### NİMET ÖZGÜÇ'E ARMAĞAN

# ASPECTS OF ART AND ICONOGRAPHY: ANATOLIA AND ITS NEIGHBORS

STUDIES IN HONOR OF NİMET ÖZGÜÇ



Universität München Bibliothek des Historieums

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#### STUDIES IN HONOR OF NİMET ÖZGÜÇ

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## THE NATURE AND ICONOGRAPHICAL TRAITS OF "GODDESS OF DARKNESS"

#### AHMET ÜNAL – München

The jubilee has dedicated a great number of studies to the identification and the iconography of the deities depicted on the seal impressions from Kaneš-Kültepe and Acemhöyük. It is not always easy to detect the true identity of these deities because of the mute nature of the contemporary Old Assyrian documents and insufficient information culled from the later Hittite texts. The pertinent texts from Boğazköy-Hattuša elucidate the iconography of only a limited number of deities in the Hittite pantheon (see especially the description of statues and idols, CTH nrr. 501ff.), which is renowned as an aggregation of at least one thousand gods and goddesses from different regions and ethnic origins covering the Indoeuropean homeland of the Hittites and the adjacent territories of Anatolia, Syria, Mesopotamia and Aegean islands. Thus, supported by evidence in the cuneiform texts and hieroglyphic inscriptions in connection with depictions of deities, we are able today to recognize the representations of Storm God, Sun God, Ištar, Tutilary deity, Šarrumma, Hepat and many other deities in the open air sanctuary of Yazılıkaya, which are depicted on the rock monuments, orthostats, stone slabs, seals and pottery (painted wares as well as vases with reliefs) or rendered in the form of statues or figurines made of different materials such as gold, silver, bronze, stone and clay. Many other objects made of veluable material such as precious metals and wood which are abundantly attested in the texts have, unfortunately, not been preserved.

The deities mentioned above are the chief figures of the Hittite pantheon. There are, however, many other less important deities whose iconographic traits are not described in detail in the cuneiform texts, and for whom pictorial evidence is missing in the surviving archaeological material. One of these deities is the so called "Black Deity" or "Goddess of Darkness". In this Festschrift article in honor of my esteemed teacher Nimet Hamm, it is my aim to present the first attestation of a Mesopotamian LAMAŠTU, represented by the Black Deity in the Hittite texts to show how the Hittites imitated the Mesopotamian patterns which were delivered mainly through Hurrian intermediation, and how it could happen that they integrated an inferior deity with demonic attributes into their official state cult.

The main source for understanding the complexion of the Black Deity is KUB 55.24 (Košak, 1986:132; Ünal, 1987a:481; Otten, 1991 p. vi note 9), a ritual of Walkui, the priest of the Black Deity, which so far has been known merely from the shelf list of KUB 8.71 24 ff. (CTH p. 187f.). The ritual practitioner Walkui is now attested as priest of the Black Deity in another ritual (KBo 32.176 obv. 1).

According to the shelf list KUB 8.71, the ritual of Walkui had been codified to be enacted if the Black Deity appeared to someone in a dream. Because of the deity's dreadfull apparition and terrifying attribute animals, a felline animal, the deity probably inflicted the dreaming person with trauma. Hence this ritual might have been used to recuperate the suffering person from this consternation. Further, it is possible that the ritual might have aimed at purifying the dreaming person from

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his magical contamination. The shelf list gives only a terse description of the appearance of the deity; although the text is fragmentary we can assume that the description of the deity is almost identical with that of KUB 55.24: KUB 8.71 24-29: DUB.1.KAM QA-TI INIM "Wa-al-ku-i [ma-a-an ku-iš-ki] (25) DINGIR GE<sub>6</sub> za-aš-ḥi-ya a-uš-zi nu-u[š-ši-kán ALAM? I-NA E DINGIR GE<sub>6</sub>] (26) an-da e-eš-zi na-aš GAM-a[n SAL-za .....] (27) še-ir-ra SAG.DU-ZU ú[-li-ip-pa-na-aš ...] (28) nu-uš-ši-kán ki-e-i[t......(29) na-x-x[-.....].

The ritual text KUB 55.24 gives in its preserved parts a more comprehensive description of the Black Deity. Before we discuss the text in detail we must first question whether the vision in the dream is the same as the representation as it stood in the form of a statue in a sanctuary at Šamuḥa. Since the discussion of this question would result in a short circuit we may premise that the dream might reflect her approximate nature.

KUB 55.24 (1) [ UM-MA "Wa-al-ku-i LÚSANGA DINGIR GE<sub>6</sub>] x[-...] (2) [ma-a-an an-tu-uḥ-ša-aš(?)...]x-x-x DINGIR GE<sub>6</sub> za-aš[-ḥi-ya a-uš-zi] (3) [nu-uš-ši-kán I-NA] É DINGIR GE<sub>6</sub> an-da A[LAM DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>] (4) e-eš-zi na-aš GAM-an SAL-za x[-....] (5) še-ir-ra-aš-ši-iš-ta SAG.DU-Z[U ú-li-ip-pa-na-aš?] (6) na-aš-kán te-e-ta-nu-uš ú-li|-ip-pa-na-aš i-wa-ar(?)] (7) [n]a-aš-ši-iš-ta ki.e.it p[át-ta-an-te-eš?] (8) [ka]t-ta kán-ga-an-te-eš<sub>17</sub> na-aš-[kán ANA ANŠE?] (9) ar-ta-ri MUŠ<sup>ḤI.A</sup>-ma x-[....] (10) NÍ.TE-iš-ši še-ir tar-na[-....] (11) [nu-z]a-x-ma pa.ra.a ḥa[-.... (12)[x-x-x-[....] (rest broken)

Since it is unfortunately impossible to give a translation of the broken text, it might suffice here to give merely a synopsis which will endow us with enough clues to understand and realize the theriomorphic and anthropomorphic nature of the Black Deity. According to my readings and restorations of the broken context, the text speaks of a statue (ALAM) of the Black Deity standing in its sanctuary, possibly at Šamuḥa (see below), not of an animated specter. The text describes the image as a mixed creature, its lower body being like a woman, its head most probably like a lion or a wolf with a lion's mane which obviously hung down from her neck. It is possible that the lines 7-8 speak of a pair of the wings hanging down from her shoulders. Therefore, I propose to restore in line 7 the nom.pl. common gender form of the word denoting "wing". Of two Hittite words for "wing", partawar and pattar, the as yet unattested ergative form of pattar would fit the traces of the damaged sign. My tentative restoration of "donkey" (ANŠE) in the line 8 is just a guess because of the existence of similar creatures (LAMASTU) in Mesopotamia (s.below). As final attributes there appear snakes, but their exact position on the statue is not clear. It is possible that the statue was shown holding these snakes in its hands, again according to its Mesopotamian parallels (s.below), or that they were clinging to her body (cf. "on/at top of her body" in line 10).

What exactly is described in this text? From the few preserved attributes, it is evident that we are not dealing here with a commonplace deity; rather we are dealing with a mixed creature, a demon, a specter or better a LAMAŠTU who entered from its Mesopotamian origin into Hittite Kizzuwatna as a product of interpretatio hurritica. We know this kind of LAMAŠTU well in Babylonian and Assyrian belief as a demon of various deseases, especially child deseases (Farber, 1980-83: 439ff.). One example of these LAMAŠTU's has very close affinities to the one described in the Hittite text (coll. de Clercq ii pl. xxxiv, illustrated in Farber, op.cit. p.442 Abb. 1), her lower body being like a woman kneeling on the back of donkey and holding in her both hands snakes. A puppy and piglet are sucking her breasts. Her head is one of a lion (see Fig. 1). There are also similar mixed creatures in Egypt (cf.Anubis). A striking curiosity about the Black Deity is that the Hittites took over such a demonic deity into their official pantheon. She has sanctuaries in at least three Kizzuwatnean towns, namly at Šamuḥa, Parnašša and Laḥḥurama, an officially appointed priest or priests, and fixed, highly sophisticated rites and cultic ceremonies.

A brief comment on the restored word ulippana- in KUB 55.24:6 (also in KUB 8.71 line 27) is in order here: ulippana- as a feline animal is restored according to context, the incipient first two syllables ú-li- which prove the here presented restoration to be almost the only possibility and,the

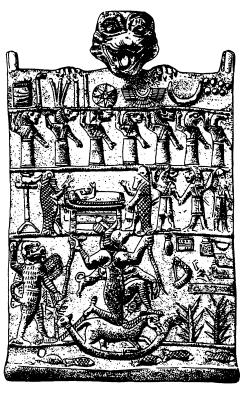


Fig. 1

personal name of the priest of the Black Deity (Ulippi) who is attasted twice, in 78/r 1 (dupl. to KUB 29.4 i 1-6, s.Kronasser, 1963:4,6: "U-li-ip-pi LUSANGA DINGIR GE6) and in the shelf list KUB 8.71 21: "Ú-li-ip-pi LÚSANGA DINGIR GE<sub>6</sub>). The morphological and etymological affinity of this word to the Indoeuropean cognate \*ulkuos "wolf" (gr.lykos, lat.uolpes/lupus, germ. \*wolf-a, old ger. wulpa, got. wulfs) could be considered deceptive. Cf. for example, the discussion about the personal names containing Ulippi on a seal from Sivas (Dinçol, 1980:18). Except for two feline animal heads (lion on one side, dog or wolf on the other side), all Hieroglyphic signs are identical on both sides of this hieroglyphic seal (for Hittite word for "dog" s. Melchert, 1989:97ff.); one could, therefore, refrain from the contradictory interpretation of this depiction and the personal name given on the side B of the seal, if we take, admittedly, the imprecizely incized animal head as a lion head, not a wolf or dog head as Dinçol maintains. As a matter fact neither the philological nor archaeological material from Mesopotamia attests to a wolf's head as part of a LAMASTU; should we, therefore, abondon the previously assumed meaning "wolf" (proposed by Goetze, 1962:29 and accepted by Ertem 1964:149f.; Friedrich, HW 3. Ergänzungsheft 1966:34; Stefanini, 1969:155; Dincol, 1980:18f.) and identify ulippana- with another feline animal? My earlier assumption to see in ulippanna- "lion" on the basis of iconographical considerations seems to be contradictory with the attestation of lion and ulippana- in close proximity: UR.MAH-an-kán ú-li[-..., IBoT 3.106 rev.? 4, if we could only restore the broken word ú-li[-as ulippana-. The activities of lion-men in the cult of the Black Deity (KBo 2.8 i 20ff., s. below) in her temple at Parnašša can certainly be related to her leonine mien. Thus, it seems that the Hittites blundered the distinction of "lion" and "wolf" or they have replaced in this iconographical description of the Black Deity the Mesopotamian "lion" with rather Anatolian "wolf" which they were more familar with (for walwa/i- s. Steinherr 1968:320ff.; Otten, 1969:94f.; Neu, 1974:103; Ünal, 1987b:85; Lehrman, 1987:13ff.). From this it is evident that the "wolf" or "lion" was the attribute animal of the Black Deity, that therefore lion-men were acting in her rites and cults and that some of her priests bear names including the names of her attribute animal. A priest

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of the same name is attested as a priest of the Storm God (KUB 30.64 rev. 3). On the lion as attribute animal of deities on the Cappadocian seals s. Taracha 1988:111ff.).

It is apparent that the origin of the Black Deity is to be located somewhere in Hurrian territories; in the historical times Kizzuwatna seems to have been homestead of her cult. We can not say when the Hurrians adopted her from Babylonia and brought her cult to Kizzuwatna. After the defeat and annexion of Kizzuwatna under one of Šuppiluliuma's I predessors, probably Tuthaliya II (Kühne, 1982:264 note 233; Wilhelm, 1988:367 with note 48; Beal, 1986:436), the Hittites, commensurate with their tolerate and receptive attitude towards the foreign deities of subdued countries, paid special attention to her cult. Perhaps they misunderstood her nature. According to a cultic text of Muršili II her cult had been transfered under his forefather Tuthaliya II or III from Kizzuwatna to the cultic city of Samuha (KUB 32.133, Kronasser, 1963:58ff.; von Schuler, 1965:165f.; Haas-Wilhelm, 1974:10, 44; Wilhelm, 1982:44; Lebrun, 1976:28ff.; Desideri-Jasink, 1990:75 note 48; Beal, 1986:436 note 59 and 49 and notes 76f.). Muršili II reports that he built a temple for the Black Deity in Samuha and introduced the necessary religious pageantry and instructions. In the course of time the scribes on wooden tablets and the temple personnel obviously started to alternate and falsify these royal stipulations concerning the cult of the newly adapted Black Deity, which Muršili has reinstituted again according to the old tablets. Muršili requests all the members of the royal family who may happen to come to the temple of the Black Deity in Samuha, whether king, queen, prince or a princess, the strict application of these newly established rules. There follows in minute detail the description of the cult and the necessary cultic appurtenances.

Other texts attest that in later times, especially under the queen Puduḥepa, her cult was transplanted to the towns of Parnašša (KBo 2,8 i 17) and Laḥurama (KBo 16.97 rev. 18, Lebrun, 1976:29). Puduḥepa seems to have paid a special attention to the cult of the Black Deity. According to KUB 15.1 iii 36 she has a statue of Ištar and a golden figure of the Black Deity made. In another dream text Puduḥepa mentions a "rite of tears" for the Black Deity (KUB 31.77 i 7: <D>GE<sub>6</sub>, similarly 254/d 8-11). It is the same queen who is concerned about the cult of the deity and therefore makes oracular inquiries as to whether the goddess is satisfied with her cultic services or not (KBo 16.97 obv. 13f., rev. 15ff.; cf. also KUB 49.5 i 11, 16; KUB 49.17 iv 10). In one case she had to travel to Šamuḥa to appease the wrathful deity and to repair the cultic negligences (KBo 16.97 obv. 13f.).

Another group of texts supplies us again with basic information about her cult and the organization of her temple (KUB 29.4 with its duplicates, Kronasser, 1963:6ff.). In this text the priest of the Black Deity (Ulippi or according to another version "NÍG.BA.DU) stipulates in minute detail the cultic rules for transplanting the cult of Black Deity and for building her a new temple (i 1ff.). The gold smiths produce a golden statuette of the deity and enact her fixed ritual. As part of this ritual there appears a large amount of precious metals and gems, sun discs, necklace(?) (ZI.TUM) and a star-shaped ornament (i 6ff.). The quantity of precious stones and jewellery in the long list is very striking (cf. Polvani 1988:49). The unusual abundance of ritual impliments, such as textiles, stews, fruits, legumes and herbs, typical Hurro-Kizzuwatnean ritual practices, are very striking traits of this ritual and certainly have to do with the foreign origin of the deity (for details see the full text in Kronasser, 1963:6ff.).

Another cultic text supplies us with the minute details of the Black Deity's cult (KBo 2.8). Because of the writing DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>  $GE_6^{(SI)}$  (i 17 and passim) in this text it is evident that the word  $GE_6$  is not an adjective; therefore this phrase can not denote a proper name such as "Black/Dark Deity"; it must mean something like "Deity of Darkness" (Carruba, 1968:355; Rüster-Neu, 1990 nr. 8 with note; Otten, 1991 p. vi note 9).

At the first place KBo 2.8 deals with the festival of harpa- (harpa- "heap, pile", therefore it may denote a festival of "heaping crops, sheaves?") in honor of the Black Deity of the city of Parnašša. According to this text the deity possesses a temple at Parnašša, and in its cult are active a

priest, a mother-of-the-God, palwatalla-women, hazgara-women and lion-men (i 20ff.). The attendant supplies water from a well by means of a scoop or bucket (ZI.TUM.NAG), which has the shape of a tongue, and with this water they flush the eyes of the statue of the Black Deity. The washing of the eyes must have had a significant cultic and magic meaning; in spite of the ambigious context, it seems that the washing aimed at quickening or refreshing of the eyes (i 26f.). According to iii 4ff., there is another festival to be celebrated to the honor of the deity; this time it is the festival of the sickle (URUDUŠU.KIN) which comes close to the above festival of "heaping sheaves?". One striking trait of this festival is that the "mountain people" have to deliver "emmer wheat" or "spelt" (ZÍZ) which was necessary for the festival. These mountain people appear in the text as the opposite of the town people (LÚ.MEŠ URU<sup>LIM</sup>). From this we may conclude that these people were the highland farmers (hill-billies). Unfortunately the text does not give any description of the statue of the Black Deity which is placed in front of a stela (NA4huwaši- iii 14).

KBo 32.176 is another ritual of Walkui, the afore mentioned priest of the Black Deity (written here as DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> MU-ŠI), which is against the eating of a urura-plant and pork meat in a dream (obv. 1ff. and colophon rev. 77ff.). This ritual case has certainly nothing to do with the Black Deity. It seems, however, that dream-related maladies in connection with the Black Deity was a special field of the priest Walkui. The typically Hurrian ritual paraphernalia, consisting mostly of woolen implements in this ritual has close affinities with that of KUB 32.133 and KBo 2.8 (s.above).

The exact meaning of the performing of a "ritual of Black Deity" in the course of a magical birth ritual (KBo 17.65 rev. 12) is difficult to explain (Beckman,1983:169). This occurrence is certainly not enough to associate her with birth rituals.

It has been proposed that the Hittite reading of DINGIR GE<sub>6</sub> might be <sup>D</sup>Išpanza, <sup>D</sup>Išpanšepa (Otten, 1971:45, Archi, 1975:79f.), written as GE<sub>6</sub>-anza, GE<sub>6</sub>-anšepa, <sup>D</sup>Išpanzašepa as deified "Night" (KBo 11.32:34f., KBo 19.128 iv. 18f.; KUB 20.24 iii 2-26; KUB 58.38 i 13; 1270/v rev. 15; cf. also the shorter writing <sup>[D]</sup>GE<sub>6</sub>-anziya in KBo 14.103 iv 25 and <sup>D</sup>špant, Lebrun, 1986:51ff.). We do not, however, have any clues supporting this identification.

Because of the alleged change of  $^{D}SIN$ -wiya (=Armawiya) with DINGIR.GE<sub>6</sub>-wiya) (reading unknown) in the vow text of Puduḥepa (StBoT 1 i 17) Laroche concluded GE<sub>6</sub> be equated with Arma "moon" (Laroche 1966:40; 1981:9). It is, however, extremely difficult to relate the "moon" to any reading of GE<sup>6</sup> "dark, black, night" etc.; therefore Goetze was right to oppose this view from the very beginning (Goetze 1966:50ff.).

The Black Deity has been equated by Lebrun with Šaušga of Šamuḥa (1976:16, 31). Haas and Wegner (Haas-Wegner, 1979:124-128; Wegner, 1981:163f.; Haas, 1982:180) agree with this identification. Furthermore, they take this deity to be a common Mediterranean goddess and compare her with Cypriotic Urania Anadyomene with her epithets, melainis, "black" or, skotia "dark". According to these authors she is furthermore identical with Duellona or Bellona whose epithet is also atra, "black" (op.cit.note 3). How can one claim to identify a demonic goddess such as the Black Deity with one of the highly esteemed and venerated deity such as Šaušga of Šamuḥa? KUB 55.24 now speaks absolutely against such an identification and syncretism, since the Black Deity has throughly demonic traits which are incomparable with such a chief deity.

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