

G. Beckman

KTEMA

CIVILISATIONS DE L'ORIENT, DE LA GRÈCE ET DE ROME ANTIQUES

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The Goddess Pirinkir and Her Ritual from Ḫattuša (CTH 644) (*)

RÉSUMÉ. — La divinité cosmopolite Pirinkir est attestée à travers le Proche-Orient ancien d'Elam à la Syrie du Nord et à Ḫatti pendant le troisième et le deuxième millénaire av. J.-C. Pirinkir est un avatar d'Ištar et, comme cette déesse, elle a des aspects quasi bisexuels et astraux. Dans les documents trouvés par les fouilleurs de la capitale hittite (Boğazköy/Ḫattuša) Pirinkir apparaît souvent dans les listes d'offrandes hurrites, mais elle est aussi le personnage principal de deux compositions rituelles. La première, «le rituel *babili*», somme la déesse de purifier le fidèle de ses péchés. La deuxième composition, CTH 644, s'occupe des chevaux — probablement les chevaux destinés à tirer les chariots hittites. J'étudie ce rituel-ci et le discute, en relation avec les manuels hippologiques de Boğazköy.

ABSTRACT. — The cosmopolitan deity Pirinkir is attested across the ancient Near East in the third and second millennia B.C.E., from Elam to Ḫatti and northern Syria. As a type of Ištar, the goddess displays a certain fluidity of gender and an astral aspect. In the texts from the Hittite capital, Pirinkir appears most frequently in offering lists of the Hurrian cultic tradition, but she is also the focus of two ritual compositions. The first of these, the "*babili* Ritual", calls upon the deity to remove the stain of sin from the worshiper. The second, rather fragmentary, rite (CTH 644) is concerned with horses, almost certainly those intended to pull Hittite chariots in battle. I edit this ritual and discuss it briefly in relation to the horse-training manuals from Boğazköy.

The deity Pirinkir plays a small but important role in Hittite religion during the Middle Hittite period and later (1). As a form of Ištar, Pirinkir shares the ambiguous gender identification characteristic of the Mesopotamian goddess (2): on some occasions (s)he (3) is listed among the Hurro-Hittite goddesses (4), on others among the gods (5) of the same cultural background. In the procession of divinities depicted on the walls of the rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya near Boğazköy (6) she takes her place among the gods and is indeed dressed in masculine garb,

(*) Thanks are due to my colleagues among the fellows for 1997-1998 at the Center for Judaic Studies of the University of Pennsylvania, with whom I discussed aspects of this essay. Abbreviations for Hittite text publications and Hittitological works follow those given in *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Volume L-N, Fascicle 4, pp. xv-xxviii, and Volume P, Fascicle 1, pp. ix-xi.

(1) See the previous treatments by H. OTTEN, "Die Götter von Yazılıkaya", *Anatolia* 4 (1959), pp. 30-33; C. KUHN, "Vorpfer im alten Anatolien", in *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien, und dem Alten Testament*, ed. B. JANOWSKI et al. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag (1993), pp. 245-246; and V. HAAS, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*. Leiden: E. J. Brill (1994), pp. 415-416.

(2) See B. GRONBERG, "Die sumerisch-akkadische Inanna/Ištar: Hermaphroditos?", *Die Welt des Orients* 17 (1986), pp. 25-46.

(3) To avoid this awkward pseudo-pronoun and the cumbersome "he or she", I will refer to the deity henceforth by the feminine pronoun.

(4) For example, *KBo* 23.11:8'. On this point see already J. WEGNER, *Gestalt und Kult der Istar-Sawuška in Kleinasien*, *AOAT* 36. Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag (1981), p. 46, n. 183. Note that *KUB* 4.19:6 listed here reads [...] *x ke-el-ti-ya* ^d *Pi-ir-wa* and has nothing to do with Pirinkir.

(5) For example, *KUB* 27.1 i 68.

(6) No. 31. See K. BITTICI, *Yazılıkaya. Architektur, Felsbilder, Inschriften und Kleinfunde*, *WVDOG* 61. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs (1941), Tf. 15, No. 2.

including the skull-cap characteristic of the Sun-god and the mortal king. She, like only the Moon-god (No. 35) and the other Ištar-type Šaušga in her male form (No. 38), is provided with wings (7). But on another occasion, Pirinkir has quite a different appearance :

The smiths fashion the Deity (of the Night) from gold. They also set about decking out the deity with the accoutrements appropriate for her. Stuck on her back like beads are ("sun")-disks of gold, lapis lazuli, carnelian, "Babylonian stone", chaledony², quartz², and marble, (as well as) life-symbol(s) and morning stars² of silver and gold. They set about fashioning them in this manner.

One disk of gold of one shekel — its name is Pirinkir. One navel of gold and one set of golden *purka* — they are set with "Babylonian stones" — these the priest assigns to the smiths as her ritual equipment. Stuck on her back are <disks> of silver, gold, lapis, carnelian, "Babylonian stone", quartz², chaledony², and marble (8).

Previous commentators (9) have seen in this passage a description of two images — one of the Deity of the Night and one of Pirinkir — each ornamented with semi-precious stones. But when we keep in mind that the disk of Pirinkir weighed less than an ounce (10), we realize that it would have been far too small to accommodate all of the stones and other objects which follow (11). Rather, "Pirinkir" must have been the name assigned to one of the "sun"-disks (12) already mentioned in the first section, and both paragraphs here would then set forth, somewhat repetitiously, specifications for the representation of the Deity of the Night. This latter idol may be recognized as a semi-anthropomorphic² (13) rendering of the night sky with its luminaries (14).

(7) The final celestial deity, the Sun-god (No. 34), bears the winged sun-disk on his head, as is usual in Hittite iconography. P. H. J. HOUWINK TEN CATE summarizes the artistic conventions employed for depicting this deity in "The Sun God of Heaven, the Assembly of the Gods and the Hittite King", in *Effigies dei. Essays on the History of Religion*, ed. D. VAN DER PLAS. Leiden : E. J. Brill, 1987, p. 13.

(8) KUB 29.4 : 6-17 (CTH 481) :

6. LÜ.MEŠSIMUG.A-ma DINGIR-LAM KÛ.SIG₁₇ i-en-zi A-NA DINGIR-LIM-ma

7. a-ni-u-ur-še-et ma-aḫ-ḫa-an na-an a-ni-ya-u-wa-an-zi

8. QA-TAM-MA ša-ra-a ti-it-ta-nu-wa-an-zi EGIR-an iṣ-ga-ra-an-ta-ya-aš-ši

9. NA⁴ku-un-na-na-aš ma-aḫ-ḫa-an ŠA KÛ.SIG₁₇ NA⁴ZA.GIN

10. NA⁴GUG NA⁴KÁ.DINGIR.RA NA⁴NÍR NA⁴DU₈.ŠÚ.A NA⁴AŠ.NU₁₁.GAL

11. AŠ-ME.ḪI.A ZI-TUM MUL wa-an-nu-up-pa-aš-tal-li-iṣ-ša ŠA KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.SIG₁₇

12. na-aš i-ya-u-an-zi QA-TAM-MA ša-ra-a ti-it-ta-nu-wa-an-zi

13. 1 AŠ-ME KÛ.SIG₁₇ ŠA 1 GIN ŠUM-ŠU⁴ Pi-ri-in-kir 1 LI.DUR KÛ.SIG₁₇

14. 1-NU-TIM pur-ki-iṣ KÛ.SIG₁₇ na-at IŠ-TU NA⁴KÁ.DINGIR.RA ti-ya-an-te-eš

15. na-aš A-NA LÜ.MEŠSIMUG.A a-ni-u-ur-še-et 1 ŪSANGA lam-ni-ya-zi

16. EGIR-an iṣ-ga-ra-an-ta-ya-aš-ši <AŠ-ME.ḪI.A> ŠA KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.SIG₁₇ NA⁴ZA.GIN

17. NA⁴GUG NA⁴KÁ.DINGIR.RA NA⁴DU₈.ŠÚ.A NA⁴NÍR NA⁴AŠ.NU₁₁.GAL

For the emendation in i 16, cf. i 11.

(9) So H. KRONASSER, *Schw. Goeth.*, p. 34.

(10) The Hittite shekel seems to have weighed 12-13 g. — see Th. P. J. VAN DEN HOUT, "Masse und Gewichte bei den Hethitern", *RIA* 7 (1990), p. 526.

(11) It would also make little sense to inlay or plate a golden disk with a "navel" of the same metal (i 13).

(12) For the pseudo-heterogram "AŠME", see F. SOMMER, "Aus Hans Ehelolf's Nachlaß", *ZA* 46 (1940), p. 36.

(13) That is, if we take LI.DUR literally as "navel", and not in its extended meaning as "Mittelpunkt" — see W. VON SODEN, *AHW* 9 (sub *abunnatum*). *CHD*, Vol. P, p. 389, bases its suggestion that *purka*- indicates a body part present in pairs largely upon this passage.

(14) See already my "Babyloniaca Hethitica : the 'babili-Ritual' from Boğazköy", in *Recent Developments in Hittite Archaeology and History*, ed. H. G. GÜTFERBOCK, H. A. HOFFNER, Jr., and K. A. YENER. Winona Lake, IN : Eisenbrauns (forthcoming).

The celestial nature of Pirinkir suggested by her wings and her depiction as a disk in the heavens ⁽¹⁵⁾ is confirmed by a line from a god-list recovered at Meskene/Emar :

No. 185 : Nin.si₄.an.na = ^dWi-re-en-gi-ru-un ⁽¹⁶⁾

That is, she is equated with one of the Sumerian avatars of Venus, "the Red Lady of Heaven" ⁽¹⁷⁾, who is also attested as both male and female ⁽¹⁸⁾.

Further entries in this list provide another identification :

No. 205 : u₄.UG = ^dBi-re-en-gi-ru-un

No. 206 : u₄.UG.uru.ki = ^dBé-re-en-gi-ru-un artamanzi

If, as seems likely, UG in these lines is to be read as pirig₃, "lion" ⁽¹⁹⁾, then the Sumerian term here probably means "Storm-Lion (of the City)" ⁽²⁰⁾. In turn, this lends support to the view that Pirinkir of the Boğazköy texts is derived from the deity ^dPirig₃.gal ⁽²¹⁾ attested in the Hurrian building inscription of Tiš-adal of Tell Mozan/Urkiš ⁽²²⁾.

But the geographical horizon of our goddess was wider still. During the third millennium, one of the most prominent deities of Elam was Pini(n)kir ⁽²³⁾, who is also occasionally equated with Ištar in Mesopotamian lexical sources. Since Elamite Pini(n)kir and Hurrian Pirinkir are thus both forms of Ištar, and since both of their names are foreign to the languages of their worshipers, it is almost certain that the goddesses were borrowed by the Elamites and the Hurrians from a common source. Their close relationship is also evident in an Akkadian-language address to Pirinkir within a Hittite-language ritual context :

O Ištar!
[Let] Sin, your father, [eat] !
<Let> Ningal, your mother, <eat> well !
Let Šamaš, your twin, eat !
Let Ellabrat, your vizier, eat !
Let Ea, the king, your creator, eat !

(15) In the same text (*KUB* 29.4 ii 68-69), Pirinkir is presented with either a symbol of life (Zi-TU₄) or a star (^{MU} wa-an-nu-um-pa-aš-ta-al-la-aš) of silver.

(16) Transliteration of this and the following lines follows E. LAROCHE, *Glossaire de la langue hurrite*. Paris : Klincksieck (1977), p. 201. In his edition of this text, D. ARNAUD, *Recherches au pays d'Aštata, Emar 6/4*. Paris : Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations (1987), pp. 34-36, does not present the Hurrian column. See also O. R. GURNEY and D. HAWKINS, review of E. MASSON, *Le Panthéon de Yazılıkaya*, *BiOr* 39 (1982), pp. 611-612.

(17) See W. HEIMPFL, "A Catalog of Near Eastern Venus Deities", *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies* 4 (1982), p. 11.

(18) See F. R. KRAUS, "Ein althabylonischer Privatbrief an eine Gottheit", *RA* 65 (1971), pp. 30-31.

(19) See W. VON SODEN, *AHW* 526 (sub *lābum*).

(20) E. LAROCHE, *Glossaire de la langue hurrite*, p. 54, lists the morphologically unclear Hurrian epithet *artamanzi* as a derivative of *arde*, "city".

(21) See A. KAMMENHUBER, "Neue Ergebnisse zur hurritischen und altesopotamischen Überlieferung in Boğazköy", *Or* 45 (1976), p. 142, with n. 33; and also M. ASTOUR, *Hellenosemitica*. Leiden : E. J. Brill (1967), pp. 215, 231. Unfortunately, we know very little concerning the character of this Hurrian divinity.

(22) A. PARROT and J. NOUGAYROL, "Un document de fondation hurrite", *RA* 42 (1948), p. 8, line 5. The identity of Tell Mozan with ancient Urkiš has recently been established by G. BUCCELLATI and M. KELLY-BUCCELLATI, "Urkesh. The First Hurrian Capital", *Biblical Archaeologist* 60 (1997), pp. 77-96.

(23) W. HINZ and H. KOCH, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, Teil I, A-H. Berlin : Dietrich Reimer (1987), p. 206 : "pini-gir, Elams höchste Göttin, schon in aE [altelamischer] Zeit überwiegend tabuisiert und Kiririša, 'Großgöttin', genannt". See already F. W. KÖNIG, "Pinikir", *AJO* 5 (1928-29), pp. 101-103. Pini(n)kir heads the divine witnesses of Elam in an early treaty : W. HINZ, "Elamis Vertrag mit Nārām-Sin von Akkade", *ZA* 58 (1967), pp. 67, 91.

Indeed, let all the gods lift up ... (to you),
O Elamite goddess (24).

Although not all details of the phonological development are clear (25), the names of these goddesses must both go back to Sumerian *pirig₍₃₎gal*, “great feline”, and an origin in Mesopotamia thus becomes quite likely. *Pirinkir*/*Pini(n)kir* therefore belongs to the early peripheral tradition which is attested from southwestern Iran across northern Syria and into southeastern Anatolia, leaving its mark on Hurrian-language and Hurrian-influenced religious texts from the Hittite capital (26). Another site where the effects of this cultural stream can be seen is Ras Shamra/Ugarit, and here we encounter in a ritual text a single reference to the deity we are considering (27).

I turn now to the morphology (28) of the divine name in the Boğazköy texts (29):
“Stem form”:

- ^d*Pi-ri-in-kir*: *KBo* 8.54 :6'; *KBo* 8.83 :4' (rest.); *KBo* 34.79 : 17' (rest.); *KBo* 34.172 : 7'; *KUB* 29.4 i 13, ii 55, iii 3 (LNS); *KUB* 29.6 : 18'; *KUB* 32.1 iii 15 (MH²/LNS); *KUB* 44.52 : 12'; *KUB* 47.64 ii 39 (rest.) (LNS); *KUB* 54.43 rev. 4'
^d*Pi-ri-in-kir₈(KAR)*: *KBo* 15.37 ii 36 (MH/LNS); *KUB* 29.55 i 5, 8 (MH/NS (30)); *KUB* 27.1 iii 43 (LNS); *KUB* 27.6 i 12 (LNS); *IBoT* 2.56 obv. 11 (rest.)
^d*Pi-re-en-kir*: *KUB* 29.4 iii 2 (rest.)
Pi-ri-in-kir₈: *KBo* 33.208 ii 10'; *KUB* 34.102 ii 12', iii 33'
^d*Pi-ri-kir₈* (31): *KUB* 27.1 i 68 (LNS); *VBoT* 116 : 2 (rest.) (LNS)
^d*Pi-ri-in-ki-ir*: *KBo* 23.11 : 8' (rest.); *KUB* 45.3 i 45
^d*Pi-ri-ki-ir* (32): *KBo* 11.5 i 18' (LNS)

Genitive:

- ^d*Pi-ri-in-kir-aš*: *KUB* 44.52 :13'
^d*Pi-ri-in-ki-ra-aš*: *KUB* 48.126 i 6' (NH)
^d*Pi-ri-in-ki-ri-ya-aš*: *KUB* 56.55 i 17 (rest.) (33), iv 11' (MH/MS³)

(24) *KUB* 39.94 ÷ *KBo* 17.97 ii 2'-8' (CTH 718):

- 2'. [^dIS₈-TÁR ^dXXX A-BU-KI
3'. [LI-KU-UL] ^dNIN'. [GAL U] M-MA-A-KI TÁ-A-BI-IS <LI-KU-UL>
4'. [^dUTU-AŠ TU-U-AN-KI L[I-KU-UL] ^dEL-LA-AP-RA-AT'
5'. ŠU-UK-KAL-LI-KI L[I-KU-UL] A-A LUGAL
6'. BĀ-A-NU-KI LI-KÚL LU-^dÚ^d DINGIR.MEŠ ^dGĀB-BĀ
7'. E-LI-IS-ŠU-PÍ-MA x [o] x E-^dLA-^dMI-TI-YA
8'. LI-IS-ŠU ...

(25) To be explained in particular is the change /a/ > /i/ in the final syllable. As the development of the first resonant /r/ > /n/ — anticipatory assimilation to the following /n/ < /ngng/ ? — took place only in Elamite, the Hurrians probably did not receive the name through Elamite intermediaries.

(26) See A. KAMMENHUBER, “Historisch-geographische Nachrichten aus der althurrischen Überlieferung, dem Altelamischen und den Inschriften der Könige von Akkad für die Zeit vor dem Einfall der Gütäer (CA. 2200/2136)”, *Acta Antiqua* 22 (1974), pp. 157-247.

(27) *KTU* 1.41 :50, edited by P. XELLA, *I testi rituali di Ugarit*. I. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale della Ricerche (1981), p. 60, line 50: *id.[vd]bh.mlk.l.prgl*.

(28) Since the only orthographic variation attested for the beginning of this name is the occasional omission of the divine determinative, thus far found only in forms ending in -KAR, I think it justified to include accephalic spellings here under the shapes indicated by the end of the word.

(29) See B. H. L. VAN GRSSEL, *Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon*. Leiden: E. J. Brill (1998), pp. 354-357.

(30) F. STARKE, *Die keilschrift-luwischen Texte im Umschrift*, *StBoT* 30. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz (1985), p. 370: “E[nde] 14. Jh”.

(31) Emend to ^d*Pi-ri-<in->kir₈*?

(32) Emend to ^d*Pi-ri-<in->ki-ir*?

(33) Read [^d*Pi-ri-]in-k<ri->ya-aš* SÍŠKUR, not [*li-]in-ki-ya-aš* SÍŠKUR, with H. KIRKGI, “Zum Kolophon des Reinigungsrituals *KUB* LVI 55”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 12 (1985), pp. 169-171, which does not adequately fill the space at the beginning of the line.

Indeed, let all the gods lift up ... (to you),
O Elamite goddess ⁽²⁴⁾.

Although not all details of the phonological development are clear ⁽²⁵⁾, the names of these goddesses must both go back to Sumerian *pirig₃-gal*, “great feline”, and an origin in Mesopotamia thus becomes quite likely. *Pirinkir*/*Pini(n)kir* therefore belongs to the early peripheral tradition which is attested from southwestern Iran across northern Syria and into southeastern Anatolia, leaving its mark on Hurrian-language and Hurrian-influenced religious texts from the Hittite capital ⁽²⁶⁾. Another site where the effects of this cultural stream can be seen is Ras Shamra/Ugarit, and here we encounter in a ritual text a single reference to the deity we are considering ⁽²⁷⁾.

I turn now to the morphology ⁽²⁸⁾ of the divine name in the Boğazköy texts ⁽²⁹⁾ :
“Stem form” :

- ^d*Pi-ri-in-kir* : *KBo* 8.54 :6' ; *KBo* 8.83 :4' (rest.) ; *KBo* 34.79 : 17' (rest.) ; *KBo* 34.172 : 7' ; *KUB* 29.4 i 13, ii 55, iii 3 (LNS) ; *KUB* 29.6 : 18' ; *KUB* 32.1 iii 15 (MH'/LNS) ; *KUB* 44.52 : 12' ; *KUB* 47.64 ii 39 (rest.) (LNS) ; *KUB* 54.43 rev. 4'
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(24) *KUB* 39.94 + *KBo* 17.97 ii 2'-8' (CTH 718) :

- 2'. []¹IS₄-TÁR²XXX A-BU-KI
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5'. ŠU-UK-KAL-LI-KI L[F-K]U-UL¹A-A IUGAL
6'. BĀ-A-NU-KI LI-KÚL LU¹Ú¹DINGIR.MEŠ¹GĀB-¹BĀ
7'. E-LI-IS-ŠU-PĪ-MA x [o] x E¹LA¹-MI-TI-YA
8'. LI-IS-ŠU ...

(25) To be explained in particular is the change /a/ > /i/ in the final syllable. As the development of the first resonant /r/ > /n/ — anticipatory assimilation to the following /n/ < /ngng/ ? — took place only in Elamite, the Hurrians probably did not receive the name through Elamite intermediaries.

(26) See A. KAMMENHUBER, “Historisch-geographische Nachrichten aus der althurrischen Überlieferung, dem Altelamischen und den Inschriften der Könige von Akkad für die Zeit vor dem Einfall der Gütäer (CA. 2200/2136)”, *Acta Antiqua* 22 (1974), pp. 157-247.

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(28) Since the only orthographic variation attested for the beginning of this name is the occasional omission of the divine determinative, thus far found only in forms ending in -KAR, I think it justified to include acrophalic spellings here under the shapes indicated by the end of the word.

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(31) Emend to ^d*Pi-ri-<in->kir₈*?

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(33) Read [^d*Pi-ri-]in-ki-<ri->ya-aš* SÍŠKUR, not [*li-]in-ki-ya-aš* SÍŠKUR, with H. KUNGT, “Zum Kolophon des Reinigungsrituals KUB LVI 55”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 12 (1985), pp. 169-171, which does not adequately fill the space at the beginning of the line.

Dative/locative :

^dPi-ri-in-ki-ri : KUB 39.71 iv 30 (MH²/LNS) ; KUB 39.76 obv. 14 (rest.) (MH/MS)

^dPi-ri-in-ki-ri-ya : KBo 34.72 obv. 11 ; KUB 29.7 + KBo 21.41 obv. 69, rev. 14 (MH/MS)

Fragmentary :

^dPi- : KUB 41.10 iv 23 (34) (MH/NS)

^dPi-ri- : KUB 39.71 i 19 (MH²/LNS) ; KBo 39.172 rev. 6

^dPi-ri-i[n- : KBo 33.162: 3'

Hieroglyphic :

Yazılıkaya No. 31 : PURUS (L322) +ra/i (35)

Some of the spellings listed under "stem form" function as datives (36), others as accusatives (37). In the absence of a declined nominative, it is impossible to determine whether the dative/locative ^dPi-ri-in-ki-ri and the genitives ^dPi-ri-in-ki-ra-aš and ^dPi-ri-in-ki-ir-aš belong to an *a*-stem **Pirinkira*- or to an *r*-stem (38) **Pirinkir*, although the very unanimity of the "stem forms" in this regard suggests the latter (39). However, the dative/locative ^dPi-ri-in-ki-ri-ya and genitive ^dPi-ri-in-ki-ri-ya-aš clearly indicate an *i*-stem *Pirinkiri*-, which might be due to Luwian influence. If they did not arise from scribal error, ^dPi-ri-ki-ir and ^dPi-ri-ki-ir might reflect a pronunciation /Piriggir/, with assimilation of the nasal to the following velar (40). Writings of names of deities without divine determinative are known for other figures of Hurrian background at Boğazköy (41).

Most of the contexts in which Pirinkir appears are offering lists in ceremonies of the Hurrian cult (42), which reveal little to us beyond the uncertainty of the deity's gender remarked upon earlier. Nor is much to be learned from a dream of Queen Puduḫepa (43) in which she promises to set out some cult objects belonging to Pirinkir, should her husband's sight be secured :

A dream of the queen (concerning) the matter of the eagles [...] ... Then [the queen vowed to Saušga²] : "If His Majesty [recovers the health of his] eyes², [then] I will deposit [in your temple²] such [...] of Pirinkir as are [inlaid²] with *m*-stones. And the eagles which [... I will place²] an image of the king beneath the wings of (each) eagle" (44).

(34) Uncertain restoration suggested by J. GLOCKER, *Das Ritual für den Wettergott von Kuliwišna*, Eothen 6. Firenze : LoGisma (1997), p. 78.

(35) See H. G. GÜTERBOCK, *Les hiéroglyphes de Yazılıkaya*. Paris : Editions Recherche sur les civilisations (1982), pp. 34-35, in reply to the discussion of E. MASSON, *Le panthéon de Yazılıkaya*. Paris : Editions Recherche sur les civilisations (1981), pp. 21-22.

(36) E.g., *A-NA* ^dPi-ri-in-ki-ir, KUB 29.4 ii 55, iii3 ; EGIR ^dPi-ri-in-ki-ir, KUB 29.4 iii 2.

(37) E.g., *nu* ^dPi-ri-in-[ki]r [...] *halziḫhi*, KUB 29.55 i 5-6 : EGIR-ŠU-ma ^dPi-ri-in-ki-ir₈ TUŠ-aš *ekuzi*, KBo 15.37 ii 36.

(38) The unexpected occurrence of this shape, normally confined to neuter nouns in Hittite, with a theonym is to be explained by the foreign origin of the deity and her name. Note that the name of the goddess Hepat, also introduced by the Hurrians to Hatti, similarly often lacks a phonetic complement. Especially interesting in this regard is KUB 21.27 i 6 : *nu-za-kán* ^dHé-bát ŠUM-an *da-iš-ta*, "You took for yourself the name Hēbat". Are all such writings "absolute" forms, or was an endless *r*-stem actually pronounced in some instances ?

(39) As does ^dPi-ri-in-ki-ir-aš with its "broken" writing.

(40) Cf. the discussion of the Elamite form of this name above.

(41) Cf., for example, *Ha-at-ni Wi-ša-a/i-ša-ap-ḫi*, "Hatni of (Mt.) Piša(i)ša", KUB 34.102 ii 9', iii 28'. See E. LAROCHE, *Glossaire de la langue hurrite*, p. 202.

(42) These texts, some of which are quite fragmentary, have been assigned to CTH 628, 703, 704, 705, and 712.

(43) I assign the text to this queen because of the particular boon requested. On Hattušili's ophthalmologic difficulties, see E. EDEL, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz*. Opladen : Westdeutscher Verlag (1994), Bd. 2, p. 270.

(44) KUB 48.126 i 3'-9' (CTH 584) :

3'. 𐎶𐎵 MUNUS.LUGAL INIM 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 [H.I.A ...]

4'. [ku-]wa-pi an-da nu-za-kán M[UNUS.LUGAL A-NA ^dIS₈-TÁR ^uŠa-mu-ḫa IK-RU-UB']

5'. [m]a-a-an-wa A-NA ^dUTUŠ¹ IG[IP.HI.A-wa SIG₅-ta-ri nu(-) ...]

6'. [k]u-e ^dPi-ri-in-ki-ra-aš [...]

In two major texts from the cult of the city of Šamuha our deity seems to be associated with, yet subordinate to, another goddess. *CTH* 481⁽⁴⁵⁾ is a well-known rite concerning the installation of the Deity of the Night — yet another form of Ištar — in a new temple. The fact that Pirinkir receives a good-will (*keldi*) offering upon the roof of the temple immediately after the Goddess of the Night has been presented with the same sacrifice within the building⁽⁴⁶⁾ demonstrates that the two divinities are not identical⁽⁴⁷⁾. Similarly, in a ceremony to purify the royal couple and their ritual equipment from curse, perjury, and pollution (*CTH* 480), a *dupšaḫi*-rite is performed on a river bank for the Deity of the Night and then repeated for Pirinkir⁽⁴⁸⁾.

The goddess we are studying is also found in the colophon of the fragmentary ritual *KUB* 56.55, which shows significant similarities to the equally broken *KUB* 44.52, and in turn with *CTH* 481 just mentioned⁽⁴⁹⁾:

Fifth tablet, text of Ilīma-abī, priest of *IŠTAR*⁽⁵⁰⁾, and Arza-kiti, the *katra*-woman: If the deity [...] is angry due to some matter, or if some desecration is committed before him/her, or if some of his/her equipment is destroyed — when (his/her) personnel summon him/her back (...) Not finished.

Neither the ritual for Piriukir nor the fifth day are completed on this tablet, and the *keldi* ritual is not treated⁽⁵¹⁾.

To the extent that they are preserved, the ritual instructions in the body of this text mention no particular divine name, but give only the generic designation “the deity” (*PA-NI DINGIR-LIM*, i 24). Nonetheless, we may surmise that the focus of the rite is on the deity whose name has been lost in the break at the end of *KUB* 56.55 iv 4', quite possibly an avatar of Ištar, since — in my reconstruction of the text (see note 50) — Ilīma-abī is in the cultic service of such a figure. The divinity in question was probably not Pirinkir herself; she seems rather to be approached here yet again as an “auxiliary”.

Closely related to these religious compositions in regard to divinities addressed, technical vocabulary, and personnel is the group of texts and fragments known as the “*babilili*-Ritual” (*CTH* 718)⁽⁵²⁾. This complex of ceremonies centers upon the serving of a meal and the presentation of substitution offerings to Pirinkir, with frequent addresses in the Akkadian

7'. *IŠ-TU*^{NA4} *mu-uš-nu-wa-an-ti* [*i-it GAR.RA* *na-at I-NA É.DINGIR-LIM-KA*]

8'. *te-eḫ-lji* *Ā*^{MUSEN} *HI.A-ya ku-i² e²* [*eš¹ ...*]

9'. *ŠA-PAL KAP-PI*^{MES} *Ā*^{MUSEN} *ALAM LUGAL-J* [*a ...*]

This piece was edited (as Bo 2828) by R. LEBRUN, *Samuha. Foyer religieux de l'empire hittite*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste (1976), pp. 215-216. Cf. *CHD*, Vol. L-N, p. 334. I have based my restoration of the deity in i 4' on her presence in i 12', 14f., 19', 21', 25f., and 29'.

(45) Edited by H. KRONASSER, *Schw. Gotth.*

(46) *DINGIR.GE₆*: *KUB* 29.4 ii 62-69; Pirinkir: *KUB* 29.4 iii 1-7.

(47) I had not yet decided on this point when I wrote the article cited in note 14 above.

(48) *DINGIR.GE₆*: *KUB* 29.7 + *KBo* 24.41 obv. 58-67; Pirinkir: obv. 68-75. This text has been edited by R. LEBRUN, *Samuha*. pp. 117-143.

(49) Compare *KUB* 44.52: i' 11' with *KUB* 29.4 ii 57-67 (*CTH* 481.A), and cf. H. A. HOFFNER, review of *KUB* 44, *JCS* 28 (1976), p. 248.

(50) Read *KBo* 12.116 rev. 2': *1¹ SANGA* *4¹ IŠ₆* [*TAR*]. The Akkadogram probably stands for the Hurrian Šaušga here, but we cannot be certain because the first “author” bears a Mesopotamian name.

(51) *KUB* 56.55 iv 3'-13', with restorations from *KBo* 12.116 rev. 2'-8'. For transliteration, see H. KLINGEL, “Zum Kolophon des Reinigungsritual *KUB* 1.V1 55”, pp. 169-170.

(52) I am currently preparing an edition of this composition. For the present, see my essay cited above in note 14.

language to the goddess explaining the activities and requesting favors in return. In contrast to what we have seen above, Pirinkir is here the center of attention in her own rite.

Only one other text, unfortunately rather badly damaged, is directed particularly to Pirinkir. I present an edition of this work :

CTH 644 ⁽⁵³⁾

1. A KBo 10.44 ⁽⁵⁴⁾
 B KUB 29.56
 C KUB 51.14
 2. A VBoT 128 (LNS)
 B KBo 34.172
 C KBo 8.54
 D KBo 29.210
 3 KBo 8.83
 4 KUB 54.43 (LNS)
 5 IBoT 3.129

1.C			
obv. ⁽⁵⁵⁾	1'. [	] x-ni-an-zi	
	5'. [	] UD	
	6'. [	] 1 NINDA.SIG A-NA ^d Te-ya ¹ -bi-in ¹ -ti 1 NINDA.SIG x []	
1.C rev.	1'. [	] x [
	2'. [	] x kar-pa-an-te-eš []	
	3'. [	n]u GEŠTIN PA-NI ^d Te-ya ¹ -bi-in ¹ -ti	
	4'. [	1 ¹ -ŠU §]i-pa-an-ti	
	5'. [	] x 1-ŠU §i-pa-an-ti	
	6'. [	a]n-da ti-an-zi	
	7'. [	-d]a ¹ -ni MUŠEN-ya	
	8'. [	MUNUS.]MEŠ É.DINGIR-LIM-ma-kán	
	9'. [	]an-zi ⁽⁵⁶⁾	
	10'. [	] na-at-za ar-ḫa	
1.A obv.	2'. [	] nu MUNUS.MEŠ É.[DINGIR-LIM]	
	3'. [	] MUNUS.MEŠ pa-a-an-z[(i)]	
	4'. [	a-p]é ¹ e-da ¹ -ni-pát UD-ti []	
	5'. [	]x ¹ ti ¹ -uš 10 NINDA.SIG 1 Š[AH (TUR 1 UR.GI, TUR)]	
	6'. [	(x-ya) ⁽⁵⁷⁾ §]u ¹ -uḫ ¹ ḫa-aš ¹ da ¹ -a ¹ nu x [] ⁽⁵⁸⁾	
	7'. [	1-N(A)] É ⁽⁵⁹⁾ [(KÜŠ, a)]n-da p[a ¹ -(a-i)]	
	8'. [(nu ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ p]a-ra-a p[é-e-ḫ]u-da-an-z[i]		
	9'. [nu(-) o o ⁽⁶⁰⁾ ḫa-]pé-e-eš 1-aš UR.TUR a[r-ḫa ¹ pé-e-ḫu-te-e(z ¹ -zi)] ⁽⁵⁹⁾		
	10'. [(na-an a-r)a-aḫ-z]a ¹ ḫar ¹ -zi ^{er} nu ANŠE.KUR.RA.ME[Š-aš me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-d(a ²)]		
	11'. [(1 NAM-MA-AN-T)]U ₄ ME-E ḫar-zi an-da-m[(a-kán GIŠ ² ki-it-ta-rī)]		
	12'. [(nu ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ú-)]é-te-ni-it ¹ ⁽⁶⁰⁾ pa-ap-pár-aš-[(kán-zi)]		

(53) On the fragments making up this composition, see V. HAAS, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, p. 416, n. 36. In my reconstruction I have benefited from the use of an unpublished manuscript by R. BEAL, "Hittite Military Texts in Translation".

(54) This and the following fragment were edited in a preliminary fashion by B. ROSENKRANZ, "Ein neues hethitisches Ritual für KUS¹kuršaš", *Or* 33 (1964), pp. 254-256.

(55) These lines have run over onto the reverse.

(56) 1.A obv. begins with this line, but [...]zi [...] in its obv. 1' does not correspond to [...]an-zi here.

(57) 1.B begins here.

(58) 1.B inserts §.

(59) 1.C rev. inserts §.

(60) Text: -ya.

- 13'. [nu^{L0.MEŠ}ha-pé-e-e]š UR.TUR^rar-ḥa^rku-ra-an-z[(i)]⁽⁶¹⁾
 14'. [nu-uš-ma-aš]-kán ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ iš-tar-na a[r-ḥa pé-e-ḥu-da-a(n-zī)]
 15'. [pa-ra-a-ma ke-e-e]z l^rGI^rke-e-ez-zī-<yā> l G[(l pá-r-kán-zī)]
 16'. [EGIR-an-da^r]-ma^rat-kán^{er}ḥu-it^rti-ya-an-z(i)]
 17'. [(nam-ma ke-e-ez k)e-e-e]z-zī-ya pa^rah-ḥur^rwa-ar-nu-w[a-(an-zī)]
 18'. [nu-kán ANŠE.KUR.RA]A.MEŠ iš-tar-na ar^rḥa^rpé-e-ḥu-d[(a⁽⁶²⁾-an)-zī]
 19'. [nu-uš [D-a]n za-a-i-nu-wa-an-zī⁽⁶³⁾ na-aš-ta I[D-an]
 20'. [ta-pu-ša]^ra^rra-an-ta-ri nu-uš-ša^ran⁽⁶⁴⁾ [ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ]
 21'. [ū-e-te-ni-i] pa-ap^rpár-aš^r[(kán-z)ī]⁽⁶⁵⁾

- 1.B 11'. [ma-ah-ḥ]a-an-ma ANŠE.KUR.RA.H[LA]
 12'. []š-i-pa-an-ta-an-[zi]
 13'. []^ra^ri nam-ma []
 14'. []^rl^rNI^r[]

- 1.A rev. 1'. [] x x x []

- 2'-11'. traces
 12'. [wa-ar-n]u²^rwa²-an^rzi^rAN^r[]
 13'. [N-Š]U^re-ku-z[i]

- 14'. []^rI-NA^rÉ^dU tar-[]
 15'. [] x ku-i-e-eš MUNUS.M[ÉŠ¹ É.DINGIR-LIM²]
 16'. [] nam-ma QA-TAM-MA []
 17'. ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ² pa-ra-a / ar-ḥa pé-]^re^rḥu-da-an-z[i]
 18'. [(-)d]a²^ran²-zi^rnu pa-[]
 19'. [] x x^dx-ru²-mi(-)[]
 20'. []^ri² MUNUS.MEŠ^rÉ^r[DINGIR-LIM]

- 21'. [NINDA.SI]G^rMEŠ^rpár-ši-y[a]
 22'. []^ri²a-r[a-]

- 2.A i 1'. []
 2'. [] x
 3'. [] -a]z-zī-ya
 4'. [] -d]u

- 5'. []
 6'. [] -ya-an-zi
 7'. [] A-NA MU.KAM-TI
 8'. [] -š]a-an
 9'. [] na-a]i²-kán
 10'. []
 11'. [] x-nu-wa
 12'. []^ra^rša-ra-a pa-iz-zi
 13'. [] -z]i²

- 2.A ii 1'. [] x-ša-an-z[i]
 2'. nu-uš-ša-an^rA^rNA^{G1S}BANŠUR AD.KID d[a-a-i²]
 3'. še-er-ra-aš-ša-an^{UZU}NÍG.GIG^{UZU}ŠA.B[A]
 4'. ku-ra-an da-a-i NINDA.GUR₄.RA.MEŠ pa-an-ku-uš

(61) 1.B :6' inserts here : nu ke-e-ez 1/2-AM ke-e-[ez-zī-ya 1/2-AM ti-ya-an-zī] ; 1.C rev. 17' has [...]-a-i.

(62) 1.B :9' : pé-e-ḥu-ta-an-[zī].

(63) 1.B has probably omitted this sentence. It is unclear what portion of 1.A obv. 19'-20' is missing in C.

(64) 1.B :10' inserts A-N[A].

(65) 1.C rev. 20' : [w]a-a-tar ša-ra-a pa-ap-pár-aš-kán-z[i]. 1.A obv. and 1.C rev. end here.

- 5'. *i-ya-an-te-eš nu a-pu-u-uš-ša pár-ši-ya*
 6'. *na-aš-ša-an A-NA G¹⁵BANŠUR EGIR-pa da-a-[i]*
 7'. *še-er-ra-aš-ša-an NINDA.Ī¹E.Ā¹DĒ.A me-ma-al iš-hu-w[a-i]*
 8'. *nu EGIR-ŠŪ KAŠ GEŠTIN ši-pa-an-ti*

- 9'. *SILA₄-ma-kán ku-iš mar-kán-za na-an hu-u-ma-an-da-[(an)]* ⁽⁶⁶⁾
 10'. *pí-ra-an kat-ta IŠ-TU DUGLIŠ.GAL da-a-i*
 11'. *nam-ma I NINDA a-a-an ½ ŠA-A-TI pár-ši-ya*
 12'. *na-aš-ta a-na-ḫi te-pu da-a-i na-at-ša-an*
 13'. *EGIR-pa da-a-i nu-za a-da-an-zi SILA₄-ya* ⁽⁶⁷⁾
 14'. *hu-u-ma-an-da-an* ⁽⁶⁸⁾ *a-pi-ya ar-ḫa a-da-an-zi*
 15'. *nu a-ku-wa-an-na pi-ya-an-zi nu DINGIR-LUM ANŠE.KUR.RA.M[ES]* ⁽⁶⁹⁾
 16'. *ṽTe-li-pi-nu-un-na* ⁽⁷⁰⁾ *GUB-aš 2-ŠŪ a-ku-wa-an-z[(i)]*
 17'. *ṽHu-uz-zi-ya-an-na-aš-ša-an an-da x []*
 18'. *ia-ra-an-zi nam-ma* ^{UZU} *NÍG.GIG* ^{UZU} *ŠĀ.B[A]* ⁽⁷¹⁾
 19'. *ša-ra-a da-an-zi na-at a-pi-ya-p[át]*
 20'. *ar-ḫa a-da-an-zi*

- 21'. *ki-i-ma SISKUR IŠ-TU É¹⁰KUŠ₇ pí-y[a¹(an-zi)]* ⁽⁷²⁾
 22'. *IŠ-TU DINGIR-LIM-at QA-TAM-MA SIxSĀ-at*

- 23'. *ma-a-an* ^ṽ *UTU-ŠI-ma Ū-UL F¹[NA URU Ha-at-tí¹ ma-a-na-aš]*
 24'. *la-aḫ-ḫi-ya-«aš» na-aš-ma-aš x []*
 25'. *na-aš-ma-aš da¹[(me-(e-da-ni U)RU-ri na-aš SISKUR-an²]*
 26'. *I-M[A URU a-pé-e-da-ni³ (i-e-e)z-zi []* ⁽⁷³⁾

- 2.B 1'. *[-z]i² []*
 2'. *[ma-aḫ-ḫ(a⁷⁴)an-ma DINGIR.MEŠ a-ku-wa-an-na) pí-y] a-an-z[i]*
 3'. *[nu⁷ (KUŠK)]IR₄.TAB.ANŠE.[(HĪ.A IŠ-TU G¹⁵B)ANŠUR⁷ da-an-zi]*
 2.A v 1'. *[(nu-uš-)] ša¹an š[(u¹-uḫ-ḫi ša-ra-a pé-e-)hu-da-an-zi EGI(R-ŠŪ-ma I¹ NINDA mu-la-ti-in)]*
 2'. *[Š]A ½ UP-NI⁷⁵ p[a²-]*
 3'. *wa-ak-šur-ra* ⁽⁷⁶⁾ *GEŠTIN[(N⁷⁷) pé-e ḫar-kán-z]i* ⁽⁷⁸⁾

- 4'. *na-aš-ta šu-uḫ-ḫi [(še-er^ṽ Pí-ri-in-ki)r]* ⁽⁷⁹⁾
 5'. *ši-ip-pa-an-ti na-[(aš-ia¹ KUŠKIR₄.TAB.ANŠE.)HĪ.A]*
 6'. *šu-uḫ-ḫa-az kat-ta [ú-da-an-zi]*
 7'. *na-at-kán A-NA PA-[(NI DINGIR-LIM me-na-aḫ-ḫa-a)n-da²]* ⁽⁸⁰⁾
 8'. *pé-e² da-an-zi¹* ⁽⁸¹⁾ *n[u¹ KUŠKIR₄.TAB.ANŠE.HĪ.A A-NA PA-NI DINGIR-LIM]*
 9'. *me-na-aḫ¹ ḫa-an-da kat¹ [ia ḫar-kán-zi²]* ⁽⁸²⁾

(66) 2.D obv. 1': [...a]š⁹ hu-u-m[a-an-ti]a-an.
 (67) Space in 2.D is not large enough to accommodate all of the text given in 2.A.
 (68) 2.D obv. 4': [...-t]a-an.
 (69) 2.D obv. 5' omits MEŠ.
 (70) 2.D obv. 5': ŠA G¹⁵Š-ru¹ ṽTe¹-li¹-pu-na-aš.
 (71) 2.D obv. 7': ^{UZU}<NÍG.GIG>^{UZU}ŠĀ.
 (72) 2.D obv. 9': [... KU]Š₇ pí-an-zi.
 (73) 2.A ii breaks off, while 2.D obv.13' continues with traces.
 (74) 2.C i begins here.
 (75) 2.B :5': ŠA ½ ŠA-A-TI¹.
 (76) 2.B :6' and 2.C :5' omit -ra.
 (77) 2.C :5': GEŠTIN-ya.
 (78) 2.C omits Š.
 (79) 2.C inserts Š.
 (80) 2.C :8' : an-[da²].
 (81) 2.B and 2.C omit the material between here and the end of 2.A v 9'.
 (82) Or perhaps ap-pa-an-zi.

10'. *nu pal-wa-a-an-zi* ⁽⁸³⁾ *na-[(at kat-ia) A-NA (AŠ-RI-ŠU-) NU]* ⁽⁸⁴⁾

11'. *ti-ya-an-[zi]* ⁽⁸⁵⁾

12'. *nu* <GAL> ^{LÜ.MEŠ} *KAR-TAP-PU-TI* ^[(pár-aš-na-iz-)z(i)]

13'. *nu-uš-ma-aš* ^{a-ku-wa-an-na} ^[pí-ya-an-zi] ⁽⁸⁶⁾

14'. *nu-uš-ša-an* ^{GIS} *kur* ^{ia} ^[i-ya še-er]

15'. *ŠE iš-hu-u-wa* ^{an-zi} ^{še} ^[ra-aš-ša-an N NINDA.SIG]

16'. *ŠA* ^½ *ŠA-A-TI* ^{ti-an} ^[zi]

17'. *na-at A-NA* ^{GIS} *BANŠUR* ^A ^[D³.KID]

18'. *pí-ra-an* ⁱ ^[i-y] ^a ^[an-zi]

19'. *nu* ¹ *NINDA a-a-an* <ŠA> ^½ *[ŠA-A-TI da-an-zi]*

20'. *[n]a-at A-NA kur* ^{[ia-lí} ^{ti-ya} ^{an-zi nu(-)}

21'. ^{[o} ^{]-ša-an-zi} ^{L[U}

22'. ^[ŠE iš-] ^{hu} ^{u-wa-an-zi} [[]

23'. ^[o o ti-y] ^a ^{an-zi} [[]

24'. *[A-NA PA-N]* ^f ^{DINGIR-LIM} [[]

25'. [[] ^{] x} [[]

2.D rev. 1'. [[] ^{] x x} [[]

2'. [[] ^{]-ša EGIR-pa}

3'. [[] ^{] x-pí up-pí-ya-an-zi}

4'. [[] []]

5'. [[] ¹ *NINDA a-a-an* ^{ŠA} ^{[½} ^{ŠA-A-TI 2 DUG KAŠ}

6'. [[] ¹ *NINDA a* ^{]-an} ^{ŠA} ^½ ^{ŠA-A-TI}

7'. ^[da-an-zi]

8'. [[] ^{]-aš AŠ É} ^{LÜ} ^{KUŠ}

9'. [[] ^{ma-a-an-ma-at} ^{A-NA} ^{UTUŠ} ¹¹ ^{Ú-UL-pát} ^{a-aš-šu}

10'. [[] ^{] x še-er} ^{pé-e} ^h ^{[ar²-ak-zí} []]

2.A vi 1'. [[] ^{-h} ^{a²-az-zi-ya}

3 1'. [[] []] ^{ŠI} ² ^a ^{[n} ⁽⁻⁾

2'. [[] ^{]-a kar} [[]

3'. [[] ^{ANŠE.KUR.R} ^{A.HI.A} ^u ^{[š}

4'. [[] ^{I-NA É} ² ^{Pí-r} ^{i-in-kir} ^{an-da} [[]

5'. [[] ^{me-n} ^{a-ah-ḥa-an-da} ^{UŠ-KE} ^{[EN}

6'. [[] ^{LÜ.MEŠ} ^{KUŠ} ^K ^{IR} ⁴ ^{TAB.ANŠE.HI.A} ^{KUŠ} ^{KIR} ⁴ ^{TAB.ANŠ} ^{[E.HI.A} []]

7'. [[] ^{] x wa-al-ah-ḥa-an-zi} ^{nu} ^E ^{[N} ^{SISKUR}

8'. [[] ⁿ ^{a²-aš} ^{e-ku-zi} ^{nu} ² *NINDA* ^a ^a ^{[an}

9'. [[] ^{PA-NI} ^{DINGIR-LIM} ^{ti-an-zi} [[]

10'. [[] ^{] x} ^{I-ŠU} ^{e-ku-z} ^{[i}

11'. [[] ^{] x} [[]

4 obv. 1. ^{[D} *Zi-ya-kán* *ša-ra-a* *p* ^{[a²-ah-hur}

2. *ke-e-ez-za* *ke-e-ez-zi-ya* *w* ^{[a²-ar-nu-wa-an-zi}

3. *nu-kán* *AN[ŠE]* *KUR.RA.MEŠ* *iš-tar-n* ^[a ar-ḥa]

4. ^[p] ^é ^{en-na-an-zi} ^{nu-uš-ša} ^{[an}

4 rev. 1'. [[] ^{] x x} [[]

2'. [[] ^{nu-uš-š} ^{a-an} ^{šu-u} ^{[h} ^{hi}

3'. [[] ^a ^{da-an-zi} ^{nu} ^{[kán} ^{šu-uh} ^{hi} ^{še-er}

(83) 2.B : 10' : *pal-wa-iz-zi*.

(84) 2.C : 9' : [...] *AŠ-RI-Š* ^[U(-) ...] ; 2.B : 10' omits *A-NA AŠ-RI-ŠU(-NU)*.

(85) 2.C omits § and breaks off after a few traces.

(86) 2.B breaks off.

	4'. [n]u ² ^d Pi-ri-in-kir []	
	5'. [EG]IR-ŠŪ-ma GEŠTIN ši-ip-p[a-an-da-an-zī]	
	6'. [na-]aš-ta ^{KUS} KIR ₄ .TAB.ANŠE.[H]1.A šu-uh-ha-az]	
	7'. [kat-i]a ú-da-an-zī [na-at-kán]	
	8'. [A-N]A AŠ-Ri-ŠŪ it-y[a-an-zī]	
5 obv.	1'. [a-ra-an-ta-ri nu-x []	
	2'. [G]1 ^S hu-u-lu-ga-an-ni-[ya ² -ma ² -za ^d UTU Šr ² e-ša-ri nu-za ²]	
	3'. [A-]NA G1S GIGIR ¹ .MEŠ e-ša-a[n-ta-ri	
	4'. [i]u-u-ri-ya-an-te-eš []	
	5'. [N] ANŠE ¹ .KUR.RA.MEŠ ^{KUS} [N ² -	
	6'. [i]u ² -u-ri-ya-an-te-eš []	
	7'. [nu ²] ^{KUS} KIR ₄ .TAB.ANŠE ¹ x []	
	8'. [6 ²] TA-PAL G1S TUKUL ZA[BAR	
	9'. ANŠE ¹ .«ANŠE ¹ .»NUN.NA.[H]1.A []	
	10'. a-ra-an-ta-r[i]	
	11'. x []	
5 rev.	1'. [o o -z]i ² nu []	
	2'. [o] x-an k[u ² -	
	3'. [nu ²] kat-ta-an []	
	4'. [n]a-aš-kán ták-na-[aš/az	
	5'. me-mi- ² ya-an ^{er} []	
	6'. [k]e-e-ez-za ar-ha []	
	7'. hu-u-ma-an-da-za a[r ² -	

Translation

(1.C obv.) [...] they [... (s)he offers] one thin loaf to (the deity) Tiyabenti, one thin loaf [...]

(1.C rev. 1'-2') [...] lifted [...]

(1.C rev. 3'-4') [...] Then [(s)he libates] wine before Tiyabenti. [...] (S)he libates [once² ...]

(1.C rev. 5'-1.A obv. 3') (S)he libates once [...] they place therein [...] and a bird [...] But the temple [women ...] they [...] And them away [...] Then the temple women [...] the women go.

(1.A obv. 4'-12') [...] on that very day [... they take ...] ten thin loaves, one piglet, one puppy, and [...] (s)he places on the roof. And (s)he goes² into the House of the Groom(s). Then they lead the horses out, [and] a single *hapiya*-man [leads²] the puppy [off²] and keeps it [outside²]. And he holds one measuring vessel of water toward the horses — there is (a chip of) wood² in it. Then they sprinkle the horses with water.

(1.A obv. 13'-21') [Then the *hapiya*-men] cut up the puppy, and [they place] half (of it) on one side (of the path) [and half] on the other. [Then] they [lead] the horses [away] between [them (the pieces)]. And further, they raise arrows on this side and that. But [afterwards] they draw them (in their bows). Furthermore, they light a fire on this side and that, [and] lead the [horse]s away between (them). [Then] they make [them] cross [the river], and they stand [beside the river]. Then they sprinkle [the horses with water].

(1.B :11'-13') [...] But [when] the horses [...] they libate [...] (s)he [...] Furthermore [...] break

(1.A rev. 12'-13') [...] they [burn² ...] (s)he drinks to [(the deity) ... N] times².

(1.A rev. 14'-20') [...] in the temple of the Storm-god [...] whichever [temple] women [...]

furthermore likewise [... the horses⁷] they lead [forth/away ...] they take². Then [...] the temple women [...]

(1.A rev. 21'-22') [...] (s)he crumbles the [thin loaves² ...]

break

(2.A ii 1'-8') Then [(s)he sets] them on the table and places the chopped liver and heart on top. All of the thick loaves are prepared, and (s)he crumbles these and sets them back on the table. On top (s)he scatters a sweet confection and ground meal. And afterwards (s)he libates table wine.

(2.A ii 9'-20') (S)he takes down from the platter all of the lamb which was cut up. Furthermore, (s)he crumbles a warm loaf of one-half *sūtu*-measure (of flour), takes a little as a sample, and sets it back down. Then they eat. At that point they eat up all of the lamb. And they provide for the drinking ceremony, and they drink twice while standing to the Deity of the Horses and to (the god) Telipinu⁽⁸⁷⁾. Meanwhile, they speak to us² [...] about (the god) Huzziya. Furthermore, they take up the liver and heart, and they eat them up right then.

(2.A ii 21'-22') This ritual is provided for from the resources of the House of the Groom(s). It was established thus by the deity.

(2.A ii 23'-26') But if His Majesty is not [in Hattuša² — if he] is on campaign, or he [is ...], or he is in another² town — [then] he will perform [the ritual] in [that other town]. [...]

break

(2.B 1'-2.A v 3') [...] But {when} they [give] the gods something to drink, [then they take] the halters from [the table] and take (them) up to the roof. But afterward one *mulati*-loaf of one-half handful (of flour) [...] and a *wakšur*-vessel of wine they hold out.

(2.A v 4'-11') Then (s)he libates to Pirinkir up on the roof, and [they bring] down the halters from the roof and carry them in opposite the deity. Then they [hold the halters] next to² [the deity], and they cry out. Then they set them (the halters) down [in] their place.

(2.A v 12'-18') The <overseer> of the charioteers squats, and [they give] them (the gods) something to drink. Then they scatter barley [on] a wooden tray², and they set [N thin loaves] of one-half *sūtu*-measure (of flour each) [on top]. Then they set them in front of the table [of reed].

(2.A v 19'-24') Then [they take²] one warm loaf <of> one-half [*sūtu*-measure (of flour), and set] it on the tray². [Then] they [...] they scatter [barley ...] they set² [... before²] the deity [...]

break

(2.D rev. 1'-4') [...] back [...] they send here [...]

(2.D rev. 5'-7') [...] in(to) the House of the Groom(s) [... But if it] is not acceptable [to His Majesty ...] over [... he holds out².]

break

(3 :1'-3') [... horses ...]

(3 :4'-10') [...] in [the temple] of Pirinkir [...] (s)he² bows in obeisance facing [...] halters, halters [...] they beat. Then [the offerant² ...] and he drinks. Then two warm loaves [...] they set [before] the deity. [...] drinks once [to (the deity) ...]

break

(4 obv. 1-4) Above, on the River Ziya² ⁽⁸⁸⁾, [they kindle fires²] on this side and that. Then they drive the horses [away] between (them), and [...]

(87) 2.B obv. 5' : "to the Deity of the Horses of the tree of Telipinu".

(88) This river is not found in any other text, and the reading is considered uncertain by G. DEL MONTE, *RGTC* 6/2, p. 211.

break

(4 rev. 1'-5') [... and] on the roof [...] they eat. Then [on the roof ...] And? Pirinkir [...] But afterward they² libate wine.

(4 rev. 6'-8') Then they bring the halters [down] from the roof, [and] set [them in] their ! place.

break

(5 obv. 1') [...] they stand, and [...]

(5 obv. 2'-10') [His Majesty takes his seat² in] the coach, [and ...] take their seats in the chariots [...] hitched up [... N] horses, a leather [...] hitched up [... and] the halter [...] six² pairs of bronze weapons [...] mules [...] they stand [...]

break

(5 rev. 1'-7') [... and] down [... and] (s)he [from?] the earth [...] a word [...] and here, away [...] from/by means of all [...]

Commentary

1.C rev. 3': On Tiyabenti, a Hurrian deity of uncertain sex who served as a "vizier" of Hebat, see M.-Cl. TRÉMOUILLE, *Hebat. Une divinité syro-anatolienne. Eothen* 7. Florence : LoGisma (1997), pp. 207-210. Neither the spelling nor the attestations found in our text are listed among those collected on p. 207, n. 725.

1.A obv. 5': It is likely that text 1.A had UR.TUR here, as in obv. 9' and 13'.

1.A obv. 6': I hesitantly interpret *šuhḫaš* here as dative/locative plural, referring to the roof of a single structure ⁽⁸⁹⁾.

1.A obv. 9': Evidence concerning the *ḫapiya*-cultic functionary has been collected by F. PECCHIOLO DADDI, *Mestieri*, pp. 227-233.

1.A obv. 16: For *ḫuittiya*- with bow and arrow, see KUB 7.54 iii 19-20: EGIR-an-da-ma-kán ^{GI}SPAN *ḫuittiyanzi* / nu-kán ^{GI}<GAG>Ú.TAG.GA *tiyanzi*, "But afterwards they draw the bow(s) and place the arrow(s) (in them)".

2.A ii 15': The poorly-attested Deity of the Horses is discussed by V. HAAS, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, pp. 416-417.

2.A ii 16': Text 2.D obv. 5' has here ŠA ^{GI}ŠMÁ ^dTe-li-pu-na-aš. Since a boat of Telipi/una is not attested elsewhere ⁽⁹⁰⁾, it is probably best to follow B. H. L. VAN GESSEL, *Onomasticon*, p. 971, and read ŠA ^{GI}Š-ru¹, although we would not expect an Akkadographic genitive with an ideogram showing phonetic complementation. The reference is certainly to the *eya*-tree symbolic of fertility and otherwise associated with Telipinu ⁽⁹¹⁾.

2.A v 4'ff.: Note that once again the worship of Pirinkir takes place upon the roof.

2.A v 5': Text 2.B :8' has singular ^{KU}ŠKIR₄.TAB.ANŠE, while 2.C :7' is broken : [... ^{KU}ŠKIR₄.TAB.ANŠE(. [...]. The sentence enclitic -at- in 2.A v 7' and duplicate 2.B :9' could refer to either neuter singular or plural. But since 2.C :2' earlier presents plural

(89) See my comments on the use of grammatical plurals with single buildings in *Hittite Birth Rituals. StBoT* 29. Wiesbaden : Otto Harrassowitz (1983), pp. 171-172.

(90) The copy militates against the reading ^{GI}ŠGIGIR implied by V. HAAS, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, p. 417, with n. 43.

(91) See H. KIENGL, "Papaja, Kataḫzipuri und der *eja*-Baum. Erwägungen zum Verständnis von KUB 1.VI 17", in *Studi di storia e di filologia anatolica dedicati a Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*, ed. F. IMPARATI. Florence : Elite (1988), pp. 107-110.

[^{KUŠ}]KIR₄.TAB.ANŠE.HI.A. and it seems unlikely that only one halter was brought down while the others remained on the roof, I have restored plural forms of the Sumerogram throughout this passage.

2.A v 7'-10' : For these lines, see *CHD*, vol. P, p. 81.

5 obv. 2' : The restoration here is highly conjectural.

The similarity of this text to Hittite military rites is readily apparent. Compare the initial lines from a ritual for purifying a defeated army :

If the troops are defeated by the enemy, then they prepare a ritual behind the river as follows : Behind the river they sever a human, a male goat, a puppy and a piglet. They set the halves on the one side and on the other. But in front they erect a gate of hawthorn and stretch out a rope⁹² over it. Then they burn a fire before the gate on one side and on the other. The troops pass through between (them), and when they come alongside the river they sprinkle water on them⁹³.

In this single passage we note several parallels to the ceremony for the horses in *CTH* 644 : the location of the ritual site on a river bank⁹⁴, the severing rite⁹⁵ by which one or more living creatures is cut in two and placed on either side of the path of those persons to be cleansed, and the passage of the patients between two fires. In Pirinkir's text, however, the ritual clients are not human, but rather equine. The necessary provisions for the ceremony are drawn from the stores of the "House of the Groom(s)" — probably the royal stables — and the presence of the monarch is required.

Our goddess is also associated with horses in the introduction to one of the horse training manuals from the Hittite capital⁹⁶. The preserved text of the so-called "rituell eingeleitete Trainingsanleitung"⁹⁷, whose mixed Hurrian and Luwian content suggests an origin in Kizzuwatna⁹⁸, begins :

On the tenth day, when it is morning but it has still not yet quite lit up the final watch of the night⁹⁹, then I proceed to make a libation in the "House of the Grooms". Then I call Pirinkir [and *IŠTAR*], and [I speak (to them)] in Hurrian as follows : "[May you], Pirinkir and *IŠTAR*, [stand by!] the horses in benevolence !"

But [I speak] to them as follows in Luwian : "May you stand by the horses in bene[volence] !" ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾.

(92) On *tiyamar* from PIE **deh₁-* (> Hittite *tiya-*), cognate to Greek *δέω*, "bind", see C. WATKINS, *How to Kill a Dragon. Aspects of Indo-European Poetics*. New York : Oxford University Press (1995), p. 459, n. 15.

(93) *KUB* 17.28 iv 45-55 (*CTH* 426). For a transliteration, see B. J. COLLINS, "The Puppy in Hittite Ritual", *JCS* 42 (1990), p. 220, n. 44.

(94) A. GÖTTKE, *Tunn.*, pp. 54-55, discusses the river bank as the point of contact between the earth and the netherworld and consequently the haunt of demons.

(95) See B. J. COLLINS, "The Puppy", pp. 218-224, with further literature. The extremely rare practice of human sacrifice among the Hittites is treated by H. M. KUMMEL, *Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König, StBoT 3*. Wiesbaden : Otto Harrassowitz (1967), pp. 150-168.

(96) On this material see F. STARKE, *Ausbildung und Training von Streitwagenpferden, StBoT 41*. Wiesbaden : Otto Harrassowitz (1995).

(97) A. KAMMENHUBER, *Hippologia Hethitica*. Wiesbaden : Otto Harrassowitz (1961), pp. 148-169.

(98) See F. STARKE, *Ausbildung und Training*, p. 123.

(99) See J. PUHVEL, *HED* 3, p. 204.

(100) *KUB* 29.55 i 1-11 (*CTH* 285) :

1. *I-NA UD.10.KAM ma-a-an lu-uk-kat-ta nu nu-u-wa*
2. *iš-pa-an-da-an ap-pé-ez-zi-ya-aš ha-a-li-ya-aš*
3. *na-ú-i an-ku ha-ru-wa-na-a-iz-zi nu x [...]*
4. *I-NA É¹⁰ MESKUŠ₇-kán an-da-an*
5. *ši-pa-an-tah-hi nu¹⁰ Pi-ri-in-[k]₈ [¹⁰IŠ₈-TÁR]*

Although Indo-European mythology and ritual make great use of the horse as a symbol of virility and of valor⁽¹⁰¹⁾, this ideological complex is not in evidence in Hittite sources. In fact, in this discussion I have touched upon almost all Hittite religious compositions concerned with these animals. The ritual treatment of the horses' halters in *CTH* 644, the similarity of the procedures in this ceremony to those of Hittite military rites, and the prefacing of the section of a horse training manual with an invocation of Pirinkir demonstrate that the horses in whom our deity had an interest were those which pulled Hittite chariots in battle.

A similar, if not identical, goddess known from numerous Egyptian and Syrian sources is "Astarte on a Horse"⁽¹⁰²⁾, who may well have been introduced to her worshipers in these areas by Hurrian horsemen. But following Pirinkir's wanderings into this realm would take us too far from Hatti and extend my already over-lengthy discussion, which I am pleased to dedicate to the memory of my late colleague Professor Lisbeth Franck.

Gary BECKMAN (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor)

6. *hal-zi-iḫ-ḫi nu ḫur-li-i-[i ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-aḫ-ḫi]*

7. *iš-ši-ya-na-a-ša pa-a-a[ḫ² ...]*

8. ^d*Pi-ri-in-ki-ir₈* ^d*IŠ₈-T[AR ...]*

9. *lu-ú-i-li-ma-at ki-i[š-ša-an me-ma-aḫ-ḫi]*

10. *A-NA ANŠE.KUR.RA.ḪI.A an-da aš-š[u-li²]*

11. *ar-du-ma-at*

It is interesting that the speech said here to be "in Luwian" is actually composed in good Hittite. Is this a translation of the incantation actually spoken? For previous treatments of this passage, see H. OTTEN, *LTU*, p. 13; A. KAMMENHUBER, *Hippologia Hethitica*, pp. 150-151; and F. STARKE, *Die keilschrift-luwischen Texte im Umschrift*, pp. 370-371.

(101) See E. POLOME, "Das Pferd in der Religion der eurasischen Völker". In *Die Indogermanen und das Pferd*, ed. B. HANSEL and S. ZIMMER. Budapest: Archaeolingua (1994), pp. 43-51; W. D. O'FLAHERTY, "Horses". In *Encyclopedia of Religion*, Vol. 6, ed. M. ELIADE, New York: Macmillan (1987), pp. 463-468; and J. PUHVEL, "Aspects of Equine Functionality". In *Myth and Law Among the Indo-Europeans*, ed. J. PUHVEL. Berkeley: University of California Press (1970), pp. 159-172.

(102) See J. LECLANT, "Astarté à cheval d'après les représentations égyptiennes", *Syria* 37 (1960), pp. 57-67.