

The failed reforms of Akhenaten and Muwatalli

Itamar Singer

In his fifth regnal year Akhenaten founded his new capital Akhetaten in Middle Egypt, thereby crowning his religious reform intended to promote the cult of Aten to the exclusion of the rest of the Egyptian pantheon. Half a century later Muwatalli founded his new capital at Tarhuntassa in the Lower Land, as the apex of a religious reform promoting the cult of the Storm-god of Lightning at the expense of other major deities of the Hittites. Both reforms collapsed shortly after the death of the 'heretic' kings, but Tarhuntassa continued to exist as the seat of a competing Great King. The similarities and the differences between these major religious reforms of the Late Bronze Age will be examined in the light of the contemporary sources and some historical analogies.

The foundation of a new capital has always been one of the most radical and subversive steps in the history of a nation. From Akhetaten and Tarhuntassa to St. Petersburg and Brasilia, the foundation of a new capital derives from a fundamental ideological change in the mind of the reformist, reinforced by an unrelenting commitment to a complicated and risky endeavour.

The Late Bronze Age witnessed an unprecedented wave of new foundations throughout the Near East — Dur-Kurigalzu in Babylon, Akhetaten and Piramesse in Egypt, Dur-Untash in Elam, Tarhuntassa in Hatti, Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta in Assur. All these new foundations share common traits, yet, as I will try to argue, the most meaningful comparison is between Akhetaten and Tarhuntassa, despite the tremendous disparity between the amount of documentation on the two cities.

Akhenaten's is probably the best documented religious reform in the ancient Near East; in contrast, Muwatalli's religious reform has only recently been identified as such. The city of Akhetaten at Tell el-Amarna is one of the most extensively excavated sites in Egypt; Tarhuntassa has not even been located with certainty on the map of Anatolia. Akhenaten, despite the inexhaustible efforts to erase his memory, speaks out loudly from his own inscriptions and pictorial representations; Muwatalli does not even mention his new capital in his preserved documents. Nevertheless, from the records of his successors and from subtle clues embedded in his own prayers and seals, it is possible, I believe, to reconstruct this important reform which irreversibly changed the course of Hittite history. The emphasis of my paper will be on the less known reform of Muwatalli, within the domain of my own discipline, and I will utilize Egyptian evidence from translations and secondary sources.

Akhetaten

Though Aten as a form of the Sun-god Re was venerated long before the ascent of Akhenaten, his elevation to a prominent status is clearly associated with the heretic king (**Fig. 1**). There have been many attempts to detect the underlying causes for his avatar, but, as concluded by Barry Kemp (Kemp 1989: 262), 'how and why Akhenaten came to step outside the mentality of his time remains a mystery that we are unlikely ever to resolve'. Already at the outset of his reign he built temples for Aten at Thebes and at other places in Egypt and Nubia. However, he soon realized the paradox of promoting Aten to the point of exclusivity within the domain of his main nemesis, Amun, and therefore set out to dedicate to his god a city of his own.

The notion of building a new city was not entirely new to Akhenaten, since he witnessed his father's ambitious building project at the palace-city of Malqata, ancient Per Hay ('The House of Rejoicing'), a few kms. west of Thebes. But Akhenaten's concept of a new residence, for him and for his god, was far more radical and subversive.

Fortunately, we have the actual foundation decree for the city carved on the boundary stelae of Akhetaten (Fig. 2). From these inscriptions, (Murnane and Van Siclen 1993; Murnane 1995: 73–86), we learn that in the fifth year of his reign, 1348 BC, Akhenaten summoned his officials in Akhetaten and solemnly announced:

Behold Aten! The Aten wishes to have [a House?] made for him as a monument with an eternal and everlasting name. Now it is Aten, my father, who advised me concerning it, nor had any people in the entire land ever advised me concerning it, to tell me [a plan] for making Akhetaten in this distant place. ... Behold, it is pharaoh who found it, when it did not belong to a god, nor to a goddess; when it did not belong to a male ruler, nor to a female ruler; when it did not belong to any people. ... My father, Hor-Aten, proclaimed to me: 'It is to belong to my Person, to be Akhetaten continually forever' (Murnane 1995: 75).

This distant place in Middle Egypt, about halfway between Memphis and Thebes, met the prerequisite of not belonging to anyone, either god or man. Other rulers throughout history, including Muwatalli and Tukulti-Ninurta, had chosen to found new capitals on virgin grounds.

After receiving the blessings of his courtiers, Akhenaten set the limits of the city by carving boundary stelae at its four corners and pledging his commitment to the new capital:

I shall make Akhetaten for the Aten, my father, in this place. I shall not make Akhetaten for him south of it, north of it, west of it (or) east of it...

Nor shall the King's Chief Wife say to me, 'Look, there's a nice place for Akhetaten someplace else,' nor shall I listen to her (Murnane 1995: 76 f.).

In the following, he lists the various mansions that he intends to build in the city, concluding with the ultimate commitment that any Egyptian could ever make to a locality: his burial place. He establishes the location of the royal tombs in the eastern hills, for him, for Nefertiti, and for their daughter Meritaten. Moreover, he pledges that in the case of his death outside the city, his body should be brought back for burial in Akhetaten. Needless to say, this commitment was far more definitive than all the others, since from an Egyptian point of view a person is far longer dead than alive.

Unfortunately for Akhenaten, his plans to spend 'millions of jubilees' in Akhetaten proved to be far too optimistic. A few years after his death, Tutankhamun moved the royal residence to Memphis and Akhetaten was gradually abandoned. The Royal Tomb in which the heretic king was originally buried was terribly depredated in ancient as well as modern times, and his name was mutilated (Martin 1989). What remained of his mummy was probably removed from Akhetaten to somewhere in Thebes. I will not enter into the labyrinthine argument over the ownership of Tomb 55 in the Valley of Kings and the identity of the body that was found within it. Neither will I ponder over the reasons for the failure of Akhenaten's reform and its alleged resurrection in later times.

Tarhuntassa

Muwatalli, represented on this rock relief from Sirkeli on the River Ceyhan (Fig. 3), was the second eldest son of Mursili II. His elder brother Halpasulupi must have died at a young age. Like that of Akhenaten, Muwatalli's accession to the throne (c. 1295 BC) appears to have been a smooth one, and on the face of it, there was nothing to foreshadow his ensuing reform. He inherited a relatively stable empire extending from the Aegean to beyond the Euphrates, and as far as the Lebanon ranges in the south (Bryce 2005: 190 ff.). Though the constant incursions of the Kaska tribes from the Pontic ranges caused considerable annoyance, there was nothing exceptionally critical in their activities at this point in time. In any case, to fend off their chronic attacks Muwatalli appointed his brother Hattusili as the governor of the Upper Lands, supplanting the previous administration in this frontier land. There might have been additional reasons for this appointment, which proved to be a very successful one, at least from a military and administrative point of view. But despite the apparently normal circumstances of Muwatalli's accession and reign, there were at least three problems which must have blemished the king's disposition:

1) Since the days of his grandfather a terrible plague, probably spread by Egyptian soldiers, decimated the population of Hatti and caused a constant sense of self-accusation at the royal court. This calamity must have weighed heavily on the conscience of Muwatalli as well, bringing about a deep sense of penitence and piety.

2) Second, the revengefulness of Egypt. The energetic new kings of the 19th dynasty were openly preparing a major offensive against the Hittites in Syria and the odds were hardly reassuring for Muwatalli. His grandfather's violation of the Egyptian border was conceived as the major cause for divine irritation, especially since the Storm-god was the one who guaranteed the treaty between the two empires. His renewed support was desperately needed.

3) And third, *cherchez la femme*. Muwatalli was embroiled in a vicious dispute with Danuhepa, either the last wife of his father or his own wife. This dispute eventually led to a public trial as a consequence of which she was banished from the palace. The exact circumstances of this bitter affair remain to be elucidated, but in any case, the personal problems facing Muwatalli did not contribute to his peace of mind. And yet, here was a king determined to undertake the most radical change in the history of Hatti, despite or perhaps because of these pressing problems.

Before we try to reconstruct his reform, it should be recalled that all the evidence for Muwatalli's reform, culminating in the transfer of his capital to Tarhuntassa, comes from later sources, notably of his brother Hattusili. How does one reconstruct a religious reform which is still hidden under the unexplored ruins of Tarhuntassa? Much as an archeologist restores the course of 'robbed' walls from their foundation trenches, so shall we follow the spiritual foundation trenches of Muwatalli's reform in his prayers and seals.

The most explicit source recounting Muwatalli's transfer of the capital is his brother's Autobiography, or *Apology*, and related texts (van de Hout 1997). These references to the transfer precede his laconic report on the Battle of Qadesh, thus providing a *terminus ante quem* before 1275 BC. But how many years before the battle the transfer occurred is difficult to say.

Let us look first at Muwatalli's seals. Nothing predicts yet his change of heart on the seals on which his name appears alone (Fig. 4), or together with Queen Danuhepa (Fig. 5), before her expulsion from the palace. A new decorative style is introduced by a seal on which the king is being embraced by his god, the so-called *Umarmungsszene* (Fig. 6). (Recently, David Hawkins managed to reconstruct fully the cuneiform inscription in the outer and inner circles, which confirms the reading of Muwatalli's

second name as Sarri-Tesub.) The hieroglyphic inscription above the god's hand identifies him as the Great Storm-god of Heaven. The god is holding with his right hand the king's left wrist, as if he were leading him. Now, exactly the same position is metaphorically described in Muwatalli's great prayer to the Storm-god of Lightning: '*Walk with me at my right hand side, team up with me as (with) a bull to draw! Ascend with me in a true Storm-godly fashion!*' (KUB 6. 45 iii 71–3; Singer 1996a: 42, 68). I think that we may safely identify this Great Storm-god of Heaven on the seals with his personal god, the Storm-god of Lightning (*pihassassis Tarhuntas*). The new glyptic style, with its intimate contact between the king and his god, ushers in a new theological concept. The embracing scene was later adopted by Muwatalli's successors, both on their seals (Hawkins 2001: 168 f.; Herbordt 2005: 69 ff.) and on the well-known relief of Tudhaliya IV from Yazılıkaya (Fig. 7).

Who is this god of Muwatalli who 'teams up with him in a true Storm-godly fashion' and guides him towards a sweeping religious reform? The Storm-god *pihassassi* is a special hypostasis of the more generic Storm-god of Heaven (Singer 2006a). The name is Luwian and is derived from the root *piha-*, 'luminosity, splendour'. *pihassassi* is an adjectival genitive meaning 'that which is luminous', hence 'the lightning'. In a few early occurrences the determinative URU is affixed to the epithet, but a toponym **Pihassa* is not otherwise attested, and it is doubtful whether such a place ever existed. It has been suggested that the name of the winged horse Pegasus of the Greek tradition is derived from Luwian *pihassassi*, but the large gap in time calls for caution, especially in the absence of a Neo-Hittite link.

The Storm-god of Lightning makes his first appearance in texts of Muwatalli. In his famous treaty with Alaksandu of Wilusa, Muwatalli is already designated, 'Beloved of the Storm-god of Lightning' (*NARAM^{dU} pihassassi*). The most eloquent textual tribute to his god is found in Muwatalli's prayer to the Assembly of Gods, with the Storm-god of Lightning playing the role of the principal intercessor (Singer 1996a). A few excerpts from this impressive poetic invocation will demonstrate the intimate relationship between Muwatalli and his god, not unlike the one between Akhenaten and his Aten:

Storm-god of Lightning, my lord, I was but a human, whereas my father was a priest to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and to all the gods. My father begat me, but the Storm-god of Lightning took me from my mother and reared me; he made me priest to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and to all the gods; for the Hatti land he appointed me to kingship.

... The bird takes refuge in the cage and it lives. I, too, have taken refuge with the Storm-god of Lightning and he has kept me alive.

... In the future it will come to pass that my son, my grandson, kings and queens of Hatti, princes and lords, will always show reverence towards the Storm-god of Lightning, my lord, and they will say as follows: 'Truly that god is a mighty hero, a rightly guiding god!' The gods of heaven, the mountains and the rivers will praise you.

... As for me, Muwatalli, your servant, my soul will rejoice inside me, and I will exalt the Storm-god of Lightning. The temples that I will erect for you and the rites that I will perform for you, Storm-god of Lightning, my lord, you shall rejoice in them.

... Storm-god of Lightning, glow over me like the moonlight, shine over me like the Sun-god of Heaven! (Singer 1996a: 40 ff.: 2002: 91 f.).

The sentiment conveyed by these verses, especially the last ones, is not dissimilar from the one conveyed in Akhenaten's hymns to the Aten. Of course, I do not argue for a direct influence. What I refer

to is a typical state-of-mind that motivated both innovative individuals to evoke previously unknown or unimportant hypostases of generic deities, to claim an exclusive relationship with them, and to vow to them eternal obedience.

But there are obviously essential differences between the two reforms. For one thing, there is no hint whatsoever in the preserved documents of Muwatalli for the abolishment of rival deities, not to mention iconoclasm. On the contrary, in his Great Prayer to the assembly of gods through the Storm-god of Lightning Muwatalli invokes an impressive list of 140 deities classified by their places of worship. On the face of it, this long list of theonyms appears as a supreme display of piety. But upon closer scrutiny it reveals some important innovations that may predict the forthcoming reform and the transfer of the capital:

First, Hattusa occupies a mere fifth place in the list, preceded by Arinna, Tiwa, Samuha and Katapa (Singer 1996a: 172 ff.). This must anticipate the decline of Hattusa during Muwatalli's reform (Singer 1998). Second, the Storm-god *pihassassi* occupies a prominent place in the list, replacing the Storm-god of Hatti as the consort of Hebat and the Sun-goddess of Arinna. And third, there is a disproportionately high representation of cult centres from regions situated southwest of Hatti, including the Lower Land, where the future capital is about to be founded (Singer 1996a: 176). Tarhuntassa itself does not appear in the list.

All these indications may reveal Muwatalli's intentions of moving the political and religious centre of gravity from the northeast to the southwest, from Hattusa to Tarhuntassa. It has even been suggested recently by the Georgian Hittitologist Irene Tatishvili (2004) that this prayer is some sort of a farewell ceremony from the traditional Hittite pantheon.

And there is a further point in this prayer which deserves to be underlined. The Assembly of Gods is addressed through three intercessors: the main one is to the Storm-god of Lightning, and the two other are to the Sun-god of Heaven and the sacred bull Seri. It is not coincidental that all these deities are male, whereas the great goddesses of the kingdom — the Sun-goddess of Arinna, Ishtar/Sausga of Samuha and Hebat of Kummanni — who dominate the religious scene before and after Muwatalli, are subordinate. Once again we are reminded of the Amarna religion, with its pronounced male orientation, somewhat attenuated by Nefertiti's prominent presence.

With the religious and political preparations completed, Muwatalli sets out to execute his major move, the transfer of the capital. As already mentioned, the only evidence for this episode comes from the texts of Hattusili, a fact which calls for caution in view of the burdened relationship between the two brothers. For unknown reasons, the laconic description of the transfer is repeated twice in the *Apology* (§§ 6, 8), in both cases preceding a list of northern localities placed under the command of Hattusili:

When my brother Muwatalli, at the word of his god, went down to the Lower Land, he left Hattusa behind. He took up the gods of Hatti and the Dead and carried them to the Land of Tarhuntassa (§ 6).

The first point to note is the reason given for the transfer of the capital: 'at the word of his god' (*IŠTUAMATDINGIR^{LIM}-ŠU*). In the past, this statement has not been taken too seriously, and various political and strategic grounds were suggested for the transfer of the capital to Tarhuntassa: the Kaska threat, a closer proximity to the Egyptian front, and so on. But I see no reason to doubt Hattusili's testimony in this case, especially in view of the following statement about the unprecedented transfer of the entire Hittite pantheon. A parallel text of Hattusili, KBo 6.29, specifies that the gods

moved to Tarhuntassa were ‘the gods of Hatti, the gods of Arinna, and the Cedar Gods’. The latter are understood to represent the gods of Kizzuwatna. In other words, all the important divine circles of the Hittian north and the Hurrian south. Clearly, this is the opposite tendency of the one professed by Akhenaten who left behind the gods of Egypt, deprived and humiliated.

Now, we can more-or-less imagine what these gods who were transported for several hundred kilometers from Hattusa to Tarhuntassa might have looked like, but what about ‘the Dead’? The Sumerogram GIDIM corresponds to the Hittite participle *akkant-* ‘dead’, which may refer to the dead body or to its remains after cremation. It can also refer to the souls of the dead ancestors, hence the customary comparison with the *manes* of the Romans. What exactly did Muwatalli take with him to Tarhuntassa? Probably not some effigies of his ancestors, for that would more likely be designated as ALAM, ‘statue’. Could he actually have dug out the earthly remains of his ancestors, which must have been deposited in urns in the ‘Stone House’, the final resting place of Hittite kings and queens?

Morbid as this may sound, the transfer of graves, indeed of entire cemeteries, is not unheard of in the ancient world and neither in the modern. Royal mummies were moved around in Egypt, either for political reasons or to confuse treasure searchers. When fleeing from Babylon to Elam through the Sea Land, Marduk-apal-iddina II ‘gathered the gods of the entire extent of his land, together with the bones of his forefathers from (their) graves’ (CAD, E: 342a). And so did Aeneas, who in Virgil’s story (2.385 ff.) takes the Penates of Troy with him to Italy. Throughout the ages, the possession of the earthly remains of sanctified individuals was far more than an ultimate act of reverence, and in extreme cases it became a tool for political manipulation. From modern history suffice it to recall the elimination of the Inca mummies by the Spanish *conquistadores*, or the grim fate of Evita Peron’s embalmed body, now resting in peace in the Recoleta cemetery in Buenos Aires.

Where exactly did Muwatalli deposit the transferred Dead is still an open question, and, as indicated in § 10 of the Bronze Tablet, the Mausoleum of Tarhuntassa (lit. the ‘Eternal rock sanctuary’) became a highly contested place. In any case, when his son Urhi-Tesub moved back to Hattusa, he took with him the Gods, but no mention is made of the Dead. Strictly speaking, the dead Hittite kings also became gods, so the report on the re-transfer of the Gods could be intended to include the dead kings as well, but not necessarily.

It is time now to speculate about the location of Muwatalli’s capital in the Lower Land. Later texts inform us about the extent of the kingdom of Tarhuntassa in south-central Anatolia, but there are no indications about the whereabouts of its capital. The place name does not occur before Muwatalli, and we may safely conclude that he chose, like Akhenaten, to establish a new city on virgin ground. From the various suggestions put forward, I still consider Sedat Alp’s (1995) localization at Kızıldağ, north of Karaman, as the most plausible (Fig. 8). Kızıldağ, ‘Red Mountain’, is a rocky outcrop (Fig. 9) situated on the edge of Lake Hotamiş, a land-locked drainage basin which dries out in the summer (Fig. 10). Its slopes are rather steep and the best access is from the southern side, where dense architectural remains are visible on the surface. The site is best known for the so-called ‘throne’ on the northern slope with its carved relief of Hartapu (Fig. 11). Incredible as this may seem, this intriguing site has never been excavated, but various visitors have found ceramic and architectural evidence for a Late Bronze Age occupation (Bittel 1986: 108; Gonnet 1983; 1984; Dinçol et al. 2000: 7 f.).

The summit of the mountain is fortified by a circular rampart (90 m. in diameter) with eleven towers (Fig. 12) (Bittel 1986: 107, fig. 10–11; Karauğuz, Bahar, Kunt 2002: figs. XVI, XVII). Inside the fortress there are remains of a large edifice, possibly a palace compound, built of large stone blocks, typical for Hittite architecture. The same applies to the complex associated with the inscription Kızıl-

dağ 4 on the southwestern slope. It is usually referred to as the monumental ‘entrance’ to the fortress, but Hatice Gonnet (1984) has convincingly identified it as a typically Hittite open air sanctuary consisting of a rock-cut throne and an altar (Fig. 13). The inscription, which intersects the rock-cut altar, was probably added at a later stage (Fig. 14). There are also rock-cut chamber tombs which cannot be dated presently (Fig. 15). In short, a thorough excavation is urgently needed in order to confirm the identification of this exciting site with Muwatalli’s capital.

But Kızıldağ is only part of the mystery surrounding this unexplored corner of Hittite Anatolia. About 12 km. southeast of it rises the far more impressive summit of Karadağ, the Black Mountain, with its ‘One thousand and one Byzantine churches’ (Binbirkilise) (Fig. 16). This is how Karadağ is described by Gertrude Bell who visited the site in 1905 and discovered its ‘very queer inscriptions’: ‘... a huge volcano the crater of which is about half a mile across, a ring of rocky peaks round the lip of it and the great plain stretching away to snow ranges behind’ (Bell 1927: 222) (Fig. 17). Indeed, the view from the 2271 m. high peak is unequalled, overlooking the Karaman and Konya plains, that is, the entire Lower Land of the Hittites (Fig. 18). The summit itself is occupied by a massive church (Fig. 19), and the nearby Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription (Fig. 20) leaves no doubt what must be hiding under it: ‘In this place (for) the Storm-god of Heaven, the divine Great Mountain (and) all the god(s), the Great King Hartapu, who conquered all the lands, for the Storm-god of Heaven and all the god(s)[...’ (Hawkins 1992: 265; 1995: 105). Muwatalli could hardly have chosen a more appropriate location for the new abode of his god, the Storm-god of Heaven, alias the Storm-god of Lightning, in close proximity to his own residence.

If the identification of Tarhuntassa at Kızıldağ is valid, we may now put Muwatalli’s great move into a larger perspective. Since the very beginning of the Hittite kingdom, after Hattusili I’s move of his residence to Hattusa, Hittite religion and ideology were heavily dependent on the great (proto-)Hittite tradition of the north. Besides Hattusa, other sacred cities, such as Arinna, Nerik and Zippalanda, were also situated in this northernmost part of the kingdom. After the incorporation of Kizzuwatna and other southern and eastern regions, another important layer was added to Hittite religion and ideology, the Hurrian. Places such as Kummanni and Samuha came to play a prominent role in Hittite history and religion. There remained, however, one extensive region of Hittite Anatolia which had never played a decisive role in the consolidation of Hittite religion: the vast plains in the south-west. None of the great cities of the Lower Land and other southwestern areas ever played a dominant role in Hittite ideology and politics. Yet, this centrally-located Luwian-speaking region looked back into a reputable history in the distant past, with the city of Purushanda, for example, being the seat of a ‘Great Ruler’ in the Old Assyrian period. This neglected third corner of Hittite Anatolia suddenly leaped into the foreground of Hittite history under Muwatalli’s reform.

A Luwian orientation of Muwatalli has always been suspected, and, without overstating this ‘ethnic’ aspect in Muwatalli’s reform, we should nevertheless acknowledge the following facts. His previously unattested god has the clearly Luwian epithet *pihassassi*, and the new capital, wherever one prefers to locate it, was certainly situated in a Luwian-speaking area (Melchert 2003: *passim*; Singer 2006b). To this we may add Muwatalli’s own name, which is of Luwian origin. *Muwatalli* (logographical NIR.GÁL) is ‘valiant’ or ‘mighty’ in Luwian (Starke 1990: 173; Melchert 1993: 151). The ‘Valiant Storm-god’ (^dU NIR.GÁL) was the personal god of his father Mursili, which may explain Muwatalli’s choice for a throne-name. It would seem, that from the day of his birth Muwatalli was predisposed to the adoration of a Luwian Storm-god, or as he puts it in his prayer, *‘the Storm-god of Lightning took me from my mother and reared me’* (KUB 6.45 iii 28 f.).

So much for the Luwian connections of Muwatalli, which are not insignificant. Still, I would assert that the choice of the southwest as his new residence was not so much dictated by ‘ethnic’ concerns, but rather by more general geo-political and cultural considerations, that is, a more centrally-located focal point for his huge kingdom. Although the western kingdom of Arzawa was finally subdued and partitioned by his father Mursili, this vast region continued to pose a constant threat on the stability of Hatti, and a shift of the kingdom’s centre of gravity towards the southwest seemed a timely solution.

Throughout history, a recurring tendency in choosing the location of a new capital was a shift to the centre of the country, as a statement of a more balanced and equitable policy. I could bring plenty of examples, but suffice it to mention again Akhetaten in Middle Egypt and Brasilia in Brazil. It is quite instructive to have a brief look at the foundation decree of Brasilia, as presented in 1957 by Lucio Costa:¹

Founding a city in the wilderness is a deliberate act of conquest, a gesture after the manner of the pioneering colonial tradition ... It should not be envisaged merely as an organism capable of performing adequately and effortlessly the vital functions of any modern city, not merely as an ‘urbs’, but as a ‘civitas’, possessing the attributes inherent to a Capital.

Indeed, Tarhuntassa was better situated to serve as a ‘civitas’ of the Hittite commonwealth than Hattusa. Incidentally, the nearby city of Karaman also served as the capital of a large kingdom in the 14th century A.D., the Emirate of the Karamanids, who were eventually subdued by the Ottoman Turks. Thereafter the capital of the central Anatolian plateau was moved to Konya. And, one may also add, that Atatürk’s transfer of the capital from Istanbul to Ankara was also aimed, among other things, to achieve a more equitable political structure for the Republic of Turkey.

But alas, Muwatalli’s courageous reform was shortlived, like Akhenaten’s. It first seemed that the Storm-god of Heaven had indeed compensated Muwatalli with a sweeping victory over the Egyptians at Qadesh. But shortly afterwards Muwatalli died, and his son and successor Urhi-Tesub, like Tutankhamon, cut short the reform and moved the capital back to Hattusa.

Why he did so is difficult to tell. Like in Egypt, there must have been strong pressures from privileged circles of the established clergy and aristocracy to return to the traditional capital. But I think that Urhi-Tesub’s decision had more to do with envy of his ambitious uncle than with penetrating political and theological reasoning. Before Muwatalli left Hattusa he entrusted the city to the able hands of the Chief Scribe Mittanamuwa. Contrary to previous assertions, Hattusa was *not* included in Hattusili’s large jurisdiction in northern Anatolia (Singer 2001). But, despite this prudent move, intended to diminish the importance of Hattusa at a time when a new capital was being established, Muwatalli’s reform initiated a *de facto* division of the land. Urhi-Tesub must have been pretty concerned about the intentions of his uncle, perhaps rightly so. He moved the gods back to Hatti and started to curtail Hattusili’s jurisdiction and influence, until the latter revolted and usurped the throne of his nephew.

When exactly were the gods moved back to Hattusa, and who remained in charge of Tarhuntassa during the remaining years of Urhi-Tesub is not known. Independent sources of Urhi-Tesub, besides his seals, are missing, and we must again rely on the testimony of Hattusili and his wife. In her famous letter to Ramses II, Queen Puduhepa sarcastically explains the reasons for Hatti’s impoverishment: ‘*As you, my brother, knows the palace of Hatti (É KUR^{URU}Hatti), should I (myself) not kn[ow] it? [...] the*

¹ ‘Report of the Pilot Plan for Brasilia’, http://www.infobrasilia.com.br/pilot_plan.htm

palace [has been tra]nsferred(?), and whatever remained, Urhi-Tesub gave to the Great God (DINGIR.GAL). Since [Urhi-]Tesub is there, ask him whether it is so, or whether it is not so' (KUB 21.38 obv. 10–12; Singer 1998: 537 f.). It is quite obvious that this unnamed Great God is the Great Storm-god of Heaven, and if we accept Puduhepa's witness, it would appear that Urhi-Tesub continued his worship, at least for a while.

This is also supported by his seal on which he is embraced by the Storm-god of Heaven (Fig. 21). In the cuneiform legend, however, he presents himself as the 'Beloved of the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna', which marks the return to the traditional concept of a divine couple. On another elaborate seal Urhi-Tesub appears in the company of the Storm-god of Aleppo (Hawkins 2003) (Fig. 22). This marks the dissolution of Muwatalli's revolutionary perception of a favoured universal Storm-god of Heaven and a return to the traditional multiplicity of territorial deities. This tendency will continue even more vigorously after Hattusili's takeover. His theology had a marked feminine inclination, perhaps due to the dominant influence of Queen Puduhepa. The great goddesses and their sons reappear in the foreground of the Hittite pantheon, with a strong tendency towards syncretism: the Sun-goddess of Arinna, Hebat, and most of all, Ishtar/Sausga of Samuha, the personal goddess of the royal couple.

The story of Tarhuntassa could have ended here. Like Akhetaten, the new capital could have been pillaged, abandoned, and covered with sand until its rediscovery in modern times. Yet, it had a different fate, mainly due to the moralistic stance of an usurper. A short while after his successful coup, Hattusili took Muwatalli's younger son Kurunta, who grew up on his lap, and installed him on the throne of his father in Tarhuntassa. Why he did this belongs to the domain of 'psychological history', a domain which is viewed with skepticism by some historians. If we believe Hattusili's own testimony, he did this 'out of regard for the love of his brother'. In any case, through this crucial decision he perpetuated the division of Anatolia, perhaps unconsciously. Already in the next generation the two Hittite states, each ruled by a Great King, competed fiercely over political supremacy, a competition which weakened the Hittite Empire and contributed to its dissolution (Singer 1996b; 2000: 26).

And what happened to Muwatalli's new god before and after the counter-reform? Well, he certainly befell a better fate than Akhenaten's god. Once established in Tarhuntassa, the cult of the Storm-god of Lightning spread to other areas of Anatolia. On the 18th day of the AN.TAH.ŠUM festival the Storm-god of Lightning is celebrated alongside the Sun-goddess of Arinna. He even seems to have enjoyed a certain revival during the cult reforms of Tudhaliya IV. In Tarhuntassa itself, that is in complex of Kızıldağ and Karadağ, the only deity mentioned by name in Hartapu's inscriptions is the Storm-god of Heaven, which cannot be coincidental. The only exceptions are the Divine Great Mountain in KARADAĞ 1, and the deity in KIZILDAĞ 2 (Fig. 23–24). On the latter Hatice Gonnet (1983) identified the epithet of the Storm-god as the bent arm holding a dagger, which represents 'Valiant' or 'Mighty', Luwian Muwatalli, perhaps as a tribute to the founder of the city. In short, the last king of Tarhuntassa, Hartapu, apparently remained loyal to his grandfather's god until the very end.

Retrospectively, I would say that the failed reforms of Akhenaten and Muwatalli are perhaps the most fundamental religious transformations in the Late Bronze Age. The new capitals that they founded are the only ones which were called after the names of their respective gods, Aten and Tarhunta, and which were actually destined to replace the old capitals (Fig. 25). Other new cities were named after their founders and were *not* intended to replace the traditional capitals: Dur-Kurigalzu was not intended to replace Babylon; nor did Dur-Untash replace Susa; Pi-Ramesse did not replace Thebes and Memphis; nor did Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, Dur-Sharukkin and Niniveh replace Assur. Per-

haps here lies the reason for the failure of Akhenaten's and Muwatalli's reforms — the irresistible gravitational force of tradition.

Tel Aviv University

References

- CAD Chicago Assyrian Dictionary
 CTH E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, 2nd ed. (Paris 1971).
 KBo *Keilschrifttexte aus Bogazköy* (Leipzig, Berlin).
 KUB *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (Berlin 1926ff.).
- Alp, S. 1995. Zur Lage der Stadt Tarhuntassa, in O. Carruba, M. Giorgieri, C. Mora, eds. *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia (Pavia 1993)*. Pavia, 1–11.
 Bell, G. 1927. *The Letters of Gertrude Bell. Selected and Edited by Lady Bell, D.B.E.* Vol. I. London.
 Bittel, K. 1986. Hartapus and Kızıldağ, in J.V. Canby, E. Porada, B.S. Ridway, T. Stech, eds. *Ancient Anatolia, Aspects of Change and Culture Development. Essays in Honor of Machteld M. Mellink*. Wisconsin, 103–111.
 Bryce, T. 2005. *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (New Edition), Oxford.
 Dinçol, A.M., Yakar, J., Dinçol, B., Taffet, A. 2000. The Borders of the Appanage Kingdom of *Tarhuntassa* – A Geographical and Archaeological Assessment, *Anatolica* 26, 1–29.
 Ehringhaus, H. 2005. *Götter, Herrscher, Inschriften. Die Felsreliefs der Hethitischen Grossreichszeit in der Türkei*. Mainz.
 Gonnet, H. 1983. L'inscription No 2 de Kızıldağ, *Hethitica* 5, 21–8.
 Gonnet, H. 1984. Nouvelles données archéologiques relatives aux inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de Hartapusa à Kızıldağ, in R. Donceel et R. Lebrun, eds. *Archéologie et religions de l'Anatolie Ancienne. Mélanges en l'honneur du professeur Paul Naster*. Louvain-la-neuve, 119–25.
 Hawkins, J.D. 1992. The Inscriptions of the Kızıldağ and the Karadağ in the Light of the Yalbur Inscription, in H. Otten, E. Akurgal, H. Ertem, A. Süel, eds. *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*. Ankara, 259–75.
 Hawkins, J.D. 1995. *The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa (SÜDBURG)*. Wiesbaden.
 Hawkins, J.D. 1998. Tarkasnawa King of Mira, 'Tarkondemos', Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel, *Anatolian Studies* 48, 1–31.
 Hawkins, J.D. 2001. Urhi-Tesub, *tuhkanti*, in G. Wilhelm, ed. *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie (Würzburg 1999)*. Wiesbaden, 167–79.
 Hawkins, J.D. 2003. The Storm-God Seal of Mursili III, in G. Beckman, R. Beal, G. McMahon, eds. *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr.* Winona Lake, 169–75.
 Herbordt, S. 2005. *Die Prinzen- und Beamtsiegel der hethitischen Grossreichszeit auf Tonbullien aus dem Nišantepe-Archiv in Hattusa*. Mainz.
 van den Hout, Th.P.J. 1997. Apology of Hattusili III, in W.W. Hallo, ed. *The Context of Scripture*, vol. I. Leiden, 199–204.
 Karauğuz, G., Bahar, H., Kunt, I. 2002. Kızıldağ Üzerine Yeni Bazı Gözlemler, *Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi* 5, 7–32.
 Kemp, B. 1989. *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilization*. London and New York.

- Martin, G.T. 1989. *The Royal Tomb at El-Amarna*. London.
- Melchert, H.C. 1993. *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon*. Chapel Hill.
- Melchert, H.C. 2003. *The Luwians*. Leiden and Boston.
- Murnane, W.J. and Van Siclen III, Ch.C. 1993. *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten*. London.
- Murnane, W.J. 1995. *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*. Atlanta.
- Neve, P. 1993. *Hattusa, Stadt der Götter und Tempel*. Mainz.
- Otten, H. 1993. *Zu einigen Neufunden hethitischer Königssiegel*. Stuttgart.
- Singer, I. 1996a. *Muwatalli's Prayer to the Assembly of Gods Through the Storm-God of Lightning (CTH 381)*. Atlanta.
- Singer, I. 1996b. Great Kings of Tarhuntassa, *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 38: 63–71.
- Singer, I. 1998. From Hattusa to Tarhuntassa: Some Thoughts on Muwatalli's Reign. *Acts of the IIIrd International Congress of Hittitology (Çorum 1996)*, Ankara 1998, 535–41.
- Singer, I. 2000. New Evidence on the End of the Hittite Empire, in E. Oren, ed. *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment*. Philadelphia, 21–33.
- Singer, I. 2001. The Fate of Hattusa during the Period of Tarhuntassa's Supremacy, in Th. Richter, D. Prechel, J. Klinger, eds. *Kulturgeschichten. Altorientalische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*. Saarbrücken, 395–403.
- Singer, I. 2002. *Hittite Prayers*. Atlanta.
- Singer, I. 2006a. Pihassassi. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, Band 10/7–8, 559–61. Berlin and New York.
- Singer, I. 2006b. Review of Melchert 2003. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 62, 430–52.
- Starke, F. 1990. *Untersuchung zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens*. Wiesbaden.
- Tatishvili, I. 2004. Quelques réflexions sur l'évolution de la pensée religieuse chez les Hittites, *Phasis* 7, 93–107.



Fig. 1: Akhenaten (Egyptian Museum, Cairo).

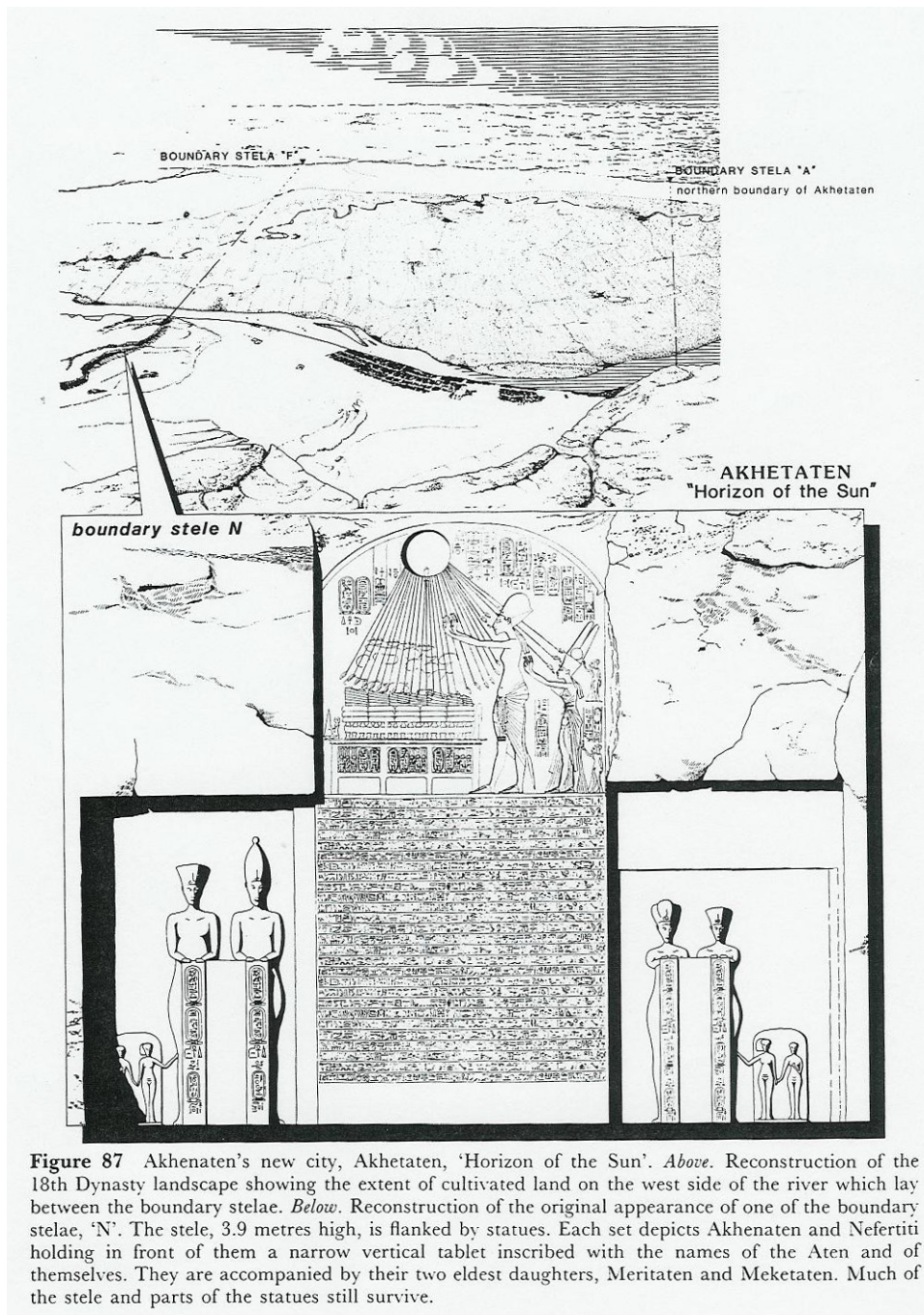


Figure 87 Akhenaten's new city, Akhetaten, 'Horizon of the Sun'. *Above.* Reconstruction of the 18th Dynasty landscape showing the extent of cultivated land on the west side of the river which lay between the boundary stelae. *Below.* Reconstruction of the original appearance of one of the boundary stelae, 'N'. The stele, 3.9 metres high, is flanked by statues. Each set depicts Akhenaten and Nefertiti holding in front of them a narrow vertical tablet inscribed with the names of the Aten and of themselves. They are accompanied by their two eldest daughters, Meritaten and Meketaten. Much of the stele and parts of the statues still survive.

Fig. 2: The boundary stele of Akhetaten (Kemp 1989: 268, fig. 87).



Fig. 3: Relief of Muwatalli II at Sirkeli (Ehringhaus 2005: 98, figs. 175–6).



Fig. 4: Seal impression of Muwatalli II (Neve 1993: 58, fig. 156).



Fig. 5: Seal impression of Muwatalli II and Danuhepa (Neve 1993: 58, fig. 158).



Fig. 6: Seal impression of Muwatalli II embraced by the Storm-god (Neve 1993: 53, fig. 149).



Fig. 7: Tudhaliya IV and Sarruma at Yazılıkaya (photo I. Singer).

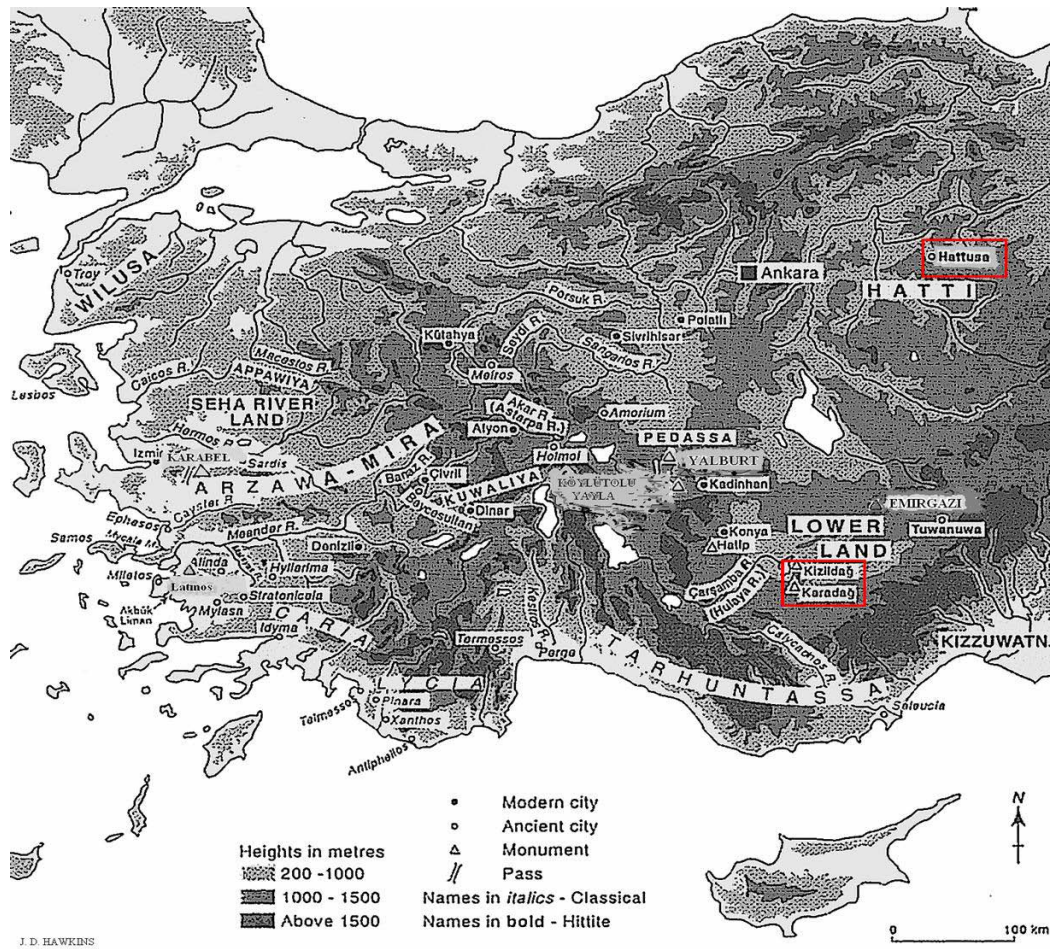


Fig. 8: Hittite Anatolia with locations of Hattusa and Kızıldağ (Hawkins 1998: 31, fig. 11).



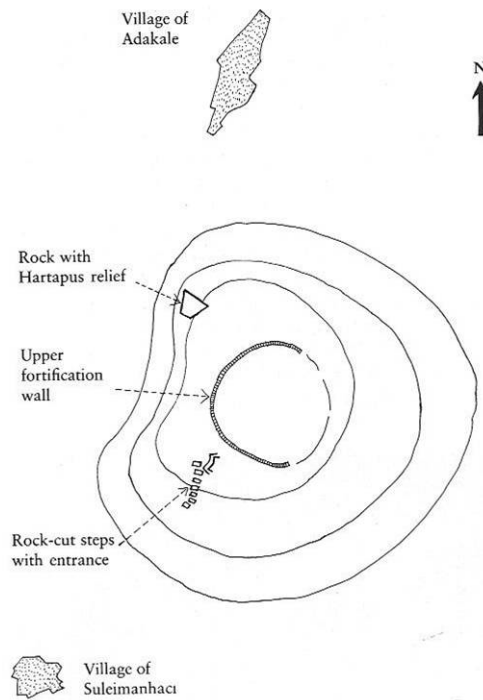
Fig. 9: Kızıldağ (courtesy J. Yakar).



Fig. 10: Lake Hotamiş near Kızıldağ (courtesy J. Yakar).



Fig. 11: The 'Throne' of Kızıldağ (photo I. Singer).



Ill. 10-1. Plan of Kızıldağ, 1975—not drawn to scale. (Sketch by Hans Thoma)

Fig. 12: Plan of Kızıldağ (Bittel 1986: 107, fig. 10–11).

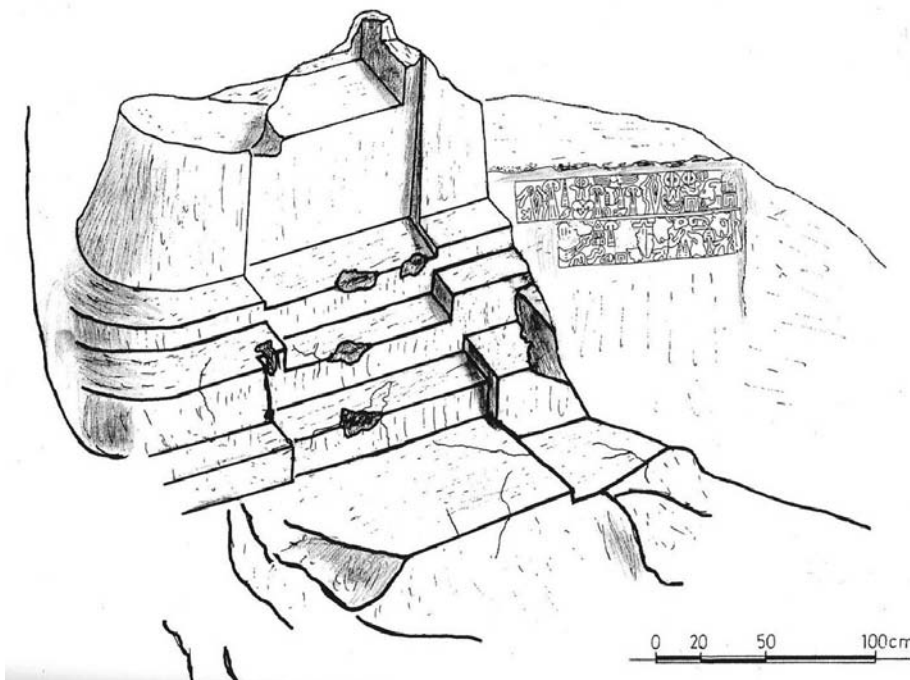


Fig. 13: Open air sanctuary at Kızıldağ with inscription KIZILDAĞ 4 (Karağuz, Bahar, Kunt 2002: 24, fig. XI).

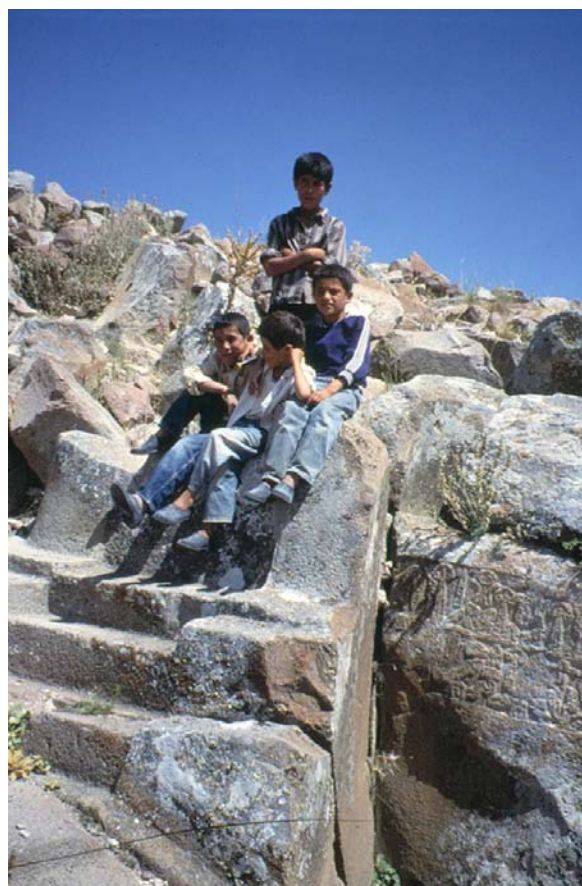


Fig. 14: Open air sanctuary at Kızıldağ (photo I. Singer).



Fig. 15: Rock-cut chamber tomb at Kızıldağ (courtesy J. Yakar).



Fig. 16: Karadağ (Binbirkilise) (photo I. Singer).



Fig. 17: Crater seen from the summit of the Karadağ (photo I. Singer).



Fig. 18: The Lower Land seen from the summit of the Karadağ (courtesy J. Yakar).



Fig. 19: Church at the summit of the Karadağ (photo I. Singer).



Fig. 20: KARADAĞ 1 inscription (photo I. Singer).



Fig. 21: Seal impression of Mursili III/Urhi-Tesup (Otten 1993: 25, fig. 20).

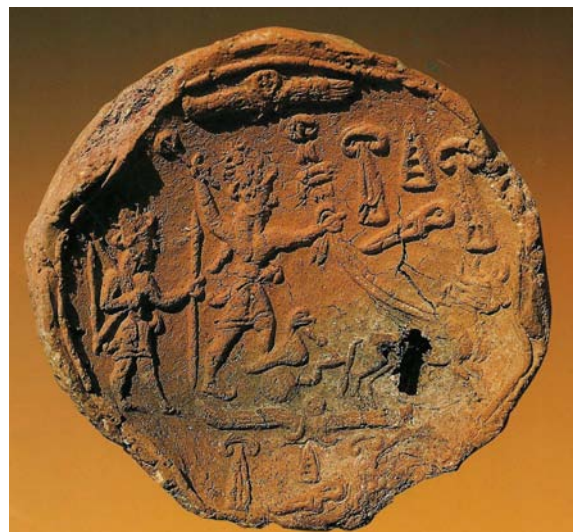


Fig. 22: Seal impression of Mursili III/Urhi-Tesup (Neve 1993, front cover).



Fig. 23:KIZILDAĞ 2 inscription (Gonnet 1983: 22, fig. 1).

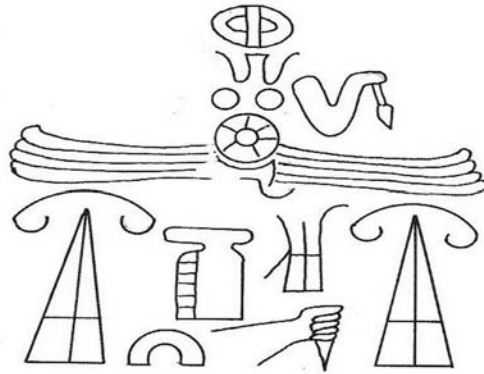


Fig. 24:KIZILDAĞ 2 inscription (Gonnet 1983: 24, fig. 2).



Fig. 25:Satellite map of Anatolia indicating the locations of Hattusa and Tarhuntassa (<http://www.wabash.edu/AsiaMinor/rome/Maps/NASA.htm>).