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Pantheon. A. II. Bei den Hethitern.

§ 1. General. – § 2. Sources. – § 3. Cultural strata. – § 4. Social groupings. – § 5. Cosmic aspects. – § 6. Functions. – § 7. Hierarchy and state pantheon. – § 8. Local pantheons. – § 9. Mythology.

§ 1. General. “Pantheon” means “all the gods of a polytheistic people,” that is, the totality of the deities of a particular culture considered as a group. In regard to Ḫatti, the term may be construed variously: as referring to the world of the gods as a whole (“the gods of heaven and earth” [e. g., *KUB* 36, 95 ii 2], “(all) the gods of Ḫatti” [for references see van Gessel 1998–2001, 1020–1022], “the gods of the land” [van Gessel 1998–2001, 994], “the great gods and the lesser gods” [*KUB* 33, 5 ii 10–11], “(all) the male deities and the female deities of the land” [*KUB* 6, 45 iv 49, 52], or “the Thousand Gods of Ḫatti” [van Gessel 1998–2001, 978–79]); to the group of para-human beings summoned by name to witness and guarantee oaths (§ 6); to the more limited selection of gods and goddesses prominent in Hittite state cult (§ 7); to the small number of deities particularly at home in and receiving special attention

in a particular town (§ 8); and to the entirety of the body of divine names gathered by modern scholars from Hittite documents (for collections of the cuneiform theonyms see Laroche 1947 and van Gessel 1998–2001; for the evidence in Hieroglyphic Luwian see Kalaç 1965 and Savaş 1998).

The company of deities mentioned in Hittite sources is enormous; indeed, in number and complexity the Hittite pantheon is comparable to that of Syro-Mesopotamia, whose history was considerably longer than that of Ḫatti. This is due in part to the nature of the Hittite state: As Ḫatti expanded, subjugated areas were not assimilated but agglutinated to the realm; in this process local religious traditions and gods were maintained and duly incorporated into the imperial pantheon. Thus, for example, the Storm-god (Teššub*) of Ḫalab was provided with significant cult in Ḫattuša from at least the Middle Hittite period (Schwemer 2001, 494–502).

Another factor is the Hittite practice of paying individual attention to the various local hypostases of a god or goddess, rather than subsuming them in worship under a single figure (Wilhelm 2002). There can be little doubt that the various “Šawuškās of Nineveh” honored in different Hittite towns were avatars of a single divinity (Beckman 1998, 5–6), but they nonetheless receive separate offerings (*KUB* 38, 6 i 18–23, iv 12’–22’).

§ 2. Sources. Given the permeation of Hittite culture by what we would consider religious concerns, information pertaining to the divine world may be found in most texts from the archives of Ḫatti. Of greatest importance for the study of the pantheon are a prayer of Muwattalli II (CTH 381), which includes a detailed invocation of “all the male gods and goddesses” of Ḫatti, including those of particular localities (Singer 1996, 171–77); records of the cultic census conducted for Tudḫaliya IV throughout his kingdom (CTH 501 ff.: Jakob-Rost 1961–63; Hazenbos 2003); and lists of oath gods summoned as witnesses in treaties (Kestemont 1976; cf. § 6).

The Hittite onomasticon and corpus of geographic names are not particularly helpful in the study of the pantheon, since theophoric names are relatively few (Laroche 1966, 382 f.; del Monte/Tischler, RGTC 6/1). Blessings at the beginning of letters do not mention particular deities, as was usual in Mesopotamia, but routinely invoke the favor of “the (thousand) gods” (Hagenbuchner 1989, 67–69), illustrating the importance of the pantheon as a whole for the individual Hittite but telling us nothing about its composition or structure.

Hittite scribes compiled no lists of divine names similar to those of Mesopotamia (see Götterlisten*); long sequences of nearly identical offerings to deities in the state cult (CTH 664) are a poor substitute.

In addition to the Hittite cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian texts, we possess some artistic evidence for the world of the Hittite gods. Undoubtedly most significant here is the complex of reliefs in the sanctuary of Yazılıkaya* just outside the capital of Boğazköy/Ḫattuša (Bittel et al. 1975; Güterbock 1982). Here the figures of more than sixty deities, largely segregated into two files by gender (*kaluti*, “circle, cohort”), converge upon a central panel depicting the leading figures of the state pantheon, the Storm-god (Tešsub*), the Sun-goddess (Ḫebat*), and their family (§ 4) (Laroche 1947). Note also the construction at the sacred pool of Eflâtun Pınar (İflatun Pınar*) (Bittel 1976, Abb. 257 and [Katalog] Die Hethiter und ihr Reich [2002] 222 f.), which seems to represent the most important elements of the Hittite cosmos. While the majority of the deities at Yazılıkaya are accompanied by their names in hieroglyphic script, the sculptures at Eflâtun Pınar are unfortunately anonymous.

Personal seals, both cylinders and stamps (Mora 1987), may present images of one or several deities, identifiable from their iconography and often provided with hieroglyphic labels. This glyptic data confirms the prominence of certain deities – namely the Storm-god, the Sun-god, and the Tutelary Deity – by the frequency of their appearance. But due to the small number of figures in any one composition,

it can tell us little about the relationship of the deities to one another within the pantheon.

§ 3. Cultural strata. Hittite culture was composite, formed by the blending of the lifeways and mental universe of the Indo-European newcomers (including Hittites, Luwians, and Palaic speakers) with those of the culturally more advanced “indigenous” Hattic people. To this mix were then added elements borrowed from Syro-Mesopotamian culture along with the cuneiform writing system. Later still, the dominant Hurrian culture of northern Syria and eastern Anatolia exerted its influence (Hoffner 1998).

The conflation of so many cultural layers encouraged some assimilation and syncretism of deities or at least comparison among divine figures. Most explicit is Queen Puduḫepa’s equation of the Hittite Sun-goddess with Syrian Ḫebat: “Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, you are the queen of all lands! In the land of Ḫatti you have assumed the name Sun-goddess of Arinna, but in respect to the land that you have made that of cedars, you have assumed the name Ḫebat” (KUB 21, 27 i 3–6; CTH 384). Straightforward syncretism of this sort, however, is late and exceptional. More often, local avatars of major deities such as the Storm-God or the Tutelary Deity (McMahon 1991) retain some individuality and receive their own offerings in the cult (see § 1).

The earliest evidence for what was to become the Hittite pantheon is provided by the Assyrian trading colonies (*kārū*) of the Middle Bronze Age. Mould-produced lead plaques depicting a group of three deities: an adult male, adult female, and a male child (Bittel 1976, Abb. 89–90), may be forerunners of the “holy family” of later Hittite cult (see § 4). Local gods mentioned in texts found in the merchants’ houses at Kültepe/Kaneš (Neša) (See Table I.A.1; Hirsch 1961, 28–29) play little role in later Hittite religion; indeed, none of them appears among the deities hymned by the later religious functionaries known as the “Singers of Kaneš” (Table I.A.2; Jakob-

I. Local Pantheons of Central and Northern Anatolia

A. Kaneš/Neša

1. Old Assyrian Records	2. Addressed by "Singers of Kaneš"	3. Hittite State Cult	4. Anitta Text
Anna Higaša Kubabat Nipas Parka	Pirwa Ilali Tarawa Aššiyat Ḫašam(m)ili Telipinu Ḫuwariya Kalimma Kamrušepa Kuwannanni IMIN.IMIN.BI Ea Tutelary Deity DINGIR.MAḪ Šalawanni Nari Mt. Tapala	Pirwa Ḫaššušara Aškašepa Ḫilanzipa Ḫašam(m)ili Šuwaliyat Šiwatt Maliya Ugur Zuliyā IMIN.IMIN.BI	Storm-god Šiušummi Ḫalmašuit

B. Ḫattuša	C. Arinna	D. Zippalanda	E. Nerik	F. Zalpa	G. Šamuḫa
Inar(a) Storm-god Sun-goddess Šiušummi Ḫalmašuit War-god Telipinu Lelwani Šiwatt Tašammat Tašimmeti Ištuštaya Papaya Ḫašam(m)ili Zilipuri Ḫapantaliya	Sun-goddess = Wurušemu Storm-god Mezzulla Zintuḫi Kammamma Telipinu Mt. Ḫulla	Sun-goddess of Earth Wašazzili = Storm-god Mt. Taḫa Tutelary Deity Ḫalki = Grain Šiwatt Ḫašam(m)ili	Storm-god Tešimi Zašḫapuna Tutelary Deity Ḫalki = Grain War-god = Šulinkatte Telipinu Zaḫalukka Mt. Zaliyanu Mt. Tazzuwašši	Ammamma various Storm- gods various Sun- deities Ḫalipinu Šamanni War-god = Šulinkatte various springs The Sea	Šawuška Teššub Abara Sun-god Ḫebat Ḫuriyanzipa DINGIR.GE ₆ = Night Lelwani

Rost 1971, 112), nor among those gods of Kaneš participating in the state cult (*Table I.A.3*; Haas 1994, 614). Three additional deities are associated with Kaneš/Neša in the Anitta text (CTH 1: *Table I.A.4*; Neu 1974, 14 f., ll. 56 f.); this probably indicates that these were not strictly Nesite gods, but rather belonged to Anitta's home town of Kušsar* or perhaps to his dynasty.

The core of Hittite religion was borrowed from the earlier Hattic population

(*Table II.A*; Klinger 1996, 129–97), whose primary deity was a Sun-goddess with chthonic features. Her personal name was Wurušemu*, lit. "Mother of the Earth", but she is also referred to as Eštan (Hittitized as Ištanu*), simply "Sun", or by the epithet Arinniti, "She of (the town of) Arinna". Later, under Hurrian and Mesopotamian influence, the Hittites adopted a male Sun-god (of Heaven) in addition (Haas 1994, 379 f.; Yoshida 1996, 1–4).

II. Pantheons of Cultural Groups in Ḫatti

A. Hattic	B. Palaic	C. Luwian	D. Hurrian
Sun-goddess = Eštan/ Wurušemū/Arinniti	Ziparwa	Storm-god = Tarḫunt	Storm-god = Teššub
Storm-god = Taru	Kataḫziwuri	Storm-god <i>piḫaššašši</i>	Ḫebat
Moon-god = Kašku	Sun-god = Tiyat	Storm-god <i>piḫa(i)mmi</i>	Šawuška
Kataḫziwuri	Ḫašam(m)ili	Sun-god = Tiwat	Sun-god = Šimike
Inar(a)	Šaušḫalla	Kamrušepa	Moon-god = Kušuḫ
(Tutelary Deity)	Kammamma	Moon-god = Arma	Nikkal
Ḫalmašuit = Throne	Ḫilanzipa	Šanta	Kumarbi
Lelwani	Gulzanikeš	(I)yarri	Šala
Tašimmet	Ilaliyantikeš	Ilaliyant	Nergal
Wašezzil	Uliliyantikeš	Immarni(ya)	Allani
Mittunun		Aštabi	Ea
Kakšazet		Tutelary Deity = Kurunta	Nabarbi
Kait = Grain		Ḫuwaššanna	Nupatik
Tuḫuleli		Maliya	Primeval Deities
Kaštuwarit		Pirwa	
Taḫakšaziatiš		Tarawa	
Zuliya		Aššiyat	

Despite claims to the contrary (Sergent 1983; Masson 1989), Indo-European elements are not prominent in the religion or the pantheon of Ḫatti. It is however, generally recognized that the Proto-Indo-European word for the deity of the bright sky, **diēus*, lived on the Hittite common nouns for “deity”, *šiu(ni)*- (Neu 1974, 130 f.) and “day”, *šiwatt*-, as well as in the names of the Sun-god in the other languages of the Old Anatolian subfamily, Luwian Tiwat* and Palaic Tiyat. The most prominent Hittite male deity, the Storm-god Tarḫunt*-/Tarḫunza- (“the Victorious/Effective One”) represents a melding of the Indo-European Sky-god with the Hattic weather god Taru* (cf. Hutter 2003, 220 f.).

The cultures and religions of the other Indo-European immigrants into Anatolia also absorbed Hattic influence in varying degrees before in turn influencing the Hittites. The extremely heterogenous Palaic pantheon of what would later be Paphlagonia was headed by Ziparwa*, seemingly a god of vegetation (Table II.B; Haas 1994, 611 f.; Klinger 1996, 156 n. 114), while the Storm-god Tarḫunt and his avatars dominated the Luwian pantheon (Table II.C; Hutter 2003, 218–56).

From Middle Hittite times on, Hurrian religion (Table II.D; Wilhelm 1982, 69–81; Haas 1978; Archi 1998; 2002 a) had an

ever-growing impact on the Hittites. In southeastern Anatolia, the spiritual culture of the Hurrians combined with Luwian elements to produce the Kizzuwatnean religious system (Haas 1994, 848–75; Archi 2002 b) that gained ascendancy in Ḫatti during the 14th and 13th centuries. The Storm-god Teššub* was the chief Hurrian god, paired with the Istar-figure Šawuška* in the east, but with Ḫebat*, originally the city-goddess of Ḫalab (Trémouille 1997, 17–20), in the west (Archi 1992). It was the occidental version of the Hurrian pantheon that was adopted in Ḫatti.

Already in the early 2nd mill., the religion of Syro-Mesopotamia had assumed considerable ethnic complexity (Archi 1993; 1998). Indigenous Syrian deities joined with those of Hurrian, Amorite, and Mesopotamian origin to form a synthetic pantheon, atop of which stood a Storm-god (Adad/Hadad/Ba^ʿlu/Teššub). Although there was some direct contact between Ḫatti and Assyria and Babylonia (Beckman, JCS 35 [1983] 97–114), most Mesopotamian deities reached Anatolia through Syrian mediation.

Truly foreign deities, that is, those not naturalized into Hittite religion, are attested primarily in international treaties: as the “oath gods” (see § 6) of the partner, and as the patrons of the mercenaries in

Hittite service (*lulabbi-* and *hapiri-*gods; CHD L 79 f.). In addition, Mesopotamian gods, for the most part in Hurrian clothing, appear in mythological texts imported to Ḫattuša for educational, not religious, purposes (see *Mythologie** A. II. §§ 5–7).

§ 4. Social groupings. The Hittites, like their Near Eastern contemporaries, conceived of their gods primarily in human form. Anthropomorphism modeled the gods after humankind not only physically but also socially, so that like men and women they were characterized not only by gender, but by stage of life, rank, and family relationships. As in human experience a person is not usually well acquainted with ancestors earlier than grandparents, Hittite divine families reach at most three generations in depth (Wilhelm 2002, 59). Divine households were made up of a male and a female partner, with their offspring, and occasionally a concubine (e.g., CTH 321, § 33).

In general, we are not as satisfactorily informed about genealogical relationships among the Hittite gods as we are for those of Mesopotamia. Only the “first families” of the state pantheon and of the town of Nerik* are well documented. The former, as depicted at Yazılıkaya (Haas 1994, 633–35), consisted first of all of a trinity: the Storm-god (Teššub in the *interpretatio hurritica*), the Sun-goddess (Ḫebat), and their son, the Storm-god of the towns of Nerik and Zippalanda (Šarrumma*). The couples are also joined by their daughter Mezzulla* (Allanzu?), and their granddaughter Zintuḫi* (Hattic “Granddaughter”). In Nerik, the Storm-god enjoyed a *ménage à trois* with his spouse Tešimi* and his mistress Za(š)hapuna* (Haas 1994, 598).

A worshiper might make good use of a deity’s family connections by approaching her through her offspring, as does Puduḫepa in a prayer to the Sun-goddess (CTH 384; Singer 2002, 101–05). Similarly, the author of another supplication implores the members of the court of the Sun-goddess, from her vizier down to her chief cosmetician (^dGAL.LÚ.MEŠ.ŠU.I) to intercede

with the lofty deity (CTH 371; Singer 2002, 24).

§ 5. Cosmic aspects. Despite their human form, the Anatolian deities represented aspects or facets of the universe. The Storm-god embodied the fructifying rain and underground waters (Deighton 1982), the Sun-goddess personified the fertility of the earth, Kait*/Ḫalki* stood for cultivated cereals, the Tutelary Deity manifested game animals, etc. The Hittites also showed great reverence for aspects of the topography around them, above all for streams, springs, and mountains (Lombardi 2000). These natural features might be worshiped as elements of the landscape as such (e.g., ^{hur.sag}Zaliyanu; cf. RGTC 6, 489), as personified figures (^dZalijanu*; cf. van Gessel 1998/I 571 f.), or generically (ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ ÍD.MEŠ ŠA KUR ^{uru}Ḫatti *humanteš*, KUB 6, 45 i 15 f.).

The Primeval Deities (*Table III.D.*; *karu-ileš šiuneš*, Hurrian *ammati-na enna*; Laroche 1974; Archi 1990), also referred to as the Lower Gods (*kattereš šiuneš*, Hurrian *enna turi-na*) or Gods of the Earth/Underworld (*taknaš šiuneš*), were borrowed from the Hurrians. These gods, who appear invariably as a group among the treaty witnesses (§ 6), also receive collective worship in several rituals (CTH 446, 447, 449; Otten 1961). Long ago relegated to the Netherworld like the Greek Titans, the Primeval Deities included among their number gods who originally entered Hurrian religion from Mesopotamia.

§ 6. Functions. The chief role of the Hittite gods was to oversee the proper operation of the universe, each deity in charge of his or her particular province. As shown by the “Vanishing-god” myths, the absence of a deity from the appropriate post could lead to the freezing up of the cosmos (see *Mythologie** A. II. § 4 b). In addition, members of the pantheon were held to have a special concern for the Hittite king and his family. For example, the Storm-god Teli-pinu is enjoined in a prayer: “Give life, health, strength, long years, and joy in the future to the king, the queen, princes, and

to (all) the land of Ḫatti! And give them future thriving of grain, vines, fruit, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, mules, asses – together with wild animals – and of human beings!” (KUB 24, 2 rev. 12'–16', CTH 377).

A special duty of the members of the state pantheon was to gather in assembly (*tuliyā-*; Beckman, JAOS 102 [1982] 438) to witness and guarantee the oaths that sealed treaties. Lists (*Table III. A., C*) of the oath gods (*linkiyaš šiuneš*, heterographic NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ; *linkiyanteš*; CHD L 67–69) are a regular feature of Hittite diplomatic instruments (Beckman 1996, 2 f.).

§ 7. Hierarchy and state pantheon. No single hierarchy prevailed among the gods in all circumstances (Gurney 1977, 6), but the order of precedence rather varied by the situation in which the deities found themselves and by place of worship (see § 8). For example, the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess were normally the leaders of the divine world, but due to his special concern with justice the Sun-god routinely heads the list of oath gods (§ 6; see also Sonnengott* and Wettergott*).

In treaties of the empire period, the hierarchical order of the divine witnesses is standardized (Goetze 1957, 130 f.; Gurney 1977, 4 f.), with only occasional slight variations. This structure is best illustrated by the fully preserved list on the Bronze Tablet (*Table III.C.*; Otten 1998, 24–27): a) Sun-deities, b) Storm-gods, c) Tutelary Deities, d) forms of Ḫebat (and Šarrumma), e) avatars of Šawuška and attendants, f) special guardians of oaths, g) War-gods, h) patrons of particular towns, i) deities of the mercenaries, j) generic male and female gods, and k) elements of the cosmos and geographic features. [Three anomalous names have been bracketed in the *Table* below.]

Approximately the same arrangement may also be discerned in the abbreviated god list in the Middle Hittite treaty with the Kaška (CTH 139; *Table III.A*) and in the summary invocation beginning the prayer of Muwattalli II (CTH 381; *Table III.B*). As might be expected, this state or imperial pantheon was clearly formed by the amalgamation of the deities of Ḫattuša

(*Table I.B*; Haas 1994, 618–20) with those of the provinces.

While some Hittite deities were immeasurably more powerful and important than others, there were no class distinctions among them analogous to that between the Mesopotamian Anunnaki and Igigi (Igigū, Anunnakkū*). Indeed, the expression “the great gods and the lesser gods” (see § 1) is best regarded as an inclusive rhetorical device, since individual deities are nowhere actually assigned to such major and minor groups.

Although the Storm-god is occasionally addressed as “King (of Heaven)” and his spouse as “Queen” (e.g., KUB 6, 45 i 10–12, CTH 381), the Hittites did not generally refer to “kingship” among the gods. (The struggle for “Kingship in Heaven” narrated in the Kumarbi* cycle of myths, CTH 343 ff. [see Mythologie* A. II. § 7 a] is contained in a literary borrowing not reflective of actual Hittite religion.)

§ 8. Local pantheons. The groups of gods worshipped in particular localities are best seen in the prayer of Muwattalli II (CTH 381; Singer 1996) and in the “cult inventories” (CTH 501 ff.: Jakob-Rost 1961–63; Hazenbos 2003). *Table I* has been compiled from these sources as well as from festivals of the state cult (EZEN). Only the most important towns of Anatolian Ḫatti have been included, and some deities of infrequent occurrence have been omitted.

Central and Northern Anatolia: Kaneš/Neša (see § 3), Ḫattuša (*Table I.B*; Haas 1994, 618–20), Arinna (*Table I.C*; Haas 1994, 584–88), Zippalanda (*Table I.D*; Popko 1994, 32–46; Haas 1994, 588–93), Nerik (*Table I.E*; Haas 1970, 67–88; 1994, 594–607), Zalpa (*Table I.F*; Haas 1994, 608 f.; for CTH 733 see Klinger 1996, 169–79), Šamuḫa (*Table I.G*; Lebrun 1976, 15–37; Haas 1994, 578–80).

Kizzuwatna: Kummanni (*Table IV.A*; Haas 1994, 580 f.), Lawazantiya (*Table IV.B*; Haas 1994, 581), Ḫattarina (*Table IV.C*; Haas 1994, 581 f.), Ištuwa (*Table IV.D*; Haas 1994, 582 f.; Klinger 1996, 182 n. 236).

III. Hittite State Pantheon

A. Middle Hittite Treaty with the Kaška (CTH 139), § 7

a	Sun-goddess	j	(all) deities of heaven
b	Storm-god		(all) deities of earth
g	War-god		primeval deities
c	Tutelary Deity		deities of Ḫatti
	Ziḫariya		deities of the Kaška-land
e	Šawuška	k	Heaven
f	Išhara		Earth
			(all) mountains
			(all) rivers

B. Prayer of Muwattalli II (CTH 381), § 2

a	Sun-god of Heaven	j	all male deities
	Sun-goddess of Arinna		all female deities
d	Ḫebat	k	all mountains of Ḫatti
b	Storm-god of Heaven		all rivers of Ḫatti
	Storm-god of Zippalanda	h	(detailed list of deities by geographic
	Seri and Ḫurri		location follows in i 37–iii 12)

C. Treaty between Tudḫaliya IV and Kurunta, § 25

a	Sun-god of Heaven	g	War-god
	Sun-goddess of Arinna		War-god of Ḫatti
b	Storm-god of Heaven		War-god of Illaya
	Storm-god of Ḫatti		War-god of Arziya
	Storm-god of the Army		Yarri
	Storm-god of Ḫišašḫapa		Zappana
	Storm-god of Zippalanda	h	Ḫantitaššu of Ḫurma
	Storm-god of Nerik		Abara of Šamuḫa
	Storm-god of Ḫalab		Kataḫḫa of Ankuwa
	Storm-god of Uda		Ammamma of Taḫurpa
	Storm-god of Kizzuwatna		Ḫuwaššanna of Ḫupišna
	Storm-god of Šamuḫa		Ḫallura of Dunna
	Storm-god of Šapinuwa		[Lelwani]
	Powerful Storm-god	i	<i>lulabḫi</i> -deities
	Storm-god <i>piḫaššašši</i>		<i>ḫapiru</i> -deities
	[Lulutašši]	j	(other) male deities
c	Tutelary Deity		(other) female deities
	Tutelary Deity of Ḫatti	k	Heaven
	Ayala		Earth
	Karzi		The Great Sea
	Ḫapantaliya		(all) mountains of Ḫatti
	Tutelary Deity of the Countryside		(all) rivers of Ḫatti
	Tutelary Deity of the Hunting Bag		(all) springs of Ḫatti
	Ziḫariya		
d	Šarrumma		
	Ḫebat of Uda		
	Ḫebat of Kizzuwatna		
e	Šawuška of Šamuḫa		
	Šawuška of the Countryside		
	Šawuška of Lawazantiya		
	Šawuška of Nineveh		
	Šawuška of Ḫattarina		
	Ninatta-Kulitta		
f	Moon-god		
	Nikkal		
	Išhara		
	[Deity of Arušna]		

D. Primeval Deities

(e.g., KUB 40, 42 rev. 5–8, CTH 68;
KUB 19, 50 iv 22–25, CTH 69)

Nara
 Namšara
 Minki
 Tuḫuši
 Ammunki
 Ammizadu
 Alalu
 Kumarbi
 Anu
 Antu
 Enlil
 Ninlil

E. Hittite Imperial Pantheon at Emar

Rituals "for the Gods of Ḫatti"

Storm-god <i>pudallimmi</i>	^d IMIN.IMIN.BI
Storm-god <i>piḫimmi</i>	Šanda
Storm-god <i>ḫeba(h)emmi</i>	Anan
Storm-god of Nerik	Ḫandašima
Sun-god	Tenu
Moon-god	Taḫagu
Šawuška of Šamuḫa	Taḫagunaru
Ḫebat	Milku
Nergal	Mt. Hazzi
Allanu	Mt. Nanni
Šalaš	Mt. Harḫia
Tašmišu	Mt. Dalyani
Uštam	
Nawarbi	Economic documents
Ḫurra	Ḫapa(n)tal(i)
Šeliš	Immar(n)i
Mušiti	Pudal(l)im(m)i/û
Madi	Šanda

IV. Local Pantheons of Kizzuwatna

A. Kummanni	B. Lawazantiya	C. Ḫattarina	D. Ištuwa
Teššub	Teššub	Šawuška	Storm-god
Ḫebat	Šawuška	Ninatta-Kulitta	Wandu = Sun-god(?)
Išḫara	Ḫebat-Šarrumma	Pirwa	Pirwa
Lelwani	Tašmišu	Aškašepa	Aškašepa
Kušuḫ	Šimeke	Karzi	Telipinu
Nikkal	Ḫutena-Ḫutellura	Ḫapantaliya	Jarri
Pišanuḫi		Mt. Piškurunuwa	Maliya
DİM.NUN.ME		Mt. Tatta	Ḫalki = Grain
Primeval Deities		Mt. Šummiyara	Tutelary Deity
Mt. Manuzzi			River Šaḫiriya
Mt. Gallištapa			

Not surprisingly, the pantheons of northern and central Anatolia feature more Hattic elements, while those of Kizzuwatna are basically Hurrian in character, with a significant Luwian admixture. The town of Šamuḫa, located somewhere in the border area between the two cultural regions, presents a mixed picture. Note also the tendency of towns in both areas to include prominent local geographic features in their cult.

The Hittite gods appearing in Akkadian-language texts from the imperial outpost of Emar in Syria (*Table III.E*; Lebrun 1988; Beckman 2002) reflect the state pantheon, but with a distinct Luwian coloring.

§ 9. Mythology. In the Anatolian myths, the only mythological tales repre-

sentative of Hittite belief, the deities meet as a group to deal with emergent problems (e. g., CTH 321, § 4) and to search for their missing colleague in narratives of the "Vanishing-god" type (see *Mythologie** A. II. § 4 b).

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G. Beckman

Pantheon. B. In Mesopotamien. In der Bildkunst.

§ 1. Einleitung. – § 2. Babylonien. – § 3. Assyrien.

§ 1. Einleitung. Gottheiten wurden spätestens seit frühgeschichtlicher Zeit durch Symbole (Göttersymbole*) und seit frühdyn. Zeit außerdem durch anthropomorphe Bilder (Götterdarstellungen*; Hörnerkrone*) visualisiert. In beiden Formen wurden sie seitdem in mythischen und kulturellen Zusammenhängen dargestellt. Die häufigsten Szenen zeigen Menschen als Verehrer vor einem Gott, der gelegentlich von

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