature of the storm-god's adversaries and the way they are fought, Houwink ten Cate has reconstructed a logical sequence for the songs currently associated with the 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle': *Song of Going Forth, Song of ᴰKAL, Song of Silver, Song of Ḫedammu, Song of*

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[140] For *Ea and the Beast*, see Archi 2002, Archi 2009, p. 213; KBo 22.87: Polvani 2008, Archi 2009, pp. 213-14; *Song of Oil*: Yakubovich 2005, p. 134. On these fragments in general, see Lebrun 1995, p. 1979, Schwemer 2001, pp. 451-54, Haas 2006, pp. 130, 143-47. With the help of the online edition of the CTH, a comparison can be made of the findspots of the relevant texts. It turns out that nearly all fragments connected to the 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle' have been found in the area of Temple 1, on the citadel of Ḫattuša (see also Archi 2007, pp. 194-96, Corti 2007, p. 120). Only a few pieces were found elsewhere, mostly in the 'House am Hang'. However, the presence of a mythological or a šìʀ text in Temple 1 does not imply a relation to the cycle. The fragments of the *Gilgamesh Epic* and the *Tale of the Hunter Kešši and his Beautiful Wife* were also found mainly there. It might be more meaningful if the situation was the other way round, i.e. that a text was not unearthed there. Of the relevant compositions, this applies only to *Ea and the Beast*. But just two fragments of this text are known so far, which were found in two different places. It would be rash to decide against the inclusion of *Ea and the Beast* in the cycle on the basis of so little information. Temple 1 therefore as yet cannot play a role in the attribution of texts to the cycle.

[141] West 1997, p. 104. Haas (2006, p. 130) has also expressed reservations.

[142] Archi 2007, p. 197. No arguments are given to support this view.

[143] As also argued in Archi 2009, p. 211.

[144] In general, see Dowden 2004, pp. 196-204, Burgess 2005.

Ullikummi.[145] The position of the *Song of the Sea* is uncertain, if indeed it did belong to the cycle: it may have come either second, fourth or fifth.[146]

This sequence is not necessarily correct. For example, the *Song of Going Forth* is positioned at the beginning of the sequence because, starting from the first divine king ever, it relates how the storm-god eventually managed to obtain his position of supremacy. This is the situation that all the other texts take as their starting point. However, most of the song is lost, including any tablets that followed the surviving first one. Although it is not very likely, it is possible nonetheless, therefore, that the *Song of Going Forth* is actually a summary of the entire cycle, with abbreviated versions of the other songs recounted in its missing parts.

Such a variant would upset the sequence given above. However, its exact order is not the point here anyway. What matters in this context, is that such an attempt at its reconstruction, which is potentially correct, again shows that the thematic link between the relevant texts is obvious, so that it would be absurd to think that the Hurrians and the Hittites, too, did not think of them as connected in some way. Consequently, the possibility of the existence of some kind of 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle' can be assumed when analysing the contents and context of the *Song of Going Forth*.

2.2 Contents

2.2.1 Opening (i 1-11)

Outline. The song starts with an address to the primeval gods to listen, who are enumerated in a list that is partly broken, but runs as follows: Nara and Napšara; Minki and Ammunki; Ammezzadu and [   ], the father and mother of [   ]; [   ] and [   ], the father and mother of Išḫara; Enlil and Ninlil; [   ] and *kulkulimma*. Additionally, before the story proper starts, its point of departure is narrated: Alalu is king of heaven, and Anu is his cupbearer (i.e. a high court official).

Analysis. In Hittite texts, the 'primeval gods' were invoked in the oaths of legal matters

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[145] Houwink ten Cate 1992, pp. 109-20. See also Hoffner 1998a, pp. 40-41.

[146] Rutherford 2001, pp. 604-5, Schwemer 2001, p. 454n3751.

and state treaties. They formed a diffuse group, the composition of which often changed. In general, most of its members seem to have been ancient gods, that were originally at home in Syria and connected with agriculture and the earth. Mesopotamian deities also featured, such as Alalu (also 'Alulu'), Anu, Enlil, Abandu and Ninlil, as well as a few others that are more difficult to place.[147]

At first sight, the positions of the horizontal lines in this section seem problematic. Why has the enumeration of deities been split up by the horizontal line after line i 4? Why is there no horizontal line at line i 7 between the enumeration and the description of the kingship of Alalu? And why is there a horizontal line after line i 11, separating the description of Alalu's kingship from his fight with Anu? As for the first question, the reason may be that the deities enumerated before the horizontal line are mostly ancient Syrian ones, while the others have a predominantly Mesopotamian background. The lack of a horizontal line at line i 7 I can then be explained by the Mesopotamian origin of Alalu and Anu.[148] Finally, the horizontal line after line i 11 may be taken to indicate the end of the introduction of the text. At this point, after the invocation of the primeval gods and the setting of the scene with Alalu's kingship, the text is ready to start with the description of the actual evens of the story of the *Song of Going Forth.*

This interpretation can assist in trying to reconstruct which of the primeval gods were called upon exactly in the invocation. This is made difficult by gaps in the text, but in any case, six pairs of gods seem to have been mentioned.[149] The occurrence of Nara, Napšara, Minki and Ammunki is clear; there is only discussion about whether they should be considered as two 'rhyming doubles', as Haas would have it, or just as separate gods.[150] The problems start with the companion of Ammezzadu. Through parallel occurrences in other texts, Archi has been able to show that Ammezzadu could

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[147] On the primeval gods, see Laroche 1974, Archi 1990, Haas 1994, pp. 111-15, Taracha 2009, pp. 125-27.

[148] See also section 2.2.2 (pp. 65-66).

[149] Haas 2006, pp. 133-34.

[150] Haas 1994, p. 112: "nach dem Prinzip der Wortmagie in gereimten Doppelworten gebildet"; similarly Wilhelm 1989, p. 56. Translated separately as 'Nara, Napšara, Minki and Ammunki' by e.g. Bernabé 1987b, p. 146, Archi 1990, p. 114, Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 128, Ünal 1994, p. 829, Hoffner 1998a, p. 42 (§ 1).

be followed by Tuḫuši or Alalu in these lists; both appear twice.[151] Subsequently, Haas reconstructed the line as 'Ammezzadu and Alalu, the father and mother of Heaven (i.e. Anu)', but this opinion was not substantiated.[152] Considering the hypothesis expressed above, Tuḫuši would be a more obvious choice: not only does he belong with the 'Syrian group', unlike Alalu, but it is also unlikely that Alalu featured both here and after the list.

For the fourth pair, all that can be read is "Išḫara father mother". Siegelová interpreted this as meaning '[   ] and [   ], the father and mother of Išḫara'.[153] The names of the parents have since been restored as either 'Anu and Antu' or 'Enlil and Abandu', but the argumentation is still lacking for both choices.[154] Again, Anu already appears after the list, but with Enlil also featuring in the next pair, this time both reconstructions are problematic. Regarding those subsequent names, Enlil's companion is missing from the text. As this role is taken by Ninlil in the Mesopotamian tradition, her name is probably the only logical option here.[155]

Finally, the last pair does not remain beyond "*k]u-ul-ku-li-im-ma-aš-ša*" (line i 7). The meaning of the word *kulkulimma-* is disputed. According to Pecchioli Daddi and Trabazo, it is related to a verb **kulkuliya-*, which itself would derive from the adjective *kuli-*, 'calm, rest'.[156] Oettinger, however, with the help of the appearance of this word elsewhere in relation to lightning, linked it to a verb **kulkuliye-*, 'to shine brightly' (in a

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[151] Archi 1990, p. 118.

[152] Haas 2006, p. 134. Others refrained from trying to restore a name here; see e.g. Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 128, Hoffner 1998a, p. 42 (§ 1), Trabazo 2002, pp. 161-62; also still Haas 1994, p. 114. De Vries 1967, pp. 127-28, suggested to reconstructed simply 'gods' ('DINGIR^MEŠ') after Ammezzadu, which would give "let Ammezzadu [and the god's] fathers and mothers listen". However, considering that otherwise specific gods are enumerated, this proposal is probably incorrect.

[153] Siegelová 1971, pp. 28-29. The form 'Išḫaraš' (i 5: "^DIš-ḫa-ra-aš") could be both a nominative and a genitive. Previously, therefore, it had been assumed that Išḫara was the subject of a preceding sentence (see e.g. Güterbock 1946, p. 6, Meriggi 1953, p. 111).

[154] 'Anu and Antu': Goetze 1950, p. 120, de Vries 1967, pp. 127-28, Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 128, Trabazo 2002, pp. 160-61. 'Enlil and Abandu': Haas 1994, p. 144, 2006, p. 134.

[155] Restored in e.g. Goetze 1950, p. 120, Laroche 1968, p. 39, Bernabé 1987b, p. 146, Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 128, Hoffner 1998a, p. 42 (§ 2), Trabazo 2002, pp. 162-63, Haas 2006, p. 134.

[156] Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 128n6, Trabazo 2002, p. 163n30.

potentially threatening sense).[157] This would provide a meaning 'bright luster' for the substantive, which probably occurred in deified form here. Nonetheless, what function this word could have had in the lists of primeval gods, or how it fits the 'Mesopotamian group', is unknown. There have been no suggestions for what the preceding name might have been.

The introduction cannot be dismissed as just an invocation of some gods.[158] First, the position of a horizontal line not after line i 7, but after i 11, suggests that the Hittite scribe considered the text as continuing smoothly into the reign of Alalu. Second, there is a clear difference with the three other introductions to Hittite songs with a Hurrian background that have been preserved. Although their specific wording varies, these are essentially similar to each other, starting out in Homeric fashion by mentioning the main character(s) of whom shall be sung.[159] In this light, that the *Song of Going Forth* instead starts with an invocation seems a deliberate choice, the reason for which merits investigation.

A few attempts have been made to find a connection between the introduction and the main narrative. Pecchioli Daddi proposed that these deities are mentioned because of their antiquity, assuring the truthfulness of the story. Haas thought that they served here as the ones by whom the storm-god swore to maintain the divine order achieved in the course of the narrative.[160] Although both explanations tie in with the function of the primeval gods as swearing-gods, they do not explain why the introductions to the *Song of Silver*, the *Song of Ullikummi*, and the *Song of Release* do not start out with an invocation as well. Perhaps this had to do with the position of the *Song of Going Forth*. Even if some kind of 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle' did not exist, there can be no doubt about the place of the events narrated in this text at the beginning of the chronological sequence of the songs that could have been part of such a cycle.[161]

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[157] Oettinger 2001, pp. 458-59; followed by Haas 2006, p. 134.

[158] As suggested in Siegelová 1971, pp. 28-29.

[159] See *Song of Silver*, fragment 1 (HFAC 12), line 7 (Hoffner 1988, pp.. 144-45; also 1998a, p. 48, § 1.2), *Song of Ullikummi*, line I A i 1-4 (Güterbock 1951b, pp. 146-47; also Hoffner 1998a, p. 55, § 1), *Song of Release*, fragment 1 (KBo 32.11), lines 1-9 (Neu 1996, p. 30; also Hoffner 1998a, p. 67, §§ 1-3).

[160] Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 117 (also Lebrun 1995, p. 1973), Haas 2006, pp. 133-34.

[161] See also section 2.1.4 (p. 58).

If that is to be taken into account, the invocation of these deities – whether it concerned truthfulness or an oath by the storm-god – could have been meant to apply to this entire complex of texts.

Still, in this form, too, the evidence in the text for these theories is indirect, while they also both leave unexplained why these gods again and again are called upon explicitly to 'listen'. A better solution could be arrived at by following up on an earlier proposal by Haas. In 1994, he pointed to the relation of the primeval gods to several of the protagonists of the story, mentioning that Nara-Napšara is the brother of Ea, and that the entire group, including Alalu and Anu, belongs to the same generation as Kumarbi. [162]

With this in mind, reference can be made to the purification incantation *When they cleanse a house of bloodshed, impurity, sin, perjury and threat* (CTH 446). In lines iii 34-38 of that text, it is said that the primeval gods receive only bird sacrifices, as that is what the storm-god ordained after he had driven them into the earth.[163] The netherworld as the place of residence of these deities is confirmed in fragment 4 (KBo 32.13) of the *Song of Release*, where they appear as sitting down next to the storm-god during his visit there.[164] This means that, for the audience and narrators of the song, the contemporary state of affairs is that the storm-god rules supreme, while the primeval gods are held captive below the earth. That is where they should stay as well: if they would rise up against the storm-god, universal chaos probably would ensue. Therefore, part of the purpose of the recounting of this story may have been to remind the primeval gods of the supremacy of the storm-god, to avoid a possible future rebellion. Consequently, when in the introduction to the *Song of Going Forth* these deities are called upon to listen, this is done to ensure that they will hear how their current situation had come to pass.[165]

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[162] Haas 1994, pp. 112-14.

[163] Cf. also lines i 58-59. Edition: Otten 1961 (additional fragment: Akdoğan/Wilhelm 2003); for recent discussion and translations, see Collins 1997 (§§ 14, 34), Peter 2004.

[164] Neu 1996, pp. 220-27 (also Hoffner 1998a, p. 73, §§ 33-37).

[165] Corti 2007, p. 120, also mentions that the song may have been created in order for the gods to "listen and recall their origin". However, he does not explain what purpose this had.

2.2.2 Alalu, Anu and Kumarbi (i 12-36)

Outline. After Alalu has occupied the heavenly throne for nine years, his cupbearer Anu rises against him and takes his place, with Alalu fleeing 'to the dark earth'. Subsequently, Anu suffers the same fate: after nine years, he, too, has to fight his own cupbearer, Alalu's son Kumarbi, whom he tries to escape by fleeing to the sky. However, Kumarbi prevents him from doing so by grabbing his legs and pulling him down. He then bites off Anu's genitals, but Anu warns him not to rejoice at this, as Kumarbi has now been impregnated with Anu's offspring: the storm-god, the Aranzaḫ River (the river-god Tigris), the god Tašmišu and two more 'terrible gods'. He ends off by prophesying that Kumarbi will regret having received this burden.

Analysis. As this is the first time the storm-god is mentioned in the song, it is appropriate to discuss here which storm-god is meant exactly. Throughout the text, a logogram is used to refer to him.[166] In principle, this could designate any storm-god, but the phonetic complements used with the sign indicate that the scribe had the Hittite storm-god Tarḫunna- in mind.[167] On the other hand, because of the Hurrian background of the text, the name of the Hurrian storm-god, Teššub, is normally used in studies on the song. As a good case could be made for the use of either name, and as the logogram is used consistently throughout, I prefer to write simply 'storm-god'.

Also important is the number of gods that Anu says have been placed inside Kumarbi in lines i 33-34. The relevant part of the text reads as follows: "... DINGIR^MEŠ-*ia-ʿták-kánʾ* | *ḫa-tu-ga-uš I-NA* ŠÀ-*KA an-da a-i-im-pu-uš te-eḫ-ḫu-un*", '... gods, too, terrible ones, I have placed inside you as burdens'. Although Forrer transliterated '2' here without further comments, Güterbock in his 1946 publication mentioned that the sign is unclear and could be either '2' or '3', but that '3' would fit the context better.[168] The

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[166] Read 'ɪᴍ' when referring to 'wind, storm', but 'ɪšᴋᴜʀ' when it refers to the storm-god (see Schwemer 1999, p. 190, 2001, pp. 29-31). As can be read once in the *Song of Going Forth* as well (line ii 26), Hittite scribes also used the sign '10' to refer to the storm-god, which is then transliterated with 'ᴜ' (Schwemer 2001, pp. 75-78; in general on writings for the storm-god, see also Deighton 1982, pp. 44-61, Haas 1994, p. 322). This explains why various transliterations of the relevant sign can be found in studies on texts that refer to the storm-god.

[167] Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 127, Schwemer 2001, p. 448n3717; also Lebrun 1995, p. 1974.

[168] Forrer 1936a, p. 694, Güterbock 1946, p. 35.

latter proposal was followed for several years,[169] until Güterbock himself retracted it in 1961, when he returned to Forrer's initial reading '2'.[170]

Most scholars have followed this change, assuming Anu to be referring to two additional gods that Kumarbi has been impregnated with.[171] Only Lebrun assumed that, instead of adding two gods, Anu means to single out two of the deities that he has listed already as 'terrible ones'.[172] Both ways of translating the text present difficulties. Why would Anu single out two of his offspring, and why would he not mention which ones they are? And if there were two additional gods, then why are they not named?

It is probably to avoid these complications that some scholars have continued to read '3' in line i 33.[173] In that case, Anu would just be summarising his enumeration. However, an analysis of the photographs of KUB 33.120 leaves no doubt that the reading must, in fact, be '2'. A reading '3' would require emendation of the text. As for the interpretation of lines i 33-34, the use of the enclitic *-ya* (DINGIR^MEŠ-*ia*-˹*ták-kán*˺'''), an additive conjunctive, makes clear that Anu's remark comes in addition to what he has already said.[174] Thus, the meaning of the lines is that, in addition to the storm-god, Tašmišu and the Aranzaḫ River, two more gods have been placed inside Kumarbi.

The events narrated in lines i 7-38 of the song contain a mixture of several elements. First, the castration of the sky-god (Anu) reminds of the motif of the separation of heaven and earth, which is well-known from myths from around the world.[175] Problems with using this interpretation in this context, are that Anu is not actually separated from

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[169] See e.g. Goetze 1950, p. 120, Meriggi 1953, pp. 112-13, Vieyra 1959, p. 162.

[170] Güterbock 1961b, pp. 155-59 (also 1978, p. 235).

[171] In Vieyra 1970, '2' is used in the discussion of the text (p. 512), but '3' in the translation (p. 545). However, as the translation literally repeated that of Vieyra 1959, pp. 160-63, it seems that Vieyra did accept Güterbock's new reading, but forgot to adapt his translation accordingly.

[172] Lebrun 1995, p. 1973.

[173] See Ünal 1994, p. 839, Carruba 1995, p. 570, 1998, p. 85, Blam 1999, Archi 2002, p. 2, 2004, p. 319, 2009, pp. 213, 220. Where Haas stands is unclear. He has translated '3' several times (1982, p. 132, 1994, p. 84, 2002, p. 234), but has also used '2' (1983, p. 11, 2006, p. 135), while he has never explained his choice. '3' was also still used in de Vries 1967, pp. 42, 90, Laroche 1968, p. 41, but in these cases the authors probably just had not seen Güterbock 1961b yet.

[174] On *-ya*, see GHL, pp. 399-400, § 29.38.

[175] Haas 1994, pp. 83-85, 118-21. Also already Staudacher 1942.

anything or anyone (the earth-goddess as a figure features in column four; see section 2.2.7, pp. 100-2), so that the separation motif does not feature as such; and that an unusual method of 'cutting' loose is used. However, the *Song of Ullikummi* shows that the Hittites did know a common version of the separation motif. In that text, the rock giant Ullikummi threatens the storm-god's kingship. He seems invincible, until it is found that he derives his strength from standing upon the shoulder of Ubelluri, the carrier of heaven and earth. Therefore, the god Ea uses the 'copper cutting tool' with which once heaven and earth had been cut apart to separate the two of them.[176] It is reasonable to think of the castration of Anu as a remnant of the same motif.

With the reigns of Alalu and Anu,[177] there is a Mesopotamian connection, as neither god featured much in the Hurrian or Hittite pantheon.[178] 'Anu' is the Akkadian name for the originally Sumerian god An, whose name means 'sky, heaven'.[179] An important deity throughout Mesopotamia, his background fits his status as a divine king and his role in the myth of the division of heaven and earth.

Alalu presents a more difficult issue. Originally, he had been an agricultural deity, who may have evolved out of what started out as a harvest song accompanied by a flute.[180] This background connects well with Alalu's flight to the earth in the *Song of Going Forth*, but not with his position as divine king, or his inclusion among the primeval gods: although references to the singing of this song developed into

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[176] In CTH 345, tablet 3, A iii 42, A iii 52-53 (see Hoffner 1998a, pp. 56-65, §§ 61, 63).

[177] Not much importance has to be assigned to the number of years of the reign of Alalu and Anu. Nine was a symbolic number throughout the eastern Mediterranean and Mesopotamia that could symbolise various things, such as 'newness' or 'fullness' (of a period), or just a long, undefined period of time. See Neu 1990, p. 106, Lebrun 1995, p. 1974.

[178] As appears from studies on Hurrian and Hittite religion; see e.g. Laroche 1976, Lambert 1978, Trémouille 2000, Bryce 2002, pp. 134-62, Haas 2002a. Since their names have been written out in full ("ᴰ*A-la-lu-uš*" and "ᴰ*A-nu-uš*"), there can be no question about their identification. Despite having a Mesopotamian background as well, the god Ea, who appears later in the song, should not be included here. He was a full member of the Hurrian pantheon (Laroche 1976, Lambert 1978), who may have been included at an early date already (Wilhelm 1989, pp. 54-55, Taracha 2009, p. 126). A detailed study of the appearance of Ea in Hurrian religion and mythology still has to be written; for an overview of the position of Ea/Enki in Mesopotamia, see Villard 2001.

[179] See Joannès 2001a, Rochberg 2005.

[180] Oppenheim 1946, Landsberger/Jacobsen 1955, pp. 20-21. See also CAD A1, pp. 328-29 (under 'alāla').

symbolising prosperity, Alalu remained a minor figure. So why does he feature as a king of the gods in the song?

In an attempt to explain this, first, it may be noted that the succession of Alalu proceeds and is told in nearly the exact same way as that of Anu by Kumarbi (lines i 7-25), except for that it has been stripped of any further events, such as the castration. Furthermore, in Old and Middle Babylonian genealogical lists of the ancestors of the god of heaven, Alalu is named at or near the end. He was thus relatively close to Anu.[181] Finally, it should be mentioned that Alalu was often included among the primeval gods. Considered together, this suggests that, in the *Song of Going Forth*, a god was added to an original list of three kings, for the purpose of creating a link between the invocation of the primeval gods and the first king. For this, the basics of the description of Anu's kingship were copied. The choice for Alalu specifically may then be explained by his proximity to Anu; although it may also have had to do with a desire to get a sequence earth-god (Alalu), sky-god (Anu), earth-god (Kumarbi), sky-god (the storm-god).

The third element is the impregnation of Kumarbi, which sets in motion a sequence of events – childbirth, the conflict between Kumarbi and his offspring – that occupies the rest of the story, as far as it survives. This may be seen as the logical consequence of Kumarbi swallowing Anu's genitals, but as that theme does not feature in other myths about the separation of heaven and earth,[182] it can be considered by itself.

Finally, note that kingship in this succession does not always pass from father to son. As mentioned in i 19, Kumarbi is the offspring of Alalu, but Anu and Kumarbi are portrayed as cupbearers to Alalu and Anu respectively.[183] This does not preclude that Anu was Alalu's son, as implied by the connection between Alalu and Anu in the genealogical lists mentioned above; but it is not mentioned explicitly. The storm-god is a more complicated case: he emerges from the body of Kumarbi, who is therefore in a sense his mother, but his father is Anu.[184] In turn, those who challenge the storm-god in

[181] See Lambert 1957-71, p. 470, Haas 1994, pp. 107-11, Lambert 2008, pp. 26-32. This link was already made in Speiser 1942, pp. 99-100, Güterbock 1946, pp. 86, 106.

[182] Cf. Staudacher 1942, Seidenberg 1959, 1969, 1983, Haas 1994, pp. 118-21.

[183] As pointed out by Lebrun (1995, p. 1973), the dethronement of a king by his cupbearer is a familiar theme in Mesopotamian literature.

[184] Seeing Kumarbi as the mother of the storm-god is not just a modern interpretation, as the example

the other songs of the 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle' are sons of Kumarbi. On the basis of this, Hoffner has suggested that there were "two competing lines of gods": Alalu – Kumarbi – challengers of the storm-god; and Anu – storm-god.[185] Again, it may not be coincidental that the gods of the first line are all connected to the earth, and those of the second to the sky.

Additionally, it may be of interest that both against Alalu (i 12-13) and against Kumarbi (i 18-19), the text portrays Anu as the one giving battle. Although this could be just a case of varying for literary reasons, it might also be meant to depict Anu as someone who aggressively takes the initiative to gain and defend his kingship, perhaps with the intention of letting this quality reflect positively upon his son, the storm-god.

2.2.3 Kumarbi's pregnancy and the birth of ᴰKA.zAL (i 37-46, ii 1-38)

Outline. After Anu has gone to the sky, Kumarbi tries to spit out his sperm. The legibility of the column rapidly deteriorates after line i 38, so that it is difficult to understand what happens with his spittle. All that can be read before a gap of approximately 45 lines begins, is a reference to Mount Kanzura, that Kumarbi leaves for Nippur, and that someone counts the months. In the next column, which is again fragmentary, there is a discussion about where to leave Kumarbi's body, followed by someone summing up which gods will provide the one that is to be born with his qualities. After more discussion, admonitions and warnings about how to leave Kumarbi, including speeches by Anu and the god Ea, a god referred to as 'ᴰKA.zAL' appears by breaking through Kumarbi's skull.

Analysis. Featuring just before the gap, Mount Kanzura was the seat of the gods, similar to Olympus in Hellenic mythology.[186] Its role and what it has to do with Kumarbi spitting out part of Anu's sperm are difficult to assess on the basis of just its mention in line i 41; further discussion will take place in section 2.2.5 (p. 91). Nippur, situated to

adduced by Haas (1982, p. 133) of a Hurrian invocation of the storm-god (Teššub) demonstrates: "Dein Vater Anu hat dich erzeugt (...) Deine Mutter Kumarbi hat dich (auf die Welt) kommen gemacht" (see also Bernabé 2004, p. 301).

[185] Hoffner 1975, pp. 138-39. Followed by Bernabé 1989, pp. 174-77, Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 129n10, Schwemer 2001, pp. 447-50, Bryce 2002, pp. 224-25, Trabazo 2002, p. 165n39.

[186] Haas 1994, p. 140.

the southeast of Babylon, was a sacred city and the seat of the important Mesopotamian god Enlil.[187] Kumarbi's voyage there to spend the time of his pregnancy, as may be indicated by the mention of 'the seventh month',[188] can be connected with the identification of Kumarbi with Enlil. The choice of Nippur may have served to reinforce the Mesopotamian connection that Alalu and Anu provided; otherwise, one would have expected Kumarbi to go to his Hurrian seat at Urkeš in northeastern Mesopotamia.[189]

It is difficult to assess what happened in the part of the text that is missing, especially considering the change in the setting of the story before and after. A few things are likely to have featured, such as more information on Kumarbi's pregnancy, his return north, some kind of introduction of Ea, ^{D}A.GILIM and ^{D}KA.ZAL (depending on who these names refer to; see further below), and the beginning of the speech that is in progress at the beginning of column two. Additionally, it is possible that some of the gods that Kumarbi had been impregnated with were born here.[190] But although this cannot be excluded, I consider it more likely that the birth of the storm-god was recounted first (see the discussion below), with the births of the others listed one after the other subsequently (see section 2.2.5, pp. 89-91).

Merrigi suggested to insert here in an abbreviated form the contents of KUB 33.118 (CTH 346.5).[191] This fragment recounts how the mountain-goddess Wašitta starts smoking near the end of her pregnancy, with other mountain-gods gathering

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[187] Klein 1998-2001.

[188] The reference in ii 45 lacks a clear context, but due to several examples in Hittite texts of the counting out of months when someone is pregnant (Haas 2006, p. 126; see e.g. the pregnant earth-goddess in column four), it is probable that this mention of 'the seventh month' should also be connected to Kumarbi's pregnancy. The sign '7' is not completely clear. In Güterbock 1946, p. *3, Meriggi 1953, pp. 114-15 '9' is given as a possible alternative reading, but others just have '7' with a question mark.

[189] On the identification of Kumarbi with Enlil, see Güterbock 1980-1983, p. 325, Wilhelm 1989, pp. 52-53. The name 'Kumarbi' literally means 'he of Kumar' (location unsure; cf. the remarks in section 2.2.4, pp. 80-81) , but myths identify the town of Urkeš as his seat (Wilhelm 1989, p. 52, Hoffner 1998b, pp. 190-91). See for example in the *Song of Silver*, fragment 2ii (KUB 36.18), lines 9-10 (Hoffner 1988, p. 152-55 with n84).

[190] See also Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, pp. 122-23.

[191] Meriggi 1953, pp. 114-15n20 (see also Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 117-18n12). For KUB 33.118, see Friedrich 1951/1952, pp. 150-52, Kloekhorst 2007, Archi 2009, pp. 215-16.

around here worried.[192] Kumarbi is mentioned as well, once just before the months of the pregnancy are counted, and again as another figure to have noticed the smoke. Meriggi therefore thought that Wašitta, like Mount Kanzura, could be another mountain that Kumarbi used to rid himself of Anu's sperm. However, the fragment contradicts this idea when in line 23-24, Wašitta recounts how someone had come and made her sleep with him, which suggests a different method of impregnation.[193] The context of the *Song of Going Forth* also present difficulties. There is no space left in the text between Kumarbi's spitting on Mount Kanzura and his voyage to Nippur for anything else, Wašitta does not occur anywhere in what remains of the song, and it is unclear who her offspring might be. Furthermore, Kumarbi is the one giving birth to ᴰKA.ZAL, as well as to others later (see section 2.2.5, pp. 89-91), which raises the question what he is supposed to have achieved with this impregnation of Wašitta.

Meriggi alternatively hypothesised that she could be the mother of Ullikummi, who remains unnamed in the relevant section of the *Song of Ullikummi*.[194] This seems more plausible, but caution remains necessary. Since Wašitta starts smoking, she is probably a volcano. It is unlikely that such a narrative element would have been omitted in the *Song of Ullikummi*.[195] Also, Kumarbi may well be counting out the months of

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[192] In lines 10-11 of KUB 33.118, it is said that, when the eighth month of her pregnancy came, Wašitta started to *tuḫḫae-* ("ITU.8.KAM *ti-ia-*[*at nu* ᴴᵁᴿ·ˢᴬᴳ*Wa-a-ši-it-ta-aš*] | [*t*]*úḫ-ḫi-eš-ki-u-wa-an ti-y*[*a-at*]"; the transliteration follows the one in Kloekhorst 2007, which, on the basis of the drawing in KUB 33, p. 44, seems preferable over that of Friedrich 1951/1952, p. 150). Initially taken to refer to pregnancy and labour pains, this verb was interpreted in various ways over the years. But through a study of its appearances in various texts, Kloekhorst (2007) demonstrated that *tuhhae-* could most appropriately be translated with 'to smoke'. The oddity of the combination of a pregnancy with smoke he explained by assuming that the mountain-goddess Wašitta represented a volcano.

[193] KUB 33.118, lines 23-24: "[x x x] x-*ma* ᴴᵁᴿ·ˢᴬᴳᴹᴱˢ-*aš iš-tar-na* ᴸᵁ́-*ʙᴀ-ʀᴜ ma-a-an* | [x x x *n*]*u-ma-za kat-ti-iš-ši ša-aš-nu-ut*" ('but when [ ] in the mountains a stranger [ ], he forced me to sleep with him'; transliteration and translation: Kloekhorst 2007).

[194] Lines I B i 13-20 (Güterbock 1951b, pp. 146-49, Hoffner 1998a, p. 57, § 5). This view was supported in Haas 2006, p. 159.

[195] As mentioned above, for the idea of Wašitta as a volcano, see Kloekhorst 2007. Independent of this discussion, K.P. Foster (2000, pp. 33-34) postulated that Ullikummi was a volcano as well, which would reinforce the link with Wašitta. However, her argument seems stretched, and it leaves open why Ullikummi's mother is not referred to as a volcano in the *Song of Ullikummi*.

Wašitta's pregnancy,[196] and he is also the only other figure besides the mountain-gods who is mentioned as having noticed the smoke. But nonetheless, as Wašitta refers to the one who made her pregnant only as "ᴸᵁ*Ú-BA-RU*", 'a stranger' (line 23), there can be no certainty about Kumarbi's fatherhood.[197] And even if there were, the fragment could still be part of yet another story belonging to the 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle', in which Kumarbi sires a series of pretenders to the throne. One way or another, the idea that Wašitta was delivered of a child at this point of the *Song of Going Forth* can probably be ruled out.

After the gap, the god ᴰA.GILIM is speaking to or inside Kumarbi's interior,[198] taking part in a conversation that eventually leads to the birth of ᴰKA.ZAL. Their names have been read in various ways.

As noticed by Güterbock, a close equivalent to 'A.GILIM' occurs among the fifty names of Marduk, the supreme god of Babylon, listed at the end of the Babylonian creation epic *Enūma Eliš*.[199] It appears there in line VII 82, as the final member of the group ᴰGILIM - ᴰGILIM.MA - ᴰA.GILIM.MA (VII 78-83).[200] Confirmation of the identification

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[196] Lines 4-5 of KUB 33.118 read "[*š*]*a-ak-ki* ᴰ*Ku-mar-bi*-x [x x x x x] | [x] x-*za-an* UD.KAMᴴᴵᴬ-*uš kap*-[*pu-iš-ke-ez-zi*(?)]". As the subject of the sentence in Hittite normally preceded the verb (see GHL, pp. 406-9, §§ 30.2-11), 'Kumarbi' probably did not belong with *sakki*, 'he knows', the subject of which may be lost in the broken second half of line 3. If this name was a nominative (the remnants of the sign following 'bi' do allow for a reading 'ᴰ*Ku-mar-bi-i*[*š*ˀ]'; cf. KUB 33, p. 44), it rather governed the verb *kappuwai*-, 'to count', of which only the first sign has been preserved in line 5. Consequently, one might reconstruct '*kap*-[*pu-iš-ki-wa-an da-a-iš*]', '[he starts] cou[nting]' (Friedrich 1951/1952, p. 150), or '*kap*-[*pu-iš-ke-ez-zi*', '[he] cou[nts]' (Kloekhorst 2007; the same form appears in line iv 13 of the *Song of Going Forth*, in relation to the pregnancy of the earth-goddess). The translation of these lines would then be '(someone) knows. Kumarbi [   ] c[ounts] the days'.

[197] Additionally, for the counting of the months, cf. line iv 13 of the *Song of Going Forth*: the subject of the relevant verb is not clear, but it is possible that it is Ea who is counting out the months of the pregnancy of the earth-goddess (see e.g. Meriggi 1953, p. 129, Bernabé 1987b, p. 155, Hoffner 1998a, p. 45, § 23). Nonetheless, it is not normally assumed that Ea was the father of her children (see also section 2.2.7, pp. 101-2).

[198] Due to the dative and locative cases having merged in Hittite (see GHL, p. 257, § 16), "ŠÀ-*ši*" in line ii 4 allows for translating both 'to' and 'inside'.

[199] Güterbock 1946, pp. 36-37; also Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, pp. 118-19.

[200] See in Talon 2005, pp. 28, 74.

can be found in the series 'An = Anum'. In this text, "an explanatory list that seeks to clarify the offices and relationships of the numerous members of the pantheon", an enumeration of the divinities that are to be identified with Marduk occurs, which is largely similar to the one of *Enūma Eliš*. ᴰA.GILIM.MA here features in line II 219.[201] This name is not known beyond its identification with Marduk.[202] The case thus seems clear. However, when attempting to connect this to the context of the *Song of Going Forth*, difficulties arise. Neither in the song nor anywhere else in Hurrian or Hittite mythology or religion does Marduk play a role. In fact, his veneration hardly spread outside Mesopotamia.[203]

Pecchioli Daddi for this reason cautiously suggested a different theory, proposing that Ea was meant.[204] For this, 'ᴰA.GILIM' would either have to be interpreted literally, giving a translation 'water crown', which could then be related to Ea's function as god of the subterranean waters; or it would have to be emended to 'ᴰA.A', which was a common way to designate Ea. However, apart from the unattractiveness of both alternatives, there is also the problem that the speaker of lines ii 5-12[205] calls the addressee 'lord of the source of wisdom' and sums up the qualities that he himself will receive from other gods at his birth. Instead of Ea, who often functions as a wise counsellor in mythology, this rather suggests that ᴰA.GILIM is someone who is talking to Ea from inside Kumarbi.[206]

Due to these difficulties, most scholars have preferred just to refer to 'ᴰA.GILIM',

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[201] Litke 1998, p. 93. On god-lists, see Litke 1998, pp. 1-18 (the quotation is from p. 6).

[202] Nonetheless, he may have been a separate deity originally. See Lambert 1993-1997.

[203] Cf. the remarks concerning Alalu and Anu on p. 65n178. Specifically on Marduk, see Sommerfeld 1982, pp. 193-202, Kammenhuber 1987-1990. Marduk also was not identified with any Hurrian or Hittite god; see Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 119.

[204] Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, pp. 119-20.

[205] This speech may have continued in lines ii 13-15, after which a horizontal line has been drawn. However, these lines are too broken to be able to say much about them.

[206] The idea that Ea (on whom see p. 65n178) is the deity that is spoken to was first proposed in Hoffner 1998a, p. 43. It is not straightforward, as part of line ii 4 is damaged and therefore hard to read, and as the addressee is usually explicitly mentioned when the expression *mēnaḫḫanda mema-* is used, which is not the case here (cf. CHD L-N, p. 279, under 'mēnaḫḫanda', section 2.b.2'; or line ii 42). Nonetheless, the reference to the addressee as 'lord of the source of wisdom' quite clearly seems to point to his identification as Ea.

without attempting any interpretation.[207] Nonetheless, one possibility remains to be explored. *Enūma Eliš* does not only list the names of Marduk, but it also describes what function each had. Thus, in lines VII 82-83, as ᴰA.GILIM.MA, he is "*šá-qu-ú na-si-iḫ a-gi-i a-šìr šal-gi ba-nu-u* KI-*tim e-liš* Aᴹᴱˢ *mu-kin e-la-a-ti*": 'the lofty one, who snatches off the crown, who takes charge of snow, who created the earth on the water and made firm the height of heaven'.[208] This characterisation can be connected to the role that I will postulate below that the deity referred to as 'ᴰA.GILIM' had in the *Song of Going Forth*. But 'ᴰA.GILIM' is not 'ᴰA.GILIM.MA'. How do these names connect?

At this point, STC 2, plate 54 (K 4406), rev. i 1-13, part of a commentary on *Enūma Eliš*, can be drawn into the discussion. The heading of this section, 'ᴰGILIM.MA' (line 1), implies that a discussion of that name will follow, so of lines VII 80-81 of *Enūma Eliš* . But this must be a mistake: the subsequent lines comment on all the words used in the description of the name 'ᴰA.GILIM.MA' in lines VII 82-83, in the same order.[209] Only line 7 disturbs the sequence ("LUGAL *a-gi-i*: *šar-ra-*[x]", 'the king of the crown: kin[g⁷']); but perhaps it is in turn a commentary on lines 2-6. In any case, without line 7, the commentary reads as follows: "(2) ÍL = *šá-qu-*[*u*] (3) MA = *na-sa-*[*ḫu*] (4) GILIM = *a-gu-*[*u*] (5) GILIM = *a-ša-*[*ru*] (6) GILIM = *šal-g*[*u*] (8) MA = *ba-nu-u* (9) IM = *er-ṣ*[*e-tu*] (10) DINGIR = *e-*[*liš*] (11) GIŠ = *mu-*[*u*] (12) GI = x [(13) DINGIR = [" (note that KI = *erṣetu*, Aᴹᴱˢ = *mû*).[210] It thus seems that the compiler of the commentary thought that the description of the name 'ᴰA.GILIM.MA' followed from the various possible readings of the relevant logograms. Perhaps, then, 'MA' was left out of the name 'ᴰA.GILIM' to indicate that the deity referred to matched part of the description of ᴰA.GILIM.MA, but not all of it.

Another complication is provided by the dating of *Enūma Eliš*. Although the

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[207] E.g. Hoffner 1998a, p. 43 (§ 10). Due to its broken status, line ii 4 is omitted completely in Bernabé 1987b, pp. 148-49, Trabazo 2002, pp. 170-71.

[208] The transliteration follows Talon 2005, p. 73, the translation Lambert 2008, p. 57. The Akkadian word *agû* could mean both 'crown' and 'flood' (see CAD A1, pp. 153-58, under 'agû A' and 'agû B', respectively), and was translated with the latter in B.R. Foster 1993, p. 398, Dalley 2000, pp. 270-71, Talon 2005, p. 106. However, as appears from the commentary (see directly below), *agû* was probably used by the compilers of the list as one of various explanations of the second part of the name, i.e. the Sumerian word 'gilim', 'crown'.

[209] Note additionally line 14, probably the header of the next section of the commentary: "ᴰZU-[". 'ᴰZU.LUM' is also the name that follows 'ᴰA.GILIM.MA' in *Enūma Eliš*.

[210] See also STC 1, pp. 163-64, Talon 2005, p. 73.

debate on this matter is still not settled, this text may well have been composed only at the end of the Late Bronze Age, which would mean that it was actually younger than the song.[211] Nevertheless, scholars agree that both *Enūma Eliš* and the series 'An = Anum' derived from a common tradition of such god-lists. This is confirmed by the existence of another list, known as '*STC* 1: 165-66 + CT 25 46-47'. Also featuring an enumeration of names for Marduk, it was recently discussed by Seri in that context.[212] Regrettably, this text is not yet complete, and the name 'ᴰA.GILIM.MA' is lacking so far. But what is interesting, is that the text not only lists divine names, but also provides the functions related to them. This shows that the descriptions in *Enūma Eliš* were not an addition unique to that text, but were part of the common tradition. Therefore, it was possible for Hurrians or Hittites to come across this specific line accompanying the name 'ᴰA.GILIM.MA', for example in the course of scribal training.[213]

Before going into what this would mean for the identification of ᴰA.GILIM in the *Song of Going Forth*, first ᴰKA.ZAL should be discussed, who features in line ii 38 and whose name is also obscure.

'KA.ZAL' was considered by Güterbock to be a writing for Akkadian *tašīltu*, 'joy, delight'.[214] In the reading 'GIRIₓ.ZAL', which in the meantime has been changed into 'KIR₄/GIR₁₇.ZAL', this was confirmed by Sjöberg in sumerological terms.[215] Although it would remain unclear what Hittite word is designated, 'ᴰKA.ZAL' could thus be interpreted as referring to the goddess of war and sex, known as 'Ištar' in Akkadian and 'Šauška' in Hurrian.[216] In this case, however, considering the important place that this

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[211] See the overview of the discussion in Seri 2006, pp. 507-8.

[212] Seri 2006. This article includes references to earlier literature, among which see especially Lambert 1984, pp. 3-5.

[213] This idea will be explored further in the discussion on the scribe in section 2.2.8 (pp. 109-11).

[214] Güterbock 1946, pp. 38-39. See also Landsberger 1954, p. 132.

[215] Sjöberg 1962. Cf. CAD T, pp. 286-87 (under 'tašīltu'), MZL no. 25 (p. 257).

[216] On Ištar/Šauška, see Haas 1994, pp. 339-63, 500-1, Joannès 2001b. As Hittite does not specify biological gender, it cannot be established whether 'ᴰKA.ZAL' refers to a masculine or a feminine deity. However, in the case of Ištar/Šauška this does not matter anyway, as this goddess also had a masculine side and was often depicted as such. For example, see the following line from a Hurrian ritual text (from Lebrun 1976, pp. 78, 89): "(il rompt) une galette pour la féminité (et) la virilité de Šauška" (KUB 27.1+ ii 15). See also Wilhelm 1989, pp. 51-52, Haas 1994, pp. 350-56, Bryce 2002, pp. 146-47.

goddess occupied in the pantheon, as well as her prominent role in other texts from the 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle', it would be difficult to explain why she was not mentioned by name by Anu in lines i 31-34.

Hoffner remarked that this writing, which he read as 'KIRI₄/KA.ZAL', literally means 'shining nose'. As he pointed out, this provides a parallel with Athena, who has the epithet 'bright-eyed' and similarly emerges from Zeus' skull.[217] However, Hoffner did not pursue this argument further, and there is no reason to do so here. Although the nose can be referred to in a metaphorical way, functioning as the seat of feelings such as anger, irony and overconfidence,[218] neither a literal nor a metaphorical interpretation of 'KIRI₄/KA.ZAL' connects with anything known from Hurrian or Hittite mythology.

Better results can be obtained through a look at the Boğazköy copy of the series 'Erim-ḫuš', a lexical list that provides for each entry equivalents in Sumerian, Akkadian and Hittite. On the fragment marked 'A', the following appears in line ii 27': "KA.ZAL - MU-TI-EL-LU - *wa-al-li-u-ra-aš*".[219] In addition to its connection to Akkadian *muttallu*, 'noble', an adjective that was mostly used for gods,[220] 'KA.ZAL' can thus be seen to refer to a Hittite word *walliuraš*, which the modern editors of the list translated with 'proud'.[221] This word is not otherwise known from Hittite. It probably derives from the verb *walla-/walliya-*, 'to praise', with the suffix *-ur-*, used to form neuter substantives from verbs. The resulting substantive would be **walliur-*. The form *walliuraš* could then be a free-standing genitive singular, meaning something like 'the one of praise' or 'praiseworthy' (rather than 'proud').[222]

This is not the only possible explanation through lexical means. In Akkadian,

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[217] Hoffner 1975, p. 138; see also Bernabé 1989, p. 163, Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 122n40.

[218] Sjöberg 1962, p. 10.

[219] See Güterbock/Civil 1985, p. 107. This occurrence of 'KA.ZAL' was also noted, but not discussed, in Corti 2007, p. 119n69.

[220] CAD M2, pp. 306-7 (under 'muttallu'). See also Landsberger 1954, pp. 132-33, Sjöberg 1962, p. 1.

[221] Or: 'noble, proud'; see Güterbock/Civil 1985, p. 127 (fragment L, line 2').

[222] Interpreting *walliuraš* as a free-standing genitive was suggested to me by Daniel Schwemer. It cannot be an adjective connected to **walliur-* in the nominative singular of the common gender, as this would not fit the way in which adjectives are normally formed in Hittite. On *walla-/walliya-* see Tischler 2001, p. 193 (under 'walli-'), Kloekhorst 2008, pp. 944-45 (under 'ualla/i-'). For the suffix *-ur-*, see GHL, p. 61 (§ 2.48); on this kind of substantive and adjective formation in Hittite in general, see GHL pp. 53-62 (§§ 2.15-55).

apart from as 'KA.ZAL', *muttallu* could also be written logographically as 'NIR.GÁL'.[223] The latter writing occurs in Hittite as well, where it normally stood for *muwat(t)al(l)a/i-*. This adjective meant something like 'awe-inspiring, terrifying' and was relatively often used for the storm-god. Deified, '^{D}NIR.GÁL' referred to Muwattalla, an obscure god that functioned as a cultic variant of the storm-god.[224] The first to make the connection between *muttallu* and *muwat(t)al(l)a/i-* was Landsberger. He proposed seeing *muttallu* as a loanword from "Luwian", where *muwat(t)al(l)a/i-* was supposed to have evolved into "*muttalli*".[225]

However, the CHD did not support this view, suggesting instead that the Hittite use of the writing 'NIR.GÁL' for *muwat(t)al(l)a/i-* via *muttallu* "may be based on the phonetic similarity of the Hittite and Akkadian words".[226] Weeden provided confirmation of this line of thought by discussing the use of the logographic writing 'A.A' in Hittite texts. While this has *mû*, 'water', as its Akkadian equivalent, Hittite scribes used it for *muwa-*, 'strength', for reasons which are obviously phonetic instead of lexical.[227] This kind of usage of logograms is called a 'rebus writing'. The connection between 'NIR.GÁL' and *muwat(t)al(l)a/i-* via *muttallu* is thus not without parallel. Consequently, as both 'NIR.GÁL' and 'KA.ZAL' could stand for Akkadian *muttallu*, it is sensible to assume that the relation to Hittite *muwat(t)al(l)a/i-* applied to both as well.[228] This could also explain why *muwat(t)al(l)a/i-* does not appear in the relevant line of

[223] See CAD M2, p. 306 (under 'muttallu').

[224] See CHD L-N, pp. 316-17 (under 'muwa(t)ta(l)la-, muwatalli-'), Tischler 2001, p. 109 (under 'muwat(t)al(l)a-'). The two translations of *muwat(t)al(l)a/i-* were listed with question marks due to the paucity of occurrences of the word. In CLL, p. 151 (under 'muwattalla/i-'), the same adjective in Luwian was derived from **muwatta-*, 'overpowering, mighty', and thence translated with 'overpowering, mighty'. But Kloekhorst 2008, pp. 588-89 (under 'mūu̯a-'), separated the Hittite ('awe-inspiring (?)') and cuneiform Luwian ('overpowering, mighty') meaning of the word. Tischler 2001, p. 109 (under 'muwat(t)al(l)a-'), translated 'Ehrfurcht einflößend, furchterregend (?)'. On the god Muwattalla, see Popko 2001, Taracha 2009, pp. 92-93.

[225] Landsberger 1954, pp. 132-33.

[226] CHD L-N, p. 317 (under 'muwa(t)ta(l)la-, muwatalli-', section b).

[227] Weeden 2007, pp. 128-30; see also CHD L-N, pp. 315-16 (under 'muwa-', discussion). *Muttallu* may rather have derived from the Akkadian substantive *etellu*, 'prince, lord' (CAD E, pp. 381-83, under 'etellu'; see also Landsberger 1954, p. 132-33).

[228] Also supported in Haas 2002b, p. 134, as well as, more cautiously, in Schwemer 2001, p. 448n3720, CHD L-N, pp. 316-17 (under 'muwa(t)ta(l)la-, muwatalli-').

'Erim-ḫuš': that is a purely lexical text, while *muwat(t)al(l)a/i-* only has a phonetic link with 'KA.ZAL' and *muttallu*.

There are thus two possible interpretations of the name 'ᴰKA.ZAL': either it refers to a deity who is considered *walliuraš*, i.e. 'praiseworthy', or to the deity Muwattalla. As will become clear below, I think that the second option is to be preferred.

In an attempt to position both gods in the narrative as a whole, Hoffner has remarked that ᴰA.GILIM and ᴰKA.ZAL may be the two 'terrible gods' referred to by Anu.[229] However, as mentioned above, ᴰA.GILIM most likely speaks from inside Kumarbi, and it seems clear that whoever is speaking in lines ii 5-12 is also the one who is born in lines ii 37-38. Thus, the names ᴰA.GILIM and ᴰKA.ZAL are likely to refer to the same figure. Alternatively, if ᴰA.GILIM would be talking to Kumarbi's interior after all (instead of from), he must be Ea in his role as counsellor, which precludes his birth in this text. As for ᴰKA.ZAL: whether or not he and ᴰA.GILIM are the same, he is certainly the one emerging from Kumarbi's skull and therefore the recipient of the qualities listed in lines ii 8-12. Furthermore, in lines ii 38-40, he is called a 'heroic king'[230] and makes Kumarbi fall down. In conclusion, then, ᴰKA.ZAL is an important god, and probably the same figure as ᴰA.GILIM. If he is not, then ᴰA.GILIM is likely to be Ea, which means that he is not one of the deities being born in the *Song of Going Forth*.

In this context, an earlier proposal by Haas is interesting, i.e. that both ᴰA.GILIM and ᴰKA.ZAL refer to the storm-god, who only received his proper name after his birth.[231] Although it was not discussed beyond this remark by Haas, several arguments can be provided that would indeed make it seem an attractive hypothesis.

First, assuming that it is the same figure who lists his qualities in the speech of lines ii 5-12, whose exit from Kumarbi is discussed in 23-34, and who is born in 35-40, would result in a logically continuing narrative. It would also explain the importance attributed to ᴰKA.ZAL in the story.

Furthermore, note the discussion in lines ii 23-28 about where to leave Kumarbi's body. This concludes with an advice to the addressee, perhaps by Anu, who

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[229] Hoffner 1998a, pp. 43-44. More cautiously also Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, pp. 121-23.

[230] "UR.SAG-*iš* LU[GAL-*u*]*š*" (Laroche 1968, p. 43).

[231] Haas 2006, p. 128. As Haas remarked, a parallel for this can be found in the naming of Gilgameš.

is mentioned in line ii 23, that 'if you wish, by the goo[d place come forth]' (line ii 28: "*ma-a-na-aš-ta a-aš-šu na-aš-ta a-aš-šu-w*[*a-az pé-da-az e-ḫu*]").[232] It is not certain that ᴰKA.ZAL by breaking through Kumarbi's skull indeed does come out by 'the good place': in lines ii 33-34, doubts might be expressed about the feasibility of this option. But the connection with a woman – otherwise unclear – made in line ii 34 returns in line ii 43, when Kumarbi in his anger says that he wants to eat his child. This suggests that what was feared in lines ii 33-34 that might happen if ᴰKA.ZAL would come out by 'the good place' has now come true. With this in mind, a connection can be made with line ii 75, where the storm-god is said to have come out by 'the good place' as well.

Additionally, KUB 33.105 (CTH 346.4) can be adduced. This is a short fragment, in which the storm-god – identified as the King of Kummiya – recounts the early history of his life and kingship.[233] After summarising how difficult his struggle with Kumarbi has been, he tells how he received his strength from the earth-goddess, his wisdom from Nara and his manhood from Anu. The text breaks off at this point, but it is enough to remind one of the similar enumeration in lines ii 8-12 of the *Song of Going Forth*, which also includes Nara and mentions that the earth-goddess and Anu were the ones to provide strength and manhood respectively.[234] This suggests that in the *Song of Going Forth*, too, it is the storm-god who is talking from inside Kumarbi.[235]

Concerning the name 'KA.ZAL', if one connects the description of this deity in lines ii 4-40 on the one hand; and the possibility of interpreting 'KA.ZAL' as a writing for

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[232] The reconstruction follows Meriggi 1953, p. 116 (accepted in the translation of Hoffner 1998a, p. 43); cf. line ii 34. Meriggi had '*pé-e-da-az*', but there might not be enough space on the line to accommodate this plene writing.

[233] See Güterbock 1946, pp. 10, 41-2, 88, *6, Meriggi 1953, pp. 128-31, Laroche 1968, pp. 76-77, Bernabé 1987b, pp. 152-53, Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 123. Kummiya, which is the Hittite name for Hurrian 'Kumme', was the seat of the storm-god. It has not been located yet, but was probably situated in northern Mesopotamia (see Otten 1980-1983, Röllig 1980-1983, Schwemer 2001, pp. 456-58).

[234] In lines ii 9 and ii 10 respectively. Line ii 10 is broken and has been reconstructed in various ways, but all scholars agree that Nara is mentioned, whether it is at the beginning (Meriggi 1953, p. 114, Trabazo 2002, p. 170) or in the middle (Güterbock 1946, p. *3, Laroche 1968, p. 42) of the line. Either way, what he provides the speaker with has been lost completely. For the alignment of both texts, see also Archi 1990, p. 119.

[235] Without further discussion, Vieyra (1959, p. 162, 1970, pp. 545-46) also suggested that it is the storm-god who is talking from inside Kumarbi.

muwat(t)al(l)a/i-, and hence of '^{D}KA.ZAL' as a writing for Muwattalla,[236] on the other; then it makes sense to think of ^{D}KA.ZAL as the storm-god in his role as Muwattalla. Moreover, as seen in the next section, it is likely that ^{D}KA.ZAL is the child that Kumarbi wants to eat and, probably, explicitly refers to as 'the storm-god' (lines ii 42-45).

To be able to see how the name 'A.GILIM' might refer to the storm-god, I would like to refer to the above discussion of the description of Marduk under the name ^{D}A.GILIM.MA in line VII 82-83 of *Enūma Eliš*. As mentioned, the omission of the 'MA' element in the name '^{D}A.GILIM' might imply that not all of the description was considered to apply to the deity in question. But even so, if '^{D}A.GILIM' refers to the storm-god, he would still be 'the lofty one' (from the commentary: "íL = *šá-qu-*[*u*]"), who has 'the crown' ("GILIM = *a-gu-*[*u*]").

In conclusion, I propose to see '^{D}KA.ZAL' and '^{D}A.GILIM' as learned references to the storm-god. However, that these were used because he only received his proper name after his birth, as Haas assumed,[237] is less certain, as there is no Hurrian or Hittite context for this practice. In any case, this interpretation provides a context for the mention of two of the storm-god's attributes, the bull Šeri(šu) and a 'wagon', in lines ii 18 and ii 19, that of, possibly, of his brother Tašmišu/Šuwaliyat in ii 21, and of himself in lines ii 26 and 35.[238] The relevant lines are damaged, making their interpretation impossible. Nonetheless, the mention of the storm-god's two attributes and his brother so closely to each other calls to mind KUB 20.65. This is a brief fragment, in which the storm-god calls Šuwaliyat and his two bulls Šeri(šu) and Ḫurri to battle, as well as some

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[236] This reading was not mentioned in Haas 2006, but it did feature in an earlier study (see Haas 2002b, p. 134).

[237] Again, see Haas 2006, p. 128.

[238] For Šeri(šu), see section 2.2.6 (p. 92); for the wagon, section 2.2.7 (p. 102). As proposed in Güterbock 1961a, Tašmišu, the brother and advisor of the storm-god, was identified by the Hittites as being the same figure as Šuwaliyat (accepted in e.g. Haas 1994, p. 332, Neu 1996, pp. 244-45, Schwemer 2001, p. 448n3719, Taracha 2009, p. 55). Now, in line ii 21 of the *Song of Going Forth*, there is a divine name which Laroche (1968, p. 42) transliterated as "^{D}x-x-*li-ia-*[". Although I must admit that I cannot see this myself on the photographs of KUB 33.120, the drawing by Otten (KUB 33, p. 47) suggests that a reading '^{Dr}*Šu*$^?$-*wa*$^{?r}$-*li-ia-a*[*z*$^{?r}$' might be possible. If correct, this would mean that Tašmišu/Šuwaliyat features here alongside Šeri(šu) and the wagon. As for the reference to the storm-god in line ii 26, surprisingly, this has been done my means of the logographic writing "^{D}U", which does not occur anywhere else in what remains of the text (cf. p. 63n166, on the various writings for the storm-god).

of his attributes, including the wagon.[239] Is the storm-god in this section of the *Song of Going Forth* similarly mustering his forces, before breaking out of Kumarbi? This is possible. But considering the state of the text, there can be no certainty in this regard.

Several problems remain. Most importantly, first, the birth of the storm-god is also recounted explicitly in line ii 75. Nonetheless, on the basis of what has been argued so far and the following discussion of lines ii 42-45, the proposal to identify ᴰA.GILIM and ᴰKA.ZAL with the storm-god seems rather convincing to me. Therefore, I will attempt in section 2.2.5 (pp. 84-89) to re-interpret lines ii 73-76 along the same lines. Second, the idea of the use of obscure writings is difficult, as this practice is not known otherwise from related Hittite texts, and would have impeded an easy understanding of the text by readers other than the scribe how came up with them. For these issues, see section 2.2.8 (pp. 109-11), where I will argue that CTH 344.A concerns a scribal exercise.

2.2.4 The stone substitute (ii 39-70)
Outline. In light of the discussion that follows below, it is useful to sketch the contents of this section, which is again rather broken, in more detail than usual. What remains of the text is the following: having appeared from Kumarbi's skull, ᴰKA.ZAL sets himself before Ea and bows down, causing Kumarbi to fall; Kumarbi is looking for someone called 'ᴰNAM.ḪÉ'; he asks Ea to give him his child, which he wants to eat; a woman and the storm-god are mentioned; Kumarbi will eat and smash someone; something is gathered on purpose; Kumarbi in the accusative; the sun-god sees something; Kumarbi eats; his mouth and teeth mentioned, to which something happens; someone weeps; Kumarbi asks "who was I afraid of?"; someone speaks to Kumarbi; something should be called 'a stone' and be placed somewhere; a *kunkunuzzi*-stone is mentioned; something should be named and revered through sacrifices; mention of Kumarbi and his mouth; Kumarbi speaks.

Analysis. It is difficult to be specific about this passage. Who is the woman referred to in line ii 43? Is this another character of the story, or is it a reference to Kumarbi, who, having just given birth to ᴰKA.ZAL, is now 'like a woman'? (see also above) And what is the sun-god of line ii 50 doing here? He is mentioned again later (iii 25), but both lines

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[239] See Popko 2001, p. 150.

are too broken to be able to tell what is happening there.[240]

Also, did the text really have the word 'child', written logographically as 'DUMU', in line ii 42? The relevant sign is less than half readable in the fragment and could also have been something else.[241] However, it does seem likely that 'DUMU' or an equivalent has been written; who else than ᴰKA.ZAL, his son who was born in the preceding lines and immediately managed to terrify him, could Kumarbi be asking Ea to hand over here?

Assuming that ᴰKA.ZAL is referred to also lends further support to the idea that he is to be identified with the storm-god, as proposed above. In lines ii 44-45, Kumarbi threatens that he will eat and smash the storm-god, and the text is not compatible with the idea that he was trying to eat more than one figure. Also, the reference to the storm-god negates the objection, mentioned at the end of section 2.2.3 (p. 79), that ᴰKA.ZAL cannot be the storm-god due to the mention of the birth of the latter in line ii 75. Whether or not ᴰKA.ZAL really is the storm-god, the latter is shown in line ii 44 to exist already, and therefore cannot have first appeared from Kumarbi in line ii 75. So again, instead of dismissing the identification of ᴰKA.ZAL – and hence also of the child that is to be eaten – with the storm-god, it should be seen whether what remains of the text can plausibly be interpreted to fit this identification.

With the reference to ᴰNAM.ḪÉ in line ii 41, a new figure enters the story. In Sumerian, this name means 'abundance', while the word could also be used as a writing for its equivalent *ṭuḫdu* in Akkadian.[242] Furthermore, the storm-god Adad had a temple dedicated to him in Babylon, in the district of Kumar, which was called 'É.nam.ḫé', 'House of Plenty'.[243] Forrer hypothesised that it had originally been dedicated to a goddess Abundance, who was replaced by a storm-god later. According to him, it was from this Babylonian 'storm-god of Kumar' that the Hurrian god Kumarbi, whose name

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[240] Note that he is referred to as '"ᴰUTU.AN"' ('sun-god of the sky') in line ii 50, but just as '"ᴰUTU"' ('sun-god') in iii 25. However, that does not mean that a different god is meant: in the *Song of Ullikummi*, both designations are used alternately for what is obviously the same god. See e.g. line I iv 34 (see Güterbock 1951b, p. 158; also Hoffner 1998a, p. 59, § 23), where both variants appear in the same line.

[241] See Güterbock 1946, pp. 39-40, and cf. in KUB 33, p. 48.

[242] See ePSD under 'namhe [abundance]', CAD Ṭ, p. 122 (under 'ṭuḫdu').

[243] George 1992, pp. 329-30, 1993, pp. 129-30 (no. 839).

means 'he of Kumar', derived.[244] As a consequence, Forrer interpreted ᴰNAM.ḪÉ as an ally of Kumarbi in the *Song of Going Forth*. Probably because of the obscurity of the appearance of this name, as well as because it only features twice in the text (also in line iii 5), both times in a broken context, other scholars have chosen to either ignore the figure altogether, or just to refer to Forrer's views.[245]

Nonetheless, with current knowledge, several difficulties can be pointed out in this theory. It is known now that Kumarbi was not a storm-god, but an agricultural deity, who was associated with Enlil in Mesopotamia. The Hurrian god associated with Adad was Teššub.[246] This does not necessarily also invalidate the relation of Kumarbi with the Babylonian district of Kumar, or perhaps with the southern Mesopotamian town of the same name that is known to have existed.[247] But it is difficult to understand why a prominent Hurrian deity would have been named after a southern Mesopotamian locality. Instead, the existence of another city of Kumar could be assumed, somewhere in northern Mesopotamia. But there is no evidence for this, and myths actually locate the seat of Kumarbi in the Hurrian town of Urkeš.[248] However this may be, Kumarbi's link with the É.nam.ḫé temple cannot stand.

There is also no textual evidence that attests to the existence of a goddess 'Abundance'; her presence was inferred solely from the name of the temple. However, there are many examples of temples named not after the deity that they were dedicated to, but something that the deity was associated with.[249] Due to their responsibility for the rain that causes the crops to grow, storm-gods were connected to abundance throughout Mesopotamia, Syria-Palestine and Anatolia.[250] It is therefore unnecessary to postulate

[244] Forrer 1936a, pp. 695n3, 701-5. For a more recent etymology of the name 'Kumarbi' see Wilhelm 1994.

[245] See Güterbock 1946, p. 39, Laroche 1947, p. 123, Meriggi 1953, p. 149, Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 121n33, Trabazo 2002, p. 173n86.

[246] Wilhelm 1989, pp. 50-53.

[247] Steinkeller 1980.

[248] See Güterbock 1980-1983, p. 325. On Kumarbi's relation to Urkeš, see above, p. 68n188.

[249] See throughout George 1993.

[250] In general, see Schwemer 2008b, 2008c (who also notes the ambiguity that the storm-god can bring both the destructive and the fertilising rain; see 2008b, pp. 129-30). For textual examples, see CAD Ṭ, pp. 122-23 (under 'ṭuḫdu', section c), CHD L-N, p. 238 (under 'miyatar', section c, on the use of *miyatar*, 'growth, increase, proliferation, abundance', as a genitive characterising the storm-god).

the existence of a goddess 'Abundance'; the 'House of Plenty' was probably always a temple for Adad. In the city of Anat on the middle Euphrates, too, there was a temple called 'É.nam.ḫé', which was dedicated to Adad and his son Apladad.[251]

As a result of this reasoning, ᴰNAM.ḪÉ could more plausibly be considered an ally of the storm-god in the *Song of Going Forth*.[252] But who is s/he? An answer to this question is not required to be able to acquire a general understanding of the story, and the state of the relevant lines makes complete certainty impossible. Nonetheless, I propose that he should be identified with the storm-god himself. On the one hand, this is suggested by the aforementioned relation between abundance and storm-gods, and the name of two temples of Adad. On the other, it fits the identification of ᴰA.GILIM and ᴰKA.ZAL as the storm-god, as discussed in the previous section.[253] Thus, ᴰNAM.ḪÉ could be considered an alias of the storm-god ('the abundance-god'), or in an epithetic way ('the god of abundance').

This interpretation works well with the context of the references to ᴰNAM.ḪÉ, too. In lines ii 39-40, ᴰKA.ZAL set himself before Ea and caused Kumarbi to fall down; in lines ii 41-42, the latter recovers, looks for ᴰNAM.ḪÉ, and then asks Ea to give him his child so that he can eat him. This may be interpreted in various ways; ᴰKA.ZAL and the child do not have to be the same figure as ᴰNAM.ḪÉ. But it is logical for Kumarbi to take a look at the opponent who just made him fall, before asking Ea, who apparently has some kind of control over him, to hand him over. Line iii 5 will be further discussed in section 2.2.6 (pp. 93-97), but in brief, it is part of a series of poorly preserved lines, in which Anu, ᴰNAM.ḪÉ, Kumarbi, the storm-god and Ea are mentioned amidst repeated talk about destruction. Who says what is not clear from what remains of the text; in principle, ᴰNAM.ḪÉ could be anyone from either camp, including the storm-god.

After the reference to ᴰNAM.ḪÉ, Kumarbi's response to the appearance of ᴰKA.ZAL is recounted. Through a comparison with the Hesiodic *Theogony*, this section has often

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[251] George 1993, pp. 130 (no. 840); also George 1992, pp. 329-30. Furthermore, see the *Hymn to Adad* (CTH 313), the Hittite translation of a lost Babylonian text, in which Adad is said to seat himself in the temple "É.NAM.ḪÉ" in Babylon (iii 18-23; see Archi 1983).

[252] This view has also been expressed in Wilhelm 1998-2001. Unfortunately, this was in the context of a brief encyclopedia article that did not allow for any substantiation.

[253] Again, see section 2.2.8 (pp. 109-11), on my view of CTH 344.A as a scribal exercise.

been said to contain the motif of the stone substitute: just as Kronos eats his other children but is fed a stone in place of Zeus, so Kumarbi must have intended to devour his offspring as well, but was given a stone instead.[254] However, it would be circular reasoning to first use the *Theogony* to reconstruct the proceedings of this part of the *Song of Going Forth*, and later use it to demonstrate a connection with the *Theogony*. Instead, it should be investigated whether what an analysis of the *Song of Going Forth* on its own would bring. If the stone substitute reconstruction will remain plausible, the argument of chapter four could benefit.

Several of the phrases in lines ii 42-70 can easily be connected. The first half of the line about the gathering is lost (ii 48), but as Kumarbi asks Ea to give him his child, and as Ea is mentioned in the nominative in the preceding line, it is reasonable to assume that he is the gatherer. It is also logical to connect the eating, the reference to a mouth and teeth, the weeping, and Kumarbi's question about his fear (ii 51-56). Whatever was eaten, it must have hurt Kumarbi's mouth, causing him to cry with pain and give up his plan. In turn, the combination of these two suggests that what Kumarbi ate, was something that Ea had given to him. This may have been his child, but the remark that something was gathered 'intentionally' (line ii 48: "ZI-*it*") implies that an alternative had been sought by Ea. Finally, although less obvious, it makes sense to interpret lines ii 58-70 as an aetiological account related to the veneration of this *kunkunuzzi*-stone somewhere. The double reference to sacrifices (also in lines ii 71-71) will be discussed further in the next section, but in the current context, it could be explained by seeing lines ii 59-70 as the ordering and explanation of the cult and its rituals – which corresponds to the introduction of someone's speech in ii 58 – and ii 71-72 as a description of the start of the actual act of sacrificing.

The key to how to connect these interpretations of lines ii 42-56 and ii 58-70 (what remains of ii 57 is too vague to be of use) may be found in line ii 66. Unfortunately, its syntax and the exact relation to its context are elusive; but the combination of the occurrence of the words for 'Kumarbi' and 'from the mouth' in this line with its position between the two references to sacrifices is suggestive. This cannot be seen as part of a formulaic introduction to a speech by Kumarbi: not only are these

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[254] *Theogony* 453-491. The comparison featured already in Güterbock 1946, pp. 39-40; for more recent discussions, see e.g. Blam 1999, Haas 2002b, Bernabé 2004, pp. 304-5, Haas 2006, pp. 139-40.

not expressed like this in Hittite,[255] but there is also already a mention of Kumarbi speaking in line ii 68. Instead, line ii 66 can be considered to imply that the *kunkunuzzi-*stone that is to be venerated came out of Kumarbi's mouth. This must be the same object that Ea gathered and fed to Kumarbi instead of his child. Thus, even without referring to the *Theogony*, the text of the *Song of Going Forth* provides enough clues to be able to reconstruct this section as describing the motif of the stone substitute.

Finally, the *kunkunuzzi-*stone itself can be discussed. It is the material that Ullikummi is made of in the *Song of Ullikummi*, and ominous appearances in other myths suggest that it could also be used for meteorites. As argued by Polvani, the term probably did not designate a specific mineral, such as diorite, basalt or granite, but more generally a hard rock.[256] There is no indication anywhere for a cult of a *kunkunuzzi-*stone such as the one established in the *Song of Going Forth*. Haas suggested that it is hinted at in fragment 11 (KBo 32.10) of the *Song of Release*. There, the fate of Purra, a debt slave who is held prisoner, is said to be connected to a *kunkunuzzi-*stone.[257] Considering that this part of the *Song of the Release* is set in the city of Ebla in western Syria, a region in which the veneration of so-called 'baityloi' was quite common, it makes sense to look for a western Hurrian, Syrian origin for the relevant section of the *Song of Going Forth*.[258] However, the evidence remains meagre.

2.2.5 The birth of the storm-god, the Aranzaḫ River and other(s) (ii 71-87)

Outline. Sacrifices are carried out. Between the mending of Kumarbi's skull and of his so-called 'good place', the storm-god is born through the latter. Afterwards, several

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[255] Examples of formulaic phrases to introduce speeches that make use of the word 'mouth' (such as 'he opened his mouth and spoke') are known from Akkadian and Ugaritic, but not from Hittite; see C.H. Gordon 1952, p. 93, de Vries 1967, pp. 109-21, West 1997, pp. 196-98, Burkert 2004, p. 25, Haas 2006, p. 125, as well as throughout Hoffner 1998a.

[256] Polvani 1988, pp. 38-46, HED 4, pp. 251-54 (under 'kunkunuz(z)i-'), Haas 2002b. In summary, see also Neu 1996, p. 461, Haas 2006, p. 140. Etymologically, the word *kunkunuzzi-* is related to the verb *kuen-*, 'to kill', but originally 'to pound' (Oettinger 1995, pp. 318-19; also GHL, pp. 173-74, § 10.3).

[257] Neu 1996, pp., 456-62, Haas 2002b. For lists of relevant sources, see Polvani 1988, pp. 38-44, HED 4, pp. 251-54 (under 'kunkunuz(z)i-').

[258] Suggested in Haas 2002b, p. 237. 'Baityloi' is the technical term for natural stones (although they could also have undergone some reshaping afterwards) that served as cult objects. On baityloi in Syria, see Dentzer 1990, pp. 68-71, Kron 1992, pp. 59-61.

figures are born. Much is unclear, but at least Mount Kanzura is mentioned, probably the Aranzaḫ River, another appearance through 'the good place', and Anu watching what happens.

Analysis. So far, I have argued that that the names '^DA.GILIM', '^DKA.ZAL' and '^DNAM.ḪÉ' all refer to the storm-god, and that he was born from Kumarbi's head in lines ii 37-38. At first sight, this interpretation seems to clash with the contents of lines ii 73-77. Although the left half of these lines is lost, it is clear that, after a reference to the mending of Kumarbi's skull, the birth of the storm-god through 'the good place' is mentioned, followed by what is probably the mending of this 'good place', perhaps by the fate goddesses.[259]

However, this problem would not be resolved by assuming that ^DKA.ZAL is not the storm-god. In line ii 44, Kumarbi said that he wanted to eat the storm-god. In my view, this must imply that the storm-god had been born already at that point. Thus, one way or another, the point remains that there is something odd about the birth of the storm-god in line ii 75.

Nonetheless, even Haas, who considered ^DA.GILIM and ^DKA.ZAL to be the names that the storm-god had before he was born, just referred to the relevant section as recounting the birth of the storm-god, without mentioning the overlap with the earlier birth of ^DKA.ZAL.[260] Only de Vries saw a problem in this regard, and cautiously suggested that perhaps the birth of the storm-god was mentioned twice in the text.[261] However, it is not clear where exactly he thought it was recounted for the first time, or where the actual birth should have taken place within the sequence of events of the song.

The 'second' birth of the storm-god is not the only striking element in this

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[259] The verb is missing from line ii 77, but the contents are clear. The reading '^DGU]L[?]-*še-eš*', 'fate goddesses', at the beginning of line ii 76 was first proposed by Laroche (1968, p. 44) and has been followed since (see e.g. Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 123, Hoffner 1998a, p. 44, § 17). As they presided over life and death (von Schuler 1965, pp. 168-69, Haas 1994, pp. 372-73), it would not be surprising to see the fate goddesses mentioned here; indeed, they are also present at the birth of Ullikummi (*Song of Ullikummi*, lines I A iii 11, 16; see Güterbock 1951b, pp. 152-53, Hoffner 1998a, pp. 57-58, §§ 11, 12).

[260] Haas 2006, pp. 138, 140; see also above, section 2.2.3 (p. 76).

[261] De Vries 1967, pp. 28-30.

section of the song. There is also the fact that the scribe has marked off lines ii 71-75 as a separate section by drawing horizontal lines. However, lines ii 71-72 describe how people start to sacrifice, which not only seamlessly continues what was recounted at the end of the stone substitute section, but even has been expressed similarly to the instructions for sacrifice that featured in lines ii 63-65.[262] Therefore, lines ii 71-72 might rather have been expected to have been included with the previous section. And since lines ii 76-77 mention the closing off of Kumarbi's 'good place', it is not directly clear either why a horizontal line separates this from the reference in line ii 75 to the storm-god's departure from Kumarbi through that place.

This positioning of horizontal lines might be dismissed as an idiosyncrasy or an error on the part of the Hittite scribe. However, the positioning of horizontal lines elsewhere in the song always makes good sense; and while the modern scholar has to cope with the loss of over a third of each of these lines and the fragmentary status of the text in general, the scribe could base his choices on the full text. Therefore, the positioning of the horizontal lines can be taken into account in the attempt to find a solution to the problem of the 'second' birth of the storm-god.[263]

In this context, my suggestion is to consider lines ii 71-75 as a section that functions only to add structure to the song, without advancing the plot of its story. In this interpretation, lines ii 71-72 are meant to close off the preceding aetiological account concerning the cult of the *kunkunuzzi*-stone. Especially the part that describes how this stone is to be venerated obviously is an excursus from the narrative proper. First, for a number of lines, the focus is not on divine kingship, Kumarbi's pregnancy or his offspring. Second, the section on the stone substitute comes between ᴰKA.ZAL's breaking through the skull of Kumarbi and its mending in lines ii 73-74. It would probably be mistaken to take the text so literally that Kumarbi should be envisaged as acting with a hole in his head in the meantime; but there is a contrast with lines ii 75-76, where Kumarbi's 'good place' is said to be closed again immediately after the birth of the storm-god through it. Again, the story of the stone substitute appears as something

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[262] Lines ii 63-65 and 71-72 all have been preserved only partly, and the words have been divided over the lines thus, that little overlap remains. Still, the verbs *ḫuek-/ḫuk-*, 'to slaughter', and *ši(p)pand-*, 'to make a libation, to sacrifice', both appear twice, and the results of the attempts to reconstruct both lines with the aid of each other do seem convincing (see e.g. Haas 2002, p. 235, Trabazo 2002, pp. 174-75).

[263] See also section 2.1.2 (pp. 50-51).

that interrupted the main sequence of events. So when it is said in lines ii 71-72 that "[the rich men] began slaughtering male(?) [cattle and shee]p. [The poor men] began sacrificing bread",[264] after it had been ordered before (lines ii 62-65) to do exactly this, this announcement of the start of activities makes clear that the excursus has now finished and things are set in motion again, allowing the text to resume its original course.

This resumption is introduced in lines ii 73-75.[265] With the mention of the sewing up of Kumarbi's skull, these lines do not only tell the audience what will happen next in the story, but, by referring back to the appearance of the storm-god from out of Kumarbi's 'good place', they also remind it of what was going on before the episode with the *kunkunuzzi*-stone took place.[266] In lines ii 76-77, subsequently, after the horizontal line, the actual return to the narrative proper takes place, with, as announced, the fate goddesses repairing 'the good place' of Kumarbi.

However, there are two problems with this interpretation. First, my theory requires the identification of 'the good place' with the skull. But this interpretation is difficult. The term is known only from its five appearances in what remains of the *Song of Going Forth*, i.e. in lines ii 28 and ii 34, as part of the discussion on where ᴰKA.ZAL should emerge from Kumarbi; in ii 75 and 76; and in ii 84.[267] None of the relevant sections make clear what body part the term 'good place' is supposed to refer to.

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[264] See Haas 2002b, p. 235, for the reconstruction of the relevant lines. Csapo 2005, 72, interpreted these lines differently, considering 'the poor men' to be mending Kumarbi's head and then putting him on a diet of porridge. This is a bizarre idea, but fits Csapo's account of "The Hittite myth of divine succession" in general (pp. 70-75), which repeatedly displays his unfamiliarity with the relevant texts and their context. For example, he also asserts that "the names of the Hittite gods are Semitic" (p. 70), and that the earth-goddess is impregnated by the Apsû in column four (p. 72; this is impossible, as the Apsû only features as a location to in the text, referred to as "ᵁᴿᵁ*Ap-zu-u-wa*", '(the city of) Apzuwa', in lines iv 8 and 11). Therefore, Csapo's analysis of the song can be safely ignored.

[265] It is unclear whether the first half of line ii 73 should be connected to what follows or what preceded. All that remains is "[x x x x x] x-*wa-an ti-i-e-er*", '(they) began to [   ]', which can either mean that something was done in addition to the sacrifices, or that something different was started here.

[266] These lines have been discussed in detail in Hoffner 1977, p. 110. However, as will be seen, I do not share his interpretation of their meaning.

[267] See CHD P, p. 337 (under 'peda-', section e.3.b, on *aššu peda-*): "an anatomical term". The term (Hittite *aššu peda-*) is partly broken off in lines ii 28 and ii 75, but its reconstruction seems sensible in both cases (ii 28 first proposed in Merggi 1953, p. 116; ii 75 in Güterbock 1946, p. *4).

Nonetheless, one might argue that the references to the closing of the Kumarbi's skull in lines ii 73-74 and to the birth of the storm-god from 'the good place' in line ii 75 suggest a juxtaposition of two different places. Working from the assumption that ᴰKA.ZAL is not the storm-god, current scholarship, too, considers that Kumarbi's skull is mended to make sure that the birth of the storm-god at least will happen through 'the good place'.[268] In my interpretation, however, lines ii 73-75 do not feature a juxtaposition of two different places, but a further specification of one place: the storm-god has come out of the skull of Kumarbi, which is indeed 'the good place', as was discussed also in lines ii 23-34.[269] But I admit that this proposal is not the most obvious.

Second, and most importantly, there is no other Hittite text that features this kind of stylistic figure, i.e. a setting of the scene at the end of an excursus, to bring back to mind what stage the story was at when the excursus had started. In defence of my interpretation, I might remark that repetition in general is a common feature in Hittite literature. In conversations, when an event that has happened is recounted to someone who does not know about it yet, often the exact same words are used as at the point in the text where the event was described for the first time. Messengers, too, usually repeat verbatim the message that they have been told to bring. Furthermore, the idea to set the scene before recounting a new event is also used in lines i 7-11 of the song, where the kingship of Alalu is described before the story proper starts with the uprising of Anu. However, this setting the scene does not include a repetition of earlier events from the story; the repetitions elsewhere occur only in conversations; and nowhere does an instance of repetition or of setting the scene include an announcement of future events.

These are serious objections. However, in my opinion, they are overshadowed by the issue, mentioned above, that the storm-god is referred to in line ii 44 as someone that Kumarbi wants to eat, and hence must have been born before that point already. One way or another, this calls for an unconventional explanation of the section around line ii 75. To a lesser degree, such an attempt is further justified by the surprising positioning of horizontal lines around lines ii 71 and 75, which, again, otherwise would have to be ascribed to an idiosyncrasy or an error on the part of the scribe. Therefore,

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[268] E.g. in Meriggi 1953, pp. 104-5, Hoffner 1977, p. 110, Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, pp. 118, 121, Schwemer 2001, p. 449.

[269] See section 2.2.3 (pp. 76-77).

although I acknowledge its problematic nature, I would like to maintain my interpretation of lines ii 71-75 as a linking section, which serves to conclude the excursus on the *kunkunuzzi*-stone and steer back the text to its original course.[270]

So much is from lines ii 77-86, that it is hard to gauge what the contents of the text may have been. Because of that, some reconstructions that were proposed by R. Werner in 1961 are of importance. Adding to the transliterations by Güterbock and Meriggi, he restored the names of the Aranzaḫ River and the god Šuwaliyat, as well as the verbal form 'they brought him to birth'. Unfortunately, this was not discussed or translated by Laroche or Hoffner, who omitted Werner's article.[271] It would therefore be useful to examine these readings in detail here.

For line ii 78, where the first signs after the break are partly damaged, Werner suggested reading ']ⁱᵈ*A-ra-an-za-ḫi*-x-*kán*', 'the River Aranzaḫ'. By contrast, Meriggi only gave '] x-*a-al*-x-*za*-x-*kán*' here, while Laroche had '] x-*a-al*-x-x-x-*kán*".[272] If one compares what remains of the sign transliterated as '*ra*' and '*al*' with the entries of these readings in the HZL, as well as with how it has been written elsewhere by Ašḫapala, a choice for '*al*' seems preferable.[273] However, a comparison with line i 32, where the River Aranzaḫ was mentioned as well ("ⁱᵈ*A-ra-an-*[*z*]*a-ḫi-it*"), suggests something else: the way the word is written there much resembles the traces that remain in line ii 78, including, surprisingly, a corresponding writing for the '*ra/al*' sign. Therefore, Werner's reconstruction may be justified.[274]

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[270] This makes the *Song of Going Forth* unique among Hittite texts. For an explanation for this, see section 2.2.8 (pp. 105-9), where I will argue that CTH 344.A is a scribal exercise.

[271] Laroche 1968, p. 39, Hoffner 1998a, p. 95. The reason for the omission is probably that they did not know of Werner's study. It is not listed in the bibliographies in Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990 (pp. 115-16) or Trabazo 2002 (pp. 155-57), or among the references given for CTH 344.A in the CTH online or for KUB 33.120 in 'Groddeks Liste der Sekundärliteratur zu Textstellen aus Boğazköy' (see http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/grodlist/; last accessed: 12.11.2010), which are otherwise extensive. This may be due to the article being in fact a review of two pages of an encyclopedia on antiquity, the second half of which focusses on Werner's reading of lines ii 71-86. My knowledge of the article is thanks to a reference in de Vries 1967, p. 29.

[272] Meriggi 1953, p. 120, Laroche 1968, p. 44. Güterbock just gave "] *kán*" (1946, p. *4).

[273] For the sign 'ʀᴀ', see HZL p. 209 (no. 233); for 'ᴀʟ', p. 179 (no. 183).

[274] See also Archi 2009, p. 212, who reconstructed '] ⁱᵈ*A-ra-an-za-ḫi*-x-*kán*'. Unfortunately, he did not

The same cannot be said about his proposal to read "*ḫa-aš-ša-nu-e-r]a-an*", 'they brought him to birth', in line ii 82. This reconstruction was probably triggered by the occurrence of the same word in ii 79, as the word ending '*-ra-an*' by itself implies little for what preceded it. As the traces of the first sign additionally do not even necessitate a reading '*ra*', one might rather just transliterate '*-r]a[?]-an*', as other scholars did.[275]

Finally, Werner reconstructed "^D*Šu-wa-l]i[?]-ia-aš*" in line ii 83. This cannot be correct. First, the sign that transliterated as "*l]i[?]*" is uncertain: only one vertical wedge remains. By itself, the ending '*-ia-as*' does not say much about the word that it was part of. But more importantly, the name Šuwaliyat does not have a form 'Šuwaliyaš'; its declension is *Šuwaliyaz*, *Šuwaliyattaš*, *Šuwaliyattan*, *Šuwaliyatti*.[276] Šuwaliyat thus cannot have featured here.

The confirmation of the mention of the Aranzaḫ River in line ii 78 provides some assistance for the interpretation of the section. Additionally, in the surviving part of lines ii 76-84, it is said three times that someone 'came forth' and once that someone was 'brought to birth'.[277] Also, Anu is mentioned in line ii 85 as, possibly, '[re]joicing' or '[s]eeing'.[278] Together, this reminds one of lines i 31-34, where Anu told Kumarbi that he had been impregnated with the storm-god, the Aranzaḫ River, Tašmišu and two other gods. However, what remains of lines ii 76-84 does not seem to support the idea that all four siblings of the storm-god were born there. In my view, it rather seems to be the case that two births are recounted: that of the Aranzaḫ River (in lines ii 78-80), and of one further deity (ii 83-84), considering the order of Anu's enumeration possibly Tašmišu. This is interrupted by some business involving Mount Kanzura (lines ii 81-82; see below). If this is correct, then perhaps the two other gods were born in the broken part that follows the reference to Anu, and/or at the beginning of column three; although it cannot be excluded that they were born in a completely different part of the text.[279]

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provide further explanation or references.

[275] Güterbock 1946, p. *4, Meriggi 1953, p. 120, Laroche 1968, p. 44.

[276] See van Gessel 1998-2001, pp. 1.419-21.

[277] Line ii 79: "*pa-ra-a ú-et*"; ii 83: "*ú-et*"; ii 84: "*pa-ra-a ú-[et]*". Line ii 79: "*ḫa-aš-ša-nu-e-ra-an*".

[278] "*du-u]š-ki-ˊitˋ-ta-ia*(?) ^D*A-nu-uš*", 'Anu [re]joiced(?)' (from Hoffner 1998a, p. 44); or "*u]š-ki-ˊitˋ-ta-ia*(?) ^D*A-nu-uš*", 'Anu [s]aw(?)' (Meriggi 1953, p. 122).

[279] Such as in the second half of column one; see section 2.2.3 (p. 68).

Due to the fragmentary status of this section, it is unclear what role Mount Kanzura had in lines ii 81-82. According to Werner's reconstruction, the mountain was born here. That is unlikely. Mount Kanzura first appears already in line i 41, in relation to Kumarbi's spitting after the speech by Anu. Also, in line ii 81, one reads "*A-NA* ᴴᵁᴿ·ˢᴬᴳ*Kán-zu-ra*", 'to Mount Kanzura', which combines oddly with the idea that the mountain was born in the line that follows. Assuming that Mount Kanzura was considered the source of the Tigris by the Hurrians, Haas suggested that Kumarbi's spitting in lines i 38-41 somehow transferred his pregnancy with the Aranzaḫ River to the mountain. If correct, then perhaps Mount Kanzura's mention in lines 81-82 is about him giving birth to the river.[280] However, this reconstruction is unlikely due to the appearance of the mountain only after the recounting of the birth of the river. It might rather be the case that the Aranzaḫ River was taken to Mount Kanzura immediately after his birth; but that in turn would leave unexplained what Kumarbi's spitting out of some of Anu's sperm on the mountain in lines ii 38-41 should have resulted in. As it is, the appearance of Mount Kanzura in the *Song of Going Forth* will have to stay unclear until additional fragments are found.

A similar conclusion applies to the references to 'the second place' and 'the good place' in lines ii 77 and ii 83, respectively. It seems logical that these are related to the births of the Aranzaḫ River and other(s) in this section. But what this relationship is, and how both designations relate to 'the good place' that the storm-god was born from, cannot be determined. Similarly, despite his mention in line ii 85, it is unclear what role Anu had in this context.

2.2.6 Discussions among the gods (iii 2-40, 62-72)

Outline. Several conversations take place in this section. In the first, there is repeated talk of destruction. Anu, ᴰNAM.ḪÉ, Kumarbi, the storm-god and Ea are mentioned, but it is unclear who says what about whom. In any case, it causes disappointment to the storm-god, who tells his bull, Šeri(šu), that he has cursed the other gods and is now supreme. Šeri(šu) in response warns against this; especially Ea is to be treated with

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[280] In this interpretation, Mount Kanzura would have to be located somewhere in the vicinity of Lake Van, in eastern Turkey. See Haas 1980, 2006, p. 137. On this earlier part of the song, see also section 2.2.3 (p. 67). For the appearance of the Aranzaḫ River in connection to pregnancies and, possibly, a mountain in *Ea and the Beast*, see section 2.2.6 (pp. 97-99).

caution. A gap of over 20 lines follows. When the text can be read again, Ea talks to someone, warning that he should not be cursed. After this, the column breaks off.

Analysis. Before looking into the events narrated in this section, two new figures should be introduced. The first is the bull Šeri(šu), who warns the storm-god not to curse the other gods, and especially Ea, in lines iii 30-39 (this may have gone on further, but the text breaks off here). He also featured earlier already, in line ii 18, but as remarked in section 2.2.3 (pp. 78-79), the context of this line is too broken to say much about it. In any case, Šeri(šu) was one of the two bulls that pulled the chariot of the storm-god. He thus belonged to the entourage of the storm-god, serving as an assistant here.[281]

The other new figure is the one who notifies Ea of the storm-god's curse in lines iii 62-66.[282] Unfortunately, his or her name has been preserved in the tablet fragment only as "ᴰx-*ú-ri*" (iii 68).[283] Hoffner and Corti reconstructed the name 'Tauri(?)' here, an obscure goddoess, probably of Hattian origin, who appears in several rituals. However, neither of them explained this further, and too little is known about Tauri to see why she would be an ally of the storm-god or take part in the *Song of Going Forth* at all.[284]

Alternatively, Haas assumed that Šauri played a role, a personification of the Hurrian word *šauri-*, 'weapon'.[285] This is sacrificed to regularly in rituals, usually in the form of an attribute of a god, but sometimes also as 'the god Šauri'.[286] Here, it is supposed to have featured as another personified attribute of the storm-god, alongside Šeri(šu) and the wagon.[287] However, its writing could be problematic. 'ᴰ*Ša-ú-ri*' is not

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[281] See Haas 1994, pp. 319-20, 471-72, Schwemer 2001, pp. 458-59, 477-83, Bryce 2002, p. 144. For the wagon of the storm-god, see section 2.2.7 (p. 102).

[282] The beginning of this remark has been lost in the gap. That what is left of lines iii 62-66 really is a speech, is shown by line iii 67, which starts with "*ma-a-an* ᴰ*A-a-aš* ɪɴɪᴍᴴᴵᴬ-*a*[*r iš-ta-ma-aš-t*]*a*", 'when Ea [hear]d the words'.

[283] Laroche 1968, p. 46. Meriggi (1953, p. 126) had "ᴰx-*a*ˀ-*ú-ri*", which is possible on the basis of what remains of the relevant signs, but not necessary.

[284] Hoffner 1998a, p. 45 (§ 22), Corti 2007, p. 114n41. For Tauri (whose name is not connected to Greek ταῦρος, 'bull', which would be *wawa-* in Hittite), see Gurney 1977, p. 32n5, Popko 1995, p. 113, Soysal 2005, p. 195 (etymology), as well as the relevant page references in Haas 1994, p. 929.

[285] Haas 2006, p. 141.

[286] Van Gessel 1998-2001, pp. 1.383-84, CHD S2, p. 320 (under 'šauri-').

[287] See section 2.2.7 (p. 102). KUB 20.65 might be mentioned to again, as it includes a weapon among the

supported by what remains of the sign according to the drawing by Otten. One would have to reconstruct '^{D}*Ša-a-ú-ri*', but this might be too long to fit the available space.[288] Moreover, this 'weapon' was not attached to one god in particular.[289] Nonetheless, an interesting parallel is the weapon of the Mesopotamian warrior-god Ninurta, Šarur, which often acts in personified form as the assistant of his master. Although a direct lexical link is not supported by the CHD, if Šauri did appear in this section, it is possible that this was inspired by the similar role that Šarur played in Mesopotamian mythology.[290] Consequently, despite the case being somewhat circumstantial, the proposal to read 'Šauri' does seem attractive.

Only a few lines are missing from the end of column two. Considering that the first legible line from column three has been numbered iii 2, little text seems lost here. But that is not correct. As discussed in section 2.1.2 (p. 46), a considerable gap can be reconstructed at the beginning of the third column. Thus, instead of an almost direct transition, about twenty lines are missing between lines ii 86 and iii 2.

What happened in this lacuna? Haas proposed that this is the moment in the narrative order of the 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle' where ^{D}KAL was king of the gods.[291] As told in detail in the so-called *Song of* ^{D}*KAL* (CTH 343), ^{D}KAL succeeded the storm-god by defeating him in battle. However, when he turned out an arrogant and complacent ruler, he was dethroned again by Ea, allowing his predecessor to return. As such, ^{D}KAL is similar to Ullikummi, Ḫedammu and Silver, other opponents of the storm-god in the songs related to the 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle'. The events narrated in those songs are normally assumed to have taken place after the *Song of Going Forth*, but as mentioned in section 2.1.4 (p. 58), this cannot be used as a decisive argument against the inclusion

attributes of the storm-god as well (Popko 2001, p. 150; see also section 2.2.3, pp. 78-79). However, this is referred to as a ''^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR'' ('spear'; line 10), while ''^{GIŠ}TUKUL'' is the normal logographic writing for *šauri-* (see CHD S2, p. 320, under 'šauri-'). This fragment therefore probably cannot be used here.

[288] The writing '^{D}*Ša-a-ú-ri*' does have precedents; see van Gessel 1998-2001, pp. 1.383-84, CHD S2, p. 320 (under 'šauri-').

[289] See the instances provided and discussed in GLH, pp. 219-220 (under 'šauri'), Haas 1994, pp. 352, 511-14, CHD S2, p. 320 (under 'šauri-').

[290] On Ninurta (who is not a storm-god; see Schwemer 2008b, p. 127) and Šarur, see Cooper 1978, pp. 122-23; on Ninurta in general, see also Annus 2002. Cf. CHD S2, p. 320 (under 'šauri-', discussion).

[291] Haas 2006, pp. 140-41.

of an abbreviated version of the *Song of* ᴰKAL here: with so much of the *Song of Going Forth* lost, it is possible that it was in fact a summary of the entire 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle'. However, what does pose a problem, is that the idea of the appearance of the story of ᴰKAL at this point in the text is not compatible with the space available. Sizeable as that is, it still hardly suffices to recount the introduction of a new character in the story, his rise to power, his rule, and Ea's subsequent intervention. Therefore, something else is needed to fill the gap.

Another idea, first suggested by Meriggi, was to insert the contents of KUB 33.105 (CTH 346.4) here.[292] This text already featured in section 2.2.3 (p. 77), and as mentioned, it has the storm-god speaking to Anu, recounting how difficult his struggle with Kumarbi has been: seven times he has been sent to the earth, seven times to heaven, and seven times to the mountains and rivers, but each time he returned. When he subsequently starts enumerating which gods have given him his qualities, the fragment breaks off, at line 15.

According to Meriggi, the storm-god is also talking to Anu at the beginning of column three. As a result, he considered KUB 33.105 to have been the first part of this conversation. Although this view has received some support over the years,[293] I do not support it. How can the references to a protracted quarrel in this fragment be fitted in with the rest of the *Song of Going Forth*? There would be space for some kind of confrontation between both protagonists in the second half of column one, but there is nothing that implies that this might have happened. It is also unlikely, given that the storm-god is still inside Kumarbi at that point. Rather, his speech to Anu might be some kind of retrospect, a summary of the long struggle between Kumarbi and the storm-god, examples of parts of which may be found among the other songs of the 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle'.[294] It is thus more logically to position it further on in the chronological order of the cycle, or perhaps at its very end, as a victory speech. One way or another, it does not fit here, before the struggle with Kumarbi has taken place, and while the

[292] Meriggi 1953, pp. 122-23, 128-31.

[293] See Güterbock 1961b, p. 158, Vieyra 1970, p. 521, Bernabé 1987, pp. 152-53, Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 123.

[294] This idea was also expressed in Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, pp. 125-26, but it is unclear to me how they thought this could be combined with positioning the contents of KUB 33.105 at the beginning of column three of the *Song of Going Forth* anyway.

position of the storm-god is still shaky. Additionally, I will argue below that the text that follows suggests that the storm-god had not even obtained his kingship at this stage, and that he is not involved in the conversation of lines iii 2-18.

In an attempt to come up with an alternative proposal, it is helpful first to take another look at this conversation.[295] Meriggi thought that it represented a discussion between Anu and the storm-god, with the former trying to temper the latter's all too radical plans,[296] but that is problematic: in the course of these lines, the destruction of at least ᴰNAM.ḪÉ (iii 5) Kumarbi (iii 8) and the storm-god (iii 11) is mentioned, who belong to different parties, while it also seems to be asked what could be done about the storm-god after he has reached his full powers (iii 11-13). This is hardly logical subject matter for a conversation between Anu and the storm-god.

Instead, considering that references additionally occur to a throne (iii 9), making someone king (iii 16), and to Ea in the nominative (iii 15), it may rather be the case that figures who are not competing for the throne are discussing what should happen next. That would make sense, too, as Kumarbi's falling down for ᴰKA.ZAL and his subsequent failure to eat ᴰKA.ZAL have made it clear that Kumarbi is not powerful enough to be king. With the storm-god having entered the scene, a solution to this situation will have to be found. In that case, the speakers may have included at least Ea and, perhaps, Anu, who is also mentioned in the nominative (iii 2). Apparently, no final decision is reached, or in any case, it does not involve the installation of the storm-god as king. Had that been done, he would have had little reason to vent his disappointment and anger in lines iii 19-29, bragging about his prowess and cursing other gods.

That Ea is likely to have featured in this discussion follows from the storm-god's hostility towards him. If nothing had happened, the two of them might rather have been expected to be allies, considering how Ea advised ᴰKA.ZAL on how to exit Kumarbi and protected him from being eaten. Furthermore, Ea's importance at this point can be derived from the amount of attention he receives in the rest of column three. There, he is

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[295] Line iii 2 features a verb, which can be reconstructed as either '*ḫar-ni-i]n-ku-e-ni*', 'we will] destroy', or '*-i]n ku- e-ni*', '] kill' (imperative) (Laroche 1968, p. 47n8). In both alternatives the verb form implies that a speech is in progress.

[296] Meriggi 1953, pp. 122-23; followed by Güterbock 1961b, pp. 158-59, Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, pp. 123-24.

singled out by the bull Šeri(šu) in his warning to the storm-god not to curse the other gods (iii 30-39), and later himself responds to the curse (iii 67-72). As this response is not complete, Ea's speech and any proceedings connected to it are likely to have continued into column four as well. Also, his words seem to have been triggered by a speech, the ending of which has been preserved in lines iii 62-66. This suggests that the contents of the 20-25 lines of the preceding gap (numbered iii 40-61) can be reconstructed as having included at least the end of Šeri(šu)'s speech,[297] a response by the storm-god, some kind of introduction and/or instruction of the figure who notifies Ea of the curse (depending on whether this happened by order of the storm-god), and the beginning of his or her speech. Thus, the second half of column three and the beginning of column four can be seen to revolve around Ea. This may have carried on further, too, as he also plays an important role in the events recounted at the end of column four (see the next section).

Such emphasis on Ea underlines the significance of his position in this context. That he would have had an important role in the establishment of divine kingship is not surprising. It can be connected to his part in the *Song of* ᴅ*KAL,* where he removes ᴅKAL from office again after his rule has turned out to be unsatisfactory (see above). In *Ea and the Beast*, too, Ea is the one to receive the revelations uttered by the beast concerning the coming of a new, powerful god (see also below). And in the *Song of Ullikummi*, when the other gods have failed in their attempts to defeat Ullikummi, it is Ea who finds out that Ullikummi derives his strength from standing on the shoulders of Ubelluri, and cuts him loose.[298] In turn, this can be linked to the remarks Ea makes in response to his curse, which are summarised with the proverb 'under the beer-pot [a fire is placed(?)], and that pot will boil over(?)' (iii 71-72); i.e. 'one should not tamper with Ea!'[299] Perhaps the bowing down of ᴅKA.ZAL in front of Ea in line ii 39 should also be seen in this context.

On the basis of these considerations, I suggest that at least part of the gap that

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[297] The text breaks off after line iii 39, but it is clear that Šeri(šu)'s speech had not yet finished at that point.

[298] See tablet three of the *Song of Ullikummi* (Güterbock 1952, pp. 18-33, Hoffner 1998a, pp. 62-65, §§ 43-72). On Ea in general, see p. 65n178.

[299] On this proverb, see also Haas 2006, p. 141; on Hittite proverbs in general, Beckman 1986, Haas 2006, pp. 309-10.

followed the births at the end of column two was devoted to a discussion between Ea and other(s) on the future of divine kingship, and on how to deal with the relevant competitors. This may have been preceded by a confrontation between the storm-god and Kumarbi and their followers. Otherwise, in the storm-god's speech to Šeri, it would be hard to understand the narrative context of the reference to the cursing and driving away of the war-god, Wurunkatte (ᴰZA.BA₄.BA₄, lines iii 27-28), and the occurrence of a form of the verb *parḫ-*, 'to chase, expel' (iii 26).[300] Finally, as mentioned in section 2.2.5 (pp. 89-91), at the beginning of the gap, the birth of the last two of Kumarbi's five children may have been recounted.

A reconstruction of what happened exactly and how this was narrated in the text would be conjectural. But the occurrence of something along the lines of what was proposed in the previous paragraph seems certain.

In this context, it might be useful to discuss the possible relation between the *Song of Going Forth* and the text *Ea and the Beast*. In the latter, an all-knowing 'beast' (who is not further identified) tells Ea about a new god that has yet to appear, but will upset the order of the universe. The story may therefore have been part of the 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle', although references to neither Kumarbi nor the storm-god occur in the extant copy. However, this could also be due to the status of the text, which is fragmentary: only two columns of one tablet are known, both quite broken.[301]

Despite this, there are several reasons to think that this new god is, in fact, the storm-god.[302] Most important among these is the great power of the god-to-be. But additionally, there are also mentions of multiple gods that will be placed inside someone (iii 31) and of a pregnancy with the Aranzaḫ River (iii 37). This is positioned between references to the penetration of a mountain (iii 35) and spitting (iii 39), which reminds one of Kumarbi spitting out part of Anu's sperm on Mount Kanzura in lines i 38-41 of

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[300] All that is left of the relevant sentence is "] *me-e-ḫu-ni pár-ḫu*-[x]", or, perhaps, "] *me-e-ḫu-ni pár-ḫu-*[*u*]*n*?", '] at the time of [ ] I chased'. Hoffner (1998a, pp. 44-45, § 19) reconstructed "I drove [Kumarbi(?) from his throne(?)] at the time [of]", but there is no direct evidence for any of that in the text.

[301] See Archi 2002. *Ea and the Beast* has been catalogued under CTH 351.

[302] See also Haas 2006, pp. 143-44, Archi 2009, p. 213.

the *Song of Going Forth*.[303] Finally, the number of gods places inside someone in line iii 31 is said to be five, which corresponds with the total number of gods enumerated by Anu as having been placed inside Kumarbi in lines i 31-34 of the song.[304]

This reference to five gods being place inside someone is of particular interest. It is followed by an enumeration of four pregnancies, involving the Aranzaḫ River, a god whose name ends in -šipa, the war-god Wurunkatte (ᴰZA.BA₄.BA₄), and a fourth god whose name has been lost completely (iii 37-44). The fragment breaks off here, so it is unknown whether it continued with the description of a fifth pregnancy. Nonetheless, I consider it likely that these descriptions are meant to further specify the five gods referred to in line iii 31. If that is correct, and if *Ea and the Beast* is indeed about the birth of the storm-god, then the fourth and fifth god must have been Tašmišu and the storm-god, while -šipa and the war-god would be the two 'terrible gods' referred to by Anu in lines i 33-34 of the *Song of Going Forth*.

Nonetheless, the connection between *Ea and the Beast* and the *Song of Going Forth* is not without problems. First, if both texts feature a connection between the mountain, the Aranzaḫ River and the spitting, it is not the same one. The penetration of the mountain occurs only in *Ea and the Beast*,[305] while spittle was also mentioned earlier in that text, in the line about the five gods (iii 31). How this should be interpreted is unclear, as less than half the lines has been preserved throughout this section. In any case, it does not seem to correspond to what happens in the *Song of Going Forth*.

Furthermore, the way the new god is described in *Ea and the Beast* does not necessitate identifying him as the storm-god. It could also be another one of his adversaries, of the kind that is familiar from the texts related to the 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle'. When the beast describes the new god as extremely powerful and, probably, victorious in lines ii 4-29, this can be paralleled to ᴰKAL defeating the storm-god in the *Song of ᴰKAL*; Silver dragging down from heaven the sun-god and the moon-god in the *Song of Silver*; and none of the gods being able to do anything about

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[303] See section 2.2.5 (p. 91); also Archi 2002, pp. 2-3.

[304] See section 2.2.2 (pp. 63-64).

[305] The difference between spitting and penetration probably is not trivial. Cf. the *Song of Ullikummi*, in which Kumarbi is explicitly said to impregnate a mountain with Ullikummi by penetrating her (lines I B i 13-20; see Güterbock 1951b, pp. 146-49, Hoffner 1998a, p. 57, § 5).

Ullikummi initially in the *Song of Ullikummi*.[306] Also, in lines ii 30-36, Ea asks the beast whether the one to be born will be the mightiest among the gods. It is likely that this question was answered in the positive, as the beast's preceding prediction would otherwise seem exaggerated. But a similar case can be found in Kumarbi's wish for Ullikummi to become king, suppress the city of the storm-god, and destroy and scatter the storm-god, Tašmišu and the other gods.[307] None of this comes true.

Moreover, in lines iii 9-15 of *Ea and the Beast*, the beast seems to refer to the current divine rule of someone who was made king by general consent of the other gods long ago. This cannot be the new god. Considering the cursory attention given to Alalu and Anu in the *Song of Going Forth*, as well as the brevity of Kumarbi's dominance, who will give birth to the storm-god within a year already, it might rather be the storm-god. Apart from in the *Song of Going Forth*, and despite the challenges posed to his rule by Kumarbi, he is the one who is taken for granted as king of the gods throughout Hurrian and Hittite mythology.

This suggests that, instead of recounting the same story as the *Song of Going Forth*, *Ea and the Beast* might rather represent a different stage in the chronological order of the 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle', where yet another claimant to the throne arises. On the other hand, it may be observed that the differences between both texts do not concern the main outline of the story about the rise to power of the storm-god. Therefore, it is also possible that *Ea and the Beast* and the *Song of Going Forth* just recount alternative, yet closely related versions of that story.

In that case, another look may be taken at the war-god. If he was indeed one of the two 'terrible gods' referred to by Anu, then he would have been a brother of the storm-god. Whence, then, the latter's cursing of the war-god in lines iii 27-28 of the *Song of Going Forth*? Perhaps this can be related to the discussion on the future of divine kingship that I suggested above may have featured in the gap at the beginning of column three. Did the war-god in the eyes of the storm-god fail to sufficiently support the latter's claim to power? This idea would add further substance to my reconstruction

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[306] See *Song of ᴰKAL*, A i 2-31 (Hoffner 1998a, p. 46, §§ 1-3), *Song of Silver*, fragment 4 (KUB 36.19 and KUB 33.91) (Hoffner 1988, pp. 159-61; also Hoffner 1998a, p. 50, § 7), *Song of Ullikummi*, tablets 2 and 3 (Güterbock 1952, pp. 9-33; Hoffner 1998a, pp. 60-65, §§ 30-72).

[307] *Song of Ullikummi*, lines I A iii 18-25 (see Güterbock 1951b, pp. 152-53; also Hoffner 1998a, p. 58, § 12).

of the storyline of the first half of column three; but of course, without further evidence, it remains purely hypothetical.

2.2.7 The pregnancy of the earth-goddess (iv 1-27)

Outline. When the text picks up again after the long gap that constitutes over half of column four, a wagon is mentioned in a very broken context. It is somehow involved in the pregnancy of the earth-goddess, who goes to Ea for advice. The months of the pregnancy are counted out and subsequently two children are born. A messenger, Ea and a king feature in what follows, but their roles are hazy due to the state of the fragment. In the last lines, someone is given expensive clothes by the king. After that, a double horizontal line indicates that the colophon will follow to conclude the tablet.

Analysis. Interpretation of this section is largely impossible, making it the most difficult part of the text. Two factors are responsible. First, the events narrated here do not connect to anything that happened earlier on in the story. Indeed, had this section been found as a separate fragment, no-one probably would have thought that it belonged to the *Song of Going Forth*. As a result of that, what happened in the circa fifty lines that constituted the first half of the column cannot be reconstructed. Ea's speech that was in progress at the end of column three and ended in mid-sentence there, is likely to have been finished; and it is also likely that it was narrated how the earth-goddess became pregnant. But based just on the text, without additional fragments or unambiguous parallels, postulating anything else would be guesswork.[308]

Normally, one could gain a clue from what follows. But apart from that the current section is hard to fit in with the rest of the song, it has also been preserved poorly. Thus, only a general impression of the proceedings narrated here can be gained. Nonetheless, it is clear that Ea played a prominent role. It is to him that the earth-goddess goes for advice on her pregnancy (line iv 11-12), and he also features in line iv 22, when he listens to a message.[309] Furthermore, the city that the earth-goddess goes to for Ea's advice and, probably to give birth, Apzuwa, is a reference to the Apsû, the

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[308] But see section 4.2.3 (pp. 151-53), where with the help of the *Theogony* I propose that some kind of 'Titanomachy' took place here.

[309] "DA.A-*aš* INIMHI.A-*ar* [*iš-t*]*a-ma-aš-ta*", 'Ea [he]ard the words'.

subterranean waters that Ea presided over in Mesopotamian mythology.[310]

Considering Ea's prominent role in the establishment of divine kingship, this suggests that future contestants to the divine throne are born here.[311] However, who this might be is unclear; not a single indication of the names of the two children of the earth-goddess remains.[312] Their father cannot be identified with certainty either. The mention in line iv 7 of the 'manhood of the wagon' could be taken to point to the wagon,[313] but without better evidence, this must remain open. For example, if these children were indeed competitors to the storm-god, it could also be hypothesised that they had been fathered by Kumarbi. This was the case with Silver, Ḫedammu and Ullikummi in their respective songs as well, and Kumarbi is called 'father of all gods' in the *Song of Ullikummi*.[314] He may even have featured in this section: at the end of line iv 19, the determinative for gods appears, followed by two only partly legible signs. This has been restored as ᶜᴰÉ.A[ʾ,[315] but that is unlikely to be correct: when Ea appears in the song, the writing ᶜᴰA.Aʾ is used consistently throughout.[316] Instead, a reading ᶜᴰʳ*Ku-mar*ʾ-[*bi-iš*ʾ may be proposed – although it must be admitted that it is unclear whether the middle horizontal wedge of the sign 'ᴋᴜ' really is present.[317] However this may be, the point

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[310] On Ea in Mesopotamia, see Villard 2001. On the interpretation of the name 'Apzuwa' referring to the Apsû, see e.g. Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 124n49.

[311] West 1997, p. 280, Corti 2007, pp. 113-14. On Ea in this role, see section 2.2.6 (pp.).

[312] Vieyra (1959, p. 163, 1970, p. 546; cautiously followed by Güterbock 1961b, p. 159) suggested that the Aranzaḫ River and Tašmišu/Šuwaliyat were born here, after Kumarbi had impregnated the earth by spitting out part of Anu's sperm. This is unlikely. The one that Kumarbi spat on in line i 40-41 probably was Mount Kanzura, and as argued in section 2.2.5 (pp. 89-91), at least the Aranzaḫ River is likely to have been born at the end of column two.

[313] As it has often been; see e.g. Otten 1950, p. 8, Meriggi 1953, pp. 127, 150, Bernabé 1987, p. 154, Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 124, Haas 2006, p. 141, Corti 2007, pp. 113-14.

[314] *Song of Ullikummi*, I A i 3-4 (see Güterbock 1951b, pp.146-47; also Hoffner 1998a, p. 56, § 1).

[315] First Otten 1950, p. 7; followed by Meriggi 1953, p. 128, Corti 2007, p. 112. Laroche 1968, p. 47, gave "ᴰx-x[".

[316] See in lines ii 39, ii 42, ii 47, iii 24, iii 39, iii 67, iii 68, iv 10, iv 12, iv 22. In Güterbock 1946, p. 38, Meriggi 1953, p. 116, it was proposed to read ᶜᴰÉ.Aʾ in line ii 29, but the relevant signs are too unclear to be sure about this (cf. KUB 33, p. 47); Laroche 1968, p. 42, did not even attempt any transliteration there. Note also that the sign 'É' is not used anywhere else in CTH 344.A.

[317] See KUB 33, p. 44, and cf. HZL pp. 194-95 (no. 206). On the other hand, it may also be noted that this middle wedge is often written very small; see e.g. the occurrences of Kumarbi in lines i 16, i 19, i 20, and

remains that the fatherhood of the wagon is not certain.[318]

Neither is his identity. I have so far supported Haas's opinion that the wagon should be seen as an attribute of the storm-god, alongside the bull Šeri and, possibly, his weapon, Šauri.[319] This corresponds to the image drawn in tablet two of the *Song of Ullikummi*, where the storm-god before his first battle with Ullikummi orders Tašmišu/Šuwaliyat to prepare his things, including the two bulls and the wagon.[320] On the other hand, it has also been proposed, first by Otten, that the constellation known to the Hittites as 'Wagon' is meant, a part of Ursa Maior.[321] The argumentation behind this, is that the wagon could thus represent the sky. That would make him a suitable partner for the earth-goddess as her mythological complement. Nonetheless, this idea leaves unexplained his occurrence in line ii 19. Considering the wagon's appearance there in the context of the discussion on how ᴰKA.ZAL should be born, and just one line after a reference to the bull Šeri, the link with the storm-god again is preferable. But in turn, if that were correct, what is his involvement in the current section of the song?

Not only is there no solution to this issue, but in the same manner, a number of similarly important questions could also be asked. What message does the messenger bring, and to whom? Furthermore, although Hoffner may well be right in thinking that the one who 'approved' while sitting on his throne in line iv 19, is the same figure as the king mentioned in iv 24, who is this king?[322] And what is his relation to Ea, who, as mentioned above, seems to receive a message in line iv 22 as well? None of these questions can be dealt with satisfactorily; in fact, it is hardly possible even to attempt an answer. In order to avoid having to resort to guesswork, it is therefore advisable not to try to analyse this section further until additional fragments have been found.

so on.

[318] On the idea by Csapo (2005, p. 72) that the Apsû was the father, see p. 87n264.

[319] Haas 2006, p. 141; see also sections 2.2.3 (pp. 78-79) and 2.2.6 (pp. 92-93).

[320] As indicated in Schwemer 2001, pp. 458-59. See *Song of Ullikummi*, II B iii 3-14 (see Güterbock 1952, pp. 14-17; also Hoffner 1998a, p. 61, § 38).

[321] See Otten 1950, p. 8, Meriggi 1953, pp. 127, 150, Güterbock 1961b, p. 159, Bernabé 1987, p. 155, Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 124. This constellation is actually called 'Großer Wagen' in German.

[322] Hoffner 1998a, p. 77n6.

2.2.8 The colophon (iv 28-35)

Outline. The colophon is the note that scribes added to the end of a tablet. In this one, the name of the text is mentioned, as well as the name of the scribe and the damaged state of the tablet that the scribe had to copy from.

Analysis. In the fragments published by Otten and Güterbock, only the left half of lines iv 28-35 was preserved. As a result of that, all that could be read of the name of the text was "DUB I KAM *ŠA* ŠÌR [", 'first tablet of the *Song* [' (iv 28). Consequently, many scholars referred to the song with invented titles, such as 'Kumarbi Saga', 'Kingship in Heaven' or 'Theogony'.[323] Others preferred just to give a description, but only a few mentioned explicitly that the title was lost.[324] Similarly, the lines with the name of the scribe just gave "ŠU ᵐ*Aš-ḫa-p*[*a-*" (iv 29) and "*na-at am-mu-uk* ᵐ*A*[*š-*" (iv 34), the first of which Meriggi restored as "ŠU ᵐ*Aš-ḫa-pa-*[*la*ᵎ"', '(by the) hand of Ašḫapa[la'.[325] Only lines iv 32-35, which mention that the tablet that the scribe had to copy from was worn, could be understood in full.[326]

In 1973, Otten and Rüster published an additional fragment of the tablet, which restored part of the right-hand side of the colophon.[327] Although the title could still not be read, it became possible to gauge the extent of the gap. This prompted a suggestion by Güterbock to restore "ᴰ*KU-MAR-BI*", 'the god Kumarbi',[328] which was followed by several scholars, who now started referring to the *Song of Kumarbi*, or, more correctly,

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[323] As introduced in Forrer 1936a, p. 690 ('Kumarbi Saga'; also 'Epic', 'Myth' and 'Poem'), Barnett 1945, p. 100 ('Kingship in Heaven'; already Forrer 1936a, p. 690, but there only in a descriptive sense, unlike what Corti 2007, p. 109, suggested), Güterbock 1948, p. 124 ('Theogony'). Güterbock in different studies has used all these variants to refer to the song, as well as 'Lied von [...]' (1978, p. 124). Several scholars mentioned that the song goes under more than one title, including e.g. CTH, p. 60 (no. 344).

[324] E.g. Lesky 1955; also Güterbock 1978, p. 124, Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 151. For a description, see e.g. Speiser 1943 (under the influence of Güterbock 1938, p. 90).

[325] Meriggi 1953, p. 128; Güterbock 1946, p. *6, gave only "ŠU ᵐ*Aš-ḫa-*x-[". The basic reading "ŠU ᵐ*Aš-ḫa-p*[*a-*" is suggested by the drawing of the fragment (KUB 33, p. 50); Laroche (1968, p. 47) had "ŠU ᵐ*Aš-ḫa-pa*ᵎ-[*la*ᵎ"'.

[326] For the possible consequences of this remark for an interpretation of the contents of the tablet, see section 2.1.2 (pp. 47, 50).

[327] KUB 48.97 (Bo 4301); see Otten/Rüster 1973, p. 88 (no. 27).

[328] Güterbock 1980-1983, p. 327.

to the *Song of [Kumarbi]*.[329] He also read the final signs of line iv 28 as '˹NU.TIL˺', 'not complete'.[330] This confirmed the impression given by the section preceding the colophon that the text did not end there; it must have spanned at least two tablets. Additionally, the new fragment restored all of line iv 34, which was now read as "*na-at am-mu-uk* ᵐ*Aš-ḫa-pa-aš*", 'and I, Ašḫapa, (copied) it' (the verb follows in line iv 35). Consequently, the reading of the name of the scribe as 'Ašḫapala' was replaced by 'Ašḫapa'.[331]

Another fragment complementing column iv of the tablet was published by Corti in 2007.[332] He was able to restore almost the entire colophon, as well as more of the preceding lines. The extra information thus obtained was threefold. First, by restoring part of the lines preceding the colophon and by confirming Güterbock's reading of the end of line iv 28 as "˹NU.TIL˺", it again showed that the story originally continued on another tablet.

Second, it rehabilitated Meriggi's reconstruction of the name of the scribe, as it appeared that line iv 29 in fact read "ŠU ᵐ*Aš-ḫa-pa-la* DUMU ᵐᴰ*U-ta-aš-šu*". This is somewhat problematic, as it clashes with the "ᵐ*Aš-ḫa-pa-aš*" of line iv 34; only one of them can represent the right name. In that regard, it is more likely that the scribe forgot a sign, than that he accidentally added one. Alternatively, and perhaps more logically, as this concerns the scribe's own name, 'Ašḫapa' may just be a short form of 'Ašḫapala'.[333] The latter variant is therefore considered here to be the real name of the scribe, who can thus be identified as 'Ašḫapala, the son of Tarḫuntaššu, grandson of Kuruntiyapiya,

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[329] Hoffner (1988, p. 143n1; also Pecchioli Daddi/Polvani 1990, p. 124n50) mentioned that *Song of [Kumarbi]* would be the most correct title, "[w]ere it not for the fact that usage has "canonized" the title "Kingship in Heaven"."

[330] Güterbock 1980-1983, p. 327; Otten/Rüster 1973, p. 88 (no. 27), gave just "x x" here. That the text was incomplete had already been assumed in Güterbock 1943, p. 345.

[331] See also Mascheroni 1984, pp. 153-54 (no. 2).

[332] This is fragment 1194/u (KBo 52.10).

[333] In lists in studies on Hittite personal names (Laroche 1966, 1981, Beckman 1983a, Trémouille 2006b), 'Ašḫapala' featured only in Laroche 1966, p. 44 (with an additional reference in Laroche 1981, p. 9). Five occurrences were listed there, plus one for 'Ašḫupala', which were extended to seven in Corti 2007, p. 116. On the basis of the fragment published in Otten/Rüster 1973, p. 88 (no. 27), Laroche later (1981, p. 9) changed one of his entries for 'Ašḫapala' to 'Ašḫapa'. This would have been the only known occurrence of this name, but with Corti's new fragment, this change now has to be reverted.

<great> grandson of Waršiya, student of Ziti' (iv 29-32).[334]

Third was the recovery of the name of the song. Unfortunately, this has been written with a sign that occurs only here, making its interpretation difficult. Corti analysed it as consisting of a sign with another sign inscribed in it, a 'container sign' with an 'infix', giving a reading 'GÁ×UD.DU.A'.[335] From that starting point, he argued that 'GÁ', should be considered as just a frame, comparable to the cartouches used in Egyptian hieroglyphs. Although 'GÁ' can also frequently be seen to obtain a new meaning from the connection with its infix, it cannot sensibly be combined with 'UD', 'UD.DU' or 'UD.DU.A' in that way.[336] Corti subsequently read 'GÁ' as Sumerian 'pisan', 'basket', i.e. containing the title, but that is not necessary. Cuneiform signs to various extents resembled the concept that they were intended to designate, so it makes sense that the sign for 'basket' would be shaped like one as well, thus qualifying automatically for use as a container sign.[337] The connection with its meaning could then have become secondary.

'UD.DU' can stand for either Sumerian 'ḫád.du', 'to dry', or 'è', 'to leave, go out'.[338] As Corti observed, the former does not have anything to do with the context of the text, while 'to go out' can be linked to the births that take place in the song, as well as to its possible position at the beginning of the 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle'. Therefore, the reading 'è' is to be preferred.[339] Among other options, 'a' may most plausibly function as the 'nominaliser' of the verb.[340] This would make 'è.a' a verbal

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[334] Corti 2007, pp. 112-16. Considering 'Ašḫapala' to be the correct form, Corti emended line iv 34 to "*na-at am-mu-uk* ᵐ*Aš-ḫa-pa<-la>-aš*" (pp. 112, 114). However, it is presumptuous to correct the scribe in the writing of his own name; as mentioned, assuming 'Ašḫapa' to have just been a short form is more appropriate. For the reading 'Kuruntiyapiya' for ᴰKAL.SUM, see Weeden 2007, p. 89. Also, his reading '[Ḫant]itaššu' for the name of Ašḫapala's father has now been superseded by 'Tarḫantaššu', due to Corti's new fragment.

[335] Corti 2007, pp. 116-19.

[336] On this kind of sign complexes, see Schwemer 2003, pp. 12-13, GHL, pp. 14-15 (§ 1.14). For 'GÁ' as a container sign that does obtain a new meaning through the combination with an infix, see HZL, pp. 119-20 (nos. 57-60); also MZL, pp. 118-23, 328-30 (nos. 389-433).

[337] For the development of the cuneiform script, see Walker 1987, pp. 7-21.

[338] MZL, p. 381 (under no. 596, 'UD'), as well as ePSD under 'ah [dry]' and 'e [leave]'.

[339] Corti 2007, p. 117. For the 'Kingship in Heaven-Cycle', see section 2.1.4 (pp. 55-58).

[340] See Corti 2007, p. 118. On the nominalisation of finite verbal forms in Sumerian, see Edzard 2003, pp.

substantive with the meaning 'having gone out', or, perhaps capturing its meanings in this context better, 'going forth'.[341]

Corti subsequently attempted to find out what this may have corresponded to in Hittite.[342] Considering that 'è' would be *(w)aṣû* in Akkadian, this led him to line iv 16 of fragment A of the Boğazköy version of the lexical list 'Erim-ḫuš'. There, the Sumerian writing 'PÀ.È.A' has been equated to Akkadian '*UŠ-ṢÚ-DU*' and Hittite '*pa-ra-a-kán pa-a-u-wa-ar*', which stands for *parā=kan pāwar*, 'going forth, departure'.[343] '*UŠ-ṢÚ-DU*', or '*UŠ-ṢÚ-TÙ*', is probably a variant form of *(w)aṣûtu*, '(the) moving out',[344] which corresponds neatly to 'è.a'. 'PÀ.È.A' is more problematic. Corti tried to explain away the 'PÀ' by linking it to a different verbal root ('pàd', also written 'pà', 'to find, to name'), but it is not clear how this should resolve the issue.[345] More useful might be a reference to 'pa.è', 'to cause to appear'; but while this is connected, it is not identical to 'è'.[346] A third, more plausible option is that the scribe actually had 'sum.è', 'to go out', in mind when he wrote 'PÀ.È'.[347]

Alternatively, a clue may be taken from the second occurrence of *parā=kan pāwar* in the list. Also mentioned by Corti, in line 6' of fragment B, it is linked to 'BAR' in Sumerian and '*ṣí-DU*' in Akkadian.[348] As argued by Weeden, the Hittite translation makes clear that the scribe had considered the Akkadian entry to stand for *ṣītu*, the

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[341] Archi 2009, p. 219n26, translated 'of the going out'. The alternative 'going forth' was suggested to me by Mark Weeden.

[342] Corti 2007, pp. 118-19. The following discussion does not influence the translation of the title. But as this translation will feature in the attempt to find the link between the Hittite version of the *Song of Going Forth* and the related fragment in Hurrian (see section 7.2.1, pp. 207-8), it merits discussion nonetheless.

[343] See Güterbock/Civil 1985, p. 114; also CHD P, pp. 21, 33 (under 'pai-', lexical section and section A 1 j 19' a' 2''). The series 'Erim-ḫuš' also featured in the discussion of the interpretation of '^DKA.ZAL' in section 2.2.3 (p. 74). For 'è' corresponding to *(w)aṣû* in Akkadian, see CAD A2, p. 356 (under 'aṣû').

[344] See AHw, p. 1480 (under '(w)ā/aṣûtu(m)').

[345] Corti 2007, p. 118.

[346] See ePSD under 'pa e [appear]' and 'pad [find]' (this requires interpreting the sign 'PÀ' as a phonetic variant of 'pa'). However, the Akkadian equivalent of 'pa.è' is *šūpû*, 'manifest, brilliant (adjective); to bring forth, to make manifest (verb)'. See CAD A2, pp. 201-4 (under 'apû A', especially the lexical section and section 5), CAD Š3, pp. 328-29 (under 'šūpû').

[347] Otten/von Soden 1968, p. 22.

[348] Güterbock/Civil 1985, p. 117.

verbal substantive of the G stem of *(w)aṣû*. However, lines 6' should have been taken together with line 7', where the Akkadian entry is '*BI-IR-DUʾ*', forming the fixed expression *ṣiddu u birtu*, 'mob, riffraff'.[349] As 'ʙᴀʀ' cannot be related to anything Sumerian that would correspond to *parā=kan pāwar*, this indicates that, when the Hittite column was added to the list,[350] only the Akkadian entry from the same line was taken into account in each individual instance. The level of difficulty of the Sumerian may have played a role in this. As Weeden wrote: "Civil has suggested that 'Erim-ḫuš' was created in order to facilitate translation from Akkadian into Sumerian. Some of the peculiar Sumerian forms occurring in the Sumerian column are thus likely to be academic creations."[351]

Consequently, in each line, the Sumerian and Hittite entries may be anything between exact equivalents and completely unrelated. This means that in both line iv 16 of fragment A of the list and in line 6' of fragment B, Hittite *parā=kan pāwar* only has to be linked to the Akkadian; a possible connection with 'ᴘᴀ̀.ᴇ̀.ᴀ' and 'ʙᴀʀ' is of secondary interest in the current context. Subsequently, as both *uṣṣūtu* and *ṣītu* are related to *(w)aṣû*, they can be considered adequate Akkadian equivalents of Sumerian 'è.a'.

It may be added that *parā=kan pāwar* itself corresponds to 'è.a' very well, too. *Pāwar* is the verbal substantive of *pai-*, 'to go', while *parā=kan* is formed of the adverb *parā*, 'forth, out', plus the complicated particle *-kan*, which in this kind of context confirms rather than modifies the sense of the phrase; probably the expression *parā*

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[349] Weeden 2007, pp. 103-4; see also CAD Ṣ, p. 172 (under 'ṣiddu'). The Hittite entry in line 7' is '*ne-wa-la-an-ta-aš a-ša-*[*tar*]', 'seat of the powerless' (Güterbock/Civil 1985, p. 117: 'sitting of the ...'). As Weeden mentioned, this suggests that '*BI-IR-DUʾ*' had been interpreted as a writing for Akkadian *birtu*, 'fort' (see also CAD B, pp. 261-63, under 'birtu A', and cf. pp. 263-64, under 'birtu B').

[350] Its original, Mesopotamian version was a Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual; see Cavigneaux 1985, pp. 3-4, Weeden 2007, pp. 102-6.

[351] Weeden 2007, p. 102. The reference to Civil's view concerns a mention of this in Klinger 2005, p. 111. The idea that the Hittite scribes mostly only took the Akkadian column into regard when adding the Hittite translations, is confirmed by research conducted by Tobias Scheucher (Leiden) on the lexical lists from Ḫattuša and Ugarit. As he says: "In the very majority of cases, the Hittite translation solely refers to the Akkadian. Note, that in consequence the term 'trilingual' is actually only valid at the surface level; in a deep-structural perspective lists with an additional Hittite column are still bilingual" (personal communication, by e-mail of 09.09.2009).

pāwar would have had the same meaning as *parā=kan pāwar*.[352] As Corti noted, no further occurrences of the expression *parā(=kan) pāwar* have been attested so far.[353] But this may be due to chance: its inclusion in 'Erim-ḫuš' shows that it did exist. Nonetheless, if the title indeed referred to the song's births, one may wonder whether the intended Hittite equivalent did not corresponded to the phrase used there more closely. In lines ii 75, 79 and 84, which dealt with the birth of the storm-god, the Aranzaḫ River and other(s) from Kumarbi, this is consistently *parā uet*, 'he came forth', while *uet* also appears when ᴰKA.ZAL is said to break through Kumarbi's skull in line ii 38. Alternatively, therefore, it can be suggested that Hittite *parā(=kan) uwawar* was meant.[354] But there is no more explicit proof for this than there is for the expression *parā(=kan) pāwar*.[355]

Finally, it should be added that, instead of 'Song of Going Forth', Corti has proposed to translate 'Song of Genesis/Beginning',[356] while the CTH online now lists no. 344 as 'Das Lied vom Ursprung: Das Königtum im Himmel oder Theogonie'. Although these translation can all be used to convey both meanings that the title may have had, they lack the sense of movement that is implied in the verbal root 'è'.[357] Therefore, as has been seen throughout this study, I prefer to translate 'ŠÌR GÁ×È.A' as

[352] See GHL, pp. 367-71 (§§ 28.57-75). For the expression without *-kan*, cf. KBo 32.11, rev. iv 22': "ŠÌR *pa-ra-a tar-nu-u*[*m-ma-aš*" ('Song of Release').

[353] Corti 2007, p. 119. In the CHD, too, only the occurrences of *parā=kan pāwar* in the Boğazköy version of 'Erim-ḫuš' have been listed (CHD P, pp. 21, 33, under 'pai-', lexical section and section A 1 j 19' a' 2'').

[354] See GHL, pp. 209-10 (§§ 12.41-43), for the conjugation of the verb *ue-/uwa-*, 'to come'.

[355] The idea that Hittite *pai-* might correspond to Sumerian 'è' more closely than *ue-/uwa-* would not hold, as the text itself uses the latter verb when recounting the births. Also, it may be noted that preferring *parā(=kan) uwawar* would not influence the translation of the title, since that has been written in Sumerian. Admittedly, this argument is weakened by the problem that the Sumerian and Hittite entries in trilingual lexical lists are not always exact equivalents of each other (see the discussion above); it cannot be excluded that a similar misunderstanding lead to the choice for 'GÁ×È.A' as a logographic writing for the title of the *Song of Going Forth*. However, while the reading of this writing is quite certain, the reconstruction of its Hittite equivalent is still hypothetical, and in fact based upon evidence from lexical lists. It is therefore better to give the Sumerian expression the benefit of the doubt in this case.

[356] Corti 2007, pp. 119, 120.

[357] See also Archi 2009, p. 219n26, who considered a translation 'beginning/genesis' "a too modern interpretation".

'Song of Going Forth'.

In the course of this chapter, a significant number of elements that are difficult to understand have been identified in the text. These include the logographic writings 'ᴰA.GILIM', 'ᴰKA.ZAL', 'ᴰNAM.ḪÉ' and 'GÁ×È.A', as well as the 'second' birth of the storm-god. It should be emphasised that the difficulty of these elements does not derive from my unconventional interpretation of them. Unknown from other Hittite texts, and from cuneiform texts in general, all of these 'learned writings' really are obscure, and hence may not have been immediately clear to literate Hittites either. And with the reference to the storm-god in line ii 44 as someone that Kumarbi wants to eat, the mention of his birth in line ii 75 is odd no matter how one interprets the rest of the text.[358] It is useful, therefore, to go into this subject in more detail.

In this context, reference may be made to a recent proposal by Lorenz and Rieken, that most texts of non-Anatolian origin found in Ḫattuša had been imported from elsewhere mainly for use in scribal training.[359] This characterisation also seems to befit the *Song of Going Forth*. With its use of multiple obscure logographic writings, it is unlikely that the text in its current form was used for public recitation. Both the reader and his/her audience might have had trouble understanding who or what is being referred to. But if one thinks of CTH 344.A as a virtuoso scribal exercise, all the elements that are difficult and unusual could fit in.[360] Perhaps even a reason for the scribe's choices can be provided. The relevant elements in one way or another all concern the storm-god. It might be, then, that the scribe in this way tried to emphasise further the special role of the storm-god, who is the main character in the story.

Whether this scribe was Ašḫapala cannot be established. Ašḫapala may have just faithfully copied an existing version of the text, created as such by an unknown predecessor. However that may be, scribes were in an ideal position to gain and use knowledge of learned writings. Copying god-lists and lexical lists such as the ones

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[358] See above (on 'GÁ×È.A'), as well as sections 2.2.3 (pp. 70-76; on 'ᴰA.GILIM' and 'ᴰKA.ZAL'), 2.2.4 (pp. 80-82; on 'ᴰNAM.ḪÉ'), and 2.2.5 (pp. 84-89; on the 'second' birth of the storm-god). Corti 2007, p. 119, also noted that multiple obscure writings occur in this text, but did not pursue this matter any further.

[359] Lorenz/Rieken 2010, with references to earlier discussions of the subject.

[360] This suggestion only applies to the *Song of Going Forth* as known from CTH 344.A. Probably, the story also existed in other versions, which belonged in different contexts; see section 7.2.1 (pp. 206-12).

referred to in the discussions of '^DA.GILIM', '^DKA.ZAL', and 'GÁ×È.A', was part of the scribal education.[361] It is unfortunate that none of the relevant writings (including '^DNAM.ḪÉ') actually appear in this way in the lists found in the Hittite world so far.[362] But this is not very consequential, as the ones that have been preserved are often damaged, and in any case represent only a limited sample of a broader tradition that is largely lost.[363]

The proposal to characterise CTH 344.A as a scribal exercise meets with several problems. First, the use of learned writings is known from various examples from Mesopotamia, where scribes sometimes apparently enjoyed coming up with alternative writings that would challenge the reader, such as uncommon logographs, rebus writings or newly invented signs. But this usually was done only in the colophons of tablets, where scribes were free to display their erudition; and the practise so far is unknown from other Hittite texts.[364] Second, for my interpretation of lines ii 71-75 to work, I have to suppose that the scribe who first wrote the surviving version of the *Song of Going Forth* came up with a new stylistic figure, that was used only here in what remains of Hittite literature. Third, with so much missing from CTH 344.A, and from Hittite literature in general, it might be premature to call the relevant learned writings obscure, or to attempt an interpretation of the song as a whole at all.

However, if the first two issues mentioned cause my interpretation of the text to be not very obvious, they do not preclude it. Furthermore, although due to the incompleteness of the Hittite textual evidence it is likely that some forms that seem obscure to us now were less so to the Hittites, it is unlikely that four such forms would

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[361] On Hittite scribes, scribal practices and education, see Beckman 1983c, Bryce 2002, pp. 56-71, Klinger 2005, pp. 107-14. On the Mesopotamian tradition, see Pearce 1995. There is also an overview of the subject in Weeden 2007, pp. 22-27, 58-62.

[362] The only exception might be 'KA.ZAL', if it would have to be read as *walliuraš* rather than *muwat(t)al(l)a/i-* (see section 2.2.3, pp. 73-76).

[363] See for example the discussion on *Enūma Eliš* and the series 'An = Anum' in section 2.2.3 (pp. 72-73).

[364] The only relevant hittitological remarks seem to be those in HE, p. 25 (§ 8c; on 'playful' writings) and GHL, p. 22 (§ 1.37; on rebus writings). For examples from Mesopotamia, see Leichty 1964, Hunger 1968, pp. 4-6 (both on riddles in colophons), Oppenheim 1970, pp. 59-65 (on a Middle Babylonian text on the making of glass which abounds in obscure writings), Streck 2003-2005, p. 140 (§ 6: "Orthographie als Ausdruck der Gelehrsamkeit"). Note that these learned writings do not concern cryptography. As explained in Pearce 1982, pp. 1-7, this is a technical term that concerns the encoding of a text for the purpose of concealment, which does not apply to the *Song of Going Forth*.

occur together in one text. In my view, it makes more sense to assume this to be the result of a deliberate choice. Also, I think that enough remains of the first three columns of the text to be able to follow the general storyline, which in turn allows at least to try to interpret relatively difficult sections. Therefore, despite the issues raised above, I would like to maintain the interpretations and reconstructions proposed in this chapter. If scholars would find some or all of my ideas unacceptable, I hope that they will at least create discussion, or inspiration for alternative suggestions.

2.3 Summary

In the discussion above at several points I have proposed new reconstructions and interpretations of parts of the *Song of Going Forth*. Therefore, it is useful to provide a summary of the text as a whole according to the conclusions reached in this chapter.

Column one. The song starts with an address to the primeval gods to listen, which continues into the reign of Alalu. He is king in heaven for nine years, until his cupbearer Anu rises against him and replaces him. Alalu flees to the earth. Nine years pass, until Anu in turn is defeated by his own cupbearer, Kumarbi. When Anu tries to flee to the sky, Kumarbi grabs him and bites off his genitals. As Anu warns him before really escaping, this will be a cause of regret: Kumarbi has now been impregnated with the storm-god, the Aranzaḫ River, Tašmišu and two other deities. In the course of several lines that are increasingly broken, Kumarbi tries to spit out the sperm, but it is not clear to what effect, or why Mount Kanzura is mentioned. A gap that encompasses the second half of the column follows. Events narrated there probably included at least Kumarbi's voyage to Nippur and back, and the countdown of the months of his pregnancy.

Column two. A conversation is in progress between the storm-god, Ea and Anu about the birth of the storm-god. They discuss where he should leave Kumarbi's body, and, possibly, how he will acquire his powers, allies and attributes. He is then born by breaking through Kumarbi's skull. Terrified, the latter plans to eat him, but he is fooled by Ea, who feeds him a stone instead. When Kumarbi tries to swallow this, he spits it out in pain. Subsequently, the stone becomes an object of cult and rituals are carried out.

Kumarbi's skull is repaired, but immediately afterwards, the Aranzaḫ River and at least one other deity born. It remains unclear how this happens, and what roles Mount Kanzura and Anu play in this context. A gap of a few lines follows.

Column three. Twenty more lines are lost at the beginning of the column. The last births may have been recounted here, although there can be no certainty about this. Apart from that, the gap probably featured part of the conversation between Ea and Anu that is in progress when the text resumes. Others may also have taken part. They discuss who should be king in heaven now that Kumarbi's position is threatened by the storm-god. Probably no final conclusion is reached, as the storm-god consequently becomes angry and starts cursing the other gods, especially Ea. His bull Šeri(šu) advises against this, but apparently to no avail: after a gap of over twenty lines, the last bit of a speech in which Ea is told about the curse can be read. Ea responds furiously, and warns of the consequences.

Column four. Again there is a gap, this time over fifty lines in length. Its contents cannot be reconstructed. Twenty-seven lines of narrative follow, most of which are fragmentary. A wagon is mentioned, as well as the pregnancy of the earth-goddess. She seeks advice from Ea in Apsû, after which the months are counted and two sons are born. A messenger is sent with the news, but it is unclear who sent him and where he goes. Reference is made to Ea and a king, and in the final lines, someone receives gifts. The tablet ends with the colophon.

Chapter III

The *Theogony*

Compared to the *Song of Going Forth*, studies of the *Theogony* feature different aspects. The text of the *Theogony* is complete and mostly clear, as are the identities and roles of its characters. The process of composition thus takes centre stage. What part of the poem constitutes the 'real' *Theogony*? Who is 'Hesiod'? And when should the text be dated? These issues will be dealt with in order in section 3.1. Subsequently, section 3.2 will investigate how the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme manifests itself in the poem. Unlike in the case of *Song of Going Forth*, the surviving part of which deals only with this theme, the *Theogony* has a much wider scope. For a meaningful comparison of the appearances of the theme in both texts, the form of the theme in the *Theogony* must therefore be singled out.

A few practical remarks on the *Theogony* should be added. Since its publication, West 1966 has been the standard edition of the text. Despite the *Oxford Classical Texts* edition by Solmsen that appeared soon afterwards,[365] subsequent studies of the poem have in most cases followed West's book. In fact, it has been so influential that only a few partial or general commentaries have appeared since, and new editions have mostly just copied his version of the text.[366] West's edition therefore will also be followed here.

3.1 Context

3.1.1 What constitutes the Theogony

As with most early Greek literature, there has been abundant discussion on the subject

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[365] See in Solmsen et al. 1970.

[366] Later editions are Most 2006 (for the Loeb Classical Library) and Pucci 2007 (on the introductory hymn). Line-by-line commentaries of part of the text can be found in Verdenius 1971, 1972, Pucci 2007. For a general commentary of the full text, see Athanassakis 2004, pp. 37-57.

of the development of the contents of the *Theogony*. Did it develop gradually, or was it composed more or less in the version that has been preserved? This issue I have to address in order to define which parts of the text should be taken into account.

The beginning of this kind of research in the field of ancient studies can be attributed to Wolf, and the publication of his *Prolegomena ad Homerum* in 1795.[367] Discussing the Homeric poems, he argued against their unity, and considered them to be an amalgam of stories, themes and motifs that was added to an original, much shorter narrative kernel. Thus, he founded the 'analytic' school of study, which focussed on singling out and investigating separate elements of the Homeric, as well as the Hesiodic, poems. In response, a 'unitarian' school of thought was established. Its aim was to demonstrate that the relevant poems each formed a unity, and were conceived as such by a single author.[368]

Developed from the 1920s onwards, the work of Parry and Lord on the Aegean oral tradition provided a new impulse to this discussion. They pointed out strong parallels regarding specific stylistic elements, such as the use of formulaic language and of stock phrases and scenes, between the Homeric poems and songs from the contemporary Serbo-Croatian oral epic tradition. This meant that the Homeric texts, too, must have been part of a tradition of oral poetry, as well as the Hesiodic poems, where the presence of the same stylistic elements was found. Subsequently, this led to the idea of singers in the Aegean, at least in the first centuries of the first millennium BCE, as creating their songs anew during each performance; but doing so firmly within the existing traditions of oral epic poetry and on the basis of their experience as singers of such songs, thus fulfilling the expectations of the audience regarding both style and subject matter.[369]

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[367] Introduction and translation: Grafton et al. 1985. For the intellectual background of Wolf's ideas, see Grafton 1981.

[368] On these schools, see the overview in Heubeck 1974, pp. 1-15. In general, as well as for the discussion between these schools in the nineteenth century, see also Turner 1997. A history of early scholarship on the Hesiodic poems also featured in Rzach 1912, pp. 1187-1201.

[369] Key publications include Lord 1960, 1995 and the papers gathered in Parry 1971; but see also Nagy 1990, pp. 7-82, 1996, Foley 1997. On the Hesiodic texts in this context, see G.P. Edwards 1971, Minton 1975, Janko 1982; summarising also Pucci 2007, pp. 21-22. Due to its nature, the existence of this oral tradition in earlier periods can be surmised, but not proven.

In this reconstruction of the creation of the Homeric and Hesiodic texts, each poem is indeed a deliberate composition by a single poet, as the unitarian school asserted. But contrary to that approach, the poet does not create a unique poem from scratch. Rather, as the analytic school thought, he incorporates existing themes and motifs in his song. But in turn, the resulting song is not simply a further, more elaborate version of an existing one, but a unique composition, created just for the occasion. Thus, in my view, thinking of the relevant texts as created within an oral tradition as described above supersedes the approaches of both schools.

However, the 'oral poetry approach' in this form does not seem completely satisfactory to me either. It seems to consider the composition of a poem as a semi-automatic process, in which the poet could distinguish himself through his choice of words, the aptness of his similes or his competence with the metre; but in which he was allowed little or no creativity with the larger themes and motives or the general storyline, all of which were dictated by tradition. But I do not see why the audience could not also have appreciated a singer who took more liberties with these themes, motives and the storyline, as long as it could understand the reasons behind the choices made, such as the elevation of a local hero, the denouncement of an enemy, or just clever elaboration of existing material. If this was not the case, it would be difficult to understand how narrative elements taken over from elsewhere, and hence unknown to the audience, could ever become part of existing traditions; while there can be no doubt that this did happen.[370]

In this context, the theory by Nagy concerning 'rhapsodes' might be helpful. He considered these as the last generation of singers, whose craft it was to join together existing smaller songs into the larger compositions that they performed.[371] This is close to how I see the author of the *Theogony*. Part of a tradition of singers of oral poetry, he had probably been performing theogonic poems already before composing the preserved version of the *Theogony* in the first half of the seventh century BCE (see section 3.1.3, pp. 123-26). For this particular version, his intention was to create a poem that would bring together deities that were venerated by different groups of Hellenes into one

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[370] As for the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme, I think that the basic fact that it was transmitted towards the Aegean from elsewhere and included in the *Theogony* subsequently – thus becoming incorporated in existing traditions – is proven in chapters four and five.

[371] Nagy 1996, pp. 80-92.

genealogical system, which he thought would please and/or interest his audience in a time of an increasing feeling of Hellenicity (see chapter six). For this purpose, he combined existing stories, such as the Titanomachy and the enumerations of the Nereids and the Okeanids (see sections 6.2.5, pp. 192-94, and 6.2.6, pp. 194-95, respectively), into the familiar framework of a theogony. The specific structure and main storyline of this framework he took from a 'Kingship in Heaven'- theme that had some popularity in the extended Aegean, despite having been taken over from elsewhere relatively recently (see chapter five). The song that this resulted in was received positively by the audience, inciting the poet to recreate it largely similarly at different occasions. In this way, and further aided, first, perhaps, by repetition by other singers who recognised its qualities, but eventually by it being fixed down in writing, the poem developed into being a classic within Greek literature, which would survive to the current day.[372]

This is not the only possible reconstruction of the coming to be of the preserved version of the *Theogony*. One can also assume its main structure and storyline to have existed in Mycenaean times already. In that case, the date and trajectory of the transmission of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme towards the Aegean and the reason for the composition of the poem would be very different from what I am proposing in this study. Furthermore, at least concerning the Homeric poems, Nagy assumed these rhapsodes to have kept recreating the relevant texts for generations, and that the texts became fixed only in the course of the late sixth to fourth centuries BCE.[373] In this reconstruction, it is nearly impossible to say anything specific about earlier versions of these texts.

However, as explained in section 1.4 (p. 40), my aim is not to discuss all possible scenarios of how and why its particular 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme may have ended up in the *Theogony*, but to focus on just one of them.[374] In that context, I prefer my reconstruction as sketched above. I think that it is not only more plausible, but also

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[372] This reconstruction has similarities to the approach called 'neoanalysis', in which also the existence of a single final author is assumed, who used existing motifs and elements to create his own composition within that tradition; see Kullmann 1984, Willcock 1997. Mondi 1984, pp. 325-26, Pucci 2007, p. 22, related it specifically to the *Theogony*. Although the actual term is not used, the discussion of the *Theogony* and its literary context in Thalmann 1984, pp. 33-45, is also essentially neoanalytic.

[373] Nagy 1996, p. 42.

[374] See also sections 7.2.2 (pp. 212-14), and 8.1 (pp. 221-22).

relatively practical, as it allows for a scenario in which nearly every stage of the process of transmission can be covered adequately.

As for the text of the preserved version of the *Theogony*, my reconstruction implies that it was a unique, deliberately created composition which can fruitfully be analysed as a whole. But at the same time, due to the process of composition and the traditional context of the poem, the background of separate elements can also be studied.[375]

Nonetheless, a problem remains with the ending of the *Theogony*. Its two final lines, 1021-1022, correspond exactly to the opening lines of the *Catalogue of Women*. This means that either both poems originally belonged together, or that the *Theogony* has been interpolated at this point.

The former position was taken up by Dräger.[376] However, if the *Theogony* and the *Catalogue of Women* originally had been one text, writers in antiquity would be expected to have commented upon this as well. But these always mention the two texts separately.[377] Consequently, regardless whether or not both texts were by the same author and how they relate to each other chronologically, I prefer the second option, i.e. that the *Theogony* was interpolated at the end.[378]

But where did this interpolation start? Removing the last two lines does not resolve the issue. The preceding section on the children of goddesses by mortal men (963-1018), as well as part of that on the offspring of Zeus (881-962), have also been considered suspect by modern commentators. Reasons for doing so concern differences regarding the style, structure and contents of the rest of the text. Dräger in his discussion

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[375] Also relevant in this context could be the process through which the final, written version of the text was arrived at. For the Homeric poems, it is known that this involved extensive editorial work at various stages in their history (see Haslam 1997). However, no clear evidence for a similar practice concerning the *Theogony* has been found. So even if such practices can be assumed by analogy, there is no telling what their consequences were.

[376] Dräger 1997, pp. 1-26.

[377] See the testimonia gathered in Most 2006, pp. 154-281.

[378] See also Clay 2005 (with further references), who argued that both poems were linked because they complement each other: just as the *Theogony* explains and describes the constellation of the divine world, so the *Catalogue of Women* does the same for the heroic one. On the *Catalogue of Women* in general, see West 1985a (in this context especially pp. 125-37), Hunter 2005.

argued against this, stressing how the text continues smoothly until the end. Be that as it may, the likelihood of interpolation having taken place at the end of the *Theogony* remains. West therefore suggested that the poem originally ended at line 900, after Zeus had eaten Metis. Northrup saw a break after line 955, after Heracles' birth and praise. Other scholars recognised the same issues as they did, but refrained from pinpointing an exact location. They argued that multiple interpolations may have taken place, and that the original ending could have been replaced in the process.[379]

This last argument is of particular importance. From the one version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved, it is impossible to tell what kind of changes the interpolator(s) made to the text. Additionally, it is difficult to know what the earlier ending should be like, in case it was retained in the poem. In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the end comes suddenly. There is nothing that indicates that this was or will be the concluding episode, or that the text as a whole is finished. As for the *Works and Days*, the final part has often been discussed, as the 'days' section is suspected of being a later addition to the poem.[380] But whether it stopped before or after this, at line 764 or 828, in either case the last line concludes the relevant episode rather than the text as a whole. So in the *Theogony*, too, any line that finishes a smaller section could potentially have been the last one of the poem.[381]

It is thus impossible to find a satisfactory solution to this issue. However, in the current context this is not a problem. First, as will be argued in section 3.2.4 (pp. 132-33), the last episode of the poem that is still related to the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme is the swallowing of Metis by Zeus in lines 886-900. No scholar has considered that spurious. Furthermore, it will not influence the interpretation proposed in chapter six if

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[379] See Dräger 1997, pp. 1-26, West 1966, pp. 48-49, 397-99, 437, Northrup 1983, Nagy 1990, p. 80, Athanassakis 2004, pp. 56-57, Most 2006, p. il.

[380] See Lardinois 1998.

[381] Kelly 2007 suggested that in these longer poems the audience was prepared for the end through the use of a 'decreasing doublet'. This means that two similar episodes follow one another, with the second one significantly smaller in size, both to underline the importance of the first one, and to indicate that the story will end soon. However, as Kelly noted (pp. 389-96), applying this to the *Theogony* is problematic, as a number of decreasing doublets can be discerned in the poem from the account of Zeus' battle with Typhoeus onwards. Arguments with which plausibly to prioritise these are lacking. It should therefore first be established where the *Theogony* terminated and whether this confirms the theory, rather than use the theory to find the end of the poem.

the subsequent genealogical lists are to be discarded. Even without them, the *Theogony* features enough genealogical material not to let such a change significantly alter perceptions of its nature in general.

Finally, the consequences of this discussion with respect to the idea that the text can meaningful be considered as a whole are limited. Even if West is correct in marking everything after line 900 as added later, what follows might have been tacked onto an otherwise unaffected text. It does not necessarily imply that interpolations were also made to earlier parts of the poem. This possibility cannot be excluded altogether. But in light of the foregoing discussion, it seems justified to investigate the *Theogony* integrally in this study.[382]

On the basis of these three arguments, I conclude that the discussion about the end of the *Theogony* has no relevance to the analysis of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the text.

3.1.2 The identity of 'Hesiod'

I have argued in the previous section that the version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved was created by a specific poet at a specific moment. So who was this poet?

The poem is commonly ascribed to 'Hesiod', who in antiquity was also said to have composed the *Works and Days*, the *Catalogue of Women*, *Shield* and various other poems of which only fragments or titles survive. But as modern scholars have recognised from their writing style, these texts must in fact have been created at different times. They cannot have been the work of a single author. Consequently, the most common view now is that, while the *Works and Days* and the *Theogony* were indeed composed by 'Hesiod', the other poems were ascribed to him later because of similarities in style and genre.[383]

On the assumption that remarks that are presented as autobiographical can indeed be taken as such, these two poems subsequently have been used to piece together

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[382] Note that minor textual variations and corruptions are a different matter. These are a natural side-effect of the hand-copying of texts. For example, lines 48 and 823 of the *Theogony* are unmetrical and hard to translate. But this is due to errors by the copyist, rather than to a conscious interpolation or any other kind of compositional or editorial decision.

[383] An overview of these poems is given in Most 2006, pp. xxxvi-lxix; on the ancient tradition of attributing them all to 'Hesiod', see throughout the testimonia in Most 2006, pp. 154-281.

a biography of 'Hesiod'.[384] This applies for example to lines 22-23 of the *Theogony*, where it is said that the Muses 'taught Hesiod a beautiful song while he was herding his lambs under sacred Mount Helicon'. More information about this divine inspiration comes in the subsequent section (lines 24-32). The *Works and Days* provides further data. The father of 'Hesiod' had once moved from Aeolian Cyme to Ascra in Boeotia. He had a quarrel with his brother, Perses, because of the division of the heritage of his father. And at some point he travelled to Euboea to participate in the funeral games of a king called Amphidamas, during which he gained victory with a hymn.[385] Finally, that 'Hesiod' composed the *Works and Days* after the *Theogony* follows from lines 11-12 of the former poem. There, it is said that 'there was not just one kind of Eris, but on earth there are two'. This supposedly is the author correcting himself, having mentioned the birth of only one Eris in line 225 of the *Theogony*, his earlier work.

However, objections can be raised against this approach, which place the historical existence of the figure of 'Hesiod' in serious doubt. First, it has been pointed out that the autobiographical nature of the poetic 'I' in early Greek literature is problematic. While sometimes the poet's own experiences may be recounted, they cannot be distinguished from instances where a dramatic persona is adopted. For example, most, if not all, of the persons and events that are mentioned in Archilochus' poetry may have been either traditional material or invented by him.[386]

Furthermore, for a number of early Greek poets, including Anacreon, Solon and Theognis, the authorship of the body of poetry that has been transmitted in their name is debated. It is likely that at some point all these people existed and composed works. But it is suggested that later their names came to be associated with a certain kind of poetry, in effect functioning as labels under which new poems created by others could be filed. For the Hellenes, apparently it was not a problem that texts were composed in the name of someone whom they knew to have lived considerably earlier. In fact, not only did biographies not mention this practice, but they could even include 'autobiographical' comments from the later poems. Thus, rather than as falsifications, the Hellenes may have thought of such new additions as an enrichment of the personae of the relevant

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[384] E.g. West 1966, pp. 40-48, 1978, pp. 30-40, Athanassakis 2004, pp. xi-xvii, Most 2006, pp. xi-xvii.

[385] See *Works and Days* 27-41, 633-40, 646-62; there is an overview in Most 2006, p. xii.

[386] Irwin 1998. In general on the subject of the poetic 'I' in Greek literature, see Slings 1990, Bowie 1993, Kurke 2007, pp. 141-45.

authors. But the consequence for modern scholarship is that the biographical information found in this poetry is increasingly considered as traditional rather than historical, and that the study of the lives of these poets has largely become obsolete.[387]

Much the same has been claimed for 'Homer'. His two epics are now generally seen as having been composed by different authors. He cannot have been the author of the so-called *Homeric Hymns*, the dates of which vary by several centuries. Instead, 'Homer' may have been invented as their eponymous ancestor by the Homeridai. This was a kind of guild of rhapsodes that existed in the Aegean at least in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, which focussed on singing 'Homeric' poetry.[388]

This means that caution is required when trying to read the contents of the Hesiodic poems in a biographical way, or when taking the seemingly autobiographical remarks literally. They cannot be taken to have any definite meaning without secondary sources to check the information. But as with 'Homer', there is nothing from the relevant period that could aid in this matter.

Moreover, if 'Hesiod' is considered as a conscious participant in the Aegean oral tradition, then even the one thing that seemed obvious becomes shaky: the mention of the name 'Hesiod' in lines 22-23 of the *Theogony*. This does not have to be interpreted as identifying the current singer of the song. As has been seen above, the relevant sentence is expressed in the third person. But autobiographical remarks in early Greek literature, including in the *Works and Days*, normally appear in the first person. Strikingly, in lines 24-25 the singer switches back to the first person himself, to say that 'this message the goddesses spoke to me first of all, the Olympian Muses, daughters of aegis-bearing Zeus'. It cannot be excluded that this switch is just a figure of speech, and that the poet really was called 'Hesiod'. But when considered in the context of the oral tradition, other, more likely options are available. It may be that the poet is referring to a legendary figure called 'Hesiod', the first of his predecessors to have been inspired in the same way. Alternatively, and perhaps more plausibly, he may explicitly be adopting the persona of this 'Hesiod' figure, to indicate within what tradition his work should be

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[387] For Anacreon, see e.g. Danielewicz 1986, Lamberton 1988, pp. 12-13; Solon: Lardinois 2006, Stehle 2006; Theognis: Ford 1985, Lamberton 1988, pp. 25-27, Edmunds 1997. In general, see also J.M. Hall 2007a, p. 6.

[388] See West 1999. For the process of canonisation of the Homeric poems, see also Burkert 1987a.

understood.[389]

Further, the idea that one author composed both the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* has no foundation in the texts. Even the reference to Eris cannot be counted as such. In the *Theogony*, she only features as a daughter of Nyx and mother of her own children (in lines 225 and 226). No further claims are made about her, or anything else that would explain the rather pointed remark in lines 11-12 of the *Works and Days*. Instead, since Eris always appears as a single entity in Greek literature, that note could rather be taken as a comment on stories about her in general. And even if it is a direct reference, all it shows, is that the composer of the *Works and Days* had knowledge of a poem like the *Theogony*. It does not mean that he created both.

The person of 'Hesiod' and his link with the Hesiodic corpus thus dissolve.[390] For this reason, I have consistently written the name 'Hesiod' placed in quotation marks. I shall not use it to refer to the author of the *Theogony*. Nonetheless, as argued in the previous section, the point remains that the version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved must have been composed by someone specific. This person will be referred to as 'the author' (or 'composer', 'poet', etcetera) of the *Theogony*. Finally, the adjective 'Hesiodic' will be used to refer to the textual material that has traditionally been ascribed to 'Hesiod'.

An additional consequence of the disappearance from view of a poet called 'Hesiod', is the removal of the link between the *Theogony* and the other 'Hesiodic poems'. This is not to suggest that they are irrelevant for the study of the *Theogony*. But in this context they should not be valued above other roughly contemporary texts from the Aegean, such as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.[391]

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[389] Doubts regarding the autobiographical nature of these lines were first expressed in Evelyn-White 1914, p. xv, Waltz 1914. See also Pinsent 1985, p. 122, Ballabriga 1996, pp. 72-74, Stoddard 2004, p. 6.

[390] For critical discussions of the identity of 'Hesiod' and the authorship of his poems, see also Griffith 1983, Lamberton 1988, pp. 1-37, Nagy 1990, pp. 47-79, Stoddard 2004, pp. 1-33, Most 2006, pp. xvii-xviii. Ballabriga 1996, pp. 72-74, too, doubted that the poet identified himself as 'Hesiod' in lines 22-23. However, he explained the relevant statement by proposing the existence of a real 'Hesiod' who composed the *Works and Days*, with a follower ('deutero-Hesiod') creating the *Theogony* in the same vein. But whether or not a 'real' 'Hesiod' ever existed and created the *Works and Days*, the point remains that the *Theogony* has not been composed by the same person, which is what matters most here.

[391] This does not contradict the idea of Clay 2003, "that the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* must be interpreted together, each complementing the order, in order to form a unified whole embracing the divine

3.1.3 Date of the Theogony

To be able to position the version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved in its contemporary context, it must first be established what period this concerns. This should be possible: in section 3.1.1 (pp. 114-17), it was argued that there was a conscious composer who moulded the poem into this specific version at some point. The current section therefore deals with the dating of the *Theogony*.

The issue is complicated by the conclusions of the previous section on the identity of 'Hesiod'. Information regarding the period in which the text was composed used to be taken from the reference in the *Works and Days* to a visit to Euboea for the funeral games of Amphidamas (lines 654-662). The death of this king has been connected with the so-called 'Lelantine War', which is reported by later authors to have taken place on the island. Additionally, it has been attempted to establish when his father lived and moved to Ascra. On the basis of a combination of these data, the period of 730-700 BCE has been suggested as the productive years of 'Hesiod'.[392] However, it was argued above that the idea that the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* were created by the same author should be discarded. This means that information from the latter poem cannot be used to establish the date of composition of the former. It has also been argued that what used to be considered as biographical information on 'Hesiod' cannot be used as such. Therefore, different approaches have to be used.[393]

One comes from the *Histories* by Herodotus. In section 2.53, he remarks that 'Homer' and 'Hesiod' both antedated him by four hundred years. This cannot be relied upon for absolute dating. But in the context of Herodotus' writings, it implies that he considered the Homeric and Hesiodic poems works to have become established texts before the time of the other early Greek poets, such as Sappho, Archilochus and Solon. For us, but also for people from the time of Herodotus, this places the subject into a period where the sequence of events and persons can and could be reconstructed with

and human cosmos" (summary in Clay 2005, p. 26). My proposal regarding the identity of 'Hesiod' only means that this cannot have been the design of one author, but should be considered the result of complementing traditions, or of one poet composing a text to cover a subject that he felt had been missing in the other one.

[392] West 1966, pp. 43-48; supported in e.g. Janko 1982, pp. 94-98, Pucci 2007, pp. 22-23.

[393] It is also not certain whether this 'Lelantine War' ever took place on Euboea. And if it did, it would be unclear when this was and what it encompassed; see J.M. Hall 2007a, pp. 1-8.

somewhat more accuracy than earlier. So when Herodotus says that 'Homer' and 'Hesiod' preceded the time of the early Greek poets, this can be taken to be reliable enough to imply that the version of the text that came to be a considered a classic within Greek literature should be dated to the middle of the seventh century at the latest.[394]

A *terminus post quem* might be arrived at by reference to the (re-)introduction of writing in the Iron Age Aegean. It is probable that the establishment of a definite version of the *Theogony* was stimulated by fixing it in written form. The issue is not the moment of adoption of the Syro-Palestinian alphabet by people from the Aegean. Suggested dates for that range from before 1400 BCE via ca. 1000 BCE to somewhere in the course of the ninth century, which is the current scholarly convention.[395] What matters here, is at what point the alphabet had come into common enough use that it could be used to write down a full poem. Direct evidence of this is lacking, but some information may be gleaned from the appearance of inscriptions in the Greek alphabet. So far, none have been found that antedate the eighth century. But they do occur increasingly and throughout the Greek-speaking world from that time onwards.[396] If this is accepted, it indicates that the second half of the eighth century is the earliest possible date for the fixing in written form of the version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved.

Tentative as it is, confirmation of this upper limit can be found by reference to some of the so-called 'Okeanids'. In lines 337-370 of the poem, these are recounted to have been born to Tethys and Okeanos. First listed among these are a number of rivers, several of which end up in the Black Sea, such as the Istros (Danube), the Sangarios (Sakarya), the Parthenios and the Aldeskos.[397] Mention of these in the *Theogony*

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[394] See also Kirk 1962, p. 64. This *terminus ante quem* corresponds to West's remark (1966, p. 40) about the imitation of elements from the Hesiodic texts in this later group of poets. However, it cannot be established independently when the *Theogony* or elements thereof ceased to be part of a living oral tradition. Therefore, it is not certain whether similarities are references to or imitations of the *Theogony* as it is known now.

[395] See e.g. Bernal 1987b, Ruijgh 1998, Krebernik 2007, respectively.

[396] See Krebernik 2007, pp. 121-22 (with further references). This argument also appeared in West 1966, pp. 40-41. But because of the appearance of additional, older inscriptions after the publication of this study, his discussion requires updating.

[397] It is not known which rivers the Parthenios and the Aldeskos correspond to exactly. But the former flowed into the Black Sea between ancient Heraclea and Sinope (southern coast), and the latter north of

presupposes wider acquaintance with the region, which in turn presupposes contacts between people from the Aegean and from the Black Sea region. Archaeological evidence shows Aegean settlement in that area to have started only in the course of the seventh century.[398] This is not conclusive. It cannot be excluded that people from both regions knew each other somewhat before that already, and casual knowledge of names of rivers is transmitted easily. But a lack of pottery finds that antedate Greek settlements in the region caused Tsetskhladze to warn explicitly against being too optimistic regarding such earlier contacts.[399] Therefore, a small margin should be added at most, which provides another argument for considering it unlikely that the version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved came into existence before the second half of the eighth century.

On the basis of the data presented so far, the poem may be dated to the period ca. 750-650 BCE. Further precision can be gained by invoking linguistic criteria. By comparing features from the relevant texts, Janko obtained statistical data that allowed him to propose relative dates for the larger Homeric and Hesiodic poems.[400] But, as he noted, without more reliable information that can be used to establish absolute dates, this is only a partial solution. To overcome this issue, he attempted dating a sequence of specific linguistic developments. Janko thus arrived at a date of ca. 750 BCE for the *Iliad*, the oldest poem in his scheme, and one of ca. 670 BCE for the *Theogony*.[401] About a decade earlier, although without the detail and not referred to by Janko, Edwards through a similar method arrived at approximately the same date, i.e. the early seventh

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the Danube (western coast). On these rivers, see West 1966, pp. 259-63; on using them for dating the Theogony, West 1966, pp. 41-42.

[398] On the history of the Aegean colonisation of the coasts of the Black Sea, see e.g. Tsetskhladze 1998, Petropoulos 2003, Tsetskhladze 2009, Grammenos/Petropoulos 2003, 2007.

[399] Tsetskhladze 1998, pp. 10-15.

[400] Janko 1982, pp. 70-98. This study seems to overcome the reservations regarding the dating of the Homeric epics on linguistics grounds mentioned by Kirk (1960, pp. 201-5). He complained about the lack of precision in linguistic chronological terminology ('early', 'late'), and pointed to the problem of dating poetry from the oral tradition, as it incorporates elements from different stadia of development, and perhaps also post-Homeric elements. But Janko's application of a wide range of data seems to have met these objections, and thus justify his statistical approach.

[401] See specifically Janko 1982, pp. 93-94.

century.[402]

None of the arguments that have been produced in this discussion are rock-solid. Some are indeed somewhat tentative. Still, independently of each other, they all point in the same direction. It is therefore not too optimistic to assume the *Theogony* to have reached its current form somewhere between 750 and 650 BCE, with a preference for the second half of this period.

3.2 Contents: Appearance of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme in the *Theogony*

Having established the contents, authorship and date of the text, I shall move to an analysis of the poem. For convenience, I begin with a summary of the *Theogony* as a whole (section 3.2.1). Next follows a discussion of which figures in the text feature as the kings in heaven (3.2.2). Subsequently, a summary of the theme as it appears in the *Theogony* is presented (3.2.3). Finally, I shall analyse the structure of the theme, as well as some issues pertaining to Typhoeus, Metis and Gaia (3.2.4).

3.2.1 Summary of the 'Theogony'

The poem starts with a hymn to the Muses (lines 1-103), which includes an invocation (104-115). As the earliest beings, Χάος, Gaia, Tartaros[403] and Eros come into existence.

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[402] G.P. Edwards 1971, pp. 199-206.

[403] Whether or not Tartaros comes into existence here is open to question (see Clay 2003, pp. 15-16). On the one hand, it can be argued that Tartaros does not fit in with the others. Χάος and Gaia are the origins of all the deities, each producing their own line (see also the next section), while Eros is the force that incites procreation. Tartaros has no such role, and would therefore be out of place. This suggests that lines 116-120 should be translated as follows: 'In truth, first of all Chasm came to be, and then broad-breasted earth, the ever immovable seat of the immortals, who possess the peak of snowy Olympus [i.e. the Olympian gods] and murky Tartaros deep inside the earth with its broad ways [i.e. the Titans], and Eros,who is the most beautiful among the immortal gods' (thus in Most 2006, pp. 12-13). However, nowhere else in the *Theogony* is the birth of Tartaros mentioned. Nonetheless, he features twice, first as the prison of the Titans (lines 717-725), and later as one of the parents of Typhoeus, alongside Gaia (820-822). As the coming into existence of everything and everyone that occurs in the poem is mentioned at some point, the same should have happened to Tartaros. Only line 119 qualifies for this. Additionally, Eros never appears as an erotic force. In line 201, he is said to become an attribute of Aphrodite, who

This is followed by the births of Erebos and Nyx from Χάος, Aither and Hemera from Nyx, and Ouranos, the mountains and Pontos from Gaia. With Ouranos, Gaia also begets the twelve Titans, of whom Kronos is the youngest, the Cyclopes and the hundred-handers (116-153). These three groups are subsequently banished by Ouranos. On the instigation of Gaia, Kronos frees the Titans by attacking his father and castrating him. From the blood that drips on Gaia from his genitals, the Erinyes, the Giants and the Melian Nymphs are born. Aphrodite appears where the genitals have fallen in the sea (154-210).

Lists of births of deities follow. First are the offspring of Nyx and of her daughter Eris (211-232), after which come the children of Pontos. This last group includes Nereus, who fathers the Nereids, as well as Phorkys and Keto, who together spawn a series of monsters (233-336). The Titans Tethys and Okeanos then bring forth the Okeanids, while their sister Theia produces a line of celestial bodies and the winds (337-382). Two brief hymns follow, on the Okeanid Styx (383-403), and on Hekate, granddaughter of the Titans Phoebe and Coeus (404-452).

Kronos with his sister Rhea next sires Hestia, Demeter, Hera, Hades, Poseidon and Zeus. For fear of losing his kingship, he eats them, but Zeus is saved by a trick. After having grown up in hiding, he forces Kronos to release his siblings (453-506). The offspring of the Titan Iapetus is listed, among whom is Prometheus. This prompts the story of the latter's confrontation with Zeus to help humankind, part of which is the creation of the first woman (507-616).

Afterwards, the Titanomachy is related, i.e. the battle between the Titans and the children of Kronos led by Zeus. Only after Zeus has freed the hundred-handers to aid him, are the Titans overcome (617-720). They are imprisoned deep below Gaia, in

later does play this role a few times (lines 822, 962, 980, 1005, 1014; see also Hölscher 1953, pp. 397-98). Χάος, Gaia and Eros thus do not really feature as an ideal threesome. On the basis of these arguments, I prefer to consider Tartaros as indeed having been born here (with e.g. Gantz 1993, p. 3, West 1966, pp. 194-95, 1997, p. 277, Hard 2004, p. 23). This is not problematic syntactically, as the form used in line 119 ("Τάρταρά") is a neuter plural that can be either nominative or accusative. Also, the variant spellings 'Tartara' and 'Tartaros' do not imply that different things are being meant; the *Theogony* uses both forms indiscriminately ('Τάρταρα': lines 119 and 841; 'Τάρταρος': 681, 721, 723a, 725 and 868; see also LSJ, p. 1759, under 'Τάρτᾰρ-ος'). The translation of lines 116-120 then runs along the following lines: 'In truth, first of all Χάος came to be; and subsequently broad-breasted Gaia (...) and murky Tartaros (...) as well as Eros (...)'.

Tartaros, a description of which and its surroundings is given (721-819). Gaia and Tartaros then beget Typhoeus, an adversary of Zeus. He, too, is defeated after a difficult struggle (820-880).

Finally, the offspring of Zeus is enumerated (881-962). This would have included two children by Metis, but he devours the mother before she can give birth, to avoid that a god mightier than him will be born from her (886-900). Next a list of children born from goddesses who bedded mortal men follows (963-1018), after which the poem moves to the *Catalogue of Women* (1019-1022).

3.2.2 Kings in heaven

The 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme concerns the succession of divine rulers. However, it is clear from the summary above that there is much in the *Theogony* that is not connected to this subject. So which events in the poem pertain to the theme? The answer is: anything related to the acquiring and defending of divine kingship. But who are these kings?

For Zeus, the case is clear. His position is mentioned explicitly in lines 881-886, when the other gods urge him to become their ruler after their victory over the Titans. Kronos is not referred to as such. But he is called king of the immortals in lines 461-462, 476 and 486, and it is him who Zeus replaces after having defeated him and his siblings. This implies that Kronos was Zeus' predecessor on the throne.

Ouranos is not called a king explicitly anywhere in the *Theogony*, but the proceedings of the story imply that he did precede Kronos as such nonetheless. Kronos was the youngest of the Titans (lines 137-138), locked up within Gaia before his castration of Ouranos. Hence it is logical to assume that Kronos' position of dominance followed from that single act. And if it was at this point that he acquired divine kingship, he must have taken it from someone. This can only be Ouranos. Moreover, the idea that Ouranos had been king – or, if that is too formal, the 'predominant being' – can also be deduced from his power to imprison his offspring.

It may be thought that Ouranos in turn was preceded by Χάος, the first entity to come into being in the *Theogony*. But this is unlikely to be correct.[404] There is nothing that

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[404] See also e.g. Littleton 1970b, pp. 86-87, Feldman 1996, p. 18, West 1997, p. 283, Csapo 2005, pp. 74-

indicates that Χάος ever had any kind of rulership. As with Ouranos, it is not mentioned as such. But unlike Ouranos, Χάος did not have power over others, and there is nothing that Ouranos had to wrest from it to obtain his own position of dominance. Consequently, there is no reason to add Χάος to the line of divine kings.

This conclusion is confirmed by the lack of a direct link between Ouranos and Χάος. Whenever a figure is born in the *Theogony*, the mother and, when applicable, the father are named. The sole exceptions are Χάος, Gaia, Tartaros and Eros in lines 116-120. This suggests that each of them came into existence by themselves.[405] As Ouranos comes forth from his mother Gaia without the mention of a father, it follows that he has no genealogical connection with Χάος. This is unlike Kronos and Zeus, who each rebel against their fathers.

In fact, the line that issues from Χάος is not only separate, but also different from that of Gaia. Her descendants include all the 'regular' deities; those of Χάος are a list of abstractions, most of them with negative connotations.[406] Thus, after Χάος has brought forth Erebos and Nyx in line 123, Nyx first begets Aither and Hemera (line 124), and then in lines 211-225 spawns concepts such as Thanatos, Hypnos, the Keres and Eris. Eris subsequently begets a number of further sources of misery in lines 226-232, including Ponos, Limos and Phonoi.[407] This places Χάος in direct opposition to Gaia. Nonetheless, Χάος does not seem to have been conceived in the *Theogony* as being on equal footing with her. In the hymn to the Muses, the beginnings of the genealogy of the gods are referred to thrice: in line 20, a list of gods in reversed genealogical order ends with Gaia, Okeanos and Nyx; in line 45, it is said that Gaia and Ouranos gave birth to the gods; and in lines 106-107, Gaia, Ouranos, Nyx and Pontos are referred to in this role. The names differ; but what matters in the current context is that, while Gaia features among each, and Nyx is included twice, Χάος does not show up at all. By implication, Χάος was apparently not really considered to be the origin of any offspring.

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[405] See also Bussanich 1983, pp. 212-13. On the basis of a comparison with other theogonies, Fontenrose (1959, pp. 213, 223) suggested that Gaia and Eros were also born from Χάος; but this is not confirmed by the text.

[406] See also Hölscher 1953, p. 398, Mondi 1989, pp. 28-32, Most 2006, p. xxxi.

[407] The offspring of Nyx is further discussed in Gantz 1993, pp. 4-10, Hard 2004, 25-31.

A look at the nature of Χάος could help explain this issue. As scholars have argued, it is possible that the author of the *Theogony* realised that something must exist for the physical world to come into being. So when in line 116 Χάος is said to have come into being 'first of all', this can be interpreted as the creation of a kind of space in which subsequently the world and its surroundings can find a place.[408] Perhaps the connection between Χάος and Erebos, Nyx and their offspring was added to this idea as an afterthought. In that case, the apparent contradiction that Χάος does have descendants, but is treated as separate from them as well as from all the other deities, can be explained.

On the basis of these arguments, it is clear that Χάος in the *Theogony* belongs to a separate category. The list of divine kings I therefore restrict to Ouranos, Kronos and Zeus.

3.2.3 Summary of the theme

Given this, the events connected to the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* can be summarised as follows.

Gaia gives birth to Ouranos (lines 126-128), with whom she produces the Titans (132-138). Ouranos hides these inside Gaia, who incites the youngest Titan, Kronos, to attack his father. Provided with a special cutting tool by Gaia, he castrates and defeats Ouranos (154-182). Kronos subsequently begets six gods with Rhea. However, he eats them as soon as they appear, due to a prophecy by Gaia and Ouranos about Kronos'

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[408] See Bussanich 1983, Mondi 1989, pp. 36-41. How this 'space' was envisioned exactly in the poem is a moot point, which, however, is of no concern for the current study. Still, I may remark that the later references to Χάος in the *Theogony* (see lines 700 and 814) are not necessarily relevant in this context. Once having come into existence, Χάος could not just vanish after the entire physical world had appeared. So if it was introduced into the poem as an abstract concept at first, in the process of attributing it a place in the cosmos later on, it had to be transformed into a more concrete entity. It makes sense that this was located somewhere on the fringes, with little correspondence to its former state. Also, as the *Theogony* represents the first occurrence of Χάος in Greek, caution is required when using other Greek texts for help with its interpretation. The relevant authors may have been struggling to explain this concept as much as modern scholars (see also Hölscher 1953, pp. 399-400, West 1966, p. 193; it is thus for example questionable how much value for the *Theogony* the wide-ranging discussion has in Fontenrose 1959, pp. 218-39). For further discussion, see also Kirk et al. 1983, pp. 34-41, Podbielski 1986, Cordo 1989, pp. 13-74, Wacziarg 2001, Clay 2003, p. 15, Sorel 2006, pp. 15-63.

successor. Gaia and Ouranos then help Rhea save Zeus, the youngest one, by feeding Kronos a stone instead. Once full-grown, Zeus forces Kronos to vomit up his siblings (453-506). The Titanomachy ensues, which Zeus and his side win through the help of the hundred-handers, as advised by Gaia (617-720). Two challenges to Zeus' rule follow. First, Gaia and Tartaros bear Typhoeus, who is quickly defeated (820-868). Next, Zeus eats Metis after having impregnated her, as Gaia and Ouranos had prophesied that a male child born of him by her would eventually replace him on the throne (886-900).

3.2.4 Challenging the king

With a succession of three kings, the observation that the theme moves through three stages does not come as a surprise. But upon closer inspection of the sequence of events, these stages can additionally be seen to form a particular tripartite scheme, revolving around the theme of challenging and defending the kingship. Each king tries to stop a son from growing up to become a threat to him. Each king has to fight a challenger. And each king succeeds in this better than his predecessor.

Ouranos performs worst. He hides his children inside their mother, but they remain free to act, and one move by the youngest of them suffices to defeat him. Kronos instead opts for hiding his children inside himself. However, the youngest of them manages to escape this fate and grows up to fight his father. This time, it takes a battle of ten years to gain victory over the king. Finally, Zeus goes one step further again by eating the mother of his challenger-to-be, to make sure that he will not be born. When Zeus is faced with an adversary of different origin, i.e. Typhoeus, he slays him without much trouble. The scheme thus serves to emphasise the superiority of Zeus over his predecessors (see figure 3.1). Only he manages to deal decisively with the challenges posed to his rule.[409]

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[409] This can be seen in the context of the 'doublets' as described in Kelly 2007. This refers to two similar episodes of significantly different lengths being narrated one after another, to emphasise the importance of the longer story. The accounts of the reigns of Ouranos and Kronos would then form an 'increasing doublet', those of the reigns of Kronos and Zeus a 'decreasing doublet'. Kelly related decreasing doublets to the ending of poems, but cf. p. 118n381 on why it is problematic to locate the original ending of the *Theogony* through these means.

Divine king	*Solution to threat of children*	*Confrontation with a competitor*
Ouranos	Hides his children in their mother (lines 156-159)	Competitor defeats king by a single stroke (178-182)
Kronos	Hides his children in himself (459-462)	Competitor defeats king after a ten-year battle (492-496, 617-720)
Zeus	Eats the pregnant mother, so no children born (886-900)	King defeats competitor after a brief fight (836-868)

Figure 3.1: The tripartite scheme of the succession of divine kings particular to the 'Theogony'.

This scheme allows for a few further observations and interpretations. First, it confirms that the Typhoeus episode indeed belongs to the *Theogony*. Previously, scholars have argued that this section is just a double of the Titanomachy, an attempt to outdo the events narrated in that episode.[410] But as has become clear, without his battle with Typhoeus, Zeus would not have been able to show that he is able to defend his position against competitors.[411] The parallel with what happens to the other divine kings is not perfect, as Typhoeus is not a son of Zeus. But this is unavoidable, as Zeus solves the issue of the future birth of a stronger son by stopping him from appearing in the first place. Typhoeus hence cannot but have a different progeny. What is more striking, is that the order of events has been reversed. Instead of dealing with the birth of his son before meeting with his challenger, Zeus fights first and then devours Metis. There is no fully satisfying explanation for this. Possibly it is due to the fact that the episode with Metis belongs to the general enumeration of the offspring of Zeus. By recounting it later, it can function as a link to that section of the poem.

Second, the idea of the scheme sheds new light on the treatment of the birth of Athena in the poem. Her appearance out of the head of Zeus was a popular theme in Hellenic mythology.[412] But in the *Theogony*, although Athena is mentioned as the first of two children that Metis was about to give birth to when Zeus devoured her (the other one, a boy, would have been Zeus' challenger), the story of Athena's birth is not included when the swallowing of Metis by Zeus is narrated (lines 886-900). It does

[410] E.g. Kirk 1962, pp. 74-75, Solmsen 1982, pp. 11-12.

[411] Similarly, see Schwabl 1966, pp. 106-23, Hamilton 1989, pp. 26-29, Blaise 1992.

[412] Cassimatis 1984, Burkert 1985, p. 142, Carpenter 1991, p. 71, Gantz 1993, pp. 51-52, Hard 2004, pp. 77-78.

appear later, in lines 924-926, where Metis receives no mention, and Athena is referred to only with her surname Tritogeneia. This creates the impression that Metis did not produce any offspring at all, while Zeus alone managed to bring forth a powerful goddess. This plot device becomes significant when compared to how Ouranos and Kronos fared. Where they tried to curb their sons and failed, Zeus in his superior way eliminated the danger before it appeared. This effect would not have been achieved had the birth of Athena already been mentioned in lines 886-900.[413]

Finally, the above analysis of the scheme draws attention to the role of Gaia in the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme. She is a prominent character, involved as she is in every event in the *Theogony* that is related to a change of power. With Ouranos, she brings forth the Titans (lines 132-138). It is because of her urging that Kronos takes action against Ouranos (163-166). When Kronos eats his children, this is due to Gaia and Ouranos having told him that they would one day defeat him (463-465). Rhea's subsequent hiding of Zeus from Kronos is again suggested by Gaia and Ouranos (468-473). It is Gaia's prophecy that induces Zeus to seek the help of the hundred-handers in the battle against the Titans, without whom he could not have won (624-628). Typhoeus is the son of Gaia and Tartaros (820-822). And Zeus devours Metis because of another prediction by Gaia and Ouranos (891-893). Obviously, then, Gaia's role in the theme cannot be ignored. She is as much a protagonists as the three rulers of the gods.

This concludes the discussion of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony*. I have argued that it was composed using a particular tripartite scheme, in which each king succeeds increasingly well by avoiding challengers about to be born, and defending his kingship against them. We should now consider how this compares to stories from outside the Aegean.

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[413] Consequently, it makes no difference for the current study whether or not the birth of Athena in lines 924-929 had been part of the *Theogony* originally, or was added later on (cf. section 3.1.1, pp. 117-19). Either way, the fact remains that the story of her birth has been left out of the section on Metis, and is thus not part of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony*.

Chapter IV

The 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme in the *Song of Going Forth*, the *Theogony* and elsewhere

Now that it has been established how the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme appears in the *Theogony*, it can be investigated what texts from outside of the Aegean it may have been connected to. Consequently, in section 4.1, I present a detailed comparison of appearances of the theme in the *Theogony of Dunnu*, *Enūma Eliš* and the *Song of Going Forth*, highlighting the similarities, but also the differences between these texts. As will become clear, the similarities with the *Song of Going Forth* are by far the strongest. In fact, I will argue that only this text must be considered in research on possible external inspiration for the appearance of the theme in the preserved version of the *Theogony*. Section 4.2 expands further upon the comparison between the song and the *Theogony*. Placing these texts alongside each other will allow me to propose an explanation for the appearance of the tripartite scheme particular to the *Theogony* and the role of Gaia in the poem. Furthermore, I shall suggest that some kind of 'Titanomachy' featured in column four of the *Song of Going Forth*.

4.1 The theme across southwestern Asia and the eastern Mediterranean

The 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme occurs a number of times in texts from southwestern Asia and the eastern Mediterranean. In three of these, its appearance is sufficiently similar to the version from the *Theogony* to warrant a comparative discussion: the *Theogony of Dunnu*, *Enūma Eliš* and the *Song of Going Forth*. Below, I provide a brief introduction to and summary of each of these text, followed by a comparison with the *Theogony*. This kind of study has repeatedly been conducted before.[414] But in order to

[414] See e.g. Dornseiff 1937, Güterbock 1946, pp. 100-15, Duchemin 1952, Walcot 1966, Littleton 1970b,

demonstrate that only the *Song of Going Forth* comes into consideration when studying the origins of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony*, I have to discuss the issue at some length nevertheless.

Due to its numerous similarities with the Hesiodic *Theogony*, I might be expected to mention the theogony ascribed to the 'Phoenician' Sanchuniathon, too. However, as the following discussion will explain, due to its compositional background, I have not included it.

The text is known from the *Praeparatio Evangelica* by Eusebius of Caesarea. Although he lived in the late third/early fourth centuries CE, the relevant section is a quote from a text by Philo of Byblos, an author of the late first/early second centuries CE whose work is otherwise lost. Philo in turn claimed to have translated into Greek a historical account by one Sanchuniathon, who is supposed to have lived before the Trojan war, and himself made extensive use of the records of Taautos/Thoth, the inventor of writing.[415]

These claims have been evaluated in various ways. Before the twentieth century, Philo's account was considered a forgery, created in the Hellenistic Age or even later. But in the 1920s, the city of Ugarit was discovered on the Syrian coast. Finds made there included tablets containing mythological texts, which displayed similarities to what Philo had written. This reversed the general opinion, and the story came to be seen as representing an originally Syro-Palestinian theogony from the first half of the first millennium BCE. Its author, too, was reinstated, and the name 'Sanchuniathon' was recognised as possibly referring to a real 'Phoenician' name, 'Šakkūnyātōn', 'Šakkun has given'.[416]

If these ideas were correct, the text would be of considerable interest for the *Theogony*. However, significant modifications followed in the sixties and seventies. A detailed analysis of the text, as well as comparisons with similar texts from other regions and philosophical and philological currents from the Hellenistic Age, suggested against emphasising the Syro-Palestinian origins of the text. Consequently, the current

Puhvel 1987, pp. 21-32, West 1997, pp. 278-92, Woodard 2007, pp. 92-104.

[415] Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 1.9.20-1.10. Philo of Byblos has been filed under FGrH 790; for discussions and translations of the text, see Attridge/Oden 1981, Baumgarten 1981).

[416] West 1994a, p. 294n20, with further references.

view is that Philo's text is a mixture of elements, including a variety of both Syro-Palestinian and Aegean traditions. These are presented in euhemeristic fashion, and were put together as such in the Hellenistic Age at the earliest.[417]

Consequently, it is impossible to gauge what meaning should be attached to the aforementioned similarities of this text with the *Theogony*. Although the relevant elements in both cases may go back to Syro-Palestinian traditions, Philo, or whichever author he relied on, may equally well have modelled his account after the *Theogony*, borrowing heavily from it.[418] Philo's account therefore I will not consider in the following comparison.

4.1.1 'Theogony of Dunnu'

The *Theogony of Dunnu* is a Babylonian text from, probably, the early second millennium BCE. The surviving fragment, itself dating to the middle of the first millennium BCE, provides less than half the story, but at least its beginning survives. Considering its main characters, the subject of the text may have been the origins of agriculture. However, what remains mostly talks about incest and parricide. A relation to a New Year festival has been suggested, but without further evidence, this remains conjectural.[419]

The story runs as follows. In the beginning, the plough-god marries the earth-goddess. By ploughing they create the sea-goddess, while the furrows give birth to the cattle-god. Together they build the city of Dunnu (or: Dunnu-Sâtu). The earth-goddess then marries her son the cattle-god (or: the farmer-god), who kills the plough-god and becomes king. The plough-god, like everyone who will be killed after him, is laid to rest in Dunnu. Subsequently, the cattle-god marries his sister the sea-goddess, but in turn is slain and succeeded by his son Ewe (the flocks-god?). Ewe next marries the sea-goddess, his mother, who kills her own mother, the earth-goddess. A son of theirs

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[417] For the history of scholarly research, see Barr 1974/1975, Ebach 1979, pp. 1-21, Baumgarten 1981, pp. 1-7, Bonnet 2010. On Sanchuniathon, Philo and the composition of the text, see additionally M.J. Edwards 1991, West 1994a, pp. 293-302, 1997, pp. 283-86.

[418] See also West 1997, pp. 284-85.

[419] See Jacobsen 1984, Dalley 2000, pp. 278-81, Stol n.d. (with further references). The *Theogony of Dunnu* does not always feature in comparisons such as the current one. Perhaps this is because it is a lesser known text, which was first published and discussed only in 1965 (see Lambert/Walcot 1965).

marries the river-goddess, his sister, and together they kill Ewe and the sea-goddess, their parents. The text now becomes fragmentary. Someone (son of Ewe?) marries his sister U-a-a-am (the barley-goddess?). The river-goddess is killed, after which someone takes up kingship and marries his sister Ningeština (a vegetation goddess). U-a-a-am is killed. Again, someone becomes king and marries his sister. In the last lines that can be read, kingship is taken from a father, who for once is not killed, but captured alive. There may be a reference to the New Year.

The *Theogony of Dunnu* provides only superficial similarities to the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony*.[420] Both texts describe a series of divine rulers, each of whom violently disposes of his predecessor, who is always his father. Both texts abound in incestuous relationships. And both texts feature the earth-goddess in the first generation of the gods, giving birth to a sea-deity (Pontos in the *Theogony*).

But there the similarities between both texts end. The *Theogony of Dunnu* dryly lists who kills and marries whom in what order. Why and how these things happen is not mentioned. But in the theme as it appears in the *Theogony*, whatever happens is usually told in considerable detail. And apart from Typhoeus, none of its protagonists are killed. In fact, in the entire poem, in addition to that of Typhoeus, only the deaths of a few monsters and of Geryoneus (lines 979-983) are reported. Also striking are the repeated references in the *Theogony of Dunnu* to killed gods being laid to rest in Dunnu, which find no parallel in the *Theogony*.

The correspondences thus do not go beyond the bare structure of a violent succession of rulers and generations. Additionally, the *Theogony of Dunnu* cannot be used to explain the peculiarities of the variant of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme of the *Theogony* that become apparent when it is positioned in its contemporary context (see chapter five). Especially noteworthy is the absence of a sky-god which may have led to the inclusion of the figure of Ouranos in the *Theogony*. Furthermore, none of the narrative sections or details of the theme as it appears in the *Theogony* can have been inspired by the *Theogony of Dunnu*. Thus, if the texts were connected, this was indirectly at best. Perhaps both texts tapped into the same tradition at different

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[420] See also Lambert/Walcot 1965, pp. 68-72, Walcot 1966, pp. 41-42, Littleton 1970b, 112-15, Jacobsen 1984, pp. 17-20, 26, Woodard 2007, pp. 101-2, Stol n.d.

moments. If so, the other Babylonian text, *Enūma Eliš*, might shed more light on this.

4.1.2 'Enūma Eliš'

The dating of *Enūma Eliš* is a complicated matter. The text survives in copies from the first half of the first millennium BCE, but is generally thought to have been created at the end of the second, while it also contains materials that seem to go back to the start of that millennium.[421] It totals nearly 1,100 lines, which cover seven tablets. The story is essentially a hymn to Marduk, the supreme god of Babylon.[422] Starting from the creation of the world, it recounts how he became king of the gods, and how his order was established in the universe. According to a description of the proceedings of the Babylonian New Year festival, the text was recited at the end of its fourth day.[423]

When the story begins, only Apsû and Tiāmat exist, the sweet and the salt waters. Within them, they create the gods. Mentioned are Laḫmu and Laḫamu, the parents of Anšar and Kišar, who give birth to Anu, the father of Nudimmud (Ea). The noise the new gods make disturbs Apsû so much that, together with his councillor Mummu, he plans to kill them. After finding out about this, Ea puts Apsû to sleep, kills him, and captures Mummu. He then takes the crown from Apsû and uses his body as his own dwelling. There, together with Damkina, Ea begets Marduk.

Marduk's playing with the winds subsequently unsettles Tiāmat and her allies, who also still need to avenge the death of Apsû. They therefore create twelve monsters to fight the gods. Their leader is Qingu, who is given the Tablet of Destinies and 'the power of Anuship'. When the attack is reported to Ea, he discusses it with Anšar. He agrees to confront Tiāmat, but soon returns when he realises that he will not be able to defeat her. Anšar subsequently urges Anu to go, but he, too, turns back even before he

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[421] See Lambert 1984, pp. 4-6, Dalley 2000, pp. 228-31, Seri 2006, p. 508; see also the discussion in section 2.2.3 (p. 74).

[422] Although Marduk among other things has the characteristics of a storm-god in *Enūma Eliš*, it is unlikely that he was one originally. It rather seems that he started out as a god associated with agriculture, and canals specifically, who was identified with other gods and gained their qualities as he rose in the Babylonian pantheon (Schwemer 2008b, pp. 127-28).

[423] See Thureau-Dangin 1921, p. 136, lines 279-284. For an edition of *Enūma Eliš*, see Talon 2005. Translations and discussion can be found in e.g. B.R. Foster 1993, pp. 351-402, Dalley 2000, pp. 228-77, Lambert 2008, pp. 37-59.

has reached her. Then Marduk on the advice of Ea turns to Anšar. He offers to try to defeat Tiāmat, on the condition that he will become king of the universe if he succeeds. The gods, including Laḫmu and Laḫamu, convene and accept his offer.

Marduk gathers his weapons and tools and confronts Tiāmat. He defeats her using the winds and an arrow, after which he captures her allies and the monsters with his net. Qingu he catches as well, and takes the Tablet of Destinies from him. Next, he creates the heavens from one half of the body of Tiāmat. He arranges the stars and the constellations, and organises the months and the year. From the other half he creates the earth, with the mountains and waters.

Upon his return to the assembly of the gods, Marduk is honoured and made their king. He ascends the throne, and decrees the creation of Babylon, his special city. Additionally, he decides that humankind should be created. This is done by Ea from the body of Qingu. Marduk assigns the gods their positions, who in gratitude build Babylon and Marduk's temple, Esagil. Shrines are constructed for all the gods, and during a service in Esagil, the new regulations and the kingship of Marduk are confirmed. Two hundred lines follow, which feature an enumeration of the fifty names of Marduk with the functions that he has under each one of them, and a brief epilogue.

The similarities between *Enūma Eliš* and the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* are considerable.[424] In both cases there are personified geophysical entities among the earliest beings. Both Apsû and Ouranos dislike their children, who are or end up inside both or one of their parents. They are also both defeated by the more daring one of their children, i.e. Ea and Kronos, both of whom have the personified sky as their father (Anu and Ouranos). Similar to the opposition between the Olympian gods and the Titans, there are Tiāmat and her allies versus the other gods in *Enūma Eliš*. After their battles, both Marduk and Zeus are proclaimed king by the other gods.

However, differences, too, should be noted. In *Enūma Eliš*, the younger gods are born inside both Tiāmat and Apsû, and it is their behaviour that angers Apsû. Ouranos hides his children inside Gaia because he hates them already at birth. Ea and Kronos

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[424] See also Cornford 1950, pp. 104-15, Walcot 1966, pp. 32-49, West 1966, pp. 22-24, Littleton 1970b, pp. 109-15, West 1997, pp. 280-83, Woodard 2007, pp. 98-101, Raaflaub 2008, pp. 49-51.

defeat Apsû and Ouranos in different ways, and only Kronos fights his father, the personified sky.[425] Finally, the two groups of gods do not confront each other as such in *Enūma Eliš*. Marduk defeats Tiāmat on his own and then captures her allies without a fight, while Zeus fights alongside the Olympian gods and needs the hundred-handers to be able to defeat the Titans.

Additionally, Gaia is no Tiāmat. While the former functions mainly as an advisor, the latter actively opposes the other gods and creates a series of monsters. Gaia creates Typhoeus, but he does not compare well to Qingu. He seems more similar to Tiāmat, while his association with the winds would rather align him with Marduk.

Furthermore, it is not clear in *Enūma Eliš* who is king at which point. Ea takes the crown from Apsû, but Qingu has the Tablet of Destinies. He also has 'the power of Anuship'. This makes sense in the context of Mesopotamian mythology, as Anu, although not a king, was generally considered to be one of the most important deities.[426] But it fits oddly in the context of this story, as Anu nowhere obtains a position of command. Moreover, even among his group of gods, it is not Ea but Anšar who decides on the fight with Tiāmat, It is Anšar, too, for whom Marduk later on is said to have established his victory over Tiāmat. Finally, in order to decide on Marduk's request for kingship in exchange for his defeat of Tiāmat, Laḫmu and Laḫamu have to be consulted. Thus, until Marduk is given supreme power, it is uncertain who ruled over what. There also clearly was no succession from father to son, causing the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme to emerge less clearly than in the *Theogony*.

These differences do not outweigh the similarities noted above, which are too many and too specific to ignore. However, for reasons that will become clear in the course of the next section, the significance of these similarities cannot be properly evaluated without also taking into consideration the *Song of Going Forth*. Therefore, the comparison of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* with the version from the song will be dealt with first.

[425] Littleton 1970b, pp. 110-11, equates Kronos' castration of Ouranos to Ea's seizing of the crown from Apsû, but this is contrived. There is no reference to Apsû's genitals or manhood, and Ea may have just taken the crown, instead of cutting it off.
[426] Joannès 2001a.

4.1.3 'Song of Going Forth'

The *Song of Going Forth*, a Hittite text that has been dated to the thirteenth century BCE, was discussed extensively in chapter two. For the sake of convenience, below, I repeat the summary of the reconstruction of its contents as proposed in that chapter.

After an appeal to the primeval gods to listen, it is recounted how Alalu is king in heaven for nine years. Then his cupbearer Anu rises against him and replaces him, while Alalu flees to the earth. Nine years pass, until Anu in turn is defeated by his own cupbearer, Kumarbi. When Anu tries to flee to the sky, Kumarbi grabs him and bites off his genitals. This causes him to become impregnated with the storm-god, the Aranzaḫ River, Tašmišu and two other deities. Broken lines prevent a full understanding of what follows, but Kumarbi trying to spit out the sperm, Mount Kanzura, and a voyage to Nippur are mentioned. A long gap follows.

Next, the storm-god, Ea and Anu discuss where the storm-god should leave Kumarbi's body and, possibly, how he will acquire his powers, allies and attributes. He is then born by breaking through Kumarbi's skull. Terrified, the latter plans to eat him, but he is fooled by Ea, who feeds him a stone instead. When he starts chewing on this, he spits it out in pain. Subsequently, the stone becomes an object of cult and rituals are carried out. Kumarbi's skull is repaired, but immediately afterwards, the Aranzaḫ River and at least one other deity are born. It remains unclear how this happens, and why Mount Kanzura and Anu are mentioned in this context.

After another sizeable gap, there is a conversation between Ea and Anu, and possibly others. They discuss who should be king in heaven now that Kumarbi's position is threatened by the storm-god. No final conclusion is reached, which angers the storm-god so much that he curses the other gods, especially Ea. His bull Šeri(šu) advises against this, but to no avail: after a considerable gap, Ea is told about the curse. He responds furiously, and warns of the consequences.

What happens next is lost in a long gap, which is followed by a fragmentary section. A wagon is mentioned, as well as the pregnancy of the earth-goddess. She seeks advice from Ea in Apsû, after which the months are counted and two sons are born. A messenger is sent with the news, but it is unclear who sent him and where he goes. Reference is made to Ea and a king, and in the final lines, someone receives gifts. The tablet ends with the colophon.

The similarities between the *Song of Going Forth* and the *Theogony* cover nearly every aspect of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme.[427] Both texts feature a clear succession of divine kings. In both, deities that are called 'heaven' – Anu, Ouranos – feature as an early ruler. These deities are both times castrated by their successors, i.e. Kumarbi and Kronos. These successors at some point carry their children inside them. They both intend to eat at least one of their children, and in the case of the storm-god and Zeus, their own eventual successors, they are fed a rock instead. This subsequently becomes an object of worship.

Two more possible similarities may be mentioned. In both texts, the earth-goddess begets offspring in a late stage of the story. But as for *Song of Going Forth*, as long as its second tablet is missing, whether this concerns an opponent of the storm-god, similar to Typhoeus in the *Theogony*, remains uncertain. The incompleteness of the text also means that it is unclear when and how the storm-god gained kingship in the song, although it follows from his position of supremacy in the contemporary Hittite pantheon that this must have happened at some point.

There are differences as well. The *Song of Going Forth* features four divine kings, instead of the three of the *Theogony*. The succession of these four additionally does not run directly from father to son. Anu is castrated by Kumarbi with his teeth, Ouranos by Kronos with a sickle. Kumarbi does not eat his children; they are inside him through Anu's sperm. That is also the only time that full-grown deities are inside another deity in the *Song of Going Forth*, while this happens three times in the *Theogony*, to Ouranos, Kronos and Zeus. Furthermore, the song in its surviving sections does not feature a major battle between groups of gods, such as that between the Titans and the Olympian gods.

The similarities between both the *Song of Going Forth* and the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* far exceed their differences. They are also considerably stronger than they were in the case of *Enūma Eliš*. In fact, all the similarities that were noted in the latter text are covered by the *Song of Going Forth* as well. As I will suggest in section 4.2.3 (pp. 151-53), this may even include the element of two groups of gods fighting each other. Whether the storm-god in the song, too, was declared king by his allies, as happens to Marduk and Zeus in *Enūma Eliš* and the

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[427] For references to earlier studies on this subject, see section 2.1.1 (pp. 43-45).

Theogony, cannot be reconstructed. But something similar might well have taken place, and it is in any case a minor element of the theme.

There are thus also considerable similarities between the *Song of Going Forth* and *Enūma Eliš*. That is not surprising. The song contains many Mesopotamian elements, which suggests that it was at least partly connected to a Mesopotamian tradition of stories featuring the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme.[428] Additionally, one could point to the motif of the victory of the king of the gods over the sea, which plays an important role in *Enūma Eliš* (Marduk versus Tiāmat), as well as in the *Song of Ḫedammu* and, probably, the *Song of the Sea*, two other texts belonging to the Hittite 'Kingship in Heaven-cycle'. However, there are also significant differences. For example, in *Enūma Eliš*, there is no clear succession of kings before Marduk ascends the throne, there is no castration story, no swallowing of gods (they are already born inside Tiāmat and Apsû), and no mention of a stone. And in what remains of the *Song of Going Forth*, the sea does not play any role. It thus seems that the stories told in *Enūma Eliš* and in the *Song of Going Forth* represent separate strands of a shared tradition.

So when studying the possible origins of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme in the *Theogony*, should both strands of this tradition be taken into consideration, or would it suffice to take just one? As indicated, the similarities of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* with the *Song of Going Forth* are both closer and more numerous than with *Enūma Eliš*, and cover every aspect. It might be telling in this context that sea-deities play only minor roles in the *Theogony*. I will also argue below that some important compositional choices in the *Theogony* can be better understood with reference to the *Song of Going Forth*. Furthermore, it is conceivable how the story of the song may have been known in the Aegean in the period of composition of the preserved version of the *Theogony* (see chapters seven and eight). Therefore, it is my contention that the strand of tradition to which *Enūma Eliš* belonged does not need to be included in the present study. Significant as the similarities of that text with the *Theogony* are, those of the *Song of Going Forth* far exceed them in all respects. This

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[428] For comparisons of the *Song of Going Forth* with *Enūma Eliš*, see e.g. Güterbock 1946, pp. 105-10, Littleton 1970b, pp. 93-97, 109-12, 115-21.

alone can account for the appearance of the theme in the Hesiodic poem in the form that it has there.

4.2 Beyond the comparison: Analysing the *Theogony* through the *Song of Going Forth* and vice versa

Arguing that the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* is very similar to the *Song of Going Forth* does not prove a historical link. This I will discuss in subsequent chapters. But first, I will pursue the philological argument further. As the composer of the preserved version of the *Theogony* is likely to have adapted the theme according to the needs of his poem, the similarities and differences with the *Song of Going Forth* might help to explain some of the compositional choices. Therefore, I shall investigate how the creation of the tripartite scheme particular to the *Theogony* may have taken place (section 4.2.1), and why Gaia features as she does in the story (4.2.2). In turn, information from the *Theogony* might help to reconstruct what happened in those parts of the *Song of Going Forth* now lost. Although risky, I shall try, in section 4.2.3, to suggest the original content of column four of the song. Possibly, some kind of 'Titanomachy' was recounted there.

With respect to the creation of the tripartite scheme particular to the *Theogony* and the role of Gaia in the poem, it can never be proven that things indeed went as I will suggest below. But providing definitive conclusions is not the point of these sections. Given the differences between the appearances of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme in each text, there may be scepticism about the closeness of the connection between them. By showing how the composition of the *Theogony* could have taken place in relation to the *Song of Going Forth*, I hope to be able to make the idea of the historical reality of such a connection more imaginable and thus more acceptable.

Before continuing, one particularly striking difference between the *Song of Going Forth* and the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* needs to be discussed. While the song has four deities succeed each other as kings in heaven, the *Theogony* features only three.[429] Due to their roles in the respective stories, Anu and

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[429] On not including Χάος in the list of divine kings from the *Theogony*, see section 3.2.2 (pp. 129-30).

Ouranos, Kumarbi and Kronos, the storm-god and Zeus can easily be connected to each other. Alalu, the first divine ruler according to the song, is the exception. However, this is true of his role in the Hittite text too. As discussed in section 2.2.2 (pp. 65-66), he may have been added to the story as a double of Anu, to function as a link between the primeval gods and the succession of divine kings. Alalu may therefore not have been a fixed element in the tradition, featuring in every version of the story. There was no need for him in the *Theogony* either. This might explain the difference between the lists of divine kings of both texts.

4.2.1 The creation of the tripartite scheme particular to the 'Theogony'

The particular tripartite scheme of the *Theogony* was discussed in section 3.2.4 (pp. 131-33). In short, the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme is presented through a recurrent pattern, in which each king tries to prevent a son from becoming a threat by hiding him in someone, must fight a successor, and in which each king succeeds in this better than his predecessor.

Although the core of this is present in the *Song of Going Forth*, it appears differently there (see also section 4.1.3, p. 142). As Anu is not related to either Alalu or Kumarbi, the succession of kings in the song does not always run from father to son, as is the case in the *Theogony*. Anu is castrated by Kumarbi with his teeth, Ouranos by Kronos with a sickle. Unlike Kronos, Kumarbi does not eat his children; they are inside him through Anu's sperm, which Kumarbi got inside by swallowing Anu's genitals. And finally, in the *Song of Going Forth*, full-grown deities are inside another deity only once, unlike the three times of the *Theogony*.

This comparison can be used to gain insight into the compositional process of the *Theogony*. As Kumarbi is the father of the storm-god, his equivalent in the Aegean had to be Kronos, the father of Zeus. Subsequently, the composer combined the elements of Kumarbi having children inside him and eating children into Kronos having children inside him *because* of having eaten them. This considerably streamlines the story; although the possibility might also be suggested that the change was motivated by the desire not to have to let Kronos swallow someone's genitals, if such a narrative element was considered inappropriate in the Aegean.[430] One way or another, the element

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[430] On the occurrence of the castration motif in the *Theogony*, see also section 5.2.2 (pp. 172-73).

of the use of a stone to prevent the eventual successor to the throne from being eaten as well, was retained.

In order to be able to demonstrate the difference between the three kings in heaven, these events were copied to Ouranos and Zeus. As the predecessor to Kronos, Ouranos was made to hide his children inside Gaia, their mother. In the story this turns out to be most ineffective: Gaia sets their children against Ouranos, and he is easily defeated by Kronos. The castration motif was retained for this. Subsequently, for Zeus to be able to show his superiority, the author decided not to have him eat his children, but Metis, the mother of his children, which prevents them being born. A monster had to be added for him to be able to demonstrate his prowess in battle as a ruler. This became Typhoeus.[431]

Finally, the birth out of the heads of their fathers of both ᴰKA.ZAL in the *Song of Going Forth* and Athena in the *Theogony* can be discussed. Considering the popularity of the story of Athena's birth in the Aegean (see section 3.2.4, pp. 132-33), it is possible that this motif had long been known there already, and was included in the *Theogony* because of this popularity. However, it seems illogical to assume on the one hand that the *Song of Going Forth* and the *Theogony* were connected historically, as is done in this study, but on the other that the two appearances of this striking birth story had independent origins. A more plausible proposal might be that the composer of the *Theogony* wanted to retain this rather spectacular narrative element, but to be able to do so had to transfer it to Athena because there was no place in the birth stories of Kronos and Zeus. Its widespread popularity in the Aegean in that case may have been the result of the memorable character of the motif.

4.2.2 Gaia as a combination of the earth-goddess and Ea

It is not easy to explain for the role that Gaia plays in the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony*. I argued in section 3.2.4 (p. 133) that she is involved in every event of the theme related to a change of power. However, in the extended Aegean of the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, the period of composition of the

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[431] The Typhoeus story has often been said to have been inspired by southwestern Asian traditions, with special emphasis on Syria and the Hittite (but with a Hurrian background) figure of Ullikummi. See e.g. Bonnet 1987, West 1997, pp. 300-304, Haider 2005, Lane Fox 2008, pp. 295-318. On the choice for Gaia as the mother of Typhoeus, see below.

version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved, Gaia was a minor deity, who would not have been expected to play this kind of role in a mythological text. This position I will discuss first. An attempt to explain for the resulting discrepancy follows after.

However, before continuing with that, two notes should be added, which apply both to the discussion of Gaia and to part of the subsequent chapter. First, 'contemporary' in the case of the *Theogony* is a tricky issue. Ideally, only the period in which the poem was composed should be taken into consideration, i.e. the eighth and seventh centuries BCE. Any later evidence is suspect, as it may represent subsequent developments, which may have been influenced by the appearance of the theme in the poem. However, data for the eighth and seventh centuries is scarce, and is therefore unlikely to be representative of the totality of ideas, stories and beliefs that were in existence. For that reason, 'contemporary' will have to be extended in order to take into account – albeit with caution – material from the sixth and early fifth centuries.

Second, as for examining how the appearances of Gaia and of other deities, concepts and narrative details of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* fit their contemporary context: I shall do this by studying for each relevant cultural element how it appears otherwise in Aegean cult, ritual, myth and art, and how this compares to its position in the *Theogony*. I thus try to stay away from the discussion about the relation between myth and ritual.[432] Rather, my idea is that everything associated with a specific cultural element will display coherence to a significant degree, connected as it is to a set of central characteristics of the relevant element.

In the period under consideration, such a set may still have differed noticeably from one area to another, as diversity within the extended Aegean was considerable. But it is unlikely that this variety of ideas and practices disappeared completely in the course of syncretic and other developments that followed the period of composition of the version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved. Of much of it, some echo will have remained. Consequently, when discrepancies are found between an element from the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* and what can be reconstructed otherwise for the contemporary extended Aegean regarding that element; and when this concerns not a single case, in which case our lack of further knowledge could be attributable to chance, but a sizeable collection of significant elements of the

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[432] See e.g. in Bremmer 2004, Graf 2004.

theme; then that would suggest – or at least not exclude the idea – that the appearance of those elements in the *Theogony* was relatively new to its contemporary context. This would thus allow for the possibility these elements were taken over recently from a non-Aegean context (see also section 1.3.1, pp. 31-32).

With this in mind, let us now turn to Gaia. Scholars in the age of romanticism reconstructed this deity as having originated in a 'Mother Earth' figure that was broadly venerated already in prehistoric times. This can now possibly be connected to the writing *ma-ka*, found recently in Linear B texts from Thebes, which was read by some as 'Μᾶ Γᾶ', 'for Mother Earth'. However, in the Homeric and Hesiodic texts, Gaia appears only in the *Theogony*, and even there she is never called a 'mother'. So even if she had been venerated as a 'Mother Earth' figure in the Aegean before, this does not seem to have survived Mycenaean times. Instead, Gaia's appearance as a 'Mother Earth' figure later in Hellenic history is to be attributed to identification with other goddesses from the sixth century onwards. Later identification with other deities also explains her appearances in other roles, such as that of 'Ge Kourotrophos' ('who feeds the children').[433]

Nonetheless, the veneration of Gaia was fairly widespread. Temples for her existed in Athens, Delphi, Olympia and elsewhere. But everywhere she remained marginal, mostly appearing as a minor character in cult; very few votive offerings in her honour have been found.[434] Pindar once refers to games for Gaia, but he does not mention where these took place, and they have not been attested otherwise.[435] Gaia's main association was as a bearer of fertility, but little is known about how she was celebrated in that role.[436]

Although related to cult, references to Gaia in oaths and curses are only attested

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[433] For the romantic concept, see Dieterich 1905. On the Linear B writing: Ruijgh 2004 (see p. 3 for alternative interpretations). Contra: Pettersson 1967, as well as Nilsson 1967, pp. 456-61, Graf 1998, p. 734, Georgoudi 2002. On Gaia as one of the 'kourotrophos' deities, see Hadzisteliou Price 1978, pp. 1-13.

[434] Nilsson 1967, p. 458, knew of only one example. Graf 1985, p. 360, also pointed at the low price that the priesthood for Gaia cost in Erythrai.

[435] *Pythian Ode* 9.97-103; see also Nilsson 1967, p. 458.

[436] Also argued in Georgoudi 2002. In general on Gaia, see additionally Eitrem 1910, Fauth 1968.

in literary texts.[437] She once features in a cursing inscription, on a grave in Phrygia from the third century CE. But as this is her sole appearance in this role, without further finds, it cannot be taken to have implications for a reconstruction of cursing practices in the period of the composition of the version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved.[438] Gaia's position as a prophetic deity can be characterised similarly. Several ancient authors mention Gaia as an earlier proprietor of the oracle of Delphi.[439] However, Sourvinou-Inwood argued that this idea belongs to a mythological complex that was developed in Delphi probably not before the late sixth or fifth century BCE.[440] More tangible are the references by Pliny the Elder and Pausanias to a Gaia oracle in Aigeira, on the southern coast of the Gulf of Corinth, opposite Delphi.[441] However, it is unknown how old this was, and no evidence for it has been found at the site.

Apart from her role in the *Theogony*, Gaia's role in mythology is limited. She is related to some births, most notably that of the Athenian king Erichthonios, and plays a part in the Gigantomachy, where she incites the Giants to rebel against Zeus.

This is reflected in the visual arts. There, she appears rarely, and not before the late sixth century BCE. Depictions refer mostly to these myths and seldom to cult. No references to her position as known from the *Theogony* exist.[442]

There is thus a discrepancy between Gaia's role in the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the preserved version of the *Theogony*, and in the contemporary extended Aegean. This suggests that her appearance in the theme may have been inspired by a tradition that originated outside the region. In the context of the current study, one might now expect a reference to the *Song of Going Forth* to solve this issue. But that would not do. In the *Theogony*, Gaia is an advisor and instigator, who is indirectly involved in every event that concerns the tripartite scheme, and herself brings forth Typhoeus. In the *Song of Going Forth*, the earth-goddess only appears to give birth to

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[437] E.g. *Iliad* 3.276-280, 15.36-40, 19.258-260, *Odyssey* 5.184-187, *Homeric Hymn* 3.84-86, 3.334-336 (to Apollo).

[438] See Türktüzün/Wörrle 1994, Graf 1998, p. 734.

[439] Listed in West 1985b, p. 174n1.

[440] Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, pp. 227-43.

[441] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 28.41(147), Pausanias 7.25.13; see also West 1985b, p. 174.

[442] Moore 1988, Gantz 1993, pp. 10-12, Hard 2004, pp. 31-32.

two children at the end of column four. The preceding and succeeding sections of the story are lost, so the exact importance of her role cannot be gauged. But it is clear that she does not appear until later in the story, while there is nothing that points to her having been more than a minor character.

No easy solution for the issue of the position of Gaia in the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* is available through other texts from the eastern Mediterranean and southwestern Asia either. Nowhere does the earth-goddess feature in this kind of role. As was mentioned above, Gaia's position also cannot be explained by referring to her possible role as a 'Mother Earth' figure in the Late Bronze Age. Consequently, it is justified to see what a more detailed examination of the relationship between the roles of the earth-goddess in the *Song of Going Forth* and Gaia in the *Theogony* might bring.

A first step is to examine the one similarity between both goddesses. Just as Typhoeus turns out to be another opponent to Zeus, so the children of the earth-goddess will probably grow up to become challengers of the storm-god.[443] Gaia's motherhood of Typhoeus was not part of a fixed tradition. In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, it is Hera who creates Typhoeus on her own.[444] Also, as Gantz and Hard observed, it remains unexplained why Gaia, who until this point had been supporting Zeus, should now suddenly turn against him.[445] Therefore, it may be assumed that, when the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme reached the Aegean and local equivalents had to be found for the protagonists of the story, the choice for Gaia as the mother of Typhoeus was inspired by the section featuring the earth-goddess in the variant of the theme of the *Song of Going Forth*.

A parallel for Gaia's role in the theme in general, too, can be found in the *Song of Going Forth*, in the figure of Ea. Like Gaia, Ea works behinds the scenes rather than centre stage, but in that way is directly involved nonetheless in events relating to the heavenly throne. There is no similar figure available in Aegean mythology. So perhaps, when the theme reached the Aegean, after it was decided to let Gaia take the role of the earth-goddess, for want of other options she was chosen to fulfil the part of Ea, too. An

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[443] See the discussion in section 2.2.7 (pp. 101-2).

[444] *Homeric Hymn* 3.305-354.

[445] Gantz 1993, pp. 48-49, Hard 2004, p. 84.

incentive for this decision may have been Ea's involvement in the birth of the children of the earth-goddess. Although it is unclear what he does there exactly, at least it relates him to this goddess, and thence to Gaia.

Admittedly, this last reconstruction is contrived; why would not some other deity be chosen to play Ea's part? A more convincing alternative could be offered if the proposal of section 8.4 (pp. 242-44) is correct, i.e. that the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme was transmitted to the extended Aegean from the Neo-Hittites via the Phrygians, who in turn took it over for the purpose of kingship legitimisation rituals. In Phrygian religion, an important position was taken up by the mother-goddess, the 'Kubeleyan'.[446] If the Phrygians like the Hellenes had no Ea-figure in their mythology, it makes sense that they adapted the Neo-Hittite story accordingly, changing one of its protagonists from a deity that played no role in their pantheon (Ea) into one of their most important ones (the mother-goddess). This is also likely considering the connection that existed between the cult of the mother-goddess and the Phrygian king.[447] In this scenario, when the theme reached the Aegean, a female goddess already played a large part in it. The choice to give this role to Gaia in that case is not hard to imagine.

4.2.3 A 'Titanomachy' in column four of the 'Song of Going Forth'?

I discussed the gap at the beginning of column four of the *Song of Going Forth* in section 2.2.7 (p. 100). As mentioned there, it is impossible to reconstruct on the basis of the rest of the text what happened there. Ea's speech which appears at the end of column three must have finished, and the events leading up to the pregnancy of the earth-goddess are likely to have been told; but on their own, these sections can hardly account for the circa fifty lines that are missing. With the help of the *Theogony*, and references to other Hittite texts, a hypothesis may be ventured for what else could have happened.

Although fragment 4 (KBo 32.13) of the *Song of Release* shows that the primeval gods in this period were considered to reside in the netherworld, no text has survived that recounts how they got there.[448] There are, however, hints that this

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[446] See Roller 1999, pp. 63-115.

[447] Roller 1999, pp. 111-12, Berndt-Ersöz 2003, pp. 261-62.

[448] On the primeval gods, see section 2.2.1 (pp. 58-62).

happened after a battle with the storm-god. In the *Song of* ᴰ*KAL*, the possibility that the primeval gods may arise to do battle with the king of the gods, i.e. the usurper ᴰKAL, is mentioned.[449] This implies that they are an opposing force which the divine ruler at some point might have to fight. It is likely that the remark in lines iii 34-38 of the purification incantation *When they cleanse a house of bloodshed, impurity, sin, perjury and threat* (CTH 446), that the storm-god had driven the primeval gods into the earth, should be understood in the same context.[450] If so, this means that the primeval gods are in the netherworld due to their defeat in a confrontation with the storm-god related to his position as, or his aspiration to become, king of the gods.

We may now draw the *Theogony* into the discussion. The Titans, as known in particular from that text, have repeatedly been linked to the primeval gods: both groups represent an earlier generation of deities, who in current times reside below the earth.[451] Perhaps this can be related to the connection between the *Song of Going Forth* and the *Theogony*. The Titanomachy in the latter text is situated between the birth of Zeus and the Typhoeus episode. It features Zeus and his allies fighting the Titans, the defeat of whom is necessary in order for Zeus to be able to succeed Kronos on the throne. Similarly, the first half of column four of the song comes after the birth of the storm-god and before the birth of the children of the earth-goddess. And although he is not mentioned as such in this text, in lists of primeval gods Kumarbi is regularly included among them, just as Kronos is one of the Titans.[452] Furthermore, the storm-god will have had to fight his predecessor, Kumarbi, in order to become king.

As mentioned, there is nothing in the *Song of Going Forth* that gives any hint as to what might have happened in the missing lines of column four. Nonetheless, on the basis of the above argumentation, I would like to suggest, cautiously, that it featured a battle between the storm-god and his allies on the one side, and Kumarbi and the primeval gods on the other. The story may also have included a gathering of forces by the storm-god, comparable to the description of this in KUB 20.65.[453] The battle was won by the storm-god, who subsequently banished the primeval gods to the

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[449] See *Song of* ᴰ*KAL*, lines A iii 6-9 (Laroche 1968, p. 34; also Hoffner 1998a, p. 46, § 6).

[450] For references, see p. 62n163.

[451] See Yu-Gundert 1984, pp. 118-22, Bremmer 2008, pp. 85-88.

[452] Archi 1990.

[453] See Popko 2001, p. 150. Note that the size of this fragment precludes that it was a part of CTH 344.A.

netherworld. This in turn led to the conclusion by Ea (or someone else) that the storm-god had become a threat that had to be taken care of, for the purpose of which the earth-goddess was impregnated with future contestants to the throne. In this context, the cursing of other gods in lines iii 22-29 of the song could be considered to be the first indication that such a fight will take place.[454] Furthermore, assuming the primeval gods to have played this role provides a further explanation for the call upon them to listen in lines i 1-7, and would reinforce the interpretation offered in section 2.2.1 (pp. 58-62).

[454] Vieyra (1959, p. 162, 1970, p. 546) also saw the curses uttered in column three as the overture to the fight between Kumarbi and the storm-god, which he supposed to have taken place in the lost part of column four.

Chapter V

The 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme in the contemporary extended Aegean

Why should one think that the variant of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme of the *Theogony* had not been developed independently in the extended Aegean? If this question could not be answered, an indigenous origin would have to be assumed for the theme, and further studies into possible external stimuli in this regard would be superfluous. Therefore, in the current chapter I will investigate how the theme fits the contemporary context of the extended Aegean, both in general and regarding specific elements.[455] As argued in section 4.2.2 (pp. 147-48), if a sizeable collection of discrepancies regarding significant elements of the theme will be found, then I would have to conclude that the theme as it appears in the *Theogony* did not connect to its direct context very well, which would increase the probability that external inspiration was involved.

   I have argued in chapter four that only the tradition to which the *Song of Going Forth* belonged has to be taken into account when investigating possible external inspiration for the theme as it is known from the *Theogony*. Therefore, in its assessment of the position of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* compared to its contemporary context, the current chapter will focus on elements that were found to be present similarly in the *Theogony* and in the *Song of Going Forth*. First I shall discuss the general concept of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme, i.e. that there was a succession of generations of gods, members of which fought each other for kingship (5.1). Section 5.2 subsequently deals with specific elements of the theme as it appears in the *Theogony*, such as the role of its protagonists and various narrative details. While the general concept of the theme in one way or another had probably

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[455] As explained in section 4.2.2 (p. 147), 'contemporary' here also includes the sixth and early fifth centuries BCE.

existed in the extended Aegean already before the *Song of Going Forth* became known there, various specific elements that I will discuss are unlikely to have developed indigenously. Consequently, I shall conclude that the author of the *Theogony* had knowledge of the story of the *Song of Going Forth* as a whole when he created his poem (5.3).

5.1 General concept of the theme

The 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* combines several notions: that there is a ruler of the gods; that his or her position can be contested; that there are several generations of gods; and that these came into conflict with each other. Were these notions and the specific combination of them that can be found in the variant of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme of the *Theogony* indigenous to the extended Aegean? To answer this question, in the current section I conduct a survey of other variants of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme that are known to have existed in the region contemporary with the *Theogony*.

As will be seen, this concerns only textual evidence. There is nothing that suggests any variant of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme playing a role anywhere in cult or ritual. Except in sections on myth or, in the case of the Orphic beliefs, mysteries, the theme is not mentioned in modern handbooks on Hellenic religion.[456] References to the theme in general cannot be discerned in visual art either. Only episodes concerning Zeus' rise to supremacy make an occasional appearance.[457] Therefore, I limit the discussion to texts. This will concern first those directly contemporary with the *Theogony*, i.e. the Homeric poems and the *Works and Days* (5.1.1), and then texts from the sixth and early fifth centuries (5.1.2).

The work of the early Greek philosophers, the 'Presocratics', I shall not discuss. Their purpose was to explain the background and functioning of the universe by means of logic and inquiry, as reflected in how their theories were expressed. Fundamental elements were sometimes called divine, and gods occurred occasionally in an allegorical

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[456] See e.g. Burkert 1985, Price 1999, Mikalson 2005.

[457] Carpenter 1991, pp. 69-71, Gantz 1993, p. 3.

sense or for narrative purposes.[458] But none of the relevant works are connected to existing religious traditions or rituals, or to mythology, or feature references to divine kingship or its contestation.[459]

5.1.1 'Iliad', 'Odyssey', 'Works and Days'

A look at the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey* and the *Works and Days* makes clear that the first three notions said above to have been combined in the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* were quite common in the extended Aegean. Everywhere the supremacy of Zeus among the gods is presented as a simple matter of fact. Apparently, there was nothing odd about the idea that there was a supreme deity who rules over the others.

Furthermore, the Homeric poems repeatedly refer to challenges to Zeus' position. For example, in *Iliad* 1.395-406, Achilles recounts how once Thetis called to help the hundred-hander Briareus/Aigaion, who protected Zeus when the other Olympian gods wanted to bind him. And in *Odyssey* 11.306-20, Iphimedeia tells Odysseus about her sons, Otus and Ephialtes, the Aloads. They threatened to make war to the Olympian gods, but were killed by Apollo before their preparations were finished. Thus, the motif of the contestation of divine kingship was not exclusive to the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony*.

The same goes for the idea that there are several generations of deities. Most striking is *Iliad* 14.201 = 14.302, in which Hera tells Aphrodite and Zeus that she is going to visit 'Okeanos, the origin of the gods, and mother Tethys'. Unfortunately, nothing more is said on this topic.[460] But it is clear that a divine genealogy is referred to that is different from the one narrated in the *Theogony*. Additionally, references to Zeus as 'Κρονίδης', 'son of Kronos', abound in the Homeric poems and the *Works and Days*. The former also feature several references to the Olympian gods as 'Οὐρανίωνες', 'descendants of Ouranos'.[461]

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[458] On this use of myth, see K.A. Morgan 2000, Sassi 2002.

[459] Algra 1999, p. 49. On the Presocratics, see A.A. Long 1999, Curd/Graham 2008.

[460] Plato, *Timaeus* 40e claims that Gaia and Ouranos brought forth Okeanos and Tethys, who gave birth to Kronos. However, this cannot be taken to further represent the Homeric idea; it rather seems to be an attempt to merge the Homeric and Hesiodic versions.

[461] E.g. *Iliad* 1.570, 17.195, 24.547, *Odyssey* 7.242, 9.15.

Nonetheless, the idea that successive generations came into conflict with each other, and specifically over kingship, which is what the narrative of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* is mainly concerned with, does not appear anywhere in either the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey* or the *Works and Days*. Closest comes a remark in the 'Myth of the Ages' from the *Works and Days* (lines 106-201). In line 111, it is mentioned that Kronos was king in heaven in the time of the first, golden race. This implies that Zeus somehow must have succeeded him afterwards. But how that took place is not recounted. Therefore, this passage can only be used to show once more that the concept of different generations of gods was not known only from the *Theogony*.[462]

Thus, several notions that are present in the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* were not unique to that poem. But what is most striking about this variant of the theme, i.e. the idea that members of several generations of gods would have battled each other for kingship, does not find a parallel in the texts that are directly contemporary. Next, therefore, I will discuss compositions from the sixth and early fifth century, to see whether they shed a different light on the position of this idea in the extended Aegean.

5.1.2 In the sixth and early fifth centuries BCE

The current section discusses texts from the sixth and early fifth centuries BCE that feature a variant of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme. My aim is to find out whether these also feature the idea that members of several generations of gods battled each other for kingship, as does the variant of the *Theogony*. As the relevant texts all postdate the preserved version of the *Theogony*, their versions of the theme are unlikely to have been completely independent from that of the Hesiodic text. To be able to deal with this

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[462] Non-Aegean origins have been postulated for both the reference to Okeanos and Tethys in the *Iliad* (e.g. Janko 1992, pp. 180-82, Burkert 2004, pp. 29-32, D'Alessio 2004, Bremmer 2005, pp. 73-79) and the 'Myth of the Ages' (e.g. West 1997, pp. 312-19). In the case of Okeanos and Tethys, this may well be correct. But the brevity of the reference to them as parents of the gods in the *Iliad* implies that the audience of this text was familiar with the concept of specific gods fulfilling this role. Otherwise, surely the composer of the *Iliad* would have explained their position more fully. Similarly, concerning the 'Myth of the Ages', whether or not it was indigenous (indigenous: Most 1997/1998, Brown 1998), the brevity of the reference to Kronos as an earlier king of the gods makes clear that this concept was familiar to the audience of the *Works and Days*.

issue, I will discuss the contents of the relevant texts in more detail than I did with the Homeric and the Hesiodic poems.

Pherecydes of Syros lived around the middle of the sixth century.[463] Most striking in his account are the names of the main characters: instead of Kronos and Zeus, there are Chronos and Zas, as well as Chthonie, who is later renamed to Ge. Although etymological reasons can be postulated,[464] these names suggest that Pherecydes was keen to emphasise the difference between his story and existing ones. Unfortunately, little of it survives, and what remains is sometimes confusing.

Three gods, Chronos, Zas and Chthonie, had always been there. Chronos from his seed produced fire, water and wind (or 'breath'), from which a second generation of gods sprang. In another episode, Zas married Chthonie and gave her a robe as a bridal gift. Embroidered on it were Ge and Ogenos (Okeanos), symbolising the creation of the earth and the sea by Zas. As a result, Chthonie became Ge. There is additionally a reference to a winged oak tree, but what this represented is uncertain.[465] Later, Ophioneus, some kind of sea-related, snake-like monster, challenged the existing order. He may even have ruled briefly, but was eventually defeated in a battle between his forces and those of Kronos (sic), who drove Ophioneus' side into Ogenos. Finally, it seems that Chronos, Zas and Chthonie/Ge at some point became Kronos, Zeus and Rhea. Why and when is unknown; perhaps it was part of the gradual transition of primeval into current times.[466] In any case, Chronos/Kronos and Zas/Zeus never clashed.

The main concern of this story seems to be creation, both of the world and of its order, which is recounted in an allegorical way. As far as it can be reconstructed, this may have been Pherecydes' own invention. He has been linked to Pythagorean and Orphic ideas in antiquity, but he may have antedated both, while his account is not

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[463] On the identity of Pherecydes of Syros, who is to be distinguished form the fifth century genealogist Pherecydes of Athens, see Fowler 1999 (against Toye 1997). In general, see West 1971, pp. 1-75, Kirk et al. 1983, pp. 50-71, Schibli 1990, Gantz 1993, pp. 739-41.

[464] E.g. Kirk et al. 1983, p. 57.

[465] See e.g. the discussions in West 1971, pp. 27, 55-60, 72-74, Kirk et al. 1983, pp. 63-66, Schibli 1990, pp. 69-77.

[466] See also Schibli 1990, pp. 135-39.

particularly Pythagorean or Orphic.[467] In any case, while the notions of king of the gods, challenges to his position and multiple generations of gods are all present, the idea of violence between members of successive generations is absent.

Next to be considered are the accounts of the Orphic texts. This corpus in antiquity was attributed to the legendary singer Orpheus, who was supposed to have antedated Homer. However, the relevant works stem from various centuries, with the oldest one known so far dating to the fourth BCE. That they are of importance in the current context nonetheless, is because the underlying traditions in some cases may be up to two centuries older.[468]

The contents of these texts can differ significantly. One variant can be found in the Derveni Papyrus. This is a fourth century commentary on a text that was probably composed in the fifth or the late sixth.[469] It starts with Nyx, who gave birth to Ouranos, the first king. Kronos was born from Ouranos, and in turn begot Zeus. Kronos committed a 'great act' against Ouranos, probably his castration, and thus succeeded Ouranos. Upon receiving oracles from Nyx on how to establish his own rule, Zeus swallowed something, either a phallus, in which case probably that of Ouranos, or a figure called Phanes/Protogonos, an Orphic development of Eros.[470] Zeus subsequently rose to henotheistic heights, somehow now carrying all the other gods with him. Later he wished to make love to his mother, Rhea/Demeter, from which probably Kore/Persephone was born. Here the text breaks off.

No other Orphic account of this length is known. Further variants have to be culled mostly from the 'Orphic Rhapsodies'. This is a Neo-Platonic compilation of Orphic poetry from various periods, itself dating to the last centuries of the first millennium BCE. However, the related themes are thought to have originated in large part, too, in the period from the late sixth to the fourth centuries.[471] An important

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[467] West 1971, pp. 2-3, Schibli 1990, pp. 1-13, Toye 1997, pp. 535n15, 537-40, 558-59 (with Fowler 1999, pp. 9, 11-12).

[468] On things Orphic, see e.g. West 1983, R. Parker 1995, Morand 2001.

[469] See most recently Betegh 2004, Kouremenos et al. 2006 (with further references). The reconstruction follows that of Burkert 2004, pp. 89-98.

[470] See Kouremenos et al. 2006, pp. 23-28.

[471] On the 'Orphic Rhapsodies', see Kirk et al. 1983, pp. 23-29, as well as throughout West 1983.

position often is held by the aforementioned Phanes. In one version, he was the first being to have come into existence, preceding Nyx. He then also begot Gaia, Ouranos, the sun, the moon and Mount Olympus. In other accounts, Chronos, who was also called Heracles, was the first deity. Sometimes his coming into existence was preceded by that of water and matter. Chronos created Aither and Χάος, and once also Erebos. He or these then produced an egg, from which Phanes was born. According to one variant, the two halves of the broken egg became Gaia and Ouranos. The creation of other gods probably followed this.

Also relevant is the Orphic narrative about the kingship of Dionysus.[472] This god was said to have been born from a further incestuous affair of Zeus, this time with Kore/Persephone. He was made king by his father, but while on the throne, the Titans managed to kill him, after which they cut him into pieces and ate him. Zeus subsequently burned the Titans with his lightning, and from the soot humankind came into being. Dionysus was also somehow brought back to life.

The Orphic accounts thus form an intricate mixture of ideas, combining at least an allegorical approach,[473] Presocratic theories,[474] and concepts that may have been taken over from outside the Aegean.[475] Variants of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme feature prominently as well. Both in the Derveni Papyrus and in the story about the kingship of Dionysus, these variants also include the idea that members of several generations of gods battled each other for kingship.

How can this be related to the variant of the *Theogony*? Due to the state of the Orphic texts, it is impossible to trace developments and interrelations in detail, or to date the origins of individual parts. This fits with the idea that the term 'Orphic' in the middle of the first millennium BCE referred to a diverse range of beliefs grouped under this name. Attempts to trace back these themes to a single starting point therefore remain ultimately hypothetical.[476] Consequently, as both the author of the Derveni Papyrus and the writer of the text that s/he was commenting upon due to their dating are

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[472] See Bernabé 2003, Burkert 2004, pp. 95-96.

[473] Laks 1997.

[474] Bernabé 2002.

[475] West 1994a, Burkert 2004, pp. 71-98, López-Ruiz 2006, Bremmer 2008, pp. 11-14.

[476] See e.g. R. Parker 1995, pp. 489-97. To a lesser degree, this also applies to West 1983, where it was attempted to disentangle various lines of tradition.

likely to have been aware of the Hesiodic *Theogony*, it may be argued that the obvious similarities between the variants of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme of both texts were all caused by influences from the *Theogony*. But as there are also important differences between both variants, it could also be suggested that both texts more or less independently came out of the same, possible non-Aegean, tradition, which was reworked in different ways. Be that as it may, the Dionysus account certainly does not seem to have been related to the *Theogony*.

Of other texts from the sixth and early fifth centuries that featured variants of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme hardly anything remains beyond the names of their authors and some basic information. But in order to complement the discussion, I will include them nonetheless.[477]

Of obvious importance is an epic called the *Titanomachy*, ascribed to Eumelos of Corinth. It may be dated to the late seventh or early sixth century BCE and consisted of at least two books.[478] Only brief fragments and references survive. These make clear that, apart from the battle between the Olympian gods and the Titans, the *Titanomachy* also featured a genealogical account. Although it may partly have been inspired by the *Theogony*, it cannot have derived completely from that poem. The length of the *Titanomachy* suggests that it contained many details which the *Theogony* does not recount, while the remaining fragments show differences as well. For example, Ouranos had a father, Aither, Zeus was born in Lydia, and the hundred-hander Aigaion fought on the side of the Titans.

Epimenides of Knossos was said in antiquity to have been active in the second half of the seventh century BCE. However, the theogonic work attributed to him has been dated from the sixth century to the fourth century BCE.[479] What little is known of it indicates that it began from Aer and Nyx, who gave birth to Tartaros. He begot two

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[477] Names of authors of other possibly relevant texts are known as well, such as Olen, Pamphos, Abaris, Aristeas, Thamyris, Palaephatus (West 1983, pp. 53-61) and Pherecydes of Athens (Gantz 1993, p. 2). However, these are all shadowy figures who are difficult to date, and whose work often has been lost completely. They will therefore not be discussed here. For a general overview, see Schwabl 1962, pp. 1456-67.

[478] See Bernabé 1987a, Gantz 1993, pp. 1-2, West 2002, pp. 110-18.

[479] See Kirk et al. 1983, pp. 18-20, West 1983, pp. 45-53, Toye 2010.

Titans, who produced an egg from which more gods were born. Aphrodite, the Moirai and the Erinyes appear as children of Kronos, without mention of a castration. After Zeus had become king of the gods, Typhoeus at some point managed to take over, but was eventually destroyed by the former. The Titanomachy may also have been recounted, mostly along the lines of the *Theogony*.

Acusilaus of Argos is supposed to have lived around 500 BCE. He was a genealogist who traced back his subject to the beginnings of the world.[480] Ancient authors generally agree that he wrote a purely mythic text which mostly followed the *Theogony*. Nonetheless, he has been said to have 'corrected' the *Theogony* as well.[481] This can be observed in his account of the earliest history: after the appearance of Χάος as the first entity, the next beings to appear were Erebos and Nyx, who brought forth Aither, Eros and Metis.[482]

Finally, there is the theogony of 'Musaeus'. Regarded traditionally as one of the first Greek poets, he belongs to the realm of legend, as his name indicates. As a poetic persona, he was associated with oracles and other-worldly verses in general; 'his' theogonic poem may not antedate the second half of the fourth century BCE.[483] It reported that Tartaros and Nyx were the first beings, and that everything else sprang from them. However, the text may have centred on Zeus. He was said to have grown up on Crete, and to have defeated the Titans with the aid of an invincible shield, the 'aegis'.

In conclusion, it has been seen that texts from the sixth and early fifth centuries both confirm and add to the information obtained in the section on the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey* and the *Works and Days*. They confirm it, as they show once again that there was nothing uncommon in the extended Aegean about three of the notions from the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony*: that there is a ruler of the gods, that his or her position can be contested and that there are several generations of gods. And they add to it, by demonstrating through the Orphic texts and the *Titanomachy* that the fourth

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[480] Kirk et al. 1983, pp. 18-20, Gantz 1993, p. 2, Toye 2009.

[481] See e.g. FGrH 2 T5 (= Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 6.2.26.7) and FGrH 2 T6 (= Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.16), respectively.

[482] FGrH 2 F6b (= Damascius, *On the First Principles* 124).

[483] West 1983, p. 43. In general, see Kirk et al. 1983, pp. 18-20, West 1983, pp. 39-44, Gantz 1993, p. 2.

notion, that these generations came into conflict with each other, also had not been known only from the Hesiodic *Theogony*.

The specific variant of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme of the *Theogony* has been found as well. The Derveni Papyrus, and perhaps also the *Titanomachy*, similarly features a succession of three generations of gods, with one king per generation, who succeed each other in a violent way. It may be objected that both texts may have been influenced by or derived from the account of the *Theogony*. But this cannot be certain, while variations and additions also suggest that the stories from the Derveni Papyrus and the *Titanomachy* at least had not been not wholly dependent on the Hesiodic *Theogony*. And even if they would have been: with the general concept of the theme known in the extended Aegean, it is possible that some poet at some point independently came up with the idea of a story about the contestation of divine kingship spread out over three generations of gods. Such a narrative development does not necessarily require inspiration from elsewhere.

The general concept of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* may thus well have developed indigenously in the Aegean. In the next section, it will be seen whether a different conclusion is suggested by an investigation into how specific elements that feature similarly in the variants of the *Song of Going Forth* and the *Theogony* fit the contemporary context of the *Theogony*.

5.2 Specific figures and events

In section 4.1.3 (p. 142), several narrative details were found to feature similarly in the variants of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme of the *Song of Going Forth* and the *Theogony*: the roles of the kings in heaven (Anu/Ouranos, Kumarbi/Kronos, storm-god/Zeus), the castration of Anu/Ouranos when he is king of the gods, the presence of full-grown gods inside Kumarbi/Kronos, and the feeding to and spitting out of a stone by Kumarbi/Kronos, which subsequently becomes an object of veneration. Below, in sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2, I shall study how the appearances of these elements in the variant of the theme of the *Theogony* fit their contemporary context.

5.2.1 The kings in heaven: Ouranos, Kronos, Zeus

I established in section 3.2.2 (pp. 128-30) that the kings of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* are Ouranos, Kronos and Zeus. Their position in the contemporary extended Aegean outside of the *Theogony* I will survey below.

Ouranos. Even calling Ouranos a minor god would be an exaggeration.[484] No cults, rituals or prayers dedicated to him have been found. In the visual arts, he features sparingly, and never in the role known from the *Theogony*. Instead, he is depicted as the personification of the vault of the sky. But, despite Ouranos' name, Zeus functions as the real sky-god in the Hellenic world.

When Ouranos appears in texts, his part always derives from his position in the *Theogony*. He is mentioned in a few *Homeric Hymns*, but only alongside Gaia, in the context of an oath, a prayer and genealogies.[485] Alcaeus' attribution of the birth of the Phaeacians to drops that fell from Ouranos (fr. 441 PLF) is an extension of the story in the *Theogony* about the births that followed upon his castration by Kronos. When it is remarked in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* how Zeus' two predecessors as kings of the gods have disappeared after their defeat (lines 168-175), this does not extend beyond the *Theogony*. Finally, Ouranos appears in the Homeric epics twice as a god who is sworn by, as well as by implication, when the Olympian gods are called 'Οὐρανίωνες', 'descendants of Ouranos'.[486]

This survey suggests that Ouranos was introduced to the world of the extended Aegean in the variant of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony*, with all his further appearances deriving from that one. However, Ouranos cannot have first appeared in the version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved. Otherwise, the references to the 'Οὐρανίωνες' in the Homeric poems, which are directly contemporary with the *Theogony*, could not be explained. A more likely scenario would be that an earlier version, or earlier versions, of the theme or of the *Theogony* had spread through

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[484] Hence, studies of Ouranos are few. To my knowledge, apart from summarising comments such as those in West 1966, p. 198, Bremmer 2008, p. 9), only encyclopedia articles exist (Wüst 1961, Gantz 1993, pp. 10-12, Tinh 1994, Käppel 2002, Hard 2004, pp. 31-32).

[485] *Homeric Hymn* 3.84-86, 3.334-336 (to Apollo), 30.17 (to Gaia), 31.3 (to Helios; but this probably postdates the fifth century; see West 2003, p. 19).

[486] In the context of an oath: *Iliad* 15.36-40, *Odyssey* 5.184-187; 'Οὐρανίωνες': see above, p. 156n461.

the extended Aegean already, and could thus leave a mark on the tradition that would result in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. But this reconstruction is based just upon the case of Ouranos. It will be interesting to see whether the information that will be gathered in the remainder of section 5.2 will be able to confirm it.

Kronos. Kronos is a multifaceted figure.[487] I therefore divide the analysis of his figure into a descriptive and an interpretative part.

In mythology, Kronos is the father of Zeus. As a son of Gaia and Ouranos, he belonged to an earlier generation of gods, among whom he ruled.[488] The Homeric and the Hesiodic poems agree that he is the husband of Rhea and father of several of the Olympian gods, including Zeus, Poseidon, Hades and Hera. There as well as in other early Greek texts, Zeus is even often simply referred to as 'Κρονίδης', 'son of Kronos'.[489] Kronos was also identified with Chronos, the personification of time. This, however, is an allegorical re-interpretation invented in the sixth century, perhaps by Pherecydes (see section 5.1.2, pp. 158-59). It cannot shed further light on the figure of Kronos in the context of the *Theogony* and its contemporary world.[490]

While the Homeric epics do not relate what happened during his reign, two different versions occur in the Hesiodic texts. In the *Theogony*, although the information is sparse, his image is harsh, as shown by the stories of the castration of Ouranos, Kronos' attempt to eat his children, and the subsequent battle with Zeus (lines 178-182, 459-467, 617-720). But in the *Works and Days*, Kronos is said to have ruled in some kind of Golden Age, the inhabitants of which were eventually 'covered by the earth' (lines 109-126). Nonetheless, according to both versions, Kronos is no longer active. As both the *Iliad* and the *Theogony* say, he has been locked up with the other Titans in

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[487] For discussions, see Nilsson 1967, pp. 510-16, Serbeti 1992, Burkert 1993a, Gantz 1993, pp. 41-48, Versnel 1994, pp. 89-135, Baudy 1999, Hard 2004, pp. 69-73; but also e.g. West 1966, pp. 204-5, Fauth 1969, Van der Valk 1985, Lopéz-Ruiz 2006, pp. 79-94, Bremmer 2008, pp. 81-86.

[488] According to the Derveni Papyrus, Kronos was the son of Helios and Gaia. The reference to Okeanos and Tethys in lines 14.201 = 14.302 of the *Iliad* also implies a different genealogy, but this is not specified further there. For other genealogies, which are however too late to be of relevance here, see Baudy 1999, p. 864.

[489] On the family of Kronos, see e.g. the references to ancient sources listed in Serbeti 1992, p. 142.

[490] See López-Ruiz 2006, pp. 86-94.

Tartaros by Zeus.[491] But he may also reside in a place far away, where he is permanently asleep or in chains. This may be the result of him having been freed from Tartaros.[492]

Kronos does not appear often in ritual or cult. He had a temple in Athens together with Rhea, and was sacrificed to before Zeus in Boeotian Lebadeia. That is also where the only known temple statue of Kronos stood. On Sicily, he had a sanctuary in Leontini, and appeared on coins from Himera. Mountain tops on Crete were considered sacred to him. Near Olympia, and with a history going back at least to the sixth century BCE, a hill where special officials made sacrifices was named after Kronos, while there was also an altar dedicated to him and Rhea.[493]

Kronos' festival was the Kronia. Its celebration may be inferred from the existence of a month called 'Kronion' in a number of places in the southeastern Aegean and in Athens, but direct evidence is available only for two cities. In Athens, it was a feast of reversal, which gave the slaves priority for one day each year. On Rhodes, it was said in early times to have included the sacrifice of a man. Whether this really happened is unknown. Perhaps the story was a later invention, fitting with a tradition that associated Kronos with human sacrifice. There is, for example, mention of a sacrifice to Kronos by the Kouretes, who nurtured the infant Zeus on Crete. And in Carthage, Hellenes identified Kronos with the god to whom children were sacrificed. This tradition may in turn have originated in the story in the *Theogony* about the eating of his children.[494]

Finally, depictions of Kronos are rare. Apart from a reference in an ancient text to a krater with a mythological scene featuring Kronos swallowing his children, nothing is known that predates the fifth century BCE. Later works include more mythological scenes, as well as the image of a bearded man with his head covered. The meaning of

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[491] E.g. *Iliad* 8.478-481, 14.203-204, 15.225.

[492] See e.g. *Works and Days* 173a-c (possibly an interpolation, but that does not necessarily mean that these lines are much younger than the rest of the *Works and Days*; see van der Valk 1985, pp. 7-10), Pindar, *Pythian Ode* 4.291 (see also *Olympian Ode* 2.68-73). On the later fate of Kronos, see Gantz 1993, pp. 45-48, Versnel 1994, p. 97, Hard 2004, p. 71.

[493] Burkert 1993a, pp. 13-14. Versnel 1994, p. 99, Bremmer 2008, pp. 83-84.

[494] On this subject and the Kronia in general, see Serbeti 1992, p. 143, Burkert 1993a, pp. 14-16, Versnel 1994, pp. 99-104, Baudy 1999, Bremmer 2008, pp. 81-84.

this is still unclear.[495]

Several attempts have been made in recent years to bring together these divergent threads. In accordance with ideas from antiquity, which had largely fallen out of favour during the twentieth century, Baudy considered Kronos to have been a harvest god. Prime evidence for this would be the sickle that he uses to castrate Ouranos, and the interpretation of the Athenian Kronia as a way to honour the actual harvesters of the crops.[496]

However, reference to the sickle as evidence for the identification of Kronos is problematic. It is used by several Aegean mythological figures in the context of a fight, such as by Perseus to behead Medusa or by Heracles against the Hydra. None of these are supposed to have been agricultural deities originally.[497] Kronos' use of a sickle in the *Theogony*, therefore, may not be specific to him, but merely the appearance of a common motif.

Furthermore, it may be noted that, apart from a 'δρέπανον' in line 162, which refers to a weapon with a curved blade, the tool is also called a 'ἅρπη' in lines 175 and 179 of the *Theogony*. In early Greek texts, this appears only here.[498] It does not have a Greek etymology, but is probably connected to the West-Semitic word for a sickle-like sword (root *ḥrb*). It thus points to a connection with an object like that appears several times as an attribute and weapon in Syro-Palestinian and Mesopotamian art and texts.[499] This does not have to mean that people from the Aegean derived their sickle-motif from elsewhere. But it could imply that a similarity had been recognised between these motifs, which gave rise to the adoption of the Semitic word in Greek. This would further confirm that the use of a sickle is not specific to Kronos.

A possible rebuttal of this is the use of the epithet 'ἀγκυλομήτης'. This is used a number of times in the Homeric and Hesiodic poems in relation to Kronos.[500] In

[495] Serbeti 1992, Versnel 1994, pp. 104-5.

[496] Baudy 1999. On the sickle, see more extensively Nilsson 1951.

[497] Versnel 1994, p. 100n34, West 1997, p. 291, Hard 2004, pp. 70-71.

[498] In *Iliad* 19.350, 'ἅρπη' refers to some kind of bird of prey, not to a sickle (see also LSJ, p. 246, under 'ἅρπη').

[499] Barb 1972, pp. 387-89, West 1997, p. 291, Şahin 1999.

[500] E.g. in *Iliad* 2.205, *Odyssey* 21.415, *Theogony* 18.

antiquity, including in the Hesiodic poems, as its application to Prometheus shows, it was taken to mean 'with the crooked counsel'.[501] But this would have required an ending in '-μητις', 'wisdom'. Therefore, modern scholars have proposed an original meaning 'with the curved sickle'. That would point to a closer connection between Kronos and this tool. However, this interpretation is problematic as well. First, a meaning with 'sickle' implies a connection with the verb 'ἀμάω', 'to reap'. But the epithet should then be '*ἀγκυλαμήτης'. Second, in the Homeric texts, the expression appears mostly in the genitive, as 'Κρόνου ἀγκυλομήτεω'. To be able to fit the hexameter, the ending '-εω' must have been pronounced as one syllable, a development dated to ca. 800 BCE.[502] This means that the word entered the Aegean oral tradition in a period in which it was already understood as meaning 'with the crooked counsel', as its connection with Prometheus in the Hesiodic poems indicates. It thus seems that the epithet 'ἀγκυλομήτης' cannot be used to reconstruct the original nature of Kronos.

Although this does not affect the other arguments adduced by Baudy, it removes the incentive to identify Kronos as an agricultural god. Without it, the subsequent discussion appears contrived. For example, the date of the Athenian Kronia connects only indirectly to the harvest.[503] Other ideas therefore have to be explored.

Versnel saw contradictions as the central characteristic of Kronos. Even were he originally an agricultural god, this function faded as his importance did, and eventually he came to be associated above all with reversals of the normal state of affairs. Bremmer thought of Kronos as a god taken over from southwestern Anatolia, with the proceedings of his festival possibly influenced by north Syrian rituals. Like Versnel, Bremmer considered reversals to be a central element of these, but thought that the Kronia was only celebrated in a few Ionian cities. Wider veneration of Kronos Bremmer supposed to have derived from his subsequent inclusion in the Homeric and the Hesiodic poems.[504] This was also the earlier view of Burkert, whose demonstration that

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[501] *Theogony* 546, *Works and Days* 48. Discussion in Snell 1955, p. 71 (under 'ἀγκυλομήτης'), West 1966, p. 158, Chantraine 1968, p. 11 (under 'ἀγκ-'), Versnel 1994, p. 94, Lane Fox 2008, pp. 279-82.

[502] Janko 1982, pp. 89-94; cf. Bremmer 2008, p. 82.

[503] See e.g. Nilsson 1967, p. 514, Versnel 1994, pp. 129-30, 134. For criticism of the idea of Kronos as a harvest-god, see also Graf 1985, p. 93n124, Hard 2004, pp. 70-71.

[504] Versnel 1994, pp. 89-135, Bremmer 2008, pp. 81-86. For the link with northern Syria, see also Burkert 1993a, pp. 162-69.

the month name 'Kronion' was a later replacement of the earlier name 'Hekatombaion' adds further weight to Bremmer's argumentation.[505]

These theories are not mutually exclusive. Apart from Versnel's emphasis on Kronos as an ancient Aegean deity, they can even be taken to complement each other.[506] With Versnel, one can think of a god that embodies contradictions and reversals. As Burkert and Bremmer suggested, the concept of this may have been taken over from elsewhere. Even the name 'Kronos' probably is not Greek etymologically.[507] Whether his position as the father of Zeus followed from this background, or was the result of the merger with an existing Aegean deity, cannot be established.

With this in mind, an attempt can be made to trace how the mythological identity of Kronos was further developed by Greek authors. Inspiration to introduce him as the ruler of an earlier Golden Age in the *Works and Days* probably came from the connection with Zeus. This may in turn have triggered his later portrayal as the archetypal king.[508] It is also logical that Kronos in the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* was chosen to perform the role of Zeus' predecessor. Existing stories about Zeus subsequently had to find a place as well. This is presumably why Kronos became one of the Titans, who had originally been a separate group of nameless opponents to Zeus; why the stone that Kronos had swallowed and spat out again (lines 497-500) was connected to a sacred stone in Delphi; and why on Crete Kronos was associated with stories concerning the birth and childhood of Zeus.[509] Additionally, the

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[505] Burkert 1993a, pp. 160-61; also Bremmer 2008, p. 82. Nilsson 1967, p. 512, Versnel 1994, pp. 99-100, suggested the opposite. However, neither provided arguments for this view. Burkert's detailed discussion therefore has to be preferred.

[506] E.g. Versnel 1994, pp. 94, 99-100. The argumentation for this idea largely disappears if 'Kronion' indeed succeeded 'Hekatombaion' as a month name, instead of the other way round.

[507] See under 'Κρόνος' in Frisk 1960-1972, pp. 2.24-25, Chantraine 1968-1980, p. 586; also López-Ruiz 2006, p. 87n52. Convincing proposals for etymologies via other languages are still lacking. Consequently, linguistics can shed little light on Kronos' historical background.

[508] For which see Versnel 1994, p. 95. As Kronos is referred to only once in the 'Myth of the Ages' from the *Works and Days* (line 111), the question of whether or not this myth was indigenous to the Aegean (for which see p. 157n462) does not affect the current discussion.

[509] For the Titans and the stone, see sections 6.2.5 (pp. 192-94) and 5.2.2 (pp. 172-73), respectively. On Kronos and Crete, West 1966, pp. 291-93, Athanassakis 2004, p. 47. Nilsson 1967, p. 516, argued similarly regarding the development of the mythological figure of Kronos.

choice for a sickle as his weapon may have been inspired by the aforementioned use of this tool by other Aegean heroes.

Without more solid evidence, the foregoing reconstruction of the development of the figure of Kronos in myth must remain hypothetical. Nevertheless, it suggests that Kronos' role in the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* followed naturally from his characteristics as an Aegean deity. Some elements which were separate originally were clustered around his figure in the *Theogony*. But no inspiration from elsewhere has to be assumed for the bringing together of various themes in one context.

Zeus. A brief section suffices for Zeus. He was venerated as the supreme god throughout the extended Aegean world, and featured in numerous cults and myths as the wise, just and victorious ruler of gods and men. This position is reflected by his manifold appearances in the visual arts, which include depictions of several episodes from the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony*. The Linear B texts have additionally shown that Zeus was already worshipped in Mycenaean times.[510] There is therefore no need to link his role in the *Theogony* to inspiration from elsewhere. It rather confirms the existing image of him.

5.2.2 Narrative themes

As in the preceding section on the kings in heaven, below, the position of several narrative themes from the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* will be surveyed. These are the castration of Ouranos by Kronos, the presence of full-grown gods inside Kronos, and the motif of the stone substitute.

Castration of Ouranos. There are two aspects to the castration of Ouranos, as recounted in the *Theogony*. On the one hand, it is the act through which the sky and the earth are separated from each other. But on the other, it is also a decisive act by Kronos, through which he manages to defeat Ouranos, free himself and his siblings, and become king.

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[510] On the figure of Zeus, see e.g. Schwabl 1978, Burkert 1985, pp. 125-31, Gantz 1993, pp. 44-61, Henrichs/Bäbler 2002, Hard 2004, pp. 65-97; on his iconography: Carpenter 1991, pp. 39-40, 69-77, Voutiras et al. 1997.

The first aspect need not be taken into consideration here. In the *Song of Going Forth*, Anu at the moment of his castration is not connected to anyone or anything. As the song thus does not explicitly contain the motif of the separation of heaven and earth, it cannot have inspired the appearance of this motif in the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* (see also section 2.2.2, pp. 64-65). Further, the separation motif is known from variants from around the world, and therefore likely to be a metacultural concept.[511] Various versions of the motif can also be found in texts from the extended Aegean.[512] Consequently, external stimuli do not have to be posited for its existence in that area.

This is different for the second aspect, i.e. the similar position that the act of castration has in the narrative sequence of events of the variants of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme of the *Song of Going Forth* and the *Theogony*.[513] Castration was not unheard of in Aegean religion in general.[514] But I know of no other deity who had to suffer this fate. Additionally, the story of Ouranos is not told often. Concerning the period of the eighth to early fifth centuries BCE, the only other text it features in is the Derveni Papyrus.[515] In visual art the castration story never occurs.[516] This suggests that it did not connect to its contemporary context well. Especially considering the close similarities between the *Song of Going Forth* and the *Theogony*, i.e. the sky-god is a divine ruler, who is castrated by someone who succeeds him in that position through this one act, there is thus good reason to suppose that the story of the castration of Ouranos, as it appears in the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme in the *Theogony*, was taken over from elsewhere.

Gods inside a god. In general, the motif of the presence of a god inside another god is

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[511] See Staudacher 1942, Seidenberg 1959, 1969, 1983.

[512] See e.g. Kirk et al. 1983, pp. 42-43.

[513] As discussed in section 4.2.1 (pp. 145-46), the similarity is not complete, as Kumarbi bites off Anu's genitals, while Kronos castrates Ouranos with a sickle. But this difference does not matter in the present context, which focuses on the general act of castration.

[514] See e.g. Burkert 1985, p. 155.

[515] Gantz 1993, pp. 10-12, Tinh 1994, p. 133. No other occurrences were mentioned in Kirk et al. 1983, pp. 44-46, either.

[516] Carpenter 1991, p. 69.

nothing odd. Like mortals, most gods are born from a mother, which means that they had been inside her before. But the cases under consideration here are different. The Titans, the Olympian gods and Metis are all placed back inside a deity after their birth, when they are grown-up. Their conditions are not the same. The Titans are free to act while inside Gaia, as evidenced by Kronos being able to attack Ouranos. But the Olympian gods reside inside Kronos passively, and depend on Zeus to get them out, while Metis after having been devoured by Zeus is never heard of again, apart from as one of Zeus' qualities. However, these differences can be attributed to the demands of the tripartite scheme (see section 3.2.4, pp. 131-33); the basic idea remains the same.

It is this basic idea of putting and having grown-up deities inside another deity that does not seem to be indigenous to the extended Aegean. To my knowledge, the only parallel is the swallowing of Phanes/Protogonos by Zeus in the Derveni Papyrus – if that is indeed what happens in the relevant section (see section 5.1.2, p. 159). Otherwise, there is nothing, while again there is a close similarity with the *Song of Going Forth*.[517] Consequently, also in the case of the motif of the presence of gods inside another god, there is good reason to suppose that it had not developed indigenously in the extended Aegean.

Stone substitute. Not much can be said about the story of the stone substitute, i.e. that Kronos was fed a stone instead of Zeus, which he later spat out, after which Zeus set it up as a σῆμα, a 'sign', in Delphi (lines 485-500). The stone appears in visual art a few times, but only in the context of this story. To my knowledge, it is unique to Aegean mythology and, except in Delphi, without connections to ritual or cult.[518]

The connection with Delphi should be discussed further. First, the stone set up by Zeus was not the omphalos, which was another, more famous sacred stone located in Delphi.[519] Not much is known about 'our' stone. Pausanias (10.24.6) mentions that

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[517] Note that in the *Song of Going Forth* the three gods are present inside Kumarbi not because he ate them, but because he swallowed Anu's genitals. How these elements may have been adapted in the process of composition of the *Theogony* was discussed in section 4.2.1 (pp. 145-46).

[518] West 1966, p. 303, Carpenter 1991, p. 70, Auffarth 2000, Hard 2004, pp. 68, 145-46.

[519] Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, pp. 226-27, 235-36, Auffarth 2000. Pausanias (10.24.6) says that the stone Kronos spat out stood just outside the temple of Apollo, near the grave of Neoptolemus. It thus cannot be the omphalos, which was located inside the temple.

people from Delphi poured olive oil over it every day, and placed unworked wool on it during feasts. None of this relates to what is told in the *Theogony*. Consequently, it is likely that the Delphic connection was superimposed on two elements – the stone in the story and the stone in Delphi – that were unrelated originally. When the *Song of Going Forth* is drawn into the discussion, where a stone is also set up as a sacred object after having been spat out, two scenarios are possible: either the part that recounts the fate of the stone had been retained in later versions of the song, so that upon reaching the Aegean a local equivalent had to be found; or this part of the story in the meantime had been elided, and the connection with Delphi was made because both there and in the story there were sacred stones.

Either way, the connection of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* to Delphi was probably secondary. Therefore, the motif of the stone substitute, too, does not seem to have been indigenous to the extended Aegean.

Thus, contrary to its general concept, several narrative details of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme that are present similarly in its variants of the *Song of Going Forth* and the *Theogony* may not have originated in the extended Aegean. It is my contention that this suggests a historical connection between both texts. However, before discussing that possibility further, first proposals for an Indo-European origin of the theme should be taken into account.

5.3 The possible Indo-European context of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme

To argue that the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* was Indo-European in origin, various texts from Iran, Iceland and India have been adduced. However, there is one fundamental problem with this theory: the *Song of Going Forth* was not Hittite in origin. The song features the earliest attestation of the theme, both in an Indo-European context and in general. But except for the storm-god, the earth-goddess and the wagon, who are mentioned without being named, the names of the deities featured are Mesopotamian (Alalu, Anu, Ea) or Hurrian (the Aranzaḫ River,

Kumarbi, Šeri(šu), Tašmišu), not Indo-European.[520] Additionally, the story is not clearly referred to in other Hittite texts, while its succession of kings appears once in a Hurrian fragment, and its narrative structure is used in Mesopotamian texts as well.[521]

To address this issue, Wikander pointed to the adoption of Indo-Iranian cultural elements by the Hurrians, among which the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme would have been as well. However, the problem remains why nothing Indo-Iranian is visibly present in the song. Briquel instead suggested a Hurrian narrative core, which changed after coming into contact with Indo-European themes of the Hittites. But this is so vague that it leaves open the possibility that this Hurrian core consisted of the theme itself. And again, there is no evidence in the text for anything that is specifically Hittite.[522] Considering the extent of Hurrian impact on the Hittites, it is more logical, and quite unproblematic, to assume that this oldest attestation of the theme in Indo-European was the result of interaction with the Hurrians, whose version in turn contained elements from Mesopotamian traditions.[523]

The Hittite variant of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme is thus unlikely to have had an Indo-European background. Argumentations for an Indo-European origin of the theme as it appears in the *Theogony* are also unconvincing. Comparisons have been made with the story of a succession of mortal rulers in the Iranian text *Shāhnāmeh* by Firdawsi, from the late tenth century CE; and with the Norse *Eddas*, two texts that were composed in their current form in the first centuries of the second millennium CE.[524] However, rather than to persistent Indo-European concepts, the similarities between these two texts and the *Theogony* can be attributed more plausibly to the spread of the theme in texts from classical antiquity and the importance attached to that tradition afterwards.[525]

[520] The only exception might be Šuwaliyat, if this Hittite name is to be read in line ii 21 of the song (see p. 78n238). If Šauri appeared in line iii 68 of that text (see section 2.2.6, pp. 92-93), this would be another appearance of a Hurrian deity.

[521] On the Hurrian fragment and the background of the *Song of Going Forth*, see section 7.2.1 (pp. 206-12). On the occurrences of the theme in Mesopotamian texts, see section 4.1.1-2 (pp. 136-40).

[522] Wikander 1951, pp. 52-53, Briquel 1980, p. 246n12.

[523] For the relations between the Hurrians and the Hittites, see section 7.1.2 (pp. 202-3).

[524] For *Shāhnāmeh*, see Wikander 1951, pp. 44-46, 1952, Littleton 1970b, pp. 102-6. *Eddas*: Littleton 1970b, pp. 106-9 (Littleton 1970a is just a shorter version of 1970b).

[525] As argued in Littleton 1970b, pp. 115-21. For the spread of the variant of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-

The long Indian poem *Mahābhārata*, which may have developed in the middle of the first millennium BCE, has also been discussed.[526] A historical link between this text and the *Theogony* is out of the question. However, the similarities with the *Theogony* remain at the level of the basic notions of the general concept of the theme, such as that there are several generations of gods, which did not always live together in harmony. Several of the protagonists of the variants of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme from the *Theogony* and the *Mahābhārata* resemble each other to some extent, but never as closely as Anu/Ouranos, Kumarbi/Kronos and the storm-god/Zeus as they appear in the theme in the *Song of Going Forth* and the *Theogony*.

In conclusion, I see no evidence for an Indo-European origin of the specific variant of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme of the *Theogony*.[527] It is possible that the Proto-Indo-Europeans already told stories containing the general concept of the theme. That might explain its appearance in both India and the Aegean later. But a wider comparative study might also show this concept in fact to have been metacultural.[528]

5.4 Conclusion: The background of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony*

Section 5.1 demonstrated that the general concept of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* was common to the contemporary extended Aegean to the degree that there is no reason to think that it had not developed indigenously. However, the investigations of section 5.2 presented a different picture. The figure of Ouranos and the stories about his castration by Kronos, the presence of grown-up gods inside another god and the stone substitute all lack a context in the contemporary extended Aegean. Thus, a sizeable collection of discrepancies regarding significant elements of the theme

theme of the *Theogony* in classical antiquity, see for example its appearance in pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.1-1.2.1, which was written in the first or second century CE.

[526] Briquel 1980, Allen 2004.

[527] The theme is also not discussed in West 2007 (see e.g. pp. 181-82, 354-59). But as West has long argued for an Anatolian and/or Mesopotamian origin of its variant of the *Theogony* (see e.g. West 1966, pp. 18-31, 1997, pp. 276-305), this omission is not surprising.

[528] See e.g. the theogonies from around the world enumerated in West 1966, pp. 1-12.

has indeed been found (see the opening paragraph of this chapter), which suggests that external inspiration may have been involved in the appearance of these elements in the extended Aegean.

This cannot be seen separately from the similarities between the variants of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme of the *Song of Going Forth* and the *Theogony*. It is highly improbable that the relevant elements were present in the song, were transmitted independently from each other, but nonetheless ended up together again half a millennium later in the *Theogony* in a similar way in a similar narrative context. It has to be assumed that they travelled together, in the form of a narrative that remained largely unaltered regarding its general outline and several specific, narratively important details. This narrative the person who was to compose the version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved learned about, and decided to use it in his own poem.[529]

However, this version of the *Theogony* cannot have been the text that first introduced its particular variant of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme to people from the extended Aegean. The references to the Olympian gods as 'Οὐρανίωνες', 'descendants of Ouranos', in the Homeric poems indicates that, already before its inclusion in the preserved version of the *Theogony*, knowledge of the theme had spread through the region and its main characters had received their Aegean names. Additionally, the identification in the *Theogony* of the stone that Kronos spits out with a Delphic sacred stone shows that people from Delphi had managed to impose upon the theme a connection with their sanctuary. A Delphic element has also been suggested on the basis of the identity of various individual Titans.[530] Perhaps Cretan influences should be assumed, too, considering the positioning of the birth of Zeus on that island.

The available evidence is at the same time too limited and too diverse to be able to reconstruct how the variant of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme of the *Theogony* spread and evolved in the extended Aegean before its use in the preserved version of that poem. Nonetheless, it does seem that the sequence of events that should be assumed was indeed as reconstructed above. Also, the theme cannot have been taken over long before the composition of this version of the *Theogony*. If it were, specific figures and

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[529] See also the reconstruction of the process of composition of the preserved version of the *Theogony* in section 3.1.1 (pp. 115-16).

[530] West 1985b.

events of the theme would have been present in the extended Aegean long enough to fit their context better than they appeared to in the discussion of section 5.2.2. Therefore, transmission towards the extended Aegean is unlikely to have taken place before the ninth century at the very earliest.

With these things in mind, the question arises why the poet of the *Theogony* that has been preserved would have used the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme for his own composition. That I discuss in chapter six. Subsequently, chapters seven and eight will study how the story of the *Song of Going Forth* could have become known in the extended Aegean.

Chapter VI

The function of the theme in the *Theogony*: Framework of a Hellenic theogony

I have argued in chapter five that the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as it appears in the *Theogony* probably had not been indigenous to the extended Aegean. I also demonstrated that it is unlikely that the version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved was the first composition from the extended Aegean to feature the theme. However, no earlier Aegean versions of the theme are known, nor can it be reconstructed in what form it was transmitted in Anatolia and Syria after the Late Bronze Age (see chapters seven and eight). Consequently, there is no evidence with which to substantiate theories concerning the reason for the initial spread of the theme in the extended Aegean.

This lack of evidence is unfortunate, as it means that a crucial stage in the chain of transmission of the theme towards the extended Aegean must remain unknown. But the issues of the reasons for transmission and the process of embedment are not completely hopeless. The *Theogony* we do have, so at least it can be investigated why the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme was included in that poem. This is the subject of the current chapter.

To be able to assess the position of the theme in the preserved version of the *Theogony*, first the aim of the text as a whole will be analysed. I shall suggest that the poem should be understood in the context of the contemporary development of a feeling of Hellenicity, i.e. that people throughout the extended Aegean started to think of themselves as Hellenic, and as belonging together as Hellenes.[531] This process is studied in section 6.1. The focus will be on how genealogies were used to express these ideas. Section 6.2 investigates how this can be related to the *Theogony*. I shall suggest that the poem represents an attempt to bring together deities that were venerated by different groups of Hellenes into one genealogical system, headed by Zeus. Through its stepped

[531] For the definition of the terms 'Hellenicity', 'Hellenic' and 'Hellenes', see the Prologue (pp. 15-16).

structure, the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme is particularly fit to function as a framework for ordering this system and to highlight specific deities. It is my contention that this was the reason why the theme was used in the preserved version of the *Theogony*. A summary of this, followed by a reconstruction of the process of composition of the poem, follows in section 6.3.

6.1 The development towards Hellenicity in the eighth to sixth century extended Aegean

Human beings are not born with their group allegiances. They develop these in the course of their lives, when they come into contact with groups and group identities, be it explicitly or, more often, implicitly. These groups, too, were not just there. Their existence must have started at some point for some reason, while their identities are constantly in development.[532]

We can thus not simply assume for the time of the composition of the version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved the existence of a feeling of Hellenicity among the people of the extended Aegean. Texts clearly attest to the presence of such a concept in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. In that period, it entailed the idea of a united Hellenic world as opposed to the rest of the world, especially the Persian Empire.[533] When did this first emerge? The Hellenic-Persian wars of the first half of the fifth century are often mentioned in this context.[534] However, as the feeling of Hellenicity has also been attested for the sixth century, these wars can have been no more than a further factor in its development.[535] On the other hand, Hellenicity can hardly have existed

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[532] See also Crielaard 2009, pp. 38-39, Mac Sweeney 2009, pp. 101-6. Use of the word 'ethnic' may have been expected here. However, due to the difficulties with its definition, I have deliberately avoided it. As a term, 'group allegiance' is more neutral and at least as applicable to the matter at hand. This subject has been much discussed in recent years, both in general and in relation to the extended Aegean; see e.g. Jones 1997, pp. 56-105, Levine 1999, McInerney 2001, C. Morgan 2001, J.M. Hall 2002, pp. 9-29, Siapkas 2003, Ulf 2009a.

[533] For a recent overview, see e.g. J.M. Hall 2002, pp. 172-200, Mitchell 2007, pp. xv-xxii.

[534] See also Flower 2000.

[535] E.g. Mitchell 2007, pp. 1-38.

already in the period of the twelfth to tenth centuries. As studies of the archaeological record have demonstrated, after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces of the Late Bronze Age, a sharp decline in living conditions and population numbers ensued throughout the Aegean.[536] Evidence for supraregional interaction largely evaporates for a while.[537] So whether or not it had been there before,[538] it seems unlikely that under such circumstances people from across the Aegean could have sustained and/or developed a feeling of togetherness.

This means that the origins of Hellenicity must be sought somewhere between both periods. In that regard, it may be meaningful that circumstances in the Aegean started to improve noticeably during the ninth century.[539] Perhaps the increased agricultural production and population pressures that related to, and resulted from, this development both allowed for and necessitated extending one's view beyond one's own local area on a more regular basis, causing interregional interaction to take on a more organised form.[540] But, whether or not this reconstruction of the developments of this period is correct, it is clear that something new was happening in the eighth century. At a few specific sanctuaries such as Olympia, Delphi and Delos, votive offerings started to come from an ever wider area, which soon encompassed the entire Aegean, Italy and Sicily.[541] The richness of the offerings indicates that the visitors bringing them comprised mainly the higher strata of society. This suggest that these people had begun to attach significance to such supraregional locales, and considered them worth visiting. In turn, this means that members of the elite from all over the extended Aegean could

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[536] Dickinson 2006, pp. 79-113, I. Morris 2007, Descœudres 2008, pp. 308-20.

[537] Crielaard 2006, Dickinson 2006, pp. 206-18. The renewal of supraregional contacts might be indicated by a sherd from the Argolid, dated to the late eleventh/early tenth century BCE, which was found recently in Tell es-Safi/Gath in southern Syria-Palestine (Maier et al. 2009).

[538] For the idea of the existence of a larger Mycenaean kingdom in the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age, see Kelder 2009. This might have sparked or reinforced a feeling of belonging together throughout its area; but cf. the skeptical remarks in J.M. Hall 2002, pp. 47-55.

[539] I. Morris 2007 (summary in I. Morris 2009), Descœudres 2008, pp. 308-41, C. Morgan 2009a, pp. 56-62.

[540] In general on the development of group allegiances (albeit on a smaller scale) and its relation to other developments in the Iron Age, see C. Morgan 2003. See also Mitchell 2005, p. 416.

[541] C. Morgan 1990, 1993, Ulf 1997, pp. 45-53. On objects from Italy and Sicily, see Antonaccio 2007b, pp. 277-83, C. Morgan 2009b, p. 17.

meet at the relevant sanctuaries. In that context, it is probably not accidental that what these places all had in common was that they did not belong to any powerful state entity.[542] Apparently, being 'neutral' was essential for their role.

Unfortunately, these votive offerings cannot show why and how people felt and articulated the importance of these places, nor what was done during their stay there. More is known in this regard about the seventh and sixth centuries, when more textual sources are available. It appears that the elite came together in Olympia, Delphi and elsewhere to take part in contests and sacrifice, and occasionally consult the oracle. In the course of this, they developed the idea that, as visitors to these sanctuaries, they shared a common overarching identity. This eventually came to be expressed by referring to themselves as 'Hellenes'.[543]

These activities and this designation are well known for the relevant locations and people later on. What matters in the context of the current study, is the question of how someone could express his/her feeling of being Hellenic. One way of doing this, was by using genealogies. How this originated cannot be reconstructed; the use and adaptation of genealogies according to one's needs occurs already in the first longer texts that survive. In any case, it was a major tool to express, further cement and explain any kind of relation or allegiance in the extended Aegean throughout antiquity. This ranges from identifying people and personal friendships to treaties between cities and, as will be demonstrated, the idea of Hellenicity itself. In turn, being able to apply genealogies like this became a way to assert one's Hellenicity.

Use of genealogies for these purposes has been well documented by modern scholars.[544] Two examples may be given. In the early centuries of the first millennium

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[542] C. Morgan 1990, pp. 16-20, Burkert 1992a, p. 545, Neer 2007, pp. 226-33.

[543] C. Morgan 1993, Ulf 1997. Similar developments can also be detected on a smaller scale; see e.g. C. Morgan 2003 (various regions in mainland Greece), Chaniotis 2006 (Crete), Larson 2007 (Boeotia), Crielaard 2009 (Ionia).

[544] See e.g. E. Hall 1989, pp. 172-89, Dowden 1992, pp. 74-92, E. Hall, 1992, pp. 191-97, J.M. Hall 1997, pp. 67-110, Fowler 1998/1999, Antonaccio 2007a, pp. 215-16, J.M. Hall, 2007b, pp. 53-58, Blok 2009, Crielaard 2009, pp. 46-54, J.M. Hall 2009, pp. 607-9, Ulf 2009a, pp. 231-41. This refers mostly to pre-Hellenistic times; but see e.g. Erskine 2002 on how genealogical scheming continued to be used in the same way afterwards. Also, this is not specific to Greece. As pointed out in Fowler 1998/1999, pp. 2-5 (with further references), use of genealogies in the context of allegiances is common the world over.

BCE, it seems that there was no kind of political structure that united the Phocians. But Thessalian pressure in the course of the sixth century caused them to coalesce. This resulted in the creation of a shared mythological history, which traced the inhabitants of the entire region back to one eponymous ancestor, Phocus.[545] Second, when the Macedonian king Alexander I in the early fifth century wanted to participate in the Olympic games, he was at first denied participation, on the grounds that he was not Hellenic. But when he managed to demonstrate that he was an Argive, thus showing that he was Hellenic and could play the genealogical 'game' properly, he was allowed to take part.[546]

Genealogies were not used only to express socio-political relationships between Hellenes. Over time, broad genealogical trees were constructed in which every group of people known to the Hellenes was included. Nevertheless, contradictory as it may seem, the Hellenic identity itself was constructed in this way as well. With the use of genealogies, all Greek places and regions were traced back to single ancestors. These themselves were said to have descended from the eponymous founders of larger groups, such as Argus, Aeolus and Dorus for the Argives, the Aeolians and the Dorians respectively.[547] But ultimately, all Hellenes were supposed to have descended from one single figure, Hellen.

How this genealogy worked and what purpose it came to serve is clear.[548] Less obvious is the reason for the choice of Hellen for this role. He seems to have been created as a mythological personage specifically in this context, as he hardly exists outside it.[549] J.M. Hall suggested that credit for this should go to the Thessalians. According to his theory, 'Hellas' originally had been the designation for the valley of the Spercheios River in central Greece. United politically, the inhabitants of this area

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[545] McInerny 2001, pp., 63-67, Ulf 2009a, p. 241.

[546] Herodotus 5.22. The interpretation follows J.M. Hall 2002, pp. 154-56.

[547] The exact constellations varied according to local political demand; see Fowler 1998/1999, pp. 6-9, Ulf 2009a, pp. 236-44.

[548] For discussions on the figure of Hellen, as well as the following reconstruction, see Fowler 1998/1999, pp. 9-12, J.M. Hall 2002, pp. 125-71, 2009, pp. 608-9.

[549] Finkelberg 2005, pp. 70-71. Hellen in turn descended from Deucalion. But the fact remains that the Hellenic genealogy traced all groups of Hellenes back to Hellen. The existence of the figure of Deucalion therefore does not matter for the following discussion.

called themselves the 'Panhellenes'. The geographical scope of this term expanded gradually with the inclusion of surrounding population groups. One of these was the Thessalians, who managed to become dominant among them in the course of the seventh century. As usual, to back up their claim to hegemony, they reformed existing genealogies. The figure of Hellen was useful for them in this context, as the area connected to 'his' group, the Panhellenes, had grown to such a size that the term had come close to being a supraregional designation. They could therefore credibly introduce him as the common ancestor of those who felt united in their visits to the supraregional sanctuaries mentioned above. For the Thessalians, by carefully excluding the groups under their control from the genealogy of Hellen, the aim was to justify to other entities their rule over these 'non-Hellenes'. But what this genealogical stratagem is now best remembered for, is its success in getting the designation 'Panhellenes' – which was soon simplified to 'Hellenes'[550] – eventually to apply to everyone from all over the extended Aegean.

Use of the term 'Hellenes' cannot simply be retrojected into the period that the preserved version of the *Theogony* is likely to have been composed in, i.e. the eighth and seventh centuries BCE. Also, as mentioned above, the available evidence does not allow for certainty concerning what was happening at the relevant supraregional sanctuaries at that time. Nonetheless, that objects from an ever wider region start appearing at those sites in the course of the eighth century, does indicate that concepts related to the feeling of Hellenicity were already nascent by then, even if they did not have any specific name as yet. Furthermore, considering the widespread use of genealogies to express socio-political relationships from the sixth century onwards, it seems likely that genealogies to some degree were used similarly already in the eighth and seventh centuries. Consequently, it is justified to consider the *Theogony* in this context.

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[550] What are probably its oldest attestations stem from the early sixth century; see J.M. Hall 2002, pp. 130-31.

6.2 Mythological syncretism through divine genealogies in the *Theogony*

6.2.1 Genealogies in the 'Theogony'.

Genealogies feature strongly in the *Theogony*. Some four hundred lines of the poem just recount the coming into being of deities, while most of its narrative and descriptive passages also appear in connection to someone's birth. In light of the foregoing discussion about the use of genealogies as a socio-political tool already in the period of composition of the preserved version of the *Theogony*, it should be investigated how genealogies are used in the poem.

The Homeric and the Hesiodic texts have repeatedly been called Hellenic.[551] But that simply concerns the observation that they do not favour or concentrate on one specific region or another. Here, I shall take this point one step further. Just as the human genealogies trace back various groups and persons to a single ancestor to justify and explain contemporary allegiances, so the *Theogony* does the same with deities venerated in different areas. Thus, it is my contention that this poem as a whole represents a conscious attempt to provide a mythological system, headed by Zeus, that is both comprehensive and coherent, and that all possible Hellenes could subscribe too; in short, that the *Theogony* tried to contribute to the development of a feeling of Hellenicity by means of mythological syncretism.

Admittedly, none of the genealogical cases mentioned before involved deities. But that does not mean that people from the Aegean refrained from the conscious adaptation of religion and mythology. Most obvious in this regard is the idea of having a pantheon of twelve gods. This was probably a creation of the sixth century BCE, modelled on Anatolian examples.[552] Additionally, the way in which mythological and religious ideas were expressed in the Homeric and Hesiodic poems in turn shaped the general perception of these ideas.[553] Perhaps this is how Herodotus should be interpreted when he says that 'Homer' and 'Hesiod' "are the ones who made a theogony for the Hellenes and gave the gods their names and distributed their honours and skills and gave an indication of their appearances" (2.53.2). In Athenian tragedies, too, repeatedly

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[551] E.g. Mondi 1984, pp. 326-27, Pinsent 1985, Nagy 1990, pp. 36-82, Clay 2003, pp. 55-56, Haubold 2006, pp. 9-10, Crielaard 2009, pp. 46-47, Ulf 2009c, pp. 96-98.

[552] Burkert 1985, p. 125, C.R. Long 1987, pp. 139-86. In general on the twelve gods, see Georgoudi 1996.

[553] Burkert 1992a, pp. 546-48, Allan 2004, pp. 120-22.

attempts can be observed to shape and redefine perceptions of deities and religious thought in general.[554] Thus, the idea that the divine genealogies of the *Theogony* were a conscious creation for a specific purpose does have precedents.

There are also indicators in the text that point to the creation of new genealogies. Considering the nature of the Aegean oral tradition, it would have to be assumed that these at least in part consisted of existing materials, which had been newly adapted and stitched together in the context of the preserved version of the *Theogony* (see also section 3.1.1, pp. 114-17). One might therefore expect to find seams: places in the text where e.g. inconsistencies or illogicalities reveal the difficulties of putting together elements which had originally been separate. And indeed, a number of these have been pointed out. For example, with Χάος, Gaia, Tartaros and Eros, the quartet of initial deities seems uneven. Χάος, unlike the others, is an abstract concept; Eros may have been intended as the force of procreation, but never features as such afterwards; and Tartaros disturbs the balance of what would have worked better as a threesome.[555] Furthermore, there seems to be no relationship between the various deities that appear as a result of the castration of Ouranos by Kronos, i.e. the Erinyes, the Giants, the Melian Nymphs and Aphrodite.[556] And the account of Zeus' ascent to power switches between being a battle that involves just Zeus and Kronos, and one that involves the Olympians and the Titans.[557] Together, these cases lend support to the idea that the genealogies of the poem were indeed newly introduced.[558]

Few interpretations of the possible purpose of the *Theogony* as a whole have been offered so far. Generally, if something is said on this subject, it is assumed that the aim was to recount the creation of the world and the birth of the gods, in order to better understand the world as it is.[559] This is more or less what the text itself says in its preface. Most of this is a hymn to the Muses, which has its own introduction in lines 1-

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[554] Allan 2004.

[555] See the discussions of Χάος, Eros and Tartaros in sections 3.2.2 (pp. 129-30) and p. 126n403.

[556] Lines 182-195; see Walcot 1966, p. 5.

[557] Mondi 1984, 1986. See also the discussion in section 6.2.5 (pp. 192-94).

[558] In general, see also Mondi 1984, pp. 326-34.

[559] See e.g. Kirk 1962, pp. 93-95, Bradley 1966, p. 41, Hamilton 1989, pp. 14-19, Wismann 1996, p. 20, Clay 2003, p. 13. Lamberton 1988, pp. 103-4, saw this in the context of the relation between the gods and humankind.

4. Apart from that it comments on the position of the poet, whom the Muses inspire to sing of his subject in a certain way, this hymn has little to do with the contents of the '*Theogony* proper'.[560] But it is followed by another introduction, in lines 104-115, where it is said that the poem will be concerned with the genealogies of the gods. However, it is difficult to take this statement at face value. The *Theogony* does not include all the gods, nor does it discuss them evenly. Several of them, especially Ouranos, Kronos and Hekate, seem much more important in the text than they were anywhere in the extended Aegean. And the focus on Zeus in the second half of the poem similarly suggests that its purpose was not merely genealogical, but that a specific point is being made.

Because of this attention to Zeus, it has been suggested instead that the *Theogony* is a hymn to this god, composed to underline the superiority of his powers and the order his rule brings to the world.[561] From the length of the accounts of the Titanomachy and the battle with Typhoeus, Zeus' glorious victory in both cases, and from how his supremacy is further emphasised by means of the tripartite scheme, it is clear that Zeus occupies a special position.[562] However, glorifying Zeus can hardly have been the purpose of the poem as a whole. First, also included in the story are various seemingly unconnected genealogies, such as the offspring of Nyx (lines 211-232), Nereus (240-264) and Okeanos (337-370). It might be suggested that this was intended to imply the totality and vastness of the divine world that Zeus rules over. But that is never mentioned or referred to in the text. Furthermore, the eulogies of Styx (383-403) and Hekate (411-452) do not fit in with this interpretation of the text, as they distract from the magnificence of Zeus.[563] The Prometheus episode also does not add to Zeus' glory, recounting as it does how Prometheus deceived Zeus twice, with the division of the meat and the stealing of fire (507-616). Finally, no more than five lines are dedicated to Zeus' eventual accession to power, and these recount how the other gods

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[560] See also Clay 1988, Hamilton 1989, pp. 10-14, Clay 2003, pp. 49-72, Pucci 2007, pp. 10-11, Rengakos 2009, pp. 206-8.

[561] E.g. Mondi 1984, Blickman 1987, Nelson 2005, pp. 335-38, Raaflaub 2008, pp. 46-49, Ulf 2009c, pp. 92-93.

[562] For the tripartite scheme, see section 3.2.4 (pp. 131-33).

[563] The Styx episode also relates how her children Zelos, Nike, Kratos and Bia became attributes of Zeus. However, focus lies not on how this added to Zeus' supremacy, but on how Styx' role as the mother of these children elevated her to a position of high esteem (see also below).

had to ask him to become their king (881-885). For these reasons, it is too narrow to consider the *Theogony* as having focused on Zeus alone. The question of the purpose of the poem as a whole thus remains open.

In conclusion, there are no basic objections against further exploring the interpretation of the version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved as an attempt to contribute to the development of a feeling of Hellenicity by means of mythological syncretism. Consequently, I shall investigate below how different parts of the poem could be understood in that context, and whether it can be made sense of as a whole (sections 6.2.2-7). Conclusions follow in section 6.3.

From the point of view of method, one could object that the understanding of various sections of the poem presented below is determined too much by an interpretation that is imposed upon the *Theogony* from outside. Especially that I extrapolate from what the poet himself says about his aim, i.e. to recount genealogies of gods, is likely to be subject to discussion. Critics might prefer attempting to understand the text through a close reading of its contents. However, the fact remains that genealogies were probably a common socio-political tool in the period of composition of the preserved version of the *Theogony*. Consequently, it makes sense to try to understand a poem that is full of genealogies in the same light. This inevitably requires the approach used here, i.e. working from a presupposition, instead of distilling an interpretation from the text itself.[564]

6.2.2 Styx and Hekate

The treatment of Styx and Hekate in the *Theogony* provides the best argument for the necessity of extrapolating from the actual words of the poem. Hekate is depicted in very positive terms, as an important deity who is invoked at sacrifices, stands at the side of people who ask for help, and is honoured by the gods, especially by Zeus (lines 411-452). Yet she is not mentioned at all in the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey* or the *Works and Days*. When she becomes better visible in iconographic and textual sources later, she always

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[564] The interpretations offered here are not necessarily mutually exclusive with different interpretations of the relevant sections. The poem is likely to feature many traditional elements a new context. It therefore makes sense that these in the process also received a new meaning.

appears as a goddess of the night and the moon, barking dogs at her side, associated with crossroads, magic, ghosts and the netherworld.[565]

Similarly, Styx in the *Theogony* has four children, Zelos, Nike, Kratos and Bia. These become the attributes of Zeus, who in turn invites Styx to Mount Olympus and makes her the deity that gods have to swear by (lines 383-403). But elsewhere in Greek literature, although she always has this latter function, Styx is known only as a river of the netherworld. This is also how she appears in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The *Works and Days* does not mention her.[566]

The appearances of Styx and Hekate in the poem are thus unlikely to have been stock material for genealogical poetry. Moreover, there is a structural difficulty. As Styx features among the Okeanids in line 361, one might have expected the poem to proceed to her description right after their enumeration. Instead, a section on the progeny of Theia has been inserted (lines 371-382). This bears no relation to either the Okeanids or Styx. As it mentions the birth of Perses, the father of Hekate, it would have fitted better after the description of Styx, where the hymn to Hekate is introduced by recounting how Phoibe together with Koios brought forth Leto and Asteria, the mother of Hekate (lines 404-410). This dislocation of the section on Theia can hardly be accidental. As a result, Styx is disconnected from the other Okeanids. It seems clear, then, that personal ideas are at play in the treatment of Styx and Hekate in the *Theogony*.

West has explained Hekate as related to personal preference, i.e. that 'Hesiod' came from a family that worshipped Hekate especially. This may have been a result of his father's trade voyages, which took him to regions where Hekate was venerated. Furthermore, it is reflected in the name of his brother, Perses, who would have been named after the father of Hekate.[567] However, information about the father and brother of the author is known only from the *Works and Days*. As was argued in section 3.1.2 (pp. 119-22), the contents of that text and the *Theogony* should not be read

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[565] Marquardt 1981, Burkert 1985, p. 171, Johnston 1998, Hard 2004, pp. 193-94. The figure of Hekate is generally assumed to have originated in Anatolia, perhaps in Caria (see also Kraus 1960, pp. 24-83; against: Berg 1974). But as scholars have pointed out, in that case she must have been transformed considerably in the process, as she differs from the Anatolian counterparts that have been proposed for her in various ways.

[566] *Iliad* 2.755, 8.369, 14.271, 15.37, *Odyssey* 5.185, 10.514; see Hard 2004, pp. 48-49, 109-10.

[567] West 1966, pp. 276-78.

autobiographically, and there is no reason to think that both poems were composed by the same person. Even were that theory incorrect, it is still striking that Hekate is not mentioned at all in the *Works and Days*. Surely, she should have been mentioned at least once if she was such a favourite of the poet. The argument about personal preferences therefore carries little weight.

West's solution for the issue of the unusual position of Styx in the *Theogony* is also not completely satisfactorily.[568] He supposed it to be the result of mythological reasoning by the author, who tried to figure out why Zeus was so powerful, and why the gods swear their oaths by Styx. These issues were then combined: Zeus received some of his powers from Styx, who in turn was honoured by him with this role. While this may be part of the reason, it still does not explain completely why Styx received such an eulogy in the text.

Approaches that investigated the functions Styx and Hekate have according to the *Theogony* are more helpful. Concerning Styx, it has been suggested that the composer depicted her as being held in such high esteem to emphasise the strength of the oaths the gods swear by her. For only through these oaths can order in the divine world be ensured.[569] In turn, from her description in the text Hekate appears to have a special connection with humanity. What this was exactly can be interpreted in various ways. According to Clay, she assists in the communication between gods and humankind through sacrifice and prayer. Rudhardt thought that she was a protector of human beings, taking care of individual cases when the need arose.[570] Either way, Hekate was someone who helps people.

This still does not explain by itself why specifically Styx and Hekate receive so much attention. Here, the interpretation of the poem proposed in this study might be referred to. In that context, Styx and Hekate can be considered as assistants to the Hellenic pantheon of the *Theogony*, who mediate between the gods and humankind. Styx is a regulating power, who forces the gods to act reliably. And Hekate takes care of the actual contacts with human beings, ensuring that they are looked after well.

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[568] West 1966, pp. 272-73.

[569] Blickman 1987, Yu-Gundert 1984, pp. 131-44, Lamberton 1988, pp. 88-89, Weigelt 2010.

[570] Griffith 1983, p. 53, Clay 1984, Lamberton 1988, pp. 86-88, Rudhardt 1993. The suggestion in Yu-Gundert 1984, pp. 72-99, that Hekate as a deity personified the phenomenon of chance, seems contrived when compared to what the *Theogony* has to say about her.

Styx and Hekate thus safeguard humankind against divine arbitrariness. That they were chosen for these roles, is because neither of them was otherwise well-known. They therefore carried few or no connotations that were undesirable in the context, such as regional affiliations.[571] This is comparable to the use made of the figure of Hellen by the Thessalians to head the supraregional genealogy that they designed. Just as he, because of his neutral image, was acceptable in this role for other groups of people, so the composer of the *Theogony* could safely introduce Styx and Hekate into his poem.

6.2.3 Prometheus

The Prometheus section (lines 507-616) adds further information on the relation between gods and humans.[572] It explains how the latter got to keep the best parts of sacrificed animals, how they obtained the power of fire, and how and why the gods caused women to come into existence.

This last point raises the question of the creation of men. Anthropogeny was never a popular subject in Greek literature,[573] but a hint of it may be contained in the *Theogony*. In lines 535-536, it says "καὶ γὰρ τ' ἐκρίνοντο θεοὶ θνητοί τ' ἄνθρωποι Μηκώνῃ", 'and when the immortal gods and humans ἐκρίνοντο in Mekone'. 'ἐκρίνοντο' is usually interpreted as meaning that some kind of agreement had been reached in Mekone.[574] But the basic meaning of 'κρίνω' is 'to separate'.[575] Should this sentence therefore be taken to mean that both groups had been together before, but were

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[571] See also Griffith 1983, pp. 53-54, Nagy 1990, p. 75. The latter called Hekate "an ideal pan-Hellenic figure".

[572] Clay 1984, pp. 37-38, argued that Hekate was assigned her role to compensate the changes that occurred in the relationship between the gods and humankind due to the Prometheus episode. But this cannot have been the reason for Hekate's portrayal in the *Theogony*, as it precedes the Prometheus section.

[573] There are only stories about how the inhabitants of specific places had come to be; see Bremmer 2008, p. 19. In the course of the 'Myth of the Ages', the *Works and Days* does mention the creation of humankind (lines 106-201). But no detailed attention is given to this; the repeated references to the gods creating a new 'race' are just there because they are required to be able to move the story from one stage to another.

[574] E.g. West 1966, pp. 317-18; Athanassakis 2004, p. 24: "were settling their accounts"; Most 2006, pp. 45-48: "were reaching a settlement".

[575] See LSJ, p. 996, under 'κρίνω'.

now separated?[576] That would mean that the history of men as men, and hence also the history of relations between gods and men, had started at this point.

Obviously, this interpretation of lines 535-536 is tenuous. The idea of the separation of gods and men does not occur anywhere else in Greek texts, and it is perhaps unlikely that the poet would have passed off a subject like this in just one and a half line.[577] But regardless of how these two lines should be understood exactly, the section on Prometheus, in addition to the sections on Styx and Hekate, still could be taken to explain what position humankind has, under, and in relation to, the Hellenic pantheon.[578]

6.2.4 Gaia and Χάος

The basic idea of my theory concerning the aim of the preserved version of the *Theogony* is to consider the genealogies of the poem in the same way as the human ones discussed in the preceding section. Thus, it represents a conscious effort to unite deities throughout the extended Aegean into one system, by tracing them all back to a single ancestor. Gaia in this context is a sensible choice for that role. By starting from her, the entire physical and divine world could be included in the genealogy.

The only exception to this is the line of Χάος and Nyx. As mentioned in section

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[576] Most 2006, p. 46n27: "The precise meaning of the verb Hesiod uses is obscure; it seems to indicate that gods and men were now being separated definitely from one another, presumably after a time when they had been together."

[577] Also, the other time this verb appears in the middle form in the *Theogony*, in line 882 ("κρίναντο"), it clearly carries a meaning along the lines of 'they reached an agreement'. Clay 1988, pp. 329-30, noted that line 50 of the *Theogony* mentions "ἀνθρώπων τε γένος κρατερῶν τε Γιγάντων", 'the race of human beings and the mighty Giants'. If this means that both groups were considered to belong together, the reference to the birth of the Giants in lines 184-186 could imply that humankind came into existence there as well. But in the context of the *Theogony*, a poem that is otherwise very explicit about the moment of birth and creation, this interpretation seems overly subtle. Clay (1988, p. 330; similarly 1993, p. 106) also mentions that humankind must have come into existence before it is first mentioned, in line 218. But that line is part of a general description of the function of the Moirai, and does not have to imply that humankind existed already (see also line 220 on the Keres, or line 231 on Horkos). Otherwise, Typhoeus should also have been born before line 306 already, as he is mentioned there as the father of Echidna's children. See also Clay 1993, p. 107, where she pointed out that the Prometheus episode, with Zeus' prominent role in it, is recounted before the birth of Zeus has been narrated.

[578] See also Lamberton 1988, pp. 95-100.

3.2.2 (pp. 129-30), their line is not connected to that of Gaia. The explanation for this can be sought in the fact that, just as genealogies can be used to unite, so they can also be used to divide. This could be observed in the case of the Thessalians mentioned above, who kept the groups that they ruled over outside the new, supraregional community of 'Panhellenes'. The progeny of Χάος and Nyx is made up predominantly of abstractions with negative connotations, such as Eris, the Keres and Thanatos. Not linking these to Gaia may, too, have been intended to keep them separate from the regular deities, whose presence, unlike theirs, was desirable in the world.

6.2.5 The Titans

From the Titanomachy, it seems to follow that the Titans originally had been a collective of nameless opponents to Zeus, which did not include Kronos. Never in the *Theogony* are the names of its constituent members referred to directly in connection to the Titans as a group. This applies even to their birth in lines 132-138. There, they are enumerated individually without being called 'Titans'. Only in lines 207-210 do they receive this name from Ouranos, but then again without being mentioned separately. This discrepancy between their appearances as a faceless group and as named individuals can also be observed in the Titanomachy. As observed by Mondi, Zeus comes to power twice: first in line 453-506 by dealing just with Kronos, and again in lines 617-720 by defeating the Titans together with the other Olympian gods.[579]

It thus seems that two originally separate battles – of Kronos with Zeus, and of the Titans with the Olympians – were merged in the *Theogony*. That the Titans received individual names can be connected to the inclusion of Kronos among their ranks, which prompted identifying the eleven others as well. This provided the composer of the poem with the opportunity to include whoever seemed most fit. Unfortunately, the reason behind his choices is elusive. The deities that are mentioned all seem to be in place as early members of the divine genealogy, but apart from the names of their own progeny, little is known about them, also from other sources. Only Kronos and Okeanos appear in active roles on their own.[580] Unless some of the names were made up for the occasion,

[579] Mondi 1984, 1986. See also West 1966, pp. 199-204, Nilsson 1967, pp. 510-11, 516, West 1985b, Solmsen 1989, López-Ruiz 2006, pp. 80-81, Bremmer 2008, pp. 80-87.

[580] West 1966, pp. 201-4, Bremmer 2008, pp. 80-84.

the most likely explanation is that these were all deities whose veneration was on the wane in the period of composition of the preserved version of the *Theogony*, and whose names hence seemed archaic.[581] On the one hand, this fits with their subsequent obscurity. But it also corresponds to their position in the poem as deities of an older generation who will end up imprisoned in Tartaros, and no longer play a role in the contemporary world.[582]

In the context of the interpretation of the Hesiodic *Theogony* that is proposed here, this gives rise to two suggestions. First, by recounting the defeat and banishment of the Titans, the composer may be trying to justify the rule of the Hellenic pantheon that he is describing. Disposing of old gods would then exemplify the might of the new ones. Unfortunately, the individual Titans cannot be identified better; but in this context, it may be hypothesised that they represented deities the author considered to belong to an earlier generation, whom the Hellenic gods had succeeded and made redundant.

Second, the events concerning the Titans have been moulded to underline the dominance of Zeus among this later generation. Although the Titanomachy is a battle of the Olympian gods against the Titans, Zeus is singled out continuously. This is most conspicuous in the treatment of the hundred-handers.[583] In lines 624-638, we are told that the Olympian gods after ten years of fruitless war called these to their aid on the advice of Gaia, who said that there would be no victory without them. And, indeed, it is only when the hundred-handers bury the Titans with rocks that they are finally subdued.

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[581] Similarly West 1966, p. 200, Athanassakis 2004, p. 40, Bremmer 2008, p. 80.

[582] It has been claimed that the Titans were not indigenous to the Aegean, but inspired by the primeval gods known from the Hurrians and Hittites (Yu-Gundert 1984, pp. 118-22, Bremmer 2008, pp. 85-88). As the Titans and the primeval gods do not occur similarly in the *Theogony* and what remains of the *Song of Going Forth*, this idea does not affect the current discussion. Note that my suggestion that a 'Titanomachy' was recounted in column four of the song (see section 4.2.3, pp. 151-53) cannot be adduced in this context. It was based upon a comparison with the *Theogony*, so using it now to point to similarities between the Titans and the primeval gods would be circular reasoning. Also, cf. Xenophanes, fr. 1.21-23 (IEG), where Xenophanes urges people at symposia not to sing about the wars of the Titans or the Giants or the Centaurs. Apparently, this was a common subject of song in his times, i.e. the late sixth and early fifth centuries BCE. This is well after the period of composition of the version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved, but perhaps it could be taken nonetheless to imply that the Titanomachy had been an indigenous tradition of the Aegean.

[583] Mondi 1986, pp. 31-32, 36-37.

But this is recounted in only eight lines (713-720), while just before that, twenty-four lines were dedicated to how Zeus hurls his lightning bolts (687-710). Presumably, however, he had been doing this throughout those ten years of battle, ultimately to little avail. The composer of the text thus tried to push Zeus to the fore, whether or not he really belonged there. Apparently, part of the aim of the version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved was to let Zeus shine as all-powerful even among the immortals. In the context of the interpretation proposed here, this can be taken to have intended to display him as a supreme god, worthy of recognition as such and worship by all the Hellenes.[584]

6.2.6 The Nereids and the Okeanids

Two long enumerations occur in the *Theogony*: that of the Nereids, the fifty daughters of Nereus and Doris (lines 240-264), and of the Okeanids, the daughters of Okeanos and Tethys, seventy-six of whom are mentioned, but who are said to have numbered three thousand in total (337-370). The contents of these sections have repeatedly been analysed, leading to suggestions concerning the background of the deities listed.[585] But as for explanations for why these enumerations were included at all, I am aware only of the idea of Heath, who thought that they served to show off artistic virtuosity.[586] This kind of proposal can hardly be argued against. But in the context of the current study, I should like to offer an alternative explanation.

A list of Nereids also occurs in the *Iliad*, in lines 18.38-49. However, only thirty-three Nereids are mentioned there, accompanied by a reference to 'the others Nereids that were in the depths of the sea' (18.49). Both enumerations have been compared by Pinsent. He pointed to significant differences between the two, which indicate that they did not borrow from each other. Rather, it should be assumed that there was a tradition of such lists. The poets of both the *Iliad* and the *Theogony* drew on this, adapting the existing materials according to the needs of their own compositions.[587]

A parallel to the existence of this tradition in the Aegean may be found in third

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[584] Considering his high status and veneration throughout the extended Aegean, Zeus was the only available choice for this role; see his description in section 5.2.1 (p. 170).

[585] E.g. West 1966, pp. 235-42, 259-69, Athanassakis 2004, pp. 42-43, 44.

[586] Heath 1985, p. 257.

[587] Pinsent 1985, pp. 123-25.

and second millennium southern Mesopotamia. Similarly to the Aegean, that region consisted of a large number of city-states in constant contact with each other, be it through trade, war, or other kinds of interaction.[588] In this context, a tradition of compiling god-lists developed. In these, numerous minor, obscure and otherwise unknown deities are equated with various major gods. Although the lists had local uses, the deities that feature in them hail from the wider surrounding area. Apparently, the close interaction between the political entities of the region had led to a desire for religious syncretism.[589]

I am not suggesting that this Mesopotamian tradition, which remained mainly a scribal and scholarly affair, reached the Aegean in one way or another. But it can be used for comparison. A similar socio-political situation existed in the Aegean at the time of the Homeric and the Hesiodic poems. Consequently, the existence of a tradition of lists of deities in that region in the same way may have been triggered by a desire to bring together various groups of gods that were known and venerated in different places throughout the area.

In the context of my proposed interpretation of the preserved version of the *Theogony*, if this reconstruction is correct, it is easy to see why the enumerations of the Nereids and the Okeanids would have been included in the poem. Also being the result of converging tendencies, they fit its purpose to emphasise and reinforce the closeness of the inhabitants of the wider Aegean. Furthermore, by including so many deities in them, the composer may have intended to have something recognisable there for all in the audience he envisaged. This could not be done with the main pantheon, which had to have a Hellenic appeal. But in the case of these lists of minor deities, he was free to try to add a local touch.

6.2.7 Remaining genealogies

In the preceding discussions, most of the *Theogony* has been dealt with. A few smaller genealogies have not been mentioned yet, but these all feature as a kind of link between larger sections.[590] Two sections may still be discussed: that on the monsters (lines 270-

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[588] See e.g. Glassner 2000, Van De Mieroop 2007, pp. 41-62.

[589] Litke 1998, pp. 1-6, Beaulieu 2004, pp. 165-68.

[590] Such as lines 233-239 (progeny of Pontos) and 265-269 (progeny of Thaumas), which enclose the enumeration of the Nereids; lines 371-382 (on the progeny of Theia), which serve as a break between the

336) and the genealogies that conclude the poem (901-1022). But as will emerge, these can be understood in various ways, depending on, rather than influencing, the interpretation of the poem as a whole.

The section on monsters has been interpreted by Clay as describing a kind of anti-cosmos, serving to demonstrate what the alternative would be to the organised world ruled by Zeus.[591] But it is also possible that these creatures were included because they featured in popular stories about heroic exploits. As most of the monsters are partly or completely divine, a theogony would not be complete without at least a reference to them.

If none of the genealogical lists that follow after the Metis episode belonged to the *Theogony* proper (see section 3.1.1, pp. 117-19), they would not have to be discussed here. At most, together with the link to the *Catalogue of Women* at the end of the poem, they could be taken to imply that a similarity was recognised between the *Theogony* and other poems. This apparently justified linking them together. As they all feature genealogies, be they divine, heroic or human, and thus complement each other, the reason why they were connected seems obvious. If these genealogies, or at least part of them, did belong to the *Theogony*, the reason for their inclusion may have been similar, adding to the divine world as they do.

6.3 The function of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme in the *Theogony* and the composition of the poem

In conclusion, it seems that the contents of the *Theogony* can indeed be understood within the context of the interpretation proposed here, i.e. that it was an attempt to contribute to the development of a feeling of Hellenicity by means of mythological syncretism. No real objections were encountered, and it has been possible to offer interpretations for difficult sections, such as the hymn to Hekate and the enumerations of the Nereids and the Okeanids. Consequently, the possible function of the 'Kingship

list of Okeanids and the section on Styx (see also section 6.2.2, p. 188); or lines 404-410 (progeny of Phoebe), which introduce the hymn to Hekate.

[591] Clay 1993.

in Heaven'-theme in this text now requires investigation.

I suggest that the theme was included in the poem to function as a framework. Through its three-tiered sequence of events, several goals could be achieved by the composer. Most importantly, it allowed him to relate a multitude of deities to each other, while keeping the general outline of the genealogies clear. This by itself would not have required using any specific story. But the theme also features a succession of divine kings, each belonging to different generations, two of which are vanquished along the way. This additionally made it possible to assign deities a place relative to this sequence of events that corresponded to their role in the contemporary world. A genealogical system without such a narrative development would have lacked this option. For example, the difference between the Titans and the Olympian gods in such a case might not have come out as effectively. Furthermore, through the three parallel episodes of the tripartite scheme (see section 3.2.4, pp. 131-33), emphasis could be placed on the supremacy of Zeus.[592]

At this point, a reconstruction of the process of composition of the version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved can be offered.[593] The poet intended to create a text that would bring together deities from the whole extended Aegean into one mythological system, in order to contribute to the feeling of Hellenicity. For this purpose, he brought together a number of traditions existing in the extended Aegean. These included, for example, stories concerning the separation of heaven and earth, Nyx as a theogonic figure, and Prometheus' quarrels with Zeus.

Also among these was a variant of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme, the potential of which to function as the framework of his poem the composer recognised. An additional incentive to use the theme, which may also explain why specific narrative details such as the castration of Ouranos were retained, may have been its familiarity to the audience, and perhaps even a certain popularity it enjoyed: adopted from elsewhere

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[592] Thus, I suggest that a narrative theme that originated outside the Hellenic world was used to reinforce a feeling of togetherness within that world. This may seem contradictory. But as demonstrated in M.C. Miller 1997, even in the fifth century, when anti-Persian rhetoric soared in Athens, the Athenians continued to adopt numerous cultural elements of all sorts from the Persians. Apparently, then, the origin of cultural elements did not concern them much.

[593] See also section 3.1.1 (pp. 115-16).

at most a century earlier, it was already known throughout the region (see section 5.4, pp. 175-77). What shape the theme had exactly when it was included in the Hesiodic *Theogony* must remain unknown. But considering how well the tripartite scheme has been integrated into, and serves the purpose of, the poem, it is likely that the composer was responsible at least for the adaptation of the theme in this regard (see also section 4.2.1, pp. 145-46).

What remains to be seen, is how the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme could reach the Aegean. This is what the following two chapters will focus on.

Chapter VII

Survival of the *Song of Going Forth* after the Late Bronze Age

I have argued that the appearances of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme in the *Song of Going Forth* and the *Theogony* were connected. I have also suggested that transmission cannot have taken place before the ninth century BCE. This means that, in order to show how people in the Aegean may have learned about the variant of the theme of the *Song of Going Forth*, I should investigate, first, how and where it survived the demise of the Hittite kingdom; and second, how it spread to the Aegean from Anatolia. These are the subjects of chapters seven and eight, respectively.

In order to outline its possible development, this chapter will start with a sketch of the history of the period of the *Song of Going Forth* (section 7.1). Subsequently, I shall investigate how the song may have functioned in its Hittite context, and what this suggests for its possible survival after the Late Bronze Age (7.2).

7.1 Historical background

Discussion of the historical background of the *Song of Going Forth* cannot be restricted to the Hittites. Given that figures with Hurrian names play a role in the text and that a related fragment exists in Hurrian, the song had a clear Hurrian connection.[594] I shall, therefore, give an overview of Hurrian history. With Alalu, Anu and Ea, Mesopotamian names feature, too. But as these are likely to have reached the Hittites via the Hurrians, and as nothing related to the song is known from Mesopotamia, it is not necessary to include a section on that region.[595] The Neo-Hittite kingdoms must be included, as it

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[594] Names include Kumarbi, the Aranzaḫ River, Tašmišu, and Šeri(šu). The Hurrian fragment was mentioned before (see section 2.1.2, p. 50), and will be discussed further below, in section 7.2.1.

[595] For the Hurrians as intermediaries for Hittite knowledge of Mesopotamian cultural elements, see section 7.1.2 below. As argued in section 4.1.3 (pp. 142-43), *Enūma Eliš* may have ultimately belonged to

was there, probably, that the tradition that the *Song of Going Forth* belonged to lived on.

Given the focus of this study and restrictions of space, the sections that follow are brief. For more information on the topics discussed, the studies referred to may be consulted.

7.1.1 The Hurrians

The Hurrians cannot easily be linked to other groups.[596] The only cognate to their language is Urartian, which was spoken in the Iron Age kingdom of Urartu, located around Lake Van and to the north and east. Although a common Caucasian background has been postulated, linguistic analysis has shown that the two languages had split already by the third millennium BCE. When the Hurrians first start to appear in Mesopotamian records towards the end of the third millennium, their home is in northern Mesopotamia and northeastern Syria, in the area of the Upper Tigris, the Ḫabur River Triangle and Upper Euphrates, where it remained throughout the Bronze Age. The connection with Urartu therefore does not help in terms of understanding Hurrian culture.[597]

In the course of the first half of the second millennium, our image of the Hurrians shifts. Once obscure, they now become better visible in sources from southwestern Asia and Egypt. Rather than large-scale migrations, this probably implies the growing importance of the various Hurrian kingdoms and, consequently, their increasing influence on others, especially in Anatolia and Syria-Palestine.[598] This culminated in the kingdom of Mittani. In its heyday, in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries, this was the greatest power of the region alongside Egypt, briefly stretching

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the same tradition as the *Song of Going Forth*. But as it represents a different strand of it, it was not related closely enough to necessitate including a section on Mesopotamian history here.

[596] In general on the Hurrians, see Wilhelm 1989, Salvini 2000a. Briefer overviews: Kuhrt 1995, pp. 283-300, Wilhelm 1995. For the Hurrian language, see Wegner 2000.

[597] On Urartu, see (briefly) section 8.2 (p. 226). For the earliest attestations of the Hurrians, see Steinkeller 1998, Salvini 2000c. On the Hurrian 'homeland', see also Buccellati/Kelly-Buccellati 2007.

[598] Kuhrt 1995, pp. 286-89. This does not deny the possibility of movements of smaller groups of Hurrians.
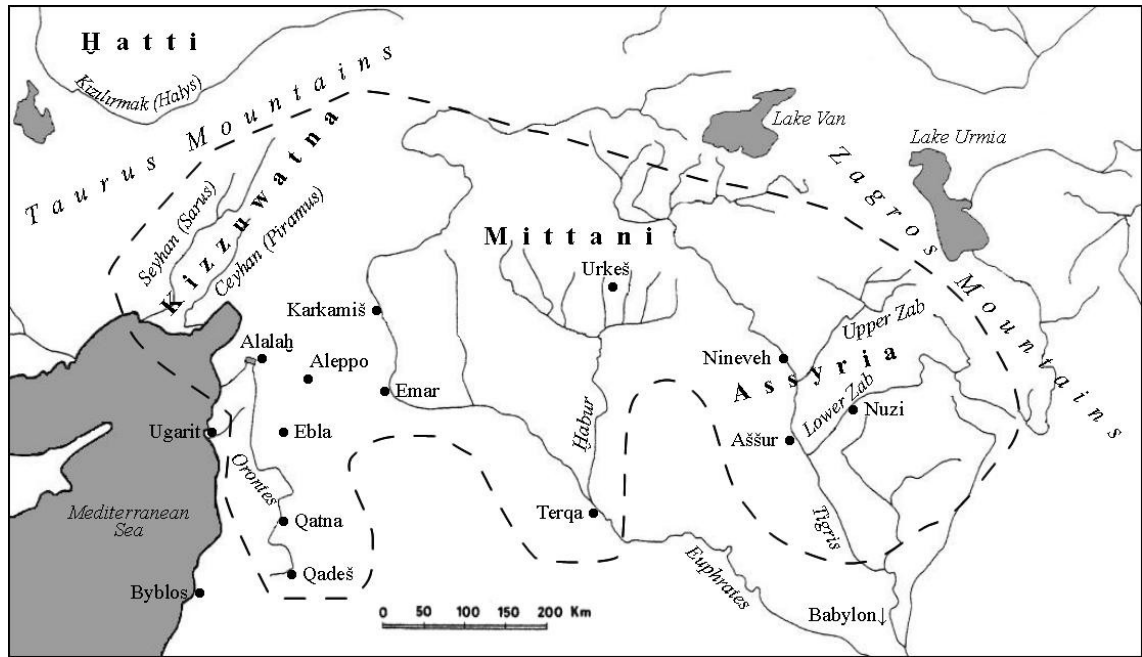
Fig. 7.1: The world of the Hurrians in the fifteenth to fourteenth century BCE, with the greatest extent of the kingdom of Mittani lined out (figure adapted from Wäfler 1983, map after p. 190).

from Nuzi in the east to Cilicia and southern Syria in the west.[599] As its most important cities have not been found or identified yet, evidence for the kingdom is scarce and often indirect. This makes study difficult. A general view is that Mittani was a confederation of smaller kingdoms under an overlord.

That may help to explain its disappearance from history later. During the fourteenth century, Mittani, plagued by internal unrest caused by competing royal lines, increasingly came under pressure from the Hittites and Assyrians. This resulted eventually in the loss of most of its western territory to the former, while the latter conquered the eastern parts of Mittani, including the core area in the Ḫabur River Triangle. In what remained, a smaller entity survived, known as Ḫanigalbat. But this, too, ceased to exist within a few centuries.[600] The name 'Ḫanigalbat' continued to be used as a geographical term, while the occurrence of Hurrian names suggests that the language, although no longer written, was still spoken for at least half a millennium.[601]

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[599] On Mittani specifically, see Stein 1993-1997, Wilhelm 1993-1997, Kühne 1999, de Martino 2000, Giorgieri 2005. For the spelling 'Mittani', to be preferred over the conventional 'Mitanni', see Wilhelm 1993-1997, p. 290.

[600] On Ḫanigalbat, see von Weiher 1972-1975, Wilhelm 1989, pp. 39-41, 1995, pp. 1252-54.

[601] For the possible occurrence of Hurrians in the Old Testament, see McMahon 1989, p. 75.

But the designation 'Hurrian' is not known later, nor is there any hint of similar polities.

7.1.2 The Hittites

Hittite prehistory, too, is still largely unknown.[602] Their Indo-European background provides clues, but when and whence they entered Anatolia is unclear. Hittite names first appear in records concerning the city of Kaneš/Neša, the central Anatolian headquarters of the Assyrian trade network in the twentieth to eighteenth centuries BCE. Although various kingdoms are attested for this period, Hittite history proper starts with the 'Old Kingdom', which lasted from the seventeenth or sixteenth century to ca. 1400.[603] Its centre was the city of Ḫattuša. This was situated in the Halys River bend, 'the Land of Hatti', after the earlier inhabitants of the region, the Hattians. From there, Hittite kings conquered most of central and eastern Anatolia and northern Syria. But in the early or mid sixteenth century, enemy incursions and internal struggles, including several instances of royals bloodshed, resulted in the loss to the Hittites of most of their newly conquered territories.

In the early fourteenth century, during what is now called the 'New Kingdom' or 'Empire', the tide turned. Most of Anatolia and Syria was seized, making the Hittites in the late fourteenth and thirteenth centuries one of the main forces in the wider region. At the same time, these annexations, and especially those of Kizzuwatna and parts of Mittani, brought about a significant 'Hurrianisation' of the Hittite world.[604] The royal

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[602] Recent overviews of Hittite history and culture include Klengel 1999, Bryce 2002, 2005, Collins 2007, Özgüç et al. 2002. On the Hittite language, see GHL.

[603] Seventeenth century: see e.g. Bryce 2005; sixteenth: e.g. Starke 2002, pp. 310-11. The absolute chronology of the period is a difficult issue; see Bryce 2005, pp. 375-82. Additionally, Hittite history has often been divided into an 'Old', 'Middle' and 'New Kingdom', partly to single out a specific poorly documented period, but also out of analogy with the linguistic division into 'Old', 'Middle' and 'New Hittite'. However, Archi 2003 (with references to earlier literature) argued that there are no historical reasons to speak of a 'Middle Hittite Kingdom'. A twofold division would make more sense.

[604] Kizzuwatna was a kingdom centred on Cilicia and extending north into Cappadocia, which had become Hurrianised at an early stage already. Thus, it could function as an intermediary for the transmission of Hurrian cultural elements to the Hittites. On Kizzuwatna, see Beal 1986, Desideri/Jasink 1990, pp. 53-109, J.L. Miller 2004, Yakubovich 2008, pp. 339-56. On the westward spread of the Hurrians and their culture, see Wilhelm 1996, Salvini 2000b, Richter 2005.

Fig. 7.2: The world of the Hittites in the fourteenth to thirteenth century BCE, with the greatest extent of the Hittite New Kingdom lined out (figure adapted from Wäfler 1983, map after p. 190).

dynasty, which was at least partly Hurrian, may have been responsible for this development already in the fifteenth century, but it picked up pace now, and eventually became visible in nearly all aspects of Hittite culture. Mesopotamian elements can be discerned as well. But as the Hurrians themselves had taken over much from Mesopotamian culture, the appearance of such elements among the Hittites may be due to them.[605]

As indicated, the Hittite kingdom did not survive the Bronze Age. Its demise begun in the second half of the thirteenth century, fuelled by dynastic strife. This made the state vulnerable to setbacks, secessions and attacks. It was probably a combination of these, perhaps exacerbated by a period of drought, that brought the kingdom to an end at the beginning of the twelfth century.[606]

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[605] The Hurrian element in Hittite culture was discussed in Güterbock 1954/1955, Hoffner 1998b. On the royal dynasty, see Beal 2002 (who also argued that, in contrary to earlier scholarly opinion, there was no 'Hurrian dynasty'). Hittite culture, especially its religion, can be characterised as extremely inclusive; see e.g. Haas 2002a, Wright 2004, Schwemer 2008a.

[606] See also Yakar 1993, Sürenhagen 1996, Hawkins 2002a. The end of the Hittite New Kingdom and its
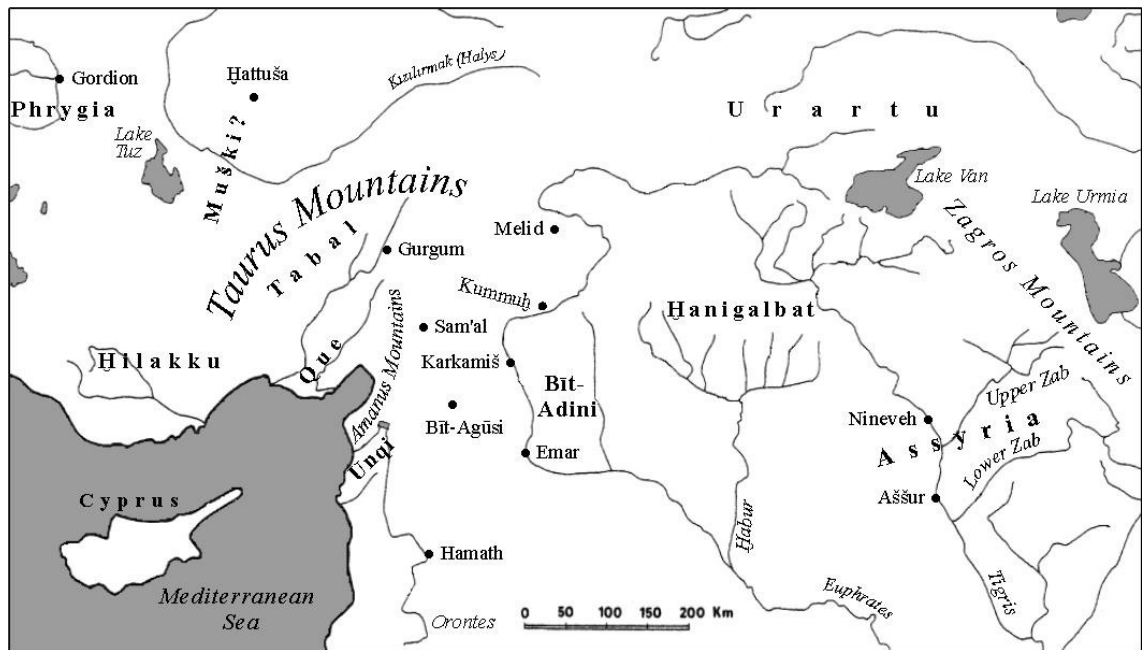
Fig. 7.3: The world of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms in the twelfth to eighth century BCE (figure adapted from Wäfler 1983, map after p. 190).

7.1.3 The Neo-Hittites

The Hittites did not disappear like the Hurrians. Former subordinate regions and client states survived independently in southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria. Examples of these 'Neo-Hittite' kingdoms include Karkamiš, Melid/Malatya and Que.[607] That these represented in some respects a continuation of the Hittite kingdom was acknowledged at the time. For instance, the designation for the entire land ruled by the Hittites, 'Hatti', now came to designate the area encompassed by these later states. And the line of the kings of Karkamiš was directly related to the line of Hittite kings, and took over some of its royal terminology after the Hittite kingdom had disappeared.

However, the designation 'Neo-Hittite' is not entirely correct, as the surviving culture was that of the Luwians, another Indo-European group who in the Late Bronze Age lived in central and southern Anatolia.[608] Scholars also use the term to differentiate the Neo-Hittite kingdoms from their Aramean neighbours, who appeared in the region

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aftermath are discussed further in section 7.2.2 (pp. 214-20).

[607] In general on the Neo-Hittite kingdoms, see Hawkins 1982, 1995a, 2000, 2002b, Bryce 2003, pp. 93-107, 124-27, Sagona/Zimansky 2009, pp. 291-315.

[608] On the Luwians in the Late Bronze Age and afterwards, see Melchert 2003, Yakubovich 2008.

at the same time.[609] But the area until its conquest by the Neo-Assyrians remained a patchwork of separate states, which never united into some kind of Neo-Hittite or Aramean league. In some of these, rulers with Luwian and Aramaic names alternated within the same royal line.[610] And from at least the ninth century onwards, the material culture of both groups is so intermingled that they cannot be distinguished.[611] Therefore, as a definition of a group, the term 'Neo-Hittite', just like 'Aramean', is problematic.[612] But as a designation for the successor states to the Hittite kingdom, who preserved some of its culture, it remains appropriate. Hence, I shall continue to use it.

The small size of these kingdoms would eventually work against them. When the Neo-Assyrian Empire in the early first millennium BCE began to expand, the individual states were drawn ever more into its orbit. Various temporary alliances were formed, but by the end of the eighth century, all had succumbed to the Assyrians.[613]

7.2 The *Song of Going Forth* in the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age

Having sketched the historical context, in the following I shall try to establish what function the *Song of Going Forth* had in its Late Bronze Age context (section 7.2.1), and how it may have survived subsequently (7.2.2).

As discussed in section 1.3.3 (pp. 34-38), cultural elements could also spread in ways other than those that can be reconstructed now. For example, it cannot be excluded that there was also a popular version of the song, which was transmitted orally only and well-known to people throughout areas where Hurrians and Hittites lived; that its popularity caused this version to spread beyond those areas as well; and that it thus survived and reached the Aegean. As the evidence for the use of the song presented below is thin and indirect, such a hypothesis has its attractions.

[609] Arameans: Dion 1995, 1997, Lipiński 2000.

[610] Novák 2005, pp. 253-55.

[611] Hawkins 1982, pp. 436-37, Mazzoni 2000, pp. 41-55, Novák 2002, Aro 2003, pp. 281-85, Novák 2005.

[612] Schniedewind (2002, 276-79) argued that the term 'Aramean' never had ethnic connotations. From its earliest appearance in antiquity, it denoted something geographical.

[613] See also Grayson 1998.

However, as also mentioned in section 1.3.3, argumentations such as these are too vague to really be convincing. Precise instances are required. Therefore, despite the shortage of relevant data, I shall attempt nonetheless to reconstruct the possible role of the *Song of Going Forth* in its contemporary context, and how it may have survived the Late Bronze Age. As direct evidence is missing, this has to be done mainly through discussions of the circumstances under which things may have happened. Through these, I suggest that the song was connected to kingship, and that it continued to be used in that context in the Neo-Hittite kingdoms.

7.2.1 The Hittite context

In section 2.2.8 (pp. 109-11), I argued that the version of the *Song of Going Forth* that is known from CTH 344.A was a scribal exercise. Wider use or knowledge in the Hittite world of this specific version of the text is thus unlikely. However, this does not mean that use or knowledge of the story recounted in this text was equally restricted.[614]

In fact, it is clear that CTH 344.A did not exist in isolation. This is evidenced by the remark in the colophon that CTH 344.A concerns a copy from another text, by the existence of a duplicate, and by the references and similarities to the storyline of the *Song of Going Forth* in the related fragment in Hurrian, KUB 33.105 and, possibly, *Ea and the Beast*.[615] Unfortunately, nothing can be deduced from these hints regarding the contents of other versions of the *Song of Going Forth*. In the cases of the *Song of Ullikummi*, the *Tale of the Hunter Kešši and his Beautiful Wife* and the *Gilgameš Epic*, fragments have been found of what is ostensibly the same text, but in different languages and versions. Although the general storyline of each text remains the same in all versions, the wording, detail and particulars of the narrative vary significantly.[616] Something similar applies to the duplicate, CTH 344.B. Small as it is, it already features a few textual variants to CTH 344.A. So without further evidence, it is impossible to say with any certainty when possible other copies and versions of the song were composed,

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[614] See also Lorenz/Rieken 2010, pp. 229-30, on the *Song of the Deeds of the Sea* and the *Ritual and Myth of the Māla River*, which are both texts of non-Anatolian origin that nonetheless played a role in rituals, so outside of the scribal context.

[615] KUB 33.105: see section 2.2.3 (p. 77); *Ea and the Beast*: section 2.2.6 (pp. 97-99). The related fragment in Hurrian will be discussed below.

[616] See Salvini 1988, Tigay 1993, pp. 253-54, Giorgieri 2001, Bryce 2002, p. 59, Beckman 2003.

when they circulated, what language they used, and how the story and title of the text may have varied.[617] Nonetheless, at least it is clear that other versions did exist.

Furthermore, there are a few hints concerning what function the story of the *Song of Going Forth*, in one version of another, had in Hittite society. Most importantly, there is, again, the related fragment in Hurrian.[618] As remarked in section 2.1.2 (p. 50), lines obv. 9'-12' mention Alalu, Anu and Kumarbi. Unfortunately, Hurrian is still understood too poorly to be able to read how these deities featured here. But as they do not occur together outside the context of an enumeration of primeval gods anywhere else, their appearance suggests that the fragment had something to do with the story of the *Song of Going Forth*. Nonetheless, it is not a copy in Hurrian: the repeated references to frankincense cannot be linked to anything known from the song. They rather suggest that some kind of ritual is described.

Information given in the partly preserved colophon of the tablet points in a similar direction. In rev. line 25', one reads "] 2[?KAM] NU.AL.TIL x [x x x x]-´*a*˺-*u*-*aš*", 'second(?) [tablet(?)], incomplete, [ ]'. This last gap must have contained the title. Despite the Hurrian of the tablet, the last three signs indicate that this title ended with a Hittite word. As '-*u*-*aš*' can stand for -*waš*, the genitive form of Hittite verbal nouns in -*war*, there is a possibility that this Hittite word was *parā*(=*kan*) *pāwar*. As suggested in section 2.2.8 (pp. 105-9), *parā*(=*kan*) *pāwar* could be the Hittite equivalent of the logographic writing 'ŠÌR GÁ×È.A', used to denote the title of the *Song of Going Forth* in line iv 28 of that text.[619] Concerning the category of the fragment, the first sign after "NU.AL.TIL" was transliterated by Salvini and Wegner with 'ši[R[?]'. But as they indicated, and as the tablet drawing shows, what remains of the relevant sign equally allows for the readings 'ŠÌR', 'INIM' and 'EZEN₄'. This indicates that, apart from a song, the text may also have concerned an incantation ('INIM.INIM.MA') or, more likely considering the

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[617] Consequently, the history of the text as represented in Corti 2007, pp. 120-21, must be considered speculative.

[618] ChS I/6 7 = KUB 47.56. See Salvini 1991, pp. 129-30, ChS 1/6, pp. 17-18, 38-39.

[619] The other Hittite equivalent that I suggested, *parā(=kan) uwawar*, cannot have been used here. Due to the short 'a' in the middle of *uwawar*, this would have been written '*ú-wa-*(*ú-*)*-wa-aš*'. Also, the variant used would have been *pa-ra-a pa-a-u-aš* (*parā pāwar*) rather than '*pa-ra-a-kán pa-a-u-aš*', as the latter probably would not have fitted the available space (see the drawing of KUB 47.56).

available space and sign remains, a festival ('ᴇᴢᴇɴ₄').[620]

This is tentative. But the references to frankincense and the remains of the title allow for the possibility that this fragment describes a ritual belonging to a festival, part of which may have had something to do with the *Song of Going Forth*. If so, the use of Hittite for the title could be an explicit reference to a Hittite version of the story of CTH 344.A: 'Festival of (the *Song of*) *Going Forth*'.

CTH 785 has also been mentioned in this context. This is a description for a ritual for Mount Ḫazzi. In various Hurrian fragments of the same text, it is said that both the *Song of the Deeds of the Sea* and the *Song of Kingship* should be sung.[621] As it mentions that the storm-god defeats the sea-god in the former, this probably refers to the text known as *Song of the Sea* (CTH 346.II).[622] Regarding the *Song of Kingship*, Houwink ten Cate proposed that it concerned the *Song of Going Forth*. In 1992, he was still able to refer to CTH 344.A as the 'Song of the Kingship in Heaven'.[623] With the recent discovery of the actual title of the song, this idea has become harder to maintain. Of course, the reference need not point exactly to CTH 344.A. As the title is given in Hurrian in CTH 785, it might rather refer to a version of the *Song of Going Forth* in that language. But as noted above, nothing is known about any such version, so assuming its existence under a different title is speculation. Consequently, although it is possible that some version of the *Song of Going Forth* was recited as part of the ritual described in CTH 785, the evidence is too slight for conclusions. As it is, the *Song of Kingship* could also be another song about the victory of the storm-god over the sea-god.

In light of this and the analysis of the *Song of Going Forth* in chapter two, we may consider various proposals for the function of the song.

The first editor of the song, Forrer, considered all Hurrian stories about the

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[620] ChS 1/6, p. 17n17.

[621] *Song of the Deeds of the Sea*: KUB 44.7, obv. line 11 = KBo 42.2 obv. line 15; *Song of Kingship*: KUB 8.88, obv. lines 8-9. See Rutherford 2001, pp. 598-99 (who wrote 'Song of the Sea', as the title is only partly legible in KUB 44.7, and KBo 42.2 had not yet been published), Archi 2009, p. 219, Lorenz/Rieken 2010, pp. 218, 229.

[622] Rutherford 2001, pp. 598, 601, Haas 2006, p. 152.

[623] Houwink ten Cate 1992, pp. 116-17; also Lane Fox 2008, p. 275, Archi 2009, p. 219, Rutherford 2009, p. 24.

divine world essentially popular history. The *Song of Going Forth* he assumed to have been related to the conquest of one group by another, which he thought was symbolised in myth by a tale of the battle of the gods of the victorious group with those of the defeated.[624] Forrer did not explain how specific sections of the song should be interpreted in this way, and it is difficult to connect any of them to historical events that may have taken place. There is also no reason why this kind of story would be recited during rituals, as suggested by the related fragment in Hurrian; or why there should be versions in both Hittite and Hurrian. Only one or the other can have been the conquering group, which would make the text unappealing to the other. Forrer's suggestion is thus not very persuasive.[625]

Alternatively, Haas considered the song to be a calendar myth.[626] Related to the agricultural calendar, he supposed each king to stand for a specific period of the year. But this, too, is problematic. As Alalu and Anu had no place in the Hurrian or Hittite pantheon, there is no reason why they would feature as kings in this context. Also, if four rulers were used to symbolise the entire year, then why would so little time be devoted to two of them? Alalu especially is barely present in the text. It cannot be excluded that the bare structure of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme, with its sequence of divine kings, was originally developed in relation to the succession of the seasons. To explain the appearance of Alalu and Anu, one may assume this basic structure to have originated in Mesopotamia. But even if this is correct, in the *Song of Going Forth*, the theme has been elaborated to the point where such a posited original meaning has virtually vanished. It is unlikely that the Hittites would still have considered the text to be related to agriculture, or would have used it in that context.

More helpful is a suggestion by Bryce, who thought that the text may have had to do originally with a ritual depicting a contest between forces of the netherworld and the upper world, which was elaborated in literary form.[627] This cannot be easily reconciled with the version of the text that is known as the *Song of Going Forth*. Despite the gods' residence in the netherworld, due to the inclusion among them of sky-gods such as Enlil and Anu, the primeval gods cannot be considered a wholly chthonic

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[624] Forrer 1935, 1936a, p. 689, 1936b.

[625] See also Güterbock 1938, p. 93.

[626] See Haas 1994, p. 85. Bernabé 1989, pp. 170, 174-75, 179, also considered an agrarian background.

[627] Bryce 2002, pp. 224-26.

group. Yet, it is possible that the story of such a struggle had been a factor in the earlier development of the song.

When considering the purpose of the *Song of Going Forth*, it seems more promising to connect it to kingship. Just as the storm-god ruled over the gods, so the king ruled over his people. It is not surprising therefore that, at least during the period of the New Kingdom, Hittite kings considered themselves protégés of the storm-god.[628] The song may thus be considered to have been intended as a religious legitimisation of the position of the king. It recounts how his tutelary deity became supreme among the gods. The implication is that, as the favourite of the storm-god, the king, too, has the right to rule over others. Furthermore, the song symbolises the power of the king. Like the storm-god, he will vanquish any opposing forces and contenders for the throne. And, like the primeval gods, his potential and/or former enemies should stay where they are, not rise against him.

In this context, let me consider the reference to ᴰKA.ZAL in line ii 38 of the song. In section 2.2.3 (pp. 73-79), I argued that this writing might refer to the storm-god in his role as Muwattalla. Popko showed in 2001 that this cultic variant of the storm-god was singled out by king Muršili II, who ruled circa 1300 BCE, as his personal god. Although it is not certain that later kings continued to consider Muwattalla in this way, texts show that his name continued to be used as an epithet of (*muwat(t)al(l)i-*), and a designation for, the storm-god in his role as head of the Hittite pantheon and protector of the king.[629] The version of the *Song of Going Forth* that has survived, has been dated to the late thirteenth century (see section 2.1.2, pp. 51-52), i.e. after the reign of Muršili II. Thus, if correct, the use of the name Muwattalla to refer to the storm-god in line ii 38 of the song could be interpreted as referring to the intimate connection between the Hittite king and this god.

Parallels for the use of myth for the religious legitimisation of the position of the king can be found elsewhere in the same period as well. The warrior-god Ninurta in Mesopotamia personifies the institution of kingship and decrees the destiny of the king. This is expressed through rituals and in his mythology.[630] And for Ugarit, Wyatt has

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[628] See Houwink ten Cate 1992, pp. 146-48, Popko 2001, pp. 147-48, Hutter-Braunsar 2006, pp. 97-99. Evidence for existence of this idea in earlier times is still lacking.

[629] Popko 2001, pp. 152-53.

[630] Annus 2002.

argued that the 'Baal Cycle' was mostly concerned not with seasonal patterns, as often said, but with kingship, and should be interpreted in the context of royal ideology.[631]

It may now also be possible to provide a historical background for the composition of the song. The most important feature of any explanation must be that it provides an explanation for the appearance of the Mesopotamian gods. I suggest that the background can be found in the rise of the state of Mittani. As discussed (see section 7.1.1, pp. 200-2), while a variety of independent Hurrian kingdoms had existed earlier, the state of Mittani functioned as a confederation through which they could operate together. This was done under the aegis of an overlord. With such a political structure, it is inevitable that there was continuous struggle between this overlord and the leaders of the individual kingdoms, with the former wanting more power, and the latter desiring to hold their own.

Attempts by the overlord to raise his profile are likely to have included the use of myth. This would have required the figure of Teššub, the Hurrian storm-god and one of the main deities.[632] No other god could provide the overlord with sufficient justification to rule supreme over the other kings. To fulfil his aim, an existing myth featuring Teššub may have been taken and modified. Perhaps this had originally been related to a ritual depicting a contest between forces of the netherworld and the upper world, as Bryce proposed. But it can also be connected to a suggestion by Schwemer, who thought that the myth might reflect an actual historical religious development, in the course of which Teššub gained importance at the expense of Kumarbi.[633] Elements from various other traditions that were considered relevant in the new context may have been added as well.[634]

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[631] Wyatt 2007, pp. 43-45. See also Smith 1994, pp. xxii-xxvi.

[632] See Haas 1994, pp. 330-32, Trémouille 2000, pp. 140-41, Schwemer 2001, pp. 444-459. I do not mean to imply that this use of Teššub included elevating him to a position of divine supremacy in myth. It is certain that Teššub headed the Hurrian pantheon in the period of the kingdom of Mittani, but the scantiness of the available evidence precludes definite statements about Teššub's earlier position. Nonetheless, his infrequent appearance as an element of personal names in the third millennium BCE might imply that his rise in the pantheon at least postdated that period (see Wilhelm 1989, p. 49, Giorgieri 2005, pp. 83-87).

[633] Schwemer 2001, p. 449.

[634] See e.g. the stone substitute episode, which I suggested in section 2.2.5 (pp. 84-89) is an excursus from the main storyline. However, without further evidence, it cannot be known at which point what element

The result was a story that emphasised the importance of the storm-god, and how he had deserved, obtained and defended his position of power. If Kumarbi's presence in the song does not reflect a historical development, he may, as the father of Teššub, also have been a traditional element that had to be included. Anu may have been added to symbolise that the period of Mesopotamian dominance belonged to the past. By contrast, the present belonged to Teššub, i.e. to the Hurrians under their overlord.[635] It may also be relevant that, because Kumarbi swallowed the genitals of Anu, Teššub is a child of both of these gods. This could have served to indicate that the kingdom of Mittani existed not just after, but also in succession to earlier Hurrian and Mesopotamian kingdoms. After the downfall of the kingdom of Mittani, this myth reached the Hittite world along with the many other Hurrian elements that made their way there (see section 7.1.2, pp. 202-3).

In summary, I suggest that the *Song of Going Forth*, by recounting how the storm-god obtained his position of power, provided legitimisation for the position of his protégé, the king. It was probably developed in the context of the kingdom of Mittani, from where it made its way to the Hittites. Recognising its potential, they adopted and adapted it, and used it for their own king. Considering the related fragment in Hurrian, it seems likely that the story of the song was recited or enacted at a festival, perhaps to celebrate the king or to renew the kingship. In the case of the latter, the title of the song could be connected to something that was done during the festival.

7.2.2 After the Late Bronze Age

In the early twelfth century BCE, the Hittite kingdom disappeared, as did all of its institutions. How did the *Song of Going Forth* survive this development? As argued in the previous section, the story probably had a Hurrian background, and was taken over from there by the Hittites. But it is unlikely that it spread only to the central area of the Hittite Empire. It may well have been known, and maybe even used in a similar context, also in the many smaller kingdoms and vassal states of northern Mesopotamia, Syria,

was added.

[635] A reason for the addition of Alalu, i.e. to function as a link between the invocation of the primeval gods and the reign of Anu, was offered in section 2.2.2 (pp. 65-66).

and eastern and southern Anatolia. In that case, the song may have survived there in local contexts; if not in an official role, then perhaps as a story remembered by the populace.

Unfortunately, there is little actual information regarding any of this. The lack of evidence from the Late Bronze Age was discussed above. As for the Iron Age, an indication of the continued use of songs about the victory of the storm-god over adversaries in the context of kingship is provided by the Terqa Stele (also: Ashara Stele). This stele was found at the site of Tell Ashara/Terqa in eastern Syria, and has been dated to the first decades of the ninth century BCE. It contains an inscription about the Neo-Assyrian kings Adad-nirārari II and Tukulti-Ninurta II, accompanied by depictions of a Neo-Assyrian king, an *apkallu* demon, and of a storm-god and a serpent fighting each other.[636] This last scene is reminiscent of the *Song of Ḫedammu* and the Hittite *Illuyanka Tales*, both of which similarly feature a serpent as the challenger of the storm-god.

However, to my knowledge, the Terqa Stele constitutes all the evidence for the Iron Age available in this context. With regard to the Hurrian background of the *Song of Going Forth*, the evidence otherwise actually rather suggests discontinuity. As mentioned in section 7.1.1 (pp. 200-2), apart from the appearance of Hurrian personal names, the Hurrians disappear from view completely after the Late Bronze Age. The Urartians provide no help here. Despite the linguistic link, no connections between Hurrian and Urartian culture can be discerned, except for the names of a few gods.[637]

With this state of the historical evidence, other approaches to the issue of the continuity of knowledge of the story of the *Song of Going Forth* may be attempted. Below, I shall explore two. First is an overview of the continuity of Hittite and Hurrian cultural elements in general. Next, I shall try to demonstrate how Neo-Hittite kings consciously continued to use Hittite royal traditions. In my opinion, by combining these two, it becomes possible to envisage how the song may have lived on in the Iron Age.

It should be noted that continued use and knowledge of the story of the *Song of Going Forth* in Anatolia and/or Syria in the Iron Age and subsequent transmission towards the Aegean is not the only possible scenario. There is also a chance that

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[636] The Terqa Stele is discussed in detail in Masetti-Rouault 2001, pp. 89-133.

[637] Salvini 1978, Wilhelm 1989, p. 41.

transmission took place in the Late Bronze Age already.[638] Evidence with which to ascertain the nature of interaction between central Anatolia and the Aegean or western Anatolia in that period is as yet scarce, and there is no specific information regarding contemporary literary traditions in the Aegean. Consequently, any proposal concerning the transmission of literary elements towards the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age must remain relatively speculative. But in light of the intensity of interregional interaction in the eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age in general, it is worth considering this kind of reconstruction nonetheless.[639] In that case, in the following the survival of this particular variant 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme in the Aegean should be studied, instead of in Anatolia and Syria. Research from the preceding chapters would also have to be adapted accordingly.

However, as mentioned before, my aim is not an exhaustive discussion of all the ways in which the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme that is known from the *Theogony* may have reached the Aegean; it is to study one scenario in detail.[640] Therefore, in line with the reconstruction of the process of transmission of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme adopted so far in this study, I will assume the theme to have reached the Aegean only in the Iron Age. In turn, this requires the following study of its survival into that period outside the Aegean.

It used to be thought that the Hittites met a violent end by the hands of invaders, who terminated forever their kingdom and culture.[641] However, studies in the past two decades have made it clear that this was not the case. There was a significant degree of continuity from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age in Anatolia and northern Syria.

One indication of this is developments in pottery styles. During the Hittite New Kingdom, the pottery produced in large parts of the Hittite territories was relatively homogeneous.[642] This standardised ware disappears from the archaeological record soon

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[638] Thus e.g. Anderson 1954, Griffin 1986, p. 91.

[639] See e.g. Cline 1994, Bachvarova 2002, pp. 27-56, Benzi 2002, van Wijngaarden 2002, van Dongen 2007, pp. 14-24, Heinhold-Krahmer 2007, Niemeier 2008, Kelder 2009.

[640] See also in sections 1.4 (p. 40), 3.1.1 (pp. 114-17) and 8.1 (pp. 221-22).

[641] See e.g. Hallo/Simpson 1971, pp. 117-20, MacQueen 1986, pp. 50-52, Schachermeyr 1986, pp. 336-46.

[642] Henrickson 1995, Gates 2001, Müller-Karpe 2002, Genz 2005, p. 76, Postgate 2007, pp. 144-45, Glatz

after the end of the Hittite kingdom. But instead of being succeeded by new styles, it is rather local Anatolian styles that reappear. Although they do not always turn up at the same place as before, some are more comparable to the pottery of the Early and Middle Bronze Ages than to that of the Late Bronze Age.[643] This suggests a historical development that can also be deduced from recent finds at the Hittite capital of Ḫattuša. It appears that the city was not destroyed completely after 1200 BCE. Only its temples, palaces and administrative buildings were burned, and these had been emptied. Afterwards, in the Early Iron Age, only a small settlement remained.[644]

Thus, the image is created of the removal of a governing social layer of society, with few direct consequences for the lifestyle of those governed. Various burnt layers in the archaeological record indicate that there was internal migration in the region. But the Phrygians may be the only case of a large-scale migration from outside, if they, too, had not been present in Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age already (see section 8.2.2, pp. 228-29). Significant social and political developments are certainly discernible. But these happened gradually, developing out of what had been there before.[645]

With this in mind, it is not surprising that continuity can be observed at many levels in Anatolia, especially in the south, and in northern Syria after the Late Bronze Age. Although evidence for the linguistic situation in Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age is not complete, the use of Luwian in southeastern Anatolian and Syria and of the Luwian-related languages Lycian and Carian in the southwest, as well as the continued use of Lydian, positioned somewhere between Hittite and Luwian, in western Anatolia, suggest that there was little change in the linguistic situation in those regions.[646] Connected to this are similarities in Late Bronze Age and Iron Age personal names that

2009 (which demonstrated that this homogeneity was not as strong as scholars in the past decade had started to assume).

[643] Yakar 1993, Ramage 1994, U. Müller 2003, Genz 2005, Strobel 2005, pp. 196-97, Postgate 2007, pp. 145-49, Kealhofer et al. 2009.

[644] Seeher 2001, Strobel 2004, pp. 260-61. See also Genz 2005, Kealhofer et al. 2009.

[645] See also Strobel 2004, Mac Sweeney 2009.

[646] Melchert 1995. On Lydian: Hajnal 2001, Melchert 2004. Recent studies have suggested that Luwian in the thirteenth century had replaced Hittite as the common language, with use of the latter having become restricted to administrative purposes and the ruling class (van den Hout 2007, Yakubovich 2008, pp. 375-79). This explains for the disappearance of the Hittite language and script after the Late Bronze Age.

have been observed.[647] Both these developments again argue against the idea of large-scale migrations or demographic changes.[648]

Furthermore, there was continuity in Neo-Hittite art, including palatial and religious architecture, statues of gods and men, reliefs, and seal carvings. In the twelfth and eleventh centuries, at several sites these were clearly connected to Hittite forerunners. Only afterwards did this become less obvious, due to subsequent developments and contacts with others.[649] Augurs in Syria also continued practices known from Hittite texts,[650] while border descriptions were expressed in a fashion similar to that of the Hittites.[651] Additionally, despite the almost complete disappearance from view of the Hurrians after the Late Bronze Age, but in line with traditions of the Hittite royal dynasty, a number of Neo-Hittite kings bear Hurrian names.[652]

Mythology and legends, too, can be mentioned. Examples include the story of the Gordion knot, in which the fastening of something with red threads reminds of Hittite rituals involving coloured wool; the Golden Fleece, which may be related to the Hittite *kurša*, a hide that could feature as an object of cult; and the version of the Typhoeus story from the *Bibliotheca* of pseudo-Apollodorus (1.6.3), which resembles the Hittite *Illuyanka Tales*.[653] In this context, the scene of the storm-god and a serpent fighting on the Terqa Stele can also be mentioned again (see above). Moreover, there was continuity in Carian, Lydian, Phrygian and Neo-Hittite religion, in the form of cults and rituals and the veneration of Hittite, Luwian and Hurrian deities.[654] In the current

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[647] See Goetze 1954 (especially southern Anatolia), Houwink ten Cate 1961 (Cilicia, Lycia), Goetze 1962 (Cilicia), Schürr 2002 (Caria), Durnford 2008 (Lycia).

[648] See also Yakubovich 2008, pp. 160-76. Toponymic continuity can be observed as well (see e.g. Heubeck 1985, Mellink 1995, Widmer 2006); but note that new groups often take over existing toponyms from their predecessors in the area.

[649] Orthmann 2002.

[650] Radner 2009, pp. 226-28.

[651] Wazana 2001.

[652] Concerning signs of continuity in Urartu, Fol (2008) noted similarities between Hittite and Urartian rock-cut monuments. But this she ascribed to a common Anatolian tradition that went back to prehistoric times and to some extent continues until the present day, rather than to continuity of a specific aspect of Hittite culture in Urartu.

[653] Burke 2001, Bremmer 2008, pp. 303-38.

[654] Laroche 1960, Robertson 1982, Popko 1995, pp. 165-166, Roller 1999, pp. 42-44, Hutter 2001, pp.

context, especially continued veneration of the storm-god as the supreme god should be mentioned.

Added to this enumeration can be traditions concerning kingship. In the Neo-Hittite states, ruler legitimation and royal cult and self-representation ran along similar lines as before. This can be seen in the use of titles, such as 'Great King' and 'Hero', in the style and phrasing of inscriptions, in the relation of the king to the gods and the way they are addressed, and in iconography.[655] As for the storm-god, in addition to retaining his position of supreme deity, at least in Karkamiš, Mašuwari and Zincirli, he also kept his role as the tutelary deity of the king.[656] Furthermore, the epithet *muwat(t)al(l)i-* continued to be used for the storm-god specifically. Whether this was in relation to the king as earlier we do not know; it only occurs in royal inscriptions, but as no other kind of Neo-Hittite text survives, what this means remains unclear.[657] Parallels have also been detected between the writing style of Hittite royal autobiographies and annals on the one hand, and Neo-Hittite and Lycian royal inscriptions on the other.[658] Finally, it has been suggested that the appearances of the Phrygian king Midas with donkey ears in Hellenic art and literature should be connected to the survival of an earlier Anatolian tradition, in which the donkey was a royal symbol.[659]

Additionally, it can be shown that the continuation of Hittite royal traditions was not accidental, but the result of an intentional reference by the Neo-Hittite kings to the time of the great Hittite kingdom, to which they considered themselves the successors. But to do so, we first need a few more details about the history of the Hittite kingdom in the thirteenth century BCE.

By the end of the Late Bronze Age, Tarḫuntašša in southern Anatolia had become one of the most important parts of the Hittite kingdom, equalled only by

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178-80, 2003, 2006, Mazoyer 2006, Rutherford 2006, Trémouille 2006a, Mastrocinque 2007, Kohlmeyer 2009.

[655] Hutter 2001, pp. 175-78, Hutter-Braunsar 2006.

[656] Popko 1995, pp. 167-68, Schwemer 2001, pp. 621-23, Hutter 2003, pp. 220-24.

[657] Popko 2001, pp. 152-53, Hutter 2003, pp. 221-22. The god Muwattalla so far has not appeared in Iron Age sources.

[658] Uchitel 1989/1990.

[659] Vassileva 2008a.

Karkamiš in north Syria.[660] It was to Tarḫuntašša that the Hittite king Muwattalli II had moved his capital at the beginning of the thirteenth century. His decision was reversed by his son, Urḫi-Teššub, who ascended the throne as king Muršili III. He was deposed by his uncle, Ḫattušili III, and had to flee the country. The new king then turned Tarḫuntašša into a vassal-state ruled by Kurunta. He was Urḫi-Teššub's brother, but raised by Ḫattušili and particularly dear to him. A period of quiet ended with the accession of Ḫattušili's son, Tudḫaliya IV. During the reign of the latter, it seems that tensions with Tarḫuntašša rose; seals have been found in Ḫattuša on which Kurunta is called 'Great King', but how this should be interpreted exactly, and what happened to Tarḫuntašša afterwards, is unclear.[661] The last reference to Tarḫuntašša in the Hittite sources is in an inscription of Šuppiluliuma II, a son of Tudḫaliya and the successor of his brother Arnuwanda III, who died soon after becoming king. It reports a campaign in Tarḫuntašša and the victory Šuppiluliuma gained.[662]

There is no direct information about who ruled the kingdom after Kurunta's death, nor what happened to it after the campaign by Šuppiluliuma II. Nonetheless, of interest is a group of royal inscriptions found in the far northwest of Tarḫuntašša. They mention one Ḫartapu, who refers to himself as 'Great King'. There has been considerable discussion about the date of these texts.[663] If they were composed at the end of the thirteenth century, then the Muršili that Ḫartapu mentions as his father may be the former king Urḫi-Teššub, who is likely to have returned to Anatolia at some point after he fled from Ḫattušili.[664] In this scenario, Urḫi-Teššub incited Tarḫuntašša, ruled by Ḫartapu, to secede from the Hittite kingdom, after which Šuppiluliuma mounted a campaign to quell the revolt.[665] But if the inscriptions were made in the early twelfth century, Šuppiluliuma's campaign may rather have been directed against an

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[660] On Tarḫuntašša, see Hawkins 1988, pp. 106-8, Sürenhagen 1996, pp. 287-90, Hawkins 2000, 425-33, 2002a, Bryce 2005, pp. 230-33, 253-56, 319-21, 351-55. In general on the Hittite kingdom in the thirteenth century, see Bryce 2005, pp. 221-356.

[661] It might be that Kurunta overthrew Tudḫaliya IV and briefly ruled, until Tudḫaliya returned to remove him from office again. But Kurunta might also have been given this title by Tudḫaliya in an attempt to appease him. See Sürenhagen 1996, pp. 287-88, Mora 2003, Bryce 2005, pp. 319-21.

[662] Hawkins 1990.

[663] Hawkins 1988, pp. 106-7, Singer 1996, Bryce 2005, pp. 351-53.

[664] Bryce 2005, pp. 280-81.

[665] See also Jasink 2001.

invasion by the Sea Peoples, while Ḫartapu and his father Muršili ruled in Tarḫuntašša after the demise of the Hittite kingdom.[666]

Either way, what emerges is that by the end of the Hittite kingdom the title of 'Great King' was contested. It was no longer necessarily connected to a king ruling from Ḫattuša. Consequently, after the disappearance of the Hittite state, any Neo-Hittite king could lay claim to it.[667]

The best evidence for this comes from the kingdom of Karkamiš.[668] In the second half of the fourteenth century, the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma I had conquered large parts of Syria. Part of this he turned into a vassal-state, centred on Karkamiš and ruled by his son Piyaššili. This viceroy subsequently founded a dynasty, under which this state developed into one of the most important parts of the Hittite kingdom. Unlike with Tarḫuntašša, there is no question about its loyalty to the central authority. Its king Ini-Teššub in the second half of the thirteenth century apparently felt important enough to refer to himself as 'Hero', a title normally reserved for the Hittite king. But this was still secondary to 'Great King', which Ini-Teššub did not use.[669]

Genealogical information from inscriptions has made it clear that Piyaššili's dynasty survived the demise of the Hittite kingdom, and managed to continue to rule for several centuries, until the Neo-Assyrian conquest. It also seems that the kings of Karkamiš immediately after the Late Bronze Age ruled over an extensive area, that included most of the Syrian territories that had formerly belonged to the Hittites. Unsurprisingly, therefore, after the disappearance of the Hittite kingdom they claimed the title of 'Great King' for themselves. How long they continued to do so is unclear. But at least by the ninth century, perhaps due to the gradual loss of most of their territory, use of this title had been abandoned.[670]

Four further kings can be mentioned. The state of Melid/Malatya had been part of the kingdom of Karkamiš, but seems to have become independent by the end of the

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[666] Singer 1996, Mora 2003, Freu/Mazoyer 2009, pp. 201-9.

[667] Similarly Yakar 1993, p. 23, Hutter 2001, pp. 174-75.

[668] On Karkamiš, see Hawkins 1988, Sürenhagen 1996, pp. 290-92, Hawkins 2000, pp. 73-79, 2002a, pp. 147-48, Bryce 2005, pp. 178-80.

[669] For the relations between the king in Ḫattuša and his viceroy in Karkamiš, see also Singer 2001, Mora 2003, Freu/Mazoyer 2009, pp. 143-48.

[670] Hawkins 1988, pp. 104-5, 2000, pp. 77-79.

twelfth century BCE.[671] One of its first kings was one Arnuwanti, who claimed to be a grandson of Kuzi-Teššub, a king of Karkamiš. This suggests that the kings of Karkamiš had assigned various parts of their territory to their sons, as the Hittites had done with Karkamiš and Tarḫuntašša. It also means that descendants from the former Hittite royal family now ruled over yet another separate kingdom. This may explain why Arnuwanti referred to himself with the Hittite royal title of 'Hero'.

This was also done by Taita, a twelfth century king of a northwestern Syrian state of considerable importance centred on the Amuq plain, which was initially known as Palastin (also 'Walastin'), but after the eleventh century mainly as Unqi.[672] Finally, there is an inscription from Tabal, located north of Cilicia, from the eighth century BCE, in which king Wašušarma refers to himself and his father Tuwati as 'Great King'.[673] Whether these two still consciously referred back to Hittite times cannot be known. But at least it again indicates continuity in the use of royal titles.

The instances of kings calling themselves 'Great King' or 'Hero' discussed above are few only. But in the context of the general paucity of written evidence from the Neo-Hittite kingdoms,[674] their number turns out to be relatively large. This can be coupled with continuity regarding ruler legitimation, royal cult and self-representation, the supreme position of the storm-god, his relation to the king, and the use of the epithet *muwat(t)al(l)a/i-*, all of which were mentioned above. The combination of these elements provides a clear indication that Hittite royal traditions not only lived on uninterrupted after the Late Bronze Age, but were also consciously retained by those involved. The kings will also have been required to provide religious legitimisation for their position. In this context, the survival of the *Song of Going Forth* would fit. Formerly related to Hittite kingship, it may have been taken over and used in the same way by one or more of the Neo-Hittite kings.

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[671] On Melid/Malatya, see Hawkins 1995b, pp. 88-90, 2000, pp. 282-88.

[672] Hawkins 2000, pp. 361-65, Harrison 2007, pp. 59-62. In general on Palastin/Unqi, see Harrison 2009a, 2009b, Hawkins 2009.

[673] On Tabal, see Wäfler 1983, Aro 1998, Hawkins 2000, pp. 425-33, Bryce 2003, pp. 97-100, Börker-Klähn 2004, Melville 2010.

[674] See in Çambel 1999, Hawkins 2000.

Chapter VIII

The overland route: Intra-Anatolian interaction ca. 1200-650 BCE

How did the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme become known in the Aegean? Now that a proposal has been made in the previous chapter for the position of the *Song of Going Forth* in its Late Bronze Age context, and how it may have lived on among the Neo-Hittites in the Iron Age, only this question remains. To answer it, the current chapter will focus on the possibility of transmission overland via Anatolia.

As yet not much has been done on this specific subject. I shall discuss the reason for this and the current state of affairs in section 8.1. Next come surveys of the geography and historical developments in each part of the region (8.2) and of the evidence for overland interactions between these parts (8.3). Finally, a summary is offered of the trends and developments of intra-Anatolian interaction in the relevant period, followed by a reconstruction of how the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme could have been transmitted towards the Aegean (8.4).

Note that I argued in section 3.1.3 (pp. 123-26) that the version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved is most likely to have been composed somewhere in the late eighth or early seventh century BCE. The current chapter will therefore only take into account the period from ca. 1200-650 BCE.[675]

8.1 Scholarly context

The Anatolian overland route is not the only way in which cultural elements from southwestern Asia could reach the Aegean in the Iron Age. The alternative was a maritime route, from southeastern Anatolia and Syria directly to the Aegean. Traffic along this way is known to have been intensive; and it would probably be worthwhile thus to attempt a reconstruction of the transmission of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme

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[675] The possibility of transmission in the Late Bronze Age was discussed in section 7.2.2 (pp. 213-14).

towards the Aegean.[676] But describing interaction in terms of this route is what is done usually in scholarship, mostly without any consideration of the Anatolian overland route.[677] This is unfortunate, as it results in the impression that the maritime route was the only one available. Ideally, therefore, I should discuss both routes, and compare their applicability to the issue in hand. However, as noted before, in the present study I have chosen to study one scenario in detail, instead of various ones in general.[678] In that context, I prefer to focus on the Anatolian overland route, as it is in need of attention more than the maritime route.

To be sure, the subject of overland transmission via Anatolia has not been ignored completely. The idea of the region as a 'bridge' between east and west has the status of a topos,[679] and studies exploring this variant in the context of the adoption of foreign cultural elements by people from the Aegean appeared already in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[680] But, at least for the Iron Age, it was soon discarded in favour of the maritime variant. Consequently, when it is mentioned in discussions, this is mostly in the context of a comparison between various routes, with the overland one invariably considered to have been of secondary importance.[681] Three studies by Mazzarino, Birmingham and Röllig seem to be exceptions to this rule.

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[676] In general, see Popham 1994, Waldbaum 1994, Haider 1996, pp. 60-95, Niemeier 2001, Rollinger 2001, Casabonne/De Vos 2005, van Dongen 2007, pp. 30-37. As for the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme, of particular interest is the evidence for contacts between people from the Aegean and from Cilicia (see e.g. Lanfranchi 2000, pp. 22-31, Boardman 2006, pp. 518, 521, van Dongen 2007, pp. 36-37, P.C. Schmitz 2009) and northern Syria (such as at Al Mina; on the complicated discussion about the nature of this site and the presence of people from the Aegean in northern Syria, see e.g. Waldbaum 1997, Niemeyer 2004, Boardman 2005, Niemeyer 2005, Boardman 2006, pp. 513-18). The transmission of the theme along the maritime route was suggested in Barnett 1945, Güterbock 1946, pp. 110-15, Heubeck 1954, pp. 479-85, 1955, pp. 160-70, Lesky 1955, pp. 50-52, Haas 1983, pp. 24-25.

[677] Among general studies on the transmission of cultural elements from southwestern Asia towards the Aegean, see e.g. S.P. Morris 1997, West 1997, pp. 9-10, Lane Fox 2008, Renger 2008, Rutherford 2009, pp. 31-33.

[678] See also sections 1.4 (p. 40), 3.1.1 (pp. 114-17) and 7.2.2 (pp. 212-14).

[679] Greaves 2007, Özdoğan 2007, Genz 2010, pp. 13-15.

[680] See the overview in Birmingham 1961, p. 185.

[681] See Barnett 1948, Mellink 1971, pp. 161-62, Boardman 1980, pp. 35-102, Burkert 1998. Complete rejections of the importance of the overland route in the Iron Age can be found in Blegen 1956, Starr 1977, pp. 61-64.

However, both Mazzarino and Birmingham, despite their detailed treatments of the overland route, still much preferred the maritime one.[682] Mazzarino also does not seem to have considered overland contacts before 650 BCE. And although Röllig explicitly rejected the importance of the maritime trajectory, his alternative was a route along the southern Anatolian coast, probably by sea as well, rather than overland.[683] As for the transmission of the *Song of Going Forth* in particular, so far only Forrer preferred the overland to the sea route.[684]

The reason for this scholarly bias may be the relative lack of data for Iron Age Anatolia beyond the Aegean coast. In comparison with Syria-Palestine, little archaeological material used to be available. As a result, scholars resorted to textual references, which do not have much to say about Anatolia in this context. However, this situation has changed in recent decades. Excavations throughout the area have added considerably to the archaeological record. Many gaps remain. But still, as I will demonstrate in this chapter, intra-Anatolian interaction can now be studied much better than before.[685]

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[682] Although Mazzarino 1947 did not explicitly choose one over the other, the preference is clear nonetheless, as much more space was devoted to the maritime route than to the overland one (for which see pp. 283-303). Birmingham on the first page of his article on the overland route stated the following (1961, p. 185): "[i]t is clear that the second of these three routes [i.e. by sea] carried the bulk of Oriental trade to Greece and the west. Undoubtedly the most important Orientalizing influences on Greece (...) were those from the Cypro-Levantine cultural province".

[683] Röllig 1992. For evidence for the Anatolian route, Röllig adduced inscriptions in Phoenician found along the southern Anatolian coast. But this can only be used to show that people from Syria-Palestine on their way east landed landed on the coasts that they were sailing along at various places. It does not demonstrate the relevance, or even the existence, of an overland route.

[684] Forrer 1936a, pp. 710-13; considered and rejected in Barnett 1945, Güterbock 1946, pp. 110-15, Heubeck 1954, pp. 479-85, 1955, pp. 160-70.

[685] The importance of taking into account the archaeological data can be exemplified by reference to a recent discussion. In a series of articles, Starke (1997b) and Högemann (2000a, 2000b, 2001, 2003, 2005) argued that the *Iliad* was composed in a strongly Anatolian context, incorporating Hittite elements which had survived the demise of their kingdom through the Luwians of western Anatolia, Iron Age Anatolian elements, as well as elements from Syria-Palestine which had reached the Aegean via Anatolia, again through Luwian agency. This led Högemann to remark that the overland route must have been much more important than the maritime one (2002a, pp. 26-27). However, as Blum (2001, 2002a) and Rollinger (2003, 2004b) pointed out, the parallels between the *Iliad a*nd the Hittite texts adduced are not very

In this context, a detailed geographical study is essential. The landscape of Anatolia is dominated by mountains, especially along the coasts and in the east.[686] Consequently, habitation for the most part is spread over a multitude of plains or plateaus, which are only accessible via certain roads. This must have complicated interaction. But as it confines the possibilities for travel, it also limits the possibilities that have to be investigated.

For example, moving from the Anatolia Plateau to Syria usually meant passing through Que (Plain Cilicia; the alternative would have been a voyage through the kingdom of Melid/Malatya). But Que in turn is surrounded by the Taurus and the Amanus mountain ranges, and can be entered only through a limited number of passes, most notably the Cilician Gates (Gülek Pass) in the west, the Amanus Gates (Bahçe Pass) in the east, and the Syrian Gates (Belen Pass) in the southeast. As a result, the direction and course of movements in this area can be reconstructed to a larger degree than if the landscape would have been more hospitable.[687]

Ideally, all of Anatolia should be analysed in this way, with a map of the more mountainous regions, showing what passages are possible where. To this could then be added the evidence for roads, which are likely to have followed certain geographical features. Surviving itineraries from antiquity could also indicate which routes where most used. Unfortunately, none of these itineraries date to the period under consideration here. But while habitation patterns and centres of power may change over time, geographical features do not. Indeed, diachronic comparisons of road networks in Anatolia show that the same trajectories often continued in use for millennia.[688] Travel descriptions from Hittite and Persian times can therefore be of relevance to Anatolia in

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strong, the linguistic evidence is meagre and ambiguous (on the problems with the evidence for speakers of Luwian in western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age, see also Yakubovich 2008, pp. 106-60), and references to interaction in Greek and Neo-Assyrian texts are too few to base a historical model on them. There may be more to these ideas about the *Iliad* than critics are willing to admit. But as long as they are not substantiated by archaeological evidence (still in Högemann 2005), they are likely to continue to be rejected outright, including the idea of the overland route (e.g. Blum 2002a, pp. 309-11).

[686] For an overview, see Sagona/Zimansky 2009, pp. 1-9.

[687] On Cilician geography, see Desideri/Jasink 1990, pp. 3-8, 13-21, Casabonne 2009, Novák 2010, 397-400.

[688] French 1998, Ökse 2007.
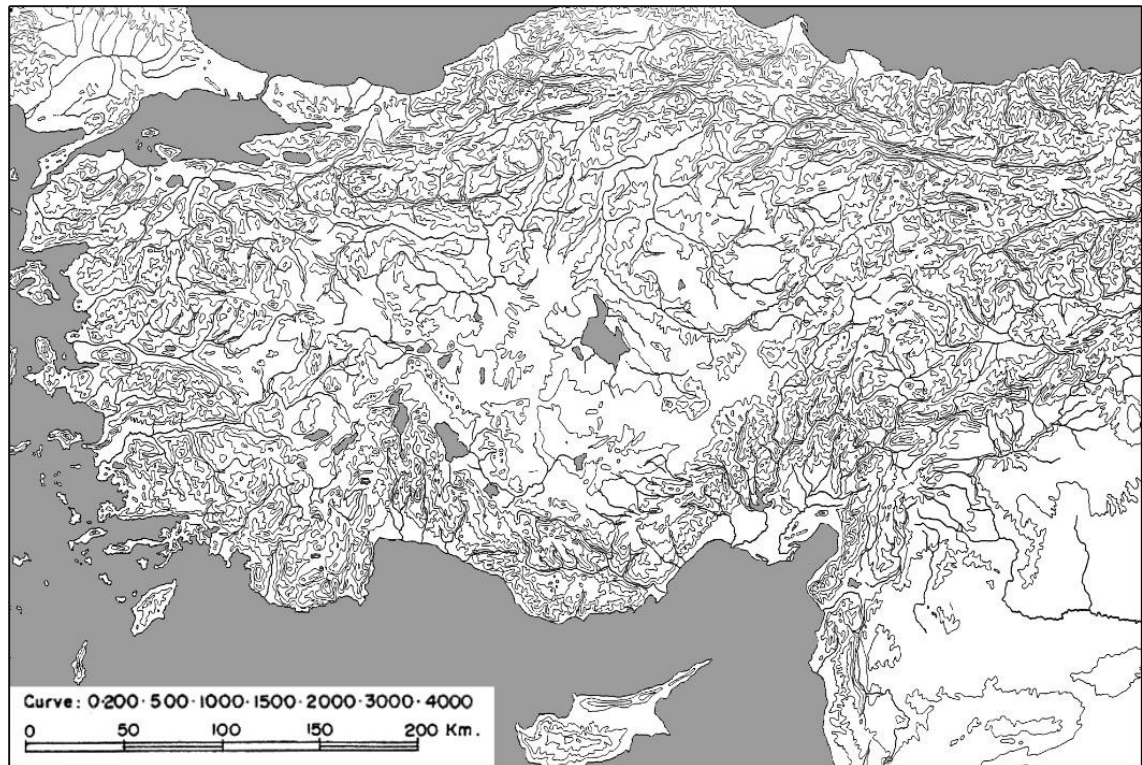
Fig. 8.1: Geographical map of Anatolia (figure adapted from di Nocera/Forlanini 1992, table I).

the Iron Age. However, such information has its limitations. Itineraries are not exhaustive descriptions of road networks.[689] Also, the requirements of, for example, armies as opposed to small trade expeditions are quite dissimilar, while individuals with local knowledge may have moved differently.

Nonetheless, reconstructions of road networks may still add to geographical observations. This could subsequently be correlated with the evidence for interaction, to fill out the picture. The resulting map would be a kind of flowchart of the most likely options for intra-Anatolian interactions.

Unfortunately, interesting as it is, such a project is far beyond the scope of the current study. Here, I shall have to limit the discussion to presenting a first sketch.

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[689] Briant (2002, pp. 357-61) also emphasised that one should not concentrate too much on descriptions of 'official' roads. For example, whether the Persian Royal Road through Anatolia ran from Cilicia to the Aegean coast along the north (this is the conventional view; see e.g. Young 1963) or along the south (French 1998) does not change the probable common use of both variants.

Fig. 8.2: Political map of Anatolia and Syria in the Iron Age (ca. 1200-650 BCE) (figure adapted from Wäfler 1983, map after p. 190).

8.2 Geography, habitation, history

In this section, I discuss the geography and history of various parts of Anatolia, moving from the southeast via the Anatolian Plateau to the west. The east and northeast with Urartu are not included. This is not to ignore the importance of this kingdom. But as also said in the previous chapter, apart from linguistic connections with Hurrian, no significant signs of continuity from the Late Bronze Age are so far observable in Urartian culture. Also, Urartu rose to prominence only in the ninth century BCE. Thus, for it to have played a role in the transmission of the *Song of Going Forth*, one would have to assume that the song was transmitted there at the start of the first millennium BCE, and then spread west. But as the region cannot be linked to a route from the Neo-Hittite kingdoms to the Aegean, this is an unnecessarily tortuous approach. Urartu will therefore be excluded from the current chapter.[690]

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[690] For Urartu, see Salvini 1995, Sagona/Zimansky 2009, pp. 316-47. On northeastern Anatolia outside of Urartu, see Bartl 1995, A. Parker 1999, Sagona 1999, Köroğlu 2003. Note also Herrmann 1966, who

8.2.1 The Neo-Hittites in the southeast

In Syria, the landscape of the Neo-Hittite and Aramean states is relatively flat, and dominated by rivers, most importantly the Euphrates and the Orontes. It is here that, for example, Karkamiš, Bīt-Adini, Bīt-Agūsi and Hamath are located. The only mountainous region was located to the west, where the Amanus range runs parallel to the Mediterranean coast. An important valley is the Amuq plain, where the Orontes Orontes River turns west to flow into the Mediterranean. This was the territory of the kingdom of Palastin, better known as Unqi after the eleventh century.

For the states that existed in what is now southeastern Turkey, the situation was different. Due to the Taurus and Amanus mountain ranges, their environment was very rugged. In the east, this applied to the kingdoms of Sam'al, Gurgum, Kummuḫ (Commagene) and Melid/Malatya; in the west, to the regions that are known as Tabal and Cilicia.

Although a general account of the history of these states can be found in sections 7.1.3 (pp. 204-5) and 7.2.2 (pp. 214-20), it will be useful to look at Tabal and Cilicia in more detail. Cilicia is the region north of the Gulf of İskenderun. It consists of a plain in the east, called Que (Plain Cilicia), or Ḫuwe in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian records, which is hemmed in by the Amanus and Taurus mountains and the sea; and a rugged area to the west, known as Ḫilakku or Rough Cilicia.[691] The geographical features determined the history of the region in the Iron Age. Because of its difficult terrain, Ḫilakku remained politically relatively unimportant, but also more or less independent. Que on the other hand, due to its position between the Anatolian plateau and Syria (see also section 8.1, p. 224) and its access to the sea, was a meeting point of various peoples.[692] After its conquest by the Assyrians at some point in the second half of the eighth century, it was part of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Scanty sources mean that its earlier history is unclear. The area may have formed a single kingdom, probably

argued against the adoption of Urartian artistic elements in Aegean art; instead, he explained the limited set of similarities that he found by suggesting that both had incorporated elements of Neo-Hittite art.

[691] On Cilicia, see Hawkins 1972-1975, Desideri/Jasink 1990, Hawkins 2000, pp. 38-45, Laflı 2001, Bryce 2003, pp. 102-6, Hawkins/Symington 2007.

[692] Inscriptions, Neo-Assyrian documents and pottery finds in addition to Luwians also attest to the presence of Assyrians, as well as of people from the Aegean and the southern Syrian coast; see Jasink 1989, Röllig 1992, Lanfranchi 2000, 2005, Payne 2007, pp. 126-31, P.C. Schmitz 2009.

ruled from the city of Adana(wa); the name 'Que' is known only from Neo-Assyrian sources.

The designation 'Tabal' refers to the eastern and southeastern side of the Anatolian plateau, including part of the Taurus mountains.[693] This is the easiest way to travel from Phrygia to Cilicia or Syria, so Tabal must have been of considerable importance geopolitically as well as for trade. There are no sources to elucidate its history between ca. 1200 and 850 BCE. After that, it starts to appear in Neo-Assyrian texts. 'Tabal' like 'Que' is an Assyrian term, but it is unlikely to have had a local equivalent. The texts make clear that the area was divided into a multitude of small kingdoms, which may have formed alliances temporarily for various reasons, but rarely acted as a united whole. Throughout the period under consideration here, they were caught between the ambitions of the Phrygian kings and the Neo-Assyrian Empire; for a while, they also suffered from Cimmerian invasions. Although some kingdoms came under the temporary control of foreign rulers, none were subjugated permanently.

8.2.2 The Phrygians and others in central Anatolia

Situated between the mountain ranges of the Pontus in the north and the Taurus in the south, the Anatolian Plateau that makes up central Anatolia is relatively flat. This must have facilitated interaction within the area. The region can be divided into three parts: the northwest, around the Sangarios/Sakarya River, where the Phrygian heartland was located; the northeast, on the right bank of the Halys/Kızılırmak River, home to the site of Kerkenes Dağ; and the south, where the Porsuk area and Pisidia are located.

Although there has been much progress concerning the background and nature of the Phrygian kingdom, several key issues remain unsettled.[694] One of these is the question when the Phrygians moved into the Sangarios River area. The close relationship of their language with Greek suggests that they originally lived further west, perhaps outside Anatolia.[695] Authors in antiquity also posited a Phrygian migration from the Balkans into Anatolia.[696] Consequently, this has been assumed to have

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[693] On Tabal, see the reference in p. 220n673.

[694] In general on the Phrygians, see Mellink 1991, pp. 619-43, Kuhrt 1995, pp. 562-67, Sams 1995, Wittke 2004, Sagona/Zimansky 2009, pp. 352-62.

[695] Masson 1991, pp. 667-68, Brixhe 2004.

[696] Drews 1993.

occurred in the century following the demise of the Hittite kingdom.[697] But in the archaeological record, a significant degree of continuity can increasingly be discerned in the period around 1200.[698] Nonetheless, the appearance of completely new cultural elements has also been observed.[699] Further, there is disagreement as to how much Phrygian and Thracian material culture, which may once have been linked if the Phrygians came to Anatolia from the northwest, have in common.[700] All in all, the impression arises of a gradual influx of people, extending over several centuries, adding to rather than replacing existing populations and their traditions.[701] A massive migration of 'the Phrygian people' probably did not taken place.

The second issue relates to the size and early development of the Phrygian kingdom. Due to a lack of textual and archaeological evidence, it remains unclear what happened in the twelfth to the ninth centuries BCE, i.e. in the Early Phrygian Period. Perhaps Wittke is correct, who, on the basis of the relative poverty of finds throughout the Phrygian heartland, argued that the Phrygian kingdom only developed in the course of the second half of the ninth century into a state of supraregional importance with territorial aspirations.[702] But this remains uncertain, as does the cause of the massive destruction level at Gordion, currently dated to the end of the ninth century BCE.[703]

Whatever happened, the city was rebuilt immediately afterwards. More is known

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[697] See e.g. Mellink 1991, p. 621.

[698] Berndt-Ersöz 2003, Strobel 2004, pp. 268-70, Genz 2005, Wittke 2007, p. 336-37.

[699] Henrickson 1994, Sams 1994, pp. 175-77, Voigt/Henrickson 2000, pp. 42-46.

[700] See e.g. Vassileva 2005, Tsetskhladze 2007.

[701] Thus also Sams 1997, pp. 244-45, Voigt/Henrickson 2000, pp. 42-46, Becks 2003, Strobel 2004, pp. 270-71, Wittke 2004, pp. 276-79, 282-89, Strobel 2005, pp. 204-5, Vassileva 2005.

[702] Wittke 2007. This idea is confirmed by a survey of the area around Gordion by Kealhofer (2005).

[703] This level used to be dated to ca. 700, which allowed for an association with the Cimmerian invasions (see e.g. in Bossert 1993, Sams 1995; summaries of earlier argumentations for this date are given in DeVries et al. 2003, Voigt 2005). However, the results of radiocarbon and dendrochronological research have necessitated pushing back this date by about a century (Manning et al. 2001, DeVries et al. 2003, Manning et al. 2003, Prayon/Wittke 2004, Strobel 2004, pp. 266-68, DeVries 2005, DeVries et al. 2005, Strobel 2005, pp. 198-99, DeVries 2007, Sagona/Zimansky 2009, pp. 353-58). Contra: Muscarella 2003, Keenan 2004. But Muscarella based his plea for a return to the old dating only on artistic developments, which cannot outdo the relevant scientific results (Strobel 2004, pp. 275-79, DeVries 2007). The issues raised by Keenan concerning the reliability of radiocarbon dates from Gordion have been resolved in the meantime by the addition of new data (DeVries 2007, pp. 79-81).

about this Middle Phrygian Period. The Phrygian heartland seems to have prospered.[704] To this we can connect Greek and Neo-Assyrian sources, which indicate that the kingdom in the eighth and early seventh centuries BCE was the most powerful entity in western and central Anatolia. The exact extent of its territory is unclear. It probably did not extend beyond the Anatolian Plateau. However, there are several indicators that, in addition to the area around the Sangarios River, it encompassed at least the Halys River area, i.e. the northeast of the Anatolian Plateau.

This is suggested first by the frequent references by the Neo-Assyrians to the Phrygians in the context of their own activities in Tabal. The term they use is 'Mu ški', the identification of which with the Phrygians is not straightforward. A few references to this population group occur in Assyrian sources from the twelfth and early ninth centuries BCE. They make clear that the term refers to people living in the east and southeast of the Anatolian Plateau, far east of Phrygia. But when in the eighth century the Assyrians refer to a king Mita of Muški, this must be the Phrygian king Midas, well-known from Greek texts. It thus seems that the Muški were a population group that inhabited the area between Phrygia and Tabal, and at some point had been conquered by the Phrygians. When the Phrygians then tried to push on into Tabal, the Assyrians perceived of them as the group from the eastern Anatolian Plateau that they had known before, and retained the old designation ('Muški') for them.[705]

A further argument for Phrygian rule over the northeast of the Anatolian plateau is the penetration of Phrygian culture into this area. The best evidence for this has been

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[704] See e.g. Burke 2005, Dusinberre 2005, pp. 10-12, Kealhofer 2005, Voigt 2007. I will not discuss the Late Phrygian Period, as it commences only halfway the sixth century BCE, i.e. well after the period under consideration in the current study.

[705] See Roller 1983, pp. 300-1, Mellink 1991, pp. 622-24, Sams 1995, pp. 1148-49, Sagona/Zimansky 2009, pp. 353. On the Muški specifically, see Börker-Klähn 1997, Wittke 2004. On the activities of the Phrygians in the east of the Anatolian Plateau in general, see Vassileva 2008b. Laminger-Pascher 1989, pp. 17-40, argued against the identification of Mita with Midas. However, her claim that the territory of the Neo-Assyrian Empire in Anatolia bordered on Lydia goes against all reconstructions of the extent of the Neo-Assyrian and Lydian states in the relevant period (p. 24; cf. e.g. Van De Mieroop 2007, pp. 229-69), while her chronological arguments have become outdated because of the re-dating of the Gordion destruction level. Furthermore, assuming Mita of Muški not to have been Midas of Phrygia implies the existence of a kingdom of Muški. But this is unattested otherwise. The identification of the two therefore is to be preferred.

found at the site of Kerkenes Dağ, located inside the Halys bend, not far from Ḫattuša. Admittedly, this city was founded only at the end of the seventh century, i.e. after the period under consideration here. But its material culture is so strongly Phrygian in character, that at the very least it indicates a long-standing and important Phrygian presence in this area, despite the actions of the Cimmerians (see below).[706] This image is confirmed by the find of Phrygian inscriptions at the site,[707] as well as of significant amounts of Phrygian ware from the eighth century BCE in the surrounding area.[708]

There thus seems to be considerable evidence for a Phrygian kingdom that encompassed the entire northern half of the Anatolian Plateau. The same cannot be said for the southern half. Not much work on Iron Age sites has been done in this region yet, so conclusions must remain tentative. But excavations in the Porsuk area near Cilicia do not indicate Phrygian dominance there. Phrygian ware has been found, but not in significant quantities; connections with Cilicia seem stronger.[709] Better evidence for the impact of Phrygian culture, both concerning objects and cult, has been identified further west, in Pisidia. But without further data or textual sources, it remains unclear whether this is due to Phrygian rule, or simply to interaction between Pisidia and the Phrygian heartland.[710]

In conclusion, it seems that, politically, the Anatolian Plateau can be divided into two regions: the north, which in the eighth and early seventh centuries was unified under the Phrygian kingdom; and the south, where no larger political entities seem to have existed. It may be that this image of the south is due only to the current gaps in the archaeological record. But without references in Aegean and Neo-Assyrian texts to a larger state there, it seems better for now to take the data at face value.

Finally, from the end of the eighth century onward, the Cimmerians are likely through their raids to have put the Phrygian kingdom under increasing pressure.[711] The consequences are unclear. Greek texts talk of the capture of Gordion by the Cimmerians

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[706] Summers 2006a, 2006b, Draycott/Summers 2008. Note that his earlier characterisation of the city as a Median fortress (Summers 2000) has been rejected and replaced by Summers himself.

[707] Brixhe/Summers 2006.

[708] Summers 1994.

[709] Pelon 1994, Bahar 1999, Crespin 1999.

[710] Aydal et al. 1997, pp. 151-53, Talloen et al. 2006, Doni 2009, pp. 214-16.

[711] On the Cimmerians, see e.g. Lanfranchi 1990, Ivantchik 1993, Sauter 2000, Ivantchik 2001.

at the start of the seventh century and the suicide of the Phrygian king Midas.[712] But now that the Gordion destruction level is dated to ca. 800 BCE, no traces whatsoever of this event can be identified in the archaeological record; the city appears to have flourished as before. It seems, then, that the impact of the Cimmerian invasion on the Phrygian heartland has been exaggerated by Greek writers, operating several centuries later.[713]

However, there is no denying Cimmerian attacks on the Tabal region, Lydia and the cities of Ionia, and their capture of Sardis. This suggests that they managed to establish a presence in the eastern part of the Anatolian Plateau, which may have been partly lost to the Phrygians. From there, they could have made inroads westwards, reaching southwestern Anatolia not through Phrygia, but by a southern route.

8.2.3 Western Anatolia

The Anatolian Plateau in the west leads to more mountainous regions, bordered by the coastal plains of the Aegean and the Mediterranean. These mountains are intersected by numerous rivers, fertile valleys and plains. Inland in the west was the Lydian kingdom. It was bordered in the west by the cities of Ionia and Aeolia, which were located along the entire Aegean coast of Anatolia. In the corner in the southwest was the region of Caria; to the east on the Mediterranean coast was Lycia.

The Lydian kingdom is undoubtedly the most famous in this period.[714] However, the first ruler of some importance who can be identified with some certainty is Gyges. He appears only in the 660s and 650s, when Neo-Assyrian texts refer to him as a formerly unknown king, whose messengers appeared out of nowhere to ask for assistance against Cimmerian attacks. Lydia's rise to power thus postdates the period discussed here.

Textual sources do not reveal what went on earlier in the area, nor the extent of

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[712] See in Roller 1983, pp. 301-2.

[713] Note also that Herodotus does not mention the sacking of Gordion, while he does mention the activities of the Cimmerians in western Anatolia, including their capture of Sardis (1.15-16). On the Cimmerians in Greek and Latin texts, see Tokhtas'ev 1996. On the difficulties of reconstructing the events concerning the Cimmerians, Phrygians and Neo-Assyrians, see Vassileva 2006.

[714] In general on the Lydians, see Hanfmann 1983b, Mellink 1991, pp. 643-55, Greenewalt 1995, Kuhrt 1995, pp. 567-72, Carruba 2003, Sagona/Zimansky 2009, pp. 362-66.

Gyges' kingdom. Herodotus mentions that Gyges, a 'Mermnad', came to power by overthrowing a member of the previous 'Heraclid' dynasty. Gyges also seems to have been the first Lydian ruler to expand his kingdom towards the Aegean coast, incorporating cities such as Smyrna, Miletus and Colophon. Lydian control over areas further east, which may have included the Phrygian heartland, probably came later. This may indicate that the Lydian kingdom had not been very territorially ambitious before the reign of Gyges. Only under him, perhaps, did this change. But it could also be that changes brought about by the activities of the Cimmerians disrupted the existing political balance, allowing the Lydian kingdom to expand considerably.

No additional information can be gleaned from archaeology. The only Lydian site that has been sufficiently explored is its capital Sardis.[715] Consequently, what is called 'Lydian material culture' is in fact overwhelmingly made up of finds from just one location. This cannot give indications regarding the size of the kingdom. Further, due to the difficulties with distinguishing the material culture of Sardis from the cities of the Aegean coast, which were considerably intertwined, Lydia's impact on the surrounding areas cannot be gauged.[716] The traces of an attack that have been found in one section of Sardis, dated to the second half of the eighth century BCE, would here be relevant. But this is too early to be attributed to Cimmerian activities, and it is not known who else could have been responsible. Excavations confirm that Lydia, or at least of the city of Sardis, experienced a marked development in the first half of the seventh century BCE.[717] Beyond that, little can be said about the history of Lydia in the period of ca. 1200-650 BCE.

This situation does not improve when considering Lycia and Caria. Nothing is known from texts about the Lycians before the sixth century BCE, while archaeologically the oldest material comprises some eighth century finds from the site of Xanthos.[718] References to Lycians fighting among the Trojans in the *Iliad* indicate

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[715] Roosevelt (2006, pp. 62-65) observed that regional archaeological research in Lydia has almost exclusively concerned the prehistoric and Hellenistic to Byzantine periods. But unfortunately, his article does not concern the period considered here either.

[716] See e.g. Greenewalt 1978, Hanfmann 1978, Prayon/Wittke 1994, p. 91.

[717] See Hanfmann 1983a, pp. 67-99.

[718] On Lycia, see Mellink 1991, pp. 655-62, Kolb/Kupke 1992, Bryce 1995, Keen 1998, pp. 1-60, Bryce 2003, pp. 107-24.

that they were not exclusively confined to their own region, but they seem to have had relatively little dealings with others. They may not have been united politically before their conquest by the Persians around 540.

Caria presents a similar case.[719] The region in the period under consideration again probably consisted of a group of independent cities, whose material culture is still elusive. But it seems that they mingled early on with the inhabitants of the adjoining Hellenic cities; throughout the area, what are called 'Carian' and 'Ionian' cities may in fact often have been mixed (see below). In history, the Carians can be pinpointed somewhat before the Lycians, when around the middle of the seventh century they were part of a group of mercenary soldiers sent by the Lydian king to Egypt to help Psammetichus I.[720]

North of Caria, along the Aegean coast in the areas known as Ionia and Aeolia, a string of cities with predominantly Greek-speaking populations are located.[721] Their settlement history is not straightforward. In as far as they have been excavated below Iron Age levels, occupation seems generally to have continued uninterrupted from the Late Bronze Age onwards. But some sudden developments and breaks in the material culture have also been observed in the period of the fourteenth to the tenth centuries BCE.[722]

This both undermines and confirms the traditional idea of an 'Ionian' followed by an 'Aeolian migration'. Already pronounced in antiquity, this holds that after 1200, in a relatively short period, migrants from the Aegean founded the cites of the eastern Aegean coast, expelling any population groups that were already present in the area. But it now seems that these migrants were arriving in the area intermittently over the course of a much longer period, sometimes replacing others and founding new settlements, but often also adding to and mixing with the existing population.[723]

This is all that can be said about this region in the current context. Excavations

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[719] On Caria, see Mellink 1991, pp. 662-65, Ray 1995, Rutherford 2006.

[720] See also Kaplan 2003 (especially pp. 6-7).

[721] On the settling and settlements of the Aegean coast of Anatolia, see Kerschner 2006a, Morris 2006, Vanschoonwinkel 2006, Hertel 2007, Lemos 2007, Niemeier 2007, pp. 87-90, Hertel 2008, pp. 125-60, Crielaard 2009, pp. 55-57.

[722] Lemos 2002, pp. 191-95.

[723] See also Ehrhardt 2006, on Carians in Miletus.

have identified urban developments and signs of destruction at certain sites, but these cannot be connected to any known events. More available comes available at the same time as for the Carians, when the Lydians included Ionians among the mercenaries sent to Egypt.[724]

8.3 Interaction

After the geography and history of Anatolia in the period of ca. 1200-650 BCE, I shall now survey interaction in the region. Two sections follow below: on indications for interaction in the written sources (8.3.1), and in material culture (8.3.2).

8.3.1 Evidence for interaction in the written sources

Textual evidence for Anatolian overland interaction is not substantial. As was argued in section 8.1 (p. 223), the reason why the importance of the Iron Age overland route through Anatolia can now fruitfully be reassessed, is because of the accumulation of new data through excavation. But this does not mean that the written material can be ignored. As the following overview will show, it contains a number of useful pointers.

Caution is in place. Herodotus mentions that the Hellenes adopted from the Carians helmet and shield accessories (1.171.4). This implies interaction. But there is, save perhaps through archaeology, no way to verify whether this is correct, and if so, whether it had already happened in the period under consideration here.

More useful could be his remark that Midas of Phrygia had been the first foreign ruler to send dedications to Delphi (1.14). Since Herodotus mentions specifically where the throne Midas sent is to be found, it apparently was still visible in his own time, and obviously Phrygian in style. This gives the account a reliable ring. However, it does not provide a clear date for the dedication. As Ehrhardt argued, Midas was a legendary king, whose wealth had become a literary topos. If there was doubt as to who had sent the throne, it is likely that it would have been ascribed to him.[725] Further, it is unlikely

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[724] On the problems with the reliability of ancient accounts of the history of the eastern Aegean before the seventh century BCE, see Cobet 2007.

[725] Ehrhardt 2005, pp. 100-1. On the historical and ethnographic methods of Herodotus see e.g. Thomas 2000, Bichler 2004.

that Delphi already had such an important position at the time of Midas, especially beyond the Hellenic world (see also section 6.1, pp. 179-83).

At least as questionable is the claim that Gyges of Lydia sent gifts to Delphi to thank the oracle for its support of his violent accession to the throne (1.13-14). There is no reason why the oracle of Delphi would have expressed an opinion about this, while the remark that the gold and silver that Gyges sent was called 'Gygian' by people from Delphi is also suspect. It is an unusual label in this context, and so tends to make the story sound apocryphal.[726]

Certainly of historical relevance are the references in the *Iliad* to Carians, Lycians and Phrygians fighting with the Trojan army.[727] Specific information cannot be derived from this, but at least it makes clear that people from the Aegean were aware of these three groups by the time of the composition of the *Iliad*, which is either contemporary with, or slightly earlier than, that of the preserved version of the *Theogony*. Of similar importance in this context is Archilochus. He refers to Gyges (fr. 19 IEG), which both makes him a contemporary and demonstrates awareness of the Lydians. That he also knew of the Carians is shown by a reference in fr. 216.

Evidence for interaction is also indicated by the Neo-Assyrian sources. References to Midas and the Muški (see section 8.2.2, p. 230) demonstrate interaction between people from the Anatolian Plateau and areas to the southeast, at least as far as the Neo-Assyrian province of Que.[728] An inscription from Karkamiš of the early eighth century BCE also fits here.[729] There, one Yariris, an official at the royal court, claims that his fame had spread to Phrygia and Lydia, among other places. Already mentioned earlier (see section 8.2.3, p. 232) was the story of Gyges' embassies to the Neo-Assyrian court. In the Neo-Assyrian rhetorical context, his request for help against the Cimmerians is presented as an implicit offer of submission to Assyria's power. But despite Assyrian aid, Lydia to the dismay of the Assyrian king Aššurbanipal

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[726] Kaplan 2006, p. 130-31. Dedications to Delphi by later Lydian kings are irrelevant in the current context, as they postdate the period under consideration here.

[727] Carians: 2.867, 10.428; Lycians: e.g. 2.877, 5.479, 12.312, 17.172; Phrygians: e.g. 2.862, 10.431, 16.719, 24.545 (see also Ehrhardt 2005, p. 96).

[728] On evidence for communications between the Neo-Assyrian Empire and the Phrygians, see Muscarella 1998.

[729] Hawkins 2000, pp. 123-33; see also Starke 1997a, Rollinger 2006, pp. 76-80.

subsequently supported Psammetichus I of Egypt, and relations between the two states appear to have continued distant under Gyges' successor, Ardys.[730] How the Lydian embassy reached the Assyrian frontier is not clear. The Assyrian account says it arrived on horseback, which suggests a route overland. But a reference to Lydia as lying on the other side of the sea has been taken to imply that at least part of the voyage must have been by sea.[731]

Finally, there are indications of multilingualism.[732] Of course, this can be assumed for areas in which more than one language is known to have been spoken, such as in the Carian/Ionian cities and in the Neo-Hittite/Aramean kingdoms, as well as in border areas of language zones. But there is also some explicit evidence for this. First, we must cite again the inscription of Yariris. For apart from his claim to fame, he also boasts knowing no less than four scripts and twelve languages. Unfortunately, the latter are not specified, but the scripts include those of Karkamiš, of Tyre or Urartu,[733] of Assyria, and of the Aramean tribe of the Teman, who lived east of Karkamiš. *Homeric Hymn* 3 (to Aphrodite) is also relevant. In lines 107-166, Aphrodite tells Anchises that she is not a goddess, but a Phrygian princess who had a Trojan nurse and therefore speaks the languages of both countries. Apparently, in the time of the composition of this text, which is dated to the early second half of the seventh century BCE,[734] this was a credible story. Lastly, there is the poetry of Hipponax of Ephesus.[735] His work was written in Greek, but contains many words from Phrygian, Carian and other languages, which attest to the mixed nature of the linguistic situation in southwestern Anatolia.

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[730] See Mellink 1991, pp. 644-47, Lipiński 1998, Franklin 2008, pp. 191-92, Fuchs 2010.

[731] Overland: Mellink 1991, p. 644; by sea: Rollinger 2003, pp. 344-46. See also Burkert 1998, pp. 255-56. References to the 'Yamanāya' in Neo-Assyrian texts do not have to be discussed here. This designation is generally accepted to be related to Greek 'Ionian', but it seems to refer to anyone (not just Ionians) arriving in Cilicia and Syria by sea from the west, and is therefore irrelevant in the current context. See Casabonne/De Vos 2005, Rollinger 2007a, 2007b, Crielaard 2009, pp. 42-44. Note that the Lydians were not called 'Yamanāya'. This supports the idea that the Lydia embassy travelled overland to Assyria.

[732] See also Högemann 2000a, pp. 9-12, 2000b, pp. 186-87. However, not all the material adduced there seems completely reliable, or relevant to the topic at hand.

[733] Tyre: Starke 1997a, p. 389; Urartu: Hawkins 2000, pp. 126, 133, Rollinger 2006, pp. 79-80.

[734] West 2003, p. 16.

[735] See Knox 1985.

Hipponax probably live in the second half of the sixth century; but the situation is likely to have been similar in the preceding centuries.

8.3.2 Evidence for interaction in material culture

In the last two decades, a significant number of studies on the impact of Neo-Hittite art on Anatolian population groups, as well as on the development of Phrygian art in the Early Phrygian Period, has appeared. As a result of that, the evidence for interaction between Phrygia and southwestern Anatolia in this period, i.e. the tenth to early eighth centuries BCE, is now quite strong.[736]

A good starting point to demonstrate this are the late tenth century drawings that have been found in one room in Gordion ('Megaron 2'). They resemble Neo-Hittite art so much, that Roller suggested that "local Phrygian artists were directly copying Neo-Hittite models, perhaps under the guidance of artists from southeastern Anatolia".[737] Statues, reliefs, seals and monumental architecture from tenth and ninth century Gordion have also been found to be very close to Neo-Hittite examples.[738] According to Kelp, their use in towers is evidence for an attempt by the Phrygian kings to obtain a similar social and political status as the Neo-Hittite kings had in their kingdoms.[739] Sievertsen additionally pointed to the adaptation of Neo-Hittite motifs in Phrygian pottery painting of the tenth to eighth centuries.[740] Finally, Prayon listed a significant number of smaller objects of art, including e.g. decorated handles, situla and horse trappings, found in Gordion, which are likely to have been imported from Neo-Hittite and Aramean states in the ninth and eighth centuries.[741]

Also relevant are the goddess Kubaba/Kybebe, venerated most importantly in Karkamiš, and the Phrygian 'Kubeleyan' mother-goddess. The similarity in their names is probably accidental. Nonetheless, Kubaba/Kybebe also appears in Sardis, and elements of her cult seem to have been taken over in the veneration of the Phrygian

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[736] In general, see Prayon/Wittke 2004, Kerschner 2005, pp. 121-22.

[737] Roller 2007, pp. 209-11. Megaron 2 was discussed in more detail in Roller 2005. In general on Phrygian drawings and their close relation to Neo-Hittite art, see Roller 2009, pp. 19-38.

[738] Kelp 2004, Strobel 2004, pp. 270-71, Dusinberre 2005, pp. 21-24, Roller 2007.

[739] Kelp 2004, p. 293.

[740] Sievertsen 2004.

[741] Prayon 1987, pp. 183-88. See also Sams 1993, DeVries 2007, pp. 90-95.

mother-goddess.[742] This is confirmed by evidence from the Aegean: when the mother-goddess in the sixth century first appears in Ionian cities, she is already known as both Kybebe and Kybele, a complicated amalgam of the Phrygian and Neo-Hittite goddesses, probably including elements of the veneration of other deities as well.[743]

Moreover, the re-dating of the Gordion destruction level has revised opinions about the adoption of the alphabetic script by the Phrygians. The earliest inscriptions must now be dated too early to allow for transmission via the Aegean, which used to be seen as the region whence it entered the Phrygian realm.[744] It is therefore thought that the alphabet reached the Phrygians overland directly from Syria-Palestine, independently of its transmission to the Aegean – if in fact people in the Aegean did not take over the alphabet from the Phrygians.[745]

All this suggests that people from Phrygia and southeastern Anatolia were in close contact in the tenth to early eighth centuries BCE, allowing for the transmission of cultural elements on a detailed level. Much of this may have come through, or from, the region of Tabal, with the northeastern part of the Anatolian plateau as a particularly important area of interaction.[746] Contacts did not evaporate after the eighth century. Phrygian inscriptions from the eighth century have been found in the state of Tuwana/Tyana in southern Tabal.[747] The occurrence of many Neo-Hittite stylistic elements in the material culture of the site of Kerkenes Dağ from the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, alongside the strong Phrygian traits, also indicates that interaction continued.[748] Nonetheless, evidence for this clearly diminishes after the early eighth century.

[742] Roller 1999, pp. 44-62 (with references to earlier literature).

[743] Laroche 1960, Burkert 1998, p. 256, Roller 1999, pp. 121-41, Munn 2006, pp. 114-29.

[744] See e.g. Sams 1995, pp. 1155-56.

[745] Strobel 2004, pp. 271-72, Ehrhardt 2005, p. 97, Strobel 2005, pp. 199-201, DeVries 2007, pp. 96-97.

[746] Aro 1998, pp. 250-54, 288-96.

[747] Mellink 1991, pp. 625-26, Högemann 2005, p. 4.

[748] Draycott/Summer 2008.

Interaction between Phrygia and areas to the west and southwest picked up pace only in the course of the eighth century BCE. In that context, Lydia, Lycia and Caria play hardly any role, as the relevant finds mostly postdate the period under investigation here.[749] To my knowledge, the only exception are a number of Lydian inscriptions on pottery from Smyrna, which were found in layers dated to the eighth and seventh centuries BCE.[750]

It thus seems that cities on the Aegean coast were in direct contact with the Phrygian heartland themselves. The earliest evidence for this has been dated to the early second half of the eighth century BCE. Close resemblances, which are likely to have been caused by interaction, have been found between Aegean and Phrygian pottery decorations, fibulae shapes and bronze belts.[751] There have also been a limited number of finds of Aegean pottery in Phrygia.[752]

This is not much, indicating that interaction between Phrygia and the Aegean took off to a slow start. Further developments followed in the seventh century.[753] The number of Phrygian imports found in the Aegean and vice versa, including pottery and small objects of art, significantly increases in this period.[754] Moreover, Boardman pointed to similarities between Aegean motifs and Phrygian pottery, plaque and wall decorations, which according to him indicates the adoption of Aegean stylistic elements by the Phrygians.[755] Işik suggested that many elements of Aegean sculptural art, which first emerged in this century, were inspired by Phrygian examples.[756]

Special attention should be given to the numerous bronze objects − mostly

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[749] See in Greenewalt 1978, Hanfmann 1978, Schaus 1992, Kerschner 2005, pp. 129-41, Gürtekin-Demir 2007.

[750] Ehrhardt 2005, p. 108. In general on Lydian objects in the Aegean, see Kerschner 2006b.

[751] Boardman 1980, pp. 88-91. Boardman additionally mentioned similarities concerning certain cauldron styles and shallow dishes, but noted that the relevant elements occurred more widely in eastern Mediterranean art, so that these similarities need not necessarily have been caused by interaction between Phrygia and the Aegean.

[752] DeVries 2005, pp. 37-43, Kerschner 2005, pp. 122-24, DeVries 2007, pp. 97-98.

[753] The Phrygian impact on Pisidia may have developed similarly; see Aydal et al. 1997, pp. 151-53, Talloen et al. 2006, Doni 2009, pp. 214-16.

[754] Birmingham 1961, Boardman 1980, pp. 91-95, Klebinder 2002, DeVries 2005, pp. 43-53.

[755] Boardman 1980, pp. 92-94.

[756] Işik 2004.

fibulae, belts and dishes – in a Phrygian style dated to the eighth and, especially, the seventh century BCE that have been found in the eastern Aegean. Two things are striking. First, these objects have been found mostly in sanctuaries, used perhaps as votive offerings. And second, the majority of them seem not to have been imported, but locally produced, apparently intended for use by the local population. This suggests that these objects had become an integral part of the religious practice of people from the eastern Aegean. Additionally, because of the detailed way in which specific Phrygian techniques and styles were taken over, it seems that the makers of these objects included Phrygian craftsmen who had moved to the Aegean, perhaps because of the growing demand for their products there.[757]

Finally, an important region concerning contacts between people from Phrygia and the Aegean may have been northwestern Anatolia. The relevant finds so far predominantly come from the site of Daskyleion. There, Phrygian pottery starts appearing in the second half of the eighth century BCE, in numbers that suggest the presence of a Phrygian population. But much Aegean material has also been found. Either there had been intensive exchanges with people from the Aeolian cities on the Aegean coast, or Daskyleion featured a mixed population consisting of people from both Phrygia and the Aegean.[758]

8.4 Summary: The 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme from the Neo-Hittites to the Aegean

On the basis of the surveys of the history of Anatolia and interaction in the region presented in sections 8.2 and 8.3, a summary of the trends and developments of intra-Anatolian interaction can now be given. The Phrygian heartland seems to have been pivotal. In the tenth to early eighth centuries, it had intensive contacts with people from the area of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms. Why this faded out afterwards is not clear. The increased activities of the Cimmerians are likely to have disrupted contacts with southeastern Anatolia, but this started only at the end of the eighth century. Perhaps the

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[757] Bammer 1991/1992, pp. 36-43, Kerschner 2005, pp. 125-29, Vassileva 2007.

[758] Bakir-Akbaşoğlu 1993, Kerschner 2005, pp. 124-25.

conquest of the region by the Neo-Assyrian in the second half of the eighth century also played a role.

In any case, in the course of the eighth century, Phrygia became more oriented towards western Anatolia. Interaction with the Aegean coast began slowly, suggesting that there had been little previous contact. But in the course of the late eighth and early seventh centuries, it intensified considerably. By the time Phrygia came within the sphere of influence of the Lydian kingdom, it could be classified as a western Anatolian entity. But that happened only after the period under consideration here; before 650 BCE, Lydia, as well as Lycia and Caria, do not seem to have played a large role in supraregional interaction.

Southern Anatolia has received little mention in this discussion. It cannot be excluded that people also travelled from Cilicia to the Aegean coast using a southern route. But there is no data currently available that bears witness to this. Also, there is little evidence for supraregional activities in the twelfth and eleventh centuries BCE. In general, however, it should be remembered that large parts of Anatolia in the Iron Age remain unexplored, and only a few sites have been excavated systematically. Consequently, much evidence may still be hidden in the ground that could elucidate further the foregoing summary, and provide more information on the history of periods and regions as yet obscure.

Even so, I think that this summary shows that there is no reason to continue to ignore the overland route through Iron Age Anatolia. That is not to say that all cultural elements reaching the Aegean from southeastern Anatolia and Syria-Palestine may have done so equally well overland as by sea. But this works both ways. Just as, for example, iconographic traditions from the southern Syrian coast are more likely to have become known to people from the Aegean through interaction by sea than overland, so Neo-Hittite traditions may have been transmitted overland through the agency of the Phrygians. With respect to the spread of Mesopotamian cultural elements, there is no reason in principle to prefer either route; each individual case must be assessed separately.

If this is how Iron Age intra-Anatolian interaction is reconstructed, then how may knowledge of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme have travelled from the region of the

Neo-Hittites to the Aegean coast? This, too, must have gone via the Phrygians. Given the summary above, it may have become known to them before ca. 750. Considering the slow start of interaction between Phrygians and people from southwestern Anatolia, its subsequent transmission to the Aegean may not have taken place much before ca. 700 BCE at the earliest. As argued in section 5.4 (pp. 175-77), there must have been some time between the adoption of the theme in the extended Aegean and its inclusion in the preserved version of the *Theogony*. Consequently, the poem would be unlikely to have been composed much before 650 BCE. This fits perfectly with the period of composition of the Hesiodic *Theogony* that was argued for in section 3.1.3 (pp. 123-26), i.e. somewhere in the second half of the eighth or the first half of the seventh century BCE, with a preference for the second half of this period.

In the absence of relevant literary, ritual or other texts, the question of why the theme spread westwards, and in which form, is less easy to answer. Nonetheless, as for Phrygia, perhaps the transmission of the *Song of Going Forth* there can be related to changes in the position of its king. It was mentioned in section 8.2.2 (p. 229) that the Phrygian state probably developed its organisation and supraregional interests only in the course of the first centuries of the first millennium BCE. As Phrygian society and the status of the kingdom among contemporary states changed, so did the position of the Phrygian king. It may be that, as a consequence of this, he had to provide additional legitimisation for his rule through myth and/or ritual. If the *Song of Going Forth* had functioned in Hittite and Neo-Hittite society as was argued in chapter seven, it would have been of use to the Phrygian king in this respect.

A few points may be adduced in support of this theory. First, it seems that, similar to the Hittite and Neo-Hittite storm-god, the Phrygians venerated a male superior god, who was considered the protector of the king.[759] This means that the story about the storm-god would have been easy to fit with existing Phrygian religious and mythological ideas. Furthermore, as argued by Kelp, Phrygian rulers seem extensively to have borrowed from Neo-Hittite iconography in order to raise their profiles.[760] As for the actual transmission of the theme, a role may have been played by travelling Neo-Hittite craftsmen and diviners. The employment in Phrygia of the former was postulated

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[759] Berndt-Ersöz 2003, pp. 202-8, 261-62.

[760] Kelp 2004, p. 293.

by Roller to explain for the strongly Neo-Hittite characteristics of Early Phrygian drawings in Gordion.[761] There is no direct evidence for the presence of Neo-Hittite diviners in Phrygia. But the demonstration of their presence at the Neo-Assyrian court by Radner suggests that, perhaps, they travelled to the Phrygian court as well.[762]

The transmission of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme towards the Aegean is the most difficult to reconstruct. It was certainly not taken over for the purpose of its inclusion in the *Theogony*; as mentioned above, it must have been known more widely in the Aegean already before the composition of this poem. But there is no evidence for this, nor can I think of a practical reason why it might have happened. Due to the limited size of their states, rulers of cities on the Aegean coast are not very well comparable to the Phrygian king. Trivial as it may seem, the only explanation that I can offer, is that perhaps people just liked this specific variant of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme, the general concept of which they recognised from stories they knew already.

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[761] Roller 2007, pp. 209-11, 2009, pp. 44-46.

[762] Radner 2009, pp. 231-38.

Chapter IX

Summary and evaluation

With the case study complete, let me summarise the specific scenario of the process of composition, transmission and embedment as it was reconstructed in the preceding chapters. In the light of this practical test, it is also appropriate to evaluate the research method proposed in chapter one, to see what its strength and weaknesses are.

9.1 The 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme from Kumarbi to Kronos via Anatolia: Summary

The *Song of Going Forth* as known from the Hittite version was probably first created around the middle of the second millennium BCE in a Hurrian context. There, it may have been part of propaganda by the king, who needed to legitimise his position as supreme ruler over the lesser kings of the various states making up the kingdom of Mittani. It may have been taken over by the Hittites after their defeat of Mittani, when they became the dominant force in the region. In the Hittite kingdom, too, it featured in the context of royal self-legitimation propaganda. This emerges in the emphasis in the song on the accomplishments of the storm-god, the head of the Hittite pantheon and the tutelary deity of the king. Despite strong opposition, he defeats his enemies and reigns supreme, just like his protégé. Further, the song may have been recited or enacted as part of a festival.

There was no clean cultural break after the disappearance of the Hittite kingdom shortly after 1200 BCE. Much continuity can be observed, both in Anatolia in general and in the Neo-Hittite kingdoms of southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria. That this included traditions regarding kingship is shown most clearly by several rules of Neo-Hittites states adopting titles that had formerly been reserved for the Hittite king. In this context, it is possible that the *Song of Going Forth* survived as well, serving in the same

function as it had previously: to legitimise the position of the king. Alternatively, the song may have survived in southeastern Anatolia, Syria and/or northern Mesopotamia as part of local narrative traditions.

Next the Phrygians. Their kingdom rose to prominence in Anatolia in the tenth and ninth centuries BCE, expanding its territory towards the east. This was accompanied by intensive interaction with the kingdoms of the southeast. The Phrygians are thus likely to have learned about the *Song of Going Forth*. Possibly, the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme was again taken over for the purpose of legitimisation of the position of the king, which may have undergone changes due to the resultant different status of the kingdom as a whole. In the course of the eighth century, interaction with the east decreased, and Phrygian attention turned west. Contacts with people from the Aegean soon resulted in their taking over of the theme, perhaps around 700 BCE, which then spread through the extended Aegean.

At that time, a socio-political development was taking place in the Aegean, as its inhabitants began to define themselves as distinct from others, as Hellenes united in their feeling of Hellenicity. One way of expressing this was by means of genealogies. In these, the legendary ancestors of various groups of people were linked, by implication linking these groups. The Hesiodic and Homeric texts reflect this development, focussing on stories and subjects that were interesting or relevant to all Hellenes. The purpose of the version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved was to promote the creation of a Hellenic pantheon, with Zeus as its superior ruler, to which all Hellenes could subscribe. In order to unite the relevant gods into such a system and show their relations to each other, this required starting from the beginning of the universe, and progressing by means of the genealogical approach used to link groups of people.

The version of the *Theogony* that has been preserved was created in the first half of the seventh century BCE. Its composer incorporated its particular 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme, which had already spread and gained some popularity in the wider Aegean, to function as a framework with which to structure his text. The multi-tiered sequence of kings allowed him to assign groups of deities to various previous generations, with all the implications that such choices might carry with them. Furthermore, the succession of kings enabled him to present Zeus in a comparative light by adding a tripartite scheme in which each king had to face the same two challenges,

but only Zeus managed to deal with them decisively, and keep his throne.

In order to create the storyline of the *Theogony*, the composer had to make amendments to the theme. Nevertheless, by providing the narrative structure, the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme contributed significantly to the composition of a poem that could serve its intended purpose effectively and is popular to the current day.

9.2 Studying external stimuli to the development of the ancient Aegean: Evaluation

The case study served to demonstrate and test the research methods proposed in the introduction. It is thus appropriate to evaluate the results. Below, I first mention a few strengths of the method, followed by some weaknesses.

What seems most helpful about this method, is that it provides improved arguments against claims that specific cultural elements were simply metacultural concepts, the development of which does not require interaction with others. Such a thing is easily said but difficult to prove wrong. Nonetheless, by investigating how well a specific cultural element fits its context, as well as by studying in detail similarities and the process of transmission, a convincing case can be made concerning whether something could have developed indigenously.

Most important, however, is the emphasis on evaluating the reasons for transmission and the embedment of elements. Only thus can we estimate what impact foreign stimuli had on the development of culture in the Aegean. In turn, this makes it possible to estimate what relevance investigating the transmission of cultural elements has for the study of the ancient Aegean. Discussing the position of elements in the recipient's context, and preferably in the original one as well, is also a safeguard against studying subjects in isolation. Otherwise, claims could be made that might make sense on their own, but turn out impossible upon positioning in the relevant context.

Furthermore, it has been useful to reconstruct one specific scenario of the process of transmission of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme towards the Aegean. More than a general overview of possibilities, a detailed reconstruction makes it imaginable how the process of transmission of cultural elements from one place to another may

have taken place. A problem with this approach is that such a scenario can easily be presented as the only option possible, which is usually not the case (see also below). But due caution in the phrasing of the argumentation should prevent this from happening.

Finally, detailed comparisons can give rise to new ideas about the composition, contents and interpretation of texts. This was demonstrated in section 4.2 (pp. 144-53). It also became clear there that such ideas may be hypothetical. Nevertheless, as suggestions, they might incite new research.

Despite these strengths, the case study on the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme was not completely satisfactory. Especially the reconstruction of the transmission of the theme remains problematic. There is no evidence for its existence anywhere between the *Song of Going Forth* and the *Theogony*. Consequently, all that could be done was sketch the circumstances under which the theme may have been transmitted. In my opinion, this worked well regarding its survival after the Late Bronze Age, and not badly for its transmission from the Neo-Hittites to the Phrygians. But there is nothing that explains the adoption of the theme in the Aegean. Considering the scantiness of the evidence, a reconstruction of the entire chain of transmission was unlikely. But it is unfortunate that it is the final step that is missing, as consequently, theories concerning the reception of the theme in the Aegean, too, must remain incomplete.

Additionally, the comparison may have been restricted too much. By defining the theme narrowly, important events from the *Theogony*, such as the birth of Aphrodite, Prometheus' quarrels with Zeus and the birth of Athena, received no mention. There was good reason for doing so. The *Theogony* comprises various traditions, which did not necessarily have a history together. Among these, considering the similarities with the variant of the *Song of Going Forth*, the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme as defined in this study is likely to have been transmitted on its own before reaching the Aegean. This justifies singling it out. Nonetheless, if more events from the *Theogony* had been included in the description of the theme, additional non-Aegean sources of origins would have had to be studied, and, perhaps, different ideas regarding the evolution of the theme and the composition of the *Theogony* would have been adopted.

It may also be that the *Theogony of Dunnu* and *Enūma Eliš* were dismissed too

easily. It is true that, if people from the Aegean could learn about the contents of the *Song of Going Forth*, knowledge of the other two texts need not be postulated to explain the way the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme appears in the *Theogony*. But perhaps traditions had become intermingled, for example in Syria, so that by the start of the first millennium BCE there was a composition that combined parts of *Enūma Eliš* with the *Song of Going Forth*. As no texts have survived that could attest to this development, hypotheses such as these remain highly speculative. But that does not mean that they are impossible. Further, the possibility that the *Theogony of Dunnu* and/or *Enūma Eliš* reached the Aegean independently of the *Song of Going Forth*, and that in the *Theogony* elements from all the relevant traditions were used, cannot be excluded altogether.

The above leads to a general problem, which features in nearly all research on antiquity. Despite the treatment of more relevant issues, the widening of perspectives, and the addition of more details, research results remain inconclusive. In addition to what was mentioned above, there is no certainty regarding, for example, the exact date of transmission of the 'Kingship in Heaven'-theme towards the Aegean, the function of the *Song of Going Forth* and the *Theogony* in their contexts; whether or not Ouranos and other elements of the theme fit their contemporary context; or why Gaia features as she does in the *Theogony*. This is inevitable. The available evidence is just too scanty to deal with all the relevant issues satisfactorily, and different reconstructions and interpretations will almost always remain possible. But as data keeps accumulating, and as methods of analysis keep improving, the various scenarios that can be reconstructed on the basis of both will not only become increasingly reliable and convincing, but also increasingly few in number; until finally, perhaps, one will prevail. Through its methodological discussion and its focus on one specific scenario, I hope that my study will contribute towards this development.

Abbreviations

AHw   von Soden, W., *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, 3 Vols. (Wiesbaden, 1965-1981).

Bo   Inventory numbers of the clay tablets from Boğazköy excavated 1906-1912.

CAD   Gelb, I.J., Jacbosen, T., Landsberger, B., Oppenheim, A.L., Reiner, E., Civil, M., and Roth, M.T. (eds.), *The Assyrian dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago IL, 1956-).

CHD   Güterbock, H.G., Hoffner, H.A., and van den Hout, T.P.J. (eds.), *The Hittite dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago IL, 1989-).

ChS   Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler.

ChS 1/6   Salvini, M., and Wegner, I., *Die mythologischen Texte*, Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler, Vol. 1/6 (Rome, 2004).

CLL   Melchert, H.C., *Cuneiform Luvian lexicon*, Lexica Anatolica, Vol. 2 (Chapel Hill NC, 1993).

CTH   Catalogue des Textes Hittites. Originally published in Laroche 1971, but see now in Košak, S., *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln: Online-Datenbank Version 1.75* [available online at http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/; last accessed: 12.11.2010].

ePSD   Electronic Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary (available online at http://psd.museum.upenn.edu/epsd/; last accessed: 12.11.2010).

FGrH   Jacoby, F., *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin/Leiden, 1923-) [new edition available online as *Brill's New Jacoby* at http://brillonline.nl/subscriber/uid=1982/title_home?title_id=bnj_bnj; last accessed: 12.11.2010].

GHL   Hoffner Jr., H.A., and Melchert, H.G., *A grammar of the Hittite language, Part 1: Reference grammar*, Languages of the Ancient Near East, Vol. 1 (Winona Lake IN, 2008).

GLH   Laroche, E., *Glossaire de la langue hourrite*, Études et Commentaires, Vol. 93 (Paris, 1980).

HE   Friedrich, J., *Hethitisches Elementarbuch, Vol. 1: Kurzgefaßte Grammatik*,

Indogermanische Bibliothek, 1. Abteilung, Sammlung Indogermanischer Lehr- und Handbücher, 2. Reihe, Grammatiken (Heidelberg, 1960) [second edition].

HED Puhvel, J., *Hittite etymological dictionary*, Trends in Linguistics, Documentation (Berlin, 1984-).

HFAC Beckman, G.M., and Hoffner Jr., H.A., 'Hittite fragments in American collections', *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 37 (1985), pp. 1-60.

HZL Rüster, C., and Neu, E., *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon: Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Boğazköy-Texten*, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Beiheft 2 (Wiesbaden, 1989).

IEG West, M.L., *Iambi et elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati*, 2 Vols. (Oxford, 1989-1992) [second edition].

KBo Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi.

KBo 22 Otten, H., and Rüster, C., *Aus dem Bezirk des Grossen Tempels*, Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, Vol. 22, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Vol. 90 (Berlin, 1974).

KBo 32 Otten, H., and Rüster, C., *Die hurritisch-hethitische Bilingue und weitere Texte aus der Oberstadt*, Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, Vol. 32 (Berlin, 1990).

KBo 42 Neu, E., Otten, H., and Rüster, C., *Textfunde der neunziger Jahre*, Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, Vol. 42 (Berlin, 2001).

KBo 52 Corti, C., *Texte aus dem Bezirk des grossen Tempels, IV*, Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, Vol. 52 (Berlin, 2009).

KUB Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi.

KUB 8 Weidner, F.E., *Hethitische Texte verschiedenen Inhalts*, Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, Vol. 8 (Berlin 1924).

KUB 20 Ehelolf, H. *Hethitische Festrituale*, Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, Vol. 20 (Berlin 1927).

KUB 26 Goetze, A. *Historisch-politische Texte*, Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, Vol. 26 (Berlin 1933).

KUB 27 von Brandenstein, C.-G., *Kultische Texte in hethitischer und churrischer*

Sprache, Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, Vol. 27 (Berlin 1934).

KUB 33   Otten, H., *Mythische und magische Werke in hethitischer Sprache*, Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, Vol. 33 (Berlin, 1943).

KUB 36   Otten, H., *Vorwiegend Mythen, Epen, Gebete und Texte in althethitischer Sprache*, Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, Vol. 36 (Berlin, 1955).

KUB 44   Klengel, H., *Hethitische Rituale und Festbeschreibungen*, Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, Vol. 44 (Berlin 1973).

KUB 47   Salvini, M., *Texte des hurrischen Kreises*, Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, Vol. 47 (Berlin, 1977).

KUB 48   Berman, H., and Klengel, H., *Texte des hattischen Kreises und verschiedenen Inhalts*, Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, Vol. 48 (Berlin, 1977).

LSJ   Liddell, H.G., Scott, R., Jones, H.S., and Glare, P.G.W, *A Greek-English lexicon: With a revised supplement* (Oxford, 1949/1996) [lexicon: ninth edition; supplement: second edition].

MZL   Borger, R., *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament, Vol. 305 (Münster, 2003).

PLF   Lobel, E., and Page, D., *Poetarum Lesbiorum fragmenta* (Oxford, 1955).

PMG   Page, D.L., *Poetae melici graeci* (Oxford, 1962).

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