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.

II. Transliterations

III. Translations
2. A. Goetze, Kleinasien², 139f.
3. Idem, ANET², 125f. (see Güterbock's comments, Or NS 20 [1951], 331f.)

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.)
6. S. H. Hooke, Middle Eastern Mythology (Harmondsworth, 1963), 98–100.
11. V. Haas, WZKM 69 (1977), 152f.

*For the abbreviations employed here, see J. Friedrich/A. Kammenhuber, Hethitisches Wörterbuch, 2nd. ed. (Heidelberg, 1975—), 13–33.
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)
§4  
\(\text{dIM-}\{\text{aš}\}\)-ta-\(\text{aš-ša DINGIR}^{\text{MEŠ}}\)-\(\text{na-aš Ḫu-u-ma-a[n-du-]}\)uš

13  
\(\text{mu-}\{\text{u-\(\text{a-ga-it an-da-ma-pa ti-i-ya-[o]-1\text{3}\text{-te-en}}\) zu-}

\(\text{a-}]\)na-ra-\(\text{aš]}\) E\(\text{ZEN-an i-e-it}\)

§5  
\(\text{G\(\text{EŠTIN-aš DUG-pal-}\(\text{hi mar-nu-wa-[a]n-da-aš DUG-pal-}\)hi}\)

17  
\(\text{[wa-}a\text{]-hi-ya-\(\text{aš DUG-pal-}\)hi [nu DUG-pal-}\(\text{ḫa-aš a[n-d]}\)a-an i-ya-\(\text{a-da}\)\(\text{18 i-[e-it]}\)

§6  
\(\nu\) \(\text{d[\(\text{1-na-ra-aš I-NA URUZ]}\)i-ig-ga-ra-at-ta pa-it\)}

\(\text{nu} \text{\(\text{M}^{\text{H}}\)u-u-pa-ši-ya-an LÜ.ULÜ.LU ú-e-mi-it}

§7  
\(\text{U} \text{M-MA \(\text{dI-na-ar mH} \text{u-u-pa-ši-ya ka-a-ša-wa\)}}

\(\text{ki-i-ya ki-i-ya ut-tar i-ya-mi}

§8  
\(\text{U} \text{M-MA \(\text{mH} \text{u-u-pa-ši-ya A-NA \(\text{dI-na-ar}\)}}

\(\text{ma-a-wa kat-ti-ti še-eš-m[\text{n}]u-wa ú-wa-mi}

\(\text{kar-di-\(\text{aŠ}-t\)-a-ta i-ya-mi [na-aš (kat-t)j}i-ši še-eš-ta}

Bi3  
\(\nu\) \(\text{d[\(\text{1-na-ra-aš mH} \text{u-u-pa-ši-ya-an p]}\)i-e-\(\text{ḫu-te-it\)}}

\(\text{na-an mu-u-un-na-a}^{\text{2}}\text{-it } \text{d[\(\text{1-na-ra-aš-ša-az\)}}

5'  
\(\text{ú-nu-u-ta-at na-aš-ta \(\text{MUS}^{\text{š}} \text{š} \text{šil-}l \text{-ya-an-[k-a-an\)}}

\(\text{ḫa-an}^{\text{10}}\text{-te-eš-na-az ša-ra-a kal-li-š-ta}

7'  
\(\text{ka-a-ša-wa}^{\text{11}} \text{EZEN-an i-ya-mi\)}

\(\text{nu-wa a-da-an-na a-ku-wa-an-na e-ḫu\)}

§9  
\(\text{na-aš-ta \(\text{MUS}^{\text{š}} \text{šil-lu}^{\text{12}}\text{-ya-an-ka-aš QA-DU [DUMU}^{\text{MEŠ-ŠU\)}}

\(\text{ṣa-ra-a ú-e-i-r nu-za e-te-i-r e-ku-i[r\)]

\(\text{[n]e-za ni-in-iš-e-i-r\)}

11'  
\(\text{[n]}\)a-aš-ta \(\text{DUG-pal-ḫa-an } \text{ḫu-u-ma-an-da-an}^{\text{13}}\text{-e-[k-u-i[r\)]}

\(\text{[(n)]e-za ni-in-iš-e-i-r\)}

13'  
\(\text{[(n)]e nam-ma } \\text{ḫa-at-te-eš-na-aš kat-ta-an-[d[a]}

\(\text{nu-u-ma-a}^{\text{14}}\text{-an pa-a-an-zì } \text{mH} \text{u-u-pa-ši-ya-aš-ṣ}^{\text{15}}\text{(a ú-it\)}}

15'  
\(\text{nu } \text{\(\text{MUS}^{\text{š}} \text{šil-lu}^{\text{15}}\text{-ya-an-ka-an iš-ḫi-ma-[a]}(n-ta)]

\(\text{ka-li-e-li-e-it}^{\text{16}}\)

6  \(\text{Ei3' omits.}

7  \(\text{Ei 4' has paragraph stroke following } \text{d[\(\text{1-n]a-ra-aš\})}

8  \(\text{Copy-ṣu.}

9  \(\text{A i 28 omits.}

10  \(\text{C i 11': Ḫa-ar-[.}

11  \(\text{C i 2' adds -za.}

12  \(\text{C i 4' inserts -i-.}

13  \(\text{C i 6': DUG-pal-ḫa Ḫu-u-ma-[ma]-an-[da].}

14  \(\text{C i 9' omits.}

15  \(\text{C i 10' and 12' insert -i-.}

16  \(\text{H omits paragraph stroke.}
17. [dIM-aš ú-it nu-kān][MUST-il-lu][N(a-an-ka)[N-an]]
    ku-en-ta DINGIRMES ša kat-ti-iš-ši e-še-i

Ci14' nu-[za-[(an)]][dI-na-ra-aš][NA-pl-ru-ni][[(še-ir)]
15' É-ir ú-e-te-it l-NA KUR UTTa-a[((ru-uk-ki)]]
    nu [mHu-pa-ši-ya][N-an-da-an É-[(ri)]

17' a-ša-aš-ša ta-an [dI-na-ra-aš][]
    wa-[tar-na-ah]-hi-ši-[(k)]-iz-zi ma-a-[(m-ra)]
19' [pI-i-mi][N-ig-ga][N-wa-ra-aš-ta GIS][lu-ut-ta-an-[(za)]
    ar-ša li-e a-ut-t[i]

21' ma-a-wa-ra-aš-ta ar-ša ma a-ut-ti
    nu-[wa-za DAM-KA DUMUSL]-KA a-ut-t[i]

23' ma-a-an UD.20.KAM po-it a-pa-a-ša GIS[lu-ut-[ta-an-za]]
    ar-[ša šu-wa-i-it] nu DAM-ZU[28 DUMUSL]-[Šu-a-ut-ta]

25' [(m)][a-an] [dI-na-ra-aš-ša gi-im-ra-az EGIR-[(pa)]

[(u-)]it a-pa-a-ša ú-e-eš-ga-u-an da-a-iš

27' [(a-)]p-[p-wa-mu É-na ta-r-n]

Aii9' [UM-]MA [dI-na-][N-ra] [mHu-pa-ši-ya
    ar-[ša(-)wa(-)]x]
11' Šu-ú-ga-
    [ša-ra-an-n(e-i)][e-]
13' [dIM-aš Ü.[SA]]LI x[
    a-pa-a-aI na-an na-[a[k-

15' [dI-na-ra-aš l-NA URUKi-iš-ki-[u-uš-ša]
    [ú-it?)] É-ŠU hu-un-[hu-wa-na-aš-ša [D?]
17' [A-NA?)] QA-TI LUGAL[29 ma-a-an da-a-[iš
    [ha-[an-[e]]]iz-zi-ya-an pu-ru-ul-[i-ya-an?]
19' ku-it i-ya-u-e-ni Ŭ QA-AT [LUGAL É-[ir?]]
    [dI-na-ra-aš hu-un-[hu-wa-na-aš-ša [D?30

[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': URTa-a-(ru-)uk-ka.
22 G 3' omits.
23 -aš over erasure; G 4': dKAL-aš.
24 G 4': -eš-.
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' \textit{HUR.SAG} Za-li-ya-nu-ú ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš ḫa-an-[te-iz-iš]

\textbf{§18}

\begin{itemize}
  \item ma-a-an I-NA \textit{URU}Ne-ri-ik ḫe-u-ūš
\end{itemize}

\textbf{§19}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{HUR.SAG} Zu-[li-nu-ú] ḫe-i-ū-un ú-e-ik-ta
  \item na-an-šī \textit{NINDA} [\textit{o o o}] x pī-e-da-i
  \item na-aš-ša-[an ...]x(-)da-a-i [n]a-an ś[i ...]-a-na-i
  \item [n]a-aš a[n ...] x x x
\end{itemize}

(gap of about 40 lines)

\textbf{§20' Diiii1'}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ki-i-l}
  \item \textit{ku-i-t[a}
  \item \textit{me-mi-iš-t[a ...-za (\textit{MUS}i-)lu-ya-an-ka-aš} \textit{dIM-an]}
  \item \textit{tar-aḥ-ta [n[a-(aš-ta} \textit{UZUŠA ša-ku-wa-ya]}
  \item \textit{da-a-aš na-a-(n} \textit{dIM-aš-š)a]}
\end{itemize}

\textbf{§21'}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Aiiii4'} \textit{nu-za DUMU.SAL ŠA}\textit{31 Łu-a-ši-wa-an-da-aš}
  \item \textit{5'} A-NA \textit{DAM-Š}U \textit{dU-a-aš} \textit{nu-za DUMU.NITA ḫa-aš-ta}
\end{itemize}

\textbf{§22'}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{7'} \textit{nu-za DUMU.SAL} \textit{MUS}il-\textit{lu-ya-an-ka-aš}
  \item \textit{DAM-an-ni da-a-aš}
\end{itemize}

\textbf{§23'}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{9'} \textit{dIM}\textit{32 DUMU-an wa-tar-na-aḥ-ḫi-eš-ki-iz-zi}
  \item \textit{ma-a-an-wa A-NA ŠU DAM-KA pa-a-i-ši}
  \item \textit{11'} \textit{nu-wa-aš-ma-aš-ta} \textit{UZUŠA ša-ku-wa-ya}
  \item \textit{ú-e-ik}
\end{itemize}

\textbf{§24'}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{13'} \textit{ma-a-na-aš pa-a-i-ta nu-uš-ma-aš} \textit{UZUŠA}
  \item \textit{ú-e-ik-ta na-ašši pī-i-e-ir}
  \item \textit{15'} ap-pī-iz-zi-ya-an-na-aš-ma-aš ša-a-ku-wa}
  \item \textit{ú-e-ik-ta nu-ušši a-pī-e-ya pī-i-e-ir}
  \item \textit{17'} na-ai \textit{dIM-ni at-ti-iš-ši} \textit{pī-e-da-aš}
  \item \textit{nu-za-an} \textit{dIM-aš} \textit{UZUŠA ša-ku-wa-aš-še-ta}
\end{itemize}

\textbf{§25'}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{19'} \textit{EGIR-pa da-a-aš}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ma-a-an e-eš-ri-eš-ši a-ap-pa}
  \item \textit{21'} ka-ru-ū-i-li-at-ta S\textit{GIg}_{5}-at-ta
\end{itemize}

\textbf{§25'}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{na-aš nam-ma a-ru-ni} \textit{za-a[h]}-ḫi-ya pa-it
  \item \textit{23'} \textit{ma-a-an-ši za-aḥ-ḥa-in pa-a-īš}
  \item \textit{na-an-zu nam-ma} \textit{MUS}il-\textit{lu-ya-an-ka-a[n]}
\end{itemize}

\textbf{31 D iii 6' omits.}
\textbf{32 D iii 9': dIM-aš.}
25' tar-ah-ḫu-u-wa-an da-a-iš ʾU DUMU .putInt

27' nu ša-ra-a ne-pi-ši at-ti-iš-ši

hal-za-a-iš

§26' am-mu-uq-ga-[z]a-pa an-da e-ip

li-e-mu gi-en-zu-wa-ši

31' nu-kán .putInt  củ-li-yq-a-[n-ka-an]

ʾU DUMU-ŠU ku-en-ta

33' nu ka-a-š(ma) a-pa-g-aš .putInt ʾu7-[

§27' UM-MA ʾMKi-ʾel-[l]a ʾUGUDU .putInt URU-Ne-ri-ik]

35' ma-a-na-aš-ta DINGIRMES

(gap of about 15 lines--insert here J?)

J1' [....]x-a[n?]

§27'a [....]x x nu-uš-ši a-da-[n-na

3' [....]a-ap-pa A-NA URU-Ne-ri-[ik(-)

[....]-aṭ-na nar-na-i

5' [....]gZa-aš-ḫa-pu-na-a-an

§27'b [....]x-nu-ut nu URU-Ne-ri-[ik

7' [....]p]a-a-ir nu-za ḫa-li-y[a7-nu(-

[....]a-ap-pa pa-a-iš

9' [....]a-aš-za pi-e-x[!

§27'c [....]A?-[N]A URU-Ne-[ri-ik?

11' [....]MUŠ??

Divl1' [nu A]-NA ʾUGUDU [ḥa-an-te-i]zz-i-uš DINGIRMES-[uš]

§28' [ap-p]a-iz-zuš134 ʾi-e-ir

3' [ap-p]a-iz-zuš-ša ḥa-an-te-iz-zuš

DINGIRMES- uš ṣ-e-ir

§29' ḏa-li-nu-ú-wa-aš ḫal-ku-i-eš-šar me-ik-ki

5' ḏa-li-nu-i-ša33 DAM-ZU ḏa-aš-ḫa-pu-na-a-aš


9' ma-a-an-wa A-NA URU-Ne-ri-iq-qa40 pa-i-u-wa-ni41

33 Erasure follows.
34 text: -an, cf. Goetze, JCS 6, 100.
35 Erasure follows.
36 A iv 2': Ṣ-e-ri-ik.
37 C iv 1 inserts UM-MA.
38 A iv 4' and C iv 5: mTah-pu-ri-ki.
39 A iv 5' inserts ṣIM.
40 A iv 5': URU-Ne-ri-ik.
41 A iv 6' and C iv 3: pa-a-i-wa-ni.
§30" nu-wa-aš-ša-an ku-wa-pità42 e-šu-wa-aš-ta43

11' UM-MA LUGUDU LUG44 tāh-pu-ri-li45

§31" [(m)]a-a-an46-ša-an NAŠU ŠÚ.A e-eš-tum-ma-at

13' [(n)]u-za LUGUDU47 pu-u-ul ti-an-zi

15' nu TŪL-i49 še-ir NAŠU ŠÚ.A kī-ti-ta

na-aš-ša-an a-pi-ya e-ša50-ri

Aiv14' nu DIN GIRMES-IŠ51 hu-u-ma-an-te-eš an-da a-ra-an-zi

15' nu-za pu-u-ul ti-an-zi nu DIN GIRMES-na-aš

§32" hu-u-ma-an-da-aš52 SA URU Ka53-aš-ta-ma

17' dZa-aš-ḫa-pu54-na-aš55-ša-aš56-li-iš

18' ku-i-ta [(dZa-li-nu-i)]-ša-ḫa DAM-ZU

19' dTa-[(a-az-ṣu-wa-ši-i)] ša-ša-an-za57

§33" ki-[(e 3 LUGMES I-N)]A URU Ta-ni-pi-ya

21' a-[(ša-an-zi)]58

§34" nu a-ap-pa59 pa-ra-a-pāt I-NA URU Ta-ni-pi-ya

23' A.ŠA ku-e-ra-aš LUGAL-wa-az50 pi-ya-an-za

6 ka-pu-nu A.ŠA 1 ka-pa-nu GISAR.GE[ŠTIN]

25' ETIM Ú KISLAĦ 3 ĖH.LA SAG.GEMÉ.İ[RMES]

§35" I-NA61] TUP-Pİ-ma e-eš-zi am-mu-uğ-ga

27' I[NIM?-.n]a61-âš na-ah-ḫa-a-an

nu [(k)]i-i me-ma-ah-ḫu-un

29' DUB.1.KAM QA-T[I]

42 A iv 6': ku-wa-pi-š.
43 A iv 7': e-šu-wa-aš-ta-š.
44 A iv 8' and C iv 5': mTaḫ-
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-pi-n[a7-.
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: [ša-]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, FsBohl 204, n. 29.
§36" ŠA mKi-el-lâ LUG[DU u]d-[d]a-na-as

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) Kiskilušša, 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) maruruwa (and) vessels of (the drink) [wa]lbi. In the vessels she ma[de] an abundance.

§6 Then [Inara] went [to] (the town of) Ziggaratta 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 Ḥupašiya 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 window and [saw] his wife (and) [his] children.

§15 When Inara returned from the countryside, he began to whine: "Let me (go) back home!"

§16 Inara spoke as follows to Ḫupāšiya: "... 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 āparši-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 serpent defeated the Storm-god and took (his) heart 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 serpent and his (own) son. And now this one, the Storm-god [ ... ]

§27' Thus says Kella, [the "anointed 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 eat[t ... ] back to Ner[ik ... ] he releases.

§27'b [ ... ] (the god) Zaššapuna [ ... ] (s)he [ ... ]ed, and the Storm-god of Nerik [and ... ] went. And Zaliyanu [ ... ] gave back [ ... ]

§27'c [ ... ] then he transported?? ... t]o Ne[rik? ...
§28" [Then f]or the “anointed priest” they made the [fore]most gods 
the [hum]bliest, and the [hum]blest they made the foremost gods.

§29" The cultic tax of Zali(ya)nu is great. Zaššapuna the wife of 
Zali(ya)nu is greater than the Storm-god of Nerik.

§30" The gods speak as follows to the “anointed priest” Taḫpurili:
“When we go to the Storm-god of Nerik, where shall we sit?”

§31" The “anointed priest” Taḫpurili speaks as follows: “When you sit 
on a diorite stool, and when the “anointed priests” cast the lot, then 
the “anointed 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, Zaššapuna 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[attle]r?, and I have spoken these things (truly).

§36" One tablet, complete, of the word of Kella, the “anointed priest.”
(colophon) 
Piḫaziti, [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 LÜGUDÚ, 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 LÜGUDÚ 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. In the Instructions for Temple Personnel we observe the GUDÚ 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 paššu, 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: Taḫpurilī (KBo 35, 9 i 6), Zullanni (KUB 18, 9 iii 7), and Wanni (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 KAL in Hittite texts, and for Inar(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 Gavur Kalesa and Yenicekale and Nı§antepe at Bogazköy— 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 ŠE-ris-tuškarattaš ḫaššaššaš ḫanuššaššaš neššān [N]A-peruni  utteran*

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 Ē-ŠU here refers—to Inara, to Hupašiya (despite the change of venue from Tarukka to Kiškilušša), or proleptically to the king?

With ḫu-un-ḫu-wa-na-aš in A ii 16’ and 20’ we encounter the problem of ḫunhuesšar and its by-forms. Although Laroche refers to this lexeme as “unstable,” it is possible
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. hunhu(n)ešsar/hunhešsar/huwa(n)hešsar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Attestation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. nom./acc.</td>
<td>hu-un-hu-ni-eš-sar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[hu-u]n-hu'-ni-eš-sar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[hu-]w[a-c]n-hu-šš-sar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hu-wa-hu-šš-sar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“erg.”</td>
<td>hu-un-hu-ni-eš-na-an-za</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>hu-un-hu-šš-na-aš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat./lot.</td>
<td>hu-u-un-hu-eš-š-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hu-un-hu-eš-š-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hu-wa-an-hu-iš-š-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hu-un-hi-eš-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.-</td>
<td>b[u-u-u]n-hu-e-eš-na-za</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. hunhuwatar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>hu-un-hu-wa-na-aš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. hunhumazzi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom./acc.</td>
<td>hu-un-hu-wa-na-aš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. uncertain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hu-un-[n-]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I and II are merely different formations, in -ešsar and -atar, respectively,72 to a reduplicated7 stem *hunhu-*. 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. hurt/-huwart-.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, h. seems to

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Ehelolf, *KIF* I (1930), 396, understands this as a nominative, positing a stem hunhu'ena-, 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 ĪSTAR.”
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 hunhešmi 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.
76 See the passage quoted in n. 71, and cf. KUB 33, 24 i 24f., where a searcher for the Vanishing God is instructed: . . . hariškan halluw[amu]š [šanha hu-u]n-šš-šar-kan kuwalliu šanha, “[Search] the deep valleys! Search the blue h.”
77 In addition to the passage in the Myth of Illuyanka, note KBo. 3, 8 iii 1: šallitš ḫD-aš hu-un-hu-ma-az-zi-ši-it šumi[ši], “The great river bou[n]d its h.”
indicate water itself in large quantities. Of particular interest is KBo 3, 21 ii 8f., from the translation of a lost Akkadian prayer:

\[ \text{d}^\text{É}\text{.} \text{A-askan } \text{hu-wa-an-hu-\text{i-s}}\text{-ni kuit } \text{harres} \text{s} \text{a anda } \text{kidda aššu} \]

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.” A similar native Anatolian conception is revealed by KUB 36, 89, obv. 27f. (Haas, KN, 146f.):

\[ \ldots \text{DUMU } \text{Šulikatti nanakušišya[nt]}\text{-a } \text{4 halhatumarar]a } \text{ba[ll]}\text{uvaza } \text{[h-u-u]}\text{-u-\text{u}}\text{-e-\text{e}-na-za } \text{UGU ešu } \text{EGIR-pawa[za } \text{URU} \text{Ner[i]kki andan neya} \]

O son of Šullikatti, from the \( \ldots \) corners (of the Earth), from the deep \( h \). come up! Enter again (the town of) {Ner[i]k!}

This is clearly a reference to the underground waters so necessary for agricultural production in ancient Ḫatti. 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-\text{aš-ši} pier in A iii 14’ is difficult morphologically. A comparison with the similar A iii 16’—nu-\text{aš-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 \text{UZUŠA} (\( \text{= ker} \)) in A iii 13’, na-\text{aš-ši} must be analyzed as \( n=at=śi \), although the assimilation \( -ts-\text{ }) -ss- \) 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. It is significant that elsewhere Taḫpurili is identified as a ‘man of the Storm-god’ (LÚ \( \text{d}^\text{U} \text{— KBo 16, 81 i 3}, \) a \( \text{LÚ} \text{GUDÚ} \text{(KBo 25, 9 i 6), and probably ‘commissioner’ (\( \text{LÚ} \text{AGRIG} \) \text{of Kaštama}} \text{(KBo 16, 73 iii 5f.), all terms which link him to the present text. Note that the \( \text{LÚ} \text{AGRIG of Kaštama} \text{was seemingly responsible for deliveries of agricultural products to Nerik,} \) and that there existed a close relationship between the pantheons and cults of the cities of Nerik and Kaštama.


\( §36 \) Since \( \text{mUR.MAH} \) is not otherwise attested as a Hittite proper name, while \( \text{mUR.MAH.LÚ} \text{= Walwaziti} \text{(Laroche, NH, no. 1758), son of Mittanamuwa, is a well-} \)

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 I [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 \( \text{d}^\text{U} \) 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 Geographique Bd. 6 (Wiesbaden, 1978), 193f.
83 See now Haas, Hethitische Berggötter und hurritische Steindämonen 63–65.
known holder of the office of GAL.DUB.SARME$^{84}$ 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 version$^{87}$ 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 its 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 Kamrušepsa 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

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$^{84}$ See Laroche, ArOr. 17 (1949), 11, and Neu/Ruster, StBoT 21, 8.
$^{85}$ Mythologies of the Ancient World, 143.
$^{86}$ Cf. Oten, 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-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 (ANET², 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 3ft.).
$^{89}$ See, in general, Oten, 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 Ḫupašiya 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.

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.