

The Anatolian Myth of Illuyanka*

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Among the mythological texts of the Hittite archives, few have attracted as much attention as *CTH 321*, which narrates the combat of the Storm-god with a foe designated simply by the Hittite common noun for 'snake' or 'serpent', *illuyanka-*. The voluminous secondary literature on this composition includes:

I. Editions

1. A. Sayce, *JRAS* 1922, 177–90.
2. H. Zimmern, *Streitberg Festgabe* (Leipzig, 1924), 430–41.

II. Transliterations

1. J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1967), 2:51–53.
2. E. Laroche, *Textes mythologiques hittites en transcription* (Paris, 1965–69), 5–12 (= *RHA* 77 [1965], 65–72).

III. Translations

1. H. Zimmern in E. Lehmann and H. Haas, eds., *Textbuch zur Religionsgeschichte* (1922), 339.
2. A. Goetze, *Kleinasiens*², 139f.
3. Idem, *ANET*², 125f. (see Güterbock's comments, *Or NS* 20 [1951], 331f.)
4. M. Vieyra in R. Labat, ed., *Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique* (Paris, 1970), 526–29.

IV. Major Discussions

1. W. Porzig, *KIF* 1 [1930], 376–86.
2. T. H. Gaster, *Thespis*, rev. ed. (New York, 1961; first ed.:1950), 245–67 (see Goetze's comments, *JCS* 6 [1952], 100f.)
3. J. Fontenrose, *Python* (Berkeley, 1980; first ed.:1959), 121–25.
4. F. Vian in *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne* (Paris, 1960), 17–37.
5. H. G. Güterbock in S. N. Kramer, ed., *Mythologies of the Ancient World* (New York, 1961), 150–52.
6. S. H. Hooke, *Middle Eastern Mythology* (Harmondsworth, 1963), 98–100.
7. P. Walcot, *Hesiod and the Near East* (Cardiff, 1966), 14f.
8. G. S. Kirk, *Myth* (Berkeley, 1970), 220f.
9. G. Komoróczy, *Acta Antiqua* 19 (1971), 185–99.
10. H. A. Hoffner in H. Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts, eds., *Unity and Diversity* (Baltimore, 1975), 137f.
11. V. Haas, *WZKM* 69 (1977), 152f.
12. Idem, *Acta Antiqua* 26 (1978), 241–53.
13. D. Irvin, *Mytharion*, *AQAT* 32 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1978), 66f.

*For the abbreviations employed here, see J. Friedrich/A. Kammenhuber, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, 2nd. ed. (Heidelberg, 1975—), 13–33.

14. W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley, 1979), 7-10.
 15. C. Mora in *Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi dicata* (Pavia, 1979), 380-82.
 16. G. Kellerman, *Slavica Hierosolymitana* 5-6 (1981), 35-46.
 17. H. Deighton, *The "Weather-God" in Hittite Anatolia* (Oxford, 1982), 65-67.
 18. V. Haas, *Hethitische Berggötter und hurritische Steindämonen* (Mainz, 1982), passim.

Although the Myth of Illuyanka is of interest even to researchers outside of the field of Hittitology, there exists no full modern edition of the text incorporating all exemplars now known. Therefore I present here such an edition, accompanied by brief philological notes and a short comment on the place of the tale within Hittite religious thought.

Text

CTH 321:

- A. KBo III 7 (§§1-9, 14-19, 21'-27', 29"-36")
 B. KUB XVII 5 (§§8-13)
 C. KUB XVII 6 (§§9-15, 30"-36")
 D. KUB XII 66 (§§7-8, 20'-23', 28"-34")
 E. KUB XXXVI 54 (§§3-5)
 F. KBo XII 83 (§§1-3)
 G. KBo XII 84 (+) KBo XIII 84 (§§12-13)
 H. KBo XXII 99 (§§11-13)
 J. KUB XXXVI 53 (§§27'a-c)

CTH 321

<div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; height: 100px; width: 20px;"></div> <div style="margin: 0 5px;">F</div> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; height: 100px; width: 20px;"></div> <div style="margin: 0 5px;">E</div> </div>	<p>Ai1 [U]M-MA^mKi-il-l[a^{LÚ}GUDÚ (ŠA)]^{4U} URU^{Ne-ri-ik}</p> <p>§1 <i>ne-pí-ša-aš^d[M-aš^o] x-[n]a¹</i> 3 <i>pu-ru-ul-li-ya-aš ut-tar nu ma-a-an</i> <i>ki-iš-ša-an² ta-ra-an-zi</i></p> <hr/> <p>§2 5 <i>ud-ni-wa³ ma-a-ú še-eš-du nu-wa ud-ni-e</i> <i>pa-aḥ-ša-nu-wa-an e-eš-du nu ma-a-an</i> 7 <i>ma-a-i še-eš-zi nu EZEN pu-ru-ul-li-ya-aš</i> <i>i-ya-an-zi</i></p> <hr/> <p>§3 9 <i>ma-a-an^dIM-aš^{MUS}il-lu-ya-an-ka-aš-ša</i> <i>l-NA⁴ URUKi-iš-ki-lu-uš-ša ar-ga(-)ti-j-e-ir</i> 11 <i>nu-za^{MUS}il-lu-ya-an-ka-aš^dIM-an [(tar-a)]ḥ-ta</i></p>
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- 1 Collation Otten, *Or NS* 20, 331, n. 1.
 2 F i 2: -l]i-aš ut-tar kiš-ša-an; paragraph stroke omitted.
 3 F i 3: KUR.KUR-wa.
 4 F i 6: AŠ.
 5 F i 7: ^{MUS}il-l]i-un-k[i-iš?

E	§4	^d IM-{aš}-ta-aš-ša DINGIR ^{MES} -na-aš hu-u-ma-a[n-du-]uš 13 mu-ú ⁶ -ga-it an-da-ma-pa ti-i-ya-[o ⁷ -a]t ⁷ -te-en nu-za ^d I-na-ra-aš ⁷ EZEN-an i-e-it
	§5	15 nu hu-ma-an me-ik-ki ha-an-da-it GESTIN-aš ^{DUG} pal-ḫi mar-nu-wa-[a]n-da-aš ^{DUG} pal-ḫi 17 [wa-a]l-ḫi-ya-aš ^{DUG} pal-ḫi [nu ^{DUG} pa]l-ḫa-aš a[n-d]a-an i-ya-a-da ¹⁸ i-[e-it]
	§6	19 nu ^d [I-na-ra-aš I-NA ^{URU} Z]i-ig-ga-ra-at-ta pa-it nu ^m Hu-u-pa-ši-ya-an LÚ.ULÛ.LU ú-e-mi-it
Di	§7	21 UM-MA ^d I-na-ar ^m Hu-u-pa-ši-ya ka-a-ša-wa ki-i-ya ki-i-ya ut-tar i-ya-mi 23 nu-wa-mu-uš-ša-an zi-iq-qa ḫar-ap-ḫu-ut
B	§8	UM-MA ^m Hu-u-pa-ši-ya A-NA ^d I-na-ar 25 ma-a-wa kat-ti-ti še-eš-m[i n]u-wa ú-wa-mi kar-di-aš-ta-aš i-ya-mi [na-aš (kat-t)]i-ši še-eš-ta
Ai	§9	Bi3' nu ^d I-na-ra-aš ^m Hu-u-pa-š[i-ya-an p]i-e-ḫu-te-it na-an mu-ú-un-na-a ⁹ -it ^d I-na-ra-aš-ša-az 5' ú-nu-ut-ta-at na-aš-ta ^{MUS} il-lu-ya-an-k[a-an] ḫa-an ¹⁰ -te-eš-na-az ša-ra-a kal-li-iš-ta 7' ka-a-ša-wa ¹¹ EZEN-an i-ya-mi nu-wa a-da-an-na a-ku-wa-an-na e-ḫu
Ci	§10	9' na-aš-ta ^{MUS} il-lu ¹² -ya-an-ka-aš QA-DU [DUMU ^{MES} -ŠU] ša-ra-a ú-e-ir nu-za e-te-ir e-ku-i[r] 11' [(n)a-aš-ta ^{DUG} pal-ḫa-an hu-u-ma-an-da-an ¹³ e-k[u-ir] [(n)]e-za ni-in-ki-e-ir
H	§11	13' [(n)]e nam-ma ḫa-at-te-eš-na-aš kat-ta-an-d[a] nu-u-ma-a ¹⁴ -an pa-a-an-zi ^m Hu-u-pa-ši-ya-aš-š[(a ú-it)] 15' nu ^{MUS} il-lu ¹⁵ -ya-an-ka-an iš-ḫi-ma-a[(n-ta)] ka-li-e-li-e-it ¹⁶

6 E i 3' omits.

7 E i 4' has paragraph stroke following ^d[n]a-ra-aš.

8 Copy: -šu.

9 A i 28 omits.

10 C i 1': ḫa-at-.

11 C i 2' adds -za.

12 C i 4' inserts -i-.

13 C i 6': ^{DUG}pal-ḫa hu-u-ma-{ma-}an-[da].

14 C i 9' omits.

15 C i 10' and 12' insert -i-.

16 H omits paragraph stroke.

<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; height: 100px; margin-right: 5px;"></div> <div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center; justify-content: space-around; width: 20px;"> <div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 100%;"></div> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; width: 100%;"></div> </div> </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; height: 100px; margin-right: 5px;"></div> <div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center; justify-content: space-around; width: 20px;"> <div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 100%;"></div> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; width: 100%;"></div> </div> </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; height: 100px; margin-right: 5px;"></div> <div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center; justify-content: space-around; width: 20px;"> <div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 100%;"></div> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; width: 100%;"></div> </div> </div>	<p>17' ^dIM-aš ú-<i>jt</i> nu-kán ^{MUS}il-lu¹⁵-y[(a-an-ka¹⁷-an)] ku-en-ta DINGIR^{MES}-ša kat-ti-iš-ši e-še-ir</p> <hr/> <p>Ci14' nu-za-[(an)] ^dI-na-ra-aš¹⁸ NA^{pl}-ru-ni¹⁹ [(še-ir)] 15' É-<i>jr</i> ú-e-te-it I-NA KUR ^{UTU}Ta-a²⁰-[(ru-uk-ki²¹)] nu ^mHu-u-pa-ši-ya²²-an an-da-an É-[(ri)]</p> <p>17' a-ša-aš-ta na-an ^dI-na-ra-aš²³ wa-tar-na-aḫ-ḫi-iš²⁴-ki-iz-zi ma-a²⁵-wa gi-i[(m-ra)] 19' pa-i-mi²⁶ zi-ig-ga²⁷-wa-ra-aš-ta ^{GIS}lu-ut-ta-ḳn-[(za)] ar-ḫa li-e a-ut-t[(i)] 21' ma-a-wa-ra-aš-ta ar-ḫa-ma a-ut-ti nu-wa-za DAM-KA DUMU^{MES}-KA a-ut-t[i]</p> <hr/> <p>23' ma-a-an UD.20.KAM pa-it a-pa-a-ša ^{GIS}lu-ut-[(ta-an-za)] ar-ḫa šu-wa-i-it nu DAM-ZU²⁸ DUMU^{MES}-[ŠU a-uš-ta]</p> <hr/> <p>Aii</p> <p>25' [(m)]a-a-an ^dI-na-ra-aš-ša gi-im-ra-az EGIR-[(pa)] 15' [(ú-)]it a-pa-aš-ša ú-e-eš-ga-u-an da-a-iš 27' [a(a)]p-pa-wa-mu É-na tar-na</p> <hr/> <p>Aii9' [UM-]MA ^dI-na-[ra ^mHu-u-pa-ši-ya ar-ḫa(-)wa(-)x[11' šu-ú-ga-[ḫa-ra-an-n[e-i]i[?][13' ^dIM-aš Ú.[SA]L^L x[a-pa-a-aš na-an na-a[k-</p> <hr/> <p>15' ^dI-na-ra-aš I-NA ^{URU}Ki-iš-ki-l[u-uš-ša] [ú-i[?]] É-ŠU ḫu-un-ḫu-wa-na-aš-ša [ÍD[?]] 17' [A-NA[?]] QA-TI LUGAL²⁹ ma-a-an da-a-i[š ḫa-[an-t]e-iz-zi-ya-an pu-ru-ul-l[i-ya-an[?] 19' ku-it i-ya-u-e-ni Û QA-AT [LUGAL É-ir[?] ^dI-na-ra-aš ḫu-un-ḫu-wa-na-aš-ša [ÍD³⁰</p>
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17 G 1' and H 4': -ga-.

18 G 3': ^dKAL-aš.

19 Erasure follows.

20 B i 20' and G 2' omit.

21 H 7': ^{URU}Ta-a-(ru-)uk-ka.

22 G 3' omits.

23 -aš over erasure; G 4': ^dKAL-aš.

24 G 4': -e]š-.

25 G 5' inserts -an-.

26 B i 23': pa-a-i-[mi.

27 G 7': -qa-.

28 Text: -KA.

29 Erasure follows.

30 So Laroche, *RHA* 77, 68.

21' HUR.SAG *Za-li-ya-nu-ú hu-u-ma-an-da-aš ha-an-[te-iz-zi-iš?*
 §18 *ma-a-an I-NA URU^{URU}Ne-ri-ik hé-u-uš*

23' *hi-ni-ik-ta nu URU^{URU}Ne-ri-iq-qa-az*
 [L]Ú GIŠ^{GIŠ}PA NINDA^{NINDA} *har-ši-ın pı-e-da-a-i*

25' nu HUR.SAG *Za-[li-nu-]ú hé-i-ú-un ú-e-ik-ta*
 §19 *na-an-ši NINDA [o o o]x pı-e-da-i*

27' *na-aš-ša-[an . . .]x(-)da-a-i*
 [n]a-an š[i^{i?} . . .]-a-na-i

29' [n]a-aš a[n . . .]x
 x x[

(gap of about 40 lines)

§20' Diii1' *ki-i[*

ku-i-t[a

Aiii

3' *me-mi-iš-t[a . . . -za (MUS^{MUS}il-)lu-ya-an-ka-aš dIM-an]*

§21' *tar-aḫ-ta n[a-(aš-ta UZU^{UZU}ŠÀ ša-ku-wa-ya]*

5' *da-a-aš na-a[(n dIM-aš-š)a?*

Aiii4' *nu-za DUMU.SAL ŠA³¹ LÚ^{LÚ}a-ši-wa-an-da-aš*

5' *A-NA DAM-ŠU da-a-aš nu-za DUMU.NITA ha-aš-ta*

§22' *ma-a-na-aš šal-li-eš-ta-ma*

7' *nu-za DUMU.SAL MUS^{MUS}il-lu-ya-an-ka-aš*

DAM-an-ni da-a-aš

Diii

9' dIM³² *DUMU-an wa-tar-na-aḫ-ḫi-eš-ki-iz-zi*

§23' *ma-a-an-wa A-NA É DAM-KA pa-a-i-ši*

11' *nu-wa-aš-ma-aš-ta UZU^{UZU}ŠÀ ša-ku-wa-ya*
ú-e-ik

13' *ma-a-na-aš pa-a-i-ta nu-uš-ma-aš UZU^{UZU}ŠÀ*
 §24' *ú-e-ik-ta na-aš-ši pı-i-e-ir*

15' *ap-pı-iz-zi-ya-an-na-aš-ma-aš ša-a-ku-wa*
ú-e-ik-ta nu-uš-ši a-pı-e-ya pı-i-e-ir

17' *na-at dIM-ni at-ti-iš-ši pı-e-da-aš*
nu-za-an dIM-aš UZU^{UZU}ŠÀ ša-ku-wa-aš-še-ta

19' *EGIR-pa da-a-aš*

ma-a-an e-eš-ri-eš-ši a-ap-pa

21' *ka-ru-ú-i-li-at-ta S]G₅-at-ta*

§25' *na-aš nam-ma a-ru-ni za-a[ḫ]-ḫi-ya pa-it*

23' *ma-a-an-ši za-aḫ-ḫa-in pa-a-iš*

na-an-za nam-ma MUS^{MUS}il-lu-ya-an-ka-a[n]

31 D iii 6' omits.

32 D iii 9': dIM-aš.

	25'	<i>tar-aḥ-ḥu-u-wa-an da-a-iš</i> Û DUMU ^d IM ^{MUS} <i>il-lu-yā-an-ka-aš kat-ta</i>
	27'	<i>nu ša-ra-a ne-pf-ši at-ti-iš-ši</i> <i>ḥal-za-a-iš</i>
	<hr/>	
§26'	29'	<i>am-mu-ug-ga-[z]a-pa an-da e-ip</i> <i>li-e-mu gi-en-zu-wa-i-ši</i>
	31'	<i>nu-kán</i> ^d IM-aš ^{MUS} <i>il-li-yā-a[n-ka-an]</i> <i>Û DUMU-ŠU ku-en-ta</i> ³³
	33'	<i>nu ka-a-aš(-ma) a-pa-ā-aš</i> ^d IM-aš <i>ú</i> [?] -[
§27'		<i>UM-MA</i> ^m Ki-el-l[<i>a</i> ^{LÚ} GUDÚ ^d U ^{URU} Ne-ri-ik]
	35'	<i>ma-a-na-aš-ta</i> DINGIR ^{MES}
		(gap of about 15 lines--insert here J?)
§27'a	J1'	[...]x-a[n [?]
		[...]x x nu-uš-ši a-da-a[n-na
	3'	[...]a-ap-pa A-NA ^{URU} Ne-ri-[ik(-)
		[...]-ā [?] -na tar-na-i
	<hr/>	
§27'b	5'	[...] ^d Za-aš-ḥa-pu-na-a-an
		[...]x-nu-ut nu ^d U ^{URU} Ne-ri-i[k
	7'	[... p]a-a-ir nu-za ^d Za-l-i-y[<i>a</i> [?] -nu(-)
		[...]a-ap-pa pa-a-iš[
	<hr/>	
§27'c	9'	[... n]a-aš-za pī-ē-x[
		[... A [?] -N]A ^{URU} Ne-[ri-ik [?]
	11'	[...]MUŠ ^{??} [
Div1'		[<i>nu</i> A-]NA ^{LÚ} GUDÚ [<i>ḥa-an-te-i</i>]z-zi-uš DINGIR ^{MES} -[<i>uš</i>]
§28"		[<i>ap-p</i>]a-iz-zi-uš ¹³⁴ j-e-ir
	3'	[<i>ap-p</i>]a-iz-zi-uš-ša <i>ḥa-an-te-iz-zi-uš</i> DINGIR ^{MES} -uš i-e-ir
	<hr/>	
§29"	5'	^d Za-li-nu-ú-wa-aš <i>ḥal-ku-i-eš-šar me-ik-ki</i>
		^d Za-li-nu-i-ša ³⁵ DAM-ZU ^d Za-aš-ḥa-pu-na-a-aš
	7'	A-NA ^d U ^{URU} Ne-ri-iq-qa ³⁶ ša-al-li-iš
		<i>UM-MA</i> DINGIR ^{MES} nu ³⁷ A-NA ^{LÚ} GUDÚ ^{LÚ} ³⁸ <i>taḥ-pu-ri-li</i>
	9'	<i>ma-a-an-wa</i> A-NA ³⁹ ^{URU} Ne-ri-iq-qa ⁴⁰ pa-i-u-wa-ni ⁴¹

T Aiv
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33 Erasure follows.

34 text: -an, cf. Goetze, JCS 6, 100.

35 Erasure follows.

36 A iv 2': N]e-ri-ik.

37 C iv 1 inserts UM-MA.

38 A iv 4' and C iv 5': ^mṬaḥ-pu-ri-li.39 A iv 5' inserts ^dIM.40 A iv 5': ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik.

41 A iv 6' and C iv 3: pa-a-i-wa-ni.

	§30'	<i>nu-wa-aš-ša-an ku-wa-pí⁴² e-šu-wa-aš-ta⁴³</i>	
	11'	<i>UM-MA LÚGUDÚ LÚ⁴⁴taḥ-pu-ri-li⁴⁵</i>	
	§31'	<i>[(m)]a-a-an⁴⁶-wa-aš-ša-an NA₄ŠU.U ŠÚ.A e-eš-tum-ma-at</i>	
	13'	<i>[(n)]u-za LÚGUDÚ⁴⁷ pu-u-ul ti-an-zi</i>	
		<i>[(L)]ÚGUDÚ⁴⁸ dZa-li-ya⁴⁸-nu-un ku-iš ḥar-zi</i>	
	15'	<i>nu TÚL-i⁴⁹ še-ir NA₄ŠU.U ŠÚ.A ki-it-ta</i>	
		<i>na-aš-ša-an a-pí-ya e-ša⁵⁰-ri</i>	
	Aiv14'	<i>nu DINGIR^{MEŠ}-iš⁵¹ ḥu-u-ma-an-te-eš an-da a-ra-an-zi</i>	
Div	15'	<i>nu-za pu-u-ul ti-an-zi nu DINGIR^{MEŠ}-na-aš</i>	
	§32'	<i>ḥu-u-ma-an-da-aš⁵² ŠA URU⁵³Ka⁵³-aš-ta-ma</i>	
	17'	<i>dZa-aš-ḥa-pu⁵⁴-na-a⁵⁵-aš ša-al⁵⁶-li-iš</i>	
	18'	<i>ku-i-ta [(dZa-li-nu-i)]-šā-aš DAM-ZU</i>	
	19'	<i>dTa-[(a-az-zu-wa-ši-i)]š ša-ša-an-za⁵⁷</i>	
Civ	§33'	<i>ki-[(e 3 LÚ^{MEŠ} I-N)]A URU⁵⁸Ta-ni-pí-ya</i>	
	21'	<i>a-[(šā-an-zī)]⁵⁸</i>	
	§34'	<i>nu a-ap-pa⁵⁹ pa-ra-a-pát I-NA URU⁵⁹Ta-ni-pí-ya</i>	
	23'	<i>A.ŠÀ ku-e-ra-aš LUGAL-wa-az⁶⁰ pí-ya-an-za</i>	
	25'	<i>6 ka-pu-nu A.ŠÀ 1 ka-pá-nu GIS⁶¹SAR.GE[ŠTIN]</i>	-pu-u-
		<i>ÉTM Û KISLAḤ 3 É^{HI.A} SAG.GEMÉ.Ì[R^{MEŠ}]</i>	
	§35'	<i>[I-NA⁶¹] TUP-Pí-ma e-eš-zi am-mu-ug-ga</i>	
	27'	<i>I[NIM?-n]a⁷⁶¹-aš na-aḥ-ḥa-a-an ḥ</i>	-<za?>
		<i>nu [(k)]i-i me-ma-aḥ-ḥu-un</i>	
	29'	<i>DUB.1.KAM QA-TI]</i>	

- 42 A iv 6': *ku-wa-pí-it*.
43 A iv 7': *e-šu-wa-aš-ta-ti*.
44 A iv 8' and C iv 5: ^m*Ṭaḥ-*.
45 A iv 8' adds *-iš*.
46 A iv 9' and C iv 6 omit.
47 A iv 10' and C iv 7 insert *ma-a-an*.
48 A iv 11' and C iv 8 omit.
49 A iv 12' and C iv 9: *wa-at-tar-wa*.
50 A iv 13' inserts *-a-*.
51 C iv 11: *-eš*.
52 D iv 18': *da-pí-n[a?]*.
53 C iv 13 inserts *-a-*.
54 D iv 19' inserts *-u-*.
55 C iv 14 omits.
56 D iv 19': *šal-*.
57 C iv 16: *[šā-]ša-an-za-aš-ši-iš*.
58 D omits paragraph stroke.
59 C iv 18 adds *-an*.
60 D iv 25': *LUGAL-wa-za*.
61 So Houwink ten Cate, *FsBöhl* 204, n. 29.

§36" ŠA ^mKi-el-lq ^{LÚ}GU[DÚ u]d-[d]a-na-aš⁶²
 31' ^mPi-ḥa-LÚ [^{LÚ}DUB.SAR]
 PA-NI ^mUR.MAḤ(.LÚ?) GAL.DU[B.SAR^{ME}]š
 33' IŠ-ṬUR

Translation

- §1 (This is) the text of the *purulli* (festival) for the [. . .] of the Storm-god of Heaven, according to Kella, [the "anointed priest"] of the Storm-god of Nerik: When they speak thus—
- §2 "Let the land grow (and) thrive, and let the land be secure (lit. 'protected')!"—and when it (indeed) grows (and) thrives, then they perform the festival of *purulli*.
- §3 When the Storm-god and the serpent came to grips in (the town of) Kiškilišša, the serpent smote the Storm-god.
- §4 (Thereafter) the Storm-god summoned all the gods (saying): "Come in! Inara has prepared a feast!"
- §5 She prepared everything in great quantity—vessels of wine, vessels of (the drink) *marnuwan* (and) vessels of (the drink) [*wa*]ḥi. In the vessels she ma[de] an abundance.
- §6 Then [Inara] went [to] (the town of) Zigaratta and encountered Ḥupašiya, a mortal.
- §7 Inara spoke as follows to Ḥupašiya: "I am about to do such-and-such a thing—you join with me!"
- §8 Ḥupašiya replied as follows to Inara: "If I may sleep with you, then I will come and perform your heart's desire!" [And] he slept with her.
- §9 Then Inara transported Ḥupaši[ya] and concealed him. Inara dressed herself up and invited the serpent up from his hole (saying): "I'm preparing a feast—come eat and drink!"
- §10 Then the serpent came up together with [his children], and they ate (and) drank—they dra[nk] up every vessel and were sated.
- §11 They were no longer able to go back down into (their) hole, (so that) Ḥupašiya came and tied up the serpent with a cord.
- §12 The Storm-god came and slew the serpent. The (other) gods were at his side.
- §13 Then Inara built a house on a rock (outcropping) in (the town of) Tarukka and settled Ḥupašiya in the house. Inara instructed him: "When I go out into the countryside, you must not look out the window! If you look out, you will see your wife (and) your children!"

62 Coll. Otten, *Or NS* 20, 331, n. 1.

- §14 When (Inara went away and) the twentieth day had passed, he looked out the win[dow] and [saw] his wife (and) [his] children.
- §15 When Inara returned from the countryside, he began to whine: “Let me (go) back home!”
- §16 Ina[ra] spoke as follows [to Hupašiya: “. . .] away [. . .] . . . [. . . ”] with anger [. . .] the meadow of the Storm-god [. . .] she [. . . killed?] him.
- §17 Inara [went] to (the town of) Kiškil[ušša] (and) set her? house and [the river?] of the watery abyss? [into] the hand of the king—because (in commemoration thereof) we are (re-)performing the first *purulli*-festival—the hand [of the king will hold? the house?] of Inara and the riv[er?] of the watery abyss?.
- §18 (The divine mountain) Zaliyanu is fir[st] (in rank) among all (the gods). When he has allotted rain in (the town of) Nerik, then the herald brings forth a loaf of *harši*-bread from Nerik.
- §19 He had asked Zaliyanu for rain, and he brings it to him [on account of?] the bread . . .
- (several damaged lines followed by a gap of about 40 lines)
- §20' This [. . .]
- §21' Because? [. . .] spoke. The ser[pent] defeated the Storm-god and took (his) h[ear]t and eyes.] And him the Storm-god [. . .]
- §22' And he took as his wife the daughter of a poor man, and he sired a son. When he grew up, he took as his wife the daughter of the serpent.
- §23' The Storm-god instructed (his) son: “When you go to the house of your wife, then demand from them (my) heart and eyes!”
- §24' When he went, then he demanded from them the heart, and they gave it to him. Afterwards he demanded from them the eyes, and they gave these to him. And he carried them to the Storm-god, his father, and the Storm-god (thereby) took back his heart and his eyes.
- §25' When he was again sound in body as of old, then he went once more to the sea for battle. When he gave battle to him and was beginning to smite the serpent, then the son of the Storm-god was with the serpent and shouted up to heaven, to his father:
- §26' “Include me—do not show me any mercy!” Then the Storm-god killed the serpe[nt] and his (own) son. And now this one, the Storm-god [. . .]
- §27' Thus says Kella, [the “anoointed priest” of the Storm-god of Nerik:” . . .] when the gods [. . .]
- (gap of about 40 lines—insert §§27'a–27'c?)
- §27'a [. . .] and to him to ea[t . . .] back to Ner[ik . . .] he releases.
- §27'b [. . .] (the god) Zašhapuna [. . .] (s)he [. . .]ed, and the Storm-god of Nerik [and . . .] went. And Zali[yanu . . .] gave back [. . .]
- §27'c [. . .] then he trans[port]ed?? . . . t]o? Ne[rik]? . . .

- §28" [Then f]or the "anoited priest" they made the [fore]most gods the [humb]lest, and the [hum]blest they made the foremost gods.
- §29" The cultic tax of Zali(ya)nu is great. Zašhapuna the wife of Zali(ya)nu is greater than the Storm-god of Nerik.
- §30" The gods speak as follows to the "anoited priest" Taḥpurili: "When we go to the Storm-god of Nerik, where shall we sit?"
- §31" The "anoited priest" Taḥpurili speaks as follows: "When you sit on a diorite stool, and when the "anoited priests" cast the lot, then the "anoited priest" who holds (the image of) Zaliyanu—a diorite stool shall be set above the spring, and he shall be seated there."
- §32" "All the gods will arrive, and they will cast the lot. Of all the gods of (the town of) Kaštama, Zašhapuna will be the greatest.
- §33" "Because she is the wife of Zali(ya)nu, (and) Tazzuwašši is his concubine, these three persons will remain in (the town of) Tanipiya."
- §34" And thereafter in Tanipiya a field will be handed over from the royal (property)—
- §35" Six *kapunu*-measures of field, one *kapunu*-measure of garden, a house together with a threshing-floor, three buildings for the household personnel—it is (recorded) [on?] a tablet. I am respectful of the m[atte]r?, and I have spoken these things (truly).
- §36" One tablet, complete, of the word of Kella, the "anoited priest." (colophon)
Piḥaziti, [the scribe,] wrote it under the supervision of Walwaziti, the chief scribe.

Philological Notes

While all of the preserved tablets whose size is sufficient⁶³ to allow dating belong to the Empire period, there can be little doubt that this text itself is an Old Hittite composition. Among many archaic grammatical features supporting this judgement, note especially the nom./acc. pl. n. enclitic pronoun *-e* (*ne-e*—B i 12', 13'); the sentence-particle *-(a)pa* (*an-da-ma-pa*—A i 13; *am-mu-ug-ga-[z]a-pa*—A iii 29'), and the allative case in *-a* (*gi-im-ra*—B i 23' = C i 18').

§1 On ^{LÚ}GUDÚ, see already Haas, *KN* 28–30 and 158–59, where it is shown that this type of priest, usually in the service of the Hattic pantheon of North-Central Anatolia, was concerned chiefly with incantations. Haas' identification of the ^{LÚ}GUDÚ with the *tazzelli*-priest, however, is disproven by the appearance of the two terms in a single listing of cult

63 The small fragment E = *KUB* 36, 54 may be older—note the shape of TAR in line 2'.

personnel.⁶⁴ In the Instructions for Temple Personnel⁶⁵ we observe the LÚGUDÚ at work alongside others of his own office. While he was associated with the highest members of the ordinary Hittite priesthood, he was probably inferior in rank. Thus his situation resembles that described by Renger for the Mesopotamian *pašišu*,⁶⁶ but we nonetheless cannot be certain that the Hittite and Akkadian priests shared any significant characteristics beyond a common Sumerographic designation. Therefore I employ the translation “anointed priest” here only for convenience. In addition to the Kella of this text, three other GUDÚ-priests are known by name: Taḥpurili⁶⁷ (*KBo* 35, 9 i 6), Zullanni (*KUB* 18, 9 iii 7), and Wannī (*KUB* 18, 9 ii 22).

§2 On *ar-ga(-)ti-i-e-ir*, see Hoffner, *Bi. Or.* 35 (1978), 247.

§4 For the problems surrounding the polyvalence of the ideographic writing ^dKAL in Hittite texts, and for ^dInar(a) in particular, see Kammenhuber, *ZA* 66 (1976), 68–88.

§13 The *peruna*-upon which Inara builds her house—was probably a rock outcropping similar to Gâvur Kalesâ and Yenicekale and Nişantepe at Boğazköy— for Hittite construction on such sites, see Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (Munich, 1976), Abb. 105–10. To the image of permanence implied here, cf *KUB* 36, 110 rev. 13'–16':

labarnaš É-iršet tuškaranaš haššaššaš ḥanzaššaššaš neššan ^{[N]A}*peruni uettan*

The house of Labarna is (one of) joy in his offspring to the third generation—it is built on rock!

§14 For *šu-wa-i-it* as ‘looked out’, see Starke, *StBoT* 23, 36f.

§17 It is uncertain to whom the pronominal suffix in É-ŠU here refers—to Inara,⁶⁸ to Ḫupašiya (despite the change of venue from Tarukka to Kiškilišša), or proleptically to the king?

With *ḫu-un-ḫu-wa-na-aš* in A ii 16' and 20' we encounter the problem of *ḫunḫueššar* and its by -forms.⁶⁹ Although Laroche refers to this lexeme as “unstable,”⁷⁰ it is possible

64 *KUB* 41, 29 iii 9' and 30 iii 3'f.—see Güterbock, *XX^e RAI*, 130, with n. 24, and Jakob-Rost, *AF* 1 (1974), 365f. The actual Hittite reading of the Sumerogram remains unknown.

65 *CTH* 264. *KUB* 13, 4 iii 3–5; *kuiš* = *aš kuiš* LÚ É.DINGER^{LIM} LÚ.MEŠ SANGA.GAL [.GAL] LÚ.MEŠ SANGA.TUR.TUR LÚ.MEŠ GUDÚ *ḫumanteš*, “whoever is a temple employee—all senior priests, junior priests, (and) GUDÚ.” Note also this passage from the Prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal (*CTH* 375—*KUB* 17, 21 iii 4–7, with restorations from *KUB* 31, 124 ii 18), where among the atrocities committed by the Kaška on Hittite temples in conquered areas:

LÚ.MEŠ SANGA ṣuppaēššaza LÚ.MEŠ SANGA SAL.MEŠ AMA.DINGER^{LIM} LÚ.MEŠ GUDÚ
LÚ.MEŠ NAR LÚ.MEŠ *išḫamatalliuš* LÚ.MEŠ MUHALDIM
LÚ.MEŠ NINDA.DÙ.DÙ LÚ.MEŠ APIN LÚ.MEŠ NÙ.KIRI₆ *arḫa*

[(*šar-ri-i*)]*r nušza ṽR-naphir*

they divided up among themselves the holy priests, the (ordinary) priests, the “mothers-of-god,” the GUDÚ, the musicians, the singers, the cooks, the bakers, the plowmen (and) the gardeners, and they enslaved them.

66 *ZA* 59 (1969), 143–72, esp. 164 with n. 755. The actual duties of the *pašišu* included the presentation of offerings (p. 162) and the making of music (pp. 162f.).

67 See below on §30.

68 For -ŠU in Hittite texts with a feminine referent, see Friedrich, *HE* 12 §353d.

69 See the forms cited in *HW* 75 and 3. Erg. 15.

70 *BSL* 57 (1962), 37, n. 1.

to discern an order here. We are actually dealing with three closely-related neuter nouns, of which I list the attestations according to case:

I. <i>ḫunḫu(n)eššar/ḫunḫeššar/ḫurwa(n)ḫueššar</i>		
sg. nom./acc.	<i>ḫu-un-ḫu-ni-eš-šar</i>	<i>KUB 33, 89 + 36, 21 iii 16¹, 20; KUB 53, 50:2</i>
	[<i>ḫu-u</i>]n- <i>ḫu'-ni-eš-šar</i>	<i>KUB 33, 33:6</i>
	[<i>ḫu-u</i>]n- <i>ḫu-eš-šar</i>	<i>KUB 33, 24 i 25</i>
	[<i>ḫu-wa-a</i>]n- <i>ḫu-iš-šar</i>	<i>KUB 33, 33:4</i>
	<i>ḫu-wa-ḫu-eš-šar</i>	<i>KUB 33, 24 i 28</i>
"erg."	<i>ḫu-un-ḫu-ni-eš-na-an-za</i>	<i>KUB 33, 89 + 36, 21 iii 17</i>
gen.	<i>ḫu-un-ḫu-eš-na-aš</i>	<i>KUB 36, 12 ii [7¹], 8⁷¹</i>
dat./loc.	<i>ḫu-u-un-ḫu-e-eš-ni</i>	<i>KUB 40, 1 obv. 11</i>
	<i>ḫu-un-ḫu-eš-ni</i>	<i>KUB 4, 8 rev. 3</i>
	<i>ḫu-wa-an-ḫu-iš-ni</i>	<i>KBo 3, 21 ii 8</i>
	<i>ḫu-un-ḫi-eš-ni</i>	<i>KBo 10, 6 i 13</i>
abl.	<i>ḫ[u-u]n-ḫu-e-eš-na-za</i>	<i>KUB 36, 89 obv. 28</i>
II. <i>ḫunḫuwatar</i>		
gen.	<i>ḫu-un-ḫu-wa-na-aš</i>	<i>KBo 3, 7 ii 16¹, 20¹</i>
III. <i>ḫunḫumazzi</i>		
nom./acc.	<i>ḫu-un-ḫu-ma-az-zi</i>	<i>KBo 3, 8 iii 1, 20¹</i>
IV. uncertain	<i>ḫu-u[n-</i>	<i>KBo 26, 64 ii 3¹</i>

I and II are merely different formations, in *-eššar* and *-atar*, respectively,⁷² to a reduplicated⁷ stem **ḫunḫun-*. The occasional loss of the final *n* poses no difficulties,⁷³ and the alteration of *-u-* and *-uwa-* in the initial syllable is paralleled in several other Hittite words, e.g. *ḫurt-/ḫuwart-*.⁷⁴ III appears only in a text which contains numerous Luwianisms (*CTH 390*), and it is probably a Luwian equivalent of Hittite I and II.⁷⁵

The three words are very close if not identical in meaning and denote something associated with great bodies of water, such as the sea⁷⁶ or a river⁷⁷. In fact, *ḫ.* seems to

71 *nukan arunaz arḫa šalliš ḫu-un-ḫu-eš-na-[aš uir⁷]/GAL-iš ḫu-un-ḫu-eš-na-aš ANA d¹ŠTAR memiškizzi*. Ehelolf, *KIF 1* (1930), 396, understands this as a nominative, positing a stem *ḫunḫuešna-*, but there is no further evidence for this shape, and I therefore interpret the form as a "free genitive," probably referring to the minor deity inhabiting the wave. Thus the passage must be rendered: "The great (spirit of) the wave [emerged?] from the sea; the great (spirit of) the wave speaks to *ŠTAR*."

72 Cf. *palḫeššar* : *palḫatar* - see *HE I² §44*. H. Berman, "The Stem Formation of Hittite Nouns and Adjectives," (Ph.D. diss., Chicago, 1972), 170, also comments on the similarity in meaning of derivatives in *-atar* and in *-eššar*.

73 Despite the fact that the lost *n* here would not have been part of a nasal-obstruent cluster, some phonological or orthographic analogy to the phenomenon described by Justeson and Stephens, *JAOS 101* (1981), 367-70, must be at work. The unique dat./loc. form *ḫunḫešni* represents a yet further shortened stem.

74 See Jucquois and Lebrun, in E. Neu and W. Meid, eds., *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch* (Innsbruck, 1979), 108, and Neu, *StBoT 18*, 114, who demonstrates that this phenomenon is a Late Hittite development.

75 Is the Hittite instrumental formant *-uzzi* (*HE I² §47*) relevant here? See also Berman, *The Stem Formation*, 194f.

76 See the passage quoted in n. 71, and cf. *KUB 33, 24 i 24f.*, where a searcher for the Vanishing God is instructed: "... *ḫariuskan ḫalluw[amu]š [šanḫa ḫu-u]n-ḫu-eš-šar-kán kuwalliu šanḫa*, "[Search] the deep valleys! Search the blue? *ḫ.*!"

77 In addition to the passage in the Myth of Illuyanka, note *KBo. 3, 8 iii 1*: *šalliš [D-aš ḫu-un-ḫu-ma-az-zi-š-i-iti ḫami[ka]*, "The great river bou[nd] its *ḫ.*"

indicate water itself in large quantities.⁷⁸ Of particular interest is *KBo* 3, 21 ii 8f., from the translation of a lost Akkadian prayer:

^dÉ.A-aškan hu-wa-an-hu-iš-ni kuit hatrešša anda kidda aššu

Goetze already pointed out that *h.* here must refer to the Apsu, and has rendered the line: "A mission (or the like) that was established in the watery realm of Ea."⁷⁹ A similar native Anatolian conception is revealed by *KUB* 36, 89, obv. 27f. (Haas, *KN*, 146f.):

... DUMU ^dŠullikatti nanakuššiya[ns]za' 4 halhatumaraza ha[ll]uwaza [h(u-u)n-hu-e-eš-na-za UGU ehu EGIR-pawa[za URU Neri]kki andan neya

O son of Šullikatti, from the ... corners (of the Earth), from the deep *h.* come up! Enter again (the town of) [Ner]jik!

This is clearly a reference to the underground waters so necessary for agricultural production in ancient Hatti.⁸⁰ Whatever the correct reconstruction of the damaged lines, it is certainly such a body of water which is referred to in the Myth of Illuyanka.

§24 *na-aš-ši pier* in *A* iii 14' is difficult morphologically. A comparison with the similar *A* iii 16'—*nu-uš-ši apeya pier*—leads us to expect the enclitic chain in the first instance to include the object of *pai-*, a function filled by *ape* in the second case. Since the referent is UZUŠÀ (= *ker*) in *A* iii 13', *na-aš-ši* must be analyzed as *n = at = ši*, although the assimilation *-ts-* *-ss-* is not otherwise attested.

§30 In *Taḫpurili* (Laroche, *NH*, no. 1204), which appears in the duplicates of this text determined by both LÚ and the *Personenkeil*, we are dealing with an office named after an early incumbent, or perhaps with an individual known by his professional designation.⁸¹ It is significant that elsewhere *Taḫpurili* is identified as a 'man of the Storm-god' (LÚ ^dU—*KBo* 16, 81 i 3), a LÚGUDÚ (*KBo* 25, 9 i 6), and probably 'commissioner' (LÚ AGRIG) of Kaštama (*KBo* 16, 73 iii 5'f.), all terms which link him to the present text. Note that the LÚ AGRIG of Kaštama was seemingly responsible for deliveries of agricultural products to Nerik,⁸² and that there existed a close relationship between the pantheons and cults of the cities of Nerik and Kaštama.⁸³

§32 On the casting of the lot (*pul tiya-*) in Hatti and the ancient Near East in general, see Kellerman, IV. 16, pp. 39–41, and Hallo, *Bib. Arch.* 46/1 (Winter 1983), 19–29.

§36 Since ^mUR.MAḪ is not otherwise attested as a Hittite proper name, while ^mUR.MAḪ.LÚ = Walwaziti (Laroche, *NH*, no. 1758), son of Mittanamuwa, is a well-

78 Note among the translations previously proposed: 'Flut' (Kronasser, *Sprache* 7 [1961], 157), 'le tourbillon frétille' (Laroche, *RA* 58 [1964], 72), 'les flots' (Laroche, *CTH*, p. 185), 'Quelle' (Haas, *KN*, 146), 'Woge' (Ehelolf, *KIF* 1 [1930], 395), and 'flood' (*CHD* 3, 3).

79 *JCS* 2 (1948), 150.

80 See Gordon, *JCS* 21 (1967), 70–88; Macqueen, *AnSt.* 9 (1959), 171–88, and H. Deighton, *The "Weather-God" in Hittite Anatolia*. The extreme view espoused by the latter writer, that ^dU in Hittite texts basically represents a deity of subterranean waters, must be rejected.

81 See Neu, *StBoT* 25, 27, n. 72. Cf. the parallel phenomenon of T/Labarna—see Sommer, *HAB*, 20ff.

82 See Haas, *KN*, 20f., 79ff.; and cf. del Monte, *Répertoire Géographique* Bd. 6 (Wiesbaden, 1978), 193f.

83 See now Haas, *Hethitische Berggötter und hurritische Steindämonen* 63–65.

known holder of the office of GAL.DUB.SAR^{MES},⁸⁴ I have assumed a scribal error of omission here.

Previous commentators have elucidated many aspects of this text, for example, its reflection of Anatolian marriage customs (see IV.5, 10, 11, 18), its use of widely-attested folkloristic motifs (see IV.2, 3, 13), and its relationship to Greek mythology (see IV.1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 12, 14). For my part, I would stress that the two mythological narratives of *CTH* 321, like all known examples of what Güterbock has termed "Anatolian" mythology, are contained within a ritual context.⁸⁵ §§1 and 2 make this explicit—the *purulli*-festival (see IV.16) is performed both when, and in order that, the land should thrive, and the myths are the texts of this festival. While these tales clearly present several religious etiologies, most importantly that of the royal cultic establishment in the town of Kiškilušša (cf. IV.10), more significant is the provision of a mythological paradigm for a human situation.⁸⁶ Each year Hittite society had to cope with and understand the alternation of periods of growth and stagnation. The obvious symbolizing in *CTH* 321 of the former by the Storm-god and of the latter by the serpent has led to the interpretation of the entire myth as basically an example of the Frazerian "Dying God" myth (see IV.2), but I feel that the resolution of the crisis of the seasons through the combined efforts of humans and deities is the most significant element here.

In the first version⁸⁷ of the myth, only the help of Ḫupašiya enables the Storm-god to avenge himself upon his enemy, although one might have supposed that his divine assistant Inara could herself have tied up the serpent and his brood. An essential factor in the second version is the participation of a human female as mother, by the Storm-god, of a son who is seemingly entirely human in nature.⁸⁸ The joint effort of human and deity is the common element in the two versions of a myth which otherwise differ greatly in plot. A similar relationship of human and divine is found in the Myth of the Vanishing God (*CTH* 322–37)⁸⁹ where ritual performances on the part of the divine healer Kamrušepa and of a mortal ritual practitioner are both required for the placation of an absent deity. Indeed, within this latter text, it is not clear exactly where the activities of the goddess leave off and those of the human begin.⁹⁰

In *CTH* 321, both Ḫupašiya and the mortal offspring of the Storm-god come to grief. Although the direct causes of their destruction are different—the jealousy of Inara in the

84 See Laroche, *ArOr.* 17 (1949), 11, and Neu/Ruster, *StBoT* 21, 8.

85 *Mythologies of the Ancient World*, 143.

86 Cf. Otten, *ÜberITM*, 60f.; and Beckman, *StBoT* 29, 186–88.

87 Despite Kellerman's argumentation, IV. 16, pp. 35–37, I concur with the opinion of Güterbock, *Or NS* 20 (1951), 331, that *nu(-)ma-a-an* in i 3 of *CTH* 321 cannot in any way be a rendering of the adverb *nūman*. See now also Hoffner, *Gedenkschrift für Heinz Kronasser* (Wiesbaden, 1982), 43. It is unfortunate that Goetze's translation of this sequence (*ANET*², 125) as "no longer" has led many writers to engage in fruitless speculation as to the reason for an imagined *replacement* of one version of the myth by another. In truth, the two tales are mutually supplementary, not exclusive.

88 Note that while Gilgamesh, another product of a "mixed marriage," is said by the Mesopotamian Twelve-Tablet Version of his Epic to be two-thirds divine (Tablet I ii 1), the Hittites attributed to him only great size and heroic qualities, not divinity (*KUB* 8, 57 i 3ff.).

89 See, in general, Otten, *ÜberITM*.

90 See, for example, *KUB* 17, 10 iii–iv.

first instance and the logic of Anatolian family structure in the second — both mortal protagonists are punished for a too intimate relationship with the deities whom they aid, an intimacy symbolized by sexual intercourse. While ̘upašiya clearly demonstrates hubris by his demand for the favors of Inara, and the anonymous son of the Storm-god is a blameless tragic figure trapped by his social obligations, both have nonetheless crossed the line separating mortals from deities.⁹¹

In sum, the Myth of Illuyanka gives expression to an important facet of the Hittites' conception of the universe. The activity of everyone contributes to the proper functioning of the cosmos, but each individual must remain in his or her proper place.⁹² As the god is to the mortal, so in a sense is the king to the subject.⁹³ I intend to explore elsewhere the ramifications on the strictly human level of the Hittite conception briefly sketched here.

91 For a discussion in light of anthropological theory of the interrelationship of Hittite purity regulations and classificatory systems, see J. Moyer, "The Concept of Ritual Purity among the Hittites," (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis, 1969).

92 Compare the remarks of E. Vermeule on the congress of men and gods in Greek thought in *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley, 1979), 163f.

93 See also the discussion by Furlani, *HTR* 31 (1938), 251–62.