

have just written [to me ...]" KBo 18.27 obv. 3 (letter fragment), [...] *-ša⁷-at-ši-kán im-ma-ak-ku* [...]... KBo 19.145 iii 6-7 (rit.); *nu im-ma-ak-ku* [...] KUB 29.54 i 9 (hippological); *im-ma-ak-ku-uš[-sa-a]n* / ^{DUG} *šu-up-pa EGIR-pa da-i-¹u¹-en* "We (had) just replaced the *šuppa* vessel, (when the ... -bird did such-and-such)" KBo 32.123 obv. 8 (bird oracle, early NH or MH/early NS). The fifth, a context of quoted speech, preserves the verb *dāi*, which is most likely the present tense of the verb *da-* "to take": [...] *ki?* ¹ *da-a im-ma-ku-wa-za da-a-i* "Take [...]! (S)he is just taking". KUB 43.76 obv. 11 (fragment of a deposition).

What can we conclude from these three well-preserved passages? It seems that *immakku* does not have quite the same meaning as *imma* and properly should be kept separate. We should resist the temptation to translate according to components – combining the customary translations of *imma* "actually, moreover" + the correlative suffix *-kku*. A similar pair exists elsewhere in Hittite, namely, *apiya* and *apiyakku*⁸. Here the best preserved contexts⁹ indicate for *apiyakku* a meaning like "only then (and not before)",¹⁰ as opposed to simple "there" or "then" for *apiya*. This nuance seems to be to parallel *immakku*'s "only now", "just now" rather closely.

⁷ The *š* is probably the nominative case ending of some noun or independent pronoun lost in the preceding break.

⁸ Cf. *HW²* I 184f. sub *apiyakku* with literature.

⁹ KBo 2.3 iv 10-13 (1Mašt.), 2Mašt. iv 30-31, KBo 8.35 ii 6-7 (MH treaty), KUB 2.2 + 48.1 ii 37-39.

¹⁰ Cf. Kronasser, *EHS* p. 349, Anmerkung 3. "(erst) bei der Gelegenheit". Von Schuler's (*Kaškäer* 109ff.) translation "eben dort" for KBo 8.35 ii 6-7 is close (cf. Puhvel, *HED* I 89 "even them"). But I would prefer "just" or "only" for the *-kku* rather than "even".

An Image of the Dead? Some Remarks on the Second Day of the Hittite Royal Funerary Ritual*

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1. Shortly after his edition of the *Hethitische Totenrituale* in 1958 Heinrich Otten published two important additional fragments in the journals *Welt des Orients* and *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* respectively¹. The first fragment consisted of a "Lieferungsliste", the second he termed a "Rollenbuch". On the basis of these more texts could be attributed with certainty to the composition that was known to the Hittite scribes under the title *mān URU Hattuši šalliš waštaiš kišari* "When in Hattuša a great loss occurs" with the connotation: "When in Hattuša a royal loss occurs."²

Following Otten³ already before the final publication of KUB XXXIX in 1963, three groups of texts can be discerned within the text ensemble of the funerary rituals now collected under *CTH* 450: one group where either in the incipit or in the colophon the above title of the composition was explicitly mentioned, a second group where this title is not preserved, but which shares all or most of the characteristics of the first group, and a third one of a general funerary character but of uncertain attribution because none or not enough of the aforementioned characteristics show up. After the publication of KUB XXXIX relatively few fragments have been added to the composition, the most important being those recently published as KBo XXXIV 55-59.

The now available material enables us to reconstruct the organization of the

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¹ *WO* 2 (1954-1959) 477-479 and *OLZ* 57 (1962) 229-233.

² For a detailed semantic and phonological analysis of the root underlying the verb *wašt(a)-* see J. Catsanicos, *NABU* 2; for a different opinion see J. Puhvel, *HS* 105 (1992) 4-8. As to *šalli-* "great" in the sense of "royal", there are a few combinations with this adjective, where a translation "royal" seems the most appropriate: *šalli pedan* "throne, kingship" and *šalli haššatar* "royal family".

³ *HTR* 7-8.

composition into several series:

1. a main ritual description (maybe in more and differing versions; see below)
2. a liturgy series ("Rollenbuch")
3. an outline series and
4. a ration series ("Lieferungsliste").

Of course, this organization of the textual material recalls those of many festivals, esp. the KILAM festival as edited by I. Singer⁴, whose terminology is adopted here. This also confirms Sommer's remark of 1939⁵, repeated by Otten⁶, "daß auch Totenrituale quasi zu Festritualszenen normalen Stils ausarten können."

The description of the ritual itself (1), that lasted for 14 days, now covers partly or completely the days 1-2, 4, 7-8-9 and 12-13. The liturgy, outline and/or ration series (2-4) add general information for the days 5-6, 10-11 and 14. Of the days preserved in the main ritual description (1), however, not all are equally well attested. Firstly, we don't always have complete descriptions covering all activities from dawn till dusk or even later. This seems to be the case only for the days 7 and 12-13. Secondly, not all descriptions seem equally detailed.

The extant colophons hint at the existence of more than just one version of the main ritual description. There is evidence for one version enumerated by tablets⁷ and another enumerated by days. In the latter case the number of days roughly coincides with the number of tablets: under the colophon of the tablet containing the description of the 7th day⁸ the scribe incised the numeral "8" indicating, as Otten recognized⁹, the next tablet number to follow. The same is true of the tablet with the descriptions of the days 12-13, where an additional "14" is carved under the colophon¹⁰. This existence of more versions can be supported archaeologically by the spread of duplicates over three find spots: the archive A at Büyükkale, the Haus am Hang and two fragments from Temple 1¹¹.

That these versions may not always have been mere duplicates, but possibly involved parallel versions, either shorter or longer or with different phraseology may be shown by the large but, unfortunately, heavily mutilated fragment KBo XXV 184, which might be assigned to the second day of the ritual. This text offers only some ends of lines of col. i, a fairly large portion of col. ii is preserved from top to bottom, less of col. iii; col. iv is completely missing. The script probably dates the tablet in the second half of the 14th century with the older variants of AK, AL, IK, KÜ, LI, SAR, URU (in ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR), and with younger E, GI, TAR

and ZU¹². This makes it one of the older among the manuscripts listed under CTH 450¹³. Apart from numerous erasures, a few obvious mistakes (cf. i 11' *da-a'-i*, ii 8 *da-aš-kán<-zi>*, ii 34 ^{LÚ<SILA>}ŠU.DUH, *ibid.* *a-a]š-ga'-az*, iii 3 *ha-ma-an<-kán>-zi*) can be noted as well. The indication "Totenritual" in the Inhaltsübersicht of KBo XXV is doubtlessly based on the occurrence of words and phrases such as:

akkant- "deceased" ii 5

^{GIŠ}*allanda(-GIŠ-)*ru (a tree? and its wood) ii 75, iii 4, 11, 17, 34(?)

MUNUS*taptara-* "taptara-woman" ii 15

mān MUNUS=*za=ma* "If it is a woman, however" ii 61(MUNJUS), 70

kalgalinai- "to sing?, cry?" iii 13

GIDIM "ghost (of the dead), deceased" iii 73¹⁴.

Furthermore, if the small fragment XXXIX 22 iii 5ff. (HTR 90-93) may be considered to be a duplicate to KBo XXV 184 ii 1-6, we can add to the above list:

ukturi- "pyre" XXXIX 22 ii 9

and most probably the phrase

nu [SAG.DU.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ SAG.DU.MEŠ GU₄.MEŠ] *kuwapi war[andat* "(the place,) where [the heads of horses (and) the heads of oxen] [have been] burn[t]" *ibid.* ii 6-7¹⁵.

All in all, one can say this text displays all features characteristic of the composition *mān* ^{URU}*Hattuši šalliš waštaiš kišari* and KBo XXV 184 can thus be assigned to the second group mentioned above.

The best preserved part of the tablet, col. ii, records in a formulaic repetition a series of offerings divided over seven paragraphs. The description of these offerings also contains some traits well known from the royal funerary ritual; compare such formulas as:

"Afterwards he drinks the god NN. The singers sing (accompanied) by the *huzzinar*-instrument, the ALAN.ZU₉-men call out *ahā*, while whispering the word."

As far as preserved, the deities mentioned seem to match in number and order those in the text XXX 23+XXXIX 13 (HTR 72-79; //XXXIX 27(+28)¹⁶), which was assigned by Otten to the second group also. Compare the following table:

⁴ Cf. StBoT 28, 1-5.

⁵ OLZ 42 (1939) 681.

⁶ HTR 72.

⁷ Cf. XXX 18+XXXIX 3 iv 12: DUB.2.KAM ŠA UD.2.KAM (HTR 22); XXXIX 1(+) ii 15: DUB.1.KAM UL Q[ATI] (HTR 20).

⁸ XXX 25+ rev. (HTR 28).

⁹ HTR 25.

¹⁰ XXX 19+ iv (HTR 46-47).

¹¹ Cf. Otten, OLZ 57 (1962) 232; only two pieces are said to stem from Temple I: KBo XXV 184 and KBo XXXIV 55.

¹² CHD L-N 293b s.v. *merr-, mirr-, mar-* gives the indication "pre-NH/NS".

¹³ Other, older manuscripts are XXX 17 (CTH 450 III 2; cf. H. Otten, HTR 50-53) and XXXIX 2 (CTH 450 I B; cf. H. Otten, HTR 18); XXXIV 64 is mentioned as older and belonging to funerary texts in a more general way by Otten, OLZ 57 (1962) 232-233, Laroche, CTH, however, attributes it to the festivals (CTH 670).

¹⁴ Whether the É.NA₄ may be added to this list remains uncertain because it is partly restored (i 6', see below).

¹⁵ Cf. XXX 25+ obv. 19 (7th day; HTR 26), XXXIX 14 i 14, ii 10-11 (HTR 78-81).

¹⁶ = B; A ii 6'-18' = B ii 1'-13' and A iii 12-28 = B iii 1'-17'. B iii 18'-20' differs from A in continuing with the same formula used in A iii 8-10, 15-17 and 22-24.

KBo XXV 184

^d Taurit	ii 17
^d UTU [^d]Mezzulla	18
^d U [^d U URU Z]ippalanda	23
[]	28
[]x	31
^d []	36
[]-n]u	39
[]	43
[]	47

XXX 23+

[]	
[Mez]zulla	ii 6
^d U ^d U URU Zippalanda	17
^d LAMMA	27
[]x-nu	30
^d UD SIG ₅	iii 5
^d Izzištanu	12
taknaš ^d UTU	19
apel ZI-an	26

In further support of the equation of these two texts mention must be made of the remark in KBo XXV 184 ii 17 concerning the offerings to Taurit and not made anywhere else in the list of gods: NINDA.GUR₄.RA GIŠ ^dINANNA=ia NU.GÁL "thick bread and the Inanna-instrument are not (involved)". Although the beginning of XXX 23+ ii 1-5, where on the basis of KBo XXV 184 offerings to the same deity are to be expected, is only fragmentarily preserved and the divine name is lost, the paragraph ends (ii 5') with the words: GIŠ ^dINANNA NINDA.GUR₄.RA NU.GÁL. Another point of correspondence can be seen in the adverb *namma* "again" in XXX 23+ iii 12, where we read [EGIR-an]da=ma *namma* ^dIzzištanu eku[zi] "Then again he drinks the deity Izzištanu." At exactly the same point KBo XXV 184 ii 39 has EGIR-ŠU[-ma] nam[-ma] ^dIz-zi-iš-ta-n]u e-ku-zi. For the possible implications of *namma* see below in the commentary to line ii 39.

However, as can already be inferred from the comparison of the line numbers given above, XXX 23+ is more elaborate at some points. In XXX 23+ ii 11-16, an extra paragraph following the offerings to Mezzulla, for instance, a cup bearer gives a gold cup to a palace attendant, who then holds it up to the deceased in the É.ŠA and pours it out in front of the bed into an earthenware cup. The gold cup is brought out of the inner chamber, further offerings are made with the earthenware cup. This combination of the "inner chamber" and the bed recalls, as Otten observed¹⁷, the ossilegium text of the morning of the second day. After the ashes and bones of the deceased have been gathered, they are brought to the inner chamber of the É.NA₄ "stone house". There the remains are arranged on a bed with a lamp at one end. After the offering to the Stormgod and the Stormgod of Zippalanda the bed is mentioned again in an additional paragraph. In KBo XXV 184, however, the bed is only mentioned once, just before the offerings start.

Otten suggested that XXX 23+ might fit into the context of the ossilegium on the second day¹⁸. This may be supported by the fragment XXX 18+ iv 9 (HTR 22-23) according to which the second day ends with an offering to several gods: mān kūš DINGIR.MEŠ irhaizzi ta appā[i] "When he finishes this round of gods, it is

¹⁷ HTR 73.

¹⁸ HTR 14, 73; cf. also O.R. Gurney, Schweich 61.

done." So, both texts KBo XXV 184 and XXX 23+(//XXXIX 27(+)) may represent different versions of the ritual on the second day after the ashes and bones have been collected and laid down in the inner chamber of the stone house. For two related fragments, XXXIX 21 and LVII 64, possibly to be assigned to the same day, see below in the commentary ad KBo XXV 184 ii 7-14.

2. After the second day there is a large gap in the text tradition until the seventh day. Nothing or almost nothing is known of the third and fourth day, whereas the days 5 and 6 are known only through short remarks in the outline and/or liturgy and ration tablets. At the very beginning of the seventh day water is given to a seated effigy, which from now on will play an important role in the rites performed for the dead¹⁹. Each day seems to have been devoted to a particular aspect of daily life. Such an aspect is symbolized in different objects such as a silver pig, a heavily ornamented churn, a plough or a vine. All days seem to follow a similar pattern as well: in the morning the effigy is fetched on a cart from a house, which may have been the stone house or mausoleum, and subsequently transported to a locality, commonly rendered as "tent" (GIŠZA.LAM.GAR)²⁰. While one of the daily rituals is performed in the "tent", the effigy remains on the cart. Finally, it is taken from the cart and brought into the "tent" where a meal is held. After some offerings in the "tent" the effigy is put back on the cart and, most probably, brought back to the house for the night, from where it will be fetched the next morning for another series of rites.

Out of which material this movable, seated effigy had been made, we don't know. Assuming the same effigy is meant each time, it must have been formed between somewhere on the second day and the beginning of the seventh. Because of its seated posture it is not likely to have been the figure that was made on the second day on the funeral pyre out of figs, raisins and olives²¹. The same text, KBo XXV 184, may contain two passages, ii 1-4 and 57ff., that hint at what this effigy looked like, the second being the most clear one.

After the last offering to the soul of the deceased both texts become fragmentary and XXX 23 iii breaks off soon. The earthenware cup, with which they "drank" the deities listed above, is finally smashed to the ground according to both texts²². When KBo XXV 184, however fragmentary, proceeds, the gold cup, that was brought outside earlier, is mentioned again and someone "kisses the dead"²³. It is not likely that the ashes and bones are kissed but rather some sort of image or

¹⁹ On the role of this effigy within a funerary context see Th.P.J. van den Hout in J.M. Bremer - Th.P.J. van den Hout - R. Peters (edd.), *Hidden Futures. Death and Immortality in Ancient Egypt, Anatolia, the Classical, Biblical and Arabic-Islamic World* (forthcoming).

²⁰ For GIŠZA.LAM.GAR see I. Singer, StBoT 27, 100 with literature.

²¹ Cf. XXX 15+XXXIX 19 obv. 21-23 (= HTR 66-67).

²² XXX 23+ iii 40 and KBo XXV 184 ii 54.

²³ ii 58 a]k-kān-ta-an ku-wa-aš-zi; for this passage see already St. de Martino, *FsPugliese Carratelli* 61-62. For the particular form of the (older) sign AK with one horizontal following the vertical at the end compare ii 72.

effigy of the deceased. Then, these lines follow, that can be restored through similar passages in other texts:

60 A-NA] LÚ-ma-aš-ši GIŠPAN QA-TI-ŠU
 61 [GIŠGAG.Û.TAG.HLA da-a-i ma-a-an MUN]US-za-ma nu-uš-ši GIŠhu-la-a-li
 62 [GIŠhu-u-e-ša-an-na QA-TI-ŠU da-a-i] nu-uš-ši TUGNÍG.LAM.MEŠ

"to him, to the man, in his hand [he puts] a bow [(and) arrows, if it is a wo]man, however, [he puts] her a distaff [and spindle in her hand] and precious garments to her[...]".

The objects used here are well known as symbols for masculinity and femininity and immediately recall such passages as in the Paškuwatti ritual against impotence (CTH 406) i 22-25 "And when he steps out of the gate, I will take from him spindle and distaff and give him bow [(and) arrows]." ²⁴ Because the objects are said to be put in the hand of the deceased, which is difficult to imagine for the remains put on the bed in the stone house or for the figure made of fruit on the pyre, this might refer to the effigy mentioned on the morning of the seventh day. Regarding this symbolism it might be useful to point to some of the first millennium stelae from Maraş (A/2, B/20 and C/5) and one fragment of unknown provenance in the Vorderasiatische Museen in Berlin (VA 15208²⁵), where we actually see women portrayed with spindles. On the Berlin stela a woman is even depicted beside a man, probably on horseback, shouldering a bow, thus iconographically matching the double description in the text. Many of these reliefs are believed to have been funerary stelae. With regard to the objects held by the men and women W. Orthmann²⁶ already considered the possibility of a link with funerary cults. With this symbolism for masculinity and femininity being attested now for the first time in exactly such a context, this may corroborate the interpretation of these monuments as being funerary²⁷. One might even speculate about it as an element of continuity of second millennium Hittite Anatolian culture into the first millennium Luwian-Aramaic city states.

As opposed to these lines telling about equipping the already finished effigy with the typical male and female attributes, the first passage, ii 1-4 mentioned above, may be interpreted as the preparation of the effigy itself. First, the UNUTE^{MEŠ}, either referring to the items to be used in the lines immediately following or to the attributes such as the bow and arrow and spindle and distaff, are brought in. Because they apparently make a distinction between male and

²⁴ Cf. H.A. Hoffner, *AuOr* 5 (1987) 272 and 283 with literature.

²⁵ Cf. J. Voos, *AoF* 12 (1985) 65-68.

²⁶ *USK* 377-380.

²⁷ Because the effigies in the text seem to refer quite certainly to the deceased, it is no longer necessary to assume that the women with spindles on the first millennium stelae would represent the fate goddesses believed to spin a person's thread of life or that the men with arms would be Tutelary deities (cf. thus J. Voos, *EAZ* 29 (1988) 357-358). For the depiction of spindles and/or distaffs on much later funerary monuments see the interesting article by A. Wasowicz, "Deux aspects de l'art funéraire dans les antiquités du Bosphore cimmérien" in *Revue du Louvre* 4 (1987) 268-273.

female UNUTE^{MEŠ}, the latter may be meant. Combining the two duplicating texts KBo XXV 184 and XXXIX 22, the sentence ii 2-4 *nu=ššan ... tianzi* describes the "putting on" of a "gold *pūrijal*" on the GIŠ*pūrijaš* and of a "gold *šakuwa-...-li*" on the eyes. The clear (etymological) connection between the eyes and the *šakuwa-...-li* put on them, suggest a similar relation between *pūrijal* and GIŠ*pūrijaš* on the one hand and deriving the latter two from Hitt.-Luw. *puri-* "lip, border" on the other. The form *pūrijal* can be interpreted as a (Luwian) nomen instrumenti on *-al*, among which there are such body parts as *pappaššal* "tonsils (vel sim.)"²⁸ and *tummantijal* "ear canal"²⁹. Thus, we may think for *pūrijal* of something like "mouth". However, the determinative GIŠ (in the dupl. XXXIX 22 iii 7') before *pūrijaš* must then be taken as a mistake of the scribe whose apparent first association was GIŠ*pūrija-* "side table". Finally, one can also point at the attested word *pūrijalli-* "muzzle (for horses)" which, with F. Starke³⁰, originally is a substantivized adjective meaning "pertaining to the lips". In the same vein *šakuwa-...-li* (= *šakuwalli-*?) could mean "pertaining to the eyes" → "eye ornament" or in the case of an effigy the "eye inlay".

In the following paragraphs KBo XXV 184 will be transliterated and translated. Finally, some additional, short remarks on the text will be given in the commentary.

3. KBo XXV 184

i		G]AL? (or: -m]a-aš?)
x+1]
2]x-kán
3		
4-5	(vacant)	
6		É.N]A ₄ ?
7]
8]x-i
9]x-zi
10]x-an
11]x- ¹ ti ¹ -az da-a ¹ -i
12] x x
	(after a break of approximately 12 lines there is a trace of another line:)	
13"]x ³¹

²⁸ Cf. F. Starke, *StBoT* 31, 310-312.

²⁹ Cf. F. Starke, *StBoT* 31, 334 with lit.

³⁰ *StBoT* 31, 471.

³¹ There is another sign (AN?) probably belonging to the end of a word of col. i in the intercolumnium before ii 40.

ii

- 1 [ma-a-an MUNUS-za-m]a na-aš-ta Ú-NU-TE^{MEŠ} MUNUS⁷⁷ an-da pé-e-da-¹an [-zi]
- 2 [(nam-ma) ma-aḥ-h³²]a-an Ú-NU-TE^{MEŠ} ir-ḥa-a-it-ta-ri nu-uš-ša-an
- 3 [(GIŠ^p)]u-u-ri-ia-aš še-er pu-u-ri-ia-al GUŠKIN A-NA IGI^{HIA}-aš
- 4 [še-er (ša-ku-wa-x³³)-l]i GUŠKIN ti-an-zi nu šal-li ḥal-zi-ia
- 5 [(na-aš-t)a É.NA₄ LÚ⁷MEŠ ŠU.I ša-an-ḥa-an-zi DUMU^{MEŠ} É.GAL ak-kán-ti
- 6 [(¹a-da¹)-an-na]x IŠ-TU ḥu-u-up-pár GUŠKIN pí-an-zi nu LÚ^{MEŠ} GIŠ¹BANŠUR
- 7 [ÚTUL^{HIA} A-NA GIŠ¹BANŠUR ti-an-zi nam-ma ḥa-an-te-ez-zi ti-an-zi
- 8 nam-¹ma-aš [-t]a³⁴ IŠ¹[-T]U DUG¹DÍLIM GAL da-aš-kán<-zi> nu ša-aš-ti¹
- 9 pí-ra-an kat-ta
- 10 ku-iš NINDA.ÉRIN^{MEŠ} ki-it¹-ta nu-uš-ša-an a-pí-ia zi-ik-kán-zi
- 11 ḥa-an-te-ez-zi-m[a] ša-ra-a da-aš-kán-zi na-at-kán pa-ra-a
- 12 píd-da-a-an-zi EGIR-ŠÚ¹-ma LÚ^{MEŠ}MUḤALDIM^{HIA} ḥu-u-ma-an-da ti-an-zi
- 13 na-aš-ta IŠ-TU ÚTUL⁷ HIA ḥu-u-ma-an-da-az da-aš-kán-zi
- 14 nu-uš-ša-an NINDA.ÉRIN^{MEŠ} zi-ik-kán-zi a-pé-e-ma ša-ra-a (erasure)
- 15 da-aš-kán-zi na-¹at¹-kán pa-ra-a píd-da-a-an-zi
- 16 x³⁵ MUNUS^{MEŠ}ta-ap-ta-ri (erasure) šar-re-eš-kán-zi
- 17 nu³⁶ a-ku-an-na pí-an-zi nu ḥa-an-te-ez-zi pal-ši
- 18 ^dTa-ú-ri-it ^e¹-ku-zi NINDA.GUR₄.RA GIŠ¹INANNA-ia NU.GÁL
- 19 EGIR-ŠÚ¹-ma ^dUTU [^d]Me-ez-zu-ul-la (erasure) ^e¹-ku-zi LÚ^{MEŠ}NAR
- 20 GIŠ¹ḥu-uz-zi-n[a-r]i-it SÌR^{RU} LÚ^{MEŠ}ALAN.ZU₉
- 21 a-ḥa-a ḥal-zi[-iš-š]a-an-zi me-mi-ia-an-ma ḥu-uš-te-eš-kán-zi
- 22 na-aš-ta LÚ^{GI}Š¹BANŠUR 2 NINDA¹mi-it-ga-mu-uš GIŠ¹BANŠUR-az da-a-i
- 23 na-aš pár-ši-i[a nam-m]a-aš-ša-an EGIR-pa GIŠ¹BANŠUR da-a-i
- 24 EGIR-ŠÚ¹-ma ^dU¹ [^dU^{URU}Z]i-ip-pa-la-an-da e-ku-zi
- 25 LÚ^{MEŠ}NAR [GIŠ¹ḥu-u]z-zi-na-ri-it SÌR^{RU} LÚ^{MEŠ}ALAN.ZU₉
- 26 ^a¹-ḥa-a ḥal-z[i-iš-ša-an]zi me-mi-an-ma ḥu-uš-te-eš-kán-zi
- 27 [L]Ú^{GI}Š¹BANŠUR¹ [2 NINDA¹mi-it-g]a-mu-uš GIŠ¹BANŠUR-az da-a-i na-aš pár-ši-ia
- 28 [] x [A-NA] GIŠ¹BANŠUR da-a-i

³² B iii 6 GIM-an[.

³³ Perhaps ša-ku-wa-a[¹]-l?

³⁴ Or nam-¹ma-kán? For -(a)šta cf. below ii 12.

³⁵ The handcopy shows a sign combination here, somewhat smaller and resembling MUNUS + the vertical of MEŠ, written partly in the intercolumnium just before the following MUNUS^{MEŠ}. Maybe, as prof. Neu (letter 31.1.94) suggested, the scribe had started writing MUNUS^{MEŠ} too far to the left, noticed his mistake and started over again at the right spot.

³⁶ The NU sign is slightly indented to make room for the sign I of *dāi* of col. i 11' crossing over from the intercolumnium into col. ii.

- 28 [EGIR-ŠÚ¹-ma ^dLAMMA e-ku-zi³⁷] LÚ^{MEŠ}NAR GIŠ¹ḥu-uz-zi-na-ri-it
- 29 SÌR^{RU} LÚ^{MEŠ}ALAN.ZU₉ a-ḥa-a³⁸ ḥal-zi-iš-ša-an-zi
- 30 me-mi-a[n-ma ḥu-uš-te-eš-kán-]zi K1.MIN
- 31 EGIR-ŠÚ¹-[ma^d]x³⁹ e-ku-zi LÚ^{MEŠ}NAR
- 32 GIŠ¹ḥu-uz[-zi-na-ri-it SÌR^{RU}] LÚ^{MEŠ}ALAN.ZU₉ a-ḥa-a
- 33 ḥal-zi-iš[-ša-an-zi me-mi-an-]ma ḥu-uš-te-iš-kán-zi
- 34 LÚ^{MEŠ}SAGI⁴⁰[.A a-aš-]ga⁴¹-az ú-da-i
- 35 na-an pár-š[i-ia o o o GIŠ¹BAN]ŠUR-i da-a-i
- 36 EGIR-ŠÚ¹-ma ^d[UD.SIG₅⁴² e-ku-zi LÚ^{MEŠ}]NAR GIŠ¹ḥu-uz-zi-na-ri-it
- 37 SÌR^{RU} LÚ^{MEŠ}ALAN.ZU₉ a-ḥa-a ḥa[-l-zi-iš-ša-an-zi me⁴³-mi-an-ma
- 38 ḥu-uš-te-eš-kán[-zi LÚ^{MEŠ}SAGI.A x NINDA.GUR₄.RA EM-ŠA pár-ši-ia na-an-kán pa-ra-a pé-e-da-i
- 39 EGIR-ŠÚ¹[-ma⁷] nam[-ma^d Iz-zi-iš-ta-n]u⁴⁴ e-ku-zi LÚ^{MEŠ}NAR
- 40 ⁴⁵[GIŠ¹]ḥ[ḥu-uz-z]i[-na-ri-it SÌR^{RU} LÚ^{MEŠ}ALAN.ZU₉ a-ḥa-a
- 41 [ḥal-zi-iš-š]a-a[n-zi me-mi-an-ma ḥu-uš-t]e-eš-kán-zi LÚ^{MEŠ}SAGI.A
- 42 []pár[-ši-ia pa-ra-]a¹ pé-e-da-i
- 43 [EGIR-ŠÚ¹-ma ták-na-aš^dUTU-un⁴⁶ e-ku-zi] LÚ^{MEŠ}NAR
- 44 [GIŠ¹ḥu-uz-zi-na-ri-it SÌR^{RU} LÚ^{MEŠ}ALAN.ZU₉ a-ḥa-a
- 45 [ḥal-zi-iš-ša-an-zi me-mi-an-ma ḥu-u]š-te-eš-kán-zi LÚ^{MEŠ}SAGI.A
- 46 []pár-ši-ia] pa-ra-a pé-e-da-i
- 47 [EGIR-ŠÚ¹-ma a-pé-el ZI-an 3-ŠU⁴⁷ e-]ku-zi LÚ^{MEŠ}NAR
- 48 [GIŠ¹ḥu-uz-zi-na-ri-it SÌR^{RU}] LÚ^{MEŠ}ALAN.ZU₉ a-ḥa-a
- 49 [ḥal-zi-iš-ša-an-zi me-mi-an-ma ḥ]u-uš-te-eš-kán-zi
- 50 [] na-aš-kán ḥa-aš-ši-i
- 51 [] x ma-aḥ¹-ḥa-an-ma
- 52 [I-NA 3 KASKAL^{NI} a-pé-el ZI-a]n⁴⁸ e-ku-zi nu ma-aḥ-ḥa-an
- 53 [] NINDA.GUR₄.R]A-ma Ú-UL pár-ši-ia

³⁷ Cf. XXX 23+ ii 27.

³⁸ Last two signs over erasure.

³⁹ For the reading in XXX 23+ ii 30 see below in the commentary ad ii 39.

⁴⁰ Handcopy has LÚ<SILA>ŠU.DUH[.

⁴¹ Collation (Prof. E. Neu) confirms the TA in the handcopy; the photo also shows a faint trace of -a]š-.

⁴² Cf. XXX 23+ iii 5.

⁴³ Handcopy has ŠI.

⁴⁴ Cf. XXX 23+ iii 12.

⁴⁵ Just before the beginning of the line there is still visible the sign AN, probably the end of a word of col. i written in the intercolumnium.

⁴⁶ Cf. XXX 23+ iii 19/XXXIX 27 iii 2'.

⁴⁷ Cf. XXX 23+ iii 26/XXXIX 27 iii 9'.

⁴⁸ Cf. XXX 23+ iii 31.

- 54 [ŠA ZI-ŠU GAL.GIR₄⁴⁹ t]a-a-ga-an GUL-aḥ-zi
 55 [a-pé-e-m]a-aš-ši kat-ta-an ar-ku-an-zi
 56 []uš nam-ma i-ia-an-zi
-
- 57 [-i]z⁷-zi nu-uš-ši GAL GUŠKIN
 58 [a]k-kán-ta-an ku-wa-aš-zi
 59 []x-wa-al-li⁵⁰ GUŠKIN da-a-i
 60 [A-NA] LÚ-ma-aš-ši GIŠPAN QA-TI-ŠU
 61 [GIŠGAG.Û.TAG^{HLA} pí-an-zi ma-a-an MUN]US-za-ma nu-uš-ši GIŠḥu-la-a-li
 62 [GIŠḥu-u-e-ša-an-na QA-TI-ŠU pí-an-zi]nu-uš-ši TUGNÍG.LÁM^{MEŠ}
 63 []x ŠA ZI⁷⁷ 20 GÍN.GÍN e-ku-zi
 64 []NINDA.GUR₄.RA GAL ḥar-zi še-er-ra-aš-ša-an
 65 []še¹-er-ra-aš-ša-an GI.DUG.GA ša-a-ḥi-iš
 66 []x na-an-za-an-kán ŠU-i ḫKu-wa-ar-nu-zi
 67 []ŠA 20 GÍN.GÍN pí-an-zi 1(or: ANA?) LÚ-ma
 68 [-]ki-it-ra gul-aš-zi nu-uš-ši
 69 [](erasure) pí-an-zi
-
- 70 []x i-ia-iz-zi ma-a-an MUNUS-za-ma
 71 [i-i]a-iz-zi nu-uš-ši TUGNÍG.LÁM^{MEŠ} pí-an-zi
 72 []x GAL⁷ še-er-ra-aš-ša-an GA.KIN.AG GAL
 73 [gḥi-nu-uš-ši-it pár-ši-ia
 74 []x- páť da-a-i
-
- 75 [GIŠḥat(t)al⁷-w]a-aš GIŠ-ru GIŠal-la-an-da- GIŠ-ru
 76 [-z]i GIŠkur-ša-al-li-aš-ša-an
-
- iii
 1 [x GU₄]ḥ^{HLA} 50 UDU^{HLA} kat-ta-an
 2 [(-)]aš-ša-an 1-NU-TIM TUGNÍG.LÁM^{MEŠ}
 3 []an¹-da ḥa-ma-an<kán>-zi na-at LÚMUŠEN.DÙ
 4 []x (erasure) GIŠal-la-an-da-GIŠ-ru kat-ta-an
 5 [] na-an-kán an-da
 6 [mi⁷-]im-ma-an-zi
-
- 7 [-]ni ud-da-ni-i]pa¹-ra-a du-uš-ga-at-ti
 8 []x ir-ḥi-iš-ki-it-ta nu ki-iš-ša-an
 9 []ki-iš-šu-wa-an ut-tar ki-i-ša-ri
 10 [(-)]da-aḥ-ḥi ne-ta ḫUTU-uš
 11 []GIŠal¹-la-an-da-ru GIM-an
 12 [š]a-ra-a a-ri

⁴⁹ Cf. XXX 23+ iii 39-40.

⁵⁰ DUG^{kán-ta-š}]u⁷-wa-al-li (so E. Neu)?

- 13 [-z]i⁷ nu kal-ga-li-na-iz-zi
 14 [-z]i
 15 [NU.]GÁL⁷
-
- 16 [lahḥanzanuš^{MUŠEN}.]ḥ^{HLA} ḥu-u-iš-wa-an-du-uš
 17 [GIŠal-l]a-an-da-ru-ma-kán
 18 []x-nu-an-zi
 19 []x
 20 [-]ši-i⁵¹
 21 [pé-]e¹-da-i
 22 [-A]Ḥ-ḤAR⁵²
 23 []x
 24 [] (vacat)
 25 [-z]i
-
- 26 []x-i
 27'-28' (vacant)
 29 []x
 30 [] (vacat)
 31 [-z]i
-
- 32 [-]x-ni
 33 []x
 34 [GIŠal-la-an-d]a⁷-ru-wa-aš-ma
 35 []x-an
 36 []x-ta-a-ru⁵³
 37 []x-ri-an-zi
 38 []-zi
-
- 39 [p]a-ra-a
 40 [GIŠBANSUJR⁷
 41 []x-zi
 42 []x-an-zi
 43 []x-wa-ap⁷-ta
 44 [-u]š-kán-zi
 45 []nam-ma
 46 [] (vacat)
 47 []x (erasure)
 48 []TUGNÍG.LÁM^{MEŠ}]p]i-an-zi

⁵¹ Perhaps ḥa-aš-]ši-i "in the hearth".

⁵² To be restored to pa-a]ḥ-hur "fire" (so E. Neu) or GIŠḥa-a]ḥ-har "rake"?

⁵³ Although one is tempted to restore to GIŠalla]ntāru this word is always spelled with -da-ru or -da-GIŠ-ru in this text (cf. GIŠallandarū iii 11, 17, 34⁷, and GIŠallanda-GIŠ-ru ii 75, iii 4); the plene-writing seems to be unparalleled in general for this word (cf. HW² A 56a).

- 49' [] (vacat)
 50' [] pí-di wa-ah-¹nu¹-an-zi
 51' [ar-*ha* me-e]r-tu₄ DAM^{MEŠ}.KA
 52' [a]r-*ha* me-er-tu₄
 53' [-]zi *ha*-at-tal-wa-aš-ma GIŠ-ru-i
 54' [-a]r[ta]l¹(-)¹ú-i-ia-aš-ša-an GIŠ-ru-i
 55' []x ku-el *ha*-tal-wa-aš GIŠ-ru-i
 56' []x ti-an-zi TUG¹ku-re-eš-šar-ma-za
 57' []¹ha¹-tal-wa na-aš-za⁵⁴ GIŠ-ru-wa-an-za
 58' [-]za LÚ^{LUM}GIŠ¹in-ta-lu-zi KÙ.BABBAR
 59' [šu-u]n-ni-iz-zi nu ki-iš-ša-an
 60' []EGIR-pa šu-u-wa-an e-eš-du
 61' []x-an *har*-du LUGAL^{TUM}¹-ia-wa MUNUS.LUGAL
 62' [-g]a-wa DINGIR^{MEŠ} pé-e-*hu*-te-er
 63' [n]i-ni-ik-ta-ri ZIZ-ma-za
 64' [] da-an- zi
-
- 65' []x GIŠTUKUL NÍG¹.MUNUS¹-ma pí-ra-an pa-aš-ki
 66' [-t]a-an šar-ta-iz-zi nu ki-iš-ša-an
 67' []*hu*-im-pa-an-za pé-e-da-an *har*-du
 68' [GÍ]N.GÍN i-ia-an-zi *hu*-u-up-pár KÙ.BABBAR
 69' []x i-ia-an-za na-aš IŠ-TU¹.DUG.GA šu-u-wa-an-za
 70' [an-d]a¹ tar-na-an-zi nu-kán 2¹ TUG.SIG⁵⁵GIŠkar-pu-da¹-*ha*
 71' []x na-aš-kán an-da A-NA¹.DUG.GA ki-it-ta-ri
 72' []x nu-za KASKAL-an pí-ra-an a-pa-a-aš *har*-zi
 73' []x GEŠTIN-it šu-un-na-an-zi na-an GIDIM [?]
 74' [] ⁵⁶pa-ra-a ap-pí-iš-kán-z[i]

ii

- 1 [If it is a woman, how]ever, the[y] bring in a woman's attributes.
 2 When they⁵⁷ finish dealing with the attributes,
 3 [the ...] place on the lips¹ a gold mouth¹ (and) on the eyes
 4 a gold eye ornament¹/inlay¹, and a great <meal> is announced.
 5 The barbers clean ou[t the Stone House]. The palace attendants give the deceased
 6 to ea[t ...] from a gold *huppar*-vase. The waiters
 7 set [the pots on the t]able, then they put (one) in front.

⁵⁴ Or *ha*-tal-wa(-)aš-wa-za (so E. Neu)?

⁵⁵ Reading E. Neu.

⁵⁶ A single Glossenkeil marks the indentation of the last line of this paragraph.

⁵⁷ Although the verb *irhaittari* is a third singular it probably was used in an impersonal way.

- 8 Then they each take from the bowl in front and the soldier breads which lie
 down in front of the bed,
 9 (these) they each lay thereon (i.e. probably on top the bowl).
 10 They each lift up the one in front and they
 11 run forth. Subsequently, the cooks set all (other pots),
 12 they each take from all the pots/bowls¹,
 13 they put the soldier breads (there)on, those then
 14 they each lift up and they run forth.
 15 The *taptara*-women break (the soldier breads).
-
- 16 They give to drink, and for the first time
 17 he "drinks" Taurit. Thick bread and the Inanna-instrument are not involved.
 18 After this he drinks the Sungoddess (and) Mezzulla. The singers
 19 sing (accompanied) by the *huzzin*[ar]-instrument, (and) the ALAN.ZU₉-men
 20 c[a]ll out "*ahā*", while whispering the word.
 21 A "w[ait]er" takes two sweet breads from the table,
 22 breaks them, [the]n puts them back on the table.
-
- 23 After this he "drinks" the Stormgod (and) [the Stormgod of Z]ippalanda.
 24 The singers sing (accompanied) by the [*hu*]zzinar-instrument, (and) the
 ALAN.ZU₉-men
 25 ca[ll o]ut "*ahā*", while whispering the word.
 26 A "waiter" takes [two sw]eet breads from the table, breaks them,
 27 [then puts them back o]n¹ the table.
-
- 28 [After this he "drinks" the Tutelary deity.] The singers, (accompanied) by the
huzzinar-instrument,
 29 sin[g, (and) the ALAN.ZU₉-men] call out "*ahā*",
 30 [while whisperi]ng the wor[d]. Idem.
-
- 31 After this he "drinks" [...]. The singers
 32 [sin]g (accompanied) by the *huz*[zinar]-instrument, (and) "*ahā*" the
 ALAN.ZU₉-men
 33 ca[ll out], while whispering [the word].
 34 A cup be[ar]er ... from out[s]ide brings,
 35 brea[k]s it [and ... on the ta]ble he puts.
-
- 36 After this [he "drinks" "the Good day". The] singers (accompanied) by the
huzzinar-instrument
 37 sing, (and) the [ALAN.ZU₉-men ca]ll out ["*ahā*"], while whispering the word.
 38 [A cup bearer¹] breaks [one¹ thi]ck, sour bread and carries it forth.
-
- 39 After this aga[in Izzištan]u he "drinks". The singers
 40 [sing (accompanied) by the] *h*[uzz]i[nar]-instrument, (and)] "*ahā*" the
 ALAN.ZU₉-men
 41 [ca]ll[] out, while whis]pering [the word]. A cup bearer

- 49' [] (vacat)
 50' []pí-di wa-aḥ-^rnu^l-an-zi
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 52' [a]r-ḥa me-er-tu₄
 53' [-]zi ḥa-at-tal-wa-aš-ma GIŠ-ru-i
 54' [-a]r/ta]l[?](-)^ú-i-ia-aš-ša-an GIŠ-ru-i
 55' []x ku-el ḥa-tal-wa-aš GIŠ-ru-i
 56' []x ti-an-zi ^{TUG}ku-re-eš-šar-ma-za
 57' []^rḥa^l-tal-wa na-aš-za⁵⁴ GIŠ-ru-wa-an-za
 58' [-]za LU^{LUM} GIŠⁱ-in-ta-lu-zi KÙ.BABBAR
 59' [šu-u]n-ni-iz-zi nu ki-iš-ša-an
 60' []EGIR-pa šu-u-wa-an e-eš-du
 61' []x-an ḥar-du LUGAL^{TUM}^l-ia-wa MUNUS.LUGAL
 62' [-g]a-wa DINGIR^{MEŠ} pé-e-ḥu-te-er
 63' [n]i-ni-ik-ta-ri ZÍZ-ma-za
 64' [] da-an- zi
-
- 65' []x GIŠ^lTUKUL NÍG[?]MUNUS[?]-ma pí-ra-an pa-aš-ki
 66' [-t]a-an šar-ta-iz-zi nu ki-iš-ša-an
 67' []ḥu-im-pa-an-za pé-e-da-an ḥar-du
 68' [GÍ]N.GÍN i-ia-an-zi ḥu-u-up-pár KÙ.BABBAR
 69' []x i-ia-an-za na-aš IŠ-TU^l.DÜG.GA šu-u-wa-an-za
 70' [an-d]a[?] tar-na-an-zi nu-kán 2[?] TUG.SIG⁵⁵ GIŠ^lkar-pu-daḥ-ḥa
 71' []x na-aš-kán an-da A-NA^l.DÜG.GA ki-it-ta-ri
 72' []x nu-za KASKAL-an pí-ra-an a-pa-a-aš ḥar-zi
 73' []x GEŠTIN-it šu-un-na-an-zi na-an GIDIM [?]
 74' [] ⁵⁶pa-ra-a ap-pí-iš-kán-z[i]

ii

- 1 [If it is a woman, how]ever, the[y] bring in a woman's attributes.
 2 When they⁵⁷ finish dealing with the attributes,
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 12 they each take from all the pots/bowls[?],
 13 they put the soldier breads (there)on, those then
 14 they each lift up and they run forth.
 15 The *taptara*-women break (the soldier breads).
-
- 16 They give to drink, and for the first time
 17 he "drinks" Taurit. Thick bread and the Inanna-instrument are not involved.
 18 After this he drinks the Sungoddess (and) Mezzulla. The singers
 19 sing (accompanied) by the *ḥuzzin*[ar]-instrument, (and) the ALAN.ZU₉-men
 20 c[a]ll out "*aḥā*", while whispering the word.
 21 A "waiter" takes two sweet breads from the table,
 22 breaks them, [the]n puts them back on the table.
-
- 23 After this he "drinks" the Stormgod (and) [the Stormgod of Z]ippalanda.
 24 The singers sing (accompanied) by the [*ḥu*]zzinar-instrument, (and) the
 ALAN.ZU₉-men
 25 c[a]ll out "*aḥā*", while whispering the word.
 26 A "waiter" takes [two sw]eet breads from the table, breaks them,
 27 [then puts them back o]n[?] the table.
-
- 28 [After this he "drinks" the Tutelary deity.] The singers, (accompanied) by the
ḥuzzinar-instrument,
 29 sin[g, (and) the ALAN.ZU₉-men] call out "*aḥā*",
 30 [while whisperi]ng the wor[d]. Idem.
-
- 31 After this he "drinks" [...]. The singers
 32 [sin]g (accompanied) by the *ḥuz*[zinar]-instrument, (and) "*aḥā*" the
 ALAN.ZU₉-men
 33 c[a]ll out, while whispering [the word].
 34 A cup be[arer ... from outs]ide brings,
 35 brea[ks] it [and ... on the ta]ble he puts.
-
- 36 After this [he "drinks" "the Good day". The] singers (accompanied) by the
ḥuzzinar-instrument
 37 sing, (and) the [ALAN.ZU₉-men c[a]ll out ["*aḥā*"], while whispering the word.
 38 [A cup bearer[?]] breaks [one[?] thi]ck, sour bread and carries it forth.
-
- 39 After this aga[in Izzištan]u he "drinks". The singers
 40 [sing (accompanied) by the] *ḥ*[uzz]i[nar]-instrument, (and)] "*aḥā*" the
 ALAN.ZU₉-men
 41 [c[a]ll out, while whis]pering [the word]. A cup bearer

- 42 br[eaks ... and] carries [it fort]h.
-
- 43 [After this he "drinks" the Sungoddess of the Earth.] The singers
 44 [sing (accompanied) by the *huzzinar*-instrument, (and)] "*ahā*" the ALAN.ZU₉-men
 45 [call out, while whi]spering [the word.] A cupbearer
 46 [breaks ... and] carries [it] forth.
-
- 47 [After this his (i.e. the deceased's) soul he "d]rinks". The singers
 48 [sing (accompanied) by the *huzzinar*-instrument, (and)] "*ahā*" the ALAN.ZU₉-men
 49 [call out, while wh]ispering [the word.]
 50 [...] and them in the hearth
 51 [they put.] When, however,
 52 [for the third time his sou]l he "drinks", and when
 53 [... thick bre]ad, however, is not broken.
 54 [... the earthenware cup] he smashes on the [g]round.
 55 [... with] him they pray
 56 [...] ... they then make.
-
- 57 [... he/she ...]-s and to him/her the gold cup
 58 [... the d]eceased('s effigy) he kisses
 59 [... a] gold [*kantaš*]*uwalli*?- vase he puts/takes,
 60 [...] in the man's hand a bow
 61 [and arrows he puts. If it is a wom]an, however, to her a distaff
 62 [and spindle he puts in her hand] and precious garments to her
 63 [he gives? ...] ... of the soul (weighing) twenty shekels he drinks.
 64 [...] a large thick bread he holds and on top
 65 [...] and on top "fine reed" (and) *šahi*-wood
 66 [...] ... and him/her in the hand (of?) (the deity) Kuwarnuzi
 67 [...] of twenty shekels they give, but one man (or: on/to the man)
 68 [...] ... incises/inscribes and to him
 69 [...] they give.
-
- 70 [...] ... he makes/performs. If (it is) a woman, however,
 71 [... he m]akes/p]erforms and to her? precious garments they give.
 72 [...] ... and on top a big cheese
 73 [...] on (his) [k]nees he breaks.
 74 [...] ... he takes/puts.
-
- 75 [...] the wood of the [(door) ba]r, (the wooden) *allantaru*,
 76 [...] ... on? its? *kuršalli*
- iii
- 1 [... x ox]en (and) fifty sheep down
 2 [...] ... (there)on? one set of precious garments
 3 [...] they tie and them the augur
 4 [...] the *allantaru* down

- 5 [...] and him/her in
 6 [...] they [re]fuse?
-
- 7 [... with th]is matter you [o, Sungoddess of the Earth] will be pleased.
 8 [When? ...] ... he has finished, then thus
 9 [...] such a matter will occur
 10 [...] I will take (or: [br]ing?) and these to you, o Sungoddess (of the Earth)
 11 [...] like the *allantaru*
 12 [...] reaches above
 13 [...] ... and he sings?
 14-49 (no translation possible)
 50 [...] on the spot they turn
 51 [... may [disap]pear! Your wives
 52 [...] may disappear!
 53 [...] ... but on the wood of the door bar
 54 [...] on the wood of the ...
 55 [...] ... on the wood of which door bar
 56 [...] ... they put, but a veil
 57 [...] door bar? and it (is) pinned down
 58 [...] ... a? man the silver butter scoop
 59 [... f]ills and thus
 60 [he says: " ...] again may be filled!
 61 [...] ... may keep and kingship the queen
 62 [...] ... the gods have led away."
 63 [...] is [m]oved, but emmer
 64 [...] they take.
-
- 65 [...] ... tool/weapon (and?/of?) ... stick<s>? in front
 66 [...] ... smears and thus
 67 [he says: " ...] may he hold!"
 68 [... of x sh]ekels they make. A silver *huppar*-vase
 69 [...] ... has been made and it is filled with fine oil.
 70 [...] they let [i]n and two (pieces of) fine cloth and *karpudahha* (-plant?)
 71 [...] and he/it lies in fine oil
 72 [...] and that one holds the road? in front?
 73 [...] with wine they fill and [towards?] the deceased
 74 they hold it up.

4. Short commentary

- 3-4 For the translation of these lines see the discussion above at the end of §2.
 4 nu *šalli halzai*: this is the elliptic equivalent of what is attested as nu *NAPTANU* GAL *halzai* on the seventh (XXX 25+ obv. 24) and twelfth (XXX 19+ i 39) day; compare also XXXIX 14 iv 9, ibid. 15 i 1' (erased). As the noun *ašeššar*

in the fixed expression *šalli ašeššar* "great assembly" is left out in combination with *halzai*- "to call, announce" (cf. *HW*² A 398b sub 4), this could be the case with *NAPTANUGAL/šalli* apparently, too.

- 5 Because the remains of the deceased were put on a bed in the É.NA₄ witness (XXX 15+)XXXIX 11 obv. 44'-51', the restoration to É.NA₄ here seems called for. Note also the possible mentioning of this structure in col. i 6'.
- 7 H. Otten, StBoT 13, 40 n. 71 ("Bo 1290/z"), restored the beginning of this line to [LÚ.MEŠ.MUHALDIM G]ŠBANSUR etc. However, in view of the preserved beginnings in 8ff., where ca. 5 signs fill the same space, such a restoration seems rather short. Moreover, this would make both the "waiters" and cooks the subject of *tianzi* at the end of this line, which the parallelism of the lines 7-11 and 11-14, for which see immediately below, does not seem to favor. Therefore, the above restoration is suggested.
- 7 (*namma* etc.) -14 The sequence performed by the "waiters" in the lines 7-11 with the soldier bread and the bowl seems to be repeated step by step by the cooks in the lines 11-14: compare the verbs *tianzi* (7 and 11), *daškanzi* (8 and 12), *zikkanzi* (9 and 13), *šarā daškanzi* (10 and 13-14) and *parā piddanzi* (10-11 and 14). Very similar but not duplicating passages are XXXIX 21 rev. 8'-18'⁵⁸ and LVII 64, 5'-12'⁵⁹. The contrast between the two sequences seems to be characterized here by the adjectives *hantezzi* (lines 7 and 10) and *humant-* (*hūmandā* l. 11, *hūmandaz* l. 12)⁶⁰. Given this parallelism and because the forms of *humant-* clearly refer to the containers handled by the cooks (cf. l. 12 *ISTU* ¹ *ÚTUL* ^{HIA} *hūmandaz*) the same might be true for the (substantivized or adverbially used?) adj. *hantezzi*. This may find further support in the sumerogram GAL after DUGDILIM in line 8, if we take it as a rendering of Hitt. *hantezzi*-. This is shown to be the case by E. Neu, StBoT 25, 87 n. 300, for the substantivized meaning "foremost (one), chief" and by Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate (forthcoming) for the regular attributive use "foremost, of first rank" in the sumerographic combination DUMU.MUNUS GAL "daughter of first rank". The expression *hantezzi tianzi* was discussed by H. Otten, StBoT 13, 40-41, who tended to take *hantezzi* in the similar passage in the royal death ritual XXX 15+ obv. 15-16 either adverbially ("vor-legen") or as a substantivized adj. ("Hervorragendes") in an action that was mainly preparatory. Here, too, both *tianzi* forms seem to describe a preparatory action, i.e. the setting of the containers in general and the "one in front" before the other actions (abl. + *daške*-, *zikke*-, *šarā daške*- and *parā piddai*-) are performed, which is underlined by the paragraph line immediately following. That the second *tianzi* in line 7 is to be derived here from *dāi-/tija*- "to set, put" is shown not only by the same form in line 11 but also by the parallel fragment XXXIX 21 where the beginning of the second sequence (rev. 13'-18') is described as follows:

⁵⁸ Cf. Otten, *HTR* 90-91.

⁵⁹ Cf. *BiOr* 47 (1990) 427; theoretically LVII 64 might join XXX 23+ indirectly.

⁶⁰ In X 21 ii 16-17, however, both the "waiters" and cooks are said to *ÚTUL* IGI-*zi tianzi*, but then (17-18) *ÚTUL* ^{HIA} 2-*an* / *šarranzi* "they divide the bowls into two (groups)."

[EGIR=ŠU=]ma LÚ.MEŠ.MUHALDIM ÚTUL ^{HIA} *tianz*[i].

- 31 For the restoration of the divine name see below ad ii 39.
- 39 The *nam*[ma here and in XXX 23+ iii 12 (see above) is explained in two ways. E. Laroche, *Rech.* 26, recognized in Izzištanu the Proto-Hattic appellative for Sundeity, Eštan, and took the *namma* "again" as referring to a second offering to the deity mentioned in the preceding paragraph (XXX 23+ iii 5), viz. ^dUD.SIG₅. Although not rejecting Laroche's proposal, Otten, *HTR* 74 n. g and 77 n. 1, mentions the possibility of a repeated offering to Izzištanu in XXX 23+: there, in ii 30 a deity whose name ends in [x-nu] is the subject of the drinking ritual. A restoration to ^dIz-zi-i]š⁷<-ta>-nu then explains the *namma* in ibid. iii 12. In support of this repeated offering to Izzištanu the festival fragment II 15 v 36 and vi 2 can be referred to, already adduced by Laroche loc. cit., where the same deity occurs twice in an offering sequence. Unfortunately, the passage in KBo XXV 184 ii 31 corresponding to XXX 23+ ii 30 is broken as well: the last trace of the deity's name seems to end in a sign that may have been -]pu¹, but collation is needed to gain certainty.
- 57 ff. It is unclear who the subject of the mostly third singular verb forms is; the "he" in the translation stands for a non-committal "he/she". According to XXX 23+ iii 45 a palace attendant may be involved in dressing up the effigy.
- iii 7ff. Although no quotative particle is preserved (as below iii 60-62), the first person sing. (-)]*dahhi*, the second person sing. *dušgatti* and (*ne*=)*ta* suggest some form of direct quotation.
- 16 ff. It is very remarkable that from here on in col. iii some of the items are mentioned that will fulfil an important role in the days to come. The ^{GI}Šallandaru, already met with several times in the previous lines, prompts the restoration proposed here to *lahhanzanus* ^{MUSEN} ^{HIA} *hūišwanduš* "live *lahhanzana*-birds" that we encounter in the detailed description of the thirteenth day⁶¹. In line 58 a "(silver) butter scoop" turns up which we know to have been used on the ninth and tenth day⁶².

⁶¹ XXXIX 7(+) ii 12, 18, 33 (*HTR* 36-39).

⁶² Cf. the ration list XXXIX 45 obv. 12' (9th day) and 17' (10th day; cf. H. Otten, *WO* 2 (1954-1959) 478), and the main description XXXIX 35 iv 11' (9th day).