

## Seeking Divine Approval for Campaign Strategy KUB 5.1 + KUB 52.65

RÉSUMÉ. — KUB 5.1 + KUB 52.65 représente un registre relativement complet d'une série de demandes adressées aux dieux hittites. On demande l'approbation divine pour des campagnes militaires diverses envisagées par le roi contre les Kaška aux frontières septentrionales de son royaume. On détaille l'itinéraire proposé, l'ordre dans lequel on attaquera les villes ennemies, et si l'armée entière sous le commandement du roi ou si un détachement sous le commandement d'un général attaquera un lieu quelconque. On demande si l'armée perdra beaucoup d'hommes par maladie. Dans plusieurs cas, on demande même si un lieu de camp déterminé sera sûr. Cet article offre une traduction révisée, la première en anglais, de ce texte important.

ABSTRACT. — KUB 5.1 + KUB 52.65 is a relatively complete record of a series of inquiries to the Hittite gods. It asks for divine approval for various possible military campaigns that the king might undertake on the northern borders of his kingdom against the Kaška. Each variant details the route of the campaign, the order that enemy towns will be attacked, and whether the whole army under the king or a detachment under a general will attack a place. It asks if the army will suffer massive deaths due to illness. It even asks in some cases if a particular camp site will be safe. This article offers a newly revised translation, the first in English, of this important text.

Since oracles queries, like letters, are ephemeral, and not canonical/archival texts <sup>(1)</sup>, well preserved examples such as KUB 5.1 + KUB 52.65 are a rarity from Boğazköy. It has now been over twenty years since A. Ünal edited this text in his *Ḫattušili III. Teil I: Ḫattušili bis zu seiner Thronbesteigung* <sup>(2)</sup>. Since then there have been a number of advances in the reading of such oracle queries. It is therefore felt time to offer, in memory of Lisbeth Christmann-Franck, a new translation of this important text.

This text, written under either king Ḫattušili III or Tudḫaliya IV <sup>(3)</sup>, lays out a number of prospective campaigns against the barbarian Kaškacans and asks divine approval for each proposed variant. Each ends with a yes or no question to the deity. The primary method chosen by the questioner in this text for the deity to indicate the answer is the “symbol” oracle. Toward the end the questioner on some occasions utilizes oracles called “flesh”, oracles.

(i 1-4) “His M[ajesty] shall campaign against the troops of Mt. Ḫaḫarwa. Will the soul of Mt. Ḫaḫarwa [be calm] for this? Let (the oracle) be favorable. The ‘king’ took for himself ‘rightness’, the ‘whole soul’ and ‘blood’. To the [‘whole’] soul’. Second: [The ‘dei]ty’ took for himself the ‘whole soul’, ‘Ḫaḫarwa-land’ and ‘life’. To ‘the gods’. Third: ‘The enemy’ took

(1) Contra the placement of texts such as these in W. W. HALLO, *The Context of Scripture* vol. 1: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

(2) Texte der Hethiter 4 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter-Universitätsverlag, 1974), pp. 32-102; a translation of some of the questions was made by G. DEL MONTE and J. TISCHLER, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*, Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes [= RGTC] 6, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients B7/6 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1978), pp. 394f.

(3) R. BEAL, *The Organisation of the Hittite Military*, Texte der Hethiter [= THeth] 20 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter-Universitätsverlag, 1992), pp. 308f. n. 1173.

for himself 'rightness', 'release', the 'campaign', 'the year', and 'protection'. They are given to 'Hannahanna'. Fa[avorable].

(5-6) His Majesty will campaign against Tanizila(-town). Will the soul of the Stormgod of Nerik (4) be calm? Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The Hittites' took for themselves 'sinisterness' and 'the great misdeed'. To the 'whole soul' for 'the deity'. Unfavorable.

(7-10) Concerning the fact that Temeti supported a plan (5) for attacking Taptena and Huršama. Is the outcome (6) approved by you gods? Will no harm whatsoever come to the fortresses? Let (the oracle) be favorable. The 'dais' arose and took the 'year' and 'well-being'. They are given to 'the enemy'. Second: 'The assembly' (7) took for itself 'sinisterness' and the 'weapon'. They are placed to the left of 'the king'. Unfavorable.

(11-14) They will not carry out the Taptena plan and the Huršama plan. Is that outcome approved by you gods? Let (the oracle) be favorable. The 'king' took for himself 'rightness' and 'well-being'. To the 'whole soul' for 'the deity'. Second: 'The assembly' took for itself 'rightness' and 'the king's whole soul'. To 'the gods'. Third: The 'Sungod of Heaven' arose and took the 'king's rightness' (and) 'the whole soul'. Behind 'the dais'. Favorable.

(15-18) His Majesty will prioritize (8) the troops of Mt. Haḫarwa for attack. Afterwards he will go on the double to Haḫana (9). He will attack Hurna and Tašmaḫa. Ditto (= Is that outcome approved by you gods?) Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'Tarḫunt' arose and took 'the king's battle' and the 'campaign'. They are given to 'the assembly'. Second: 'The gods' arose and took 'life' and 'ZABABA' (10). To the 'great sickness'. Third: 'The king' took for himself 'rightness', 'the campaign', and 'the weapon', into 'emptiness'. Favorable.

(19-22) His [Maj]esty will prioritize (11) the troops of Mt. Haḫarwa for attack. Afterwards (he will go) into Nerik. He will campaign against Hurna and Tašmaḫa. Ditto (12) (= Is that outcome approved by you gods?) Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The troops' took for themselves 'rightness', 'royal campaign' and 'battle'. They are given to the

(4) The Stormgod of Nerik is the son of the Stormgod of Hattuša and the Sungoddess of Arinna and the second most important Hittite male deity. His cult center, Nerik, was lost to the Kašcaeans several centuries before this text was written, but it was recovered by appanage king Hattušili of Ḫakpiš under Great King Muṣili III, not too long before the composition of this text. Its location is to be sought in the vicinity of modern Durağan and Vezirköprü (see DEL MONTE & TISCHLER, RGTC 6 p. 288 and G. DEL MONTE, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte Supplement*, RGTC 6/2 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1992), p. 115, both w. bibliog.

(5) Lit. "word, matter".

(6) *zilan* is translated as a neuter by-form of *zila-*, since the *zilan* "diesseitig (??)" (J. FRIEDRICH, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (= HW) (Heidelberg: Carl Winter-Universitätsverlag, 1952-54), s.v. and ÜNAL, THeth 4 p. 33) makes little sense. Similarly ii 7, 10, 15, 18.

(7) *pa.* is an abbreviation for *panku-*, see now *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (= CHD) P/1 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1994), s.v.

(8) *peran arnu-* "bring to the front" with *peran* used in its temporal sense. J. FRIEDRICH, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* 1. *Ergänzungsheft*, 2 "vorwärtsbringen" is impossible since *peran* does not mean "forward", which is *parā*, see CHD P/3, s.v. *peran*.

(9) = Hanḫana (cf. below i 86), once a fairly important Hittite city, see G. DEL MONTE and J. TISCHLER, RGTC 6 pp. 76f., RGTC 6/2 p. 25.

(10) A Sumerian war god, perhaps to be equated with the Hurrian god Hešui, see H. G. GÜTERBOCK in K. BITTEL, *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazılıkaya*, Boğazköy-Hattuša 9 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1975), p. 176. See also A. KAMMENHUBER, "Hešui", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 4 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975), pp. 369f. with bibliography and caveats.

(11) *peran ḫuinu-* "make run in front", with *peran* used in its temporal sense. The phrase appears to be synonymous with *peran arnu-*, used in the preceding paragraph, see above n. 8. The known usages of the local meaning of *peran* in combination with *ḫuwai-*, see CHD *peran* 2b, make no sense here.

(12) "KI.MIN" (collation by A. WALTHER).

'Sungod of Heaven'. Second: 'The enemy' took for himself 'rightness', 'battle', 'the weapon', and 'the enemy'. They (are placed) within 'the land' for him. Unfavorable.

(23-26) His Majesty will carry out the plan for Taptena and the plan for Huršama right away. He will proceed up from behind Tanizila. (He will go) into Zihḫana. [Aft]erwards he will attack Hurna and Tašmaḫa. Ditto (= Is that outcome approved by you gods?) Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The king' took for himself 'hidden(?) misdeed' and 'sinisterness'. They are given to the 'troops'. Unfavorable.

(27-28) His Majesty will approach the men of Tizilima. Is it approved by you gods' will? Let (the oracle) be favorable. From (13) 'long years' it took 'vigor', 'the king's battle', 'release' and 'fire'. Into 'evil'. Unfavorable.

(29-31) His Majesty will not approach. Ditto. Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The gods' arose and took 'life' and 'the king's battle'. They were given back to 'the king'. Second: 'The dais' arose and took 'the good of the house'. To 'the gods'. Third: 'The enemy' took for himself 'rightness', 'release', and 'protection'. To 'the gods'. Favorable.

(32-33) His Majesty will go up Mt. Haḫarwa and he will sleep up there. If we have nothing at all to fear for his person (lit. his head), let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The gods' arose and took 'fire' and 'the great misdeed'. They are given to 'the assembly'. Unfavorable.

(34-37) His Majesty will go up Mt. Haḫarwa. If nothing will ruin (14) his life, let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The gods' arose and took 'life' and 'the king's blood'. Behind 'the dais'. Second: 'The assembly' took for itself 'rightness', 'good of the house' and a 'royal campaign'. To 'the gods'. Third: 'The gods' arose and took 'kindliness of the Fates'. To the 'whole soul' for 'the deity'. [Unfavorable(?)]

(38-39) Is it not permitted to sleep up there? Let (oracle) be unfavorable. The 'great sickness' took 'thick bread', 'a libation vessel', and 'well-being of the house' and gave them to 'the Sungod of Heaven'. Unfavorable.

(40-42) Because His Majesty will campaign to Mt. Haḫarwa, if he will not carry off plague for himself, let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The gods' arose and took 'vigor'. Into 'good'. Second: 'The deity' took for himself 'hidden(?) anger' and 'the whole soul'. Into 'emptiness'. Third: 'The assembly' took for itself 'rightness' and 'good of the house'. To 'the gods'. Favorable.

(43-45) His Majesty will go up Mt. Haḫarwa and he will sleep up there. If there will be no plague in the midst of the army, like happened to Mannini, let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The troops' took for themselves 'rightness', 'wellbeing', and 'life'. To 'the gods'. Second: 'The deity' took for himself 'hidden(?) anger' and 'good'. To 'Hannahanna'. Third: 'The gods' arose and took 'the year' and 'good of the land'. They are placed to the right of 'the army'.

(46-49) Because His Majesty will lead the troops up Mt. Haḫarwa, if no general plague will occur within the army, let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The troops' took for themselves 'sinisterness', 'the year', and 'life'. Into 'good'. Second: 'The gods' arose and took 'life'. To 'all the Fates'. Third: He (15) came through from 'evil' and 'the great sickness' and took 'the good of the land'. To 'the gods'. Favorable.

(50-52) He will strike Tašmaḫan and Hurna, and he will find those of the fortress (16) from

(13) TA (= *ISTU* [see KUB 5.3 ii 48-49] = Hitt. ablative), see A. ARCHI, "Il sistema KIN della divinazione ittita", *Oriens Antiquus* 13 (1974), p. 126, differently ÜNAL, THeth 4 (1974), pp. 36f. "Mit" (i.e. TA = *ITTI* = *kattan*, which is not attested in these texts).

(14) Read "GÜB<sup>1</sup>-ah-ḫi" (collations by A. WALTHER and H. A. HOFFNER).

(15) = *aš* 3sg common gender pronoun, without clear antecedent. See below ii 57 where the same phrase appears in the first observation. Perhaps "His Majesty" or "The King" is the antecedent.

(16) Read UN.MEŠ-za = *aš* = *za ŠA BI-IR-TI KAR-zi*, lit: "He will find them — those of the fortress — from

(among) the people. Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The assembly' took for itself 'rightness', 'the campaign' and 'blood'. To 'the gods'. Second: 'The gods' arose and took 'well being'. It was given to 'the army'. Third: 'Good' took 'life'. It is given to 'the king'. Favorable.

(uninscribed paragraph with room for one line)

(53-58) When His Majesty completes (his duties in) (17) Nerik, the troops will approach(?) Piqainareša. He will leave Piqainareša and enter Aštigurqa. Away from there (18) he will campaign against the intact (19) troops of Mt. Haḫarwa. He will sleep up there. Ditto. Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The troops' took for themselves 'rightness', 'the campaign' and 'battle'. They are given to 'Tarḫunt'. Second: 'The king' took for himself 'rightness', 'courage(?)' (20), and 'ZABABA'. They are given to 'the Hittites'. Third: 'The enemy' took for himself 'rightness', 'battle' and 'release'. Into 'emptiness'. Favorable.

(59-64) When he returns from Nerik, [he will go] into Aštigurqa. He will campaign against the intact troops of Mt. Haḫarwa. For however many days are determined he shall go (21)

(among) the people". The =aš must be acc. pl. since by Watkins' rule (see A. GARRETT, "Hittite Enclitic Subjects and Transitive Verbs", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 42 [1990], pp. 227-42), it cannot be subject of a transitive verb. ÜNAL, THeth 4 pp. 40f., ignores the =aš and understands UN.MEŠ-za as an ergative: "the population", however it would not be clear who the "them" that the population would be meeting would be since the word used in this text for "troops" (KARAS) is neuter (R. BEAL, THeth 20 pp. 9-32). And, contra ÜNAL, there seems to be no reason to translate the =za with wemiya- as "to find oneself", see KUB 23.77:59-60, ed. F. JOSEPHSON, *The Function of Sentence Particles in Old and Middle Hittite*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia Indoeuropaea Upsaliensia 2 (Uppsala: Skriv Service, 1972), p. 272, tr. E. VON SCHULER, *Die Kaškaer*, Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 3 (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1965), p. 121. A reading ŠA-PÍ-IR BAL! "the leader of the revolt" would be possible, since the copy shows the last sign to be half-way between a TI and a BAL, beginning with the two horizontals of a BAL and ending with the single winkelhaken of a TI, but it is unclear how the sentence should then be translated. ÜNAL, reads ŠA-PÍ-IR-TI, "mistress, lady", which he mistakes (p. 98) for masc. pl. (actually šapirūtu) "leaders".

(17) =za=kan karpzi. The basic meaning of karpzi is "he lifts". G. DEL MONTE and J. TISCHLER, *RGTC* 6 p. 395 translated "unterwerfen". However, the "lifting" of Nerik, occurs only at the beginning of a suggested campaign. As the most important city in the region, it seems incredible that its subjugation should be mentioned just in passing at the beginning and not as the culmination of the campaign. Elsewhere in the text no fighting is mentioned in order to enter Nerik, and indeed it appears that Nerik is in Hittite hands, to be entered at will (eg. ii 40 [parallel to Ḫakmiš, Hittite capital of the Upper Land], 53, 60) and in fact the text worries about various military actions indirectly causing Nerik to come to harm (eg. iii 40, 79-80). A. GÖTZE, *Hattušiliš. Der Bericht über seine Thronbesteigung nebst den Parallelexten*, Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft 29/3 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1925) 99, had suggested for this text "Streitkräfte nehmen" and a translation "call-up, levy" still seems possible from the context. Another possibility was suggested by J. FRIEDRICH, "Der hethitische Soldateneid", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 35 (1924), p. 186 who showed that karp- had a meaning "beenden" ("to complete"). His evidence consisted of examples in the middle voice with =kan. For our text he suggested "erledigen" ("to finish off, wind up business"). A look though the subsequently published examples of the active voice of karp- with =za=kan shows that Friedrich was correct. Note especially, *namma=za EZEN.MEŠ DÜ-mi GIM-an=ma=kan EZE[N.M.]EŠ karpmi nu INA URU Neriqqa paimi* "Then I will celebrate the festivals. When I finish celebrating the festival, I will go to Nerik" KBo 16.98 ii 12-14 (oracle question, NH). Note also KBo 13.68 rev. 5, 15 (oracle questions) and DŠ Fragment 28 i 42.

(18) Perhaps rather with ÜNAL, THeth 4 pp. 40f., "drive away the intact troops from there". *CHD* attempts no translation of the unique *arḫa lah(h)iyai-*.

(19) Akkadogram ŠALMŪTIM pl. masc. should not properly modify ERÍN.MEŠ collective com. sg. in Hittite.

(20) *muwa-*, following the recent suggestion of F. STARKE, *Review of The Hittite Dictionary L-N/3*, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 46 (1989), cols. 667-669 ("Mut, Beherztheit, Unerschrockenheit, Wehrhaftigkeit"). It is in anycase a quality possessed by gods, goddesses, lions, lands, cities, and borders, but not by infants. For references see *CHD* L-N (1986) s.v.

(21) DU/GIN-ri = *iyattari* with ÜNAL, THeth 4 pp. 42f., against *CHD* L-N 205 s.v. *maši-* c "stay" GUB-ri = *artari*.

up. And he shall come back down to sleep. He shall not sleep(?) (22) up above. Ditto. Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The gods' arose and took 'well-being', and 'the campaign of the king'. Behind the 'dais'. Second: 'The Hittites' took for themselves 'rightness', the 'campaign' and 'ZABABA'. They are given to 'Tarḫunt'. Third: 'The enemy' took 'rightness', 'release' and 'good of the house'. Into 'emptiness'. Favorable.

(65-67) He will campaign down from Mt. Haḫarwa against Talmaliya. Will you, O god, give it (to him)? Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'Tarḫunt' arose, and took 'the king's battle', 'courage(?)', 'the good of the house', and gave them to 'the army'. Second: The 'great sickness' took 'ZABABA' and 'wellbeing'. To 'the gods'. Third: 'The enemy' took for himself, 'rightness', 'battle' and 'the great misdeed' and he crossed the wall. They were given to 'the Hittites'. <Unfavorable> (23).

(68-69) He will campaign against it from above and below. Will you, O god, give it (to him)? Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The Sungod of Heaven' arose and took 'the king's battle', and 'the campaign'. They are placed to the left of 'the Hittites'. Unfavorable.

(70-77) When he completes (his duties in) Nerik, he will go back to Piqainariša. He will leave Piqainareša on the double. He will attack Tanizila up from behind x-x-šašena. But all(?) the Kaškaeans will attack it opposite from Ziqapalla. Forward--behind Aštenaippa. Into Zihhana and Zagiya. He will destroy Ḫurna and leave. Ditto. Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The Hittites' took for themselves 'rightness' 'power', 'strength' and 'the good of the house'. To 'sickness'. Second: 'The enemy' took for himself 'rightness', 'release', 'eye-sight', and 'rightness of friends' and the 'whole soul'. They are placed in 'battle' for them. Unfavorable.

(78-85) When he completes (his duties in) Nerik, he will attack Tanizila up from behind Ziqapalla. However many days he spends up there, he will come back down to before Kaštama. Beyond that, he will travel whatever campaign is ascertained for him. Ditto. Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The king' took for himself 'rightness', 'battle', and 'ZABABA'. He crossed the wall and took 'the fire of the enemy', 'the great misdeed', 'release' and 'the enemy'. They are placed in a 'peace-treaty' for 'the enemy'. Second: 'The Hittites' took for themselves 'rightness', 'vigor', and 'the Hittite weapon'. They (24) crossed the wall and took 'release' (and) 'the enemy'. They are placed in 'destruction' for 'the enemy'. Third: 'The gods' arose and took 'release' and 'well-being'. They are given to 'the troops'. Favorable.

(86-91) When he is campaigning against the troops of Mt. Haḫarwa, he will enter Ḫanḫana (25). He will attack Ḫurna. He will attack Tanizila up from behind Ḫurna. However many days he spends up there, he will come down to before Nerik. Ditto. Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The king' took for himself 'sinisterness', 'evil', 'the great misdeed'. Into 'emp[ti]ness'. Second: 'The enemy' took for himself 'rightness' and 'the land'. He came in to the wall and gave them to [...]. Third: 'The gods' arose and took 'the royal campaign' and 'battle' and gave them to 'the Hittites'. Favorable.

(92-94) I will satisfy (26) the angry soul of the Stormgod of Nerik by every means. When I destroy Tanizila will I calm his soul by this means? Ditto. Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The enemy' took for himself 'rightness', 'evil', 'the campaign' and 'the army'. They are placed to the left of 'the troops'. Unfavorable.

(22) ṣe-eš-zi is possible according to A. WALTHER's collation.

(23) See below ii 22.

(24) The subject is singular of this and the following verb.

(25) = Ḫanḫana, see G. DEL MONTE and J. TISCHLER, *RGTC* 6 pp. 76f.

(26) Lit. "place on the road", see *CHD* P s.v. \*pašiaḫḫ-.

(95-98) When I destroy Mt. Ḫaḫarwa, will I calm the soul of the Stormgod of Nerik by this means? Ditto. Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The troops' took for themselves 'rightness', 'the good of the house' and 'the campaign'. To 'the gods'. Second: 'Good' took 'well-being'. Behind 'the dais'. Third: 'Ḫannaḫanna' arose and took the 'kindliness of the gods' and 'protection' and gave them to 'the king'. Favorable.

(99-100) Because sleeping up on Mt. Ḫaḫarwa is difficult, because there will be troops up there, will I have nothing to fear? Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The assembly' took for itself 'sinisterness' and 'fire'. To 'the gods'. [...]

(101-104) Because I will sleep up there, for the head of His Majesty will it be favorable and will we have nothing to fear for him? [Let the oracle be favorable. ... ] took [...] and 'life'. To 'the gods'. Second: 'The gods' arose and took 'the good of the house' and 'the year'. They are given to 'the assembly'. Third: 'The Sungod of Heaven' arose and took 'the kindlinesses of the gods'. Into 'good'. Favorable.

(105-107) Because he will sleep up there, if a weapon-death will not happen in the midst of the troops, let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The troops' took for themselves 'rightness', 'the campaign' and 'life'. To 'the gods'. 'Ḫannaḫanna' took 'the year' and 'well-being'. They are given to 'the troops'. 'Good' took 'the kindlinesses of the gods'. It is given to 'the king'. Favorable.

(ii 1-5) [I, My Majesty] will go to Tanizila(?). [When] the men of Tani[zila] stand for [batt]le against me, will no sinisterness [happen? Let (the oracle) be favorable. The ...-s took for themselves 'sinisterness', 'the campaign' and 'an evocation ritual'. To 'the gods'. [Second: ...] took for himself 'rightness', and 'release' and placed them (in) 'battle'. Third: 'The king' took for himself 'rightness', 'battle' and 'the campaign'. To 'the gods'. Favorable.

(6-9) They will approach Taptena and Ḫuršama. Will the result for the borders on that account be favorable? Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The gods' arose and took 'blood', and 'the good of the house'. 'Evil' and 'the great sickness' hold them confined. Second: 'The enemy' took for himself 'rightness' and 'kindliness' and <put> them into the heart of 'the land' for them. Unfavorable.

(10-13) He will not approach. Will the result for the borders on that account will be favorable? Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'Ḫannaḫanna' arose and took 'life' and 'well-being'. Behind 'the dais'. Second: 'The assembly' took for itself 'rightness', 'the land', and 'good of the house'. To 'the gods'. Third: 'The deity' took for himself 'the whole soul' [...]. They are given to 'the king'.

(14-16) What is approved by the deity: When the Kaškaeans attack, I will make them sick. The result for the borders on that account will be favorable? Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The Hittites' took for themselves 'sinisterness' and 'the campaign'. They are placed to the left of 'the king'. Unfavorable.

(17-21) When I campaign against them at Liḫayama, will the result for Nerik on that account be favorable? Let (the oracle) be favorable? 'The king' took for himself 'rightness', 'power' and 'strength', 'well-being' and 'battle'. To 'the gods'. Second: 'Ḫannaḫanna' arose and took 'good', and 'the Hittite weapon'. To the 'great sickness'. Third: 'The enemy' took for himself 'hidden(?) misdeed', 'peace-treaty' and 'the campaign'. Into 'emptiness'. Favorable.

(22-23) Concerning that Tamaliya down from Mt. Ḫaḫarwa is unfavorable<sup>(27)</sup>. Are you, O deity<sup>(28)</sup>, angry? Let (the oracle) be unfavorable. 'Evil' took 'the whole soul of the deity'. It put it in 'anger'.

(27) Referring back to lines i 65-69.

(28) The text has pl. DINGIR.MEŠ "gods" and singular TUKU-za "angry".

(24-27) Do you, O deity, see only sinisterness? You will not give it (to him)<sup>(29)</sup>. Let (the oracle) be unfavorable. 'The Hittites' took for themselves 'rightness', 'the campaign' and 'well-being' and gave them to 'Tarḫunt'. Second: 'Good' took 'the future', and 'life' and gave them to 'Tarḫunt'. Third: 'The army' took for themselves 'sinisterness', (and) 'battle of the enemy'. They are placed (in) 'misbehavior' for 'the enemy'<sup>(30)</sup>. Favorable.

(28-33) His Majesty will complete (his duties in) Nerik. He will go to Ḫaḫana. He will attack Ḫurna and Tašmaḫa. He will go into Ziḫḫana. He will attack Tanizila. He will carry out the plan for Ḫuršama and the plan for Taptena in the same way. Ditto. Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The Sungod of Heaven' arose and took 'the king's battle' and 'the whole soul'. They are placed to the right of 'the troops'. Second: The 'lesser sickness' took 'the weapon of the enemy' and 'the fire of the enemy'. Into 'emptiness'. Third: 'The troops' took for themselves 'rightness', 'ZABABA' and 'life'. To 'the gods'. Favorable.

(34-38) Although His Majesty will immediately attack Ḫurna and Tašmaḫa, he will attack Mt. Malimaliya. Beyond that he will attack Tanizila. He will not, however, go to Ziḫḫana. When after the town [...] he will carry out [the plan for Tapte]na and the plan for Ḫuršama in the same way. Ditto. Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'Ḫannaḫanna' [arose and took ...]. They are given to 'the Hittites'. Second: 'The enemy' took for himself 'rightness' [...]. They are given to [...]. Favorable.

(39-44) His Majesty will go back only to Ḫaḫana. He will attack Ḫurna. From Ḫurna (he will go) into Kapipišša, into Ḫakmiš<sup>(31)</sup>, into Nerik. He will attack Tanizila. Afterwards (he will go) again into Nerik. The plan for Taptena and the plan for Ḫuršama will be carried out there. Ditto. Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The Hittites' took for themselves 'hidden(?) misdeed', 'the campaign' and the 'whole soul of the king' and 'an evocation-ritual'. To 'the gods'. Second: 'The enemy' took for himself 'rightness', and 'battle'. They (are placed) for them in the heart of 'the land'. Unfavorable.

(45-52) His Majesty will leave Nerik and come back to Ḫakmiš. He will strike Talmaliya. And he will destroy the troops of Mt. Ḫaḫarwa. However, His Majesty will sleep in Yupapaena. But when he comes down from Mt. Ḫaḫarwa, he will give the light-troops<sup>(32)</sup> to Temeti. They will carry off Ununiya. Afterwards he will meet up with His Majesty. The plan for Taptena and Ḫuršama will be carried out. However, he will not attack Tanizila. Ditto. Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The Sungod of Heaven' arose and took 'the king's battle', 'rightness' (and) 'the whole soul'. They are placed to the right of 'the troops'. Second: 'The Hittites' took for themselves 'sinisterness', 'the campaign', 'the vision of the king's eyes' and 'the

(29) = *an* is common gender and thus contra ÜNAL, THeth 4 pp. 54f., does not refer back to GÜB-tar, a neuter gender noun. Since this is in the question section, gender congruence is expected. Therefore "it" presumably refers back to Tamaliya (i 65-69 and ii 22-23).

(30) *n=at* LÚ.KÚR *wašdul* GAR-ri. When next this phrase is seen (ii 70) LÚ.KÚR is preceded by *ANA* showing the first noun to be dat.-loc. The similar construction DINGIR-LIM-ni *karpi* "in 'anger' for 'the deity'" iii 18 where both nouns are in the dative-locative shows that *wašdul* here is probably an "endingless locative". For this form of this word see E. NEU, "Zum sprachlichen Alter des Hukkana-Vertrages", *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* (= KZ) 93 (1979), p. 77.

(31) Hittite capital of the Upper Land, and in the time of Muwatalli II of an appanage kingdom created for his brother Hattušili.

(32) ERÍN.MEŠ *ŠUTI*, perhaps troops armed/dressed like Sutean tribesmen. See R. BEAL, THeth 20 pp. 104-108.

destruction of battle'. They are given to 'the Sungod of Heaven'. Third: 'The enemy' took for himself 'battle' and 'release'. They are placed to the left of 'the friend'.

(53-59) His Majesty will go back from Nerik to Ḫaḫana. He will attack Ḫurna. Beyond that he will attack Tanizila. However, he will not approach Taptena and Ḫuršama. He will go up Mt. Ḫaḫarwa from behind. He will attack Talmaliya below. And if there is time left in the campaign season<sup>(33)</sup>, he will attack Kammama. Beyond that he will attack Škamaḫa. Ditto. Let (the oracle) be favorable. He came through from 'evil' and 'the great sickness' and took 'the Hittite weapon', 'Hittite fire' and 'good'. To 'the gods'. Two: 'Emptiness' took 'release', (and) 'the enemy' and gave them back. Three: 'The enemy' took for himself 'battle', 'the whole soul' and 'the campaign of the friend'. Into 'emptiness'. Favorable.

(60-65) His Majesty will arrive in Nerik and carry out the plan for Taptena and the plan for Ḫuršama. He will not turn back toward Tanizila. He will campaign against the troops of Mt. Ḫaḫarwa. Beyond that he will campaign against Kammama and Škamaḫa. Ditto. Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'Ḫannaḫanna' arose and took 'well-being', 'the good of the land' and 'ZABABA'. They are placed to the right of 'the Hittites'. Second: 'The Hittites' took for themselves 'rightness', 'power' and 'strength', 'the royal campaign' and 'well-being'. To 'the gods'. Third: 'The enemy' took for himself 'battle', and 'the whole soul'. They were given back to 'the enemy'. Favorable.

(66-72) His Majesty will complete (his duties) in Nerik. Again, he will campaign against Mt. Ḫaḫarwa. He will attack Kamama, Škamaḫa, Tašmaḫa and Ḫurna. However, he will not carry out the plan for Taptena, the plan for Ḫuršama and the plan for Tanizila. Ditto. Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The king' took for himself 'rushing across'<sup>(34)</sup>, 'the campaign', 'Hittite fire', and 'Hittite weapon'. He crossed the wall. They are placed (in) 'misbehavior' for 'the enemy'. Second: 'The Hittites' took for themselves 'sinisterness', 'vigor', 'the year' and 'protection'. They are given to 'Ḫannaḫanna'. Third: 'The enemy' took for himself 'battle' and 'the whole soul'. They are given to 'the friend'. Favorable.

(73-77) His Majesty will [complete (his duties in)<sup>(35)</sup>] Nerik. He will go back [to ...] He will [attack (?) Škamaḫa and [...]] He will campaign against [the troops] of Ḫaḫarwa. [He will carry out] the matter of Taptena [and the matter of Ḫuršama(?)]. But he will not attack Tanizila and Ḫurna. [... Ditto. Let (the oracle) be favorable. ... ] took [...] 'misdeed', 'the dais', 'the campaign' and 'the army' [...].

(78-82) Concerning that a campaign against [Tanizila (?) continues to be bad, do you O god] see sinisterness [for Tanizila]? Let the (oracle) be unfavorable. [...] Second: 'the king' took for himself [...] into 'g[ood(?)]. Third: ... ] took [...] and 'battle' [...]

(83-84) Due to the gods it [... Let (the oracle) be ...] evil [...]

(85-88) If the gods [...], we [will] do it. [...] Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The deity' took for himself 'the whole [soul] ...] Second: 'Ḫannaḫanna' ar[ose ...]

(89-91) Because divinity [... Let (the oracle) be ...] 'The king' took for himself 'rightness' [...] [...] holds [them] confined in [...]

(33) *nu mān* MU-za UGU *ēšzi* Lit. "And if the year is above", following tr. of DEL MONTE & TISCHLER, RGTC 6 p. 395. ÜNAL's, THeth 4 pp. 60f. understanding requires the enclitics to have been attached to the second word of the sentence, an impossibility in Hittite.

(34) *pa-an parḫuwar* for *pariyan parḫuwar*, see CHD P p. 146 s.v. *parḫ-* 7 "chasing across(?)".

(35) The lack of a =za in the sentence makes this otherwise expected restoration somewhat questionable. See above n. 17.

(92-93) Will the gods of the army [...] ? Let (the oracle) be unfavorable. 'The gods' [arose and took ...] Favorable.

(94-95) Will the protective deities, on the other hand, [...] it ? [Let (the oracle) be unfavorable, ...] took. Into 'evil' [...]

(96) Will the gods of Šima[...<sup>(36)</sup> ...] it ? [Let (the oracle) be unfavorable ... ].

(97-98) Will the gods of Išt[ahara ...] it ? [Let (the oracle) be unfavorable, ...] into 'emptiness' [...]

(99-100) Will the gods of Šap[inuwa(?) ...] it ? Let (the oracle) be unfavorable. 'The gods' arose [and took ...]

(101-104) If only some god [will ...] it, and you, [O god], see [no other sinisterness(?)], let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The gods' arose [and took ...]. It is given to 'the assembly'. Second: 'The dais' [...]. Third: 'The deity' [took] for himself 'hidden(?) anger' [...].

(105-iii 3) Here, His Majesty will [...] the Cedar Gods. [He will ...] to the Sungod(dess) of Ištahara [...] He will summon [...] and satisfy them (lit. place them on the road). [...] they turn, to them [...] a ceremony of plea-presenting<sup>(37)</sup>, [...] the powerful awe-inspiring Sungod [...] may not harm [...] Let (the oracle) be favorable(?) 'The king' [took] for himself 'rightness' and 'favor' [...] Second: 'The gods' arose and took 'the mildness' of the death-demon(?)<sup>(38)</sup> [...]. Third: 'The assembly' took for itself 'sinisterness' and 'evil' [...]

(4-7) They will carry this out as follows: if [...] Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The gods' arose and took 'thickbread' [and 'libation ve]ssel' [...]. [Second: 'The deity' took for himself 'hidden(?) anger' [...]. [Third:] 'Evil' took 'protection' and it [...] to ...].

(8-9) [The matter of] Talmaliya on every account is unfavorable. [...] Let (the oracle) be ... ... took] for himself 'the mildness of the death-demon(?)' and 'the good of the land'. [...]

(10-13) But you, O god, will not allow (lit. give) [it] to be campaigned against. [...] Let (the oracle) be ... ... took ...] into 'good'. Second: 'The gods' arose [and took] 'the king's battle' [...], they are given to 'the assembly'. Third: 'Ḫannaḫanna' arose [and took] 'the kindness of the gods' [...]. It is given to 'the king'. Favorable.

(14-16) Do you (sc. O god) see some [evil] ? Let (the oracle) be unfavorable. The 'assembly' t[ook] for itself 'sinisterness' and 'life'. [To ...] [Second: ...] took for himself 'rightness', 'battle', 'release', 'the campaign', and 'vigor'. They [are given] to 'the Sungod of Hea[ven.]' [Third:] 'The enemy' took for himself 'rightness' and 'battle'. They are given to the 'Sungod of Heaven'. Favorable.

(17-18) Do these evil portents remain only for the deity ? Let (oracle) be unfavorable. 'The assembly' took for itself 'sinisterness', '[unfavorable] portant' and 'good'. They are placed in 'anger' for 'the deity'. Unfavorable.

(19-22) They will put the divine statues<sup>(39)</sup> on the road. They will bring the gods to Šapinuwa. That evil which they ascertain by oracle, they will take care of it by oracular inquiry. (If this is acceptable,) let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The deity' took for himself 'the whole soul' and 'the good of the house'. Behind 'the dais'. Second: 'The great sickness' took 'the mildness of the death-demon(?)'. Into 'evil'. Third: 'The gods' arose and took 'life' and 'the good of the house'. They are given 'to the assembly'.

(36) DINGIR.MEŠ URUŠima[...] (otherwise unattested) or DINGIR.MEŠ URU-LIM=ma "But the gods of the city".

(37) Tr. after J. PUHVEL, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* 1 (Amsterdam: Mouton, 1984), p. 149.

(38) <sup>d</sup>NAM. Chr. RÜSTER and E. NEU, *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon* (= HZL), Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten Beiheft 2 (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz 1989), no. 39 suggest that this is an abbreviation for the Akkadian *namtaru*.

(39) DINGIR.MEŠ-tar (FRIEDRICH, *HW* s.v. \*šuniyatar, followed by ÜNAL, THeth 4 pp. 68f., 72f.), lit. "divinity".

(23-27) What you gods approve : He will complete (his duties in) Nerik and come back to Piqainariša. He will campaign against the troops of Ḫaḫarwa. Ditto. Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'Ḫannaḫanna' arose and took 'courage(?)' and 'a royal campaign'. They were given to 'the troops'. Second : 'The enemy' took for himself 'rightness', and 'good of the land' and crossed the wall. They are given to 'the Hittites'. Third : 'Emptiness' took 'release', 'the enemy' and 'the destruction of battle'. Into 'good'.

(28-32) This is approved by the gods : I will complete (my duties in) Nerik. I will prioritize <sup>(40)</sup> Tanizila for a campaign. He will in the same way campaign against the troops of Mt. Ḫaḫarwa. Ditto. Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'Tarḫunt' arose and took 'life' and 'ZABABA'. 'Evil' holds them confined in 'the great sickness'. Second : 'The enemy' took for himself 'rightness' and 'release'. They are placed '(in) battle' for 'the friend'. Unfavorable.

(33-36) Why is the campaign to Tanizila unfavorable? Will the troops suffer misfortune by battle? O deity, is this the sinisterness that you see? Let (the oracle) be unfavorable. 'The troops' took for themselves 'hidden(?) misdeed', 'rightness', 'the campaign' and 'battle'. To 'the gods'. Second : 'The enemy' took for himself 'rightness' and 'the whole soul'. They are placed for them in 'a peace-treaty'. Favorable.

(37-39) Will the lands, however, defect from him? Let (the oracle) be unfavorable. 'The land' took 'rightness' and 'the good of the house'. To 'the gods'. Second : 'Tarḫunt' arose and took 'life' and 'the land'. To 'the great sickness'. Third : 'The deity' took for himself 'the whole soul' and 'favor' and gave them to 'the king'. Favorable.

(40-43) Will it become sinister for Nerik afterwards on this account? Let (the oracle) be unfavorable. 'The king' took for himself 'rightness', (and) 'the whole soul' and gave them to 'the assembly'. Second : 'The deity' took for himself 'the whole soul', 'the city' and 'kindliness' and gave them to 'Ḫannaḫanna'. Third : 'Ḫannaḫanna' arose and took 'kindlinesses of the gods' and gave them to 'the king'. Favorable.

(44-45) The divine statues traveled in front. Is it for that reason that it is bad? Let (the oracle) be unfavorable. The 'assembly' took for themselves 'sinisterness', 'fire' and 'an evocation ritual'. To 'the gods'. Unfavorable.

(46-47) Is it unfavorable <sup>(41)</sup> only because of the gods' (statues)? However, O deity you do not see anything at all in the way of misfortune in battle, sinisterness, or defection of the lands for His Majesty in Tanizila. Let (the oracle) be favorable. (Two blank lines were left, but no answer was recorded).

(48-50) Concerning the aforementioned bad dreams which he keeps seeing, and omens of misfortune which keep occurring, do you gods see misfortune in battle on the Tanizila campaign? Let (the oracle) be unfavorable. (No answer is recorded in the space).

(51-57) Concerning that he (sc. the deity) keeps strangling the Tanizila campaign. It was also bad according to the auspex and the male diviner/exorcist (extaspex). The gall bladder was destroyed. The *zulki*- <sup>(42)</sup> was *turapšita* <sup>(43)</sup>. The intestines produced 14 turns <sup>(44)</sup>. I will

decide and I My Majesty do according to my own will <sup>(45)</sup>. But if you Stormgod of Nerik, are my personal god, as you have granted protection to me until now, will you assist me now too, wherever I turn on this field, and will you run before me? Will you step on fear for me so that I will eliminate it and bring away courage(?) for myself? Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The Hittites' took for themselves 'rightness' and 'ZABABA'. Into 'good'.

(58-60) Do you (sc. gods) see it (sc. fear) on the Talmaliya campaign? Let (the oracle) be unfavorable. 'The king' took for himself 'rightness' and 'an evocation ritual'. Into 'good'. Second : 'The assembly' took for themselves 'rightness', 'the dais', 'the whole soul of the king' and 'battle'. To 'the gods'. Third : 'The great sickness' took 'life'. To 'the gods'. Favorable.

(61-64) His Majesty will strike Talmaliya down from Mt. Ḫaḫarwa. All the Kaškaeans <sup>(46)</sup> will strike it up from below. Will you, O god, give it (to him)? Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The deity' took <for himself> 'battle', 'the whole soul', and 'release of the friend'. Into 'emptiness'. Second : 'The Hittites' took for themselves 'rightness', 'the campaign' and 'wellbeing'. To 'the gods'. Third : 'The dais' arose and took 'the royal campaign' and 'life'. To 'the gods'. Favorable.

(65-70) If His Majesty campaigns against Tanizila this year, if he campaigns in some other place, if he goes with the army to the hearth (or) to the river, if you gods do not see major misfortune in battle for him, let (the oracle) be favorable. 'Ḫannaḫanna' arose and took 'ZABABA' and 'the good of the house'. To 'the great sickness'. Second : 'Emptiness' took 'permission' and 'the enemy campaign'. They are placed in the heart of 'the land' for 'the enemy'. Third : 'The enemy' took for himself 'rightness' and 'the weapon of the enemy'. Into 'emptiness'. Favorable.

(71-74) O deity, you keep seeing sinisterness of battle in some place. Let (the oracle) be unfavorable for Tanizila. 'Tarḫunt' arose and took 'life', 'courage(?)', and 'royal campaign'. They are given to 'the Hittites'. Second : 'The Hittites' took for themselves 'sinisterness', 'vigor' and 'an unfavorable portent'. To 'the gods'. Third : 'The enemy' took for himself 'rightness' and 'the whole soul' and placed them for himself in 'a peace treaty'.

(75-76) Let (the oracle) be unfavorable for Talmaliya. 'The emptiness of the enemy' took for itself 'permission'. To 'the gods'.

(77-83) Because approaching Taptena and Ḫuršama is unfavorable, they will not do according to <sup>(47)</sup> Temeti; they will not approach. If, while His Majesty is returning from an Assyrian campaign, if those borders will not defect and (if) no harm will come to Nerik, let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The king' took for himself 'rightness' and 'the whole soul'. To 'the great sickness'. Second : 'The gods' arose and took 'vigor', 'release', and 'the enemy'. They are given back to 'the enemy'. Third : 'The enemy' took for himself 'rightness' and 'fire'. Into 'emptiness'. Favorable.

(84-86) They will do according to Temeti. Will the outcome for Nerik on that account be favorable while he (sc. His Majesty?) is returning from Assyria? Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'Nerik' took for itself 'sinisterness', 'protection' <sup>(48)</sup>, 'vision of the royal eyes'. To 'the gods'. Unfavorable.

(45) Reading ZI = YA = pat.

(46) Ḫattušili King of Ḫakmiš and later Great King as Ḫattušili III pacified large numbers of Kaškaeans and incorporated them into his armies. Kaškaeans fought on the Hittite side at the battle of Qidš (incorrectly: Qadeš). (A. GARDINER, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (Oxford, 1960) 8 P 45, 29 B 40-50 "Keshkesh") They were never, however, entirely trusted. See R. BEAL, THeth 20 :85 w. n. 301 and in general E. VON SCHULER, *Die Kaškäer*.

(47) EGIR-an, lit. "after".

(48) The copy has a clear PAP = *paḫšanumar*, usually written with a phonetic complement PAP-nu-mar. The

(40) See above n. 8.

(41) The "un-" (NU) is written over an erasure. Contra ÜNAL, THeth 4 p. 72 w. n. a, the NU itself was not erased, as the sense of this sentence in relationship to the preceding paragraph makes clear.

(42) Correct ÜNAL's, THeth 4 p. 72, reading. See H. OTTEN, *Materialien zum hethitischen Lexikon*, StBoT 15, (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1971) p. 2, and HZL no. 46.

(43) hapax legomena, but clearly unfavorable.

(44) 10 or 12 are the usual favorable omens, while 8 is the usual unfavorable.



(87-89) Enough of that <sup>(49)</sup>. I will not do like Temeti. Will the outcome for Nerik be favorable on that account? Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The dais' arose <and took> 'the good of the house' (Three uninscribed blank lines were left for the rest of the answer.)

(90-92) They will do only like Temeti. If it will be favorable on that account for Nerik and for the borders, let (the oracle) be favorable. 'Temeti' took for himself 'sinisterness', 'the plan', and 'the great misdeed'. To 'the gods'. Unfavorable.

(93-94) Is command in the manner of Temeti unacceptable to the deity? Let (the oracle) be unfavorable. 'The Sungod of Heaven' arose and took 'vigor' and 'an unfavorable portent'. To 'the gods'. Unfavorable.

(95-96) Will he even die? Let (the oracle) be unfavorable. 'The assembly' took for itself 'rightness', 'the good of the house', and 'the year'. They are given to 'Hannahanna'. Second: 'The gods' arose and took 'life' and 'blood'. Behind 'the dais'. Favorable.

(97-99) When the Hittites approach the men of Tiyaššili will the approach be unfavorable from everywhere? Let (the oracle) be unfavorable. 'The Hittites' took for themselves 'sinisterness' and 'an evocation ritual'. To 'the gods'. Unfavorable.

(100) Will one of his GÊME.E-men <sup>(50)</sup> approach him? Let (the oracle) be unfavorable. (Two uninscribed lines left for the answer.)

(iv 1-39) (The next 15 paragraphs are too broken to give a connected translation, but questions continue concerning warfare, Mt. Ḫaḫarwa, and Talmaliya.)

(40-43) His Majesty will go behind ... [up on] Mt. Ḫaḫarwa. Is he allowed by the deity? ... [...] Let the first flesh (oracle) be favorable, and the second unfavorable. The first flesh: the *nipašuri* flopped to the right and left. The left is on top. There is a left 'stool'. There is a *zulki*-. The gallbladder is *ḫilipšiman*. Behind it is *šurī*. The second flesh: The heart is bound. Unfavorable.

(44-46) The question <sup>(51)</sup> by the female diviner/exorcist is the same. Let the symbol (oracle) be favorable. 'The king' took for himself 'rightness', and 'an evocation ritual'. Into 'good'. Second: 'The assembly' took for itself 'rightness', 'the dais' and 'the whole soul of the king'. To 'the gods'. Third: 'The great sickness' took 'life'. To 'the gods'. Favorable.

(47-48) He will go up Mt. Ḫaḫarwa. Will the enemy not harm the troops in battle? Let the first flesh (-oracle) be favorable. Let the second be unfavorable. Both flesh (oracles) are unfavorable.

(49-50) We asked again: *nipašuri*, *šintaḫi*, *tanani*, the *keldi* looks down to their backs. The gallbladder is *ḫilipšiman*. Behind it is *šurī*. <Favorable>.

(51) The question by the female diviner/exorcist is the same. Let the symbol (oracle) be favorable. (Blank lines but no answer is recorded).

(52-53) He will go up Mt. Ḫaḫarwa. If no plague will happen amongst the troops, let (the oracle) be favorable. It is flattened on the right. <Unfavorable>.

(54-56) The question by the female diviner/exorcist is the same. Let the symbol oracle be favorable. 'The great sickness' took 'evil' and 'protection' and gave them to 'Hannahanna'.

same sign could also be read KÜR, although one would then expect LÜ.KÜR "the enemy". ÜNAL, THeth 4 pp. 78f. w. n. a, read KUR "land", after a published marginal note "KUR" by Walther in the copy. However, in 1922, when KUB 5 was published, the accents on KUR signs were reversed from current usage: "KUR" is now KÜR = "enemy" and "KÜR" is now KUR = "land".

(49) *arḫa*=*pat*=*kan kuermi*, lit.: "I will cut completely away".

(50) Mng. unknown. See HKL nos. 301, 305.

(51) *ER-TUM* "question", probably an abbreviation for the Akkadian *ERİŠTUM* "wish, request, requirement".

Second: 'The deity' took for himself 'hidden(?) anger' and 'good'. To 'the gods'. Third: 'Tarḫunt' arose and took 'the royal campaign' and 'the good of the house'. They are given to the 'troops'. Favorable.

(57-58) He will sleep up on Mt. Ḫaḫarwa. Is it acceptable to the gods? Let the flesh oracle be favorable. The *nipašuri* is *adamdaḫi* to the left. The *šintaḫi* is flattened on the right. The gallbladder is *ḫilipšiman*. Eight turns of the intestine. <Unfavorable>.

(59) The question by the female diviner/exorcist is the same. Let the symbol oracle be favorable. (Blank space but no reply is recorded).

(60-61) He will strike Talmaliya down from Mt. Ḫaḫarwa. Let the flesh oracle be favorable. The *nipašuri*, *šintaḫi*, *tanani*, *keldi*. Favorable.

(62-64) The question by the female diviner/exorcist is the same. Let the symbol oracle be favorable. 'The king' took for himself 'rightness' and 'the whole soul'. To 'the great sickness'. Second: 'The gods' arose and took 'vigor', 'release' and 'the enemy'. They are given back to 'the enemy'. Third: 'The enemy' took for himself 'rightness' and 'fire'. Into 'emptiness'. Favorable.

(65-67) He will come back down from Mt. Ḫaḫarwa and enter Aštigurqa. He will pass behind the plain. He will attack Talmaliya. Ditto. Let the flesh oracle be favorable. The *nipašuri*. There was no *šintaḫi* <sup>(52)</sup>. *tanani*, *keldi*. The *e[nti]* <sup>(53)</sup> was flattened on the left.

(68-69) The question by the female diviner/exorcist is the same. Let the symbol oracle be favorable. 'Good' took 'light' <sup>(54)</sup>, 'the year' and 'the royal campaign'. They are given 'to the troops'. 'The king' took for himself 'rightness' and 'battle'. They are placed (in) 'misbehavior' <sup>(55)</sup> for 'the enemy'. Favorable.

(70-73) Because he will go up on Mt. Ḫaḫarwa at [...], if he need not fear for us in strong wind, thunderstorm, cloudbursts(?) and rains <sup>(56)</sup> and the troops will not be struck by the Stormgod, let the first flesh oracle be favorable and the second unfavorable. Both are unfavorable.

(74-76) The question by the female diviner/exorcist is the same. Let the symbol (oracle) be favorable. 'The king' took for himself 'rightness', 'an evocation-ritual', and 'vigor'. Into 'good'. Second: He came through from 'evil' and from <sup>(57)</sup> 'the great sickness' and took 'the vision of the king's eyes' and 'life'. To 'the gods'. Favorable.

(77-78) If heavy rains will not burden the troops up on Mt. Ḫaḫarwa, let (flesh oracle) be favorable. The *nipašuri* exists. The *šintaḫi* and *keldi*. <Favorable>.

(79) The question by the female diviner/exorcist is the same. Let the symbol (oracle) be favorable. (No answer is written in the space provided).

(80-81) Concerning that it was unfavorable. Is only campaigning against Mt. Ḫaḫarwa prevented by the gods? It does not have a *nipašuri*. Unfavorable! It does not have a portant <sup>(58)</sup>.

(52) *ši*. NU.TUKU with the copy "it does not have (= Akk. *ul irašši*) a *šintaḫi*", against the reading of ÜNAL, THeth 4 pp. 88f., followed by M. SCHUOL, "Die Terminologie des hethitischen SU-Orakels: Eine Untersuchung auf der Grundlage des mittelhethitischen Textes KBo XVI 97 unter vergleichender Berücksichtigung akkadischer Orakeltexte und Lebermodelle", *Altorientalische Forschungen* 21 (1994), p. 90, "*ši* NU.KIN 'Standort, keine Entscheidung'", which is not the way this would be said in Sumerian. For NU.TUKU (not NU.KIN) see already CHD L-N 448 s.v. *nipašuri*-b.

(53) Restoration by H. Berman.

(54) ZALAG.GA-an.

(55) WALTHER's collation: "wohl *wa-aš-ti*". The copy and ÜNAL, THeth 4 p. 88, have IZKIM "portant".

(56) Reading the traces *ḫé-u-wa-aš* after H. BERMAN.

(57) WALTHER's collation shows not GA "milk" but TA "from".

(58) NU.TUKU with copy, see note to line iv 66; *arān* "prevented" suggested by C. Melchert (personal communication).

(82) The question by the female diviner/exorcist is the same. Let the symbol (oracle) be favorable. (No answer is written in the space provided).

(83-84) His Majesty will place the divine statues of Mt. Ḫaḫarwa on the road. And flanking(?)<sup>(59)</sup>, he will place on the road the divine statues of Ḫatti. But His Majesty will campaign against Mt. Ḫaḫarwa. Ditto. Let the flesh oracle be favorable. The heart is bound. <Unfavorable><sup>(60)</sup>.

(85) The question by the female diviner/exorcist is the same. Let the symbol (oracle) be favorable. (No answer is written in the space provided).

(86-88)<sup>(61)</sup> The question of the child. 'The king' took for himself 'rightness', 'the year', and 'well-being'. He gave them to 'the King of Tarḫuntašša'<sup>(62)</sup>. Second : 'Ḫannaḫanna' arose and took 'light' and 'the blood of the child'. They are given to 'the assembly'. Third : 'The gods' arose and took 'life'. Behind 'the dais'.

(89-92)<sup>(63)</sup> He (sc. the child) will not go<sup>(64)</sup>, then ? 'The child' took for himself 'rightness', 'blood' and 'life'. They are given to 'Tarḫunt'. Second : 'Evil' took 'fire' and 'protection' and gave (them) to 'Ḫannaḫanna'. Third : 'The assembly' took for themselves 'rightness' and 'the good of the house'. To 'the gods.'

(left edge left col. 1-5)<sup>(65)</sup> He will go up from behind Ziqapalla into Tanizila. Ditto. (Let the oracle be) favorable. 'The enemy' took for himself 'rightness' and 'good of the house'. They are given to 'the king'. Second : 'The enemy' took for himself 'hidden(?) misdeed' and 'battle'. Into 'emptiness'. Third : 'Ḫannaḫanna' arose and took 'life' and 'the kindlinesses of the gods' and gave them to 'the king'.

(left edge right col. 1-3)<sup>(66)</sup>. He will attack it up from behind Šarkattašena. Ditto. Let (the oracle) be favorable. 'The Hittites' took for themselves 'sinisterness', 'fire' and 'an evocation-ritual'. To 'the gods'. Unfavorable.

Richard H. BEAL (Chicago)

(59) Translating the text's *zilan* acc. of *zila*- "outcome" as *zilawan* "the two flanks(?)". For this suggestion as to the meaning of the directional adverb *zilawan* see R. BEAL, in *Magic and Divination* (Groningen ; Styx, forthcoming).

(60) See iv 43.

(61) Written in a scratchier hand at the bottom of the fourth column at a different angle than the rest of the text. This is probably a piggy-backed question.

(62) Kurunta = Ulmi-Tešub, the King of Tarḫuntašša, was an illegitimate son Great King Muwattalli II, adopted by Muwattalli's brother Great King Ḫattušili III and granted the appanage kingdom of Tarḫuntašša by Ḫattušili.

(63) This paragraph was written in a box drawn into a small space in bottom right corner of the tablet.

(64) GIN-ri for *iyattari*.

(65) Apparently a postscript to the original series of questions.

(66) Apparently a second postscript to the original series of questions.



# KTEMA

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