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MUWATALLIS' "PRAYER TO BE SPOKEN IN AN EMERGENCY," AN ESSAY IN TEXTUAL CRITICISM

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MUWATALLIS' long prayer was edited already by Böhl in the journal *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, L (1916), 306 ff., at a time when Hrozný's decipherment was still underway; some years later, in 1924, Witzel gave another edition (*Hethitische Keilschrift-Urkunden* [= *Keilschriftliche Studien*, IV (1924)], 86 ff.). Goetze translated it for *ANET*¹ (1950) under the very aptly chosen title "Prayer to Be Spoken in an Emergency" (pp. 397 ff.), while Güterbock analyzed its structure and gave a critical evaluation of its literary value (*JAOS*, LXXVIII [1958], 245). The same scholar also commented on the fact that precisely this prayer presents us with valuable evidence that Hurrian cults had deeply penetrated into the heart of the Hittite inner country itself (*MDOG*, LXXXVI [1953], 72 and *Journal of World History*, II [1954], 389–90). In a long list contained in this prayer the deities of the numerous sanctuaries of the Empire are enumerated and the implications for Hittite geography of this enumeration have duly received the attention they deserve (e.g. Garstang and Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* [1959], *passim* and especially pp. 116 ff.). One basic problem has never been dealt with so far and will form the subject of this paper, the question of the relationship between the two main manuscripts of this text, *KUB* VI 45 completed by *KUB* XXX 14, henceforward to be called *A*, and *KUB* VI 46 which will be referred to as *B*. It should be added immediately that there exists a small fragment of a third copy, *KUB* XII 35 (*C*). With one negligible exception copy *C* sides with *A*.

The two main manuscripts offer an interesting and not too difficult subject for textual criticism, particularly in view of the fact that both *A* and *B* are of sufficient length to warrant the possibility of reaching safe conclusions. The two copies exhibit a number of quite normal variant readings. For *A* IV:56 ("Thereafter he breaks a sacrificial loaf for the witnessing Sun God") *ku-ut-ru-i* ¹UTU-*i* is paralleled in *B* IV:53 by *hu-u-wa-ia-al-li* ¹UTU-*i*. An apparently Luwian epithet preceded by a *Glossenkeil* is replaced in *A* by a Hittite equivalent. In *A* III:66 (*na-an-ši*) one finds the dative of the third person of the enclitic pronoun, while *B* IV:34 reads *na-an-ta* ("The loaves and libations which I am accustomed to give to the Storm God *Pihassassis*, my lord, I would give them to him gladly," instead of "I would give them to thee gladly"). This might be classified as a stylistic variant: *A*'s reading is in better grammatical agreement with the preceding relative sentence; *B*'s choice fits better in the passage as a whole, since Muwatallis addresses the Storm God *Pihassassis* himself. Other variants are of a grammatical type: *uga* and *ammuk* occur both as nom. sing. of the personal pronoun first person (*ú-u[k]-m[a]-za-[ká]n* [*A* III:41] = *am-mu-uk-ma-kán* [*B* IV:10]; *ú-uk* [*A* III:74] = *am[-mu-uk]* [*B* IV:42]) and also both as dat. sing. (*ú-ga-kán* [*A* III:60] = [*am*]-*mu-ga-kán* [*B* IV:29]). A study of the mistakes in *A* presents us with about thirteen instances where the reading of *B* should be preferred (*A* I:21 = *B* I:21; I:36 = *B* I:37; II:7 = *B* II:50; II:45 = *B*

III:12; II:61 = *B* III:28; II:62 = *B* III:29; III:19 = *B* III:58; III:21 = *B* III:61; IV:7 = *B* I:41; IV:15 = *B* I:50; IV:20 = *B* I:55; IV:32 = *B* I:64; IV:55 = *B* IV:52). In all of these cases *A* omits a sign or even a word that is preserved in *B* (this list of mistakes in *A* is incomplete; I did not mention examples of dittography and wrongly-written signs). However, there are innumerable passages where *B* shows an error absent from *A*.

Next to these divergences—variant readings and clear mistakes in one of the two copies—there is still another point that should be mentioned. *B* displays an essentially different arrangement: after 38 lines of column I the tablet continues with what is column IV:2 ff. in *A*; the long list of local deities who are invoked is preceded in *B* by a list of offerings which follows relatively late in *A* just before a second list of offerings, the last item in both copies. At first sight it is tempting to prefer *A*'s arrangement with the appeal to the local deities immediately following the invocation of the main gods of the country and the two lists of offerings together at the end of the text. But it is striking that the first list of offerings fits very well in the position it has in *B*. The main gods who have been invoked in I:10–38 recur in this list of offerings in basically the same order.

A close examination of the general character of copy *B* may be of help to solve the problem of the relationship between the two copies. It has already been said that the mistakes in *B* are very numerous indeed. The following types occur rather frequently:

1. Signs have been left incomplete (10 examples: I:20, 29 (2); II:39 (2); III:29, 36, $\sqrt{39}$, 44; I:53 (as a rule I have preserved *A*'s order of arrangement also when dealing exclusively with *B*)).

2. Signs, words or even groups of words have been omitted (31 examples: (signs or groups of signs) I:14, 19, 28, 29, 39; II:10, 39, 42, 54; III:8, 11, 24, 48, 67, 72; IV:14, 17, 31; I:61, 63; IV:52; (words or groups of words) II:4; III:30; IV:4 (?), 6; I:59, 61, 66, 67; IV:50, 51).

3. There are many corrections, erasures, and superscripts (16 examples of the latter: II:10, 25, 27, 39; III:27, 37, 52, 55, 58, 62; IV:17, 28, 31, 35; I:40; IV:48).

4. Sometimes words are not written in their proper position but as if it were too early (4 examples: II:20; III:12–13, 55–56; I:68). A quotation may explain what I mean. In *B* II:19–20 the copy reads “Istar of Hattarina, Pirwas, Asgasepas, (the mountain of) Piskurunuw, the gods and goddesses of Hatti-land, the mountains and rivers,” instead of “the gods and goddesses, mountains and rivers of Hatti-land” as in *A* and also elsewhere in *B*. Instead of “. . . (the mountain of) Takurga, the gods and goddesses, mountains and rivers of Hahana” (*A* II:44–45) *B* has “the gods and goddesses of Hahana, (the mountain of) Takurga, the mountains and rivers of Hahana” (III:12–13). It seems as if the scribe suddenly became aware of an omission and tried to correct his mistake.

5. At times a noun or a proper name is deformed under the influence of a preceding or even a following noun or name (three examples: II:63 [^{URU}*Šu-wa-an-zi-pa* under the influence of ^D*Šu-wa-an-zi-pa-aš* in the preceding line]; III:30 [^{URU}*Ik-šu-nu-wa* instead of ^{URU}*Ik-šu-na* in *A* II:63 (as supported by *IBoT* II 131 I:44) under the influence of two place names ending in *-uwa* in the preceding line]; III:50–51 [*tu-li-ia pi-di* under the influence of *pi-di tu-u-li-ia* in the following line]).

These types of mistakes and—especially the numbers, 1, 4, and 5—strongly suggest that the scribe of *B* was working under dictation apparently being unable to follow its

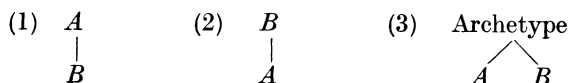
speed and as a consequence making precisely these errors. He left signs unfinished (1); sometimes he wrote down a word too early, because it had already been pronounced (4); preceding or following words colored the contents of his memory (5). Two formal characteristics of *B* support this conclusion:

I. The proportionally high number of syllabic writings versus logograms as compared to *A* (23 examples: I:2, 24, 28, 31, 37; III:48 [3], 49, 52, 58, 63, 65, 67, 68, 70; IV:10, 20, 40; I:41, 42, 70; IV:52). To this number may be added two examples where *B* gives a syllabic writing of the genitive of the personal pronoun replacing the old possessive and *A* does not (two examples: I:23; IV:23; e.g. *šu-me-el ŠA ALAM-KU-NU* instead of simply *ŠA ALAM-KU-NU*, *B* I:23 = *A* I:22). These examples show that the scribe did not rely on a graphic representation of his original—in this period it is considered good custom to use a great variety of logograms—but was writing what he heard.

II. Comparing *B* to *A* again we find that after four paragraph-dividers have been disregarded completely (III:22, 25, 26, 27; see also IV: 50, 53) the scribe sometimes uses an abbreviation for it (III:30, 33, 36, 38; IV:14, 48). These examples show that the scribe was working in haste and under considerable stress.

A few variant readings of *B* which I did not mention so far may be explained as the result of the fact that the scribe misunderstood what was actually said: *an-tu-uh-ša-aš* (gen.) instead of *UN-az* (abl.) (*B* I:31 = *A* I:31); *hu-it-ta-aš* instead of *hu-it-na-aš* (*B* III:56 = *A* III:16) and *ši-ip-pa-ti* instead of *ši-ip-pa-an-ti* (*B* I:44 = *A* IV:7; *B* I:48 = *A* IV:12; *B* I:52 = *A* IV:17; *B* I:56 = *A* IV:22; *B* I:60 = *A* IV:27; *B* I:64 = *A* IV:32). Six times *B* reads *ne-pi-aš* instead of *ne-pi-ša-aš* (*B* III:48 = *A* III:10, see the remark below under *a*; *B* III:53 = *A* III:14; *B* III:59 [2] = *A* III:19 and 20; *B* III:62 = *A* III:23; *B* IV:20 = *A* III:51). Of the two possible explanations suggested to me by Güterbock—transfer into the *i*-class on the basis of a misunderstood nom. *nepiš* or “shorthand” abbreviation to be compared to *pi-an* instead of *pi-ra-an*—I would prefer the latter one, especially in view of the normal *ne-pi-ša-aš-ma-m[u]* in *B* IV:38. Instead of the correct *ŠA-BA* or *ŠA.BA*—the former transliteration being preferred by Goetze, Otten and others and the latter one by Güterbock—*B* consistently writes *ŠA-PA* or *ŠA.PA*, a mistake absent from *A* (*B* I:45, 49, 53, 61, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73). Whatever transliteration the modern scholar may prefer, it seems as if this mistake presupposes dictation and indicates that in these cases the sumerogram (or the akkadogram) was actually heard and misunderstood by the scribe. A syntactical variant also becomes clear: a wrong gen. plur. in *B* is replaced in *A* by the correct dat. plur. (*B* I:71, 73 = *A* IV:41, 43). In these instances—but *not* in *B* IV:52—the scribe of *B* apparently interpreted a plural form in *-aš* as gen. plur. while it was meant to be a dat. plur.: *EGIR-ŠU-ma 3 NINDA.KUR₄.RA BABBAR ŠA.PA 1 SA₅ ŠA HUR.SAG.MEŠ* (*A*: *A-NA HUR.SAG.MEŠ*) *pár-ši-ia* (*B* I:71 = *A* IV:41).

This evidence proves in my opinion that *B* was dictated, but that conclusion leaves the vital question when this happened unanswered. At this point the object of this enquiry—the problem of the relationship between the two copies *A* and *B*—should be stated in more precise terms. There are three possible solutions:



The first possibility can be eliminated: as stated above *A* presents a number of mistakes absent from *B* and the likelihood that these mistakes would have been corrected by the scribe who wrote *B* is very slight indeed, particularly in view of the fact that in general *B* is inferior to *A*. In other words these mistakes are *errores separativi* in the sense given to that term in Classical Philology ("Die Unabhängigkeit eines Zeugen (*B*) von einem anderen (*A*) wird erwiesen durch einen Fehler von *A* gegen *B*, der so beschaffen ist, dass er, nach unserem Wissen über den Stand der Konjekturekritik in der Zeit zwischen *A* und *B*, in dieser Zeit nicht durch Konjektur entfernt worden sein kann. Solche Fehler mögen 'Trennfehler' heissen [*errores separativi*]," P. Maas, *Textkritik*⁴ [Leipzig, 1960], p. 26). Not all the mistakes mentioned above would fall under this category, but *A* I:36 (omission of *tiyauwaš* and *humanteš* both partly preserved in *B* I:37), III:21 (omission of *kūš* preserved in *B* III:61), and IV:55 (omission of *utneyaš* preserved in *B* as KUR, B IV:52) could qualify in my opinion.

The third stemma would have been valid, if the scribes of both *A* and *B* had been writing under dictation from the same archetype or if *B* had been dictated and *A* had been copied visually from the same original. As far as I can see there is no evidence for the assumption that *A* would have been dictated. Some of my arguments that it was rather *B* that was dictated were in fact based on the contrast between *A* and *B*. This is why I would prefer the second alternative. But also the third stemma can be ruled out on account of the fact that *A* and *B* share a few common mistakes, *errores coniunctivi*, establishing that *B* is underlying *A* (usually *errores coniunctivi* serve to connect two manuscripts with one another in contrast to a third, but "Es gibt auch eine Art von Leitfehlern, aus denen die Abhängigkeit eines Zeugen von einem anderen unmittelbar hervorgeht," P. Maas, *op. cit.*, p. 27). The particularities referred to below under (a) and (b) could have been inherited from an archetype and would still be consistent with stemma 3, but the material mentioned under (c) points decisively to the second possibility.

(a) Both copies share a crux: in the parallel lines *A* II:26 = *B* II:66 a divine name is hard to read in both copies; *A* II:26 sign(s) over erasure; Gurney tentatively proposes "Sun-god," apparently reading ^PUTU-uš (*The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, p. 118, together with note 1); *B* has a sign (combination) that looks like IGI + URUDU but is otherwise unknown. Originally I suspected another common crux in the beginning of *A* III:10 = *B* III:48, where unfortunately both tablets are broken, but Güterbock brought to my attention that this problem has been solved long ago by Forrer in *ZDMG*, LXXVI (1922), 244: in *A* III: 10 one should read [A]N-aš and in *B* III:48 [ne-p]i-aš. One may add that the usual reference to the "great sea" is missing at this point. Possibly this expression should indeed be inserted; in that case this passage could be quoted under (b) as another example of a common mistake.

(b) Both copies share a clear mistake writing both ^{HUR.SAG}Hu-wa-la-nu-wa-an-da (*A* II:38 = *B* III:7). It is known from other passages (especially from ^{HUR.SAG}Hu-ut-nu-wa-an-ta-aš in *KBo* IV 10 I:20) that this should have been ^{HUR.SAG}Hu-wa-at-nu-wa-an-da.

(c) Copy *A* shows a number of erasures (*A* I:14–15, 22, 59–60; II:5, 44; IV:37) and for some of these it seems as if an actual reading of *B* was first accepted into the text and then erased at a later stage: I:22, what is still visible could point to [e]l, the last syllable of *šu-me-el*, *B*'s syllabic writing of the genitive of the personal pronoun referred to above; I:59–60, *B* II:24 has a strange ^PLİL; *A* I:59 has an erasure; one would expect

^DLAMA.LIL as elsewhere next to ^DLAMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš* (cf. *KBo* I 1 II:44 = Weidner *PD* 1, 30; *Man. B* IV:8–9 = *Staatsv.* II, 14; and probably *Huqq.* I:49 = *Staatsv.* II, 112); in I:60 one might try to “restore” the erasure as [^D*Zi-it-ḥa-ri-i*]a-aš, the divine name actually preserved in *B* II:25; apparently the scribe should have written the usual DINGIR.LÚ.MEŠ DINGIR.SAL.MEŠ, did erase the wrong word but failed to make the right correction; II:5, for this passage *B* II:48 reads ^{DINGIR.SAL}*A-la-aš*, while *A* has ^{DINGIR.SAL}*A-la-a-aš* but that reading seems to have been erased, rightly since the spelling should have been ^{DINGIR.SAL}*A-a-la-aš* (cf. Laroche, *Recherches*, p. 78); II:44, “restore” the erasure to ŠA ^{URU}*Ḥa-ḥa-na* (this place name is wrongly written twice in *B* III:12–13); IV:37, “restore” the erasure to ŠA, cf. the mistake ŠA ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-i ^{DU}*pi-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ši* in *B* I:68. These examples show that *A* is a careful copy based on *B* and that the scribe made a conscious attempt to correct *B*’s errors and to improve the text. I would like to add, however, that I am unable to explain what happened in *A* I:14–15. Results of a similar editorial activity are visible in *A* IV:18–19 = *B* I:53–54 and *A* IV:23–24 = *B* I:57–58 where the scribe changed the word order. It is remarkable that he omitted a similar change somewhat earlier in the text, *A* IV:3–4 = *B* I:40–41.

In view of this it seems preferable to interpret the passage cited under (a) as evidence for the fact that *A*’s scribe visually copied *B*. The confusion between *at* and *la*—close to one another anyhow—could be ascribed to the same cause (b). Now we may try to answer the question formulated above: when was *B* dictated? It could very well be that a valuable clue is hidden in *B*’s different arrangement of the two lists and the two invocations. This different arrangement could have been caused by the fact that *B* was dictated at the very moment that the text was composed. In that case *B* would represent an original draft and *A* the corrected version in which the invocations and the lists of offerings were grouped together. It is in fact plausible that *B* was an eventually discarded original and *A* the “revised edition,” since we have already concluded that *A*’s scribe apparently tried to correct the text. An interchange of two components implies a truly editorial activity and would be in line with this earlier conclusion. The other differences between *A* and *B* are in favor of the hypothesis: one Luwian gloss was removed (but another in *A* III:52 was left untouched); one stylistic change was made; a few prominal forms were replaced; very many errors were eliminated. It is only natural that in the midst of all this the scribe made a few mistakes of his own (the *errores separativi* used to eliminate stemma 1 as well as the minor mistakes enumerated at the beginning of this paper). As is to be expected the small fragment of copy *C* (*KUB* XII 35) is based on the “revised edition” (in a total of eleven very poorly preserved lines it sides with *A* against *B* on four points; in line 6 it differs from both).

This article consists of a slightly expanded treatment of the major problem dealt with in my paper “The Royal Prayers of Muwatallis.” All the necessary philological details have been added. At this place I would like to thank Professor H. G. Güterbock most heartily for this very helpful criticism on both the original and the later version.