

The Hittite Storm God: his Role and his Rule According to Hittite Cuneiform Sources

The title was chosen in order to prepare the reader and especially my closest colleague Professor Maurits N. van Loon for an attempt to add a selection of textual data to some of the subjects he so excellently dealt with in his monograph "Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.", fasc. 12, Section XV, in the Series Iconography of Religions, Leiden, 1985. In this paper I will deal with six topics:

- 1. Some general remarks on the various types of the Storm God, as referred to in the Hittite cuneiform texts.*
- 2. The relationship between the Storm God of Heaven and the Hittite King.*
- 3. The Storm God in the 'God-lists' of the most important documents of the State.*
- 4. The role of the Storm God in the seasonal Festival of the Spring, as performed in Hattusa.*
- 5. The Storm God in the 'Cult Reform' of Tudhaliyas IV.*
- 6. The role of the Storm God (equalling Tesub) in the 'Cycle of Kumarbi'.*

The subject as such is so vast that I will be excused, I hope, for making this eclectic choice of topics. An admittedly thin thread can be supposed to hold them together: in one way or another each centres on the concept of rulership, either the rulership of the

Storm God (1. and 6.), or the rulership of the Hittite king (2. and 3.), while generally (2.- 5.) the rulership of both is involved.

1. THE VARIOUS TYPES OF THE STORM GOD

In his treatment of the iconography van Loon distinguished two basic types, the lightning and the thunder god. He duly noted in a passage devoted to the 'Anatolian' group of colony period seals: "From later texts we know that many towns had their own thunder-and-lightning gods, also called storm or weather gods in modern translation"¹. The number is very high indeed and far exceeds the total of local variants attested for other gods and goddesses, ^DLAMMA, the usually male protective Deity of Nature, and the various types of sun deities, male or female, being his closest competitors in this respect. At the moment, up to and including KBo 33 (1987) and KUB 58 (1988), ca. 140 towns are known to have possessed their own Storm God. Of course this does not imply that there were as many different 'types' as there are 'tokens'. A second group of ca. 30 examples consists of a different, lexical type of genitival adjunct or of a following adjective or apposition².

From linguistic phase to phase, Old through Middle to New or rather Young Hittite, there is a marked progression in the number of genitival adjuncts of both categories. In E. Neu's corpus of Old Hittite religious texts (StBoT 25-26), either ^DIŠKUR/^DU without any specification, or ^DIŠKUR/^DU followed by the place-name Zippalanda and as an example of the second type ^DISKUR *gimraš* ("The Storm God of the Field" or "of the (military) Campaign") are attested³. The lack of specifications may result from a more general characteristic of the religious texts in the old ductus stemming from Hattuša, namely that these types of adjuncts were by and large considered to be superfluous. The context was deemed to suffice. In view of the absence of a comparable corpus of Middle Hittite religious texts, no direct comparison with the Old Hittite religious data is possible. Nevertheless, a few religious texts which are available for this linguistic phase re-inforce the

impression created by the historical texts now dated to this period, that the phenomenon of the genitival adjunct was already becoming more widespread. This bears on the genitival adjuncts of both types⁴.

The adjuncts of the first category, the Storm Gods determined by a place-name, are merely of interest within a context which explains their character, their functioning or their external appearance. Unfortunately this seldom is the case. A number of them have been disregarded in the above count. Naturally I purposely omitted the Storm Gods of the treaty partners. Nevertheless it may be of some interest to note that, according to the Hittite sources, also the inhabitants of Azzi-Hayasa and the Gasgaeans semi-nomads had their own Storm Gods⁵. I also excluded the storm gods of those towns about which it is (practically) certain that they were not situated within the Hittite territory proper. Notwithstanding this obvious necessity, it should perhaps be mentioned already at this point that, witness cult-inventories which may be connected with the 'Cult Reform', the Storm God of Aššur was venerated in Anatolia. This point is reminiscent of the fact that in Old Hittite times (even before the conquest of Aleppo) the Storm God of Aleppo had already been admitted to the Hittite pantheon⁶. A number of the examples, of which either the function or the external appearance is clarified by the context in which they appear, will come to the fore in the following sub-sections 2.-5.

The adjuncts of the second type, those with a genitival adjunct of the lexical type or which are specified by means of an adjective, participle or apposition, can be subdivided into five groups. A first group (A) consists of Forces of Nature which characterize *Tarḫu(na)* functioning as Storm or Weather God, "The Storm God of Heaven, of Lightning, of Thunder, of the Clouds, of the Rain, of the Downpour (or rather: of the Dew)" and, finally, "The Storm God of Growing". Another group (B) defines his relationship to mankind in general, "Proud, Heroic, Awe-inspiring", and in one case to the Hittite king in particular, "The Storm God of the Head (viz. the Person) (of the king)". A third group (C) defines natural locations outside of the towns and townships which need his protection and where he is worshipped: "The Storm God of the Field (if not "of the

military Campaign" in which case this example would need to be transferred to group E), "of the Meadow, of the Pasture" or "of the Field and the Pasture, of the Forest, of the Plain". The fourth group (D) consists of locations within the town area, built by men, sometimes for the god himself, "The Storm god of the ^ḫamri- and of the ^ḫsinapši- as technical terms for specific types of temple architecture, "The Storm God of the House", presumably his own house, the temple, as opposed to the stelae outside of the town in the open air (see Appendix 1, notes b and c), "The Storm God of the Great Temple", "The Storm God of the Market" (or preferably "of the Gateway" or "of the Portico"). In one example the building was constructed for the king, "The Storm God of the Palace". A fifth group (E) defines his role regarding warfare and political authority: "The Storm God of the Army-camp" (or "of the Army"), "The Storm God, the Co-adjutor", "The Storm God of the Alliance" and "The Storm God of Fastening". A rest-group consists of lexically unclear or unknown terms.

2. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE STORM GOD OF HEAVEN AND THE HITTITE KING

From the earliest Hittite text onwards ("The Text of Anitta") the close relationship between the Storm God of Heaven and the Hittite king is duly stressed. In the initial lines Obv. 2-3, the fact that "the king was dear to the Storm God of Heaven" is first established and then presented as the cause behind the military successes of Piḫana and his son Anitta, which subsequently led to the 'great kingship' of Anitta after the father had already transferred the seat of the dynasty from Kussara to Kanes-Nesa⁷. Regarding the capital or residence Hattusa in particular, the situation is slightly complicated through the king's affiliations with the Sun God of Heaven, whom he emulated in his titulature and in his functions of highest judge and convener of the assembly, and through his connection with the Sun Goddess of Arinna, whose priest he was. These two phenomena: the king's affiliations with the Sun God of Heaven and his connection with the Sun Goddess of Arinna (which may in fact have resulted from strictly local circumstances), and secondly the strong local importance of the sun deity in all of its aspects (as also attested for neighbouring

Arinna) would seem to have had the effect that the sun deity usually precedes the Storm God during the early phases of the use of the language, both in oath-formula's and in the god-lists (also within festival descriptions)⁸.

The famous and often quoted passage IBoT 1.30⁹ Obv. 2-5 formulates the idea in this manner: "When the king bows to the gods, the 'anointed' (priest) recites as follows: "May the Tabarna, the king, be dear to the gods! The land merely belongs to the Storm God, Heaven and Earth, the army merely belongs to the Storm God. And he made the Labarna, the king, (his) deputy and he gave him the whole land of Hattusa." The interpretation of the next clause is disputed, meaning either "May he (viz. the Storm God) rule over the whole country through (in the sense of "through the mediation of) the Labarna!"¹⁰ or "Let the Labarna keep administering the whole land with his hand!" (CHD, s.v. ^{LU}*maniyahhatalla*-) or "Let the Labarna personally (lit. with the hand) administer the whole land!" (CHD s.v. *maniyahh*-). The text continues: "May the Storm God destroy him who reaches out for the body of the Labarna, the king, and for the borders (of the land)!"

This passage clearly expresses that in his function of highest military commander and prime governor the Hittite king stood under the special protection of the Storm God who here manifests his authority, emphasized in the sub-group E of the second category of (genitival) adjuncts mentioned in the previous paragraph. A fairly large number of passages in Young Hittite annals, e.g. in those of Mursilis II, provide evidence for the aid offered to the king by the "Awe-inspiring Storm God" in bringing rain or fog, or in sending a thunderbolt or even a meteorite in order to confuse the enemy and to advance the Hittite cause.

It is a debatable question (which has in fact been debated) whether in doing so the Storm God and the other gods mentioned in the formulas expressing divine aid (which characterise the various types of these annals) overstepped the boundary between divine assistance and active interference by the gods. Personally I feel inclined to think that the gods were deemed to intervene¹¹. The problem largely hinges on the manner in which the decisive terms,

the noun *parā handandatar* and the verb *peran huwai-/huiya-* are translated, in the former case "divine power, providence" or rather "göttlicher Gerechtigkeit, Göttlicher Rechtsordnung", in the latter case "to help, to assist" or more literally "to run in front". In support of the hypothesis that the gods did intervene, one can point to the fact that apparently the originals of the treaties carried seal-impressions of 'divine' seals¹². Consequently, active intervention by the gods on the battlefield can no longer be rejected. Moreover, it clearly forms part of the general Hittite conception about warfare which basically consists of the idea that it constituted a law-suit decided by divine judges. Presumably the gods expressed their verdicts through the means of favourable circumstances and the omina which have been mentioned above. The idea of the Divine Assembly permeates practically all Hittite text genres.

3. THE STORM GODS IN THE GOD-LISTS OF THE MOST IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS OF THE STATE

In the Early Empire Period (ca. 1430-1350 B.C.) the Treaty and Instruction genre was fairly widely used and in it we encounter the first usable examples of, initially brief, typologically arranged god-lists. The general ordering of these listings resembles the manner in which the pantheon of a town or a township is described in the texts belonging to the inquiry into the state of the cults, referred to as the 'Cult Reform', which was undertaken during the reign of Tudhaliyas IV. The gods are enumerated in descending order of importance. This means that in the texts concerning the Cult Reform the listing usually begins with the Storm God and continues with a solar deity and the Protective Deity of Nature. If a specific local deity (and this may be any deity other than the Storm God) is considered to be of prime importance, he or she will head the listing. The notion of the 'Assembly of the Gods', as expressed in the form of a 'god-list', occurs not only in the formal treaties and a sub-group of general instructions of a 'covenant' type, but it finally also reaches a sub-group of royal prayers. In the case of a treaty, the gods are called to act as witnesses to the contents of the agreement and of the ceremony of the oath-taking. This also applies to the afore-mentioned sub-group

of general instructions for the population of the country as a whole which deal with compulsory military or civilian duties. In the prayers which either implicitly or explicitly are addressed to this same 'Assembly of the Gods', the royal couple (on one occasion even the whole royal family, cf. CTH 375) or else the king alone - as supreme ruler and as highest authority representing the entire population - appeals to the divine world in order to account for the performance of the cult, to beg deliverance from a plague, or to ask for divine aid against some other emergency. These examples sufficiently demonstrate that the notion of the 'Assembly of the Gods' marks those occasions on which the king acts as supreme ruler in his dealings with a foreign king or nation, with all of his subjects, or with the divine world at large¹³.

Two points regarding this important source for the religion of the state, the god-list, deserve to be made at this point: 1) The order in which 'the succouring gods' are enumerated in the formula characteristic of the annals of Tudhaliyas I strikingly resembles the main ordering of the early god-lists: "The Sun Goddess of Arinna, the Storm God of Heaven, the Protective God of Hatti, the War God, Ishtar, the Moon God and the Sun Goddess of the Netherworld"¹⁴. 2) In the gods-lists the number of deities mentioned and accordingly also the number of Storm Gods rapidly increases.

A few figures may illustrate the numerical growth of the god-list in treaties and instructions from the early examples (ca. 1400 BC.) up to the Syrian treaties dating to the closing years of Suppiluliumas I and the beginning of the reign of Mursilis II (ca. 1330 - 1315 BC.). One of the Gasgæan treaties, CTH 139, shows the following god-list: "Lo and behold, we made an oath and we brought (lit. placed) all the Gods to (lit. in) the meeting-place (of the assembly), the Sun God, the Storm God, the War God, the Protective God, the Moon God, Ishtar, Ishara, the Lord (sic!; "Mistress" intended) of the Oath, the Gods of Heaven, the Gods of Earth, the Primeval Gods, the Gods of Hatti-land, the Gods of Gasga-country, Heaven, Earth, Mountains, Rivers. They must be witnesses to the oath!"¹⁵.

CTH 139 thus enumerates 7 typologically different gods and mentions 16 items, if the summarizing enumerations are counted as units and the typical listing of deified natural phenomena at the

end of the god-list is divided up into its components. Using the same method, the corresponding number in the god-list of the Huguana treaty (CTH 42) from the beginning of the reign of Suppiluliumas I comes to about 70, enumerating 16 local Anatolian storm gods and 3 storm gods characterized as such by genitival adjuncts of the second category. The total of two Syrian treaties (CTH 53 and 62) reaches ca. 90, mentioning in both cases 14 local storm gods and 3 storm gods of the second category. Concerning the latter, one out of three (regarding CTH 42) and two out of three (regarding CTH 53 and 62) belong to sub-group E, stressing the Storm God's role in warfare¹⁶. During the above-mentioned period (the final quarter of the 14th Century B.C.) the development in principle came to an end, and a standard type was achieved. The preponderance of the Storm God is rather impressive. Although two solar deities (with usually the male Sun God of Heaven in first, and the Sun Goddess of Arinna in second position) precede the part of the listing devoted to the type of the Storm God, two of the introductory group of main deities are storm gods, the "The Storm God of Heaven" and "The Storm God of Hatti". The elaborations regarding the Storm God are added at this point. Apart from the elaboration which has already been mentioned, viz. a) the addition of an impressive listing of storm gods of both types, the other elaborations concern, b) the addition of a group of attendants or followers consisting of his two bulls Serri and Hurri and of the two mountains Namni and Hazzi, and c) the optional addition of a Storm God who apparently functioned as a 'Personal God' of the king who concluded the treaty.

The selection of local storm gods for the god-list would seem to have been strongly influenced by political considerations. My argument runs as follows:

1) Insofar as our uneasy notions about Hittite geography allow for a cautious judgement, the towns are evenly spread over the country.

2) With the exception of the remarkable inclusion of the Storm God of Arinna, no storm gods of important sanctuaries in the near vicinity of Hattusa (Tahurpa, Ankuwa and Katapa) have been admitted, apparently being overshadowed by the Storm God of Hatti.

3) Especially the inclusion of the storm gods of Aleppo and Kizzuwatna must have reminded the divine and human audiences of the glorious Hittite past.

4) Probably this also holds good for the presence of the storm gods of Sabinuwa and Samuha, two towns about which it can be argued that they played an important role in the Early Empire period before the accession of Suppiluliumas I, perhaps even functioning as temporary residences at the time Hattusa itself was first threatened and later even largely destroyed by the Gasgaeans¹⁷. However, the inclusion of the Storm Gods of Nerik and Zippalanda, usually rather early in the listing, and of the Storm God of Lihzina (almost exclusively known from mythological texts with Hattic overtones) as well as the inclusion of "The Storm God of the Tell" is likely to have been motivated by purely 'theological' reasoning. The Storm Gods of Nerik and Zippalanda, both referred to as "sons" of the Storm God of Heaven (a possibility for every Storm God who needed to be accounted for in a genealogical system), are already mentioned in the corpus of Old Hittite religious texts. Moreover, the group of four as a whole returns in the texts concerning the 'Cult Reform' and this vouches for their general importance.

4. THE ROLE OF THE STORM GOD IN THE SEASONAL FESTIVAL OF THE SPRING, AS PERFORMED IN HATTUSA

The Early Empire Period also witnessed the full introduction of the State Cult Calendar. Witness the presence of sometimes foreign deities (not known from the Old Hittite religious texts, but attested in the early god-lists of the treaty and instruction genre) and also on account of the names of the kings and more in particular of the queens, mentioned in two day-tablets, one for each series, the two main Festivals of Spring and Autumn, in their original form, must go back to the beginning of the Empire period¹⁸. Fortunately paleographic evidence (1984) has become available which adds weight to this dating¹⁹. The title given to this sub-section is meant to express that in this paragraph attention will be focused on the spring ceremony of opening or breaking the pithos, the storage vessel, which had been filled in the preceding autumn, in order to get at its contents, to grind and

to mill those contents, to bake a bread and then to offer it to a god or a goddess. Regarding the Spring Festival the ceremony is performed in honour of two of the storm god types, for the Storm God of Zippalanda and for the Storm God of Hatti. This subject matter will return in the following paragraph, devoted to the cult-inventories of the 'Cult Reform'.

Admittedly in a somewhat incongruous manner I shall start out with a minor detail concerning the transition from winter to spring. I refer to the 'Festivals of the Thunder' or 'of Thundering'. This Hittite material, which hittitologists hope is a rather unique phenomenon not paralleled in Mesopotamia, has been dealt with extensively by E. Neu in the commentary added to the text-edition of an Old Hittite example in old ductus, while H.A. Hoffner and A. Archi more briefly alluded to this subject matter²⁰. It is, I think, not a serious obstacle that the two oracle investigations CTH 563 and 564, concerning the choice of the town in which the king and the queen should spend the winter, refer to the Festival of the Thunderstorm as an event of the winter; nor that the oracle investigation CTH 568 (regarding the contributions which the palace and the temple or specific functionaries had to make to the performance of a group of festivals and cultic journeys during the whole calendar year) essentially does the same - although the cult-inventories related to the 'Cult Reform' refer to thunderstorms as an event of the spring²¹. Hoffner both masks and solves the problem by speaking about "rains and thunderstorms which herald the advent of the spring". Actually this discrepancy between the sources is what one would expect. A Festival of Thundering in a cult calendar is a *contradictio in terminis*. It inevitably was an *ad hoc* religious festival. What is perhaps of greater relevance is the great emphasis on the need for swift action wherever the king is or whatever he may be doing. This element of haste may help to explain the feelings of guilt which haunted Mursilis II, witness the introduction to the ritual "Mursilis Sprachlähmung" (CTH 486). The description of the incident as such - the sudden thunderstorm with flashes of lightning while the king drove his chariot, the terrible thunderclap, the fear of the king - omits any reference to a subsequent Festival of the Thunder which, according to compelling evidence, would need to have been performed.²²

The AN.TAH.ŠUM^{SAR} festival, taking place in the spring, is likely to have started in the month of March; the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival, "the Festival of Haste", the parallel festival of the autumn, began in the eighth month of the year and thus presumably in the month of October. It is certain that both originally comprised either 35 (?), or even more, days of religious festivities. The Festival of the Rain formed a final highlight of the spring proceedings. The last line of copy B of the outline tablet (B Rev. 12'), one of the two best-preserved copies, mentions the storm god for whom the Festival of the Rain was to be performed. The festival is celebrated in honour of the Storm God of Ankuwa. A combination of recently published texts renders it perhaps possible to determine the manner in which the total duration of the Spring Festival was spread out over the months, thus determining in an approximative manner in which month this final Festival of the Rain took place, and at the same time also clarifying which day of the festival constituted Hittite 'New Year's Day' (or rather a Hittite near replica of our version of it). This latter point, however, which in the version of copy A involves the ceremony of the opening of the pithos of the Storm God of Zippalanda, should not be taken too literally, since the Hittites apparently were wont to bring the 'Old Year', presumably in the form of its hieroglyphic representation (thus in the form of a pithos²³) to the *Hišta*-house, a type of mausoleum, after this first reputed 'New Year's Day' had already taken place. Moreover, they also had a second 'New Year's Day', since on the subsequent day, after the 'Old Year' had been laid to rest, they opened the pithos of the Storm God of Hatti. In his article on the Festivals of the Spring and the Autumn, Archi explains the symbolism in the following manner: "Avec cette cérémonie, durant laquelle on transformait en pain la céréale de l'année précédente, le nouveau produit, à peine germé, était lié à l'ancien unissant ainsi le cycle agricole d'une année à l'autre, et favorissant ainsi la croissance de la nouvelle récolte"²⁴.

Before I mention this new material in defence of my two points, two important proviso's need to be specified.

Firstly, I am reckoning with the likelihood that Hittite EZEN ITU(.KAM) admits of two meanings: The first is "monthly festival",

and in that case it may concern the cult of any one deity (in the case of, e.g., the moon god, presumably taking place at full moon, cf. CTH 630²⁵. In the case of the Storm God of Nerik the final festival of a series of three days is known to have taken place on the 15th day of the Month²⁶). The second meaning is "Festival of the Month" in the strict sense (cf. the data collected by Laroche, CTH 591); in that case taking place during the final days of the preceding month up to and presumably including the first day of the next month. As would seem to have been a more general rule, also this festival lasted for three days.

Secondly, my reasoning is as it were based on the assumption, by itself not unlikely, that the Hittite month consisted of a complete cycle of phases of the moon (as seen from the earth); in other words that the Hittites reckoned with a synodic instead of with a sidereal month. Consequently the Hittite month would have comprised 29 days, 12 hours and 44 minutes, i.e. either 29 or 30 days. There is a total lack of evidence that the Hittites used intercalary months in order to equate the sun year with their moon months. The New Year thus began with the first new moon after the equinox of spring (March 21st in our calendar).

Bo 2372, formerly reckoned to belong to CTH 645 and published as KUB 55.39 by H. Freydank in 1985, according to its colophon treats the Festival of the Month, "When the (new) moon begins (lit. sets in), as soon as the King goes to the roof for the Festival of the Month" (IV: 27'-29'). The text is cognate with KUB 2.13 (CTH 591.5 A), which describes the morning ceremonies of the third and final day of the Festival of the Month. KUB 2.13 contains no reference to the fact that the king would have "gone to the roof". However, there is a fairly general agreement between both texts as far as location, participants and types of ceremonies are concerned. The texts concerning the AN.TAH.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival refer in my opinion to two Festivals of the Month: the first of the two, attested by the Outline Tablet (the 4th day: "But the king takes a (ritual) bath [fo]r the Festival of the Month" (presumably on the first day of the Festival of the Month); the 5th Day: "But [the kin]g goes to the roof"); and the second, as evidenced by a day-tablet concerning the 34th day of the series (see below).

The second occurrence of EZEN ITU(.KAM) in copy A of the outline necessarily needs to be explained in a different manner. The passage A II 38, "they set up", or rather "they provide for the cups of the EZEN ITU.KAM" is open to two explanations. It either indicates that the festival in question, the *had/tauri* festival for the War God on day 16 of Güterbock's day-count (day 15 in my revised reckoning), constituted the monthly Festival of the War God; or it signifies rather that the manner in which "the drinking" was arranged was identical to the manner in which this was done when a Festival of the Month took place. Such a similarity need not cause surprise, since on both occasions warfare and the army are likely to have been of paramount importance. Moreover, on both occasions the king was present during the festival. On the one hand the army-commanders played an important role during the second day of the Festival of the Month. On the other, just before the beginning of the war season this major festival for the War God (the best-attested ceremony of the spring series with an abundance of copies), must have been destined to secure the God's support for the acts of war during the coming months. Perhaps I should explain at this point why I prefer Kammenhuber's translation "besorgen", "to take care of, to provide for" (with regard to *aššanu-* (either with the direct object GAL.HI.A being expressed or in an absolute usage), as used in the cult-inventories (HW², 374-378 sub II)) to Güterbock's "to set up" and Carter's "to arrange (for display), to set (on the table, as a decoration)". The main concern of the authorities who ordered the Oracle Inquiry CTH 568 consisted of the question of the cult deliveries. The absolute usage of *aššanu-* in the part of the inquiry devoted to the *had/tauri* festivals necessarily must have referred to the same problem. And this entails that these authorities were more concerned about the question who or which organization "took care of" or "provided for the contents of the beakers" than for the manner in which these beakers were set up or arranged. Moreover, both Güterbock and Carter agree with O.R. Gurney, AAA 27 (1940), 120-124 that in these very same cult-inventories ^{DUG}*harši-* is used for "a storage vessel, a pithos", but also for "the contents of such a vessel" (cf. Carter, Diss., 185). This offers the required convincing parallel for the similar usage concerning GAL.HI.A. What the exact rules

were regarding on the one hand the EZEN ITU(.KAM) and the festival in the temple of the War God, and on the other the remaining five *had/tauri* festivals (during which the king always would seem to have been absent) may only be guessed at, but need not concern us at this moment.

According to the combined evidence of the copies A and B of the Outline Tablet (A I 29 and B Obv. 23), on the fifth Day "[the Kin]g goes to the roof", presumably to the roof of the palace, and apparently in order to look for the first evidence of the new moon. This point can be argued on the grounds of the evidence present in KUB 55.39 I 11'-20'. According to this passage, the king descends from the roof, goes to the *Halentuwa*-house, his residential quarters, and returns to the roof. The presumably Late Young Hittite Cult-Inventory CTH 629 (=KUB 25.27 I 13') confirms the text-restoration in part, mainly based on copy B²⁷. The text-passage VAT 7458 IV: 8'-19' published by Alp in Tempel, 1983, 128-129 must belong to a day-tablet concerning the final days of the spring series, since ll. 13'-19', part of the colophon, refer to the fact that "the King sets out for Ankuwa in the spring for 'The Festival of the Rain'" (day 35) and to the preceding 'Great Assembly' in the local palace, which takes place on the 34th day of the series in B's day-count. Remarkably enough, the preceding ll. 8'-12' (presumably still referring to Day 34) duplicate a well-known passage of 'The Festival of the Month' (see the numerous duplicates referred to by Laroche, CTH 591.4 and most recently treated by A. Archi, FsMeriggi, 2, 38-42 concerning the invocation of the mountains and the benedictions of the royal couple, so far merely attested for the second day of the festival). Also KBo 9.136 (CTH 591.6) is relevant to the problem, since in its first line this text refers to "the 'head' of the Month", an expression which, like Akkadian *rēš (w)arhim* (referring to the Neulicht des Mondes (meist?) am Monatsende", cf. W.von Soden, AHW 975a), apparently signifies the transition to a new month.

Under the proviso that there were merely two festivals connected with the movements of the moon around the earth, the EZEN ITU(.KAM) for and at the new moon and CTH 630 regarding the full moon, the combination of the two new beginnings of a month at the required distance of 29 or 30 days (B's colophon mentions a total

of one month and five days) lends unexpected support to B's day-count.

Because I do not think that these data accord with H.G. Güterbock's reconstruction of a total of 38 days for copy A (which was based on a count of the days that are summarized in the copy after its day 22), I am now inclined to prefer B's evidence on the question of the duration of the festival as a whole, since it seems to be more consistent, whereas copy A seems to be less coherent. Moreover, copy A, probably written under dictation, shows more signs of not being fully reliable²⁸. Regarding copy B, days 5 and 34(?) would seem to correspond with the second day of the Festival of the Month of two consecutive months, the last month of the old and the first month of the new year respectively. In my tentative reconstruction KUB 55.39 treats a nocturnal ceremony of the second day of the Festival of the Month.

Regarding "The Festival of the Rain" the new evidence is rather rewarding. Certainly within B's day-count (and, as one might add, even the more so regarding A's day-count), one must reckon with the fact that the Festival of the Spring would have been spread, not merely over the inevitably required two, but even over three months, and further with the interesting detail that the "Festival of the Rain" was performed on the final day of the series and thus as close as possible to the near-equivalent of our month of May. Is it merely accidental that the modern data regarding rainfall in Turkey indicate that at higher altitudes (the regions of Ankara, Sivas and Erzurum) the rain is heaviest in the month of May?²⁹ The eminently practical Hittites would have prayed for rain on the day closest to the period during which the largest amount of rain might be expected. Regarding the reputed (first) Hittite "New Year's Day" (day 6), the following main events are recorded.

The ^{KUŠ}kurša- (now assumed to have been a sort of leather bag, cf. H.G. Güterbock, *Essays in Ancient Civilization presented to Helene J. Kantor*, edited by A. Leonard and B.B. Williams, SAOC 47, Chicago 1989, 113-119), which had left Arinna (= Alaca Hüyük?) on day 3, had reached Tawiniya (= Tonea = Eskiyaapar?) on day 4, and had travelled on day 5 from Tawiniya to Hiyasna in order to spend the night there (the same day, or rather evening or night, during

which the king was wont to go to the roof, presumably in order to look for the new moon). It finally arrived in the capital: (copy A I 32-39): "From the palace they announce (the arrival of) the ^{KUŠ}kurša- and the ^{KUŠ}kurša goes to the temple of (The Grain Goddess) Halki and in the temple of Halki a festival takes place. In the palace the 'anointed' priests of (the town of) Ar[inn]a offer (lit. present) the thick bread" (presumably of the Sun Goddess of Arinna, or else of the Storm God of Arinna, cf. sub-section 3.). "And they bring a lamb from (the town of) Kasaya. And in the palace a 'Great Assembly' (takes place). And in the palace (or: the large institution?) of the palace-intendant of the south (?) they break the pithos of the Storm God of Zippalanda open on that very same day"³⁰.

The following set of days (7-9 according to my count; 8-10 in Güterbock's count) form the kernel of the festival as a whole. After a number of ceremonies in the capital itself, and having departed for Arinna by way of Matella (where a 'Great Assembly' takes place), the king and the queen parted. The king continued the journey to Arinna, while the queen returned to Hattusa (day 7); On day 8, clearly the highlight of the whole proceedings, the king placed the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} in Arinna, while the queen did the same in Hattusa in her personal dwellings, the É.MUNUS.LUGAL, where apparently a 'Great Assembly' took place in the absence of the king. On day 9 the king returned to Hattusa where another 'Great Assembly' took place in the palace. On the subsequent days 10 and 11 (or 11 and 12) the 'Old Year' was laid to rest and the pithos of the Storm God of Hatti was opened. Both events have already been referred to above. During the autumn series The Storm God of Zippalanda was venerated on two festival days, on day 9 in the capital (cf. KBo 14.76 (copy D) I 8'-10', cf. FsOtten 2, 172-173) and on day 13 in the 'united' reckoning in Zippalanda itself (cf. l.c., par. 2. and 5.1.; copy B = KUB 10.48 II 9-10, cf. S. Košak, *Linguistica* 16 (1976), 61).

Nevertheless, it should be mentioned at this point that the counterpart of the opening of the pithos, the filling of the same pithos, is not yet *expressis verbis* attested in the available parts

of the copies of the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival of the Autumn, cf. already H.G.Güterbock, NHF, 69. Of the two possibilities mentioned above, both of which might refer to the filling of the pithos in a highly veiled manner, day 9 offers by far the best prospects, since at least the location of that Festival would seem to be identical with the one in the passage of the Spring series which has just been quoted.

It is of some interest, I think, that in KBo 2.5 III 38-45 (presumably referring to the spring of the 22th year of his reign) Mursilis II remarks: "When it became spring - whereas I had celebrated the New Year Festival, the great festival, in honour of the Storm God of Hatti and the Storm God of Zippalanda, but I had not celebrated the New Year Festival, the great festival, in honour of Lelwani in the *Hišta*-house, I therefore came up to Hattusa and celebrated the New Year Festival, the great festival, in honour of Lelwani in the *Hišta*-house"³¹. It seems as if, looking back, the king had realised that, while he had taken care of ceremonies prescribed for the days 11 and 6, he had omitted an intervening festival of day 10. On H.G. Güterbock's authority it is generally assumed that Mursilis II modernized or renewed the state cult calendar. Does this passage indicate that he did so at the beginning of his reign, as may be argued on the strength of a passage in his 'Ten Years Annals' in which he refers to the festivals of the Sun Goddess of Arinna in particular (KBo 3.4 I 16-22), and does the king want to convey that he took his own measures seriously, or does the passage signal the beginning of a later interest in the cult calendar as a whole?³² If the latter were true, it would become possible - in the current chronology - to date this general modernization to the turning-point of the century and thus to ca. 1300 B.C. However this may be, in both cases it is striking that Mursilis II's interest focused on the three major aspects of the Festival of the Spring, as performed in the capital itself, which have been dealt with in this sub-section. Taken together, they apparently epitomized the transition to a New Year.

5. THE STORM GOD IN THE 'CULT REFORM' OF TUDHALIYAS IV

The 'Cult Reform' of Tudhaliyas IV (a term coined by A. Götze as long ago as 1933 in *Kleinasien*¹, for a large scale inquiry into the state of the cults, how the gods were worshipped in the country as a whole and how specific cults which might have fallen back or may have been backward could be improved) has up till now been studied in mainly three aspects:

1) During the earlier phases of the research C.-G. von Brandenstein, H.G. Güterbock and L. (Jakob-)Rost used the sometimes detailed descriptions of statues and other cult objects contained in this text material in order to lay the foundations for Hittite iconography³³.

2) Others, especially C.W. Carter in his excellent dissertation, but also O.R. Gurney and A. Archi, dealt with the concise and highly repetitive festival descriptions (which sometimes accompany the rather brief and uniform references to the introduction of new statues or other cult objects) also present in the text material as a whole³⁴.

3) A few authors, von Brandenstein, Carter and, most explicitly and also most recently E. Laroche³⁵, expressed their opinion on the background to, and the character and the manner of execution of this apparently major operation.

Here I should like to deal with the following aspects of this matter which have either been overlooked or may profitably be taken into consideration again:

a) the certainty that the measures as such, detailed in the texts, were neither new nor unique, and the possibility or even likelihood that the inquiry may have had at least 13th century forerunners of sorts;

b) an endeavour to distinguish phases within the operation and to determine a common characteristic of those phases;

c) an attempt to elucidate the reason for the inquiry through which I hope to show that von Brandenstein's initial, rather brief and

bold appraisal of the background to the operation may very well have been essentially correct;

d) some remarks concerning the role of the Storm God in the Cult Reform.

Ad a: There is little doubt that the final responsibility regarding man's relationship with the divine world and the administration of the temples always lay in the hands of the Anatolian rulers.³⁶ A supporting argument for this (restricted to the Empire period) is to be found in the instruction CTH 261, addressed to the 'Commanders of the Border Provinces' as well as in the royal prayer CTH 375, the prayer of presumably the whole royal family during the reign of Arnuwandas I and Asmunikkal (concerning the ravages inflicted by the Gasgaeans on the Hittite cult-centers in the northern zone). A comparison between the data of CTH 261 on the duties of the commander of a border province regarding the cult of the small towns which he visits on his regular inspection tours, and those of CTH 375 with respect to the cult as practised in the major cult-centers - the loss of which forms the subject of the prayer - leads to interesting results which may be used to differentiate between large and rich and small and poor towns, as described in the cult-inventories belonging to the 'Cult Reform'. The commander is held responsible for the counting of the priests and the priestesses, the state of repair of the temples and, if necessary, he should give orders to bring both these numbers and the condition of the temple(s) back to their original state. Further points concern the reverence due to the gods in general and to the Storm God in particular, the repair of the roof if by any chance it should leak, or the replacement of a missing rhyton or of any other lost utensil of the deity. Thereafter the commander should make a list of those utensils and forward it to His Majesty, a highly significant detail, duly stressed by Carter. The commander is accountable for the punctual observance of the festivals of the deities and the cults of stelae, sources, mountains and rivers in the vicinity but outside of the town³⁷. This enumeration covers to a large extent the same range of subjects which comes to the fore in many cult-inventories regarding presumably smaller towns.

In the introductory hymn of the prayer, abundant praise is lavished upon the meticulous care exercised by the Hittites (more than in any other country!) regarding the offerings, temples, implements, goods, silver (and) gold, rhyta and garments of the gods, as well as with respect to their statues of silver and gold which always were renewed in case of wear and tear, and in respect to their "offerings (and) festivals of (each) day, (each) month and the course (?) of (each) year". In the argumentative continuation of the prayer due mention is made of the loss of personnel (in the prayer not merely consisting of various categories of priests and priestesses, but also of a number of craftsmen working in the temples) and of the loss of the cattle (and) the sheep, the fields, the meadows and the vineyards which had belonged to the gods³⁸. The second text thus adds the statues of silver and gold, the daily and monthly offerings, the craftsmen, the cattle and the sheep and even the immovable assets. While most of these cult characteristics are lacking in the towns visited by the Commander of the Border Province, witness the Instruction, they do return in other cult-inventories, presumably those concerning larger settlements.

Tudhaliyas IV is regularly referred to in the festival texts connected with his new recension of the seasonal Festivals of Autumn and Spring; similarly, his name also occurs in some of the cult-inventories (8 examples so far if my count is correct³⁹). However, also his predecessors Mursilis II, Muwattallis II and Hattusilis III, are sometimes referred to, either by name (Muwattallis II exclusively) or by family designation (Mursilis II and Hattusilis III as his father and grandfather, respectively)⁴⁰. These passages refer to earlier gifts to temples or to similar measures taken by these predecessors on the throne. Two royal prayers of Muwattallis II, CTH 381 and 382, evidence respectively the remarkable precision or even meticulousness of this king in matters of religion and his endeavour to re-instate former cults, relying on hieroglyphic documentation as well as on oral information⁴¹. The uniqueness of the 'Cult Reform' thus depends on its geographical scope and the special character of this inquiry, manifesting, as indeed it does, the aspects of both intensification and restoration and showing furthermore in its application a remarkable amount of personal involvement of His Majesty himself.

In view of the current state of our knowledge concerning paleographic developments during the 13th Century B.C., no absolute certainty can be achieved about the constitution of the corpus. However, the likely candidates which are now available (up to and including KBo 26 (1978) and KUB 58 (1988)), indicate that large parts if not all of the country were involved in the inquiry. It has sometimes been assumed that the investigation was either limited to or specifically directed at the northern regions which, from the early decades of the 13th Century B.C. onwards, had again been attacked by the Gasgaeans. But this cannot be substantiated, although the north still is well represented⁴².

Ad b: It is commonly acknowledged that the four texts edited in von Brandenstein's thesis with their detailed descriptions of statues and other cult objects should be interpreted as the reports of royal officials on what they saw, found out and decided concerning the cults of the towns which had been inspected by them. This evaluation is supported by the incorporation of a letter in text 1 (column IV) and the presence of the rather characteristic 1st person plural of the preterite in the passages which detail those decisions in the texts 2 and 3. Perhaps one may even point to the 'doodle' on text 3, a drawing of the heads of two Hittites, in the interspace between the treatments of two, apparently neighbouring towns⁴³. In line with the passage from CTH 261, paraphrased above, the measures taken (as far as preserved) concern the renewal of temples and the appointment of new priests and priestesses: acts of restoration rather than of intensification. A few texts may be added to this group of presumably early (within the investigation) 'reports', from more recently published KUB-volumes. The most rewarding is KUB 42.100, which pertains to the town of Nerik. It shows the same 1st person plural of the preterite and, most importantly, mentions documentation in both cuneiform and hieroglyphic writing. This example even repeats oral information that has been received⁴⁴, calling to mind on both the point of the search for documentation and that of the reporting of oral information, the passage of the royal prayer CTH 382 to which I referred above (see note 41).

The texts frequently mentioning royal measures and also containing concise and highly stereotyped descriptions of festivals are likely to have been compiled in the capital. This follows, I think, already immediately from the colophons which have been preserved in a number of cases⁴⁵. The references to the cult objects (statues included) are highly repetitive and thus not very informative. Two of the colophons refer to 'His Majesty', one of them mentioning Tudhaliyas IV by name and detailing that the text was written under dictation on the part of the king (cf. note 45, KUB 25.23 offering the information mentioned last). The implication must be that the concise festival descriptions sometimes contained in this type of text and usually pertinent to the Festivals of the Spring and the Autumn are not necessarily always a description of what traditionally happened, but may have been, at least in part, rather prescriptive in character. A text-passage (beautifully restored by Laroche, but which should be translated - with a minor modification - in the manner regularly applied in the dissertation of Carter), offers, I think, support to this hypothesis. Laroche restores and translates KUB 13.27: 7'-9' as follows: "Quand vient la moisson, et qu'il tonne, on ouvre [les pithoi] que Mon-Soleil Tudhaliya [a fait mettre]". Following Carter, one would need to translate, "which His Majesty Tudhaliyas instituted"⁴⁶. A recently published text, KUB 55.14, may be quoted in support of the hypothesis that the king favoured the pithos ceremony: "A pithos was not present. His Majesty instituted a pithos of 1 *PA(RISU)* [ZIZ (a wheat variety) and of] two *PA(RISU)* of wine" (Rev.: 9-10). Quite a number of texts refer to the same type of improvement in a more veiled manner⁴⁷. It thus would seem that what may already have been surmised by Carter can now be proven, viz. that the pithos ceremony, which has already been described and explained in its symbolism above sub 4., was, on royal initiative, extended to towns and townships where it had not been practised before. In a number of passages reference is made to a specific room in the temple for the pithos⁴⁸. This suggestion is not meant to imply that the ceremony and the symbolism would need to have been developed in or near the capital, nor that the ceremony and the underlying symbolism would need to have been a comparatively recent development, and thus most certainly not that it could not have been practised from time immemorial in those regions where both (the filling and the opening

of the pithos) were attested, witness cult-inventories belonging to the 'Cult Reform'.

A sub-group of the texts containing signs of royal intervention is characterized by the fact that the two most radical and most time-consuming changes (the building of temples where a temple had not yet been available, and the manufacture of statues where other types of cult objects had been used) are referred to in the present tense as if they are being undertaken at the moment of writing or will be realised in the near future⁴⁹. Rather than taking also this usage of the present tense as prescriptive, I would like to suggest that, irrespective of the place where the actual decisions were taken, elsewhere and by the royal representatives on behalf of the king, or in Hattusa and by either a functionary or by the king himself, these passages merely indicate that the work is not yet finished. In other words these texts functioned, I tend to think, as a sort of interim reports on the progress of the 'Reform' (see, too, the remark by Carter, quoted below sub c), possibly even as a reminder of what still needed to be completed. Regarding one example for which two parallel-versions are available (KBo 2.13 as compared with KBo 2.7) the case can be proven. KBo 2.7 resumes, as events of the past, measures which in the apparently older KBo 2.13 are still presented as actually taking place or bound to take place in the near future. It is rather striking that KBo 2.7 at the same time deals with a larger area. The relationship between the two parallel-versions indicates that, as time passed by, the work progressed and at the same time the area taken into consideration increased⁵⁰. There are a number of other indications pointing in the same direction and rendering it likely that in the capital a dossier was being compiled on the progress of the inquiry⁵¹.

Ad c: According to Güterbock's review, von Brandenstein's thesis (cf. note 33) constituted the provisional result of a long-lasting familiarity with, and a detailed study of the texts concerning the 'Cult Reform', few of which had yet been published in text-copy (but von Brandenstein may have seen and studied quite a number of the more recently published tablets). In retrospect he deserves to be credited for choosing the position set forth in the two passages in which he formulated a more general appraisal of the 'Reform',

that 1) the reform concerned the whole country, and that 2) it was politically and perhaps even militarily motivated and, finally, 3) that, as a reform, it encompassed the twofold aspect of intensification and restoration⁵². In a reaction to von Brandenstein's point of view, Carter rightly remarked that, with a minor adjustment of von Brandenstein's phrasing, one might also say that "the inventories were made in order that the king might have information concerning what the status of the cults was, and that he might have a record of what he had done on their behalf"⁵³. The point is again well-made. There must have been a reason why the Hittite scribes in the capital occasionally preserved originals of the reports of the royal envoys who had inspected the cults in the interior of the country, and thereafter compiled and preserved records on what the king first had decided and later had accomplished in order to enhance and to restore those cults.

It is not unlikely, I think, that the Royal Prayer of Tudhaliyas IV, KBo 12.58 + KBo 13.162, found in 1960/1, published in text-copy in 1963/7 and provisionally edited by R. Lebrun, *Hymnes*, 1980, 357-61, provides the explanation for this remarkable set of data. The prayer refers to an oracle investigation which had established that the Sun Goddess of Arinna was dissatisfied with the manner in which the festivals of the cult calendar were performed. After Tudhaliyas IV has declared that he will "never again omit festivals or will interchange the Festivals of the Spring and of the Autumn" and has expressed his concern for the punctual observance of the festivals of the cult calendar, he turns in the following broken ll. Obv. 11-13 to the possibility that the anger of the goddess may have been caused by a "diminishing of (the position of) of a deity" or "of (the status of) the (relevant) cult object" in the preceding period, taking the reign of his great-grandfather Suppiluliumas I as the starting-point for his concerns⁵⁴. Presumably the king went on to say that he would redress such defaults. Both in beginning and end of the prayer (Obv. 5-7 and Rev. 13'-15') Tudhaliyas IV mentions a conflict with an enemy, an event that may have triggered the oracle inquiry through which the anger of the Sun Goddess of Arinna had become known. The connection of the Reform with the prayer would explain the manner in which the operation was executed

and would confirm the general outline of von Brandenstein's appraisal of the data.

Laroche's treatment of the Reform already established the connection between the group of reform texts and the king's new recension of the seasonal Festivals which would now seem to be confirmed by the prayer⁵⁵. Nowadays, in addition to the rock sanctuary of Yazilikaya of course already referred to by Laroche, also the more recently found temples from the reign of Tudhaliyas IV in the southern part of the upper city of Hattusa - constituting, as it were, a sacred town district (a "Tempelstadt") - visualize the king's religious fervour in architectural form⁵⁶. Laroche summarized the main principles of the reformer in the following manner (abbreviated): 1) restoration of lost or damaged idols; 2) within the group of cult objects a notable preference for anthropomorphical representation in the form of statue(tte)s usually made of iron; 3) accommodation for the stelae in the more permanent housing of temples; 4) organization of the maintenance of the cults by the appointment of priests and priestesses and the assignment of the task of taking care of the costs of the offerings to the notables of the community or to palace organizations⁵⁷.

Although it should be acknowledged that these measures are conspicuously present in the material as a whole, I do believe that Laroche's point 4 in its succinctness fails to do full justice to the restorative tendencies (the system of the maintenance of the cults is likely to have been older and may very well already have been a traditional strategem by the time of the Inquiry⁵⁸), while his measures referred to in the points 2-3 are in my opinion typical for the poorer and underdeveloped regions of the country and thus perhaps not fully representative for the country as a whole. *

*. The accompanying Appendix 1 is meant to inform the reader in a provisional manner about 1) the scope of the subjects addressed in the 'Reform' Texts (Column I), 2) a specification of those among them for which royal intervention is attested (Column II), and 3) an admittedly highly subjective assessment of the prosperity level of the towns or townships to which the subjects applied and the royal measures were addressed (Column III).

Ad d: Some remarks on the role of the Storm God types in the Inquiry: After this long digression the data concerning the role of the Storm God can briefly be summarized. It has already often been mentioned that *Tarḫu(na)*-'s anthropomorphic versus theriomorphic representation constitutes a minority, one out of three (on the basis of the data enumerated by M.N. van Loon actually 6 against 12). Usually the Storm God is represented as a bull. It is possible that the ratio is not fully representative because the larger towns are still less well-represented in the corpus than the smaller communities. But since in one example an anthropomorphic representation is partly replaced with a theriomorphic rendering, the tendency to conservatism, if this characterization is in fact applicable, probably will remain dominant even if more material should become available⁵⁹.

Genitival adjuncts of the second type, belonging in particular to the sub-groups A (forces of nature) and C (natural locations outside of the towns and townships) prevail over those of the first type composed merely of a place-name. Those of the first type render support to the idea, already becoming apparent in both the Old Hittite religious texts and the god-lists (see above sub 1. and 3.), that the Storm Gods of Nerik and Zippalanda occupied a paramount position, the Storm Gods of Lihzina and Ta/emelha following at a considerable distance and in a perhaps already insignificant number of examples⁶⁰. However, it is striking that the Storm Gods of Hayasa and Assur are fairly well-represented in two cult-inventories which clearly refer to the south and presumably to the southeast, possibly stemming from Kizzuwatna⁶¹.

Their presence is open to two explanations, the first being the well-known Hittite strategem of bringing foreign gods over to their own country and of admitting them to their pantheon (see above sub 1. together with note 6); the second that the equally well-attested deportations of civilian prisoners (NAM.RA) would have been responsible. The apparition of other imported deities may favour the second explanation⁶². The phenomenon is rather typical for presumably poor and underdeveloped regions (which show a great number of stelae within the group of cult objects and an almost total absence of temples). The notion 'poor and underdeveloped' may have been synonymous with 'less densely populated' and this might also help to account for the presence of foreign civilians. It is

of some interest to note that the phenomenon of a Storm God connected with a 'Tell', known from the god-lists of the official documents of the state (see above sub 3.), returns in the 'Reform Texts', but then in a typical variant in which the 'Tell' sometimes is defined by a personal name or a nick-name, presumably the name of a former land-owner in the region⁶³.

Finally it deserves to be mentioned that the same group of 'Reform' texts exhibits a number of names for male deities who must have been of the Storm God type because the same name functions in other texts as a discriminating epithet of the Storm God. Presumably these epithets, either adjectives or participles, have been personified⁶⁴.

6. THE ROLE OF THE STORM GOD (EQUALLING TESSUB) IN THE 'CYCLE OF KUMARBI'

The rise to power of Tessub, the Hurrian counterpart of the Hittite Storm God, is described in the 'Cycle of Kumarbi'⁶⁵. In this final paragraph I shall deal with two problems concerning the Hittite redaction of this Hurrian cycle of 'Songs' against the background of the information it contains on Tessub's rise to power and the initial phases of his kingship. In order to be able to use the 'Cycle' as a critical source regarding the initial phases of Tessub's kingship, first the question of the likely order of the songs needs to be addressed. This problem constitutes the first point which will be dealt with.

The five songs which are currently reckoned to belong to the cycle are:

1) The song which goes under the names "The Kingship among the Gods" (E. Forrer) or "The Kingship in Heaven" (H.G. Güterbock); this is unmistakably the first in the series, describing how Alalu, Anu, Kumarbi and presumably also Tessub succeeded one another as the rulers of the Universe (CTH 344);

2) "The Kingship of ^DLAMMA" (CTH 343) which, according to current thought, describes the continuation of the chain of events in telling how Tessub first lost his kingship to ^DLAMMA and later regained it (CTH 344); The order of the other members of the group,

3) "The Song of Hedammu" (CTH 348);

4) "The Song of Ullikummi" (CTH 345), and

5) "The Song of (personified) Silver" (CTH 364).

The order of the three last members of the group has not yet been finally settled. However, it should immediately be added that, again according to a *communis opinio*, Ullikummi must have been the last in the series and that J. Siegelová in her text edition of Hedammu in my opinion presented a very strong case for the argument that Hedammu must have preceded Ullikummi⁶⁶. If one chooses the option that Ullikummi directly followed Hedammu, one is left with merely a single possibility regarding "The Song of Silver", and hence with the continuation of the series with the sequence, 3) "The Song of Silver", 4) "The Song of Hedammu" and 5) "The Song of Ullikummi". After H.A. Hoffner's highly rewarding treatment of "The Song of Silver", this order is in fact rather attractive: at first, the combination of Ea, the king of wisdom, with the cunning and devious god of the harvest Kumarbi, and later of Kumarbi with the Sea God would have been instrumental in confronting Tessub with no less than four rival kings: first ^DLAMMA, the protective god of nature, and later a succession of three sons of Kumarbi (all of them step-brothers of Tessub), to wit Silver (according to Hoffner's interpretation Kumarbi's son by a mortal woman), thereafter Hedammu (born from his marriage with Sertapsuruhi, the daughter of the sea god), and finally Ullikummi (begotten in his intercourse with "the great rock in the ice-cold pool"). The succession fierce young hero, violent male dragon, and deaf and blind male stone monster (presumably made of basalt) is particularly attractive in view of the role of the goddess Sa(w)usga in the songs 3(?)–5. According to these, with typical bravery (an appropriate quality for a goddess not only of love, but also of warfare) Sa(w)usga repeatedly tried to assist her brother the Storm God and to that end in songs 4 and 5 employed her female charms to seduce her brother's opponent. This was successful, it seems, regarding the male dragon; but it was in vain when Kumarbi had chosen a male stone monster who was neither able to see nor to hear (the convincing argument of Siegelová).

Fortunately there exists a second, separate source that may be adduced in support of the contention that Hedammu must necessarily have been preceded by Silver. The passage KUB 27.38 IV: 19' is

explicit in the matter of the kingship of Silver, while the manner in which it refers to Hedammu in ll. 20'-21' would seem to confirm the proposed sequence. Between traditions concerning earlier human kings (on the one hand the Hurrian ritual deals with kings of Elam, Lullu and Tukris and on the other with kings of Akkad, E/Illyaya and (the land of) Hatti), the passage suddenly refers to "Silver, Ruler and Heroic King" and in the continuation to "Hedam(mu), the Ruler,". According to E.A. Speiser the following clause should be interpreted as saying that "he had been installed as (Divine) King by Kumarbi"⁶⁷.

A brief summary of the contents of the Songs 2 and 3 is now in order. For the convenience of the reader I have added an Appendix 2 in which a number of common features, namely themes and motives, have been specified. It is only logical to assume that the series must have formed a "logical unity". And, by means of the chart and the summaries, I would like to argue that, if the songs are read in the specified order, such a unity does in fact appear; it might be characterized as a 'variation on a number of themes and motives'.

It is a well-established phenomenon that in ancient literary texts as well as in modern fairy-tales forewarning and repetition in combination with sudden and unexpected variation may serve to keep an audience in suspense. Moreover, the sequence would certainly have led up to a climax. It should be added, however, that the points enumerated in the chart (Appendix 2) are rather diverse in character: Some of them concern matters of form or content (1-9, the themes), while a second group (10-16) consists of the motives. It will become self-evident from the brief survey of the contents of the myths that during the early phases of his kingship Tessub hardly was a successful ruler. During the time in which he was so severely put to the test by his predecessor(s), he needed all the support he could muster, while his reaction to disastrous events seldom was very effective. It was only after a long succession of narrow escapes and hard-won victories that his rulership was securely established.

In its first tablet "The Song of Kingship in Heaven" seems to end on the note that Ea was put forward by Anu as an 'intermediary

ruler' between Kumarbi and Tessub. In any case the song must have continued on a second tablet describing how Tessub won his victory over the 'former gods' and how he drove them to the Netherworld⁶⁸. ^DLAMMA opens the series of protagonists who disputed Tessub's rulership. He, a male god of the type "Protective Deity of Nature", and the second contender Silver, share the common characteristic of having been unworthy rulers. As far as both songs are preserved, the evil effects of their manner of ruling are more in particular visible regarding the divine world. After a fight with Tessub in which ^DLAMMA prevailed, "he took the reins and [the whip] out of the Storm God's hands". In the aftermath of this success, he has apparently been installed in kingship by Ea and Kumarbi. ^DLAMMA was in a good mood: "He ate and drank and [...] up to Heaven he went". However, the same Gods later also took the initiative in deposing him, contacting the 'former gods' in order to ask for their loyal support (see note 68 for the conciliation between both parties). Tessub was re-instated in kingship, or rather regained his rulership. During the years of the kingship of ^DLAMMA the normal customs and relations became disturbed. A fragmentary passage gives the impression that beer and wine flowed freely. The song describes an unsuccessful protest march of the gods which led to his dwellings⁶⁹. The goddess Kubaba, apparently on the lookout, forewarns ^DLAMMA that the gods (including his [father] and grandfathers) are approaching, but, notwithstanding her advice that he should go out to meet them, ^DLAMMA refuses to do so; he is even unwilling to entertain and to treat the gods. Apparently he wants to continue to reign in his usual fashion. When his angry answer to the goddess has been brought to the protesters by the wind, the march is quickly called off. Two serious reproaches are levelled at ^DLAMMA. Firstly, he "has done nothing at all" (viz. he took no decisions at all) and he "has never summoned the gods (for council)" (viz. he did not strive for consensus among the gods). Secondly, he "has become estranged from himself" and under his influence this has also happened to mankind: "Nobody any longer gives bread or drink offerings to the gods"⁷⁰.

It is not unlikely, I think, that the description of his reign is meant to convey that the good effects of culture (or: civilization) working for the benefit of gods and mankind alike are

temporarily lost during a relapse into the loose disorder of the original state of the world, before customs had developed and relationships had been established. Some sort of opposition between the original natural state (or in this case rather a return to it) and a more fully developed cosmos, determined by customary relationships and divine rulings, must have been involved.

As has already been indicated above, Silver was a second unworthy ruler, who, however, went to quite the opposite extreme from the behaviour chosen by ^DLAMMA. Silver was after all the gods, continuously harassing them with his "goad of pistachio-wood". While ^DLAMMA had turned out to be a lazy ruler, the fierce, young hero Silver proved, as it were, to be overactive. According to H.A. Hoffner, Silver was a half-orphan, having been sired by Kumarbi, the God of the Harvest, but born out of a mortal woman. After Silver had been raised by his mother without the benefit of a male protector, the myth proceeds to describe how Silver, apparently a rather unruly boy, "in front of the gate" struck a full orphan. The latter indignantly asks why he did so, and to a fellow orphan? In tears Silver sets out for the house of his mother in order to tell her what had happened, but also out of a desire to hear more about his descent. It seems that Silver even threatens to strike his mother. After his mother has ward off that threat, she explains to him where his father lives: the broken passage refers to Urkis, thus implying at the very least that his mother gave him a veiled indication that Kumarbi is his father. She also informs him about the divine character of his step-brother and of his step-sister, the Storm God and Ishtar of Niniveh. His mother tells about the Storm God that "he is king in heaven and rules in the land", a valuable indication that the song must belong to the 'Cycle'. In a highly remarkable manner she seems to warn him against his father⁷¹. When Silver reaches Urkis, Kumarbi is not at home. He has left in order to "roam the lands, wandering high up in the mountains". In the subsequent fragment we find the Storm God and his brother and vizier, Tasmisu, engaged in conversation. Apparently Silver already harasses all of the gods with his "goad of pistachio-wood". According to Hoffner's analysis of the contents of the fragment, the topic of their conversation concerns the fact

that their father (presumably Kumarbi) has not yet been able to prevail over Silver (they seem to reckon with the possibility that Silver may now prevail over Kumarbi). At the end of the fragment the two brothers are met by their sister, Ishtar of Niniveh.

The inclusion of this song in the series suggests, at first sight, that at some point of the myth Silver must have aligned himself with his father Kumarbi against Tessub, Tasmisu and Ishtar. Nevertheless, what is preserved now is difficult to reconcile with such a later turn in the myth. On the other hand, the reference to a conflict between Kumarbi and Silver suits the evidence of the earlier fragment implying that his mother warned Silver against his father Kumarbi. At a presumably further point in the story, Silver drags the sun and the moon down from heaven, a heroic feat which resembles similar deeds performed by the Storm God (and, for that matter, also within the range of possibilities of the Greek Zeus) and thus presumably implying that Silver is in fact qualified to rule the Universe⁷². Sun and Moon, the great luminaries of Heaven, bow and pay him their respect. Thereafter both parties come to a joint understanding: Sun and Moon remain in function, while Silver, having spared their lives, governs the countries enlightened by day and by night through the common efforts of Sun and Moon⁷³. Witness the Hurrian ritual, Silver must have temporarily replaced Tessub like ^DLAMMA did before him. We have seen that Ishtar of Ninive (equalling Sa(w)usga) also plays a role in the song. It is not impossible that her conversation with Silver, barely recorded in the final fragment now available, leads up to the climax of the myth. There can be no doubt that Silver first won and later lost the position of king in heaven. However, whether he did so with the support or rather after the defeat of Kumarbi is not yet clear. May we now assume that, after Silver had prevailed over his father, he temporarily deposed Tessub, but that the 'league of three', perhaps already at this first occasion led by Sa(w)usga, managed to do away with Silver, the second unworthy ruler? Or is it better not to force this point, assuming that Ishtar's intervention would have been limited to the two final songs instead of permeating the series as a whole? I see in Silver's name an allusion to the importance of wealth and in his behaviour a reference to the arrogance which may accompany the possession of riches.

After the treatment of two contrasting themes - first a critical appraisal of a situation without active rulership and common deliberation in heaven (the reign of ⁰LAMMA), and then a period during which Silver ruled, surely in an energetical manner, but no doubt also fiercely and even with considerable harshness over the Divine World - in the two final 'Songs' the attention is focussed more strongly on the combined experiences of gods and humans. According to the far better preserved songs concerning Hedammu, a violent, male dragon, and Ullikummi, a blind and dumb, male monster of stone, the final two protagonists of the 'Cycle' constituted a direct challenge both to Tessub (witness their character as substitutes, meant to replace Tessub) and to Ishtar (witness her exploits against Hedammu and Ullikummi). At the same time they meant an immediate threat to the human world as well. The very strong argumentation of J. Siegelová that the 'Song of Hedammu', instead of being a parallel version of 'The Song of Ullikummi', must have preceded Ullikummi, is based on the difference between the two opponents. Ishtar did and could employ her female charms against Hedammu who could be lured to the beach, while the same strategem proved to be of no avail on the second occasion, since the clever Kumarbi decided to confront the pair of sister and brother with an opponent who was impervious to female charms.

The parallelism between both songs is indeed very striking, but the parallelisms in the story are beautifully balanced through the highly ingenious use of variation in the application of basically the same themes and motives. There can be no doubt, I think, that the immediate allusion to Kumarbi's "cleverness" in the beginning of the 'Song of Ullikummi', right after the proem, is meant to prepare the audience for the different character of the second substitute king, raised by Kumarbi in order to put the ultimate ruler of the universe to the test. The audience knew what Ishtar managed to achieve on the earlier occasion, and will have been eagerly awaiting the strategem by which the devious Kumarbi would try to evade a similar outcome in his second attempt. Curiously enough, in both 'Songs' an early forewarning as to the clue of the story is given. In Hedammu Kumarbi in person warns the Storm God himself, "[I come] from (the mountain of) 'Mons' (meaning 'Mons Casius'). [I

raised] a dragon!". In Ullikummi a similar role is assigned to Enlil, but on this occasion the warning is merely addressed to the audience. Additionally, in this and another passage of the 'Song of Ullikummi' earlier battles are being recalled. When the small child Ullikummi (who is being brought from a place in the territory of the Sea God, where he had been born, to the location in the Netherworld where Upelluri supports Heaven and Earth, in order to be put on Upelluri's shoulder) is shown en route to Enlil, the latter says to himself: "Who is he, the child, whom they raised again (sic!), the Fate-Goddesses and the Birth-Goddesses? Who will [again] (Güterbock: [any longer]) endure (lit. see) them, the Great Gods' strong battles?" Similarly and in approximately the same phrasing, the Storm God in tears exclaims, when together with Ishtar and Tasmisu he has spotted the full-grown monster Ullikummi: "Who will [agai]n (sic!; Güterbock: [any long]er) endure (lit. see) it, this one's quarrel?"⁷⁴. It is at least possible, although not strictly necessary, to interpret the two passages as 'flashbacks' to the earlier battle against Hedammu. Güterbock will have been thinking of the Hittite and Hurrian Titanomachia, the war between the Gods of Tessub's generation and the "Former" or "Primeval Gods".

My second point concerns the question whether the 'Cycle' in its present form is in fact complete. It is rather remarkable that, while at least two related texts refer to a victory over the Sea God by Tessub, the constant assistance rendered by the same Sea God to Kumarbi in the two last songs of the series would not have been accounted for in the earlier parts of the 'Cycle of Kumarbi'. The two related texts are "The (Mountain-God) Pisaisa and the (Goddess) Ishtar" (KUB 33.108 II or III) which in its l. 17' refers to a victory of the Storm God over the Sea (God) and in the ll. 19'-20' specifically mentions the mountains Na[mni] and Hazzi (known to have been included in the god lists as belonging to the suite of the Storm God, see above sub 3), and the festival description CTH 785 concerning mount Hazzi, important as the location where Hedammu was born and also the place where Ullikummi first was seen by Ishtar and her brothers. The festival description contains the information that the singers sang the "Song of Kingship" and the "Song of the Sea", in the subsequent line adding, regarding the latter, that the

Storm God won a victory - presumably a victory over the Sea God. It is attractive to assume that the "Song of Kingship" of the festival description was identical with either the Hurrian original, the preferable option perhaps, or with the Hittite redaction of 'The Song of Kingship in Heaven'. It is certain that the corpus of Hurrian mythological texts found in Hattusa comprised a "Song of the Sea"⁷⁵.

I should like to propose that KBo 26.105 represents (an admittedly very badly preserved) part of an additional 'Song' of the 'Cycle of Kumarbi' describing Tessub's victory over the Sea God⁷⁶, thus providing an excellent reason for the staunch support rendered by the Sea God to Kumarbi in the two final songs. Regarding its position in the series, two possibilities can be taken into account. It may have preceded 'The Kingdom of ^DLAMMA' in the case that the victory over the Sea God decisively strengthened Tessub's claims to the kingship in heaven, in a vague analogy with Marduk's victory over the female Tiamat and with a more direct resemblance to the Ugaritic myth concerning Baal's battle against the God of the Sea, Jam(mu). This position would excellently fit the evidence of the festival description CTH 785 and should therefore perhaps be preferred, including the inevitable consequence that Sa(w)usga's major role would have permeated the series as a whole. Nevertheless, it would also be possible to defend the hypothesis that this component of the 'Cycle' should rather belong between 'The Song of Silver' and 'The Song of Hedammu'. This position might explain the absence of any reference to the Sea God in the preceding songs up to and including the former, this in a sharp contrast to his prominent role in the two final songs. In both solutions the nexus which I tried to establish between the songs devoted to ^DLAMMA and to Silver might be maintained.

Whatever decisions are ultimately taken regarding its possible assignment to, and its relative position within the series, KBo 26.105 is highly interesting in its own right, since it shows an unmistakable resemblance to the contents of the so-called Astarte Papyrus, a well-known Egyptian text⁷⁷. The Astarte papyrus preserves an Egyptian myth and is dated in its present form to the

18th Dynasty (reign of Horemheb?). Unfortunately both texts are badly preserved. Nevertheless there is little doubt that they, both showing cosmological overtones, share at least four important motives:

1) At an early stage during creation, the sea constitutes a threat to the earth and to heaven. The Hittite text expresses this threat in the following terms: "The floods [came up] to the breast of the Earth (...). The outpourings enveloped [the lan]ds. The outpourings [ro]se. They reached up to the Sun and the Moon. They reached up to the Stars" (ll. 9'-13')⁷⁸;

2) In both texts a deity of the harvest addresses the divine assembly (in the papyrus the Egyptian Goddess of the Harvest, in the Hittite fragment Kumarbi), cf. l. 14' ff. of the Hittite fragment;

3) Both texts refer to a tribute which must be delivered to the Sea God, cf. l. 17' of the Hittite text;

4) In both texts a young attractive goddess, in the papyrus Astarte and in the Hittite fragment Ishtar of Niniveh (equalling Sa(w)usga) is asked to deliver the tribute to the Sea God, cf. ll. 20'-21' of the Hittite fragment.

In the continuation of the Egyptian myth, the God of the Sea (who bears a name which has already been connected with the name of the Ugaritic God of the Sea Jam(mu)) demands to be given Astarte in order that she may become his bride. In the beginning of the Hittite fragment the Storm God is referred to, while towards the end of the papyrus the Egyptian god Seth is mentioned in a context in which a battle would seem to be taking place. It appears from other, earlier Egyptian sources that Seth must have prevailed over the Sea God. It is only logical to assume that, in analogy, in the Hittite and Hurrian versions of the myth, Tessub would need to have won the battle. In view of Sa(w)usga's role in the remainder of the 'Cycle', it is important to stress that on this first occasion Tessub, rendering aid to Sa(w)usga instead of being helped by her, would need to have saved her from an apparently unwanted marriage to the Sea God⁷⁹. Already more than once the Astarte papyrus has been connected with the well-known Ugaritic myth regarding Baal's battle with Jam(mu) in which Baal defeats the God of the Sea. For

geographical reasons these correspondences between KBo 26.105 and the Astarte papyrus can only be explained by assuming a common dependency on a North-Syrian forerunner for both texts (this proposal does not imply a preference on my part concerning the initial origin of the theme, either ultimately Mesopotamian, or perhaps originally Hurrian, or rather Northwest-Semitic). It should not be forgotten that the Old Testament offers a whole series of indications for Canaanite cosmological traditions implying that the Sea posed a threat to the original creation⁸⁰.

Regarding Tessub's role I can be short. He is mastered by ^DLamma in a surprise attack. In the later 'Songs', perhaps also in a preceding 'Song' (if my attribution of KBo 26. 105 to the 'Cycle' should find support), it is rather his sister Sa(w)usga who always takes the initiative; when Tessub hears about or sees his opponents, his first reaction is one of sorrow instead of one of resolve; and, finally, in the 'Song of Ullikummi' he even entertains the thought of resigning. In all of the 'Songs' he is in need of the support of others, including even the support of his former enemies, the 'Former' or 'Primeval Gods'. Finally, in almost all of the (possibly six) examples the end of the 'Song' is still lacking. We are familiar with (part of) the narrow escapes, but we do not yet know how the hard-won victories were described in the 'Cycle'. Certainly in the case of the 'Song of Ullikummi' there is every reason to expect a counterpoise of considerable proportions, a sort of 'grand finale' which must have come close to making the series in effect also, perhaps even to a large extent, a 'Cycle' devoted to Tessub. Is it possible to determine the common background to these two conflicting characteristics of the 'Cycle', the first clearly recognizable and the second unavoidable from its ultimate outcome, the secure rulership of Tessub? The scenes of the series - at times hardly 'credible' - are usually highly convincing from a literary point of view, always being cristal-clear and often very charming. This entails that allowance needs to be made for a strong literary component in the aims of the Hittite translators, the wish to transform a fascinating myth into a well-told story in which numerous human traits might be ascribed to the gods and in which a critical attitude, at times even irony, have not been

deemed inadmissible if they served the purpose of captivating the attention of the audience. Perhaps already our rather trite maxim was valid: "All's well that ends well."

Appendix 1^a.

| | I | II | III |
|--|--|--------------|---|
| A. Level of Cult Proceedings | 1. stele but apparently no temple ^b 2. 'first' temple with statue(tte) of iron ^c 3. statue(tte) of silver or gold ^d | r.i. | s. m. l. |
| B. Temple | 1. building of 'first' temple 2. building of new temple 3. (extensive) restoration of existing temple ^e | r.i. | s. l. |
| C1. Daily (a) and monthly (b) offerings | 1. absence of a and b 2. presence of a and absence of b 3. absence of a and presence of b 4. presence of a and b ^f | | s. m. l. |
| C2. Festivals | 1. seasonal festival(s) 2. seasonal and monthly festivals 3. additional festivals ^g | r.i. | s. s.,m. and l. m. and l. |
| D1. Offering rations | 1. enumeration of o.r. 2. enlargement of o.r. 3. institution of pithos | r.i. r.i. | s., m. and l. s. and m. s. and m. |
| D2. Cult deliveries | Rules regarding c.d. ^h | | |
| E. Priests and priestesses | 1. presence or absence of 2. appointment ⁱ | r.i. r.i. | s. s. and m. |
| F. Silver (and) gold | 1. absence of 2. counted or not counted 3. control over ^j | | s. m. s. and m. |
| G. NAM.RA / 'craftsmen' | 1. presence of 2. transfer of ^k | r.i. | m. and l. l. |
| H. Cattle and sheep | transfer of ^k | r.i. | l. |

a) The abbreviations used in the columns II and III stand for royal intervention (r.i.), small and poor (s.), medium-sized and mediocre (m.) and large and rich (l.). The cult-inventories regularly apply a distinction between *annalli-*, "former (state), traditional" and a group of royal measures detailing the king's intervention. The term *annalli-* is used with respect to 1) cult objects, 2) offering rations and 3) their provisioning (usually referred to as 'cult deliveries'), 4) (religious) festivals and 5) personnel (in the widest sense of the term comprising various types of priests and priestesses, but also craftsmen attached to the temple). The royal measures regarding the most frequent improvements generally are expressed by means of the verbs, "to make, to do" (DÜ = *iya-* ; regarding the building of temples and the making of cult objects, mainly statue(tte)s), "to institute" (ME = *tāi-* ; regarding the offering materials, their provisioning and measures in the sphere of the temple personnel and of the cattle and sheep owned by the larger temples). A third expression, also used with 'his majesty' as subject, is *kattan hama/enk-*, in more recent literature translated with German "festlegen, festsetzen", but perhaps, in addition to "to lay down, to fix, to arrange" also meaning in some of its occurrences "to sustain, to strengthen" (from the literal meaning "to undergird, to underpin?"). See also note 58.

Aspects of the text material which have not been considered in detail or are merely mentioned in passing concern a) the character of the cult objects, and b) the structure of the festivals.

For the character of the cult objects, see the two excellent treatments by M. Popko, *Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion* (nach keilschriftlichen Quellen), Warsawa, 1978, and by H.G. Güterbock, *Hethitische Götterbilder und Kultobjekte*, FsBittel, 203-217. From the viewpoint of the history of religions the representations dealt with in both studies (the first a broad work dealing with the religious texts in general, the second devoted to this text genre), cannot be distinguished as to their importance or effectiveness. They will have been of equal value to the Hittite believers, all serving on the same level as 'intermediaries' through which humans might experience the divine presence, cf. the final conclusion of H.G. Güterbock, l.c., 215 regarding the equivalence between the two-dimensional stele and the statue(tte) as a work of art in the round.

Regarding the festivals, see the literature quoted in note 34 and add the treatment of the games by Ch.W. Carter in "Athletic Contests in Hittite Religious Festivals, JNES 47 (1988), 185-187.

b) Cult-inventories describing regions for which this constellation is either almost exclusively or predominantly typical have been collected in Laroche's CTH under the nos. 511 (see now, too, KUB 51.3 and KUB 51.88) and 510 respectively. See the treatment of the ^{NA}₄ZI.KIN = ^{NA}₄*huwaši-* by M. Darga, RHA 27, fasc. 84/85 (1969/1970), 5-24, and especially 7-8 for the distinction between "deities with (lit. of) a stele" and "deities with (lit. of) a temple" in KUB 38.12 III 21'-23'. This passage offers the explanation for a number of occurrences of merely the first member of this pair: KUB 12.2 III 24; KBo 2.7 Obv. 17'; KUB 38.6 I 9', 13', 17', 21', 29', 33'; KUB 57.106 II 41'; KUB 38, 6 IV 8', 17' (= KUB 38.10 IV 21' (?); KBo 26.161 III 8'. Laroche, l.c., 92-93, point 3 suggested that, in the course of the investigation, a stele might be housed in a newly built temple, cf. note c.

c) KBo 2.1 (CTH 509.1) shows numerous cases in which a statue(tte) made of iron or a composite cult object encompassing such a statue(tte) replaced or rather was added to a stele, while at the same time a 'first' temple was built (at least 10 examples). KUB 17.35 (= CTH 525.2) and KUB 38.23 (= CTH 509.4) offer more examples of this phenomenon, which probably prompted Laroche's suggestion (see note b). Continuing Laroche's line of thinking, I feel inclined to conclude that the usage of iron for the production of iron statue(tte)s (presumably in regions where both the ore and the expertise were at hand) is likely to have been limited to their employment in relatively small settlements. In this respect it may be recalled that K. Bittel already suggested that the statue(tte)s of the 'Cult Reform' with their uniform measurements of one, one and a half or two šekan (i.e., according to the argument of S. Alp, between ca. 22 and 44 cms. in height) may very well have been miniature replica's of the monumental cult-images, to be expected for the cellae of the large temples in the capital, cf. NHF, 126-127. The necessary implications would need to be that the growing number of anthropomorphic representations (almost the general rule regarding goddesses) may well have been the accidental result of the royal involvement rather than the outcome of theological or artistic preference on the part of any of the participants in the investigation; also, that within the range of materials used, reed, wood, clay (pottery) and metals, iron was already the cheap and common-sense solution, as compared with the precious metals, silver (and) gold; see for the latter possibility the divergent opinions of S. Kořak and J. Siegelová, cf. Kořak, Fsgüterbock 2, 125-135 and especially 135.

d) Good examples of references to or enumerations of statue(tte)s and other cult objects in silver and gold are to be found in KUB 44.1 Obv. 1'-5' and Rev. 8' regarding the presumably not unimportant town of Hulassa/iya (cf. notes 17 and 60) and in KUB 57.108 (+') KUB 51.23 II 10'/16'-11'/17' where - in a summarizing statement regarding the deity Pirwa - no less than "324 statue(tte)s in silver and gold" are mentioned.

e) Examples of these three possibilities are: 1) (building of 'first' temple) KBo 2.1 I 26' (Carter, Diss., 52, 61; the building of 4 temples for presumably as many gods); II 7 (Carter, Diss., 53, 63; 4 temples for the 4 deities mentioned in I 34' and 40'; the Storm God of Marassa is mentioned first in I 28'), 18 (Carter, Diss., 54, 63; 1 temple for the 4 deities mentioned in II 11 and 15-16; the Storm God of Suruwa is mentioned first in II 9), 30 (Carter, Diss., 54, 64; Storm God of Wattarwa), 38 (Carter, Diss., 55, 65; Storm God of Hursalassi and a deified source), 44 (Carter, Diss., 55, 65; Storm God of Assaratta) etc. etc. See regarding a large(r) town KUB 38.12 II 6-7 (the Storm God of Lihzina, as venerated in Karahna: the cult object, presumably a statue(tte) has now been restored, a temple has been built); III 13' (7 temples to be built for 9 deities, cf. III 23'). 2) (building of a new temple, apparently in replacement of an earlier one) KUB 38.1 (= v. Brand. 2) I 3, 9, 23; IV 7, 13-14; KUB 38.3 I 7; II 16 (?) and regarding a large(r) town KUB 38.12 II 14-15 (the Storm God of Heaven and the Sun Goddess of Arinna in Karahna; presumably a 'double' temple, cf. L. (Jakob-)Rost, MIO 8 (1963), 201). 3) (repairs or a full restoration) KUB 38.12 I 1-2 (the Protective God of Karahna); KUB

38.14 Obv. 4 (the Goddess Titiutti in an unknown town); apparently a full restoration to be performed in the near future). See note 49 for more temples still to be built.

f) See for the variation in possibilities with respect to the daily and monthly offerings (which open the series of festivals) already L. (Jakob-)Rost, MIO 8 (1963), 170 and V. Souček and J. Siegelová, ArchOr 42 (1974), 51-52.

Ad 1): KUB 38.19 Obv. 11' and 16' (the Storm God of Astanuwa); KBo 13.251 II 1 (?); KUB 46.17 IV 5.

Ad 2): KBo 2.1 I 12' I 12' (Carter, Diss., 51, 60), 41' (Carter, Diss., 53, 62 (the Storm God of Marassa); II 25-26 (Carter, Diss., 54, 64; the Storm God of Wattarwa).

Ad 3): KUB 38.14 Obv. 5-6; KUB 38.33 Obv. 10'-11'; KBo 13.252 II 10'-11' and III 6'-7'.

Ad 4): KUB 38.2 (= v. Brand. 1) I 17'-19'; KUB 38.12 I 19 (the Protective God of Karahna) and II 22 (the Storm God of Heaven).

g) See in general L. (Jakob-)Rost, MIO 8 (1963), 170-171. In the great majority of the divine entries contained in KUB 12.2 (CTH 511.1) merely the Festival of the Spring (together with the required offering rations) is referred to. Since the only preserved exceptions (II 5'-7', 8'-10' and III 26'-IV 10') for which also the Festival of the Autumn is mentioned concern the first entries of a new town or township, and thus presumably the most important deities of the settlements concerned, the possibility that the information regarding the remaining deities may have been complete cannot yet be ruled out. Nevertheless, in accordance with the opinion of L. (Jakob-)Rost, at least two festivals (a first in the spring and a second in the autumn) would seem to have been the general rule. It appears from KBo 2.1 that the number of venerated deities and of the festivals performed in their honour reflects the importance and the wealth of a town. The text begins with three medium-sized towns (the names of Marassa and Suruwa having been preserved), while Sanantiya, the last town dealt with in the preserved part of KBo 2.1 IV, is likely to have had the same status. Additional data regarding the materials used for the already present cult objects and the number of 'craftsmen' attached to the temples may be collected in support of the above-mentioned criterion. KUB 38.12 shows that, at least as far as a large(r) town is concerned, the importance of a deity within a local pantheon was an important factor in connection with the number of festivals. While the part of the cult-inventory regarding the Storm God of Lihzina mentions two yearly festivals (II 9), and the replica concerning the Storm God of Heaven only one (II 23-24), ^DLAMMA of Karahna, undoubtedly the most important god of the town, was venerated, apart from his "daily bread" and the twelve monthly festivals, in 10 festivals during the course of the year and in one festival which took place once in three years (I 19-24).

h) Especially regarding small towns 'his majesty' frequently raised a number of items within a listing of offerings. A few of these examples have been referred to in note 47. The authoritative treatment on the cult deliveries still is contained in Archi's article *L'Organizzazione amministrativa ittita e il regime delle offerte culturali*, OrAnt 12 (1973), 209-227 in the paragraph devoted to the cult deliveries (217-227). When a distinction is made

between on the one hand the entries in Archi's listing of contributions which (witness their provenance from either CTH 568 and 629 or from other CTH-numbers referring to the cult of the capital) relate to the state cult in and around Hattusa, and on the other hand the remainder of Archi's references which are largely taken from the cult-inventories belonging to the 'Cult Reform', regarding the latter the following picture arises. It would seem that at least five sources should be distinguished: 1) the temple itself or possibly - regarding temples in small settlements - the personal household of the priest; 2) the local population, presumably the free citizens of the town or township in question; in other examples the inhabitants of the country or the mountain; 3) the local 'palace' (in Güterbock's interpretation to be interpreted as "the Crown" or "the Fiscus", cf. CRRAI 19, 1971, 306), presumably regarding large(r) towns in which such a 'palace' existed; 4) 'Palaces', possibly 'large institutions' (cf. Güterbock, l.c., 306⁴ and 307⁸), which were situated elsewhere; and also 5) the É.LUGAL, "the "Estate of the King", (cf. Güterbock, l.c., 305). Regarding the latter two it may already now be added that a number of 'palaces' or 'large institutions', known from the economic inventories as sources of state income, appear on their spending side in the cult-inventories and that also the İR.MEŠ (the 'dependents' (?)) of high state functionaries mentioned by name, governors of provinces (EN KUR), governors of border provinces and high military commanders and thus an executive top layer of the establishment up to a point comparable with the É.LUGAL, were wont to contribute to local cults.

i) Ad 1): cf. KUB 38.2 (v. Brand. 1) III 17; KUB 38.1 (v. Brand. 2) IV 7 (in both cases according to the reading and the interpretation of L. (Jakob-)Rost, MIO 8 (1963), 177⁽⁷⁰⁾ and 181⁽⁸⁶⁾, 22[; KUB 38.3 I 8; KUB 38.29 Obv. 9'. Until fairly recently the phenomenon of adding the personal name of the priest or the priestess was restricted to the cult-inventories assigned to CTH 511 (e.g. KUB 12.2 and KUB 38.16), but now examples have become available regarding (fairly) important towns: KUB 42.100 III 9', 39'; IV 32' (cf. notes 42-44); KUB 44.1 Obv. 4' and Rev. 9' (cf. notes 17 and 60 and above note d). Absence of a priest needed to be accounted for. Quotations from KBo 2.1 show two of the reasons which might be adduced, at the same time offering evidence that the problem still needed to be straightened out and that the king is likely to have acted upon this piece of information during a later stage of the investigation, cf. Carter, Diss, 18³: "The priest has fled" (II 31 = Carter, Diss., 54, 64: II 39 = 55, 65; III 33 = 57, 67; III 42 = 57, 68); "There is no priest (for him) yet" (III 6, 12, 19 = 56, 66; III 42 = 57, 68).

Ad 2): An appointment of a priestess in the past is referred to in KUB 38.1 (v. Brand. 2) III 14. A corresponding decision on the part of the royal commissioners is rendered with a 1st person plural of the preterite (cf. note 43).

j) Ad 1): KUB 39.19 Obv. 15'; KUB 58.29 Rev. 6'. Ad 2): (counted) KUB 38.12 I 1 and II 12; KUB 42.100 III 27'(-28' ?); (not yet counted) KUB 42.100 IV 14'-15'; (no [records] whatsoever [available]) KUB 42.100 III 8'. Ad 3): (control over) KBo 2.1 I 26'-27'; II 7-8, 19-20, 45; III 25-26; KBo 12.56 I 8'-9'.

k) In medium-sized and large(r) towns presumably at the outset

unfree 'craftsmen', denoted by the technical term ^{LUMES}*hilammatteš*, were attached to the temples, cf. F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, 210-212 together with the bibliography (to which M. Darga, *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi I* (1970), 121-130 might have been added). They performed various occupations which in general involved profane activities: e.g. cook (and butcher), baker, brewer, basket-weaver, potter and singer (this example applies to a medium-sized town). The general term, ^{LUMES}*hilammatta-*, which may have originally meant "gate keeper" (cf. J. Friedrich, HW¹ 69 a), a not illogical choice for a first layman in the service of a religious institution, might include, in addition to the singer already mentioned, types of priests and scribes and thus also occupations which either required full, or at least a certain degree of literacy, cf. H.G. Güterbock, *CRRAI* 20, 1972, 130-132. The relevant passages are: KBo 2.1 I 23'-25' (Carter, Diss., 52, 61: 6); II 4-6 (Carter, Diss., 53, 64:6); KUB 38.12 I 3-18 (26); II 4, 19-21 (6); III 6' (on this occasion the term used is "temple employee"); IV 11', 18'; KUB 54.67 Rev. 6'-7'.

After the treatment of KBo 12.53 + KUB 48.105 by A. Archi and H. Klengel, *AOF* 7 (1980), 143-157 (see note 51), the most important passages, KUB 38.12 I 3-18 and II 19-21, have become more intelligible. KBo 12.53 + shows that, in addition to cattle and sheep and various agricultural necessities, 'displaced persons' (viz. civilian captives, *NAM.RA*) might be assigned to the more important temples in larger towns in order to enlarge their work force. This stands in contrast to what happened in the medium-sized towns inventoried in KBo 2.1. In those passages follows the clause, in the second example preserved in the first restored, *URU-aš tiyazi*, "the community takes the stand", meaning the town is responsible (either for the full employment of the 'craftsmen' concerned or for the fact that the work is being done). In KUB 38.12, concerning the town of Karahna, the preceding sentence I 3 details that "For him (^DLAMMA) (or: for it, viz., the temple) the 'displaced persons' have been controlled" (*kappuwanteš*). The clause, introducing the ^{LUMES}*hilammatta-* passage proper, in all likelihood means "For him (or: it) the work force of the 'craftsmen' of the temple has been singled out" or "specified" (^{LUMES}*hilammatteš-ši-kan parā appanza*). This comes very close to Carter's rendering "namely", which fits the context perfectly although the construction of the clause is lost in the process. In the larger temples which also possessed fields, meadows and vineyards, other 'displaced persons' must have performed different tasks. This follows from the prayer CTH 375 and is confirmed by the contents of KBo 12.53 +.

In the case of the temple of ^DLAMMA the number of the "former" ^{LUMES}*hilammatteš* was first doubled from 9 to 18 out of an existing reserve of 'displaced persons', while an additional 8 persons were recruited from the É.GIŠ.KIN.TI, "the workhouse" or "workshop" of presumably the local palace. (see the two passages translated below). Regarding the double temple of the Storm God of Heaven and the Sun Goddess of Arinna, 6 ^{LUMES}*hilammatteš* were named or appointed (cf. CHD 3.1, 39 a) by "the chief of the scribes [on wood]" out of a number of 'displaced persons' which had been increased by the same functionary from 20 to 32. In a third passage (III 4'-5') the number of 'displaced persons' of another temple (the name of which

has not been preserved) is raised by the same official through the addition of 7 NAM.RA from "the palace of His Majesty". Consequently "one temple employee is singled out" or "specified".(III 6'). The manner in which this third passage is formulated implies in my opinion that the local "chief of the scribes on wood", in whom I suspect a high official in the administration of the local palace (cf. the letter KBo 9.82 Obv. 9-12), had resorted to 7 'displaced persons' who were stationed in Hattusa; see, too, II 16-17 where the original group of 20 NAM.RA is defined as "20 NAM.RA of the inhabitants of Hattusa".

Also the problems concerning GUB(.BA) (defined by H.G. Güterbock, CRRAI 20, 1972, 131²⁹; see for the reading G. del Monte, RGTC 6, 178) may now perhaps be solved if one reckons with the likelihood that, in a system in which a mobile working force is shifted around through the country, a distinction between a 'vacancy' and a position which is actually filled would have come about in a highly natural manner. Therefore I venture to suggest that the meaning of ar- M.-P., the equivalent of GUB(.BA), "bereit stehen" (cf. A. Kammenhuber, HW2, 197 b, "Typ 2 a") has developed into a technical meaning "to be on duty, in active service". Actually the above-mentioned distinction is already attested in the small tablet KBo 19.28 which records the listing of the 205 persons who worked in the É.GIŠ.KIN.TI in Hattusa, on account of the find spot of the tablet identified either with the whole (the opinion of K. Bittel) or with part (the opinion of P. Neve) of the south area near Temple I in Hattusa. Regarding the 19 scribes versed in cuneiform mentioned in Obv. 4, the tablet adds the information that 9 had not been given. This means two things. In a wider sense it indicates that, at the time the tablet was written, the "scribes on wood" (Obv. 5: 33 in number) actually outnumbered the "scribes on clay" in a majority of more than 3 to 1. Regarding this specific point it also proves that there really existed a difference between a 'recognized' vacancy and a position filled. Thus KUB 38.12 I 9-11 might be translated as follows: "Now, at a later moment, they gave 'dependents' from the palace (I 7-8)). (In the position) of persons on active duty (^{LUMES}GUB-an-da-aš) they singled out (or: specified) a 'man of the spear' (a type of guardian), a gate keeper, a steward, a cult singer, a reciter, a tambourine player, an augur (and) a potter". See for this interpretation of the genitives of the type GUB-aš/arandaš and TUŠ-aš/ašandaš E. Neu, GsKronasser, 147⁷⁵. The final sentence of the passage (I 17-18) might mean: "In (lit. to) it (viz. the detailed enumeration) the active work force (^{LUMES}GUB.BA-za = ^{LUMES}aranza) of the workshop has been included." Perhaps I may add at this point that the Hittite arithmetic, although also elsewhere of a slightly dubious character, may be vindicated if at the beginning of the ll. I 12 and 13 one reads or restores the number 2 instead of 1. In that case the total of 26 (I 11) is in fact arrived at. The occupations of the 8 persons (temporarily?) transferred from the workshop of the local palace (cf. the combined evidence of I 7-8 and 17-18) to (the replica (?) of) the temple all return in the final listing. I have elaborated upon these details because the royal involvement in the procedure concerning the intensification of the cults of Karahna seems to have been restricted to the procurement of these 'displaced persons'. Karahna is likely to have been a fairly large town in which, witness the colophon, no less than 775 persons lived and

worked in the sphere of the temple(s). ** Although this involvement is not very impressive and rather indirect, it still was deemed necessary to forward a full interim report to the authorities in Hattusa. Apparently the wealthier towns were expected to take care of the necessary ameliorations out of their own means.

**Regarding Karahna see also M. Darga, Karahna Şehri Kült-envanteri (KUB XXXVIII 12), İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları no. 1825, 1973 (which has recently become available to me).

Appendix 2 ^(a)

| | K.i.H. | ^D Lamma | Silver | Hedammu | Ullikummi |
|---|--------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|--|---|
| A. Contents and themes | | | | | |
| 1.Proem ^b | X | 0 | X | 0 | X |
| 2.Persons ^c | <i>kaluti-</i> of Tessub | idem | idem | idem | idem |
| 3.Marriage/ intercourse ^d | | | X | X | X |
| 4.Birth ^d | | | X | X | X |
| 5.Nature of threat | | inertia | violence | theomachy | theomachy |
| 6.Effect of threat ^e | | maladmini- stration | terror in Heaven | famine and depopulation on Earth | rebellion in Heaven, famine and death on Earth |
| 7.Aid rendered by Sausga | | | X(?) | X | X |
| 8.Correspon- dence in location ^f | | | | X | X |
| 9.Support of the 'Former Gods' ^g | | X | 0 | 0 | X |
| B. Motives | | | | | |
| 10.Volte-face to enemy and sharp retort ^h | X (Anu) | X (St.G.) | X(mother) | | |
| 11.Forewarning | | | | X(Kumarbi) | X(Enlil) |
| 12.First observation of and reaction to the enemy ⁱ | | | X(St.G. and Tasmisu) | X(Sausga;F ear) | X(Sun God,Anger) |
| 13.Common meal | | | | X | X |
| 14.Refusal of food ^j | | X(by host) | | X(Sausga) | X(Sun God) |
| 15.Reaction of the Storm God ^k | | | | tears | tears |
| 16.Sausga's deceit of the opponent | | | | success | failure |

a) X indicates presence and 0 that the absence is or may be the result of the state of preservation of the text. Unless references are given in these notes, the text sub 6. is supposed to contain the necessary information. The numerals 1) - 5) refer to the compositions.

b) Where the beginning of the text is preserved, a proem of the traditional type can be distinguished. In 1) the 'former Gods' are invoked; in 3) and 5) the poet or the translator introduces his subject and rather veiledly refers to himself

c) For the *kaluti*-, the series or the circle of in this case Tessub, see H.Güterbock, *RLA VI:5-6*, 1983, 326 a-b s.v. Kumarbi: Tessub, his brother Tasmisu, Kumarbi, Ea, the Moon God, the Sun God, the War God, Nubadig etc.; but note that the Sea God, rather prominently present in 4) and 5), is not included in Tessub's *kaluti*-.

d) In an obvious manner marriage and birth are restricted to the 'Songs' devoted to the three opponents of Tessub who were "raised" by Kumarbi.

e) The famine and the depopulation on earth are clearly indicated in Siegelová, *o.c.*, 42-49, Fr. 3-6; see H.G. Güterbock, *JCS 5* (1951), 159: 1st Tablet, A IV 48.

f) See sub 6. note 74 for the Hedammu-passage and regarding Ullikummi Güterbock, *JCS 6* (1952), 12: 2nd Tablet, B I 22'-23'.

g) The references are KUB 33.112 + III 33'-34' = Laroche, *Myth.*, 148-149 and KUB 36.3 III 1'-8' = Laroche, *Myth.*, 151; see Güterbock, *JCS 6* (1952), 28-29: 3rd Tablet, A III 48'-55'a.

h) 1) KUB 33.122 + I 27 = Laroche, *Myth.*, 154; 2) KUB 33.112 + I 21' = Laroche, *Myth.*, 146; 3) H.A. Hoffner, *FsOtten 2*, 152, 154: B = KUB 36.18 II 5'-6'.

i) 3) Hoffner, *FsOtten 2*, 155-156: A = KUB 33.115 III 13'-17'; 4) Siegelová, *o.c.*, 44-45, Fr. 4: 31-33.

j) See for the motive of the common meal: 2) KUB 33.112 + III 9' = Laroche, *Myth.*, 148; cf., too, KUB 36.5 I 4' = Laroche, *Myth.*, 150; 4) Siegelová, *o.c.*, 31-33, Fr. 1; KBo 26.83, a fragment which had not yet been incorporated in Siegelová's text-edition; *o.c.*, 68-69, Fr. 28 (actually belonging to the beginning of the text, cf, Güterbock, *KBo 26*, Introduction, VI); *o.c.*, 50-51, Fr. 9; 5) Güterbock, *JCS 5* (1951), 148-151: 1st Tablet, A II 11'-30'. Sa(w)uska refuses to eat and to drink during her visits to the Netherworld and to Enlil, Siegelová, *o.c.*, 42-43, Fr. 4 and later again when she goes to meet her brothers Tessub and Tasmisu, *o.c.*, 44-45, Fr. 5; 5) Güterbock, *JCS 5* (1951, 160-161, 1st Tablet A IV 49'-58' continued in *JCS 6* (1952), 8-11, B2 and B I 1'-13'. In the latter passage the Sun God first refuses food and drink, but is later forced by the Storm God to use both, thus conforming to the rules regarding hospitality. However, he leaves without transmitting his message. See G. Wilhelm, *Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurriter*, Darmstadt, 1982, 85 who noted both the parallelism and the variation. The two passages describe an

identical turning-point in both myths since on both occasions the adversary has just been spotted.

k) 4) Siegelová, *o.c.*, 44-45, Fr. 5: 18; 5) Güterbock, JCS 6 (1952), 30-31: 2nd Tablet: B I 29'.

NOTES

1. M.N. van Loon, *op.cit.* 7.

2. Cf. E. Laroche, *Rech.*, 108-115, the indices on the god-names included in the introductions to KBo and KUB volumes from KBo 17 (1969) and KUB 43 (1972) onwards and especially G.F. del Monte and J. Tischler, *RGTC* 6 (1978), *passim* under the place-names; regarding the adjuncts of the second type, *ibidem*, 590.

3. Cf. E. NeuStBoT 25 1980 nos. 12, 19, 59, 60 (in the two last texts the Storm God of Nerik is designated as ^DNerak, cf. V.Haas, *KN*, 95 and E. Neu, *o.c.*, 132⁽⁴³⁸⁾), 72, 109 and 126; and StBoT 26, 1983, 339-341, 344 and 347-348 for the details.

4. Apart from the God-lists, briefly to be dealt with sub 3., see e.g. KBo 15.10 +.

5. See with respect to Azzi-Hayasa: the Storm God of the Plain of Arhita (KUB 26.39 (=CTH no.43) I' 32'), ^DU ^{URU}Hayasa (KUB 12.2 I 24', a cult-inventory belonging to the 'Cult Reform') and ^DU KUR Azzi (KUB 38.6 IV 13' = KUB 38.10 "Zusätz" (= IV) 12'), referred to by del Monte, *RGTC* 6, 31, 59-60 and 63-64; see for the Gasgaea Storm God(s) E. von Schuler, *Kaskäer*, 79 and 117. See H. Otten, *StBoT* 13, 36³⁴ for the suggestion that the God Pentaruhši, occasionally referred to in the cult-inventories of the 'Cult Reform', might be a, or the, Hayasaeen Storm God. The fact that Pentaruhši (KUB 12.2 I 12') and the Storm God of Hayasa (*ibid.* I 24') are referred to for one and the same community renders Otten's suggestion, I think, less likely.

6. See for this Storm God H. Klengel, *JCS* 19 (1965), 87-93 and V. Soucek and J. Siegelová, *ArchOr* 42 (1974), 39-52 (a treatment of the cult-deliveries).

7. Cf. E. Neu, *StBoT* 18, 1974, *Obv.*: 2-9 and 41 on pp. 10-13; with merely one exception (*Obv.* 28) the genitival adjunct *nepišaš*, "of Heaven", is either added to the name of the god or used in the immediate context of the preceding line so that addition would have been superfluous. In combining the usage of *asšu-* in 'The Text of Anitta' with the similar usage in *IBoT* 1.30, I am following the example of F. Starke, *ZA* 69 (1979), 76.

8. See already my earlier study, "The Sun God of Heaven, the Assembly of Gods and the Hittite King", in: D. van der Plas (ed.), *Effigies Dei*, Leiden 1987, 13-34 and especially note 27 on p. 27.

9. Starting out with A. Goetze, JCS 1 (1947), 90-91 (see, too, idem, *Kleinasien*², 1957, 88) the passage has been dealt with by many scholars: H.G. Güterbock, JAOS Suppl. 17, 1954, 16; O.R. Gurney in S.H. Hooke (ed.), *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, Oxford, 1958, 113-114; H. Otten, in H. Schmökel (ed.), *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients*, Stuttgart, 1961, 366; E. Laroche, *Prière hittite*, 1964/5, 10; A. Kammenhuber, ZA 23 (1965), 194-195; V. Haas, KN, 1970, 97⁽⁴⁾-98⁽⁴⁾; A. Archi, FsMeriggi 2, 31⁽⁹⁾-32.

10. The idea certainly is old; it returns in KUB 48.13 =Bo 3138 (a text with Hattic passages), Rev. 9'-14' in the same phrasing regarding the Storm God of Nerik (cf. V. Haas, KN, 98, continuation of 97⁽⁴⁾; see also H.-S. Schuster, HHB, 1974, 31¹¹⁴-32¹¹⁴; C. Kühne, ZA 70 (1980), 97⁽¹⁷⁾-98⁽¹⁸⁾), a point which decisively proves that Güterbock, IBoT 1, introduction, VII and later Kammenhuber, l.c., were right in stressing the antiquity of the conception. However, the script is not old. Apparently scholars disagree about the linguistic phase to which the wording should be ascribed. If one opts for Old Hittite, the first rendering of the disputed clause (proposed by F. Starke, ZA 69 (1979), 81⁽⁶⁷⁾), is, I think, to be preferred. Referring to StBoT 23, 1977, 103, Starke reckons with the fact that ŠU-az (=kiššaraz) would be a modernization of an original kiššarī.

11. Cf. the different positions taken by H.G. Güterbock and by M. Weinfeld in H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld (ed.), *History, Historiography and Interpretation*, Jerusalem-Leiden, 1984, 34-35 and 121-147 (where also the Hittite data are included). The mass of evidence put forward by Weinfeld from the whole ancient Near East and the early Greek world renders it *a priori* unlikely, I think, that the Hittite approach might have been different from that of the world around them.

12. See now H. Otten, StBoT Beiheft 1, 1988, 28-29 (II 44-45) and Otten's commentary on pp. 54-55. See with respect to *para handandatar* the recent treatment by P. Cotticelli in A. Kammenhuber (ed.) *Materialien* 11, 1988, 142-150 where (p. 144) four meanings are recognized and "Divine Rule" ("göttliches Walten") is consistently used in the translations of historical passages.

13. See, provisionally, the article quoted above in note 8, 18-23.

14. Cf. O. Carruba, SMEA 18 (1977), 158-161, KUB 23.11 II 24'-25' and III 19-20.

15. Cf. E. von Schuler, Kaškäer, 110 (II 8-13) where Z[ithariya] should be replaced with ^DEN.ZU (cf. KUB 40.36, a part of copy B, II: 6'). In the formula used in the Annals the Protective God precedes the War God.

16. See the charts added to G. Kestemont, Or 45 (1976), 147-177 (=CRRAI 21, 1974), on pp. 156-158 and to G.F. del Monte, *Il Trattato fra Mursili II di Hattusa e Niqmepa di Ugarit*, OA Coll.

XVIII, Roma, 1986, on pp. 100-103. The Storm Gods of the second category, sub-group E, are the Storm God of the Army(-camp) (all three) and the Storm God, the Co-adjutor (CTH 53 and 62).

17. Kestemont's chart shows the following local storm gods: of Arinna, Aleppo, Zippalanda, Nerik, Hissashapa, Sahpina, Sabinuwa, Samuha, Hurma, Sarissa, Uda, Kizzuwatna/Kummanni, Lihzina, Pittiyarik, Ishupitta, Tahaya and Hulassa. The storm gods of the second category in the god-lists are: the Storm Gods of the Tell, of the Market, of the Army(-camp) and the Storm God, the Co-adjutor, (Kestemont's no. 18 = 20). Regarding Samuha's "Palace of the Grandfather", the possibility that it might have functioned as a temporary residence of the "grandfather" of the 'Deeds' (of Suppiluliumas I) and thus of Suppiluliumas' predecessor, Tudhaliyas II, has already been commented upon by del Monte, RGTC 6, 340-341. With respect to Sabinuwa, a perhaps even better case can be made. Elaborating on the lead provided by A. Kammenhuber (THeth 7, 172 n. 232, 233) and by V. Haas (Introduction to ChS I 1, 10-11 and AOF 12 (1985), 269-277), one may point out that Sabinuwa, known from three Hurrian text-groups (CTH nos. 777/778 = ChS I 1, 776 and 786), must have been the town where a prince with the Hurrian name of Tasmisarri lived during his youth. This Tasmisarri is commonly identified with the ^{LU}*tuhukanti*- and later king Tudhaliyas II, but is perhaps rather to be equated with the older brother Hattusilis II: see H.G. Güterbock *apud* O.R. Gurney, OLZ 74 (1979) 540. He lived there both before and after he married Taduhepa, the queen with whom not only Tudhaliyas II, but, during the early phase of his reign, also Suppiluliumas shared the throne of Hattusa. I have the distinct impression that this Early Empire king used the palace of Sabinuwa both before and, occasionally, after his accession. The Hurrian *itkaḫi* and *itkalzi* rituals for Tasmisarri and Taduhepa, edited by Haas in ChS I 1, admit of the following conclusions (here abbreviated regarding their adstruction): 1) Tasmisarri was a son of Arnuwandas I and Asmunikkal and he was made 'priest' in Hattiland (no. 39 III 22'); 2) T. occupied himself with matters regarding the Gasgaeans (no. 52 Obv. 17; Rev. 3 (?), 9', 11', 14', 20'; see, too, no. 64 Rev. 2); 3) using Sabinuwa as his military base, T. commanded troops from the country of both the land of Sabinuwa and the land of Hatti (cf. in particular no. 49 II 24-25); 4) the texts which either show a complementary usage of both place-names, Sabinuwa and Hatti, or merely refer to Sabinuwa (on the one hand nos. 43 and 49, on the other no. 46) display a certain focus on Tasmisarri and Sabinuwa, not yet (?) mentioning Taduhepa; this may indicate that during his stay in Sabinuwa T. married Taduhepa; 5) the text which seems to refer to his accession to the throne in Hattusa (no. 41, cf. III 39), mentions Duwas and Halpa-zitis in III 35, two dignitaries also known from the Land Donation Deed 1 (= KBo 5.7 Rev. 51) as belonging to the court circles during the final phase of the reign of Arnuwandas I (one of Kammenhuber's discoveries); 6) at a later date in his reign T. ensured that texts from his youth, the *itkalzi* ritual (which also mentions Taduhepa), were copied in Zithara from originals brought there from Sabinuwa (the colophons of nos. 5-9). Fortunately, a Hittite historical fragment can be adduced in support of these tentative conclusions. KBo 22.42, a very fragmentary text with numerous passages in direct discourse on both Obv. and Rev., mentions Tasmisarri in Rev. 13', after a number of Hurrian deities

have been mentioned in the preceding ll. 1'-11', and before the country of Gasga and the Gasgaeans are referred to in the ll. 14' and 18'. It is tempting to restore and interpret the contents as signifying that T. asks to be allowed to govern a region close to the northern Gasgæan zone.

A. Kammenhuber (THeth 7, 172²³⁷) and V. Haas (ChS I 1, 10² and AOF 12 (1985), 275⁷⁵) already pointed to the following additional data:

a) in two fragments, presumably belonging to the Extensive Annals of Mursilis II, Sabinuwa is mentioned as a town which is reached in the initial stage of a military campaign against the Gasgæan zone (KBo 7.17 + KBo 16.13 I 5' and KUB 23.36 + KUB 31.35 I 7);

b) Sabinuwa is mentioned in the military oracle KUB 5.1 III 19, relevant to a military campaign from the time of Hattusilis III against Gasgaeans;

c) the town is also mentioned in the Middle Hittite letter ABoT 60 Rev. 28', again pertaining to Gasgæan matters. These points and a fifth reference to Sabinuwa in the military oracle KUB 22 51 (+²KUB 50 108) Obv. 10'-11' (also referring to neighbouring Suppiluliyā) reinforce the Hurrian evidence regarding the strategic location of this town. Recently two proposals regarding the localization of Sabinuwa have been put forward. M. Forlanini situated Sabinuwa and the neighbouring Suppiluliyā (see the map added to his contribution to FsMeriggi 2, I pp. 165-185) at a short distance from Hattusa, to the northeast (Sabinuwa) and to the east (Suppiluliyā) respectively. S. Alp (Belleten 44, fasc. 173 (1980), Abb. 4 and pp. 58-59 of his highly valuable article on the pp. 25-59) reckoned with a location of Sabinuwa to the south of the Çekerek river, approximately halfway between Maşat Hüyük and Sivas and thus to the southeast of Maşat. In his latest treatment of the data on Sabinuwa in the monumental volume Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük (Ankara 1991), pp. 36f., S. Alp adduces the following important historical data.

1. During the period of the archive an important palace official named Sarpas lived in Sabinuwa. Witness the introductory lines Obv. 1-3 of no. 59, he must have been higher in rank than the *BEL MADGALTI* (presumably Him(m)uiliš) of what Alp takes to be the neighbouring border province around Maşat.

2. According to no. 20, sent by the Hittite king to two highly important army commanders, Gassus (an UGULA NIMGIR.ERÍN.MEŠ normally stationed in Maşat) and Pip(p)ap(p)as (presumably a commander of the ERÍN.MEŠ UKU.UŠ), the king stayed in Sabinuwa on at least one occasion, waiting for an important contingent of Gasgæan auxiliaries. Alp estimates the distance between Maşat and Sabinuwa to have been slightly over 50 kms, based on the two-day journey mentioned in no. 20.

Within Alp's generally highly convincing reconstruction of the geography of the Maşat province (in which Maşat is identified with Tapigga, cf. o.c. 6-7 and 42-43), and assuming that Alp is right in concluding that Sabinuwa must have been situated outside the border province itself (as a possible "Sitz einer höher gestellten Verwaltungseinheit" - o.c. 37), a northwestern localization of Sabinuwa vis-à-vis Maşat within the Halys bend, and to the northeast of Hattusa (cf. Forlanini's proposal) has more to recommend it, be it that the distance to Maşat would now allow for a more precise choice.

There is, however, a third possibility for Sabinuwa, albeit one more difficult to substantiate. I refer to Maşat itself. This choice excellently fits the excavator's description of the location of his site in the Anatolian road system and also his ideas about the "Bauherr" of its palace (cf. T. Özgüç, Maşat Höyük I, 52, 61 and 63). The texts published by Alp contain at least three indications that the palace itself functioned not only as the site of the provincial legislation, but also as a royal residence:

1. Nos. 31 Obv.13, 34 Obv.8, 100 Obv.10 and perhaps also 18, lower edge 13 (cf. Alp's translation) refer to an É ⁴UTU-ŠI.

2. Regarding the É MUNUS.LUGAL in the town of Kappusiya (no. 8 Obv.7-8), the replica of the term in KBo 10.20 II 5-6, I prefer H.G. Güterbock's rendering "the queen's palace" to the translations used by Alp in *Tempel* 11, 138-9, 230-1 and o.c. 130-1 and 305. This preference is based on the evidence from the Hurrian-Hittite bilingual, cf. Otten, Arch. Anz. 1984, 372.

3. S. Alp himself (o.c. 6) refers to the likelihood that a prince and a princess are mentioned in letters nos. 48, Rev.31-32 and 49, Obv.4-5. Although I am fully convinced by Alp's argumentation for almost all of his geographical proposals, I believe that J. Yakar's criticism of the equation Maşat=Tapigga merits serious consideration: cf. MDOG 112 (1980) 75-94, but also Alp's rejoinder in FsBittel (1983) 43-45. Wittingly or unwittingly Alp may have been influenced in his choice of Maşat=Tapigga by the latter's prominence in the small group of nos. 46-51 addressed to ⁴UTU-ŠI; for these it is indeed not impossible that in the haste of the evacuation they had not been sent off to the Hittite king (cf. o.c. 4). But since it can now be shown that the king and the queen were personally connected with towns in the Maşat region, there is no reason to exclude the alternative possibility that these letters reached the king during an earlier visit to Maşat, as is Yakar's proposal.

My specific hesitations concerning letter no. 46, adduced in the initial treatments of the question, relate to the use of the verb *zāi*- "to cross", most aptly used for the crossing of a river (presumably the northern border river of the province) in the passage Obv.3-7; also to the references in Rev.19 and 26-7 to, first, "the scouts of the distant route (Alp's "Späher der langen (Anmarsch)strasse") and, later, to the remark that he (viz. Adadbeli) would "regularly release the cattle and the sheep down from Tapigga" (after the scouts returned with the message that the mountainside was free from hostile activity). Both expressions occur fairly often in the beginning of the Instruction for the Governors of the Border Provinces (KUB 13.1+ (MH/MS) and its duplicates) in that part of the text where the requirements concerning border towns are dealt with in considerable detail.

The major advantage of this third option concerning Sabinuwa, actually an adaptation of Yakar's counter-proposal regarding Tapigga as a more northern border town, is that it leads to a basic agreement between on the one hand the data on Maşat from the contents of a group of letters, and on the other the details relative to Sabinuwa in other letters. Its most serious weakness may very well be that some letters, e.g. nos. 20, 58 and 59, would need to have been brought to Maşat by their recipients, the place from which some of them (e.g. nos. 20 and 59) had originally been sent. But perhaps this is not too disconcerting since Maşat clearly

was the capital of the province and the recipients in question happened to work in the provincial administration.

Naturally also the role of the scribe Adadbeli within this alternative proposal needs to be addressed. From a merely formal point of view it can be noted that among the scribes recognized by Alp as engaged either on the Hattusa or on the Maşat side of the correspondence (10 in all and 5 for each side), merely one other scribe wrote a personal letter. Tarhu(n)miyas in Hattusa wrote to his parents in Maşat (no. 81), but Adadbeli wrote to the king (no. 46). One other scribe, Uzzus, working in Maşat both as a scribe and as a state functionary (cf. o.c. 104) received two personal letters (nos. 53 and 77). But again, also Adadbeli received two personal letters, no. 65 from Pullis and no. 66 from H[ullas] (restoration by Alp). These data clearly suggest that the status of his correspondents was either very, or rather high. In Yakar's and my own opinion Adadbeli wrote from a border town, for all practical purposes under siege, to 'his majesty' in Maşat. Together with Pisenis, Pullis and Hullas belonged to a select group of high functionaries whom the king sent to the border province, either for a specific assignment (Pisenis, cf. o.c. 87) or on a more permanent basis (Hullas, cf. o.c. 64 and Pullis 89-90). The provenance of letter 66 is unknown, but in my opinion - contrary to Alp, 90 - the postscript or added letter of no. 65, written by Tarhu(n)miyas, renders Hattusa a likely provenance for the letter sent by Pullis. This combination of data suggests two possibilities: 1, that, like Uzzus, Adadbeli was both a scribe and a state functionary: cf. Alp's circumspect treatment of Adadbeli o.c. 52-5 where this possibility is at least mentioned; and 2, that Adadbeli had direct connections with the country's main centre, of which we know (not least from the Maşat corpus) that it was interested mainly in border problems. Finally the subjects dealt with in the Adadbeli correspondence are highly suggestive regarding his role and the likely location of Tapigga: the temporary closure of Tapigga also during the daytime (no. 46); the transport of prisoners from the border town Gasipura (cf. Alp p. 19) to the king who presumably resides in Hattusa (no. 65); the retrieval of a kidnapped person (no. 66; see also no. 84) which is reminiscent of the question of the fugitive blind Gasgaeans (?) dealt with in letters 58 and 59. Sarpas (witness no. 58 Obv.12-4 stationed in Sabinuwa) wrote letter no. 59 to the *BĒL MADGALTI* who travels around through the province more often. No. 58 must result from the ensuing inquiry into this matter. A Hittite official stationed in what is likely to have been a border town writes in no. 58 to Tahazzilis - the postscript is addressed to Adadbeli - that none of the blind persons mentioned in an earlier letter addressed to him by T. is among the 10 blind persons left behind in his town before the remainder of the group was forwarded to Sabinuwa. Apparently the fugitives were thought to be heading north towards their homeland. Tahazzilis (about whose well-being Adadbeli is informed by Hullas in no. 66, left edge 1-5) is asked by Hullas in no. 61 to investigate another example of a kidnapping, in this case of an inhabitant of the town of Suppiluliyā, known to have been situated in the near vicinity of Sabinuwa. As scribe and state functionary, possibly assigned to Tahazzilis, Adadbeli may have worked both more to the north (in and around Tapigga?) and in Maşat. This hypothesis might explain the presence of the other letters (apart from no. 46) in Maşat. I believe that a case can be built for the equation Maşat=Sabinuwa

and that, in any case, the intriguing problem of its identification deserves renewed consideration.

18. Cf. my earlier treatments of the outline tablets of the seasonal festivals, FsGüterbock 2, 99, 101-102 and 105-109; FsOtten 2, 109 (copy G), 186 and 191-194 (KBo 13.257).

19. See KBo 30 (1984), Introduction, V regarding the nos 148 and 162.

20. Cf. E. Neu, StBoT 12, 1970, 44-49; H.A. Hoffner, AlHeth, 1974, 18-19 and A. Archi, UF 5 (1973), 13³⁴ and the continuation of the note on p. 14. See for the full title of Archi's article note 34.

21. Cf. regarding this particular detail especially the treatment by Archi to which I can merely add that, according to the evidence of the 'Extensive Annals' of Mursilis II, the 'Festival of the Year', which in the Oracle texts concerning the winter quarters of the king and the queen is referred to in juxtaposition with the Festival of the Thunder, is treated as a Festival which takes place in the winter, cf. KBo 3.4 II 48 = AM, 60-61. This also applies to the "Great Festivals of the Sixth Year" referred to in KBo 4.4 IV 41 = AM, 138-139 and KBo 5.8 IV 22 = AM, 162-163 in presumably the tenth and the sixteenth year of his reign.

22. See with respect to this point Neu's treatment referred to in note 20.

23. This point has been stressed by J.D. Hawkins in the discussion at the Amsterdam meeting.

24. See UF 5 (1973), 15.

25. The beginning of KUB 32.135 + (CTH 630 A) I 1-9 deals with the necessity that if, during the preparations for the Festival of the Moon God, it suddenly thunders and the LÚ^DIŠKUR, "the man of the Storm God", has not yet been admitted, the Festival of Thundering should receive priority, but that, if he is already present, the two Festivals will be "mixed" (cf. the Colophon IV 8') and shall be performed together. The situation is comparable, up to a point, with the Hattic myth about the moon which "fell down from Heaven" (CTH 727 = Laroche, Myth. 13-18). C. Kühne established in 1980 where it fell down, viz. "on the market-place of Lihzina", cf. ZA 70 (1980), 102-103 (where the 'join' between KUB 28.3 and KUB 48.61 was made known). The myth would seem to derive its origin from an eclipse of the moon (presumably an eclipse during full moon) which happened to coincide with a fierce thunderstorm, cf. A. Kammenhuber, ZA 51 (1955), 114.

26. See with respect to the monthly Festival of the Storm God of Nerik V. Haas, KN, 59 and 278-292. The related texts Bo 3481 and 176/n (Haas, o.c., 292-297 and 296-299) have been published now in text-copy, cf. KUB 56.49 and KBo 23.95, while KUB 56.48 has been added to the group.

27. In the *editio princeps* the reading of KBo 10.20 I 29 proved difficult, cf. H.G. Güterbock, JNES 19 (1960), 81, 85, but, using KUB 25.27 I 13' (CTH 629), his copy S, Güterbock already determined the gist of the clause with the exception of the subject. In the meantime copy B (KUB 30.39) has been enlarged through the 'joins' with KBo 23.80 and KBo 24.112. Especially the second fragment is decisive for the reading [LUGAL]-uš-ma šu-uḫ-ḫa pa-iz-zi (Obv. 23) which has already been incorporated in his new edition of A by S. Alp, Tempel, 1983, 138-139.

28. Cf. FsGüterbock 2, 106-107.

29. Cf. H.A. Hoffner, Alheth, 18⁽⁶¹⁾ (referring to W.G. Kendrew, *The Climates of the Continents*, Oxford, 1937³, 175 ff. and the Table on p. 221.

30. See now Alp, Tempel, 138-139; strikingly enough the opening of the pithos is not mentioned in B Obv. 24-29, while Güterbock (in a letter of July-24th-1983) rightly objected to my reading of the verbal form in B Obv. 23 in FsGüterbock 2, 104-105 together with note 26. Güterbock proposed to read ḫu-ek-zi, a reading which implies the slaughtering of an animal in the sentence as a whole. This means that I now retract that proposal (in fact an attempt to ameliorate an earlier proposal of S. Alp). Thus, in contrast to what I first thought, also the preparatory measures are lacking in copy B: the pithos is neither presented nor opened.

31. Cf. A. Goetze, AM, 188-191; see, too, O.R. Gurney, Schweich, 1977, 38 whose interpretation and translation I have adopted (with minor adaptations).

32. Cf. FsGüterbock 2, 110.

33. See in particular the outstanding series of articles devoted by H.G. Güterbock to this subject, *Belleten* VII, fasc. 26, 1943, 295-317; his review article (on v. Brandenstein, *Bildbeschr.*) Or 15 (1946), 482-496; and, finally, FsBittel, 1983, 203-217; C.-G. von Brandenstein, *Götterbilder in hethitischen Texten*, MVAeG 46.2, 1943; L. (Jakob-)Rost, MIO 8 (1963) 161-217 and 9 (1963), 175-239 and KUB 38 (1965).

34. Ch.W. Carter, *Hittite Cult-inventories*, Diss. Chicago, 1962; A. Archi, *Fêtes de Printemps et d'Automne et réintégration rituelle d'Images de Culte dans l'Anatolie hittite*, UF 5 (1970), 7-27; O.R. Gurney, Schweich, 1977, 25-30.

35. E. Laroche, *La Réforme religieuse du Roi Tudhaliya IV et sa signification politique*, which appeared in F. Dunand and P. Lévêque (ed.), *Les Syncrétismes dans les Religions de l'Antiquité*, Colloque de Besançon (22-23 Octobre 1973), Leiden, 1975, 87-95.

36. See H. Klengel, *Zur ökonomischen Funktion der hethitischen Tempel*, SMEA 16 (1975), 181-200, *passim*.

37. Cf. E. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen*, 45-47, II 26 - III 8; A.Goetze, ANET, 1950¹, 210-211. See Carter, Diss.:17.

38. Cf. E. von Schuler, *Kaškäer*, 152-153, A I 1'-23' and 156-159, III 4-11; A. Goetze, *ANET*, 1950¹, 309.

39. Tudhaliyas IV is mentioned in KUB 7.24 Obv. 2, KUB 13.32 Obv. 8', KUB 25.23 IV 63, KUB 31.24: 7', KUB 38.35 I 3, KBo 12.57 2' and 4', KBo 26.179: 1' and KBo 26.188 Obv. 6'. See now, too, KUB 58.7 II 17', another example in a recently published cult-inventory. In the texts enumerated by Laroche in CTH under no 524.1-4 (KUB 25.21 and 22, 24 and 25) Tudhaliyas IV is regularly referred to: KUB 25.21 III 13; KUB 25.22 II 1', 3' 15'; KUB 25.24 II 7. Actually the tablets contain Festival descriptions which are strongly similar to the Festival descriptions, often present in the cult-inventories presumably belonging to the 'Reform'. Depending on the manner in which the concept 'Reform' is defined, they can or cannot be assigned to the corpus. If not reckoned to belong to the group as such, they can be used as additional proof that the cult inventories containing these Festival descriptions would need to be ascribed to the reign of Tudhaliyas IV. In at least three examples ascription of a text to the corpus may be argued on prosopographical grounds: Tattamaru (KUB 38.1 = v. Brand. Text 2 I 26); Mizra-muwa (KBo 12.235 I 4) and Hesni (KUB 46.22 I 14').

40. Regarding Mursilis II (?) one may point to KUB 38.3 I 5, KUB 38.8: 4'. 6' and 8', KUB 38.9: 8' (but see for the last two texts also L. (Jakob-)Rost, *MIO* 8 (1963), 165-166: Mursilis I (?)); he is mentioned implicitly as "grandfather" in: KUB 42.100 I 20', III 22' and IV 10'. Muwattallis II is mentioned by name: KUB 38.20 Obv. 5', KUB 42.100 I 17', III 32' and IV 38', KUB 55.48 I 16' and KBo 26.183 III 7'. Hattusilis III is implicitly mentioned as "father": KUB 42.100 II 9' (?) and III 15' and KBo 24.117, left Column: 7'. A 'measure' of Hattusilis III is referred to in KUB 25.22 II 12' = V. Haas, *KN*, 238-239 (although a text of Tudhaliyas IV (cf. II 1', 2' and 15')), the text is not a cult-inventory belonging to the 'Cult Reform', if one uses the latter term in a restricted sense).

41. Cf. *RHA* 25, fasc. 81 (1967), KBo 11.1, 106-108, 115-117, Obv. 21-22, 23-24 and 41-42 and the Introduction, 101-104. I quote Obv. 21-22 and 23-24 in a slightly adapted translation: "What population there is now and was [(contemporary) with my father (and) [my] grand[father, those I will consult] and whatever I, My Majesty, now find from wooden tablets and (written) records, this I shall carry out ... And whenever I shall consult a venerable (?) old man, [as] they remember [one (certain)] rite and tell it, I shall likewise carry it out."

42. See e.g. A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*², 1957:169⁽¹⁹⁾ and see, too, L. (Jakob-)Rost, *MIO* 8 (1963), 165 and 167. Carter reckoned with a concentration on border regions in general where, in the aftermath of warfare, this type of operation would have been in place, cf. *Diss.*, 21-24 (his reasoning was based in part on KUB 23.21, a historical text which many scholars now would date to the Early Empire Period). The north of Anatolia is represented by, e.g., *Hakm/pis* (KUB 58.58 and KUB 38.25, cf. *Edge* 1. 2, but the Gods of *Hakm/pis* are also mentioned in KUB 25.23, cf. I 40', IV 2 and 26), *Hartana* (KUB 38.32 Obv. 3; cf., also, as far as its likely northern location is concerned, KBo 12.53 + KUB 48.105 Rev. 34), *Hat/linzuwa* (KUB 38.35), *Hawalkina* (KUB 7.24 + Rev. 2-7, cf. del Monte, *RGTC* 6,

105, but see, too, KUB 53.21 Obv. 7'), Kammama (KUB 38.2, cf. II 22'), Karahna (KUB 38.12/15, the best-preserved example of a cult-inventory regarding a large(r) town, the mountain of Malmaliya (KUB 7.24 + KUB 58.29, joined by Th.P.J. van den Hout in his review (forthcoming) of KUB 58 in BiOr; cf., too, KBo 26.182 IV 8'), Nerik (KUB 42.100, cf. already H.G.Güterbock, FsBittel, 209⁽⁴⁵⁾) and see, too, KUB 53.21 Obv. 7' and Rev. *passim*), Takkups/ta (KUB 7.24 + Rev. 9, the colophon), Tiliura (KUB 38.3 I 1- II 4) and Urista (KUB 25.23 I and II; cf. also KBo 24.117, right column, 9'). As far as the south is concerned, there are, e.g., Anasepa (KUB 57.108 + III 11'-13'), Mountain of Huwatnuwanda (KUB 58.15 I' 10' and 15', Parminassa (KUB 38.27 Rev. 7' ff., cf., too, Edge, 1. 1), Salunatassi (KUB 57.58: 6' = KUB 57.106 II 14', restored after the duplicate; see, too, KUB 38.10 IV 30', the colophon, to be read in the same manner; both fragments belong to CTH 510, cf. provisionally P. Cornil, OLP 19 (1988), 18, 19-20 and see also Th.P.J. van den Hout in his review of KUB 57 in BiOr 47, 1990, 423-432; cf. also KUB 17.35 IV 17), Sana(hh)uit(ta) (KUB 58.15 I' 9'), Suwanzana (KUB 57.108 (+) III 6'-10'), Tiura (KUB 38.1 IV 8-16; see, too, KUB 55.14 Rev. 11'), Tiwaliya (KUB 38.10 IV 25', the colophon), Uda (KUB 57.108 (+?) KUB 51.23 II 12'-17'), Wattarwa (KBo 2.1 II 21-31), Wiyanuwanta (KUB 38.1 II 1-26 and Edge of the tablet; cf., too, KBo 2.7 Obv. 18' ff.). In this enumeration I have reckoned with the likelihood that KUB 38.1 (= v.Brandenstein no. 2) describes a southern region, this in contrast to KUB 38.2 = v.Brand. no 1 and KUB 38.3 = v.Brand. no 3, while I have made use of CTH 225 in order to plead for a southern localization only if more than one place-name occurred in the same context of CTH 225 for which a southern location might be argued. Regarding the southwest in particular, Assaratta (KBo 2.1 II 40-45) and perhaps also Masa (KUB 17.35 III 9) may be quoted. These two place-names guided Carter when he pointed to the south(west). For the likelihood that also the southeast was involved (CTH 510 and 511.1) see below sub d together with note 61. Because the 'Cult Reform' may have been addressed to the country as a whole (see below sub c), it is unwise, I think, to exclude texts of a cult-inventory type from the 'Reform' on the argumentation that they concern place-names known to have played a role in the large seasonal Festivals of Autumn and Spring and were thus presumably located in the near vicinity of the capital Hattusa: the Divine Queens (^bSAL.LUGAL) of the towns of ^{URU}Hi-ŠUR-la (Hi-šu(-u)-ur-la), Istuhila and Zithara are treated in three fragments, KUB 17.37, KUB 42.105 (by far the largest piece containing parts of four columns) and KUB 54.44, the latter two of which certainly need to be joined (KUB 42.105 III 15'-27' + KUB 54.44 Rev. I (III) 2'-14'); I feel inclined to reckon strongly with the likelihood that also KUB 17.37 belongs to the very same cult-inventory. Sometimes a sort of 'overlap' between two or more cult-inventories can be used to argue that also the second (or the third example) must apply to either the north or to the south of the country.

43. Cf. v. Brandenstein Text 1 (= KUB 38.2) IV 3' ff. for the letter which may have been written by a brother of the king. Also KUB 42.100 II 9' may indicate that a brother of Tudhaliyas IV was involved in the execution of the inquiry in the north of the country. The characteristic 1st person plurals of the Preterite (cf. again KUB 42.100!) can be found in v. Brand. Text 2 (= KUB

38.1) I 3, [3], 9, 23, [24] and v. Brand. Text 3 (= KUB 38.3) I 7; III 4, 17, 16 and 18. See for the drawing H.Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, Berlin, 1942, no 675 and M. Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hethiter*, Stuttgart², 1955 T.31 below. In a considerable number of cases 'original' reports must have been re-edited in the capital (see note 51 below for the possibility that this may also have happened to reports which would seem to stem from a later stage of the proceedings).

44. See for its relevance regarding Nerik note 42 and for its references to decisions of earlier rulers note 40; the characteristic 1st person plural of the Preterite is attested in III 26', 30'; IV 4' and may be restored for III [8'], and IV 9' [; oral information from two sources is repeated in III 30'-35' and 36'-38'; cf., too, II 3' and 9'-12'. Also KUB 58.32 constitutes a cult-inventory with direct discourse on both Obv. and Rev. KUB 42.100 refers to both hieroglyphic (I 17', 22' [; III 22'; IV 10' and 33'-34') and cuneiform (I [26' (?)]; II 6'; III 26'; IV [8']-9' and 17') documentation. The Gods treated in KUB 42.100 - presumably the Storm God, the Protective God of Nature (LAMMA), and the War God in the poorly preserved portions I - III 12'; the temple of the War God is mentioned in III 12'; the Storm God of Heaven is treated from III 13' to IV 2', Telebinu in IV 3'-32' and the Grain Goddess from IV 33' to IV 41' - recur as Gods venerated in Nerik in KUB 27.68 IV 3'-6', cf. V. Haas, KN, 68 and 302. In IV 31-32' and IV 39'-40' the cult-inventory details that Telebinu shares a Temple with ^DLAMMA and that ^DHalki-, the Grain Goddess, stays in the Temple of the Storm God, thus furnishing the required proof that the Storm God and ^DLAMMA must have been dealt with in the Columns I and II.

45. See e.g. KBo 2.13 Rev. 10'-14'; KBo 2.7 left edge ('unfinished' copy), KUB 7.24 Rev. 8'-9", KUB 25.23 IV 60-64 (referring in l. 63 to 'His Majesty' Tudhaliyas (IV)), KUB 38.10 ('unfinished' copy), KUB 38.12 and from the same volume the nos 14, 27 and 35; KBo 26.152 (?) and from that volume also the nos 178 IV 1'-9' (referring to 'His Majesty' in l. 7') and 182 IV 7'-10' and 185, left edge. See for Carter's opinion on the cult-inventories containing terse descriptions of local Festivals the following note.

46. Cf. Laroche (note 35), 90 and Carter, Diss, 20 and passim in his translations for his interpretation of the technical term ^DUTU-ŠI *da-a-iš*/ME-*iš*. On p. 20 Carter remarks: "Furthermore, the fact that the Festivals described in the cult-inventory texts are based on one model (see pp. 8 f.) tends to indicate imposition into the cult (and thus enrichment or intensification) from a single, outside source."

47. Regarding those texts mentioned below which have been treated by Carter in his thesis (KBo 2.1, KBo 2.13, KBo 2.7 and KUB 17.35), it must be stated at the outset that nearly everywhere (with the exception of his first example) his punctuation in his translations indicates that he interpreted the pithos ceremony, or at least the materials destined for it, as having been "instituted" by the King. See, now, KBo 2.1 II 3, 29, 44; III 4-5, 10-11, 18-19, 24, 40; KBo 2.13 Obv. 2 (2x), KBo 2.7 Obv. 19' (4x); Rev. 11 (2x); KUB 17.35 II 8'; KUB 38.23 Obv. 12-13 (2x), KUB 38.30 Rev. 4 (restored); VBoT

26\ : 7']; KBo 26.182 I 3; KUB 51.33 I 19' [; KUB 56.40 III 15'-16' (3x). On other occasions the King enlarged the amount of the pithos, cf. e.g. KBo 2.1 I 21'-22' and IV 13-14.

48. Cf. KBo 2.13 Obv. 24, KBo 26.151 III 12', KUB 20.14 I 2' and KUB 38.32 Obv. 3-4. See already Carter, Diss., 22, 115, 180 and 186 and Archi, *l.c.*, 14³⁸. Archi also refers to an "inner room of the pithos" in Hattusa, attested by KUB 10.11 IV 25 (see for the fact that this festival text belongs to the Spring Festival and a proposal regarding its position within the series in last instance, FsOttén 2, 186³⁹).

49. Quoting just a few examples from better-preserved cult-inventories, I should like to point to: KBo 2.13 Obv. 1 (2x), 21, 22, 24 (2x); KUB 17.35 II 36'-37', III 23; KUB 38.12 III 13' and in that same volume 14 Obv. 4; 18 Obv. [3'] and 6'; 26 Obv. 14' (2x), 23'-24' (2x), 31', 39'; Rev. 15, [16]; 27 Obv. 8'-12' and Rev. 7'-9' (2x); 32 Obv. 1-2 (3x), 3-4 and Rev. 19'-21' (3x); 33 Obv. 5'-9'. In at least one example, KBo 12.56 I 8', the name of the person to whom the task of building the temple has been assigned is added. See, too, KBo 13.235 I 4 (Mizra-muwa) and KUB 54.67 (with detailed instructions on a number of points).

50. The connection between the two texts was first noted by H.G. Güterbock in 1943 (cf. note 33), 303²¹⁻²² "KBo II 13 Obv. 21 ff., ein ausführlicherer Parallel-text zu dem in vorigen Anmerkung zitierten KBo II 7 (Rs. 24 ff.)". I give the two characteristic passages dealt with by Güterbock in Carter's translations (with minor alterations; see for the relationship between both texts Carter, Diss., 29-30, 47-48, 103 (KBo 2.13 Obv. 1-29 runs parallel to KBo 2.7 Rev. 10-32), 115 and his comments *sub voce taruwai-*, a verb which Carter translated with "to establish, to institute" and which is now is rendered with German "ausstatten, bereichern, versehen", cf. Oettinger, *Stammbildung*, 379 and *passim*): (KBo 2.13 Obv. 21-24) "Mammananta: the Storm God's bull of iron, (and) Mt. Arnuwanda's mace, on which is a statue of iron, they (will) make. Mt. HAR-ranassa's mace, on which is a statue of iron, (and) White Mountain's (HUR.SAG *harga-*, Mons Argaeus, Ercyas Dağ) mace, on which is a statue of iron, they (will) make. Sigasiga's (deified river) statue of a girl; and Dupsa's (deified spring), Kummayanni's (deified spring), Siwanna's (deified spring), Hashan(n)ari's (deified spring), [(era)sure) and Halwanna's (deified spring) statues of girls (and) an inner chamber of the pithos [they (will) make]."; (KBo 2.7 Rev. 24-27) Mammananta: Storm God; Mt. Arnuwanta; Mt. HAR-ranassa; White Mountain; Sigasiga (deified river); Dupsa (deified spring); Kummayanni (deified spring); Siwanna (deified spring); Hashan(n)ari (deified spring); Halwanna (deified spring). Statues with a temple, My Majesty provided." (Carter, Diss., 101 and 112). The Luwian character of some of the names of the springs and the reference to Mons Argaeus renders it likely that the geographical names of both texts need to be localized more to the south. KBo 2.7 dealt, witness its colophon, with Artesna, [X], Wiyanawanta, Panissa, Mam(ma)nanta and Larsiliya, while KBo 2.13 merely deals with the latter three (again witness its colophon). See Laroche, DLL, 99-100 (Dupsa) and 56-57 (Kummayanni), and cf., too, *ibid.* 87 (Siwanna) and 43 (Hashan(n)ari).

51. Some of the additional references given in note 42, in which I tried to argue that the north and the south of Anatolia are represented on an approximately equal footing in the cult-inventories of the 'Cult Reform', may eventually turn out to represent a later stage in the proceedings. In addition to KBo 2.7, as compared with KBo 2.13, also KBo 12.53 + KUB 48.105 may already now be thought to represent a later or even a rather late stage of the Inquiry as a whole. This text was first briefly treated by H. Klengel in SMEA 16 (1975), 195-196 and later, in 1980, published in a text-edition by the same scholar in cooperation with A. Archi, AOF 7 (1980), 143-157. In his brief treatment Klengel characterized the text in the following words: the text deals with the fact "dass in mehreren Orten des Hatti-Staates für verschiedene Gottheiten Häuser, Vieh, Saatgetreide, Dreschplätze und Gerätschaften bestimmt wurden und zwar fast durchweg 10 NAM.RA je Haus." As far as can be determined now - the authors dealt with the problem in their commentary - the text addresses northern regions. The manner in which the royal decisions are formulated supports the preferred option of both scholars that the text should be connected with the 'Cult Reform' of Tudhaliyas IV, while it is attractive to adhere to their opinion that the type of measures detailed in this text would constitute one of the final steps in such an operation.

Perhaps I may mention at this point that the likely 'join' KUB 57.108 (+?) KUB 51.23 II in its ll. II 4' and 9' would yield two examples of the phenomenon that a local problem needs to be referred to the Palace: "It (still) stands out to inquire about it with/at the Palace". This point might indicate that the text represents a sort of report from the side of the royal emissaries. Curiously enough, the text at the same time also refers to a future measure to be taken by the king. It thus might indicate that also interim reports were re-edited in the capital. Presumably at the Palace certain details might be turned into the subject of an Oracle Inquiry. The fragment VBoT 83, for Laroche CTH 521.5 and in his opinion thus related to the Inquiry, but on good grounds not admitted to the corpus as such by Carter, Diss., 16 indicates that in such an Oracle Investigation the following subjects might be addressed: 1) statue(ttes) (ll. 1', 3', 8', 9' and 10'), 2) Deities (ll. 5', 7', 8' and 14'), 3) Priests and Priestesses (ll. 4' and 11'), 4) offering equipment (l. 12'), 5) festivals (ll. 12'-13') and 6) Temple(s) (l. 15'). This range of subjects may be compared with Appendix 1.

52. von Brandenstein, Bildbeschr., 1 (Preface, in abbreviation): "Die hier zum ersten Male vorgelegten hethitischen Texte, im folgenden als Text 1-4 bezeichnet, gehören, soviel man jetzt überschauen kann, in die Klasse der Inventare und Bestandsaufnahmen zum Zwecke der Intensivierung oder Wiederherstellung eines ausgedehnten Reichskultes für die verschiedensten Gottheiten des neuethitischen Reiches." Elsewhere, in a note actually devoted to Tudhaliyas IV as the Hittite King who ordered or finished the construction of Yazilikaya, *ibid.* 74-75², the author remarked: "Es würde gut passen, wenn der letzte bedeutende König des Neuen Reiches, der, wie sich überall in den Texten zeigt, die religiösen Kräfte aller Landesteile noch einmal zum Zusammenschluss des Reiches aufbot, während (oder gerade weil schon) die militärische Macht dem Druck von aussen nur noch mit Mühe standhielt und der

Untergang sich vorbereitete, auch der Fertigsteller bzw. Hauptbauherr in Yazilikaya gewesen wäre."

53. Cf. Carter, Diss., 18³ in the continuation of the note on p. 19 (again in abbreviation).

54. See FsGüterbock 2, 110 for Obv. 2-10 of this prayer. While Tudhaliyas IV in the 11. Obv. 5-6 seems to have been influenced by the wording used in the introduction to the '10 Years Annals' of Mursilis II (cf. *l.c.*, 110³⁹), his remarks about the punctual observance of the seasonal festivals at the proper time during the year (Obv. 7-9) resemble a passage in CTH 264, The Instruction for the Priests and the (remaining) Personnel of the Temple, II 59-62, cf. Sturtevant-Bechtel, Chrest., 154-155. The passage of the Prayer, Obv. 11-13, should be restored, I think, as follows: (11) [ma-a-an-mu zi-ig ^DUTU ^{URU}TUL-na GAŠAN-YJA DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-ma ku-it-ki GAM pa-a-an-ti še-er TUKU[.TUKU-e-eš-t]a nu DINGIR.MEŠ-tar ku-it GAM pa-it (12) [I-NA U₄-MI ŠA A-BI ^DUTU-ŠI ŠA A-BI A-BI] ^DUTU-ŠI GAM pa-it I-NA U₄-MI "Šu-up-pí[-lu-li-u-ma] pí-ra-an (13) [ki-ša-at], "[If You, Oh Sun Goddess of Arinna, m]y [mistress], became an[gr]y [with me] on account of a Deity who diminished (in position; lit. went downwards) in some respect, and (if) some cult object diminished (in state), [(or if) during the days of the father of My Majesty, of the grandfather] of My Majesty it diminished (in position or state), (or if) it [came about] during the days of Suppiluliuma (I),...". See for my interpretation of *katta pai-* in this passage KUB 38.35 I 1-2. In the continuation of the Prayer the Mountains Piskurunuwa (Rev. 8'), Hulla (Rev. 9') and Tagurga (Rev. 11' and 14') play a major role. This characteristic of the Prayer may perhaps be compared with the prominent role of the mountains and the army-commanders (!) in the Festival of the Month.

55. Cf. Laroche's article referred to in note 35, 89-92 where two examples taken from Tudhaliyas's Revision of the large seasonal Festivals, one of each series, precede his listing of 13 examples relevant to the cult-inventories. There has been a fairly general tendency to view the cult-inventories against the background of a 'centre versus periphery' distinction, a fashionable concept in modern scholarship regarding Ancient History in general. Nevertheless, it is not certain, I think, that, as far as religious matters were concerned, the application of such a distinction is in fact legitimate.

56. Cf. P. Neve, *Anatolica* 14 (1987), 41-88.

57. As far as this last point is concerned, see now, too, the treatment by A. Archi, *L'Organizzazione amministrativa ittita e il Regime delle Offerte culturali*, *OrAnt* 12 (1973), 209-226; see, too, Appendix 1, note h.

58. This follows, I think, from the manner in which the verb *kattan hama/enk-* is used in KUB 32.133 I 4-5, the earliest attestation, at the latest stemming from the time of Mursilis II, of a technical term used in the cult-inventories to describe a royal measure by which the upkeep of the cult offerings is guaranteed; see for this expression most recently, A. Archi and H. Klengel, *AOF* 7 (1980), 151. Also the references in the same cult-inventories regarding

measures of predecessors (cf. note 40) and the evidence concerning the large seasonal festivals dealt with in FsGüterbock 2 and FsOtten 2 plead for the fact that the system as such must have been older.

59. See M.N. van Loon, *Iconography*, 30-31, and for the counter-example KBo 2.1 II 21-24 = Carter, *Diss.*, 54 and 64.

60. A comparison with the local Storm Gods mentioned in the god-lists of the most important documents of the state (see the beginning of note 17) leads to these results. The following local Storm Gods are represented in both sources: (in alphabetical order) the Storm Gods of Hulassa/iya (KUB 44.1, *passim*), Lihzina (KUB 38.3 (= von Brandenstein no 3) I 1, 5, in the inventory regarding Tiliura; regarding Karahna (KUB 38.12 II 6) and in KUB 38.32 Rev. 16' regarding a town the name of which is broken off), Nerik (more than 20 examples among which Nerik itself), Sahpina (KUB 42.91 III 10', town unknown), Saressa (KBo 2.7 Obv. 1, name of the town uncertain, KBo 26.213 II 5', town unknown; see, too, VAT 7684 Rev. 10', as quoted by M. Darga, *RHA* 27, fac. 84-85 (1969/1970), 18 (?)), Uda (KUB 57.108 (+) II 12' in a passage regarding Uda itself) and Zippalanda (ca. 10 examples). As far as I have been able to determine, the following Storm Gods are lacking: the Storm Gods of Hissashapa, Sabinuwa, Samuha, Hurma, Kizzuwatna or Kummanni, Pitteyarik, Ishupitta and Tahaya. If one includes the reference to KUB 42.103 III 15', actually a listing of cult-deliveries regarding the Storm God of Aleppo, the Storm God of Ta/emelha is three times attested: see, too, KBo 12.140 Obv. 3' and KUB 38.19 + IBoT 2.102 Rev. 6' (again, as in KUB 42.103, in the company of the Storm God of Zippalanda). In their treatment of the lists of cult-deliveries for the Storm God of Aleppo, V. Souček and J. Siegelová, *ArchOr* 42 (1974), 40-41 mention an unpublished text, Bo 8411, which again and thus for a third time refers to the combination of both Storm Gods.

61. See already above note 5; as to the Storm God of Assur, cf. del Monte, *RGTC* 6, 51-52 (9 examples, 6 stemming from CTH 510, 2 from KUB 12.2 = CTH 511.1) and 1 from HT 14 = CTH 511.4). Regarding CTH 510 L. (Jacob-) Rost, *MIO* 8 1963, 188 and KUB 38, Introduction iv already reckoned with a North-Mesopotamian background. Also Kizzuwatna may have been possible. The prosopographical evidence regarding Marassanda (cf. J. Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis* 230f. and H. Otten, *StBoT Beiheft* I 1988 44 together with note 76) may indicate that KUB 12.2 deals with a region of Kizzuwatna.

62. The Gods I am referring to are Milku (cf. Carter, *JNES* 39 (1980), 313-314), Pentarushi (see note 5 above), Huwattassi (see P. Cornil, *OLP* 19 (1988), 19⁽⁶⁾) and the rather enigmatic deity Iru-. To Carter's treatment of Milku it may now be added that this God, written as ^DMi-el-ku [KUR ^{URU}A-mur]-ri, occurs in KBo 22.39 III 16'-17', part of the god-list of the Treaty of Mursilis II with Duppi-Tessub of Amurru. This reference offers an additional indication as to the original homeland of this God.

63. Cf. ^{URU}DU₆ "Hurlušša (KUB 38.6), ^{URU}DU₆ "Lukpiši (KUB 38.10), ^{URU}DU₆ ^LUHUB, "The Tell of the Deaf Man" (KUB 25.23 left edge, left half: 1) but note also ^{URU}DU₆.HI.A ^{URU}HATTI in KUB 38.19 Obv. 19'.

64. Cf. J.J.S. Weitenberg, U-Stämme, 226-227. The divine names in question are e.g. ^DPiḥam(m)i- (KBo 2.16: 6'; CTH 510 in text-order KUB 38.6 I 4', 30'; KUB 57.106 II 9', 16', 37', 42'; KUB 38.10 III [6]'; KUB 38.6 + Bo 6741 (IV) 2', 11' (= KUB 38.10 IV 10') and KUB 38.10 IV 14' (= 27' in the required new line-numbering), as compared with ^DU Piḥami- (KUB 6.45 II 66 = KUB 6.46 III 31 regarding Sana(hh)uit(t)a) and ^DPiḥaimi- (CTH 510 in text-order KUB 57.106 II 9', 17' and 37', 43'; KUB 38.10 III 7'; KUB 38.6 IV 2' 11' (= KUB 38.10 IV 10')), as compared with ^DU Piḥae/imi- (KUB 12.2 I 18', III 1; KUB 38.12 III 19'). Both participles are Luwian.

65. Cf. H.G. Güterbock, Kum. (the 'Cycle' in general), *idem*, JCS 5 (1951), 135-161 and JCS 6 (1952), 8-42 (CTH 345); *idem*, Hittite Mythology, 155-172 in S.N. Kramer (ed.), *Mythologies of the Ancient World*, New York, 1961; *idem*, RLA VI: 5-6, 325-330 (Kumarbi); E. Laroche, *Myth.*, 153-161 (CTH 344), 145-152 (CTH 343), 177-182 (CTH 364), 162-176 (CTH 346 and 348); J. Siegelová, StBoT 14, 1971, 35-88 (CTH 348 and almost all of the texts of CTH 346); H.A. Hoffner, FsOtten 2, 1988, 143-164 (CTH 364). See now also H.A. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, 1990, 38-61 in chapter II devoted to the Hurrian myths, with a highly important introduction regarding the ordering of the myths within the 'Cycle'; the monograph with translations by Hoffner and edited by G.M. Beckman is volume 2 in the series *Writings from the Ancient World*, published by the Society of Biblical Literature (ed. Burke O. Long).

66. Cf. J. Siegelová, StBoT 14, 1971, 83-84.

67. Cf. E.A. Speiser, Introduction to Hurrian, AASOR 20 (1940-1941), 119-120; see, too, Laroche, *Rech.*, 49 and M. Salvini, SMEA 18 (1977), 88 and 90. The alternative explanation of this passage by A. Kammenhuber, *Acta Antiqua* 22 (1974), 166-167 and THeth 7, 1976, 89-90 is far less attractive; see now, too, E. Neu, FsThomas, 503-513, "Hurritische verbalformen auf -ai aus der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue", in particular 508-511 where Neu refers to Speiser's treatment of this passage.

68. Cf. H.G. Güterbock, Hittite Mythology, 158; *idem*, NHF, 1964, 55-56. See for a later reconciliation between both parties E. Neu, *Das Hurritische: Eine altorientalische Sprache in neuem Licht*, Ak. d. W. u. d. L., Mainz, 1988.3, 14-16.

69. Cf. the 'join' between KUB 33.112 + 114 + KUB 36.2 III and KBo 22.86, discovered by Laroche, cf. RHA 33 (1975), 67.

70. My summary of the contents and my quotations are based on the treatment by H.G. Güterbock, Hittite Mythology, 161-164.

71. In his remarks on the integration of the myth into the 'Cycle of Kumarbi', H.A. Hoffner suggests (166) that his mother's remark that he should 'fear' merely one deity, viz. his father Kumarbi, would have implied a positive way of fearing in the sense of "to be respectful of". I find it difficult to follow Hoffner in this detail, in particular on account of the later conflict between father and son. I rather believe that the mother referred to Kumarbi, his father, in a threatening manner in an attempt to discipline her unruly son.

72. The passage may be compared, I think, with the fragment KUB 33.105 (= Laroche, *Myth.*, 190-191) in which Tessub prides himself that "seven times [he had been sent] to the "Dark Earth" and that (as many times) he had hauled up the Earth", bragging about similar achievements regarding the Heaven, the Mountains and the Rivers. See, too, Homer, *Iliad* VIII: 18-27 for Zeus's curious threat against all of the Gods and Goddesses in case they would not follow his orders: (in the translation by W.H.D. Rouse in "plain English") "Come on now, have a try, my good gods, the whole lot of you, and I'll show you! Hang a gold chain from heaven, gods all and goddesses all, a long pull and a strong pull all together! You will not pull down most high Zeus to the ground, pull as hard as you like. But if I give one real good pull, up you will come with the earth and sea besides. Then I will tie the chain round a peak of Olympus, and there in the air you will dangle! Gods or men, I am stronger than them all!"

73. My summary of the contents and my quotations are based on the treatment by H.A. Hoffner, *FsOtten* 2, 1988, 143-164.

74. Cf. for Hedammu, Siegelová, *o.c.*, 68-69 (Fr. 27), but see for its interpretation and its position in the series the beautiful solution proposed by Güterbock, Introduction to KBo XXVI, VI under no 79; See Güterbock, *JCS* 5 (1951), 156-157: 1st Tablet A IV 13'-16' and *JCS* 6 (1952), 30-31: 2nd Tablet B I 31'-32' for the two passages from 'the Song of Ullikummi'. The discrepancy between the two translations stems from a difference in opinion regarding the particle *namma* which - with a free mobility throughout the clause - in my opinion often means "once more, again".

75. Cf. with respect to the myth, Güterbock, *Kum.*, 122, J. Friedrich, *JKF* 2 (1952), 148-150 and now Laroche, *Myth.*, 185-186. Both Güterbock and Friedrich compared the passage to the Ugaritic myth regarding the battle between Baal and Jam(mu) (see below). See in respect of CTH 785 V. Haas and G. Wilhelm, *AOATS* 3, 1974, 261-263; see, too, KUB 44.7 which, witness the colophon, belongs to the same festival text, cf. Laroche, *RHA* 33 (1975), 63 and del Monte, *RGTC* 6, 106-107. The passages are KBo 8.88 Obv. 8-9, as restored after KBo 8.86 Obv. 5 and KUB 44.7 I 11"-12'. See for the Hurrian text Laroche, *l.c.*, and M. Salvini, KUB XLV, Introduction under no 63 and *SMEA* 18 (1977), 75; see, too, Laroche, *FsGüterbock* 1, 181-182 for this Hurrian fragment.

76. Laroche, *Myth.*, contains more myths regarding the Sea God, cf. "The Myth of Telebinu and the Daughter of the Sea God" (CTH 322) = *Myth.*, 19-20 and "The Myth of the Sun and the Sea" (CTH 346.9) = *Myth.*, 186-188; see, too, KUB 36.55, a difficult text which has not been included in the collection. The tablet contains a parallel version of the Hittite and presumably originally Hattic Dragon Fight Myth (Illuyanka; CTH 321).

77. This Egyptian text has already been referred to by J. Siegelová, *o.c.*, 81, and 87-88 regarding Fr. 12 of the 'Song of Hedammu' and the Ugaritic myth about the battle between Baal and Jam(mu) respectively. For the Astarte Papyrus see the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I 4, 510-511 and D. Jankuhn, *Bibliographie der Hieratischen und Hieroglyphischen Papyri*, Wiesbaden, 1975, 4-5. I

have used the translation by S. Schott, *Liebeslieder*, 1950, 212-214.

78. Cf. the CHD 3.1, 60 a *sub voce* *lelhuwartima-*.

79. The Hittite fragment KUB 33.89 + KUB 36.21 (= CTH 350.1) = Laroche, *Myth.*, 183-184 (but see, too, the earlier remarks made by Güterbock, *Kum.*, 85 and 95 and the earlier treatment by H. Otten, *MGK*, 30-31) may describe how the Storm God rescued Ishtar at least from the sea, and possibly even from the hands of the Sea God; but see, too, Siegelová, *o.c.*, 77² for a different proposal regarding the affiliations of this fragment.

80. Cf. J. Bottéro in his contribution, "Jüdische Schöpfungsmythen" for the data concerning the Sea and Rahab, Leviathan, Tannim and Behemoth (in Elisabeth Klein et al., *Die Schöpfungsmythen*, Darmstadt, 1977, 219-223 = German edition of A.-M. Esnoul et al., *La naissance du monde*, Paris 1959).