



Fig. 1. Copy of KBo 3.7 ii 5'

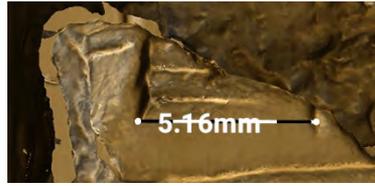


Fig. 2. 3D Photo of broken 'a-uš' in KBo 3.7 ii 5'

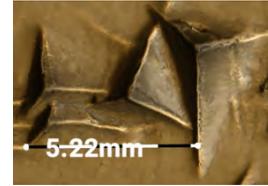


Fig. 3. 3D Photo of fully preserved UŠ sign from KBo 3.7 i 10

The first thing to note, is that the two stacked verticals of the A sign are adequately visible to confirm its reading (compare Figures 1 and 2). Second, in his hand copy of KBo 3.7, FIGULLA 1923 incorrectly interpreted the sign traces on the second sign as two in-line horizontals above a single horizontal (see Figure 1), instead of one horizontal with the beginning trace of a Winkelhaken above a single horizontal. As can be seen in Figures 2 and 3, comparing the fully preserved UŠ sign with that of the broken one, the traces for the beginning of the Winkelhaken match. Also, the trace location of the final vertical is properly placed. And finally, the size difference between the broken UŠ and the fully preserved UŠ is a negligible 0.06mm. Thus, ZIMMERN's suggested reading, and therefore also the restoration of the verb *a-uš-[ta]* "[he] saw" in the break of KUB 17.6 i 24', is confirmed.

#### Notes

\* I thank Petra Goedegebuure for her comments on a draft of this note.

1. For this scene, see §§11-14 of the text edition in RIEKEN et al. 2012.

2. LAROCHE 1965, p. 68; FRIEDRICH 1967, p. 52; BECKMAN 1982, p. 14; TRABAZO 2002, p. 90; TISCHLER 2006, p. 1225; RIEKEN et al. 2012; and MOUTON 2016, p. 448.

3. For example, RIEKEN et al. 2012 have "DAM<sup>12?</sup>" and comment, "Das Zeichen sieht nach Kollation am Foto zwar anders aus als in der Autographie, ist aber kein einwandfreies DAM" (§12, n. 16). Cf. MOUTON 2016, p. 448.

4. For the images in Figures 2 and 3, see MÜLLER.

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**67) On the names Iyaya and Iya and their late diffusion in the Ancient Near East** — Iyaya is the name of a goddess of the pre-classical Anatolian pantheon. Her name occurs in a number of cuneiform sources from the Bronze Age Hittite archives in Boğazköy. In recent years, a couple of attempts have been made to identify the name of Iyaya with that of divine figures from the later phases of the Ancient Near Eastern history, notably in the Iron Age Luwian corpus (Lebrun, Gslmparati, 471ff.) and in a very late Roman gem from Cilicia (Mastrocinque, JANER 7, 197ff.). This would imply the diffusion by cultural and linguistic contact or by indirect inheritance outside of Anatolia. The name of Iyaya, or a segment thereof, has also been tentatively recognized in some even later Iron Age personal names from Greek epigraphic documents of Asia Minor, as they were collected by Zgusta (KPN §§447-449). In this note, I will review the data that have been collected to support the hypothesis of an Iron Age continuation of the cult and name of Iyaya.

Iyaya is mostly known from a specific type of documents of the Late Empire period, the so-called cult-inventories. They frequently contain descriptions of shrines and statuettes located in different towns that were under the control of the Hittite court. Quoting Cammarosano (SBL 40, 1),

*“The so-called cult inventories are reports on the cults of provincial towns and villages, documenting the interaction between central administration and local settlements on religious affairs.”*

According to these records, the goddess Iyaya was worshipped in several towns, including Lapana (not the same Lapana mentioned in the Amarna corpus and probably corresponding to modern Lebweh, but rather a city in central Anatolia; cf. also Forlanini StAs 5, 45 and Gander, Klio 96, 369), Taparuta, and Tiura. As most of the mentions of Iyaya belong to inventory texts, it is hard to find her precise collocation in the main pantheon, but, occasionally, she seems to be associated with some other deities. According to Burney’s *Historical Dictionary of the Hittites* (2004, s.v. Iyaya) she was a “local divinit[y], not in the first rank but much revered by the populace”. Of course, that she was much revered by the populace is a very interpretive reading of the limited sources we possess: everyday religion is very difficult to reconstruct for the cultures of the Ancient Near East. In the inventory KUB 38.1 iv 1-7 (cf. Cammarosano, SBL 40, 312), a wooden statuette of Iyaya, plated in gold and tin, is said to be located in a shrine in Lapana, sitting on a throne, with an enigmatic *hupita*-veil/hood, surrounded by two statuettes of goats and one of an eagle, two copper sceptres, and two bronze cups. Her priest is male. The description of the statuette of Iyaya in the town of Tiura (ibid. iv 8-14; Cammarosano, SBL 40, 312) is similar, but there are no theriomorphic figurines and the metal used to decorate the statuette is gold. She holds a cup and a SIG<sub>5</sub>-object. The priest in the temple is, in this case, a female entitled “mother deity priestess” (<sup>MUNUS</sup>AMA.DINGIR-LIM). In another similar source (KUB 38.26), the *Bildbeschreibung* refers to a statuette of the goddess that was made of iron. It is, however, the inventory text KUB 38.10+ (Cammarosano, KASKAL 12, 220f) that contains one of the most interesting occurrences of the divine name, which would play a central role in some of the hypotheses I wish to review in this short contribution. Here, two statuettes are mentioned. Both are made of wood, and one is a standing god AMAR.UTU, a logogram that could be interpreted either as Marduk or Sandas. The other one is a sitting Iyaya. Her name here is accompanied by an epithet which, however, is partly broken. It has been integrated MUNUS.[GA]BA, perhaps “nursing(?) woman”, but given the condition of the tablet it is impossible to safely reconstruct the compound logogram.

A few other occurrences of the name Iyaya exist; however, none of them contain specific information regarding the origin, function, and characterizations of the goddess. She was certainly involved in festivals (which means that she had a role in the official state cult and not only as a member of peripheral local *panthea*). There seems to be a good chance of a connection of Iyaya with the natural world; consider, obviously, the co-existence of her statuette and the representations of animals in the city of Lapana in KUB 38.1 iv 1-7 (see above). Furthermore, Iyaya has sometimes been called a mother-goddess in literature. Certainly, in the fragmentary inventory KUB 38.12 iii 9f., she seems to belong to the DINGIR.MAH circle together with Allinalli and a third unknown goddess. However, the cult inventories are a poor source regarding the functions and connotations of gods and goddesses, so the exact features and the role of Iyaya are only partly clear. Even her origin and the linguistic source of her name are obscure. While she might have been a Luwian deity, the geographical location of the cities in which statuettes of Iyaya were worshipped is debated (see Forlanini’s work on the middle Kızılırmak [StAs 5]). The reduplicated name is no indication of a specific etymology from one or another Anatolian language: formally, it is a noun-noun reduplication, pretty much like *hanna-hanna*-. The best thing one can do is to acknowledge that Iyaya was an Anatolian goddess (based on the name, originally not a Hurrian or a Hattian one), but a more specific definition of her cultural and linguistic provenance is currently impossible.

After having considered the main cuneiform sources from Hittite Anatolia, it is necessary to turn to the problem of Iyaya’s connection with other divine figures. We have already said that she may have belonged to a triad together with Allinalli. Another alleged association, defended by Taracha (DBH 27, 114) in a surprisingly optimistic tone, is the one with Santas. This is particularly relevant as regards the possibility of a diffusion of the cult and name of Iyaya in later stages of the history of the Ancient Near Eastern religion, because the survival of Santas’s (or Sanda’s) cult after the end of the Hittite Empire and

during the Iron Age of Anatolia, Syria and Mesopotamia is proven (see Rutherford, “Sandas in Translation”, in *Hittitology Today: Studies on Hittite and Neo-Hittite Anatolia in Honor of Emmanuel Laroche's 100th Birthday/L'hittitologie aujourd'hui : études sur l'Anatolie hittite et néo-hittite à l'occasion du centenaire de la naissance d'Emmanuel Laroche*, ed. by A. Mouton, Istanbul 2017, pp. 81-110). Luvian Santas is attested in a few HLuw. occurrences. Furthermore, indirect onomastic evidence comes from Cilicia (Rutherford, “Sandas in Translation”). During the Neo-Assyrian age, there is a cult in Tharsus. Finally, some Mesopotamian divine figures were identified with Santas, including Nergal and, possibly, Marduk (Rutherford, “Sandas in Translation”; previously Dalley AnSt 49, 73ff.). Santas has been presented as a male partner of Iyaya because of a passage in a Hittite cult inventory. In KUB 38.10+ iii 33ff. (Cammarosano, KASKAL 12, 220f.), two statuettes made of wood are mentioned: one is a standing AMAR.UTU, the other is a seated Iyaya. However, even if the writing AMAR.UTU here really indicates Santas, the presence of the two statuettes in a shrine is no proof of a consistent association, let alone of the fact that Iyaya was the “wife” of Santas as Taracha wrote (DBH 27, 114). If a vague association in a schematic text passage were enough to prove that two gods formed a divine couple, one could easily state that Santas’s female partner was the female demon Handašepa, based on the single occurrence of a joint sacrifice in the tablet Emar VI 471, ro. 15-19.

Iyaya’s alleged partnership with Santas was the main argument in support of Mastrocinque’s proposal to analyze the YOYO inscription on the reverse late Verona Gem, a Severan Age document from Roman Cilicia depicting a Sandas god (accompanied by a chimera) on the obverse, as a very late occurrence of the Anatolian female theonym:

Since, however, the relationship between the two gods is all but a stable one, and is only hinted at by the occasional reference in KUB 38.10+, the religious-historical argument immediately loses most of its vigour. In terms of language contact and adaptation, the case is even weaker. If we wanted to assume a direct passage from Luvic into Greek or into a variety of Greek, there would be no reason for the change of /a/ into /o/, especially given the fact that -a(-) is also a feminine morpheme in Greek, and it would not get lost in the adaptation of a female theonym. An involvement of Lydian, that features a secondary vowel /o/, is geographically unlikely and, even if it weren’t, would not yield /yoyo/ starting from /iyaya/.



These arguments obliterate the idea that the divine name Iyaya and the memory of the Anatolia goddess managed to survive in Roman Age Cilicia. Another proposal for a late – but not so late – survival of the divine name was made by Lebrun (GsImparati), who suggested that some Bronze age cuneiform occurrences of the name Iya would represent an abridged version of the name Iyaya, instead of being the rendering of the Mesopotamian divine name Ea, which is the traditional interpretation.

According to Lebrun’s interpretation, the male partner of Iyaya would not be Santas, but the Storm God. The hypothesis relies on the idea that the occurrence of the name (DEUS)*i-ya-sa* in the Iron age hieroglyphic text MARAŞ 1 would represent Iyaya’s abridged name and not Ea. While no proof was presented for this proposed identification, which was indeed not widely accepted in the scientific literature that followed the publication of Lebrun’s paper, it was also suggested that the theophoric element *Iya-*<sup>o</sup> contained in several personal names of Asia Minor (Zgusta KPN, §§447-449: *ια(ς)*, both masculine and feminine; the feminine *ιαις* and *ιαιη*; the masculine compounds *ιαζαθμα*, *ιαζημυς* and *ιαμαρας*) may have represented this abridged form of the female theonym Iya(ya). As a matter of fact, all of these onomastic pieces of evidence can be explained without hypothesizing the existence of this quite unusual abridged form of the Hittite theonym. Regardless of the origin and meaning of the Hittite (or more generally Anatolian) segment *iya-*<sup>o</sup>, the form appears to already be a personal name in the Bronze Age: a woman named *Iya* is mentioned twice in KuT 49, and also Iyaya is attested as a female human name for the queen and wife of Zidanta II in KUB 11.8 (the writing in ii 9 is

<sup>i</sup>I-ya-ya-an, with the female-PN determinative, contrary to the transcription <sup>m</sup>I-ya-ya-an by Gilan, KASKAL 11, 93). A man named Iya is mentioned in the Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription of the BEIRUT vase (and he is a priest of Santas, but this is, of course, just a coincidence).

All in all, given the evidence collected so far, we can state that:

1. There is no reason to assume that an abridged form of the divine name Iyaya existed in the Bronze Age;
2. The (DEUS)<sup>i</sup>-ya- in the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus can consistently represent the name of Ea, so the abridged version of the name did not exist in the Iron Age either;
3. In terms of language contact, the YOYO inscription on the Verona Gem cannot be analyzed as an adaptation of the name Iyaya- in any of the late Luvic languages of the Iron Age: if it is a name, it is treated as masculine in the Greek writing, but we cannot exclude that the signs were in fact a non-sense alphabetic decoration;
4. As for the late personal names recorded by Zgusta, the fact that Iya and Iyaya were already personal names in the Hittite and Luwian world during the Bronze and early Iron ges means that even if the theophoric element Iyaya might have played a role in earlier phases at least for the reduplicated forms like  $\tau\alpha\zeta$  and  $\tau\alpha\tau\eta$ , the late survival of the personal names need not be connected to a survival and diffusion of the cult of the goddess.

Thus, the hypothesis that a shorter version Iya of the divine name Iyaya existed is currently not justified by the sources we have, nor should late onomastic materials or dubious specimina such as the Verona Gem be employed to assume a survival and diffusion of Iyaya's name and cult.

**Note:** This note is a product of the project PALaC, that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant Agreement n° 757299). It also profited of the cooperation between PALaC and Michele Cammarosano's project Hittite Divine Names (<https://cuneiform.neocities.org/HDN/start.html>). The abbreviations used are those of the *Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte*, Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1975ff.

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**68) Nouveaux fragments de cunéiforme louvite** — Dans cette note utilitaire, six nouveaux fragments de cunéiforme louvite, qui n'ont pas été justement reconnus et donc mal placés lors de leur publication en autographie, seront présentés et édités. Le premier est KBo 44.241 publié par Otten et Rüster (2003). Une première édition de ce fragment se trouve chez Roszkowska-Mutschler (2007: 232), où la catégorie d'attribution est CTH 832 (*Hethitische Fragmente verschiedenen Inhaltes*). Cependant après un examen attentif du texte, il est possible d'attribuer ce fragment à un rituel louvite. La nouvelle transcription est la suivante:

1' ]x [  
2' ] ki-iš-]ša-an  
-----  
3' <sup>d</sup>ti-w]a-az x[  
4' ]x-um-ma[  
5' ku]-u-wa-ar-t[i  
6' -n]a-aš-ša-an-za-t[i  
7' -d]a-ar[  
8' ]x-<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>n</sup>-[

Tout d'abord, à la ligne 2' du contexte hittite, nous avons à faire une phrase telle que *luwili kiššan hūkzi* 'il/elle invoque ainsi en louvite'. Le passage en langue louvite commence donc à la ligne 3' et s'étend jusqu'à 8'. À la ligne 3', on peut tenter d'y reconstruire le nom du dieu du soleil louvite <sup>d</sup>tiwad- au nominatif du singulier. Les signes préservés à la ligne 5' rappellent le verbe louvite *kuwarti* 'il coupe', retrouvé dans le rituel du Kizzuwatna KUB 35.48 iii 19' et 20' (CTH 760). Ensuite, la ligne 6' donne un génitif adjectival en -aššali- suivi du marqueur du pluriel -nz- avant la marque de l'ablatif. Le mot à restaurer pourrait être soit *ta-tar-ri-ia-am-n]a-aš-ša-an-za-t[i* ou bien *ma-aš-ša-n]a-aš-ša-an-za-t[i*. Toutes ces observations permettent d'attribuer le fragment KBo 44.241 de façon provisoire à CTH 760 (*Ritual der Alten Frau* (<sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI)).