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Some Aspects of Hittite Religion by O. R. Gurney

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widely circulated. Gil's contribution, therefore, lies not only in the significance of his topic, but in his having brought his unique sources before a broad scholarly audience in such exemplary fashion.

A few, final words concerning this book's suggestive and wide-ranging introductory essay are in order. A simple list of the major section headings will give some idea of its scope: (1) historical survey; (2) origination of pious foundations, a) the act of donation and its motivation, b) legal and formal aspects of donations, c) the *qōdesh* as a legal person; (3) administration and revenue, a) upper level administration, b) *parnāsim* (social service officers), c) the accounts and the records of the *qōdesh*, d) transactions of the *qōdesh*, e) the budget of the *qōdesh*, f) lease of agricultural properties; (4) use of revenue, a) maintenance, building operations, and repairs, b) government taxes and payments to Muslim officials, c) maintenance of synagogues, d) emoluments and charity; e) apportionment and expenditures. The style of the introduction is rather condensed, sometimes almost outline in form. The transition from each of the 146 subsections to the other is not always entirely smooth. This is, however, offset by the richness of content. Gil throws out many ideas that will stir continuing debate on the history and the character of the various pious foundations of the medieval Middle East. For example, he maintains (following Cahen in part) that the earliest form of Muslim pious foundation was the *waqf ahli* which benefited the donor's kin, rather than the *waqf khayrī* which was for the commonweal (p. 28). My own reading of the early Muslim traditions on the ancient *waqf* lead me to doubt this. There is practically no discussion of Byzantine *piae causae* in the introduction, since Gil apparently does not feel that there was much of a parallel, much less organic link between them and the Jewish *qōdesh* or the Muslim *waqf* (e.g., see p. 29). At least with respect to the *waqf*, this point of view is not entirely shared by this reviewer (see my "Charity and Social Service in Medieval Islam," *Societas* 5 [1975]: 108 f.). However, whether one agrees or disagrees

with this or that position taken by Professor Gil, no serious scholar dealing with charitable foundations in the medieval Islamic world can afford to ignore this major contribution.

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*Some Aspects of Hittite Religion.* By O. R. GURNEY. The Schweich Lectures 1976. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1977. Pp. viii + 80 + 9 pls. \$13.95.

The three lectures contained in this small volume do not, as the author himself states (p. 3), present a "closely integrated theme" but, rather, constitute an overview of the field of Hittite religion by a scholar who has worked in it for many years and who has made substantial contributions to it. The first lecture sketches the development of the Hittite pantheon from the earliest stages recoverable from myth and saga to the "thousand gods of Ḫatti" of the Empire period. The second lecture describes the formal worship of the Hittites, distinguishing between provincial practices on the one hand, as revealed primarily by the so-called cult-inventories, and the state cult of Ḫattuša and the great peripatetic festivals of spring and fall on the other. The final lecture deals with the magical rituals, briefly discussing the personnel involved in such activities before proceeding to a clarification of the terms employed to designate the ritual carrier or "scapegoat" (*nakkušši-*) and the ritual substitute (*tarpalli-* or *tarpašša-*) and concluding with a description of the royal funerary rites.

Lending a unity to the three lectures is the discussion in each of the designation and function of the rock-sanctuary Yazılıkaya, which is located a short distance outside the ruins of the Hittite capital (pp. 19–24, 40–43, 62–63). Gurney effectively presents the case for recognizing this outcropping of rock as not only the "permanent peak" (*hekur sag.uš*—a topographic term), but also as the

*hešti*-house in which important ritual activities (i.e., the New Year's Festival?) were carried out, and as the É.NA<sub>4</sub>, "stone-house" or mortuary temple, of Tuthaliya IV.

While this interpretation of Yazılıkaya had been anticipated by several other scholars (including Otten, Bittel, Güterbock, and Kammenhuber) and much of the remainder of the volume constitutes a summary of the current state of our knowledge of Hittite religion rather than new research, Gurney, nonetheless, makes several interesting new philological contributions. For instance, he suggests (p. 30 with n. 4) that the use in Hittite texts of the terms "slaughter up" (*šara h̄uek-/h̄atta-*) and "slaughter down" (*katta/kattanda h̄uek-/h̄atta-*) indicates a practice similar to that known from Greek sources by which victims offered to the Olympians were killed with their throats upward, while those presented to chthonic deities had their throats slit in a downward position so that their blood might drip directly to the earth. On p. 39 he tentatively presents the hypothesis that the *purulli*-Festival and the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-Festival, both spring celebrations which submitted the king and members of the royal family to a long and doubtless exhausting schedule of ritual activities in numerous localities in the central Hittite area, may in fact have been one and the same cultic *Rundreise*. Also worthy of mention here are Gurney's discussion of the musical instruments mentioned in the Boğazköy texts and pictured on Hittite monuments (pp. 34–35 and pls. 5–8) and his suggestion that *purapši-* is the Hittite reading of the Sumerograms LÚAZU = LÚḪAL, "seer" (pp. 45 f. with n. 6).

Several comments on specific matters touched on by Gurney follow:

Pp. 4 ff.: on the god-lists of Hittite treaties and other juridical documents; see now Kestamont, *Or.* n.s. 45 (1976): 147–77, where it is shown that these lists are not as "stereotyped" as Gurney (p. 15) suggests but, rather, were adapted to fit the particular circumstances in which each document was employed.

Pp. 8 f.: it is unlikely that the presentation of a house by the goddess Inara to the Hittite king in

the "Myth of Illuyanka" (CTH 321) alludes to the first Hittite occupation of Ḫattuša because the house in question was probably located in Kiškilišša (*KBo* III 7 ii 15: *I-NA URUKi-iš-ki-l[u-uš-ša]*).

Pp. 9 f.: a ritual for the erection of a new palace (CTH 414) contains a passage (*KUB* XXIX 1 i 23–25) in which the Throne-goddess Ḫalmašuitt brings authority and a (royal) coach to the king "from the sea." Is this perhaps a reference to Zalpa "by the sea," a city situated on the coast of the Black Sea which seems to have been particularly important as a royal residence in the Old Hittite period? See Otten, *StBoT* 17, pp. 60–61.

Pp. 11 ff.: Gurney here expresses the opinion that the mention of the Sun-goddess of Arinna in the "Annals of Ḫattušili I" (CTH 4), a text which is preserved only in copies from the Empire period, is original and not, as many scholars have maintained, an innovation introduced by a later copyist. Further support for this position is found in *KUB* XXX 29 obv. 9–15, a passage from a Middle Hittite ritual composition which probably accurately reflects pre-Hittite, Hattic mythology. Here the Sun-god(dess) is said to take her seat in Arinna, an act parallel to the positioning of several other deities in their cult centers, including Telepinu in Tawiniya and Ḫuzzi (known from proper names in the Kültepe texts) in Ḫakm/piš. It is likely that the proper name of this solar deity was Eštan, while Arinitti/u (Hattic—"she of Arinna"—*IBoT* I 29 obv. 39, 42, and 47) and Wurušemu (meaning unclear) were probably both epithets serving on occasion independently to designate the same goddess.

P. 14: did the designation "Sun-god of Heaven" arise as a doublet to, and as a differentiation from, the chthonic "Sun-god(dess) of the Earth"?

P. 41: additional evidence against interpreting Yazılıkaya as a *ḫuwaši*-stone is the fact that according to the Hittite Law Code II §23, a *ḫuwaši* could be stolen. It is unlikely that the same word designated both a portable object and an immovable topographic feature.

P. 44: the second-person of the verb is occasionally attested in Hittite ritual texts. Note, for example, *ḫu-uk-ki-iš-ki-ši*, "you shall repeatedly conjure," in *KUB* XXX 29 obv. 8, and *te-ši*, "you say," in the "First Military Oath" (Oettinger, *StBoT* 22, Glossar, p. 115).

Pp. 44 f.: *SALŠU.TI* = Hittite *SALḫašauwa-*, "old woman," seems to have been a general term for a female ritual practitioner, including various, more

specialized occupations under its rubric. Note that Tunnawiya is called *SALŠU.GI* in *KUB* VII 53 + *KUB* XII 58, but *SALŠA.ZU*, "midwife," in *KBo* XVII 61. The corresponding "cover-term" for male ritual practitioners was apparently *LÚSANGA*, "priest." See Gurney, p. 45, n. 6.

P. 46: basing his opinion on the admonition of Ḫattušili I to Ḫaštayar not to consult the "old women" (*KUB* I 16 iii 65 ff.), Gurney suggests that these women and their male counterparts practiced magic "without official sanction." This view is belied by the very presence in the Hittite royal library of a great many rituals of magical character specifically naming such cultic personnel as their authors. A general condemnation of the activities of the "old women" is not to be read into the "Testament of Ḫattušili I," nor is it to be

found anywhere in the Hittite corpus, despite the remarks of S. R. Bin-Nun, *THeth* 5, pp. 122 ff.

To conclude, Professor Gurney has produced a well-written synthesis of what sixty years of research by many scholars has revealed about Hittite religion. Although this field of study still offers more questions than answers, there is little in Gurney's book with which one might take serious issue. It should serve as a convenient introduction to the subject for students, particularly for those whose first language is English.

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