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CHAPTER 19

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From Zalpuwa to Brauron: Hittite-Greek Religious Convergence on the Black Sea

Abstract: This article looks at the general question of comparative religion: Are similarities between cultures to be explained as diffusion or parallel development? And if the latter, what can similarities tell us? I explore this issue through specific case of Mycenaean Greece and Hittite Anatolia. I take as my starting point the premise that contact between these cultures is likely to have happened in coastal regions, since the Mycenaeans were a sea power. I suggest that one area that has been neglected in previous research is the Black Sea coast north of the Hittite capital, known to the Hittites as Zalpuwa. Zalpuwa played an important role on Hittite traditions, and some evidence survives for its religious identity. I focus on a ritual complex that seems to have included the recruitment of girls from the region to serve as priestesses in the cult of a local sea goddess, Amamma. I compare the behavior of the girls who are recruited from the region to serve as priestesses to well-known patterns in Greek religion where girls serve in temples for a period, as at Brauron on the Aegean coast near Athens. It is not impossible that the Mycenaeans borrowed this, though arguing against this is lack of evidence for Mycenaean presence in the Black Sea. Even if there was no borrowing, it may still be possible to use this parallel comparatively. For example, girls' temple-service in Greece has often been explained as a sort of adolescent rite of passage. Should we perhaps interpret the case from Zalpuwa in the same way?

Ancient Religion as a System

In the last few decades, a major trend in the study of ancient Greek religion has been to study it in the context of the religion of parts of the eastern Mediterranean and Western Asia.[1] This makes sense for two reasons: first, because the economic and environmental contexts in which these cultures had developed over many millennia were probably broadly similar, and, secondly, they had probably been in some degree of contact over the same period. Thus, we can legitimately think of the whole region in terms of a single religious system with a large number of local manifestations.

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1. Thanks to all participants in the conference, especially Carlo Corti.

The main aim of this sort of work has usually been to find origins, a pursuit that goes back as far as Herodotus's claims about the Egyptian origin of most of the Greek gods and other aspects of Greek religion. Herodotus was mostly wrong about that, but he was right that religious ideas and practices tend to migrate: the spread of Mesopotamia divinities to Syria and then to Hittite Anatolia in the third and second millennia BCE is a clear example, and at least some Mesopotamian influence on early Israelite religion has been argued for since the early days of Assyriology (see, e.g., Malul 1990). Considerable effort has recently gone into investigating the possibility that Greek religion was influenced by Anatolia or the Near East in the early first millennium BCE or late second millennium BCE; some influence is demonstrable, for example, in the Hesiodic and the Hurro-Hittite divine succession myths and the divine personality of the Greek goddess Aphrodite, which clearly owes something to Ishtar. There may have been much more east–west diffusion over many millennia, but it is hard to detect.

There is also a second, broader approach: comparison, the mapping of similarities and differences of various aspects of religious practice. Comparative religion got a bad name in the mid-twentieth century because it was abused by scholars who imposed a crude interpretative framework, with the agenda either of arguing for a single model of religious origins or of demonstrating fundamental differences between different cultures. An example of the former is James Frazer's "Dying and Rising Gods" framework; an example of the latter is Lewis Farnell, who tried to argue that compared to the religions of the ancient Near East, ancient Greek religion was "rational" or "political" (Farnell 1911, 305).

Not all comparison is bad, however. In fact, it can be an important tool in helping to reveal what, if anything, is distinctive about any one religious system, judged against regional norms. Conversely, it can also allow us to identify patterns of similarity common to a whole region or to several. In doing this sort of work, we cannot avoid working with interpretative models, but we must avoid distorting the evidence to fit them, and we also need to ensure consistency in the application of interpretative models across cultures. An example of that might be the theoretical model of "*polis* religion" popular with students of Greek religion, according to which a key determining factor in the structure of Greek religion is the city-state or *polis* (see Sourvinou-Inwood 1990). There has in the past been a tendency to think of the religious role of the city-state, like the city-state itself, as a particularly Greek development (see, e.g., Farnell's position), but more recent work on Syria and Mesopotamia suggests that the situation was not dissimilar there.[2]

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2. See, e.g., Fleming 1996, 98 n. 54; Barjamovic 2004, 72–73. I discuss this further in Rutherford forthcoming a. For a critique of hellenocentric view of *polis* religion, see also Vlassopoulos 2007.

The issue then arises, how to explain similarities, and that takes us back to origins: Do they reflect universal patterns of human nature and culture? Or are they the result of the affect of similar environment and social conditions over centuries (roughly "convergent evolution" in the sense that term is used by biologists; McGhee 2011), or, thirdly, is similarity sometimes the result of diffusion, perhaps over several millennia, from one area to another, or across multiple areas, resulting in a degree of regional convergence (compare the use of the term "convergence" in linguistics)?[3]

Maritime Contact Zones

In order to make a case for one religious system influencing another, we need to understand the processes by which interaction (influence, diffusion, convergence) between early societies may have taken place. The possibilities are numerous. We may think of the mass movement of populations, perhaps as the result of military conquest carrying religious practices with them; of the role of specialist "long-distance experts," such as merchants, who create "weak ties" between communities; of the result of diplomacy and political relations between state; or of closer interaction between different groups who exist in close proximity to each other, perhaps in areas of interaction we can term "contact zones."

I assume from the outset that in the case of ancient Greece, the important contact zones are likely to have been in areas adjoining the sea, since Greeks were probably to some extent involved in sea travel both in the early first millennium BCE and the Late Bronze Age. While for the early first millennium BCE this claim would be uncontroversial, for the Late Bronze Age it may need defending. These days scholars tend to dismiss the idea of a Mycenaean thalassocracy dominating the sea routes and trade in the eastern Mediterranean (Knapp 1993). Nevertheless, there survives one piece of evidence that is embarrassing for the hypothesis that Mycenaean sea power was insignificant, namely, the Hittite treaty with Shausgamuwa of Amurru (late thirteenth BCE), which orders that ships of Ahhiyawa be prevented from having access to Assyria.[4]

That religious interaction between Greece and other cultures in the Early Iron Age came about in maritime regions is well established: for example, the context for the transmission of themes in the Hurro-Hittite Kingship in Heaven Cycle from Syria to the Greek world is likely to have been the maritime networks of the Levant (including Tell Tayinat), Cilicia, and Cyprus (Strauss Clay and Gilan 2014), while the figure of Aphrodite, whose birth and first

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3. Crowley and Bowern 2010, 269–72. A useful overview of theories about cultural development over the longue durée is Trigger 2003.

4. Devecchi 2010; contrast the doubts of Knapp 1993, 334. For background, see Wachsmann 1998, 129.

appearance at Cyprus figure in Hesiod's *Theogony*, may reflect the influence of a process of convergent syncretism between Greeks and Phoenicians on the island (see Metcalf 2015, 171–90). These episodes of contact are usually supposed to have happened in the eighth century BCE, but they could be much earlier: Cyprus and even Crete were probably closely involved in Levantine and Syrian trade networks already in the Late Bronze Age and possibly as early as the Middle Bronze Age.[5] Relevant here is Marian Feldman's observation that the distribution of material culture exhibiting the "international koine" style "primarily follows the coast of the Eastern Mediterranean" (Feldman 2006, 144).

Something similar may well have happened in western Anatolia, where the main political entity in the Late Bronze Age was Arzawa, along with (at least until the start of the fourteenth century BCE) Assuwa in the northwest. The most striking sign of interaction along this vector is that gods of Ahhiyawa (Mycenaean Greece) and Lazpa/Lesbos were present in some form at the Hittite court in the early thirteenth century BCE.[6] The Hittites are known sometimes to have penetrated the West, and the local culture there is likely to have undergone some degree of Hittitization.[7] The deity Apaliuna, one of the divine witnesses in the early thirteenth century treaty between the Hittites and Alaksandu of Wilusa (i.e., Troy, probably earlier part of Assuwa) seems to be the Greek Apollo, and the likeliest explanation for his presence is that the deity was borrowed from West to East (see Brown 2004).

The North Coast of Anatolia

Another area where Hittite-Greek contact might in principle have happened is the north coast of Anatolia, the closest coast to the Hittite capital. The central-north area of Anatolia in the Hittite period has become much better understood in recent years thanks to the identification of the important cult center of Nerik with Oymaağaç-Höyük, itself perhaps 40 miles from the sea (Corti 2017 is the best recent guide).

The possibility of contact with Greece in this period has usually been discounted for two good reasons: first, because of lack of evidence for Greek activity here, but also because the north is known to have been under the occupation of the Kaska tribes (for the term "tribe" see Gerçek 2017) for much of the period of Hittite history known to us, that is, from the late fifteenth

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5. On Aegean contacts at Mari in the early second millennium BCE, see Alberti 2012.

6. The evidence is the oracle text KUB 5.6 ii 57–64, on which see Mason 2010.

7. One of the so-called Ahhiyawa-texts (AhT 7) may attest the presence of "purple dyers" belonging to the Hittite king on the island of Lesbos; see Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2012, 141; Singer 2010 for the dyers; on the role of Lesbos see Rutherford forthcoming b. On links between Lazpa and Hattusa, Archi 2014. The significance of Hittite statues found in the west is discussed by Genz (2017).

century until the early thirteenth, when Hattusili III recaptured Nerik. Thus, it seems to have been under full Hittite control only in the sixteenth century BCE and the thirteenth century BCE.

It was the northern coast, however, that mainly interested the Hittites. We see this from two early narratives that mention Zalpuwa (or "Zalpa"), now widely believed to have been a territory situated on or near the Black Sea, possibly at the mouth of the Marassantiya (modern Kizilirmak) River near Samsun.[8]

The early Hittite text known as The Queen of Kanesh contains a quasi-historical narrative culminating in the destruction of Zalpa/Zalpuwa by the Hittites; this is preceded by a myth concerning the eponymous queen of Kanesh (home of the Hittites in the eighteenth century BCE) who gave birth to fifty sons and fifty daughters; they were cast adrift in the river in boats and carried down to the sea, ending up in Zalpa, but when they grew up they returned to Kanesh where they encountered their sisters.[9]

Another early Hittite narrative, the Anitta Proclamation, relates how Anitta of Kussara, having taken over Kanesh, conquered Zalpa on the sea (possibly making it the northern boundary of his kingdom), and restored to Kanesh the statue of a deity, "our god" which had at some point in the past been carried off by Uhna king of Zalpuwa.[10]

Rituals performed in the region of Zalpuwa are preserved in the Hittite archives. Participants included a royal prince along with cultic officials called "pure daughters" and "pure sons of his majesty." Another text relating to the same region (KUB 59.17) seems to narrate a myth in which three female figures called "daughters," also referred to as three "Amamma" goddesses, "first," "middle" and presumably "last," emerge from the sea and are entertained in a temple, probably of their mother, also called Amamma.[11] Amamma, presumably a mother goddess of some sort, was especially associated with towns to the north of the capital (Hanhana and Tahurpa), and was important enough that her name sometimes appears in state treaties (Haas 1994, 432–33; Popko 2004, 249 rejects the link to Hanhana and Tahurpa). Another text mentions action

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8. Understanding Zalpa/Zaluwa is beset with difficulties, no least because Hittite and Assyrian texts know up to four places with that name, the other ones in various parts of southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria. See the masterful summation by Corti in *RlA* 15.3–4:198–202, s.v. Zalpa §4 Zalpa/u(wa). It is generally agreed, pace Steiner 1993, that one of these was on the Black Sea. Not all scholars agree which text refers to which. See also Barjamovic 2011, 107–22, esp. 120 n. 366.

9. See *COS* 1:181–82; Otten 1973; Holland and Zorman 2007. Gilan (2015) does not think this Zalpa was on the Black Sea. For the thirty sons and thirty daughters of the queen of Kanesh and the Danaids in Greek myth, see Haas 2006, 24; Hoffner 1998, no. 19.

10. *COS* 1:182–84. For interpretations of "our god" ("*šiu-šummiš*") in this text, see Gilan 2011 with references, and now Steitler 2017, 190–92.

11. Corti 2010, 98–99; Popko 2004.

required at Zalpa after the king's death, which has suggested to some scholars
that this territory played a key role during the royal funerary ritual.[12]

Other myths and rituals may well be associated with Zalpuwa as well.
Volkert Haas also found a trace of it in the Foundation Ritual in which the
divinized Throne brings royal authority "from the sea."[13] There was also a Hittite
myth narrating how Telepinu, son of the Storm God, married the daughter of
the Sea after the Sea caused a cosmic crisis by capturing the sun deity (CTH
322). Haas has argued that here the reference is mostly likely to the Black
Sea, and in fact to the local ritual cycle of Zalpuwa, since Telepinu's primary
cult areas were in central and north Anatolia (Haas 1994, 443; 2011, 273). The
daughter of the Sea might be Hatepuna, who is independently attested as
Telepinu's consort,[14] and is known to have been worshipped in Kaska territory,
and at Zalpuwa.[15]

Especially considering that Zalpuwa was under foreign occupation for so
long, its importance in Hittite myth-history and royal ideology is striking. It
seems a reasonable inference that its religious and political significance was
inherited from the earlier Hattian culture that is believed to have existed in the
region in the earlier part of the second millennium BCE, when it could have
been a major center of Hattian cult.[16] That does not mean that all aspects of the
Zalpuwa-ritual cycle that survive are old, however: Maciej Popko (2004, 249–50
and 251 n. 18) suggested that the myth-ritual of the three Amammas might
have been introduced from the Mediterranean coast of southern Anatolia in a
reconstruction of the cult in the thirteenth century BCE.[17]

Religious Parallels between Northern Anatolia and Greece

Are there any significant parallels between the religion of northern Anatolia in
the Late Bronze Age and that of Greece? Nerik perhaps reminds us of Delphi: a

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12. Kassian, Korolëv, and Sidel'tsev 2002, 691; Corti 2010, 100.

13. CTH 414.1.A §7; text 2 in Beckman 2010. See Haas 1977, 24–25; Taracha 2016, 366.

14. The name Hatepuna might actually mean "sea daughter": see Girbal cited in Haas 1982, 26,
217 n. 38) and the discussion in Klinger 2000, 16 n. 83. Hatepuna was also the consort of the god
Halki: Wilhelm 2010 with Taracha 2017, 113.

15. KUB 52.102 ii 2. At Kappira, where Mursili II spared her temple (Singer 2007). See Haas 2011,
273; Laroche 1946–1947, 24.

16. Forlanini 1984, 260 "Es war der Ursitz des hattischen Königtums und wichtiger als die Stadt
Hattus"; Klinger 2008, 20.

17. So Taracha 2009, 105–6: "the myth [associated with the procession] might have come to
Zalpa from the Mediterranean, and was incorporated locally as part of the reconstruction of local
cults" (i.e., in the thirteenth century BCE) and that "the new Zalpa pantheon had probably little in
common with the oldest local tradition, of which practically nothing is known." The reasons for
these inferences are: (1) the Luwian Iriya's Ritual KBo 13.131 obv. ii 13, in which the speaker says
he has "come to the sea Amamma" (Amamma without determinative); and (2) there are southern
Anatolian goddesses called Mamma/Mammaimi and ᵈDÌM.NUN.ME. Haas (1988, 104) thinks the
northern and southern goddesses are, at least originally, distinct.

major religious center connected to the Hittite capital by a sort of pilgrimage, which fell into abeyance as long as the Kaskeans occupied the area. Nerik was also the center of the *purulli* festival, which seems to have been associated with a dragon-slaying myth, another feature that brings to mind Delphi, where Apollo slew Python (Bachvarova 2016, 252–53).

The theonym Telepinu has reminded some scholars of Apollo's epithet Delphinios, known from Athens, from various cities of Ionia, especially Miletus, from Milesian colonies on the Black Sea, and from other places. [18] This hypothesis makes sense on broad functional grounds; both are young gods, sons of the head of the pantheon, and of central importance to the state. It is true that similar parallels could be drawn between Telepinu and other Greek gods—Isabelle Tassignon (2001) argued for an equation between Telepinu and Dionysus—but the similarity of the names itself counts for something. One factor that could have been made more of in the discussion is that, like Telipinu, Apollo Delphinios is linked to the sea: the epithet Delphinios was often interpreted by ancient Greeks as "of the dolphin," a sea creature commonly associated with Apollo (see Graf 1979, 4). Apollo Delphinios also tended to be worshipped in maritime contexts; at Miletus, the altar of Apollo Delphinios was actually on the seashore (Herda 2005; Faraone 2008).

Further parallels may be found with the ritual traditions of Zalpuwa. The sea is important in Greek religion, and deities were sometimes imagined as emerging from the sea and coming to their temples.[19] Zalpuwa seems to have had a pantheon of twelve gods, like Greece (Corti 2010, 95). I mentioned above that Zalpuwa seems to have been associated with the Hittite royal funerary ritual; and it has long between known that this has parallels to the description of Patoclus's funeral in Homer's *Iliad* (see Rutherford 2007). From Zalpa too comes the well-known "invocations of gods in the language of gods and the language of men" (CTH 733), which has parallels in Greek poetry (see Bader 1991).

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18. Barnett 1956, 219; Burkert 1979, 134. Further references: Herda 2005, 286–87 with n. 208; 2006, 275 n. 1942; see also Huxley 1961, 25–26; Durnford 1975; and Burkert 1979, who suggested the *eian* tree associated with Telepinu in Hittite myth resembled the *eiresione*-branch, which Plutarch associates with Apollo Delphinios (*Thes.* 18.1 and 22.6). More recently, Mazoyer (1999) has suggested that in respect of being a god of foundation, Telepinu would be parallel to Apollo Archegetes, but Beckman (2012, 510) rejects the idea that Telepinu is a god of foundation. The equation was rejected by Fritz Graf (1979, 21–22 n. 161) on the grounds that Apollo Delphinios was primarily a god of initiation while Telepinu was not; however, initiation has lost some of its appeal as a model for interpreting Greek religion since then: see below and Faraone 2003. Della Casa (2010) connects Telepinu with initiation in a different way.

19. Pindar "Paean" 15 probably relates to the sacred marriage of a Greek hero and a sea nymph on the Greek island of Aegina; see Rutherford 2001, 413–14; Polinskaya 2013, 147–51. On the island of Samos, the Tonaia festival included the transportation of the statue of the goddess to the seashore and its return to the temple, apparently in reenactment of a myth that the statue had once been abducted by pirates from Karia; Menodotus of Samos (*BNJ* 541 F 1 ap. Ath. 15.672).

Another section of the ritual calendar of Zalpuwa provides a script for a ritual involving girls at the town of Urimma (KUB 57.84 with duplicate KUB 57.82).[20] The events take place against the background of a network of towns or villages in the region.

(1) Men of the village of Tatimma sacrifice animals and take them to another village called Misturha (57.84 iii 2′–10′)

(2) Men of Misturha take three girls (57.84 iii 11′–12′)

(3) Men of Zihnuwa go to eight towns in the land of Tapukka, gather girls, and take them to Urimma (57.84 iii 14′–24′)

(4) The girls disrobe on the bank of the river;[21] it seems likely that they bathe, though that is not mentioned explicitly; three of the girls put on fine clothes; the word "there is not" (NU.GÁL) may imply that some of the girls lack clothes; then we have the words "they quickly reach out" (ḫudak para šaliga[nzi]), and then someone "comes last" (appizziyaš kiša), which seems to imply a competition of some sort (57.84 iii 25′–29′, 57.82 1′–10′).

(5) The men of Zihnuwa lead the girls off (57.82 11′–12′)

(6) Reference is made to various cult officials, including ḫarwanteš women (perhaps "nurses"), who bring some people to Misturha (57.84 iv 3′–10′), take garments from the palace and clothe them with them.[22]

The most plausible proposal for how to interpret this text has been made by Carlo Corti,[23] who suggests that the three girls in KUB 57.84 go on to play a role in the main part of the ritual as "pure daughters" (DUMU.MUNUS^MEŠ šuppaeš) and that the purpose of that ritual is to recruit the participants for the other ritual.[24] We thus have a ritual complex with two stages: (1) selection and (2) ritual performance. One wonders if there was a similar process of selection for the "pure sons of his majesty."

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20. KUB 57.84 iii–iv + KUB 57.82 + VBoT 130. See Corti 2010; Forlanini 1984; Popko 2004. For transcriptions, see Tischler 2016, 217–21.

21. For nudity in Hittite rituals, see de Martino 1985.

22. wa-aš-ša-an-zi, emended from wa-aš-ta-an-zi. See HW² Ḫ, 383b s.v. ^MUNUSḫarwant-.

23. See Corti 2010, 98–99. Ahmet Ünal (2013) sees the text as describing a sort of orgy, where young men compete (race?) and the winners have sex with the girls. He supports this via the apparent role of sex in the EZEN ḫaššumaš text. And he sees the unusual rituals as having contributed to the tradition that there the Amazons came from this region. Some elements of this reconstruction are unlikely, e.g., in KUB 57.84 iv 10 he reads "waštanzi" ("they sin"), resisting the emendation to waššanzi; and he also thinks para šaliga- has a sexual significance.

24. Corti 2010, 95–99: "In this context, therefore, it is reasonable to think that the entire first part of the ritual was dedicated to the preparation (list of objects, the clothing, etc.), as well as to the choosing of players through ritual competitions, followed by the invocation that preceded the festive ritual in honor of the mother goddess" (98–99). It is worth mentioning another Hittite text in which women are recruited for service in a temple, for which see Rutherford 2004. For the "pure daughters," see Collins 2019.

The practice of recruiting girls to serve in the cult of a goddess has plenty of parallels in Greece. In Athens, two girls called "*arrhephoroi*" served for a year in the cult of Athena on the Acropolis (see Burkert 1966). At Brauron on the coast East of Athens, center of the cult of the huntress goddess Artemis and the heroine Iphigenia, girls from all over the territory of Athens sacrificed before marriage,[25] and a select group served in the temple for a year, performing activities such as "playing the bear" (*arkteuein*), apparently a performance in which they imitate bears,[26] and (to judge from the evidence of vases) running, sometimes naked, perhaps in races.[27] Racing is also the main activity of the eleven "daughters of Dionysus" in Sparta.[28] A "chosen" group of nine girls served Athena on the island of Kos (see Dillon 2002, 61). In one case a considerable journey was involved: the state of Locris on the Greek mainland regularly sent two girls to Troy to serve (either for life or for a year, depending on the source) in the temple of Athena at Troy, supposedly in atonement for a crime committed during the sack of Troy by the local Locrian hero Ajax. The girls arrived in the Troad by night, and had to evade local men who had apparently the right to kill them.[29] None of these practices is attested before the fifth century BCE, but many of them are probably considerably older.

The parallel here is a general one: in both cultures girls are selected to serve in the cult of a goddess. Not all the details in the Greek rituals can be paralleled in the Zalpuwa texts: there is no impersonating animals, for example;[30] and, whereas in Greece the period of service seems generally to have been of fixed duration, often limited to a year, it is unknown how long the girls served in Zalpuwa; finally, whereas in Zalpuwa the "contest" apparently preceded the

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25. Scholia to Ar. *Lys.* 644–645 (after Faraone 2003, 51–52): "When females used to perform the secret rite, they imitated a bear. Those "playing the bear" for the goddess used to don a saffron robe and together perform the sacrifice for Artemis of Brauron and Artemis of Munichia, *parthenoi* who were selected and neither older than ten nor younger than five. And the girls also performed the sacrifice placating the goddess, since the Athenians had once encountered a famine after they had killed a tame bear to the displeasure (?) of the goddess...." Another: "a bear was given to Artemis' temple and it was tamed. Once a *parthenos* taunted it and her face was scratched by the bear. Her brother got angry and killed the bear. Artemis got angry and commanded the every *parthenos* should imitate the bear before her wedding and to take care of the temple while wearing a yellow robe, and this used to be called "playing the bear." Cf. the "bear man" in Hittite ritual; e.g., Watkins 1986.

26. Notice, however, that vases seem to represent adults wearing bear masks; Kahil 1997, 92–93 and pl. 20.

27. Kahil 1977; Scanlon 1990. On naked racing in Greek rituals, see Heckenbach 1911, 15–16.

28. Paus. 3.13.7. A Spartan inscription from the Roman period, SEG 11.610. refers to the "Dionusides." On girls' racing, see Perlman 1983.

29. Apollodorus, *Epit.* 6.20–22. See Graf 1978; Redfield 2003, 85–150. This practice was still going on in the third century BCE: *IG* IX, 1² 3:706.

30. The bear impersonator (lú ḫartaggaš) is a feature of some Hittite rituals, including one text, KUB 58.14+, where he is shot by a female archer; see on this de Martino 2001. There is no reason to think this is connected to Greek religion.

selection and cult service, it is not clear whether that was the case in any of the Greek examples.

Explanations

Is borrowing from northern Anatolia to Greece a plausible hypothesis here? In the Iron Age it certainly would have been. Miletus founded colonies on the northern coast of Anatolia, including at Amisos (Samsun), very close to the presumed site of Late Bronze Age Zalpuwa. It was suggested by Richard Barnett (1956, 228–30) that besides the obvious trade route from Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean via the Levant, there was also a second route running north via Urartu and Armenia to the Milesian colony of Trapezus,[31] and Marie Jane Rein (1996) has argued that Milesian colonies in northern Anatolia and the Propontis facilitated the transmission of knowledge of the Phrygian deity Cybele to Greece. Athens was also in contact with the Black Sea region, and it may be noted that the divinities associated with Brauron, namely, the goddess Artemis Tauropolos, and the demigoddess/heroine Iphigenia, both had links to Crimea/Tauric Peninsula.[32] And the saga of the Golden Fleece, which apparently predates Homer's *Odyssey*, is widely thought to reflect Greek knowledge of the religious practices of the Black Sea.[33] It is just possible that Greeks of this period borrowed from northern Anatolia religious practices, which had somehow survived from the Late Bronze Age; could the cult of Apollo Delphinios at Miletus have been transmitted from northern Anatolia via Milesian colonies in the region?

The possibility that Greeks of the Bronze Age sailed to northern Anatolia is normally discounted for the two reasons mentioned above. To begin with, for Mycenaean presence on the Black Sea coast of Turkey, there is no archaeological evidence.[34] Mycenaean sherds have been found at Boghazköy,

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31. But see the critique of Çifçi 2017, 159–61.

32. In myth, Iphigenia was supposed to served as a priestess in the area known as Tauris, the Cimmerian Bosporos, and brought back a statue of the goddess when she returned to Greece.

33. It has been suggested that the myth of the Golden Fleece reflects somehow the use of the sacred hunting bag (the *kurša*) in Hittite religion. Certainly the *kurša* is attested in northern Anatolia: it was specially associated with Telepinu and the myth-ritual about his disappearance; and, representing the deity Zithariya, it was used in military rituals preparing for war against the Kaskeans (CTH 422 with Beal 1995, 65–66). Haas (1975) argued that the disappearance of Telepinu should be associated with the *purulli* festival, which has a link with the dragon-slaying myth of Illuyanka; this could provide another connection to the Golden Fleece myth, which involved a dragon (see also Bremmer 2006). However, the Golden Fleece, which is not a bag, does not have to be linked to the *kurša*, which is not golden. Animal skins are a common *materia magica* in many ancient religions, and if we need an external stimulus for the Golden Fleece myth, there are alternatives; see, e.g., Lordkipanidze 2001.

34. For the question of Mycenaeans on the Black Sea, see French 1982; Hiller 1991; de Boer 2006–2007. Ivantchik (2017, 8) is highly skeptical. For the gold in objects recovered from Bronze Age Iolcus as compatible with gold from Georgia, see Adrimi-Sismani, Guerra, and Walter 2009. It

at Maşat Höyük to the East, and at Kuşaklı-Sarissa to the south, but these are generally explained as imports from the south.[35] Secondly, it seems that there was little Hittite activity in the region in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries BCE, which would mean that any Greeks in the area at that time would have encountered Kaskeans, whose religious practices were probably different (although they may have shared some deities with the Hittites, including Telepinu).[36] On the other hand, contact could easily have happened in periods when Hittites were controlling the region, that is, during the thirteenth century, or before the fifteenth century, before the Kaskeans arrived, or even before the Hittites arrived, when Zalpuwa may have been a Hattian religious center. *Pace* Taracha (see above), there may have been some degree of continuity even over this period.

If the hypothesis of Mycenaeans in Zalpuwa is too much, there is still a chance that Greeks encountered similar rituals and deities in western Anatolia, it being plausible that the ritual practices of different parts of Hittite-influenced Anatolia were similar. Could a Zalpuwa-like ritual complex in Assuwa/ northwestern Anatolia be behind the practice of girls' recruitment into temple service at Troy, as attested in the tradition "Locrian Maidens"? Similarly, although the theonym Telepinu is not so far attested in western Anatolia, our knowledge of religion in western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age is so minimal that we cannot rule out the possibility that Telepinu was introduced there as the result of Hittite influence.[37]

Equally, there may have been no borrowing at all. Dragon-slaying myths are, after all, common in all cultures, and the superficial similarity between the names Delphinios and Telepinu could be a coincidence. Any resemblances in the selection of girls as cult functionaries could be explained in terms of "convergent evolution," reflecting broad similarities between the societies of

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is worth noting that Drews (2017) has recently argued on the basis of archaeological parallels that Greece was colonized in the mid-second millennium BCE by horse-chariot-driving warriors from the northern Caucasus, who reached the Aegean by ship via the Black Sea.

35. Boghazköy: Genz 2004, 77–84; Maşat Höyük: Özgüç 1974, 65–66. For a Mycenaean vase from Kuşaklı (LH IIIA2, i.e., fourteenth century BCE), see Dirk Paul Mielke in Müller-Karpe et al. 2004, 155–57.

36. Singer (2007) suggests that the Kaskeans were related to the Hattian people; see also Glatz 2017, 85 with references. Notice also that the border between Hittites and Kaskeans may have been to some extent porous: the treaty between Hattusili III and the Kaskeans envisages a permeable border, in which, e.g., traders may cross: §35 in CTH 138.1, translated in Kitchen and Lawrence 2012, 1:1042. See on this Glatz and Matthews 2005; Zimansky 2007.

37. Notice that Telepinu was linked to the Greek hero Telephus, believed to have lived in Mysia, as early as Hrozný 1917, 3 n. 2. See also Stewart 1996. In Homer, *Od.* 11:521 Telephus's son Eurupulos leads a group called the Keteians, who Gladstone (1876, 174) identified with the Hittites; see Huxley 1959. It is another question whether Telepinu could have led to both Telephus and Delphinios.

Late Bronze Age Anatolia and Early Iron Age Greece, which shared a repertoire of religious and cultural practices, nurtured by a similar environment.

The Comparative Approach: Rites of Passage

If the issue of contact is inconclusive in this case, there remains the possibility that we can make comparative use of some of these parallels. In what follows, I shall give an example of how this might be useful.

Since the work of Angelo Brelich in 1969 the evidence of girls' service in temples has been used by scholars to support a general hypothesis about ancient Greek society, namely, that this process served a social function. It either was, or was a relic of, a sort of "rite of passage" or maturation rite for girls (Brelich 1969, 273; Graf 1978; Faraone 2003), corresponding to the rites of passage for young men that scholars, influenced by early anthropology, had posited for Greece.[38] Like other rites of passage, these adolescent rites were supposed to have consisted of a period of segregation from the home community, preceded by separation and followed by reaggregation. Transition from childhood to adulthood was thus expressed ritually in terms of removal from the home community and return. In the case of girls' rites, the segregation happened via temple-service in the cult of a goddess, often Artemis. By the fifth century BCE, the original practice may have been transformed into something slightly different, a prestigious duty given to girls from elite families. Women could pride themselves on having done this sort of service in their youth, as the female chorus in Aristophanes's *Lysistrata* do (lines 641–647).

Not all classicists accept that girls' temple service should be seen as a rite of passage or maturation rite or as having originated in such rites.[39] One could argue that the determining factor must have been the needs of the temples for temple-servants to perform rituals; in the case of temples of goddesses, it was presumably considered appropriate for the servants to be girls. However, even if the practice originated in this way, that is not incompatible with also functioning as a sort of marked stage in the life course of women, which would make it rather similar to a rite of passage.

Rituals involving boys and girls are of course attested in Late Bronze Age Anatolia as well,[40] but scholars have identified no rites of passage for young

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38. The most cited guide to it is by Arnold van Gennep, published as long ago as 1908, itself a synthesis of earlier work. The concept seems to have been first applied to the ancient world by the French Jesuit Father Lafitau in his study the culture of North American Iriquois (see Graf 2003).

39. See Faraone 2003; also Hamilton 1989. One objection is that comparative evidence suggests that a rite of passage must be gone through by all members of the society, or at least all members of the elite, whereas in these cases it seems to have been confined to a few. See Bourdieu 1982 for the important point that rites are as much about constructing a difference between different social classes as between age differences.

40. The Hittite archives record many instances of girls (*zintuhis*) singing in choruses, and young

people entering adulthood.[41] One apparent exception is so called "*ḫaššumaš*" festival (IBoT 1.29), in which a Hittite prince is the center of a ritual process involving eating and prostitutes, though this analysis has recently convincingly been challenged.[42] How might we explain this absence? One possibility is that they did not exist (because they are a feature of tribal cultures, which the Hittites are further from?) Another is that they existed, but were not recorded. A third is that some plausible candidates have been missed, because scholars investigating the Anatolian material have been working with different interpretative models from those used by the classicists.

With the third possibility in mind, I want to ask whether the ritual complex at Zalpuwa could be interpreted as an adolescent rite-of-passage ritual, along the lines of the Greek ones. The fragmentary and incomplete nature of the evidence obviously makes interpretation precarious. What I called the second stage, "ritual performance," apparently involves service in the cult for the three victorious girls (assuming Corti's interpretation is right), and this may well imply a period of secondment in or around a temple, which, as we saw, is part of the standard model of a rite of passage. The clothing of the girls with garments from the palace after the competition may signify their new status (and it may be significant the agents here are *harwant*-women, which is usually translated "nurses").[43] The first stage, "selection," also has elements resembling those that have been associated with rites of passage: the moving away from home, the nudity,[44] and the location by a river.[45] Clearly, it works differently for the winners and the losers, but even the losers could still be said to "graduate" with the status of having taken part.

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men (*mayanduš*) taking part in competitions at local festivals, wrestling, lifting stones, or fighting with cheeses (Cammarosano 2014).

41. It is significant that in the important collected volume by Mouton and Patrier (2014) the main discussions of children and adolescents seem to be in the chapters concerned with the Greek and Roman worlds. See, however, Laribi-Glaudel 2014, 222–25 on traces of children's rites of passage in Mesopotamia. See also Collins 2004.

42. Güterbock (1969) argued that the prince was going through a maturation ritual, though Mouton (2011) has recently shown that the ritual is at most another form of rite of passage, a ritual of inauguration.

43. Cf. Puhvel, *HED* Ḫ:205, who sees the *harwant* women as associated with the "maieutic" goddess Hannahanna (KUB 33.59 ii 6; this is the "myth of the goddess Inara" in Hoffner 1998, 32, where *harwant* is translated "Female Attendant"), and suggests the Greek κοῦρος, Κουρῆτες could be cognate.

44. Running naked is attested at Brauron, and it has been suggested that girls shed their saffron robes at a critical point, though see Faraone 2003, 63 n. 11. Another case is the "Ekdusia" ("Undressing") festival from Phaistos in Crete, which has been interpreted as the focus for a rite of passage for young men: see Leitao 1995. Theseus's throwing off his cloak at the temple of Apollo Delphinios in Athens has been interpreted as an initiatory gesture: see Graf 1979, 14 and 15 n. 118.

45. Rivers are a form of wild space: see Calame 1977, 1.194 ("... *leur séjour près d'une rivière assumait le role de la période de marge de tour processus d'initiation tribal*"). Bathing in a river can be a ritual precondition of marriage: Håland 2009; ps.-Aeschin., *Ep.* 10, on girls of Troy bathing at Ilion.

To sum up: I said at the outset that there are two ways in which the study of the religious system of one ancient culture can be illuminated by the study of another: Either we can look for origins and diffusion or we can find ways of using the evidence comparatively. The case of the girls of Zalpuwa discussed here may serve as an example of how these two modes of interpretation might be deployed. I began by pointing to some *prima facie* parallels between the ritual culture of Zalpuwa and Greek religion. Despite Zalpuwa's position on or near the coast, the hypothesis of borrowing runs up against serious difficulties. Comparison, however, is a useful exercise in this case: I have suggested that the model of "rites of passage" that has been applied to girls' rituals in Greece could also work for the parts of the Zalpuwa ritual calendar. This can only be a tentative suggestion: The evidence on both sides is fragmentary and it is by no means certain that the rites of passage model ought to be applied even to the Greek cases. If I am right, however, this would tell us something new about Hittite religion, and would be one more example of how the politico-religious cultures of Greece and Anatolia are perhaps more alike than has sometimes been assumed.

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