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Author(s): Hans Gustav Güterbock

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# THE HITTITE VERSION OF THE HURRIAN KUMARBI MYTHS: ORIENTAL FORERUNNERS OF HESIOD

HANS GUSTAV GÜTERBOCK

## PLATE III

THE old question as to what extent Greek mythology has used oriental models can be discussed now in the light of fresh material. The texts presented here were found in the royal archives at Hattuša, the Hittite capital near the Turkish village of Boğazköy in Central Anatolia. They are written in Hittite, but from the Hurrian names they contain and from the fact that fragments of a Hurrian version were found at the same place it is evident that the Hittite version goes back to a Hurrian original. The tablets actually found were written between 1400 and 1200 B.C.; the original composition may be slightly older and may date from the height of the Hurrian culture in the fifteenth century. Attention to these texts was first drawn by E. O. Forrer in 1935 at the International Congress of Orientalists held in Rome. The first part of the most interesting text was published in German translation and transliteration by Forrer in 1936<sup>1</sup> together with short excerpts from other fragments. In 1938, I published some notes on Forrer's text,<sup>2</sup> on the basis of which E. A. Speiser, in 1942, wrote an article investigating the Babylonian elements of this myth.<sup>3</sup> The cuneiform edition of all relevant Hittite texts was published by H. Otten in 1943<sup>4</sup> and reached Turkey in the same year. Since then, I have studied these texts and, after a preliminary attempt to arrange the various fragments,<sup>5</sup> I published a German edition of the whole material in 1946,<sup>6</sup> containing transliteration, translation, philological commentary and a discussion of the contents of the texts and of their relation to Greek, Babylonian and Phoenician mythology.

Since the Editor of this JOURNAL kindly asked me for a contribution to its special number devoted to the history of the Greek epic, I take the opportunity to present this material to the English-reading public<sup>7</sup> and especially to classical scholars. In the present paper, therefore, I shall give first an outline of the texts, with the better preserved parts in full translation, followed by a short discussion of their foreign relations. Readers who want more details may consult the German book.

The mythological texts under discussion center around the Hurrian god Kumarbi who corresponds, as we shall see, to Kronos. Apart from some fragments which cannot yet be

<sup>1</sup> E. O. Forrer, *Eine Geschichte des Götterkönigtums aus dem Hatti-Reiche* in *Mélanges Franz Cumont* (= *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves*, iv [1936]), pp. 687-713.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xliv (n.s., x), pp. 90 ff.

<sup>3</sup> E. A. Speiser, *An Intrusive Hurro-Hittite Myth*, in *JAOS*, lxii (1942), pp. 98-102; seen by the present writer only in 1945.

<sup>4</sup> *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (abbr. *KUB*) xxxiii: *Mythische und magische Texte in hethitischer Sprache*, nos. 92-122.

<sup>5</sup> In a review of *KUB*, xxxiii in *Orientalia* (n.s.) xii (1943), pp. 344-355.

<sup>6</sup> *Kumarbi. Mythen vom churritischen Kronos, aus den hethitischen Fragmenten zusammengestellt, übersetzt und erklärt* (*Istanbuler Schriften*, no. 16) 1946 [printed in Istanbul, sold through:] Europa-Verlag, Zürich-New York (Abbr.: *Kum.*). - A Turkish edition (in which only the philological commentary is omitted) appeared in 1945 as a publication of the Turkish Historical Society: *Kumarbi Efsanesi* (*Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından*, vii, no. 11) 1945, [translated by] Sedat Alp.

<sup>7</sup> I am indebted to my colleague, Prof. McCallien, for corrections of the language.

placed, there are two main compositions. The first may be called "Theogony"; the Hittite title of the text, unfortunately, is broken away. The second text is called "Song of Ullikummi" in the colophon; it consists of more than two (probably three) tablets which have come down in several copies, the fragments of which can be arranged with a fair degree of probability.

The first part of the text which we call "Theogony" deals with the "Kingship in Heaven." Unfortunately, this text has come down to us in a single copy which, moreover, is in a very bad state of preservation. Of the four columns containing about 90 lines each, only the first half of the first column is clear (it is the part published by Forrer, cf. note 1). It runs as follows.<sup>8</sup>

(L.1 mutilated) . . . <sup>L2</sup>let the mighty [ . . . ] gods hearken, let Na[ra], <sup>L3</sup>[Napšara, Mink]i, Ammunki hearken, let Ammezzaddu, <sup>L4</sup>[ . . . . . ] . . . , father (and) mother, hearken!

<sup>L6</sup>Let [ . . . . . ], Išhara, father (and) mother, hearken, let Enlil, <sup>L6</sup>[ . . . . . ] who are mighty (and) . . . . . gods, <sup>L7</sup>[ . . . . . ] and [ . . . - ]ulkulimma hearken!<sup>9</sup>

Formerly, <sup>L8</sup>in [fo]rmer years, Alalu was king in heaven. Alalu <sup>L9</sup>is sitting on the throne, and the mighty Anu,<sup>10</sup> the first of the gods, is standing <sup>L10</sup>in front of him. He bows down to his feet and puts the cups for drinking <sup>L11</sup>into his hand.

<sup>L12</sup>Nine full years<sup>11</sup> Alalu was king in heaven. In the ninth year, <sup>L13</sup>Anu fought against Alalu: he overcame Alalu, <sup>L14</sup>(so that) he fled from him *and went*<sup>12</sup> down to the dark earth. <sup>L15</sup>He went down to the dark earth, (while Anu) sat on his throne. <sup>L16</sup>Anu is sitting on the throne, and the mighty Kumarbi is giving him to *drink*. <sup>L17</sup>He bows down to his feet and puts the cups for drinking into his hands.

<sup>L18</sup>Nine full years<sup>11</sup> Anu was king in heaven. In the *ninth* year, Anu <sup>L19</sup>fought against Kumarbi: Kumarbi, *in the place of* Alalu, <sup>L20</sup>fought against Anu. Anu could not withstand Kumarbi's eyes <sup>L21</sup>any more; he *escaped* from <sup>L22</sup>Kumarbi's hand and fled. Anu, *as a bird*, flew toward heaven. <sup>L23</sup>After him Kumarbi rushed and he took Anu by the feet <sup>L24</sup>and pulled him down from heaven.

<sup>L25</sup>He bit his "knees," (so that) his manhood was *absorbed* in Kumarbi's interior <sup>L26</sup>*like* . . . . .<sup>13</sup> When Kumarbi had swallowed Anu's manhood, <sup>L27</sup>he rejoiced and laughed. Anu turned back to him <sup>L28</sup>and to Kumarbi he spake: "Thou feelest joy <sup>L29</sup>about thine interior, because thou hast swallowed my manhood.

<sup>L30</sup>Do not feel joy about thine interior! Into thine interior I have laid <sup>L31</sup>a seed: first I have impregnated thee with the heavy Weather-God(?),<sup>14</sup> <sup>L32</sup>secondly I have impregnated thee with the river Aranzah<sup>15</sup> of . . . . . ; <sup>L33</sup>thirdly I have impregnated thee with the heavy god Tašmišu.<sup>16</sup> Three fearful <sup>L34</sup>gods I have laid as a seed into thine interior. In the end thou shalt have <sup>L35/6</sup>to strike the rocks of the . . . . . mountains with thy head!"

<sup>8</sup> In the translation, paragraphs correspond to the sections separated by horizontal strokes in the original. Square brackets indicate restorations of words lost in the original (restorations which are certain are not indicated); parentheses include words required by the English idiom. Words the reading or translation of which is uncertain are printed in italics; capitals are used for names and words written by an ideogram the Hittite reading of which is unknown.

<sup>9</sup> Most of the gods mentioned in this introduction are known as the "Former Gods," *i.e.* gods of the old ages. On this conception see below, p. 132.

<sup>10</sup> Anu, Akkadianized form of Sumerian An "Heaven"; cf. *Oῦρανός*. Alalu is mentioned in Sumerian lists of gods as one of the "fathers of Anu."

<sup>11</sup> Lit.: "nine counted years." Most probably not ordinary years but "ages."

<sup>12</sup> The traces of the mutilated verb look like *pa-it*. If this reading is correct, *na-an-kán* must be a mistake for *na-aš-kán*. If *nankan* is considered as correct, one needs a transitive verb and has to accept a double change of subject: "He (Alalu) fled . . . and he (Anu) *drove* him . . . He (Alalu) went . . ."

<sup>13</sup> For this translation cf. *Kum.*, p. 35.

<sup>14</sup> This reading, first proposed by Dr. Kemal Balkan (*Kum.*, p. 35), seems to me now almost certainly correct in view of the further contents of our texts. — The Hurrian name of the Weather-God is Tešub. Our texts, however, do not use the Hurrian name; they use the ideogram with Hittite phonetic complements, the complete Hittite reading of which is still unknown.

<sup>15</sup> *I.e.* Tigris.

<sup>16</sup> Tašmišu is a satellite of the Weather-God.

<sup>L37</sup>When Anu had finished his speech he w[ent] up to heaven. <sup>L38</sup>Thereupon he hid, out of his mouth he spat, [Kumarbi,] <sup>L39</sup>the wise king. Out of his mouth he spat . . . [ . . . . . ] <sup>L40</sup>mixed. What Kumarbi [had] s[pat], <sup>L41</sup> . . . . .

<sup>L42</sup>*The angry* [Kuma]rbi [into] Nippu[r<sup>L17</sup> . . . . . ] <sup>L43</sup>[ . . . ] went. . . . . [ . . . . . ] <sup>L44</sup>[ . . . . . ] sat. Kumarbi did not [ . . . . . ]. <sup>L45</sup>[ . . . . . ] he counts. Seven (? or: nine?) months pass[ed, . . . . ] (broken).

The second half of the first column is lost. Of the second column, parts of 87 lines exist, but its surface is so much obliterated that a translation is impossible. It seems to deal with the miraculous birth of the Weather-God. There is one passage which seems to be of special interest. In lines 42 f. one reads: "Give me [the child]d (??). [ . . . . . ] I shall eat"; in line 44 the verbal form "I (shall) eat" reappears, in connection with the name of the Weather-God, and in line 51 "Kumarbi begins to eat," whereas in the following lines "mouth" and "teeth" are mentioned. In the following paragraph a new cult seems to be introduced, and in this connection it is said that a diorite stone has been thrown (l. 60 f.). We shall return to these details; unfortunately the text is so fragmentary that it is not possible to make a more definite statement about its contents.

Of the third column of the text only the ends of about 50 lines exist, so that not a single sentence is complete. What can be made out of the contents of this column seems to point to a struggle between gods. Once we read (l. 19–22): "The Weather-God grew angry in his heart, [ . . . ] to the bull Šeri<sup>18</sup> he spake: '[ . . . ] come [aga]inst [me] for battle'." In a later section of the column, part of a speech is preserved in which someone mentions his being cursed.

Of the fourth column, only the beginnings of the last few lines are preserved; apparently, here, Earth gives birth to two children. One of them seems to be a girl, since a spindle is mentioned as a gift. This reminds us of the three children Anu has foretold to Kumarbi. Since the latter had spat out the seed he had first swallowed, it may be that Earth had become pregnant with it. The first child, then, ought to be the Weather-God whose birth was probably told in col. II (in another fragment<sup>19</sup> he calls Earth his mother). The remaining two children, then, would be the Tigris and Tašmišu, and the fact that rivers were represented as female in Hittite art<sup>20</sup> would suit our observation that one of the children is a girl.

Since the colophon of this tablet is broken, we do not know whether the text ended here or whether it continued on other tablets. Two fragments which show some resemblance to our first text might belong to the same composition.<sup>21</sup> One of them deals with the temporary appointment to kingship of a god whose name is written by the Sumerian ideogram LAMA.

The "song of Ullikummi," which is distinct from the "Theogony," as is evident from its title and separate numbering of tablets, evidently deals with events taking place after the story of that text. Here, the Weather-God is already king, but Kumarbi refuses to accept this change of power and therefore tries to defeat him with the help of a monster called Ullikummi. The text runs as follows:<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> The famous Babylonian city where Enlil, the supreme god of the Sumerians, had his shrine. On Enlil = Kumarbi, see p. 132.

<sup>18</sup> Šeri is known as one of the divine bulls attached to the Weather-God's chariot.

<sup>19</sup> *Kum.*, p. 10, Text 1 b, line 9.

<sup>20</sup> According to texts describing statues: *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (abbr. *KBo*), ii, 13 obv. 22 f.; Gütterbock, *Orientalia*, (n.s.) xv, pp. 491 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Texts 1 b and 1 c in *Kum.*

<sup>22</sup> For the arrangement of the fragments and references to the cuneiform editions see *Kum.*

## FIRST TABLET.

*Fragment a.* (L.1 destroyed) <sup>L2</sup>[In wh]ich mind there is wisdom, [ . . . . . ] <sup>L3</sup>uses to take [ . . . . . ]. I shall sing <sup>L4</sup>of Kumarbi, the father of all gods.

<sup>L5</sup>Kumarbi takes wisdom into his mind <sup>L6</sup>and brings up a "bad day" as "evil creature"; <sup>L7</sup>he plans evil against the Weather-God <sup>L8</sup>and brings up a rebel against the Weather-God.

<sup>L9</sup>Kumarbi [takes] wisdom into his mind <sup>L10</sup>and pins it on like a bead.

<sup>L11</sup>When Kumarbi had taken wisdom into his mind, <sup>L12</sup>he promptly rose from his seat. <sup>L13</sup>He took a stick into his hand, un[to his feet] <sup>L14</sup>he p[ut] the swift shoes [ . . . (?)]. <sup>L15</sup>He went out of (his) city Urkiš<sup>23</sup> <sup>L16</sup>and he came to . . . . (broken; lacuna of ca. 60 lines).

In *Fragment b* Impaluri, Kumarbi's messenger, is talking to the Sea.

*Fragment c* (perhaps in part parallel to *Fragment b*) contains the Sea's reply.

<sup>L4</sup>The Sea spake again to Impaluri: <sup>L5</sup>"O Impaluri! Hear these my words! <sup>L6</sup>Go and repeat them before Kumarbi!

<sup>L7</sup>Go and tell Kumarbi: 'Why <sup>L8</sup>hast thou come in angry mood against the (*my* ?) house, <sup>L9</sup>(so that) trembling seized the house, <sup>L10</sup>fear seized the servants? For thee, <sup>L11</sup>cedar wood hath already been broken, <sup>L12</sup>dishes have already been cooked for thee, <sup>L13</sup>and singers hold their <sup>L14</sup>instruments day and night <sup>L15</sup>ready for thee. Get up <sup>L16</sup>and come to my house!' <sup>24</sup>

<sup>L17</sup>And he rose, Kumarbi, <sup>L18</sup>and Impaluri went in front of him. (<sup>L19-20</sup>. . . . <sup>25</sup>) <sup>L21</sup>And he went to the house of the Sea.

<sup>L22</sup>The Sea spake: "Let them set up a stool <sup>L23</sup>for Kumarbi to sit down, <sup>L24</sup>let them put a table before him, <sup>L25</sup>let them bring him to eat, <sup>L26</sup>let them bring him beer to drink!" <sup>L27</sup>The cooks brought dishes, the cup-bearers brought him . . .-wine <sup>L28</sup>to drink. They drank once, they drank twice, <sup>L29</sup>they drank three times, they drank four times, they drank five times, <sup>L30</sup>they drank six times, they drank seven times. Kumarbi <sup>L31</sup>spake to Mukišanu, his vezir: <sup>L32</sup>"O Mukišanu, my vezir! To the word I speak to thee <sup>L33</sup>lend thine ear! Into thy hand take a stick, <sup>L34</sup>[unto thy feet] put the shoes, and to [ . . . . . go! ] <sup>L35</sup>[ . . . . . ] and into the waters [ . . . . . ] <sup>L36</sup>[And . . . these wor]lds before the waters [repeat! . . . ." (broken).

All these events: Kumarbi's leaving his own town, the visit paid to the Sea<sup>26</sup> and the order given to Mukišanu, seem to be the preliminaries for what follows: the birth of Ullikummi. *Fragment d* deals with this event, but the part telling the story of the birth itself is broken. Mention is made of stones and rock, a son of Kumarbi, midwives and the goddesses called GUL-šeš and MAḪ in Hittite, Ḫudenna and Ḫudellurra in Hurrian, who nurse the child. The child, then, is put on the knees of his father, who is to bestow the name on him. He orders him to destroy the city of Kummiya,<sup>27</sup> where the Weather-God lives, to fight the Weather-God and Tašmišu and to do some more work of destruction, and names him Ullikummi. After a lacuna this fragment continues:

<sup>L48</sup>Kumarbi spake these words to Impaluri: <sup>L49</sup>"O Impaluri! To the words I speak to thee <sup>L50</sup>lend thine ear! Into thy hand <sup>L51</sup>take a stick, unto thy feet put the swift shoes! <sup>L52</sup>[Hurry and] go to the Irširra-gods! <sup>L53</sup>[And . . . these] words speak before the Irširras: <sup>L54</sup>[Come!] Kumarbi, father of the

<sup>23</sup> Situated probably in the region east of the Tigris.

<sup>24</sup> The text omits the repetition of the message and goes on immediately with its result.

<sup>25</sup> Two lines, mutilated in one copy, omitted in another.

<sup>26</sup> There is another fragment dealing with a visit the Sea paid to Kumarbi (*Kum.*, Text 4 a); according to still another fragment (*Kum.*, Text 4 b) Kumarbi

seems to marry the daughter of the Sea, a girl called [P]irtapšuruḫi or [I]ntapšuruḫi (after Laroche's reading; cf. his forthcoming review of *Kum.*, in *Revue hittite et asianique*), and measuring one *bēru*, i.e. the measure of two hours' walk! Whether these fragments belong here we do not know (cf. *Kum.*, pp. 83 ff.).

<sup>27</sup> Somewhere in Upper Mesopotamia, exact location unknown.

gods, calleth ye! <sup>L55</sup>[ . . . ] about what matter he calleth ye, <sup>L56</sup>[ye know not]. Now come promptly! <sup>L57</sup>The Irširras will take the child and they <sup>L58</sup>[will carry it] to the dark earth. . . .” (broken).

In *Fragment e* which follows immediately Impaluri carries out this order and repeats Kumarbi's words verbally before the Irširras (ll. 1–13). It then goes on:

<sup>L14</sup>When the Irširras heard these words, <sup>L15</sup>[they . . . ] made haste <sup>L16</sup>[and hurr]ied. And they covered the distance <sup>L17</sup>in one [and] came to Kumarbi. <sup>L18/9</sup>Thereupon, Kumarbi spake to the Irširras:

<sup>L20</sup>“[Take this child] and [make] him <sup>L21</sup>into a present [and] carry him to the dark earth! <sup>L22</sup>Make haste and hurry! <sup>L23</sup>And put him unto Upelluri's<sup>28</sup> <sup>L24</sup>right shoulder as a . . . ! <sup>L25</sup>In one day he shall grow one yard, <sup>L26</sup>in a month he shall grow one IKU<sup>29</sup> . . . .” (Two obscure lines, then broken).

*Fragment f* (following immediately): <sup>L6</sup>When the Irširras heard these words, <sup>L7</sup>they took [the child] from Kumarbi's knees. The Irširras <sup>L8</sup>lifted him and pressed [him] against their breast <sup>L9</sup>like a garment. They lifted [him up] and [put] him <sup>L10</sup>on Enlil's<sup>30</sup> knees . . . [ . . . . En]lil lifted his eyes <sup>L11</sup>and s[aw] the child: [The child] was standing in front of the deity, <sup>L12</sup>and his body [ . . . . ] was made of diorite stone.

<sup>L13</sup>Enlil spake [to the Irširras]: <sup>L14</sup>“Who is this [child]? Did the GUL-šeš and <sup>L15</sup>MAḪ-goddesses bring [him] up? Who of the great gods shall [ever] see [him]? <sup>L16</sup> . . . . <sup>L17</sup> . . . . As Kumarbi brought up <sup>L18</sup>the Weather-God, [in the same way he now brought up] this Diorite <sup>L19</sup>as a rebel!”

<sup>L20</sup>When Enlil [had finished] these words, <sup>L21</sup>they put the child on Upelluri's right shoulder as a [ . . . . ]

<sup>L22</sup>The Diorite grows, and the mighty <sup>L23</sup>[gods] bring him up. In one day he grows one yard, <sup>L24</sup>in one month he grows one IKU. . . . .<sup>31</sup>

<sup>L22</sup>When fifteen days [had passed], the stone was grown up. He [stood] in the sea on his knees <sup>L23</sup>like a pillar; the stone stood out of the water, <sup>L24</sup>and his height was like [ . . . . ]. And the sea <sup>L25</sup>came up to the place of his belt like a garment. <sup>L26</sup>The stone was lifted like a . . . . , and above, in heaven, <sup>L27</sup>he reached the temples and the . . . -house.

<sup>L28</sup>The Sun-God looked [down] from heaven and saw Ullikummi. <sup>L29</sup>When the Sun-God saw Ullikummi,<sup>32</sup> the Sun-God <sup>L30</sup>[spake to himself]: “Who [is] this swift god there in the sea? <sup>L31</sup>His body doeth not resemble that of [the other] gods!”<sup>33</sup>

The mutilated end of this fragment seems to contain a description of the Sun-God's fear and anger. Thereafter, we find the Sun-God visiting the Weather-God.

*Fragment g*: The Weather-God and his servant Tašmišu are talking about this visit.

<sup>L12</sup>The Weather-God spake to Tašmišu: Let them set up [a chair for the Sun-God], <sup>L13</sup>let them prepare a table for him to eat!”

<sup>L14</sup>While they were speaking thus, the Sun-God [arrived]. <sup>L15</sup>To sit they set up a chair for him, but he did not [sit down]. <sup>L16</sup>They prepared a table, but he did not ho[ld out his hand].<sup>34</sup> *A cup* <sup>L17</sup>they gave him, but he did not put his lip<sup>34</sup> to it.

<sup>L18</sup>The Weather-God spake to the Sun-God: “Which major-domo hath <sup>L19</sup>set up [a bad chair] (so that) thou didst not sit down? Which steward hath served bad [dishes], <sup>L20</sup>(so that) thou didst not eat? Which cup-bearer hath served bad [drink], <sup>L21</sup>(so that) thou didst not drink?”

This is the end of the first tablet in one of the copies. We may assume that the Sun-

<sup>28</sup> A giant carrying heaven and earth, according to Second Tablet, Fragment g (p. 129).

<sup>29</sup> A measure of length.

<sup>30</sup> Enlil, the supreme god of the Sumerians. In our texts he is distinct from Kumarbi, although, according to another tradition, Kumarbi takes his place in the theological system. Cf. note 17 and below, p. 132.

<sup>31</sup> Two lines of obscure meaning. In the following

we have used the numbering of lines of another fragment.

<sup>32</sup> In the text, subject and object of this phrase seem to have been changed by mistake.

<sup>33</sup> For this translation see *Kum.*, p. 126.

<sup>34</sup> I am indebted to Prof. J. Friedrich for the suggestion of these translations; cf. now Friedrich, in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, i, pp. 286 ff., and 291.

God's indifference toward the pleasures of the table are due to the fearful experience he has just had, and that in the missing part of the text he probably tells his host what he saw.

SECOND AND THIRD TABLETS.

After a lacuna of approximately 40 lines there comes a fragment which, in one copy, belongs to the second tablet, whereas in another copy its first part forms the end of the first tablet. We call it *Fragment a* of the Second Tablet. It is in a bad state of preservation. From what can be made out, the Weather-God, together with his sister Ištar,<sup>35</sup> walks up to the peak of Mount Ḫazzi. This mountain which, in religious texts, occurs as one of the sacred mountains of the Weather-God, was called Mons Casius by the Greeks and Romans, Zaphon by the Semites; it is situated on the Syrian sea-shore south of the mouth of the Orontes river. From here, the Weather-God and his sister see the diorite monster Ullikummi standing in the sea. At this sight, "<sup>L16</sup>the Weather-God sat down on the earth, and tears flowed [out of his eyes] <sup>L17</sup>like streams." He utters his fear, and Ištar tries to console him.

The rest of the fragments of the Ullikummi epic cannot be arranged with certainty.<sup>36</sup> In a fragment which perhaps comes next and which, therefore, may be called *Fragment b*, we find the gods assembled near the sea, perhaps still at Mount Ḫazzi where the Weather-God and Ištar first saw the monster. The seventy gods descend towards the sea and try to fight the stone, but in vain. The stone monster reaches the gate of the Weather-God's residential town Kummiya.

<sup>L21</sup>When he stood at the city gate <sup>L22</sup>of Kummiya [ . . . ], the Diorite rose [*above*] Ḫebat<sup>37</sup> and the te[mple(s)], <sup>L23</sup>(so that) Ḫebat could not hear news of the gods any more <sup>L24</sup>and could not see the Weather-God and Šuwaliyatta<sup>38</sup> with her eyes any more.

<sup>L25</sup>Ḫebat spake the [words] to Takiti:<sup>39</sup> <sup>L26</sup>"I do not hear the heavy word [of the Weather-God], and I do not hear news of Suwaliyatta <sup>L27</sup>and all the gods! This Diorite whom <sup>L28</sup>they call U[llikummi], perhaps hath he overcome <sup>L29</sup>my husband, the heavy [ . . . ] Weather-God!"

<sup>L30</sup>Ḫebat spake to Takiti : "Hear <sup>L31</sup>my words! Into thy hand take a stick, unto thy feet [put] the sw[ift] shoes! <sup>L32</sup>The gods [ . . . . . ] go! Perhaps <sup>L33</sup>the Diorite hath killed [my husband, the Weather-God, the hea]vy king. [Bring] me w[ord]!"

The next lines describe Takiti's departure. In the following lacuna of *a.* 20 lines, the story of how this attempt failed was probably told.

*Fragment c* (the first part of col. II of the same tablet) runs as follows:

<sup>L1</sup>When Tašmišu heard the Weather-God's words, <sup>L2</sup>he promptly rose. Into his hand he took a stick, <sup>L3</sup>unto his feet he put the swift shoes. <sup>L4</sup>And he went up to a high tower, <sup>L5</sup>opposite Ḫebat<sup>40</sup> he took (a stand, saying): "*My [lord will stay] at a low-place <sup>L6</sup>until he hath fulfilled the years that are decreed for him!*" <sup>L7</sup>When Ḫebat saw Tašmišu <sup>L8</sup>she almost fell down from the roof: had she <sup>L9</sup>taken a step, she would have fallen down from the roof, but the palace-women <sup>L10</sup>held her and did not let her (fall). When Tašmišu had <sup>L11</sup>finished his words, he went down from the tower <sup>L12</sup>and went near the Weather-God. Tašmišu spake again to the Weather-God: <sup>L13</sup>"Where shall we sit? (Shall we sit) on Mount Kandurna? <sup>L14</sup>[If] we sit on Mount Kandurna, <sup>L15</sup>[*another*] will sit on Mount Lalapaduwa!<sup>41</sup> <sup>L16</sup>Where shall we carry [ . . . ]? There will be no king in heaven!"

<sup>35</sup> Her name is written with the ideogram read *Ištar* in Akkadian, *Šaušga* in Hurrian. The phonetic complements in our text point to her Hittite name the complete reading of which is unknown.

<sup>36</sup> We follow here the order of fragments proposed in *Kum.*, p. 52, where a comparative table of these fragments and of their former arrangement, followed in the German translation, can be found.

<sup>37</sup> Tešub's wife, queen of gods in the Hurrian pantheon.

<sup>38</sup> Tešub's vezir, corresponding to the Babylonian god Ninurta.

<sup>39</sup> A goddess who belongs to Ḫebat's court.

<sup>40</sup> Who is on the roof of her palace, see below.

<sup>41</sup> The location of these two mountains is unknown.

<sup>L17</sup>Tašmišu spake again to the Weather-God: "O Weather-God, my lord! [Hear] <sup>L18</sup>my words! To the words I speak to thee <sup>L19</sup>lend [thine ear]! Come, let us go to the city of Abzuwa before Ea<sup>42</sup>! . . . ."

Tašmišu urges his master to ask Ea's help. The Weather-God agrees and they carry out this plan. At the point where they arrive at Ea's abode the text is broken. Between the last existing line of col. II and the first line preserved in col. III of this tablet, more than 80 lines are lost. Into this lacuna may belong some fragments which describe an assembly of the gods.

In *Fragment d* Ea blames Kumarbi for his evil conduct. If he is going to annihilate mankind, there will remain nobody to feed the gods with offerings. Ea says:

<sup>L6</sup>"Shall it happen that the Weather-God, the hero king of Kummiya, will have to take <sup>L7</sup>the knife himself? Or shall it happen that Ištar and Hebat <sup>L8</sup>will have to turn the handmill themselves?<sup>43</sup> . . . ."

*Fragment e* seems to contain Kumarbi's reply.

*Fragment f*, the reverse of our *Fragment a*, is not clear.

In *Fragment g* (the third column of the same big tablet the obverse of which we have rendered above as *Fragments b* and *c*) the leaving of the assembly is mentioned in line 5. Later on, we find Ea speaking first to Enlil, then visiting Upelluri and addressing him in the following way:

<sup>L30</sup>Ea spake [again] to Upelluri: "Knowest thou not, <sup>L31</sup>O Upelluri? Hath no one brought thee word? <sup>L32</sup>Doest thou not know the swift god whom Kumarbi hath fashioned <sup>L33</sup>against the gods? And that Kumarbi . . . is planning <sup>L34</sup>death for the Weather-God and fashioning <sup>L35a</sup>rebel against him? The Diorite who grew <sup>L36</sup>in the water, doest thou not know him? Like a . . . <sup>L37</sup>he is lifted, and heaven, the holy temples <sup>L38</sup>and Hebat he covered! (Is it) because thou, Upelluri, art remote from the dark earth, <sup>L39</sup>(that) thou doest not know this swift god?"

<sup>L40</sup>Upelluri spake again to Ea: "When heaven <sup>L41</sup>and earth were built on me I knew nothing! <sup>L42</sup>And when it happened that heaven and earth were cut asunder with a *knife*, <sup>L43</sup>this too I knew not! Now, something is hurting <sup>L44</sup>my right shoulder, but I do not know who that god is!"

<sup>L45</sup>When Ea heard these words, he turned Upelluri's <sup>L46</sup>right shoulder around: there, the Diorite stood on Upelluri's <sup>L47</sup>right shoulder like a *pillar*!

<sup>L48</sup>Ea spake again to the Former Gods: "Hear <sup>L49</sup>my words, O Former Gods who know the old words! <sup>L50</sup>Open them again, the ancient seal-houses <sup>L51</sup>(that date from) *father's and grandfather's (time)*! And let them bring the old fathers' seal <sup>L52</sup>and let them seal them (the seal-houses) again with it! Let them take out <sup>L53</sup>the old *knife* with which heaven and earth have been cut asunder! <sup>L54</sup>[*Let them cut*] the diorite Ullikummi off underneath his feet, <sup>L55</sup>whom Kumarbi [fashioned] as a rebel against the gods!"

By cutting off Ullikummi who, as we have seen, had grown on the giant Upelluri's shoulder, Ea, apparently, breaks his power. In a fragment which, if our arrangement is right, may fit into the following gap, the gods are still afraid of the stone monster. They say (*Fragment h*):

<sup>L4</sup>"Our knees <sup>L5</sup>[ . . . ] tremble, our head turns <sup>L6</sup>like a potter's wheel, and like the kid's <sup>L7</sup>*menu-disease* . . . ."

But this fear, now, is groundless. So Ea, in *Fragment i* (col. IV of the big tablet containing

<sup>42</sup> Ea, the Babylonian god of wisdom and witchcraft, rules over and dwells in the underground fresh-water ocean, called *apsû* in Akkadian. Our text has taken this word as the name of a town, Abzuw.

<sup>43</sup> As today in oriental countries, slaughtering of animals is done by men, grinding of cereals by women only.

Fragments b, c, and g), sends a message to the gods through Tašmišu, first, it seems, scolding them for their groundless fear, then reassuring them:

<sup>L13</sup>[Ea] spake again [to Tašmišu]: "First I slew him, <sup>L14</sup>the [fearful] Diorite. Go and fight him again! <sup>L15</sup>Let [him] stand up no longer like a pillar!" Tašmišu <sup>L16</sup>[ . . . ] rejoiced, he *clapped his hands*<sup>44</sup> three times, (so that) <sup>L17</sup>[the gods] above heard it. He *clapped his hands* twice, (so that) the Weather-God, the hero <sup>L18</sup>king of Kummiya, heard it. And they came to the place of assembly, <sup>L19-20</sup>and all of the gods bellowed like bulls at the diorite Ullikummi.

<sup>L21</sup>The Weather-God jumped on to his *wagon* like a . . . , and in a thunder <sup>L22</sup>he went down toward the sea. And he fought him, the Weather-God (fought) the Diorite.

<sup>L23</sup>The Diorite spake [again] to the [Weather-God]: " . . . ."

The speech of Ullikummi is badly preserved, and the rest of the text is missing. We may assume, however, that it contained the description of the final battle in which the gods overcame Ullikummi and the Weather-God reestablished his kingship. A small fragment dealing with a battle may or may not belong here.<sup>45</sup> In any case, the end of the text must, in at least some of the copies, have been written on a third tablet.<sup>46</sup>

The two main compositions outlined above lend themselves easily to comparison with Greek mythology. It is clear that, in the first text, Anu ("Heaven") corresponds to Ouranos; Kumarbi, "father of the gods," to Kronos, and the Weather-God Tešub, king of the Hurrian pantheon, to Zeus. One difference between the two traditions lies in the fact that our text knows of one more generation before Anu = Ouranos: before him, Alalu was already king in heaven. The details, too, are very similar: Kumarbi emasculates his father Anu<sup>47</sup> as Kronos does his father Ouranos; from this act several deities come into existence in both mythologies: Tešub, the river Tigris, and the god Tašmišu in our text, the Erinyes, the Giants, the Melic Nymphs and Aphrodite according to Hesiod. It is foretold to Kronos that his son will dethrone him, and therefore he devours his children, only Zeus being spared by a fraud of his mother. She deceives Kronos with a stone which is afterwards worshipped in Pytho. In our text Anu warns Kumarbi against the Weather-God whom he has just begotten, and we seem to have traces of Kumarbi's eating a child and of the mention of a stone in connection with the introduction of a new cult. Even if one disregards these last details as being too uncertain — the second column of our "Theogony" being really in a hopeless state which does not allow any definite statement — there remain enough parallels. Not only the main idea of several generations of gods ruling one after another is common to both mythologies, but even some details which cannot be accidental are the same: the grandfather of the actual supreme god is called "Heaven" (Ouranos and Anu respectively) and is defeated through emasculation by his successor in Hesiod's Theogony as well as in our text.

For the "Song of Ullikummi," too, a Greek parallel can be found. When this story of battles between gods first became clear from the fragments, I thought of the Titanomachia. In fact, there is one detail that might be compared: just as Zeus cannot overcome the

<sup>44</sup> Or: "uttered a cry of joy."

<sup>45</sup> *Kum.*, p. 23, III. Tafel, a; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 49 and 53.

<sup>46</sup> The Hittites did not use a fixed division of tablets as the scribes of Assurbanipal did; we have seen that the second tablet began at different points in two of our copies. Therefore and because of the fragmentary state of our text we cannot say where the second tablet ended in the individual copies.

<sup>47</sup> Our text, it is true, does not call these gods father and son; but Alalu is called father of Anu in a Babylonian list (see note 10), Kumarbi calls himself "son of A[nu]" in one of our texts (*Kum.*, p. 22, Fragment d, 11, and p. 75), and the fact that the Weather-God is Kumarbi's son becomes clear from our texts; cf. especially Ullikummi, First tablet, Fragment f, lines 17 f., p. 127.

Titans before he goes down to Tartaros and asks for the help of the Hekatoncheiroi, so Tešub in our text is powerless until he secures the help of Ea who dwells in the subterranean ocean. But the situation as a whole is quite different. Zeus, by conquering the Titans, becomes king of the universe; in the Ullikummi text, on the other hand, Tešub is already king, and Kumarbi, the dethroned old ruler, tries to overcome him with the help of the monster Ullikummi. This situation corresponds to that of the Typhoeus episode in Hesiod's Theogony. Typhoeus appears as a new enemy, after Zeus' victory over the Titans, and tries to rob Zeus of his kingship. It is true that in Hesiod's epic there are some details which do not fit our story: Typhoeus is not the son of Kronos but of Gaia, and he is not a stone giant but a kind of a dragon with a hundred snakes' heads. But some Greek writers of later periods have preserved some details which come, indeed, very close to our text.<sup>48</sup> In the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodoros (I, 39 ff.), Typhon is so high that he reaches the sky. The great struggle, in this text, is still located at the *Kάσιον ὄρος* as in the Hittite version, and for the continuation of Apollodoros' story, the loss and recovery of the sinews of Zeus, W. Porzig has already found another Hittite parallel.<sup>49</sup> The text adduced by Porzig is the second version of the Illuyanka myth,<sup>50</sup> where Illuyanka, whose name is written with the determinative for "snake," in a first struggle overcomes the Weather-God and steals his heart and eyes; they are recovered by a son of the Weather-God who marries Illuyanka's daughter and, in entering the house of his father-in-law, has the right to ask for presents. Having thus regained his old power the Weather-God finally slays Illuyanka but has to kill his own son too, because he now belongs to his wife's family. In this text the fight takes place by the sea, a location which is not motivated by the context but makes good sense in connection (see pl. III) with the later tradition locating Typhon in the Corycian cave and with the Ullikummi myth. One ought not to be troubled by the connection of the Typhon tale with two different Hittite sources. If Typhon bears some traits of Illuyanka, he may very well have others from Ullikummi. And his description by the classical authors as a dragon on one side, as a sky-reaching being on the other, seems to reflect the same two sources. Even the detail that Ullikummi is Kumarbi's son, which is not found in Hesiod's and Apollodoros' versions of the myth, was not completely unknown in Greek tradition: a scholion to the *Iliad* (B 783) lets him grow in Cilicia from an egg impregnated by Kronos.

What matters for our comparison of the "Song of Ullikummi" with the myth of Typhon is its general position in the story and the location of the battle near Mount Ḫazzi/Casius. From the localization of Typhon in Cilicia some scholars have already concluded that this myth is of oriental origin. Our Ullikummi text which furnishes a good parallel to the Greek tradition now proves the validity of this view.

If the Ullikummi story corresponds to the Typhon episode, one has to look for another parallel to the Titanomachia. I think the place where one has to look for it is the third column of our first text where the remains of the broken context seem to indicate that the Weather-God has to fight some enemies. For the Titans as a group of gods belonging to the generation of Kronos and confined to the Tartaros after their defeat, one might adduce

<sup>48</sup> Not being a specialist in classics, I had to rely on general works for the following passage. Cf., e.g., the articles "Typhoeus, Typhon" and "Theogonien" in *Roschers ausführl. Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie* (by J. Schmidt and K. Ziegler respectively), where references to the sources and to previous literature can be found.

<sup>49</sup> Walter Porzig, *Illujankas und Typhon*, in *Klein-*

*asiatische Forschungen*, i (1930), pp. 379–386.

<sup>50</sup> Last German translation by A. Götze in his *Kleinasiens (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients*, 1933), pp. 131 f. The fact that this myth has come down to us in two versions of which ours is the later was first recognized by the same author, *loc.cit.*, p. 131, note 1.

the "Former Gods" who, according to their name, are the gods of past ages and, in the Ullikummi text, dwell in a remote place where Ea addresses them.<sup>51</sup>

Having thus traced back the Theogony, the Titanomachia and the myth of Typhon through our Hittite versions of Hurrian texts to the Hurrians, we have to discuss two questions: that of the origin of these ideas and that of the way by which they were handed down to the Greeks.

With regard to the first question it is obvious that our texts contain Babylonian elements. The names Alalu, Anu, Enlil and Ea are Babylonian.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, Ea, in the Ullikummi myth, plays exactly the same role as in Babylonian mythology. For the conception of several generations of gods and of the younger generation fighting the older, some evidence can be found scattered in various Babylonian sources.<sup>53</sup> It is curious, however, that no literary composition corresponding to our myths has so far been found in Babylonian literature, not even in the Sumerian mythological text made available in the last years through the publications of S. N. Kramer. Whether such compositions are lost by accident or whether they never existed or lived in oral tradition only, we cannot tell. At present we can only say that the Hurrian originals of the texts, known to us through their Hittite version, represent the first literary composition of myths some motives of which are already found in Babylonia.

In the Babylonian theological system the god who was king of the gods in the old age is Enlil. In the notes on the translation we have already said that Kumarbi can be equated with Enlil. A bilingual religious text from Boğazköy actually gives "Kumarbi" as Hittite "translation" of "Enlil" used in the Akkadian part.<sup>54</sup> And with the role Kumarbi plays in the Ullikummi text one may compare Enlil's role in the Babylonian Deluge story where it is he who annihilates mankind. When Kumarbi, in our first text, enters Nippur, the cult-place of Enlil, the conception of his identity with Enlil is reflected therein. On the other hand, the same text mentions Enlil among the gods who are invited to listen to the story, and in the Ullikummi text the child is carried from Kumarbi to Enlil who, accordingly, is considered as a different person. One ought not to attribute too much importance to such inconsistencies and to demand too much logic from mythology. Evidently the identification of Kumarbi with Enlil was made by some of the Hurrian or Hittite theologians but was not known (not yet known? or forgotten?) by the authors of our texts.

The age when Enlil ruled the world is actually known in history. In the Sumerian period of the third millennium Enlil was the supreme god. Only after the rise of the Semitic First Dynasty of Babylon at the beginning of the second millennium was his place taken by Marduk, the local god of Babylon, to whom, as the texts say, Enlilship was transferred. The idea that one generation of gods is replaced by another, therefore, seems to reflect a historical event in this one case. Kumarbi has practically no cult in Hittite times,<sup>55</sup> just as Enlil was not worshipped outside Nippur after the end of the Sumerian period, and the same

<sup>51</sup> Second tablet, Fragment g. Cf. O. R. Gurney, *LAAS*, xxvii (1940), pp. 81 f., for further details concerning the "Former Gods."

<sup>52</sup> One has to distinguish between Sumerian and Akkadian names used as ideograms for Hurrian or Hittite gods, as <sup>D</sup>U for *Tešub*, <sup>DIŠ</sup>TAR for *Šaušga*, <sup>D</sup>UTU for *Šimegi* etc., and real Babylonian names. The fact that the names mentioned above are spelled out and inflected in Hittite: *A-la-lu-uš*, *A-nu-uš*, *El-li-il-lu-uš*, *A-a-aš*, shows that they are of the second type.

<sup>53</sup> Discussed by Speiser in his article quoted in note 3, where more details and references to the sources may be found. Cf. *Kum.*, pp. 105 ff.

<sup>54</sup> *KUB*, IV, 1, iv, 22/24; cf. A. Ungnad, *Subartu* (Berlin, 1933), p. 64, n. 1.

<sup>55</sup> Among the Hurrian personal names of the Nuzi documents there are none formed with Kumarbi. Cf. Gelb-Purves-McRae, *Nuzi Personal Names*, OIP, lviii (1943).

seems to be true for Kronos.<sup>56</sup> The possibility of tracing the figures of Kronos and Kumarbi back to Enlil, whose loss of worship was the result of a historical event, now helps us to understand the character of these two gods better.

How did these myths reach the Greeks? Forrer,<sup>57</sup> after having rejected the idea that they were taken over by the Mycenaean contemporaries to the Hittites, thinks of western Anatolia where the Greeks might have heard of them in the time of Homer and Hesiod. This assumption does not seem likely to me, for literary tradition was interrupted at the downfall of the Hittite Empire about 1200 B.C., and the texts under discussion are so elaborate and seem to be so much the product of learned theologians rather than popular tales, that one can hardly assume their being handed down for centuries in oral tradition. Another explanation, which was first proposed by B. Landsberger, seems more likely to me: that these myths reached the Greeks by way of Phoenicia. Not only did the Greeks themselves consider the Phoenicians as their masters, but through the discovery of the epic texts of Ras Shamra (ancient Ugarit) we know that a literature of this kind was flourishing in Phoenicia in the time of the Hittite Empire. The statement of Philo Byblius that he got his information on Phoenician mythology from the works of a man called Sanchuniaton who lived "in the time of the War of Troy" has gained much probability through the discovery of the Ras Shamra texts. Since the same texts show clearly that there was a strong Hurrian element in the population of northern Syria in those times, it is easy to understand how Hurrian myths reached Phoenicia.

Philo knows of the same subsequent generations of gods as our texts. The first generation is represented by Eliun or Hypsistos ("The Highest"); next comes Ouranos whose Semitic name is not given by Philo;<sup>58</sup> the third is El or Kronos. In a Hurrian text from Ras Shamra there occurs the double name El-Kumarbi which confirms our identification of Kumarbi with Kronos, since El is equated here to Kumarbi as he is equated to Kronos by Philo. In the Semitic poems of Ras Shamra, El is the old ruler, while Baal is allowed to build a palace of his own and therefore may be considered as El's successor. Baal, then, would correspond to Tešub and Zeus.<sup>59</sup> Before the discovery of the Ras Shamra and Boğazköy texts, scholars used to distrust Philo who, according to them, had taken his story from Hesiod. That this is a wrong accusation now becomes clear from our texts. Especially the fact that Philo still has a generation anteceding Ouranos, which was omitted in Greek mythology, is a strong argument for the assumption that he got his material not from Hesiod but from an old source. The question whether the Greeks got their mythology from Phoenicia or not can now be answered in the affirmative. But the Phoenicians were not the inventors of these myths; they were merely the intermediaries between the Hurrians and the Greeks.

A word must be said about the form of our Hittite texts. Their most striking feature is the fact that they are composed in prose. Sumerian, Akkadian and Ugaritic epics are written

<sup>56</sup> As far as I can see from literature. Cf. the article "Kronos" in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, XI, 2 (1922), cols. 1982 ff. (by Pohlenz).

<sup>57</sup> In his article quoted in note 1, pp. 711 f.

<sup>58</sup> Philo knows of two gods whose Semitic names contain the word for "heaven": Beelsamen "Lord of Heaven" and Samemroumos "Highest Heaven," rendered as Hypsouranios by Philo. But these gods are treated in another passage of Philo's work and are not the same as his Ouranos.

<sup>59</sup> After completion of this paper I received, through the kindness of the author, Albright's book, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (second edition, Baltimore, 1946). In chapter III one finds a detailed description of Phoenician mythology and of the contents of the Ras Shamra epics. For comparison with the Kumarbi myths note especially Albright's remarks on El and Ouranos (pp. 72 f.) and on Baal = Hadad (pp. 73 f.). The main idea of a feud between the old and the new generation of gods becomes quite clear now from Albright's synopsis of the Baal Epic.

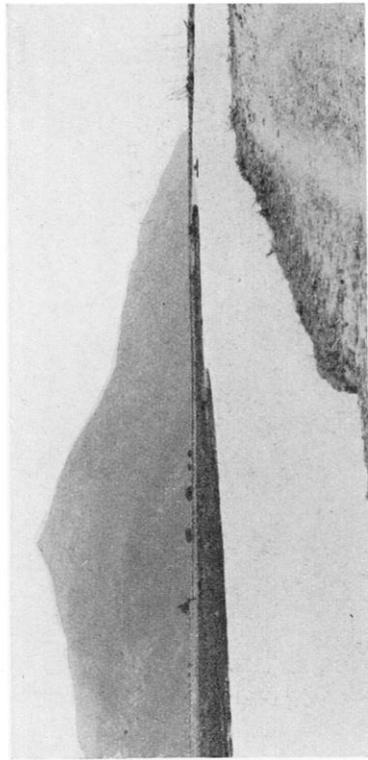
in verse, and our texts are called "songs" with a term written by the Sumerian ideogram. But it is impossible to read our Hittite texts in a manner that would sound like rhythm or verse. From their contents one would call them epics, and their style, too, shows characteristics typical of the epic style. They begin with a prooemium; they use stereotyped phrases for certain repeated actions or situations, such as "A spake again to B," "To the words I speak to thee lend thine ear," the taking of a stick, the putting on of the swift shoes, etc.; they use "epitheta ornantia" as "swift shoes," "dark earth," etc. The verbal repetition of whole passages, where an order of message is carried out, the motives of the assembly of gods, of speeches held in battle, and others belong to the same epic style. Parallels from Sumerian, Akkadian, Ugaritic and Greek epics can be readily adduced for all these details.

With these new texts I hope to have made a little contribution to the knowledge of Hittite literature as well as to the history of the Greek epic. The relations of the latter with the oriental world can now, I think, be regarded as well established.

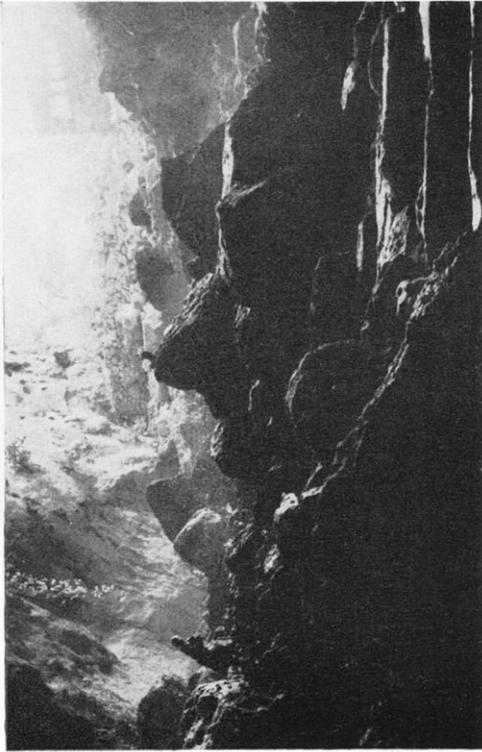
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PLATE III



A.



C.



B.



D.

THE CORYCIAN CAVE. A: MOUNT CASIUS, SEEN FROM THE SITE OF EL-MINA; B: GENERAL VIEW OF THE DEPRESSION; C: THE MOUTH OF THE GROTTO WITH THE BYZANTINE CHURCH, SEEN FROM WITHIN; D: THE MOUTH OF THE GROTTO, SEEN FROM WITHOUT. [Güterbock]