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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

FROM HITTITE TO HOMER:

THE ROLE OF ANATOLIANS IN THE TRANSMISSION OF EPIC AND PRAYER

MOTIFS FROM THE NEAR EAST TO THE GREEKS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

COMMITTEE ON THE HISTORY OF CULTURE

BY

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AUGUST 2002

UMI Number: 3060281

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To

Prof. Rosemary Faulkner

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

While my teachers at the Classics department at Harvard University, especially Gregory Nagy and Calvert Watkins, started me on my path, I could not have completed my education at any other university than University of Chicago, in any other department than the Committee on the History of Culture. While we are entering an era in which a 'Classical philogist' can choose as his second language after Greek perhaps Akkadian, Ugaritic or Hittite instead of Latin, currently there are only a few universities in the world that can accommodate such a program of study, which requires excellent programs in both Classics and Near Eastern studies as well as an interdisciplinary program that allows students to study both fields at once. University of Chicago is such a place, and I have been fortunate enough to be able to take advantage of its vast resources in the fields pertinent to a holistic study of the ancient world, not only in Classics and Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, but in South Asian Languages and Culture, and Linguistics, as a student in the Committee on the History of Culture. This dissertation is a product of all the knowledge I have accumulated at the University of Chicago, but especially of my first-hand knowledge of Greek and Hittite texts.

My Sanskrit teacher Sheldon Pollock introduced me to the notion that poetry is derived from ritual language, although he may not have realized it. My Greek teachers at University of Chicago, Arthur Adkins, Anne Pippin Burnett and James Redfield, taught me more than just the Greek language. My fellow Hittite classmates, Kathy Mineck, Simrit Dhesi and Dennis Campbell, joined many a discussion on Hittite and the ancient

world. The Chicago Hittite Dictionary staff Richard Beal, Hripsime Haroutinian, and especially Oguz Soysal, who also taught me Hattian, helped me avoid many errors and find many references. The staff at the Oriental Institute was generous with their time and knowledge, including Miguel Civil who taught me Sumerian, Gene Gragg, who taught me Sumerian and Hurrian, and my Lydian teacher Theo van den Hout, who discussed some of the finer points of Hittite geography with me.

Other people who should be thanked are Prof. Mannfred Korfmann, the head of the excavation project at Troy, who kindly gave me a tour of the site in 2000, and George Stochakas, who helped me prepare the map of Anatolia. Martin L. West has read an abbreviated version of Chapter 3, and Prof. Alan Sommerstein a version of Chapter 6. Both offered helpful comments. Michael Langfeld of Otto Harrassowitz Press has kindly given permission to quote extensively from Erich Neu's magesterial edition of the Hurro-Hittite 'Song of Release' (*Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung I: Untersuchen zu einem hurritisch-hethitischen Textensemble aus Hattuša*, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 32, 1996). George Kostachos helped with the map and John Sanders with the printing of the final version.

My dissertation committee accepted an end product which was completely different from the dissertation proposal. Each of them was instrumental in a different way in the genesis and completion of this project. A class on Indo-European poetry with Calvert Watkins in 1988 made clear to me what I wanted to do – comparative classical philology, or as he calls it, 'the new comparative philology', and he was kind enough to join my dissertation committee, even though I was no longer at his university. As one of the leading scholars who studies the relationship between Greek and Hittite texts, he has provided much-needed guidance and much-valued encouragement. Chris Faraone showed me a completely different way to look at Greek poetry in 1994, bringing me back again to the most interesting culture of the ancient world and changing me from a

comparative philologist to a historian of culture. Much of my interpretation of Sappho. Alcaeus and Aeschylus builds upon his own work. Harry Hoffner taught me Hittite for many years, providing me with the ability to do the comparative work that explained Greek poetry to me. He, more than anyone else, was instrumental in making this book into a good piece of scholarship, painstaking vetting every line of Hittite both for form and for content. Shadi Bartsch joined the Committee on the History of Culture just in time to take me on, and has always been efficient in completing her duties as head of my dissertation committee, and kind in her criticisms of my sometimes naïve opinions on Classical literature and scholarship, encouraging me to adopt a more professional tone and present my evidence in a way that Classicists can understand.

My husband Greg Anderson has offered his expertise as a linguist many times and put in far more than his share of duties as father of Sam and Oliver.

My viewpoint of why poetry is necessary is shaped not only by my academic training, but also by my life experience, the experience of birth, death and motherhood. The grievous loss of my father-in-law, John Anderson, and my friend Colin Spence made me understand better Greek tragedy, and the powerful influence of the untimely dead. I'd like to call you back.

Finally, this work is dedicated to my *de facto* adviser for many years, my mother, who waited longer than anyone for me to accept my caste.

A NOTE ON THE CONVENTIONS FOLLOWED

Most translations from Greek are my own, while I often use the English translations of other scholars for Akkadian, Sumerian, Ugaritic and Hittite. There are many more philological issues with these languages than with Greek, and often the editions of works in these languages are outdated, while the more recent translations of established scholars are the result of their careful philological evaluation of the signs incised on the tablets and the meanings of each word. Thus, any translation I might make is aided by the philological judgments made by these translators. I therefore tend to use my own translation primarily when I need to make a specific point about the meanings of specific words which differs from the prevailing opinions. In the case of Greek, most modern translations are too 'poetic' to be useful, and therefore I am better served by making my own translations afresh.

Transliteration conventions for cuneiform documents include the use of diacritics, such as the *accente aigue*, which simply means that at one point this particular sign was considered to be the second most common instance of a particular set of sounds. I avoid the use of *accente grave*, using the subscript 3 instead ('third most common') and the reader will find other subscript numerals. These have no relevance to the pronunciation of the sign. Further, within Hittitology, words written in Akkadian in Hittite texts are written in capital italics, while Sumerograms, or Hittite words written with Sumerian logograms, are written in capitals. Superscript Sumerograms are used for determinatives, which marked the category of the word they are appended to. They were not pronounced.

Square brackets in Hittite texts indicate lacunae, while half-brackets indicate signs which are not completely preserved. Parentheses which fall within the square brackets

indicate that this piece of text is found in a duplicate text. Finally, angled brackets indicate that a sign has been mistakenly left out by the scribe, while double angled brackets indicate a sign which has been mistakenly written.

The rendering of names into Greek are not systemically according to a single convention. Rather, commonly known names follow the older conventions, while less familiar names are rendered phonetically. Commonly known Mesopotamian names again follow older conventions, while Hittite and Turkish names follow the modern conventions. The reader will note that names imbedded in quotes from other scholars will often follow different conventions, while Hittite names in transliterated passage will follow the text exactly, rather than being converted into the conventionally known equivalent that ignores the variations of the textual attestations.

Abbreviations for sources, both primary and secondary, have been avoided as much as possible, again for the sake of the non-specialist reader. The few abbreviations which do appear in this work may be found in the abbreviation lists of the Ancient Greek dictionary of Liddell and Scott, the Chicago Assyriological Dictionary (CAD) or the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (CHD).

The editions for the most frequently quoted Greek texts are not repeatedly cited. The edition of Aeschylus is Page (1972). For Homer's *Iliad*, the edition is West (1998; 2000). For Sappho and Alcaeus I use Lobel and Page (1955) along with the more readable edition of Campbell (1982).

Hittite texts are frequently cited by their 'CTH number'. This refers to the catalogue created by Emmanuel Laroche of all Hittite texts known by 1971 (Laroche 1971). The catalogue groups the texts according to category, citing all the numbers of the published handcopies and their editions. Sometimes when I cite but do not quote a Near Eastern work, I refer a reader to a translation instead of or in addition to an edition. This is because I think those readers who are not specialists in the field are best served by

references to a work they can actually make use of. Of course, many editions of Near Eastern texts are accompanied by translations too, and in these cases I often refer only to the edition.

The reader is encouraged to refer to four very useful compendia of translated Hittite texts: Beckman (1999, diplomatic texts), Hoffner (1998a, mythological texts), Hallo and Younger (1997, historical and cult texts) and Lebrun (1980, prayers).

Anatolia

Pala

Upper Land

Kaska

Sapinuwa • Tapikka
• Hattusa

Kululu
• Kanesh/Kultepe
Kayseri

Malatya •

Mala

Euphrates

Karkamis •
Aleppo • Emar
• Ebla
Ugarit •
Amurru

Kizzuwatna

Sam'al

Adana
Alalakh

Cilicia

Tarsus

Tyana •
Lycaonia

Lower Land

Marassantiya/
Kizil Irmak

Hulaya

Tarhuntassa

Alasiya/Cyprus

Gordion

Sangarius

Hapalla?

Phrygia

Masa?

Karkiya?

Wiluša

Troy

Assos

Lazpa/
Lesbos

Chios

Samos

Seha River Land

Caicos

Lydia

Aeolis

Hermus

Clazomenae

Apasa

Meander

Azawa/Mira

Karabel

Ionia

Mykale

Millawanda/Miletus

Kuwaliya

Sardis

Beycesultan

Asiarpa

Walma

Pinassa

Yalburt

Kastaraya

Kizzuwa

Parha/Perge

Oinoanda Pamphylia

Lukka

Dalawa/Tlos

Lycia

Xanthos
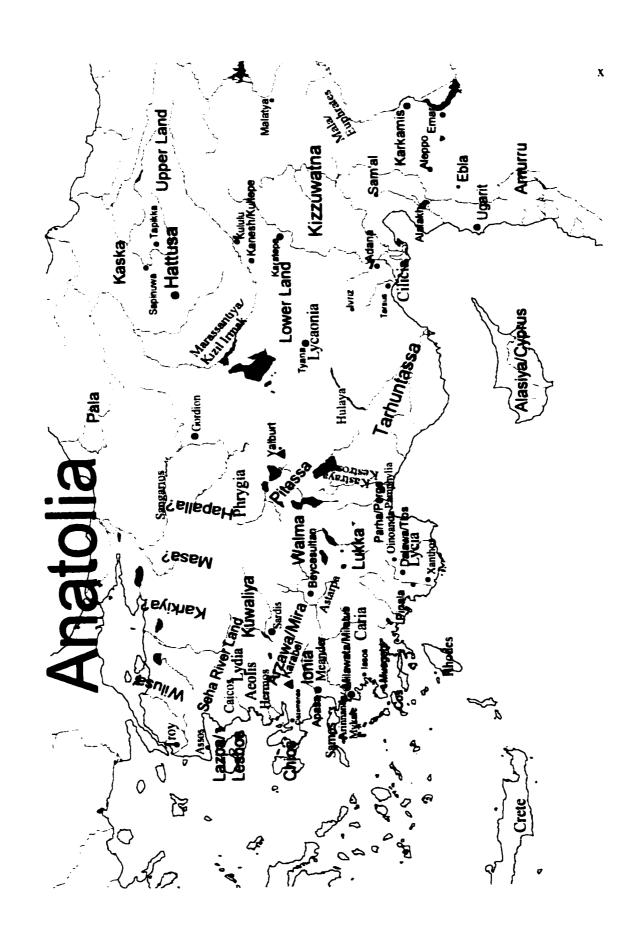
Caria

Rhodes

Cos

Crete

X

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Problem

The field of 'comparative classical philology' first arose in the nineteenth century

with the discovery of Sanskrit and the decipherment of ancient Near Eastern texts, but lay

dormant for much of the second half of the twentieth century under the onslaught of new

critical theories from deconstructionism to gender studies, which were interested in

making ancient texts meaningful to twentieth century men and women rather than

understanding ancient texts in their context. This field, having evolved into what Watkins

(1998 (1989) 317) calls 'the new comparative philology', is due for a renaissance as more

Classical scholars turn their attention to understanding the origin of Greek civilization by

investigating the contributions of both Indo-European culture and of Mediterranean

culture to Greek culture, rather than focusing on the debt modern Western civilization

owes to the ancient Greeks. Watkins uses 'the new comparative philology' to reveal

'genetic intertextuality', the similarities between cognate texts in various Indo-European

languages, and uses the reconstruction of a putative proto-text as a way to 'reconstruct

features of a real proto-culture' (1998 (1989) 326). However, he also uses such

1

reconstruction to reveal 'areal intertextuality' when comparing the Greek and Hittite snake-killing story (1995a 448-59). This then allows for the reconstruction of a cultural area, that of the eastern Mediterranean, and that is in large part the program of this book.

The Near Eastern influences on Greek literary and cult practices have become a popular topic in the last few decades. The work of Walter Burkert and Martin L. West on this topic has been the most noteworthy. While Burkert's *Orientalizing Revolution* (1992, a revised version of the book originally published in German in 1984) was perhaps the first to repopularize this avenue of inquiry among Classicists of this era, West's 1997 book *The East Face of Helicon* crowns decades of research, presenting a vast number of striking verbal thematic correspondences between Near Eastern, especially Semitic, texts and Greek texts, enriched by the author's first-hand knowledge of Akkadian, Hebrew and Ugaritic. West's work has ushered in a new era in this field of study. 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. This permits the scholar to examine the calquing of ritually significant and poetically useful words and phrases from one language to another until they reached the ancient Greek poetic lexicon.

Few scholars interested in the relationship between Greece and the Near East have focused on Hittite, despite evidence of contact between Greek-speakers and Anatolians beginning in the Late Bronze Age and continuing into the Classical era. Yet, the archives at the Hittite capital of Hattusa, modern-day Bogazköy, provide a unique window into a Late Bronze Age Mediterranean culture which was influenced both by Mycenean practices and – far more extensively – by Mesopotamian and West Semitic learning and

culture. We can compare different forms of the same stories and ritual activities passing through different avenues, via oral and written transmission, and through the mediation of different peoples, whether Hurrian, West Semitic or Mesopotamian. Further, we can talk in a meaningful way about the mechanics of transmission between ethnic groups and across linguistic barriers. The models we can derive from the Hittite data can then be applied to Greek materials, to elucidate exactly how Near Eastern motifs and narrative patterns could have been adapted and adopted by Greeks.

Furthermore, the numerous correspondences between Hittite and Greek ritual and literary tropes indicate that Anatolia must have been an important channel for the literary and religious traditions of the wider Near East to reach the Greeks. Some of them have been noticed by scholars prior to now, and some of these will be discussed in this introduction, but there is still scope for extensive exploration of many more. This dissertation will discuss two types of correspondences, those between Hurro-Hittite narrative poetry and Homeric poetry, and those between ritual and cult verbal performances and the depiction of such performances in Sappho, Alcaeus and Aeschylus. I have not attempted to exhaustively examine every correspondence and the implications of all of them for the development of Greek religion and literature. Rather, my intention is present the bare minimum of data needed to convince a skeptical reader that Hittite data can and should be used to explicate Greek materials. The following evidence will be presented: evidence of direct contact between Greek-speakers and Anatolians starting in the Late Bronze Age, contact of the right sort to enable the transmission of songs and ritual practices across linguistic barriers; evidence of similarities between Hittite and Greek texts striking enough to indicate a relationship of more than coincidence or typological similarity, similarities which are not shared by the Mesopotamian or west Semitic tradition, although elements of them can be found in the wider Near Eastern tradition; interpretations of otherwise unexplained features in Greek literature based on

the Hittite evidence. These last do not require that the correspondences are the result of direct borrowing; they can also be areal or typological (terms explained below).

1.2. An Outline of the Dissertation

The second chapter will review the evidence for contact between speakers of Greek and Anatolians in the Late Bronze Age into the archaic period. Much of this has been ably discussed by other scholars, but there are still enough dissenters to require a fresh exposition of the evidence, one that does not elide over the difficulties of the Hittite texts and stresses the newer evidence and readings which support the theory that there was ample contact of the right sort to permit the transfer of song and cult.

In Chapter Three, the first of the two major sections of the dissertation, a single epic text found at Hattusa will be examined. This text, the 'Song of Release', was composed in Hurrian and translated into Hittite, showing how epic poetry was transmitted across linguistic barriers. The plot of the poem will be explained with special emphasis on the evidence for the new interpretation presented here. The 'Song of Release' will then be compared to Mesopotamian predecessors and to Homer's *Iliad* to show how the 'Song of Release' and the *Iliad* adapted traditional motifs to the interests of its specific audience. The 'Song of Release' belonged to a genre designated by the Sumerogram SIR$_3$, which included 'Gilgamesh' and 'Kumarbi', two texts whose striking parallels to Homeric poetry have already been acknowledged. The three texts share formulaic sequences, some of which are cognate with those of hexametric poetry. The similarities between these three examples of a single Hurro-Hittite genre and Greek hexametric narrative poetry are striking enough to argue that the genre as a whole reached the ancestors of Homer either while they were based on the coast of Anatolia, whether this was during the Mycenean period, or during or after the Dark Ages, or at another location, such as Cyprus or northern Syria, in which Hittites and their descendants came into contact with Greek-

speakers. This is further supported by the location of the action of the *Iliad* in Anatolia, and the traditional Anatolian origins of Homer and Hesiod's father.

In the second major section, Chapters Four through Six, the correspondences between other Hittite performance genres and the forms of ritual performances presented in Aeschylus, Sappho and Alcaeus will be discussed. The Hittite scribes and priests had a taxonomy of ritual speech, applying specific verbal nouns to specific types of speech or song according to how the speech act achieved its purpose of influencing the gods. This taxonomy corresponds closely to modern scholars' analysis of Greek prayers. In Chapter Four Hittite prayers will be examined diachronically to show how Hittite performers, by combining indigenous Anatolian practices with Mesopotamian practices, created prayers that stood halfway between the broader Near Eastern tradition and the Greek tradition. However, unlike the chapter on epic, the focus is not on proving that the correspondences were all created through direct borrowing from Hittite or another Anatolian language into Greek, since the correspondences still are significant even if they are due to typological factors, or they are areal features, for the Hittite texts provide a window into the earlier non-literary tradition from which the attested Greek poets drew their inspiration. The term 'areal feature' I borrow from linguistics, where it refers to the phenomenon of convergence and common innovation among languages in close contact with each other. Areal features are opposed to typological similarities, which can arise because of cognitive patterns common to (typical of) all humans.

Chapter Five is a close study of the reciprocity embodied in the Hittite term *malteššar* ('vow, request'), one that links inextricably not only demand and response, but blessing and curse. This is the one category found in Hittite texts which is not distinguished by modern Classical scholars, and it allows a novel analysis of Sappho 1, Alcaeus 129 and the function of the Furies as depicted in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*.

In Chapter Six one Hittite prayer type, the *arkuwar* ('response, defense'), will be

compared to the trial scene in the *Eumenides*, creating a new interpretation which shows that this scene draws on motifs from prayers. Archaic features are distinguished from innovations in the Aeschylean play by carefully elucidating the mundane background that inspired the specific features of the Hittite prayers and comparing it to Athenian judicial procedures.

The rest of this introduction will set the scene for readers who are not necessarily experts on the Hittites, and summarize the history of scholarship on correspondences between Hittite and Greek literature

1.3. Who Were the Hittites?

The primary site in which Hittite texts are found is the Hittite capital Hattusa, located in central Anatolia in the bend of the Kizil Irmak River. Two other spots in Anatolia have provided a number of Hittite texts, Ortaköy (Hittite Sapinuwa, still unpublished) and Maşat (Tapikka). While both of these archives are Middle Hittite (1500-1375 BC), the majority of the texts found in the various archives of Hattusa are New Hiitite (1375-1180 BC), with some Middle Hittite and fewer Old Hittite (1650-1500 BC) texts. A few Hittite texts have also been found in north Syria (Emar and Ugarit) and Egypt (Amarna).

Hattusa was a multi-lingual, multi-cultural site. As Houwink ten Cate (in Sasson 1995 269) puts it, 'Anatolia has been a country of bilinguals and even trilinguals and of translated literature.' While Hittite is an Indo-European language, the Anatolian branch to which it belongs diverges markedly from other Indo-European languages, indicating that the Anatolian branch broke off quite early from the rest of the family. Hittite was used to record ritual and religious texts such purification rituals, descriptions of festivals, prayers, vows, omens and oracular responses, as well as instruction texts, letters, treaties, annals, laws and other administrative texts, and finally literary texts, i.e. myths and other stories

devoid of context. The other Anatolian languages attested at Hatttusa are Palaic, used in

a few ritual texts, and Luwian. Some Sumerian texts, mostly scholastic in nature, are

found at Hattusa, while Akkadian was frequently used in international correspondence

and treaties, as well as in medical texts and other types of learned texts, including classic

stories of Gilgamesh, the gods, and Akkadian heroes such as Sargon the Great. The

substrate language Hattic (also called Hattian) appears in a few ritual and omen texts, and

Hurrian, a language related to Urartian, was also used in rituals and in a genre of song

(SIR$_3$) which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three. The Hurrians were important

intermediaries for the Mesopotamian tradition. Luwian was also inscribed on stone in a

writing system distinct from the Mesopotamian cuneiform tradition, which was used for

Hittite and the other languages attested at Hattusa. This Hieroglyphic Luwian first

appears in a single inscription from the Middle Hittite period, becomes more common in

the Late New Hittite period and continues to 700 BC in southeastern Anatolia and

northern Syria. Luwian belongs to the same branch as Lycian, while Lydian, Carian and

Piseditan are also descended from Anatolian stock, probably the Luwian branch. In fact,

Hittite seems to have been in use only among a small minority. Luwian and other

languages in that branch were therefore the most likely Anatolian languages in direct

contact with Greek, but, due to the preservation of Hittite texts over Luwian ones, most of

the correspondences discussed here are with Hittite texts.[1]

1.4. Previous Scholarship

When Hittite was first deciphered and Forrer (1924a, b) realized that men of

Ahhiyawa (Achaea) and Alaksandu of Wilusa (Ilios) were mentioned (see pp. 31 ff., 43

ff.), some embraced the news enthusiastically. However, opinion soon turned against

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[1] For more details on the Hittite civilization, consult especially Bryce (1998), Macqueen (1986; in Sasson 1995 1085-1107), Gurney (1990), Klengel (1999) and the relevant articles in Sasson (1995).

using Hittite texts to understand Greek prehistory and the events which lay behind the *Iliad*, in part because of the vehement objections of the Hittite scholar Sommer (1932; 1934) and in part because of legitimate scepticism for overly naïve attempts to find the 'kernel of truth' in the story of the Trojan War by Classical scholars such as Page (1959).[2] Furthermore, knowledge of Hittite political geography was not detailed enough at that time to withstand the counterattacks of dissenters who argued against the equations of Ahhiyawa and Achaea, and Wilusa and Ilios. Their objections however have since been invalidated by new archeological finds and the decipherment of key Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions (see pp. 30 ff. and Appendix 1).

Thus, at that time scholars divided themselves into two camps, with those who supported using Hittite texts to understand Greek culture finding themselves in the minority, while the majority looked to texts in Ugaritic, Akkadian and Hebrew to elucidate the prehistory of the Greek literary tradition. As it became fashionable to see east and west Semitic culture as important influences on the Greeks, Hittite suffered from the backlash against the 'Fascists' and 'racists' who had exalted 'Indo-European culture' and denied the patent influence of the relatively advanced Mesopotamian-derived civilizations.[3] Furthermore, few Classical scholars have access to training in Hittite philology, since it israrely taught and still lacks good resources for the beginning student. Thus the minority who advocate looking to Anatolia as an important site for transfer of Near Eastern culture to Greek-speakers are generally Hittitologists with some interest in Greek, or Indo-Europeanists, such as G. Huxley (1960), Hans Güterbock (1997 (1983);

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[2] On the backlash instigated by Sommer against Forrer see especially Szemerényi (1988).

[3] Burkert (1992 1-8) presents a balanced discussion of the history of the changing attitudes of Classical scholars towards the contribution of the Near East. Bernal (1991) has argued most vehemently that Classicists have willfully ignored the contributions of the Near East, especially Egypt, to Greek civilization. On the fascist leanings of certain prominent Indo-Europeanists, see Lincoln (1991 xviii-xix, 235-8), who expands on this topic in his history of the study of myth (Lincoln 1999).

1997 (1984); 1997 (1986); 1997 (1992)), Calvert Watkins (1995 135-51, 277-96, 448-59; 1998; 1998 (1970); 1998 (1986)), Jaan Puhvel (1983; 1988a; 1988b; 1991; 1992; 1993), and Frank Starke (1997).

The parallels which have been adduced between Hittite literature and Greek literature primarily have to with Homeric literature, that is Homer's epics, Hesiod's *Theogony* and the Homeric Hymns.[4] Since almost all preserved hexametric poetry was composed in an Ionicized dialect originating from the coast of Anatolia, this is not surprising. For example, the parallels between the Hittite Illuyanka myth and the Greek *Hymn to Pythian Apollo* have been discussed most recently by Watkins (1995 448-59), who argues for transmission of the nucleus of the story of a battle between a snake and a god in the Late Bronze Age. Burkert (1979 123 ff.) discussed the departure and return of an angry god or goddess which is found in the Telipinu and Hannahanna story (on this story see pp. 152 ff.) and the *Hymn to Demeter*. Watkins (2001b) has recently compared the Hittite disappearing god stories to the story of the 'Wrath of Meleager' told by Phoenix to Achilles in the *Iliad* (9.529 ff.), and these stories have further links to Artemis of Ephesus because of the shared motif of the bee (Picard 1940 280-4).

One repeatedly discussed example of a possible borrowed cultural item from Hittite into Greek has to do with the various possibilities for a Greek counterpart of the Hittite $^{KUS}kur\check{s}a\check{s}$ 'leather hunting bag', and this is a paradigm example of the re-interpretation of an archaic ritual object whose significance was no longer clear, a process which will be discussed with reference to incantatory imagery in Chapters Five and Six. While Popko (1975) compared the $^{KUS}kur\check{s}a\check{s}$ to the flayed skin of the Phrygian Marsyas displayed in a tree (Herodotus 7.26) and to the golden fleece of Jason (the latter followed by West 1997 479), Watkins (2000) on the other hand sees it as a precursor to both the

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[4] See Burkert (1991) for a thorough review of scholarship on the Near Eastern parallels to Homer up to 1991.

golden fleece and the aegis carried by Athena, demonstrating that there are verbal parallels to the descriptions of the Hittite bag and the aegis (*Iliad* 2.447 ff., 5.738-43, Pindar *Ol.* 13.22-3, *Dith.* 2.10-7), in the anaphoric use of ἐν δέ, which corresponds to Hittite *anda* (also see below, p. 17), occurring in an Anatolian context. Morris (2001a; 2001b 430-2) further compares the ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš* to the strange breast-like protuberances on depictions of Artemis of Ephesus, who, as she shows (with earlier refs.), had strong ties to earlier Anatolian hunting and nature goddesses. This important Hittite symbol of fertility yearly renewed remained vital even as it changed its meaning.

Much emphasis has been put on the correspondences between the Hurro-Hittite SIR₃ 'Song of Kumarbi' and Hesiod's *Theogony*, but the treatment of these stories is a cautionary tale concerning the over-eagerness of scholars to argue for direct borrowing from a Near Eastern text into Greek to explain all correspondences.[5] The two stories tell of the overturning of the previous generation of gods by the new generation, a story with roots that go back as far as the Sumerian tale 'Enki and Ninsikil' upon which the Akkadian story 'Enuma Elish' builds. Discussion of the possibility of this story being borrowed from the Hittites is split into two camps. On the one hand, unusual details such as the castration of the old god, the impregnation of the new male god by ingestion of sperm, and use of a copper knife, albeit for different purposes, seem to point to a direct borrowing. Further, the location of the gods' meeting in northern Syria at Mount Cassius where the stone monster Ullikummi is growing is comparable to the place at which Zeus and Typhon have their decisive battle, and points to borrowing via northern Syria. (Burkert 1988 18-9) North Syria was part of the Hittite sphere of influence, both transmitting west Semitic and Mesopotamian traditions to the Hittites via the Hurrians,

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[5] Lesky (1966b; 1966a), using the editions presented by Güterbock (1946; 1951), brought the story of the Kumarbi cycle to the attention of Classicists. The most recent discussion of the *Theogony* in light of Near Eastern texts is West (1997 276-305), who not only reviews the comparisons made with *Enuma Elish* and 'Kumarbi' but also discusses a wealth of other details which seem to have Near Eastern analogues.

and serving as a refuge for Hittite hegemony beyond the Dark Age. (See pp. 53-4.)

Thus, it is logical to look for transmission to explain the similarities, whether in the

Mycenean Period, as was suggested by West in his earliest discussion of the work (1966

18-31), or during the Orientalizing Period, as suggested by Walcot (1966 53-4) and Graf

(1993 95).

Yet Mondi (1990 151-6) has noted that swallowing sperm and children, spitting

out sperm, and male impregnation – details which seem so odd at first glance – form a

complex of motifs that can be found in a variety of cultures. And, other details such as

the four generations of gods found in the 'Kumarbi', but not found in Hesiod's version, are

mentioned in the cosmogonies of the Sanchuniathon epitomized by Philo of Byblos, and

of the Derveni Papyrus; a further story of the generations of gods found in Pherecydes of

Syros, also epitomized by Philo, shares other details.[*] This shows that there were many

variants of the story, and there is no need to assume any direct connection between

Hesiod and Kumarbi (Burkert 1988). The correspondences should not be taken to imply

direct transmission, they are either areal features or typological ones.

Mondi (1990 149) pushes this argument to its logical limit, criticizing the

tendency of Classical philologists to:

> tak[e] the literary influence of one text on another as a model for the cross-cultural transmission of
> myth.... There is often what amounts to an unspoken premise that the Oriental texts that, more or
> less by historical accident, have come to our attention are the very ones through which the Greeks
> were exposed to Eastern myth; and furthermore, at least in the case of some scholars, that our texts
> of Hesiod and Homer were themselves directly influenced by these Oriental models. Such a text-
> based comparison often entails a hypothetical reconstruction of specific times, places, and
> circumstances in which the transmission of this material supposedly took place, reconstructions
> that must in turn satisfy the chronological limits set by the putative dates of composition of the
> texts being compared.

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[*] The material from Philo comes to us by way of Eusebius. It is presented and discussed by
Baumgarten (1981). West (1966; 1971) and Walcot (1966) discuss the stories of the Sanchuniathon and
Pherecydes in light of the Babylonian texts and the Greek parallels. A translation and discussion of the
Derveni papyrus may be found in Laks and Most (1997). An interesting analysis is presented by Solmsen
(1989), who shows that inconsistencies in Hesiod's story imply that he has attempted to combine two
different Near Eastern sources into a coherent whole.

When discussing the correspondences between Greek and Near Eastern texts Mondi (1990 151), prefers to think of the texts 'as specific realizations of an underlying stratum of mythic thought rather than necessarily the actual vehicles of transmission.' Throughout this book, this question will be revisited again and again: Do the correspondences under discussion indicate direct borrowing, or are they areal features, i.e. found throughout the eastern Mediterranean, or typological features, i.e. just the way people tend to conceptualize the world, their place in it and their ability to affect events? The possibility that correspondences between Hittite and Greek literature represent common features inherited from Proto-Indo-European will be for the most part ignored, since very little of Hittite myth and religion has been shown to have an Indo-European origin (but see pp. 167-8).

An apparent correspondence open to the criticism of Mondi are the similarities between the necromancy episode in *Odyssey* XI, which was compared to CTH 446 'Purification Ritual for the Former Gods' by Steiner (1971; see West 1997 426). In CTH 446 ritual pits are dug by a river bank and a lamb is sacrificed down into one in order to invoke the Former Gods. As West (1997 344-5) notes, there is such an episode in the twelfth tablet of the Standard Babylonian Gilgamesh epic. This tablet, which was tacked onto the Gilgamesh story, is a close translation of the Sumerian poem 'Bilgames and the Netherworld' (George 1999 178). In fact this practice of digging pits to communicate with the Underworld found in Hurro-Hittite rituals was widespread in the Near East, and the Hittite custom betrays a western Semitic origin via a Hurrian intermediary because the term *api* for the pit corresponds to Hebrew '*ôḇ* (Hoffner 1967; Gonnet 1995 191-3 on Roman parallels).[7] Under these circumstances, this seeming correspondence should not be

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[7] The subject of ritual pits is also discussed at p. 193, and an analysis of CTH 446 from a different angle is presented at pp. 221 ff..

used alone to support a channel of transmission through the Hittites, although it doesn't argue against it.

Another apparent correspondence is difficult to evaluate, the Hittite funerary practices which to many scholars have seemed so similar to the Homeric custom of cremation.[1] On the one hand this correspondence might best be explained as a common Indo-European inheritance, since there are Vedic parallels to this too (Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995 727-30; Nagy 1990 129). While Hittite cemetaries show a mix of practices, with both cremation and inhumation (Seeher 1993; van den Hout 1994 54), cremation does not appear frequently until quite late in mainland Greece, although some cremations can be found dating to Neolithic times in mainland Greece and in Submycenean (approx. 1100 BC) graves at Athens. Meanwhile it does appear even during the Mycenean period in some Mycenean settlements on the coast of Anatolia, such as Muskebi; this evidence could be used to argue that the Hittites borrowed a late Indo-European practice. It appears in parts of Greece during the Dark Ages, but was not equally popular everywhere, becoming more common in the 11th cent (Snodgrass 2001 (1971) 143-7, 157 ff.; Hanfmann 1983 21-2). While Snodgrass sees influence from Anatolia encouraging the later popularity of the practice, since it is found not only at Hittite cemeteries but also at Troy VI (Snodgrass 2001 (1971) 187-90), he doesn't see Cyprus as the origin of its spread to mainland Greece (2001 (1971) 526-7), thus precluding one of the main routes of transmission between Anatolia and Greece. Furthermore, the similarities in the ceremonies following the cremation could be primarily typological, i.e. the natural consequence of coping with the remains of cremation. In fact, the similarities seem far less significant when the Hittite funerary rituals as a whole are examined, as many

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[1] The correspondences were first discussed by Gurney (1977 59-63; also see 1990 164-9; and West 1997 398-99). See van den Hout (1994) for up-to-date translations of the relevant parts, and his discussion of some of the more divergent Hittite practices in van den Hout (1995). The rituals as a whole were edited and translated into German by Otten (1958).

aspects diverge significantly from anything seen in the *Iliad*.

The rise in popularity of cremation towards the end of the Dark Ages could be attributed in part to the desire of Dark Age rulers to imitate practices described in epic, but the current evidence could be used to argue the reverse. The works ascribed to Homer received major re-shaping during the Dark Ages (Dickinson 1998), and the memories of the previous period were the impetous for a flowering of the epic tradition which we know through the works of Homer (Calligas 1988). Beginning in the 8th century, we see archeological evidence for a resurgence of interest in Mycenean tombs, which became nostalgic symbols of past greatness (Snodgrass 2001 (1971) 190-6). But, while at first scholars argued that epic inspired hero-cult (Farnell 1921 284, 340-2; Coldstream 1976; followed by Burkert 1985 203-5), critics pointed out that hero-worship is already known in Homer, and that there are examples of Homeric burials which antedate Homeric epic, notably at Lefkandi (Hadzisteliou-Price 1973; Antonaccio 1995). It seems best to wait for further evidence which would help place the origin of this custom in Greece. Still, the fact that cremation can be found at Troy VI, which dates to the time in which the events occurred that might lie behind the Homeric story Trojan War (see p. 39), allows one to postulate a connection to the depiction of this custom in the *Iliad*, although not to the practice of cremation in Greece.

Notwithstanding these false friends, many correspondences do seem to point to traditional knowledge on the part of Homeric poets of customs attested in Hittite documents, correspondences which Classical scholars ignore only at their peril. For example, Hittites seem to have occasionally used single champions to decide conflicts. This is mentioned in the Apology of Hattusili III (ii 31-47), and is compared by Hoffner (1968) to the battle of David and Goliath.[9] If van Wees had realized that the custom was

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[9] Güterbock (1997 (1983) 200) comments on a similar scenario in the Maduwatta Indictment (obv. 64). "The fact that in the context of a chariot battle the death of one leader on each side is singled out ... somehow recalls Homeric battles!"

attested in a Hittite historical text and the Bible, he may have re-phrased his argument

that the decisive single combat portrayed in the *Iliad* has no basis in reality and simply

shows 'that decisiveness in battle is claimed for those who are in power' (1988 23).

Some look specifically at the portrayal of the Trojans, arguing that Homer as an

Anatolian poet was appealing to an Anatolian audience, and therefore needed to depict

the Anatolian customs of the Trojans accurately (Starke 1997; Högemann 2000). Watkins

(1998 204-6) has pointed out that Trojan social structure seems to match Hittite social

structure, in which people closest to one in descending order are 'close relatives by

blood', 'close relatives by marriage', 'partisans by kin-fealty', and 'partisans by allegiance'.

Starke (1997 460-5) compares in detail the ruling family of Troy with the ruling families

of Hittite Anatolia, showing that, unlike the Achaean side, the government of the Trojans

seems to be in the hands of a single family, and that Hecuba seems to have religious

functions similar to the Hittite Tawannanna ('queen') (citing *Il.* 6.269-79, 286-310).

Starke also discusses the Trojan 'council of elders' (*demogerontes*, *Il.* 3.146 ff.),

comparing them to the Hittite council. He points out the designation 'elder' can't refer

simply to age, since young warriors are among them, and compares *geron* to Hittite *isha-*

'leader'. However, one might also argue that 'elder' is simply a calque out of an Anatolian

language, for such a council of elders ($^{LU.MES}$ŠU.GI) appears in the 'Song of Release' (KBo

XXXII 19 iii 1-2), and was in fact a feature of Hittite city governance, as Hoffner points

out to me (see Klengel 1965).

Lebrun (1998 155-7) notes that the gods of the Trojans correspond nicely with

some of the standard Hittite pantheon. The following table fleshes out his brief

comments:

Sun-god:	Apollo:	ᵈUTU (Istanu or Tiwat)
Storm-god:	Zeus:	ᵈU (Tarhunt)
goddess of sex:	Aphrodite:	Ishtar/Sauska
warrior god:	Ares:	ᵈU KARAŠ (Storm-god of the Host)
nature goddess:	Artemis:	Kubaba

Puhvel (1991 9) further points out that the gods by whom the Trojans swear (*Il.* 3.276-9) match some of those by whom the Hittite seal their treaties: a Storm-god, a Sun-god, a river, mountains, rivers and the gods of the oath.

Watkins emphasized the fact that the setting depicted in the *Iliad* shows how epic poetry could have been transferred across language barriers in Anatolia. He demonstrates that within the *Iliad* there is evidence that the Trojans could speak one or more languages other than Greek, depicting a multilingual setting suitable for the transmission of songs and other cultural features across linguistic boundaries: 'for there were are many allies about the great city of Priam/ and language differs from language among the scattered nations' (*Il.* 2.803-4, trans. Watkins 1998 (1986) 706). As Watkins (1998 (1986) 707) says about the Anatolians in the *Iliad*, 'Certainly bilingualism must have been widespread, not merely among soldiers and camp followers, but also possibly in the royal family.' He points out that King Priam not only fought on the side of the Phrygians when he was younger, but married one – Hecuba. For another example of Anatolian bilingualism in Homeric poetry, he turns to the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (111-6), in which Aphrodite says to Anchises, the father of the Trojan hero Aeneas, that she is the daughter of the Phrygian king and can speak Anchises' language because her nurse was Trojan. In real-life Anatolia, we can compare the royal marriages made by the Hittites not only with their Anatolian allies, but with Akkadians, North Syrians and Egyptians as well. 'Since we find widespread Hittite-Luwian bilingualism in late Hittite Empire times

in central Anatolia (Boğazköy-Hattusas), and by implication in the southeast and southwest Luwian-speaking Kizzuwatna and Arzawa, we could expect *a priori* a similar situation in the northwest under similar sociocultural conditions.' (Watkins 1998 (1986) 707) This topic will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter (pp. 47-8), in the context of the information provided by Hittite documents.

The results of such contact were calques into Homer of words and phrases found in Hittite. Calquing on a large scale of similes is discussed by Puhvel (1991 21-9). George Dunkel (1993 105-6) suggests that *megaletora thumon* (*Il.* 11.403) could be a calque from Hittite to Homeric Greek, pointing out the correspondence of Hitt. *šallakarta-* and Homeric *megathumos* 'great-hearted', as well as Hitt. DUMU.MEŠ URU*Hattuša* 'sons of Hattusa' and Homeric *huies Achaion* 'sons of the Achaeans', among other suggestions.[10] Puhvel (1993) compares Hittite *anda wemiya* and Homeric *en heure* 'catch up'. He also cites the Homeric sentence opener *en de*, which seems to be inspired by the Hittite connective *anda*. (Further examples of similar phenomena may be found in Puhvel 1983.) As a final example of convergence I mention Watkins' analysis of the usage of the Homeric particle *tar* and Luwian *-tar* (Watkins 1995 150-1, citing Katz, unpublished, *non vidi*). Nagy (1990 129-30 with earlier refs.) mentions the Greek word *therapon*, which seems to hark back to the original Hittite meaning of *tarpalli* 'ritual substitute' when applied to Patroclus. He further suggests that the opaque Homeric verb *tarkhuo* also has an Anatolian origin, comparing *tarḫu* 'powerful' and the name of the Lycian god Trqqas, descendent of the Hittite Tarhunta, translating the Greek verb as 'give him a funeral', i.e. 'honor as a god' (Nagy 1990 130-4 with earlier refs.).

Borrowing morphemes, or reinterpreting native morphology under the influence of another language's morphology can only occur in a situation in which many speakers

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[10] This last expression in Greek is considered by Burkert (1992 46) to come from a Semitic language.

are bilingual, and thus the Anatolian features of Homeric language are our best evidence for close contact between Anatolians and Greek-speaking poets during the formation of hexametric poetry. Puhvel (1991 13-20) mentions the Homeric suffix -*ske/o-*, which is used just like the Hittite -*ski*- to describe 'on-going and open-ended action' (13); Luwian also has a comparable but unrelated suffix -*sa*-. Another example of Anatolian influence on Homeric language is the use of the East Aeolic patronymic and genitive suffix -*io*-, which may even involve the borrowing of a similar Luwian suffix, or else the reinterpretation of a native Greek suffix that corresponded in form to the Luwian morpheme, -*i/ya*-, also appearing as -*assi/a*-. The relational suffix is an Anatolian areal feature, also found in later Lydian -*li*-. (See briefly Watkins 2001a 58.) Watkins (2001a) has in fact used the evidence of such correspondences, not only between Homeric Greek and Hittite or Luwian, but also between Hittite, Luwian, Hurrian and Hattic, to argue for the recognition of Anatolia as a linguistic area.

This model of bilingual poets, however, cannot simply be applied to the seeming borrowing or calquing of Semitic words and phrases to justify postulating direct Semitic-Greek contact. Firstly, the Hittite material shows that calquing or borrowing can occur repeatedly from one language into another. Thus, even if a Greek term seems to be borrowed or calqued from Akkadian, this does not preclude the possibility that Anatolian-speakers were intermediaries. The Hittite term for a ritual pit, *api*, has already been discussed (p. 12). It reached Hittite from a west Semitic language via Hurrian. In the same way, the Sumerian divine name Ea is continued in the Lycian pantheon, which entered it through a Hittite intermediary (see p. 54). The repeated transfer of these single words or names reflects the repeated 'calquing' the ritual and religious forms that made them meaningful.

Inversely, calquing of words can stimulate the calquing of ritual. For example, Sumerian *sum.sikil* 'holy garlic' was calqued into Hittite via a lost Akkadian intermediary,

appearing in a ritual which demonstrates associative word play that works only in

Hittite, yet in a section of the ritual borrowed from a well-known Akkadian purification

ritual, the 'Shurpu' ritual. Goetze (1947 318-20) noted that this ritual has a Mesopotamian

parallel from Tablet V-VI of the 'Shurpu' ritual, in which an onion is taken apart as part

of the purificatory procedures. (See ed. and trans. in Reiner 1958 52 ff.) He pointed out

that the Sumerian word for onion was *sum.sikil* 'holy garlic', and suggested that this word

was calqued into Hittite as *šuppi-wašhar* 'holy *wašhar*' via an unknown Akkadian

intermediary. The punning and alliteration involve the words *šuppiwašhar* 'garlic', *šuppi-*

'pure' and *šippai-* 'peel'. The practitioner peels apart the layers of an onion, stating that as

the onion is peeled apart, so may evil be peeled off (CTH 480, KUB XXIX 7 rev. 36-41,

ed. Lebrun 1976 123. See Wright 1993 483, 487-90.).[11] While this part of the Hittite ritual

must have been borrowed from the corresponding part of a purification ritual similar to

the attested Akkadian 'Shurpu' ritual, the assonance of *šuppi* 'holy, pure' and *šippai-* 'peel'

added to the effectiveness of the ritual in Hittite, and probably encouraged the Hittite

practitioner to borrow only this particular part of the ritual. The calquing of the word

meaning 'garlic' thus stimulated the 'calquing' of the Akkadian ritual. Burkert (1992 61-2)

in fact discusses this part of the 'Shurpu' ritual, comparing it to an analogue in Greece, but

neglects to note that it may be found in Hittite.[12] This example shows how many practices

and motifs found in both the Mesopotamian and Greek traditions could have made their

way to Greece via Anatolia. Or, rather than a direct borrowing from Anatolians, the rite

could have reached both the Greeks and the Hittites through the same route, northern

Syria, but at different times. At a minimum the Hittite rite shows two things, that

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[11] Hoffner (1975 108-9) says about the vegetable in question, that this passage implies that it is an onion, but that the description elsewhere of a unit of the vegetable as a 'tooth' fits better with garlic.

[12] Nearly all of the 'Mesopotamian' purificatory practices discussed by Burkert in this section (60-3) may be found in Hittite, from the use of branches, to wiping, to disposal in the sea; cf. Wright (1987) for a comparative discussion of Hittite, Mesopotamian and Biblical practices.

calquing can occur through intermediary languages and that originally Mesopotamian traditions were not limited to Mesopotamians.

Despite the strong evidence for close contact between Greek and Anatolian poets during the formation of the Homeric dialect – which will be explored further in the following chapter – neither Burkert nor West have been willing to support this line of transmission as an important intermediary bringing the wider Near Eastern poetic tradition into contact with Greeks, whether during the Mycenean period or after. Both acknowledge that the Mycenean period was an important period of Near Eastern influence on Greece, but both prefer to look at the Neo-Assyrian period, the Greek Orientalizing Period, because this is the period in which Greeks were clearly in contact with Semitic peoples, and this could explain numerous correspondences between Semitic and Greek poetic phrases and myths as direct borrowing. (West 1988 169; Burkert 1991 169; West 1997 625-30) Each avoids the conclusion that Hittite Anatolia could have been a key transmitter of the Near Eastern tradition in different ways.

West (1988 170) argued that many of the parallels which he went on to discuss in detail in his later book, *The East Face of Helicon*, were introduced during the Orientalizing Period because '[t]here is a freshness and vividness about all this as it appears in the *Iliad* which suggests that it is comparatively modern material.' In 1995 he stated, 'Certainly the poetry of Hesiod and Homer, from the late eighth and seventh centuries, is strongly influenced by near eastern poetic and mythological traditions, and this is probably due mainly to post-Mycenaean contacts, though an older stratum of borrowing may also be involved.' (Sasson 1995 34)

Secondly, he discounts the possibility that Anatolia was a route of transmission because of topography. In the Dark Ages leading up to the Orientalizing Period, '[t]he route is now moderately clear. It was from the shores of Syria and Cilicia by way of Cyprus and either Rhodes or Crete, not to the Ionians of Asia Minor, who lagged behind

in oriental contacts, but towards Attica and above all, as we know today, Euboea.' (West

1988 170)[13] In a chapter of *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (Sasson 1995), entitled

'Ancient Near Eastern Myths in Classical Greek Religious Thought', West continued to

discount the possibility of earlier fruitful contacts between Hittites and Myceneans,

although he admits, 'The Mycenaeans [...] had direct contacts with coastal areas of Syro-

Palestine and western and southern Anatolia' (33). He further argues:

> Anatolia, though physically the nearest of the eastern lands to Greece, is also of limited
> importance in this connection. The Hittite Empire of the second millennium did not extend to the
> Aegean, and there is little sign of direct influence on Greece from that quarter. In classical times
> the local cults of Western Anatolia attracted participation by Greeks of the region, but there was
> not much communication with the interior: the kingdoms of Phrygia and Lydia seem to have had
> little to offer that would concern us.
>   The most important route linking Greece to the East was the sea route from Crete or
> Rhodes along the southern shores of Asia Minor to Cyprus and the Syrian coast. From there roads
> led on to Assyria and Babylon and to all the cities of the Levant. The material that will provide
> comparisons in this chapter consists predominantly of poetic texts from Mesopotamia and Canaan
> (Ugarit). The likeliest lines of transmission, in terms of language and locality, are Akkadian to
> Greek in Syria; (Akkadian to) West Semitic (Ugaritic, Phoenician, etc.) to Greek in Syria or
> Cyprus; and Phoenician or Aramaic to Greek in Crete or in Greece itself. (35)

The second chapter of this dissertation will argue that the topography of Anatolia and the

extent of the Hittite Empire did in fact allow for fruitful contact between Greek-speakers

and Hittites. Furthermore, West himself in his *Ancient Greek Music* (1992; also see 1997

612) shows how strong the influence of Lydians and Phrygians was on Greek music (see

here note 2 on pp. 130-1). The medium of performance can hardly be separated from the

verbal content of performances, which will be discussed in Chapters Four and Five. The

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[13] In his 1988 article West further argues that there are thematic and linguistic clues pointing to the formative phase of the epic tradition occurring in the vicinity of Euboia. He argues that Thessalian characters such as Protesilaus, the first to land at Troy, and Philoctetes, by whose bow Troy was fated to be taken, are part of the 'deep structure' of the narrative of the *Iliad*, while the Thessalian hero Achilles had an epic that at one time stood on its own, then was grafted onto the *Iliad*. I am unconvinced that the heroes Protesilaus, Philoctetes, Odysseus, Oilian Ajax, or even Spartan Helen and Argive Agamemnon were more important to the story of the sack of Troy than Troy. West argues that certain Homeric forms must have entered the poetic dialect via Euboea, rather than Ionia or Lesbos. His linguistic arguments have been addressed by Wyatt (1992 with earlier refs.), while scholars such as Adrados (1981), Miller (1982) and Horrocks (1987) have attacked the Aeolic phase theory from different angles. I have also discussed the seeming mix of regional dialects in the Homeric dialect (Bachvarova 1997).

correspondences between Greek lyric poetry and Hittite prayers are in fact extensive.

In his 1997 book West expresses a somewhat different opinion:

> Mesopotamia is clearly of outstanding importance as a source of much of the material under discussion. Not that everything which I have documented from Akkadian and Sumerian texts necessarily came to Greece from there. In many cases I was able to cite supporting evidence from Anatolia, Syria, or Palestine. The sheer quantity of surviving cuneiform literature makes it inevitable that some things are attested there alone which were actually not specifically Mesopotamian and might have been equally well attested in Aramaic or Phoenician literature if we had an equivalent body of texts. (587)

West continues:

> Semitic contributions have been much emphasized. Of the non-Semitic literate peoples of western Asia, those of western Anatolia – the Phrygians, Lydians, Carians, and Lycians – necessarily remain out of the discussion, as we know too little of their poetic or mythological traditions to draw any useful conclusions. But we should not underrate the importance of those from further east who were literate at an earlier period: the Hittites (with their Luwian kin) and the Hurrians. Both learned cuneiform writing from the south, and their mythologies, we can see, are strongly influenced by Mesopotamian traditions. There are, nevertheless, important native Anatolian elements in them. Greeks will have encountered Luwian- and Hurrian-speakers in Cyprus, Cilicia, and north Syria. (589)

While West does acknowledge that some traits of the poetic tradition of the Greeks could have come from the Hittites, he still discounts the possibility of contact within Anatolia. Whereas West is interested in distinguishing between the contributions of Hittite culture and the contributions of other Near Eastern peoples, in this book the emphasis will be on how the Hittites reworked Mesopotamian traditions, combining them with Hurrian, west Semitic and native Anatolian traditions to create literature strikingly similar to early Greek poetry.

Burkert does not dismiss outright the possibility of Anatolian-mediated transmission. Rather, his argumentation when dealing with equivocal examples subtly undercuts Anatolian connections and highlights Mesopotamian ones. An example of this can be found in his 1983 article 'Oriental Myth and Literature in the *Iliad*', which was substantially repeated in his 1992 book, *The Orientalizing Revolution*. Here he discussed

the story of Bellerophon. Burkert argues that the *pinax ptuktos* ('folded tablet'), which contained the message ordering that the Lycian hero Bellerophon be killed, must have been a Phoenician *deltos*. He never states outright what writing system might have been used on the folding board brought by Bellerophon, saying only:

> The one writing system which constantly used the wooden (or ivory) tablet is the Phoenician-Aramean and its dependent, the Graeco-Roman.... There is no avoiding the conclusion: the Bellerophon story, as contained in the *Iliad*, presupposes writing on a Phoenician-Greek δέλτος. A vague Dark-Age reminiscence is intrinsically improbable, is not suggested by any formulaic elements in the lines in question – on the contrary, the wording seems to be quite innovative – and is definitively ruled out by the specific mention of the πίναξ πτυκτός. (Burkert 1983 52)

He then goes on to argue that the fact that tablet folds precludes the use of Hieroglyphic Luwian. In his later book, he refers to this article primarily with regard to the point that the vowel *e* in the word *deltos* 'tablet' matches the vowel *e* in the word for the Greek letter delta, rather than the proper Semitic *daltu/daleth*. That the normal Greek term for the writing tablet and the letter name show exactly the same metamorphosis indicates that both belong together from the start – in other words, that the *deltos* in Greece is as old as the Greek alphabet.' (Burkert 1992 30)

While I do not wish to disprove this particular conclusion, which is probably right, I would like to examine more closely the reasoning Burkert uses to arrive at the conclusion that the writing could not have been Hieroglyphic Luwian, despite the fact that other parts of the Bellerophon story point to a milieu in which Hieroglyphic Luwian was in use, written on a variety of media, including folding wooden boards. First of all, the story of Bellerophon, as Burkert notes, is similar to the story of the wife of Potiphar (*Genesis* 39) on the one hand and to the deadly letter story of David and Uriah (*Samuel* II 11) on the other. Bellerophon refused the advances of the wife of King Proetus, who then attempted to engineer his death by means of the deadly letter. While mentioning that the Potiphar's wife story is wide-spread, Burkert does not cite the Hittite version of this, the

story of Elkunirsa and Ashertu, which itself was clearly borrowed from a west Semitic source (trans. Hoffner 1998 90-1). The story thus does not discourage a connection with the Hittites if there were other evidence supporting such a conclusion.

Secondly, the use of a folding board is an argument for the use of Hieroglyphic Luwian, not against it. Inspired by the discovery in the Ulu Burun shipwreck off the coast of Turkey of a folding wooden writing board dating to the Late Bronze Age, Symington (1991) has reviewed the evidence for the use of such boards, and concludes that in the Late Bronze Age the Hittites, writing most often in Hieroglyphic Luwian but also in cuneiform, were accustomed to using folding boards and may have introduced this practice to north Syria, at least to Ugarit and Emar, since it is best attested in this period among the Hittites. This medium was used both for accounts and for international letters.[14]

Burkert continues:

> That the Lycian language is closely related to Hieroglyphic Luwian is an interesting fact in this connection; incidentally Uriah is Hittite. We still do not possess narrative texts from these regions. It is still remarkable that Aramaean and cuneiform writing were practised side by side.... All the clues thus point to an import from the region of North Syria/Cilicia, and to an epoch not earlier than the alphabet. (1983 52)

While I would agree with both parts of his conclusion, if anything it supports the hypothesis that this story was originally applied to a letter written in Hieroglyphic Luwian re-using traditional elements known to the Neo-Hittites, and then re-applied to the writing system better known to the Greeks at some point before it entered into the *Iliad*. For, in northern Syria Aramaic is not only attested alongside Akkadian, but also with Hieroglyphic Luwian, as is Phoenician. Hieroglyphic Luwian continued to be used

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[14] For more on writing on wood versus clay by the Hittites and Luwians, see Hawkins (1986). Bryce (1999 261-2) also suggests that the language which Bellerophon could not read was Hieroglyphic Luwian, positing that the Bellerophon story reflects the presence of Anatolian scribes in Mycenean Greece. However, we must note that there is no direct evidence of writing Hieroglyphic Luwian on wooden writing boards.

until 700 BC – well within the time of Homer – side by side with Aramaic and Phoenician in the very area which Burkert localizes the beast slain by Bellerophon, the Chimera, 'a composite monster which in two at least of three elements agrees with Late Hittite iconography as attested at Carchemish and Zinjirli' (Burkert 1983 52). While Carchemish has abundant attestations of Hieroglyphic Luwian, Zincirli combines Hittite iconography with Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions; attestation of Hieroglyphic Luwian is confined to a single signet ring bearing the Aramaic name Bar-Rakib (fl. 732 BC). (Hawkins 1982 386, 397; 2000 20, 576; van Loon 1990 1) The cuneiform and Phoenician/Aramean writing systems thus co-existed with Hieroglyphic Luwian (Franke Starke 1997), and the Neo-Hittites participated actively in the north Syrian/Cilician cultural area at this time; they could have been instrumental in transmitting the story to Greek-speakers. (See pp. 53-4 for further discussion.) Throughout this dissertation, the focus will be on exactly this phenomenon, the role of Anatolian-speakers as intermediaries for the transmission of Mesopotamian culture to Greek-speakers, both before Greek-speakers had extensive contacts with Semitic-speakers and after.

The criticism leveled here against specific statements made by these two scholars should not detract from the brilliance and originality of their ground-breaking work, which has been a major inspiration for this dissertation. The results presented here are meant to be complementary to the work of West and Burkert. Whereas the focus of their work is formulae, motifemes and the larger narrative structures of myths, this dissertation attempts to show how these could have crossed linguistic barriers, and to describe specific contexts in which this transfer could occur besides the movements of the single healers and poets so ably described by Burkert (1992 9 ff.; also see West 1997 629-30). The contexts discussed here were festivals at temples which drew delegations from many different towns and regions, and when gods were imported from one locality to another (see pp. 48-51). Furthermore, I compare like with like, the Hurro-Hittite SIR₃ with

hexametric poetry in the Ionicized Homeric dialect (Chapter Three), and Hittite prayers with Greek prayers (Chapter Four), in order to show how these two types of verbal art share remarkable correspondences not found in the wider Near Eastern tradition, and further to show how many Mesopotamian motifs were translated into Hittite, leaving open the possibility that many more correspondences now only found between Semitic and Greek poetry could have found their way to Greece via the same Anatolian intermediaries. Moreover, many of the correspondences discussed in Chapters Four, Five and Six need not be borrowed from Hittite or another Anatolian language into Greek to be significant, although some of the most interesting examples in Chapter Four reflect the actual process of transfer from one group to another (see p. 171). Finally, the examples in Chapters Three, Five (esp. pp. 187-8) and Six often show how archaic elements were re-interpreted to fit what was culturally important for the Greeks and made sense in the current context. We can compare this to the re-analysis of the Hittite $^{KUŠ}kuršaš$ from a hunting bag full of good things to Athena's terrible aegis or Jason's golden fleece (see pp. 9-10).

Chapter Two

Contacts between Greeks and Anatolians from the Late Bronze Age through the Dark Ages

2.1. Introduction[1]

At this point we have no direct evidence of the transmission and translation of
Near Eastern epic to Greek poets, but during the Hittite period, i.e. 1650 BC to 1175 BC,
Anatolian, Mesopotamian and Ugaritic poets were engaging in the right kind of contact
for the transmission and translation of Mesopotamian literature. We can find good
evidence in the literary texts from the archives of Ugarit, which contains texts from the
Middle Hittite period (Middle Babylonian) up to the New Hittite period, a time when
Ugarit was under the control of the Hittites (Singer in Watson and Wyatt 1999 627-703).
This archive contains texts in the Ugaritic dialect and Ugaritic alphabetic script side by
side with Akkadian texts in cuneiform (van Soldt 1995 183-6), cult texts in Hurrian, a

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[1] Prof. Hoffner has provided much help in interpreting and reconstructing the difficult Hittite
passages discussed in this chapter, which is only partly revealed by the number of times his comments are
explicitly cited.

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few administrative documents in Hittite, and a trilingual text imported from Hattusa

containing a traditional encomium of the scribe's mother, translated from Sumerian into

Akkadian and Hittite (Nougayrol et al. 1968 310-19, 773-9). Another text in a typical

Ugaritic hand is made up of short sayings in peripheral Middle Babylonian and Hittite.

This text has a parallel in Hattusa. (Nougayrol et al. 1968 273-90, 779-84)[2] The texts

from Hattusa offer us similar examples of a multi-lingual culture making use of

Mesopotamian literature (Beckman 1983; Archi 1978), as will be discussed in the next

two chapters. As we will see, they provide indirect evidence that the kind of contact

between nobles, priests, poets and scribes attested at Ugarit extended to Greek-speakers

as well, while a line of Homeric poetry in Luwian provides an example of the type of

material that was transmitted (see pp. 44-5).

Evidence from Hittite historical documents indicates that scribes and nobles from

the Hittite court interacted with both Trojans and Greek-speakers. In the Hittite texts Troy

was called Wilusa (see App. 1, esp. pp. 239 ff.), and Greek-speakers were called people

of Ahhiyawa (see pp. 31 ff.). This has been well-discussed in recent surveys, and rather

than covering all the voluminous bibliography on the subject, I refer the reader to the

following fairly recent discussions: Röllig (1992a) examines all the important historical

texts mentioning Ahhiyawa in Hittite.[3] A more recent and shorter discussion appears in

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[2] It has been proposed that Hittite hegemony in Ugarit was the impetus for the adoption of Mesopotamian cuneiform and Mesopotamian literature next to a previously existing tradition of alphabetic Ugaritic literature, that could have been written on papyrus or some other perishable material, and that the Hittite-controlled Syrian town of Emar was an intermediary (Dietrich 1996). This is based on the fact that many of the Mesopotamian school and literary texts found at Ugarit have their best parallels in texts found at Hattusa and Emar. See van Soldt (1995 207-8) for a complete list. Van Soldt (1995 184-5) however rightly points out that the layout of alphabetic texts in Ugaritic is dependent on Mesopotamian patterns, and that many phrases found in the administrative texts are direct translations from Akkadian; Neu (1995) also sees little Hittite influence on the literature and writing habits of Ugarit. A Ugaritic text has been found at Cyprus (Curtis in Watson and Wyatt 1999 12), and Eteocyprian texts have been found at Ugarit (Singer in Watson and Wyatt 1999 676), showing that Cyprus was another important site in the Late Bronze Age where the type of contact occurred which was needed to transmit verbal art across linguistic barriers. The north Syrian site of Emar has religious texts drawing on Hittite, Hurrian, Mesopotamian and native north Syrian traditions (Fleming 1992), and an Akkadian version of 'Gilgamesh' (Pitard 1996 19).

[3] The texts are fully edited in Sommer (1932), except for the joins found by Hoffner (1982) and Houwink ten Cate (1983-4). Also see the citations collected by Ertem (1973 2-5), del Monte and Tischler

Gates (1995). Starke (1997b) discusses Hittite political geography in detail, and the language of the Trojans and Hittite customs reflected in the *Iliad*. Niemeier (1998) also presents a clear discussion of the political geography of the east Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age, with fulsome references to the works of previous scholars on the matter. Bryce (1998 393-404) reviews the Hittite evidence, focusing primarily on whether there is evidence in Hittite texts that the Trojan War as Homer described it really happened. (He thinks the events that Homer describes are partly fictional and partly compressed from events covering a long time span.) (Also see Bryce 1989a.) These come in the wake of articles by Güterbock (1997 (1983)b; 1997 (1986)) and Mellink (1983) reviewing the written and archeological evidence for contact between Myceneans, Trojans and Hittites, and the insightful analysis by Watkins (1998 (1986)) of literary and onomastic data. These three scholars came out strongly in favor of equating the Ahhiyawans who appear in Hittite texts with Greek speakers, and the city Wilusa, a sometime ally of the Hittites, with Homeric (W)Ilios. They capped a debate that had been acrimonious from the beginning, when Forrer (1924b) first proposed that Ahhiyawa was a Greek kingdom, and Sommer (1932; 1934) argued the opposing side.[4]

There are still those who deny the connection of Ahhiya(wa) to Achaia/Achais,[5] and it is undeniable that place names from Hittite documents, even if they match up with place names from the Classical period, may not actually refer to the same location. We should be very cautious about relying too heavily on seeming similarities, and make sure

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(1978 1-2) and del Monte (1992 1).

[4] See Güterbock (1997 (1983)b 199) or (1997 (1984) 205) on the history of the debate and Szemerenyi (1988) about Sommer vs. Forrer. The debate is also covered with detailed references by Niemeier (1998 19-27).

[5] Košak (1981; 1980), for example, has denied that there is enough evidence to link Ahhiyawa with Greek speakers, following the lead of Steiner (1964), another strong dissenter who still maintains his position (1989 410-1). Ünal (1991) also is still against the equation of Ahhiyawans with Greek speakers. The most recent philological discussion of the Greek counterpart to the name Ahhiyawa is by Carruba (1995).

we have reasons other than correspondences of their names to equate Hittite and

Classical place names.[6] However, it's hard not to agree with Bryce when he writes:[7]

> I must state here my belief that circumstantial evidence clearly favors a Mycenaean Greek
> kingdom as the strongest candidate for the kingdom of Ahhiyawa. If the equation is not valid, then
> two basic facts have to be accepted. Firstly, in spite of the material evidence for Mycenaean
> contact with Western Anatolia and with the countries of the eastern Mediterranean, and in spite of
> the extensive information in the Hittite archives of countries, states and kingdoms involved in the
> affairs of this region, there is not one identifiable reference to the Mycenaeans in the Hittite texts –
> if the Ahhiyawa-Mycenaean equation is invalid. Secondly, it seems clear from the Hittite texts that
> the rulers of Ahhiyawa corresponded on equal terms with their Hittite counterparts, and up to a
> certain point in Tudhaliya IV's reign were apparently regarded as ranking in importance with other
> major Late Bronze Age rulers – the kings of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria. If the Ahhiyawa-
> Mycenaean equation is invalid, Ahhiyawa alone of these kingdoms has left no demonstrable trace
> in the archaeological record. (1989b 3-4)

This common-sense argument, as will be seen, has been strengthened in the last decade

by the publication of newly discovered and deciphered evidence that makes more clear

the political geography of Anatolia, and clarifies the time frame of historical events that

are mentioned in Hittite documents (also see App. 1). Furthermore, Linear B documents

unknown to Sommer and his supporters bolster the claims first made by Forrer about

geographical and personal names which he considered Greek that appear in Hittite

documents.

In this chapter, first the role of the Ahhiyawans in Anatolian affairs will be

reviewed. A discussion of the linguistic and cultural situation of Anatolia beginning in

the 2nd millennium BC up through the Dark Ages will follow, showing that there was in

fact the right kind of contact to transmit poetry to and from Greeks and Anatolians in the

Late Bronze Age, and enough cultural continuity up to the Greek colonization of Ionia to

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[6] The possibility of 'wandering place names' is one of Košak's main arguments against those who
try to equate Hittite place names with Classical ones (1981 15), a skepticism which Mellaart (1982 78-9,
83; 1993 414) rightly advocates.

[7] A similar argument is made by Cline (1994 69), citing personal communication with Gary
Beckman. Also cf. Houwink ten Cate (1983-4 48, note 38) on the congruity between the coastal and island
archeological sites, and the Hittite mentions of Ahhiyawa with reference to the same sort of sites.

expect that Greeks at this time would have access to traditions handed down from Hittite times. This provides two avenues for the direct transmission of the motifs of verbal art which will be discussed in the following chapters.

Hittite geography in general has been a subject of much dispute, and some have doubted the other important equation of Wilusa and Ilios. To prove this equation requires an extended excursus on Hittite political geography. This is provided in Appendix 1. Although there are still some questions to be resolved, evidence is steadily accumulating which supports the equation of Wilusa and Ilios, and the most popular view of Hittite geography, as advocated by Singer (1983), Gurney (1992), Starke (1997b), Bryce (1998), Niemeier (1998) and Hawkins (1998). According to this view there is no place for Ahhiyawa on the mainland of Anatolia, and no other place for Wilusa but the Troad.

2.2. Ahhiyawa

There are some twenty-five Hittite texts naming Ahhiya or Ahhiyawa (Röllig 1992a 186). Most of the relevant Hittite texts date to the New Hittite period (1300's and 1200's), but one is from the Middle Hittite period (1500's and 1400's). This is 'Madduwatta's Indictment' (from Arnuwanda I), a draft of a diplomatic letter to a man named Madduwatta, which shows that Ahhiyawans are already meddling in the political affairs of Anatolia, attempting to establish a toehold in Hittite territory. In the letter Madduwatta is reminded how the Hittite king's father (Tudhaliya I/II) took care of him when Attarissiya (= Atreus? see note 34), the 'man of the city Ahhiya', chased him out of his country, which is left unspecified (KUB XIV 1 obv. i 1, etc., ed. Götze 1968 (1927) 2). The Hittite king runs through a long list of treacherous acts committed by Madduwatta, describing the repeated help by Hittite king.[8] Among his crimes

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[8] Among the many names mentioned is of a man called Muksus, unfortunately in a fragmentary context (rev. 75). This name also turns up in the bilingual Phoenician-Hieroglyphic Luwian Karatepe inscription (end of 8th cent. BC) (XXI, Ho/Hu 112, for example) (ed. Hawkins 2000 51), while *mo-qo-so* appears in the Linear B Tablet at Knossos, De 1381 + 1497 + 7267 + 7963 (ed. Killen and Olivier 1989 94;

Madduwatta did not dissuade Attarissiya from attacking Alasiya (= Cyprus) although

it belonged to the Hittite king.[9]

There is the possibility that Ahhiyawans were involved in another political

upheaval in the Middle Hittite period, one which involved Wilusa. In 'Tudhaliya I/II's

Annals' (KUB XXIII 11 ii 13' ff., KUB XXIII 12 ii 4' ff., ed. Carruba 1977 158-60), the

Hittite king describes how he conquered the rebellious land of Assuwa, among whose

states are the land of the city Taruisa (= Troy?) and the land of the city Wilusiya (= Ilios,

see pp. 240-1)(KUB XXIII 11 ii 19'). The hint that the Ahhiyawans may have been

involved in the rebellion comes from the fragmentary New Hittite 'Assuwa Letter' (ed.

Sommer 1932 268-71). The letter is addressed to the '[lo]rd of the [l]and Ahhiyaw[a]'

([E]N' [K]UR *Ahhiyaw*[a] KUB XXVI 91 obv. 1) and speaks of islands belonging to the

Hittite king which the addressee had taken possession of (obv. 5-7).[10] These islands seem

to be under dispute, a dispute whose past history involves the king of Assuwa (obv. 7, 14)

and a Tudh[aliya] (obv. 9). Starke (1997b 455-6) has connected the events mentioned in

the letter with Tudhaliya I/II's campaign against Assuwa, because Assuwa seems to have

been a political entity only in the Middle Hittite period. Because the letter was addressed

to a lord of Ahhiyawa, it could show Mycenean involvement in the Assuwa rebellion and

perhaps discusses an agreement which established peace at the end of the war with

Assuwa.[11]

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see Cline 1994 69, with earlier refs.). It has been compared to the name of the Trojan seer Mopsus.

[9] Although Merrilles (1987) in his review of the evidence denies that there is enough to link
Alasiya with Cyprus, the epithet Apollo Alasiyotes, which is found in a Cyprian inscription dated to the 4th
cent. BC, is otherwise difficult to explain. Merrilles does this by arguing that it could be dedicated to a non-
indigenous deity (20, 31, 35, 66-7). For more on New Hittite hegemony in Alasiya, see the text edited by
Güterbock (1997 (1967)) and translated by Hoffner (in Hallo and Younger 1997 192-3); also Carruba
(1968) and Scafa (1995) on the cross-cultural interactions occurring there in the Late Bronze Age.

[10] [ ]*ránni* MU.KAM-*Tĺ=mu* ŠEŠ-*YA hatr*[*aiš* ...]/ [*t*]*uél=wa* *gur**šawara kue* x[...]/ ᵈU ARAD-
anni ʳ*ammu**g paiš* ʳLUGAL KUR *Áš*\[*šuwa* ....] 'In the ... year my brother wro[te] to me [...]/ "Your
islands which [...]/ the Storm-god gave them in servantship to me. 'The king of the land of As\[suwa ...]'
See Starke (1981 145-6) on the word for island, and Easton (1985 192).

[11] A 'border' ([Z]AG rev. 6') and the Hittite king's 'territory' (ʳ*QAQQARĺ*-*YA* rev. 14') are

Further support for the theory of Mycenean/Ahhiywan involvement in Middle Hittite affairs comes from archeological evidence and Linear B texts. A sword was found at Hattusa which bears an inscription commemorating the defeat of the Assuwan confederacy by Tudhaliya I/II. This sword, if not of canonical Mycenean design, at least shows Mycenean influence (see discussion by Salvini and Vagneto 1994; Cline 1994 73, with earlier refs.; 1996), and has inspired Cline (1997) to discuss the possibility of Mycenean involvement at length, citing battles between Greeks and Trojans traditionally assigned to the time preceding the Trojan war. Watkins has further suggested that the name Aswiyo found at Pylos was an ethnic designation 'originally applied in Greece to refugees from Tudhaliyas' western war of circa 1430 B.C.' (1998 203), a possibility supported by Morris (2001a 426).

Biographical documents of the New Hittite king Mursili II indicate that rebels in Western Anatolia were still receiving aid from Ahhiyawa in the New Hittite period, and that Ahhiyawa had an interest in Miletus. In the third year of the 'Ten-Year Annals of Mursili II', a conflict with the Arzawan (western Anatolian, see App. 1, pp. 234 ff.) king Uhhaziti is described, and the 'Comprehensive Annals of Mursili II' opens the third year of his reign with an account of a victory over the rebellious town Millawanda, which had sided with Ahhiyawa ('Mursili's Comprehensive Annals' KUB XIV 15 i 24-6, ed. Götze 1967 (1933) 36-8).[12] This is connected with Mursili's ongoing campaign against the Arzawan king Uhhaziti, and is one of several events that culimated in Uhhaziti fleeing across the sea to an island (KBo III 4 ii 31-2, ed. Götze 1967 (1933) 50; Grélois 1988

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mentioned, both of which could be references to boundaries established in a peace agreement.

[12] It must be admitted that 'Mursili's Comprehensive Annals' are frustratingly fragmentary here: *nu =kan* KUR URU*Millawanda ANA* LUGAL KUR *Ahhiu[wa ......]/ nu=kan °Gullan °Mala-LÚ-in* ÉRIN.MEŠ [ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ=ya par]ā n[ehhun nu KUR URU*Millawanda]/ GUL-ahhir.* The land of the city Millawanda to the king of the land of Ahhiya[wa ...]/ [I sen]t [fort]h Gulla, Malaziti, troops [and chariotry. The land of the city Millawanda]/ they attacked.'

61).[13] There, 'in the sea' (*aruni anda*), he took refuge until he died, in the fourth year of Mursili's reign (KBo III 4 ii 50-2, ed. Götze 1967 (1933) 60; Grélois 1988 62). Later on in a frustratingly damaged context we read 'He (i.e. the son of Uhhaziti) from the sea/ [... w]ith the ki[ng of the la]nd Ahhiyawa/ [...-ed. And,] I sent [...] by bo[at]' (KBo III 4 iii 2-4 + KUB XXIII 125 5-7, ed. Götze 1967 (1933) 66; Grélois 1988 64)[14] Did Uhhaziti take refuge in Ahhiyawa? Is Ahhiyawa 'in the sea'?

The rebellious town Milawanda/Milawata is surely Classical Greek Miletus, and the Ahhiyawans' activity matches with archeological evidence for Mycenean settlement there. The archeological evidence from Miletus correlates remarkably well with the evidence from Hittite diplomatic documents, indicating that control of Miletus went back and forth between Hittites and Myceneans in the beginning of the 14th cent. BC. Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier (1998 27-40), the excavator of Miletus, discusses the evidence in some detail. It shows first a Minoan settlement, changing to a Mycenean settlement towards the end of the Late Helladic IIIA:2 period.[15] A layer of destruction follows, and the subsequent building of a Hittite-type casement city wall coincides nicely with the date of Mursili II's sack of Milawata, in approximately 1320 BC, after Milawata had gone over to the Ahhiyawan king. (Also see Mountjoy 1998 47 with earlier refs.; Bryce 1989b 6-7 with earlier refs.) There is some geographical information in the 'Tawagalawa Letter' which supplements what is known from the 'Annals of Mursili II'. According to the 'Tawagalawa Letter' the Hittite king proceeded towards Milawa(n)ta from Lukka territory, approximately Classical Lycia (see App. 1, pp. 233-4 ff.) (KUB XIV 3 i 1-58),

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[13] *n=aš=mu=kan ḫuwaiš n=aš=kan aruni parranda/ ˅guršauwananza pait*. 'He fled from me. He went across the sea to an island.' See Starke (1981 142-52) for this interpretation.

[14] [*n*]*=aš=ka*[*n ar*]*unaz/*[... *I*]*TTI* LU[GAL KU]R *Aḫḫiyawā/* [...] *IŠTU* GIS*M*[Á] *uiyanun*.

[15] Ünal (1991 23-4) argues that pottery from the relevant layers of Miletus are only 5% Mycenean, but Niemeier (1998 32-4) decisively disproves this.

to meet with Piyamaradu, and Milawata was a place from which to launch or to

disembark from a boat (KUB XIV 3 i 61-2, ed. Sommer 1932 4).[16] This information

corresponds well with the location of Miletus. As both Mountjoy (1998 47) and Hawkins

(1998 26) point out, Miletus is out on the tip of a peninsula and isolated from the rest of

Turkey by a mountain range, so it is not surprising that it was relatively independent from

Hittite or Arzawan control and open to Mycenean settlement.[17]

A relatively short time after Mursili II's victory over Milawata, Ahhiyawa has

undisputed possession of Milawata again, and the Hittite king is forced to appeal to the

Ahhiyawan king to keep his agents in line. The 'Tawagalawa Letter' (KUB XIV 3, ed.

Sommer 1932 2-18)[18] from a New Hittite king (Mursili's younger son Hattusili III?)

complains to the king of Ahhiyawa about two men, one named Piyamaradu, son-in-law

of the ruler of Milawata, Atpa, and the other named Tawagalawa (= Eteocles?), the

brother of the Ahhiyawan king.[19] There is distrust between the Ahhiyawan king and the

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[16] *nu = kan* ᵐ*Piyamaraduš* ᴳᴵˢMÁ-*za/* [*arḫ*]*a uit.* Originally interpreted as 'Piyamaradu went away by boat', the sentence is best translated as 'Piyamaradu came away from the boat.' (Hoffner, personal communication) Güterbock, adhering to the earlier interpretation, suggested, 'We first read that Piyamaradus had left Millawanda by boat. Now the writer speaks of the possibility that this man might approach the addressee with his plan to present himself to the king of Hatti. So apparently Piyamaradus is now in Ahhiyawa.' (1997 (1983)b 203 about i 58-62, ii 56-7, 70) This speculation unfortunately must be laid aside.

[17] The geographical features which cut Miletus off from the interior are neglected by Macqueen (1986 40) when he argues against the equation of Milawata and Miletus. The correspondence of Miletus with Milawata seems obvious, but the name has also been connected with Milyas (see Bryce 1989b 6, note 28) by, for example, Forlanini and Marazzi (1986 Tav. XVI), who place it in the eastern half of Lycaonia. Mellaart (1993 418) places Milawata near Troy, based on his theory that the city Atriya is Troy. He also makes reference to a text which he says is from Mursili II and shows Milawatan ships plying the Black Sea. He describes this text, the 'Beyköy letter', simply as 'unpublished', without giving an excavation number. He cites personal communications (without dates) with Albrecht Goetze and Edmund Gordon concerning this text, both of whom were long dead when his article appeared. Mellaart further says that the article publishing the text was sent to the printers in 1985. In 2002 I am not aware of any article on this text and therefore doubt that it exists. Detailed references for the proposed locations of Miletus are provided by Niemeier (1998 21-2). For further on Milawata, see Heinhold-Krahmer in 'Milawa(n)da', RlA 8.188-9.

[18] Victor Parker (1999) has published new suggestions for some vexed passages in this text.

[19] See Forrer (1924b 9-10) for Tawagalawa = ˙*Etewoklewes.* As the name seems not to be Semitic, Anatolian or Hurrian, this equation gives the best etymology for it, and it is supported by the appearance of the name *Etewokereweiyo-* in Linear B (Chadwick and Baumbach 1963 195; see Röllig 1992a 195-6). Of course, the person bearing this name who was mentioned in the Hittite texts should not be considered to be the Homeric hero Eteocles. Rather, the names show that the Homeric tradition was aware of names current in Anatolia at the time that Ahhiyawa and Hattusa were bickering over Wilusa. For the argument that this

Hittite king, which gives rise to accusations of slander, but the Hittite king has conciliatory tone, and calls the recipient his 'brother' (*passim*), his equal, and even perhaps a 'Great King' (ii 13).[20] Wilusa seems to be an area of conflict between them (iv 8, unfortunately the word is not entirely legible according to the hand copy),[21] while the Hittite king seems to accept that Ahhiyawa controls Milawata.

The events described in the annals and the 'Tawagalawa Letter' have been interpreted as being the impetus for the influx of west Anatolians recorded in Mycenean texts. In Linear B texts appear women designated Miratiya along with one man called Miratiyo. In one tablet from Pylos, a group of such women are included with 'women, possibly slaves, from other sites on the Asiatic coast and an offshore island (*ki-ni-di-ja* = woman from Knidos, *ze-pu3-ra3* = woman from Zephyros = Halikarnassos?, ... and *ra-mi-ni-ja* = woman from Lemnos.' (Niemeier 1998 40; also see Bryce 1999; Morris 2001a 424-7 with earlier refs.) While this is not an implausible conclusion, the Hittite passage used to support it is in fact nowhere near as conclusive as has been made out. Hoffner has kindly provided me with an unpublished translation (dated Feb. 1, 2000), which runs as follows:[22]

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man is in fact the brother of the Ahhiyawan king, see Güterbock (1997 (1983)b 202; 1997 (1990)).

[20] ii 13: *kinuna=wa=mu* ŠEŠ-*YA* 'LUGAL' GAL' *ammel*[n]/ *annauliš IŠPUR* (ed. Sommer 1932 6) 'Now my brother, 'Great' King', my[n]/ equal, has written to me.' (See Güterbock 1997 (1983)b 201.)

[21] Although Easton (1985 194) still had doubts after looking at the photo, Güterbock (1997 (1986) 225) inspected an enlarged photo of the tablet published in Sommer (1932, Tafel II) and accepted the reading [URU]*Wi5*[1]-*I*[*u-š*]*a*, as does Hoffner (pers. comm.).

[22] NAM.RA.MEŠ=*kan me*[r]*kki*[1][*š*]['KUR-*YA* *tapuša*[1]
[r]*u*[1]*it* VII *LIM* 'NAM.RA.MEŠ[1][-*YA*=*mu*[1] ŠEŠ-*YA* D[AB[1]-*ta*[']
nu ammel UN-*aš u*[r]*izzi nu*'=*za*[1] ŠEŠ-*YA*
BÊLU-MEŠ *peran* GAM *d*[r]*ai* GÉŠPU[1]=*za*=*kan kuit* [*kuiuš*]
tapuša uwatet nu ŠEŠ[r]-*YA*[1] [*kuin uiyazi*]
ammell=*a* UN-*aš arta*[r]*ru*[1] [*nu*' *mân BÊLU kuiški*]
memai AŠŠUM MUNABTI=*wa*=*ka*[*n*' *tapuša uwanun*]
n=*aš apiya êšdu* [r]*m*[1][*ân*=*ma memai*]
GÉŠPU-*ah*[r]*ta*=*wa*=*mu n*[1][=*aš*=*mu*' EGIR-*pa anda uiddu*]
         KUB XIV 3 iii 9-17 (ed. Sommer 1932 12; note that the handcopy shows less than he evidently was able to discern)

Many persons to be resettled have come to the side of my l[and]. My brother has seized 7,000 of my people to be resettled. My man will come. You, my brother, must put the leaders on trial (?). Because (Piyamaradu) has brought several of them over the border, let the man whom my brother [sends] and my (own) man be present. [If any l]o[rd] says: 'I c[rossed over] for the sake of a fugitive,' let him stay there. But if he says: 'he forced me,' then [let him come back to me.]

This lacunose passage, Bryce (1999 259) claims, 'indicates that in the reign of Hattusili some 7000 Hittite subjects from the Lukka lands had been transplanted to Ahhiyawa. Some had gone voluntarily, apparently to escape Hittite overlordship, others had been forcibly removed by Piyamaradu from their homeland.' Morris (2001a 427) also follows this interpretation, despite the fact that there is no mention of Ahhiyawa. The subjects in question simply cross a border, which could be into Millawata or possibly into another part of the Anatolian coast under the control of the Ahhiyawan king, rather than Crete or mainland Greece. Still, even if we discount this particular passage, the inference that the unrest in Anatolia involving Myceneans is connected to the appearance of Anatolians in Linear B texts is not invalidated.

A generation later, the status of Ahhiyawa in the eyes of the Hittite king has again changed. In the draft of the 'Sauskamuwa Treaty' (New Hittite), between Hattusili's son Tudhaliya IV and king Sauskamuwa of Amurru, a town in north Syria, we find the erasure of Ahhiyawa from a list of 'Great Kings' (KUB XXIII 1 iv 3, ed. Kühne and Otten 1971 14). The text as a whole demands an embargo against Assyrian goods and, according to Cline's interpretation, may order an embargo against Achaean goods too, but again lacunae make this less than secure. Cline (1994 70-4 with earlier refs.) sees this embargo as the explanation for the paucity of Mycenean finds in central Anatolia.[23] At

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[23] The lines mentioning the potential embargo are KUB XXIII 1 iv 23-4 (ed. Kühne and Otten 1971 16): [...-h]iyauwassi GISMA pāuwanzi l[ē]/ [tar]ʳnaˈ[i]. Steiner (1989 401) chose to read these lines as [lahh]iyauwas=si GISMA ... 'let him not permit the ship of the (war) expedition to pass to him' (or, he suggests, perhaps [zah]hiyawas with the meaning 'of warring'). zahhiyawas would be an otherwise unattested verbal noun, and either conjecture would create an unusually abrupt change of subject (Lehmann 1991 111, note 11). The other interpretation fills in the missing beginning of the first line [ŠA KUR Ahh]iyauwa=ssi ...'the ship of Ahhiyawa to him', with the bare stem of the country name followed by the

the least, it indicates a decline in the respectability of Ahhiyawa.

Another New Hittite document, 'The Sins of Seha River Land', probably a generation or two earlier, describes the Ahhiyawan king as again supporting enemies of the Hittites (KUB XXIII 13 5, ed. most recently by Güterbock 1997 (1992); also see Easton 1985 194). It is this kind of behavior that would help explain the putative embargo against Ahhiyawa which seems to be ordered in the 'Sauskamuwa Treaty'. This text used to be adduced by those arguing for an Anatolian location for Ahhiyawa, but, as Güterbock made clear in his edition, the key phrase *nu-za-kan* LUGAL KUR *Ahhiyauwa* EGIR-*pa epta* (5), should be interpreted not as 'the king of Ahhiyawa retreated', but as, 'he relied on the king of Ahhiyawa.' The latter action could take place even if the king of Ahhiyawa was not in Anatolia.[24]

It is obvious that leaders of the Ahhiyawans were meddling in Anatolian affairs, and it seems to have had consequences in Crete, but the exact location of Ahhiyawa is unclear, and a variety of locations have been proposed by scholars.[25] It could be part of mainland Greece, as Güterbock (1997 (1983)b 203; 1997 (1984) 207-8, 210; 1997 (1992) 222) argues. Bryce (1989b 5-6), like Niemeier (1998 44), even specifies Mycenae as the most likely candidate. But, many scholars place it closer to Anatolia. Forlanini and Marazzi (1986 Tav. XX) put it among the islands off the coast of Anatolia from Samos to Rhodes, as does Penelope Mountjoy (1998 47-51, with a review of the Hittite documents), although she denies that Ahhiyawans were Mycenean colonists, seeing them rather as 'local inhabitants who had undergone Mycenaean acculturation to varying degrees' (51). Another option is Rhodes alone (Carratelli 1951 with detailed discussion;

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dative third person enclitic pronoun (with the regular doubling of its first consonant), rather than the nominal stem in the genitive, followed by the personal pronoun.

[24] Easton (1985 194 with earlier refs) also arrived at this interpretation.

[25] Niemeier (1998 20-1) gives a full list of the suggestions with references.

Page 1959 13-8; Lehmann 1991 52-4), although archeological evidence is lacking for

a centralized Mycenean power there, despite substantial Mycenean settlement (Iakovides

1973). Houwink ten Cate (1983-4 33-4) argued for the capital in mainland Greece with

some territory on the Anatolian coast. Mellaart (1982 375; 1986 82, 84; 1993 418) argued

for Thrace, but this (at least originally) was based on the presence of Knobbed 'Barbarian'

Ware in Troy VIIB:2, and now this layer has been dated to a later period than the Hittite

period, so it has no bearing on the Ahhiyawans in the Hittite texts. Troy VI is the relevant

layer.[26] Some argue that Ahhiyawa was in Anatolia itself; Ünal (1991 28) for example,

saying 'Anatolia is big enough to include it,' suggests:

> A location for Ahhiyawa on the Gallipoli Peninsula, in the Troad and perhaps on some of the off-shore islands (Gökçeada, Lesbos) would fit very well in the historical picture. According to Herodotus the Hellespont was occupied by Pelasgians whose language was not Greek. That would also speak for the non-Greek character of Ahhiyawans.

I hope however to show that Ünal's suggestion is extremely unlikely in the following

survey of geographical information.

We will now focus our attention on the few Ahhiyawa documents which give us

geographical information in an attempt to discern where it could have been located. Some

evidence points to a location off the coast of Anatolia. The statement in 'Mursili II's Ten-

Year Annals' implies that Ahhiyawa is separated from the mainland by water (full

discussion in Houwink ten Cate 1983-4 47-8 with earlier refs., and see pp. 33-4 here);

further, an oracle report mentions receiving the gods of Lazpa and Ahhiyawa in the same

breath. (This text will be discussed in more detail below, pp. 49-50.) The conclusion to be

drawn from it is that Lazpa and Ahhiyawa were associated in the Hittite mind, if not

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[26] On the dating of the layers of Troy, see Easton (1985 191, 193) and, in detail, Mountjoy (1999). Macqueen (1986 39-41, 163, note 31) also voted for locating Ahhiyawa in Thrace, arguing that there is archeological 'evidence for a power capable of standing on an equal footing with the better-known monarchies of the Late Bronze Age world.'

geographically. The possibility that Ahhiyawa is an island off the coast of Anatolia, or at least not on the mainland proper is strengthened by this connection with Lazpa. It is known from the 'Manapatarhunta Letter' (ed. Houwink ten Cate 1983-4 38-9) that Lazpa is near enough to the Seha River Land (roughly Classical Lydia, see App. 1, p. 238) to be a concern of the king of the Seha River Land, and that it is 'on the other side of the sea' (i.e. off the coast) from where Atpa, the ruler of Milawata, is.[27] So, Lazpa is an island relatively near Milawata, like Lesbos, which is located just off the coast of Anatolia, near modern Assos, and shows good evidence for Mycenean settlement (Boardman 1999 33).[28]

Other evidence shows the Ahhiyawans had gained control of at least part of the Anatolian coast to the southeast of Lesbos. It is known that Ahhiyawa attempted to entice Milawata away from Hattusa in Mursili II's time and Milawata was punished militarily, but by the time of the 'Tawagalawa Letter', probably from Hattusili III and thus a generation later, it is firmly in the clutches of Atpa, who is tied by marriage to the Ahhiyawans. Bryce links to this state of affairs a small fragment of a boundary agreement which mentions Tarhuntassa, Mira and Ahhiyawa on successive lines (KUB XXXI 29, ed. Sommer 1932 328), speculating:[29]

> The ceding of Milawata to Ahhiyawa may have occurred within the context of a more general agreement reflected in a fragmentary text which lists a number of Anatolian states and their

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[27] Manapatarhunta, the king of the Seha River Land, describes the perfidious activity of the same Piyamaradu and Atpa who were the topic of the 'Tawagalawa Letter'. He complains that Piyamaradu has humiliated him and brought Atpa against him (KUB XIX 5 7-8), then mentions the attack on Lazpa (nu KUR Lazpan GUL-ahta KUB XIX 5 8), which was aided by the ŠARIPU men who were supposed to be loyal to Manapatarhunta and the Hittite king. These men then cross the sea to present tribute to Atpa (KUB XIX 5 + KBo XIX 79 16: They say to Atpa: [nu = wa = kan] A.AB.BA p[arra]nta uwawen 'We have come across the sea.'). They could be going from Milawata to Lazpa or vice-versa.

[28] Röllig (1992a 190,with earlier refs.) disagrees with this equation, citing the names Issa and Pelasgia, which Diodorus Saeculus says were earlier names for Lesbos (5.81.2).

[29] Košak (1980 37, 41) rightly groups with this small fragment another fragment which preserves mentions of the king of the land of the city Mer[a] and the king of the land Ahhiyawa (KUB XXXI 30). Ünal (1991 20) describes this as an oracle text.

boundaries.... Since the text indicates boundaries, it probably defined the limits of Ahhiyawan-controlled territory in Anatolia. (1998 244-5)

Easton (1985 191) too sees this text and the 'Tawagalawa Letter' as evidence 'that Ahhiyawa had at times a foothold, perhaps even sizeable territory, in West Anatolia.'[30] A territory which extends from Mira to Tarhuntassa and includes Milawata is indeed a large part of the southern coastline of Anatolia, incorporating the Lukka lands (roughly Classical Lycia, see App. 1, pp. 233-4). The earlier 'Assuwa Letter' (see p. 32), according to the analysis of Starke, indicates that the partition of this territory was already under discussion in the Middle Hittite period.

As for the archeological evidence for Myceneans in Anatolia in the Hittite period, almost all of it is located along this part of the coast, with Miletus as a key location (see for example the map in Forlanini and Marazzi 1986, Tav. XV):[31]

The nature and extent of Mycenaean contacts with the various western Anatolian sites ... differ markedly from one site to another. Some sites have produced no more than a few stray sherds of Mycenaean pottery (e.g. Clazomenae, Erythrae), others provide evidence of more substantial commercial links (e.g. Troy), while others indicate a greater or lesser degree of actual Mycenaean settlement. This last category includes Miletus, Iasos (probably), and Müsgebi. In the case of Iasos and Müsgebi, it is clear that the sites did not become wholly Mycenaean, but retained a significant admixture of local Anatolian elements.

Miletus provides the most substantial evidence for Mycenean settlement in western Anatolia. (Bryce 1989b 1-2)

Yet, as Easton (1985 191) and Marazzi (1992) note, the lack of evidence on Ahhiyawa in the Hittite texts points to the location of the center of Ahhiyawan power outside of Anatolia. Niemeier (1998 23) paraphrases Marazzi's argument nicely:

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[30] Ünal (1991 20) goes so far as to say that '[t]his text indicates that Ahhiyawa is among the states on the mainland.' However, he doesn't refer to the data it provides when he suggests various locations for Ahhiyawa (see above, p. 39).

[31] The most detailed review of the archeological evidence of Mycenean trade in the Near East is Cline (1994 68-77). For Mycenean settlement in Anatolia see Mountjoy (1998 34-45), Boardman (1999 25-33), and Niemeier (1998 27-41); the latter also discusses Minoan settlement in Anatolia.

Ahhiyawa has a remarkably unique role in the Hittite texts. It is closely connected to the sea and appears constantly in connection with the peripheral Hittite satellite states in western Anatolia. In contrast to these states, any detailed information about the geography of Ahhiyawa and any characterization of its political and social structure is missing (except for the references to the king of Ahhiyawa). Thus, Ahhiyawa takes part only as an outsider in the affairs imperiling Hittite control of western Asia Minor.

How far off the coast could Ahhiyawa be? Could it be as far away as Crete, where a Linear B document (C[2] 914) mentions a place A-ka-wi-ya? (See Bryce 1989b 4; McArthur 1993 126-7.)[32] McArthur (1993 127) argues that the Linear B place Akawiya could have been a town in Crete not far from Knossos, since a shipment of livestock was sent to it. She suggests that it could be the same as the Cretan town Achaia. If we still prefer to locate Ahhiyawa closer to Anatolia, we might then opt for multiple towns named something like Achaia. This would make sense if the town closer to Anatolia began as a colony of Myceneans from another town called Achaia, since this is a typical reason why multiple locations bear the same name.[33]

The evidence then is strong that the political center of Ahhiyawa was not located on the mainland of Anatolia, and that Ahhiyawans should be associated with Mycenean Greeks. For the latter point we add to the archeological and textual evidence, onomastic evidence in the names Attarissiya and Tawagalawa, which have been equated with Atreus and Eteocles.[34] Whether the center of Ahhiyawan power was among the islands off the coast of Anatolia or in mainland Greece is a question which – luckily – we do not have to

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[32] This citation addresses Easton's (1984 34) and Mellaart's (1986 83) objection that the place name is not found in Linear B.

[33] Bryce suggests, 'It is quite conceivable that the Mycenaean Greeks did not use a name represented as *Ahhiyawa* in the Hittite texts as a general designation for themselves. Many parallels can be cited to illustrate the fact that foreigners sometimes refer to a country by a name quite different from that used by indigenous population.' (1989b 4-5)

[34] Forrer (1924a 118; 1924b 21) made the connection between Atreus and Attarissiya, although he wasn't sure that the name was Greek. Güterbock (1997 (1984) 207) disagrees with the equation Attarissiya and Atreus, probably agreeing with those who connect it to the Anatolian place name Atriya, mentioned in the Milawata letter (KUB XIX 55 left edge 4) (see Laroche 1966 48, #201). See App. 1, note 19, for more on Atriya and p. 35, note 19 on Eteocles.

answer, but I would opt for a location among the islands off the coast of Anatolia, although this doesn't preclude a strong connection between mainland Greece and these islands.[35]

2.3. Transmission of Verbal Art and Religion between Greek-speakers and Anatolians

Hittite political geography and Hittite diplomatic documents dealing with Ahhiyawa have been reviewed in order to localize Ahhiyawa as best as possible and to support the claim that Ahhiyawans were Greek speakers. We will now look at the evidence that Greek speakers and Anatolians engaged in the right kind of contact to transmit techniques of verbal art and other cultural features across linguistic boundaries during the Late Bronze Age and into the Dark Ages. Evidence for the transmission of songs across linguistic boundaries will be examined, especially evidence for transmission to and from Greek, in the Hittite period. Finally, we will survey the evidence from post-Dark-Age southern and western Classical Anatolia, which reveals a multi-lingual setting in which speakers of one or more Anatolian languages, who still practiced a religion that had retained features of the religion known in Hittite times, interacted with Greek-speakers. (Also see Chapter 1, pp. 16-8)

Wilusa provides the best evidence for the presence of Greek speakers in Anatolia, in the Greek name of the Wilusan king Alaksandu, and the best evidence for transmission of Homeric verbal art across linguistic boundaries, in a line of Luwian poetry in which a precursor of a Homeric formula referring to Wilusa is preserved. It is these two pieces of

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[35] Niemeier (1998 43), when he argues for a location on the Greek mainland, perhaps even Mycenae, makes a good case for borrowings from Anatolia into mainland Greece with reference to architectural elements, such as lion gates, casement walls and underground passages, citing Bryce (1989b 13; also see Bryce 1999 260). In the same vein, Cline (1994 69) mentions 'the Greek mythical traditions regarding the West Anatolian origins of the Atreid dynasty at Mycenae and the building of Tiryns' walls by giants from Lycia (Thuc. I.9.2; Strabo VIII.6.11; Paus. II.25.7-8; Apol. II.2.1).' So, even if we disagree with Niemeier's proposal to place Ahhiyawa in Mycenae, we can agree that information carried in people's heads moved in both directions between Greece and Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age.

evidence which offer us proof that the right kind of contact was occurring in the Late Bronze Age to allow for transfer of epic formulae and themes between Greek-speakers and Anatolians, which were then maintained beyond the Late Bronze Age. Both pieces of evidence involve the Anatolian city immortalized in Homeric epic, which was composed in a dialect perfected on the coast of Anatolia. The very name of the Wilusan king is an alternate name in the *Iliad* for the Trojan prince Paris. (On the two names of this man, also see below, pp. 45 ff..)

It seems very likely that the language of Troy in Hittite times was Luwian, an Anatolian language closely related to Hittite and found in texts at the archive of the Hittite capital Hattusa. A bronze seal with a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription was found at Troy in 1995, probably in the Troy VII B layer dated to the second half of the 12th cent. BC (Hawkins and Easton 1996). The seal, well-worn, and not intrinsically valuable, was certainly not a prestige item given as a gift. This informs us that a scribe who uncerstood Luwian lived there after the fall of the Hittite Empire, if not before.

As Watkins (1998 (1986) 713-7) has made clear, we have evidence that Luwian was used to compose 'epic' poetry about 'high Wilusa' in the 13th century, poetry that was performed at Hattusa and recorded by Hittite scribes in a description of a festival honoring the gods of the city Istanuwa. This description lists a series of incipits, all in Luwian. Presumably the full texts of the songs were recorded on separate tablets or known by heart. One of these incipits says, 'When they came from high Wilusa' (CTH 772.1, KBo IV 11 46, ed. Starke 1985 341).[36] So, here we have an example of a Homeric formula being transferred from Istanuwa to the Hittite capital, but in Luwian. While the

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[36] *ahha = ata = ta alati auienta Wilušati.* Also note another lacunose line discussed by Watkins (1998 (1986). 713-5), which he restores as 'When the man came from steep [Wilusa?]' *alati = tta ahha* LÚ-*iš auita* [*Wilušati*] (KUB XXXV 102 + 103 iii 11, ed. Starke 1985 223). This appears in a series of birth incantations. Watkins (1995a 144-8) has further discussion of the poetics of the Luwian formula. On this verse also see Lebrun (1998a 157).

epithet 'steep' or 'high' is applied to cities other than Troy in the *Iliad*, it does not, to

my knowledge, appear in Near Eastern poetry.[37] This single line is the best evidence that

Hittites participated in the network of travelling poets who were the ancestors of the poets

working in the oral tradition that eventually produced the *Iliad*. Songs could have been

transmitted back and forth from the court of Troy to Hattusa by the same sort of

performers and scribes who brought to Hattusa the literary traditions of its southern and

eastern neighbors, performing in their native languages, and translating their poetry into

Hittite (see next chapter, pp. 119 ff.).

Just as the Mesopotamian literary tradition was transmitted at least in part to

Hattusa by Hurrian speakers, such as the original performers of the Hurro-Hittite

'Kumarbi', 'Gilgamesh' and 'Song of Release', the Hittites in part mediated access to

Mesopotamian culture for the Ahhiyawan court and for the states of western Anatolia.

The correspondence between Ahhiyawa and Hattusa was conducted in Hittite, rather than

in Akkadian,[38] and the west Anatolian state of Arzawa corresponded with the Amarna

court of Amenhotep III in Hittite (VBoT 1, 2, ed. Rost 1956 328-40; = EA 31, 32, see

trans. Moran 1992 101-3). The scribe in Arzawa even asks the scribe at the Amarna court

to write in Hittite (VBoT 2 24-5), which shows he couldn't understand Akkadian. Based

on this evidence, Bryce (1999) suggests that Luwian scribes in Mycenean courts could

have introduced Greek-speakers to classic works of literature such as 'Gilgamesh' or

'Kumarbi'.

The most important piece of evidence linking Wilusa, Greek-speakers and Hittites

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[37] However in Hittite an URU-*riyašeššar* (city population) located on a mountain can be called *mekki parku* 'very high' (KBo IV 4 iv 7), cf. CHD *sub parku*. I owe this reference to Prof. Hoffner.

[38] This is noted by Easton (1984 29). Hittite treaties are written in Hittite when contracted with lands within the Anatolian sphere, such as the Seha River Land and Wilusa, but in Akkadian or both Hittite and Akkadian with those to the southeast where Akkadian was used more frequently as a diplomatic language, such as Ugarit, Aleppo and Egypt (Beckman 1999 2, 6-8).

comes from the 'Alaksandu Treaty', a New Hittite treaty from approximately 1300 BC between the Hittite king Muwatalli II and a king of Wilusa named Alaksandu. The long preamble retracing past history makes it clear that Wilusa has been a vassal of the Hittites for a long time and participated in the network of marriage alliances and the political conflicts among the ruling classes of Anatolia, of which the Hittites thought themselves the dominant members.[39] It names a Wilusan god ...]appaliunaš (= Apollo?) (KUB XXI 1 iv 27, ed. Friedrich 1930 80), but we are frustrated by an inconvenient lacuna. Schretter (1974 21 with earlier refs.) points out that the broken sign before the ap as drawn in the handcopy is unlikely to be a DINGIR sign (the 'god' determinative), but the vexed reading of the god's name in the 'Alaksandu Treaty' has been checked by Prof. Hoffner and myself against a photo taken by Prof. Hoffner, which shows the handcopy to be wrong. The remains of the sign in the break preceding the name are in fact consistent with the determinative. The god of the Wilusans thus seems to be the same god who supports the Trojans in the *Iliad*. (And see p. 16.) Watkins sees this name as a Greek one related to *apelia*, Doric *apella* 'Männerbund' (1995 149 with earlier refs.; 1998 207).[40]

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[39] In the preamble, this text mentions a Kukkunnis, a previous king of Wilusa, a name which we might compare to Kukkulli, son of the king of Assuwa, mentioned in the 'Tawagalawa Letter', and further the Greek name Kuknos. Güterbock (1997 (1983)b 224-5, with earlier refs.) discusses this name and the preamble as a whole. Also see Watkins (1998 (1986) 704) comparing the names of the Trojan ally Kuknos and the Hittite Kukkunnis.

[40] Should we compare the god name Appaluwa mentioned in a ritual against plague alongside a god Lapana? (KBo XXII 125 i 9', 10'; this text parallels KUB XLI 16 obv. i ff.)
Apollo's Near Eastern origins are discussed by Dietrich (1978; 1986 159-73), who sees him as an originally Semitic god who first reached Greece in the Late Bronze Age, and points to Cyprus as a possible location from which Apollo might have become known to the Greeks. There in the fourth century BC Mikal Reshep is equated with Apollo Amyklos, a version of the god which is found in Amuklai in Laconia, at a site which he thinks shows uninterrupted settlement through the Bronze Age into the Classical period. As Dietrich (1978 9-11; 1980) suggests, there is archeological evidence from Late Bronze Age Troy of a semi-iconic stone figure placed by gateways; this matches with 'baetylic' representations of Apollo. However Hutter (1993 91-2) makes clear that the worship of *baityloi* in Hittite territory was a custom introduced by Semitic-speakers. Thus, this widespread custom cannot be used to argue that this aspect of Apollo came from Anatolia. Faraone (1992 125-32 with earlier refs.) acknowledges the link with the west Semitic god Reshep, a plague god represented in the 'smiting god' figurines of Hittite origin (see Dietrich 1986 166, with refs in note 336), but points out the more similar iconography of the plague god Erra (Hittite Irra) who carries a bow. Burkert (1975), meanwhile, long ago stressed that the widespread appearance of Apollon/Apellon throughout Greece shows that he was an ancient indigenous god. Here we could have an example of a god who was exported from Greece to Anatolia, assimilated there to gods worshipped in Cyprus and the mainland, and then exported back to Greece with new characteristics.

The Wilusan king's name sounds very much like Alexander, Homer's alternate name for the Trojan prince Paris, and can be given the good Greek etymology of 'warding off men' (Watkins 1998 207). This is not surprising given the evidence of an abundance of locally produced Mycenean wares from Troy VI, which is dated to the New Hittite period (Mountjoy 1997). The names Paris and Priamos meanwhile sound very much like Anatolian names containing the name component *pariya-*.[41] Thus, the Homeric Paris had both a Greek name, known to the Hittites, and an Anatolian one. De Jong (1987) points out that the prince is called Alexandros by Greeks, gods and Trojans when they speak to Greeks; he is called Paris by Trojans speaking to other Trojans. This fits nicely with the proposed origins of his two names. Watkins (1998 (1986) 704) suggests that Alaksandu 'was for him his "international name"'.[42] He suggests that double names are perhaps the result of intermarriage or guest friendship (1998 (1986) 705).

While not everyone might believe the Anatolian etymology for Paris, this custom of carrying two names marking two separate heritages was typical for royalty in the Hittite sphere. For example, the Hittite king Tudhaliya IV was known by the Hurrian name Hismi-Sarruma before his ascension.[43] Logically then, the double names of Paris

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[41] On Alaksandu, see Güterbock (1997 (1986) 223-4), who notes that the female equivalent, Alexandra, appears in Linear B (MY V 659, 2). Also see Watkins (1998 206; 1998 (1986) 703-4). Watkins (1998 (1986) 709-12 with earlier refs.), like Laroche (1972 126, note 32), compares Paris to Pariyamuwa (also see Starke 1997b 458). Sarah Morris (1989 532) compares the name to Piyamaradu, but Householder and Nagy (1972 57) compare Piyamaradu to the Homeric Philomeides (*Od.* 4.343 = 17.134), noting that Philomeides is mentioned along with the place name Lesbos, just as Piyamaradu is mentioned in the same text as Lazpa. For other examples of names of Trojans and their allies which could have Anatolian etymologies, see Lebrun (1998a 153-5).

[42] He goes on to discuss the double names of Hector's son Astyanax/ Skamandrios (706) (also Watkins 1998 206-11). He points out that Homer's division of names in the 'language of gods' versus those in the 'language of men' is found in Hittite as well, where divine names in the language of men are Hittite and their counterparts in the language of the gods are Hattic (CTH 733) (Watkins 1998 (1986) 209). On this text, see also Chapter 4, pp. 167-8.

[43] Other examples of Hittite kings bearing dual names are the king Tudhaliya III, whose pre-throne name was Tasmisarri; Muwatalli II, also known as Sarri-Tessub; Urhi-Tessub, who used the name Mursili (III) during his brief reign; and possibly the Kurunta of the 'Bronze Tablet Treaty', who may have used the name Ulmi-Tessub (although van den Hout (1995b 194, 196) disagrees with this equation). Wegner (2000 30) calls the Hurrian names 'Privatnamen', but seals found at Ras Shamra (Ugarit) show that Muwatalli II considered his Hurrian name more important since he placed it within the aedicula, while Piyassili/Sarri-

could indicate he came from a Greek-Anatolian background, just as the Wilusan king

Alaksandu could be the product of an alliance between Greeks and Anatolians in Wilusa.

Intermixing between Greek-speakers and Anatolian-speakers is also implied by

the fact that Tawagalawa bore a Greek name, and perhaps his brother Attarissiya, 'the

man of Ahhiyawa', did too (see notes 19 and 34), while his father-in-law Atpa, the ruler

of Milawata, didn't. On the other hand, the ruling family of the Mitanni Hurrians carried

Indo-Aryan names as a vestige of the incorporation of Indo-Aryans into their family;

thus, Kili-Tessub used the throne name of Sattiwaza (more examples in Derakhshani

1998 152-7). Yet, there's no evidence that the ruling family of Mitanni continued to speak

Indo-Aryan, even while some Indo-Aryan cultural traits and vocabulary items made their

way into Mitanni Hurrian; nor do we have any evidence that Hurrian was spoken by the

ruling families of the Hittite Empire. So names alone, while they do indicate ethnic

mixing, can't be used to prove that their bearers continued to speak the language from

which their name was derived. But, they indicate first of all that the ethnic designation

was prestigious, and secondly that at some point in the past, this language was probably

spoken by an ancestor of the bearer of the name.[44]

In the Late Bronze Age, Hittites were having the right kind of contact for the

spread of religious customs and songs back and forth between Greek-speakers and

Anatolians, including exporting and importing gods in and out of Greek territory. In

general, the Hittites were eager to import foreign gods and revitalize obscure regional

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Kusuh (king of Carchemish) used the two names interchangeably (Güterbock 1956 120-2). Noble women too might change their names when they changed their status, like the Babylonian princess who married Suppiluliuma I; she was always referred to by the title Tawannanna (Hitt. 'queen') rather than by her Akkadian personal name (see Bryce 1998 225).

[44] Hoffner (1980 319) does suggest in one case that an Anatolian scribe used an Akkadian name as a *nom de plume*. Beckman (1983 104) prefers to view this man as a true Akkadian because his Akkadian does not betray signs of the imperfect learning typical of Hittite scribes. Hoffner (pers. comm.) points out to me, however, that imperfect learning was only an issue in New Hittite times, and the scribe in question was from an earlier period.

cults, ceaselessly looking for new ways to mitigate the effects of plagues and other misfortunes affecting the royal family and the Hittite people. The long and detailed description of the dividing (i.e. 'cloning') and importing of the 'Goddess of Night' from Samuha to Hattusa (CTH 481) shows us one way that the transfer could be carried out (see Beal forthcoming). They also made attempts to introduce their cult practices to outlying regions. These cult practices involved songs performed in honor of divine beings both heavenly and chthonic. Other examples of importation or exportation of cult at Hattusa include the lists of offerings for Hittite-style rituals found at the North Syrian Hittite colony Emar (modern Meskene), in Akkadian, but showing evidence of Luwian as the language from which they were translated, and containing Hurro-Hittite terms.[45]

Furthermore, there are two examples of the transfer of a god to and from Greek-speakers and Anatolians. An oracular inquiry (KUB V 6 ii 57', 60', ed. Sommer 1932 282) asking how king Mursili II should welcome the gods of Lazpa (= Lesbos, see pp. 39-40) and Ahhiyawa, shows transfer of Greek gods to Hittites (Faraone 1992 27), while mention of a *Potiniya Asiwiya* (PY Fr 1206, ed. Chadwick and Baumbach 1963 177, 'lady of Assuwa', cf. Gr. **Aswiyos* 'Asia' *Il.* 2.461) in a Linear B document from Pulos could be evidence of transmission of Anatolian cult to Myceneans (Watkins 1998 (1986) 709; 1998 203, with earlier refs.; Morris 2001a).[46] The cult personnel who probably accompanied the 'Aswiyan lady' would have been versed in Luwian songs celebrating her, perhaps the attendants mentioned in the texts who are also provided with similar offerings.[47] It even seems that this goddess was paired with a second Anatolian import, a

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[45] These rituals form a separate group from the West Semitic rituals indigenous to the area. They are # 471-90 (ed. Arnaud 1986 455-76). See the discussions of Laroche (1988), Lebrun (1988) and Fleming (1992).

[46] Starke (1997b 456) disagrees with this equation, preferring to compare Assuwa with Assos, but he doesn't mention the Linear B evidence. Watkins (1998 203) and Morris (2001a 425 with earlier refs.) justify the equation. (Also see App. 1, note 3.)

[47] Morris (2001a 423-4) discusses whether these attendants (*a-pi-qo-ro-i* or *amphipoloi*, PY Fr 1205) should be considered divine or human. If human, they, or their ancestors, could have brought the

ma-te-re te-i-ja (PY Fr 1202a) or 'Meter Theion' ('mother of the gods' or 'divine mother') (Morris 2001a 424-5, 429 with note 40). In the case of the transfer of the Ahhiyawan god, it seems that the Hittites did not know how to welcome him properly, since the oracle inquiry asks whether to perform a three-day festival and libate in the manner of Hattusa (ii 60-3) (Carratelli 1951 160). While it remains unclear whether priests accompanied the Ahhiyawan god, this again is a plausible conclusion. As Morris (2001a 428-9, 433) shows, these transfers are matched by other examples found in Greek and Latin literature.

The songs commemorating the gods of the city Istanuwa, discussed above (pp. 44-5), were performed in Luwian at a Hittite festival and show that when gods were imported, specific songs used in their worship could be imported along with them. The 'Song of Release', discussed in the next chapter, which focuses on the god Tessub, could have been imported to Hattusa along with the Hurrian cult of Tessub, and only translated when Hurrian was no longer viable there. The 'Song of Release' thus shows us how a bilingual poet could actually transfer a poem from one linguistic group to another. Meanwhile a festival context allows performers from various traditions performing in various languages to observe each other. This was a vitally important milieu in archaic and Classical Greece for the dissemination of prestigious genres performed in dialects that also became prestigious because they were attached to a specific genre. Thus, by the Classical period lyric poetry was performed exclusively in a Doricized dialect, whatever the origin of the poet, and hexametric and elegaic poetry was performed in an Ionicized dialect, traces of the way these genres developed and were disseminated. (Also see Bachvarova 1997.) The by-product in Homer of such contact during or before the Dark Ages was discussed at pp. 17-8.

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goddess from Anatolia.

The model proposed here, of transfer of cultic practices occurring along with transfer of gods from one sanctuary to another, where pilgrims and travelling performers had a chance to get a glimpse of other performance traditions, is similar to a set of models of transference proposed for the Orientalizing Period explaining the presence of Near Eastern artifacts and architectural practices at Greek sanctuaries. Appearing in a 1992 volume edited by Kopcke and Tokumaru, *Greece Between East And West*, all the models agree that Greek temples attracted and presented foreign influences to a Greek audience, whether the transfer of religious and cult practices was at the behest of governments, powerful individuals, or groups of merchants. De Polignac (1992 121-7) proposes that sanctuaries served as stages in which foreign cult practices could reach a Greek audience, fitting the archeological data into his over-all theory that important cult sites were founded at political boundaries both to delineate the political entity upon which they were dependant and to provide a place in which contact with other political entities could be mediated. Further, these sanctuaries served as a stage on which ritualized competition could be acted out and prestige could be displayed through the dedication of luxurious objects. While other religious practices are more elusive archeologically than dedications, the similarities between Near Eastern and Greek cult practices indicate that exchange did occur, and De Polignac points to one clear example of a Near Eastern custom appearing in a Greek temple, the dog and donkey sacrifices at the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus.

While Muscarella (1992 41-5) sees archeologically attested objects, specifically cauldrons with siren attachments, as dedications from Near Eastern rulers to gods, meant to enhance the prestige of both donor and god, Strøm (1992 55-7) connects the presence of these same cauldrons with the Near Eastern practice of banqueting in a sanctuary. Hudson (1992 141-2) notes further that the gods in whose temples the dedications most frequently appear, Apollo, Hera, Artemis and Athena, are 'counterparts to the Near Eastern deities such as Nanshe in Lagash and Nidaba in Umma sponsoring written

record-keeping, fair dealing, honest weights and measures, and commercial equity in general'. He thus sees the dedications as reflecting the role of Greek temples as havens for travelers, especially merchants; in effect the temples were prototypes of embassies.

Besides Crete, Lesbos, Miletus and Troy, Greek-speakers and Anatolians surely encountered each other in Cyprus and Ugarit, at least in New Hittite times, when both were vassals of the Hittites (see note 2, p. 28).[48] And, after the fall of the Mycenean and Hittite empires in the early 1100's, descendants of the Hittites and their Anatolian relatives continued to reside in northern Syria and Anatolia. Although this dissertation focuses on the Late Bronze Age practices of Anatolians, we will briefly survey the evidence for cultural continuity from the end of the Late Bronze Age through the middle of the eleventh century, when Ionian and Aeolian Greeks began settling the coast of Anatolia (Snodgrass 2001 (1971) 375-8), Greek trading posts were established in north Syria and Phoenician colonies and trading posts were begun in Greece, the southeast coast of Anatolia and Cyprus (Morris 1992 125-7), since in this period intense contact between Anatolians, western Semites and Greek-speakers was renewed, providing another avenue for the transfer of cultural and literary practices across linguistic boundaries lasting into the archaic period (Röllig 1992b).[49]

Although Hittite died out, Anatolian languages such as Lycian, Lydian and Carian were spoken in Anatolia during the archaic and Classical period. Of the well-attested

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[48] Note however that the oft-repeated claim that there was a Mycenean settlement at Ugarit has been decisively disproved (see Singer in Watson and Wyatt 1999 675 with earlier refs.).

[49] Also see Popko (1995 163-71) on continuity of religious customs in Anatolia. On the other hand, Simon (1997, esp. 137-42; citing Burkert 1979 78-142, 1992) argues that Ionian cults of the Geometric period show little influence from indigenous practices. He does cite Burkert (1979 123-25, 130) on the possible Anatolian features of Artemis of Ephesus, i.e. the role of the bees and the 'eunuch priest', but claims, 'The usual non-Greek appearance of the later cult statues probably has a more prosaic explanation than exotic non-Greek influence, the strange wardrobe and "breasts" of the goddess being a fossilization of the way the simple wooden statue was adorned.' (Simon 1997 138) But, the *polos* headdress of Artemis at Aphesus and the bees on it certainly point to Anatolian customs, and Morris (2001a 430-2; 2001b) discusses at length the Anatolian roots of the goddess, while Brenk (1998) describes the blending over time of Anatolian and Greek elements in her representation.

Anatolian languages of the Classical period, Lycian seems the most closely related to Luwian. The linguistic continuity from the Late Bronze Age through the Classical period is matched by cultural continuity, despite the destruction of the Hittite Empire at the end of the Bronze Age caused by the invasion of the Sea Peoples, which was followed by the appearance of the Phrygians, the invasion of the Cimmerians (about 700 BC) and finally the Persians. Miletus, Sardis and Gordion show continuous settlement from the Hittite period to the Classical period, and Hieroglyphic Luwian monuments are found in eastern Anatolia and North Syria dating from 1200 BC through to 700 BC.

After the fall of the Hittite Empire, Hieroglyphic Luwian and Neo-Hittite iconography is found on monuments both in the southeast of Turkey and in northern Syria, where it seems that Hittite sovereignty remained intact after the invasion of the sea-peoples, especially in Malatya and Carchemish (Hawkins 1988). Within Turkey Luwians remained in power at Karatepe, in Cilicia (cf. inscriptions dating to approx. 700 BC), at Tyana midway between the Kyzyl Irmak and the south coast (inscriptions approx. 725 BC), and Kululu in Tabal, a site to the southeast of the bend of the Kyzyl Irmak, which has yielded lead strips with Hieroglyphic Luwian written on them, recording economic transactions (end of 8th cent. BC). (Hawkins 2000 1.17-22, 2.425-33)

The inscriptional and iconographic evidence from eastern Anatolia and northern Syria after 1000 BC reveals a multilingual, multicultural milieu in which Phoenicians, Arameans and Luwians competed, fought and created alliances with one another against the Assyrians. The evidence includes bilingual Phoenician-Luwian inscriptions at Ivriz and Karatepe (both in Turkey), while at Tyana both Hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician are attested, and at Aleppo inscription in both Hieroglyphic Luwian and Aramaic are found. Sam'al (modern Zincirli) mixed Neo-Hittite monumental sculpture with Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions. Furthermore, inscriptions in Aramaic appear frequently in this area in the ninth and eighth centuries BC at the behest of kings with

Anatolian names. In eastern Turkey a fourth ethnic group also played a part, the newly

arrived Phrygians. While the Assyrians had taken over most of northern Syria by 700 BC,

the Neo-Hittite states in Turkey were exterminated by the Cimmerian invasion shortly

thereafter. Hieroglyhic Luwian disappears from the record at this point, but descendants

of the Neo-Hittites appear in prosopographic evidence into the Achaemenid period. Thus,

the culture which the ancient Greeks simply referred to as 'Phoenician' was actually a

complex blend of Luwian and west Semitic traditions.[50]

Moving further west to Lycia, we find some of the best evidence for continuity of

religious cult. Bryce (1986 172-80) and Lebrun (1995) list the following gods which

continued to be worshipped in Lycia: *ēni mahanahi*, 'mother of the gods', whose name in

Luwian was *anniš maššanaššiš*, and was later syncretized with Leto; Trqqas, whose

Luwian name was Tarhuntas; Maliya, 'mental force', who bore the same name in Hittite

times, and was later syncretized with Athena; the *tesēti* 'oath gods', called in Hittite the

šiuneš linkiyaš or *linkiyanteš*; the 'twelve gods', who may be the same as those

represented at the Hittite site Yazilikaya; Qebeliya, Hittite Hapaliya; Hittite Muli,

appearing in Lycian theophoric names such as Mulliyesi (=*Mulliya-ziti* 'man of Mulli',

and the originally Sumerian god Ea, who is called Iyas. (Also see Hawkins 1982 439;

Popko 1995 172-6; Lebrun 1998b)

The next region to the west is Caria. Although we know very little about the

Carian language, we do know that Miletus in the heart of Caria was continuously

occupied from the Bronze Age through the Dark Ages (Boardman 1999 28).

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[50] On the various writing systems in use in northern Syria, see Starke (1997a), who discusses the boast of Yariri of Carchemish, that he can write in Hieroglyphic Luwian, Aramaic, Phoenician and Assyrian cuneiform. On the continuation of the Neo-Hittite states, their role in northern Syria and their eventual demise, see Hawkins (1974; 1982) and Ikeda (1984). On the blending of Luwian and 'Phoenician', see especially Röllig (1992b). On the mutual influence of Aramaic and Neo-Hittite religion in northern Syria, see Hutter (1996). On the contact between Luwians and Phrygians and their mutual influence on each other, see Mellink (1979).

We turn next to Lydia, a region which corresponds roughly to the Seha River Land of Hittite times (see App. 1, p. 238). The Classical Hermus River was probably the Seha River, an important route connecting the interior of Anatolia to the coast. Sardis, the capital of Lydia, was a site at which Myceneans and Anatolians came into contact, just as later Greeks intermingled with Lydians, and the city shows some evidence of continuity of cult. The excavators of Sardis point to evidence of occupation from the Bronze Age continuing into the Iron Age, even with the disruption of the Sea Peoples, and see evidence of Mycenean and Cycladic influence on pottery as well as Hittite influence in the Late Bronze Age (Hanfmann 1983 17-25). The most important Anatolian gods attested in both the Hittite documents and in Lydian texts are Sandas and Kubaba, originally from Carchemish (Popko 1995 181-6).[51]

Finally, we move inland to Phrygia and Gordion, although any intensive contact between Greeks and Phrygians at this location would only have occurred fairly late. The Phrygians were an Indo-European people speaking a language closely related to Greek, Armenian, Albanian and Thracian, who arrived in Anatolia early in the first millennium. Before that, Gordion was a satellite of the Hittite Empire. Although we see two changes of populations, one at the time of the collapse of the Hittite Empire, and another 200 years later, no evidence of destruction is found (Voigt and Henrickson 2000), and religious practices of the Hittites continued into the Classical period in Phrygia, such as mountain gods, a hunting god, and the worship of springs and sinkholes (Roller 1999 42-4). (Also see Popko 1995 187-93.) The kingly name Midas is attested for a king of Pahhuwa in Hittite times (Snodgrass 2001 (1971) 550), although Pahhuwa was probably well east of Phrygia (del Monte and Tischler 1978 296). That contact between Greeks and Phrygians occurred before the Phrygians had reached their final home is indicated by

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[51] Note that this goddess was originally not the same as the Phrygian Cybele, and the two were only syncretized in Classical times (Roller 1999).

the comment from Homer (*Il.* 3.184-7) that Priam fought them by the Sangarios River (Watkins 1998 (1986) 703).

Now that we have established that there was contact of the right kind in the Late Bronze Age for the transfer of cult and song to and from Greek-speakers and Anatolians, and that there was substantial continuity in religious practices in Anatolia through the Dark Ages, we turn to our next topic, a close study of an epic song with striking parallels to the *Iliad*, the bilingual Hurro-Hittite 'Song of Release', which tells the story of the fall of the north Syrian town Ebla. This song was composed in Hurrian and translated into Hittite, belonging to the same genre as 'Gilgamesh' and 'Kumarbi' and using phrases and verse forms found in these works. The poetic tradition which produced the 'Song of Release' was imported from north Syria to the Hittite capital some time between the Old Hittite period and the Middle Hittite period. This is our best example of how songs could be transferred across linguistic barriers in the Late Bronze Age.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MEDITERRANEAN EPIC TRADITION FROM 'ATRAHASIS' TO THE 'SONG OF RELEASE' TO THE *ILIAD*

3.1 Introduction

In 1983, the first pieces were found of a new story, the bilingual Hurro-Hittite

'Song of Release', in Houses 15 and 16 of the 'Oberstadt' of Hattusa, an area of the capital

in which excavation began only relatively recently.[1] Martin West was unable to take

much of the text into account in his masterly study of the connections between Near

Eastern and Greek poetry, *The East Face of Helicon* (1997), because the complete edition

of the work, by Erich Neu, only came out in 1996.[2] These tablets should in fact prove

very valuable to all those interested in studying the development of ancient 'epic' –

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[1] On this remarkable find see Neve and Otten in Neve (1984; 1986).

[2] The text has been fully edited and partially translated by Neu (1996a). Partial translations may be found in Hoffner (1998a 65-80), Wilhelm (1996), Hallo (1997 216-7) by Beckman, and Hecker (1994 860 -5) by Ünal. My own interpretation differs in some important details however, from these works.

traditional narrative poetry about gods and men – around the Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age. Even the few fragments that we have are filled with 'Homeric' motifs drawn from the same Mesopotamian and Ugaritic literary traditions which apparently were familiar to many Greek poets; the 'Song of Release' can thus shed new light on how the themes, plot lines, motifs and formulae of courtly epic could have been translated and transmitted from the larger Near East to Greek-speakers, providing us with an example of how the wider Near Eastern epic tradition was transported across linguistic barriers and adapted to the particular interests of a new milieu. The epic motifs discernable in the 'Song of Release' include the proemium (pp. 60 ff.), the assembly scene (see pp. 68 ff.), a hospitality sequence (pp. 107 ff.), and waking for a message (pp. 116 ff.). The most remarkable of these is the assembly scene of the 'Song of Release'. This scene stands midway between Greek and extant Near Eastern epic, for the very Greek motif of two human speakers arguing before an assembly of other humans, although built up out of stock Near Eastern motifs, does not appear with all its parts in any other Near Eastern narrative poem (pp. 84 ff.).

In this chapter we will discuss these passages in the light of other Near Eastern narrative poems and the *Iliad*, comparing in detail the assembly scene of the 'Song of Release' on the one hand with the Old Babylonian creation epic 'Atrahasis' and other Mesopotamian narrative poems, and on the other with the *Iliad*, to show the position of this poem in the eastern Mediterranean 'epic' tradition. Then we will argue that Homeric poets seem to have had contact with the particular branch of the eastern Mediterranean poetic tradition represented by the Hurro-Hittite SIR_3 ('song') (pp. 126 ff.).

The tablets of the 'Song of Release' are laid out with the Hurrian original on the left side and the Hittite translation on the right. One tablet of the story is nearly complete; it contains a series of parables in the tradition of Aesop's fables and *A Thousand and One Arabian Nights*, a tradition with biblical parallels as well (Hoffner 1998a 70). The

narrative as a whole seems to be divided between parables and a less well preserved

plot line telling of the fall of Ebla. The destruction of the town seems to be blamed on the

divine wrath of the Hurrian Storm god Tessub, angered when the Eblaites refused to

release certain captives, people of the town Ikinkalis (see pp. 64-6, 82-4). This town in

north Syria was conquered in approximately 1600 BC by the Old Hittite king Hattusili I

or his successor Mursili I (Matthiae 1980 53-6, 113; Klengel 1992 80-3; Haas 1994 550).

The song thus may be interpreted as providing justification for this action (Haas and

Wegner 1993 57; Neu 1996b 192-3).[3] As Erich Neu himself pointed out, the Hurrian

version of the song could have been imported during the Old Hittite period, when the

Hittites were actively campaigning in North Syria and conquered both Ebla and

Ikinkalis,[4] although its paleography and grammar indicate that the song was written down

and translated into Hittite in the Middle Hittite period, so 1500-1400 BC (Neu 1996a 3-

7).[5] Among the fragments a few colophons were preserved, which tell us that the text was

a SIR₃ *parā tarnumaš* 'song of release' (11, 13, 15, 19, 66), perhaps performed (at some

point in its history) by a [LÚ]NAR, a male singer (cf. colophons of KBo XXXII 13, 66),[6]

and was at least six tablets long, since the assembly scene is the fifth tablet but not the

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[3] Compare the Hittite story of the destruction of Zalpa (Singer 1995 124).

[4] See for example Neu (1996a 483); Wilhelm (1992 122) also thinks that it came from north Syria and was composed in the Middle Babylonian period. Otten (1988b 292, note 17) connects it specifically to the Shamshi-Adad I period, because a king by the name of Meki is mentioned in a letter of Aplahanda of Carcemish dating to this period (also see below, note 22). The possibility that it was transferred only shortly before it was written down is preferred by, for example, de Martino (2000 297-8). Outside of this text, Ebla appears in an Old Hittite historical fragment dealing with events in North Syria, along with the town Ursu, conquered by Hattusili I (KUB XXIII 28 + XL 5 i 6' (ed. Kühne 1972 242-5) with duplicate KBo XII 13 (+) KUB XL 4 13') and a Hurrian ritual, along with Halpa/Aleppo, also conquered by Hattusili I (KUB XLV 84 obv. 15) (Otten 1988b 291); Ikinkalis appears in KBo XXXII 19 i/ii 1, 5; 15 i 23' (with Purra) etc; 20 iv 17' (with Purra); 21 i 1'; 22 1', 5'. *Ikakališ/-a* is further found in 'Hattusili I's Annals': KBo X 2 i 18 (Hittite, ed. Imparati and Saporetti 1965 44), KBo X 1 obv. 8 (Akkadian, ed. Imparati and Saporetti 1965 77). *Agagališ* is also found at Ebla (Astour in Gordon 1987 3.8-9; citations in Pettinato 1991 193). Also see Neu (1996a 332-3).

[5] While Haas and Wegner (1993 57) argued that the story was originally composed in Old Babylonian, this suggestion was discounted by Neu (1996b 195).

[6] KBo XXXII 13 rev. 17-8:] *parā tarnumar*[/]x-zi [LÚ]NA[R; KBo XXXII 66: ᵗ*parā tarnumaš*ᵗ/]ᴸᵁNAR [.

last (KBo XXXII 15)(Neu 1993b 330-1).[7] The SIR₃, or 'song', was a Hittite genre that included 'Kumarbi', 'Gilgamesh' and the story of the hunter Kessi. The 'Song of Release' uses phraseology and motifs found in these works. We will discuss some of these shared phrases below when we talk about the SIR₃ genre as a whole and the significance of the parallels between the SIR₃ and hexametric poetry (pp. 120 ff.), but first we will look at the individual motifs, comparing them on the one hand with passages from other Near Eastern narrative poems and on the other, with the *Iliad*.

3.2. The Proemium

We begin at the beginning, the proemium, which places the poem squarely in the Mediterranean poetic tradition (Neu 1996a 34). We are missing the Hittite side entirely, and the Hurrian side lacks the right-hand ends of the lines, which prevents us from understanding as much as we might have wanted about the story it introduces, but we can get a good impression of the poetic quality of work. Below I give Neu's transcription of the Hurrian side, which shows the poetic alliteration and assonance, along with my translation:

<div>

1   *šir=at=i=l=i Teššop Kummi=ne=we t[al=āw=u=ši][8]*
         evri tal=m=ašt=i=l=i ši[nūri]
         nikri eše=nē=we āllā[ni]

         man=z=o=rā=ma kat=il=l=i iš[ā=š]
5   *šinūri išḫara tiwe tān[=...*
         māti am=ut=ibad=i ene [

         ᵐPizikarra kat=il=l=i ᵁᴿᵁE[bla
         ag=et=īri ᵐPizikarra=š paḫ[=et=a?
         ᵁᴿᵁNūḫašše=ni ᵁᴿᵁEbla=m

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[7] Some five or six tablets in total give us a worthwhile chunk of text. The final lines of the first tablet, KBo XXXII 11, even in their frustratingly fragmentary state, do not seem to set the stage for the parables on the 'second' tablet, KBo XXXII 12, also in less than satisfactory condition (approximately one quarter is preserved, only the Hurrian sides), but with its colophon preserved. This indicates that there were more than one recension of the story. Fifteen or sixteen more smaller pieces give us tantalizing glimpses of other parts of the narrative and about 100 more even smaller pieces add little else to our knowledge, but indicate that the text was very repetitious.

[8] Compare KBo XXXII 15 iv 14 *Teššop Kummi=ne=we tal=āw=uš=i evri.* (ed. Neu 1996a 474)

10   ^m*Pizikarra Ninuva=p=hi a-x[*
             kal=ovad=i huš=i=a ali[
             šuke=ma huš=i=a kiy[a
             išhī=ma ēnnā=š=da t[a
                      KBo XXXII 11 i 1-13 (ed. Neu 1996a 466)

1   I shall tell[9] of Tessub, great lord of Kummi.
             I shall exalt the lady,
             Allani, at the doorbolt of the earth.

             And along with them I shall tell
5   of the lady Ishara, the word-maker
             speaker of wisdom, god.

             I shall tell of Pizikarra ... Ebla ...
             who will bring ... Pizikarra will des[troy (?) ...
             Nuhasse ... and Ebla ...

10   Pizikarra, the Ninevan ...
             he bound (participle, absolutive case)
             ... bound ...
             ... with the gods ...

This type of 'I shall sing (or tell)...' opening is discussed in some detail by Claus Wilcke

(1977 153-5, 175-86, 200-2). It is found in poems classified as hymns, such as the 'Hymn

to Gilgamesh' by the Ur III king Shulgi (Tigay 1982 150-60), as well as the Akkadian

'Creation Epic' – a version of the same story treated in 'Atrahasis' – and other narrative

poems dealing with the heroic deeds of gods and men.[10]

Compare the opening of the later Standard Babylonian 'Anzu':[11]

I sing of the superb son of the king of populated lands,

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[9] The Hurrian verb *šir* could be derived from Sumerian SIR₃ , either directly or via an intermediary, in which case it should mean 'sing'. Yet in the quadrilingual vocabulary at Ugarit, SIR₃ = Akk. *zammāru* = Hurr. *halmi* = Ug. *šīru* (see Neu 1996a 451). Neu prefers to connect it with the Hurrian noun 'number' (*šir*) (Neu 1996a 33-4). Perhaps a folk etymology connected the Sumerian term and the Hurrian verb.

[10] Wilcke (1977 186) notes that it appears in two Ugaritic texts that are currently classified as ritual texts dealing with marriage, 'Nikkal and Ib' (KTU 1.24, trans. Wyatt 1998 336 ff.) and 'Shahar and Shalim', also called a sacred marriage text (KTU 1.23, trans. Wyatt 1998 324 ff.). He cites also the *Aeneid* and a German saga, *Oswald-Lied* (186). Also see West (1997 170-3) and De Vries (1967 127-34) on proemia.

[11] Note that the a new fragment of the opening of the Standard Babylonian Gilgamesh epic shows that it does not contain the 'I sing ... opening' which has been frequently restored for it (see ed. Kwasman 1998; and trans. of George 1999 1).

Beloved of Mami, the powerful god, Ellil's son;
I praise superb Ninurta, beloved of Mami,
The powerful god, Ellil's son,
Ekur's child, leader of the Anunnaki, focus of Eninnu,
Who waters cattle-pens, irrigated gardens, ponds (?), in country and town.
Flood-wave of battles, who darkens the sash, warrior.
The fiercest *gallû*-demons, though tireless, fear his attack.
Listen to the praise of the powerful one's strength,
Who subdued, who bound the Mountain of Stones in his fury,
Who conquered the soaring Anzu with his weapon,
Who slew the bull-man inside the Sea.
'Anzu' Standard Babylonian version I 1-12 (trans. Dalley 1989 205)

This same type of 'I sing ...' opening was used in Homeric poetry, both epic and hymnic, although the Greek poet often frames his words as if he were conveying the words sung to him by the Muse:[12]

μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος
οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρί' Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκεν,
πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν
ἡρώων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν
οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι, Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή,
ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε
Ἀτρείδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.
τίς τάρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;
Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός...
Iliad 1.1-9

Sing the anger, o goddess, of Achilles, son of Peleus,
baneful, which placed ten thousand pains on the Achaeans
and sent many mighty souls to Hades
of heroes, but made them booty for the dogs,
and all the birds, and the counsel of Zeus was fulfilled,
from the time when at first the two faced each other in rivalry,
both the son of Atreus, lord of men, and shining Achilles.
Who then of the gods sent the two against each other to fight?
The son of Leto and Zeus ...

Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ
πλάγχθη, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσε·
πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω,
πόλλὰ δ' ὅ γ' ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμόν,
ἀρνύμενος ἥν τε ψυχὴν καὶ νόστον ἑταίρων.
ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὡς ἑτάρους ἐρρύσατο, ἱέμενός περ·
αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρῃσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὄλοντο,
νήπιοι, οἳ κατὰ βοῦς Ὑπερίονος Ἠελίοιο
ἤσθιον· αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσιν ἀφείλετο νόστιμον ἦμαρ.
τῶν ἁμόθεν γε, θεά, θύγατερ Διός, εἰπὲ καὶ ἡμῖν.

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[12] All passages from the *Iliad* follow the edition of West (1998; 2000).

Odyssey l.1-10 (ed. Allen 1917 1)

63

Tell me of the man, O Muse, wily, who wandered
very much, after he conquered the holy citadel of Troy;
he saw cities of many men and knew their mind,
who suffered many pains on the sea in his heart,
striving for his life and the return of his companions.
But still he did not save his companions, although he longed very much to do so,
for they perished by their own recklessness,
foolish, since they ate up the cattle of Hyperion Helios;
right then in turn their day of return was lost for them.
Starting from here or so, goddess, daughter of Zeus, tell us also.

Δήμητρ' ἠΰκομον σεμνὴν θεὰν ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν,
αὐτὴν ἠδὲ θύγατρα τανύσφυρον ἣν Ἀϊδωνεὺς
ἥρπαξεν, δῶκεν δὲ βαρύκτυπος εὐρυόπα Ζεύς,
νόσφιν Δήμητρος χρυσαόρου ἀγλαοκάρπου
παίζουσαν...

Hymn to Demeter 1-5 (ed. Allen 1912 2)

I begin by singing of Demeter the lovely-haired august goddess,
her and her slender-ankled daughter whom Aidoneus
snatched, for deep-thundering wide-seeing Zeus gave her (to him),
playing apart from golden-crowned Demeter of gleaming harvest.

The 'I sing ...' proemium is typical of the Hurro-Hittite SIR₃'s as well, although

the openings are not always preserved (Hoffner 1988; Martino 2000 300-1). Below I give

the opening of the 'Song of Silver':[13]

[ᴰU-ni=za ᴰUT]U.AN ᴰx[ᴰIŠTAR] ᵁᴿᵁNen[uwa MUNUS.LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ-šša ḫumandaš
        ištarna]
[apūn'] UL kuiški iyazi mā[l'-šet ...   ]
[... ut]tar=šett=ašta uddān[aš=šmaš ....]
[ḫatt]atar=šet=ašta ḫat<ta>annaš[=šmaš........]
[x x x] zaḫḫaiš=šiš mišriw[atar=šet..........]
[ḫan]dannaš=šaš=ši=kan ḫand[atar=šemet UL GAL-li(?)]

[i]šḫamiḫḫi=an KÙ.BABBAR-an šanizz[in'   ]
nu=mu ḫaddanteš LÚ.MEŠ-uš wan[numiaš DUMU?-aš .. memir]
[NU.]GÁL=at ešta karū KÙ.BABBAR-i [kuiš/it ... ešta n=ašlat merta]
[mdi]štan=ššann=a UL šekk[anzi ....]
[UR.SAG-liu]š=ma? LÚ.MEŠ-uš zaḫḫī piddā'[ir' ...]
[x x x x] x NU.GÁL ešta nu ḫalki[š' ....]
        'Song of Silver' HFAC 12 i 1-12 (Beckman and Hoffner 1985; ed. Hoffner 1988 144-5)

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[13] For other relevant Hurro-Hittite examples, see openings of 'Song of Kumarbi' (let gods
hearken), 'Song of Ullikummi' (I shall sing, synopsis) (trans. Hoffner 1998a 42, 56-7).

[Among Tessub], the Sun God of the Sky, Sauska(?), Nineveh's(?) [Queen, and all the gods],
no one worships(?) [him], (although) [his] mental power [is greater than their mental power].
His word [is greater(?)] than [their(?)] words,
his wisdom [is greater(?)] than [their(?)] wisdom,
his battle [and his] glo[ry(?) are greater(?) than theirs,
and their(?)] *handatars* [are not(?) greater(?)] for him than his *handatars*.

It is Silver the Fine [...] whom I sing.
Wise men [told(?)] me [the ... of] the fatherless [boy(?)].
It did not exist. Long ago Silver's [... had disappeared(?)].
And they do not know his [sp]lendor.
[Heroic(?)] men ran to battle.
[Abundance(?)] did not exist. And grain [did not grow(?)].
        (slightly altered from trans. Hoffner 1998a 48)

As in the previous examples, the poet specifically calls attention to his musical

performance, making reference to the hero of the story and, as far as we can tell, giving a

synopsis of what he will recount. Here it seems we will learn of how Silver progressed

from a low-status 'orphan' to acknowledged leader in this otherwise poorly preserved text.

Returning to the 'Song of Release', we can attempt to apply what we know about

the form of the 'I sing ...' proemium to this lacunose text. Each of the proemia given

above presents us with a summary of the story which will be told at length, and so it

seems does the 'Song of Release', speaking of the destruction of Ebla,and the binding of

someone, while the opening lines of the proemium seem to refer to a man named

Pizikarra from Nineveh 'destroying Ebla' in the future (KBo XXXII 11 i 8, cf. Neu's

discussion of the lacunose verb *pa-X =pah-*, 'destroy'? 1996a 42), who should be the hero

of the story. The close of the tablet, although very damaged, certainly makes reference to

destroying Ebla (iv 17' ^{URU}*Eb-la-an pa-a-*[...; 19' *pa-hé-e-ta, pa-a-hu-ú-ma*). It seems

likely that there was a battle somewhere in the story, although no extended passage is

preserved telling of it.[14] Pizikarra turns up later in one fragment, where he perhaps is

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[14] The closest to a battle scene we have is KBo XXXII 215 (Hittite only), which definitely
preserves the expression *me-n]a-ah-ha-an-ᵗta¹ za-ah-h[i(-)...]* 'do battle against' or – reading the second
word as a the noun *zahh[iya]* – 'in battle against' (right col. 10') (ed. Neu 1996a 552). This fragment, which
could either be narrative or direct speech, also mentions 'oath' (*[l]i-in-ki-ya-aš* 9'), 'slaves' (ᵗARAD¹.MEŠ
12') and 'in priso[n]' (*I-NA É.EN.NU.U[N]* 17'). It could belong to a scene otherwise not preserved, or it
could belong to the same scene as KBo XXXII 17 (Hittite and Hurrian), which mentions 'fie[ld]' (*gi-im[-...*
iii 11', *gi-i[m-* iii 14') and 'agai[nst]' (*me-na-ah[-ha-an-d/ta* iii 13'), 'Zaza[lla]' (iii 4') and 'Tessub' (iv 12')
(ed. Neu 1996a 370), or 10 (Hittite), with a curse against the town Lullu, and mention of the Sungod.

freeing Purra, one of the prisoners whose release Tessub requests (KBo XXXII 10),

and another in which destroying in the third person is mentioned (KBo XXXII 32), but

we cannot directly connect him to the Ebla story line as preserved. Perhaps he is the

champion chosen by Tessub to destroy Ebla.[15]

One assumes that Tessub was also brought up again somewhere in the opening

lines to introduce the dialogue between Tessub and Ishara that closes the tablet, given

below. Although little of the beginning of the passage is comprehensible, the pronoun 'I'

appears (6' *iš-te*), someone isn't listening (7' *h]a-ši-ik-ki*), and the topic is freeing (9' *pí-in-du-w[a*):

12' [*dI]M-ob=va teve=na dIs[hara]*
     [*ka]d=iya šār=i=b šār=i(=)ōm[... kad=iya?]*
     [*DIšhāra šār=i=b šāri* [
15' [*iš]=aš ar=i=l=i=ffa*

[*dI]šhará tiwe=na dTešš[op kad=ya]*
[*h]ennā=m URUEbla=n pā[-*
en=utōbi=n dIšhara=n ×[
pah=ed=a abišš=ā enu-×[
20' *dIšhara=n URUEblā=al* [
pāh=ū=ma ōmminna pāh[u- '

DUB 1.KAM SIR₃ *pará tarnu[mmaš*

---

[15] KBo XXXII 10 iii 2'-7' (ed. Neu 1996a 457):

×[
▪Pí-z[i-
I-NA É.E[N.NU.UN
ŠA ▪Pur-ra-ma-kán[   ]× ×[   ] × *zi*[
NA₄*-i an-da iš-hi-i-ya-a[n]*
hi-in-kán an'-da NA⁴*ku-un-ku-nu-zi iš-hi-ya-a[n]*
har-zi URU*Kum-mi-ya-aš* dr*IŠTAR¹* dr*IM¹-aš*

Pizi[karra ...]
in pr[ison ...]
But of Purra ...
tied (neut.) to the stone
Ishtar of Kummi has tied destruction to the *kunkunuzi* stone. Tessub ... (??)

KBo XXXII 32 right col. 3'-4': *nu ▪Pí-z[i-.../ har-ni-ik-ta[* (ed. Neu 1996a 501) 'Pizi-.../ destroyed...')

Š[A ...]
KBo XXXII 11 iv 12'-22' (transcription based on Neu 1996a 46-52)

12'	Ishara said these words to Tessub
	'Asking, he asks [....,' said]
	Ishara, 'Asking, he asks...
15'	I shall give.'
	Tessub said these words to Ishara
	'Now Ebla des[troy...]
	... Ishara
	he will destroy X (absolutive)....
20'	Ishara .... Ebla ...
	the country is destroyed ... destroy[ed ...'
	1st tablet of the Song of Release
	o[f ...]

Ishara seems to be mentioning the request of another person, while Tessub seems to be discussing the future destruction of Ebla with Ishara.

Ishara is singled out by the poet for praise in the opening lines as the *tive tān*-[/ *mādi amudōvadi* 'clev[er] with words,/ famous for wisdom' (KBo XXXII.11.5-6), then appears again as character in the story in the final lines of the tablet (also cf. KBo XXXII 67, which is perhaps part of 11). She is mentioned elsewhere by Tessub (KBo XXXII 37 14'), so she certainly plays a role in the action of the story itself (Neu 1996a 40-1).[16] The epithets given her in the opening lines are conventional,[17] but they could signal that Ishara is the narrator within the epic who tells the parables that fill KBo XXXII 12 and 14, since these are called Hurr. *mādi*/ Hitt. *ḫattātar* 'wisdom'.[18] Whether it is Ishara or a different character in the story who tells these parables, there is certainly a conflation in the

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[16] Outside of the 'Song of Release', she is an underworld goddess associated with the Sun-goddess of the earth (Neu 1993b 355-6), at whose house the hospitality scene occurs (see pp. 107, 222). She is called the 'queen of (treaty) oath(s)' at KUB XIX 50 + ii 13 (van Gessel 1998 200).

[17] The latter epithet is similar to the Hittite epithets *ḫattannaš* LUGAL-*uš* 'lord of wisdom' and *ḫattannaš* LUGAL-*uš* 'king of wisdom'. These apply particularly to Ea, as patron of scribes (see Puhvel 1984- 3.261-2). Ishara is not usually associated with wisdom (*ḫattātar*).

[18] Compare the opening of the 'Song of Silver', given above, pp. 63-4.

parable section of the real poet performing the story and a mythical character closer to
the action.

I give one example from the parables below:

i 42   *teššummin* ᴸᵁSIMUG *walliyanni lāhuš*
        lāhuš = an tiššāit n = an šuppišduwarit
        daiš n = an gulašta nu = šši = ešta maišti
45   *anda lālukišnut lāhuš = ma = an kuiš*
        n = an āppa marlānza URUDU-*aš ḫurzakiwan dai*[š]
        *mān = wa = mu lāhus kuiš man = wa = šši = kan kiššar*ⁱ*aš*¹
        arḫa duwarnattari kunnaš = man = wa = šši = kan
        išḫunauš arḫa wišūriyattari
50   *mahhan* ᴸᵁSIMUG *ištamašta*
        nu = šši = ašta ŠA₃-ŠU *anda ištarkkiat*

        nu = za ᴸᵁSIMUG PĀNI ŠA₃-ŠU *memiškiwan daiš*
        kuwat = wa URUDU-*an kuin lāhun nu = wa = mu āppa*
        ḫūrzakizi nu teššumiya ᴸᵁSIMUG
55   *ḫūrtāin tet walaḫdu = ya = an*
        ᵈIM-*aš teššummin nu = šši šuppišduwariuš*
        arḫa šakkuried<du> teššummiš = kan
        anda amiyari maušdu
        šuppišduwariyēš = ma = kan anda
60   ÍD-*i muwantaru*

ii 1   *U*ᵀ*L*¹ *teššummi*ᵗ*š*¹ *nu antuwahhaš*
        apāš DUMU-ŠU ANA ABI-ŠU *kuiš menahhanta*
        kūrur šallešta = aš n = aš mēani āraš
        n = ašta namma attaš = šan anda UL *aušzi*
5   ŠA ABI-ŠU DINGIR.MEŠ *kuin huwartan harkanzi*

        arḫa dālešten apāt uttar nu = šmaš tamai uttar
        memiškimi hatreššar ištamašten
        hattātar = ma = šmaš memiškimi
                KBo XXXII 14 ii 42-iii 8 (ed. Neu 1996a 81-5)

ii 42   A smith cast a cup for glory,
        he cast it and put it in proper form.[19]
        He set it with ornamentation. He engraved it.
45   He made it shine with brilliance.[20] The one who cast it,
        him the foolish copper began to curse in return,
        'If only he who cast me, his hand would break off,
        and his right arm
        would be squeezed/shriveled away!'
50   When the smith heard,

---

[19] The Hittite follows the chiastic word order of the Hurrian, with the same verb ending one
sentence, then repeated at the beginning of the next. The Hurrian has a separate etymological figure, with
taballiš 'the smith' and *tavaštdm* 'he cast'. The Hittite imitates it with *teššumin* 'cup' and *tiššait* 'he put it in
proper form', but the latter depends on a folk etymology or surface similarity rather than a genuine
etymological connection. (Neu 1996a 146) For the translation technique of the bilingual poet, see de
Martino (1999).

[20] The Hurrian side says 'he gave gleaming' *šīr=na=m(m)a taš=ol=uwa* (ed. Neu 1996a 148-9).
On *maišt-* see Rieken (1999 137-8).

he was sickened within his heart.

The smith began to speak to his heart,
'Why does the copper which I cast
curse me in return?' And the smith against the cup
55   said a curse, 'May Tessub strike it,
the cup! May he wrench off
its ornaments! May the cup
fall into the canal!
May its ornaments
60   fall into the river!'

iii 1   It is not a cup. It is a man,
that son who was an enemy
against his father. He grew up. He reached maturity,
and he no longer paid attention to his father.
5   (He is a man) whom the gods of his father have cursed.

Leave aside that word (Hurr. *tivšari*/ Hitt. *uttar*). I will tell you another word.
Listen to the message (*amōmi*/ *hatressar*).
I will tell you wisdom (*māti*/ *hattātar*).

This particular parable (KBo XXXII 14 i 39- iv 5) is the one with the closest parallels to

biblical topoi, as Hoffner (1998a 70) has pointed out, comparing it to Isaiah 29:16 and

45:9.[21] We will see how it links up with the Ebla sequence below (p. 84).

3.3. The Assembly Scene

While the parables are well preserved, the Ebla plot is fragmentary; still, although

it is far less well preserved than the parables, what we have does seem to show striking

Homeric parallels. This assembly scene best exemplifies how the 'Song of Release'

combines and reworks the motifs found in the Mesopotamian and Ugaritic stories to

appeal to a Hittite audience, producing a narrative that is more like that of the opening of

the *Iliad* than any other Near Eastern text. The Near Eastern/Homeric motifs found in this

section begin with the plot as whole, that is, a dispute over captives leading to the

attempted sack of a city, with the gods involved. Unique to both passages is the specific

scene of two human speakers arguing before an assembly of humans over freeing

captives and compensation.

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[21] Also see discussion in Neu (1993b 351-2) with earlier references.

The two humans in the assembly scene bear traditional Eblaite names, Meki

and Zazalla. Meki's name was a title for the ruler of Ebla and perhaps should be

etymologized as 'king'; he is in fact called the tenth in a series of kings within the poem

(KBo XXXII 19 i 9-10, see Wilhelm 1997 288-9), although he never receives the

Sumerogram LUGAL 'king').[22] The fact that Meki attempted to purify the sins committed

'for the sake of his city' (KBo XXXII 15 iii 19-20) indicates that Meki had the right to act

on behalf of the city as a whole. Meki is instructed by Tessub of the potential

consequences of not releasing the citizens of Ikinkalis (KBo XXXII 19 i/ii 20-31) and

probably conveys the words of Tessub to the assembly (KBo XXXII 19 ii 43-end).[23] On

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[22] The name Zazalla is found in the Ebla archive dating to approximately 2300 BC (Neu 1996a 480 with earlier refs.). The name or title Meki could be related to the West Semitic *melku* 'king', and appears in an inventory text of Drehem from the Ur III period (Amar-Sin 7) to designate the ensi, or ruler, of Ebla (15 *me-GU-um énsi ebla*[ki], ed. Owen and Veenker 1987 267); on the Ibbit-Lim statue at Ebla as an epithet of Ibbit-Lim himself (3-4 LUGAL *me-KI-im eblaim* 'king, Meki of Ebla', ed. Owen and Veenker 1987 269, note 23); and in an unpublished letter from Mari referring to a king from an unknown area, who refused demands for metal from king Aplahanda of Carchemish (Owen and Veenker 1987 270, note 24). Otten has connected the name found in the letter to the Meki in this text, arguing that the events could be dated to the time of Shamshi-Adad (approx. 1840 BC) (see note 4). It is disputed whether the three mentions of Meki all refer to the same person or show that Meki was maintained as a traditional title for kings in Ebla and perhaps the surrounding area. On the name Meki at Ebla and in the 'Song of Release' also see Neu (1996a 406-7; 1993b 349-50, 352-3) and Pettinato (1991 20-4, 183-4). Kühne (1998) argues for a different etymology of the name, from MKY.

[23] Unfortunately the latter passage is too fragmentary to draw any definite conclusions as to the scenario following the threatening speech of Tessub, but the name Meki seems to appear (iii 3) in the context of an assembly of elders (ii 51, iii 3, 4), while Tessub is referred to in the third person (Hurr.: dIM-*aš pa*ʳ*liya*ⁿ 'Tessub knows...' (iv 25'), and iii 9' ff. repeats the words of Tessub, preserved in i 1-25 (translated below, pp. 82 ff.), as reported speech (cf. quotative particle =*wa(r)* at iii 9', 26', 27', 28', 32', lacking in i 1-25).

KBo XXXII 19 ii 43- iii 2:

ii 43   [   ]× *ki-*ʳ*iš-ša*ⁿ*-an* [-*m*]*i*ʾ
[... *har*ʾ*-*]*ni-i*[*k-mi/zi*   ] × *ši* × × -*uš* (reconstruction suggested by Hoffner, pers. comm.)
45   [   ] ×-*iš*[*me-na-ah-h*]*a-*ʳ*an*ⁿ-*ta* me-mi-iš-ki-zi
[   ] × d[IM ᵁᴿᵁ*Kum-*]*mi-ya-aš* (reconstruction suggested by Hoffner pers. comm.)
[   ] × [

[*ud-d*]*a-*ʳ*a*ⁿ[-*ar*   ] × (cf. i 48 Hurr. *ti-wi*ᵢ['word...')
nu-uš-š[*i*   ] ×-*an pí-ra*[-*an*
50   *mu-n*[*a*ʾ-   -]*an ar-h*[*a*]
tu-u[-*li-ya*   -*k*]*án*
ša-ni[-*iz-zi*- ....   *me-*]*mi-iš-t*[*a*ʾ]

iii 1   ⁿ*M*[*e*ʾ-*ki*- (my reconstr.)   ᴸᵁ·]ᴹᴱˢˢ*ŠU.G*[*I*
×[ᴸᵁ·ᴹᴱˢˢ]*U.G*[*I*
(ed. Neu 1996a 385-7)

the one hand, he is the representative for Tessub's side, while on the other he is comparable to the Old Testament prophets who utter the word of God, but are often ignored.

Zazalla argues against the position presented by Meki, refusing to release the humans as demanded by Tessub. Zazalla is introduced to us as the most powerful speaker of the assembly:[24]

1   [   ]x-aš memai ≈ šši kuiš menahhand⸢a⸣
        [   ]x ištarna ᴸᵁŠU.GI-aš NU.GÀL-ma ≈ aš
        [(mema)i]≈ šši kuiš menahhanta
        [   ] x arkuar ≈ ši k[(ui)]š iē≈≈i
5   [UL] kui[ški] te≈≈i

        [nu° m]ān [U]RU-ri ≈ ma mekki ⸢me⸣mišgatallaš
        [kuēl]≈kan [ud]dār āppa UL kuiški
        [(wahnu)]≈[i ᵐ]Zā≈allaš ≈ ma mekki memiškatallaš
        [(nu ≈ šši) tul]iyaš pēdi uddār ≈ šet
10   [U(L kui)]ški tarḫ≈i

        [ᵐZā≈al]⸢la⸣š ᵐMēki mem⸢iški⸣[iwa]n daiš
        kuwat haliyatar memi[šta   ]²⁵
        ᵁᴿᵁĒbi[u]menaš MUL-aš ᵐM[ēkiš   ] (my reconstruction)
                KBo XXXII 16 ii 1-13 filled in with 54, 59 (ed. Neu 1996a 275-7)

1   [... there is no] one who speaks against him
        [...] among the elders, there is no one
        who speaks against him.
        [There is no one] who makes a response (arkuwar) to him.
5   [No] one talks.

---

ii 43   ... in the following way [I wil]l (?)
.....des]tr[oy(s) (?) ....
45   .... in fro]nt of he speaks
.....] god [Tessub of Kum]mi (?)
...

[..... wo]r[ds .....]
To hi[m ....] in fro[n]t
50   ....] awa[y]
in ass[embly (?) ....
fin[e .... he s]poke

iii 1   M[eki (?).......... the e]lder[s
[.....................the eld[er[s

[24] Compare the praise of Ishtar in the 'Hymn to Ishtar': 'She it is who stands foremost among the gods./ Her word is the weightiest, it prevails over theirs.' (vii 1-2, trans. Foster 1993 69)

[25] See Hoffner (1998a 74), translating the verb as a second person singular.

> But if there is one who speaks greatly in the city,
> whose words no one
> turns aside. Zazalla is the one who speaks greatly.
> In the place of assembly. his words
> 10   no one overcomes.
>
> [Zazal]la began to speak to Meki.
> 'Why [do you] speak humility,
> star of Ebla. Me[ki]...?'

This description of Zazalla is similar to that of Thoas in the *Iliad* (15.283-4): 'In the assembly few of the Achaean bested him when the young men competed with words.' (ἀγορῇ δέ ἑ παῦροι Ἀχαιῶν/ νίκων, ὁππότε κοῦροι ἐρίσσειαν περὶ μύθων). Or, perhaps the comment of Nestor to Diomedes is more apropos:[26]

> ... βουλῇ μετὰ πάντας ὁμήλικας ἔπλε' ἄριστος.
> οὔτις τοι τὸν μῦθον ὀνόσσεται, ὅσσοι Ἀχαιοί.
> οὐδὲ πάλιν ἐρέει
> *Il.* 9.54-7

> ... in council among all your peers you are the best.
> no one will fault your speech. as many are the Achaeans.
> nor will (any one) speak against it.

Zazalla is in fact the first human example of the 'excellent speaker in assembly' that I've found.

But whereas Nestor and the other great Greek speakers were conciliators, speaking the truth, Zazalla is antagonistic, arguing against king Meki, and in the wrong; thus in some ways he is more like the famed Iliadic fluent but unwise speaker Thersites, who attempts to turn the assembly of Argives against their leaders (see discussion in Dickson 1995 27, 51-2):

> Θερσίτης δ' ἔτι μοῦνος ἀμετροεπὴς ἐκολώα.
> ὃς ἔπεα φρεσὶ ᾗσιν ἄκοσμά τε πολλά τε εἴδη,
> μάψ. ἀτὰρ οὐ κατὰ κόσμον. ἐριζέμεναι βασιλεῦσιν,
> ...

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[26] See Dickson (1995 12). Also see *Il.* 2.370 ff..

185   ἔχθιστος δ᾽ Ἀχιλῆϊ μάλιστ᾽ ἦν ἠδ᾽ Ὀδυσῆϊ·
        τὼ γὰρ νεικείεσκε· ...

        ...

224   αὐτὰρ ὁ μακρὰ βοῶν Ἀγαμέμνονα νείκεε μύθῳ·
        ᾽Ἀτρείδη, τέο δὴ αὖτ᾽ ἐπιμέμφεαι ἠδὲ χατίζεις;

        ...

        Il. 2.212-25

212   Thersites alone still wrangled, uncontrolled in speech,
        who in his mind knew many words – but unseemly,
        foolish, and not proper – to argue with kings

        ...

220   He was most hateful to Achilles and Odysseus,
        for he quarreled with them often ...

        ...

224   Then he, shouting loudly, contested Agamemnon with a speech,
        'Son of Atreus, what more is there for you to complain about or starve for? ...'

Like Zazalla, Thersites dares to speak rudely to a leader of the people. Yet, the positions of the two speakers are exactly inverted in relation to each other. In contrast to Zazalla Thersites speaks the truth but too plainly, complaining that Agamemnon should be satisfied with what he has already won, and that he has gone too far in insulting Achilles (2.225-42). Thersites fails to persuade the assembly and is silenced ignominiously by Odysseus. Zazalla, on the other hand, is respected by the assembly of Ebla. He presumably thinks he is speaking accurately, and is able to sway the assembly to his side despite Meki's opposition, yet his advice proves to be wrong.

The rest of KBo XXXII 16 is very damaged, but the beginning of KBo XXXII 15, the fifth tablet of the 'Song of Release', duplicates the end of KBo XXXII 16. Here Zazalla seems to be the one who argues that if Tessub were in want, each would contribute whatever he might need; if someone were depriving the god, the Eblaites would mitigate Tessub's suffering. No matter what though, the Eblaites won't let Purra and the sons of the town Ikinkalis go, because they and their kings need them to do their menial labor. Meki should send his own slaves and his own wife and children! Meki

seems helpless against Zazalla.[27] He turns to Tessub, falling at his feet and telling of

his city's refusal and trying to avoid any blame – and here our tablet breaks off:

ii 4' [^{d}I]M-aš šiššiyanit dammišhānza
5' [parā tarnumar w]ewakki mān ^{d}IM-aš
    [ši]ššiyawanza nu kuišša ^{d}IM-unni
    [I GÍN KÙ(.BABBAR p)ā(i)]

    [nu' GUŠKIN kui]šša 1/2 GÍN pāi KÙ.BABBAR-ma=šš[(i)]
    [1 GÍN kuišša piyuen]i mān=aš kišduwanza=ma ^{d}IM-aš
    nu [ANA DINGI]R-LIM kuišša I PA ŠE piyu[(eni)]

10' ZÍZ-tar [kui]šša 1/2 PARISI šunnai Š[E-....-m]a=šši
    kuiš^{r}ša^1 I PARISA šunnai mān ^{d}[IM-]aš=ma
    neku^{r}ma^{1}nza n=an kuišša ^{TCG}kušišiyaz waššaweni
    DINGIR-uš UN[28]

    [m]ān=aš hurtanza=ma ^{d}IM-aš nu=šši kuišša
15' ^{r}I^1.DÙG.GA I kūpin pīweni nu=šši išhueššar
    parā šunnumeni n=an=kan pallantiyaz
    āppa tarnumeni DINGIR-uš UN

    n=an=kan huišnumini ^{d}IM-an ^{LÚ}šiššiyalan
    dammišhiškizzi=an kuiš UL=man
20' iyaweni parā ^{r}tar^{1}numar n=ašta tuk ANA ^{m}Mēki
    ZI-KA anda tuškizzi

    I-ŠU=kan tuk ANA^{m}Mēki ZI-KA anda
    UL duškizzi tān pēdi=ma=kan
    ANA ^{m}Purra āppa pianti ZI-ŠU anda
25' <UL> duški[z]zi

    apūš arha kuit tarnu^{r}meni^1 anzāš=a adan[na]
    kuiš piškizzi $^{LÚ\ MEŠ}$SAGI=ya=af=naš^{29}
    parā=ya=aš=naš piškiuwani $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUHALDIM=ya=at=naš
    arraškanzi=ya=aš=naš

iii 1 malkianzi=ma kuit ^{SIG}šui[l]
    šukšukkiš mahhan [
    mān=ta=kkan parā tarnumar=ma [
    tuel ARAD-DAM GÉME-TAM ^{r}pa^1[rā tarna]

5 DUMU-KA=za arha maniyah DAM[-KA
    ŠUPUR n=ašta katta ^{r}ā^1[nzaš ēšhut/ āš]^{30}
    ^{GIŠ}ŠÚ.A-ki URU-ri ^{m}Mē[ki

---

nu maḫḫan ᵐ*Mēki*[*š u*]*ttar išt*[*amašta*]
n ꞊ *aš wēšgewan dāiš wēš*[*kanza*]³¹

10 ᵐ*Mēkiš n* ꞊ *aš* ᴰ[I]M-*unni* GÌR.ḪI.A-*aš katt*[*an*]
ḫališkit[*t*]*a*

ᵐ*Mēkiš uddār aruwanza* ᵈIM-*unni*
memiškizzi [*i*]*štamaš* ꞊ *mu* ᵈIM-*aš*
ᵁᴿᵁ*Kummiyaš* LU[GA]L GAL

15 *ug* ꞊ *an p*[*ēšk*]*imi*³² *pariššan*
ammel ꞊ *ma* ꞊ *a*[*n* U]RU-*aš* UL *pāi*
ŠA ᵐ*Pazz*[*anik*]*arri* ꞊ *ma* DUMU-ŠU ᵐ*Zāzallaš*
*parā tar*ⁱ*nu*ⁱ[*mar*] UL *pāi nu* ꞊ *za* ᵐ*Mēkiš*
apel U[RU-*LAM* ꞊]ŠU *wašdulaz parkunut*

20 ᵁᴿᵁ*Eb*[*lan* UR]U-*an* URU-*ri šer waštul*-ḪI.A *peššiēt*

[ ] ×[ ]× *kuit* ᵁᴿᵁ*Kummiyaš* GAL-*iš* LUGAL-*uš*
[*kui*]*t* ᵁᴿᵁ*Kummiyaš* GAL-*iš* LUGAL-*uš*
[ ]× *nu* NA₄-*ri menaḫḫanta*
[ ]
KBo XXXII 15 ii 4′-iii 23 (ed. Neu 1996 289-91)

ii 4′ [If Tes]sup is injured by oppression³³
5′ and he [a]sks [for release], if Tessub
[is o]ppressed, let each g[i]ve to Tessub
[one shekel of silver.]

Ea[ch] will give half a shekel [of gold], [we will each g]ive to h[im] of silver
[one shekel]. If Tessub is hungry,
we will each give one measure of barley [to the g]od.

10′ Each will pour a half measure of wheat, for him one measure barley
each will pour. But if Tessub
is naked, we will each clothe him with a fine garment.
The god is a man. (?)³⁴

But if Tessub is injured,³⁵ to him each
15′ of us will give one *kupi*-vessel of fine oil, for him fuel
we will each pour out.
We will free him from deprivation. The god is a man.

We will rescue him, Tessub the oppressed.³⁶

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³¹ The end of the line is my own restoration.

³² Following Hoffner's suggested restoration (pers. comm.) (1998a 75, note 60).

³³ Hoffner (1998a 75): 'oppressed by debt(?)'.

³⁴ Hoffner (1998a 75): '(namely) the ... god'. See Appendix 2 for a justification of my translation.

³⁵ Hoffner (1998a 75): 'if Tessub is ever dried out(? from the heat of the day)'. The CHD (P 62) suggested emending *ḫur-ta-an-za* to *ḫar-ga-an-za*, 'ruined (?)'. In his edition, Neu translated it as 'wund' (1996 291). After publishing his edition, he then decided it would be best to read the form as a participle of another verb with a meaning of 'verlezt, angeschlagen, erschöpft', nearly homophonous with the verb meaning 'curse' (1998 511).

³⁶ Hoffner (1998a 75): 'the debtor(?)'.

20' Who will harm him? We will not make the release.[37] Will it please you, Meki,
with respect to your desire?[38]

First of all, it will not please
you in your desire. Secondly
Purra, who should be given back
25' it will <not> please in his desire.[39]

In the case that we let them go,
who will give us food? They are our cupbearers,
and they give (emending the 1ˢᵗ pl. of the text) out (the food).[40] They are our cooks,
and they wash for us.

iii 1 And the thread which they spin is [thick]
like the hair [of an ox.]
But if for you releasing [is desirable,]
re[lease] your male and female servants!

5 Surrender your son! [Your] wife [...
send![41] [Remain] with u[s] on [...]
the throne in the city, Me[ki...]

When Mek[i] he[ard] the word,
he [be]gan to wail. [He] wail[s...

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[37] Hurr. i 18'-20' *eh(i)l=il=eva=š=n(n)a ᵈTeššob hinz=it(i)=al hamaz=i=a=ši=dan nakk=i=u=voš=n(n)al kir=in=zi* (eds. Neu 1996 473; Wegner 2000 206-7). The two sentences are difficult to construe. Either: 'We shall free him, Tessub, the oppressed one, (but) we will not set free the one who is an oppresser.' Or: 'We shall free him, Tessub, (but) the oppressor, because he oppresses, we will not free.' The problem is the word *hi-in-zi-ta*. This could be in the absolutive case (i.e. no suffix), and therefore the direct object of either the first sentence, or the second. Other options would be to parse the Hurrian word as *hinz=id=a* (essive), or *hinzi=da* (directive) (Wegner 2000 206-7). Wilhelm follows the latter course (see Hoffner 1998a 79, note 79-80; and trans. in Wilhelm 1997 281). Still, even with these two interpretations, the same problem arises, as to which sentence the word should be construed with. The Hittite side has the same problem. ᴸᵁ*šiššiyalan* is in the accusative, and could either be the object of the previous sentence or the antecedent of the following sentence. It is an otherwise unattested word, and the -*ala*- suffix can be used to form noun with a variety of relationships to the underlying base, including passive nouns, like *arnuwala* 'deportee', from *arnu*- 'move, deport'. As Wegner (2000 206-7) points out, the noun formant -*id/ti*- can be found in two other Hurrian words: *tar=idi* 'pot' from *tari* 'fire' (RS 94-2939 ii 4) and *nahh=idi* 'seat' from *nahh*- 'sit' (KUB XXVII 6 iii 62). If the formant produces nouns which are passive in meaning, then *hi-in-zi-ta* should be taken with the first sentence, as in the second example. Neu (1996 328) sees the formant as -*t/di*-, for collectives or abstract nouns, attached to the transitive marker -*i*-. Both Neu and Wegner prefer to translate *hi-in-zi-ta* and ᴸᵁ*šiššiyalan* as active nouns, while Hoffner (1998a 75) takes the Hittite as a passive noun. I have followed Hoffner's interpretation for the Hittite, and prefer a passive meaning for the Hurrian formant -*idi*-, based on the parallels adduced by Wegner.

[38] The Hittite corresponds to a Hurr. negative. I have made it into a question, following the suggestion of Hoffner (pers. comm., and see note 56, p. 80 on Hoffner 1988a), although he interprets the Hittite as lacking a negative by scribal error in Hoffner (1998a 75). De Martino (1999 16) sees the Hittite as a mistranslation of the Hurrian.

[39] Hurr. i 22'-3': *šin=z(i)=o=hh(i)=a=mma an=i=kki Purrā=vi Ikinkališ=hī=na=mmal nakk=i=u=ffu=š futk=i=na kēld(i)=āi* (ed. Neu 1996 473). 'Secondly (the heart) of Purra is not pleased. We are not releasing the sons of Ikinkalis in goodness.'

[40] Hurr. i 27'-8': *tapš=ah=ha kurāh=ha fand=ar=i=n(n)i=na fud=ar=i=na=lla* (ed. Neu 1996 473). '(They are) cupbearers, servers(?), cooks and washers.'

[41] Hurr. iv 5-6: *attae=vi=NI pind=o=n* (ed. Neu 1996 473). 'Send back your wife to her father's.' Neu (1996 294) takes this paragraph as the words of Tessub.

10 Meki (nom.). Himself a[t] the feet of [T]essub
he pros[tr]ates.

Meki, bowing to Tessub, the words
spoke 'Listen to me Tessub,
great king of Kummi.

15 I will [gi]ve it, (i.e.) *parissan*,
but m[y c]ity won't give it (acc. comm. enclitic).
And Zazalla, son of Pazz[anik]arri
won't give release. Meki
(tried to?) purify his ci[ty] from sin,
20 the ci[ty of Eb]la. He (tried to?) waive the sins for the sake of his city.

[.....] Because the great king of Kummi
[...] the great king of Kummi,
[...] facing the stone
[...]

One of the two points of Zazalla's speech is clear: he does not want to release the men of Ikinkalis. The second point, having to do with the condition of Tessub, is less clear. Is Tessub truly in want? Is Tessub *like* a man in want? Has Tessub been portrayed earlier as in fact suffering, and Zazalla is denying this, or is he presenting a fictive example of Tessub's suffering? This is the interpretation favored by Neu (1993b 129, 347-8; 1996a 482-3). If the example is not fictive, how can we connect the condition of the god with the condition of the human captives? Perhaps the link can be found in the Hittite custom of freeing people from government imposed obligations or from the clutches of the enemy to serve the gods. (See below for a discussion of this point.)

3.3.1. The Sin

It is difficult to evaluate what Meki tries to tell Tessub in the closing lines of this passage because of a couple of interpretive problems. First of all, the Hittite word *parissan* is a hapax with no sure etymology, and the Hurrian side gives us no help here, since it seems to have no corresponding word (Neu 1996a 361-2; Wilhelm 1997 286, note 45).

Secondly, it is difficult to interpret the meaning of the phrases *=za* URU-*an waštulaz parkunut* (KBo XXXII 15 iii 19) and URU-*ri šer waštul*-ḪI.A *peššiet* (iii 20).

Taken literally they mean 'he purified the city from sin' and 'he cast (aside) the sins for the sake of his city'. I translated the preterite forms of the verbs as 'tried to purify', 'tried to waive', to point to the unsuccessful completion of the king's actions, since one would presume that if he had succeeded, then his city would not have been destroyed (see pp. 59-61). That is, Meki carried out rites of purification which did not have their intended effect.[42]

The noun *wastul* is usually translated as 'sin' when it appears elsewhere, and it means this when it occurs in these phrases outside of the 'Song of Release',[43] but other scholars choose to translate *wastul* as 'monetary debt(?)', seeing biblical parallels here, of

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[42] For my interpretation of the problematic words in the passage, DINGIR UŠ-*un* (ii 3', 17'), and words containing the stem *šiššiya-*, see Appendix 2.

[43] Cf. the meaning of *wastul* in the following passages:

našma = aš mān karūil[iaš LUGAL.MEŠ-*aš]/ wastaiš n = an* DINGIR-*LIM* GAŠAN-*YA ša'n'[hti lē]/ nu* DINGIR-*LIM* GAŠAN-*YA apāt wastul ANA* ᵈU ᵁᴿᵁ*Ner[ik* DUMU-*KA]/ aššianti šer arha peššiya n = at lē d[ātti]*
      KUB XIV 7 iv 1-4 (ed. Sürenhagen 1981 96, with suggestions of Hoffner (pers. comm.))

If it is a sin of previous kings, let the goddess my lady not pursue it. Goddess, my lady, **throw aside that sin for the sake of your beloved son the Stormgod of Nerik.** [Do] not a[ccept] it.

ᵈ*Memešartiš* AN-*aš taknašš = a* ᵈEN.ZU[-*a*]*š/* ᵈ*Išharaš NIŠ* DINGIR-*LIM hurtiyaš* UG₆-*aš* DINGIR.MEŠ/ *kuiš kišduanza kuiš kaniruw'anza'* DINGIR-*LIM-iš/ nu = za uwatten ezzatten ekutten* ʳ*nu'=mu=kan ha[rpi]yatten/ n = ašta* É-*irza* URU-*az* ḪUL-*lu p[(ap)]ratar ēšhar/ NIŠ* DINGIR-*LIM wastul hurdāin arha p[(arkun)]utten* ʳ*n'=at* GIR.MEŠ-*ŠU/* ŠU-*ŠU išhiyat n = at* GE₆-*iš* KI-*aš anda ē'p'du*
      KBo X 45 iv 9-15, with KUB XLI 8 iv 8-14 (ed. Otten 1961 134)

Memesartis of heaven and earth, Moongod, Ishara, oath of the god, gods of curse and death! Which (god) is hungry, which (god) is thirsty, come, eat and drink (or: proceed to eat and drink). Help me! **Purify** evil, impurity, blood, oath of the god, sin, curse away **from the house and city!** He has bound it with respect to its feet and hand. Let the dark earth seize it.

In the second example *wastul* is the direct object of the verb 'to purify', while the thing from which the sin must be removed is expressed in the ablative, thus inverting the construction used in the 'Song of Release', in which the city is in the accusative and the sin is in the ablative. In a turn of phrase closer to that in 'Song of Release', the practitioner in the Tunnawi ritual mentions the evil thing removed in the ablative: *kāša = za* 12 ᵁᶻ'*ÚR'paprannanza tuēl /* ŠU-*it šapiyan'za' parkunuwanza* 'Right now by your hand you have been cleansed and purified from impurity with respect to your twelve limbs.' (KUB XII 58 iv 2-3, ed. Goetze 1938 20).
    Catsanicos (1991) connected the word *wastul* with the Greek word *ate.* Puhvel (1992 6-8) disagreed with the particular etymology of Catsanicos, but approved of the connection between the two words. This connection creates another interesting parallel between the *Iliad* and the 'Song of Release', for it was the *ate* of Agamemnon which caused him to insult Achilles, bringing down the wrath of the gods.

periodic freeing of slaves and forgiving debts (Hoffner 1998b 180-2; 1998a 66, 76; Wilhelm 1996 21; Neu 1988a 14; 1993b 331-5, 353-5; 1996a 9). The biblical parallels are cogent, but in this chapter the action of the 'Song of Release' will be interpreted in the light of other texts found at Hattusa, since the biblical parallels already have been ably analyzed by these scholars. Based on its use in other Hittite texts, the most conservative translation of *waštul* is 'sin'. This new translation in fact changes the point of the text rather substantially, making it more Homeric than biblical.

We are lucky enough to have Hittite historical and ritual texts that shed light on the 'Song of Release', helping us to understand what the song must have meant to its Hittite audience. We will focus especially on Hittite historical texts and prayers, texts closely related to the 'Song of Release' in the Hurro-Hittite SIR$_3$ tradition, and Akkadian narratives found at Hattusa, such as 'Atrahasis', 'Sargon, King of Battle', and the 'Cuthean Legend of Naram-Sin', in order to understand how the Hittites reworked an established Near Eastern tradition that they were familiar with, to speak to their own needs and concerns, for if the 'Song of Release' did not appeal to its Hittite audience, it never would have been translated out of Hurrian to make it intelligible to them. In the same way, Gilgamesh, another song in the SIR$_3$ tradition, was changed to appeal to a new audience by expanding the episode in which Gilgamesh journeys to the west to cut cedar trees (see pp. 127-8). As we will see below, Hittite texts show that the people of Ikinkalis might not have been debt slaves at all. Thus, the relationship between the 'Song of Release' and the biblical passages which share similarities with it are as two branches of a single tradition, each adapted to the interests of its own audience. In the case of the Bible, the concern was debt slavery. In the case of the 'Song of Release', the concern may have been feudal or other obligations sometimes imposed on the people of captive cities, sometimes

remitted so that these captives could serve the Hittite gods.[44]

The Hittite kings frequently exempted subjects from the feudal obligations of
šahhan and *luzzi*.[45] Sometimes these obligations were imposed by the enemy when they
had occupied a city, and then the enemy were subject to the accusation that they were
preventing the subjects of the Hittites from properly serving the Hittite gods. For
example, in the Middle Hittite prayer of Arnuwanda and Asmunikal (A: KUB XVII 21 +
i 24-7, B KUB XXXI 124 i 5-7, ed. von Schuler 1965 154),[46] the king and queen
complain to the gods that the Hittites are forced to neglect them because the enemy is
abusing the inhabitants of captured Hittite cities with excessive taxes and corvée labor
(*šahhan* and *luzzi*). The gods would then be suffering and in a condition like that ascribed

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[44] The fact that the author of the 'Song of Release' is a male singer (see p. 59) means that it is oral poetry. This assumption is borne out by the fact that the 'Song of Release' shares formulaic sequences with other members of its genre (see pp. 121 ff.). Oral poetry only survives if it is relevant to its audience. Even if the orally transmitted text is supposed to remain completely unchanged for religious reasons, it is still vulnerable to alteration, and only continues to be transmitted because the religion with which it is associated is relevant. On this see, for example, Finnegan (1992 134-53). Thus, whether we believe that the 'Song of Release' was composed in Middle Hittite times and translated into Hittite shortly thereafter, or that it stems from an 'Old Hurrian' tradition originating in North Syria and was first composed to commemorate the capture of Ebla by the Old Hittite king Hattusili I, and only translated into Hittite much later (see p. 59), we must accept that the song, whether it was imported to Hattusa or composed there, was translated because it had some relevance to a Hittite audience.

I hope to present more detailed arguments concerning the relationship of the 'Song of Release' with such Old Hittite texts as 'Hattusili I's Testament' and the 'Palace Chronicles', to show that the 'Song of Release' indeed spoke to the interests of its Hittite audience. Furthermore, the discussion presented here concerning the connection posited between releasing prisoners and serving a god is a condensed version of a more detailed discussion taking into account Akkadian data.

[45] We don't know very much about the specifics of *šahhan* (taxes? governmentally imposed services in return for land use?) and *luzzi* (corvée labor?). Can *šahhan* and/or *luzzi* encompass any of the chores that are enumerated either in 'Hattusili I's Annnals' (see p. 81) or the 'Song of Release'? As Hoffner points out, Law § 56 of the Hittite law code gives us some idea of what *luzzi* entails, specifying 'making ice, a fortification, and royal roads', as well as 'harvesting vineyards'. (KBo XXII 62 + KBo VI 2 iii 21-2, trans. Hoffner 1997 68, with discussion on p. 193) Laws §46-8, 50-6 are concerned with *šahhan* and *luzzi*, which are connected to social status and land ownership. Also see refs. and discussion in CHD L 90 *ad luzzi* and Goetze (1957 108). But, we can't rule out other tasks not specifically mentioned. Whether *šahhan* and *luzzi* are owed seems to have been a frequent bone of contention. The *luzzi* article in the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* (CHD, L 91) cites a New Hittite letter found at Meskene which addresses such a case, giving the judgment concerning an expatriate Hittite, *n=an lē kuiški dammišhaizzi* 'Let no one oppress him.' (Msk. 73. 1097 27-8, ed. Hagenbuchner 1989 40-1). The verb *dammišhai-* is applied to Tessub in the 'Song of Release' (KBo XXXII 15 ii 4', 19').

[46] This prayer and other similar prayers are discussed in Chapter 5, pp. 145-8.

to Tessub. (Also see below, pp. 92-3, for this motif in the 'Song of Kumarbi'.) When we apply this scenario to the 'Song of Release', we see that Tessub could be envisioned as truly suffering from want because he is not being worshipped with proper offerings. Further, this situation could have arisen when the men of Ikinkalis were prevented from fulfilling their cultic obligations towards the god because they were being forced to work by the people of Ebla.

In a New Hittite prayer by Mursili II to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 376), the king makes the argument that because the gods let the enemy kill all their servants and take away their supplies and utensils, the Hittites are now implicated in the sin of failing to serve the gods properly (*nu = nnaš waštuli harteni* KUB XXIV 3 ii 17', ed. Lebrun 1980 160).[47] The king here complains that the enemy is taking away the gods' property, both land and movables, and mentions several types of servants that the enemy continually seeks to take: ploughmen, gardeners, and women of the grindstone (KUB XXIV 3 iii 6'-8', ed. Lebrun 1980 164). Although these servants are not referred to explicitly as servants of the gods, it seems likely that they are considered to be among the possessions of the gods.[48] At least one of the jobs specified here, grinding grain, also appears in the 'Song of Release' (KBo XXXII 16 iii 5' ^NA4^ARA$_5$=*ya = wa kuiš*/[...), and these oppressive actions by the enemy are used to justify the king's appeal to the gods to destroy them utterly.[49]

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[47] Also cited by Catsanicos (1991 2-3) in his study of *waštul*.

[48] CTH 377, a prayer of Mursili II to Telipinu, makes the same complaint about the servants (KUB XXIV 1 iv 5-6, ed. Lebrun 1980 184).

[49] Compare the Middle Hittite treaty between Tudhaliya I/II and Sunassura of Kizzuwatna:

inanna mât ^URU^Kizzuwatni ša ^URU^Hatti alpê-HI.A u bit alpê-HI.A-šunu uwaddûnim itti amêl Hurri ipturû ana ^d^Samši išhurû amêl Hurri itti mât ^URU^Hatti ehti u itti mât ^URU^Kizzuwatni magal ehtima.

mât ^URU^Kizzuwtni magal dann[i]š ina pitriš irtišû inanna mât ^URU^Hatti u mât ^URU^Kizzuwatni ištu niš ilâni lū patru inanna ^d^Samši^* mât ^URU^Kizzuwatni ana andurâri utaššeršunūšu.

While the enemy might be accused of preventing Hittite priests from fulfilling their cultic obligations, Hittite kings showed their piety to their own gods by freeing the people of cities that had been captured from the feudal obligations of *šahhan* and *luzzi*, in order to force them to devote their time to serving Hittite gods. The Old Hittite 'Annals of Hattusili I' presents an example of this involving the people of the conquered city Hahhu:[50]

> LUGAL.GAL *tabarnaš/* ŠA GÉME.MEŠ-*ŠU* ŠU.MEŠ-*uš IŠTU* ᴺᴬⁿARA₅ *dahhun/* ŠA
> ARAD.MEŠ=*ya* ŠU.MEŠ-*ŠUNU IŠTU* KIN *dahhun/ n=aš=kan šahhanit luzzit/ arawahhun n=aš*
> *QABLI=ŠUNU arha lānun n=aš ANA* ᵈUTU ᵁᴿᵁTÚL-*na* GAŠAN-*ÝA* EGIR-*an tarnahh[un]*.
> > KBo X 2 iii 15-20 (ed. Imparati and Saporetti 1965 52. Also cf. CHD L-N, *sub lā(i)-.).
>
> I the great king, *tabarna*, took the hands of the female slaves from the millstone, and the hands of the male slaves from the sickles. I freed them from *šahhan* and *luzzi*. I ungirded their belts. I released them to follow my lady the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

In the 'Song of Release', the freeing of the people from another city who work as servants for the Eblaites seems to be somehow related to provisioning Tessub, in that Zazalla seems to be denying that Tessub is in need, while refusing to release the servants, and Tessub in turn demands the release of the servants. In the 'Annals' the relationship between the needs of the goddess and the Hittite king's clemency towards the people of Hahhu is more clear; the conquered city's slaves are freed to serve Hattusili's favorite goddess.[51] Hattusili uses the phrase EGIR-*an* (*appan*) *tarna-* to describe an action that

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KBo I 5 i 30-7 (ed. Weidner 1923 92)

Now the people of the land of Kizzuwatna are Hittite cattle and have chosen their stable. They freed themselves from the ruler of Hurri and turned to My Majesty. The ruler of Hurri offended against Hatti, and he offended gravely against the land of Kizzuwatna.

The land of Kizzuwatna rejoiced exceedingly over its liberation. Now Hatti and the land of Kizzuwatna are indeed freed from the oaths (to the ruler of Hurri). I, My Majesty, have now given the population of the land of Kizzuwatna its freedom. (trans. Beckman 1999 19)

[50] The similarity between this passage in 'Hattusili I's Annals' and the 'Song of Release' has been noted by Neu (1993b 332-3; 1996a 11-2), although he doesn't analyze it in the manner presented here.

[51] Compare what Hattusili says in KBo X 2 i 50-2 (filled in with KUB XXIII 33 3'-4') about the people of the defeated city Sanahuit: LÚ-*natarna* (?=*natar?*)/ [(*kuit*) *n=at*] *ANA* ᵈUTU ᵁᴿᵁ*Arinna*

releases people from one kind of service in order to enable them to engage in another kind of service. The wording for the action of freeing (EGIR-*an tarna*-) is not the same as that in the 'Song of Release', which usually uses *parā tarna*-, but it is similar.[52] As in the prayer of Mursili the specific duties of the slaves in the 'Song of Release' and the people of Hahhu overlap in the one detail of the millstone, a proverbial metonymy for drudgery.[53]

Finally, a New Hittite decree orders that those cities and people which have been designated for the royal mausoleum should remain free from taxes and corvée labor (KUB XIII 8 obv. 1-9, ed. Otten 1958 106); here the expression used for the change of their status from free to obligated is in fact *parā tarna*-, best translated as 'change their status'.

3.3.2. The Threat

We can follow the story line a little further in the 'Song of Release'. In another episode, found in KBo XXXII 19, Tessub himself is threatening Ebla, in words which are conveyed by Meki to the assembly. If they let Purra and the 'sons of Ikinkalis' go, he promises them victory and prosperity, but if they don't he threatens to utterly destroy the city:[54]

ii 1   ᵈDUMU.MEŠ¹ ᵁᴿᵁ*Ikinkal* ʳ*ar*¹[*ha aššuli tarn(a)*]

/[*pē*(*dahhun*)]. 'The people that there were, I took them away for the Sungoddess of Arinna.'

[52] In the tablet KBo XXXII 19 of the 'Song of Release', the poet uses the terms *arha tarna*- 'release away' (ii 1-2), EGIR-*pa* (=*appa*) *piyant*- 'given back' (ii 3) and *parā tarna*- 'release forth' (ii 21, etc.). On the term *parā tarna*- in Hittite, see CHD P 115, 125, and Hoffner (1998b 180-1).

[53] In the 'Song of Release', KBo XXXII 15 ii 26 ff., stewards also serve food at the table, cooks prepare it, and the captives wash and spin. Further, in a fragmentary section of a parallel passage, 16 iii 4-8, there is a reference to drawing water along with the millstones.

[54] Also see KBo XXXII 20 for a parallel passage. Wilhelm (1997 292) orders these tablets differently than Neu, putting 19 and 20 before 15. I translate the tablets in the order which Neu puts them in, but I do acknowledge that Wilhelm's arrangement is quite plausible. The position presented by Zazalla would then be a rebuttal to the demands of Tessub, as conveyed by Meki.

arḫa = ma = an tarn[a ᵐPurran = pa]r̩
EGIR-pa piya[(nt)an ANA IX LUGA]L.MEŠ
kuiš ad[(ānna) piškizzi]i

5   URUIkin[kališš = a GISŠÚ.A-aš URU-r]i³⁵
ANA III LUGAL.MEŠ [adānna piški]t
URUEbla = m[a᾽ GISŠÚ.A-aš URU-ri AN]A VI LUGAL.MEŠ
adānna [(pi)škit]
kinun = ma = aš ×[ᵐMēg]ai [t]uk³⁶
10   peran šar[ā artari]⁵⁷

mān parā [tarnumar iyatteni]
URUEbla = ma [GISŠÚ-aš URU-ri]
nu mān par[ā tarnumar iyatt]eni
nu = šmaš GISTUKUL[(.ḪI.A-KU)NU × -naš] iwar
15   šarlā[mi]

nu šumenzan [(= pat) GISTUKUL.ḪI.A-KUNU uizz]i
ḫarpanall[iuš ḫullanniwa]n dāi
ᴬ.Šᴬḫaršāw[ar = ma = šmaš uizz]i
walliy[anni māi]

20   mān UL = m[a iya]tt[eni]
parā tarnumar UR[UEb]lai GISŠÚ.A-aš URU-ri
nu namma UD VII.KAM[-az nu] = ššan ammuk
šumāš tuē[ggaš = šam]aš uwami
URUEblan U[RU-an ḫ]arnikmi
25   n = aš mān U[L kuššang]a ašānza
n = an apenišš[uwan iyam]i

URUEblaš URU-aš [katnēraš w]aḫnueššar
arḫa DUGte[ššumm(iyaš iwa)]r duwarnaḫḫi
šarāzz[i(yaš = a waḫnuēšša)]r
30   arḫa ḫū[(ššiliyaš) iw(a)]r
šakkuri[(yemi)]
       KBo XXXII 19 ii 1- 28 with parallel texts 19 iii 27᾽ ff., 29; duplicates KBo XXXII
22, 24 + 216 (ed. Neu 1996a 379-83)

1   Re[lease in goodwill] the sons of the city Ikinkal.
    Release e[specially Purra],
    the one to be given back,
    who gives food to the nine kings.
5   And in/for Ikin[kalis, the city of the throne]
    he gave food (repeatedly) to three kings,
    but in Ebla, the city of the throne, to six kings
    he (?) gave food.
    Now before you, Meki [the tenth ......]

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³⁵ Cf. parallel passage KBo XXXII 22 ii 5': [URUIk]igalešš = a. Hurrian: i 5 I-ki-in-kal-i-iš-ša, analyzed by Wegner (2000 43) as a dative Ikinkališ=va; by Neu (1996a 402) as absolutive + -lla (3ʳᵈ person pl. direct obj., or intrans. subj.).

³⁶ Hurr.: i 9-10 ḫennē=ma emman=ze=ne=wal ᵐMēgi fe=va avi=va mēḫ=a 'and now he has stepped before the tenth, Megi, (namely) you.' No subject is named here. Neu (1996a 407-8) thinks the subject is Tessub, who would be pleading his case. Wilhelm (1997 288-9) prefers to see the lack of a new subject as an indication that Purra is still the subject. This fits with the Near eastern custom of a subordinate standing before his superior, and the grammar of the Hurrian.

⁵⁷ See iii 34'-5': tuk ᵐMēgai peran šarā/ artaᶠri⁷ (or: ᶠ-at⁷ according to Wilhelm (1997 288)).

10   he stands.

If [you (pl.) make] re[lease]
in Ebla. [the city of the throne.]
if you [make] r[elease],
your weapons like [...]
15   [I will] exalt.

Your [weapons] alone [will proc]eed
[to defeat] the enemy.
and your plowed fields [will proceed
to thrive for you] for prai[se.]

20   Bu[t] if you don't m[ake]
release in [Eb]la. the city of the throne.
then within seven da[ys,] I
will come to you. yo[urse]lves.
and I will destroy the ci[ty] of Ebla.
25   As if it had n[ever] been.
so I will make it!

The [lower] walls of the city of Ebla
[like a c]up I will smash.
And the upper wall
5   [li]ke a clay pit
I will tram[ple]!

The threat that Tessub will smash Ebla like a cup link this part of the text to the parables; in one an ungrateful cup is smashed by its creator.[34] The reverse side of the tablet offers little. but the Hurrian side shows us that Tessub's speech is repeated (iv 25' ff.), while the Hittite side shows us that this repetition is in the context of a message conveyed to the assembly. probably by Meki (iii 1-2) (Wilhelm 1997 286). (See note 23.) This is as far as we can follow this story line in the 'Song of Release'. but the proemium and various fragments indicate that the dispute played itself out in Ebla's destruction. with the gods taking sides.

3.3.3. Assemblies of Humans in the Near Eastern Tradition

We will now trace the history in Mesopotamian narrative literature of the motif of

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[34] Smashing a pot is a typical cursing gesture. The motif of smashing like a cup or pot is also found in 'Atrahasis' (Late Assyrian rev. 17, ed. Lambert and Millard 1999 124), in a description of the storm and flood sent by Anzu to wipe out humans, and a similar image appears in 'Ullikummi'. when Kumarbi decides that his son Ullikummi should destroy Tessub and the rest of the gods: *nu = war = aš dannaruš* DUG.ÚTUL.ḪI.A-*u*[*š* GIM-*an*] *arḫa duwarnieškiddu* XVII 7+ XXXIII 93 + 95 + 96 + MGK 7a + 7b iii 25' (ed. Güterbock 1951 152-3). 'Let him smash them like empty vessels.'

arguing before an assembly over freeing captives from excessive labor. While arguments presented by two opposing humans, human assemblies, discussion concerning freeing oppressed workers, and arguments or discussions *between* a human and his assembly can be found separately in Near Eastern literature, the 'Song of Release' is the only Near Eastern narrative poem I have found in which all these motifs appear together. Gods, humans and abstract things can engage in arguments, but the extant examples present them as appearing before a single divine judge, not an assembly of humans. For example, Sumerian disputations involve opposite principles arguing against one another, and animals can also debate against each other, threatening and insulting each other (cf. for example 'Heron and Turtle', trans. Gragg in Hallo and Younger 1997 51-2). Hittite literature provides us with an example of two humans arguing a case from the Hittite 'Appu' story (ABoT 48, KBo XIX 108, ed. Siegelová 1971 16), but they do so before the Sun-god in a civil court case. They are not arguing before an assembly over a political or military decision. Of course, there could have been other Near Eastern tales that were not preserved, with the narrative sequence of two humans arguing about captives in front of an assembly of humans, but still assemblies of humans seem to be much more rare than assemblies of gods.⁴⁹

There are two good parallels in the wider Near Eastern literature to the assembly scene in 'Song of Release', one in the Bible, and one in the Gilgamesh tradition, indicating that some form of the motif was part of the wider epic tradition. Yet, in

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⁴⁹ The Old Testament does give quite a few examples of human assemblies (see Sutherland 1986 for discussion). Elders in assembly give advice to Gilgamesh about his journey to Huwawa in the Standard Babylonian Version II 258-III 12, supplemented with the Old Babylonian version (trans. George 1999 20-3). Assembly of gods in Akkadian: 'Anzu' OB version, tablet II (ed. Vogelzang 1988 96-99; trans. Foster 1993 460-3); in Hurro-Hittite narratives: 'Hedammu' KUB XXXIII 110 obv. ii 5' (ed. Siegelová 1971 48). Speaking in the assembly of the gods in Ugaritic: 'Baal Cycle' KTU 1.2 i 14 ff. (trans. Wyatt 1998 58 ff.). There is a discussion of the assembly scene in the 'Song of Release' and how it reflects on Ebla's assembly in Neu (1996a 480-1). For a discussion of the assembly of gods in the Old Testament, see Mullen (1980). Assembly of gods in Greek: *Il.* 4.1, 20.4 ff.; Aeschylus *Sept.* 220. Also see West (1997 112, 173-4, 177-81, 193-5) and Burkert (1992 117) on the assembly of the gods. Also see chapter 6, pp. 198-9 (in Greek), 213-7 (in Hittite).

neither of these examples is the king rebuffed and overruled as Meki was by his assembly; rather the king is free to make his own decision. These examples make clear how striking this plot twist in the 'Song of Release' must have been to the Hittite audience, adequately explaining why Ebla deserved destruction.

The first parallel to the assembly scene in the 'Song of Release' is found in the early Sumerian epic 'Gilgamesh and Akka'.[40] There, Gilgamesh argues directly with his assembly of elders, over the imposition of corvée labor on his people by king Akka of Kish. He succeeds in winning over the young men of Uruk in a second assembly, who then go to fight with Akka (1-47, see trans. in George 1999 145-7). We have here an argument in assembly over whether men of a particular town should do forced labor for the men of another town, preceding a battle which decides the matter, but the debate is not between two men in front of the assembly, but *between* Gilgamesh and the assembly.

The Old Testament offers another good parallel to the assembly scene, at I *Kings* 12:1-20. After King Solomon dies, his son Rehoboam is about to become king, and Jeroboam, who had been promised that he would some day be the leader of most of the tribes of Israel, returns from Egypt and asks Rehoboam on concert with the people of Israel who have gathered in assembly if Rehoboam will be more merciful towards them than his father was:

"Your father made our yoke heavy. Now therefore lighten the hard service of your father and his heavy yoke on us and we will serve you." He said to them, "Depart for three days, then come again to me." So the people went away.

The King Rehobo'am took counsel with the old men, who had stood before Solomon his father while he was yet alive, saying, "How do you advise me to answer this people?" And they said to him, "If you will be a servant to this people today and serve them, and speak good words to them when you answer them, then they will be your servants for ever." But he forsook the counsel which the old men gave him, and took counsel with the young men who had grown up with him and stood before him. And he said to them, "What do you advise that we answer this people who

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[40] Further discussion of the role of the assembly in this poem may be found in Katz (1987) and now Riley (2000). Also compare 2 *Samuel* 16:15-17:14, the dispute of Hushai and Ahithophelum before 'all the men of Israel'. I owe this reference to H. A. Hoffner, Jr.

have said to me, 'Lighten the yoke that your father put upon us'?" And the young men who had grown up with him said to him, "Thus shall you speak to this people who said to you, 'Your father made our yoke heavy, but do you lighten it for us'; thus shall you say to them, 'My little finger is thicker than my father's loins. And now, whereas my father laid upon you a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke. My father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions.'" (trans. May and Metzger 1973 434-5)

Rehoboam follows the bad advice of the younger men, since God wished it so in order to fulfill his promise to punish Solomon for no longer worshipping him properly, and to honor Jeroboam; as a result, Israel rebels against Rehoboam. In the biblical example we have two sides of a discussion presented in an assembly, over whether to be merciful to an oppressed and overworked people. The wrong decision is made, to continue to oppress them, and that leads to the downfall of the leader who made the decision. However, unlike Meki, Rehoboam does not argue for a particular side, and is in control of the final decision.[61]

As in 'Gilgamesh and Akka', the young men are portrayed as more impetuous than the older men, but here this proves to be disastrous for the king who follows their advice. In 'Gilgamesh and Akka', the king is debating about whether his own people should give in to demands for corvée labor, while in I *Kings* 12 Rehoboam is debating over whether to continue to oppress another people. In a typically biblical topos, God is portrayed as influencing even the unreasonable decision of Rehoboam, so Rehoboam may be punished as he deserves, while in 'Gilgamesh and Akka', there is no mention of the will of the gods. Rather, Gilgamesh's actions alone explain the historical event of Kish's loss of supremacy. Meanwhile, in the 'Song of Release' Zazalla's decision runs against the desires of the king Meki and of Tessub. The god is angered and therefore punishes him by destroying his city; thus this historical event is explained.

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[61] This scene has been much discussed with reference to the role of the assembly in Near Eastern literature. See Riley (2000 356 ff.).

Just as 'Gilgamesh and Akka' and the Bible make different, culturally and historically determined uses of the same motif of arguing in assembly over relieving an over-burdened people of excessive labor, the Hittite text reworks this same idea to fit with Hittite interests. In the 'Song of Release' the problem doesn't seem to be that the men of Ikinkalis are over-burdened with work. Rather, they are being forced to work for the wrong people, as the men of Uruk were in 'Gilgamesh and Akka'. Comparing Hittite historical texts and prayers, I have suggested that the men of Ikinkalis may have been taken captive in a war by the Eblaites. (See pp. 78-82) When we look at the *Iliad* (pp. 93 ff.), we will see that Homer reworks the traditional assembly scene to address peculiarly Greek concerns.

3.3.4. 'Atrahasis' and the 'Song of Release'

Before we look at the *Iliad*, one end point of the Mediterranean epic tradition, we will focus on a single Near Eastern text which shows the closest parallels to the 'Song of Release', the Akkadian 'Atrahasis'. By comparing 'Atrahasis' with 'Song of Release', we can see how the Hittites reworked a Near Eastern narrative sequence known to them for a Hittite audience, producing a song that shows strong affinities with the *Iliad*. We will compare the Old Babylonian version of 'Atrahasis', since it is relatively well preserved and antedates the 'Song of Release'.

'Atrahasis' tells the story of the invention of mankind to do manual labor for the gods and the gods' attempt to destroy them when they become too numerous, with a flood which destroys all of mankind except for the clever Atrahasis and those he brought on board; they are saved because he is careful to follow the advice of the god Enki. The flood story is similar to the Old Testament Noah story or the ancient Greek story of Deucalion (see West 1997 489-93). The Akkadian narrative is a product of a long-standing tradition, since it contains within it the plot line found in the Sumerian 'Eridu

Genesis' story.[a] 'Atrahasis' has been found in a variety of locations, in several different versions ranging from Old Babylonian to Neo-Assyrian, and parts of a version of it were incorporated into 'Gilgamesh', told by Utnapishtim to the hero. (See Foster 1993 160.) Fragments have been found at Hattusa (there in Middle Babylonian and Hittite), so Hittite scribes and educated poets were surely aware of it.

According to my interpretation, the Ebla plot line in the 'Song of Release' utilizes many of the narrative sequences found in 'Atrahasis': one set of beings oppressing another with coerced labor, decisions reached in assembly, and interaction between a man and his god. Still, these motifs are presented in quite a different light, fitting in with Hittite concerns. In the Akkadian texts, the oppressors are gods, who decide to free another set of gods only because they can create a new set of human slaves to replace them. I have suggested that in the 'Song of Release', a conquering city exploits a conquered one. Although in both 'Atrahasis' and the 'Song of Release' a human has an especially close connection to a god, the relationship between god and human is portrayed differently in each poem. In 'Atrahasis', the eponymous hero is wholly supported by Enki; in the 'Song of Release', Meki does seem to have a special relationship with Tessub, since he presents before him the results of the decision taken by the Eblaite assembly (see pp. 73 ff.), but he is unable to protect his city against the wrath of Tessub. Meki's inability to appease his gods and protect his city fits in with the Hittites' own experience as depicted in Hittite

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[a] In the 'Eridu Genesis', humans are created to relieve the gods from the burden of irrigation work, but then grow too numerous. All but Ziusudra, aided by Enki, are destroyed in a flood. The creation of mankind to help the gods is also found in the Sumerian 'Birth of Man'. Both are translated in Jacobsen (1987 145-66). A related text is the Babylonian 'Epic of Creation', from later part of second mill. BC, in which the father god Apsu is offended by the clamor of the younger gods, and calls an assembly in which, against the desires of Tiamat the mother, he decides to destroy the younger gods. But Ea saves them by putting Apsu asleep and capturing him, then goes on to produce Marduk, whose creation corresponds to the creation of man in 'Atrahasis'. Marduk is so disruptive to the older gods that they decide to do battle against him to free themselves from 'this unremitting yoke' (1.122, trans. Foster 1993 357; following text of Lambert and Parker 1966 5). Tiamat wins the battle and ends the problems by creating another set of beings, one of whom now is in control of both the army and the assembly. Also see Foster's discussion on p. 350.

texts (see Chapter 6, pp. 215-8).

'Atrahasis' opens with an untenable situation: the Anunna gods are forcing the Igigi-gods to do corvée labor, digging irrigation ditches. So, as in the 'Song of Release', one set of beings is oppressing another set. The Igigi-gods attack Enlil's house (I 39 ff.), and this triggers a debate between the Anunna-gods, who gather in assembly:

> [Enlil] sent and they brought Anu down to him,
> They brought Enki before him.
> Anu, king of [hea]ven, was seated,
> The king of the depths, Enki, was [   ].
> With the great Anunna-gods present,
> Enlil arose, the debate [was underway].
> Enlil made ready to speak,
> And said to the great [gods],
> 'Against me would they be [rebelling]?
> 'Shall I make battle [against my own offspring]?
> 'What did I see with my very own eyes?
> 'Battle ran up to my gate!' Anu made ready to speak,
> And said to the warrior Enlil,
> The reason why the Igigi-gods
> 'Surrounded(?) your gate,
> 'Let Nusku go out [to discover it],
> '[Let him take] to [your] so[ns]
> 'Your great] command.'
> Enlil made ready to speak,
> And said to the [vizier Nusku],
> 'Nusku, open [your gate],
> 'Take your weapons, [stand before them].
> 'In the assembly of [all the gods]
> 'Bow down, stand up, [and expound to them] our [words]:
> ....

Old Babylonian A I 99-123 (trans. Foster 1993 164; ed. Lambert and Millard 1999 48-50)

Nusku conveys the question to the Igigi-gods and then their response back to Enlil:

> ...
> "Our forced labor [was heavy], the misery too much!
> "[Now, every] one of us gods
> "Has resolved on a reckoning(?) with Enlil."'
>
> When Enlil heard that speech,
> His tears flowed.
> ...

Old Babylonian A I 163-7 (trans. Foster 1993 165-6; ed. Lambert and Millard 1999 52)

As in the 'Song of Release', an urgent problem is discussed in assembly and a message is brought back, that the Igigi-gods feel cruelly oppressed and demand to be released from the excessive labor imposed upon them by the Anunna-gods. However, in 'Atrahasis' the attack triggers the debate, while in the 'Song of Release' the result of the debate seems to trigger the attack. In 'Atrahasis' Enlil's response to the news that his house is under siege, is exactly what Meki's was when he heard the unwelcome words of Zazalla, tears. Unlike the assembly of Ebla, the assembly of the gods decides to take effective action to resolve the situation, deciding that the Anunna-gods must kill one of their own as scapegoat and thus create man to relieve the Igigi gods of their labor. The great Anunna-gods, who administer destinies,/ Answered "Yes!" in the assembly.' (OB A I i 218-9, trans. Foster 1993 168; ed. Lambert and Millard 1999 58) Thus, the Igigi-gods are freed from forced labor and call off the attack. In the 'Song of Release', Zazalla refuses to free the servants who do his menial labor, and as a result the attack threatened by Tessub is carried out, with disastrous consequences for Ebla.[43]

In a thousand years or so, the gods are faced with a new problem, overcrowding by humans.[44] They first decide to reduce the population with disease. Atrahasis, however, is aided by the advice of the Prometheus-like trickster Enki, who tells him to withhold offerings to his own gods and goddesses, and instead to ply Namtar ('fate') with gifts so that he might be persuaded to stay the plague he has sent (I 364 ff.):

> Atrahasis received the command,
> He assembled the elders to his gate.
> Atrahasis made ready to speak,
> And said to the elders,
> ...
> 'Let heralds proclaim,

---

[43] The conflict between the gods and the deliberation in the assembly are not found in the Sumerian 'Eridu Genesis'.

[44] Compare the opening of the Homeric *Cypria*, see Burkert (1992 100-4).

'Let them silence(?) [clamor] in the land.

'''[Do not reverence] your (own) gods,
'''[Do not] pray to your (own) [goddesses],
'''[Seek] the door of [Namtar],
'''[Bring a baked (loaf) before it."

'May the flour offering please him,
'May he be shamed by the gift and withdraw his hand.'
The elders heeded [his] words,
They built a temple for Namtar in the city.
...

OB A I 385-401 (trans. Foster 1993 171-2; ed. Lambert and Millard 1999 68)

Like the Anunna gods, Atrahasis's assembly is easy to persuade. They turn to the new

god Namtar, honoring him lavishly at the expense of their old gods. In the 'Song of

Release' on the other hand, Zazalla refuses to be persuaded and carries the day. While he

offers to honor Tessub lavishly if it proves necessary, he will not comply with the god's

express wish to free the captives, since it impinges on Zazalla's life of ease. In all three

cases, the decision made is self-serving. In 'Atrahasis' the gods manage to avoid doing the

manual labor necessary to support themselvesby creating humans, while Atrahasis'

people choose to direct their sacrifices to a new god, casting aside their old gods purely to

save themselves. Zazalla's self-serving decision, however, brings on his destruction.

Gods were dependent on men for sustenance, just as men were dependent on gods

for their good will, obtained by supplying them with offerings of material goods, temple

personnel, and artistic performances.[45] The motif of the gods needing servants to do their

menial labor shows up frequently in the stories which tell the origin of mankind, for

example, in the early Sumerian narrative poem 'The Birth of Man' (trans. Jacobsen 1987

153 ff.).[46] Just as in the 'Song of Release' it seems that Tessub is dependant on man for his

sustenance, in 'Atrahasis' when Atrahasis is able to offer sacrifice again, the gods gather

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[45] I discuss this further in Chapter 4, pp. 145 ff..

[46] West (1997 120-1) discusses this motif.

around the food like greedy flies, hungry after a long fast (III iv 16-v 35).

This idea appears more clearly in the Hurro-Hittite SIR₃ genre outside of the

'Song of Release', for example in the 'Song of Hedammu', part of the Kumarbi cycle,

which draws on motifs from Akkadian narrative poems such as 'Enuma Elish', and shares

details with Hesiod's *Theogony* (see Chapter 1, pp. 10-1):

[^{d}A.A-*aš* $\pm$ *k*]*an* GALGA-*aš* LUGAL-*uš* DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš* *ištarna memišta* ^{d}×[
[*memi*]*škiwan daiš kuwattan šer harnikt*[*eni* DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU-*UTTI*]
[(*ANA* DIN)]GIR.MEŠ SISKUR *UL peškanzi nu* $\pm$ *šmaš* ^{GIS}ERIN *U*[*L* (*šamminuškan*)]*zi*
[*man* $\pm$ *m*]*a* DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉-*UTTI harnikteni nu* DINGIR.MEŠ *UL n*[(*amm*)*a iyan*]*zi*
[NINDA.KUR₄.R]*A* $\pm$ *ya* $\pm$ *šma*<*š*> *išpantuzzi namma UL kuiški šipanti*
[*nu*] *uizzi* ^{d}U-*aš* ^{URU}*Kummiyaš* UR.SAG-*uš* LUGAL-*uš* ^{GIS}APIN-*an*
[*apaši*]*la ēpzi nu uizzi* $\pm$ *ma* ^{d}*IŠTAR-iš* ^{d}*Hepatuš* $\pm$ *a*
[^{NA4}A]RA₅ *apašila mallanzi*
          KUB XXXIII 103 obv. ii 1-8, with parallel texts (ed. Siegelová 1971 46)

[Ea] king of wisdom spoke among the gods. [The god Ea]
began to say: "Why are you [*plural*] destroying [mankind]?
They will not give sacrifices to the gods. They will not burn cedar as incense to you.
If you [*plural*] destroy mankind, they will no longer [worship] the gods.
No one will offer [bread] or libations to you [*plural*] any longer.
Even Tessub, Kummiya's heroic king, will himself proceed to
grasp the plow. Even Sauska and Hebat
will themselves proceed to grind at the millstones."
          (trans. Hoffner 1998a 52)

Whereas in the 'Song of Release' Tessub's (perhaps hypothetical) suffering seems to be

analogous to that of a poor man, without food, clothing or fuel, in 'Kumarbi' Tessub is

warned that he and the other gods could be reduced to the status of menial laborers, doing

the same tasks enumerated by Hattusili I when he proclaims that he has freed the people

of Hahhu from labor to serve the Sun-goddess of Arinna (see p. 81). At least one of these

tasks is also assigned to the people of Ikinkalis in the 'Song of Release'.

3.3.5. The Assembly Scene in the *Iliad*

Having compared the 'Song of Release' to earlier Mesopotamian 'epics', we turn

now to the beginning of the *Iliad* to see how these same themes are reworked for a Greek

audience. The *Iliad* starts off with two consecutive debates in an assembly over freeing

Chryseis, the daughter of a local priest of Apollo. The priest first offers a sum of money

in return. but Agamemnon refuses his request. In this narrative sequence appear the

following motifs found in the assembly scene of the 'Song of Release': a request to

release a servant which is refused. a pleader in contact with his god, an assembly, and an

unwise speaker who carries the day to his people's detriment:

5   ... Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή,
    ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε
    Ἀτρείδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.
      τίς τάρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι:
    Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός· ὁ γὰρ βασιλῆϊ χολωθεὶς
10   νοῦσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὦρσε κακήν, ὀλέκοντο δὲ λαοί,
    οὕνεκα τὸν Χρύσην ἠτίμασεν ἀρητῆρα
    Ἀτρείδης. ὁ γὰρ ἦλθε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν
    λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα φέρων τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα,
    στέμματ' ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος
15   χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ, καὶ λίσσετο πάντας Ἀχαιούς,
    Ἀτρείδα δὲ μάλιστα δύω, κοσμήτορε λαῶν·
    "Ἀτρείδαι τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἐϋκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί,
    ὑμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες
    ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὖ δ' οἴκαδ' ἱκέσθαι·
20   παῖδα δ' ἐμοὶ λύσαιτε φίλην, τὰ δ' ἄποινα δέχεσθαι,
    ἁζόμενοι Διὸς υἱὸν ἑκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα."
      ἔνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες ἐπευφήμησαν Ἀχαιοὶ
    αἰδεῖσθαί θ' ἱερῆα καὶ ἀγλαὰ δέχθαι ἄποινα·
    ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀτρείδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι ἥνδανε θυμῷ,
25   ἀλλὰ κακῶς ἀφίει, κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλεν·
    "μή σε, γέρον, κοίλῃσιν ἐγὼ παρὰ νηυσὶ κιχείω
    ἢ νῦν δηθύνοντ' ἢ ὕστερον αὖτις ἰόντα,
    μή νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμῃ σκῆπτρον καὶ στέμμα θεοῖο.
    τὴν δ' ἐγὼ οὐ λύσω· πρίν μιν καὶ γῆρας ἔπεισιν
30   ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ, ἐν Ἄργεϊ, τηλόθι πάτρης,
    ἱστὸν ἐποιχομένην καὶ ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιόωσαν·
    ἀλλ' ἴθι, μή μ' ἐρέθιζε, σαώτερος ὥς κε νέηαι."
    Il. 1.5-32

5   The will of Zeus was carried out,
    since the time when the two stood opposed, quarrelling,
    the son of Atreus, leader of men, and shining Achilles.
      Who, then, brought the two together to battle in strife?
    The son of Leto and Zeus. For he, angered by the king,
10   raised up an evil sickness and the host was perishing,
    because the son of Atreus dishonored Chryses, his priest,
    for he came to the swift ships of the Achaeans,
    in order to free his daughter. carrying an incalculable ransom,
    having in his hands the wool fillets of far-darting Apollo

15   on his golden staff. and entreated all the Achaeans.
but especially the sons of Atreus. the two commanders of the people.
'Sons of Atreus, and the other well-greaved Achaeans,
may the gods, who have Olympian abodes, grant that you
sack Priam's city, and come home safely.

20   May you free my own daughter, and take the payment,
respecting the far-darting son of Zeus, Apollo.'
    Then all the other Achaeans approved of
respecting the priest and accepting the payment;
but it did not please the son of Atreus, Agamemnon,

25   but he sent him away badly, and laid on him this heavy command.
'Let me not meet you. old man. by the hollow ships,
either lingering now or coming back again in the future,
lest your staff and fillet of god fail to protect you.
I will not release her. rather old age will come upon her

30   in my house in Argos, far from her fatherland,
going back and forth before the loom. and sharing my bed;
but go, don't annoy me, so that you may go safer.'

In the 'Song of Release', a man in close contact with his god seems to present the

god's request in assembly that captives should be freed, but the assembly is persuaded by

one of its leaders to go against the word of the king and keep the captives (for himself).

In the *Iliad*, however, the captive is the pleader's own daughter, and the pleader is the one

who will rouse the god to anger. The Greek assembly expresses its opinion, but has no

control over the final decision. The king, Agamemnon, going against the opinion of his

assembly, refuses the priest's request, saying that he enjoys the captive woman's services,

and sends the priest away harshly. Meki, on the other hand, wishes to avoid the wrath of

Tessub, who himself demands the release of the captives (see pp. 82 ff.).

Then Chryses, the priest, calls upon Apollo, using the same persuasive techniques

that his Near Eastern colleagues would:[67]

    ὣς ἔφατ᾽, ἔδδεισεν δ᾽ ὁ γέρων καὶ ἐπείθετο μύθῳ,
βῆ δ᾽ ἀκέων παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης·
πολλὰ δ᾽ ἔπειτ᾽ ἀπάνευθε κιὼν ἠρᾶθ᾽ ὁ γεραιός
Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι, τὸν ἠύκομος τέκε Λητώ·
"κλῦθί μοι, ἀργυρότοξ᾽, ὃς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας
Κίλλαν τε ζαθέην Τενέδοιό τε ἶφι ἀνάσσεις,

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[67] Also see West on Chryses for Near Eastern parallels to his speech calling on Apollo and reminding him of the services he has provided the god, and on the motif of Apollo's arrows sending the plague (1997 348, 273); and here, pp. 147-8.

Σμινθεῦ· εἴ ποτέ τοι χαρίεντ᾽ ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα,
ἢ εἰ δή ποτέ τοι κατὰ πίονα μηρί᾽ ἔκηα
ταύρων ἠδ᾽ αἰγῶν, τόδε μοι κρήηνον ἐέλδωρ·
τείσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσι."
        ὣς ἔφατ᾽ εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ᾽ ἔκλυε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,
βῆ δὲ κατ᾽ Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων χωόμενος κῆρ,
τόξ᾽ ὤμοισιν ἔχων ἀμφηρεφέα τε φαρέτρην·
...

    Il. 1.33-45

        So he spoke, and the old man feared him and obeyed his word;
he went, grieved, along the coast of the much-blustering sea;
then, withdrawing some distance, the old man prayed
to the lord Apollo, whom beautiful-haired Leto bore;
'Listen to me, silver-bowed one, you who haunt Chryse,
and very holy Killa and rule Tenedos with strength.
Smintheus, if I ever roofed over a shrine pleasing to you,
or if ever I burned fatty thigh pieces
of bulls and goats, grant my wish.
May the Danaans pay for my tears with your weapons.'
        So he spoke praying, and Phoebus Apollo listened to him,
and came down from the peaks of Olympos, angry in his heart,
bearing his bow on his shoulders and the quiver covered over at both ends ...

Appealed to by his follower, the god causes the people as a whole to suffer for their leader's decision. These last two events are linked in the two stories in opposing ways, however. In the *Iliad*, the god is appealed to successfully, to punish those who insulted him by insulting his priest. In the 'Song of Release', the god is unsuccessfully appealed to by Meki, not to punish those who insulted him. In the 'Song of Release' Meki seems to serve as Tessub's messenger, conveying his words verbatim to the assembly, then returns to the god's presence with the news of the decision taken by Zazalla. He seems to have the ear of Tessub, much as Atrahasis had the confidence of Enki. In the *Iliad*, when the priest of Apollo comes to plead his case, he does not serve as the god's representative. Only after the priest is rejected does Apollo become involved at his request. Then it is Calchas, at the instigation of Achilles, who makes an attempt to divine the god's thoughts and states correctly that he is angered specifically over the captive Chryseis.

The plague devastates the Greek host, and finally another assembly is called to ferret out the source of impurity that has provoked this disaster at the hands of Apollo. Now Achilles attempts to address the situation in terms very similar to those a Hittite or

an Akkadian would use, wondering at first if Apollo feels slighted by the Greeks' neglect,

and requesting that omen sought:[a]

53   ἐννῆμαρ μὲν ἀνὰ στρατὸν ᾤχετο κῆλα θεοῖο,
τῇ δεκάτῃ δ᾽ ἀγορήνδε καλέσσατο λαὸν Ἀχιλλεύς·
τῷ γὰρ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη·
...

57   οἱ δ᾽ ἐπεὶ οὖν ἤγερθεν ὁμηγερέες τ᾽ ἐγένοντο,
Ἀτρείδη, ...

62   ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε δή τινα μάντιν ἐρείομεν ἢ ἱερῆα,
ἢ καὶ ὀνειροπόλον, καὶ γάρ τ᾽ ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν,
ὅς κ᾽ εἴποι ὅ τι τόσσον ἐχώσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,
εἴ ταρ ὅ γ᾽ εὐχωλῆς ἐπιμέμφεται εἴθ᾽ ἑκατόμβης,
αἴ κέν πως ἀρνῶν κνίσης αἰγῶν τε τελείων
βούλητ᾽ ἀντιάσας ἡμῖν ἀπὸ λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι."
        Il. 1.53-67

53   The missiles of the god came upon the host for nine days,
and on the tenth Achilles called the host to assembly·
for the white-armed goddess Hera put it into his mind
        ...

57   Standing up among them, swift-footed Achilles spoke,
'Son of Atreus ...

62   let us ask some seer or priest
or dream-reader, for even dreams come from Zeus,
who might say why Apollo is so angry,
if perhaps he finds fault with a vow or hekatomb,
if perhaps he wants, having partaken in the savor of sheep and perfect goats,
to ward off the plague from us.'

It is revealed that Apollo is angered over the insult to his priest, and Achilles argues

successfully against Agamemnon, forcing him to give the girl up. Agamemnon however

insists that he be compensated for the loss of his concubine, and threatens to take one

from someone else, saying:

μὴ δὴ οὕτως, ἀγαθός περ ἐών, θεοείκελ᾽ Ἀχιλλεῦ,
κλέπτε νόῳ, ἐπεὶ οὐ παρελεύσεαι οὐδέ με πείσεις.
ἦ ἐθέλεις, ὄφρ᾽ αὐτὸς ἔχῃς γέρας, αὐτὰρ ἔμ᾽ αὔτως
ἧσθαι δευόμενον, κέλεαι δέ με τήνδ᾽ ἀποδοῦναι;
ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μὲν δώσουσι γέρας μεγάθυμοι Ἀχαιοί,
ἄρσαντες κατὰ θυμόν, ὅπως ἀντάξιον ἔσται·

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[a] Compare the Hittite 'Kantuzzili's Prayer' (Lebrun 1980 115-8), which is based on Mesopotamian hymns to the Sun-god, and the Akkadian 'Poem of the Righteous Sufferer' (trans. Foster 1993 308 ff.). (See Chapter 4, pp. 140-1, for further discussion of this.) Also see the discussion in West (1997 124-8) on this motif.

εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώωσιν, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕλωμαι
ἢ τεὸν ἢ Αἴαντος ἰὼν γέρας, ἢ Ὀδυσῆος
ἄξω ἑλών· ὁ δέ κεν κεχολώσεται ὅν κεν ἵκωμαι.
Il. 1.131-9

Don't in this way, noble though you may be, god-like Achilles,
try to deceive with cleverness, since you will neither divert me nor persuade me.
Do you indeed wish, while you yourself hold a prize, for me to sit here
lacking one? Do you order me to give her back?
But if the great-hearted Achaeans will give the prize,
choosing according to wish, so that it will be compensation;
if they don't give, I myself will choose
either your prize or, going to Ajax, or Odysseus'
I will take and lead away; he will be angered, whom I visit.

In the end, Chryseis is in fact returned and Agamemnon directs that the girl Bryseis be taken from Achilles. Achilles then goes in tears to complain to his mother, the goddess Thetis, and she in turn goes to Zeus to ensure that Achilles is compensated for this insult. As in 'Atrahasis' a human with direct access to a divine being is able to convince the being to help, in stark contrast with Meki's inability to protect his city.

Thus the narrative of the *Iliad* is set on its course with this double enactment of a debate over freeing a prisoner and compensation for her. While it was difficult for the Greek elders to persuade Agamemnon, since he was the one who had to give up something in order to please the god – who after all in the *Iliad* is not on the Greek side – and in the 'Song of Release' Meki is completely unable to win over Zazalla, in contrast, in 'Atrahasis' the elders quickly accept the suggestion of their leader and turn from their own gods to placate Namtar, who seems not to have an already established place of worship in the city. However, this decision costs them nothing. In the 'Song of Release' meanwhile, Tessub's anger, caused by the Eblaites' refusal to release the men of Ikinkalis, results not in a plague but in their city being sacked. That is, the problem hasn't already occurred before the assembly was called, but, as in the opening of 'Atrahasis', is imminent, at the gates, so to speak. In 'Atrahasis', the siege and the plague are in two separate episodes, and dealt with successfully each time, but in the *Iliad* the siege is ongoing, and the plague and

the further setbacks when Achilles withdraws from the field are episodes punctuating the

eventually successful siege.

The subject and phrasing of Agamemnon's assertions to Chryses and Achilles

have interesting similarities to Zazalla's declaration:

> In the case that we let them go./ who will give us also food? They are our cupbearers./ and they/ give out. They are our cooks./ and they wash for us.
>
> And the thread which they spin is [thick]/ like the hair [of an ox.]/ But if for you releasing [is desirable.]/ re[lease] your male and female servants!
>
> Surrender your son! [Your] wife [.../ send! (...)
> KBo XXXII 15 ii 26'-iii 6

Just as Zazalla suggests angrily that Meki give up his own wife and child, Agamemnon

declares to Achilles, 'I myself will choose either your prize or, going to Ajax or Odysseus'

I will take and lead away.' (1.139). Just as Zazalla describes the chores of the sons of

Ikinkalis, Agamemnon describes the tasks that Chryseis fulfills for him:

> I will not release her, rather old age will come upon her
> in my house in Argos, far from her fatherland,
> going back and forth before the loom, and sharing my bed.
> *Il.* 1.29-31

Just as Zazalla speaks harshly to Meki and through him symbolically to Purra ('You,

Meki, with respect to your desire will it please? First of all, it will not please you in your

desire. Secondly, Purra, who should be given back, it will not please.' KBo XXXII 15 ii

20'-4'), Agamemnon speaks harshly to the priest ('But go, don't annoy me, so that you

may go safer.' 1.32) and Achilles ('he will be angered, whom I visit' 1.139).

Perhaps it is only natural that a dispute between two powerful antagonists would

play itself out with such verbiage,** but the premise of the Iliadic dispute is similar in

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** Compare to the threatening words of Anu in the 'Song of Kumarbi' (although the speech is not part of an assembly scene):

many details with the situation in the 'Song of Release', as far as we can make out from the latter's frustratingly fragmentary remains. In fact, the assembly scene of the 'Song of Release' is more similar to the *Iliad* than it is to 'Atrahasis'. In both cases humans debate the release of servants in acrimonious terms, and the unwise but powerful speaker prevails, while the other speaker is unable to carry his side, even though he has a better understanding of what the god demands and the danger of opposing him. A god is angered over the servant who isn't freed, and the humans debate in assembly whether the

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mān ᵈKumarbiš ŠA ᵈAnu LÚ-natar katta pašta
n=aš==a duškatta n=aš==a hahharašta EGIR=ši=[=]a=kan nevat ᵈAnuš
<ANA> ᵈKumarbi memišk[i]uwan dāis ANA PĀNI ŠA₃-[KA]=wa=az
duškiškitta LÚ-natar=mit=wa kuit pašta

lē=wa=az duškiškitta PANI ŠÀ-KA=ta=kkan anda aimpan
tehhun āšma=tta armahhun ᵈIM-nit nakkit
dan=ma=tta armahhun ᴵᴰAran[z]ahit UL mazzuwaš
III-na=tta armahhun nakkit ᵈTašm[i]f? III...
        KUB XXXIII 120 i 26-33 (ed. Laroche 1969 154-5)

When Kumarbi had swallowed the "manhood" of Anu,
he rejoiced and laughed out loud. Anu turned
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 (=Tessub).
Second, I have impregnated you with the irresistible Aranzah River.
Third, ..."
        (trans. Hoffner 1998a 43)

This is very similar to Zazalla's angry words of refusal to Meki at KBo XXXII 15 ii 20'-25'. Both passages contain rhetorical questions and then a numbered sequence listing the actions of the speaker.
        Like KBo XXXII 16 ii 12'-3' (see pp. 70-1), 'Gilgamesh' contains an argument with one side accusing the other of cowardice. Enkidu says to Gilgamesh, goading him on to fight Humbaba: 'Why my friend, [do you] speak like a weakling?/ With your spineless words you [make] me despondent.' (Standard Babylonian Version V 100-1, trans. George 1999 41) Compare this to the Sumerian 'Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta': there the Arattan tells the envoy of Enmerkar, 'How could Aratta bow to Uruk?/ Tell him: "There will be no bowing of Aratta to Uruk!"' (226-7, trans. Jacobsen 1987 295; ed. Cohen 1974 74)
Further, we find a similar rebuke occurring at the council of the gods in the Ugaritic story of Baal:

Baal rebuked them:
"Why, O gods, have you lowered your heads onto your knee,
and onto the thrones of your princeships?
I see, gods,
That the tablets of Yam's messengers,
of the embassy of Ruler Naha<r>, are humiliating (you)...."
        KTU 1.2 i 24-6 (trans. Wyatt 1998 60)

Arguments and verbal conflicts in Homer are studied by Dickson (1995 111-7).

god is in fact angered because of their neglect. The humans in possession of the servants argue that they can't do without their services, and demand that their opponents do without their own helpers instead. However, Apollo's anger stems from the dishonor done to his priest rather than the fact that his own demand has been rebuffed.

In each case, the reasons for the detention and release of the person in question are culture-specific. In the case of the Greeks the reason is clear. Chryseis is a war-captive selected as a prize by Agamemnon. Obtaining women by capture, whether for marriage or to be a concubine, was part of the Greek mindset. Thus, when Herodotus discusses the beginning of Greek-barbarian relations, he sees it as a series of retaliatory conflicts over stolen brides, including Helen (1.1-7). The ultimate cause for the Trojan war is always in the background of the conflict that opens the *Iliad*, which simply replays on a smaller scale the reason for the larger conflict. Hittites sometimes did obtain brides by capture also, as evinced by 'Laws' §37 (see discussion in Hoffner 1997 187). However, there is no hint of that in what we have of the 'Song of Release'. The people of Ikinkalis are certainly not stolen brides. We have already brought up the suggestion of other scholars, that the servants from Ikinkalis could have been debt slaves (pp. 77-8). Another possibility would be that the servants were taken captive in a previous altercation between the men of Ikinkalis and Ebla, or that Ikinkalis as a whole is subordinate to Ebla. (See pp. 78 ff.)

In the 'Song of Release', it is unclear how the freeing of the people of Ikinkalis is connected to assuaging the physical needs of Tessub through sacrifices, however Zazalla says that the main reason he will not release them is because he would then have to do himself the menial labor in which they have been employed, i.e., work to fulfill his own physical needs for food and clothing, and Tessub himself demands the release of the servants. Further, as we have made clear, other Hittite documents show that sometimes people, whether war captives or free Hittites, were released from compulsory labor in

order to devote them to serving a god.

If the *Iliad* is in fact re-using a traditional narrative sequence of a dispute in assembly over freeing people from forced labor, it is reworking the components to address the paramount concern of the Homeric warrior, his honor, and to echo the larger narrative sequence of the capture (or escape) and return of Helen. In the *Iliad* the return of Chryseis is demanded by her father, motivated by filial affection. Thus, the Near Eastern theme of freeing temple personnel or debt slaves in order to serve the god in question is realized rather differently in Greek, as freeing the daughter of the priest of a god who intervenes on his behalf. Yet, the idea of the reciprocal relationship between man and god found in the Near Eastern material is continued, with the priest Chryses pointing out to Apollo that he has faithfully fed and housed him; this theme is combined with the Homeric theme of obtaining women by capture. The offence originally committed when Agamemnon refuses to release Chryseis is to the honor of Chryses, who can't fight back on his own because he is just a weak old man. Furthermore, Agamemnon slights Apollo by insulting his priest; when Apollo enters the scene, he is supporting a loyal servant. Agamemnon sees Achilles' insistence on returning the girl to her father as an assault on his own honor and retaliates by injuring him in turn. The over-arching plot line of the return by force of Helen is motivated not by the thought that she is unjustly imprisoned, but by the need to repair the honor of Menelaus.

In the 'Song of Release' it is unclear what the point of the debate is, over whether Tessub is suffering and his need of offerings to compensate for it, but in the *Iliad* compensation is a recurrent theme, relating in the end to the idea of glory in the form of epic as compensation for the early death of the Homeric warrior immortalized in it.[70] The action of the Greek epic is set into motion by two demands for compensation for lost

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[70] See Nagy (1999 28-9) on the idea of glorification in epic as the recompense for dying young. Near Eastern parallels are discussed in West (1997 373).

captives, Chryseis and Briseis, and this debate among the Greeks is matched with a debate among the Trojans over returning Helen and compensation to be paid in 5.345-420. The court scene on Achilles' shield in Book 17 shows two speakers debating the possibility of a murderer atoning for his crime with a monetary payment, rather than his life, thus showcasing debates over compensation as one of the essential public performances for Greeks. In the *Iliad*, there is no question that compensation is owed. The question is what form this compensation would take. When the Achaeans reach the conclusion that Apollo is indeed angered over the mistreatment of his priest, compensation is in fact paid, to Chryses, not Apollo. It is possible to see Meki's attempts to purify his city from sin and cast it away as an attempt at compensation paid to the god, just as Zazalla's hypothetical offers of payment to Tessub could be seen as compensation, or *šarnikzel*. Other Hittite texts show that the Hittites did think of assuaging the gods' anger in these terms (see Chapter 6, p. 217). However, it doesn't seem to be an all-pervasive theme in the 'Song of Release'.

The comparison between the assembly scene of the 'Song of Release' and the opening of the *Iliad* thus shows that Homer was making use of the same set of epic motifs as the 'Song of Release', but that each branch of the common eastern Mediterranean epic tradition manipulated and re-interpreted these motifs and narrative sequences to appeal a particular audience. The 'Song of Release' also puts the rape of Helen in a new light. Previous attempts to understand the historicity of the *Iliad* have accepted that there could have been one or more conflicts between Greek-speakers and Trojans, but have been more skeptical of the possibility of a war being motivated over the kidnapping of a queen. As Bryce puts it:

> There are those who firmly maintain, perhaps not without justification, that the war was fought over the abduction of a Mycenaean queen, even if she were a willing abductee. Hittite kings were certainly prepared to go to war to reclaim subjects who had been removed, whether forcibly or voluntarily, from their kingdom. But all speculations about the possible reasons for a Greek-

Trojan conflict bring us back to the basic question of whether the tradition of the Trojan War has an authentic historical basis. (1998 398)

The 'Song of Release' shows us that, whatever the historical kernel of fact behind the Iliadic conflict, a conflict over captives was a traditional story line that could explain the destruction of a city.

The point of the preserved parts of the 'Song of Release' seems to be that Meki was prevented from saving his city by Zazalla's wrong decision, who carried the day because he was such a persuasive speaker. This idea that leaders in their selfish quest for their own glory do more harm than good to their people, is not original to Homer's portrayal of Achilles and Agamemnon or the 'Song of Release', but goes back to 'Gilgamesh' which opens with his people complaining about how he is forcing them to work like slaves to build the massive walls of Uruk, so that they might forever proclaim his glory. This situation is inverted from the earlier Sumerian 'Bilgames and Akka', in which Gilgamesh fights to free his people from corvée labor.[71]

The destruction of a city was traditionally caused by inappropriate behavior by powerful members of a city, who caused their city to be cursed or destroyed by the gods; the story of the city's destruction then served as an example to others of the consequences of refusing to obey the gods. For example, the 'Cuthean Legend of Naram-Sin', an Akkadian epic found at Hattusa (in both Akkadian and Hittite), among other places, describes the disastrous hubris of the king Naram-Sin, the grandson of Sargon the Great, who was defeated in his quest to maintain and extend his empire, having ignored the signs of the gods that it was not to be. The earlier Sumerian 'Curse of Akkade' discusses from a different point of view Naram-Sin's refusal to listen to the gods' omens; even as they abandon Akkade to express their displeasure, the king does not increase sacrifices

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[71] In the Sumerian 'Bilgames and the Netherworld', Gilgamesh makes his people suffer by forcing them to play sports constantly (149 ff., trans. in George 1999 183).

and honors for them, but instead goes ahead with the destruction of the temple of Enlil, who retaliates by destroying Akkade. (See trans. in Jacobsen 1987 360-74.) The trajectory of this version of the Naram-Sin story follows closely that of the Ebla story line in the 'Song of Release', in which Zazalla, despite the best efforts of Meki, who has a direct line to Tessub, ignores the god's warning and refuses to free the slaves, which results in the destruction of Ebla. This story line is reworked in the Trojan cycle with Paris taking the blame, both because he had incurred the wrath of those goddesses he rejected when he chose Aphrodite as the most beautiful, and because he refused to release Helen.

In the *Iliad* Agamemnon is pitted against Achilles, as representing two opposing kinds of leader. Both are king by birth, but Achilles is the better warrior. The 'Song of Release' has a strongly pro-king version of this story line of two leaders opposed to one another. The consequences of Zazalla's arrogance provide us with a message not found in 'Atrahasis', 'Do not go against the word of the king', who is shown, like Atrahasis, to have special knowledge of the desires of the gods. At the very least, Zazalla the powerful speaker is shown to be using his powers improperly (see pp. 70-2). While there is some indication that the Hittite king did discipline his assembly with regard to their conduct towards inferiors, we don't know enough to understand the real-life context that gave meaning to the conflict in the 'Song of Release'.[72]

The *Iliad* is more ambivalent with regard to the legitimacy of Agamemnon's rule.

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[72] See KBo XXII 1 16-20:

mān ABI tuliya<<aš>> halzai nu = šmaš/ gullakkuwan šaḫzi nattal [LÚ.MEŠ]*NAŠI ŠIDĪTI-KUNU-U kāša = tta = wal* [LÚ.MEŠ]*NAŠI ŠIDĪTI-KUNU dameškatteni/ ta* LUGAL-*i kardimiyattuš piškatteni* (ed. Archi 1979c 46)

When my father call(ed) into assembly, he sought a grievance with respect to you. 'Are they not your provision-bearers? You are oppressing your provision-bearers, and you are giving reasons for anger to the king.'

On this passage, also see Beckman (1982 440-1).

On the one hand, Thersites – who can be considered the equivalent of Zazalla – presents legitimate arguments against Agamemnon, yet is beaten and silenced by Odysseus, to the approval of the rest of the assembly (see p. 71-2). On the other, Agamemnon is portrayed so negatively that Hammer (1997 2) has suggested that the *Iliad* is 'a reflection on the nature of political authority', caused by 'a fundamental shift in the type of political questions asked, from the "power of authority" to carry out decisions suggestive of Dark Age politics to the legitimacy of authority in making these decisions, a question critical to the formation of an increasingly interdependent polis form of political organization.' Despite the fact that Thersites is silenced, he seems to represent a legitimate voice of dissent against the aristocracy, one expressed by a variety of archaic Greek poets (Donlan 1973).

We have shown that it is possible to analyze how the 'Song of Release' reworks particular motifs selected from the Mesopotamian and Ugaritic narrative traditions which also lie behind the Homeric tradition directed to a Hittite audience. In the 'Song of Release' the theme of meeting the physical needs of a superior being, which appears earliest in the Akkadian materials as the impetus for the invention of humans, is probably continued in the idea of a reciprocal relationship between gods and humans: humans can relieve the suffering of the gods by feeding and housing them, and in return the gods owe them good fortune. It perhaps accommodates the Hittite custom of freeing people from some governmentally-imposed obligations or from the enemy to force them to serve the gods, a custom whose biblical analogue was freeing men from debt slavery. Further, it contains a message to the Hittite nobility to obey their king and not oppress the poor. The central debate scene from the 'Song of Release' has its closest ties with the opening plot line of the *Iliad*, but still it is best understood in terms of the particular concerns of its patron, the Hittite king, just as the *Iliad* addresses the concerns of ancient Greek society. Still, the 'Song of Release' provides an earlier literary parallel to the overarching Iliadic

narrative of the capture and return of Helen, although the rape of Helen is imbedded in a Greek set of concerns, of hospitality violated, gaining wives by capture, and the warrior's honor.

3.4. Life Among the Gods in the 'Song of Release'

The parallels between the 'Song of Release', Homeric poems, and other Mesopotamian and Ugaritic narrative poems do not end with the assembly scene and proemium. Other parallels include a hospitality scene among the gods and the narrative sequence of someone being awakened for a message and sending a second message.

3.4.1 Hospitality and Feasting

There is an extensive secondary literature on hospitality and feasting scenes in Homer. They have been discussed in detail by Reece (1993); West (1997 179, 201-3) has further discussed the themes of hospitality and feasting in Greek and Canaanite narrative poetry.[73] The most important similarities between this scene and other traditional descriptions of 'epic' hospitality and feasting are the following: the chair with stool for the guest, the magnificence and extravagance of the trappings, the host personally serving the guest wine, the wine goblet filled with only the finest, and the order of the guests sitting at the feast table. The 'Song of Release' has preserved at least one hospitality sequence among the gods.[74]

The largest fragment, KBo XXXII 13, begins with the arrival of Tessub who is welcomed by his hostess, the underworld goddess Allani, with a chair and footstool, then

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[73] It is likely that this hospitality sequence can be traced back to early Sumerian poetry, for 'Inanna's Descent' inverts all the standard Homeric features of a hospitality scene; she has to ask to be let in to the house of her sister, Ereshkigal, queen of the Underworld, and is questioned, instead of welcomed without question; when she is announced, her sister is angry instead of pleased and orders her to be greeted without hospitality; she is stripped and humiliated instead of refreshed and reclothed; finally, she is cursed and killed.

[74] Besides KBo XXXII 13, which we will discuss in some detail, KBo XXXII 72 involves Suwaliyatt visiting Allani's palace in the underworld and could be part of the same scene as KBo XXXII 13; the small fragments KBo XXXII 46 and 65 could also belong to the same scene as KBo XXXII 13.

entertained by her personally with abundant meat and drink. This has close parallels both with Homeric hospitality scenes involving humans, especially in the *Odyssey*, and with Ugaritic narrative poems involving gods alone and gods with men:

1 ᵈIM-aš mʳaḫ¹ḫan iyattat n ꞊ aš ꞊ kan
   taknaš ᵈUTU-waš ḫalenṭūwaš
   andan iyanniš nu ꞊ šši ᴳᴵᔆŠÚ.A-ŠU [...]
   ᵈIM-aš ꞊ kan LUGAL-uš maḫḫan āška꞊
5 andan uit nu ꞊ ššan ŠA A.ŠA₃ IKU
   ANA ᴳᴵᔆŠÚ.A ᵈIM-aš pargawan ešat
   AŠA₃ VII tawallaš ꞊ ma ꞊ ššan ANA ᴳᴵᔆGIR₃.GUB
   GIR₃.ḪI.A-ŠU parknut

   ᵈIM-aš ꞊ kan ᵈŠuwaliya꞊꞊ašš ꞊ a
10 kattanta tankuwai takni iyannir
   nu ꞊ ꞊a ꞊ an anda išḫu꞊iyait taknāš ᵈUTU-uš
   n ꞊ aš ANA ᵈIM piran weḫatta
   nu šani꞊꞊in EZEN₄-an iēt
   taknāš ḫattalwaš taknaš ᵈUTU-uš
15 nu SIG₇-an GU₄.ḪI.A-un ḫatteš ᵈIM-unni
   šallai piran SIG₇-an GU₄.ḪI.A-un ḫatteš
   III SIG₇ ᵁᴰᵁGUKKAL`+ KUN.ḪI.A-n ꞊ a ḫatteš
   kappuwauwar ꞊ ma kuedani NU.GÁL
   MÁŠ.TUR-i SILA₄-i MÁŠ.GAL꞊ya nu apiniššuwan
20 ḫattat

   ᴸᴼ·ᴹᴱᔆNINDA.DU₃.DU₃ ḫandāir ᴸᴼ·ᴹᴱᔆSAGI꞊ya
   anda arir ᴸᴼ·ᴹᴱᔆMUḪALDIM꞊ma ꞊ kan ᵁ�ᶻᵁGABA.ḪI.A
   šarā dāir n ꞊ aš ꞊ kan ᴰᵁᴳDÍLIM.GAL kuškuššulla꞊ [   ]
   anda uter nu adānnaš meḫur
25 tiyēt nu ꞊ ꞊a ᵈIM-aš LUGAL-uš adānna
   ešat karūiliuš ꞊ ma ꞊ ꞊a DINGIR.MEŠ-uš
   ᵈIM-aš ZAG-a꞊ ašašta

   taknaš ꞊ ma ᵈUTU-uš ᵈUTU-uš ᵈIM-unni piran
   ᴸᵁSAGI-aš iwar tiyēt
30 kišraš ꞊ ma ꞊ šši galulupēš ꞊ šeš talugaē[š]
   n ꞊ at ꞊ kan miyaweš ꞊ pat galulupēš
   [ANA B]IBRÍ kattanta kiantari
   [IŠTU ḫalwan]it ꞊ ma kuē꞊ akuwanna
   [piški꞊꞊i apēd]aš ꞊ a anda aššuwār kitt[a(-)   ]
              KBo XXXII.13 ii 1-34 (ed. Neu 1996a 221-5)

1 When Tessub went,
   the palace of the Sungoddess of the earth
   he went into. For him a chair [was set up]
   When Tessub the king went in from outside,
5 on a chair of a field *iku* (measurement of area)
   Tessub sat on high
   and on a stool of seven field *tawallas*
   he propped his foot up.

   Tessub and Suwaliyatt

10	went down to the Dark Earth, and the Sun-goddess of the earth girded herself up. She went back and forth before Tessub.[75] And she made a pleasing feast, the Sun-goddess of the earth at the Doorbolts of the Earth.
15	She slaughtered 10,000 cattle before Tessub the great, 10,000 cattle she slaughtered, and she slaughtered 30,000 fatty-tailed sheep. There was no counting the kids, lambs and goats, so many
20	were slaughtered.

| | The bakers baked, and the cupbearers
came in, and the cooks set out the breast meat.
Bowls with mortars [...]
they brought in. The time for eating |
| 25 | arrived, and Tessub the king sat down
to eat. The primeval gods
she seated to the right of Tessub. |

| | The Sun-goddess of the earth before Tessub
stepped like a cupbearer. |
| 30 | The fingers of her hand are long,
and her four fingers
lie below the cup.
and with which drinking-vessels
[she gives] to drink, inside them lies goodness. |

Hospitality and feasting are frequently described in the Ugaritic materials. I give the example which is closest to the scenes in the 'Song of Release' and the *Iliad*, from 'Baal's Palace', where find we ourselves at a celebration for Baal's victory over Yam:[76]

Radaman served Vali[ant] Baal;
he waited on the Prince, Lord of Earth.

He arose and served,
and gave him to eat:

he carved a breast in his presence,
with a jaw-shaped knife fillets of fatling.

He busied himself and poured,
and gave him to drink:

he put a cup in his hands,
a goblet in both his hands –

a great chalice, mighty to behold,

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[75] De Martino (2000 303, 304, 308) interprets the actions of the goddess as dancing.

[76] Other examples of feasting in Ugaritic: 'Keret' KTU 1.15 iv 4 ff. (trans. Wyatt 1998 214 ff.); 'Aqhat' KTU 1.17 v 16 ff. (trans. Wyatt 1998 268 ff.); 'Rephaim' KTU 1.22 (trans. Wyatt 1998 319-23).

a drinking-vessel of the inhabitants of heaven,

a holy cup, which women might not see,[77]
a goblet which (even) a wife could not look upon.

A thousand measures it took from the winevat,
ten thousand (draughts) it took from the barrel.

He arose, intoned and sang,
The cymbals in the minstrel's hands :

...

KTU 1.3 i 2- 19 (trans. Wyatt 1998 70-1)

The opening of this passage is missing, so it is unclear whether more of the motifs from the feast of Allani appeared here, like the chair and footstool which the visitor uses, but we see the host serving the guest personally, and the vast measurements, here applied to the size of the cup which is special in other ways too, while in the 'Song of Release' it applies to the number of animals slaughtered for the feast. Other Ugaritic passages do supply the image of putting one's feet up on a footstool, applied to El receiving Anat (KTU 1.4 iv 29 trans. Wyatt, 1998 99), and Danel getting good news (KTU 1.17 ii 11, trans. Wyatt 1998 263). Wyatt (1998 263, note 55 with earlier refs.) points out that this is a gesture confined to kings and gods. Further, as Reece (1993 21) mentions, in Homeric epic, the 'most elaborate expression for seating' includes the footstool on which the guest's feet rest.[78]

Hospitality scenes are most prevalent in the *Odyssey*, because hospitality is a major theme in it, but since the *Iliad* is the focus of this chapter, one good example of hospitality in this work will be examined, the embassy to Achilles by Odysseus, Ajax and Phoenix in Book 9:

185   Μυρμιδόνων δ' ἐπί τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας ἱκέσθην,
       τὸν δ' ηὗρον φρένα τερπόμενον φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ,

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[77] Or: 'A goblet Athirat may not eye.' (trans. Parker 1997 106, with note 35)

[78] As Hoffner has pointed out to me, echoes of this motif are found in Bible, in which heaven is God's chair and the earth his footstool (*Isaiah* 66:1).

καλῇ δαιδαλέῃ, ἐπὶ δ' ἀργύρεον ζυγὸν ἦεν,
τὴν ἄρετ' ἐξ ἐνάρων πόλιν Ἡετίωνος ὀλέσσας.
τῇ ὅ γε θυμὸν ἔτερπεν, ἄειδε δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν·

190 Πάτροκλος δέ οἱ οἶος ἐναντίος ἧστο σιωπῇ,
δέγμενος Αἰακίδην, ὁπότε λήξειεν ἀείδων.
τὼ δὲ βάτην προτέρω, ἡγεῖτο δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,
στὰν δὲ πρόσθ' αὐτοῖο· ταφὼν δ' ἀνόρουσεν Ἀχιλλεύς
αὐτῇ σὺν φόρμιγγι, λιπὼν ἕδος ἔνθα θάασσεν;
195 ὡς δ' αὔτως Πάτροκλος, ἐπεὶ ἴδε φῶτας, ἀνέστη.
τὼ καὶ δεικνύμενος προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·
"χαίρετον· ἦ φίλοι ἄνδρες ἱκάνετον - ἦ τι μάλα χρεώ -
οἵ μοι σκυζομένῳ περ Ἀχαιῶν φίλτατοί ἐστον."
ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας προτέρω ἄγε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
200 εἷσεν δ' ἐν κλισμοῖσι τάπησί τε πορφυρέοισιν.
αἶψα δὲ Πάτροκλον προσεφώνεεν ἐγγὺς ἐόντα·
"μέζονα δὴ κρητῆρα, Μενοιτίου υἱέ, καθίστα,
ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε, δέπας δ' ἔντυνον ἑκάστῳ·
οἳ γὰρ φίλτατοι ἄνδρες ἐμῷ ὑπέασι μελάθρῳ."
205 ὡς φάτο, Πάτροκλος δὲ φίλῳ ἐπεπείθεθ' ἑταίρῳ.
αὐτὰρ ὅ γε κρεῖον μέγα κάββαλεν ἐν πυρὸς αὐγῇ,
ἐν δ' ἄρα νῶτον ἔθηκ' ὄιος καὶ πίονος αἰγός,
ἐν δὲ συὸς σιάλοιο ῥάχιν τεθαλυῖαν ἀλοιφῇ.
τῷ δ' ἔχεν Αὐτομέδων, τάμνεν δ' ἄρα δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.

...
216 Πάτροκλος μὲν σῖτον ἑλὼν ἐπένειμε τραπέζῃ
καλοῖς ἐν κανέοισιν, ἀτὰρ κρέα νεῖμεν Ἀχιλλεύς.
αὐτὸς δ' ἀντίον ἷζεν Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο
τοίχου τοῦ ἑτέροιο ...
Il. 9.185-219

185 The two came to the cabins and ships of the Myrmidons,
and they found him [Achilles] pleasing his mind with the shrill lyre,
beautifully worked – and on it was a silver crossbar –
he had received it from the spoils when he destroyed the city of Eetion;
with it he was pleasing his heart, for he was singing the glories of men.
190 And Patroclus alone was sitting opposite him in silence,
waiting until Aiakides stopped singing.
The two walked forward, and shining Odysseus led them,
and they stood before him; stunned, Achilles rose up
still with the lyre, leaving his seat where he was sitting.
195 In the same way Patroclus, when he saw the men, stood up.
And welcoming them, swift-footed Achilles said,
'Greetings; indeed as men dear (to me) you come; indeed the need is quite great,
(for) you who are most dear to me, although I am angry at the Achaeans.'
Then having spoken thus shining Achilles led them forward,
200 and sat them on couches with purple coverings.
And right away he called to Patroclus who was inside,
'Set out a bigger bowl, son of Menoitios,
and mix (the wine) stronger, and get ready a cup for each;
for the men who are most dear to me come into my house.'
205 So he spoke, and Patroclus obeyed his dear companion.
Right away he threw down a great meat-tray in the light of the fire,
and then he put the back of a sheep and of a fatty goat,
and on it the chine of a fatty pig, rich with lard.
Automedon held it for him and then shining Achilles cut it up.

...
216 Patroclus, taking the bread, laid it out on the table
in beautiful baskets, then Achilles served the meat.
He himself sat across from godlike Odysseus

As in both the Ugaritic and Hurro-Hittite examples, the guest is seated on a regal seat. The host serves the guest personally, and the food mentioned is meat, bread and wine. The guests come upon Achilles playing his lyre and singing of past heroes. This is a variation of the usual sequence of events, in which song follows the meal, as in the example from the Ugaritic Baal cycle, a scene of joyous celebration after Baal's triumph over Yam. It shows Achilles' obsession with glory and his self-imposed idleness.

However, the purpose of the hospitality scene in the *Iliad* is not to provide an occasion for joyous celebration, but to provide an opportunity to solve the problem presented by Achilles' withdrawal from the battlefield.[79] As we shall see, the pattern of a problem presented after dining and drinking is found repeatedly in the Hurro-Hittite SIR$_3$, and could be the purpose of Tessub's visit to Allani in the 'Song of Release', based on the other Hurro-Hittite examples. The embassy to Achilles varies this traditional pattern when the mission of Odysseus and his companions fails to resolve the problem.

How the hospitality scene in the 'Song of Release' fits into the rest of the story has been anyone's guess. Does it set up the destruction of Ebla, or does it close that episode? Are the parables told during this feast, perhaps by Ishara, as suggested earlier? (See pp. 66-7.)[80] If so, then these stories would provide the justification for the destruction of Ebla to the other gods, because its leaders have behaved like the ungrateful characters in the stories. If it follows the Ebla episode, it could mark a reconciliation between the gods of the underworld and heavens, as Neu (1993b 345-6) and Burkert (1993) have suggested.

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[79] Another feasting scene which appears in the *Iliad*, this time a party among the gods, is the banquet on Olympos, with Hephaestus as cupbearer, and this also has a parallel with the scene in KBo XXXII 13, the rightwards circling of Hephaistos as he pours the wine (*Il.* 1.595-8), just as the gods are seated in order moving rightwards in the 'Song of Release'.

[80] Neu (1993b 340) sees the parables as told as part of the festivities of the 'Jobeljahr'.

Such a celebratory feast would fit in with the Ugaritic example from the Baal cycle (see pp. 109-10). Neu suggests that the release of the men of Ikinkalis is part of the festivities, since this is typical of jubilees, or else that the festival of Allani is described as an example of a symbolic reconciliation between heaven and earth. Haas and Wegner interpret the episode quite differently, comparing it to the plot of the Sumerian story of Ereshkigal and Nergal or the Greek story of Persephone. They see Allani as a seductress who lures Tessub into the underworld to imprison him (Haas and Wegner 1991 386; 1997 442-3; Haas 1994 552) De Martino, building on this suggestion, sees her to-and-fro motion before Tessub as an alluring dance (2000 308-9). He then connects this episode to the Ebla story line by proposing that Tessub's experience as a prisoner made him sympathetic to the plight of the people of Ikinkalis (Martino 2000 309).

I offer here an analysis of the function of this scene based on examples drawn from other Hurro-Hittite songs. This analysis presumes that the feast sets up the destruction of Ebla. For, each case of hospitality among the gods in the Hurro-Hittite examples outside of the 'Song of Release' is followed by a conversation that sets the next stage of the plot in motion." We might expect then that the feast of Allani also sets the stage for the next phase of the story, providing the opportunity for deliberation concerning the course of action to be followed. According to the model of other Hurro-Hittite epics, the meeting would occur in response to a problem.

We can compare the three hospitality scenes from the fragments of the 'Song of Hedammu' of the 'Kumarbi' cycle. Each occurs as the context for addressing a problem, as the gods take sides over whether Kumarbi or Tessub should be king in heaven. The first (lacunose) hospitality scene occurs in the context of marriage negotiations between the Sea-god and Kumarbi, arranging the transfer of Sea-god's daughter, Sertapsuruhi, to

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" Besides those cited below, note 'Ullikummi' KUB XXXIII 102 ii 7-36 (ed. Güterbock 1951 148-50; trans. Hoffner 1998a 57, §§ 8-9).

Kumarbi. The child produced in this marriage, Hedammu, will go on to fight Tessub,

solving the problem of finding a worthy adversary for the upstart god. The Sea-god

comes to visit, props up his foot and accepts a drink. Then he offers his daughter,

describing her enormous length and width,[12] telling him to come fetch her in seven days, a

typical length of time. (KUB XXXIII 109 i 1-9, ed. Siegelová 1971 38-9; trans. Hoffner

1998a 51) Kumarbi takes the daughter of the Sea-god in marriage and she bears the sea

snake Hedammu. In the second hospitality scene, Sauska (the Hurrian version of Ishtar),

warns Tessub of Hedammu, refusing all hospitality until she has conveyed her urgent

message (KBo XIX rev.? 1' ff., ed. Siegelová 1971 44-5; trans. Hoffner 1998a 52). The

ultimate purpose of the third hospitality scene, again between the Sea-god and Kumarbi,

is unclear, yet we can recognize that important matters are to be discussed

KUB XXXIII 122 ii 2'   [ÍD-*za*] ᴿ*taknaz*¹*=a* GAM-an [*arḫa* KASKAL-*an*]
            [*iya nu=wa=tta* ᵈ*SÍN-aš*] ᴿᵈ¹UTU-*uš taknašš=a* [ ]
            [DINGIR.MEŠ-*uš lē uwanzi*] *nu=wa=kan* ANA ᵈ*Kuma*[*rbi*
    5'   ÍD-*za takn*]*aza* GAM-*an šará eḫ*[*u*]

            [ᵈ*Mukišanuš uddá*]*r* IŠME *n=aš šará*
            [(*ḫ*)]*ūdak aráiš n=aš=ka*]*n* ÍD-*za taknaza* GAM-*an arḫa*
            [(KASKAL-*an iyat n=an* ᵈ*SÍN-a*)]*š* ᵈUTU-*uš taknašš=a* DINGIR.MEŠ-*uš*
            [*UL a*(*uēr*) *n=aš=kan* (*a*)]*runi* GAM-*anda pait*

KUB XII 65 + iii 5' ᴿᵈ¹*Mukišanuš* ᵈ*Kumarbiyaš uddár aruni* EGIR-*pa memiškiuwan dá*[(*iš*)]
            eḫu ḫalziššai=wa=tta DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš attaš* ᵈ*Kumarbiš uddani=ma=wa=tta*
            kuedani ḫalziššai nu=wa uttar liliwan nu=wa ḫúdak eḫu
            eḫu=ma=wa=kan ÍD-*za taknaza kattan arḫa nu=wa=tta* ᵈ*SÍN* ᴰUTU-*uš*
            taknašš=a DINGIR.MEŠ-*muš lē uwanzi mán šalliš arunaš uddar* IŠME
    10'   *n=aš=kan šará ḫúdak aráiš n=aš=kan taknaš* ÍD-*ašš=a* KASKAL-*an* GAM-*an arḫa*
                [*iyat*]
            1-*anki=aš šarrattat n=aš=kan* ANA ᵈ*Kumarbi šarḫulaz taknaza* ᴳᴵˢŠÚ.A-*i=*[*šši*]
            kạttan šará uit ašạnna=šši ᴳᴵˢŠÚ.A-*an aruni tiyēr nu=za-kan šalliš* [*arunaš*]
            ᴳᴵˢŠÚ.A-*ši ešat* ᴳᴵˢBANŠUR-*un=ši unuwandan adanna zikkizzi*
            ᴸᵁSAGI.A-*aš=ma=šši* GEŠTIN.ᴿKU₇¹ *akuwanna peški*[*zzi*]
    15'   ᵈ*Kumarbiš=kan* DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš attaš šallišš=a arun*[*aš aša*]*nzi*
            nu=za azzikkanzi akkuškanzi[   ]

            ᵈ*Kumarbiš uddár* ANA ᴸᵁSUK[KAL-*ŠU me*(*miškiuwan dái*)*š*]

ᵈ*Mukišanu* ᴸᵁSUKKAL-*YA uddār=t[a (kue tem)i nu=mu ut(tanaš* GEŠTU-*an parā)]*
lagān harak ᴳᴵˢIG *hatt[talwai ... (-i)]*

20'   ᴳᴵˢ*zakkiuš=ma peššiya[*

KUB XXXIII 122 ii 2'-9', with KUB XII 65 + 1278/u iii 1'-20' (filled in with parallel texts, ed. Siegelová 1971 50-2)

ii 2'   [... Tell the Sea god: "Make your journey] under [river] (and) earth! [Don't let the Moon God], the Sun God or the [gods] of the Dark Earth [see you!] Come up to Kumarbi from beneath [river and] earth!"

[Mukisanu] heard the words and [promptly] arose. He made his journey under river and earth. [Neither] the Moon God, the Sun God or the gods of the Dark Earth saw him. He went down to the Sea God.

iii 5'   Mukisanu spoke Kumarbi's words to the Sea God:
"Come! The Father of the Gods, Kumarbi, is calling you. The matter
for which he calls you is urgent. So come promptly!
Come away below the river and earth! Don't let the Moon God, the Sun God,
or the gods of the Dark Earth see you!" When the great Sea God heard the words,

10'   he promptly arose and made his journey under river and earth.
He traversed (the distance) in one (stage) and came up below Kumarbi's chair
from/by ... and earth. They set up a chair for the Sea God to sit in, and the great [Sea
      God]
sat down in his chair. They placed a table for him set with food.
The cupbearer gave him sweet wine to drink.

15'   Kumarbi, Father of the Gods, and the great Sea God sat
eating and drinking.

Kumarbi spoke words to his vizier:
"Mukisanu my vizier! Listen carefully to the words I speak to you!
Bolt the door!
Throw the latch(?)!"
      (trans. Hoffner 1998a 53)

This hospitality sequence shares many of the motifs found in the passage from the 'Song of Release', including the entrance, the chair and footstool, the food and the cupbearer serving the drink.[13] However, the fragment from the 'Song of Release' lacks the opening

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[13] A nice example of hospitality refused appears in one of the many hospitality scenes in the 'Song of Ullikummi' from the 'Kumarbi' cycle. It contains most of the same motifs:

ᵈUTU-*uš=ma=aš* [ ]x *tiyat*
ašannaš=ši ᴳᴵˢŠÚ.A-*an ti<yēr> n=aš=za* UL [*eša]t adannaš=ma=šši*
ᴳᴵˢBANŠUR-*un unuēr nu=kan parā* UL *šali[kt]a* GAL-*in=ši*
piēr nu=ššan pūrin UL *dāiš*

KBo XXVI 58 + KUB XXXVI 7 iv 51'-54' (ed. Güterbock 1951 160)

The Sun God approached them.
A chair was set up for him to sit in, but he wouldn't sit down.
A table was laid for him to eat from, but he wouldn't touch a thing. A cup
was offered to him, but he wouldn't put his lip to it.

of the passage, which contains the message that sends Mukisanu on his mission, and it

lacks the ending of the passage, in which the messenger, having duly eaten and drunk,

accomplishes his mission.

3.4.2. The Messenger Scene

The beginning of this fragment from the 'Song of Hedammu' perhaps offers us a

clue concerning the placement of the next fragment from the 'Song of Release' that we

will discuss. Tessub is roused from bed by a messenger, talks with his brother Suwaliyatt,

and sends him to Ebla.⁴⁴ This scene perhaps was the prelude to a hospitality sequence

similar to the feast of Allani, a divine assembly scene, or even the end of the proemium,

and can also be compared to the opening of Book 10 of the *Iliad* , where it leads to an

assembly scene.

4'   -i]::iš GE₆-a:[
5'   ka]ruwariwar=kan [
       -]:in halukan hal:[a-
       ᵈI]M-aš GIŠ.NÁ-a: ar[āiš]

       li]liwaḫḫuwan:i :āiš [
       -i]š' nu=:a ᵈIM-aš parā tarnum[ar
10'   ] arḫa [d]alāi nu ᵈIM-aš [
       [ᵈŠuwa]liya[tt]i memiškiwa[n daiš]

       ]× ᵈŠuwaliya: ḫandān:a [nu=mu(?) GEŠTU-an parā]⁴⁵
       [Ŋ'ag'ān 'ḫar'k liliwaḫḫuwan:[i
       ᴳᴵˢŠÚ.A-aš URU-ri it ᵈIšharaš=ma=k[an' É-ri ...]⁴⁶   —
15'   [ ] it nu it :ik kē udd[ār
       [p]eran memiyaw[a]n:i šallanut [
       'am'muk duwā[n] tuk mena[ḫḫanda

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⁴⁴ In other Near Eastern epics, it is common for a hero to wake from a puzzling dream and seek an interpretation of it, and advice on a course of action. This inverts elements of the scenes we are discussing here. Rather than being awoken with a message, the hero wakes having been given a message. Both Gilgamesh (Standard Babylonian Version I 245 ff.) and the hunter Kessi (ed. Friedrich 1950 238) awake and ask their mother for an explanation of their dreams as a prophecy for the future. An early example of a dream motivating future action is in the Sumerian 'Gudea Cylinder' (trans. Jacobsen 386 ff.). For this motif also see West (1997 185-90). (trans. Hoffner 1998a 59)

⁴⁵ Cf. Neu (1996a 507).

⁴⁶ Hoffner's reconstruction (pers. comm.).

[　　]× *tuk katti*[　] *uda*[*hhi*]ⁿ

[　　] *halziš*[*a*]ʳ*in*ˀ[*a*(-)

KBo XXXII 37 4'-19' (ed. Neu 1996a 505)

4'　　.... in the night ...
5'　　Early in the morning ...
　　　...message rep[ort-
　　　Tess]ub from his bed aro[se

　　　sw]iftly he crossed [...
　　　...] And Tessub (nom.) ... releasing (verbal noun) ...
10'　　...] [l]et go. And Tessub [
　　　he began to speak to [Suwaliy]att

　　　'...] loyal Suwaliyatt (nom.)
　　　lend [me your ear!]. Swiftly [...
　　　Go to the city of the throne. But [to] Ishara's [house ...]
15'　　...] go. You, proceed these wor[ds ...
　　　before [...] say over again [...]
　　　I her[e] bef[ore] you [...
　　　[　] you (obl.?) with [　] I will bri[ng ...'
　　　[　　] summoned repeatedly (2ⁿᵈ or 3ʳᵈ person?)

Tessub is roused from sleep early in the morning with an urgent message. Apparently this message has something to do with the release of the prisoners. Tessub's response is to immediately send his brother Suwaliyatt to Ebla to convey a message to Ishara. We have the second half of this sequence in the passage from the 'Song of Hedammu', in which the messenger is sent off with a message ordering another character to come for a meeting. Perhaps the message to Ishara asks her to return with Suwaliyatt for a meeting with Tessub, one introduced with meat and drink and culminating with a discussion of the problem of the prisoners who must be released. In fact, this scene could fit into the proemium and set the scene for the dialogue between Tessub and Ishara which closes KBo XXXII 11 (see pp. 65-6). This sequence follows quite closely the narrative structure put forth by West (1997 173-4) concerning how stories are set in motion.[*]

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[17] Cf. Neu (1996a 50).

[*] KBo XXXII 209 (Hurrian only, middle of one column) is a dialogue between Tessub and Simige the Sun-god, with mention of a 'bed'. This could be related to the scene discussed here.

Although messenger scenes are common enough in Near Eastern epic,[*] the best

comparandum to the sequence of being wakened for a message comes from 'Atrahasis'

again, and like the narrative sequence postulated above, the scene occurs early in the

story, presenting Enlil with the problem of the rebellious Igigi gods:

> It was night, half-way through the watch,
> Ekur was surrounded, but Enlil did not know!
> ...
> Kalkal woke [Nusku],
> And they listened to the clamor of [the Igigi-gods].
> Nusku woke [his] lord,
> He got [him] out of bed,
> 'My lord, [your] house is surrounded,
> ...
>> OB I i 72-80 (trans. Foster 1993 163; ed. Lambert and Millard 1999 46)

Enlil, terrified at the news, follows Nusku's suggestion to convene an assembly, in which

the gods decide to send out Nusku to learn what grievance had compelled the Igigi gods

to lay siege to his house.

Compare the sequence of one god waking, then awakening another god, then the

convening of an assembly to *Iliad* 10.1-179, a series of scenes in which a hero is wakened

with a message, rises, converses with the messenger, then leaves on a mission to awaken

another. While the scenes from the 'Song of Release' and 'Atrahasis' come from the life of

the gods, in the *Iliad* this same sequence applies to the human realm, from which it was

originally borrowed, and is multipled as a series of repeated motifs. As Book 10 opens,

Agamemnon paces restlessly during the night, pondering what he can do to turn the tide

away from a Trojan victory. He first searches out his brother Menelaus and is pleased to

find him awake too. They then decide to go to wake up other leaders of the Greeks so

they can convene and discuss the matter. I quote only the first episode in the sequence:

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[*] On messenger scenes, see West (1997 190-3, 229) and McNeill (1963 241).

πρῶτον ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆα Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντον
ἐξ ὕπνου ἀνέγειρε Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ
φθεγξάμενος· τὸν δ' αἶψα περὶ φρένας ἤλυθ' ἰωή,
ἐκ δ' ἦλθε κλισίης καί σφεας πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·
"τίφθ' οὕτω κατὰ νῆας ἀνὰ στρατὸν οἶοι ἀλᾶσθε
νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίην. ὅ τι δὴ χρειὼ τόσον ἵκει·"
    τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα Γερήνοις ἱππότα Νέστωρ·
"διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,
μὲ νεμέσα· τοῖον γὰρ ἄχος βεβίηκεν Ἀχαιούς.
ἀλλ' ἕπε', ὄφρα καὶ ἄλλον ἐγείρομεν, ὄν τ' ἐπέοικε
{βουλὰς βουλεύειν, ἢ φευγέμεν ἦε μάχεσθαι.}"
    ὣς φάθ', ὁ δὲ κλισίηνδε κιὼν πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς
ποικίλον ἀμφ' ὤμοισι σάκος θέτο, βῆ δὲ μετ' αὐτούς.
βὰν δ' ἐπὶ Τυδείδην Διομήδεα ...
        Il. 10.137-50

First then Odysseus, matching Zeus in his intelligence,
Nestor the horseman, son of Geren, roused from sleep,
calling; swiftly the cry entered his mind,
and he came out of his tent and spoke a word to them,
'Why do you wander in this way alone through the army, along the ships,
in the ambrosial night? Has so great a need come?'
        Then Nestor the horseman, son of Geren answered him,
'Odysseus, descendent of Zeus, son of Laertes, many-wiled,
don't be angry; for such a pain has come upon the Achaeans.
But come with us, so that we can wake yet another, to whom it is appropriate
to give counsel, on whether we should flee or fight.'
        Thus he spoke, and wily Odysseus, going into his tent,
put an elaborate shield across his shoulders, and went with them.
They went to Diomedes, son of Tydeus ...

When compared to the examples from 'Atrahasis' and the 'Song of Release', this scene

reveals itself as an elaborate version of a traditional narrative sequence.

The two scenes from the life of the gods in the 'Song of Release', although short

fragments, are important examples of traditional motifs from the common epic tradition

of which Homeric poetry was a branch. The discovery of the 'Song of Release' in the

1980's has opened a new chapter in the study of this tradition, allowing us to understand

better the details of the Hurro-Hittite tradition of narrative poetry, and how it borrowed

and adapted motifs attested in Mesopotamian and Ugaritic poetry, and giving us new

opportunities to discern traditional elements adapted and reworked in Homeric poetry,

such as the assembly scene in the beginning of Book 1, and the over-arching theme of the

capture and return of Helen. Further, the Hurro-Hittite tradition makes clear the

background of the embassy of Achilles, in which the usual sequence of problem

presented and solved in the context of a hospitality sequence is foiled.

3.5. The SIR₃ Genre

We now move from comparing passages drawn from the common Mediterranean

tradition to examining formal features in the Hurro-Hittite tradition SIR₃ genre, to which

'Gilgamesh', 'Kumarbi', 'Silver', Kessi' and the 'Song of Release' belong.⁹⁰ This genre is

the product of Hurrian scribes and performers who also brought to the Hittite court in

Anatolia the administrative and priestly techniques of North Syria. 'Gilgamesh' is found

at Hattusa in Akkadian, Hittite and Hurrian, and 'Kessi' in Hurrian and Hittite (with a

further Hittite version found at Ugarit).⁹¹ In fact, the 'Song of Release' was found in the

same building as some new fragments of 'Gilgamesh' in Middle Babylonian (Wilhelm

1988 100-1).

It is important to establish that 'Gilgamesh', 'Kumarbi' and the 'Song of Release'

belong to a single tradition sharing formulae, like the Ionic tradition of narrative poetry in

dactylic hexameters in Greece. When we realize that the wide-spread epic 'Gilgamesh'

had been incorporated into the Hurro-Hittite tradition, we can see that Homer and Hesiod

could have borrowed much of their Near Eastern material through a single channel.⁹² Just

as the *Iliad* has close parallels to the 'Song of Release' and 'Kumarbi' does with the

Theogony (on the latter, see Chapter 1, pp. 10-1), the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* have been

shown to have close parallels with 'Gilgamesh', most recently by Martin West (1997 335-

47, 402-17 with earlier references). The most cogent parallel is between the heroes

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⁹⁰ On the SIR₃, see Watkins (1995a 247-8), Neu (1996a 7), Hoffner (1998a 66-7; 1998b 180), among others. On the poetic technique characteristic of the 'Song of Release' and Hurro-Hittite poetry in general, see Neu (1988b 246-8). *Pace* Wilhelm (1997 277-8, note 1), the formulaic correspondences between various SIR₃'s are evidence that these are indeed members of a single literary genre.

⁹¹ 'Gilgamesh' is CTH 341, see Beckman in RlA 8.568-9. On the influence of Hurrians on Hittites, see Hoffner (1992 3; 1998b).

⁹² Bryce (1999 262) also noted the significance of the presence of 'Gilgamesh' at Hattusa.

Achilles and Odysseus on the one hand and Gilgamesh on the other. Both Achilles and

Gilgamesh have extremely close relationships with a near-equal companion who dies in

his stead and then is mourned extravagantly. Both Achilles and Gilgamesh are very

concerned with their mortality and their reputation after they die. The *Odyssey*, like the

second half of 'Gilgamesh', follows the hero on a journey through supernatural lands.

McNeill (1963 237-8) summarized well the striking similarities in style between

the SIR$_3$ and Homer:[93]

> The Hittite epic shares with all the other main epic traditions of the ancient Near East – Sumerian, Akkadian and Ugaritic – the habit of employing constantly recurring phrases of varying length, conventionally described by modern scholars as "formulae". Each tradition has a considerable number of stock phrases – noun-epithet combinations, whole verse, and even groups of verses – that are likely to occur in any poem belonging to it. Similarly, repetitions of single verses or groups of verses are apt to occur within a short space in an individual poem, though the verses concerned are not used outside it. What is particularly striking – though by no means a coincidence – is that this feature is shared by the Greek Iliad and Odyssey of Homer.

The most frequently seen stock epic phrase is X (*appa*) *memiškiwan daiš* 'X

began to speak'. Every speech then elicits a reaction, whether rejoicing, anger or sadness.

This reflects the importance of speaking and speech acts in the narrative tradition,

because the poem is itself trying to show that words are powerful, to invest itself with

greater significance. The formulae which introduce speeches and reactions to them are

discussed by McNeill (1963 238, 240-1), who cites Greek equivalents of the type,

'answering him spoke swift-footed Achilles' (*Il.* 1.84). (Also see West 1997 196-8.)[94] A

similar formula appears in Akkadian narrative poems such as 'Gilgamesh', particularly in

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[93] Also see West (1997 169, 220) and Burkert (1992 114-20) on formulae in Near Eastern epic. Lesky (1966a; 1966b) also compared some phrases of hexametric poetry to Hurro-Hittite poetry.

[94] The introductory form, 'commence to speak', is found in one non-poetic Hittite text, 'Hattusili I's Testament' (KUB I 16 iii 56). But is it meant to be high style? It is otherwise confined to narrative poems. Based on the citations in the CHD *ad loc.*, the formula appears in the 'Song of Silver', 'Kessi', the 'Kumarbi' cycle, including 'Ullikummi', 'Gilgamesh', 'Appu', and Telipinu *mugawars.* Also see Burkert (1992 116) on introducing speeches. More detailed statistics on ways of introducing speeches in Hittite poetry may be found in De Vries (1967 110-9).

its later sections: 'A opened his mouth to speak, saying to B' (A *pâšu ipušamma iqabbi izzakkara ana* B) (Tigay 1982 233). It also appears in the 'Cuthean Legend of Naram-Sin' (MB, KBo XIX 98 b' 14'), and 'Atrahasis' (OB A I 85-6), to pick two more that were known by the Hittites. In Ugaritic it appears as 'He lifted up his voice and cried', for example in 'Aqhat' (KTU 1.19 iii 13, trans. Wyatt 1998 304). In Hurrian it is realized as 'he said, he spoke' (*alu=i=b hill=i=b* KBo XXXII 14 i 52, see Martino 1999 11).

A negative reaction sequence can be expanded in a formulaic way, as passages from the Hittite version of 'Kumarbi' and the 'Song of Release' show. They share several stock phrases where a set of parallel formulaic phrases appears, developing a specific narrative sequence: a character hears a curse, feels sick inside of himself, then responds with a curse of his own. Below are two variants of this scene from the Hittite side of the parable section in the 'Song of Release':[95]

HUR.SAG-*ašš=a mahhan ištamašta*
nu=ši=kan ŠA₃-ŠU *anda ištarkiat*
nu HUR.SAG-*aš aliyanan āppa huwarzašta*
  'Song of Release' KBo XXXII 14 ii 10-2 (ed. Neu 1996a 75)

And when the mountain heard,
he was sickened in his heart.
The mountain cursed the deer in return.

IŠME ᴸᵁNAGAR *nu=šši=kan* ŠA₃-ŠU *anda i[dal]awešta*
[*nu=za* ᴸᵁNAGAR] ANA PĀNI ZI-ŠU *memiškizi kuwat wetenun kuin kuttan nu=mu*
  hūrzakizi
  'Song of Release' KBo XXXII 14 rev. 44-5 (ed. Neu 1996a 91)

The craftsman heard. He f[elt] bad in his heart
[The craftsman] said to himself, 'Why does the tower which I built curse me?'

A third example from the 'Song of Release', translated previously on pp. 67-8, combines the formulae of the first two lines of the first passage quoted above, and a variant of the

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[95] Also compare KBo XXXII 14 left edge, concerning the craftman and the piece of wood.

second line of the second passage:

mahhan ^{LÚ}SIMUG *ištamašta*
nu = šši = ašta ŠA₃*-ŠU anda ištarkkiat*

nu = za ^{LÚ}SIMUG *PĀNI* ŠA₃*-ŠU memiškiwan daiš*
kuwat = wa URUDU*-an kuin lāhun nu = wa = mu āppa*
hūrzakizi nu teššumiya ^{LÚ}SIMUG
hūrtāin tet walahdu = ya = an
        KBo XXXII 14 ii 50-6

When the smith heard,
he was sickened within his heart.

The smith began to speak to his heart,
'Why does the copper which I cast
curse me in return?' And the smith against the cup
said a curse, 'May Tessub strike it, ...'

The comparable example from 'Kumarbi', which is quoted below, comes at the end of a damaged passage, from which the full details cannot be gleaned, but Tessub has heard that the gods led by Kumarbi are resolved to do battle with him. Tessub is upset at the news, and reminds his bull Seri how he had cursed his foes already, and driven off Kumarbi (perhaps). Seri replies with concern, 'Why are you cursing them?', warning that Ea can hear him. Then, the curses seem to be conveyed to Ea, because we have a series of third person imperatives, then Ea replies in words very similar to those of the offended craftsmen in 'Song of Release':

mān ^dA.A*-aš* INIM.ḪI.A*-a[r ištamašt]a n=aš*[96]*=ši=kan* ŠA₃*-ni anda*
ḪUL*-uešta* ^dA.A*-ašš=a* IN]IM. ḪI.A*-a[r?]* ^d*[Ta]uri*[97] EGIR*-p[a] me[mi]škiwan dāiš*
hurdauš = mu lē memiškiši hurzakit = mu kuiš
[*nu]=mu[*] x-x[*h]urzakizzi nu = mu zik kuiš* EGIR*-pa*
hurtauš mematti] nu = mu zik hurzakiši ^{DUG}ÚTUL KAŠ GAM*-an*
     ]x-x *nu apāš* ^{DUG}ÚTUL*-aš marriyazzi*
    'Kumarbi' KUB XXXVI 31 5'-7' + KUB XXXIII 120 iii 67'-72' (ed. Laroche 1969 46)

When Ea h[eard] the words, in his heart

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⁹⁶ The sign looks like ŠA or TA.

⁹⁷ Cf. trans. of Hoffner (1998a 45).

he felt bad. Ea began to speak back to [Ta]uri,
'Don't you say curses repeatedly to me! He who cursed me, (or 'Who cursed me?')
... curses me. You who [speak curses] to me in turn,
You curse me. Under a pot of beer
[....] That pot boils.'

Ea, probably speaking to the second of Tessub's bulls, Tauri, seems to be warning him that by repeating the curses of Tessub, he himself is cursing Ea and will therefore be punished. The image of the pot of beer boiling is explained by Hoffner (1998a 77, note 6) thus, 'The meaning is although the fire underneath burns the bottom of the pot, it will be doused with the boiling hot contents, when the pot boils over.' The scenario is the same as that in the parables: a superior learns of the rebelliousness of one of his subordinates, expressed in a curse uttered by the subordinate (*mān/mahhan* X-*aš ištamašta nu = šši* ŠA₃-*ni anda idaluešta/ištarkiyat*). However, the craftsmen do in fact curse their artifact effectively in return, while Ea probably only threatens to curse Tauri. Further, the craftsmen's dismay is expressed to themselves, while Ea speaks aloud to Tauri. Cursing in general is a preoccupation of the preserved Hittite texts, no matter what genre. Cursing is central to the structure of the 'Song of Release', because this theme connects the parable section and the Ebla section (see pp. 68, 84). Similarly, Tessub's curse in the opening section precipitates all the subsequent action of the 'Kumarbi' cycle.

This same motif of a negative reaction to a speech can be found in many other works in the Mediterranean epic tradition, including the *Iliad*, for example at 1.188-92:[a]

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[a] Compare what Sargon says in the Late Assyrian version of the epic 'Sargon, King of Battle', when he has heard how his merchants have been ill-treated by the ruler of the Anatolian city Purushanda: 'When Sargon heard the word of the merchants, his heart was grieved ...' (*amat* DUMU.MEŠ DAM.GAR₃ *ina šeme-šu imraṣ li[bba-šu*...) (ed. and trans. Westenholz 1997 136-7). As in 'Song of Release' and 'Kumarbi', what Sargon hears galvanizes him into an act of decisive revenge. Although I quote from a scrap of a version which dates to later than the Hittite period, we know that the Hittites knew of this story, because a Hittite translation has been found at Hattusa, and the Middle Babylonian version of 'Sargon, King of Battle' which was found at the Egyptian site of El-Amarna probably originated in Hattusa (see Foster 1993 251-2; Westenholz 1997 105). The sequence is also found in a lacunose passage in 'Kumarbi', KUB XXXIII120 iii 19'-21' (ed. Laroche 1969 45). Also see West (1997 199 with earlier refs.) on negative reactions to speeches, and speaking to oneself. He cites these two Iliadic passages, comparing the latter to 'Gilgamesh' Standard Babylonian Version X 11 ff. (trans. George 1999 76).

ὡς φάτο· Πηλείωνι δ' ἄχος γένετ', ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ
στήθεσσιν λασίοισι διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν,
ἤ' ὅ γε φάσγανον ὀξὺ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ
τοὺς μὲν ἀναστήσειεν, ὁ δ' Ἀτρείδην ἐναρίζοι,
ἦε χόλον παύσειεν ἐρητύσειέ τε θυμόν.

So he [Agamemnon] spoke; and the son of Peleus felt pain,
and in his shaggy breast his heart was in doubt,
whether, drawing his sword from beside his thigh,
to move aside the others and kill the son of Atreus,
or to check his anger and restrain his passion.

Meanwhile, the second part of the sequence of formulas found in the parables, the speaking to oneself, may be found at *Iliad* 11.403-4: 'Angered, he spoke to his great-hearted soul, "Woe is me, what do I suffer? ..."'(ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν· "ὤι μοι ἐγώ, τί πάθω;...")[99] However, the added detail of the curse and counter-curse are unique to the Hurro-Hittite tradition.

The most striking example of shared formulae was found by Neu (1993a 114-8). It comes from a chance three-line piece of 'Kessi', which corresponds nearly identically with a few lines from the 'Song of Release'. The lines are too fragmentary to understand, but the passage is from the speech threatening Ebla ('Release' KBo XXXII 214 i 8'-11', KBo XXXII 107; 'Kessi' KUB XLVII 5 iv13-15).

[ú-r(u-uk-ku-un-)]na al-zi-ya-al-li š[u-u-uk-
[   ] x x-ʳniʾ¹ ki-wi,-ra-a-ša-an ʳúʾ[(-ru-u)k-ku (-)
[a]l-zi-ya-al-li du[-
[   ] ti-pa ʳkuʾ-ri-y[a-
   KBo XXXII 214 8'-11', filled in with KBo XXXII 107 (ed. Neu 1993a 114-5)

ú-ru-ʳuk-kuʾ a-al-ši-ya-al-li šu-u-u[k-
ʳkeʾ-e-we,ʾ[-   ]x-bi ú-ru-uk-ʳkuʾ a-al-š[i-y]ʳa-a-al-liʾ
]te-i-waʳₐ-aʾ ku-ú-li-y[a-aʾ-a]l-li
   KUB XLVII 5 iv 13-5 (ed. Neu 1993a 117)

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[99] On the Hittite and Greek formula, 'He spoke to himself', see Dunkel (1993 106).

Unfortunately, it is impossible to situate this passage in a particular episode of 'Kessi',

because very little of the 'Song of Kessi' has been preserved. (The extant passages present

the story of a hunter who loved his wife too much, see trans. in Hoffner 1998a 87-9.)

Perhaps future excavations at Hattusa will provide new pieces of the story, or of the

'Song of Silver', the story of the boy Silver who finds out his father is a god (see pp. 63-

4), which would reveal new examples of stock scenes with parallels in Greek literature.

Besides the formulae mentioned in note 82, we find a formula shared by the

Hittite 'Gilgamesh', 'Hedammu' and 'Ullikummi', *nu=ši=kan išḫaḫru parā* PA₅.ḪI.A-*uš*

mān aršanzi 'his tears flowed like canals'.[100] McNeill (1963 239) compares *Il.* 16.3 and

9.14: 'Agamemnon stood pouring tears like a black-watered fountain, which pours dark

water down a rock too sheer for goats.' (ἂν δ' Ἀγαμέμνων/ἵστατο δάκρυ χέων ὥς τε

κρήνη μελάνυδρος,/ ἥ τε κατ' αἰγίλιπος πέτρης δνοφερὸν χέει ὕδωρ ... *Il.* 9.13-5)

It is remarkable that three separate SIR₃'s found at Hattusa, the 'Song of Release',

'Gilgamesh' and 'Kumarbi' (with 'Ullikummi' and 'Hedammu'), should have such close

ties to hexametric poetry in the Ionic dialect. This, along with other evidence, argues for

transmission within Anatolia as an important means by which Greek-speakers would

have been made aware of Near Eastern epic. Anatolia is the site of the action of the *Iliad*

and the area in which the Ionicized Homeric dialect was developed. Anatolia is the only

location in which actual transfer across languages of Homeric motifs is found, as attested

by a single line of a Luwian song about Troy found in a Hittite text. Furthermore, a

Mycenean Age ruler of Troy bears the Homeric name of Alaksandu. (See Chapter 2, pp.

43 ff..) Just as Hurrian-speakers brought the SIR₃ genre to Hattusa, priests and cult

performers probably carried back and forth songs from Hattusa to Troy, where Greek-

speakers mingled with Luwian-speakers. We also know that gods were transported from

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[100] 'Ullikummi' KUB XXXIII 113 i 16'-7' (ed.Güterbock 1951), 'Gilgamesh' KUB VIII 48 i 18 (ed.
Laroche 1969 132); 'Hedammu' KBo XIX 112 rev.? 18' lacunose (ed. Siegelová 1971 44).

Lesbos (Lazpa) and Ahhiyawa, and to Mycenae from Assuwa. This would have provided opportunities for the transmission of songs honoring gods to cross linguistic barriers. Besides these attested points of contact, there were opportunities for many more in this part of the eastern Mediterranean, at Miletus, Cyprus, Sardis and Ugarit, for example, where Greek-speakers in the Mycenean period would have had an opportunity to hear and be inspired by the Hurro-Hittite SIR₃ tradition.

The 'Song of Release' lies midway between the broader Near Eastern epic tradition and the Homeric tradition, reworking epic motifs and themes to fit a Hittite context, allowing for narrative sequences that do not occur in the wider Near Eastern tradition, but do appear in Homer. We can pick out various branches of Near Eastern tradition, with the Ugaritic and Hittite in contact with each other and with the Akkadian tradition, which is built on an originally Sumerian tradition, and we can gain a diachronic view of the tradition, seeing how later branches re-used traditional motifs appearing in earlier ones, moving ever closer to Greek epic as the branches developed in locations closer to Greece.[101] The Akkadian 'Gilgamesh' itself borrows and reworks themes and motifs found in the earlier Sumerian literature. Thus, it inverts the oppression by corvée labor theme found in 'Gilgamesh and Akka'; it includes the flood story from a version of 'Atrahasis' (Tigay 1982 214-40); and it uses the creation of man sequence to introduce Enkidu (Tigay 1982 192-7). In the same way, the Hurro-Hittite 'Kumarbi' reuses elements of the succession of gods theme, but also adds new elements, ones found in Hesiod's *Theogony* and other Phoenician books known to the Greeks. We don't have enough of the Hittite version of 'Gilgamesh' to see what degree it was altered, although what we do

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[101] The Hittite 'Elkunirsu and Ashertu', although it has no sister text at Ugarit, contains West Semitic names and a West Semitic plot line (see Hoffner 1998a 90; 1992 with earlier refs.). The contact spread beyond North Syria to Egypt, where Amarna has produced a fragment of a Hittite version of 'Kessi' (EA 341). Also see Chapter 2, pp. 27-8. Wyatt argues that the Ugaritic story 'Aqhat' reuses elements from the argument between Ishtar and Gilgamesh from 'Gilgamesh', which was also found there (1998 275-6, note 116, with earlier refs.).

have shows that it was tailored especially for an audience who resided to the east of Mesopotamia; some parts are abbreviated, while Gilgamesh's trip to the Cedar Mountains was developed at further length. These mountains, after the Old Babylonian period, were thought to lie in the direction of Anatolia, rather than to the east. (Tigay 1982 111-8) The 'Song of Release' re-uses many elements of 'Atrahasis', but moves most of them to the human sphere, most importantly the discussion in the assembly, creating a Homeric scene of two humans arguing before their assembly over the release of servants and the need for compensation, although the significance of this last element is still debatable since we don't know whether Tessub is actually suffering, and if he is, whether it is directly connected to the status of the men of Ikinkalis, or whether providing him with the offerings described would be enough to appease him.

We discussed in the last chapter exactly how Greek epic could have had the opportunity to draw on Anatolian versions of Mediterranean epic, but I will say now that there is no reason to assume that Homer or one of his ancestors directly imitated the 'Song of Release', any more than we should assume that they directly imitated a version of 'Gilgamesh' preserved for us. All these songs are drawing on a common tradition of which only a few examples are preserved, whether from the Mycenean period or from the Archaic period. However, it is safe to surmise that Homeric poets were in contact with an offshoot of the tradition which is particularly close to the SIR_3 tradition at Hattusa.

CHAPTER FOUR

HITTITE AND GREEK PRAYERS

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, a single Hittite prayer will be analyzed and put into the context of

other Hittite prayers to show the development of the various components of Hittite

prayers, which combine Mesopotamian and indigenous Anatolian practices to create

forms of hymnic art that stand midway between the broader Near Eastern tradition and

the Greek tradition, as represented by examples drawn from Ananius, Sappho, and

Aeschylus.[1] Thus, this chapter will be analogous to Chapter Three to some degree, in

which this same process was discussed with reference to the epic tradition. The type of

prayer attested in Hittite could have made its way to Greek-speakers along with

Anatolian cults such as that of the 'Aswiyan Lady' (see pp. 49-50). And, the cult of

Apollo, who was mentioned in the Alaksandu Treaty (see p. 46), could also have been a

conduit for such practices. Or, the connection between the two traditions may not be due

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[1] The Greek material discussed here will be complementary to the materials elucidated by Bremer (1981 204-12), who focuses on prayers relatively untouched by literariness, which were performed as part of cult observances.

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to borrowing; it could be that this type of performance was wide-spread, extending from Anatolia to the northeastern Mediterranean, i.e. mainland Greece, and the earlier attestation in Anatolia is purely due to differential preservation. That is, they may be areal features – characteristic of the eastern Mediterranean cultural area, just as in the present day the post-posed article or the conflation of marriage and death are Balkan areal features extending across linguistic barriers. In fact, Watkins (2001a) has proposed the existence of an Anatolian linguistic area, based on shared linguistic features in Anatolian, East Greek, Hattic and Hurrian. In the previous chapter I argued that as Near Eastern epic approached archaic Greece in space and time, it became more similar to Homeric epic. Another way to view the similarity between Hurro-Hittite epic and Homer is that they reflect the existence of an Anatolian cultural area that extended from the Late Bronze Age into the Archaic period. However, if the correspondences are areal features, this does not lessen their significance, for the utility of the Hittite data is two-fold: on the one hand, it shows that Anatolia was an important conduit by which Near Eastern verbal art – epic, prayers and incantations – reached the Greeks. On the other, the Hittite material represents an earlier, sub-literary tradition that was particularly close to the tradition on which the attested Greek poets drew. It therefore allows us to understand better the playful genius of Sappho or the irony of Aeschylus, to take two authors who will be discussed in the ensuing chapters. In either case, the Hittite verbal performances were ancestors of the traditions with which legendary Greek performers from Lesbos and the Anatolian coast were in contact.[2] Furthermore, Anatolia had a strong influence on the Greek musical tradition in the Archaic period, when Greeks drew on Lydian, Phrygian

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[2] On Lesbos in the Hittite sphere, see pp. 39-40; on the continuity of tradition in Lydia see p. 55. Morris (1997 13) argues that Greek aristocrats in the time of these two poets copied the 'Lydian' way of life, with a fondness for luxury and symposia in which monody was performed, while a second 'middling' group defined themselves against this 'elitist' set, by spurning the example set by the Near East.

and Carian styles of musical performance to worship the gods and sing of personal experiences.[3]

On the other hand, some shared features may be the result of typological factors – i.e. humans generally conceive of the relationship between gods and men in a certain way. This is true both for the use of praise as payment and the use of poetic devices when language is manipulated in ritual. As Tambiah (1968) has shown, the mental processes which Roman Jakobson (1987 (1956)) demonstrated to create metonymy and metaphor also imbue words with power in ritual. It may be objected that the Hittite texts which will be examined in this chapter and the one that follows are mediocre and unpoetic, and thus not comparable to the elegant poetry of Sappho and Aeschylus, but the Hittite texts in their very mediocrity provide a control against which the highly sophisticated poetry of the attested Greek poets can be understood, enabling us to see in action the types of powerful speech from which the Greek poets drew. Furthermore, the Hittite materials are valuable because they frequently provide us with the ritual context for poetry that is missing in the Greek material.

In this chapter the Hittite taxonomy of verbal art, which is based on the functions of words in ritual, will provide the framework of the comparative discussion. On the one hand the categories cut across the traditional lines of 'paean' and 'dithyramb', 'hymn' and 'prayer', 'epic' and 'epinician', 'prayer' and 'incantation'.[4] On the other, they affirm for the

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[3] For details on importations from the Near East through the archaic period see West (1992): on the influence of the Near East in general (387-90); on the possible Near Eastern and specifically Anatolian origins of various types of lyre (49-60), which are repesented in Minoan and Mycenean art (327); on harps (70-2); on types of aulos (81-2, 90-2). 'Phrygian' pipes appear in Minoan art (327); the use of the aulos was considered Phrygian and the Phrygian or Mysian Olympos or the Phrygian Hyagnis/Agnis were considered its originators; the aulos first appears at the end of the 8ᵗʰ cent., a time of close contact with Phrygia and king Midas (331). Both scales and modes had Lydian, Phrygian and Ionian versions (174-5, 177-83); the Lydian mode appears in the beginning of the 7ᵗʰ cent., a time of close contact with Lydia and Croesus (331-2).

[4] For a discussion of ancient theories concerning the genres of song, see Burkert (1994), Rutherford (1995) and Furley (1995 31-2). For an attempt to distinguish hymn and prayer, see Depew (2000). The modern distinction of hymn vs. prayer is that hymns are primarily praise, an artistically worked offering, while prayers make a request (Pulleyn 1997 43-55). Further, hymns involve musical performance, while prayers don't. However (pace Depew), there is no evidence that the ancients consistently followed

most part the analysis of Greek prayer that was first proposed in the beginning of the twentieth century by Ausfeld (1903). The taxonomy is based on the categories set up in the scribes' and performers' own use of verbal substantives to describe their ritual utterances, and my analysis builds on the work of the Hittite scholar Emmanuel Laroche in his 1964 monograph, *La prière hittite: Vocabulaire et typologie.*[5] I do not intend to cover all types of Hittite ritual speech in detail, but I will talk about the following types: *walliyatar*, 'praise' (pp. 139 ff.), *arkuwar*, 'pleading' (pp. 145 ff.), *mukeššar* or *mugawar*, 'invocation' (p. 151 ff.), and *malteššar*, 'request' or 'vow' (pp. 165 ff.). All of these when compared to their Greek counterparts show the similarity of the Greek and Hittite conceptions of the function of speech in ritual. The manipulation of the power of words in ritual which lies behind the poetry of Sappho, Alcaeus and Aeschylus is discussed at pp. 156-60.

The taxonomy proposed by Ausfeld (1903) divided prayers into an opening *invocatio* and a closing *prex* with an intervening *pars epica*. For this scheme Bremer (1981 196) proposed a more transparent nomenclature: 'invocation', 'argument' and 'petition'. Here the section called by Ausfeld and Bremer 'invocation' will be separated into invocation proper which summons the god, and praise which empowers the god, reminding him of his rights and responsibilities. The separate category of 'praise' has the advantage of accommodating both epithets and relative clauses describing the god, and full-blown narratives of previous exploits of the god. Here 'argument' or 'pleading' applies specifically to the mention of quasi-contractual obligations owed by god and worshipper, the conflation between mundane administrative procedures and of prayer which will be

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these distinctions. (See Edzard 1994 19-22 for a discussion of these distinctions with reference to Mesopotamian texts.) On the unity of prayer and incantation, see Furley (1995 40) and Faraone (1999a 134-40). Already Ausfeld (1903) and Schwenn (1927) declined to separate prayer and incantation.

[5] Other works on the taxonomy of Hittite hymns and prayers are Lebrun (1980 414-8) and de Roos (in Sasson 1995 1997-2005 with earlier refs.). I rely heavily on the convenient compendium of Hittite prayers edited and translated by Lebrun (1980).

discussed in detail in Chapter Six. Furthermore, while the category 'petition' simply focuses on the worshipper's needs, the term *maltessar* ('request, vow') encapsulates a complex array of reciprocal actions between the god and the worshipper. This is perhaps the chief insight provided by the Hittite material, and it will be the basis of the discussion of Sappho, Alcaeus and Aeschylus in the following chapter.[6] All the categories bleed into each other, as Furley (1995 45) observes, because all the elements of the prayer are focused on presenting the worshipper's request to the god in the most persuasive way. As he says, this 'underlining [*sic*] unity of purpose' is analogous to that of encomiastic poetry (epinician), which Bundy (1962) demonstrated to be glorification of the victorious athlete. However, the separation into distinct units is still justified, for the persuasion relies on using words in different functions. The fact that the Hittite scribes and performers thought of their prayers as made up of sections performing different functions, mixing and matching the discrete sections, expanding and altering them to address specific purposes, helps to justify the modern critical practice of dividing Greek prayer into discrete sections.

Again, the objective of the comparisons made between Hittite and Greek hymns, prayers and incantations is two-fold: 1) to show that the Hittite material is indeed closer to Greek poetry than other Near Eastern material is; 2) to provide a baseline against which the innovations of Greek poetry can be measured. While this chapter will primarily address the first objective, the following chapter will focus on interpreting passages from Sappho, Alcaeus and Aeschylus in the light of the Hittite material.

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[6] My categories of 'praise' and 'invocation' are analyzed differently by Morrison. While Morrison (1991 47) separates the use of an invocatory word such as κλῦθι from the 'invocation of a god by name or distinctive epithet', he lists together '[m]ention of past service to the god, or by the god'. The former falls into my 'pleading' while the latter is part of my 'praise', but sometimes corresponds with my category of 'pleading'; that is, the categorization of narratives depends on whether they are meant to demonstrate the tit-for-tat contract entered into by worshipper and god ('pleading') or meant to empower the god by reminding him of his deeds, serving as an exemplum which he should imitate ('praise'). A myth 'may establish a precedent, or it may seek to work actively' (Furley 1995 46; also see Cameron 1939 2-3).

4.2. The Daily Prayer of Mursili II to Telipinu

The Hittite text which is the focus of this chapter is a New Hittite prayer commissioned by King Mursili II to be performed daily to his personal god, the Hattic storm and agriculture god Telipinu. The framework of CTH 377, which is quite well-preserved, is made up of sections based on traditional motifs and types of ritual speech found separately in other contexts, derived on the one hand from indigenous Anatolian practices and on the other influenced by Mesopotamian forms. Several prayers sponsored by Mursili have been preserved, all of which – as far as can be ascertained – are based on the same structure as this particular prayer, CTH 377, although these other versions may be addressed to a different god or gods, and different sections are expanded or contracted.[7] All these prayers evolved from the prayers to the Sun-god (Lebrun 1980 431-40), which in turn were based on Mesopotamian models (see pp. 140-1), by the addition of other types of verbal performances meant to influence the gods.[8]

This prayer displays four types of ritual speech, *walliyatar* 'praise', *mukeššar* 'invocation', *arkuwar* 'defense', and *malteššar* 'request, vow', the first three of which are explicitly labeled in the prayer, either with the verbal noun or with a finite form of the verb. I present a transcription and translation of most of the prayer, followed by an

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[7] The framework presented here was also the basis for Mursili's plague prayers (CTH 378, ed. Lebrun 1980 192-239) and a prayer for the Sun-goddess of Arinna (CTH 376, ed. Lebrun 1980 155-79), which exists in six parallel or identical versions, some concerning the plague (A, B, C, D), and another concerning the health of Mursili's wife Gassuliyawiya (F). Two versions of CTH 376 are covered by Gurney (1940). Gurney's C and D are Lebrun's A and C; Lebrun's B is discussed as fragment 2156/g by Gurney, see Lebrun (1980 155). Gurney also discusses the two versions of the 'Daily Prayer to Telipinu' (CTH 377, Gurney's A and B) with CTH 376. We use Lebrun's classification here. The queen Gassuliyawiya has another separate prayer devoted to her (CTH 380). Yet another plague prayer from the reign of Mursili II, CTH 379 (ed. Lebrun 1980 240-7) is too poorly preserved to make use of here. Of the six versions of CTH 376, one (version C) actually predates Mursili II, and was written down in the Middle Hittite period on an early occasion of the plague introduced by Egyptian prisoners of war in the reign of Suppiluliuma I, during which the surrounding lands took the opportunity to rebel (Gurney 1940 8-9).

[8] Gurney (1940) also analyzed CTH 376 and 377 as made up of discrete sections that could be mixed and matched: 'invocation', 'hymn of praise and prayer for blessing', 'plague prayer', an analysis of which Güterbock (1958 237-8) approved. Houwink ten Cate (1969 82) also divided the royal prayers into similar sections. Houwink ten Cate (1969 88) analyzes the dependence of CTH 376 A on earlier versions, including the prayer of Arnuwanda and Asmunikal (discussed below, pp. 145-7) and the 'Hymns to the Sun-god'.

analysis of the development of its structure from its constituent parts, derived from

traditional ritual speech types.

B obv. 1[*ki*] = *kan TUPPI* DUB.SAR *ANA* DINGIR-*LIM anda* U₄-*at* U₄-*at memiški*[=*i*]
[*nu* DINGI]R-*LAM walliški*=*i*

ᵈ*Telipinuš šarkuš nakkiš* DINGIR-*uš* =*ik*
uiyat = *mu* ᵐ*Muršīli* LUGAL-*uš tuēl* ARAD-*KA* MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš* = *a*
5   *tuēl* GÉME-*KA uiēr īt* = *wa* ᵈ*Telipinun*
an=el EN-*NI* DINGIR-*LAM ŠA* SAG.DU-*NI mugai*

nu = =*a* = *kan mān nakkiš* ᵈ*Telipinuš šer nepiši*
DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš ištarna mān aruni našma ANA* ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ
wahanna pān=a našma = =*a INA* KUR ᴸᵁKUR =*ahhiya pān=a*

10   *kinuna* = *tta šane==iš waršulaš* ᴳᴵˢERIN-*an=a* I₃-*an=a*
kallišdu n = *ašta* EGIR-*pa* ᴱ*karimni* = *tti anda ehu*
nu = *tta kāša mukiškimi* ᴺᴵᴺᴰᴬ*haršit* ᴰᵁᴳ*išpandu=it*
nu = *ššan parā kalānkan=a ēš nu* = *tta kuit*
memiškimi nu = *mu* DINGIR-*LUM ištamanan lagān hark n* = *at i*[(*štamaški*)]

15   =*ik* = =*a* ᵈ*Telipinuš nakkiš* DINGIR-*LIM-iš nu* = *tta* DINGIR-*LIM-YA*
<<*U*>> É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ *INA* KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*ḪATTI* = *pat tašnuwan namma* = *ma* = *tt*[*a*]
ʳ*tamē*ˈ*dani* KUR-*e UL kuwapikki ēš=i*
[(*nu* = *tta* E)]ZEN₄.ḪI.A SÍSKUR.ḪI.A *INA* KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*ḪATTI* = *pat parkui*
[(*šuppi piš*]ʳ*kan=i*)ˈ *namma* = *tta tamēdani*
[(*utnē UL kuw*ʳ*apik*ˈ)]*ki piškan=i*
        KUB XXIV 2 obv. 1-20, filled in with KUB XXIV 1 i 1-24 (ed. Lebrun 1980
181-2; Gurney 1940 16-8)

A i 25   É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ-*ta parku*⁹ *IŠT*[*U* KU₃.(BABBAR GUŠKIN ʳ*unuwanta*ˈ)]
INA KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*ḪATTI*-ʳ*pat*ˈ[*ēš=i namma* = *ma* = *tta*]¹⁰
tamēdani K[UR-*e U*(*L kuwapikki*) *ēš=i*]
        KUB XXIV 1 i 25-7, filled in with KUB XXIV 1 i 21-2 (ed. Lebrun 1980 182;
Gurney 1940 18)

A ii 1   [GAL].ḪI.A = *ta BIBRI*-ḪI.A KU₃.BABBAR GUŠKIN NA₄.[ḪI.A]
[*I*]*NA* KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*ḪATTI*-*pat ēš=i*
EZEN.ḪI.A-*i* = *tta* EZEN ITU EZEN.ḪI.A MU-*aš mēanaš*
gimmantaš hamišhandaš
=*enandaš auliuš mukišnašš* = *a*
5   EZEN.MEŠ *INA* KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*ḪATTI* = *pat ēš=i*
namma = *ma* = *tta tamēdani* KUR <<URU>> *UL*
kuwapikki ēššan=i

ʳ*nu tu*ˈ*el* ʳ*ŠA*ˈ ᵈ*Telipinu* DINGIR.MEŠ-*tar* [*INA* KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*ḪATTI* = *pat*]
[*nakkiyahh*]*an nu* = *tta* = *kkan* ᵐ*Murš*[*iliš* LUGAL-*uš* ARAD-*KA*]
10   [MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš* = *a* GÉME-*KA*] ʳ*U* DUMU.MEŠˈLUGAL A[RAD.MEŠ-*KA*]
[*INA* KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*ḪATTI* = *pat nahhanteš* ...]¹¹

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⁹ A hearer's error for *parkui IŠTU* 'pure from....', as suggested by Hoffner (personal
communication).

¹⁰ Filled in from CTH 376 C = KUB XXIV 3 i 13.

¹¹ Text in breaks restored primarily on the basis of parallels from KUB XXIV 3 i 21-3.

A ii 20 [*zik* = *za* ᵈ*Tel*]*ipinuš nakkiš* DINGIR-*LIM*-*iš*
[*nu* = *ta* = *kkan* ŠUM]-*an* ŠUM.ḪI.A-*aš ištarna*<<*š*>> *nakki*[12]
...

KUB XXIV 1 ii 1-21 (Lebrun 1980 182; Gurney 1940 18-20)

The rest of this section is fragmentary; we pick up the hymn in the third column of A.

A iii 5'   [TI-*tar ŠA* EGI]R UD-*mi ḫaddulatar* MU.KAM.ḪI.A GÍD.DA
[*innarawatar*] *peški nu* = *šmaš* = *kan* ANA ZI-*ŠUNU anda*
[*lalu*]*kkiman dušgaradann* = *a*
[*zikki*   ]

[*nu* = *šma*]*š* ꞌDUMUꞌ.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ *ḫaššuš ḫanzaššuš peški*
10'   [*nu* =]*šmaš nūn tummantiyan peški*
ꞌ*nu*ꞌ = *šmaš ḫalkiyaš* ᴳᴵˢGEŠTIN-*aš ŠA* GU₄ UDU
DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU = *ya mīyata peški*
nu = *šmaš* LÚ-*aš tarḫūilin parā ne*ꞌ*ya*ꞌ[*ntan*]
ᵈ·ᴳᴵˢTUKUL-*in peški nu* = *šmaš* KUR KUR ᴸᵁKÚR
15'   ŠAPAL GÌR.MEŠ-*ŠUNU zikki n* = *at in*[*narā ḫarganuwandu*]

IŠTU KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*ḪATTI* = *ma* = *kan īdalun ta*[*paššan*]
ḫinkan kaštan māšann = *a a*[*rḫa wiya*]

nu KUR.KUR.ḪI.A ᴸᵁKÚR *kue šullanta*
ḫaršallanta kueš = *kan šer* ANA ᵈ*Telipinu*
20'   *U* ANA DINGIR.MEŠ ᵁᴿᵁ*ḪATTI* UL *naḫḫanteš*
kuedaš[13] = *ma* = *z šumenzan* É.ḪI.A DINGIR.MEŠ-*KUNU*
arḫa warnummanzi ilališkanzi
KUB XXIV 1 iii 5-22. with Gurney's restorations based on parallel passages (ed.
Gurney 1940 22, 32; Lebrun 1980 183)

B rev. 6   *kueš* = *ma* ꞌ*BIBRI*-ḪI.A GAL.ḪI.Aꞌ [*UNŪTE*-MEŠ]
KU₃.BABBAR GUŠKIN *danna šanḫiškanzi kueš*[(= *ma* = *aš* = *za* A.ŠA₃ A.GAR₃-
KUNU)]
ᴳᴵˢKIRI₆.GEŠTIN ᴳᴵˢKIRI₆.KIRI₆ ᴳᴵˢTIR *dannataḫḫūwan*[(*zi*) *šanḫišk*]*izzi*

kuieš = *ma* = *aš* = *za* LÚ.MEŠ APIN.LÁ ᴸᵁ·ᴹᴱˢNU.ᴳᴵˢK[IRI₆.GEŠTIN (ᴸᵁ·ᴹᴱˢNU.
ᴳᴵˢKIRI₆.KIRI₆ MUNUS.MEŠ ᴺ)]ᴬⁱARA₃
danna šanḫiškanzi nu idalun tapašš[(*an*) *ḫink*]*an*   —
kaštann = *a* BURU₅.ḪI.A-*ya apēdaš* ANA ꞌKUR.KURꞌ[.ḪI.A] ꞌᴸᵁKÚR *pai*ꞌ

ANA LUGAL = *ma* MUNUS.LUGAL DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL *U* ANA KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*ḪATTI*
TI-*tar ḫattul*[(*atar*)]
ꞌ*inna*ꞌ*rawatar* MU.KAM GÍD.DA EGIR U₄-*MI dušgarattann* = *a* ꞌ*peški*ꞌ
...

KUB XXIV 2 rev. 5-13. filled in with KUBXXIV 1 iv 3-11 (ed Gurney 1940
32; Lebrun 1980 184)

A iv 16   *nu šeššauwaš*[14] ꞌIMꞌ.ḪI.A-*uš iy*[(*antar*)*u*]

---

nu INA KUR ^{URU}*HATᵗTI* māu šeʳšdu¹
nu pankuš apāt ēšdu ḫalzāi
       (ed. Gurney 1940 34; Lebrun 1980 184)

TUP-1-PU QĀTI ^{LU}DUB.SAR=*za* GIM-*an*
20   *ANA* LUGAL *šer PĀNI* ^d*Telipinu*
    U₄.KAM-*tili arkuwar ēššai*
        KUB XXIV 1 iv 16-21 (ed. Gurney 1940 36; Lebrun 1980 184)

B obv. 1 The scribe shall rea[d] [this] tablet each day for the god.
      [And] he shall praise the [go]d.

      Oh Telipinu, you are a great and important god.
      Mursili, the king, your servant sent me, and the queen
5   your maidservant sent (me). 'Go and invoke Telipinu,
      our lord, the god of our person.'

      Now, if you, oh important Telipinu, are above in heaven,
      among the gods; if you have gone to roam in the sea or the mountains,
      or if you have gone into the enemy land to battle,

10   now let the fine scent, cedar and oil
      call you. Come back into your temple.
      I am calling you right now with thick bread and libations.
      Be appeased fully.¹³ What, oh god,
      I am speaking to you – hold your ear inclined to me – keep listening to it.

15   You, oh Telipinu, are an important god. For you, oh my god,
      temples are well-built in Hatti alone. Furthermore,
      there are none for you in any other land at all.
      They continually give feasts and sacrifices for you in Hatti alone which are pure
      and consecrated. Furthermore in no other
20   land do they continually give them to you.

A i 25 [There are] pure temples for you, ornamented with silver and gold,
      in the land of Hatti alone. [Furthermore for you there are]
      none in any other land.

A ii 1 There are cups and libation-vessels of silver, gold and stone for you
      in Hatti alone.
      For you there are festivals, the monthly festival, the seasonal festivals,
      of winter, spring,
      autumn, sacrificial animals and festivals of evocation
5   in the land of Hatti alone.
      Furthermore, there are none for you
      in any other land at all.

      Your divinity, oh Telipinu, [in Hatti alone]
      [is resp]ected. Murs[ili the king, your servant,]
10   [and the queen, your maidservant,] and the children of the king, [your serv]ants,
      [are respectful in the land of Hatti alone...]
      ...

20   [You, o Tel]ipinu, are an important god.
      [Your nam]e is important among names.
      ...

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¹⁵*nu=ššan parā kalankānza ēs*: intransitive common gender nominative participle *kalank-ānza*.
The local particle *-šan* 'on' and the adverb *parā* 'forth' usually emphasize an action occurring in space, but here the adverb seems to create a perfective aspect. (Also see CHD P 126.)

The rest of this section is fragmentary; we pick up the hymn in the third column of A.

A iii 5' Keep giving [life into] the future, health, long years and
[vigor]. [Keep putting] radiance and joy in their souls for them.

Keep giving [to the]m male children, female children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren.
10' Keep giving them 'contentment' and (acute) hearing.
Keep giving them abundance of grain, grapes, cattle, sheep, and people.
Keep giving them the manly
victorious divine weapon.
Keep placing the lands of the enemy
15' under their feet for them. [Let them destroy] them [at will].

And from the land of Hatti [send awa]y evil f[ever],
plague, famine, and locusts.

Those lands of the enemy which are discontented
and angry; some are not respectful towards Telipinu
20' and the gods of Hatti;
others wish to burn up your houses of the gods;

B rev. 6 others seek to take the libation-vessels, cups and tools
of silver and gold; others [see]k to lay waste your fields and
fallow,
vineyards, gardens and groves;

10 still others seek to take for themselves the ploughmen, v[ineyar]d workers,
gardeners and women of the grindstone;
give to those enemy lands evil fever, plague
and famine and locusts!

but, to the king, the queen, the children of the king and the land of Hatti give life and
health.
...

A iv 16 Let winds of prosperity come.
In the land of Hatti let it thrive and prosper.
The entire company cries, 'Let it be so!'

One tablet, (the prayer is) complete. When the scribe,
on behalf of the king, before Telipinu
daily makes a pleading.

4.3. Praise

The hymn opens with a very brief section praising the god (cf. B obv. 2

walliškizzi), the *walliyatar*, which is based on Mesopotamian models.[16] The praise is not

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[16] Cf. CTH 372 'Hymn to Sun-god', KUB XXXI 127 iii 37' 'I praise you my god.' (ed. Güterbock 1958; Lebrun 1980 100) (lacunose passage). In CTH 422, KUB IV 1 i 17-8 (ed. von Schuler 1965 168)

just a form of payment, but also empowers the god to act by 'saying makes it so' (Ausfeld

1903 517-22; Versnel 1981 50-62). With the *walliyatar* the worshipper reminds the god

of his divine attributes which the worshipper wishes to see put to work for him, as well as

the god's right or obligation to take the lead in this matter. In the 'Daily Prayer to

Telipinu', the worshipper opens his prayer by reminding the god, 'Telipinu you are great

and important.' (B obv. 3) This brief phrase is derived from the much more extensive

praise of the god to whom the worshipper appeals, found in the earlier prayers CTH 372-

4, the 'Hymns to the Sun-god', personal prayers used for illness and other personal

calamities which remind the god in great detail of his power and abilities: [17]

> In the circumference of heav[en] and [ea]rth you alone,
> oh Sun-god, are the radiance. Oh Sun-god, powerful king,
> son of Ningal, you alone establish the custom and law of the earth,
> Oh Sun-god, great king. Among the gods you alone
> are celebrated. To you alone the strong anchor rope is given.
> You are the just lord of governance.
> You are the mother and father of the dark earth.

While in these prayers the economic transaction of prayer as payment is not

explicit, examples from other prayers can be multiplied. In his prayer to the underworld

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walliški- is opposed to *tepnu-* 'belittle, disparage': 'The enemy keeps praising their own force and strength, and belittles you, the gods'. CTH 717 'Hymn to Ishtar/Sauska', KUB XXIV 7 i 22 (ed. Lebrun 1980 403; Güterbock 1997 (1983)a 66) *wallaḫḫi* 'I praise', etc. The hymn is influenced by Mesopotamian hymns, and the Hurrian influence is revealed by the Hurrian name for Ishtar. Compare perhaps to CTH 717 the 'Agushaya Poem' (trans. Foster 1993 81-91), which begins 'Let me praise ...', but describes the excessive violence of Ishtar, in a similar vein to CTH 717. More citations in Lebrun (1980 442-3). Also see Laroche (1964 27-9) and de Roos in Sasson (1995 2001-2) for discussions of *walliyatar*. We have another Hittite hymn mentioning praise (KUB XXXI 141 obv. 3) which is a direct translation of an Akkadian hymn, the 'Great Prayer to Ishtar'. This is found at Hattusa in Hittite and Akkadian. (Güterbock and Reiner 1967) The best preserved version of the Akkadian prayer is a Neo-Babylonian ŠU.IL.LA ('raising the hand', a type of propitiatory prayer) (see trans. in Foster 1993 503-9).

[17] *nepiš[aš] taknašš=a ḫūlalešni zik=pat*
ᵈUTU-uš [(la)]*lukimaš* ᵈUTU-*e šarkui* LUGAL-*ue*
DUMU ᵈNIN.GAL *udniyandaš šaklain*
išḫiūl zik=pat ḫante[i]škiši ᵈUTU-*i*
šarku LUGAL-*ue* DINGIR.MEŠ-*naš=kan iš<tar>na zik=pat*
ʳ*ašnu¹anza dāššu iš[ḫi]šša tuk=pat piyan*
ḫandānza maniy[aḫ]ḫayaš išḫaš zi[k]
dankuwayaš KUR-*e[aš a]ttaš annaš zi[k]*

   CTH 372 A = KUB XXXI 127 i 14-21, filled in with KUB XXXI 129 obv. 3 (ed. Lebrun 1980 94)

goddess Lelwani for his queen Gassuliyawiya (CTH 380), Mursili II says, 'Further, let her be cured, and in the future the princess will proceed to praise you, the god, and call your name.' (KBo IV 6 obv. 18'-20', ed. Lebrun 1980 249; Tischler 1981 12); and in CTH 382, Muwatalli ways to Tessub of Kummanni: 'let it be satiety for h^{r}um^{l}ans, but for Tessub, my lord, [let it be] glo[ry]' (KBo XI 1 rev. 21', ed. Houwink ten Cate 1967 110; Lebrun 1980 299). In another example outside of the hymns, CTH 414 A 'Foundation Ritual for a Palace' = KUB XXIX 1 i 26 (ed. Kellerman 1980 11), the king continually praises the Storm-god in return for the favor the god has shown him. (Also see pp. 148-50.)

The 'Hymns to the Sun-god' are among the oldest Hittite prayers we have and are the closest to their Mesopotamian prototypes (Güterbock 1958; Lebrun 1980 424), such as the Akkadian 'Hymn to Shamash' (see trans. in Foster 1993 531- 9) and the 'Poem of the Righteous Sufferer' (although this particular poem is only attested after the Hittite prayer in question, see trans. in Foster 1993 308-23).[18] Yet, the precursors of all the elements of the later prayers such as CTH 377 may be found in the 'Hymns to the Sun-god', although none of them are named. Besides the praise based on Mesopotamian models we find an attempt to impel the god's movement like that which motivates the *mugawar* and logical reasoning like that of the *arkuwar*; the plea for health is analogous to the plea for prosperity of the *mallessar*.[19] The worshipper reminds the god of the past history of the relationship between worshipper and god, in which the god has always

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[18] In CTH 376 A, 'Hymn to the Sun-goddess of Arinna', a more extensive passage of praise draws on the same phrasing as this hymn to the Sun-god, and in CTH 376 A it is clear that the praise has been borrowed wholesale from the Mesopotamian-influenced hymns to the Sun-god (i.e. Hattic Istanu), for the goddess is given the title 'lord' (EN) instead of 'lady' (GAŠAN, cf. 35, 47) (Gurney 1940 10; Güterbock 1958 237, 244).

[19] CTH 372 (ed. Lebrun 1980 93-111; also see Güterbock 1958), in a Middle Hittite copy with Old Hittite features (see ref. in Lebrun 1980 93), is the best-preserved of the three versons of the 'Hymn to the Sun-god'. It is this version that the discussion here is based upon. The 'Hymn to the Sun-god' was adapted in Middle Hittite times for a man named Kantuzzili (CTH 373 'Kantuzzili's Prayer', ed. and trans. Lebrun 1980 111-20), probably the brother of Suppiluliuma I (Güterbock 1958 238 with earlier refs.). Marazzi and Novicki (1978) compare in detail the three versions of CTH 372-4.

supported him. The worshipper points out that he would have a cause for grievance, if he should suffer from the illness of this life even after death; besides, life wouldn't be worth living forever if he were suffering. He pleads innocence and asks the god to tell him his sin, stressing that he has tried to find out what sin he has committed, but was unable to discover it. He dwells on his suffering, then declares that he is making offerings at that moment to the Sun-god's horses. (The implication is that the god has arrived or is about to arrive by chariot.) He reminds the god that he consistently makes offerings and therefore deserves the god's attention. While the Akkadian 'Poem of the Righteous Sufferer' speaks of the suffering and inquiries of the speaker as events in the past, resolved finally by the attention of the god, which is being repaid by the song now being performed, in the Hittite hymn the speaker is still suffering, and attempts to attract the god's attention with the hymn, promising him further worship if the god shows the speaker favor. This brings it into line with Greek prayer which offer simple thanks relatively rarely (Ausfeld 1903 509 with earlier refs.; although Versnel 1981 with earlier refs. makes clear that thankful prayers are not absent from the record; and see Pulleyn 1997 39-55). As Güterbock (1958 249) says concerning CTH 372-4:[20]

[a]s a whole the composition does not have an exact parallel in Babylonian literature. It may be called a free composition for which the Hittite poet has taken a great deal of inspiration from Babylonia. He has made free use of these borrowed motifs, mixing them with others that are Hittite, and has thus produced a work of literature that, in spite of some rather clumsy repetitions, is not without force.

The use of praise as a form of currency to pay the gods and the dead for their services was certainly widespread in the ancient world.[21] Comparisons between the Greek

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[20] Also see de Roos (Sasson 1995 2001-2) on how the Hittites directly translated some Mesopotamian hymns, adapted others and reworked parts of older Hittite prayers into new ones.

[21] Ancient Greek poetry may be conceptualized as divided into two contrasting types, praise and blame, a division that can be traced back to Indo-European society (Gentili 1988 107-14; Nagy 1999a 222-42). The function of praise in Vedic is very similar to use of praise in the Mediterranean, indicating that the role of praise in inducing a desired action is a typological similarity. Nagy (1979 253-4), speaking of Vedic, points out: 'In the human sphere, the craft of song glorifies valor or generosity; in the divine sphere,

and Hittite conceptions of the function of praise are therefore primarily of typological

interest, although the specific form of praise for heroes may have been borrowed by the

Greeks, as evinced by the striking similarities between the stories told of Gilgamesh, the

first Mesopotamian hero to receive widespread veneration, and those told of the Homeric

heroes Achilles and Odysseus; and the correspondences between the 'Song of Kumarbi'

and Hesiod's *Theogony* (see pp. 10-1). For, praise can take forms other than glorious

epithets, such as mythic narratives in the third person set in the past.[22] In the opening

lines of the Hittite version of 'Gilgamesh', for example, the poet describes himself as

praising the hero Gilgamesh: ʳwa-al-laˀ-[aḫ-ḫi-]ʳya-an ᵈGˀ[ILGAMEŠ-un]/ ʳURˀ.SAG-in

'I [pr]ai[se] him, G[ilgamesh]/ the hero.' (KUB VIII 57 i 1-2, ed. Laroche 1969 121) (see

Lebrun 1980 443 with earlier refs.)[23]

Although the verb *walliya-* doesn't appear in any extant examples, there are other

stories about both gods and dead heroes whose settings indicate that narratives

commemorating their deeds, like other forms of praise, were considered to be a form of

payment for services rendered, which concomitantly reminded the gods of their duties

and empowered them by remembering their past deeds which the worshipper hoped they

---

it praises gods for their cosmic functions because divine performance depends on praise.' It is worth
quoting in full his note 25:

> For the psychology of praising a god in order to cause him to perform his function, compare this
> statement by Gonda (1959 189): 'These descriptions [of the gods] are mainly "praise", that is:
> "confirmations" of divine power, consolidations of that power, strengthening of the divine being,
> expression of the poet's belief in the existence and efficacy of the qualities traditionally ascribed to
> it. By praising the god the poet added to the latter's power, influenced his abilities for the benefit
> of his patrons and of mankind in general, and determined these to some result or other. The oft-
> recurring statements that a definite god has definite qualities are therefore no embellishment, no
> mere adornment, no ... beautiful superfluity.'

This conception of praise as payment for services rendered is found in Akkadian, cf. CAD *dalīlu*'praise'.

[22] Nagy (1990b 150) says about the Greek material, 'in epic the praise takes place by the very
process of narrating the deeds of heroes, predominantly in the third person.'

[23] The opening of the 'Song of Release', which belongs to the same Hurro-Hittite genre (see pp.
115 ff.), describes the poet's performance similarly, but in Hurrian: *tal=m=ašt=i=l=e šī[dūr=i]/ nigr=i
eše=nē=vi Āllā[n=i]* 'I shall exalt the la[dy]/ at the Doorbolt of the Earth, Alla[ni].' (KBo XXXII 11 i 2-3
ed. Neu 1996a 406) For further discussion of the proemium of the 'Song of Release', see pp. 60 ff..

would now equal. Thus, Killa, the *gudu* priest of the Storm-god of Nerik, introduces in this way the Illuyanka myth (CTH 321), which tells the story of the Storm-god's fight against a serpent:[24]

> Thus Kill[a the GUDU-priest] of the Storm-god of Nerik:
> The word of the *purulli* festival of the Storm god [ ], how it is:
> They speak as follows:
>
> 'Let the land flourish and prosper. Let the land
> be protected.' If
> it flourishes and prospers, they perform the *purulli* festival.
>
> When the Storm-god and Illuyanka
> came into conflict in Kiskillussa...

The story of the fight between the Storm-god and the snake Illuyanka is told during the celebration of the *purulli* festival at the new year, commemorating the legendary deed of the Storm-god, when he triumphed over the evil snake. Similarly, the story of Apollo's fight with the snake Pytho, told in the *Hymn to Pythian Apollo*, became a focal point in the musical contests of the Pythian games during the sixth century (West 1992 212-4).[25] Thus, in this case not only does the narrative form of praise serve the same function in Greek as in Hittite, but the narrative itself follows the same pattern, just as the same stories found in Hittite SIR$_3$'s, told to honor the gods and heroes, appear in their Greek

---

[24] *UMMA* ^{m}*Kill*[a ^{LÚ}GUDU${}_{12}$] ^{d}U ^{URU}*Nerik* (filled in using the colophon, KBo III 7 iv 30)
nepišaš ^{d}IM[x] x-[n]a
purulliyaš uttar nu mān
kiššan taranzi

udni ꞊ wa māu šesdu nu ꞊ wa udnē
pahšanuwan ešdu nu mān
mai šešzi nu EZEN *purulliyaš*
iyanzi

mān ^{d}IM-*aš* ^{MUŠ}*Illuyankašš ꞊ a*
INA ^{URU}*Kiškilušša argati*[y]*ēr*
     KBo III 7 i 1-10 (ed. Laroche 1969 6)

[25] The Hittite myth of the slaying of a dragon or snake has Indo-European origins and is discussed in detail in Watkins (1995a); also see the introduction, p. 9.

equivalents.[26] Furthermore, the tradition of telling a story concerning a god or hero, found for example in Pindar's hymns and epinicians, has its roots in this theory that praise is a form of payment.[27]

In ancient Greece, Homeric verse glorified dead heroes in epic and praised the gods in the hymns. Like Homeric epic, the Homeric Hymns also tell stories set in the past about the gods they praise.[28] Both heroes and gods were also celebrated in lyric compositions preserved for us mostly in fragments by such authors as Alcman, Stesichorus, Bacchylides and Pindar. The latter two poets are best remembered for their epinician or victory odes, in which forms of praise poetry originally applied only to gods and heroes were turned to a new purpose, to celebrate live athletes. The stories of gods and heroes that appeared in their epinician poetry were turned to a new purpose, to deflect any *pthonos* or envy that might be aroused by the use of such praise for live men (Burnett 1985 48-9; Race 1986 24-5), and produce parallels that subtly aggrandized the recipient, but this new use was derived from one of the original ritual-based functions of myth.

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[26] The myth of the Storm-god of Lihzina (CTH 331) could be another example of praising gods to impel them to action by describing their past deeds. It is appended to a ritual to cure eye disease, but with no explanation of its use. On the obverse appears a familiar narrative of locking blood, demons and other evils in copper vessels with lead lids, under the sea, to remove and trap whatever afflicts the patient (see p. 193). On the reverse begins a story about the Storm-god Tarhunt, how he destroyed and then replanted the city Lihzina. In the eighth year he meets eight of his divine sons and recounts his deeds. When the tablet breaks off, there is mention of ritual pits and the sons gather cattle, sheep and humans. While it has been suggested that this is a 'disappeared god' story, Groddek (1999) convincingly interprets the story as focusing on the destruction of Lihzina as a great deed of Tarhunt. Compare the suggestion by Furley (1993 103-4) that the story of Apollo and Pytho was used as a healing incantation involving the wordplay *puthomai* 'to stink' and *punthanomai* 'to perceive'. As in the examples mentioned by Tambiah (1968 177), the monster embodies the disease which the healer attempts to defeat by means of the incantation.

[27] The same phenomenon is found in Sumerian and Akkadian. The story of Geme-Sin the Cow-Maiden, which was used in birth rituals, in both Sumerian and Akkadian, is discussed in Bachvarova (2002).

[28] Foley's study of some narrative sequences shared by the Homeric Hymns and Homeric epic show the common origin of the two supposedly separate genres (Foley 1997 151-3), and Clay (1989 4-6) lays out the evidence internal to the Homeric texts that narratives about gods were rated on the same level as narratives about heroes and were performed in the same contexts.

4.4. Pleading

We move from the Hittite prayers closely based on Mesopotamian models to more characteristically Hittite prayers, in which the speech type *arkuwar* 'response, defense, pleading' begins to come to the fore. This corresponds to some degree to Ausfeld's *'pars epica'* (1903 525-36) and Bremer's 'argument' (1981 196 ff.). In this section the worshipper reviews the past history of his relationship with his patron god, warning him of the consequences he would incur if his worshippers were unable to continue his attendance. The entire genre of prayer called the *arkuwar* drew on tropes and arguments based on the Hittite mundane judicial system.[29] Almost all Hittite ritual speeches have some element of *arkuwar* in them, drawing on the real-life procedural language of the justice system in order to establish some set of ground rules on which human-god relations can be based. (For more discussion of this, see pp. 210 ff.) Here the word's power comes from 'rational', 'logical' persuasion of the gods through convincing argument. The god addressed is either the judge himself, or an intercessor, or a procedural witness.

Some rational arguments were presented in CTH 372, 'the 'Hymn to the Sun-god', as the worshipper reminded the god of their past reciprocal relationship of patron and protegé, and discussed the problem of living a life of suffering. The rational arguments were expanded in the the Middle Hittite prayer of Arnuwanda and Asmunikal, CTH 375 (ed. Lebrun 1980 132-54; von Schuler 1965 152-67), and focused on larger scale actions and consequences to the gods and their worshippers. Although the term *arkuwar* does not appear in the extant portion of this prayer, and the colophon has an unfortunate lacuna where the genre of the prayer is mentioned, it is likely that this was the first extant prayer

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[29] Melchert (1998) attempts to argue that *arkuwai-* did not originally mean specifically 'response', but more generally 'make a plea'. He agrees with those who relate it to Latin *arguo*, from PIE *argu-yé/ó-* and separates it from a verb *arku-* 'solemnly intone', referring to choral song. I prefer to retain the originally postulated unity of the two verbal acts, seeing them as both meaning 'respond'. Also see HED A 148-51 for more etymological suggestions.

to be called an *arkuwar*.[30] The king and queen argue that the Hittites take the best care of the gods, but the Kaskean enemy is preventing the servants of the gods from serving them properly by oppressing them with *šaḫḫan* and *luzzi* (taxes and corvée labor?):[31]

No one had held reverence for your ... in this way. No one had paid attention to the goods, the gold, the silver, the libation vessels, the clothes of you gods like us.

Which statues of you gods are of silver and of gold, what on a god's body was old, and which tools of the gods were old, them no one had renewed like us.

Furthermore no one had held reverence in this way in the matter of the purity of your ritual. No one had celebrated your daily, monthly and seasonal sacrifices and festivals in this way.

Furthermore, they kept oppressing the maidservants, the servants and the cities of you, the gods with *šaḫḫan* and *luzzi*. They kept taking the servants and maidservants of you, the gods. They kept turning them into their own servants and maidservants.

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[30] CTH 377, the 'Daily Prayer of Mursili II to Telipinu', is the first to preserve the appellation *arkuwar* in its colophon (KUB XXIV 1 iv 21). See full citations and discussion in Lebrun (1980 426-31), Laroche (1964 13-20), de Roos (Sasson 1995 1999-2000) and Houwink ten Cate (1969).

[31] ...
nu=š[maš=šan ...M]EŠ-K[UN]U naḫšarattan
kiššan U[L kuiški t]iyan ḫarta
nu=za šumenzan ŠA [DINGIR.MEŠ] āššu KU₃.BABBAR GUŠKIN BIBRI-ḪI.A
TÚG.ḪI.A anzel iw[a]r EGIR-an UL kuiški
kappüwan ḫarta

namma š[u]menzan DINGIR.MEŠ-aš kue ALAM.ḪI.A-KUNU ŠA KU₃.BABBAR GUŠKIN
nu=ššan [k]uedani DINGIR-LIM-ni kuit tuēkki=šši
anda uizz[ap]an DINGIR.MEŠ-ša kue UNŪTE.MEŠ uizzapanta __
n=at anz[ē]l iwar EGIR-pa UL kuiški
neuwaḫḫan[n ḫart]a

namma=šmaš=ša[n SÍ]SKUR-aš parkuiyannaš uddanī
naḫšaratt[a]n kiššan UL kuiški tiyan ḫarta
nu=šmaš U₄-aš ITU-[a]š MU-ti meyaniyaš SÍSKUR.ḪI.A
EZEN.ḪI.A kiššan šarā UL kuiški
tittanuwan ḫarta

namma ŠA DINGIR.MEŠ SAG.GÉME ARAD.MEŠ-KUNU UR[(U.DIDLI.ḪI.A-K)]U[N]U
šaḫḫanit
luzzit dasmmišḫiškir [(nu=za šume)]nzan

ŠA DINGIR.MEŠ ARAD.MEŠ-KUNU GÉME.MEŠ-KUNU d[(aškirr=a)]
n=uš=za ARAD-naḫḫiškir GÉME-aḫḫiš[(kir)....
KUB XVII 21 i 9-27 (ed. von Schuler 1965 152-4)

This part of the prayer was also discussed at p. 79.

Arnuwanda and Asmunikal describe themselves as pleading their case (*DĪNAM arnuškiuwani* KUB XVII 21 ii 7', ed. Lebrun 1980 135; von Schuler 1965 154), introducing the first overtly juridical language in prayer, although the groundwork for the expansion of this trope already appears in the hymns to the Sun-god, which are addressed to him in his capacity of divine judge, the 'just lord of the law case' (*handanza hanniešnaš/ išhaš* KUB XXXI 127 1 i 1-2, ed. Lebrun 1980 94), and the image of the Sun-god as judge is found repeatedly in the Akkadian 'Hymn to Shamash' (see trans. in Foster 1993 531-9).[32] Whereas in the hymns to the Sun-god the sufferer claims he has committed no sins against the gods, Arnuwanda and Asmunikal make clear that the enemy Kaska have committed numerous sins against the gods, making off with their servants and offerings. The royal pair lists the cities which the enemy has ravaged, although they were innocent. They say that the enemy swears that he will let the offerings for the Storm-god of Nerik through, but they predict the Kaskeans will violate their oath – in which case the gods should punish them.[33] The prayer ends with a list of witnesses, the Kaskean governors of the relevant towns. The use of witnesses brings the prayer in line with court and administrative procedure, and it has been suggested that the prayer was appended to a treaty with the Kaska (von Schuler 1965 164), to strengthen the oath which customarily accompanied treaties.

This corresponds to the passage translated above from CTH 377 in which the king and queen plead:

> For you, oh my god,
> temples are well-built in Hatti alone. Furthermore,
> there are none for you in any other land at all.
> They continually give feasts and sacrifices for you in Hatti alone which are pure

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[32] Elsewhere in Mesopotamian literature, the Sun-god is called on to judge cases in this capacity for a worshipper who is attempting to escape an illness or ghost. On this see p. 209.

[33] A similar example of 'rational argument' can be found in *Numbers* 14: 15-6, by Moses. I owe this reference to Prof. Hoffner.

and consecrated. Furthermore in no other
land do they continually give them to you.
    B obv. 15-20

The 'rational arguments' seen in the Hittite prayers appear in Chryses' prayer at the

beginning of the *Iliad*. This passage was discussed previously (pp. 95-6), but I quote it

here again:

> Listen to me, silver-bowed one, you who haunt Chryse,
> and very holy Killa and rule Tenedos with strength,
> Smintheus, if I ever roofed over a shrine pleasing to you,
> or if ever I burned fatty thigh pieces
> of bulls and goats, grant my wish.
> May the Danaans pay for my tears with your weapons.
>   *Iliad* 37-42

Pulleyn (1997 16-38, esp. 18-26) highlights the similarity between Hittite *arkuwar*

prayers and Greek prayers of this type, as opposed to prayers from other parts of the

ancient world.

Another important form of rational argument that appears in both Hittite and

Greek makes explicit the notion of praise as payment, the other side of the argument

made by Arnuwanda and Asmunikal, that if the enemy should kill the servants of the

gods, they will not be worshipped properly, for no one worships them more zealously

than the Hittites. Following this line of reasoning, the gods, by doing what the worshipper

asks, will earn praise and other offerings as a form of payment. The Hittite king

Muwatalli makes quite clear his understanding of praise as a form of payment in CTH

381, to the Storm-god of Lightning:[34]

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[34]   *nu = za kuёl walliyatar UL-za ŠA* ᵈU *pihaššašši*
    EN-*YA walliyatar nu mān* DINGIR-*LÀM našma* DUMU.LÙ.U₁₉.LU-*TI*
50   *aušzi nu kiššan memai handan = wa*
    ᵈU *pihaššaššiš* EN-*YA nepišaš* LUGAL-*uš* UN-*an*
    kaništa nu = war = an ˅*ku'lānitta*
    nu = war = an = kan aššanut nu = war = an = kan mehunaš arnut
    nu unwanzi zilatiya DUMU-*YA* DUMU.DUMU-*YA* LUGAL.MEŠ
        MUNUS.LUGAL.MEŠ
55   *ŠA* ᵁᴿᵁ*HATTI* DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL *BĒLU*.MEŠ=*ya ANA* ᵈU *pihaššašši*
    EN-*YA nahšarriškiuan tiyanzi*

48   Whose praise (*walliyatar*) will I be?[35] Won't I be the praise of the Storm-god of Lightning,
my lord? If a god or human
50   sees, he will speak thus; 'Truly
the Storm-god of Lightning, my lord, king of heaven, has honored a human.
He brought him to success.
He provided for him. He advanced him to the right time.'
In the future, my son, my grandson, the kings and queens
55   of Hatti, the sons of the king, and my lords will proceed to begin to pay respect to
my lord the Storm-god of Lightning.
They will speak thus: 'Truly this god
is a great hero, a god who provides divine guidance.'
The gods of heaven, the mountains and the rivers will exalt you.

60   In me, Muwatalli, your servant, my soul
will rejoice. I will exalt the Storm-god of Lightning, my lord.
The houses of the gods which I make for you, and the rites
which I do for you, you, the Storm-god of Lightning, my lord
will rejoice in them. The thick bread and libation
65   which I repeatedly give to the Storm-god of Lightning, my lord,
I indeed will give them to him with pleasure.

In Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*, the chorus attempts to sway the gods with these same arguments. In this tragedy, Aeschylus is intent on contrasting male and female ways of responding to an attack on one's town; a main feature of the females is their too indiscriminate use of the dangerous powers of utterances. The Theban women's terrified lamenting at the sight of the enemy closing in on the city infuriates their leader Eteocles. He scolds them severely, and the chorus pulls themselves together enough to utter their most 'rational' plea to the gods, asking:[36]

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nu kiššan memanzi handan=wa aši DINGIR-*LIM*
šarkuš UR.SAG-*iš parā handa[(nza* DINGIR)-*LU]M²*
nu=tta DINGIR.MEŠ ŠAMÊ ḪUR.SAᵣGᴍ.MEŠ Íᵖ[(D.MEŠ *waliy*)]*anzi*

60   *uga=kan ANA* ᵐNIR.GÁL [*ANA ARAD-K]A* ZI-*anza anda*
dušgai nu ⁴ᵣUᵞ [*pihašša*]*šin EN-YA šarlāmi*
É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ=*ya=*ᵣ*tta kue*ᵞ [*iy*]*ami šaklauš=a=da*
kuiēš [*iya*]*mi nu=za=kan* ⁴U *pihaššaššiš EN-YA*
pa[(rā d]uškatti nu NINDA.GUR₄.RA *išpanduzzi=ya*
65   [(*kui*)]*n ANA* ⁴U *pihaššašši EN-YA peškimi*
n=an=ši dušgarauwanza piškellu
         KUB VI 45 iii + KUB XXX 14 iii 48-66, filled in with KUB VI 46 iv 17-35 (ed. Lebrun 1980 268; Singer 1996 22-4)

[35] Singer (1996 41) translates as, 'Whose (cause of) praise will I be ?' following Hoffner (1986 90).

[36] ποῖον δ' ἀμείψεσθε γαίας πέδον
τᾶσδ' ἄρειον, ἐχθροῖς

> What sort of plain will you pass to better than this land, having left the deep-soiled land for the enemy, and the water of Dirke, most nourishing of the drinks, of the many the earth-shaker Poseidon lets flow, and the children of Tethus? Besides, oh city-holding gods, having cast man-destroying *ate*, that makes them throw down their weapons, on those outside the towers, win glory (*kudos*) in the eyes of these citizens; both be saviors of the city and stay well-throned with (our) shrill-crying prayers.

One commentator explicitly denies a connection to Hittite prayer, claiming that 'our passage has not the crudity of S. fr. 452 [describing the Trojans' physical removal of statues of the gods when their city was sacked (Radt 1977 374)], or of Roman and Hittite *evocatio*' (Hutchinson 1985 94), and that 'gods cannot win κῦδος from humans' (96). Yet, the argument, 'What land would be more pleasant than ours?', resembles the argument in Amuwanda and Asmunikal's prayer, and the two difficult datives closing the passage, τοῖσδε πολίταις 'in the eyes of these citizens'and ὀξυγόοις λιταῖσιν 'by means of shrill-crying prayers', can be explained in light of the passage from Muwatalli's prayer, as referring to the payment being offered to the gods for their help – glory in the form of the song performed at that moment for them and future songs remembering their great deed.

Elements of these arguments can be found in the Mesopotamian tradition, but they have been put together by the Hittites to create a coherent argument, a 'type scene' in prayer that was used by the Greeks as well. Thus, the Hittite evidence can be applied to the question of Greek-Near Eastern contact in two ways. On the one hand the extensive

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ἀφέντες τὰν βαθύχθον' αἶαν
ὕδωρ τε Διρκαῖον, εὐτραφέστατον πωμάτων
ὅσων ἵησιν Ποσειδᾶν ὁ γαιάοχος
Τηθύος τε παῖδες·
πρὸς τάδ', ὦ πολιοῦχοι
θεοί, τοῖσι μὲν ἔξω
πύργων ἀνδρολέτειραν
καταρρίψοπλον ἄταν
ἐμβαλόντες ἄροισθε
κῦδος τοῖσδε πολίταις,
καὶ πόλεως ῥύτορες <ἔστ'>
εὔεδροί τε στάθητ'
ὀξυγόοις λιταῖσιν.
304-20

borrowing of Mesopotamian tropes into Hittite prayer shows that many of the connections found by West and Burkert between the Mesopotamian and Greek poetic tradition at the level of formulae and type scenes could have reached the Greeks via the Hittites or their descendents in Anatolia and northern Syria. On the other, there are specific combinations of Mesopotamian-inspired tropes that are particular to the Hittites and the Greeks such as the passages just discussed. These cases are stronger evidence for contact between Greeks and Anatolians. In the following section a striking example of a motif common to Greek and Hittite poetry will be examined, one also found in the wider Near Eastern tradition, which reflects the actual practice of transfer of gods from one sphere of influence to another.

4.5. Invocation

Before the gods can hear the worshipper's plea, they must approach and pay attention; that is the purpose of the invocation or *mukeššar/mugawar* (Ausfeld 1903 516; Bremer 1981 194; Versnel 1981 28-37). Whereas prayers frequently predicated their efficacy on being heard, and therefore needed to be spoken aloud and repeatedly (Ausfeld 1903 514, 520-1; Schwenn 1927 5-8; Tambiah 1968 177; Versnel 1981 25-6), singing and music allowed the prayer to be broadcast in an intrinsically pleasing manner. When the god is distant, he loses his ability to affect events in that particular locality. It is for this reason that a god must be invoked and lured to the worshipper's location. For example, in the opening of the *Odyssey* the Olympians take advantage of Poseidon's absence as he receives worship among the Ethiopians, to protect and support Odysseus against the Sea-god's anger (1.21 ff.). It was necessary for the Delians to summon Apollo back to Delos from the Hyperboreans with a paean each year during a great festival (Himerius *Or.* 54 10f, see Page 1955 244-5). The yearly return of Dionysus was also acted out in Athens in the festival which provided the occasion for the performance of

tragedy. Furthermore, both Pindar and Sophocles manipulate the convention of the journey of the gods. Pindar speaks often of his own journey to the location where a song he has composed is performed, whether purely metaphorically, since his composition has been sent separately, or speaking of his actual voyage to the cult place (for example, *Paean* VI). Sophocles, in his *Women of Trachis*, has the chorus sing a kletic hymn for Herakles, describing his triumphant return to his wife (634 ff.). It is as if he has already died and been divinized.[37]

While there may have been a separate *mugawar* that accompanied the 'Daily Prayer to Telipinu', CTH 377 itself also includes a short *mugawar*:

> If you, oh important Telipinu, are above in heaven,
> among the gods; if you have gone on a visit in the sea or in the mountains,
> or if you have gone into the enemy land to battle.
> Now, let the fine scent, cedar and oil
> call you. Come back into the temple.
> I am calling you right now with thick bread and libations.
> Be appeased fully. What, oh god,
> I am speaking to you – hold your ear inclined to me – keep listening to it.
>   CTH 377 B obv. 7-14

The the *mukeššar* or *mugawar* (either nominalization is used to refer to the action of invocation) is derived from archaic Hattic myths of the disappeared god, usually Telipinu ('Great Son') or Hannahanna, the Mother Goddess, although other gods can be invoked too.[38] Since they are part of purification and propitiation rituals, their purpose includes soothing the anger of the god who is evidently irritated, which is done through pleasing offerings, manipulation of language and analogic reasoning to make it both pleasing and persuasive. The story which will serve as our example here starts out with

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[37] On processions that enact a god's departure and return in Greece, see Burkert (1988; 1985 99-101); for a short discussion of Hittite processions, see de Martino (in Sasson 1995 2666-7). Such a procession was enacted in the Akkadian Akitu festival, to celebrate the new year (see Cohen 1993 404-5). Penglase (1994) presents a detailed discussion of the parallels between journeys of various Greek and Mesopotamian gods.

[38] The *mukeššar* is discussed by Lebrun (1980 431-40).

the anger of Telipinu, although it is unclear exactly what has angered him. He departs in such haste that he puts his shoes on the wrong feet. Because he has abandoned his customary haunts, all fertility is at an end. Telipinu disappears into the steppe in a mysterious manner:[39]

> Telipinu too went away and removed grain, animal fecundity, luxuriance, growth, and abundance to the steppe, to the meadow. Telipinu too proceeded to blend into the moor. Over him the *halenzu*-plant grew. Therefore barley (and) wheat no longer ripen.... (slightly modified from trans. Hoffner 1998a 15)

Famine and drought take over the land, and the gods cannot be sated at the feast. The Storm-god, Telipinu's father, sends out search parties but they cannot find him. The only one who is able to find Telipinu is a bee, who stings him awake, infuriating the god further. Soothing wax is then applied to the stings, an action imitated in the accompanying ritual (Version 2 B, KUB XXXIII 5 ii 4-9; Version 2 B, KUB XXXIII 5 iii 2-4; Version 3 B, KUB XXXIII 10 ii 1-16 (see trans. in Hoffner 1998a 18-20)), which attempts to placate the god with all manner of soothing things and analogic magic:[40]

> Here lies wheat for you. Just as (this) wheat is pure, let Telipinu's heart and soul become pure again in the same way.
>
> [He]re lie malt and "beer bread" for you. [Ju]st as malt and "beer bread" blend in essence, so that their soul and heart become one, [so may ...].
> ....
> (slightly modified from trans. of Hoffner 1998a 19)

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[39] *ᵈTelipinuš=a arḫa iyanniš ḫalkin ᵈImmarnin šalḫiantien mannittien išpiyatar=a pēdaš gimri uēllui marmaraš andan ᵈTelipinuš=a pait marmarri andan ulišta šēr=a=šše=ššan ḫalenzu ḫuwaiš nu namma ḫalkiš ZÍZ-tar UL mâi ...*
 KUB XVII 10 i 10'-14' (ed. Laroche 1969 30)

[40] [kā(ša=tta KLMIN ZÍZ-ta)]r kitta nu ZÍZ-tar maḫḫan parkuiš [(ᵈTelipinuwašš)]=a garaz=šiš ištanza=šiš [na(mma QATAMMA)p]arkuēšdu

[kāš(a=tta K)LMIN] BA]PPIR DIM₄ <<IŠ>> kitta nu BAPPIR DIM₄=ˈšaˈ [maḫḫa(n iš)ta]nzanit takšandari nu=šmaš [ištanza=ši]š garaz=šiš 1-iš kittari [...
 KUB XXXIII 5 iii 5'-10', filled in with 6 + 7 iii 4' ff. (based on ed. Laroche 1969 42)

An analogous section from a Middle Hittite copy of an Old Hittite *mugawar* for Telipinu corresponds particularly closely to the section quoted above from CTH 377:[41]

Telipinu [...]. the malt and "beer bread" is.... he ...ed. He cut off goodness(?) [...] at the gate. May the sweet odor [invoke you], Telipinu. Frustrated. [may you be] relaxed.

Here [lies] water of .... [May it ...] your soul, oh Telipinu. So [turn] in favor toward the king.

Here lies *galaktar*. May [your soul, oh Telipinu], be appeased. Here [lies] *parhuenas*-fruit. May (its) essence(?) pull him. [Telipinu].
(slightly modified from trans. of Hoffner 1998a 16)

When the god has arrived, the next step of the ritual is enacted, the removal of evil:[42]

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[41] *nu = za = ta* ᵈ*Telipinu*[
nu BULUG₃ BAPPIR *kūkuš⸢zi⸣*ˣ¹[
parārit n = ašta āššu[
āška karašta ᵈ*Telipinu*[
šanizziš waršulaš [
uišuriyanza = ma EGIR-*pa* [

kāša walhišnaš wātar [*kitta*
nu ŠA ᵈ*Telipinu* ZI-*KA* ×[
n = ašta ANA LUGAL *anda āššul*[*i nāišhut*]

kāša galaktar kitta[
galankanza ēštu kāša parh[*uenaš kitta*]
karāz = šan tal'liyēd[*du Telipinun*]
            KUB XVII 10 ii 3'-14' (ed. Laroche 1969 32), filled in with KUB XXXIII 11 ii (ed. Laroche 1969 49)

On the Middle Hittite dating of the text, see Kellerman (1988 115-7). Kellerman also discusses the purpose and placement of this passage within the myth.

[42] [*paid*]⸢ᵣ*du*⸣ *idālu karpiš kard*[*imiyaz*]
[*waštu*]*l šduwar miyante = y*[*a = (at* A.ŠA₃-*ni*)]
⸢ᵍᴵˢ⸣TIR¹ ᴳᴵˢKIRI₆ *anda lē paiz*[*zi*]
*dankuwaya = ša = *ᵣ*at*¹ *taknaš* KAS-*an paidd*[*u*]
dankuwāi taknī AN.BAR-*aš* DUG *palhiš kianda*
ištappulli = šmit A.GAR₅-*aš kuit = kan anda*
*paizzi n = *ᵣ*at*¹ *= kan namma šarā* UL ⸢*uiz*¹*zi*
anda = pat = kan ⸢*harkzi*¹ ᵈ*Telipinu*[*wašš = a*]
idāluš karpiš kartimmiaz šāuwa[*r*]
waštul idaluš EME-*aš idaluš patalhaš*
*anda paiddu n = at = kan namma ša*ᵣ*rā lē*¹
uizzi anda = at = kan harkdu

nu = za ēt šanezzi eku = ma šanezz[*i*]
kāša <<I₃.DUG₃.GA>> ŠA ᵈ*Telipinu* KAS-*aš*

May the evil anger, wrath. [sin], and sullenness go away. But may it not go into the fruitful field, the forest, or the garden. May it go on the road to the Dark Earth. Down in the Dark Earth stand iron vats. Their lids are of lead. Whatever goes into them doesn't come up again; it perishes within. So may Telipinu's evil anger, wrath, sullenness, and sin go into them and not come up again, but perish therein.

(Telipinu,) eat fine things; drink fine things. May (your) path, O Telipinu, be sprinkled with fine oil. Then set out upon it. May your bedding be (fragrant) *sahis* and *happuriyasas* (boughs). Then sleep upon it. As fragrant reed is pleasant, may you be pleasant also to the king and queen and to the land of Hatti.
(trans. Hoffner 1998a 19-20)

The performer legitimates his actions by portraying himself as enacting the same ritual as the Hattic goddess of magic, Kamrusepa, does in the story. When Telipinu arrives in anger, she soothes him with a set of mysterious actions that must have been made clear in the accompanying ritual:[43]

Kamrusepa says to the gods: "Go, O gods. Now tend the Sun God's sheep for Hapantali, and cut out twelve rams, so that I may treat Telipinu's *karas*-grains. I have taken for myself a basket (with) a thousand small holes. And upon it I have poured *karas*-grains, the "rams of Kamrusepa."

And I have made a burning back and forth over Telipinu, on one side and on the other. And I have taken from Telipinu, from his body, his evil ..."
(trans. Hoffner 1998a 16)

Words are used to persuade the god in three ways: the most simple method of

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IŠTU I₃.DUG₃.GA *papparššanza ešdu*
nu = ššan iyahhut ᴳᴵˢ*šahiš* ᴳᴵˢ*happ[uriyaššaš]*
šašza = tiš ⌐*nu*¹ *= za = kan* ˢ*eški* GI⌐.DUG₃.GA⌐
mahhan handanza :[ig = a I]TTI ⌐LUGAL MUNUS¹.[LUGAL]
ANA KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*HATTI QATAMM[A]*
handanza e[š]
  KUB XXXIII 8 iii 3-22, filled in with IBoT III 141 iii 21-3 (ed. Laroche 1969 103-4)

[43] ᵈ*Kamrušepaš* DINGIR.MEŠ-*naš* EGIR-*pa tezzi īš[ten = wa]*
DINGIR.MEŠ-*eš kašma* ᵈ*Hapantali* ᵈUTU-*aš* UDU.ḪI.A-*ŠU u[ešiya* (?)]
n = ašta 12 UDU.NITA.ḪI.a *karšten nu* ᵈ*Telipinuwaš k[aršš]uš*
ŠA ᵈ*Kamrušepa* UDU.NITA.ḪI.A-*ŠU išhuhhun*

nu ᵈ*Telipinui šēr arha duwān warnunun*
nuwann = a warnunun n = ašta ᵈ*Telipinui*
nuggaz = šēt idālu = ššit dāhhun ...
  KUB XVII 10 iii 3-10 (ed. Laroche 1969 34)

The burning mentioned in the legomena is explained by Watkins (2001b 12-7) with reference to other *mugawars*, as the burning of a ritual log.

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producing action is by commands in the second and third person. The story further provides an example for how the god should behave, or an etiology for the ritual being performed in which the performer's actions are then equated with the successful actions of the god in the myth who manages to bring back the angry, dead or sleeping god and restore fertility. To this may be compared the Marduk-Ea formula found in Mesopotamian healing incantations. In these, the performer relates a dialogue between Marduk and his father, the god of wisdom Ea, in which Marduk asks for advice, and Ea tells him he knows as much as his father, then orders him to do the very ritual the human healer is engaged in." Besides commands and exemplary stories, words are used to state the analogy on which the god is made to operate, 'as x, so y'. This might involve punning and associative word play, and here we have the primitive analogue of the type of sophisticated word-play that is the hallmark of Aeschylean style, based on a linguistic theory that is discussed at length in Plato's *Cratylus*, that the link between the form of a word and its meaning is not arbitrary, a theory only finally laid to rest in the Western world by Ferdinand de Saussure. This punning and word play is particularly at home in rituals that attempt to overturn previously spoken displeasing words. From this primitive word play, the magical power of words in ritual so ably discussed by Tambiah (1968), blossomed the delicate poetry of Sappho, the masterful manipulation of the poetic word both in praise and as invective by Alcaeus, and the intricate wordplay of Aeschylus. The following discussion of how the Hittite invocation was made persuasive will provide the comparative background from Hittite that will underpin the discussion of tropes in these three Greek poets in the next chapter.

" Falkenstein (1931 (1968) 20-35, 44-76) discusses the Marduk-Ea dialogue and other 'legitimizing' formulae. The Marduk-Ea formula is further discussed by Bottéro (1992 212-3). Also see other types of legitimization formulas in medical incantations in Sigerist (1951 467-70). See also Cunningham on legitimizing formulae in incantations and the 'Marduk-Ea' dialogues between two gods (1997 23-5, 31-2, 79-80, 83-5, 118-22, 167-9).

In the *mugawar* ritual the soothing substance *galaktar*, which Güterbock (1997

(1983)a 71) has suggested might be from the poppy,[45] is often paired with the participle

galankanza, whose meaning 'soothed' is derived from its context, in such alliterative

phrases as: *kāša galaktar kitta*[...]/ *galankanza ēštu*. 'Right now *galaktar* lies (here) [...]/

Be soothed!' (KUB XVII 10 ii 12-3, ed. Laroche 1969 32)[46] These two words alliterate

with the verb *kalleš-* 'call'. Although the verb does not appear in this text, it does appear

in *mugawar* sections of hymns, such as CTH 377 B obv. 11; there the underlying

association is made explicit, underscoring the function of the performance:

kinuna = *tta šanezziš waršulaš* ᴳᴵˢERIN-*anza* I₁-*anza*
kallišdu n = *ašta* EGIR-*pa* ᴱ*karimni* ₌*tti anda ehu*
nu = *tta kāša mukiškimi* ᴺᴵᴺᴰᴬ*haršit* ᴰᵁᴳ*išpanduzit*
nu = *ššan parā kalānkanza ēš*
    B obv. 10-3

Now, let the fine scent, cedar and oil
call you. Come back into your **temple**.
I am calling you **right now** with thick bread and libations.

Be **appeased** fully.

A further alliterative participle appears at the end of the Telipinu *mugawar* ritual,

kankanza 'hanging' (from a yew tree), to describe the hunting bag (*kurša-*) in which

symbols of all good things are held:[47]

Telipinu **took account of** the king. Before Telipinu there stands an yew tree. From the yew is
suspended a hunting bag (made from the skin) of a sheep. Therein **lies** Sheep Fat. In it **lie** Grain,
Animal Fecundity and Wine. In it **lie** Cattle and Sheep. In it **lie** Longevity and Progeny. (slightly

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[45] The word might be related to the Greek *galakt-* 'milk', see HED K 20.

[46] For other instances of this verb see HED K 22.

[47] ᵈ*Telipinuš* ₌ *za* LUGAL-*un* **kappuwit** ᵈ*Telipinuwaš peran*
ᴳᴵˢ*eya arta* ᴳᴵˢ*eyaz* = *kan* UDU-*aš* ᴷᵁˢ**kuršaš kankanza** n = *ašta*
anda UDU-*aš* I₁-*an* **kitta** n = *ašta anda halkiaš* ᵈANŠE-*aš*
ᷜGEŠTIN₁-*aš* **kitta** n = *ašta anda* GU₄.UDU **kitta** n = *ašta*
anda MU.KAM.GÍD.DA DUMU.MEŠ-*latar* **kitta**
    KUB XVII 10 iv 27-31 (ed. Laroche 1969 98)

modified from trans. of Hoffner 1998a 18)

The alliteration of the final section brings us full circle to the completion of the act begun in the earlier section. Whereas in the earlier part of the ritual, Telipinu was invoked and soothed (*galankanza*) by the *galaktar* lying before him (*kitta*), now at the end of the ritual Telipinu has been successfully soothed and has paid attention to the requests of the king for fertility for his country, symbolized by the symbols lying (*kitta*) in the bag (*kursa*) which is hanging (*kankanza*) on the yew tree."

This type of word play is frequent in Hittite purification and propitiation rituals, which manipulate language and symbolism to reverse and repel the language and symbolism used in that most dangerous genre of verbal art, the curse. In one case, a story is told of a falcon carrying from the sea purifying water (*watar*) in one claw and words (*uttar*) in the other, whereupon Ishtar brings the same from Nineveh and utters a purifying spell (CTH 446 'Purification Ritual to the Former Gods' KUB XLI 8 ii 7'-21', ed. Otten 1961 124-6). Thus, the words uttered by the goddess/practitioner are given the

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" This is made clearer in a similar, but lacunose, section of a *mugawar* to the Storm-god of the queen Asmunikal:

istanani peran SIL.[A₄-aš ᴷᵁˢ*kuršaš gankanza*]
n=asta anda SILA-*aš m[iuš halugaš kitta*]
LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL *PANI* ᵈU *harša[nnaš QATAMMA miuš]*
halugaš ešdu n=aš[ta anda ZAG-*aš wallaš]*
kitta n=asta g[alaktar parhuenaš]
anda kitta ...

...

galaktar kitta nu=šši[
galankanza eš parhuen[aš kitta]
n=aš=ši=pa anda muganza [eš ...
        KUB XXXIII 21 iii 9-19, filled in help from with parallel text KUB XXXIII 19 iii 10-16
(ed. Laroche 1969 161)

In front of the altar [a **hunting bag**] (of sheepskin) [**is suspended**]. In it [**lies**] the Gentle [**Message**] of the Lamb. So may there be [in the same way a Gentle] **Message** for the king and queen before the Personal Storm God (literally, "Storm God of the Head"). Also [inside it] **lies** [The Right Shank]. *Galaktar* [and *parhuenas-*]plants also lie inside.... [And as] **galaktar** is lying [in the bag], so you [...] be **pacified** to him. As *parhuenas* [**is lying** there], so (the god) [should be] invoked to her (i.e. the queen?).
        (trans. Hoffner 1998a 25, with my bolding)

same purifying power as the water. In another ritual, CTH 443 'Propitiation Ritual for Tuthaliya III and Nikalmati against Ziplandawiya to the God of Blood' (ed. Szabó 1971), tongues and tears (*išḫaḫru*) of dough (*išnaš*) are poured (*išḫuwan*) into containers of dough (KBo XV 10 + i 2-7) and drenched in honey (i 29), to purify the sacrificer from blood (*ešḫar*) and evil words the sorceress made (*iššišta*) in her mouth (*išša*) to the Sun-god of Blood (*išḫanas* ᵈUTU-*i* = *Ištanui?*) and the Storm-god Tarhunt (i 13-20). Here the evil words which cause tears and bloodshed are equated through alliteration with the symbolic objects made of dough and locked away in dough containers.

The associative wording of Hittite incantations has a much more sophisticated analog in Aeschylus, whose tragedies are focused on the power of the word. In Aeschylus, similarities in word forms lead to equations between meanings. His complex, self-consciously difficult poetry is more than ornamental; from his plays on word forms and meanings, truth is revealed and magic is unleashed. Aeschylus' poetry, to be fully appreciated, must thus be analyzed according to his depiction of language in ritual, an approach that has proved fruitful for other Classical scholars, especially Cameron (1970), Zeitlin (1982), Walsh (1984 62-79) and McClure (1997). The Hittite data shouldn't be taken as evidence for a direct connection between Greek and Hittite ideas about language; rather, the Hittite ritual puns show us the general tradition with which Greek poets played, one that existed throughout the ancient world and still is an important tool in the arsenal of the poet.[49]

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[49] As Romilly (1974) makes clear, the Greeks themselves commented on what they saw as the magical power of poetry. The rhetorician Gorgias (*Helen* §10, 14) wished to exploit the magical power of poetry to sway the emotions in his rhetorical techniques, and Plato (*Laws* 933a-c) was deeply suspicious of this, well aware of the potency of speech when cast in the right form. Plato himself debated whether the connection between signifier and signified is not arbitrary, presenting the two sides of the debate in his *Cratylus*. These same concerns appear in the works of Hesiod and Heraclitus (Walsh 1984 65-7). Thus, Aeschylus was taking part in a current debate concerning the power of language. These debates about how words are imbued with meaning were not confined to the Greeks, and both Mesopotamian and Indic grammarians applied analyses of the phonemes and syllables which make up a word in an attempt to elucidate mystical meanings that the analyzer wished to find. For such analysis in the Mesopotamian traditions, see Civil (1974) concerning one abstruse Sumerian commentary on the ingredients used in a birth ritual and the extended discussion of Livingstone (1986) on the tradition from which this commentary

The hymnic version of the *mugawar* not only uses elements stemming from Hattic religious practices, but also has antecedents in the hymns to the Sun-god. Compare a passage from CTH 372A, the 'Hymn to the Sun-god':[50]

> If that god is in heaven or if he is in the earth
> You, oh Sun-god, will go to him.
> Go and tell that god. To him [...].
> Inform (him) of the matter of humanity.

Here, rather than attracting the gods from whatever place he has betaken himself, the Sun-god is asked to fetch him. The speculation concerning the whereabouts of the god who has taken offense against the Hittites and has withdrawn his favor by vacating his temple is found in Greek kletic hymns too, providing a remarkable parallel between Hittite and Greek prayers.[51]

An elaborate and fairly complete example of a *mukeššar* from the Hurro-Hittite sphere involves the pulling actions of a Telipinu *mugawar* and the language of a hymnal *mugawar*. This incantation is illustrative both because its ritual context is preserved and because it shows remarkable parallels to Greek invocations. CTH 716 is a ritual intended to attract the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh back to her temple in Hattusa and persuade her to allow the practitioner to extract any bad deeds that might have been committed by the

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is derived. For the debates in the Sanskrit grammatical tradition on how nouns derive their meanings, whether the connection between signifier and signified is conventional or eternal, and how meaning is extracted from phonemes, see Coward and Raja (1990 63-82). The theories presented in *Cratylus* and the methods of deriving etymologies, especially from proper names, are discussed by Tsitsibakou-Vasalos (1999, with earlier refs.) and Baxter (1992), who further critiques the connection made by modern scholars between the ideas presented by Plato and Sanskrit Mimamsaka theory (Baxter 1992 60-2).

[50] ...*nu=ššan* DINGIR-*LIM-iš* [ ]
apāš mān nepiši mān=aš taknī [ ]
=igga=šši ᵈUTU-*uš katte=šši paiši* [ ]
nu it ap[ed]ani DINGIR-*LIM-ni tet nu=šši* [ ]
nu ŠA LÚ.NAM.U₁₉.LU-[*UT*]*TI uddār* EGIR-*pa tarkumma[i]*
     CTH 372 A = FHG 1 ii 12-5 (ed. Laroche 1951a 132; Lebrun 1980 97)

Cf. the nearly identical passage in CTH 373 'Kantuzzili's Prayer' KUB XXX 10 obv. 3'-5'.

[51] West (1997 272, 589) notes this parallel.

royal family which have been buried underground. Unlike the examples of the kletic hymns we have in Greek, this passage is provided with a description of the accompanying ritual, and certainly was meant to be used. What it lacks in beauty and grace it makes up for in completeness and attention to detail. The *mukeššar* ritual was enacted by placing in front of a statue of the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh trails made out of lengths of red cloth, a praxis typical of this kind of *mukeššar*, in which trails are made of scattered fruit, dripped oil or cloths laid out like runners (Zuntz 1937; cf. 'Telipinu Myth' KUB XVII 10 ii 28'-9', ed. Laroche 1969 93; trans. Hoffner 1998a 16, and a similar passage on p. 155). The cloths are pulled to draw the goddess near, and songs are performed with instrumental accompaniment to attract the goddess's attention by means of a pleasing noise. After presenting his request, the diviner 'pulls' the goddess from a fire with the ear-shaped loaves, a crude representation of the action he desires from the goddess, to come to him and listen to his request. The ritual closes with a musical performance of singing and playing harps and cymbals, after which the statue of the goddess is returned to her temple.

The first few paragraphs of this ritual are too damaged for translation but when we pick up the description, the statue of the goddess is stationed outside the temple and singers are pulling cloths to mark the road the goddess should take. The diviner then invokes the goddess:[22]

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[22]

]x ᴦTÚG SA₅ᴦ ka]riᴦyaᴵnzi
] ˡᵁ·ᴹᴱˢNAR *humanteš*
] GUL-*iškanzi išhamiešk[anzi*
] ᴦaᴵrahza ANA VII KASKAL.ḪI.A
]x-*uwanzi panzi n=at=ka[n*
] *nu* ˡᵁḪAL BANŠUR *karta* [
] x x SA₅ *kuit* ANA NINDA ÉRIN.MEŠ ki[*tta*
] ᴦēᴵpzi *nu* ˡᵁ·ᴹᴱˢNAR KASKAL-*aš* SUD-*anzi*

] *kišan memai tiwaliya* ᵈIŠTAR [
nu=ddu huitt]*iyanniškimi nu=ddu=za huli-*[
mān=za ᵁᴿᵁNenuwa ᵁᴿ]ᵁNenuwaza ehu *mān=za* ᵁᴿᵁR[*imuši*
[ᵁᴿᵁRimušiyaz ehu] *mān=za* ᵁᴿᵁDunta ᵁᴿᵁDu[*ntaz ehu*]
...
KUB XV 35 i 21'-4'

[...] they cover [her?] with a cloth [...] all the singers play [the ...-instruments] and sin[g]. [...] outside on seven paths [...] they go to [...] and [...]. The diviner [sets(?)] down a table. ... red, what are la[id] for soldier breads [...] he takes, and the singers pull [...] of the path (or: for the paths?).

[...] He says as follows "... Oh Ištar [..] I keep [dr]awing [you][53] and for you ... [If you are in Nineveh] then come from Nineveh. (But) if you are [in] R[imuši, then come from Rimuši]. If you are in Dunta, then come from Du[nta]...." (slightly modified from trans. of Collins in Hallo and Younger 1997 164)

Then follows an exhaustive list of places in which Ishtar might be, closing with:[54]

If (you are) in the rivers and streams [then come from there.] If for the cowherd and shepherds [you ...] and (you are) among them, then come away. If (you are) among [the ...], if you are with the Sun Goddess of the Earth and the Primor[dial Gods] then come from these.] (trans. Collins in Hallo and Younger 1997 164)

Examples of this type of opening in Greek and Hittite poetry could be multiplied.[55] I begin with a variant from a fragment of the *Hymn to Dionysus* (1-6), pointed out to me by Shadi Bartsch:[56]

For, some say that in Drakanon, others in breezy Ikaros, others in Naxos, oh kid-like offspring, others at the deep-eddying Alpheian stream, Semele kissed by Zeus who delights in thunder bore

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[53] Cf. KBo II 36 = B i 3' *mukeškimi*.

[54] *mān=:a=kan* ÍD.MEŠ-*aš* TÚL.MEŠ-*ašš=a and nu*[*=kan apedaz arḫa eḫu*]
mān=:a=kan ANA LÚ.MEŠSIPA.GU₄ LÚ.MEŠSIPA.UDU x[
nu=šmaš=kan ištarna arḫa eḫu mān=:a= ᶜ*kan*ᵎ[
ištarna mān=:a=kan taknaš ᵈUTU-*i karūil*[*iaš* DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš*
ištarna nu apiaz eḫu
    KBo II 9 i 14'-8'

[55] For example, CTH 386 frag. of prayer to Stormgod of Nerik 7 ff. (ed. Lebrun 1980 363 ff.), CTH 406, 'Paskuwatti's Ritual Against Impotence' (ed. Hoffner 1987); *Eumenides* 292-297, Alcaeus 34a; further examples in Ausfeld (1903 524) and West (1997 272).

[56] οἱ μὲν γὰρ Δρακάνῳ σ', οἱ δ' Ἰκάρῳ ἠνεμοέσσῃ
φάσ', οἱ δ' ἐν Νάξῳ, δῖον γένος εἰραφιῶτα,
οἱ δέ σ' ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ ποταμῷ βαθυδινήεντι
κυσαμένην Σεμέλην τεκέειν Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ,
ἄλλοι δ' ἐν Θήβῃσιν ἄναξ σε λέγουσι γενέσθαι
ψευδόμενοι· σὲ δ' ἔτικτε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε
...

you ...

Here the poet is playing with the expected pattern, but compare again the Hittite passage

to a more standard opening from Ananius 1:[57]

> Apollo, you who maybe are residing at Delos or Pytho
> or Naxos or divine Klaros,
> come, arrive at Skythai ....

As in the Hittite example, Ananius tries to guess at where Apollo might be, naming all his

customary haunts. Apparently this type of opening could be expected for the Lydian

Hipponax, for the first line is quoted by Dionysus in Aristophanes' *Frogs* as the words of

this poet, although a scholiast corrects his attribution. Although we know nothing about

Ananius, the fact that this opening could be attributed to a Lydian poet creates the

possibility that such invocations were considered typical of Anatolian poetry even after

several hundred years.[58]

For an earlier example, compare Sappho 2. The fragmentary poem found on an

ostracon becomes comprehensible when she is telling Aphrodite:[59]

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[57] ῎Απολλον, ὅς που Δῆλον ἢ Πυθῶν' ἔχεις
ἢ ἄξον ἢ θείην Κλάρον,
ἵκεο †καθ' ἱέρ' ἤ† Σκύθας ἀφίξεαι.
            (ed. West 1992 34-5)

[58] West (1997 623) considers Ananius a Semitic name.

[59] δεῦρύ μ' ἐκ Κρήτας ἐπ[ὶ τόνδ]ε ναῦον
ἄγνον ὅππ[α τοι] χάριεν μὲν ἄλσος
μαλί[αν], βῶμοι δ' τεθυμιάμενοι [λι]βανώτωι,

ἐν δ' ὕδωρ ψῦχρον κελάδει δι' ὔσδων
μάλινων, βρόδοισι δὲ παῖς ὁ χῶρος
ἐσκίαστ', αἰθυσσομένων δὲ φύλλων κῶμα κατέρρει,

ἐν δὲ λείμων ἱππόβοτος τέθαλεν
ἠρίνοισιν ἄνθεσιν, αἱ δ' ἄηται
μέλλιχα πνέοισιν [
[   ]

ἔνθα δὴ σὺ στέμ<ματ'> ἔλοισα Κύπρι
χρυσίαισιν ἐν κυλίκεσσιν ἄβρως
ὀμ<με>μείχμενον θαλίαισι νέκταρ οἰνοχόαισον.

(Come) here to me from Crete to this holy island, where your grove is lovely with apples, and the altars smoke with frankincense.

where cool water sounds (*keladei*) through the apple boughs, and the whole space is shaded with roses, and sleep comes down from quivering leaves,

and the horse-grazing meadow flourishes with lovely flowers, and the winds sweetly blow ....

There indeed you, Cyprian, taking (ritual) branches, pour as wine ambrosia delicately mixed in gold cups for the festivities.

This is a very sophisticated version of a kletic hymn, with an exquisitely tempting description of the sacred space the goddess is invited to, and the sounds and scents that fill it. In the preserved portion, Sappho only mentions one place as the current location of Aphrodite, Crete. Whereas in the Hittite *mugawar*, the offerings of incense and food which lure the god are described mostly with an eye to creating associative wording that encourages the god to be as mild and sweet as the offering, Sappho's intent is to paint a lovely picture that is not only tempting to the goddess, but portrays indirectly her role as the goddess of love by referring to apples and roses, both associated with her.[60] Rather than simply making an offering of wine to the goddess, she transforms the offer of hospitality into one of intimacy, inviting her to take part as the wine steward, turning the wine into the drink of the gods, ambrosia. The hymn breaks off here, before we learn what Sappho's request might be, although the reference to sleep might give us a hint, since in the *Iliad* (14.214 ff.) when Aphrodite lent Hera her girdle, she used it to seduce Zeus and put him to sleep, allowing the Trojans a short space in which the tide of battle could be turned in their favor. The verb *keladei* 'sound', is meant to bring to mind the Greek verb *kaleo* 'call', from which the term *hymnos kletikos* is built, whose cognate in

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This poem, as with the passages quoted in the following chapter, comes from the readable edition of Campbell.

[60] On the associations, see Faraone (1999a 69-80, 100).

Hittite is *kalleš-*, the verb which appears in the *mugawar* section of the 'Daily Prayer to Telipinu' (B i 11). Thus, both the opening of the kletic hymn and the verb describing its action in Greek and Hittite are related. However, the 'come from wherever you are' opening is found in the Bible as well (I *Kings* 18:25-9), as Hoffner points out to me, so the motif is not confined to Greek and Hittite.

4.6. Request/Vow

After the gods have arrived and have been sated, appeased and persuaded by flattery and other offerings, and by logical arguments, the worshipper's request is presented in a section drawing on the motifs of a *malteššar* 'vow, request.[61] While the *walliyatar* ('praise') itself serves as a commodity in the reciprocal relations between man and god, a vow promises the god something physical, whether a material object, sacrificial animal or person to serve the god, if the god does as asked by the worshipper, or in order to appease the god. The term *malteššar* corresponds to some degree with Greek *charis*, for this term, as Versnel (1981 42-9) and Race (1982 8-10) make clear, denotes the reciprocal act of favor given and returned. As Race observes, in the beginning of a Greek prayer the term refers to the effect the human is attempting to have on the god, while at the end of the prayer the term refers to the desired return from the god.[62] The reciprocity inherent in the term is governed by the tradition of gift-exchange which caused the split in meaning of such Indo-European verbs as *deh₃* into Hittite *dā* 'take and Greek *didōmi* 'give', that was first discussed by Benveniste (1971).

As with the *mugawars*, the *malteššar* draws on both Hattic practices and on Mesopotamian ones. The verb *mald-* sometimes has substituted for it in Hittite texts an

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[61] For examples in Greek see Ausfeld (1903 537-46). Versnel (1981 4-10, 19-24) presents a variety of non-literary examples.

[62] Thus, Sappho 2 refers to the grove to which Aphrodite is called as *charien* 'lovely'.

Akkadogram *IKRUB* from the verb *karābu*. This Akkadian verb and its Sumerogram
ŠUD, are in turn applied to the reciprocal act of paying homage to the god, which expects
the gods to respond in turn with a blessing, as seen in Mesopotamian rituals (see CHD M
132; CAD K 193),[63] such as Akkadian KAR 178 iii 45: 'if he pronounces formulas of
adoration [*likrub*] to Sin and Šamaš, Sin and Šamaš will pronounce formulas of blessings
[ŠUD,] on that man.' (CAD K 194) However, as Hoffner points out to me (pers. comm.)
the Akkadian and Hittite verb to not share exactly the same semantic field, for *mald-*
never refers to the actions of the god.

Whereas the *mukeššar* is meant to impel a divinity towards a worshipper, the
malteššar also attempts to manipulate movement: movement of good and evil in
opposing directions.[64] Good cannot approach without evil being banished, and
furthermore evil must be banished to a specific location, whether it is into a sealed
container underground, or onto the enemy. The following study will thus show that curse
and blessing are two sides of the same coin.[65]

The most famous set of *malteššars* are 'virtual bilingual' texts in Hattic with
parallel versions in Hittite (CTH 733, partial ed. and trans. Laroche 1947; updated

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[63] Akkadian *karābu* also corresponds to Sumerian *siskur* ('sacrifice') in lexical lists.

[64] The base meaning of the verb *mald-* is 'recite a prayer or wish', and the speeches which are
mald-ed are connected to the Hattic, or pre-Hittite, layer of Hittite religion, often involving speeches in
Hattic (Lebrun 1980 424-5, 443-9; also see Laroche 1964 8-13, and full discussion of the verb at CHD M
132-7). With the reflexive particle -*za*, the primary meaning 'express a wish about oneself' moves over to
'vow, promise'. The verbal substantive *malteššar* applies to statements about the present or future which are
meant to accrue benefits to the worshipper: a wish for prosperity (using 2nd and 3rd person imperatives); a
vow made by the worshipper (cf. CTH 585 'Puduhepa's Vows' (Otten and Souček 1965)); or an offering
made to fulfill a vow (cf. the ritual discussed in CHD M 134 under meaning 3 of *mald-*, applied to a
purification ritual in which a new statue is set up, probably in fulfillment of a vow). The Chicago Hittite
Dictionary (M 135) puts it thus: The recitations (mng. 1) quoted in Hittite following *kiššan maldi* ['thus he
declares'] often contain imperative verbs and are therefore requests. A vow (mng. 2) is a promise in return
for a requested benefit, a kind of contractual obligation.' An example of a (post-Old Hittite) *mald*-ed Hattic
recitation which doesn't fit well into the model of 'for benefit' is CTH 729 (partial ed. Laroche 1951b). It is
not called a *maltessar*; it curses (*uddanalliya-*) in return an evil sorcerer who has tried to curse a person.
This could indicate that the verb *mald-* was applied first to speeches originally in Hattic, perhaps performed
in a certain manner.

[65] Versnel (1981 18-21) presents cross-cultural examples of this phenomenon, while Ausfeld (1903
538-9) already noted the conjoining of blessing and curse.

translit. in Neu 1980 183-203). The performer attempts to be exactly accurate when he invokes the gods in order to ensure that the request he makes will be fulfilled exactly. In these texts gods' names and epithets are reeled off in pairs, with one set of names used 'among gods' and the other 'among men', for example:[66]

> Among humankind you are Wasezzilis,
> and among gods you are the Lion King. You hold heaven and earth.
> And these correspond to the *malteššars* of the Storm-god.

The list is not as much 'praise' as an attempt to be exactly correct in giving the gods their due, confirming their allotments, with the expectation that, just as these statements are true, so the accompanying wishes for the future will come true:[67]

> May the [k]ing remain living. May the quee[n likewise, his children likewise,]
> his people/troops likewise. May his land [have as its border] the sea on this side
> and the sea [on that side].
>
> May field and fallow *tahatauššaš* be fertile ...

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[66] [*tandukišn*]*i Wašezzilìš zi*[*k* DINGIR.MEŠ-*naš ištarna*]
[UR.MAH LUGAL-*u*]*š zik nepiš tē*[*kann=a haršì*]
[*kēlparā=ma=ašta*] *IM-aš malteŝnaš* [*handân*]
       CTH 773 II 3 ii 15'-17' = VBoT 124 7'-9' filled in with parallels from CTH 733 II 1 = KUB VIII 41 ii (edd. Neu 1980 188,183)

Much of this reconstruction is my own, based on the parallel passages. The context seems to be the arrival of the crown prince at each town to preside at a festival which toured the Hittite territory (cf. CTH 733 II 4= KBo XXV 112 ii 10'-7', ed. Neu 1980 191). Also see Schuster (1974 29-30) on the Hattic version and context of this *malteššar*.

[67][LU]GAL-*uš hušuwanza ēštu* MU[NUS.LUGAL KI.MIN DUMU.MEŠ-*ŠU* KI.III]
[E]RIN.MEŠ-*ŠU* KI.IV KUR-*ZU edi aruna*[*š* ZAG
arunaš ZAG-*aš*

A.ŠA₃ A.GAR₃ *tahātaūššaš mau*[
...
       CTH 733 II 4 = KBo XXV 112 ii 4'-7' filled in with corresponding Hattic of CTH 733 I 1 A = KUB XXVIII 75 ii 14 ff. (edd. Neu 1980 191-4)

I have filled in the lacunae from a Hattic version of this speech in CTH 733 I 1 A (KUB XXVIII 75) ii 12 ff. (ed. Neu 1980 193-4).

Since the previous section is too damaged to interpret, it is impossible to tell whether this demand followed the complementary wish of harm upon the enemy.

The particular form of the *maltessar* in which the gods' names are given in the language of the gods and the language of men is reflected in the *Iliad* and in fact in Indo-European practice, as Watkins (1998 (1970)) has shown, matching the Indo-European etymology of the verb *mald-*. Contact in Anatolia must have produced the correspondences between this specific type of *maltessar* and the tropes in the *Iliad* or they could reflect a common Indo-European inheritance.

Another *mald-*ed speech, although not labelled a *maltessar*, similarly stresses the allotments of the gods and by the gods to legitimize the king's right to the land and to prosperity. The recitation, although very similar to *walliyatar* ('praise'), is not a payment for services done by the gods. Rather, it exactly defines the past deeds and rights of the Storm-god, which confirm the rights of the Hittite king, based on the model of human administrations:[*]

> When the king bows to the gods, the *gudu* priest recites (*maldi*) as follows:
> 'May the *tabarna*, the king, be dear to the gods. The land is the Storm-god's alone, heaven and earth and the people are the Storm-god's alone. He made the *tabarna*, the king, his governor. He gave him all the land of Hattusa.
> May the *labarna* govern the whole land
> by his hand. Who
> has intruded on the body or territory of the *labarna*, [the kin]g,
> let the Storm-god destroy him.'

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[*]LUGAL[1]-*uš kuwapi* DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš aruwdizzi* [LÚ]GUDU₁₂ *kišan maldi tabarnaš=kan* LUGAL-*uš* DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš aššuš ešdu* KUR-*e* ᵈU-*aš=pat nepiš tekann=a* ÉRIN.MEŠ-*az* ᵈU-*aš=pat nu=za*[LÚ]*labarnan* LUGAL-*un* [LÚ]*maniyahha^r taľlan iyat nu=šši* [URU]KÙ₃.BABBAR-*aš* KUR-*e human paiš [nu=š]šan* KUR-*e human labarnaš* ŠU-*az maniy[ahhi]škiddu kuiš=šan labarn[aš* LUGAL-*w]a'š* NÍ.TE-*aš irhašš=a šaliga[š n=a]n* ᵈU-*aš harnikdu*
  CTH 821 = IBoT I 30 1-8 (ed. Goetze 1947b 90-1, and CHD M 132 ff.)

Archi (1979) discusses other examples of such requests prefaced by a statement of the Hittite king's position as a legitimate appointee of the Storm-god. Also see Güterbock (1997 (1954)).

The king makes it clear that he is the legitimate appointee of the Storm-god. Thus, he has the right to rule Hattusa unmolested by enemy invasion.

In the 'Daily Prayer to Telipinu', the *malteššar* is represented by a formulaic passage:

A iii 5' Keep giving [life into] the future, health, long years and
[vigor]. [Keep putting] radiance and joy in their souls for them.

Keep giving [to the]m male children, female children, grandchildren and great-
grandchildren.
10' Keep giving them 'contentment' and (acute) hearing
Keep giving them abundance of grain, grapes, cattle, sheep, and people.
Keep giving them the manly
victorious divine weapon.
Keep placing the lands of the enemy
15' under their feet for them. [Let them destroy] them [at will].

And from the land of Hatti [send awa]y evil f[ever],
plague, famine, and locusts.

Those lands of the enemy which are discontented
and angry; some are not respectful towards Telipinu
20' and the gods of Hatti;
others wish to burn up your houses of the gods;

B rev. 6 others seek to take the libation-vessels, cups and tools
of silver and gold; others [see]k to lay waste your fields and
fallow,
vineyards, gardens and groves;

10 still others seek to take for themselves the ploughmen, v[ineyar]d workers,
gardeners and women of the grindstone;
give to those enemy lands evil fever, plague
and famine and locusts!

but, to the king, the queen, the children of the king and the land of Hatti give life and
health.
...

A iv 16 Let winds of prosperity come.
In the land of Hatti let it thrive and prosper.
The entire company cries, 'Let it be so!'

Although this passage does not explicitly label itself a *malteššar*, the motifs and phrasing draw on the same repertoire as *malteššar* prayers. It is made quite clear in this passage that good cannot come without evil being sent away. And, if evil is sent away, it certainly brings all the more benefit if it lands on the enemy. The implications of the connection

between blessing and curse will be explored in the following chapter.

4.7. Conclusion

The correspondences discussed in this chapter could perhaps be found in verbal art based on ritual practices from other cultures, especially the ritual use of poetic devices, but this does not mean the comparison has not yielded useful results, for the study of a coherent system of ways to affect the gods and effect supernatural events through verbal art, one with which Greek-speakers were in contact at least from the Mycenean period, elucidates the folk background of extant Greek poetry.

In the discussion of praise, for example, some of the correspondences were primarily typological, such as the use of praise as payment, but the specific forms of praise were certainly borrowed, such as Gilgamesh and Kumarbi themes and the use of the snake-killing story to mark the new year. Furthermore, the way the Hittite stories were used allows us to trace the history of myth. One of the reasons it is so difficult to arrive at a definition of Greek myth is that myth in ancient Greece was changing its function. Myth was in the process of being separated from its original functions of etiology, example and payment and being secularized. The earlier comparative data from the Near East allows us to trace the secularization of verbal art in Greece, enabling us to separate out, for example, the original function of myth imbedded in ritual, then played with in tragedy, and finally collected by Hellenistic antiquarians such as Callimachus and Apollodorus.

As verbal art was secularized, politicized and made subject to the refining pressures of state-sponsored competition, the personal poetry of Sappho, Alcman, Alcaeus and Ibycus became just as worthy to be memorialized as the traditional performance of song to worship gods and heroes. When this process of secularization occurred with epic, which at first could be used in the same way as it was used in

Mesopotamia and Hattusa, to activate and propitiate dead heroes,[69] it developed into a set piece with two purposes. On the one hand the poems of Homer and Hesiod were primarily considered didactic texts for humans, and on the other they provided material for rhapsodes to show off their skills in competition. Tragedy, rather than relating the actions of dead heroes and the gods in the third person, depicted them on stage, enacting various forms of ritual speech, rather than describing them. It was the origin of tragedy in ritual performances of song, speech and dance, to commemorate and propitiate the gods and the dead, that created a setting which gave meaning to Aeschylus' meditation on the efficacy of ritual speech and the dangerous power of words.[70]

The correspondences in wording of the Hittite *arkuwar* and *mukeššar* prayers with their Greek counterparts point to a connection that is perhaps more than typological. They are either areal or indicate borrowing via Anatolia. The mention of different locations, the idea that the god could be visiting worshippers in another city or country, points to the process of spread, to an understanding on the part of the ancients that they belonged to single area unified to some degree by similar religious practices and similar gods. Further, the Hittite materials do more than point out possible contact between Anatolian and Greek poets; the Telipinu and Ishtar of Nineveh *mukeššars* provide us with the ritual context that is generally missing in the Greek materials before the magical papyri, and generally Hittite praxis, as we will see in Chapters Five and Six, can allow us to understand better the allusions to ritual made by the early lyric poets and Greek tragedy.

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[69] For the use of song at Hattusa to activate dead heroes, cf. the text discussed by de Martino (1993).

[70] Evidence for this process of secularization in the poetry of Theocritus is discussed by Fantuzzi (2000), while Furley (1995 41-6) presents evidence for the original use of myth in prayer with examples from Archaic poetry and Hellenistic spells.

As for the *maltessar*, the close correspondence in wording between one type of *maltessar* and passages in Homer are evidence of a connection that is more than typological. Here however, the possibility must be entertained of a common Indo-European origin of this motif of calling gods by their names in the languages of men and the gods. Again, the motif itself points to the transmission of religious practices across language barriers and the adoption of another group's gods.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE TWO SIDES OF THE COIN IN SAPPHO 1, ALCAEUS 129 AND THE *EUMENIDES*

5.1. Introduction

Because good can only approach if evil is sent away, blessing cannot be separated from curse. The same language found in *malteššars* therefore appears in oaths which conditionally bless and curse the person who binds himself. Oaths are meant to guarantee that some statement is true; they thus are closely related to the *malteššar* in both its aspects, for the *malteššar* promises to faithfully carry out a vow if the god being addressed carries out his side of the bargain, and attempts to make its request come true by exactly articulating a true statement about the gods and the worshipper's relation to them. The form and use of the *malteššar* can help explain the Furies' ability to curse and bless in the *Eumenides*, an ability which is closely linked to their role as guardians of oaths, as well as deepen our understanding of two poems by Sappho and Alcaeus. In the case of Sappho 1, a seemingly innocent protestation of unrequited love is problematized, and in the case of Alcaeus 129 the seeming dissonance of his demand for revenge for the breach of an oath is resolved. Furthermore, in the case of Sappho and Alcaeus, an evolutionary model which derives poetry from the manipulation of language in ritual

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can elucidate their sophisticated manipulation of intertextual allusions and multiple

voices and points of view. The motifs used in the incantatory declarations of Hittite oaths,

for example, can lend their power to other incantatory sayings, such as the prayer to

Ishtar of Nineveh, in the form of 'inter-incantatory allusion'. That is, one ritual alludes to

another ritual by alluding to imagery used in incantations associated with the other ritual,

a precursor to intertextual allusion.

The following request from the ritual for Ishtar of Nineveh (CTH 716) combines

the standard formulae for blessing with the standard formulae for cursing, showing the

reciprocal movement of good and evil. The diviner asks Ishtar to bless the royal family

and concomitantly to damage the enemy, in terms similar to that found in oaths,

attempting to elicit pity by his complaints in the same manner as a Greek worshipper

would (Ausfeld 1903 533; Schwenn 1927 42-5):[1]

Come away from these countries. For the king, the queen (and) the princes bring life, health,

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[1] *n=ašta kē=a IŠTU KUR.KUR.ḪI.A arha ehu n=aš ta'*
ŠA LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL tiyatar haddulatar innarauwat[ar]
MU.ḪI.A GÍD.DA nūn tummantiyan tarhuilatar
ANA KUR ᵁᴿᵁḪATTI =kan anda halkiuš ᴳᴵˢGEŠTIN-aš GU₄-aš UDU-aš
DUMU.NAM.<LÚ.>U₁₉.LU-aš miyatar šalhittin mannittien
annarienn=a uda

n=ašta ANA LÚ.MEŠ arha LÚ-natar tarhuilatar
haddulatar mäll=a ᴳᴵˢTUKUL.ḪI.A ᴳᴵˢPAN.ḪI.A ᴳᴵˢGAG.Ú.TAG.GA.ḪI.A
GÌR dā n=at INA ᵁᴿᵁHATTI uda apedaš=ma=kan ŠU-i
ŠA MUNUS-TI ᴳᴵˢhūlali ᴳᴵˢhuišann=a dai
nu=uš MUNUS-nili ueššiya nu=šmaš=kan ᵀᴳᵁkurieššar šdi
nu=šmaš=kan tuēl aššul arha dā

ANA MUNUS.MEŠ=ma=kan arha anniyatar ašiyatar
mušnien dā n=at=kan ANA KUR ᵁᴿᵁHATTI ištarna uda
nu=:a LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL DUMU.MEŠ.LUGAL DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ.LUGAL
      EGIR-anda' aššuli TI-anni
haddulanni innarauwanni MU.ḪI.A GÍD.DA EGIR U₄-MI kappuwai
n=at lulluwāi happinahhi=at nu=wa=ta KUR ᵁᴿᵁHATTI
kūšadaš hašumaraš=a parkui KUR-e ešdu

nu=tta kāšma KUR ᵁᴿᵁHATTI EGIR-pa dammešhan maniyahhun
:ik ᵈIŠTAR ᵁᴿᵁNenuwa GAŠAN-NI UL šakti
KUR ᵁᴿᵁHATTI GIM-an dammešhan kezz=a=ma=at aggannaz [×(-× dammišhan)]
      KBo II 9 i 19'-39', filled in with KBo XXI 48 obv. 11-2 (edited with help of Hoffner, pers. comm.)

streng[th], longevity, contentment(?), obedience (and) vigor, (and) to the land of Ḫatti growth of crops (lit. grain), vines, cattle, sheep (and) humans, *šalḫitti-*, *mannitti-* and *annari.*

Take away from the (enemy) men manhood, courage, health and mental force, maces, bows, arrows (and) dagger(s), and bring them to Ḫatti. For those (i.e. the enemy) place in the hand the distaff and spindle of a woman and dress them like women. Put the scarf on them and take away from them your favor.

But from the women take away motherliness, love (and) *mūšni-* and bring them into the Hatti-land. Afterwards care for the king, the queen, the sons of the king (and) the grandsons of the king in wellbeing, life, health, vigor, (and) long years forever. Sustain it and make it rich. Let the land of Hatti, (which is) for you (a land) of both bride and offspring, be a pure land.

I have herewith handed over to you the land of Ḫatti (which) again (has been) damaged. O Ištar of Nineveh, our Lady, do you not know how the land of Ḫatti is damaged. On the one hand it is damaged by deadly plague. On the other ... (modified from trans. of Collins in Hallo and Younger 1997 164, with aid of Hoffner, pers. comm.)

The priest would like to exchange the respective states of the Hittite kingdom and its enemies. This is expressed in a series of verbs emphasizing the reciprocal motion of good and evil. The goddess is asked to 'come away' from wherever she has betaken herself, to pay attention to the land of Hatti which has been 'handed over' to her afflicted with a terrible plague. She should bring prosperity, fertility and military success to the Hittites, taking them from the grasp of the enemy.

The curse against the enemy involves the same motifs found in the 'First Soldier's Oath', of taking away manly weapons and replacing them with women's tools and dress.[2] In the oath, the curse is turned against any soldier who might attempt to defect, that is, anyone who might wish to turn himself into the enemy:[3]

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[2] See discussion of this particular image in Hoffner (1966) and other examples in Karavites (1992 112).

[3] *nu* TÚG ŠA MUNUS ᴳᴵˢ*ḫulāli* ᴳᴵˢ*ḫuešann=a*
udanzi nu GI-*an duwarnanzi*
nu=šmaš kišan teši kī=wa kuit UL=*wa*
ŠA MUNUS ᵀᵁᴳNÍG.LÁM.MEŠ *nu=war=aš linkiya ḫaruʾeniˀ*
n=ašta kuiš kuš NĪŠ DINGIR-*LIM šarrizzi*
nu=wa=kan ANA LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL ḪUL-*lu*
takkišzi n=an kē NĪŠ DINGIR.MEŠ LÚ-*an* MUNUS-*an*
iendu nuz<zi>š=šuš MUNUS.MEŠ-*uš iendu*
n=uš MUNUS-*li waššandu nu=šma<š>=šan* ᵀᵁᴳ*kurešar*
šiyandu ᴳᴵˢPAN.ḪI.A GI.ḪI.A ᴳᴵˢTUKUL.ḪI.A
INA QATI-ŠUNU *duwarnandu*
nu=šmaš=kan ᴳᴵˢ*ḫulāli* ᴳᴵˢ*ḫuwešann=a*
<INA> QATI-ŠUNU *ti[(andu)]*
KBo VI 34 ii 42-iii 1, filled in with KUB XL 16 + (ed. Oettinger 1976 10-12)

They bring the clothes of a woman, a distaff and a spindle. They break an arrow. You say to them, 'What is this? Is this not the fine dress of a woman? We have them for the oath. Who transgresses these oaths of the god, and who devises evil for the king, the queen and the children of the king, let these oaths of the god make him from a man into a woman. Let them make his troops into women. Let them dress them like women. Let them put women's headdresses on them. Let them break in their hands bows, arrows and weapons. Let them put into their hands distaff and spindle.

The purpose of the 'First Soldiers' Oath' is comparable to that of the oath cited by

Demosthenes (24 149-51) for the judges of the Heliastic court, who swear they will

remain faithful to democracy and the laws of Athens. Whereas the extant portion of the

Hittite 'First Soldiers' Oath' focuses on the negative consequences of any treachery on the

part of the soldiers, the Heliastic oath follows the standard formula of conditional

blessing and cursing, requiring the judge:[4]

to swear by Zeus, Poseidon and Demeter and to vow utter destruction on himself and his household if he should transgress anything of these things (he has sworn to), but that there be many good things for he who keeps his oath.

This conditional curse and blessing is typical of the oaths taken to seal treaties throughout

the ancient world.[5]

The rest of this chapter will examine the reciprocity of cursing and blessing in

Sappho, Alcaeus and the *Eumenides*. Like the Hittite priest, the goal of Sappho and

Alcaeus is to invert the respective positions of petitioner and victim. While Sappho's

poem stresses the various movements of goddess and beloved, Alcaeus calls the gods to

himself and sets the Furies on the trail of his enemy. In both these Greek texts, the poets

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[4] ἐπομνύναι Δία, Ποσειδῶ, Δήμητρα, καὶ ἐπαρᾶσθαι ἐξώλειαν ἑαυτῷ καὶ οἰκίᾳ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ, εἴ τι τούτων παραβαίνοι, εὐορκοῦντι δὲ πολλὰ κάγαθὰ εἶναι (24.151, ed. Butcher 1907)

[5] Curses and blessings in treaties are discussed by Fensham (1993 (1962)), Karavites (1992 104-7) and West (1997 21 with earlier refs.); also see for example the elaborate curses and blessings in the treaty between Sattiwaza and Suppiluliuma I, CTH 52 A = KBo I 3 rev. 25-62 (ed. Weidner 1923 50-6; trans. Beckman 1999 52-4). Faraone (1993) discusses the similarities between the Near Eastern and Greek curses used in these situations.

make use of 'inter-incantatory allusions'. As for the Furies, safe-guarders of oaths in the *Eumenides*, we will chart their movement from cursing to blessing via propitiation on the part of Athena, comparing it to the same process in Hittite texts.

5.2. Sappho

In Sappho 1 the poet turns the tropes found in the Hittite prayers into a delicately humorous poem invoking the aid of Aphrodite. At first glance her request seems rather different from the that of the Hittite exorcist casting evil onto the enemy, yet the erotic incantation contained in it is in fact analogous to it, both attempting to impel the movement of good and evil in opposing directions, and attempting to impel the movement towards her both of a benevolent god and a loving human.[6]

Sappho first sets the scene in which she can make her demand:[7]

Rich-throned immortal Aphrodite,
scheming daughter of Zeus, I pray you,
with pain and sickness, Queen, tame not my heart,

but come, if ever in the past you heard my voice from afar and hearkened,
and left your father's halls and came, with gold

chariot yoked: and pretty sparrows
brought you swiftly across the dark earth
fluttering wings from heaven through the air.

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[6] For a detailed discussion of how poetic devices are used to persuade Aphrodite, and an up-to-date bibliography of the philological discussions of this poem, see Thomas (1999). Hutchinson (2001 24-5, 149-60) offers a new edition and careful treatment of the poem. The versions of Sappho and Alcaeus printed here are based on the eminently readable text of Campbell unless other wise noted.

[7] ποικιλόθρον' ἀθανάτ' Ἀφρόδιτα,
παῖ Δίος δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαί σε·
μή μ' ἄσαισι μηδ' ὀνίαισι δάμνα, πότνια, θῦμον,

ἀλλὰ τυίδ' ἔλθ', αἴ ποτα κἀτέρωτα
τὰς ἔμας αὔδας ἀίοισα πήλοι
ἔκλυες, πάτρος δὲ δόμον λίποισα χρύσιον ἦλθες

ἄρμ' ὑπασδεύξαισα· κάλοι δέ σ' ἆγον
ὤκεες στροῦθοι περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας
πύκνα δίννεντες πτέρ' ἀπ' ὠράνωίθερος διὰ μέσσω·

αἶψα δ' ἐξίκοντο· σὺ δ', ὦ μάκαιρα,
μειδιαίσαισ' ἀθανάτῳ προσώπῳ
                Sappho 1.1-14

fluttering wings from heaven through the air.

Soon they were here, and you, Blest Goddess,
smiling with your immortal features.
(slightly modified from trans. of West 1993 36)

Sappho's invocation cleaves closely to the traditional prayers found in Homer, as noted by critics from Cameron (1939 1-7) to Winkler (1990 167-70).[1] She makes use of the imagery of the arriving god in her chariot, an image which has reflexes in both Indo-European and Mesopotamian tradition, and can be found in Hittite, although Aphrodite's chariot is drawn by her emblematic animal, the sparrow (Burkert 1994 11; Edzard 1994 65-6). More specifically, it reminds the modern reader of the golden chariot used by Athena when she responds to the prayer for aid uttered by Diomedes in *Iliad* 5.719, an association which also must have been evident to the ancient listener, even if it was not directly borrowed from the Homeric passage we are acquainted with. This creates a complex set of intertextual allusions ably discussed by Winkler (1990 167-70), who shows that 'Sappho is acting out the parts both of Diomedes and of Aphrodite as they are characterized in *Iliad* 5.' (170) Just as Athena came to fight next to her protegé (who is fighting the goddess of love herself), Aphrodite will be requested in the final line of this poem to come as an 'ally' (*summakhos*).

This poem is unique, but to define its uniqueness it is necessary to address the issue of differential preservation, both on the Greek side and on the Hittite side. The poem draws on private poetry, women's poetry, both of which were poorly preserved. Sappho is the only example of 'women's' poetry preserved from the Archaic period. Anything assigned to her will certainly conform to the minimal expectations, but since we have nothing to measure it against, it's difficult to judge how her poetry goes beyond expectations. The erotic incantations preserved in Greek were generally used by men

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[1] A more recent restatement of his views appears in Winkler (1996).

against women, but the depiction of a desperate girl's erotic incantation in Theocritus *Idyll* 2 shows that this must have been the result of differential preservation rather than reflecting the fact that women didn't use such spells. The genre of erotic incantations is not preserved in Hittite, but it seems unlikely that it didn't exist. Rather, it should be classified as a type of black magic, which merited the death penalty (cf 'Laws' 44b, ed. Hoffner 1997 52-3, 111. ed. Hoffner 1997 107) and therefore is preserved in Hittite primarily in the conditional curses attached to oaths; like the other incantations preserved in Hittite, these oaths furthered the public agenda of the royal family. We should expect, however, that private spells drew on the same imagery as public ones.

Thus, the comparable Hittite incantations are from the public sphere, performed on occasions sponsored by the royal family, and in the same way, the result of differential preservation means that the Greek poetry against which this poem of Sappho has been compared is the *Iliad*, public poetry for a primarily male audience performed on formal occasions. Cameron's view of what Sappho was doing was shaped by the prevailing view that correspondences with Homeric poetry meant that Homeric poetry was being directly imitated. Nagy (1990b) has since decisively shown that this should not be assumed. Winkler was more interested in the reworking of themes and motifs originally found in the male sphere and the uniqueness of Sappho's personal point of view. Her ability to take on multiple points of view he saw as an effect of ancient Greek women's access both to the public poetry of the man's world and their own private poetry. Segal (1998) meanwhile discusses the confluence of the language of public ritual and women's private emotions in Sappho's poetry. The reasons why personal poetry became 'worth writing down' have not been adequately explained in my opinion, and lies outside the scope of this book. But, just as the prayer directed at Ishtar of Nineveh drew on the same motifs found in the 'Soldier's Oath', Sappho too drew on motifs from a variety of genres, whose other contexts both undercut and strengthened her surface claims, adding a note of humor

even while there was an undercurrent of malevolence.

Whereas the Hittite practitioner reviews his past relationship with the divinity primarily to justify his demands, showing that he has kept up his side of the bargain by submitting the required offerings consistently, even complaining bitterly about the god's inattention, Sappho turns this motif of the past history between the worshipper and god into a humorous illustration of her pitiful state, one that legitimates her call for justice, yet brings upon her the reproof of the goddess even as she promises that her wish will be fulfilled:[9]

She asked what again I had suffered, and why again I called,

and what I most desire to happen for myself in my maddened heart. 'Whom should I persuade again, (whom) should I lead back to you into love for you? Who has done injustice to you, Sappho?

For even if she flees, she will swiftly pursue; if she doesn't accept presents, she will give; if she doesn't love, swiftly she will love, even if she doesn't wish to.'

Come to me right now, free me from harsh distress; however much my heart desires to fulfil, fulfil; you yourself be my ally.

It is this section of the poem, especially the second verse from the end, which has most intrigued critics, for it is filled with tropes based on erotic incantations and magical language (Cameron 1939 8-12; Page 1955 16; Winkler 1990; Segal 1998; Faraone 1999a 136-40). As we'll see with Alcaeus, this has caused critics beginning with Cameron to see

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[9] ἦρε' ὅττι δηὖτε πέπονθα κὤττι δηὖτε κάλημμι,

κὤττι μοι μάλιστα θέλω γένεσθαι
μαινόλα θύμῳ τίνα δηὖτε πείθω
ἄψ σ' ἄγην ἐς σὰν φιλότατα; τίς σ' ὦ Ψάπφ' ἀδικήει; (cf. apparatus of Lobel and Page 1955)

καὶ γὰρ αἰ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει·
αἰ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ', ἀλλὰ δώσει·
αἰ δὲ μὴ φίλει, ταχέως φιλήσει κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα.

ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν, χαλέπαν δὲ λῦσον
ἐκ μερίμναν, ὄσσα δέ μοι τέλεσσαι
θύμος ἰμέρρει, τέλεσον· σὺ δ' αὔτα σύμμαχος ἔσσο.
    Sappho 1.15-28

the poem as a mix of two separate genres. 'If we are justified in making use of these magical and legal analogies, we may conclude that the central narrative of Sappho's poem bears traces of religious usage not entirely in keeping with the literary color of the rest of her prayer.' (Cameron 1939 12) This opinion was still maintained by Petropoulos (1991 44, 54-6), who defined it as part kletic hymn and part spell.

Furthermore, the possibly malevolent nature of the spell being cast has distressed those wishing to see the lesbian love of Sappho as lacking the strong dominant/submissive dichotomy found in male and heterosexual love in ancient Greek. Thus, Greene (1994 51-2) claims that the lack of direct objects in the second to last stanza, the words of the spell itself, means that '[t]he speaker is describing, in general terms, the reciprocal movements of desire in which she and her beloved both participate in the process of giving and receiving, loving and being loved – a process that, according to the grammar of the poem, involves *only* subjects.' Yet, the oft-quoted comparable spell from the Hellenistic magical papyri does not consistently include direct objects:[10]

> If she is sitting, let her not keep sitting; if she is chatting with someone, let her not keep chatting; if she is gazing at someone, let her not keep gazing; if she is going to someone, let her not keep going; if she is strolling about, let her not keep strolling; if she is drinking, let her not keep drinking; if she is eating, let her not keep eating; if she is kissing someone, let her not keep kissing him; if she is enjoying some pleasure, let her not keep enjoying it; ... rather let her hold me NN alone in her mind ... (trans. O'Neill in Betz 1986 67)

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Moreover, there is a more sinister way to explain the lack of direct objects: Sappho doesn't care who the girl falls in love with, she just wants her to suffer as she herself is suffering.

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[10] εἰ κάθηται, μὴ καθήσθω, εἰ λαλεῖ πρός τινα, μὴ λαλαίτω, εἰ ἐμβλέπει τινί, μὴ ἐμβλεπέτω, εἰ προσέρχεταί τινι, μὴ προσερχέσθω, εἰ περιπατεῖ, μὴ περιπατείτω, εἰ πίνει, μὴ πινέτω, εἰ ἐσθίει, μὴ ἐσθιέτω, εἰ καταφιλεῖ τινα, μὴ καταφιλείτω, εἰ τέρπεται τινι ἡδονῇ, μὴ τερπέσθω ... ἀλλ᾽ ἐμὲ μόνον, τὸν δεῖνα, κατὰ νοῦν ἐχέτω ... (PMG IV 1510-20, ed. Preisendanz and Henrichs 1973 1.122)

The more unpleasant reading is supported both by the traditional form of prayer in Homer and in Hittite, and by the Greek view of love. The two prayers most similar to Sappho's in the *Iliad* wish destruction on an enemy in return for an insult paid to the worshipper. Diomedes' prayer was for the destruction of his enemy, who dared to boast that he would slay Diomedes (*Il.* 5.115 ff.), and the prayer of Chryses demands that Apollo avenge the slight paid to him by Agamemnon by laying low the Greeks (*Il.* 1.37-42). Further, as Winkler (1990 82-4) and Faraone (1999a 43-55) make clear, erotic passion was conceived of as a disease by the ancient Greeks, and an erotic spell attempted to cause the victim to be stricken by this disease. 'The belief runs deeply through ancient medicine, social practice, and literature that intense desire is a diseased state affecting the soul and the body, an illness which up to a point can be discerned and analyzed, but which is remarkably difficult to treat.' (Winkler 1990 82) Sappho feels herself to be stricken by the disease, and now wants to send the disease onto her beloved in righteous revenge, as is made explicit by the verb ἀδικήει (19) (Faraone 1999a 82-4). Thus Sappho is engaging in the same kind of activity found in the *maltessars*, casting back the evil which causes her insanity onto the person who has made her suffer.

Finally, Sappho's prayer is technically a type of *agoge*, or spell that impels the victim to leave her accustomed haunts, the protection of the family home, and make her way to the client (Winkler 1990 82-98, esp. 97; Faraone 1999a 80-95). Sappho's poem thus contains not one but two *mukessars*. While the first is directed at Aphrodite who is envisioned as departing from her father's abode, the second is intended for the beloved. The notion of reciprocal movement found in the Hittite *mukessar*, of evil and good, appears in the Greek poem as the reversal from flight to pursuit.

5.3. Alcaeus

The demands of Alcaeus in fragment 129 have similarly disturbed many a critic,

who dislike the juxtaposition of the highly ornamental invocation and the crude curse. Burnett (1998 (1983) 159) describes the poem as 'not what it seems to be. It begins as a suppliant petition but then it looks for angry gods and begs them to inflict a dreadful injury.' However, Alcaeus' curse is not opposed to the appeal of a suppliant, but simply stresses one side of the appeal, leaving the other side to be understood, for Alcaeus' suffering would concomitantly be lessened if his enemy were punished.[11] Perhaps he would be able to return from exile, perhaps even to rule as one belonging to the victorious faction.

Meanwhile, Kurke (1994 76) feels obliged to explain the 'stylistic dissonance' and 'significant violations of decorum' (80) as reflecting the situation of Alcaeus, exiled from Mytilene:

> [T]he established order is exposed as arbitrary and Alkaios' poetry captures the critical moment of the fall from *doxa* [reputation] into the contested field of orthodoxy and heterodoxy. The twofold crisis of voice we have identified enacts for Alkaios a double estrangement, both subjective and objective, linguistic and social.

While Kurke's analysis has the merit of attempting to apply historical context to elucidate the text, another way to resolve the seeming problem would be to understand the history of the genre which would have imbued Alcaeus' poem with meaning for its audience, to understand the power and purpose both of the 'ornamental' language and the 'crude' language in the poem.

When the fragment becomes comprehensible, Alcaeus is calling the three gods Zeus, Hera and Dionysus to their sanctuary:[12]

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[11] Also see note 22 on the Danaids' curses uttered in their role as suppliants in Aeschylus' *Suppliants.*

[12]   ] . ρά . α τόδε Λέσβιοι
...] . . . . εὔδειλον τέμενος μέγα
ξῦνον κά[τε]σσαν, ἐν δὲ βώμοις
ἀθανάτων μακάρων ἔθηκαν,

... the Lesbians founded ... this great, conspicuous sanctuary open to all, and therein established altars of the blessed immortals,

and they called by name Hostile[13] Zeus, you glorious Aeolian goddess, generator of all, and the third they named Semele's son,[14]

Dionysus who consumes raw flesh. Come now, having made your hearts well-minded, listen to our prayers: ...

He brings up the past relationship of worshipper and god by referring to the fact that this sanctuary has been built by the Lesbians, where all may see the honor paid to the gods. The mention of the altars obliquely refers to the services which the Lesbians will continue to render. While the opening of the poem is missing, the implication remains clear: in return for this service, these gods owe the Lesbians a favor.

Alcaeus underlines the fact that the names by which he addresses the gods have a point, by referring specifically to the act of naming on the part of the Lesbians, which is on par with the erection of the sanctuary and its altars. Zeus is addressed in his role of avenger of suppliants, while Hera is appealed to as patron of the Aeolian community as whole, and thus as an appropriate arbiter for the political problems of the Lesbians whose case Alcaeus portrays himself as arguing. He may hope that the gods will graciously listen to his request, however the description of Dionysus as eater of raw flesh already shows that he will not be asking simply for prosperity for himself and his fellow

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κἀπωνύμασσαν ἀντίαον Δία,
σὲ δ᾽ Αἰολήαν [κ]υδαλίμαν θέον
πάντων γενέθλαν, τὸν δὲ τέρτον
τόνδε Σεμελλήΐον ὠνύμασσ[α]ν (following Beattie)

Ζόννυσσον ὠμήσταν. ἄ[γι]τ᾽ εὔνοον
θῦμον σκέθοντες ἀμμετέρα[ς] ἄρας
ἀκούσατ᾽,
    Alcaeus 129.1-11

[13] The translation of *antaios* as 'hostile' is justified by Faraone (1992 91; 1993 71).

[14] The translation follows Beattie's emendation. There could be a potentially significant epithet hidden in the ms. reading κεμήλιον.

Lesbians, but demanding that they turn their awesome powers against another:[15]

> Save us from these toils and from wearisome exile, and let the Erinus of those (oaths)[16] chase Hyrrhas' son, since we swore, cutting ... that none of us [would betray] any of the companions,
>
> but either lie clothed earth, killed by the men who then ...., or else killing them, save the people from suffering.
>
> But this Potbelly paid no attention to those (oaths), but easily trampling with his feet on the oaths he devours our city ...

The victim of his curse has foresworn himself, turning on the faction he had joined, forcing them into exile and subjecting the Lesbian people to the suffering caused by internecine conflict. There are four directions of motion: the gods are asked to approach the worshipper, who sends the Furies chasing after his victim, while hoping that the expulsion of his victim will allow him to return to Mytilene from exile.

The foreswearing is a serious crime that lays open the perpetrators to legitimate punishment from the avenging Furies. Therefore Alcaeus is not asking for something unjust, simply for what is now due. For this reason Alcaeus speaks his curse aloud, describing 'a dramatized setting of authoritative speech intended for the community at large.' (Nagy 1993 223) Or as Kurke (1994 87) puts it, '...performatives perform by

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[15] ἐκ δὲ τῶν[δ]ε μόχθων
ἀργαλέας τε φύγας ῥ[ύεσθε,
τὸν Ὑρραον δὲ πα[ῖδ]α πεδελθέτω
κῆνων Ἐ[ρίννυ]ς ὥς ποτ' ἀπώμνυμεν
τόμοντες ἄ.. [..]ν..
μηδάμα μηδένα τῶν ἑταίρων

ἀλλ' ἢ θάνοντες γᾶν ἐπιέμμενοι
κείσεσθ' ὐπ' ἄνδρων οἳ τότ' ἐπικ.'ην
ἤπειτα κακκτάνοντες αὔτοις
δᾶμον ὐπὲξ ἀχέων ῥύεσθαι.

κῆνων ὁ φύσγων οὐ διελέξατο
πρὸς θῦμον, ἀλλὰ βραϊδίως πόσιν
ἔ]μβαις ἐπ' ὀρκίοισι δάπτει
τὰν πόλιν ἄμμι ...
  Alcaeus 129.11-24

[16] I.e., rather than those who have suffered from his treachery (Rösler 1980 198-200; Burnett 1998 (1983) 160, note 6). Hutchinson (2001 200) prefers to take it as a 'genitive of the crime to be punished'.

common consent. By constituting the poem as a performative Alkaios attempts to forge

that consensus, to reconstruct the seamless community of *doxa*, with himself as appointed

delegate."[17] As she shows, this is the point of Alcaeus' stress on the services rendered by

and owed to the Lesbians as a whole.

Burnett (1998 (1983) 162) further demonstrates that the poem follows a very

sophisticated structure, based around a series of triads: it is divided into three parts,

appeals to three gods, makes three requests, and demands three punishments,

> [a]nd meanwhile the song as a whole moves through three phases of tradition, reality and fantasy as it evokes first numerous ancestors in quiet acts of worship, then a smaller group of contemporary men engaged in a rite of swearing and finally a single beast-man in the act of devouring.

Clearly every word and phrase in this carefully constructed prayer serves multiple

functions. How then are we to interpret the connotations of the phrasing of the demand

for vengeance itself, which Burnett (1998 (1983) 162) describes as 'utilitarian as that of a

contract'? The disturbingly crude images which Alcaeus uses to describe the actions and

physical person of Pittacus – the appellation 'Potbelly', the trampling and the devouring –

could have been derived from the very imagery which filled the oaths they swore,

evoking the power of those previously uttered words. This is made clear from the Hittite

soldiers' oaths.

First of all, Alcaeus' own description of the oath he and his companions swore, to

kill or be killed in pursuit of justice for the people, and if failing in their quest to be

buried in earth that covers them instead of clothing, matches the context and images of

the 'First Soldiers' Oath'. The Hittite oath is addressed against those he 'who

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[17] Compare the speaking of illegitimate curses in an undertone, discussed by Versnel (1981 26). As Parker (1983 192) observes, 'Anyone can utter a curse, but the power to curse effectively is normally confined to certain categories – kings, parents, priests, magistrates and the like – who represent whatever in society demands most reverence.'

transgre[sses] these oaths and takes deceptive action against the king of Ḫatti, and sets

(his) eyes upon the land of Ḫatti as an enemy.' (trans. Collins in Hallo and Younger 1997

164)[18] Alcaeus and his companions, rather than swearing loyalty to a king, swear loyalty

to their group which was opposed to the group in power, but in both cases the ultimate

objective was to protect the state from violence and traitors, and to preserve or obtain a

position of power. The image of the dead clothed in earth is banal, of course, but the

Hittite oaths do include changing clothing (see above, pp. 175-6), and the warning that a

transgressor will be swallowed by the earth ('Second Soldiers' Oath, KUB XLIII 38 rev.

8'-12', ed. Oettinger 1976). The change of clothing symbolizes an undesirable change in

status in both passages.

The more oblique references by Alcaeus to the imagery of the oath that was sworn

are introduced with the striking word *phusgon* 'pot-bellied'; it is this word more than any

other that has caused offense to modern commentators. Kurke (1994 87-92), following

Fileni (1983), notes the connection between tyrrany and devouring found in other poems

by Alcaeus and in the later poetic tradition, and further explains the derogatory name by

pointing out that the term can apply to a scapegoat. Thus, Alcaeus is attempting to escape

his exile by implementing 'saying makes it so', to exchange roles with Pittacus.

Kurke's remarks are cogent, but the epithet can be further elucidated by the

manipulation in the 'First Soldiers' Oath' of a figurine of a man with a swollen belly,

representing a person stricken with dropsy:[19]

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[18] n=ašta kuiš kū[š] NIŠ DINGIR-LIM šarr[izzi]
n=ašta ANA KUR URUḪATTI LÚKÚR-li IGI.ḪI.A-wa
dāi

CTH 427 = KBo VI 34 i 15'-7' (ed. Oettinger 1976 6)

[19] n[u=šm]aš=kan AL[AM LÚ Š]A₃-ŠU uidan<da> šu
[INA Q]ATI-ŠUNU dā[i] nu kišan tezzi
[kā]š=wa kuiš U[L=wa] linkiškit
[nu] DINGIR.MEŠ-aš peran [link]atta
namma=kan NIŠ DINGIR-L[IM šarr]adda n=an ⸢linki⸣anteš
ēppir n=aš=šan ŠA₃-ŠU šuttati
nu=za šarḫuwandan QATI-ŠU peran UGU-a

> He places in their hands a figure of a man whose inside is filled with water. He speaks as follows: 'Who is this? Did he not swear repeatedly? He swore before the gods. Afterwards he transgressed the oath of the god. The oath gods seized him. His insides swelled up. He has taken hold of his belly in front with his hands in order to keep it up....'

There could have been a reinterpretation of the swollen belly symbolizing inner sin in the Hittite ritual, stimulated by newer imagery of the greedy tyrant.

Furthermore, the descriptions of Pittacus as trampling the oath and devouring the city are not only standard metaphors of sacrilege and tyranny, but also reflect images found in the Hittite oath, which asks, 'Let them [...] devour him!' (KBo VI 34 iii 22-3), and causes the soldier to trample the pot-bellied figure, saying, 'Who transgresses these [divine] oaths, let [the god]s of Hatti proceed to trample his city likewise underfoot.' (KBo VI 34 iii 25, 28)[20] The word 'transgress' (*šarrai-*) in its first meaning of 'cross (a barrier)' shares the same sphere of action with the feet as 'trample', and thus the action which needs to be punished is matched by the punitive action enacted in the curse. Again, the action of trampling is typical of curses in the ancient world. Just as the Hittite curse makes parallel the evil action and the punishment for it, Alcaeus demonstrates how evil the actions of Pittacus have been by characterizing them with the same images of ultimate destruction which were found in the oaths they swore, in effect using words to the opposite effect of that intended in the Hittite purification and propitiation rituals, which attempt to turn back curses (see above, pp. 158-9 for more discussion). He is in fact reactivating the curse by rehearsing its imagery.

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karpan ḫarzi
  KBo VI 34 iii 12-9 (ed. Oettinger 1976 12)

The translation and transcription presented here was aided by the unpublished class notes of Hoffner from 1994. On the statuette, see Oettinger (1976) and Börker-Klähne (1992, esp. 70, 72) , who refers to *Numbers* 5: 11-31 for a similar punishment.

[20] *n=an karipandu . ...kuiš=kan kuš NIŠ* [DINGIR-LIM] *šarrizzi nu uwandu apel/* URU-a[n DINGIR-MJEŠ^URU*Ḫatti QATAMMA* GIR₃-*it išparrandu* (ed. Oettinger 1976 12)

Whereas Sappho has been admired for her skilful handling of multiple points of view and intertextual allusions, and her manipulation of the language of erotic incantations, there has been little attempt to understand Alcaeus 129 in the same light. Kurke has begun the process by observing the allusions to scapegoat ritual, and the ways in which Alcaeus manipulates the performative possibilities of poetry, positioning himself as what he wishes to be, but is not – the authoritative voice of his community. I have continued this type of analysis here by showing that Alcaeus is making allusions to the wording and imagery of the original oath – a form of 'inter-incantatory' allusion. I submit that Sappho's more elaborate use of intertextual allusion was made possible not only by the techniques of oral poetry, which 'metonymically' alludes to stories and motifs well-known to the audience with a compressed mention (a 'mythological paradigm'), but also by this practice of 'inter-incantatory' allusion.

The demands of Alcaeus and Sappho draw their meaning from the archaic complex of imagery used to curse, bless and propitiate. These actions are inextricably linked, for good can only be attained if evil is absent, and directing evil upon one's enemies brings good to oneself. As Ausfeld (1903 544-7) shows, the concern expressed by critics over Alcaeus' demands and their attempts to avoid the sinister implications of Sappho's plea stem from our Judeo-Christian ideas of the function of prayer, which have their origin in part from the questioning of later Greek philosophers of what it is appropriate to ask for in a prayer (Meijer 1981). Moreover, the seemingly incongruous spell or curse cast by Sappho or Alcaeus which follows the beautifully ornamented invocation and elegantly phrased justification of the plea still draws on the same power of words as the previous section to strengthen the persuasiveness of the request, however unsavory the imagery, or however prosaic the references to contractual and legal obligations may seem.

5.4. *Eumenides*

Moving from oaths to the protectors of oaths, who control the conditional distribution of evil and good, we now examine the blessings of the Furies in the *Eumenides* in light of the themes of *malteššars*. The portrayal of the Furies in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* as keepers of oaths who curse if angered, but bless when propitiated, alludes to the role of the Semnai Theai ('August Goddesses') (cf. Dinarchus *Contra Demosthenen* 47), in oaths such as the oath taken by the judges of the Areopagus. The beneficent side of the Furies is not an Aeschylean innovation, as has been argued by Sommerstein (1989 7-12); rather, as Johnston (1999 267-70) has maintained, Aeschylus seems to be tapping into a folk tradition that is otherwise poorly preserved in Greek literature. Aeschylus could have been the first to syncretize the Furies (Erinyes) and the Athenian Semnai Theai, but the association was probably made in the popular imagination already. While this question will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, in which the trial of Orestes will be examined in light of 'judicial curses' and Hittite *arkuwars* ('pleading') (pp. 202-3), the evidence from Alcaeus and Dinarchus shows that the Semnai Theai and the Erinyes had in common the task of avenging those who violated their oaths. This shared attribute both argues for the origin of both sets of goddesses from the same divinity and allowed Aeschylus to equate the two, and this is the function on which the Hittite *malteššars* shed light.[21]

In the *Eumenides*, the Furies first curse and then bless. Their 'binding song' over Orestes (304 ff.), has been shown by Faraone (1985) to follow the conventions of real *defixiones* (binding curses) including the fact that it occurs before their trial and attempts to influence the outcome of the juridical battle in their favor. They end up losing the trial due to the sophistic arguments of Apollo, but accept Athena's terms for a new cult in their

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[21] Henrichs (1994 45-54) discusses the Semnai Theai and the Erinyes as guardians of oaths and explains the relationship between the two sets of goddesses.

honor in Athens, cementing their agreement with a song of blessing (916 ff.).[22]

The transition from avenging goddesses to beneficent goddesses is effected by the propitiatory words of Athena, who soothes their anger at their defeat by Orestes.[23] Thus, Athena's soothing of the Furies corresponds to the Hittite *lilawar*. *Lilawar* is propitiation, persuading the god to relent by offerings of goods and words, part of the process of purifying a human from curses, slander, broken oaths or bloodshed (CTH 396, CTH 419-21).[24] The Furies, having been charmed (*thelxein* 900) by Athena, agree to her terms, that they will reside under the Areopagus to guarantee the truthfulness of the witnesses there, overseeing Athens and receiving cult worship from its inhabitants. As in Hittite, the contract depends on the assurance of a continued reciprocal relationship between god and worshipper, the one appointing the other to his role. Furthermore, just as the Hittites argue to their gods, 'Who else would attend to you as faithfully as us?', Athena tells the Furies,[25] 'You, having an honored seat at the house of Erechtheus, will receive from embassies of men and women more than you would ever receive from any other mortals.'

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[22] In the *Suppliants*, the Danaids both curse and bless. First they invoke the suppliants' power to curse, seeking sanctuary at the city altar of Argos against the Aegyptids, their cousins. The maidens warn King Pelasgus that Zeus the avenger is watching, who protects suppliants, and whose wrath is 'hard to charm away' (381-5). They threaten to kill themselves at the altar if denied and thereby bring pollution on Argos (392-6). If Pelasgus fails to protect them, they say, then Ares will retaliate against his children and home, wherever he might build it (434-7). In the end Pelasgus persuades the Argive people to take their side, and in return the Danaids sing a song of thanksgiving, in which they call for blessings on the land (659-91). Their ability to bless the land is in part based proleptically on their future role as cult heroes.

[23] Compare the prophecy of Apollo: 'We will find judgments of them and contrivances having soothing words.' δικαστὰς τῶνδε καὶ θελκτηρίους/ μύθους ἔχοντες μηχανὰς εὑρήσομεν. (81-2)

[24] The verb *lilai-* is used either in reference to soothing the dead or the gods, or soothing an affliction (CHD L 58-9). Perhaps the two uses can be reconciled by assuming that the affliction is caused by the anger of the gods.

[25] ... σὺ τιμίαν
ἕδραν ἔχουσα πρὸς δόμοις Ἐρεχθέως
τεύξῃ παρ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικείων στόλων
ὅσ' ἂν παρ' ἄλλων οὔποτ' ἂν σχέθοις βροτῶν
854-7

Also compare the arguments made by the chorus of Theban women in *Seven Against Thebes*, discussed above, p. 150.

The goddess having assured them that they have found a friend in the Athenians, the Furies ask her what they should 'sing unto the land'. She replies:[26]

> Such that it is befitting a victory that was not abusive, those (beneficial) things from the earth and the moisture of the sea and from heaven, and that gusts of wind sunnily blowing approach the land, and fruit of the earth and of cattle in abundance, so that it never tires over time of flourishing for the townspeople, and safety of of the seed of mortals. You should encourage the production of those who are are pious.... Such things are for you; I will not allow the city not to be honored among mortals as a city victorious in renowned martial contests.

The request for the breeding of more pious worshippers is analogous to the Hittite argument to the gods that if the gods let them die, there will be no one to pay them proper care. As in the Hittite *malteššars*, the request is not just for lasting fertility and abundance, but for victory in war. Both the 'Daily Prayer to Telipinu' and the 'Invocation of Ishtar of Nineveh' specifically ask for destruction to be sent on the enemy and military success to be attained by the Hittites. In the *Eumenides* Athena requests that the Athenians be successful in war, while the Furies and the goddess promise that civil war – a subject of great concern to contemporary Athens – be kept at bay (859-66, 976-87). While both are logically desirable, this also reflects the fact that when evil is removed it must be sent somewhere. thus, undesirable internecine conflict should be transmuted to victory in external conflict. In propitiation and healing rituals, a demand to send good needs to be balanced by a demand that bad be sent away, underground, into lidded

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[26] Ἀθηνά. τρίγαρ κατὰ χθόν' οὖσ' ἐπικτήσῃ φίλους.
Χορός. τί οὖν μ' ἄνωγας τῇδ' ἐφυμνῆσαι χθονί;
Ἀθηνά. ὁποῖα νίκης μὴ κακῆς ἐπίσκοπα,
καὶ ταῦτα γῆθεν ἔκ τε ποντίας δρόσου
ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τε, κἀνέμων ἀήματα
εὐηλίως πνεόντ' ἐπιστείχειν χθόνα,
καρπόν τε γαίας καὶ βοτῶν ἐπίρρυτον
ἀστοῖσιν εὐθενοῦντα μὴ κάμνειν χρόνῳ,
καὶ τῶν βροτείων σπερμάτων σωτηρίαν.
...
τοιαῦτα σοῦστι· τῶν ἀρειφάτων δ' ἐγὼ
πρεπτῶν ἀγώνων οὐκ ἀνέξομαι τὸ μὴ οὐ
τήνδ' ἀστύνικον ἐν βροτοῖς τιμᾶν πόλιν.
901-15

containers, into the sea or wasteland, or back onto an enemy, whether a military opponent or malicious sorcerer. And, the malevolent god can be asked to send good instead of his or her usual evil.[27] A *lilawar* not only sweetens the poisoned tongues of slanderers by dousing them in honey, but sends them back on the enemy; as the evil is cast back on them, so prosperity can approach the king and queen and their land ('Propitiation Ritual for King Tudhaliya and Queen Nikalmati Against Ziplandawiya', CTH 443 = KBo XV 10 i 29-38, ed. Szabó 1971 18).

The Hittite rituals give context to the new home of the Furies underground beneath the Areopagus. Chthonic gods reside underground, and so do the dead, both of whom can be both malevolent and beneficent (see pp. 222-4), but evil also is put away underground. In CTH 446 'Purification Ritual for the Underworld Gods', sin is removed from the house by digging it up, while the Former Gods who are called upon to remove the evil are communicated with by means of ritual pits. Furthermore, while the Telipinu *mugawar* describes Telipinu as retiring in anger underground, it closes with Telipinu approaching and evil safely buried in pots underground.[28]

The dead and the gods when they are underground are in close contact with any evil that has been concealed there. Thus, they have control over it; they can unleash it, and they can keep it inactive. Meanwhile, the notion that things buried underground have disappeared allows the worshipper to imagine that this is where his inattentive god has gone, and perhaps he may have even perished there. While the worshipper wishes to recall his god from the chthonic realm, he worries perpetually that the dead may come up for an unwanted visit, for the dead, though they are not visible in the world of the living,

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[27] Cf. CTH 396 Hatiya's Ritual for Wisuriyanza ('squeezer'), KBo XV 25 Vs. 9-11. (ed. Carruba 1966).

[28] See p. 155 and Parker (1983 229) on the Greek use of such techniques to dispose of impurity. Further examples of communicating with gods via pits are listed by Hoffner (1967 387-90). Also see the ritual involving the Stormgod of Lihzina, on p. 144, note 26.

still affect their survivors, causing them to fall ill if they fail to keep up their cult offerings properly or insult them in some other way. When an illness strikes therefore, the person affected attempts to find out the cause of his or her affliction through various sorts of divination, such as extispicy and augury, and then 'sets the ghost on the road' through propitiatory sacrifices (del Monte 1973; 1975; Archi 1979b).

While the Hittites rather simplistically believed that the farther evil is sent the better, in the *Eumenides* a far more sophisticated notion of the role of terror in controlling human behavior is evident, one that developed in order to implement the new form of government being practiced at Athens, democracy. The Furies, as terrifying agents of the dead, 'former gods' swift to anger at any perceived neglect (see p. 225), are put safely away, but, as Athena emphasizes, they are not gone. The 'terrible' thing should not be expelled, but should be kept within call to control people's base urges. (690-706, 988-95) Revenge is no longer directed towards those who have committed murder, rather the court decides on the appropriate compensation for this. Their vengeance is saved for those who foreswear their oaths in court, those who have committed a procedural crime, for it is the procedures of a democracy that create order, not the personal or military authority of one or a few powerful men. Their role as guardians of oaths is thus generalized into guardians of the state. The threat of pollution if the trial is judged incorrectly is transferred from the judges and killer to the witnesses who failed to tell the truth (MacDowell 1963 90-100; Parker 1983 110-30). As Macleod (1983 144) points out, 'δίκη is guaranteed not by a just ruler, but by a court and a cult'. That is, civil procedures gain legitimacy if associated with cult practices. The following chapter will continue to elucidate the conflation of ritual and judicial practices in ancient Greece, the one lending force to the other, with a detailed discussion of the trial scene in the *Eumenides* in light of Hittite texts.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CONFLATION OF PRAYER AND FORENSIC SPEECH:
HITTITE *ARKUWARS* AND THE TRIAL SCENE IN THE *EUMENIDES*

'The plays are permeated with ritual elements from one end to the other.'
Gerald Else (1986 27), 'Ritual and Drama in Aeschyleian Tragedy'

6.1. Introduction

Scholars have recently begun the process of putting Aeschylus' portrayal of ritual in the context of real rituals practiced in his time. Faraone (1985; 1991 5) has discussed the Furies' 'Binding Song' in the *Eumenides* in the context of real binding spells written on lead sheets, and Johnston (1999 46-63) has used inscriptions of *leges sacrae* from Cyrenea and Selinus to analyze the portrayal of the dangerous dead and blood-pollution in the *Libation-Bearers* and *Eumenides*. In this chapter I continue to mine the *Eumenides* for as yet unrecognized ritual forms that would have been familiar to its audience, arguing that in the trial scene Aeschylus was making use of commonly known imagery with archaic roots, of gods administering a trial of humans accused of blood-guilt, in which the gods serve as divine judges, defense witnesses and prosecutors. This imagery was used in both cursing and purification. To show this, I compare the trial scene with

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Near Eastern texts ranging from Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptional curse formulae in 9th century northern Syria to ghost prescriptions in Akkadian. To this may be added the exiguous materials in Greek concerning previous trials involving gods at the Areopagus (see pp. 197-201), and more abundant attestations of 'judicial curses', first from the Greek world, then from the Roman world (see pp. 206-9). When all of these texts are put together, they establish that the use of trial imagery in curses and purification rituals was an areal feature of the Eastern Mediterranean which spread from Mesopotamia to Anatolia and Greece and finally from the Greeks to the Romans. The evolution of mundane juridical procedures meanwhile stimulated the evolution of imagery used in the pleas made by the worshippers. The Hittite materials provide us with a particularly detailed portrait of this practice from a variety of text types, and therefore they are a valuable source for the East Mediterranean folk tradition that inspired Aeschylus. Furthermore, the early date of the Hittite material allows us to separate out archaic elements of the imagery available to Aeschylus that he reinterpreted (see esp. pp. 206-9, 220-1).

The inability of each generation of Atreids to escape punishment for their ancestors' sins is a key theme running through the *Oresteia*; the matter is finally resolved in the final play of the trilogy in a trial with Apollo and the Furies arguing the case before a jury of Athenians, and Athena casting the deciding vote.[1] As we will see, this scenario is very much like that imagined in Hittite *arkuwars* in which a divine patron argues for his worshipper and against a hostile divine opponent before an assembly of gods, even to the question of whether the human has already expiated sufficiently the sin he is accused

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[1] Some have argued that the *Danaid* trilogy also may have ended in a trial scene, with either the Danaids being tried for the murder of their incestuous bridegrooms or Hypermnestra for her refusal to commit the crime, and Aphrodite arguing for marriage (Garvie 1969 204-11). If this is so, this is an earlier Aeschylean example of a similar scenario. However, the evidence for such an interpretation is very tenuous.

of committing, and the appearance of the 'former', Underworld gods (see pp. 214-8, 221). The Furies are agents of revenge for the sake of the dead, arguing against Apollo, who serves as divine intermediary and patron of Orestes, before the divine judge Athena, and a human jury. When compared to the Hittite *arkuwars*, the primary innovation is the presence of the human jury, which is meant to be the prototype of the Athenian jury for capital cases at the Areopagus and an allusion to Athenian democracy (see pp. 201-2). Other versions of the Orestes trial show that the jury is in fact an adaptation of the assembly of gods before which one pleads one's case.

6.2. Greek Traditions Concerning Trials on the Areopagus Involving the Gods

The variants of the story of the trial of Orestes are all attested after the date of the *Eumenides*.[2] Some of these variants are more mundane than that told in Aeschylus' play. In these the prosecutors are not divine agents of revenge sent from the Underworld, but friends or relatives of Orestes' victims. The historian Hellanicus (4 F169, ed. Jacoby 1957 146-7), for example, states that Orestes was prosecuted by 'those coming from Sparta' (τοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἐλθοῦσι) and judged by the Athenians; while Dictys (49 F2, ed. Jacoby 1957 275) proffers a single judge, Menestheus, and names as prosecutors Oiax, Tyndareus and Erigone, relatives of the deceased; Apollodorus on the other hand offers several different versions: the prosecutor was Erigone or Tyndareus or the Erinyes, and the vote being equal Orestes was acquitted (*Bibl. epit.* 6.25).[3] This last statement implies the situation presented in the *Eumenides* with Athena casting the deciding vote.[4]

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[2] For full citations of the variants of the Orestes trial and the other trials which preceded it, see Sommerstein (1989 3-6). Also see Seaford (1994 134) on heroes and lawsuits and Parker (1983 386-8) for a discussion of Orestes' purification.

[3] Nicolaus of Damascus provides two variants, that Orestes was either chased out by friends of Aigistheus, or ('more commonly told') by the Furies (90 F25, ed. Jacoby 1961 343).

[4] There has been much debate over whether the deciding vote cast by Athena creates a tie or breaks a tie. The consensus now is that Athena broke the tie. (Goldhill 1984 257-8)

The evidence shows that there was a version of the trial of Orestes involving both the gods and the Furies, one that could have been known by Aeschylus. Apollodorus' version of events has already been given. Most of the other passages which state that the trial of Orestes involved prosecuting divinities are preserved as quotes imbedded in other authors, but four passages appear in their original context, and each time the legend is told, this context helps dictate whether the speaker characterizes the judges as human or divine; in all the prosecutor is divine.

Dinarchus (*Or.* 1.87, ed. Conomis 1975 44) refers to the trials of Ares and Orestes in a speech versus Demosthenes in which he is trying to persuade the jury that it is acceptable to condemn Demosthenes, for Poseidon submitted to Ares and the Semnai Theai to Orestes at the Areopagus, 'the judgment for Orestes occurring in this council' (τῇ πρὸς Ὀρέστην ἐν τούτῳ συνεδρίῳ κρίσει). The Semnai Theai then took up residence there and were thereafter associated with the truth of its judgments. Although the orator does not say explicitly that the judges themselves were humans, the passage makes best sense if Dinarchus was trying to encourage his audience by telling them that previous highly important claimants accepted the verdict handed down by their ancestors in this very court.

Demosthenes (23.66), on the other hand, expounded on the theme of the prestige of the Areopagus in a slightly different way. He again emphasized that the decisions taken by the Areopagus had never been overturned, even by tyrants. The gods themselves thought it right to have trials there, for it was the only court in which Poseidon considered it proper to prosecute Ares, and the twelve gods to decide the case of Orestes against the Eumenides. Arguing that a decree making a certain Charidemus inviolable was illegal, he insisted that there was such a thing as justifiable homicide, since the twelve gods had

found Orestes not guilty (23.74). Demosthenes preferred the version in which the gods decide in Orestes' favor in order to set an example of unerring divine judgment for the jurors.

Aristides (*Or.* 1.41-8, ed. Lenz and Behr 1976 22-4) likewise extolled the virtue of the Areopagus in his oration in praise of Athens. Not only did Athena and Poseidon see fit to contend over Athens, but also to hold important trials there, since Ares and Poseidon argued at Athens, Poseidon winning 'in the eyes of all the gods' (ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς θεοῖς). Aristides skips over the two intervening trials of Cephalus and Daedalus to close with the trial of Orestes which the Furies lost according to the judgment of the gods. Throughout, the gods' patronage of the Areopagus and its archaic traditions redound to the glory of Athens. The Areopagus was a symbol of divine justice untouched by change.

Our final example is the earliest, coming from Euripides' *Orestes* (1647-52). The play closes with Apollo appearing on the scene to resolve the conflict between Menelaus and Orestes. He tells Orestes what will happen next: in Athens the gods will judge in his favor the case presented against him by the Furies.[5] Would Euripides use a version otherwise unknown to the audience, creating a new version? If not, after presenting a completely invented episode about Orestes, squeezing it in between the crime and expiation, Euripides ends his bizarre tale with something completely familiar to the audience, bringing the episode back in line with the received tradition concerning Orestes, and contrasting the just decision of the gods, already known to the audience,

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[5] ἐνθένδε δ' ἐλθὼν τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν
δίκην ὑπόσχες αἵματος μητροκτόνου
Εὐμενίσι τρίσσαις.
θεοὶ δέ σοι δίκης βραβῆς
πάγοισιν ἐν Ἀρείοισιν εὐσεβεστάτην
ψῆφον διοίσουσ', ἔνθα νικῆσαί σε χρή.
      (ed. Biehl 1975)

Then going to the city of the Athenians, undergo a trial for the blood shed at your mother's murder, against the three Eumenides. The gods, judges of the trial, will pass a most virtuous vote for you on the Areopagus, where you must be victorious.

with the newly invented decree imposed against Orestes by the Argives. The deviation from Aeschylus is all the more significant since in *Electra* and *Iphigeneia among the Taurians*, Euripides cleaves closely to the version of his predecessor when linking his novel story to the previous tradition (see note 11).

Another innovation on Aeschylus' part was his insistence that the trial of Orestes was the first trial held on the Areopagus. In the tradition there were in fact three other trials on this hilltop and the place was named after the first of these, between Ares and Poseidon, when the Sea-god prosecuted Ares for killing Poseidon's son Halirrhothios, who had tried to rape Ares' daughter Alkippe. In the two intervening trials, Cephalus was tried for killing his wife Procris, daughter of Erechtheus (also see Kearns 1989 177), and Daedalus was tried for the underhanded murder of his nephew Talos. (Hellanicus, 4 F69, ed. Jacoby 1957 146-7) The story of Ares' trial, like the story of Orestes, seems to have had variants which offered different judges, either humans or the twelve gods. Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 3.14.2) insisted the judges were the gods, and the trial of Ares should follow the same pattern as that of Orestes in the remarks of Dinarchus, Demosthenes and Aristides.

Another contest in which Poseidon was involved has parallels with the story of the trial of Orestes and the Hittite trials; it is the contest between Poseidon and Athena for the right to be the patron of Athens. This story also had variants in which the judge was sometimes a human, sometimes the twelve gods. Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 3.14.1, ed. Wagner 1926 113), for example, claims that the case was decided not by Cecrops, Cranaus or Erysichthon, but by the twelve gods. Cecrops gave testimony that Athena planted the olive, which was judged a greater gift than Poseidon creating the sea by striking the earth with his trident.[6] So, three trials had variants which differed in choosing

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[6] A similar contest is attested between Poseidon and Hera over Corinth. In the preserved version, the contest was decided by Inachus (as a river) and other rivers (Paus. 2.15.5).

divine or human judges.

There are further examples of gods judging cases, for example in Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* frag. 43a 36-40, a goddess settles a dispute between Sisyphus and Aithon over a maiden (see Gagarin 1986 35). More relevant to the discussion here are the two descriptions in *Agamemnon* of the gods trying the case of Troy (813-7, 532-7, see Macleod 1983 133-4). West (1997 565-6), discusses such examples and their Near Eastern parallels under the heading 'war as litigation before the gods'.[7]

Aeschylus, by changing the jury from the more archaic divine jury to a human one, created a new etiology for the Areopagus, thus supporting the recent reforms of Ephialtes, which had reduced the scope of the jurisdiction of the Areopagus to blood-crimes, an area of competence which probably was its original jurisdiction. It is against this conflict between old and new that Aeschylus sets the conflict in his play between the 'old gods' and the 'new gods'. (Macleod 1983 127-9; Meier 1993 97 ff.) Since this reform reduced the power of its officiants, men of wealth acceding to the position of judges at this court purely because they had previously served as archons, it moved Athens towards a new type of polis, one that was controlled by the voice of its citizens. Specifically, it eliminated the power of the Areopagus to veto the appointments by lot of magistrates (Rihll 1995). By praising the importance of the Areopagus, saying that it is a 'bulwark of the land' (ἔρυμα χώρας 701), Aeschylus is assuring those who may have been slighted by this restriction of their privileges that they still have a key part to play in the polis, while supporting the democratic reforms that created a new image of the polis as an institution ruled by the citizens, a real democracy. As Bowie (1993 14) states, 'The greatest succession myth of them all, with its cosmic change that brought Zeus to power

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[7] West cites further examples from Aeschylus (*Supp.* 934-7), Homer (*Il.* 2.385, 18.209) and Hesiod (*Theog.* 882). The convention of gods hearing cases seems to be referred to by the chorus of the *Seven against Thebes*, when they call the gods *panaguris* 'all-assembled' (220), as if to hear their pleas.

and created the world order as we now know it, thus has lessons for those contemplating recent upheavals in Athens.'

Given the political background to Aeschylus' new etiology for the Areopagus, it is likely that Aeschylus was the first to place the trial of Orestes at Athens, associating the vengeful Erinyes with the Semnai Theai who resided under the Areopagus at Athens. Lardinois (1992) argues strongly for this, insisting that Aeschylus is linking a pan-Hellenic concept – Homer's avenging Erinyes – with a purely local tradition to add to the prestige of the epichoric goddesses. The setting for the *Oresteia* first in Argos, then in Athens, further allowed for a twofold political message to be sent, on the one hand championing the alliance between Argos and Athens, and on the other reducing the status of Sparta, by denying that the Atreids had their home there (Lardinois 1992 321-2; Podlecki 1999 82-100). It has been argued that the Semnai Theai are not the merciless avengers that the Erinyes are (Brown 1984), but a better way to resolve the apparent contradiction is to acknowledge that in their case we have dual names expressing the two sides of the character of these chthonic goddesses, who can send blessings if treated properly to those who comport themselves properly but unfailingly punish those who do wrong or neglect them. Homer presents a one-sided image of the Erinyes as goddesses avenging blood-crimes within the family, but the original Erinys, judging from its attestation as a recipient of offering in Linear B, must have been different (Johnston 1999 250-2). While the name of Erinys could be attached to chthonic avengers, they could also be left un-named, with such circumlocutions as the 'Nameless Gods', the 'August Goddesses' (*Semnai Theai*), or the 'Well-minded Ones' (*Eumenides*), in an attempt to negate their potential for evil by refusing to use the unpropitious name Erinys (Johnston 1999 267-73; Henrichs 1994).

The connection between the Athenian Semnai Theai and the more broadly known Erinyes was thus already there in the popular imagination, but possibly the setting of the

trial in Athens and the concomitant appearance of Athena as the only divine judge, was a

new element in Aeschylus' story. This innovation would have been made possible

because of the long-standing tradition of the other famous trials which had occurred

there, certainly of Ares and probably of Cephalus, and perhaps of Daedalus, although

Aeschylus denied that either of these trials ever occurred, insisting that the trial of

Orestes was the first to be carried out there. If the setting at Athens was in fact an

Aeschylean invention, then the tradition of the human prosecutors following Orestes to

Athens would have been later than Aeschylus.[1]

However, these issues lie outside the scope of the discussion here, since I am not

attempting to argue that Athens was the traditional setting for a trial involving Orestes.

The claim made here is that Orestes' trial draws on an ancient Greek folk tradition of

divinities trying a human accused of impurity, and arguing the case concerning him, with

an avenging god serving as prosecutor and a patron god serving as defense witness;

perhaps such a tradition was already associated with Orestes. In this I disagree with

Sommerstein's claim (1989 6):

> Aeschylus thus appears to have inherited two types of legend about the aftermath of Orestes' matricide: one telling how he was harried by the Erinyes and protected by Apollo, the other how he came to Athens and was tried and acquitted by the gods sitting in the Areopagus.[9]

Sommerstein (1989 4-6) argues that the roles of Apollo and Athena were both

innovations, pointing out that Apollo should be a member of the jury of twelve gods, and

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[1] This new version told by Aeschylus would also have allowed Euripides (*IT* 948-60) to invent an etiology for the unusual custom of silent drinking at separate tables during the Athenian Choes festival. This was the solution to the awkward situation produced when Orestes had arrived at Athens during this festival in order to be cleansed, since he could be welcomed in a manner which prevented his taint being transferred to the Athenians but avoided insulting him. While Hamilton (1992 15-26) has shown decisively that there is no reason to believe that Euripides did not invent this etiology for the Choes, Bowie (1993 22-4) makes clear that Aeschylus (*Ag.* 1577-1611) has laid the groundwork for this association by his description of the ghastly cannibalistic meal served to Thyestes by Atreus of his own son, as a banquet in which each guest sat separately.

[9] In fact, pursuit is closely linked with prosecution, see Versnel (1991 71, 78-9).

that Zeus would be a more logical tie-breaker for the trial; furthermore, outside of

Aeschylus 'only Euripides and Aristides mention the role of Athena, and only Euripides

mentions the evidence of Apollo' (Sommerstein 1989 4).[10] However, the role of Apollo as

defender fits with the Hittite examples and could have been part of the pre-Aeschylean

tradition. The diachronic evidence from Near Eastern curses and purification rituals, and

later Graeco-Roman curses shows that Apollo's advocacy was an obsolescent motif

which needed to be explained by Aeschylus, while the Furies as prosecutors would have

familiar to Aeschylus' audience. The tie vote and the human jurors are the true anomalies.

6.3. Divine Prosecutors in Hieroglyphic Luwian and Greek Curses

Divine prosecutors appeared frequently in Early Iron Age curses. While the

judicial curse is first found in the wider Mesopotamian tradition, being typical of

Akkadian curses, divine prosecutors are found in curses from Early Iron Age north Syrian

inscriptions in Hieroglyphic Luwian, carrying on an Anatolian tradition found in Hittite

(Hawkins 2000 418),[11] which was continued in Greek inscriptions in Anatolia. They are

also found in Graeco-Roman curses up to five centuries later.[12]

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[10] Euripides is clearly referring to the same story that Aeschylus told, if not the *Eumenides* itself. In *Electra*, he calls the goddesses Keres (1252) and the 'dread goddesses' (1270 δειναὶ θεαί), describing them much as they are portrayed in Aeschylus (1252-7). He mentions the trial of Ares, and that the gods were judges in it (1258 ff.). In *Iphigeneia among the Taurians* (968-82), he links it to the story he is telling in the tragedy by saying that some Erinyes who were not involved in the trial were not satisfied with the verdict, and that Orestes was bound to a further round of expiation, fulfilled by bringing back the statue of Artemis Tauropolos in the very temple that Iphigeneia tends. See Hamilton (1978 283-8).

[11] For the Akkadian, Hawkins cites entries in CAD D 155 and for the Hittite, CTH 57 = KBo I 28 rev. 9-12.

[12] Juridical imagery is confined to cases in which the curser feels himself in the right, and therefore able to call down the wrath of the gods purely on the principles of justice. On the other hand, many have argued that curses in which the victim is desired to be bound, burnt, buried and nailed are particularly appropriate when the curser is quite aware that he is demanding something morally wrong (Parker 1983 198; Versnel 1991; Watson 1991 38-40; Gager 1992 175-80; Ogden 1999 37-44). Faraone (1991 17), however, argues against the 'modern assumption that the anonymity and secret burial of the inscribed κατάδεσμοι, like the inaudible whispering or muttering of malevolent verbal prayers, can be attributed to the shame of the agent and that such shame indicates an illicit activity.' He suggests rather that burying tablets simply placed them closer to the chthonic gods called upon, and the purpose of secrecy was to prevent victims from countering with spells of their own. Moreover, he points out that '[m]ost of the

In Hieroglyphic Luwian the threat of litigation at the hands of the inscriber's patron gods is frequently directed against those who might dare to defile the inscription or injure his family in the future. (See citations in Hawkins 2000 418.) The god is a prosecutor, not a judge, and the most fulsome curses include threats against fertility, bringing them into line with the threats uttered by the Furies and in Greek curses. The following inscription by King Katuwas from north Syrian Carcemish (dating to the end of the 10ᵗʰ or beginning of the 9ᵗʰ century BC) closes with an elaborate curse:[13]

> [(He) wh]o(?) shall approach these [god]s with badness, or shall approach these *upper floors* with badness.... or shall erase my name from these orthostats, against him may celestial Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba, and the Storm God of Mount Arputa and the gods of the river-country litigate! From him may they *sever* virility, [(or) from her may they *sever* femininity), to him may they not allot(?) (male) seed, ((or) to her may they not allot(?) female seed)! (Karkamiš A11 b+c, §19-29, ed. and trans. Hawkins 2000 103-4)

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argument over the comparison of "pious prayers" and putatively more malevolent "curse tablets" seems inevitably (and unfortunately) to rest on our subjective appraisal of the attitude of the persons performing the acts.' (Faraone 1991 18)

[13] [...]-*sa* :[*a-ti*]-*ia-za* [DEUS-*n*]*i'-za* MALUS-*ta₄-ti-i-'* || VERSUS-*ia-ni* |PES-*wa/i-ti* |NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-sa* |*za-ti-ia-za* (DOMUS.SUPER)*ha+ra/i-sà-tá-na-za* MALUS-*ta₄-ti-i-'* |VERSUS-*ia-ni* [PES]-*wa/i-ti*
[|]NEG₂-[*pa-*]*wa/i-tà* CRUS.CRUS[(-)*ni*?]-*ia-za-i* REL-*a-ti* PRAE-*na* [*wa/i*]-*tà-'* [SCRIBA +*RA/I*](-)*tà-*ʳ*i*¹ ʳ|ʳREL-*i-sa* |*za-a-zi-pa-wa/i-tá* [(SCALPRUM)]*ku-ta-sa₅+ra/i-zi-i* LOCUS-*ta₄-za* [...]||-*i-t*[*i*] |NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-tá* |*za-a-ti-ia-za* |("SCALPRUM")*ku-ta-sa₅+ra/i-za* |*á-ma-za* |*á-ta₅-ma-za* |ARHA |"MALLEUS"-*la/i/u-i*
pa-ti-pa-wa/i-tá-' CAELUM (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* (DEUS)*kar-hu-ha-sá* (DEUS)*ku* + AVIS-*pa-pa-sá-ha* (MONS)*a* + *ra/i-pu-tá-wa/i-ni-sá-ha* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* ("FLUMEN + MINUS")*sà-ku* + *ra/i-wa/i-ni-i-zi-ha* (FLUMEN.REGIO)*ha*||-*pa-tà-si* DEUS-*ní-zi* | LIS-*la/i/u-sa-tú*
wa/i-tú-' |VIR-*ti-ia-ti-ia-za-ha* |("CULTER")*pa* + *ra/i-tú-ni-tú-u* FEMINA-*ti-ia-ti-ia-za-ha-wa/i-tú-u* |("CULTER")*pa* + *ra/i-tú-ni-i-tú* *wa/i-tú-'* |VIR-*ti-ia-ti-i-na* |("462)*mu-wa/i-i-tà-na* NEG₃-*sa* |*tà-ti-i* FEMINA-*ti-i*[*a*]-*ti-pa-wa/i-tú* (FEMINA."462)||*4'-tà* |*ni-i* |*tà-ti-i*

Another inscription from Katuwas closes with the following curse against anyone who might wish to damage the stele: *wa/i-tú-ta-'* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* (DEUS)*kar-hu-ha-sa* (DEUS)*ku* + AVIS-*pa-sa-ha* LIS-*la/i/u-za-tú wa/i-tú-ta-'* (PANIS)*tú* + *ra/i-pi-na* (LIBARE)*sa₅* + *ra/i-la*||-*ta-za-ha* NEG₃-*sa* ARHA |*tà-ti-i* '... against him may Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba litigate! From him may they not take up bread and libation!' (Karkamiš A 11 a, § 26-7, ed. and trans. Hawkins 2000 96) An inscription from the north Syrian town of Aleppo of a similar date as the ones from Carcemish, commemorating the dedication of an image of the Storm-god on the other side of the stele, closes with a fragmentary and not fully comprehensible curse that threatens litigation and seemingly infertility for the land and family of anyone who defiles his dedication (Aleppo 2, §13-23, ed. and trans. Hawkins 2000 236-7).

1942 108-17) and continue to use juridical imagery (Stubbe 1991 34-8).[14] This tradition

is also found in Phrygian inscriptions, as far as we can understand them, although no

juridical imagery has been found so far (see most recently Woudhuizen 1993).

Furthermore, indirect evidence for judicial curses continuing into the third century

AD in Anatolia comes from confessional inscriptions responding to such curses (Gager

1992 176; Versnel 1991 72-4). The use of juridical language and imagery in curses was

extremely widespread in the Graeco-Roman world, and is found as far away as the 3rd

cent. AD at Bath (Tomlin 1988 70-1). They were discussed in detail by Versnel (1991

with earlier refs.), when he presented the evidence for his new category of 'judicial

curses'. Furthermore the habit of writing down curses and depositing them in the temple

mimicked contemporaneous juridical procedures, such as the Athenian custom of

depositing decrees in the sanctuary of the Great Mother (Dinarchus 1.86).[15]

However, although found in traditional poetry before Aeschylus, it seems that the

notion of the judging god or divine jury became less popular, probably already beginning

in Aeschylus' time, and perhaps the obsolescence of this image encouraged him to

replace the divine judges with humans. For, in most curses or in the confessional

inscriptions which tap into the same concepts, the focus is on the gods as prosecutors.

This stands in marked contrast with what is found in the earlier Near Eastern materials, as

we will see.

Thus, the most commonly quoted 'judicial curse' is in fact anomalous. In this

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[14] Stubbe (1991 40) sees the characteristic Anatolian use of 'funerary imprecations' as a product of the view that the tomb is a home for the deceased. Stubbe (1991 36) argues against the earlier division by Latte (1920 77-8), of Anatolian versus Greek curses, instead creating a provisional division of non-specific and specific curses. He argues that there is no major difference in tone, that the Anatolian curses do not, as Latte claimed, emphasize guilt and sin, a point of view still followed by Pleket (1981 156), who claimed that the pattern of 'sin-divine wrath-punishment-confession-atonement' is particular to Anatolian inscriptions 'and can be regarded as a contribution of Oriental religiosity.' This pattern in modified form in fact appears in the *Eumenides*: confession is replaced with an attempt to plead that the sin was justified.

[15] See Versnel (1991 76-7), and on the custom of depositing decrees, Todd (1993 58).

we will see.

Thus, the most commonly quoted 'judicial curse' is in fact anomalous. In this curse from Arkesine, dated somewhere between the 2nd cent. BC and the 2nd cent. AD (Versnel 1985 252), the speaker is angry because Epaphrodeitos has persuaded a number of his slaves to run away. He demands justice from Demeter and curses the man with failure and infertility for himself, his beasts and his fields. The tablet closes:[16]

> Lady Demeter, I supplicate you because I have suffered injustice: hear me, oh goddess, and pass a just sentence. For those who have cherished such thoughts against us and who have prepared with joy sorrows for me and my wife Epiktèsis, prepare the worst and most painful horrors. Oh queen, hear us who suffer and punish those who rejoice in our misery. (trans. Versnel 1985 253; also see Versnel 1999 126; No. 75 in Gager 1992 164-7)

The explicit reference here to the goddess passing judgment is not frequently found in other curses, although two other examples are mentioned by Versnel (1991 71 with note 59). The curse of Sabinus (sixth cent. AD), for example, does say, 'Let them appear before the tribunal where you, o lord and ma[ster, always judge].'[17]

In a search through relevant texts which included the corpus of *defixiones* collected by Audollent (1904), the curses collected by Björck (1938), the confessions found in Zingerle (1926), the Greek magical papyri (Preisendanz and Henrichs 1973), and the discussions of Gager (1992) and Versnel (1991), I found no other mention of the gods judging (κρίνω), as jurors (δικαστής), or as judges (βραβής) besides those mentioned by Versnel. The common legal terms are discussed by Versnel, with earlier references. Some focus on the acts of confession (ἐξαγορέω) and compensation

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[16] Κυρία Δημήτηρ, λιτανεύω σε παθὼν ἄδικα, ἐπάκουσον. θεά, καὶ κρῖναι τὸ δίκαιον, ἵνα τοὺς τοιαῦτα ἐνθυμουμένους καὶ καταχαίροντε(ς) καὶ λύπας ἐπιθε(ῖ)ναι κἀμοὶ καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ γυναικὶ Ἐπικτήσι, καὶ μισοῦσιν ἡμᾶς ποιῆσαι αὐτοῖς τὰ δεινότατα καὶ χαλεπώτερα δεινά. Βασίλισσα, ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν παθοῦσι, κολάσαι τοὺς ἡμᾶς τοιούτους ἡδέως βλέποντες. (ed. Börner 1963 992; see Versnel 1985 252-3)

[17] καταλαβέτωσαν τὸ βῆμα, ὁπουδὰν σύ, ὦ κύρει δέσ[ποτα, κρίνῃς] (Papyrus upsaliensis 8.8, ed. (Björck 1938 6). Also see Versnel (1991 71).

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(λύτρον) on the part of the criminal, or on the actions of the curser, who describes

himself as registering the victim (καταγράφω),[18] handing over (κατατίθημι) or

entrusting (άνιερόω) his case. Others describe the actions expected from the gods: they

should chase or hunt down (ζητέω, μετέρχομαι) the criminal or the goods lost; they

should physically punish (κολάζω), torture or put to the test (βασανίζω), avenge

(τιμωρέω) or prosecute (έκδικέω) the criminal. None of these are actions undertaken by

the jury or judge in a case. Rather, the gods are asked to serve as a powerful advocate for

a human who has been unable to obtain redress in the mundane world, such as someone

untimely dead (Versnel 1991 68). The notions of prosecution and punishment bleed into

one another because both are motivated by righteous indignation.[19] Thus, the god when

called upon 'subjects the culprit to a painful illness and in this way forces him to confess.'

(Versnel 1991 73) That is, punishment is already part of the prosecution.

A key factor affecting the curse imagery was surely a change in how mundane

judges were selected. In early Greece, the participants in the trial selected a judge

themselves, based on his prestige and reputation for integrity and fairness (Gagarin 1986

20-35). However, this ad hoc system was replaced by a jury chosen by lot or appointment

(see Humphreys 1983). When this became the norm, there was no longer a mundane

parallel which encouraged the worshipper to call upon a god of his choice to judge his

case, and thus the tradition faded somewhat although it did not vanish completely. As

Versnel (1991 81-2) notes, Roman temple officials still presented cases to Jupiter, Juno

and Minerva (Augustine *De Cv. D.* 6.10, repeating Seneca's description). Meanwhile,

however, in the Athenian system at least, prosecutions were carried out by private

citizens who felt a personal interest in the case (Todd 1993 91-2). This kept vital the

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[18] See the translation of Gager (1992 181).

[19] Similarly, the verb κρίνω can occasionally apply to the actions of the prosecution, as Gagarin (1997 163) makes clear.

curse imagery of gods hunting down or prosecuting a victim in just anger.

The reinterpretation of the role of the gods is most striking when Helios is called upon, for whereas in the Near East he was the all-seeing judge, in Greek he becomes the all-seeing prosecutor. For example, the Akkadian 'Hymn of Shamash' speaks at length of the Sun-god as judge and overseer of human justice, who punishes those who make unjust decisions (trans. Foster 1993 531 ff.). On the other hand, a stele from Cyprus asks, 'Lord Sun, since you rise justly, let not he who plotted against the life of Kalliope escape your notice, rather send on him the groans of those who have died violently.'[21] Another gravestele from Pontos says simply, 'O Sun, prosecute.'[22]

6.4. Trial Scenes in Hittite Prayers Compared to Orestes' Trial

The notion that gods could try one's case is well-attested in Hittite texts. Earlier Akkadian prayers and ghost prescriptions frequently imagine gods, especially the Sun-god, as trying their case or serving as intercessors to other gods, or as witnesses,[23] and the Hittite prayers which will be examined here are clearly inspired by these prayers, but they provide a more detailed portrait of the trial, one that on the one hand corresponds with the details of the trial scene in the *Eumenides*, and on the other allows us to trace the

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[21] κύριε Ἥλιε, ὡς δικαίως ἀνατέλλεις, μή λάθοιτό σε ὁ ἐπίβουλος γενάμενος τῆς ψυχῆς Καλλιόπης, ἀλλά ἐπίπεμψον αὐτῷ τάς στεναχάς τῶν βιαθανάτων. (ed. Björck 1938 27, No. 5)

[22] Ἥλιε, ἐκδίκησον. (ed. Björck 1938 27, No. 4)

[23] Akkadian prayers, spoken by diviners, ask the gods to pass judgment truly with regards to the extispicy (YOS 11.22, 23, trans. Foster 1993 148-54). Another asks Nanna to be the judge and Ninshubur to be the witness against someone who has foresworn himself (UET 6/2 402, trans. Foster 1993 156-7). Purification rituals ask a god to listen to a divine intercessor (BMS 6 97-130, K 3794 +, trans. Foster 1993 652, 665-6). These prayers and rituals, like the Hittite ones, often are in response to evident anger for an undiscovered crime, or are prophylactic and catalogue an encyclopedic range of possible sins. The *arkuwars* also show affiliations with Mesopotamian incantations against sickness and ghosts which ask underworld spirits, dead ancestors and heroized dead such as Gilgamesh to render judgment in their favor (examples: Tigay 1982 80, part trans.; Scurlock 1988 188-91, 214-22, 251-60, 337-42, 351-4, 354-7; trans. Foster 1993 637, 644-7). Compare the tradition that the Lydian king Minos was the judge of the dead (*Od.* 11.568-71).

evolution of the judicial prayer which was stimulated by changes in mundane juridical procedure.

6.4.1. The Relationship between Mundane Administration and Divine Administration in Hittite Prayers

When the Hittite *arkuwars* appeal to a god to intercede in the divine assembly or to pass judgment, we might be tempted to think of this as all just metaphorical or make-believe, but the talk of putting cases before a god was not just rhetoric saved for prayers. When Hittite kings needed to appeal to someone who wielded authority over them to pass judgment on a case they were involved in, they in fact resorted to the gods themselves, presenting cases directly to the gods by having tablets read aloud before their statues or placing the cases under their care by storing the relevant tablets in their temples.

An international letter from a New Hittite king to the Assyrian king Salmanassar I speaks of the Hittite king's attempt to resolve a law case between them (KBo XVIII 24, ed. Hagenbuchner 1986 241-2). The Hittite king protests that when he attempted to be friendly, the Assyrian called it 'over-familiarity' (*dammenkuwar*). Then, when the Hittite king wrote to him with an official complaint in the form of a law case, Salmanassar cursed him (i 1-8). The Hittite king protests that he is a great king, not an underling of the Assyrian,[24] and insists that Salmanassar should listen closely to what he has to say (i 10-2). The Hittite king tells him: 'Because you keep pleading your case to the gods, when they bring this tablet, read the tablet before the great gods.' (i 12-4)[25] The letter deteriorates after this so it is unclear what exactly their dispute involves, although there is mention of the Assyrian king encroaching on Hittite territory.

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[24] *nu=za* LUGAL.GAL *kuit UL=za* II-an *taparanza* (obv. 10). 'Because I am a Great King, I am not subordinate.' Hagenbuchner takes the two clauses as referring to the Assyrian king.

[25] *nu ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ *kuit arkuiškiši/ nu kī* GIM-*an TUPPU udanzi/ nu=kan TUPPU PĀNI* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.ḪI.A *halzai*. Houwink ten Cate (1969 82-3) also discusses this letter as an example of the use of *arkuwars* to plead a case before the gods. Also see Houwink ten Cate (1969 93-4).

Another international letter, unfortunately very damaged, give us intriguing hints of another dispute which the gods are supposed to resolve, this time involving a treaty violation (ed. Hagenbuchner 1989 406-8). As in the previous letter, the Hittite king is offended because the addressee has dared to curse him, and protests that he is subordinate (II-*an taparanza* obv. 12') only to the Storm-god, who has given him the lands he rules.[25] He insists that the day of judgment is upon them,[26] and that the matter of where the border between their lands falls is a legal matter to be dealt with by the gods.[27] The letter breaks off with a mention of a temple, the king insisting the recipient has violated the treaty (rev. 13'-18'). Perhaps here the king suggests that the addressee go to the temple to read the treaty for himself, since treaties and other important decisions were customarily deposited there to be safeguarded and witnessed by the gods.[28] In the 'Bronze Tablet Treaty', for example, Tudhaliya IV talks about a decision concerning Kurunta's right to visit the royal mausoleum, which was inscribed in the shrine of the Storm-god where it could be both a matter of public record and under the auspices of the god (i 93 ff., ed. Otten 1988a 14).[29]

The Hittite letters to and from the outlying town Tapikka (modern Maşat) show us the worldly system of patronage upon which the *arkuwar* prayer is based. In the private

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[25] Remember in the *maltessar* quoted above (p. 169), the king says that he as been appointed as second in command by the Storm-god, legitimizing his role and making clear the reciprocal relationship between king and god based on the model of mundane political hierarchy. For more on this idea of the king as appointee of the gods, see Güterbock (1997 (1954)).

[26] *n = asta* U₄ *DINI kinu[na...]* obv. 17'

[27] DI DINGIR-*LIM UL= ma = na* ZAG-*na u[ddār...* rev. 10'

[28] Karavites (1992 188-9) discusses 'Near Eastern' examples of this, all drawn from Hittite. Also see Houwink ten Cate (1969 83) for more examples of this practice.

[29] Other examples: In CTH 181, the 'Tawagalawa Letter', from Hattusili III to the king of Ahhiyawa, the case to be put before the gods concerns whether the two kings' messengers have been lying to them and putting insulting words into each other's mouths, an offense Hattusili thinks should be punishable by death (KUB XIV 3 iv 42-57, ed. Sommer 1932 18). In a prayer by Hattusili III to Ishtar of Samuha concerning a lawsuit pending against him, he argues his side of the case to her (CTH 86, ed. Lebrun 1976 144 ff.).

letters either sent on their own or attached piggy-back fashion to administrative letters, underlings and family members ask the addressee to exert his influence on their behalf in the palace and promote their case. A friend tells an official at Tapikka,[30] 'As to the matter of your sons-in-law, about which you wrote to me: right now I am holding it (i.e. taking care of it). I will speak of it in the palace. A person will go to/for you (pl.). He will lead them (i.e. the people involved) before the king.' Again in letter 52, ll. 6-9 (ed. Alp 1991 214-6), the same person, a certain Hattusili, writes to his friend Himuili at Tapikka,[31] 'My dear brother, those matters of yours about which you keep writing (amending 1st pers. sing.). Do I not keep speaking of them myself in the palace? I will carry out a pleading for you in return.' Hattusili then brings up a matter which falls within the scope of Himuili's authority in Tapikka, concerning the burden of *šaḫḫan* (taxes) and *luzzi* (corvée labor) resting on the house of the single scribe there, threatening to report the matter to the king if Himuili does nothing about it (10-8).[32] Then, the scribe himself, Tarhunmiya, adds his own plea to the letter, asking Himuili to deal with this matter (25-39):[33] 'Which cases of mine there are, o lord, my lord, adjudicate them. Advance them.' Tarhunmiya then says he will bring to the attention of the king any matters concerning a horse and

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[30] *tuel=mu kuit ŠA* ᴸᵁ·ᴹᴱˢ *andatiya[n]alla[š]*
uttar ḫatrāeš nu kāša ammuk
ḫarmi n=at INA É.GAL-LIM —
memaḫḫi nu=šmaš antuḫšaš
— *paizzi n=aš MAḪAR* ᵈ*UTU-ŠI*
uwatezzi
          Maşat letter 10, 47-52 (ed. Alp 1991 136)

[31] *ŠEŠ.DUG₃.GA-YA-mu kue uddār*
ḫatreškimi n=at INA É.GAL-LIM
UL ammuk=pat memiškimi
nu=tta EGIR-pa arkuwar išša[ḫ]ḫi

[32] Note that *šaḫḫan* and *luzzi* were also a subject of complaint in the prayer of Arnuwanda and Asmunikal (see pp. 79, 146-7).

[33] *namma=mu DI.ḪI.A kue ēšzi*
n=at BĒLU BĒL-YA ḫanni
n=at=kan ašnut
          28-30

chariot about which Himuili might write to him (40-6). Here we have the same notion of reciprocity – 'you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours' – found in the prayers.

We can compare the conventions followed in the pleas in the Maşat letters with the situations constructed by the worshippers in their *arkuwars* to the gods. When pleading their case before the gods the Hittite kings made clear their supposition that the administrative procedures of the gods were analogous to those of humans. In CTH 378.2 for example, one of Mursili II's plague prayers, the king explicitly compares his position to that of a servant making an *arkuwar* to his master, confessing his transgressions and receiving forgiveness (KUB XIV 8 rev. 23-28, ed. Götze 1930 216; Lebrun 1980 208-9).[34] The humans see the god to whom they are appealing as a patron and intercessor, who will travel from the temple to which he or she has been called, to the assembly of the gods in order to argue their case for them, fulfilling his or her side of the patron-client relationship. The distance between worshipper and god is analogous to the physical distance between the court of the king and the provincial outpost of Tapikka.[35] An appeal to the Sun-god as judge parallels the function in the mundane world of the king as judge, while the judging gods in assembly parallel the function of the Hittite assembly. In CTH 381, from Muwattalli to the Storm-god of Lightning, the king asks the bull Seri, attendant of the Storm-god, to report his *arkuwar* to the gods (KUB VI 45 + KUB XXX 14 i 32-6, ed. Lebrun 1980 258-9; Singer 1996 21), and then pleads with his master, the Storm-god

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[34] Also cf. the plea ([*ar*]*kuwa*[*r*]), done by the king daily while kneeling (KBo XV 2 iv 12') in the substitution ritual CTH 421 B = KBo XV 2 iv 32' (ed. Kümmel 1967 62). He asks why he has been dethroned and summoned to be among the dead, begging to be released (KBo XV 2 iv 14'-8'). All this is the plaintive pleading of a subordinate fallen out of favor with his master.

Pleket (1981 153 ff.) discusses the Greek worshipper's self-portrayal as a servant of the gods, combined with the confession and atonement seen in the Hittite examples.

[35] As de Roos (Sasson 1995 2001) notes concerning CTH 373 'Kantuzzili's Prayer', in its attempt to encourage the Sun-god to act as Kantuzzili's patron, the prayer innovates on its Mesopotamian model as it moves towards the Hittite administrative procedures: 'The phenomenon of the mediator also derives from Mesopotamians, but rarely or never will the supreme deity be asked to look for a lower god and then serve as a mediator himself.' Also see Houwink ten Cate (1969 88-9).

of Lightning, to relay his pleading to the gods in a way they can't ignore (KUB VI 45 + KUB XXX 14 iii 34-9, ed. Lebrun 1980 267; Singer 1996 21-2).

The worshipper imagines the family and court life of the gods as exactly mimicking the world he is familiar with, from the spoiled daughter who has her parents wrapped around her finger to the slanderous back-biters out to ruin his career. Just as the Hattusili in the Maşat letters points out to Himuili that he is helping him, and therefore Himuili should return the favor, the worshipper sees the offering he is giving to the god and his promises for future offerings as payment which should ensure the god's goodwill. In CTH 384, from Queen Puduhepa to the Sungoddess of Arinna and her circle, Puduhepa reminds the goddess Mezzula that her father the Storm-god and mother the Sun-goddess of Arinna can't refuse her, and asks her to promote her case to them, promising her a reward if her case succeeds (KUB XXI 27 + iv 13'-22', ed. Lebrun 1980 335). In another prayer based on archaic models but probably dating to the Middle Hittite period (CTH 371, ed. Friedrich 1957; Lebrun 1980 83-91), the king addresses the Sun-goddess of the Underworld and her divine servants, pleading that they take on his case and ignore the slander of his relatives, since he is providing these gods with food and drink. This situation in this prayer is particularly close to the scenario in Orestes' trial, except that the Underworld gods play the role of intercessor and arbitrator, instead of slandering accuser, as the Furies do.

6.4.2. Guilt and Expiation in Hittite Prayers and the Trial of Orestes

The accusations of guilt and the attempts at expiation match up in the Hittite *arkuwars* and the case of Orestes; in both the Underworld gods play a prominent role, although, due to the evolution of juridical procedures, their role has changed by the time of Aeschylus. In Mursili II's plague prayers the king, trying everything to rid his land of a devastating plague that lasted for decades, addresses a series of prayers to the 'Former

Gods', 'Gods of the Oath' or all the gods, trying to argue them out of their anger. He

defends himself against the charges leveled against him by oracles or by humans, such as

neglect of the gods, committing murder, uttering evil words or breaking his oath. It is not

even necessary that he himself has committed the crime, for sons may be forced to try to

expiate their fathers' sins. Pleading his case to the gods who have been called into

assembly as witnesses to an oath (CTH 378.1 B = KUB XIV 11 iii 27'-34'), he insists that

the treachery of his father who went against the oaths he himself swore, deposing and

murdering the former king, should not be held against him. Still, he promises to

compensate the gods (CTH 378.1 A, ed. Götze 1930 164-204; Lebrun 1980 192-202). As

this apparently did not convince the gods to lift the plague, Mursili is forced to search

through old records and by divination for further reasons for their displeasure, and

decides it must be both the neglect of the cult of the river Mala (Euphrates) and his

father's perfidious conduct towards the king of Egypt, violating the treaty they had

contracted (CTH 378.2, ed. Götze 1930 204-41; Lebrun 1980 203-16). While in one

prayer he pleads: 'In those [day]s the king of Egypt died, but I was still a boy. I didn't

know whether the king of Egypt made a de[fens]e for the sake of those lands or he didn't

make any',[36] in others (for ex. CTH 378.2 B = KUB XIV 11 iii 27'-34', ed. Götze 1930

204; Lebrun 1980 208), Mursili accepts the blame for any crime the gods might hold

against him although he feels himself innocent, agreeing with the tragic point of view that

'the sin of the father is visited on the son'.[37]

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[36] LUGAL KUR ᵁᴿᵁMizri=ma apēdaš [U₄.KAM.]ḪI.A-aš
akta=pat ammuk=ma=ʳazˌ nʳūwaˌ DUMU-aš
ešun nu UL šaggaʳhhunˌ
mān=za LUGAL KUR ᵁᴿᵁMizri ANA [ABI]-YA
edaš ANA KUR.KUR.MEŠ šer a[rkuwa]ʳrˌ
iyat mān=za UL kuitk[i iyat]
  CTH 379 = KUB XXXI 121a ii 10'-5' (ed. Lebrun 1980 243)

[37] ŠA ABU-ŠU=kan waštul ANA DUMU-ŠU [(ari)]. (KUB XIV 11 iii 30' filled in with KUB XIV 8 rev. 13') Compare CTH 383 'Hattusili III and Puduhepa to the Sungoddess of Arinna', which attempts to argue that the son shouldn't be blamed for the sins of his father (KUB XXI 19 i 18-20, ed. Lebrun 1980 310). For a discussion of the concept of inherited guilt in Greece, see Parker (1983 198-206).

A further prayer of King Muwatalli continues the same themes seen in the prayers discussed previously, and here, as in some of the prayers of his predecessor Mursili, the Underworld gods are called on to defend the king, assuming therefore a role opposite to that of the Furies in the *Eumenides*. This is due to the genre of the prayer, which is not attempting to rouse the Underworld gods to vengeful action as a curse would, but to propitiate whichever god may be angry. In CTH 382 (ed. Houwink ten Cate 1967; Lebrun 1980 294-308), the king addresses Tessub of Kummanni, asking him to release his evident anger which has blighted the country, and requesting that the Anunnaki gods intercede for him and achieve reconciliation between Tessub and the land or any geographical feature that might have offended him, such as a mountain, river or spring. (The Anunnaki gods are the Former Gods now residing in the Underworld.) First the king imagines a scenario in which a god might be angry with the land and have presented an argument (*arkuwar*) to Tessub/Tarhunt to which Muwatalli must respond. Like Mursili, Muwatalli protests that he doesn't know what he has been accused of, promising that he will seek out evidence for wrong-doing on the part of his father or grandfather from the wooden tablet records and from the old men, and if he finds evidence that a rite was omitted, he will exactly perform it.

In a prayer that offers a detailed portrait of arguing before the assembly of the gods, Hattusili III and his wife Puduhepa attempt to influence the gods so that they are sympathetic to their cause when their affairs are brought up in the assembly of the gods:[38]

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[38] [ḪUL-*lu u*]*ttar*
[*n*]*akki kuit*
x x x *ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ *peran apē waškuwana*
ēšzi = pat kuitki nūwa nu = kan apēdani
ḪUL-*ui uddani* DINGIR-*LIM kuiški uerianza*
n = at EGIR-*an artari nu* ᵈU *kuwapi* DINGIR.MEŠ=*ya*
tuliya tiyanzi nu = kan mān
apāt ḪUL-*lu uttar tuliya kuiški*
anda memai ᵈUTU ᵁᴿᵁTÚL-*na = ma = za = kan* ᵈU ᵁᴿᵁHATTI
DINGIR.MEŠ=*ya ŠA* ᵈU ᵁᴿᵁNerik dahangaš uttar
ŠA₃-*ta tarnandu nu apāt* ḪUL-*lu uttar*

> [... evil w]ord [...] which is (or: because it is) [im]portant [...]. Those ones are sins before the gods. (Or: Are those sins before the gods?) Something (i.e. some sin) still continues to exist. Some god is called for that evil word. And it stands behind. When the Storm-god and the gods enter into assembly, if someone speaks in assembly that evil word, let the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god of Hattusa, and the gods let into their hearts the matter of the *dahangaš* (an architectural feature) of the Storm-god of Nerik. That evil word, Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, and the gods, throw away from there for the land of Hattusa. Your Arinna, the place of assembly of the gods of Hattusa, is your beloved city. Let the cities of Nerik and Zipplanda be seen as the cities of your son.

The royal pair have found themselves seemingly guilty of some sin of which they are ignorant or have been unable to expiate despite their best efforts. They imagine a scenario remarkably like that found in the trial of Orestes: Some god – they are unsure of his identity – has refused to let the matter rest, and pushes it forward in assembly. The king and queen offer no excuse for the sin they have apparently committed that so offends this unknown god. Rather, they offer mitigating circumstances, the services they have carried out for the Storm-god of Nerik, son of the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the Storm-god of Hattusa. They have restored his city, Nerik, to its former glory, after it had been destroyed by the enemy, and here they refer specifically to a structure they have built for his temple, the *dahangaš*.[39]

In the Hittite pleadings and the trial of Orestes the scope of the charges is the same. In the Hittite texts, the worshipper is concerned whether sins of blood-guilt, foreswearing oaths, curses or neglect of cult have been committed. Orestes has

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ᵈUTU ᵁᴿᵁTÚL-*na* GAŠAN-*YA* DINGIR.MEŠ-*y[a AN]A* KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*HATTI*
apez arha peš[šiya]tten
nu=tta=kkan ᴰᴿᴼ*Hattušaš* DING[IR.MEŠ]-*aš tuli*ⁿ*ya*¹[*aš AŠ]RU*
ᵁᴿᵁ*Arinnaš tuel aššianza* U[RU-*aš*]
ᵁᴿᵁ*Nerikkaš* ᵁᴿᵁ*Zippland[a]š*
ŠA DUMU-*KA* URU.DIDLI.HI.A *uwandaru*
        KUB XXI 19 iv 12'-28' (ed. Sürenhagen 1981 98; Lebrun 1980 316)

[39] A similar scenario is imagined in a Hittite substitution ritual. A god stands in the assembly as the human's witness and points out that a ritual substitute (*tarpalli*) has been offered to counteract any evil word which might reach the Sun-goddess of the Earth (KUB XLII 94 + HHT 80 iv 6'-15', ed. Taracha 2000 509). The assembly of gods also appears in Akkadian purification rituals as a judicial body, mentioned for example in 'Shurpu' VIII 78: 'Today may the great gods who dwell in the heaven of Anu release [you], absolve you in their assembly.' (trans. Reiner 1958 43)

committed murder and reactivated the curse of Thyestes. The Furies consider any leniency towards the polluted Orestes to mean neglect of their cult and thus denial of their powers (490-416, 747) (also see below, pp. 225-6). When they attempt to make him swear an oath that he is innocent, he refuses (429), and repeated reference is made to their role as guardian of oaths and to oaths in general (218, 489, 621, 768, also see pp. 189 ff.).

In some cases, the Hittite worshipper is unsure why the gods are angry, and must search through temple and administrative records, and inquire through divination to attempt to find out what sin he has inadvertently committed; or the gods might consider a sin of his or of his ancestors to remain improperly expiated. Similarly, there is a disagreement between Orestes and the Furies over whether he has in fact been purified (Sidwell 1996). The issue of the unknown god or unknown sin was in fact a typical concern in Greece. As Versnel (1981 7) notes, a plea for help was often couched as a plea for knowledge. The worshipper may wonder to whom he should pray or how he should address the god as a purely rhetorical device, but, like the Hittites, he also frequently sought advice from oracles in these matters (Ausfeld 1903 512, 518; Versnel 1981 11-7).[40] In both the Hittite prayers and the Atreids' predicament, there is the question of whether the sins of the father should justly be visited on the son – a common enough idea in the ancient Mediterranean – but the cycle of vengeance is kept alive by a series of curses leveled against each new generation of Atridae. 'Such a curse seems merely to express in words what pollution would have achieved anyway in its own inarticulate way.' (Parker 1983 200)

Furthermore, the setting imagined to resolve the conflict shows remarkable similarities with Orestes' trial, especially the versions in which the jury is not made up of humans but of the twelve gods. The human's case is brought to the assembly by a god

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[40] In *The Libation-Bearers* (269 ff.) Orestes says that Apollo's oracle stated that he would suffer divinely sent illness if he failed to avenge his father's murder.

who is angered by some action of his and speaks negative words against him. The human on the other hand is protected by a powerful witness for the defense, his patron god or gods, with whom he has built up a relationship by proper attendance, and who now owes him a favor in return. Similarly, Orestes has a powerful ally in Apollo who steps forward to offer crucial evidence that Orestes did what he did impelled by a prophecy issued from Delphi which assured him that he would be protected by Apollo at all costs (64 ff., 85-7, 576-80).

Just as Hattusili and Puduhepa don't argue their innocence, Orestes and his advocate Apollo have no good arguments to vindicate the murder of Clytemnestra, and they simply avoid responding when cornered by the Furies. As part of the defense Apollo does resort to a theory of conception that was current in the time of Aeschylus, that the mother is nothing but a vessel for the baby, who is formed solely from the seed of the father, a theory that could hardly have been believed by the majority of the audience but was perfectly tailored to appeal to Athena, who was born from her father's head with no female agency, as she herself says (657 ff.).[41] Apollo further appeals to the Athenian jury by telling them that a victory for Orestes will guarantee them prosperity and an alliance with Argos (667-73). These are the arguments that sway both the divine and the human members of the jury. The evidence of good offices on the part of Orestes, and of Hattusili and Puduhepa, that benefit the judges, are meant to mitigate any anger concerning their guilt that the judges might feel, and they promise that these benefits will continue far into the future. This form of argumentation, as Todd (1993 89-90) shows, was in fact acceptable in the Athenian courts.

Orestes first calls Apollo as a witness (609), a role for which he is ideally

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[41] The Furies prefer to think that the mother makes an important contribution, referring to the Fates as ματροκασιγνῆται 'sisters from my mother' (962, trans. Watkins); this compound Watkins (1995b 361) has suggested was calqued from an Anatolian language, comparing it to similar Hittite and Lycian compounds.

suited according to the Athenian norms of the time, for he is both a friend and patron of the defendant and an enemy of the prosecutors; he is a high-standing member of the community, who furthermore is able to put in context Orestes' actions for a jury who is unacquainted with his history.[42] Humphreys (1984 36) emphasizes that this latter function developed as a result of the changes in the judicial process, which formerly was administered by judges with an intimate knowledge of the players in the case and their milieu, to an urban court staffed with a two-hundred-strong jury generally unacquainted with the participants in the trial. This is reflected in the *Eumenides* by the change from all-knowing divine jury to the Athenian jury hearing a case involving Argives. Athena too is portrayed as ignorant of the details of the case.

Yet Orestes does not go on to question the god; rather, Apollo speaks directly against the Furies, taking on the role of Orestes' advocate. Advocates (*sunegoroi*), as Todd (1993 94-5) makes clear, only appeared if the defendant could not speak for himself. Thus Apollo's advocacy had to be explained. It could be that the Furies' binding spell did in fact take effect, as suggested by Faraone (1999b 113-5). Orestes falls silent, his tongue stilled by the curse put upon him by his rivals, a reaction that would have been understood by Aeschylus' audience, familiar as they were with the practice of *defixiones* applied by rivals in sports, the theater and the courts. Apollo then must step in, playing a part with ancient roots, but no longer understood by Athenians.[43]

While the Underworld gods or 'Former Gods' play a prominent role in both the Hittite *arkuwars* and Orestes' trial, this role had changed by the time of Aeschylus, from judge to prosecutor. The diachronic study presented in section 6.3 puts in a new light Aeschylus' decision to cast Athenian citizens in the role of judges, while Athena casts the

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[42] On the characteristics of a good witness, see Humphreys (1984).

[43] Another possible example of the divine advocate could be Aphrodite in the *Danaides*, see note 2.

deciding vote. The role of Athena is at once traditional and innovative. Her status as patron of Athens fits the archaic pattern which appears in the Hittite prayers, although it replaces the traditional assembly of twelve gods attested in alternate versions of Orestes' trial. Athena in fact takes the role of the presiding *basileus* in trials at the Areopagus. Strikingly new on the other hand is the appearance of the Athenian jury, who symbolize not only the partial transfer of control of human morality from the gods to humans, but also the transfer of authority from the nobility to the people (see pp. 201-2). Furthermore, the Athenian jurors in the play are a metynomic representation of the audience watching, for, as Humphreys (1984 323) observes, the audience of dramatic competitions are carrying out the same function as the mass of jurors in a judicial trial. The fact that the gods are still involved, that the jurors' decision must be monitored by the gods, is made evident by the fact that Athena still casts the deciding vote, while the fear of divine retribution is kept ever present by the installation of the Furies in their new home under the Areopagus.

6.4.3. The 'Purification Ritual for the Former Gods' and the Furies

Despite these innovations on the part of Aeschylus and the changes in the mundane juridical procedures which drove the changes seen in the judicial imagery of Greek curses, many of the themes connected to the Underworld deities as participants in a trial are still the same, as will be shown in this section. In one Hittite text in particular, CTH 446 'Purification Ritual for the Former Gods', the argumentation meant to persuade these gods to act follows closely the concerns of the Furies in the *Eumenides*.⁴⁴ The Hittite Former Gods, as gods from the Underworld, belong to the older generation of gods. They thus parallel divinized ancestors, and are in fact in close contact with them.

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⁴⁴ CTH 446, as mentioned in Chapter One (p. 12), has been compared to the necromancy episode in the *Odyssey*. These aspects of the ritual will not be under discussion here.

When Zeus and the newer generation of gods took power, the Furies were allotted a place underground among the dead and given responsibility for the care of the dead, vengeance for murder, maintenance of oaths and carrying out curses. The Hittite Former Gods thus have the same history and functions as the Furies, and are propitiated, threatened with neglect and appealed to with trial imagery by humans who suspect that they may be judged guilty of some crime.

The Hurro-Hittite Former Gods were equated with the Mesopotamian Anunnaki gods, as shown by Gurney (1940 10, 81-3 with earlier refs.) and others (Otten 1958 98 ff.; Haas and Wilhelm 1974 50-3). They are called *tagnaš* DINGIR.MEŠ 'gods of the Underworld' (KUB XXX 27 rev. 6) and *katteraš* DINGIR.MEŠ 'lower gods' (KUB XVII 14 iv 21), and associated with the Akkadian *ilāni iršitim* 'gods of the underworld'.[45] They are paired with the Sun-goddess of the Earth who represents the chthonic form of the sun, that is, the sun after it has set (Haas 1994 131-3). This goddess is the Hittite counterpart to the Sumerian EREŠ.KI.GAL, the Hattic Lelwani and the Hurrian Allani,[46] and could perhaps be compared with Night, whom the Furies address as their mother (322). The Gods of the Oath and the Fates (*Gulses*) are among the Underworld gods. The Akkadian Anunna-gods had forced the Igigi-gods to do corvée labor until humans were invented to relieve them of their burden, as described in the Akkadian epic 'Atrahasis' (see pp. 88 ff.). As told in 'Enuma Elish', the Anunnaki were eventually deposed by the new generation of Igigi-gods (West 1997 110-1, and in general concerning these gods, 297-9). Similarly, the

[45] In Hittite treaties the title Former Gods is translated into Akkadian *ilāni ša dārātim, ilāni dārūti* 'gods of eternity' (Laroche 1974 185). Hittite treaties specify them as primarily Mesopotamian gods: Alalu, Anu, Antu, Enlil, Ninlil, Kumarbi, Apantum and Bēlit-ekalli, while in CTH 446 they are called by their Hurrianized names: 'Aduntarri the diviner, Zulki the dream interpretess, Irpitiga Lord of the Earth, Narā, Namšarā, Minki, Amunki, Abi (the Pit)' (KBo X 45 i 49-52, trans. Collins in Hallo and Younger 1997 169; see discussion in Otten 1961 145-7).

[46] See KUB XII 50 3, Anunnaki as Former Gods; XV 35 iv 39, with the Sun-goddess of the Earth. In the 'Song of Release', KBo XXXII 13, Tessub and his brother Suwaliyatt go the 'Doorbolts of the Underworld' to dine with the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the Former Gods (see pp. 107 ff.).

conflict between the Furies and Apollo is framed as the old gods defeated by the new

gods: Apollo describes himself as a new god riding roughshod over old women, and the

Furies insist that if the newer gods succeed, they will possess power beyond what is just.[47]

The Former Gods in the Underworld were like the former kings and heroes in the

Underworld found in some parts of the Near East and in Homer who, like other gods, are

endowed with supernatural abilities to help and harm the living. As such, the dead and

the Underworld gods interact with each other and often work together. In substitution

rituals and purification rituals the Hittite former kings were intercessors with the gods,

whether chthonic or heavenly, and were called upon to enforce the customs of the land.[48]

Even if the heavens are the abode of the Hittite divinized royal ancestors, as has been

argued by some,[49] the scenario shows affiliations with Mesopotamian incantations against

sickness and ghosts which ask underworld spirits, dead ancestors and heroized dead such

as Gilgamesh to render judgment in their favor. (See note 23.) The intercessor role has

been inverted in the *Eumenides*. There, the Furies are pitted against Agamemnon and his

agent Orestes rather than cooperative partners of the dead king. Meanwhile Clytemnestra

has to goad the Furies into action by in effect haunting them (94 ff.), just as they had

haunted her in the *Libation-Bearers* (33 ff.). Her ghost has assumed the intercessor role

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[47] νέος δὲ γραίας δαίμονας καθιππάσω/ τὸν ἱκέταν σέβων (150-1). τοιαῦτα δρῶσιν οἱ νεώτεροι θεοί./ κρατοῦντες τὸ πᾶν δίκας πλέον (162-3). Further, the Furies accuse Zeus of tricking and destroying the 'old gods' with wine (727-8).

[48] In the substitution ritual CTH 419 B 2' (ed. Kümmel 1967 8), enacted in response to an unpropitious sign from the moon, the king performs an *arkuwar*, pointing out the substitute, a human prisoner, whom the gods should kill instead of him, offering sacrifices to pay them off, and transferring any evil to a doll who represents the intended victim of the gods. The ritual is enacted in the presence of representations of '[form]er kings' [[*karūil*]*iuš* ⌈*labar*⌉*nuš* (CTH 419 A = KUB XXIV 5 obv. 6', ed. Kümmel 1967 8). These are conceived of as transmitting the speech of the king either to the Underworld gods, or to the Sun-god of heaven and the other heavenly gods. Furthermore, CTH 404 'Mastigga's Ritual' imagines that the 'former kings' will return to oversee the piety (*šaklain*) of the Hittites (KUB XXXIV 84 28-31. ed. Rost 1953 366).

[49] Otten (1958 113) and van den Hout (1994 45-6) claim that in the Hittite mind the deified royal dead seem to reside in the heavens, although Gonnet (1995 190, 193-5) disagrees. The apotheosis may have been achieved by cremation.

of the Hittite royal ancestors, but instead of soothing the gods of the Underworld in order to protect her son, Clytemnestra, refusing to let her righteous anger be soothed, reactivates the Furies, put to sleep by the purifications that Orestes had received.

The motif of allotting portions to the Former Gods is found in Mesopotamian and Hittite literature. In 'Enuma Elish' (vi 46) Marduk gives allotments to the Anunnaki gods (trans. Foster 1993 384). The Hittite version of that story, the 'Song of Kumarbi', tells how the Anunnaki were deposed by Tessub. In it the god LAMMA, a short-lived king of the gods, boasts that he gives the allotments to the gods (KUB XXXIII 112 + XXXVI 2 iii 10-1). Furthermore, the Hittite 'Hymn to the Sun-god' reminds the Sun-god that he alone continually sets the sacrifices for the gods. He alone sets the allotments for the Former Gods. The doors of heaven open only for him. (KUB XXXI 127 + XXXVI 79 i 27-31 filled in with KUB XXXI 133 7'- 11', ed. Lebrun 1980 95)[50] In Greek, the motif of Zeus allotting portions to the gods (not the 'former gods') is found in *Iliad* 15.187 ff., *Theogony* 73-4, 885 and *Prometheus Bound* 229-31 (Dietrich 1974 44; West 1997 107-10).

The Furies describe their allotted rights in their binding song, sung directly before the trial in order to render Orestes powerless in court. Just as the worshipper reminds his god of his rights and powers so as to empower him to act in his favor, the Furies attempt to reactivate their diminished powers by reiterating repeatedly their rights and privileges between each verse of the spell they seek to cast.[51] They begin their perverted prayer by calling on their mother, Night, to listen to their complaint of how Apollo, son of Leto, dares to insult them. As Graf (1997 127-8) observes, reference to matrilineal descent is typical of curses, but here it refers to the caster of the spell, not the victim. The first

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[50] Also CTH 376 A (called C in ed. of Gurney 1940 81) i 49'-52'. For more examples, see Gurney (1940 82-3).

[51] The theme of allotments runs through the play, appearing both in the opening (5) and during the jury's deliberation (715).

stanza of the curse follows. The Furies then attempt to ratify the curse by describing their allotment:[52]

> For Fate spun this portion to remain permanently, from beginning to end: to accompany those of mortals upon whom fall futile commissions of murder, even until he goes beneath the earth, for having died he is still not free.

They continue on this vein, repeatedly mentioning their *lachos* (portion) (349, 385) and closing with a final warning:[53]

> Who indeed of mortals is not in awe of these things and does not fear, when he hears the law from me, given as final and ordained by destiny from the gods? An ancient privilege belongs to me, nor do I meet with dishonor, even if I have a place underground and darkness without sun. (389-96)

Compare now the arguments presented in the 'Purification Ritual for the Former Gods'. The rite is used '[w]hen [they] cleanse a house of blood, impuri[ty], threat, (and) perjury' (trans. Collins in Hallo and Younger 1997 168).[54] It thus addresses the same issues as the *Oresteia*, issues that seemed insoluble in the beginning of the trilogy but are finally resolved by the verdict passed on Orestes, a judgment that allows the house of the Atreids to free itself from pollution and curses while satisfying the Underworld deities who must demand justice according to the principle of an eye for an eye, even if that means the cycle of violence is perpetuated without end. The Hittite purification ritual

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[52] τοῦτο γὰρ λάχος διανταία Μοῖρ' ἐπέκλωσεν ἐμπέδως ἔχειν,
θνατῶν τοῖσιν αὐτουργίαι ξυμπέσωσιν μάταιοι,
τοῖς ὁμαρτεῖν ὄφρ' ἂν γᾶν ὑπέλθῃ θανὼν δ' οὐκ ἄγαν ἐλεύθερος. (334-40)

[53] τίς οὖν τάδ' οὐχ ἅζεταί τε καὶ δέδοικεν βροτῶν, ἐμοῦ κλύων θεσμὸν
τὸν μοιρόκραντον ἐκ θεῶν
δοθέντα τέλεον· ἔτι δέ μοι
γέρας παλαιόν, οὐδ' ἀτιμίας κυρῶ,
καίπερ ὑπὸ χθόνα τάξιν ἔχουσα
καὶ δυσήλιον κνέφας. (389-96)

[54] [m]ān É-ir ēšhanaš papran[naš]
ᵣkuᵣrkurimaš linkiyaš parkunuwa[nzi]
KUB VII 41 i 1-2 (ed. Otten 1961 116)

runs the gamut of magical actions to remove impurity, from binding and cutting to burying and burning. The legomena range from descriptions of the ritual being performed, to an exemplary story filled with associative word play (see p. 159), to the logical arguments discussed here.

The practitioner, a ḪAL-priest or AZU (exorcist), begins the ritual by extracting the impurity. He digs in the four corners of the house and at the hearth, his first contact with the underworld, while saying to the Sun-goddess of the Earth:[55]

> ... Why is this house smoky/groaning? Why does it look upward to heaven?
>
> Either a human has perjured (himself), or he has [shed] blood and has thrown his *šeknu*-garment upon these houses, or someone has made a threat, or someone has spoken a curse, or someone having shed blood or having committed perjury has entered. (slightly modified from trans. of Collins in Hallo and Younger 1997 168)

Compare this imagery to the threats of the Furies:[56] 'Falling, he doesn't know it because of his thoughtless outrageousness; such a cloud, a defilement hovers, and a loud-groaning voice proclaims some dark mist down upon the house.' (376-9)

The exorcist digs a hole and begins making his case to the Former Gods:[57]

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[55] ... *kī É-ir kuwat tuḫḫait[a]*
šarā nepiši kuwat šakueškiz[zi]

naššu DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU *linkatta našma ēšhar* ᵣiᵎ[*yat*]
nu = ššan ᵀᵁᴳ*šeknun = ššan kēdaš parnaš* [*šarā p(ippāš)*]
našma = kan anda kurkuriyat kuiški našma [(*ḫurzašta*)]
— *kuiški našma = kan ēšḫaškanza linkanza an[(da uit)*]
...
KUB VII 41 i 10-15, filled in with KBo X 45 i 13 ff. (ed.Otten 1961 116)

[56] πίπτων δ' οὐκ οἶδεν τόδ' ὑπ' ἄφρονι λύματι·
τοῖον ἐπὶ κνέφας ἀνδρὶ μύσος πεπόταται,
καὶ δνοφεράν τιν' ἀχλὺν κατὰ δώματος αὐδᾶται πολύστονος φάτις.

Cf. further *Agamemnon* 459-65,1468; *Libation-Bearers* 50-4.

[57] ᵈA.NUN.NA.GE₄ *kēdani = šmaš uddanī ḫalzihhun*
nu kēl parnaš DI-*eššar ḫannadumati*
nu = kan kuit ḪUL-*lu ēššar anda (*B = KBo X 45 iii 18 *ēšhar)*
n = at šumeš datten n = at ēšḫanaš DINGIR-*LIM-ni pešten*
n = at kattanta GE₄-*i takni pēddu*
n = at apiya tarmaddu
KUB XLII 8 iii 7-12 (ed. Otten 1961 128)

O Anunnaki gods, I have invoked you in this matter. (So) decide the case of this house. What evil blood is present, you take it and give it to the God of Blood. Let him carry it down to the Dark Underworld and there let him nail it down. (trans. Collins in Hallo and Younger 1997 170)

He then warns:[58]

But if you (O Anunnaki) do not decide the case of this house fairly may the earth below you become the mortar and may the sky above become the pestle, and may the sky(?) crush y[ou(?)] therein. May no one break a thick loaf for you and may you not taste the fragrance of cedar! (slightly modified from trans. of Collins in Hallo and Younger 1997 170)

More sacrifices are made, of birds to the Anunnaki gods and the god of the pit, then the practitioner continues,[59] 'You are the ancient/former ..., You will not receive oxen and sheep. When the Storm-god (i.e. Tessub) drove you down under the Dark Earth, he established for you this sacrifice.' At the close of the ritual the offerings are described as vassal's tribute (arkamman KBo X 45 iv 50, ed. Otten 1961 140).

Both the Underworld and heavenly Greek gods would understand the arguments presented by the Hittite exorcist. Echoing the arguments presented by the exorcist, the threats of the Furies before the trial reiterate that, though their allotted place is underground, still their purview is clearly defined and not to be encroached upon. After the trial they are furious at the dishonor done to them, but Athena soothes them with

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[58] mān = ma šum[eš k(ē)]l parnaš DI-ešš[(ar)]
ḫandān [(UL ḫanna)tu]mmat nu = šmaš [(GAM-an)] KI-aš
GUL-wannaš k[(iš)aru UG]U=ma nepiš ᴳᴵˢpakᵏkuˡšuar
kišaru nu AN[(x)]anda zaḫḫuraiddu
nu=šmaš lē [NINDA ḫar)šin] kuiški paršiya
le=ma ᴳᴵˢER[(IN w)arš]ulan ištaḫtēni
     KUB XLII 8 iii 26-31 filled in with KBo X 45 iii 35 ff. (ed. Otten 1961 130)

[59] šumaš = kan karūiliešš = a mi[t...]
UL = a = ššamaš = kan GUD-uš UDU-uš kittari
ᵈU-aš = šamaš = kan ʳkuˡwapi GAM-anta GE₆-i taknī
pennešta nu = šmaš = kan ki šippanduwar
dāiš
     KBo X 45 iii 43-7 (ed. Otten 1961 132)

promises of continued and lavish attendance from the Athenians in their own underground sanctuary in Athens with the right to oversee justice there. Further, Apollo makes clear that he also risks such neglect and dishonor if he were to ignore Orestes, saying:[60] 'For the anger of the suppliant is grave among mortals and among gods, if one forsakes them willingly.'[61]

In the Hittite ritual, of course, the exorcist is attempting to compel the Former Gods to decide the case in favor of his client, removing the evils which contaminate his house and send them underground, nailing them and binding them; he thus coerces the Hittite counterparts of the Furies by the very threats that the Furies fear most, to assume their benevolent function, rather than the opposing role taken by the Furies when they threaten destruction for Athens. While the prosecuting role is at home in curses, the interceding or defending role is at home in purification rituals.

6.5. Conclusion

The analysis presented in this chapter follows the lead of Faraone (1999b), who sets forth a new agenda in his study of the role of curses in Athenian trials. He himself builds on the work of previous scholars 'who have collapsed the modern distinctions between politics and the law, and have given us a much richer and nuanced understanding of the Athenian judicial system by showing how it is embedded in a much wider web of social relationships.' (102) He states:

> It is time, I think, to add rituals and beliefs about the supernatural to the mix as well, and to resist the idea that such a complex system can be described and comprehended without any mention of those other inhabitants of Attica whose existence the Athenian people repeatedly acknowledge throughout the fourth century: the gods, the demons and the ghosts of the dead. (102)

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[60] δεινὴ γὰρ ἐν βροτοῖσι κἀν θεοῖς πέλει/ τοῦ προστροπαίου μῆνις, εἰ προδῷ σφ' ἐκών. (233-4)

[61] That the gods could suffer far worse punishment is shown by Versnel (1981 38-40), who describes cases in which the statues of gods were whipped, broken or buried by disgruntled worshippers.

While Faraone examines the use of curses in juridical oaths and in binding spells directed against one's opponent at law – two genres alluded to in the *Eumenides* – my study is complementary to his exploration of curses, examining how juridical imagery is used in curses and in purificatory rituals which attempt to undo curses and remove pollution.

Futhermore, my use of comparative evidence from the second millennium Hittite texts builds on the groundbreaking work of Burkert (1992) and West (1997). Because these scholars have already legitimized the comparison of Near Eastern and Greek texts, and have shown how heavily Greek culture drew on its Near Eastern neighbors, I can now use the comparative material to a different end. Rather than simply arguing that the correspondences indicate a relationship between the two bodies of texts, I use the earlier texts as a hermeneutical tool to interpret Orestes' trial in a new light, and as a benchmark by which to chart the evolution of juridical imagery in curses and purificatory incantations and its relation to changes on mundane juridical procedures. Finally, my goal in comparing the Hittite and Greek material is not to prove direct borrowing from Hittite or Luwian into Greek. I am content to see the correspondences as indicative of areal features, based on Watkins' (2001a) proposal to see Anatolia as linguistic area, including East Greek.[a] My own study here groups Anatolia with the rest of the Eastern Mediterranean as a cultural area, and my contention is that areal features, or even typological ones, are no less interesting than specific borrowings, if one's goal is to elucidate the folk practices with which Aeschylus plays.

In the light of the comparative evidence I have presented we can re-evaluate the statement of Seaford (1994 134), who says:

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[a] Watkins builds on the work of Puhvel mentioned in introduction, p. 17.

The transformation of reciprocal violence into benefit for the polis occurs not only at the level of cult: the control by the polis of such violence and its expression in pollution depends also, at least in Athens, on the kind of rational considerations advanced in the court of law.

The evidence presented in this chapter shows that juridical procedures also legitimized purification rituals and curses. Thus, supernatural forces were harnessed to give strength to the laws created by humans, each reciprocally reinforcing the other.

APPENDIX ONE

THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF WESTERN ANATOLIA AND THE LOCATION OF WILUSA

In this appendix the political geography of western Anatolia will be reviewed in the light of new evidence that has been uncovered in recent decades, in order to show that Hittite Wilusa indeed does correspond to Classical Troy.

We begin in the southeast with the Anatolian territory of Tarhuntassa. After the discovery of the New Hittite 'Bronze Tablet Treaty' between Tudhaliya IV and Kurunta of Tarhuntassa, the western boundary of Tarhuntassa in the time of Tudhaliya IV can be pinpointed with great accuracy, along with several other key territories. The completeness and exactness of the boundary description has rendered obsolete many discussions of Hittite geography which were published before 1988, although Suzanne Heinhold-Krahmer's work *Arzawa* (1977) still is the most useful discussion of the political geography of the western part of Anatolia.[1] But, it is still necessary to work our way carefully from Tarhuntassa all the way around to the northwest corner of Anatolia, where Troy is located. Use of evidence from different time periods is unavoidable,

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[1] On the implications of this treaty for Hittite geography see especially Starke (1997b 448-50), Houwink ten Cate (1992) and Gurney (1992).

although over time territories might retain their names but change their borders, or vice-versa. For example, the extensive western land Arzawa, after its defeat by Mursili II, disappeared as a political entity and was in part replaced by Mira-Kuwaliya (see p. 236). Despite these complicating factors, it is clear that no other land is equally or better suited for placement in the Troad than Wilusa, and that there is no better place for Wilusa.

The kingdom of Tarhuntassa is located on the Cilician coast of Anatolia opposite Cyprus. In the 'Bronze Tablet Treaty', the delineation of the borders begins in the northwest, with Pitassa. Pitassa shares borders with the Hulaya River Land as well as Tarhuntassa. While Tarhuntassa is bounded by the Hulaya River Land on the west and north, the Hulaya River Land shares a water supply with Hatti, and therefore must be contiguous with it, to its south. The Hulaya River is best associated with the modern Çarşamba Çay.[2] As Hawkins (1998 20, 22) points out, the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription of Kurunta found in Hatip, in which he calls himself Great King of Tarhuntassa, also marks this boundary to the southwest of modern Konya in the middle of the bend of the Çarşamba Çay, that is, on the edge between the frontier land of the Hulaya River and Hatti proper. On the northeastern side the Taurus mountains probably mark the boundary between Tarhuntassa and Hatti, although the treaty doesn't mention it specifically. (This part of Hatti is also called Kizzuwatna.) The city Parha on the river Kastraya marks the western border close to the sea between the Hulaya River Land and Tarhuntassa; across from here is enemy land which Tudhaliya hopes to conquer and give to Kurunta. Furthermore, the city Walma is a frontier on this side. (i 18- 90, ed. Otten 1988a 11-5, with commentary ad loc.) Parha must be associated with the Classical city Perge on the Classical Kestros, a river which allowed a route inland to the west of the

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[2] Gurney (1992) at first took the Hulaya River Land to be on the coast, but then revised his opinion to agree with what we state here (222).

Taurus Mountains.[3] This allows us to establish precisely the western border of
Tarhuntassa.

To the west of Tarhuntassa and to the east of Arzawa must be the enemy land
Lukka, approximateiy where Lycia was. This is made clear by both the Hittite documents
and newly edited Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions. In a fragmentary document, the city
Parha is mentioned with [Lu]qqa and another town, Hawaliy[a], that was mentioned in
the 'Bronze Tablet Treaty' in the vicinity of Parha on its western border (KUB XXI 6a
obv.? 3'-6') (Otten 1988a 37-8; Hawkins 1995 52, 56). Further, Lukka is mentioned in the
'Tawagalawa Letter'; Piyamaradu and the Hittite king are both asked to intervene there
(KUB XIV 3 i 1-5, ed. Sommer 1932 2). The 'Tawagalawa Letter' makes clear that the
towns Sallapa and Attarimma are in Lukka. These two place names help us deduce where
Lukka was. Sallapa is where Mursili II stops before entering Arzawa and the city Aura
('Comprehensive Annals', KUB XIV 15 ii 10-1, ed. Götze 1967 (1933) 48). This confirms
the location of Sallapa near Walma on the western frontier of Tarhuntassa, en route to
Arzawa from Hatti.[4] (On the location of Arzawa, see pp. 234 ff.) The city Attarimma is a
key place name which helps us associate Lukka with Lycia, because it has been
connected to the Lycian self-designation *trm̃mili*, with regular Lycian aphaeresis. (See for
example the references collected in Watkins 1995a 450; 1998 (1986) 702.)

Two further Lycian cities from the Classical era appear in Hieroglyphic Luwian
inscriptions associated with Lukka: Oinowanda and Tlos. Lukka is mentioned with
Wiyanawanda, Tamina, Masa (on this land see p. 243) and Ikuna in the Late New Hittite

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[3] See further Freu (1998 111). Recall the line from the *Iliad* (2.461), 'in the Asian meadow, about
the stream of Kaustrios.' This phrase is discussed by Watkins (1998 (1986) 702; 1998 204) when he
examines the relationship between the Hittite term Assuwa and the Greek term Asia.

[4] The corresponding section of the 'Ten-Year Annals' doesn't mention Sallapa. Instead it says that
Mursili did battle with Piyamakurunta at Walma on the Astarpa River, and from there he crossed the border
into Arzawa: KBo III 4 ii 24-9 *na=aš=mu INA* [ID]*Aštarpa INA* [URU]*Walmã* ME₃-*ya tiyat ..... nu=kan INA*
KUR [URU]*Arzauwa/ [par]randa pãun*. (ed. Götze 1967 (1933) 50; Grélois 1988 60-1) (Also see Heinhold-
Krahmer 1977 358-62.)

Südburg inscription at Hattusa commemorating Suppiluliuma II's victories (1 et passim, ed. Hawkins 1995 22) and Lukka and Wiyanawanda are mentioned together in the Late New Hittite Yalburt inscription, commemorating the victories of his father Tudhaliya IV (9,1, ed. Hawkins 1995 68). This town Wiyanawanda must correspond to the Oinowanda in Lycia, with a calque from Hittite *wiyana*, which means 'wine', to Greek *oinos*. Tlos is mentioned in the Yalburt inscription as Talawa (14, ed. Hawkins 1995 70).

While these cities help us estimate how far inland Lukka extended, two Hittite letters show that Lukka extended to the coast. An Amarna letter (EA 38, trans. Moran 1992 111-2) mentions raids on Alasiya (= Cyprus, see Chapter 2, p. 32) by people of Lukka, while a letter found at Ugarit, to the king of Alasiya (RS 20.238, ed. Nougayrol et al. 1968 87-9), says that the boats of Ugarit are in Lukka (Bryce 1992 129). Thus Lukka must lie beyond Parha, further west, pretty much where Classical Lycia was, although perhaps it covered a more extensive territory inland.[5]

The extent of Arzawa in the time of Mursili II is fairly clear, because the town Walma can be placed fairly securely from the 'Annals of Mursili II'. Arzawa lies to the northwest of Lukka, contains Ephesus on the coast, and extends southeast up towards Walma. As mentioned above (p. 232), a generation later the 'Bronze Tablet Treaty' mentions a Walma as marking the border of the Hulaya River Land, but specifies that it itself belongs to the Hulaya River Land. Meanwhile, Walma, along with other towns mentioned in the passage from the 'Bronze Tablet Treaty', is associated with Lukka in the same historical fragment mentioned above (p. 233) (KUB XXI 6a rev.? 4'-5') (Houwink ten Cate 1992 256-7; Otten 1988a 37-8). Further, as mentioned above, according to the

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[5] Bryce (1986 3-10) lists all the relevant Late Bronze Age texts for Lukka. He discussed the placement of Lukka originally in Bryce (1974) and updated his discussion in Bryce (1992). Bryce (1992) disagrees with my interpretation of the evidence from the 'Tawagalawa Letter' and the historical fragment, but in the end agrees that Lukka was to the west of Tarhuntassa and on the coast. He cites other evidence, including the placement of the Yalburt inscription, that Lukka occupied much of Classical Lycaonia as well. Also see Mellink (1995).

'Ten-Year Annals of Mursili II', Walma is the place on the river Astarpa (= the

Meander?) at which Piyamakurunta, the son of the Arzawan king, attacked Mursili but

was defeated. From here Mursili crossed the border into Arzawa, marched all the way to

the Arzawan capital Apasa and sent Uhhaziti fleeing across the sea to an island (see

Chapter 2, pp. 33-4). (KBo III 4 ii 19-32, ed. Götze 1967 (1933) 48-50; Grélois 1988 61;

discussion in Otten 1988a 38; Starke 1997b 450-1; Hawkins 1995 52) Walma then is in

an area where the regions of Lukka, Arzawa and outlying lands subordinate to Hatti

meet.[*] The only river known in Classical times that would match up river Astarpa is the

Meander river or one of its feeders. (Starke 1997b 450-1; Heinhold-Krahmer 1977 328)

Thus the Astarpa would have been a major route for those travelling to and from the

interior of Anatolia, and most likely Mursili followed its course to attain Apasa.

The equation of Apasa, the capital of Arzawa, with Ephesos seems quite safe,

since Mursili describes in some detail a steep mountain range Arinnanda which drops

into the sea close by, in which some of the escapees from Apasa had taken refuge until he

starved them out (KUB XIV 15 iii 30-46, ed. Götze 1967 (1933) 54-6).[7] This mountain

range near Apasa is most likely Mt. Mykale near Ephesos. (Also see Ünal 1991 31;

Starke 1997b 450-1 with earlier refs.; followed by Hawkins 1998 23.)[*]

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[*] Gurney (1992 220) prefers to think there were two Walmas, one mentioned by Mursili II and one appearing in the 'Bronze Tablet Treaty'.

[7] KUB XIV 15 iii 39-41, filled in with KUB XIV 16 iii 6-9: [nu ^{d}UTU-ŠI] (IN)A ^{ḪURSAG}Arinnanda pãun aši = ma $^{(ḪURSAI)}[^GAri](nnanda)š mekki/ (na)kkiš aruni = aš = kan parranda pãnza na(mma = aš mekki parku)š warḫuiš = aš/ namma = aš ^{NA4}pẽrunanza '[My Majest]y went to the mountain Arinnanda. This mounta[in Ari]nnanda is very difficult. It goes across to the sea (or: across the sea). Furthermore, it is very high. It is brush-covered. Furthermore, it is craggy.'

[*] The excavator of Ephesos does not agree with this equation, preferring to locate Apasa at a Mycenean settlement, Ilicatepe, near to Ephesus, to the south and closer to Mykale (Bammer 1986-7; 1988 127-41). There has been little attempt to look for evidence of Bronze Age settlement beneath the lavish ruins from the Classical and Hellenistic period at Ephesus, but a Mycenean grave has been found in Ephesus, pointing to Mycenean settlement in this period. It dates to Late Helladic IIIA:2, the same time period as the destruction of Miletus (see p. 34 of Chapter 2). (Gültekin and Baran 1964) Further excavations in the area, at the Ayasuluk hill, show continuous settlement from the Early Bronze Age through Hellenistic times (Büyükkolanci 2000).

Mursili's campaigns effectively broke the power of Arzawa for the next generation. Through to the time of the 'Alaksandu Treaty', between Mursili's successor Muwatalli II and Alaksandu of Wilusa, Arzawa was no longer a political entity in the eyes of the Hittite kings.[9] Western Anatolia had been split into a confederacy bound to Hatti by ties of marriage and allegiance, made up of Hapalla, Mira-Kuwaliya and the Seha River Land-Appawiya. All these places formed one contiguous unit, sometimes called by scholars 'greater Arzawa', with Wilusa introduced as a fourth member of the alliance in the 'Alaksandu Treaty'. (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977 326) We turn now to the placement of these four lands.

Pitassa lay between the original Arzawa and Hatti just north of Tarhuntassa and the Hulaya River Land, with Mira further west and the city Sallapa in Lukka nearby (on this city see p. 233). Pitassa bordered Tarhuntassa on its northern edge according to the 'Bronze Tablet Treaty' (p. 232). In Middle Hittite times Pitassa was contiguous with Hatti. It was able to attack Hatti when the Hittite king had withdrawn his troops from Sallapa and another city, the men of Pitassa having been instigated by Maduwatta, who called himself a governor of a province to the Hittite king after seizing the border lands ('Madduwatta's Indictment' KUB XIV 1 + KBo XIX 38 rev. 38-49, ed. Götze 1968 (1927) 28).[10] King Mashuiluwa of Mira again attempted to incite both the population of

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[9] Mellaart (1993 416) notes that Arzawa is mentioned by Ramses III in 1175 BC. He argues that this implies that Hittite hegemony as portrayed in Hittite texts was not a reality, and that Arzawa continued to exist as a political entity, but the mention is part of a list of regions destroyed by the Sea People. This doesn't tell us about Arzawa's political structure. The fact that a letter in Akkadian from Ramses II to Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira-Kuwaliya (Edel 1994 1.74-77, 2.125-30) was found at Hattusa, indicates that at this time, international diplomacy with west Anatolia was conducted via Hattusa and not simply between Arzawan kings and other countries (see Beckman 1999 130). It is true that Arzawan kings were looking for the first opportunity to escape from the clutches of the Hittite Empire, as another New Hittite letter found at the Amarna court of Amenhotep III, to Tarhuntaradu, shows (VBoT 1, ed. Rost 1956 334-40). Tarhuntaradu is known to us from Hittite documents as the king of the Arzawan state, the Seha River Land. However, in this letter he is called the king of Arzawa and seems to have exulted over political unrest in Hatti which presumably left him free to write directly to Egypt and arrange a marriage alliance. The document called 'Sins of the Seha River Land' (discussed in Chapter 2, p. 38), describes the treachery of this Tarhuntaradu.

[10] The governor of a province (*aurias ishas*/ BĒL MADGALTI) had his seat in a fortified city of a rural province and guarded the Hittite border against enemy incursions, see Beal (1992 426-426).

Pitassa and people of Hatti to rebel against Hatti. In this case, the Hittite king was forgiving and came to Sallapa to discuss matter with him, but Mashuiluwa fled to Masa (on this land see below, p. 243) ('Kupanta-Kurunta Treaty', KUB VI 41 i 32-8, KUB VI 42 10-4, ed. Friedrich 1926 110). A passage of the 'Deeds of Suppiluliuma', although fragmentary, shows us that Pitassa and Arzawa were in close proximity. Scouts from Pitassa did something in Arzawa, and then Pitassa (or one of its leaders) rebelled against the Middle/New Hittite king Suppiluliuma I, an event which again involved Arzawa (KBo XIV 4 i 1-7, ed. Güterbock 1956 79)." (On Pitassa see Heinhold-Krahmer 1977 355-8.)

Mira-Kuwaliya lay in the original Arzawa proper, with the Seha River Land to the north. Mursili specifies the borders of Mira-Kuwaliya in his treaty with its king Kupanta-Kurunta (KBo V 13 i 29'-34', ed. Friedrich 1926 116). While not all of the place names are localizable, Wiyanawanda may be compared to the Classical Oinowanda near Lycian territory mentioned above (pp. 233-4). (However, there is more than one Hittite town with this name, so additional information is needed to confirm the connection.) The

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" KBo XIV 4 i 1-7:

˹ŠA˺ ᵁᴿᵁPēta[šša	] ÉRIN.MEŠ halugaēš
INA KUR ᵁᴿᵁArzau[wa	-a]nteš ēššir nu = za ap[uš]
EGIR-pa uwate[t	ap]el INA KUR-ŠU<<NU>> ašašt[a]

namma kuitman [	lah]ūš lahhieškit [ ]
ᵁᴿᵁMahūirašša[z² =ma = aš INA KU]R ᴼᴿᵁPēdašša ša[rā]	
tiyazi n = aš = ka[n	IŠTU²] KUR ᵁᴿᵁArzawa
ITTI ᵐAnzapahh[adu-	] paizzi (erasure)

Of the city Peta[ssa |] military heralds
in the land of the city Arzaw[a |] they were [-]ed. Them (acc.)
he brought back [| h]is, in his land he settled.

Furthermore while [he | ...-ed,] he was continually campaigning.
[From] the city Mahuirass[a | to] the city Pedassa
he goes up. He [from] the land of the city Arzawa
with Anzapahh[adu |] goes.

(Reconstruction and translation aided by Hoffner.)

Astarpa river is mentioned along with the land of Kuwaliya as the border, which indicates that Mira-Kuwaliya adjoins the Astarpa River at that section of Arzawa through which Mursili proceeded when he chased Uhhaziti out of Apasa (see p. 235). Kuwaliya should be situated inland of Mira, nearer to the Astarpa River. (See Heinhold-Krahmer 1977 335-40.) Further, the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription located on the Karabel pass mentions Mira and probably marked its border with its northern neighbor, the Seha River Land. This inscription is an extremely valuable marker, since it allows us to determine exactly this border, a little to the south of the Hermos River, which might be the Hittite Seha River, if the Kaikos River isn't. (Gurney 1992 221 with earlier refs.; Hawkins 1998) (More on Mira in RIA 8.218-20 'Mira' by Heinhold-Krahmer.)[12]

The Seha River Land must be situated to the north of Mira-Kuwaliya, close to Lazpa, but is unlikely to be contiguous with Hatti or its border lands. This places it on or near the coast rather than inland. The treaty between Mursili II and Manapatarhunta of the Seha River Land forbids Manapatarhunta and Mashuiluwa of Mira-Kuwaliya from attempting to encroach upon each other's territory (version B: KUB XIX 50 + XIV 26 + XLVIII 74 + XL 39 iii 20-1, ed. del Monte 1980 60). But, the treaty doesn't mention any border lands of Hatti. Seha River Land must be close to Lazpa, as Heinhold-Krahmer points out, since Manapatarhunta, king of the Seha River Land, is well aware of the machinations of Piyamaradu in Lazpa (see p. 40 of Chapter 2). This points more clearly to a location on the coast. (For more on the Seha River Land see Heinhold-Krahmer 1977 341-5.) The Seha River Land corresponds roughly to Classical Lydia, and the Seha River would have been an important route to and from the interior of Anatolia.

Hapalla, the third land of Greater Arzawa, is one land about which little is known.

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[12] If Freu had known Hawkin's reading of the inscription he perhaps would have been less hesitant to equate Wilusa with Ilios, for he places the Seha River Land further south on the Meander, a location which is disproved by the Karabel inscription (1998 116-7). A more northerly location for the Seha River Land pushes Wilusa farther towards Troy.

Although its location can't be exactly defined, it should not be placed on the coast, but rather just to the west of Hatti above Pitassa at least, and perhaps contiguous with Kuwaliya. Hapalla is contiguous with Hatti in Middle Hittite times, since in his campaign Suppiluliuma I accessed it from the Lower Land (KUB XIX 22 4-10, filled in with parallel text KBo XIV 42 12'-6', ed. Houwink ten Cate 1966 28), i.e. the part of Hatti to the south of the Halys River just above Tarhuntassa. (See Heinhold-Krahmer 1977 346-8 on Hapalla, 363-8 on the Lower Land.) In the New Hittite treaty of Targasnalli of Hapalla and Mursili II, Targasnalli is warned to take good care of the lands he has been given which are frontiers of Hatti (KBo V 4 rev. 42-4, ed. Friedrich 1926 66). These lands would be a region of Hapalla bordering on Hatti proper.

The consistent grouping of Hapalla among the Arzawa lands in New Hittite times means that it formed part of a block then, and in Middle Hittite times it was close to Kuwaliya, if not contiguous to it. In the 'Maduwatta Indictment', Madduwatta is accused of taking over Hapalla after he took over Arzawa. Further, he tried to catch one of the Hittite king's officers in an ambush after he asked permission to go through the officer's territory so that the two could attack Hapalla together. In this incident a man of the city Kuwaliya is mentioned as an informer (KUB XIV 1 rev. 28, ed. Götze 1968 (1927) 26). Although Heinhold-Krahmer is not willing to believe that this means that Hapalla is contiguous with Kuwaliya, it certainly indicates that they were grouped together. One might wonder if the territory through which Maduwatta asks for free passage (rev. 25-6) is Kuwaliya, as it is called a frontier of Mira along with the Astarpa River in the later 'Kupanta-Kurunta Treaty' (KBo V 13 i 32', KBo IV 3 i 20', ed. Friedrich 1926 116) (see pp. 237-8).

The location of Wilusa can now be discussed. In New Hittite times Wilusa was close to Lazpa, probably contiguous with the western land Masa and certainly contiguous to the Seha River Land, as the 'Manapatarhunta Letter' makes clear. In this letter,

Manapatarhunta, the king of the Seha River Land, discusses a Hittite attack from his territory against Wilusa (KUB XIX 5 3-4, ed Houwink ten Cate 1983-4 38, see his discussion on p. 42; and Bryce 1998 395). The 'Manapatarhunta Letter' talks about activities in Lazpa related to the attack on Wilusa (see Chapter 2, p. 40), so Wilusa must be fairly near to Lazpa, and Lesbos is quite close to Troy. (See Heinhold-Krahmer 1977 349-52.) We can't place Wilusa to the south of the Seha River Land or to its west, if we accept that the Seha River Land is on the coast, so we must place it to its north or east. Wilusa seems contiguous with Masa, since in the Alaksandu treaty the Hittite king says that when he came to help Alaksandu he destroyed Masa (A i 43'-56', see Beckman 1999 87-8 for a translation of the fragments not edited by Friedrich 1930 54).

We return to the mention of Wilusiya and Taruisa among the rebellious lands of Assuwa (see Chapter 2, p. 32). Most of the place names listed as part of Assuwa are otherwise unattested, but the list seems to begin with [Lu]qqa and ends with Taruisa and Wilusiya (KUB XXIII 11 ii 14-9). If the place names are following a geographical order, these last two places should be farthest from Lukka, which is on the coast of south central Anatolia (pp. 233-4).[13] This encourages one to look in the northwest for Taruisa and Wilusiya. (See Güterbock 1997 (1986) 226.) Now Taruisa certainly looks like Troy, while Wilusiya is a variant of Wilusa (Güterbock 1997 (1986); and esp. Starke 1997b 458-9), but in the 'Annals' they must refer to two separate places. Yet, this can be reconciled with the use of the names Troy and Ilios in the *Iliad* where, as María del Valle Muñoyerro (1999) shows, Troia referred to a larger district in which the city Ilios was located, just as the western district Arzawa contained the important city Apasa; this could

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[13] Starke interprets ...]uqqa (KUB XXIII 11 ii 14) in the list of the lands of Assuwa, as Art]uqqa, which appears elsewhere with Arzawa and Masa ('Annals of the Middle Hittite king Arnuwanda I', KUB XXIII 21 obv. 18' and 23' (see Starke 1997b 456 and note 91 for further refs., but note that he cites the Hittite passage incorrectly). The most recent scholar to compare the ordering of the list to that of *Il.* 2.816-78 is Cline (1997 201 with earlier refs.), following Huxley (1960 35), and see further Morris (2001a 425).

apply to the appearance of both names side by side in 'Tudhaliya's Annals'.[14]

A large portion of Hittite political geography was reviewed in order to fill in as much as possible of western Anatolia, yet, since the extent of the Seha River Land is not known, there still a fair amount of room for error in placing Wilusa. To place Wilusa on the coast, a reference to boats going in or out of Wilusa would be helpful, and as of yet that hasn't been found. Mentions of Wilusa along with Lazpa and Milawatta do give some support to the argument that Wilusa, like Lazpa and Milawatta, bordered on the sea. While the 'Manapatarhunta Letter' from the king of Seha River Land mentions Lazpa together with Wilusa, the 'Milawatta Letter' (New Hittite, from Hattusili III or Tudhaliya IV), mentions Milawatta with Wilusa. Somehow the land of Milawatta and its borders are of concern to both the king and recipient,[15] and the recipient has taken in the deposed king of Wilusa, by the name of Walmu, who is a vassal of both the Hittite king and the addressee.[16] The Hittite king wants him delivered to Hatti so he can return him to throne.

There is one counter-argument to the placement of Wilusa on the coast, the mention of a shared border between Hatti and Wilusa in the 'Alaksandu Treaty' (KUB XXI 5 iii 44-7, ed. Friedrich 1930 72-3), and this is certainly troubling for those of us

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[14] Güterbock (1997 (1986) 226-7) discusses the problem of the relationship of these two place names from a Hittitologist's perspective. Hawkins (1997) thinks the place Tarwisa turns up in a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription on a silver bowl, as *Tara/i-wa/i-za*, but Starke (1997b 474, note 86a) disagrees on phonological and historical grounds. If the Tudhaliya mentioned on the bowl is the Middle Hittite Tudhaliya I/II rather than Tudhaliya IV, this would be our earliest Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription by at least 100 years.

[15] Hawkins (1998 19) suggests that the addressee was Tarkasnawa, a king of Mira. The key sentence describing what the two did reads: ZAG KUR *Milawata = ma = naš* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* DUMU-*YA-ya* GIM-*an* DU-*wen* (KUB XIX 55 + XLVIII 90 rev. 45). Güterbock took it as 'When we, my majesty and my son, set the border of Milawata.' (See discussion in Güterbock 1997 (1983)b 203). Beckman (1999) translates as 'plundered', while Bryce (1985 13) translates it as 'carried off?? While the original edition, by Sommer (1932 198-204), lacked a key join piece, Hoffner (1982), in his new edition of the augmented reverse side, left the verb untranslated (also see his note 10 on p. 135), but in my class notes from spring 2000, he opted for 'establish, make firm', reading the verb as GIN = Akkadian *kunnu* = Hittite *dai-*. Schachermeyer (1986 259-61) also notes that Hoffner now agrees with Güterbock's reading.

[16] Easton (1985 194-5) suggests the possibility that the rebellion in Wilusa had something to do with the end of Troy VI.

who want to confirm the connection between Wilusa and Ilios, despite the fact that this same treaty in the preamble states that Hatti and Wilusa are distant from each other (KUB XXI 5 i 7, filled in with KUB XXI 2 i 11, ed. Friedrich 1930 50). But Manapatarhunta's letter shows that the Hittite general didn't attack Wilusa directly from the territory of Hatti, instead going through the Seha River Land (KUB XIX 5 3-4, ed. Houwink ten Cate 1983-4 38), so it seems that it is more convenient to access Wilusa from a place nearer the Aegean coast. And, the mention of a shared border (ZAG) with Hatti in the 'Alaksandu Treaty' can be understood as referring not to a thin line, but to an entire land lying between two other lands, because in the 'Bronze Tablet Treaty' the Seha River Land is called the border of Tarhuntassa, with the same wording as in the 'Alaksandu Treaty'.[17] This same usage occurs in the 'Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira-Kuwaliya Treaty', where the river Astarpa and the land of Kuwaliya are a border or frontier (KBo V 13 i 31-2, emended with ref. to KBo IV 3 i 20, ed. Friedrich 1926 116). (Hawkins 1995 50, notes this usage, citing personal communication with Gurney.) In this same treaty, Mursili II says, 'Which land I, my Majesty, have given to you, protect that land. Further, do not covet the frontier of the land of Hatti for yourself. Do not take for yourself any frontier of Hatti.' (KUB VI 41 ii 19-21, filled in with KBo IV 3 i 27-30, ed. Friedrich 1926 118)[18] These warnings make good sense only if we take the frontiers as regions and not a thin line. So it seems that Hatti and Wilusa are not necessarily contiguous, but shared a buffer zone or frontier. (This is the conclusion of Heinhold-Krahmer (1977 348-52) as well.)

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[17] The 'Bronze Tablet Treaty' (ii 4-5) says: ZAG KUR $^{URU\,d}$U-*tašša=ya kuiš* KUR ^{ID}*Hūlayaš n=ašta* LÚ MÁŠ.GAL *anda le paizzi*... 'The border of the land of Tarhuntassa, which is the Hulaya River Land, let a goatherd not enter it...' The Alaksandu Treaty says: *namma=ta* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI kue* KUR.KUR.MEŠ *ADDIN parā=ma=kan kue* ZAG.ḪI.A *ŠA* KUR ^{URU}*ḪATTI ašanzi nu mān* ^{LÚ}KÚR *kuiški niniktari n=aš apēdaš ANA* ZAG.ḪI.A GUL-*aḫḫuwanzi paizzi*. 'Further, which lands My Majesty gave to you, and which are the borders in the direction of Hatti, if some enemy mobilizes himself, and he goes to those borders to strike...' This is nearly identical to the wording of the section of the 'Targasnalli Treaty' which discusses a shared border, as mentioned above (p. 239).

[18] [(*tuk=ma* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI kuit* KUR-*TAM ADDIN*)] *nu=za apāt* KUR-*TAM paḫši/* [(*namma=ma=az Š*)A KUR ^{URU}*ḪATTI* ZAG-*an I*)]*š ilaliyaši/* [*nu=(za* ZAG ^{URU}*ḪATTI le kuinki da*)]*tti*.

This helps push Wilusa away from Hatti to the west.[19]

Masa, along with Karkisa, are two other countries in northwest Anatolia between the Troad and the Halys River, pushing Wilusa further west and north to the coast, although they cannot be localized too exactly. In general Masa appears with lands that are located in western Anatolia. Masa seems to be contiguous with Mira-Kuwaliya, since king Mashuiluwa fled from Mira-Kuwaliya across the border to Masa, which was then destroyed by Mursili ('Kupanta-Kurunta Treaty', KUB VI 41 i 40-3, ed. Friedrich 1926 112; and possibly 'Mursili II's Annals', KUB XIV 24 iii? 20', KBo IX 77 2' (both fragmentary), ed. Houwink ten Cate 1979 272, 275). (On Masa see Heinhold-Krahmer in RlA 7.441-2, Maša, and Hawkins 1995 54.)

Karkisa is contiguous with Seha River Land, like Wilusa, and is close to if not contiguous with Wilusa and Masa. Both 'Mursili II's Comprehensive Annals' (KUB XIV 15 iv 14-25) (ed. Götze 1967 (1933) 66-70) and the 'Manapatarhunta Treaty' (KUB XIX 49 i 1-13) (ed. Friedrich 1930 4) say that Manapatarhunta was driven out of the Seha River Land by his brother and took refuge across the border in Karkisa. Karkisa can't lie to the southeast of the Seha River Land, where Pitassa is securely located according to the 'Bronze Tablet Treaty', which places Pitassa just above Tarhuntassa and the Hulaya

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[19] Mellaart argues for placing Wilusa inland between the Seha River Land and Hatti (1984 78), saying that that Hatti and Wilusa share a border. Although he cites no text to support this, he seems to be thinking of the 'Alaksandu Treaty'. He address the statement at the beginning of the treaty that Hatti and Wilusa have still managed to stay in touch even though they are at a distance from each other, which Starke (1997b 455) points out. Macqueen (1986 39) also ignores this point when he says, '[I]t is difficult to imagine that an extremely strong link with central Anatolia could have been preserved over many years if Wilusa lay in the remote and rather inaccessible Troad.' (Ünal (1991) quotes this sentence of Macqueen without attribution.) Mellaart (1984 82; 1993 418) associates Atriya with Troy, as does Easton (1984 30 with earlier refs.). But, Atriya is mentioned in the 'Tawagalawa Letter' as a fortified place within Iyalanda (KUB XIV 3 i 35-8, ed. Sommer 1932 4), and this area is mentioned in the beginning of the tablet as a part of Lukka from which the Hittite king expels Piyamaradu (i 16-23, ed. Sommer 1932 2). (Bryce 1985 14) Forlanini and Marazzi (1986 Tav. XVII, XX) also do not place Wilusa in the Troad, but inland between Ephesos and Beycesultan. Schachermeyr (1986 297-304) decided it was best to postulate two sites with very similar names, a Wilusa in Caria and a Wilusiya in the Troad, which is mentioned in the 'Annals of Tudhaliya I/II'. In his opinion, the association of Wilusa with Arzawa, Karkisa and Milawatta requires that it be sited further south than the Troad, but the reference to Wilusiya in 'Tudhaliya's Annals' clearly points to a northwest location. He needs to do this because he assumes that the land Karkisa is the same as later Caria.

River Land, to the west (see p. 234). Karkisa is mentioned in the 'Alaksandu Treaty' (KUB XXI 5 iii 29-31 with parallel texts, ed. Friedrich 1930 66-8), along with Masa, Lukka and Warsiyalla, as places in which king Alaksandu of Wilusa is obligated to campaign with the Hittite king. Karkisa appears in the list of countries in the Assuwa group that rebelled against the Middle Hittite king Tudhaliya I/II, along with Wilusiya and Taruisa (see p. 240). Masa and Karkiya/Karkisa are several times paired together. In the 'Tawagalawa Letter' (KUB XIV 3 iii 53', iv 6), for example, Karkiya is paired with Masa as places that Piyamaradu might like to take up residence if he doesn't stay in Ahhiyawa. Intriguingly, the Hittite king mentions this immediately after the dispute over Wilusa which he and the Ahhiyawan king have now resolved (reading the damaged signs as Wilusa, see Chapter 2, p. 36). Because of the geographical associations of Karkisa, I am not persuaded that it was Classical Caria. (For more on Karkisa, see Heinhold-Krahmer in RlA 5.446-7, Karkiša.) Masa and Karkisa must fall to the east and north of Mira-Kuwaliya, above Pitassa and probably above Hapalla, and it is best to place Karkisa to the north of Masa so that Karkisa can be contiguous with the Seha River Land to the northeast, and possibly Wilusa to the northwest, while Masa is closer to Mira-Kuwaliya. (Also see Hawkins 1998 29-30 on the difficulties of placing these two lands.)

APPENDIX TWO

INTERPRETING TESSUB'S CONDITION IN THE 'SONG OF RELEASE'

There are several problematic words or phrases which were not discussed in Chapter Three (pp. 72 ff.), describing the condition of Tessub. They are AN UŠ UN and words formed with the stem *šiššiya-*.

The stem *šiššiya-* appears on the words *šiššiyanit*, *šiššiyawanza* and ^{LÚ}*šiššiyalan* in the *Song of Release* (KBo XXXII 15 ii 4', 6', 18'), the first an instrumental describing something that injures Tessub, and the second two nouns applied to Tessub. ^{LÚ}*šiššiyalan* is translated as 'debtor(?)' by Hoffner, who takes it as referring to Tessub, and by Neu as 'Peiniger' (Eng. 'tormentor'), taking it as the object of the following verb *dammishiškizzi* 'oppress' (1996a 291).[1] The words *šiššiyanit dammišḫānza* and [*ši*]*ššiwanza* are translated by Hoffner as 'oppressed by debt(?)' (1998b 75), and by Neu as 'durch ein Notlage zu Schaden gekommen' (1996a 289). I, however, based on the usage of words containing the root *šai-/šiya* in other Hittite texts, have translated these three words as 'oppression', 'oppressed' and 'oppressed man'.

The stem *šiššiya-* appears elsewhere in the Hittite corpus, in a purification ritual.

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[1] Neu's interpretation of ii 18'-20': *na = an = kan huišnumini* ^dIM-*an* ^{LÚ}*šiššiyalan/ dammišhišiškizzi = an kuiš UL = ma = an/ iyaweni parā tarnumar*. 'Ihn wollen wir retten, den Wettergott. (Seinem) Peiniger, der ihm dauernd Schader zufügt, ihm gewähren wir keine Freilassung.' (1996a 291)

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Here the word is a predicate adjective:

ku^{r}iš^1 ANA PĀNI DINGIR-*LIM idālu memian harzi nu kī māhhan wātar dankuiš daganzipaš/ kat^{r}ta^1 pašta apātt=a idālu uttar taganzipaš katta QATAMMA pašdu/ [k]e uddar parkui šiššiyann=a ēštu* DINGIR-*LUM=ma* EN.SÍSKUR=*ya apēz/ [uddā]naz parkuwaēš ašan[d]u*
        KUB XXIX 7 rev. 54-7 (CTH 480 'Samuha Ritual', ed. Lebrun 1976 125, with different line numbers, based on trans. from the unpublished CHD article and suggestion of Hoffner (pers. comm.)

Who has spoken an evil word before the god, just as the dark earth swallowed this water down, let the earth also swallow down that evil word. Let these words be pure and compelling(?). But, let the god and the client of the sacrifice be purified from these words.

The word thus seems to be denoting a positive thing for the client, on a par with 'pure'.

In CTH 70, in which the New Hittite king Mursili II talks about the problems with his mother-in-law Danuhepa, the word seems to appear again. This text attempts to appease the gods' evident anger by propitiating them for whatever sins they might be holding against the speaker. Here, Mursili argues that he has made up for yet another offense committed by his father, who failed to celebrate a festival in Kummani: *nu* ^{r}*kiššan memiškinun paimi=wa=za ŠA ABI-YA* ^{r}*šešši^1[ya]n/ arha* ^{r}*šar^{1}nikmi* 'I kept saying, I will proceed to compensate the *šešši yan* of my father for myself.' (KUB XIV 4 iii 26-8, ed. Martino 1998 28) The CHD offers the provisional translation of 'inactivity (??)' in an unpublished article on this word, but Hoffner (pers. comm.) now leans towards a translation of 'forceful act'.

The most likely derivation for this word is from the root *šai-* 'shoot, press'. The base meaning of the reduplicated stem should be something like 'press repeatedly/ continually', a meaning that can lead to the other meanings we need to postulate for it. In the purification ritual, the evil words are rendered ineffective by being pressed under the ground. Evil is typically dealt with in this type of ritual by being locked into a container, buried under ground, or pegged (cf. p. 193 and Wright 1987 263-71 with earlier references). In CTH 70 the *šešši yan*, a ceremony left undone, presses upon Mursili. In the

Song of Release, Tessub is oppressed, slighted as if he is an ineffective god that the Eblaites can afford to neglect. For this reason, I have used terms such as 'oppressed' and 'oppression' to translate words with this root in the 'Song of Release'.

The three signs AN UŠ UN in ii 13' and ii 17' are enigmatic. AN UŠ could be read DINGIR-*uš* for Hittite *šiunuš* 'god' (nom. sing.). UN could stand for Hittite *antuḫšaš/antuwaḫḫaš* 'person', but, as Hoffner (1998a 79, note 54) points out, the Sumerogram is used for the Hittite word only in New Hittite, and we are still lacking a phonetic complement marking the nominative case. The Hurrian side has preserved only *ene* 'god' (KBo XXXII 15 i 12'), in the absolutive case, which shows that the noun can only be the subject of an intransitive sentence or the object of a transitive one.

Hoffner and Wilhelm both prefer the latter interpretation. Wilhelm (1997 280) takes *ene* with what goes before and transliterates the three signs on the Hittite side as DINGIR.UŠ-*un*, an accusative form, calling the sequence 'unklar'. The CHD (P 62) follows a similar tack: 'We will release him, the ᵈUŠ, from depravation [*sic*]', and Hoffner (1998a 75) translates the phrase as, 'we will bring him back from dire need, (namely) the ... god.'

Neu rightly compares this line to a set of phrases in the parables, in which the narrator makes clear that animal or object he has been telling a story about in fact represents a human: [*n*]*āli mānn=o=vor taršuvāni/ UL₌ma aliyanaš nu antuwaḫḫaš* 'But it is not a deer. It is a man.' (i/ii15, etc.) The sentence AN-*uš* UN at KBo XXXII 15 ii 13' and 17' could be translated as, 'The god is (like) a man.' Here the point seems to be that Tessub can suffer like the captive men of Ikinkalis (perhaps he is even suffering at that moment), but the speaker denies that there is any correlation between the enslaved state of the men of Ikinkalis and Tessub's condition. The latter's condition can be improved by offerings of material goods, but the captives' condition can only be improved by releasing them from their excessive labor. As discussed in Chapter Three (pp. 78-82) the suffering

of both Tessub and the captives could be related, in that the excessive work imposed upon the humans could be preventing them from serving Tessub with food, clothing and other offerings.

The reading of these signs as DINGIR-*uš* UN, 'the god is (like?) a man', could be borne out by a parallel from the Akkadian 'Atrahasis', with its puzzling opening line: *i-nu-ma i-lu a-wi-lum* (*inūma ilū awīlum*) 'when the gods like man'. (ed. Lambert and Millard 1999 42) As we saw (Chapter 3, pp. 88 ff.), there are many parallels between 'Atrahasis' and the 'Song of Release'. However, the grammar of the Akkadian line is difficult. For example, the seemingly nominative *awīlum* can be read as a locative with comparative meaning (Lambert and Millard 1999 147).

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