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Jared L. Miller. *Studies in the Origins, Development and Interpretation of the Kizzuwatna Rituals*. Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten 46. Wiesbaden: Harrassowiz, 2004. Pp. XV + 591, 8 figures, bound. US $ 164.

The volume under review constitutes a revised version of Jared Miller's doctoral dissertation defended at the University of Würzburg in June 2003. Jared Miller can be fairly called one of the most prolific young scholars, if not the most prolific young scholar, active in the field of Hittite philology in the new millennium. Working as a research associate in the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, he invented a new technique of preparing hand copies of cuneiform tablets, which significantly improves both the accuracy and the speed of this process. The first volume of hand copies prepared with the help of this technique was published in 2005 as KBo 53, while several others are in preparation. While copying Hittite tablets from Boghazköy, J. Miller was able to join a number of fragments of historical content, which advance our understanding of Hittite relations with Egypt in the fourteenth century BC (Miller, forthcoming). The

careful examination of cuneiform originals has allowed him to eliminate several ghost words and to refute several erroneous interpretations that had made their way into the Hittitological literature (Miller 2002).

It is his dissertation, however, which truly marks the appearance of a new figure in the field of Hittitology. Its core presents transliterations, translations, commentaries and analyses of all manuscripts of two groups of Hittite compositions, the rituals attributed to the "old woman" Mastigga (Part 2, pp. 11-257), and those dealing with an expansion of the cult of the Deity of the Night (Part 3, pp. 259-439). Each of these two textual groups presents serious challenges to their editors, even though these challenges are not of an identical kind. The Mastigga ritual against a domestic quarrel is attested in at least twelve fragmentary copies, the earliest of which are Middle Script, while the latest were produced shortly before the fall of the Hittite Empire. The collation of twelve copies represents a painstaking task by itself, but in J. Miller's case it ought to have been particularly time-consuming, since he provided both the full edition of each of the fragments and the full critical apparatus. As for the texts belonging to the second group, they are replete with obscure ritual terms of Hurrian origin, and a translator is obliged to tread a narrow path between supplying unwarranted interpretations, and using italics to the point of being incomprehensible. J. Miller has avoided both pitfalls, although we all must hope that some of his literal renderings will become unnecessary in the future, as our understanding of the Hurrian language progresses.

What unites both textual groups is the likely Kizzuwatna origin of their earliest representatives. Kizzuwatna is the name of a small kingdom that was situated in southeastern Anatolia and acted for a while as a buffer state between the Hittite Kingdom in central Anatolia and the Hurrian Kingdom of Mittani in Syria and northern Mesopotamia before it was annexed by the Hittites in the late fifteenth or early fourteenth centuries BC. The name of Kizzuwatna is possibly Luwian (its last

part appears to be cognate with Hitt. *udne* 'land'), and a large number of Luwian incantations coming from this area indicate that Luwians constituted a significant portion of its population. On the other hand, a number of Kizzuwatna rituals involving female magic practitioners (known as "old women" from their Sumerographic designation ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI) were composed in the Hurrian language. The Hurrian influence was particularly strong in the theological sphere: the Kizzuwatna and Mittanian pantheons were syncretized and gods are frequently mentioned by their Hurrian and Syrian names (Tessub, Hebat, Sawoska etc.) in texts from Kizzuwatna containing Luwian incantations.

The intriguing fact, however, is that most texts originating in this Hurro-Luwian cultural milieu were preserved in the royal archives of Hattusa exclusively in Hittite transmission. The two textual groups studied in the book under review belong precisely to this category. Three different scenarios can in principle account for this discrepancy. One of the options is to assume that these texts were first recorded by Hittite scribes employed in the Kizzuwatna administration, or by the Hurrian/Luwian scribes that learned Hittite as a foreign language. Alternatively, it is conceivable that they were originally recorded in Luwian or Hurrian, and then translated into Hittite by the scribes from Hattusa. Finally, one can hypothesize that they represent the field notes of Hittite literati, who visited Kizzuwatna at some point after its annexation in order to record the local religious folklore, or interviewed the informants in Hattusa. This hypothesis would cast a certain doubt on the existence of Kizzuwatna written literature.

Much of Miller's philological discussion aims to show that the third scenario is unacceptable. In the instance of the Mastigga ritual against a domestic quarrel, he constructed a stemma of the pertinent manuscripts, which allowed him to demonstrate that none of the earliest copies available can be regarded as a source manuscript. Since at least three tablets inscribed with this ritual are to

be dated to the late fifteenth century BC on paleographic grounds, this conclusion increases the likelihood that the original text was composed at a time when Kizzuwatna was still an independent kingdom. There is no reason to assume that the Hittites ever collected rituals performed in the lands beyond their control. On the other hand, Sidel'tsev 2002 has shown that CTH 404 has a particular propensity towards word order variation. The frequent deviations from the basic SOV word order are typical of Hittite texts exhibiting foreign influence, such as the Hittite translation of the Hurrian Epic of Manumission. In the instance of the original Expansion text, Miller argues that it was intended for the use of someone who had been already familiar with the general outline of the ritual. This is the reason why this text so much resembles a French cookbook: it features elaborate lists of ritual paraphernalia, with very laconic indications about how to use them. Ethnographic notes written by an outsider would have had quite a different appearance.

The arguments outlined above appear to me to be very convincing. Now one has an additional incentive to look for the site of Kummanni, the main cultic center of Kizzuwatna: it is likely to contain a cuneiform archive with ritual texts, part of which, perhaps, does not have parallels in the Hattusa tablet collection. It is not very likely, however, that the principal part of this archive was composed in Luwian or Hurrian (cf. Miller's discussion on p. 256). Unfortunately, we do not have any evidence of literary texts written down entirely in the Luwian language in the period before the last years of the Hittite Empire (the vexed question about the language and script of administrative texts written on perishable wooden tablets is beyond the scope of the present discussion). The Cuneiform Luwian passages known to us are nearly always embedded into the Hittite narrative frame and represent direct speech utterances, presumably left without translation in order to enhance their illocutionary force. This sociolinguistic pattern can be compared to the usage

of Emesal in the Sumerian civilization, or the usage of "dramatic" Prakrits in medieval India.

The case of Hurrian is somewhat different in that we have texts of various genres, including numerous rituals, written entirely in this language. Yet it would be instructive to quote here the observations of G. Wilhelm (1996: 180) regarding the usage of Hurrian in the Mitanni kingdom: "L'espoir de retrouver de nombreux textes en langue hourrite en provenance du cœur de l'empire mitannien n'est ainsi plus fondé. Il faut rappeler qu'une œuvre littéraire typiquement hourrite, le Conte de Kešši, existe aussi en version akkadienne, sur en fragment trouvé à Tell Amarna, en provenance peut-être de Mitanni. Il est donc possible que dans le royaume de Mitanni, sous l'influence de la culture scribale akkadienne dominante, la plupart de la littérature ait été composée en akkadien". I believe that the same thing can be said about the Kingdom of Kizzuwatna, except that the dominant scribal culture in this case was probably Hittite, rather than Akkadian. There is no compelling reason to assume that the Hattusa scribes systematically translated Kizzuwatna rituals from Hurrian into Hittite upon their acquisition – the very number of Hurrian texts preserved in the Hittite capital militates against this hypothesis. This implies that most Kizzuwatna texts that are known to us in Middle Hittite or Early New Hittite transmission were recorded in Hittite already in Kummanni.

The texts edited in the book under review can serve as a good illustration of this last point. The reconstructed Kizzuwatna prototype of the Mastigga ritual was clearly Hittite, since the lexical discrepancies between individual versions are not so significant as to warrant the existence of independent translations. The peculiar word order patterns found in this text do not need to point to its translated character, but can simply be indicative of a scribe who learned Hittite as a second language. As for the Expansion ritual, the very number of Hurrian ritual terms used in it bespeaks its original character. If it were a translation, one would expect the scribes to work more

carefully on selecting Hittite equivalents of Hurrian terms, as they did in the Hittite version of the Manumission Epic. Although J. Miller does not formulate these points explicitly, they logically follow from his careful philological presentation, and so the discussion above concerns more emphasis than substance of his conclusions.

The idea that Hittite was occasionally used in foreign chancelleries as a language of international correspondence is not anything new. Egypt and the Luwian kingdom of Arzawa, located in Western Anatolia, exchanged Hittite cuneiform tablets discussing a marriage alliance. F. Starke has recently made a very strong case for the Mycenaean origin of a fragmentary letter KUB 26.91 (CTH #183) found in Hattusa. Miller's account, however, allows one to take a further step and claim that Kizzuwatna scribes adopted Hittite also as one of the mediums for recording the ritual lore of the land. This conclusion should not seem outlandish on historical grounds since Kizzuwatna, after all, had been a part of the Hittite Old Kingdom before it seceded at some point in the sixteenth century BC. It is quite possible that the political break with Hatti did not automatically entail the adoption of a new official language, and that the Hittite scribal traditions lingered on in southeastern Anatolia throughout the period of Kizzuwatna independence.

The last part of the book is broader in its scope, even though much of its reasoning draws heavily upon the facts presented in the previous parts. In the beginning of this part (pp. 441-69), the author seeks to better define what constitutes a Kizzuwatna ritual, and to more clearly differentiate between the Hittite, Luwian and Hurro-Syrian strata found therein. A particular claim advanced here, which is likely to provoke an animated discussion in the scholarly community, is the virtual absence of Hurrian and Syrian influence in Hittite religious compositions that predate the annexation of Kizzuwatna. A corollary to this claim is the exclusion of substitution and scapegoat rites, occurring in Old Hittite texts, from the category of Hurro-

Syrian rituals. J. Miller argues that these rites were in fact widespread in a larger area that also included western Anatolia, where no traces of Hurrian influence are otherwise attested. Another group of rites that should perhaps be considered in this connection is the ritualized anointment of kings and priests discussed in some detail in Yakubovich 2005. Although most pre-classical attestations of these ritual acts come from the Hurrian and Syro-Palestinian milieu, I have tried to show that it is also mentioned in a Palaic invocation to the Sun-god Tiyaz, in a text that presumably originated in north-central Anatolia.

The main issue investigated in the final part of the book (pp. 469-532) is the creative attitude of Hittite scribes toward rituals. J. Miller attempts to counter the conception that the transition from the oral to the written occurred primarily through an interview-like process, or even a direct observation of ritual acts. He argues instead that the rituals were created principally by scribes who relied on their general familiarity with current practices, thereby creating prescriptive rather than descriptive texts. This implies that one should exercise a degree of skepticism with regard to the attribution of rituals to particular practitioners. It is perfectly possible, for example, that some of the rituals attributed to the "old woman" Mastigga do not have, in fact, much to do with the professional career of this reputed sorceress, whose name was added solely in order to enhance the popularity of these texts, but rather represent scribal compositions geared toward the needs of particular patrons.

J. Miller supports his contention by comparing groups of related texts, or parallel versions of the same text, whose similarity can be best explained by assuming a great deal of scribal copying. He also cites a number of passages where the prescribed ritual treatment is difficult to implement – waving a sheep over someone's head is a challenging task for a strong man, not to mention the "old woman" Mastigga, but one can easily imagine how the scribes could insert such a passage by analogy with others

of a similar kind, mentioning less hefty objects waved over the two ritual patrons. Finally, he provides a critical discussion of those philological arguments that have been previously made in order to vindicate the direct involvement of ritual practitioners into the process of textual composition and shows their inconclusive character. One can add here that the creativity of Hittite scribes went beyond the genre of ritual scripts. To mention just one example, the Prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna (CTH #376) is compiled out of two unrelated texts: the Prayer to Telibinu (CTH #377) and the Hymn to a Solar Deity (CTH # 372). The resulting hybrid was eventually attributed to Mursili II, but the role of this monarch, if any, was probably limited to endorsing the scribal compilation.

Thus the principle *habent sua fata libelli* is fully applicable to the development of Kizzuwatna ritualistic literature, even though it does not give us an answer about its ultimate origin. Miller has convincingly demonstrated that the ritual texts already in existence do not require practitioners for their further procreation, but a different scenario is needed at least in order to explain how the first ritual texts came about. This is why the summary of the book's last part contains a concession to the 'interview' hypothesis, admitting that in some cases the practitioners could narrate their experience directly to the scribes. It should be, therefore, possible to build a typology of Hittite rituals, ranging from the texts that remain closer to the original interview records and show less editorial history, to their counterparts that betray active scribal involvement consisting of editing, compilation, or creative writing. Miller must be gratified to see that this work has already begun in earnest, in particular due to the efforts of a young German scholar Birgit Christiansen, who has arrived at similar conclusions regarding linguistic and stylistic features that are likely to be associated with scribal creative activities based on a different corpus of texts (Christiansen 2005).

Now I have to comment on several minor points where alternative linguistic interpretations can be suggested. In no instance, except perhaps for the last one, does my critique interfere with the substance of J. Miller's main arguments.

p. 95. The last sentence of § 37 *tarmān=war=at ēstu* KA×U-*it* EME-*it* ^{d}UTU-*i kattan* can probably be translated "Let it (i.e. the earth) be pegged with mouth and tongue together with the Sun-god". The syntactic position of *kattan* vindicates its interpretation as a postposition, rather than a spatial adverb 'below'. For semantics, cf. the last sentence of the following § 38 *sarlānza* ^{d}UTU-*as* KA×U-*i* EME-*i appan* "The exalted Sun-god is behind the mouth and the tongue".

p. 98. The beginning of § 40 *kuis=war=at wedesket* ^{NA4}*huwasi*$^{HI.A}$ *tanita kinun=war=at=kan kāsa lagāri* is to be interpreted as "Whoever built it all, these *huwasi*-stones stood up, but now they are toppling". I believe that the Luwian verb *tani-* < **stā-n-ye* was intransitive since its transitive counterpart was borrowed into Hittite as *taninu-* 'to arrange'. Whenever both the base verb and the *–nu* derivative are both present in Hittite or Luwian, the *–nu* verbs are invariably causative. The inchoative semantics of Luw. *tani-* is conjectural, but compare Old Church Slavic *statī* (present stem *stane-*) 'become'.

p. 126-27,130. Miller rightly criticizes CHD's translation of KBo 24.1 i 13 *nu=kan* ^{NA4}*huwasi*$^{HI.A}$ GÌR-*az lagāri* "the stelae lean off (their) bases" as textually unfounded and stresses the fact that GÌR must refer to the patron's feet kicking the stelae. Yet his own translation "Then (s)he kicks the *huwasi*-stones with his/her foot" implies an unnecessary grammatical complication, since one expects a medio-passive form of *lag-* to be intransitive. This complication can be avoided if one accepts an impersonal translation "The *huwasi*-stones are tumbled by the foot".

p.147. The only grammatical interpretation of the sentence *le=ma=an* ZU$_9$.HI.A-*us harsi* in § 1 of the *taknaz da-* ritual is "Do not hold his/her teeth!" (with case

attraction). Perhaps the preservation of the patron's teeth had some significance that we are unable to appreciate due to the fragmentary preservation of the ritual. While Miller's translation "Do not hold him/her in (your) teeth" is certainly more attractive on general semantic grounds, it requires the assumption of an unmotivated scribal error (ZU_9.HI.A-*us* for the original ZU_9.HI.A-*it*, vel sim.).

p. 226. The case of the Late New Hittite spelling *ši-ip-pa-an-ti* '(s)he libates' vs. earlier *ši-pa-an-ti* does not illustrate consonant gemination, but is rather indicative of vocalic anaptyxis. While the form *ši-pa-an-ti* was pronounced /spanti/ and not **/sibanti/ (see Kassian-Yakubovich 2002: 33-5 for the detailed exposition of the pertinent orthographic rules), the form *ši-ip-pa-an-ti* had to have the phonological representation /sipanti/. This secondary anaptyxis, also reflected in the (borrowed) Lycian priestly title *hppñterus-*, may bear witness to the imperfect acquisition of Hittite by Luwian native speakers, who did not know how to pronounce word-initial /sC-/ clusters.

p. 324. Goedegebuure 2003 has demonstrated that dat.-loc. pl. *edas* synchronically belongs to the paradigm of the distal deictic pronoun *asi* 'yon'. Should one wish to keep these two forms apart for reasons of lexicographic simplicity, the lemma of *edas* must be *e-*, not **ed-* (cf. dat. pl. *abedas* from *aba-* 'that' and dat.sg. *kuedas* from *kui-* 'who').

p. 334. Read under *sarlatta-*: *šar-la-at-ta-an-za*, Luw. acc.-dat. pl.

p. 468. J. Miller faces an uphill fight when he tries to raise objections against the hypothesis that Hurrian words can underline the Sumerographic writing ^{LÚ}SANGA 'a type of priest' in Old Hittite. He states that the reading *sankunnis* for nom. sg. ^{LÚ}SANGA-*iš* is doubtful, but does not offer any better alternative. He plausibly suggests the reading *kamra-* (read *kumra-*) 'a type of priest' for nom. sg. ^{LÚ}SANGA-*aš*, being perhaps unaware of the fact that this title is also likely to have a Hurrian or Syrian origin. Akkadian *kumru* 'a type of priest' is restricted to Old and

Middle Assyrian, and to Mari texts, while Armenian *khurm* 'heathen priest' may represent an Urartian borrowing. Compare further Hebrew *kōmer* 'priest' and Syriac *kumrā* 'heathen priest' (Hoffner 1996). I do not think, however, that assuming a limited number of Hurrian borrowings in the Old Hittite religious lexicon creates insurmountable obstacles for the author's ethnographic conclusions. A number of Russian religious terms, including words for 'God' and 'Heaven' are ultimately borrowed from Iranian, but looking for direct traces of Scythian religious traditions in the Russian Orthodox rituals is not a particularly promising project.

These remarks are not meant to undermine the overall very positive impression from the book under review. One should congratulate the author with his fine achievement, and wish him many more books and articles displaying the same high level of *wissenschaftliche Akribie*.

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Konstantin G. Krasukhin, *Vvedenie v indoevropejskoe jazykoznanie. Kurs lektsij [Introduction to Indo-European linguistics: Course lectures]*, 2004. Moscow: Akademija. 320 pp. [hardcover].

This is the first university-level introduction to this subject published in Russian since Aleksej N. Savchenko's classic *Sravnitel'naja grammatika indo-evropejskikh jazykov [Comparative Indo-European]* (Moscow: Vysshaja shkola, 1974). Given the many advances in the field over the past four decades, a number of them from scholars in Russia or the former Soviet Union, this timely textbook is sorely needed. The present review will evaluate the book's contents and organization with these facts in mind.

The book is comprised of fifteen "lectures" in the form of chapters dealing with individual aspects of Indo-European language structure. A final chapter styled as a conclusion offers advice on the proper methodology for reconstructing proto-forms. It also mentions the proto-IE homeland question, coming down slightly more on the side of those who favor a homeland somewhere in Eastern Europe (p. 299). On the matter of whether IE is relatable to other families of Eurasia,