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# Apollo Delphinios – Again

**Abstract:** The prehistory of the Classical Greek god Apollo is well-studied, but still a matter of debate, and the possible avenues into a better understanding are exemplified by the competing etymologies of his name. On the one hand, it is given an Indo-European etymology, which links him to the Doric institution of the *apella* ‘band of young men’. Apollo, then, was originally an Indo-European divine *kouros*, with his role as leader of the chorus deriving easily from his morphology and the epithet *Lykios* descending from the Indo-European metaphor of a group of young men as a pack of wolves. The other etymology leaves the origin of his name unexplained, but claims a link with two Bronze Age west Anatolian gods: Appalu, who is called upon in purification rites by augurs, and the Trojan city god Appaliuna. In this case, his role as god of prophecy and his worship in various Greco-Anatolian cities, such as Miletus, is easily explained, but other salient aspects of his divine morphology are not. In this contribution, I bring in the epiclesis Delphinios to help bring the gap, connecting it to the Late Bronze Age Hattic god Telipinu, whose name has the transparent etymology “great son.” While the connection was made long ago by Walter Burkert, he did not know enough about Telipinu’s morphology to fully realize the implications of the equation. I revisit the *kouros* aspect of Apollo in the light of the current understanding of Telipinu’s morphology, and I attempt to explain how and why Appaluwa was merged with Telipinu to create Apollo Delphinios.

## 1 Introduction

Even though the prehistory of the Classical Greek god Apollo is well-studied, it remains a matter of debate.<sup>1</sup> Some give the god an Indo-European origin by linking him to the Doric *apellai* (political assemblies), as argued in an influential article by Walter Burkert.<sup>2</sup> Then, working from the claim that the term *apella* originally referred to a band of young men hunting, fighting, and raiding together, they imagine an Apollo

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<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise stated, I use the transliterations of Hittite texts made available on the electronic database *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln* (<https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/>). There the reader will find bibliography and discussion of the fragments booked according to their *CTH* number. An updated version of the catalogue is available at <https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>. All translations are my own. A chance to present some elements of this paper to the Anatolian Circle at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago helped to sharpen my thinking in the final stages of writing this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Burkert 1975; Heubeck 1987; Nagy 1994. *Apellai* as political assemblies: Luther 2006.

descended from an Indo-European divine *kouros*.<sup>3</sup> In this case, his role in Classical Greece as ephebe and leader of the chorus derives easily from his original morphology, and his epithet *Lykeios* originates in the Indo-European metaphor of a group of young men as a pack of wolves.<sup>4</sup> However, as Robert Beekes has shown, there are no possible Indo-European etymologies via Greek that allow for a link with the Doric *apellai* or the Doric month *Apellaion*.<sup>5</sup>

The other path to understanding leaves the origin of his name unexplained, but argues for a link with a god attested in Bronze-Age west Anatolia: Appaliuna, the Wilusan (Trojan) god mentioned in a treaty between the Hittite king Muwattalli II and his vassal Alaksandu of Wilusa (ca. 1275 BCE).<sup>6</sup> I was the first to bring into the discussion the god Appaluwa, who is called upon in two plague rituals for an army or town carried out by west Anatolian augurs, which were found at the Hittite capital Hattuşa.<sup>7</sup> With this citation added to the dossier, Apollo's role as god of prophecy and his importance in Greco-Anatolian cities such as Miletus are easily explained, as is his characterization in the *Iliad*, where he is a bow-bearing plague god allied with the Troadic opponents of the Achaeans and able to bear the aegis of Zeus like his half-sister Athena (15.229–230, 24.20–21).<sup>8</sup> For, as I have shown, Appaluwa is a bow-hunting god belonging to or overlapping with the scribal category of <sup>d</sup>KAL, a divine type associated with bows, augurs, and the sacred *kurša* hunting bag that is an ancestor to the aegis.<sup>9</sup> Secondly, an Anatolian contribution to Apollo's divine morphology fits with an Anatolian origin for his epiclesis Delphinios (Cretan Delphidios) from the name of the young male agricultural divinity Telipinu. However, the merger of these two separate Anatolian divine morphologies still needs explanation.

<sup>3</sup> Watkins 1995, 149, citing Peters 1989, 211–113, unpublished, *non vidi*. Apollo and *Männerbunde*: Graf 2009, 112–113. Indo-European *Männerbunde*: Das/Meiser 2002; McCone 1990, 203–218; Watkins 1995, 149, n. 25. *Kouroi* as Greek reflexes of Indo-European heroic warriors: Peters 2002.

<sup>4</sup> Apollo as ephebe: Gorman 2001, 168–171; Graf 2009, 103–129; Herda 2006, 91–96. Apollo and music: Graf 2009, 33–51; Rutherford 2020a. Connection between wolves and Indo-European warriors or *Männerbunde*: Jackson 2016; McCone 1987. Connection between Apollo and wolves: Cartledge 2009, 646; as an Indo-European trait: Egetmeyer 2007, 213–219. Apollo Lykeios: Graf 2009, 120–122.

<sup>5</sup> Beekes 2003.

<sup>6</sup> <sup>d</sup>*Ap-pa-li-u-na-aš* (CTH 76.A = KUB 21.1 iv 27, translit. Friedrich 1930, 80). See Bachvarova 2016, 245–259. Note that attempts to dispute the reading were based on the misdrawn hand copy by Albrecht Götze showing a horizontal wedge before the *ap* sign, while photos of the relevant passage, now freely available on the Mainzer Fotoarchiv website (<https://www.hethport.adwmainz.de/fotarch/>), show that the trace before the *ap* is in fact consistent with the divine determinative, viz. a vertical wedge.

<sup>7</sup> CTH 424.4 = KUB 41.16 + IBoT 4.309 obv. 9: <sup>d</sup>*Ap-pa-lu'-[wa-* and 5 = KBo 22.125 i 10: <sup>d</sup>*Ap-pa-lu-wa-an*, 11: <sup>d</sup>*Ap-pa-lu-wa*: Bachvarova 2002, 46, n. 40; Bachvarova 2016, 245–249; also see Herda 2009; Rutherford 2020b, 109–113.

<sup>8</sup> Apollo, prophecy, and healing: Graf 2009, 52–102.

<sup>9</sup> Bachvarova 2022b.

In this contribution, I first review why we can consider Appaluwa to be the type of god who could be classified as a KAL-deity, then discuss Telipinu's character. Finally, working with the assumption that the divine name Telipinu is in fact the source of the epiclesis Delphinios, I offer suggestions as to how and why a KAL-deity could have been merged with Telipinu to create Apollo Delphinios even though the two deities are opposed in Hittite myth as gods of the wild and of agriculture: both are associated with the sacred hunting bag, and they shared enough of the set of dangerously impetuous traits assigned to young men.

## 2 Appaluwa as a <sup>d</sup>KAL

We begin with the deities designated with the Sumerograms DINGIR (the divine determinative) + KAL, among whom I argue Appaluwa and therefore Appaliuna should be grouped. In the scholarly literature the second Sumerogram has often been transcribed LAMMA based on the fact that the Mesopotamian deity designated with it is the Akkadian protective goddess Lammassu. Thus, this Anatolian divine type is frequently labeled by modern scholars a “tutelary deity” (*Schutzgott*). However, there is no obvious evidence to support the supposition that the divinities in question were in fact first and foremost protective. Therefore, I follow the lead of scholars who prefer the transliteration KAL, which means “strong” in Sumerian. Hittite scribes seem to have made an equation of the Hittite word *innarawant-* “vigorous, manly” with the Sumerogram, and certainly in the Empire period (late 13<sup>th</sup> century) a male Innara is attested as a KAL-deity. Adding to the complexity is the fact that a *female* Hattic deity, Inar(a), also belongs to the KAL-type. So, the folk-etymological equation on the part of Hittite scribes in fact should be traced back to a *female* deity's name.<sup>10</sup> In Hieroglyphic Luwian, the god is designated DEUS.CERVUS or “stag-god”.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>d</sup>KALs received worship in the state cult centralized at Hattusa, and a <sup>d</sup>KAL was one of the standard divine trio along with a sun-goddess and a storm-god that was worshipped in local temples throughout the Hittite empire, at least in the time of Tudhaliya IV (1237–1209). When described in cult inventories or depicted in rock reliefs, <sup>d</sup>KAL is a male on a stag carrying a hawk and/or hare; often he carries a bow or throwing stick.<sup>12</sup> As a hunter whose realm is the wilderness <sup>d</sup>KAL is the deity “who fills the *kurša*,” or sacred hunting bag, and sometimes a KAL-god, for example Zithar-

<sup>10</sup> McMahon 1991, 23–27; Weeden 2011, 263–268. Other explanations of why Hittite scribes chose this Sumerogram eliminate the possibility that the KAL-deities could also be feminine (Archi 2019, 49–51, 59; Hawkins 2006, 51). Inara: Haas 1994, 436–438; Popko 1995, 71, 89–90, 121. Innara: Popko 2007, 67.

<sup>11</sup> Frühwirth 2021; Hawkins 2006.

<sup>12</sup> KAL-deity: Cammarosano 2018, 54–55, 67–72; Haas 1994, 449–459; McMahon 1991, 51–52; Popko 2007, 66–68; Rutherford 2020b, 33–34.

iya, can even be symbolized by the *kurša* itself.<sup>13</sup> The KAL-god Kuruntiya or Runtiya (“the antlered one”) was popular along the Aegean coast in the Hittite period,<sup>14</sup> and images of the male bow-hunter with stag continue to appear in Iron-Age reliefs in western Anatolia, where Iron-Age Tabalian kings continue to use DEUS.CERVUS in their claims of royal domination over the landscape.<sup>15</sup>

West Anatolia, especially Arzawa, was considered by the Hittites to be a region where particularly proficient augurs could be found. Apotropaic, healing, and purification rituals were collected from Arzawan augurs to benefit members of the Hittite court and to rid entire towns or armies from plague,<sup>16</sup> and it is the features of west Anatolian plague rituals involving augurs that allows us to infer that Appaluwa is a bow-hunting deity. Of particular interest are rituals against plague in which a KAL-deity or analogous god is determined to be the angry divinity responsible. For example, in the plague ritual of Ašhella of Ḫapalla (a region within west Anatolia), he toasts the “<sup>d</sup>KAL of the ritual” three times before sacrificed animals are eaten at the close of the second day.<sup>17</sup> In another plague ritual, Dandanku directs the god Iyarri, described as a dangerous bow-carrying warrior, to drive the plague on the enemy camp instead by shooting his arrows.<sup>18</sup> Here the parallels with the description of Apollo’s plague arrows launched against the Achaean army in *Iliad* 1.43–52 are obvious.<sup>19</sup> It must be noted, however, that the Arzawan purification rituals overall are not strikingly similar to the events in the *Iliad* 1; they use an animal carrier to remove pollution along

13 CTH 682.1.A ii 32, translit. and trans. McMahon 1991, 102–103. Zithariya: McMahon 1991, 20–23. See especially CTH 683: “Festivals for Renewing the *Kurša*-Bag for Zithariya and <sup>d</sup>KAL of Ḫatenzuwa”, translit. and trans. McMahon 1991, 143–88.

14 Popko 2007, 67.

15 Images: Ephesus (İçten/Krinzinger 2004, no bow in hand), Malatya, Aleppo, and Karasu (Demanuelli 2013, 122). Named: Bolgamaden and Bohça in Tabal in central Anatolia from the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium (Demanuelli 2013, 114, 122–123; Hawkins 2006, 60), Malatya, Karatepe, and Karkemiš (Frühwirth 2021).

16 Arzawan rituals: Collins 2019; Rutherford 2020b, 120–143. Augury: Rutherford 2020b, 131–135.

17 CTH 394, §§7, 9. On the fourth and final day sacrifices are made to the Storm-god and all the gods.

18 CTH 425.2; the ritual also addresses the malevolent Heptad, on which see Archi 2010. CTH 425.4 names a variety of gods, especially the Storm-god, as the owners of the land of Hatti, while the Heptad is (among those) blamed for their evident anger (similarly CTH 425.5). <sup>d</sup>KAL is not mentioned in these rituals. The Heptad also receive sacrifices along with the Sun-god in the plague ritual CTH 410 attributed to Uḫhamuwa of Arzawa. In the plague ritual attributed to Puliša (CTH 407, his origin broken off), a god of the enemy land from which the army has returned is blamed – in this case humans are used as scapegoats!

19 Iyarri shares these characteristics with Sanda. Iyarri and Sanda: Archi 2010, 24–25; Sanda: Rutherford 2017; Iyarri: Rutherford 2020b, 112, 134, 189–190, noting that his role in Dandanku’s ritual resembles that of Apollo in the *Iliad*. Arzawan augurs’ rituals and *Iliad* 1: Haas 2008, 173; Hazenbos 2007, 105; Högemann and Oettinger 2008; Rutherford 2020b, 189–190.

with the standard propitiatory sacrifices and analogic magic so typical of the rituals collected at Hattusa.<sup>20</sup>

In two Late New Hittite (ca. 1200 BCE) exemplars of plague rituals to be carried out in the various relevant towns, a deity named Appaluwa appears in conjunction with his daughter Lapana.<sup>21</sup> While we only have a fragment of each of the two tablets in question, they can be grouped with three other rituals for plague in a town or army camp through shared features, as I have discussed in some detail in a recent article. While in other examples the god who is responsible for the plague is unknown,<sup>22</sup> in the case of *CTH* 424.4 and 5 it appears that the gods responsible have been established by oracle, another similarity with the *Iliad* and a sign that augurs were involved in the ritual.<sup>23</sup> Key to deducing that among the gods involved in the *CTH* 424 rituals is a hunter is the offering of food to the approaching deity's dogs in Tapalazunauli's ritual (*CTH* 424.1.A, §6'), since dogs are closely associated with hunting in Hittite culture and such offerings are given to draw other hunter gods close.<sup>24</sup> Based on the overall context, we can arrive at the following conclusion: Appaluwa, like Iyarri, is a regionally known god whose characteristics at least overlap with those of deities grouped by Hittite scribes under the category of <sup>d</sup>KAL even though the Hittite scribe(s) responsible for the textualizations of *CTH* 424.4 and 5 apparently did not apply the designation <sup>d</sup>KAL to him (in the preserved fragments at least); moreover, augurs would have been involved in diagnosing the reason for the plague as well as attempting to drive it away from the town or army. The specific mention of the two exotic west Anatolian gods Appaluwa and Lapana as the angry deities could have been motivated by the specific location where the plague had broken out.

Given the places where Appaluwa and Appaliuna are attested as active and the close parallels between Appaluwa and the earliest portrayal of Apollo in Greek literature as a bow-bearing plague-god protecting Troy, it seems most parsimonious to consider the three deities to be closely connected and bearing different versions of the same name. But, unfortunately, the addition of Appaluwa to the pool of data does not help in the search for an etymology of Apollo's name. *Appaliuna* can be made to work with Edwin Brown's derivation from a hypothesized Luwian noun *appaliya-* "one of entrapping", also accounting for the early Greek form *Apelyon*, which is possibly at-

<sup>20</sup> The better-preserved rituals against plague grouped under *CTH* 424 show that they are characteristically scapegoat (ass, sheep) rituals. When the practitioner's name and affiliation is preserved, they prove to be men from Arzawa (*CTH* 424.1, 2, 3).

<sup>21</sup> *CTH* 424.4, §3; *CTH* 424.5, §3. Full discussion in Bachvarova 2022b.

<sup>22</sup> *CTH* 424.1, §§5'-6'; *CTH* 424.2, §§2, 3, *CTH* 424.3, §2.

<sup>23</sup> *CTH* 424.4, §3: =šmaš IR-'an-'zi ("They ask [ . . . ] by oracle for them"). This could refer to the offerings expected, but the first step would have been to determine by yes or no oracle which god was angry. Note the usual writing of the verb is not with the Sumerogram IR, but SxSÁ (Haas 2008, 19). IR, however, does occur (Laroche 1952, 23). Further evidence for augurs and <sup>d</sup>KAL participating in the rituals: Bachvarova 2022b, 40–44.

<sup>24</sup> Bachvarova 2022b, 35–36, 45–46.

tested in the Linear B tablet KN E 842.3 and reconstructable from the various versions of his names attested in the Iron Age, viz. Doric and Arcadian Ἀπέλλων and Cypriot Ἀπειλῶν.<sup>25</sup> But, *Appaluwa* precludes Brown's etymology. The variation between *-li* and simple *-l* in the Hittite examples suggests a palatalized *-l*. I therefore propose a stem /Apelu-. The Wilusan god has been Graecized with the addition of the suffix *-ōn* replacing the final stem vowel, speaking to the same Mycenaean influence at Late Bronze Age Troy that also explains Alaksandu's Greek name, while the Hittite scribe Hitticized the god's name by making it an *a*-stem.<sup>26</sup> However, we still cannot make a decision on whether Apelu originated in Greece, west Anatolia, or even Crete. We can only ascertain that he was already shared among Greek-speakers and west Anatolians in the Late Bronze Age.

### 3 Delphinios and Telipinu

I turn now to a less sure connection: between the north-central Anatolian god Telipinu and Apollo Delphinios. The etymology of Delphinios is also disputed. Certainly folk-etymological is the connection to Delphi, but some Classical scholars see the connection to *delphis* "dolphin" made by the 6<sup>th</sup>-century Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* (493–496) as legitimate,<sup>27</sup> thus placing foremost his role as guardian of seafarers and in turn of colonizers. Fritz Graf, discounting the importance of Apollo Delphinios' role as protector of seafarers in order to support his claim that the god is primarily the overseer of young men's transition to adulthood, prefers to see the term as descended from a non-Greek Cretan language.<sup>28</sup> According to this line of reasoning the divine *kouros* type so important in Bronze-Age Crete would have been merged with an Indo-European *kouros* god Apollo.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, (Apollo) Delphinios would have arrived in Miletus, where he was worshipped as the city god, along with immigrants from Crete, a migration assigned in legend to the time of Minos.<sup>30</sup>

25 Brown 2004, 246–248.

26 I discuss the etymology in detail in Bachvarova 2022b, 27–31. For a reliable (aporetic) discussion of the etymology that does not include Appaluwa, see Oettinger 2015. While I do not find the proposed etymologies of either Blažek 2017 or Rosół 2008 persuasive, they thoroughly cover earlier proposed etymologies and explain why they are not acceptable.

27 So Beekes 2010, 313.

28 Graf 1979, 3–7, 21.

29 The Cretan young male god is represented by, for example, the Palaikastro *kouros* statue (MacGillivray/Sackett 2000).

30 Apollo Delphinios: Graf 1979; Graf 2009, 109–110; Herda 2005; Herda 2006, esp. 109–110; Herda 2008, 14–18; Herda 2009, 88–89; Polinskaya 2014, 219–225. Faraone 2018, 16–19 highlights the Cretan connection at Hellenistic Miletus, while Carless Unwin 2017, 122–123 finds the possibility of a historical transfer from Crete to Miletus plausible.

A key piece of evidence for Graf's contention that Apollo Delphinios was first of all a Cretan *kouros* god is the 8<sup>th</sup>-century date of his temple in Dreros, during which time it has been suggested to have served as a gathering place for men engaging in communal feasting and carrying out their citizenship duties.<sup>31</sup> However, we must accept that it is not impossible that the epiclesis Delphinios was added later to the divine *kouros* who received worship there, perhaps when he was identified with the supra-local divinity Apollo. While a 7<sup>th</sup>-century playful and obscene graffito coming from the Spartan colony of Thera (*IG* XII.3, 537 = *DB MAP* S#14761) is the earliest inscrip-tional mention of Apollo Delphinios, therefore supporting the supposition that he was a Dorian god, 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>-century mentions come from the Ionian cities Erythrae (*I.Erythrai Klazomenai* 209) and Miletus (*I.Delphinion* 31 = *DB MAP* T#159), and several come from Milesian colonies: one from Odessus (*SEG* 61, 560) and seven from Olbia, including a dedication by the Molpoi,<sup>32</sup> a group of citizen singer-dancers serving Apollo Delphinios who also were active in Miletus.<sup>33</sup> Thus, it may be that (Apollo) Delphinios originated in Ionia rather than Crete and traveled to Crete from Miletus rather than in the opposite direction.

Indeed, Apollo Delphinios' position as chief god of Miletus, a city which archaeological and textual evidence shows us was a place of contact and contestation among indigenous Anatolians and first Minoans, then Mycenaeans, then Protogeometric Greeks, encourages us to privilege the Anatolian facets of the god.<sup>34</sup> In particular, a sherd of a Mycenaean-style krater found in Late Bronze Age Miletus depicts the hat of a Hittite deity and the beak of a hawk at the right height to be held in the god's hand (although we should note that typically the beak faces away from the KAL-deity who holds the hawk), allowing us to infer that the divine type was already a vehicle to express a Milesian identity shared among indigenous Anatolians and Mycenaeans, and

31 Graf 1979, 6, n. 40; 11.

32 *IGDOP* 60, 61, 63, 64, 99 (= *DB MAP* S#7038); *I.Olbia* 55, 56, 58; *SEG* 30, 978; other mentions are likely in lacunose inscriptions: Graf 1974.

33 *I.Delphinion* 133, on which see Bachvarova 2022a; Herda 2006; 2011. Of the occurrences of Delphinios collected in the electronic *Banque de Données des Epiclèses Grecques* (<https://epiclesesgrecques.univ-rennes1.fr/>) and Mapping Ancient Polytheisms database (<https://base-map-polytheisms.humanum.fr/>), I mention here only the citations from the 5<sup>th</sup> century or earlier. As for early literary mentions, besides the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, a scholiast explains oblique references by Pindar to an Apolline festival on Aegina as referring to the Delphinia (*Σ ad Pi. P.* 8.88, *N.* 5.81), and Thucydides (8.38, 40) refers to the Delphinion on Chios.

34 Bachvarova 2022a, 55–58, 60; Herda 2008. Among the multifarious founding legends of Miletus, the earliest extant one is from the 5<sup>th</sup>-century Herodorus of Heraclea (*FGrH* 31 F 45 = *Σ ad A.R.* 1.85/8a), citing Cretan Sarpedon and Miletus as founders. Homer names a Miletus among the towns of Crete (*Il.* 2.647). But, it is in the Hellenistic period that we see emphasis at Miletus on the Cretan connection (Bachvarova 2022a, 57, with note 34, 60; Faraone 2018, 16–19). Archaeological evidence of Minoans and Mycenaeans at Miletus: Raymond *et al.* 2016 with earlier references.



possibly earlier immigrants from Crete.<sup>35</sup> And, in Archaic Miletus, Apollo Delphinios not only had some of the standard Greek associations – with the seat of government at the Delphinion, with oracles, with colonization – but also shared his sister Artemis' and the KAL-deity's affinity with deer.<sup>36</sup>

Burkert tentatively linked Delphinios to the Anatolian vegetation-god Telipinu,<sup>37</sup> a Hattic god whose name means “great-child” in Hattic (Teli-pinu) and is thus comparable to the Mesopotamian Dumu-zi(d) “son-strong”. The god of agriculture who plows and irrigates to produce grain, Telipinu is the Storm-god's eldest and favorite son (*CTH* 322.1, §2; 323.1, §6). His mother is the sun-goddess Wurunšemu, while his brother is the Sun-god and his sister the KAL-deity Inara.<sup>38</sup> “Telipinu” was also a dynastic name; it possibly lies behind the name of the Mysian mythological character Telephos,<sup>39</sup> and it may be that an association with leadership helped to motivate the attachment of the name to a young male Greek god that came to represent citizenship.

We get a sense of Telipinu's brash personality in a *historiola* meant to resolve his anger and the anger of the Sun-god, which recounts how Telipinu married the daughter of the Sea (Hattic Hatepinu “sea-child”). In this myth (*CTH* 322.1), the Sea – probably the Black Sea<sup>40</sup> – hides the Sun in an act of *hubris*, causing darkness in the land, so the Storm-god sends his “favorite and eld[est son]” Telipinu to fetch him. Telipinu frightens the Sea so much that he gives him his daughter too. Thus, Telipinu is a forceful young man ready to act to support his father but apparently not interested in usurping him. There is an obvious contiguity in the two gods' roles, with the Storm-god providing the rain that makes possible his son's agriculture.

Telipinu is also involved in foundation rituals, and here we see that Telipinu's agricultural side extends to domesticating uncultivated land and bringing agricultural riches to please the gods in the numinous mountains. In one case, “when they build a new temple or a new house on virgin soil” (*CTH* 413.1, §1), the performer who speaks

<sup>35</sup> On the krater, see Bachvarova 2016, 248–250; Bachvarova 2022a, 57. Rutherford 2020b, 113 has already suggested that Miletus could have been the place where Appалуwa reached Greek-speakers.

<sup>36</sup> Apollo Philesios at Didyma was depicted holding a stag in one hand: Pliny *NH* 34.75; Fontenrose 1988, 115; Herda 2009, 96–97.

<sup>37</sup> Burkert 1979, 134; also Barnett 1956, 219; Herda 2008, 15, 51, 53, 55, 61; Herda 2009, 88–89; Rutherford 2020b, 190–192.

<sup>38</sup> On Telipinu, see Hutter 2021, 112–113; Haas 1994, 442–445; Mazoyer 2003b, although I am not persuaded by all the latter's claims. Telipinu was celebrated in festivals harking back to the Hattic cultural layer, such as the KLAM and *purulli* festivals. In his festival at ҺanҺana and KašҺa songs are performed in Hattic e.g., *CTH* 638, no. 8, §2, trans. and translit. Haas/Jakob-Rost 1984, 63, 65. Telipinu as god of agriculture: Gonnet/Hawkins/Grélois 2001, 194. North-central Anatolia his home territory: Hutter 2021, 66–67, 104–105, 112, 210; Steitler 2017, 205–211. Inara the daughter of the Storm-god and therefore Telipinu's sister: *CTH* 336.3, §5".

<sup>39</sup> Rutherford 2020b, 190–191.

<sup>40</sup> Due to Telipinu's north-central Anatolian origin. The Hittites only incorporated the Mediterranean into their mythology after the Middle Hittite period via contact with the Hurrians in Cilicia (Klinger 2000).



the incantation announces firmly, “We are not the ones who have built it; all the gods have built it. The male gods built it as the carpenter, while Telipinu set the foundation, and Ea, the king of wisdom, built the walls on top, and all the mountains brought the wood and stone, and the female gods brought the clay” (§§7–8). Here we can infer that Telipinu is imagined using farming tools such as a spade or hoe to prepare the foundation.<sup>41</sup> Telipinu is also called upon in the final stages of another foundation ritual: “Let Telipinu come, open (the storehouse *vel sim.*), bring wine, nine times sevenfold, let him bring (it) to the mountain; the gods are all assembled on the mountain. They will rejoice in the king and applaud him” (CTH 414.1, §31). Here we see Telipinu being used to express legitimate hegemony.

Telipinu is best known among modern scholars as one of the divine protagonists lost and searched for in *mugawars*, along with the grandmother goddess Hannahanna, the Sun-god, and the Storm-god. *Mugawar* invocations are first attested from the Middle Hittite period (ca. 1400 BCE), but they are written in an archaizing language that indicates an Old Hittite origin. They cannot be considered examples of pure Hattic religious practice, since there is influence from Luwian magic rituals and Mesopotamian concepts like the seven gates to the underworld, as found in, for example, *Ištar's Descent*.<sup>42</sup> It was the parallels between the disappearing god storylines in the *mugawar*, the Mesopotamian myth of the descent of Inanna/Ištar, and the Demeter myth told in her Homeric hymn and acted out in the Eleusinian Mysteries that inspired Theodore Gaster to reconstruct a common myth-ritual complex that expressed the concerns of the agricultural year.<sup>43</sup> The morphology of Dionysos, son of Zeus, angry returning god who demands respect from his worshippers, also has affinities with the Telipinu myth.<sup>44</sup> Clearly this was one of the most popular ancient plotlines known in the Fertile Crescent and Greece.

Since *mugawars* are part of purification and propitiation rituals, their purpose includes soothing the anger of the god who is evidently irritated, which is done not only through the suggestive *historiola*, but also with pleasing offerings, manipulation of language, and analogic reasoning. A typical *mugawar* about Telipinu starts out with his anger, although it is unclear exactly what has angered him. Smoke seizes the house, perhaps an allusion to burning the fields before sowing in the fall,<sup>45</sup> and Telipinu leaves so hastily that he puts his shoes on the wrong feet and disappears into the

41 On the laying of the foundation stone involving farming tools, see Mazoyer 1999, 59; invoking the concept of breaking land for farming and irrigation: Gonnet 1990, 52–53.

42 Hutter 2021, 112–115; Popko 1995, 80, 87, 106–107; Steitler 2017, 205–207. Steitler 2017, 204 argues the *mugawar* is “primarily a Luwian tradition that came under secondary Hattian influence”. For a composite translation of CTH 324: “Telipinu Myth”, which does not include all the passages touched upon here, see Bachvarova in López-Ruiz 2013, 450–457.

43 Gaster 1961; see Burkert 1979, 123–129; Rutherford 2020b, 9, 92–95.

44 Bachvarova 2008; Tassignon 2001.

45 A suggestion inspired by Cohen 2010.

steppe. Without his presence, all abundance vanishes, there is famine and drought, and the gods find they can no longer be sated at their feast. Telipinu's father Tarḫun sends out various gods to locate him, but each in turn fails. Only the puny bee is able to discover him. In one version he is in Liḫzina, a city near the Black Sea:

[He went], the bee. He searche[d] the high mountains, he sea[r]ched the [deep valle]ys, [he searched the dark blue] wav[e]. He use[d] up the honey in [his heart], he [us]ed up [the wax.] And, [he found] him in a meadow in the ci[ty Liḫz]ina, [in] a grov[e], and he stung [him] on his hands (and) his feet, so he go[t up.] (CTH 324.3, §3')

The god awakes in a rage. His anger is described differently in different versions of the *historiola*. In one, he thunders and lightens, making use of his father's weapons (CTH 324.1, §24");<sup>46</sup> in another the practitioner says, "[Telipinu] was [enra]ged, and the spring, the *šilma* [. . .] he [. . .]-ed. He dragged the flowing rivers. [. . .] he [. . .]-ed. He tore them down, the banks [. . .]. He overturned [citi]es, [he] over[threw] houses" (CTH 324.3, §4). Depleted of honey and wax, the bee is unable to soothe him. Instead, the goddess of magic Kamrušepa, who is responsible for the words of the incantation, effects the desired change of state. In the real world, the practitioner is probably an Old Woman. Various soothing substances are offered to remind the god that he should be sweet and soothing like them.

Then, when the god has arrived, lured by the sights, scents, and sounds, the next step of the ritual is enacted, the removal of the god's evil fury. In the final stages of the ritual the god once more cares for his worshipper as he returns to his temple:

Telipinu paid attention to the king. In front of Telipinu an *eya*-tree stands. From the *eya* is hanging a hunting bag (*kurša*) of a sheep. Therein (*anda*) lies fat of a sheep. Therein (*anda*) lie grain, Šakkan, and wine. Therein (*anda*) lie cattle (and) sheep. Therein (*anda*) lie long years (and) descendants. (CTH 324.1.A, §39')

Telipinu's close connection to the *mugawar* ritual is expressed by his close connection to its key pieces of equipment. He is symbolized by the *eya*-tree upon which the *kurša* hangs, as both shown by the Hieroglyphic Luwian sign in the shape of a tree used for his name and declared by the performers of a ritual for installing a replacement *eya*-tree brought down from the mountain at Telipinu's stele.<sup>47</sup> The tree must be non-deciduous, perhaps a live oak or yew, for it represents everlasting abundance, as ex-

46 On the significance of Telipinu using the weapons of his father, see Güterbock [1959] 1997, followed by Tassignon 2001, 322, *pace* Gonnet/Hawkins/Grélois 2001, 193, who see it as a conventional metaphor, and Laroche 1984, 127, with n. 2; 132.

47 CTH 638, no. 14, obv. 5, translit. and trans. Haas/Jakob-Rost 1984, 73, 76–77. Also, no. 12, §3"; no. 16, §§1'-2', translit. and trans. Haas/Jakob-Rost 1984, 69, 70, 83–84. On the Hieroglyphic Luwian sign, see Haas 1977, 443, 447; Haas 1994, 701, 744; Mazoyer 2003a, 73; Mazoyer 2003b, 150. The only known representation of Telipinu described in the Hittite cult inventories comes from Nerik, where he is a small silver tankard, which has replaced a stele: CTH 526.7, §§36"-44'", translit. and trans. Cammarosano 2018, 350–353.

pressed in a foundation ritual for a palace: “Just as the *eya*-tree is eternally flourishing and the leaves do not fall, let the king and queen be flourishing in the same way, and let these words be eternal”.<sup>48</sup> It was the appearance of the *eya*-tree in the *mugawar* rituals that provoked Burkert’s suggestion that Apollo Delphinios is the Greek version of Telipinu; Burkert sees an analogy with the use of trees and branches in Apolline festivals.<sup>49</sup>

As for the sacred hunting bag made from the fleece of a sheep or a goat, it has a variety of descendants in Greek myth and cult, from Jason’s Golden Fleece to the flayed skin of Marsyas hanging in a temple in Celaenae (Hdt. 7.26.3) to the *Dios kōidion* carried through Athens in procession in the month of Maimakterion (November/December), probably to be hung on Poseidon’s statue in order to bring rain, then removed in Skirophorion (June/July). But, the most striking parallel is with the Iliadic aegis, which was carried by Zeus and his children Athena and Apollo. The latter example is particularly important because the phraseology used to describe the terrifying contents of the aegis is remarkably similar to those used in the final section of the *mugawar* describing the good things in the *kurša*.<sup>50</sup> “Therein (*en d*) is Strife, therein (*en d*) is Strength, therein (*en de*) is chilling Rout, and therein (*en de*) is the Gorgon’s head, (that) of a terrible monster, terrible and dreadful, the portent of aegis-shaking Zeus” (Il. 5.738–42). Apollo’s use of the Greek congener of the *kurša* shows he indeed has accumulated traits associated with Telipinu.

A <sup>d</sup>KAL, in this case probably Inara, also plays stock roles in the disappearing god myths, such as participating in the divine feast or assembly at which the god’s absence is apparent (CTH 324.1, §31; 325, §25”). In the “Disappearance and Return of the Sun-god”, <sup>d</sup>KAL-*a* is one of the gods sent to unsuccessfully search for the disappeared deity, and she is contrasted by the Storm-god with the equally unsuccessful agricultural deity Telipinu as a “child of the steppe” and therefore particularly resistant to the frigid temperatures brought on by the Sun-god’s absence (CTH 323.1, §6). This is the key passage that contradicts attempts to argue that Telipinu should be grouped among the KAL-deities,<sup>51</sup> although the fact that the two share a temple in the north-central Anatolian town of Nerik suggests they could be thought to work together or in a complementary fashion.<sup>52</sup>

Unlike the Stag-god, Telipinu disappears in the Iron Age, receiving no mention in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions discovered so far. Instead, some of his features

48 CTH 414.1, §51; discussion: Gonnet 1990, 54.

49 Burkert 1979, 134–135.

50 Also Aphrodite’s *kestos himas* (Il. 14.214–17). The *kurša*-bag: Bawanypeck 2005, 185–187; Güterbock [1989] 1997; McMahon 1991, 184–186, 250–254. Greek congeners of the *kurša*: Bachvarova 2016, 103–104; Rutherford 2020b, 95–97. On the use of the *Dios kōidion*, see Suda, s.v. *Dios kōidion*; Eustathius Σ Od. 22.481; Robertson 1984. The *kurša* and the aegis: Watkins 2000a; Watkins 2000b.

51 As argued by Laroche 1984, 128, 131; Mazoyer 2002, 187–188.

52 CTH 526.7, §42”, translit. and trans. Cammarosano 2018, 352–353.

are found attached to the Storm-god of the Vineyard, not surprising given the contiguity, if not overlap, between the divine morphologies of Telipinu and his father. On the late 8<sup>th</sup>-century İvriz relief in south-central Anatolia, the Storm-god of the Vineyard is depicted facing king Warpalawas with clusters of grapes in one hand, in the other a sheaf of grain, while in the nearby Sultanhan inscription he is described by Sarwatiwas, servant of Wasusarmas, as bringing abundance as he steps; “grain grows at his feet and the wine is good here”.<sup>53</sup> The parallels with Dionysos are also suggestive.<sup>54</sup>

## 4 Hints of Telipinu in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*

Earlier I mentioned parallels between *Iliad* 1 and the plague rituals carried out by west Anatolian augurs. It is the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* that shows influence from mythical narratives involving Telipinu, which were also embedded in rituals. This is another possible contribution of Telipinu’s divine morphology to Apollo. First of all, the personality of Telipinu as brash son of the Storm-god who arrives full of terrifying anger matches the narrative schema of the three fearsome advents that appear in the hymn in the Delian, Pythian, and Crisaeian sections.<sup>55</sup> The hymn opens the Delian section with the entrance of Zeus’ son to the gods’ feast striking fear into the assembled gods (2–5), closes the Pythian section with his angry return to punish Telphousa (377), and finally describes how his flashing entrance to his Crisaeian shrine terrifies the Crisaeian women (444–447).<sup>56</sup> Additionally, Apollo, like his mother, travels widely before deciding where to establish his oracle. This is synchronically an allusion to the “many-named” (82) god’s wide-spread worship, but the connection between the arrival of the deity and the arrival of prosperity is a key motif in the *mugawar*, which may be reworked in Leto’s promise to Delos that if she hosts Apollo’s birth he will bring her, not agricultural prosperity, but riches from the offerings of those who visit his temple (51–60), and the image of the newly born god causing the barren island to bloom with gold like a mountain with wildflowers as he walks (133–139). The motif is also attached to the establishment of the Delphic oracle in a place that is equally infertile but will likewise thrive from offerings from its many visitors (526–537).

53 İvriz 1; Sultanhan, §§6–7, translit. and trans. Hawkins 2000, 466. On the Storm-god of the Vineyard see Demanuelli 2013, 103–110. On the connection between the two gods, see Ehringhaus 2014, 50–56; Hutter 2021, 294, with n. 15; Mazoyer 2005.

54 See references in n. 44.

55 Division of the hymn into three parts: Faraone 2018; Richardson 2010, 9–13.

56 Mazoyer 1999, 56. Clay 1989, 19–29 discusses the peculiarities of the opening. Other supposed parallels adduced by Mazoyer are not persuasive or misread the text(s) in question. See Gonnet/Hawkins/Grégois 2001 for some objections, which are not all that one could make. Comparison of Apollo’s entrance to Ninurta: Penglase 1994, 100. Pagès Cebrian 2007 argues that Sminthian Apollo in *Iliad* 1 also follows this schema.

Furthermore, Michel Mazoyer, who follows Hatice Gonnet in arguing that Teli-pinu should be seen as a founder god, compares Apollo as founder in his Homeric hymn.<sup>57</sup> Although participating in rites of blessing the foundation of a palace or temple is not comparable to prophesying for colonizing expeditions, which is the primary way in which Apollo is a founder,<sup>58</sup> it is true that Apollo is explicitly described building the foundations of his temple in virgin soil with his own hands in phraseology similar to the foundation ritual quoted above: “After speaking thus (his intention to build) Phoibos Apollo laid out the foundations broad and very long, in a continuous line” (254–255, 294–295). The foundation is actually repeated twice, because sly Telphousa, angered by his invasion of her space at the future Delphi, manages to persuade the god to found a separate sanctuary at Crisa. In the second case, the others responsible for finishing the task are listed in a fashion similar to that of the Hittite foundation ritual, but here they are very definitely human, including the poet himself who takes credit for enhancing the sanctuary’s fame: “In turn, on them Trophonios and Agamedes, sons of Erginos, dear to the immortal gods, placed the stone threshold; and, the innumerable races of men built the shrine around with worked stones to be worthy of song forever” (295–299).

Apollo realizes Telphousa’s ruse when he encounters the baneful Pytho lurking at the spring of his new sanctuary and exterminates the baneful snake in a vividly described fight. On the one hand, Apollo’s battle duplicates his father’s defeat of Typhaon; on the other, it parallels the battles between storm-god and serpent described in Hittite texts belonging to two separate traditions, the native north-central Anatolian Illuyanka myth and the Hurro-Hittite “Song of Hedammu”.<sup>59</sup> But, there are also parallels here with the Telipinu *mugawar*. After Apollo went back to Telphousa and declared to her that he was not tricked, insisting, “The glory here in fact will be mine too, not yours alone” (381), he “pushed the peak upon (her) with rocks poured on top and hid her streams” (382–383). The earthquake-like destruction not only inverts the orderly establishment of his shrine and matches Delos’ fear of what Apollo might do to her if he scorns her offer of a home (66–78), it also parallels the description of Teli-pinu’s rage in the *mugawar* quoted above in which he turns rivers from their course and tears down structures.<sup>60</sup>

The poet closes the Pythian episode with an etymology of a recondite epithet for Apollo: “And there all pray to the lord using the epiclesis Telphousios, because he insulted the streams of holy Telphousa” (385–387). This epithet appears only here, but Strabo (9.2.27) notes the existence of an Apollo Tilphossios in Boeotia, named after the spring Tilphossa along with Mt. Tilphossios. First of all, as Burkert has noted, there is an interesting Gleichklang not only between the names Telipinu and Delphinios, but

<sup>57</sup> Mazoyer 1999, 57–59.

<sup>58</sup> Also see comments of Gonnet/Hawkins/Grélois 2001. Apollo as colonizer: Greaves 2019.

<sup>59</sup> Bachvarova 2016, 250–258.

<sup>60</sup> Mazoyer 1999, 58.

also with the name Telpousa;<sup>61</sup> it is possible that the latter was formed off of a variant version of the epiclesis derived from the Anatolian god's name. Secondly, the poet's assertion here is in competition with the later etymology in the Crisaeian section, where the god demands of the Cretan sailors whom he has taken to be his priests that he be addressed as Delphinios because he appeared to them as a dolphin (493–496), and it is layered on top of a separate implicit etymology for his epithet Pythios, which commemorates his defeat of Pytho. We are left with the sense that the two once separate sections are taking different sides in a debate about an opaque epithet.<sup>62</sup> Certainly, Hesiod in his *Theogony* exerts effort to explain opaque divine names that we now consider to be borrowed from another language, such as Titan (207–210, from west Semitic Ditanu “bison”, a clan ancestor), Aphrodite (188–200, origin still unknown), and Pegasus (280–286, cf. the Luwian epithet *piḥaššašši-* “of lightning” for the storm-god).<sup>63</sup> Moreover, the differing forms Delphinios, Delphidios, Telpousios, and Tilphōsios suggest borrowing into Greek via different routes.

## 5 Conclusion

If we are to take the connection between Telipinu and Delphinios seriously, we must not only explain when and where Hittite Telipinu could have been connected to Apollo, but also how this happened, given that Telipinu is in fact explicitly opposed to the KAL-deity in Hittite myth. Telipinu has no particular association with augury, nor does he use hunting weapons. However, he does travel in the same grasslands and mountainous wild spaces KAL-deities oversee. Furthermore, Telipinu, like KAL-deities, could be given a *kurša*-bag.<sup>64</sup> The association with the *kurša* is an important area of overlap between the KAL-deities and Telipinu that could have facilitated the assigning of an epiclesis built off of Telipinu's name to Apollo. The brash favored son persona of Telipinu, which was a traditional divine morphology throughout the Near East – viz. Ninurta and Baal – maps easily onto the Greek bold and arrogant son persona found in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*.<sup>65</sup> Among the Greeks as they began to develop their characteristic oligarchic polis structure Apollo's youthful persona came to symbolize the ephebe: the process of entering into the privilege of citizenship in a harmoniously governed city, in which choral dancing played as important a role as training for battle. Thus, the Molpoi

<sup>61</sup> Burkert 1979, 127.

<sup>62</sup> Polemical ancient etymologies: Sluiter 2015, 903.

<sup>63</sup> Bachvarova 2016, 290–291 (Titan), 425 (Pegasus).

<sup>64</sup> CTH 662.2.A (offerings for local cults) obv. 6–13, see McMahon 1991, 185–186.

<sup>65</sup> Thus, there is a germ of truth in Mazoyer's deduction that Telipinu corresponds to Apollo, although it was based on a misidentification of the <sup>d</sup>KAL depicted on the Schimmel rhyton as Telipinu, which allowed him to argue that Telipinu appeared with bow, spear, and stag (Mazoyer 1999; 2002, 187–188; 2004). For the gods on the Schimmel rhyton: Hawkins 2006, 50, 52; van den Hout 2018, 116–117.

at Miletus and its colonies served the *orgia* of Apollo Delphinios. Indeed, names such as Molpagoras and Molpothemis show the tight link between proficiency in choral song-dance and the right to engage in participatory government,<sup>66</sup> and this must have been one reason Apollo became a god of music, facilitated by the obvious parallel of his bow-string and the strings of his lyre. As Ian Rutherford points out, a connection with the Hattic deity does not preclude a maritime aspect for Apollo Delphinios, for Telipinu does have some connection to the Black Sea via his consort, daughter of the Sea.<sup>67</sup>

If we were to continue in this vein, we might suggest that Milesian colonization on the north shore of the Black Sea could have brought Greek-speakers into contact with Telipinu, rather than arguing that (Apollo) Delphinios' presence at Miletus is best explained by contact with Crete, whether in the Minoan period or later.<sup>68</sup> But, where would transfer of Απελν to or from Greek-speakers have occurred? A Cretan origin for Απελν (as opposed to Delphinios) is not precluded. We might even suggest Miletus as the starting point with subsequent transfer to the Troad and Graecization of Απελν- in the larger context of Late Bronze Age contact among Mycenaeans and Anatolians along the Aegean. Finally, Bronze-Age Απελν's connection to augury was expanded to oracular practices more generally. The many oracles of Apollo mentioned in his Homeric hymn (39–40)<sup>69</sup> suggest that oracular shrines such as Claros, Didyma, and Delphi were important *loci* of syncretism throughout the Aegean in the Iron Age, just as the role of Apollo Delphinios as protector of sailors – explorers and hunters in the marine wilderness rather than the mountainous wild – would have fostered the spread of his cult and further syncretism within and beyond the Aegean.

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<sup>66</sup> Bachvarova 2022a, 54–55. The names are first attested in the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BCE.

<sup>67</sup> Rutherford 2020b, 191.

<sup>68</sup> So Herda 2008, 15, 61; Herda 2009, 85–89, 97–98. Also see references in n. 30 here.

<sup>69</sup> McInerney 2015, 105–108.



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