

# The Luwian Goddess Darawa

Manfred Hutter

**Abstract:** The PN Kammalia-Tarawa in an Old Assyrian tablet seems to be the earliest reference of the deity Darawa. The Luwian background this deity is also apparent, e.g., from the plural form <sup>o</sup>*Da-ra-ú-wa-an-zi* or from those texts mentioned in CTH 457 and the etymological interpretation of the divine name to the Luwian verb *tarāwi(ya)-*. Since the early Middle Hittite period Darawa also found her way into the Hattian milieu and as a goddess connected with the family life, she is mentioned several times in festivals for a queen (CTH 646), but also in the Hittite Prayer to the Sun-goddess of the Netherworld (CTH 371) which is – in my opinion – the only Hittite texts mentioning Darawa within the “pantheon of the state”. Texts from the Hurrian and Kizzuwatnaean milieu (e.g., CTH 351) also refer several times to Darawa, but this is clearly the result of a secondary and marginal dissemination of the goddess. In conclusion one might say that Darawa from her Luwian background also came into contact with various milieus of the “Hittite pantheon”, functioning as a goddess providing good (and evil) to humans in everyday life.

Nearly two decades ago I mentioned Darawa as a Luwian deity, mainly on the basis that this divine name is attested several times within Luwian contexts and that some other scholars counted Darawa among the “gods of Kanesh” (Hutter 2003, 219-20. See also Popko 1995, 88-9; Hutter 2021, 142). I still think that basically it is right to connect Darawa’s origins with a Luwian milieu, but it would be too short-sighted to restrict her exclusively to the Luwian sphere. The matter is more complicated and therefore a new look at her can provide some new information. That Darawa is a female deity, is mainly based on common opinion due to those contexts when Darawa is mentioned together with female deities like *DINGIR.MAH<sup>(MEŠ)</sup>*, the “mother goddesses”, with the fate-goddess <sup>o</sup>*Gulša* (sing. and plur.) or others. As Hittite does not make a distinction between masculine and feminine forms in grammar and inflection, and – in my knowledge – there is also no phrase with an Akkadographic pronominal suffix -*ša* “her” referring to Darawa, we have no definitive philological proof that Darawa was a goddess, though this is highly probable. Coming back to the question of the Luwian background and origin of the goddess, I first want to present some considerations about the name as a possible interpretation as Luwian and the earliest documentation of the name in the Kaneš period. The next sections will discuss the most important texts which mention the goddess’s relation to other deities. This makes it – at least superficially – possible to reconstruct “clusters” of relations between Darawa and other deities. A further section focuses on her function(s) and dissemination in the religious world of the Hittite culture, to mark her position in the “official” pantheon of the state and in “everyday worship at home”.

## 1. Darawa’s name from a Luwian background

The earliest reference to the divine name can be found in the onomasticon from the Old Assyrian period in Kaneš with the reference to a “seal of Kammalia-Tarawa”

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(KIŠIB *Kam-ma-li-a-ta-ra-wa*, WAG 48 / 1464, obv. 4 = Hecker 2004/18; see Laroche 1966, no. 494). The first element of this name can be compared with the Hittite name <sup>m</sup>Kammaliya. Kloekhorst (2019, 11; 74) does not give a detailed interpretation of Kanesite *kammalia*, and he also does not comment on the theophoric element of the name from the Old Assyrian colony.

Another theophoric name connected with the goddess is Piyama-Tarawa (KBo 2.1 II 19: <sup>m</sup>*pi-ia-ma-ta-ra-u-wa-a-aš*; see Cammarosano 2018, 194; Laroche 1966, no. 982). This person was in charge for silver and gold for the local cult of the Storm-god of Šuruwa (KBo 2.1 II 9-20; see also Zinko and Zinko 2019, 190-91). For the geographical setting one can mention that KBo 2.1 – like KUB 17.35 – refers to local cults of smaller settlements in the western area of the Hittite empire, maybe between Eskişehir and Afyon Karahisar. A more precise location of the cult for the Storm-god of Šuruwa is not possible at the moment (Cammarosano 2018, 165; 2021, 54-5). But at least it is not impossible to take this “western” localisation of Šuruwa also as a slight indication of Piyama-Tarawa’s connection with the western regions of the Hittite empire.

There is one more personal name that refers to the central areas of the empire, a certain EN-Tarawa (HKM 5.5, 7; HKM 79.1: <sup>m</sup>*EN-ta-ra-u-wa*; see Laroche 1966, nos. 291, 1740). He was the head of an (unknown) district where some auxiliary troops were brought to for a work project. Most probably EN-Tarawa was a local administrator bearing this theophoric name, but we do not know more about him.

These names are important for two reasons: They cover the very long period from the Old Assyrian time of the trade colonies via the Middle Hittite period of the Mašat letters up to the (late) Empire period. Even if the personal names cannot be taken as a proof of the geographical origin of the theophoric element Darawa, two names can be taken as an indication of a maybe “western” origin of the divine name (and not of an origin in the Hattian-Hittite core lands within the Halys bent). With this in mind, one can look for a possible etymology of the name from Luwian.

Two words can be brought into discussion: the verb *tarāwi(ya)*- “hand over, deliver” (cf. also HLuw. *tarāwi-*) and the noun *:tarāwiya-*. Starting with the Cuneiform Luwian verb *tarāwiya-*, Melchert (1993, 211) has established the interpretation as “hand over, deliver; grant” which nicely fits to one occurrence in the ritual of Puriyanni. The ritual patron prepares silver, gold, all kind of seeds and other things (KUB 35.54 II 27-32), then the text reads (II 35-37):

And he (the ritual patron) handed (*ta-ra-a-u-i-it-ta*) them over to the Storm-god of the open field. And he gave (*pi-ya-at-ta*) them to the Storm-god of the open field.

This semantic notion of the Luwian verb is also attested in a HLuw. passage in TELL AHMAR 6, §§ 12-13 (Hawkins 2006, 14-5):

For the gods I provided ((LITUUS)*tara/i-wa/i-ha*) a road and for them I established a full ritual.

Hawkins (2006, 24) comments on this passage with the following words: «Here ‘providing a road for the gods’ seems possible, suggesting as it does the Hitt. ritual practice of attracting (‘drawing’) the gods by means of ‘paths’ (KASKAL) of various substances». This practice of preparing a “path” for the gods is also attested in KUB 35.84, as we will see later. To “hand over” or “deliver” something to someone is also – outside the ritual context – mentioned in İSKENDERUN § 1 (“69”) *tara/i-wa/i-i-ha*). In Kuwatalla’s ritual the verb occurs several times – but with a negative semantic, as the context refers to a kind of punishment. The Old Woman presents two figures of

the adversary made of dough to the Sun-god and then she says (KUB 35.45 II 18-27; Hutter 2019, 347; see also KUB 35.48 II 11-23; KBo 29.10 II 8-9):

Oh [...], *tiwali*-lord, render them, the enemies, the opponents of law, the lords of spells, of (magic bonds), of imprecation, of curses and of oaths. ... If he (the enemy) is living, Tiwad shall deliver (*da-ra-u-id-du*) him above; if he is dead, the Sun-goddess of the earth shall deliver (*da-ra-ú-id-du*) him, the man of curse and oath.

This invocation of the Sun-god for help again refers to the verb as an action to “deliver” or hand over something/somebody to someone else, here taken as some kind of punishment or bringing harm to one’s enemy. Luwian *tarāwi(ya)*- thus can be employed both in a positive or negative way.

The noun *:tarāwiya-* (with a Glossenkeil) is attested three times in the prayer of Muwatalli to the Storm-god of Kummani in KBo 11.1 (Singer 2002, 83-4, slightly modified):

obv. 14-15: If some god of the land has angered the Storm-god, may the Annunake now reconcile the Storm-god to that deity. May the Storm-god regard the land with conciliatory eyes again, and may wealth, peace, well-being, growth, prosperity and *:tarawiya-* (*a-aš-šu ták-šu-ul aš!-šu-u[l mi-y]a-tar i-ya-tar :ta-ra-a-ú-i-y[a-aš]*) [come about] in the land. ...

obv. 27-28: May the Storm-god, my lord, speak to the gods, and let the gods regard the land with conciliatory eyes, and let them bring wealth, *:tarāwiya-*, peace, well-being, and growth (*a-aš-šu :ta-ra-a-uis-an ták-šu-ul aš-šu-ul mi-y[a-tar]-ra*) to the land. ...

obv. 43-44: May the Storm-god, my lord, [regard the land with conciliatory eyes again], and may [wealth], peace, well-being, *tarāwiya-* and growth (*[..]-x ták-šu-ul aš-šu-ul ta-[ra-a-uis-y]a-aš mi-ya-tar-ra*) [come about in the land].

Singer (2002, 83, 95 note 2) suggested (with a question mark) the translation “maturation” for *:tarāwiya-*, other suggestions had been e.g. endowment, silence or rest (cf. for details Tischler 1991, 155-56). From the context in this prayer, there is no doubt that *:tarāwiya-* denotes some positive situation which the gods shall provide or deliver to a person. Similar enumerations of such good things given by gods to humankind, are mentioned again and again.

Taking the semantics of the noun and the verb together we reach the conclusion that both words relate to an act of non-verbal communication, bestowing something good (or evil) from one part or the other in this exchange process. Gods are asked to provide something good (see Muwatalli’s prayer) or bad (see Kuwatalla’s ritual). With this in mind, I suggest that the name of the goddess Darawa should be connected with these words. That means, Darawa is a Luwian goddess who might hand over good or bad things to people. So, we have to prove if this aspect of the goddess is suitable to the textual documentation.

## 2. Darawa in texts of the Luwian milieu

The first text I like to refer to is the festival fragment KBo 7.36 (CTH 670.506) which mentions Darawa among a list of seven gods and goddesses. I attribute this Middle Hittite text to the Luwian milieu because of the Luwian divine name Gulza for the fate-goddess. The reverse of the fragment mentions a small hearth (GUNNI) and seven ŠU.GU<sub>7</sub>.GU<sub>7</sub>-vessels together with bread, oily loaves and maybe some pine cones (KBo 7.36 rev. 1-5). The seven vessels correspond with the number of seven deities who are mentioned by name (KBo 7.36 rev. 7-9; see also KBo 7.36 obv. 10-11 and the duplicate KBo 60.184, 6-7):

7 7 DINGIR-LAM lam-ni-it [

8 <sup>D</sup>UTU <sup>D</sup>IŠKUR <sup>D</sup>LAMMA <sup>D</sup>[xxx? <sup>D</sup>Gul-za-an]

9 <sup>D</sup>Da-ra-a-wa-an [<sup>D</sup>xxx]

The names of the two missing deities cannot be restored with certainty, but in the light of further texts we discuss later, it is tempting to insert in the two lacunas DINGIR.MAḪ<sup>(MEŠ)</sup> and <sup>D</sup>Ḫilašši. The five other gods are also mentioned in KUB 7.2 I 15-16, 29 with the Storm-god in first and the Sun-god in second position. KUB 7.2 (and parallel texts KUB 41.3 obv. 20; KBo 64.271 obv. 4-5; see Bawanyeck 2005, 276-78; 286) is a ritual of the woman Pupuwanni and an augur which is performed against bewitchment and perjury of a person.

The main symbolism in this ritual refers to the *šeknu*-garment (Prechel 2002, 278-81; Bawanyeck 2005, 273). The cooperation between Pupuwanni and the augur can be taken as a slight hint for putting this ritual into a Luwian (or more generally speaking [South-]Western Anatolian) milieu. The two “god-lists” in both rituals (KBo 7.36; KUB 7.2) are not quite identical to each other, but the gods are not contradictory to a Luwian milieu. Both the leading position of the Sun-god (\*Tiwad) and the Storm-god (\*Tarhunt) match with Luwian traditions, and also various local forms of the Tutelary deity (<sup>D</sup>LAMMA) are known from Luwian contexts, even (as <sup>D</sup>LAMMA of Tauriša) as son to Tiwad (Hutter 2003, 225). But as these divine names are not written syllabically, the definitive proof is not possible.

The other difference between the two lists is a variation between Darawa and Gulza/Gulša in the singular or plural. Pupuwanni’s ritual also mentions the Gulseš and the Daraweš side by side (KUB 41.3++ obv. 14) without the Storm-god, the Sun-god and Tutelary deity, when an offering table is prepared for them.

Two other texts from the Luwian milieu are interesting. The first one is KUB 35.84 (CTH 457.4). The beginning of the ritual is missing, then the “roads” or “paths” for the gods are prepared with oil, honey and other fine things to attract and invoke them (II 8-9, 12-14):

Call the mighty god(desse)s to the path (made) of *kušiši*-garment, the blessings bringing Gulša-goddesses, the mother goddesses (<sup>DINGIR</sup>MAḪ<sup>MEŠ</sup>) and the Darawa-goddesses. You, blessings bringing goddesses, [xxx, xxx] and Darawa-goddesses, come for blessings.

The fragmentary text does not inform us about the purpose of the ritual, nor about ritual actions. But it makes the Luwian milieu obvious, as “blessings bringing” (*ušan-taray(a)*, cf. Starke 1990, 375; Melchert 1993, 246) is not only a Luwian word using Luwian morphology in the Hittite context, but also in II 13 (contrary to the Hittite form in ii 9) the Darawa-goddesses are mentioned in the Luwian case formation (<sup>D</sup>Da-ra-ú-wa-an-zi). For the missing divine names in the gap in II 12-13 one probably can insert <sup>D</sup>Gulzanzi (Nom. plur. as Luwian form corresponding to Darawanzi) and DINGIR.MAḪ<sup>MEŠ</sup>[<sup>S</sup>-aš] as in II 9. The other text is KBo 34.104 (CTH 457.4), mentioning in line 3 <sup>D</sup>GUL-ši-iš <sup>D</sup>Da-ra-[ú-wa-aš] and the Luwian word *ušantali-* (Melchert 1993, 275) in line 1 as a variant of *ušan-taray(a)* in KUB 35.84 II 13-14.

### 3. Darawa mentioned together with gods of the Hattian milieu

Among the festivals celebrated for a queen in CTH 646 there are several fragments which mention Darawa. Due to the fragmentary character, neither incipits nor colophons are available which might give a precise information on the purpose or occasion

of the festival. We generally learn – as in many other festivals (see generally Hutter 2021, 92-3; 249) – about the drinking rites, about offerings of various kinds of bread and of music performed during the festival. In some of these texts, Darawa is mentioned in longer contexts together with other deities. The best-preserved description is KBo 39.137 + KBo 23.72 + KUB 32.87 + KBo 43.154 (CTH 646.1) from the Middle Hittite period. The text covers the first and the beginning of the second day of the festival. At the end of the first day, three offering rounds (cf. II 40-41: *ir-ḫa-iz-zi*) take place and one more at the beginning of the second day (cf. Trémouille 2004, 340-41), including many deities (day 1: III 1-5 fragmentary; III 21-25; III 31-35 with variants of local DINGIR.MAḪ; day 2: III 42-45 very fragmentary). The second round (with restorations of the divine names in III 23 after KBo 19.128 VI 20) reads as follows (KBo 39.137 + KBo 23.72 + KUB 32.87 + KBo 43.154 III 21-28):

- 21 [ ] x IŠ-TU BI-IB-RI TUŠ-aš 7-š[U ] x <sup>D</sup>Gul-šu-uš <sup>D</sup>Ku-du-i-li-iš  
 22 [<sup>D</sup>Ku-d] u-ša-ḫi-li-iš <sup>D</sup>Da-a-ra-wa-[aš <sup>D</sup>An-zi-l] i-iš <sup>D</sup>Zu-uk-ki-iš GUNNI  
 23 [<sup>D</sup>Z] i-li-pu-u-ri-iš <sup>D</sup>EN.ZUM [UL GE<sub>6</sub>-a] n-za <sup>D</sup>Ḫa-ša-am-mi-li-iš É.ŠÀ-aš MUNUS.LUGAL  
 24 [<sup>D</sup>H] a-ri-iš-ta-aš-ši-iš <sup>D</sup>Hi-la-aš-š[i-iš te-p] u pé-e-da-an EME-an ḫa-an-da-a-an  
 25 an-na-ri-in tar-pi-in <sup>D</sup>UD-MA-[AM SIG<sub>5</sub> e-ku]-zi nu A-NA 1 GAL 4 <sup>NINDA</sup>ta-kar-mu-uš  
 26 pá-r-ši-ya-an-na-i ŠÀ-BA 1 <sup>NINDA</sup>ta-[kar-mu-un A-N] A <sup>GIŠ</sup>BANŠUR DINGIR.MAḪ  
 da-a-i 1 <sup>NINDA</sup>ta-kar-mu-un  
 27 A-NA <sup>GIŠ</sup>BANŠUR <sup>D</sup>Gul-ša-aš [1 <sup>NINDA</sup>ta-kar-mu-un] A-NA <sup>D</sup>Šu-li-in-kat-ti  
 1 <sup>NINDA</sup>ta-kar-mu-un  
 28 A-NA <sup>D</sup>Ḫa-ša-am-mi-li d[a-a-i

From a rhyton seven times [the queen drinks]: the Gulša-goddesses, Kuduili, Kudušahili, Darawa, Anzili, Zukki, the hearth, Zilipuri, the Moon-god, the star, the night, Ḫašammili, the Queen of the bedroom (= Kataḫḫi), Harištašši, Ḫilašši, the ‘little place’, the true speech, Annari, Tarpi, the propitious day – [she drinks]. For one cup she breaks four *takarmu*-breads. One *takarmu*-bread she puts on the table of the mother-goddess, one *takarmu*-bread to Gulša, one *takarmu*-bread to Šulinkatti, one *takarmu*-bread to Ḫašammili she puts.

After this ceremony the first day comes to its end when we read as follows (KBo 39.137++ III 37-39):

- 37 nu MUNUS.LUGAL a-ra-a-i nu [ ] x <sup>ḫ</sup>ḫa-li-en-t[u-aš an-da pa-iz-zi]  
 38 I-NA UD 2<sup>KAM</sup>-ma ma-a-an [ ] p] A-NI DINGIR-LIM ú-iz-zi[  
 39 [ ] x e-ša nu wa-ga-[an-na u-ek-zi

The queen washes (herself) and [ ] she goes into the *ḫalentu*-room. On the second day, when she comes in front of the deity, [ ] and she requires a mouthful (to eat).

Then the queen again drinks from a rhyton the gods mentioned above (KBo 39.137 III 41-47) while sitting. The list of gods (mentioned four times) closely corresponds to a similar god-list in KBo 19.128 and in KBo 4.13+ (Otten 1971, 46; Trémouille 2004, 341; Taracha 2000, 187-88), but with one very significant difference: Kuduili, Kudušahili, Darawa, Anzili and Zukki are only mentioned in the four offering rounds in KBo 39.139++. Kuduili and Kudušahili are two deities, whom we further encounter in a few more texts booked in CTH 646. In KBo 30.124 + KBo 22.206 III 10-13 (cf. also the parallel text KBo 34.154 + KBo 25.70 II 2-6) again Gulša and Darawa are recipients of a libation for three times, and music with a small lyre (<sup>GIŠ</sup>INANNA TUR) is performed during the ceremony (Groddek 2002, 176). Then – after a lacuna – the king and the queen first drink Ea and Damkina, then Darawa and the hearth (IV 8-16,

see Groddek 2008, 202). The rituals are accompanied by singing and music performed with a harp (<sup>GIŠ</sup>TIBULA) and the big lyre (GIŠ <sup>INANNA</sup> GAL). Two different kinds of bread (*takarmu*- and warm bread) are put on the offering table (ZAG.GAR.RA). Then we again see the enumeration of a long list of gods, whom the king and the queen celebrate (IV 17-20, Groddek 2008, 202): The Gulša-goddesses, Darawa, the hearth, Kuduili, Kudušaḫili, Ḥašammait[, x-ḫankunuit, Ḥašamili, Ḥilašši, [ ... ], the true speech. Then the fragmentary text breaks off. A further text belonging to this festival is KBo 24.101 (CTH 670.112) with the same drinking rite to Ea and Damkina (rev. 4-5) and a list of gods (rev. 6-7): DINGIR.MAḪ, Gulša-goddesses, Darawa, Kuduili, Kudušaḫili, which can be compared with KBo 22.206.

We can reach the following conclusion based on the occurrence of these divine names: The first and the second day of a festival for a queen is documented in KBo 39.137 + KBo 23.72 + KUB 32.87 + KBo 43.154; also KBo 30.124 + KBo 22.206 can be attributed to the same festival, maybe also to the second or to a later day. In this text, the king is also mentioned. As the festival has been transmitted for a long period (KBo 39.137++ is Middle Hittite and KBo 30.124+ is New Hittite) one can also suggest that KBo 32.129 (CTH 670.3248) – written by Tatiggana and the supervision of Anuwanza – also belongs to this festival, mentioning Darawa, Kudušaḫili, DINGIR.MAḪ and the Gulša-goddesses.

Among the gods of the festival, both Kudušaḫili and Kuduili deserve a special comment. As mentioned above, only in CTH 646 they are included into the long god-list which is known from KBo 19.128 and KBo 4.13+. Both deities are from the Hattian milieu as their names are related to the Hattian word *ku-ú-ut* “soul” (Soysal 2004, 292), so we can suppose that they are gods connected to the fate of a person. One interesting and important reference is KUB 33.40 (CTH 335.7.2), a *mugawar* referring to the disappearance of a god. The preserved parts of the fragmentary tablet offer a series of ritual acts for the following gods. Despite the fragmentary texts, the structure is obvious and one can reconstruct the first paragraph as follows (KUB 33.40 I 1’-3’):

S/He breaks a thin bread.] S/He puts the liver and the heart upon it.

Then [s/he puts] it at/to the [ ... ] for the Gulša-goddesses and for Darawa.

The same action is repeated (I 4’-14’) for the Storm-god of the temple of the mother-goddess (DINGIR.MAḪ), for Kuduili and for Kudušaḫili. After a long break, col. IV tells that the Storm-god had come back to his temple so that the fume left the window and the smoke left the house. Looking closer to the treatment of Kuduili and Kudušaḫili, it is important to mention that the offering for Kuduili is put on the right side of the hearth (I 7’) and on the left side for Kudušaḫili (I 9’). Taking the left side as “bad” or “unfavourable”, one can interpret Kudušaḫili’s name as related to the “bad” (*šaḫ*-) soul (*ku-ú-ut*) and Kuduili’s name to the (good) soul, as already had been suggested by Schuster (2002, 603 note 1217). Thus, both gods can be understood as a corresponding pair of gods, providing a positive or negative fate for a person. Another *mugawar* text to bring back the Storm-god is KUB 60.33 (CTH 335.18). The preserved part of the obverse only mentions the Darawa-goddesses. The reverse refers to Telipinu who shall come back on his path that is sprinkled with sweet oil (cf. the so-called Telipinu myth, KUB 17.10 II 28). It is possible that KUB 60.33 and KUB 33.40 are part of one *mugawar*. The main difference to other *mugawar* texts which take up the motif of the disappearance (and the anger) of a god (cf. for an outline of the motif Hutter-Braunsar 2011) are the gods mentioned here, namely Kuduili and Kudušaḫili combined with the Gulša-goddesses and Darawa. This leads us to two conclusions:

(a) It seems possible that the *mugawar* KUB 33.40 was performed during the festival of the queen where the same gods are invoked and celebrated. Of course, we cannot tell with certainty at which stage of the festival this *mugawar* was recited to reconcile the angered Storm-god (probably of the temple of DINGIR.MAḪ).

(b) The other conclusion goes one step further: Marie-Claude Trémouille (2004, 343; cf. Fuscagni 2002, 292) has observed that the queen Walanni in KUB 32.108 + KBo 39.78 iii 21 (CTH 646) might be the queen who is referred to in KBo 39.137 + KBo 23.72 + KUB 32.87 + KBo 43.154 obv. 22 when the “DINGIR.MAḪ of the mother of the majesty” is mentioned. Accepting Trémouille’s interpretation, we can not only connect the festival of the queen with Walanni, but I want to go one step further for the *mugawar* KUB 33.40 and suggest that the *mugawar*’s topic was the disappearance of the angered Storm-god of Walanni. So, this *mugawar* could be put into a historical context similar to the cases of the disappearing of the Storm-god of Ašmunikal (CTH 326) and the Storm-god of Harapšili (CTH 327).

While Darawa, the Gulša-goddess(es) and DINGIR.MAḪ occur several times together, only some texts of CTH 646 and two fragmentary *mugawar* (CTH 335.7.2; 335.18) bring Darawa, Kuduili and Kudušaḫili together. This should be taken as a strong argument for the interpretation of both the goddess Darawa and the festival for the queen.

#### 4. Interpreting Darawa’s function and character

Judging from the name of the goddess related to the verb *tarāwi(ya)*- “to deliver”, Darawa can be understood as a goddess who bestows both good and bad things on people. This general character corresponds well with Gulša, who distributes the fate of people and who “writes down” their fate (Archi 2013, 6-12; Taracha 2000, 185-87). But also the connection between Darawa and Kuduili / Kudušaḫili fits to this context, if we take these two Hattian gods as gods related to the good or unfavourable fate of a person. In this way, of course, the “profile” of Darawa is not yet very detailed. But the contexts where we find her are clearly part of the “house(hold)” or “private” life. This assumption can be supported by Pupuwanni’s ritual which is obviously not performed as part of the “state cult” but as a ritual which is performed in the house(hold) to remove the negative consequences of the action with the *šeknu*-garment which harmed the ritual client (Prechel 2002, 287). Also, the festival for the queen (including the *mugawar*) can be taken as a ceremony whose central benefit was not for the well-being of the state, but for the “private” well-being of the queen (and her household). Adding the evidence from the texts treated here, Darawa is best characterised as a goddess who is responsible for daily life, providing good or bad things, venerated in the house, maybe close to the hearth (GUNNI), and in the *ḫalentu*-room dedicated to the family cult (Taracha 2017) and not in big temples.

Darawa is a Luwian goddess, but she is also mentioned side by side with Hattian gods. This interference or interaction suggests a cultural contact zone where Luwian and Hattian traditions could mix with each other. There are a few arguments which allow to define the geographical area of this exchange zone: KBo 7.36 mentions the fate-goddess with her Luwian name *Gulza*- and one might remember that also in the Palaic milieu the fate-goddesses *Gulzanikeš* are known. This common tradition of the Luwian and Palaic milieu can be a slight hint that we should look for Darawa more in northern Luwian areas than in the South or Southwest. Such a “northern” location can, at least, indirectly also be supported by the name *Piyama-Tarawa*, whose location in the town of Šuruwa is to be sought in a northern Luwian area. Such a geographical setting makes it quite easy that the Luwian goddess was also introduced to the Hattian milieu

at the early Middle Hittite period. Some of the texts of *CTH* 646 are Middle Hittite, and also the queen Walanni can be identified as queen of the early pre-Empire period.

##### 5. The later development in Hurrian / Kizzuwatnaean milieu

Already in the early Middle Hittite period Darawa came from northern Luwian areas via the Hattian milieu to the Hittites core-lands. This also leads to a secondary dissemination of the goddess. An important text which links this Luwian background with religious traditions in the central Hittite area and religious concepts at the Hittite court is the early Middle Hittite Prayer to the Sun-goddess of the earth against slander which has harmed the king (KBo 7.28+; *CTH* 371.1). The fragmentary first lines are the end of a ritual that might have “purified” the king, and then the prayer starts invoking several deities (Singer 2002, 22; Steitler 2017, 239-40; Hutter 2021, 116-17). All the sections start with invoking a deity to have mercy with the king and intercede for him. Generally speaking, all deities in the prayer are addressed in the same way, starting with the Sun-goddess of the earth, then the Tutelary deity, followed by the vizier of the Sun-goddess and the servants of the Sun-goddess. The next section addresses Darawa (KBo 7.28+ obv. 27-31, slightly adapted from Singer 2002, 23):

Mercy, o Darawa! May this be yours and you keep eating and drinking. Mention [the king favourably] before the Sun-goddess of the earth! Pronounce the king’s name [favourably before] the Sun-goddess of the earth. [If] his father, his mother, his brother, his sister, [his in-law or his companion] defamed [him], do not let him do so.

The next sections address Paraya, the chief of the eunuchs, the chief of the barbers, and Ḫi-lašši. Then all the invoked deities are beseeched to come and bring well-being that the king may prosper. The setting of the prayer in the context of the royal court is evident, and in my impression, this might be the only text with Darawa in the “official religion” of the state for the benefit of the king. Darawa’s integration in this prayer can be explained from her function as goddess connected with the household as mentioned above, therefore she might be a suitable goddess to be addressed in the case of slander on the part of the members of the family – father, mother, brother, sister, in-law. But it remains a single and isolated occurrence of the goddess in the context of a royal prayer.

Three other texts from the Hurrian or Kizzuwatnaean milieu should be mentioned at the end, but as far as I can see they show no connection with each other. The mythological text KUB 36.32 (*CTH* 351.1, Middle Hittite) about the god Ea mentions the Darawa-goddesses together with the mother-goddesses, the fate-goddesses and another deity, whose name can not be fully restored, as only <sup>o</sup>*I-li-* can be read two times due to the fragmentary tablet (KUB 36.32 III 14, [16]). The cultural setting of the myth is within the Hurrian sphere, as we can deduce from the god Ea and the river Aranzaḫ. Another passage mentioning Darawa is the ritual KUB 9.28 (*CTH* 442; late New Hittite) where Darawa appears in a list of gods as recipients of ritual treatment: <sup>o</sup>*IŠTAR-iš*, Ninatta, Kulitta, Darawa, the Gulša-goddesses and Ḫi-lašši occur side by side (I 7-9; III 1-4; see also KBo 27.49, 6-7) combining Darawa with the Hurrian or Kizzuwatnaean sphere. The last example also comes from the Hurrian milieu. KBo 54.72 + KUB 60.153 (*CTH* 492, New Hittite) is a ritual which should incline the gods benevolently to the king on the occasion of the building of a new town. For the ritual treatment, many gods (most of them with Hurrian background) are seated and they receive offerings. Among these deities also Darawa is mentioned twice (KUB 60.153, 10; KBo 54.71 II 4), but we cannot learn about a special function of her in this ritual of the Hurrian sphere. Even if the topic of the ritual might be on the “royal focus” for building a new (capital) city,



it does not denote a high status of Darawa within the pantheon of the Hittite Empire. As in KBo 54.71 II 4 the name is misspelled <sup>o</sup>*Da-u-i-ya-aš* (instead of <sup>o</sup>*Da-ra-u-i-ya-aš*), it further may be an indication that Darawa was also relatively unknown among the Hurrian milieu and one can even speculate if there might have been some mix-up with the Hurrian goddess Darru (e.g., KBo 20.113 III 12) who belongs to the entourage of Ḫebat or with Taruwi (KUB 24.7 I 23).

## 6. Conclusion

Drawing a history of the Luwian goddess Darawa, I suggest the following reconstruction of her background and development. Darawa, attested first in the Kaneš period, has her origin in the northern parts of the Luwian area which facilitates her contact with the Hattian milieu in the Hittite core lands since the early Middle Hittite period, as we learn from the reference to queen Walanni. As she is regularly mentioned in close connection with the fate-goddess(es) and judging from her name, we can say that her function is to provide good (and evil) to humans. Thus, she is similar to the fate-goddess(es) but she must be kept apart from Gulša. This function connects her with the household and “private” cult which allows – in Hattian milieu – her relation to Kuduili and Kudušahili. As a goddess of the “family” or the household she has relevance also for the queen as can be seen in a festival of a queen (CTH 646.1) and in the *mugawar* (CTH 335.7.2). Despite the queen celebrating her in the festival and also the integration of her among the gods addressed in the royal prayer to the Sun-goddess of the earth against slander, Darawa never was included in the state pantheon of the Hittites. But in the Empire period she is also mentioned in some texts from the Hurrian and Kizzuwatnaean milieu, as a result of a widely spread “syncretism” in the Hittite Empire.

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