

3. INSTRUCTIONS FOR TEMPLE PERSONNEL-CTH 264

3.1 Introduction

The text known as “Instructions for Temple Officials”^{*} was published by Sturtevant and Bechtel in transcription, transliteration and translation in 1935.⁹⁶ This work has been commonly used for a long time, though some other translations of parts of the text have been published in English and German.⁹⁷ The latest English translation of the text to date was published by McMahon.⁹⁸ His translation largely depends on the dissertation dedicated to this text by Süel, which was published in Turkish.⁹⁹ Her dissertation provides the text, its exemplars, transliteration, and translation, a commentary with a discussion of the text’s language, and a glossary.

The first work written on the “instructions texts” as a separate genre in Hittite literature, which does not include a study of our text, was already done by E. von Schuler in 1957. His work is still the most comprehensive study of the instructions texts as a genre. The instructions texts specify the duties of the administration, beginning with the king’s officers, lords, members of the court, the bodyguards and the palace workers, and continuing with the other servants of the king, such as the border commanders, the temple workers, and others. E. von Schuler pointed out a connection between these texts and the legal treaties drawn up between the Hittite king and his vassals, emphasizing the oath which is attached to the acceptance of these regulations. Von Schuler wondered whether this genre was a genuine Hittite creation or whether it was received from the Mesopotamians, especially the Assyrians. A possible answer is that even if it was indeed a cultural loan from the Mesopotamians, the Hittite royalty developed it into a major device for implementing loyalty among their subjects, in order to handle the administration of their kingdom. Most of the

^{*} In this work the text will be titled “Instructions for Temple Personnel” and be abbreviated as ITP.

⁹⁶ The first publication of a study of this text was made by Sturtevant (1934) 363-406, and a year later was presented by him and Bechtel (1935) 127-174.

⁹⁷ Haase (1984) 58; Kühne (1975) 200-204; Kühne (1983) 179-184; Witzel (1951) 476-485; Goetze, *ANET*: 207-210; See also Korošec (1974) 165-174; Klinger (2001) 70-81.

⁹⁸ McMahon, *CoS* 1: 217-221.

⁹⁹ Süel (1985).

texts belonging to this genre can be dated to the period of the Hittite Empire. Yet several instructions texts show signs of belonging to an earlier period, the Middle Kingdom. Thus, there is general acceptance of dating these texts between the Middle Kingdom and the New Kingdom.¹⁰⁰

All the fragments of CTH 264 are written in the New Hittite script of the New Kingdom, but their language, as will be specified in the chart of variations between the manuscripts below (3.7 pp. 86-93), indicates possible Middle Kingdom sources.¹⁰¹

3.2 The Colophon: An *išhiul*- text

The colophon of our text defines it in Hittite as *išhiul*- “obligation, duty, requirement, law”. McMahon translates this term as “rules”, since indeed the instructions may be regarded as rules.¹⁰² In Hittite administration, however, there is more to its meaning than just rules. The noun *išhiul*- derives from the verb *išhiya-/išhai*- “to bind, wrap, obligate, impose upon.”¹⁰³ The idea of obligation is connected to the oath, which is taken in order to make the obligations binding.¹⁰⁴ Without the oath the acceptance of the obligations may not be valid. Therefore, *išhiul*- is also the term for a treaty signed by two parties. Thus it is connected to the “binding oath” taken by

¹⁰⁰ See recently Pecchioli Daddi (2002) 267-268, who points out that “the *išhiul* texts were issued at the time the new administrative structure [...] were instituted”, which she set at the reign of Arnuwanda I. She also states that since “after the Middle Kingdom the administrative structure of the Hittite state did not undergo any more significant changes” there was no need to write new *išhiul*-texts. According to her, the validity of the *išhiul* “had a permanent nature.” Dating the text to Arnuwanda I has already been indicated by Klinger (2001) 73.

¹⁰¹ Pecchioli Daddi (2002) 267 n. 36 says that “many stylistic elements suggest a middle-Hittite origin for this text”. One form showing an archaic allative as well as archaism of the pl. genitive is the form: LUGAL-an a-aš-ka on col. ii line 54 in both copies A and B: na-an LUGAL-an a-aš-ka UL ú-ua-te-iz-zi (“to the gate of the king he does not bring him”). This idea of bringing the one who commits a crime to the gate of the kings is a Hittite custom which appears in the Hittite Laws (see Hoffner (1997b) §71). However, this form may be considered a fossilized archaic form, relating to a well known practice of bringing the guilty to the king’s gate.

¹⁰² In accordance with the translation of Güterbock and van den Hout (1991). See below 3.8 §19 pp. 106-107.

¹⁰³ Puhvel, *HED* 2: 398-403.

¹⁰⁴ In the ITP the oath is only implied. The word for oath (*lingai*-) is not mentioned in the text. See below in the text 3.6 §5, 57-58 p. 73.

a vassal or a person giving his loyalty to the king.¹⁰⁵ We should consider this text as part of that widespread system in the Hittite empire within which different vassals, as well as groups serving the king, had to proclaim their loyalty to the king through “binding instructions” taken under an oath before the gods. Two examples may clarify the use of this administrative tool, the *išhiul*-.¹⁰⁶ One, KUB 5.4+, comes from oracle texts, the other, KUB 13.35+, from what is called “legal protocols”.

A) An oracle text: KUB 5.4+KUB 18.53

This text is one of the oracle texts translated by R.H. Beal under the title: “Assuring the safety of the king during the winter”.¹⁰⁷ The king’s safety is assured by binding oaths, taken by his servants. In col. i 44-50 we read: “This year His Majesty proposes to winter in Ḫattuša. He will celebrate the customary festivals, the festival of the year, the thunder festival in Ḫattuša. The birds of the neighborhood⁷ will congregate in Ḫattuša [for him]”. Then a question is posed, the answer to which is negative. As a result, the following measures are taken (col. i 51-ii 1): “They will go and give sworn instructions to the kitchen personnel (=EN^{MES} TU₇). [...] and they will have them swear. If this will make the evil disappear let the symbol oracle be favorable.” After several actions in the next day the symbol was favorable. That means the kitchen personnel will have to take the sworn instructions, the *išhiul*. Since the answer in the continuation of the inquiry is negative, the specialists give sworn instructions to the cooks, and sworn instructions to the chariot-drivers concerning road accidents. Once the omen answer is positive, the group of servants such as drivers or cooks or - as in our text - temple personnel, must take the sworn instructions, as it is termed in Hittite in this text: *pa-a-an-zi* EN^{MES} TU₇ *iš-ḫi-ú-la-aḫ-ḫa-a[n-zi]* “they will go and give sworn instructions to the kitchen personnel.” I have called the *išhiul* “sworn instructions” since the oath is an integral part of the instructions. The oath creates their validation

¹⁰⁵ Pecchioli Daddi (2002) 266 pointed out the possibility that there was a period during the reign of Arnuwanda I when the *išhiul* (instruction) and the *lingai* (oath) texts were separate, and that from the Middle Kingdom they merged into one.

¹⁰⁶ This study, however, will not deal in a comprehensive way with the instructions texts, since that lies outside the scope of its subject. For a general description see von Schuler, *RIA* 5 (1976-1980) 114-117.

¹⁰⁷ Beal, *CoS* 1: 207-208.

and increases the loyalty of the king's servants.¹⁰⁸

B) From legal protocols: KUB 13.35+

As suggested by R. Werner, the texts which he edited under the title "Gerichtsprotokolle"¹⁰⁹ are evidence of legal procedures taken by the queen to assure the faithfulness of her servants. The texts present a sworn testimony given by the queen's servant to remove any suspected guilt from him. One of these testimonies is given by a certain GAL-^dU and his father Ukkura. The text starts with the testimony of the father.¹¹⁰ In regard to the utensils, animals, and war prisoners given by the queen to the son, the father says: col. i 29-32: *kūnnawa memian Ū-UL iyami kīwa kuit karū linkun EGIR-zimanwaza dahhi kuitki nuwaza apedani-ja memini iš-ḫi-ú-la-aḫ-ḫa-an-za nuwaza EGIR-an Ū-UL ku-it-k[i] dahhi* "This act I will not do! What are these (which) in the past I swore, (so that) I will take something for myself? On that thing I am bound by *išḫiul*. I will not take anything for myself!". The person under suspicion swears that because he is under *išḫiul*-obligations he is unable to do anything against them.

The *išḫiul* device may have indeed been a powerful means of preventing crimes against the royal family. It should be asked whether our text may not also belong to the same category.

Before continuing further, we have to mention the recent suggestion of F. Starke regarding the basic concept of the *išḫiul*.¹¹¹ Based on his explanation of the Neo-Assyrian term *adê* as "oath of allegiance", he compared two Hittite texts from Tudḫaliya IV's reign with the Neo-Assyrian text of Essarḫaddon's 'treaty' with the eastern vassals, and came to the conclusion that the *išḫiul*-texts are an oath of allegiance imposed on the king's servants at a time of uncertainty for the royal succession, either as a result of usurpation or as a result of choosing an heir who is not accepted by direct line. His conclusion, therefore, points to a difference between Middle Hittite instructions texts and the New Kingdom loyalty oaths.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ See Pecchioli Daddi (2003) 24-31.

¹⁰⁹ Werner, *StBoT* 4.

¹¹⁰ Werner, *StBoT* 4: 4-5.

¹¹¹ Starke (1995) 70-82.

¹¹² See also below 3.9.4.9 p. 129.

3.3 Description of the text's main tablet

The text is found in nine exemplars. The most complete and preserved text is KUB 13.4, a four-column inscribed tablet damaged at the beginning of columns i and ii and slightly damaged in other places, but which can still be read coherently.¹¹³ It includes a colophon which indicates that this tablet is the first tablet of the ITP. This could mean that there were additional tablets belonging to this text, although the only copies we have are of this tablet alone. With the exception of the beginning of column i the rest of the tablet is quite complete.¹¹⁴ Since the publication of A. Süel's dissertation, a few fragments have been added, as well as some new joins.

In this chapter the text will be presented and discussed as follows:

3.4 The copies

3.5 Transliteration of all copies

3.6 Translation

3.7 Variations between the copies

3.8 Commentary

3.9 Ideal Priesthood of Ḫattuša: Issues of priestly tasks

¹¹³ Columns ii, iii, and iv have 82, 83, and 81 lines per column respectively. Column i in its current state has only 66 lines. Therefore, we may assume that approximately 10 to 16 lines of this column are missing. Sturtevant (1934) 363-406 believes that 12 lines are missing.

¹¹⁴ See below for more details on the copies of the text.

3.4 The copies of CTH 264

A KUB 13.4

Obv. i 1-66

Obv. ii 1-82 (Assuming the beginning of the Column according to Copy C).

Rev. iii 1-83

Rev. iv 1-81

B KUB 13.6+ KUB 13.17+ KUB 13.19(+) FHL 100¹¹⁵(+) 17/v+KUB 31.120¹¹⁶ (+) Bo 69/278+754/v

A Obv. i 3-58 = KUB 13.6 i 1-15, 30-32 + KUB 13.17 i 1-14

(+) 17/v 1-7+ KUB 31.120 1-11(+) Bo 69/278
1-4 + 754/v 1-5

Obv. ii 12-57 = KUB 13.6 ii 1-43

Rev. iii 51-83 = KUB 13.6 iii 1-19 + KUB 13.19 1-17+FHL 100
iii 75-83

Rev. iv 1-7; 37-77 = FHL 100 iv 9-15 (+) KUB 13.17 iv 1-34

C KUB 13.5 (+) KUB 31.95 (+) KUB 31.92 + 1303/z

A Obv. i 32-66 = KUB 31.92 1-15 + 1303/z 4-12

Obv. ii 1-41 = KUB 13.5 ii 1-46

Rev. iii 31-83 = KUB 13.5 iii 1-50 (+) KUB 31.95 iii 1-12

D Hulin's fragment¹¹⁷ (+) KUB 26.31

Rev. iii¹¹⁸ 1-17; 1-13 = A iii 2-29

E KUB 13.18

Obv. ii 1-13 = A ii 48-60

Rev. iii 1-15 = A iii 30-43

¹¹⁵ After checking the fragment at the Musée du Louvre, I can confirm that it must join directly KUB 13.19 iii 16, although I used only a photograph for KUB 13.19. I thank Prof. van den Hout for suggesting this join. For the following fragments I was able to use photographs taken at the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, and I thank Dr. Joachim Marzahn for helping me to obtain them: KUB 13.6; KUB 13.7; KUB 13.9; KUB 13.18; KUB 26.31; KUB 31.93; KUB 31.93. I wish also to thank Dr. Béatrice André-Salvini of the Musée du Louvre in Paris for enabling me to inspect the fragment FHL 100, and to obtain a photograph of it.

¹¹⁶ Added by Hoffner (1998) 35-44.

¹¹⁷ Hulin (1970) 155-157.

¹¹⁸ The two lines at the right may suggest that this is not column iii on the tablet of copy D, but rather the fourth column. Süel (1985) 9 calls it "Rv. IV²". Restorations are presented according to Süel (1985) and Sturtevant and Bechtel (1935), hereafter shortened to Süel and Sturtevant.

F KUB 31.94

Obv. ii 1-7 = A ii 76-82

G KUB 31.93

Obv. ii 1-10 = A ii 29-37

H KUB 40.63

Obv. i 1-19 = A i 51- ii 8

Rev. iv 1-14 = A iv 5-21

I HT 28

Obv. ii 1-6 = A ii 70-74

* IBoT 4.5 This fragment was suggested by Pecchioli Daddi (2004b) to belong to the colophon of CTH 264. This has to be rejected on the basis of the results of the research on the texts' variations. See below under 3.7 pp. 91-93.

3.5 Transliteration of CTH 264

Col. i

§1

1. A¹¹⁹ [] -eš []]
2. [] -ki-i[t]]
3. [] hu-m(a)-an-te-eš []
B¹²⁰ hu-m)a-an-te-eš]]
4. [(DINGIR^{LIM}) i]š-ki-id-du-ma-at nu ma-a-[an]
B] DINGIR^{LIM}]]
5. [(NINDA.GUR₄.RA UD^M)] ma-a-an ŠA 1 ŠA-A-TI ma-a-a[n]
B] NINDA.GUR₄.RA UD^M]]
6. [Š]A 2 UP-NI 1 UP-NI 1/2 UP-NI []
B] UP-NI]]
7. [š] u-un-nu-um-me-eš-šar ti-i[(a²-an)]
B] ti-ja-an]]
8. pé-eš-kán-zi na-aš-ma-at []]
9. na-at ša-ra-a ti-ja-[]]
10. [E]GIR-pa-ja-kán le-e x[(te-ni)]
B] -te-ni]]
11. A-NA É.GAL na-aš-ma a-p[é]-e-da-[ni]x-¹an¹-zi]]
12. le-e pa-it-¹te¹-ni na-aš-ta É.G[AL] x ša?[-n]i]]
13. [d]a-me-e-da-ni šar-¹hu-u-¹ya-an-da-az le-e ¹har-ni-[ik-(t)]e-ni
B] -te-ni]]

§2

14. nam-ma NINDA.[GUR₄].RA^{BI.A121} UD^M ku-i-e-eš e-eš-ša-an-zi na-at
pár-[k]u-¹ya-iš a-ša-an-du]]

¹¹⁹ The text transliterated here is Text A, with gaps filled according to the other copies.

¹²⁰ KUB 13.6 col. i.

¹²¹ Süel, p. 22 n. 2 reads ¹HI.A on the tablet. But see Hagenbuchner-Dresel (2002) note 67.

15. ¹ya-ar-[pa]-an-ti-ša-at ¹kar-ta-an-te-eš a-ša-an-du
iš-¹hi-[e?]-ni-uš-ma-aš-kán]]
16. UM[BIN^{MES}-i]a da-a-an e-eš-du pár-ku-¹ya-¹ja TUG^{HI.A} ¹ya-aš-ša-an
¹har-kán-du]]
17. [ma-a-an UL¹²²] le-e e-eš-ša-an-zi ku-i-e-eš-za DINGIR^{MES}-aš ZI-an
NÍ.TE-an-na
B e-eš-š]a-an-zi]]
18. [SÈD-nu-uš¹²³-k]án-zi na-aš a-pu-u-uš e-eš-ša-an-du I-NA É
¹U¹NINDA. DÙ.DÙ- ma-aš-k[á]n]]
19. ku-¹le¹-da-aš an-da-an e-eš-ša-an-zi na-at-kán ša-[a]n-¹ha-an
¹hur-nu-¹ya-an]]
20. e-eš-du nam-ma-kán pár-šu-u-ra-aš pí-di ŠAH-aš UR.GI₇-[aš]
KÁ-aš le-e ti-¹ja-zi]]
21. UKÙ-aš DINGIR^{MES}-aš-ša ZI-an-za ta-ma-a-iš ku-iš-ki UL [k]i-i-pát
ku-it UL]]
22. ZI-an-za-ma 1-aš-pát ARAD-ŠU ku-¹ya-pí A-NA EN-ŠU pí-ra-[a]n
ša-ra-a ar-ta-ri]]
23. na-aš ¹ya-ar-pa-an-za nu pár-ku-¹ya-¹ja ¹ya-aš-ša-an ¹har-z[i]]]
24. [n]u-uš-ši na-aš-šu a-da-an-na pé-eš-ki-iz-zi na-aš-ma-aš-ši
a-ku-¹ya-an-na pé-eš-ki-iz-zi]]
25. nu-za a-pa-a-aš EN-ŠU az-zi-ik-ki-iz-zi ak-ku-uš-ki-iz-zi ku-i[t]]]
26. na-aš ZI-an ar-¹ha la-a-an-za na-at-ši-kán an-da
[t]a-me-en-kiš-¹ki-it-ta¹]]
27. ma-a-na-aš an-da-ma ku-¹ya-pí IGI-¹ya-an-na-an-za na-aš-kán ¹UL¹
¹š¹ha-an-¹ha-ni-¹ja-i¹]]
28. ZI DINGIR^{LIM}-ma ta-ma-a-iš ku-iš-ki nu-kán ma-a-an ARAD-¹ŠU¹
ku-¹ya-pí EN-¹ŠU¹
B¹²⁴ ¹ZI¹-x¹²⁵ []]]]
29. TUKU.TUKU-nu-zi na-an-kán na-aš-šu ku-na-an-zi na-aš-ma-k[á]n]]

¹²² Sturtevant's restoration, p.148.

¹²³ Sturtevant's restoration, p.148.

¹²⁴ KUB 13.17 col. i.

¹²⁵ These signs are present in KUB 13.17 i 1'; the traces may be seen in the photograph.

- KIR₁₄-ŠÚ IGI^{HIA}-[ŠU]¹
 B na-an-kán na-aš-š[u]
 30. GEŠTU^{HIA}-ŠU i-da-a-la-u-uh-ḥa-an-zi na-aš-ma-an-za-an-[k]án
 DAM-ŠU DUMU^{MES}-ŠU¹
 B i-da-la-u-ua-aḥ-ḥa[
 31. ŠEŠ-ŠU NIN-ŠU LÚka-i-na-aš MÁŠ-ŠU na-aš-šu ARAD-[ŠU]
 I¹na¹-aš-ma GÉME-ŠU-aš [IŠ-]BAT
 B LÚka-e-na-aš x[
 C¹²⁶ [] x-x[]
 32. na-aš-ta pár-ra-an-da ḥal-zi-an-zi-pát na-an UL [ku]-it-ki DÙ-an-[zi]¹
 B na-aš-ta pár-[]
 C [] x¹²⁷-an-zi
 33. ma-a-na-aš a-ki-ja ku-ua-pí na-aš UL 1-aš a-ki MÁŠ-ŠU¹-ma-aš-ši
 te-it-ti-¹an¹-pát
 B ma-a-n[a- te-it-(ti-¹)a-an-pát
 C [] x-ti-ja-an-pát
- §3
34. ma-a-an-ma-aš-ta ZI^{TUM} DINGIR^L[^Mku-i]š¹²⁸ TUKU.TUKU-ja-nu-zi (traces)
 B ma-a-[
 35. na-at-kán DINGIR^{LIM} a-pé-e-da-ni-[(pát 1)]-¹e¹-da-ni an-da
 ša-[an-aḥ-z¹²⁹]i
 B a-pé]-¹e¹-da-ni-pát 1-e-[
 C na-a]t-kán DINGIR^{LUM} a-pé-e-da-ni-pát
 36. UL-at-kán A-NA(erasure) DAM-ŠU [DUMU^{MES}-ŠU NU]MUN-ŠU MÁŠ-ŠU
 I¹ARAD^{MES}-ŠU[(U GÉME)]-^{MES}-ŠU G[(U₄^H)]^A-ŠU
 B [NUMU]N-ŠU MÁŠ-ŠU
 C MÁŠ-ŠU ARAD-ŠU GÉME-ŠU GU₄^{HIA}-ŠU
 37. UDU^{MES}-ŠU ḥal-ki-it-ta a[n-da ša-¹³⁰]an-aḥ-zi na-an-kán
 ḥ[u-u-m(a-)]an-da-az
 C [ḥu-um]-ma-¹an¹-da-az
 38. [(ḥa)]r-ni-[(i)]k-zi nu-za A-[N]A INIM DINGIR^L[^{IM}me-i]k-ki mar-ri

¹²⁶ KUB 31.92 col. i.

¹²⁷ Süel reads this sign as -ja : i-ja-an-zi for DÙ-an-zi.

¹²⁸ Sturtevant's restoration, p. 148.

¹²⁹ Sturtevant's restoration, p. 148.

¹³⁰ Süel's restoration; Sturtevant's reading, p. 148: ḥal-ki-it-ta-an-[ni-ši ša-a]n-aḥ-zi.

- na-aḥ-[(ḥ)a-an-t]e-eš e-eš-tén
 B¹³¹ [ḥar-ni-ik-z]i n[u-za
 C ḥar-ni-ik-zi[mar-r]i na-aḥ-ḥ[a
]e-eš-tén
- §4
39. [(an)-da-m]a EZEN₄ ITU^{KAM} EZEN₄ MU⁷⁷ EZEN₄ A-YA-LI
 [EZE]N₄ zé-n[a-an-d]a-aš
 B an-[] EZEN₄ zé-e-n[a
 C]-aš
 40. [E]ZEN₄ ḥa-me-eš-ḥa-an-da-aš EZEN₄ te-it-ḥi-eš-na-aš [EZ]EN₄
 ḥi-ja-r[(a)]-aš
 B EZ[EN₄] EZEN₄ ḥi-ja-ar-ra-aš [EZE]N₄
 C EZEN₄ ḥa-me-eš-ḥa-an-da-aš EZEN₄ te-i[t
 41. EZEN₄ pu-u-da-ḥa-aš EZEN₄ ḥé-šu-ua-aš EZEN₄ [š(a-a)]t¹³²-la-aš-ša-aš
 B [E]ZE[N₄]
 C [EZEN₄ ša?-at-la-aš-ša-aš EZE[N₄ ¹³³]
 42. EZEN₄ BI-IB-RI EZEN₄^{MES} šu-up-pa-ja-aš LÚ¹SANGA-aš
 B EZ[EN₄ BI-IB-RI E[ZEN₄^{MES}]] x[
 43. EZEN₄^{MES} LÚ^{MES}ŠU.GI EZEN₄^{MES} MUNUS^{MES}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} EZEN₄
 da-ḥi-ja-aš
 B¹³⁴ [MUNUS^{MES}AM]A.DINGIR^{LIM} EZEN₄
 C [da-ḥi-ja-[aš]¹³⁵ ŠU.]G[I] EZEN₄^{MES} IMUNUS^{MES} AMA¹[DINGIR]
 44. EZEN₄^{MES} LÚ^{MES}ú-pa-ti-ja-aš EZEN₄^{MES} pu-u-l[a]-aš EZEN₄^{MES}
 ḥa-aḥ-ra-an-na-aš
 B ḥa-aḥ]-ra-an-na-aš
 C [ḥa-]aḥ-ra¹-na-aš
 45. na-aš-ma-aš ku-iš im-ma ku-iš EZEN₄-aš URU¹ḥ[a-a]t-tu-ši-kán še-ir
 B [-ká]n še-ir
 C I¹na-aš-ma-aš ku¹-iš
 46. na-aš ma-a-an IŠ-TU GU₄^{HIA} UDU^{HIA}¹ NINDA KAŠ Û IŠ-TU GEŠTIN
 B [IŠ]-TU GEŠTIN
 C []-an IŠ-TU [GU₄¹]

Fragment 71/v according to Süel's plate X-1.

For this reading see HW² H: 12^b.

Copy C has two lines of copy A on one line (Lines 40-41).

KUB 31.120.

For the join of KUB 31.120 with 17/v at this point (as part of copy B), see Hoffner (1998) 36.

47. ̣u-u-ma-an-da-az ša-ra-a ti-ja-an-ta UL e-eš-ša-at-te-ni
 B ̣u-u-ma-an-da-az [
 C []x-UL e-eš-ša-at-te-¹ni¹ []
48. na-at pé-eš-kán-zi ku-i-e-eš nu-uš-ma-aš šu-me-eš
 LU^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM}
 B na]-¹at¹ pé-eš-kán-zi ku-i-e-eš
 C []^{LIM}
49. ̣a-ap-pár da-aš-kat-te-¹ni¹ DINGIR^{MES}-aš-ma-at-kán ZI-ni
 ̣a-ak¹-ši-ja-nu-ut-te-ni
 B t]e-ni DINGIR^{MES}-aš-ma-at-kán []ni
 C ̣a-ap-pár da-at-t[e-ni -u]t-te-ni

§5

50. na-aš-ma-at-kán ma-a-an ša-ra-a ti-ja-an-da ku-̣a-pí da-at-te-ni
 B¹³⁶ [m]a-at-kán ma-a-a[n ku-]̣a-pí da-at-te-ni
 C []-ni¹³⁷
51. na-at DINGIR^{MES}-aš ZI-ni pa-ra-a UL ar-nu-ut-te-ni nu-uš-ma-ša-at
 ar-̣a
 B [na-at] DINGIR^{MES}-aš ZI-ni []-t-te-ni nu-uš-ma-š¹-a-at [ar-̣a]¹
 C [nu-u]š-ma-ša-at ar-̣a
 H¹³⁸ -a]t ar-̣a
52. I-NA É^{MES}-KU-NU pé-e ̣ar-te-ni n¹a-a¹t šu-me-e¹ DAM^{MES}-KU-NU
 DUMU^{MES}-KU-NU
 B [I-NA] É^{MES}-KU-NU pé-[e šu-me-]e¹[]
 C [DAM^{MES}-KU-N]U DUMU^{MES}-KU-NU
53. SAG.GÉME.ARAD^{MES}-KU-NU ar-̣a e-iz-za-a-i na-aš-šu-ma-aš-ma-aš
 LU¹ka-e-na-a[š]
 B [SAG.GÉME]E^{MES}-KU-NU ar-̣a []
 C SAG.GÉME.ARAD^{MES}-[KU-NU]
 H [SAG.GÉME].ARAD^{MES}-KU-NU ar-̣a []
54. na-aš-ma a-aš-šu-̣a-an-za ku-iš-ki LU¹Ú-B[(A-R)UM] ú-iz-zi na-at
 a-pé-e-<da->ni
 B [] a-aš-šu-̣a-an-za []
 C na-aš-m]a a-aš-šu-u-̣a-an-za ku-iš-ki
 H []-šu-̣a-an-za LU¹Ú-BA-R[UM] []

¹³⁶ Bo 69/278+754/v joins here KUB 31.120. It is according to Süel, p.182-183; PlateX-2.

¹³⁷ Fragment 1303/z joins here and is transliterated by Süel on page 192, and has a photograph on Pl. XIII, 2. -ni¹ is according to the photograph of KUB 31.92.

¹³⁸ KUB 40.63 col. i.

55. pé-eš-te-ni A-NA ZI^{TUM} DINGIR^{LIM}-ma-at-kán da-at-te-ni
 B A-NA] ZI DINGIR^{LIM}-ma-at-kán [
 C [] ZI^{TUM} DINGIR^{LIM}-ma-at-kán
 H [DINGIR^{LIM}-ma-at-kán da-at-te-ni
56. na-at-ši pa-ra-a-pát UL ar-nu-[u]t-te-ni na-at ták-ša-an šar-ra-aš
 B []at ták-ša-an šar-ra-aš
 C [na-a]t ták-ša-an šar-ra-aš
 H [n]a-at-ši pa-r[a] ša]r-ra-aš
57. ták-ša-an šar-ra-an pé-eš-te-ni nu-uš-ma-aš ki-i šar-ru-ma-aš ut-tar
 B [nu-u]š-ma-aš ki-i šar-[]
 C [] ut-tar
 H ták-ša-an šar-ra-a[n¹³⁹] pé-eš-te-ni []
58. SAG.DU-az GAM-an ki-it-ta-ru na-at-kán le-e šar-ra-at-te-ni
 B [na-at-k]án le-e [
 H SA]G.DU-za GAM-an ki-it-ta-ru na-at-kán [le-e]
59. ku-i-ša-at-kán šar-ra-a-[i¹⁴⁰-(ma)] na-aš a-ku EGIR-pa
 ̣a-aḥ-nu-mar-ši le-e e-eš-zi
 C []¹le¹-eš-zi
 H []-ma na-aš a-ku EGIR-pa ̣a-aḥ-nu-mar-ši [le¹-e e-eš-zi]

§6/1

60. IŠ-TU NINDA KAŠ GEŠTIN I-NA É.DINGIR^{LIM} ̣u-u-ma-an ša-ra-a
 pé-e ̣ar-tén
 H ša-ra]-¹a¹ pé-e ̣ar-tén
61. NINDA.GUR₄.RA DINGIR^{LIM}-za-kán NINDA.SIG le-e ku-iš-ki da-a-li-ja-zi
 H IŠ-TU NINDA.GUR₄.RA DINGIR^{LIM}-za-kán]
62. KAŠ-ma-kán GEŠTIN IŠ-TU GAL-ja še-ir ar-̣a le-e ku-iš-ki la-a-̣u-u-i
 C¹⁴¹ []še-ir ar-̣a le-e ku-iš-ki
 H m]a-kán DUG¹iš-pa-an-du-uz-zi-ja še-ir a[r-̣a
63. ̣u-u-ma-an-pát DINGIR^{LIM}-ni EGIR-pa ma-ni-ja-aḥ-tén
 nam-ma-aš-ma-aš PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM} me-mi-an
 C m]a-ni-ja-aḥ-tén nam-ma-aš-ma-aš
 PA-NI DIN[GIR^{LIM}
 H PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM}]^{LIM(1)}-ni ma-ni-ja-aḥ-ti nam-ma-aš-ma-aš

¹³⁹ Süel reads -aš.

¹⁴⁰ Süel reads uncertain -i.

¹⁴¹ This line, no. 62 of col. i in copy A, is the first line of col. ii in copy C.

64. [me]-mi-eš-tén ku-i-iš-ua-ká[(n)] [(t)]u-e-el DINGIR^{LIM}-az
 NINDA har-ši-ja-az
 C [ku-iš-ua-k]án tu-e-el DINGIR^{LIM}-az NINDA har-ši-ja[-az]
 H []e-l-el DINGIR^{LIM}-az NINDA har-ši-ja-az
65. [DUG] iš-pa-a ln-du-uz-zi-az da-a-aš [n]u-ua-ra-an-kán¹⁴² DINGIR^{LIM}
 EN-IA EGIR-an
 C []x-az da-a-aš nu-ua-ra-an-kán DINGIR^{LIM} EN-IA []
 H iš-pa-an-du-zi[]
66. [uš-ga-¹⁴³(aḥ-ḥu-ut)] nu-ua-za-kán a-pé-e-el É-lir GAM-an ša-ra-a
 e-ep-du
 C []u[]t nu-ua-za-kán a-pé-e-el É-lir kat-ta-an ša-[ra-a]
 H []aḥ-ḥu-ut nu-ua-za-kán a-pé-e-el-la¹⁴⁴

Col. ii¹⁴⁵
 §6/2

1. A [nu a-aš-ša-a(n¹⁴⁶ ma-a-an a-pé-e-da-ni UD⁷⁷ a-da-an-na a-ku-ua-an-n)a]
 C¹⁴⁷ [-a]n ma-a-an a-pé-e-da-ni UD⁷⁷ a-da-an-na a-ku-ua[-an-na]
 H []a¹-pé-e-da-ni UD⁷⁷ GU₇-na a-ku-ua-an-n[a]
2. [tar-aḥ-te-ni¹⁴⁸ na-a(t e-iz-za-tén e-ku-ut-tén ma-a-na-at Ú-UL-ma
 tar-aḥ-te-ni)]
 C []x e-iz-za-tén e-ku-ut-tén ma-a-na-at Ú-UL-ma
 tar-aḥ-t[e-ni]
 H []n]a-at Ú-UL-ma
 tar-aḥ-te-ni
3. [na-at I-NA¹⁴⁹ (UD 3.KAM az-zi-ik-ki-it-tén ak-ku-uš-ki-it-tén)]
 C []UD 3¹.KAM az-zi-ik-ki-it-tén ak-ku-uš-ki-it-tén
 H []i²-tén
4. [(NINDA pí-ja-an-ta-al-la-an-ma) šu-me-eš A-NA DAM¹⁵⁰(^{MEŠ}-ŠU-NU¹⁵¹

¹⁴² Added above the line.

¹⁴³ Süel's restoration: pá-r-ḥi-eš-ga-(aḥ-ḥu-ut) is not attested elsewhere.

¹⁴⁴ Col. i of copy H does not end here, but rather continues to line 8 of col. ii. For that reason col. ii can be regarded as a continuation of the content of paragraph 6, and is marked also §6.

¹⁴⁵ The numbering of this column accords with the assumed lines of tablet KUB 13.4 and not with its published numbering. The numbers are a combination of KUB 13.4 and 5. See also the previous note on copy H.

¹⁴⁶ For this possible restoration see Commentary (3.8). Sturtevant's restoration is ḥu-u-ma-an. Another possible restoration following other paragraphs beginnings is nam-ma-ká(n).

¹⁴⁷ KUB 13.5 col. ii 6 has no divider after line 5, until line 16 = A ii line 10.

¹⁴⁸ Sturtevant's restoration.

¹⁴⁹ Sturtevant's restoration, p. 152.

¹⁵⁰ Süel's restoration.

- DUMU^{MEŠ}-ŠU-NU SAG.GÉME.ARAD^{MEŠ}-ŠU-NU]
 C []^{MEŠ}-ŠU-NU¹⁵² DUMU^{MEŠ} ŠU-NU SAG.GÉME.ARAD^{MEŠ}-ŠU-NU]
 H NINDA pí¹⁵³-ja-an-ta-al-la-an-ma
5. [le-e pé-eš-te-ni¹⁵⁴(KAŠ GEŠTIN-ma-kán DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš^{GIŠ} kat-ta-lu-uz-zi
 le-e-pát)]
 C [-ká]n DINGIR^{MEŠ}-[aš^{GIŠ}] kat-ta-lu-uz-zi
 H []KAŠ.GEŠTIN-ma-kán DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš^{GIŠ} kat-ta-lu-uz-zi
6. [šar-ra-at-te-ni¹⁵⁶(ma-a-an LÚ Ú-BA-RUM-ma ku-e-da-ni ú-iz-zi na-aš
 ma-a-an)]
 C []ma-a-an LÚ Ú-BA-RUM-ma ku-e-da-ni ú-iz-zi
 H []ku-e-d]a-ni-ki ú-iz-zi na-aš ma-a-an
7. [I-NA¹⁵⁷(É.DINGIR^{LIM} ša-ra-a pa-a-u-ua-aš DINGIR^{MEŠ}-na-aš-kán
 LUGAL-aš-ša^{<GIŠ>} kat-ta-lu-u)z-zi (šar-ra-aš-ki-i)]t-ta
 C []É.DINGIR^{LIM} ša-ra-a pa-a-u-ua-aš [DINDIR^{MEŠ}-n]a-aš-kán
 H []DINDIR^{MEŠ}-[ká]n kat-ta-lu-u[z-zi]
8. [(na-an) a-pa-a-š(a¹⁵⁸ ša-ra-a) pé-e-ḥu-te¹⁵⁹(-id-du nuGU₇-ki-id-du
 ak-ku-uš)-ki-id-d(u ma-a-an-ma-aš)]
 C []na-an [a-pa-a-š]a ša-ra-a [] nu GU₇-ki-id-du
 ak-ku-uš[-ki-id-d]u
 C []ma-a-an-ma-aš
 H []-id-du nu az-zi-k[i-id-du]¹⁶⁰
9. [LÚ a-ra-aḥ-zé¹⁶¹ n(a-aš Ú-UL-aš URU Ḥa-at-tu-ša-aš DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU
 DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš ti)-ja]-zi
 C []n]a-aš Ú-UL-aš URU Ḥa-at-tu-ša-aš [DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU
 DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš ti)-ja]-zi]

¹⁵¹ Should be read *KU-NU* through the sentence.

¹⁵² Should be read *KU-NU* through the sentence.

¹⁵³ Over erasure.

¹⁵⁴ Sturtevant's restoration.

¹⁵⁵ Puhvel, *HED* 4: 124 reads here (KUB 13.5 ii 10) ŠJA DINGIR^{MEŠ}-m[a^{GIŠ}] kat-ta-lu-uz-zi le-e-pát["but the gods' threshold let no[body else cross]". However, from the photograph of the tablet the signs look more like -ká]n DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš; thus also Süel, p. 34.

¹⁵⁶ Süel's restoration: šar-ra-at-ta meaning "to cross". But see col. i 58, where the subject is a warning against dividing and distributing the offering to the gods. See commentary.

¹⁵⁷ Sturtevant's restoration.

¹⁵⁸ Sturtevant's restoration.

¹⁵⁹ Sturtevant's restoration.

¹⁶⁰ End of col. i in this copy.

¹⁶¹ Sturtevant's restoration.

10. [na-aš a-ku ku-iš ku-i¹⁶²(š pé-e-ḥu-te-iz-zi-ma na-at-ši SAG.DU-aš ag-ga)-tar]
 C []x pé-e-ḥu-te-iz-zi-ma na-at-ši SAG.DU-aš ag-ga-[tar]

§7

11. [ma-a-an GU₄ na-aš-ma¹⁶³ (UDU ku-iš DINGIR^{LIM}-ni a-da-an-na u-un-na-an-za)]
 C¹⁶⁴ []UDU ku-iš DINGIR^{LIM}-ni a-da-an-na u-un-na-an-za
12. [(šū-ma-aš-ma-ká)n n(a-aš-šu GU₄.ŠE na-aš-ma UDU.ŠE ar-ḥa e-ep-te-)]ni
 B¹⁶⁵ šū-ma-aš-ma-ká[n
 C []a-aš-šu GU₄.ŠE na-aš-ma UDU.ŠE ar-ḥa e-ep-te-ni
13. [(šū-ma-aš-ma-az ku-i)n (ma-ak-la-an-da-an mar-kán ḥ)]ar-te-ni
 B šū-ma-aš-ma-az ku-i[n
 C []ma-ak-la-an-da-an mar-kán ḥar-te-ni
14. [(na-an-kán an-da tar-na-a)t-te-ni nu a-p(u-u-un GU₄)] na-aš-šu ar-ḥa
 B na-an-kán an-da tar-na-a[t?
 C na-an-kán an-d[a] []a-p[u-u-un GU₄ na-aš-šu ar-ḥa
15. [(e-ez-za-at-te-ni na-aš-ma-an-za-an-kán ḥa-a-li)] an-da tar-na-at-te-ni
 B na-aš-ma-an-za-an-kán ḥa-a-li a[n
 C e-ez-za-at-te-ni[]ḥa-a-li an-da tar-na-at-te-ni
16. [(na-aš-ma-an-za-an-kán i-ú-ki GAM-an da-a-it-te-ni)]¹⁶⁶
 B GAM-an da-a-it-te-ni
 C na-aš-ma-an-za-an-kán i-ú-ki []-t[e-ni
17. [(na-aš-ma-an-za-an-kán UDU a-ša-u-ni an-da tar-na-at-te-n)]i
 B na-aš-ma-an-za-an-ká[n
 C na-aš-ma-za-kán UDU a-ša-u-ni an-da tar-na-at-te-ni
18. [(na-aš-ma-an-za-an-kán ku-en-na-at-te-ni nu-za ZI)]^{167A}-KU-NU SIG₅-in
 B na-aš-ma-an-za-an-kán ku-en-na-at-te-ni [

¹⁶² Sturtevant's restoration.¹⁶³ Sturtevant's restoration.¹⁶⁴ KUB 13.5 col. ii 17.¹⁶⁵ KUB 13.6 col. ii 1.¹⁶⁶ On copy A the space between lines 9-12 shows 2 lines missing, though we indicate only one line missing. See Süel, p. 38 n. 89.

- C ku-]en-na-at-te-ni nu-za ZI^{167A}-KU-NU SIG₅-in
19. [i-ja-at-te-ni¹⁶⁷ (na-aš-ma-an-za-an-kán ta-me-ta-ni U)]KÙ-ši
 B na-aš-ma-an-za-an-kán ta-me-ta-ni U[KÙ
 C []-ma-an-kán ta-me-e-da-ni UKÙ-ši
20. [(ḡa-aḥ-nu-ma-an-zi) pé-eš-te-ni¹⁶⁸ (nu-za-kán ŠÁM še-i)]r da-at-te-ni
 B nu-za-kán ŠÁM še-ir da-at-te-ni
 C ḡa-aḥ-nu-ma-an-zi[]ŠÁM še-ir da-at-te-ni
21. [(na-aš-ta DINGIR^{LIM}-ni) ḡzu-u-ḡa-an a-pa-a¹⁶⁹(at) KAXU-it pa-ra-a SUD-at-te-ni
 B [na-aš-ta]a DI[NGIR]KAXU-it pa-ra-a
 ḡu-u-it-ti-ja-at-te-ni
 C na-aš-ta DINGIR^{LIM}-ni[]-at KAXU-it pa-ra-a
 ḡu-u-it-ti-at-te-ni
22. na-an-za [ḡu-me-el ZI-ni pé-eš-te-ni¹⁷⁰ (n)]a-aš-ma-an ta-me-e-da-ni
 B na-an[] na-aš-ma-an [ta]-me-e-da-ni
 pé-eš-te-ni
23. nu ki-iš[(-ša-an) pé-e-(da-at-te-ni)]¹⁷¹ DINGIR^{LIM}-ḡa-ra-aš ku-it [nu]-ḡa UL
 B nu ki-iš-[-ša-an][] DINGIR^{LIM}-ḡa-ra-[]-it nu-ḡa Ú-UL
 C []-da-at-te-ni DINGIR^{LIM}-ḡa-ra-aš ku-it nu-ut Ú-UL
24. ku-it-ki [(me-ma-i nu-ḡa-an-na-aš)] UL ku-it-ki i-[(ja)]-zi
 B ku-it-ki me-ma-i nu-ḡa-an-na[a] ku-it-ki i-ja-zi
 C ku-it-ki[]-a]š Ú-UL ku-it-ki i-ja-zi
25. nu-za UKÙ-an[(-na a-ú ZI-aš-ták-ká)]n ku-iš ḡzu-u-[(ḡa-an) I]GI^{167A}-ḡa-az
 B nu-za UKÙ-an-na a-ú ZI-aš-ták-kán ku-i[š]
 IGI^{167A}-az
 C nu-za UKÙ-an-na a-ú [] ḡzu-u-ḡa-an IGI^{167A}-ḡa-az

¹⁶⁷ Süel, p. 131 (commentary) adds this verb on the basis of the idiom SIG₅-in ija-.¹⁶⁸ Süel's restoration.¹⁶⁹ Süel's restoration, following partly Sturtevant: ḡzu-u-ḡa-an ku-ḡa-at.¹⁷⁰ Süel's restoration. Sturtevant suggests: na-an-za ar-ḥa da-at-te-ni.¹⁷¹ Süel's restoration: [an-da pí-e]-da-at-te-ni. This restoration is based on C which has: ja at-te-ni, and also on col. iv 48, 70. Sturtevant's restoration [me-ma]-at-te-ni seems to fit more the space, but the -da sign suggests pé-e-da-at-te-ni, without the an-da.

26. pa-ra-a pít-[(ti-nu-zi) nu EGI(R-a)]n-da ma-aḥ-ḥa-an [(e-eš-š)]a-a-i
 B pa-ra-a pít-ti-nu-zi [nu EGI]R- an-da ma-aḥ-ḥa-an e[
 C pa-ra-a pít-ti-nu-zi [ḥ]a-an e-eš-ša-a-i
27. DINGIR^{MES}-aš-ma Z[(I-an-za da-aš-šu)]-uš nu e-ep-pu-u-ḡa-a[n]-zi
 UL nu-un-tar-nu-z[i]
 B DINGIR^{MES}-aš-ma ZI-an-za da-aš-šu-[uš nu] e-ep-pu-u-ḡa-an-zi
 Ú-UL
 C DINGIR^{MES}-aš-ma ZI-an-za da-aš-š[u]]-zi
 Ú-UL nu-un-tar-nu-zi
28. e-ep-zi-[(ma ku-e-d)]a-ni me-e-ḥu-ni nu nam-ma ar-ḥa
 B e-ep-zi-ma ku-e-da-ni me-e-ḥu-ni nu nam-ma ar-ḥa
 C e-ep-zi-ma [-ḥ]u-ni nu nam-ma ar-ḥa
29. UL tar-na-a[(-i nu-za)] DINGIR^{MES}-aš ZI-ni me-ik-ki na-aḥ-ḥa-an-te-eš
 e-eš-tén
 B Ú-UL ta[r-]nu-za DINGIR^{MES}-aš ZI-ni me-ik-ki na-aḥ-ḥa-an-te-eš
 e-eš-tén
 C Ú-UL tar-na-a-i [-n]i me-ik-ki na-aḥ-ḥa-an-te-eš
 e-eš-tén
 G¹⁷² [na]-aḥ-ḥa-an-te'-eš[]

§8

30. an-da-ma DINGIR^{MES}-a[(š ku)]-it KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN TÚG^{TUM}
 Ú-NU-UT ZABAR
 B an-da-ma DINGIR^{MES}-aš ku-it KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN TÚG^{TUM}
 Ú-NU-UT ZABAR
 C []-it KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN TÚG^{TUM}
 Ú-NU-UT ZABAR
 G []x DINGIR^{MES}-aš ku-it KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN []
31. šu-ma-aš ḥar-te-ni nu-za LÚ^{MES} ÛMMEDA -KU-NU nu-za DINGIR^{MES}-aš
 KÙ.BABBAR-i GUŠKIN-i
 B šu-ma-aš ḥar-te-ni nu-za LÚ^{MES} ÛMMEDA -KU-NU nu-za DINGIR^{MES}-aš
 KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN
 C šu-ma-aš [ḥar]-[te¹-[ni]]]-NU nu-za DINGIR^{MES}-aš
 KÙ.BABBAR-i GUŠKIN-i
 G [LÚ¹]^{MES} ÛMMEDA -KU-NU nu-za DINGIR^M[^{ES}
32. TÚG-i Ú-NU-UT ZABAR e-eš-zi NU.GÁL ku-it-kán DINGIR^{MES}-aš pár-ni
 B TÚG^{U1[A]} Ú-NU-UT ZABAR e-eš-zi NU.GÁL ku-it-kán DINGIR^{MES}-aš pár-ni
 C TÚG-i Ú-NU-UT ZA[BAR] [] ku-i]t-kán DINGIR^{MES}-na-aš pár-ni
 G []x NU.GÁL ku-it-kán []

¹⁷² KUB 31.93.

33. an-da NU.GÁL ku-it ku-it DINGIR^{LIM}-ni-ma-at e-eš-zi-pát
 B an-da NU.G[ÁL] ku-it ku-it DINGIR^{LIM}-ni-ma-at e-eš-zi-pát
 C [-a]t e-eš-zi-pát
 G an-da NU.GÁL ku-it [ku-i]t DINGIR^{LIM}-ni-ma-at 'e[]
34. nu-za me-ik-ki na-aḥ-ḥa-an-te-eš e-eš-tén nu A-NA^{LÚ} É.DINGIR^{LIM}
 KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN
 B nu-za me-ik-ki na-aḥ-ḥa-an-te-e[š] nu A-NA^{LÚ} É.DINGIR^{LIM}
 KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN
 C nu-za me-ik-ki na-aḥ-ḥa-a[n-t]e-[]^{LÚ} É.]DINGIR^{LIM}
 KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN
 G []x^{LÚ} É.DINGIR^{LIM}
 K[Ù.BABBAR
35. le-e-pát e-eš-zi A-NA NÍ.TE-ŠU-za-at-kán an-da le-e-pát
 B le-e e-eš-zi A-NA NÍ.TE-ŠU-z[a] an-da le-e-pát
 C le-e-pát e-e[š] -]kán an-da le-e-pát
 G [-z]a-at-kán an[-
36. pé-e-da-a-i A-NA DAM-ŠU-ja-an-za-an DUMU-ŠU ú-nu-ḡa-aš-ḥa-an
 B pé-e-da-i A-NA DAM-ŠU-ja-an-za-an DUMU^{MES}-ŠU ú-n[u
 C pé-e-[-a]n DUMU-ŠU ú-nu-ḡa-aš-ḥa-an
37. le-e i-ja-zi ma-a-an-ma-aš-ši IŠ-TU É.[G]AL^{LIM} AŠ-ŠUM NÍG.BA-ŠU
 B le-e i-ja-zi ma-a-an-ma-aš-ši IŠ-TU É.GAL^{LIM} AŠ-ŠUM NÍG.BA-ŠU [É.]
 C le-[e É.]GAL^{LIM}-ma AŠ-ŠUM NÍG.BA-ŠU [É.]
 G ḥ]a-aš¹⁷³ le-e [i]l[-
38. KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN TÚG^{TUM} Ú-NU-UT ZABAR pí-an-zi¹⁷⁴ na-at
 lam-ni-[(i)]a-an e-eš-du
 B KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN TÚG^{TUM} Ú-NU-UT ZABAR pí-an-zi na-at
 lam-ni-ja-an 'e[]-eš-du
 C [pí-a]n-zi na-at
 G []x GUŠKIN[]
39. ka-a-aš-ḡa-ra-at-ši LUGAL-uš pa-iš KILÁ.BI-ŠU-ja-[(at)] ma-ši-ḡa-an
 B [k]a-a-aš-ḡa-ra-at-ši LUGAL-uš pa-iš KILÁ.BI-ŠU-ja-at ma-ši-ḡa-[
 C [-u]š pa-iš KILÁ.BI-ŠU-ja-[a-
40. na-at i-ja-an-pát e-eš-du nam-ma ki-iš-ša-an-na i-ja-an e-eš-du
 B na-at i-ja-an-pát e-eš-[du] nam-ma (erasure) ki-iš-ša-an i-ja-an
 e-eš-d[u]
 C [-d]u nam-ma ki-iš[]

¹⁷³ The -aš sign can be seen clearly on the photo.¹⁷⁴ This word was inserted above the line.

41. ki-e-da-ni-ya-ra-at-ši A-NA EZEN₄ SUM-ir ku-ut-ru-u-uš-ša EGIR-an
B ki-e-da-ni-ya-ra-at-ši A-NA EZEN₄ SUM-ir ku-ut-ru-ya-aš-ša i-ja-an-te-eš[
C [A-NA]A EZEN₄ SUM-[ir
42. i-ja-an-te-eš a-ša-an-du SUM-ir-ya-at-ši¹⁷⁵ ku-ya-pí nu-ya ka-a-aš
B SUM-ir-ya-at-ši ku-ya-pí nu-ya ka-a-aš
C []x
43. ka-a-aš-ša a-ra-an-ta-at nam-ma-at-za-kán ŠĀ É⁷⁷ le-e-pát
B ka-a-aš-ša a-ra-an-ta-at nam-ma-at-za-kán ŠĀ É⁷⁷ le-e-pát
44. da-a-li-ja-zi pa-ra-a-pát-za uš-ša-ni-ja-ad-du
B ta-a-li-ja-zi pa-ra-a-pát-za uš-ša-ni-ja-ad-du
45. uš-ša-ni-ja-zi-ma-at-za ku-ya-pí na-at har-ya-ši le-e uš-ni-ja-zi
B uš-ša-ni-ja-zi-ma-at-za ku-ya-pí na-at har-ya-ši pí-di le-e uš-ša-ni-ja-zi
46. EN^{MEŠ} URU¹ Ha-at-ti a-ra-an-ta-ru nu uš-kán-du nu-za ku-it
B EN^{MEŠ} URU¹ Ha-at-ti a-ra-an-ta-ru nu uš-kán-du nu-za ku-it
47. ya-ši-ja-zi na-at GIŠ.HUR i-ja-an-du na-at-kán¹⁷⁶ pí-ra-an ši-ja-an-du
B ya-ši-ja-zi na-at GIŠ.HUR i-ja-an-du na-at-kán pí-ra-an ši-ja-an-du
48. ma-aḥ-ha-an-ma-kán LUGAL-uš URU¹ Ha-at-tu-ši ša-ra-a ú-iz-zi
B GIM-an-ma-kán LUGAL-uš URU¹ Ha-at-tu-ši ša-ra-a ú-iz-zi
E¹⁷⁷ []Ha-at-[
49. na-at I-NA É.GAL^{LIM} pa-ra-a e-ep-du na-at-ši ši-ja-an-du
B na-at I-NA É.GAL^{LIM} pa-ra-a e-ep-du na-at-ši ši-ja-an-du
E [e]-ep-du
50. ma-a-na-at-za ZI-az-za-ma ha-ap-pí-ra-iz-zi na-at-ši SAG.DU-aš ÚŠ-tar
B ma-a-na-at-za ZI-a[z ḥ]ha-ap-pí-ra-iz-zi na-at-ši SAG.DU-aš ag-ga-tar
E [ha-ap-]pí-ra-iz[]
51. ku-iš-ma-za NÍG.BA LUGAL UL ha-ap-pí-ra-a-iz-zi ŠUM LUGAL-kán
ku-e-da-ni¹⁷⁸
B ku-iš-ma-za NÍG.B[A] ha-ap-pí-ra-iz-zi ŠUM LUGAL-kán
ku-e-da-ni
E []-ap-pí-r[a
52. GUL-ša-an nu-za QA-TAM-MA-pát KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN TÚG^{TUM}
Ú-NU-UT ZABAR

¹⁷⁵ Süel corrects to SUM-ir-ya-<ra>-at-ši.¹⁷⁶ The particle is inserted above the line.¹⁷⁷ KUB 13. 18 col. ii.¹⁷⁸ Written over an erasure.

- B GUL-ša-an n[u-] KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN TÚG^{TUM} Ú-NU-UT
ZABAR
E [KÙ.BABB]AR GUŠKIN[
53. ha-ap-pí-ra-a-iz-zi ku-iš-ma-an e-ep-zi na-an mu-un-na-a-iz-zi
B ha-ap-pí-ra-iz-zi ku-iš-m¹a-an¹ []na-an mu-un-na-iz-zi
E []x-é'-z[i]
54. na-an LUGAL-an a-aš-ka UL ú-ya-te-iz-zi nu-uš<-ma>-ša-at 2-aš-pát
B na-an LUGAL-an a-aš-ka Ú[-UL] nu-uš-¹ma¹-ša-at x[
E [U]L ú-y[a-]
55. SAG.DU-aš ÚŠ-tar 2-uš-pát-at ak-kán-du DINGIR^{LIM}-na-ša-at NU.GÁL?[
B SAG].DU-aš ÚŠ-tar []xx[]xx
E [-u]š?
56. nu-uš-ma-aš EGIR-pa ya-aḥ-nu-mar le-e-pát e-eš-zi
B [-z]i
E []le-e ¹e⁷l-[
-
- §9
57. an-da-ma-za šu-ma-aš ku-i-e-eš LÚ^{MEŠ} É.DINGIR^{LIM} nu ma-a-an
EZEN₄^{M[ES]}
B []
E []-a-uš¹⁷⁹]x
58. EZEN₄-aš me-e-ḥu-u-ni UL e-eš-ša-at-te-ni nu EZEN₄
ha-me-eš-ha-[an-da-aš]
E [m]e-iš-ha[]
59. [I-]NA zé-e-ni i-ja-at-te-ni EZEN₄ zé-e-na-an-da-aš I-[NA]
60. ha-me-eš-ḥi e-eš-ša-at-te-ni nu ma-a-an EZEN₄ i-ja-u-an-zi
me-e-[ḥ(u-na)-a]š
E []-iš-ḥi []
-ḥ]u-ú-n[a-aš]
61. me-e-ḥu-u-ni a-ra-an-za na-[a]n i-ja-zi ku-iš na-aš šu-ma-as
62. A-NA LÚ^{MEŠ}SANGA LÚ^{MEŠ}GU[DU₁₂ MU]NUS^{MEŠ}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}
nu-uš-ma-aš¹⁸⁰ A-NA LÚ^{MEŠ}É.[DINGIR^{LIM}]
63. ú-iz-zi nu-uš-ma-aš-za gi-e-nu-uš-šu-uš e-ep-zi BURU^{MEŠ}-ya-l mul-kán

¹⁷⁹ The -uš sign is seen clearly on the photo.¹⁸⁰ Sturtevant, p.154.

64. pí-ra-an na-aš-šu(erasure) ku-ša-a-ta na-aš-šu KASKAL-aš na-aš-ma ta-ma-i
65. ku-it-ki ut-tar nu-ya-mu EGIR-pa ti-ja-at-tén nu-ya-mu-kán a-ši
66. ku-it-ma-an me-mi-aš pí-ra-an ar-ja ti-ja-ad-du
67. ma-aḥ-ja-an-ma-ya-mu-kán a-ši me-mi-aš pí-ra-an ar-ja ti-ja-zi
68. nu-ya EZEN₄ QA-TAM-MA i-ja-mi na-aš-ta UKÙ-aš ZI-ni le-e-pát
69. i-ja-at-te-ni le-e-aš-ma-aš-kán u-ya-it-ta-ri
J¹⁸¹ -r]i
70. nu-uš-ma-aš DINGIR^{MES}-aš ZI-ni ja-ap-pár le-e da-at-te-ni
J nu-uš-^fma-aš DINGIR^M]ES
71. nu-kán šu-ma-aš UKÙ-aš u-ya-it-ta-ri ja-ap-pár-ra-aš-ma-aš da-at-te-ni
J nu-kán šu-um-ma-aš UK[Ù
72. DINGIR^{MES}-ma-kán šu-ma-aš I-NA EGIR UD^M an-da ša-an-ḥi-eš-kán-zi
J D]NGIR^{MES}-ma-at-kán šu-um-ma[i]š-kán-zi
73. nu-uš-ma-ša-at A-NA ZI^{HLA}-KU-NU DAM^{MES}-KU-NU DUMU^{MES}-KU-NU
J SAG.GÉM[E.AR]AD^{MES}-KU-NU]DUMU^{MES}-KU-NU
SAG.[GÉME
74. i-da-a-la-u-an-ni-pát a-ra-an-ta-ri na-aš-ta DINGIR^{MES}-aš-pát ZI-ni
J []-^fta^l DINGIR^M]ES
75. i-ja-at-tén nu NINDA-an e-iz-za-at-te-ni ya-a-tar-ma e-ku-ut-te-n[i]
76. É-ir-ra-za i-ja-at-te-ni UKÙ-aš-ma-at-kán ZI-ni le-^fe^l-[pát i-ⁱ]a-at-te-ni
F¹⁸² []x-az [
77. nu-za ÚŠ-tar le-e uš-ni-ja-at-te-ni ÚŠ-tar-ma-za ya-a-ši-ⁱ[a-at-te]-ni
F [u]š-ni-ja-at-x[

§10/1

78. an-da-ma-za šu-me-eš ku-i-e-eš LÚ^{MES}É.DINGIR^{LIM} nu-za ja-li-ⁱ[a-aš]
F [an-d]a-ma-za šu-me-eš ku-[

¹⁸¹ HT 28.¹⁸² KUB 31.94.

79. ud-da-ni-i me-ik-ki pa-aḥ-ja-aš-ša-nu-ya-an-te-eš e-^feš^l-tén
F [me-i]k-ki pa-aḥ-ša-n[u
80. nu ne-ku-uz me-e-ḥu-u-ni ḥu-da-a-ak GAM pa-it-tén
F []-da-ak kat-ta pa-[
81. ^fnu^l e-iz-za-tén e-ku-ut-tén ma-a-an-na MUNUS-aš ut-tar
ku-e-da-ni-i[k-ki]
F []-an-na MUNUS-na-aš u[t-
82. t[ar-ḥ]u-u[z-z]i¹⁸³ na-aš-za MUNUS-ni-i GAM-an še-eš-du
F []x ^fMUNUS -ni-i^l [

Col. III

§10/2

1. [nam]-ma-aš-ta ku-it-ma-an ^dU[TU-uš ša-ra-a nu-za ḥu-u-da-ak
ya-ar-ap¹⁸⁴]-du
2. [n]a-aš¹⁸⁵ I-NA É.DINGIR^{LIM} še-e-šu-u-an-zi ḥ[u-u-da-ak š]a-ra-a ú-id-du
D¹⁸⁶ []-u-ya-an-^fzi^l [š]a
3. ku-i-ša-aš ku-iš^{LÚ} É.DINGIR^{LIM} LÚ^{MES}SANGA [GAL.GAL
L]Ú^{MES}SANGA.TUR.TUR
D k]u-iš-ša-aš ku-iš^{LÚ} É.DINGIR^{LIM} [L]Ú^{MES}SANGA.TUR.TUR
4. LÚ^{MES}GUDU₁₂ ḥu-u-ma-an-te-eš [(k)]u-iš-pát-kán ^fim-ma ku^l-iš
DINGIR^{MES}-aš
D LÚ^{MES}GUDU₁₂ [-e]š ku-iš-pát-kán im-ma DINGIR^{MES}-aš
5. ^{GIŠ}ka-ta-lu-uz-zi šar-ri-eš-ki-iz-zi nu 1-aš 1-aš I-NA É.DINGIR^{LIM}
D []-^fzi^l šar-ri-iš-ki-iz-zi nu 1-aš 1-aš
6. ša-ra-a še-e-šu-u-ya-an-zi le-e-pát kar-aš-ta-ri
D ša-r]a-a še-šu-u-ya-an-zi le-e [
7. nam-ma-kán GE₆-az LÚ^{MES} ú-e-<ḥi>-eš-[k]at-tal-li-iš da-an-te-eš
a-ša-an-du

¹⁸³ This reading is suggested by Hoffner (1997b) 61 n. 203, who reads here t[arḥ]u[zz]i. The signs tar-ḥu-uz-zi fit much better the remaining space at the beginning of the line than the e-[eš]-zi suggested by Süel.¹⁸⁴ Süel's restoration. Sturtevant restores: [nu-u]š-ma-aš ku-it-ma-an K[U]Š^{HL} ^fA SIG₃ nu a-ša-an]-du. Süel's restoration is based on lines 71-72 of this column, dealing with the same idea: bathing first thing once the sun is up.¹⁸⁵ Sturtevant, p. 156: [n]a-aš-<ta>.¹⁸⁶ A fragment published by P. Hulin which may have joined KUB 26.31.

- D nam]-ma-kán iš-pa-an-da-az-za []-li-iš ta-a-an-te-eš
a-ša-an-du
8. nu GE₆-an hu-u-ma-an-da-an ú-e-ḫi-eš-kán-du
D hu-u-ma-an-da-an ú-e-ḫi-eš-kán-du
9. nu a-ra-aḫ-za ḫa-a-li LÚ^{MES}ḫa-li-ja-at-tal-liš uš-kán-du
D []-li LÚ^{MES}ḫa-li-ja-at-tal-liš
10. an-[d]ur-za-ma É^{MES}DINGIR^{MES} LÚ^{MES}É.DINGIR^{LIM} GE₆-an
hu-u-ma-an-[d]a-an
D]-za-ma É^{MES}DINGIR^{MES} LÚ^{MES}É.DINGIR^{LIM} [-a]n-da-an
11. ú-e-ḫi-eš-kán-du nu-uš-ma-aš Û-aš le-e e-eš-zi
D ú-e-ḫi-eš-kán-du []-e e-eš-zi
12. GE₆-ti GE₆-ti-ma 1 LÚ^{MES}SANGA.GAL LÚ^{MES}ú-e-ḫi-eš-ga-at-tal-la-aš
D iš-pa-an-ti [] LÚ^{MES}ú-e-ḫi-eš-kat-tal-l[a-aš]
13. pí-ra-an hu-u-¹ja¹-an-za e-eš-du nam-ma-ma ku-i-e-eš
LÚ^{MES}SANGA
D []nam-ma-ma ku-i-¹e¹
14. nu-za ku-iš-ša¹⁸⁷ [K]Á É.DINGIR^{LIM} e-eš-du nu-za É.DINGIR^{LIM} pa-aḫ-ša-ru
D []¹e¹-eš-du []
15. ŠÀ É-ŠU-ma-za a[n-d]a IT-TI DAM-ŠU¹⁸⁸ le-e ku-iš-ki še-eš-zi
16. ku-in-ma I-NA É-ŠU GAM-an ú-e-mi-an-zi na-at-ši SAG.DU-aš ya-aš-túl
17. nu É^{MES}DINGIR^{MES} me-ik-ki mar-ri pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-tén nu-uš-ma-aš
te-eš-ḫa-aš
18. le-e e-eš-zi nam-ma-aš-ma-aš ḫa-a-li ar-ḫa šar-ra-an e-eš-du
19. na-aš-ta ku-e-da-ni ḫa-a-li ya-aš-túl an-da ki-i-ša
D¹⁸⁹ []-d]a ¹ki¹ []
20. na-aš a-ku le-e-ja-aš-kán ú-e-ḫi-ta-ri

§11

21. URU¹ḫa-at-<tu>-ši-ma-kán ku-e-da-ni ku-iš ša-ak-la-a-iš še-ir

¹⁸⁷ Süel reads: *ku-iš ŠA*.

¹⁸⁸ Last four signs are written over an erasure.

¹⁸⁹ KUB 26.31.

- D [] ša-ak-la-a-i[š]
22. ma-a-an^{LÚ}SANGA^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂ LÚ^{MES}ḫa-li-ja-at-tal-li-e-eš ku-i[š ku-iš¹⁹⁰]
D -l]i-ja-at-tal-li-¹e¹
23. tar-ni-eš-[k]i-iz-zi na-aš tar-ni-eš-ki-id-du-pát ma-a-an
LÚ¹ḫa-li-¹i[a]-at-tal-[la-aš]
D]-iš-ki-id-du-pát
24. ku-e-da-ni-[i]k-ki e-eš-zi na-aš ḫa-a-li pa-id-du-pát
D]-ni-ik-ki e-es-zi
25. ki-iš-[š]a-an le-e-pát te-iz-zi am-mu-uk-ya-za É.DINGIR^{LIM}IA
D [š]a-an le-e-pát []-¹A
26. pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ḫi a-pí-ja-ma-ya UL pa-i-mi nu ma-a-an INIM^{LÚ}KÚR
ku-iš-ki
D pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ḫi¹⁹¹ []¹ma¹-a-an INIM^{LÚ}KÚR
27. URU¹ḫa-at-tu-ša-an-za-kán za-am-mu-ra-u-ya-an-zi ku-iš-ki ti-iš-ki-iz-zi
D [] za-am-mu-ra-u-ya-an-zi
28. na-an a-ra-aḫ-zé-na-aš BÀD-aš UL ú-ya-an-zi nu a-pu-u-uš
LÚ^{MES}É.DINGIR^{LIM}
D []-aḫ-zé-na-aš BÀD-aš
LÚ^{MES}É.DINGIR^{LIM}
29. an-dur-za ú-ya-an-zi LÚ¹ḫa-li-ja-at-tal-la-aš-ši pa-id-du-pát
D an-d[ur-za ¹⁹²]-ši pa-¹id¹-[du-pát]
30. a-pa-a-aš-ma A-NA DINGIR^{LIM}-ŠU ša-ra-a še-e-šu-u-an-zi le-e
kar-aš-ta-ri
E¹⁹³ []-z]i ¹le¹-e []
31. ták-¹ku¹-ya-aš kar-aš-ta-ri-ma na-an-kán ma-a-an UL ku-na-an-zi
C¹⁹⁴ []¹na-an-kán¹ ma-a-an Ú-UL []
E []-a]n UL ku-[na-a]n-zi
32. lu-ri-ja-aḫ-ḫ[a-a]n-du-ma-an nu ne-ku-ma-an-za TÚG-aš-ši-kán
NÍ.TE-ši
C [] ne-k]u-ma-an-za TÚG-aš-ši-kán NÍ.TE[-ši]
E []¹x-¹ká¹n NÍ.TE-iš-š[i]

¹⁹⁰ Süel's restoration. Sturtevant restores: *ku-iš-ki*.

¹⁹¹ Süel, p. 58 n. 206.

¹⁹² Sturtevant, p. 158 adds here <DINGIR^{LIM}>-ši. I do not find this necessary.

¹⁹³ KUB 13.18 col. iii.

¹⁹⁴ KUB 13.5 col. iii.

33. an-[d]a le-le¹-pát e-eš-zi nu ȳa-a-tar 3-ŠU la-ba-ar-na-aš lu-li-ja-za
 C [] ȳa-a-tar 3-ŠU la-ba-ar-na-aš lu-l[i]
 E [] la-ba-ar-na-aš lu-[]
34. I-N[A] É.DINGIR^{LIM}-ŠU pé-e-da-a-ú nu-uš-ši a-pa-a-aš lu-ú-ri-eš e-eš-du
 C [] nu-uš-ši a-pa-a-aš lu-ú-ri-iš 'le-l-[
 E [] lu-ú-ri-iš e-eš-[]

§12

35. an-d[a]-ma-za [nam-m]a 'šu-me¹-eš LÚ^{MES}SANGA LÚ^{MES}GUDU₁₂
 MUNUS^{MES}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}
 C [] SANGA LÚ^{MES}GUDU₁₂
 E [] MUNUS^{MES}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}
 E [] MUNUS^{MES}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}
36. LÚ^{MES}É.DINGIR^{LIM} [1-2 words missing¹⁹⁵] [] túh-me-ja-an-za¹⁹⁶
 ŠÀ É.DINGIR^{LIM} na-aš-ma ta-me-e-da-ni
 C LÚ^{MES}É[
 ŠÀ É.DINGIR^{LIM} na-aš-ma ta-me-e-da-ni
 E DINGIR^{LIM} na-aš-ma ta-me-da-[ni]
37. '[(ka)]-ri-im-me ku-iš-ki ni-ik-zi na-aš-kán ma-a-an ŠÀ É.DINGIR^{LIM}
 C 'ka-ri-[m]a-a-an ŠÀ É.DINGIR^{LIM}
 E [m]a-a-an ŠÀ É.DINGIR^{LIM}
38. ni-ni-ik-ta-[(ri)] nu ḫal-[lu]-u-ȳa-a-in i-ja-zi na-aš-ta EZEN₄ za-aḫ-zi
 C ni-ni-ik-ta-ri[na]-aš-ta EZEN₄ za-aḫ-zi
 E [-t]a EZEN₄ za-aḫ-zi
39. na-an [(z)]a-ḫa-an-d[u nu nam-m¹⁹⁷]a a-pu-u-un EZEN₄ QA-DU
 GU₄ UDU NINDA KAŠ ša-ra-a
 C na-an za-ḫa-an[-du ša-r]a-a
 E]-a
40. ti-ja-¹an¹-[(d)]a-an [(i)]-ja-[(a)]d-du NINDA.SIG-ja-kán le-e
 ȳa-ak-ši-ja-nu-zi
 C ti-ja-an-da-an i-ja-ad-du[
 š]i-ja-nu-zi
 E ti-i-an-ta-a[t'
]x-[z]i
41. ku-iš-[(ša-an)]-za-an-kán m[u-t]a-a-iz-zi nu EZEN₄ ša-ra-a ti-ja-an-ta-an

¹⁹⁵ Süel, p. 60 reads here: nu [ma-a]n which is logical with the continuation.

¹⁹⁶ Süel, p. 60. See commentary.

¹⁹⁷ Sturtevant's restoration.

- C ku-iš-ša-an-za-an-kán [ša-r]a-a ti-ja-an-da-an
 E r]a-a ti-i-an-da (erasure)
42. 'UL¹ i-ja-[(zi)] n[a-a]t a-pé-e-da-ni me¹-ik-ki ȳa-aš-túl e-eš-du
 C 'UL i-ja-zi]x ȳa-aš-túl e-eš-du
 E [ȳa-a]š-túl e-eš-du
43. na-aš-ta [EZ]EN₄-[a]n ḫa-pu-uš-du nu-za ḫal-lu-ȳa-ja-za me-ik-ki
 na-aḫ-ḫa-an-te-eš e-eš-tén
 C na-aš-ta EZEN₄ [ḫal-lu]-ȳa-ja-za me-ik-ki
 E na-aḫ-ḫa-an-te-eš e-eš-tén me-ik-¹ki[

§13

44. an-d[a-m]a-z[a p]a-aḫ-ḫu-u-e-na-aš-ša ud-da-ni-i me-ik-ki
 na-aḫ-ḫa-an-te-eš e-eš-tén
 C [-š]a ud-da-ni-i me-ik-ki
 E na-aḫ-ḫa-an-te-eš e-eš-tén
45. na-aš-ta m[a]-a-an [ŠÀ] É.DINGIR^{LIM} EZEN₄ nu IZI me-ik-ki
 pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-tén
 C []^{LIM} EZEN₄ nu IZI me-ik-ki
 E pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-tén
46. ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-[m]a GE₆-[a]n-za ki-i-ša na-aš-ta pa-aḫ-ḫur ku-it
 A-NA GUNNI
 C [-š]a na-aš-ta pa-aḫ-ḫur ku-it
 E A-NA GUNN[I]
47. a-aš-zi na-at-k[á]n ú-e-da-an-da SIG₅-in ki-eš-ta-n[u]-ut-tén
 C 'a¹-[aš-z]i [-d]a SIG₅-in ki-iš-ta-nu-ut-tén
48. ma-a-an INIM [I]ZI-ma ša-an-na-pí ša-an-na-pí ku-it-ki
 [(ḫ)]a-da-an-ma GIŠ-ru
 C ma-a-an INIM [IZI-m]a [k]u-it-ki
 E ḫa-da-an-ma GIŠ-ru
49. na-at ku-[i]š ki[š]-ta-nu-zi na-aš-ta ku-c-[d]a-ni ŠÀ É.DINGIR^{LIM}-ŠU
 C na-at ku-iš [k]u-e-da-ni ŠÀ É.DINGIR^{LIM}-ŠU
50. ȳa-aš-túl ki-[š]a-ri 'nu¹ É.DINGIR^{LIM}-k[á]n im-ma l-an ḫar-ak-zi
 'ḫa-at-tu-ša-aš-ma
 C¹⁹⁸ ȳa-aš-túl ki-ša-ri nu É.DINGIR[-a]n ḫar-ak-zi
 E¹⁹⁸ 'ḫa-at-tu-ša-aš-ma

¹⁹⁸ KUB 31.95 + KUB 13.5 iii, line 21.

51. LUGAL-aš a-aš-šu *UL* ḥar-ak-zi nu ʔa-aš-túl ku-iš i-ja-zi na-aš
QA-DU NUMUN-ŠU
 B¹⁹⁹ LUGA]L-ʔa-aš a-aš-šu [*QA-DU*] NUMUN-ŠU
 C LUGAL-ʔa-aš a-aš-šu *Ú-UL* ḥa[r-ak-zi nu ʔa]-aš-túl ku-iš i-ja-zi na-aš
QA-DU NUMUN-ŠU
52. ḥar-ak-zi-pát ku-e-[š]a-at-kán ku-i-e-eš im-ma ŠÀ É.DINGIR^{LIM} nu 1-aš-ša
 B ḥar-ak-z[i-pát]-ša
 C ḥar-ak-z[i]-kán ku-i-e-eš im-ma ŠÀ É.DINGIR^{LIM} nu 1-aš-ša
53. TI-nu-ma-aš [(U)]L e-[e]š-zi *QA-DU* NUMUN-ŠU-at ḥar-kán-zi-pát
 B TI-nu-ma-aš *Ú-UL* 'e]l-
 C TI-nu-ma-aš[-z]i *QA-DU* NUMUN-ŠU-at ḥar-kán-zi-pát
54. nu-za pa-aḥ-ḥu-u-e-na-[(a)]š ud-da-ni-i me-ik-ki-pát mar-ri
 pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ša-nu-an-t[(e-eš)] e-eš-tén
 B []-aš ud-da-ni-i-<<ni>>
 t]e-eš e-eš-tén
 C nu-za pa-aḥ[-n]i-i me-ik-ki-pát mar-ri
 pa-aḥ-ša-nu-ʔa-an-te-eš e-eš-tén

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55. an-da-ma-za šu-ma-aš k[u-i-]e-eš EN^{MES} TU₇ DINGIR^{MES}-aš
 ḥu-u-ma-an-da-aš
 B [ḥ]u-u-ma-an-da-aš
 C an-da-ma-za [-e]š EN^{MES} TU₇ DINGIR^{MES}-aš
 ḥu-u-ma-an-da-aš
56. LÚ SAG.LA LÚ GÍŠ BANŠUR LÚ MUḤALDIM LÚ NINDA.DÙ.DÙ LÚ KURÚN.NA
 nu-uš-ma-aš DINGIR^{MES}-aš
 B LÚ SAG.LA [nu-uš-m]a-aš DINGIR^{MES}-aš
 C [LÚ GÍŠ BAN[ŠUR]DÙ LÚ KURÚN.NA
 nu-uš-ma-aš DINGIR^{MES}-aš
57. ZI-ni me-na-[(a)]ḥ-ḥa-an-[da] me-ik-ki na-aḥ-ḥa-an-te-eš e-eš-tén
 B ZI-ni [na-aḥ-ḥa-an-te-eš e-eš-tén
 C ZI-ni me-na-aḥ-ḥa-a[n-]n]a-aḥ-ḥa-an-te-eš e-eš-tén
58. na-aš-ta DINGIR^M[(EŠ-aš)] NINDA ḥar-š[i]l DUG^{iš}-pa-an-tu-uz-zi
 na-aḥ-ša-ra-at-ta-an
 B -t]a DINGIR^{MES}-aš NINDA ḥar-ši-ja-aš x-x[

¹⁹⁹ KUB 13.6 iii 2-18.

- C na-aš-ta DINGIR^{MES}-aš NINDA ḥar-š[i]l DUG^{iš}-pa-a[n
 na-a]ḥ-ša-ra-at-ta-an
59. me-ik-ki t[(i-ḫ)]a-an ḥ[(ar-tén)] nu-uš-ma-aš-kán pár-šu-u-ra-aš
 pé-e-da-an
 B²⁰⁰ i]a-an ḥar-tén (erasure) nu-uš-ma-aš[]-ra-aš pé-e[
 C me-ik-ki ti-ja-an ḥar-tén nu-uš-ma-aš-k[án]pé-e-da-an
60. ša-an-ḥa-an [(ḥur-nu)]-ʔa-an [(e-eš-d)]u na-aš-ta ŠAH-aš UR.GI₇-aš
 GÍŠ kat-ta-lu-uz-zi
 B []e-eš-du na-aš-ta ŠAH-aš UR.GI₇-aš
 GÍŠ kat-ta-[
 C na!²⁰¹-an-ḥa-an ḥur-nu-ʔa-an e-eš-du 'na]l-aš-t'a[
 GÍŠ kat-ta-lu-uz-zi
61. le-e šar-[(ri)]-eš-kat-ta [(šū-m)]a-ša'-za ʔa-ar-pa-an-te-eš e-eš-tén
 B []-eš-kat-ta-ri šu-ma-ša-za ʔa-ar-pa-an-te-eš[
 C le-e šar-ri-eš-kat-ta [š]u-['ma]l-[-t]e-eš e-eš-tén
62. nu TÚG^{HIA} pár-ku-ʔa-ja [(ú-e-eš)]-tén nam-ma-aš-ma-aš-kán
 iš-ḫi-e-ni-uš UMBIN^{MES}-ja
 B [k]u-ʔa-ja ú-['e-eš]l-tén nam-ma-aš-ma-aš-kán
 iš-ḫi-ja-ni-uš UMB[IN^{MES}-ja
 C nu TÚG^{HIA} pár-ku-ʔa-ja ú-e-eš-tén [
 -]ni-uš UMBIN^{HIA}
63. da-a-an e-eš-du nu-uš-m[a-aš]-kán DINGIR^{MES}-aš ZI-an-za le-e
 ḫa-an-ḥa-ni-ja-i
 B ['e]l-eš-du²⁰² nu-uš-ma-aš-kán DINGIR^{MES}-aš ZI-an-za le-e [
 C da-a-an e-eš-du [Z]I-an-za le-e ḫa-an-ḥa-ni-ja-i
64. ma-a-an *Ú-NU*[(TE)]^{MES} GÍŠ^{ZI} *Ú-NU-TE*^{MES} GIR₄ ku-e ḥar-te-ni
 B ma-a-an *Ú-NU-TE*^{MES} GÍŠ^{ZI} *Ú-NU-TE*^{MES} GI[R₄
 C ma-a-an *Ú-NU-TE*^{HIA}['A] [ḥ]ar-te-ni
65. na-aš-ta ma-a-an ŠAH-aš UR-GI₇-aš ku-ʔa-pí-ik-ki an-da ša-a-li-qa
 B na-aš-ta ma-a-an ŠAH-aš UR-GI₇-aš ku-ʔa-p[í-]li-ik-[
 C na-aš-ta ma-a-an ŠAH-aš UR-GI₇-aš ku-ʔa-pí-ik-[ki
66. EN.TU₇-ma-at ar-ḥa *UL* pé-eš-še-ja-zi nu a-pa-a-aš DINGIR^{MES}-aš
 pa-ap-ra-an-da-za
 B EN^{HIA} TU₇-ma-at ar-ḥa *Ú-UL* pé-eš-[DINGIR^{MES}-aš
 pa-[

²⁰⁰ KUB 13.6 line 11 + KUB 13.19 line 2.²⁰¹ Should have been ša-an-ḥa-an.²⁰² According to the photograph, two lines are missing after this word in KUB 13.6 iii 14' (next line in the transcript should therefore be 17').

- C EN].TU₇-ma-at ar-ḥa Ú-UL pé-eš-ši-ja-zi [
p]a-ap-ra-an-d[a-z]a
67. a-da-an-na pa-[a]-i a-pé-e-da-ni-ma DINGIR^{MEŠ}-eš za-ak-kar ḏdu-ú-úr
B a-da-an-na pa-a-i a-pé-e-da-ni-m[a]-úr
C a-da-a[n-n]a [pa-a-i] a-pé-e-da-ni-ma []-úr
68. a-da-an-na a-[ku]l-ya-an-na pí-an-zi ma-a-an-na-za MUNUS-i ku-iš
GAM še-eš-zi
B [a]l-da-an-na a-ku-ya-an-na pí-an-zi [
C a-da-an-na a-ku-ya-[a]n-na pí-an-zi ma-a-na-za []-zi
69. nu-kán ma-a[ḥ]-ḥa-an DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš ša-ak-la-in aš-ša-nu-zi DINGIR^{LIM}-ni
a-da-an-na
B [nu]-kán GIM-an DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš ša-ak-la-a[
C nu-kán GIM-an DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš ša-ak-la-in aš-ša-nu-zi
70. a-ku-ya-an-[n]a [pa]l-a-i na-aš [T-TI MUNUS^{TI} QA-TAM-MA pa-id-du
B [] pa]-a-i na-aš IT-TI MUNUS^{TI} QA-TAM-M[A
C a-k]u-ya-an-na pa-a-i na-aš IT-TI MUNUS^{TI} QA-TAM-MA pa-[]
71. na[m]-ma []²⁰³ [na]l-aš-ta ku-it-ma<(an)> ^dUTU-uš ša-ra-a
B [] na-aš-t]a [ku-it]l-ma-an ^dUTU-uš ša-[
C [] x na-aš-ta ku-it-ma-an ^dUTU-uš ša-ra-a []
72. nu-za [ḥ]u-u-[d]a-a-ak ya-ar-[ap-d]u na-aš-kán lu-uk-kat-ti DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš
C [] [lu-uk]l-kat-ta DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš
73. [(a-da-an-na)]-aš me-e-ḥu-u-ni ḥu-u-da-a-ak a-ru²⁰⁴ ma-a-an-ma-aš
kar-aš-ta-ri-ma
B [] ma-a-an-ma-aš kar-]aš-ta-ri-ma
C a-da-an-na me-e-ḥ[u]-ta-ri-ma
74. [(na-at-š)]i ya-aš-túl ma-a-an-ma-za IT-TI MUNUS^{TI} ku-iš še-eš-zi
B na-at-[š]
C na-at-ši ya-aš-túl ma-[]
75. [na-aš-m(a)]-kán MAḤ-RI-ŠU LÚ.GAL-ŠU EGIR-an ta-ma-aš-zi
nu me-ma-ú-pát
B²⁰⁵ [na-aš-m²⁰⁶]a-kán LÚ.GAL-ŠU EGIR-[
C [] x LÚ.GAL-ŠU EGIR-an ta-ma-aš-zi
76. [ma-(a-a)]n a-pa-a-aš-ma me-mi-ja-u-an-zi UL ma-az-za-az-zi

²⁰³ Süel's reading is: SA[L]-i [GAM-an š]e-[e]š-[d]u.

²⁰⁴ According to the space on the tablet it seems that this line is missing in copy B.

²⁰⁵ FHL 100 - A join of KUB 13.19 iii 16 (=B).

²⁰⁶ There is room for these signs at the beginning of the broken line.

- B []x-a-na (traces)[
C [] [Ú]l-UL ma-za-zi
77. nu^{LÚ} a-ri-iš-si me-ma-a-ú nu-za ya-ar-ap-tu₄-pát²⁰⁷
B [nu^{LÚ}]a-ra-aš-ši [
C nu^{LÚ} a-ra-iš-š[i
78. ma-a-an še-ik-kán-ti-it-ma ZI-it pa-ra-a da-a-i
B [] r]a-a da-a-i [
C [] x-it-ma ZI-it pa-ra-a da[]
79. ya-ar-ap-zi-ma-za na-a-ú-i na-aš DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš NINDA^A ḥar-ši
C [] NINDA^A ḥar-ši
80. [DUG]l iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi ma-ni-in-ku-ya-an ša-ak-nu-an-za ša-a-li-qa
B [DUG]iš-pa-an-du-u[zi
C [DUG]iš-pa-an-du-uz-[zi] []-li-qa
81. [(na)]-aš-ma-an^{LÚ} a-ra-aš-ši-iš ša-ak-ki na-aš-ták-kán u-ya-it-ta
B na-aš-ma-an^{LÚ} a-r[a-
C na-aš-ma-an^{LÚ} a-ra-[]
82. [tá]k-[k]u [(š)]a-an-na-a-i EGIR-zi-an-ma-at iš-du-ya-a-ri
B na-an ša-an-na-a-[i]
C [] x-an-na-a-i EGIR-zi-[] x-ya-a-[ri]²⁰⁸
83. [(nu-uš-ma-ša-a²⁰⁹)]t SAG.DU-aš ÚŠ- tar 2-uš-ša-at ak-kán-d[u]
B nu-uš-ma-ša-at SA[G.DU

Col. IV §15

1. [(an-da-ma-za šu-ma-aš) ku-i-e-eš^{LÚ.MEŠ} API]N.L[Á DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš
ḥu-u-ma-an-da-aš]²¹⁰
B an-da-ma-za šu-ma-aš []
2. n[u] ma-a-an [(DINGIR^{LIM}-ni) ša-ak-la-iš] ku-it-ki [e-eš-zi]
na-aš-šu NINDA.GUR₄.RA
B nu ma-a-an DINGIR^{LIM}-ni[]

²⁰⁷ Here there are traces of an erased ma-a-an written at the beginning of the following line.

²⁰⁸ Col. iii of copy C ends with -ya-a-ri one line before copy A. However, the next line may have been written on the left part of the broken column, since the lines tend to lean downwards, towards the right side of the column.

²⁰⁹ Sturtevant's restoration, which was confirmed by the fragment FHL 100 8'.

²¹⁰ The restoration follows the beginning of ii 57, ii 78, iii 55, and partly by copy B: FHL 100, which does not start the fourth column but rather has only a paragraph divider.

3. [(n)]a-aš-m[(a) ²¹¹] ku-it ḥu-u-el-pí šu-ma-a-aš LÚ^{MES} APIN.LÁ
DINGIR^{MES}-aš ^[212]
B na-aš-ma ku-it [
4. pé-e ḥ[ar-t]e-[ni na-a]t ḥu-u-da-a-ak me-e-ḥu-u-na-aš me-e-ḥu-ni
pé-¹e¹ ḥar-[té]n
B pé-e ḥar-te-n[i
5. ku-it-ma-na-at [UKÙ²¹³-a]š na-a-ú-i e-iz-za-a-i na-at-kán DINGIR^{MES}-a[š
Z]l-n[i]
B ku-it-ma-na-a[t]
6. ḥu-u-da-a-ak ar-n[(u-u)]š-ki-it-tén na-at DINGIR^{MES} me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da
l[e-e]
B]ar-nu-uš-k[i-it-tén
H ḥ]u-u-da-ak²¹⁴
7. uš-kán-zi ma-a-an-[(na-a)]t iš-ta-an-ta-nu-uš-kat-te-ni
B] ma-a-na-at[
H] ma-a-na-at iš-ta-a[n
8. nu-uš-ma-ša-at ṽa-aš-tú[l] nu-uš-ma-aš a-ri-an-zi nu-uš-ma-aš
DINGIR^{MES} EN^{MES}-K[(U-NU)]
H DINGIR^M EN^{MES}-KU-NU
9. ma-aḥ-ḥa-an ta-pa-ri-ja-an-zi nu-uš-ma-aš QA-TAM-MA i-en-zi
H [-a]n-zi
10. IŠ-TU GU₄-ja-aš-ma-aš 10 UDU-ja za-an-ki-la-an-zi
11. nu DINGIR^{MES} ZI-an ṽa-ar-ša-nu-an-zi
H DINGIR^{MES}-aš ZI-an ṽa-ar-ši-[ja-nu-an-zi]

§16

12. an-da-ma ma-a-an ḥal-ki-in a-ni-ja-at-te-ni nu-uš-ma-aš ma-a-an
LÚ^{SANGA}
H [] LÚ^{SANGA}
13. A-NA NUMUN a-ni-ja-u-an-zi UKÙ-an EGIR-an UL u-i-ja-zi šu-ma-a-ša-at
H A-NA NUMUN [š]u-ma-ša-at

²¹¹ A few signs are in the gap. See commentary.²¹² Süel's restoration here : ZI-ni.²¹³ Compare §18, 39; Süel, pp. 74, 286.²¹⁴ This is the end of the first line of col. iv in copy H = KUB 40.63 rev.

14. a-ni-ja-u-ṽa-an-zi ma-ni-ja-aḥ-ḥi²¹⁵ nu me-ik-ki a-ni-ja-at-te-ni
H [-te-n]i
15. A-NA^{LÚ} SANGA-ma-at pí-ra-an te-pu me-ma-at-te-ni na-aš-ma A.ŠÀ
DINGIR^{LIM}
H A-NA PA-NI LÚ^{SANGA} ma-at [
16. mi-ja-an-za A.ŠÀ^{LÚ} APIN.LÁ-ma-kán²¹⁶ an-da ḥar-kán-za nu-za A.ŠÀ
DINGIR^{LIM} šu-me-e-el
H A.Š]À^{LÚ} APIN.LÁ-ma-at
17. ḥal-zi-ja-at-te-ni šu-me-el-ma-za A.ŠÀ A.ŠÀ DINGIR^{LIM} ḥal-zi-ja-at-te-ni
H [-t]e-ni šu-me-el-ma-za
18. na-aš-ma ḥal-ki-uš ku-ṽa-pí šu-un-na-at-te-ni nu ták-ša-an šar-ra-an
H [šu-u]n-na-at-te-ni
19. me-ma-at-te-ni ták-ša-an šar-ra-an-ma-za-kán an-da ša-an-na-at-te-ni
H [šar-ra-an-]ma-kán
20. nu-uš-ma-ša-an ú-ṽa-at-te-ni EGIR-zi-an ar-ḥa šar-ra-at-te-ni
H []x ar-ḥa
21. ap<-pí>-zi-an-ma-aš²¹⁷ iš-du-ṽa-a-ri na-an-kán UKÙ-ši im-ma
ta-a-it-te-ni UL-an-kán
H [i]m-ma
22. ¹DINGIR^{LIM} -ni? ¹ ²¹⁸ ta-ja-at-te-ni nu-uš-ma-ša-at ṽa-aš-túl
šu-me-el-ma-aš-kán
23. ḥal-ki-uš ḥu-u-ma-an-du-uš ar-ḥa da-an-z[i] na-aš-kán DINGIR^{MES}-aš
24. [KISLA²¹⁹]ḥ^{MES}-aš an-da iš-ḥu-u-ṽa-an-zi

§17

25. an-da-ma ŠA KIS[LAḥ]²²⁰ GU₄.APIN.LÁ^{UL} ku-i-e-¹eš¹ [ḥar-t]e-ni nu
ma-a-an GU₄.APIN.LÁ
26. uš-ni-ja-at-te-ni na-aš-ma-an-za-an-kán k[u]-en-na-at-te-n[i]
27. na-an ar-ḥa ¹e¹-iz-za-at-te-ni šu-ma-aš-ma-an-kán DINGIR^{MES}-aš

²¹⁵ According to KUB 13.4 iv 13 the sign is -tén, but *CHD* L-N:164^a has a collation to -ḥi.²¹⁶ The sign is written over an erasure. According to Süel it is a -kán-.²¹⁷ Süel, p. 78 with n. 302.²¹⁸ Süel's reading. The signs are written over erasure.²¹⁹ Sturtevant's restoration, p. 162.²²⁰ This reading is suggested by Sturtevant. Süel reads DIN[GIR^{MES}].

ta-a-iš-t[e]-ni

28. ma-ak-la-an-n[a-a]z-ua-ra-aš BA. UG₆ na-aš-š[u-ua-l]za
du-ua-ar-ni-eš-ki-it
29. na-aš-šu-ua-ra-aš pár-aš-ta na-aš-ma-ua-ra-an GU₄.NITA GUL-aḫ-[ta]
30. šu-ma-aš-ma-an ar-ḫa e-iz-za-at-te-ni EGIR-zi-an-ma-aš iš-du-ua-[a]-ri
31. nu a-pu-u-un GU₄ š[ar]-ni-ik-te-ni-pát ma-a-[an-m]a-aš UL-ma
iš-du-ua-a-r[i]
32. [nu¹ [DIN]GIR^{LIM}-ni] p[a-i]t-te-ni ták-ku pár-ku-e[š-te]-ni šu-me-el
⁴LAMMA-KU-NU
33. ták-ku pa-ap-[ri¹-[eš-te-ni]-ma nu-uš-ma-ša-at SAG.DU-aš ua-aš-túl
-
- §18
34. an-da-ma-z[a š]u-ma-aš ku-i-e-[eš¹ LÚ^{MEŠ} SIPAD GU₄ DINGIR^{LIM}
LÚ^{MEŠ} SIPAD UDU DINGIR^{LIM}
35. nu ma-a-an ḫa-aš-ša-an-na-aš m[e-e-]ḫu-u-ni DINGIR^{LIM}-ni
ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki
36. ša-ak-l[a]-a-iš nu-uš-ši na-aš-šu AMAR SILA₄ MÁŠ.TUR
na-aš-ma ^{UZU}ŠA-LI-T[E?]^{MEŠ}
37. ḫA-AG-[GUR]-RA-TE^{MEŠ} pé-e ḫar-te-ni na-at le-e
iš-ta-an-ta-nu-uš-kat-te-ni
B²²¹ [iš-ta-an-]ḫa-ta-nu-uš¹-[kat-te-ni]
38. me-e-[ḫu]-u-na-ša-at me-e-ḫu-u-ni pé-e ḫar-tén na-at-kán DINGIR^{MEŠ}
39. me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da le-e uš-kán-zi ku-it-ma-an UKÙ-aš ḫu-u-el-p[(i)]
B IGI-an-da le-e x[ḫu-u-el-p]í
40. na-a-ú-i e-iz-za-az-zi na-at DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš ḫu-u-da-a-ak ú-da-at-tén
B na-a-ūi₅ e-iz-za-az-zi x[]
41. na-aš-ma ma-a-an DINGIR^{LIM}-ni k[(u)]-e-da-ni EZEN₄ GA e-eš-zi
B [na-a]š-ma ma-a-an DINGIR^{LIM}-ni ku-e-da-ni EZEN₄ G[A]
42. GA ku-ua-pí šap-pé-eš-kán-[(zi)] na-an-kán le-e
ša-ku-ua-an-ta-[ri¹-]ja-nu-ut-te-ni

²²¹ KUB 13.17 iv.

- B šap-pé-eš-kán-zi na-an-kán le-e
ša-[k]u-ua-[an-ta-ri¹]
43. na-an-ši i-ja-at-tén ma-a-an ḫu-u-[(el-pí-ma²²²)] DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš
ḫu-u-da-a-a[k] UL
B na-an-ši i-ja-at-tén ma-a-an ḫu-e-el-pí-ma DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš
ḫu-u-da-a-ak [Ú¹]-UL
44. ú-da-at-te-ni na-at [(š[u-ma-aš])] ḫu-u-[(da-a-a)]k iz-za-at-te-ni
B] na-at šu-ma-aš ḫu-u-da-a-ak e-iz-za-at-te-ni
45. na-aš-ma-at A-NA MAḪ-RI-[(KU)]-NU [(up-pa)]-a[(t-t)]e-ni
EGIR-iz-zi-an-ma-at
B na-aš-ma-at A-NA MAḪ-RI-KU-[NU] up-pa-at-te-ni EGIR-zi-an-ma-at
46. [i]š-du-ua-a-ri nu-uš-ma-ša-[at¹ S[A]G.DU-aš ua-aš-túl ma-a-an-ma-at
UL-ma
B iš-du-ua-a-ri nu-uš-ma-ša-at SAG.DU-aš ua-[] ma-a-an-ma-at
Ú-UL-ma
47. iš-du-ua-a-ri na-at ú-da-at-te-ni ku-e-da-ni me-e-ḫu-ni
B iš-du-ua-a-ri na-at [ú¹-da-at-te-ni ku-e-da-ni me-e-ḫu-ni]
48. nu-uš-ma-aš-kán PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM} ki-iš-ša-an an-da [(pé-e-da)]-at-te-ni
B nu-uš-ma-aš-kán PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM} ki-iš-ša-an an-da pé-e-da-at-tén²²³
49. ma-a-an-ua-za ki-i ḫu-u-el-pí an-zi-el ZI-ni ḫu-u-da-a-ak
B ma-a-an-ua-za ki-i ḫu-e-el-pí an-zi-el ZI-ni ḫu-u-da-a-ak
50. pí-ja-u-e-en na-aš-ma-ua-ra-aš A-NA MAḪ-RI-NI na-aš-ma A-NA
DAM^{MEŠ}-NI
B pí-ja-u-e-en na-aš-ma-ua-ra-at A-NA MAḪ-RI-NI na-aš-ma A-NA
DAM^{MEŠ}-NI
51. DUMU^{MEŠ}-NI na-aš-ma ta-me-e-da-ni UKÙ-ši pí-ja-u-e-en
B DUMU^{MEŠ}-NI na-aš-ma ta-a-me-ta-ni UKÙ-ši pí-ja-u-e-en
52. DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš-ma-ua-kán ZI-an za-am-mu-ra-a-u-e-en na-aš-ta BI-IB-RU
DINGIR^{LIM}
B šu-me-eš²²⁴-aš-ma-ua-ra-kán ZI-an za-am-mu-ra-u-e-en na-aš-ta BI-IB-RU
DINGIR^{LIM}
53. ZI-aš ar-ḫa e-ku-ut-te-ni nu-za ma-a-an pár-ku-ua-e-eš

²²² Süel reads ḫu-u-[(el-pí)].

²²³ A -ni sign is erased.

²²⁴ The scribe of copy B seems to have replaced the signs of DINGIR^{MEŠ}- with šu-me-eš-. This may be a dictation mistake.

- B ZI-aš ar-ḥa e-ku-ut-te-ni nu-za ma-a-an pár-ku-ua-e!
54. šu-me-el ^dLAMMA-KU-NU ták-ku-za (erasure) pa-ap-ra-an-te-eš-ma
na-aš-ta QA-DU
B šu-me-eš!-el ^dLAMMA-KU-NU ták-ku-za pa-ap-ra-an-te-eš-ma
na-aš-ta QA-DU
55. DAM^{MES}-KU-NU DUMU^{MES}-KU-NU ḥar-ak-te-ni
B DAM^{MES}-KU-NU DUMU^{MES}-KU-NU ḥar-ak-te-ni
-
- §19
56. an-da-ma-aš-ta ma-a-an kar-ša-at-tar ku-ua-pí kar-aš-te-ni
B an-da-ma-aš-ta ma-a-an kar-ša-at-tar ku-ua-pí kar-aš-te-ni
57. na-at DINGIR^{MES}-aš A-NA EN^{MES}-KU-NU u-un-na-an-zi nu
kar-ša-ad-da-[(ni)]
B na-[at] DINGIR^{MES}-aš A-NA EN^{MES}-KU-NU u-un-na-an-zi nu
kar-ša-at-da-ni
58. GAM-an ^{LÚ}SIPAD.GU₄ ^{LÚ}SIPAD.UDU-ia i-ja-an-ta-ru
B kat-ta-an ^{LÚ}SIPAD.GU₄ ^{LÚ}SIPAD.UDU-ia i-ja-an-ta-ru
59. na-at-ša-an ḥa-li-ja-az a-ša-u-na-az ma-aḥ-ḥa-an kar-ša-an
B na-at-ša-an ḥa-a-lí-az [a-š]a-u-na-az ma-aḥ-ḥa-an kar-ša-an
60. na-at-kán DINGIR^{MES}-aš QA-TAM-MA an-da ar-nu-ua-an-du
B na-at-kán DINGIR^{MES}-aš QA-TAM-MA an-da ar-nu-ua-[an-du]
61. EGIR KASKAL^{NI}-ma-at-kán le-e ua-aḥ-nu-uš-kán-zi ma-a-an-ma-kán
ŠÀ KASKAL^{NI}
B [EGIR] KASKAL-ma-at-kán le-e ua-aḥ-nu-uš-kán-zi ma-a-an-ma-kán
ŠÀ KASKAL
62. ^{LÚ}SIPAD.GU₄ na-aš-ma ^{LÚ}SIPAD.UDU mar-ša-tar ku-iš-ki i-ja-zi
B ^{LÚ}SIPAD.GU₄ [na-aš-m]a ^{LÚ}SIPAD.UDU mar-ša-tar ku-iš-ki i-ja-zi
63. na-aš-ta na-aš-šu GU₄.ŠE na-aš-ma UDU.ŠE ua-aḥ-nu-zi nu-za-kán
ḥa-ap-pár
B na-aš-ta na-aš-šu GU₄.ŠE [na-aš-m]a UDU.ŠE ua-aḥ-nu-zi nu-za-kán
ḥa-ap-pár
64. ša-ra-a da-a-i na-aš-ma-an-za-an-kán ku-en-zi na-an ar-ḥa
B [ša-l-ra-a da-a-i [na-aš-ma-an-z]a-an-kán ku-en-zi na-an ar-ḥa
65. e-da-an-zi pí-di-eš-ši-ma ma-ak-la-an-ta-an tar-na-an-zi
B a-da-an-zi pí-di-ši-ma [ma-ak-la-a]n-da-an tar-na-an-zi

66. na-at iš-du-ua-a-ri nu-uš-ma-aš-at SAG.DU-aš ua-aš-túl
B na-at iš-du-u-ua-ri' nu-uš-ma-ša-at [SAG.DU]- []
67. DINGIR^{MES}-aš-kán ZI-aš-ša-aš ša-ne-iz-zi-in šzu-u-ua-an da-a-ir
B [] ZI-ni (erasure) ša-ne-iz-zi-in šzu-u-ua-an da-a-ir
68. ma-a-an-ma-at UL-ma iš-du-ua-a-ri na-at ku-e-da-ni me-e-ḥu-u-ni
B [] -a]t Ú-UL-ma iš-du-ua-a-ri na-at ku-e-da-ni me-e-ḥu-[]
69. a-ra-an-zi na-aš-ta BI-IB-RU DINGIR^{LIM} ZI^{TI} Giš-ta-na-az GAM
B [] BI-IB-RU DINGIR^{LIM} ZI^{TI} iš-ta-na-na-az kat-ta
70. da-an-du nu-za-kán an-da ki-iš-ša-an pé-e-da-an-du
B da-an-d[u]ki-iš-ša-an pé-e-da-an-du
71. ma-a-an-ua-kán DINGIR^{MES}-aš ša-ne-iz-zi-in šzu-u-ua-an KAxU-az
B ma-a-an-ua-kán DINGIR^{MES} [] šzu-u-ua-an KAxU-az
72. pa-ra-a an-za-a-aš ḥu-u-it-ti-ja-u-en nu-ua-ra-an-na-ša-an an-zi-el
B pa-ra-a an-za-a-aš ḥu-u-it-t[i]a]n an-zi-el
73. ZI-ni pí-ja-u-e-en na-aš-ma-ua-an-na-ša-an uš-ša-ni-ja-u-e-en
B ZI-ni pí-ja-u-e-en na-aš-ma-ua-[]x
74. na-aš-ma-ua-ra-an-kán ua-aḥ-nu-um-me-en nu-ua-an-na-aš ḥa-ap-pár
da-a-u-e-en
B na-aš-ma-ua-ra-an-kán ua-aḥ-nu-um-me-en n[u]
75. pí-di-eš-ši-ma-ua ma-ak-la-an-da-an tar-nu-um-m[e-e]n
B []-š]i-ma-ua ma-ak-la-an-da-an tar-[]
76. nu-ua-an-na-aš zi-ik DINGIR^{LUM} tu-el ZI-aš šzu-u-ua še-ir
B [] ZI-]aš šzu-u-ua-aš še-ir
77. QA-DU DAM^{MES}-NI DUMU^{MES}-NI pár-ḥi-eš-ki
B QA-DU []

Colophon

78. DUB I KAM ŠA LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM} ḥu-u-ma-an-da-aš
79. ŠA EN^{MES} TU₇ DINGIR^{MES} LÚ^{MES} APIN.LÁ DINGIR^{MES}
80. Ú ŠA LÚ^{MES} SIPAD.GU₄ DINGIR^{LIM} LÚ^{MES} SIPAD.UDU DINGIR^{LIM}
81. iš-ḥi-ú-la-aš QA-TI

3.6 Translation of CTH 264

Col. I

§1

- 1 [Broken]
 2 [Broken]
 3 [a]ll []
 4 [] to/of the deity. But let him anoint/smear it. And i[f]
 5 [](for) the daily thick bread. Either of one *sea* o[r]
 6 [o]f 2 *UP-NU*, (or) one *UP-NU* (or) half *UP-NU* []
 7 A filling? (is) set []
 8 they give. Either it []
 9 and set it up []
 10 Afterwards, too, you (do) not []
 11 To the Palace or to th[at sacred building?]...
 12 you shall not go. (To³) the pal[ace]
 13 to/for another one do not damage by the intestines.

§2

- 14 Further, those who prepare the daily th[ick] breads, let them be clean(=ritually pure)
 15 let them be wa[sh]ed and removed (of impurities?). Let the hair and the finger[nails]
 16 be taken (off) for them, and let them be dressed (in) clean clothes.
 17 [If not,] they shall not prepare (them). Whoever usually the soul and the body of the gods
 18 [propiti]ate, may they prepare them (=breads). And let the bakery, inside,

- 19 in which they prepare for them, be s[we]pt and
 20 sprinkled. Further, in the cooking place, (neither) a pig (nor) a dog may step into the gate.
 21 Is the soul of a human and of the gods any different? No!
 [Th]is certainly what (it is) not!
 22 The soul, however, is one and the same. When a slave is present in front of his master,
 23 he (is) washed, and he has dressed clean (clothes).
 24 Either he gives him to eat, or he gives him to drink.
 25 Since that master of his usually eats or drinks,
 26 he is relaxed in his soul, and for that he is attached to him (=slave).
 27 When, however, he (=slave) is ever negligent(?), (even) then, he (=master) is not displeased (with him).
 28 Is the soul of the gods any different ? If at some point the slave
 29 angers his master, either they kill him, or they may maltreat (=injure) his nose, his eyes
 30 (and) his ears. Or he (=master) [will sei]ze him, his wife, his children,
 31 his brother, his sister, his in-laws, his family, either his male slave or his female slave.
 32 They (may) only call him over, and they (may) do [no]thing to him.
 33 But, whenever he dies, he will not die alone, his family is together with him.
-
- ##### §3
- 34 If [som]eone angers the soul of a go[d],
 35 does the god seek it from that person alone?
 36 Does he not seek it from his wife, [his children] his [s]eed, his family, his male slaves, his female slaves, his cattle,
 37 his sheep, and together with (his) grain. (Along) with everything he will

38 ruin him. Be ver[y mu]ch afraid regarding a matter of a god.

§4

39 Fu[rthe]rmore: The festival of the month, the festival of the year, the festival of the stag, the f[al]l [fes]tival

40 the [fe]stival of the spring, the thunder festival, the [fe]stival of *hiyara*,

41 the festival of *pudaḥa*, the festival of *hišuwa*, the festival of [ša]tlašša,

42 the festival of the rhyton, the festivals of the sacred SANGA-[priest]

43 the festivals of the old men, the festivals of the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses, the festival of *daḥiya*,

44 the festivals of the *upati*-men, the festivals of the lot, the festivals of *ḥahratar*,

45 or whatever festival (there is) up in Ḫattuša,

46 if you do not celebrate them along with all cattle, sheep

47 bread, beer and with wine set up (for the gods),

48 but (from) those (people) giving it (the offerings), you - Temple-Men - from them

49 you'll keep taking payment, you will cause them (the offerings) to fall short of the will of the gods.

§5

50 Or, if ever you take it (=the offerings), set up (for the gods)

51 and you do not deliver it forth for the soul of the gods, (but) rather

52 keep it away at your houses, and your wives, your children and

53 your female and male slaves eat it up; or an in-law of yours,

54 or some allied foreign offi[cial] comes, and to that man you

55 give it, you are taking it from the soul of the god.

56 (If) you are not delivering it straight to him, but (rather) give it share

57 by share, let this matter of distributing

58 be placed under (an oath) regarding your head.
You shall not distribute it !

59 Whoever distributes it, he shall die. There shall be no turning back for him.

§6/1

60 Keep up in the temple everything including bread, beer and wine.

61 Let no one leave for himself the divine thick bread (or) the thin bread of the god.

62 Let no one pour out beer (or) wine off the libation vessel.

63 Hand all back to the god, then, [s]ay to yourselves (this) statement in front of the god:

64 "Whoever took out (some) of your divine thick bread (or)

65 (from) the libation [vessel], let you god, my lord,

66 be [looking] after him. Let him seize his house from bottom to top."

Col. II

§6/2

1 If on that day [you are able] to eat and dri[nk the remains],

2 eat and drink it! If, however, you are not a[ble],

3 eat and drink [it within] three days.

4 The *piantalla*-bread, however, [do not give to your wiv]es, children or female or male slaves.

5 Beer and wine you shall in no way [distribute] at the threshold of the gods.

6 If, however, to someone a foreign official comes, and if he

7 is one (permitted) of going up [into] the temple, (and) usually crosses the threshold of the gods and of the king,

- 8 let [that one] too,(=the Temple-Man) [bring] him up, let (him = the official) eat and let (him) drink. If he is, however,
 9 [an outsid]er, not of the me[n] of the city Hattuša, (and) he steps to the gods,
 10 [he shall die ! Who]ever brings (him into the temple), it is a capital penalty for him.

§7

- 11 [If] some [ox or] a sheep (is) driven to the god to be eaten,
 12 and either the fattened ox or the fattened sheep, you withhold for yourselves,
 13 and the emaciated (one), which you have butchered,
 14 you let it into (the temple); and, either that ox (the fattened one)
 15 you (all) eat up, or you let it into your corral;
 16 Or you put it under a yoke;
 17 Or you let the sheep into the sheep-fold for yourselves;
 18 Or you slaughter it for yourselves, and you do as you please;
 19 Or [you give] it to another man
 20 in exchange, and you take up the purchase price;
 21 (then) you pull th[at food] from the mouth of the god.
 22 Either [you give] it [to yourselves], or you give it to someone else,
 23 and you [bri]ng (it) (saying) as follows: "Since he is a god, he
 24 will say nothing, and he will do nothing to us";
 25 Watch out also for a man who whisks away your desired food
 26 from (before your) eyes! When afterwards it acts,
 27 the will of the gods (is) strong. It is not fast to seize,
 28 but once it seizes it never

- 29 lets go. Be very much afraid (regarding) the soul of the gods.

§8

- 30 Furthermore: What silver, gold, garment(s) (or) utensils of bronze of the gods
 31 you hold, you (are) its guards. There is no silver, gold, garments or utensils of bronze
 32 of the gods (for you). Whatever (is) in the house of the gods
 33 (is) not (for you). Whatever (there is), it is only to the god.
 34 Be very much afraid! Silver (and) gold should not at all be for the Temple-Man.
 35 He shall in no way carry it
 36 on his body, and also to his wife (or) children he shall not
 37 make it an adornment. If, however, as his present from the palace,
 38 silver, gold, garment(s) (or) utensils of bronze they give him, let it be recorded thus:
 39 "This king gave it to him." Also, it should be recorded
 40 how much its weight is. Further: Let it be also recorded as follows:
 41 "They gave it to him on this festival," and let subsequently
 42 the witnesses be recorded. "When they gave it to him, and this (person)
 43 and this (person) were present (there)." Even more so, he shall never
 44 leave it for himself inside his house. He may only offer (it) for sale.
 45 When he offers it for sale, he shall not sell it secretly.
 46 Let the Lords of Hatti be present, and let them watch, and whatever
 47 (someone) buys, let them make it into a written document, and let them pre-seal it.
 48 When, however, the king comes up to Hattuša,

- 49 let him take it into the palace, and let them seal it for him.
- 50 But, if on his own will he offers it for sale, it (is) a capital penalty for him.
- 51 Whoever is not offering for sale a king's present, on which the king's name
- 52 (is) engraved, but in exactly this way is offering for sale silver, gold, garment(s) (or) bronze utensils,
- 53 whoever seizes him, and conceals him,
- 54 and does not bring him to the gate of the king, it is for both of them
- 55 a capital penalty. Let them both die! They are not(?) divine!
- 56 There shall be no turning back for them.

§9

- 57 Furthermore: You who are Temple-Men, if you do not celebrate the festivals
- 58 on the time of (each) festival, and the spr[ing] festival
- 59 you celebrate in the fall, (or) the fall festival
- 60 you celebrate in the spring, if the right time to perform a festival
- 61 has come, and the one who is to perform it comes to you,
- 62 the SANGA-priests, the GUDU-priests, the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses, and to them, the Te[mple]-Men,
- 63 he seizes their knees (saying): "The harvest (is)
- 64 before me," or marriage, or a journey, or some
- 65 other matter, "Support me,
- 66 and let meanwhile the aforementioned matter pass before me.
- 67 But, as soon as the aforementioned matter has passed before me,
- 68 I shall celebrate the festival accordingly." Do not act (according) to the man's

- 69 will. He shall not make you be sorry (for him).
- 70 You shall not take for yourselves payment regarding the will of the gods.
- 71 (If) a man makes you feel sorry (for him, and) you take payment for yourselves,
- 72 in later days the gods will all seek you (for punishment).
- 73 And they will indeed be hostile to your souls, your wives, your children,
- 74 your female and male slaves. Act only (according) to the will of the gods,
- 75 so that you will eat bread and drink water
- 76 (and) make a house for yourselves; but ne[ver d]o it for the will of a man.
- 77 Do not sell death, and do not buy death.

§10/1

- 78 Furthermore: You, who are Temple-Men, (in regard) to the matter
- 79 of the watch be very cautious.
- 80 At night time go down at once,
- 81 eat (and) drink, and if a matter of a woman overcomes someone,
- 82 let him sleep with a woman.

Col. III

§10/2

- 1 Further: When the s[un (is) up], let him [immediately ba]the.
- 2 Let him come up immediately to sleep in the temple.
- 3 Whatever Temple-Man, (be he from) [high] SANGA-priests (or) junior SANGA-priests,
- 4 (and) GUDU-priests - all of them - only whoever

- 5 regularly crosses the threshold of the gods - each one of them
 6 must not fail to sleep up in the temple.
 7 Further, by night, let patrolmen be selected.
 8 Let them, each, patrol the whole night.
 9 Outside, let the *ḥaliyattalla*-men keep the watch.
 10 However, inside, let the Temple-Men
 11 patrol the temples the whole night. There shall be no sleep for them.
 12 Night by night, let one high SANGA-priest be in charge of the
 13 patrolmen. Further, concerning the SANGA-priests
 14 let each be at the gate of the temple, and let him guard the temple.
 15 No one, however, shall sleep inside his house, together with his wife.
 16 Whomever they find down in his house, it (is) a capital sin for him.
 17 Guard the temples very well, and there shall be
 18 no sleeping for you. Further, let the watch be divided among you.
 19 To whom a sin occurs during the watch,
 20 He shall die! He, too, shall not be forgiven.

§11

- 21 Regarding the rule which (is) for someone up in *Ḥattuša*:
 22 If a SANGA-priest, (or) a GUDU-priest is used to admit *ḥaliyattalla*-
 guards, whoever (it is),
 23 then let him by all means regularly admit them. If to someone there is a
 24 *ḥaliyattalla*-(duty), let him, alone, go on watch.
 25 He shall never say thus: "I guard my temple
 26 but over there I do not go." If (there are) some hostile word(s),

- 27 (i.e.) somebody starts to slander *Ḥattuša*,
 28 and (those) outside of the walls do not see him, (but) those Temple-Men
 29 inside see (him), let, by all means, a *ḥaliyattalla*-guard go to him.
 30 That one (=Temple-Man), however, shall not fail to sleep up at his
 god.
 31 If, however, he fails to do (so), and if they do not kill him,
 32 let them humiliate him! Naked, (he will be)!
 32 Let there be no clothes to his body, let him bring water
 33 three times from the Labarna-spring
 34 into his temple. Let that be his humiliation.

§12

- 35 Furthermore: You [who are] SANGA-priests, GUDU-priests,
 AMA.DINGIR-priestesses,
 36 the Temple-Men, [if⁹ there is a] *tuhmeiant*-(man?) inside the temple,
 or in another
 37 sacred building someone gets drunk; If he is disturbing inside
 38 the temple, and he causes a quarrel, and breaks up a festival,
 39 let them beat him. [Furth]er, let him celebrate that festival as set up ready
 40 with ox(en), sheep, bread (and) beer. He shall not leave out even
 thin bread.
 41 Whoever neglects it, and the set up festival
 42 does not celebrate, let it be a great sin for that (person).
 43 Let him reschedule the festival. Be very careful with a quarrel.

§13

- 44 Furthermore: In a matter of fire, too, be very careful.
 45 If (there is) a festival [inside] a temple, guard the fire well.

- 46 When night falls, the fire which remains in
 47 the hearth, extinguish it well with water.
 48 If in the matter of fire, (there is) here and there some (burning?)
 dry wood;
 49 Whoever extinguishes it, and inside whose temple the sin occurs,
 50 even (if) only one temple is destroyed, but the city of Hattuša
 51 (and) the king's goods (are) not destroyed, he who commits the sin,
 together with his seed
 52 shall indeed perish. Whatever people (were) inside the temple -
 53 not even one shall be left alive. They shall perish together with their
 seed.
 54 Be very much careful in the matter of a fire.

§14

- 55 Furthermore: You who are kitchen attendants of all the gods:
 56 cupbearer, table-man, cook, baker, beer brewer, be very much
 57 afraid regarding the will of the god for your own sake.
 58 Maintain great reverence (regarding) the thick bread and the libation
 vessel
 59 of the gods. Let your cooking area be swept and sprinkled.
 60 A pig (or) a dog shall not be crossing the threshold.
 61 And you must be washed!
 62 Wear clean clothes, and also, let your hair and fingernails
 63 be taken, so that the spirit of the gods is not *displeased* with you.
 64 When some wooden or clay utensils you hold,
 65 (and) a pig (or) a dog somewhere touches (them),
 66 but, the kitchen attendant does not dispose of it, so that that man

from a defiled

- 67 (vessel) gives the gods to eat; to that one the gods
 68 will give excrement (and) urine to eat (and) drink. Also, if someone
 sleeps with a woman
 69 while he provides the rite of the gods, and he gives the god
 70 to eat (and) drink, let him in this way go with the woman:
 71 Further, [2? words unreadable]. As soon as the sun (is) up,
 72 He must immediately bathe! And in the morning at the time of the
 73 eating of the gods, he shall promptly arrive. If, however, he fails to do
 (so),
 74 it (is) a sin for him. If someone sleeps with a woman,
 75 and [i]f his superior - his chief - presses him afterwards (to work), he
 must speak!
 76 If that one, however, does not dare to speak,
 77 let him speak to his friend. But he must by all means bathe.
 78 If he puts (it) forth knowingly,
 79 while not yet washed, near the thick bread (and) the libation vessel of
 the gods
 80 he approaches closely (being) unclean;
 81 if his friend knows of him, and he is sorry for him,
 82 if he conceals (him), and afterwards it becomes known,
 83 [i]t (is) a capital offence for them. Both shall di[e]!

Col. IV
 §15

- 1 [Furthermore: You, who are far]me[rs of all the gods]:
 2 if [to a god] there is some [festival/rite], either a thick bread [or]

- 3 what newborn animal, you farmers, have ready for the gods,
 4 present it promptly at the right time.
 5 Before a [man] eats it, to the soul of the gods
 6 bring it promptly. Let the gods not be kept waiting for it.
 7 If, however, you keep delaying it,
 8 It is a sin for you. They will inquire (by oracle) about you. The gods
 your lords,
 9 as they command, thus they shall treat you.
 10 They shall fine you with an ox and 10 sheep,
 11 to appease the soul of the gods.

§16

- 12 Furthermore: If you are sowing grain, and if the SANGA-priest
 13 does not send back a man to sow the seed for you,
 14 and he entrusts it to you for sowing, and you sow much
 15 but in front of the SANGA-priest you will say that you sowed little, or
 the god's field (is)
 16 fruitful, whereas the field of the farmer (is) ruined, and (then) you
 call the field of the god yours,
 17 and yours you call the god's field,
 18 or while you store grain - half
 19 you declare, whereas half you hide,
 20 and later you come (and) divide it for yourselves,
 21 (then) afterwards it becomes known; You (may) steal it from a man
 22 [from a god, however,] you (may) not steal. It (is) a sin for you.
 They will
 23 take away from you all your grain, and they shall pour it

- 24 in the [threshf]loors(?) of the gods.

§17

- 25 Furthermore: Those of you who [hav]e the plow oxen of the thresh[floor]
 (of a temple). If you
 26 sell a plow ox, or you slaughter it
 27 and you eat it up, you steal it from the gods,
 28 (saying): "It died of emaciation" or "it kept breaking itself"
 (i.e. harms itself)
 29 or "it ran off," or "a bull gored it,"
 30 but, you yourselves eat it up, and later it becomes known,
 31 you will compensate for that ox. If, however, it does not become known,
 32 you will go to the god, if you are innocent, it is your protective god.
 33 If, however, you are guilty, it is a capital sin for you.

§18

- 34 Furthermore: You who are cowherds of the god and shepherds of the god
 35 If (there is) a rite for some god, at the time of giving birth,
 36 and you have for him, either a calf, a lamb, a kid or *šalitu* meat of
 37 *hakurratu*, do not delay it.
 38 Bring it at the right time. Let the gods not be
 39 kept waiting for it. Before a man eats
 40 the first born, bring it promptly to the gods.
 41 Or, if there is for any god a milk festival,
 42 when they churn the milk, do not leave it uncelebrated.
 43 Perform it to him (=god). If the new born, however, you do not bring

44 promptly to the gods, but (rather) you, yourselves, eat it at once,
 45 or you send it to your superior, and later
 46 it becomes known, it is a capital sin for you. If, however,
 47 it is not revealed, at the time you bring it to him (i.e. the god),
 48 you shall step over before the god saying forth thus:
 49 "If this first-born we have given at first for
 50 our pleasure, or we have given them to our superior, or to our wives,
 51 to our children, or to any other man,
 52 (then) we have offended the will of the gods." Then you shall drink
 from the
 53 rhyton of the god of life. If you (are) innocent,
 54 it (is) your protective god. If you are guilty, then together with
 55 your wives and your seed you shall perish.

§19

56 Furthermore: While you make a selection,
 57 and they lead it to the gods, your lords,
 58 Let the cowherd and the shepherd go along with the selection.
 59 As it (was) selected from the corral (and) the fold,
 60 thus let them bring it in, to the gods.
 61 They are not to change it later on the road. If, however, on the road
 62 some cowherd or some shepherd makes some deception,
 63 either a fattened ox or a fattened sheep he changes, and he
 64 takes payment, or he slaughters it for himself, and
 65 they eat it up, and they let instead of it an emaciated (one),

66 and it becomes known, it is a capital sin for them.
 67 They have taken the desired best food of the gods.
 68 If it does not become known, whenever they
 69 arrive, let them take down the rhyton of the god of life from the
 70 offering-stand, and let them say forth thus:
 71 "If we have pulled out for ourselves the best food away from the
 mouth
 72 of the gods, and have given it to ourselves for our
 73 own pleasure, or we have offered it for sale,
 74 or we have exchanged it, and taken payment for us
 75 and (then) have let instead of it an emaciated (one),
 76 you, O god, pursue us together with our wives and seed,
 77 because of your desired food."

Colophon

78 First tablet of the *išhiul* of all the Temple-Men,
 79 of the kitchen attendants of the gods, (and) farmers of the gods,
 80 of the cowherds of the god, (and) the shepherds of the god.
 81 Finished.

3.7 Variations between the copies

Col. i: A	B	C	H
Consistently, copy A has the negation <i>UL</i> while the other copies have <i>Ú-UL</i> .			
30 i-da-a-la-u-uḫ-ḫa-an-zi ²²⁵	i-da-la-u- ya -ḫa[-an-zi]		
31 ^{LÚ} ka-i-na-aš ²²⁶	^{LÚ} ka- e -na-aš		
32 DÚ-an- <i>I</i> zi ¹	i- <i>i</i>]a-an-zi		
33 te-it-ti- <i>I</i> an ¹ -pát	te-it-ti- <i>i</i>]a-an-pát]x-ti- <i>ia</i> -an-pát	
34/5 DINGIR ^{LIM}		DINGIR ^{LUM}	
39 zé-n[a-an-d]a-aš	zé- e -n[a-an-da-aš		
40 ḫi- <i>ia</i> -r[a]-aš	ḫi- <i>ia</i> -ar-ra-aš		
44 ḫa-aḫ-ra-an-na-aš	ḫa-aḫ]-ra- an -na-aš	ḫa- <i>I</i> ḫ-ra ¹ -na-aš	
49 da-aš-kat-te- <i>I</i> ni ¹		da-at-t[<i>e</i> -ni	
53 SAG.GÉME.ARAD ^{MES}	[SAG.GÉM] ^E ^{MES}		
54 a-aš-šu-ya-an-za		a-aš-šu-u-ya-an-za	missing ku-iš-ki
55 ZI ^{TUM} DINGIR ^{LIM}	ZI DINGIR ^{LUM}	ZI ^{TUM} DINGIR ^{LUM}	
58 SAG.DU-az			SA]G.DU-za
60			The order of the words in H has been reversed
62 <i>IŠ-TU</i> GAL- <i>ia</i>			^{DUG} iš-pa-an-du-uz-zi- <i>ia</i>
63 ma-ni-â-aḫ-tén			ma-ni- <i>ia</i> -aḫ-ḫi
DINGIR ^{LIM} -ni EGIR-pa			missing EGIR-pa
66 a-pí-e-el		a-pí-e-el	a-pí-e-el- la
GAM-an		kat-ta-an	

Col. ii: A	B	C	H
1 a-da-an-na		a-da-an-na	GU ₇ -na
8	GU ₇ -ki-id-du	ak-ku-uš[-ki-id-d]u	nu az-zi-k[i-id-d]u
16	da-a-it-te-ni ²²⁷		

²²⁵ Compare A ii 74: *i-da-a-la-u-an-ni*.²²⁶ Compare line i 53 ka-e-na-a[š].²²⁷ Compare i 49.

A	B	C	H
	na-aš-ma- an -za- an -ká[n	na-aš-ma-za-kán ²²⁸	
19	ta-me-ta-ni	ta-me- e -da-ni ²²⁹	
21 SUD-at-te-ni	ḫu-u-it-ti- ia -at-te-ni	ḫu-u-it-ti-at-te-ni	
22 ta-me-e-da-ni	[ta ¹ l-me-e-da-ni ²³⁰		
23 DINGIR ^{LIM} -ya-ra-aš	DINGIR ^{LIM}	DINGIR ^{LUM}	
	[nu ¹ ya	nu-ut	
25 I]GI ^{HIA} - ya -az	IGI ^{HIA} -az	IGI ^{HIA} - ya -az	

Col. ii: A	B	C	G
31 KÙ.BABBAR- i GUŠKIN- i	KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN	KÙ.BABBAR- i	GUŠKIN- i
TÚG- i	TÚG ^{HIA}	TÚG- i	
DINGIR ^{MES} -aš	DINGIR ^{MES} -aš	DINGIR ^{MES} - na -aš	
35 le-e-pát	le-e	le-e-pát	
36 DUMU-ŠU	DUMU ^{MES} -ŠU	DUMU-ŠU	
pé-e-da- a -i	pé-e-da-i		
ú-nu-ya-aḫ-na- an	ú-nu-ya-aḫ-na- an	ú-nu-ya-aḫ-na- aš	
37 É.G[A]L ^{LIM}	É.GAL ^{LIM}	É.]GAL ^{LIM} - ma	
40 ki-iš-ša-an- na	ki-iš-ša-an		
41 ku-ut-ru-u-uš-ša	ku-ut-ru-ya-aš-ša		
EGIR-an	missing		
44 da-a-li- <i>ia</i> -zi	ta-a-li- <i>ia</i> -zi		
45	add: pí-di		
48 ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-kán	GIM-an-ma-kán		
50 ÚŠ-tar ²³¹	ag-ga-tar ²³²		
51 ḫa-ap-pí-ra-a-iz-zi	ḫa-ap-pí-ra-iz-zi ²³³		
53 mu-un-na-a-iz-zi	mu-un-na-iz-zi		

²²⁸ In line 19 it is written: [na-aš]-ma-an-kán (without -za-).²²⁹ A has the form [d]a-me-e-da-ni on i 13, 22.²³⁰ Compare above ii 19.²³¹ Compare ii 77.²³² Compare ii 55: ÚŠ-tar.²³³ Both forms appear in copy A. Compare ii 50, 53.

Col. ii: A	B	C	E
56	le-e-pát		le-e
58	ḫa-me-eš-ḫa-[an-da-aš]		ḫa-m]e-iš-ḫa[-an-da-aš
60	ḫa-me-eš-ḫi		ḫa-me]-iš-ḫi

Col. ii: A	J	F
71	šu-ma-as	šu-um-ma-aš
72	”-	”-
	ša-an-ḫi-eš-kán-zi	ša-an-ḫi-i]š-kán-zi
79	pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ša-nu-ua-an-te-eš	pa-aḫ-ša-n[u
80	ḫu-da-a-ak	ḫu]-da-ak
	GAM	kat-ta
81	MUNUS-aš	MUNUS-na-aš

Col. iii: A	D
2	še-e-šu-u-an-zi
3	ku-i-ša-aš
4	[k]u-iš-pát-kán im-ma ku ¹ -iš
5	šar-ri-eš-ki-iz-zi
6	še-e-šu-u-ua-an-zi
7	da-an-te-eš
	GE ₆ -az ²³⁴
12	GE ₆ -ti
	ú-e-ḫi-eš-ga-at-tal-la-aš
23	tar-ni-eš-ki-id-du-pát

Col. iii: A	C	E
32	NÍ.TE-ši	NÍ.TE-is-ši
34	lu-ú-ri-eš	lu-ú-ri-iš
35	MUNUS ^{MEŠ}	MUNUS ^{ME.ES}

²³⁴ The same change is following on lines 8, 10.

36	ta-me-e-da-ni	ta-me-e-da-ni	ta-me-da-[ni]
40	ti-ja- ¹ an ¹ -[d]a-an	ti-ja-an-da-an	ti-i-an-ta-a[t]
	[i]-ja-[a]n-du	i-ja-ad-du	
41	ti-ja-an-ta-an	ti-ja-an-da-an	ti-i-an-da (erasure)

Col. iii: A	B	C
47	ki-eš-ta-n[u]-ut-tén	ki-iš-ta-nu-ut-tén
51	LUGAL-aš	LUGA]L-ua-aš
54	pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ša-nu-an-t[e-eš] ²³⁵	pa-aḫ-ša-nu-ua-an-te-eš
58	^{NINDA} ḫar- ¹ ši ¹	^{NINDA} ḫar-ši- ¹ ia-aš
		^{NINDA} ḫar-ši
61	šar-[ri]-eš-kat-ta	šar-ri-eš-kat-ta-ri
62	iš-ḫi-e-ni-uš	iš-ḫi- ¹ ja-ni-uš ²³⁶
	UMBIN ^{MEŠ} - ¹ ja	UMBIN ^{HI.A}
64	Ú-NU-[TE] ^{MEŠ}	Ú-NU-TE ^{HI.A} [^A]
65	ša-a-li-qa	ša-a]-li-ik-[]
66	pé-eš-še-ja-zi	pé-eš-ši-ja-zi
	EN.TU ₇ -ma-at	EN ^{HI.A} TU ₇ -ma-at
68	ma-a-an-na-za	ma-a-na-za
69	ma-a[h]-ḫa-an	GIM-an
	ša-ak-la-in	ša-ak-la-in
72	lu-uk-kat-ti	lu-uk ¹ -kat-ta
73	[ad-da-an-na]-aš	ad-da-an-na
75	add: MAH-RI-ŠU	
76	ma-az-za-az-zi	ma-za-zi
77	^{LÚ} a-ri-iš-si	^{LÚ}]a-ra-aš-ši
		^{LÚ} a-ra-iš-š[i
80	^{DUG} iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi	[^D] ^{UG} iš-pa-an-du-u[z-zi
		^{DUG} iš-pa-an-du-uz-[zi]

²³⁵ Compare ii 79.

²³⁶ Compare i 15.

Col. iv: A	B	H
6 ḥu-u-da-a-ak		ḥ]u-u-da-ak
7 ma-a-an-[na-a]t	ma-a-na-at[ma-a-na-at
9 i-en-zi		i-ia-a]n-zi
11 ya-ar-ša-nu-an-zi DINGIR ^{MEŠ}		ya-ar-ši-[ia-nu-an-zi] DINGIR ^{MEŠ} -aš
13 šu-ma-a-ša-at		š]u-ma-ša-at
16 LÚ ¹ APIN.LÁ-ma-kán		LÚ ¹ APIN.LÁ-ma-at
19 šar-ra-an-ma-za-kán		šar-ra-an-]ma-kán
39 me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da	IGI-an-da	
40 na-a-ú-i	na-a-ḡi ₅	
43 ḥu-u-[el-pí-ma] ²³⁷	ḥu-e-el-pí-ma	

Col. iv: A	B
44 iz-za-at-te-ni	e-iz-za-at-te-ni
45 EGIR-iz-zi-an-ma-at	EGIR-zi-an-ma-at
48 [pí-e-da]-at-te-ni	pí-e-da-at-tén
49 ḥu-u-el-pí	ḥu-e-el-pí
50 na-aš-ma-ya-ra-aš	na-aš-ma-ya-ra-at
51 ta-me-e-da-ni	ta-a-me-ta-ni
52 DINGIR ^{MEŠ} -aš-ma-ya-kán za-am-mu-ra-a-u-e-en	šu-me-eš-aš-ma-ya-ra-kán za-am-mu-ra-u-e-en
53 pá-r-ku-ya-e-eš	pár-ku-ya-e!
54 šu-me-el	šu-me-eš!-el
58 GAM-an	kat-ta-an
61 KASKAL ^{N/}	KASKAL
65 e-da-an-zi pí-di-eš-ši-ma ma-ak-la-an-ta-an	a-da-an-zi pí-di-ši-ma [ma-ak-la-a]n-da-an
66 iš-du-ya-a-ri ²³⁸	iš-du-u-ya-ri ¹

²³⁷ Compare iv 39, 49.²³⁸ Compare iv 68.

67	ZI-aš-ša-aš	ZI-ni (ers.)
69	GIŠ ^v -iš-ta-na-az	iš-ta-na-na-az
	GAM	kat-ta
71	KAXU-az	KAXU-za
76	zu-u-ya	zu-u-ya-aš

The main conclusion to draw from the comparison of the variations in the different copies of the text is that we have one original text on which all the copies are based. The differences or changes in the phrasing of the text are marginal, such as in col. iv 52, where we may see a difference between copies A and B due to a corruption of B. Otherwise the three best preserved copies, A-B-C, show minimal variation. The variants are mainly a result of updating the text and changes in scribal writings.

It has to be emphasized that all copies are written in the New Hittite script of the 13th century.²³⁹ Thus, all the copies can be dated to the later period of the Hittite Kingdom.²⁴⁰

That the main tablet of the text, KUB 13.4, is apparently a copy of an earlier text, can be seen especially from two cases of missing words added above the line, where the writing is otherwise clean and systematic. The two cases are col. i line 65 and col. ii line 38. The chart of the variations between the copies shows that this text (Copy A) is closer than the others to the supposed Middle Hittite forerunner. In this text (Copy A) there is a tendency to write plene forms such as *i-da-a-la-u-uh-ḥa-an-zi*, *ḥa-ap-pí-ra-a-iz-zi*, *iš-ḥi-e-ni-uš*, *ma-a-an-na-za*, *mu-un-na-a-iz-zi* and use the full writing of a word instead of logograms, such as *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma-kán*, instead of *GIM-an-ma-kán*. But this can also be the opposite where text A uses a logogram and other copies use the full word, such as *GE₆-az* for *iš-pa-an-da-az-za*; and for *SUD-at-te-ni*, copy B has the form *ḥu-u-it-ti-ia-at-te-ni*²⁴¹ and Copy C has *ḥu-u-it-ti-at-te-ni*.

The sign -tén, which indicates a later period of the Hittite writing, appears in all manuscripts (there is never the form -te-en

²³⁹ The script can be determined according to the following signs for each copy: Copy A: NA, JA, DU, KI, LÚ, TAR, GI, TE; Copy B: NA, JA, DU, KAT, AZ; Copy C: AZ, NA, TÉN, DU, TAR, GI; Copy D: KI, AZ, JA; Copy E: JA, DU; F: cannot be determined; G: LI, NI; Copy H: TÉN, AZ, TAR, NA (*CHD* P/3 252^a defines it Late NS); Copy I: cannot be determined.²⁴⁰ See more on the date of the text under 3.9.5 pp. 135-139.²⁴¹ Compare manuscripts variants in Hoffner (1997b) 248 no. 167.

for the 2nd person plural preterite/imperative).²⁴²

It is difficult to date the manuscripts relative to one another. All the manuscripts are written in New Script, so the changes are merely the result of the copying scribes. Still we would like to note some principal differences between the manuscripts.

Copy A shows more use of logographic writing, in addition to plene forms. This text systematically uses *-eš* where the other texts use *-iš-* (col. ii 58, 60; col. iii 23, 34, 47) and also *-še-* while C uses *-ši-* (iii 66).

Copy A and B both use DINGIR^{LIM}, while Copy C has DINGIR^{LUM}. But Copy C shows an older form for *lu-uk-kat-ta* where A has *lu-uk-kat-ti*, and also where A has *ma-a-an-na-za*, C has *ma-a-na-za*.

Copy D has plene writing *ta-a-an-te-eš* where A has *da-an-te-eš*, and instead of the logogram in A GE₆, it has the full word *iš-pa-an-ti*. But where A has *še-e-šu-u-ua-an-zi* D has *še-šu-u-ua-an-zi*. Again we can see a stage of transition before the late Imperial system of writing.

Copy E in relation to Copy A and C shows two differences: the writing of *-iš-* where A has *-eš-*, and where A and C have the form *ti-ia-an-da-an*, Copy E has *ti-i-an-ta-a[t]/ ti-i-an-da*.

Copy F shows three variants. The first: where A has *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ša-nu-ua-an-te-eš*, belonging to the older Hittite language, Copy F has *pa-aḥ-ša-n[u]*, a form used in Middle Hittite as well as New Hittite.²⁴³ But the two other variants are a word written syllabically: *kat-ta* where A has a logogram GAM, and the third variant, MUNUS-*na-aš* where A has MUNUS-*aš*. Hoffner shows that the form MUNUS-*na-an* is used in the Old manuscripts of the Hittite laws where the younger text shows MUNUS-*an*.²⁴⁴

Copy G shows no variants.

Copy H shows more variations than any of the other copies, and it may be a result of the work of an untrained scribe. For instance, H shows the full writing of the word ^{DUG}*iš-pa-an-du-uz-zi-ia*, where A uses the logogram *IŠ-TU GAL-ia*. Thus also where C has GU₇-*ki-id-du*, H has *az-zi-k[i-id-du]*. But then when A and C have the full writing of the word *a-da-an-na*, H has GU₇-*na*. In col. i 54 the word *ku-iš-ki* is missing, and in i 60 the order of the words is reversed. Two other variants include *a-pí-e-el-la* where A and C

²⁴² See Houwink ten Cate (1970) 49.

²⁴³ See CHD P/1: 7^b.

²⁴⁴ Hoffner (1997b) 241 no. 35.

have *a-pí-e-el*, and the additional *-a* is not clear, and SAG.DU-*az* in Copy A for SAG.DU-*za* in H.

On listing out the copies of the text of CTH 264 above (p.39), I noted text IBoT 4.5, which reads:

] Q ¹ A-TI {	f]inished[
E]N ^{MEŠ} TU, DING[IR	kitc]hen attendants of the go[d

The text was suggested by Pecchioli Daddi to be a colophon of CTH 264. I believe this suggestion should be rejected based upon the material at hand, for two reasons: 1) As shown in this section, all copies of CTH 264 follow a main text. Its colophon does not start with the word *QA-TI* but rather ends with it; 2) None of the copies of the text of ITP has the writing of the sign MEŠ with two wedges only (a comparatively late sign). This fragment probably cannot be a join to any of the remaining copies of the text in hand. It may have belonged to any ritual text in which the kitchen attendants have cultic obligations.

3.8 Commentary to CTH 264

(According to paragraphs and lines)

§1

Lines 1-13: This paragraph is entirely broken on the first lines, and can be preserved only partially. Lines 11-12 should be understood in light of §6/2: 7. If we accept the reading of a *ša-* before the break at the end of line 12, that might be the beginning of the verb *šarra-* “to cross”, and refer to crossing the threshold.

13: For *šarḫuwant-*, regarded in the translation as the sg. form since nom.-acc. pl. N. means “Leibesfrucht” (fetus, embryo), (see Kronasser, *EHS*: 263); also *CHD Š*: 253-254. For *ḫarni[k]teni* (“do not destroy!”) see Puhvel, *HED* 3:162. It should reflect the responsibility of the Temple-Men to check the intestines of all sacrificed animals.

§2

15-16: These lines refer to the need for purity demanded from the priests at service. Two words are used, *parkui-* and *ḡarp-*. The first translates “pure”, the second “wash”. However, as it seems from the text, the word *parkui-* stands for the result of the act of *ḡarp-*. By washing, the servant or priest becomes clean ritually, thus by washing the clothes they are clean for the service of the gods. The translation used, therefore, is “ritually clean”. In §17, 32 the word *parkui-* in the verbal form *parkuešteni* clearly relates to “purity” of both body and soul. See more under 3.9.4.4 pp 123-124.

From the basic meaning of *kartai-* “to cut [off]” in the context of removing evil, I therefore suggested “remove impurities”. Puhvel, *HED* 4:109-110 gives the meaning “clip” and translates: “let them be scrubbed [and] clipped”. McMahon translates “trimmed”. Possibly *kartanteš* can mean “shaved”, removing the hair. But, the removal of the hair is mentioned separately in the following sentence. Recently, Scheyhing (1998) gave an overview of hair shearing in Akkadian texts relating to all temple personnel, not only priests, dating from the last third of the second millennium to the mid-first millennium. In light of theoretical considerations of cultic hair-shearing he concludes that the Akkadian term *gullubu/gallubu* relates to shearing of hair from all body parts and not only the head. This act is part of ritual purification schema. It represents at the same time separation from the impurities of the outside world and integration or even incorporation into the purity of the inner world of the temple, the house of the gods. Shearing of the hair should be seen as part of the rite of passage, as described by van Gennep (1960) 10-13 passim. See also Stol, *RIA* 11/3-4 “Rasieren”; Haroutunian (2002) 43-52.

20: Compare *CHD*, P/2 p.193^b = *paršuraš peda-* “cooking area, kitchen”?

21: “Is the soul of a human and of the gods any different?” This sentence is recognized as a question by the word *kuiški-* appearing at the end. Similar syntax is found on the following line 28. The word for soul is written with the Sumerogram *ZI*, which is often used in ITP. It reads in Hittite *ištanza*, and is translated: “soul, spirit, mind or will” (Puhvel, *HED* 1-2: 468). In a long discussion of the Hittite term, Kammenhuber made an attempt to clarify the strict meaning of this noun (Kammenhuber, 1964-65). It basically identifies the non-physical aspect of the gods and of human beings. If the ancients identified the body as the physical aspect of human beings and thus also the gods, then the soul - a non-physical aspect, which cannot be seen or touched - is the part where wishes, pleasure, and other feelings reside. In most cases in the above translation of the ITP, the word “soul” is used to translate *ZI*; in a few cases the word “will” seems to fit better.

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26: Puhvel, *HED* 5:31 “he is relaxed in spirit” which he explains as “passive partitive apposition”. Compare *CHD* L-N p.3: “Since his master eats and drinks (in) his mind he is relieved”. See also Neu, *StBoT* 5: 164.

27: *šakuuḡai* - “look, see”. *šakuḡannant* (adj.) “neglected”(?) “idle”(?) *CHD Š*/1: 57^b (pre-NH/NS). The passage is unclear because of the meaning of *ḡanḡaniḡa-* with the gloss-wedges. Reading *kuwapi* in the sense of “once” indicates the servant as the subject, in which case *ḡanḡaniḡa-* may have the meaning of “displeased”? as Puhvel, *HED* 3: 89, or “aufmerksam sein” as *HW²* ḡ (12) 158, meaning the master is not aware of the mistake or he does not pay attention since usually the servant is good.

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33: The verb *ak-* appears six times (and once restored) in the ITP. The “capital penalty” is most crucial to these instructions. On this line we find the form *ak-ki-ja* to be read *aki-ia*; *-a/ ia* here standing for “but”; *HW²* 1: 43. The word “die” here means unnatural death, “be executed”, as suggested by Beal (2002) 11.

3.8 Commentary to CTH 264

(According to paragraphs and lines)

§1

Lines 1-13: This paragraph is entirely broken on the first lines, and can be preserved only partially. Lines 11-12 should be understood in light of §6/2: 7. If we accept the reading of a *ša-* before the break at the end of line 12, that might be the beginning of the verb *šarra-* “to cross”, and refer to crossing the threshold.

13: For *šarhuwant-*, regarded in the translation as the sg. form since nom.-acc. pl. N. means “Leibesfrucht” (fetus, embryo), (see Kronasser, *EHS*: 263); also *CHD Š*: 253-254. For *harni[k]teni* (“do not destroy!”) see Puhvel, *HED* 3:162. It should reflect the responsibility of the Temple-Men to check the intestines of all sacrificed animals.

§2

15-16: These lines refer to the need for purity demanded from the priests at service. Two words are used, *parkui-* and *yarp-*. The first translates “pure”, the second “wash”. However, as it seems from the text, the word *parkui-* stands for the result of the act of *yarp-*. By washing, the servant or priest becomes clean ritually, thus by washing the clothes they are clean for the service of the gods. The translation used, therefore, is “ritually clean”. In §17, 32 the word *parkui-* in the verbal form *parkuešteni* clearly relates to “purity” of both body and soul. See more under 3.9.4.4 pp 123-124.

From the basic meaning of *kartai-* “to cut [off]” in the context of removing evil, I therefore suggested “remove impurities”. Puhvel, *HED* 4:109-110 gives the meaning “clip” and translates: “let them be scrubbed [and] clipped”. McMahon translates “trimmed”. Possibly *kartanteš* can mean “shaved”, removing the hair. But, the removal of the hair is mentioned separately in the following sentence. Recently, Scheyhing (1998) gave an overview of hair shearing in Akkadian texts relating to all temple personnel, not only priests, dating from the last third of the second millennium to the mid-first millennium. In light of theoretical considerations of cultic hair-shearing he concludes that the Akkadian term *gullubu/gallubu* relates to shearing of hair from all body parts and not only the head. This act is part of ritual purification schema. It represents at the same time separation from the impurities of the outside world and integration or even incorporation into the purity of the inner world of the temple, the house of the gods. Shearing of the hair should be seen as part of the rite of passage, as described by van Gennepe (1960) 10-13 passim. See also Stol, *RIA* 11/3-4 “Rasieren”; Haroutunian (2002) 43-52.

20: Compare *CHD*, P/2 p.193^b = *paršuraš peda-* “cooking area, kitchen”?

21: “Is the soul of a human and of the gods any different?” This sentence is recognized as a question by the word *kuiški-* appearing at the end. Similar syntax is found on the following line 28. The word for soul is written with the Sumerogram *ZI*, which is often used in ITP. It reads in Hittite *ištanza*, and is translated: “soul, spirit, mind or will” (Puhvel, *HED* 1-2: 468). In a long discussion of the Hittite term, Kammenhuber made an attempt to clarify the strict meaning of this noun (Kammenhuber, 1964-65). It basically identifies the non-physical aspect of the gods and of human beings. If the ancients identified the body as the physical aspect of human beings and thus also the gods, then the soul - a non-physical aspect, which cannot be seen or touched - is the part where wishes, pleasure, and other feelings reside. In most cases in the above translation of the ITP, the word “soul” is used to translate *ZI*; in a few cases the word “will” seems to fit better.

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§3

35: *šanahzi*- “to seek”, here in the meaning of revenge. See *CHD* Š/1: 167^{b/5}.

37: *halkitta*- for the comitative usage of the instrumental *-it*, see *HW*² H: 61^a.
humandatz- ablative of accompaniment, see Melchert (1977) 213.

38: See *CHD* L-N: 185^b “be extremely mindful (lit. afraid) in a matter pertaining to a god”. The verb *nah(h)* - means “fear, afraid, respectful, reverent” and “careful toward” *CHD* L-N: 338^b. It appears 6 times in the ITP, always in regard to the demand of being fearful of the gods. In all cases the verb appears with the reflexive particle *-za* and only once instead of it with the enclitic personal pronoun third person pl. in dative *-šmaš* (§14, 56-7) *nu-uš-ma-aš* DINDIR^{MEŠ}-aš *zi-ni me-na-[(a)]h-ḫa-an-Ida* me-ik-ki na-aḫ-ḫa-an-te-eš e-eš-tén. Only in this case would I translate “be very much afraid for your own sake”.

§4

39: For the festival of the Stag, reading *AYALU* for “deer”, see Collins (2003) 76-82. For a discussion of the festival see below under 3.9.4.3 pp. 118-119.

40: The word *hiyara*- has been suggested to be derived from the Akkadian name *ayyārū* (in Hebrew *’iyar*) the month of spring, April-May. See Puhvel, *HED*, 3: 304. Another possible explanation for the word is the Akkadian *ayaru*-plant, see *CAD*, A/1: 229-30. Recently Hutter (2002) 190-1 suggested identifying it with the North-Syrian semi-nomadic festival of *ḫiḫarum*, “the festival of the ass/donkey”, celebrated to the Storm-god of Aleppo, and attested to also in texts from Mari, Alalakh, Ugarit, and Emar. However, as noted by M. E. Cohen (1993) 374, it may very well be that the name of the month derives from that festival being celebrated on that month. In KBo 14.142 ii 41 EZEN₄ *hi-i[a-ar-ra]* it is probably being provided by people related to Aleppo, for which see below (under 3.9.4.3 pp. 119-120). See also the next festival mentioned in the same tablet.

41: Festival of *pudaḫa*-; the festival is mentioned in relation to the town of *Ḫalap*-Aleppo; its palace attendants are to provide for this festival when it is celebrated to Teššub and Ḫepat in Ḫattuša in the 8th month of the year (KBo 14.142 ii 5-7, 28-32). See *CHD* P/3: 401^a.

42: For a possible meaning of this title as those who take care of the incubation oracles, see Beckman, *StBoT* 29: 157, and see below 4.1.2.4 p. 148.

43: ^{LU}ŠU.GI - “old men”, a kind of religious figure, like a priest. It may also mean here a festival for the ^{LU}SANGA ŠU.GI, whom we encounter in other texts. On this title for the SANGA-priest, see below 4.1.2.6 p. 154.

As for EZEN₄ *dahjaš* one may connect it with the ^{LU}*dahjalla*- (= ^{LU}SU. I) “a

barber”, who is a cult functionary.

44: For the festival of the lot see below on the inauguration of a SANGA-priest 4.1.8 p. 217. For the *ḫahratar*- festival, Puhvel, *HED* 3: 6-7 gives the translation of “harvest? festival”, relating it to the noun *ḫaḫra*- “rake”. Thus also *HW*² H: 12-13.

46: *eššatteni*- for the meaning of *ešša*- “to celebrate a festival”, see Puhvel examples *HED* 1-2: 302-3. On *humandaz*- see above line 37.

§5

54: The word *Ú-BA-RUM* translated here as a “foreign official”, has been dealt in detail by Klinger (1992) 199ff, as a Hittite term for “stranger”. His conclusion regarding the meaning of the word is that a person bearing this title is a foreigner, who at the same time is engaged with an official mission. He could be a foreign representative, or a diplomat. As such he could be taking part in cult matters as a delegate from abroad (p. 204). Klinger does, however, mention Neu’s proposal (*StBoT* 12, 76-9) that the *UBARU*-people had strong connections with the cult sphere, and that they may be seen as a kind of Amphiktionia, who fulfilled their cult obligations in a shared way. Klinger in his last translation of this text (2001) 75, translates *aššūanza* ^{LU}Ú-B[(A-R)UM] “befreundeter Fremder”. Since the word *aššūant*- from *ašš*- “good, dear, favored” is used often in the treaties to indicate the good relationship with the Hittite king (*HW*² 6: 505^b), I find it suitable to translate on this line “allied foreign official”. This official is not necessarily a friend of the priests, but rather of the king. Still he needs a permission to cross the threshold of the temple.

57: “share by share”, i.e. “divided into portions”.

58: McMahon translates: “will be upon your head” *CoS* 1: 218. Melchert (1977) 214 ex. 72: “May this matter of dividing up be put under (an oath) for you with respect to your heads” (i.e. “be a capital crime”). Melchert assumes omission of *linkiya*-. The ablative *SAG.DU-az* specifies the application of the oath comparing to the collocation: *linkiya-nnaš-at* / [k]attan kittaru “let it be put under an oath”. Similarly Goetze suggested already in (1959) 65-6 that the phrase is to be compared with phrases most characteristic for the “oaths” of the officials. They come at the end of paragraphs: *nu apaš memiyaš linkiya kattan kittaru* translated: “Let that matter be placed under the oath”.

The verb *šar-ra-at-te-ni* from *šarra*- is to be translated “to distribute”, in the meaning of “passing, transferring”, coming from the word “cross”; *šarra*- appearing with *-kán* indicates the idea of passing a certain line, limit. This meaning is to be understood regarding the food of the gods. That food should not go out of the temple; in this line as well as in the next line 59 and

in §6/2, 6 where the restoration is *šar-ra-at-te-ni* with the *-kán* at the beginning of the sentence, the translation should be “distribute”.

59: From: *appa uahnu-* “turning back” in the meaning: “his fate is inevitable”.

§6/1

60: Puhvel, *HED* 3:375, translates this line: “of bread, beer, and wine in the temple offer up everything”.

61: The verb *daliija-* means “to leave, leave behind, omit”. See Kronasser *EHS*: 547; Klinger translates “versäumen” in the sense of neglect. However, we have here *-za daliija-* and that could have two meanings: “leave something unattended” or “leave behind for oneself” meaning “to keep for personal use” as was indicated in §5, 52, and with the same verb in the same passage §6/1, 61, where the priests are to take an oath for not keeping the sacred bread for themselves. See also §8, 44.

62: The translation follows copy H. McMahon’s: “And let no one pour out beer (or) wine off the top of the cup”, can be strengthened by KUB 25.37 i 20’-30 translated by Güterbock (1995) 63-5: “The men of Lullupiya lift [...]. [When they fill?] a *huhupal*-vessel, what [mar]nuwan [is poured] down that is not [to be lost?]. [It is there]fore certainly? [m]a[de] to be preserved. Then if (it) flows out of the upper [huh]upal, then it flows from that down into the lower *huhupal*. And the god drinks it from that one. But it does not flow to the ground. For that reason it is made to be preserved. It is for that reason they arrange? one *huhupal* above the other.”

§6/2

1: The restoration of *a-aš-ša-an* is suggested on the basis of biblical sacrificial law in Leviticus 19:6-8 “It shall be eaten on the day you sacrifice it, or on the following day, but *what is left* by the third day must be consumed in fire”.

3: Another possible translation of this line: “you (may) keep eating and drinking it for three days”.

4: The *piyantalla*-bread, according to van Brock (and the *CHD* P/3: 252), can be a derivative of the participle *piyant-* “to give”; therefore it may mean “donated bread”. In what way is it different from the daily bread given to the gods by the priests is not clear. Since the bread has to be sacred, one assumes it must be prepared in the temple’s bakery as well.

5: Puhvel, *HED* 4:124-5 suggests the word ^{GIS}*kattaluzzi-* “threshold”, from *kattera-* “lower cross-beam of doorway” as in Latin *limen*. He also points to the literal sense of *katta-luzzi-* as “cut-along, cross-cutting”, hence “horizontal

cross-beam”. Regarding our translation and restoration, *šarra-* in the meaning of crossing the threshold was quite difficult to understand in this context. Aren’t the priests supposed to cross into the temple with beer and wine? Once the beer and wine are up in the temple they should keep it there. I therefore suggest here that the priests, as they are forbidden in §5, 56-59 to distribute the offerings in general, are specifically forbidden to give out the bread and the beverages. (See above comment to §5, 58). When translated according to the meaning “distribute”, the sentence is logical also considering the continuation of the paragraph, where the priests are warned not to let unqualified people eat and drink in the temple. The ITP text uses the verb *šarra-* in both meaning “cross” and from it sub meaning “distribute”, while using the nominal form (*taksan*) *šarran* in the meaning of “portion”.

9: The Hittite word is written in the Sumerograms DUMU LÚ.U₁₉.LU meaning literally “a son of a human-being, person, man(kind)”. In the Hittite laws LÚ.U₁₉.LU, law number 19 says as follows: *ta-ku* LÚ.U₁₉.LU *-an* LÚ^{URU}*-an-na-ku* MUNUS^{URU}*-na-ku* ^{URU}*Ha-at-tu-ša-az ku-iš-ki* LÚ^{URU}*lu-ú-i-ia-aš ta-a-i-ez-zi*. “If a Luwian abducts a free person, man or woman, from the land of Hatti” (according to Hoffner, *Laws*: 30). Hoffner explains that the LÚ.U₁₉.LU should be understood as a free person, since it could not be used for a slave, thus he must have been a valuable man (Hoffner, *ibid*:180). For our text it is important to note that the person can be male or female, and that the term stands in contrast to the word *UBARU*. *UBARU*, so it must be a person who can be regarded as one of the Hittites of Hattuša. As for the identification of ^{URU}*Ha-at-tu-ša*, Hoffner emphasizes that despite the city determinative it can mean also “Hatti-land” in the law. We may take this term ^{URU}*Ha-at-tu-ša-aš* DUMU LÚ.U₁₉.LU as a “native descendent of the city Hattuša / the land of Hatti.” The contrast between a Hittite and an *UBARU* is found in KBo 10.31 rev. iv 24’-28’: “two pieces of *HALA*-meat they put for the *UBARU*-men, one piece of *HALA*-meat for the men of Hatti”. The group of *UBARU*-men appear in cultic texts, standing in front of the royal couple or bowing to them. Klinger therefore summarizes that “the *UBARU* in the Hittite texts has the meaning which includes people who are of non-local origin, and that are engaged with official mission. A foreigner, such as a Diplomat”. In this case the word *UBARU* may stand in the same rubric as the Hebrew word ‘ger’. See also Klinger (1992) 187-212. Compare the description of Prechel (1992) of the outsider in Meopotamia.

10: *ÚŠ-tar* read *ag-ga-tar* is seen in §8, 50 copy C; see already Kühne (1977) 253. *aggatar*, a verbal noun from *ak-* meaning “death”, is repeated in ITP three times in the phrases SAG.DU-aš *ÚŠ-tar*. This phrase is correlated in the ITP with SAG.DU-aš *ua-aš-túl* thus “sin or death of the head”, to be translated “capital punishment”, as shown by Sturtevant (1934) 376, 396.

§7

15: For *ḥali*- “corral” see Puhvel, *HED* 1: 496.

17: Following *HW*² A: 394^b *ašawar*-, with *-za* = “für euch”.

18: SIG₅-in *ija*- “treat well” - *nu-za* ZI^{UL} -*KU-NU* SIG-in *i-ja-at-te-ni* : “and you treat your souls well”. See also *HW*² A: 534^a under *aššul*-.

21: “pull from the mouth” - Melchert (1977) 254 ex. 132 indicates regarding KAxU-*it* that MH/NH copies of Old Hittite texts show a handful of instances where the instrumental marks a separation as in this case.

23: For the reading “[bri]ng” see transliteration’s restoration.

25: This line seems to have been added here by association, relating to the word *ṣzūyan*- “food” in the previous line. It disturbs the smooth continuation between two sentences. Line 25 seems to be a general warning. It seems to be a call for the god’s awareness and not part of the thoughts of the corrupted temple personnel.

28: *kuedani meḥuni*- “at this time” *CHD* L-M : 241^a.

§8

32: Klinger (2001) 76 translates TÚG-i Ú-NU-UT ZABAR e-eš-zi NU.GÁL “(Auf Silber, Gold) Kleidung (und) Bronzegegerätschaften *gibt es keinen Anspruch*”; thus also McMahon, *CoS* 1: 218^b: “(You have) no (right) to the silver, gold, clothing (or) bronze implements of the gods”.

33: These two lines 32-33 are not clear grammatically. As indicated by Ose (1944) 46-47 and 81, when NÚ.GAL is used, the verb *eš*- is not used. But in these sentences twice the emphasis is both on the things belonging to the gods which “are not for the priests”. Also, the use of *eš*- with *-za* is expected only in first and second person (Hoffner, 1969). It may be that for the sake of emphasis, the verb *eš*- is used, and that the *-za* refers back to the priests; and so I translated “for you”. The above translation follows McMahon (*CoS* 1: 218 n. 8) who followed Goetze (*ANET*, p.208). Line 33 can also be translated: “(even) what is not in(side) the gods’ house, whatever it is, it only (belongs) to the god.”

36-37: A-NA DAM-ŠU-ja-an-za-an - for the double accusative + *-za* with the verb *ija*- see van den Hout (1992) 284.

39-40: the literal translation of the two sentences: KILÁ.BI-ŠU-ja-at ma-ši-ua-[an] na-at i-ja-an-pát e-eš-du “Also recording its weight; it should

indeed be done”.

44: See §6/1, 61: *-za da-a-li-ja-zi* “leave behind for oneself (use)”.

45: Copy B: “at a secret place”.

46: EN^{MES} URU^{URU}Ja-at-ti: If the Sumerogram E always correlates the Akkadogram *BEL* “lord” in Hittite texts, it is interesting to point out Beal’s comment (*THeth* 20: 492-3) that the Hittites used this title “especially in legal expressions”.

47: For the understanding of the verbs to buy and to sell (*uaš/ija- ušnija-*) in this paragraph, see Neu (1980a) 79. For the reading *piran šiandu* - “seal in advance/provisionally”, see *CHD*, P/3: 302 2’.

55: Literally: “they are not [?] of god”. I assume nothing is written at the end of the line.

§9

62-63: Note the use of *-šmaš* in these two lines for the third plural; see Puhvel, *HED* 4: 149.

65: Dat. + *appan tiia-* literally: “to stand behind someone”, following Süel’s translation. See Kronasser, *EHS*: 489 for the attestations of *tiya*- “treten, sich stellen”. McMahon follows the *CHD* L-M: 273,3, which translates “let me off”. The main idea is that the temple personnel will back him and leave him to finish his other business, thus not fulfilling his religious duties.

69: McMahon, *CoS* 1: 219, takes the verb as a form of the medio-passive of *auš*- “to see” and translates “he must not *persuade* you”. Thus also Klinger (2001) 77, “Er soll euch nicht *überreden*”. The translations differ: Sturtevant “let him not be pitied by you”; Goetze: “let him not *take precedence* (of the gods)”; Süel: “let him not do evil to you”. Süel’s translation and Goetze’s are close to the meaning suggested by Neu (*StBoT* 5: 186), “ein Leid zufügen”, from the medio-passive verb *uyaija-*. His translation is as follows: “nach des Menschen Willen handelt ja nicht, *er darf euch nicht leid tun*, nach dem Willen der Götter sollt ihr keine Bezahlung annehmen!” This meaning of *uyai-* is also given by Kronasser, *EHS*:121, 479.

70: McMahon’s translation, *CoS* 1: 219: “Do not conduct business concerning the will of the gods”.

72: *ša-an-ḫi-eš-kán-zi* considering the iterative form here, I added in the translation the word “all”. For the verb compare above §3 line 35.

76: É-ir-ra-za i-ja-at-te-ni “and make a house *for yourselves*” - for the combination -za i-ja- as “do for oneself” see van den Hout (1992) 281.

§10/1

81: Hoffner, *Laws* : 61 n.203 reads *tarḥuzzi-* “overcome”. His translation therefore is: “And if desire for a woman (lit. “matter of a woman”) overcomes someone, then let him sleep with a woman”.

§10/2

7: LÚ^{MES} *ueḥišgattalleš* - this is the only text (according to Pecchioli Daddi, 1982: 460), which mentions this office of guards. The title means “walk around”; see Neu, *StBoT* 5: 197. Thus the translation “patrol” fits their job. See also Beal, *THeth* 20: 260-1.

9: The *ḥaliyattalla*: ‘watchers’ according to Puhvel, *HED* 3: 24--6 and *HW*² Ḫ (11) 41-43, pointing out that it appears first in NH texts. The *ḥaliyattalla*-men can be understood as guards who do not belong to the Temple-Men, but rather belong to the general guard of the city; see “watchers of the mountains and the woods”, *HW*² Ḫ (11) 42. See also Beal, *THeth* 20: 251-260. We may note a play on words *ḥali...* *uški-* (“keep watch”) and *ḥaliyattalla-* (“watchers”) in this line. The translation of the word *ḥali-* as “precinct” is not accepted by Puhvel, nor by *HW*² Ḫ (11): 31. See also below §11: 24.

12: Literally “Be running in front”.

18: See *CHD* L-N: 185^b “Guard the temples very carefully. Don’t fall asleep”. The word *ḥali-* (“watch, night watch”) indicates guarding at night, which was divided into three periods: “first - *ḥantezzi ḥali*, middle - *ištarniya ḥali*, last - *appezzi ḥali*”. See Puhvel, *HED* 3: 24-6.

20: “Shall not be forgiven” is literally: “not be turned”; see Neu, *StBoT* 5:197, “der soll getötet werden, Ausflüchte darf er keine machen!”. Sturtevant, McMahon and Stiel: “let him not be pardoned”.

§11

21: Hoffner, *Laws*: 1: “(Concerning) the rule which exists for someone in Ḫattuša: If any priest or GUDU-priest is in the habit of releasing watch-men, by all means let him continue to release them”. Hoffner brings this example under the attempt to explain the meaning of the Hittite word *šaklai-*. This word is usually translated as “custom” or “rite”, but, as Hoffner says, it often has a force as strong as “law”. In this case it is meant for “legal regulations” for the guards. Hoffner mentions also that the negative is *natta āra-* “not customary/ allowed”, which appears in the Akkadian of Ḫattušili III’s letter as *ú-ul pār-šu*. Hoffner, *ibid*, note 2, and also Cohen, *THeth* 24: 30, 146. The

basic meaning of the Akkadian word *pār-šu-* is “cultic ordinance(s), rites”. However, as Hurowitz (1998) 67-8 showed, the Akkadian *pāršu-* has the meaning of “law” as well.

23: This “someone” is not a SANGA-priest or a GUDU-priest, who are responsible for admitting the guards into the temple watch-duty.

24: If we do accept the meaning of *ḥali-* as “precinct”, then we can translate like McMahon and Sturtevant: “let him also go to the precinct enclosure”. But then we must accept this translation for §10/2: 9 as well: “Outside, let the *ḥaliyattalla*-men watch the precinct.” Our translation, not accepting the meaning “precinct” is also supported now by Beal, *THeth* 20: 252-254, with n. 962.

26: The literal translation of nu ma-a-an INIM LÚ^{KUR} ku-iš-ki is in the singular: “If (there is) some hostile matter”.

27: The Hittite verb here is *za-am-mu-ra-u-ya-an-zi* (Infinitive. I) “to insult, offend”. This verb indeed refers to the insult of the gods in §18: 52, where the suspected cowherds and shepherds are made to swear that they did not cheat while bringing the animals from the corral and fold to the temple (49-52): DINGIR^{MES} *aš-ma-ya-kán ZI-an za-am-mu-ra-a-u-e-en*, rendered as “(then) we have offended/insulted the soul/will of the gods”. The offence could be of any kind, such as causing defilement, stealing from the food or wealth of the gods, or it could be a slander, saying evil words regarding the gods. The verb appears also in the instructions of Tudḫaliya II to the army KUB 13.20 i 26-7: *ma-a-an-kán a-pa-a-aš-ma DUMU.LUGAL na-aš-ma BE-LUM tu-uz-zi-ja pí-ra-an ar-ha i-da-a-lu ut-tar pé-e-ḫu-te[-iz-zi] na-aš-ta UTU^{SI} za-am-mu-ra-a-iz-zi šu-ma-aš-ša-an e-ep-tén na-an MA-HAR UTU^{SI} ú-ya-te-it-tén* “However, if that prince or lord parades evil word before the army and slanders/offends My Majesty, then you seize him and bring him before My Majesty”. *CHD* P/3 259^b. Also Alp, *Belleten*, 11(1947) 407, who identifies the king as Tudḫaliya IV. The equivalent phraseology *idālu uttar* - (“evil word”) and *zammurai-* in this text, and INIM LÚ^{KUR}- (“hostile word”) with *zammurai* in our text, clarifies that it is a slander against the city rulers, as well as its gods. Therefore only one temple guard can be sent to deal with the “slander”, and it is not some kind of attack or attempt to cause physical damage to the temple.

30: Even when there is a threat to the temple, the Temple-Men, i.e. the priests, must sleep at the temple, and not fail to do so.

§12

36: McMahon, *CoS* 1: 220 translates this line as follows: “[I]f some x[*ḫumeyanza* person becomes drunk in the temple or another sacred building”.

Süel's translation is "[When] some person in a temple or another sacred place fights and causes a disturbance". Klinger (2001) 78: ³⁶ [When ein -*kuh^amejanza* im Innern des Temples oder in einem anderen ³⁷geweihten Gebäude sich betrinkt". If we restore the line with Süel and McMahon, then we may read it as follows: nu [ma-a-a]n [^{LÜ}]rúh-me-ja-an-za. I would have been inclined to read here *duddumeianza* "deaf (person)", who could indeed cause strife in a temple. For similar phrasing regarding a disturbance in a temple see ICBG (2.3 above p. 14) col. iii lines 17-21.

38: Literally EZEN, *za-aḥ-zi*: "he beats the festival".

43: For this translation of *happuṣ*- see Puhvel, *HED* 3: 133-4, and also *HW²* 𒄀 (14) 258^b "nachholen".

§13

48: For "burning" see McMahon, *CoS* 1: 220 n.16.

53: Literally: "even not one is of living".

§14

59: See above §2, 20.

63: See above §2, 27 for *ṣanḥaniia* - .

71: According to Süel's reading SA[L]-i [GAM-an ṣ]e-[e]ṣ-[d]u, the translation should be: "Let him sleep with the woman".

73: See *CHD* L-N: 77^b.

75: *MAḤ-RI-ŠU* and *LÜ.GAL-ŠU* seems to mean the same, "a superior". Since *MAḤRU* (+declination) appears also in §17, 45, 50, it may be that this word in this line had been added in copy A for clarification. Another possibility is indeed a different meaning for the two titles. *LÜ.GAL.ŠU* means his direct overseer, while *MAḤ-RI-ŠU* means any person superior to him in rank or in social status (*CAD*, M/1: 109 4' *mahrû*).

77: ^{LÜ}*a-ra*, "member of one's group, peer, comrade, partner, fellow, friend"; Puhvel, *HED* 1:116. See also now Y. Cohen, *THeth* 24: 20-22.

80: See *CHD* L-N:172 5'.

81: For the meaning of *uṣaiia*- as "be sorry for s.o/ piety s.o", see Neu, *StBoT* 5: 185, and above §9, 69.

82: Translation according to A ([tá]k-[k]u). B translates: "and he conceals him".

§15

2: If we read *huelpi* as a nom.-acc. sg "newborn", then in the gap must be another noun besides the mentioned bread - perhaps KAŠ.GEŠTIN? "wine".

3: Puhvel, *HED* 3: 331 for *pé-e ḥ[ar-t]e-[ni]* "you tender to the gods".

6: *CHD* L-N 286^b *menahḥanda auṣ*-. See also below §18, 38-39.

8: *nu-uṣ-ma-aṣ a-ri-an-zi* It seems that in these words we may identify here the system of inquiries by oracular means, which is recorded in many texts in relation to the establishment of the anger of different gods. See below subchapter *LÜ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM}* (4.3.2 pp. 280-296).

§16

15: Literally *A-NA^{LÜ} SANGA*-ma-at pí-ra-an te-pu me-ma-at-te-ni "but to the SANGA-priest you will declare it little".

§17

25: Süel suggested to read here *DIN[GIR^{MES}]*, while Sturtevant read *KIS[LAḤ]* which we preferred. In all other cases indicating things - people or material - belonging to the gods, *DINGIR^{MES}* appears after the noun mentioned. If we read here Süel's suggestion, we should understand "divine plow oxen". Since the threshfloor was probably mentioned on §15, 24 we may assume an associative writing of the next passage regarding the threshfloor of the temple.

28: Notice the *-za* with *du-ṣa-ar-ni-eṣ-ki-it* for which I translated "itself".

32: For the word *parkue[šte]ni* the translation "innocent" was used above. The basic meaning of *parkui*- is "ritually clean", as noted above §2, 15-16. It relates to cleanliness of both body and soul, and thus to *ṣaṣtul*- (general "cultic sin"), in connection with work within the cultic sphere. The opposite of *parkui*- in this line is *paprant*- in the following line 33 which is translated "guilty". For the verb *paprahḥ*- and the adjective *paprant*- meaning "impure, unclean" and "guilty" see *CHD* P/1: 102-3.

§18

36: In Akkadian *salātu* / *šalātu*- "to slit, slice"; it may mean slices of meat of *ḤAKKURATE*. Another possibility is that the stative form of *šalātu*- refers to part of the liver. *ḤAKKURATE* - this word is known only from this Boğazköy text, and it looks Akkadian; see *CDA*: 101^a.

39: The verb *auš-* in the iterative form *uškanzi* can mean “keep looking”, thus the sentence: *na-at-kán DINGIR^{MES} me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da le-e uš-kán-zi*, literally means: “do not let the gods keep looking toward it”. It could also indicate the plurality of the gods, who are all waiting. For the iterative *ušk-* see Puhvel, *HED* 1: 241. *menahanda ušk-* is used also above §15, 6.

41: For *šapp-* “to churn” see *CHD* Š: 202*. For the Hittite word for ‘milk’ (*menuwa-*) see Taracha (1998) 156-7. See also McMahon, *CoS* 1: 221 n. 25.

52: The translation is according to Copy A: *DINGIR^{MES} -aš-ma-ya-kán ZI-an za-am-mu-ra-a-u-e-en*. However, Copy B has the following: *šu-me-eš-aš-ma-ya-ra-kán ZI-an za-am-mu-ra-a-u-e-en*, to be translated, “we have offended our own soul”. See the verb *za-am-mu-ra-i* above. The meaning according to Copy B may be that once they committed the sin they endangered their own souls. This has to be seen in light of an oath being taken while drinking the rhyton, as if they say: “if indeed we sinned may we die”. Pecchioli Daddi (2004b) 456, sees in this a private ordeal, which probably has derived from “a cult practice rather than a legal practice”.

53: I prefer to translate here *ZI* as “life” rather than “soul” or “spirit/will”, since drinking from the rhyton represents an ordeal. The drink taken by the sinner has a divine power. Güterbock (1987: 129) has already deliberated over this problem, and concluded that the liquid itself becomes the deity.

§19

71-77: These lines present the oath taken by the cowherds and the shepherds of the god. As mentioned above, the word “oath” is not used in the text. There are, however, conditional sentences, twice starting with the words: *ku-i-iš*, “whoever” (§6/1, 64 §13, 49), and twice with *ma-a-an*, “if” (§18, 49; 19, 71). In the first two cases the verbs are in an imperative form and in the second the present tense is used. The first two cases are a general punishment for some unwanted activity. The last two are private declarations during an ordeal, through which the workers actually inflict danger of death upon themselves. We may quote Justus (2004) 279, regarding this kind of speech: “Hittite speakers inherited a concept of solemn speech before an awesome power that made the speech valid”.

78-81: The colophon, indicating it as an *išhiul* text, divides the groups of those under *išhiul* using the Akkadian genitive *ŠA* “of” into three groups:

ŠA LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM} ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš
 ŠA EN^{MES} TU₇ DINGIR^{MES} LÚ^{MES} APIN.LÁ DINGIR^{MES}
 ŠA LÚ^{MES} SIPAD.GU₄ DINGIR^{LIM} LÚ^{MES} SIPAD.UDU DINGIR^{LIM}

The Hittite word *išhiulaš* is a genetival singular form, although we would have expected a plural form, since they are “instructions”. But the Hittites regarded it as a singular “bond of loyalty”. This should be compared with the Instructions for the Royal Bodyguard see Güterbock and van den Hout (1991) 40: §59, 53. The editors of the text translated *išhiulaš* as “rules”. I would suggest to understand the word in the singular form as “duty” and since it is validated by an oath to term it as “sworn duty”.

3.9 Ideal priesthood of Ḫattuša: Issues of priestly tasks

3.9.1 Instructions to temple personnel at Ḫattuša

The text CTH 264 includes instructions to the workers of the temples. But one cannot ignore the fact that this text mentions the name of the city Ḫattuša six times, indicating that the temples are in the city of Ḫattuša. Twice more it refers to places which can be connected with Ḫattuša, and in one instance to a group of people who are at Ḫattuša. The last indication is a reference to the arrival of the king at Ḫattuša, in order to receive legal approval for a transaction conducted with royal presents.

The city name is mentioned in the following passages:

1. In §4, 45 after a list of 11 festivals:
 “or whatever festival (there is) up in Ḫattuša”.
2. In §6/2, 8-10 in regard to a visitor to the temple, a foreigner is mentioned as one who is not a native of the city Ḫattuša: “He may eat and drink. If he is however [an outsider], not a native of Ḫattuša and he steps to the gods, [he shall die!]”.
3. In §8, 48-49 in regard to the need to have a tablet sealed by the king it says: “When the king comes up to Ḫattuša, let him take it (the tablet) into the palace”.
4. In §11, 21 regarding the law/custom regulated in the temples of the city: “Regarding the rule which (is) for someone up in Ḫattuša”. The following is an instruction on how the temple is to be guarded in certain cases.
5. In §11, 26-7 regarding a matter of hostile insult to the city, probably to its king and its gods: “If (there are) some hostile word(s), (i.e.) somebody starts to slander Ḫattuša”.
6. In §13, 50-2 in regard to devastation by fire it says: “Even (if) only one temple is destroyed, but the city of Ḫattuša (and) the king’s goods (are) not destroyed, he who commits the sin, together with his seed shall indeed perish”.

Places which can be related to *Ḫattuša* are mentioned twice:

- a) §8 The gate of the kings as a place of judgement, known to be in *Ḫattuša*.
- b) §8, 46 Once the Lords of *Ḫatti* are mentioned. They are needed to witness gifts given to temple personnel: "Let the Lords of *Ḫatti* be present, and let them watch, and whatever (someone) buys, let them make it into a written document, and let them pre-seal it."

Whether this text can be applied to other temples in places other than the city of *Ḫattuša* is not a question that can be answered at the moment.²⁴⁵ Let it suffice to point out that whoever composed this text had in mind the gods and the temples of *Ḫattuša*, and therefore spoke to the workers of those temples.²⁴⁶

3.9.2 Contents of the text and its division into three main sections

From a literary point of view it seems that the text is composed of two parts: §§ 1-8 and §§ 9-19. The main reason for saying this lies in the evidence of repetitions between the two parts. Also, the first part speaks generally to workers of the temple, whereas the second part speaks directly to the separate groups of temple workers: Temple-Men, kitchen attendants, farmers, cowherds and shepherds. These are the identified groups of the *išhiul* in the colophon. The repetitions between the sections include:

1. Purification: at § 2, 15-16 there is a demand for removal of the hair and fingernails; the same is instructed to kitchen attendants in §14, 62-63. Also, the reference to the crossing of the pig and the dog in these two sections is similar. In § 2, though the demand is made to those who prepare food for the gods, it is not specified to whom among the temple workers these demands are forwarded.

2. Celebrating the festivals at the right time: this is mentioned in §4, 45-49, and §9, 57-8, as well as in §15, 4 and §18, 38.

3. On the other hand, in paragraphs §2, 30, §3, 36, and §9, 73 the punishment for acting against the will of the gods is described: "Doesn't the god seek it from his wife, his children, his seed, his family, his male slaves, his female slaves, his cattle, his sheep, and together with his grain. (Along) with everything, he will ruin

²⁴⁵ See the instructions to priests in Nerik and Zippalanda 4.1.6.2 pp. 179-180.

²⁴⁶ See also Korošec (1974) 167-168.

him." This compares with paragraphs §18, 54-55 and §19, 76 though the punishment speaks of wives and seed only.

4. Use of the sacrificial animals by the Temple-Men for their own sake: this appears in §7 and is repeated in §17 in relation to the farmers of the temple. For further elaboration on the editing of the text, see below 3.9.5 pp. 135-139.

For the sake of convenience, it is possible to divide the text into three major sections according to the main subjects to which it refers:

A. Introduction: §§ 1-3 constitute a general introduction to the text, including two main subjects. First, workers of a temple must take care of the gods' material as well as their "spiritual" needs. This must be done while the worker is in a pure and clean state, both physically (washing) and mentally (not stealing or eating the gods' food). Second is a statement regarding the relationship between a god and his "follower" (human being, worker, servant).

B. Instructions to Temple-Men working within the precinct of the temple: The section comprising §§ 4-14 includes the following:

- a) §§ 4-5 contain a list of festivals which are the duty of the temple workers to celebrate, and a demand to deliver all offerings to the gods.
- b) §§ 6-9 contain prohibitions on taking or using temple property for one's own sake. Paragraph 6 also indicates some privileges of the workers.
- c) §§ 10-14 contain instructions to temple guards. This section includes specific guard duty regulations as well as warnings related to the need for purity within the precinct of the temple. For this reason paragraph 14 repeats parts of paragraph 2.

C. Instructions to temple workers outside of the temple precinct: §§ 15-19 can be divided into two areas:

- a) Instructions to farmers (field workers): §§ 15-17.
- b) Instructions to cowherds and shepherds: §§ 18-19.

3.9.3 Temple personnel and priesthood according to the text

The colophon of the text establishes the *išhiul* with the following groups of workers:

1. LÚ^{MEŠ} É.DINGIR^{LIM} *humandaš* "all Temple-Men" (literally).

2. EN^{MES} TU₇ DINGIR^{MES} “workers responsible for the utensils of the gods”.
3. LÚ^{MES} APIN.LÁ DINGIR^{MES} “farmers of the gods”.
4. LÚ^{MES} SIPAD GU₄ DINGIR^{LIM} “cowherds of the god”.
5. LÚ^{MES} SIPAD UDÚ DINGIR^{LIM} “shepherds of the god”.

The text itself establishes a somewhat different picture. The personnel mentioned can be divided into two groups as follows: a) personnel inside the temple, and b) personnel outside the temple.

3.9.3.1 Personnel inside and outside the temple

Personnel who are priests:

LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM} - This term appears altogether ten times throughout the text, including once in the colophon where it indicates the first group of workers of the temple. It appears in the text as follows:

- §4, 48: Speaking of the festivals. It is emphasized that they are to be celebrated with all the necessary supplies; the Temple-Men are warned not to take payments for performing the festival on behalf of the people. The term LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM} refers here to all workers performing the festivals.
- §8, 34: The warning not to steal from the temple's silver, gold, garments, and bronze utensils. Here it refers again to the “Temple-Man”, this time in singular form.
- §9: Regarding the celebration of the festivals on time. A private case arises of a person who requests a delay in fulfilling the obligation of celebrating. That person approaches “the SANGA-priests, the GUDU-priests, the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses”, which is equivalent to “to them Te[mple]-men”. In this line the Temple-Men seem to be the group of the priests SANGA, GUDU and AMA.DINGIR. I read the line as an apposition to the main sentence since it starts a new sentence in Hittite: nu-uš-ma-aš A-NA LÚ^{MES} É.[DINGIR^{LIM}] ú-iz-zi (“He comes to them, the Temple-Men”). The Temple-Men, then, are the SANGA-priest, the GUDU-priest, and the AMA.DINGIR-priestess.
- §10/1, 78; §10/2, 3, 10: These regulations instruct the Temple-Men regarding the watch of the temple. Again, under the term LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM} are counted lines 3-4: “Whatever Temple-Man, (be he from) [high] SANGA-priests (or) junior SANGA-priests, (or) GUDU-priests.”
- §12, 35-36: These lines state that the three groups of priests are the Temple-Men. “You [who are] SANGA-priests GUDU-priests,

AMA.DINGIR-priestesses -the Temple-Men.”

The last indication of the Temple-Men is in the colophon which refers to the LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM} (“Temple-Men”) without mentioning any of the priestly categories of SANGA, GUDU, or AMA.DINGIR. Therefore, I infer that the term stands for the temple priesthood as a whole, those whose responsibility is within the precinct as is recorded on §10, 4-5: “...only whoever regularly crosses the threshold of the gods...” as well as §10, 10-11: “inside the temple, let the Temple-Men patrol the whole night.” (See also §11, 28-29).

To sum up then: as this text makes evident, the LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM} are the “Temple-Men” who represent the priesthood, those who are inside the temple and those who are allowed to cross the threshold of the temple. They include the following functionaries:

LÚ^{MES} SANGA, who are divided into two basic categories of priests: LÚ^{MES} SANGA GAL [or GAL.GAL] (“senior SANGA-priest”), and LÚ^{MES} SANGA TUR.TUR (“junior SANGA-priest”). Under this category there is another class of priests, “sacred SANGA-priest”, according to the list of festivals in §4, 42: EZEN^{MES} šu-up-pa-ia-aš (“the festivals of the sacred SANGA-[priest]”). Another category is the LÚ^{MES} GUDU₁₂ priests, and last is the female priesthood, the MUNUS^{MES} AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} priestesses.

The two male groups are responsible for guarding the temples, and from among them guards are appointed to each temple. The guards are termed:

LÚ^{MES} ḫaliyattalla - guards patrolling outside the temple, who are not priests but are under the priests' responsibility.

LÚ^{MES} wehešgattalla - patrolmen posted inside the temple, drawn from among the priests.

LÚ^{MES} ÚMMEDA - “guards”, a general term for the responsibility of guarding, referring to the priests.

Personnel inside the temple who are not priests include:

EN^{MES} TU₇ DINGIR^{MES} - head of kitchen attendants or literally “lords/responsible for the utensils of the gods”. This group includes the following functionaries:

LÚ^{MES} SAGI.A - “cupbearer”.

LÚ^{GIS} BANŠUR - “table-man/ waiter”.

LÚ^{MES} MUḪALDIM - “cook”.

LÚ^{MES} NINDA.DÙ.DÙ - “baker”.

LÚ^{MES} KURÚN.NA - “beer brewer”.

Personnel outside the temple - those who are responsible for producing the food for the gods:

LÚ^{MES} APIN.LÁ - "farmers"

LÚ^{MES} SIPAD.GU₄ - "cowherds"

LÚ^{MES} SIPAD.UDU - "shepherds"

3.9.3.2 The work for which each group is responsible

A) LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM} are responsible for work inside the temple. The priests are responsible for performing the festivals and presenting the offerings before the gods. §9 details the duties of the SANGA and the GUDU priests as well as the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses in relation to the festivals. The people are to bring to them the offerings for the festivals. LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM} are the ones who eat from the offerings to the gods (§6, 1-3). A person who wishes to delay the celebration of the festival must apply to them, which may not necessarily be accepted by the priesthood. This idea is repeated in §12, 39-42.

The second main responsibility of this class is to take care of and guard the grounds of the temple, so that the wealth of the temple is not stolen or consumed by fire. They therefore function as guards. In this function they are divided into classes of guards, including only the male priests (§10). They must guard the temple from intruders; only authorized people may enter the temple (§6, 7, §11, 22-24). The night watch is divided among the priests and they, according to their hierarchy, are in charge of other guards. The main duties of the guards include sleeping inside the temple next to the divine image, and guarding the gate of the temple through the night.

Concerning the watch of the temples, there is a division between guards inside and outside the temple. It is clear that the SANGA and GUDU priests guard inside the temple, because they are obliged to sleep inside it. But there is also the group of *ḫaliyattalla*-men, who are to guard outside the temple. They are counted as a group separate from the priests (see more under 3.9.4.6-3.9.4.7 below pp. 126-127).

Another responsibility of the SANGA-priest is to allocate seed to the farmers of the temple, and at the time of harvest to collect the yield from them §16, 12-20. In this category of responsibility the SANGA-priest is a kind of administrative official. B) A second group that works inside the temple is the one responsible for preparing the food for the gods, and also for bringing the food

forward to the gods. These are the people named EN^{MES} TU₇ DINGIR^{MES} - head of kitchen attendants - or literally "lords/responsible for the utensils of the gods". They include all the workers who deal with the preparation of the food:

LÚ^{MES} SAGIA: "cupbearer" - takes care of the beverages, such as wine and beer, to be brought before the gods. He often appears during the ritual, serving the king and queen with the beverages. He comes in and leaves according to the prescribed ritual.

LÚ^{GIS} BANŠUR: "table-man/ waiter" - he brings the tables into the holy place, sets them with the food-offerings and takes them away when finished.

LÚ^{MES} MUḪALDIM: "the cook" - is responsible for the preparation of the food, mainly the meat, since the baker prepares the bread.

LÚ^{MES} NINDA.DÜ.DÜ: "baker" - it seems that most of the rituals include offerings of bread of different kinds.

LÚ^{MES} KURÚN.NA: "beer brewer".

From this group the first three often appear as participants in the rituals,²⁴⁷ which means they enter the precinct and perform before the gods. Since they have different titles, they do not seem to be the priesthood per se, but rather the aids or servants of the priests. They are, however, also obliged to keep clean. They appear in front of and serve the gods, therefore they must maintain a clean and pure state. They do not share the responsibility of the priests for guarding the temple, nor do they share responsibility for the timely celebration of the festivals, although they are obliged to prepare the food for them.

3.9.4 Priestly prerogatives, duties, and responsibilities

The text brings up several topics concerning the priestly office. These topics will be discussed here in relation to the broader context of the Hittite realm.

3.9.4.1 The responsibility of the priesthood to care for the food and beverage of the gods

The idea of worshiping the gods is strongly connected to feeding the different deities. As already quoted from the prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal (2.2 above p. 8), the Hittites are proud to offer the gods the biggest and the best offerings. This idea is strengthened in other royal prayers, such as the prayer of Muršili

²⁴⁷ See Pecchioli Daddi (1982) 64-71, 151-159, 180-194.

II to the god Telipinu:²⁴⁸ “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, [.....] Festivals (and) sacrifices pure (and) holy they present to thee in the Ḫatti land. But in no other country anywhere do they present them so”.

The duty to care for the food of the gods comes out strongly in the plague-prayer of King Muršili II:²⁴⁹

What is this, O gods, that you have done? A plague you have let into the land. The Ḫatti 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 gods 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 the 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.

This religious speech presents us with the greatest fear of the king, namely that there is no longer worship for the gods. He specifies the plowmen, the grinding women, the shepherds and the cowherds who no longer provide for the sacrifices.

Our text states the duties of each class among the temple personnel, who are responsible for bringing the food for the gods, starting with the daily bread (§1, 5; §2, 14, 24), continuing with the full supply to the festivals (§4, 46-47; §6/1, 60-63 and §8, 39), and concluding with the warning to the farmers who are responsible for the grain and the cowherds and shepherds who are in charge of the animals.

The largest supply of food to the temples was under the care of the royal administration. This fact is apparent from the ritual texts, where the supplies for the festivals are ordered to be provided from different royal houses, or from the house of the cooks or the other groups of cult participants.²⁵⁰

This regulation is stated, for example, in two royal texts. One is the loyalty treaty between Tudḫaliya IV and Kurunta.²⁵¹ In this text Tudḫaliya IV declares the obligations and the rights of

²⁴⁸ See Goetze, *ANET*: 396^b “Daily Prayer of the King” col. i 11-14, 21-24. Also Singer (2002a) 52.

²⁴⁹ See Goetze, *ANET*: 396^a. See also Singer (2002a) 52.

²⁵⁰ See Haas (1994) 677.

²⁵¹ Otten (1988 and 1989).

Kurunta, the king of Tarḫuntašša. Among the rights Tudḫaliya IV endowed Kurunta, following his father Ḫattušili III, was an exemption from the duty to provide for the cult in Tarḫuntašša:²⁵²

§12 (col. ii 21-30)

Since the city Ḫattuša provided for all the gods of Tarḫuntašša, what my father gave to Kurunta, the King of Tarḫuntašša, and what I, My Majesty, gave him, one may not take (out of that), those tributes and donations for the gods of Tarḫuntašša. Now, when I, My Majesty, will fix a certain place for ox and sheep (delivery), whoever draws upon him (Kurunta?) (for the) cult donations, they shall yearly start to give to the gods of Tarḫuntašša two hundred oxen and one thousand sheep. If, however, I have not given him any place, let (the authorities of) Ḫattuša give from the cattle yield two hundred oxen (and) one thousand sheep to the gods of Tarḫuntašša.

The second royal text is the prayer of Muršili II, who asks the gods to favor his act of banishing the Tawananna (wife of the late Šuppiluliuma) from the palace. She functioned as a high priestess, and that meant that the offerings she was responsible for would cease. Muršili is afraid he will be punished by the gods for harming their priestess-servant, and he therefore promises to “provide for the offerings of the gods and regularly worship the gods”.²⁵³

This evidence presents a question concerning the historical development of the central control of the Hittite royal administration over the cult. V. Haas, in his survey of the Hittite religion, suggests that the process of the centralization of the large festivals in Ḫattuša starts in the Middle Hittite Kingdom, when the country lost its cult centers in the north of Anatolia as is told by the royal couple Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal (2.2 above p. 8).²⁵⁴ In the great festivals, such as the *purulliya*-festival or the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival, Ḫattuša is the center for the festivals, from where the king and queen depart for other cities in the vicinity and then return. V. Haas even says: “Die Feste werden im ganzen Land unter der Organisation und Regie der Priesterschaft von Ḫattuša veranstaltet”, which means that Ḫattuša is the center for the Hittite priesthood. Does it mean also that the training of the priesthood for the whole country takes place in Ḫattuša, or do the priests from Ḫattuša only control the work of the priests in other temples, who are trained locally? We

²⁵² See Otten (1988) 16-17, and compare with Hoffner, *CoS* 2: 102 §12.

²⁵³ See more details on the royal AMA.DINGIR-priestess below under 6.1.5 pp. 380-383.

²⁵⁴ Haas (1994) 680.

try to address this issue below on pp. 435-437.

The centralization of the cult in the Hittite kingdom must also be seen in relation to the evidence of the cult inventory texts. J.J.M. Hazenbos has correctly distinguished between the centralization of the festivals and the centralization of the administrative care for the cult. His work did not deal with the revision of the large state festivals,²⁵⁵ but did refer in detail to the responsibility of the different royal administrative sources to the cult. Besides the king, who cares personally for the different cult centers, the cult inventory texts also mention the district kings, the priesthood, members of professional groups and institutions, as well as the city authorities, as all being responsible for providing for the festivals.²⁵⁶

3.9.4.2 The treatment of the sacrifices, and the permission to eat from them

The priests are responsible for delivering food and beverage to the deities after it has been prepared ("set up for the gods" §4, 47,50). It even seems that the priesthood is in charge of the production of the supplies; according to §16 the SANGA-priest is to allocate the grain for sowing, and the farmer is to report to the SANGA-priest on his yield.

The priests are the main beneficiaries of the food presented to the gods (§6/2, 1-3): "If on that day [you are able] to eat and drink the remains, eat and drink it! If, however, you are not able, eat and drink [it within] 3 days". The sacred bread - the *piyantalla*-bread²⁵⁷ - and the beverage, are not to be taken outside the temple.

Our text refers to the preparation of the daily bread, and the presentation of the beverages. There is no description of the preparation of the meat, but it must have been under the care of the cook.²⁵⁸

Most important is the purity of the utensils used for the presentation of the food to the gods. This is stressed in §14.

²⁵⁵ Hazenbos (2003) 198.

²⁵⁶ Hazenbos (2003) 201-207.

²⁵⁷ The *piyantalla*-bread, according to van Brock, and the *CHD* P/3: 252, can be a derivative of the participle *piyant-* "to give"; therefore it may mean "donated bread".

²⁵⁸ See Haas (1994) 646-658. See also Collins (1995) 77-92.

3.9.4.3 The festivals mentioned in the text in relation to the festivals known from other Hittite texts

The celebration of the festivals is the most important duty of the priesthood, next to the daily care of the gods. The celebration of the special festivals to specific deities at their proper time is essential for maintaining the order of the universe, as well as expressing reverence to the gods.

The Hittite attitude towards the festivals shows that they regarded their celebration as the most essential duty in the worship of their deities, and as a guarantee for bringing upon them the favor of the gods. Thus Tudḫaliya IV, in a prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, states:²⁵⁹

"I sinned [towards the Sun-goddess of Arinn]a, my lady, and I [o]ffended the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, [and whe]n I began to ask [you] for oracular guidance, (it turned out that) I omitted f[estival]s (due) to you. [If] you, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, become angry with [me] in any respect on account of the festivals, [then], O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, reckon again with [me]. I want to defeat the enemy. [If you, O Sun-goddess] of Arinna, my lady will step down to [me], I shall [de]feat the enemy and I shall [confess] my sin [before you] and never again shall [I] omit the festivals, not again shall I interchange [the festivals] of the spring and of [the autumn] and [the festivals of the spring] I shall perform punctually in the spring, [the festivals of the autumn] I shall perform punctually in the autumn [and to you] in the temple I shall [n]ever leave out [the festivals]!"

The festivals must be celebrated, and celebrated at the proper time, in the right season. Phrasing similar to that in the above statement by king Tudḫaliya about the proper timing of the festival's celebration is also found in our text, in §9, 57-61.

Hoffner, in "An English-Hittite Glossary", gives a list of 80 names of festivals appearing in the Hittite texts.²⁶⁰ Of many festivals we do not know more than their name, but some are described - or even prescribed - at length in the Hittite texts. The large festivals celebrated in Ḫattuša are well known from many tablets, and the main activities of some of those festivals were outlined in several works.²⁶¹

²⁵⁹ Following Houwink ten Cate (1986) 110. Compare with Singer (2002a) 108.

²⁶⁰ Hoffner (1967) 39-41.

²⁶¹ See the description by Haas (1994) 696-875: The *purulliya*-festival of the new-year (spring); the KILAM-festival; the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival - festival of the spring; the *nuntarriyašha*-festival - the festival of the autumn, on which

The ITP mentions the following 18 festivals: The festival of the month, the festival of the year, the festival of the stag, the fall festival, the festival of the spring, the thunder festival, the festival of *hiyara*, the festival of *pudaḥa*, the festival of (*h*)*iṣuwa*, the festival of *ṣatlašša*, the festival of the rhyton, the festivals of the sacred SANGA-[priest], the festivals of the old men, the festivals of the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses, the festival of *daḥiya*, the festivals of the *upati*-men, the festivals of the lot, the festivals of *ḥaḥratar*.

We would expect in a list aimed at the priesthood a kind of a comprehensive attitude. Instead, the text itself declares that this is a partial list by saying at the list's end: "or whatever festival (there is) up in Ḫattuša". The list does not mention the names of well-known festivals, such as the ANTAḤŠUM-festival or the *nuntariyašḥa*-festival. One may, however, take into account that the writer is well aware of the numerous festivals for the different deities taking place in Ḫattuša, and therefore might limit himself to a certain list out of the larger one. Another possibility is that these great festivals are indicated by a general title: spring and fall festivals.²⁶²

The list starts with the most regular festivals "of the month and of the year". Next comes "the festival of the stag". This may refer to the well-known KILAM-festival, which has at its opening a procession of various cult symbols, among which stand out the animals of the gods.²⁶³ In the KILAM-festival the stags occupy a prominent position in the list of these animals. The stags are written in the KILAM texts with the Sumerogram DÀRA.MAŠ, in Akkadian A(Y)YALU, which is the word in our text written as A-YA-LI.²⁶⁴

also appeared a comprehensive work by Nakamura (2002); the *hiṣuwa*-festival, for which see also Popko, *Religions*: 147-151.

²⁶² The problem is that in no text is the *nuntariyašḥa*-festival identified as a fall festival; see Nakamura (2002) 10-11, although it was probably celebrated in the fall "when the king returns from the battle-field".

²⁶³ Singer, *StBoT* 27: 90-94.

²⁶⁴ If indeed the order of the festivals in our text shows the order of the seasons from fall to spring, which is also the order of the description of festivals in the cult inventories (Hazenbos (2003) 169), then the stag festival, which may be the KILAM festival, also belongs to the fall festivals as was already noted by the editors of *Kaniššuar - A Tribute to H.G. Güterbock on his 75th Birthday = Assyriological Studies* 23 (eds.) H.A. Hoffner and G. M. Beckman (Chicago, 1986) 98 note 6A. On the other hand, the KILAM festival has no indication of time for celebration and, according to Houwink ten Cate (1988) 191 n. 53, could have been performed during both seasonal festivals.

Another possible identification for the "stag festival" may be a festival to ⁴LAMMA - a tutelary deity. This suggestion relies on the presentation of this deity as either standing on a stag, or being written in hieroglyphic as a stag.²⁶⁵ If we follow this suggestion and say that the list starts with the festival of the Tutelary deity, the importance of this deity is highlighted. As McMahon says: "The evidence of the festival texts demonstrates that the tutelary deity was a major god of the pantheon involved throughout the entire range of the Hittite state cult, receiving offerings in all the major festivals. His fairly prominent position in the procession of state gods at the cult center of Yazilikaya also attests to his importance in the pantheon".²⁶⁶

The text then counts "the f[al]l [fes]tival", "the [fe]stival of the spring", and "the thunder festival". These festivals are festivals connected with the Hittite calendar, and the fall and spring festivals are regarded by the Hittites as the most important ones. This can be learned also from our text, §9 lines 57-60, and also from the prayer of Tudḫaliya IV quoted above (3.9.4.3 p. 117).

As concluded by Hazenbos in his study of the cult inventory texts, these two festivals are the most often mentioned.²⁶⁷ They relate to the seasons, and therefore it is quite natural that the next festival to be counted is the festival of thunder, belonging either to the spring or to the fall. The case for the festival having been celebrated in the spring is stronger, as can be learned from repeated indications in the cult inventory texts saying: "When it becomes spring and it thunders they open the *ḥarši*-[vessel]", KUB 26.182 i 5; KUB 13.32 obv. 7'; KUB 25.23 i 8'. This may suggest that the thunder festival is the first among the festivals of the spring.²⁶⁸

The following "[fe]stival of *hiyara*" continues the counting

See also Singer, *StBoT* 27: 132-133.

²⁶⁵ See on this McMahon (1991) 3-4 with notes 19, 20.

²⁶⁶ McMahon (1991) 29. This can be supported by the study of the SANGA-priest and the deities with which he is affiliated; see under 4.1.3 pp. 165-166.

²⁶⁷ Hazenbos (2003) 167.

²⁶⁸ As already noted, the two well-documented festivals, the AN.TAḤ.ŠUM-festival and the *nuntariyašḥa*-festival (spring and fall festivals respectively), are not mentioned. It can be assumed that they are referred to in the names *zé-n[a-an-d]a-aš* (fall) and *ḥa-me-eš-ḥa-an-da-aš* (spring), being part of the fall festivals and the spring festivals. The same situation is found in the data collected on the festivals mentioned in the cult inventory texts: the names of the AN.TAḤ.ŠUM-festival and the *nuntariyašḥa*-festival do not appear in them, but only the equivalents fall and spring festivals.

of festivals according to the order of the seasons, if we accept the reading *hiyara* = *AYARU* as the name of the late spring month.²⁶⁹ Hutter suggested reading the *hiyara*-festival as a North-Syrian import to Ḫattuša and thus a foreign festival for the Hittites.²⁷⁰ The festival is celebrated, according to Hutter, by the foreigners, in this case based on KBo 14.142 ii 40-41//ii 29-32. Thus, the festival is not part of the “Hittite religion” according to him.²⁷¹ The festival is mentioned from Muwatalli II onwards in the Hittite festival texts, meaning that this festival was celebrated in Ḫattuša, as a royal prerogative. We should therefore reconsider it in light of the following two festivals on the list.²⁷²

The next two festivals originated in other parts of the kingdom. “The festival of *pudaḫa*” comes from Aleppo, and “the festival of *hišuwa*” originated in Kizzuwatna. Concerning the first, we know that it has Hurrian roots in the traditions of the worship of Teššub and Hepat - the most prominent North-Syrian deities - and that it was brought to Ḫattuša. We know it is celebrated in the 8th month in Ḫattuša (KBo 14.142 ii 5-7), and that the festival’s description was written on at least one more long tablet, KBo 35.247 rev. 24-25.²⁷³ This festival must have been introduced not earlier than the Middle Kingdom, and may have been finally adopted only in the New Kingdom period. If we keep in mind the fact that the festival is provided by LÚ^{MES} É.GAL^{URU} Ḫalap (“the men of the palace of Aleppo”), then it may not have been clearly adopted but only celebrated in Ḫattuša. The same date may be applied to the next festival on the list, the *hišuwa*-festival.

The *hišuwa*-festival is well known from several tablets mentioning orders to reconstruct this festival among the tablets in the archives of Ḫattuša, given by queen Puduḫepa to the overseer of the scribes, Walwaziti. The result was a festival of nine days celebrating the Storm-god and the well-being of Puduḫepa’s husband Ḫattušili III.²⁷⁴ The text on the tablets documenting this festival inform us that it had once been celebrated in the time of King Muwatalli, and that now it has been revised. This dates the festival

²⁶⁹ See under commentary above p. 96.

²⁷⁰ Hutter (2002) 187-196.

²⁷¹ Hutter (2002) 194.

²⁷² The *hiyara*-festival and the *pudaḫa*-festival appear together as festivals of the cult of Aleppo also in KUB 20.22 i 1-6.

²⁷³ CHD P/3:400-401.

²⁷⁴ Haas (1994) 848-875.

to the time of Muwatalli, but a few writing forms point to the 14th century.²⁷⁵

Unfortunately, aside from its name there is no information on the festival of *šatlašša*.

Next on the list appears the festival of the rhyton, a celebration of the animal-shaped vessel used as a symbol of the deity.

The following six festivals are celebrations to the cult personnel. Some of them are clearly members of the priesthood, both male (sacred SANGA-[priest]) and female (AMA.DINGIR-priestess). Some cult members of classes regularly mentioned in other texts, as well as in ITP at §9, 62, are not mentioned here, for example, the GUDU-priests. Between the festivals for the male and the female priests is mentioned the festival for the old men, who are known from the text ICBG as those responsible to care for the temples and the priesthood on behalf of the community of a town.²⁷⁶ Then comes the *daḫiya* festival which is probably for the *daḫiyalla*-men. The *daḫiyalla*-man is translated with uncertainty as “barber”, as indicated above. However, as Tischler suggests, the office must have had connection to the purification of either the temple or the palace.²⁷⁷ The next festival is for the *upati*-men, translated by Güterbock as “the people of outlying settlements”.²⁷⁸ The last festival in this group is the “lot festival”, a festival for the election and inauguration of a new priest.²⁷⁹

All these festivals, except for the *daḫiya*-festival, appear in the plural form, which may indicate that these were festivals to be celebrated more than once a year, probably to honor different members of the personnel as they became deserving of it. The *daḫiya*-festival has the singular form and is not written with an office-holding person (LÚ^{MES}).

The last festival to be mentioned is the festival of the *ḫaḫratar*, which is related to “raking”, and thus may be connected with the harvest. It may still refer to the people performing the act, since

²⁷⁵ Wegner and Salvini (1991) 6.

²⁷⁶ Another possibility is that the LÚ^{MES} ŠU.GI stand for the well-known female practitioners, who belong to the magic cult. But that means the LÚ^{MES} signs stand for ‘female’ as well. See another suggestion under 4.1.2.6 pp. 154-155.

²⁷⁷ Tischler, HEG T/D 1: 16-17, quotes KUB 2.13 vi 1-2: LÚ^{MES} SU.I-kán ta-ga-an-zi-pa-an ša-an-ḫa-an-zi “the *daḫiyalla*-men sweep the floor”.

²⁷⁸ Güterbock (1970) 177. See also HW: 235, and Kronasser, EHS: 139, for a word of Cappadocian origin.

²⁷⁹ See below 4.1.8 pp. 217-225.

again we have in the text a plural form of “festivals” and not a singular form.

To summarize this section, it should be pointed out that the list of festivals in our text shows a rational order. It begins with the most important seasonal festivals. It continues with the *hiyara*, *pudaḫa*, and the *hišuwa* festivals, these being festivals promoted by the royal court under the influence of the North Syrian and Hurrian religion. Last comes a list of celebrations relating to the temple personnel, to whom the instructions are given. I think we could call this a systematic list from the point of view of the king. It does indeed reflect festivals celebrated under the care of the court in Hattuša itself. Hutter noted how it seems that the *hiyara*-festival was of minor importance, and thus not a real part of the royal religious cultic activity. A similar line of thought was pronounced by Miller regarding the festivals celebrated by the *katrali*-cultic women, related to the Kizzuwatna religious cult. He says that those festival texts may only be a reflection of royal archival activity rather than of cultic practice.²⁸⁰ In this regard we should remember that the king appoints the priesthood to celebrate all the gods of the land of Hatti. The king will participate personally in those festivals conducted in or near the capital, and from time to time take journeys to celebrate the gods in their own location, such as the temple for the Deity of the Night in Šamuḫa. The festivals' prescriptions or description, therefore, are for the use of the priesthood, and are not merely archival material. The list, then, could have been assembled at a time when those regions of northern Syria and Kizzuwatna had become part of the Hittite kingdom.

As we have noted, the absence of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM and *nuntarriyašḫa* festivals poses a difficulty, since they seem to have had an important role in the cult. We have suggested that they are hidden in the general definition of fall and spring festivals. However, there is still another possible explanation. The list of festivals in this text may reflect the date of the composition of the instructions. It has been firmly determined by Houwink ten Cate that the two festivals received special treatment, and were modernized during the New Kingdom in the days of Muṣili II.²⁸¹ If so, pre-New Kingdom dating for our text may be confirmed.

²⁸⁰ Hutter (2002) 187-196 and Miller (2002) 432.

²⁸¹ Houwink ten Cate (1986) 108-109.

3.9.4.4 Cleansing and being in a pure state while at the deity's service

On account of their closeness to the deities' presence, the servants of the gods, i.e. the priesthood, as well as those preparing the food for the deities, must maintain a pure state of body and mind. They must wash, wear clean clothes, and uphold moral behavior.

Physical cleanliness - washing, shaving, manicuring, and also the cleanliness of their clothing - is a required state, as prescribed in §2, 14-16.²⁸² Those who serve the gods must stand before the deity clean and neat: “The soul, however, is one and the same. When a slave is present in front of his master, he (is) washed, and he has dressed clean (clothes)” (§2, 22-23). The text compares the situation of serving the god at the temple with that of a slave serving his master. In both cases, physical cleanliness is required. As noted above under the commentary to line 33, shaving is probably not required before every ceremony or ritual, but only upon entering the office. Otherwise the word always used is *uarp-* “to wash”. By washing the priests are regarded clean *parkui-* or “ritually clean”.

Before a festival, the priests are ordered to wash themselves and the (statues of) the deities. Süel has described other Hittite texts in which this practice was prescribed. This was normally done in the context of sweeping and sprinkling the temple.²⁸³

In regard to physical purity, an interesting reference is made to sexual relationships with women on the one hand, and to the impurity of two animals, the dog and the pig, on the other. As shown by de Martino (2004c), in other Hittite texts these impure acts are termed *uaštul* (“sin”), *šaknuwant* (“impure”), *maršaštari* (“sacrilege”).²⁸⁴ In the ITP we find the demand for a clean physical state after sleeping with a woman, using the word *uarpzi* - “wash” (§14, 79). The unclean state is designated with the Hittite word *šaknuanza*, or ritually “unclean” (§14, 80). This matter is stressed in relation to the guards' duties §10/1, 78-82 and §10/2, 1-2, and also in regard to the kitchen personnel §14, 61-63, 71-73.

As for the impurity of the dog and the pig, Moyer has already presented Hittite material relating to these two animals in the Hittite household. They were considered unclean,²⁸⁵ and are known

²⁸² See above in the commentary (3.8 p. 94) for these acts being part of a ritual of separation and incorporation to the divine realm.

²⁸³ Süel (1985) 95-98. Additional comments see under 4.1.6.3 p. 183-187.

²⁸⁴ De Martino (2004c) 352-355.

²⁸⁵ See also in omen text KUB 5.7 obv. 24 (in Goetze's translation *ANET*:

to be used in a ritual to remove uncleanness from patients by waving them over the worshippers.²⁸⁶ However, as shown recently by de Martino (2004b), pork was consumed by the Hittites and piglets were sacrificed, though mainly in Hattian tradition. He thus points to the possibility that inside the Hittite kingdom two different habits existed: that pork was consumed and sacrificed in central Anatolia, but as a result of religious influence from south-east Anatolia (mainly a Hurrian influence), the prohibition on eating pork due to the impurity of pigs was observed mainly during the New Kingdom.²⁸⁷

The emphasis in ITP is on moral purity, especially in the sphere of personal integrity and in matters in which honesty is required. First, it is forbidden to take payment from those bringing the sacrifices (§4, 49). Second, it is forbidden to remove from the temple any food brought there (§5-6). Third, there is a warning against stealing any of the deities' possessions (§8). Fourth, since it is forbidden to approach the deities in an unclean state, it is a person's duty to declare his being in such a state and not go on with his work concealing this fact. This person's friend must not cover up for him either (§14, 68-83). These are some of the main examples of situations in which a transgression might be concealed, but moral purity must determine its avoidance. It seems to me that this requirement also has to do with our text being an *išhiul*. The moral and honest behavior of a human being can be judged only by the deity, unless things become known and can be punished by society. Therefore, the oaths mentioned throughout the text are upon the person who pronounces them, and the warning is that not only the sinner will be punished but also any colleagues who helped him, or, in other cases, all his family and his household.

3.9.4.5 Fear and reverence towards the gods

The Hittite words *naḫhanteš ešten*, repeated in our text six times, basically mean "you (pl.) be fearful, be afraid". The CHD gives several additional translations to this word which are relevant to our text:²⁸⁸ "careful with something, cautious, wary, respectful

497^b): "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." See also below 4.3.2 p. 290.

²⁸⁶ Moyer (1983) 29-32.

²⁸⁷ De Martino (2004b) 57.

²⁸⁸ CHD L-N: 338-341.

toward". Their translations fit the idea of warnings given to the priests. I have, however, chosen the translation "be afraid" in most of the cases in my translation, since I believe the text wishes to emphasize how awesome the gods are. There is real danger in dealing with the gods, and reverence towards them should be cultivated.²⁸⁹ The word appears in our text in the following passages:
§3 line 38: nu-za A-[N]A INIM DINGIR^{LIM} me-i]k-ki mar-ri na-aḫ-[(ḫ)a-an-t]e-eš e-eš-tén

"Be ver[y mu]ch afraid regarding a matter of a god."

§7 line 29: [(nu-za)] DINGIR^{MES}-aš ZI-ni me-ik-ki na-aḫ-ḫa-an-te-eš e-eš-tén

"Be very much afraid (regarding) the soul of the gods."

§8 line 33-4: ku-it ku-it DINGIR^{LIM}-ni-ma-at e-eš-zi-pát nu-za me-ik-ki na-aḫ-ḫa-an-te-eš e-eš-tén nu A-NA^{LIM} É.DINGIR^{LIM} KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN li-e-pát e-eš-zi

"Whatever (there is), it is only to the god. Be very much afraid !

Silver (and) gold should not at all be for the Temple-man."

§12 line 43: nu-za ḫal-lu-ḫa-ja-za me-ik-ki na-aḫ-ḫa-an-te-eš e-eš-tén

"Be very fearful of a quarrel."

§13 line 44: an-d[a-m]a-za [a p]a-aḫ-ḫu-u-e-na-aš-ša ud-da-ni-i me-ik-ki na-aḫ-ḫa-an-te-eš e-eš-tén

"Furthermore: In a matter of fire, too, be very careful/fearful."

§14 lines 55-7: an-da-ma-za šu-ma-aš k[u-i]e-eš EN^{MES} TU, DINGIR^{MES}-aš ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš^{LIM} SAGIA LÚ^{GIS} BANŠUR^{LIM} MUḪALDIM^{LIM} NINDA.DÜ.DÜ^{LIM} KURÚN. NA nu-uš-ma-aš DINDIR^{MES}-aš ZI-ni me-na-[(a)]ḫ-ḫa-an-[da] me-ik-ki na-aḫ-ḫa-an-te-eš e-eš-tén

"Furthermore: You who are kitchen attendants of all the gods: cupbearer, table-man, cook, baker, beer brewer, be very much afraid for yourselves, regarding the will/soul of the gods."

The contexts of all these warnings to "be afraid" are related to doing any kind of harm to the deities' soul or will, or to their possessions. Any mistake is regarded a sin to be punished by the death of the sinner, and in some cases, by wiping out his extended family.

The word *naḫhant*, the participle of *naḫ-*, also has the meaning of being reverent to the gods, or 'god fearing'. This must be the priesthood's state of mind as servants to the gods. Thus says Muršili II in his prayer:²⁹⁰ "Only in Hatti is Muršili the king, your servant, reverent to you".²⁹¹

²⁸⁹ This stance is strengthened by the use of this same word in the Hebrew biblical warnings employing the term יָרֵא (yare') in the sense "fear the Lord your god", such as in Leviticus 19:30, as well as the existence of the Akkadian word *palāḫu*. See TDOT 6 (1990) 297-303; Furlani (1938).

²⁹⁰ Following CHD L-N: 341^a.

²⁹¹ See also the ICBG (2.3 above p. 13-14) col. ii lines 36-37, and col. iii lines

3.9.4.6 The priesthood's responsibility to guard the temple's grounds

Guarding the temples is instructed in four passages: §10, §11, §12, §13. The first two of these paragraphs pertain directly to the organization of the "matter of watch", and the other two are specific cases of possible disorder in the temples and the responsibility of the Temple-Men to restore order. The first two paragraphs relate especially to two main ideas:

1) The division of the watch over the temple between two groups: inside the temple, the Temple-Men (LÚ^{MES} É. DINGIR^{LIM}) are to patrol (*ueḫiškandu*), while outside the temple the watchers (LÚ^{MES} *ḫaliyatalla*) are to watch over the temple's walls. It seems quite clear from the text that the *ḫaliyatalla*-men are not part of the priesthood, but rather belong to the regular watch system of the city. This may be strengthened by lines 22-24, which I understand to say that either a SANGA or a GUDU-priest is responsible for admitting the guards to their guard duty. The priests must know them before they go to their posts.

The relatively important parts of the guard duty are in the hands of the SANGA-priests. Every night one of the high-ranking SANGA-priests is in charge of the patrolmen inside the temple, and one of this class of priests is also responsible for the gate of the temple: he is to stand over it through the night.

2) The text repeats several times the priesthood's duty to sleep inside the temple next to the deity during the night: §10 lines 2, 6, 11, 15, 18; §11 line 30. Warnings to those who fail to do so are also repeated in §10 lines 16, 19-20, and §11 lines 31-34.

The two other special cases mentioned in regard to the watch are the time of festivals and a case of extinguishing fire. The period during the festival is most vulnerable since there are always trouble-makers. People who get drunk can disturb the ceremonies.²⁹² The priesthood is warned to take care and increase their watchfulness during these periods.

It must be emphasized that the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses are not counted among the Temple-Men who are to be guards: only the two male groups are mentioned. More precisely, this is true in relation to the regular guard of the temple. But with respect to guard duty at the time of festivals, the priestesses are explicitly mentioned (§12, 35ff) as part of the temple personnel who must

19-21 on the commander's duty to establish reverence towards the priesthood and the gods.

care for the temple.

The case of fire seems to be most important, since fires are always burning on the temple grounds during ceremonies and for sacrifices being prepared for the deities.

3.9.4.7 The permission to enter a temple's precinct

Using the word "precinct" in the title poses the question of whether we actually know the Hittite equivalent for this English word. McMahon used the word "precinct" for the Hittite word *ḫali*-. This translation, however, as already mentioned above (the commentary for §10, 9), is not backed up by the main dictionaries. Therefore, the only definition for the temple precinct depends on another term regarding the temple architecture, the ^{GIS}*kattaluzzi*- "threshold". The priesthood belongs to the group of people "who regularly crosses the threshold of the gods" (§10, 4-5). In these lines they are named as a SANGA-priest and a GUDU-priest. There are other people who receive special permission to enter the temple for a visit although they do not work there (§6, 6-8): "If, however, to someone a foreign official comes, and if he is one (permitted) of going up into the temple, (and) usually *crosses the threshold of the gods and of the king*, let that one, too, (=the Temple-Man) bring him up; Let (him = the official) eat and let (him) drink". This official has special permission to cross both thresholds, the gods' and the king's. In the sense of holiness, then, both the palace and the temple are equal. The man has to be pure to cross these two thresholds. The state of purity of the one who crosses the threshold is evident in the demand to keep the two unclean animals - pig and dog - outside the temple (§2, 20-21 and §14, 60-61): "A pig or a dog shall not be crossing the threshold. And you must be washed!" From this data one may conclude that all the grounds of the temple were regarded as holy, and there was no separation between the courtyard and the inner rooms. If one crossed the threshold, then, he is allowed to see the gods.

As far as I can see, this term for threshold is not much used in Hittite texts. An interesting reference to the threshold of a temple is in KUB 11.17 iv 7-11: LUGAL-uš-kán *IŠ-TU* É^dLAMMA pa-ra-a pa-iz-zi ta-aš-ša-an ^{GIS}kat-ta-lu-^fuz-z^{li} ti-i-e-[iz-z]i ("The king goes forth from the temple of the tutelary deity and he steps on the threshold"). This text has old Hittite linguistic forms.²⁹³ It could be

²⁹² See also the ICBG (2.3 above p. 14) col. iii lines 17-18.

²⁹³ See the usage of *ta*- and the writing of *ti-i-e-[iz-z]i*.

that the threshold had a special religious meaning,²⁹⁴ but more likely it is a synecdoche, using a part of the temple to refer to the temple itself, and, in this case, to the right to enter it.

3.9.4.8 The priesthood's relation to the wealth and possessions of the temple

It is well known that the temples were part of the property of the king, although whatever was there was considered to belong to the gods.²⁹⁵ Therefore, taking from the treasure of the temple was an offense against the gods. The temples received their wealth mainly from royal donations, either as a result of tribute from conquered lands, or as a result of pious religious feelings.²⁹⁶

From the way our text treats this wealth it is seen as belonging to the king, since any present given to the temple personnel needs to be accounted for on a sealed tablet from the king (§8, 49).

The wealth of the temple includes its food and beverage supplies, along with the utensils made of silver, gold, and bronze. Paragraphs §7-§8, directed at the priesthood, go into details on how to avoid corruption among the personnel by following the

²⁹⁴ For example, placing food on the threshold during a ritual in KBo 34.68 rev. iii. It brings to mind 1 Samuel 5:1-5, where an etiological explanation is given to the custom of priests avoiding stepping on the threshold in the Philistine temple of Dagon in Ashdod. It is clear that the threshold had a special religious meaning in this case, and perhaps it was so in other places as well. In the above cited text it seems that stepping on the threshold is a special prerogative of the king as part of his religious status.

²⁹⁵ As could be seen in the cult inventory text of the town Karaḥna (2.5.1 p. 21), the first step towards drawing an inventory of a temple is: [(A-NA)] dLAMMA URU^UKa-ra-aḥ-na KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN kap-pu-u-ua-an: "For the tutelary deity of Karaḥna silver and gold (were) counted" (col. i 1). This act is repeated in other inventory texts, such as KBo 2.8 i 12-13, and KUB 42.100 iii 8'.

²⁹⁶ For tribute brought to Ḫattuša and divided between the temples of different deities we already learn from Ḫattušili I in his Annals: "Thereupon I marched against Zalpa and destroyed it. And I took possession of its gods and I gave three MADNANU-chariots to the Sun-goddess of Arinna. I gave one silver bull (and) one silver GESPU to the temple of IŠKUR. And the gods that were remaining I gave to the temple of Mezzulla." Bryce (1983) 50-51 (lines 19-14). See also Haas (1994) 677-678 on royal presents to the temples during festivals. From the cult inventory texts we learn that the king donated statues or cult symbols at time of temple renovations, Hazenbos (2003) 202-203. From Puduḫepa's prayer to the goddess Lelwani we learn that she promises the deity to present it with a life-sized golden statue of Ḫattušili once he is cured, Goetze, *ANET*: 394^a and Singer (2002a) 104 §9.

rules for receiving presents. It all must be written and sealed by the king. This way of keeping track of the wealth of the king is revealed in the legal "protocols", where the servants of the queen, probably Puduḫepa, are forced to take an oath that they have not stolen from the royal goods which were entrusted to them. The most well-preserved text among these legal minutes is KUB 13.35+, the legal proceeding against GAL-dU and his father, Ukkura, already mentioned above in relation to the idea of the *išhiul* (3.2 p. 36). Both temple servants and royal servants take the *išhiul*-oath for loyalty to the king. On this legal aspect of the text see the next section (3.9.4.9).

Causing any damage to the temple's wealth by stealing or even merely using it is also referred to in the omen texts asking the Temple-Men for the reason of the anger of a certain deity, KUB 5.7 rev. (in Goetze's translation in *ANET*: 497): "We asked the temple officials and they said: 'Three rhyta have been stripped of their precious stones, one rhyton is mutilated'". Damage to the temple utensils is considered a cause for the deity's anger.²⁹⁷

3.9.4.9 The legal aspects of the text: Implications for the social status of the Hittite priesthood

A) Von Schuler characterized the Instructions texts as a specific genre in the Hittite administrative documents. These texts regulate the work of different classes in the Hittite administration, from the "Lords" of Ḫatti (the ruling-class under the king), through the bodyguards of the king, to the military and the border garrison. The duty of all these classes is to protect the king, his well-being, his wealth, and those of his realm.

While von Schuler detected the origin of this type of texts in the oath formula, Starke showed that the texts of the Middle Hittite Kingdom had hardly any mention of oaths, and therefore concluded that this type of allegiance oaths pertaining to state administration belongs only to a development of the New Hittite Kingdom (3.2 above p. 34). The first text presented by von Schuler is identified in its colophon in Hittite as: DUB 1 KAM ŠA MA-ME-TI I-NA URU^UU-uš-ša ŠA LÚ^{MEŠ} SAG "First tablet of the loyalty oath of the 'Nobles', (taken) in the town of Ušša". Starke suggested in his article the restoration of the beginning of the text which is as follows:²⁹⁸ "Thus Tudḫaliya the great king: I have assumed kingship! Thus swear

²⁹⁷ See again the ICBG (2.3 above p. 13) col. ii.

²⁹⁸ Starke (1995) 76.

(*linikten*), you SAG-men, on the person of His Majesty: 'We will protect His Majesty regarding lordship! Further we will protect the sons of His Majesty (and) the grandchildren and great-grandchildren in regarding lordship!'" (KUB 23.112 i 1-5).

This text is not identified as belonging to the *išhiul*-texts, since, as seen in its colophon, it is identified as *MAMETI*. However, it clearly outlines the obligations of the LÚ^{MEŠ} SAG ("nobles"). In this text each paragraph ends with the words "these words/ this matter" GAM *NI-EŠ* DINGIR^{LIM} GAR-ru - "let it be placed under a divine oath".²⁹⁹ An *išhiul*- may have implied the *lingai*- or an "oath", the Hittite word for the Akkadian *MAMETI*.³⁰⁰ Not all the Instructions texts include the direct mention of an oath, however. The ICBG has no mention of an oath, nor a definition of an *išhiul*- (since the colophon of that text is missing). However, the language of the instructions to the commanders resembles the careful instructions given to the temple personnel. In each text the instructions are directed at the specific class to which it refers. They are addressed in second person plural form: you must do so and so, or must not do so and so.³⁰¹

One important component of the Instructions texts, presented by von Schuler, is that the texts usually start with the name of the king who gave the instructions; this presents the king as a party to the obligations assumed by the class of people for whom the instructions are binding. In the texts treated by von Schuler, the classes and administrative workers directly related to the king take an oath to protect the king, his seed, and the kingdom.

A text much closer to ITP may be seen in the "Instructions for palace personnel to insure the king's purity" (CTH 265).³⁰² The themes as well as the language are very close. For example: KUB 13.3 ii 7-10 "[If] someone does (some) [defile]ment, (or) someone [ang]ers the king's soul, but you say thus: '[the king] does not see us', the king's gods already see you". And also ii 18-19: "But whoever will be proven guilty, I the king, would not wish (to retain) him. Together with his wife and his children I shall put him to death". Or lines 29-30: "Whoever causes impurity

²⁹⁹ Von Schuler (1957) 2, 10 lines 24', 37'; 11 line 62, 2.

³⁰⁰ See *CHD* L-N: 64.

³⁰¹ Although the ICBG (2.3 above pp. 13-14) is partly written in second person, and partly in the third person.

³⁰² Translated by Goetze in *ANET*: 207; a new edition of the text with translation is in Pecchioli Daddi (2004b) 458-468.

and pours out polluted water for the king, may the gods pour out his soul like water".³⁰³ These lines resemble ITP §2 very closely. Such texts are directly connected with the reality of the royal and cultic life in Hatti. CTH 265 includes an example of what happened to a careless servant by the name of Zuliya, who dropped a hair in the water pitcher of the king, when the king was in Šanaḫuitta. Zuliya was proven guilty and he died.³⁰⁴ This text mentions an oath to be taken every month by the personnel. The ITP does not mention such an oath, but in both texts it is clear that the instructions are accompanied by an oath.

In the instructions text to the royal bodyguard, the colophon states that it is the first tablet of the ^{LÚ}ME-ŠE-DI *iš-ḫi-ú-l[a-a]š*, "bodyguard's rules". This translation of *išhiul*, "rules", by Güterbock and van den Hout,³⁰⁵ expresses the detailed prescriptions governing the routine of the bodyguards accompanying the king. Unfortunately, the first line of this text is missing, so it can not be said whether the king (or which king) is the one who issued the prescribed rules. In its current state there is no mention of an oath. It seems, though, that taking an oath is implied, as can be learned from the cases in which the oracles prescribe the re-taking of the oath for a certain group of administrative servants.³⁰⁶

Our text, the ITP, is defined as *išhiul*, but the divine oath *NIŠ* DINGIR^{LIM} is not mentioned, although it is hinted at in §5, 57-58, for example (see commentary above). The continuation of the hinted oath is unforgiving, as indicated by line 59 ("He shall die! Let there be no turning back for him"³⁰⁷), as well as §6/1 line 65-6 ("Let the god, my lord, [pursue] him. Let him seize his house from bottom to top"). The last paragraph before the colophon seems to render such a taking of an oath in the words of the cowherds themselves (§19, 76-7).

To sum up, it can be said that a text designated as *išhiul* includes obligatory instructions, which are backed by the taking of an oath.

³⁰³ See also *CHD* P/1: 104^b.

³⁰⁴ Such a "literary device", including an example of a punishment to a sinner, may be seen in the *išhiul*-treaty with Ḫuqqana of Ḫayaša.

³⁰⁵ Güterbock and van den Hout (1991) 41.

³⁰⁶ See above 3.2 p. 35.

³⁰⁷ *na-aš a-ku EGIR-pa u-a-ḫ-nu-mar-ši li-e e-eš-zi*. Also § 8 line 56; §10 line 20.

B) The legal language of this text is apparent from a phrase that is repeated eight times in the text: SAG.DU-az/aš ūa-aš-túl (4 times), or SAG.DU-aš ag-ga-tar (4 times), which is translated above “capital sin, capital penalty”.³⁰⁸ In all cases the one accused of this sin or crime deserves death. The death of the sinner or sinners is either at the hands of those who catch them or at the hands of the deities: “In later days the gods will seek (after) you, and they will indeed be hostile to your souls, your wives, your children, your female servant and male slaves. Act only (according) to the will of the gods” (§9, 72-74). Another important emphasis is the fact that the sin includes the whole family: “But, whenever he dies, he will not die alone, his family is together with him” (§2, 33). The totality of the punishment by the hand of the deity is described in §3, 34-38. The crime committed by a temple worker deserves a punishment of which the worker is aware. If he is caught, the authorities punish him, if he is not, he should await the divine wrath. This will come, even if not immediately: “When afterwards it acts, the will of the gods (is) strong. It is not fast to seize; but, once it seizes it never lets go” (§7, 26-29).

Almost every paragraph ends with either a punishment - “let him die, he shall perish” etc. - or with a warning “be very fearful /careful with” (a deity matter, fire, guard etc.). This style resembles the instructions of the LÚ^{MEŠ} SAG, where each paragraph ends with the motto that the words are placed under an oath.

The legal usage of the form *tákkū*, typical in the language of the casuistic laws of the Hittite corpus, appears only twice in our text (§17, 32-3 and §18, 54) in the cases involving whether the shepherds and cowherds are innocent or guilty. Again, in these two cases the guilty man may be saved by his own protective god and not by his innocence. The elaborate warnings may mean that corruption was not uncommon among the circles of temple workers.

C) The ITP indeed emphasize every possible misbehavior regarding the service of the gods. The text, though, seems to imply that the punishment is in the hands of the gods - the masters of the personnel. Since our text is broken at the beginning, we cannot tell whether a king indeed pronounced these instructions, as is the case in some of the other instructions. I tend to see the relation between the deities and the workers as the aim of the text, and the king as an intermediary factor. He is not mentioned as the one to

³⁰⁸ §6/2 10; §8, 50, 55; §10, 16; §14, 83; §17, 33; §18, 46; §19, 66.

carry out the punishments, neither is there any direct reference that the temple personnel are obliged to him in any way. The obligations are reserved for the deities.

This becomes meaningful if we remember that the genre of the Instructions text is strongly connected to the treaties texts. Von Schuler mentioned this while comparing texts including oaths and the instructions texts.³⁰⁹ The terminology and the phraseology of both genres are very close. The strongest tie between the two is that the treaty texts, just as the Instructions texts, are called texts of *išhiul*. The Hittites saw these texts as belonging to the same means of administrative control. The treaties called *išhiul* were a written document concluding the obligations of a vassal king towards the Hittite king. The *išhiul* meant binding obligations that the other party took upon himself under an oath, to be guarded by the deities of both sides - the Hittite deities and the other party's deities.³¹⁰

The vassal king could also have been a family member, such as in the case of king Tudḫaliya IV and Kurunta, king of Tarḫuntašša, who left us the Bronze Tablet which renews a prior treaty between Ḫattušili III and Kurunta, his nephew and adopted son, whom he installed in Tarḫuntašša as king.³¹¹

As a means of controlling the Hittite administration on the one hand, and the vassal kings on the other, the *išhiul* texts determine the relationship between the Hittite king and the other group, be it a vassal king or the king's civil and military servants.³¹²

Compared to the forms of regulation just discussed, the instructions to priests or temple personnel are different. The obligations of the temple personnel deal directly with the gods. Even if indeed the first lines of this text introduced the words of a certain king, as other texts of instructions do,³¹³ the text itself does not declare the other party as the king, but all along the temple personnel stand in front of the deities, and swear directly to the

³⁰⁹ Von Schuler (1957) 2.

³¹⁰ Beckman, (1996) 2: “Thus, while the treaty text was a binding by the great king, it was an ‘oath’ of the vassal”.

³¹¹ For the first publication of this text see Otten, 1988 and 1989. For a new English translation see Hoffner, *CoS* 2: 100-106.

³¹² The Instructions to LÚ^{MEŠ} SAG (CTH 255) and to the *ME-ŠE-DI* (CTH 262) may be taken as addressing civil servants while the Instructions to the Military (CTH 259) and the Border Garrison (CTH 261) may be considered to address the military. With the Hittites all administrative groups were considered the king's servants, and all were obliged with loyalty to the king.

³¹³ Such as CTH 255, 259, 261.

gods that they did not commit any offence against them. This is largely evident in the beginning of the text in §2, where it presents the relationship of the temple worker to its deity as the relationship of a master and his servant, the relationship originally existing between the king and his civil or military servants, as well as his vassal kings. The loyalty oath is made between the gods and the temple personnel via the king.

We may wonder in what way this has implications for the status of the priesthood or the general temple personnel. Before trying to address this question, we need to point out the separation which the ITP implies: the priesthood and the men responsible for the utensils are set on one side, and the other groups - farmers, cowherds and shepherds - on the other, in regard to their purity. The inner workers of the temple are separated from those working outside by their obligation to be in a certain state of cleanliness or purity.³¹⁴ This special status of these two classes is referred to in the Hittite laws regarding a ^{LU}SANGA. Law §200a/86a³¹⁵ reads as follows: "If a man sins (sexually- *uštai*) with either a horse or a mule, it is not an offense, but he shall not approach the king, nor shall he become a priest". Hoffner explains (note 569): "he has committed no punishable crime, but he has become so defiled by the incident that he may not enter the king's presence or ever become a priest". The state of purity which a priest has, resembles that of the king. This was concluded above, regarding the definition of those who may cross the threshold of the king and the temple. A certain state of purity is demanded in the presence of the king and the gods. In this sense, the king is close to the gods.

Another law mentioning the priests has to do with the special social status they have in the three ancient cult centers. Law §50:³¹⁶ "The ...[man] who (is in charge?) in Nerik, he who is a priest in Arinna (or) in Zippalanda - in every town their houses are exempt, whereas their associates render the *luzzi*-services. In Arinna, when the eleventh month arrives, [the house of him] at whose gate an *eyan* (tree or pole) is (seen?) is likewise (exempt)". This law identifies the priests as a separate group exempted from the royal *luzzi*-service. These two legal examples set the priests in a special status compared with the ordinary people. For more on the status

³¹⁴ The demand to wash and wear clean clothes, and to bathe after sexual intercourse; see above 3.9.4.4 pp. 123-124.

³¹⁵ Following Hoffner (1997b) 158.

³¹⁶ Hoffner (1997b) 61.

of the SANGA-priest, see under 4.1.7 pp. 203-217.

3.9.5 The editing of the text ITP in relation to its date

As noted in 3.9.2 (p. 108 above), our text seems to be composed of two different texts, both dealing with instructions to temple personnel. It may be difficult to prove with any certainty, but I will bring up some points which might indicate that our text is the product of editing, in which later paragraphs were added to an earlier text. While the first text gives instructions of a general nature, the added part outlines more specific instructions.

The colophon divides the personnel into four groups (5 classes): Temple-Men, kitchen attendants of the gods, farmers of the gods, cowherds and shepherds of the god. On the other hand, in paragraphs §1-§8 the text itself addresses a general personnel of the temple, only twice mentioning the Temple-Men incidentally, while paragraphs §9-19 addresses each of the groups separately. Paragraphs §9-§11 instruct the Temple-Men, including under this title the two classes of the priests, SANGA and GUDU. Paragraph §12 addresses the priests SANGA, GUDU, and AMA.DINGIR. Paragraph §14 instructs the kitchen attendants. Paragraphs §15, §16 and §17 include direct instructions to the farmers, and paragraphs §18-§19 instruct the cowherds and the shepherds.

Several of the subjects covered by the first part (§§1-8) are repeated again in the second part (§§9-19). The repetitions are mainly in regard to the following subjects, which are the main concern of paragraphs §§1-8:

- a) purification and the cleansing of the temple grounds (repeated regarding the kitchen-attendants);
 - b) festival celebrations (repeated regarding the Temple-Men and priesthood);
 - c) the use of the temple supplies for the temple personnel's own benefit, mainly the use of the animals brought for sacrifice (repeated in the instructions to the cowherds and the shepherds).
- What follows is a comparison of the repeated passages.

1) Purity and cleansing: in the first part this subject is dealt with through a description of the "persona" of a god and its needs, both physical and spiritual.
The text in §2 is as follows:

14. Further, those who prepare the daily th[ick] bread, let them be clean (=ritually pure)
15. let them be wa[sh]ed and removed (of impurities?). Let the hair and the finger[nails]
16. be taken (off) for them, and let them be dressed (in) clean cloths.
17. [If not] they shall not prepare. Whoever usually the soul and the body of the gods
18. [propiti]ate, may they prepare them (=breads). At the bakery, inside,
19. they shall prepare for them (=the gods), let it (=the bakery) be s[we]pt and
20. sprinkled. Further, in the cooking place, (neither) a pig (nor) a dog may step into the doors.

This passage does not say who the specific personnel preparing the daily bread are. The repeated passage in §14 addresses the instructions at the kitchen-attendants:

55. Furthermore: You who are kitchen attendants of all the gods:
56. cupbearer, table-man, cook, baker, beer brewer, be very much
57. afraid for yourselves, regarding the will of the god.
58. Maintain great reverence (regarding) the thick bread and the libation vessel
59. of the gods. Let your cooking area be swept and sprinkled.
60. A pig (or) a dog shall not be crossing the threshold.
61. And you must be washed!
62. Wear clean cloths, and also, let your hair and fingernails
63. be taken, so that the will of the gods is not *displeased* with you.

There is a change from the third person in §2 to the second person in §14. But the main difference is that §14 looks like an attempt to explain §2, and it reads like a paraphrase of what was already said in §2. Paragraph §14 twice warns the kitchen attendants to be very much afraid of the will of the god, while §2 simply says that if they are not in a pure state they will not prepare the bread. Also, the order of the obligations for them is stated in almost the reverse order of §2:

- | | |
|--|---|
| §2- be clean, wash and remove hair and fingernails | a |
| wear clean clothes | a |
| sweep and sprinkle the bakery | b |
| neither a pig nor a dog may step into the doors of the cooking area | b |
| be afraid of the god (expressed further down, in §3, 38 ³¹⁷) | c |

³¹⁷ §3 is in fact a direct continuation of §2, with the dividing line seeming out of place here.

- | | |
|---|---|
| §14- be afraid of the god | c |
| sweep and sprinkle the cooking area | b |
| neither a pig nor a dog may cross the threshold of the temple | b |
| wash, wear clean clothes, remove hair and fingernails. | a |

2) In regard to the festivals which must be performed by the temple personnel, §4 states exactly what the festivals are, and demands their celebration with all the needed supplies (as they must have been prescribed for each festival). The mention of the festivals is made so that the issue of the correct use of the temple supplies is addressed. At the same time the privileges of the personnel in regard to the temple's wealth, their eating, using, or even obtaining presents with a royal permission, are stressed.

The repeated subject in §9 emphasizes the celebrating of festivals on time, adding a private case of a person who wishes to delay his duties to the temple. §12 and §13 add special cases of possible trouble occurring during festivals. Again it looks like an elaboration on the basic instructions of §§1-8.

3) The use of the temple animals for the temple personnel's own benefit is addressed in §7 with a full description of the deception. §18, addressed to the cowherds and the shepherds, specifies further details on the possibilities of stealing from the gods the animals for sacrifice. It also speaks directly to the cowherds and the shepherds, demanding them to take an oath in front of the god to cleanse themselves of any crime committed. Again it looks like an elaboration on the basic instructions or warnings given in the first part of the text.

It seems to me that we have an earlier text in §§1-8, which was an instructions text addressed to "Temple-Men", including the different office holders, to which a second part was added, including more specified instructions addressed at each separate class of personnel connected with the temple. The elaboration in §§9-19 includes special cases relating to the guarding of a temple, and specific demands for the farmers and the animal handlers.

The repeated paragraphs show an interpretation of the first part, though the language used is much the same, with slight differences in paraphrasing. Following is a comparison between paragraphs §2 and §14 regarding the idea of purity and cleansing.

- * §2, 16 - pár-ku-ua-ja TÚG^{HLA} ua-aš-ša-an ħar-kán-du
 "Let them be dressed in clean (clothes)."
 §14, 62- nu TÚG^{HLA} pár-ku-ua-ja ú-e-eš-tén
 "Wear clean clothes!"
- * §2, 15 - iš-ĥi-[a?]-ni-uš-ma-aš-kán UM[BIN^{MES}-i]a da-a-an e-eš-du
 "Let the hair and the fingernails be taken (off) for them."
 §14, 62-3 nam-ma-aš-ma-aš-kán iš-ĥi-e-ni-uš UMBIN^{MES}-ja da-a-an e-eš-du
 "Let your hair and fingernails be taken (off)."
- * §2, 27 - na-aš-kán [UL 1 ʔ]ĥa-an-ĥa-ni-ĥa-i
 "(his master) is not *displeased* (with him)."
 §14, 63 - nu-uš-m[a-aš]-kán DINGIR^{MES}-aš ZI-an-za li-e ʔĥa-an-ĥa-ni-ĥa-i
 "The will of the gods is not *displeased* with you."
- * §2, 23 - na-aš ua-ar-pa-an-za nu pár-ku-ua-ja ua-aš-ša-an ħar-z[i]
 "He (is) washed and he is dressed clean (clothes)."
 §14, 61-2 - šu-ma-ša-za ua-ar-pa-an-te-eš e-eš-tén nu TÚG^{HLA}
 pár-ku-ua-ja ú-e-eš-tén
 "You must be washed. Wear clean clothes."

The difference in the language shows rephrasing of §2 by repetition of the same wording, but §14, 63 already indicates that the master is the god.

Our text in its current form belongs to a relatively narrow period of time, which can be dated to the New Kingdom. This makes the attempt to describe a process of editing more difficult to prove. As already indicated above, all the existing copies originate from the same text and from the same period of the New Kingdom. The language of the text does not yield itself to any substantial analysis of periodical strata. Still, the analysis of its contents seems to indicate that the text had undergone a process of expansion in which additions were made to it, perhaps based on actual experiences of certain priests in certain temples. The fact that several copies of this text were found indicates its importance, as does the fact that it was widely used in temples, whose scribes copied and recopied it.

To sum up the issue of the dating of the text, we may say that its origin could go back to the Middle Hittite Kingdom, although at its present form the text dates to the New Kingdom. Three points support this conclusion:

1. If we accept Pecchioli Daddi's assumption regarding the origin of all the Instructions texts in the Middle Kingdom, and

gradually the merging of the *link/gai*-texts with the *išhiul*-texts, then CTH 264 shows the stage of the pre-combined texts, where the instructions are set and the oath is mentioned as being taken separately (§5, 58 §19, 68-77).

2. The list of the festivals, including the newly imported festivals from North-Syria, may point to the period when these connections and relations with that area became politically important, and vital for the cultic activity within the capital Hattuša. Klinger noted that the list seems to be tinged "with an ad hoc characteristic".³¹⁸ However, since the list was continuously copied in the same order, these festivals should have been regarded as important for the following kings of the New Kingdom.

3. One passage in the text regarding the relations to the gods, §2, 21-33, echoes the words of a prayer of Muršili II (Singer 2002 no. 11 §8-9). It seems that both texts reflect the same scribal school.

³¹⁸ Klinger (2001) 74.