

Paskuwatti's ritual against sexual impotence (CTH 406)

H. A. Hoffner, Jr. - Chicago

[The Hittite ritual of the woman Paskuwatti, designed to cure a man of sexual impotence, is presented here for the first time in a complete edition. One learns that it is the goddess Uliliyassi, a deity of the open steppeland, who performs the cure. Linguistic evidence is assembled to argue for the Middle Hittite period as the probable date of the original composition, while palaeographical evidence suggests that the only copy extant was made during the thirteenth century. The ritual actions are examined to determine their symbolic appropriateness for the cure. The practice of incubation, sleeping in the presence of the deity, is placed in its Hittite as well as extra-Hittite context.]

During the approximately seventy years which have elapsed since the decipherment of the Hittite language most of the longer intact Hittite ritual texts included by E. Laroche in chapter VII (numbers 390-500) of his *Catalogue des textes hittites* have been scientifically edited. An exception – a very important text, often cited in scholarly discussions, all of whose cuneiform copies were published by the year 1923¹ – is the ritual of the Arzawan woman Paskuwatti against impotence (CTH 406). This text was translated in 1950 by A. Goetze². But Goetze's somewhat free translation unaccompanied by a transliteration and philological discussion does not adequately serve the needs of the scholarly community. Furthermore a scientific dating of the original composition and of the cuneiform copy of this important text is needed.

Since all of the fragments of Paskuwatti were excavated in the Winckler-Makridi excavations, we do not know the find spots. All of these fragments are now in the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul. I should like to thank the Department of Antiquities of the Republic of Turkey and the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul for allowing me to collate and photograph the fragments as part of the process of preparing this edition. I would also like to thank the National Endowment for the Humanities for their financial support for the Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute, which allowed me time, research facilities and travel funds.

Transliteration

Col. I³

- § 1 1 *UM-MA* Paš_x-ku-wa-at-ti SAL^{URU} Ar-za-wa e-eš-zī[-ma-aš-š]a-an
2 *I-NA*^{URU} Paš-aš-ša ma-a-an LU₂-ni ku-e-da-ni ha-aš[-š]a-tar
3 NU.GAL₂ na-aš-ma-aš SAL-ni me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da Ū-U/L L]U₂(coll.)-aš

1. *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, Heft VII, Berlin 1923 (no. 5 and 8), Heft IX, Berlin, 1923 (no. 27). These three large fragments join to form a single four-columned tablet. There is, as yet, no known duplicate.

2. In J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton 1955², pp. 349 ff.

3. Col. I 1-32 is found on KUB 9.27 (Bo 2460), the last few signs of each line being found on KUB 7.8.

- § 2 4 nu-uš-ši ⁴Ú-li-li-ia-aš-ši-in ši-ip-pa-an-t[ah]-hi
 5 na-an *I-NA* UD.3.KAM mu-u-ga-a-mi ha!-an-ti-iz-zi UD-ti
 6 ki-iš-ša-an i-ia-mi 1 NINDA.ERIN₂.MEŠ har-pa-an-za nu-uš-ša-an kat-ta
 7 ki-i ha-a-an-da-an 3 NINDA.KUR₄.RA.HI.A ZID₂.DA DURU₅ KU₇ [t]ar-na-aš
 8 ^{GIS}PEŠ₃ ^{GIS}GESTIN.E₃.A kal-la-ak-tar pár-ḥu-e-na-aš
 9 ŠA DINGIR-LIM me-ma-al ku-it-ta pa-ra-a te-pu
 10 ^{UDU}i-ia-an-da-aš ^{SIG}ḥu-ut-tu-ul-li
 11 [1 ^{DUG}KU-KU-UB GEŠTIN a-pé-el-la LU₂-aš ŠA BE-EL SISKUR₂
 12 [TUG₂ BAR. DUL₅.Ḫ] A-aš na-aš-ma TUG₂.GU₂.E₃.A na-at-ša-an A-[N]A NINDA.ERIN₂. MEŠ
 13 [ki-i]t -ta

- § 3 14 [na-a]t DUMU.SAL šu-up-pé-eš-šar-aš kar-ap-zi EN.SISK[UR₂-m]a
 15 [wa-a]r-pa-an-za na-aš EGIR-an i-ia-at-ta-ri
 16 [o-o]a₂ wa-ar-pa-an-za na-at gi-im-ri dam-me-li
 17 [pé-d]i pé-e-tum-me-e-ni nu ti-ia-u-e-ni NINDA.ERIN₂.MEŠ-ma
 18 [DUMU.SAL-pá]t kar-pa-an ḥar-zi nu KA₂.GAL.HI.A-TIM ŠA GI.ḪI[A] i-ia-mi

- § 4 19 [nam-m]a-at *IŠ-TU* SIG₂ SA₅ SIG₂ BABBAR an-da iš-ḥi-iš[-k]i-i-mi
 20 [nu-ká]n EN.SISKUR₂ ^{GIS}ḥu-u-i-ša-an ^{GIS}ḥu-u-la-li-i[a]
 21 [ŠU-i] an-da te-eḥ-ḥi na-aš-kán KA₂.GAL.HI.A-TIM kat-ta-an
 22 [ar-ḥa] ú-iz-zi na-aš-kán GIM-an KA₂.GAL.HI.A-TIM
 23 [pa-r]a-a ti-ia-zi nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an ^{GIS}ḥu-u-e-ša[-an]
 24 [^{GIS}ḥu-u-la-li-ia ar-ha da(coll.)-a]ḥ-ḥi nu-uš-ši ^{GIS}BAN [GI.ḪI.A]
 25 [pé-eḥ-ḥi na-aš-ta an-da ki-is-sa-an me-ma-aḥ-ḥi
 26 [k]a-a-ša-wa-ták-kán SAL-tar ar-ha da-aḥ-ḥu-un
 27 nu-wa-at-ta EGIR-pa LU₂-tar pé-eḥ-ḥu-un nu-wa [-za SAL-aš?]
 28 ša-ak-li-in ar-ḥa nam-ma pé-eš-ši-i[a]-at?
 29 nu-wa-za ša-ra-a LU₂-aš š[a-ak]-li-in [da-at-ta]

- § 5 30⁴ nu pa-r[a]-a [ḥ]a-an-x[o o o]-ni nu [o?] x-uḥ-ša-an
 31 na-aš-ta an-da k[i-iš-ša-an me-ma]-aḥ-ḥi x[o]x-wa-za
 32 ka-a-ša-w[a]-at-t[a] ú[-.].x-ta-at? nu-wa-aš-ši ha-at-tar-ša-za
 33 [o o] x x [o o]-it-ta na-aš-ma-wa-za DUMU.SAL šu-up-pé-šar-aš
 34 [o-o-t]a-at nu-wa-aš-ši-kán an-da-ki-it-ti-iš-ši
 35 kat-ta-an-ta pa-it nu-wa ka-a-aš ta-an-tu-ke-eš-na-aš DUMU-aš
 36 ša-ak-na-as ši-e-hu-na-aš nu-ud-du-uš-ša-an *Ú-UL*
 37 ú-e-mi-ia -at

4. Col. I 30-53 is found in KUB 9.27 i 30-32 and KUB 7.5 i 3-26.

- § 6 38 ki-nu-na-aš-ta ka-a-ša kat-ta-an EGIR-pa ke-nu-wa-aš-ša-aš
 39 ú-it nu-ut-ta DINGIR-LUM DINGIR-LIM-an-ni EGIR-an
 40 ša-an-ḥi-iš-ki-iz-zi nu-za ma-a-an ḪUR.SAG-i
 41 nu-za ma-a-an ú-e-el-lu-ú-i nu-za ma-a-an ḥa-a-ri-ia
 42 ku-wa-pí-it-za im-ma ku-wa-pí nu ke-e-da-ni
 43 an-tu-uḥ-ši kat-ta-an aš-šu-li e-ḥu
 44 nu-ut-ták-kán ḥu-u-wa-an-te-eš₁₈ ḥé-e-u-uš IGI.HI.A-wa⁵ le-e
 45 wa-al-ḥa-an-ni-ia-an -zi

- § 7 46 nu-ud-du-za pa-iz-zi DINGIR-LAM DU₃-zi nu-ut-ta pé-e-da-an
 47 ḥi-in-ik-zi nu-ut-ta E₂-er pa-a-i
 48 nu-ut-ta IR₃-an GEME₂-an pa-a-i nu-ut-ta GUD.ḪI.A UDU.ḪI.A pa-a-i
 49 nu-ud-du-uš-ša-an ma-al-ti-eš-ša-na-la-an i-ia-zi

- § 8 50 nu-ud-du-za ka-a-ša mu-u-ki-iš-ki <-mi> tal-le-eš-ki-mi
 51 nu e-ḥu ⁴EN.ZU-na-za MUL ták-na-as ⁴UTU-un
 52 kat-ti-it-ti ú-wa-te <<-et>> GEME₂.ḪI.A-ia-at-ta IR₃.MEŠ [...]
 53 pí-ra-an ḥu-i-ia-an-te-eš₁₈ a-ša-an-du DINGIR.LU₂. MEŠ-ta [DINGIR.SAL.MEŠ]

Col. II⁶

- 1 pí-ra-an ḥu-ia-an-te-eš₁₈ a-ša-an-du
 2 nu ke-e-da-ni an-tu-uḥ-ši
 3 kat-ta-an e-ḥu DUMU-an-na-aš-ši DAM-ZU
 4 zi-ik na-an-za EGIR-an kap-pu-u-i
 5 nu-uš-ši-kán an-da na-i-eš-ga-ḥu-ut
 6 nu-uš-ši me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da me-mi
 7 nu-uš-ši GEME₂-KA ma-ni-ia-aḥ
 8 na-aš-za ^{GIS}i-ú-ga-an ki!-ša-ri nu-za DAM-ZU
 9 da-a-ú nu-za DUMU.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.SAL.MEŠ i-ia-ad-du
 10 na-at tu-el IR₃.MEŠ-KA GEME₂!.MEŠ-KA
 11 nu-ut-ta SISKUR₂.HI.A-TIM NINDA ḥar-ša-ú-uš
 12 me-ma-al ^{DUG}iš-pa-an-du-uz-zi-ia-aš-šar
 13 a-pé-e pé-eš-kán-zi

- § 9 14 nu-ud-du-za ka-a-ša ka-a-aš an-tu-wa-aḥ-ḥa-aš
 15 *Ú-UL* še-ek-ta ki!-nu-na-at-ta ka-a-ša

5. Collation Ehelolf apud Friedrich, SV 2:34 with n. 4.

6. Col. II 1-26 is in KUB 7.8.

- 16 EGIR-an ša-aḥ-ta nu ka-a-aš
 17 ma-aḥ-ḥa-an tu-uk EGIR-an ša-aḥ-ta
 18 nu-uš-ši-kán zi-ik DINGIR-*LUM* an-da aš-šu-li
 19 ti-i-ia nu-ut-ta KI-i še-er
 20 ku-e-da-ni ud-da-a-ni-i mu-ke-eš-ki!-u-e-n[i]
 21 nu-za DINGIR-*LUM* DINGIR-*LI*[*M*-tar] te-ek-ku-uš-nu-u[t]
 22 na-at SIG₅-in [i-i]a nu-ud-du[-za tu-el ŠA DINGIR-*LIM*]
 23 [DINGIR-*LI*/*IM*-tar ša-ra-a a-uš-du
 24 [nu-ud-d]u-za ú-iz-zi Š[*A* SAG.DU-ŠU]
 25 [DINGIR-*LAM*] i-ia [-zi]
 26 (traces)
 (The rest of col. II is in KUB 7.5 ii.)
 2' [n]u-uš-ša-a[n pár-ši-ia-an-du-uš NINDA.KUR₄.RA.HI.A?]
 3' [E]GIR-pa *A-NA* NINDA.ERIN₂.MEŠ še-er te-eh-h[e₂]
 4' nu EGIR-pa pár-na pa-a-i-wa-ni
 5' nu SISKUR₂ ku-e-da-ni pár-ni iš-ša-aḥ-ḥi
 6' nu ^{GIS}BANŠUR GIBIL ki-it-ta-ri
 7' nu-uš-ša-an NINDA.ERIN₂.MEŠ še-er *I-na* ^{GIS}BANŠUR te-eḥ-ḥi
 8' pi-ra-an kat-ta-ma ^{DUG}KU-KU-UB te-eḥ-ḥi

- § 10 9' nu-uš-ša-an pár-ši-ia-an-du-uš NINDA.KUR₄.RA.HI.A
 10' ku-i-e-eš *A-NA* NINDA.ERIN₂.MEŠ ki-an-ta na-aš-ta te-pu
 11' da-aḥ-ḥi nu LU₂-i *BE-EL* SISKUR₂ pé-eḥ-ḥi
 12' na-at-za-kán iš-ši-iš-ši da-a-i
 13' e-ku-zi-ia 3-ŠU ^Uli-li-ia-aš-ši-in
 14' ma-aḥ-ḥa-an ne-ku-uz-zi nu-za *BE-EL* SISKUR₂
 15' ^{GIS}[BA]NŠUR-pát pi-ra-an še-eš-zi
 16' GI[Š.N]A₂-aš-ši ^{GIS}BANŠUR-pát pi-ra-an kat-ta ti-ia-an-zi

- § 11 17' *A-NA* NINDA.ERIN₂.MEŠ-ia-aš-ša-an še-er ku-e TUG₂.BAR.DUL₅.MEŠ
 18' n[a-aš-m]a TUG₂.GU₂.E₃.A ki-it-ta
 19' na[-at-z]a iš-pa-an-da-az kat-ta iš-pa-re-eš-ki-iz-zi
 20' iš-š[a]-aḥ-ḥi-ma-at *I-NA* UD.3.KAM *I-NA* UD.1.KAM-ma
 21' 3-ŠU mu-u-ga-mi ka-ru-ú-wa-ri-wa-ar
 22' UD.KAM!-ti iš-tar-na pé-di 1-ŠU ne-ku-uz me-ḥur
 23' 1-[Š]U me-mi-ia-nu-ša-kán an-da a-pu-u-uš-pát
 24' me-mi-iš-ki-mi NINDA.KUR₄.RA.HI.A-ia

- § 12 25' ku-i-uš ka-ru-ú-wa-ri-wa-ar
 26' pár-ši-ia-an-na-aḥ-ḥi iš-tar-na UD.KAM!-ti-ma
 27' NINDA.KUR₄.RA da-ma-uš pár-ši-ia-an-na-aḥ-ḥi

- 28' ne-ku-uz me-ḥur-ra da-ma-uš pár-si-ia-an-na-aḥ-ḥi
 29' me-ma-al-la-aš-ša da-ma-a-i
 30' iš-ḥu-u-wa-an-na-aḥ-ḥi

Col. III⁷

- 1 nam-ma-kán 1 UDU *A-NA* ^Uli-li-ia-aš-ši
 2 ši-ip-pa-an-taḥ-ḥi na-an ^{GIS}BANŠUR-i
 3 [p]i-ra-an kat-ta ḥu-u-kán-zi
 4 [n]a-[aš]-[ta] UDU pa-ra-a pé-e-da-an-zi
 5 [na-an ḥa-at-t]a-an-zi nam-ma-an-kán
 6 [mar-kán-zi?] na-aš-ta ^{UZU}šu-up-pa
 7 [o o o o]x ^{UZU}GAB ^{UZU}ZAG.UDU
 8 [o o o o]at *A-NA* ^{GIS}BANŠUR
 9 [kat-ta-an ar-ha t]i-an-zi ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG
 10 [o o o o]x za[-nu-w]a-an-zi
 11 [o o o o]x 2 NINDA.KUR₄.RA.HI.A
 12 [o o o o]x-ši-kán *A-NA* ^{GIS}BANŠUR
 12a [.....]

- § 13 13 [.....] ku-er-zi
 14 [.....]x-ia-an-da-aš
 15 [.....]x-zi
 16 [.....]
 17 [.....] ^Uli-li-ia-aš-ši-in
 18 [.....]x-an
 19 [.....] ^UEN.ZU MUL.HI.A
 20 [.....]x
 21 [.....]x-az-zi-ia

- § 14 22 [.....] a-aš-ša-u-e-es
 23 [.....]-u-us DINGIR.MES
 24 [.....] *A-NA* DINGIR-*LIM*
 25 [.....]x ku-š[i-i]z-zi
 26 [.....]x ki-iš-ša-an
 27 [.....]-[x-š[i?]-kán-ta
 1⁸ [.....]x[.....]
 2' [.....]x-pa x[.....]
 3' [.....] EGIR-pa
 4' [.....]z]i-ga!-wa-aš-ši
 5' [GEME₂-KA (space) m]a-ni-ia-aḥ

7. Col. III 1-27 is in KUB 7.5 iii.

8. Rest of the column in KUB 7.8 iii.

- 6' nu-wa-ra-aš-ši ^{GIŠ}ŠU.ŠUDUN-aš ki-ša-a-ri
 7' nu-wa-za DAM-ZU da-a-ú
 8' nu-wa-za DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU i-ia-ad-du
 9' nu-wa-za DUMU.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.SAL.MEŠ i-ia-ad-du
 10' nu-za zi-ik DINGIR-LUM DINGIR-LIM-tar te-ek-ku-uš-nu-ut

- § 15 11' nu-wa-du-za na-ak-ki-ia-tar a-uš-du
 12' nu-wa-du-za DINGIR-LUM ŠA SAG.DU.ŠU
 13' i-ia-az-zi nu-du-za ma-al-ti-eš-na-la-an
 14' i-ia-zi nu-uš-ši ^{GIŠ}NA₂ nam-ma-pát
 15' ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR pí-ra-an kat-ta iš-pár-ra-an-zi
 16' I-NA NINDA.ERIN₂.MEŠ-ia-aš-ša-an ku-e TUG₂.BAR.DUL₅.MEŠ
 17' na-as-ma TUG₂.GU₂.E₃.A še-er
 18' ki-it-ta nu-uš-ši a-pé-e-ia
 19' kat-ta-an iš-pár-ra-an-zi
 IV⁹ 1 nu-za BE-EL SISKUR₂ še-eš-zi
 2 nu-za-kán ma-a-an DINGIR-LUM za-aš-ši-ia
 3 tu-e-ek-ki-iš-ši a-uš-zi kat-ti-iš-š[i]
 4 pa-iz-zi na-aš-ši kat-ti-ši še-eš-zi
 5 ku-it-ma-an-ma DINGIR-LUM I-NA UD.3.KAM-ma mu-g[a-a-mi]
 6 nu-za-kán za-aš-ši-mu-uš ku-i-e-eš uš-ki-iz-z[i]
 7 na-aš me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi ma-a-an-ši DINGIR-LUM
 8 IGI.ĦI.A-wa pa-ra-a te-ek-ku-uš-nu-uš-ki-iz-z[i]
 9 nu-uš-ši ma-a-an DINGIR-LUM kat-ti-iš-ši
 10' še-eš-zi

- § 16 11' nu-za ú-iz-zi DINGIR-LUM i-e-zi
 12' nam-ma-aš-ši ma-a-an ^{DUG}ĥar-ši-ia-al-li
 13' a-aš-šu na-an-za-an ^{DUG}ĥar-ši-ia-al-li
 14' ti-it-ta-nu-zi ma-a-an Ú-UL-ma
 15' na-an-za ^{NA⁴}ĥu-u-wa-ši ti-it-ta-nu-zi
 16' na-aš-ma-an-za ALAM-ma i-ia-zi
 17' ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR GIBIL-ma ku-iš mu-ke-eš-ni ar-ta
 18' [na-a]t ŠA DINGIR-LIM-pát ki-ša-ri

- § 17 19' [ma-a-an-k]án tu-ek-ki-iš-ši-ma

9. In KUB 7.5 iv.

- 20 [Ú-UL a-uš-zi nu] DINGIR-LUM za-aš-ši-ia kat-ti-iš-ši
 21 [ÚUL še-eš-zi] i-iš-ši-iš-iš-ki-mi-pát

Translation

1. Thus (speaks) Paskuwatti, the Arzawa woman who lives in Parassa¹⁰: If some man has no reproductive power or is not a man vis-à-vis a woman.

2. I make offerings to Uliliyassi on his behalf and entreat her (Uliliyassi) for three days. On the first day I do as follows: One soldier bread is piled up, and the following items are laid out with it: three sweet thick breads (made) of moist flour weighing one *tarnaš*, figs, raisins, *kallaktar*,¹¹ *parhuenāš*, groats of the deity, a little of everything, a tuft of wool from an *iyant*-sheep, a pitcher of wine, and the *[KUS]/ITU*-garments or the cloak of the man who is the patient, they (all these) are placed on the soldier bread.

3. A virgin¹² lifts [th]em (the materials) up, and the patient, having bathed, walks behind (them). [Afterwards (?) ..] (is) bathed. We take them (the materials) to an unsettled/uncultivated [pl]ace in the steppe.¹³ We take up a position. [The] same [girl] keeps the soldier bread lifted. I build gates of reeds.

4. I tie them together with red and white wool. I place a spindle and a distaff¹⁴ in the patient's [hand], and he comes under the gates. When he steps forward through the gates, I take the spindle and distaff away from him. I give him a bow (and) [arro]w(s), and say (to him) all the while: "I have just taken femininity away from you and given you masculinity in return. You have cast off the (sexual) behavior expected [of women]; [you have taken] to yourself the behavior expected of men!"

5. Concurrently I speak as follows¹⁵: "... He has just p[resen]ted (?) himself to you. To him.... Or a virgin [...]. He went down to her bedchamber, but this mortal (was just) one of faeces and urine. He did not find you.

6. "But now he has just come to you on his knees for help¹⁶ and is seeking you, O goddess, for the sake of your divinity. Whether you are in the mountain, whether you are in the meadow, whether you are in the valley, (or) wherever (else) you are, in favor come to this man! Let winds and rain not beat against your eyes!¹⁷

7. "He will proceed to make you his (personal) goddess. He will offer you a place. He will give you a house. He will give you male and female slave(s).¹⁸ He will give you cattle and sheep. He will make you a recipient of vows.¹⁹

8. "I am just now²⁰ entreating and drawing you. So come! Bring with you the moon, the star(s), and the

10. Perhaps error for *Pár-na-aš-ša*.

11. A plant substance producing a tranquilizing effect; cf. H. G. Güterbock, *JAOS* 103(1983)161-62. On these materials see also below under "Similarity to Other Rituals".

12. Cf. comment on I 33.

13. To seek out Uliliyassi one must go to the steppe (*gimra*-), which according to her name (see below under "The Goddess Uliliyassi") is her characteristic place.

14. Symbols of femininity, cf. Hoffner, *JBL* 85 (1966) 326-334.

15. Paskuwatti turns from speaking to the patient to address the goddess.

16. See comment on I 38-39.

17. That is, let them not hold you back (so already Goetze, *ANET* 349).

18. This would include priest(s) and priestess(es) as well as artesans and farmers. Cf. also ii 10, where descendents of the patient will serve the goddess.

19. Or: a recipient of votive offerings; cf. *CHD* s. v. What is promised here is the endowment of a cult place complete with all personnel. See further below.

20. Translating *kasa*.

nocturnal sun.²¹ Let female and male slaves run before you! Let the male deities [and female deities] run before you!²² Come to this man! You are his "wife of children" for him!²³ So look after him! Turn to him (in favor) and speak to him! Turn your maidservant²⁴ over to him, and he will become a yoke.²⁵ Let him take his wife and produce for himself sons and daughters! They will be your male and female servants. They will keep giving you offerings, thick breads, groats, (and) libations.

9. "(Til now) this man has not known you. But just now he has sought you. Since²⁶ it is you (instead of another deity)²⁷ that this one has sought, you -O goddess- must step toward him in favor. O goddess, show your divinity and make good the matter about which we are entreating you on earth! Let him experience (lit. look up at) your divinity, O goddess! It will happen that he will make you [his personal goddess]." I put [the broken thick breads] back on the soldier bread, and we go back into the house. In the house in which I make the offerings a new²⁸ table is set up. I place (the broken thick breads) on top of the soldier bread upon the table. Down in front (of it) I place a pitcher.

10. I take a few of the broken thick breads which are lying on the soldier bread and give to the man who is the patient. He puts it in his mouth and drinks the deity Uliliyassi three times.²⁹ When evening falls, the patient lies down in front of that same table. They place a bed down in front of that same table for him.

11. The *KUSĪTU*-garments³⁰ or the cloak³¹ which are lying on the soldier bread he will spread out (each) night.³² I do it for three days. On each day³³ I entreat three times: (once) at dawn, once at midday, (and) once at dusk. And while doing so, I speak those very same words.

12. Some thick loaves I break³⁴ at dawn, other thick loaves I break at midday, (still) others I break at dusk. I also scatter another (portion) of groats. Next I offer one sheep to Uliliyassi, and they slaughter it down in front of the table.³⁵ They carry the sheep's carcass forth and cut it up. Next [they butcher] it. From the meat [they ...] [...], breast, shoulder, and they place it [down in front(?) of the table. They cook the liver [and heart]. [They ...] two thick loaves and [...] (them) for him on the table.³⁶

13. (This paragraph and the first 9 or 10 lines of paragraph 14 are preserved only in the last 4 or 5 signs of each line. Connected translation serves no useful purpose. They seem to describe more ritual activity.)

14. "But you, [O goddess,] turn [your maidservant] over to him, that he may become a yoke for her!³⁷

21. Lit., Sungoddess of the Netherworld, i. e., the sun at night traveling under the earth from the western to eastern horizons. All the luminaries mentioned are therefore nocturnal.

22. "Run before you" is an idiom for "be in your charge or service".

23. The translation of Goetze in *ANET* 349: "Make his wife conceive a child, look after her!" would require an emendation *zik <-ki>*. The unaltered text exhibits an archaic (OH or early MH) form of the nominal sentence with second person singular subject: without *-za* and with the pronominal subject *zik* placed last in the clause.

24. I. e., the patient's wife.

25. In iii 6' *nu = war = aš = ši* *GISU.ŠUDUN-aš kišāri* "he will become a yoke for her".

26. Hitt. *maḥḥan* here borders on the causal meaning normally expressed by *kuit*.

27. The author shifts from enclitic = *ddu* and = *tta* (ii 14-15) to the more emphatic independent pronouns *tuk* (ii 17) and *zik* (ii 18).

28. It is a new table, because Uliliyassi is a new personal deity for the patient. Cf. paragr. 16 for the eventual disposition of the new table.

29. Probably at dawn, midday and dusk, as in paragraph 11.

30. Sum. TUG₂.BAR.DUL₅ = Akk. *KUSĪTU*, which *CAD* tr. "an elaborate garment". AHw "Gewand", Kosak THeth 10:248 "long gown, mantle".

31. Sum. TUG₂.GU₂E₃A (Akk. *NAḤLAPTU*), which *ANET* 350 and THeth 10:278 tr. "shirt".

32. "(Each)", because of the iterative *išparreški-* "to spread".

33. Lit. "on the first day".

34. "Break" and "scatter" are duratives in *-annai-*. Cf. below under "Dating".

35. Where the bed was laid.

36. A double rule divides this line from the next. But in this case it seems to mean nothing more than the usual single rule.

37. Cf. above in paragr. 8.

Let him take his wife, let him produce for himself children! Let him produce for himself sons and daughters! You, O goddess, show your divinity!

15. "Let him experience³⁸ your effectiveness!³⁹ He will make you his personal goddess. He will make you the recipient of vows". Once more they spread a bed for him down in front of the table.⁴⁰ They also spread out below for him the *KUSĪTU*-garments or cloak which has been lying upon the soldier bread. The patient lies down, (to see) if he will see in a dream the goddess (Uliliyassi) in her body,⁴¹ (if) she will go to him and sleep with him. Throughout the three days in which [I] entr[eat] the goddess he reports whatever dreams he sees, whether the goddess shows her eyes to him⁴² (or) whether the goddess sleeps with him.

16. He will come and worship the goddess. In addition if she prefers pithos-vessel, he will make her stand as a pithos-vessel. But if not, he will make her stand as a *huwaši* stone. Or he will 'make' (worship?) her (as) a statue. But the new table which was used (lit. "stands") in the entreaty becomes the exclusive property of the goddess.

17. But [if he does not see] (her) in her body,⁴³ (if) the goddess [does not sleep] with him in a dream, I will keep on performing (this ritual). (No more text is preserved on column iv.)

Dating of the Original Composition

There is very little if any linguistic or orthographic evidence that points to an OH (as opposed to a MH) date for the original composition. The characteristic OH sentence connectives *šu* and *ta* are lacking,⁴⁴ as is the characteristic OH sentence particle *-apa*.⁴⁵ Logographic writings followed by the conjunction *-a* "and", "but", which in OS texts regularly carry over the last consonant in the Hittite form, in post-OH do not, the conjunction then taking the case neutral form of *-ya*. One OH-type example occurs in Pask., the acc. sg. com. *EN.ZU-na-za* (= *EN.ZU.n + a + za*) i 51. Two others (i 52, ii 24') should have had OH Hittite complements in *-sa-* (nom. and acc. com. pl. respectively) rather than *-ya-*. There is no example of the OH *-še* "to him/her/it", but nineteen examples of its replacement *-ši*.⁴⁶ There is no writing of the negative word *na-at-ta* syllabically, all examples written *Ú-UL* (i 3, 36, ii 15, iv 14).⁴⁷ There is no trace of OH conditional *takku*, but several examples of *ma-a-an* (i 2, 40, 41, iv 2, 7, 9, 12, 14).⁴⁸ There is no example of OH temporal *ma-a-an*,⁴⁹ but NH temporal *maḥḥan* is found (ii 14').⁵⁰

What remains is plausible evidence for MH (i.e., pre-NH but not OH) language. Alongside four nominal sentences with second person subjects written with *-za* (i 40-42) there appears one clear example

38. Lit. "see". In ii 22-23 the male patient is to "see" the goddess's divinity, in iv 2-3 the goddess herself in her body. Dream vision induced by incubation is probably meant, although there is also the thought that the patient will "experience" her "power" when his sexual potency has been restored.

39. Or "power". Cf. *CHD* III/3 sub *nakkīyātar*.

40. The text at the end of iii 14' (*nam-ma-aš-š[i]*) interrupting the clause) does not seem to be in order.

41. Or "on his body".

42. I.e., removes her veil?

43. Or "on his body".

44. Friedrich, *Elementarbuch* paragr. 316-317.

45. Sommer, *HAB* 55; Carruba, *Or* 33(1964)418 ff; *ZDMG Suppl.* 1 (1969) 231, 236; *KZ* 85 (1971) 238f.; Hoffner, *BiOr* 37 (1980) 200 f.; dissenting: *HW²* 1:125 ff., THeth 9:200.

46. Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *REcords* 14f., THeth 9:188.

47. Carruba, *ZDMG Suppl.* 1:235; Houwink ten Cate, *Records* 49; THeth 9:163; Hoffner in *FGs Güterbock²* 83-94.

48. Cf. *CHD mān* 7.

49. Cf. *CHD mān* 5.

50. Carruba, *ZDMG Suppl.* 1:246; Houwink ten Cate, *Records* 24f.; dissenting: Kammenhuber, *KZ* 83:268; THeth 9:202. For NH temporal *maḥḥan* cf. *CHD maḥḥan* 5.

without *-za*⁵¹ and with the subject pronoun *zik* in clause final position (ii 3-4). *zik* in final position in nominal sentences occurs mostly in OH: *UL-wa LUGAL-waš araš-miš zik* KUB 29.1 i 35 (OH/NS), *ḥandanza maniyahḥayaš išḥaš zi[k]* KUB 31.127 + i 20, *dankuwayaš KUR-e[aš] attas annaš zi[k]* ibid. i 21, *“UTU-uš dammešḥandaš kurimmaš = a antuahḥaš attas annaš zik* ibid. i 35-36, *k[inun]a = wa = kan arḥa namma lē neyanza zik* KBo 20.82 ii 18-19 (OH/NS). Occasional exx. in NH texts may be influenced by older models: *mān LU₂ TĒMU = ma uwa[wa]nzi UL tarnanza zik* KBo 4.3 + iii 15-16 (Kup.) [note here that *-za* is also lacking, which reinforces our suspicion of the influence of an older original]; *“Telepinuš šarkuš nakkiš DINGIR-uš zik* KUB 24.2 i 3 (from a Mursili II prayer which shows other evidence of having made use of material from earlier prayers or hymns);⁵² *kuiš = za* KUB 33.86 + 8.66 iii 3 (Hedammu, *StBoT* 14:56f.). Consistent use of the older spelling *išša-* rather than *ešša-* (three times: ii 5', 20', iv 21),⁵³ the older, a-stem form of the word for “slave” (*IR₃-an*, i 48),⁵⁴ the older stem *antuwaḥḥa-* (ii 14) used for the nominative alongside two datives *antuḥḥi* (i 43, ii 2),⁵⁵ consistent distinction between allative *parna paiwani* “we go to the house” (ii 4') and loc. *kuedani parni išṣaḥḥi* “in what house I perform” (ii 5'),⁵⁶ the *-wani* ending for the pres. pl. 1 in *paiwani* (ii 4') alongside the more usual *-weni* in *tiyaweni* (i 17) and *mukeskiweni* (ii 20),⁵⁷ use of *katti-š/ti* five times),⁵⁸ enclitic possessive pronouns *tuekki = šši* (iv 3, 19), *andakitti = šši* (i 34), *išši = šši* (ii 12'), *kenuwaš = šaš* (i 38),⁵⁹ use of verbs in the *-annai-* durative mode without need of adding the *-ške-* iter. stem as well (i 45, ii 26'-29),⁶⁰ an isolated but interesting example of plene writing of the i-vowel in the *-ške/i-* syllable *iš-ḥi-iš[-k]i-i-mi* (i 19), all point in the direction of a pre-NH original.

But much evidence points to the activity of the scribes in modernizing the originally MH text. There is no example of acc. pl. com. *-uš* “them”, but *-aš* (iv 7).⁶¹ The OH and MH mi-verb forms with *-ye-* stems (*i-e-ez-zi*, etc.) have all but one (*i-e-zi* iv 11) been replaced by the NH *iya(zi)* type.⁶² OH and MH *-e* “they” (com. nom. pl.) was replaced by *-at* (*n = at* ii 10).⁶³

Dating the Cuneiform Copy

The evidence cited above for NH scribal modernizations is confirmed by the palaeography, which shows that the cuneiform copy was made in the 13th Century. The URU signs in i 1 and 2 have the typical

51. H. Hoffner, *JNES* 28 (1969) 225-30. Not considered by THeth 9.

52. Note, for example DINGIR-uš for *šiuš*, replaced in KUB 24.1 i 3 by NH DINGIR-LIM-iš for *šiuš*. On Mursili's use of older material from the older Sun Hymns cf. H. G. Güterbock, *AnSt* 30 (1980) 41-50.

53. Carruba, *StBoT* 2:33 n. 53; Houwink ten Cate, Records 10f.; THeth 9:178.

54. The a-stem complementation of *IR₃* occurs only in OH texts (even if they are NS copies): *IR₃-aš* in laws 22, 23, 24, 173; *IR₃-an* in laws 4, 14, 16, 93, 95. The later i-stem occurs as a variant in NS copies of the law, e. g., in law 23.

55. Hoffner, *JNES* 31(1972)32f.; HW² 109ff.; HED 1:79ff., Hoffner, *BiOr* 37(1980)200.

56. Under now obsolete terminology (“locative” and “dative”) the function of the *-a* case as answering the question “whither?” was early recognized as a feature of older Hittite and registered by Friedrich, *Elementarbuch* (2nd ed., Heidelberg 1960) paragr. 56 and 59; under the name “directive” it was employed as a dating criterion by Otten, *StBoT* 11:24; Houwink ten Cate, Records 22f.; Hoffner, *JNES* 31:32; dissenting: THeth 9:184.

57. Otten, *OLZ* 1963: 252 with n. 3; Carruba, *ZDMG Suppl.* 1:88; *Die Sprache* 12(1966)79ff.; 14(1968)13ff.; Otten, *StBoT* 8(1969)78f.; Houwink ten Cate, Records 8f., 16f.; dissenting: Kammenhuber, KZ 83:271, THeth 9:198.

58. Houwink ten Cate, Records 22f.

59. Houwink ten Cate, Records 14f.

60. *wahannanzi* (*StBoT* 8 ii 50, KUB 53.14 iii 9,21), *ḥattannir* (KBo 3.34 i 4), *tuḥšannai* (law 113).

61. Friedrich, *Elementarbuch* paragr. 102; Carruba, *ZDMG Suppl.* 1:231, 234; Otten, *StBoT* 11:22; Houwink ten Cate, Records 14f.; Otten, IF 81:308; Kammenhuber, Mat.heth.Thes Nr. 4 (pron. -a-); THeth 9:186.

62. Carruba, *ZDMG Suppl.* 1:234; Houwink ten Cate, Records 16f.; dissenting: Kammenhuber, KZ 83:270f.; HbOr 1, 2 1s, Lf. 2 (1969)176. MSS 29:89; TEeth 9:194 f.

63. Friedrich, *Elementarbuch*, paragr. 102; Carruba, *ZDMG Suppl.* 1:231, 234; Houwink ten Cate, Records 14f.; dissenting: THeth 9:186f.

13th Century form. The scribe uses the MEŠ sign in the value *eš₁₈* (i 44 and 53). Alongside the normal IT sign with broken internal horizontal he often uses the later form with unbroken middle horizontal (i 34, 39, 42, 52, etc.) The same feature is seen in his DA (i 34, 42, 46, ii 2, 5, 6, etc.). Alongside the older AK (i 28, 36, iii 11') is found the younger one (i 8). Alongside one example of the older IK (i 3) are found many examples of the younger form (ii 4, 15, 18, 21, iii 10', iv 3, 8, etc.). Alongside several examples of the older LI (i 4, 16, 20, 24, etc.) are an equal number of the younger form (i 10, 44, ii 18, 13', iii 1, iv 12). All forms of TAR, KA₂, and SAG are the later forms. One older DAM (ii 8) is more than balanced by three examples of the later shape (i 16, ii 3, iii 7').

The Authoress Paskuwatti

The name of the female practitioner is Paskuwatti. Following Laroche⁶⁴ we read the *kir/piš* sign as *paš_x*. She hailed from Arzawa, but lived at the time this text was written in *URUPār-aš-ša*, a city mentioned only here and not yet localized.⁶⁵ In view of the presence of other scribal errors in this copy and the somewhat strange syllabification of the name *URUPār-aš-ša*, one wonders if it is not an error for the *URUPār-na-aš-ša* known from other texts.⁶⁶ Although Paskuwatti is identified as an Arzawan, there seems to be no trace of her native language Luwian in the text.

The Goddess Uliliyassi

The name Uliliyassi is formed from the noun *ulili-* (Luwian form *walila/i-*)⁶⁷ by the addition of the ending *-ašši-*, which makes the genitival adjective in the Luwian language.⁶⁸ Her name informs us that this goddess' primary sphere of influence was the open country, where she may have been patroness of both the wild plant growth and the wild animals. The interpretation of her name would not lead us to suspect that she was a goddess who restored sexual potency to men.

Similarity to Other Rituals

I 7-10 mentions food plants which are typical for the *mukešsar* type rituals from OH on. Figs, raisins and meal (*memal*)⁶⁹ can be found in most rituals employing foods. More typical for the *mukešsar's* are *parḥuena-* and *galaktar* grouped with the fruits (figs, raisin, etc.).⁷⁰ *parḥuena-* with cereals (rather than with fruits and *galaktar*) is found in CTH 395. 1 (KBo 11.14 i 1-10). *parḥuena-* and *(UDU)iyantaš* *siḡḥuttulli* occur in CTH 416 (KUB 15.34). But most important for placing the Paskuwatti ritual in its category of rituals is the close similarity, both in materials and in personnel, with CTH 393 (VBoT 24), the ritual of Anniwiyani.⁷¹ In materials the two rituals share *galaktar*, *parḥuena-*, NINDA.ERÍN.MEŠ, the *iyantaš ḥuttulli*, a table, and

64. Onom. 522 w. n. 105; NH p. 138 = = 955. On the Luwian name element Paskuwa cf. NH p. 328.

65. RGTC 6:302.

66. RGTC 6:306.

66. RGTC 6:306.

67. For the most recent discussion of the Luwian noun, concluding that it means “field”, “plain”, see J. D. Hawkins & A. Morpurgo Davies in *Fs Güterbock* 73f.

68. Laroche, Rech. 68-70; DLL 139 section 30.

69. Cf. *CHD* 3 sub *memal*, discussion at end.

70. CTH 324 (KUB 17.10 ii 12-21), 322 (KUB 33.81 iv 2-11), 326 (KUB 33.21 iii 9-17), 330.5 (KUB 33.62 ii 14-20), 334.7 (KUB 33.75 ii 4-20). Also to be found in CTH 700 (KBo 10.34 i 5-21), a text recording offerings to Tesub and Hebat on the enthronement of Tudhaliya.

71. Older edition by Sturtevant & Bechtel, *Chrestomathy*. Philadelphia 1935, pp. 100-126.

gates. Among the personnel a virgin (*šuppeššara-*) plays a conspicuous role in both rituals, as do symbols for manliness and womanliness (the *kureššar*). Part of both rituals takes place in an uninhabited place (*dammeli pedi*) in the steppe.⁷² Both rituals aim to restore manliness to the patient accompanied by the removal of womanly or effeminate traits, symbolised in the articles of clothing. The authoress, Anniwiyani, also has a Luwian name,⁷³ although she is not identified as from Arzawa. In the invoking of the Tutelary God of the Hunting Bag (*kuršaš*)⁷⁴ the period of time spent invoking is three days (VBoT 24 iv 14), just as in Paskuwatti's ritual (i 5, iv 5). In view of the fact that the authoresses are different and the subjects are only generally related it would be unreasonable to expect a closer similarity in materials, personnel and praxis. But it is clear from what we have observed here that CTH 406 and CTH 393 are quite similar. To this may be finally added that we date both texts MH/NS in the terminology of the CHD.

The Incubation

Although a preliminary attempt seems to have been made to treat the patient's impotence by recourse to a virgin, the primary method of this ritual is incubation. The patient is made to sleep at the offering table of the goddess and to await her appearance and sleeping with him. The practice of spending the night in a sacred place in order to encourage a deity to reveal himself, to offer help or healing, or even to have sexual intercourse with the worshiper is known from other ancient cultures.⁷⁵ From the Hittite instructions for priests and temple officials⁷⁶ we know that all priests and temple officials had to spend the night up in the temple, even if they had wives down in the city. Priests caught violating this rule were executed. But sleeping in the temple precinct had the practical purpose of guarding the sacred objects. Incubation is not mentioned in the context of this command. A recently published fragment of a ritual (KUB 55:21) has the following interesting section: "They spread a priest on the bed⁷⁷ in the courtyard of the Sungoddess of the Netherworld, and he spends the night there regularly. But the protocol for him is the following: the spreading and the sleeping are permitted; he may regularly eat, but he may not break [bread(?)] (that is, make offerings?) in the presence of the Sungoddess [of the Netherworld]."⁷⁸ This sleeping in the goddess' courtyard must have had a religious purpose, but nothing is said of dream revelations or of sexual encounters with the goddess.

Commentary by Lines

I 2f. Cf. Beckman, *StBoT* 29:18 w. note 80, and *CHD menahḫanda* 3 j. The noun *ḫaššātar* (cf. Friedrich, *HW* 62 w. literature; the logogram is MAŠ₂) can refer either to the power of reproduction or to the aggregate of living things produced. It can refer to the power to germinate possessed by good seed (cf. Hoffner, *AlHeth* 37, 48), as well as to the human power of procreation (as in our text). The human aggregate of beings produced is the "family" or "clan". The royal family or clan is sometimes called the *šalli ḫaššātar* "big

72. VBoT 24 i 31 and KUB 9.27 + i 16-17.

73. NH pp. 33, 331 (*anni-* "mother" + *wiya* + *ni*).

74. Cf. S. Alp, *Beiträge zur Erforschung des hethitischen Tempels* (TTK Yay. VI, 23). 1983, p. 93-100; A. M. Dinçol, *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 9(1983)185f. and 221f. note 3; and H. G. Güterbock, *Festschrift Ekrem Akurgal* (to be published by Ankara University).

75. Standard works are L. Deubner, *De incubatione*. Leipzig 1900; M. Hamilton, *Incubation, or the Cure of Disease in Pagan Temples and Christian Churches*. London 1906. Cf. the summaries in *Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VII. Edinburgh 1920, pp. 206f.; O. Seyffert, *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*. Cleveland 1956, sub "Incubare" and "Oracles"; and in *Der Kleine Pauly* sub "Asklepios" and "Tempelschlaf". The Greeks called it *egkoimēsis*, the Romans *incubatio*.

76. Sturtevant, *Chrest.* 156f., paragr. 10.

77. So the text seems to say, although one expects "They spread a bed for the priest". Without wider context it isn't clear whether they actually lay him out on the bed. Something similar to this is done to the prince in the EZEN *ḫaššumaš*.

78. ANA G¹⁵NA₂ U¹⁰SANGA *taknaš* UTU-aš E²ḫēli išparranzi n=aš apiya šeškešizzi [i]šḫiul=ma=šši ki [i]šparrumar šiškiyauwar a[ra] [azz]ikkizzi=za [taknaš] UTU-i piran [NINDA-an?] arḫa UL paršiyazi KUB 55.21 vi 1-8.

family" (KBo 3.1 ii 31, 49);⁷⁹ but often without the adjective *šalli* simply as "the family". The expression *pangawaš ḫaššātar* means "kin of the *pankuš*" according to A. Goetze (apud G. Walser, *Neuere Hethiterforschung*. Wiesbaden 1964, 27 w. fn. 19). Although *ḫaššātar* is usually either abstract or collective, in KUB 1.16 ii 69-70 it refers to the "male issue" which the daughter of Hattusili had. This only needed to be a single son. As a verbal noun ("giving birth") *ḫaššātar* occurs in the phrase *ḫaššannaš meḫuni* "at the time of giving birth (of the cattle, sheep and goats)" (KUB 13.4 iv 35). So too *ḫaššannaš-ma mahḫa[n]* EZEN *ḫlāši-za kuwapi* "When (it is) the festival of giving birth, when she gives birth" KBo 17.65 rev. 45 (ed. Beckamn, *StBoT* 29:144f., who translates "Festival of the Womb", cf. p. 47). In KUB 9.1 ii 15 *ḫaššannaš pedas* (if *pedas* is not the verb *peda-*) may refer to the "place of breeding".

I 4. For the syntax of the verb *ši(p)pant-* here seen Goetze, *JCS* 23 (1971) 76ff.

I 17. For additional places in CTH 406 where Paskuwatti associates herself with her patient by means of "we" verbs see ii 20 (*mu-ke-eš-ki-u-e-ni*) and ii 4' (*pa-a-i-wa-ni*). For "we" forms in Anniwiyani (CTH 393, VBoT 24) see *tummeni* (i 30), *ḫuinumeni* (i 31), *paiwani* (i 33) and *iyaweni* (i 36). But such "we" forms in rituals are by no means confined to these two texts. In Old Hittite compare CTH 416 (*StBoT* 8, p. 78 f.); also CTH 396 (rev. 17), 427 (ii 45), 443 (i 22), 446 (i 10). In the preceding exx. the "we" form is part of the ritual description, as it is in our ritual. But in addition the "we" form is employed whenever within a ritual the practitioner addresses the gods and refers to what he and the patient (and others?) are doing or will do: CTH 391 (iii 47), 422 (A ii 6), 483 (iii 15, 36, iv 31), 484 (B i 50-51).

I 18. The gates made from reeds constructed for this ritual find parallels in many rituals. Sometimes the material is said to be hawthorn (*ḫatalkešna-*). Cf. CTH 393 (VBoT 24 i 36), 401 (KUB 30.34 iv 21), 409 (Tunn. I 20-21, iii 33-34), 421.4 (KUB 12.40 ii 5 w. dupl., cf. ZA 71:125f.), 448 (KBo 21.1 i 5-6), 471 (KBo 5.2 iii 32-49), 490.3 (KBo 27.159 + KUB 45.26 oo 11-14, ZA 71:132f.), 730 (KUB 17.28 iv 49), 790 (KBo 23.43 + 24.63 iii 8-14). The verb changes to first singular ("I make").⁸⁰

I 20ff. The manipulation of symbols of masculinity and femininity is of the utmost significance in the rituals against impotence. The fundamental study of the subject is Hoffner, *JBL* 85 (1966) 326-334, cf. esp. 331. As for the precise identification of the key words *ḫueša-* and *ḫulali-*, Oettinger (*StBoT* 22 [1976] 64f.) and Hoffner (*Mem. Finkelstein* [1977] 108-09)⁸¹ were able to show that *huesa-* was not a mirror, as had been previously proposed,⁸² and that the pair denoted spindle and distaff. Hoffner reversed the proper order, because he missed the key passage KUB 43.60 iv 6', where G¹⁵*ḫulali-* and G¹⁵BAL ("spindle") occur together, showing *ḫulali-* cannot be the spindle. Because of this passage it is clear that Oettinger is right that *ḫueša-* is the spindle and *ḫulali-* the distaff. As exegesis of the key passages both studies are useful. I 20-27 are edited also by Wegner, *AOAT* 36:60.

I 23, 26. *arḫa da-* "to take away from (with dat.)" can be accompanied by either *-kan* (26) or *-šan* (23).

I 25-29. The withdrawing and conferring of the sexual symbols is explained by the concurrently spoken⁸³ words of Paskuwatti. The concurrence is emphasized by the use of *kāša*, which gives to the action a sense of immediacy – with pres.-fut. "am/is/are about to ...", with pret. "have/has just ...-ed".⁸⁴ *kaša* also occurs in i 32, 38, 50, ii 14, 15. The word *šaklai-/šakli-* means "custom, law, expected behavior". The patient knows that he has relinquished the spindle and distaff and taken the bow and arrows. But he needs to hear

79. Cf. Hoffner in D. J. Wiseman, ed., *People of Old Testament Times*. Oxford 1973, p. 209.

80. Cf. *iyami* KBo 21.1 i 5-6 (CTH 448), *eizi* KBo 21.47 iii! 7' w. dupl. KUB 54.40 + Bo 68/219 rev.? 7'. Tunn. iii 20-[21], *iyanzi* KUB 17.28 iv 49 (CTH 730), *iyaweni* VBoT 24 i 36 (CTH 393). Cf. also 2 *TAPAL* KA₂GAL.HI.A *šarā tiif[ia]nzanzi* KUB 32.76:10 (CTH 706).

81. Since both studies were in press at the same time, neither author saw the other's work.

82. Goetze in *ANET* 357, Güterbock in *RHA* XIV: 25 n. 6; and in Kramer, *Mythologies of the Ancient World*. Garden City, N. Y. 1961, p. 149.

83. Cf. *CHD* 3 on *anda mema-* mng. 13a.

84. Cf. Hoffner, *JAOS* 88(1968)532.

from the practitioner the symbolic significance of the proceedings, namely, that he has thereby "cast off"⁸⁵ the (sexual) behavior which is customary for a woman and has taken on the behavior of a man. The restoration of the imperative [*da-a*] "take" in i 29 is possible. But since this is Paskuwatti's explanation to the patient of the significance of his ritual actions, a pret. [*da-at-ta*] "you have taken" to match *arḥa ... peššiyat* "you have cast off" would be more likely.

I 30. I cannot restore this line. As i 31 begins a new clause, one expects [...]*hšan* at the end of i 30 to be a predicate. It might be a neut. sg. participle, perhaps [*tu-uh-ša-an*] "is broken off".

I 31-37. The concurrent speech does not, as above in i 25, interpret a ritual action of Paskuwatti by *kaša* and a first person sing. verb. Rather the speech seems to describe actions which prove the patient's dire need and helplessness to cope with his problem. The hopeless situation is summarized by the words of i 36-37 "he has not found you (Uliliyassi)".

I 33. The significance of the DUMU.SAL *šuppešaraš*, which Goetze (ANET 349) translated as "eunuch(?)", although he himself had earlier suggested "virgin",⁸⁶ seems to be that this ritual concerns restoring sexual potency to the male patient. Since the patient's problem is not infertility but impotence (i.e., inability to sustain an erection and complete the sexual act), Paskuwatti's first approach is to stimulate him by arranging intercourse with a young (DUMU.SAL) woman who has never slept with a man (*šuppešara-*). It is to her bedroom(?)⁸⁷ that the patient goes but only demonstrates his inability to successfully perform sexual intercourse. The restoration [*e?-eš?-ta-at*] "she sat down" (i 34) is, of course, only a guess. The verb *eš-* is one of the few middle verbs which require *-za* but no local particle and which would fit somewhat in this context.

I 36-37. It is not clear whether the words "he did not find you" refer to his experience over a longer period of time preceding his treatment by Paskuwatti or only during the experiment with the DUMU.SAL *šuppešaraš* in her bedroom. But since these words immediately follow the description of his impotence ("this mortal is one of faeces and urine"), they are clearly intended to describe the underlying cause of this weakness: he has not found Uliliyassi.

I 38-39. *ki-nu-na-aš-ta* does not contain the sentence particle = *ašta*, but should be analyzed as *kinuna* = *aš* = *ta* "now he to you". The *kattan* of this clause is used as in i 43 and ii 2-3 in combination with the dat. pronoun "to someone" or "to (a position where one is) with (someone)". The translation "he has gone down on his kness" (ANET 349) is quite incorrect. The force of the EGIR-*pa* should not be overlooked. If *appa uwa-* is given its normal translation "to come back (to)" (cf. HW 238b, HW₂ 151b.) here, it implies that the patient once knew and worshipped Uliliyassi and then subsequently abandoned her. Yet in view of ii 14-16, which seems to be expressing the same ideas, but begins with "This person did not know you", such an interpretation is difficult to sustain. See also note on i 46-47. Perhaps in i 38-39 *appa* should be given a force similar to the *appa* in *-za appa epp-* "to take refuge in, seek protection in". It would not mean "back" or "again" but something like "comes to you for help or protection".

I 39-40. Cf. ii 15-17 which expresses the same thought using *kāša* and the preterite and omitting DINGIR-LIM-*anni*.

I 40-42. A standard component of the evocatio is the enumeration of places where the god being sought may presently be. These are regularly nominal sentences with second person subjects. As such, in later MH and in NH they contain either the dat. pronoun corresponding to the subject (*-mu*, *-ta*, *-naš*, *-šmaš*) or the particle *-za*. In OH and earlier MH this reflexive particle or pronoun was not used in the nominal sentence for this purpose.⁸⁸

85. According to the text he has not in fact "cast off" the symbolic spindle and distaff; they were taken from him by the practitioner.

86. Apud Sturtevant, *Chrest.* 109, 119 f. Adopted by Friedrich, *HW* 198.

87. *andakitti* = *šši* i 34, cf. Friedrich, *HW Erg.* 1 (1957) 1 (w. lit.); HW₂ 97 with review by Hoffner, *BiOr* 37 (1980) 200; also Puhvel, *HED* 1:77.

88. Hoffner, *JNES* 28 (1969) 225-30 (for KUB 9.27 + i 40-42 see p. 226 and 228). The usefulness of this rule for dating the

I 42-43. Cf. ii 2-3 without *aššuli*. Cf. also ii 5 *nu* = *šši* = *kan anda naiešgaḥut* and ii 18 for *nu* = *šši* = *kan zik* DINGIR-LUM *anda aššuli tiya*.

I 44-45. For the verb cf. above under "Dating the Original". ANET's tr. is too free to be helpful. The *ši-e-wa* of the copy is to be ignored, since Ehelolf's collation (apud Friedrich, SV 2:34 n. 4) showed IGI.ḪI.A-wa. A nice parallel is to be found in a Gilgamesh passage: *nu* = *kan* [ANA *Huwawa*] IGI.ḪI.A-wa *walḫi[šk]anzi* "(The winds just enumerated) beat against Huwawa's eyes" KUB 8.53:16-17, translit. in Laroche, *Myth.* 129. Ehelolf's collation was overlooked by Haas (KN [1970] 194), who reads: IGI-e-wa in our text. Note the tr. of Friedrich, SV 2:34, and that of Ehelolf apud Friedrich, SV 2:166.

I 46-49. Cf. tr. of Sommer and Ehelolf in Pap. 28. The phraseological use of *paizzi ... DU₃-zi*, which always makes an emphatic future "he will (worship you)", suggests that the patient had not previously worshipped Uliliyassi. Cf. note on i 38-39 above. This expression seems to be the functional equivalent of ii 24-25 and iii 12'-13', "he will make you his personal deity". In any event the clauses which follow in i 46-49 elaborate on what is involved in worshipping a deity or making him/her his personal deity: setting aside a cult site (*pedan*), constructing a temple or shrine (*E₂-er*), donating slaves to constitute the priests, caretakers or cult personnel, endowing the shrine with livestock (or perhaps only giving periodic animal sacrifices?), and making the deity a periodic recipient of votive offerings.⁸⁹ For the use of *ḫink-* for giving real estate cf. KUB 13.2 iii 41 and KUB 31.84 iii 68-69 (Dienstanw. 49f).

I 50. For the distinction between *mugai-* and *talliya-* cf. Laroche, *priere hittite* 22f. and CHD 3 sub *mugai-*. The content of the following lines well illustrates the nature of these two actions. The goddess is summoned for the patient (i 51-ii 3), entreated to do specific things for him (ii 4-9), and is promised that he will in return make her his personal deity and will together with his offspring pay her dutiful and constant worship thereafter (ii 10-13).

I 51- II 1. On *EN.ZU-na-za* see above under "Dating". Perhaps nocturnal luminaries were appropriate for a goddess whose aiding men to be sexually potent was done at night. The fact that her retinue includes male and female deities which run before her stresses the importance of Uliliyassi.

II 3-4. This is a very archaic type of nominal sentence, shown both by the absence of a reflexive (although the subject is *zik* "you") and the final position of *zik*. Cf. further discussion above under "Dating". DUMU-*an-na-aš-ši* could be analyzed either as DUMU-*anna* = *šši* "for his offspring" (for which DUMU-*anni* = *šši* would be better) or DUMU-*annaš* = *ši* "of offspring for him" or "of his offspring". The thought seems to be that, since the patient has not been able to produce children by his earthly wife, he will only succeed, if the goddess Uliliyassi becomes his divine wife. This she does in col. IV by coming to him in his dreams and having sexual intercourse with him. This enables him to impregnate his earthly wife and have DUMU-*lātar* "progeny". ANET 349 mistranslates: "Make his wife conceive a child, look after her!" which would require the imperative form *zi-ik-ki*. When the first clause is correctly translated, it becomes clear that the = *an* in the second clause refers to the male patient ("Look after him!"), and the = *si* of ii 5, 6, 7 continues to refer to him.

II 6. In this context *menaḫḫanda mema-* can hardly mean "speak against" in a negative sense. Rather the sense is that the goddess should turn toward the patient favorably and speak to him face to face. Cf. CHD *menaḫḫanda* 2 b 2'.

II 7-8. Cf. CHD *maniyahḫ-* 3 b 2'. The phrase occurs again below in iii 6'. Cf. Hoffner, *AlHeth* (1973) 47 with n. 223-4. In ii 8 *yuga-* is an a-stem neuter, while in iii 6' *GIŠU.ŠUDUN-aš* is nom. com. gender. On this

original composition was overlooked in THeth 9:150-243. See above under "Dating of the Original Composition". Houwink ten Cate's translation "Whether it be on a mountain, whether it be in a meadow, ..." (RHA fasc. 79 [1966] 127) was made before Hoffner's 1969 study.

89. CHD 3:135 sub *malteš(sa)nala-*; cf. in our text, iii 13'-14'. ANET 349 ("he will have thee praised in hymns"), 350 ("He will make vows to thee") both translating the same clause.

phenomenon in Hittite cf. Goetze in *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à M. Holger Pedersen* (Copenhagen 1937) 488-495 and H. Hoffner, *JCS* 24 (1971) 35 with n. 34 (on *ega-* "ice", which is sometimes neut. and sometimes common.) As Hoffner noted (*ibid.*), the form ⁹⁰*ŠU.ŠUDUN-aš* could be a free standing genitive "one of the yoke", a "yoke fellow". The man and woman team up to produce children. But more likely the yoke in Hittite, as in Akkadian (cf. passages in *CHD* sub *nīru* "yoke"), symbolized domination. An impotent husband lost his wife's respect. And conversely, in order to produce children through his wife, the husband has to dominate; she must bear his yoke. That Appu's wife in *StBoT* 14:6ff, (i 27ff.) shows so little respect for him and mocks him illustrates the point.

II 8-9. For *da-* "to take" with a wife nas the object compare laws 27, 31, 32, 34, 192, 193, Huqq. iii 62-63, KBo 6.29 + + i 18-20d, Hatt, iii 1-2, KUB 33.121 ii 4. For *-za iya-* "to produce (children)" cf. law 31, Hatt. iii 3-4, KUB 21-38 obv. 58 (woman is subject), KUB 8.35 obv. 9-10 (*StBoT* 29:..).

II 10-13. Cf. comment above on I 50. The offspring which will result from Uliliyassi's making the patient potent are promised as her devoted servants. This amounts almost to a vow. In other Hittite literature cf. Apology of Hattusili, IV 81-89; Otten, *StBoT* 24:30f., Ünal, *THeth* 3:35.

II 14-25, 1'-3'. Several parts of this paragraph were translated by M. Vieyra in R. Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique*. Paris 1970, p. 560.

II 14-15. Cf. comment on I 38-39. The levels of meaning possible for *šekk-/šakk-* "to know", especially considering that the object is a deity, and that this goddess will actually come to the patient and engage in sexual intercourse with him, are suggestive. This line was translated by Justus: "See! This man did not acknowledge you (as god)." ⁹⁰ It is true that *-za šakk-* often has the sense of "acknowledge". But *-za* with verbs of perception and cognition (compare *auš-*) often conveys a variety of deeper levels of meaning. *-za au(š)-* often refers to seeing in a dream and to other forms of perception which do not require physical eyesight. The best clue to interpreting *-za šakk-* here is the combination with the following line. "He didn't *-za šakk-* you before, but now he has sought you out". To *-za šakk-* a deity means more than merely to acknowledge his existence and powers; it means to enter a protector-worshiper relationship with that deity. This is what is meant by "he will make you his personal deity" (ii 24-25, iii 12'-13') and "he will worship you" (iv 11).

II 18-19. The translation of *ANET* 349 is incorrect. *n = at* in ii 22 resumes *kuedani uddani* of ii 20. The divinity (DINGIR-LIM-tar) of Uliliyassi is shown by the removal of the patient's impotence, which is the matter (*uttar*) about which Paskuwatti and her associates are entreating (*mugai-*) the goddess.

II 23-23. The patient experiences (*-za šara auš-*) Uliliyassi's divinity when his sexual potency returns. He may also "see" it in the dream. Compare iii 11', where it is Uliliyassi's "power" (*nakkiyatar*) that the patient experiences.

II 4'-8'. For *paiwani* see above under "Dating". The "house" is probably the patient's own house. *kuedani panni* would seem to exclude the temple of Uliliyassi, since that would not be "what (ever) house".

II 13'. The three drinkings of Uliliyassi before night fell (as the bread breakings in ii 20'-23') were at dawn, midday and dusk. The three daily drinkings and breaking of bread probably indicate the three Hittite meal times (dawn, midday, dusk). The patient's ritual was performed in his own house at his regular meal times.

II 14'-19'. This would seem to be prescriptions for the same kind of incubation described in iii 14'-iv 10. Comparing ii 17'-19' with iii 16'-19', it would seem that the garments which have been lying on top of the soldier's bread on the offering table – these garments undoubtedly are the personal garments of the patient⁹¹ – are removed every night and spread for him to lie on (or in) down in front of the table. Even if we are correct

90. In Kammenhuber, *Mat. heth. Thes.*, Lief. 10 (1981) Nr. 7, p. 48.

91. This would be necessary for the effectiveness of the magic. Compare the manipulation of the personal garments of the king in the ritual against Mursili's aphasia (KBo 4.2 iv 21ff. with duplicates, CTH 486, old edition by Goetze and Pedersen, *Mursilis Sprachlähmung* [Det Danske Videnskabernes Selskab; hist.-filol. Meddelelser XXI, 1]. Copenhagen 1934).

in assuming that this ritual was performed in the patient's own house (see above on II 4'-8'), the text makes it clear that he does not sleep in his customary place, where his wife was, but in front of the "new table" set up for him in some other part of his house. In view of the plural *išparranzi* (iii 19'), the singular *išpareškizzi* (ii 19') should not be pressed as evidence that the patient himself spreads out the garments. The iterative indicates that this is done over a period of several nights.

II 22' and 26'. The Hittite complement *-ti* shows that the locative singular *šiwatti* is meant. There being no need for the plural *HI.A*, I propose an emendation to UD.KAM!-*ti* in both places.

II 23'-24'. *memiyanuš = a = kan ... apūš = pat* "those same words" probably refers to Paskuwatti's words addressed to Uliliyassi contained in i 31 - ii 25.

II 4-19'. This is a reprise of ii 7 - ii 19'.

IV 5. Contra *ANET* 350 there is no indication in this text that the patient himself "entreats" (*mugai-*) the goddess. We prefer to restore *mu-g[a-a-mi]* "I entreat".

IV 7-8. For *tekkušnu-* elsewhere in this text see ii 21, iii 10', both times with DINGIR-LIM-tar (*šiumiyatar*) as the object. The force of the adverb *para* is unclear to me.

IV 11-18. This is again a section (cf. i 46-49, iii 12'-14') in which Paskuwatti promises to Uliliyassi certain favors from her client and his future offspring. *ANET*'s translation is very free here, and in places misleading.

Conclusions

The ritual of the Arzawan woman Paskuwatti, composed during the Middle Hittite period, recopied many times but preserved for us in a single 13th century tablet, deals with the very important subject of male impotence. It is clear from the language of the ritual ("this mortal can only defecate and urinate" i 35-36, i.e., he cannot ejaculate) that the patient's complaint was that he was unable to sustain an erection and consummate the act of intercourse. His problem then was not infertility (insufficient sperm), but impotence. (See comment on I 33.) Other Hittite rituals deal with this subject. The most similar is the ritual of Anniwiyani (CTH 393). Impotence is also vividly portrayed in the Appu story,⁹² where inability to sustain an erection is referred to with the negation of the verb *katta epp-*.

A study of all rituals and texts dealing with this topic is a desideratum. For the time being, since the Anniwiyani ritual and the Appu story have been edited, this edition of the Paskuwatti ritual increases the textual base which has been formally edited and thus lays a foundation for the topical study.

92. CTH 360, ed. Siegelova, *StBoT* 14 (1971).