

TRANSLATORS AND ANNOTATORS

W. F. Albright, Johns Hopkins University  
Robert D. Biggs, University of Chicago  
J. J. Finkelstein, Yale University  
H. L. Ginsberg, Jewish Theological Seminary  
Albrecht Goetze, Yale University  
A. K. Grayson, University of Toronto  
A. Jamme, W.F., The Catholic University  
S. N. Kramer, University of Pennsylvania  
†Theophile J. Meek, University of Toronto  
William L. Moran, S.J., Harvard University  
A. Leo Oppenheim, University of Chicago  
†Robert H. Pfeiffer, Harvard University  
Erica Reiner, University of Chicago  
Franz Rosenthal, Yale University  
A. Sachs, Brown University  
†E. A. Speiser, University of Pennsylvania  
†Ferris J. Stephens, Yale University  
John A. Wilson, University of Chicago

ANCIENT  
NEAR EASTERN TEXTS

*Relating to the Old Testament*

EDITED BY  
JAMES B. PRITCHARD

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# Hittite Myths, Epics, and Legends

TRANSLATOR: ALBRECHT GOETZE<sup>1</sup>

## The Moon that Fell from Heaven

Text: *KUB*, xxviii, 5 and its duplicate 4; the text is bilingual, in Hittite and Hittite. Literature: J. Friedrich, *AfO*, xi (1936/37) 76 f.; H. Th. Bossert, *Asia* (Istanbul, 1947), 164 ff.

(10) The Moon-god<sup>2</sup> (Hattic: *Kašku*) fell down from heaven. He fell upon the *kilammar*. But no one saw him. The Storm-god<sup>3</sup> (Hattic: *Taru*) sent rain after him, he sent rainstorms after him so that fear seized him (and) fright seized him.

(15) Hapantalliyas (Hattic: *Hapantalli*) went and took his place at his side so as to bespeak him. Kamrusepas (Hattic: *Katahziwuri*) saw what had fallen from heaven speaking as follows: "The Moon-god (Hattic: *Kašku*) has fallen from heaven. He fell upon the *kilammar*."

(20) "The Storm-god (Hattic: *Taru*) saw him and he sent rain after him, he sent rainstorms after him, he sent the winds after him so that fear seized him (and) fright seized him."

Hapantalliyas (Hattic: *Hapantalli*) went and took his place at his side (25) so as to bespeak him: "What art thou going to do? ..."

## Kingship in Heaven

Text: *KUB*, xxxiii, 120. Literature: E. Forrer, *Eine Geschichte des Götterkönigtums aus dem Hatti-Reiche* (*Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales*, iv [1936], 687-713); H. G. Güterbock, *Kumarbi Efsanesi* (Ankara, 1945), 11-16; the same, *Kumarbi, Mythen vom churritischen Kronos* (Zürich-New York, 1946), 6-12; the same, *AJA*, LII (1948), 123-125; H. Otten, *Mythen vom Gotte Kumarbi* (Berlin, 1950), 5-13.

(i) [Let there listen the gods who are in heaven] and those who are in the dark earth! Let there listen the mighty [ol]den gods, Naras, [Napsaras, Mink]is (and) Ammunkis! Let there listen Ammezadus [and the gods of the olden days, the god]s' fathers (and) mothers!

(5) Let there listen [Anus, Ant]us (and) Isharas, the fathers (and) mothers! Let there listen Ellilas, [Ninlilas and] also those who are mighty (and) firmly established gods! ... —Once in the olden days Alalus was king in heaven. (As long as) Alalus was seated on the throne, the mighty Anus, first among the gods, (10) was stand-

ing before him. He would sink at his feet and set the drinking cup in his hand.

Nine in number were the years that Alalus was king in heaven. In the ninth year Anus gave battle to Alalus and he vanquished Alalus. He fled before him and *went* down to the dark earth. (15) Down he went to the dark earth, but Anus took his seat upon the throne. (As long as) Anus was seated upon the throne, the mighty Kumarbis would give him his food. He would sink at his feet and set the drinking cup in his hand.

Nine in number were the years that Anus was king in heaven. In the ninth year Anus gave battle to Kumarbis and *like* Alalus Kumarbis gave battle (20) to Anus. (When) he could no longer withstand Kumarbis' eyes, (he) Anus, he struggled forth from the hands of Kumarbis. He fled, (he) Anus; (like) a bird he moved in the sky. After him rushed Kumarbis, seized (him) Anus, by his feet and dragged him down from the sky.

(25) He (Kumarbis) bit his "knees" and his manhood *went down* into his inside. When it lodged there, (and) when Kumarbis had swallowed Anus' manhood, he rejoiced and laughed. Anus turned back to him, to Kumarbis he began to speak: "Thou rejoicest over thine inside, because thou hast swallowed my manhood."

(30) "Rejoice not over thine inside! In thine inside I have planted a heavy burden. Firstly I have impregnated thee with the noble *Storm-god*. Secondly I have impregnated thee with the river Aranzahas,<sup>2</sup> not to be endured. Thirdly I have impregnated thee with the noble Tasmisus.<sup>3</sup> Three dreadful gods have I planted in thy belly as *seed*. Thou shalt go (35) and end by striking the rocks of thine own mountain with thy head!"

When Anus had finished speaking, he w[ent] up to heaven and hid himself. Out of his mouth spat [Kumarbis], the wise king. Out of his mouth he spat ... [ ... ] (40) mixed with. ... That which Kumarbis spat out, [fell on] Mount Kanzuras; [ ... ] an awesome god therein.

Filled with fury Kumarbis went to Nipp[ur],<sup>4</sup> ... ]. At the *lordly* ... [ ... ] he settled down. Kumarbis did not [ ... ] (while) he counts [the months<sup>5</sup>]. The seventh month ca[me ... ].

(lower third of column i missing)

(Columns ii and iii are in the worst possible state of preservation. This makes it very difficult to follow the course of events. What is offered here, is far from certain. For the most part I have to limit myself to a paraphrase

<sup>1</sup> This is a euphemism for "male parts."

<sup>2</sup> The Hurrian name of the Tigris.

<sup>3</sup> Later (see below, The Song of Ullikummi) Tasmisus is the attendant of the Storm-god.

<sup>4</sup> The Mesopotamian city which was the center of the Sumero-Akkadian cult of Ellil.

<sup>5</sup> i.e. the months of pregnancy.

of such sections as seem intelligible. The main theme of column ii is the birth of the Storm-god.)

(Anus addresses the Storm-god who is still unborn inside Kumarbis and advises him of the various parts of Kumarbis' body through which he may come forth [ii 1-3].

(The Storm-god answers from within Kumarbis: "Long life to thee! lord of the well-spring of wisdom! ... The earth will give me its strength, the sky will give me its valor, Anus will give me his manliness, Kumarbis will give me his wisdom, Naras will give me his ... , Napsaras will give me his ... ." The giving of the bull Seris,<sup>6</sup> a wagon or chariot and of other objects is also mentioned. It seems as though the Storm-god speaks of his future greatness and promises Anus to revenge him [ii 4-22].

(Anus repeats his advice as to the places from which the Storm-god may come forth, among them Kumarbis' mouth and the "good place" [ii 23-28].

(The Storm-god replies: "... If I come forth from his ... , it will *derange* (my) mind. If I come forth from his ... , it will defile me at that spot, ... it will defile me at the ear. ... If I come forth from the 'good place,' a woman will ... me." In the following the Storm-god, it seems, is forewarned of what will happen, if he should come forth by rending asunder Kumarbis' *tarnassas* [ii 29-38].

("As he walked along and took his place before Ayas,<sup>7</sup> Kumarbis became [*dizzy*] and collapsed. ... Kumarbis began to speak to Ayas: 'Give me my son, I want to devour [my son]!'." Indeed it seems that Kumarbis received something to eat. However it hurts his mouth and he begins to moan [ii 39-54].

(On Kumarbis' complaint Ayas advises him to call in certain experts: "Let them go (and) summon the 'poor'! Let the 'poor' work magic on the heroes, the lords (and) the bulls for thee! Let the 'poor' bring sacrifices of meal for thee!" This then is done [ii 55-70].

("They began to work magic [on him] with [ ... ], they kept bringing sacrifices of meal to him, they kept [ ... ]. From the *tarnassas* [he wanted to come forth, but] they made Kumarbis' [*tarnassas*] secure. [Thus from the 'good pl]ace' came forth the valiant Storm-god" [ii 71-75].

(The birth of the Storm-god is completed and reported to Anus [ii 76-87].

(gap)

(Anus plots to destroy Kumarbis with the help of the Storm-god [iii 2-18].

(The Storm-god prepares for battle [iii 19-29].

(The outcome of the battle is not narrated on the preserved part of the tablet. Apparently the two other children that developed from Anus' "manhood" that Kumarbis' had spat out upon the earth also played a role therein [their birth being narrated in col. iv]. At any

<sup>6</sup> One of the two bulls sacred to the Storm-god.

<sup>7</sup> This is the Hittite-Hurrian pronunciation of the Sumerian name Ea.

event, we have to assume that the Storm-god defeated Kumarbis and took over the kingship in heaven.)

## The Song of Ullikummi

The texts are mentioned under the respective sections. Literature: H. G. Güterbock, *Kumarbi Efsanesi* (Ankara, 1945); the same, *Kumarbi, Mythen vom churritischen Kronos* (Zürich-New York, 1946); the same, *AJA*, LII (1948), 125-130; also A. Goetze, *JAOs*, 69 (1949), 178-183; H. Otten, *Mythen vom Gotte Kumarbi, Neue Fragmente* (Berlin, 1950); H. G. Güterbock, *The Song of Ullikummi* (New Haven, 1952). Güterbock offers a full reconstruction of the preserved parts of the composition.

(1-a) *KUB*, xxxiii, 96 i + Otten, No. 8.

[Of the god who ... ], in whose mind there are wise thoughts, and who thinks them out in his mind [ ... ], of the father of all gods, of Kumarbis let me sing!

Kumarbis thinks out wise thoughts in his mind. He nurses the thought of (creating) misfortune (and) an evil being. He plots evil against the Storm-god. He nurses the thought of (raising up) a rival for the Storm-god.

Kumarbis thinks out wise thoughts in his mind and strings them together like beads.

When Kumarbis had thought out the wise thoughts in his mind, he instantly rose from his seat. He took his staff in his hand, put swift shoes on his feet. He set forth from Urkis,<sup>1</sup> his city, and betook himself to the ... [ ... ].

In the ... a great rock lies. Her<sup>2</sup> length is three double-hours, her width is [ ... double-hours] and a half. ... His desire was aroused and he slept with the rock. His manhood [flowed] into her; five times he took her, [ ... ]; ten times he took her. ...

(1-b) *KUB*, xvii, 7 + xxxiii, 93 ii

(Imbaluris, Kumarbis' messenger, is being instructed:) ["Go to the Sea and tell her: ' ... ' Kumarbis must remain father of the gods!"] [When Imbaluris] saw (that) Kumarbis [had finished (?)], he walked on to the Sea.

[Imbaluris] began [to] re[peat] the words to the Sea: "The words which my lord has [told me to say, I want to pass on] to the Sea. I have [them] committed [to memory: ' ... ; Ku]marbis must remain father of the gods!"

[When the Sea] heard [Imbaluris' words, [the Sea] began to reply to [Imbaluris:] "[Listen, O Imbaluris! and to the wo]rds which [I am speaking] to thee, [give] ear! [Go (and)] speak firm [words to Kumarbis: 'Why hast thou come in anger], Kumarbis? [Turn in favor] back to my house! Fear [has seized the hou]se. ... '"

(1-c) *KUB*, xxxiii, 98 ii 1-30 and duplicate *KUB*, xxxiii, 102 ii 1-37

Imbaluris began to answer the Sea: "Kumarbis shall

<sup>1</sup> A city in Hurrian territory probably east of the Tigris.

<sup>2</sup> The rock is imagined as a woman.

<sup>1</sup> The nature of this publication has made it necessary to be liberal with restorations and to adopt sometimes rather free translations. Some scholars may feel that on occasion I have gone beyond the justifiable in this respect. It gives me great pleasure to express here my thanks to Prof. R. A. Crossland, who has greatly assisted me in putting my translations in adequate English. For a general discussion of Hittite texts see Introduction, pp. xvii-xviii.

<sup>2</sup> These translations are a makeshift. The real names of the gods are not known to us since they are always written with the respective ideograms.

forever remain the father of the gods." The Sea answers Imbaluris: "Listen to these my words, and go to impress them upon Kumarbis!"

"Go and speak to Kumarbis: 'Why hast thou come in anger toward (my) house? Fear has seized the house, and fright the house-slaves. For thee cedarwood is already split, food is already prepared. The musicians hold their instruments in readiness for thee day and night. So arise and come to my house!'" He arose, (he) Kumarbis, and Imbaluris walked before him. Kumarbis [came forth from his] house; he journeyed, (he) Kumarbis, and betook himself to the house of the Sea.

The Sea said: "For Kumarbis let them set up a seat to sit upon! Let them set up a table before him! Let them bring him food! Let them bring him beer to drink! The cooks brought dishes, the cupbearers brought sweet wine for him to drink. They drank once, they drank twice, they drank three times, they drank four times, they drank five times, they drank six times, they drank seven times. And Kumarbis began to speak to his vizier Mukisanus: "Mukisanus, my vizier! Give ear to the word I speak to thee! Take (thy) staff in (thy) hand, put (thy) shoes [on thy feet]! [From . . . set forth] and [betake thyself] to the Waters! [These words] [speak] in the presence of the Waters: '[ . . . ]'."

(1-d) KUB, xvii, 7 + KUB, xxxiii, 93 + 95 + 96 + Otten, Kumarbi, No. 7a and duplicates

. . . . When night [ . . . ; when night] stood in the [ . . . ] vigil [ . . . ; when night] stood [in the . . . vigil] . . . [ . . . ] stone [moved] stone. [ . . . ], they attended her when she gave birth [ . . . ] the Rock [ . . . ] forth [ . . . and] Kumarbis' son [made his] *appea[rance]*.

The [ . . . ] women brought him into the world; the Good-women and the Moth[er-goddesses] lifted the child and [placed] [him upon Kumarbis'] knees. [Kumarbis] began to fondle his son [and] let him dance up and down. He proceeded to give [the child] a propitious name!

Kumarbis began to say to his soul: "What name [shall I give] him? The child which the Good-women and the Mother-goddesses presented me, [for the reason that he] shot forth from (her) body (as) a shaft, let him go and [his] name be Ullikummis! Let him ascend to heaven for kingship! Let him vanquish Kummiya, the beautiful city! Let him attack the Storm-god and tear [him] to pieces like a mortal! Let him tread him under foot [like] an *ant*! Let him crush Tasmisus like a reed in the *brake*! Let him shoot down all the gods from the [sky] like birds and let him break them to pieces [like] empty pots!"

When Kumarbis [had finished] speak[ing] (these) words, [he began] to say to his soul: "To [whom] shall I give him, this child? Who will [take] him upon himself and *treat* him caringly? [Who will *hide*] him, [ . . . ] and [bring] him to the [dark] earth? The Sun-god [of Heaven and the . . .]-god must not see him! Not must [see him] the Storm-god of Kummiya, the

valiant king! They must not kill him! Not must see [him] Ishtar, the queen of Nineveh, the . . . woman! She must not crush him like a reed in the *brake*!"

Kumarbis began to speak [these words] to Imbaluris: "Imbaluris! To the words I speak [to thee] give ear! Take (thy) staff in (thy) hand and put swift shoes on thy [feet! *Set forth* and] go to the Irsirra deities! Tell the Irsirra deities these words of weighty import: 'Come ye here! Kumarbis, the father of the gods, [is call]ing you in! The errand on which he is calling you, [ye are not to know.] Come ye instantly!'

"[The Irsirra deities] shall take [him], (him) my son, and they [shall bring] him [down to the dark] earth. The Irsirra deities [shall *hide* him]. . . . Not must he see the fierce battles of the great gods."

(1-e) KUB, xxxiii, 98 iii and duplicate 102 iii (immediate continuation)

[When] Imbaluris [heard these words, he took] (his) staff in (his) hand, put [(his) shoes on (his) feet] and journeyed. Imbaluris betook himself [to the . . . Irsirra deities].

[Imbaluris] began to [speak these words] to the Irsirra deities: "Come ye here! Kumarbis, the father of the gods, [is calling] you. But the errand on which [he is calling] you, [ye are not to know]! Hasten and come!" When [the Irsirra deities] heard the words, [they hastened] (and) hurried. [They set forth and journeyed and they covered the distance without stopping a single time. They betook themselves to Kumarbis and Kumarbis began [to speak] to the Irsirra deities:

"[Take ye [this child] and treat him caringly! Bring him to the dark earth! [Ha]sten (and) hurry! Place him—a shaft—upon Ubelluris' right shoulder! In one day he shall increase a cubit, in one month he shall increase one acre. The stone which is added to his stature shall present an amazing spectacle. . . ."

(1-f and 1-g) KUB, xxxiii, 93 + 95 + 96 iv and duplicate 92 iii (immediate continuation)

When the Irsirra deities heard [the] words, they took [the child] from Kumarbis' knees. The Irsirra deities lifted the child and pressed it to their breast like a cloth. They lifted him and placed him upon Ellil's knees. Ellil lifted his eyes and b[eheld] the child as it stood in his divine presence. His body was made of diorite.

Ellil began to speak to h[is min]d: "Who is that child whom the Good-women (and) the Mother-goddesses reared? No one among the great gods will see mightier battles. No one's vileness [equals] Kumarbis'. Just as Kumarbis raised the Storm-god, he has [now raised] this awesome diorite man as his rival."

When Ellil [had finished] his words, [the Irsirra deities] took the child and placed it—a shaft—upon Ubelluris' right shoulder.

The diorite grows, the strong [*water's*] make him grow. In one day he increases one cubit, in one month

\* A kind of giant carrying the world on his shoulders, like Atlas.

he increases one acre. The stone which is added to his stature presents an amazing spectacle.

When the 15th day came, the stone had grown high. He [was standing] in the sea with his knees (as) a shaft. It stood out above the water, the stone, and in height it (was) like [a pillar]. The sea reached up to its belt like a (loin)cloth. Like a tower the stone is raised up and reaches up to the temples and the *kuntarra* house<sup>4</sup> in heaven.

The Sun-god *looked* down from the sky and *caught sight* of Ullikummis. Ullikummis too *saw* the Sun-god. The Sun-god [said]: "What *vigorous* god [is standing there] in the sea? His body is not like (that of) the [other] gods."

The Sun-god of Heaven [descended(?)] and went out into the sea. [ . . . ]. The Sun-god laid his hand to his forehead [ . . . ]. In wrath he shook his fists.<sup>5</sup>

[Whe]n [the Sun-god of] Heaven had seen [Ullikummis], the Sun-god [entered] the *horizon* for a second time again, set forth [from . . . ] and [betook himself] to the Storm-god. [When he] saw the Sun-god coming, Tasmisus<sup>6</sup> [began to speak these words]: "Is this not the Sun-god of Heaven coming? The errand on which he is coming, that errand must be [momentous] . . . . It (must be) a grave vexation, [it] (must be) a grave [menace]. It fore[bodes] upheaval in heaven."<sup>7</sup>

The Storm-god began to speak to Tasmisus: "Let them set up [a seat for him on which to sit down]! Let them set a table from which to eat!"

No sooner had they spoken thus, than the Sun-god [reached] them. They set up a seat for him on which to sit down, but he [sat] not. They set a table (with food), but he served himself not. They gave him a cup, but he took not a drop.<sup>7</sup>

The god, the Storm-god, began to speak to the Sun-god: "Who is the bad chamberlain who set up a chair for thee and thou sattest not? Who is the bad table man who set a table (with food) and thou eatest not? Who is the bad cupbearer who gave [thee wine] and thou drankest not? [ . . . ]."

(There must have followed the Storm-god's report on what he had seen.)

(11-a) KUB, xxxiii, 87 + 113

[When these words] the Storm-god heard, in wrath [he sh]ook [his fists].<sup>8</sup> [To the Sun-god of Heaven] the Storm-god began to speak: "[On the table the bread] shall become pleasant, so eat thou! In [the cup the wine] shall become pleasant, so [drink thou! Eat and] satisfy thy hunger, drink and quench thy thirst! [Then m]ount [thy chariot] and ascend to heaven!" [When these words] the Sun-god of Heaven heard, [he] rejoiced in [his soul]. [The bread on the table] became pleasant, so he ate. [The wine in the cup] became

<sup>4</sup> Apparently the dwelling of the gods.

<sup>5</sup> Literally "his arms became lowered (to the side)."

<sup>6</sup> The Storm-god's personal attendant.

<sup>7</sup> Differently Friedrich, JCS, 1, 288.

pleasant, so he drank. He mounted [his chariot] and ascended to heaven.

After [the Sun-god's departure] the Storm-god thinks out wise thoughts in his mind. The Storm-god and Tasmisus took each other by the hands and [they set] forth from the *kuntarra*, the house of the gods. But Ishtar set out from heaven with . . . , and Ishtar spoke in her own mind: "where are they running to, the two brethren?" She . . . stopped, she Ishtar, and before the two brethren she stood up. They took one another by the hands and ascended Mount Hazzi<sup>8</sup> while the king of Kummiya set his eye, his eye he set on the awesome diorite man. He looked at the awesome diorite man and in wrath he shook his fists.

The Storm-god sat down on the ground, while tears streamed [from his eyes] as in water courses. With tears streaming from his eyes the Storm-god speaks the word: "Who can bear to look upon so vexatious a sight? Who will dare go and battle [against the monster]? Who can bear seeing his terrifying [ . . . ] . . . s?" Ishtar replies t[o the Storm-god, her brother]: "My brother! Is there *really* not a single . . . [ . . . ] to whom *sufficient* courage [has been] gi[ven]? Dost thou *really* not know the son whom [ . . . ] . . . [have] begotten? [ . . . ]."

(11-b) Otten, Kumarbi, No. 12 ii

Ishtar is singing and a . . . pebble from the sea she puts on. Out of the sea a great *wave* (rises) and the great wave speaks to Ishtar: "For whom waitest thou singing, for whom waitest thou filling your mouth with [*song*]? The man is deaf and hears not; in his eyes he is blind and sees not. He has no willing heart. Go away, O Ishtar, thy brother find while he has not yet become bold, while the skull of his head has not yet become dreadful!"

When Ishtar thus heard, she quenched [her song], harp and *galgaltur*<sup>9</sup> she threw away; the gold(en jewelry) [she discarded] and wailing she went [to . . . ]. (Ishtar reports to the Storm-god.)

(11-c) Otten, Kumarbi, No. 12 iii

(The Storm-god instructs Tasmisus): ". . . . Let them mix fodder, let them bring fine oil! Let them anoint Serisu's horns, let them plate with gold Tella's tail!<sup>10</sup> Let them turn the . . . , and let them provide them with strong . . . inside, but outside let them attach strong stones as a *head-piece*. Let them call out the thunder-storms which scatter the rocks for ninety *furlongs* . . . ! Let them call the rains (and) the winds! The lightning which flashes frightfully let them bring from the sleeping-chamber. Let them bring out the wagon and make it ready! Word bring me back!"

When Tasmisus the words heard, he hurried (and) hastened. Serisu [he drove up]<sup>11</sup> from Mount Imgarra. In the outer portal [he hitched] them. He brought fine oil and Serisu's [horns he anointed], Tella's tail he [plated with gold]. The . . . [he . . . ]ed, on the outside

\* 123d. from the pasture, Tella's [he drove up]

<sup>8</sup> Mount Casius near ancient Ugarit on the Mediterranean coast.

<sup>9</sup> A musical instrument.

he attached strong stones as a *head-piece*. [The thunder storms he called out which scatter the rocks] for [ninety furlongs . . . ].

(II-d) KUB, xxxiii, 113 iv + Otten, Kumarbi, Nos. 12 + 14 iv

. . . to fight he took a stand. Furthermore, his battle-gear he took, his wagon he took. From heaven he brought the clouds and the Storm-god set his face upon the diorite (man). He visualized him and in height he was [ . . . ], his height turned (out to be) . . . [ . . . ].

The Storm-god began to speak to Tasmisus: ". . . ." (The continuation shows that the battle was undecisive.)

(III-a) KUB, xxxiii, 106 i

When the gods heard the word, [they . . . ]. They made ready their wagons and handed [ . . . to . . . ]. Astabis<sup>11</sup> jumped [upon his wagon like a . . . ] and [drove] the wagon to [ . . . ]. He gathered the chariots together [ . . . ] and thundered the while, he Astabis. Amid thunder Astabis let [a . . . ] down into the sea. [With] the [ . . . ] they drew [up the water].<sup>12</sup> Astabis [ . . . ] and the seventy gods held [the . . . ]. Yet he could not [ . . . ]. As[tabis . . . ] and the seventy gods [tumbled] down into the sea. The diorite man [stayed unchanged], his body [even grew taller]. He made the heaven tremble and made [the earth shak]e. He [pushed upward] the sky like an empty garment. The diorite man increased in height [ . . . ]. Before [ . . . his height was] 1,900 leagues as he stood [upon the dark ear]th. Like a tower he was lifted up, (he) the diorite man, so that he reached up to the *kuntarra* house. [Altogether] his height was 9,000 leagues, that diorite man, and his girth 9,000 leagues. He stood [over] the gate of Kummiya like [a . . . ]. He, the diorite man, made Hebat<sup>13</sup> leave her temple. Hence Hebat could no longer hear the message of the gods, nor could she see with her eyes the Storm-god and Suwaliyattas.<sup>14</sup>

Hebat began to speak this word to Takitis:<sup>15</sup> "I cannot hear the mighty word of the Storm-god. Nor can I hear the message of Suwaliyattas and of all the gods. Should that being whom they call Ullikummis, the diorite man, have vanquished my [husband] the mighty [Storm-god]?"

Hebat began to speak this word to Takitis: "O Takitis, listen! Take thy staff in thy hand, put swift shoes on thy feet! Go and [call] the gods into a[ssembly!] The diorite man may have killed [my husband, the no]ble king. [Bring] n[ews back] to me!"

[When Takitis heard Hebat's words], he hastened (and) hu[rried. . . ] was stretched. [ . . . ] he goes, but there is no road. [He could not get through], so he [returned] to Hebat.

<sup>10</sup> Serisu and Tella are the Storm-god's two bulls.

<sup>11</sup> The Hurrian Warrior-god who was identified with Zamama or Ninurta.

<sup>12</sup> This seems to be an attempt at preventing the monster's growth by depriving it of the water in which it is standing.

<sup>13</sup> The Storm-god's wife.

<sup>14</sup> A warrior-god, probably brother of the Storm-god.

<sup>15</sup> Hebat's messenger.

[Takitis be]gan [to speak to Hebat]: . . . [ . . . ]. (Considerable gap, in which apparently the defeat of the Storm-god was related.)

(III-b) KUB, xxxiii, 106 ii

[Whe]n Tasmisus heard the Storm-god's words, he rose instantly, [took] his staff in his hand, put swift shoes on his feet and went forth to the high watch-tower. Facing Hebat he took [his stand] (saying): "In a lowly place [my lord will have to stay] until he has fulfilled the years ordained for him." When Hebat saw Tasmisus, she barely missed falling from the roof. She would have fallen down, but her girls caught her and stopped her (falling). When Tasmisus had ended speaking his word, he descended from the watchtower and went to the Storm-god. Tasmisus began to speak to the Storm-god: "Where shall we sit down?—on Mount Kandurna? [While] we sit on Mount Kandurna, someone else will be seated on Mount Lalapaduwa. [If] we move anywhere else, there will be no king in heaven."

Tasmisus began to speak to the Storm-god: "My lord! Harken to my words! To the words I am telling thee give ear! Come! Let us go before Ea to Apsu,<sup>16</sup> let us ask for the old tablets with the words [of fate]! [When] we arrive at the door of Ea's house [we shall bow] to Ea's doors [five times, and] we shall bow to Ea's . . . five times. [But when] we arrive [before E]a (himself), we shall bow down to Ea (himself) fifteen times. [By then] Ea's [heart] will perhaps have been *softened* and Ea [will] perhaps [listen] and do us a favor. He will hand over to us the old [ . . . tablets]."

[When the Storm-god] heard [Tasmisus'] words, he hastened (and) hurried. Instantly he rose from his seat. [The Storm-god] and [Tasmisus] took each other by the hand, covered the distance without stopping a single time and [arrived] in Apsu. [When the Storm-god] came [to the entrance of] Ea's house, [he bowed at] the front [door five times], [and at] their [ . . . ] . . . he bowed five times. [But before Ea (himself) he] bowed [fifteen] times.

(III-c) KUB, xxxiii, 106 iii

[Ea . . . ], further[more . . . ]. They<sup>17</sup> [took each other] by the hand [and . . . ] until [they . . . ]. From the assembly [he went to Ellil]. [As he] began to lament, [Ellil began to speak to Ea:] "Long life to thee, Ea! [He] who worships [the gods, brings sacrifices to the gods, lavishes the fine and] soothing [cedarwood] on the gods—why hast thou [come to persecute] him?"

Ea [began to speak] to Ellil: ["Listen, Ellil! To the word [which I am telling thee give ear! Kumarbis has created] a rival to the Storm-god. [ . . . ] he has thrived and in height he is like a *pillar*, like [a tower] he is raised up [ . . . ]. [A rival] to thee [ . . . ] the olden [ . . . Doest thou know that *vig*orous [god]?" [ . . . , but E]llil [did not know him].

<sup>16</sup> Apsu, the watery deep where Ea is living, has become here a city.

<sup>17</sup> Ea and who? Perhaps the Storm-god.

[ . . . , ] Ea [began to speak to Ellil: "What] can I [say to thee?] He who [ . . . , will block off heaven and the gods'] holy houses."

When Ea [had ended his] wo[rds, he set forth and betook himself] to Ubelluris.<sup>18</sup> [ . . . ]. Ubelluris [lifted] (his) eyes [and beheld him]. Ubelluris [began to speak] to Ea: "Long life to thee, Ea! [What makes thee come] up [here?]" Ea wished] life to Ubelluris [ . . . ] and [ . . . ] Ubelluris [was standing on] the dark earth, he upon whom [ . . . ] . . . was built.

Ea began to speak [these words] to Ubelluris: "Knowest thou not, O Ubelluris? Did no one bring thee the news? Doest thou not know him, that *vigorous* god whom Kumarbis has fashioned to oppose the gods? or the *frightful* death which Kumarbis is plotting for the Storm-god? He is fashioning for him a rival who has thriven in the sea as a diorite stone. Doest thou not know him? Like a tower he is lifted up and has blocked off heaven, the holy houses of the gods, and Hebat. (Is it) because thou art far away from the dark earth, Ubelluris, (that) thou doest not know of that *vigorous* god?"

Ubelluris began to speak to Ea: "When they built heaven and earth upon me I did not know anything. When they came and severed the heaven from the earth with a cleaver, I did not know that either. Now my right shoulder is a little sore. But I do not know who that god is."

When Ea heard these words, he turned Ubelluris' shoulder as the diorite man stood upon Ubelluris' right shoulder like a shaft.

Ea began to speak to the olden gods the words: "Listen ye, olden gods, ye who know the olden words! Open ye the ancient storehouses of the fathers and forefathers! Let them bring the olden seals of the fathers and let them seal them up again with them afterward! Let them bring [for]th the olden copper *knife* with which they severed heaven from earth. Let them *cut* through the feet of Ullikummis, the diorite man, whom Kumarbis has fashioned as a rival to oppose the gods!"

(III-d) KUB, xxxiii, 106 iv

Tasmisus [ . . . ] was on his knees. [ . . . ] he began to speak [ : " . . . ] In his body [(is) . . . ]." His fists are thrust up, upon his head the hair [stands on end]. . . .

Ea began to speak to Tasmisus: "Move on! Thou wast assigned to my son<sup>19</sup> as [a . . . ]. My soul is sad. I have seen with mine own eyes the dead [people] on the [dark] earth; they (are) str[ewn about as] dust while [ . . . ] stand (around)."

[Ea] began to speak [to the gods]: "Firstly, I have crippled, [and secondly I have . . . ] the diorite man. Go ye and battle him again! [ . . . ] Let him no longer stand like a shaft!" Tasmisus [took courage] and began to [re]joice. He clapped his hands three times and up [to the gods he shouted and] they heard (him). He clapped again, and the Storm-god, the valiant king of Kummiya,

<sup>18</sup> The giant who carries the world on his shoulder and now also Ullikummis.

<sup>19</sup> i.e. the Storm-god.

[hea]rd (him). They came to the place of assembly. All the gods began to bellow like cattle against Ullikummis, the diorite man.

The Storm-god jumped upon his chariot like a . . . . With thunder he went down to the sea and engaged him in battle, the Storm-god the diorite man.

The diorite man began to speak to [the Storm-]god: "What shall I say to thee, O Storm-god? Keep fighting!" Of his mind [ . . . ] while he stands (there)in.

"What shall I say to thee, O Storm-god! [Keep fighting!] Before [ . . . ] string together (thy) wise thoughts like pearls! [Up to heaven] I shall go to assume the kingship. Kummiya [I shall *destroy*] and the *kuntarra* house I shall take over. The gods I shall [drive out from] hea[ven]."

(The closing lines are almost completely destroyed. They must have told how Ullikummis, despite his boasting, was defeated by the Storm-god.)

## The Myth of Illuyankas

Texts: KBo, III, 7 and its duplicates KUB, XII, 66, KUB, XVII, 5 and 6. Literature: H. Zimmern in Lehmann-Hass, *Textbuch zur Religionsgeschichte* (1922), 339 f.; A. H. Sayce, *JRAS*, 1922, 177-90; H. Zimmern, *Streitberg-Festgabe* (1924), 430-41; A. Götz, *Kulturgeschichte Kleinasien* (1933), 131 f.

### OLDER VERSION

(i) These are the words of Kellas, the "anointed"<sup>1</sup> of the Storm-god of Nerik. What follows is the cult legend of the *Purulli Festival*<sup>2</sup> of the Storm-god of Heaven, (the version which) they no longer tell: ←

(5) May the land flourish (and) prosper! May the land be (well) protected! If it flourishes (and) prospers, they will celebrate the *Purulli Festival*.

When the Storm-god and the Dragon Illuyankas (10) came to grips in Kiskilussa, the Dragon Illuyankas vanquished the Storm-god.

The Storm-god besought all the gods: "Come ye to my aid! Let Inaras prepare a celebration!" ←

(15) He made everything ready on a grand scale: amphorae of wine, amphorae of *marnuwan*, (and) amphorae of *walhi*.<sup>3</sup> The amphorae he had filled to the brim.

Inaras went to Zigaratta (and) encountered Hupasiyas, a mortal.

Thus spoke Inaras: "See, Hupasiyas! Such and such<sup>4</sup> I want to do. I would have thee aid me!"

Thus spoke Hupasiyas to Inaras: (25) "So be it! Let me sleep with thee, and I will come (and) fulfill thy wishes!" And he slept with her.

Inaras took Hupasiyas to the place and hid him. Inaras (ii 5<sup>5</sup>) put on her finery and lured the Dragon Illuyankas up from his lair: "See! I am holding a celebration. Come thou to eat and to drink!"

The Dragon Illuyankas came up with [his children]

<sup>1</sup> A priest.

<sup>3</sup> Alcoholic beverages.

<sup>4</sup> Lit.: this and this.

<sup>5</sup> From here on KUB, XVII, 5 offers the best text.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the New Year's festival.



(10) and they ate (and) drank. They drank every amphora dry and quenched their thirst.

Thereupon they are no longer able to descend to their lair. Hupasiyas came (15) and trussed the Dragon Illuyankas with a rope.

"The Storm-god came and killed the Dragon Illuyankas and the gods were with him.

Inaras built herself a house on a cliff (15) in the land of Tarukka. She made Hupasiyas live in that house. Inaras instructs him: "When I go to the country, thou shalt not look out of the window! If thou lookest out, thou mayest see thy wife and thy children."

When twenty days had passed, that man opened the window and [he saw] his wife and his children.

(25) When Inaras came home from the country, he began to moan: "Let me go home!"

(ii) Thus spoke Ina[ras to Hupasiyas]: "Thou shalt [not] open the [window again]!" She [killed him] in the quarrel and the Storm-god sowed *sahlū*<sup>8</sup> [over the ruins of the house]. That man [came to a] grievous end].

(15) Inaras [returned] to Kiskil[ussa. But] her house . . . she placed . . . [in] the hand of the king. From the time on that we celebrated the first *Purulli* Festival, the hand of [the king has been supreme] in the . . . of Inaras.

(There follow two more sections before a break. The word "rain" seems to play an important part in them.)

#### LATER VERSION

iii<sup>9</sup> [This is the way in] which [ . . . ] told it [later]: The Dragon Illuyankas vanquished the Storm-god and took (his) heart and (his) eyes away from him. The Storm-god [sought to revenge himself] upon him.

He took the daughter of the poor man (5) for his wife and he begat a son. When he grew up, he took the daughter of the Dragon Illuyankas in marriage.

The Storm-god instructs his son: (10) "When thou goest to the house of thy wife, ask them for (my) heart and (mine) eyes!"

When he went there, he asked them for (the) heart and they gave that to him. (15) Later he asked for (the) eyes, and they gave him those too. He brought them to the Storm-god, his father. Thus the Storm-god got back his heart and his eyes.

(20) When his frame had been restored to its old state, he left to the Sea for battle. When he had engaged the Dragon Illuyankas in battle, (25) he came close to vanquishing him. But the son of the Storm-god, who was with Illuyankas, shouted up to heaven to his father:

"Count me as with (him)! (30) Spare me not!" So the Storm-god killed the Dragon Illuyankas and his son too. In this way the Storm-god got even with the Dragon Illuyankas.

(After a considerable break a quite enigmatic text follows in col. iv. It seems to tell us about a procedure

<sup>6</sup> From here on *KUB*, xvii, 6 is followed.

<sup>7</sup> Second column of *KBo*, iii, 7.

<sup>8</sup> A weed commonly found on ruins.

<sup>9</sup> Third column of *KBo*, iii, 7.

by which the rank and the order of the gods were established. The most significant verb in the text is *pu-u-ul(-)tiyanzi*; it may contain an etymology of the name of the *Purulli* Festival. Unfortunately its meaning is not clear; the context suggests "compete" or "race" as a possibility.)

All the gods arrive (15) and they *compete*. Of all the gods Zashapunas of Kastama was the greatest. Because Zalanuisas is his wife, and Tazzuwasis his concubine, (20) they made these three live in Tanipiyas.

(An estate is endowed for them there.)

## The Telepinus Myth

Texts: The main text is *KUB*, xvii, 10. Numerous additional fragments of a similar character have been edited and classified by H. Otten in *KUB*, xxxiii. The same author has dealt with the whole material in great detail in his book *Die Überlieferungen des Telepinu-Mythus* (*MVAG*, xlvi/1 [1942]). He assigns the surviving material to four different versions. A similar tale is also associated with the Storm-god. Literature: Besides the book just quoted, the translation of the main text by A. Götz in *Kultgeschichte Kleinasien* (1933), 134 ff.; 2nd ed. (1957), 143 f. is still of interest; Otten's book does not deal with the main text.

### a. The God's Anger, His Disappearance and Its Consequences

(The upper third of the tablet, about 20 lines, is broken off. It probably told the reasons for the god's anger.)

(i) Telepinus [flew into a rage and shouted:] "There must be no inter[ference]!" In his agitation he tried to put [his right shoe] on his left foot and his left [shoe on his right foot]. . . . [ . . . ]

(5) *Mist* seized the windows, smoke seized the house. In the fireplace the logs were stifled, at the altars the gods were stifled, in the fold the sheep were stifled, in the stable the cattle were stifled. The sheep neglected its lamb, the cow neglected its calf.

(10) Telepinus walked away and took grain, (fertile) breeze, . . . and satiation to the country, the meadow, the *steppes*. Telepinus went and lost himself in the *steppe*; *fatigue* overcame him. So grain (and) spelt thrive no longer. So cattle, sheep and man no longer (15) breed. And even those with young cannot bring them forth.

The *vegetation* dried up; the trees dried up and would bring forth no fresh shoots. The pastures dried up, the springs dried up. In the land famine arose so that man and gods perished from hunger. The great Sun-god arranged for a feast and invited the thousand gods. They ate, (20) but they did not satisfy their hunger; they drank, but they did not quench their thirst.

### b. The Search for the Vanished God

The Storm-god became anxious about Telepinus, his son: "Telepinus, my son, (he said) is not here. He has

flown into a rage and taken (with him) every good thing." The great gods and the lesser gods began to search for Telepinus. The Sun-god sent out the swift Eagle (saying): "Go! Search every high (25) mountain!"

"Search the deep valleys! Search the watery depth!" The Eagle went, but he could not find him. Back to the Sun-god he brought his message: "I could not find him, him, Telepinus, the noble god." The Storm-god said to Hannahannas<sup>1</sup>: "What shall we do? (30) We shall die of hunger." Hannahannas said to the Storm-god: "Do something, O Storm-god! Go! Search for Telepinus thyself!"

The Storm-god began to search for Telepinus. In his city he [knock]s at the gate, but he is not there and opens not. He broke open his bolt and his lock, [but he has no luck], the Storm-god. So he gave up and sat down to rest. Hannahannas (35) sent [out the Bee]: "Go! Search thou for Telepinus!"<sup>2</sup>

[The Storm-god s]aid [to Hannahannas]: "The great gods (and) the lesser gods have searched for him, but [did not find] him. Shall then this [Bee] go out [and find him]? Its wings are small, it is small itself. Shall they admit that it is greater than they?"

<sup>3</sup>Hannahannas said to the Storm-god: "Enough! It will go (and) find him." Hannahannas sent out the little Bee: "Go! Search thou for Telepinus! When thou findest him, sting him on his hands (and) his feet! Bring him to his feet! Take wax and wipe his eyes and his feet, purify him and bring him before me!"

The Bee went away and searched . . . the streaming rivers, and searched the murmuring springs. The honey within it gave out, [the wax within it] gave out. Then [it found] him in a meadow in the grove at Lihzina. It stung him on his hands and his feet. It brought him to his feet, it took wax and wiped his eyes (and) his feet, [it purified him] and [ . . . ].

[Telepinus . . . ] declares: "For my part I <sup>was sudden</sup> ~~had flown~~ <sup>into a rage</sup> [and walked away. How dare] ye a[rouse me] from my sleep? How dare ye force me to talk when <sup>sudden</sup> ~~enraged~~?" He grew [still more infu]riated. [He stopped] the murmuring springs, he diverted the flowing rivers and made them flow over their banks. He [blocked off] the clay pits, he shattered [the windo]ws, he shattered the houses.

He had men perish, he had sheep and cattle perish. [It came to] pass that the gods [*despaire*]d (asking): "Wh[y has Te]lepinus become [so infu]riated? [Wh]at shall we do? [What] shall we do?"

[The great Sun-god(?)?) decl]ares: "[Fetch ye] man! Let him [t]ake the spring Hattara on mount Ammuna [as . . . ]! Let him (man) make him move! With the

<sup>1</sup> The name is ideographically written NIN.TU or MAH; she is the mother of the gods.

<sup>2</sup> For the text of this and the next section see Otten, *loc. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> The text of the end of the mythological part of the text is regained by combining *KUB*, xxxiii, 5 (and fragment Chantre), i.e. Otten's B, with *KUB*, xxxiii, 9 and 10, i.e. Otten's C. The reconstruction may not be correct as to its exact wording; it will, however, cover the course of events adequately.

eagle's wing let him make him move!" Let man make him move! With the eagle's wing [let man make him move]!"

(A gap follows in which Kamrusepas, the goddess of magic and healing, is commissioned to pacify Telepinus and to bring him back.)

### c. The Ritual

#### ENTREATY

(The beginning<sup>5</sup> is mutilated.)

(ii) "O Telepinus! [Here lies] sweet and soothing [cedar essence. Just as it is . . . ], [even so let] ~~the stifled~~ [be set right] again!"

"Here [I have] *upthrusting sap* [with which to purify thee]. (10) Let it [invigorate] thy heart and thy soul, O Telepinus! Toward the king [turn] in favor!"

"Here lies *chaff*. [Let his heart (and) soul] be *segregated* [like it]! Here lies an ear [of grain]. Let it attract his heart [(and) his soul]!"

"(15) Here lies sesame. [Let his heart (and) his soul] be *comforted* by it. Here [lie] figs. Just as [figs] are sweet, even so let Te[lepinus] heart (and) soul] become sweet!"

"Just as the olive [holds] oil within it, [as the grape] (20) holds wine within it, so hold thou, Telepinus, in (thy) heart (and thy) soul good feelings [toward the king]!"

"Here lies *ointment*. Let it anoint Telepin[us] heart (and) soul! Just as malt (and) malt-loaves are harmoniously fused, even so let thy soul be in harmony with the affairs of mankind! [Just as spelt] (25) is clean, even so let Telepinus' soul become clean! J[ust as] honey is sweet, as cream is smooth, even so let Telepinus' soul become sweet and even so let him become smooth!"

"See, O Telepinus! I have now sprinkled thy ways with fine oil. So walk thou, Telepinus, over these ways that are sprinkled with fine oil! (30) Let *Jahis* wood and *happuriašaš* wood be at hand! Let us set thee right, O Telepinus, into whatever state of mind is the right one!"

Telepinus came in his fury. Lightning flashed, it thundered while the dark earth was in turmoil. (35) Kamrusepas saw him. The eagle's wing made him move out there. It took off him (iii) the rage, it took off him the anger, it took off him [the ire], it took off him the fury.

#### KAMRUSEPAS' RITUAL OF PURIFICATION

Kamrusepas tells the gods: "Come ye, O gods! See! Hapantallis is shepherding the Sun-god's sheep. (5) Select ye twelve rams! I want to fix long days for Telepinus. I have taken death, one thousand eyes.<sup>6</sup> I have strewn about the selected sheep of Kamrusepas.

"Over Telepinus I have swung them this way and that. (10) From Telepinus' body I have taken the evil,

<sup>4</sup> A certain ritual.

<sup>5</sup> The rendered text is mainly that of *KUB*, xvii, 10 ii 6 ff.; at the beginning parallel texts are used for restoration.

<sup>6</sup> The meaning of this phrase is unclear.

I have taken the malice. I have taken the rage, I have taken the anger, I have taken the ire, I have taken the fury.

"When Telepinus was angry, his heart (and) his soul were stifled (like) firebrands. (15) Just as they burned these brands, even so let Telepinus' rage, anger, malice (and) fury burn themselves out! Just as [malt] is barren, (as) people do not bring it to the field to use it for seed, (as) people do not make it into bread (or) put it in the storehouse, even so let Telepinus' rage, [anger], (20) malice (and) fury become barren!

"When Telepinus was angry, [his heart (and) his soul] were a burning fire. Just as this fire [is quenched], even so let (his) rage, anger (and) fury [be quenched] too!

"O Telepinus, give up thy rage, [give up] thine anger, (25) give up thy fury! Just as (water in) a pipe flows not upward, even so let Telepinus' [rage, anger (and)] fury not [come] back!

"The gods [were gathered] in assembly under the *hatalkešnaš* tree. For the *hatalkešnaš* tree I have fixed long [years]. (30) All gods are now present, (including) the [*Is*] *tustayas*, the Good-women (and) the Mother-goddesses, the Grain-god; Miyatanzipas, Telepinus, Inaras, Hapantaliyas (and) the Patron of the field. For these gods I have fixed long years; I have purified him, [O Telepinus]!

(35) "[...] I have taken the evil [from] Telepinus' body, I have taken away his [rage], [I have taken away] his an[ger], I have taken away his [ire], [I have taken away] his fury, I have taken away his malice, [I have taken away his] ev[il]."

(small gap)

#### MAN'S RITUAL

(The beginning is lost, but Telepinus is addressed:)<sup>7</sup> "... (When) thou [departedst] from the *hatalkešnaš* tree on a summer day, the crop got *smutted*. (When) the ox departed [with thee], (iv)<sup>8</sup> thou *wastedst* its *shape*. (When) the sheep departed with thee, thou *wastedst* its form. O Telepinus, stop rage, anger, malice (and) fury!

<sup>7</sup> Text for the first few lines is taken from *KUB*, xxxiii, 54 13-15.

<sup>8</sup> Here the fourth column of *KUB*, xvii, 10 begins.

"(When) the Storm-god comes in his wrath, the Storm-god's priest (5) stops him. (When) a pot of food boils over, the (stirring) *spoon* stops it. Even so let the word of me, the mortal, stop Telepinus' rage, anger, and fury!

"Let Telepinus' rage, anger, malice, (and) fury depart! Let the house let them go, let the interior ... let them go, (10) let the window let them go! In the ... let the interior courtyard let them go, let the gate let them go, let the gateway let them go, let the road of the king let them go! Let it not go to the thriving field, garden (or) grove! Let it go the way of the Sun-god of the nether world!

"The doorkeeper has opened the seven doors, has unlocked the seven bolts. (15) Down in the dark earth there stand bronze cauldrons, their lids are of *abaru*-metal, their *handles* of iron. Whatever goes in there comes not out again; it perishes therein. Let them also receive Telepinus' rage, anger, malice (and) fury! Let them not come back!"

#### d. The God's Home-Coming

(20) Telepinus came home to his house and cared (again) for his land. The *mist* let go of the windows, the smoke let go of the house. The altars were set right for the gods, the hearth let go of the log. He let the sheep go to the fold, he let the cattle go to the pen. The mother tended her child, the ewe tended her lamb, (25) the cow tended her calf. Also Telepinus tended the king and the queen and provided them with enduring life and vigor.

Telepinus cared for the king. A pole was erected before Telepinus and from this pole the fleece of a sheep was suspended. It signifies fat of the sheep, it signifies grains of corn ... (and) (30) wine, it signifies cattle (and) sheep, it signifies long years of progeny.

It signifies the lamb's favorable message.<sup>9</sup> It signifies ... It signifies *fruitful* breeze. It signifies ... satiation. ...<sup>10</sup>

(end of the text lost)

<sup>9</sup> i.e. favorable omens when the intestines of the sacrificial lamb are inspected.

<sup>10</sup> Compare *KUB*, xxxiii, 12 iv 15 ff. and 24 iv 19 ff.

beast which he sold . . . [since he is a thief], they shall mutilate his face; they shall. . . .

TABLET K<sup>44</sup>

- 1: . . . and he himself. . . .
- 2: . . . of the king you must not [take . . . ba]il in money from . . . you must not take; bail . . . you must not take; bail. . . .
- 3: . . . silver let him produce, any falling off before . . . let him pass over, let him . . . these . . . of silver and his quota. . . .

TABLET L<sup>45</sup>

- 1: . . . from him . . . you must not take.
- 2: . . . to the burgher . . . which was established. . . .
- 3: [If] . . . bribed a citizen of his land and . . . , when they have prosecuted him (and) convicted him, . . . he shall complete it and. . . .
- 4: [If] . . . of the judge his debtor to his house . . . the debtor need not repay the . . . of the judge; if . . . which his plaintiff. . . .
- 5: . . . which he keeps . . . the bribe . . . to. . . .

TABLET M<sup>46</sup>

- 1: . . . on his own initiative . . . , "Sell (it) to me," . . . it sank . . . whether it sank or was altered . . . they must make good the boat with its cargo . . . or they shall compensate that person who has laid claim to the boat . . . ; the boatman who . . . did not swear by the king shall not be reinstated.<sup>47</sup>
- 2: [If] . . . a boat whether it was drifting downstream<sup>48</sup> or crossing from one bank to the other, with the current . . . carelessly rammed a loaded boat and has sunk (it) [or] . . . rammed an empty boat and [has sunk it], as much cargo as was lost. . . .
- 3: [If a seignior], while [he was making] a journey, gave clothing to a clothier to wash [and when he returned the clothier] declared, "It is lost," [he shall make good] in full to the owner of the clothing whatever clothing was lost. However, if he sold (it) and it has been heard of [in the city, when they have prosecuted him] and convicted him, [or] it was found [in the possession of the purchaser], the seignior's . . . [shall make] . . . fold [restitution] for the stolen (property).

TABLET N<sup>49</sup>

- 1: If a seignior [said] to a(nother) seignior . . . in a brawl, "You uttered blasphemy . . . and you have profaned the temple of god," . . . they shall flog him forty (times) with staves. . . .
- 2: If a seignior [said] to a(nother) seignior . . . in a brawl, "[You uttered] blasphemy . . . and you have profaned the temple of god," . . . , since he is not [able to prosecute (him and) did not prosecute (him), they

<sup>44</sup> Weidner, *op. cit.*, Tafel v, No. 1.

<sup>45</sup> Weidner, *op. cit.*, Tafel III, No. 2.

<sup>46</sup> Weidner, *op. cit.*, Tafel vi, No. 1.

<sup>47</sup> Lit. "shall not return."

<sup>48</sup> Lit. "from above."

<sup>49</sup> Weidner, *op. cit.*, Tafel vi, No. 2.

shall flog] that seignior [forty (times) with staves (and) he shall do the work of the king] for one [full] month.<sup>50</sup>

TABLET O<sup>51</sup>

- 1: [If] . . . prescribed . . . for his sons, they shall do. . . .
- 2: . . . his mind was changed . . . his house he does not determine . . . which they did. . . .
- 3: . . . on the days . . . the houses which . . . the male slaves . . . and the orchards . . . after this . . . the tablets which . . . and the witnesses as many as. . . .
- 4: If brothers [divide] the estate of [their] father . . . the orchards and the wells [on the land, the oldest son shall choose (and) take two] portions [and then his brothers one] after the other shall choose (and) [take (theirs). The youngest son shall divide up any] cultivated land [along with all] the (produce of their) labors; [the oldest son shall choose (and) take one portion and then cast lots with his brothers for his second portion].<sup>52</sup>
- 5: If the owner . . . their (fem.) water . . . they shall make claim and give. . . .
- 6: If there is water on the land in [the wells which can be brought on to the irrigated land in order to prepare (it)], the owners [of the fields shall assist one another]; each shall do the work [to the extent of his field] (and) irrigate his field. [However, if] there is no cooperation [among them, the cooperative one among them] shall apply to [the judges] (and) procure the [judges'] written order, [and then he may do the work, take] that water for [himself (and) irrigate his field, with no one else irrigating (from it)].<sup>53</sup>
- 7: . . . his freedom . . . he cut off, he shall pay one mina of silver . . . he shall pay . . . minas of silver . . . he shall pay four qu . . . by proper reckoning . . . they shall take.

## The Hittite Laws

(Translator: Albrecht Goetze)

The laws, as they have come down to us, represent two tablets of a series called "If anyone." A label which is accidentally preserved (ABOT, 52) proves that—possibly in a different arrangement—there existed a third tablet.

The standard translation is now J. Friedrich, *Die hethitischen Gesetze (Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui, VII, 1959)*. Note the critical reviews by H. G. Güterbock, *JCS*, xv (1961), 62-78, xvi (1962), 17-23, and by A. Kammenhuber, *Bi.Or.*, xviii (1961), 77-81, 124-27. Additional fragments not included by Friedrich appeared as *KBo*, xii, 48 and 49, and in *AfO*, xxi (1966), 1-12.

Other independent translations were presented by the following authors: F. Hrozný, *Code Hittite provenant de l'Asie Mineure* (1922); A. Walther in J.M.P. Smith, *The Origin and History of Hebrew Law* (1931), 246-79; E. Neufeld, *The Hittite laws* (1951) (with photos of almost all cuneiform texts);

<sup>50</sup> §§1 and 2 are similar to Tablet A, §§18 and 19, and have been restored in part from them.

<sup>51</sup> Weidner, *op. cit.*, Tafel v, No. 2.

<sup>52</sup> Restored in part from the duplicate, Tablet B, §1.

<sup>53</sup> Restored in part from the duplicate, Tablet B, §17.

J. Holt in *id.*, *Kilder til Hittiternes Historie* (1951), 216-47; I. M. Dunayevskaya in *Dyakonov, Zakony Vavilonii, Assirii i Chetiskogo carstva* (1952), 259-84; R. Haase, *Die keilschriftlichen Rechtssammlungen in deutscher Übersetzung* (1963), 61-94; Fiorella Imparati, *Le leggi ittite (Incunabula Graeca, VII, 1964)*.

## TABLET I

- 1: If anyone kills a man or a woman in a quarrel, he shall be declared liable for him/her. He shall give four persons, man or woman, and pledge his estate as security.
- 2: If anyone kills a male or a female slave in a quarrel, he shall be declared liable for him/her. He shall give two persons, man or woman, and pledge his estate as security.
- 3: If anyone strikes a free man or woman and he/she dies, (only) his hand doing wrong, he shall be declared liable for him/her. He shall give two persons and pledge his estate as security.
- 4: If anyone strikes a male or a female slave and he/she dies, (only) his hand doing wrong, he shall be liable for him/her. He shall give one person and pledge his estate as security.

*Later version of 3 and 4:* [If anyone strikes] [a woman] and she dies, (only) his hand doing wrong, [he shall give x minas of silver]; but if the woman is a slave, he shall give 2 minas of silver.

5: If anyone kills a Hittite merchant, he shall give 100 minas of silver and pledge his estate as security. If (it happens) in the country of Luwiya or in the country of Pala, he shall give 100 minas of silver and replace his goods; if (it happens) in the Hatti land, he shall be declared liable for the merchant himself.

*Later version of 5:* If anyone kills a Hittite merchant for (his) goods, he shall give [x minas of silver] and shall make threefold compensation for (his) goods. [If] he had no goods with him, and anyone kills him in a quarrel, he shall give 6 minas of silver. But if (only) the hand is doing wrong, he shall give 2 minas of silver.

6: If a person, man or woman, dies in another town, he on whose property he/she dies shall set aside 100 gipešsar<sup>1</sup> of his property and he<sup>2</sup> shall receive it.

*Later version of 6:* If a man dies on the field (or) fallow of another man, in case he is a free man, he shall give field (and) fallow, house (and) 1 mina (and) 20 shekels of silver.\* But if there is no other man's field (and) fallow, a distance of three leagues in one direction and (a distance) of three leagues in the other direction (shall be taken) and whatever village is found to fall within it, he<sup>2</sup> shall take those. If there is no village (within the area), he<sup>2</sup> forfeits (his claims).

7: If anyone blinds a free man or knocks out his teeth, they would formerly give 1 mina of silver, now he shall give 20 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

8: If anyone blinds a male or female slave or knocks out his/her teeth, he shall give 10 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

<sup>1</sup> A measure, probably a cubit.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the heir.

*Later version of 7 and 8:* If anyone blinds a free man in a quarrel, he shall give 1 mina of silver. If (only) his hand does wrong, he shall give 20 shekels of silver.—If anyone blinds a slave in a quarrel, he shall give 30(?) shekels or silver. If (only) his hand is doing wrong, he shall give 10 shekels of silver.—If anyone knocks out the teeth of a free man, in case he knocks out 2 teeth or 3 teeth, he shall give 12 shekels of silver. If it is a slave, he shall give 6 shekels of silver.

9: If anyone batters a man's head, they would formerly give 6 shekels of silver; he who was battered would receive 3 shekels of silver, and they would receive 3 shekels of silver for the palace. Now the king has abolished the (share) of the palace and only he who was battered receives 3 shekels of silver.

*Later version of 9:* If anyone batters a man's head, the battered shall receive 3 shekels of silver.

10: If anyone batters a man so that he falls ill, he shall take care of him. He shall give a man in his stead who can look after his house until he recovers. When he recovers, he shall give him 6 shekels of silver, and he shall also pay the physician's fee.

*Later version of 10:* If anyone injures a free man's head, he shall take care of him. He shall give a man in his stead who can look after his house until he recovers. When he recovers, he shall give him 10 shekels of silver, and he shall also pay the physician's fee. If it is a slave, he shall pay 2 shekels of silver.

11: If anyone breaks a free man's hand or foot, he shall give him 20 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

12: If anyone breaks the hand or foot of a male or a female slave, he shall give 10 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

*Later version of 11 and 12:* If anyone breaks a free man's hand or foot, in case he is permanently crippled, he shall give him 20 shekels of silver. But in case he is not permanently crippled, he shall give him 10 shekels of silver.—If anyone breaks a slave's hand or foot, in case he is permanently crippled, he shall give him 10 shekels of silver. But in case he is not permanently crippled, he shall give him 5 shekels of silver.

13: If anyone bites off a free man's nose, he shall give 1 mina of silver and pledge his estate as security.

*Later version of 13:* If anyone bites off a free man's nose, he shall give 30 shekels(!) of silver and pledge his estate as security.

14: If anyone bites off the nose of a male or female slave, he shall give 30(?) shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

*Later version of 14:* If anyone bites off a slave's nose, he shall give 15 shekels(!) of silver.

15: If anyone tears off a free man's ear, he shall give 15 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

*Later version of 15:* If anyone tears off a free man's ear, he shall give 12 shekels of silver.

16: If anyone tears off the ear of a male or female slave, he shall give 6 shekels of silver.

Later version of 16: If anyone tears off a slave's ear, he shall give 6 shekels of silver.

17: If anyone causes a free woman to miscarry—if (it is) the 10th month, he shall give 10 shekels of silver, if (it is) the 5th month, he shall give 5 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

Later version of 17: If anyone causes a free woman to miscarry, he shall give 20 shekels of silver.

18: If anyone causes a slave-woman to miscarry, if (it is) the 10th month, he shall give 5 shekels of silver.

Later version of 18: If anyone causes a slave-girl to miscarry, he shall give 10 shekels of silver.

19 (A): If any Luwian steals a person—man or woman—from Hattusa and carries him to the country of Arzawa, but his master traces him out, he shall be declared liable for his estate. (B): If in Hattusa any Hittite steals a Luwian and carries him to the country of Luwiya, they would formerly give 12 persons, now he shall give 6 persons and pledge his estate as security.

20: If any Hittite steals a Hittite slave from the country of Luwiya and carries him to the Hatti land, but his master traces him out, he shall give him 12 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

21: If anyone steals the slave of a Luwian from the country of Luwiya and carries him to the Hatti land, but his master traces him out, he shall receive just the slave; there will be no compensation.

22: If a slave runs away and anyone brings him back—if he seizes him in the vicinity, he shall give him shoes; if on this side of the river, he shall give him 2 shekels of silver; if on the other side of the river, he shall give him 3 shekels of silver.

23: If a slave runs away and goes to the country of Luwiya, he shall give to him who brings him back 6 shekels of silver. If a slave runs away and goes to an enemy country, whoever brings him nevertheless back, shall receive him (the slave) himself.

24: If a male or female slave runs away, the man at whose hearth his master finds him/her, shall give a man's wages for 1 year, (namely) x shekels of silver, but a woman's wages for 1 year, (namely) x<sup>3</sup> shekels of silver.

25: If a man fouls a storage vessel or a cistern, they would formerly give 6 shekels of silver; he who fouled would give 3 shekels of silver and for the palace they would take *at random* 3 shekels of silver. The king has now abandoned the (share) of the palace, and only the one who fouled gives 3 shekels of silver and pledges his estate as security.

26: (preserved only in traces)

26 (A):<sup>4</sup> If a woman send away a man, she shall give him . . . and . . . The man shall get his children.

26 (B): If a man divorces a woman, and she . . . , he may sell her; whoever [buys her] shall give 12 shekels of silver.

27: If a man takes a wife and carries her to his house, he takes her dowry with her. If the woman dies, they

<sup>3</sup> Probably 40.

<sup>4</sup> This and the following section are taken from KUB, xxvi, 56.

~~shall turn her personal things into her property (property) of the man~~, and the man ~~also~~ receives her dowry. But if she dies in the house of her father, and there are children, the man will not receive her dowry.

28: If a girl is promised to a man, but another (man) elopes with her,<sup>5</sup> as soon as he elopes, he shall compensate the first man for whatever he [has given]; her parents will not make any compensation. But if the parents give her to another man, the parents will make compensation. If the parents refuse (to make compensation), they shall withhold her from him.<sup>6</sup>

29: If a girl is betrothed to a man and he has given the bride-price for her, but the parents subsequently abrogate it (i.e. the contract) and withhold her from the man, they (i.e. the parents) shall make double compensation.

30: If the man has not yet taken the girl and refuses her, he forfeits the bride-price which he has brought.

31: If a free man and a slave-girl (are) *lovers* and they cohabit, he takes her for his wife, they found a family and have children, but subsequently, either (as) they quarrel or (as) they reach a friendly agreement, they break up the family, the man receives the children, but the woman receives one child.

32: If a slave takes a free woman, the provision of the law is the same for them.

33: If a slave takes a slave-girl, the provision of the law is the same for them.

34: If a slave brings the bride-price for a woman and takes her for his wife, no one shall change her social status.

35: If an overseer or a shepherd elopes with a free woman and does not bring the bride-price for her, she becomes a slave for three years.

36: If a slave brings the bride-price to the son of a free man and takes him as *antiyanza*,<sup>7</sup> no one shall change her (?) social status.

37: If anyone elopes with a woman and an avenger goes after them, if two men or three men die, there be no compensation (the reason being): "Thou hast become a wolf."<sup>8</sup>

38: If men are implicated in a lawsuit and an avenger comes for them, (if) then the defendants get enraged and (one of them) strikes the avenger so that he dies, there will be no compensation.

39: If [the inhabitant of a town] has possession of another (inhabitant)'s fields, he shall also perform (the respective) service (to the liege lord). If he refuses (the socage), he (thereby) gives up the fields, but he must not sell them.

40: If a craftsman disappears (and) a socman is assigned (in his stead), (if) the socman says: "This is my craftsman's fee, but this (other one) is my socage," he shall secure for himself a sealed deed concerning the fields; then he has (legal) possession of the craftsman's

<sup>5</sup> Lit.: "makes her run."

<sup>6</sup> i.e. the authorities shall withhold the girl from the second man.

<sup>7</sup> i.e., son-in-law entering the family of the father-in-law.

<sup>8</sup> The implications of this formula are not known.

fee and shall also perform the socage. If he refuses the craftsman's service, they will declare the fields of the craftsman vacant and the people of the town shall work them. If the king gives deportees, they shall give him the fields and he shall become a (landed) craftsman.

41: If a socman disappears (and) a craftsman is assigned (in his stead), (if) the craftsman says: "This is my craftsman's fee, but this (other one) is my socage," he shall secure for himself a sealed deed concerning the fields; then he has (legal) possession of the craftsman's fee and shall also perform the socage. If he refuses the socage, they take the fields of the socman for the palace, and the socage expires.

42: If anyone hires a man and he goes to war and dies, if the hire has been given, there will be no compensation. If his hire has not been given, he shall give one person and as hire he will give 12 shekels of silver, and as the hire of a woman he will give 6 shekels of silver.

43: If a man customarily fords a river with his ox, another (man) pushes him aside, seizes the tail of the ox and crosses the river, but the river carries the owner of the ox away, they<sup>9</sup> shall receive that very man.

44: If anyone pushes a man into a fire so that he dies, he will give his son. If anyone has performed a rite of purification on a man and disposes of the remnants of the offerings, if he disposes of them in anyone's field or house, it is sorcery and (a case for the) court of the king.

Later version of 44: [ . . . ] he shall purify him again. If anything in the house goes wrong, he shall purify him again. For whatever perishes in it, he shall make compensation once.

45: If anyone finds implements, he shall return them to their owner; he shall reward him. If he does not give them (back), he becomes a thief.

Later version of 45: If anyone finds implements or an ox, a sheep, a horse (or) an ass, he shall drive it back to its owner and he shall reward him. If he does not find the owner, but secures witnesses for himself, and (if) afterward its owner finds it out, he shall replace for him whatever was destroyed of the respective (property). But if he does not secure witnesses for himself, and afterward its owner finds it out, he shall be considered a thief and shall make threefold compensation.

46: If in a village anyone holds fields under socage as inheritance—if the fields have all been given to him, he shall render the services; if the fields have been given to him only to a small part, he shall not render the services, they shall render them from his father's house. If he *usurps* fields of the estate-leaver or the people of the village give a field (to him), he shall render the services.

Later version of 46: (The first part is almost identical with the earlier version. The second part is as follows:) If the field (and) fallow of the testator are vacant or the people of the village give him field (and) fallow, he shall render the services.

47: If anyone holds fields as a gift from the king, he

<sup>9</sup> i.e. the authorities of the respective village or town.

shall not render the services. The king will take a loaf from (his) table and give it to him.—If anyone buys all the fields of a craftsman, he shall render the services. If he buys a great (part of) the fields, he shall not render the services. If he *usurps* the fields or the people of the village give them (to him), he shall render the services.

Later version of 47:<sup>10</sup> If anyone holds field (and) fallow as a gift from the king and if the king exempts him, he shall not render the services.—If anyone buys all the field (and) fallow of a craftsman and the owner of the field (and) fallow perishes, he shall perform the socage which the king imposes upon him. But if the owner of field (and) fallow is alive or the house of the owner of field (and) fallow is continued either in this country or in another country, he shall not perform the socage.—<sup>11</sup> If anyone holds field (and) fallow as a gift from the king, he shall render the services connected with the fields. If he is *exempted* by order of the palace, he shall not render the services. If anyone buys all the fields of a craftsman, they shall ask the king, and he shall render those services which the king orders. If there remain fields in the hands of the man from whom he buys, he shall not render the services. If field (and) fallow are vacant or the people of the village give it to him, he shall render the services.

48: A *hipparas* man renders the services, but no one shall transact business with a *hipparas* man. No one shall buy his son, his field (or) his vineyard. Whoever transacts business with a *hipparas* man, shall forfeit the purchasing-price. Whatever the *hipparas* man sold, he shall receive back.

Later version of 48: (It is virtually identical with the older version.)

49: If a *hipparas* man steals, there will be no compensation. If he is considered a felon, the community to which he belongs will make compensation. If one would indict them for theft, all of them were criminals or would have to be considered as thieves. Whether this (man) seize one (of them), or that (man) another, they would . . . (a penalty).

50: The *people* who live in Nerik, in Arinna (and) in Ziplanta, (and) the priests in every town—their houses (shall be) exempt. But their associates shall render the services. The house of a man who stays in Arinna for 11 months, and he at whose gate an *eyan*<sup>12</sup> is erected, (shall be) free.

51: Formerly the house of a man who had become a weaver in Arinna (was) exempt, also his associates and his relations (were) exempt. Now (only) his own house (is) exempt, but his associates and his relations perform socage and render the services. In Zippalantiya it is just the same.

52: The slave of the seal-house, the slave of a royal prince (and) the master of a . . . who hold a field among craftsmen, render the services.

<sup>10</sup> The following precedes §46 of the later version.

<sup>11</sup> The following has its place after §46 of the later version.

<sup>12</sup> Otherwise translated by "pole."



53: If a craftsman and his associate live together, but decide when quarreling to divide their household, if there are on their land ten heads (of slaves), the craftsman receives 7 and his associate receives 3. The cattle (and) sheep on their land they shall divide in the same ratio. If anyone holds a royal gift with (special) deed, —in case they divide an old estate, the craftsman receives 2 parts of the gift and his associate receives one part.

54: Previously the Manda people, the Sala people, the people of the cities Tamalki, Hatra, Zalpa, Tashiniya, Hemuwa, the archers, the carpenters, the grooms and their *karuhhala* men did not render any services and did not perform socage.

55: When the Hittites, *socmen*, came (to) petition the father of the king and announce: "No one pays any wage and they refuse us (with the words): 'You are (only) socmen,'" the father of the king [rose] in the assembly and declared under his seal: "Go ye! Ye shall be just as your comrades!"

56: No one of the metal workers shall be freed from participating in a royal campaign in a fortress, (and) from cutting a vineyard. The gardeners shall render the full services.

57: If anyone steals a bull—if it is a weanling, it is not a bull; if it is a yearling, it is not a bull; if it is a two-year-old, that is a bull—they would formerly give 30 (head of) cattle. Now he shall give 15 (head of) cattle, (specifically) 5 two-year-olds, 5 yearlings (and) 5 weanlings and he shall pledge his estate as security.

58: If anyone steals a stallion—if it is a weanling, it is not a stallion; if it is a yearling, it is not a stallion; if it is a two-year-old, that is a stallion—they would formerly give 30 horses. Now they shall give 15 horses, (specifically) 5 two-year-old horses, 5 yearlings (and) 5 weanlings and he shall pledge his estate as security.

59: If anyone steals a ram, they used to give formerly 30 sheep. Now he shall give 15 sheep, (specifically) 5 ewes, 5 rams (and) 5 lambs.

60: If anyone finds a bull and removes the brand, (if) its owner traces it out, he shall give 7 (head of) cattle; he shall give (specifically) 2 two-year-olds, 3 yearlings (and) 2 weanlings and he shall pledge his estate as security.

61: If anyone finds a stallion and removes the brand, (if) its owner traces it out, he shall give 7 horses; he shall give (specifically) 2 two-year-olds, 3 yearlings (and) 2 weanlings and he shall pledge his estate as security.

62: If anyone finds a ram and removes the brand, (if) its owner traces it out, he shall give 7 sheep; he shall give (specifically) 2 ewes, 3 rams, (and) 2 lambs and he shall pledge his estate as security.

63: If anyone steals a plow-ox, they would formerly give 15 (head of) cattle. Now he shall give 10 (head of) cattle; he shall give (specifically) 3 two-year-olds, 3 yearlings (and) 4 weanlings and he shall pledge his estate as security.

64: If anyone steals a draft horse, its treatment is the same.

65: If anyone steals a *tamed* buck or a trained wild-goat or *tamed* mountain sheep, the compensation is as for a buck; and the compensation for it is the same.

66: If a plow-ox or a draft horse or a (milk-giving) cow or a brood ass-mare attaches itself to the corral, or if a *tamed* buck or a ewe or a ram attaches itself to the fold (and) its owner finds it, he shall receive the respective (animal); there shall be no question of a thief.

67: If anyone steals a cow, they would formerly give 12 (head of) cattle; now he shall give 6 (head of) cattle; he shall give (specifically) 2 two-year-olds, 2 yearlings (and) 2 weanlings and he shall pledge his estate as security.

68: If anyone steals a brood mare, its treatment is the same.

69: If anyone steals a ewe or a ram, they used to give formerly 12 sheep. Now he shall give 6 sheep; he shall give (specifically) 2 ewes, 2 rams (and) 2 lambs and he shall pledge his estate as security.

70: If anyone steals\* a horse, a mule or an ass and its owner traces it out, he shall receive the respective (animal). In addition he (the thief) shall give it a second time and he shall pledge his estate as security.

71: If anyone finds an ox, a horse (or) a mule, he shall drive it to the king's court. If he finds it in the country, the elders may assign it to him and he may harness it. When its owner finds it, he shall receive the respective animal; there shall be no question of a thief. If the elders do not assign it (to him), he becomes a thief.

72: If an ox dies in anyone's field, the owner of the field shall give 2 oxen and pledge his estate as security.

73: If anyone disposes of a living ox (found on his property), he is as if he had committed theft.

74: If anyone breaks the horn or the foot of an ox, he shall receive that (animal) and give one in good condition to the owner of the ox. If the owner of the ox says: "I want to have my own ox," he shall receive his ox and he (i.e. the offender) shall give him 2 shekels of silver.

75: If anyone yokes an ox, a horse, a mule (or) an ass and it dies, or a wolf devours it or it gets lost, he shall give (the value of) the respective animal. But if he contends: "It died by the hand of god," he shall take an oath.

76: If anyone appropriates an ox, a horse, a mule (or) an ass and it dies at his place, he is declared liable for it and he shall pay its hire.

77 (A): If anyone hits a bearing cow and causes it to miscarry, he shall give 2 shekels of silver. If anyone hits a bearing mare and causes it to miscarry, he shall give 2 shekels of silver.

77 (B): If anyone blinds the eye of an ox or a horse, he shall give 6 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

78: If anyone hires an ox, applies to him the lash or the whip and its owner finds him out, he shall give 1 *pārisu* of grain.

79: If oxen go upon a field and the owner of the field finds them, he may yoke them for one day till the stars

come out, and shall (then) drive them back to their owner.

80: If anyone throws a sheep to the wolves, its owner shall receive the meat and he himself shall keep the hide.

81: If anyone steals a fattened pig, they would formerly give 1 mina of silver. Now he shall give 12 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

82: If anyone steals an *ordinary* pig, he shall give 6 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

83: If anyone steals a bearing pig, he shall give 6 shekels of silver. They shall also count the little pigs, and he shall give 1 *pārisu* of grain<sup>18</sup> for each 2 little pigs.

84: If anyone strikes a bearing pig so that it dies, its treatment is the same.

85: If anyone separates a little pig and steals (it), he shall give 1 *pārisu* of grain.

86: If a pig goes to a threshing floor, or a field (or) a garden, and the owner of the threshing floor, the field (or) the garden strikes it so that it dies, he shall return it to its owner. If he does not return it, he becomes a thief.

87: If anyone strikes the dog of a herdsman so that it dies, he shall give 20 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

88: If anyone strikes the dog of a dog fancier so that it dies, he shall give 12 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

89: If anyone strikes an *ordinary* dog so that it dies, he shall give 1 shekel of silver.

90: If a dog devours pig's lard and the owner of the lard finds him out, he may kill it and recover the lard from its stomach. There will be no compensation.

91: If anyone steals bees from a *swarm*, they would formerly give 1 mina of silver. Now he shall give 5 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

92: If anyone steals two beehives or three beehives, formerly (it meant exposure to) bee-sting; now he shall give 6 shekels of silver. If anyone steals a beehive while no bees are therein, he shall give 3 shekels of silver.

93: If they seize a free man in (side) an enclosure before he has entered the house, he shall give 12 shekels of silver. If they seize a slave in (side) an enclosure before he has entered the house, he shall give 6 shekels of silver.

94: If a free man steals in a house, he shall give (back) the respective goods; they would formerly give for the theft 1 mina of silver, now he shall give 12 shekels of silver. If he has stolen much, they shall impose a heavy fine upon him; if he has stolen little, they shall impose a small fine upon him and he shall pledge his estate as security.

95: If a slave steals in a house, he shall give (back) the respective goods. For the theft he shall give 6 shekels of silver. They shall also cut off the slave's nose and ears and give him back to his master. If he has stolen much, they shall impose a heavy fine upon him; if he has stolen little, they shall impose a small fine upon

<sup>18</sup> A measure of capacity.

him. If his master says: "I will make compensation in his stead," he may do so; but if he refuses, he will lose the slave.

96: If a free man steals in a granary and obtains grain in the granary, he shall fill the granary with grain and give 12 shekels of silver and he shall pledge his estate as security.

97: If a slave steals in a granary and obtains grain in the granary, he shall fill the granary with grain and give 6 shekels of silver and he shall pledge his estate as security.

98: If a free man sets a house on fire, he shall rebuild the house. Whatever was lost in the house, whether it is man, cattle or sheep, he shall replace *as a matter of course*.

99: If a slave sets a house on fire, his master shall make compensation in his stead. They shall cut off the slave's nose (and) ears and shall give him back to his master. But if he does not make compensation, he will lose that (slave).

100: If anyone sets a shed on fire, he shall feed his cattle and be declared liable till spring, he shall (also) give back the shed. If there was no straw therein, he shall just rebuild the shed.

#### TABLET II

101: If anyone steals vine or fruit branch, or . . . s, or onions, they would formerly give for 1 vine x shekels of silver, for 1 fruit branch 1 shekel of silver, for 1 . . . x shekel of silver, for 1 *bunch* of onions 1 shekel of silver, and they would strike him with the spear *in the palace*. Formerly they proceeded like this. Now he shall give, if a free man, 6 shekels of silver, and if a slave, 3 shekels of silver.

102: If anyone steals timber from a pond—if (it is) 1 talent of wood, (he shall give) 3 shekels of silver; if (it is) 2 talents of wood, he shall give 6 shekels of silver; if (it is) 3 talents of wood, (it is a case for) the court of the king.

103: If anyone steals freshly planted things—if (it is) 1 *gipešsar*<sup>14</sup> of planting, he shall replant it and give one shekel of silver; if (it is) 2 *gipešsar* of planting, he shall replant it and give 2 shekels of silver.

104: If anyone cuts down *pomegranate* trees or *medlar* trees, he shall give x shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

105: If anyone makes fire in . . . and (the fire) spreads to a fruit bearing orchard—if vines, fruit trees, *pomegranate* trees (or) *medlar* trees get burnt up, he shall give 6 shekels of silver for each tree; the planting he shall replant and he shall pledge his estate as security. If he is a slave, he shall give 3 shekels of silver.

106: If anyone makes fire on his field and sets another man's bearing field on fire, he who set the fire shall take the burnt-over field for himself and give a good field to the owner of the (burnt-over) field and (that man) shall reap it.

<sup>14</sup> See n. 1.



107: If a man turns (his) sheep into a vineyard under cultivation and they ruin it—if (it is) fruit bearing, he shall give 10 shekels of silver for each acre, but if (it is) bare, he shall give 3 shekels of silver.

108: If anyone steals tendrils from a *fenced-in* vineyard—if (there are) 100 trees, he shall give 6 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security. But if they (are) not fenced-in and he steals tendrils, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.

109: If anyone disposes of fruit from an irrigated (orchard)—if (there are) 100 trees, he shall give 6 shekels of silver.

110: If anyone steals plaster from a bin—however much he steals, he shall give the same amount a second time over.

111: If anyone . . . s plaster (mud) in [a . . . ], it is sorcery (and a case for) the court of the king.

112: If they give [for . . . ] the field of a craftsman (which produces) grain, for 3 years he shall not perform socage, he will begin to perform socage from the fourth year on, and shall rank with the craftsmen.

113: If anyone cuts down . . . vine, that (man) shall receive the cut-down vine and give a good one to the owner of the vine and he will vindemiate. [Until] that man's vine [recovers, he keeps the offender's vine. Afterward] he takes [his own back].

(some sections mutilated or missing)

119: If anyone steals a bird from a pond or a trained . . . , they would formerly give x shekels of silver. Now he shall give 12 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

120: If anyone steals . . . birds . . . ,—if (they are) ten birds, he shall give 1 shekel of silver.

121: If anyone, a free man, steals a *plow* and its owner finds it out, he shall put him upon the . . . and. . . . Formerly they proceeded in this way. Now he shall give 6 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security. If he is a slave, he will give 3 shekels of silver.

122: If anyone steals a cart with all its accessories, they would formerly give 1 shekel of silver. . . . Now he gives x shekel of silver and pledges his estate as security.

123: If [anyone steals a . . . , it was formerly considered] a capital crime. [Now . . . ], he shall give three shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

124: If anyone steals a *šišiyama*, he shall give 3 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security. If anyone loads a cart, leaves it in the fields and (if) anyone steals it, he shall give 3 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

125: If anyone steals a water *trough*, he shall give x shekels of silver. If anyone steals a *lash* or a *whip*, he shall give 1 shekel of silver.

126: If anyone steals a *zahrāi* (emblem) in the gate of the palace, he shall give 6 shekels of silver. If anyone steals a bronze spear in the gate of the palace, he shall die. If anyone steals a copper *nail*, he will give one-half *pārisu* of grain. If anyone steals *curtains* (to the

amount) of 1 (bolt of) cloth, he shall give 1 bolt of wool cloth.

127: If anyone steals a door in a quarrel, he shall replace everything that may get lost in the house. He will also give 1 mina of silver and pledge his estate as security.

128: If anyone steals bricks—however much he steals, he shall give the same amount a second time over. If anyone steals stones out of a foundation, for two (such) stones he shall give 10 stones. If anyone steals a stone . . . [ . . . ] or a stone *ħarmiyalli*, he shall give 2 shekels of silver.

129: If anybody steals the *reins*, the (leather) *annanu* . . . , the (leather) *gazzimuel* (or) the bronze *katral* of a horse (or) a mule, they would formerly give 1 mina of silver. Now he shall give 12 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

130: If anybody steals the [ . . . ] . . . of an ox or a horse, he shall give x shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

131: If anyone steals a (leather) *ħapput* [ . . . ], he shall give 6 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security.

132: If anyone, a free man, steals [a . . . ], he shall give 6 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security. If he is a slave, he shall give 3 shekels of silver.

133: If anyone, a free man, steals [a . . . ], he shall give x shekels of silver. If he is a slave, he shall give x shekels of silver.

(several sections missing)

142: [If a free man] drives [a chariot, leaves it in . . . , and (if) anybody steals] the wheels thereof—he shall give one-half *pārisu*<sup>15</sup> of grain for one wheel. If he (is) a slave, he shall give [ . . . ] of grain for one wheel.

143: If a free man steals a (copper) *knife* [a . . . ], (or) a (copper) *šankuwalli*, he shall give 6 shekels of silver and pledge his estate as security. If he (is) a slave, he shall give 3 shekels of silver.

144: If a barber [cuts . . . ] with a (copper) knife and ruins them, he shall give the respective [ . . . ]. If anyone cuts fine cloth with a . . . he shall give 10 shekels of silver. If anyone cuts [ . . . with . . . ] he shall give 5 shekels of silver.

145: If anyone builds a stable, [the . . . ] shall give [him] 6 shekels of silver. If he leaves out [ . . . ], he shall forfeit his wages.

146: If anyone buys a house or a . . . or a garden or a pasture and another man goes and *bids more* and offers a purchasing price over and above the (first) price, he is a felon and he shall give 1 mina of silver. [The purchaser] will pay the first price.

147: If anyone buys an unskilled man, and another (man) *bids more*, he is a felon and he shall give 5 shekels of silver.

148: If anyone buys a horse, a mule (or) an ass, and another (man) *bids more*, he is a felon and he shall give x shekels of silver.

<sup>15</sup> See n.13.

149: If anyone has sold a trained man and (afterward) says: "He has died," but his owner traces him out, he shall receive him. In addition he shall give him 2 persons and pledge his estate as security.

150: If a man hires himself out for wages, his wages for 1 month shall be x<sup>16</sup> shekels of silver. If (it is) a woman, her wages for one month shall be x shekels of silver.

151: If anyone hires a plow-ox, its hire for 1 month shall be 1 shekel of silver. If anyone hires a [ . . . ], its hire for 1 month shall be one-half shekel of silver.

152: If anyone hires a horse, a mule (or) an ass, he shall give (as its hire) for 1 month 1 shekel of silver.

(There is no gap between 152 and 157.)

157: If a bronze axe weighs 3(?) mina, its rent for 1 month is 1 shekel of silver. If an axe weighs 1 mina of silver, its rent for 1 month is one-half shekel of silver. If a bronze *tapulli* weighs 1 mina, its rent for 1 month is one-half shekel of silver.

158: If a man hires himself out for the harvest (on the understanding) that he will bind the sheaves, (that) the bound (sheaves) will get on the wagon, (that) he will bring it into the barn and (that) they will clear the threshing floor, his wages for three months shall be 30 *pārisu*<sup>18</sup> of grain. If a woman hires herself out for the harvest, her wages for 2 months shall be 12 *pārisu* of grain.

159: If anyone yokes a team of oxen for 1 day, its hire shall be one-half *pārisu* of grain.

160: If a smith makes a box weighing one-half mina, his wages are *one and a half pārisu* of grain. If he makes an axe of two mina weight, his wages are 1 *pārisu* of spelt.

161: If he makes an axe of one mina weight, his wages are 1 *pārisu* of grain.<sup>17</sup>

162: If anyone diverts a watering ditch, he shall give 1 shekel of silver. . . .

\*163: If anyone's animals are branded and (anyone) else removes the brand and drives them away, (if) *he puts them in (as his share) in a company*, does not tell his partner and the partner unknowingly drives his (the other man's) animals away and they perish, there shall be compensation.

164: If anyone goes (to a place) to get a pawn, starts a quarrel and *spoils* either the sacrificial loaf or the wine destined for libations, (165<sup>18</sup>), he shall give 1 sheep, 10 loaves (and) 1 jug of strong beer and shall make his house holy again. Until a year has elapsed, he shall keep away from his house.

166: If anyone sows seed upon seed, his neck shall be put upon the plow. They shall harness two yokes of oxen and direct the face of one (of them) this way, and the face of the other one that way; the man shall die, and the oxen shall die too. He who sowed the field first, shall take it for himself. Formerly they proceeded thus.

<sup>16</sup> See n.13.

<sup>17</sup> A variant offers "spelt" instead of "grain."

<sup>18</sup> The dividing line found here in our text should be disregarded.

167: Now a sheep is substituted for the man, and two sheep are substituted for the oxen. He shall give 30 loaves of bread (and) 3 jugs of strong beer and shall resanctify it. He who sowed the field first, shall reap it.

168: If anyone violates the boundary of a field and takes 1 *furrow* off (the neighbor's field), the owner of the field shall cut 1 *gipēšar*<sup>19</sup> of field (from the other's field) and take it for himself. He who violated the boundary, shall give 1 sheep, 10 loaves (and) 1 jug of strong beer and resanctify the field.

169: If anyone buys a field and then violates the boundary, he shall take a sacrificial loaf, break it for the Sun-god and say: "Thou hast planted my balance in the ground."<sup>20</sup> Thus he shall say; (whether it is) the Sun-god (or) the Storm-god, does not make any difference.

170: If a free man kills a snake (while) pronouncing another man's name, he will give 1 mina of silver. If he (the offender) is a slave, he shall die.

171: If a mother draws her garment away from a son of hers, she is repudiating her sons. If her son enters (her house) again, and (if) she takes the door and *moves* it, takes his *iškīšana* (and) his *ħuppulli* and moves it, then she accepts them again. She makes her son her son again.

172: If a man saves a free man's life in a year of famine, he shall give (a person) like himself. If he is a slave, he shall give 10 shekels of silver.

173: If anyone rejects the judgment of the king, his house shall be made a *shambles*. If anyone rejects the judgment of a dignitary, they shall cut off his head. If a slave rises against his master, he shall go into the *pit*.<sup>21</sup>

174: If men fight one another and one of them is killed, he (who killed) shall give one person.

175: If a shepherd or an overseer takes a free woman in marriage, she shall be a slave either for two years or for four years. . . .

176 (A): If anyone keeps a bull outside the pen, it is (a case for) the court of the king. They shall put (it) up for sale.—It breeds in the third year; the plow-ox, the wether (and) the he-goat breed in the third year.

176 (B): If anyone buys a craftsman, either a potter, a smith, a carpenter, a leatherworker, a fuller, a weaver or he buys a maker of *kapalli* garments, he shall give 10 shekels of silver.

177: If anyone buys a trained bird-fancier, he shall give 25 shekels of silver. If he buys a man or a woman who are not fully trained (therein), he shall give 20 shekels of silver.

178: The price of a plow-ox is 12 shekels of silver. The price of a bull is 10 shekels of silver. The price of a full-grown cow is 7 shekels of silver. The price of a one-year-old plow-ox (or) cow is 5 shekels of silver. The price of a weaned calf is 4 shekels of silver. If the cow is with calf, the price is 8 shekels of silver. The price of a calf is 3 shekels of silver. The prices for a stallion

<sup>19</sup> See n.1.

<sup>20</sup> The implications of this formula are obscure.

<sup>21</sup> A kind of punishment.

(and) a brood mare, of an ass (and) a brood ass-mare is analogous.

179: If it is a sheep, its price is 1 shekel of silver. The price for 3 goats is 2 shekels of silver. The price for 2 lambs is 1 shekel of silver. The price for 2 kids is one-half shekel of silver.

180: If it is a draft-horse, its price is 20 shekels of silver. The price for 1 mule is 1 mina of silver. The price for a horse in the pasture is 15 shekels of silver. The price for a one-year-old colt is 10 shekels of silver. The price of a one-year-old filly is 15 shekels of silver.

181: The price of a weaned colt and of a weaned filly is 4 shekels of silver. The price of 4 minas of copper is 1 shekel of silver. The price of 1 *tub* of fine oil is 2 shekels of silver, of 1 *tub* of lard 1 shekel of silver, of 1 *tub* of butter 1 shekel of silver, of 1 *tub* of honey 1 shekel of silver, of 2 cheeses 1 shekel of silver, of 3 (pieces) of yeast 1 shekel of silver.

182: The price of a *happušanza* garment is 12 shekels of silver. The price of a fine garment is 30 shekels of silver. The price for a blue woolen garment is 20 shekels of silver. The price of an *adupli* garment is 10 shekels of silver. The price of an *iskallešsar* garment is 3 shekels of silver. The price of an . . . is 4 shekels of silver. . . . The price of 1 fine shirt is 3 shekels of silver. [The price] of 1 (ordinary) sh[irt is x shekels of silver]. The price of 1 (bolt of) cloth of 7 mina weight is x [shekels of silver]. The price of 1 great (bolt of) linen is 5 shekels of silver.

183: The price of 3 *pārisu* of spelt is 1 shekel of silver. [The price] of 4 *pār[isu]* of . . . is x shekels of silver]. The price of 1 *pārisu* of wine is one-half shekel of silver, of a *pārisu* [of . . . x shekels of silver]. The price of 1 acre of . . . field is 3 [shekels of silver]. The price of 1 acre of "partition" field is 2 shekels of silver. If the field is farther out, he [shall give] 1 shekel of silver.

184: This is the tariff. As it is (valid) in a village, [it is also valid in the capital].

185 (A): The price of 1 acre of vineyard is 1 mina of silver. The price of the hide of a full-grown ox is 1 shekel of silver. The price of 5 hides of weanlings is 1 shekel of silver, of 10 calf-hides is 1 mina of silver, of a shaggy sheepskin is 1 shekel of silver, of 10 plucked sheepskins is 1 shekel of silver, of 4 goatskins is 1 shekel of silver, of 15 sheared goatskins is 1 shekel of silver, of 20 lambskins is 1 shekel of silver, of 20 kidskins is 1 shekel of silver.

185 (B): Whoever buys the meat of 2 full-grown cattle shall give 1 sheep.

186: Whoever buys the meat of 2 one-year-old cattle shall give 1 sheep. Whoever buys the meat of 5 weanlings shall give 1 sheep. Whoever buys the meat of 10 calves shall give 1 sheep. Whoever buys the meat of 10 sheep shall give a sheep, the meat of 20 lambs shall give 1 sheep, the meat of 20 goats shall give 1 sheep.

187: If a man does evil with a head of cattle, it is a capital crime and he shall be killed. They bring him to

the king's court. Whether the king orders him killed, or whether the king spares his life, he must not appeal to the king.

188: If a man does evil with a sheep, it is a capital crime and he shall be killed. They bring him to the king's court. Whether the king orders him killed, or whether the king spares his life, he must not appeal to the king.

189: If a man violates his own mother, it is a capital crime. If a man violates his daughter, it is a capital crime. If a man violates his son, it is a capital crime.

190: . . . If a man violates his stepmother, there shall be no punishment. (But) if his father is living, it is a capital crime.

191: If a free man cohabits with (several) free women, sisters and their mother, with this one in one country and that one in another country, there shall be no punishment. But if (it happens) in one and the same place knowing (of their relationship), it is a capital crime.

192: If a man's wife dies (and) he marries his wife's sister, there shall be no punishment.

193: If a man has a wife and then the man dies, his brother shall take his wife, then his father shall take her. If in turn also his father dies, one of his brother's sons shall take the wife whom he had. There shall be no punishment.

194: If a free man cohabits with (several) slave-girls, sisters and their mother, there shall be no punishment. If blood-relations sleep with (the same) free woman, there shall be no punishment. If father and son sleep with (the same) slave-girl or harlot, there shall be no punishment.

195: If however a man sleeps with the wife of his brother while his brother is living, it is a capital crime. If a man has a free woman (in marriage) and then touches also her daughter, it is a capital crime. If a man has the daughter in marriage and then touches also her mother or her sister, it is a capital crime.

196: If his slave (or) his slave-girl commit a capital crime, they move them away and have them settled the one in this town, the other in that town; a sheep will be proffered in this one's stead and a sheep in that one's stead.

197: If a man seizes a woman in the mountains, it is the man's crime and he will be killed. But if he seizes her in (her) house, it is the woman's crime and the woman shall be killed. If the husband finds them, he may kill them, there shall be no punishment for him.

198: If he brings them to the gate of the palace and declares: "My wife shall not be killed" and thereby spares his wife's life, he shall also spare the life of the adulterer and shall mark his head. If he says, "Let them die both of them!" . . . The king may order them killed, the king may spare their lives.

199: If anyone does evil with a pig, (or) a dog, he shall die. They will bring them to the gate of the palace and the king may order them killed, the king may spare

their lives; but he must not appeal to the king. If an ox leaps at a man, the ox shall die, but the man shall not die. A sheep may be proffered in the man's stead and they shall kill that. If a pig leaps at a man, there shall be no punishment.

200 (A): If a man does evil with a horse or a mule, there shall be no punishment. He must not appeal to the king nor shall he become a case for the priest.—If anyone sleeps with a foreign (woman) and (also) with her mother or [her] si[ster], there will be no punishment.

200 (B): If anyone gives his son to be trained either as a carpenter, or as a smith, [or as a potter,] or as a leather-worker, or as a fuller, he shall give (as a fee) for the training 6 shekels of silver. If he has made him an expert, he shall give him one person.

## The Neo-Babylonian Laws

(Translator: Theophile J. Meek)

These laws are found on a tablet in the British Museum, published and translated by F. E. Peiser, *SPAW*, 1889, pp. 823-8 and Tafel VII. They have been translated by B. Meissner, *ibid.*, 1918, pp. 280-97, and the better preserved portions of the tablet have been most recently translated by E. Ebeling in *AOT*, pp. 422-3. The tablet originally contained some sixteen paragraphs, of which only nine are well preserved. Peiser suggests a date in the time of Ashurbanipal, but what he regards as the remnants of a date is unquestionably a part of the legislation in §1. However, the script, orthography, and wording, all clearly indicate a date in the Neo-Babylonian Period. — *Selektor*, R. 10A 13, 14.

1: (only a few words preserved)

2: . . . when they bring about his conviction, he shall give [rent in] one amount for the field [to] the owner of the field on the basis of those adjoining [and for the field which he did not] look after he shall give grain [on the basis of] those adjoining.

3: [The seignior, who opened] his well for irrigation purposes, but did not make [his dike] strong and hence caused a flood and inundated [a field] adjoining his, shall give [grain to the owner of the field on the basis of] those adjoining.

4: (only a few signs preserved)

5: In the case of a seignior, who sealed a tablet and deed for the owner of a field [or house] with the name of another and did not conclude an agreement in accordance with the terms thereon and also did not obtain a duplicate of the tablet—the seignior with whose name the tablet and deed were inscribed shall take that field or house.

6: In the case of a seignior, who sold a female slave when there was a claim outstanding against (her) and she was taken away—the seller shall give money to the purchaser in accordance with the terms of the deed in its full amount; if she bore children, he shall give her one-half shekel of silver for each.

7: The woman, who was guilty of using or of cutting (wood) from the field of a seignior or who cut off

(wood) from [a boat] or from an oven or from any sort of thing, shall give to the owner of the field three times the amount of wood that she cut from there; if she cut off (wood) from a boat (or) cut off (wood) from an oven or from any sort of thing, she shall give three times the reduction that she caused in the field. When in the month. . . . Its (i.e. the paragraph's) law is not completed and so is not written.<sup>1</sup>

8: (not preserved)

9: In the case of a seignior, who gave his daughter (in marriage) to a (nother) seignior's son and the father set down a certain amount on the document and gave (it) to his son and the seignior set the dowry<sup>2</sup> for his daughter and they wrote a contract with one another—they may not contest their contract; the father may not make a deduction from anything that he wrote down for his son on the contract and indicated to his (son's) father-in-law. If, when fate carried off the father's wife, he has acquired another wife and she has borne him children, the children of the later (wife) shall take one-third of the remainder of his property.

10: The seignior, who promised a dowry to his daughter or wrote a deed for her, but whose property later dwindled, shall give his daughter a dowry commensurate with his property that is left; the father-in-law and son-in-law may not join together to contest (it).

11: In the case of a seignior, who gave his daughter a dowry and she had no son or daughter when fate carried her off—her dowry shall revert to her father's house . . . toward the son . . . she may give her dowry to her husband or to anyone that she chooses.

12: In the case of a wife, whose dowry her husband took, who had no son (or) daughter and whose husband fate carried off—a dowry shall be given her from her husband's property as large as the dowry should be. If her husband has presented her with a marriage-gift,<sup>2</sup> she shall take her husband's marriage-gift along with her dowry and then she is quit. If she has no dowry, the judges shall appraise her husband's property (and) something commensurate with her husband's property shall be given her.

13: When a seignior acquired a wife and she bore him children, when fate later carried off that seignior and that woman has made up her mind to enter the house of another—she may take the dowry which she brought from her father's house and whatever her husband presented her with and the husband that chooses her may marry [her]. As long as she lives, she shall have the usufruct thereof along with. . . . If she has borne children to her (later) husband, after her (death) the children of the [later (husband)] and the children of the earlier (husband) [shall share] equally her dowry [and her marriage-gift]. . . .

14: (not preserved)

<sup>1</sup> This is a notation by the scribe, indicating that the tablet from which he was copying had this paragraph only partly preserved.

<sup>2</sup> In these laws *nudunnu* is "dowry" and *šereqtu* is "marriage-gift," which represents an interchange of meanings between the two words from the earlier laws.

# Egyptian and Hittite Treaties

## Egyptian Treaty

(Translator: John A. Wilson)

### TREATY BETWEEN THE HITTITES AND EGYPT

The reign of Ramses II began in hostility against the Hittite state. However, by this pharaoh's twenty-first year (about 1280 B.C.), both powers were ready to conclude a treaty, so that they might turn their attention to other problems, such as the encroachments of the "Sea Peoples." The offensive and defensive alliance set forth in the following document mentions no effective frontier between the two empires. Perhaps there was no one firm line, but Egyptian hegemony was recognized in Palestine and southern Phoenicia, Hittite hegemony in Syria and northern Phoenicia.

Since Akkadian was the diplomatic language of the day, the Egyptian text was a translation, edited to give greater prominence to the role of Egypt in granting peace. The Hittite version (pp. 201-203) was probably much closer to the text formally agreed upon, and the two versions should be read together.

The Egyptian version was carved upon the walls of the Temple of Amon at Karnak and of the Ramesseum. The most satisfactory copy is by W. M. Müller in *MVAG*, VII (1902), No. 5. The standard study, with a comparison of the cuneiform and hieroglyphic texts, was made by S. Langdon and A. H. Gardiner, in *JEA*, VI (1920), 179-205. There is also a translation of the Egyptian in Breasted, *AR*, III, §§367-391\* (See Addenda).

Year 21, 1st month of the second season, day 21,<sup>1</sup> under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: User-maat-Re; Son of Re: Ramses Meri-Amon, given life forever, beloved of Amon-Re; Har-akhti; Ptah, South-of-His-Wall, Lord of Life of the Two Lands; Mut, the Lady of Ishru; and Khonsu Nefer-hotep; appearing on the Horus-Throne of the Living, like his father Har-akhti forever and ever.

On this day, while his majesty was in the town of Per-Ramses Meri-Amon,<sup>2</sup> doing the pleasure of his father Amon-Re; Har-akhti; Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan; Amon of Ramses Meri-Amon;<sup>2</sup> Ptah of Ramses Meri-Amon;<sup>2</sup> and [Seth], the Great of Strength, the Son of Nut, according as they give him an eternity of jubilees and an infinity of years of peace, while all lands and all foreign countries are prostrate under his soles forever—there came the Royal Envoy and Deputy . . . Royal Envoy . . . [User-maat-Re] Setep-en-Re] . . . [Tar]-Teshub,<sup>3</sup> and the Messenger of Hatti, . . . -silis, carrying [the tablet of silver which] the Great Prince of Hatti, Hattusilis [caused] to be brought to Pharaoh—life, prosperity, health!—in order to beg [peace from the majesty of User-maat-Re] Setep-en-Re, the Son of Re: Ramses Meri-Amon, [given] life forever and ever, like his father Re every day.

<sup>1</sup> Around 1280 B.C., this date would fall toward the end of November.

<sup>2</sup> The capital city of Ramses in the Delta.

Copy of the tablet of silver which the Great Prince of Hatti, Hattusilis, caused to be brought to Pharaoh—life, prosperity, health!—by the hand of his envoy (5) Tili-Tar-Teshub, and his envoy Ra-mose,<sup>4</sup> in order to beg peace from the majesty of [User-maat-Re], Son of Re: Ramses Meri-Amon, the bull of rulers, who has made his frontier where he wished in very land.

#### Preamble

The regulations<sup>4</sup> which the Great Prince of Hatti, Hattusilis, the powerful, the son of Mursilis, the Great Prince of Hatti, the powerful, the son of the son of Suppi[luliumas, the Great Prince of Hatti, the] powerful, made upon a tablet of silver for User-maat-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, the powerful, the son of Men-maat-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, the powerful, the son of Men-pehti-Re,<sup>5</sup> the great ruler of Egypt, the powerful; the good regulations of peace and of brotherhood, giving peace . . . forever.

#### Former Relations

Now from the beginning of the limits of eternity, as for the situation of the great ruler of Egypt with the Great Prince of Hatti, the god did not permit hostility to occur between them, through a regulation.<sup>6</sup> But in the time of Muwatallis, the Great Prince of Hatti, my brother,<sup>7</sup> he fought with [Ramses Meri-Amon], the great ruler of Egypt. But hereafter, from this day, behold Hattusilis, the Great Prince of Hatti, [is under] a regulation for making permanent the situation which the Re and Seth<sup>8</sup> made for the land of Egypt with the land of Hatti, in order not to permit hostility to occur between them forever.

#### The Present Treaty

Behold, Hattusilis, the Great Prince of Hatti, has set himself in a regulation with User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, beginning from this day, to cause that good peace and brotherhood occur between us forever, (10) while he is in brotherhood with me and he is at peace with me, and I am in brotherhood with him and I am at peace with him forever.

Now since Muwatallis, the Great Prince of Hatti, my brother, went in pursuit of his fate,<sup>9</sup> and Hattusilis sat as Great Prince of Hatti upon the throne of his father,

<sup>3</sup> Tar-Teshub bears a Hittite name, Ra-mose an Egyptian name. However, in the broken context above, two Hittite names appear. See E. Edel in *JNES*, VII (1948), 17-18.

<sup>4</sup> The "prescribed form," used throughout this inscription for the treaty.

<sup>5</sup> Ramses II, the son of Seti I, the son of Ramses I.

<sup>6</sup> Reference to a previous treaty (in the reign of Hor-em-heb?).

<sup>7</sup> Whose best-known encounter with Ramses II was at the Battle of Kadesh, 16 years earlier; cf. pp. 255-256 below.

<sup>8</sup> Cuneiform version: "the Sun-god and the Storm-god." See n.15 below.

<sup>9</sup> This is an example of the non-Egyptian language resulting from a translation of the cuneiform.

behold, I have come to be with Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, for *we are [together in] our peace and our brotherhood*. It is better than the peace or the brotherhood which was formerly in the land.

Behold, I, as the Great Prince of Hatti, am with [Ramses Meri-Amon], in good peace and in good brotherhood. The children of the children [of] the Great Prince of Hatti *are* in brotherhood and peace with the children of the children of [Ra]mses Meri-[Amon], the great ruler of Egypt, for they are in our situation of brotherhood and our situation [of peace. *The land of Egypt*], with the land of Hatti, [shall be] at peace and in brotherhood like unto us forever. Hostilities shall not occur between them forever.

#### Mutual Renunciation of Invasion

The Great Prince of Hatti shall not trespass against the land of Egypt forever, to take anything from it. And User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not trespass against the land [of Hatti, to take] from it forever.

#### Reaffirmation of Former Treaties

As to the traditional regulation<sup>10</sup> which had been here in the time of Suppiluliumas, the Great Prince of Hatti, as well as the traditional regulation which had been in the time of Muwatallis,<sup>11</sup> the Great Prince of Hatti, my father, I seize hold of it. Behold, Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, seizes hold of (15) [*the regulation which he makes*] together with us, beginning from this day. We seize hold of it, and we act in this traditional situation.

#### A Defensive Alliance—for Egypt

If another enemy come against the lands of User-maat-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, and he send to the Great Prince of Hatti, saying: "Come with me as reinforcement against him," the Great Prince of Hatti shall [come to him and] the Great Prince of Hatti shall slay his enemy. However, if it is not the desire of the Great Prince of Hatti to go (himself), he shall send his infantry and his chariotry, and he shall slay his enemy. Or, if Ramses Meri-Amon, [the great ruler of Egypt], is enraged against servants belonging to him, and they commit another offence against him, and he go to slay them, the Great Prince of Hatti shall act with him [to slay] everyone [against whom] they shall be enraged.

#### A Defensive Alliance—for Hatti

But [if] another enemy [come] against the Great Prince [of Hatti, User]-maat-[Re] Setep-en-Re, [the great ruler of Egypt, shall] come to him as reinforcement to slay his enemy. If it is (not)<sup>12</sup> the desire of Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, to come,

<sup>10</sup> The former treaty.

<sup>11</sup> Muwatallis was the brother of Hattusilis; Mursilis the father of Hattusilis. There seem to have been two former treaties—or one which was valid in two reigns.

<sup>12</sup> It is clear from the context and from the parallel above that the negative has dropped out.

he shall . . . Hatti, [and he shall send his infantry and his] chariotry, besides returning answer to the land of Hatti. Now if the servants of the Great Prince of Hatti trespass against him, and Ramses Meri-Amon. . .

#### The Contingency of Death?

. . . the [land] of Hatti and the land [of Egypt] (20) . . . the life. *Should it be that* I shall go [in] pursuit of my fate, *then* Ramses Meri-[Amon], the great ruler of Egypt, living forever, *shall go and come [to] the [land of] Hatti, . . . to cause . . . , to make him lord for them, to make User-maat-Re Setep-en-[Re], the great ruler of Egypt, silent with his mouth forever.*<sup>13</sup> Now after he . . . the land of Hatti, and he *returns* . . . the Great Prince of Hatti, as well as the. . .

#### Extradition of Refugees to Egypt

[If a great man flee from the land of Egypt and come to] the Great Prince of Hatti, or a town belonging to the lands of Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, and they come to the Great Prince of Hatti, the Great Prince of Hatti shall not receive them. The Great Prince of Hatti shall cause them to be brought to User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, their lord, [because] of it. Or if a man or two men—no matter who<sup>14</sup>—flee, and they come to the land of Hatti to be servants of someone else, they shall not be left in the land of Hatti; they shall be brought to Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt.

#### Extradition of Refugees to Hatti

Or if a great man flee from the land of Hatti and [come to User]-maat-[Re] Setep-en-Re, the [great] ruler of Egypt, or a town or a district or a . . . belonging to the land of Hatti, and they come to Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, (then) User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not receive them. Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, shall cause them to be brought to the Prince [of Hatti]. They shall not be left. Similarly, if a man or two men—(25) [no] matter who<sup>14</sup>—flee, and they come to the land of Egypt to be servants of other people, User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not leave them. He shall cause them to be brought to the Great Prince of Hatti.

#### The Divine Witnesses to the Treaty

As for these words of the regulation [*which*] the Great Prince of Hatti [*made*] with Ramses [Meri-Amon], the great ruler [of Egypt], in writing upon this tablet of silver—as for these words, a thousand gods of the male gods and of the female gods of them of the land of Hatti, together with a thousand gods of the male gods and of the female gods of them of the land of

<sup>13</sup> The meaning of this section is uncertain, but it seems to provide that Ramses II shall take helpful action in the succession to the Hittite throne, if Hattusilis dies. If so, the reciprocal section about Egypt does not appear. cf. the Hittite version.

<sup>14</sup> "They are unknown." The clause provides for the same treatment of individuals and of subject princes or subject states.

Egypt, are with me as witnesses [*hearing*] these words:<sup>15</sup> the Re, the lord of the sky; the Re of the town of Arinna; Seth, the lord of the sky; Seth of Hatti; Seth of the town of Arinna; Seth of the town of Zippalanda; Seth of the town of Pe(tt)iyarik; Seth of the town of Hissas(ha)pa; Seth of the town of Sarissa; Seth of the town of Aleppo; Seth of the town of Lihzina; Seth of the town . . . ; . . . ; Seth of the town of *Sahpin*; *Antares*<sup>16</sup> of the land of Hatti; the god of Zithari(as); the god of *Karzi*; the god of Hapantaliyas; the goddess of the town of Karahna; the goddess of . . . . .<sup>17</sup> . . . ; the Queen of the Sky; the gods, the lords of oaths; this goddess, the Lady of the Ground; the Lady of the Oath, Ishara; the Lady (30) (*of the*) mountains and the rivers of the land of Hatti; the gods of the land of Kizuwadna; Amon; the Re; Seth; the male gods; the female gods; the mountains; and the rivers of the land of Egypt; the sky; the earth; the great sea; the winds; and the clouds.

#### Curses and Blessings for this Treaty

As for these words which are on this tablet of silver of the land of Hatti and of the land of Egypt—as for him who shall not keep them, a thousand gods of the land of Hatti, together with a thousand gods of the land of Egypt, shall destroy his house, his land, and his servants. But, as for him who shall keep these words which are on this tablet of silver, whether they are Hatti or whether they are Egyptians, and they are not *neglectful* of them, a thousand gods of the land of Hatti, together with a thousand gods of the land of Egypt, shall cause that he be well, shall cause that he live, together with his houses and his (land) and his servants.

#### Extradition of Egyptians from Hatti

If a man flee from the land of Egypt—or two or three—and they come to the Great Prince of Hatti, the Great Prince of Hatti shall lay hold of them, and he shall cause that they be brought back to User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, the great ruler of Egypt. But, as for the man who shall be brought to Ramses Meri-Amon, the great ruler of Egypt, do not cause that his crime be raised against him; do not cause that his house or his wives or his children be destroyed; [do not cause that] he be [slain]; do not cause that injury be done to his eyes, to his ears, to his mouth, or to his legs; do not let any [crime be raised] against him.

<sup>15</sup> Langdon and Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 194-97, show a number of the cuneiform originals of these Hittite deities. The present translation has profited by the suggestions of A. Goetze. For example, "the Re, the lord of the sky" from an original "the Sun-god, lord of heaven"; "the Re of the town of Arinna" from an original "the Sun-goddess of Arinna"; "Seth, lord of the sky" from an original "the Storm-god, lord of heaven"; etc.

<sup>16</sup> Goetze believes that the formerly proposed emendation of this name to "Astarte" is impossible and that the original here had "the (patron god) of the Hatti land," with the ideogram <sup>6</sup>KAL, Hittite reading unknown but designating the patron god, hidden behind the curious Egyptian *ḥrt* (fem.).

<sup>17</sup> Goetze rules out the previously proposed "the goddess of Tyre," and suggests that we have here an Egyptian attempt to render a Hittite original, "the goddess of the field." He believes that the previous "the goddess of the town of Karahna" stems from an original "the (patron god) of Karahna," <sup>6</sup>KAL again. The present translation omits a broken context following this note.

#### Extradition of Hittites from Egypt

Similarly, if men flee from the land of Hatti—whether he be one or two or three—and they come to User-maat-Re Setep-en-Re, (35) the great ruler of Egypt, let Ramses Meri-Amon, the [great] ruler [of Egypt], lay hold [of them and cause] that they be brought to the Great Prince of Hatti, and the Great Prince of Hatti shall not raise their crime against them, and they shall not destroy his house or his wives or his children, and they shall not slay him, and they shall not do injury to his ears, to his eyes, to his mouth, or to his legs, and they shall not raise any crime against him.

#### Description of the Tablet

What is in the middle of the tablet of silver. On its front side: figures consisting of an image of Seth embracing an image of the Great Prince [of Hatti], surrounded by a border with the words: "the seal of Seth, the ruler of the sky; the seal of the regulation which Hattusilis made, the Great Prince of Hatti, the powerful, the son of Mursilis, the Great Prince of Hatti, the powerful." What is within that which surrounds the figures: the seal [of Seth. What is on] its other side: figures consisting of a female image of [the] goddess of Hatti embracing a female image of the Princess of Hatti, surrounded by a border with the words: "the seal of the Re of the town of Arinna, the lord of the land; the seal of Putu-hepa, the Princess of the land of Hatti, the daughter of the land of Kizuwadna, the [priestess] of [the town of] Arinna, the Lady of the Land, the servant of the goddess." What is within the surrounding (frame) of the figures: the seal of the Re of Arinna, the lord of every land.

## Hittite Treaties

(Translator: Albrecht Goetze)

Treaties, rare in other parts of the ancient Near East, are relatively frequent among the Hittite texts. Most of the surviving examples of this type have been translated previously. The most important publications are the following two: E. F. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien (Boghazköi Studien, VIII and IX, 1923)*. J. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache (MVAG, XXXI/1, 1926 and XXXIV/1, 1930)*. From the legal point of view the treaties have been dealt with in the following book: V. Korošec, *Hethitische Staatsverträge. Ein Beitrag zu ihrer juristischen Wertung (Leipziger Rechtswissenschaftliche Studien, IX, 1931)*.

#### TREATY BETWEEN HATTUSILIS AND RAMSES II

Texts: KBo, I, 7 + KUB, III, 121 and its duplicates KBo, I, 25, KUB, III, 11 + Fragn. Likhachev (*Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniya Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obščestva*, xxv [1918], p. 78) and KUB, III, 120. Literature: B. Meissner, *ZDMG*, LXXII (1918), 46-57; A. H. Gardiner and S. Langdon, *JEA*, vi (1920), 179-205; H. Zimmern in Lehmann-Haas, *Textbuch zur Religionsgeschichte* (2nd ed., 1922), 332; E. F. Weidner, *Politische*



*Dokumente aus Kleinasien (Boghazköi Studien, IX, 1923), 112-123. For the Egyptian version see J. A. Wilson, above pp. 199-201.*

### Title

Treaty of Rea-mashesha mai Amana,<sup>1</sup> the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, the valiant, with Hattusilis, the great king of the Hatti land, his brother, for establishing [good] peace [and] good brotherhood [worthy of] great [king]ship between them forever.

### Preamble

These are the words of Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the great king of the land of Egypt, the valiant of all lands, the son (5) of Min-mua-rea,<sup>2</sup> the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, the valiant, the grandson of Min-pakhta-rea,<sup>3</sup> the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, the valiant, (spoken) to Hattusilis, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, the valiant, the son of Mursilis, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, the valiant, the grandson of Suppiluliumas, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, the valiant.

### Relations up to the Conclusion of the Treaty

Now I have established good brotherhood (and) good peace between us forever. In order to establish good peace (and) good brotherhood in [the relationship] of the land of Egypt with the Hatti land forever (I speak) thus: Behold, as for the relationship between the land of Egypt (10) and the Hatti land, since eternity the god does not permit the making of hostility between them because of a treaty (valid) forever. Behold, Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, in order to bring about the relationship that the Sun-god<sup>4</sup> and the Storm-god<sup>5</sup> have effected for the land of Egypt with the Hatti land finds himself in a relationship valid since eternity which [does not permit] the making of hostility between [them] until all and everlasting time.

### The Present Treaty

Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, has entered into a treaty (written) upon a silver tablet (15) with Hattusilis, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, [his] brother, [from] this [da]y on to establish good peace (and) good brotherhood be[tween us] forever. He is a brother [to me] and I am a brother to him and at peace with him forever. And as for us, our brotherhood and our peace is being brought about and it will be better than the brotherhood and the peace which existed formerly for the land of Egypt with the Hatti land.

<sup>1</sup> This is Egyptian in cuneiform characters meaning "Ramses beloved of Amon."

<sup>2</sup> This is the "throne name" of Seti I in cuneiform transliteration.

<sup>3</sup> This is the "throne name" of Ramses I in cuneiform transliteration.

<sup>4</sup> Rea (Re), the chief god of the Egyptians.

<sup>5</sup> The chief god of the Hittites. His name cannot be put in the text because it is always written ideographically and his real name therefore unknown.

### Future Relations of the Two Countries

Behold, Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the king of the land of Egypt, is in good peace (and) in good brotherhood with [Hattusilis], the great king, the king of the Hatti land.

Behold the sons of Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the king of the land of Egypt, (20) are in peace with (and) brothers of the sons of Hattusilis, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, forever. They are in the same relationship of brotherhood and peace as we.

And as for (the relationship of) the land of Egypt with the Hatti land, they are at peace and brothers like us forever.

### Mutual Renunciation of Aggression

Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, shall not trespass into the Hatti land to take anything therefrom in the future. And Hattusilis, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, shall not trespass into the land of Egypt to take anything therefrom in the future.

Behold, the holy ordinance (valid) forever which the Sun-god and the Storm-god had brought about (25) for the land of Egypt with the Hatti land (calls for) peace and brotherhood so as not to make hostility between them. Behold, Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, has seized hold of it in order to bring about well-being from this day on. Behold, the land of Egypt (in its relation) with the Hatti land—they are at peace and brothers forever.

### Defensive Alliance

If an enemy from abroad comes against the Hatti land, and Hattusilis, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, sends to me saying: "Come to me to help me against him," Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, (30) shall send his foot soldiers (and) his charioteers and they shall slay [his enemy and] take revenge upon him for the sake of the Hatti land.

And if Hattusilis, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, is angry with servants belonging to him (and if) they have failed against him and sends to Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, on their account—lo! Rea-mashesha mai Amana shall send his foot soldiers (and) his charioteers and they shall destroy all those with whom he is angry.

If an enemy from abroad comes against the land of Egypt and Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the king of the land of Egypt, your brother, sends to Hattusilis, (35) the king of the Hatti land, his brother, saying: "Come here to help me against him"—lo! Hattusilis, the king of the Hatti land, shall send his foot soldiers (and) his charioteers and shall slay my enemies.

And if Rea-mashesha ma[i] Amana, the king of] the land of Egypt, is angry with servants belonging to him (and if) they have committed sin again[st him and I send] to Hattusilis, the king of the Hatti land, my

brother, on his account—lo! Hattusilis, [the king of the Hatti land,] my brother, shall send his foot soldiers (and) his charioteers and they shall destroy all those with whom he is angry.

### Succession to the Throne

(40) Behold, the son of Hattusilis, the king of the Hatti land, shall be made king of the Hatti land in place of Hattusilis, his father, after the many years of Hattusilis, the king of the Hatti land. If the noblemen of the Hatti land commit sin against him—lo! [Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the king of Egypt, shall send foot soldiers] (and) charioteers to take revenge upon them [for the sake of the Hatti land. And after they have re-established order] in the country of the king of the Hatti land, [they shall return<sup>6</sup>] to the country [of Egypt].

(Corresponding provision concerning Egypt lost in a gap.)

### Extradition of Fugitives

(reverse 7) [If a nobleman flees from the Hatti land and i]f one (such) man comes [to Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt,] in order to enter his services—[be it a . . . belonging to Ha]ttusilis, the king of the Hatti land, (10) [be it a . . .] or a single town—[Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the great king, the king of the land Egypt, shall seize them and] shall have them brought back to the king of the Hatti land.

(several badly broken lines)

(18) [If a nobleman] flees [from Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the king of the land of Egypt, and if one (such) man] comes to the [Hatti] land, [Ha]ttusilis, (20) [the great king, the king of the Hatti land, shall seize him and] shall have him brought back to R[ea-mashesha mai] Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, his brother.

If one man flees from the [Hatti land or] two men, [or three men and come to] Rea-mashesha mai [Amana, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt,] [Rea-mashesha] mai Amana, the great king, [the king of the land of Egypt, shall seize them and have them brought back to] Hattusilis, his brother. [Rea-mashesha mai Amana and Hattusilis are verily] brothers; hence [let them not exact punishment for] their sins, [let them not] tear out [their eyes; (25) let them not take revenge upon] their people [ . . . together with] their [wives and wi]th their children.

If [one man flees from Egypt] or two men or three men [and come to Hattusilis, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, Hattusilis, the great king], the king of the Hatti land, his brother, shall seize them and have them brought [back to Rea-mashesha mai Amana, the great king, the king of] the land of Egypt. [Hattusilis, the king of the Hatti land], and Rea-mashesha, the great king, the k[ing of the land of Egypt, are verily brothers; hence let them not exact punishment for their sins,] (30) [ . . .] let them not tear out their eyes; [let them

<sup>6</sup> This restoration is suggested by the Egyptian parallel.

not take revenge upon their people . . . together with] their wives (and) with their children.

(After some fragmentary lines the text breaks off altogether. With the end of the treaty the list of the gods who were invoked as witnesses is missing.)

### TREATY BETWEEN MURSILIS AND DUPPI-TESSUB OF AMURRU

Texts: Akkadian version: KUB, III, 14. Hittite version: KBo, v, 9; KUB, III, 119; KUB, XIV, 5; KUB, XIX, 48; KUB, XXI, 49. Literature: J. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache (MVAG, XXXI/1, 1926)*, 1-48. E. F. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien (Boghazköi Studien, VIII, 1923)*, 76-79.

### Preamble

1. These are the words of the Sun<sup>1</sup> Mursilis, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, the valiant, the favorite of the Storm-god, the son of Suppiluliumas, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, the valiant.

### Historical Introduction

2. Aziras<sup>2</sup> was the grandfather of you, Duppi-Tessub. He rebelled against my father, but submitted again to my father. When the kings of Nuhasse land<sup>3</sup> and the kings of Kinza<sup>4</sup> rebelled against my father, Aziras did not rebel. As he was bound by treaty, he remained bound by treaty. As my father fought against his enemies, in the same manner fought Aziras. Aziras remained loyal toward my father [as his overlord] and did not incite my father's anger. My father was loyal toward Aziras and his country; he did not undertake any unjust action against him or incite his or his country's anger in any way. 300 (shekels of) refined and first-class gold, the tribute which my father had imposed upon your father, he brought year for year; he never refused it.

3. When my father became god<sup>5</sup> and I seated myself on the throne of my father, Aziras behaved toward me just as he had behaved toward my father. It happened that the Nuhasse kings and the king of Kinza rebelled a second time against me. But Aziras, your grandfather, and Du-Tessub,<sup>6</sup> your father, [did not take their side]; they remained loyal to me as their lord. [When he grew too old] and could no longer go to war and fight, Du-Tessub fought against the enemy with the foot soldiers and the charioteers of the Amurru land just as he had fought with foot soldiers and charioteers against the enemy. And the Sun destroyed them.

(gap in which the reign of Du-Tessub was dealt with)

6\*. (Du-Tessub recommends his son as his successor:) "[ . . . When I die, accept my son] Duppi-Tessub as your vassal."

7\*. When your father died, in accordance with your

<sup>1</sup> Sun is the title with which the Hittite king is addressed.

<sup>2</sup> The king of Amurru who is well known from the Amarna letters.

<sup>3</sup> The region between Halba (Aleppo) and the Orontes River.

<sup>4</sup> Qadesh on the Orontes, today Tell Nebi Mendo.

<sup>5</sup> i.e. died.

<sup>6</sup> The first part of the name is an ideogram, the Hurrian pronunciation of which is not known; in this case even the meaning of the ideogram is obscure.

father's word I did not drop you. Since your father had mentioned to me your name *with great praise*, I sought after you. To be sure, you were sick and ailing, but although you were ailing, I, the Sun, put you in the place of your father and took your brothers (and) sisters and the Amurru land in oath for you.

#### *Future Relations of the Two Countries*

8\*. When I, the Sun, sought after you in accordance with your father's word and put you in your father's place, I took you in oath for the king of the Hatti land, the Hatti land, and for my sons and grandsons. So honor the oath (of loyalty) to the king and the king's *kin*! And I, the king, will be loyal toward you, Duppi-Tessub. When you take a wife, and when you beget an heir, he shall be king in the Amurru land likewise. And just as I shall be loyal toward you, even so shall I be loyal toward your son. But you, Duppi-Tessub, remain loyal toward the king of the Hatti land, the Hatti land, my sons (and) my grandsons forever! The tribute which was imposed upon your grandfather and your father—they presented 300 shekels of good, refined first-class gold weighed with standard weights—you shall present them likewise. Do not turn your eyes to anyone else! Your fathers presented tribute to Egypt; you [shall not do that!]

(gap)

#### *Military Clauses*

9\*.<sup>7</sup> [With my friend you shall be friend, and with my enemy you shall be enemy. If the king of the Hatti land is either in the Hurri land,<sup>8</sup> or in the land of Egypt, or in the country of Astata,<sup>9</sup> or in the country of Alse<sup>10</sup>—any country contiguous to the territory of your country that is friendly with the king of the Hatti land—(or in) any country contiguous to the territory of your country that is friendly with the king of the Hatti land—(as) the country of Mukis,<sup>11</sup> the country of Halba<sup>12</sup> (and) the country of Kinza<sup>13</sup>—but turns around and becomes inimical toward the king of the Hatti land while the king of the Hatti land is on a marauding campaign—if then you, Duppi-Tessub, do not remain loyal together with your foot soldiers and your charioteers and if you do not fight wholeheartedly; or if I should send out a prince (or) a high officer with foot soldiers and charioteers to re-enforce you, Duppi-Tessub, (for the purpose of) going out to maraud in another c[ountry—if then you, Duppi-Tessub, do not fight wholeheartedly (that) enemy with [your army and your charioteers] and speak as follows: "I am under an

<sup>7</sup> The bracketed first part of the section is here restored from the treaty between Mursilis and Tette of Nuhasse (KBo, 1, 4 etc. in Akkadian, translated by Weidner, *loc. cit.*, 58 ff.). It is possible that not all the geographical names were the same here.

<sup>8</sup> Upper Mesopotamia between the Euphrates and Assyria.

<sup>9</sup> The region at the bend of the Euphrates south of Jerablus.

<sup>10</sup> The region on the upper Tigris.

<sup>11</sup> Its capital is Alalaha, the ancient name of Atchana (Tell Aḫana) east of Antakya.

<sup>12</sup> Aleppo.

<sup>13</sup> Qadesh on the Orontes, today Tell Nebi Mendo.

oath of loyalty, but [how am I to know] whether they will beat the enemy, or the enemy will beat them?"; or if you even send a man to that enemy and inform him as follows: "An army and charioteers of the Hatti land are on their way; be on your guard!"—(if you do such things) you act in disregard of your oath.

10\*. As I, the Sun, am loyal toward you, do you extend military help to the Sun and the Hatti land. If an evil rumor originates in the Hatti land that someone (is to) rise in revolt against the Sun and you hear it, leave with your foot soldiers and your charioteers and go immediately to the aid of the king of the Hatti land! But if you are not able to leave yourself, dispatch either your son or your brother together with your foot soldiers (and) your charioteers to the aid of the king of the Hatti land! If you do not dispatch your son (or) your brother with your foot soldiers (and) your charioteers to the aid of the king of the Hatti land, you act in disregard of the gods of the oath.

11\*. If anyone should press you hard, Duppi-Tessub, or (if) anyone should revolt against you, (if) you then write to the king of the Hatti land, and the king of the Hatti land dispatches foot soldiers and charioteers to your aid—(if you treat them in an unfair manner<sup>14</sup>), you act in disregard of the gods of the oath.

12\*. If they take Hittites—foot soldiers and charioteers—through Duppi-Tessub's territory and Duppi-Tessub provides them while passing through (his) towns with food and drink—(if that army) engages in any misconduct—pilfering in his country or his towns or in an attempt at deposing Duppi-Tessub from his kingship—it acts in disregard of the oath.

#### *Dealings with Foreigners etc.*

13\*. If anyone of the deportees from the Nuhasse land or of the deportees from the country of Kinza whom my father removed and myself removed escapes and comes to you, (if) you do not seize him and turn him back to the king of the Hatti land, and even tell him as follows: "Go! Where you are going to, I do not want to know," you act in disregard of your oath.

14\*. If anyone utters words unfriendly toward the king or the Hatti land before you, Duppi-Tessub, you shall not withhold his name from the king. Or if the Sun (iii) gives you an order in secrecy (saying): "Do this or that!" (if) that order cannot be executed, petition about it on the spot (stating): "This order I cannot execute and will not execute" and the king will *reconsider* it then and there. But if you do not execute an order which can (well) be executed and deceive the king, or (if) you do not keep to yourself the word which the king told you in secrecy, you act in disregard of the oath.

15\*. If a country or a fugitive takes to the road and while betaking themselves to the Hatti land pass through your territory, put them on the right way, show them the way to the Hatti land and speak friendly words

<sup>14</sup> Inadvertently omitted by the scribe.

to them! Do not send them to anyone else! If you do not put them on the right way, (if) you do not guide them on the right way to the Hatti land, but direct them into the mountains or speak unfriendly words before them, you act in disregard of the oath.

16\*. Or if the king of the Hatti land is getting the better of a country and puts them to flight, and they come to your country, if then you desire to take anything from them, ask the king of the Hatti land for it! You shall not take it on your own! If you lay hand on it by yourself or conceal it, (you act in disregard of the oath).

17\*. Furthermore, if a fugitive comes to your country, seize him! . . .

(gap)

#### *Invocation of the Gods<sup>15</sup>*

18\*. [The Sun-god of Heaven, the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god of Heaven, the Hattian Storm-god, Seris (and) Hurris,<sup>16</sup> Mount Nanni (and) Mount Hazzi,<sup>17</sup> the Storm-god of [ . . . ], the Storm-god of Halab, the Storm-god of Zippalanda, the Storm-god of Nerik, the Storm-god of Lihzina, the Storm-god of Hissashapa, the Storm-god of Sabina, the Storm-god of Tahaya, the Storm-god of Bettiyarik, the Storm-god of Samuha, the Storm-god of Hurma, the Storm-god of Saressa, the Storm-god of . . . , the Storm-god of Uda, the Storm-god of Kizzuwatna, the Storm-god of Ishupitta, the Storm-god of Nuhasse;

the Patron-god, the Hattian Patron-god, Zithariyas, Hapantalliyas, the Patron-god of Karahna, the Patron-god of the shield, Ea, Allatum, Telepinus of Durmitta, Telepinus of Tawiniya, Telepinus of Hanhana, Ishtar the Mighty, Askasepas;

Sin, lord of the oath, Ishara, queen of the oath, Hebat, queen of heaven, Ishtar, Ishtar of the battlefield, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Hattarina, Ninatta (and)] Kulitta, the Hattian Warrior-god, the Warrior-god of Ellaya, the Warrior-god of Arziya, Yarris, Zampanas;

Hantidassus of Hurma, Abaras of Samuhas, Katahhas of Ankuwa, the Queen of Katapa, Ammammas of Tahirpa, Hallaras of Dunna, Huwassanas of Hupisna, Tapisuwa of Ishupitta, the "Lady" of Landa, Kunniyawannis of Landa, NIN.PISAN.PISAN of Kinza, Mount Lablana,<sup>18</sup> Mount Sariyana,<sup>19</sup> Mount Pisaisa, the Lulahhi gods (and) the Hapiri<sup>20</sup> gods, Ereskigal, the gods and goddesses of the Hatti land, the gods and goddesses of Amurru land, all the olden gods, Naras, Napsaras, Minki, Tuhusi, Ammunki, Ammizadu, Allalu, Anu, Antu, Apantu, Ellil, Ninlil, the mountains, the rivers, the springs, the great Sea, heaven and earth, the winds

<sup>15</sup> The bracketed part is again taken from the treaty with Tette of Nuhasse, sec. n.7.

<sup>16</sup> The two bulls of the Storm-god.

<sup>17</sup> Mons Casius near Ugarit.

<sup>18</sup> The Lebanon.

<sup>19</sup> The Hermon.

<sup>20</sup> Much discussed in connection with the question as to whether the Hapiri (widely quoted as Habiri), who are ubiquitous in cuneiform texts of the times, are to be equated with the Hebrews.

(and) the clouds—let these be witnesses to this treaty and to the oath.

#### *Curses and Blessings*

20\*. The words of the treaty and the oath that are inscribed on this tablet—should Duppi-Tessub not honor these words of the treaty and the oath, may these gods of the oath destroy Duppi-Tessub together with his person, his wife, his son, his grandson, his house, his land and together with everything that he owns.

21\*. But if Duppi-Tessub honors these words of the treaty and the oath that are inscribed on this tablet, may these gods of the oath protect him together, with his person, his wife, his son, his grandson, his house (and) his country.

#### GOD LIST, BLESSINGS AND CURSES OF THE TREATY BETWEEN SUPPILULIUMAS AND KURTIWAZA

Text: KBo, 1, 1 (and duplicates) reverse 35 ff. (in Akkadian). Literature: E. F. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien* (= *Boghazköi Studien*, VIII) 27 ff.

A duplicate of this tablet has been deposited before the Sun-goddess of Arinna, because the Sun-goddess of Arinna regulates kingship and queenship.

In the Mitanni land (a duplicate) has been deposited before Tessub, the lord of the *kurinnu*<sup>1</sup> of Kahat. At regular intervals shall they read it in the presence of the king of the Mitanni land and in the presence of the sons of the Hurri country. Whoever will remove this tablet from before Tessub, the lord of the *kurinnu* of Kahat, and put it in a hidden place, if he breaks it or causes anyone else to change the wording of the tablet—at the conclusion of this treaty we have called the gods to be assembled and the gods of the contracting parties to be present, to listen and to serve as witnesses: The Sun-goddess of Arinna who regulates kingship and queenship in the Hatti land, the Sun-god, the lord of heaven, the Storm-god, the lord of the Hatti land, Seris (and) Hurris,<sup>2</sup> the mountains Nanni (and) Hazzi,<sup>3</sup> the Storm-god, the lord of the KILAM, the Storm-god, the lord of the encampment, the Storm-god, the lord of aid, the Storm-god of Bettiyarik, the Storm-god of Nerik, the Storm-god, the lord of the mounds, the Storm-god of Halab, the Storm-god of Lihzina, the Storm-god of Samuha, the Storm-god of Hurma, the Storm-god of Saressa, the Storm-god of Sapinuwa, the Storm-god of Hissashapa, the Storm-god of Tahaya, the Storm-god of . . . , the Storm-god of Kizzuwatna, the Storm-god of Uda, the Hattian Patron-god of Karahna, Zithariyas, Karzis, Hapantalliyas, the Patron-god of the field, the Patron-god of the shield, Leliwanis, Ea and Damkina, Telepinus of Tawiniya, Telepinus of Durmitta, Telepinus of Hanhana, the warlike Ishtar, Askasipa, Halkis, the

<sup>1</sup> A kind of sanctuary or shrine.

<sup>2</sup> The two bulls sacred to the Storm-god.

<sup>3</sup> Mons Casius on the Mediterranean shore near Ugarit.

Moon-god lord of the oath, Ishara queen of the oath, Hebat queen of heaven, Hebat of Halba, Hebat of Uda, Hebat of Kizzuwatna, the Warrior-god, the Hattian Warrior-god, the Warrior-god of Ellaya, the Warrior-god of Arziya, Yarris, Zappanas, Hasammelis, Hantidasus of Hurma, Abaras of Samuha, Katahhas of Ankuwa, Katahhas of Katapa, Mammās of Tahirpa, Hallaras of Dunna, Huwassanas of Hupisna, the "Lady" of Landa, Kunniyawannis of Landa, the Lulahhi gods (and) the Hapiri gods,<sup>4</sup> all the gods and goddesses of the Hatti land, the gods and goddesses of the country of Kizzuwatna, Ereskigal, Nara, Namsara, Minku, Amminku, Tussi, Ammizadu, Alalu, Anu, Antu, Ellil, Ninlil, Bēlat-Ekalli, the mountains, the rivers, the Tigris (and) the Euphrates, heaven and earth, the winds (and) the clouds;

Tessub, the lord of heaven and earth,<sup>5</sup> Kusuh<sup>6</sup> and Simigi,<sup>7</sup> the Harranian Moon-god of heaven and earth, Tessub lord of the *kurinnu* of Kahat, the . . . of Gorta, Tessub lord of Uhusuman, Ea-sarru lord of wisdom, Anu and Antu, Ellil and Ninlil, the twin gods Mitra and Uruwana,<sup>8</sup> Indar,<sup>9</sup> the Nassatiyana gods,<sup>10</sup> ELLAT, Samaminuhi, Tessub lord of Wassukkanni, Tessub lord of the *kamari*<sup>11</sup> of Irrite, Partahi of Suta, Nabarbi, Suruhi, Ashur star, Sala, Bēlat-Ekalli, Damkina, Ishara, the mountains and the rivers, the gods of heaven and the gods of the earth;—

at the conclusion of the words of this treaty let them be present, let them listen and let them serve as witnesses. If you, Kurtiwaza, the prince, and (you) the sons of the Hurri country do not fulfill the words of

<sup>4</sup> Much discussed in connection with the question as to whether the Hapiri, ubiquitous in cuneiform texts of the times, are to be equated with the Hebrews.

<sup>5</sup> The Hurrian form of the Storm-god.

<sup>6</sup> The Hurrian Moon-god.

<sup>7</sup> The Hurrian Sun-god.

<sup>8</sup> Mitra and Varuna, the Indian gods, appear here among the Hurrian pantheon.

<sup>9</sup> Indra, also an Indian god.

<sup>10</sup> The Nasatyas of the Indians.

<sup>11</sup> A kind of sanctuary or shrine.

this treaty, may the gods, the lords of the oath, blot you out, (you) Kurtiwaza and (you) the Hurri men together with your country, your wives and all that you have. May they draw you like malt from its hull. Just as one does not obtain a plant from *bubuwaḫi*, even so may you Kurtiwaza with a second wife that you may take,<sup>12</sup> and (you) the Hurri men with your wives, your sons and your country have no seed. These gods of the contracting parties may bring misery and poverty over you. May they overturn your throne, (yours), of Kurtiwaza. May the oaths sworn in the presence of these gods break you like reeds, you, Kurtiwaza, together with your country. May they exterminate from the earth your name and your seed (born) from a second wife that you may take. Much as you may seek *uninterrupted* peace for your country, from the midst of the Hurrians may that be banned. May the earth be coldness so that you fall down slipping. May the soil of your country be a hardened quagmire so that you break in, but never get across. May you, Kurtiwaza, and (you), the Hurrians, be hateful to the thousand gods, may they pursue you.

If (on the other hand) you, Kurtiwaza, the prince, and (you), the Hurrians, fulfill this treaty and (this) oath, may these gods protect you, Kurtiwaza, together with your wife, the daughter of the Hatti land, her children and her children's children, and also (you), the Hurrians, together with your wives, your children, and your children's children and together with your country. May the Mitanni country return to the place which it occupied before,<sup>13</sup> may it thrive and expand. May you, Kurtiwaza, your sons and your sons' sons (descended) from the daughter of the Great King of the Hatti land, and (you), the Hurrians, exercise kingship forever. May the throne of your father persist, may the Mitanni country persist.

<sup>12</sup> Kurtiwaza's main wife was a daughter of Suppiluliumas, his overlord.

<sup>13</sup> Lit.: to its place.

## Hittite Instructions

TRANSLATOR: ALBRECHT GOETZE

### Instructions for Palace Personnel to Insure the King's Purity

Text: KUB, XIII, 3. Literature: J. Friedrich, *MAOG*, IV (1928), 46-58.

(Less than half of the tablet—parts of the columns ii and iii—yields an intelligible text.)

(ii) [If] anyone does something [in an unclean way (or if) anyone arouses [the king's displeasure], (but) you say as follows: "[The king] is not seeing us," (be aware of the fact that) the king's gods will certainly observe you. They will treat you as a goat and pursue you over the mountains, they will treat you as a *sheep* and pursue you over the rocks.

When some day the king's anger is aroused and I (the king) summon you, all the kitchen personnel, and hand you over to the River (for an ordeal)—whoever will be proven innocent, will remain the king's servant. But whoever will be proven guilty, I, the king, would not wish (to retain) him. Together with his wife and his children they shall put him to death.

Further: You, all the kitchen personnel—the cup-bearer, the table-man, the cook, the baker, the *tawal* man, the *walhi* man, the *cellarius*, the *paṣandalaš*, the dairy man, the *kīpliyalaš*, the *šurralaš*, the *tappalaš*, the *keeper of the loaves*, the *zuppalaš*—you will have to swear an oath of loyalty to the king every month. Fill a bitumen cup with water and pour it out toward the Sun-god and speak as follows: "Whoever does something in an unclean way and offers to the king polluted water, (iii) pour you, O gods, that man's soul out like water!"

Further: You who are the shoemakers who make the king's shoes, take always oxhides from the (royal) kitchen! Do not take any other! He who takes any other and it becomes known afterward, they will put him to death together with his offspring.

Further: You who are leatherworkers of the house of the *taršipaliyaš*, of the house of the *appaš* or the foreman of ten among the *taršipalaš* and you who produce the chariot on which the king is to stand, take always oxhides (and) goatskins from the (royal) kitchen! Do not take any other!

If you take any other and tell the king about it, it is no crime for you. I, the king, will send that abroad or give it to my servants.

But if you conceal it and it becomes known afterward, they will put you to death together with your wives (and) your children.

Further: You who are water carriers, be very careful with water! Strain the water with a strainer! At some

time I, the king, found a hair in the water pitcher in Sanahuitta. The king became angry and I expressed my anger to the water carriers (saying): "This is *scandalous*." Then Arniliš (said): "Zuliyas was careless." The king said: "Let Zuliyas go to the . . . !<sup>1</sup> If he proves innocent, let him clean himself! If he is found guilty, he shall be killed!"

Zuliyas went to the . . . and was found guilty. They placed Zuliyas [ . . . ] in Sures[ . . . ], the king [ . . . ] him and he died.

### Instructions for Temple Officials

Texts: KUB, XIII, 4 and its duplicates KUB, XIII, 5 + KUB, XXXI, 95, KUB, XIII, 6 + 19 and furthermore KUB, XIII, 17, 18; KUB, XXVI, 31; KUB, XXXI, 92, 93 and 94, several of which may be remnants of the same tablet or belong to one of the duplicates. Literature: E. H. Sturtevant, *JAOS*, LIV (1934), 363-406, also separately as *Publications of the American Oriental Society, Offprint Series*, No. 4 (1934). Text, transliteration and translation are also found in Sturtevant-Bechtel, *A Hittite Chrestomathy* (1935), 127-174.

(The beginning of column i has not been recovered as yet.)

2. Furthermore, let those who prepare the daily loaves be clean. (15) Let them be bathed (and) *groomed*, let their (*body*) hair and nails be removed. Let them be clothed in clean dresses. [While unclean], let them not prepare (the loaves); let those who are [agreeable] to the gods' soul and person prepare them. The bakers' house in which they prepare them—let that be swept (and) scrubbed. (20) Furthermore, let a pig or a dog not stay at the door of the place where the loaves are broken. Are the minds of men and of the gods generally different? No! With regard to the matter with which we are dealing? No! Their minds are exactly alike. When a servant is to stand before his master, he is bathed and clothed in clean (garments); he either gives him his food, or he gives him his beverage. (25) And because he, his master, eats (and) drinks, he is relaxed in spirit and feels one with him. But if he (the servant) is ever remiss, (if) he is inattentive, his mind is alien to him. And if a slave causes his master's anger, they will either kill him or they will injure him at his nose, his eyes (or) (30) his ears; or [they will seize] him, his wife, his children, his brother, his sister, his in-laws, his kin whether it be a male slave or a slave-girl. They may (either) impose the extreme penalty, (or) they do they only make a proclamation & do nothing at all to him?<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A kind of ordeal.



may do to him nothing at all. If ever he is to die, he will not die alone; his kin will accompany him.

3. If then, on the other hand, anyone arouses the anger of a god, (35) does the god take revenge on him alone? Does he not take revenge on his wife, his children, his descendants, his kin, his slaves, and slave-girls, his cattle (and) sheep together with his crop and will utterly destroy him? Be very reverent indeed to the word of a god!

4. Further: The festival of the month, the festival of the year, the festival of the stag, the festival of autumn, (40), the festival of spring, the festival of thunder, the festival of *hiyaraš*, the festival of *pudahaš*, the festival of *išuwāš*, the festival of [ . . . ] *dulaššaš*, the festival of the rhyton, the festivals of the holy priest, the festivals of the Old Men, the festivals of the mothers-of-god, the festival of *dahiyaš*, the festivals of the *upati* men, the festivals of *pulaš*, the festivals of *hahratar*, (45) or whatever festival else (will be celebrated) in Hattusa—if you do not celebrate them with all the cattle, sheep, loaves, beer (and) wine set (before the gods), and if you, the god's priests, make a deal with those who give all that, you can be sure that the gods will notice what is amiss.

5. (50) Or if you ever take (sacrifices that have been) set (before the gods) and do not carry them right to the gods themselves, (if) you withhold (it) from them, keep (it) in your houses, and your wives, children (or) servants consume it, (if) you give it to a relative or some *ubaru* befriended with you who happens to visit (you), if you give it to him (55) and take it away from the god and do not carry it right to him, (or if) you give it (to him) in several portions—you will be held responsible for that matter of dividing. Do not divide it. He who divides it, shall be killed; there shall be no recourse for him.

6. (60) Every bit of the loaves, the beer (and) the wine keep in the temple. Let no one appropriate for himself a sacrificial loaf of the god (or) a thin loaf. Let no one pour out beer (or) wine from the cup. Devote every bit to the god. Furthermore, in the presence of the god speak for yourselves (these) words: "Whoever has taken from thy divine loaves (65) (or) from the libation bowl, may the god, my lord, [punish] him; may he hold this man's house responsible for it!" (ii) If you [*wish*] to eat and to drink [ . . . ] on that day, eat and drink. If you cannot finish it, keep on eating (and) drinking [for] three days. But your wives, your children (and) your servants (5) must in no circumstances [ . . . cross ] the threshold of the gods. But an *ubaru* who may come to see someone is allowed to enter the house of the god and he may also cross the threshold of the king.<sup>1</sup> So let that man (whom he is visiting) conduct him up (to the temple) and let him eat (and) drink. But if it is (10) [a foreigner], if it is not a Hittite man, and he ap[proach]es the gods, [he shall be killed]. And he who conducts him (into

the temple), it makes him liable of the death penalty too.

7. If an ox (or) a sheep is driven up to the god as food, and you appropriate for yourselves either a fattened ox or a fattened sheep and substitute a lean one which you have slaughtered, (15) and (if) you either consume that or put it into your pen, or put it under the yoke, or (if) you put the sheep into your fold (20) or kill it for yourselves, and (if) you see fit [to give it away] or to turn it over to another man, or (if) you accept a price for it and thus [take it away from] the god and withhold it from (his) mouth, (if) you take it for yourselves or give it to another man (25) and speak as follows: "Since he is a god, he will not say anything, and will not do anything to us"—just think how the man reacts who sees his (choice) morsel snatched away from before his eyes! The will of the gods is strong. It does not make haste to seize, (30) but when it seizes, it does not let go (again). Now be very reverent of the will of the gods.

8. Further: Whatever silver, gold, garments or bronze implements of the gods you hold, you are (merely) (their) caretakers. You have no right to the silver, gold, garments (and) bronze implements of the gods, and none whatsoever to the things that are in the gods' houses. (35) They belong to the god alone. Be very careful and let no temple official have silver (or) gold. Let him not carry it on his own body, and let him not make it into an ornament for his wife (or) his children. But if they give him (40) silver, gold, garments (and) bronze implements as a gift from the palace, let them be specified: "So-and-so, the king has given it to him." How much its weight is, let also be set down. Furthermore let it be set down thus: "At such-and-such a festival have they given it to him." Let also the witnesses be set down at the end: "When they gave it to him, so-and-so (45) and so-and-so were present." Furthermore let him not leave it in his house; let him offer it for sale. But when he sells it, let him not sell it in a secret place; let the Hittite lords be present and look on. Let that which (anyone) buys be listed on a tablet and let them seal it. (50) And when the king comes up to Hattusa, let him take it (the tablet) up to the palace and let them seal it. If he puts them up for sale on his own, he is liable to the death penalty. He who does not put up for sale silver, gold, garments (or) implements of bronze in the same way (as here described),\* (55) also he who receives it and hides it and does not bring it to the king's court, both of them are liable to the death penalty, they shall both be killed. They are [*disagreeable*] to the gods. There shall in no circumstances be recourse for them.

9. Further: You who are temple officials, if you do not celebrate the festivals (60) at the time proper for the festivals and (if) you celebrate the festival of spring in the autumn, or (if)\*—when in the course of time a festival is about to be celebrated—he who is to perform it comes to you, the priests, the "anointed," the mothers-

of-god, and to the temple officials (65) and embraces your knees (saying): "The harvest is before me, or arranging for (my) marriage, or a journey, or some other business. Do me a favor and let me finish that business first. But when that business of mine is finished, (70) I shall perform the festival as prescribed"—do not yield to a man's whim, let him not *take precedence* (of the gods). You must not make a deal of the gods' pleasure. Should with you a man *take precedence* (of the gods) and should you make a deal for yourselves, the gods will seek to take revenge on you in the future. (75) They will hold a grudge against you, yourselves, your wives, your children (and) your servants. So act only according to the pleasure of the gods! And you will eat bread, drink water and establish a family. But do not act according to the pleasure of a man. Do not sell the death penalty, but do not buy the death penalty either.

10. (80) Further: You who are temple officials, be very careful with respect to the precinct. At nightfall promptly go <sup>to be in (the temple)</sup>; eat (and) drink, and if the desire for a woman [overcom]es anyone, let him sleep with a woman. (iii) But as long as [ . . . ] let him *stay* and let e[very one] promptly come up to spend the night in the temple. Whoever is a temple official, all high priests, minor priests, "anointed" or whoever else (5) is allowed to cross the threshold of the gods, let (them) not fail to spend the night in the temple one by one. Furthermore, there shall be watchmen employed by night who shall patrol all night through. Outside the enclosure guards shall watch, inside the temples shall the temple officials patrol all night through and they shall not sleep. Night by night one of the high priests shall be in charge of the patrols. Furthermore, someone of those who are priests shall be in charge of the gate of the temple and guard the temple. (15) In his own house no one (of these) shall spend the night with his wife. Whomsoever they will find down in his house, it will be a capital offense for him. Guard the temple very carefully and do not sleep. (Responsibility for) the precinct shall be divided among yourselves. He who commits an offense with respect to the precinct (20) shall be killed; he shall not be pardoned.

11. If anyone has some (official) duty to perform in Hattusa, and (either) a priest (or) an "anointed" is to admit people who are accompanied by guards, he will admit those too. If a guard is assigned to anyone, he may also enter the enclosure. (25) He must not speak thus: "I am guarding the house of my god, but I shall not go in there."—If there is some talk of enmity, (namely) that someone will undertake to defile Hattusa and (the guards) at the outer wall do not recognize him, but the temple officials recognize him inside, the guard shall definitely go after him. (30) (In) such (situation the) guard must not fail to spend the night with his god. If he fails however, in case they do not kill him, they shall humiliate him. Naked—there shall be no garment on his body—he shall bring three times

water from the Labarnas' cistern to the house of his god. Such shall be his humiliation.

12. (35) Further: O priests, "anointed," mothers-of-god (and) temple officials! Some *troublemaker* may <sup>get drunk</sup> <sup>wanders about</sup> in the temple or another sacred building. If he rises in the temple and causes a quarrel and thereby interferes with a festival, they shall interfere with him. Let him celebrate that festival with the usual expenditure of sheep, bread (and) beer, (40) he must not even omit the thin loaf. Whoever fails (to provide) it and does not celebrate a fully set festival, it shall be a great offense for him and he shall make up for the festival. So be very careful with a quarrel.

13. Further: Be very careful with the matter of fire. (45) If there is a festival in the temple, guard the fire carefully. When night falls, quench well with water whatever fire remains on the hearth. But if there is any flame in isolated spots and (also) dry wood, (if) he who is to quench it (50) becomes criminally negligent in the temple—even if only the temple is destroyed, but Hattusa and the king's property is not destroyed—he who commits the crime will perish together with his descendants. Of those who are in the temple not one is to be spared; together with their descendants they shall perish. So for your own good be very careful in the matter of fire.

14. (55) Further: You who are kitchen servants of all the gods, cupbearers, table-men, cooks, bakers (or) vintners, be very careful with respect to the gods' mood. Spend much reverent care upon the gods' sacrificial loaves (and) libation bowls. The place where the bread is broken (60) shall be swept (and) scrubbed; (the regulations concerning) the threshold shall be enforced for pigs and dogs. As to yourselves, you shall be bathed and dressed in clean garments. Furthermore, your (*body*) hair and your nails shall be removed. Let the mood of the gods not befall you. (65) If a pig (or) a dog somehow approaches the implements of wood or bitumen which you have, and the kitchen servant does not discard it, but gives the god to eat from an unclean (vessel), to such a man the gods will give dung (and) urine to eat (and) to drink. Whoever is going to sleep with a woman, (70) he shall go to that woman in the same condition in which he performs a rite for the gods and gives the god his portion to eat and to drink. Furthermore, [at . . . ], as soon as the sun is up, he shall at once take a bath; and in the morning, at the time when the gods eat, he shall promptly be present. But, if he omits (to do so), it will be a sin for him. Whoever sleeps with a woman, (75) if his superior (or) his chief constrains (him), he shall say so. If he himself does not dare tell him, he shall tell his fellow servant and shall bathe anyway. But if he knowingly postpones it and without having bathed approaches the gods' sacrificial loaves (80) (and) libation bowl in an unclean condition, or (if) his fellow servant knows about him—namely that he placed himself first—but nevertheless conceals it, (if) afterward it becomes known, they are liable to the capital penalty; both of them shall be killed.

<sup>1</sup> The beginning of the second column is preserved only on KUB, xiii, 5.



15. (iv) [Further: You who are the plowmen of the gods, . . .]. The young animals which you, the plowmen, are supposed to have ready, have them promptly ready at the correct time. (5) Before a man has eaten from them, carry them promptly to the presence of the gods; let the gods not wait for them. If you delay them, you commit a sin. They will consult the oracles about you, and just as the gods, your lords, direct, so they will do to you. (10) They will fine you an ox and ten sheep and will pacify the mind of the gods.

16. Further: If you plant grain, and if the priest does not send you a man to plant the seed, you shall manage by yourselves. Should you plant much, (15) but tell the priest (that) it (was) little, or should the gods' field be thriving, but the field of the plowmen be barren and you call the gods' field yours, but your field that of the god, or should you when you store the grain declare one half, but conceal the other half (20) and should you proceed to divide it afterward among yourselves and should it(!) afterward become known—you may get away with appropriating it from a man, but you cannot appropriate it from a god—you will commit a sin. They will take all the grain away from you and put it in the magazines of the gods.

17. (25) Further: You who hold the plow-oxen of [the gods], if you sell a plow-ox, or kill it and consume it, (if) you appropriate it for yourselves (while it belongs) to the god (saying): "It died from emaciation, or it broke (its legs), or it ran away, or the bull gored it" (30) and consume it yourselves, and it afterwards becomes known, you will replace that ox. If however it does not become known, you will go before the god.<sup>2</sup> If you are acquitted, (it is due to) your patron god; if you are convicted, it is considered a capital sin for you.

18. Further: You who are the gods' cowherds (and) the gods' shepherds, (35) if there is a rite for any god at the time of bearing young and you are supposed to have ready for him either a calf, a lamb, a kid or *choice animals*, do not delay them! Have them ready at the right time; do not let the gods wait for them. Before a man eats of the young animals, (40) bring it promptly to the gods. Or if there is a "festival of ~~the cup~~" for any god, (even) while they ~~churn the milk~~ <sup>churn the milk</sup>, do not allow it to lapse; celebrate it for him. If you do not bring the young animals promptly to the gods, but eat first of them yourselves (45) or send them to your superiors, but it afterward becomes known, it is considered a capital sin for you. If it does not become known—at whatever time you will bring them, you will bring them before the god with these words: "If we have given this young animal to ourselves first, (50) or have given it to our superiors, or to our wives, our children or to anyone else, we have offended the gods' feelings." Then you will drink dry the rhyton of the god of life.<sup>3</sup> If you are found innocent, (it is due to) your patron god; but

<sup>2</sup> i.e. you will be subject to an ordeal.

<sup>3</sup> A kind of ordeal.

if you are found guilty, you will perish together with (55) your wives (and) your children.

19. Further: If you ever make a selection (of animals) and they drive them up to the gods, your lords, the cowherd and the shepherd shall go with that selection. In the same condition in which they are selected from the pen (and) the fold, (60) shall they bring them to the gods. On the road they must not exchange them. But if any cowherd or shepherd does wrong on the road, exchanges either a fattened ox or a fattened sheep, or makes a deal or kills it and (65) they eat it up, and put in its place an emaciated (animal), and it becomes known, it is considered a capital sin for them; they have taken the gods' choice morsel. But if it does not become known, whenever they arrive they shall take the rhyton of the god of life from the cult stand, (70) and while doing so they shall declare as follows: "If we have for ourselves withheld from the mouth of the gods their (choice) morsel, and have given it to ourselves, or (if) we have sold it for ourselves, or if we have exchanged it, made a deal (75) and substituted in its place an emaciated (animal), then do thou, O god, pursue us together with our wives (and) our children on account of thy own (choice) morsel!"

### From the Instructions for the Commander of the Border Guards

Text: KUB, XIII, 2 ii 26-iii 35 and its duplicates KUB, xxxi, 90 ii 7 ff. and KUB, xxxi, 86 iv 1 ff. (+) 88 iii 1 ff. Literature: V. Korošec, *Zbornik znanstvenih razprav juridične fakultete*, VIII (1942), 139-170 (with a summary in Italian).

In the town through which the commander of the border guards passes on his tour of inspection he shall attend to the necessary provisions for town-elders, priests, "anointed" (and) mothers-of-god. He shall speak to them as follows: "The sanctuary which exists in this town, whether it is of the Storm-god or of other gods, (30) is now collapsed and in disrepair. It is not provided with priests, mothers-of-god (and) 'anointed.' So provide it again with such (functionaries)! They shall restore it. As it was built previously, (35) so shall they rebuild it."

Furthermore, due reverence shall be shown to the gods, but to the Storm-god special reverence shall be shown. If some temple *has a leaking roof*, the commander of the border guards and the town commandant shall put it right, or (if) any rhyton of the Storm-god (40) or any implement of any other god is in disrepair, the priests, the "anointed" (and) the mothers-of-god shall restore it.

Furthermore, the commander of the border guards shall make an inventory of the god's utensils and send it before the Sun.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, they shall worship the

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the Hittite king.

gods on the right dates. If a certain date is set for some god, they shall worship him on that date. (45) If some god has no priest, mother-of-god (or) "anointed," they shall promptly appoint one.

(iii) [If] no provisions have been made [for sacrifices to the gods'] stone pillars, provide for them now! They shall arrange for them, and furthermore they shall present whatever sacrifices have long been customary.

The rites which are established for the springs that are in the town, (5) they shall go to them and celebrate their rites. And those springs for which rites have not been established, they shall go to them all the same. In no circumstances shall they omit them. They shall regularly give sacrifices to the mountains (and) to the rivers for which such are established.

Furthermore, the commander of the border guards, the town commandant and the elders shall judge and decide legal cases (10) in accordance with the law. As it has been from olden days—in a town in which they have been accustomed to imposing the death penalty, they shall continue to do so. But in a town where they have been accustomed to imposing exile, they shall continue that (custom). (15) Furthermore, the citizens shall bathe afterward and there shall be a public announcement. No one shall let (the exiled) return. He who lets him return, shall be *put in prison*.

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And when they worship the gods, let no one start a disturbance in the presence of the gods, let no one start a disturbance in the house of festival. Furthermore let reverence be paid to the priests, the lay brothers, the "anointed" (20) (and) the mothers-of-god. Reverence toward the gods shall be the duty of the priests, the "anointed" and the mothers-of-god. If anyone brings suit by means of a sealed brief, the commander of the border guards shall judge it according to the law and set it right. If the case is too much, he shall send it before the Sun.<sup>1</sup>

(25) He must not decide it in favor of his superior, he must not decide it in favor of his brother, his wife or his friend; no one shall be shown any favor. He must not make a just case unjust; he must not make an unjust case just. Whatever is right, that shall he do.

Whenever you arrive at a town, call all the people of the town (30) together. For him who has a complaint, judge it and set him right. If a man's slave or a man's slave-girl or a widowed woman has a complaint (against some one) judge it for them and set them right. Should Kassiya people, Himmuwa people, Tagaramma people and Isuwa people<sup>2</sup> be there, (35) attend to them in every way.

<sup>1</sup> i.e., the Hittite king.

<sup>2</sup> These are privileged classes of people. cf. §54 of the Hittite Laws.

## Suppiluliumas Destroys the Kingdom of Mitanni

Excerpt from the historical introduction to the treaty between Suppiluliumas and Kurtiwaza of Mitanni. Texts: *KBo*, 1, 1 obv. 17-47 and its duplicates *KBo*, 1, 2 and *KUB*, III, 1 (in Akkadian). Literature: E. F. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien* (*Boghazköi-Studien* VIII, 1923), 6-15.

I, the Sun Suppiluliumas, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, the valiant, the favorite of the Storm-god, went to war. Because of king Tusratta's<sup>1</sup> presumptuousness I crossed the Euphrates and invaded the country of Isuwa.<sup>2</sup> The country of Isuwa I vanquished for the second time and made them again my subjects. The countries which in the time of my father (20) had crossed over into the country of Isuwa,<sup>3</sup> (namely) people from Gurtalissa, people from Arawanna, the country of Zazzisa, the country of Kalasma,<sup>4</sup> the country of Tim(mi)na, the mountain district of Haliwa, the mountain district of Karna, people from Turmitta, the country of Alha, the country of Hurma, the mountain district of Harana, half of the country of Tegarama,<sup>5</sup> people from Tepurziya, people from Hazga, people from Armatana—these peoples and these countries I vanquished, and reconquered them for the Hatti land. The countries which I captured I set free and they remained in their respective places; but all the people whom I set free, they returned to their people and the Hatti land took over their places.

(25) I, the Sun Suppiluliumas, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, the valiant, the favorite of the Storm-god, reached the country of Alse<sup>6</sup> and captured the provincial center Kutmar.<sup>7</sup> To Antar-atal of the country of Alse I presented it as a gift. I proceeded to the provincial center Suta<sup>8</sup> and ransacked it. I reached Wassukanni.<sup>9</sup> The inhabitants of the provincial center Suta together with their cattle, sheep (and) horses, together with their possessions and together with

<sup>1</sup> The ruler of the Mitanni kingdom in Upper Mesopotamia and contemporary of the pharaohs Amen-hotep III and IV, well-known from the Amarna letters.

<sup>2</sup> Region in the bend of the Euphrates near Harput.

<sup>3</sup> The mentioned countries seem to stretch from the region of Malatya toward the northwest.

<sup>4</sup> The text gives here Tegarama; this is clearly a mistake—Tegarama follows presently—which the parallel passage obverse 12 allows us to correct.

<sup>5</sup> Biblical Togarmah.

<sup>6</sup> Region on the upper Tigris.

<sup>7</sup> Assyrian Kullimeri east of the Batman Su and north of the upper Tigris.

<sup>8</sup> In the hill country between upper Tigris and the Habur.

<sup>9</sup> The Mitannian capital, probably opposite Tell Halaf (near modern Ras el-Ain) on the upper Habur.

their deportees I brought to the Hatti land. Tusratta, the king, had departed, he did not come to meet me in battle.

(30) I turned around and (re)crossed the Euphrates. I vanquished the country of Halba<sup>10</sup> and the country of Mukis.<sup>11</sup> Takuya, the king of Neya,<sup>12</sup> came before me to the country of Mukis to sue for peace. But in Takuwa's absence, his brother Akit-Tessub persuaded the country of Neya and the city Neya to revolt. Akit-Tessub entered into a conspiracy with the *mariyannu*,<sup>13</sup> (namely) Hismiya, Asiri, Zulkia, Utriya and Niruwa. Together with their charioteers and their foot soldiers they entered into a conspiracy with Akiya, the king of Arahti. They occupied Arahti and rebelled; this is what they said: "Let us battle with the great king, the king of the Hatti land!" (35) I, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, vanquished them at Arahti. I took prisoner Akiya, the king of Arahti, Akit-Tessub, Akuwa's brother, and their *mariyannu*, all of them with all that they owned and brought them to the Hatti land. I also brought Qatna<sup>14</sup> with its possessions and all that they owned to the Hatti land.

When I proceeded to the Nuhasse land,<sup>15</sup> I conquered all its countries. Sarrupsi<sup>16</sup> had met a violent death; I took prisoner his mother, his brothers and his sons and brought them to the Hatti land. Takib-sar, his servant, (40) I placed as king over Ukulzat. I proceeded to Apina<sup>17</sup> without expecting that I would have to fight with the country of Kinza.<sup>18</sup> However, Sutatarra together with Aitakama, his son, and together with his charioteers went out to fight with me. I defeated him and they retreated into Abzuya; I had Abzuya besieged. I took prisoner Sutatarra together with his son, his *mariyannu*, his brothers and with all that they owned and brought them to the Hatti land. I then proceeded to the country of Apina; Ariwanahi, the king of Apina, Wambadura, Akparu and Artaya, his great, went out to fight with me. (45) (I took prisoner) all of them with their countries and with all that they owned and brought them to the Hatti land. Because of king Tusratta's presumptuousness I raided all these countries in a single year and conquered them for the Hatti land. On this side I made Mount Niblan,<sup>19</sup> on the other side the Euphrates my frontier.

<sup>10</sup> Aleppo.

<sup>11</sup> Today Atchana (Tell Açana) east of Antakya.

<sup>12</sup> Near the northernmost point of the Orontes river.

<sup>13</sup> The nobility of the Mitanni states.

<sup>14</sup> Today Mishrife east of the middle Orontes.

<sup>15</sup> Region south of Aleppo toward the Orontes.

<sup>16</sup> He had been made king there by Suppiluliumas on an earlier campaign.

<sup>17</sup> The region of Damascus. The name is the same as Apa; the final *-na* is the Hurrian article.

<sup>18</sup> Qadesh on the Orontes.

<sup>19</sup> The Lebanon.

## Suppiluliumas and the Egyptian Queen

From Suppiluliumas' annals compiled by his son Mursilis. Texts: *KBo*, v, 6 (= *2BoTU*, 41) iii 1 ff. and its duplicate 639/f (*MDOG*, LXXV, 63 f.). Literature: H. Zimmern, *ZA*, NF 1 (1923), 37 ff.; A. Götze, *OLZ*, 1924, 581 ff.; J. Friedrich, *AO*, xxiv/3 (1925), 12 ff.; E. Cavaignac, *Les annales de Subbiluliuma* (1931), 20 ff. For a second version (*KUB*, xxxiv, 24, 30 etc.) see H. G. Güterbock, *Ind. Forsch.*, LX (1950), 199-211.\*

(iii) While my father was down in the country of Karkamis,<sup>1</sup> he dispatched Lupakkis and Tessub-zalmas to the country of Amqa.<sup>2</sup> They proceeded to attack the country of Amqa and brought deportees, cattle (and) sheep home before my father. (5) When the people of the land of Egypt heard about the attack on Amqa, they became frightened. Because, to make matters worse, their lord Bibhururiyas<sup>3</sup> had just died, the Egyptian queen who had become a *widow*, sent an envoy to my father (10) and wrote him as follows: "My husband died and I have no son. People say that you have many sons. If you were to send me one of your sons, he might become my husband. I am loath to take a servant of mine (15) and make him my husband." . . . When my father heard that, he called the great into council (saying): "Since of old such a thing has never happened before me" (20) He proceeded to dispatch Hattu-zitis, the chamberlain, (saying): "Go! Bring you reliable information back to me. They may try to deceive me: As to whether perhaps they have a prince (25) bring reliable information back to me!"

During Hattu-zitis' absence in the land of Egypt my father vanquished the city of Karkamis. . . .

The Egyptian envoy, the Honorable Hanis, (45) came to him. Because my father had instructed Hattu-zitis

<sup>1</sup> Today Jerablus on the Euphrates.

<sup>2</sup> Between Lebanon and Antilibanus.

<sup>3</sup> A parallel text (*KUB*, xxxiv, 24 4) offers the variant Nibhururiyas. The much discussed question as to whether Amen-hotep IV (*Nfr. -hpr.w-r*) or Tut-ankh-Amon (*Nb-hpr.w-r*) is meant is thereby decided in favor of the latter.

while sending him to the land of Egypt as follows: "Perhaps they have a prince; they may try to deceive me and do not really want one of my sons to (take over) the kingship," the Egyptian queen answered my father in a letter as follows: "Why do you say: 'They may try to deceive me'? If I had a son, would I (iv) write to a foreign country in a manner which is humiliating to myself and to my country? You do not trust me and tell me even such a thing. (5) He who was my husband died and I have no sons. Shall I perhaps take one of my servants and make him my husband? I have not written to any other country, I have written (only) to you. (10) People say that you have many sons. Give me one of your sons and he is my husband and king in the land of Egypt." Because my father was generous, he complied with the lady's wishes and decided for (sending) the son.

(From the text translated below on p. 395, we know that the Hittite prince never reached Egypt but was murdered on his way.)

## Hattusilis on Muwatallis' War Against Egypt

Text: *KUB*, xxi, 17 i 14-21 and its duplicate *KUB*, xxxi, 27 2-8. Literature: A. Götze, *OLZ*, 1929, 837; E. Edel, *ZA*, NF 15 (1949), 212.

At the time that Muwatallis took the field against the king of the land of Egypt and the country of Amurru, and when he then had defeated the king of the land of Egypt and the country of Amurru,<sup>1</sup> he returned to the country Apa.<sup>2</sup> When Muwatallis, my brother, had (also) defeated Apa, he [returned to] the Hatti land, but [left] me in the country of Apa.

<sup>1</sup> On the coast of the Mediterranean between the sea and the upper Orontes. The defeat was accomplished in the famous battle of Qadesh when Muwatallis met Ramses II.

<sup>2</sup> The region of Damascus.

# Hittite Rituals, Incantations, and Description of Festivals

TRANSLATOR: ALBRECHT GOETZE

## Ritual for the Purification of God and Man

Text: KUB, xxix, 7. Only the better-preserved parts, beginning with reverse 12, are translated here.

At nightfall they [ . . . ] and they w[ipe clean] the god. F[or the sake of the king] they treat him<sup>1</sup> with herbs against words of *blasphemy* (and) curse. Also [for the sake] of the queen's implements [they treat him with herbs]. (15) [She<sup>2</sup> hand]s a soda-plant to the one who holds the queen's implements during the ceremony and while doing so she speaks as follows: "If in the pr[esence of the god anyone, king or queen, has said in mal]ice: 'Let *blasphemy* and uncleanness enter that temple (and) grow there like a soda-plant! Let it thrive (there) [like] a soda-[plant] so that it becomes abundant! Let no one be able [to uproot] the soda-plant!'

(20) "Now look, [this is what has happ]ened: The god has [ . . . ] cut down that thriving (and) abundant soda-plant like a harvester, and then reduced it to ashes. Like that soda-plant let him also reduce to ashes and make into soap evil word, oath, cu[rse] (and) uncleanness! So let it then no longer exist for my god; neither let it exist for the sacrificer's person! Let god and sacrificer be free (of them)! Just as he has re[duced] this soda-plant (25) [to ashes] and made it into soap, even so let evil word, oath, curse and uncl[eanliness] be made into soap! Let god and sacrificer be free of that matter!"

Afterward they hand to him an o[nion], and while this is being done, she speaks as follows: "If in the presence of the god anyone sp[eaks] as follows: 'Just as this onion consists of skins which are wrapped together, one being [un]able to get loose from another—as (in) an on[ion] let evil, oath, curse (and) uncleanness be wrapped around that temple!' See now, (30) I have picked this onion apart and have [no]w left only one *wretched stem*. Even so let him<sup>3</sup> pick apart evil word, oath, curse (and) uncleanness from the god's [temple]! Let god and sacrificer be free of that matter!"

After that they hand him a co[rd] which is twisted together toward the left. While this is being done, she speaks as follows: "If anyone has afflicted th[is] god

with evil word, oath, curse (35) and uncleanness and has twisted them together like a cord, (if) it was . . . [ . . . ] twisted toward the left, I have it now untwisted toward the right. Let evil word, oa[th], curse and uncleanness no longer exist for my god; neither let it exist for the sacrificer's person! Let god and sacrificer be free of that matter!"

After that they make a basin in front of [the . . . ], and from the basin they build a [sma]ll ditch (40) leading to the river. Into it they put a boat lined with a little silver (and) gold. They also make small "oaths" and "curses" of silver (and) gold and place them into the boat. Then the ditch which empties the basin carries the ship from the basin into the river. When it disappears, she pours out a little fine oil and honey and while doing so speaks as follows: "Just as the river has carried away the ship (45) and no trace of it can be found any more—whoever has committed evil word, oath, curse and uncleanness in the presence of the god—even so let the river carry them away! And just as no trace of the ship can be found any more, let evil word no longer exist for my god; neither let it exist for the sacrificer's person! Let god and sacrificer be free of that matter!"

"See! I have poured out fine oil and honey after them. The trail behind them (50) is anointed with fine oil and honey. Let the evil word be turned away (to places) beyond! Just as the river does not flow backward, even so let it carry away these evil words! Let them not come back!" After that the sacrificer lifts up a piece of silver three shekels in weight, and from a pitcher he pours water over that piece of silver three shekels in weight. While this is being done, she<sup>4</sup> speaks as follows: "Whoever has spoken evil in the presence of the god, just as the dark earth (55) has swallowed up this water, even so let the earth swallow up that evil word! Let these words be free and *unattached*! Let god and sacrificer be free of that matter!"

As a substitute for the king he hands over one ox, and as a substitute for the queen's implements he hands over one cow, one ewe and one goat. While this is being done, she speaks as follows: "With whatever evil word, oath, curse (60) (and) uncleanness the god was afflicted, let the substitutes carry them away from the god! Let god and sacrificer be free of that matter!" Afterward the sacrificer recites a hymn, (accompanying it) with (an offering consisting of) a small sacrificial loaf and a small cheese.

<sup>4</sup> The priestess.

## Ritual to Counteract Sorcery

Text: KUB, xvii, 27. This is a fragment which comprises less than half of the original composition. *water to water*

(beginning lost)

(ii) [She<sup>1</sup> takes clay from the pit and ties it to the sacrificer. Thereafter we release it. She throws it into the hole which has been dug in the ground<sup>2</sup> and speaks as follows: "Just as . . . brought up this clay] from the pit [and] is presenting [it to the sacrificer, even so let . . . bring up] this man's recovery [(and) vigor!]"

She takes mud from the spring (5) and ties [it] to [the sacrificer]. Thereafter [we] release it. She throws it [into the hole] which has been dug in the ground and speaks as follows: "Just as [the spring brought] up this mud from the nether world, [and] people are presenting [it to the sacrificer], even so let it bring up this man's [recovery] (10) (and) vigor!"

Then she takes wine *dregs* and ties them [to the sacrificer]. Then she goes to the vineyard, takes a [ . . . ] loaf, breaks it, scatters (the crumbs) about and [says as foll]ows: "Eat ye, gods of the trees! [Just as] ye, gods, (15) let vanish every [trace of the dregs], even so let this man's evil [vanish]!"

She . . . takes branches from all (of them)—but . . . she does not take—, makes a *float* and puts [it into the river]. She returns to the clay pit, deposits a broken loaf for the demons of the clay pit and speaks as follows:

(20) "Eat ye, demons of the clay pit! If the wicked sorcerer made over this man's form either to the clay pit or to the current of the river, give it back to him!"

Whatever she had taken to the open country, she carries back to the city and deposits it in the city within the inner chamber at a secret spot. (25) The Old Woman goes forth and assembles in front of the Sun three pieces of bitumen, (holds) a bronze dagger (in readiness), and also kindles a fire. She throws the water<sup>3</sup> and the broken loaf into it and speaks as follows:

"Whatever words the sorcerer spoke, whatever he twined together, whatever he *wove*, whatever he made in whatever place, (30) those (things) he did not (properly) know, the sorcerer. He built up sorcery like a pillar, twined it together like a string. I am thwarting him. I have *pushed over* these words of sorcery like a pillar, I have untwined them like a string."

(35) The Old Woman *pushes* the pieces of bitumen *over*, breaks them and puts them into the fire. The Old Woman takes the cord, untwines it the left-hand way and untwines it the right-hand way and speaks as follows: "If the sorcerer twined it from the right, (40) I am now untwining it [the right-hand way]. If

<sup>1</sup> The priestess called Old Woman.

<sup>2</sup> The hole has been dug in order to dispose of the materials used in the ritual, materials which are now contaminated and dangerous.

<sup>3</sup> This must have been mentioned in the lost beginning of the text.

he twined it from the left, I am now un[twining] it the left-hand way."

(iii) [The Old Woman throws the threads into the fire and says as follows: ". . . ] Just as (5) I have [bu]rned [these threads] and they will not [come back], [even so] let also these words of the sorcerer [be burned] up!" [She then] ext[inguishes] the fire with water.

[She say]s: "I have vanquished them, the words of sorcery. The spell [that was superi]or, my spell-binding has vanquished (it). (10) [Since] I cast a double counterspell—I spat upon them and I trampled them under [foot]—let the ass bloody them and let the ox muck [them]! Let man [not] (even) walk *over* them, (15) let him [sp]it on them! Let them be spat upon, the words of sorcery and the sorcerer (himself)!"

Afterward the [Old] Woman spits once and [speak]s as fo[llows]: "Let the thousand gods [cur]se him, the sorcerer! Let [hea]ven and earth curse him! . . ."

(The rest of the text is hopelessly mutilated or completely lost.)

## Ritual Against Pestilence

Text: KUB, ix, 31 ii, 43-iii 14 and its duplicate HT, i, ii 17-47. Literature: J. Friedrich, *Aus dem hethitischen Schrifttum*, 2 (AO, xxv/2 [1925]), 10.

These are the words of Uhha-muwas, the Arzawa man. If people are dying in the country and if some enemy (45) god has caused that, I act as follows:

They drive up one ram. They twine together blue wool, red wool, yellow wool, black wool and white wool, make it into a crown and crown the ram with it. They drive the ram on to the road leading to the enemy (50) and while doing so they speak as follows: "Whatever god of the enemy land has caused this plague—see! We have now driven up this crowned ram to pacify thee, O god! Just as the herd (55) is strong, but keeps peace with the ram, do thou, the god who has caused this plague, keep peace with the Hatti land! In favor turn again toward the Hatti land!" (60) They drive that one crowned ram toward the enemy.

Afterward they bring fodder for the god's horses and mutton tallow, and while doing so they speak as follows: (iii) "Thou hast harnessed (thy) horses; let them eat this fodder and let their hunger be satisfied! Let also thy chariot be greased with this mutton tallow! (5) Turn toward thy land, O Storm-god! In favor turn toward the Hatti land!"

Afterward they drive up one full-grown goat and two sheep. He consecrates the goat to the Seven;<sup>1</sup> he consecrates one sheep to the Sun-god. (10) The other sheep they kill and cook. Then they bring 1 cheese, 1 curd, 1 *pulla* (vessel), leavened bread, 1 amphora of wine, 1 amphora of beer, (and) fruit. With these they make provision for the god's journey.

<sup>1</sup> The Pleiades.

<sup>1</sup> The sacrificer, i.e. the one who ordered the ritual.

<sup>2</sup> The priestess, called Old Woman, who usually performs these rituals.

<sup>3</sup> The sacrificer.

## Purification Ritual Engaging the Help of Protective Demons

Text: *KUB*, xxvii, 67. This ritual consists of four parts. The first three of them run mainly parallel with one another except that they are addressed to different demons. In the first section (i) Tarpatassis is invoked, in the second (ii) Alauwaimis, and in the third (most of iii) "he" who turns in front of the Tarpatassis demons.<sup>1</sup> The fourth part (iii 67-iv 43) again invokes Tarpatassis. Only the second and the fourth parts are translated here.

(ii 2) [Aft]erward she<sup>2</sup> pours out a libation for Alauwaimis. She places pine cones upon a large pan and thereupon she strews grains of *KAR*,<sup>3</sup> these they roast. She then extinguishes the cones with water and says: "Just as I have quenched these, even so let evil also be quenched for the sacrificers!"

Balls of kneaded dough, (10) a bow of . . . (with the string taut), three arrows of . . . (with the balls of dough in front of them), a bolt, a *tarzu* (with a piece of *fur* fastened to it)—all this she places upon a tray of reeds.

(15) She takes a cord and strings it from the sacrificers' feet to their heads on either side. She also strings it down their backs. She takes it off them and places it on the tray of reeds (saying):

(20) "Loosen the evil tension of [his] head, his hands (and) his [feet]. Give it to (their) wicked adversaries! But to the sacrificers give [li]fe, vigor (and) long years!" She treats the bowstring in the same manner, and speaks in the same way.

(25) [The]n she treats the piece of (fur-)cloth in the same manner and says: "Just as the dressers scrape the cloth<sup>4</sup> and clear the tufts [away] so that it becomes white, even so let the gods clear away [this] man's evil sickness (30) from his [bo]dy!"

"[Ala]uwaimis! Fight them no longer! [Go!] Fight this *tarzu*! Drive the evil away from them!"

She wraps up a small piece of tin in the bowstring (35) and attaches it to the sacrificers' right hands (and) feet.

She takes it off them (again) and attaches it to a mouse (with the words): "I have taken the evil off you and transferred it to this mouse. Let this mouse carry it on a long journey to the high mountains, (40) hills and dales!"

She turns the mouse loose (saying): "Alauwaimis! This one pursue! I shall give thee a goat to eat!"

She sets up an *altar* of wood and breaks one long sacrificial loaf for the Alauwaimis gods, she breaks one sacrificial loaf for Alauwaimis, she breaks one sacrificial loaf for Mammās and she puts them upon the *altars*.

She then consecrates a goat for Alauwaimis (saying): "Eat thou!" In front of the loaves she cuts it up and

takes off the right shoulder. She cooks it on a fire (50) and puts [it] in a place apart from the loaves. The liver she offers in the same manner.

They cook [the left] shoulder also and she places the shank (upon the altar) for the (Alauwaimis) gods. She places the upper shoulder (upon the altar) for Alauwaimis. She places the . . . (upon the altar) for Mammās. Then she pours out a libation.

[Afterward] she offers the *heart* in the same way. She places one leg (55) [(and) one-half of the *hea*d(?) (upon the altar) for the (Alauwaimis) gods. [She places] the other half of the head (upon the altar) [for Alauwaimis] (and) the womb (upon the altar) [for Mammās]; furthermore she pours out a libation.

[Then] they cook [the goat] in a cauldron and [eat] (and) drink. Then she scatters silver (and) gold, (60) [lapis], Babylon stone, *lulluri* stone, "life" stone, [Barahsi stone], iron, tin, copper (and) bronze—a little [of everything] (saying):

"[Alauwa]imis! Here [I have given] thee silver, gold, (and) lapis. Go! Say a good word for me before the gods!"

"Grant [me . . .] . . . ; grant me to appear before thy face! Should someone else speak unfavorably of [me],—since thou art strong, [go] (and) speak a good word for me [before] all the gods!"

(iii 67) When she<sup>5</sup> comes home, she takes a *fir* tree—at the top it is in its natural state, at the bottom it is *trimmed*—and rams it (into the ground) at the right-hand side of the first gate. (70) Under the tree she places a pot.

(gap of about 15 lines)

(A tree is apparently set up at the left-hand side too.)

(iv 3) She goes away [and while *walking off*] she does not turn around [or . . .], (5) or curse. [In another place] she sets up [an *alta*r] and breaks three sacrificial loaves. Of these she breaks [one long sacrificial loaf] for the (Alauwaimis) gods, one sacrificial loaf for [Tarpatas]is (and) one sacrificial loaf for Ma[mmas] (saying):

"Tarpatassis! Accept [this] *fir* tree from me (10) and set me free! Let not [evil] sickness get to me! Stand by the side of my [wif]e, my children, (and) my children's children! Thou, who art a strong god—thou, Tarpatassis, [who] . . ., say a [favorable word] before all the gods!"

(15) She consecrates a buck to Tar[patassis] and [cuts] it up before the god. She lets the blood run into a bronze cup [and empties it] into the pots on either side of [the ga]te.

[She takes off the right shoulder and] cooks [it on a fire]. (20) [ . . . the left] shoulder she [cooks like-]wise. She puts the shank (upon the altar) for the (Alauwaimis) gods; she puts [the upper sh]oulder (upon the altar) [for Alauwaimis]; [she puts the . . .

<sup>5</sup> It is not quite clear whether "she" or "he" be translated. In the first case the Old Woman is referred to, in the second the sacrificer.

<sup>6</sup> Literally: [who] turnest in front of [ . . . ].

(upon the altar)] for Mammās. Furthermore she pours out a libation.

She offers *heart* (and) liver [in the same way]. (25) [She puts one-half of the *hea*d(?) [(upon the altar) for the (Alauwaimis) gods; she puts the other half] of the head (and) the breast [(upon the altar) for . . .] . . . [Then they cook the buck] in a cauldron and ea[t (and) drin]k.

[When they] *clean up*, [the *fir* tree] is removed from the gate. On either side [of the gate] he d[rives] seven copper pegs (30) . . . into the ground (saying): "Tarpatassis! Let neither [death], evil [fever] nor sickness enter my hou[se]! Drive [them] off into the land of the [ . . . ] . . . enemy!"

He scatters [silver] (and) gold, lapis, carneol, Babylon stone, (35) Barahsi stone, *lulluri* stone, iron, tin, copper (and) bronze—[a little] (of everything). He [spreads] these (materials) here and there (saying):

"[See, I have given thee silver (and) gol]d, lapis, carneol (and) 'life' stone. [Speak thou, Tar]patassis, [a good word for me] before all the gods! [Grant] me<sup>6</sup> life, vigor [(and) long years]! Stand by my house [(and) my *children*]!"

[Then] they consume the [goat which they have cooked].

## Ritual Against Impotence

Text: *KUB*, vii, 5 + *KUB*, vii, 8 + *KUB*, ix, 27. Literature: J. Friedrich, *Aus dem hethitischen Schrifttum*, 2 (*AO*, xxv/2 [1925]), 16.

<sup>1</sup>These are the words of Pissuwattis, the Arzawa woman who lives in Parassa: If a man possesses no fe<sup>1</sup> productive power or has no desire for women,

I bring libations to Uliliyassis on his behalf (5) and entreat him for three days. On the first day I prepare as follows: Rations for one man are assembled and to it the following is added: 3 sweet sacrificial loaves of flour (and) water weighing one *tarnaš*, figs, grapes, . . . the god's meal, a little of everything; (10) the fleece of an unblemished sheep, a pitcher of wine, [the headdress] or the shirt of the male sacrificer (in question)—they are put upon the rations.

A virgin takes up [these materials], and the sacrificer—(15) having taken [a ba]th—walks behind them; [then] he bathes again. We shall take the materials to another place in the open country. We shall remain standing while [the . . .] holds the rations up. I shall build a gate of reeds.

I shall twine together [a cord] of red wool (and) of white wool. (20) I shall place a *mirror* (and) a *distaff* in the sacrificer's [hand]. He will pass under the gate. When he comes [for]th through the gate, I shall take the *mirror* (and) the distaff away from him. (25)

<sup>7</sup> It is again not clear whether the sacrificer or the Old Woman is meant.

<sup>8</sup> To the sacrificer.

<sup>1</sup> The beginning of column i is published as *KUB*, ix, 27.

<sup>2</sup> These two implements are considered as symbolic for womanhood.

I shall [gi]ve him a bow [and arrows] and while doing so I shall speak as follows: "See! I have taken womanliness away from thee and given thee back manliness. Thou hast cast off the ways of a woman, now [show] the ways of a man!"

(30)<sup>3</sup> Later we [present a *cun*]uch (as) a defend[ant] and [ . . . ] While doing so I shall speak as follows: "Here [we present a *cun*]uch. He has made his nature] the subject of an oracle; (whether) by . . . [the ways] of a man were indicated, or (those) of a girl were indicated for him. For his part he went down to her *bedchamber*, but all this fellow could produce was excrement (and) urine. Such (will) not be<sup>4</sup> (10) found to be the case with thee!"

"Now see, he has gone down on his knees and is seeking thee for the sake of thy divine power. Whether thou art in the mountain, whether thou art in the meadow, whether thou art in the valley, (15) or wherever else thou mayest be, in favor come to this man! Let driving wind and rain not hold thee back!"

"He will go and worship thee, O god! He will provide a place for thee, (20) he will give thee a house. He will give thee slaves (and) slave-girls. He will give thee cattle (and) sheep. He will make vows to thee.

"See! I am entreating (and) alluring thee. So come! Bring with thee the moon, the star of the nether world, (and) the sun! (25) Let slave-girls (and) slaves run before thee! Let gods [(and) goddesses] (ii)<sup>4</sup> run before thee! Come down to this man! Make his wife conceive a child, look after her! (5) Turn to him and speak to him! Let him have thy maid, and let her bear his yoke! Let him take his wife and beget sons (and) daughters for himself! (10) They will be thy servants and thy handmaids; they will always be giving thee offerings, sacrificial loaves, meal (and) libations.

"See! This man (15) knew thee not. See! Now he has sought after thee. Since then this (man) has sought after thee. So stand by him, in favor, O god! (20) In this matter in which he has come to thee, O god, show thy divine power and set all aright! Let him experience thy divine power, make it good! Let him see thy divine nature, and he will come [and worship] thee. (25) . . ."

<sup>5</sup>I<sup>8</sup> shall take [the materials] from upon the rations and we shall go back into the house. (5) In the house in which I make offerings a new table is set up and I shall put the rations upon that table; in front of it I shall put a pitcher.

The broken sacrificial loaves (10) which are lying on the rations, I shall take a little of them and give it to the male sacrificer. He will put it into his mouth, and he will drink (for) Uliliyassis three times. When night falls, the sacrificer (15) will lie down in front of the table; they will set up a bed for him in front of the table.

<sup>3</sup> *KUB*, ix, 27 i 30 = *KUB*, vii, 5 i 3.

<sup>4</sup> The beginning of the second column is found on *KUB*, vii, 8.

<sup>5</sup> From here on the text follows *KUB*, vii, 5 ii.

<sup>6</sup> The priestess who is the author of the ritual is speaking.

<sup>1</sup> Or: she.

<sup>2</sup> The priestess called Old Woman.

<sup>3</sup> A cereal.

<sup>4</sup> This should be the piece of fur mentioned above.



The headdress or the shirt that is lying upon the rations, he will spread (it) out at night time. (20) I shall do that for three days. But daily I shall entreat three times, once at dawn, once at midday (and) once at nightfall. While doing so I shall speak the same words.

(25) One set of loaves I shall break at dawn, another set at noon, and another set at nightfall. I shall also strew another portion of meal. (iii) Then I shall consecrate one sheep to Uliliyassib, and they will slaughter it down in front of the table. They will finally remove the sheep (5) [cut] it up and then [cook] it. From the meat [they will select . . . ]. breast (and) shoulder and place it upon the table [ . . . ]. Liver [(and) heart . . . ] they will cook [on a fire . . . ], two sacrificial loaves [they will break and put them] on the table for him.

(The following 15-20 lines are badly mutilated. The remnants point to a ceremony similar to that described in the earlier parts of the text, probably belonging to a second ritual. The preserved end of the text<sup>7</sup> contains the incantation which goes with that ritual:)

" . . . (5) Let him have [thy maid], and let her bear his yoke! Let him take his wife and beget children for himself! Let him beget sons (and) daughters for himself. (10) Thou, O god, prove thy divine power!

"Let him experience thy might! and he will make thee his personal god. He will make vows to thee." They will spread out a bed for him (15) in front of the table and they will also spread out the headdress or the shirt that had been lying on the rations. (iv) The sacrificer will lie down, (to see) whether he will experience the bodily presence of the deity in his dream, coming to him and sleeping with him. (5) During the three days on which he is entreating the deity he tells all the dreams which he has, whether the deity appears to him and whether the deity (10) sleeps with him.

He will go (and) worship the god. Furthermore, if sacrificial vessels are in order, he will set up sacrificial vessels; if not, (15) he will set up a stone pillar or erect a statue. But the new table which stood throughout the entreaty, becomes the property of the deity.

(After three mutilated lines, the text is completely destroyed and thus the end of the composition is missing.)

## Ritual Against Domestic Quarrel

Texts: *KBo*, II, 3 and its duplicates *KUB*, x, 76 + *KUB*, XII, 34 + 59 + *KUB*, xv, 39 + *IBOT*, II, 109 ff.; *KUB*, xxxiv, 84 +, etc. Literature: F. Hrozný, *Heth. Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (1919), 60-89; Liane Rost, *Mitt. des Instituts für Orientalforschung*, I (1953), 345-79.

These are the words of Mastiggas, the woman from Kizzuwatna: If a father and (his) son, or a husband and his wife, or a brother and (his) sister quarrel, when I reconcile them, I treat them as follows:

<sup>7</sup> *KUB*, VII, 8 iii followed by *KUB*, VII, 5 iv.

(5) She<sup>1</sup> takes black wool and wraps it in mutton fat; *tiššatwa* they call it.<sup>2</sup> She presents it to the sacrificer and speaks as follows: "Whatever thou spokest with (thy) mouth (and) tongue<sup>3</sup>—see, here is *tiššatwa*! Let it be cut out (10) of your body these days!" She throws the tongues into the hearth.

Afterward the Old Woman takes salt, tissue, *fat* and wax. She makes the wax into tongues and waves [them over the two] sacrificers. She also waves the salt and the [fat and] the tissue over them, [present]s it to them and they [flatten it] with (their) left (15) hands.

The Old Woman speaks as follows: "In whatever curses you indulged, let now the Sun-god turn those curses (and) tongues toward the left!"<sup>4</sup> And she throws them into the hearth.

The red wool (and) the blue wool that (20) had been placed upon the bodies of the two sacrificers,<sup>5</sup> the two figures of dough that had been placed before them, and the hands and tongues of dough that had been placed upon their heads, those the Old Woman removes. She cuts the strings off them, the Old Woman breaks the two hands and the tongues of dough to pieces.

(25) She then waves them over them and speaks as follows: "Let the tongues of these [days] be cut off! Let the words of these days be cut off!" And she throws them [into the hearth].

Afterward the Old Woman takes [a tray] and [places] (30) seven tongues [and seven hands . . . ] upon it. She waves it over the two sacrificers and [speaks] as follows: "The day at which ye satisfied your hunger—see here the tongues and the hands of that day. See, the father Sun has now nailed them down." And she puts them into the hearth.

The Old Woman takes water and dough. She sprinkles the water upon them<sup>6</sup> (36) and purified them. Then she waves the dough over them and speaks as follows: "Be ye cleansed of mouth and tongue!" And she puts the dough into the hearth.

They drive up a (white) sheep. The Old Woman presents it to the two sacrificers and speaks as follows: "Here is a substitute for you, (40) a substitute for your persons. Let that tongue and that curse stay in (its) mouth!" They spit into its mouth.

She speaks as follows: "Spit ye out those evil curses!" They dig a hole in the ground, cut the sheep up over it, and then put it into it.

(45) They put 1 thin sacrificial loaf down with it, she also pours out a libation of wine and they level the ground.

They drive up a black sheep, the Old Woman presents it to them<sup>6</sup> and speaks as follows: "For your heads and

<sup>1</sup> The priestess; the text changes abruptly into the third person.\*

<sup>2</sup> Probably in the Hurrian language.

<sup>3</sup> The text ends a section here, dividing the same sentence over two sections.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. destroy them.

<sup>5</sup> The persons who ordered the ritual performed.

<sup>6</sup> i.e. the sacrificers.

all parts of your bodies the black sheep is a substitute. In its mouth (and its) tongue (50) is the tongue of curses." She waves it over them.

The two sacrificers [spit] into its mouth. They cut up the sheep and dismember it. They [kindle] the hearth and [burn] it.<sup>7</sup>

They pour honey (and) olive oil over it. She [brea]ks a sacrificial loaf (55) and throws it into the hearth. She also pours out a libation of wine.

The Old Woman takes a small pig, she presents it to them<sup>8</sup> and speaks as follows: "See! It has been fattened with grass (and) grain. Just as this one shall not see the sky and shall not see the (other) small pigs again, (ii) even so let the evil curses not see these sacrificers either!"

She waves the small pig over them, and then they kill it. They dig a hole in the ground (5) and put it down into it. They put a sacrificial loaf down with it, she also pours out a libation of wine and they level the ground.

The Old Woman makes a kneading-pan of clay. She puts into it a little dough into which she throws a little black *cumin*. She waves it over the two sacrificers (10) and speaks as follows:

"Just as this clay does not return to the clay pit and this *cumin* does not turn white and cannot be used for seed a second time;

"(as) this dough does not get into a sacrificial loaf for the gods, even so let the evil tongue not get to the body of the two sacrificers!"

(The following sections<sup>9</sup> are not intelligible as yet.)

The Old Woman [waves] water over the two sacrificers and purifies them. She also [waves] the dough over them.

(30) Afterward she again makes a kneading-pan of clay and pours oil into it. She severs the blue wool and throws the severed end in. The Old Woman hides it under the coats of the two sacrificers.

and she speaks as follows: "This is the kneading-pan of Ishtar.<sup>8</sup> May they get away to good life! ~~May they hide from~~ evil matter likewise!"

Afterwards she takes a *hupuwai* vessel and fills it with wine, plain olive oil (and) honey; she adds figs, raisins, tissue, salt (and) mutton-fat.

(40) She pours the (content of the) *hupuwai* into the hearth, breaks the *hupuwai* to pieces and speaks as follows: "Let the *hupuwai* be broken with mouth (and) tongue!"

When the Old Woman has broken the *hupuwai* to pieces, (45) she also breaks a sweet loaf and throws (the crumbs) into the hearth.

They drive up a sheep and call it "substitute." The Old Woman takes 1 sweet sacrificial loaf (and) 1 jug of wine.

While offering the sheep to the Sun-god the Old Woman speaks as follows: (50) "O Sun-god! Here is

<sup>7</sup> *KUB*, xv, 39 + *IBOT*, II, 109 ii 21-ff. 3d.

<sup>8</sup> The allusion which may have a mythological background is unintelligible.

a substitute in their place, with mouth and tongue." She consecrates the sheep, breaks the loaf and pours out the wine. A white sheep they do not kill again; the Old Woman gets it.

(The next sections are mutilated and therefore omitted here.)

(iii 10) They light fires on the right and on the left; in between they set seven stone pillars in the ground. The Old Woman presents one sacrificial loaf weighing 1 *tarṇaš* and a cheese to the two sacrificers and they touch it with their hands.

(15) The Old Woman breaks the sacrificial loaf, pours out a libation of wine and speaks as follows:

"Whoever erected these stone pillars in this one place—see, now they totter. Whatever issued from the mouths (and) the tongues of the two sacrificers on that day—let those words totter in the same way!"

The two sacrificers overturn the stone pillars with (their) feet and ~~throw them~~ into the fire. (25) The fine garments which they are wearing they cast off and the Old Woman gets them.

She waves a pot over them, takes the *DUG.LIŠ.GAL*<sup>9</sup> off their heads and sp[each]s as follows: "See! [I have taken the *DUG.LIŠ.GAL*] off your heads. [Let the evil] words [be taken off in the same way]!" (35) [ . . . ] the two sacrificers break the pot with their feet and [she says as follows: "Let them break] all the words [of mouth (and) tongue in the same way]!"

The Old Woman takes the Sun's *hay*,<sup>10</sup> calls it *tiwa-riya*<sup>11</sup> and rubs down the limbs of the two sacrificers.

She speaks as follows: "Let the evil words of mouth (and) tongue be rubbed away from you!"

(iv) The Old Woman takes water with a cup or an amphora and presents it to the two sacrificers; salt is also put in. The two sacrificers pour the water over their heads, (5) they also rinse their hands (and) their eyes.

Then they pour it into the horn of an ox. The two sacrificers seal it up and the Old Woman speaks as follows:

(10) "On the day when the olden kings return and examine the state of the land,—then, and then only, shall this seal be broken."

## Evocatio

Text: *KUB*, xv, 34 and its duplicates *KUB*, xv, 33a, 33b and 38. Literature: L. Zuntz, *Un testo ittita di scongiuri* (= *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti*, xcvi/2 [1937]).

When the diviners attract the gods by means of nine trails from the meadows, the mountains (and) the rivers, from the sea, from the springs, from fire, from heaven and from the earth, they take the following things: He takes a basket and in the basket (materials)

<sup>9</sup> This is usually considered as a kind of vessel; this apparently does not fit here.

<sup>10</sup> Reading in doubt.

<sup>11</sup> Again in Hurrian?

are made ready as follows: (5) there lies (in it) one *hupparaš*, upon it lies one sacrificial loaf made of fine flour, upon the loaf a (piece of) cedar is fastened and to the front (of the piece) of cedar red wool is tied.

It (the wool) is led down (to the ground). Fine oil . . . is poured into a *bitumen cup* and he *soaks* it (the wool) in it; (10) fine flour is strewn over it. Upon it 30 thin loaves of fine flour are placed. A . . . of the gods . . . , the wing of an eagle (and) the fleece of an unblemished sheep, are (also) placed there all wrapped together.

Apart (from these) are (kept) one wine jug (and) one pitcher filled with wine, (10) honey (and) fine oil mixed together, one jar of fine oil, one jar of honey; also fruit, figs, ~~grapes~~, olives, barley, a broken leavened loaf, one pot filled with fat cake.

They go down from the Tawinia gate and set up a wickerwork table for the "cedar" gods on the road. (20) Upon it they place the prepared basket and in front of it they construct a fireplace for (burning) wood. They draw a length of cloth down from the wickerwork table and make it into a trail. Then they draw a trail in fine flour in front of the cloth; on the one side of the flour trail they draw a trail in honey, but on the other side they draw a trail in wine (25) (and) fine oil mixed together.

He then breaks one thin (loaf), puts fat cake upon it and places it on the ends of the trails. He breaks one thin loaf, strews it upon the trail and pours out a libation of wine. He breaks one thin loaf, puts fat cake upon it, and places it upon the path, he also pours out a libation of wine. (30) One diviner takes the red wool that had been tied to the (piece of) cedarwood from the [ . . . ]. *bitumen cup*, out of the fine oil, and sprinkles [the trails] with fine oil. One diviner lifts up the wing of the eagle on which the . . . is lying and squeals; the diviner speaks the . . . [ . . . ]. prayer. (35) He places a length of cloth over the wickerwork table, takes pebbles from the trail and the path and places them upon the table. He strews out leavened bread (and) cheese, also fruit and barley, for the god, pours out a libation of wine (and) speaks as follows:

(40) "O Cedar-gods! See! I have covered your ways with the scarf that goes with the long gown and have spread for you fine flour (and) fine oil. So walk ye over it to this place! Let no fallen tree impede your feet, let no stones inconvenience your feet! (45) The mountains shall be leveled before you, [the rivers] shall be bridged before you!" He breaks thin loaves, strews out fat cake, also pours out a libation and says:

"Let the vigorous Cedar-gods eat and drink the trails! Let them satisfy their hunger and quench their thirst! O gods, (50) in favor turn ye toward the king and the queen! Wherever ye may be, O Cedar-gods, whether in heaven or on earth, whether on mountains or in rivers, whether in the Mitanni country<sup>1</sup> or in the country of Kinza,<sup>2</sup> the country of Tunip, the

<sup>1</sup> The region between the Euphrates and Assyria in the east.

<sup>2</sup> Qadesh on the Orontes, today Tell Nebi Mendo.

country of Ugarit,<sup>3</sup> the country of Zinzira, the country of Dunanapa, the country of Idarukatta, the country of Gatanna, the country of Alalha,<sup>4</sup> (55) the country of Kinahhi,<sup>5</sup> the country of Amurru, the country of Sidon, the country of Tyre, the country of Nuhasse, the country of Ugulzit, the country of Arrapha,<sup>6</sup> the country of Zunzurhi;

"Whether ye are in the country of Ashur, the country of Babylon, the country of Shanbara, the country of Egypt, the country of Alasiya,<sup>7</sup> the country of Alziya,<sup>8</sup> the country of Papahhi, the country of Kumma, the country of Hayasa, the country of Lulluwa,<sup>9</sup> the country of Arzawa, the country [of . . . ], (60) [the country of . . . ] . . . , the country of Talawa, the country of Masa, the country of Galkisa, the country of Kuntara, the country of Iyalanta, the country of Wilusa,<sup>10</sup> the country of Uraya, the country of Suhma, the country of Sapuwa, [the country of . . . ], the country of Partahuina, the country of Kasula, the country of Himuwa, the country of Lalha, in the Kashkean country<sup>11</sup> or in whatever other countries—(65) come ye now back to the Hatti land!

"If anyone, either [a foreigner] or a Hittite, [either a common man] or a member of the nobility, has drawn you away, entreated you, lured you away [ . . . ] (70) into his house [ . . . ], see, here we are [drawing you back] . . . (and) we are squealing.

(small gap if any)

(ii) "Turn your backs on the enemy country and on the wicked p[eo]ple; turn your eyes toward the king and the queen! They will give you holy offerings. So [come here] in favor and receive your offerings with both hands [and . . . ]! (5) Come ye forth from the enemy country and from evil uncleanness!

"Come ye to the blessed, holy, fine (and) wonderful Hatti land! Bring with you life, good health, long years, *power of procreation*, sons (and) daughters, grandchildren (and) great-grandchildren, the gods' love, the gods' kindness, (10) valor (and) . . . obedience! Lift ye from [the king (and) the queen] (their) thousand *shortcomings*! Look ye upon the king (and) the qu[een] with favor!

"Come ye back to your fine and wonderful sanctuaries! Sit ye down again on your thrones and chairs! Sit ye down again on your holy, fine (and) wonderful seats!

"Provide ye for the king (and) the queen life, good health, long years, *power of procreation*, sons (and) daughters, grandchildren (and) great-grandchildren! For the man manliness (and) valor, for the woman womanliness (and) *motherhood*!

<sup>3</sup> Today Ras Shamra.

<sup>4</sup> The capital of Mukis(hi) excavated at Atchana (Tell Aḡana).

<sup>5</sup> The Hurrian form of Canaan.

<sup>6</sup> Today Kirkuk in Iraq.

<sup>7</sup> The island of Cyprus.

<sup>8</sup> The three last mentioned countries are situated in the region where Turkey, Iran and Iraq meet today.

<sup>9</sup> This group comprises the main countries of southern and western Anatolia.

<sup>10</sup> The region along the Black Sea in Pontus.

<sup>11</sup> The region along the Black Sea in Pontus.

(20) "Throughout the land give ye love and loyalty, the gods' love, the gods' kindness, high spirits in god (and) high spirits in man, valor, its victorious arms, fertility (and) prosperity in the country, fertility of man, cattle, sheep, grain (and) wine! Grant ye to him (the king) the loyalty (25) (and) obedience of his charioteers (and) foot soldiers!"

He sprinkles fine oil (about) with the red wool and says: "Just as brightness has been imparted to this wool, even so let brightness be imparted to the persons of the Cedar-gods!"

"Just as this fine oil is soothing, (as) it is agreeable to gods (30) and agreeable to men, even so let the king and the queen of the Hatti land be agreeable to the gods! Let the soothing effect of the cedar, the *music* of the *lyres* (and) the words of the diviner be such an [alluring] inducement to the gods that they will get them called here! Wherever else ye may be, come (ye) here! If ye do not hear the first time, hear the second time! If ye do not hear the second time, (35) hear the third, the fourth, the fifth, the sixth, the seventh time! So come ye! Come back to your holy, fine (and) wonderful temples, thrones (and) chairs!

"Turn with favor toward the king and the queen! (40) Give them life, good health, long years (and) d[ays]!" At the feet of the gods they strew out a leavened loaf (and) cheese, fruit [and figs]; they pour out wine, honey and fine oil mixed together, and he speaks as follows:

"See! At your feet I have placed for you, Cedar-gods, [a leavened loaf] (and) a cheese. So abandon ye the enemy country (45) and come back to the blessed, fine (and) wonderful Hatti land! Evil, evil sickness, fever, *hunger*, plague, pest, bad word . . . wipe out at the Hatti land and give it [to al]l [the enemy]! Those who (50) do not perform [the proper rites], those who do not [break] sacrificial loaves, [let] those [ . . . ]."

(considerable gap)

(The reverse of the tablet describes ceremonies designed to attract the gods from the rivers [iii 1-20], the sea [iii 21-22], the springs [iii 23-47], the mountains [iii 48-58], gap, the nether world [iv 1-26], the heaven [iv 27-40]. The tablet closes with "the bringing up of the gods," presumably to their permanent dwelling places.)

## The Soldiers' Oath

Text: *KBo*, vi, 34 and its duplicate *KUB*, vii, 59. Literature: J. Friedrich, *ZA*, NF 1 (1924), 161-192, reprinted with additions in the same author's *Hethitische Studien* (1924). Excerpts are also found in Zimmern's contribution to Lehmann-Haas, *Textbuch zur Religionsgeschichte*, 2nd ed. (1922), 335 f. and in J. Friedrich, *Aus dem hethitischen Schrifttum*, 2 (*AO*, xxv/2 [1925]), 16 ff. The tablet in question is marked as the second of a series entitled "When they lead the troops to the (ceremony of taking the) oath." At the beginning about 17 lines are missing.

[He<sup>1</sup> . . .]s and says: "[Just as this . . . cou]ld [see] and was able to find [(its) food], and (as) they have now blinded it at the place of the oath,—(15) whoever breaks these oaths, betrays the king of the Hatti land, and turns his eyes in hostile fashion upon the Hatti land, let these oaths seize him! Let them blind this man's army (20) and make it deaf! Let them not see each other, let them not hear each other! Let them make a cruel fate their lot! Below let them fetter their feet, and above let them bind their hands! (25) Just as the gods of the oath bound the hands and feet of the army of the Arzawa country<sup>2</sup> and made them unable to move, even so let them bind that man's army and make them unable to move!"

He places yeast in their hands, they *squeeze* it (30) and he says: "Is not this that you have here yeast? Just as they take this little piece of yeast, mix it (into the dough) in the kneading bowl and let the bowl stand for a day (so that) it can ferment—whoever breaks these oaths, (35) shows disrespect to the king of the Hatti land, and turns his eyes in hostile fashion upon the Hatti land, let these oaths seize him! Let him be ridden with disease! Make a cruel fate his lot!" The men (40) declare: "So be it!"

Then he places wax and mutton fat in their hands. He throws them on a flame and says: "Just as this wax melts, and just as the mutton fat dissolves,—(45) whoever breaks these oaths, (ii) [shows disrespect to the king] of the Hatti [land], let [him] melt lik[e wax], let him dissolve like [mutton fat]!" [The me]n declare: "So be it!"

(5) He places sinews (and) salt in their hands. He throws them on a flame and speaks as follows: "Just as these sinews split into fragments on the hearth, and just as the salt (10) is scattered on the hearth—whoever breaks these oaths, shows disrespect to the king of the Hatti land, and turns his eyes in hostile fashion upon the Hatti land, let these oaths seize him! (15) Let him split into fragments like the sinews, let him be scattered like the salt! Just as salt has no seed, even so let that man's name, seed, house, cattle (and) sheep perish!"

He places malt (and) malt loaf in their hands, (20) they *crush* them and he speaks as follows: "Just as they grind this malt loaf between mill stones, mix it with water, bake it and break it up—whoever breaks these oaths and does evil to the king (and) the queen, (25) the princes (and) to the Hatti land, let these oaths seize him! Let them grind their bones in the same way! Let him *soak* in the same way! Let him be broken up in the same way! Let a cruel fate be his lot!" The men declare: "So be it!"

"Just as this malt no (longer) has the power of growth, (as) one cannot take it to a field and use it as

<sup>1</sup> The officiating priest.

<sup>2</sup> The most important group of countries in the southern part of Anatolia bordering on the Mediterranean Sea.

seed, (as) one cannot use it as bread or store it in the storehouse—whoever (35) breaks these oaths and does evil to the king (and) the queen and the princes, even so let the gods of the oath also destroy that man's future! Let not his wife bear sons and daughters! Let his land (and) his fields have no crop, (40) and his pastures no grass! Let not his cattle (and) sheep bear calves (and) lambs!"

They bring the garments of a woman, a distaff and a spindle, they break an arrow and you speak as follows: "Is not this that you see here (45) garments of a woman? We have them here for (the ceremony of taking) the oath. Whoever breaks these oaths and does evil to the king (and) the queen (and) the princes, let these oaths change him from a man into a woman! Let them change his troops into women, (50) let them dress them in the fashion of women and cover their heads with a length of cloth! Let them break the bows, arrows (and) clubs in their hands and (iii) [let them put] in their hands distaff and spindle!"

They parade in front of them a blind woman, a blind man and a deaf man and [you speak] as follows: "See! here is a blind woman, (5) and a deaf man. Whoever does evil to the king (and) the queen, let the oaths seize him! Let them make him blind! Let them [ma]ke him [deaf]! Let them [blind] him like a blind man! Let them [deafen] him like a deaf man! Let them [annihilate him], the man (himself) (10) together with his wife, [his children] (and) his kin!"

He places a . . . stone [of a man] full of . . . in their hands and speaks as follows: "Did not this man whom you see here take the oath? (15) [At some other time] he was sworn in before the gods and then broke his oath. The oaths seized him and his inner parts are sagging out in front, he has to hold his entrails in his hands. Whoever (20) breaks these oaths, let these oaths seize him! Let his inner parts sag out in front! Let 'Ishara sons' [live] in his inner parts and eat him up!"

He presents to them [a . . .]. Before their eyes (25) he [throws] it on the ground; they trample it under foot and he speaks as follows: "Whoever breaks these oaths, even so let the Hatti people come and trample that man's town under foot! Let them make it bare of people!"

(30) They light [a fire]brand and trample it under foot so that it scatters here and there and he says: "Just as this one flies apart(?)—whoever breaks these oaths, even so let this man's house be robbed(?) of men, (35) cattle (and) sheep!"

You will place before them an oven. Also a plow, a cart (and) a chariot you will place before the congregation. These things they break and he speaks as follows: "Whoever breaks these oaths, let the Storm-god break his plow! Just as grass does not come [out of] the oven, let not spelt (and) barley (45) [come out] of his field, let *sahlū*<sup>3</sup> come forth!"

(one mutilated section)

<sup>3</sup> Apparently some kind of worms. <sup>4</sup> A weed commonly found on ruins.

(iv) He sprinkles water on the fire (5) and speaks to them as follows: "Just as this burning fire is snuffed out—whoever breaks these oaths, even so let these oaths seize him! Let this man's vitality, vigor (10) and future happiness be snuffed out together with (that of) his wife and his children! Let the oaths put an evil curse upon him! Let no offspring thrive in his corral, his fold (15) (and) his barnyard! From his field let grass not come forth, not even from (one) furrow!"

## Ritual before Battle

Text: KUB, iv, 1 and duplicate KUB, xxxi, 136. Literature: M. Witzel, *Hethitische Keilschrift-Urkunden* (*Keilschriftliche Studien*, 4, 1924) 60-65; E. von Schuler, *Die Kaskäer* (1965), 168-74.

When they perform the ritual at the boundary of the enemy country he consecrates one sheep to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and to the Storm-god, god Inar<sup>(KAL)</sup> (and) all the gods, to Telepinus (and) the gods and goddesses of Turmitta, (5) to all the gods (and) the . . . gods, to all the mountains (and) rivers.

But one sheep they consecrate to Zithariyas.

(10) They speak as follows: "See! Zithariyas is appealing to all the gods. The offerings which had long been assigned to Zithariyas' worship, the countries which have fallen into turmoil—in all of them they would celebrate great festivals for him.

(16) "But now the Kashkeans<sup>1</sup> have taken them. The Kashkeans have begun war. They boast of their power (and) strength. They have made light of you, O gods!

"See! Zithariyas (20) is appealing to all the gods; he brings his complaints before you. So pass judgment on his case, all ye gods! Let it be of great concern to the gods!

"In fact they (the sanctuaries) have been taken away by these people not from Zithariyas alone, (25) they have been taken away from all you gods, all of you; from the Sun-goddess of Arinna, from the Storm-god of Nerik, from the Storm-god (and) from god Inar, from Telepinus (and) from all the (other) gods. From you (also) have his cities been taken.

(30) "See! Zithariyas is bringing his case before all of you, gods. Take your own case to heart! Pass judgment on your own case in passing judgment on the case of Zithariyas!

(35) "Blot out the Kashkean country, O gods! Let every single god take thought for his place of worship and win it back!

"Let Zithariyas win back his place of worship! Let him again roam those countries (40) at will! Let people again celebrate [his] great festivals! . . ."

(Gap that must have contained a ritual in which the enemy gods are summoned.)

(ii) And he speaks as follows: "O gods of the Kashkean country! We have summoned you before this assembly.

<sup>1</sup> A group of wild tribes living in the mountains along the shore of the Black Sea who incessantly raid and plunder on Hittite territory.

Come ye, eat (and) drink! Hear ye the accusation (5) which we bring against you!

"The gods of the Hatti land have done nothing against you, the gods of the Kashkean country. (10) They have not put you under constraint.

"But ye, the gods of the Kashkean country, began war. Ye drove the gods of the Hatti land out of their realm and took over their realm for yourselves.

(15) "The Kashkean people also began war. From the Hittites ye took away their cities and ye drove them out of their field (and) fallow and out of their vineyards.

"The gods of the Hatti land and the (Hittite) people (20) call for bloody vengeance. The [vengeance] of the Hatti gods and the vengeance of the (Hittite) people [will be wrought] on you, the gods [of the Kashkean country] and the [Kashkean people]."

(Gap that must have contained, beside the end of the preceding, a ritual of purification which intends to enable the army again to vanquish the enemy.)

(iii) "Let him eat (and) d[rink]! . . . Let him re[turn to the army] and battle the enemy!"

(5) When he has finished he goes again before the Hatti gods, and they eat up the meat and the bread. He offers libations to the Hatti gods, the Storm-god of the army (and) the Warrior-god.<sup>2</sup> They give them to drink (10) as much as they think fitting. The "master of the gods"<sup>3</sup> receives the implements used at the feast (and) the sheepskins. They return to the army, and go to battle in this condition.

## Removal of the Threat Implied in an Evil Omen

Text: KUB, ix, 13 + KUB, xxiv, 5. Literature: M. Veyra, *RHR*, cxix (1939), 121-153. The upper third of the obverse and the corresponding part of the reverse are lost. The missing beginning must have stated the main theme of the text: a threat to the king implied in an evil omen. It must also have contained part of the treatment. It consists in the attempt at deflecting the predicted misfortune to persons who substitute for the king. The first preserved lines seem to finish the treatment of a first group of such substitutes. The better preserved part (beginning with obverse 6) deals already with a second group.

[During the night<sup>4</sup> the king] takes the . . . [substitute] and goes to the sanctuary of the Moon-god. [He presents them to the Moon-god and] says: "In the matter about which [I prayed] to you, listen to me, Moon-god, my lord! [That omen which thou] gavest—if thou foundest fault with me, (10) (witness) that I have given [thee] straightaway [these substitute]s. These take, [but let me go fr]ee!" They drive up to the sanctuary a live steer [and conse]crate it [ . . . ].

<sup>2</sup> His Hittite name is not known; in Hittian it was Wurunkatte "king of the country."

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the officiating priest.

<sup>4</sup> Restored because of the beginning of the second following section.

The king goes up to the sanctuary [and speaks as follows: "That] omen which thou gavest, O Moon-god—if thou foundest fault with me [and] wishedst to behold with thine own eyes [the sinner's] abasement, (15) [see, I, the king,] have come in person [to thy sanctuary] and have [given] thee these substitutes. Consider [the substitution]! Let these die! But, let me not die!" They hand [the substitutes over to the . . . ] and he takes them away. [When] he has finished . . . ing [them], he<sup>5</sup> casts (spells of) deliverance (over him).<sup>6</sup>

He [brings a healthy prisoner to the sanctuary]. They anoint the prisoner with the fine oil of kingship, (20) and [he<sup>4</sup> speaks] as follows: "This man (is) the king. To him [have I given] a royal name. Him have I clad [in the vestments] of kingship. Him have I crowned with the diadem. Remember ye this: That evil omen [signifies] short years (and) short days. Pursue ye this substitute!" The one shekel of silver, the one shekel of gold, the one mina of copper, (25) the one mina of tin, the one mina of iron, the one mina of lead, all this is removed from his [body].<sup>5</sup> The one healthy prisoner is released, and he has him taken back to his country. The king submits to the waving ceremony, and afterward the king goes to bathe.

When it dawns, the king submits to the waving ceremony and afterward he performs the "Ritual of the House" (and) the "Pure Ritual." When it is light, the king performs the "[ . . . ] Rite." (30) When he goes away he takes a bath and consecrates one . . . sheep to the Sun-god under the open sky.

Words [of . . . ] he speaks as follows: "Sun-god of Heaven, my lord! That omen which the Moon-god gave—if he found fault with me, accept ye, Sun-god of Heaven and (all) ye gods, these substitutes that I have given (35) and let me go free! To (appearing before) thee, I might prefer appearing before the Sun-goddess of Arinna." (reverse) [Afterward] he goes into [ . . . ] and [consecr]ates [one . . . sheep] to Eresh-kigal.<sup>6</sup> He prays as follows: "Eresh-kigal, my lady! That omen which the Moon-god gave—if (5) he found fault with me, (remember) that the Gods of Heaven have delivered me into thy hands. Take these substitutes that I have handed over to thee and let me go free! I want to see the Sun-god of Heaven with mine eyes!" They offer pieces of raw and cooked meat, (10) and the king arranges for cups at his own expense.

When night comes, he consecrates one . . . sheep for the Moon-god under the open sky and speaks as follows: "Moon-god, my lord! That omen which thou gavest—if thou foundest fault with me, (remember that) thou didst deliver me (15) into the hands of the gods of the nether world and Eresh-kigal. I made my peace with the gods of the nether world (and) handed over substitutes (to them). Take those, but let me go free! To (appearing before) thee I might prefer (appearing

<sup>2</sup> The officiating priest. <sup>3</sup> The king. <sup>4</sup> The officiating priest.

<sup>5</sup> These pieces of metal must have been mentioned in the lost beginning of the text.

<sup>6</sup> The Sumero-Akkadian goddess of the nether world. Read probably Lelwanis.



before) the Sun-god of Heaven." The king offers pieces of raw and cooked meat (20) and arranges for cups.

(end of text lost)

## Ritual for the Erection of a House

Text: *KBo*, iv, 1 and its duplicates *KUB*, ii, 2 and *KUB*, ix, 33. Literature: M. Witzel, *Hethitische Keilschrift-Urkunden* (= *Keilschriftliche Studien*, 4 [1924]), 76-87.

(obverse)

When they rebuild a temple that had been destroyed or (build) a new house in a different place and they lay the foundations, they deposit under the foundations as follows: 1 mina of refined copper, 4 bronze pegs, 1 small iron hammer. In the center, at the place of the *kurakki* (5) he digs up the ground. He deposits the copper therein, nails it down on all sides with the pegs and afterward hits it with the hammer. While doing so he speaks as follows:

"Just as this copper is secured, (as) moreover it is firm, even so let this temple be secure! (10) Let it be firm upon the dark earth!"

He mentions the name of the sacrificer: "He who built this temple, let him be firm before the gods likewise! Graciously let him draw upon himself before the gods (the potency of) this temple for enduring life!"

"Just as the four corner(stones) of the house are firm on the ground (15) and as they will not be overturned, even so let the sacrificer's well-being not overturn in future before the gods! Graciously, O god, let him draw upon himself before the gods (the potency of) this house for life, good health (and) vigor on the part of the lordship over the Hatti land (and) on the part of the throne of kingship!"

Beneath the four corner(stones), each one of them, (20) he deposits as follows: 1 foundation stone of silver, 1 foundation stone of gold, 1 foundation stone of lapis, 1 foundation stone of jasper, 1 foundation stone of marble, 1 foundation stone of iron, 1 foundation stone of copper, 1 foundation stone of bronze, 1 foundation stone of diorite. The four corner(stones) are (each) provided with these in the same way.

Beneath the four *kurakki*, each one of them, (25) he deposits as follows: he deposits 1 *kurakki* of silver, 1 *kurakki* of gold, 1 *kurakki* of lapis, 1 *kurakki* of jasper, 1 *kurakki* of iron, 1 *kurakki* of diorite, 1 *kurakki* of copper, 1 *kurakki* of bronze. While doing so he speaks as follows:

"See! This temple which we have built for thee, the god (he mentions the name of the god for whom they build it)—it is not we (30) who have (really) built it, all the gods have built it.

"The gods—those (who are) craftsmen—have built it. Telepinus has laid the foundations. The walls above them, Ea, the king of wisdom, has built (them). Timber

and stones, all the mountains have brought (them). But the mortar, the goddesses have brought (it).

(35) "They have laid foundations of silver and gold; the gold they brought from Birunduma,<sup>1</sup> the silver they brought from . . . The lapis they brought from Mount Takniyara.<sup>1</sup> The marble they brought from the country of Kanisha.<sup>1</sup> The jasper they brought from the country of Elam.<sup>2</sup> The diorite they brought from the earth. The black iron of heaven they brought from heaven. Copper (and) bronze (40) they brought from Mount Taggata in Alasiya.<sup>3</sup>

"See! beneath the foundations they have deposited gold for (firm) founding. Just as the gold is firm, (as) moreover it is clean (and) strong, (as) the mind of the gods is set on it, and (as) it is dear to god and man, even so let the gods be set on this temple (and) let it be dear (to them)!"

(45) "Let the sacrificer, and (his) children and children's children likewise be dear to the gods (and gain) enduring life by their grace!"

9 props of silver, each one 1 shekel of weight; 9 props of gold, each one 1 shekel in weight; 9 props of iron; 9 props of bronze. (reverse) Beneath the cult stand he deposits 4 props, among them one of silver, one of gold, one of iron (and) one of bronze. At the front *kurakki* in the center he deposits 4 props in the same manner. Also against the *kurakki*, on the right (and) the left sides, on either he deposits 4 props in the same manner.

(5) Also at the four corner(stones), at each corner(stone), he deposits 4 props in the same manner.

A lion of gold weighing 1 shekel, 2 pairs of oxen of iron, yoked under a yoke of silver, every ox weighing 1 shekel,—beneath them are plates, and two oxen stand on one plate, (10) (while) the two other oxen stand on (the other) plate.

The weight of the plate is not laid down, nor is the weight of the yoke by which the oxen are yoked laid down. He deposits them under the front *kurakki* in the center.

Beneath the cult stand he deposits 1 cult stand of silver, 1 cult stand of gold, (15) 1 cult stand of lapis, 1 cult stand of jasper, 1 cult stand of iron, 1 cult stand of copper, 1 cult stand of bronze, 1 cult stand of marble, 1 cult stand of diorite.

Beneath the hearth (he deposits) 1 hearth of silver weighing 1 shekel, 1 hearth of gold weighing 1 shekel, 1 hearth of lapis, 1 hearth of jasper, 1 hearth of marble, 1 hearth of iron, 1 hearth of bronze, 1 hearth of diorite. (20) 4 props, among them one of silver, one of gold, one of iron (and) one of bronze, each one weighing 1 shekel (are also deposited there). The hearths made of stone, each one also weighs 1 shekel.

Beneath the door (he deposits) 1 door of silver weighing 1 shekel, 1 door of gold weighing 1 shekel, 1 door of lapis weighing 1 shekel, 1 door of jasper weighing 1 shekel, (25) 1 door of iron weighing 1

<sup>1</sup> Not otherwise known.

<sup>2</sup> The country toward the east of Babylonia.

<sup>3</sup> The island of Cyprus.

shekel, 1 door of bronze weighing 1 shekel, 1 door of marble weighing 1 shekel, 1 door of diorite also weighing 1 shekel.

2 . . . of bronze he deposits in the gate; their weight is not laid down.

16 . . . , among them 4 of gold, 4 of silver, (30) 4 of iron (and) 4 of bronze (are also deposited); their weight is not laid down.

## Ritual for the Erection of a New Palace

Text: *KUB*, xxix, 1 and its duplicates *KUB*, xxix, 2 and 3. Literature: B. Schwartz, *Orientalia*, NS xvi (1947), 23-55; the lines i 26-41 and ii 39-54 are dealt with by H. G. Güterbock, *RHA*, vi (1942-43), 102-9.

[When the king] builds [a new palace and when the time comes for roofing it] with timber, [they speak as follows:] "By consulting [the Sun-god] and the Storm-god they have found out [that it is the right time for roofing the palace which] you are building."

### A. ERECTION OF THE PALACE

#### Plastering the Walls

(5) When you have finished [building] the palace, and [when you plaster (it)] on the inside, plaster (it) with long years [(and) plast]er (it) [with well-being]! [When you plaster (it)] on the outside, plaster (it) with awe, plaster (it) [with lordlin]ess!

#### Procuring Timber for the Roof

(It comes from the Mountain where the Throne rules.)

(10) The king says to the Throne: "Come! Let us go! But stay thou behind the mountains! Thou must not become my rival,<sup>1</sup> thou must not become my in-law! Remain my [equal] (and) my friend!"

"Come! Let us go to the Mountain! I, the king, will give thee glassware. Let us eat from glassware! <sup>(pah3-)</sup> But thou over the Mountain!"

"To me, the king, have the gods—Sun-god and Storm-god—entrusted the land and my house. I, the king, shall rule over my land and my house. Thou shouldst not come to my house, (20) and I shall not come to thy house.

"To me, the king, have the gods granted long years; to these years there is no limit.

"To me, the king, has the Throne brought from the Sea the (insignia of) authority (and) the coach;<sup>2</sup> thereupon have they opened to me the land of my mother<sup>3</sup> and called me (25) Labarnas, the King.

"From then on I have been directing my request to the Storm-god, my father. The king has been asking the Storm-god for the timber which the rains have made strong (and) tall.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently considered as characteristic for a king.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of this phrase is not at all clear.

<sup>3</sup> 9 60- 10. pah3-

"Under the heavens ye<sup>4</sup> grew. The lion would rest beneath you, the panther would rest beneath you, the bear (30) would hide in you. The Storm-god, my father, kept evil away from you.

"Cattle pastured beneath you, sheep pastured beneath you. Now I, the Labarnas, the King, have claimed my share of you. I hailed the Throne, my friend (and said):

(35) "Art thou not a friend of me, the king? Let me have that tree (that) I may cut it down!" And the Throne answers the King: "Cut it down, cut (it) down! The Sun-god and the Storm-god have placed it at thy disposal."

#### Charm Spoken over the Trees

"Now come ye up from that country of yours! The Storm-god has placed you (40) at the King's disposal. They will assign work to you. He will procure (experts) for you and they will pronounce charms over you.

"Whatever is in your heart, <sup>(over (X)ia)</sup> cast it out! If (it is) a flaw, remove it! If (it is) an evil (45) . . . , cast it out! If (it is) a curse, <sup>(over)</sup> cast it out!

"If weakness is in your heart, or (if) the ailment of the sun is in your heart, sweep it out! I, the Labarnas, the King, will come (and) put steel and iron in your heart."

### B. ENTRY INTO THE NEW PALACE

(50) When the king makes his entry into the house, the Throne hails the Eagle: "Go! I am sending thee to the Sea. When thou gettest there, <sup>(reconquer the field)</sup> drive out of field and woods those who still remain there!"

(ii) That one (i.e. the Eagle) answers: "I have driven <sup>(them) out. Only Isdustaya (and) Papaya who are the eternal gods of the nether world still remain there trouching."</sup>

(5) The Throne says: "What are they doing?" That one (i.e. the Eagle) answers him: "She<sup>5</sup> is holding a spindle distaff; they are holding <sup>(spindle)</sup> mirrors (and) combs."

"They are spinning the king's years. There is no limit to these years, no number (10) holds good for them."

The Throne says to the king: "Now bring all the king's sons to the palace window!"

The skilled weaver women <sup>(weavers of experts)</sup> are divided into two parties. Before (one of) them he<sup>6</sup> places glassware and strews figs thereon. (15) Before the (other) he places crockery and strews grapes and fruit thereon (saying): "Soothe ye the king!"

"Soothe his eyes! Keep sickness from him! Keep terror from him! Keep . . . from him! Keep the head-sickness from him! (20) Keep man's evil word from him! <sup>(keep)</sup> A. keep the knee-sickness (from him)! Keep the heart-sickness (from him)!"

"Stay, great star!" (he says) and halts the mountains in their place. "Mount Pentaya, stay in thy place! (25) Thou shalt not raise the great one!" Mount Harga,

<sup>4</sup> The trees are addressed.

<sup>5</sup> The feminine is chosen because of the feminine implement.

<sup>6</sup> The officiating priest?

<sup>7</sup> The sun is meant.

<sup>8</sup> Again the sun? 29 GAL. H. 10? 11. ulikya KIR. na Suwaya

27 " " ?



stay in thy place! Thou shalt not raise the great one! Mount Tudhaliya, stay in thy place! Thou shalt not raise the great one!

"Mount [Sid]duweni<sup>9</sup> (and) Mount Piskuruuwa, stay ye in your places! Ye shall not raise the great one!"

(30) [When] the king goes to the mountain to raise the great Sun, he<sup>10</sup> performs various charms (and) incantations (all of the general kind): "Such (and) such a one has taken an ailment away from the king."

"Affliction this one has taken away. Concern this one has taken away. <sup>gong?</sup> ~~Aw~~ this one has taken away. Fear (35) this one has taken away. Heart-sickness this one has taken away. Sickness this one has taken away. Old age this one has taken away. Vigor this one has given back to him. Prowess this one has given back to him."

"Come thou, Eagle! Go forth! One of my charms (40) has failed. Go to the ghats<sup>11</sup> and bring a piece of crockery!"

"Upon it <sup>gong?</sup> ~~put~~ together a lion's tail (and) a panther's tail! Keep hold of them!"

<sup>let (man)</sup> "Twine them together and make them one. Place them at man's heart. (45) <sup>gong?</sup> ~~Let~~ the king's heart and <sup>desire</sup> ~~soul~~ be reunited!"

"Let the Sun-god and the Storm-god enter into accord with the king! Let their word become one! Entrust ye, Sun-god and Storm-god, the land to the king! (50) They have restored his years, they have restored his awesomeness.

"They have made his frame of steel.<sup>12</sup> They have made his head of iron. They have made his eyes those of an eagle. They have made his teeth those of a lion.

(iii) "Let Telepinu<sup>13</sup> come and open [the store]house, take out wine, nine *casks*, and bring (it) to the Mountain, all gods being assembled on the Mountain! They will make the king welcome (5) and give him their approval.

"The Sun-god and the Storm-god have taken care of the king. They have renewed his strength and set no limits to his years.

"They have strewn *jeppit* and *euwan* and crushed it (saying) (10): 'He who plots evil against the king, let the gods abandon him to an evil fate! Let them crush him!'"

#### C. PROVISIONS FOR THE WORKMEN

In whatever town he<sup>14</sup> builds a palace, the carpenter who goes to the mountain to cut the beams (15) receives from the palace one bull, three sheep, three jugs of wine, one jug of *marnuwan*,<sup>14</sup> ten *wages-sar* loaves, <sup>20</sup> ~~thirty~~ "tooth loaves," and fifty "ration loaves."

When the carpenter goes to cut the ridgepole (and) the rafters, he receives from the palace (20) twenty-~~five~~ "tooth loaves" and fifty "ration loaves."

<sup>9</sup> The restoration of the name is quite uncertain.

<sup>10</sup> The officiating priest, or perhaps the king.

<sup>11</sup> The place where the dead are cremated.

<sup>12</sup> Literally: tin.

<sup>13</sup> The king.

<sup>14</sup> An alcoholic beverage.

<sup>15</sup> *Mal/a/rattan*

When they lay the foundations, they receive from the palace one bull, one cow, and ten sheep. They sacrifice the bull to the Storm-god, and the one cow to the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

(25) They sacrifice the sheep, everyone for another deity. Loaves and wine they receive from the palace.

When they stretch the beams across, they act in the same way again.

## The Festival of the Warrior-God<sup>1</sup>

Text: *KBo*, iv, 9. From v 9 on *KUB*, xxv, 1 is a duplicate, beginning with vi 30, also *KUB*, ii, 5. Literature: J. Friedrich, *Aus dem hethitischen Schrifttum*, 2 (= *AO*, xxv/2 [1925]), 5 ff.; A. Goetze, *Kulturgeschichte Kleinasiens* (1933), 155.

(The preserved text begins in the middle of a day.)

The king remains seated. "*waganna*"<sup>2</sup> is called, but he does not perform any libation. Then the king leaves the temple of the War-god.

(5) Two palace servants (and) one major-domo march before him. The king goes to the *halentuwa* house. And if the king is so inclined, he makes a circumambulation. Just as he pleases, so (10) he does; nothing definite is laid down (about it).

Afterward they sweep the temple of the War-god. They place the raw meat of a bull, of cows, of sheep and of goats in front of the cult stand (15) before the god (all) in one and the same place.

Two silver basins for libations filled with wine they place on the right-hand side and the left-hand side of the meat.

(20) They announce: "*ališa*." The cult servants set out the *bread baskets*.

The cooks put cooked meat upon the *bread baskets*.

(25) The staff-men set up "long chairs." The king (and) the queen put on their ritual dress in the *halentuwa* house. The forecourt of the guardsmen has previously been opened and all the noblemen, (30) palace servants and guardsmen are waiting there.

Then the king (and) the queen come forth from the *halentuwa* house. (35) Two palace servants (and) one guardsman march before the king.

The noblemen, the palace servants and the guardsmen walk behind the king.

The entertainers play the *arkammi*, (40) the *huhupal* (and) the *galgalturi*<sup>3</sup> before (and) behind the king.

... stand beside the king; they dance and play *tambourines*.

(45) Other entertainers are clad in red garments. They stand beside the king, hold the hands up and

<sup>1</sup> His name in Hittite is unknown; if the Hattic name is to be substituted as is likely it would be Wurunkatte, i.e. "king of the land."

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of this and the following cultic calls—probably in the Hattic language—is not known.

<sup>3</sup> Three musical instruments.

whirl around on the spot; (50) they also *recite psalmodies*.

(ii) Before the king (and) the queen enter the temple of the War-god, entertainers, *psalmodists* (and) *kitaš*-priests (5) have come in and taken their places.

Then the king (and) the queen enter the temple of the War-god. The king arrives at the gateway and the dancers (10) whirl around once.

The king (and) the queen halt in the forecourt of the temple of the War-god.

The major-domo (and) the priest of god Inar—he holds a coat and the priest of god Inar (15) holds some *tuhhuesšar*.<sup>4</sup> Two palace servants bring to the king (and) the queen water for their hands. The king (and) the queen rinse their hands. The chief of the palace servants hands them a linen and they wipe their hands.

(20) The priest of god Inar presents [the *tuhhuesšar*]<sup>4</sup> to the king. The king. . . .

The chief of the palace servants presents to the king the pennant of a gold lance (25) and he wipes his hands.

A palace servant takes the *tuhhuesšar*<sup>4</sup> from the priest of god Inar. The priest of god Inar pays homage to the king.

The palace servant (30) presents the *tuhhuesšar*<sup>4</sup> to the queen. The queen. . . .

Then the palace servant hands the *tuhhuesšar*<sup>4</sup> back to the priest of god Inar. The chief of the palace servants (35) hands to the queen the pennant of a gold lance and the queen wipes her hands.

Then the king (and) the queen enter the temple of the War-god. They prostrate themselves once before the god. (40) The entertainer recites the *kitaš* calls.

The king takes his stand at the throne, but the queen enters the inner temple.

The foreman of the cooks brings *kattapalaš* cuts. (45) He puts down one portion before the throne and before the War-god; he puts down one at the hearth, one at the throne, one at the window, one at the bolt of the door, furthermore (50) he puts down one by the side of the hearth.

The foreman of the cooks presents a libation vessel with wine to the king. The king touches it with the hand. (iii) The foreman of the cooks pours out three libations before the throne and three for the War-god.

The foreman of the cooks and the foreman of the table-men (5) sanctify themselves.

The foreman of the cooks pours out one libation for the hearth, one for the throne, one for the window, one for the bolt of the door. Furthermore (10) he pours out one libation by the side of the hearth.

Also for the statue of Hattusilis<sup>5</sup> he pours out one libation.

<sup>4</sup> A material used in a purification rite.

<sup>5</sup> The missing verb related to the preceding noun signifies the purifying action for which it serves.

<sup>6</sup> An early king, probably Hattusilis I, a contemporary of the late Hammurabi Dynasty of Babylon.

The king prostrates himself; the entertainer recites (15), the *kitaš* calls.\* (See Addenda). (~~omitted lines~~)

Then they drive out the entertainer, the liturgist, the *psalmodist* (25) and the *kitaš*.

The king (and) the queen sit down on the throne. Then a palace servant brings in the pennant of a gold lance and the *kalmuš*.<sup>7</sup> He hands the pennant of the gold lance (30) to the king, but the *kalmuš* he places on the throne at the king's right.

This (palace servant) also leaves. He takes his stand before the *taršanzipaš* holding a gold lance (35) and calls "*kašmešša*."<sup>8</sup>

Then the great major-domo enters holding a gold lance and also holding a staff of *šuruhha* wood: (40) He takes his place opposite the king.

Two palace servants bring to the king (and) the queen water for (washing their) hands in a basin. The chief [of the palace] servants [holds a linen in readiness] behind them.

(one section destroyed)

(iv) The palace servants give [the king (and) the queen water] and the king (and) the queen rinse [their hands]. The chief of the [palace servants] hands [them a linen] and the king (and) the queen wipe [their] hands.

(5) They leave and the great major-domo also leaves.

A palace servant brings a gold lance and a *mukar*.<sup>9</sup> He proceeds to place (it) on the throne (10) beneath the *mari* . . . at the king's right, and he leaves (again). He takes his stand over the *bread baskets* (set out) for the palace servants.

The great major-domo comes forward (15) and takes his stand opposite the king. Two palace servants put two pieces of linen cloth upon the knees of the king (and) the queen.

The palace servants leave again and take their stand (20) over the *bread baskets* (set out) for palace servants.

The great major-domo gives a sign with (his) gold lance, and calls "*mišša*."<sup>10</sup> He then brings the gold lance and puts it at the king's left (25) against the wall.

Then the foreman of the table-men brings in a sacred table. Three guardsmen walk at the right side of the table; they hold gold lances (30) and three staffs of *šuruhha*-wood.

The great major-domo comes forth to face the table and stands behind the foreman of the table-men. He marches before him and gets hold of the table from underneath (35) the foreman of the tablemen lifts it.

The chief of the palace servants and all the palace servants walk at the right-hand side of the table. The foreman of the table-men (40) sets up the table for the king. The chief of the palace servants leaves (again)

<sup>7</sup> Apparently this is the Hittite word for the "lituus" which is so often seen in the hand of the king on contemporary monuments.

<sup>8</sup> A cultic call of unknown meaning.

<sup>9</sup> Probably a musical instrument, either a lyre or a drum.

<sup>10</sup> Another cultic call of unknown meaning.

and takes his stand over the *bread baskets*. All the palace servants squat down.

(45) The great major-domo and the chief of the palace servants leave. The great major-domo stands behind the hearth and takes his place over the *bread baskets* (set out) for the great major-domo. But the foreman of the table-men (50) leaves.

The three guardsmen who had marched at the right of the table, leave (again). (v) They squat down over their *bread baskets*.

A single guardsman takes from them the lances and the staffs which they hold (5) and proceeds to put them with the gold lance of the great major-domo against the wall. That (guardsman) squats down over his *bread basket*.

A herald comes forward (10) and the table-men of first rank take their stand.

The sweeper brings one sweet loaf. He hands it to a palace servant. The palace servant hands it to the chief of the palace servants. But the chief of the palace servants breaks it on a gold lance for god Inar.

(15) The chief of the palace servants hands it back to the palace servant. The palace servant hands it back to the sweeper.

But in the forecourt *xeriyalli* covered with linen cloths have been standing ready beforehand.

(20) A herald goes in front of the princes and seats them.

Then the herald leaves (again) and marches in front of the cooks of higher rank. The cooks of higher rank take their stand.

Then the herald leaves (again) for another time (25) and marches before the holy priests, the Hittite *en* (and) the mother-of-god of (god) Halkis<sup>11</sup> and seats them.

Then the great major-domo goes out to the forecourt and says to the herald: "*zinar zinar*."

But the herald goes before the gate (35) and says to the musicians: "*zinar zinar*." Then the musicians lift the *ishtar* instruments. The herald marches in front of the musicians who carry the *ishtar* instruments in.

(40) They take their place in front of the *taršanzipaš*.

The liturgists, the entertainers, the *psalmodists* and the *kitaš*-priests walk with the same *ishtar* instruments.

(45) They go and take their seats.

The cooks serve "pot," water (and) meat. They distribute cold fat.

The herald marches before the *ubarus*, the master of the *zahartiš* of the inner temple, and the dignitaries and seats them.

(vi) When the "pots" are distributed, the great major-domo announces the *marnuwan*<sup>12</sup> to the king: "Shall they serve the *marnuwan*?" and they serve the *marnuwan* to the congregation.

<sup>11</sup> The goddess of grain.

<sup>12</sup> An alcoholic beverage.

(5) The king throws the linen away. If he throws it toward the side where the palace servants have squatted down, the palace servants take it. But if (10) he throws it toward the side where the guardsmen have squatted down, the guardsmen take it. They hand it to the table-men.

The king gives a sign with his eyes. The sweepers (15) sweep the floor.

The great major-domo calls to the palace servants: "*mišša*."<sup>13</sup> Two palace servants bring to the king (and) the queen water for (washing) the hands in a golden basin. (20) The chief of the palace servants holds a linen ready behind them. The king (and) the queen rinse their hands. The chief of the palace servants hands them the linen and they wipe their hands. They leave (again).

(25) Then the cupbearer of squatting comes forth. The great cupbearer and a palace servant (acting as) cupbearer give to the king (and) the queen (the amount of) *marnuwan*<sup>14</sup> (necessary) for (the) drinking (ceremony).

(30) The king (and) the queen drink in standing position (god) Tauri. The great *ishtar* instruments play, but they do not sing and there are no sacrificial loaves.<sup>14</sup>

(In the following, king and queen "drink" various gods in slightly varying ways.)

Then the cupbearer of squatting comes forth.<sup>15</sup>

The great major-domo enters and announces to the king that the "dog-men" will clad themselves with their proper vestments and deliver . . . , silver (and) gold.

The table-man (selects) two *tunnaptas* loaves weighing 2 seah, (50) one of them white, the other red, and brings them from the table. Upon them lies an open cheese. He places them before the window.

The herald marches before the smiths. (60) Then the smiths (iv) bring in two silver heads of bulls. In front of them marches the cupbearer in his (ritual) dress.

(4 mutilated sections<sup>16</sup>)

(21) The cupbearer seizes [the . . . (and)] the horns of the two silver bull heads and pours out a libation by the side of the hearth. They carry them (25) out (again).

The table-man takes the *tunnaptas* loaves [from the table] and they carry those out (again).

Then he fills the two silver bull heads with wine, (30) [The . . . (and) the . . . ] distribute the *tunnaptas* loaves.

(In the following, the king and the queen "drink" more gods.)

(v 17) When the *psalmodist* says so, the citizens and the congregation pay homage to the king once.

(20) The cupbearer presents once an *išgaruḥ* vessel with wine.

The cupbearer brings from outside one sacrificial loaf

<sup>13</sup> The same cultic call as above; see n.10.

<sup>14</sup> *KBo*, iv, 9 ends here.

<sup>15</sup> *KUB*, xxv, i iii 41 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *KUB*, xxv, i iv 4-20.

(made) of *šepit* weighing 3 seah. (25) The king breaks it, takes a bite and then they take it out (again).

The *ubarus* pay homage to the king three times and sit down.

(30) Then the cupbearer of squatting comes forth.

The great major-domo (and) the cupbearer—he holds his coat in his hands, but the cupbearer (35) holds a silver cup with wine. He offers that to the king.

The cupbearer hands the silver cup with wine to the king. The great major-domo (40) walks out backwards, while his eyes are directed toward the king.

He takes his stand beside the hearth.

(45) The great major-domo (and) the cupbearer—he discards his coat, and the cupbearer pays homage to the king. Then the great major-domo takes his coat up again.

(50) He then brings it to the king. Then the cupbearer sets up the cup for the king. The great major-domo seizes it (and the coat) with his left.

(55) Then they go back and take their stand beside the hearth. The cupbearer squats down by the side of the hearth. (vi) The great major-domo leaves. Then

the *ZABBAR.DIB* enters to squat down (*with*) the cupbearer. He takes the silver cup with wine away, (5) and they take it out (again).

Then the cult servants bring in a *bread basket*, . . . (and) cooked meat. (10) They offer it to the king.

The cupbearer who has been squatting beside the hearth gets up and pays homage to the king. (15) He takes the *bread basket* and he carries it out (again).

The herald makes the *ubarus* and the congregation rise (21) and they stand.

Two palace servants take the linen from the knees of the king (and) the queen.

(25) The king (and) the queen drink in standing position the . . . Sun-god. The liturgists sing. They play the *arkammi*, the *galgalturi* and the *huhupal* (30) and sing psalmodes.

The cupbearer brings one sacrificial loaf of flour weighing a *pārisu* and 3 *upnu* from the outside. He gives them to the king and the king breaks them. Then he takes them out (again).

....

# Hittite Prayers

TRANSLATOR: ALBRECHT GOETZE

## Prayer of Pudu-hepas<sup>1</sup> to the Sun-Goddess of Arinna and her Circle

CT H 384  
Text: KUB, xxi, 27. Literature: Short quotations were given by E. Forrer, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I (1929), 150 and by A. Götz, *Kulturgeschichte Kleinasiens* (1933), 129, 2nd ed. (1957), 137.

### A. PRAYER TO THE SUN-GODDESS HERSELF

To the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, the mistress of the Hatti lands, the queen of heaven and earth.

Sun-goddess of Arinna, thou art queen of all countries! In the Hatti country thou bearest the name of the Sun-goddess of Arinna; (5) but in the land which thou madest the cedar land thou bearest the name Hebat. I, Pudu-hepas, am a servant of thine from of old, a heifer from thy stable, a foundation stone (upon which) thou (canst rest). Thou, my lady, rearedst me (10) and Hattusilis, thy servant, to whom thou espousedst me, was *closely* associated with the Storm-god of Nerik, thy beloved son. The place in which thou, Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, didst establish us was the residence (15) of the Storm-god of Nerik, thy beloved son. How the earlier kings had neglected it, that thou knowest, Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady. The earlier kings let [fall into ruins] even those countries which thou, Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, hadst given them. <sup>continually overcame them, so that they took Nerik.</sup> (Small gap in which Hattusilis' achievements during the reign of his brother Muwatallis were related.)

[When he was king in] the country of Nerik and in the country of [Hakpis], he himself and his [soldiery kept in the field] while he (Muwatallis) waged war against [Egypt].

But when Muwatallis, [his brother,] became god,<sup>2</sup> he (Hattusilis) took his [son] Urhi-Tessub (40) and established him as king. How [Urhi-Tessub limited] Hattusilis, thy servant, to Nerik, that thou knowest, Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady. How he harried his lord, and (how) they rallied the princes (with the call): "Come! To Nerik!" [that thou knowest] [Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady]. That man<sup>3</sup> counted its ruin and its doom as naught: "Let there be death in Nerik! Let us throw Nerik into ruin!"

(small gap)

[In the way in which it is right to perform purifications, in the way in which ye want to be worshipped,

<sup>1</sup> Hittite queen and consort of Hattusilis, the son of Mursilis.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. died.

<sup>3</sup> Urhi-Tessub is meant; the expression is derogatory.

in the way in which it is right to attend to your festivals] (ii) [thus] we shall perform the purifications, thus we shall worship you the gods, thus we shall attend to the ordinances (and) celebrations due to you, the gods. (5) The festivals of you, the gods, which they had stopped, the old festivals, the yearly 'oneš' and the monthly ones, they shall celebrate for you, the gods. Your festivals, O gods, my lords, shall never be stopped again! For all our days will we, your servant (and) your handmaid, (10) worship you.

This is what I, Pudu-hepas, thy handmaid, laid in prayer before the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, the lady of the Hatti lands, the queen of heaven and earth. Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, yield to me, hearken to me! (15) Among men there is a saying: "To a woman in travail the god yields her wish." [Since] I, Pudu-hepas, am a woman in travail (and since) I have devoted myself to thy son, yield to me, Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady! (20) Grant to me what [I ask]! Grant life to [Hattusilis, thy serv]ant! Through [the Good-women] (and) the Mother-goddesses [long (and) enduring] years (and) days shall be [gi]ven to him. [Since] thou, an exalted deity, holdest [a place set apart among the gods], (25) all the gods are [sub-servient to thee], and no one appeals [to thee in vain]. In [the assembly] of all the gods request thou the life [of Hattusilis]! May [thy] request (30) be received with favor! Because thou, [Sun-goddess] of Arinna, my [lady], hast shown favor to me and (because) the [g]ood of [the land] and of its realm [is close to thy heart], thou shalt enjoy the reverent [worship] of [my fam]ily. Where[as I have now pacified] thy soul, Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, (35) hearken to whatever I lay before thee in prayer on [this] day! [Do something] for this cause! Let not the gods re[ject my] request!

(gap)

### B. PRAYER TO LELWANIS<sup>4</sup>

(iii) Hattusilis, that servant of thine, who [is ill]. (15) In the presence of <sup>the physician, they spoke charms over him.</sup> [the physician, they spoke charms over him]. If Hattusilis is accursed, and if Hattusilis, [my husband], has become [hateful] in the eyes of you, the gods; or (if) anyone of the gods above or below has taken offence at him; or (if) anyone has made an offering to the gods (20) to bring evil upon Hattusilis—accept not those evil words, O goddess, my lady! Let evil not touch Hattusilis, thy servant! (25) O gods, prefer not [our] advers[aries],

<sup>4</sup> This is probably the Hittite pronunciation of the name which is otherwise spelled "Ishtar" of Samuha; she was Hattusilis' special patroness.

(our) enviers (and our) . . . [ . . . ]. to us! If thou, goddess, my lady, wilt grant him life and relay to the gods, thy peers, the good (word), and (if) (30) thou wilt tread under foot the evil words and shut them out—O Lelwanis, my lady, may the life of Hattusilis, thy servant, and of Pudu-hepas, thy handmaid, come forth from thy mouth in the presence of the gods! To Hattusilis, thy servant, and to Pudu-hepas, thy handmaid, (35) give long years, months and days!

And if thou, Lelwanis, my lady, relayest the good (word) to the gods, grantest life to thy servant Hattusilis, (and) givest him long years, months (and) days, I will go (and) make for Lelwanis, my lady, (40) a silver statue of Hattusilis—as tall as Hattusilis himself, with its head, its hands (and) its feet of gold—moreover I will hang it (with ornaments).

## C. PRAYER TO ZINTUHI

O Zintuhis, my lady, beloved granddaughter of the Storm-god and of the Sun-goddess of Arinna! Thou art the pectoral (45) of the Storm-god and of the Sun-goddess of Arinna; they continually look at thee.

(small gap)

(iv) [In this matter], Zintuhis, my lady, [prove] thy divine power! Before the Storm-god, thy grandfather, (5) [and before] the Sun-goddess of Arinna, thy grandmother, bring (the request) [of Hattusilis, thy servant, for life and long years! Let that come forth from their mouth!

[And] if thou, Zintuhis, my lady, wilt [hear]ken to these words and relay them to the Storm-god, thy grandfather, (10) [and] to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, thy grandmother, [then] I will make a [great] ornament for thee, Zintuhis, my lady.

## D. PRAYER TO MEZZULLAS

O Mezzullas, my lady! Thou art the beloved daughter of the Storm-god [and] of the Sun-goddess of Arinna. (15) Whatever thou, Mezzullas, my lady, sayest [to] the Storm-god, thy father, and to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, thy mother, [to that] they will hearken; they will not reject it. These words which [I], Pudu-hepas, thy handmaid, have laid in [pray]er before the Storm-god, thy father, and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, thy mother, (20) announce them, Mezzullas, my lady, and convey them to the Storm-god, thy father, [and] to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, thy mother!

[And if thou, Mezzullas, my lady, wilt hearken to these] words [and convey them to the Storm-god, thy father, and to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, thy mother], (25) [then I will make . . . ] and present (it) to Mezzullas, my lady, [ . . . ].

## E. PRAYER TO THE STORM-GOD OF ZIPPALANDA

[O Storm-god of Zippalanda, my lord! Thou art the beloved son [of the Storm-god and of the Sun-goddess of Arinna. Announce [my words to the Storm-god, thy father,] and to the Sun-goddess of Arinna,

thy mother! (30) The Storm-god, thy father, (and) the Sun-goddess of Arinna, thy mother, will [not re]ject thy word, they will hearken to thee. This [word], which I, Pudu-hepas, thy handmaid, have sp[oken] in prayer, announce and relay thou (to thy parents), Storm-god of Zippalanda, my lord! O god, my lord, (35) yield to this word of mine! Because as a woman in travail I have in my own person made reparation to the god, my lord, intercede for me, god, my lord, with the Storm-god, thy father, and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, thy mother! Hattusilis, thy servant, wore himself out in the god's service; he gave himself body and soul (40) to the restoration of Nerik, the beloved city of the god, my lord. So be thou, O god, my lord, favorably inclined toward Hattusilis, thy servant! These words, which I lay in prayer before the Storm-god, thy father, (45) and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, thy mother—convey them (to thy parents) for me, O Storm-god of Zippalanda, my lord!

And if thou, Storm-god of Zippalanda, my lord, wilt convey these words to the Storm-god, thy father, and to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, thy mother, and thereby wilt [deliver] Hattusilis from evil, (edge) then I will make [for thee . . . ] (and) a golden shield weighing x minas; I will make [for thee . . . ] and the . . . for the god [ . . . ]. . . .

Plague Prayers of Mursilis<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Pl. Prayer a*

Text: KUB, xiv, 8 and its duplicates KUB, xiv, 10 + KUB, xxvi, 86 and KUB, xiv, 11. Literature: E. Forrer, *Forschungen*, 11/1 (1926), 12-18; A. Götz, *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*, 1 (1929), 204-35.

1. Hattian Storm-god, my lord, and ye, Hattian gods, my lords! Mursilis, the great king, your servant, has sent me (with the order:) Go! To the Hattian Storm-god, my lord, and to the gods, my lords, speak as follows:

What is this that ye have done? A plague ye have let into the land. The Hatti land has been cruelly afflicted by the plague. For twenty years now men have been dying in my father's days, in my brother's days, and in mine own since I have become the priest of the gods. When men are dying in the Hatti land like this, the plague is in no wise over. As for me, the agony of my heart and the anguish of my soul I cannot endure any more.

2. When I celebrated festivals, I worshiped all the gods, I never preferred one temple to another. The matter of the plague I have laid in prayer before all the gods making vows to them (and saying): "Hearken to me, ye gods, my lords! Drive ye forth the plague from the Hatti land! The reason for which people are dying in the Hatti land—either let it be established by

<sup>1</sup> Hittite king, son of Suppiluliumas; about third quarter of the 14th century B.C.

an omen, or let me see it in a dream, or let a prophet declare it!" But the gods did not hearken to me and the plague got no better in the Hatti land. The Hatti land was cruelly afflicted.

3. The few people who were left to give sacrificial loaves and libations were dying too. Matters again got too much for me. So I made the anger of the gods the subject of an oracle. I learnt of two ancient tablets. The first tablet dealt with the offerings to the river Mala.<sup>2</sup> The old kings had regularly presented offerings to the river Mala. But now a plague has been rampant in the Hatti land since the days of my father, and we have never performed the offerings to the river Mala.

4. The second tablet concerned Kurustama. When the Hattian Storm-god had brought people of Kurustama<sup>3</sup> to the country of Egypt and had made an agreement concerning them with the Hattians so that they were under oath to the Hattian Storm-god—although the Hattians as well as the Egyptians were under oath to the Hattian Storm-god, the Hattians ignored their obligations; the Hattians promptly broke the oath of the gods. My father sent foot soldiers and charioteers who attacked the country of Amka,<sup>4</sup> Egyptian territory. Again he sent troops, and again they attacked it. When the Egyptians became frightened, they asked outright for one of his sons to (take over) the kingship. But when my father gave them one of his sons, they killed him as they led him there. My father let his anger run away with him, he went to war against Egypt and attacked Egypt. He smote the foot soldiers and the charioteers of the country of Egypt. The Hattian Storm-god, my lord, by his decision even then let my father prevail; he vanquished and smote the foot soldiers and the charioteers of the country of Egypt. But when they brought back to the Hatti land the prisoners which they had taken a plague broke out among the prisoners and they began to die.

5. When they moved the prisoners to the Hatti land, these prisoners carried the plague into the Hatti land. From that day on people have been dying in the Hatti land. Now, when I found that tablet dealing with the country of Egypt, I made the matter the subject of an oracle of the god (and asked): "Those arrangements which were made by the Hattian Storm-god—namely that the Egyptians and the Hattians as well were put under oath by the Hattian Storm-god, that the Damassaras deities were present in the temple of the Hattian Storm-god, and that the Hattians promptly broke their word—has this perhaps become the cause of the anger of the Hattian Storm-god, my lord?" And (so) it was established.

6. Because of the plague, I made the offerings to the river Mala the subject of an oracle also. And in that matter too it was established that I should have to account for myself before the Hattian Storm-god.

<sup>2</sup> A river marking the eastern frontier of Hittite dominated territory and separating it from the Hurri kingdom.

<sup>3</sup> A city in the Kashkean country of northern Anatolia. The purpose for which these people were sent to Egypt is not known to us.

<sup>4</sup> The region between Lebanon and Antilibanus.

See now! I have admitted my guilt before the Storm-god (and said): "It is so. We have done it." I know for certain that the offence was not committed in my days, that it was committed in the days of my father. . . . But, since the Hattian Storm-god is angry for that reason and people are dying in the Hatti land, I am (nevertheless) making the offerings to the Hattian Storm-god, my lord, on that account.

7. "Because I humble myself and cry for mercy, hearken to me, Hattian Storm-god, my lord! Let the plague stop in the Hatti land!"

8. The reasons for the plague that were established when I made the matter the subject of a series of oracles, these have I removed. I have made [ample] restitution. The matter of the (broken) oath which was established (as a cause) in connection with the plague, offerings for those oaths I have made to the Hattian Storm-god, my lord. I have also made (offerings) [to the other gods]. The offerings have been presented to thee, Hattian Storm-god, my lord; the offerings have been presented to them too. (As for) the offerings to the river Mala that were established (as a cause) in connection with the plague—since I am now on my way to the river Mala, acquit me of that offering to the river Mala, O Hattian Storm-god my lord, and ye gods, my lords! The offering to the river Mala I promise to make, I promise to complete it properly. The reason for which I make it—namely the plague—O gods, my lords, take pity on me and let that plague abate in the Hatti land!

9. Hattian Storm-god, my lord, (and) ye gods, my lords! It is only too true that man is sinful. My father sinned and transgressed against the word of the Hattian Storm-god, my lord. But I have not sinned in any respect. It is only too true, however, that the father's sin falls upon the son. So, my father's sin has fallen upon me. Now, I have confessed before the Hattian Storm-god, my lord, and before the gods, my lords (admitting): "It is true, we have done it." And because I have confessed my father's sin, let the soul of the Hattian Storm-god, my lord, and (those) of the gods, my lords, be again pacified! Take pity on me and drive the plague out of the Hatti land! Suffer not to die the few who are still left to offer sacrificial loaves and libations!

10. See! I lay the matter of the plague before the Hattian Storm-god, my lord. Hearken to me, Hattian Storm-god, and save my life! This is of what I [have to remind] thee: The bird takes refuge in (its) nest, and the nest saves its life. Again: if anything becomes too much for a servant, he appeals to his lord. His lord hears him and takes pity on him. Whatever had become too much for him, he sets right for him. Again: if the servant has incurred a guilt, but confesses his guilt to his lord, his lord may do with him whatever he pleases. But, because (the servant) has confessed his guilt to his lord, his lord's soul is pacified, and his lord will not punish that servant. I have now confessed

<sup>5</sup> The gap indicated in my previous treatment is now bridged by KUB, xxvi, 86. <sup>6</sup> "Plague is gathered in the land"



my father's sin. It is only too true, I have done it. If there is to be restitution, it seems clear that with all the gifts that have already been given because of this plague, with all the prisoners that have been brought home, in short with all the restitution that Hattusa has made because of the plague, it has already made restitution twentyfold. And yet the soul of the Hattian Storm-god, my lord, and of the (other) gods, my lords, is not pacified. But, if ye demand from me additional restitution, tell me of it in a dream and I will give it to you.

11. See! I am praying to thee, Hattian Storm-god, my lord. So save my life! If indeed it is for those reasons which I have mentioned that people are dying,—as soon as I set them right, let those that are still able to give sacrificial loaves and libations die no longer! If, on the other hand, people are dying for some other reason, either let me see it in a dream, or let it be found out by an oracle, or let a prophet declare it, or let all the priests find out by incubation whatever I suggest to them. Hattian Storm-god, my lord, save my life! Let the gods, my lords, prove their divine power! Let someone see it in a dream! For whatever reason people are dying, let that be found out! . . . Hattian Storm-god, my lord, save my life! Let this plague abate again in the Hatti land!

b

Text: KUB, xxiv, 3 and its duplicates KUB, xxiv, 4 + KUB, xxx, 12 and KUB, xxx, 13. Literature: O. R. Gurney, *AAA*, xxvii (1940), 24 ff.

What is this, O gods, that ye have done? A plague ye have let into the land. The Hatti land, all of it, is dying; so no one prepares sacrificial loaves and libations for you. The plowmen who used to work the fields of the god are dead; so no one works or reaps the fields of the god at all. The grinding women who used to make the sacrificial loaves for the gods are dead; so they do not make the sacrificial loaves any longer. From whatever corral (or) sheepfold they used to select the sacrifices of sheep and cattle, the cowherds and the shepherds are dead and the corral [and the sheepfold are empty]. So it comes to pass that the sacrificial loaves (and) libations, and the offerings of animals have stopped. And ye, O gods, come on this day and hold us responsible. Man has lost his wits, and there is nothing that we do aright. O gods, whatever sin you behold, either let a prophet rise and declare it, or let the sibyls or the priests learn about it by incubation, or let man see it in a dream! . . . O gods, take ye pity again on the Hatti land! On the one hand it is afflicted with a plague, on the other hand it is afflicted with hostility. The protectorates beyond the frontier, (namely) the Mitanni land (and) the Arzawa land, each one has rebelled; they do not acknowledge the gods and have broken the oaths of the gods. They persist in acting maliciously against the Hatti land, and the temples(?) of the gods they seek to despoil. Let the gods take an interest therein again! Send ye the plague, hostility, famine (and) evil fever into the

Mitanni land and the Arzawa land! Rested are the rebellious countries, but the Hatti land is a weary land. Unhitch the weary, but the rested harness!

Moreover, those countries which belong to the Hatti land, (namely) the Kashkean country (they are swineherds and weavers of linen), also the country of Arawanna, the country of Kalasma, the Lukka country, the country of Pitassa—these lands have also renounced the Sun-goddess of Arinna. They cast off their tributes and began to attack the Hatti land in their turn. In olden days the Hatti land with the help of the Sun-goddess of Arinna used to take on the surrounding countries like a lion. Moreover, cities like Halba (and) Babylon that it would destroy—from all such countries they took goods, silver (and) gold, and their gods and placed them before the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

But now all the surrounding countries have begun to attack the Hatti land. Let it again become a matter of concern to the Sun-goddess of Arinna! O god, bring not thy name into disrepute!

Whatever rage (or) anger the gods may feel, and whosoever may not have been reverent toward the gods,—let not the good perish with the wicked! If it is one town, or one [house], or one man, O gods, let that one perish alone! Look ye upon the Hatti land with favorable eyes, but the evil plague give to [those other] countries!

## Daily Prayer of the King

Texts: KUB, xxiv, 1-4 and the additional pieces KUB, xxx, 12 and 13. Literature: The hymn of section b. is translated in the following places: H. Ehelolf, *Berichte aus den preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLIX (1928), 32-34; E. Forrer, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I (1929), 149 f.; A. Götz, *Kulturgeschichte Kleinasien* (1933), 128. The whole composition was treated by O. R. Gurney in *AAA*, xxvii (1940), 3-163. In part of the texts the addressed deity is the Sun-goddess of Arinna, in another part Telepinus. The latter version has been adopted here.

### Entreaty

The scribe reads this tablet addressing the deity daily; he praises the deity (saying):

Telepinus, a mighty (and) noble deity art thou. Mursilis, the king, thy servant, and the queen, (5) thy handmaid, have sent me (with the request): "Go! entreat Telepinus, our lord, the guardian of our persons!"

Whether thou art in heaven above among the gods, noble Telepinus; whether gone to the sea or to the mountains (10) to roam; whether gone to war to the country of the enemy—

now let the sweet and soothing cedar essence lure thee! Come home into thy temple! Here I am entreating thee with sacrificial loaves and libations, (15) allow thyself to be lured forth! Let me speak to thee alone and whatever I say unto thee—lend me thine ear, O god, and hearken to it!

Thou, Telepinus, art a noble god; thy godhead and the gods' temples are firmly established in the Hatti land. But (20) in no other land anywhere are they so.

### Blessings and Curses<sup>3</sup>

... Turn with favor [toward the king and the queen], and toward the princes [and the Hatti land!] Take thy stand, O Telepinus, strong god, [beside the king (and) the queen and the] princes! Grant them enduring life, health, long years [(and) strength]! Into their souls place [light] and joy!

Grant them sons (and) daughters, grandsons (and) great-grandsons! (10) Grant them . . . ! Grant them fertility of grain (and) vine, of sheep, cattle (and) people! Grant them a man's valiant (and) victorious weapon! Set the countries of the enemy (15) beneath their feet and let [them die by the sword]!

From the Hatti land drive forth the evil fever, plague, famine and ~~misery~~!

And (as for) the enemy countries that are in revolt and turmoil—some refuse the due respect to thee, Telepinus, (20) and to the Hattian gods; others are out to burn your temples; (iv) others seek to obtain the rhyta, the cups (and) the utensils of silver (and) gold; others seek to lay waste your plowland and pasture, vineyards, gardens (and) groves; (5) others seek to capture your plowmen, vinedressers, gardeners (and) millwomen—give evil fever, plague, famine (and) ~~misery~~ to these enemy countries.

But to the king (and) the queen, to the princes and to the Hatti land (10) grant life, health, strength, long and enduring years and joy! Grant everlasting fertility to their crops, vines, fruit-bearing *trees*, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, mules (and) asses together with the beasts of the fields, and to (their) people! Let them flourish! Let the rains [come]! Let the winds of prosperity pass over! Let all thrive (and) prosper in the Hatti land!

And the congregation shouts: "Let it be so!"

## Prayer to be Spoken in an Emergency

Text: KUB, vi, 45 + KUB, xxx, 14 (with the duplicates KUB, vi, 44 and KUB, xii, 35). Literature: F. M. Th. Boehl, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, I (1916), 306 ff.; M. Witzel, *Hethitische Keilschrift-Urkunden* (= *Keilschriftliche Studien*, IV [1924]) 86-98.

(i) Thus speaks the Tabarnas<sup>1</sup> Muwatallis, the Great King, the king of the Hatti country, the son of Mursilis, the Great King, the king of the Hatti country, the valiant: When things get too much for a man and he approaches his gods in prayer, he sets up two offering-tables of wickerwork (5) covered (with a cloth) on the roof under the open sky. He sets up one table for the Sun-goddess of Arinna, and one table for [all the (other)] gods. Upon them (there are deposited) 35 sacrificial loaves weighing one *tarnaš* made of barley meal, [x] thin loaves(?) with honey and fine oil inside,

<sup>3</sup> The following text is taken chiefly from KUB, xxiv, 1.

<sup>1</sup> Title of the Hittite king.

Festivals (and) sacrifices pure (and) holy they present to thee in the Hatti land. But in no other country anywhere do they present them so.

(25) Lofty temples adorned with silver and gold thou hast in the Hatti land. But in no other country anywhere hast thou their like. (ii) Cups (and) rhyta, silver, gold and (precious) stones thou hast in the Hatti land. But in no other country hast thou their like.

Festivals too—the festival of the month, the festivals of the *new year*, the ceremonies of winter and spring, (5) and of the summer, the festivals of entreaty—men celebrate for thee in the Hatti land. But in no other country anywhere do they celebrate their like. Thy divinity, O Telepinus, (10) is honored in the Hatti land, and Mursilis, the king, thy servant, and the queen, thy handmaid, and also the princes, thy servants, are reverent toward thee in the Hatti land. They undertake the celebration of communion feasts, sacrifices and festivals for thee, Telepinus. (15) Everything they present to thee is holy (and) pure. Moreover, reverence is paid to thy temple, thy rhyta, [thy cups] (and) thy utensils and they are cared for scrupulously. To the utensils [of thy worship] no one draws near.

### Hymn<sup>1</sup>

Thou, Telepinus, art a noble god; (30) thy name is noble among names. Thy godhead is noble among the gods; among the gods art thou noble, O Telepinus. Great art thou, O Telepinus; there is no other deity more noble and mighty than thou. Of sure (35) judgment thou art lord; thou watchest over kingship in heaven and on earth. Thou settest the bounds of the lands; thou hearkenest to entreaties. Thou, Telepinus, art a merciful god; (40) thou art forever showing thy mercy. The godly man is dear to thee, O Telepinus, and thou, Telepinus, dost exalt him. In the orbit of heaven and earth thou, Telepinus, art the (source of) light; (45) throughout the lands art thou a god who is celebrated. Of every land thou art father (and) mother; the inspired lord of judgment art thou. In the place of judgment thou art untiring; among the Olden Gods thou art (50) the one who is celebrated. For the gods thou, Telepinus, assignest the rites; to the Olden Gods thou assignest their portions. For thee they open the door of heaven; thou, the celebrated Telepinus, (35) art allowed to pass through the gate of heaven.<sup>2</sup> The gods of heaven are obedient to thee, O Telepinus; the gods of the earth are obedient to thee, O Telepinus. Whatever thou sayest, O Telepinus, the gods bow down to thee. Of the oppressed, the orphan and the widow thou art father (and) mother; the cause of the orphan, the oppressed thou, Telepinus, dost take to heart.

<sup>1</sup> The following text is taken chiefly from KUB, xxiv, 3.

<sup>2</sup> The text, which is incomplete here in all copies, can be restored with the help of the closely related prayer KUB, xxxi, 127 + *ABOT*, 44 (there 128 ff.) and its duplicates.

mutton-fat cake, a full stewpot, meal, a full cup, 30 pitchers of wine. When this is all made ready, the king ascends to the roof and offers it to the Sun-god of Heaven.

(10) He speaks as follows: "Sun-god of Heaven and Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, queen of the Hatti land! Storm-god, king of heaven, my lord! Hebat, queen, my lady! Hattian Storm-god, king of heaven, master of the Hatti land, my lord! Storm-god of Zippalanda, my lord, beloved son of the Storm-god, lord of the Hatti land! (15) All ye gods and goddesses! All ye mountains (and) rivers of the Hatti land! (My) lords, lordly gods! Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, and all ye gods of the Hatti land, lords whose priest I am and who have accorded me unlimited kingship over the Hatti land!

(20) "Now, hearken ye, gods, to the prayer of me, your priest and your servant! I shall speak in prayer first of you, the lordly gods, of your temples (and) of your images; how the gods of the Hatti land are worshiped, and how they are abused.

(25) "Thereafter I shall speak in prayer of my own affairs. Lend me your ears, O gods, my lords! Listen to these my prayers! And whatever matters I lay before the gods in prayer, receive those matters, O gods, my lords, and listen to them! I may lay before you, (30) gods, matters which ye do not wish to hear; they rise from my mortal mouth. Those words, O gods, my lords, refrain from hearing!

"Seris, my lord, thou bull who standest in the presence of the Storm-god of the Hatti-land! These matters that I present in my prayer, (35) announce them to the gods! Let the lord gods listen to those matters that I present in my prayer, the lord gods of heaven and earth!"

(There follows a full list of the Hatti gods.)

(iii) "Storm-god of the house of the Tawannannas,<sup>2</sup> Storm-god *ḫulaššaiššī*! Gods and goddesses of king and queen, ye who have been invoked (and) ye who have not been invoked; ye in whose temples king and queen worship officiating as priests, (and) ye in whose temples they do not! Gods (and) goddesses, (10) . . . , dark nether world, heaven (and) earth, clouds (and) winds, thunder (and) lightning, place of assembly where the gods meet in assembly!

"Sun-god of Heaven, my lord, shepherd of mankind! Thou risest, O Sun-god of Heaven, from the Sea. Thou takest thy place in heaven, (15) Sun-god of Heaven, my lord. Over man, dog, swine (and) the beasts of the field dost thou, Sun-god, pronounce judgment daily.

"Here then am I, Muwatallis, the king, the priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna and of all the gods, praying to the Sun-god of Heaven. (20) On this day, O Sun-god of Heaven, my lord, arouse the (other) gods! Those gods whom I invoked with (the word of) my mouth on this day, and with whatever request,—

<sup>2</sup> Title of the Hittite queen.

"those gods, O Sun-god of Heaven, summon from heaven (and) from earth, from the mountains (and) from the rivers, from their temples (and) their thrones!"

(25) Thereafter the king speaks as follows: "Storm-god *piḫaššaiššī*, my lord! I was but a mortal. Yet my father was priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna and of all the gods. My father begat me, but thou, Storm-god *piḫaššaiššī*, tookest me from my mother and rearedst me. Thou madest me priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna (30) and of all the gods. In the Hatti land thou madest me king.

"So, I, Muwatallis, the king, reared by thee, Storm-god *piḫaššaiššī*, am now praying. The gods whom I invoked with (the word of) my tongue, (35) the gods to whom I prayed,—intercede for me with all those gods! Take the words of my tongue, the words of me, Muwatallis, thy servant, and pass them on in full to the gods! In the matters that I lay before the gods in prayer let them not forsake me!

(40) "The bird takes refuge in (its) nest and lives. I have taken refuge with the Storm-god *piḫaššaiššī*, my lord; so save my life! The matters which I lay before the gods in prayer, pass them on in full to the gods! Let them hearken to me! Therefore too shall I praise the Storm-god *piḫaššaiššī*.

(45) "No sooner will the gods have heard my words, than they will put right (and) remove the evil that is in my soul. To whom is praise due, if praise is not due to the Storm-god *piḫaššaiššī*, my lord? Then, whenever a man looks upon god and mortal, (50) he will say: 'Surely, the Storm-god *piḫaššaiššī*, my lord, the king of heaven, has favored (that) man and rescued him; he has put him right and advanced him.' In the future my children (and) children's children, kings (and) queens (55) of Hatti, princes (and) noblemen will always show reverence to the Storm-god *piḫaššaiššī*, my lord. Thus they will speak: 'Surely, that god is a strong, valiant (and) glorious god!' And the gods of heaven, the mountains (and) the rivers will praise thee.

(60) "I, Muwatallis, thy servant,—my innermost soul rejoices, and I praise the Storm-god *piḫaššaiššī*. Thou, Storm-god *piḫaššaiššī*, shalt rejoice over the temples that I shall build for thee, over the decrees I shall issue for thee. The sacrificial loaves and the libations (65) which I am accustomed to present to the Storm-god *piḫaššaiššī*, my lord—I would give them to thee gladly; I would not give them to thee grudgingly. So, Sun-god *piḫaššaiššī*, my lord, beam upon me like the full moon, (70) and shine above me like the sun in the sky!

"Walk on my right hand! Team up with me as (with) a bull to draw (the wagon)! Walk by my side in true Storm-god fashion! Truly I wish to speak thus: 'He who is favored by the Storm-god *piḫaššaiššī*, he who is reared by him, [*prosper*. . . ]'"

(There follow offerings to the gods.)

(iv<sup>3</sup>) When the Sun<sup>4</sup> has finished breaking the sacrifi-

cial loaves, he presents in prayer the (special) matters which are in his mind.

(Upon completion of that prayer new offerings to the gods are given. Finally the broken loaves are burned.)

## Prayer of Arnuwandas and Asmu-Nikkal Concerning the Ravages Inflicted on Hittite Cult-Centers

Texts: KUB, xvii, 21 with its duplicates KUB, xxxi, 117 and KUB, xxxi, 124 (+) KUB, xxiii, 115. The text is still incomplete. E. von Schuler, *Die Kaškar* (1965), 151-67.

(beginning lost)

(1) The land of the Hittites is a land [that is devoted] to you, the gods. In the land of the Hittites we are accustomed to present to you pure and really [holy] sacrifices. In the land of the Hittites we are accustomed to show you, the gods, reverence.

(6) Ye should know, O gods, by your divine insight that no one has ever before taken care of your temples as we have;

that no one has ever paid more reverent attention to your implements; (11) that no one has ever taken care of the goods, silver (and) gold, of the rhyta (and) cups (!) of you, the gods, as we have;

furthermore, that (in the case of) the images of silver (and) gold that exist of you, the gods,—(15) when anything had grown old on any god's body, when any implements of the gods had grown old—that no one has ever renewed them as we have;

furthermore, (20) that no one has ever paid more reverent attention to matters of cleanliness connected with your sacrifices; that no one has ever made more careful provisions for the sacrifices (and) festivals due you for the day, the month, (and) the *new year*;

furthermore, (as for) the slaves, slave-girls (and) villages of you, the gods,—they used to oppress them with imposts (25) (and) feudal services; the slaves (and) slave-girls of you, the gods, they would take and make them their own slaves and slave-girls. [We, Arnuwandas the Great King,<sup>1</sup> [and Asmu-Nikkal, the Great Queen, have freed them] for you in every particular.

Ye should know by your divine insight what offerings of sacrificial loaves and libations they used to present.

[We], Arnuwandas, the Great King, and Asmu-Nikkal, the Great Queen, shall again give fat sheep (and) fine [oxen], fine sacrificial loaves and libations.

(small gap)

<sup>3</sup> 45 ff.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. the king.

<sup>1</sup> A predecessor of Suppiluliumas.

(ii) So stand ye by us!

(5) The territory which the enemies<sup>2</sup> plundered and kept for themselves when they invaded the Hatti country, that (territory) we promise to restore to you, the gods, and to make them account for it.

The territories which were under obligation to present to you, the gods of heaven, sacrificial loaves, libations (and) tribute—in some the priests, the mothers-of-god, the holy priests, (10) the anointed, the musicians (and) the singers had to leave, in others the gods' tributes and treasures were carried off;

in others there were carried off the Sun-goddess' of Arinna sun discs and lunulae (15) made of silver (and) gold, bronze (and) copper, the fine cloth, the *adupli* garments, the tunics (and) the gowns, the sacrificial loaves (and) the libation bowls;

in others they drove away the herds, the fattened oxen (and) the fattened cows, the fattened sheep (and) the fattened goats.

(20) In the country of Nerik, in Hursama, in the country of Kastama, in the country of Serisa, in the country of Himuwa, in the country of Taggasta, in the country of Kammama, in the country of Zalpuwa, in the country of Kapi ruha, in the country of Hurna, in the country of Dankusna, in the country of Tapa[panu]wa, in the country of Tarugga, in the country of Ilaluha, in the country of Zihana, in the country (25) of Sipidduwa, in the country of Washaya, in the country of Parituya<sup>3</sup>—

the temples<sup>4</sup> which ye, the gods, possessed in these countries, the Kashkeans sacked them. They smashed the images of you, the gods. (iii) They plundered silver (and) gold, rhyta (and) cups of silver (and) gold, (and) of copper, your implements of bronze (and) your garments; they shared out these things among themselves.

They scattered the priests and the holy priests, the mothers-of-god, the anointed, (5) the musicians, the singers, the cooks, the bakers, the plowmen (and) the gardeners and made them their slaves.

They also scattered your cattle (and) your sheep. They shared out among themselves your fields (and) lands, (the source) of the sacrificial loaves (and) the vineyards, (10) (the source) of the libations. Those the Kashkeans took for themselves.

Thus it has come about that in those countries no one invokes the names of you, the gods, any more; no one presents to you (15) the sacrifices due you for the day, the month, (and) the *new year*; no one celebrates your festivals (and) pageants.

Here, to the Hatti land, no one brings tribute (and) treasures for you anymore. No longer do priests, holy priests, mothers-of-god, musicians, (or) singers come to you from any[place].

<sup>2</sup> The Kashkeans are meant, unruly tribes who live in the mountains of northern Anatolia and incessantly harass Hittite territory.

<sup>3</sup> All these countries must be located along the Kashkean frontier.

<sup>4</sup> The text is taken from KUB, xxxi, 124 ii 10 ff.

[Furthermore] no one brings sun discs and lunulae made of silver (and) gold, bronze (and) copper, fine cloth, *adupli* garments, tunics (and) gowns for you, the gods, (and for) the Sun-goddess of Arinna. (25) No one presents sacrificial loaves (and) libations to you, the gods. No one drives up herds of fattened oxen (and) fattened cows, fattened sheep (and) fattened goats.

(small gap<sup>5</sup>)

(iv) They (i.e. the Kashkeans) came here to the Hittite [land (and) they . . . ]. They terrorized Tuhasuna. [ . . . ] . . . They terrorized Tahatariya. They came down to the gates [of . . . ] and terrorized Hum[ . . . ].

(5) Since, however, we are reverent toward the gods and hold ourselves responsible for the festivals of the gods, (and) since the Kashkeans have taken Nerik for themselves, we will send offerings from Hattusa to Hakmis for the Storm-god of Nerik and for the gods of Nerik, (10) [ . . . ] . . . , sacrificial loaves (and) libations, cattle (and) sheep.

We will summon the Kashkeans; we will give them presents and then make them swear an oath: "Keep your hands off the offerings which we send to the Storm-god of Nerik! Let no one attack them on their way!"

(15) They will come and accept the presents and then take the oath. But should they rise again and transgress the oath, make light of the words of you, the gods, and violate the seal of the oath they have sworn by the Storm-god;

(20) should they seize the [present]s (sent) from the [Hittite] land, [withhold] from the Storm-god [of Nerik . . . ] the offerings, sacrificial loaves (and) libations, [cattle (and) sheep, *they shall not escape unpunished!*]

(end lost)

## Prayer of Kantuzilis for Relief from his Sufferings

Text: *KUB*, xxx, 10. Literature: A few lines are translated by J. Friedrich *AfO*, xiii (1940), 154.

(beginning lost)

O Sun-god, when thou goest down to the nether world (to be) with him, forget not to speak with that patron-god of mine and (5) apprise him of Kantuzilis' plight!<sup>1</sup>

O god, ever since my mother gave birth to me, thou, my god, hast reared me. Thou, my god, (art) my [refuge] and my anchor.<sup>2</sup> Thou, [my god], broughtest me together with good men. Thou, my god, didst show me what to do in time of distress. [Thou], my god,

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps bridged by *KUB*, xxiii, 115.

<sup>1</sup> Kantuzilis is not otherwise identified in the text. He is probably the high official and member of the royal family who is mentioned in 2 *BoTU*, 24 among children of Suppiluliumas.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: my rope.

didst call [me], Kantuzilis, thy favorite servant. (10) The superior power of my god that I have not known since childhood [*must I experience*] it [*in my old age?*]

Even when I fared well, I always acknowledged the superior power (and) the wisdom of my god. Never have I sworn in thy name, my god, and then broken the oath afterward. That which is holy to my god and hence not fit for me to eat, never have I eaten it. I have not brought impurity upon my body.

(15) Never have I withheld from thy stable an ox; never have I withheld from thy fold a sheep. Whenever I came upon food, I never ate it indiscriminately; whenever I came upon water, I never drank it indiscriminately. Were I now to recover, would I not have recovered at the word of thee, my god? Were I to regain my strength, would I not have regained it at the word of thee, my god?

(20) Life is bound up with death, and death is bound up with life. Man cannot live for ever; the days of his life are numbered. Were man to live for ever, it would not concern him greatly even if he had to endure grievous sickness.

Would that my god might now freely open his heart (and) soul to me and [tell] me my fault (25) so that I might learn about it! Either let my god speak to me in a dream! Would that my god would open his heart to me and tell [me] my [fau]lt so that I might learn about it! Or let the sibyl tell me, [or] let the Sun-god's seer tell [me] from the liver (of a sheep). Would that my god might freely open [his heart (and) his soul] to me and tell me my fault so that I might learn about it!

O my god! Let me know how to improve on your worship! (rev.) of all [men] the shepherd art thou. It has always been said about thee [that thou . . . ]. My god who was angry at me and rejected me—let the same (god) care for me again and grant me life! Would that my god, who for[sook] me, [might take] pity on me! [Much as] I wearied myself with pleading before my god, it is yet of no avail. (5) No sooner didst thou scrape [one thing evi]l off [me], than thou broughtest back [another] in its stead.

Would that [the Sun-god] might calm down again and that peace might return to his heart! Would that he might raise me up again out of my affliction. [O Sun-god], . . . , [the favorite son of] Sin and Ningal<sup>3</sup> art thou. See! I, Kantuzilis, thy servant, have asked for [mercy] and humbled myself. [See!] I am beseeching thee.

(10) To the Sun-god I sing. See! I, Kantuzilis, implore my god incessantly. Would that my god might hearken [to me]! Whenever in times past I, Kantuzilis, performed the cult of my god, whenever I . . . [ . . . ] led to my god, thou *gavest me abundance*, thou *gavest me strength*. But now when I, Kantuzilis, performed the cult for thee with the merchant, a mortal, holding the balance for the Sun-god and upsetting the balance—what [wrong] did I do to my god?

<sup>3</sup> The Sumer-Akkadian Moon-god and his wife who in Mesopotamian mythology are the parents of the Sun-god.

Through sickness my house has become a house of misery. Through misery (15) my soul *longs* for another place. As (one who has been) sick on *new year's day* (?),—thus have I become. Sickness and misery have now become oppressive to me; that I must declare to thee, my god.

At night sweet slumber does not overtake me on my bed. While I lie there, good tidings do not come to me. Now, my god, join thy strength (20) to that of (my) patron-god! How thou couldst have ordained this sick-

ness for me from (my) mother's womb on, that I have never asked thy sibyl.

Now I cry for mercy in the presence of my god. Harken to me, my god! O my god, do not make me a man who is unwelcome at the king's court! Do not make my condition an offence to mankind! Those to whom I did good, none of them wishes [me] (long) life. (25) [Thou], my god, [(art) father and mother] to me; [beside thee there is no fa]ther or mother for me. [ . . . ]

(end lost)

# Hittite Omen

TRANSLATOR: ALBRECHT GOETZE

## Investigating the Anger of the Gods

Text: KUB, v, 7.

(2) In the temple of (god) Kismaras. (blank space),<sup>1</sup> unfavorable. [We asked] the temple officials and they said: "The] *haršiyalli* vessel has not been poured out [for] 9 days, and the wine portion has been omitted."

*Hurri-* Bird omina, un[favorable. If it is only this, ditto.<sup>2</sup>] We asked them again and they said: "They omitted the fresh loaves." Bird omina, unfavorable. If it is only this, [ditto<sup>3</sup>]. We [asked them again] and they said:

*It rejected* "The daily (ration of) sacrificial loaves spotted." Bird omina, unfavorable. If it is [only this, ditto<sup>4</sup>]. We [asked them again] and they said: "They continually omit the monthly festival of the third day (and) of the fourth day and [ . . . ]" Bird omina, unfavorable. If it is only this, ditto.<sup>5</sup> So [we have] not yet [found the solution].

(7) In the Ea temple (god) Ea held the good symbol in his hand. It is (no longer) there. [ . . . ], unfavorable. If it is only this, Bird omina, unfavorable.

*Good Day* We asked the temple officials and they said: "The foot of the Sun is broken." Bird omina, unfavorable. If it is only this, unfavorable.

Ditto:<sup>6</sup> "The mountain on which (god) Kallis stands, that mountain was silver plated; the silver on that mountain is chipped off." Bird omina, unfavorable. If it is only this, ditto. The first bird omen was favorable, but afterward it was unfavorable. The monthly festival which they omitted, he will celebrate (it) as it should be. As a penalty they will give 1 sheep, bread (and) beer. The [ . . . ] festival which they omitted, they will make up for it to the double amount. Favorable.

....  
(17) If (god) Huriyazipas [*is angry*] in the temple, let [the omina] be favorable. Unfavorable.

We asked the temple officials and they said: "The house [ . . . and] it is *shaky*. Is the god angry for that reason? Let the *omina* be favorable [ . . . . If it is only this, ditto, let the *omina* be favorable. Unfavorable.

(20) We asked the temple officials again and they said: "The [*monthly*] festival has been omitted; the cult stand is not adorned with discs." Is the god angry for that reason? Unfavorable. If it is only this, let the *omina* be favorable. Unfavorable.

With regard to what was unfavorably answered

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the scribe was unable to decipher this passage on the tablet from which he was copying.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. there was an unfavorable answer for the second time.

<sup>3</sup> There was another unfavorable omen.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. of a statue of the Hittite king.

<sup>5</sup> Substitute here: We asked the temple officials and they said.

again—because they consecrated a belated (animal), is the god angry for that reason? Let the omina be unfavorable. Unfavorable. If it is only this, let the omina be favorable. Unfavorable.

(24) We asked the temple officials again and they said: "A dog came into the temple, he *shook* the table and the sacrificial loaves fell down. The daily ration of sacrificial loaves they cut considerably down." Is the god angry for that reason? Unfavorable.

If the god is angry only about the offences that have so far been ascertained by us, ditto, let the *omina* be favorable. Unfavorable.

*We asked* We asked the temple officials and they said: "Two *deficient* people came into the temple." Bird omina, unfavorable.

If it is only this, ditto, *Hurri-* Bird omina, unfavorable. We asked them again and they said: "Mutilated people walked about the temple." Bird omina, unfavorable. If it is only this, ditto. The first bird omen was favorable, but afterward it was unfavorable.

(30) The four pairs of monthly festivals which had been omitted—*if the god did not feel revengeful because they had made the sacrifices already*, [ . . . ] Bird omina, unfavorable.

They have already celebrated the four pairs of festivals. But as a penalty they will give 1 sheep, bread (and) beer and. . . . Favorable. It has already been given. Because they had omitted the daily (ration of) sacrificial loaves, they will give 30 sacrificial loaves. Bird omina, favorable.

Since a dog reached the table and *ate* the daily (ration of) sacrificial loaves, they will *discard* the table. For the daily (ration of) sacrificial loaves they will make up twofold and as a penalty they will give 1 sheep, bread (and) beer and. . . . Bird omina, favorable.

Since deficient and mutilated people walked about (the temple), the Hittite Old Woman will perform a rite for the god in the manner to which she is accustomed. Bird omina, favorable.

(06 v. 38-57 0.01.100) (reverse) (rev. 1-4 omitted)

If (god) Ziparwas is not at all [angry in] the temple [ . . . ]

We asked the temple officials and they said: "Three rhyta have been stripped of their precious stones, one rhyton is mutilated; 2 pairs of 'fruit' festivals . . . have not been celebrated." We asked the *bird omina*: Is the god angry for that reason? [ . . . ]

(10) If it is only this, ditto, let the bird omina be favorable. Unfavorable.

We asked them again and they said: "When the entreaty [was due], from 3 palaces they did not give

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it, . . . ." Is the god angry for that reason? <sup>Hurri-</sup> Bird omina, unfavorable.

We asked them again and they said: "The daily (ration of) sacrificial loaves, [for x days] they did [not] give it. When they brought up the gods from <sup>Tarbutnessa</sup> Dattassa [and . . .], individual cult stands became <sup>capu-</sup> ~~zated~~. Is the god angry for that reason? <sup>Hurri-</sup> Bird omina, unfavorable.

If it is only this, ditto, let the <sup>Hurri-</sup> bird omina be favorable. Unfavorable.

If the <sup>Nisaba + Hatti</sup> Hattian Halkis<sup>6</sup> is not at all angry in the temple, let the <sup>exta</sup> omina be favorable. Unfavorable.

(We asked) the temple officials (and they said:): "The implements of the god which . . . they have stripped of the silver, he has stripped of the silver. Two <sup>exta</sup> ~~harišanaš~~—one of gold and (one) of silver—they brought to Marassantiya, but did not bring (them) back. The

<sup>6</sup> The Hattic name is Kait; it is probably to be used here.

festival of the mother-of-god has not been celebrated. For three days the daily (ration of) sacrificial loaves has been omitted. He has stripped the *baldachin* which the god had of its *covering*. The god had a quiver and there were 20 arrows in it; they are gone. The two iron handles of the <sup>exta</sup> ~~shield~~ are gone." If the god ditto, favorable. <sup>hunting-bag</sup>

If (god) SUMUKAN<sup>7</sup> is not at all angry in the temple, let the <sup>exta</sup> ~~omina~~ be favorable. Unfavorable.

We asked the temple officials and they said: "One eyebrow of the god is fallen off. The <sup>exta</sup> ~~bucks~~ which he had harnessed—of one <sup>exta</sup> ~~buck~~ the <sup>exta</sup> ~~horns~~ have fallen off. The rhyta (set) with pearls are broken. The alabaster cup is broken. They have stripped the rhyta of their (precious) stones."

(The text stops here, although obviously its end had not yet been reached.)

<sup>7</sup> A god of fertility and patron of the animal life.

## SUPPLEMENT TO Ancient Near Eastern Texts

# Hittite Myths, Epics, and Legends

TRANSLATOR: ALBRECHT GOETZE

## El, Ashertu and the Storm-god

Text: *KUB*, xii, 61; *KUB*, xxxi, 118 + *KUB*, xxxvi, 37; *KUB*, xxxvi, 34, 35. Literature: H. Otten, *MIO*, 1 (1953), 125-50; H. A. Hoffner, *RHA*, lxxvi (1965), 5-16. This "Canaanite Myth" is only a fragment from a larger context. One may hope that more of it will turn up in the future.

(i) ["... Give thyself to me, then] I shall give myself to thee; I shall *harass* thee with my word, [with my sp]indle I shall prick thee. [...] I shall *stir* thee up." The Storm-god heard the words. (5) He went on his way and betook himself to the well-spring of the Mala-River. [He] came to El-kunirsha,<sup>1</sup> the husband of Ashertu,<sup>2</sup> and entered El-kunirsha's tent.

El-kunirsha beheld the Storm-god and asked him: "[Why] didst thou come?" Thus said the Storm-god: "When I entered thy house, (10) Ashertu sent out (her) maidens to me (saying). 'Come, sleep with me!' [When] I refused, she became *aggressive* and said to me as follows: 'Give thyself to me, [then] I shall give myself to thee; I shall *harass* thee with my word, (15) with my spindle I shall prick thee.' This is why I have come, my father. For, [with a message] I did not come, I have come to thee on my own. Ashertu is impugning thy virility. Although she is thy wife she keeps on sending

<sup>1</sup> This has been explained as Canaanite *qōnē 'arī* "(El), creator of the earth"; but there are still some details connected with this identification that are not yet clear.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ugarit. *'Alirat*, Hebr. *'Alôrā(h)*.

to me: 'Come, sleep with me.'" El-kunirsha began to reply to the Storm-god: (20) "Go, sleep with her! Lie with my wife and humble her!"

The Storm-god hearkened to the word of El-kunirsha. With Ashertu he slept. The Storm-god said to Ashertu: "Of thy sons I slew 77, I slew 88." Ashertu (25) heard this humiliating word of the Storm-god and her mind got incensed against him. She appointed wailing-women and began to wait for 7 years. They keep eating (and) drinking. . . .

(gap)

(ii?) ["... I shall listen ... [...] and] I shall sleep with thee." [When El-kunirsha] heard these words, he said to his wife: "[...] the Storm-god, I shall turn him over to thee. (5) As thou pleasest, thus d[cal] with him!"

ISHTAR<sup>3</sup> heard those words. In El-kunirsha's hand she became a *cup*; she became a *hapupiš* bird and roosted on his wall. Whatever words husband and wife speak, those ISHTAR (10) overhears. El-kunirsha and his wife went upon her bed and slept with each other. But ISHTAR flew like a bird across the ... and found the Storm-god in the ... (The column breaks off. Apparently ISHTAR tells the Storm-god of El and Ashertu's plot.)

(Of the other columns too little is preserved to yield a comprehensible context.)

<sup>3</sup> Used here as an ideogram; the pronunciation remains problematic.

# Egyptian and Hittite Treaties

## Hittite Treaty

(Translator: Albrecht Goetze)

### TREATY OF SUPPILULIUMAS AND AZIRAS OF AMURRU

Texts: Akkadian version: *KUB*, III, 7 + 122; *KUB*, IV, 94. Hittite version: *KBo*, x, 12, 12a, 13. Literature: E. F. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien (Boghazköi-Studien*, VIII, 1923), 70-75; H. Freydank, *MIO*, VII (1960), 356-81; H. Klengel, *OLZ*, 1964, 437-45. The Hittite text which is followed here can be largely reconstructed by the Akkadian text; help is also afforded by parallel texts from Amurru and other Syrian countries.

#### Preamble

These are the words of the Sun Suppiluliumas, the great king, the king of the Hatti land, the valiant, the favorite of the Storm-god.

(gap)

#### Historical Introduction

I, the Sun, [made you my vassal.] And if you, [Aziras, 'protect' the king of the Hatti land, your master,] the king of the Hatti land, your ma[ster, will 'protect' you in the same way.] (5) The way [you 'protect'] your own [soul, your own person, your own body] and your own land, ['protect' the soul of the king, the person of the king,] the body of the king and the [Hatti] land [in the same way!] In the days to come 'protect' [you, Aziras, the king of the Hatti land] and the Hatti land, [my sons and my grandsons.] 300 she[kels of refined gold,] (10) first class (and) pure, shall be the tribute to the king of the Hatti land per year. Let them weigh [it out with the weighing stones of the merchants o]f the Hatti land. [And, you, Az]iras, should come to the Hatti land to the Sun once a year.

Formerly, *in fact*, the king of the land of Egypt, (15) the king of the Hurri land, the king [of . . . , the king of the country Kinza, the ki]ng of the country Nuhassa, the king of the country Niya, the king of the country [ . . . , the king of the country Mukis], the king of the country Halba, the king of the country Kargamis—all these kings were hostile [to the Sun]. But Aziras, the king of [Amurru] land, parted from the gate of Egypt and became subservient to the Sun, the k[ing of H]atti land. (20) And the Sun, the great king, was ve[ry happy] about . . . that Aziras fell down at the feet of the Sun. Aziras parted from the gate of Egypt and (25) fell d[own] at the feet of the Sun.] I, the Sun, the great king, [ac-

cepted] Aziras [in vassalage] and added him to his brethren.

[Th]en Azi[ras . . . .] To [the Sun, the great king], his lord, he spoke as follows: [“. . . ] together with my house [ . . . ] (30) I have surrendered and . . . [ . . . ].

(gap)

#### Military Clauses

(ii) . . . . He who [lives in peace] with the Sun (10) shall live in peace also with you. But he who is an enemy of the Sun, shall also be an enemy [with you]. When the king of [the Hatti] land (is on a campaign) in the [Hurri] land, or in the land of Egypt, or [in the land Ka]raduniy[as,] o[r in the country Astata,] or in the country Alsi—(15) countries bordering on your territory [but] enemies [of the Su]n, countries that are at peace (with you), [but] bordering [on your territory]—[(when) the country Kinza and the country] Nuhassa turn about [and go to wa]r [with the Hatti land,] (20) [when the king of the Hatti land gives battle] against such a country—if (then) you, Aziras, on your own decision [do not] march out with troops (and) chariot-eers and on your own [decision] will not give battle—

(25) [or i]f I, the Sun, send out to you, Aziras, either a prince or a notable [with] his troops (and) charioteers as aid, or (if) I send (them) out to another country to make an attack, [and if] (then) Aziras on his own decision (30) does not march out [with] troops (and) charioteers and you do not attack [such] an enemy—if you commit some [treachery and speak as follows]: “True, I am under a treaty [properly sworn to], but whether he is to vanquish his enemy or his enemy is to vanquish him, (35) this [I cannot] know in any way” [and if] you write to [such] an enemy: “[See! Troops (and) charioteer]s of the Hatti land [are coming to attack (you)]; so be on your guard!” [thereby] you will transgress the oath.

(40) [Out of] the troops (and) charioteers of the Hatti land [ . . . ] Hatti land they must not seize a single man. [If you] on your own decision [will not let him go] and to the king of the Hatti land (45) [will not hand him over, thereby] you will transgress the oath.

[If] against the king of the Hatti land [ . . . ] another enemy rises and [ravages the Hatti] land, [if against the king of the] Hatti [land somebody revolts] (50) [and you,] Aziras, hear about [it, if then] you on your own decision [with troops (and) charioteers] do not rush to the aid—[if] for you, Aziras, it is impossible to come yourself, send [either a son of yours] or a brother of

yours with troops (55) [(and) charioteers to the aid of the king of the Hatti land. [...]]

(iii) [And if somebody presses Aziras hard ... or (if) somebody starts a revolt, (if) you (then) write to the king of the Hatti land: "send troops (and) charioteers to my aid!" (5) I shall hit that enemy for [you].

[...] because Aziras ... [...] and returned [to] the Sun in vassalage, I, the Sun, dispatched notables of the Hatti land, troops (and) charioteers of mine [from the] Hatti land down to Amurru land. (10) [If] they march up to towns of yours, treat them well and furnish them with the necessities of life. Before [the people of Amurru land] let them walk like brethren! Treat [the Hittites] well! But if any Hittite (15) [misbehaves and] shows evil intentions towards Aziras and tries to get hold of either a town of his or a (piece of) land of his, thereby he will transgress the oath.

*Dealings with Foreigners etc.*

The deportees of these countries whom (20) the Sun moved—deportees of the Hurri lands, deportees of the country Kinza, deportees of the country Niya and deportees of the country Nuhassi—[if] from Hattusa somebody, man or woman, escapes and comes to your country, (25) you will not say as follows: "True! [I] am under a treaty properly sworn to, but I can [not] know in any way where amidst my country these (people)

[hide.]" You, Aziras, will seize [them] (30) and hand [them] over to the king of the Hatti land.

[If ...] before you, Aziras, somebody speaks [evil words concerning] the Sun, be it a [notable] or be it an (ordinary) subject of yours, (if) you, [Azir]as, will not seize [him] (35) and will not hand him over to the king of the Hatti land, thereby you will transgress the oath.

Also people of Amurru land who reside in the Hatti land, be it a notable or be it an (ordinary) subject of the country of Aziras, (40) or be it (that) you consider him a [subject] of the king of the Hatti land—if the king of the Hatti land re[turns] him to you, keep him. But if the king of the Hatti land does not return it, he escapes [and he] comes to you, (45) [if ...] you, Azi[r]as, do not seize [him and do not hand him over to the king of the Hatti land, thereby you will transgress the oath].

(small gap)

(iv) And if a Hittite [...] as a fugitive comes [into your country ...] comes back [to ...], you will seize him and will hand [him over to the king of the [Hatti land. ...].

(gap)

(The rest of col. iv is too mutilated for translation. It is however recognizable that it closes with a list of gods called to serve as witnesses at the conclusion of the treaty.)