

Angry Deities, Prayer and the Court of Law:
Assuming Responsibility in Greece and the Near East

David Mendelsohn

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Abstract

Angry Deities, Prayer,
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David Mendelsohn
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This dissertation examines cultural parallels as found in the literature of Greece, Mesopotamia and Anatolia. Of specific interest is the question of cultural influence exerted by these ancient civilizations on each other. One of the geographic points of intersection common to these cultures was located at Ugarit allowing it to act as a conduit into which Mesopotamian and Anatolian tradition poured, continuing on to Cyprus from where the assimilated material flowed into the rest of Greece and into Greek culture. Myths involving divine anger and punishment are examined for parallels in an effort to establish Anatolian and Ugaritic cultural influence on Greek literature.

The themes of the angry goddess and the abandoning deity in Anatolia, Ugarit and Greece are examined both for the devastating consequences of their anger on mortals and mortal reaction to this punishment.

The parallel paths followed by Hittite prayer and Greek literature are similarly examined for their treatment of mortal reaction to divine anger and punishment. The historical testimony of Hittite suppliants in prayer is compared with dramatized accounts of the Greek tragedians. The wresting of control by mortals from the gods in terms of their right to determine the consequences of blood guilt appears to have been the culmination of generations of resentment and perplexity over conceptions of divine punishment in both societies and is reflected in the historical Telepinu Edict and in Greek literature involving the mythic past of the Greeks.

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I thank my supervisors Annette Teffeteller, Mark Hale and Lionel Sanders for their part in allowing this dissertation to be realized. I can think of few institutions in the world that boast experts in Classical and Anatolian languages and comparative linguistics who encourage an interdisciplinary approach allowing students to study the languages and cultures of the seemingly disparate fields concurrently. A mere acknowledgement can not possibly reflect the hours spent in Annette Teffeteller's office, reading and discussing epic and tragic Greek literature, nor thank her adequately for leading inspiring discussion of Homeric texts and their possible linguistic, poetic and cultural relevance to other cultures. The seeds for this dissertation were sown in Annette Teffeteller's class on Mycenaean Greek which revealed the political landscape of the Bronze Age from a Greek perspective, thus whetting my interest to study Hittite to discover how other cultures perceived Greece. When I felt the need to learn Akkadian to better my understanding of the Semitic influence on Greek and Anatolian, my Hittite professor, Mark Hale worked through several grammars and textbooks teaching me (and himself) along the way. This was in addition to the many hours we spent in his classroom and office puzzling our (my) way through Hittite, Lycian and Lydian texts and inscriptions. Lionel Sanders was instrumental in deepening my knowledge of Herodotus as we spent years sifting through the Greek texts, isolating hidden meanings in key passages. He still promises to do the same for my Thucydides.

The efforts of the staff at the Bodleian and Sackler libraries at Oxford in finally locating G.C. Moore's (appropriately entitled) dissertation *The Disappearing Deity Motif in Hittite Texts* is gratefully recognized. I also thank Marita Podczuck of the Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des antiken Mittelmeerraumes library in Hamburg for allowing me access to all the materials and manuscripts of its institution. The head librarian of the Near Eastern Archaeological library at Tel Aviv University, Alexandra Shavit, warmly welcomed my presence for a period of two months, generously allowing me access to all facilities even when the library was closed. In addition, I thank Hittitologist, Itamar Singer, for his years of encouragement and insistence that I continue my study of Hittite, providing me with copies of many of his less accessible work on Hittite prayer. Yoram Cohen's contribution must be recognized for pointing out the relevance of the Hittite phrase *natta āra* to my research and for taking the time to discuss and work through some of the intricacies of Hittite prayer and justice. I particularly want to acknowledge Tel Aviv University's Professor of Semitic Linguistics, Shlomo Izre'el. Despite his insistence that my research was outside his field of expertise, Shlomo's input invariably proved insightful, relevant and influenced the outcome of my conclusions.

Finally I thank my wife Ronny Hinze Mendelsohn who has been my *de facto* adviser for over 12 years and whose encouragement and support provide meaning and purpose in all that I do. I acknowledge my daughter, Noa's role in keeping me happily ensconced in one location long enough to actually hammer out the conclusions of my research.

To my father:

Leonard R. Mendelsohn

Abbreviations¹

Ae.R.T.B	Die Aegyptische Religion in Text und Bild, eingeleitet und uebertragen von G. Roeder, 4 Baende, Zurich/Stuttgart, 1959-1961
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
AOS	<i>American Oriental Series</i>
<i>AJSL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i>
<i>APB</i>	W.F. Albright, <i>Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible</i> 2 nd ed. (1933)
<i>BAR</i>	J.H. Breasted, <i>Ancient Records of Egypt</i> , vols. 1-5 (1906-7)
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Biblioteca Orientalis</i>
<i>CANE</i>	<i>Civilizations of the Ancient Near East</i> (Sasson 1995)
<i>CHD</i>	<i>The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental University of the University of Chicago</i>
<i>CoS I</i>	<i>Context of Scripture I</i> (Hallo 1997)
<i>CTH</i>	<i>Catalogue des textes Hittites</i> (Laroche 1971)
<i>GUG</i>	C. Gordon <i>Ugaritic Grammar</i> (1939)
<i>HED</i>	Hittite Etymological Dictionary (Puhvel 1984-)
<i>HW</i>	<i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch</i> (Friedrich 1954)
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JPOS</i>	<i>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society</i>
<i>KBo</i>	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i>

¹ Abbreviations for Hittite journals, Hittite Festschriften, Hittite dictionaries etc. follows the format established by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary, Volume L-N xv-xxx and Volume P, Fascicle 2, back-cover.

- KTU* M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, J. Sanmartín, *Keilalphabetische Texte aus Ugarit* (1976)
- KUB* Keilschrifturkunden aus *Boghazköi*
- MARI* *Mari Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires*
- RSO* Ras Shamra-Ougarit, *ERC*, Paris
- RSO I* Callot, O. 1982: *Une maison à Ougarit*
- RSO III* Yon, M. et al. 1987: *Le Centre de la Ville. 38-44campagnes (1978-1984)*
- RSO VI* Yon, M. et al. 1991: *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville. Les textes de la campagne (1973)*
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- RSO X* Callot, O. 1992: *La tranchée ville sud*
- RSO XI* Yon, M., Szzyrmer, M. and Bordreuil, P. (eds) 1995: *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C. Actes du Colloque International Paris 1993*
- RSO XII* Yon, M., Karageorghis, V. and Hirschfeld, N. 2000: *Céramiques mycénienne*
- RSO XIV* Yon, M. and Arnaud, D. (eds) 2001: *Études ougaritiques, I, Travaux 1985-1995*
- SMEA* *Studi Miceni ed Egeo-Anatolici*
- UF* *Ugarit – Forschungen*
- ZA* *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*

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Chapter One: Introduction

Ancient societies defined themselves and were in turn defined by cultural repertoires that encapsulated their behavior and beliefs. When a society's cultural aspects were codified and connected to the governing power a self-perpetuating collective identity was created.¹ This recorded repertoire was typically made up of religious texts, myths, history and laws. These repertoires acted as a control on human behavior creating a system of commonly observed rules that took the form of customs. The borderline between what was acceptable and unacceptable was defined by taboos, prohibitions and bans. To belong to a particular society meant that one had an implicit understanding of what was to be welcomed and what was to be rejected.

These interdicts shaped what was to be marginalized, considered taboo and abhorred, thus establishing what was desirable and permissible in a society.² Prohibitions dictated the behavior of a society's inhabitants by limiting actions and creating a set order in which sin, the disruption of order, was shunned. Exclusion and rejection of sin, as defined by a particular culture, also, as a result, defines that culture. The task of enforcing these boundaries was typically delegated to the gods of a particular culture. The enforcement was strengthened by means of cautionary tales as expressed in mythology, history and prayer. How mortals perceived what the gods deemed acceptable in terms of

¹ Assman 1992:155.

² Buccellati 1995: 169.

human behavior impacted their perception of justice. Once again the interdictions set the boundaries. Every transgression risked invoking divine wrath and punishment. A society's self-imposed boundaries thus become a society's system of justice, at first on the divine plane and eventually integrated into human society.

Hittite prayers with their professions of piety and adherence to the laws and rituals imposed by the gods provide insight as to how the Hittites strove not only to dutifully follow the will of the gods but also to ensure that the gods behaved fairly towards them. This leads to prayers that sometimes ring as challenges to the gods for behaving unjustly and thus outside of the delineated roles to be observed by gods as well as mortals. As will be demonstrated in this dissertation, the Greeks displayed a far more resigned attitude in terms of the unpredictable behavior of the gods. It is only in the genre of Greek drama that the relationship of the Greeks to their gods closely resembles the Hittite attitude as displayed in their prayers. It is the contention of this dissertation that the unexpected similarity is likely a result of Hittite literary and cultural influence on the Greeks.

Special emphasis will be placed on the thematic threads which run throughout the fabric of Hittite prayer, Greek epic and lyric poetry (Pindar), history (as represented primarily by Herodotus) and the tragedies of Aeschylus. The similarity in themes and motifs in texts from these diverse cultures will be examined and the question of influence considered. The subject of crime and punishment dominates much of Hittite prayer, Greek history, epic and drama, and specifically both the Telepinu Edict and the *Oresteia* reflect a movement away from the punishing gods as maintainers of justice to the founding of a new order and a new system of justice.

This essay will examine ways in which the fear of incurring divine anger played a role in the concept of justice as envisioned by the Hittites, Mesopotamians and Greeks. The points of contact between these cultures will be stressed in an effort to demonstrate that a transmission of ideas took place.

To best demonstrate that Hittite and Semitic data should be used in understanding conceptions of divine wrath and justice in Greek culture the following evidence will be presented: evidence of direct contact between Greek speakers, Semitic cultures and Anatolians via Anatolia and Ugarit beginning in the Late Bronze Age (henceforth to be referred to as LBA), the type of contact to allow for the transmission of songs, prayers and ritual practices across linguistic barriers; similarities between Hittite and Greek texts that are too striking to be summarily dismissed as due to coincidence or typological similarity; interpretations of otherwise unexplainable features in Greek literature based on Hittite and Semitic evidence.

This dissertation argues that Anatolian and Mesopotamian data should be used to clarify the concept of divine wrath and justice in Greek culture. It will be demonstrated that close contact in the Mycenaean age existed between the Anatolians and Greeks, allowing for the transmission of songs, prayers and ritual practices. Trade, political contact, dispersal of scribes, not to mention the exchanging of stories and of religious and cultural points of view meant that cultural influence was being exerted on all the rungs of the social ladder.

1.1 Comparison of Near Eastern and Greek Literature

The question of Near Eastern influence on Greek myth has been explored for some time and there is an increasing if sometimes grudging acknowledgment by classicists of the debt Greek myth owes to the Near East. Hesiod's *Theogony* contains close parallels to Hurrian/Hittite and Mesopotamian succession tales. The aspect of Near Eastern influence on the *Theogony* has been discussed and has gained increasing acceptance since translations of Near Eastern texts appeared. Hans Güterbock wrote an article in 1948 pointing out the degree to which Hesiod's *Theogony* resembled the Hurrian/Hittite succession tale.³ The myth entitled the "Song of the Kingship in Heaven", details three ages of succession culminating in the final triumph of Tesub, the weather god. The first ruler, Alalu was overthrown by his servant Anu. Anu's son, Kumarbi, then defeats his father to become head of the gods. Kumarbi, not content with mere victory, castrates Anu and swallows his member:

(Kumarbi) bit his (Anu's) loins, and his 'manhood' united with Kumarbi's insides like bronze (results from the union of copper and tin). When Kumarbi had swallowed the 'manhood' of Anu, he rejoiced and laughed out loud. Anu turned around and spoke to Kumarbi: 'Are you rejoicing within yourself because you have swallowed my manhood? Stop rejoicing within yourself! I have placed inside you a burden. First, I have impregnated you with the noble Storm God (=Tesub). Second, I have impregnated you with the irresistible Tigris River. Third, I have impregnated you with the noble Tasmisu."⁴

³ Güterbock 1948:123-34.

⁴ Tr. Hoffner 1990: 40-41.

The weather god, Teshub, then ends the cycle of succession by defeating Kumarbi to become the final ruler of the Hurrian pantheon. Hesiod's succession story in the *Theogony* follows the same pattern as Kronos castrates his father, Uranus:

Then the son from his ambush stretched forth his left hand and in his right took the great long sickle with jagged teeth, and swiftly lopped off his own father's members and cast them away to fall behind him. And not vainly did they fall from his hand; for all the bloody drops that gushed forth Earth received, and as the seasons moved round [185] she bore the strong Erinyes and the great Giants with gleaming armor, holding long spears in their hands and the Nymphs whom they call Meliae all over the boundless earth. (*Theog.* 178-187).

Kronos, like Kumarbi, is eventually defeated by his son who becomes the undisputed leader of the Greek pantheon. Both acts of castration result in the spontaneous creation of powerful life forms. The word used to describe the teeth of the sickle, *καρχαρόδοντα*, meaning 'sharp jagged teeth,' brings to mind the bite Kumarbi used to castrate his father.

The second theme raised in creation myths concerns the creation of mortals by the gods. The methods used to create man in the Mesopotamian myth certainly resemble those used to create the Greek Pandora (unnamed in Hesiod's *Theogony*). In the Greek myth Zeus is angry that Prometheus provided man with fire and set about to create an 'evil thing' to inflict on mankind as a balance to Prometheus' gift.

And Zeus who thunders on high was stung in spirit, and his dear heart was angered when he saw amongst men the far-seen ray of fire. [570] Forthwith he made an evil thing for men as the price of fire; for the very famous Limping God formed of earth the likeness of a shy maiden as the son of Cronos willed. And the goddess bright-eyed Athena girded and clothed her with silvery raiment, and down from her head [575] she spread with her hands an embroidered veil, a wonder to see; and she, Pallas Athena, put about her head lovely garlands, flowers of new-grown herbs. Also she put upon her head a crown of gold which the very famous Limping God made himself [580] and worked with his own hands as a favor to Zeus his father (*Theogony*, 566-580).

This is compared to the Babylonian *Enuma Elish*:

His [Marduk's] heart prompts him to create ingenious things.
He conveys his idea to Ea [Enki],

Imparting the plan which he had conceived in his heart:
 "Blood will I form and cause bone to be;
 Then will I set up a savage, Man shall be his name!
 Yes, I will create savage-man!"
 Upon him shall the services of the gods be imposed that they may be at rest.
 [Marduk seems to have originally planned on killing all of the defeated rebellious gods from
 Tiamat's war. Ea persuaded him to kill only their ring leader instead. So from the "evil" god Kingu
 man was formed.]
 Kingu it was who created the strife,
 And caused Tiamat to rebel and prepare for battle.
 They [the gods] bound him and held him before Ea;
 Punishment they inflicted upon him by cutting the arteries of his blood.
 With his blood they created mankind;
 He [Ea] imposed the services of the gods upon them and set the gods free.
 After Ea, the wise, had created mankind,
 And they had imposed the services of the gods upon them-
 That work was not suited to human understanding;
 In accordance with the ingenious plans of Marduk did Nudimmud [Ea] create it.
 (Enuma Elish Tablet VI, lines 1-38)

The objectives differ. The motivation in all Mesopotamian versions in creating man was to create non-divine servants for the gods, while Zeus' objective in creating Pandora was to punish an already existing mankind. In addition Enlil and Marduk's mortal creation was man whose purpose was to perform all menial tasks, allowing the gods to focus on other matters, while Zeus' intent in creating a woman was simply to 'bedevil man'. An interesting similarity is that the creation of man by Enki allows the god to punish the troublesome deity, Kingu, while Pandora's creation likewise is intended as punishment for the Titan, Prometheus.⁵

The Greek source of the parallels discussed above can be found in Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days*. Homer's *Iliad* has also received some attention for its apparent Near Eastern parallels. Hera spins a lying tale to Aphrodite about planning to visit Okeanos and Tethys and in so doing also drops an important revelation concerning the origin of the gods:

⁵ Duchemin 1976: 142-4.

"I am going to the world's end to visit Okeanos (from whom all we gods proceed) and mother Tethys: they received me in their house, took care of me, and brought me up, having taken me over from Rhea when Zeus imprisoned great Kronos in the depths that are under earth and sea" gods (*Il.* 14.201, 246, 302).

Walter Burkert points out the relationship between Okeanos and his wife Tethys of the *Iliad* to the Babylonian couple Apsu and Tiamat. Both are referred to as the fresh and saltwater seas (*Enuma Elish*, Tablet I.1-5).⁶

The *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* that tells of the love affair between Aphrodite and Anchises where Anchises expresses his reservations over engaging in a sexual encounter with the goddess is comparable to the tale of Inanna and Gilgamesh, where Gilgamesh is reluctant to have an affair with the goddess based on his knowledge of her practice of spurning former lovers:

Which lover didst thou love forever?
Which of the shepherds pleased thee for all time?
Come and I will name for thee thy lovers:
For Tammuz, the lover of thy youth,
Thou hast ordained wailing year after year.
(Tablet VI. 42-47)⁷

Another reference found in the *Iliad* with Near Eastern parallels once again concerns Aphrodite:

Aphrodite flung herself on to the lap of her mother Dione, who threw her arms about her and caressed her, saying, "Which of the heavenly beings has been treating you in this way, as though you had been doing something wrong in the face of day?" [375] And laughter-loving Aphrodite answered, "Proud Diomedes, the son of Tydeus, wounded me because I was bearing my dear son Aeneas, whom I love best of all humankind, out of the fight. The war is no longer one between Trojans and Achaeans, for the Danaans have now taken to fighting with the immortals (*Iliad* 5.311-430).

⁶ Burkert 1985:

⁷ Pritchard 1969: 84.

The wounded Aphrodite's bitter complaint to her parents of the affront to her person by a mortal (*Iliad* 5.311-430) resembles Ishtar's reaction when she goes to heaven to complain to her mother after being insulted by Gilgamesh (*Epic of Gilgamesh*, Tablet VI.1-106).⁸

Weeping she went to Anu, her father,
before Antu, her mother, her tears did flow
O father, again and again does Gilgamesh scorn me,
telling a tale of foulest slander,
slander about me and insults too (Tablet 6, 80-87)

The fact that the offended goddess of Homer happens to be Aphrodite is particularly intriguing as many classicists believe the Mesopotamian goddess Inanna/Ishtar to have been the inspiration for Aphrodite.⁹

The sheer number of gods involved in the parallel myths also present in Greek myths that have no known parallels would indicate that the Greeks borrowed the mythological aspect and fit the Greek gods they deemed most suitable. Some of the Greek deities involved in this study are: Demeter, Persephone, Prometheus, Zeus, Apollo, Hades Aphrodite, Hermes, Helios etc. Not all these deities can be of Mesopotamian origin. The only deity with consistent claims to Mesopotamian origins is that of Aphrodite with Inanna/Ishtar.

Greek interaction with the Phoenicians by means of trade would have made them somewhat aware of their religious beliefs, particularly when it came to the guardian of the sailors, Astarte (Inanna/Ishtar). Astarte was worshipped in several capacities by the Phoenicians, including sexuality, fertility and childbirth. Several of the tales involving Astarte in her role as the fertility goddess resemble stories of Aphrodite in a similar role.

⁸ Burkert 1992: 96-9.

⁹ Chapter Two of my dissertation will examine at length the question of Near Eastern influence on Aphrodite's iconography and mythography.

The myth of Ishtar and Adonis (Inanna and Dummuzi) was retold by the Greeks as the tale of Aphrodite and Adonis.

The final example provided in the opening paragraph is that of the disappearing deity. The theme of the vanishing god has received some attention in the area of Hittite studies in examinations of Telipinu's angry departure from his home. His abandonment results in the cessation of all fertility on earth. Scholars like Güterbock and more recently, Hoffner, have examined the myth in relationship to other myths of disappearing deities in the Hurrian/Hittite corpus.¹⁰ Tablets dealing with the disappearance of Hittite deities date to the Old Hittite period. Tablets inscribed with the myths associated with Telipinu contain the best preserved version. Other fragments describe the disappearance of other Hittite gods and will be discussed in Chapter Three.¹¹

There has been much research focused on providing literary parallels to prove the existence of Near Eastern influence on Greek mythology and religion. This essay is to be another such effort, although, by restricting the area examined to that of Hittite Prayer and its relationship to Near Eastern and Greek literature, it is my goal to demonstrate how defining aspects of history, myth and religion were transmitted by the Hittites, first to Ugarit and from Ugarit to Greece. Yet before delving into the comparative aspects between the disappearing deity of Greek, Hittite, and Mesopotamian myth, one should consider how and when these cultures interacted.

In the Mycenaean Age, the Greeks ventured as far east as Tarsus and Northern Syria where they established settlements. There is less evidence of contact in the period termed the 'Dark Ages' although Near Eastern finds from Lefkandi in Euboea dating to

¹⁰ Güterbock 1978: 246; Hoffner 1990: 14-28.

¹¹ Hoffner 1990: 14-15.

the tenth and ninth centuries BCE indicate there was continuous contact.¹² Later, around 800 BCE, there is evidence in mainland Greece of extensive trade between Greece and the Near East. The interaction increased to the point that the next stage in Greek development is commonly referred to as the 'Orientalizing Age' (c. 750-650 BCE). The periods of greatest contact appear to have occurred while Assyrian power controlled the Near East. Early contact with the Greeks probably coincided with Assyrian ninth century expansion efforts.¹³ Tiglath-Pileser III continued the tradition of Assyrian trade with the Greeks in the eighth century.

Archaeological evidence substantiates the claims made thus far. As Mesopotamian craftsmanship began to influence Greek sculpture and vase painting in ways that are obvious to the discerning eye, Greek mythology and religious attitudes underwent a similar but far less easy to trace metamorphosis. An archaeological approach to assembling evidence for the possibility of influence is a good starting point. The Egyptian and Near Eastern works scrutinized for influence must not only clearly predate the Greek material but must also have been in existence from c. 800 BCE-600 BCE, the period when they could have affected Greek myth and religion. In the case of Egyptian and Mesopotamian literature, the dates of the tablets and time of composition are provided and when later sources are used (as in Plutarch's version of the Osiris myth) fragments of older writing that substantiate the proposed argument are likewise indicated.

Libraries flourished in Assyria during the time of Near Eastern and Greek interaction and tablets containing various versions (or fragments of versions) have been unearthed.

¹² Burkert 1985: 52.

¹³ Boardman 1980: 61-69.

Mesopotamian tales did circulate. A version of the Epic of Gilgamesh was unearthed at the Hittite capital of Hattusa. Scribes traveled from city to city as the international nature of the Near Eastern world grew. These scribes would in turn train new scribes who would copy older texts as part of their training. It is more than mere speculation to suggest that traveling merchants and soldiers would have brought their religion, rituals and mythology to new places they traveled or settled. Votive offerings to Ishtar have turned up in temple excavations on Greek and Italian soil.¹⁴

Examples provided from the Homeric Hymns to Aphrodite and Demeter in addition to the works of Hesiod and Homer indicate an infusion of Mesopotamian, Near Eastern and perhaps Egyptian ideas. Religious themes of ritual mourning and rejoicing at the death and rebirth of deities appear to have been assimilated into the Greek religious *Umwelt* as the Eleusinian Mysteries and the myth of Aphrodite and Adonis. A change is evident as the Greeks underwent a transition from their Homeric view of an afterlife that was a bleak, shadowy imitation of life on earth to the optimistic view that the afterlife could be more joyous than their earthly existence.

As the entire argument of justice themes in Greek literature having been influenced by Hittite and Mesopotamian literature hinges on the question of transmission it would be best to introduce this study with a look at the points of contact between these cultures.

¹⁴ Ibid.

1.2 Mycenaeans and Hittites

The debate as to whether or not there had been contact between the Mycenaeans and Hittites is ongoing and bitter. The vehemence with which respected classicists attacked those scholars who argued for contact in west Asia Minor succeeded for a time in dampening the enthusiasm to pursue the unexplored possibilities. Archaeological and linguistic evidence have finally succeeded in compiling sufficient evidence to demonstrate that there was strong and continuous contact between the Hittites and Mycenaeans dating back to the second half of the 15th century BCE.¹⁵

At that time the first movement of Greek settlers from the mainland began to penetrate Asia Minor and the surrounding islands in areas that previously had been under Minoan control such as Ialysos on Rhodes and Miletos. The reason for the migration is not known although some theorize that conflicts between Mycenaean kingdoms should be credited with the initial impetus.¹⁶ Palatial centers like that at Mycenae ruled over vast amounts of territory based around acropoleis and palatial centers and losers of a particular skirmish may have led to exiled nobles seeking their fortunes across the sea.

Another influx of Mycenaeans reached the southeast Aegean in the second half of the 14th century BCE as reflected in the sudden rise of Mycenaean settlements in Rhodes and the appearance of Mycenaean chamber tomb cemeteries at Bodrum (ancient Halikarnassos).

The second wave appears to have been a colony of a Mycenaean palatial center in mainland Greece motivated by the desire to control the eastern Aegean in addition to

¹⁵ See Güterbock, Mellink, and Vermeule 1983; Güterbock 1986; Watkins 1986; Cline 1994; Latacz 2004.

¹⁶ Niemeier 1998: 103.

establishing trade footholds with Anatolia.¹⁷ Excavations reveal Mycenaean pottery in addition to chamber tombs, temples and palatial structures consistent with Mycenaean architecture of the same period.¹⁸ The presence of Mycenaean terracotta figurines in tombs and temple sites indicates, as might be expected, that the religious culture of the mainland was maintained by the colonists. Judging from such archaeological evidence, the area under Mycenaean influence covered Samos in the north to Rhodes in the south, in addition to southwest Asia Minor from Miletos in the north, to the Halikarnassos peninsula in the south.

Painted Mycenaean pottery was unearthed in settlements and cemeteries further north as well, from western Asia Minor to Troy and the nearby islands. These were not found in Mycenaean but indigenous settlements, having arrived by means of trade and perhaps immigrant artisans from Mycenae or its colonies.

1.3 Ahhiyawa and Millawanda

There are approximately twenty-five Hittite texts that mention Ahhiya or Ahhiyawa.¹⁹ Most of the texts date to the New Hittite Period (1300's and 1200's), however, one dates to the Middle Hittite Period (1500's and 1400's).

Luwian and Hittite inscriptions allow for a political application to geographical west Asia Minor of the Late Bronze Age. Despite constant references to Ahhiyawa and

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Röllig 1992: 186; cf. Sommer 1932.

their diplomatic relations with the Hittites, no likely site has been identified for them in western Asia Minor.²⁰ According to Hittite texts, the Ahhiyawans, in addition to maintaining relations with the Hittites also supported Hittite adversaries. In 1924, Forrer suggested that Ahhiyawa referred to the Achaeans of Homer, an idea that is increasingly winning support within the scholarly community. According to Hittite royal texts, the Ahhiyawans were clearly respected and considered as royal equals. A search for the administrative center of Ahhiyawa has taken scholars to Cos and Rhodes but despite the fact that both islands were under the Mycenaean sphere of influence, the archaeological record has yet to yield a settlement on the grand scale of a Hittite, Egyptian or Babylonian royal. The islands were not large enough in terms of land, resources and population to have significantly impacted the Hittites on the scale attributed to the Ahhiyawans. A reasonable assumption would be to place the Ahhiyawa administrative center on the Mainland, possibly Thebes in Boetia.²¹ It is a reasonable hypothesis given that the place-name Achaia was, at first, associated with Central Greece and later the Peloponnese.²²

Recent excavations at the Mycenaean palace at the Theban Kadmeia have turned up a large cache of Linear B clay tablets confirming earlier theories which held Thebes to have been a major power of the Mycenaean kingdom. Millawanda was mentioned in Hittite texts as subordinate land to Ahhiyawa, acting as a beachhead into Asia Minor. Milatos and Millawanda share the stem *Milla*.²³ Millawanda's capital, Miletos, known as Milatos to the Minoans and Mycenaeans, is located between the Bay of Latmos and the

²⁰ Starke 1990; Hawkins 1998; Niemeier 1998; Haider 1999.

²¹ Latacz 2001: 285-24.

²² Niemeier 1998: 104.

²³ Ibid.

Halikarnassos peninsula, which was the coastal zone of the Mycenaean settlements in southwestern Asia Minor. The name Millawanda was either imported from Crete, replacing the original termination *-tos* with the Luwian *-wanda*, or was an indigenous name pre-dating the arrival of settlers from Crete who substituted their own place-name Milatos based on the similarity of the two appellations. Miletos was clearly associated with Thebes considering that the Linear B tablets contain frequent references to a “Miletian” who was involved in cult activity and seemed to occupy an important position in the Mycenaean community.

1.4 Attarasiya / Atreus

Given that the thesis examines Hittite prayer in terms of its relationship to the *Oresteia*, it is intriguing that the name Attarasiya (which may well be the Luwian form of *Atreus*) is found in a Hittite tablet.²⁴ The tablet details the complaints of Arnuwanda I (ca. 1400-1375 BCE) concerning a certain Madduwatta, a Hittite vassal. Arnuwanda describes an Ahhiyawan attack led by Attarasiya against Madduwatta which was successfully defended thanks to the support of the Hittite army. Arnuwanda complains that rather than feeling gratitude and loyalty to the Hittite kingdom for its support, Madduwatta joined forces with Attarasiya and raided Cyprus which was then under Hittite rule. If Attarasiya is indeed the Luwian form of Atreus, the man may have been one of the exiled Mycenaean nobles described above. Arnuwanda tells us that Attarasiya possessed over one hundred war chariots, allowing him to attack from a Mycenaean settlement in southwestern Asia Minor rather than from sea. Niemeier argues for

²⁴ *KUB* xix 38 (*CTH 147*), ed. Goetze 1930. Cf. Bryce 1998: 140-147.

Miletos/Millawanda as Attarasiya's base given that archaeological evidence for Mycenaean presence dates back to the second half of the 15th century BCE.²⁵

Mycenaean Greeks also appear to have been involved in the war between Tudhaliya I and the land of Assuwa in northwestern Anatolia. A Hittite fragment alludes to a certain ally of the Assuwans as a "Man from Ahhiyawa," who may in fact have been Attarasiya judging from the time period and the association of Ahhiyawa with the enemy. A bronze sword found at Hattusa contains an inscription of Tudhaliya I, describing it as a spoil of war obtained during the campaign against Assuwa. The sword is believed to be Mycenaean and may well have been used by an Ahhiyawa fighter during the battle against the Hittites.²⁶ A painted pottery sherd found at the same site as the sword in Hattusa shows a warrior wearing a boar-tusk helmet, a head covering not used by Hittite but rather Mycenaean warriors.²⁷

1.5 Muršili II conquers Millawanda/Miletos

Muršili II was the first Hittite king to refer to a king of Ahhiyawa. Muršili ascended to the throne in ca. 1339 BCE, after the death of his older brother, Arnuwanda II. An alliance was formed at this time by various vassal states and enemy kingdoms, including the kingdom of Ahhiyawa, Millawanda and Arzawa in hopes of taking advantage of Muršili's inexperience to wrest control from the Hittites. Muršili II began a

²⁵ Niemeier 1998: 104.

²⁶ Unal 1991; Salvini – Vagnetti 1994; Cline 1996.

²⁷ Bittel 1976.

series of successful campaigns against his enemies reaching Millawanda in the third year of his reign, defeating and destroying it. Thirty centimeters of debris revealed by archaeologists at Miletos demonstrate how emphatically Muršili put the Mycenaean settlement in its place.²⁸

In the same year, Muršili led his troops against the kingdom of Arzawa, occupying its capital, Abassa (later Ephesos), while its king, Uhhazidi, fled by sea to an island to seek protection of his Ahhiyawan ally. Muršili established a vassal kingdom where Arzawa had been while Millawanda appears to have been absorbed into the kingdom of Ahhiyawa. Muršili's son and heir, Muwatalli II, subsequently signed a treaty with the king of Ahhiyawa.

1.6 Diplomacy and Strife

Uhhazidi's grandson, Piyamaradu, continued his grandfather's tradition of hostility against the Hittites in western Asia Minor.²⁹ During the reign of Muwatalli II (ca. 1290-1272), Piyamaradu instigated raids from Wilusa in the north to Lukka in the south. The "Epistle of Tawagalawa" sent by Hattušili II (III)³⁰ to the king of Ahhiyawa in Millawanda/Miletos describes the Hittite king's efforts to apprehend Piyamaradu. Hattušili reprimands the king of Ahhiyawa for allowing Piyamaradu to escape to sea after

²⁸ Niemeier 1998: 32-33.

²⁹ Ibid.: 106. Niemeier does not assume Piyamaradu to be Uhhazidi's grandson but acknowledges the strong possibility.

³⁰ The numbering of several of the Hittite kings has been amended by Starke, in *Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike 5* (1998). Accordingly, Hattušili III became II and Tudhaliya IV became III. The older designations will be shown in parenthesis in my thesis.

having promised to surrender him into Hittite custody. In the letter Hattušili refers to the “Great King” of Ahhiyawa while referring to himself as the “Great King” of the Hittites, indicating Ahhiyawa was considered an equal rather than vassal to the Hittites.

Tawagalawa, according to the epistle, was the brother to the king of Ahhiyawa, apparently acting as his representative in Asia Minor. His name is the Hittite version of the Mycenaean-Greek name *Etewoklewes* (Eteokles). Tawagalawa was described as riding in a war-chariot beside the Hittite royal charioteer during an official ceremony. His inclusion in a royal ceremony suggests close contact and probable technical and cultural exchange between the Hittite Empire and the kingdom of Ahhiyawa. According to a fragmentary text, eventually Piyamaradu was surrendered to Hattušili, displaying respect for the extradition agreements between the two kingdoms.

1.7 The End of Ahhiyawan Rule

Ahhiyawa is mentioned again in a document of Tudhaliya III (IV) (ca. 1240-1215 BCE) in which a revolt against the Hittites led by Tarhundaradu, a usurper to the throne in the land bordering the river Seha, is mentioned. The king of Ahhiyawa is said to have supported the revolt which was nevertheless crushed by Tudhaliya.

The last mention of Millawanda is found in a missive sent to a vassal, whose name was lost due to fragmentation of the tablet, in western Asia Minor by Tudhaliya III (IV). The borders of Millawanda are discussed. If the receiver of the letter was in fact the king of Millawanda it would appear that Ahhiyawans no longer controlled the city. The

archaeological record demonstrates that Millawanda had come under the Hittite sphere of influence by the 13th century BCE.³¹ The fortification of Miletos at this time was made up of rectangular towers and double walls filled with rubble demonstrating a shift towards Hittite architectural technique.³² In the 13th century BCE, Hittite swords begin to appear in the chamber tombs of the Mycenaean acropolis of Miletos.³³ A fragment of a Mycenaean-style krater dating to ca. 1200 BCE depicts a figure wearing a Hittite horned crown. Hittite kings and gods, in the 13th century BCE, are depicted in sculpture and relief carvings wearing the same type of headdress. A Hittite scene depicted on a Mycenaean krater of local Miletian origin demonstrates, in addition to integration, the sense that the balance of influence had swung in the Hittite direction.

Another possible indication that a shift of power occurred lies in the omission of Ahhiyawa from the list of Great Kings in the treaty between Tudhaliya III (IV) and the king of Amurru (Syria), Sausgamuwa. It appears that once Ahhiyawa lost control of Millawanda it also lost its foothold in Asia Minor and therefore the right to be considered a kingdom of a "Great King." In addition, the fact that the king of Ahhiyawa was unable to deliver on his promise to aid king Tarhundaradu in his revolt against the Hittites indicates his weakened status as a political power.

The weakening of Ahhiyawa's power appears to coincide with the disasters that destroyed the palatial centers in Mycenaean Greece during the LH III period. Whether these disasters were natural or the result of an enemy invasion is still under debate. Judging from the expansion and reinforcement of fortifications and the transfer of food and water storage units to the walled acropolis it was a period of instability. It may well

³¹ Niemeier 1999: 141-155.

³² Schiering 1979.

³³ Niemeier 1998: 203.

be that a crisis in the Mainland prevented the Mycenaeans from maintaining their foothold in western Asia Minor.

1.8 Other Hints concerning Hittite and Mycenaean Cultural Exchange

Despite Hittite references to periods of conflict, it is clear the Hittites and Mycenaeans were in close contact. The Tawagalawa/Eteokles chariot ride beside the Hittite charioteer has already been mentioned. That the “Cyclopean Walls” surrounding the standard Mycenaean acropolis were possibly based on Hittite models is argued by the presence of underground tunnels and double walls in the lower acropolis at Tiryns – a characteristic typical of Hittite architecture but relatively new in Mainland Greece.³⁴ Similarities in architectural techniques are also evident in the tholos tombs and the use of the bow-drill.³⁵ The lions placed above the Mycenaean Lion Gate strongly resemble the Lion Gate at Hattusa. If one accepts that the Ahhiyawans were indeed the Mycenaeans, the resemblances must be reconsidered in terms of direct influence. The similarities go beyond art and architectural borrowing. They exist in myth, ritual and prayer. Scholars such as Puhvel and West believe Oriental influence in terms of literature and mythology to have penetrated Greece in the 1st millennium BCE.³⁶ The Ahhiyawa argument forces us to assign this to the far earlier date of the second millennium BCE.³⁷ It also raises the question as to how Hittite influence on Greek thought via western Asia Minor must be

³⁴ Neve 1989: 7-20.

³⁵ Neve 1991: 299-348.

³⁶ Puhvel 1991; West 1997.

³⁷ Webster 1958: 64-90; Gerard-Rousseau 1969; Morris 2001.

considered in terms of the Millawanda/Miletos connection. Instead of merely asking whether and to what extent Mesopotamia influenced Greek culture one must also consider whether Mesopotamian and Anatolian culture reached the Greeks via the Hittites.

Classicists interested in pursuing the relationship between Greece and the Near East have typically chosen to focus on Sumerian and the Semitic languages, ignoring for the most part the role of Hittite, despite evidence of contact between Greeks and Anatolians beginning in the Bronze Age and continuing into the Classical era. Yet the archives unearthed during excavations at the Hittite capital of Hattusa, modern Bogazköy, provide an important perspective on Late Bronze Age Mediterranean culture which was influenced by Mycenaean, Mesopotamian and West Semitic interaction. Different forms of the same rituals and myths were found in the archives, having been transmitted to the Hittites through Hurrian West Semitic and Mesopotamian avenues via oral and written contact. The model provided by the Hattusa archives can be applied to Greek material to better our understanding of how Near Eastern motifs could have been adopted and absorbed by the Greeks.

From Anatolia, let us move to Phoenicia and other Near Eastern countries, focusing on the Levant in terms of its well established contact with Greece. Archaeology has served the scholarly world well in documenting the transfer of objects to Greece from the Near East in the 9th to 6th centuries BCE. It is attractive and perhaps reasonable to assume that cultural ideas such as religious attitudes were transported along with religious objects like votive offerings.

If one is to argue that Greek attitude towards religion owes much to the Levant the nature of contact between the two cultures must be established. The various cultures of the Levant must be identified and the question as to who and what influenced these peoples who influenced the Greeks must be addressed. Transmission is a tricky path to trace, as even when Greek practices appear to parallel those of Levantine culture, it merely raises the possibility of even earlier contact. The last of these questions leads into the murky waters of scholarly guesswork, skillfully navigated by Bachvarova,³⁸ as it is often impossible to absolutely distinguish coincidental parallels and those that were affected by foreign influences.

1.9 The Phoenicians

The Phoenicians were a Semitic speaking people inhabiting the Levant, whose important cities in terms of multicultural contacts through trade were Sidon, Tyre and Byblos.³⁹ During the late second millennium, they inhabited a 200 kilometer stretch of coastline, ending at the Lebanese mountain range.⁴⁰ In the 8th and 7th centuries they began to travel and trade overseas, dealing in dyes, wood, glass, metalwork and ivory.⁴¹ Phoenician culture was heavily influenced by that of their neighbors, specifically the Assyrians, Hittites and Egyptians. Assyria brought about the end of the first era of Phoenician dominance in international trade by conquering most of the coastal area of

³⁸ Bachvarova 2002: 3.

³⁹ Akurgal 1968: 258.

⁴⁰ Albright 1963: 4.

⁴¹ Aubet 1993: 23.

Phoenicia and driving the Phoenicians to the nearby islands. When the Assyrians invaded Tyre, the Phoenician king fled with his retinue to Cyprus, adding to the cosmopolitan nature of the island and bringing a permanent Semitic influence to bear in a place that had already been interacting with Anatolia, Egypt and Ugarit for centuries.

The new Phoenician settlements took root in the Aegean islands, gradually spreading around the southern shores of the Mediterranean, while others were built up in Sicily and Spain. There was interaction between the Near East and many of the main islands in the second millennium, the Minoans and Mycenaeans both being strong naval powers. There was a loss of contact between the Aegean, Cyprus and the Syro-Palestine area probably due to the destruction caused by the migration of the Sea Peoples.

Archaeological evidence found on various Aegean islands including Rhodes and Crete confirms a Phoenician presence shortly after the collapse of the great Phoenician trade cities indicating that communication was rapidly reestablished.

The Greeks were not passive during this period of Phoenician trade. Greek sailors brought their own ships to the ports of Cyprus and the Levant and exerted their own influence on local culture while absorbing that of their foreign hosts.⁴² Some of the first Greek sailors of whom we have knowledge are the Euboeans as confirmed by archaeological excavation at Lefkandi, in which bowls of silver and bronze were found decorated with elaborate palmettes in addition to pendants representing the Egyptian goddess Isis and a lion-headed goddess representing Sekhmet.⁴³ Phoenician items were also found among the grave goods of an Athenian dating to c 850 BCE.⁴⁴

⁴² Coldstream 1977: 55-56.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Smithson 1968: 32.

By the early first millennium, Phoenician merchants were still actively trading at the various Near Eastern and Greek ports despite a decline in their monopoly, but they were forced to compete with traders from elsewhere in the Near East as local dynasties began to welcome other merchants to their ports. The Near Eastern centres typically frequented by the Greeks were Tell Sukas and Al Mina.⁴⁵ The latter has a confirmed Greek presence from the second half of the 8th century, and appears to be a likely site of early cross-cultural fertilization of ideas.⁴⁶ In the 8th century there is also evidence of Phoenician and Greek contact in the West at the Euboean colony of Pitheculsae. Crete was another main area of interaction as there is evidence of North Syrian artisan workshops.⁴⁷

1.10 The Influence of Ugarit

To better understand the relationship between the civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age one must consider the history of an important crux in this movement, Ugarit. Over the last century Ugaritic sites such as Ras Shamra, Minet el-Beida and Ras Ibn Hani have revealed a great body of archaeological and textual evidence shedding light on east Mediterranean interaction in the Late Bronze Age.

Kingdom of Ugarit in the LBA

⁴⁵ Boardman 1980: 38-54.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Shaw 1989: 165-183.

The name Ugarit appears in Late Bronze Age scripts as *úgrt* in Ugaritic, *ú-ga-ri-it* in Akkadian, and refers to both the city which was located on the tell of Ras Shamra and the kingdom of which the city was the capital.⁴⁸ The area of the kingdom covered 2000 square kilometers and had a population of approximately 38000 inhabitants.⁴⁹

Ugarit was in a unique position geographically to control overland and maritime routes. Its location allowed Ugarit to function as the access point from the sea to the continental hinterland, and also Mesopotamia by a route that skirted the northern edge of the Syrian desert. Texts discovered in the House of Urtenu at Ugarit confirm a longstanding trade relationship with Emar on the Euphrates.⁵⁰ A coastal caravan route also passed through Ugarit.

Ugarit's port at Minet el-Beida (*Mahadu*) opened the kingdom to the Mediterranean seaways due to its position on the Syrian coast. The port of *Mahadu* traded with Cyprus (the closest neighbor), Egypt and with the Aegean including Cyprus, Crete, the Cyclades and Greece in the west.⁵¹ They also engaged in trade with western Anatolia including Rhodes and Miletus and finally southern Anatolia. The implications of Ugarit's geographical position in terms of transmission of culture between Anatolia and Greece are evident and will be discussed in detail below.

In the LBA, Ugarit was one of the vassal kingdoms in the Near East in relation to the great powers of Egypt, Hatti and Babylonia. The texts reveal Ugarit to have been in constant contact with all three in addition to other vassal kingdoms such as Amurru,

⁴⁸ In the 14th century, a letter from Abi-milku of Tyre informs the Pharaoh that the 'palace of Ugarit' was consumed by fire (Moran 1992:38) while in the end of the thirteenth century there is a reference to a treaty between the kingdom of Ugarit and the town of Ura (Boudreuil 1991: 15).

⁴⁹ Yon 1992: 111-122.

⁵⁰ Yon 2003: 41.

⁵¹ Saade 1995:213.

Carchemish on the Euphrates, the Phoenician coastal kingdoms (Tyre, Sidon, Beirut etc.) and Alashiya (Cyprus).⁵² All the vassal kingdoms were autonomous to some extent yet were answerable to one of the three great powers.

In the 13th century, the Battle of Qadesh established new political borders between Egypt and Hatti, with Egypt being allotted Palestine in the south and Hatti controlling the Levant in the north. The Hittite Great King became Ugarit's overlord. Texts reveal the Hittite king involving himself in such personal matters as the divorce of king Ammishtamru II in the middle of the 13th century as well as presiding over local legal matters.⁵³ Ugarit paid a levy to Hatti in the form of bullion and troops in exchange for the vassal kingdom's security. Hittite authority over Ugarit was maintained along the same lines as the trading routes with the king of Carchemish on the Euphrates, whose territory acted as a staging post on the route from Hattusa to Syria, acting as intermediary. The texts frequently make mention of the close relationship between Ugarit and Cyprus.⁵⁴

Archaeological Evidence

Evidence found in excavations testifies to the close contact maintained by the kingdom of Ugarit with other Mediterranean regions in the LBA. Imports from Crete date back to the Middle Bronze Age in the form of a ceramic cup and a sherd of Kamares ware. In the LBA, Minoan material is more common and is mostly represented by stirrup jars which were used to transport wine, oil and grain.⁵⁵

⁵² Klengel 1992.

⁵³ Yon 2003: 42.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Kamares ware, Caubet 1997: 15-24; Stirrup jars, Yon, *RSO XII*, 95-6.

The architecture at Ugarit reflects Cretan influence in a technique which combined using ashlar stone blocks with wooden timbers that provided horizontal and vertical support between the stones.⁵⁶ The system appears identical with the architectural technique used on Crete and several of the Aegean islands (e.g. Tyliossos and Akrotiri on Santorini) and it may not be too much of a stretch to theorize that Ugaritic builders learned their trade from Aegean builders. During the same period (late LBA), Cyprus architecture suddenly shifted from their previous use of ashlar masonry combined with mud to erecting structures built with finely dressed ashlar stones. Ashlar buildings at Enkomi, Kition-*Kathari*, Kalvassos-*Ayios Maroni*, Alassa and Kouklia-Palaepaphos are built using the same techniques as structures in the eastern Mediterranean from Hittite Anatolia to Greece and the Levant.⁵⁷ Maritime communication between the coastal regions appears to have created an architectural *koine*.⁵⁸ It is likely that Ugarit learned ashlar masonry from Crete given that the Ugaritic pantheon contained an artisan god, Kothar-Kasis, responsible for architecture. Kothar-Kasis is the same god credited with building a palace for the sea god Yam and was hired by Anat to build Baal's home alongside the homes of the other gods of the Ugarit pantheon.⁵⁹ In addition, Kothar-Kasis was believed by the Ugarit people to live on Kaphtor (Crete), providing evidence of a religious in addition to architectural exchange of influence. The image of a solitary god living apart from the rest of his pantheon despite building the palaces for the deities brings to mind the Greek artisan-god, Hephaestus, who is also mentioned in the Linear B tablets.

⁵⁶ Callot in *RSO I and X*.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Yon 2003: 43.

⁵⁹ Caquot, Szynger and Herdner (eds) 1974: 97-99.

The large amount of Mycenaean pottery found in Ugarit attests to a close relationship with the Aegean world. It also raises the question as to the location of the workshops where the vessels were fired. The earliest imported Mycenaean vessels dating to the Mycenaean IIIA:1 phase probably originated in the Argolid, and were transported by merchants who sailed between Greece and the Levant directly or via Cyprus. Over time it appears that local workshops developed which supplied their wares to local clients, in the major ports located at Ugarit and Tell Abu Hawamm.⁶⁰ Mycenaean chariot kraters appear in particular abundance and have been unearthed in Tell Atchana, Ugarit, tel Dan, Enkomi among other locations and appear to have been manufactured especially for clientele from Cyprus and the Levant.⁶¹

During the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the 14th centuries BCE, Mycenaean pottery begins to appear in Ugarit that appears to have been fired at workshops outside of Greece. Fine-ware and coarse-ware pottery intended for display and utilitarian use have been found in abundance. Pictorial kraters such as the 'master of horses' found in the South House at Ugarit or the 'hunt' krater from the 'house of Patiluwā' were apparently manufactured in the south-western region of Anatolia (Rhodes, Cos, Iasos, Miletus?).⁶² If these pots are indeed from Anatolia it serves to augment the diffusion of cultures and thus influence moving from Greece to Anatolia and Ugarit.

It has not yet been determined whether production centers for Mycenaean IIIB pottery were established in the Levant. Other Mycenaean ware such as small stirrup jars and flasks, three handled jars, shallow bowls decorated with circular bands of birds or

⁶⁰ Cf. Leonard 1994; Balseni 1980; *RSO XII*.

⁶¹ Leonard 1994: 23-7.

⁶² Courtois 1973: 11-61.

fish etc. were made in Cypriot workshops in the 13th century.⁶³ The most recent levels excavated at Ugarit show local pottery imitating Mycenaean forms as well as imported ware often of poor quality, which appears to have been made in the Levant or Cyprus.⁶⁴

Egypt exerted its influence on Ugarit in the Middle Bronze Age and continued to maintain its presence in the LBA as well. Egyptian statues and a bead of Sesostris I have been excavated at the temple of Baal on the Acropolis, while stone vases and faience beads, scarabs etc. turn up in many Ugaritic sites. Alabaster harness fittings have been excavated identical to those found in Tutankhamen's chariot, suggesting that chariots were imported from Egypt.⁶⁵ Ugaritic texts discuss horses in terms of trade (see below). Despite the fact that Ugarit was a vassal to Hatti, it remained dependent on Egypt for trade, technical and cultural matters. Just as with Mycenaean pottery, much of the seemingly Egyptian products such as faience and sculpture were actually local imitation.⁶⁶ There are also many examples of faience work that shows no trace of Egyptian influence aside from the fact that the faience technique originated in Egypt.

Egyptian artistry is evident in Levantine iconography such as the motif of Baal in combat with his Egyptian stance and headdress, in female representations such as the stela of Anat and the chair of the god El. The Egyptianizing stance in the stela of Anat is particularly relevant considering the appearance of Anat in the Egyptian pantheon. She keeps her warlike mien and is claimed by Ramses II as his personal protector. Ugarit's vassal status notwithstanding, the kingdom managed to exert its own influence via its gods and perhaps religion and ritual on the great powers to which Ugarit was subject.

⁶³ Yon 2003: 44.

⁶⁴ Leonard 1994: 23-7.

⁶⁵ Caubert and Yon 2001: 69-78.

⁶⁶ Matořan 2000: 1-25.

Important evidence concerning the circulation of cultural products is found in the shipwrecks excavated along the shores of southern Anatolia, including one ship which sank near Cape Gelidonya in the 12th century BCE,⁶⁷ and others that sank a couple of centuries earlier in Uluburun.⁶⁸ The Uluburun ship appears to have been from Canaan and must have loaded in a Levantine port (possibly *Mahadu*) as the cargo was primarily made up of Levantine products such as glass ingots and hippopotamus teeth. Other products, such as tin ingots and ivory tusks, were manufactured in far away locations and no doubt arrived in the Levant via trade. Ten tons of copper indicate that the ship had stopped in Cyprus indicating the ship was headed west, perhaps towards the Aegean as raw materials such as copper, tin and ivory as well as faience, glass ingots and Egyptian blue were in high demand by artisans in Greece.⁶⁹ Many stone anchors found at sea and dedicated at temples in Ugarit testify to the maritime activity of Ugarit merchants.⁷⁰

Texts at Ugarit

Aside from texts written in Akkadian, the international language of the Near East, the majority of tablets were inscribed with the local Ugarit. The other languages represented in the Ugarit archives include: Hurrian, Hittite, Cypro-Minoan, Egyptian and Sumerian. Such diversity indicates the cosmopolitan nature of Ugarit and its importance as a source of synthesizing and spreading diverse cultures.

⁶⁷ Bass 1967.

⁶⁸ Pulak 1997.

⁶⁹ Yon 2003: 46.

⁷⁰ Frost 1991: 358.

The texts present in the Ugarit archives were primarily composed in Akkadian, reflecting Ugarit's vassal status to Hatti as the usual Hittite language of communication was Akkadian. The Cypriot documents reflect the establishment of a thriving community in the Levant, established due to commercial motivation. The Hurrian texts indicate cultural impact and the possible presence of an established Hurrian community living in Ugarit. Sumerian was already a long extinct language of Mesopotamia used for cultural and perhaps religious reasons. The Ugarit language was written in alphabetic cuneiform and was reserved for internal affairs, including administrative and fiscal business of the kingdom. The Akkadian was used as the official language of diplomacy in addition to personal and business communication between the vassal kingdoms, exchanges with Hatti and Egypt, including Cyprus and the coasts of the Levant, as revealed by the archives excavated at Amarna and Hattusa.

An important key to the Aegean puzzle is absent from the multilingual library: no evidence pertaining to the language of written communication with Greece has been discovered.⁷¹

Aside from the archives of the royal palace, and the tablets found in the homes of nobles such as Rapanu, Yabinu or Rashapabu, a discovery during a 1995 excavation in the 'house of Urtenu' uncovered over 600 tablets shedding significant new light on the international correspondence of the last period of the LBA.⁷² The letters are mostly written in Akkadian and reflect correspondence from Ugarit to Hatti and Egypt. There are several letters sent to the Hittite Great King or his vizier, letters from Carchemish on the Euphrates, and from the Phoenician coast including Byblos Sidon and Beirut. Other

⁷¹ See now Latacz 2004: 243-244.

⁷² Malbran-Labat 1999: 123.

tablets were sent from the Egyptian Pharaoh and the king of Alashiya (Cyprus). There is much economic correspondence reflecting trade with merchants making use of the Euphrates and those operating on the Phoenician coast.

The letters frequently refer to transport of furniture and the purchase of horses. Deliveries of 'false lapis lazuli' are referred to (perhaps indicating the blue vitreous ingots, as found in the Uluburun shipwreck), precious wood, cereals, oil and dried fish. A bill of lading describes a partitioning of goods: 600 jars of oil for Cyprus, 132 for Egypt, etc (tablet RS 18.042).⁷³

The 1994 tablets include many letters from Cyprus including one from an Ugaritian living in Alashiya requesting that his furniture from his home in Ugarit be shipped to his new residence.⁷⁴ These letters provide written evidence of ancient immigration from Ugarit to Cyprus as well as adding other details archaeology would have difficulty in confirming, such as the evidence of organic biodegradable material like lentils, cloth and ropes, serving as a warning on the distortion of our understanding of history by relying on solely one source.⁷⁵ Without these texts we would still be ignorant as to both the existence of Ugarit citizens settling abroad and as to the nature of many of the goods being shipped.

The texts also reveal the lists of residents in Ugarit including an important document ascribing the nationalities of various merchants living in Mahadu in Ugarit as being from Tyre, Akko, Byblos and Alashiya.⁷⁶

⁷³ cf. Saadé 1995: 223.

⁷⁴ RS 94.2177. cf. Malbran-Labat 1999.

⁷⁵ Pritchard (ed.) 1967: 25-9.

⁷⁶ Saade 1995: 211-25.

Arnaud has published several letters found in the 'house of Urtenu', thus revealing the existence of a consistent trade network between Ugarit and Emar on the Euphrates during the beginning of the 12th century BCE.⁷⁷ The document reveals the workings of a trading network extending from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean and Cyprus, with Ugarit functioning as the point of redistribution for the goods. The letter RS 34.153 is a request from the merchant to the king of Ugarit for help in carrying out his deliveries. The letter mentions 'the horses which the king of Ugarit delivered to the messenger of the land of Alashiya'. The king of Ugarit is asked to allow the dispatching of copper (presumably from Cyprus), tin, blue wool, oil and alum to proceed.⁷⁸

The volume of exchange within the Mediterranean world and supervised by Ugarit was considerable. It is shown by the amount of Mycenaean pottery found in the Levant. It is irrelevant whether or not the pottery was manufactured by local or distant workshops as the impact of influence is attested to in either case. It has also been demonstrated that people migrated along with the movement of the trade routes. Architectural techniques also linked the builders of Ugarit with those of Hattusa, Cyprus and the Aegean. Written documents and archaeological evidence do not provide the same information, proving that our best hope of arriving at a relatively undistorted picture of LBA history will emerge from a combination and comparison of evidence accumulated by different branches of academia.

Considering the evidence one may conclude that the kingdom of Ugarit operated within the Hittite political sphere and was culturally dependent on Hatti, Mesopotamia and Egypt yet succeeded in synthesizing these influences and by diffusing this Ugaritic

⁷⁷ Arnaud 1967: 168.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

culture of synthesis to Cyprus and other places in the Aegean must be credited with exerting a cultural influence of its own.

This thriving period of trade reached its zenith in the 12th century when disturbances attributed to the movement of the 'Sea Peoples' afflicted many of the dominant civilizations resulting in increased insecurity at sea, and the destruction of coastal cities on land thus ending LBA maritime trade in the Mediterranean.

The economic network which linked the Levant to the other regions around the Mediterranean allowed for an exchange of culture superficially expressed in material trappings such as furniture and rhytons based on Minoan typology or chariots that imitated Egyptian iconography but ultimately finding its way into influencing lifestyle and religion. When considering Mesopotamian or Anatolian influence on Greek myth and religion one must not neglect the important role played by Ugarit in synthesizing aspects of these cultures and their own close connection with the Greek world, especially Cyprus, giving them the consistent means to exert their own cultural influence.

The role Ugarit played in transmitting culture to Greece has been largely overlooked in favour of the major Mesopotamian civilizations of Sumer and Akkad. There is no question but that the cultures of Sumer and Akkad contributed to the mythology and religion of Greece. Scholars like Burkert and West have produced important works that have done much to sway the opinions of classicists who had previously scoffed at the notion of Greek culture owing any debt to their Oriental neighbors. Burkert's *Orientalizing Revolution* (1992, a revised version of the German work published in 1984) was the first to legitimize and popularize this area of research for modern classicists. *The East Face of Helicon* by Martin West went beyond examining

striking but ultimately superficial resemblances between the Oriental and Greek texts. Using his fluency in Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hebrew and Greek, West was able to reveal thematic verbal correspondences between Near Eastern, particularly Semitic, and Greek texts.

Anatolian scholars like Calvert Watkins and most recently Mary Bachvarova have demonstrated a similar indebtedness of the Greeks to the Hittites, revealing tantalizing clues concerning the authenticity of the Trojan War and the actual language and culture of the Trojans along the way. Bachvarova presents compelling arguments for Hittite influence on Greek epic works of Homer and later Greek authors.

1.11 Evidence for Hittite influence on Greek religious practice

Based on the evidence of Near Eastern artifacts found in Greek sanctuaries, it appears that worship was instrumental in transferring gods, cult practices, mythology and world views from one culture to another.⁷⁹ Evidence at temple sites in Greece indicates that Greek cult practice allowed for the synthesis of foreign worship so that it could be presented in an understandable manner to Greek worshippers. This would have included witnessing prayers offered both in the native tongue of the foreigner and presumably translated versions, making the new deities and their cults accessible to natives. De Polignac argues that cult sites were located on political boundaries both to emphasize their origin and to allow for contact and exchange with the foreign cultures which it

⁷⁹ de Polignac 1992: 121-7.

straddled.⁸⁰ As proof that religious customs of the Near East were adopted by the Greeks, de Polignac refers to the sacrifices of dogs and donkeys to Artemis in her sanctuary at Ephesus.⁸¹

Bachvarova makes a good case for the intermediate role played by the Hittites in this type of transmission, citing Hittite texts to provide examples in which deities and the accompanying cults were exchanged between the two cultures.⁸²

Another example of Near Eastern synthesis into Greek worship has been revealed by archaeological excavation in Greek temple sites. Many metal and clay artifacts have been unearthed, giving evidence of influence on Greek cult practices. The presence of Near Eastern cauldrons may indicate dedications from Near Eastern kings as a means of introducing both god and ruler to a Greek audience.⁸³ Hudson notes that it is in temples to Artemis, Athena, Hera and Apollo that these dedications appear most frequently.⁸⁴ These deities have their counterparts in (among many others) Nanshe of Lagash and Nidaba of Umma who were worshipped by merchants and were responsible for honestly balanced scales and fair dealing in general.⁸⁵ Hudson views these dedications as proof that Greek temples were used by travelers and merchants as havens.

Hittite prayers combine native Anatolian with Mesopotamian forms to create a style that appears to bridge the Near East with Greek traditions. In the Late Bronze Age, Hittites began to enthusiastically import foreign deities along with their cults in an effort to gain divine support, cure plagues, and ease various sufferings afflicting the citizens

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Bachvarova 2002: 51 and *passim*.

⁸³ Muscarella 1992: 16-45.

⁸⁴ Hudson 1992: 141-2.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

and royal family. Bachvarova cites a forthcoming work of Beal that discusses the process by which the 'Goddess of the Night' is moved from Samhua to Hattusa (*CTH* 481).⁸⁶ That cult practices involving prayer, song and dance were similarly transferred can be observed in the lists of offerings found written in Akkadian in a Hittite colony of North Syria. The description of the rituals contains Hurro-Hittite terminology and appears to have been translated from Luwian.⁸⁷

In her introduction to "From Hittite to Homer," Bachvarova sounds a cheerful warning:

No longer can Classical scholars feel content to dabble in Near Eastern literature from the outside, relying solely on translations and unable to make philological judgments or to access most of the vast secondary literature that presupposes a working knowledge of the languages and writing systems themselves. Now new advances can best be made by scholars who have taken the time to become conversant with both classical and Near Eastern scholarship and texts in the original language.⁸⁸

Bachvarova is of course correct and I would add to her observation by stressing that Ugaritic in particular must not be overlooked by scholars wishing to explore Greece's debt to the eastern Mediterranean.

The many correspondences between Hittite and Greek ritual and prayer indicate that the Hittite culture must have channeled much of the literary and religious traditions of the Near East to the Greeks. Anatolia is the obvious location one would examine in terms of Hittite transmission but Ugarit thanks to its close contact with the Hittites in Anatolia and the Greeks in Cyprus must be given serious consideration for its role in cultural transmission. Ugarit also serves to explain how the Greeks may have received Semitic and Anatolian myths and rituals in various stages of development. The Greeks

⁸⁶ Bachvarova 2002: 49; Beal forthcoming.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Bachvarova 2002: 2.

would have had access to Semitic and Anatolian myth and ritual in their original forms, in a blended Semitic-Anatolian form and/or both types simultaneously. This thesis will examine three types of correspondences, those between Hittite prayer and Greek literature, those between angry deities in Near Eastern and Greek literature and those between the disappearing deity in Near Eastern and Greek myth and ritual. The three correspondences will be examined for their role in understanding the role of divine justice in Near Eastern and Greek literature and prayer. Rather than an exhaustive examination of every correspondence in Near Eastern myth, prayer and ritual in terms of their influence on the development of Greek religion and literature, I have attempted to present a few examples to demonstrate that Hittite and Semitic data can and should be used to explicate Greek materials particularly in terms of the human relationship to divine justice.

1.12 Review of Scholarship

Prayers were among the first Hittite texts to be transliterated and studied in the earliest days of Hittitology.⁸⁹ Complete editions of philologically organized groups of prayers were attempted by A. Goetze's study of Muršili's plague prayers (1930) and O.R. Gurney's essay on Muršili's prayers. Translations of the better preserved Hittite prayers were included in later compendia on ancient Near Eastern literature: in English (Goetze 1950; Kühne 1978; Beckman 1997), German (Kühne 1975; Ünal 1991), French (Christmann-Franck 1989), Dutch (de Roos), and Spanish (Bernabé). Laroche

⁸⁹ See refs. cited in Güterbock 1958: 237, n.1; Singer 1996:1.

published a paper on the vocabulary and typology of Hittite prayers (1964), while Houwink ten Cate 1969, Kammenhuber 1974, and de Roos began to extrapolate from the earlier publications, producing works on Hittite religion and literature. Prayers from suppliants other than Muršili began to be published (Friedrich 1957, von Schuler 1965, Houwink ten Cate/Josephson 1967, Haas 1970: 175ff.). The articles proving especially useful for this thesis dealt with the structure and literary history of Hittite hymns and prayers in terms of their indebtedness to Mesopotamian prototypes (Güterbock 1958; 1964; 1974; 1980; Reiner/Güterbock 1967; Marazzi/Nowicki 1978; Marazzi 1981; Carruba 1983). G. Wilhelm published the first two works on Hurrian prayers and hymns (1991; 1994). The Hurrian material is still poorly understood but they will no doubt prove extremely enlightening for the study of cultural contacts between Mesopotamia and Anatolia.

Lebrun published the only anthology of Hittite prayers in 1980, of which the transliterations and translations need revision based on developments in Hittite linguistic scholarship.⁹⁰ Several new editions of individual prayers have appeared since Lebrun's effort (Sürenhagen 1981; Tischler 1981; Hoffner 1983; Archi 1988; Singer 1996, 2002; de Martino 1998). Greenburg provided important insight in his 1994 comparison of Hittite and biblical prayers but the absence of Babylonian prayers in his work leaves me uneasy as to the accuracy of his conclusions.

Hymns and prayers are usually studied together as the distinction between the two is difficult to gauge if one is attempting to judge based on the proportion of praise toward the god and the suppliant's plea. Prayers usually contain praise for the addressed god,

⁹⁰ Singer 2002b: 2.

while a hymn dedicated to the praises of a deity typically contain the worshiper's hope for divine guidance. Muršili's prayers often include hymns that take up at least a third of the text (Cat. 8, 9) , while they are absent altogether in his 'Plague Prayers' (Cat. 10-14).

Oracular inquiries intended to discover the motivation behind divine wrath often resemble prayers in their efforts to distance the questioner from the divulged sins.

Hattušili protests his innocence of various offenses (Cat. 21).

Rituals of offering are usually appended to every prayer, but are rarely preserved, while rituals likewise include short invocations and hymns to the addressed deity. Yet despite the extensive collection of Hittite rituals and oracle texts, the genre has not been sufficiently examined with the aim of examining their brief prayer-like passages (see for example, Collins 1997: 164f. for *CTH 716*).

After sifting through the various genres we are left with around two dozen prayers which justifies labeling Hittite Prayers as a genre within their own right (Singer 2002:4 *contra* Kühne 1978: 165).

Forrer (1924) was the first Hittitologist to suggest that Ahhiyawa and Wilusa respectively referred to Achaea and Ilios (Troy). While some scholars responded enthusiastically to the possibilities opened up by this new wealth of information, others argued vehemently against the geographical allocation to Greece of sites referred to in Hittite texts (Sommer 1932). Decipherment of Hieroglyphic Luwian has aided in establishing Hittite political boundaries in reference to Ahhiyawa and other territories that lay beyond, but it has proven difficult to find a balance between those scholars who use Ugaritic, Akkadian and Hebrew and those who use Hittite texts to investigate the influence of other cultures on Greek literature. The solution suggested by this thesis is

that both schools of thought are right and must be carefully studied together to gain a proper insight into the cultural pre-history of Greece in relation to Anatolia and the Near East. It is an optimistic and might be considered an excessively diplomatic suggestion, but one that I believe to be accurate.

Martin West and Walter Burkert agree that there was a strong Near Eastern influence exerted on Greece during the Mycenaean period but cite the Greek Orientalizing period for most of their arguments concerning transmission. As this was a time of direct contact between Semitic nations and Greece, it is an important period to scrutinize since many correspondences in Greek and Mesopotamian myth may have occurred at that time as a result of direct borrowing.

Watkins' research raised the intriguing possibility that epic poetry was transferred across language barriers in Anatolia. He also provides evidence based on claims within the *Iliad* that several key characters must have been conversant in more than one language.⁹¹ Watkins comments about the Anatolians depicted in the *Iliad*, 'Certainly bilingualism must have been widespread, not merely among soldiers and camp followers but also within the royal family'.⁹² Watkins also references the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, when Aphrodite, pretending to be a mortal, tells the Trojan, Anchises, that despite her Phrygian origin she is able to converse with Anchises since she was raised by a Trojan nurse.⁹³ The fact that Hesiod and Homer understood the concept of bilingualism and the means through which bilingualism was achieved (Aphrodite's story of learning the Trojan tongue through her nurse) indicates a familiarity with the concept of bilingualism that is more than theoretical, or merely a literary construct.

⁹¹ Watkins 1998: 707.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid 111-6.

Bachvarova looks to Hittite Anatolia as an important source of transmission. She cites evidence of contact between Greek and Anatolian poets during the period in which the Homeric dialect developed.⁹⁴ West does not support the idea that Anatolia was another possible route of transmission arguing that constraints of topography would have prevented such contact.⁹⁵ Bachvarova clearly believes West is contradicting himself as she references his own work in which he claims that the Mycenaeans had established footholds in Syria and southern and western Anatolia.⁹⁶ Bachvarova also uses West's claim that Greek music was influenced by the Lydians and Phrygians to bolster her argument that music would have acted as a backdrop to oral recitals.⁹⁷ If the Greeks listened to and borrowed from the music it is doubtful they would have ignored the tale that it accompanied. The Hittites borrowed freely from Mesopotamian myth and ritual combining them with Hurrian west Semitic and Anatolian tradition resulting in literature that Bachvarova demonstrates to be similar to Greek poetry.

Burkert does not dismiss the possibility of Anatolian influence on Greek culture but he prefers the idea of Mesopotamian transmission. Bachvarova points out this subtle prejudice in Burkert's discussion of the Bellerophon myth.⁹⁸ The story features a Lycian hero unwittingly carrying a folded tablet engraved with 'magical markings'. Burkert assumes the 'folded tablet' refers to a Phoenician writing tablet, stating that folding tablets were not used at that time in Anatolia. Bachvarova mentions the folding tablet found in the Bronze Age Ulu Burun shipwreck off the coast of Turkey to prove that folded writing boards were in use during the same time period. Burkert also omits to

⁹⁴ Bachvarova 2002: 49.

⁹⁵ West 1988:170.

⁹⁶ Bachvarova 2002: 51 citing West (1997: 587).

⁹⁷ Bachvarova 2002: 22.

⁹⁸ Ibid 22.

mention the similar Hittite tale of Elkunirsa and Ashertu which was borrowed from a west Semitic myth.

Another difficulty in arguing for the role of Anatolia in terms of the transmission of epic and prayer to Greece as pointed out by Bachvarova⁹⁹ is that few Classics scholars study Hittite thus reducing the number of experts advocating Anatolia as an important site for transfer of Near Eastern culture.¹⁰⁰ Bachvarova herself has produced one of the most important recent publications on the role of Anatolians in cultural transmission from the Near East to Greece.¹⁰¹

1.13 An Outline of the Dissertation

This dissertation examines cultural parallels as found in the literature of Greece, Mesopotamia and Anatolia. Of specific interest is the question of cultural influence exerted by these ancient civilizations on each other. One of the geographic points of intersection common to these cultures was located at Ugarit allowing it to act as a conduit into which Mesopotamian and Anatolian tradition poured, continuing on to Cyprus from where the assimilated material flowed into the rest of Greece and into Greek culture. The titles of the chapters clarify the overarching approach I have taken to meet the challenge of arguing for the influence of Anatolian and Near Eastern cult ritual and Hittite prayers on Greek myth and literature. The introduction (Chapter One) outlined the case for Anatolian and Ugaritic cultural influence on Greece by examining apparent Hittite textual

⁹⁹ Bachvarova 2002: 8.

¹⁰⁰ Güterbock 1997: 29.

¹⁰¹ Bachvarova 2002.

references to Greece indicating close political interaction, while the archaeological record provides evidence for Hittite and Greek interaction via Mycenaean Greece and Ugarit. Chapter Two examines the role of Ugarit in channeling the tales of Near Eastern and Hurrian virgin goddesses to the mythography and iconography of Greek goddesses of war and the hunt. The role of Cyprian Aphrodite in absorbing and transmitting these synthesized tales will be particularly scrutinized. Chapter Three compares the theme of disappearing deities in Hittite tradition to that of vanishing gods in Near Eastern and Greek myths, arguing that the motif of the disappearing deity of other societies may have originally been used in rituals similar to the Hittite *mugawar*. Chapter Four examines two expressions: the Greek φθόνος and the Hittite *natta āra*, demonstrating that the suppliant in Hittite prayers uses *natta āra* to express frustration with divine punishment, while Greek writers attempt to make seemingly capricious acts of the gods understandable, if not humanly acceptable, by using the word φθόνος. Chapter Five follows the court format as seen in Hittite prayer and Greek tragedy in the *Eumenides*. Chapter Six serves to summarize the parallel paths followed by Hittite prayer and Greek literature in examining the concept of divine punishment for blood guilt. The historical testimony of Hittite suppliants in prayer is compared with dramatized accounts of the Greek tragedians, containing parallel themes of the individual and his descendants afflicted by divine punishment. The wresting of control over the fate of mortals and their descendants who are guilty of blood guilt from the gods to the individual is reflected in Hittite prayer, Telepinu's edict and within the mythical past of the Greeks as shown in the *Oresteia*.

Chapter Two: Angry Goddesses

This chapter discusses the role of the angry goddess in Greece and the Near East in an attempt to demonstrate the pattern of the virgin warrior goddess in her multiple roles of virgin, loyal sibling, huntress and punisher in all these cultures. It will be argued that virgin goddesses like Artemis and Anat play the role of deities who punish out of wrath rather than justice. Given the close relationship between Ugarit and Cyprus as well as the long established tradition of a fertility/warrior goddess on Cyprus it seems reasonable to argue for the island as the source of transmission. As the goddess of Cyprus was eventually identified by the Greeks as Aphrodite, the question as to how the the original aspects of the Cyprian goddess was blended with the Ugaritic warrior goddess Anat and the fertility goddess, Ishtar will be addressed. It will also be argued that myths pertaining to the blended Cyprian Aphrodite, such as her love of battle and the hunt were transferred to tales involving goddesses like Artemis and Athena by the mainland Greeks. As will be seen, certain anomalies exist in stories of Aphrodite in Hesiod and Homer that can be satisfactorily explained in the context of such Cyprian, Ugaritic, and ultimately, Near Eastern transmission.

When considering a means of transmission, a likely starting point is a site frequented in antiquity by each of the societies examined and where cross-cultural communication can be demonstrated. Archaeological evidence has revealed Cyprus to be such a place and after presenting evidence linking the Cypriot goddess with Inanna/Ishtar in addition to the Greek goddess Aphrodite, I shall argue for Cyprus as a main source of transmission of the angry goddess from the Near East to Greece. Aphrodite may seem an

unlikely evolutionary destination for Near Eastern and Egyptian goddesses who glory in warfare, death and blood but it is easier to understand when considering that myths containing these themes were connected to goddesses like Inanna /Ishtar and Anat who also had tales of love, fertility and matrimony attached to their persona. In addition, the examples provided above prove that Aphrodite possesses aspects of the angry goddess, particularly in myths associated with Cyprus. The Greeks appear to have distributed the Near Eastern myths among different goddesses who best fit the theme, stripping Aphrodite of the bloodier, angrier roles and leaving her comfortably unconflicted in her role as goddess of love.

As we are considering the question of Ugaritic influence on Greece in terms of the angry goddess motif, let us begin by examining what the Ras Shamra texts tell us of the Ugaritic goddess, Anat.

2.1 Anat

To understand Anat's nature there is no better place to begin than the etymology of her name. In Ugaritic, Anat's name is written as *ʿnat* and in Akkadian (which lacks the glottal ʿ), *Ḥanat*, *Anat*, and once *Kanat*. Given that Hebrew also uses ʿayin (ʿ) in its spelling of Anat (עַנַת), and that Ugaritic uses interchangeably either the consonant ḡ or ḥ as the first radical of her name, it makes sense to assign the ʿ to the protosemitic **ʿ*.¹⁰² Earlier suggestions concerning the etymology of Anat's name appear to have been based

¹⁰² Naʿman 1990: 254.

on the individual scholar's assumption concerning the goddess' character rather than sound etymological reasoning. For example, Kapelrud proposed Anat's name be understood with the Ugaritic verb *ʿānā* 'to sing',¹⁰³ a difficult argument to follow if one considers that the first radical of the Arabic cognate is *ǧ*. Deem creates a hypothetical root **nh* 'to make love', based solely on his assumption that Anat was a fertility goddess which, as will be demonstrated, was not the case.¹⁰⁴ Gray's suggestion that Anat's name is related to the Arabic *ʿnwat* 'force, violence' (KB's *nh* II, **nw*), makes sense etymologically and ties in with the most obvious aspect of her character.¹⁰⁵

Anat first appears as a north Semitic goddess. The greatest source of information concerning her exploits is found in the Ras Shamra texts at Ugarit where she is depicted as volatile huntress and warrior. Her epithet *btlt* 'virgin' appears to explain her activity in traditionally male activities of hunting and warfare as it does the aspects of Artemis and Athena in Greek literature. As a warrior, Anat defeats both human (*KTU* 1.3 ii) and divine (*KTU* 1.3 iii 38-46) foes, using the bow (*KTU* 1.3 ii:16) and sword (*KTU* 1.6 ii:31).

Her indiscriminating nature when it comes to dealing punishment and death is revealed in various Ugaritic myths including the text (*KTU* 1.3 i:3-30) which describes her as wading through blood in a joyous frenzy as she slays her enemies.

The men happened to meet the Lady of the Mountain. Then Anat fought in the valley, she smote down those living in cities, she cut down the people of the seashore, she destroyed men of the sunrise. Under her were heads as with vultures. With her were hands like locusts, hands of troops like heaps of barley. They reached up, the heads, to her back, the limbs were piled up to her belt. She waded to the knees in the blood of soldiers, to her seat in the gore of troops. With a stick she drove out old men, at the back she drew her bow. When Anat entered her palace, she was not satisfied with her killing in the valley her cutting down those living in cities.

¹⁰³ Kapelrud 1969: 28.

¹⁰⁴ Deem 1978: 25-30.

¹⁰⁵ Gray 1961: 7.

She threw chairs at the troops, she threw tables at the soldiers, footstools at the heroes. Many did she massacre and said: 'Anat massacres and rejoices, her innermost laughs, with joy is full her heart with rejoicing the liver of Anat!' She put her knees in the blood of the soldiers, her seat in the gore of the troops. Until she was satisfied, she massacred in the house, she cut down those at the tables. Shed out in the house was the blood of soldiers, poured out sacrificial oil. In a basin the Virgin Anat washed her hands, the Progenitress of Nations her fingers. She washed her hands in the blood of soldiers, her fingers in the gore of troops. They threw chairs at chairs, tables at tables, they threw footstools at footstools. She scooped water and washed, with dew from heaven, oil from the earth, rain from the Driver of Clouds.

Anat claims to have killed the serpent, Yam (*KTU* 1.3 iii:38-42), on behalf of her brother, a deed attributed to Baal himself in another text (*KTU* 1.2 iv; 1.5 i:1-3). Either way, the slaying was considered an essential step towards Baal's acquiring legitimacy as ruler of the pantheon.

Anat is often referred to by the epithet *btlt 'nt* 'the virgin Anat'.¹⁰⁶ Another epithet applied to her is *rhm*, which as Albright points out can be used to mean 'maiden'. (*JPOS* 12. 193). The expression *'nt atr b 'l* 'Anat, shrine of Baal' links Baal and Anat as a couple. Anat is also described as Baal's sister *btlt 'nt n 'mt[b] aht b 'l* 'the virgin Anat most gracious among Baal's sisters' (*KTU*. 4. AB ii 15-16).

When Anat mourns the death of Baal it is described 'as the desire of a wild cow for her calf, as the desire of a wild ewe (?) for her lamb (*KTU* A ii 6-8).' Anat's attempts to convince her lover's slayer, Mot, to return Baal to the world of the living appears to be an early form of the Syrian myth concerning the goddess' search for Adonis (*JAOS* 53. 107).

The furious aspect of Anat is revealed when Mot refuses to resurrect Baal, as she proceeds to 'seize Mot, son of the gods, with the sword she split him in half, with the winnowing sieve she winnowed him, in the fire she burned him, in the field she sowed his flesh, that the birds might eat... (*CTA* 4.30-37).'

¹⁰⁶ *Btlt* is cognate with the Hebrew בתולה, *btlah* 'virgin'.

The same frenzied state of fury that possesses Anat is seen in the fragment introducing this chapter when she kills the *bn qryt* (sons of the city), and in the throes of a berserker-type rage proceeds to destroy the coastal inhabitants and then the people of the Levant. She proceeds to collect the severed hands and heads, throwing the heads upon high places and plunging her knees in the blood. This poem may suggest proper ritual procedure as a prelude to human sacrifice, perhaps to alleviate drought as is indicated by her prayer for moisture after she has washed in blood. After the killing is over, Anat washes her hand in the blood and prays for the coming of the dew. This inability to stop the killing once started is typical of the myths of Egypt, the Near East and Anatolia as is seen in the actions of Hathor, Sekhmet, and Telepinu.

Anat is referred to as a winged messenger *tsu knp btlit 'n[t]* (she raises wing the virgin Anat) as she bears tidings for El, the head of the pantheon. She is also referred to as possessing horns: *btlit 'nt qrn dbatk* (O Virgin Anat the horns of your strength).¹⁰⁷ Later in the same text Anat is compared to a wild cow. Dussaud's suggestion that Anat should be associated with Hathor on the basis of their identification with the cow merits consideration particularly when one considers that Hathor falls prey to the same uncheckable murderous fury that possessed Anat.¹⁰⁸

Egyptian References

Anat appears rarely in Egyptian sources before the 19th dynasty and it is always in connection with the Semitic Hyksos who may well have been responsible for introducing

¹⁰⁷ Dussaud 1932: 298 ff.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

her to Egypt. The name 'nty appears in the Turin Papyrus and a Hyksos prince was named *hr-'nt* (may Anat be satisfied).¹⁰⁹

In the 19th Dynasty a relief inscription at Karnak names a team of horses belonging to Seti I as 'May Anat be satisfied.'¹¹⁰ On the lower half of a stele in the British Museum, Anat is depicted as a helmeted warrior, bearing a shield and a battle axe as she receives tribute. The inscription informs us that 'Anat (is) lady of the sky, and mistress of the gods.'¹¹¹

It is significant that Ramses II wished to be identified with Anat. An inscription on an obelisk from Tanis refers to Ramses as the 'suckling of Anat' (Petrie, *Tanis I* pl. 7 no. 44). The Pharaoh's sword was inscribed with the message 'Anat is victorious,'¹¹² while a statue of Ramses' dog bears the name 'Anat is his protection' (*BAR III*, 467). Ramses also named one of his daughters 'Bent Anat'.¹¹³ In the treaty with the Hittites written after the concluding battle of Kadesh, the goddess Anatheret is mentioned as a witness in line twenty-eight (*BAR III* 386). Albright believes the name to be a contraction of Anat and Ashtart (*AJSL* 41. 83, no. 7). In 1933, two inscribed granite statues depicting Anat were found during excavations at Tanis.¹¹⁴ One shows Anat with her hand resting on the shoulder of Ramses II. The goddess wears an ankle length dress which is thin enough to reveal her breasts and navel. The excavator, Montet, translated the inscription located on the left part of the statue to read: 'Anta maîtresse du ciel, dame des dieux de

¹⁰⁹ Gauthier 1917: 271.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Erman 1934: 151.

¹¹² Brugsch 1968: 529.

¹¹³ Erman, 1934 : 151.

¹¹⁴ Montet, 1932 :107-108.

Ramsès-aimé-d'Amon.' Another inscription on the back reads: 'je suis sa mère dont l'amour est glorieux.'

The other statue was found in two pieces and also shows Anat with Ramses II.¹¹⁵

The inscriptions on the sides are identical to the other statue, while a poem inscribed on the back (translated by Montet) adds:

Ousir-Maat-Râ Ramsès, je suis ta mere Anta...en vie, stabilité, bonheur. Lorsque tu as conquis tous les pays j'étais avec toi. Tes...sont comme le feu dans les ténèbres. Tous les pays tremblent de peur devant toi...châtié. Ton bras...Ramsès-aimé-d'Anta, Dame du Ciel.¹¹⁶

A 19th Dynasty papyrus known as the Magical Papyrus Harris contains an incantation to ward off crocodiles adding an interesting reference to Anat that may have relevance to her 'virgin' epithet (III 5 ff.):

Hail to you to those five gods who came out of Hermopolis, you are not on heaven, you are not on earth, whose sun does not make light, come to me. Do search for me the river seal (the mouth of him) who is in it; you who submerge, do not come back up. Seal your mouth, lock your mouth as the window of Mendes was sealed, as the mouth of the vulva of Anat and Ashtart was sealed, the two great goddesses who were pregnant but did not bear. They were sealed by Horus; they were opened by Seth. Those who are in heaven make protection against him.¹¹⁷

The Magical Papyrus Harris contains another reference to Anat: 'stop you wicked wolf!...Your foreleg is cut off by Hershef after you have been slaughtered by Anat'¹¹⁸

Anat's position in the Egyptian pantheon of the 20th Dynasty is revealed in a papyrus from Thebes relating the Myth of Horus and Seth in which the head of the pantheon offers two of his daughters Anat and Ashtart as brides to Seth.¹¹⁹

Another papyrus relates a myth describing the rape of Anat by Seth.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ Ibid, pls. 70, 72.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p. 126.

¹¹⁷ Lange 1927: 28ff.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Gardiner 1931: 3-4.

¹²⁰ Gardiner 1935: 61ff.

The goddess Anat [...ed] herself in the *hp* and cleansed herself in the *hmkt*. The great lord had gone out to walk, and he [...] upon her back. He climbed her as the ram climbs. He [...]ed her as a [...]...s [poison had] flown (?) to his forehead, to the brows of his eyes. He lay down on a bed in his house [being ill?]. Anat the strong goddess, the woman being a warrior came to her father, Re. He said to her: 'What ails you, Anat the strong goddess, the woman being a male (?) clothed as man dressed as woman? I have arrived in the evening. Behold, I know that you have come in order to beg Seth from the poison [...]. Is it not a foolish punishment (?), the poison laid at the wife of the god above that he may copulate with him (her) in fire and opens him (her?) with a chisel.

Anat is raped yet emerges victorious as Seth is bed-stricken, suffering in the throes of some poison he contracted as a result of his rape. It is reminiscent of the Greek tale where Hephaestus attempts to rape Athena, another warrior, virgin goddess. She escapes unravaged aside from some of Hephaestus' semen on her leg. Orion attempts to rape another virgin Greek goddess, Artemis who responds by having him killed by a scorpion. Despite her seeming role as victim, Anat is portrayed in her usual role of strong goddess, dressed as a male warrior. The only inscription that emphatically identifies Anat with Hathor, another goddess subject to unstoppable killing sprees, is found on a temple wall at Denderah.¹²¹ The reference is late, dating to the Greco-Roman period. Anat is connected with Athena, another virgin warrior goddess, in a bilingual Phoenician-Greek inscription found on Cyprus that replaces Anat's name with Athena. Athena, like Artemis, is described as a virgin goddess. However, Athena is also described as a warrior, perhaps leading to her being connected with Anat. The episode in the *Iliad* in which Athena easily defeats Ares the god of war is reminiscent of the Ugaritic story in which Anat dispatches Mot, the god of death. Four Phoenician inscriptions mentioning Anat have been found at Idalion in Cyprus. All of them were found at the temple to Anat/Athena indicating association of the two goddesses on the part of the worshippers. Her name appears on an equestrian blinder, dating to the 7th century BCE, while a

¹²¹ Mariette 1875: 25-26.

similarly inscribed spearhead dating to the 5th century attests to Anat's continued martial association.

2.2 Artemis

Artemis, like Anat, is a goddess of hunting and wild beasts and animal fecundity. As a divine huntress, her name, in its Doric-Aeolian form, Ἄρταμις has been linked etymologically with the Attic ἄρταμος, 'butcher, slaughterer', or else with the ἄρκτος 'bear' as bears were often sacrificed to her, perhaps in her capacity as 'mistress of the wild beasts'.¹²² The goddess' name appears in the Linear B tablets at Pylos in the genitive singular, A-te-mi-to and the dative singular, A-ti-mi-te. This testimony to Artemis' early Mycenaean existence lends strength to the suggestion that cultural ties between Crete, Cyprus and Ugarit may have influenced her iconography and mythography, while her ties with western Anatolia have been well documented.¹²³ At Ugarit, the goddess Ḫattartu (Astarte) was described as a huntress, perhaps explaining Artemis' title of Astrateia at Pyrrhichos in Laconia.¹²⁴

According to the popular version of her myth, Artemis was the elder twin sister of Apollo born to Leto and Zeus. Leto was forced to flee Hera while pregnant, giving birth while in flight: to Artemis in Ortygia (popularly believed to be near Ephesus); and Apollo on Delos. Homer is the first Greek writer to summarize Artemis' character as

¹²² Mussies 1971:41. Both names fail to account for the phonetic difference in Attic between her name and the adduced appellatives. Mussies suggests that this unexplained shift indicates that Ἄρταμις itself stems from a dialect other than Attic (91).

¹²³ Burkert 1985: 149.

¹²⁴ West 1997: 56.

πότνια θηρῶν 'mistress of the wild animals' who 'kills the beasts in the mountains' (*Il.* 21.470-471;485).

Her role as a punishing, vindictive goddess appears in many popular myths. Pausanias tells of Artemis' sending a plague and causing a famine after the desecration of her temple at Patrae (7.19.3). She was responsible for the slaying of Niobe's children, after the foolish mortal insulted her mother Leto for producing only two children. Artemis' choice of weapon was the bow, in line with her activity as a huntress goddess and which, like her Ugaritic counterpart, Anat, she would use to bring down mortals as well as beasts.

Angry goddesses like Artemis and Anat are described as virgins by their respective cultures. Both have the aspects of huntress, mistress of animals, protectress of maidens and merciless punisher attributed to them. When Anat became associated with Ishtar an element of sexuality as goddess of fertility and of extramarital affairs was added to her nature that was not present in earlier Ugaritic texts. During the late LBA, when Ugarit and Cyprus maintained close trading relations, all these aspects of Anat were absorbed into their local fertility goddess later to be claimed by the Greeks as Aphrodite. Cypriot Aphrodite reflects the blending of these attributes and the chapter will attempt to demonstrate how the further blending of these aspects allow for a better understanding of seeming anomalies in Aphrodite's character in Homer and Hesiod.

The feature that best describes the angry deity is uncontainability. The brothers of Anat and Artemis, Baal and Apollo, share some of the striking and punishing aspects of their sisters yet also bring a measure of control and ultimately justice in their interaction with mortals. The goddesses are similar to the Erinyes of the *Oresteia* who punish with a

vengeance, refusing to consider mitigating circumstances and only being appeased when the object of their wrath has been crushed. Just as in the conclusion of the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus, true justice is incompatible with furious, unthinking wrath, whereas the brothers, Apollo and Baal are less absolute in their punishing wrath and often represent justice for their followers.

Artemis is quick to anger and relentless in her punishment throughout Greek literature. It is telling that Artemis does not choose a particular side during the Trojan War, aiding or punishing both Greeks and Trojans as she supports her brother Apollo in his choices. When Aeneas is wounded by Diomedes, Artemis helps heal him. Despite her indifference in terms of the conflict, Artemis still plays a pivotal role in the unfolding of the plot. After Agamemnon failed to sacrifice to her at the onset of the voyage to Troy, and/or boasted that his hunting skills surpassed those of Artemis, Agamemnon is forced to choose between the success of his venture or the sacrifice of his daughter Iphigenia at Aulis. Calchas reveals that Artemis demands the sacrifice or the Greeks would never be able to set sail, land at Troy, and begin the battle. In the *Kypria* and *Ehoiai*, Agamemnon's sacrifice is stopped at the last minute and a stag substituted. However, such clemency is unusual for the goddess. Artemis is typically a goddess of death and punishment.

Typically Artemis brings about death by means of her arrows:

But when the townsmen reach old age, Apollo
with his longbow of silver comes, and Artemis,
showering arrows of mild death.
(*Od.* 15.408-411).

In the *Nekuia*, Odysseus uses his time in Hades to ask his mother, Antikleia, if her death was brought about by Artemis (*Od.* 11.171-73). Andromache, when she implores Hector not to fight Achilles, divulges that Artemis slew her mother:

My mother--her who had been queen of all the land under Mt. Placus--he brought hither with the spoil, and freed her for a great sum, but the archer-queen Artemis took her in the house of your father. Nay--Hector--you who to me are father, mother, brother, and dear husband....
(*Il.* 6.426-429).

Penelope despairs of ever ridding her home of the suitors and begs Artemis for death:

If only Artemis the Pure would give me
death as mild, and soon!
(*Od.* 18.202-203).

O gracious
divine lady Artemis, daughter of Zeus,
if you could only make an end now quickly,
let the arrow fly, stop my heart....
(*Od.* 20.60-63).

Artemis appears to kill for the sake of justice in the episode of the *Odyssey* where Eumaios, Odysseus' swineherd, relates how his family's Phoenician servant kidnapped him as a child. Artemis shoots her down on the ship, presumably for the servant's sin of stealing a child (*Od.* 15.478).

Laodameia, the daughter of Bellerophon angers Artemis for some unspecified reason and pays for it with her life:

but when Bellerophon came to be hated by all the gods, he wandered all desolate and dismayed upon the Alean plain, gnawing at his own heart, and shunning the path of man. Mars, insatiate of battle, killed his son Isander while he was fighting the Solymi; his daughter was killed by Artemis of the golden reins, for she was angered with her
(*Il.* 6.203-206).

In the *Odyssey* Artemis kills Orion out of anger after he sleeps with Dawn:

Oh you vile gods, in jealousy supernal!
You hate it when we choose to lie with men —
immortal flesh by some mortal side.
So radiant Dawn once took to bed Orion
until you easeful gods grew peevish at it,
and holy Artemis, Artemis throned in gold,
hunted him down in Delos with her arrows....
(*Od.* 5.118-24).

In Book Nine of the *Iliad*, Artemis punishes Oeneus for forgetting to present her with the first fruit of the harvest by afflicting his people with the Caledonian Boar:

For Artemis of the golden throne was angry and did them hurt because Oeneus had not offered her his harvest first-fruits. The other gods had all been feasted with hecatombs, but to the daughter of great Jove alone he had made no sacrifice. He had forgotten her, or somehow or other it had escaped him, and this was a grievous sin. Thereon the archer goddess in her displeasure sent a prodigious creature against him—a savage wild boar with great white tusks that did much harm to his orchard lands, uprooting apple-trees in full bloom and throwing them to the ground. (9.533-40).

Artemis also kills at the behest of other gods:

... and Ariadne,
daughter of Minos, the grim king. Theseus took her
aboard with him from Krete for the terraced land
of ancient Athens; but he had no joy of her. Artemis

killed her on the Isle of Dia at a word from Dionysos (*Od.* 11.320-25).

According to Pindar (*Pythian* 31.8-36), Koronis is slain by Artemis at Apollo's request. An early version of Aktaion's death at the hand of Artemis holds that the goddess kills on behalf of Zeus who is jealous of Aktaion as a rival for Semele's affection. The later version, related by Kallimachos, explains that Aktaion was hunting deer when he stumbled across Artemis bathing. Outraged, she transforms him into a deer. Aktaion is hunted down by his own dogs and torn to pieces.

2.3 Virginité and Virgin Goddesses

A common aspect to many of the warrior goddesses such as Anat, Artemis, Athena and Aphrodite is found in their common epithet 'virgin'. And indeed for these goddesses, sexual relations of any kind are extremely rare. They are either associated with wild animals (Artemis, Anat) battle (Athena, Anat) or the hunt (Artemis, Anat). They frequently defeat powerful male gods: Athena, Ares and Anat, Mot.

A difficult question to answer is whether or not these virgin goddesses were virgins in the *virgo intacta* sense of the definition. The term *bilt* in Ugarit and Hebrew is typically understood as *virgo intacta* and, aside from the amorous encounters attributed to the 'Virgin Anat' (*bilt 'nt*) there is little ambiguity associated with the term. The case of Anat is intriguing although a re-reading of the text suggests Anat may have not have engaged in sexual relations with her brother, Baal.

Virgin goddesses are tough: witness Artemis and her entourage. Artemis is a skilled huntress, archer and, in agreement with her unpredictable, passionate nature, she is associated with wild animals. Athena is another virgin goddess associated with victory on the battlefield. She is seemingly invincible. Not even Ares, the god of war, is equal to her on the battlefield as demonstrated in the *Iliad* when she fells him with ease. It is similar to the confrontation between Anat and Mot in which Anat is easily defeats the Netherworld god, despite the fact that Mot proved victorious when battling her brother, the powerful Baal.

In the past there has been a tendency to categorize all Near Eastern goddesses in some sexual/fertility/marriage role.¹²⁵ While there are goddesses who have tales of sexual interaction as part of their mythology, Anat is not one of them. Attempts to align her with Ishtar, who was the goddess of fertility in addition a good many other attributes and misreadings of the ancient texts have combined to create a false mythography.

One of the sexual episodes attributed to Anat occurs in *KTU* tablet 1.10, in which Baal has left his home to hunt, armed with a bow. Anat sets off in search of her brother and finds him amidst a herd of cows (II 6-9). Anat smites Baal's enemies for a few lines and then, spying a cow, she begins to circle the animal (II 26-29). The text breaks off at this point. Another text (1.11 1-3), assumed to be the continuation of the previous theme, begins with Baal mating with a cow. The cows eventually give birth to a herd for Anat (1-3). The calves are born and weaned (19-26), and the text ends with Anat congratulating Baal on his children (33-36).

These tablets are often cited as evidence that Baal and Anat were lovers in addition to siblings and that their coupling, in the form of bull and cow, resulted in herds of offspring.¹²⁶ The interpretation is based on assuming that Anat is one of the cows with which Baal mates. Anat's name is frequently restored in the appropriate lacunae but there are valid reasons to argue against this inclusion. One cannot conclude based on the fragmented state of the text that it is Anat in the form of a cow who copulates, conceives and bears a calf to Baal.

¹²⁵ Day 1992: 181 ff.

¹²⁶ Kapelrud 1969: 95.

The argument put forward by E. Lipinski shows the circular logic on which Anat's sexual relationship with Baal is based.¹²⁷ Lipinsky presents a transliteration and translation of 1.11 1-8, inserting the names Baal and Anat into the lacunae of lines 2 and 3 where a sexual coupling is described. He then uses the amended text as proof that Anat and Baal copulated. The alternative suggestion that Anat did not sleep with Baal, but merely used his virility as a means of increasing her wild herd within her role as "Mistress of Animals" appears more honest, given the state of the text.¹²⁸

Once the notion of a sexually active Anat is dismissed in favour of the *bilt 'nt* (virgin Anat), as described in the Ras Shamra texts the parallel between Anat and Artemis become clear. Artemis is described in the Iliad as *πότνια θηρῶν* 'Mistress of Animals' (21.470-71) and is often depicted in Greek literature and art as dressed for the hunt bearing a bow.¹²⁹ Anat, as seen above, revels in the hunt, dresses as a man, and bears the bow she appropriated from Aqht. Artemis is also a perpetual virgin who forgoes sexual relations and motherhood in favour of the hunt. Her prey is usually wild beasts but she is just as content to loose her arrows at hapless mortals. Artemis was also a protectress of the young for both animals and humans and looked after females from menarche until the birth of their first child.¹³⁰ Anat, despite her status of virgin, was similarly depicted in scenes of first birth and as wet-nurse (*KTU* 1.15 II). Another text (*UF* 14) has Anat blessing the progeny of humans and herds: "I will bless your son like a royal firstborn (27-28)" and "I will bless (animals) whose insides have not known conception (31)".

¹²⁷ Lipinski 1965 : 63.

¹²⁸ Day 1992 :185.

¹²⁹ Le Lasseur 1919 :176-184.

¹³⁰ King 1987: 121.

The myths of Artemis and Actaeon and Athena and Tiresias are remarkably similar. A mortal stumbles upon the naked goddess bathing and they are punished for their inadvertent transgression: Tiresias with blindness by Athena and Actaeon with death by Artemis. Athena and Artemis are impervious to Aphrodite's power. Athena is usually depicted wearing the Medusa head on her aegis but there are several images of Artemis with the Gorgon head as well. Both have myths attached to them in which they wreak vengeance on mortals out of pique rather than justice. Athena's status of cerebral warrior virgin was clear from her birth as she was 'not of woman born' but emerged from Zeus's head armed as a warrior. Aside from the attempted rape episode with Hephaestus there is no other reference to her sexuality aside from the fact of her gender. Athena agrees to a weaving contest with Arachne and the two competitors turn out elaborate pieces. Instead of waiting for a verdict, Athena strikes Arachne with her scepter and, after the remorseful girl hangs herself, turns her into a spider. Artemis, in one version of the story, is angered by Agamemnon's bragging over his prowess with a bow and strands his ships at Aulis until he agrees to sacrifice his innocent daughter in atonement. Artemis also slays Niobe's children as punishment for Niobe's boasting of her fertility, perhaps implying that Artemis was barren rather than a virgin by choice. Once again innocent children die as a result of the temerity of a parent.

Ishtar's attempted seduction of Gilgamesh and Aphrodite's more successful attempt to seduce Anchises both contain passages in which the goddesses express contempt for the frailty and impermanence of mortals. The similarity to the Ugarit myth of Aqht and Anat has been pointed out by various scholars, most of whom term the interaction as another seduction scene despite the fact that the object of Anat's lust is

Aqht's bow rather than Aqht. I believe that it is significant that the Ugarit myth changes the object of desire from the mortal to the mortal's weapon. It augments Anat's status as a virgin goddess and as a warrior and huntress. Ishtar and Anat both go weeping to the head of their respective pantheon after their desires are thwarted. Both are also granted the means to wreak their revenge. Anat has Aqht killed, while Ishtar brings about the death of Gilgamesh's beloved Enkidu.

Anat's association with the hunt is demonstrated in the Aqht myth of the Ras Shamra texts. A young man, Aqht, is presented with a hunting bow by his father Danel. The bow was crafted by Kothar-wa Hasis the divine artisan of the gods. Danel gives his son careful instructions about the first game he kills with the bow. Unfortunately, Aqht never gets to use his weapon as Anat covets the bow and offers Aqht immortality and wealth in exchange. Aqht refuses and Anat turns to her father El to attain his permission to avenge herself on the presumptuous mortal. She gains El's permission and uses her agent Yatpan like a *nsr* (bird of prey) to attack and kill Aqht. Anat is described loosing Yatpan just as a hunter releases his falcon to attack prey (*KTU* 1.18).

Anat's desire for Aqht's bow (a weapon typically associated with male warriors) agrees with her role as a huntress. One text (*KTU* 1.22 I 11), describes her hunting birds, while another (1.114 22-23) has her departing from El's banquet in favor of a hunt.

It has been argued that the interaction between Anat and Aqht represents a seduction scene.¹³¹ However, despite the fact that the episode resembles Ishtar's attempt to seduce Gilgamesh, in the myth of Aqht and Anat, it is Aqht's bow rather than body that Anat lusts after. Both goddesses are thwarted in their desires and both deities turn to their fathers for restitution. Ishtar clearly turns to Enlil as a suppliant goddess while Anat

¹³¹ Margalit 1989: 50 ff., 71.

is aggressive in her approach, going so far as to threaten to harm El in her role as goddess of war and the hunt, should he not grant her the right to avenge the perceived slight to her honour.

2.4 Angry Goddesses and their Siblings

It is unwise to begin a discussion of Anat and Artemis without considering the role of their brothers Baal and Apollo with whom they share attributes such as prowess with the bow and instruments of divine punishment. The contrasts between them are equally telling. Baal is seemingly weaker than Anat as it is the goddess who kills his slayer, Mot. Apollo appears in poetry as a god of plague. In the *Iliad* he uses his arrows to launch disease and death at the hapless Achaeans. West compares Apollo to the Canaanite god Resheph.¹³² Intriguingly, Resheph was the major deity of the Phoenicians in Cyprus and was identified by them with Apollo. The name of the serpent slain by Apollo is 'Python' which corresponds to the Hebrew יָתֵן , *péten* and the Aramaic *pitnā* 'venomous snake'.¹³³ Cypriot inscriptions reveal that Resheph was merged with another West Semitic deity, Mukal, which was rendered in bilingual inscriptions as *Apollōn Amyklos*.¹³⁴ Cyprus played a strong role in synchronizing deities from the East and West. Similarities between the myths of Apollo and Ugaritic Baal must be considered. Apollo's slaying of the serpent bears a close resemblance to the slaying of the Leviathan by Baal,

¹³² West 1997: 55.

¹³³ Ibid. West adds that, assuming a separate origin, the vowels may have been adapted to conform with the place-name Pytho.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

according to Mot, or Anat, according to Anat. The fact that there is confusion over whether Baal or his sister slew the serpent is telling in light of her overlapping attributes with Baal. Likewise, Apollo shares many attributes with his sister. They are both proficient with the bow and are equated with using the weapon to inflict death on mortals. Yet Apollo is also the god of healing, a role never claimed by Artemis.

Baal and Apollo are both connected with the slaying of a giant serpent: Baal (or Anat) kills Yam and Apollo slew the Pythian monster. Albright's theory that Anat originally was the personification of Baal's anger could as easily be applied to Artemis in terms of her relationship to Apollo.¹³⁵ Yet both Baal and Apollo appear in several myths in which they express their own anger and punish sinners. Despite the attractiveness of Albright's theory, there is no need to dismiss the actions of the goddess as mere personification of their brothers' will. They are female counterparts to their brothers and are credited with cruelty and vindictiveness in their zeal to punish mortal transgressors absent in the battle-stories attributed to Baal and Apollo.

If Anat's epithet of 'virgin' has the same weight of sexually chastity for Anat as it does for Artemis, the parallel between the actions of Anat on behalf of her brother become clearer. Baal is always the god of fertility and is described as fathering children by women and cows. While Baal is busy being fertile Anat rages about, frequently on his behalf. She kills all the soldiers and wades about ecstatically in their blood. Yet when Baal desires a new home on prime property in the heavens, Anat bullies their father, El, threatening him with violence until he accedes to her demand. She also slays the Leviathan for her brother although this action inadvertently brought about Baal's death at the hands of the god of death, Mot. When Baal challenges Mot for supremacy he is slain

¹³⁵ Albright 1968: 145.

rather easily by the god of death while Anat, after mourning the death of her beloved brother, kills Mot with ease.

Despite the passivity displayed by the male god, their cults appear to have been more popular in terms of worshippers. Apollo was also the god of justice while his sister Artemis punished severely and without compromise. Baal complains to Anat that he does not command sufficient respect from his peers yet refuses to take control of his destiny. Instead he cries to Anat, leaving it to his sister to bully their father El into capitulating and allowing Baal to build a grand palace. Artemis punishes Agamemnon at Aulis, forcing him to sacrifice his own daughter before allowing his troops to continue. This causes Agamemnon to kill his own daughter, adding to the list of sins polluting his family line. It is Artemis' brother who helps in resolving the curse on the house of Atreus when he participates in the trial that acquits Orestes of guilt.

Apollo's sister, Artemis, merges effortlessly with goddesses of Syria and Assyria. As the 'mistress of wild beasts' (πότνια θηρῶν), and their huntress she resembles the Ugaritic Anat who bears the identical attributes. They also share the appellation 'virgin', *parthenos* for Artemis and *btlt* for Anat. When one removes the term 'virgin' from the equation, Artemis may be compared with other oriental goddesses in her aspect as armed huntress and punisher. In Assyria, Ishtar also bears the title *bēlet nammašti* (mistress of the beasts).¹³⁶ The Ugaritic equivalent of Ishtar, 'Attartu, is described as a huntress. Artemis' title of *Astrateia* at Pyrrhichos in Laconia may reflect a synchronizing of the goddesses based on their shared attribute as huntress.¹³⁷ 'Attartu has also been paired

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ West 1997: 56.

with Resheph suggesting yet another male and female pairing of armed deities.¹³⁸ West suggests that this Levantine pairing may explain Apollo's association with Artemis.¹³⁹ This assertion may be partially true yet Anat's association with Baal is closer still given their sibling relationship and her virgin designation.

Anat and Baal share a close relationship. Baal confides his deepest ambitions to Anat and the goddess immediately goes about realizing his dreams. A Ugaritic text describes the joy Baal feels when he sees his sister:

And Aliyan Baal lifts his eyes, he lifts his eyes and sees the Virgin Anat, the fairest among Baal's sisters. He hurries towards her and rises. He kneels at her feet and falls. And he lifts his voice and shouts: May you live Sister, and may your days be prolonged (10:II:13-29, Gordon 76:II:13-29).

The *Homeric Hymn to Artemis* describes a similar relationship in which the goddess is described as a fierce huntress who only lets down her guard when at the home of her brother:

I sing of Artemis, whose shafts are of gold, who cheers on the hounds, the pure maiden, shooter of stags, who delights in archery, own sister to Apollo with the golden sword. Over the shadowy hills and windy peaks she draws her golden bow, rejoicing in the chase, and sends out grievous shafts. The tops of the high mountains tremble and the tangled wood echoes awesomely with the outcry of beasts: earth quakes and the sea also where fishes shoal. But the goddess with a bold heart turns every way destroying the race of wild beasts: and when she is satisfied and has cheered her heart, this huntress who delights in arrows slackens her supple bow and goes to the great house of her dear brother Phoebus Apollo, to the rich land of Delphi, there to order the lovely dance of the Muses and Graces. There she hangs up her curved bow and her arrows, and heads and leads the dances, gracefully arrayed, while they all utter their heavenly voice, singing how neat-ankled Leto bare children supreme among the immortals both in thought and in deed. (1-20).

If one compares the close relationship of the Greek divine siblings, Artemis and Apollo, one gets the same type of blurring when it comes to which sibling carries out a deed in defense of the other's pride, honour etc. Apollo is credited with slaying the

¹³⁸ Schretter 1974:122.

¹³⁹ West 1997: 56.

Pythian serpent but it is Artemis who slays Koronis after she betrays Apollo by sleeping with a mortal while carrying Apollo's child in her womb.

Anat is fiercely protective over her Baal's welfare and is as unstoppable in furthering his ambition as she is in her murderous rages. When Baal complains that he is not honored with his own home like other gods, Anat promises to visit her father El, the head of the pantheon, and assures Baal that the head of the pantheon will grant her wishes

or:

[...] mšḥ nn. Kimr. laṣ
[ašhlk]. šbth.dmm šbt.dqnh
[mm'm] []d. lytn. Bt. lb'l.kilm

[Or] I will drag him to the ground like a lamb
and make his grey hairs run with blood, if he
doesn't give Baal a court (*KTU* 3.iv 6-13).

Anat now travels to El's palace. The earth is described as being in a state of famine and drought. She repeats her threat and El responds from the behind the safety of seven rooms with closed doors that he knows that his daughter is more like a man than a woman. El gives way before the threats of his daughter and a house of gold and lapis lazuli is constructed for Baal. Baal rejoices in his home and sends a defiant message to his enemy Mot, the ruler of the Underworld. Mot responds with an aggressive message of his own and somehow forces Baal to visit him in the Underworld and slays him. Baal's messengers appear before El, bearing tidings that they found Baal dead in a field in the Underworld. In a mourning ritual, El sits on the ground, rends his clothes, tears at his flesh, pours ashes on his head and rolls in the earth. Anat goes off in search of Baal's corpse. She finds the body and undergoes the same mourning ritual as El before burying Baal. There is a reference to the absence of rain. Anat now goes to find Mot on a journey

of revenge. Upon finding him, she cleaves him with her sword, winnows him with her fan, burns him with fire, grinds him in her hand-mill and sows him in the ground where his body is devoured by birds.

2.5 Mourning of the Angry Goddesses

In many accounts the angry goddess stops her wrath for a period of intense mourning. Often one text describes Inanna as a great warrior whose "raging threatens to destroy heaven and earth", while a following episode refers to the goddess' laments in terms of how the passion of their expression shakes the foundations of the world:

She of lament, she of lament, struck up a lament. The hierodule, she of lament, she of lament struck up a lament. The hierodule of heaven, Inanna, the devastatrix of the mountain, the lady of Hursagkalama, she who causes the heavens to rumble, the lady of the Eturkalama, she who shakes the earth... she of lament, she of lament (struck up a lament).¹⁴⁰

One text directly links Inanna's anger and propensity for terrorizing humanity and engaging in battle to her ensuing lament:

You make the heavens tremble and the earth quake. Great Priestess, who can soothe your troubled heart? You flash like lightning over the highlands; you throw your firebrands across the earth. Your deafening command... splits apart great mountains.¹⁴¹
Devastatrix of the lands, you are lent wings by the storm... you fly about the nation. At the sound of you the lands bow down. Propelled on your own wings you peck away at the land. With a roaring storm you roar; with Thunder you continually thunder... To (the accompaniment of) the harp of sighs you give vent to a dirge.¹⁴²

Inanna and Aphrodite, Hathor, Anat, Astarte, and Ishtar are all represented as warriors and mourners. Two texts featuring Ishtar resemble the Inanna quotes above in

¹⁴⁰ Cohen 1981: 148.

¹⁴¹ Wolkstein & Kramer 1983: 95.

¹⁴² Hallo & van Dyk 1968: 17-19.

that Ishtar's raging causes destruction to mankind, crows all other powerful gods, while the earth shakes with the strength of her weeping :

O splendid lioness of the Igigi-gods, who renders furious gods submissive... great is your valor, O valiant Ishtar, Shining torch of heaven and earth, brilliance of all inhabited lands. Furious in irresistible onslaught, hero to the fight, Fiery glow that blazes against the enemy, who wreaks destruction on the fierce, Dancing one, Ishtar... Irminium, raging lion, may your heart be calmed.¹⁴³

The text of the following hymn confirms that it was the goddess' cries which shook the world:

I rain battle down like flames in the fighting, I make heaven and earth shake with my cries, ... I, Ishtar, am queen of heaven and earth. I am the queen... I constantly traverse heaven, then (?) I trample the earth, I destroy what remains of the inhabited world.⁸³

Aphrodite's role as a lamenting goddess is best represented in the myths detailing her relationship to Adonis. The mourning rituals carried out to commemorate his death featured ceremonial wailing and the singing of dirges. Aphrodite herself was said to have leapt from the rocks of Leukas in anguish over his death.¹⁴⁴

Anat's lamentations over Baal's death put a temporary halt to her violence against mortals and gods alike:

Then Anat went to and fro and scoured every mountain to the heart of the earth... She came upon Baal, fallen to earth. She covered her loins with sackcloth;... she scraped (her) skin with a stone... She gashed her cheeks and chin.¹⁴⁵

The Phrygian goddess, Cybele, identified with Aphrodite,¹⁴⁶ wandered the world with disheveled hair while lamenting the death of Attis (*Diod.359.1.2*). Despite the lateness of the source, Diodorus' account appears to preserve an important archetypal motif, the image of the mourning goddess wandering with unbound, flowing hair. The

¹⁴³ Foster 1993: 512.

¹⁴⁴ Ptolemy Hephaestion Bk7 (as summarized in Photius, *Bibliotheca* 190).

¹⁴⁵ Walls 1992: 67.

¹⁴⁶ Farnell 1977: 633.

Greek Electra unbound her hair, streaming across heaven as a comet while lamenting the destruction of Troy:

But after the conquest of Troy and the annihilation of its descendants,... overwhelmed by pain she separated from her sisters and settled in the circle named arctic, and over long periods she would be seen lamenting, her hair streaming. That brought her the name of comet.

Another late source referring to Aphrodite' connection to the Semitic world and having unbound her hair when she mourns Adonis' death comes from the Greek poet, Bion (c. 100 BCE):

And Aphrodite unbinds her locks and goes wandering through the woodlands, distraught, unkempt, and barefoot. The thorns tear her as she goes, and gather her holy blood, but she sweeps through the long glades, shrieking aloud and calling on the lad, her Assyrian lord.¹⁴⁷

Lamentations in Sumerian texts involve a goddess appealing to Enlil while bewailing her fate and recounting the cause of her grief. The laments appear to be part of rituals such as 'the Lifting of Hands' or the 'Soothing of the Heart,' aimed at soothing angry gods.¹⁴⁸

Another type of lamentation involves dead or vanished deities and these are narrated by their mothers, wives and sisters. Dumuzi is mourned by Inanna and sometimes by his sister Gestinanna. Nergal's mother laments her son's death as do Damu's sisters.¹⁴⁹ There is no record of weeping male deities.¹⁵⁰

Mourning rites of gashing, tearing and loosening of hair, as featured in Greece and the Near East, appear to have been performed exclusively by females and it is interesting that goddesses like Anat, Inanna and Ishtar abandon their assumption of traditionally male roles to perform them.

¹⁴⁷ As quoted in Gaster 1961: 214.

¹⁴⁸ Cohen 1981:132.

¹⁴⁹ Kramer 1982, 133ff.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

2.6 Transvestite and/or Transsexual Goddesses

Šauška

There is a confusion of gender common to angry goddesses in Greece and Ugarit. Anat, in addition to being accused by her father, El, of being man-like is sometimes represented with a beard.¹⁵¹ Ishtar is similarly described as bearded when her role as goddess of war is being emphasized as was the Hurrian goddess, Šauška.¹⁵²

Šauška's cult was based in Southern Anatolia and northern Syria, but was made popular throughout the Hittite Empire when Ḫattušili III made her his tutelary goddess.¹⁵³ Texts from Boghazköy, Nuzi and Alalakh include two methods of writing her name: syllabically (*dša-(u)-uš-ga*) or in ideographic form (dIŠTAR(-ka), while alphabetic texts from Ugarit spell her name *šuš* or *šwšk*.¹⁵⁴ The ideographic spelling of Šauška's name indicates that the Hurrian goddess was connected with Ishtar, with whom she shares the features of warrior and love goddess and occasional bane of mortals. Šauška's position in the Hittite pantheon is uncertain. Ugaritic and Hurrian texts name Anu as her father and the Weather-god Teshub as her brother and husband, thus paralleling her with the sibling pairings of Artemis and Apollo and Anat and Baal. Hittite texts however, name Hebat as Teshub's wife. This confusion of pairing is easily explained if we accord Šauška the same virginal status as Artemis and Anat, allowing her the freedom to be partnered with a

¹⁵¹ Gibson 1978: 74.

¹⁵² Alexander 1991: 161.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Wegner 1995: 117-120.

sibling who is not necessarily her lover. There is no reason why Teshub could not be partnered with a goddess who is not his wife or lover as indicated by the Greek siblings Apollo and Artemis and (arguably) the Ugaritic brother and sister combination of Baal and Anat.

Šauška's ambiguous sexual nature is referred to in Hittite texts that describe her as clothed alternately in male and female garb and armed with a warrior's weapons (KUB XXXI 69:5-6). The goddess is depicted in two reliefs at Yazılıkaya; relief no. 56 shows her in the company of exclusively female goddesses, while no. 38 has her as the sole female among male gods. This blurring of her sexuality has led to her being referred to as bisexual or androgynous¹⁵⁵ but as we see the same gender confusion in Anat, Ishtar, Aphrodite and Athena there appears to be a different motivation than mere sexual (or lack thereof) identification.

One Ugaritic text warns of her propensity to remove the virility and vitality from men along with their weapons, giving them a spindle and distaff instead and clothing them as women (KUB 15.35). A soldier's oath warns of being clothed as women by Šauška should they prove faithless (*Kbo* 6.34). The provision in *Deut.* 22:5 which forbids a woman to dress as a man and a man to dress as a woman may be an allusion to the fear of changing sexualities as represented by Šauška's powers.¹⁵⁶

Šauška's importance to the religious cults of Ugarit and Anatolia was demonstrated at all the major festivals where she received offerings. Her possible role in

¹⁵⁵ Römer 1982: 413.

¹⁵⁶ Römer 1982: 411.

terms of influence on Greek cult and myth would have been greatly facilitated by the location of her cult center at Ugarit.¹⁵⁷

Aphrodite

Other goddesses associated with war and/or the hunt have been occasionally portrayed as bearded and wearing male garb. Cyprian Aphrodite was known by epithets which appear inconsistent with her usual titles in Mainland Greece including: 'Goddess of Death-in-Life', 'Melaenis' (black one), 'Scotia' (dark one), 'Androphonos' (man-slaver), and 'Epitymbria' (of the tombs).¹⁵⁸ Representations of the goddess on Cyprus would sometimes portray her bearded, with male genitalia but clad in a female dress and holding a scepter.¹⁵⁹ Another aspect arguing for a close relationship between Anat and the Cyprian Aphrodite is seen in references to male characteristics displayed by both goddesses. Paeon of Amathus, a city in Cyprus, is quoted by Theophrastus saying that Aphrodite occasionally assumed the appearance of a man. Aristophanes discussed a dual-gendered deity by the name of Aphroditos. Hesychius also mentions Aphroditos, noting the god was a hermaphrodite. Another detailed discussion of Aphrodite's masculine characteristics is offered by Macrobius, quoted by several authors, mentioning a bearded statue of Aphrodite on Cyprus.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Wegner 1995: 119.

¹⁵⁸ Ancient texts referring to a masculine Aphrodite include: Macrobius, *Sat.* III.8.1-3 and Servius *ad Aen.* 2.632; Hesychius, s.v. ἀφρόδιτος; Plutarch, *Theseus* 20.4, *Suda* s.v. ἀφρόδιτη.

¹⁵⁹ Hill 1973: 79-80; Macrobius Servius.

¹⁶⁰ Sophocleous 1985: 80-96, pls XV-XVI.

There appears to be a connection between sexual ambiguity of goddesses and anger. Perhaps just as their female characteristics are exaggerated in their maidenhood, the traditionally male roles of the hunter and warrior are similarly exaggerated.

A Cyprian epithet referred to Aphrodite as 'the goddess with the spear',¹⁶¹ an attribute difficult to reconcile with the usual Greek image of the gentle goddess of love. It is rare for the modern reader to visualize Aphrodite as intimidating although the *Hymn to Aphrodite V* indicates how the gentle goddess actually portrayed herself to the mortal, Anchises. The scene in the *Iliad* in which gentle Aphrodite joins the battle against the Greeks seems ludicrous and out of character. Diomedes wounds her with his spear and then taunts her as she flees the battle in tears. Homer's account may be a satirical acknowledgment of a martial Cyprian Aphrodite who was also known by the epithet "the goddess with the spear".¹⁶² Athena's victory over Ares, the god of war, in the *Iliad* is achieved with the same military talent that Anat displays when dispatching Mot, an Ugaritic god of war and death, who defeated and slew her beloved Baal. If tales of Anat were incorporated into the mythology of the Cyprian goddess it is plausible to assume that sagas emphasizing war or the hunt would have seemed out of character with mainland Greece's ideal of Aphrodite. Such tales would have been deemed more appropriate to Athena and Artemis.

In ancient Greece, most notably in Sparta, Aphrodite was worshipped as a warrior, as attested by her occasional epithet *Areia*. The majority of Greeks were

¹⁶¹ Farnell 1977: 651.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

themselves puzzled by this appellation.¹⁶³ However, it is on the island of Kythera, where Aphrodite *Urania* was represented as armed, (believed to be the earliest site for Aphrodite's worship in Greece¹⁶⁴), that the Spartan cult finds a parallel. The already blurred distinction between goddesses like Anat, 'Attartu and Ishtar/Astarte appear to have been applied and synchronized with Aphrodite during her long period of worship on Cyprus. The huntress aspect of the goddesses may have been an uneasy fit in terms of the Greek vision of their goddess of love. Nevertheless the 'armed Aphrodite' is well attested in Cyprus as she is in most locations where Greeks and Semites mingled. There is also much textual evidence concerning Aphrodite in her role as an angry and punishing goddess, making her role on Cyprus in relation to Anat that much more intriguing. Just as Anat does not hesitate to threaten and punish fellow deities, Aphrodite is as unrelenting in her punishment of gods as she is of mortals. As punishment for lying with the goddess's lover Ares, Aphrodite curses Eos, the Dawn Goddess, by awakening within her an unquenchable desire for young men:

Eos, whom Aphrodite tormented with constant passion as punishment for sleeping with Ares (Apollod. 1.27).

She similarly causes Kleio, one of the nine Mousai, to fall in love with a mortal man, in response to her criticizing Aphrodite's love of Adonis:

Aphrodite, furious with Kleio (who had chided her for loving Adonis), caused her to fall in love with [a mortal] Magnes' son Pieros. As a result of their union she bore him a son Hyakinthos. (Apollod. 1.16).

¹⁶³ Graz 1984 : 250.

¹⁶⁴ Farnell 1977: 653.

While Aphrodite dwells in the sea she falls in love with the Sea-God Nerites and asks him to accompany her to Olympos. Despite the fact that Nerites declines, Aphrodite bestows on Nerites the gift of flight. When Nerites responds indifferently, Aphrodite transforms him into a shellfish:

[The sea-god] Nerites was the most beautiful of men and gods; [and] Aphrodite delighted to be with Nerites in the sea and loved him. And when the fated time arrived, at which, at the bidding of [Zeus] the Father of the gods, Aphrodite also had to be enrolled among the Olympians, I have heard that she ascended and wished to bring her companion and play-fellow. But the story goes that he refused, preferring life with his sisters and parents to Olympos. And then he was permitted to grow wings: this, I imagine, was a gift from Aphrodite. But even this favour he counted as nothing. And so the daughter of Zeus was moved to anger and transformed his shape into a shell, and of her own accord chose in his place for her attendant and servant Eros, who also was young and beautiful, and to him she gave the wings of Nerites" (Aelian 14.28).

Nerites' indifference to the love and gift of Aphrodite is similar to the indifference shown by Tammuz when Ishtar returns from the Underworld. Ishtar responds to Tammuz's lack of happiness at her return by condemning him to the Underworld. Aphrodite's anger against mortal insult is accompanied by angry persistent punishment that is reminiscent of the Erinyes' attitude towards the transgressions of mortals.

Another episode ending in Aphrodite visiting punishment on an offending mortal occurs in the battle scene of the *Iliad* in which the gods enter the fray to fight alongside mortals. Aphrodite was wounded by Diomedes while fighting on behalf of the Trojans. She returns to Olympos in tears and is comforted by her mother, Dione, who advises Aphrodite to use Diomedes' wife as a toll for her revenge:

Wherefore now let Tydeus' son, for all he is so mighty, beware lest one better than thou fight against him, lest in sooth Aegialeia, the daughter of Adrastus, passing wise, wake from sleep with her long lamentings all her household, as she wails for her wedded husband, the best man of the Achaeans, even she, [415] the stately wife of horse-taming Diomedes (5.405-415).

When Diomedes returns home after the Trojan War, Aphrodite avenges her injury at his hands by instigating a reception by his queen similar to that experienced by Agamemnon. Diomedes is betrayed by his wife, who with the help of her lover drives him from his home.

According to Mimnermos, because Aphrodite had been wounded by Diomedes she caused [his wife] Aigialeia to go to bed with many lovers and to be loved by Kometes, the son of Sthenelos. And when Diomedes arrived in Argos she plotted against him (Mimnermus Fr. 22, from Scholiast on Lycophron)

The story of Hippolytus tells of a Prince of Troizen who scorned the worship of Aphrodite in favor of Artemis. Aphrodite punishes Hippolytus by causing his stepmother Phaedra to fall in love with him, a curse which ultimately brings about his death through the subsequent curses of his father Theseus.

[At Troizen, Argos] is a race-course called that of Hippolytus, and above it a temple of Aphrodite Spy. For from here, whenever Hippolytus practiced his exercises, Phaidra, who was in love with him, used to gaze upon him. Here there still grew the myrtle, with its leaves, as I have described above, pierced with holes. When Phaidra was in despair and could find no relief for her passion, she used to vent her spleen upon the leaves of this myrtle. There is also the grave of Phaidra, not far from the tomb of Hippolytus, which is a barrow near the myrtle (Paus. 2.32.3).

Hippolytus the son of Theseus insulted Aphrodite; and that perhaps is why he never fell a victim to the tender passion, and why love never ran riot in his soul; but he was allotted an austere and unbending nature. But our friend here admits that he is devoted to the goddess, and yet did not respond to his step-mother's guilty overtures, but went away in terror of the goddess herself, in case he were not on his guard against another's evil passions; and the mere aversion to any one of the gods, such as Hippolytus entertained in regard to Aphrodite, I do not class as a form of sobriety (Life of Apollonius of Tyana 6.3).

Like Hippolytus, the daughters of Kinyras refuse to properly respect Aphrodite's divinity and are punished by cohabiting with foreigners. It is telling that the episode is said to occur on Cyprus, the location where the transmission of attributes of the angry goddess may have occurred:

Kinyras took some people with him to Kypros and founded Paphos there; he married Metharme, a child of King Pygmalion of Kypros, and they had Oxyporos and Adonis, as well as daughters

named Orsedike, Laogore, and Braesia. These girls, because of Aphrodite's anger at them, slept with foreigners and ended up their lives in Aigyptos (Egypt) (Apollod. 3.183).

Another tale of the angry Aphrodite is similarly set in Cyprus. It tells of Smyrna (aka Myrrha), a Princess of Cyprus, who like most of the examples provided here, was remiss in her worship of Aphrodite. The goddess punishes Smyrna by causing her to fall in love with her own father.

Theias, king of the Assyrians, whose daughter was Smyrna. Because of Aphrodite's wrath (for she did not honour Aphrodite), Smyrna developed a lust for her father, and with the help of her nurse slept with him for twelve nights without his knowing it. When he found out he drew his sword and started after her, and as he was about to overtake her, she prayed to the gods to become invisible. The gods took pity on her and changed her into the tree called the Smyrna. Nine months later the tree split open and the baby named Adonis was born (Apollod. 3.184).

The rose and the myrtle are sacred to Aphrodite and connected with the story of Adonis (Paus. 6.24.7).

The Lemnian women were also remiss in worshipping Aphrodite and were punished by exuding a terrible smell that resulted in their being abandoned by their husbands in favor of (one assumes) more pleasingly fragranced Thracian women.

Aphrodite then drove the Lemnian women to murder their husbands in a jealous fury:

Lemnos happened to have no males at the time [when the Argonauts visited the island], and was ruled by Hypsipyle, the daughter of Thoas. The reason for this was that the women of Lemnos had failed to give due honour to Aphrodite, in return for which she afflicted them with a foul odour. Whereupon their husbands took to bed women whom they captured from neighbouring Thrake. For this dishonourable treatment the Lemnian women slew their fathers and husbands (Apollod. 1.114).

Tyndareus, the Lakedaimonian king also failed to pay Aphrodite her due worship. He is punished by the dishonor brought on him by his three daughters, Helen, Clytemnestra, and Timandra, who all wind up betraying their husbands.

Stesikhoros says that while sacrificing to the gods Tyndareus forgot Aphrodite and that the goddess was angry and made his daughters twice and thrice wed and deserters of their husbands.... And Hesiod also says: 'And laughter-loving Aphrodite felt jealous when she looked on them and

cast them into evil report. Then Timandra deserted Ekhemos and went and came to Phyleus, dear to the deathless gods; and even so Klytaimnestra deserted god-like Agamemnon and lay with Aigisthos and chose a worse mate; and even so Helene dishonoured the couch of golden-haired Menelaus (Catalogues of Women Fr. 67, from Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes* 249).

[In Sparta (there) is a cult statue of Aphrodite] who sits wearing a veil and with fetters on her feet. The story is that the fetters were put on her by [the mythical king] Tyndareus, who symbolized by the bonds the faithfulness of wives to their husbands. The other account, that Tyndareus punished the goddess with fetters because he thought that from Aphrodite had come the shame of his daughters, I will not admit for a moment. For it were surely altogether silly to expect to punish the goddess by making a cedar figure and naming it Aphrodite (Pausanias 3.15.10).

The parallels between the attributes and myths of the angry goddess in Greece, Egypt and the Near East are clear. Therefore, it would be wise to consider the possible sources of her transmission before exploring the impact of the angry goddess on the ancient societies in question.

2.7 Cyprian Aphrodite

In antiquity, Cyprus was often credited with being the birthplace of Aphrodite. Homer mentions Aphrodite's sanctuary on Paphos (*Od.* 8: 362) and refers to the goddess interchangeably as Aphrodite or Kypris, the Cyprian.¹⁶⁵ If one follows the traditional dating of the *Iliad*, Aphrodite's association with Paphos goes back at least to the eighth century BCE, long before there was any evidence of Aphrodite on the Greek mainland.¹⁶⁶ Aphrodite's name is also absent from the Linear B tablets of Knossos and Pylos (14th-12th century) that provide the names of other goddesses from the Greek pantheon like

¹⁶⁵ *Kypris* in Homer. *Il.* 5.330, 422, 458, 760, 863; *Aphrodite* in. *Il.* 2. 820; 3. 64, 398, 413, 424; 4.10; 5. 370, 375, 427; 14. 211 20. 40; 22.470.

¹⁶⁶ Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 467-468.

Artemis, Athena and Hera.¹⁶⁷ She is also absent from the Mycenaean documents at Thebes that mention Demeter and Kore.¹⁶⁸

Since the end of the 19th century, scholars have attributed Aphrodite's origin to various sources and geographic locations: some believed in an Indo-European origin, others believed she was descended from the great Aegean Mother Goddess, some traced her to Crete while others held that the Mycenaean had introduced her to Cyprus.¹⁶⁹ The other line of argument looks to the Near East for Aphrodite's roots and credits Cyprus as the stepping stone by which the goddess reached Greece.¹⁷⁰ The problem of Aphrodite's origin will probably never be absolutely resolved, yet the influence exerted by Cyprus was acknowledged by the ancient Greeks. The myth that told of Aphrodite's emergence on Cyprus after being born of the foam formed by the mixing of Kronos's castrated member with the sea was well known. Despite the fact that Homer described Aphrodite as the daughter of Zeus he still, as was shown above, referred to her as the 'Cyprian'. There is also evidence that Near Eastern influence contributed to the mythography and iconography of an already established Cypriot fertility goddess who, in turn, contributed to the creation of Aphrodite while adding to the attributes and stories of extant Greek goddesses such as Athena and Artemis.

Tracing the history of the Cypriot goddess is a daunting task, given the lack of written sources. Traditions and myths related to her were already ancient when Hellenic authors began to write about the goddess. Hesiod provides another early reference to Aphrodite in his *Theogony* when he tells of the creation of the world.

¹⁶⁷ Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 125-129.

¹⁶⁸ Goddard and Sacconi, 1996: 101-105.

¹⁶⁹ Pirenne-Delforge, 1994: 1-9.

¹⁷⁰ Lévêque 1984: 419-421.

The Hurrian creation myth as told in Hittite tablets resemble Hesiod's *Theogony* in that the struggles of the gods for supremacy result in the castration of the chief deity and the establishment of a new hierarchy in the pantheon. Hesiod's version differs from the Hittite text in his introduction of Aphrodite as a byproduct of the violent act. The birth of Aphrodite symbolized an end to the birthing of monsters by Heaven and Earth and signaled the beginning of a new law-abiding species that reproduced under the auspices of Love and Desire. Hesiod's geographical precision in referring to Kythera and Cyprus may reflect an awareness of Phoenician activity in the Eastern and Central Mediterranean as well as an acknowledgement of a Greek reception of a Phoenician goddess.¹⁷¹ A couple of centuries later, Herodotus described Kythera and Cyprus as the sites of Aphrodite's sanctuary that originated from the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania in Ashkelon in Palestine.¹⁷²

Homer describes Aphrodite's "sanctuary with a perfumed altar" on Paphos.¹⁷³ This reference to a sacred site agrees with the archaeological record of Paphos, which reveals it to have been almost consistently the center of fertility cults dating from the third millennium BCE, down to Homer's time and beyond.¹⁷⁴ Stone figurines depicted in the process of giving birth have been unearthed dating to c. 3000 BCE.¹⁷⁵ Images of goddesses giving birth have been found in Anatolia, as seen in the relief at Çatal Hüyük. One terracotta figurine from Paphos depicted in the process of giving birth was housed in

¹⁷¹ Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 313.

¹⁷² Herodotus, 1.105.-113.

¹⁷³ Homer, *Odyssey* 8.363.

¹⁷⁴ J. Karageorghis 1992: 17-27, pl. II-III.

¹⁷⁵ Peltenburg 1989: 113-122.

a model building providing physical form to the Mesopotamian birth goddess appropriately named “Lady Birth Hut.”¹⁷⁶

Around 2500 BCE, the western Chalcolithic cult described above gave way to a new culture on Cyprus, apparently introduced from Anatolia.¹⁷⁷ Funerary objects including bowls, model buildings, figurines and statues begin to appear. Relief images on the bowls portray horned animals, snakes and birds. The buildings appear to be model temples with individual pillars ending in bull heads. The plank-shaped female statues wear headdresses, ornamental garments and jewelry. As many of the female figures are represented in child-bearing posture or in the process of actually giving birth the suggestion that they represent a fertility deity is worth scrutinizing even in these post 19th century times.¹⁷⁸

The many examples of two-headed deities are intriguing if one considers the notion that they may represent an early form of a bisexual god (see below for a discussion of gender confusion in female deities) that later gave way to twin deities such as Baal and Anat or Artemis and Apollo. Perhaps the stage of the two-headed figurines represents a duality of form and function that became separated over the centuries to allow for individual expression in terms of gender, mythology and attributes.¹⁷⁹

R.M. Washbourne believes the figurines to be Inanna/Ishtar based on a comparative study of the same period in Mesopotamia. He compares the tiaras, earrings and necklaces of the Cyprus figurines to similarly garbed statues of Inanna/Ishtar in

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 117.

¹⁷⁷ J. Karageorghis 1992: 17-27.

¹⁷⁸ Far too many figurines and statues unearthed in the past have been accorded fertility-god status without proper evaluation.

¹⁷⁹ I thank my supervisor, Annette Teffeteller, for pointing out the possible relationship between bisexual figurines and paired deities.

Mesopotamia, and makes a good argument that given Inanna/Ishtar's role in fertility and life after death, the function of the Cyprus figurines was related, if not to the goddess then at least by her iconography.¹⁸⁰

The problem with Washbourne's argument, raised by Karageorghis, is that archaeological finds do not yet indicate that there was any link between Cyprus and Mesopotamia in the early 2nd millennium BCE.¹⁸¹ Nevertheless, Karageorghis agrees with Washbourne's conclusion that there was a relationship between the Cyprus figurines and the Mesopotamian figurines representing Inanna/Ishtar, adding that the plank and double-headed female figurines are to be found in contemporary Anatolia, which was demonstrably in trade contact with Cyprus.¹⁸²

Definite contact between Syro-Palestine and Cyprus occurs ca. 1850-1600 BCE via the export of Cypriot copper to the Near East. Depictions of nude bejeweled female figurines with pierced breasts and an incised vulva clearly imitate Near Eastern prototypes.¹⁸³

Things became really interesting in the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1600 BCE) when colonies from Syro-Palestine began to appear on Cyprus. Nude figurines wearing necklaces and displaying large rounded eyes, hooked nose and pierced ears adorned with clay or bronze earrings were found all over the island. They are rendered in a typically Syrian/Mesopotamian posture with their hands held between or on the breasts. They appear to have been based on Syrian prototypes which originated in turn from

¹⁸⁰ Washbourne 2000: 69-76.

¹⁸¹ J. Karageorghis 2002: 269.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 271.

¹⁸³ J. Karageorghis 1977: 72-82, pl. 20a-b.

Mesopotamia.¹⁸⁴ The figurines attest to the continuity of a fertility cult on the island which arguably had Oriental influence in the past and was now undoubtedly exhibiting the symptoms of exposure to the Near East. Alongside the oriental styled figurines were more lifelike painted terracotta figurines with non-exaggerated human features. The ears were not pierced and their breasts and hips were not especially emphasized. That they resemble Mycenaean statues is not surprising as these mainland Greeks began to visit Cyprus in the 14-13th centuries BCE.¹⁸⁵ The differing styles of female statuary lying side-by-side in Cyprian tombs appears to reveal the challenge faced by worshippers of the Cyprian fertility goddess in assimilating Oriental and Greek portraits of fertility goddesses.

One city on the Syrian coast with which Cyprus had close trading relations was Ugarit. A 13th century BCE tablet discovered there discusses the gods of Cyprus, giving them the oriental names Anat, Baal and Athor.¹⁸⁶ Anat and Athor were identified with the process of childbirth and rearing of the young and it is easy to understand their connection with a Cypriot fertility deity. The reference to Anat is particularly relevant in understanding the transmission of attributes and myth from Near Eastern deities to various goddesses of the Greek pantheon, as will be demonstrated below.

The goddess of Cyprus is first identified as Aphrodite by ancient sources (most of them late) in reference to myths concerning Kinyras, the king of Cyprus and the Greek hero Agapenor. In the *Iliad*, Kinyras is mentioned as the king of Cyprus who offers Agamemnon a suit of armor (*Il.* 11.20ff.).¹⁸⁷ Pausanias presents a tradition in which the

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 80-85, pls. 128-d, 19a-b.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 272.

¹⁸⁶ Dugand 1973: 193.

¹⁸⁷ Baurain 1980: 270-306.

Greek warrior, Agapenor, founds the city of Paphos and dedicates its temple to Aphrodite (Pausanius, 8.5.2). According to Pindar, Kinyras, in addition to being a wealthy Cypriot, was also a priest of Aphrodite (*Pyth.* 2.18). Tacitus claims that the first temple to Aphrodite on Paphos was founded by Kinyras (*Hist.* 2.3). Kinyras was also credited by Lucian with founding temples to Aphrodite on Byblos (*De dea Syria*, 9). Herodotus informs us that a temple in Ashkelon on the Syro-Palestinian coast inspired the building of the temple to Aphrodite on Cyprus (1.105.2-3.).

Thus the recurring references to Kinyras in connection with Aphrodite may reflect Late Bronze Age migration of Syro-Palestinian settlers to Cyprus who brought their protective goddess with them. Such an origin would explain the Near Eastern features typical of the worship of Aphrodite on Paphos.¹⁸⁸ Instead of the usual representative statue, Aphrodite was worshipped on Cyprus in the form of a large conical rock typical to Near Eastern worship of stones but hardly Hellenic in nature.¹⁸⁹

Given the evidence, it may be suggested that the Cypriot goddess resembled Sumerian Inanna and the Akkadian Ishtar to some degree, but must have based most of her character on the Ugaritic goddesses Athor or Anat given the close relationship between Syro-Palestine and Cyprus.

Archaeological evidence confirms the presence of Greek settlers on Cyprus in the 12th and 11th centuries BCE.¹⁹⁰ It is at this time that structures built according to Greek specifications and the first Greek inscriptions are to be found.¹⁹¹ Foundation legends

¹⁸⁸ Maier 1984: 97-102.

¹⁸⁹ Lévêque 1984: 423-424. It was not uncommon for Greek divinities in the aniconic stage to be represented by such rocks, e.g. the Charites in Orchomenos or Eros in Boeotia. Until the middle of last century women from Paphos would come to the conical stone (actually a meteorite) for assistance with childbirth.

¹⁹⁰ Catling 1973: 40-50.

¹⁹¹ Masson 1956: 411-415.

affiliating cities in Cyprus with various Greek heroes such as the settling of Agapenor and his crew on Cyprus may reflect the archaeological evidence.¹⁹² If so, it may also be reflected in the period when the Cypriot goddess received her new appellation of Aphrodite. The Greek term of respect *wanassa* is an almost direct translation of the Syro-Palestinian designation *mlkt* 'Lady Ruler'.¹⁹³ A controversial theory that attempts to etymologically connect the Ugaritic deity Athrot with Aphrodite, merits consideration. It assumes that due to her Ugaritic connection, the Cypriot goddess was called *Athrot* or *Athor*. If so, the Hellenic settlers may have reproduced the word in Greek as "Aphrot" eventually becoming "Aphroditia," and thus recalling her foamy origin.¹⁹⁴

An Orphic Hymn describes the Cypriot goddess as a powerful deity, quick to anger and Queen of Heaven and Earth (*Orphic Hymns*, 55.1-28). Sophocles describes her in much the same way, again emphasizing her aspect as a goddess of fury (*TFG* 855. 1-17).

Inanna/Ishtar mourned the loss of her lover Dumuzi/Tammuz to the Underworld and it is in this context that the goddess is often compared with the myth of Aphrodite and Adonis.¹⁹⁵ Closer scrutiny of the Near Eastern and Greek myths, however, demonstrates that the Ugaritic myth of Anat and Baal resembles the Greek myth of Aphrodite and Adonis closer both in theme and in the etymology of the names of the dying god. The myth is often situated in Cyprus adding a possible geographical element to the overlap between Ugaritic and Greek mythology. The Greek Adonis was, according to some sources, born of the union of Kinyras and his daughter who had been

¹⁹² Gjerstad, 1944: 107-123.

¹⁹³ Palmer 1958: 6-9.

¹⁹⁴ West 1997: 626-629.

¹⁹⁵ In the better known version, Adonis is killed by a wild boar. Apollodorus blames Artemis' vindictive nature for sending the boar to kill Adonis (3.14.4).

transformed into a tree. Aphrodite and Adonis shared a passionate love affair until Adonis was killed by Ares. Aphrodite's grief at the loss of her lover was eased by the return of Adonis from the Underworld for two thirds of every year.

The Ugaritic myth of Anat and Baal also describes the passionate love between Anat and Baal and describes Anat's mourning when he is killed by Mot, lord of the Underworld. Anat does not rest until she has secured the promise of a seasonal return of her beloved Baal. The Ugaritic myth is undoubtedly related to the Inanna/Ishtar motif but there are several key differences. In the Inanna/Ishtar myth Dumuzzi/Tammuz is sent to the Underworld at the behest of Inanna/Ishtar. Inanna/Ishtar was held prisoner in the Underworld and was permitted to return to the world above only if she submitted a substitute. When Dumuzzi/Tammuz exhibits little joy at the prospect of her return, the enraged Inanna/Ishtar condemns him to replace her there. In the Ugaritic myth, Anat always strives on behalf of Baal. She defies her father and kills Mot on his behalf. There is no hint of the turbulent relationship between Anat and Baal exhibited by Inanna/Ishtar and Dumuzzi/Tammuz. The myth of Aphrodite and Adonis resembles the Ugaritic version in both the lack of discord between the lovers and in the mourning attempts by the bereaved goddesses to see their loved one returned to the living. In addition, the names Baal and Adonis are Semitic in origin both meaning 'lord' or 'master'.

As we see, much of Aphrodite's mythology could be explained in view of an Oriental transmission via Cyprus. Just as the Greeks were responsible for providing anthropomorphic form and an accompanying mythology to the previously amorphous and sexually ambiguous deities of the Etruscans,¹⁹⁶ so they may have altered the Cypriot fertility goddess. The consistent waves of Greek settlers on Cyprus in the 12th and 11th

¹⁹⁶ Mendelsohn 2001: 122-126.

centuries BCE resulted in a Hellenizing of the island along with a synthesizing of Cypro-Oriental culture including deities and mythology.

In the 11th century BCE, Cretans began to settle Cyprus, perhaps in reaction to the Dorian settlements on Crete. Mythological tradition acknowledges the role of Cyprus in the tales of Theseus. Paeon of Amathus is quoted by Plutarch as naming Cyprus the site where Ariadne was abandoned by Theseus. Citizens of Cyprus worshipped at her tomb on Amathus (Plut. *Theseus* 20, 3-7).

Phoenician influence permeates the archaeological record of Cyprus in the first millennium.¹⁹⁷ They built the city of Kition on the foundations of an earlier Bronze Age city, reconstructing temples used by previous inhabitants in the process. According to a Phoenician inscription, one temple was dedicated to the goddess Astarte, the Phoenician deity who had absorbed the attributes of other Oriental goddesses and is frequently correlated with Inanna/Ishtar, the Egyptian Hathor and Aphrodite.

Figurines from Amathus dating to the 6th century depict a naked Astarte with her hands held over her breasts. Temple models often show Astarte, demonstrating another Oriental source for the Cypriot deity. Other molded figurines found on Cyprus appear to represent the Egyptian goddess Hathor, also identified with Astarte. These figurines were also naked with the hands held to the breasts but include Egyptian-style heads with woven wig-like hair. A Hathor inspired model of the fifth century BCE was also found in relief on a sarcophagus in an Amathus necropolis.¹⁹⁸ The frieze shows four nude females adorned with necklaces and earrings, holding their breasts. During this period these nude Astarte/Hathor inspired figurines begin to appear in transparent garments that still reveal

¹⁹⁷ V. Karageorghis 1976: 95-107.

¹⁹⁸ J. Karageorghis 1977: pl. 33b.

their breasts and pubes. The archaeological record reveals a Cypriot preference for clothed goddesses as throughout the sixth and fifth centuries they are increasingly covered until they appear elaborately clothed. The Cypriot fashion (at least for goddesses) of the Archaic Period is revealed in these figurines which typically bear several layers of garments, a mantle, wig-like hair and heavy necklaces. They often wore diadems or rich headdresses, which became higher and more elaborate over time.¹⁹⁹ In addition to the figurines, limestone sculpture reveals the same trend beginning in the sixth century from nude to skimpily clothed to the heavily dressed.²⁰⁰ In the fourth century, Greek political and cultural influence had permeated Cyprus to the degree that the Cypriot costumes on these figurines were replaced with the Greek *peplos* and *himation*.²⁰¹ It was also at this time that the Cypriot goddess was definitely equated with Aphrodite.

The earliest written sources that identify the Cypriot deity as Aphrodite appear as dedicatory inscriptions written in the Cypriot syllabary. In Paphos, the deity is referred to as *thea* or *theos* (the goddess). Inscriptions on dedications found elsewhere refer to the “Paphian” or the “Golgian”, perhaps connecting her with the oldest goddess figurine on Cyprus found at Paphos and Golgos.” Dedications to “Aphrodite of Cyprus” appear on inscriptions at Amathus at the end of the fourth century BCE.²⁰² Alphabetic inscriptions in Greek mentioning Aphrodite begin to appear in the fourth century on Paphos, Salamis, Idalion and Amathus. Her appearance is part of the long tradition of female deities on Cyprus from the 11th century Cypriot fertility goddess to the Orientally-influenced

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. pls LVI-LVII.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Hermary 1989 : 678-682, 686-687, 815, 818, 829-831.

²⁰² Hermary 1988, 101, no. 2.

Anat/Inanna deities of Mesopotamia and Hathor of Egypt. This well-blended goddess was introduced to the Greeks, who incorporated her into their pantheon, principally as Aphrodite, while using the more violent aspects of her persona to augment the mythologies of other goddesses such as Artemis and Athena. The Greeks reintroduced the goddess to Cyprus in her Aphrodite persona in the fourth and third centuries BCE. The relationship of Aphrodite's epithet *Urania* offers a valuable clue to her possible relationship with Anat and Ishtar. Farnell points out that *Urania* -- "the celestial one" -- was a Greek translation of the Semitic title *malkat ha-ssamayim*, "the queen of the heavens."²⁰³

The Akkadian Ishtar shares the same epithet:

To the pure flame that fills the heavens, to the light of Heaven, Ishtar, who shines like the sun, to the mighty Queen of Heaven, Ishtar.²⁰⁴

The same epithet was possibly associated with Anat in Ugarit, where she was also called "Lady of the High Heavens" while Egyptian sources likewise credit the goddess Anat with the epithet "Queen of Heaven."²⁰⁵ Jeremiah's accusation that the Hebrews were guilty of burning incense to the Queen of Heaven (*Jer.* 44:17-25) may well have been referring to Anat or Ishtar both of whom are mentioned elsewhere in the Old Testament.²⁰⁶

²⁰³ Farnell 1977: 629.

²⁰⁴ Langdon 1964: 25.

²⁰⁵ Eaton 1964: 99; 125.

²⁰⁶ Astour 1967: 261.

2.8 Synthesis

Despite Boedeker's contention that Aphrodite's origin was Indo-European, there is something of a consensus among researchers both ancient and modern that the cult of Aphrodite originally came to Greece from the ancient Near East. Pausanias, for example, opines that: "The Assyrians were the first of the human race to worship the heavenly one [Aphrodite *Urania*]; then the people of Paphos in Cyprus, and of Phoenician Askalon in Palestine, and the people of Kythera, who learnt her worship from the Phoenicians"(1.14.7). A modern writer, Burkert, concurs adding: "Behind the figure of Aphrodite there clearly stands the ancient Semitic goddess of love, Ishtar-Astarte, divine consort of the king, queen of heaven, and hetaera in one."²⁰⁷ Burkert's point is well taken but considering the close ties between Cyprus and Ugarit, one should consider the Ugaritic goddess as the primary conduit into which the attributes of the principal Semitic goddesses of these cultures flowed. In a nod to Boedeker, I would add that a case could be made for considering the influence of the Hurrian goddess, Šauška, within this Semitic melting pot whose attributes as hunter and transformer of sex gender has been discussed in this chapter.

The idea that various episodes involving Semitic Goddesses like Anat, Astarte and Ishtar and the Hurrian goddess, Šauška, may have been separately synthesized into the myths of such diverse Greek goddesses as Athena, Artemis and Aphrodite should not come a surprise. There appears to be a tendency in Greek myth for originally multifaceted goddesses to become compartmentalized through time, no doubt allowing

²⁰⁷ Burkert 1992: 98.

the complex stories particular to the various fertility, hunting and warring goddesses of the Near East to be associated with one fertility or warrior goddess would have contradicted this trend. An early commentator, J.E. Harrison, was one of the earliest modern scholars to note that such a specialization in function appears to have occurred in the case of Aphrodite:

Another note of her late coming into Greece proper is that she is in Homer a departmental goddess, having for her sphere one human passion. The earlier forms of divinities are of larger import, they tend to be gods of all work. When the fusion of tribes and the influence of literature conjointly bring together a number of local divinities, perforce, if they are to hold together, they divide functions and attributes, i.e., become departmental.²⁰⁸

Aphrodite's usual role in Greek literature of gentle love goddess is difficult to reconcile with the brief glimpses of proud, angry and vindictive goddess as demonstrated in this chapter. It is when we allow for the possibility of early cultural influence within areas where there was considerable intermingling between Semitic, Anatolian and Greek peoples that such paradoxes become intelligible. If Aphrodite's epithet *Melaina*, 'the dark one' (Paus. 2.2.4, 8.6.5, 9.27.5), and her warrior-aspect are understood as vestiges of her one-time role as an angry goddess, the incongruity becomes understandable.

²⁰⁸ Harrison 1975 (original ed. 1903): 308.

Chapter Three: Disappearing Deities

A variety of motivations result in a divinity's disappearance from society: voluntary absence in which the deity decides of his or her own volition to withdraw from society and involuntary removal effected by kidnapping, or death. However, whatever the motivation, the catastrophic results of the disappearance affect both mortals and gods. Such disappearances typically involve gods of agriculture. The typical sequence, consists of the crops failing and livestock dying, resulting in the suffering mortals not offering their sacrifices to the gods who, in turn, go hungry. The natural order is restored when the deity is returned to his or her former post or proper redress has been given.

The myths examined here originate in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Anatolia and Greece. All the tales, aside from the Hittite myth, involve a separated couple. One is removed to the Underworld while the other mourns and eventually actively attempts to find and restore the removed partner. In the Hittite version the entire pantheon mourns the absence of the deity and strives as a group to locate and restore the missing god.

The earliest extant myths examined originate in Sumer. They date between 2500 BCE to around 2000 BCE, making them the oldest sources of the disappearing deity genre.²⁰⁹ They are taken from the Dummuzi texts and the myth of Inanna's descent to the Underworld.

There is surprising variety in the Dummuzi texts, not only in the manner of his death but also in the identity of the protagonists involved in searching for him. By

²⁰⁹ Jacobsen 1987: xi.

examining the different versions we can see a larger tale unfolding that incorporates most of the major elements in disappearing deity myths of Egypt, Anatolia and Greece.

The most common form of the Dummuzi myth is that of the shepherd, associated with the birth of lambs and milking of ewes. The Dummuzi cult held rituals celebrating his marriage to Inanna and mourning his early death.²¹⁰ His mother was the goddess Turtur, a goddess associated with the ewe, and his sister was Geshtinanna, the goddess of the grapevine.

3.1 In the Desert by the Early Grass

Although most Dummuzi myths concern his role as the spouse of Inanna, in the tale of Damu (Dummuzi) and Duttur (Turtur), he represents the son. In this version known as *In the Desert by the Early Grass* there is no celebration of marriage. Damu is shown as a youth due to begin military service for the king. He is recruited forcibly and is slain on the battlefield. Damu's path to the Underworld is described as an escorted journey in which he is at first unaware that he is dead. He meets other spirits and tries to convince one to bear a message to his mother requesting that she ransom him from his captors. The spirit informs Damu that he is a ghost and thus unable to bear any message to the living.

His mother, Duttur, is at first unaware of her son's fate. She decides to visit the chief recruiter and demand news of her son. Duttur continuously laments for her son and vows to search everywhere for him. Her lament is periodically interrupted by Damu's

²¹⁰ Ibid, p. 1.

ghost attempting to persuade his mother not to look for him. She eventually discovers that her son has been slain and resolves to travel to the netherworld to claim him.

Damu's sister, Geshtinanna, has also been inquiring after her brother. She asks local villagers but is left unknowing until her brother's ghost speaks to her, revealing his fate. Geshtinanna decides to visit her brother in the netherworld. She successfully undertakes the journey and joins her brother, weeping that she will now be both sister and mother to him.²¹¹

3.2 Inanna's Descent to the Underworld

The better known tales of Dummuzi involve his courtship and marriage to Inanna, his death and new abode in the netherworld, best summed up in the Sumerian composition known as *Inanna's Descent to the Underworld (ID)*. The Sumerian version of the *Descent of Inanna*, dating to the end of the Middle Bronze Age, is the most complete version of the story.²¹² The account concludes with the annual death and rebirth of Dummuzi, resulting in seasonal fertility. The story contains no ritual or incantation but Dalley suggests that the story represents the goddess as a cult statue, and may indicate a ritual journey of her cult statue from her home town, Uruk, to Kutha, the location inhabited by Underworld divinities.²¹³

The Akkadian story of Ishtar's descent to the Underworld is first seen in Late Bronze Age texts in both Babylonia and Assyria. A later version was found in the palace

²¹¹ Jacobsen 1987: 56-60.

²¹² Dalley 1989: 154.

²¹³ Ibid.

library at Nineveh.²¹⁴ Containing a meagre 140 lines, it is a short composition and ends with ritual instructions for the *taklimtu*, an annual ritual discussed in Assyrian texts, which took place in the month of Dummuzi and involved the bathing and anointing of a statue of Dummuzi.²¹⁵

The Sumerian myth encompasses the disappearance of two gods in succession: first Inanna voluntarily descends to the Underworld, resulting in the cessation of sexual relations on the earthly plane, and then poor Dummuzi is escorted unwillingly to the Underworld in place of Inanna, resulting in the withering of the crops.

The story may be summarized as follows: Inanna collects her attributes of power and descends to the Underworld, ostensibly to visit its ruler, her sister Ereškigal.²¹⁶ Inanna is given leave to enter providing that she surrender an article of clothing, symbolic of her powers, at each of the seven gates leading to her sister's realm. Inanna is naked and thus powerless by the time she meets Ereškigal who kills her instantly. During her absence all sexual activity on earth ceases.

The god of magic, Enki, devises a plan to free her. He creates two demons who trick Ereškigal into giving them her sister's corpse which is then once again, thanks to Enki's magic, restored to life. Inanna is still not permitted to be fully released from her ties to the Underworld until a substitute has been provided to take her place.

Inanna travels with Underworld escorts (similar to those accompanying Damu) and passes several of her servants dressed in clothes of mourning. As they pass each one, the escorts demand of Inanna that she deliver the servant as a substitute to go to the

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ The true reason for her descent according to Enlil, *ID* 190-194, is that she was dissatisfied with her power in heaven and wished to extend her control to her sister's realm.

netherworld in her place. Inanna steadfastly refuses to give anyone over to the escorts until they come across an obviously unsorrowful Dummuzi dressed in fine robes and seated on a throne. The enraged Inanna delivers her husband into their hands.

Dummuzi's sister, Geštinanna, intervenes and strikes a bargain whereby Dummuzi is to spend part of the year in the Underworld, after which he rises and Geštinanna takes his place.²¹⁷ The ending is striking as it is the earliest extant version of the myth of the dying and rising god, believed by some scholars to indicate a mythology common to Greece, Antaolia and Mesopotamia, involving vegetation and crops.²¹⁸

3.3 Anat and Baal

The Ugarit Storm-god, Baal, is depicted in constant conflict with Mot, the god of the Underworld (See Chapter Two for a synopsis of the myth). Mot eventually emerges victorious from the conflict, slaying Baal in the process. Baal's messengers appear before El, bearing tidings that they found Baal dead in a field in the Underworld. In a mourning ritual, El sits on the ground, rends his clothes, tears at his flesh, pours ashes on his head and rolls in the earth while Anat goes off in search of Baal's corpse.

After she finds the body Anat performs her own mourning ritual and then buries her brother. There is a reference to the absence of rain during this interlude. Anat now goes to find Mot on a journey of revenge. Upon finding him, she cleaves him with her sword,

²¹⁷ Jacobsen 1987: 205-232.

²¹⁸ Sladek 1974: iii. Claims for the widespread nature of the dying and rising god are now treated with caution in contrast to the enthusiastic treatment it received when in the early 20th century (Cf. Mettinger 2001).

winnows him with her fan, burns him with fire, grinds him in her hand-mill and sows him in the ground where his body is devoured by birds.

El now has a dream that Baal is alive. He rejoices and sends Shapash, described as the torch of the gods in search of Baal. There is a particular urgency to Shapash's quest as the soil and the fields are parched due to Baal's absence.

Baal returns, takes his place among the gods for seven years when he is challenged yet again by Mot. After a skirmish that ends in a draw, Shapash admonishes Mot that "El will pull up the foundations of his palace, overturn the throne of his kingship and break the scepter of his authority" if he does not yield to Baal. Mot finally concedes victory to Baal. Baal sits on his throne and all participate in a celebratory feast.

3.4 Isis and Osiris

The Egyptian material despite its obvious relevance is beyond the scope of this study and will therefore be only briefly touched upon. The most consistent and ancient figure to be found in ancient Egyptian references is Osiris.²¹⁹ His cult centered around his death, his resurrection and the inherent gift offered by his resurrection to mortals hoping for a happy afterlife. The earliest references to the myth are found inscribed in pyramids dating back to the 5th Dynasty (2498-2345 BCE)²²⁰

This ancient version of the disappearance and search for a divinity is predated only by the Sumerian myth of Inanna and Dummuuzi. Despite the fact that no complete

²¹⁹ Budge 1973: vi.

²²⁰ Egyptian Dynasty dates are based on Clayton 1994.

Egyptian text exists, enough early fragments exist to piece together a tale consistent with that supplied in Diodorus' *History* of the first century BCE (*Diod.* 1.14.) and Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* written in the first century CE.

In Plutarch's late but complete version, Isis is aware of her husband and brother's death yet undertakes a journey to find the pieces of his dismembered body. Once she successfully accomplishes her goal, Osiris is brought back to life and impregnates Isis with the future head of the Egyptian pantheon, Horus.

Just as in the stories of Dummuzi and Demeter, the apparent success of the journey taken by the bereaved females does not end in a resumption of life as it was before the loss of their loved ones. Damu must supply a substitute in order to return to the upper-world and, even after complying with this demand, must spend a season in the netherworld. As we will see, the Greek Persephone is also forced to spend half a year in the Underworld, while Osiris never recovers his former status as head of the pantheon but instead becomes irrevocably associated with death and the afterlife.

3.5 The Disappearing deity in Hittite Literature

The Hittite myths of the disappearing god all contain a basic premise in which the departure of the god brings about a cessation of life in the house, livestock and crops. When the god reappears all is renewed. Within this general model are many versions that differ from one another. The main group of texts describe the disappearance of Telipinu the god of agriculture. In another version it is the head of the pantheon, the Weather-god,

who has disappeared. Another fragment known as the Yuzat tablet contains a version in which the Sun-god disappears.

The beginning of the Telipinu story is lost, but probably described a thriving state of life before the blight began.²²¹ Something occurred to put the god in a temper as he angrily prepares to depart 'putting his right boot on his left foot and his left boot on his right foot' perhaps, as Gurney claims, indicating his haste²²² or perhaps meant to show that his anger has blinded him as to the natural order of things, indicating what is to come:

Fog beset the window, smoke(?) beset the house, the embers on the hearth were choked(?), the gods stifled at the altars, the sheep stifled in the fold, the Oxen stifled in the corral, the ewe spurned her lamb, the cow spurned her calf...Barley and Emmer wheat throve no more, oxen, sheep and humans ceased to conceive, and those who were pregnant could not bear.²²³

The gods are also affected as they realize that "the great Sun-god gave a feast and invited the thousand gods: they ate but they were not satisfied; they drank but they quenched not their thirst".²²⁴

The Weather-god realizes the reason for their hunger and explains: "Telipinu is not in the land; he was angry and has taken all good things with him".²²⁵ The gods begin to search for Telipinu in vain and finally the Sun-god sends an eagle to search for him. The eagle returns unsuccessful and the Weather-god turns to the goddess Hannahannas for advice complaining: "What shall we do? We shall die of starvation".²²⁶ She suggests that the Weather-god himself search for his son, which he does as fruitlessly as the deities and the eagle before him.

²²¹ Gurney 1990: 153.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Ibid: 153.

²²⁶ Ibid: 154.

Hannahannas then proposes to send a bee to find the god, leading the Weather-god to protest: “the gods, great and small, have sought him but have not found him. Shall this bee now search and find him? His wings are small and he also is small”.²²⁷ The goddess prevails and the bee is sent forth with instructions to sting Telipinu on his hands and feet, smear him with wax and bring him home.

The bee searches mountains, rivers and springs, finally finding Telipinu sleeping in a meadow. The bee rouses Telipinu by stinging him on his hands and feet and then spreading its wax over the same appendages perhaps in an endeavor to soothe the initial pain.²²⁸ If so, the endeavor failed miserably, judging from Telipinu’s waking words: “I am furious! Why when I am sleeping and nursing a temper do you force me to make conversation?”²²⁹

Far from returning home, Telipinu continues destroying men, oxen and sheep. The Weather-god next consults Kamrusepa, goddess of magic, who conducts a series of rituals to pacify Telipinu. Oil and honey are spread upon his body and eventually it is the eagle who returns Telipinu to his home, although a further series of spells are recited before Telipinu’s wrath is completely exorcized. Telipinu is finally ready to resume his customary role and:

...He took thought for the land. He released the dust(?) -cloud from the house. The altars of the gods were made ready. He released the embers in the hearth, he released the sheep in the fold, he released the oxen in the stall. The mother attended her child, the ewe attended to her lamb, the cow attended to her calf. Telipinu (took thought for) the king and queen, he took thought for them to grant them life and vigour for the future.²³⁰

²²⁷ Gurney 1990: 154.

²²⁸ Bryce 2002: 211.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

The Weather-god myth follows the same pattern as the Telipinu story up to the point where the eagle returns unsuccessfully. A passage of dialogue is preserved in which the Weather-god's father accuses his son of having sinned in his wrath and threatens to kill him as punishment. In his attempt to return his son to his proper place and role the grandfather turns to the Gulses goddesses and Hannahannas. Most of the text is fragmentary after this point so it is unclear how the Weather-god is returned home.

3.6 The Hittite Sun-god

The disappearance of the Hittite Sun-god differs from other Hittite deity disappearances in that the Sun-God is absent against his will as he has been taken prisoner by the sea. Two rather different versions exist. In the first, the Sea kidnaps the Sun-God as a result of his quarrel with Heaven and Earth:²³¹ "He (the Sea) brought him down – the Sun-God of Heaven – and hid him".²³² Only the briefest of sentences outlines the uncomfortable result of the Sun-God's disappearance: "In the land evil befell Master and Slave".²³³ This time, Telipinu is the agent of rescue as he is sent by his father the Weather-God to effect the return of the Sun-God. Telipinu goes to the Sea and encounters little resistance in realizing his mission. The intimidated Sea-God not only relinquishes the Sun-God but throws in his own daughter in addition. Later (one presumes when Telipinu is a safe distance away) the Sea-God launches a complaint to the Weather-god

²³¹ Dated by Gurney to the reign of Arnuwanda I. Moore believes that that it could be dated far earlier (Moore 1975: 162).

²³² Cf. *CTH 322*.

²³³ Moore 1975: 161.

demanding restitution. The Weather-god confers with Hannahannas and, on her advice, pays a dowry of a thousand cows and a thousand sheep to the Sea.

In the second version the Sun-god's whereabouts are unknown.²³⁴ As in the previous version, the Sun-god is kidnapped by the Sea and held prisoner in "a low place" (presumably beneath the water: "the Sun-god went to the chamber of the Sea"²³⁵). Once the Sun-god is absent, the Frost-god Hahhimas is able to "paralyze" the land. The Weather-god complains: "He (Hahhimas) has paralyzed the grass, the lands, the cows, sheep, dogs and pigs".²³⁶ The relationship between Hahhimas and the Sea is unknown, although one presumes they have some kind of mutually beneficial arrangement. The efforts of the Weather-god to send deities to battle with Hahhimas are frustrated as Hahhimas defeats one god after another until (as in the martial art film genre) the Weather-god is left alone to complete his struggle.

There is a possible connection of the presence of the Sun-god in the sea to the retention of Dummuzi, Baal, Osiris and Persephone in the Underworld. Connection between the sea and the Underworld is clearly outlined in Hittite texts of Hattian and Hurrian origin.²³⁷

The Hittite tablets that detail the myth of the disappearing deity reflect a common native Anatolian mythological tradition.²³⁸ As we have seen, remnants of a number of versions have survived, featuring different gods. Telipinu, a Hattic god in origin, is the protagonist in three different versions. The tradition certainly can be dated to an earlier

²³⁴ Cf. *CTH* 323.

²³⁵ Moore 1975: 165. (cf. *CTH* 323: 12).

²³⁶ Cf. *CTH* 323: 12,

²³⁷ Moore 1975: 219.

²³⁸ *CTH* 324, most recently translated by Hoffner (1990: 14-22).

period than its earliest appearance in the New Kingdom period (Middle Hittite) and probably dates back to pre-Hittite times.²³⁹

3.7 Myth as Prayer

Bryce presents compelling arguments that the story should be read as a script meant for a religious performance. It certainly *can* be read in a play format, complete with a linking narrative:

Narrator: The pastures and springs dried up, so that famine spread across the land. Humans and gods were dying of hunger. The great Sun-god made a feast and invited the Thousand gods. They ate but were not satisfied. They drank, but could not quench their thirst. The Weather-god remembered his son Telipinu:

Weather-god: My son Telipinu is not there. He became enraged and removed everything good.

Narrator: The great and small gods began to search for Telipinu. The Sun-god sent the swift eagle.:

Sun-god: Go search the high mountains! Search the deep valleys! Search the Blue Deep!

Narrator: The eagle went but did not find him. He reported back to the Sun-god.

Eagle: I could not find Telipinu, the noble god.

Weather-god (to Hannahannas): How shall we act? We are going to die of hunger!

Hannahannas: Do something, Weather-god. Go search for Telipinu yourself.²⁴⁰

Bryce points out that other parts of the text could have been used as stage instructions for the actors/suppliants and points out where (he believes) props were indicated:

Narrator: Telipinu came in wrath.

Stage direction: He thunders together with lightning. Below he strikes the dark earth.

Narrator: Kamrusepa saw him and moved for herself <with(?)> the eagle's wing. She stopped it, namely anger. She stopped it, the wrath. She stopped sin. She stopped sullenness.

Stage: Before Telipinu there stands an eyan-tree (or pole?). From the eyan is suspended a hunting bag made of sheepskin (Bryce, 212).

If one accepts the verdict of Gurney and Hoffner that the Hittite disappearing deity myth is part of a ritual, then Bryce's theory is not that outlandish a departure. Bryce

²³⁹ Bryce 2002: 212.

²⁴⁰ Adapted from Bryce 2002: 212-213.

suggests that the performances would have been further enhanced by elaborate costumes for the various actors who would have moved about with accompanying music (instrumentation and vocal) in reaction to the narrator's prompts.

The Hittite ceremony was purely religious in nature, designed to coax a disapproving god out of his angry mood. Bryce does not suggest that the performance was meant to be enjoyed by an audience but does not rule out the possibility that an audience could have enjoyed the performance as a happy by-product of the religious ceremony. The passages in their use of magic formulae and ritual are similar to other Hittite purification rituals.²⁴¹ Kamrusepa, who details all the rituals necessary within the myth, acts out the role (in a divine capacity) of the priestly interpreter, explaining the reason behind the natural disasters affecting the land:

Kamrusepa says to the gods: '... Telipinu is angry. His soul and essence were stifled like burning brushwood. Just as they burned those sticks of brushwood, may the anger, wrath, sin and sullenness of Telipinu likewise burn up. And just as malt is ineffective, so that they don't carry it to the field and use it as seed, as they don't make it into bread and deposit it into the seal house, so may the anger, sin and sullenness of Telipinu likewise become ineffective...'²⁴²

3.8 The Homeric Hymn to Demeter

Another myth filled with allusions to cultic ritual is that of the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*. This work, composed in approximately the seventh century BCE, contains the earliest evidence relating to the Mysteries of Eleusis and was used by Eleusinian

²⁴¹ Bryce 2002: 213.

²⁴² Cited in Bryce 2002: 213.

worshippers as their official hymn.²⁴³ The cult appears to be well developed at the time of the *Hymn to Demeter*'s composition.²⁴⁴ The hymn reveals nothing pertaining to the cult's secret rituals, but it does divulge its ultimate goal, blissful immortality for its followers.²⁴⁵

One would assume that the Greeks would have preferred an alternative to the Homeric afterlife as presented in Book Eleven of the *Odyssey* in which former heroes are reduced to feeble spirits huddling greedily around Odysseus's sacrificed sheep hoping for a sip of blood. Achilles' ghost best sums up the Homeric attitude to the afterlife when he tells Odysseus that it is better to be a poor serf among the living than to be the king of the dead in the Underworld (11.487-91).

For those fearing such a bleak afterlife, the cult of Eleusis no doubt appeared particularly comforting. When the cult first appeared is the subject of much debate and the origin of the cult is just as difficult to pinpoint. What is certain is that an examination of the motifs and underlying ideas of the *Hymn to Demeter* reveals many parallels to Mesopotamian myths, particularly those concerned with disappearing deities. The story may be summarized as follows:

Persephone, the daughter of Demeter and Zeus, is abducted by Hades while picking flowers on the plains of Nysa. Helios witnesses the abduction while Hekate and Demeter hear Persephone's cries.

Demeter, holding torches to assist her search, journeys fruitlessly nine days for her daughter, eating nothing and refusing to wash herself in her sorrow. On the tenth day Hekate goes to Demeter, admitting that while she knew of Persephone's abduction she

²⁴³ Janko 1982: 183.

²⁴⁴ Richardson 1974: 12.

²⁴⁵ Study of the relationship of the *Homeric Hymn* to the Eleusinian mysteries is outside the scope of this essay. For evidence concerning this relationship and a study of the possible Mesopotamian influence on the cult see Richardson 1974:12-30.

did not know who was responsible. Demeter next confronts Helios, who tells her of the abduction, adding his own opinion that Hades is a fine match for her daughter.

The angry Demeter abandons Olympos and wanders the earth disguised as an old woman. Eventually she reaches Eleusis and rests by a well. The daughters of King Keleus meet Demeter when they come to draw water and Demeter spins them a false tale about escaping from pirates. The daughters offer Demeter the position of nurse to their brother Demophoön.

Demeter feeds the infant ambrosia and bathes him in fire, preparing him to be immortal. Demophoon's mother, Metaneira, spying on the goddess, catches her in the act of placing the infant in the fire and cries out. In a fury, Demeter snatches the child from the flames and, after revealing her true nature, declares that the baby would grow up to be a ruler but never immortal.

Demeter then commands the Eleusinians to build her a temple. Once completed, the goddess sits inside it and mourns her daughter while punishing the gods and mortals by causing a famine that threatens to destroy mankind without Zeus' intervention.

First he sends Iris to command Demeter to return to Olympos. After Demeter rebuffs Iris, the other gods approach, imploring Demeter to relent. Demeter is adamant in her anger, refusing to return until reunited with her daughter.

Zeus eventually sends Hermes to the Underworld to ask Hades to release Persephone. Hades acquiesces, but gives Persephone pomegranate seeds to eat, ensuring her return. Persephone is reunited with her mother but is told that as a consequence of eating the seed she must dwell a third of every year in the Underworld with Hades. Zeus

accepts Demeter and Persephone into the assembly of the gods. Demeter teaches the mysteries to the Eleusinians and the earth blooms once more.

Parallels between the *Hymn to Demeter* and Near Eastern and Egyptian myths have been previously noted and discussed. For example, G.S. Kirk compares the cessation of fertility and drought resulting from the disappearance of Demeter to myths involving those whom he terms 'drought-causing deities', Inanna, Dummuzi and Telipinu.²⁴⁶ He points out that the motif should be considered unusual in Greek myth, as drought was not a disaster the Greeks would have been familiar with, considering their environment. Mesopotamia, in contrast, suffered frequently from lack of water. Kirk also examined the conclusion of the *Hymn to Demeter* and *Inanna's Descent*, wherein both Persephone and Dummuzi are forced to reside for part of the year in the Underworld. Kirk finds these relationships intriguing but concludes that the parallels are not convincing enough to indicate definite influence.

It should be brought to attention that the famine and cessation of fertility in all of these myths do not come about as a curse but rather as a side effect of the deity's abandonment. Telipinu departs in anger and all fertility stops. Demeter closes herself up in a temple and a famine ravages the earth. During Baal's sojourn in the Underworld, the earth is described as parched. Relief from the crisis occurs the moment the deity returns to his or her usual post.

The close relationship between ritual and myth is especially evident within the framework of the disappearing deity story. It is a tantalizing but ultimately unanswerable question, whether the ritual preceded the myth or vice versa. The usual (and no doubt accurate) explanation as to the origin of myth imagines humankind attempting to invest

²⁴⁶ Kirk 1974: 254.

some logic into the unpredictable aspects of nature by inventing explanatory stories. A supernatural world is thus created and heavenly bodies like the sun, moon and stars along with natural phenomena like storms and earthquakes all become associated with deities that are often anthropomorphized. Disease, drought, famine, invasion all can be explained as the result of the action or inaction of deities. Stories involving whimsical gods were invented as a means of explaining unpredictable occurrences. Gods with humanlike motivations can be interacted with easier than impersonal forces of nature. Thus, disease, drought or crop failings can be attributed to a god with powers over health, rain and vegetation. The reason given behind a deity manipulating the desirable *status quo* is myth, and requests and offerings (in the form of incantations, dedications, sacrifice etc.) to the deity intended to bring about the return of things to their optimal condition is prayer and ritual.

The Anatolian Disappearing Deity tradition is similar to the Mesopotamian and Greek traditions in that they all concern the disappearance of a fertility deity and involve thirst and starvation for both gods and mortals. The Mesopotamian and Greek traditions often involve abduction as both Dummuzi and Persephone are forcibly brought to the Underworld. Both result in the withering of life above them as a result of their absence. In Persephone's case she is the indirect reason behind the suffering on earth as it is the grief of her mother, the Earth-goddess Demeter, that brings about the devastation. In the case of Dummuzi it is due to his absence in his role as a fertility god that results in the withering of life. Both result in an explanation for seasonal change as Persephone must part of every year in the Underworld just as Dummuzi is doomed to die again every year

for a period of time before he is rejuvenated. Their return to the mortal plane likewise heralds growth and new life.

The Hittite Disappearing Deity tradition differs in that it does not serve to explain predictable recurrent behavior like the cycle of crops but rather focuses on the god's own decision to remove himself. His impulsive decision to abandon his duties is not understandable even to his divine peers. The fact that the myth does not attempt to explain the reason for the god's wrath but rather to remedy its effects may indicate that the myth had its founding in ritual. The fact that the *Hymn to Demeter* is known to be related to the Eleusinian Mysteries gives added credibility to this theory.

All the myths discussed here involve journeys undertaken by deities. Most involve trips to the Underworld or, in the case of the Hittite Sun-god, under the sea. Seen in this light, the presence of the Sun-god in the sea is comparable to retention of Persephone in the Underworld. Unlike Dummuzi, Baal and Isis, the Sun-god and Persephone are both alive. In both myths deities are sent in an attempt to mollify the angered god and to negotiate the release of the captured deity.

Persephone's abduction and Inanna's descent to the Underworld also contain a number of similarities. Both involve interaction with the rulers of the Underworld that result in the forcible restraint of a deity. Both myths contain a subplot involving the disappearance of a second deity. Inanna and Demeter are powerful goddesses while those with whom they are paired are incapable of defending themselves yet are tied by bonds of love: Persephone to her mother Demeter and Dummuzi to his lover Inanna. In both myths a return to the upper world is incomplete as the Underworld still has a claim on the deity; demanding a substitute before she can truly return, while Hades' claim on Persephone is

additionally based on the fact that she ate of a pomegranate during her stay. These claims must be dealt with to the satisfaction of the rulers of the Underworld before order can be restored. Persephone is to spend part of every year in the Greek Underworld while Inanna must find a substitute to reside in the Sumerian Underworld in her stead.

3.9 The Quest of the Mother, Sister and Spouse

In the Desert by the Early Grass contains elements of other myths involving Dummuuzi. Geshtinanna's journey to the netherworld reminds one of Inanna's descent. Her vow to be both sister and mother to Damu hints at Dummuuzi's brother/consort relationship with Inanna.

O my brother of luxuriant face, of lush face,
who is your sister? I, I am your sister!
Who is your mother? I, I am your mother!
The day that dawns for you, will also dawn for me,
the day you see, I shall also see!²⁴⁷

Her impatience to undertake a journey to find her brother also reflects the determination of the other searching goddesses, Isis and Anat, who are sister as well as consort to their missing partners:

Let me set out! A sister always goes to be with the provider.
O lad let me set out! A sister always goes to be with the provider.²⁴⁸

The synopsis of the Greek *Hymn to Demeter* is essentially contained in this tale with two key differences: Damu is male and dies while Persephone is female and lives.

²⁴⁷ Jacobsen 1987: 84

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 81.

Otherwise, the similarities are clear. Demeter searches uselessly for her missing child on earth, not realizing that Persephone now resides in the Underworld. Like Duttur, Demeter inquires in vain for news of her child. And like the Mesopotamian goddess, Demeter chooses not to wash herself. Duttur is determined to continue the search for her child even if her wandering eventually takes her to the Underworld.²⁴⁹ Both goddesses refuse to return to their post until their situation has been resolved to their satisfaction, even though fertility has ceased during their travels. At a certain point in the tale, both mothers finally discover the fate of their children and are determined to bring their children back from the Underworld.

3.10 Passive vs. Active Disappearance

Several points emerge from the comparison of these myths. Osiris, Dummuzi and Baal are all associated with agriculture and all reach the Underworld through death. Persephone and the Hittite Sun-God are abducted. They had no influence over their fate and must abide in the Underworld while others negotiate their rescue.

A recourse available to an insulted deity is to remove his or her presence from society: mortal, divine or both. Such a removal throws the divine and mortal frame into upheaval until the insulted deity is mollified and deigns to resume his or her accustomed role with the required modifications.

The *Descent of Inanna* tells of two types of vanishing gods, one involving desertion, the second, removal. The myth appears aware of the dichotomy as until the

²⁴⁹ Ibid. 71.

point where Inanna gives up her husband Dummuzi to the Underworld, it is clearly the goddess's tale. Once Dummuzi has been singled out for death, the focus of the story switches to him and does not refer to Inanna for the duration of the telling.

At the outset of the myth of *Inanna's Descent* it is obvious that Inanna has abandoned her usual role in both the mortal and divine world. The other gods of the Sumerian pantheon are angered by her actions and most prefer to leave her dead in the Underworld as punishment.

It is a good indication of how the gods frown upon the abandonment of an assigned post by one of their own. The resulting disruption visited upon mortals and gods is an undesirable state, to say the least, and must be satisfactorily brought to some conclusion that can allow mortals and gods a return to their normal life. In the case of Enlil, his anger with Inanna outweighs his desire for a return to normalcy. The Hittite myths of the Disappearing Deity (discussed below) bring a similar sense of disruption in the world of the divine as the gods are unable to satiate themselves when eating. Gods, in addition to mortals, are affected by the removal of a god from his or her normal role.

Inanna's return to the world above is incomplete, as despite her physical presence in the upper realm, the demons follow, demanding their substitute. Inanna has brought some of the Underworld with her and can only be purified by the death of another. She must choose another to remain in her stead. It was Inanna's decision that led her to this predicament but she can deflect the consequences of her deed onto another living deity.

3.11 Abandonment

One of the earliest examples of a deity threatening to remove himself occurs in the *Poem of the Supersage (Atrahasis, 1700 BCE)*²⁵⁰ when an angry Enlil, responding to a challenge from the Igigi gods, threatens to abdicate, an action that the myth acknowledges would tear apart the society of the gods.

We see the catastrophic results of abandonment of a deity when Demeter's angry abdication brings catastrophic repercussions upon both mortals and gods.

Like Demeter, Telipinu, one of the storm gods of the Hittites, also departs in anger, and fertility ceases on earth. Similarly, in the Sumerian myth of Damu and Duttur the earth is barren during Duttur's absence.

The parallel is not complete. Duttur descends from the earth and wishes to descend to the Underworld in her search, while Demeter's descent takes her from the heaven to the earth. The two tales appear to be separated by one stratospheric layer although a version did exist in which Demeter, taking Eubouleus as her guide, visited Hades in the Underworld to demand the return of her daughter.²⁵¹ In both the *Hymn to Demeter* and the *edin-na ú sag-ga* an intermediary deity descends to the Underworld to plead that the children be returned to their mothers. In the case of Damu it is his sister, Geshtinanna, who descends to plead her brother's case while in the *Hymn* it is Hermes who explains to Hades that Persephone must be released on Zeus' orders. Another obvious difference between the two myths is that of gender: Damu is a youth and Persephone, a maiden.

²⁵⁰ Bottero 2001: 215.

²⁵¹ Ibid. 84.

The gender of the abandoning deity appears to be more consistent. Demeter, Dummuzi and Isis are all female fertility figures and it is easy to understand how their absence could adversely affect crops and births. The case of the Hittite Storm-god, Telipinu, is intriguing. His absence also adversely affects fertility. He too is visited by several deities at the command of the chief Weather-god (just as Zeus of the thunderbolt commanded Hermes and Rhea to speak to Demeter) in an effort to persuade him to relent. The story closely resembles the *Hymn* aside from gender and motivation.

There is a sense of muted triumph in the tales involving efforts to return a deity from the Underworld to his or her former place among the gods. Despite the apparent success of the journey taken on by the bereaved females to bring about the return of their loved ones from the Underworld, the final conclusion does not end in a resumption of life as it was before the loss of their loved ones. Damu/Dummuzi must supply a substitute in order to return to the upper-world and, even after complying with this demand, must spend a season in the netherworld. Persephone is also forced to spend part of a year in the Underworld, while Osiris never recovers his former status as head of the pantheon but instead becomes irrevocably associated with death and the afterlife. There were rituals of mourning associated with Dummuzi, Baal and Osiris but none that celebrated their resurrections.

Sacred myths that explain how a certain ritual or practice came to be performed for the first time are known to most cultures.²⁵² The theme of the disappearing deity contains many similarities in the mythologies of Anatolia, the Near East and Greece. The Mesopotamian and Greek myths describe how certain rituals and festivals came to be performed. The Anatolian myths involving the disappearance of an angry god

²⁵² Eliade 1963: chaps. 1.2.

contain the consequences of the god's abandonment and the requirements to bring about the god's return. The Telepinu myth was a ritual intended to pacify an angry god by means of a supplication known as a *mugawar* (See Chapter Five).²⁵³

There are several examples of *mugawars* in the extant Hittite documents that resemble the Telepinu Myth in narrative, including prayers to Storm-gods who became angry with individuals such as Queen Ḫarpašili and the scribe Pirwa.²⁵⁴ The occasion surrounding the two *mugawars* that closely resemble the Telepinu myth in narrative (*CTH 325* and *CTH 334*) is not known. Kellerman suggests that the Telepinu myth served as a model to appease any angry deity by means of simply replacing Telepinu's name with that of the god to be appeased.²⁵⁵

The text instructs participants as to the correct procedures to follow when disaster strikes. Telepinu's actions throughout the myth leading to the disasters that befall mortals are almost identical to those described in the disappearance of Ishtar and Demeter: drought and famine, sterility of humans and animals and the incapacity for pregnant females to deliver. The resemblance of the Telepinu myth to similar Near Eastern and Greek myths is striking and may indicate that the motifs of disappearing deities of other societies discussed in this chapter may have originally been used in rituals similar to the Hittite *mugawar*.

²⁵³ Kellerman 1988:122.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

Chapter Four: Something's Not Right: Hittite *natta āra* and Greek *φθόνος*

φθόνος and *natta āra* are both connected with the divine interpretation of justice in terms of their applicability to mortals. In both cultures the gods were assumed to set the standards of morals, law and punishment. By using the phrase *natta āra*, the suppliant in Hittite prayers expresses frustration with divine punishment, while Greek writers attempt to make seemingly capricious acts of the gods understandable, if not humanly acceptable, by using the word *φθόνος*.

4.1 Hittite *natta āra*

The Hittite expression *natta āra* is understood to mean that which is 'not permitted', or 'not acceptable'. The phrase expresses a moral attitude that touches on religious behavior, social guidelines, ethical standards and sexual perimeters. *Natta āra* is used in many of the major Hittite texts as is its positive term - *āra* (that which is 'right' or 'suitable'), sometimes appearing in the same sentence with *natta āra*, and sometimes alone.

The translation of the *natta āra* expression as ‘not right’, ‘not acceptable’, ‘not permitted’ has been agreed upon by scholars since the very beginning of Hittitology as a field.²⁵⁶ Hrozny first offered a translation and etymology of *āra* as ‘good, suitable (*gut, passend*),’²⁵⁷ while Forrer suggested that *āra* be understood as ‘holy’ (*heilig*).²⁵⁸ Sommer chose to translate *natta āra* as a block expression meaning ‘abomination’ (*Greul*).²⁵⁹ Despite this seeming agreement, the expression *natta āra* is not easy to define semantically, given its appearance in many different types of Hittite texts, including treaties, myth, instruction texts, cultic regulations and political proclamations, conveying a variation of the sentiment that something is ‘not right.’²⁶⁰

Watkins believes the Greek prohibitive expression οὐχ ὀσίη to be semantically related with the Hittite *natta āra*.²⁶¹ Syntactically, it exhibits the same construction as seen in this excerpt from Herodotus:

τοῖσι γὰρ οὐδὲ κτήνεα ὀσίη θύειν ἐστὶ χωρὶς... (“*To them (the Egyptians) it is not right (or holy) to sacrifice animals, except (the following)...*”).²⁶² The Greek term οὐχ ὀσίη thus relates both semantically and even (in this instance) in subject to the Hittite *natta āra*.²⁶³ The Greek ὀσίη possesses a moral and religious weight in terms of what is permitted and just in contrast to that which is ἄδικον ‘unjust’. It sets the perimeters of

²⁵⁶ The etymology of *āra* is uncertain; see Rix 2001: 269-70.

²⁵⁷ Hrozny 1915:28. Friedrich 1924:52.

²⁵⁸ Forrer 1926-1929, *Forsch.*:1/2:147.

²⁵⁹ Sommer 1932:97.

²⁶⁰ Cohen 1997:3. One genre in which the expression does not appear is the Hittite law code. Its absence in a genre meant to control that which is allowed versus that which is forbidden is startling. I am reluctant to accept this deficit as coincidental.

²⁶¹ Watkins 1995b: 517.

²⁶² Herodotus 2.45. Note particularly the construction with dative of reference and the infinitive. Cf. Cohen 1997:88.

²⁶³ Cf. Latin *nefas* with a similar range of applications.

what is allowed to mortals according to divine law. If something is *οὐχ ὀσίη*, it is out of bounds.²⁶⁴ Within Greek religious boundaries, discussing Mysteries is *οὐχ ὀσίη*:

ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ ταύτῃ τὰ δείκηλα τῶν παθέων αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ποιεῦσι, τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι. περὶ μὲν νυν τούτων εἰδότε μοι ἐπὶ πλεον ὥς ἕκαστα αὐτῶν ἔχει, εὖστομα κείσθω. [2] καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τελετῆς πέρι, τὴν οἱ Ἕλληνες θεσμοφόρια καλέουσι, καὶ ταύτης μοι πέρι εὖστομα κείσθω, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς ὀσίη ἐστὶ λέγειν·

On this lake they enact by night the story of the god's sufferings, a rite which the Egyptians call the Mysteries. I could say more about this, for I know the truth, but let me preserve a discreet silence. Let me preserve a discreet silence, too, concerning that rite of Demeter which the Greeks call Thesmophoria, except as much of it as I am not forbidden to mention.²⁶⁵

Homer expresses a similar sentiment when Odysseus cautions the old nurse, Euryklea, to display proper behavior towards the dead:

But she, when she beheld the corpses and the great welter of blood, made ready to utter loud cries of joy, seeing what a deed had been wrought. But Odysseus stayed and checked her in her eagerness, and spoke and addressed her with winged words: "In thine own heart rejoice, old dame, but refrain thyself and cry not out aloud: **an unholy thing is it to boast over slain men.** These men here has the fate of the gods destroyed and their own reckless deeds, for they honored no one of men upon the earth, were he evil or good, whosoever came among them; wherefore by their wanton folly they brought on themselves a shameful death (*Od.22.407-416*).

In Greek the pertinent phrase reads:

οὐχ ὀσίη κταμένοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάσθαι. (*Od. 22.412*). The conclusion is clear. Even when evil men meet their just deserts it is still not *ὀσίη* to rejoice over dead men. Homer is equally firm when it comes to mortals planning evil deeds in their hearts. When Penelope confronts her suitors over their plot to kill her son, Telemachus, she accuses them of impiety:

"Antinous, full of insolence, deviser of evil! and yet it is thou, men say, that dost excel among all of thy years in the land of Ithaca in counsel and in speech. But thou, it seems, art not such a man.

²⁶⁴ Benveniste 1969. II:198-202.

²⁶⁵ Herodotus.2. 171.

Madman! why dost thou devise death and fate for Telemachus, and carest not for suppliants, for whom Zeus is witness. 'Tis an impious thing to plot evil one against another(*Od.* 16.115-423).

Once again the Greek construction bears a close resemblance to the Hittite *natta āra* formula: οὐδ' ὀσίη κακὰ ράπτειν ἀλλήλοισιν.

Like the Hittite *natta āra*, the Greek *hosiē* defines the moral borders of that which is permissible and that which is forbidden both in terms of the relationship between mortals and their gods and between mortals with each other.²⁶⁶ Despite the fact that prohibitive phrases by their very nature bear a certain resemblance across many cultures, the Hittite *natta āra* and the Greek *οὐχ ὀσίη* display such a startling degree of similarity, both in terms of grammatical construction and semantic use, that the question of influence should not be dismissed.

4.2 The Telepinu Edict

This text, essentially an edict justifying Telepinu's rule in Hatti (c. 1525-1500), was once believed to reflect Telepinu's successful initiative in implementing a succession reform.²⁶⁷ The text has been reclassified in recent times by some Hittite scholars into the genre of self-legitimizing literature in the style of the 'Apology of Ḫattušili'.²⁶⁸ Nine versions of the edict exist in addition to four fragments written in Akkadian.²⁶⁹ The fact that the Hittite texts were written in the Old Hittite language in a New Hittite script

²⁶⁶ Burkert 1985:269-270.

²⁶⁷ Liverani 1977; Beckman 1983.

²⁶⁸ Hoffner 1997:306-307.

²⁶⁹ Beckman 1986: 570-572.

indicates the popularity of the edict at least within Hittite scribal circles. If one considers the itinerant nature of the scribal profession along with the existence of the Akkadian versions of Telepinu's edict, it is easy to fathom how cross cultural transmission of Hittite letters and prayers would have eventually reached their vassal kingdom of Ugarit.

Telepinu begins his account with a description of how the golden era of Hatti under the reign of Hattušili I, characterized as harmonic and a period of successful military enterprises, came to an end as the royal family sinned by committing murder. According to Telepinu's account, members of the royal family continue to shed blood as Hattušili's son Muršili was murdered as were several subsequent successors. Telepinu asserts that his rulership brought about a return to the golden era and an end to the bloodshed in Hatti. Telepinu describes how his successful efforts at instituting a 'reform of succession' (essentially a euphemism for Telepinu's usurping the throne) in Hatti allowed for peace to return to the troubled land. Telepinu's spin on his place in the royal line of kingship is that through his 'reforms', Hatti gained a wise and just king as opposed to earlier corrupt monarchs.

The apologetic nature of the Telepinu edict results in a series of laws and instructions that deal with past and present events rather than the prospective future. The decrees are reactionary rules to the bloody past meant to correct transgressions and present a moral path for Telepinu's subjects to follow. It also serves to contrast the present king's moral and just conduct with that of his predecessors. For instance, Telepinu warns that:

(obv.ii 50-52) Whatever (king or royal prince) does evil among his brothers and sisters, the offended party shall "look to the head of the king" (shall have redress of the offender, the king).

Therefore, summon the assembly, and if his case is proved against him let him pay with his head.²⁷⁰

This decree is clearly presented in reaction to the deeds of Telepinu's brother-in-law Ḫuzziya, a former king of Hatti who had threatened the lives of his sister Ištariya and her husband Telepinu. That the decree was drafted to legitimize Telepinu's usurping the throne can be seen in another section of the edict:

(obv.ii 8-12) Now Ḫuzziya ruled as king. Telepinu had a wife, Ištariya, (Ḫuzziya's) his elder sister. Ḫuzziya would have killed them, but the plot became known, and Telepinu drove them (Ḫuzziya and his followers) away.

This decree, ostensibly intended for the hypothetical future to guard against a situation in which a king intends to harm his siblings, legitimizes Telepinu's usurping the kingship from Ḫuzziya. The responsibility of judging such kingly offenders was given to the assembly (*pankuš*).²⁷¹ The edict informs us that Ḫuzziya was sentenced to death by the *pankuš* for his crime but that Telepinu opted to exile rather than execute his brother-in-law.

The following decree stipulates that punishment for the above crime be visited upon the offender while members of his household are to be left unharmed:

(obv.ii 54-58) Do not intend to do harm to his household to his wife (or) sons. If a prince commits a crime, he shall pay with his head, but to his household, or to his sons do not intend to do harm.

Telepinu also modified laws concerning the property of an offender allowing for the family of a condemned individual to inherit rather than having all holdings to be absorbed into the estate of the king:

²⁷⁰ The interpretation of this passage is problematic. I follow Hoffner 1997.

²⁷¹ Beckman 1982:440.

(obv.ii 56-61) Princes may perish because of that (conduct), but (do not harm) their households, their fields, their vineyards, their slaves (and) their sheep. Now, if any prince commits a crime, he shall pay for it with his head. You (pl.) shall not intend to harm his household or his son. To give away property – the smallest of things of the princes is not right (*natta āra*).

Telepinu emphasizes that not even ‘chaff (and) wood’ ([ez]-zan GIŠ-ru) are to be removed from the property of the condemned. The reference to ‘chaff (and) wood’ appears to reflect a Hittite idiom meaning ‘a trifle’.²⁷² There is an Akkadian equivalent *ḫāmu u ḫuṣābu* (a piece of straw and a splinter of wood).²⁷³ The idiom also appears in the “Apology of Ḫattušili”, when the king warns that “who covets the chaff and wood of the storehouse and the threshing floor of Ištar of Samuḫa, he shall stand to trial before Ištar” (EN DINIŠU...)²⁷⁴

Telepinu singles out high ranking officials with a history of acting against the king as potential coveters of the “chaff and wood” of executed criminals. He ascribes to these officials the ambition to accumulate property by taking over the land of the condemned:

(obv.ii 61-65) Those who wish to do such evil things, the (pl.) [], the house administrators, the chamberlain, the head of the body guards and the chief of the cup-bearers, [who] conceive to seize the households of the king, speak thus: “I wish that city were mine”. Therefore, he intends to do harm to the lord of the town.²⁷⁵

As is evident from these amendments, there was a precedent in Hittite history for wiping out a family line by executing a condemned male along with his male offspring to

²⁷² Von Schuler 1983:172.

²⁷³ Puhvel disagrees with von Schuler’s interpretation (*HED*:323), preferring his own translation of “wherewithal; resources; provisions.” If one accepts the similarity of the established Akkadian idiom, von Schuler’s version seems preferable.

²⁷⁴ “Apology”, iv.83. Otten 1981:31, translates as “*Spreu (und) Holz*”, while Götze 1925:41, offers “*Hab und Gut*” thus anticipating Puhvel’s later suggestion.

²⁷⁵ KBo 3.1 ii 61-65.

preclude direct succession.²⁷⁶ Telepinu's action is noteworthy as he flies in the face of historical and religious precedent when he decrees that only the perpetrators of a crime are to be punished. Telepinu may have had ulterior motives in that the relatives of Ḫuzziya were also bound to him by ties of marriage. Nevertheless, his attitude is intriguing in light of the testimony of past kings such as Ḫattušili and Muršili who claimed to still be undergoing punishment for the sins of their ancestors. Telepinu's decree assumes that punishing the family of an offender is unjust thereby betraying the unspoken sentiment that the real actions of past royal individuals in killing innocent relatives of criminals were unjust as well. Judging from the complaints of past kings to the gods that punishing them for the sins of their ancestors was unjust '*natta āra*', Telepinu succeeded, by virtue of his decree, in expressing in writing a long-held sentiment that an individual should not suffer for sins committed by another.

It is a point of contention among scholars as to Telepinu's motivation in forbidding the distribution of a guilty party's property. Liverani envisions a situation in which ambitious nobles attempt to wrest economic control from the royal family, suggesting that Telepinu's decree was meant to ensure the royal family maintained a monopoly on production.²⁷⁷ Bryce believes the decree was intended to discourage nobles from bringing trumped up charges against the royal family in hopes of reaping the defendant's wealth should he be condemned.²⁷⁸ Both suggestions make sound logical sense and there is no reason to discard one in favour of the other. Yet one must not

²⁷⁶ Beckman 1983:21-22.

²⁷⁷ Liverani 1977: 123-124.

²⁷⁸ Bryce 1982:154.

discard a third element that is neither capitalistic nor legalistic in nature – ideology.

Telepinu wished to portray himself as a Just King.

The image of a king as keeper of justice is based on a long standing tradition of the ideal king in the Near East.²⁷⁹ Cohen uses the biblical incident of Nabot's vineyard (Kng 1.21) to illustrate the Near Eastern attitude towards kings who confiscate the property of an accused party.²⁸⁰ The tale follows the pattern suggested by Bryce as King Ahab has Nabot condemned and executed on trumped up charges in order to claim his vineyard. The biblical narrator recognizes the right of the king to confiscate the property of the condemned but is clearly outraged by Ahab's manipulation of power to attain his desire. Elijah expresses this moral outrage to Ahab when he cries "*have you murdered and also inherited?*" Thus Ahab is portrayed as the antithesis of the Just King.²⁸¹

Telepinu attempts to portray himself as a benevolent law-giving monarch in his edict. His refusal to confiscate the property of the condemned serves to distance him from the possible misdeeds of former more legitimate kings while emphasizing his own kingly attributes.²⁸²

Prior to Telepinu's rule, kings had indeed confiscated the property of the condemned. It is difficult to determine whether such practices were deemed morally wrong or even illegal prior to Telepinu's edict. Nor did Telepinu's edict appear to have affected the actions of subsequent kings. Muršili' words to Kupanta-Kurunta appear to directly contradict Telepinu's decree:

²⁷⁹ Liverani 1977:128-131.

²⁸⁰ Cohen 1997:174.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Bottero 1992:158-168.

...if in Hatti someone commits the sin of revolt, the son of whatever father who commits the offense is an offender too, and they take away the house of the father from him, and either give it to someone else or take it for the palace.²⁸³

Muršili does not inform us whether the law applies only to the royal family or all classes in Hatti. Curses in the vassal treaties threaten vassal kings with the destruction of their entire families should they transgress their agreement with their Hittite overlord.²⁸⁴

Hattušili III also appears to disobey Telepinu's edict as related in the "Apology of Hattušili" when he appropriates the land of his enemy Arma-tarḫunta who had been condemned for dealing in witchcraft, a crime that usually resulted in execution for the practitioner. Yet the fact that Hattušili at first chose to pardon Arma-tarḫunta and allow him to keep his property for several years before claiming it on behalf of the cult of Ištar indicates the king was attempting to abide by Telepinu's law.

Elsewhere Hattušili does appear to understand and agree with the spirit of Telepinu's edict, judging from the securities granted in the treaties with Tarḫuntaša:

If any son or grandson of yours commits an offense, then the King of Hatti shall question him. And if an offense is proven against him, then the King of Hatti shall treat him as he pleases. If he is deserving of death, he shall perish, but his household and land shall not be taken from him and given to the progeny of another.²⁸⁵

Telepinu's decree appears to have affected later land grants as well.²⁸⁶ One example is found in a property deed granted to one Šaḫurunuwa by Tudḫalia IV which stipulates that should Šaḫurunuwa or any of his descendants commit a crime, irregardless

²⁸³ Kup. § 7 (From Beckman 1996). Cf. Korošec 1950:197-8.

²⁸⁴ Korošec 1950:191-194.

²⁸⁵ Treaty between Hattušili III of Hatti and Ulmi-Teššup of Tarḫuntaša, § 1 (Beckman 1996:113); Korošec 1950:200-201.

²⁸⁶ CTH 225. *Imparati* 1974.

of whether the transgressor is pardoned or punished, the estate is to remain within Šahurunuwa's family.²⁸⁷

As discussed above, Ḫattušili III specifically requested of the Sun-goddess of Arinna that she cease punishing him for the sins committed by his father Muršili and his brother, Muwatalli. Ḫattušili assumes that he is still being punished for the dispute between Muršili and Tawananna and posits that as he was but a child when the affair took place it is unfair of the goddess to continue inflicting punishment. Ḫattušili's brother, Muwatalli, took part in a legal battle against another royal woman by the name of Danuḫepa which appears to have ended in the execution of Danuḫepa and her sons.²⁸⁸ As in the case of Tawananna, Ḫattušili wishes to stress his innocence in the matter:

Now my Lady, Sun-goddess of Arinna, the trial of Danuḫepa, don't reopen it again (and hold it) against me and the land of Hatti in my days.
To reopen this trial again[st] me, in my days, is not right, since he [who] had held the trial of Danuḫepa had already paid his dues.²⁸⁹

Ḫattušili believes he is being punished for his brother's offense. He describes a dream in which Danuḫepa scolds him for not fulfilling his duties to the Sun-goddess. Danuḫepa does not refer to the trial but her presence in Ḫattušili's dream and his refusal to accept guilt for his brother's crime indicates that her appearance is intended as a reproach.²⁹⁰ Ḫattušili's attitude of defiance differs from that of his father, Muršili, who expresses understanding and resignation that he is being punished for his father's sins:

²⁸⁷ *Imparati* 1974:30-31, 96-102. A similar land deed granted by Ḫattušili to GAL-DIM (*CTH* 224).

²⁸⁸ The exact fate of Danuḫepa and her children depends on the interpretation of the Hittite verb *ḫarakta-* (be ruined, to perish). Cohen 1997:176.

²⁸⁹ KBo 21.19 obv. li 16-22.

²⁹⁰ KUB 25.5 iii 4-14 (Oppenheim 1956: 255).

It is only too true that man is sinful. My father sinned and transgressed against the word of the Hattian Storm-god, my Lord. But I have not sinned in any respect. It is only too true however, that the father's sin falls upon the son. So, my father's sin has fallen upon me.²⁹¹

This attitude reflects an implicit acknowledgment that descendants of a sinner continue to pay the price for the infractions of their ancestor. It is a typical Near Eastern attitude that is neatly summed up in the biblical passage where God tells Moses:

You shall not bow down to them or worship them; for I, the LORD your God, am a jealous God, punishing the children for the sin of the fathers to the third and fourth generation of those who hate me (Exodus 20:5).

Jeremiah expresses hope for a divine reform similar to the mortal law drafted by Telepinu:

In those days (says Yahweh) they will no longer say 'The fathers have eaten unripe fruit and the children's teeth will get blunted', but a man will die for his guilt: every human who eats unripe fruit will get his teeth blunted Jer. 31.29).

Ezekiel expresses the same vision but in less metaphorical terms when he prophesizes that a sinner's son who chooses not to follow his father's example will be spared from punishment (Ezek. 18.1-20). The hope expressed in these prophecies indicates mortal dissatisfaction with God's divine law that allows the punishment of a sinner's innocent children.

The collection of sixth century Greek poems known as the *Theognidea*²⁹² contain several poems which express dissatisfaction with the existing system wherein children pay the price for their father's sins.²⁹³ The Greek elegist observes that this arbitrary system in which children and righteous mortals are made to suffer unjustly, will provoke revolt rather than respect:

²⁹¹ 'Muršili's First Plague Prayer'. § 9 (Götze, *ANET*: 395).

²⁹² West (1989: 172) contests the 6th century date, preferring to push back the composition of the *Theognidea* to the 7th century.

²⁹³ West 1997: 516-17.

Who else thereafter, when he looks upon this man's fate,
will fear the gods and in what frame of mind? (Thgn. 747 f.)

As we see, the Hittites were not the only ones to voice dissatisfaction with the gods for punishing the descendants of sinners. However, Telepinu's decree reflects a rare instance of royal solidarity with his fellow mortals in terms of drafting a law that expressly chooses not to punish the family of a transgressor.

Telepinu's edict reflects a desire to change this understanding, at least on the mortal plane. Once the injustice of punishing innocent family members for the sins of an individual was acknowledged as in Telepinu's edict perhaps it became easier to demand the same treatment from the gods. Ḫattušili certainly displays a more defiant attitude towards the Sun-goddess of Arinna when he believed he was being punished for the sins of others. As demonstrated in his remonstrations to the goddess, Ḫattušili holds that her treatment of him is *nattā āra* 'not right'.

In line with the legalistic format of Hittite prayers, it is relevant to note that the *natta āra* expression in this text is connected with the verb *ḫuittiya-* meaning 'to pull', or 'to draw'. When preceded by the preposition *appa* (EGIR-*pa*), the meaning can be understood as re-opening a case.²⁹⁴ In fact, the verb appears in several texts referring to the reopening of a trial.²⁹⁵ Ḫattušili's direct address to the Sun-goddess and his appeal for justice using legal terminology indicates the king's belief that he was being treated unjustly.

²⁹⁴ Cohen 1997:179.

²⁹⁵ "Apology" iii 14: [GIM]-*an-ma ú-it IŠTU É.LUGAL DI-eš-šar ku-it-ki EGIR-pa ḫu-it-ya-at-ta-at*. But when it came to pass [that] the trial was re-opened by the palace (Otten 1981:18). Cf. Puhvel 1984 HED/H:348.

The increasingly vehement injunctions of Hittite kings protesting their divinely ordained misfortune at the hands of the gods over the sins of their ancestors in effect reflects a legal protest filed by mortals against the gods. Laroche expresses it well in *Prière Hittite*: “*Le Hittite exprime les rapports de l’homme à son dieu non en termes de grâce ou de sentiments, mais en termes de droites et jugement*”.²⁹⁶ As will be seen in Chapter Six it is precisely the echo of this evolution/revolution that we see in the Greek *Oresteia*.

Hattušili’s father, Muršili, uses the term *natta āra* when he attempts to justify his actions taken against his Babylonian stepmother, Tawananna, after she had been found guilty of using witchcraft to bring about the death of Muršili’s wife. *CTH 70* details Tawananna’s crimes committed against the royal family and Hatti over a period covering the reign of her husband Šuppiluliuma, his son, Arnuwanda, and finally the rulership of the plaintiff, Muršili, Arnuwanda’s brother. Muršili stresses in his prayer that despite the fact that the customs Tawananna introduced to Hatti were *not right*, neither he nor his brother, Arnuwanda, attempted to remove her from her position of authority nor to embarrass or humiliate her:

[But when my father became a go]d (died), Arnuwand[da, my brother, and I] have not harmed Tawananna or humiliated her [in any way. [As she governed] the [pala]ce and the land of Hatti in the days of my father and, thus, [in the days of my brother] she governed, and when my brother [became god], I myself did not in any way [harm or humilia]te [Tawan]nanna. As she governed the palace and the land of Hatti [in the days of my father and the days of] her husband, [thus she governs now]. The custom which [was to her liking at the time of] her [husband], (and) those that were not right ... [] the custom and the contract (acc.) [] she had carried out.²⁹⁷

The passage is poorly preserved and interpretations vary as to exactly what was forbidden and to whom. According to Laroche, the only deduction possible to glean from

²⁹⁶ Laroche 1964-1965: 17.

²⁹⁷ KUB 14.4 I 5-15.

the line concerning “*the custom which was to her liking...*”, is that Tawananna introduced a (probably Babylonian) “custom” (*ša-ak-la-a-iš*) that was deemed inappropriate by Muršili.²⁹⁸ Col.ii tells us that “...*she has turned the entire house of my father into the ‘stone house’ (mausoleum) of the god LAMMA (and) the stone house of the god...*”.²⁹⁹ Archi interprets this sentence to mean that Tawananna intended to dedicate a tomb surrounded by a sanctuary dedicated to a tutelary deity.³⁰⁰ The next accusation is similarly enigmatic and open to interpretation: “*She brought this from Babylonia, while that she handed out to all Ḫattuša, to the people*”.³⁰¹ According to Klinger, ‘this’ refers to the queen’s dowry which was wasted on funerary extravagances related to her husband’s funeral.³⁰² Col. iv informs us that Tawananna interpreted unusual solar activity as an omen, a ritual common in Babylonia but one that was not part of accepted Hittite divination practice. These accusations build on one another until the final and most serious charge is raised against Tawananna, witchcraft leading to the death of Muršili’s wife.

It is this final infraction that appears to draw the admonishment *natta āra* and provides Muršili with the necessary leverage to remove Tawananna from her influential position as high priestess. The fact that Muršili does not have his stepmother executed despite her being condemned by the oracle is noteworthy. Either Muršili did not truly believe in Tawananna’s guilt and merely used trumped up charges to have an inconvenient rival removed, or he feared that despite her guilt and the permission granted

²⁹⁸ Laroche 1956:102.

²⁹⁹ Hoffner 1983:191.

³⁰⁰ Archi 1980: 20-21.

³⁰¹ CHD/P:54.

³⁰² Klinger 1992:199.

by the gods to have her executed he would have committed a divine infraction by bringing about her death. Whatever his true motivation, Muršili nevertheless clearly believes that the cause of Hatti's state of famine and pestilence to be directly related to his treatment of his stepmother.

It is never explained why neither Arnuwanda or Muršili acted to remove Tawananna from her duties as governess and priestess. Judging from the content of the prayers, the customs introduced by Tawananna were not appreciated (at least by Muršili). It is tempting to understand the situation in terms of a foreigner introducing new customs to her newly adopted homeland. While some forward thinking rulers such as her husband, Šuppiluliuma, encouraged her efforts, those with a more conservative viewpoint looked askance on her interference.

When Muršili finally does act against his stepmother, he levies the capital charges of witchcraft and murder against Tawananna before he removes her from her position of authority. When Hatti is stricken with disease and famine, Muršili composes several explanatory prayers in an attempt to convince the Sun-goddess of Arinna to stop her anger.

Looking ahead to the consideration of Greek motifs with possible Anatolian antecedents (see below), we may note that the concept of a foreign queen using her witchcraft to bring about the death of a beloved royal woman destined for queenhood is used to great effect in the *Medea* of Euripides. In this instance it is Jason's foreign wife, Medea, who uses her black arts to bring about the death of Jason's new bride, the daughter of Creon, reigning king of Corinth. In the context of Anatolian and Greek transmission it should not be deemed overextending to theorize that the tragic yet

historically accurate tale of Muršili's interactions with his stepmother would have been used as interesting gossip tidbits by Anatolian merchants when interacting with their Greek counterparts. The Greek merchants would have in turn related these interesting tales to their own circle of friends substituting well-known Greek protagonists for the Hittite king and his court while keeping the addition of one foreign witch/queen thus synthesizing Hittite history with Greek mythology. The historical elements such as the stepmother/stepson relationship between Tawananna and Muršili may well have given rise to the Euripides version in which Medea first kills the bride and then her children.

The royal edict of Tudḫalia II opens with a preamble listing past disasters that had afflicted Hatti. Tudḫalia explains his edict as a response to a request made to him by his subjects:

When I returned to Ḫattuša, I refurbished the gods: the men of Hatti all began to bow down to me, and they spoke as follows" "O great king, you are lord, campaigner of war, are you not able to judge in matters of justice? Behold, evil people [] have utterly destroyed [] the feudal holding (?)...³⁰³

Tudḫalia proceeds to set out a legal reform regulating punishment in cases of homicide and legal debts. Westbrook and Woodard observe that edicts of this nature "were typically promulgated on a king's accession to the throne, but also at irregular intervals during his reign. The ostensible motivation was religious: by establishing equity and ending abuses the ruler pleases the gods of justice and thereby secures legitimacy for the reign.³⁰⁴ Telepinu's edict meets all the above criteria. The primary objective of Telepinu's edict was indeed political. Yet the content ranges from religious to legalistic in tone, apparently influenced by the Near Eastern concept of the ideal king. Telepinu's

³⁰³ CTH 258. Translation following Westbrook and Woodward 1990:642. Treatment, von Schuler 1983.

³⁰⁴ Westbrook and Woodard 1990:653.

insertion of the expression *natta āra* in this context appears to reflect a daringly independent moral ruling on the past actions of men and gods. Limiting the punishment of an offense so that it falls only on the guilty party rather than the sinner's entire household and descendants required an amendment to established practice both in terms of what was practiced on the mortal plane and what was understood by mortals to be taking place in the divine dimension. Telepinu uses the *natta āra* expression to codify the evolving moral attitude as a legal edifice for mortals and a divine suggestion for the gods.

Hattušili uses the same legal terminology in two prayers (KBo 21.19 + 1303/um and KUB 13.7 (CTH 258)) when he demands justice from the Sun-goddess of Arinna. The idea that mortals must pay for their predecessors' sins is protested in legal terms using the morally charged expression *natta āra*. Such prayers that cajole, argue and protest that mortals not be forced to pay for the sins of their predecessors reflect an evolution of the responsibilities of the punishers of sinners. At first the gods are asked to be reasonable in how they mete out punishment. Telepinu's edict reflects the final stage of this transition in which mortals accept responsibility over the perimeters of punishment to be visited on an infractor. By limiting the degree of punishment allowed to a king over a mortal there is a parallel suggestion to the gods that they observe similar standards when considering the misdeeds of mortals.

Telepinu's decree appears to finalize in the form of a moral mandate the sentiment that a mortal should be held responsible for his own crimes, stipulating that family and descendants were not to pay for the sinner's actions. Aeschylus' *Oresteia* draws a similar conclusion (see Chapter Six below). After several generations were forced to pay for the sins of Atreus, a jury of mortals and gods freed Orestes of the charge

of matricide and further ruled that in the future mortals themselves be granted the power and responsibility of carrying out judgment on sinners themselves.

4.3 φθόνος and Greek Justice

ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὼν φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχώδες.

“I know that the divine powers are all jealous and meddling (Solon to Croesus in Herodotus, I, 32).”

Divine φθόνος

When discussing the φθόνος of the gods one should first be aware of the cultural ambiguity created by the use of the English word ‘jealousy’ when it is used as a translation for the Greek word φθόνος. Whereas in English ‘jealousy’ typically denotes a state of envy for another’s lifestyle, belongings or good fortune, in Greek φθόνος can encompass all that and more, while in some contexts, particularly when used of the gods, the concept of ‘envy’ seems not to apply at all. Some examples will help to clarify the semantic complexities of φθόνος.

Book Three of Herodotus tells of a meeting that took place among seven Persian conspirators who had just killed their king (Smerdis). During the meeting, in which the formulation of the ideal constitution was discussed, Herodotus touches on the concept of the corrupting power of mortal φθόνος. One of the conspirators, Otanes, argued that Persia should become a democracy due to the fact that φθόνος was innate to all mortals. For Otanes, the destructive nature of human φθόνος could rear its head in the heart of a

powerful and wealthy tyrant against his citizens. The tyrant, according to Otanes, is roused to feel φθόνος against his citizens merely because they exist (*Histories* 3.80). The same notion applied to the gods may explain why they might be roused to φθόνος over the lifestyle of a non-sinning mortal.

When φθόνος is attributed to humans the emotion does appear akin to that of jealousy. Herodotus includes a Persian character assessment of the Greeks as a jealous people: “When a (Greek) citizen prospers, the other citizens are jealous (φθόνος) of him and secretly hostile to him, and will not, when asked for advice by a fellow citizen give him the counsel which really seems the best to him” (*Histories* 7.237-237). Herodotus also describes the motivation of the Athenians in refusing to grant Themistokles the honour he deserved after winning the battle of Salamis as “owing to φθόνος.” Herodotus clearly perceived the Greeks as an envious race. Perhaps the Greeks cherished the notion that a citizen who rose to particular prominence in terms of wealth and power could be quickly brought low by gods as jealous as they.

Aeschylus’ use of the word is equally challenging to translate. In the tragedian’s treatment of Xerxes’ war in the *Persians* he too refers to the φθόνος of the gods as the reason behind the king’s defeat. Even when Xerxes’ advisors are detailing the size and strength of the Persian army they express anxiety related to the display of such an army. The underlying concern is that the larger the display the more risk Xerxes runs of attracting the gods’ envy (*Persians*, 8). The counselors speak of calling down *Ate*, a state of moral blindness in mortals which leads to ruin. Aeschylus thus agrees with Herodotus that causing divine φθόνος brings down the same punishment as committing a crime.

Xerxes' mother, Atossa, expresses the same concern as the chorus. She worries lest "his great wealth does not knock the ground from under the happiness won by Darius, not without help from God" (*Persians*, 163 ff.). After learning of Xerxes' defeat, Atossa wonders whether the cause of his loss was due to the prowess of the Greeks or the arrogance of her son based on his large fleet (351). The messenger describing the progress of the battle agrees, noting that Xerxes did not understand the jealousy of the gods τὸν θεῶν φθόνον (362).

Clytemnestra hopes to arouse the jealousy of the gods against Agamemnon by first praising his great deeds (*Agamemnon*, 896 ff.) and then ordering her maids to "spread quickly the purple carpet on the path that justice may lead him to a home that he does not expect to reach" (910). She ironically expresses her hope that the great deeds of her husband not evoke the φθόνος of the gods φθόνος δ'ἀπέστρω (904). Agamemnon is reluctant to tread on the carpet for the same reason "Do not make the path dangerous for me by arousing (divine) φθόνος by covering it with a costly cloth. Thus should the gods be honoured but I, who am a mortal, can by no means proceed in gay finery without fear (918 ff.)." Nevertheless Agamemnon does tread on the carpet, fulfilling Clytemnestra's goal that her husband add to his sin of sacrificing his daughter by committing another type of offense, provoking divine φθόνος.

There is a hint that the gods are annoyed by mortal prayers that ask overly much. In the *Suppliant Women* (1059) citizens are warned about a lack of moderation in their prayers to the god. The daughters of Danaos react to this warning by exclaiming: "I praise my lot when it is not actually evil. I praise the life in which there are two good things for every one that is evil" (1069 ff.).

Sophocles expresses the danger of arousing the φθόνος of the gods in several plays. A fragment of a lost tragedy proclaims (fr. 353): “I would neither wish for myself a marriage above my station or a happiness exceeding the proper measure ἔκμετρον. For the paths are exposed to φθόνος (φθονεραὶ γὰρ ὁδοί).

The chorus sympathizes with the fate of Philoctetes by noting “Alas how unfortunate are men when mediocrity does not protect them. This man whose noble kin is perhaps second to none lies here bereft of all that is of value in life” (*Philoctetes* 178 ff.). Mediocrity in this instance refers to those who do not attract attention by being too successful.

The chorus assesses the life of Oedipus as having been too successful: “For he shot his dart with too fortunate a result and won a happiness which was too perfect, O Zeus, when he slew the maiden with the talons who spoke in riddles, and grew as a tower to protect my land from death” (*Oedipus Rex*, 1196ff., cf. 1524 ff.). Thus in addition to labouring beneath the weight of a family curse, Oedipus’ destruction also came about because his happiness attracted divine φθόνος.

Examples of divine φθόνος occur just as frequently in Euripides. After Herakles is successful in returning Alcestis to the world of the living, he warns her husband, Admetos: ἔχεις. φθόνος δὲ μὴ γένοιτό τις θεῶν, “Now you have her again. May no envy from the gods arise on this account (*Alkestis* 1135).

Herodotus and the tragic playwrights provide many examples of the suffering inflicted on mortals innocent of any crime other than being connected with an individual who has somehow offended. In some cases as with Gyges, the original offender is left unpunished while later generations must pay for the crime. But as the previous examples

show, there is another type of victim susceptible to divine wrath: the happy mortal. The gods punish with the same zest they employ in bringing down the wicked those mortals guilty of happiness, wealth and power.

Artabanos, when attempting to dissuade Xerxes from the proposed campaign against Greece observes:

You see how the god smites with his thunderbolt creatures of greatness and does not suffer them to display their pride, while little ones do not move him to anger; and you see how it is always on the tallest buildings and trees that his bolts fall; for the god loves to bring low all things of surpassing greatness. Thus a large army is destroyed by a smaller, when the jealous god sends panic or the thunderbolt among them, and they perish unworthily; for the god suffers pride in none but himself (Herodotus, VII, 10).³⁰⁵

Croesus, after giving Solon a tour of Lydia's riches, asks the lawgiver if he had ever known another man as truly happy as himself. Solon, to Croesus' displeasure, provided a couple of examples of Greek citizens whose common claim to happiness lay in the fact that they died. To Croesus' query as to whether Solon considered the king's state of happiness as unimportant Solon replied by referring to the unpredictability of fortune and the jealousy of the gods. "But when Solon had departed, a great Nemesis from God befell Croesus, as it seemed because he thought himself the happiest of all men" (Herodotus I, 30-34). The first blow came when his son Atys died, the second when he was defeated and captured by Cyrus.

Another individual who enjoyed too much good fortune was Polykrates, the despot of Samos. His ally, King Amasis of Egypt, warned him of the dangers of too much success and suggested he discard some of his wealth. Polykrates, following his friend's advice, threw a valuable ring into the sea. Later, a fisherman presented him with a large fish which turned out to contain the very ring Polykrates had discarded. Amasis, realizing

³⁰⁵ Tr. A. D. Godley.

the gods had already taken notice of Polykrates' success, broke off the relationship. Soon after, Polykrates was betrayed, killed and crucified by Oroites, a governor of Persia (*Histories* 3.39-47 and 120-125).

Happiness provokes the gods to φθόνος and brings down the same incentive to sin thus provoking divine punishment. Whether or not mortal happiness itself should be considered a crime or merely something the prudent should avoid is open to interpretation. The historian, Herodotus, and the playwrights, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, provide many such examples in which divine φθόνος is specifically mentioned as a reason behind warnings against human happiness. Such examples should allow one to argue that a citizen of Athens, when warned against exaggerated happiness, would have understood the danger as inviting divine φθόνος even if not specifically mentioned.

There is a warning in Herodotus against the *hybris* that develops when one is happy. When the seven Persians who had killed Smerdis met to discuss what type of new government should be implemented in Persia (see above), Otanes spoke out strongly against the system of monarchy in favour of democracy:

You saw the insolence of Kambyses, how far it went, and you had your share of the insolence of the Magus. [3] How can monarchy be a fit thing, when the ruler can do what he wants with impunity? Give this power to the best man on earth, and it would stir him to unaccustomed thoughts. Insolence is created in him by the good things to hand, while from birth envy is rooted in man. [4] Acquiring the two he possesses complete evil; for being satiated he does many reckless things, some from insolence, some from envy. And yet an absolute ruler ought to be free of envy, having all good things; but he becomes the opposite of this towards his citizens; he envies the best who thrive and live, and is pleased by the worst of his fellows; and he is the best confidant of slander (*Hist.* 3.80ff).

Unlike Herodotus and the tragic playwrights, Homer's gods are not so easily provoked to φθόνος over the actions or boasts of mortals. Achilles is able to claim to be

the best of the Achaeans without fear that the gods might punish him for *hybris* (*Il. 1.244*). Nestor reminisces about how powerful giants unequaled in strength considered him their equal in prowess (*Il. 1.270 ff.*).

The new traits observable in fifth century literature include the concept of divine φθόνος concerning mortal activity and words and the use of the gods as policemen in ensuring that mortals refrain from committing crimes against each other. Pindar provides many examples showing divine φθόνος that agree with the Greek viewpoint as reflected by their tragedians.

When Pindar's noble friend, Hieron, suffers from depression and illness the poet advises him:

If you are able, Hieron, rightly to apprehend the highest wisdom of life, then you will know the lesson taught by the path: for one good thing, two evils, that is the gift of the gods to mortals (*Pythian III, 80*). "Neither Peleus, Aikos' son, nor Kadmos, the equal of the gods, was given a life of security, and yet the legend records that of all mortals they attained the highest happiness... (86 ff.)." "As time passes, the bitter fate of three daughters again bereft Kadmos of his portion of happiness (96 ff.)." "And Peleus' son whom Thetis, his immortal wife bore as her only child in Phthia, must lose his life in battle by the bow of Paris; loud were the laments of the Danaoi when he was burning on the pyre. Every mortal who remembers the way of truth knows that when good befalls him from the gods he must suffer also. The wind in the clouds on high blow now one way, now another. Human happiness does not stay long when it comes to anyone in superabundance (100 ff.)."³⁰⁶

Pindar's theme of gods that bestow happiness on mortals only to ruthlessly replace it with misery flavors all of the poet's works. One of Pindar's frequently quoted observations illustrates the poet's preoccupation with the futility of mortal ambition:

They live for the day. What is one? What is one not?
The dream of a shadow is man (*Pyth. 8.95*).

³⁰⁶ Tr. Pindar C.M. Bowra 1982. Penguin.

It is a bleak outlook that reminds one of the Near Eastern perspective in terms of a mortal's lot on earth.³⁰⁷ David's Psalms also compare the lot of man to a shadow:

O Yahweh, What is a man that thou dost notice him?...
Man is like emptiness; his days are as a shadow that passes by (Ps. 144.3).

While Job questions:

What is a man, that thou dost raise him up?...
For our days on earth are a shadow (Job 7.17-8.9).

Bildad the Shuhite answers Job's lament with words that are not intended to comfort but rather validate the suffering man's experiences:

... we are but of yesterday, and we know nothing,
For our days on earth are but a shadow (Job. 8.9).

West points out that the image of the shadow to illustrate the gradations of man's insignificance is common to Near Eastern Literature, providing an example from an Akkadian proverb as quoted in a letter to the Assyrian king Esarhaddon: 'Man is the shadow of God, and a slave is the shadow of a man'.³⁰⁸ By weaving together two insubstantial: 'shadow' and 'dream', Pindar succeeds in lowering the degradation of man in relation to the gods down another notch.

After death, Pindar promises a wonderful afterlife for those who were judged worthy by the gods. For those fortunate souls:

...the strength of the sun shines down there while we here walk in night. The plains around the city are red with roses and shaded by incense trees heavy with golden fruit. And some enjoy horses or wrestling, or table games and the lyre and near them blossoms a flower of perfect joy. Perfumes always hover above the land from the frankincense strewn in deep shining fire of the

³⁰⁷ It must be noted, however, that Pindar's "dark" reflection in *Pyth.* 8.95 is only half the story: the darkness also serves to heighten the glory of the ἀγλαδιόσδοτος of v. 96.

³⁰⁸ West 1997: 541.

gods' altars. And across from them the sluggish rivers of black night vomit forth a boundless gloom (*Pind. Fr. 129*).³⁰⁹

The threat of "boundless gloom" that lies across the river refers to the destination of those not judged worthy. The concept of the gods' final judgment to determine mortal destination in the afterlife is also found in Mesopotamia. A Sumerian inscription warns:

Utu the great...of Arallu (the Underworld),
will, after he has turned the dark place into day, judge your judgment.³¹⁰

Another hymn refers to Šamaš as 'judge of those above and corrector of those below':

You open the great-gate of the wide earth,
You kindle light, for the Anunnaki you accomplish judgment.³¹¹

The Sumerian hymns and Pindar's odes envision the sun as performing the same duties in the Underworld as he does on earth: providing light and administering justice. It also agrees with the role of the Sun-goddess of Arinna in Hittite prayer, who is frequently implored by royal suppliants to provide justice. The Ugaritic epic of Baal likewise describes the Sun-goddess as administering justice to the mortals in the Underworld.³¹² The afterlife promised by Pindar differs from the bleak shadowy netherworld as described by Achilles in Homer's *Odyssey*:

Let me hear no smooth talk
of death from you, Odysseus, light of councils.
Better, I say, to break sod as a farm hand
for some poor country man, on iron rations,
than lord it over all the exhausted dead"(*Od. 11.488-491*).

³⁰⁹ Plutarch (consol. ad Apoll. 35.120c) comments: "The following is said about the *pious* in Hades." (my italics). I see in this fragment the same association of the sun with the concept of justice that occurs elsewhere in Pindar; see Teffeteller 2005: 17-19 with notes 85-92. Cf. Rutherford 2001:198; Richardson 1974 ad verse 62; West 1997: 20, 358; Beyoncé 1966: 149-70.

³¹⁰ Kramer 1960: 61.88 ff.. cf. West 1997: 542.

³¹¹ Shamash Hymn (BWL 126) 2, 4, cf. West 1997: 542.

³¹² West 1997: 542.

The similarity in the theme and formula, describing a Sun deity judging a mortal's deeds as featured in Sumerian hymns, Hittite prayer, the Baal epic and Pindar certainly indicate a shared repertory if not a result of direct contact.³¹³

Pindar warns mortals not to strive overly much “for we embark on great undertakings and set our hearts on countless goals yet our limbs are fettered by impudent hope. Foresight is denied to us (*Nem.* 11, 44 ff.). Happiness is reserved for the gods for only their future is guaranteed to be free of misery. This warning appears to be related to φθόνος, as Pindar also states: μή μάτευε Ζεὺς γενέσθαι, “Do not try to be Zeus (*Isth.*, 5, 14)” and μή φίλα ψυχά, βίον ἀθάνατον σπεῦδε, “Do not strive to attain immortal life (*Pyth.* 3.61 ff.).” For, ἐν ἀνδρῶν, ἐν θεῶν γένος, “one is the race of men, one the race of the gods (*Nem.* 6.1).” And, θνατὰ θνατοῖσι πρόπει, “it befits mortals to be content with the lot of mortals (*Isth.* 5.16).” The oft quoted statement uttered by the Delphic oracle to “know thyself” appears to sum up Pindar’s sentiments concerning mortal speculation.

Victors in the Games are often praised because they refrained from overreaching themselves in their ambitions during their training (*Ol.* 7. 90 ff.; *Pyth.* 5.14; *Isthm.* 4. 8 ff.; *Ol.* 3.9 ff.), and in their joy at their newfound fame and fortune after victory (*Isthm.* 3.1. ff.). In the event that a victor might be tempted to revel overly much in victory, Pindar warns: μηκέτι πάπταινε πόρσιον, “Now rest content with what you have attained, do not strive for more (*Ol.* 1.114).” Pindar recommends restraint and reflection after victory to avoid awakening the φθόνος of the gods:

³¹³ The fact that both the Ugaritic epic and Hittite prayer attribute such judgment to a Sun-goddess rather than Sun-god is curious and the factor of the long period of Hittite control over Ugarit must not be ignored.

If a man prospers and excels others in beauty, and if he has proven his strength by distinguishing himself in warlike games, let him remember that his limbs are mortal, and that the earth is the last raiment he shall don (*Nem.* 11.13 ff.).

Those mortals to whom the gods give happiness yet still strive for more are meant to learn from the fate of Ixion who, unable to content himself with the happiness bestowed upon him by the gods, was instead ruined by his good fortune, (μαχρὸν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ὄλβον). In his *hybris*, Ixion attempts to rape Hera, for which he is punished by being bound to a revolving wheel forever (*Pyth.* 2.21 ff.).

There is an element of piety to Pindar's insistence on the superiority of the gods and his reluctance to discuss myths in which the gods' omnipotence appears vulnerable. There are several myths that Pindar manipulates, either through addition or omission, to cast the gods in a better light. Tantalos, like Ixion, was tempted into sinning as a result of his excessive happiness (καταπέψαι μέγαν ὄλβον οὐκ ἔδυνάσθη), a sin for which he was severely punished. Pindar's version of the myth of Tantalos is significantly different from the usual story in which Tantalos butchers his son, Pelops, and attempts to serve his flesh to the gods. In Pindar's rendition, Tantalos steals nectar and ambrosia from the gods for which he is punished by having a large rock suspended over his head. Instead of Pelops being killed and prepared for a banquet, Poseidon is overcome with love for the boy leading him to bring the lad to Olympos as Zeus had done with Ganymede. Eventually, due to the sins of his father, Pelops is exiled from Olympos and forced to spend the rest of his days as a mortal (*OI.* 1.25 ff.).

Pindar also appears to adapt the traditional version of Priam's death at the hands of Neoptolemos. The version that appears in both text and vase paintings shows

Neoptolemos killing Priam while the aged king was clinging to Athena's altar. Yet despite Neoptolemos' obvious crime of sacrilege, no extant text prior to Pindar mentions divine punishment being visited upon him for his desecration of a divine sanctuary. Pindar's version in which Neoptolemos is slain by Apollo appears to have been created by the poet so that none could point to this one instance when a mortal escaped unpunished for sinning against the gods.³¹⁴

To further illustrate Pindar's reluctance to portray the gods in a vulnerable light, Ranulf discusses a myth in which the poet hides rather than embellishes a known tale. Pindar refers to a myth in which Heracles battles Poseidon, Apollo and Hades. The scholiast records that Heracles was the victor yet Pindar hedges saying: "Far be it from me to speak thus. To blame the gods is an act which deserves to be repaid by hatred, and ill-timed boasting is akin to madness."³¹⁵ In this instance, Pindar does not dispute the outcome, yet his refusal to name Heracles the victor indicates that he either considers it unseemly for a mortal, even Heracles, to defeat a god or that it might invoke divine φθόνος for a mortal to gloat over Heracles' victory over a god. The gods encourage such restraint.

Presumptuousness is an easy path to calling down φθόνος. Koronis was pregnant by Apollo but when she presumed to sleep with a mortal before the birth of the baby, Apollo sent his sister, Artemis, "raging with anger," to kill Koronis (*Pyth.* 3.8-37). As the funeral pyre consumes the corpse, Apollo rescues the child and gives it to the centaur Cheiron for rearing.

³¹⁴ Lloyd-Jones 1971:48-51; Ranulf 1934: 150.

³¹⁵ Pindar, *Ol.* 9. 29 ff.

The infant grows up to be the famous healer Asklepios whose talent was so great he revived a corpse. Instead of praising Asklepios' skill, Pindar describes his act as audacious and has Zeus kill him with a thunderbolt (*Pyth.* 3.54 ff.). The gods of Pindar do not allow sentiment (after all Asklepios is the son of Apollo) to interfere when it comes to keeping mortals firmly in line. They jealously guard their own domain of immortality, power and happiness, punishing any mortal who presumes to trespass.

Asklepios interfered with the gods' dominion over immortality when he presumed to revive the dead. Pindar addresses the theme of divine φθόνος over human happiness when he prays: "May not the φθόνος of the gods (ὁ δ' ἀθανάτων ... φθόνος) disturb what pleasure I may have from day to day, while I pass quietly toward old age and death" (*Isthm.* 7.39-42). When mortals achieve too much success they take away from the attention and respect demanded by the gods. Thus, Pindar asks Zeus not to feel φθόνος of the words he uses when praising a victor, αφθόνητος ἔπεσσιν γένοιο (*Ol.* 13.24-28).

4.4 φθόνος: Divine and Human Emotion

Hittite prayers frequently acknowledge that the addressed deity is angry while the suppliant expresses bewilderment at the god's anger. Usually the blame is placed on the sins of ancestors as Muršili laments: "the father's sins come upon the son" (*CTH 378.II*: §8). The same tablet searches for other reasons to explain a god's wrath such as the violation of a treaty (§§4f.). Supplication prayers to the deities stress frequency of

sacrifices and proper adherence to cult ritual, indicating that had the mortal failed to observe the proper rites the gods would have been within their rights to inflict punishment. These reasons portray the gods as keepers of justice and cult rites in much the same way as the gods of the Greeks are portrayed in literature.

Herodotus observes that the punishment of death by flesh-devouring worms inflicted on Pheretime was visited on her by the gods for avenging herself too violently for the murder of her son: “When men revenge themselves too violently, the gods grow jealous of them.”

ἄνθρωποισι αἱ λίην ἰσχυραὶ τιμωρίαι πρὸς θεῶν ἐπίφθονοι γίνονται
(*Herodotus*, 4.205).

In this case *φθόνος* is attributed to the gods as their motivation in correcting the imbalance created by Pheretime’s vengeance judged by the gods to outweigh the original crime. One could argue, in fact, that at 1.34 and elsewhere Herodotus appears to be reiterating the same moral stance he portrays in Solon’s speech to Croesus(1.34). Solon, by using words like *αἰε* and *epithumiê* (1.32.6), is alluding to the rich man’s propensity for irrational desire and moral folly, which in turn awaken *φθόνος*, leading to disastrous conclusions.³¹⁶ It must be emphasized, however, that Solon is addressing a king. Amasis (discussed above) is also a ruler (3.40.2; cf. 3.43.1). It makes sense that these characters would emphasize a connection between calamity and greatness rather than between calamity and wrongdoing. In contrast, Themistocles, the last speaker in the *Histories*, refers to the *φθόνος* of the gods, interpreting divine *φθόνος* as a response to the

³¹⁶ Harrison 2000: 60-61.

audacity of mortals for attempting to rival, antagonize and replace the divine (8.109.3). The *φθόνος* of the gods unleashed against Pheretima did not discuss her sins in terms of excessive power, but rather the manner in which she used the power available to her. In this case *φθόνος* constitutes the gods' resentment against human usurpations of the divine prerogative to wreak vengeance.

After winning the battle of Plataea, Pausanias refuses to desecrate the corpse of Mardonius despite the fact that the Persians had not demonstrated the same respect for the body of Leonidas at Thermopylae. Pausanias explains that “it is more suitable for the Barbarians than the Hellenes to act thus. “When they choose to commit such deeds we feel *φθόνος* of them,” καὶ ἐκείνοισι δὲ ἐπιφθονέομεν (*Herodotus*, IX, 79). In this context, *φθόνος* means the Greeks regard the mistreatment of corpses as morally wrong.

In the world of the gods as envisioned by Aeschylus, the playwright describes Artemis as feeling *φθόνος* (ἐπίφθονος) for a pair of eagles when she witnessed them devouring a pregnant rabbit, thus describing the goddess' indignation at the deed (*Agamemnon*, 134 ff.).³¹⁷

In his *Seven against Thebes*, Aeschylus provides another angle on the mortal understanding of *φθόνος* in relationship to the gods when Eteokles assures the chorus that he feels no *φθόνος* for the honour they show to the gods: οὔτοι φθονῶ σοι δαιμόνων τιμᾶν γένος (*Seven against Thebes* 235 ff.).³¹⁸ In this instance, ‘lack of *φθόνος*’ expresses the sentiment that Eteokles does not disapprove of their piety.

³¹⁷ Fraenkel translates Artemis' *φθόνος* in this instance as “bears a grudge.” Fraenkel 1975.

³¹⁸ Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes* (tr. Smyth).

Sophocles agrees with Aeschylus' take on *φθόνος* in his *Philoktetes* when the chorus advises Philoktetes that although he has the right to bewail his fate he must take care not to exaggerate his misery lest *φθόνος* be aroused by his words:

μη φθονεραν ἐξῶσαι γλώσσας ὀδύναν (*Philoktetes*, 1141). Despite the misery suffered by a mortal, the victim should refrain from unjust complaint to avoid receiving additional divine punishment.

A striking example of the ambiguity inherent in the word *φθόνος* is found in Thucydides in a speech attributed to Nicias. Before beginning the retreat from Syracuse, Nicias encourages his soldiers by telling them they had already endured the brunt of the wrath of some god for their war in Sicily: εἴ τω θεῶν ἐπίφθονοι ἐστρατεύσαμεν. He goes on to argue that others had similarly sinned when fighting on foreign soil and as the Athenians had only followed the natural inclination of mortals, they should not be punished excessively. In this context, ἐπίφθονοι, means 'deserving of blame', rather than 'worthy of envy'.³¹⁹ Nicias believes the present misfortune of the Athenians should attract the sympathy of the gods and dispel their former *φθόνος*:

οἴκτου γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀξιώτεροι ἤδη ἐσμέν ἢ φθόνου (Thuc.7.77).

In Euripides' *Hippolytos*, the nurse believes that Phaedra's very life is at stake unless she satisfies her passion for Hippolytos by sleeping with him. The nurse believes that in such extenuating circumstances no moral objection should be raised (literally it cannot give rise to *φθόνος*): οὐκ ἐπίφθονον τόδε (*Hippolytos*, 497).³²⁰

³¹⁹ Kovacs 1987: 77.

³²⁰ Mills 2002: 41.

Euripides uses φθόνος in the sense of differentiating between good and evil in the *Suppliant Women* when Odysseus is urged by Hekabe to convince the Hellenes that it would be φθόνος (meaning, in this case, immoral), to kill the Trojan women (*Hekabe*, 288). In the *Andromache* the chorus asserts that “it is better to forego a dishonourable victory than to cause justice to be overthrown by φθόνος and by violence” (*Andromache*, 779 ff.). Here, φθόνος means wrong rather than ‘envy’. When Electra hears of Aegisthus’ death, she hesitates to express her hatred of her father’s killer lest she incur φθόνος as punishment for insulting the dead (*Electra*, 902). In this instance, φθόνος means divine disapproval. After she murders Agamemnon, Clytemnestra fears the φθόνος of her children, referring perhaps to their moral condemnation of her deed and a subsequent change in their relationship (*Electra*, 30). When Telephos addresses the Hellenes at Argos, he asks the assembly not to resent that a mere beggar dare address them: μή μοι φθονήσητ’ (Fr. 703). Telephos’ use of φθόνος in this instance refers to the assembly’s sense of propriety.

In Euripides, as elsewhere, φθόνος appears to stand for moral disapproval on the part of the gods. When the Thebans refused to release the Argive corpses for burial, Theseus marches against them οὐχὶ σὺν φθόνῳ θεῶν (*Suppliant Women*, 348). A choral song in *Iphigenia at Aulis* reflects dismally on a world in which mortals care little for distinguishing between good and evil, law and order are despised, and no effort is made to ward off the φθόνος of the gods: μή τις θεῶν φθόνος ἔλθῃ (*Iphigenia at Aulis*, 1097).

4.5 Human φθόνος vs. Divine φθόνος

Pindar opposes the φθόνος of mortals to the φθόνος of the gods despite the fact that he uses φθόνος in describing both races. Human φθόνος is discouraged and disparaged while divine φθόνος is to be prayed to, wondered at and feared. When Megakles, the victor at Delphi, is banished from Athens Pindar empathizes: “I grieve that noble acts are always attended by φθόνος (*Pyth.* 7. 18).” The motivation behind the myth that Pelops was butchered to feed the gods was, according to Pindar, a fabrication of mortals, jealous of Pelops’ position as beloved of Apollo and guest in Olympos (*Ol.* 1.46 ff.). A victor at Olympia is threatened by his peers due to their φθόνος (*Ol.* 6.74), Thrasybulos is advised neither to ignore his achievements nor to dismiss the words of praise composed in his honour by Pindar just because men’s souls are filled with φθόνος (*Isthm.* 2.43 ff.). In the same vein Pindar says: “The man who exerts all his powers in order to excel should be praised without envy” (*Isthm.* 1.41 ff.), and “What citizens hear falls heavily on their secret souls, when it is in praise of their neighbors” (*Pyth.* 1.84).

Human φθόνος causes mortals to desire the unattainable, thus arousing divine φθόνος. This chain reaction from mortal φθόνος to divine φθόνος is discussed at length by Patricia Bulman, who views divine φθόνος in Pindar as the ultimate veto for human ambition.³²¹ According to Bulman, Pindar sees presumptuousness in too much human ambition and when the gods decide the line has been crossed their own φθόνος is aroused.

³²¹ Bulman 1992: 9.

Bulman observes that φθόνος and its derivatives are attributed to the gods a total of four times in Pindar (*Isthm.* 7.39-42, *Ol.* 13.24-28, *Pyth.* 8.71-72, *Pyth.* 10.20-21). In every example the word is used in a prayer as the poet beseeches the gods not to allow either his happiness or that of the victor's family to arouse divine φθόνος.³²² These prayers demonstrate Pindar's cautious approach to success and praise, both attributes which rightfully belong to the gods. If mortals desire to partake, they do so at their own risk.

The gods of Pindar do not seem inclined to punish humans for their misdeeds against other humans. In the passages where Pindar refers to justice, 'δίκη', it is in terms of the justice allowed to the gods in their relationship with mortals. When Bellerophon decides to fly on Pegasus in order to meet Zeus, he is thrown from the horse as punishment for his presumption. The relevant passage deals with the right of Zeus to deal harshly with Bellerophon: τὸ δὲ πᾶρ δίκαν, γλυκὺ πικροτάτα μένει τελευτά, "A bitter end comes to pleasures obtained in defiance of what is right (*Isth.* 7.47).

Ixion was guilty of another offense besides his attempted rape of Hera. His other crime was that he had "first of all men, not without crafty cunning shed a kinsman's blood" (*Pyth.* 2.21). Pindar does not address this infraction when he discusses the gods' motivation behind his punishment as being due to Ixion's ingratitude and not the fact that he committed murder.

Pindar even criticizes Zeus, in his own muted way, when Herakles, with Zeus' approval, robs Geryones of his oxen: "I deem you right in preference to him, Geryones,

³²² Ibid, 11-12.

but I will keep silent concerning that which is not agreeable to Zeus.³²³ In another fragment, Pindar expounds on the injustice suffered by Geryones:

The law is the lord of all (νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς), of men and gods alike, and with its mighty hand it justifies (ἄγει δικαίῳ) even the worst deed of violence. This is evidenced by the labours of Herakles. For he drove the oxen of Geryones to the Cyclopean border of Eurysteus without having the permission of the owner and without having bought them (Fr. 169).

Thus there is a concept of law that stands removed from gods and men. Yet defining it proves elusive, even to Pindar.

The ambiguity concerning the gods' motives in terms of punishing out of caprice, justice or jealousy exists in the language as well. The same confusion does not appear to exist with δίκη and its derivatives for justice.³²⁴ δίκη is said to have occurred when a mortal is punished by the gods but there appears to be but one example, offered by Ranulf, where δίκη is used in a context suggesting divine φθόνος although the word φθόνος is not used.³²⁵ A fragment of Herakleitos reads: "the sun will not surpass the right measure (οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται μέτρα). If it does, Dike's helpers, the Erinyes, will attend to it."³²⁶ Thus φθόνος was in some sense prompted by the claims of justice, or at the very least, could be used as an instrument of justice. Perhaps the very ambiguity of φθόνος lent itself to citizens searching for reasons to explain inexplicable misery befalling a mortal, while they found little complication in nodding knowingly and saying, 'δίκη', if woe struck a citizen known to be living an immoral life .

φθόνος in Greek literature articulates the Greek attitude towards divine justice and punishment in terms of the gods' perception of what is not right with mortals. The

³²³ Fr. 81.

³²⁴ Goldhill 1992: 33.

³²⁵ Ranulf 1934: 111.

³²⁶ Goldhill 1992 36.

Hittite expression, *natta āra*, designates what is not right for the Hittites in terms of moral transgression. Both terms express what is not right in terms of human behavior and can carry the weight of a religious infraction.

In their prayers to the gods, Hattušili and Telepinu both demand justice from their gods often using legal terminology (Cf. Chapter Five). However, when considering an established divine law considered unjust by suppliants, they often falls back on the term *natta āra* - a phrase that does not appear in any of the (as of yet published) Hittite law codes.³²⁷ Thus the transition to the individualization of responsibility occurs in the realm of Hittite prayer. The same human attempt at explaining the motivation behind (apparently) unjust punishment on the part of the Greek gods is reflected in Greek literature by the word *φθόνος*. The medium of Greek literature and Hittite prayer are ideal for expressing universal concepts of morality and justice which are beyond temporal or local boundaries.

Thus *φθόνος* and *natta āra* are both connected with the divine interpretation of justice in terms of their applicability to mortals. In both cultures the gods were assumed to set the standards of morals, law and punishment. By using the phrase *natta āra*, the suppliant in Hittite prayers expresses frustration with divine punishment, while Greek writers attempt to make seemingly capricious acts of the gods understandable, if not humanly acceptable, by using the word *φθόνος*.

³²⁷ Cohen 1997: 183.

Chapter Five: In the Court of Prayer

“God plants sins in men when he desires utterly to destroy a house.”
Aeschylus, *Niobe*, fr. 156

*“When the gods hear my word, they will put right the bad thing which
is in my soul and remove it from me.”*
Muwatalli II

5.1 Hittite prayer

Hittite prayer often addresses the gods in their role as vengeful punishers with the suppliant seeking to stop the wrath of a specific deity by means of obsequious pleading and logic. Often the suppliant alternates between the two methods within the same prayer. Judging from the many prayers delivered to the gods, stopping a god’s wrath is not an easy matter. “The innermost soul” of the Hittite gods is sometimes described as unforgiving and vengeful (CTH 378.I: § 8, rev. 21’-40). Muršili and Ḫattušili both address the Sun-goddess of Arinna concerning the matter of the chronic famine and pestilence plaguing Hatti. They attribute the punishment to Muršili’s treatment of Tawananna and bewail the fact that neither justice (Tawananna was convicted by the oracle for her crimes) nor remorse (professed by Muršili and Hattušili) resulted in a cessation of the god’s punishing anger. According to their testimony, it is only in the present time (of the suppliant) that Hittite gods have exhibited vindictiveness as exhibited by the plague, famine or the illness of a loved one. In the idyllic past, Hittite gods are

described as amicable and merciful and the suppliant often expresses the hope that the future will see a return to less fearful mortal/gods relationship (*CTH 378.IV: §3*).³²⁸

Hittite prayers provide a good indication of the organization of the Hittite pantheon and illustrate the lengths Hittite worshippers were willing to go to in order to woo the deity of another people. Again this reveals the degree to which the Hittites anthropomorphized their gods in terms of their susceptibility to flattery, the promise of “a better deal”, and willingness to hear out and perhaps be swayed by a logical argument. Muwatalli’s prayer to the assembly of the Gods (*CTH 381*) falls into two distinct groups: “the gods of Hatti” (§2) and the “gods of the lands” (§§6-65), which delineates various sectors of the Hittite kingdom according to their deities.³²⁹ Similarly, there are two groups representing the gods of heaven and earth. The gods of earth are frequently referred to by their Mesopotamian designation *Annunaki* (*CTH 382: § 2*). All the groups are said to bow to the Sun-goddess when she enters the “gate of Heaven” (*CTH 376.A: §4*) as they bow to the Sun-god when he too passes through the gate of heaven (*CTH 372: §4*). There are several examples of syncretism in Hittite prayer as for example in the prayer of Puduhepa: “In Hatti you gave yourself the name Sun-goddess of Arinna, but the land which you made, the land of the cedar, there you gave yourself the name Hebat (*CTH 384: §2*). The policy of recruiting foreign gods into the Hittite pantheon was enthusiastically pursued as prayers go to great lengths to emphasize that gods are pampered in Hatti as nowhere else:

Only Hatti is a true, pure land for you gods, and only in the land of Hatti do we repeatedly give you pure, great, fine sacrifices. Only in the land of Hatti do we establish respect for you gods (*CTH 375 §1: 2. i 1-4*).

³²⁸ Cf. Hesiod’s ‘Myth of Ages’ *Works and Days*, 106-201; West, ad loc.

³²⁹ Singer 1994: 175

No [one] has ever shown more reverence to your [rites(?)]; no one has ever taken care of your divine goods as we have (§4. 1.Ai 9'-13').

They used to oppress your servants and towns O gods, by means of corvée duties; they would take your divine servants and maids and turn them into their own servants and maids (1A I 24'-27').³³⁰

Hittite prayers in addition to their usefulness as a tool in understanding the relationship of the Hittites to their gods also prove a reliable source for understanding the self-perception of the Hittites. The confessions of culpability and protestations of innocence ring truer in prayer than they do in historical works such as Herodotus in which an event is crafted in retrospect. In such cases the attitude toward divine justice represents that of Greek society but one must be aware that history, poetry and drama may have been manipulated in order to better relay a story and/or message. When reading the Greek authors one must keep in mind the possibility that they were perhaps more interested in conveying a message than in accurately representing the current attitudes of the Greeks. The apparent sincerity expressed in the Hittite prayers regarding the interaction of mortals, their interaction with the divine and their perceptions of divine justice serves to reassure that similar expressions in Greek literature have a precedent.

³³⁰ All translations of Hittite texts unless otherwise indicated are taken from Singer 2002a.

5.2 Hittite and Greek Prayers

The Hittite words for ‘praise’ *walliyatar*, ‘pleading’ *arkuwar*, ‘invocation’ *mukeššar*, and ‘request’ or ‘vow’ *malteššar* are used with the cultural intention in Hittite prayer as their Greek counterparts are used in Greek prayer.³³¹ A good example of this prayer structure, which also serves to illustrate how the concept of reciprocity could be closely bound up with prayer is found in Book One of the *Iliad*, when the aged priest, Chryses, prays to Apollo after he was insulted and driven away by Agamemnon (*Il.* 1.37 ff.):

Hear me, you of the silver bow, who protect Chryse and holy Cilla and rule with might over Tenedos, if I have ever roofed over for you a pleasing temple or burnt up for you fat thighs of bulls or goats, fulfill for me this wish: may the Danaans pay for my tears by your arrows.

This type of *ei pote* (‘if ever’) prayer contains both invocation and argument: “I did this for you”, followed by the plea “so please do this for me.” Despite the frequency of such examples in Greek literature, there is no inscriptional evidence testifying to cult usage.³³² West believes the *da-qui-dedi* prayers appear in Greek literature solely as a literary motif, indicating Near Eastern influence.³³³ Oriental texts provide many examples of prayers couched in terms of reciprocity. The second tablet of the *Ala Iširu* (also set within a literary motif), contains a prayer to the Sun-god Šamaš, Earth and the rest of the Babylonian pantheon:

Etana kept praying daily to Šamaš:
‘You have eaten, Šamaš, the thickest cuts of my sheep;
Earth, you have drunk the blood of my lambs.

³³¹ Bachvarova 2002:132

³³² West 1997: 273

³³³ *Ibid.*

I have honoured the gods, I have held the spirits of the dead;
The dream interpreters have burned up all my incense;
The god has used up all my sacrificial lambs.
My lord, let (the word) go forth from your mouth
And give me the plant of birth' (*Etana* II 131-9).³³⁴

Aeschylus' fifth-century play, *Eumenides*, reflects the same concept of reciprocity as seen centuries earlier in the literary corpus of the Near East and Homer. The play opens with the ghost of Clytemnestra reminding the Furies of the sacrifices and offerings she had dedicated to them while alive:

You have lapped up much from my stores:
Wineless libations, sober appeasements,
And holy night-dinners at the fire-hearth
I have offered you – an honor shared with no other God (*Eum.* 106 ff.).

Leaving the motif of prayer as represented in literature to supplications intended for divine reception, two separate prayers were delivered respectively to Aššur and Ishtar on behalf of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1233-1197) and Assurnasirpal (1049-10310), in which the deities are requested to grant the suppliants prayers based on the consistency of sacrifices, religious rites, prayers etc.³³⁵ The twentieth Psalm of the Old Testament follows a prayer with the reason why Yahweh might be inclined to grant the plea:

May Yahweh answer you in the day of affliction
May the name of the God of Jacob defend you.
May he send you help from the sanctuary
And from Zion support you.
May he remember all your offerings
And make fat your burnt sacrifice (*Ps.* 20: 2-4).

Hittite prayers unabashedly point out that it is in the best interest of the angry deity to cease punishing mortals as misery prevents the king and his people from properly

³³⁴ Noted by West 1997: 273.

³³⁵ Foster 1993: 209.

serving the gods. As this argument is used frequently, it indicates that Hittites perceived their gods as more likely to act out of self-interest than compassion or justice. When describing the suffering of the king and people, there is frequently a description of how religious services are being interrupted. Muršili's prayer to the Hittite Storm-god, Telipinu (*CTH 377*), was prompted by an epidemic ravaging the people of Hatti. Oracular consultation revealed that the plague was the consequence of divine anger for sins committed by the king's father Šuppiluliuma. Muršili's prayer places the responsibility for the offenses on his father, although he accepts, albeit reluctantly, that "the father's sin comes upon the son" (no. 11 §8). Muršili pleads for a cessation of the plague, reasoning that if all the people of Hatti were to perish, worship of the gods would cease as well (Cat.8):

O gods, What is this that you have done? You have allowed a plague into Hatti, and the whole of Hatti is dying. No one prepares for you the offering bread and the libation any more. The plowmen who used to work the fallow fields of the gods have died, so they do not work or reap the fields of the gods. The grinding women who used to make the offering bread of the gods have died, so they do not [make] the god's offering bread any longer.³³⁶

The cowherds and shepherds of the corrals and sheepfolds from which they used to select sacrificial cattle and sheep are dead, so that the corrals and sheepfolds are neglected. So it has come to pass that the offering bread, the libations, and the offerings of animals have stopped.³³⁷

Perhaps in an effort to guarantee survival, a vow of offerings is frequently made conditional on the gods granting the prayer:

If you, O Storm-god of Zippalanda, my lord will pass on for me these words to the Storm-god your father, and to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, your mother, and [you will save] Hattušili from evil [...], I shall make [for the Storm-god of Zippalanda], my [lord], a golden shield weighing two inas, I shall make [...]; [I will consecrate] to the god [...] the town Puputanam[...], [...].³³⁸

³³⁶ *CTH 376.A*: §6 A ii 10-17 (Cat. 8).

³³⁷ *CTH 376.A*: §7 A ii 18-44 (Cat 8)

³³⁸ *CTH 384*:(Cat. 21).

Another type of Hittite prayer clearly outlines past favours bestowed on the god by the suppliant and closely resembles the *εἰ ποτε* prayers as seen in Homer:

§5 (I 18-24) You, Telepinu, are an honoured god. To you, my god, there are revered only in Hatti, but in no other land are there such temples for you. Only in Hatti they provide for pure and holy festivals and rituals for you, but in no other land do they provide any such for you.

§6 (i 25-ii 2) Lofty temples adorned with silver and gold you have only in Hatti, and in no other land are there any such for you. [Cups] and rhyta of silver, gold, and precious stones you have only in Hatti.

§7 (ii 3-8) Only in Hatti they celebrate(!) festivals for you-the festival of the month, festivals throughout the course of the year, winter, spring and fall, and the festivals of the sacrificial rituals. In no other land do they perform anything for you.³³⁹

The structure is remarkably similar to the *da-quia-dedi* formula we observed in the above examples taken from Homer. The invocation introducing the prayer is followed several times by the reiteration that Telepinu would not be treated as well in any other land. The prayer goes on to speculate as to various hypothetical places where Telepinu might be located at the time of the prayer, echoing his tendency to remove himself in wrath (as discussed in the previous chapter). This speculation as to the deity's location resembles a passage in the *Eumenides* in which Orestes prays to Athena sending his words to find her:

So now with a pure mouth I piously invoke Athena, lady of this land, to come to my aid. Without the spear, she will win me and my land and the Argive people [290] as faithful and true allies for all time. But whether in some region of the Libyan land, near the waters of Triton, her native stream, she is in action or at rest, aiding those whom she loves, or whether, like a bold marshal, she is surveying the Phlegraeon plain, [295] oh, let her come--as a goddess, she hears even from far away--to be my deliverer from distress! (*Eum.*292).

The Hittite prayer offered by Arnuwanda and Asmunikal contain both a catalogue of past gifts to the gods and a promise for future sacrifices. The prayer is structurally similar to two types of Greek prayers: the *da-ut-dem* variety 'Give so that I

³³⁹ CTH 377: (Cat. 9)

will give' as seen in *II.4.119f.*, *10.283ff.*, *23.194ff* etc., and the *εἴ ποτε* prayers as seen in Chryses' prayer to Apollo.³⁴⁰ The supplication details the ravages inflicted by the Kaska tribes upon the Hittite cult centers in the north and thematically recalls Mesopotamian lamentations for destroyed cities, such as the Sumerian lamentation over the destruction of Ur, and the Book of Lamentations in the Hebrew Bible which mourns the destruction of Jerusalem.³⁴¹ Unlike the Mesopotamian and Biblical parallels, which use the medium of poetry to describe the destruction of the city, the Hittite royal couple point out the insult and injury suffered by the gods themselves, whose cult had been destroyed due to the raiders' attack:

§2' (1.A ii-5') Only Hatti is a true, pure land for you gods, and only in the land of Hatti do we repeatedly give you pure, great, fine sacrifices. Only in the land of Hatti do we establish respect for you gods. Only you gods know by your divine spirit that no one had ever taken care of your temples as we have. No [one] had ever shown more reverence to your [rites(?)]; no one had ever taken care of your divine goods-silver and gold rhyta, and garments-as we have. Furthermore, your divine images of silver and gold, when anything hard grown old on some god's body, or when any objects of the gods had grown old, no one had ever renewed them as we have. Furthermore, no one had established such respect in the matter of the purity of the rituals for you; no one had set up for you like this the daily, the monthly and the annual seasonal rituals and festivals. Furthermore, they used to oppress your servants and towns, O gods, by means of corvée duties; they would take your divine servants and maids and turn them into their own servants and maids. [For you, O gods,] I, Arnuanda, Great King, [and Asmunikal, Great Queen], [have shown] reverence in every respect. Only you [gods] know [by your divine spirit] about the offering bread and libations which they used to give [to you]. [We,] Arnuanda, Great King, and Asmunikal, Great Queen, shall regularly present fat and fine [oxen] and sheep, fine offering bread and libations. [Few lines missing] So stand by us!³⁴²

The tripartite structure of these Hittite prayers follows the same formula as certain Greek prayers in that both contain the same three elements of invocation, argument and request.³⁴³ Ausfeld's taxonomy is useful in exploring the degree of overlap present in the common usage of formulaic speech in Greek and Hittite prayers. These prayers are

³⁴⁰ Pulleyn 1997:17.

³⁴¹ Singer 2002a: 40.

³⁴² *CTH 375* (Cat. 5).

³⁴³ Ausfeld 1903: 503-547.

similar to the literary representations of supplications seen in Homer and Greek literature in general.³⁴⁴

Pulleyn observes that the closest parallels to be found in comparative prayer between Near Eastern societies (including Hebrew, Sumerian, Akkadian, and Egyptian, Indo-Iranian and Hittite) and Greece are to be found in Hittite supplications.³⁴⁵ The scarcity of *da-quia-dedi* in the rest of the Near East shows that the formula is not merely attributable to a universal cultural phenomenon, suggesting that its close parallels with the Hittite evidence may be more than coincidence. The *εἴ ποτε* ('if ever') prayers do not even occur that frequently within Homer³⁴⁶ as the heroes usually prefer to accompany their pleas to the gods with sacrifices, while no Greek prayer using the *εἴ ποτε* formula ever includes the accompanying gift of a libation or sacrificed animal.³⁴⁷ Pulleyn provides a reasonable explanation as to why this might be when he notes that a suppliant offering a prayer without sacrifice would be wise to remind the deity of previous offerings, while prayers accompanied by sacrifice remove such a need.³⁴⁸

The Hebrew material provides some interesting parallels but the concept of *da-quia dedi* does not conform well with the religious ideal of ancient Judaism which demands sacrifice and prayer without the automatic reassurance of reciprocity. Pulleyn's own comparative research yielded few compelling parallels other than of the Anatolian variety.³⁴⁹ Hittite prayers with suppliants professing humility only to immediately resort to airing complaints, bargaining and explaining to the angry deity that they are being

³⁴⁴ Pulleyn 1997: 22.

³⁴⁵ Ibid, 26.

³⁴⁶ Pulleyn comments that out of the seventy or so prayers offered in Homer, only fourteen contain the *εἴ ποτε* formula (Ibid, 16-17).

³⁴⁷ Ibid, 26.

³⁴⁸ Ibid, 27.

³⁴⁹ Pulleyn 1997: 26.

unfairly punished does not give the impression of a servant/master relationship.³⁵⁰ They bear some resemblance to the Talmudic prayers (discussed above) in which the petitioner avows innocence in a confident, organized manner, but an even closer comparison is expressed in Homeric epic and to a lesser degree in Greek Tragedy, in which the Greek hero converses freely with the gods. The reasoning involved in many Hittite prayers involve the same logical formula expressed in the Greek *εἴ ποτε* prayers as represented in Homer's epics. The fact that Greek inscriptional evidence does not bear out that such prayers were ever delivered in cult practices may indicate that the Greeks were aware of the existence of such prayers in other culture. Given the strong similarity between Hittite prayer structure and Greek prayer as represented in Homer and Greek drama, the suggestion that the ancient Greek literature may have been influenced by Anatolian prayer bears further investigation.

In the chapter "Disappearing Gods", the theory was discussed that Hittite myths involving disappearing deities were intended as rituals to cajole the deity into returning. It is assumed that Hittite prayer must have also been accompanied by rituals and offerings.³⁵¹ Two prayers, Muwatalli's Prayer to the Assembly of the Gods (*CTH 381*) and an incantation to the Sun-goddess of Arinna (*CTH 385.10*) provide evidence that prayer, ritual and thus myth may in fact have been closely related.

Both prayers are offered on rooftop at daybreak. The prayer to the Sun-goddess is delivered on the temple roof of the goddess (§§ 12"-13") while Muwatilli's prayer does not specify a location. The prayers are delivered by the suppliant facing the rising sun

³⁵⁰ Gurney 1976: 1-3; Pulleyn 1997: 26 portray Hittite prayers in the light of an imploring servant to his master or subject to king.

³⁵¹ Houwink ten Cate 1969: 87.

and the prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna specifies it must be delivered on a clear day (no. §1).

The prayer to the Sun-goddess specifies that “nobody should bow down and nobody should say anything” (3, §2), indicating an audience was present for the prayer.”³⁵² Audience participation was sometimes required, judging from the prayer of Muršili which ends with the exhortation: “And the congregation cries out “So be it!” (CTH 377). Singer believes the addition of a list of governors to some copies of the prayer to Arnuwanda and Asmunikal indicates an audience.³⁵³

Old Hittite prayers include invocations and requests for blessings. They appear to have been recited by a priest on behalf of the Hittite king and his family. One text describes the purification of the Hittite king and queen:

Mercy O gods! I have hereby removed the impurities of the king, the queen and the people of Hatti... Just as the Sun-god and the Storm-god are everlasting, so let the king, the queen and the children be everlasting.³⁵⁴

These types of prayers are typical of the Old Anatolian cults³⁵⁵ and are also to be found in Hattian³⁵⁶ and Luwian.³⁵⁷

The Old Hittite requests for blessings gradually become more demanding, incorporating requests from the king to protect him from perjury (CTH 371) and prayers to grant the king victory on the battle field (CTH 385.10). Dating these prayers precisely

³⁵² Singer 2002a: 12.

³⁵³ Ibid.; cf. CTH 375.

³⁵⁴ Souček 1969:22-31.

³⁵⁵ Popko 1995: 81.

³⁵⁶ Klinger 1996: 738 ff.

³⁵⁷ Starke 1990: 519 ff.

is impossible as the extant copies are written in Middle and Late Hittite scripts but contain typical Old Hittite linguistic elements.³⁵⁸

Prayers attributed to specific individuals begin to appear in the Early Hittite Empire including Kantuzzili (*CTH 373*), Arnuwanda and Asmunikal (*CTH 375*) and Taduhepa (*CTH 777.8*). The Kizzuwatnan priest, Kantuzzili, appears to be responsible for the introduction of this new genre, hinting at his possible bilingual and bicultural ties to the Hurrians.³⁵⁹ The inclusion of Hurrian royal names and the fact that similar prayers also turn up written in Hurrian indicate a strong Hurrian influence.³⁶⁰ The origin of these compositions appears to be northern Syria and southern Anatolia where Hurrian was spoken and written,³⁶¹ thus strengthening Bachvarova's claim that Hittite prayers serve as a bridge between Greek and Mesopotamian cultures.³⁶²

Bachvarova contends that Mesopotamian and indigenous Anatolian practices influenced and shaped Hittite prayer, which in turn straddled the two worlds of Near Eastern and Greek tradition.³⁶³ Hittite prayer may have entered the Greek cultural sphere via popular Anatolian cults such as the 'Aswiyan Lady'. Of course the similarity in the prayer format between the two cultures might be due to what Bachvarova terms 'areal features', meaning that similar features were characteristic of the eastern Mediterranean cultural area. If so, one must accept the concept of a common hymnic/prayer/ritual

³⁵⁸ Singer 2002a :13.

³⁵⁹ Ibid, 11.

³⁶⁰ Wilhelm 1991: 38.

³⁶¹ Ibid, 40.

³⁶² Bachvarova 2002:129.

³⁶³ Ibid.

performance covering the geographical region of Anatolia, and the northeastern Mediterranean.³⁶⁴

The similarity between Hurro-Hittite and Greek prayer may reflect a widespread Anatolian cultural sphere that lasted from the Late Bronze Age into the Archaic Period. The relevance of the similarities between Greek and Anatolian prayers is not diminished if one accepts their correspondences as being due to areal features rather than borrowing – it still reveals Anatolia as an important source from which Greece received synthesized Near Eastern and Anatolian prayer and epic. The Greeks were thus privy to an enormous verbal library of myth and history (much of which was revealed via Hittite prayers). It should come as no surprise if echoes of Hittite history become synthesized into Greek drama or if Greek prayer as depicted in epic and drama possesses startling similarities to Hittite prayers. West convincingly demonstrates that Anatolia vis-à-vis the Lydians and Phrygians exerted a strong influence on Greek music and drama in terms of musical performances and choral song in the Archaic period.³⁶⁵

5.3 Oracles

In a Hittite tablet (KUB V 6 ii 57', 60' ed. Sommer 1932 282), Muršili II asks an oracle how to properly receive the gods of Lazpa and Ahhiyawa, demonstrating a Hittite

³⁶⁴ Cf. Watkins 2001 (cited by Bachvarova 2002: 18) in which he proposes the existence of an Anatolian linguistic sphere of influence, based on shared linguistic features, in East Greek, Hattic and Hurrian.

³⁶⁵ West 1997: 387-390.

adoption of Greek deities and their cults.³⁶⁶ Greeks were willing to import Anatolian deities as well, judging from the Linear B reference to *Potnia Aswiya* found at Pylos, perhaps indicating the transmission of an Anatolian cult to the Mycenaeans.³⁶⁷ *Potnia Aswiya* was accompanied by attendants, *a-pi-qo-ro* (ἀμφίπολοι), who, if it can be assumed that these were indeed human attendants, would have been trained in the proper prayers and rituals to enable them to teach the Mycenaeans how to properly worship their goddess.³⁶⁸ Whether or not one accepts the interpretation of *a-pi-qo-ro* as referring to Mycenaean non-natives well-versed in the needs of their goddess, the assumption that priests or priestesses would have been included in the transfer is reasonable. In the Hittite document, Muršilli II asks the oracle as to the propriety of holding a three day festival and libation according to the usual custom at Hattusa, demonstrating concern for not insulting these new deities.

Consulting the oracle about matters of worship and justice appears to be a standard Hittite practice. In the prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, Muršili I complains that he is being punished for his sins against his stepmother, Tawananna, despite the fact that he had consulted the oracle earlier and was counseled to punish his stepmother for dabbling in witchcraft. The Hittite king is in an unenviable bind as his stepmother is not only tied to him through his father's marriage but she is also the reigning priestess of Hatti. By obeying the oracle's injunction to execute her, he will bring down the anger and punishment of the gods. The quandary in which Muršili finds himself is the same double

³⁶⁶ Faraone 1991: 27. For discussion of Ahhiyawa = mainland Greece and Lazpa = Lesbos, see Bachvarova 2002: 39-40) with references.

³⁶⁷ PY Fr 1206, ed. Chadwick and Baumbach 1963: 177, 'Lady of Assuwa', cf. Gr. *Aswiyos 'Asia' II. 2.461. Cf. Watkins 1998b: 203; Morris 2001.

³⁶⁸ Cf. Morris (2001 423-4) for a discussion concerning the mortal or divine origins of the *a-pi-qo-ro* (ἀμφίπολοι).

bind Aeschylus creates for Orestes in the *Eumenides* centuries later. The fact that there was actual historical precedent, as revealed in Hittite prayer, for the mythical case presented by Aeschylus is intriguing.

Oracles as represented by Herodotus are less straightforward in terms of advice than their Hittite counterparts. Herodotus' oracles tend to be tricky and mortals frequently commit grave errors in their efforts to follow their advice. In Book One of Herodotus' *History*, Croesus looks to the Delphic oracle for answers to his fate. He receives predictions that ostensibly promise him a successful future but which in fact foretell his fall: "cross the river Halys and you shall destroy a great nation" (1:88-90). Croesus believes he understands the oracle's intent and marches against Cyrus. Of course the empire Croesus loses as a result of his interpretation of the oracle's seemingly straightforward words is his own. When the Lydian king turns to the oracle for explanation, he is informed that he is being punished for the crimes of his ancestor, Gyges, who had sinned against the gods several generations earlier. As will be seen from the oracular advice given to Hittite kings, divine answers to mortal questions rarely lead to satisfactory conclusions, at least from a mortal standpoint. Muršili is advised by the oracle to punish his stepmother but when he attempts to follow the oracle's injunction he and his descendants are punished for harming a priestess. Just as the Hittite oracular judgment ordered Muršili to kill his stepmother, in the Greek drama, the *Oresteia*, Apollo (the god of oracular prophecies) orders Orestes to slay his mother, Clytemnestra. The concept that oracles, despite their purported objective in revealing to mortals the will of the gods, often lead to unexpected and undesired results is common to the Hittites and the Greeks.

Perhaps in an effort to guard against obscure proclamations, Hittites used a long series of yes or no questions when questioning their oracles. Straightforward questions were asked such as the identity of the god or gods that caused a king's illness and the proper measures needed to effect a cure. Typically an admission of many transgressions would be admitted to in an effort to pinpoint the reason for a deity's wrath: "The eyebrow of the god has fallen off. The tail of one of the harnessed billy goats has fallen off. The pearls on the rhyton are broken off. An alabaster cup is smashed and the jewel-inlaid rhyta are missing. Is this why you are angry?"³⁶⁹ In other oracular texts, the gods were asked a variety of hypothetical questions such as whether any of a number of terrible possibilities would happen during the winter. Military campaigns were laid out and possible leaders mentioned for the god's opinion in an attempt to separate divinely acceptable mortal actions from the unacceptable.³⁷⁰

The Greeks were just as canny in their oracular interactions. If they did not like the advice or prophecy offered, they could choose to inquire again in hopes of gaining a more favourable counsel. The Delphic oracle warned the Athenians that their only option against Xerxes' Persian invasion was to flee. A second envoy was sent which returned with slightly more optimistic counsel, advising the Athenians to build a wooden wall. Themistocles interprets this advice as meaning to build a navy of wooden boats (*Her.* 7.143 ff.). In this instance, Themistocles was wise enough to understand the clue given by the oracle's cryptic advice. Many Greek and Hittite mortals did not fare as well, as evidenced by the tragedies that befell Croesus and Muršili. For both Hittites and Greeks the oracle was a means of communicating with the gods although all too often the

³⁶⁹ Beal 2002: 87.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

result of a human attempting to follow the oracle's advice played a direct role in the inquiring mortal's subsequent downfall.

5.4 Prayer as History, History as Tragedy

As of yet, no prayers authored by Šuppiluliuma have been unearthed. His son, Muršili II (c. 1321-1205) appears to have been far more prolific with prayers that are as much an autobiography as they are communications to the gods. Güterbock puts it well when he notes: "Muršili's personality speaks so vividly from the texts that go under his name that it is obvious that he must have at least given directions for their formulation, if he did not actually dictate them."³⁷¹ Some of Muršili's prayers, such as those praying for the recovery of his ailing wife express such individuality and personality that it would be difficult to imagine that he was not closely involved in drafting them. Others, like his prayers to the gods for the cessation of plague, are verbatim copies of older Hittite invocations to the Sun-goddess Arinna, which were in turn adapted from Babylonian hymns to the Babylonian Sun-god Shamash.³⁷²

Two prayers have been found attributed to Muwatalli II (c. 1295-1272), including a 'model prayer' (*CTH 381*) lacking any requests or confessions of sins, allowing for

³⁷¹ Güterbock 1964: 111.

³⁷² Singer 2002a: 14.

petitions and other clauses to be inserted according to the occasion.³⁷³ The second prayer (*CTH* 382) contains a colophon in which the king claims to have personally dictated the prayer.

Hattušili III (c. 1267-1237), his wife Puduhepa, and their son Tudhaliya IV (c. 1237-1228) account for three complete prayers and several fragments. No prayers have been found attributed to Suppiluliuma II, the last king of the Hittite Empire.

In Hattušili's prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the king seeks to blame the troubles of his kingdom on the sins of his ancestors beginning with the actions of his father Muršili (*CTH* 383). In the manner of Herodotus, Hattušili uses history to provide a list of offenses in which he describes Muršili's sin in removing his stepmother from her post as priestess (§3); Muwatalli's offense in transferring the Hittite capital to Tarhuntassa (§3'); Muwatalli's case against Danuhepa and her children (§4'); Hattušili's bestowing the kingship on Urhi-Tessub (§5'); and the civil war that resulted between the two as a result of Hattušili's generosity (§6ff.).

As we see, Hittite prayers often prove informative in terms of historical knowledge. The accuracy of past events that are dredged up by the suffering suppliant may even prove more accurate than historical accounts, which often manipulate history to favour the side preferred by the writer. One would assume that a suppliant would be wary of lying to the gods as the deities, presumably, are capable of discerning between truth and falsehood. It is when we move from the textual accounts of suppliants to the writings of actual historians that we must be wary. One of the earliest historians, Herodotus, has often been referred to in antiquity as 'the father of lies,' although many of

³⁷³ Ibid, 86.

his accounts presumed to be fictional have proven surprisingly accurate thanks to the testimony of archaeology. When relating tragic events, the Greek historian often considers the possibility that the sufferers were paying the price for angering the gods. As we see in Hittite prayers, the victim is frequently assumed to be paying the price for sins committed by an ancestor.

Herodotus' account of the tragedies that befell Croesus begins with the tale of his ancestor Candaules who was besotted with his wife's beauty. In the account from Herodotus, the historian goes back four generations to the time of Gyges, the bodyguard of Candaules the king. Candaules seeks confirmation of his opinion concerning his wife's beauty and he orders the unwilling Gyges to spy on the queen as she undresses for bed. The queen notices Gyges and forces him to choose between dying for his indiscretion or killing the king who instigated the crime. Gyges chooses the latter, marries the queen and reigns in Candaules' place. Herodotus does not explain why Candaules deserved his fate. One might assume that his high regard for his wife's beauty aroused the jealousy of the gods, compelling them to set in motion the series of events leading to his death. All the text tells us is that "it was decreed by fate that ill fortune should befall Candaules,"
χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς (Herodotus, 1.8-13).³⁷⁴

When Herodotus moves ahead by four generations to consider the miseries inflicted by the gods on Croesus, he attributes their cause to divine punishment for the regicide committed by Gyges, thus blending in the third cause (Herodotus, 1.91). Then the historian comments that some god sent an evil Nemesis to Croesus because he considered himself the happiest of all men, adding divine jealousy to the equation

³⁷⁴ Herodotus (Godley tr.) 1963.

(Herodotus, I, 34). Croesus later observes that his misfortunes occurred because “the gods presumably willed it to be so,” ταῦτα δαίμοσσι κου φίλον ἦν οὕτω γενέσθαι (Herodotus, 3.126).

There is similar ambiguity in Muwatalli’s prayer to the Storm-god (*CTH 382*) when the king explores various possibilities concerning the god’s anger. Some of the reasons given include: human transgressions against local gods and sanctified sites (§§4-7), violations of codes of human justice (§10), defiling holy objects (§11’), and expropriation of holy grounds (§12’).

Herodotus goes on to relate how Amasis warned Polykrates against attracting the envy of the gods due to his wealth. When Polykrates meets his doom, Herodotus attributes his downfall to divine jealousy:

Πολυκράτεος μὲν δὴ αἱ πολλοὶ εὐτυχίαι ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτησαν (*Her.* 1.87).

There also appears to be an element of capricious punishment in Herodotus’ account. Polykrates attempted to follow Amasis’ advice in ridding himself of personal wealth by throwing his ring into the sea. The fact that Fate intervened in that the ring was swallowed by a fish which was in turn presented to Polykrates as a gift indicates he was too late in avoiding the gods’ baneful notice. Herodotus does not provide enough information to determine whether Polykrates’ punishment preceded his happiness or whether his happiness preceded the punishment. When you add the element of Polykrates’ deeds such as killing his brother, Pantagnatos, and sending another brother, Syloson, into exile it could also be argued that the gods are punishing Polykrates for his crimes although Herodotus never makes this claim.

We see that Hittite prayer and Greek history share the element of attributing human misfortune to divine anger. Greek tragedy combines stories culled from mythology and pseudo-historical events to create similar accounts in which hapless mortals attract the anger of the gods. Just as in Hittite prayer and the accounts of Herodotus, the protagonists in Greek tragedy turn to oracles and prayer in their attempts to understand the reason for their suffering and stop the anger of the gods.

5.5 And Justice for All

In Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*, the chorus blames divine jealousy over Oedipus' former good fortune as the reason behind the king's downfall (*Seven against Thebes*, 769 ff.). Yet Oedipus' misfortune was likewise attributed by Aeschylus as resulting from the transgressions of Laius, Oedipus' father. Ultimately, there is no clear answer as to whether divine punishment or divine jealousy is to blame.

In another Aeschylean tragedy, *Agamemnon*, the chorus makes the following observations after the revelation of Agamemnon's death:

It has been revealed how a curse punishes the foolhardy whose pride surpasses what is right, and whose wealth exceeds measure. May I never have a prosperity so great as to make me suffer for it, but great enough to satisfy him whose soul is sound. For wealth is no protection from arrogance when a man spurns from out of his sight the great altar of Dike (*Agamemnon*, 374 ff.).

The reference to *wealth without measure* suggests that it was divine envy for Agamemnon's overabundance of wealth that brought Agamemnon down, while the reference to divine punishment resulting from arrogance indicates that the gods were

acting within their role as overseers of justice. The same overlap of divine function is clear in another quote from the same play:

The angry cry of the citizens weighs heavily. It demands atonement for the offense, and the people curse the guilty. It is in store for me to hear news of which I entertain dark and anxious thoughts. You cannot kill many men without the gods knowing of it. In the course of time during the vicissitudes of life the black Erinyes hurl into obscurity him who has prosperity but not right on his side, and once he is among those who are not surrounded by fame, there is no protection for him. To be mentioned with provocative fame is dangerous. For the lightning strikes the loftiest peaks. I prefer a happiness which excites no envy. May it neither be my lot to sack towns nor to be reduced to subjugation by others (*Agamemnon*, 374 ff.).

The first part of the quote illustrates that the gods are concerned with the amount of people killed in the war – the references to the wholesale slaughter are intended for dramatic emphasis to illustrate how Agamemnon has indulged in excess in carrying out his role as warrior. The chorus now frets, correctly as it turns out, that the gods may hold Agamemnon accountable for exceeding the limit of actions permitted him as king and warrior. The second part of the quote frets as to whether Agamemnon's success and power have attracted divine envy. The chorus continue discussing the two seemingly opposed distinctions when they worry that by treading on the purple carpet Agamemnon has brought down the jealousy of the gods and morosely observe "the soul sings without a lyre a self taught dirge about the Erinyes, and it has not the full confidence of hope" (*Agamemnon*, 990 ff.).³⁷⁵ The reference to the Erinyes indicates that the chorus is anticipating punishment for a wrong committed rather than envy:

[990] Yet still my soul within me, self-inspired, intones the lyreless dirge of the avenging spirit, and cannot wholly win its customary confidence of hope. [995] Not for nothing is my bosom disquieted as my heart throbs against my justly fearful breast in eddying tides that warn of some event. But I pray that my expectation may fall out false [1000] and not come to fulfillment. [1001] Truly blooming health does not rest content within its due bounds; for disease

³⁷⁵ Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* (Smyth tr.) 1926.

ever presses close against it, its neighbor with a common wall. [1005] So human fortune, when holding onward in straight course strikes upon a hidden reef.

There is rarely a sense in Aeschylus of the gods punishing without any motivation as opposed to Hittite Prayers from the Early Empire dating to the early 14th century BCE, which frequently involve pleas to angry deities without an admission of culpability. Indeed, the prayers contain earnest avowals of innocence appealing to the gods' sense of justice for a cessation of punishment. In one prayer (*CTH 372*) the suppliant complains:

[O Sun-god, my lord! I, a human, hereby ask my god and may my god listen to me]. What have I, a human, ever done to the god and in what have I ever sinned against my god? You made me, you created me. But now, what have I, a human, done to you? The merchant holds the scales under the Sun and falsifies the scales. [But I,] what [have I done to my god] (§15)?

The characters created by Sophocles distinguish between justice, jealousy and caprice as motivations for punishment yet appear to arbitrarily assign these motivations to the gods when considering the motive behind their anger. In reference to Danae who was imprisoned in a vault by her father because of a prophecy that his daughter's son would kill him, the chorus observes: "Fate possesses a terrible power. Neither walls nor warlike strength nor fortifications nor sea-tossed black vessels afford protection against it" (*Antigone*, 951 ff.).³⁷⁶ The chorus also mentions the Edonian king, Lycurgus, imprisoned by Dionysus for attempting to prevent the worship of the Maenads (*Antigone*, 955 ff.). Both these quotes refer to justice as the divine motivation for punishment. Sophocles refers to capricious punishment when the chorus discusses Kleopatra who was imprisoned with her two children who had both been blinded at the order of her husband's new lover, "on her too the eternal Morai descended" (*Antigone*, 986 ff.). Antigone's fate is the impetus behind these references. She has been forced to sin in disobeying her king's command in order to avoid sinning by leaving her brothers' bodies

³⁷⁶ Sophocles. *Antigone*. (Sir Richard Jebb tr.) 1902.

unburied. Because of her father's sins, Antigone is forced to commit a crime for which she pays with her death.

The Hittite king, Muršili, is presumably forced to sin when ordered by the gods to execute his stepmother, the high priestess, Tawananna, for her transgressions. The Hittite king recounts Tawananna's sins and laments that the gods deem it fair to punish his people with a plague because he took away their priestess (*CTH 71*):

Now because I deposed [the queen] from priesthood, I will provide for the [offerings] of the gods [my lords], and I will regularly worship the gods.. Don't take her into account [at all]! Because she was not [...-ed] for *uwashuraya* while she was queen, [therefore she kept cursing my wife] until she killed her. When I had de[posed her] from the priesthood for the gods, I demoted her. I sent [the queen down from the palace, and now does she not continue to curse [your priest and your servant]? [...] somehow. [Since] you listened to her once before [will you] now [...] the same, O gods, my lords? [Will you hear] the word of evil? I Muršili, [the Great King, King of Hatti,] herewith come forward, [and in whatever matter] I bow down [to you..., lend me your ear] and hear me! (§2': iii 5-27).

Muršili is expressing the frustration of being in a literal 'damned if you do and damned if you don't' predicament. Aeschylus places the character of his Orestes in the same double bind in the *Eumenides* when he is forced to choose between invoking the Furies by committing matricide and disobeying Apollo's command to avenge the murder of his father by killing Clytemnestra.

5.6 Fitting the Crime to the Punishment

That justice, jealousy and caprice were offered by Herodotus and the playwrights as motivation for divine punishment indicates that the Greeks looked for some kind of

logic as to why happy mortals came to sudden ruin. The fact that Greek literature did not overly trouble itself to maintain the distinctions suggests the motivations may have been interchangeable or interconnected in terms of offense and requisite punishment. If a mortal is punished for a crime leading to riches or an increase in power, it may have been assumed that the crime enriched the sinner so that divine jealousy was aroused. In addition, any punishment visited on a seemingly innocent mortal may have carried the automatic assumption that the victim was paying for the crimes of an ancestor.

In Hittite prayer one can trace a similar desire for justice as found in Greek drama but the sense of resignation that mortals are helpless in the face of divine wrath common to Greek texts is frequently replaced in Hittite prayer by indignant protests expressed to the gods on behalf of the suppliant. Two prayers express outrage that punishment for an offense is visited on the innocent as well as the guilty. When Muršili prays to the Sun-goddess of Arinna to stop the plague that has been ravaging his people (*CTH 376.A*), he supports her right to punish the guilty but audaciously questions her right to harm the innocent of Hatti (Muršili does not appear as concerned with the innocent of other lands):

Whoever is a cause of rage and anger to the gods, and whoever is not respectful to the gods, let not the good ones perish with the evil ones. Whether it is a single town, a single house or a single person, O gods destroy only that one! [Look upon] Hatti [with pity, and give the plague to other lands] (A ii 61-67 [54'-60']).

Muwatalli II expresses the same sentiment in his prayer to the Storm-god which assumes the motivation behind the god's punishment to be mortal negligence in properly worshiping their gods (*CTH 382*).

If some mountain or a *sinapsi*-sanctuary, some holy place has been offended and has pleaded with the Storm-god, [I, my Majesty, Muwatalli, herewith] shall set it right now. Those towns that are inhabited and have a *sinapsi*-sanctuary, they shall be surveyed and [shall be set right]. In accordance with the consecration rites, they shall be re-consecrated precisely. And if something has been corrupted, as soon as it shall be known, it shall be

re-consecrated precisely. If there are any *sinapsi*-sanctuaries in any deserted towns [as they used to celebrate (?)] them, so precisely shall they begin to celebrate them. If some single town, or some single house does wrong take vengeance for it, O god, on that single town, or that single house and destroy it. But do not take vengeance on it for the land. May the Storm-god, my lord, [regard] the land with conciliatory eyes again (§6: obv. 32-39).

If some people give orphans [...] and he has pleaded with Sarruma, and Sarruma [has pleaded] with the Storm-god [...], they shall set it right. Even if it is [the house] of a poor man, take vengeance for it, O Storm-god, my lord on that house [...]. But do not take vengeance on it for the land (§10: rev. 3'-8').

It is curious that Muwatalli considers the god's tendency to collectively punish the innocent with the guilty as much of a likelihood as the god pitying a guilty sinner for his poverty and thus sparing him from punishment. There is as much perplexity on the part of the suppliant as to what motivates a deity to punish mortals in Hittite prayer as there is in Greek literature.

5.7 Testimony of the Sufferer vs. Testimony of the Observer

If one contrasts the testimony of the sufferers of divine punishment with that of the observers, there is a comparable pattern in Hittite prayer and 5th century Greek literature in which the mortal afflicted by divine punishment strives to maintain a greater degree of removal from the crime than impartial observers allow.

In the *Persians* of Aeschylus, those vulnerable to Xerxes' power downplay the king's personal role in his defeat while those with less to fear express themselves candidly. The messenger describing the devastating loss in Xerxes' presence attributes the disaster as resulting from Xerxes' ignorance of the malice of the gods, thus representing the king as a helpless victim (*Persians* 353). The king's mother, Atossa,

explains the defeat as being due to divine jealousy provoked by Xerxes' success but adds that her son may have been arrogant (351 ff.). The chorus speaks the most critically, noting that the Persians had behaved arrogantly, *μεγάλαυχοι* (533), and the king, foolishly, *δυσφρόνως* (552). Xerxes' father, Darius, demonstrates the least respect for his son's failure. He faults Xerxes for evil thought, *μη φρονεῖν καλῶς* (752). He adds that Xerxes sinned under the compulsion of the gods and refers to an ancient curse that plagues the Persian royal family (739 ff.). Every motive possible has been attributed to the deities from caprice to jealousy to justice. It is clear that Aeschylus' Xerxes preferred to be considered a victim rather than an active participant in his downfall.³⁷⁷

In the *Antigone* of Sophocles, the suicide of Creon's son, Haemon, and wife, Euridice, are the punishing blows delivered from the gods in answer to Creon's refusal to allow the burial of Polyneikes and his harsh treatment of Antigone for defying him. The messenger who delivered the news of Haemon's death hedges in blaming Creon for the suicide:

There is nothing either sad or joyful in human life, on the firmness and immutability of which one can rely. Fortune changes incessantly, the prosperous man is brought to ruin, and the unfortunate is raised to power and honour. No one should venture to prophesy that human fortunes will remain unchanged. For Creon was once enviable, methinks. The monarch's power in the land of the Cadmeians had fallen to him, when he had saved it from its enemies; and his heart rejoiced in a noble offspring. And now he has lost all (*Antigone*, 1156 ff.)."

The quote appears to refer to capricious punishment with a touch of divine envy. Yet Creon is clearly being punished for his own deeds carried out without compulsion. The messenger's spin on the events appears to be out of respect for the king's presence rather than an actual belief that Creon was a hapless victim of fate.

³⁷⁷ Hall 1996: 72.

Creon chooses to agree with the messenger's assessment: "A god has fallen upon me with all his might and driven me onto rough paths. Woe is me he has cast down all my joy and trampled it under foot" (1272 ff.). He does not accept responsibility for Haemon's suicide, claiming the death occurred against his will (1340). The chorus disagrees and uses the presence of Haemon's corpse as evidence that Creon brought his misfortune upon himself "οὐκ ἄλλοτρίαν ἄτην, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἁμαρτῶν"(1259 ff.).

In Sophocles' *Ajax*, ill fortune befalls Ajax after he rejects Athena's aid on the battlefield as he confidently boasts to the goddess of his own prowess. Ajax does not exactly admit his culpability when he says:

Now the indomitable daughter of Zeus, the goddess of the terrible glance, has brought me to ruin by filling me with raving madness... If one of the gods desires to do harm, even a person of humble degree can evade a strong person's vengeance" (*Ajax*, 450 ff.).

Ajax' concubine, Tekmessa, likewise absolves Ajax of responsibility. "O Ajax, my lord there is no greater evil for men than the necessity of fate" (485). Teukros, Ajax' brother agrees: "I would say that this and all else is something that the gods devise for men" (1036 ff.). As usual the chorus is blunt when it comes to assessing blame. When they first learn of Ajax' misfortune they assume Ajax to have sinned against one of the gods, citing Artemis and Ares as possible examples (172). After his suicide, the chorus decides that it was Ajax' obdurate mind that brought on his misfortune, claiming he was στερεόφρων (925).

Leaving the contrived world of the playwrights for the historical world as conceived by Herodotus, we have the character of Croesus, who points to the unfathomable ways of the gods to explain his misfortunes. Herodotus, the narrator, is as blunt as Sophocles' chorus when he opines that misery befell the king due to the sins of

his ancestor, Gyges, and because Croesus himself had boasted of his prosperity, thus provoking the gods' jealousy.

The same attitude is found in Hittite prayer as every king points to actions of his predecessor to explain his god's punishing anger. This anger, according to the prayers, resulted in a plague beginning in the reign of Šuppiluliuma I, which decimated the population of Hatti for two decades. Šuppiluliuma's grandson, Muršili, traces the devastation wreaked by the plague back to his grandfather's time (*CTH 378.IV*):

All of a sudden, in the time of my grandfather Hatti was oppressed [and it] became [devastated] by the enemy. Mankind was [reduced in number] by the plague, and your [servants] were reduced in number (§3: i 21-35).

When my grandfather went to Egypt, since that day of Egypt, death has persisted in [Hatti], and from that time, Hatti has been dying (§5: I 47-55).

Yet another prayer of Muršili's explains the reference to Egypt as a source of the god's anger. In this prayer (*CTH 378.II*), Muršili refers to Šuppiluliuma's breach of a peace treaty observed between the Hittites and Egyptians. He inquires of an oracle:

Has this matter been brought about by the Storm-god of Hatti because the men of Egypt and the men of Hatti had been put under oath by the Storm-god of Hatti (§5: obv. 25'-34')?... And because the *damnassara*-deities were in the temple of the Storm-god, my lord, whereupon the men of Hatti themselves suddenly transgressed the word (of the oath), did this become the cause for the anger of the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord? And then it was confirmed by the oracle. Because of the plague, I also asked the oracle about the ritual of the Mala River. And then to it was confirmed that I should appear before the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord. I have just confessed [the sin before the Storm-god of Hatti]. It is so. We have done it. But the sin did not take place in my time. [It took place] in the time of my father [...]. [... that] I know for certain [...].[...] the matter. [But since] the Storm-god [of Hatti, my lord], is angry about [that matter, and] since people are dying in Hatti,[...] I will keep making [a plea] about it to the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord. I kneel down to you and cry for mercy. Hear me, O Storm-god of Hatti, my lord! May the plague be removed from Hatti (§6: A obv. 35'-46'-C iii 3'-7').

Thus Muršili disassociates himself from the perpetrator of the crime blaming both his grandfather and father for incurring the wrath; yet he acknowledges his responsibility

both in terms of culpability (“We have done it”) and in assuaging the Storm-god’s anger (“I will keep making [a plea] about it to the Storm-god of Hatti”).

When Muršili’s son, Ḫattušili, comes to power, he implores the Sun-goddess of Arinna to use her influence to convince the wronged deity to lift the miseries afflicting Hatti (CTH 383). Ḫattušili continues the tradition of passing on the blame as he proceeds to list all the sins committed by Muršili, pleading that he was but a child when the infractions occurred:

Ḫattušili, your servant, and Puduhepa, your maid, have made this plea as follows: Whatever my father, Muršili, while still alive, offended to the gods, my lords, by some deed, I was in no way involved in that deed of my father; I was still a child (§2: I 14-40).

The different attitudes displayed by perpetrators and their relations can thus be contrasted to show that the ancient authors were aware of the different claims concerning divine punishment. It is as though the case were played out in hindsight with the verdict being offered in the form of divine punishment while the sufferers and witnesses scrambled to fit a crime to the punishment.

5.8 Hittite Prayer and Greek Tragedy: an excursus

Oedipus and Muršili

Just as Oedipus tries to solve the mystery behind the plague ravaging Thebes at the beginning of *Oedipus Rex*, Muršili examines all the sins committed by himself and his ancestors as he tries to discern the reason for the gods’ anger. Like Oedipus, Muršili

knew a period of prosperity before the plague struck his kingdom. He describes an idyllic period in the days of his father's reign that lasted until the gods decided to revenge his father Suppiluliuma's murder of Tudhaliya the rightful heir to the Hittite throne. Suppiluliuma was permitted by the gods to rule in peace and prosperity, untroubled by their crime just as Gyges was permitted by the gods to rule over Lydia unpunished for the murder of his king. Muršili complains that Suppiluliuma was permitted to live an untroubled life despite the fact that he committed the murder, while Muršili himself has only known sorrow as a result of his grandfather's sin.³⁷⁸

During his reign the entire land of Hatti did well. [Men (?), cattle and sheep became numerous in his days, and the civilian prisoners who [were brought] from the land of his enemies survived as well. Nothing perished. But now you, O gods [my lords], have eventually taken vengeance on my father for this affair of Tudhaliya the Younger. My father [died (?)] because of the blood of Tudhaliya, and the princes, the nobles, the commanders of the thousands, and the officers who went over [to my father], they have also died because of [that] affair. This same affair also came upon the land of Hatti, and the population of the land of [Hatti] began to perish because of [this] affair. Until now Hatti [...] but now the plague [has become] even [worse]. Hatti has been [severely] damaged by the plague, and it has been decimated. I, Muršili, [your servant], cannot [overcome] the worry [of my heart], I can no longer [overcome] the anguish of my soul (CTH 378.I: §4 obv. 23-40).

Herodotus likewise describes Croesus as paying for the sin of his ancestor, Gyges, who apparently was never punished for his transgression (*Histories* 1.12).

When the plague hits the Hittite citizens, their king, Muršili, looks to the oracle to discover the source of the gods' anger, the same reason Oedipus gives for sending Creon to the oracle at Delphi.

O gods, [my] lords! A plague broke out in Hatti, and Hatti has been severely damaged by the plague. And since for twenty years now in Hatti people have been dying, the affair of Tudhaliya the Younger, son of Tudhaliya, started to way [on me]. I inquired about it to the god through an oracle, and the affair of Tudhaliya was confirmed by the deity. Since Tudhaliya the Younger was their lord in Hatti, the princes, the nobles, the commanders of the thousands, the officers, [the

³⁷⁸ If the translator's insertion of 'death' into the lacunae is correct, than Suppiluliuma was punished but only after he had enjoyed a long and trouble-free reign.

corporals (?) of Hatti and all the infantry and chariotry of Hatti swore an oath to him. *My father also swore an oath to him* (CTH 378.I: §2 obv. 8-15).

Compare this to Oedipus' response to his suffering citizens in *Oedipus Rex*:

My piteous children, I know quite well the desires with which you have come: I know well that you all are sick, and though you are sick I know well that there is not one of you who is as sick as I. Your pain comes on each of you for himself alone, and for no other, but my soul is in pain at once for the city, for myself, and for you. Thus you are not awakening me from sleep: no, be sure that I have wept many tears, wandered far and wide in my thought. I have made use of the only remedy which I could find after close consideration: I sent my relative, Creon, Menoeceus' son, to Apollo's Pythian residence to learn what we might do or say to protect this city (*Oedipus Rex*, 60-70).³⁷⁹

Both kings look to their respective oracles for answers only to learn that the sin lies in the actions of their own family - Oedipus' killing of Laius and Suppiluliuma's murder of Tudhaliya. Both situations have their roots in a family curse resulting in angry deities punishing the descendants of the original sinners.

Tawananna and Clytemnestra

§1 (ii 1'-iii4) [...] she killed [my wife...] she bereaved (?) me [...]...[...]. Was it a capital crime for me if she was not executed? I consulted the gods, my lords, and it was determined for me by oracle to execute her. To dethrone her was also determined for me by the oracle. But even then I did not execute her; I only deposed her from the office of priestess. Since it was determined for me by oracle to dethrone her, I dethroned her and I gave her an estate (Cat.18).

As a result of conquering Mittanni, Suppiluliuma I brought the Hittite kingdom into the political and cultural sphere of the Near East. In order to cement his relationship with neighboring Babylon (*Shanhara* in Hittite) he took the king's daughter as his second wife.³⁸⁰ As she is referred to by the queenly title of Tawananna, her original Babylonian name is unknown.

³⁷⁹ Translation Jebb 1952.

³⁸⁰ Carruba 1998: 16.

Tawananna appears to have been influential both in the religious and political sphere of the Hittite kingdom judging from the inclusion of her name in addition to that of her husband on political documents from Ugarit.³⁸¹

According to Muršili's testimony, her authority was not stripped from her after Suppiluliuma's death and she appears to have dominated the management of the royal family during the brief reign of Arnuwanda. Muršili adds that out of respect to his father he allowed his stepmother, Tawananna, to continue the abuse of her power into his own reign until his wife Gassul(iy)awiya fell ill. Muršili offers a heartfelt prayer to the goddess Lelwani for his wife's recovery:

If you, O god, my lord, are seeking some evil in my [wife (?)], I herewith send you [my/an] adorned substitute. Compared to me she is excellent: she is pure, she is radiant, she is pale, she is endowed with everything. Examine her, O god, my lord! Let this female go back and forth before the god, my lord, and may you turn again in favour toward the great daughter and save her from this sickness! Remove her from this sickness and let her recover! And then it will come to pass that in the future the Great Daughter will constantly praise you, O god, and she will constantly invoke only your name, O god! (*CTH* 380: §1 obv. 2'-9').³⁸² Since Gassuliyawiya, your maid saw you, O Lelwani, in her dream in Samuha, didn't she, your maid, make any sacrifices in those days for you, O god? But now your maid, Gassuliyawiya, has fallen ill and sickness has oppressed her. Furthermore, that matter burdened her and they inquired about it to the gods through an oracle, and it was established by the gods too. And now Gassuliyawiya, your maid, because of her sickness has sent to you, O god her substitutes: [one fattened cow,] and one fattened ewe, dressed up in festive garments, [...] which has been determined for the person [of Gassuliyawiya] (*CTH* 380: §3 obv. 21'-31').

When his prayers to the gods for healing went unanswered, Muršili began to suspect his stepmother's hand in his wife's sickness. He accuses his stepmother of cursing Gassuliyawiya by asking the gods to punish Muršili's family for sins that, according to Muršili, had actually been committed by Tawananna. Despite consulting the

³⁸¹ Otten 1975: 44.

³⁸² See Klinger 1996: 215; Houwink ten Cate 1969: 47 and Singer 2002b: 71 for identifying Gassuliyawiya in this prayer as Muršili's wife.

oracles for answers,³⁸³ Muršili's efforts to save his wife were in vain and she died during his ninth year of rule.³⁸⁴ Muršili turns to the gods for justice, accusing Tawananna of killing his wife and of a series of abuses of her power.

Muršili worried that the gods were angry at him for his role in taking away their priestess, perhaps accounting for his avowals of self-restraint in not having her executed despite receiving the oracle's sanction. He composed two self-exculpatory prayers, the first of which (*CTH 70*) outlines the offenses of Tawananna against the gods and the royal family.

[When my father] became god (died), Arnuwanda, [my brother, and I] did not harm Tawananna at all, nor did we curtail her power [in any way]. As [she had governed the palace] and the land of Hatti during the reign of my father, in that same way she governed them [during the reign of my brother.] And when my brother [became god (died) I also did not harm] Tawananna at all, nor did I [curtail] her [power] in any way. As she governed the palace and the land of Hatti [during the reign of my father and during the reign of] my brother, [likewise] she governed them all. The privilege [and rights (?)] that she had [at the time] of her husband, and that which was forbidden to her [at the time of her husband, I did not change at all (?)]. And the privileges and rights (?) she carried on. As with her man [she had ruled Hatti, so in the same way as a widow] she ruled Hatti in the same way.[...] (§2: i5'-17').

[...] she ruined. Do you O gods, not see how she has turned all my father's estate over to the *hekur*-house of the Protective-god the Stone House of the gods? This she let come from Shanbara (Babylon) and that she handed over in Hatti to the entire population, and she left nothing. Do you gods not see? Even then I did not say anything to her and therefore I set it aright. She shut up mouths. Even that which was not yet done she gave away. She destroyed my father's estate. Furthermore, she even supported evil. Day and night she stands before the gods [and curses] my wife. And when I draw back the gods with offering bread and libation, and I constantly give them sacrificial bread [and libation], I make many vows to them for myself [my wife, my son], my house, my land, and my brothers [...]. Tawananna, however, stands [day and night] before [the gods and curses] my wife [before the gods...] she keeps libating. My wife's [...]. O gods do you [...] an untrue [...]? [Will you hand my wife over] to an evil judgment (*CTH 70* : §3 ii s'-iii 3)?

In his second supplication (*CTH 71*), Muršili discusses the fact that he acted mercifully in not using the oracle's permission to punish his stepmother with death. He

³⁸³ Hoffner 1983: 187-192.

³⁸⁴ Bryce 1998: 227, n. 70.

contrasts his stepmother's good fortune in being alive, lacking nothing and able to enjoy seeing the sun to that of his wife, dead through Tawananna's machinations:

[...] she killed [my wife...] she bereaved (?) me [...] ... [...]. Was it a capital crime for me if she was not executed? I consulted the gods, my lords and it was determined for me by oracle to execute her. To dethrone her was also determined for me by oracle. But even then I did not execute her. I only deposed her from the office of priestess. Since it was determined for me by oracle to dethrone her, I dethroned her and I gave her an estate. Nothing is lacking that she desires. She has bread and water and everything stands at her disposal. She lacks nothing. She is alive. She sees the Sun-god of Heaven with her eyes and eats the bread of life. I imposed only this one punishment, I punished her with this one thing: I sent her down from the palace and I deposed her from the office of priestess for the gods. I imposed only this one punishment. O gods set this case down before yourselves and investigate it! Has now her life gone bad? Because she sees the Sun-god of Heaven with her eyes and eats the bread of life. And my punishment is the death of my wife. Has it gone any better? Because she killed her throughout the days of my life [my soul (?)] goes down to the dark Netherworld on her behalf [on her account (?)] and it ...-s for me. Don't you O gods, [recognize] who was really punished? (*CTH 71*: §1 ii 1'-iii 4).

As punishment for these crimes Muršili banishes her from the palace and relieves her of her post as head priestess. He refrained from having her killed despite the fact that the oracle sanctioned her execution (*CTH 71*, §1).³⁸⁵

The fear that Muršili had brought down the anger of the gods by stripping Tawananna of her priesthood haunted Muršili's son Hattušili, who insisted in another prayer several decades later that he was only a child when these deeds had transpired (*CTH 383*, §2), thus succumbing to family tradition in attributing catastrophes to his people on a transgenerational curse.

³⁸⁵ Hoffner 1983.

5.9 The Prism of Prayer:

The interface of myth and history, poetry and prose, suffering and justice.

Herodotus, Sophocles and Aeschylus (in earlier plays) do urge mortals to learn from the suffering of mortals, 'πάθει μάθος' (*Agamemnon*, 176 ff.; *Antigone*, 1350 ff.; *Herodotus*, I, 207), but the examples refer to the sufferer rather than the citizens as a whole. Creon is admonished to learn from his misery despite the fact he would be unable to repeat his crime even if he so desired (*Antigone*, 1350 ff.). The chorus piously speaks of the lesson to be learned from Agamemnon's forced sacrifice of his daughter (*Agamemnon*, 250 ff.). The lesson pounded into the sufferers is the impotence of mortals when confronted by the gods and Fate rather than a fear of repeating a crime. The topics dealt with in this chapter dare the risky cross cultural comparison of prayer, myth and history. Yet reflection on the motivations behind each concept reveal a close relationship, even a blurring of these concepts. Prayer is motivated by a mortal desire to communicate with the gods. In the context of this chapter, this communication is motivated by a desire to address past events in an attempt to explain human action and halt divine anger. Hittite prayer, with its tendency to blame the actions of previous rulers for evoking divine anger and bringing down punishment on future generations is essentially a history, while Herodotus' histories tend to drift into myth. The Greek tragedians and Pindar often contain prayers to the gods and are always preoccupied with man's helplessness in the face of divine determination.

The delivery of prayer was performed in a ceremonial setting and its content straddles the two worlds of prose and poetry. Both Greek and Hittite prayer were often accompanied by musical instruments while the suppliant would deliver the plea in a chanting tone of voice thus crossing over into the world of Greek drama and epic poetry. In addition, Nagy argues for including the prose of Herodotus into the scheme of poetic development.³⁸⁶ Nagy bases this argument on his hypothesis that prose as well as "song" and "poetry" were in turn derived from a proto-song. This point could be argued for prayer as well. As Nagy puts it: "... prose seems closer than poetry to speech in that it does not have the same degree of specialized patterning in rhythm."³⁸⁷ For Nagy, Herodotus was a product of an oral tradition, and as such his prose more closely resembles "de-poeticized" poetry than natural human speech. Nagy believes that the *Histories* were intended as a: "public demonstration of an oral performance..."³⁸⁸ and concludes: "... the rhetoric of Herodotus' prooemium in particular and his entire composition in general is predicated on the traditions of speaking before a public, not of writing for readers. To me, that in itself is enough to justify calling such traditions oral."³⁸⁹

Nagy's argument detailed linguistic and cultural analysis concludes that the Herodotean concept of *historia* had juridical aspect to it that closely resembles the *ainos* of Pindaric poetry. Both *historia* and the *ainos* judge, moralize and typically couch their warnings in an oblique manner. It is an easy matter to extend the same argument to incorporate the formula Hittite prayer which likewise follows the model of a court of

³⁸⁶ Nagy 1990b: 47.

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

³⁸⁹ Ibid, 220.

justice within its text. Hittite prayer, Homer, Pindar, the Greek tragedians and Herodotus can all be understood within this context as belonging to a poetic tradition surprisingly unified in their portrayal of *kleos* within a remarkably judicial-like atmosphere despite cultural differences and temporal separation.

5.10 The Court of Prayer

Hittite prayers often resemble a trial. Both take place before a divine court and have a prosecutor, defense and jury. The Hittite verbal noun, *arkuwar*, is the usual designation for prayer.³⁹⁰ Laroche's study on the vocabulary of Hittite prayers points out that *arkuwar* (cf. Latin *arguo*, *argumentum*) can be interpreted as a juridical term with the plea presented as a defense against the accusation.³⁹¹ The same word is used when a servant explains his actions to his master, when a vassal king justifies his actions to his suzerain and when two Great kings argue their case before the Divine Court. The structure and rationale of most prayers can be understood as an enactment of a case before a divine judge or jury.

The suppliant is the defendant while the prosecutor is the offended god. The court of justice is the assembly of the gods. In Hittite prayers, the role of the lawyer is played out by the addressed deity who is requested to act as the intermediary between the

³⁹⁰ Bachvarova 2002:210; Hrozny 1917: 153.

³⁹¹ Laroche 1964: 13ff; Lebrun 1980: 426ff.; Sørenhagen 1981: 136ff.; Singer 1996: 47ff.; Melchert 1998: 45-47. cf. Bryce 2002:240.

plaintiff and the prosecutor. In the *Eumenides*, Athena acts out this role as she mediates between Orestes and the Erinyes.

In Hittite prayers, from the time of Muršili II it is the *arkuwar* ‘plea’ that makes up the body of the text. In earlier Hittite prayers, the greater part of the prayer involves the invocation (*mugawar* or *mugessar* derived from the Hittite verb *mugai-*, ‘to invoke’) to ensure the deity will be present to hear out the plea.³⁹² The verb *walliya-* is defined as the praising of a deity and the verb *wek-* expresses the defendant’s petition before the divine judges. Fragments of Hittite prayers typically contain some of these elements: some contain the *arkuwar*, others, the *mugawar* etc., allowing for us to extrapolate that Muwatilli’s model prayer to the assembly of the gods through the storm-god of lightning, which contains all the above elements, is a typical representation of this formula.

Hittite prayers refer variously to the ‘invocation’ (see no. 8), or to the “pleading” (nos. 11, 12, 19) to a god. The cause of the prayer is usually discussed, as when the plague prayers of Muršili are set at a time “when [the people] of Hatti [...] are dying” (colophon of no. 8.E; cf. no. 11). The model prayer of Muwatalli refers to the hypothetical situation “if some problem burdens a man(’s conscience): (no. 20, §1).

³⁹² The entreaty to ensure a deity’s presence to hear out a prayer ties in with the concept of the disappearing god and the use of ritual prayer to ensure the deity’s return. Other entreaty words are *talliya-*, ‘to invoke’ and *sara huittiya-*, ‘to draw out, attract’.

The Defendant

Prayers are usually offered in first person narrative by the suppliant. Sometimes (as in the case of most Hittite king prayers)³⁹³ they are spoken in the name of the suppliant by priests or by another qualified intermediary praying on the suppliant's behalf. The earliest Hittite prayers are damaged at the sections concerning the suppliant's title but the content refers to the slandering of a king.

Hittite prayers are usually restricted to members of the royal family. Prayers offered by non-royals as seen in Greece, Mesopotamia and Egypt have not been unearthed in Hatti.³⁹⁴ Despite this royal monopoly when the needs of the population are concerned, Hittite prayers are often expressed on behalf of the king's people. Muršili's request for divine mercy is based on the plague affecting his people rather than on the king's behalf.³⁹⁵ It is part of a divine chain in which the citizens look to their king, the king turns to a deity and, if the god is swayed by the king's plea, the god presents the king's case to the divine assembly.

The Hittite king refers to himself as "priest," based on his title "Priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna".³⁹⁶ Unless otherwise stated, the ceremonies appear to have been carried out by the Hittite king as exemplified in prayers in which the king is speaking in

³⁹³ The important exception being the three parallel prayers to the angry god, nos. a-c in which either the narrator is an unnamed king (b), or the prince/priest Kantuzzili speaking on behalf of his king (a), or spoken by a commoner (c). Cf. *CTH* 372.

³⁹⁴ Singer 2002a: 7.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁶ Houwink ten Cate 1987: 31.

the first person as in “I Mušili... am pleading/bowing down to you”.³⁹⁷ In the prayer to Telepinu it is written: “[this] tablet the scribe shall read out daily to the god and shall praise the god...,” later followed by the scribe explaining: “Muršili the king, your servant, sent me and your maidservant the queen, they sent me, saying: ‘Go, invoke Telepinu,...’” (CTH377: §§ 1-2; cf. no. 8, §1; no. 11, § 1).

The colophon of Muwatilli’s prayer concerning Kumanni states: “One tablet of the presentation of the plea to the Storm-god, written down [from the mouth (?)] of his majesty. Complete. Written by the hand of Lurma-ziti, junior incantation priest, apprentice [of...], son of Aki-Tessub” (Cat. 19). It is a clear reference to the king’s personal involvement in the delivery of a prayer.

The Prosecution

Hittite prayer often assumes the presence of an angry god who brings the matter of mortal transgressions to an assembly of the gods. The identity of the angry deity is not known by the suppliant who typically turns to the Sun-god to discover which god has been angered and to intercede on the mortal’s behalf. In a twist suited to a Hollywood thriller, the wrathful god inflicting misery often turns out to be the suppliant’s personal deity. This is a common occurrence in Babylonian supplication prayers and also proves to be the case in the Hittite prayer of Kantuzzili (no. 4a, § 1’-2’).³⁹⁸ Puduhepa’s Prayer (no. 22, § 8’’) discusses how the party responsible for Hattušili’s illness and defamation could be either human or deity. Again following the theme of court proceedings, the prosecutor

³⁹⁷ Singer 2002a: 7.

³⁹⁸ Güterbock 1958: 242.

speaks of the wrongdoing and then the intercessor relates the prayer of defense (no. 21, § 11'). In Muwatalli's prayer he considers the possibility that a local deity, rather than a mortal, incurred the Storm-god's anger (§2) and admits that human intercession would be of little use in such an event. Muwatalli asks the *Amunnaki* (Netherworld deities) to intercede in assuaging the Storm-god's anger against the deity, thus relieving the punishment inflicted on mortals.

The concept of a mortal asking a deity to intercede with the deity controlling his destiny is found in Homer's *Iliad* when Achilles begs the goddess, Thetis (his mother) to intercede on his behalf with Zeus. Thetis is asked to intercede, in this case not to stop his anger against the Trojans, but merely to postpone their punishment long enough for Achilles to reclaim his honor, which had been stripped from him by the insulting words and actions of Agamemnon. In addition, Achilles advises his mother to couch the prayer in terms of a reciprocal prayer:

Help your brave son, therefore, if you are able. Go to Olympos, and if you have ever [395] done him service in word or deed, implore the aid of Zeus. Ofttimes in my father's house have I heard you glory in that you alone of the immortals saved the son of Kronos from ruin, when the others, [400] with Hera, Poseidon, and Pallas Athena would have put him in bonds. It was you, goddess, who delivered him by calling to Olympos the hundred-handed one whom gods call Briareus but men Aigaion, for he has more force [biê] even than his father; [405] when therefore he took his seat all-glorious beside the son of Kronos, the other gods were afraid, and did not bind him. Go, then, to him, remind him of all this, clasp his knees, and bid him give succor to the Trojans. Let the Achaeans be hemmed in at the sterns of their ships, and perish on the sea-shore, [410] that they may reap what joy they may of their king, and that Agamemnon may rue his derangement [atê] in offering insult to the best [aristos] of the Achaeans (*Il.* 395-410).

The Defense

All gods addressed in Hittite prayers can be considered as mediators in bearing the king's plea to the assembly of the gods (no. 21, 11'). The situation is complicated

when it is the Sun and storm gods who are addressed as they also preside at the divine assembly (court) and the distinction between intercessor and judge is blurred. Yet the fact that they do play both roles is evident in several prayers. In Hattušili's prayer the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the Storm-god of Hatti are asked to present and defend the king's cause in the Divine assembly on behalf of their son, the Storm-god of Nerik (no. 21, 11').

The most frequently addressed gods are the solar gods such as the Sun-goddess of the Netherworld (in her chthonic aspect), the Sun-god of heaven (nos. 4a-c and, most frequently, the Sun-goddess of Arinna (nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 16, 21, 22, 24). One prayer (no. 2) is addressed to both the Sun and Storm-god. The reason for the predominance of solar deities in Hittite prayer is explained by Singer in light of the Sun's role as supreme deity of justice.³⁹⁹ In addition, during his daily journey around the earth he encounters all the gods of heaven and earth and requests their presence at the divine assembly.⁴⁰⁰ Presumably, even criminals could turn to the Sun-god as he is said to care for mortals both good and evil (no. 4b, 8', 10' = no. 4c, 5), in addition to lower forms of life, including the pig, dog and beasts of the field (no. 20, 66).

The Storm-god is also frequently appealed to, including in his manifestation as Tessub in the Hurrian prayer of Puduhepa (no. 6), the Storm-god of Hatti (no. 11) in Muršili's Second Plague Prayer, Telipinu (no. 9), the Storm-god of Nerik (no. 23), and Lelwani, typically invoked in cases of illness (no. 15; no. 22, 8''-9'').

³⁹⁹ Singer 2002a: 9.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid, 8.

Divine acolytes associated with the angered deity are sometimes requested to mediate between the suppliant and the presiding deity.⁴⁰¹ In the Invocation to the Sun-goddess (no. 1), an appeal is made to the goddess's companions. Muwatalli invokes the Storm-god's entourage (no. 19) in hopes of dispelling the god's anger. When Puduhepa's husband falls ill, she offers a prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna (no. 22) that contains separate invocations to Lelwani, Zintuhi, Mezzulla and the Storm-god of Zippalanda, requesting that they use their influence on the Sun-goddess to ensure her husband's recovery.

When the suppliant's prayer goes unanswered a final resort is to appeal the verdict. For this purpose a category exists within the genre of Hittite prayers containing appeals to the assembly of the gods.⁴⁰² Muršili's plague prayers desperately attempt to include every deity in hopes of reaching and swaying the angered god. One of his prayers is offered to local gods (no. 13), while the other is offered to various categories of deities (no. 14). Muwatalli's model prayer (no. 20) appeals by name to 140 local gods.

The Plea

Judging from later prayers addressing similar trial format proceedings, an absolute denial of guilt must have been considered risky in a divine court and instances of a suppliant protesting complete innocence are rare. A typical statement offered in prayer argues against collective punishment as demonstrated by Ḫattušili who protests against

⁴⁰¹ Güterbock 1958: 242; Hounwick ten Cate 1969: 88.

⁴⁰² Hounwick ten Cate 1987; Singer 1996: 151.

the anger of the gods, pointing out the fact that he was but a child when the transgression occurred:

§ 2 (i 14-40) When the case against Tawananna, your maid, took place in the palace, how my father curtailed the power of Tawananna the queen, though she was the servant of the deity, you O goddess ... [But I] was not involved in that decree. I was still a child. O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my Lady, do not protract that case against me. To protract such a thing against me during my days is not right.

Ḫattušili uses the excuse of compulsion to explain another sin a little further down in the same prayer:

§3' (I 1'-15)...he moved]. Whether the trans[fer of the gods was] in accordance with the wish [of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my Lady, or whether it] was [not in accordance with your] wish, you, [my lady,] are the one who knew [that in your soul, O Goddess, my lady. But I was not] involved [in that] order of the trans[fer] of the gods [in any way]. [For me it was a matter] of compulsion, [because] he was my master. But [the transfer] of the gods was not in accordance with my wish, and I was rather worried concerning that [order].

Thus ignorance of the law, pleading one's youth at the time a crime was committed and protestations of being compelled by another into sinning, are considered valid excuses in prayer to the gods and lead directly into pleas for exculpation, explanation and protests over punishments are common. And just as in a modern court of law, such excuses are rarely accepted and punishment typically continues unabated until the sin has been properly atoned for in the eyes of the angered god.

In Hittite practice the reason behind a deity's wrath may be sought through divination. Hittite society must pay the price for the sin until it has been discovered and atoned for. It is similar to the biblical tale of Balak (Numbers 25), in which the Israelites incur God's wrath for succumbing to the wiles of Midianite women who seduce the Israelites in the name of the false god, Pe'or. Thousands die as a result of the plague but the reason for God's wrath remains a mystery until:

one of the Israelites came and brought a Midianite woman over to his companions, in the sight of Moses and of the whole Israelite community who were weeping at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting. When Pinhas, son of Elazar son of Aaron the priest, saw this, he left the assembly and, taking a spear in hand, he followed the Israelite into the chamber and stabbed both of them, the Israelite and the woman, through the belly. Then the plague against the Israelites were checked. Those who died of the plague numbered 24,000...

The Lord Spoke to Moses, saying, Pinhas, son of Elazar son of Aaron the priest has turned back my wrath from the Israelites by displaying his zealousness for me, so that I did not wipe out the Israelite people in my zealousness. Say, therefore, I grant him my covenant of Shalom. It shall be for him and his descendants after him a covenant of priesthood for all time, because he took zealous action for his God, thus making expiation for the Israelites (Numbers 25:6-10).

The Israelites are collectively punished for the misdeeds of the sinners among them just as in the Hittite belief system the sins of an individual result in the offended gods of Hatti wreaking havoc on the entire land. The plague prayers of Muršili reveal the sins of a former Hittite king, Suppiluliuma. Nos. 4-18, claim that Suppiluliuma murdered Tudhaliya the Younger and broke the oath regarding the peace treaty with Egypt.

Confessions before the Hittite divine court thus can be seen as playing an important role in mortal attempts at assuaging divine anger. Muršili also refers to inherited punishment when he states: "the father's sin comes upon him, and so the sin of my father came upon me too. It is so. We have done it" (no. 11 8). That the mantle of inherited guilt is not readily assumed is evident in several prayers protesting that the original offender is long dead (no. 12, § 8; no. 21, §§ 2, 4'). The Hittite suppliant clearly hopes that proper confession will lead to forgiveness. One prayer recommends that the gods behave as magnanimously as a master who forgives an errant servant once the sin has been confessed (*CTH 378.II*: § 9).

Even when sins are admitted, the suppliant often seeks to minimize the gravity of the offense or find a reason why the sin should be excused. Muwatilli pleads his own humanity as explanation for offensive words he may have uttered and requests that the

Netherworld gods find and destroy his evil words (no. 19, § 12'; cf. no. 20, § 4).

Puduhepa, the consort of Muršili's son Ḫattušili, prays to the goddess, Lillian, to intercede on behalf of her ailing husband challenging any deity as to the justification behind Ḫattušili's illness:

§8" (iii 9'-35') [Lillian, my lady, whatever] you say [to the gods (?)], they grant [it to you]. Support me [in this matter]! In this thing that I heard [among] men, and before me [the matter was said (?), namely that] Ḫattušili, who is your servant, is ill, what [people] said about him at the time of Urhi-Tessub, namely: "[His years] are short"; now, if Ḫattušili, your servant has been defamed before you, O gods, by a human hand, or if any of the Upper gods or the Lower gods has been offended by him, or if anyone has offered to the gods in order to damage Ḫattušili, you O goddess, my lady do not [listen] to those evil words! Do not let [the evil] get to Ḫattušili, your servant!

Puduhepa additionally argues that her plea deserves recognition in light of the pain she has been forced to suffer during childbirth:

(22, §§ 6, 15"). Because as a woman in travail I have in my own person made reparation to the god, my lord, intercede for me, God, my lord, with the Storm-god, thy father, and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, thy mother! Hattušili, thy servant, wore himself out in the god's service; he gave himself body and soul to the restoration of Nerik, the beloved city of the god, my lord. So be thou, O god my lord, favourably inclined toward Hattušili, thy servant!⁴⁰³

Some Hittite kings try and play the sympathy card by emphasizing their orphan status and requesting that the gods become their surrogate parents (no. 2, § 2; no. 4c § 17; cf. § 2).⁴⁰⁴

The Furies of the *Eumenides* are certain that Orestes' request for absolution will be rejected by Athena in light of his crime of matricide. They sing that 'liquid poured on the ground is gone' referring to the blood of his mother. The idea of the earth absorbing blood that can never be recovered appears frequently in the *Oresteia*. The Old Testament makes reference to the earth as a one-way destination of liquid when Tekoa informs

⁴⁰³ Cf. Pulleyn 1997:23.

⁴⁰⁴ This is a common theme in many religions. *Deus Pater*, God the Father etc.

David: 'For we certainly die, like the waters shed on earth, which will not be collected up again' (Sam. 14.14). West refers to two components suggested by this doctrine: the notion of the earth being indelibly stained by bloodshed as permanent witness to a crime; and the notion of the irreversibility of death.⁴⁰⁵ A third component, and one that frequently appears in Hittite prayer, is the idea of the earth as a receptacle of evil deeds and words. Muwatalli's prayer to the Storm-god refers to a record of evil words stored in the earth:

Since we are only human, the words which we know, [which came] forth from our mouths, [...], and those which we do not know,... [if] they are the cause of anger, may the Netherworld deities look for them in the dark earth (*CTH* 382).

The Erinyes also describe the irony of punishing a sinner not even aware of having transgressed:

And as he falls he does not know it, from witless blight:
So dark a cloud of pollution drifts about the man (*Eum.* 377).

The Hymn to Šamaš warns the man who lusts after his neighbor's wife that he will be brought down by Šamaš's weapon and that 'he is caught in a bronze snare and does not know it.'⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁵ West 1997: 578.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

5.11 The Verdict

Thus we observe that the *Eumenides* echos Hittite prayer in its resemblance to a trial. Both take place before a divine court and have a prosecutor, defense and jury. The prayer offered by the suppliant contains familiar judicial features such as a confession or denial of guilt, and the explanation of mitigating circumstances. The element of prayer involving flattery (hymns) and bribes (vows) is another aspect occasionally present in modern court proceedings. Of course, in Hittite prayer, the final verdict is missing, in which one would discover whether or not the defendant's arguments have been accepted and the requests for divine support in the form of long life, recovery from illness, victory over enemies, wealth etc. granted. If one could piece dedications and thank offerings found at temple sites together with the original prayer, an entire transcript of a divine court proceeding could no doubt be argued for. Aeschylus' *Eumenides* is kinder to the modern reader's curiosity in that he provides a final verdict.

Chapter Six: Assuming Responsibility

6.1 The Eumenides

The *Eumenides* of Aeschylus flies in the face of the other Greek tragedians and Herodotus in that the protagonist incurs divine wrath yet in the end is given a full reprieve. Orestes is the grandson of Atreus and the son of Agamemnon and is the heir to the family curse. In addition, in the tradition of curses, he has irrevocably committed himself to punishment by killing his mother, Clytemnestra. Yet Apollo and Athena interfere, saving him from the Furies. The Erinyes protest that Apollo has aided a mortal in defiance of divine law and ancient precedent (*Eumenides*, 171 ff.). Towards the end of the play, when the Erinyes agree to the change in their status and prepare to take up residence in Athens, they sing of mortals being ‘under Pallas’ wings’, meaning protected by Athena. One finds the expression put to similar use in the Psalm:

In the shadow of your wings you will hide me.
In the shadow of your wings I will seek refuge.
With his pinions he will protect you,
And beneath his wings you will seek refuge (Ps. 12 f.).⁴⁰⁷

Much has been written concerning why Aeschylus wrote a play that rejected all the lessons imparted in earlier plays concerning the relationship between mortals and the gods. The literary construct of a play depicting a myth that was well known to the Greeks is important as it presents a paradigm case for mortals taking responsibility for their own sins. Whatever Aeschylus’ personal motivations, the fact that a play was written

⁴⁰⁷ Cited by West 1997: 579.

heralding a change in the ancient system of justice indicates that Greek society understood the arguments as to why change was necessary. Relying on the justice of the gods to punish blood guilt – even in the realm of myth was no longer satisfactory. The fact that the change takes place in the world of myth shows that fifth century Athenians (at least those sympathetic to Aeschylus' approach) were not entirely comfortable with the moralizing conclusions inherent in their mythology.

The *Eumenides* contains a debate between Athena and the Erinyes concerning the readiness of mortals to arbitrate justice. The words of the Erinyes warn of how they believe these new changes will affect human behaviour in terms of respect for justice and the gods:

Now new laws will revolutionize all things if the wrongful cause of this matricide is found just. Then this act will make all men do what they like. Many terrible wounds will be inflicted on parents by their children in years to come. For we Maenads who watch the doings of men will not be able to let loose our wrath when such deeds are done. We shall have to allow all kinds of manslaughter to pass unchallenged. Predicting ill for his neighbors too, one will seek from another relief and mitigation of his distress, vainly applying to his misery remedies that are of no avail. Henceforth it will be no use for anyone smitten by calamity to call loudly upon justice and the thrones of the Eumenides. This many a mother and father may have to lament, now that the house of justice is falling (*Eumenides*, 490 ff.)".⁴⁰⁸

The fear is that if mortals are allowed to plead extenuating circumstances, than the deterrent of unwavering divine punishment will no longer dissuade would-be criminals. It is a difficult argument to challenge one that Aeschylus does not force his characters to answer, choosing instead to leave the final decision to the discretion of a jury. When the votes for and against acquitting Orestes are equal, Athena casts the deciding vote in his favour and with her vote changes the ancient justice system forever. Athena seeks to sooth the sting of her rejection of the Erinyes' former role by addressing their concerns:

⁴⁰⁸ Translation: Smyth 1988.

Neither licentiousness nor rigor do I counsel the citizens to esteem and propose, nor do I advise them to banish from the city everything that can inspire fear. For what man is solicitous of righteousness if he has no fear? (*Eumenides*, 696).

Athena permits the Erinyes to continue visiting the punishment for the crimes of the parents on their children: "It is the sins of the fathers that bring him into their power (934)". It is a strange decision and somehow unsatisfactory, considering that the trial of Orestes was based on his link to a family curse. Perhaps Athena, after having cowed the Erinyes with threats into agreeing to give up their status, now chose to use honeyed words in acknowledging that the Erinyes still possessed their destructive power should they choose to use them. The Erinyes finally accept the change in their status and in so doing agree not to use the powers at their disposal.

At first the Erinyes are unwilling to accept Orestes' acquittal and their own change in status and threaten Athens with famine and plague (782 ff). Athena is unable to reason with them at first and resorts to threatening them with Zeus' lightning (872 ff.). The Erinyes' refusal to accept the jury's decision reflects Aeschylus' own struggle in finding a compromise between cases demanding punishment for crimes committed by mortals versus those for crimes committed by their ancestors. Athena agrees with the Erinyes that Orestes yet casts the deciding vote in his favour, thereby setting a new precedent in which mitigating circumstances were to be considered before sentencing, a task not consistent with the abilities or duties of the Erinyes.

The mitigating circumstances submitted by Athena are personal rather than legal as she balances the killing of Clytemnestra by Orestes with the slaying of Agamemnon by Clytemnestra and judges the latter to be a weightier crime than the former. Thus the decision to confer the responsibility of self-judgment on mortals is based on Athena's stated preference for men over women (737 ff.). There appears to be a struggle between

tradition as reflected in Greek mythology calling for a decision of 'guilty' and the moral realization reflected by Aeschylus' reality that Orestes deserved to be acquitted.

In the prayers of Muršili concerning his wife and stepmother we have many of the elements of the *Eumenides*. Justice of the gods is as tricky to navigate in Hittite prayer as in the *Eumenides*. Muršili has been given permission to kill his stepmother by the oracle just as Orestes was told to kill his mother by Apollo (a frequent oracular source).

Tawananna and Clytemnestra are both influential women who rule their households and act as foils to the ruling kings. Orestes heeds Apollo's order and is still punished. Muršili chooses not to kill his stepmother but takes away her authority as priestess and manager of the royal household. He too is punished by the continuation of the plague as is his son, Hattušili, who was guilty only of being his father's child.

The idea of punishing a criminal as a deterrent to other would-be sinners is met with approval by the Erinyes and Athena. Yet within the same play, the question of degree of punishment pertaining to a specific crime is likewise introduced. By acknowledging the complexity of the issue yet making a decision that threatens the status quo, Aeschylus addresses his culture as represented in mythology and, perhaps religion, and synchronizes it with the current state of the justice system.

A reflection of the actual changes the Athenian community had undergone is found in the laws introduced by Solon. The laws compelled Athenian citizens to interfere in cases of injustice when the victims were unable to defend themselves. Solon introduced a new institution, known as the *γραφῆ*, by means of which the Athenian citizen could turn to the courts for crimes committed against the citizen or on behalf of any other citizen.

Calhoun argues that it is unreasonable to conclude that a community should be inspired to prosecute crimes unrelated to homicide for fear of incurring divine pollution as a result of manslaughter.⁴⁰⁹ Gernet's point that other crimes in addition to manslaughter carried a taint that threatened to infect the entire community if unpunished seems a reasonable counter to Calhoun's argument.⁴¹⁰

Calhoun points out the injustices inherent in the Draconian system in which only the offended party can sue for justice to explain the creation of the *γραφή*. He envisions a scenario in which an adult sells one's younger siblings or children as slaves. If the victims are underage they can only prosecute through their guardian, who, in this hypothetical case, is also the offender. Another scenario involves a man sold into slavery because of debts. Even though the law forbids enslavement as a result of debts the injured party has no recourse as it was difficult if not impossible for a slave to sue a citizen. According to Calhoun, Solon realized the necessity of such a law to avoid similar miscarriages of justice.

A perusal of the fragments left to us of Solon's poems reveals a similar view of the relationship between gods and mortals that we see in the writings of Herodotus and the tragedians. Solon admits that he desires wealth, but adds that fear of justice would keep him from giving in to its temptations: πάντως ὕστερον ἦλθε δίκη 'for justice comes to all in the end' (XL, 7 ff.).⁴¹¹ The divine punishment for illicitly acquired wealth is *Ate*. In a warning reminiscent of Mesopotamian prophetic warnings over a city's doom and lamentations over a city's fall, Solon observes that Athens is in no danger of destruction on the part of the gods. He adds, direly, that it will fall when its citizens bring

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Gernet 1917: 14.

⁴¹¹ Cf. Linforth 1919.

down suffering on themselves in punishment for their excessive *hybris*, folly and greed: ἐτοῖμον ὕβριος ἐκ μεγάλης ἄλγεα πολλά παθεῖν (XII, 5 ff.). Several lines later Solon emphasizes that contempt for the law results in the destruction of a city (XII, 31). In another fragment, Solon warns that Zeus keeps a watchful eye on mortals, and that eventually he punishes all sinners (XL, 25 ff.). Later, in the same fragment, Solon comments that should Zeus overlook a particular sinner he settles the score with the sinner's descendants (XL, 31 ff.). In terms of divine justice for the guilty, there is no differentiating between the 5th century writers and Solon.

Divine punishment unleashed on the innocent is also discussed by Solon when he writes that both the evil and good (ὁμῶς ἀγαθός τε κακός τε) among mortals are struck by misfortune when they feel themselves most content (XL, 33 ff.). Solon refers to Fate as a force that brings good and evil to mortals who have no chance of avoiding the will of the gods. A mortal who attempts to do what is right (εὖ ἔρδειν) may be deflected from this path by *Ate*, while a mortal planning to sin (κακῶς ἔρδοντι) may be placed on the righteous track again by the gods (XL, 63 ff.).

In two extant passages Solon claims that adhering to the laws of justice assures mortals the protection of the gods and welfare of mortals (I, 1 ff. and XII, 32 ff.).

Instead of viewing Solon's depiction of the punishing nature of the gods as a paradox to be puzzled about in relation to the introduction of his law codes and the *γραφή*, it is precisely this similarity to Herodotus and the tragedians that is revealing.

Solon attributes to the gods a tendency to inflict arbitrary and impartial punishment, and in turn creates the *γραφή* for allowing mortals the ability to inflict impartial and

removed punishments in the form of lawsuits on other citizens with whom they have no personal relationship.

6.2 The Telepinu edict and the *Eumenides*: a conclusion

As discussed in Chapter Four, Telepinu's edict changed the prevailing legal sphere ostensibly because the king considered the current situation in which innocent members of a family were punished along with the offender to be not right. Telepinu's new decree addressed this injustice:

(obv.ii 54-58) Do not intend to do harm to his household to his wife (or) sons. If a prince commits a crime, he shall pay with his head, but to his household, or to his sons do not intend to do harm.

Telepinu also modified laws concerning the property of an offender, allowing for the family of a condemned individual to inherit rather than having all holdings to be absorbed into the estate of the king:

(obv.ii 56-61) Princes may perish because of that (conduct), but (do not harm) their households, their fields, their vineyards, their slaves (and) their sheep. Now, if any prince commits a crime, he shall pay for it with his head. You (pl.) shall not intend to harm his household or his son. To give away property – the smallest of things of the princes is not right (*nata āra*).⁴¹²

These amendments indicate a Hittite custom of wiping out a family line by executing a condemned male along with his male offspring perhaps in an attempt to preclude direct succession.⁴¹³ Telepinu's action is noteworthy as he flies in the face of historical and religious precedent when he decrees that only the perpetrators of a crime are punished.

⁴¹² See Chapter Four: "Something's not Right" for a discussion of the *natta āra* phrase.

⁴¹³ Beckman 1983:21-22.

The testimony of past kings such as Hattušili and Muršili who believed themselves to be undergoing punishment for the sins of their ancestors establish a divine precedent for punishing people guilty of little more than existing within the same sphere as the transgressor. Telepinu's decree assumes that punishing the family of an offender is unjust, thereby betraying the unspoken sentiment that the gods are equally unjust when they punish the innocent for the sins of their relatives.

Aeschylus' last drama, the *Eumenides*, expresses an opinion similar to that of the Telepinu edict. The playwright departs from the theme of inevitability in fighting the will of the gods as expressed in literature through the generations from Homer and Hesiod to Sophocles, Euripides and Herodotus. Just as Hittite kings used prayer to complain to the gods that punishing them for the sins of their ancestors was unjust, '*nata āra*', Aeschylus sets Greek prayer in the mythical past to reflect the move from the old blood-guilt ways to a new individual-centered method of establishing justice.

Telepinu's decree appears to finalize in the form of a moral mandate the sentiment that a mortal is responsible for his own crimes, stipulating that family and descendants were not to pay for the sinner's actions. The *Oresteia* draws a similar conclusion. After several generations were forced to pay for the sins of Atreus, a jury of mortals and gods freed Orestes of the charge of matricide and further ruled that in the future, mortals themselves be granted the power and responsibility of carrying out judgment on sinners themselves. Thus Hittite prayer and the *Eumenides* have parallels in structure while the content of Telepinu's edict reflects the conclusion of the *Eumenides*.

The Erinyes were safe-guarders of oaths in a divine setting. Athena changed this to human power. Telepinu did the same in his Edict. Thus both the *Oresteia* and the Telepinu Edict are about the founding of a new order and a new system of justice.

In the *Oresteia*, the Erinyes are presented as the goddesses of vengeance who punish successive generations for the sins of their fathers, while Hittite prayers frequently lament that the sins of their ancestors continue to plague the descendants.

The libation bearers of the second play of Aeschylus' trilogy attempt to convince Orestes that murdering his mother is the right course to take in order to avenge his own father's death at her hands. They remind Orestes that in the world of Mycenaean justice, the spilling of kindred blood demands a retributive response, the spilling of more blood. This concern is represented in the Telepinu edict by the description of generations of regicide begetting regicide and is finally stopped by Telepinu (interestingly, after he usurped the throne of the reigning king).

In the historical setting of Hittite prayer and in the mythological era of the Trojan War, Hittites and Mycenaean Greeks consider themselves to be controlled by the manipulations of angry gods. Muršili and Orestes both claimed to have "right" on their side as they committed crimes against their mothers (Muršili's stepmother) and each character believes his or her retributive act of justice is appropriate. Muršili tells of Tawannanna's sins in several prayers and even attains the oracle's injunction to kill her while Orestes is commanded to kill his mother by Apollo. Muršili's and Orestes' situations consist in each case of an irresolvable paradox: Greek and Hittite law states that breaking the gods' laws concerning the murder of a parent or sacrilege against the gods must be avenged, and yet stipulates that children may under no circumstances

murder their own parents. Therefore Muršili has nowhere to turn to seek justice when he believes that his stepmother, a priestess of the gods, has murdered his wife through witchcraft. Orestes' mother murdered his father and he is commanded by Apollo to avenge his death by killing his own mother.

Thus we see that early Greek and Hittite customs, created and executed by a mortal perception of the angry and punishing god, represent an unsatisfactory system of justice in terms of their respective societies. Unavoidable crimes still bring retaliation, as intergenerational curses visit the sins of the father upon the son resulting in the decimation of entire families. The cycle of violence continues, with no end to the suffering of the innocent descendants. Both Muršili's and Orestes' irresolvable conflicts cause this system to collapse under its own weight, thus breaking its stranglehold on the people, allowing them to develop their own justice system as drafted in the *Oresteia* and the Telepinu edict. Thus an agreement concerning mortal justice administered by mortals was drafted as law. Mortal law allows for extenuating circumstances and carefully measured punishments, as opposed to the acts of retribution carried out by the angry gods of the Hittites and Greeks.

The ambition reflected in Telepinu's edict and Aeschylus' *Eumenides* is essentially to wrest the responsibility over punishment of blood-guilt from the gods to mortals. The break Telepinu and Aeschylus make with established tradition reflects the decision made by humans to assume responsibility for their own actions. This decision is reflected in the actual law code of the Hittites while it is similarly displayed by Aeschylus in the establishment of a human-based court system set in the mythic past of the Greeks.

The cultural parallels examined here from ancient Greece, Anatolia, and Mesopotamia help us to understand the role of divine justice in Near Eastern and Greek literature and prayer. The possibility of influence and indeed in some cases of direct transmission is indicated by specific correspondences between the myths and the iconography of angry deities (goddesses primarily), between representations of disappearing deities in Near Eastern (especially Anatolian) and Greek myth and ritual, and between Hittite prayer and certain genres (and certain individual works) of Greek literature. Examination of the documentary and archaeological record suggests that Ugarit served as a critical point of transmission of Mesopotamian and Anatolian traditions into Greek culture via Cyprus, a connection explored in this dissertation in relation principally to the goddess eventually known to the Greeks as Aphrodite. The parallel paths followed by Hittite prayer and Greek literature have been examined for their treatment of mortal reaction to divine anger and punishment. The wresting of control by mortals from the gods of the right to determine the consequences of blood-guilt appears to have been the culmination of generations of perplexity and resentment over conceptions of divine punishment in both societies and is reflected in the historical Telepinu edict and in Greek literature depicting the mythic past of the Greeks.

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⁴¹⁴ Abbreviations for journals, Festschriften, dictionaries, etc. follow the format established by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary, Volume L-N; xv-xxx and Volume P, Fascicle 2, back-cover. See also pp. vi-vii above.

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Appendices⁴¹⁵

Appendix One: Catalog and Treatments of Hittite Texts: Disappearing Deity Motif

321 Illuyanka

Treatments:

Beckman, JNES 14 (1982) 11-25; Haas, ZA 78 (1988) 45, 63ff; C. Mora, FsMeriggi (1979) 101ff; Gonnet, Anatolica 14 (1987) 90f; tr. Pecchioli Daddi and Polvani, LMI (1990) 39ff; Hoffner, WAW 2 (1991) 10-14; NERT155-59; Masson, Combat 95-110; Gurney, Hit:181ff.; Otten in Sehm 679f.; Vieyra, RPO 70:526f.; HAH, JCS 22:38 for date.

A. KBo 3.7

B. KUB 17.5

C. KUB 17.6

D. KUB 12.66

E. KUB 36.54

F. KBo 12.83

G. KBo 12.84 (+) KBo 13.84

H. KBo 22.99 = B i 17-20

J. KUB 36.53

322 Telepinu and Daughter of Sea

Treatments:

Myth 19f; LMI 87f.; WAW2 25f; HAB 142 w. note 4; Stefanini, Arch. Glott. It. 54 (1969) 161ff.

A. KUB 12.60

B. KUB 33.81 (=Ai4-10)

KBo 26.128

1177/u (here? or CTH 323?)

323 Disapp. of Sun

Treatments:

Myth 21-28; LMI 57-70; WAW2 26-28

1. KUB 36.44

2. A. VBoT 58

B. KUB 53.20

3. KBo 13.85

1177/u (here? or CTH 322?)

324.01 Myth of Telipinu: first version

⁴¹⁵ The organization and formatting of Appendices One and Two are taken from the Oriental Institute's webpage (URL: http://oi.uchicago.edu/OI/OI_TOC.html#Anatolia).

Treatments:

Myth 29-37; LMI 71-86; NERT159-65, ANET126-8; WAW2 14-18; Masson Combat 124-153 (i1-39); Vieyra, RPO (1970) 529f.

A. KUB 17.10 (+??) 950/z, 1030/u

B. KUB 33.2

C. KUB 33.1

D. KUB 33.3

E. KBo 24.84

324.02 Myth of Telipinu: second version

Treatments:

Myth 38-43; LMI 71-86; WAW2 18-19

A. KUB 33.4 + IBoT 3.141

B. KUB 33.5

C. KUB 33.6 + KUB 33.7

D. KUB 33.8

324.03 Myth of Telipinu: third version

Treatments:

WAW2 19-20

A. KUB 33.9

B. KUB 33.10 (OH/MS)

324.04 Myth of Telipinu fragments

Treatments:

1. Myth47f 2. Myth48-50

1. KUB 33.12

2. KUB 33.11

3. KUB 33.14

325 Disappearing Storm-god

Treatments:

Myth 51ff.; LMI 89-104; WAW2 20-22; Masson Combat 160f

A. KBo 26.124 (+) KUB 33.24 (+) KUB 33.28 + 227/w

B. KUB 33.22 + KUB 33.23

C. KUB 33.25 + KUB 33.26 + KUB 33.27 + KUB 33.29 + KUB 33.30 + KUB 36.71 + KBo 26.133 (ZA63:87)

D. KUB 57.105 (+) KUB 43.34

326 Disappearance of god of Asmunikal

Treatments:

Myth59-62; WAW2 24-25; Masson Combat 166;

A. KUB 33.15 (+?) KUB 33.21

B. KUB 33.16

C. KUB 33.18

327 Disappearance of god of Harapsili

Treatments:

Myth62-4; WAW2 24-25; Masson Combat 166f

A. KUB 33.19

B. KUB 33.20

C. KUB 33.31

D. KBo 8.69

E. KBo 21.27

328 Disappearance of god of scribe Pirwa

Treatments:

2. Myth 65f

1. KBo 13.86

2. KUB 33.32

329.01 Storm-god of Kuliwisna: first tablet

Treatments:

LMI 107f.; Moore, BA thesis

1. KBo 15.32 (OH/MS)

2. KBo 15.31 (OH/MS)

329.02 Storm-god of Kuliwisna: second tablet

Treatments:

LMI 107f.; Myth71-74; Moore, BA thesis.

KBo 14.86 + KUB 33.17 + KBo 9.109

330.01 Storm-god of Kuliwisna

Treatments:

George Moore, Disappearing Deity Motif (BLit 1975) 68ff.

A. KBo 15.33 + KBo 15.35

B. KUB 41.10 =Ai1ff

C. KUB 41.9 =Aiii27ff

330.02 Storm-god of Kuliwisna

Treatments:

George Moore, Disappearing Deity Motif (BLit 1975) 68ff.

KBo 15.36 + KBo 21.61

330.03 Storm-god of Kuliwisna

Treatments:

George Moore, Disappearing Deity Motif (BLit 1975) 68ff.

A. KBo 15.34

B. KUB 12.19 (ii=Aii5ff)

C. KBo 21.63

330.04 Storm-god of Kuliwisna

Treatments:

George Moore, Disappearing Deity Motif (BLit 1975) 68ff.

4. A. KUB 32.138

B KUB 51.22 (ed. Glocker, AoF 21:127-129)

5. KUB 33.62 (OH or MH/MS?)

6. KBo 21.59

7. KUB 33.64 + KBo 21.60

8. KUB 33.65

9. KBo 15.38

10. KBo 21.55

11. KBo 21.57

12. KBo 21.58

13. KBo 21.67

- 14. KUB 43.56
- 15. Bo 6575
- 16. KBo 22.124
- 17. KUB 51.22
- 18. 142/q
- 19. 803/w

331 Storm-god of Lihzina

Treatments:

1. Myth 70f; MDOG 113:114; HAH, JNES 27; Collins, Context of Scripture, forthcoming

- 1. KUB 33.66
- 2. KUB 34.91

332 Storm-gods

Treatments:

1. Myth64f 2. Myth66f. 3. Myth68f.

- 1. KUB 33.33
- 2. KUB 33.34
- 3. KUB 33.68
- 4. KUB 33.79
- 5. IBoT 2.114 (coloph)
- 6. 101/r

333 Anzili + Zukki

Treatments:

Myth 75-78; Masson Combat 115, 163; C. StBoT29:96f. D. Beckman, Diss. 271f.

- A. KUB 33.67
- B. KUB 33.36
- C. Bo 4861
- D.?? 1265/v

334.1 Disappearance of DINGIR.MAH

Treatments:

Myth 78f.; WAW2 28-29; Vieyra in Labat, RPO (1970) 535

- A. KUB 33.54 + KUB 33.47
- B. KUB 33.48
- C. KUB 34.76: par. to A

334.2 Disappearance of DINGIR.MAH

Treatments:

Myth 80f; WAW2 28f.

- A. KUB 33.45 + KUB 33.53 + FHG 2 (OH/NS?)
- B. KUB 33.51
- C. KUB 51.30 (+) KUB 57.38

Bo 0851

334.3 Disappearance of DINGIR.MAH

Treatments:

Myth 81f; WAW2:28f

KUB 33.46

334.4 Disappearance of DINGIR.MAH

Treatments:

Myth 82-83; Hoffner, Hittite Myths 28-29; D. Groddek, AoF 22 (1995) 323-24.

A. KUB 33.49

B. KUB 33.50 (+) KBo 26.131

334.5 Disappearance of DINGIR.MAH

Treatments:

Myth 83f; WAW2 28f

KUB 17.13

334.6 Disappearance of DINGIR.MAH

Treatments:

CMyth [84]

KUB 33.38

334.7 Disappearance of DINGIR.MAH

KUB 33.75

334.8 Disappearance of DINGIR.MAH

KBo 12.78

335.1 frags. dis. gods

Treatments:

Myth [97], WAW2 35-37

A. KBo 9.110

B. KUB 33.80

335.2 frags. dis. gods

KUB 33.13

335.3 frags. dis. gods

Treatments:

WAW2 35-37

A. KUB 33.41

B. KUB 33.42

335.4 frags. dis. gods

A. KUB 33.71

B. KUB 33.70 (ii9ff=Aiv1ff)

C. KUB 46.52 (Ehelolf OLZ 36 (1933) 3 w. note 2)

335.5 frags. dis. gods

KUB 33.69 (+) HT 100

335.6 frags. dis. gods

KUB 33.72 (+?) KUB 33.73 + KUB 33.74

335.7 frags. dis. gods

A. KUB 33.37 + KUB 33.39

B. KUB 33.40

335.8 frags. dis. gods

KBo 24.84, KBo 26.127, KBo 26.132, KBo 26.134, KBo 26.135, IBoT 4.8, IBoT 4.9

336.1 myth of Inara (d.LAMMA)

Appendix Two: Catalog of Hittite Texts: Prayers

371 Prayer to the Sun Goddess of the Earth

Treatments:

ed. Friedrich, RSO 32 (1957) 217ff., Lebrun, *Prieres Hittites* (1980) 83-91.

KBo 8.92 + KBo 7.28 (OH/MS)

372 Prayer to the Sun God, solar hymn

Treatments:

G. terbock, JAOS 78 1958 237ff; Lebrun 92-111; OA17:257ff.

Treatments:

A. KUB 31.127 + KUB 36.79 + ABoT 44 + FHG 1 + ABoT 44b + ABoT 44a + KUB 31.131 + KUB 31.132 + KUB 36.79a (OH/NS)

B. KUB 31.128 =Ai1ff.

C. KUB 31.129 =Ai13ff.

D. KUB 31.133 =Ai20ff.

E. KUB 31.134 =Ai29ff.

F. KBo 14.74 =Ai23ff.

G. KUB 43.67 (=Aiv21ff)

373 Kantuzzili's Prayer

Treatments:

ed. Lebrun, *Hymnes* (1980) 111-120, tr. ANET 400; RTAT188-91, NERT167-9; OA17:257ff..

A. KUB 30.10 (OH/MS)

B. KBo 25.111 (=Ai10-20; HAH)

374 Similar to Kantuzzili's Prayer

Treatments:

1. OA17:257ff., VO 4:28

2. Otten ZA 64:241; OA17:257ff., VO 4:28

1. KUB 31.135 + KUB 30.11 (+) KUB 31.130 + 726/c (ZA71:122f) (OH/MS)

A. KUB 36.75 + Bo 4696 (ZA 62:231 i4-16) + 1226/u (ZA 67:56) (OH/MS)

B. KBo 22.75 (+) 1698/u (+) 221/w (ZA 64:241)

375.1 Arnuwanda I and Asmunikal re. Nerik

Treatments:

Lebrun, *Hymnes* 132-154; von Schuler, *Kasker* 152ff.; Otten, StBoT11:21 n. 1 (E.); Hten Cate, *Records* 83 (F); Lebrun, *Hymnes* 132-154 (G-H)

A. KUB 17.21 + 545/u + 578/u + 1619/u + 768/v (MH/MS)

B. KUB 31.124 + 1691/u + Bo8617 + KUB 48.28 (MH/MS?)

C. KUB 23.115 + KUB 23.17 + KUB 31.117 (+) 1398/u + 1945/u (+) 1241/u (+) 766/v + Bo 69/484

D. KUB 31.72 + KUB 48.107 (+) KUB 48.110

E. Bo 2525

F. 398/u + 1945/u

G. HFAC 72

H. KUB 48.108

Arnuwanda I

375.2 Arnuwanda I and Asmunikal

Treatments:

Lebrun, Hymnes 132-154

KUB 31.123 + FHL3

Arnuwanda I

375.3 Arnuwanda I and Asmunikal

Lebrun, Hymnes 132-154; Neu, FsBittel 393f.

KBo 12.132

Arnuwanda I

375.4 Arnuwanda I and Asmunikal

Treatments:

Lebrun, Hymnes 132-154; Neu, FsBittel 393f.; Hten Cate, Records 83.

A. 1691/u

B. 1241/u + 766/v

375.5 Arnuwanda I and Asmunikal

Treatments:

Lebrun, Hymnes 132-154; Neu, FsBittel 393f.; Hten Cate, Records 83.

1099/u + 1095/u

376 Sungoddess of Arinna

Treatments:

Gurney, Hittite Prayers (1940), G. t., JAOS 78 1958 244ff, Carruba, ZDMG Supp 1 1969 239ff, Lebrun, Hymnes 155-179; ANET 396; GsPentore 3-27

**B (=?) G impossible because of different find spots

A. KUB 24.3 + 544/u + KUB 31.144 + 107/w (=iii13f)

B. KUB 30.13 = Aii3ff

C. KUB 24.4 + KUB 30.12 = Aii9ff

D. VBoT121

E. KUB 36.80

F. KUB 36.81(i=Ai1f)

G. KBo 7.63 (=Aii23f)

H. 79/w

I. 95/w

J. 1229/u (ZA81:110)

Mursili II

377 Prayer to Telipinu

Treatments:

Gurney, Hittite Prayers (1940), ANET 396f.; Lebrun 180-191

A. KUB 24.1 + 1122/v + 217/w (ZA62,232)

B. KUB 24.2

Mursili II

378.1 First Plague Prayer

Treatments:

Goetze KIF 161-251; ANET 394ff.; Lebrun, Hymnes 192-203

A. KUB 14.14 + KUB 19.2 + KUB 19.1 + 1858/u

B. KUB 23.3 (=Ai8f)

Mursili II

378.02 Second Plague Prayer

Treatments:

Götze, KIF 1 (27) 161-251; Lebrun, Hymnes 1980 203-216; tr. ANET 394-396, NERT169-74

A. KUB 14.8

B. KUB 14.11 + 650/u

C. KUB 14.10 + KUB 26.86

Mursili II

378.03 Third Plague Prayer

Treatments:

Lebrun, Hymnes 216-219

KUB 14.12

Mursili II

378.04 Fourth Plague Prayer

Treatments:

Lebrun, Hymnes 220-239; Gotze, KIF (1927) 161-251; ANET 394ff.

A. KUB 14.13 + KUB 23.124

B. KBo 22.71 (=Ai5-16)

Mursili II

379 Prayer to All the Gods

Treatments:

HGG RHA 66 (1960) 57-63; Lebrun, Hymnes 240-247

KUB 31.121 + KUB 31.121a + KUB 48.111

Mursili II

380 Prayer on Behalf of Gassuliyawiya

Treatments:

Lebrun, Hymnes 248-255; Tischler, IBS 37 (1981), tr. de Roos, JEOL 1983 220ff, JEOL 29:77f; Tischler, Gassul.

A. KBo 4.6

B. 161/v (=Ai27ff)

C. 638/v

Mursili II

381 Muwatalli's Prayer to All Gods Through the Storm-God of Lightning

Treatments:

ANET 397f. (partial tr.); Houwink ten Cate, JNES 27 (1968) 204-208; Lebrun, Hymnes 256-293; god list in Garst.-Gurney, Geogr. 116ff.; Archi, OrAnt 14 (1975) 321-324 (script analysis); Singer, ms. (full edition) (1995).

A. KUB 6.45 + 1111/z (ZA 64 (1975) 242f.)+ unnumbered fragment + KUB 30.14

B. KUB 6.46 = A

C. KUB 12.35 = A ii 13-23

D. 1785/u = A iii 55-61

Muwatalli II

382 Prayer to Teshub of Kummanni

Treatments:

Houwink ten Cate and Josephson, RHA 81 (1967) 101ff.; Lebrun, Hymnes 294-308

KBo 11.1

Attributed to Muwatalli II

383 Hattusili and Puduhepa to the Sun Goddess of Arinna

Treatments:

HGG, SBo 1:12ff; Unal THeth3 73, 124, 141f; Lebrun, Hymnes 309-328; HtCate, FsHGG 125, 186f., S.renhagen, AoF 8:88ff (iii 26-31); HGG, FsOtten2; ANET 393f.; Haas, KN 7 n. 9

KUB 21.19 + 1303/u + 338/v 1193/u (+) KUB 14.7

Hattusili III

384 Puduhepa to the Sun Goddess of Arinna

Treatments:

ANET 393-94; Unal THeth 3:73, 81, 87, 123f; Lebrun, Hymnes 329-347; S.renhagen, AoF 8, 1981, 108-168

A. KUB 21.27 + 546/u + 676/v + 695/v

B. IBoT 4.225 (Bo379) = A iv 24'-27'?

Hattusili III

385 Prayer to the Sun Goddess of Arinna

Treatments:

1. Lebrun, Hymnes 348
2. Lebrun, Hymnes 349-51
3. Lebrun, Hymnes 352-54
6. Lebrun, Hymnes 355
9. Lebrun, Hymnes 357-61
10. ed. Archi, FsOtten2, 5-31.
11. Lebrun, Hymnes 361-2; StBoT15:19

1. KUB 14.27

2. KUB 24.6

3. KUB 31.137

4. KUB 34.55

5. IBoT 3.82

6. IBoT 3.113

7. IBoT 3.127

8. IBoT 3.128 or KUB 36.84

9. KBo 12.58 + KBo 13.162

10. A. KUB 57.63

B. KUB 57.60

11. KUB 57.116

12. KUB 57.35

386 Fragments of Prayer to Stormgod of Nerik

Treatments:

1. Otten JCS 4:135; D. Kennedy, Erasmus 12:499f.; Haas KN 175f; Lebrun, Hymnes 363-5, 369f.

1. KUB 36.90 (NH)

2. KUB 31.136

3. KUB 36.87

4. KUB 36.88

387 Prayer of Mursili III

Treatments:

Stef. JAOS 84:22ff; Unal THeth3:56-60, 83ff; Houwink ten Cate, FsGuterb.1:123ff; Lebrun, Hymnes 382-387; Sykes, 73 n. 1; Archi, Prop of Ht III 201; HtCate, U-T pp. 127f.; Unal, THeth3:57f., 83f.; Jewell, Diss. 330ff.

KUB 21.33

Attributed to Mursili III

388

389.1 Fragments

KUB 31.125, KUB 31.138, KUB 31.140, KUB 36.76, KUB 36.85, KUB 36.86, KUB 36.96, KUB 53.53, KBo 9.101, KBo 9.103, KBo 12.128, KBo 14.75, KUB 43.68(?), IBoT 4.10, Bo 5360 ?, 4/r, 19/q, KUB 36.96 (Lebrun, Hymnes 396f.), HT 99 (Lebrun Hymnes 397f.)

389.2 Fragments of Prayers to the Storm God

Treatments:

Lebrun Hymnes 392-396A.

A. KUB 36.91 (+) KUB 43.68

B. Bo 2477, 871/z : unpubl duplicates Otten, ZA 64

Appendix Three: Catalog of Prayers⁴¹⁶

No. 1. Invocation of the Sun-goddess of the Netherworld against Slander (CTH 371)

§1' (obv. 1'-2') [...] libates to the Sun-goddess of the Netherworld and to the gods and
[says] these [words]:

§2' (obv. 3'-5') Mercy, [...] O Sun-goddess [of the Netherworld]! The king herewith
invokes you personally and[...] he appeals on his behalf(?). He treated you as a god. [...] he caught. He kneels down to the earth.

§3' (obv. 6'-10') If his [father] defamed [him], do not listen to him. If [his] mother
defamed [him], do not listen to her. If [his brother] defamed him, do not listen to him. If
his sister defamed him, do not listen to her. If his in-law or his companion defamed him,
do not listen to him.

§4' (obv. 11'-16') Incline your good eyes, lift your thousand eyelashes, and look kindly
upon the king! Incline your ears and listen to the good word! [...] forth to your servant,
free him [from evil] and establish him in a good place! May there [be] growth in the land!
May it thrive and prosper, and for the gods may the offering bread and the wine libations
multiply!

§5' (obv. 17'-21') Mercy, O Protective-god of the Sun-goddess of the Netherworld! May
this be yours and you keep eating and drinking! Mention the king favorably before the
Sun-goddess of the Netherworld and pronounce the king's name favorably before the

⁴¹⁶ The prayer catalog follows the system of ordering as introduced by Singer (2002). All extralinear observations made throughout this catalog are to be found in the corresponding *CTH* number - likewise Singer (2002).

Sun-goddess of the Netherworld. [If] his father, his mother, his brother, his sister, his in-law or his companion defames [him], do not let him do so.

§6' (obv. 22'-23') Mercy, O Vizier of the Sun-goddess of the Netherworld! May this be yours and you keep eating and drinking! And he repeats in the same way.

§7' (obv. 24'-26') Mercy, O servants of the Sun-goddess of the Netherworld who regularly put her to sleep and invigorate her. May this be yours and you keep eating and drinking! And he repeats in the same way.

§8' (lower edge 27'-31') Mercy, O Darawa! May this be yours and you keep eating and drinking! Mention [the king favorably] before the Sun-goddess of the Netherworld.

Pronounce the king's name [favorably before] the Sun-goddess of the Netherworld. [If] his father, his mother, his brother, his sister, [his in-law or his companion] defamed [him], do not let him do so.

§9' (rev. 32'-36') Mercy, O Paraya! May this be yours and you keep [eating and drinking]! [Mention] the king favorably before the Sun-goddess of the Netherworld. Pronounce the king's name favorably before the Sun-goddess of the Netherworld. [If] his father, his mother, his brother, his sister, his in-law or his companion defamed [him], do not let him do so.

§10' (rev. 37') Mercy, O Chiefs of the eunuchs! May [this] be yours! Ditto.

§11' (rev. 38') Mercy, O Chief of the barbers! May this be [yours]! Ditto.

§12' (rev. 39') Mercy, O Hilassi! May this be yours! Ditto.

§13' (rev. 40'-43') When you (pl.) come, bring up well-being! May it thrive and prosper! May the words of the gods be performed in the future! As he performed for the Sun-

goddess of the Netherworld, he will also perform for you (pl.). [Per]form(?) for [the Sun-goddess(?)] in the future, and for the days [...]

§14' (rev. 44'-47') Free him from evil and[...]! When you come, let them [...] before them! Before the Sun-goddess of the Netherworld [...]. [Pronounce] the king's name favourably].

§15' (rev. 48'-50') [May] slander [never sit right with you(?)]! He [...] not [...]. Whose evil [...]

§16' (rev. 51'-52') The word [...] *The rest is broken.*

**No. 2. Invocation of the Sun-god
and the Storm-god against Slander (CTH 389.2)**

§1 (A obv. 6') [...] O gods, absolve my/their sins!

§2 (obv. 7'-10') [...] he holds. [...] his brother [...]. [I] have no [father], I have no mother. You, O gods, are [my] father, [you are] my [mother]. You are (like) His Majesty (lit. My Sun) and I, I (am like) your subjects.

§3 (obv. 11'-15') You alone, O gods, have put the kingship in my hand. Mine is the entire land and its population and I govern it. He who is not respectful of the gods, or is not respectful [of the kingship(?)], I will smash him, and [...] him. [Whoever use] their evil mouth against me [before] the gods and whoever carry evil in their lips.

§4 (obv. 16'-19') they scare [...] under the neck [...] they [...] and they keep cursing [...]. [...] listen [to me, have] mercy[. ..]. [...] to the king[...]

§5' (rev. 4'-9') O Sun-god and Storm-god! [Incline(?)] good eyes and regard the king and queen with favorable [eyes] and keep them alive! Whoever should henceforth carry to the lips of the gods an evil against the king, bring the evil word of the gods crashing down on

his own head and his entourage(?). As the snake does not [miss(?)] its hole, may the evil word return to <his> own mouth.?

§6' (rev. 10'-12') As the rear wheel does not catch up with the front wheel, [let] the evil word likewise [not catch up with the king and the queen]. [...] Behold, the word of the gods is an iron peg. [...]. new moon [...] Let the great gods [...] be witnesses. [...] seals [it] with [the seal of] the Storm-god and the seal [of the Sun-god(?)]. Complete. (B ; the rest of A is uninscribed.)

**No. 3. Invocation of the Sun-goddess of Arinna
for the Protection of the Royal Couple
(CTH 385.10)**

§1 (ii-8) [These are the words of (?)] the priest of the Sun-goddess [of Arinna]: [In the dark(?)], on a day which is fair and there is no cloud [...], on that day I order my servant: "I am going to the sacred *salimani* and as soon I have washed myself, give me my festive garment right away! Furthermore, it should be ordered:

§2 (i 9-10) 'Nobody should bow down, and nobody should say anything!

§3 (iii-16) When it gets light at daybreak, my servant goes down and brings up pure water with a jug. He puts it before the altar and he places three sacrificial thin breads behind the altar.

§4 (i 17-21) I step before the altar and libate three times from the jug before the altar. The deity washes its hands thoroughly, and I wash off my hands.

Hymn to the Sun-goddess of Arinna

§5' (ii 1-3) [...] she provided the growth of [...], grain, vines, [...]

§6' (ii 4-11) She gave them a battle-ready, valiant spear saying: "May the hostile foreign lands perish by the hand of the *labarna*, and let them take goods, silver and gold to Hattusa and Arinna, the cities of the gods!"

§7' (ii 12-15) May the land of Hatti graze abundantly(?) in the hand of the *labarna* and the *tawannanna*, and may it expand!

§8' (ii 16-26) Mercy, O Sun-god of Heaven, whose mind(?) is brilliant(?), whose sunbeams are luminous. Protect in the future the *labarna*, your priest, and your *tawannanna*, your priestess, together with his sons and his grandsons! Rejuvenate them and make them eternal!

§9' (ii 27-36) Whoever are the *labarna's* first-rank people-his favored great ones, his infantry, his chariotry and their property-keep them, the aforementioned alive in the hand of the *labarna* and the *tawannanna*, *O most vigorous Sun-goddess!*

§10' (ii 37-41) Rejuvenate them and make them eternal! May the property of the *laarna*, the king, become more and more abundant!

§11" (iii 5'-19') May the land of the *labarna* and his *tawannanna* succeed, and may it thrive and prosper! [...] May the *labarna*, the king, and the *tawannanna*, the queen, [...] the Sun [...] let them make the [...] its border! And it will come about that in Arinna your sacrificial bread [will be plenty(?)], and the totality of the libation wine [will be] sweet to you.

Concluding Ritual

§12" (iii 20'-25') When the king [...], the priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna recites these words on the roof of the temple of the Sun-goddess as follows:

§13" (iii 26'-33) At daybreak the priest goes up in the temple of the Sun-goddess of Arinna and facing the Sun he recites as follows: "[...1 up [...] O Sun-god of Heaven [...]" *End of rev. iii; rev. iv (containing the recitation of the priest) is almost entirely broken, except for the colophon (restored after §13")*.

Colophon

(11'-15') [When the king. .., the priest of] the Sun-goddess of Arinna [recites] these [words on the roof of] the temple of the Sun-goddess, facing [the Sun]. Complete.

Early Empire Prayers: 14th Century BCE

No. 4a

Prayer of Kantuzzili (CTH 373)

Pleading before the Angry God

§1 (obv. 1'-5) [Whichever] deity became angry, that deity has turned aside his eyes elsewhere and does not permit Kantuzzili to act. Whether that deity is in heaven or whether he is in earth, you, O Istanu, shall go to him. Go, speak to that deity of mine [and tell him(?)]. Transmit the following words of Kantuzzili:

§2' (obv. 6'-10') My god, ever since my mother gave birth to me, you, my god, have raised me. Only you, my god, are [my name] and my reputation. You, [my god,] have joined me up with good people. To an influential (lit, strong) place you, my god, directed my doings. My god, you have called [me], Kantuzzili, the servant of your body and your soul. My god's mercy, which I have known since childhood, I know and [acknowledge] it.

§3' (obv. 11'-14') And the more I grew up, the more I attested my god's mercy and wisdom in everything. Never did I swear by my god, and never did I then break the oath. What is holy to my god and is not right for me to eat, I have never eaten and I did not thereby defile my body.

§4' (obv. 15'-19') Never did I separate an ox from the pen, and never did I separate (lit, ditto) a sheep from the fold. I found myself bread, but I never ate it by myself; I found myself water, but I never drank it by myself. Were I now to recover, would I not recover on account of you, O god? Were I to regain my strength, would I not regain my strength at your word, O god?

§5' (obv. 20'-23') Life is bound up with death and death is bound up with life. A human does not live forever. The days of his life are counted. Even if a human lived for ever, and evil sickness of man were to be present, would it not be a grievance for him?

§6' (obv. 24'-28') [Now] may my god open his innermost soul to me with all his heart, and may he tell me my sins, so that I may acknowledge them. Either let my god speak to me in a dream, and may my god open his heart and tell [me] my sins so that I may acknowledge them. Or let a seeress tell it to me, [or] let a diviner of the Sun-god tell it to me from a liver. May my god open [his innermost soul] to me with all his heart, and may he tell me my sins so that I may acknowledge them.

§7' (obv. 29'-rev. 5) You, my god, return to me [reverence] and strength! [O Sun-god], you are [the shepherd of all] and your message is [sweet] to everyone. [My god who] was angry [at me] and rejected me, [may the same one consider] me again and keep [me] alive! My god who gave me sickness, may he [have] pity on me [again]. I have toiled and

labored in the face of [sickness (?)], but I cannot any longer. Just as you have scraped [off...], you have turned [...].

§8 (rev. 6-9) May [the god's anger(?)] again subside and may [...]. . . to his heart again. Establish again [... O Sun-god], most vigorous [son] of Sin and Ningal, [your beard is of lapis lazuli.] [I], Kantuzzili, your servant, [...] herewith call you [...] and say [to you]:

§9' (rev. 10-13) O Sun-god, my lord! I, Kantuzzili, herewith ask my god and may my [god] listen [to me]. What have I, Kantuzzili, ever done to my god and [in what have I sinned] against my god? You made me, you created me. But now, [what] have I, Kantuzzili, done to you? The merchant [man] holds the scales before the Sun and falsifies the scales. [But I,] what have I done [to] my god?

§10' (rev. 14-17) Because of the sickness my house has become a house of anguish, and because of the anguish my soul drips away from me to another place. I have become like one who is sick throughout the year. And now the sickness and the anguish have become too much for me, and I keep telling it to you, my god.

§11' (rev. 18-21) At night no sweet dream overtakes me on my bed and no favor is manifest to me. But now, my [god], harness together your strength and that of the Protective-deity. I never even inquired through a seersess whether you, my god, ordained an illness for me from the womb (lit, inside) of my mother.

§12' (rev. 22-26) Now I cry for mercy in the presence of my god. Hear me, my god! Do not make me one who is unwelcome at the king's gate. Do not denigrate my reputation in the presence of other humans. Those to whom I did good, none of them saves [me. You], my god, [are father and mother] to me. [Only you are my father] and my mother [...].

No. 4b: Prayer of a King (CTH 374)

Hymn to the Sun-god

§1' (A obv. 1'-3') [O Sun-god, mighty king,] son of Ningal! [You are] establishing the law [and custom]. Throughout the land you, O Sun-god, are a favoured god.

§2' (A obv. 4'-5') [A strong lordship] is given to you, O Sun-god. Father and mother of all [the dark lands] are you.

§3' (A obv. 6'-8') [Your father Enlil has put] the four corners of the land into your hand. You are the lord of judgment and in [the place of] judgment there is no [tiring of you].

§4' (B i 1'-2') Also among the primeval [gods] you, O Sun-god, are mighty.

§5' (B i 3'-5') [You,] O Sun-god, [set the offerings for the gods], and you set the shares of the [primeval gods].

§6' (A obv. 11'-12') The door [of heaven] they open only for you, O Sun-god, and only you, beloved Sun-god, pass through the gates of heaven.

§7' (A obv. 13'-15') The gods of heaven and earth are bowing down only to you.

Whatever you say, O Sun-god, the gods are prostrating themselves only to you. [You], O Sun-god, [are father and mother] of the lonely and the bereaved person.

§8' (A obv. 16'-20') You, O Sun-god, restore the claims of the lonely and oppressed person. When the Sun-god rises from the sky at daybreak, the radiance of the Sun-god falls upon [all] the upper lands and lower lands.

§9' (A obv. 21') You, [O Sun-god], judge the case of the dog and the pig.

§10' (A obv. 22'-24') You also judge the case of the animals who do not speak with their mouth. You, O Sun-god, also judge the case of the bad and evil person.

§11' (A obv. 25'-26') A person at whom the gods are angry and whom they reject, you, O Sun-god, have pity on him again.

§12' (A obv. 27'-29') And me, [your servant(?)], you sustain, [and I keep offering] bread and [beer] to the Sun-god. [O Sun-god, hold] me, your just [servant], the king, [by the hand]!

§13' (A obv. 30'-B ii 3') [A human has heaped up grain for the Four (draft animals) whom you,] O Sun-god, have harnessed. [So let your Four eat!] And while your Four eat the grain, hail to you (lit, live!), O Sun-god! A human, your servant, herewith speaks a word to you and listens to your word. O Sun-god, mighty king! You stride through the four eternal corners. The Fears run on your right the Terrors run on your left.

§14' (B ii 4'-6) Bunene, your vizier, is walking on your right and Misharu, your vizier, is walking on your left.

Pleading before the Angry God

§15' (A rev. 2'-8') I, the king, herewith prostrate myself to you and speak to you:

Whichever deity gave me this sickness, whether that deity is in heaven or whether he is in earth, you, O Sun-god, shall go to him. Go and tell that deity: My god, what have I ever done to you and how have I sinned? My god, you created me, you made me, a human (lit, a son of mortality). But I, what have I done to my god?

§16' (rev. 9'-11') The merchant man holds the scales under the Sun and falsifies the scales. But I, what have I done to my god? I am anxious and my soul is flowing to another place.

§17' (rev. 12'-14') I have become like one who is sick throughout the year. The sickness has become too much for me, and I keep telling it to you, O Sun-god.

§18' (rev. 15'-17') At night no sweet [dream] overtakes me any longer on my bed and [no] favor is manifest to my fate.

§19' (rev. 18'-20') [...] The Protective-god and the Strength-god (*Annari*) do not [...] any longer as before. [I] never even [inquired] through a seeress [whether] you, my god, did not ordain well-being [for me] from the womb (lit, inside) of my mother.

§20' (rev. 21'-22') [Now] I cry for mercy [in the presence of my god]. Hear me, my god! I have become a [...] man and in the place of judgment[. ...].

§21' (rev. 23'-24') I made [a plea(?)]. [...] it back to me [...]. You, my god, are father [and mother to me]. *Broken.*

§22" (B iii 1'-4') *Too fragmentary for restoration.*

§23" (B iii 5-8) I have no mother [and father]. You, my god, are like [a father and a mother] for me. Now I go days and nights sleepless from anguish.

§24" (B iii 9'-13') Save me and release me, who am like a man bound in sins. Hold me in a favorable place and haul me up from the sea.

§25" (B iii 14'-18') Like a crippled(?) man I have abandoned running and on the dark earth I no longer move about as before.

§26" (A rev. 5"-6") Wherever I flow like water, I do not know my location. Like a boat, I do not know when will I arrive at land.

§27" (A rev. 7"-9") I cry out [my illness]. My God hold my hand and take care of my flourishing before [the gods]. For me [...] I keep speaking up(?).

§28" (A rev. 10"-13") [... began] to reduce the land of Arzawa [...]. against [...] *Broken.*

§29"(B iv 1'-5') [...]his eyes [...]with the eyes [...] he saves [...] a man[...]

§30"" (B iv 6'-9') [...] nothing [...] seven times the sin? [...] §31" (B iv 10'-12') [...] may he succeed [...]

§32"" (B iv 13'-16') [...]when [...] to them [...] End of column.

**4c: Prayer of a Mortal
(CTH 372)**

Hymn to the Sun-god

§1 (i 1-13) O Sun-god, my lord, just lord of judgment, king of heaven and earth! You are ruling the lands (var. adds: and setting the boundaries) and you are giving victory (var.: you are giving life in [the land(?)]). You are just and merciful. You act upon (var.: are listening to) invocations. You are merciful, O Sun-god, and you take pity. The just man is dear to you and you are exalting him. O Sun-god, most vigorous son of Ningal, your beard is of lapis lazuli. A human, your servant, herewith prostrates himself to you and says to you:

§2 (i 14-21) O Sun-god, in the circumference of heaven and earth you are the light. O Sun-god, mighty king, son of Ningal! You are establishing the custom and law of the lands. O Sun-god, mighty king! Among the gods you are favored. A strong lordship is given to you. A just lord of government are you. Father and mother of the dark lands are you.

§3 (i 22-31) O Sun-god, great king! Your father Enlil has put the four corners of the land into your hand. The lord of judgment are you and in the place of judgment there is no tiring of you. Also among the primeval gods, you, O Sun-god, are mighty. You set the offerings for the gods, and you set the shares of the primeval gods. The door of heaven

they open only for you, O Sun-god, and only you, beloved Sun-god pass through the gates of heaven.

§4 (i 32-38) The gods of heaven are bowing down only to you, and the gods of earth are bowing down only to you. Whatever you say, O Sun-god, the gods are prostrating themselves only to you. You, O Sun-god, are father and mother of the oppressed and lonely (var. adds: bereaved) person. You, O Sun-god, restore the claims of the lonely and oppressed person.

§5 (i 39-51) When the Sun rises from the sky at daybreak, your <radiance>, O Sun-god, falls upon all the upper lands and lower lands. The case of the dog and the pig you judge. Also the case of the animals who do not speak with their mouth, that, too, you judge. Also the case of the bad and evil person you judge. A person at whom the gods are angry and whom they reject, you consider him again and you take pity on him. O Sun-god, sustain also this human, your servant, that he may proceed to offer bread and beer to the Sun-god. O Sun-god, hold him, your just servant, by the hand.

§6 (i 52-61) A human has heaped up grain for the Four (draft animals) whom you, O Sun-god, have harnessed. So let your Four eat! And while your Four eat the grain, hail to you (lit, live!), O Sun-god! A human, your servant, herewith speaks a word to you and listens to your word. O Sun-god, mighty king! You stride through the four eternal corners. The Fears run on your right, the Terrors run on your left.

§7 (i 62-68) The Harnessing-god (*Turesgala*) [...] from the sky [...] they gave. In heaven they made [...] this deity for the Sun-god. Bunene, your vizier, is walking on your right and Misharu, your vizier, is walking on your left. And you, O Sun-god, pass through the sky.

§8 (ii 1-15) You [allot] the upper (spheres) to the celestial gods, you allot the lower (spheres) in the dark earth to the primeval gods. The nether [world(?) ...] the primeval gods of(?) the earth [...]. To you [the human is] hereby [prostrating himself(?)...]. Sun-god [...] the gods [...]. That deity has turned aside his eyes elsewhere and does not permit the human to act. Whether that deity is in heaven or whether he is in earth, you, O Sun-god, shall go to him. Go, speak to that deity and [tell(?)] him. Transmit the following words of the human:

Pleading Before the Angry God

§9 (ii 16-28) My god, ever since my mother gave birth to me, you [my god,] have raised me. Only you, my god have looked after me among people with regard to my name and [my] reputation. You, my god, have joined me up with good people. Through hardship and roughness (?) you, my god, directed my doings. My god, [you have] called me, a human, the servant of [your] body and your soul. My god's mercy which I have known since childhood, don't I know and don't I acknowledge it? And the more [I grew up], the more I [attested] my_ god's wisdom [and mercy] in everything.

§10 (ii 29-39) Never [did I swear] by [my god, and never did I then break the] oath. [What is holy to my] god and is not right [for me to eat I have never eaten and I did not thereby defile my] body. [Never did I] separate an ox [from the pen, and never did I] separate [a sheep from the fold. I found myself] bread, [but I never ate it by myself; I found myself water, but I never drank it by myself.]

§11 (ii 40-50) Were I now [to recover, would I] not [recover on account of you, O god? Were I to regain my strength, would I not regain my strength] at your [word,] O god? Life is bound up [with death] and death [is bound up with life.] The life of men [is not eternal (?)]. A small place [...]. The days of his life [are counted.] Even if a human [lived for ever, and evil sickness of man] were to be present, would [it not be a grievance for him]?

§12 (ii 51-59) Now may my [god open his heart and his soul] to me [with all his heart and tell] me my sins, so that I may know them. May] my god [speak to me in] a dream. [May my god open his heart and tell] me my sins [so that I may know them. Or let] a seeress [tell it to me, or let a diviner of the Sun-god tell it to me] from a liver. [May my god open his heart to me and his soul with] all [his heart and tell] me my sins [so that I may know] them.

§13 (ii 60-69) You, my god, return to me reverence [and] strength! O Sun-god, you are the shepherd of all and your message is sweet to everyone. My god who was angry [at me and] rejected [me], may the same one consider me again and keep me alive! My god who [gave] me [sickness, may he have] pity on me again.

The following three §§ are almost entirely lost. They are restored after no. 4a,

§14 [I have toiled and labored in the face of sickness(?), but] I cannot [any longer. Just as you have] scraped [*off*.. . you have turned.. . May the god's anger(?) again subside and may. . . to his heart again.] Establish [again...O Sun-god, most vigorous son] of Sin and Ningal, your beard is of lapis lazuli. Where is [... I, a human, your servant,... am hereby calling to you...and I am saying to you]:

§15 [O Sun-god, my lord! I, a human, hereby ask my god and may my god listen to me].
What Have I, a human, ever done to my god and in what have I sinned against my god?
You made me, you created me. But now, what have I, a human, done to you? The
merchant man holds the scales] under the Sun and falsifies the scales. [But I,] what [have
I done to my god]?

§16 (iii 1'-4') Because of the sickness [my house has become a house of anguish]. I cannot
[...]. [Because of the anguish] my soul drips away from me to] another [place.] At
daytime [...]. I have become like the one whom sickness and anguish troubles throughout
the year, and I keep telling it to you, my god.

§17 (iii 5'-26') At night no sweet dream overtakes me on my bed. My name does not
manifest itself with favor, and the word of the Protective deity does not beget strength for
me. I never even inquired through a seeress whether you, my god, ordained an illness for
me from the womb (lit, inside) of my mother. Now I cry for mercy in the presence of my
god. Hear me, my god! You have made me a man who is unwelcome at the king's gate. In
the presence of people you have denigrated my reputation. Whoever I am dear to does not
acquire a good reputation (lit, take a good name). You, [my] god, are for me the father
and the mother [whom] I do not have, my god. Only you, my god, are like [a father and a
mother] for me. [From anguish I go sleepless] days [and nights. Save me and release me.
[...]]me, my god [...]]....

§18 (iii 27'-36') My god [...]. Wherever I flow [like water], I do not know [my location.
Like a boat, I do not know when Twill arrive at land], away from the river. (*erased*
passage) [I cry out my] sickness and anguish. [...] (*erased passage*) My god, [hold my
hand. ..] (*erased passage*) May my god consider me favorably.

§19 (iii 37'-iv 1) I will praise you, my god, and to you [...] my year...

They started hitting me. [...] Your, my god's, wrath [...]. If you, my god, are [...] displeased with me, I, who am a man again [...]. Now, my god, the evil and the sickness [...], and set me in a favorable place.

§20 (iv 2-7) In sickness the pus(?) of [...] ... [...]. Be a support! [...] bring! ... [...]. [...] them away for you [...] bring [...].... [...]
in sickness, in. ... , fight... .

§21 (iv 8-10) O god, do not let bad days and bad nights get close to me, a bewildered man.

§22 (iv 11-18) Remove my offenses and regard me, a human, with [favorable eyes! [...] for me! [...] death(?) for me. [...] Sun-god [...] the sin which [...] He called it for me twice, thrice. The sin [...] remove!

§23 (iv 19-23) [...] may he succeed. [...] down by [...] this for me [...] May these words of [supplication] soothe you in your heart, my god, as with cool water.

§24 (iv 24-28) Just as I was born from the womb (lit, inside) of my mother, O my god, put that same soul back into me! May the souls of my father, mother and family (var. offspring) become your soul, O god, for me!

From the colophon only" [...] completed" and "forth" [...] is left

No. 5. Prayer of Arnuwanda and Asmunikal to the Sun-goddess of Arinna about the Ravages of the Kaska (CTH 375)

§1 (2. i 1-4) [Thus says] His majesty, Arnuwanda, Great King, and [Asmunikal, Great Queen]: [To] you, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, [and to you O gods, this prayer (?)], which Arnuwanda [...]

§2' (1.A ii-5') Only Hatti is a true, pure land for you gods, and only in the land of Hatti do we repeatedly give you pure, great, fine sacrifices. Only in the land of Hatti do we establish respect for you gods.

§3' (1.A i 6'-8') Only you gods know by your divine spirit that no one had ever taken care of your temples as we have.

§4' (1.A i 9'-13') No [one] had ever shown more reverence to your [rites(?)]; no one had ever taken care of your divine goods-silver and gold rhyta, and garments-as we have.

§5' (1.A i 14'-18') Furthermore, your divine images of silver and gold, when anything hard grown old on some god's body, or when any objects of the gods had grown old, no one had ever renewed them as we have.

§6' (1.A i 19'-23') Furthermore, no one had established such respect in the matter of the purity of the rituals (var.: recitations) for you; no one had set up for you like this the daily, the monthly and the annual seasonal rituals and festivals.

§7' (1 A i 24'-27') Furthermore, they used to oppress your servants and towns, O gods, by means of corvée duties; they would take your divine servants and maids and turn them into their own servants and maids.

§8" (1.B i 9-11) [For you, O gods,] I, Arnuanda, Great King, [and Asmunikal, Great Queen], [have shown] reverence in every respect.

§9" (1.B i 12-13) Only you [gods] know [by your divine spirit] about the offering bread and libations which they used to give [to you].

§10" (1.B i 14-17) [We,] Arnuanda, Great King, and Asmunikal, Great Queen, shall regularly present fat and fine [oxen] and sheep, fine offering bread and libations. *Few lines missing.*

The Ravages of the Kaska

§11" (1.A ii 4'-7') We shall surely continue to tell you gods how the enemies [attacked(?)] the land of Hatti, plundered the land, and took it away, [...] and we shall continually bring our case before you.

§12" (ii 8'-13') The lands that were supplying you, O gods of heaven, with offering bread, libations, and tribute, from some of them the priests, the priestesses, the holy priests, the anointed, the musicians, and the singers had gone, from others they carried off the tribute and the ritual objects of the gods.

§13" (ii 14'-17') From others they carried off the Sun-discs and the lunulae of silver, gold, bronze and copper, the fine garments, robes and tunics of gown-fabric, the offering bread and the libations of the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

§ 14" (ii 18'-19') From others they drove away the sacrificial animals fattened bulls, fattened cows, fattened sheep and fattened goats.

§15" (ii 20'-25') From the land of Nerik, from the land of Hursama, from the land of Kastama, from the land of Serisa, from the land of Himuwa, from the land of Taggasta, from the land of Kammama, from the land of Zalpuwa, from the land of Kapiuha, from the land of Hurna, from the land of Dankusna, from the land of Tapasawa, (var. adds: from the land of Kazza[pa]), from the land of Tarugga, from the land of Ilaluha, from the land of Zihhana, from the land of Sipidduwa, from the land of Washaya, from the land of Pataliya,

§ 16" (ii 26'-27') the temples which you, O gods, had in these lands, the Kaska-men have destroyed and they have smashed your images, O gods.

§ 17" (iii 1-3) They plundered silver and gold, rhyta and cups of silver, gold and copper, your objects of bronze, and your garments, and they divided them up among themselves.

§ 18" (iii 4-7) They divided up the priests, the holy priests, the priestesses, the anointed ones, the musicians, the singers, the cooks, the bakers, the plowmen, and the gardeners, and they made them their servants.

§ 19" (iii 8-11) They divided up your cattle and your sheep; they shared out your fallow lands, the source of the offering bread, and the vineyards, the source of the libations, and the Kaska-men took them for themselves.

§ 20" (iii 12-16) No one in those lands invokes your names anymore, O gods. No one presents to you the daily, the monthly, and the annual seasonal rituals. No one celebrates your festivals and ceremonies.

§ 21" (iii 17-20) Here, to Hatti, no one brings tribute and ritual objects anymore. The priests, the holy priests, the priestesses, the musicians and the singers no longer come from anywhere.

§ 22" (iii 21-27) No one brings sun discs and lunulae of silver, gold, bronze and copper, fine garments, robes and tunics of gown-fabric. No one [presents] offering bread and libations to you. [No one] drives up sacrificial animals-fattened bulls, fattened cows, fattened sheep and fattened goats.

Large gap partly bridged by C iii.

§ 23" (1.C iii 3'-4') [...] the pure priests [...]. Furthermore, [...]

§ 24" (1.C iii 5'-6') [...] the priestesses we celebrate [...] we [...]

§25 (1.C iii 7'-10') [We shall keep] calling out to you the names of innocent lands –
Kastama, Taggasta, Serissa, Tastaressa Takkupsa, Kammama, Zalpuwa, Nerik.

§26 (1.C iii 11'-14') And even now, we, Arnuwanda, Great King [and] Asmunikal, Great
Queen, have cared for you, O gods, and we kept invoking you, [O gods].

§26" (1.C iii 15'-17') The Kaska-men [...] to you, O gods, [...]

§27" (1.A iv 1-4) They came here to Hatti [...] they conquered Tuhasuna [...], they
conquered Tahatariya, [...] they came near/under the gate and [...] Hum[...].

§28" (iv 5-10) And since we are respectful to the gods, we concern ourselves with the
festivals of the gods. Since the Kaska-men have captured Nerik, we send offerings from
Hatti to Hakmis for the Storm-god of Nerik and for the gods of Nerik: offering bread,
libations, cattle and sheep.

§29" (iv 11-14) We summon the Kaska-men and give them gifts; we make them swear:
"The offerings which we send to the Storm-god of Nerik, you keep watch over them and
let no one attack them on their way!"

§30" (iv 15-19) They come, take the gifts and swear, but when they return they break the
oaths and they despise your words, O gods, and they smash the seal of the oath of the
Storm-god.

§31" (iv 20-25) They seize [...] in the land of [...], and they [...] the offerings of the
Storm-god [of Nerik] - offering bread, libations, [cattle and sheep. The Kaska-] men [...]
it to the Storm-god [of Nerik.. .

§32" (iv 26-29) In the land of Hatti [...]

Colophon

(*I.D iv 3'-5'*) Second tablet. When they speak concurrently [the plea(?)] before the gods, pertaining to the Sun-goddess of Arinna. Complete.

**No. 6. Hurrian Prayer of Taduhepa to Tessub
for the Well-being of Tasmi-sarri (CTH 77.8)**

This Hurrian prayer was found in Boğazköy. 173; Our present knowledge of the Hurrian language does not permit a full translation, yet certain phrases clearly allow for the identification of this text as a prayer addressed to the Hurrian Storm-god Tessub: "May the gods know. .." (ii 8); "I will provide(?) you again, may the gods be favorable(?) towards me" (iii 55f.). The author is probably the mid-fourteenth-century Queen Taduhepa (Wilhelm 1991: 40ff.), the spouse of Tasmi-sarri/Tudhaliya II, Suppiluliuma I's father (Haas 1985: 272ff.; Dinçol et al. 1993: 101), who supplicates the god(s) in the first person: "Listen to me, to Taduhepa... !" (iii 63).⁴¹⁷ Although the exact occasion of the prayer is not known, one may perhaps compare it with Puduhepa's prayer for the well-being of Hattusili written about a century later (no. 22).

The text opens with an invocation of Tessub, who bears the epithets "the great (divine) king of the gods." One of the passages, which includes the words "weapon," "amour," and *marianni*- charioteers, may contain a request for the military success of king Tasmi-sarri who is mentioned several times in the text. Another plea may be related to the mention together of a "deaf," a "blind," and a "dumb" person (i 19f.), but the context is not clear. Even more intriguing is the phrase "He did/does not sit on the throne" (iii 39), which may or may not be related to the "son" (i.e. "crown-prince" ?) mentioned several times in the text (Wilhelm 1991: 44). Hopefully, progress in our understanding of Hurrian will reveal where Hurrian prayers belong within the corpus of Anatolian prayers.

**No. 7. Prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna
Concerning Plague and Enemies
(CTH 376.C)**

(rev. 18-22) When [people are dying] in the land. His Majesty [entrusted(?)/ dictated(?)] to me the word/matter(?) [...]. I went [and invoked] the gods [in Hattusa(?)], in Arinna, in Zi[ppalanda and in.

and I spoke] these words.

(rev. 23-24) [By the hand of (?)] *Zu-u-w[al*

⁴¹⁷ Singer 2002: 44.

**No. 8. Mursili's Hymn and Prayer
to the Sun-goddess of Arinna
(CTH 376)**

Invocation

§1 (E i 1-10; A i 1'-5') [O Sun-goddess of Arinna! A mighty and honored goddess are] you! Mursili, [the king, your servant,] sent me [(?)] saying: "Go and say to my [lady, the Sun-goddess] of Arinna: "I shall invoke the Sun-goddess of [Arinna], my personal [goddess] (lit, of my head). [Whether] you, [O honored] Sun-goddess of Arinna, are above in heaven [among the gods], or in the sea, or gone to the mountains [...] to roam, or if you have gone to an enemy land [for battle], now let the sweet odor, the cedar and the oil summon you. Return to your temple! [I am herewith invoking you] by means of offering bread [and libation]. [So] be pacified and listen [to what I have to say to you]!

Hymn

§2 (A i 6'-20') [You, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, are an honored] goddess. [To you, my goddess,] there are revered temples in Hatti, but in no other land are there [any] such for you. [Only in Hatti they] provide for [pure and holy] festivals and rituals for you, [but in no other land] do they provide any such [for you. Lofty temples adorned] with silver and gold [you have only in Hatti, and in no other land] is there anything for you. [Cups and rhyta of silver,] gold, and precious stones you have only in Hatti. Only in Hatti they celebrate festivals for you-the festival of the month], festivals throughout the course of the year, [autumn, winter] and spring, and the festivals of the sacrificial rituals. In no other land do they perform anything for you.

§3 (A i 21'-28') Your divinity, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, is honored only in Hatti. Only in Hatti is Mursili, the king, your servant, respectful to you. They perform fully substitute rites, rituals, and festivals for you, O Sun-goddess of Arinna. Everything they present to you is pure. Furthermore, the silver and gold in your temples is treated with reverence, and no one approaches it.

§4 (A i 29'- ii 2') You, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, are an honored goddess. Your name is honored among names, and your divinity is honored among gods. Furthermore, among the gods you are the most honored and the greatest. There is no other god more honored or greater than you. You are the lord (*sic*) of just judgment. You control the kingship of heaven and earth. You set the borders of the lands. You listen to prayers. You, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, are a merciful goddess and you have pity. The divinely guided person is dear to you, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, and you, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, exalt him. Within the circumference of heaven and earth you, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, are the source of light. Throughout the lands you are a favored deity, and you are father and mother to all the lands. You are the divinely guided lord (*sic*) of judgment, and in the place of judgment there is no tiring of you. Also among the primeval gods you are favored. You, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, allot the sacrifices to the gods, and the share of the primeval gods you allot as well. They open up the door of heaven for you, and you cross the gate of heaven, O favored [Sun-goddess of Arinna]. The gods of heaven [and earth bow down to you], O Sun-goddess of Arinna, [the gods] fall down before you, O sun-goddess of Arinna.

Few lines missing to the end of col. i. The beginning of col. ii is completed by 544/u (Güterbock 1980). The line numeration of Lebrun 1980 is indicated in brackets.

§5 (A iii-9 [1-2']) The person at whom the gods are angry and whom they reject, you, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, have pity on him! And now, sustain Mursili, the king, [your servant], and [take] Mursili, the king, your servant, by the hand! And to [the words] which Mursili, the king, keeps telling you, hold [your ear] and listen to them!

Pleading

§6 (A ii 10-17 [3'-10']) *O gods, What is this that you have done? You have allowed a plague into Hatti, and the whole of Hatti is dying. No one prepares for you the offering bread and the libation anymore. The plowmen who used to work the fallow fields of the gods have died, so they do not work or reap the fields of the gods. The grinding women who used to make the offering bread for the gods have died, so they do not [make] the god's offering bread any longer.*

§7 (A ii 18-44 [11'-37']) The cowherds and shepherds of the corrals and sheepfolds from which they used to select sacrificial cattle and sheep are dead, so that the corrals and sheepfolds are neglected. So it has come to pass that the offering bread, the libations, and the offering of animals have stopped. And you, O gods, proceed to hold the sin against us in that matter. To mankind, our wisdom has been lost, and whatever we do right comes to nothing. O gods, whatever sin you perceive, either let a man of god come [and declare it],

or let the old women, [the diviners, or the augurs establish it], or let ordinary persons see it in a dream. We shall stroke(?) by means of the thorns(?) pins(?) of a *sarpa*. O gods, [again] have pity on the land of Hatti. On the one hand it is oppressed with the plague, [and on the other] it is oppressed by hostility. The protectorates which are round about, Mittanni and [Arzawa], are all in conflict, and they do not respect [the gods]. They have transgressed the oath of the gods, and they wish to despoil the temples of the gods? May this become an additional (reason) for the gods' vengeance. Turn the plague, the hostility, the famine, and the *severe fever* towards Mittanni and Arzawa. Rested are the belligerent lands, but Hatti is a weary land. Unhitch the weary one, and hitch up the rested one.

§8 (A ii 45-55 [38'-48']) Moreover, those lands which belong to Hatti, the Kaska land - they were swineherds and weavers - Arwana, Kalasma, Lukka, and Pitassa, have declared themselves free from the Sun-goddess of Arinna. They discontinue (the payment of) their tributes and began to attack Hatti. In the past, Hatti, with the help of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, used to maul the surrounding lands like a lion. Moreover, Aleppo and Babylon which they destroyed, they took their goods-silver, gold, and gods-of all the lands, and they deposited it before the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

§9 (A ii 56-60 [49'-53']) But now, all the surrounding lands have begun to attack Hatti. Let this become a further reason for vengeance for the Sun-goddess of Arinna. Goddess, do not degrade your own name.

§10 (A ii 61-67 [54'-60']) Whoever is a cause of rage and anger to the gods, and whoever is not respectful to the gods, let not the good ones perish with the evil ones. Whether it is a single town, a single house, or a single person, O gods, destroy only that one! [Look upon] Hatti [with pity, and give the evil plague to other lands.]

Some ten lines to the end of col. ii are missing. They may be completed from the parallel prayer to Telipinu (no. 9, §§10-13).

§ 11' (A iii 1-44) [Some] wish [to burn down your temples]; others wish to take away your rhyta, [cups], and objects of [silver and gold]; others wish to lay waste your fields, your gardens, and your groves; others wish to capture your plowmen, gardeners, and grinding-women. To those enemy lands give severe fever, plague, and famine, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady! And you yourself, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, let yourself be invoked! [... let] the oppressed become fit [again]. To Mursili, the king, and to the land of Hatti turn [with favour]! Grant to Mursili [and to the land of Hatti] life, health, [vigor, brightness of] spirit forever, and longevity!

Five destroyed lines

Grant forever growth of grains [vines, fruit trees (?), cattle, sheep, horses [...]].

Six destroyed lines

[Give them a man's valiant,] battle-ready, divine weapon! Put beneath their feet the enemy lands and [may they destroy them].

O Sun-goddess of Arinna, have pity on Hatti [...].[...] winds [...]. May the winds of prosperity come [and may the land of Hatti grow and] prosper. And to you, O gods, your offering bread and your libations will be presented. And the congregation cries out: “[So be it]”!

**No. 9. Mursili's Hymn and Prayer to Telipinu
(CTH 377)**

This plea closely resembles the previous one. Mursili is accompanied here by the queen and the royal princes, which may indicate later composition (Carruba 1983: 12). The text is preserved in two copies.

Invocation

§1 (i 1-2) [This] tablet the scribe shall read out daily to the god and shall praise the god saying:

§2 (i 3-7) O Telipinu, a mighty and honored god are you! Mursili the king, your servant, sent me and your maid-servant the queen, they sent me, saying: "Go, invoke Telipinu, our lord, our personal god (lit, of our head) saying:"

§3 (i 8-10) Whether you, O honored Telipinu, are above in heaven among the gods, or in the sea, or gone to the mountains to roam, or if you have gone to an enemy land for battle,

§4 (i 11-17) now let the sweet odor, the cedar and the oil summon you. Return to your temple! I am herewith invoking you by means of offering bread and libation. So be pacified and let your ear be turned to what I say to you, O god, and listen to it!

Hymn

§5 (I 18-24) You, Telepinu, are an honored god. To you, my god, there are revered only in Hatti, but in no other land are there such temples for you. Only in Hatti they provide for pure and holy festivals and rituals for you, but in no other land do they provide any such for you.

§6 (i 25-ii 2) Lofty temples adorned with silver and gold you have only in Hatti, and in no other land are there any such for you. [Cups] and rhyta of silver, gold, and precious stones you have only in Hatti.

§7 (ii 3-8) Only in Hatti they celebrate(!) festivals for you-the festival of the month, festivals throughout the course of the year, winter, spring and fall, and the festivals of the sacrificial rituals. In no other land do they perform anything for you.

§8 (ii 9-19) Your divinity, Telipinu, is honored [only in Hatti]. It is in the land of Hatti that Mursili, the king, your servant, the queen, your maid-servant, and the princes, your servants, are respectful to you. They perform fully your substitute rites, rituals, and festivals for you, O Telipinu. Everything they present to you is holy and pure.

Furthermore, your rhyta, your cups and your objects in your temples are treated with reverence. [They are] counted over and no one approaches the objects.

§9 (ii 20-22) [You,] Telipinu, are an honored god. [Your] name is honored among names, [and your divinity] is honored among gods.

The rest of col. ii is broken off. It was probably similar, though shorter, than the parallel passage in the prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna (no. 8, §4-5).

Pleading

§10 (iii 2'-8') [... Turn] with benevolence toward [...]. O Telipinu, mighty god, keep alive the king, the queen and the princes, and give them life forever, health, longevity and vigor! [Give] them in their soul [gentleness(?)], radiance and joy!

§11 (iii 9'-15') Give them sons and daughters, grandchildren and great-grandchildren! Give them contentment(?) and obedience(?). Give them the growth of grain, vines, cattle,

sheep and mankind. Give them a man's valiant, battle-ready, divine weapon! Put beneath their feet the enemy lands, and [may they destroy them].

§12 (iii 6-17) But from Hatti [drive out] the evil fever, plague, famine, and locusts.

lands, vineyards, gardens and groves; others wish to capture your plowmen, vinedressers, gardeners and grinding-women. To those enemy lands give severe fever, plague, famine and locusts.

§13 (iii 18-iv 8) The enemy lands which are quarrelling and at odds, some of which are not respectful to you, O Telipinu, or to the gods of Hatti; others wish to burn down your temples; others wish to take away your rhyta, cups, and objects of silver and gold; others wish to lay waste your fallow lands vineyards gardens, gardens and groves; others wish to capture your plowmen, vinedressers, gardeners and grinding women. To those enemy lands give severe fever, plague, famine and locusts.

§ 14 (iv 9-18) Grant to the king, the queen, the princes and the land of Hatti life, health, vigor, longevity, and brightness of spirit forever! Grant forever growth of grain, vines, fruit-trees(?), cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, mules, asses (var.: horses), together with the beasts of the field, and mankind. May they grow! The rains [...]. May the winds of prosperity come, and in the land of Hatti may everything grow and prosper! And the congregation cries out: "So be it!"

Colophon

(iv 19-21) One tablet. Complete. When the scribe presents daily a plea on behalf of the king before Telipinu.

**No. 10. Mursili's "Third" Plague
Prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna (CTH 378.111)**

§1 (obv. 1-6) O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady! O gods, my lords! What is this [you have done]? You have allowed a plague into Hatti, so that Hatti has been badly oppressed [by the plague. People kept dying] at the time of my father, at the time of my brother, and now since I have become priest of the gods, they keep on dying [in my time]. For twenty years now people have been dying [in great numbers in Hatti. Hatti [has been very badly damaged] by the plague.

§2 (obv. 7-13) Hatti has been very much oppressed by the plague. [If someone produces a child, [the...] of the plague [snatches (?)] it from him. Should her reach adulthood, he will not attain old age. [And even if old age(?) will be left for someone, he [will be oppressed(?) by] the plague. He will not [return] to his previous condition. When he reaches old age, [he will. ..], but he will not keep warm.

The rest of the obverse and a large portion of the reverse are lost.

§3' (rev. 2'-14') I, Mursili, [your priest, your servant,] hereby plead my case. Hear] me O gods, my lords! [Send away] the worry from my heart, [take away the anguish from my soul!] Let the plague [be removed] from Hatti, and send it to the enemy lands. In Hatti [...]. But if the gods, my lords, [do not remove] the plague [from Hatti], the makers of offering bread and the libation pourers will keep on dying. And if they too die, [the offering bread] and the libation will be cut off from the gods, my lords. Then you, O gods, [my lords], will proceed to hold the sin against me, saying: "Why [don't you give

us] offering bread and libation?" May the gods, my lords, again have pity on Hatti, and send the plague away. [May the plague subside] in Hatti. May it thrive and grow and [return to] its previous condition.

**No. 11. Mursili's "Second" Plague
Prayer to the Storm-god of Hatti (CTH 378.11)**

This is the longest and the best-known plague prayer of Mursili, in which he reports the discovery of two ancient tablets, one dealing with the neglect of sacrifices due to the deified Mala (Euphrates) River (§3), the other with Suppiluliuma's breach of his treaty with the Egyptians and the dire consequences thereof (§§4-5; Güterbock 1960). The text has been preserved in three late copies, of which A seems to be the oldest, preserving the original one-column format of its prototype.

§1 (C i 1-18) O Storm-god of Hatti, my lord! [O gods], my lords!

Muršili, your servant, has sent me saying: "Go speak to the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, and to the gods, my lords": What is this that you have done? You have allowed a plague into Hatti, so that Hatti has been very badly oppressed by the plague. People kept dying in the time of my father and of my brother, and since I have become priest of the gods, they keep on dying in my time. For twenty years now people have been dying in Hatti. Will the plague never be removed from Hatti? I cannot control the worry of my heart, I can no longer control the anguish of my soul.

§2 (C i 19-28; A obv. 1'-5') When I celebrated the festivals, I busied myself for all the gods. I did not pick out any single temple. I have repeatedly pled to all the gods

concerning the plague, and I have repeatedly made vows [to them] saying: "Listen [to me O gods], my [lords, and send away] the plague from Hatti. Hatti can [no longer bear this plague. Let the matter on account of which] it has been decimated [either be established through an oracle], or [let me see] it [in a dream, or let a man of god] declare [it]." But the gods [did not listen] to me, [and] the plague has not subsided in Hatti. [Hatti has been severely oppressed by the plague].

§3 (A obv. 6'-12') [The few] makers of offering bread [and libation pourers] of the gods who still remained died off. [The matter of the plague] continued to trouble [me, and I inquired about it] to the god [through an oracle]. [I found] two old tablets: one tablet dealt with [the ritual of the Mala River]. Earlier kings performed the ritual of the Mala River, but because [people have been dying] in Hatti since the days of my father, we never performed [the ritual] of the Mala River.

§4 (obv. 13'-24') The second tablet dealt with the town of Kurustamma: how the Storm-god of Hatti carried the men of Kurustamma to Egyptian territory and how the Storm-god of Hatti made a treaty between them and the men of Hatti, so that they were put under oath by the Storm-god of Hatti. Since the men of Hatti and the men of Egypt were bound by the oath of the Storm-god of Hatti, and the men of Hatti proceeded to get the upper hand, the men of Hatti thereby suddenly transgressed the oath of the gods. My father sent infantry and chariotry, and they attacked the borderland of Egypt, the land of Amga. And again he sent, and again they attacked. When the men of Egypt became afraid, they came and asked my father outright for his son for kingship. But when my father gave them his son, as they led him off, they murdered him. My father was appalled and he went to

Egyptian territory, attacked the Egyptians, and destroyed the Egyptian infantry and chariotry.

§5 (obv. 25'-34') At that time too the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, by his verdict caused my father to prevail, and he defeated the infantry and the chariotry of Egypt and beat them. But when the prisoners of war who had been captured were led back to Hatti, a plague broke out among the aforementioned tablet dealing with Egypt, I inquired about it to the god through an oracle saying: "Has this matter been brought about by the Storm-god of Hatti because the men of Egypt and the men of Hatti had been put under oath by the Storm-god of Hatti?"

§6 (A obv. 35'-46'-C iii 3'-7') "And because the damnassara-deities were in the temple of the Storm-god, my lord, whereupon the men of Hatti themselves suddenly transgressed the word (of the oath), did this become the cause for the anger of the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord?" And it was confirmed by the oracle. Because of the plague I also asked the oracle about the ritual of the [Mala] River. And then too it was confirmed that I should appear before the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord. I have [just] confessed [the sin before the Storm-god of Hatti]. It is so. We have done [it. But the sin did not] take place in my time. [It took place] in the time of my father [...]. [... that] I know for certain [...]. [...] the matter. [But since] the Storm-god [of Hatti, my lord], is angry about [that matter, and] since people are dying in Hatti, [...] I will keep making [a plea] about it [to] the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord. I kneel down to you and cry for mercy. Hear me, O Storm-god of Hatti, my lord! May the plague be removed from Hatti.

§7 (C iii 8'-19'-B iii 16'-24') I will keep removing the causes of the plague which have been established through oracle, and I will keep making restitution for them. With regard

to the problem of the oath of the gods which was established as a cause for the plague, I have offered the ritual of the oath for the Storm-god of Hatti, [my lord]. I have also offered [to the gods, my lords]. [I have offered. ..] to you, Storm-god of Hatti [...], a ritual for you, [O gods. ..]. As for the [ritual] of the Mala River, which was established for me as a cause for the plague, since I am herewith on my way [to] the Mala River, forgive me, O Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, and O gods, my lords, for (neglecting) the ritual of the Mala River. I am going to perform the ritual of the Mala River, and I will carry it out. And as for the reason for which I and performing it, namely, because of the plague, have pity on me, O gods, my lords, and may the plague subside in Hatti.

§8 (A rev. 10'-19') O Storm-god of Hatti, my lord! O gods, my lords! So it happens that people always sin. My father sinned as well and he transgressed the word of the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord. But I did not lords. It is so. We have done it. But because I have confessed the sin of my father, may the soul of the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, and of the gods, my lords, be appeased again. May you again have pity on me, and send the plague away from Hatti. Let those few makers of offering bread and libation pourers who still remain not die on me.

§9 (rev. 20'-36') I am now continuing to make my plea to the Storm-god, my lord, concerning the plague. Hear me, O Storm-god, my lord, and save my life! [I say] to you [as follows]: The bird takes refuge in the cage, and the cage preserves its life." Or if something bothers some servant and he makes a plea to his lord, his lord listens to him, [has pity] on him, and he sets right what was bothering him. Or if some servant has committed a sin, but he confesses the sin before his lord, his lord may do with him whatever he wishes; but since he has confessed his sin before his lord, his lord's soul is

appeased, and the lord will not call that servant to account. I have confessed the sin of my father. It is so. I have done it. If there is some restitution (to be made), then there has already [been paid (?)] much for this plague [caused by (?)] the prisoners of war who were brought back from Egyptian territory and by the civilian captives who were brought back. [And] since Hatti has made restitution through the plague, it [has made restitution] for it twenty-fold. Indeed, it has already become that much. And yet the soul of the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, and of all the gods, my lords, is not at all appeased. Or if you want to require from me some additional restitution, specify it to me in a dream, and I shall give it to you.

§10 (rev. 37'-40') I am now continuing to plead to the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord. Save my life! [And if] perhaps people have been dying for this reason, then during the time that I set it right, let there be no more deaths among those makers of offering bread and libation pourers to the gods who are still left.

§11 (A rev. 41'-44'-C iv 14'-22') [Or] if people have been dying because of some other reason, then let me either see it in a dream, or let it be established through an oracle, or let a man of god declare it, or, according to what I instructed all the priests, they shall regularly sleep holy. O Storm-god of Hatti, save my life! Let the gods, my lords, show me their divine power! Let someone see it in a dream. Let the reason for which people have been dying be discovered. We shall stroke (?) by means of the pins(?) of a *sarpa*) O Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, save my life, and may the plague be removed from Hatti.

**No. 12. Mursili's "First" Plague Prayer
to the Assembly of Gods and Goddesses
(CTH 378.1)**

§1 (obv. 1-7) [All] you male [gods], all female gods [of heaven(?)], all male gods [of the oath], all female gods of the oath, [all] male primeval [gods], all female (primeval) gods, you gods who have been summoned to assembly for bearing witness to the oath on this [matter], mountains, rivers, springs, and underground watercourses. I, Mursili, [great king(?)], your priest, your servant, herewith plead with you. [Listen] to me O gods, my lords, in the matter in which I am making a plea to you!

§2 (obv. 8-15) O gods, [my] lords! A plague broke out in Hatti, and Hatti has been severely damaged by the plague. And since for twenty years now in Hatti people have been dying, the affair of Tudhaliya the Younger, son of Tudhaliya, started to weigh on [me]. I inquired about it to the god through an oracle, and the affair of Tudhaliya was confirmed by the deity. Since Tudhaliya the Younger was their lord in Hatti, the princes, the noblemen, the commanders of the thousands, the officers, of Hatti and all the [infantry] and chariots of Hatti swore an oath to him. My father also swore an oath to him.

§3 (obv. 16-22) [But when my father] wronged Tudhaliya, all [the princes, the noblemen], the commanders of the thousands, and the officers of Hatti [went over] to my father. The deities by whom the oath was sworn [seized] Tudhaliya and they killed [Tudhaliya]. Furthermore, they killed those of his brothers [who stood by] him. [...] they sent to Alasiya (Cyprus) and [...]. And [since Tudhaliya the Younger] was their [lord], they [...] to him [...]. [...] and the lords transgressed the oath [...].

§4 (obv. 23-40) [But, you, O gods], my [lords], protected my father. [...]. And because Hatti [was attacked(?)] by the [enemy, and the enemy] had taken [borderlands] of Hatti, [my father kept attacking the enemy lands] and kept defeating them. He took back the borderlands of Hatti, which [the enemy had taken] and [resettled] them. Furthermore, [he conquered] still other foreign lands [during his] kingship. He sustained Hatti and [secured] its borders on each side. During his reign the entire land of Hatti did well. [Men(?)]; cattle and sheep became numerous in his days, and the civilian prisoners who [were brought] from the land of the enemy survived as well. Nothing perished. But now you, O gods, [my lords], have eventually taken vengeance on my father for this affair of Tudhaliya the Younger. My father [died(?)] because of the blood of Tudhaliya, and the princes, the noblemen, the commanders of the thousands, and the officers who went over [to my father], they also died because of [that] affair. This same affair also came upon the land of Hatti, and the population of the land of [Hatti] began to perish because of [this] affair. Until now Hatti [...], but now the plague [has become] even [worse]. Hatti has been [severely] damaged by the plague, and it has been decimated. I, Mursili, [your servant], cannot [overcome] the worry [of my heart], I can no longer [overcome] the anguish of my soul.

§5 (obv. 41-47) *Very fragmentary passage in which Mursili apparently continues to plead with the oath-deities concerning their vengeance of Tudhaliya's blood. About five more lines, which open a new paragraph, are missing from the end of the obverse. The first seven lines of the reverse, which may belong to the same paragraph, are also very fragmentary.*

§6 (rev. 8'-12') [Now,] I have confessed [it to you, O gods(?). Because] my father [killed (?)] Tudhaliya [and ...], my father therefore [performed] a ritual for the expiation of the blood. [But the land of] Hatti did not [perform] anything for itself. I performed the [ritual of the blood], but the land did not perform anything. They did nothing on behalf [of] the land.

§7 (rev. 13'-20') Now, because Hatti has been severely oppressed by the plague, and the population of Hatti continues to die, the affair of Tudhaliya has troubled the land. It has been confirmed for me by [the god], and I have further investigated [it] by oracle. They are performing before you, [O gods], my lords, the ritual of the oath which was confirmed for you, [O gods], my lords, and for your temples, with regard to the plague of the land and they are clearing [it (i.e. the oath obligation) before] you. And I am making restitution to you, O gods, my lords, with reparation and a propitiatory gift on behalf of the land.

§8 (rev. 21'-40') Because you, O gods, my lords, [have] taken vengeance for the blood of Tudhaliya, those who killed Tudhaliya [have made] restitution for the blood. But this bloodshed is finished in Hatti again: Hatti too has already made restitution for it. Since it has now come upon me as well, I will also make restitution for it from my household, with restitution and a propitiatory gift. So may the soul of the gods, my lords, again be appeased. May the gods, my lords, again be well disposed toward me, and let me elicit your pity. May you listen to me, to what I plead before you. I have [not] done any evil. Of those who sinned and did the evil, no one of that day is still here. They have already died off. But because the affair of my father has come upon me, I am giving you, O gods, my lords, a propitiatory gift on account of the plague of the land, and I am making

restitution. I am making restitution to you with a propitiatory gift and reparation. May you gods, my lords, again [have] mercy on me, and let me elicit your pity. Because Hatti has been oppressed by the plague, it has been reduced in size. [And those makers of offering bread and libation pourers who used to prepare] the offering bread and the libation for the gods, my lords, [since Hatti] has been severely oppressed by [the plague], [they have died] from the plague. [The plague] does not subside at all, and they continue to die, [even those] few [makers of offering bread] and libation pourers [who still remain will die, and nobody will prepare] for you offering bread and libation any longer.

§9 (rev. 41'-51') May [you gods, my lords], have mercy on [me again] because of the offering bread and the libation which [they prepare for you], and let me elicit your pity. Send the plague [away from Hatti]. Let those few makers of offering bread [and pourers of libation] who [still remain] with you not be harmed, and let them not go on dying. Let them prepare [the offering bread] and the libation for you. O gods, my lords turn the plague [away, and send,] whatever is evil to the enemy lands. Whatever happened in Hatti because of Tudhaliya, send it away O gods, my lords. Send it to enemy lands. May you again have mercy on Hatti, and let [the plague] subside. Furthermore, [because] I, your priest, your servant, elicit your pity, may you have mercy on me. Send away the worry from my heart, take away the anguish from my soul!

Colophon

(rev. 52'-53') [One tablet], complete. When Mursili made a plea [because of the plague ...].

**No. 13. Muršili's "Fourth" Plague Prayer
to the Assembly of Gods
(CTH 378.IV)**

§1 (i 1-16) O gods, my lords: Noble Storm-god, the two lords of Landa, Iyarri, gods of Hatti, gods of Arinna, gods of Zippalanda, gods of Tuwanuwa, gods of Hupisna, gods of Durmitta, gods of Ankuwa, gods of Samuha, gods of Sarissa, gods of Hurma, gods of Hanhana, gods of Karahna, gods of Illaya, Kamrusepa of Taniwanda, gods of Zarruwisa, Storm-god of Lihzina, Protective-god of the Army Camp of His Majesty's father which is in Marassantiya, Uliliyassi of Parmanna, gods of Kattila, Storm-god of Hasuna, gods of Muwani, gods of Zazzisa, the Telipinu-gods [whose] temples in the land have been destroyed, gods of Salpa, Storm-god of Ar[ziya (?)].

§2 (I 17-20) O gods, my lords! I Muršili, [your servant], your priest herewith bow down to you. Lend me your ear and hear me in the matter in which I have bowed down to you.

§3 (i 21-35) O gods, my lords! Since ages past you have been inclined towards [men] and have [not] abandoned mankind. And mankind [became] populous and your divine servants [were] numerous. They always set up for the gods, [my] lords, offering bread and libation. O gods, my lords, you have turned your back on mankind. All of a sudden, in the time of my grandfather Hatti was oppressed, [and it] became [devastated] by the enemy. Mankind was [reduced in number] by plague, and your [servants] were reduced in number. And among you, [gods], my lords, [one had no] temple, and [the temple] of another [fell into ruin]. Whoever [served] before a god perished, and [your] rites [were neglected]. [No] one performed [them] for you.

§4 (i 36-46) [But] when my [father] became king, [you], O gods, my lords, stood behind him. He resettled the [depopulated] lands. [And for you], O gods, my lords, in whatever

temple there were no [objects], or whatever image of god had been destroyed, my father restored what he could, though what he could not, he did not restore. O gods, my lords, you never before oppressed my father, and you never before oppressed me. But now you have oppressed me.

§5 (i 47-55) When my father went to Egyptian territory, since that day of Egypt, death has persisted in [Hatti], and from that time Hatti has been dying. My father repeatedly inquired through the oracles, but he did not find you, O gods, my lords, through the oracles. I have also repeatedly inquired of you through oracle, but I have not found you, O gods, my lords, through oracle.

§6 *In this section the scribe (of manuscript A) left an empty space of about six lines, indicating through the single word "destroyed" that the corresponding passage in the manuscript from which he was copying was damaged.*

§7 (ii 1-3) *Only a few words are preserved from this paragraph (in both copies). It probably dealt with the rites (hazziwita) that Mursili intended to restore.*

§8 (B ii 3'-16') *The first three lines are very fragmentary.* For whatever [god] there is [a temple], but he has no [objects], I will restore [them for him]. And for whatever god [there is no temple], I will build a temple for him. And whichever [gods] have been destroyed, I will restore for them its [...] as before.

§9 (A iv 1-5) Or should I have restored it for [the gods], my lords, from my land, or from my infantry and chariotry? If I should indeed reestablish the gods, since now the members of my household, land, infantry and chariotry keep dying, by what means should I reestablish you, O gods?

§10' As in §6, the scribe (of manuscript A) left an empty space of about ten lines, indicating that the corresponding passage in the manuscript from which he was copying was damaged.

§11' (iv 16-28) And it dies, by what means should I reestablish [you]? O gods, have mercy on me again because of this [reason]! Turn(!)i towards me! Send the plague away from the land! Let it subside in the towns where people are dying, and let the plague not return to the towns in which it has subsided! I have [said] to myself thus: "If the aforementioned word of the god is true, [and] my father [could not discover them] through an oracle, nor could I discover them [through an oracle], should the land of Hatti [inquire by oracle] and [will it discover] them through an oracle?" And I have pled my case. [...] *The remaining fifteen lines or so are lost.*

**No. 14. Muršili's "Fifth" Plague Prayer
to the Assembly of Gods (CTH 379)**

§1 (i! 1-4) [Sun-god of Heaven], Storm-god [of. . . , Sun-goddess of] Arinna, Mezzulla, [Hulla(?)/Zintuhi(?)], Storm-god of Hatti, [Storm-god of] Zippalanta;

§2 (i 5-6) [...], Seri, Hurri, [Storm-god *pihaimi(?)*], all the Storm-gods;

§3 (i 7-8) [...], Hebat of Kummanni, all [the Hebat], Halki;

§4 (i 9-10) All [the Sarrumas(?)], [...], all the Hebat-Sarrumas;

§5 (i 11-15) Protective-god (LAMMA), [Protective-god of] Hatti, all the Protective-gods, Ishtar, [Ishtar of the Field of] His Majesty, Ishtar of Samuha, [all the] Ishtars, Telipinu, all the Telipinus, War-god (ZABABA), all the War-gods;

§6 (i 16-22) Sun-goddess of the Netherworld, Lelwani, Pirwa, Marduk, Iyarri, Hasammeli, Fate-goddesses, Mother-goddesses, all the male gods of the assembly(!), all the female gods of the assembly(!), the place of assembly, the place in which the gods assemble for judgment.

The rest of the column, about thirty lines, is almost entirely lost. The verbal endings at the end of lines 6"-8" in col. i(!) probably belong to second person plural imperatives, which may be addressed to the "male gods (and) female gods" mentioned in l. 5."

§7' (ü! 6') [...] [... the tablet of/about] Egypt.

§8' (ii 7'-17') To this tablet I did not add any word, nor did I remove [any]. O gods, my lords, take notice! I do not know whether any of those who were kings before me added [any word] to it or removed any. I do not know anything, and I have not heard a word of it since.

§9' (ii 18'-24') I did not concern myself with those borders which were set for us by the Storm-god. Those borders that my father left me, those borders [I kept]. I did [not] desire from him [anything]. Neither [did I take anything] from his borderland.

§10' (ii 25') [...] this matter [...]. *Gap of about two lines between KBo 31.121 and KBo 31.121 a, followed by three fragmentary lines.*

§11' (KUB 31.121a ii 6"-9") [... infantry and] chariotry of Hatti [...]. [...] He (i.e. Suppiluliuma) sent out Lupakki and Tarhunta-zalma, and they attacked those lands.

Ö12 (ii 10"-15") The king of Egypt died in those [days]. I was still a child, so I did not know whether the king of Egypt lodged [a protest (?)] to my father about those lands, or whether he [did] nothing.

§13' (ii 16"-20") And since the wife of the king of Egypt was a widow, she wrote to my father.[...] to talk with women [...]. I, in those [...] I was not seen(?) [...]. *Some eight lines missing at the end of col. ii. All of the reverse is broken off. From the colophon on the edge of KUB 48.111 only "not complete" is preserved.*

Mursili's Prayers Concerning His Wife and His Stepmother

No. 15. Mursili's Prayer to Lelwani for the Recovery of Gassuliyawiya (CTH 380)

The beginning of the text is lost.

§1 (obv. 2'-9') [...] of the deity [...] now for you [...] one fattened cow and one [fattened] ewe [...] and [let] them [...] before the god [...] that anger [...] and the angers concerning the Great Daughter [. . .]. And you, O god, eat the fat of that [fattened cow and fattened ewe] and satisfy your hunger! [Drink] the blood [and quench your thirst]!

§2 (obv. 10'-20') If you, O god, my lord, are seeking some evil in my [wife(?)], I herewith send you [my/an] adorned substitute. Compared to me she is excellent: she is pure, she is radiant, she is pale, she is endowed with everything. Examine her, O god, my lord! Let this female go back and forth before the god, my lord, and may you turn again in favor toward the Great Daughter and save her from this sickness! Remove from her this sickness and let her recover! And then it will come to pass that in the future the Great Daughter will constantly praise you, O god, and she will constantly invoke only your name, O god.

§3 (obv. 21'-31') Since Gassuliyawiya, your maid, saw you, O Lelwani, in her dream in Samuha, didn't she, your maid, make any sacrifices in those days for you, O god? But

now your maid, Gassuliyawiya, has fallen ill, and sickness has oppressed her.

Furthermore, that matter burdened her and they inquired about it to the gods through an oracle, and it was established by the gods too. And now Gassulawiya, your maid, because of her sickness has sent to you, O god, her substitutes: [one fattened cow,] and one fattened ewe, dressed up in festive garments, [...] which have been determined for the person [of Gassuliyawiya].

The rest of the obverse and the first lines of the reverse are almost entirely lost.

§4' (rev. 7'-17') [...] You, O Lelwani, eat the fat of [the fat cow], of the ewe and the nanny-goat [and satisfy your hunger. Drink(!) that [blood] and quench your thirst! The fat [...] of the fattened cow, and that of the ewe and the nanny-goat, [...]]. Behold, Gassulawiya, your maid, [has] herewith [sent] to you this woman, O god. She has dressed [her] up in festive garments and sent you her [substitute]. If you, O god, have counted something against her, let this woman stand for you in her place. O god, my lord, remove the sickness from Gassulawiya!

§5 (rev. 18'-26) Furthermore, Gassulawiya, your maid, has sent you in good will a nanny-goat(!), together with the fattened cow, the fattened ewe, bread and wine-beer. Accept, O god, this offering in good spirit and turn again in favor to Gassulawiya, Save her from this sickness! Take it away from her and let her recover! Then it will come to pass that in the future Gassuliyawiya will constantly praise you, O god, and she will constantly invoke [only] your name, O god. *End of the tablet.*

**No. 16. Mursili's Prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna for
the Recovery of Gassuliyawiya
(CTH 376.F)**

§1 (i' 1'-5') [I am herewith invoking you by means of offering bread and libation. So be] pacified [...]. [Lend] me [your ear], O Sun-goddess of Arinna, and listen to what I say to you!

§2 (i' 6'-20') [You, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, are] an honored goddess. [To you,] my [goddess, there are temples] only in Hatti, but in no other land [is there anything for you]. They provide for holy and pure festivals and rituals for you [only in Hatti], but in no other land. Lofty [temples adorned] with silver [and gold you have only in Hatti, but in no other land. There are [cups] and rhyta of silver, gold, and precious stones [only in Hatti]. They celebrate festivals for you, of the new [year], of autumn, of spring, and of the sacrificial rituals only in Hatti, [but in] no other [land.

The rest is broken. From col. ii and from the rev, only a few beginnings of lines are left.

**No. 17. Mursili's Accusations against Tawannanna
(CTH 70)**

§1 (i' 1'-4') Beginning lost. [...] did [not] harm her in any way. [...] was exposed.

Subsequently my brother [...] her. But my father harmed her in no way.

§2 (i' 5'-17') [When my father] died (lit, became god), Arnuwanda, [my brother, and I] did not harm Tawannanna at all, nor did we curtail her power [in any way]. As [she had governed the palace] and the land of Hatti during the reign of my father, in that same way she governed them [during the reign of my brother.] And when my brother [died (lit, became god), I also did not harm] Tawannanna at all, nor did I [curtail] her [power] in

any way. As she governed the palace and the land of Hatti [during the reign of my father and during the reign of] my brother, [likewise] she governed them then. The privilege [and rights(?)] that she had [at the time] of her husband, and that which was forbidden to her [at the time of her husband, I did not change at all(?)]. And the privileges and rights(?) she carried on. As with her man [she had ruled Hatti, so in the same way as a widow] she ruled Hat]ti in the same way. [...]

The rest of col. i and the first lines of col. ii are badly damaged.

§3' (ii 3'-iii 3) [...] she ruined. Do you, O gods, not see how she has turned all my father's estate over to the *hekur*-house of the Protective god, the Stone-house of the gods? This she let come from Shanhara (Babylon), and that she handed over in Hatti to the entire population, and she left nothing. Do you gods not see? Even then I did not say anything to her and therefore I set it aright. She shut up mouths. Even that which was not yet done she gave away. She destroyed my father's estate. Furthermore, she even supported evil. Day and night she stands before the gods and [curses my] wife. And when I draw back the gods with offering bread and libation, and I constantly give them sacrificial bread [and libation], I make many vows to them for myself, [my wife, my son], my house, my land, and (my) brothers. [...]. Tawannanna, however, stands [day and night] before [the gods and curses] my wife [before the gods
.] she keeps libating. My wife's [...]. O gods, do you [...] an untrue [...]? [Will you hand my wife over] to an evil judgment?

The first lines of col. III are very fragmentary, but they seem to contain a continuation of Mursili's pleading with the gods to listen to the case of his wife.

§4' (iii 4-22) When she put up Annella, [the maidservant, . . .], Annella said [to my wife as following]: "Those which [...] the queen [sent (?)] Mezzulla to them [...] and [she started] to utter conjurations [...]." The thing which [she revealed] to my wife, [that] thing she concealed from the queen. Did my wife reveal [it] to someone [else], or did she reveal [it] to me? Or did she make it into a lawsuit and involve [the queen] in some trial? Rather, [my wife] became an informer for the queen and [behold], she banished Annella, the maidservant, from the palace. Further, if my wife had [become] an informer for the queen, had she thereby done any harm? Why did the queen turn that matter into a sin of my wife? She stands day and night before the gods and curses my wife before the gods. [She ...] her, and she wishes for her death saying: "Let her die!" O gods, my lords, why do you listen to this evil talk? Did my wife cause any harm to the queen? Did she curtail her power in any way? And yet, Tawannanna killed my wife.

§5' (iii 23-33) When I went to Kummanni-my father had promised a Festival of Invocation to Hebat of Kummanni, but he had not yet given it to her, so she troubled me-I went to Kizzuwatna saying as follows: "Let me fulfill the promise(?) of my father!" I constantly implored and invoked Hebat of Kummanni for myself, my wife, my son, my house, my land, and the brothers [...].

The rest of col. iii and the first 9 lines of col. iv are almost entirely lost.

§6' (iv 10-23) [...] to the king of Karkamish I said: "[You ask(?)] me for the silver of Ashtata. Well,] the queen has [it!] So quit asking!" [...] The queen should know. Or the matter of the silver the king of Karkamish? She went[...] and pulled out (from) the mouth of the sick man, [and he said]: "His Majesty said that the queen has the silver of Ashtata." [But she] kept saying to Ishara of Ashtata: "O Goddess, [it isn't] I who have that [silver].

The one who has your, the god's, silver, the one who continually fills [...], don't you, O goddess, seize him? [Don't] you seize his wife and his children? Instead, you seize me, the innocent one. Seize him, or seize his wife and his children! But don't seize me [...]."

And the queen continually cursed me, my wife, *and my* son before Ishara. She continually sacrificed against us. Because of this my wife died.

§7' (iv 24-37) [When] I marched to the land of Azzi, the Sun-god gave an omen. The queen [in Hatti(?)] kept saying: "This omen which the Sun-god gave, [what did it] predict? Did it not predict the king's death? And if [it predicted that, will the people(?)] of Hatti [seek someone] else for lordship? Will they [join(?)] lady Amminnaya and [the son(?)] of Amminnaya?" I, My Majesty, [...] in the land of Hayasa [...] he/she responded in a tablet [...] he/she commanded [...]. But when from Hayasa [I returned(?)]... he/she suddenly refused [...]. When they hear this thing [...] I asked: "This [thing(?)] which [...] he/she did not conceal [...] said, [...] said. *Broken.*

**No. 18. Mursili's Exculpation
for the Deposition of Tawannanna
(CTH 71)**

The beginning of the text is lost

§1 (ii 1'-iii4) [...] she killed [my wife...] she bereaved (?) me [...]...[...]. Was it a capital crime for me if she was not executed? I consulted the gods, my lords, and it was determined for me by oracle to execute her. To dethrone her was also determined for me by the oracle. But even then I did not execute her; I only deposed her from the office of priestess. Since it was determined for me by oracle to dethrone her, I dethroned her and I gave her an estate. Nothing is lacking that she desires. She has food and drink (lit, bread and water) and everything stands at her disposal. She lacks nothing. She is alive. She sees

the Sun-god of Heaven with her eyes and eats the bread of life. I imposed only this one punishment, I punished her with this one thing: I sent her down from the palace and I deposed her from the office of priestess for the gods. I imposed only this one punishment. O gods, set this case down before yourselves and investigate it! Has now her life gone bad? Because she is alive, she sees the Sun-god of Heaven with her eyes and eats the bread of life. And my punishment is the death of my wife. Has it gone any better? Because she killed her, throughout the days of my life [my soul(?)] goes down to the dark Netherworld [on her account(?)] and it ... -s for me. She has bereaved(?) me. Don't you, O gods [recognize] who was really punished?

§2' (iii 5-27) Now because I deposed [the queen] from priesthood, I will provide for the [offerings] of the gods, [my lords], and I will regularly worship the gods. Don't install [her back] to priesthood for the gods! Don't take her into account [at all]! Because she was not [... -ed] for *uwashuraya* while she was queen, [therefore she kept cursing my wife] until she killed her. When I had deposed her] from priesthood [for the gods], I demoted her. I sent [the queen] down [from] the palace, and now does she not continue to curse [your priest and your servant]? [...] somehow. [Since] you listened to her once before, [will you] now [...] the same, O gods, my lords? [Will you hear] the word of evil? I, Mursili, [the Great King, King of Hatti,] herewith come forward, [and in whatever matter] I bow down [to you. ..., lend me your ear] and hear me! *The rest of the column is very damaged.*

**No. 19. Muwatalli's Prayer to the Storm-god
Concerning the Cult of Kummanni
(CTH 382)**

Invocation of gods

§1 (obv. 1-13) We have invoked the Storm-god, lord of heaven and earth, king of the gods, and [we confess] offence and sin before him, [and we dispel the Storm-god's anger]. We have invoked Hebat, queen of heaven, and we dispel the Storm-god's anger. [We have invoked Sarruma(?)...], and we dispel the Storm-god's anger. We have invoked the gods of the lands, mountains, rivers, [sources and springs, and we dispel the Storm-god's anger]. We have invoked Huzzi and Hutanni, and [we dispel] the Storm-god's anger. [We have invoked the Sun-god of Heaven(?)], and we dispel the Storm-god's anger. We have invoked Heaven and Earth. The heaven [that was standing above. ..] then, that same heaven is still standing above now. The earth that [was lying] below then, [that same earth is still lying below now.] The Sun-god of Heaven who then stood in the sky above, that same [Sun-god of Heaven is still standing in the sky above] now. And he stands to witness the dispelling of the Storm-god's wrath. We have invoked [...], and we dispel the Storm-god's anger. [May] the gods [tell(?)] the gods [...]. May the soul of the god be conciliatory toward the population and the land and [may the Storm-god (?) ...] regard [us (?) now] with conciliatory eyes. I, My Majesty, Muwatalli, lord of the lands, [have] just invoked them, [and I make this plea]. May the Storm-god, my lord, listen to it. May the Storm-god, my lord, hear howl dispel the sins of the lands and make [that into] this plea.

§2 (obv. 14-15) If some god of the land has angered the Storm-god, may the Netherworld deities (*Anunnaki*) now reconcile the Storm-god to that deity. May the Storm-god regard the land with conciliatory eyes again, and may wealth, peace, well-being, growth, prosperity and maturation(?) [come about] in the land.

§3 (obv. 16-17) If mountains, rivers, wells or springs have angered the Storm-god in some way, may the Netherworld deities now reconcile the Storm-god with (those) mountains, rivers, wells [or springs]. May the Storm-god, my lord, regard the land with conciliatory eyes again, and may the same things (i.e. the above-mentioned list) come about in the land.

§4 (obv. 18-28) If some god of the land is offended and has pleaded with the Storm-god, [now I, My Majesty], Muwatalli, [lord of the lands,] make that into a plea, and may the Storm-god, my lord, listen to it(!). The land was great, but it has receded. [...]. But when I, My Majesty, solicit the gods to the Land of Kummanni [...], [what(?)] does not fulfill the requirements of the gods, [I will ask(?)] the people who are still there and who were there with my father and [my grandfather(?)]. And whatever I, My Majesty, discover now in the written records, I will carry out. [But whatever] requirements [of the gods] I do not manage to fulfill, that you know, O Storm-god, my lord. When I consult a venerable old man, [as] they remember [each(?)] requirement and report it, thus I shall carry it out. And now, while I resettle the land and you open up(?) to the population, in the fallow land wine and fertility will result. And while the land returns to its former state, the gods of the land will regain their position just as they were before. While I am resettling the land, and until it recovers(?), I shall indeed perform the protocol of the gods which I am rediscovering, and it shall be henceforth carried out. May the Storm-god, my lord, speak

to the gods and let the gods regard the land with conciliatory eyes and let them bring about wealth, maturation (?), peace, well-being and growth in the land.

§5 (obv. 29-31) If mountains, rivers, sources, springs and fountains of the land keep the Storm-god, my lord, angry, may the Netherworld deities now reconcile the Storm-god with the mountains, rivers, sources and springs. May the Storm-god, my lord, regard the land with conciliatory eyes again, and may wealth, peace and growth come about in the land.

§6 (obv. 32-39) If some mountain, or a sinapsi-sanctuary, some holy place, has been offended and has pleaded with the Storm-god, [I, My Majesty, Muwatalli, herewith] shall set it right again now. Those towns that are inhabited and have a sinapsi-sanctuary, they shall be surveyed and [shall be set right]. In accordance with the consecration (rites), they shall be reconsecrated precisely. And if something has been corrupted, as soon as it is known, it shall be reconsecrated precisely. If there are any sinapsi-sanctuaries in any of the deserted towns, [as they used to celebrate(?)] them, so precisely shall they begin to celebrate them. If some single town, or some single house does wrong, take vengeance for it, O god, on that single town, or on that single house, and [destroy] it. But do not take vengeance for it on the land. May the Storm-god, my lord, [regard] the land with conciliatory eyes [again].

§7 (obv. 40-44) If someone has overturned the throne of the Storm-god, or a stela (*huwasi*), or if he has blocked a sacred spring, [...]. I will set it right again. But what I do not find or discover in a written record, [or] what a venerable old man does not report to me, clarify this matter to me, O god, in a dream. [I, My Majesty, Muwatalli(?), herewith] shall set it right fully and shall carry out the order of the god. May the Storm-god, my

lord, [regard the land with conciliatory eyes again], and may [wealth], peace, well-being, maturation(?) and growth come about in the land.

§8 (obv. 45-48) [...] in evil curse, blood, tears, [...]. Behold now, in this [...]

The rest of the paragraph is almost entirely broken away. Almost half of the reverse is missing.

§9' (rev. 1'-2') *Only traces left.*

§10' (rev. 3'-8') If some people give orphans [...], and he has pleaded with Sarruma, and Sarruma [has pleaded] with the Storm-god [...], they shall set it right again. And that which is lost, [...] there also they shall set it right. Even if it is [the house] of a poor man, take vengeance for it, O Storm-god, my lord, on that house [...]. But do not [take vengeance] for it on the land.

§11' (rev. 9'-11) If <they...-ed> from an evil bird by (?) augur, or if someone [defiled(?)] the bread of a dead person, behold, they have now treated that bird and they have released it. And those [...]. They have now purified the bread of that dead person.

§12' (rev. 12'-23') If he has given away these good things of the Land of Kummanni, and if the god(?) [has demanded(?)] them, and if he appealed to the deity of Arusna, now behold, in that matter the king's father [is responsible]. Take vengeance [on him]! And they perform the *arawanna-ritual* of the deity of Arusna, and [...] them. Since we are only human, the words which we know, [which came] forth from our mouths, [...], and those which we do not know, which did not come forth from our mouths, [if] they [are the cause of anger(?)], may the Netherworld deities look for them in the dark earth. [May they find them(?) ...] that day, and may they be dispelled. May the Storm-god, my lord, [regard] the land of Kummanni with conciliatory eyes. Just as the Storm-god fills the

mother's breast for our benefit, [so let ...]. And just as we are satisfied with cold water, in this same way [let] the Storm-god, my lord, [give us(?)] water(?) [...]. May it be saturation for mankind, but for the Storm-god, my lord, [let it be] a matter of praise. Sacrificial bread will become plentiful in the land, and wine offering [...]. [may] the Storm-god, my lord [favour(?)] the good people.

**No. 20. Muwatalli's Model Prayer to the Assembly of Gods
through the Storm-god of Lightning
(CTH 381)**

Preamble and Preparations for the Ritual Offerings

§1 (i 1-9) Thus says *tabarna* Muwatalli, Great King, king of Hatti, son of Mursili, Great King, king of Hatti, the hero: If some problem burdens a man('s conscience), he makes a plea to the gods. He places on the roof, facing the Sun, two covered wickerwork tables: He places one table for the Sun-goddess of Arinna, and for the male gods one table. On them there are: 35 thick breads of a handful of moist flour, a thin bowl of honey mixed with fine oil, a full pot of fat-bread, a full bowl of groats, thirty pitchers of wine. And when he prepares these, the king goes up to the roof and he bows before the Sun-god of Heaven.

Invocation of the Gods of Hatti

§2 (I 10-19) He says as follows: Sun-god of Heaven and Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, Queen of Hatti, Storm-god, king of Heaven, lord of Hatti, my lord, Storm-god of Ziplanda, my lord, beloved son of the Storm-god, lord of the Land of Hatti, Seri and Hurri (B: Seri, the bull who is champion in Hattusa, the land), all the male gods and the

female gods, all the mountains and the rivers of the Land of Hatti, my lords. Divine lords-Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, and all the gods of the Land of Hatti, my lords-whose priest I am, who have conferred upon me, from among all others, the rulership over Hatti.

Agenda of the Pleas to Follow

§3 (i 20-24) Now, gods, listen to me, to the word and plea of me, your priest, your servant. First, I shall make a plea with regard to yourselves, my divine lords, about your temples, about your statues; how the gods of Hatti are treated and also how they are mistreated.

§4 (i 25-32) Thereafter, I shall make the these my pleas! And the words which I will make into a plea to the divine lords, these words, divine lords, accept and listen to them! And whatever words you do not wish to hear from me, and I nevertheless persist in making them into a plea to the gods, they merely emerge from my human mouth; refrain from listening to them, divine lords.

§5 (i 33-36) Seri, my lord, bull of the Storm-god, champion of Hatti (lit.: the one who steps in front in the Land of Hatti). In these words of the presentation of the plea introduce me before the gods. Let the divine lords listen to these words and plea, the divine lords of heaven and earth (B adds: all of them).

§6 (i 37-39) Sun-god of Heaven, Sun-goddess of Arinna, Storm-god of Arinna, Mezzulla, Huila, Zinduhiya, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Arinna, Storm-god of Salvation, Storm-god of Life.

§7 (i 40) Storm-god of Lightning, Hebat of Samuha, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Samuha.

§8 (i 41-42) Storm-god of Lightning, Sun-goddess of Arinna, Hebat, Queen of Heaven,
Storm-god of the Ruin, gods of the palace of the grandfather

§9 (i 43-45) Storm-god of Halab, Hebat of Halab, Ishtar of the Field of Samuha, Lady of
the *ayakku*, Apara of Samuha, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Samuha.

§10 (i 46-47) Valiant Storm-god, Hebat, Storm-god of Sahpina, male gods, female gods,
mountains and rivers of Kadapa.

§11 (i 48-49) Storm-god of Help, Queen of Kadapa, male gods, female gods, mountains
and rivers of Kadapa, Storm-god of Thunder, all the Storm-gods.

§12 (i 50-53) Storm-god of Hatti, Prominent Calf, Storm-god of the Army, Sun-god of
Hatti, Protective-god of Hatti, Storm-god of Halab and Hebat of Halab of Hatti, Aya,
Damkina, ZABABA, Halmasuit, Allatum, Ishtar of Nineveh, *lulahi-gods*, Kubaba.

§13 (i 54-56) Ishtar of Haddarina, Pirwa, Asgasipa, Mount Piskurunuwa, male gods,
female gods, mountains and rivers of Hatti, Karzi, Hapandaliya, Mount Tatta, Mount
Summiyara.

§14 (i 57-58) Storm-god of Ziplanda, Mount Daha, male gods, female gods, mountains
and rivers of Ziplanda.

§15 (i 59-60) Zithariya, Storm-god of the Army, son of the Storm-god, Protective-god of
the *kursas*, mountains and rivers of Zithara.

§16 (i 61) [...], Sun-goddess of Arinna, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of
Urauna.

§17 (i 62 -65) Storm-god of Kummanni, Hebat of Kummanni, Storm-god of the *sinapsi*,
Hebat of the *sinapsi*, Storm-god of Mount Manuziya, Ningal, Pisanuhi, Mount Gallistapa,

male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Kummanni and of the Land of Kummanni.

§18 (i 66-67) Storm-god *pihami*, Goddess of the Storm-god *pihami* of Sanahuita, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Sanahuita.

§19 (i 68-70) Storm-god of Nerigqa, ZABABA ditto, Telipinu, Zahapuna, Mount Zaliyanu, Mount Zaliyanu of Gastama, Tazzuwasi, male gods and female gods of Gastama.

§20 (i 71-72) Protective-god of Hatenzuwa, Mount Haharwa, male gods and female gods of Nerigqa and of the Land of Takupsa.

§21 (i 73) Storm-god of Sarissa, Ishtar-li, male gods and female gods of Sarissa.

§22 (i 74-75) Storm-god of Hurma, Hantidassu of Hurma, Storm-god and Hebat of Halab of Hurma, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers.

§23 (i 76-77) Hasigawanza of Lawan(z)atiya, Mulliyara, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Lawazantiya.

§24 (i 78-79) Storm-god of [Pittiyjarik(?). \Storm-god of Uda, Hebat-Sarruma, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Uda.

§25 (ii 1-2) Deity of Parsa, Sun-goddess of the Netherworld, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Parsa.

§26 (ii 3-4) Storm-god of Hissashappa, Storm-god of Kuliwisna, male gods and female gods of the palace of His Majesty.

§27 (ii 5-6) Storm-god of Garahna, Protective-god of Garahna, Alâ, Storm-god of the Ruin, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Karahna.

§28 (ii 7) Storm-god of Sugazziya, Zulima, male gods and female gods of Sugazziya.

§29 (ii 8-9) Storm-god of Lihsina, Tasimi, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Lihsina.

§30 (ii 10-11) Telipinu of Durmitta, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Durmitta.

§31 (ii 12-14) Storm-god of Nenassa, Lusiti of Nenassa, Marassantiya River, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Nenassa.

§32 (ii 15-17) Huwassana (GAZ.BA.IA) of Hupisna, Storm-god of Hupisna, ZABABA of Hupisna, Mount Sarlaimi, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Hupisna.

§33 (ii 18-19) Storm-god of Tuwanuwa, Sahhassara of Tuwanuwa, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Tuwanuwa.

§34 (ii 20-21) Storm-god of Illaya, ZABABA of Illaya, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Illaya.

§35 (ii 22-23) Suwanzipa of Suwanzana, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Suwanzana.

§36 (ii 24-25) ZABABA of Arziya, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Arziya.

§37 (ii 26-27) Storm-god of Hurniya, the King(ly) god of Hurniya, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Hurniya.

§38 (ii 28-29) Storm-god of Zarwisa, Nawatiyala of Zarwisa, male gods, §39 (ii 30-31) Mighty Goddess of Sahhaniya, Storm-god of Sahhaniya, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Sahhaniya.

§39 (ii 30-31) Mighty Goddess of Šahhaniya, Storm-god of Šahhaniya, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Šahhaniya.

- §40 (ii 32-33) Storm-god of Pahtima, Storm-god of Šahhuwiya, Sun-goddess of Malitaskuriya.
- §41 (ii 34-55) Washaliya of Harziuna, Storm-god of Harziuna, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Harziuna.
- §42 (ii 36-37) Zanduza of Sallapa, the Lord, Storm-god of Sallapa, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Sallapa.
- §43 (ii 38-40) Storm-god of Ussa, Storm-god of Parashunta, Mount Huwalanuwanda, Hulaya River, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of the Lower Land.
- §44 (ii 41-42) Ishtar of Wasuduwanda, Hebat of Wasuduwanda, Ishtar of Innuwita.
- §45 (ii 43-45) Storm-god of Alazhana, Telipinu of Hanhana, Ammama of Hanhana, Mount Takurga, male gods, female <gods>, mountains and rivers of Hahana.
- §46 (ii 46-47) Telipinu of Tawiniya, Katahha, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Tawiniya.
- §47 (ii 48-49) Sun-god(dess) of Washaniya, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Washaniya.
- §48 (ii 50-51) Lord of Lanta, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Lanta; male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Hattina.
- §49 (ii 52-54) Male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Harpisa. Karmahi of Kalimuna, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Kalimuna.
- §50 (ii 55) Male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Hakpisa. §51 (ii 56) Protective-god of the Field, Protective-god of the King, male gods and female gods of His Majesty's grandfather.
- §52 (ii 57) Male gods and female gods of His Majesty's father.

§53 (ii 58) Male gods and female gods of His Majesty's grandmother. §54 (ii 59) Male gods and female gods of the House of Gazzimara.

§55 (ii 60-61) Hatahha of Ankuwa, Storm-god of the Rain, Ishtar of the Field, male gods, female <gods>, mountains and rivers of Ankuwa. §56 (ii 62-63) Pirwa of Nenisakuwa, Pirwa of Duruwaduruwa, Pirwa of Iksuna.

§57 (ii 64-65) Ishtar of Sulama, Storm-god of Hatra, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of the Land of Isuwa.

§58 (ii 66-67) Storm-god of Tegarama, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of the Land of Tegarama.

§59 (ii 68) Queen of Paliya.

§60 (ii 69-70) Storm-god of Tupazziya, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Tupazziya.

§61 (ii 71) Karuna of Kariuna

§62 (ii 72-72) Storm-god of the Growth, Storm-god and Hebat of Apzisna, male gods, female gods of Apzisna.

§63 (iii 1) Protective-god of Kalasmita.

§64 (iii 2-3) Tamisiya of Tapigqa, male gods, female gods, mountains and rivers of Tapigqa.

§65 (iii 4-12) Storm-god of the House of the *tawannanna*, Storm-god *hulassassis*, male gods and female gods of the king and the queen who have been invoked and who have not been invoked, to whose temples the king and queen attend and to whose temples they do not attend, but priests make offerings to them, male gods and female gods of the sky

and of the dark netherworld, heaven and earth, clouds and winds, thunder and lightning, place of assembly, at which place the gods are wont to assemble.

Invocation of the Sun-god of Heaven, Supreme Judge

§66 (iii 13-17) Sun-god of Heaven, my lord, shepherd of mankind! You, Sun-god of Heaven, arise from the sea, and you take your stand in heaven, Sun-god of Heaven, my lord! You, Sun-god, give daily judgment over man, dog, pig, and the beast of the field.

§67 (iii 18-22) Here am I, Muwatalli the king, priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna and of all the gods, pleading with the Sun-god of Heaven. Sun--goddess of Arinna and of all the gods, pleading with the Sun-god of Heaven. Sun-god of Heaven, my lord, halt the gods on this day! And these gods whom I have summoned with my tongue on this day, in whatever plea,

§68 (iii 23-24) summon them, Sun-god of Heaven, from heaven and earth, from mountains and rivers, from their temples and their thrones!

Invocation of the Storm-god of Lightning

§69 (iii 25-31) Thereafter the king says as follows: Storm-god of Lightning, my lord, I was but a human, whereas my father was a priest to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and to all the gods. My father begat me, but the Storm-god of Lightning took me from my mother and reared me; he made me priest to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and to all the gods; for the Hatti land he appointed me to kingship.

§70 (iii 32-39) So now I, Muwatalli the king, who have *been* reared by you, by the Storm-god of Lightning, am pleading: The gods whom I have invoked with my tongue and have pleaded to them, intercede for me with those gods, with all of them! Take the words of my tongue, that of Muwatalli, your servant, and transmit them before the gods! The words of prayer which I will present to the gods, let them not turn back to me.

§71 (iii 40-44) The bird takes refuge in the cage and it lives. I, too, have taken refuge with the Storm-god of Lightning and he has kept me let them listen to me! Then, I too shall constantly praise the Storm-god of Lightning.

§72 (iii 45-59) When the gods will hear my word, the bad thing which is in my soul, the gods will put it right and remove it from me. A cause of praise for whom will I be? Will I not be the occasion for praise of the Storm-god of Lightning, my lord? And when a god or a human will look, he will say as follows: "Surely, the Storm-god of Lightning, my lord, king of Heaven, has honored the man, has promoted him, has provided for him, and has brought him to (good) times." And in the future it will come to pass that my son, my grandson, kings and queens of Hatti, princes and lords, will always show reverence towards the Storm-god of Lightning, my lord, and they will say as follows: "Truly that god is a mighty hero, a rightly guiding god!" The gods of heaven, the mountains and the rivers will praise you.

§73 (iii 60-70) As for me, Muwatalli, your servant, my soul will rejoice inside me, and I will exalt the Storm-god of Lightning. The temples that I will erect for you and the rites that I will perform for you, Storm-god of Lightning, my lord, you shall rejoice in them. The thick bread and the libations which I constantly offer to the Storm-god of Lightning, my lord, let me offer it to him (B: to you) joyfully, let me not offer it to you reluctantly!

Storm-god of Lightning, glow over me like the moonlight, shine over me like the Sun-god of Heaven!

§74 (iii 71-iv 2) Walk with me at my right hand, team up with me as with a bull to draw! Ascend with me in true Storm-godly fashion! Truly, let me say as follows: "I have been recognized, reared and favored by the Storm-god of Lightning, and [...]." When he finishes ca[lling the gods (?)], he [...s [...].

Ritual Offerings for the Gods of Hatti

§75 (B i 39) [Three] sacrificial breads for the Sun-god of Heaven, ditto.

§76 (iv 3) Thereafter he breaks the thick breads

§77 (iv 4-7) [...] three thick breads of a handful of moist flour to the Sun-goddess of Arinna; he dips them into the honey mixed with fine oil and puts them on the table of the Sun-goddess of Arinna. Thereafter he pours out fat-bread and groats upon the thick breads. He libates in front of them one pitcher of wine.

§78 (iv 8-12) Thereafter, for the Storm-god of Lightning he breaks three white thick breads and one red; he dips them in the honey mixed with fine oil and puts them on the table of the Storm-god of Lightning. Thereafter he pours out groats and fat-bread upon the thick breads. He libates in front of them one pitcher of wine.

§79 (iv 13-17) Thereafter, for Hebat he breaks three white thick breads and one red; he dips them in the honey mixed with fine oil and puts them on the table of Hebat.

Thereafter he pours out fat-bread and groats upon the thick breads. He libates in front of them one pitcher of wine.

§80 (iv 18-22) Thereafter he breaks three white thick breads and one red, for the Storm-god of Heaven; he dips them in the honey mixed with fine oil. He puts them on the table of the Storm-god of Heaven. Thereafter he pours out fat-bread and groats upon the thick breads. He libates in front of them one pitcher of wine.

§81 (iv 23-27) Thereafter he breaks three thick breads of a handful of moist flour to the Storm-god of Hatti; he dips them in the honey mixed with fine oil. He puts them on the table of the Storm-god of Hatti. Thereafter he pours out fat-bread and groats upon the thick breads. He libates in front of them one pitcher of wine.

§82 (iv 28-32) Thereafter he breaks three white thick breads and one red, for the Storm-god of Ziplanda; he dips them in honey mixed with fine oil. He puts them on the table of the Storm-god of Zippalanda. Thereafter he pours out fat-bread and groats upon the thick breads. He libates in front of them one pitcher of wine.

§83 (iv 33-35) Thereafter he breaks three white thick breads and one red, for all the male gods of Hatti. He puts them on the table of the Storm-god of Lightning.

§84 (iv 36-37) Thereafter he breaks three white thick breads and one red, for Seri and Hurri. Ditto. He puts them on the table of the Storm-god of Lightning.

§85 (iv 38-40) Thereafter he breaks three white thick breads and one red, for all the female gods of Hatti. Ditto. He puts them on the table of the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

§86 (iv 41-42) Thereafter he breaks three white thick breads and one red for the mountains. He puts them on the table of the Sun-god of Lightning.

§87 (iv 43-44) Thereafter he breaks three white thick breads and one red, for the rivers. Ditto. He puts them on the table of the Storm-god of Lightning.

§88 (iv 45-48) When he finishes breaking the thick breads, the things which are in His Majesty's heart, he makes them into a plea to the gods. When the presentation of the plea is finished,

§89 (iv 49-51) thereafter he breaks three white thick breads and one red, for the male gods of all the lands. He pours out fat-bread and groats. He pours out honey mixed with fine oil. He libates one pitcher of wine.

§90 (iv 52-54) Thereafter he breaks three white thick breads and one red, for the female gods of all the lands, to whom he presented a plea. He pours out groats upon the thick breads. He pours out honey mixed with fine oil.

§91 (iv 55) Thereafter he breaks two thick breads for the mountains and rivers (B: of the lands). Ditto.

§92 (iv 56-58) Thereafter he breaks one thick bread for the Witness Sun-god. He pours out fat-bread and groats upon the thick breads. He pours out in front of them honey mixed with fine oil.

Postscript (Only in A): Burning of the Ritual Offerings.

§93 (iv 59-61) Further, they make two fireplaces of wood, and the breads which he breaks, he burns in front of the same two tables. Complete.

**No. 21. Hattusili's Prayer of Exculpation
to the Sun-goddess of Arinna
CTH 383**

Both this prayer and Puduhepa's (no. 22) have no colophon.

Hymn to the Sun-goddess of Arinna

§1 (i 1-13) To the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, *lady* of the Hatti lands, queen of heaven and earth, lady of the kings and queens of Hatti, torch of the Hatti land. You are the one who rules the kings and queens of Hatti. The one whom you look on with favor as king or queen is right with you, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady. You are the one who chooses and the one who abandons. Contrary to the other gods, you took for yourself as your share the Hatti lands, out of esteem for the Storm-god of Nerik, the Storm-god of Zippalanda, your son.

§2 (i 14-40) Ḫattušili, your servant and Puduhepa, your maid, have made this plea as follows: Whenever my father Muršili, while still alive, offended the gods, my lords, by some deed, I was in no way involved in that deed of my father; I was still a child. When the case against Tawannanna, your maid, took place in the palace, how my father curtailed the power of Tawannanna, the queen, though she was the servant of the deity, you, O goddess, my lady, were the one who knew in [your] soul, [whether the curtailing of the power of the queen] was your wish [or whether it] was [not your wish. He caused] the curtailing of the power [of Tawannanna, but I was not involved in the matter] at all. It was [a matter of compulsion for me. If the goddess, my lady, is] somehow [angry about

that matter, then] the one who conducted [that case against Tawannanna has already died (lit.: has become a god). He stepped down from the road and has already paid for it] with his head. [But I] was not involved [in that decree. I was still a child. O Sun-goddess] of Arinna, my lady, [do not protract that affair against me. To protract such a thing against me during my days is not right]. *Small break.*

§3' (i l'-15') ... he] moved. Whether the trans[fer of the gods was] in accordance with the wish [of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, or whether it] was [not in accordance with your] wish, you, [my lady,] are the one who knew [that in your soul, O Goddess, my lady. But I was not] involved [in that] order of the trans[fer] of the gods [in anyway]. [For me it was a matter] of compulsion, [because] he was my master. But [the transfer] of the gods was not in accordance with my wish, and I was rather worried concerning that [order]. Concerning the silver and the gold of all the gods [...], to which god he gave whose silver and gold, in that decision, too, I was not [involved] in anyway.

§4' (i 16'-ii 22) When it came to pass that the case against Danuhepa, your priestess, took place in the palace, [how he curtailed the power of] Danuhepa until she was ruined together with her sons and all her men, lords and subordinates, that which was inside the soul of the goddess, my lady, nobody knew, namely, whether the ruination of Danuhepa was the wish of the Sun-goddess of Arinna,[my lady], or whether it was not her wish. In any case, I was not involved in that matter of the ruination of Danuhepa's son. On the contrary, when I passed judgment over him, he was dear to me. Nobody was destroyed by the order of the word of my mouth. The one who did that evil thing-if somehow the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, became angry over the matter of Danuhepa-that one who did that matter of Danuhepa has already died. He stepped down from the road and paid for it

with his head, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my Lady! Do not drag the matter up again of Danuhepa against me and the land of Hatti during my days! To drag up again such a thing against me during my days is not right. The one who has carried out the matter of Danuhepa, that one has already paid for it himself.

§5' (ii 23-40) When Muwatalli, my brother, died (lit.: became god), out of esteem for my brother I did nothing. I took Urhi-Tessub, my brother's son, and I installed him in kingship. Whether it was the wish of the gods, or whether it [was] not your [wish], I did that thing out of respect for my brother. [I took] my brother's son and I installed him to kingship. But he [...] of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, and he betrayed you (pl.) [...]. Father, grandfather [...]. He did that [...] and to you offering bread [...] the temples not [...] of silver [...]. You(pl.) [...] that thing [...]

Broken. The end of obv. ii and the beginning of rev. iii is perhaps provided by

Bo 4222.

(Bo 4222 obv l'-8') [...] to you (pl.) grandmothers [...] some (evil) tongue away [...] he kept praying [...] evil [thing. ...] since [...] your (pl.) priest, your (pl.) servant [...]

§6' (Bo 4222 rev, l'-11') [...] gods [...] 1, to the gods [...] was [...] I [did not. ...] him/her [...] and] I did not do evil at all. [...] My wife [...] for me before the gods [...]. [...] a blood-relation of mine [...] put down in front of yourselves [and investigate it(?) ...] he/she killed [...]he/she himself died [...] *Broken.*

Hattusili's Dedication to Nerik

§7' (iii 2'-8') But I, Hattusili, [your servant, ...] in the place in which [...] I have put [...] of the Storm-god of Nerik, and how [...] in, and how he reached(?) me entirely(?) [...], you did not [...], O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady.

§8' (iii 9'-25') When my brother, Muwatalli, [gave] me Hattusa [...], the city of Katapa, as well as other [lands], I refused them. The land of Nerik was suddenly ruined under the former kings, and the roads [were] thickly wooded. The city of Nerik was like a stones in the [sea(?)]; it [was] under deep water. I brought the city of Nerik up like a stone out of deep water I [picked it] up for the sake of the Storm-god of Nerik and I rebuilt [the city of] Nerik. For [the sake] of the land of Nerik I engaged my body and soul. Those who were kings in the past, and to whom the Storm-god had given the weapon, kept defeating the enemies, but no one recaptured the land of Nerik, and no one rebuilt it.

§9' (iii 26"-iv 25') When Urhi-Tessub, who [kept pursuing(?)] me because of the lordship, became alienated from me over the land of Nerik, my friends and associates kept intimidating me saying: "For Nerik you will perish." I listened neither to my lord's anger nor to the intimidation of my associates. I heard this [...] and I heard this [...], and I said as follows: "Before I give Nerik to another let me rather die for Nerik !" I was but a human but I did not toil for human wealth. I did not seek wealth(?). Rather, I [...] the land of yours, O Goddess, for the sake of your son. And as I, a human, did it, namely, took the beloved place of the Storm-god of Nerik, your son, the city of Nerik, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, lady of the Hatti lands, O Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, do this thing for the sake of the matter of the Storm-god of Nerik, your beloved son! If before the gods there is some sin of my father and my mother, or if it is [some(?)] ancient sin, and you goddess, my lady, pursue it [...], disregard that sin, O Goddess, my lady, for the sake of

the Storm-god of Nerik, your beloved [son]. Do not [...] it. For the gods the *dahangal* is a place of mercy. O Sun-goddess of Arinna, lady¹ of the Hatti lands, take it to your confident(?) heart in the *dahanga*, the place of mercy ! If there are sins in Hatti, whatever they are, disregard them indeed, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, for the sake of the matter of the *dahanga*! Even if a human being raises a child for its father and mother, doesn't the father and mother pay him/her what is due to a wet-nurse, and doesn't he rejoice over it? I have also labored for the city of the Storm-god of Nerik, your beloved son. Spare my soul and the soul of my wife and my children, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, [my lady, for the sake of the city] of the Storm-god of Nerik, your beloved son! Re[press] that evil for [...]. [...] for myself, my wife [...], [...] he is alienated [...] of the Storm-god of Arinna [...] of your son [...] *Break.*

§10' (iv 3'-11') *Only line ends preserved. Arinna (l. 9') and Hattusa, the place of assembly of the gods (l. 10' f), are mentioned.*

§11' (iv 12'-28') *First two lines almost entirely broken. [And if] those sins somehow still exist before the gods, and some god has been invoked on account of that evil matter and he attends to it, then as soon as the Storm-god and the gods gather at the assembly, and someone speaks concurrently about that evil matter in the assembly, then the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god of Hatti and the gods should take to heart the matter of the *dahanga* of the Storm-god of Nerik. O Sun-goddess of Arinna and gods [of] Hatti, repress that evil thing from there! May Hattusa, the place of assembly of the gods, Arinna, your beloved city, and Nerik and Zippalanda, the cities of your son, be distinguished for you.*

End of text. Tablet ends with free space. There is no colophon.

**No. 22. Puduhepa's Prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna
and her Circle for the Well-being of Hattusili
(CTH 384)**

As in Hattusili's prayer (no. 21), the single manuscript, inscribed on a double-column tablet, has no colophon (cf. also no. 20).

Prayer and Vow to the Sun-goddess of Arinna

§1 (i 1-2) To the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, lady of the Hatti lands, queen of heaven and earth:

§2 (i 3-33) *O* Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, queen of all the lands! In Hatti you gave yourself the name Sun-goddess of Arinna, but the land which you made, that of the cedar, there you gave yourself the name Hebat. I, Puduhepa, am your long-time servant, a calf of your stable, a (corner)stone of your foundation. You picked me up, my lady, and Hattusili, your servant, to whom you married me, and he too was attached by destiny (lit, lot) to the Storm-god of Nerik, your beloved son. The place in which you, *O* Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, installed us, is the place of your beloved son, the Storm-god of Nerik. How the former kings neglected it, that you know *O* Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady. Those who were former kings, to whom you, *O* Sun-goddess of Arinna, had given weapons, kept defeating the [surrounding] enemy lands, but no one [tried] to take/[succeeded] in taking the city of Nerik. But he who is

your servant, Hattusili, and whom you now [pursue (?)], O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, was not even a king, but only a prince. Yet, it was up to him to take the *city* of Nerik. Had he not succeeded [in capturing] the city of Nerik, his [brother would have handed over] to him other lands. He even(?) gave him Hattusa whole[heartedly(?)], as well as

Katapa [but he refused them.(?)] O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady,
[you knew(?)] it [...] the Storm-god of Nerik [...f *A few lines missing.*

§3' (i 33'-37') [For] the land of Nerik and for the land of [Hakpis(?)] he kept placing [his] body and his [very life] at risk as long as he held the campaign against [the Kaska enemy(?)].

§4' (i 38'-54') But when Muwatalli, [his brother(?)], died (lit.: became god), he took [up] Urhi-Tessub, [his brother's son(?)], and installed him to kingship. How he [oppressed(?)/limited(?)] Hattusili, your servant, in/to Nerik, that you know, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady. His lord kept pursuing him, and the princes kept intimidating him saying: "For Nerik you might [perish]." But he did not consider his own ruin and his own death saying: "For Nerik [I would rather choose(?)] death! And [before I hand] over Nerik [...

Five fragmentary lines and then break.

§5' (ii 1-10) [...] we will purify ourselves, [and then] we will carry out the cult for you, O gods, in the same way, and we will observe your regulation and ritual likewise. Since they have stopped [the offerings(?)] for you, O gods, they will celebrate the old [yearly] and monthly festivals for the gods. [The offerings(?)] will never be stopped again, O gods, my lords, as long as we, your servant and your maid, carry out the cult.

§6' (ii 11-37) This matter I, Puduhepa, your maid, made into a prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, lady of the Hatti lands, queen of heaven and earth. Have pity on me, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, and hear me! Even among humans one often speaks the following saying: "To a woman of the birthstool the deity grants her wish." [Since] I, Puduhepa, am a woman of the birthstool, and I have devoted myself to your son, have pity on me, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, and grant me what [I ask of you]! Grant life to [Hattusili], your servant! [Through the Fate-goddesses] and the Mother-goddesses may [long] years, days

[and strength] be granted to him. [...] [an angry (?)] god [...] you have. All the gods [...] they have [... no/some]one calls [...]. Request life [for Hattusili], your servant, in the place [of assembly] of all the gods, and may your wish be wholehearted! And since you, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, have shown favor [to me], [depen]dability(?)and even right [...], [...] revere[nce(?)] to the will of [the gods(?)]. [Don't] you see, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, howl [fulfilled(?)] the wish of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady? [...] in this matter [...], [...] the request [do not turn(?)] back.

§7' (ii 38-43) *Only a few signs left (including "daughter-in-law") followed by a break.*

The beginning of rev. III is almost entirely broken.

Prayer and Vow to Liliwani

§8" (iii 9'-35') [Liliwani, my lady, whatever] you say [to the gods (?)], they grant [it to you]. Support me [in this matter]! In this thing that I heard [among] men, and before me [the matter was said(?), namely, that] Hattusili, who is your servant, [is ill(?)], what [people] said about him at the time of Urhi-Tessub, namely: "[His years] are short"; now,

if Ḫattušili, your servant, has been defamed before you, O gods, by a human hand, or if any of the Upper or Lower gods has been offended by him, or if anyone has offered to the gods in order to damage Hattušili, you, O Goddess, my Lady, do not listen to those evil words! Don't let [the evil] get to, Hattušili, your servant! [Do not turn us over], O gods, [my] lords, [to ... (?)], to our adversaries, [to evil men (?)]! [If] you, O goddess, my lady, keep him alive and speak [favorably] to the gods, and tread with your feet these evil [words], and [...] them away, then to you, Liliwani [. . .]. Let [the life(?)] of Hattusili, your servant, and of Puduhepa, your maid, [come forth] from your mouth before the gods! Grant to Hattusili, your servant, and to Puduhepa, [your maid,] long years, months and days!

§9" (iii 36'-42') If you, Liliwani, my lady, will speak favorably [to the gods], and will keep your servant, Hattusili, alive and grant him long years, months and days, I shall come and make for Liliwani, my lady, a silver statue of Hattusili, as big as Hattusili himself, with its head, its hands and its feet of gold; that I will weigh out separately.

Empty space of some 5 lines.

Prayer and Vow to Zintuhi

§10" (iii 43'-47') O Zintuhi, my lady, beloved granddaughter of the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna! You are an ornament on the breast of the Storm-god and of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, and they watch you time after time.

§11" (iv 1'-7') Beginning missing. Zintuhi, my lady, [in this matter express your] providence! To the Storm-god, your grandfather, [and] to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, your grandmother, transmit life and long years for Hattusili, your servant! May it come forth from their mouth!

§12" (8'-12') If you will hear these words Zintuhi, my lady, and you will pass them on to the Storm-god, your grandfather, [and] to the Sun-goddess, your grandmother, I will make for Zintuhi, my lady, a [great] ornament.

Prayer and Vow to Mezzulla

§ 13" (iv 13'-23') O Mezzulla, my lady, beloved daughter of the Storm-god [and] the Sun-goddess of Arinna! [Whatever] you, Mezzulla, my lady, say to the Storm-god, your father, and to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, your mother, they listen to it indeed. They will not refuse it. These words which I, Puduhepa, your maid, have made into a prayer to the Storm-god, your father, and to the Storm-goddess of Arinna, your mother, announce them to me, O Mezzulla, my Lady, and pass them on to the Storm-god, your father, [and] to the Storm-goddess, your mother and intercede on my behalf!

§14" (iv 24'-27') If you Mezzulla, [my lady], will pass [these] words on to the Storm-god, your father, and [to the Sun-goddess of Arinna], your mother, and you will intercede on my behalf, I will give [you towns(?)] including deportees.

Prayer and Vow to the Storm-god of Zippalanda

§15" (iv 28'-47') [O Storm-god] of Zippalanda, my lord, you are the beloved son [of the Storm-god and] the Sun-goddess of Arinna. [Whatever you] announce [to the Storm-god, your father,] and to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, your mother, [the Storm-god], your father, and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, your mother, will [not] refuse your word. They will hear you. This [word] which I, Puduhepa, your maid, [made] into a prayer, announce it for me, O Storm-god of Zippalanda, my lord, and pass it on. Have pity on me in this matter, O god, my lord! Since I am a woman of the birthstool, and I have personally made restitution to the god, my lord, intercede on my behalf, O god, my lord, with [the

Storm-god], your father, and with the Sun-goddess of Arinna! Hattusili, your servant, took pains for the god's will, and he engaged his body and soul until he rebuilt Nerik, the beloved city [of] the god, my lord. You, O god, my lord, be favorably inclined towards Hattusili, your servant. And the words which I lay in prayer before the Storm-god, your father, and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, your mother, pass them on for me O Storm-god of Zippalanda, my lord!

§16" (iv 48'-left edge 4) If you, O Storm-god of Zippalanda, my lord, will pass on for me these words to the Storm-god, your father, and to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, your mother, and [you will save] Hattusili from evil [...]. I shall make [for the Storm-god of Zippalanda], my [lord], a golden shield weighing two minas. I shall make [...]; [I will consecrate] to the god [...] the town Puputana [...], [...].

End. There is no colophon.

**No. 23. Fragments of Prayers to the Storm-god of Nerik
CTH 396.1-3**

Evocation

§1 (1'-28') [... Storm-god of] Nerik, my lord! [...] Zahapuna [...]. May (s)he call a sweet [message(?)] like a ... to the Storm-god of Nerik! May (s)he awaken the Storm-god of Nerik from his sweet dream! May he come, the Storm-god of Nerik! Come, O Storm-god of Nerik, from heaven and earth! Come, O Storm-god of Nerik, from east (lit, sunrise) and west (lit, sunset)! From heaven, if you are with the Storm-god, your father; from earth, if you are in the dark earth with Ereshkigal, your mother. Come at dawn to your festival! At dawn they will anoint Tudhaliya to priesthood in your favorite places,

Hakmis and Nerik. Come tomorrow to your festival! Come from Mount Hahruwa, your favorite, to the place where your body and soul are! Come from Mount Zaliyanu, from Mount Harpisa, from Mount Dahalmuna, from Mount Idalhamuna, from Mount Tahali(?), from Mount Tagurta, from Mount [...]hulla, from Mount Puskurunuwa, [...]. [Come], O Storm-god of Nerik, my lord, from all the mountains! [Come, O Storm-god of Nerik,] my lord, [...] from your mountains!

§2 (29'-47') [Come] from the Marassanta River! Come from the *mazumazuwanta*. from the bank! Come from Zalpa, from the sea! Come from the source of Nerik, your favorite! Come from whichever mountain you are on! Come from the Upper Land! Come from the Lower Land! Come from [the Land of] Hurri! Come from the Land of Kummanni! Come from all the lands! Come from the west side (lit, wind), the north side, the south side, [the east] side]-from the four corners! [...] Hakmis [...], Nerik, from the lands [...], the Land of Hatti [...] you have taken your pillar(?) [...] unmentioned [...] *The rest is almost entirely broken.*

Hymn

The first column is missing.

§1 (ii 1-9) O Storm-god, in all the lands you heal(?) [...]. O Storm-god of Nerik, my lord, strong(?) iron [...]. Do not call down the well-being of the land! Do not call down the [...] of] mankind! Do not call down the [mild(?)] rains! Evoke the [...] of the land! [...] your mother's lapis lazuli [...]sweet dreams [...]" *Broken.*

§2 (iii 1'-3') You govern [the *labarna*(?),] the king, the *tawananna*, [the queen(?)...]

§3 (iii 4-8) [If] something burdens the *labarna*, the king [...], [may(?)] the roads of the [dark] earth be open to you! [May(?)] the roads [...] be left for you [...]. [...] to you, your

«grand»father is the Storm-god [...]; your [mother] is the Sun-goddess of Arinna; the heaven is [your] house [...]. *End of column. Fourth column is lost.*

Confession

From col. ii only traces of ends of lines are left; the top of col. iii is missing too.

§ 1 (iii 1'-10') [...] I stood up, and I returned to Nerik to sacrifice to the gods. When some weapon was given to me by the god, and whoever revolted against me, I neglected that place.

§ 2 (iii 11'-22') When later some year again arrived and struck my eyes through an oracle, I neglected that too. I did not consult an oracle [...] as follows: "This [...] because to Nerik I did [not(?)] go? *The rest is broken. The top of col. iv is missing.*

§ 3 (iv 2'-22) The Storm-god of Nerik [...] is *angry(?)*, words [...] he has. I neglected them in [...] will(?), and I have brought them in order to C) ,Storm-crock of Nerik. [my lord. [But since he is angry against me I have made a plea from afar. Speak across for your favorite son, O Storm-god, my lord, and intercede for me!

No. 24. Tudhaliya's Prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna for Military Success (CTH 385.9)

§ 1 (obv. 1-10) [...] Tudhaliya has made [a plea] as follows: I have sinned [against the Sun-goddess of Arinna], my lady, and I have offended the Sun-goddess of Arinna, [my lady]. [And when] I began to get oracular guidance, (it turned out that) I neglected your festivals. [If you], O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, became angry with [me] on account of some festivals, take care [of me] again, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady!

May I defeat the enemy! [If you, O Sun-goddess] of Arinna, my lady, will step down [to me], and I shall defeat the enemy, I shall [confess] my sin [before you] and never again [shall I omit] the festivals. I will not again interchange the spring and [autumn festivals]. [The festivals of spring] I shall perform only in the spring, [and the festivals of] autumn I shall perform only in the autumn. I shall never leave out [the festivals(?)] in [your] temple.

The next paragraph of the obverse (§2) and the first preserved paragraphs of the reverse (§§3'-4') are too fragmentary for translation. The mention of Suppiluliuma in obv. 12 seems to be related to the wrath of the gods in the previous line.

§5 (rev. 11'-15') [...] for me Mount Tagurka I shall [...], and I shall make for you in Arinna [a new temple]. [When] I, My Majesty, [will set out] to return for the winter festivals, and if I shall defeat the enemy when I return from the battle-field, I shall go up to Mount Tagurka, and I shall give you thousands [...], and I shall make reparation. *The text probably does not have a colophon.*