## STUDIES IN ANCIENT ANATOLIAN MAGICAL PRACTICES

### THE HITTITE RITUAL OF HANTITAŠŠU FROM THE CITY OF HURMA AGAINST TROUBLESOME YEARS

AHMET ÜNAL

TURKISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY PRINTING HOUSE-ANKARA
1996

#### **CONTENTS**

PREFACE	VII-VII
I. Introductory Remarks on the Dichotomy Between Hittite Medicine and Magical Practices.	
II. Tradition and Different Compositions of the Hantitaššu-Ritual	14-1
A = KBo 11.14	1
B = KBo 13.145	14-1
C = KUB 43.57 (+) KBo 18.174	1
D = KBo 17.104 (+) 2029/g	1
III. Transliteration and Translation of KBo 11.14 with its Duplicates	17-35
IV. Philological Commentary.	33-79
V. Synopsis and Structural Analysis of the Text	80-8
VI. Date of the Hantitaššu-Ritual	8:
VII. Additional Fragments Belonging to the Ensemble of the	0.
Hantitaššu-Ritual	83-96
1. KBo 17.104 rev. iii	84
2. 2029/g	8!
3. KBo 13.145 rev	80
4. KBo 20.34 (+ KUB 36.111)	87-89
5. KUB 57.79 obv.i	90-94
6. KUB 58.94	95-96
VIII. Index	97-118
A) List of the Treated Words and Names	<i>5,</i> 110
a) Hittite, Sumerian, Akkadian, Hurrian, Luwian and Other Words	97-102
b) Divine Names	102
c) Personal Names	102-103
d) Geographical Names (Turkish and Ancient)	103-104
e) Subject Index	104-108

0807-4

University of Chicago, I was able at least to complete a provisional transliteration and some parts of the translation accompanied by randomly-taken short notes as comments on some words and phrases; but the manuscript was still far from being complete enough to go to print. My appointment to the University of Munich in 1988 finally gave me the opportunity and time necessary to work again on the Hittite text corpus as a whole and to lay down a computerized data archive of the entire Hittite text corpus and scientific literature, which I have used as basic source for the present text edition.

Thus the manuscript went to the Turkish Historical Society to be printed in April 1992. Before 1994 three galleys were already read, as the printing house of the Society has shifted its printing device from IBM to Macintosh system late in 1994, which considerably put off the printing of the book. The conversion of the text, its overhauling and the creation of new foreign signs have been mostly done during my very limited stay in Ankara on the occasion of the Yuletide at the end of December 1994. This negative outcome gave me, however, the opportunity, to consider in some urgent cases the point of the state. Since I did not have enough time, and moreover did not see any compulsory reasons to alter the whole body of the manuscript since its completion in April 1992, I have solely confined myself with some most necessary changes, especially refurbishing some passages, incorporating the new bibliography into the footnotes, and, if necessary, expurgating some redundant or outdated passages.

I would like to thank professors H. A. Hoffner and H. G. Güterbock, University of Chicago, for granting me the opportunity to work at their Hittite Dictionary Project of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago which became the Mecca of Hittite studies in the United States. I owe also a great deal of gratitude to my teacher Frau Prof. A. Kammenhuber who guided me through my Hittitological studies, and to the University of Munich for granting me the position in the Department of Assyriology and Hittitology and the opportunity to again resume my Hittitological teaching and studies, and finally, to the Turkish Historical Society for its acception of this study among the series of its publications.

Dr. Daisuke Yoshida, then the University of Munich, read kindly the first draft of the manuscript, corrected some inadvertent misreadings in the transliteration and suggested valuable readings or restorations in broken or crucial places; for his kind assistance I am grateful to him.

Munich, February, 1995

# I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON THE DICHOTOMY BETWEEN HITTITE MEDICINE AND MAGICAL PRACTICES

"Bizim dağlarımız koca birer eczanedir."
(Each one of our mountains represents an immense pharmacy)
Ali Gürbüz, Şifalı Nebatlar<sup>2</sup> (İstanbul 1982)

In comparison to the medical achievements and innovations in contemporary Mesopotamia and Egypt, Hittite medicine appears thoroughly underdeveloped. This is not astounding at all, because in their original homeland the Indo-Europeans did not possess the sophisticated medical means which have been developed later under the influence of native cultures in the countries they have migrated to. The Indo-European common root \*met- has closely to do with mental activity, law, ritual, and medical treatment<sup>1</sup> and is represented in Hittite vocabulary as mat-/mazz-. The primary medical meaning of mat-, i. e. the physical resistance of human body (tuekka-) against aches and disease, is preserved only once in a mythological text<sup>2</sup>; otherwise it is known as a military terminology in the meaning of "to withstand, resist, endure, dare'<sup>3</sup>. Only on the occasion of some urgent medical cases, such as the treatment of the members of the royal family and other prominent persons did the Hittites fetch the aid of foreign doctors<sup>4</sup>, frequently from Egypt or Babylon, in payment or in

<sup>1</sup> T. V. Gamkrelidze-V. V. Ivanov, Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans (1995) 711.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A. Ūnal, Hitit Tibbinin Anahatlari. Belleten 175 (1980) 476; idein, Parts of Trees in Hittite According to a Medical Incantation Text (KUB 43.62). Fs Alp (1992) 498. The word is unfortunately not listed among other Indo-European cognates by Gamkrelidze · Ivanov, loc. cit. The crucial text attesting mat/z· in this meaning is KUB 43.62 ii 4 which is edited by Ūnal, op. cit. 494.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CHD L-N (1980-1989) 213f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> On the Hittite medicine see *H. G. Gúterbock*, Hittite Medicine, Bulletin of the History of Med. 36 (1962) 109-113; *G. Jantzen*, "Er, der das Wasser kennt". Deutsches Ärzteblatt 66 (1969) 3255-3345; *J. Puhvel*, Mythological Reflections of Indo-European Medicine, in: Cardona (ed.), Indo-European and Indo-Europeans (1970) 369-382; *C. Burde*, Hethitische medizinische Texte, StBoT 19 (1974); *E. Edel*, Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof (1976); *G. Neumann*, Review of Burde, StBoT 19, IF 81 (1976) 313-316; *V. Haas*, Magie und Mythen im Reiche der Hethiter (1977); *A. Ünal*, The Role of Magic in the Ancient Anatolian Religions According to the Cuneiform Texts from Boğazköy-Hattusa, BMECCJ 3 (1988) 52ff.; idem, Hitit Tıbbının Anahatları. Belleten 175

exchange for other craftsmen such as masons from the southern Anatolian city of  $Hupisna^5$ . Therefore, in a society deprived all kind of rational medical practices, the significance of magic becomes self-evident. Thus it is the lack of the remedial pharmacological substances in medical sense that often gave reason for the application of magic in restoring the health of patients and in all kinds of purely medical difficulties<sup>6</sup>. These practical requirements promoted magical practices to a status equal to that of medicine, and, in most cases, it even surpassed medical practices and overshadowed them.

Although the capabilities of Hittite medicine were limited by the previously mentioned factors and its blemishes and flaws have long been known to the Hittitologists as well as laymen since a long time, in a recent study Hittite medicine has been praised from a somewhat fanciful point of view by M. A. Dinçol in his marginal remarks on Hittite medicine in his edition of the Ašhella ritual<sup>7</sup>. Dinçol contests my results<sup>8</sup> pertaining to Hittite medicine, culled from a detailed study of the textual evidence and in accordance to the common opinion of other scholars such as H. G. Güterbock<sup>9</sup>, one of the prime authorities of the subject, that the Hittites

added almost nothing to the medical science 10. The evidence on drawbacks of the Hittite medicine rises also on a solid ground and is as such irrefutable. Accordingly my own assessment and understanding of the subject matter compels me to object to the view of Dincol, which results from his a priori "anthropological" comparisons with simple but universal medico-magical practices among other primitive societies<sup>11</sup> and his alleged sympathy for the subject matter rather than from textual evidence; many reasons oblige me to retain my petitio principii, which I will not repeat here, since it would be redundant. All scholars of ancient oriental studies sympathize involuntarily to a certain degree with the achievements of ancient societies, but this sympathy must remain within given scientific limitations. In the case of Hittite medical traditions it is very easy to make up one's mind by perusing the Hittite medical texts, since they have survived even if in a limited number and are sufficient to convey us an approximate impression on the matter. Moreover, they have been assembled in a corpus and are readily accessible to everybody<sup>12</sup>. What we find in these medical texts concerning medical practices is rather a collection of treatments from other cultures within the Hittite orbit in broader sense, i. e., Babylonia, Egypt, Hurri lands and native Anatolian achievements. Thus, as disappointing as the corollary might yet be, the truth is that the Hittites on their own did not add a single innovation or improvement to medicine as a science. I would like to repeat here once again what I wrote fifteen years ago: The only empirical medical knowledge

<sup>(1980) 475-495;</sup> G. Beckman, RIA 7/7-8 (1990) 629-31; idem, Women's Role in Hittite Medicine and Magic, Journal of Ancient Civilizations 8 (1993) 25-39; H. Otten - C. Rüster, "Ärztin" im hethitischen Schrifttum, Fs N. Özgüç (1993) 539-541; C. Milani,-O. Carruba, Farmacia nel mondo minoico-miceneo ed egeo-anatolico (1986); G. Wilhelm, Medizinische Omina aus Hattuša in akkadischer Sprache, StBoT 36 (1994); Egypto-Hittite letters between Ramses ii and Hattušili iii, also the ones dealing with medical cases, are now completely edited by E. Edel, ÄHK I (1994) 53f., 80ff., 116ff., 170ff., 178ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The crucial text passage attesting the exchange of Egyptian doctors for Hittite stone cutters from Hupišna comes unfortunately in broken context from a letter of Ramses ii to Hattušili iii, KUB 3.67 obv., see most recently E. Edel, Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof (1976) 85ff.; idem, ÄHK I (1994) 170f., cf. K. Bittel, Die Hethiter (1976) 233f.; A. Ünal, Hittite Architect and a Rope-Climbing Ritual, Belleten 205 (1989) 1471 note 5; B. Hrouda, Fremde Künstler bei den Hethitern? Fs Akurgal, Anadolu/Anatolia 22 (1981/82 [1989]) 40.

<sup>6</sup> On magic see now in details V. Haas, Geschichte der heth. Religion (1994) 876-911.

<sup>7</sup> Ashella Rituali (CTH 394) ve Hititlerde Salgın Hastalıklara Karşı Majik İşlemlere Toplu Bir Bakış, Belleten 193 (1985) 6ff.

<sup>8</sup> A. Unal, Hitit Tibbinin Anahatlari, Belleten 175 (1980) 475-49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See above note 4.

<sup>10</sup> Belleten 175 (1980) 433ff.; note, for example, that in an exhaustive study on medicine in the Ancient World such as *D. Goltz*, Studien zur altorientalischen und griechischen Heilkunde. Therapie-Arzneibereitung-Rezeptstrukture, in: Sudhoffs Archive 16 (1974) there is not a single mention of Hittite medicine.

<sup>11</sup> The famous book of *J. G. Frazer*, The Golden Bough. A Study in Magic and Religion. Part I The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings. Vol. I (1935)<sup>3</sup> 49ff. is teeming with this kind of examples and instances. More surprisingly some of the Hittite-Ancient Anatolian magical (and medical) practices have survived and continue to be engaged in some regions of modern Turkey, see *S. Veyis Örnek*, Türk Halkbilimi (Ankara 1977) 132ff., 142ff., 145ff. and passim and *A. Ūnal*, BMECCJ 4 (1988) 75 on recovering a lost pet animal by magical means using a knife or a rope.

<sup>12</sup> Collected by C. Burde, StBoT 19 (1974); there are, however, a few medical texts and incantations which must be added to Burde's collection, but they do not change the absolute result. For the application of conjurations as belle chant in psychiatric therapy see A. Ūnal, Parts of Trees in Hittite According to a Medical Incantation Text (KUB 43.62), Fs Sedat Alp (1992) 493-500.

evinced by the Hittites was to carry a person away from a contaminated area if one wanted to save his or her life<sup>13</sup>. In short, the prudent expectedly placed up to now no confidence and will not do it in the future in *Dinçol's* claim which is completely baseless since it is set out from the beginning on the premises of his own subjective observations.

Magic <sup>14</sup> is certainly one of the most ingenious defensive inventions of mankind in his incessant efforts to ward off ever-threatening environmental circumstances, to cope with them or, if possible, profit from them, in short to adjust to his environment. It is well known that in the minds of early men natural and supernatural powers were conceived as good and bad, the latter being represented by natural forces such as volcanic mountains, flooding, rivers, winds, the sun, the moon, the stars and dangerous animals in the local fauna; it is thus understandable that magical rituals had to be carried out at certain periods of the year to appease these powers <sup>15</sup>. Magic thus became an inseparable part of daily life.

The time has come for researchers to change their preconceived persuasions about magic and their approach towards its meaning and function in early human societies. It would suffice to evaluate magic correctly if we moderns could conceive of it by its own means, i. e. as a practical and useful instrument in ancient societies. If we think of magic as

one of the links in man's long-term experiences with his environment, we can easily notice that it might have little to do with supernatural powers and beings, as most scholars are accustomed to think. This approach ignores the tremendous efforts necessary for early man merely to survive physically, even long before he became what we call "homo sapiens", and before he was mentally developed enough to ponder in a highly sophisticated and philosophic manner about abstract and imperceptible things such as evil powers, devils, ghosts, genii, gods and demons, as moderns anachronistically often assume. The minds of ancient peoples were "preoccupied with questions concerning the meaning of death, afterlife and power of the sprits. Fear of the unknown and the unperceptable must have had a very disturbing effect on the community as a whole each time one of its members died or suffered physical pain due to a disease or internal injuries. It is logical to assume that .... rituals were devised involving among other things the use of sacred material mediums."16

From the very beginning, magic seems to be an inseparable part of man's rebellious attitude toward the natural forces. It is this rebellious nature that permanently incited him not to surrender, but to struggle. As a result, without the power and support of magic, primitive man would never have overcome his problems and coped with his requirements, nor would he have survived the cataclysms of natural catastrophes or man-made calamities such as wars and devastations. In contrast to religion's absolutely submissive nature, magic is also insurgent. We should not scoff at this effort of early man, which has often been banned by theologians of the Judaeo-Christian persuation who have declared magic to be the work of "the devil", "a system of exploitation", and thus to be a dangerous opponent of the monotheistic religions, forgetting that magic always had an equal status in early societies next to religion or as part of the latter. Some theologians failed to grasp or admit that magic has never been inferior to religion 17. Today we can say without exaggeration that our ancestors owed their survival much more to non-fatalistic, rebellious magic. than to the dogmatic and submissive tenets of religions. Luckily, recent research, conducted mainly on the part of Scandinavian scholars, has put magic in a

<sup>13</sup> KBo 18.10 obv. 2ff., *Ūnal*, Belleten 175 p. 494.

<sup>14</sup> On Hittite magic see most recently D. H. Engelhard, Hittite Magical Practices: An Analysis (Ph. D. Brandeis 1970); M. Giorgieri, Magia e intrighi alla corte di Labarna-Hattusili, Istituto Lombardo 124 (1991) 247-277; A. Goetze, Kleinasien<sup>2</sup> (1957, reprinted 1974) 151ff.; V. Haas, Magie und Mythen im Reiche der Hethiter (1977); idem, Hethitische Berggötter und hurritische Steindämonen 1982; idem, RIA s. v. "Magie": idem, Magie in hethitischen Gärten, Fs Otten (1988) 121-142; idem, Geschichte der hethitischen Religion, in: HdO (1994) 876ff.; M. Hutter, Bemerkungen zur Verwendung magischer Rituale in mittelhethitischer Zeit, AoF 18 (1991) 32-43; G. F. del Monte, Rituali magici e potere nell' anatolia ittita, in: M. Fales (ed.). Sopranaturale e Potere nel Mondo Antico e nelle Societa tradizionali (1986) 83-94; A. Ūnal, The Role of Magic in the Ancient Anatolian Religions According to the Cuneiform Texts from Boğazköy-Hattusa, BMECCJ 3 (1988) 56ff.; D. P. Wright. Analogy in Biblical and Hittite Ritual, in: B. Janowski et al. (eds), Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien. Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 129 (1993) 473-506.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> J. Yakar, Speculating on the Concepts of the "Supernatural" in Neolithic Anatolia, XI. Türk Tarih Kongresi Vol. I (1994) 40f.

<sup>16</sup> J. Yakar, op. cit. p. 38f.

<sup>17</sup> See A. Unal, The Role of Magic in the Ancient Anatolian Religions According to the Cuneiform Texts from Boğazköy-Hattusa, BMECCJ 3 (1988) 56f.

new light; it has shown the important role of magic in its own right and confirmed that there is no religion without magic. Hittite religion serves as a good example in this regard<sup>18</sup>.

The role of magic in early societies does not consist merely of encouraging man in his efforts to survive but also of the invention of natural and human sciences, because without magic early human societies would not have been able to reach exalted levels of culture 19 and developed sciences 20 such as chemistry, medicine, astronomy, physics and even mythology and literature.

The origins of magical practices<sup>21</sup> certainly go back to primitive and empiric folk medicine which has been applied by common people since very ancient times. Pseudo-medicine and subsequently scientific medicine, as well as some branches of fine arts and natural sciences, emerged from the long term occupation with magic.

The primary medical core of magical practices shimmers through in most Hittite magical texts. Magic has been from the beginning a sort of "bastard" science which flourished among ancient peoples. This primitive folk medicine and other magical practices made up an ever present source from which the medicine men, doctors and magical experts subsequently borrowed and developed highly sophisticated methods of treatment in the service of higher social classes. Once taken over by the practitioners and adopted to satisfy the ambitious demands and needs of the ruling classes, it became an unaffordable luxury for common people, who were at the outset the real originators and initiators of these rich medico-ethnological materials, and thus an enduring source of them. We may compare this phenomenon with the sophisticated and immensely expensive oracle service at the popular Delphi versus west Anatolian and Lycian oracle centers during the late Hellenistic and Roman periods, which fulfilled the simple needs of impecunious common people, taking up their oracular inquiries at affordable prices.

A close glance at different types and amount of the magical utensils and ingredients in Hittite texts, which were allegedly necessary for the performance of rituals and served at the same time as a means of payment<sup>22</sup> to the practitioner, shows indeed how expensive the performance of a magical ritual must have been. A ritual text gives an example of one of the greediest ritual practitioners so far known to us: *Hatiya*, a woman from the town of *Kanzapida*. At the end of her ritual performance she candidly declares:

"I keep [the utensils of earthen ware] (and) utensils of wickerwork for myself which I have been using in the course of (this) ritual; (my) client does not take<sup>23</sup> anything<sup>24</sup>.

It is for this reason that in some cases, mostly in the *Huwassana*-rituals from the Luwian speaking southern parts of *Anatolia*, that ritual experts took the poverty of their clients into account and charged less material from poor clients for the observance of the rite<sup>25</sup>. In spite of what seems at first sight to be welfare for the poor, we must assume that usually these rituals were observed only for wealthy people who could defray the cost. In addition to these costs and ingredients for the efficacy of the ritual

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> See *Ünal*, op. cit. 57f.

<sup>19</sup> B. Malinowski, in: L. Petzoldt (ed.), Magie und Religion: Beiträge zu einer Theorie der Magie (1978) 106; for details s. Ūnal, op. cit. 52ff.

<sup>20</sup> C. Clemens, in: Petzoldt (ed.), op. cit. p. 78.

<sup>21</sup> On magic see the literature given above note 14. For a rapid orientation see A. Goetze, Kleinasien<sup>2</sup> (1957, reprinted 1974) 151ff. and V. Haas, RIA s. v. "Magie".

<sup>22</sup> In most cases the fee of the doctor or ritual practitioner is paid by means of ritual residues; it is why sometimes the expert seems intentionally to have required more valuable utensils to be used in the course of the ritual or medical cure than actually needed. At the end it really turns out that the practitioner takes them home as means of self-payment. A very illustrative example is given in a construction ritual where the practitioner (here as carpenter) takes the golden axe and knife as his fee after they have been allegedly used for "ritual" purposes; it is also the shrewdness of the ritual practitioner (here again the carpenter) who planned them from the very beginning as his fee; this explains why they have been intermingled in a ritual disguise, see A. Ünal, Hittite Architect and a Rope-Climbing Ritual, Belleten 205 (1989) 1477, 1479.

<sup>23</sup> Read: "is not allowed to take"!

<sup>24</sup> KBo 15.25 rev. 28-29: [UNUT GIR4] UNUT AD.KID kuit ANA SÍSKUR ḥarɪni (29) [na=at=za am]muk daḥḥi EN.SÍSKUR-za EGIR-pa UL kuitki dai, O. Carruba, Das Beschwörungsritual für die Göttin Wišurijanza, StBoT 2 (1966) 6f.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. supplying of a live donkey by a rich patient while a poor patient delivers only a donkey figure made of clay, KUB 56.59 rev. 33-34, and the obligation of one cow, one sheep and four goats by a poor customer while a wealthy person must supply one cow, six sheep and two goats, KUB 17.24 ii 16f.; cf. also similarly KUB 27.59 i 26f.; KBo 9.139 obv. 4f.; KBo 29.76 obv. i? 13f. and fragmentary KUB 32.105.

Manife Civing

the offerer often had to supply presents as bribes for the gods<sup>26</sup>. The common peoples, on the other hand, may have continued to use their own ritual practices of which, except for occasional indications in the state archives, we do not have any records.

Immediately after the foundation of the Hittite Empire (ca. 1650 B. C.) native Anatolian, Hurrian and North Syrian magicians together with other experts and artisans from different regions and ethnic origins were deported forcibly to the Empire's capital Hattuša, where they were officially employed as artists and experts of magical and medical matters because they were thought to be in possession of versatile kinds of recipes and pseudo-medical magical means against all kind of diseases, afflictions and various kinds of misfortunes. In the following decades they must have come to Hattuša voluntarily, because they discovered there a new and lucrative business opportunity for their innovative and truely prodigious magical treatments. In this new metropolis the magicians willingly put themselves at the disposal of the rich and powerful rulers and their clan members who, though skillful and victorious in military matters, lacked merits in respect to culture and civilization. The new rulers of the country seem to have been enchanted by the multitude and versatility of magical rites, their applications, and the medical techniques and skill of the experts.

In the course of the 450 years of the Empire there were numerous cases of medical needs and political intrigues where the Hittites resorted to sorcerers. In other words, the rulers became from the very beginning dependent on magic and magicians, whether for curing ailments, defending themselves against the maledictions of their enemies, dispelling the results of black magic or using them to destroy their enemies by magic. Thus they became almost addicted, and gave every imaginable support and generous payment in favor of magic. However, the Hittites also made a strict distinction between black and white magic; whereas they feared the former and tried by all means, including legal stipulations, to ward it off, they venerated the latter. Since Hittite history is from the very beginning full of scandals and intrigues which were instigated by mischievous and malicious opponents of the royal dynasty and its clan members, the Hittites were very concerned to keep black magic under a very strict jurisprudential

control<sup>27</sup>. However, from a subjective point of view it is extremely difficult to draw a line between white and black magic, because magical practices can be regarded as white or black magic depending on the point of wiew.

It is remarkable that in Hittite Anatolia the influx of magic came mainly from Hurrian and Luwian speaking regions, that is from south and southeast Anatolia, especially from Kizzuwatna, the heartland of the Hurrians. Although we have known for a long time that the Hurrians produced a major upheaval in cultural, political and civil life at Hattuša and other urban centers of the empire, at present we are unfortunately still far from being able to estimate its exact extend, intensity and diversity. The recently discovered Hurro-Hittite bilinguals from Boğazköy<sup>28</sup> give an approximate idea of the intensity of the Hurrian influences since at least from the Middle Hittite period, and perhaps from the Old Hittite Kingdom. The newly discovered group of texts from Ortaköy, (in process of excavation since 1990)<sup>29</sup>, also includes a great number of Hurrian texts (mostly itkalzi- and other rituals) and reveals to us once more quite clearly to what extent Hurrian influences penetrated into the heart of Hittite territories as far north as northern Cappadocia.

The geographical setting of this sprawling provincial Hittite city at Ortaköy, with its administrative, religious, and defensive buildings and its vast archives for local administrative, military, religious, and cultic matters, as well as the time period of the texts covering Middle Hittite and Empire

<sup>26</sup> See KUB 29.4 ii 67ff. attesting silver jewelry as bribery in shape of "soul" (ZI) and stars; cf. also the pledges made on the condition of "do ut des" in the vow texts of Puduhepa, CTH 583-590, see below p. 54ff.

<sup>27</sup> See A. Ünal, The Role of Magic in the Ancient Anatolian Religions According to the Cuneiform Texts from Boğazköy-Ḥattuša, BMECCJ 3 (1988) 64; on the application of black magic in historical context see G. F. del Monte, Rituali magici e potere nell'Alatolia ittita, in: M. Fales (ed.), Sopranaturale e Potere nel Mondo Antico e nelle Società Tradizionali (1986) 83ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Now published in hand copies in KBo 32.14ff.

<sup>29</sup> Ünal, Newsletter for Anatolian Studies 7/1 (1991) 1 and my paper read at the Hittite Festival at Çorum, July 1994 and A. Süel, Ortaköy: Eine hethitische Stadt mit hethitischen und hurritischen Tontafelentdeckungen, Fs Alp (1992) 487-492; ead., Çorum-Ortaköy 1990 Yılı Kazısı - Ausgrabungen bei Çorum-Ortaköy im Jahr 1990, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi 1991 Yılı Sonbahar Dönemi Konferansları (1992) 89ff.; ead., 1990 Yılı Çorum-Ortaköy Kazı Çalışmaları, 14. KST II (1993) 495ff. Some sixteen Hittite and Hurrianı texts from Ortaköy acquired by the Museum of Çorum before the beginning of the excavations are presently being prepared by myself for publication: A. Ünal, Hittite and Hurrian Cuneiform Tablets from Ortaköy, Central Turkey (forthcoming).

Periods, best fits all requirements for an identification with Sapinuwa<sup>30</sup>. Šapinuwa was known up to now from the texts as a major Hurrian center, famous of its itkalzi-rituals, which scholars tended on account of predominating Hurrian influence to locate in Southeast Anatolia, i. e. the proper Hurrian countries. Thus my first assumption of Ortakōy's identity with Hakmiš/Hakpiš on the premises of some historical considerations and most importantly without having no idea of the nature and contex of the texts discovered there<sup>31</sup> is proven to be deceptive.

The fact that Hurrian presence reached that far north should not surprise us because according to a letter from Maşat, the borders of Kizzuwatna comprised the territory around Masat<sup>32</sup>, and this record has to be taken seriously. This would de facto imply, during the reign of one of Šuppiluliuma the First's predessors, a temporary expansion of Hurrian political power as far north as the Ortaköy-Maşat line in the middle Cekerek valley, references of which can be found in the annals of Tuthaliya ii which attest a largescale onslaught of the Hurrians under the command of general Muwa together with Išuwans, inhabitants of a Hurrian speaking countryside on the Middle Euphrates (today the Keban dam region), into Hittite heartland<sup>33</sup>. It is significant to note that the annals encounter Išuwa as a "big country" (šalli KUR-e). This Hurrian military expansion has certainly been only one part of the "Hurrianization" process of the Middle Hittite dynasty. Future researches, excavations and discoveries in Hurrian centers in Southeast and Central Turkey, from the plain of Harran to the upper courses of the Tigris River, as well as in North Syria, a region teening with huge mounds<sup>54</sup>, will certainly help us pretty soon to better understand and appreciate the Hurrian role and influences, and finally to solve the Hurrian enigma.

It is evident that the Hittites scarcely had their own magical practices<sup>35</sup>. What, indeed, they possessed according to the preserved text corpus was rather a collection of local magical practices which surely prevailed since the stone age in various provinces of the empire, i. e., Luwiya, Arzawa, Kizzuwatna, Hurrian lands and Hatti lands; they also borrowed from Babylonia and other unknown sources. Thus as a result of this mixture and convergence, commensurate with the needs of the ruling class at Hattuša, new sophisticated compilations of magic were developed.

Without rivals among the inhabitants at Hattuša, the foreign magicians could now brag all the more so as they considered themselves omnipotent and believed they had all sorts of remedies against any imaginable evil which could disrupt human life. From the standpoint of those times, the exorcists were surely the best 'anthropologists', because they collected from the multi-level sources of ethnic groups all kinds of superstitious beliefs and remedies and put them at the service of their clients at Hattuša. Astonishingly the Hittites did not show any backlash against these mongers of a new kind of "health care" and superstitious beliefs; as a rule they conceded voluntarily all sort of these new magical means which the strange missionaries have brought to Hatti. There is only feeble evidence in the written records indicating some aversion of Hattušili i against an alleged collaboration of the Tawananna with the magicians (old women). The basic relevance of these collections is that they helped to perpetuate the most ancient anthropological values of the country which otherwise would have been lost. Factually this service of the magicians was au-pair; they were conceded eagerly and accoladed in every respect very generously by the new lords of the country at Hattuša. In their collections the magicians culled from an immensely rich and old "folklore" of ancient Anatolia and neighboring regions hundreds of medical and psychological cases. They were then kept diligently as ready-made case histories in the state and temple archives of the empire always in readiness as "empty formulae" (Leerformeln) to be filled out with the name and affliction of

<sup>30~</sup>A.~Siiel, in an unpublished paper read at the XIIth Turkish Historical Congress, September 1994.

<sup>31</sup> See above note 29. In the same way M. Forlanini's surmise seems to be conjectural, to look for Ortakōy's ancient name among the settlements of Iškamaḥa, Śeriśśa, Malazziya and Taggašta: Le spedizioni militari ittite verso Nerik i percorsi orientali, Istituto Lombarda Academia de Scienze e Lettere 125 (1991) 303.

<sup>32</sup> HBM 74:12ff. = S. Alp, HBM (1991) 262f., 342; idem. Hitit Çağında Anadolu Coğrafyası Bazı Atılımlar ve Yeni Umutlar, in: Uluslararası 1. Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri (19-21 Temmuz 1990) [1992] 22; differently interpreted by J. Klinger, Das Copus der Maşat-Briefe und seine Beziehungen zu den Texten aus Hattuša, ZA 85 (1995) 85f.

<sup>33</sup> KUB 23.11 rev. iii 28ff., cf. also KUB 23.16 + KBo 22.13 rev. iii 6ff., esp. 12ff.; also KBo 22.28, 3ff.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. B. Landsberger, Über den Wert künftiger Ausgrabungen in der Türkei, Belleten III (1939) 207-224 (German), 225-241 (Turkish).

<sup>35</sup> For details see A. Unal, BMECCJ 3 (1988) 66 and note 82.

the customers and to be used for their urgent requirements. By means of their application even a non-medical practitioner of modern times would be able to deal with some of the exigent ailments of his patients, if only he knew the modern equivalent names of medical herbs, nowadays certainly mostly disappeared from Anatolian flora, other drugs, remedial substances and complicated pharmacological procedures of the preparations, concoctions and aphrodisiacs. In their own domain the magicians deservedly considered themselves omnipotent and unbeatable; they saw no limits to their power of influencing the will of the gods, supernatural powers and demons, who were allegedly the instigators of evil and calamity, to their own advantage. Their belief in the effectiveness of their magical practices was so staunch that they would never admit a failure. Accompanying their medical treatments, they often uttered verbal imperatives or suggestions which made the patients believe that "they will/must get well!" Again, we should not scoff at the firmness of these suggestive methods and magician's self-confidence, since bragging, absolute trust and belief on the part of magician as well as his patient are the basic principles of magical treatment in their interactions. It was these suggestions and verbal spells muttered during the performance of the ritual practices which gave more efficacy to the rites. It is impossible not to admire the self-confidence of an Old Woman, when she in a text challenges her opponent, the instigator of black magic, with the following words which should not be taken merely as mumbo jumbo:

"Whatever words the sorcerer spoke, whatever he twined together, whatever he wove, whatever he made in whatever place, those (things) he did not (properly) know, the sorcerer. He built up sorcery like a pillar, twined it together like a string. I am thwarting him. I have pushed over these words of sorcery like a pillar, I have entwined them like a string" and "The spell [that was superi]or, my spell-binding has vanquished (it)" <sup>36</sup>.

Without possessing expertise knowledge magicians would certainly not have had this courage to boast; therefore they must have attained their power by virtue of their education and proficiency in medical as well as psychological fields. One of the remarkable idiosyncrasies of ancient Anatolian magical literature is the individuality of its authors<sup>37</sup>. This means that almost all magical rituals have their own authors who are usually mentioned by name, profession, sex and home town, either at the begining of the rituals, in colophons or both. Thus the ritual compositions are not merely anonymous works, but intellectual achievements of distinguished individuals. It means that each magician or doctor had "copyright" or "patent" on his or her invention or compilation. With each use of these ritual compilations the name of the author had to be cited even after his or her death. These achievements are certainly a considerable step forward in the intellectual history of mankind before the beginning of Greek philosophy in Western Anatolia (Ionia) and must be taken into consideration.

والويكية لتتعقل ما يتنا مما فاما

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> KUB 17.27 + KUB 12.50 ii 28-34 and iii 9; translation given here is taken from A. Goetze, ANET (1969) 347.

<sup>37</sup> On the authorship see in general H. G. Güterbock, Hethitische Literatur, in: W. Röllig (ed.), Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft (1978) 213.

## II. TRADITION AND DIFFERENT COMPOSITIONS OF THE HANTITAŠŠU RITUAL

As already stated the widespread application of the *Hantitaššu* ritual since its first introduction at least as early as the Middle Hittite Period resulted in many manuscripts from different times compiled for a variety of ailing persons and kings. We can distinguish at least five different versions which were in use. Because none of these manuscripts is preserved intact, for the overall resonstruction of the main example the following texts have been used. A caveat is in order here that this reconstructed text in no way represents the original composition with its all details, including also some ancilliary rituals:

A = KBo 11.14<sup>38</sup> is the main manuscript and is a copy of the *Hantitaššu* ritual from the second half of the 13th century B. C.<sup>39</sup> Of the originally four columned tablet unfortunately only the upper parts of obv. i-ii and lower parts of rev. iii-iv are preserved. Because of the heavy blurring and abrasion on the surface of the tablet (also visible in the hand copy), it is often hard to read many cuneiform signs even in its better preserved portions (see note 38). The reconstructed text in my edition here is based on similar compositions of the same ritual although they neither run parallel nor duplicate exactly the main example A.

B = KBo 13.145 constitutes the middle part of a tablet. It merely consists of 14 lines on the obv. (ii?) and 17 lines of the rev. (iii?). While obv. (ii?) runs partially parallel to KBo 11.14 ii 12ff. (A) and thus represents a somewhat abbreviated version of A, omitting some passages, the exact placement of rev. (iii?) remains undetermined. A placement in the big gap at the beginning of broken A rev. iii is only possible, if we can restore rev. 15: UD.940[.KAM], but this is uncertain. For this reason only

the obverse has been used here in the reconstruction of the whole composition, while the reverse is given below in chapter VII (p.86f.) only in transliteration.

C = KUB 43.57 (+) KBo 18.174 is on its obverse i very badly preserved and differs in many points from the main example KBo 11.14 (A). It also diverges from all other versions in that it gives us the best preserved reverse iv of the whole ritual ensemble. Therefore, it has been taken as the main text in reconstructing reverse iv of manuscript A, although it belongs to a quite different version and thus does not at all constitute a direct part or continuation of A. Its colophon also gives the only clue for reconstructing the title and incipit of the ritual ensemble.

D = KBo 17.104 (+) 2029/g also reveals many variations from the main example A. Its obv. ii runs parallel to A ii 2-11. Then, after a gap of some 5 lines, there follows the indirect join with unpubl.  $2029/g^{41}$  which parallels A ii 18-34. The rev. of D is preserved only on the tiny piece of KBo 17.104. Its context can possibly be placed in the big gap at the beginning of A iii, i. e. before the fragment KBo 13.145 begins. Since this version is partly unpublished, it is given below in chapter VII (p.84f.) in full transliteration.

In E. Laroche's CTH no. 395 and its supplement<sup>42</sup>. KBo 20.34 + KUB 36.111 are given as belonging to the same composition. However, a close examination of the text reveals that it has scarcely anything in common with the ritual group of *Ḥantitaššu*<sup>43</sup>. It rather represents a very different version of this group of rituals. In fact, it makes up the earliest preserved Middle Hittite version of this group of the *Ḥantitaššu* ritual<sup>44</sup>. The only

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Due to the courtesy of Mr. Raci Temizer, the former director of the Archaeological Museum in Ankara, and Mr. İlhan Temizsoy, the present director of the same Museum, I was able to collate in 1979 and November 1987 some critical passages of the tablet which, because of the bad preservation, are unfortunately still many. The broken or erased signs resist all attempts at a reasonable reading and restoration of the context. The preservation of the tablet is so bad that we in general have to confess that readings on the basis of collations fail unless they are supported by contextual evidence or similar text passages.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> For the date of the individual examples see below chapter VI.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> The reading 7 is also possible.

<sup>41</sup> Through the kind permission of *H. Otten* and the courtesy of *Raci Temizer*, the former director of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in *Ankara*, I was able to use a transliteration of this fragment which I made 1981 in Ankara. *Otten* supplied me later in a letter of 12.5.1985 with a hand copy and gave me the formal permission to edit it here. I wish to express my thanks once again to both of these gentlemen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> RHA 30 (1972) 107.

<sup>43</sup> Cf also M. Hutter, Bemerkungen zur Verwendung magischer Rituale in mittelhethitischer Zeit, AoF 18 (1991) 35.

<sup>44</sup> On the Middle Hittite date of this text s. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, I. Hoffmann, A. Kammenhuber, G. Mauer, Probleme der Textdatierung in der Hethitologie, TH 9 (1979) 63; I. Hoffmann, in: Heinhold-Krahmer, op. cit. p. 112: J.Boley. The Sentence Particles (1989) 24; cf. also M. Hutter. AoF 18 p. 35 with note 15.

clue which shows close relationship with the ritual group of *Hantitaššu* is the mention of the Middle Hittite personality *Atta*, *Attai* (see below). Nevertheless, it seems appropriate to present a transliteration of the whole text in chapter VII; (p.87ff.), because of the fragmentary nature of the text a translation, at least at the present, is impossible; see also the discussion below under the identity of *Atta*.

In recent times two more related versions of the *Ḥantitaššu* ritual have been published as a hand copy in KUB 57.79 and KUB 58.94 (= Bo 2725); in their preserved columns they only partially duplicate each other. Both texts represent again another completely separate version of the ritual and thus confirm our view of the constant usage and compilation of this text group. Full transliteration of KUB 57.79 and KUB 58.94 is given again below in chapter VII. (p.90ff., 95ff.)

### III. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION OF KBo 11.14 WITH ITS DUPLICATES

- A. KBo 11.14
- B. KBo 13.145 (obv. is par. to A ii 12ff.)
- C. KUB 43.57 (+) KBo 18.174 (obv. i is par to A i 6ff., rev. iv is par. to A iv 5ff.)
- D. KBo 17.104 (+) 2029/g (par. to A ii 2ff.)

A obv. i

- 1 [ma-a-an UKÙ-]aš¹ LÚ-aš na-aš-ma SAL-za nu-uš-ši MU.KAM<sup>HI.A</sup>.ŠU
- 2 [ni-ni-in-ká]n-te-eš² na-an ud-da-na-aš EN-aš kiš-an³ DÙ-zi
- 3 [(šu-uḥ-ḥi-ká)]n DUTU-i IGI-an-da GIŚBANŠUR-un da-a-i
- 4 「nu-uš-š¹a-an 1 NINDA.ERÍN<sup>MEŠ</sup> da-a-i I-NA 1<sup>4</sup> NIN[DA.E]RÍN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ma-aš-ša-an še-ir NUMUN<sup>HI.A</sup>
- 5 hu-u-ma-an šu-uh-ha-i
- 6 ZÍZ-tar še-ip-pí-it par-ḫu-u-e-na-aš e-wa-an kar-aš ḫa-at-tar
- 7 zi-na-iÞ ku-u-ti-ya-an nu ku-it-ta NUMUN-an ar-ḫa-ya-an šu-uḫ-ḫa- an
- 8 še-ir-ra-aš-ša-an NUMUN<sup>HI.A</sup>-na-aš-ma-aš 1 NINDA.KUR<sub>4</sub>.RA ZÍZ.TUR iš-tap-pu-ul-li-an-za
- 10 NA4ba-ra-aš-ḫa-aš NA4TI NA4KÁ.DINGIR.RA ku-it-ta pa-ra-a te-pu da-a-i
- 11 BAPPIR BULÙG te-pu 6 ŠU<sup>ME</sup>Š kap-pí-iš ŠÀ<sup>BA</sup> A-NA<sup>7</sup> 2 SA<sub>5</sub> 2 GE<sub>6</sub>

<sup>1</sup> Restoration of the beginning of the line from the context and C iv 24f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The restoration is again according to C iv 24f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> C obv. i 1: [k]i-i[š-ša-an.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The sign for number 1 is written in ligature with the following sign for NINDA, which recurs often in the following lines.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> C obv. i 6: zi-in-na[-il.

 $<sup>\</sup>frac{6}{7}$  KBo 18.174:3 has reversed word order.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> KBo 18.174:5 om. A-NA.

- 12 DUTU-as par-hu-u-e-na-as mu-mu-wa-i Ù A-NA GUD.APIN.LALkán hu-iš-wa-an-ti9
- 13 A-NA SIHI.A.ŠU al-pu-e-mar te-pu ku-ra-an-zi
- 14 nu-kán a-pí-e-ya an-da A-NA NINDA.KUR<sub>4</sub>.RA da-a-i

7 small wheat from there lowers

- 15 7 NINDA.KUR<sub>4</sub>.RA ZÍZ:TUR nu-kán a-pu-u-uš-ša I-NA 1<sup>10</sup> NINDA ERÍN<sup>MES</sup> da-a-i
- 16 nam-ma 1 NINDA.KUR<sub>4</sub>.RA.TUR <sup>D</sup>Gul-aš-ša-aš nu-kán a-pa-a-aš-ša
- 17 I-NA 111 NINDA ERÍNMEŠ ar-ha-va-an ki-it-ta GIŠBANŠUR-i-ma ní- raan GAM12
- 18 ták-ni-i GAL.GIR4 ki-it-ta nu-uš-ša-an IZI šu-uh-ha-an
- 19 nu GIŠERIN Ì.NUN LÀL hu-u-uš-za 1(?)-an<sup>13</sup> ša-me-ši-va-zi
- 20 še-ir-ra-aš-ša-an ZÍD.DA ZÍZ MUN-ya šu-uḥ-ḥa-i nu k[iš]-an me-ma-i
- 21 [(MU)]N<sup>14</sup> GIM-an UDU<sup>HI.A</sup> li-li-pa-an-ti nu ú-id-du ku-u-uš
- 22 hu-u-uk-ma-uš DUTU-uš OA-TAM-MA li-li-pa-iš-ki-id-du<sup>15</sup>
- 23 nu IGI-zi pal-ši ud-da-na-aš EN-aš DUTU-i<sup>16</sup> kiš-an hu-u-uk-zi
- 24 DUTU-uš-za EZEN-an DÙ-at<sup>17</sup> nu-za da-pí-uš DINGIR<sup>MEŚ</sup>-u[ś] hal-za!-a-iš118
- 25 [nu-z]a hu-u-ma-an-da-an DUMU.LÚ. ULÙ LU-an hal-za!-a-is<sup>119</sup>

8 C i 12: DINGIRMEŠ-aš.

26 [EN.SI]SKUR-<sup>r</sup>ša-an-na-an<sup>120</sup> [ 1<sup>21</sup> In lines 27-30 nothing is preserved. 31 [ hal-zi-ih-hu-] un<sup>22</sup> Rest of the col. is broken.

"73" [ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i ma-ah-ha-an-ma-wa-za-kán(?)]<sup>23</sup>

A oby, ii

100 in cartain

see I Am rates much 2000 1 DUTU-uš a-ra-ah-za wa-a[h-ha-an-na zi-in-na-i]<sup>24</sup>

2 nu-wa-aš-ši <sup>f</sup>Ma!-ad-du-ta-x<sup>25</sup> [AMA-ŠU pa-id-du]<sup>26</sup>

3 na-aš DUTU-i gi-nu-<sup>r</sup>wa-aš-ša-aš<sup>1</sup> p[í(?)-ra(-an kat-ta-an)<sup>27</sup> ha-li-ya-ad $du^{128}$ 

DUTU-u-e EN-mi-it<sup>29</sup> EGIR-pa-ma?-a[n pa-a-i]

5 AMAR-un-ma-an TUR-la-ma-an pa-a-i

6 DUTU-uš har-ki-iš GEŠTU-KAI<sup>30</sup>la-ak-ki-iš-kli<sup>51</sup>]

7 nu<sup>32</sup> hu-u-ma-an NUMUN da-a<sup>33</sup> DUTU-u-i BE-LÌ-YA E[N.SISKUR ma- mu EGIR-pa p(a-a-i)]<sup>34</sup>

20 We expect here in accordance with KUB 58.94 i 5 EN.SISKUR-ma-aš-ši-kán but the traces of half broken signs do fit for this reading.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> C i 13: TI-an-ti.

<sup>10</sup> As in i 4 written again in ligature.

<sup>11</sup> For the ligature see line 4.

<sup>12</sup> C i 18: kat-t[a.

<sup>13</sup> Collation confirms that the two signs following -za are eroded and therefore quite illegible.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> C i 21: MUN-an.

<sup>15</sup> C i 23: li-li-pa-aš-ki-id-du.

<sup>16</sup> C i 24: DUTU-i me-na-ah-ha-a[n-da.

<sup>17</sup> EZEN iya- attested also in KUB 57.79 ob. i 4ff. and KUB 58.94 obv. i 4ff., see below.

<sup>18</sup> Reading on the basis of the context and very conjectural; the collation and KUB 58.94 obv. i 4 seem, however, to conform with this reading.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> See the remarks in footnote 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> In this broken passage at least 40 lines are missing according to KUB 57.79 obv. i 3ff. and KUB 58.94 obv. i 3ff. which mostly deal with the "party", see below commentary on obv. i 24 and p. 51ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Cf. KUB 58.94 i 9.

<sup>23</sup> This clause must have preceded the end of obv. i because of the particle of direct speech in obv. ii 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Restoration according to the context, see commentary.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> KBo 17.104 obv. ii 1: <sup>f</sup>Ma-an-du-ta-x-x-x; the last three signs look like DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Restored in this way because in ii 5 Madduta calls the offerant her TUR-la=man "mv child".

<sup>27</sup> Restored from KBo 17.104 ii 2.

<sup>28</sup> Restoration according to the context.

<sup>29</sup> Certainly to be emended as DUTU-i EN-mi[[-it]]; KBo 17.104 ii 3 reads JUTU-as EN-Istanne is purfectly fine. EN-mit ok as a name NOZ.

 $<sup>\</sup>sqrt{30}$  Reading according to collation; the hand copy shows  $-\tilde{S}U$ .

<sup>31</sup> Collation reveals that the beginning of KI is visible on the tablet.

<sup>32</sup> KBo 17.104 ii 5 has correctly nu-]za.

<sup>33</sup> KBo 17.104 ii 5: NUMUN-an da-a-i.

<sup>34</sup> Restoration from KBo 17.104 ii 6.

- 8 nu-za GUŠKIN da-a EN.SISKUR-ma-mu EGIR-pa pa-a[-i nu-za KÙ.BABBAR da-a EN.SISKUR-ma-mu<sup>35</sup> EGIR-pa pa-a-i]
- 9 nu-za NA4ZA.GÌN da-a EN.SISKUR-ma-mu EGIR-pa pa[-a-i]
- 10 nu-za NA4GUG da-a<sup>36</sup> EN.SISKUR-ma-mu EGIR-pa pa[-a- $\beta$ <sup>7</sup>]
- 11 nu-za NA4KÁ.DINGIR.RA da-a EN.SISKUR-ma-mu EGIR-pa pa-a[-i]
- 12 nu-za NA<sub>4</sub>TV da-a<sup>38</sup> EN.SISKUR-ma-mu EGIR-pa pa-a-i
- 13 nu-za NA<sub>4</sub>pa-ra-aš-ha-an da-a EN.SISKUR-ma-mu EGIR-pa [pa-a-i]<sup>39</sup>
- 14 nu-za BAPPIR BULÙG da-a EN.SISKUR-ma-mu EGIR-pa pa-a-i
- 15 zi-iq-qa DUTU-uš i-it nu te<sup>40</sup>-ri-in 4<sup>41</sup>-in 5<sup>42</sup>-in [da-a;<sup>43</sup> la-a-a]
- 16 ú-e-el-ú-i-la-na-ya<sup>44</sup> la-a-a da-ri-ya-an-ta![-an]
- 17 tu-ri-ya-ma wa-ar-ši-ya-an-ta<sup>45</sup>
- 18 la-a-a da-ri-ya-an-ta-an tu-u-ri-ya-ma<sup>46</sup> wa-ar-ši-ya-an-ta[-an]
- 19 na-at 3-ŠÚ te-ši<sup>47</sup>
- 20 NA4ARÀ-za-kán GIM-an kap-pí-iš<sup>48</sup> iš-par-ti-i-e-iz-zi
- 21 EN.SISKUR-kán<sup>49 D</sup>A-ag-ní<sup>50</sup> KAxU-za QA-TAM-MA iš-par-ti-id-du<sup>51</sup>
- 22 IGI-zi-an<sup>52</sup> GIM-an <sup>GIŚ</sup>hur-ki-in EGIR-zi-iś<sup>53</sup> an-da Ú-UL

 $^{36}$  KBo 17.104 ii 8 uses the abbrevation KLMIN.

<sup>37</sup> KBo 17.104 ii 9 again KI.MIN.

<sup>38</sup> KBo 13.145 = B ii 1: da-]a-i. <sup>39</sup> B ii 2 has line divider after this.

<sup>10</sup> Reading of the sign according to B ii 3.

41 In B ii 3 the traces are better visible; the reading is, however, not sure.

<sup>42</sup> See the preceeding note.

43 By virtue of the lack of the reflective particle -za this restoration may seem to be unlikely, see commentary.

44 Reading according to the rest of signs on the original tablet.

45 B ii 4: tu-ri-ya-jan-ta-an wa-ar-si-y[a-an-ta-an-

46 2029/g:3: tu-u-]ri-va-an-da[-an.

47 2029/g:4: te-]-z-zi. B ii 4 omit § line.

48 B ii 6: kap-piš.

49 B ii 6: EN.SISKUR-ya-kán.

50 B ii 6: DAg-11i.

<sup>51</sup> 2029/g:6: i] š-par-za-du.

<sup>52</sup> 2029/g:7: IGI-i]z-zi-in <sup>GI§</sup>ħur-ki-i[n.

53 B ii 7: EG]IR-iš hur-ki-iš GIM-an IGI-z[i-in; 2029/g:6: EGIR-iz-z[i-iš.

- 23 ú-e-mi-ya-zi<sup>54</sup> i-da-lu-uš-ša<sup>55</sup> UD.KAM-az<sup>56</sup>
- 24 EN.SISKUR<sup>57</sup> li-e KAR-zi na-at-ta am-ıne-el [ud-da-a-a]ı<sup>58</sup>
- 25 DUTU-aš<sup>59D</sup>Kam-ru-ši-pa-aš-ša ud-da-a-a[r]
- 26 ta-an-du-kiš-na-ša-at DUMU-aš ḫu-u-[uk-ma-uš-še-eš a-ša- an-du] 60

27 nu ku-u-un ḫu-u-uk-ma-in 7-Š $\acute{U}^{61}$  ḫ[ (u-u-uk-zi) $^{62}$  nu]

28 7 NINDA.KUR<sub>4</sub>.RA par-ši-ya 1-ŠÚ ir-ḫa[-a-iz-zi] <sup>63</sup>

29 nu 164 NINDA KUR<sub>4</sub>.RA par-ši-ya nu hu-u-u[k!-ki-iš-ki-iz-zi]65

30 NINDA.KUR4.RA-ya66 767-an DHI par-si-ya-an-na-il a an-od -par-si-ya-an-na-il a an-o

31 me-mi-iš-ki-iz-z[i-y]a<sup>69</sup> QA-TAM-MA<sup>D</sup>[U]TU-i<sup>70</sup> zi-iq-qa?

32 az-zi-ik-ki nu ki-i me-mi-iš-ki-mi<sup>71</sup>

33 hu-u-uk-ki-iš-ki-mi-ya<sup>72</sup> ku-it

34 na-at-mu DUTU-uš EGIR-an tar-na<sup>73</sup> ma-a-an hu-u-uk-ma-in [zi-in-na $i1^{74}$ 

35 NINDA.KUR4.RA-ya p[ár-ši-ya? GEŠTIN š] u-ni-iz-zi

<sup>54</sup> B ii 8: KAR-zi.

55 B ii 8 and 2029/g:8: H]UL-lu-uš-ša.

<sup>56</sup> 2029/g 8: UD.KAM-za.

57 2029/g:8 mentions the client by his name, sc.  ${}^{\rm m}At$ -ta-a-a[n(-); cf. KBo 17.104 ii 7. above note to A ii 8.

58 Traces of -AR visible in 2029/g 9.

<sup>59</sup> B ii 9: <sup>D</sup>UTU-ša-at.

j-ya-2; 60 Restored from 2029/g 10. B ii 10 has DUMU.LÚ.ULÙ] <sup>-UI-II</sup>-ma-at lui-nk-ma-a-uŝ a[ša-an-du. B has no line divider.

61 B ii 11 and 2029/g 11: 7-ŠU.

62 2029/g 11: ħu-uk-zi; B is shorter; for the context cf. KUB 57.79 obv. i 24.

63 Reading from 2029/g 12.

64 2029/g 12 om. 1.

65 Reading according to 2029/g 13; cf. also below line 33.

66 2029/g 13: 7NINDA.KUR<sub>4</sub>.RA<sup>HI.A</sup>-ya.

67 Copy shows NINDA? Reading according to collation.

68 Reading of these blurred signs is obscure.

69 B ii 12 has after this line. 2029/g 14 om. -ya.

70 2029/g 14: DUTU-uš.

71 The intended [DINGIR]MES is erased.

72 2029/g:15: ku-i]t hu-ki-eš-ki-mi na-a[t.

73 Traces of erased as are visible; for context see KUB 57.79 obv. i 28ff., where the Sun God is addressed in 3. person sg.

74 Restored according to context.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. KBo 17.104 ii 7 which mentions instead of EN.SISKUR the client by his name, sc. <sup>111</sup>At-ta[-a-an(-)]. He is also attested by the same name in 2029/g:8, see commentary.

	THE CIVIL
36	[nu?] <sup>D</sup> Gul-aš-ša-aš [] <sup>D</sup> Gul-aš-ša-aš-pát par[-ši-ya]
	$(\ldots) \times (\ldots) \times (\ldots) \times x^{75}-du$
38	] x-eš-ki[-it]
39	[ ]x[]
	Rest broken; a gap of at least 40 lines.
	A rev. iii
1	[ ]x GAM-an
2	[DUTU-i EN-YA] x-t[a-aḥ-ḥ]a?-at <sup>76</sup> na-at-mu EGIR-
3	] nu-kán tar-nu-wa-ar
4	šu-u[ h-hi ša-ra-a pe-hu-ta-an-] zi <sup>77</sup> nu NUMUNHIA š[u-u] h-h iš-hu-wa-an-zi
	Lpaz
	DUTU-uš nu-u-wa a[r-t]a ud-da-na-ša EN-a[š G 1]Š?MAR? <sup>78</sup> -lu-un ME-i
6	ta-an É-ri É ŠÀ-ni da-a-i ma-a-an GE <sub>6</sub> -a[n-za k]i-ša-ri
7	ud-da-na-aš EN-aš GI[ŚMA] R-it <sup>79</sup> GIŚha-at-tal-wa-aš GIŚ-r[u-i
8	te-kán pad-da-i nu 1 ŠAḤ.TUR da-a-i
	na-an-kán ḫa-at-te-eš-na GAM-an-ta ḫa-at-ta-ri
	e-eš-ḫar-še-it kat-ta-an-ta tar-na-i
11	nu ti-it-ti-ya-an [ZÍD?.]DA IGI.ŠU.DU <sub>8</sub> .A hal-k[i <sup>80</sup> -iš e-wa-a]n?
12	ku?-na-an NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A ḫa-at-te-eš-ni GAM-an-ta [da-]a-i
13	1 NINDA.Ì da-a-i na-an par-ŝi-ya na-an-kán DIN[GIR <sup>MEŚ</sup> -aš GAM- an-ta(-an)]

75 The rest of the sign seems to represent DE, KA or KAŠ4.

77 Restoration from the following context.

79 Although the reading is not certain, according to the context and collation this seems to be the best option.

80 Or both signs to be read as BAL?

- 14 da-a-i ka-r[u-] ú-i-li-uš DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> az-zi-i[k-kán-d] u
- 15 Š[A]H<sup>81</sup>-aš eš-h[ar] ŠÀ um??-ma-an-ta kán-ta-an an-<sup>r</sup>x-uš-na- aš <sup>182</sup>
- 16 ZÍD.DA-an N[INDA].Ì.E.DÉ.A NINDA.Ì e-iz-te-en [e-ku-nt-te-en]83
- 17 nu-za iš-p[í-y] a-at-ten nu GEŠTIN-an<sup>84</sup> 3-ŠÚ pí-eš-ki-i[z-z] i
- 18 ha-at-te-eš-ni GAM-an-da BAL-an-ti ka-ru-ii[-li-uš DINGIRMEŠ-uš] wom
- hal-z[i-ya-an-z]iŠE? GEŠTIN?-an K[AŠ-ša]r85 mi-za i.GIJŠ da-a-i] ni -iK-+2-3
- 20 GIŚ ha-at-tal-wa-aš GIŚ-ru-i IŠ-TU liš-k[i-ya-an-z]i
- 21 nu-uš-ša-an NINDA.KUR4.RA šu-up-pí-ya-an-ta[-an . . . GA]M?-ta-an
- 22 GIŚ ha-at-tal-wa-aš GIŚ-ru-i da-a-i n[u-uš-ša-an]
- 23 še-ir NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A da-a-i nu GEŠTIN KAŠ-ya [da-a-i]
- 24 pí-ra-an ku-it-ta 3-ŠÚ BA[L<sup>86</sup>-an-ti]
- 25 GIŚ ḫa-at-tal-wa-aš zi-ik ak [-ki?-i] š?-ki/na-pa<sup>87</sup> [GIM-an]
- 26 EGIR-pa ḫa-aš-ki-ši x<sup>88</sup> da-an-ku-i[n-]na-pa ta-g[a-an-zi-pa-an]
- 27 i-it zi-ik EGIR-pa ha-a-aš
- 28 nu ka-ru-ú-li-uš DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-uš ú-wa-te 11[a-at-za]<sup>89</sup>
- 29 a-pí-ya da-an-zi nu-za pa-a-an-du a-pí-[-ya]

81 Collation confirms this reading.

82 The line is hopelessly corrupt.

83 Contrary to the original the hand copy does not indicate the space necessary for the verb which must be restored here.

84 For this reading cf. rev. iii 35.

85 The reading of the whole line is very conjectural.

 $^{86}$  Reading is not certain; the sign looks rather like  $^{\mathrm{D}}\mathrm{U}[\mathrm{TU}]$ .

87 The context obliges us to find a word which must designate a part of the door or lock in acc. sg. like URUDUzakki-, followed by the particle =(a)pa. The broken word which in spite of an overall perusal of all words beginning with AK- and AG- did not result in a reasonable restoration must have in any case the meaning of a leaf of a door or something similar. For detail see commentary.

88 The traces allow to read  $\acute{I}$ , which would not make any sense. It is possible that the scribe intended to write the phraseological i-it beforehand at this place which, after changing his mind, he placed it in fact in the following line.

89 For this restoration see commentary.

<sup>76</sup> The rest of a mid verb 1. sg. prt. seems to be possible, but the reading is not sure.

<sup>78</sup> The reading of this crucial sign which looks like IP is very controversial; my collation did not yield any helpful suggestion; cf. however its occurrence in line 7. It is also possible optically to read the whole complex as HUL-lu-un?

- 30 ták-na-aš DUTU-un mu-ki-iš-kán-du nu Ḥ[UL-lu]
- 31 ku-it DÙ-nu-un na-an-mu DINGIR<sup>ME\$</sup> EGIR[-pa me-mi-iš-kán-du]
- 32 「ŠAḤ-an TUR-an<sup>90</sup> ti<sup>1</sup>-it-ti-ya-<sup>1</sup>an-ta<sup>1</sup>-an [ša-ra-a da-a-i]<sup>91</sup>
- 33 na-aš-ta ḫa-ap-pí-eš-na-za ḫu-u-ma-a[n-da-az ku-wa-pí]
- 34 ku-wa-pí UZU-an??<sup>92</sup> ku-ir-zi nu-kán [A-NA DUTU-i]
- 35 GAM-an-da da-a-i GEŠTIN-an 1-ŠÚ [ši-pa-an-ti]
- $36\,$ nu kiš-an me-ma-i ú-uk GIM-an [UZUÚRHI.A GAM-an-da te-eḫ-ḫu-un?]^{93}
- 37 'ba?-ap? 194-pí-eš-na-aš UZU x (x) [ ]

End of rev. iii

rev. iv<sup>95</sup>

- 1 ku-e x-x x-x ku?-an LUGAL-i p[a-a-i . . . ]
- 2 LUGAL-uš<sup>D</sup>UTU-i me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da [ti-ya-z]i?? ne<sup>96</sup> da-a-i
- 3 ne-iz-za-an I-NA GÚ-ŠU na-a-i<sup>97</sup>
- 4 ud-da-na-aš-ša EN-aš ki-iš-ša-an<sup>98</sup> me-ma-i zi-ik-za-an
- 5 ma-aḥ-ḥa-an<sup>99</sup> I-NA<sup>100</sup> UD.9.KAM<sup>101</sup> ḥu-iš-wa-a[n-] ta-aš ḥu-u-kán-ta<sup>102</sup>

kán-ta102 the clarmed,

- 90 Reading of both signs is not certain.
- 91 Restoration from the context.
- 9**2** Or UZU-uš??
- 93 Reading very conjectural.
- 94 Both signs eroded badly; the collation makes, however, this tentative reading possible.
- 95 At least 40 lines are missing at the beginning of the column; from here on the reconstruction of the text according to C=KUB 43.57 rev. iv 1ff. Variants to A are given in footnotes.
  - <sup>96</sup> Reading of the middle part of the line is very obscure.
- 97 A rev. iv 1ff. has an absolutely different context: (1) [...]x (2) [...] (3) [...-]zi? (4) [....] x [....-z]i? PA-NI GISBANŠUR (5) [ti-ya-az-zi?] 3-ŠÚ BAL-an-ti. Thereafter follows a division line.
  - <sup>98</sup> A iv 6: *kiš-an*.
  - 99 A iv 6: GIM-an.
  - 100 A iv 6: *INA*.
- 101 The hand copy of A iv 6 wrongly shows UD.7.KAM, while collation seems to confirm UD.9.KAM.
  - 102 A iv 7: hu-u-ga-an-ta.

- 6 na-a-it-ta<sup>103</sup> tu-uq-qa DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> ḫu-u-m[a-] an-te-eš-pát<sup>104</sup> ḫal-zi-ya-an-du
- 7 ud-da-a-na-aš<sup>105</sup> EN-aš LUGAL-i ar-ku[-wa-i] z-zi
- 8 [na-a]š-kán pa-ra-a ú-iz-zi UD. 9[.KAM tú] h-hu-uš-ta
- 9 [nu-za? S]I? ŠA GUD.MAH EGIR-pa LU[GAL-uš] da-a-i ku-wa-ad-da-an-za<sup>106</sup>
- 10 [EGIR-p]a<sup>107</sup> LUGAL-uš da-a-i na-an-za [(da-a?)-i NINDA.]ERÍN<sup>MEŠ108</sup>-ma NINDA.KUR<sub>4</sub>.RA-ya<sup>109</sup>
- 11 [iš-tap-p]u-ul-li-ya-an-ta-an<sup>110</sup> [ar-ḥa a-d]a-an-zi
- 12 [GISBA]NŠUR.AD.KID-ma-za<sup>111</sup> ud-da-na-[aš EN-aš d]a-a-i
- 13 [nu-z]a<sup>112</sup> LUGAL-uš<sup>113</sup> hu-u-ga-an-ta I-NA UD.9!<sup>114</sup>.KAM ne-ya-an har-zi
- 14 [GIM]-an UD.9115.KAM pa-iz-zi na-at-za-kán ar-ha da-a-i
- 15 [na-a] t-ša-an an-da<sup>116</sup> A-NA<sup>117</sup> G1118PIŠAN TÚG-ŠU<sup>119</sup> da-a-i ku-in Ú-UL
- 16 [ki-n]u<sup>120</sup>-uš-kán-zi na-an<sup>121</sup>-ša-an I-NA ÉNA<sub>4</sub>KIŠIB an-da
- 17 ti-an-zi na-at nam-ma Ú-UL ku-iš-ki ki-nu-zi<sup>122</sup>
- 18 ku-u-um SÍSKUR ud-da-na-aš EN-aš da-me-e-da-aš<sup>123</sup> ÉHLA-aš<sup>124</sup>

- 113 A iv 15: EN.SISKUR, see commentary.
- 114 The broken sign looks like 7. Emendation to 9 is according to A iv 5.
- 115 Written 7; see above note 101.
- 116 A iv 17 ŠÀ.
- 117 A-NA om. in A iv 17.
- <sup>118</sup> A iv 17: GIŠ.
- 119 A iv 17: TÚGHLA.
- 120 Reading according to A iv 18; see also KUB 57.79 rev. iv 38.
- 121 A iv 18: -at-.
- 122 A iv 19: ni-ni-ik-zi; the usage of kinu- is not a catachresis, it rather seems to be used as synonym of ninink-, see commentary.
  - 123' A iv 20 ta-me-ta-aš.
  - 124 A iv 20: pár-na-aš; KUB 57.79 iv par-ni.

<sup>103</sup> A iv 7: na-it-ta; KUB 57.79 iv na-a-iš.

<sup>104</sup> A iv 8 om. -pát; it reads then < nu-ú hal-zi-ya-an-du.

<sup>105</sup> A iv 8: ud-da-na-aš.

<sup>106</sup> A iv 9: ku-wa-a-ta-an-za.

<sup>107</sup> Reading is not certain.

<sup>108</sup> A iv 12 NINDA. JERÍN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ma? and adds *Ù*.

<sup>109</sup> A iv 12 om.-ya.

<sup>110</sup> For this restoration see A obv. i 8.

<sup>111</sup> A iv 14 om. -ma-za.

<sup>112</sup> For this retoration cf. iv 4f.

- 19 an-da-an<sup>125</sup> a-pa-ši-la-pát<sup>126</sup> e-eš-ša-i Ú-UL-at<sup>127</sup> I-NA É.GAL<sup>LIM</sup>
- 20 e-cš-ša-i LUGAL-uš-ša<sup>128</sup> Ú-UL ti-iš-ki-iz-zi
- 21 ne-iz-za-kán<sup>129</sup> I-NA UD. 9.KAM-pát wa-ar-ap-zi
- 22 nu-za-kán hu-u-ma-an-ta<sup>130</sup> na-a-i
- 23 DUB. I.KAM A-WA-AT Ha-an-ti-ta-aš-šu SAL URU Hu-ur-ma
- 24 ma-a-an an-tu-u-ši LÚ-i na-aš-ma SAL-i MUHI.A
- 25 ni-ni-in-kán-te-eš QA-TI<sup>131</sup>

Lower edge

- 1 [PN1 LÚDUB.SA]R
- 2 [A-NA PA-NI PN2] x IŠ-TUR<sup>132</sup>

125 A iv 20: an-da.

I son't I. Rd left rage and will would be 1000 love edge??

#### **TRANSLATION**

obv. i (i 1-5): [If (there is) a human bei]ng, man or woman, and if his/her years are [disturb]ed 133, the ritual practitioner shall treat him/her as follows: At the top of the roof (iust) opposite to the Sun God he (i. e., the ritual practitioner) sets up a table. Thereon he puts one soldier loaf. Into (this) one soldier loaf he scatters all kind of seeds,

(i 6-10): (namely) emmer wheat, šeppit-wheat, ewan-grain 134 for producing a sweet concoction (parhuena-)135, club wheat 136, hattar-grain, zinail-grain (and) kutiya(n)-grain. Each sort of seeds is heaped up separately. At the top of the seeds<sup>137</sup> lies a thick loaf, made of small emmer wheat. (serving) as cover. (Moreover) he places onto it (i. e., thick loaf) gold, silver, lapislazuli, carnelian, barašhastone 138, life'-stone (and) Babylon-stone- (again) from each kind a little bit

(i 11-14): (He takes) a small quantity of beer-bread, malt (and) six handful measures of tiny<sup>139</sup> seeds, among them two handfuls red, two handfuls black, (and using these) he mixes 140 a sweet concoction (parhuena-) for the Sun God. They cut off small splinter(s) from the point of a live plow-ox's horns, (and these too) he places there, i. c., and onto the thick loaf. those too

133 For this reading and meaning of ninink-see commentary on this line.

134 Or ewan of parhuena-; ewan is translated by D. M. Weeks, The Hittite Vocabulary: An Anatolian Appendix to Buck's "Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages" (Ph. D. Los Angeles, 1985) 123 as "grain" (?).

135 I would like to take parhuena-here as gen. Supporting this assumption I would like to mention the cliche number seven which we find in the case of seven different minerals which are mentioned in the same section of the text. Analogous to this we might also expect seven different sorts of seeds as opposed to seven minerals which we attain if only we take this as gen.; otherwise, if we take parhuena- as an independent unit we get the number eight. On the meaning of parhuena s. commentary.

136 Or emmer, H. A. Hoffner, Alimenta 1974 73ff.; Weeks, Hittite Vocabulary (1985) 123.

137 It is probable that we must take NUMUNIJI.A-nas as gen. pl. depending on the preposition (strikingly not postposition!) še-ir. If this is true the word needs to be emended as NUMUNHIA-na-as[[-ma-as]].

138 I.e., a stone from the country of Barašhi/Parahi/Maršahi, Akk. maršu/ahu(m) "Markasit", cf. A. Kammenhuber, Orakelpraxis, Träume und Vorzeichenschau bei den Hethitern, TH 7 (1976) 97 n. 197.

139 On kappi-"small" see commentary.

140 mumuwai-, meaning unknown, see commentary.

<sup>126</sup> A iv 21 [a-p] a-a-ši-la-pát.

<sup>127</sup> A iv 21: -an

<sup>128</sup> A iv 22 om, -sa.

<sup>129</sup> A iv 22: ku-it-za-kán.

<sup>130</sup> The scribe here erroneously wrote hu-u-kán-ta for hu-u-ma-an-ta; A iv 23 has also hu-u-ma-an-ta. Emendation to hukanta according to rev. iv 5 and 13 must be given up, because it is impossible that the king is still turning the slaughtered things around his neck, since they have previously been concealed in a chest (rev. 15).

<sup>131</sup> The colophon of A iv 24 is much shorter: INIM fHa-an-ti-ta-aš-śu LÚ URU Hu-ur-ma OA-T1.

<sup>132</sup> It is remarkable that the scribe wrote these two lines at the lower edge although enough space is available at the bottom of the tablet.

- (i 15-19): (There are) seven thick loaves made of emmer wheat; these (loaves) too he places into the soldier bread. Moreover (there exists) one small thick bread belonging to the Fate Deity Gulšaš. That one, (however), lies inside of the soldier bread separately. An earthen beaker (serving as brazier) is placed in front of the table, at the bottom. (Charcoal) fire is poured into it. Now he fumigates in it (i. e. brazier) cedar wood, perfume-oil 141 (and) wax of the honey 142.
- (i 20-23): Onto the top of it (i. e., brazier) he pours flour and salt, and speaks (the conjurations) as follows: 'As the sheep is accustomed to lick (and to swallow) the salt, in the same way let the Sun God come and lick away these conjurations entirely 143.' The practitioner invokes the Sun God for the first time as follows:
- (i 24-26): 'You the Sun God, have organized a banquet. To (this banquet) you have invited 144 all deities [and you have invited (also)] all mortals' 145.
- (i 27-30): (nothing is preserved, but there followed certainly lavish eating and drinking, see below commentary on line 24ff.)
- (i"73"-ii 5): [He speaks as follows: `as soon as] the Sun God [finishes to tu]rn around, [let] *Maduta*, [his (i. e., the patient's) mother go] to him (i. e., Sun God) and [kneel] on her knees i[n front of] the Sun God (and make the following inquiry): `O Sun God, my Lord! [Give him] (me) back! Give (me) my calf, my small baby!
  - (ii 6-11): (You), the luminous Sun God, lend your ear (towards me)! Take all (these) seeds for your own profit! Sun God, my Lord, sa[ve but in return 146] my cli[ent!] Take the gold for yourself and save in return my client! Take the silver for yourself and save in return my patient! Take the lapislazuli for yourself and sa[ve] in return my client! Take the carnelian for yourself and sa[ve] in return my client! Take the Babylonian stone and save in return my client!

141 H.A.Hoffner, RIA 8/3-4 (1993) 203 renders L.NUN as "ghee".

142 Or "honey of h.(?)": on the conjectural meaning of hu-u-u-s-za as "wax of honey" see commentary

see commentary.

143 lilipa(i)- "to lick" used here as a metaphor for "to accept voluntarily" the context of the following conjuration which basicly consists of the Sun God's organization of a "party".

144 Literally "summoned, called, shouted, cried".
145 For the meaning of this "party" and reconstruction of the context see the commentary.

146 Lit. give me back.

- (ii 12-19): Take the "life"-stone (TI) and save in return my client! Take the barašha-stone and [save] in return my client! Take beer bread (and) malt and save in return my client! Go, you the Sun God, and [take] (from these ingredients) three, four (and) five times, and [loosen] the surface (of the earth?) 147. Unhitch the exhausted ones and harness instead the fresh ones! Unhitch the exhausted ones and harness the fresh ones! This you 148 will recite three times.
- (ii 20-26): 'As the small seeds escape (without being ground) the mill stone, in the same way let (my) client escape from the jaw of the Fire God Agni. As the rear wheel (of a cart) can not touch 149 the front wheel, in the same way let the evil days not detect (my) client. Are my [word]s not (identical with) the words of the Sun God and of Kamrušepa? [Accept] 150 them as the conj[urations] of a mortal!'
- (ii 27-39): He will repeat this conjuration seven times. (Meanwhile) he breaks seven thick loaves and ma[kes] the round once. He breaks one thick loaf and conj[ures] (at the same time) [relentlessly]. He breaks seven times(?) thick loaves for Hepat and speaks in the same way: Sun God, eat, and grant me what I am inquiring 151 (from you) and what I am trying to conjure (you) for 152. As soon as [he finishes] the conjuration, he b[reaks] a thick loaf [and fi]lls [the wine?] (He also invokes?) the Fate Deity (Gulšaš). [He] break[s] (it, i. e., thick loaf) to the very Fate Deity. (37-39 too fragmentary, then broken).

Rev. iii (iii 1-4): [Sun God, my Lord, behold, I have brought for you a "grant" (tarnuwar<sup>153</sup>)]. I (now) have [taken my refuge] to [you, the Sun God, my Lord]. Grant it 154 to me! [Grant me in return the life of my client?]. They now [carry] the "grant" [up to the] ro[of] and they pour (also) the seeds at the top of the r[oo]f.

148 Var. he.

150 Lit. "let them become!"

151 Lit. "saying".

153 tarnuwar certainly represents here a symbolic model, made of precious metal, of the wishes, demands and inquiries relating to the life of the client for which the ritual expert has been asking the Sun God all the time. As an inciting object tarnuwar serves as gift or bribery of the Sun God.

154 I. e., the demand of the sacrificer.

<sup>147</sup> The meaning of welwila- is uncertain, see commentary.

<sup>149</sup> Lit. "find, meet, encounter". Latch up with

<sup>152</sup> Or literally "Now, because I am uttering this repeatedly and conjuring repeatedly (as well), grant it me!"

31

(iii 5-10): (While) the sun is still sh[in]ing<sup>155</sup> the ritual expert takes a spade(?) 156 and he places it into the inner chamber of the house. As soon as it gets da[rk], the ritual expert digs out (a pit) by means of (that) [spa]de(?) (into) the earth beneath the door bolt. He now takes one piglet and slaughters it into (that) pit; its blood he releases down (into the very pit).

(iii 11-19): Now (the corpse of) the sucking-piglet, the fine grounded [flou]r, cor[n,ewa]n-grain, kuna- (and) a tallow cake he [pla]ces down into the pit. He takes one fat bread, breaks it and places it (too) [down (into the pit) to thel gods. (Then he speaks as follows): Let the pri[me] val deities relish (them)! Eat (and) [drink] the blo[od] of the piglet, the heart of? ummanta(?), wheat(?), the flour (and) an-xušna-, tallow cake (and) fat bread! Eat it to your satiation!' (Moreover) he gives (them) wine (by) pouring it into the pit three times. [They] evo[ke] the prime[val deities]. (There is) corn, wine (and) b[ee]r. [He also places] plant oil.

(iii 20-27): By means of (this plant) oil they lub[ricate] the door bolt; and he places down to the door bolt a thick loaf (and) a pure/clean [...], and he puts onto them a tallow cake. [He takes] wine and beer and pou[rs] in front from each sort three times. (Afterwards he conjures as follows): '(You), the door (bolt)! [As] you are accustomed to open the pairs of the door(?), go (down) just now and open again in the same way the dark ea[rth],

(iii 28-31): and release the primeval deities upward! Let them there take 157 [for themselves from them]. (Thereafter) 158 let (them) go (again down) there (i. e., the earth) and let them invoke the Sun God of the earth. [Let me know 159] (you) the deities, whatever evil things I ever have committed.'

(iii 32-37): [He (now) lifts] (the corpse of) the sucking pi[gl]et (from the pit). He trims pieces of meat from its entire body parts [here] and there and places them down [before the Sun God]. [He pours] one time wine and speaks as follows: `(Behold), how [I am placing these limbs for youl! The meat(s) of (these) limbs lare delicious(?), Eat them, O Sun God!1'

rev. iv

(iv 1-3): Whatever x-x-x-ku?-an [he] gi[ves] to the king, the king [stand]s opposite to the Sun God and he takes them (i. c. the hukanta?) 160. He, (then), turns/binds (all of) them around his neck.

(iv 4-8): The ritual practitioner utters (the conjugations) as follows: `As you (i.e the king) have been turning/carrying the slaughtered limbs<sup>161</sup> (of the piglet) for (your) life<sup>162</sup> (around your neck(?)) for nine days 163, let the gods acclaim your name 164. The ritual practitioner entreats to the king [and] he leaves the locality of the ritual 165. The ninth day [com]es to an end.

161 hukanta refers ostensibly to the corpse of the slaughtered piglet in rev. iii 8f., if the meat has not rotted after nine days; for a possible preparation of poultice see further below commentary on hukanta.

<sup>155</sup> Literally "stand", i. e., it is still daytime. The opposite of this is the evening in line 6.

<sup>156</sup> See the commentary.

<sup>157</sup> Verb da-is indicative pl., i.e. "they take".

<sup>158</sup> The Sun God is requested to bring up the primeval deities from the Netherworld and let them share the offering material.

<sup>159</sup> Lit. "Let them tell me".

<sup>160</sup> Reading and meaning of the clause remain very doubtful. Because rev. iv continues with a new version of the ritual (KUB 43.57) there does not need to be established a direct relationship with the context at the end of A rev. iii. One is sure that from now on the focal point of the ritual is twining a sort of medication made of the limbs of the slanglitered niglet around the neck of the king; for details see below note 162 and commentary.

<sup>162</sup> The syntactical value of huiswantas is very obscure. Since logically it can not be taken as "slaughtered limbs" or "corpse of a live (animal)", one may prefer a translation of the whole sentence like "As you have been turning/twining (the carcass of) the slaughtered (animal) for the sake (of your) life 9 days long (around your neck), let (now finally as a reward) all of the aforementioned gods summon you(r name, i. e. acclaim your recovery)"; this interpretation of the phrase implies that we have to assume here a genitive of goal (Genitiv des Zwecks), D. Yoshida, Die Syntax des althethitischen substantivischen Genitivs, TH 13 (1987) 64ff. For further details see commentary.

<sup>163</sup> Or in the ninth day.

<sup>164</sup> Lit. 'you' (acc. sg.). Var. "let all the gods call to you 'mı(t)'", see now CHD L/N p. 476f. 165 Lit. "he comes forth".

(iv 13-17): The king has been turning the slaughtered limbs (of the sacrificial animal) around (his neck) for nine days. [As soon] as the ninth(!) day arrives, he takes them (from there, i. e. from his neck), and places [th]em into a chest, (wrapped) in his clothes, which may never be [br]oken open. They put it (i. e., the chest) in the seal house. Nobody will be allowed to break it open again.

(iv 18-22): The ritual practitioner carries out (the rest of ) this ritual alone<sup>171</sup> in another building<sup>172</sup>. He does not carry it out in the palace. (Moreover), the king no longer needs to attend (the ritual)<sup>173</sup>. On the ninth day he (i. e., the king) undertakes the (final) ritual ablution and removes<sup>174</sup> all (of the ritual paraphernalia from his body).

(iv 23-25): The first tablet (containing) the words of Hantitaššu, the woman from Hurma: If for a human being, man or woman, the years are disturbed-completed.

Lower edge [PN, the scrib]e, has written (this tablet) [under the supervision of PN].

#### IV. PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

Obv. i 1f.: The expression MU.KAMHI.A nininkantes is quaint. The "years" as acc. object of the copiously attested verb ninink-appears for the first time in this context, and it is fraught with semasiological problems. This is very unfortunate because the phrase at the beginning of the ritual conceals the ritual "case" 1 and has therefore a key word position. Moreover a similar ritual context never again appears among the collection of numerous other ritual practices which I have collected completely elsewhere in a study on Hittite magic<sup>2</sup>. Thus because of the nuiqueness of the context and to some extent the ambivalence of the meaning of the well known verb ninink- (see below), it is unfortunately extremely difficult to determine the particular meaning of this phrase. Since I had to give an appellation to the ritual of Hantitassu and choose a title for this book, I have been compelled to use a somewhat neutral and vague translation which is confessedly ambivalent, i. e., "disturbed" or "troublesome years". But it conforms, at least principally, with the primary meaning of ninink-, as it will be shown below.

E. Laroche, being unaware of the colophon in the then not yet published duplicate text KUB 43.57, restored the gap in i 2 as [har-ra-a]nte-es and translated it as "[Si] c'est un homme on une femme, et que ses années sont [gâ] tées"3. Thus it was Laroche who introduced the incorrect ritual title "Hantitaššu ritual against short years". He also adopted the same interpretation in his CTH (1971) no. 395 "Si les années d'un homme sont gâtées"4. Laroche's interpretation of the text has been conceded by many scholars, most of whom seem still to have in mind harrantes or maninkuwanteš; thus A. Kammenhuber as a "SISKUR . . . . gegen Alterserscheinungen '5. V. Haas translates as "ihm seine Jahre [knrz] sind '6. obviously filling in the gap [maninkuwa]ntes and P. Cornil "Si les années

<sup>166</sup> Probably it is the splinter of the horns of a live-ox mentioned above in i 13.

<sup>167</sup> Or (place); the nature of kuwatta(n), kuwada is obscure, see, however, commentary.

<sup>168</sup> l. e., the horn?

<sup>169</sup> This item taken by the king is probably the point of a bull's horn.

<sup>170</sup> It seems that at this point they open the thick "sandwich" made of different loaves, seeds and minerals and gems, and eat up the edible left-overs after the precious stones and minerals have been given to the Sun God for his assistence to recover the health of the client.

<sup>171 1.</sup> e., without the king's participation.

<sup>172</sup> In buildings outside of the palace, as the following sentence shows.

<sup>173</sup> See the commentary.

<sup>174</sup> Lit. "send, swing".

 $<sup>^{</sup>m I}$  For an alternative option that this "case" could be identical with a sickness at the  ${
m neck}$ of the patient, see below the commentary on rev. iv 5ff.

<sup>2</sup> A. Unal, The Role of Magic in the Ancient Anatolian Religions According to the Cuneiform Texts from Boğazköy-Hattusa, BMECCJ 3 (1988) 70ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Review of KBo 11, OLZ 58 (1963) 246. For MU.KAM-za harranza "the year[ly crop is] ruined" in KUB 9.31 ii 40 s. J. Puhvel, HED 3 (1991) 136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This title does not appear in his CTH, Premier supplément, RHA 30 (1973) 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> HW2 Lfg. 1 (1975) 61b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Hethitische Berggötter und hurritische Steindämonen (1982) 175.

d'un homme sont gâtées", adopting exactly Laroche's reconstruction. As far as I can see, it was I who shifted for the first time from harranteš/maninkuwanteš to the correct reading nininkanteš and translated "disturbed years(?)"8. Later H. A. Hoffner restored the broken word in the gap as [nininka] nteš and translated: "If years belonging to a person, whether man or woman, have been recalled'9. The only evidence for "short years" could be inferred from KUB 57.79 iv 33, if we are allowed to interpret the expression MU.KAMHI.A ITU.KAMHI.A UD.KAMHI.A taluques, i. e., "long years, months (and) days" as antonym of the enigmatic plirase MU.KAMHI.A nininkanteš in KBo 11.14 i 1, and eventually from E. Benveniste's etymological combination of the Hittite ninink- with Lithuanian nikti "to move rapidly" 10 and then "short", said of years. To denote the short span of life the Hittites generally use maninkuwant-11.

Since the verb ninink- is now fully treated in the CHD. I would like merely to give some additional comments on my understanding of the verb in regard to its relationship with the "years". In doing this I have taken as primary meaning of ninink-the military connotation "to disturb; to levy" as it was established first by A. Götze<sup>12</sup>; this primary meaning appears now partly in CHD L-N (1980-1989) 438 (6): "to disturb, annoy, harass, bother, vex, fret, irritate, constrain, harm, agitate, make restless or disorderly, to stir up, to set up forcibly, to mobilize, to levy". The basic military usage of the verb must have developed as a result of crude force used by levying troops, i. e., in gathering the able-bodied manpower forcibly or by conquering and looting a land, i. e., removing its property and manpower (NAM.RA) 13. In the following I will give a brief overview of the attestations which are in accord with this basic meaning "to disturb":

1. Madduwatta [seiz]ed the whole [land]. namma=at IŠTU ERÍNMEŠ pa[ngar]it ninik[ta] "Moreover he disturbed it with /using (his) wh[ol]e troops"14.

- 3. [ ]x-zi nu ZAG<sup>TUM</sup> ninikzi NU.ŠE-du "(If) he (i. e., the enemy) will disturb the border land, let the oracle be unfavorable"16.
  - 4. karitteš nininkanta "Floods will disturb/devastate (the land)"17.
- 5. NA4 hekur[-kán mahhan] huwanza he[uš]a pedi UL n[ininkanzi] "As wind and ra[in are] not [able] to d[isturb/damage] the rock sanctuary at (its) spot"18.
- 6. na=at namma UL kuiški ninikzi<sup>19</sup> "Let no one disturb/break it open (i. e., hukanta "slaughtered limbs of the piglet") 20, see below.
- 7. ped[i]šši=ya=war=at=kán le niniktari "Let them (i. e., the king's oath, curse, blood and tears which the sorcerer has nailed and concealed) not be disturbed/broken open'21. For the buried ritual remnants feared as a contaminating evil see also KUB 55.37 iii 12-15 attesting ninink- in the meaning of kinu- "to break open" in a broken context: (14) .... nu-war-atšan (15) ....]x li-e ni-ni-in- kán-zi and is to be reconstructed from the similar expression of KBo 13.101 obv. i 31: .... a-pi-e-da-az li-e ni-ni-i[k-...
- 8. [(DINGIR<sup>MEŚ</sup>-y)]a kuwapi eššanzi nu ANA PANI DINGIR<sup>MEŚ</sup> le kuiški niniktari INA É.EZEN-ya le kuiški niniktari "When they are worshipping the deities, let nobody in no way be disturbing/causing trouble in the presence of the gods. Let no one be disturbing inside of the ceremonial building '22.
- 9. [nu ma]n? iš/t-x-tuḥmeyanza ŠÀ É.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> našma tamedani [Ékarimni k]uiški<sup>23</sup> nikzi našma-kán man ŠÀ É DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> niniktari nu halluwain iyazi n=ašta EZEN zahzi "I[f] in the inside of a temple or in another [shrine] any iš/t-x-tuḥmeyanza-man drinks and gcts drunk or he causes disturbances inside the temple and starts a quarrel and disrupts the course of the festival'24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Textes de Boghazköy. Liste des lieux de trouvaille, Hethitica 7 (1987) 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> A. Unal, BMECC 3 (1988) 71 with note 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Hittite Terms for the Life Span", Fs H. Pope (1987) 54 with n.28; repeated in CHD L-N (1989) s. v. ninink-.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Études hittites et indo-européennes, BSL 50 (1954) 40f.

<sup>11</sup> CHD L-N (1980-1989) s. v. maninkuwa- and H. A. Hoffner, Fs H. Pope 53-55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Madd. (1928) 115ff.

<sup>13</sup> Additional material comes now from Maşat HBM 5:10; HBM 20:9; HBM 42:3; HBM 72:12(?); HBM 75:20; HBM 79:14; HBM 96 obv. 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> KUB 14.1 obv. 44f.

<sup>2.</sup> nu man LÚKÚR kuiški niniktari "In case any enemy disturbs (the border lands of Hatti and goes with the intention to attack them)"15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> KUB 21.1 iii 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> KUB 50.79 obv? 6.

<sup>17</sup> Apodosis of omen, KBo 8.1 iv 21; 41/i line 5f., similarly KBo 8.47 obv. 10.

<sup>18</sup> KBo 17.62 iv 7ff. + KBo 17.6 iv 2ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Dupl. KUB 43.57 iv 17 kinuzi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> KBo 11.14 iv 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> KBo 24.4 rev.! 7ff. + IBoT 4.14 rev. 2ff.

<sup>22</sup> KUB 31.86 iv 1-3 with dupl. KUB 13.2 iii 17f.; KUB 40.56 ii 24f.; cf. E. von Schuler, HDA (1957) 47 translates "betrinken".

<sup>23</sup> Not *ni<ni>ik-zi* as unnecessarily emended by *A. Sūel*, Direktif Metni (1985) 60. <sup>24</sup> KUB 13.4 iii 36-39.

sibyl

- 10. UZUZÉ ZAG-az nininkan "The gall-bladder is disturbed/damaged/destroyed on the right'<sup>25</sup>.
- 11. nu DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ŠU-ma EME eššanzi nu GIDIM nininkiškanzi "Do his children slander and (thus) disturb/annoy the spirits of dead?'<sup>26</sup>.
- 12. The earthquake(?) will be conceived as a disturbance caused by the god Ninga: <sup>D</sup>Ningaš nin[ikzi] "(If) Ninga dist[urbs]/sha[kes]'<sup>27</sup>.
- 13. In another text we have the only adjectival attestation of the word which is very similar to our passage: (38) HULHI.A-uš ÛHI.A-u[š...] (39) nininkanteš nu x[....]<sup>28</sup>. nininkanteš can here hardly be construed with the "bad dreams" because they stand in acc. pl. com. gender (idalamuš tešhauš) while nininkanteš is nom. pl. com. gender, and, moreover the gap is too long. It is therefore possible that the "years of Kallawi" who is mentioned in i 36 have been troublesome as a result of the bad dreams or her sleep deprivation<sup>29</sup>; "troublesome years" would be standing here also in relationship to "bad dreams" wich can be restored at the end of line 38.
- 14. In the shelf list KUB 30.51 + 45 + HSM 3644 (and dupl., CTH p. 160) ii 19-23, the only identical usage of the phrase, "troublesome years" are mentioned in combination with those kind of harmful conceptions such as impurity, bad dreams and perjury: (19) 3 TUPPU INIM "Yarinu LÚ URU Huršumna ma[n ... (20) našma-aš-kán anda papranni kuwatqa x[.... (21) MUH.A.ŠU nininkanteš našma-aš-kán ANA [ ... (22) inemiškanza našma-za-kán idalumun [zašhain uškizzi] (23) našma linkan harzi ... "Three tablets (containing) the prescription of Yarinu, the man from the city of Huršumna: If [someone inflicts with impurity] or [somebody attracts him] into some sort of impurity, [and thus] his years become troublesome or to/against [his person? evil spell] is spoken or if [he experiences] a dreadful [dream] or he has committed perjury".
- 15. If a contracting party of a treaty does not keep the oaths of the treaty: dankuwayaz=š<maš>=k[án takn]az šer arḥa nininkandu "may they (the oaths) haunt you(!) from the dark [ear]th!"<sup>30</sup>.

16. In the following attestations ninink- can also be interpreted as "to disturb, to torture" which are listed in CHD L-N (1980-1989) 443 (10) sub "mng. unclear": KUB 36.35 i 2-4 ("to beat, to torture"); KUB 57.34:9ff.; KBo 22.87 rev. 6f.: [...] er halluweškanzi anzaš-ma [...] (7) [...] ni-ni-in-ki-eš-kán-[zi], "On account of [that matter?] they used to resort to violence, and they [attack? us and] (thus) they bother us relentlessly".

obv. i 2. 23. iii 7, iv 20 and KUB 43.57 iv 4. 7, 12, 18 uddanaś EN-aś: Magic rituals were as a rule carried out by a group of professionals such as "old/wise woman, sibyl" (SALŠU.GI, aššawa-), augurs (LÚMUŠEN.DÙ, LÚIGI.MUŠEN), magicians (LÚAZU, LÚHAL), doctors (LÚA.ZU), priests of certain deities (LÚSANGA DNN, SAL É.DINGIRLIM ŠA DNN), men of the storm god (LÚ DU/IŠKUR), midwives (SALŠA.ZU), hierodules (SALSUHUR.LAL), purapši-people<sup>31</sup>, patili-priests and other experts whose profession is not defined exactly in the texts<sup>32</sup>. The fact is that these persons were not simply magicians, as we moderns would contemptuously assume their role to be in ancient societies; in fact they were experts with a comprehensive practical education which they may have acquired in guilds like institutions. As ritual experts they possessed basic knowledge in magical, psychological, pharmacological and medical fields.

It seems that mostly in Old Hittite texts (see below) these experts are referred to as uddanaš išhaš (EN-aš), which rendered literally means "lord (lit. "man") of logos"; we may therefore designate them here as expert persons or pundits in a particular field. In an OH/NS text relating the conquest of Zalpa<sup>33</sup>, this word seems to comprise a class of experts or craftsmen who obviously are mentioned among the manpower booty taken by the Hittite king (The texts would later call them anonymously NAM.RA's). We have to interpret also in a similar context the expatriation of various experts and craftsmen by Hattušili i from southeast Anatolian and north Syrian cities to Hattuša mentioned in his annals KBo 10.1 and 2 (also sort of NAM.RA's); especially in the Old Hittite Period it is striking that the kings were concerned above all with deportation of skilled manpower from the conquered territories, in opposition to deportation of ten thousands of unskilled masses during the Empire period.

<sup>33</sup> KBo 3.38 i 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> KBo 16.97 rev. 5, 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> KBo 2.6 ii 55f.

<sup>27</sup> KUB 8.28 obv. 17, rev. 13f., cf. also KUB 30.55 rev. 6; HFAC 84.3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> KUB 5.20 + KUB 18.56 obv. i 38ff.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. immediately below KUB 30.51 + , nr. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> KBo 5.3 iv 40-41.

 $<sup>^{31}</sup>$  According to O. R. Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion (1977) 45f. identical with  $^{ ext{L\dot{U}}}$ AZU.

<sup>32</sup> See D. H. Engelhard, Hittite Magical Practices: An Analysis, Ph. D. Brandeis (1970) 5ff.; A. Ünal, BMECCJ 3 (1988) 65.

The expression uddanaš išhaš<sup>34</sup> appears in the following texts, most of which can be dated in the Old Hittite period: KBo 3.38 i 16 (OH/NS); KBo 10.23 iii 10 (OH/NS); KBo 13.31 rev. iii 9; KUB 11.32 + obv. iii 12 (OH?/NS); KUB 17.11 rev. 7; KUB 17.18 ii 29; KUB 23.77:26; KUB 30.31 + i 13, 21 (NH); KUB 30.68 obv. 635; KUB 32.137 + ii 18 (MH/NS); HBM 45:9(?). It is, however, very significant that uddanaš išhaš appears only in KUB 17.11:7; KUB 17.18 ii 29; KUB 30.31 i 13f. and KUB 32.137 ii 18 as practising a magical ritual. His function in these texts is, however, insignificant so that KBo 11.14 remains the only ritual where his activity as magical practitioner is clearly defined<sup>36</sup>.

obv. i 2 šuhha: The roof is one of the frequently occurring localities where rituals (often also festival rituals) were wholly or partly carried out<sup>37</sup>. In a magical ritual ambience such as the Hantitassu ritual which mainly appeals to the Sun God in a sunny southern country like Anatolia or Kizzuwatna, the roof certainly offers the best place to establish contact with the Sun God and other celestial deities. Anatolian roofs of that time were covered with a clay-like, water proof, solid, and pure soil<sup>38</sup> and could be repaired easily and kept always clean. Besides, the roof was a flat, smooth, spacious, open, lofty<sup>39</sup>, airy and cool place<sup>40</sup>. Therefore even today during the summer time it is a major part of living space (especially for sleeping) in the households of south and southeastern Turkey. In the following 1 would like to give some attestations which show the roof as focal point of ritual performance: KBo 4.11 obv. 25 (blowing of horns at the roof); KBo

34 Written also as uddanaš EN-aš, uddanaš EN<sup>MEŠ</sup>, uttanaš BELU<sup>MEŠ</sup>.

35 Attesting the sole writing with determinative, LÚ.MEŠ uddanaš išhaš.

<sup>37</sup> See V. Haas, Geschichte der heth. Religion (1994) 278f.

rev. iii 7.

5.2 ii 1ff., iv 5ff.; KBo 6.45 + KUB 30.14 + (prayer at the roof); KBo 8.54:3ff.; KBo 8.91 obv. 17 (pitching of a tent at the roof); KUB 30.39 + KBo 23.80 + KBo 24.112 obv. 22f.; KBo 11.32 obv. 16; KBo 11.34 i 8f.; KBo 12.123:7ff. (sacrificial sheep will be thrown down from the roof); KBo 15.52 + rev. 1ff.; KBo 19.134:9ff.; KBo 20.8 obv.; KBo 21.33 + iv 56f.; KBo 21.37 obv. 23, rev. 10; KUB 7.1 ii 18f.; KUB 7.40:7f.; KUB 10.99 vi 15f. (the king descends from the roof of the temple of the Sun God); KUB 25.21 iv 3ff.; KUB 29.4 i 62, ii 46, 55, iii 5, iv 12; KUB 30.28 rev. 1ff. (parts of funerary ritual take place at the roof); KUB 30.40 obv. i 20ff.; KUB 30.43 iii 13f. (shelf list); KUB 45.5 ii 4; KUB 51.64 obv.? 2; KUB 53.3 v 6 with dupl. (reparation of the roof); KUB 53.6 + iii 19 with dupl.; KUB 55.39 i 11, iv 28f.; KUB 57.63 iii 22f.; KUB 60.121 rev. 21f.; VBoT 128 v 6; 1BoT 3.148 iii 13f.; Bo 3752 ii? 2 with dupl. KBo 25.34; 473/z 7f. (placing a statue at the top of a roof); Bo 6200 rev. 9f. (unpubl. text in the Archaeological Museum of Ankara, A. Ünal, forthcoming) (hurling of crockery from the roof).

obv. i 3, 22, 23, ii 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 15, 25, 31, 34, iii 5, iv 2 DUTU: The Sun God is one of the most important protagonists of this ritual. He is the god with whom the ritual practitioner barters directly to help him save the offerant's life, or he is requested to serve as intermediary god with the other deities and demons to the very end.

The Hittite Sun God is taken into the Hittite pantheon from the native inhabitants of Anatolia, the Hattians, with his genuine Hattic name Estan<sup>41</sup>; in addition to this masculine deity there exists a feminine Sun Goddess of Arinna<sup>42</sup>. The Hittites distinguished also a feminine Sun Goddess of Earth who is attested mostly in magic rituals<sup>43</sup>. According to the newly published ritual texts it seems that the Hittites identified the Sun Goddess of the earth with EREŠ.KI.GAL, the eschatological "Mistress of the

Estan (m HURRIGA MLS JT WEAR

41 See in general C. Justus, Indo-Europeanization of Myth and Syntax in Anatolian Hittite: Dating of Texts as an Index, JIES 11 (1983) 71ff.

42 See J. Friedrich, Zu einigen altkleinasiatischen Gottheiten, JKF 2 (1953) 144ff.; V. Haas, Geschichte der heth. Religion (1994) index on pp. 965-66; for more details s. Daisuke Yoshida in his forthcoming Ph. D. Munich.

43 Cf. H. Otten, Die Gottheit Lelvani der Boğazköy-Texte, JCS 4 (1950) 120 n. 7; J. Friedrich, Ein hethitisches Gebet an die Sonnengöttin der Erde, Fs Furlani, RSO 32 (1957) 217; M. Vieyra, in: Le Monde du Sorcier (1966), 116 n. 39; D. Engelhard, Hittite Magical Practices (1970) 22 with n. 82.

<sup>36</sup> For the nominal construction see. I. Singer, The Hittite KI.LAM Festival Part one, StBoT 27 (1983) 59 note 22 and E. Neu, "Zur unechten Nominalkomposition im Hethitischen", Fs Risch (1986) 113.

<sup>38</sup> Turkish "geren toprağı"; the technical term for this practice is purutai-, see A. Unal. Hittite Architect and a Rope-Climbing Ritual, Belleten 205 (1989) 1503 with notes 186-187. <sup>39</sup> Cf. the expression "on the top of the high roofs", ser pargauwas suhhas in KBo 22.82

<sup>40</sup> On the construction of the Hittite roof according to the cuneiform sources s. A. Goetze, Kleinasien<sup>2</sup> (1957, reprint 1974) 175; M. Darga, Hitit Mimarlığı 1: Yapı Sanatı (1985) 123ff.; N. Boysan-Dietrich, Das hethitische Lehmhaus aus der Sicht der Keilschriftquellen, TH 12 (1987) 85ff. and A. Unal, "You Should Build for Eternity" New Light on the Hittite Architects and their Work, JCS 40 (1988) 102ff.; id., Hittite Architect and a Rope-Climbing Ritual, Belleten 205 (1989) 1502f.; for archaeological structure of the roof s. J. A. Morrison, Alisar: A Unit of Land Occupance in the Kanak Su Basin of Central Anatolia (Ph. D. Chicago 1939); R. Naumann, Architektur Kleinasiens<sup>2</sup> (1971) 153ff.

Netherworld"44. It is well known that Allatum is the frequently attested form in the Hittite texts<sup>45</sup>; EREŠ.KI.GAL is, on the other hand, identical with Lelwani, and taknaš DUTU with hurrian Allani<sup>46</sup>. The feminine sex of the Sun Goddess may go back to the Hattian Estanu<sup>47</sup>. In her appearance she has a demonic nature<sup>48</sup>. With only one exception, this deity always appears in the ritual of Hantitassu without any description, attributes and epitheta; it is, therefore, difficult to discern which form of the Sun God is meant here. The expressis verbi distinction taknaš DUTU "Sun Goddess of Earth", attested only once in rev. iii 30 of our ritual text, makes it possible, however, that all other attestations of this deity represent the Sun God of Heaven. Moreover, his masculine sex can be concluded from the address DUTU-we EN-mi, ii 4 and DUTU-i BELI-YA ii 7, both "O Sun God, my Lord!"49. It is significant for our text that the vocative forms show both the archaic vocative ending with -i and the younger form with -e.

obv. i 3-8: This passage is treated by C. Watkins<sup>50</sup> and H. A. Hoffner<sup>51</sup>.

oby, i 3 GISBANSUR: It has been known for long that the Hittite phonetic reading of GIŠBANŠUR is a u-stem, cf. sg. acc. com. GIŠBANŠURun KBo 4.9 iv 40; KBo 20.14:5; KBo 23.24 iii 3, 14; KBo 24.113 obv.? i 8; KBo 25.31 obv. ii 18; KBo 25.158 rev.? 9; KBo 30.69 rev. iii 10; KUB 2.24 rev. vi 7 w. dupl. KUB 25.2 + KUB 6 i 5; KUB 10.3 ii 29; KUB 12.65 + ii 16 and passim; KUB 25.17 i 9; KUB 41.44 i 6; KUB 54.75 rev. 5; Ullik. A iv 50, 53, 56; C ii 27. The other endings in the other cases confirm this: pl. acc. ends with -uš: KBo 20.10 i 13, ii 10; KBo 26.83:13; KUB 34.128 obv. 15;

VBoT 32 i? 13; sg.-pl. abl. with -az: KBo 25.184 obv. ii 21, 26; KUB 10.45 rev. iii 4; KUB 48.109 iii 1 or with - za: KUB 2.5 i 21; 81/t rev. iv 15, sg. dat.-loc. with -i: KUB 6.46 i 50, sg. gen. with -aš: KBo 4.2 i 24, pl. dat.-loc. with -aš: KUB 10.21 iii 13; KUB 11.9 + obv. iii 16. It was F. Sommer<sup>52</sup> who first proposed to consider (GIŠ) papu- as the syllabic writing of GIŠBANŠUR on the basis of a comparison Gispapun arha hurutait "(A dog) overturned (??) the papu-" (KUB 16.34 i 13-14) with GISBANSUR laknut "(A dog) overturned a table" (KUB 5.7 obv. 24) which J. J. S. Weitenberg consents to<sup>53</sup>; since both words are u-stem this equation seemed to fit well. The hapax papu-54 never appears, however, in textual context in a similar function which would come close to that of a GISBANSUR. The verb arha hurutai- is attested to my knowledge only in KUB 16.34 i 14 and possibly in -sk-form hu-u-ru-te-eš-kán-zi in KUB 31.100 obv. 2455, and is very controversial with regard to its exact meaning  $^{56}$  and its semasiological affiliation with laknu-57. Thus the Hittite equivalence of GISBANSUR remains unidentified.

In fact the Sumerogram GIŚBANŠUR may have had a lot of phonetic equivalences in Hittite, most of them ending with -u, since what the Hittites have called "table" was not a table in its modern sense, but an assemblage of different shapes made of various materials such as wood, reed, wickerwork, different metals, clay, stone etc. We may therefore assume that the ancients did not have any well preconceived notion of "table"! They may have specified any elevated gadgetry with an adequate surface for placing offering materials and edible articles in their households and in the sacred places with a common denomination "table". Early examples of what look to be three legged tables, probably from the Old Assyrian Colony period are illustrated on some seal impressions from Kültepe<sup>58</sup>. It is

<sup>44</sup> Compare KUB 58.95 rev. 2f. with KUB 59.47 ii 11 and Bo 3711:7, S. Košak, Review of KUB 58, ZA 80 (1990) 150; M. Popko, Weitere Fragmente zu CTH 418, AoF 18 (1991)

<sup>45</sup> E. Laroche, Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites, RHA 7 (1946-47) 120f.; H. Otten, Die Gottheit Lelvani der Boğazköy-Texte, JCS 4 (1950) 119ff.; A. Kammenhuber, Marduk und Santa in der hethitischen Überlieferung des 2. Jt.s v. Chr., Or 59 (1990) 191.

<sup>46</sup> A. Archi, The Names of the Primeval Gods, Or 59 (1990) 115f.

<sup>47</sup> E. Laroche, apud S. R. Bin-Nun, The Anatolian Background of the Tawananna's Position in the Hittite Kingdom, RHA 30 (1972) 58.

<sup>48</sup> V. Haas, Hethitische Berggötter und hurritische Steindämonen (1982) 25.

<sup>49</sup> For the vocative form of the u-stems DUTU-u-e and DUTU-i (ii 4, 7) and e/i-change, i.e. Istanuwe/i see E. Laroche, Vocatif et cas absolu en Anatolien, Athenaeum 47 (1969) 175; E. Neu, Review of J. Tischler, HEG 3, IF 88 (1983) 303f.; H. Eichner, Zur Genese der hethitischen Vokative auf -i und -e, KZ 96 (1982/83) 233ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Indo-European Studies 2 (1975) 368f., 374.

<sup>51</sup> Second Millennium Antecedents to the Hebrew 'OB, IBL 136 (1967) 390f.

<sup>52</sup> Review of KUB 14, KUB 15, KUB 16, KUB 17, KIF 1 (1930) 344.

<sup>53</sup> Die hethitischen U-Stämme (1984) 253f.

<sup>54</sup> CHD P (1994) 108 cites another possible attestation of the word in KBo 29.70 i 28 in a badly broken context.

<sup>55</sup> The reading is, however, not certain, cf. J. Tischler, HEG I (1983) 314; it is also possible to read it ú-ul-te-es-kán-zi, A. Únal, Ritual Purity Versus Physical Impurity in Hittite Anatolia: Public Health and Structures for Sanitation According to Cuneiform Texts and Archaeological Remains, in: H. I. H. Prince Takahito Mikasa (ed.), Essays on Anatolian Archaeology, BMECCJ VII (1993) 129 with note 46.

<sup>56</sup> J. Friedrich, HW 77 "umkippen(?)"; J. Tischler, HEG I (1983) 314 "umstossen". <sup>57</sup> CHD P (1994) 108.

<sup>58</sup> N. Özgüç, Bullae from Kültepe, Fs T. Özgüç (1989) 384ff., pl. 88, 3 (8); 94, 1 (11A); 98, 2 (89A); 104,2 (197).

remarkable that the Hittite Hieroglyphic sign for "table" is represented by quite a different shape<sup>59</sup>.

To give an approximate idea we may consider the following words in Hittite vocabulary for "altar", so far identified: GIŠGAN.KAL = GIŠlaḫ-ḫura-60, GIŠdaḥanga-61, GIŠZAG.GAR.RA = ištanana-,62 and "table": GIŠBANŠUR, GIŠ ḫariuzzi- (see below), GIŠpapu-63, GIŠpuri-/puriya-.

One type of "table" is made of wickerwork and written in the texts as  $^{GI\$BAN\$UR.AD.KID}$ . On the basis of duplicate texts 69/d iii  $6: .... 1]^{EN}$   $^{GI\$}l_{jarinzzi}$  kit[t]a and Bo 4999 iv:  $^{IENGI\$BAN\$UR.AD.KID}$  kitta H. Ehelolf tended to identify the Hittite reading of  $^{GI\$BAN\$UR.AD.KID}$  as  $^{GI\$}l_{jarinzzi-64}$ , which is cited without further comments by H. Otten and J. Pulvel 66. Since its attestation is ambivalent, it may be wise to wait for further evidence before accepting this equation.

By comparing the usage of this altar-like table in pictographic depictions of the religious and cultic scenes among the archaeological monuments, we can identify the exact shape of it, which has remained curiously unrecognized up to now<sup>67</sup>. It appears on many archaeological monuments depicted like a sturdy pillar or a tree trunk, set upright or carried without any effort by cultic personnel. According to these depictions it has a narrow neck and above it a flat surface serving as table.

<sup>59</sup> A. Laroche, HH (1960) nr. 301.

60 Beside CHD L-N see G. F. del Monte, Review of CHD 3/1, OA 24 (1985) 151; H.

Otten, Bemerkungen zum hethitischen Wörterbuch, ZA 72 (1982) 284f...

62 Equated with Sunn. ZAG.GAR.RA, see J. Friedrich, HW p. 91; M. Popko, op. cit. p.

66ff.; J. Puhvel, HED Vol. 2 (1984) 461ff.

b4 Hethitisch-akkadische Wortgleichungen, ZA 43 (1936) 172, see in details A. Ünal.
 Zur Beschaffenheit des hethitischen Opfertisches aus philologischer und archäologischer

Sicht, Fs Hrouda (1994) 285.

The main clue to identify Hittite GIŠBANŠUR.AD.KID with a table in the shape of a basket comes from its depictions on the *İnandık* vase in the 2nd, 3rd, 4th rows from the top<sup>68</sup>, on a relief vase from Boğazköy<sup>69</sup>, on a seal from Tarsus, kept now in Oxford<sup>70</sup>, on Alaca Höyük orthostats<sup>71</sup>, Firaktin relief with a different and broader table with curved extensions on the left side (perhaps a table cloth? 72) and on a stele from Yağrı 73. The prototypes of these altar-like tables can be seen as early as the Old Assyrian Colony Period and are attested on the seal impressions from Acemhöyük<sup>74</sup>. The archaeologists refer to them not quite wrongly as "altars" because in the archaeological sense they really have the shape of an altar and are functioning as such. Since it is extremely difficult to distinguish the Hittite "altar" from an accessory under the common denomination of "table", it is recommendable to call them rather altar- or trunk-shaped tables. On the depictions of the İnandık vase these objects are not going to be offered to the gods, as assumed by T. Özgüç and 76 H. G. Güterbock 77. They are being carried to be used during the ceremonies and amusements in the same way as the musical instruments such as lyres, cymbals and the instruments which strikingly look like saz (lute). For the understanding of the ritual scenery on the İnandık vase it is significant to note that the lyres which are depicted in small and big shapes can promptly be identified with GIŠ.DINGIR.INANNA.TUR (Hitt. or better Hattic ippizinar) "small Ištarinstrument" and GIŠ.DINGIR.INANNA.GAL (Hitt./Hattic GIShunzinar) "big Ištar-instrument" which the Hittite festival texts attest frequently 78.

71 Bittel, op. cit., Abb. 214.

73 Bittel, op. cit. Abb. 230, who call it correctly "Tisch"!

<sup>61</sup> Written also NA1daḥanga-, see V. Haas, Der Kult von Nerik (1970) 168f.; idem, Betrachtungen zur Rekonstruktion des hethitischen Frühjahrsfestes (EZEN purulliyas), ZA 78 (1988) 291 note 37; M. Popko, Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion (1978) 33ff.

<sup>63</sup> J. Friedrich, HW 266f.; E. Laroche, Review of HW 1. Erg., RA 52 (1958) 187-188; J. J. S. Weitenberg, Die hethitischen U-Stämme (1984) 253f.; H. Otten, Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy. Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV., StBoT Beihef I (1988) 43; G. McMahon, The Hittite State Cult of the Tutelary Deities, AS 25 (1991) 257; A. Ünal, Zur Beschaffenheit des hethitischen Opfertisches aus philogischer und archäologischer Sicht, Fs Hrouda (1994) 283 note 5; for pap(a)-see now CHD P (1994) 96f.

<sup>65</sup> Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy. Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV., StBoT Beiheft 1 (1988) 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> HED 3 (1991) 143.

<sup>67</sup> See now in detail, A. Ünal, Zur Beschaffenheit des hethitischen Opfertisches aus philologischer und archäologischer Sicht, Fs Hrouda (1994) 283-291.

<sup>68</sup> T. Özgüç, İnandıktepe. An Important Cult Center in the Old Hittite Period (1988) fig. 64, Pl. I/3, J/4 and also under the dust jacket of the book.

<sup>69</sup> R. W. Boehmer, Die Reliefkeramik von Boğazköy (1983) 8.31, Taf. 12.32.

<sup>70</sup> Boehmer, op. cit. Abb. 10b; K. Bittel, Die Hethiter (1976) Abb. 154.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Bittel, op. cit. Abb. 194, 196, 198; K. Kohlmeyer, Felsbilder der hethitischen Großreichszeit, Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica 15 (1983) 69f. For the table cloth and its possible identity with <sup>TÜG</sup>kureššar see A. Ünal, Fs Hrouda (1994) 287f.

<sup>74</sup> N. Özgüç, The Composite Creatures in Anatolian Art, BMECCJ 5 (1991) 297f. fig. 5.

<sup>75</sup> For example T. Özgüç, op. cit. p. 94f.

<sup>76</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>77</sup> Apud T. Özgüç, loc. cit.

<sup>78</sup> H. M. Kümmel, Gesang und Gesanglosigkeit in der hethitischen Kultmusik, Fs H. Otten (1973) 169-178; E. Badali, La musica presso gli ittiti: un aspetto particolare del culto in onore di divinita, Bibbia et Oriente 147 (1986) 55-64; idem, Strumenti musicali, inusici e musica nella celebrazione delle feste ittite, TH 15 (1991); O. R. Gurney, Some Aspects of

They occur in the texts also in plural, which again matches the descriptions on the relief vase, which illustrates more than one lyre.

We can see on the relief vase that the "tables" must have been made of light material because they are depicted as being carried by a single man<sup>79</sup>, and, what is important, their wickerwork character is rendered by the artist by means of interlaced strand motives. Their small size is expressed also in a text: 6 GISBANŠUR.AD.KID TUR[TIM] "six small wickerwork tables" (KUB 42.94 obv. 17). KBo 29.209:13 attests a "high wickerwork table" which will be set up (GI]ŠBANŠUR.AD.KID parku ti-anzi). The small size also helps to explain why in the rituals they could be transported effortlessly up to the roofs and down. In spite of their narrow size one could place on them, according to texts, water and wine jars, different vessels, cheese, different sorts of breads, fruits, meat, stew, refined oil and baskets (of course not all at one time). There is also no doubt that GIŚBANŠUR.AD.KID of the texts refers to these objects on the relief vases, seals and rock monuments. The texts use in connection with these tables as a rule the verb dai- "place, lay, set up", and only once iškar- "sting, post, pitch, set up", KUB 42.94 obv. 17. It is remarkable that the offering tables of the deceased kings in the so-called offering lists are represented exclusively by these GISBANSUR.AD.KID's which may have had a special meaning. Their easy transportability may have given again the reason for

Hittite Religion (1977) 34f.; for archaeological depictions see R. Boehmer, Von zwei Musikanten gespielte Leiern, Fs Alp (1992) 67-68; S. de Martino, Il lessico musicale ittita II GIS.D.INANNA = cetra. OA 26 (1987) 171-185; H. Roszkowska, Musical Terminology in Hittite Cuneiform Texts, Orientalia Varsoviensia 1 (1987) 23-30; A. Ünal, A.. Boğazköy Metinlerinin Işığı Altında Hititler Devri Anadolu'sunda Filolojik ve Arkeolojik Veriler Arasındaki İlişkilerden Örnekler. 1992 Yılı Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi Konferansları (Ankara 1993) 24.

this, considering also the possibility that offering ceremonies to the deceased kings may have taken place mostly at the roofs.

There may have existed tables of similar shape made of other material such as stone or metal; cf., for example, tiny models of "tables" made of silver and gold:  $I^{\text{GIS}}BANSUR$  KÙ.BABBAR  $I^{\text{GIN}}$ . [GÍN] (31)  $I^{\text{GIS}}BANSUR$  GUŠKIN  $I^{\text{GIN}}$ . GÍN.GÍN DÙ-anzi, KUB 43.49 rev.? 30f. Occasionally tables were inlaid with gold (TAMLÛ), KBo 10.2 i 32f.; KBo 18.177:5; KUB 42.57:3. The Hittites were practical in producing some specific objects, which they used frequently for ritual purposes, from clicap and perishable material. Alongside human and animal figures as effigies made of perishable materials such as wood, clay, dough, wax, tallow and other models of houses, temples, landscapes (mountain), the wickerwork representations of human beings are certainly to be conceived in this sense (ALAM.AD.KID.SAL^{TI} "wickerwork figure of a woman" KUB 38.3 i 10).

obv. i 3 menahhanda dai: The same construction appears in KUB 6.45 i 4f.: ... šnhhi-kán šer DUTU-i menahhanda 2 GIŠBANŠUR.AD.KID (5) kariyanda dai and without particle -kán KUB 17.28 ii 51: nn GIŠBANŠUR DUTU-i menahhanda dai; cf. also KUB 57.79 i 24f. with dupl. KUB 58.94 i 22 (see below).

obv. i 4ff. treated by H. A. Hoffner. 80

oby. i 6-7 treated by C. Watkins<sup>81</sup>. H. A. Hoffner<sup>82</sup> tries to explain kutiyan as a seed (NUMUN) in this famous NUMUN-list; this would, however, exceed the expected number of the seeds, namely seven, by one; but in accordance with the seven kinds of precious stones as their counterpart, their number should be limited to seven. This is the point which compels Watkins to look for other solutions. He states that kutiyan cannot designate a sg. part. neutr. of a verb, because such a verb is unknown. He assumes, then, on the basis of OH StBoT 25 nos 79 and 80 a scribal error by the Neo-Hittite scribe of KBo 11.14 and restores the OH archetype as zi-na-il-ku ti-ya-an "lentil and chick pea (are) placed". Watkins argues that the Neo- Hittite scribe would have no longer understood -ku and wrongly attached it to the following word. Watkins' far-fetched argument needs, however, to be proven. First of all, from the syntactical

<sup>79</sup> Were they made of heavy stone like the one from Emirgazi it would be impossible to transport them by a single man; for the basalt altar from Emirgazi see K. Bittel, Denkmäler eines hethitischen Grosskonigs des 13. Jahrhunderts vor Christus (1984) 12; E. Masson, Les inscriptions Louvites Hiéroglyphiques d'Emirgazi, Journal des Savants (1979) 1-49; eadem. Les inscriptions louvites hieroglyphiques de Kölūtolu et Beyköy, Kadmos 19 (1980); A. Ünal, Zur Beschaffenheit des hethitischen Opfertisches aus philologischer und archäologischer Sicht, Fs Hrouda (1994) fig. iv on p. 289; a very good picture is now printed in E. Masson, Les Hitties. Civilisation indo-européenne à fleur de roche, in: Les Dossiers D'Archéologie 193 (1994) plate on p. 56. Note that M. Hutter, Kultstelen und Baityloi. Die Ausstrahlung eines syrischen religiösen Phänomens nach Kleinasien und Israel, in: B. Janowski et al. (eds), Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 129 (1993) 96 compares this altar with NA (ZI.KIN = NA 4huwaši-"stele".

<sup>80</sup> Alimenta Hethaeorum. Food Production in Hittite Asia Minor (1974) 65.

<sup>81</sup> Indo-European \*-kwe "and" in Hittite, Fs Knobloch (1985) 495. 82 Alimenta Hethaeorum (1974) 62, 74.

point of view we would not need a verb dai- in line 7; it would be absolutely superfluous between two šuhha- "scatter" in lines 5 and 7. Moreover, how is one to explain the function of the plene writing - ku-u for commonly attested -ku at the end of the word? Moreover it would factually be incomprehensible to assume that the very scribe would not have understood the meaning of dai-, one of the most frequently attested verbs in this ritual and in all the Hittite vocabulary. There are, therefore, other possibilities, if one wanted to reduce the number of NUMUN to seven; one of them is to take parhuenas ewan as a gen. construction as I did above in my translation (see there the note); see also i 12 the similar gen. construction DUTU-aš parhuenaš "sweet concoction for/of the Sun God'83. The exact meaning of parhuena- is not known. It might designate a byproduct of cereals or fruits, something like juice, extract or essence. The given translation "concoction" is an approximate guess. H. A. Hoffner<sup>84</sup> and F. Pecchioli Daddi-A. M. Polvani<sup>85</sup> leave it without translation. What kind of a plant, seed or flower kutivan designates is also obscure. How Watkins deduces the meaning "lentil" and "chick pea" for hattar and zinail is difficult to understand<sup>86</sup>.

oby, i 6ff, for the seeds included in this NUMUN-list see in detail Hoffner<sup>87</sup> and H. Ertem<sup>88</sup>. For ha(t)tar s. E. Neu<sup>89</sup> and J. Puhvel<sup>90</sup>

oby, i 6-10 is translated by V. Haas<sup>91</sup> and A. M. Polvani<sup>92</sup>. A synopsis of the passage is given by V. Haas<sup>93</sup>

obv. i 6ff. For the magical meaning of numbers, especially 3, 7, 9 and 14, see Haas<sup>94</sup>; R. Lebrun<sup>95</sup> and in general F. Heiler<sup>96</sup>. In line 8 a small. thick loaf made of wheat is put as topping on the layer of seeds, separating the seeds from the gems. In another context soldier bread appears as a cover: IŠTU NINDA.ERÍNMEŠ iš-tap-píl- KUB 12.16 ii 14. 19: IŠTU NINDA.ERÍN<sup>MEŠ</sup> ištappanzi, KUB 41.13 ii 19: .. šer=a=šan <sup>DUG</sup>išnuran (9) [....] NINDA a-a-an ŠA 1/2 ŠĀTI ištappanzi. KUB 59.53 i 8f., similarly KBo 19.129 obv. 31: na-aš-kán KAxU-iš (51) kizza IŠTU KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN NINDA.KUR<sub>4</sub>.RA-ya (52) ištappanza ešdu, IBoT 3.148 iii 50-52.

oby, i 9ff. Minerals such as gold and silver and precious stones play an important role in the magical rituals: see V. Haas-H. J. Thiel<sup>97</sup>; V. Haas<sup>98</sup>: G. Kellerman<sup>99</sup>. They appear more frequently in rituals adhering to the Hurrian layer. I will not deal with the stone names here, since an exhaustive work on the stones and gems in Hittite texts has now been published by A. M. Polvani<sup>100</sup>. I would merely like to express my disagreement with A. Ancillotti<sup>101</sup>, who tends to see in Hittite NA4 parašha-102 the equivalent of AN.BAR.GE<sub>6</sub> "ferro nero".

obv. i 11 kappi-: A. Kammenhuber<sup>103</sup> gives the meaning "Kümmel" which is attested in Hittite as kappani- (Sumerian TIN.TIR) "cumin" (cuminum cyminum) or less probably. "caraway seed" (carum carvi). We can, from the start, exclude the possibility that kappi- may stand as a shorter writing for kappani-, since kappani- is attested always in connection with the colors black (GE<sub>6</sub>) and white but never red (SA<sub>5</sub>), as it is the case in KBo 11.14 i 11 in connection with kappi-. Another reason for our objection is the question whether the Hittites would ever have ground the cumin using a millstone or a grindstone. NA4ARA, Hittite NA4hararazi- It is

<sup>83</sup> So correctly CHD L-N (1980-1989) 329b.

<sup>84</sup> Hittite Myths (1990) 15.

<sup>85</sup> La Mitologia Ittita (1990) 80.

<sup>86</sup> To this passage cf. E. Neu. Review of Tischler, HEG 4, IF 91 (1986) 376.

<sup>87</sup> Alimenta Hethaeorum (1974) 68f., 73ff., 77ff., 80ff.

<sup>88</sup> Boğazköv Metinlerine Göre Hititler Devri Anadolu'sunun Florası (1987)<sup>2</sup> 14ff., 19f., 21-24, 27,

<sup>89</sup> Glossar zu den althethitischen Ritualtexten, StBoT 26 (1983) 62 with note 273 (Getreide- oder Gemüsesorte).

<sup>90</sup> HED 3 (1991) 247.

<sup>91</sup> Apud H. Hauptmann, in K. Bittel et al. Yazılıkaya (1975) 66.

<sup>92</sup> La pietra ZA.GIN nei testi di Hattusa, Mesopotamia 15 (1980) 86; eadem, La terminologia dei minerali nei testi ittiti, EOTHEN 3 (1988) 70f.

<sup>93</sup> Hethitische Berggötter 175.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> op. cit. p. 174.

<sup>95</sup> Quelques aspects du symbolisme dans le culte hittite, in Ries et al. (eds), Le Symbolisme dans le Culte des Grandes Religions (1985) 77ff.

<sup>96</sup> Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion (1961).

<sup>97</sup> Die Beschwörungsrituale der Allaiturah (h) i und verwandte Texte, AOAT 31 (1978)

<sup>98</sup> Hethitische Berggötter und hurritische Steindömonen (1982) 167ff.

<sup>99</sup> Recherche sur les Rituels de Fondation Hittites, Ph. D. Paris (1980) 153f. 100 La terminologia dei minerali nei testi ittiti, EOTHEN 3 (1988); eadem, RIA 8/3-4

<sup>(1994) 210-212.</sup> 

<sup>101</sup> ACME 28 (1975) 43ff.

<sup>102</sup> See above p. 27 note 138 in translation.

<sup>103</sup> HW<sup>2</sup> 1. Lfg. (1975) 61b.

logical to assume that one would use mortar and pestle to pound cumin <sup>104</sup>. kappi- must therefore mean, at the same time, an extremely tiny kind of seed such as poppy seed which can be found in red and black, and can also escape or pour out from the millstone without being ground <sup>105</sup>. In the meaning of "small seeds" it appears in the following texts: KUB 41.8 ii 27 with dupl. KBo 10.45 ii 61 7 kappin anda peššiyazzi; KBo 5.2 i 38: 14 kappiš ŠE para šiyannaš; ibid. iv 20: nu 1 kappin ŠE dai.

The meaning of kappi-106 "small" as being a synonym of amiyant-and antonym of šalli-, GAL is well established: KUB 12.63 obv. 31 (said of mountains): kappauš ḤUR.SAGMEŠ; KBo 6.29 i 7 and KBo 4.12 obv. 5 (said of child): numu kappin=pát DUMU-an; KBo 6.3 iv 18 (said of hog) ŠAḤ.TUR kappi- and in absolute use KUB 31.71 rev. iv 35: kappiš=ma=wa dalugaš[ti107. In KBo 11.14 J. Puhvel108 relates the kappiš as adjective to NA4ARÀ "millstone, grindstone" and translates the sentence "even as a small grindstone slips away, may the sacrificer likewise escape from the jaws of Akni". Finally kappi- is also attested as a small measurement vessel109.

The forms, techniques and functions of ancient Anatolian millstones have been examined from the archaeological point of view by T. Hersh<sup>110</sup>.

obv. i 12 mumuwai- attested also in KUB 57.79 rev. iv 4; CHD L-N (1980-1989) 329 suggests no meaning for this word. We may expect from the context something like "to mix, mingle, compound, amalgamate", as a synonym of huppai-/huppiya-, hurtalliya- and immiya-.

obv. i 13 alpuemar: This word designates something on the horn (SI, hitt. karawar) of the plow-ox which can be cut off or scraped and removed without killing, harming or injuring the live animal. Therefore it is common even today's animal husbandry in Turkey to cut off the pointed ends of the bull horns so that they do not injure each other. Thus it hardly can mean "Krümmung", i. e. "bending (of the horn)"111, since this part of the horn contains blood vessels, nor can it mean "Glätte" (?) 112, but only the "point" of the horn. Indeed how small this piece must have been is evident from comparison with a ritual text which attests the removal of a tiny piece from the ear and an unknown body part (UZU šarnumša-?) of a sheep, although we do not know whether the sheep was living or not 113. According to an another text they scrape a splint (hašdnir)114 from the horn of a live wild goat, Weidner 1911, 81 i 4: ANA SI UZ<sub>6</sub>.KUR.RA-kán hašduir tepu hašhaššan. Note that a cow with its horns "broken (off)" must have lost a lot of its value, according to Laws § 74: takkn SI GUD nasma GÌR GUD kuiški duwarnizi apun-za apaš dai Ù GUD SIG5 BEL GUD pai (See now R. Haase, ZA 85, 1995, 114). The substantive alpnemar is closely related to adj. alpu- "pointed", the antonym of which is warhui- "rough, shaggy, bushy, leafy, blunt"115. A. Kammenhuber116, who cites further literature, rejects all these interpretations and renders alpuemar as (eine Substanz); she also does not accept the relationship to alpu-. To me it designates the point of an ox horn (Hornspitze) which can be cut off easily without injuring the live animal. For alpu- and dampu- see also Otten. 117

obv. i 17ff. Treated by E. Neu<sup>118</sup> and CHD P (1994) 15.

<sup>104</sup> For the terminology of "grinding, pounding" etc. see CHD P (1994) 58; it lists the following verbs: pakkuś-, ḥarra-, kuśkuś-, paiśaḥi-, and zaḥḥurai-.

<sup>105</sup> See ii 20 and related commentary.

<sup>106</sup> See also composite words including kappi- kappilai-, kappilai-, (certainly not "to show one's hate", but "to underestimate, to scorn, to sneer, deride, disdain", similar or almost synonymous to tepawah- "to belittle, to humble", kappilalli-, kappilanu-, kappilazatta-, kap

<sup>107</sup> Cf. H. A. Hoffner, Alimenta Hethaeorum (1974) 134f. "small (grain)" and G. Beckman, Proverbs and Proverbial Allusions in Hittite, JNES 45 (1986) 24 n. 31 "small (piece)".

<sup>108</sup> HED 1/2 (1984) 447.

<sup>109</sup> Akkadian PURSĪTUM; used also in Urartian as kapi, see for further details Yaşar Coşkun, Boğazköy Metinlerinde Geçen Bazı Seçme Kap İsimleri (1979) 34-38 and for PURSĪTUM 39-44.

<sup>110</sup> Grinding Stones and Food Processing Techniques of Neolithic Societies of Turkey and Greece, Ph. D. (1981) (2 volumes).

<sup>111</sup> H. M. Kümmel, apud H. Otten, Bemerkungen zum hethitischen Wörterbuch, ZA 66 (1976) 100.

<sup>112</sup> J. J. S. Weitenberg, Hethitische U-Stämme (1984) 87.

<sup>113</sup> KUB 44.15 obv. i 9f.: A-NA GEŠTU UDU te-pu ku-ir-zi <sup>UZU</sup>šar-nu-um-ša (10) [t]e-pu ku-ir-zi nu-kán IŠ-TU NINDA.KUR<sub>1</sub>-RA ḫa-aś-śi-i śu-uḥ-ḫa-i.

<sup>114</sup> Thus hasduir does not only mean "twigs, sticks, brush(wood)", cf. J. Puhvel, HED 3 (1991) 239.

<sup>1&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> See H. G. Güterbock, Lexicographical Notes II, RHA 74 (1976) 99; idem, Bilingual Moon Omens from Boğazköy, A Scientific Humanist, Memorial Saggs (1988) 168-170, citing also KBo 11.14 i 12-14.

<sup>116</sup> HW<sup>2</sup> Lfg. (1975) 61b.

<sup>117</sup> ZA 66 p. 100, citing unpubl. 222/b and *E. Hamp*, Hittite alpu and dampu, HS 102 (1989) 21f.

<sup>118</sup> Interpretation der hethitischen mediopassiven Verbalformen, StBoT 5 (1968) 150.

i 19 hušza: G. Beckman<sup>119</sup> compares this word with (NA4) hušt<sup>120</sup>-"amber??, resin??" which is accepted by A. M. Polvani<sup>121</sup> and J. Puhvel<sup>122</sup>. Polvani lists KBo 11.14 i 19 (wrongly line 18(!)) under (NA4) hušti/a-, she does not explain why one has to assume a sg. nom. c. hušza-x together with huštiš<sup>123</sup>. On account of the stem consonant and the case, however, it is hardly possible to subsume it under (NA4) hust-, which, according to a ritual text, seems to be a hard and durable stone, 124 since the transitive verb šamešiya- "fumigate something" would acquire an object in acc. sg. huštin/huštan which is attested many times 125, although not together with the verb šamešiya- but mostly with the verbs (šer arha) wahnu- "to swing (above)", da- "to take" and kušk- "to pound, to grind". G. Beckman himself has trouble finding a reasonable explanation for these difficulties 126. Further occurrences which Beckman cites from 2027/k:5 and 78/e rev. 18 are unfortunately too fragmentary to establish a relationship between these two words. In our context we expect a combustible substance which can be used as an incense together with cedar, oil and honey. Since it would not make any sense to burn honey (after all, it would produce an offensive smell) hušza- must designate something belonging to honey, and this can be only the "wax", here "the wax of honey", the Hittite reading of the Sunerogram GAB.LÀL/DU.LÀL.

obv. i 20: For MUN "salt" see G. Beckman<sup>127</sup>; for its usage and resources 128 in the vicinity of Çankırı see Sedat Erkut 129 and M. Forlanini. 130

obv. i 21f. transliterated and translated by W. Dressler. 131

obv. i 22; CHD L-N (1980-1989) 61a.

obv. i 24 EZEN iva: Organization of a "festival" on the part of the deities is taken over from the mythological sphere; in E. Laroche's words 132 it is an "Insertion d'un récit mythologique dans la conjuration; c'est le Leitmotiv bien connu". The nature of EZEN iya- is here non-religious and can therefore best be conceived with A. Goetze 133 in the meaning of "give a party, a banquet", thus not implying organization of a huge religious ceremony or a festival in its usual sense in religious texts.

Organization of a party among the gods is very common. According to the newly discovered Hurro-Hittite bilinguals from Hattuša this Leitmotiv seems to go back to Hurrian origins. In one of these texts the Hurrian Sun Goddess Allani organizes such a party in her own palace and entertains the assembly of the gods personally. The text reports that to this aim 10000 bulls and 30000 sheep have been slaughtered 134. Among her high ranking guests there is the Storm God Tešub. In accordance with these texts the mutilated words at the end of the lines KBo 11.14 i 24 and 25 can be restored easily as [halzai] s. Moreover the expression is attested in the following texts: KBo 3.7 i 14 with par. KUB 17.5 i 8ff.; KBo 9.127 + KUB 36.41 i 14; KBo 12.89 rev. iii 11; KBo 13.86 obv. 12; KBo 14.86 + KUB 33.17 + KBo 9.109 i 17; KUB 17.10 i 19; KUB 57.79 obv. i 4ff.

Among all these texts KUB 58.94 obv. i 3ff. alongside its dupl. KUB 57.79 obv. i 4ff. gives a new insight into the nature, the participants in such a party, and its exact aim. This fictious party is invented and initiated by the practitioner in form of a dialogue between him and the Sun God. It consists not only of deities and mortals, but also of the ailing patient himself. Thus we have to do here with an apotheosis. The gods allegedly show on their part great interest about the well-being of the patient and initiate a lively discussion. They reproach the Sun God for not inviting the patient to his party.

<sup>119</sup> Hittite Birth Rituals, StBoT 29 (1983) 50.

<sup>120</sup> For this word of possibly Hurrian origin see J. Puhvel, HEG 3 (1991) 411f.

<sup>121</sup> La Terminologia dei Minerali nei Testi Ittiti (1988) 18.

<sup>122</sup> HEG 3 (1991) 413f.

<sup>123</sup> husza occurs still in 78/e rev. 18, J. Puhvel, HEG 3 (1991) 411; Polvani gives the forms op. cit. p. 19; read there also line 19, not (8!).

<sup>124</sup> hustis GIM-an KALAG.G[A, see V.Haas-H.J. Thiel, Die Beschwörungsrituale der Allaiturah(h)i und verwandte Texte, AOAT 31 (1978) 138f., 188.

<sup>125</sup> Polvani, op. cit. p. 19 and Puhvel, loc. cit.

<sup>126</sup> op. cit. 50 note 122.

<sup>127</sup> Hittite Birth Rituals, StBoT 29 (1983) 83.

<sup>128</sup> The salt-works in Turkey are many; natural resources, especially rock salt beside Salt Lake in Central Anatolia are in Kırmızı 121 km south of Erzurum, Sarıkamış, Sağır Kaya 46 km north of Erzurum, Hacıbektaş, Delice river bank, Tepesi Delik 60 km north of Hacıbektaş, 22 km east of Sivas, Merzifon, Cererek river basin, Ayanköy, the middle Kızılırınak basin, especially the modern salt-works east of Çankırı near Balıbağ and most of them have been mined since Ottoman times (today mined by Turkish monopoly), see W. J.

Hamilton, Researches in Asia Minor. Pontus and Armenia 1/II (1842, reprint 1984) 1 366ff., 375ff., 405ff., II 237, 248 and V. Cuinet, La Turquie d'Asie (1891-1894) 4 vols.

<sup>129</sup> Hititlerde Tuz ve Kullanımı, Belleten 209 (1990) 1-7.

<sup>130</sup> Am mittleren Kizilirmak, Fs Alp (1992) 179. 131 Studien zur verbalen Pluralität (1968) 175.

<sup>132</sup> Review of KBo 11, OLZ 58 (1963) 246 with reference to his DLL (1959) 158ff.
133 Tunn (1938) 38 "to arrange a party".

<sup>134</sup> KBo 32.13 i Iff.. E. Neu, Zur Grammatik des Hurritischen auf der Grundlage der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue aus der Boğazköy-Grabungskampagne (1983), in: V. Haas (ed.), Xenia (1988) 98f.; fully translated by A. Unal, Hethitische Mythen und Epen, in: O. Kaiser (ed.), TUAT III/4 (1994) 860f.

KUB 58.94 obv. i 3-18 runs, in free translation of the restored text 135:

"Now the ritual expert [utters the words of conjuration] to the Sun God as f[ollows: 'You, the Sun God, have given a party. You have] invited all the gods. You have invited [all the mortals.] The patient, however, [(was not invited), he (just) walked into it. The gods have eaten and drunk. You, the Su[n God], have entrusted [these words] to the heart (of the gods); you, the Sun God, have spoken (to them namely): 'What [did I do?] I ha[ve] invited all the gods. [I have invited] all the mortals (as well). [But the patient] has got lost. [The practitioner has concealed] him'. [The gods in their entirety walked out (and) [spoke] to the Sun God: '[Why] did you [not] invite the patient?' The Sun God responded: '[He has been concealed(?) somewhere; it is why I] could not in[vite] him. (But) now, because [he (just) walked in]to the [party, let him be here?].'. The gods spoke as follows: '[You, the Sun God, he (i.e. patient) has made his] chief (SAG.DU) god! Let him (please) participate in the party. Let him eat, [let liin drin]k! [Let him] g[o (again)] to you, to (his) chief(?) (deity). Let the patient come in, [let him eat and drink (with us)! Let him recover his health again!] Let him come [and be a true servant to you,] the Sun God, (his) [chief god. Let him bring you sacrifices again!"] 136

Now we must try to analyze the profound meaning and function of this unique mythologem in the midst of a magical ritual. First of all we should be aware of the ritual ambience in which this fictive story has been skillfully inserted. Secondly the patient is given the impression that he has been a guest among the gods. We can imagine how encouraged the patient must have felt, when this mythologem was recited to him aloud and publicly in the form of a "belle chant" 137. The unspoken verbal message of it is: "You will/must recover, because even the Sun God and other gods are fond of you!"

obv. i 24 dapianduš is used here as usual as a synonym for humanduš, cf. the change in KBo 3.7 iv 16 and its dupl.; KUB 4.1 i 19, 21 and its dupl.; KUB 7.41 i 37, ii 74; KUB 32.123 + iii 21, 54 and its dupl.; KUB 58.108 i 12 and its dupl. KUB 59.58 i 11; Hatt. iv 22 and its dupl.; Ullik. 1A i 3 and its dupl. and the replacement of the commonly used phrase dapian SIG<sub>5</sub>-in in oracle inquiries by humandaza dapian in KUB 49.74:11.

obv. ii 1 DUTU-uš arahza weh- is so far a unique expression, but its meaning is evident from the context. It certainly denotes the cycle of the sun during the night time which was usually conceived by the ancients as "travel, journey, striding" of the Sun. The verb weh- "to turn" is attested in the following texts in the meaning of "to stride, to travel, undertake a tour of inspection, to walk around": KUB 36.80 i 6-7: (6) .. ma-a-an-za a-ru-ni ma-a-an-za A-N[A ḤUR.SAGMEŚ] (7) [ke-a-da-ni-i]q-qa(??) wa-ali-lia-an-na pa-a-a[n-za] "(Sun Goddess of Arinna), whether you have gone to the sea or [anywhe]re to [the mountains] to travel" and similarly in the prayer to Telipinu KUB 24.1 obv. i 8; KUB 36.18 ii 21: waḥanna panza ešta "he has been traveling"138; KUB 56.51 obv. 9-12: (11) [m a]n D Kantipuittis wahannaza EGIR-pa uizzi "[As] soon as K. returns from (his) travel" (previously he undertook a travel (KASKAL) to Tuwanuwa); KUB 40.5 + ii 5: KASKAL-az wehta "he returned from travel"; KBo 30.164 obv. iii 8-9: (8) maxhhan-ma LUGAL-uš (9) KUR-e wehzi "When the king undertakes a tour of inspection around the country"; KUB 8.57 i 10: [nu] KUR.KURMES humanda wehiškizz[i] "he (Gilgamiš) travels around all countries"; KUB 33.121 ii 15: "Keššiš ITU.3.KAM-aš wehandari "Kešši tramped around in the mountains for three months"; Kup. A i 24: LÚ.MEŠELLU-ya kuieš arahzanda wehandari "The free men who are traveling around"; cf. further Tel. i 45.

The verb araḥzanda weḥ- cannot be the main predicate of the sentence, since it would need the particle -kán which lacks here, see KBo 30.56 rev. v 26; therefore we may restore in analogy to above cited texts at the end of the line, zinna- "finish, complete" or pai- "to go".

obv. ii 2: It is of special interest that the mother of the client is mentioned (if our restoration of the break is correct). So far as I know the intervention of a mother for the sake of her child is unique among the Hittite rituals. The personal name  ${}^fMa(n)duta...$  is unknown from elsewhere.

<sup>135</sup> Transliteration is given below p. 95f.

<sup>136</sup> In the broken continuation of the text there are certainly further disputes with the Sun God and argumentation, how faithful a servant the patient will become if only he recovers: This sort of barters on the basis of the principle "do ut des" are well known from the prayer for Gassuliyawiya KBo 4.6 +obv. 16f., rev. 22; from the vow texts of Puduḥepa (CTH 583-584) in the form of man-wa DINGIR<sup>LM</sup> GAŠAN-YA/EN-YA DUTUS¹ TI-nuan/TI-nusi ḥarti in KUB 15.1 i 5, 21f., ii 2f.; KUB 15.8 i 5; KUB 15.19 obv. 4; KUB 15.22:12f.; KUB 15.23 rev. 2f.; KUB 15.24 i 4f.; StBoT 1 obv. i 3f. Cf. also KUB 6.45 iii 42; KUB 21.27 iii 37; KUB 56.19 i 19, 28f.; KUB 56.25 + KUB 60.118 iii? 3.

<sup>137</sup> On the psychological and therapeutic effects of this conjuration in curing a patient see A. Unal, Parts of Trees in Hittite According to a Medical Incantation Text (KUB 43.62), Fs Alp (1992) 495.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. A.  $\it Unal$  , Hethitische Mythen und Epen, in: O. Kaiser (ed.), TUAT III/4 (1994) 858.

obv. ii 3ff. E. Laroche<sup>139</sup> recognized 2068/g (i.e. KBo 17.104) as dupl.

obv. ii 4: The incongruence of gender and case in DUTU-u-e EN-mi-it is remarkable; I have therefore emended this scribal error to EN-mi[[-it]], above note to ii 4.

oby, ii 5: AMAR "young animal, calf" connotes here an endearing or allegorical word "child, kid". Similarly the mother of the disherited Labarna designates herself as "cow" (GUD) 140. We know that AMAR is a ustem noun 141, but there is unfortunately no evidence for its Hittite reading. TUR-la-ma-an "my child, baby" acc. sg. stands certainly for \*TUR-la-an-maan, cf. HAB ii 2; the nasal or weak n is omitted before consonants  $^{142}$ . The Hittite reading of TUR-la- is also unknown.

obv. ii 7-13 treated by A. M. Polvani<sup>143</sup>.

obv. ii 7ff.: The barter formula da- and pai-, i. e. "to accept something (offering, gift or bribe) on condition that in response something else is granted" is one of the basic principles of Hittite religion 144, and is best compared to do ut des in Roman religion. In our text it seems to be a kind of bargain with the gods who are thought to be responsible for the sickness or any trouble of the client. The practitioner tries also to restore the health of his client in exchange for cereals, minerals and other sacrificial materials. We may compare this passage with the fragmentary birth ritual

139 Review of KBo 11, OLZ 58 (1963) 246.

141 J. Friedrich, HW 3. Erg. 39; J. J. S. Weitenberg, U-Stämme (1984) 56; for attestations of AMAR-un add there KBo 26.130 ii 11; KUB 30.46 left col. 8; KUB 33.38 iv 1; KUB 33.46 i 14.

143 La pietra ZA.GIN nei testi di Hattusa, Mesopotamia 15 (1980) 86 and eadem, La terminologia dei minerali nei testi ittiti, EOTHEN 3 (1988) 71.

KUB 60.73 rev. 5-7: .....]MA.NA da-a nu-za KÙ?.[BABBAR GUŠKIN da-a?] (6) ...]x 9 MA-NA nu-za NA4KÁ.DINGIR.R[A .... (7) ... MA-N]A da-a nu-za BAPPIR BULÙG  $\check{S}[A]$ ... Another similar case is attested in KUB 12.24 obv. i 2ff. Here the client has fallen ill as a result of divine anger. To pacify Išhara, the goddess of diseases, and to restore the patient's health the deity is given silver, iron, black iron, tin, copper, lapislazuli, lead, different kinds of wool, beer, wine, cheese, wali- etc. A similar passage is in KUB 27.67 + rev. iv 33ff<sup>145</sup>.: "He scatters [silver] (and) gold, lapis, cornelian, Babylon stone, parašhi-stone, lulluri-stone, iron, tin, copper, (and) bronze- [a little] (of everything)...." The principle do ut des is most clearly visible in the vow texts of the queen Puduhepa146.

It is noteworthy to observe that a mortal who, after making his sacrificial offerings, was dissatisfied with the deity's attitude towards him and therefore later changed his opinion, could demand his votives back from the deity: EN.SISKUR- za ANA DU arkuwar iy[azi] DU EN-YA EGIRpa=war=aš=mu pai U M M[A DU-MA] immakku=war=aš=mu pešta kinun=ma=war=aš=mu EGIR-pa weškiš[kiši] nu-za EN.SISKUR ANA DU arkuwar i[yazi] pai=war=aš=mu nu=wa=ta=kán mena|hhanda] uškanzi tašši DU-aš para pešta "The client argues with the Storm God: `Storm God, my Lord, give them (i.e., his offerings) back to me!' [The Storm God] (responds) as follows: 'Did not you give them to me (as presents)? (How can) you now ask them back from me?' The client re[peats] his demand: 'Give me them! They watch (observe) you(?)'. The Storm God (at the end) gave him them." (KBo 13.161 rev. right col. 1ff.; repeated in lines 10ff.) 147

In the following I would like to cite more typical examples from the texts which illustrate the principle "do ut des": "They speak as follows: Look, (how) the client supplies you with offerings. O deity, take (these) offerings for yourself and turn towards him in benevolence. Whatever he might be telling you, listen to him!", kiššan memanzi kaša=wa=ta SÍSKUR EN.SISKUR pai nu=wa=za DINGIR<sup>LAM</sup> SÍSKUR da nu=wa=ši=šan anda aššuli naišhut nu=ta kuit memiškizzi nu=ši GEŠTU-an para lagan harak. KBo 12.96 rev. iv 10ff. 148; LUGAL-uš-ma kuedani (32) MU-ti LÍL-ri Ú-UL panza nu-šmaš LÍL-ri pauwaš ANA DIŠTAR.LÍL (33) URU Šamulja SÍSKUR ambašši keldi-ya maldeššar-a Ú-UL (34) ešzi LUGAL-uš kuit gimri Ú-UL

<sup>140</sup> HAB ii 14-15: an-na-aš-ši-iš-ma GUD-uš ma-a-an tar-ú-eš-ki-it (15) hu-iš-wa-an-ti-wamu-kán GUD-i GÌR-i ÚR šar-ri-ir "But his mother stamped like a cow (and cried): 'They have separated (my) legs (and) limbs from me, the living cow", the separation of limbs standing here allegorically for the removal of Labarna, her son, out of the palace.

<sup>142</sup> E. H. Sturtevant, Reduced Vowels and Syllabic Liquids and Nasals in Hittite, RHA 3 (1931) 76-88; E. H. Sturtevant-E. A. Hahn, A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language (1951) 24f. with note 41; S. Alp, The -n(n)-Formations in the Hittite Language, Belleten 18 (1954) 449-467; J. Friedrich, HE<sup>2</sup> I (1960) §31 (§36 on assimilation); C. Carter, The Hittite Writing of [nk] and [ng] and Related Matters, JAOS 99 (1979) 93-94; O. Carruba, Nasalization im Anatolischen, SMEA 24 (1984) 57ff.

<sup>144</sup> A. Unal-A.Kammenhuber, Das althethitische Losorakel KBo XVIII, KZ 88 (1974) 159 note 8; A. Ünal, The Role of Magic in the Ancient Anatolian Religions According to the Cunciform Texts from Boğazköy-Hattuša, BMECC 3 (1988) 62f.

<sup>145</sup> A. Goetze, ANET (1969) 349.

<sup>146</sup> KUB 15.1ff., see J. de Roos, Hettitische Geloften l-III (1984) and KUB 56.1ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> See *Unal*, BMECCJ 3 (1988) 63.

<sup>148</sup> B. Rosenkranz, Ein neues Ritual für DLAMA KUŠkurša, Or. 33 (1964) 240.

paizzi "If in a year the king does not go on a military campaign, there is no ambašši-ritual, keldi-ritual and votive offering of "going-on-the campaign" for the "Istar of the Countryside of Samuha", because (this season) the king has not gone on a military campaign", KUB 27.1 obv. i 31-34; kaša šumaš DIMIN.IMIN.BI-aš SÍSKUR piwen nu-za ezzatten ekutten (31) hatugaeš-makán DIMIN.IMIN.BI-eš KASKAL-az arha namma tiendu nu ANA DLAMMA KUŚkuršaš (32) minumar pišten nu-kán ANA LU[GAL SA]L,LUGAL DUMUMEŠ.LUGAL anda aššuli (33) naišten "Behold, we have given vou. Pleiades, a sacrifice. Now eat and drink! Let the evil Pleiades get out of the way. Grant gentleness to the tutelary deity of the hunting bag. Turn to the king, queen (and) princes in favor!", KBo 17.105 + KBo 34.47 rev. iii 30ff.); EGIR-anda-ma- šma[š kuieš DINGIRMEŠ] (2) aššaweš nu ap[uš DINGIRMEŠ akkuškanzi] "In the following [they toast (only) to the honor of those deities who have been] benevolent [towards them]", VBoT 24 iii 1f. and better preserved in rev. iv 29-31; ŠA KUR URU Kašga DINGIR Kaša=šmaš tuliya halziyawen nu uwatten nu izzatten ekutten nu=šmaš=šan kaša DINAM kuit arnummeni nat ištamašten "Behold, O deities of the Gašga lands! We have summoned you to a divine assembly. Hurry up, eat and drink! Listen to (, however, in return) whatever litigation we may bring to you", KUB 4.1 ii 1-6<sup>149</sup>; cf. also similarly KUB 17.30 iii 3-5, further examples are given by A. Unal<sup>150</sup>; the fragmentary prayer KBo 22.250:14 seems also to deal with a sort of barter.

obv. ii.8: As I noted in my transliteration, the par. texts KBo 17.104 ii 7 and 2029/g line 8 write the client with his personal name, i. e., mAtta(-), instead of anonymous EN.SISKUR (Akk. bel nige) in KBo 11.14 ii 8.

As has repeatedly been stressed in previous pages, the ritual of Hantitaššu consists of at least five versions (see also below): 1) the Old or Middle Hittite original version of Hantitaššu which served as model for all succeeding examples, esp. KBo 11.14; this most ancient example is unfortunately lost; 2) KBo 11.14 or the middle Hittite version KBo 20.34; 3) the version which was used for the personal vicissitudes of Atta (for the details on his personality see below), KBo 17.104 and 2029/g; 4) the ritual which was enacted to restore the health of an unknown Hittite king, KUB 43.57 (written typically LUGAL). We do not know whether this version repesents a special compilation preserved to be used only for kings in

general or for only one particular king; 5) and finally KUB 57.79 with its dupl. KUB 58.94 for an unknown customer. It is hard to estimate how many examples of the ritual might have been lost. The different find spots of each composition in *Hattuša* indicate three different versions: KBo 11.14 in Būyükkale building K; KBo 13.145 in House at the Slope; KUB 43.57 (+) KBo 18.74 in Temple I; KBo 17.104 (+) 2029/g in Südmagazin of Temple I<sup>151</sup>. Another result of the frequent usage and copying of the *Hantitaššu* ritual is the omission of the direct speech particle -wa in some passages which causes difficulties in discourse analysis of the text.

The mention of the name of a patient or client is not very common in the texts. His personal appearance and participation must be deemed very critical, because his introduction by name shows that the rituals were not merely theoretical library examples at *Hattuša* but were in practical use whenever daily needs required them. In other words they were a kind of empty formula to be filled out anew with the name and affliction of the patients each time they were used, as already stated above 152. The mention of clients by their names seems to have prevailed extensively during the Middle Hittite and Early Empire period and was abondoned in the Empire period; we observe here a forward shift from individuality to anonymity.

It is remarkable but not surprising that the custom of mentioning a client's name seems primarily to go back to Hurrian origins, since most of the rituals, including the name of the patients, stem from the Hurrian sphere. Thus we find the Hittite prince Tašmišarri mentioned in a Hurrian rite: a-aš-hu-u-ši-i[k-ku-un-n]i-ma <sup>m</sup> T[a-aš-mi-šar-ri] "The client is T[ašmišarri]" KBo 27.85+ 192/v rev. 14<sup>153</sup>. Tašmišarri appears also in many other texts as client 154 alone and together with Ašmunikal 155 or with Šuppiluliuma i's first Tawananna Taduhepa 156. This Tašmišarri has been

<sup>149</sup> E. von Schuler, Die Kaškäer (1965) 170f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> BMECCJ 3, 62f.

 <sup>151</sup> P. Cornil, Textes de Boghazköy. Liste des lieux de trouvaille, Hethitica 7 (1987) 31.
 152 See above p. 11f.

<sup>153</sup> V. Haas, Die Serien itkahi und itkalzi des AZU-Priesters. Rituale für Tasmisarri und Taduhepa sowie weitere Texte mit Bezug auf Tasmisarru, ChS I/1 (1984) 39.

<sup>154</sup> Haas, op. cit. nos. 43-49, 51, 53ff.

<sup>155</sup> Haas, op. cit. no. 52.

<sup>156</sup> Haas, op. cit. nos. 6, 8, 11, 14, 19, 20.

tentatively identified with Šuppiluliuma  $i^{157}$ , with Arnuwanda  $i^{158}$  and with Tuthaliya iii  $i^{159}$ . Taduhepa's frequent personal participation in the Hurrian rituals is confirmed by mention of her name  $i^{160}$ . Šahurunuwa and Arnuwanda appear also in the Hurrian rituals  $i^{161}$ .

Now, we have some other clues concerning the personality of Atta<sup>162</sup>. The most important information relating to the date of the Hantitassu ritual and the personality of Atta comes from a fragment which is closely related to the Ritual of Ziplantawiya<sup>163</sup>. The text in question is KUB 36.111 + KBo 20.34 rev. 12-15 (see below in chapter VII) and reads: [ki] ššan daranzi ku i š <sup>m</sup>At-ta-a-i (dat.) [DUMU.LUGAL? <sup>f</sup>Z] iplandawi SAL.LUGAL IBILA.NITA [DUMU.SAL.LUGAL? idalu iyat?] man nepišaš DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> [man-m] a-aš DU[TU ta]knaš <D>Ulili[vaššiš] [kaša kizza 9-]an [GISBANŠUR kizziy] a 9-an GISBANŠUR [azzzikit]t[en nu assul uw]atete[n] "They speak as follows: 'Whatever (deity) [may have committed evil] towards Atta, [the prince?, Z]iplandawiya, the queen, the heir to the throne [(or) the princess]-if it is the god of heaven [or] the S[un Goddess of the ear]th (or) Ulili[yašši; look] (we have set up) [here and there] nine tables (arranged with food). Eat [(from them) and br]ing (in response) [salvation]". From this text it is evident that the client Atta is a high ranking personality contemporary with Ziplantawiya (she appears also in rev. 5), the renowned sister of Tuthaliya (ii); her relationship to king Tuthaliya is evident from the ritual text KBo 15.10 i 25f.

The name Atta is attested as "a dignitary of the city of Gasgabaha" in an instruction text of Arnuwanda i (KUB 31.44 i 9) who may be identical with the very prince in question. Ziplantawiya is also well attested in

connection with her malevolent magical manipulations against Tuthaliya, her own brother, and against Nikalmati, his wife the queen, and their children in the magic ritual KBo 15.10 i 18-21<sup>164</sup>: nu idalu kue ITT[I] <sup>m</sup>Duthaliy[a Ù] fNikalmati ANA DUMU<sup>MES</sup>\_SUNU memiškit nu=šmaš EME<sup>HIA</sup> [išši]šta nu=uš-kán išhanaš DUTU-i DIŠKUR-ni paranta [idal] u memiškit nu=uš alwanzaiškit "Das Böse, das sie (i.e., Ziplantawiya) gegen Duthaliya [und] Nikalmati (und) ihre Söhne immer wieder gesagt und ihnen als Zungen [gema]cht hat, pflegte sie darüber hinaus (über) sie beim Sonnengott des Blutes (und) beim Wettergott [als Böse]s zu sagen; und sie behexte sie immer wieder".

In recent decades this *Tuthaliya* has enjoyed a particular reputation since many historical texts have been re-dated into his reign, and, moreover, a remarkably bulky sword of Mycenaean type with an Akkadian dedicatory inscription on its blade has been discovered not far from the Lion Gate at *Ḥattuša*<sup>165</sup>; this is tangible proof for serious involvement in

<sup>157</sup> H. C. Güterbock, The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by His Son Mursilis II, JCS 10 1956) 122 n. 19.

<sup>158</sup> S. Bin-Nun, The Tawananna in the Hittite Kingdom, TH 5 (1975) 162; A. Kammenhuber, Orakelpraxis. Träume und Vorzeichenschau bei den Hethitern, TH 7 (1976) 162.

<sup>159</sup> O.R. Gurney, The Anointing of Tudhaliya, Studia Med. Fs Meriggi (1979) 213ff.

<sup>160</sup> Haas, op. cit. index and Betrachtungen zur Dynastie von Hattusa im Mittleren Reich (ca. 1450-1380), AoF 12 (1985) 272f.; she is also mentioned in an unpublished Hurrian ritual text from Ortaköy, acquired by the Corum Museum, Corum 21-3-90 rev. 10, see A. Unal (forthcoming).

<sup>161</sup> Haas, op. cit. nos. 53 and 54.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. M. Hutter, Bemerkungen zur Verwendung magischer Rituale in mittelhethitischer Zeit, AoF 18 (1991) 35.15f.

<sup>163</sup> G. Szabó, Ein hethitisches Entsühnungsritual für das Königspaar Tuthalia und Nikalmati, TH 1 (1971).

<sup>164</sup> Szabó, op. cit. 14f.

<sup>165</sup> A. Unal-A. Ertekin-İ. Ediz, The Hittite Sword from Boğazköy-Hattusa, Found 1991 and its Akkadian Inscription, Muze/Museum 4 (1990-1991) 50-53; A. Unal, 1991'de Boğazköy-Hattusa'da Bulunan Hitit Kılıcı ve Üzerindeki Akadca Adak Yazıtı, Fs Nimet Özgüç, Ankara (1993) 727-730 and A. Ertekin- . Ediz, A Unique Sword from Boğazköv-Hattusa, Fs Nimet Özgüç (1993) 719-725. This sword has been published by myself and my Turkish colleagues as fast as possible, i.e. three months after its discovery at Hattusa, because we did not want to deprive the scientific world of this unique piece. Although this primary publication in Turkish language, and, for the convenience of others additionally in English translation in the Turkish journal Museum and succeedingly in Fs N. Özgüç has flawlessly been done in every respect and it does not lack anything in regard of definition of the sword, reading and translation of its Akkadian inscription, its dating to the reign of Tuthaliya ii and relating its historical and archaeological context with the historical events of the time of this king, and finally its Mycenaean-West Anatolion origin 1 encounter in recent times to my regret an influx of repetitious and mostly unnecessary treatment of the sword by different colleagues in various journals, which reiterate in general almost our results, illustrate our drawings and pictures, as if one felt to be in a rush to take part in the unique value of this sword. To show how rapidly these treatments increase I like to give a list of these publications (so far known to me) here: H. Bucholz, Eine heth. Schwerteinweihung, Journal of Prehistoric Religion VIII (1994) 20ff.; (with a grievous blunder on p. 22 with note 8) E. Cline, Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea. International Trade and the Late Bronze Aegean, BAR International Series 591 (1994) 73 and his forthcoming article, "Assuwa and the Aegean"; O. Hansen, A Mycenanean Sword from Boğazköy-Hattusa Found in 1991, ABSA (The Annals of the British School at Athens) 89 (1994) 213-215; M.I. Mellink, AJA 97 (1993) 106, 112f.; P. Neve, AA (1993) 648ff.; M. Salvini - L. Vagnetti, Una spada di tipo da Boğazköy, PP 176 (1994) 215-236; [A. Unal,] Ein hethitisches Schwert mit akkadischer Inschrift aus Boğazköy, Antike Welt 23 (1992) 256-257. The immesurable importance of the sword for the Mycenaean archaeology and its uniqueness do not justify this spoil. Do I have to understand these authors in this way that they do not take my

West Anatolia, which is well known from his annals. We can assume that Atta was among the children of Tuthaliya-Nikalmati, the royal couple, who have been bewitched by their malicious aunt Ziplantawiya. Nemesis came, however, upon the evil-doer very soon, since according to the above cited KUB 36.111 + KBo 20.34 rev. 12-15 she shares a common fate with Atta, the queen, and the crown prince (probably Arnuwanda i, the successor of Tuthaliya), who all appear there to be accursed and thus bewitched by some deities. The same prince is also attested in the fragmentary text KUB 55.48 i 14 as m? A-at-ta-a in connection with celebrating some festivals, and in the same context as a Muwatalli (probably Muwatalli i?) 166. Another Atta appears in the colophon of KBo 23.44 rev. iv 10167 as the father of the scribe Nanauza, and must be a different person. As a scribe he appears also in KBo 18.181 rev. 10. Atta as a craftsman in the inventory text KUB 42.31:10 certainly represents a third person.

ii 9 hatta- is primarily a terminus technicus of butchery. It covers a broad semasiological spectrum: "to make a hole, pierce, prick, stab, slash, perforate, stick (as means of killing), hit, strike, engrave "168. In spite of its primary meaning rendered by Puhvel which implies "to stick, stab (an animal)" it is still obscure what kind of slaughtering method it exactly denotes. It seems that the meaning "to stick, to stab" is rather to be sought in a quite different verb, namely \$ai-\\$iya-. Other terms of slaughtering are ark-, ep(p)-, arha happešnai-, haš-, hazziya-169, huek-, kuen-, mark-, marriya-, arha parš-, arha šarra- and šipand-. 170

primary publication seriously so that they need to repeat it with their own signature? I hope sincerely that this is not the case! Moreover, it now seems, to my pleasure, that this sort of findings belong no more to rarities, all the more so as there is another "unique" sword from Kastamonu at present being prepaired by myself for publication. Moreover, most surprisingly, in September 1995 the Director Mr. İlhan Temizsoy kindly showed me in Ankara a silver bowl acquired by the Museum of Anatolion Civilizations (now exhibited in the Museum), similar to those found in the region of Kastamonu (A. Çınaroğlu-K. Emre, A Group of Metal Hittite Vessels from Kınık - Kastamonu, Fs N. Özgüç (1993) 675-713) which bears a Hieroglyphic inscription of Tuthaliya ii on its outer rim. The inscription is a dedicatory one on the occasion of his conquer of Tarawazawa, and compares in regard to its wording, style and historical background with the Akkadian inscription of the sword. It will be published by D. H. Hawkins. It is, therefore, reasonable to wait until further "unique" objects turn out. Another surprising finding of recent times is an ax of Ammuna with an Akketian inscription on it, M. Salvini, Un documento del re ittita Ammuna. SMEA 32 (1993) 85-89.

obv. ii 15 teri-attested only here and in KUB 43.60 i 9 as te-ri-ya-aš UD-aš, and confirms the Indo-European reading of \*tri<sup>171</sup>; cf. further the writing [3-]ya-aħ-ħa-an-zi 4-ya-aħ-ħa-an-zi in the meaning of "to triple" and "to quadruple" in KUB 55.20 + KUB 9.4 + ii 33, 35<sup>172</sup>.

oby. ii 16ff. The practitioner tries to save the life of his client by means of some sophisticated metaphors. The interpretation of welwila- in this context causes great difficulties. L. Jakob-Rost<sup>173</sup>, and apparently following her J. Tischler<sup>174</sup>, take on the basis of KUB 24.9+ iv 22, 28 (s. below) welwila- as "deities" or "demons" who, like DINGIR.MAH of the river, seem to stand in relation to rivers. The evidence for river-deities is, howeven, very feeble. Note that KUB 35.145 obv. 9 does not attest welwila-. The abbreviated  $\acute{u}$ -e-el stands there for  $\acute{u}$ -e-el-wa-aš which occurs in line 7175.

The word welwila- is attested only very few times, unfortunately always in fragmentary context. I would like first to quote the related attestations and to ponder thereafter some possibilities for determining approximate meaning of the word: in KUB 24.9+ iv 22 it seems to stand in relation to the river: [nu-ká]n ÍD-i 2 NINDA.SIGMEŠ ÍD-aš ú-e-el-ú-i-la-aš paršiya "He breaks two thin loaves to the river, (i. e.) to welwila- of the river". KUB 24.9+ iv 27f.: .... ÍD- aš [ú-e-el-ú-i-la-aš DINGIR]MEŠ šu-meš az-zi-ik-ki-ten ak-ku-uš-ki-ten ["Deities of the welwila-] of the river; eat (and) drink!". KUB 31.127 + ABoT 44 rev. iv 6-7 is too fragmentary and corrupt to gain any context, but it shows again that welwila- can designate a space or locality as it appears together with hallu-"deep, low" (an adjective used generally for the valleys and rivers?): nu (erasure) ša-a[n-... ú-i-el-w]í-la-a (erasure) i-na-na-x-x-x(erased)-pát an-da-an hal-lu-wa-i nu? ú-i-el-ú-i-li li-e. Since KBo 11.14 is very badly preserved at this point, we can also consider another optional reading for this crucial word: ú-e-el-ú-i-la-aš GUDHI.A which the collation

<sup>166</sup> See A. Unal, Review of KUB 55, BiOr (1987) 484f.

<sup>167</sup> M. Salvini-I. Wegner, Die Rituale des AZU-Priesters, ChS II/1 (1986) 73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> J. Puhvel, HED 3 (1991) 248.

<sup>169</sup> Subsumed by Puhvel, HED 3 (1991) 248ff, under hatta-

<sup>170</sup> A. Unal, Beiträge zum Fleischverbrauch in der hethitischen Küche: Philologische Anmerkungen zu einer Untersuchung von A. von den Driesch und J. Boessneck über die Tierknochenreste aus Bogazköy-Hattusa, Or 54 (1985) 431f.

<sup>171</sup> O. Carruba, Sui numerali da "1" a "5" in Anatolico e indoeuropeo, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science IV. Fs Szemerenyi (197?) 191-205; H. Eichner, Anatolian, in: J. Gvozdanovic (ed.), Indo-European Numerals, Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 57 (1992) 65 without citation of KBo 11.14 ii 15; J. Tischler, HEG III/10 (1994) s. v.

<sup>172</sup> G. Beckman, The Hittite "Ritual of the Ox" (CTH 760.1.2-3), Or 59 (1990) 38

<sup>173</sup> Das Ritual der Malli aus Arzawa gegen Behexung, TH 2 (1972) 84.

<sup>174</sup> HDW (1982) 104.

<sup>175</sup> V. Dukova's study in LingBalk 3 (1982) 39f. (cited by N. Boysan-Dietrich and M. Marazzi, Bibliographie zum hethitischen Wortschatz, AfO 32 (1985) 231) is not available to me.

makes possible, also "(untie) the cows of welwila". From these fragmentary attestations one can gain only the following possibilities:

- 1. welwila- is a noun c. of unknown meaning
- 2. It is a reduplicated form of the noun wellu- "meadow, pasture, grass" and means the same as the simple form. This would make good sense in our context and in the above mentioned passages.
  - 3. It is a reduplicated form of wilan- "mud, clay".
- 4. In connection with the river, it may have the meaning "surface" of the river.

oby. ji 16f.: la tariyantan turiya waršiyanta "untie the exhausted one and harness the fresh, robust, healthy, sleek one" is a well known magical metaphor in Hittite. The repetition of the formula three times (see obv. ii 19) is obviously intended to pacify the negative mood of the deities. Muršili ii in his prayer KUB 24.3 6f. tries to pursue the gods to ward off the plague from the Hittite countries and to transfer it to the enemy countries. He designates his countries as being "weary" and those of enemies' as being "vital", i. e., not "exhausted by plague": nu tariyandan latten waršiyandanma turiyatten "Now loose the weary, but harness the rested" 176; cf. also KUB 24.4 + KUB 30.12 obv. 24; KUB 36.83:24ff. and CHD L-N (1980-1989) 2b. KUB 12.63 + KUB 36.70 obv. 9ff. with dupl. KBo 22.118<sup>177</sup> would not change this meaning of tariyant, since we can restore the passage as kun GUD.MAḤ-an tariyandan wa[(rkantan) eppir].

oby. ii 20f.: translated by H. A. Hoffner<sup>178</sup> and G. Beckman<sup>179</sup>. For the meaning of kappi- and to the passage in general see above commentary to i 11. The graphic iš-par-ti-i-e-iz-zi, sg. 3. prs. of išpart-/išparz- "escape, get away, slip away, survive, save one's live" is attested only here; the usual orthography is iš-par-za-zi180.

oby. ii 21 DAgni: See for more details H. Otten - M. Mayrhofer 181: A. Kammenhuber<sup>182</sup>; K. K. Riemschneider<sup>183</sup>; H. M. Kümmel<sup>184</sup>; E. Laroche<sup>185</sup>.

oby, ii 22ff.: The only parallel passage to this contagious magic using wheels as a simile comes so far from KUB 36.91 (+) KUB 43.68 rev. 10-12 with its dupl, which is published now as KUB 60.156 rev. 12ff. 186: [a] p-pi-izzi-ša GIŠhu-u- ur-ki-iš ma-a-a-a[n ha-an-te-iz-zi-in] (13) [GIŠ]hu-u-ur-ki-in Ú-UL ú-e-mi-ya-az-z[i] (14) [i]-da-a-lu-uš ud-da-a-na-an-za QA-TAM-MA [EN.SISKUR li-e ú-e-mi-ya-zi] "As the rear wheel can not touch/overtake [the front] wheel, in the same way let the evil things [do not detect the client]".

obv. ii 25: For the identification of Kamrušepa with the Hattian goddess Kattahzipuri, who is closely affiliated with magical skills see E. Laroche<sup>187</sup>, A. Kammenhuber<sup>188</sup>, A. Archi<sup>189</sup>, V. Haas<sup>190</sup>, H. Klengel<sup>191</sup>, G. F. del Monte<sup>192</sup>, and F. P. Daddi-M. Polvani<sup>193</sup>; she is also borrowed into the Palaic pantheon 194

obv. ii 33f.: treated by H. Winkels 195. However, his translation of the passage is not quite correct: "Auch deshalb, weil ich eine Beschwörung durchführen werde, lasse du, Sonnengott, es (zunächst) auf sich beruhen". appan tarna- must be translated here in a different way, since its literal meaning "to let, to release, to leave behind, to leave something back, to

<sup>176</sup> O. R. Gurney. Hittite Prayers of Mursili II, LAAA 27 (1940) 28 and the discussion on pp. 99-101. 1<sup>77</sup> H. A. Hoffner, Review of KBo 22, BiOr 33 (1976) 337b.

<sup>178</sup> Alimenta Hethaeorum (1974) 134f.

<sup>179</sup> Proverbs and Proverbial Allusions in Hittite, JNES 45 (1986) 24 n. 31.

<sup>180</sup> Cf. N. Oettinger, Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbums (1979) 195; add there the following different writings is-par-za-a-i (KBo 12.38 ii 2; KBo 22.260 obv. 15); ispar-za-i (KUB 40.33 obv. 20); is-par-za-az-zi (Targ obv. 10; Kup B iii 32).

<sup>181</sup> Der Gott Akni in den hethiischen Texten und seine indoarische Herkunft, OLZ 60 (1965) 545ff.

<sup>182</sup> Die Arier im Vorderen Orient (1968) 151ff.: HW<sup>2</sup> sub Akni.

<sup>183</sup> Babylonische Geburtsomina in hethitischer Übersetzung, StBoT 9 (1970) 43ff.

<sup>184</sup> Review of Kammenhuber, Die Arier IF 75 (1970) 286-291.

<sup>185</sup> Fleuve et ordalie en Asie Mineure Hittite, Fs Otten (1973) 184 with note 17.

<sup>186</sup> Cf. H. Otten - C. Rüster, Textanschlüsse und Duplikate von Boğazköy-Tafeln. ZA 64 (1975) 243f.

<sup>187</sup> Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites. RHA VII/46 (1946-47) 28.

<sup>188</sup> Die Arier im Vorderen Orient (1968) 153.

<sup>189</sup> Kamrušepa and the Sheep of the Sun-God, Or 62 (1993) 404-409.

<sup>190</sup> Hethitische Berggötter und hurritische Steindämonen (1982) 26.

<sup>191</sup> Papaja, Katahzipuri und der eja-Baum. Erwägungen zum Verständnis von KUB LVI 17, Fs Carratelli (1988) 101K109.

<sup>192</sup> Il mitologema di Katahziwuri, Fs Meriggi (1979) 109-118.

<sup>193</sup> La mitologia ittita (1990) 179.

<sup>194</sup> S. R. Bin-Nun, The Tawananna in the Hittite Kingdom, TH 5 (1975) 41, 151.

<sup>195</sup> Das zweite Pestgebet des Mursili KUB 14.8 und Duplikate (Diss. Hamburg, 1979) 66.

return, to restore"196 denotes here a special phrase "to return something to somebody, to grant, to give, to make a concession, to restore"; it is also almost synonymous with pai- "give, grant, provide", KUB 21.27 ii 20, nu=ta [wekmi] kuit na-at-mu pai "Grant me (Sun Goddess of Arinna) whatever [I request | from you", [wek-] "request" having here the position of huek- "to attain something by means of conjuration". Approximately in this meaning appa(n) tarna- is attested in the following texts: KBo 4.10 obv. 12; KBo 5.8 iii 33; KBo 6.29 + iii 18f.; KBo 9.82 rev. 4; KBo 10.2 iii 20<sup>197</sup>; KBo 11.10 ii 9; KBo 15.25 obv. 17; KBo 17.18 iii 3; KBo 18.137:6; KBo 21.76 r. col. 11; KBo 23.57 rev. iv 14; KUB 7.1 + i 36; KUB 13.27 + KUB 23.77 obv. 31, 77, rev. 99; KUB 14.3 iv 25; KUB 14.10 + KUB 26.86 iii 18; KUB 15.34 ii 25, iv 32; KUB 18.7 rev. 8; KUB 21.15 + iv 13; KUB 28.5 (+) ii 13, 18f.; KUB 29.4 i 22; KUB 34,23 i 33; KUB 39.71 rev. 15f.; KUB 48.106:8ff.; Hatt. iv 67, 70; HBM 84 rev. l. edge 1; Hukk ii 7, 51, 68; Tunn iii 14; Vow of Puduhepa i G 13 (with negation); -kán appan tarna- has again a quite different meaning in the historical text of Šuppiluliuma ii, KBo 12.38 ii 16: here it alludes to Suppiluliuma, who, while collecting and recording the deeds of his father Tuthaliya iv, he did not omit anything: "Because I did not want to make any mistake (waksiya-), I did not miss/overlook anything (from the heroic deeds of my father)"198. The opposite of the phrase appan tarna- seems to be appa wahnu-" to return, to reject, refuse, not grant", cf. KUB 6.45 iii 37-39: nu-za ANA DINGIRMES (38) [kue AWATEMES ar] kuwar iyami (39) na[at-mu EGIR-p]a le wahnuwanzi "Do not let (them, i. e., the gods) refuse [me, whatever words] I shall put as [req]uest to the gods".

The verbal noun appa(n) tarnumar which appears almost exclusively in connection with tablets 199, is treated by I. Singer 200, who also citing different views of other scholars (Carter: "(tablet) of to be re-edited" (lit. "of re-editing"), Güterbock: "(a tablet) of leaving", i. e. "abridged or

196 For tarna- in general see now J. Boley. The Hittite Particle -z/-za (1993) 120ff.

198 KBo 12.38 ii 15f.: wa-ak-ŝi-ya-nu-un ku-it UL (16) EGIR-an-ma-kán UL tar-na-aḫ-ḫu-

200 The Hittite KI.LAM Festival, StBoT 27 (1983) 41f.

excerpted version" assumes it to be an activity of copying the text from a wooden to a clay tablet or denoting a compilation of the "first draft". The enigmatic phrase has been treated also by O. Carruba<sup>201</sup> "zurückkehren lassen", E. Neu<sup>202</sup> "Tafel des Überlassens'<sup>203</sup>, L. M. Masceroni<sup>204</sup> and approving Singer's opinion and inferring further meanings "to be left behind, to be ceded to another and higher authority", by Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate<sup>205</sup>; cf. also G. F. del Monte<sup>206</sup>. I would like to propose that DUB... appa(n) tarnumas could denote tablets which have been written down or copied kept in various archives or libraries at Hattuša or in provincial towns, thus implying "tablet(s) of returning back, handing over, delivering, transfering (to the main archive, after they have been used in the localities of the rites)". All this remains, however, conjectural, as Singer confesses.

oby, ii 36: The role of Fate Deity DGulša<sup>207</sup> is difficult to estimate in this broken context. The same graphic of  ${}^{\mathrm{D}}Gul$ -aš-ša-aš/n as here appears also in KBo 30.4 iii 8; KUB 7.41 iv 22; KUB 43.55 obv. ii 7: KUB 58.105 rev. iii? 7; VBoT 58.1 32.

rev. iii 3: Here the abstract conception tarnuwar seems to have been represented in the form of a model and materia magica made of a precious material. Thus, it represents the concretized "granting, gratification" (appa(n) tarna-) which the practitioner has been trying to acquire from the Sun God according to obv. ii 34 and rev. iii 2208. Comparable to this kind of concrete representations are the years and months made of

<sup>197</sup> For a possible equivalence of appa(n) tarna-with Akkadian sūlû (Š-stem of elû) to bring up, to donate, to present" see A. Unal, Boğazköy Kılıcınının Üzerindeki Akadca Adak Yazısı Hakkında Yeni Gözlemler, Fs N. Özgüç (1993) 729.

<sup>199</sup> Often follewed by ištarna attested as (DUB) EGIR-an/appan tarnumaš in KBo 2.7 left edge: KBo 30.15 iv? 4; KUB 2.8 vi 2; KUB 9.16 iv 11; KUB 27.68 rev. iv 1; KUB 34.126 rev. 6; KUB 41.26 + iv 28; KUB 44.18 rev. 11; KUB 44.24 vi 7; KUB 55.13 rev. 3; KUB 55.96 rev. 5; KUB 56.40 iv 15; VBoT 95 rev. [1]; IBoT 2.66 rev. 9(?); Izmir 1274 iv? 4.

 $<sup>201\,\</sup>mathrm{Das}$ Beschwörungsritual für die Göttin Wi<br/>surijanza, StBoT 2 (1968) 25.

<sup>202</sup> Studie über den Gebrauch von Genetivformen auf -uas des hethitischen Verbalsubstantivs -uar, Gedenkschrift Kronasser (1982) 131.

<sup>203</sup> According to H. Otten, Hethitische Totenrituale (1958) 50f.

<sup>204</sup> A propos d'un groupe de colophons problématique, Hethitica 5 (1093) 95ff. "(le texte, le contenu) de la moitié (est/était) à néglier".

<sup>205</sup> Brief Comments on the Hittite Cult Calender: The Main Recension of the Outline of the nuntarriyashas Festival, especially Days 8-12 and 15:22, Fs Otten<sup>2</sup> (1988) 187 note 41. 206 Review of Hethitica 5, OA 22 (1983) 320f.

<sup>207</sup> See G. Beckman, Hittite Birth Rituals, StBoT 29 (1983)241-245; O. Carruba, Das Beschwörungsritual für die Göttin Wisurijanza, StBoT 2 (1966) 34; A. Goetze, Kleinasien<sup>2</sup> (1957) 142; O. R. Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion (1977) 18; V. Haas-G. Wilhelm, Hurritische und luwische Riten aus Kizzuwatna, AOAT Sonderreihe 3 (1974) 144f.: H. Otten-J. Siegelová, Die hethitischen Guls-Gottheiten und die Erschaffung der Menschen. AfO 23 (1970) 32.38. 208 For details see above commentary on obv. ii 33f.

precious metals such as gold and silver<sup>209</sup> and soul again made of gold and silver<sup>210</sup>. The abstract conceptions "life" (TI, huišwatar)<sup>211</sup> and "well being" (SIG<sub>5</sub>) are also represented as concrete objects which can be conceived as hieroglyphic signs for "TRIANGLE" and "ANKH" respectively 212.

rev. iii 5. 7: As is noted in transliteration the reading of GISMAR in lines 5 and 7 is very uncertain. F. Josephson, who cites this passage does not attempt to read this crucial word 213. Note, however, the usage of GISMAR in a similar context in the ritual KUB 7.41 + i 4-6: karuwariwar LÚAZU É-ir haši [na-aš-kán anda] paizzi URUDUAL URUDUMAR URUDUgullubi harzi [ ] tekan URUDUAL paddai patteššar URUDUMAR-it x [ ] "Next morning the diviner opens the house [and] goes [into] (it). He holds a hoe, a spade (and) a sickle (in his hand). He digs (a hole in) the earth with the hoe. [He] e[mpties?] (the earth in) the hole with the spade"214 and in KUB 53.4 rev. 26: aški IŠTU GIŠMAR GIŠAL KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA purut [paddanzi], cf. also KUB 53.3 rev. iii 3f., v 4ff.; KUB 53.6 + iii 17f.

rev. iii 8: For tekan paddai-cf. N. Robertson<sup>215</sup>. It is attested in the following texts: tekan paddai- KBo 4.2 ii 36; KBo 10.37 ii 49; KBo 22.111 rev.? iii 3f.; KUB 12.44 iii 3, 12; KUB 39.12 rev.? 15; Mastigga ii 32, 51; daganzipan GAM-an arha paddai-: KUB 24.12 ii 4; daganzipuš-a šara paddai-: KBo 24.93 rev. iii 19; taknaz=kán kue (var. kuit) šara paddai-: KUB 58.74 obv. 22; kattanda dankui takni karuileš DINGIRMEŠ-aš paddai: KUB 31.127 + obv. ii 2. The unique writing GISte-e-kán pád-da-a-i in KUB 24.9 + ii 18 can scarcely mean "he digs (out) by means of a mattock/hoe", therefore it has to be taken as a mistake for tekan "earth".

209 KBo 17.40 i 7; KUB 58.28 iv 8; IBoT 2.1 rev. v 4 and the vows of Puduhepa CTH 583-584.

66

rev. iii 8: The pig as a sacrificial animal has a preeminent function in this and in some other rituals. First of all it seems to have been especially preferred by the gods of the underworld, since obviously on account of the tenderness of its meat and abundance of its blood it often appears in conjurations for the Underworld deities. It is attested with the verbs ed- "to eat" KBo 10.16 iv Iff.; KUB 17.28 i 2-3; haš-"to open"216 KUB 44.57:5; as in Hantitaššu- ritual hatta- "to cut open, pierce, stab, slash, to strike down" KUB 17.28 i 6; kuen- "to kill" KBo 2.3 ii 3ff. with dupl. KUB 15.39 + ii; KUB 43.56 rev. iii 11f.; kuer- "to cut" KUB 7.54 ii 20ff.; KUB 17.28 iv 47; šipant-"to consecrate" KBo 10.37 iv 32; zanu- "to cook" KUB 17.28 i 16. Its relation to the "inner chamber" is also evident from KUB 17.28 i 22ff.: ŠAH.TUR-an daḥḥi na-an É.ŠÀ-na anda pedaḥḥi "I take the piglet and bring it into the inner chamber". While in our passage its blood will be poured down into the sacrificial pit, in KUB 43.56 rev. iii 11ff. they pour the blood of a pig into a thin bread (a sort of unleavened bread in thin sheets like Turkish yufka) and place it in front of the deity: našta ŠAH para pedanzi na-an-kán kunanzi nu ešhani kattan NINDA.SIG kattan appanzi natšan PANI DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> EGIR-pa tianzi ŠAḤ-ma eššanzi [na]-an-kán pittalwan markanzi, "They bring out the pig and slaughter it. (To catch the blood) they place underneath (its) blood a and put it in front of the deity. The pig itself (ma) they prepare (i. e. butcher for cooking) and butcher it 'plain' 217. The offering list to the deceased kings KUB 10.11 vi 5-6, 16 gives the only parallel for "catching the blood of sheep below": (5) nu UDUHLA-aš e-eš-liani kat-ta-an (6) ap-pi-iš-ki-iz-zi nu ZAG.GAR.RA-ni (7) e-eš-ljar pi-ra-an ši-paan-za-ki-iz-zi, cf. vi 15ff. concerning the blood of bulls. According to KUB 36.83 i 3ff. the pig is slaughtered into a sacrificial pit, which must than be bridged over to allow the offerant to stand over the carcass, J. Puhvel<sup>218</sup>: ...kán paddan nu-kán ŠAH-an (4) [GÍRHIA]-ŠU išhiyanzi na-an-kán pattešni kattanta (5) [tia]nzi namma=šši šuppiyanni handa šer tiyaizzi. The binding the legs of the sacrificial piglet before slaughtering it has its closest parallels in the Islamic sacrificial rites. According to KBo 10.16 iv 5ff. the meat of the piglet has been eaten up in connection with a cultic cereinony in front of the door bolt: nu ŠAH.TUR NINDA x[.... GIŠ ha] talwaš-pát piran arha adan[zi ....]  $[^{UZU}ha]piššara$  kuit ašzi na-at-šan AN[A ... I]ahuwanzi. On the importance of pigs in Hittite economy, husbandry and cuisine see A.

<sup>210</sup> Made of gold: KUB 55.54 iii 6, iv 13; KUB 39.17 rev. iv 6; KUB 15.11 obv. ii 22; KUB 15.18 obv. ii 6; KUB 15.19 obv.? 13; Bo 2738 i 18 and made of silver: KUB 7.37:7; KUB 15.1 ii 12, iii 3; KUB 15.15 rev. 7, see the details in A. Unal, Review of KUB 55, BiOr 44 (1987) 485f.

<sup>211</sup> The Luwian hieroglyphic equivalence of TI or ZI may be atari- "form, figure, soul", see J. D. Hawkins, More Late Hittite Funerary Monuments Fs Özgüç (1989) 190 with note 196f.; N. Bolati-Guzzo, Review of R. Werner, Kleine Einführung ins Hieroglyphen-Luwische, Or 63 (1994) 289.

<sup>212</sup> Unal, loc. cit.

<sup>213</sup> The Function of the Sentence Particles in Old and Middle Hittite (1972) 333.

<sup>214</sup> See L. Jakob-Rost, Das Ritual der Malli aus Arzawa gegen Behexung, TH 2 (1972)

<sup>215</sup> Hittite Ritual at Sardis, Classical Antiquity 1 (1982) 127.

<sup>216</sup> Probably "to open up (the stomach), to gut".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> See CHD L-N (1980-1989) 188.

<sup>218</sup> Review of A. Kammenhuber, HW<sup>2</sup>, JAOS 103 (1983) 479.

Ünal<sup>219</sup>; attestations of pig in the recently published KUB and KBo volumes are collected by Rukiye Doğan<sup>220</sup>.

rev. iii 9: For hattessar and api- "sacrificial pit" see M. Vieyra<sup>221</sup>; H. A. Hoffner<sup>222</sup>; D. I. McCarthy<sup>223</sup>; A. Unal<sup>224</sup>. The api-will be opened by means of a GISAL (hitt. tekan) "mattock, hoe". The verb used for this action in KUB 15.31 obv. ii 6ff. with par. KUB 15.32 obv. ii 1ff. is kinu- "to break open" (not paddai- "to dig (out)" as here), and this might indicate that the Hittite api-'s were dug not in the loose earth like the other sacrificial pits and holes, but into a resistant surface like stone or rock. In this connection it is important to mention the so-called 'cup holes' (Schalenfelsen) scattered all over Hattuša and in the close proximity of the Hittite rock monuments in other regions for which no reasonable explanation has been found so far<sup>225</sup>. A very illustrative archaeological sample of a sacrificial pit has recently been unearthed not far from Nisantepe at Boğazköy; it is 2.5 in. deep and measures 2x2 m. in dimentions. Its determination as sacrificial pit is secured by a whetstone and two bronze axes en miniature lying nearby beneath the alluvial level inside the pit<sup>226</sup>.

rev. iii 11 ti(t)tiva-: I would like here to give my own comments on and understanding of this crucial word which has already been discussed

219 Beiträge zum Fleischverbrauch in der hethitischen Küche: Philologische Anmerkungen zu einer Untersuchung von A. von den Driesch und J. Boessneck über die Tierknochenreste aus Bogazköy-Hattusa, Or 54 (1985) 429 with note 59.

220 Boğazköv Metinlerinde Geçen Bazı Hayvan İsimleri, in: Anadolu Medeniyetleri

Müzesi 1989 Yıllığı (1990) 47ff. 221 RHA 69 (1961) 47ff.

222 Second Millennium, Antecedents to the Hebrew 'ob, JBL 86 (1967) 385ff.

223 The Symbolism of Blood and Sacrifice, IBL 88 (1969) 166ff.; idem, Further Notes

on the Symbolism of Blood and Sacrifice, IBL 92 (1973) 205ff.

<sup>225</sup> P. Neve, Schalensteine und Schalenfelsen in Bogazköy-Hattusa, IM 27/28

(1977/78) 61-72.

on various occasions by many Hittitologists. Starting from the context and from the etymological point of view, I tried many years ago to combine this word with the verb tittai- "säugen, stillen" (to give milk, suckle, nourish) (see immediately below) and with its Luwian participle form titai(m)mi-"nourrison"<sup>227</sup>, i. e., "suckled, sucking". Even though the double writing of the tenuis -t- remains without any explanation<sup>228</sup>, the only reasonable solution to explain the origin of ti(t)tai is combining it with a denominative derivative of (UZU) titan- "weibliche Brust, Zitze, Euter" (engl. "teat, tit") <sup>229</sup>; see J. Friedrich<sup>230</sup>; A. Goetze<sup>231</sup>; W. C. Carter<sup>232</sup>; V. Pisani<sup>233</sup>; H. G. Güterbock<sup>234</sup>; D. M. Weeks<sup>235</sup> considering also the Lycian cognate tideimi- "son" with this word; see also F. Starke<sup>236</sup>. tita- is the Luvio-Hittite equivalence of the logogram (UZU) UBUR; see Friedrich<sup>237</sup>; E. Laroche<sup>238</sup>; A. Goetze<sup>239</sup>. tita-, teda-, teta(n)- is well attested in the following texts:

HT 6 + KBo 9.125 rev. i 23 (tita-) with its dupl. KUB 35.149 obv. i 10 (UZU tidan) (the text shows that a newly born puppy instinctively is able to locate the breast of its mother); KUB 4.1 iv 29 (attesting the breast of a sheep, UDU-aš tetan); KBo 14.98 obv. i 16 (teta(n), for context see immediately below); KUB 35.2 ii 14, iii 1; KBo 29.3 (+) 4 i 6 (UDU.GANAM titant[an], "a suckling sheep"); KUB 43.52 + KUB 60.17 + KBo 22.145 + 128 + 350/z iii 11 (ti-i-ta-an in opposite to te-ta-nu-uš "hairs" in the same line); KUB 35.102 iii 6, iv 5; te-e-da in KBo 3.34 i 23 is obscure.

229 On titan-see E. Laroche, Review of KBo 9, OLZ (1959) 275f, and J. Tischler, op. cit. 3ff. 230 HW 2. Erg. 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> Beiträge zum Fleischverbrauch in der hethitischen Küche: Philologische Anmerkungen zu einer Untersuchung von A. von den Driesch und J. Boessneck über die Tierknochenreste aus Boğazköy-Hattuša, Or 54 (1985) 432 with note 96; idem, Boğazköy Metinlerinin Işığı Altında Hititler Devri Anadolu'sunda Filolojik ve Arkeolojik Veriler Arasındaki İlişkilerden örnekler, in: 1992 Yılı Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi Konferansları (1993) 23 and note 43; idem, Review of M. Hutter, Entsühnung und Heilung, AfO 40-41 (1993/1994) 123f.

According to a suggestion of *İnci Bayburtluoğlu* apud P. Neve, Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköv-Hattusa 1991. AA (1992) 316ff. und Abb. 11. 13: idem. Hattusa- Stadt der Götter und Tempel. Neue Ausgrabungen in der Hauptstadt der Hethiter, Die Antike Welt, Sondernummer (1992) 52 and Abb. 142; A. Unal, AfO 40-41 (1993/1994) 123f.

<sup>227</sup> E. Laroche, DLL (1959) 98 and C. Melchert, Cuneiform Luwian Lexicon (1993)

<sup>228</sup> See now Tischler. HEG III/10 (1994) 343 in regard to tiskizzi: "Diese kanıı- trotz der Doppelschreibung des inlautenden Dentals, die sich beim Grundwort nie findet, - als 3. Sg. Prs. des sk-Form \*titiya-"säugen, stillen" interpretiert werden", citing also Goetze, JCS 18 (1964) 83; Eichner, Lautgeschichte und Etymologie (1980) 160 aud Oettinger, 1BS-V 37

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup> Review of KUB 39, JCS 18 (1964) 93.

<sup>232</sup> Hittite Cult-Inventories (1963) 178 s. v. annis. 233 Questioni ittite, Athenaeum 47 (1969) 270f.

<sup>234</sup> Hethitische Götterbilder und Kultobjekte. Fs Bittel (1983) 213 with note 73.

<sup>235</sup> Hittite Vocabulary: An Anatolian Appendix to Buck's "Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages" (Ph. D. University of California 1985)

<sup>31. 87.</sup> 236 Untersuchungen zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens, StBoT 31 (1990) 229f. 237 HW 3. Erg. 39.

<sup>238</sup> Review of KBo 11, OLZ (1963) 246.

<sup>239</sup> Review of KBo 11. JCS 17 (1963) 61.

My basic argument for combining (UZU) teta(n)- with ti(t) tai- is because of etymological considerations, i. e. eng. "teat", germ. "Zitze" etc. Moreover, the sg. nom.-acc. neuter participial adjective form tittiyan, mentioned in Hantitaššu- ritual in the same context immediately following a piglet (ŠAH.TUR) (A rev. iii 8, 11), can be taken as the syllabic writing of ŠAH.TUR<sup>240</sup>, i. e., a "piglet which is suckled, given breast, nursed, suckling pig", ger. "Spanferkel", "Span" here meaning exactly the same like its middle high German form spen, spune "teat"<sup>241</sup>.

In view of all attestations of the word in question I communicated to I. Hoffmann the basic meaning of tittiyant- as "gesäugt, genährt, versorgt" 242. The word has so far been evaluated and translated differently by many scholars: Friedrich 243 "united, joined, associated"; idem, Die hethitischen Gesetze (1959) 97 (citing also F. Sommer, HAB p. 121) "associated with, assigned to "244; N. van Brock 245 takes it as reduplication of dai- "réunir, adjoindre(?)"; H. A. Hoffner 246 combines it with the verb dai- "put, place, install"; A. Goetze 247 translates "assigned (in his stead)"; G. E. Gertz 248 translates "assigned(?)"; J. Tischler 249 "einsetzen, anlegen"; see also I. Hoffmaun 250.

In the following I will try to peruse anew all attestations of this word and venture again to find out its basic meaning. In doing so we will see that with the exception of Laws §§ 40-41 all the attestations support the primary meaning "to breast-feed, to nurse, to feed, to put someone to the breast, to take to the bosom, to embrace, to cherish." and euphemistically "to be fond

of someone, to fondle, to care, to be concerned about someone, to show one's compassion, tender, kindness":

Tel. i 12, 20: URUDIDLLHIA GAL.GAL. tittiyantes esir "The big cities have been taken care of by him" (lit. "were nursed, breast-fed") (var. adds "in his hand", i.e. "in his custody").

KBo 14.98 i 16f.: ... GÙB-lan teta-šet ... DUMU.SAL tittiškizzi "On her left breast .... the daughter is sucking".

KBo 10.37 ii 42: ... nu-za AMAR-ŠU ti-i[t-ti-ya-... "It su[ckles] its calf".

KBo 22.107 i 13: tittiyanna paḥḥur ḥu[ekmi] "And [I will con]jure the suckling/blazing fire/flame(?)"<sup>251</sup>.

KUB 57.35 rev. iii 3f. ..... ANA LUGAL SAL.LUGAL (4) tittiyanta (context is broken).

KUB 42.100 iii 34f.: nu-wa-mu UNUTE<sup>MEŠ</sup> (35) kue EGIR-pa maniyaḥḥir nu-war-at tittiyan "The utensils which they have entrusted to me have been taken care of well".

KUB 15.11 ii 31: tittiyanzi (in broken context).

KBo 16.97 obv. 42: ZAG-az GÙB-lazziya tittianza "It is suckled with right and left (breast)?" (oracular context is not clear), similarly rev. 45.

Laws 40, 41:  $^{\text{L\'U}}$ ILKI tittiyanza "(If an artisan is dead and) ILKI man is supplied (to take care of his duties).

KUB 13.4 i 33: man-aš aki-ya kuwapi na-aš UL 1-aš aki MÁŠ-ŠU-ma- ši tittiyan-pát "If he is executed, he does not die alone. His clan (members) are put beside him (put to his breast)", i. e., as a result of collective penalty they must be executed all together.

KUB 8.14 rev. 8f. GIŚ]MAR.GÍD.DA-aš tittiyanda[(-) is an astronomical designation for the Big Dipper (Großer Bär, großer Wagen). It seems that the following word tittiyant- designates here a constellation of stars, "the suckling (baby) of the Big Dipper" which could only mean the Little Dipper as "infant" of the Big Dipper<sup>252</sup>.

252 Cf. also ti-it-ti-ya-an-ta-an in fragmentary context in KUB 51.53 rev. right col. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> Note that ŠAḤ.TUR is a a-stem in Hittite. cf. *H. Ertem*, Boğazköy Metinlerine Göre Hittiler Devri Anadolu'sunun Faunası (1965) 72ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> Kluge, Deutsches etymologisches Wörterbuch (1960) 719; T. V. Gamkrelidze-V. V. Ivanov, Indo-European and Indo-Europeans (1995) 508f. with note 68 do not consider this reading of ŠAH.TUR, instead they reconstruct the Indo-European word for "piglet" \*p"erk"-"spotted".

<sup>242</sup> Der Erlaß Telipinus, TH 11 (1984) 15 with note 1.

<sup>243</sup> HW 225.

<sup>244</sup> Friedrich, HW 3. Erg. 33 changed his translation and took two entities under tittiva-1) "einsetzen; (Stadt) anlegen" (nicht "vereinigen(?), beigesellen(?)"; 2) "säugen".

<sup>245</sup> Les thèmes verbaux à redoublement du hittite et le verb indo-européen, RHA 22/75 (1964) 142ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> Hittite Laws (1965) 206f.

<sup>247</sup> ANET (1969) 190f.

<sup>248</sup> The Nominative Accusative Neuter Plural in Anatolian (Ph. D. 1982), 79, 151.

<sup>249</sup> HEG III/10 (1994) 390.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> Hethitisch titisalli- "Säugling, Kleinkind", KZ 98 (1985) 208f.

<sup>251</sup> The context is fragmentary and ambigious; "[I will con] jure the 'suckling' and the fire" is also possible.

73

rev. iii 11ff.: To conjure up the gods and demons of the underworld, different ingredients and dainties shall be placed into the sacrificial pit into which a piglet has previously been slaughtered; cf. KBo 11.17 obv. i 2ff., ii 12f. and KBo 17.94 rev. iii 24 where ingredients such as beer, wine, refined oil, fat bread, sweet bread, tarna-, flour and honey will be additionally placed down into the pit.

rev. iii 12ff. Transliterated and translated by H. A. Hoffner<sup>253</sup> in a slightly different way.

rev. iii 14. 18: For the karuiles DINGIRMES, akk. DA.NUN.NA.KEa. sum. LIBIR.RA "former, ancient, antique deities" see E. Laroche<sup>254</sup>: V. Haas-G. Wilhelm<sup>255</sup>; V. Haas<sup>256</sup>; A. Archi<sup>257</sup>.

rev. iii 20ff.: In opposite to the roof (above 38f.) as ritual locality in dealing with the Sungod of Heaven the door bolt appears here as focal place in bartering with the deitie of the Netherworld. Many details about the construction of the Hittite door and gate alongside their essential components belong still to the moot points of Hittite architecture. From the archaeological point of view see R. Naumann<sup>258</sup>; P. Neve<sup>259</sup>; K. Bittel<sup>260</sup>: M. Chighine et al.<sup>261</sup>: M. Darga<sup>262</sup>; for philological data cf. N. Boysan-Dietrich<sup>263</sup>. In studying the structure of the Hittite door it is wise to compare it with its Mesopotamian counterparts which archaeologically and philologically are documented better<sup>264</sup>.

The remains of signs in iii 25 resist, unfortunately, all attempts at a convincing reading. I have already explained my reasons for this suggested

<sup>253</sup> Alimenta Hethaeorum (1974) 73.

<sup>255</sup> Hurritische und luwische Riten aus Kizzuwatna, AOAT 3 (1974) 50ff.

256 Heth. Berggötter (1982) 32.

258 Architektur Kleinasiens<sup>2</sup> (1971) 160ff. 259 Būyükkale. Die Bauwerke (1982) 49ff.

260 Hattuscha. Hauptstadt der Hethiter (1983) 65ff.

263 Das hethitische Lehmhaus aus der Sicht der Keilschriftquellen, TH 12 (1987)

106ff.
264 See most recently O. Aurenche, La maison orientale i (1981); M. S. Damerji, Die Tür nach Darstellungen in der altmesopotamischen Bildkunst, BM 22 (1991); G. A. Leick, Dictionary of Ancient Near Eastern Architecture (1988); M. Krafeld-Daugherty, Wohnen im Alten Orient. Untersuchung zur Verwendung von Raumen in altorientalischen Wohnhäusern (1994).

reading above(p. 23 note) and below. The reader will see there that I am inclined not to follow the restoration given by N. Boysan-Dietrich<sup>265</sup> in iii 25 as URUDU![za-a] k-ki-in-na-pa [kar-ap-ši nu? GISIG], simply because it would require too many farfetched emendations, although from the contextual point of view zakki- would fit here flawlessly. M. Popko's reading<sup>266</sup> differs also, but he has at least a better starting-point for the restoration of this corrupt line. V. Haas paraphrasing the passage obviously has zakki- in mind as well: "Während des Rituals der 'Hantidaššu aus Hurma salbt die Beschwörerin das Riegelholz auf, die Tür zu öffnen; wahrscheinlich deshalb, daβ das Böse aus dem Haus gelangen kann", adds, however, that the given interpretation is controversial<sup>267</sup>.

The terms pertaining to the doors and gates, such as GIS arasa-/asara-"Innentor?", GIŚ hakkunai- "Drehpfanne", GIŚ hattalu- (GIŚSAG.KUL), GIŚ) gala(m)ma-, Ékaškaštipa- "Torbau", GIŚkattaluzzi- "Schwelle", wawarkima-"Türangel", (GIŠ/URŪDU) zakki- "Riegel, Schlüssel", GIŚIG "Türflügel", etc. do not help to read and restore the missing word ak[-..]-x-ki- na-pa in iii 25 which doubtlessly represents a device to open and close the door.

Without further discussion, I would like here to make the following observations: First of all ak[ki] ški as a possible Hittite reading of  $G^{(2)}$ "Türflügel", can be mooted, if, of course, my above reading is correct. It is important to to observe that GIS tarzu- must be understood as a "door-post" and KUŠšala-, usually interpreted as part of harness, as a "hinge", i. e., a leather strip which helps the door-post turn axially. The significant evidence for the interpretation of the last two words comes from KUB 27.67 ii 9ff. which reads: nu išnaš purpureš hurtallienzi (10) 1 GISBAN ezzaš nu-šan <sup>SiG</sup>ištaggaš huittiyanza (11) 3 GI<sup>HLA</sup> ezzaš piran-a-šan išnaš purpurcš (12) GIS hattalu GIS! tarzuwan piran-ma-šan (13) KUS šalaš haminkanza nu-šan ki (14) human Glpaddani dai "They mix the balls of dough. (There is) one bow of straw; one bow string (which) is strung, three arrows of straw, in front of them there are balls of dough. A bolt (and) door-post, in front a leather hinge is attached (to it)". (All these things are lying in a sieve). N. Boysan-Dietrich<sup>268</sup> reads ii 13 kuš-ša-la-a-aš and relates it to kuššalai-, a verb of unknown meaning<sup>269</sup>. This combination seems, however, to be unlikely,

<sup>254</sup> Les dénominations de dieux "antiques" dans les textes hittites, Fs Güterbock (1974) 175ff.

<sup>257</sup> The Names of Primeval Gods, Or. 59 (1990) 114ff.

<sup>261</sup> Controllo e Sicurezza delle Porte di Arslantepe con Sistemi Moderni, Fs Puglisi (1985) 237ff. <sup>262</sup> Hitit Mimarlığı I (1985) 130ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>265</sup> op. cit. p. 136.

<sup>266</sup> Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion (1974) 72 note 18.

<sup>267</sup> Geschichte der heth. Religion (1994) 280 with note 221. 268 Das hethitische Lehmhaus. TH 12 (1987) 138f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>269</sup> J. Tischler, HEG 1983, s. v. kussalai- p. 669f.

since the word is never written with CVC sign KUŠ, but always in broken writing ku-us-...

In general it is accepted that the Hittite reading of GISSAG.KUL is GIS hattalu-270 KBo 13.109 iii 6-8, however, contradicts this equation, since GIS hattalu-appears there as an architectural device which serves to open the GISSAG.KUL: (6) .... GIS hattalwanza GIM-an (7) GISSAG.KUL EGIR-pa nannai (8) GISIG-ya EGIR-pa heškizzi "Just as the door-bolt (hattalu-) pulls the lock (GISSAG.KUL) and (thus) opens the door". For haš-"to open" with particle -(a)pa see A. Kammenhuber<sup>271</sup>; haš with -(a)pa must be added to the list of verbs in F. Josephson's study<sup>272</sup>.

rev. iii 28-31 are treated by H. A. Hoffner<sup>273</sup>.

rev. iii 28: In spite of the paragraph divider at the end of line 27 the appeal to the door-bolt continues here. uwate sg. imp. 2. of uwate- "to bring, to fetch up (the deities)" seems the only possible reading here, not ú-wa-te-e[n, pl. imp. 2. of uwa- "come!". For similar context in other texts see KBo 20.82 obv. ii 29; KUB 12.60 i 10; KUB 35.5 ii 9; VBoT 58 i 21, 26.

rev. iii 28-29: For -za apiya da- see in a similar context KBo 4.2 ii 34: nu-war-at- za apiya dandu " (Fodder for the horses, morsels of food for the dogs we brought). Let them (now) take (from) them for themselves!".

rev. iii 33f.: hapešnaza ... kuer- is attested similarly in KUB 58.43 vi 2: UZU happešnaza kur-aš-kán-zi. kuer- "to cut" affords usually an acc. object: KUB 31.68:13: SAG.DU-an kuer-; KUB 25.12 vi 15: GUD.MAHHI.A kuer-; KUB 20.90 iii 12 UZUNÍG.GIG kuer-; KBo 23.8 obv. 13; VBoT 24 i 33: UR.TUR arha kuer-; KBo 24.3 + 2000/u i 9, 13: EME-an kuer-. According to KBo 13.101 obv. i 13f. (with dupl. KUB 57.61:4-5) they cut off meat (arha kuer-) from 9 limbs of a sacrificial animal and make shish kabab, skewering (iškarant-)<sup>274</sup> the chopped pieces of meat on a spit. See also KUB 56.36 obv. 5f.: humandaza UZUÚR-za (6) UZUÌ tepu danzi; KUB 55.20 + KUB 9.4 + iii 16: IŠTU 12 UZUÚR-HI.A-aš karš-, similarly KUB 9.34 iii 47.

rev. iv 1: The appearance of the king in this version of the ritual (KUB 43.57) is very significant. He is here the patient, i. e. he replaces the EN.SISKUR. He appears again in iv 13 instead of EN.SISKUR. It is unfortunate that the name of the king is not known to us. The exclusion of the king in iv 18-22 where he is no longer concerned in the ritual, because the ritual expert enacts the rest of the ritual in a place other than the palace as royal residence, provides additional proof that KUB 43.57 was performed for the benefit of a king or kings in general.

iv 2-3 and 4-6: Treated in CHD L-N (1980-1989) 360a.

iv 5-6, 13: -za-(šan) hukanta nai-here and possibly also in iv 22 (see the note to this line) is a unique expression and difficult to interpret. While the meaning of nai- is very well established 275 hukanta remains enigmatic. It is pl. nom. acc. neuter of either huck- "to slaughter, to kill" or huek- "to conjure, to exorcise". A rapid check of the attestations of huck-276 shows that the plene writings with hu-u-k mostly denote to huek-"slaughter", i. e., hu-u-uk-zi, hu-u-kán-zi, hu-u- ga-an-zi, hu-u-ga-an-na, hu-ukán-ta, hu-u-kán-du-uš, hu-u-ki-eš-ni. While the majority of attestations are written hu-u-kán-zi, exceptions appear as hu-kán-zi in the following texts: KBo 2.12 ii 34; KBo 3.63 ii 3; KBo 7.38 left col. 6; KBo 8.85 obv.? 6; KBo 11.10 iii 34; KBo 11.29 rev. 3, 6; KBo 12.106 + ii 10 (or to "conjure"?); KBo 15.33 + 35 iii 13; KBo 16.68 i 6, 12, ii 5, 17, 29; KBo 16.71 + i 10; KBo 16.80 ii 2; KBo 17.59 obv. 1; KBo 17.105 iii 28; KBo 20.58:14; KBo 29.137:7, 8 (or to "conjure'?); KBo 20.72 + rev. iii 20; KBo 25.99 rev.? 3; KBo 30.19 obv. 2, 8; KUB 17.35 i 7, 20, iii 4, 29, iv 9, 20, 28; KUB 20.31:4; KUB 30.19 + i 24; KUB 44.21 ii 4, iii 2; KUB 51.1 + ii 18; KUB 55.28 ii 3; KUB 56.48 iv 8; KUB 58.61 i 16; VBoT 24 ii 36; IBoT 2.63 v 9; Tunn i 57, 61, ii 54; Bo 3478 (+) 368/v line 5; Bo 5478 i 4; Bo 6210 obv.? 6.

For determining the exact meaning of hukanta, it is of importance to note that it always stands in close proximity to sacrificial animals such as sheep and cows. In the parallel text of Hantitassu ritual KUB 57.79 iv 5, 26f., hukanta seems to be represented by sinews of a bull (GUD.MAH-assuzuSA) which are shrouded (anda šikuwai-s. below p. 92 note 45) in a bloody or red ox hide. It therefore must have the meaning of "the

<sup>270</sup> J. Puhvel, HED 3 (1991) 257f.

<sup>271</sup> HW<sup>2</sup> Lfg. 2 (1977) 128a.

<sup>272</sup> Function of Sentence Particles (1972) 332f.

<sup>273</sup> Second Millennium. Antecedents to the Hebrew 'ob, JBL 86 (1967) 390f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>274</sup> In CHD P (1994) 10 no meaning assigned to *iskaranta*: ".... and make it into *isgaranta*". The word is certainly part. pl. neutr. of the well known verb *iskar*- "sting, prick, stab, pierce, impale, skewer, fasten, attach, hew, cling, stud", see J. Puhvel, HED 1-2 (1984) 417f., citing olso in similar context KBo 11.45 iv 9-10 "[Meats] which are stuck on the staff".

<sup>275</sup> CHD L-N (1980-1989) 347ff., 4 (1989) 353ff.; *J. Boley*, The Hittite Particle -7/-7a (1993) 132ff.

<sup>276</sup> See now J. Puhvel, HED 3 (1991) 323ff, without consideration of the attestations in the Hantitasssu ritual.

slaughtered things", not "the conjured things" (thus translated as "conjured things of the living" in CHD L-N, 1980-1989, 360a)<sup>277</sup>. In this meaning the word appears in the following texts: KBo 21.86 ii 16; KUB 7.1 + KBo 3.8 oby. ii 13 with par. KBo 22.145 oby. ii 5; KUB 10.1 vi 1; KUB 25.27 ii 22f.; KUB 55.28 ii 12<sup>278</sup>; KUB 57.79 iv 26, 35 (see below); IBoT 2.126 + i 9; KBo 20.11 obv. ii 7 is too fragmentary to yield any context: x-an- kán namma huga-a-an-ta-an. hu-u-kán-na-aš and hu-u-ga-an-na-aš MUŠENHI.A in KUB 16.47:12 and KUB 18.12 i 7 etc. is possibly cognate to huek- "to slaughter" and means "birds of/for/to slaughter", cf. A. Unal279. I would like to cite liere only a few typical passages for the meaning of huek-"to slaughter, to strike": : KUB 25.27 ii 22f., ... 1 GUD.MAH 5 UDU IŠTU KI.LAM hu-u-kándu-uš p[ian]zi "They d[eliver] from the market one bull (and) five sheep (which) are slaughtered". Cf. also Bo 5478 i 4: nu hukanzi 1 GUD 20 UDUHLA ma[n] hu-ga-an-tu-uš šipanti "They slaughter one bull (and) 20 sheep. Wh[en] they offer (the animals which) have been slaughtered". The part. pl. nom.-acc. neutr. hukanta can be compared with kuran "animals" or "their members which have been cut", from many attestations here only some texts: KUB 11.24 i 2, 6, 11 and passim; KUB 20.59 iv 22, iv 19; KUB 58.3 iii 17ff.; KUB 58.33 iv 16; HT 51 obv. 6; KBo 30.125 rev. 6 and passim; IBoT 1.23 rev. iii 4 and passim. Similarly cf. the part. forms of hatta- "to hit, slash, stab, pierce" in KBo 22.193 r. col. 9; KBo 25.29 ii? 6; KUB 12.26 iii 4; KUB 29.7 obv. 1, 13, 38 and passim and substantivized participle n.-acc. neutr. pl. pakkuššuwanda "cracked(?) grain, grits(?)" from pakkuš- "to pound, crack" KUB 9.6 i 1f., see CHD P (1994) 59.

What can be the exact magical or medical connotation of "turning, swinging" or "hanging around one's neck"? Is it possible that some of the viscera or the limbs of the piglet have been prepared as a pulp which is then applied as a cauterization or poultice to the neck of the ailing patient? If this is the case, the patient, i. e. here the king, would have been suffering from a disease which would be bothering him at his neck, shoulder or in his throat. Supporting this view, note that the "slaughtered" pieces have been regarded as ritual residuals which according to rev. iv 13ff. have been

removed and concealed in a chest after they have allegedly absorbed or healed the sickness of the king and thus became impure and contaminated (see commentary on rev. iv 15).

rev. iv 7: The phrase LUGAL-i arkuwai- is not attested elsewhere. For arkuwai- see E. Laroche<sup>280</sup> and A. Kammenhuber<sup>281</sup>.

rev. iv 8: para uwa- with local particle -kán (as here) and -ašta "to come out (of a building/room), to exit" indicates that the king and the ritual expert have been carrying out this part of the ritual in a building which can only be identical with the palace mentioned in rev. iv 19.

rev. iv 9; kuwatta- can possibly refer to kuwatta(n) "where, whither"; the plene writing ku-wa-a-ta-an-za in the duplicate A iv 9 would not be an obstacle for the identity of the word, because similar plene writings of the cognate kwa- are attested many times: ku-wa-a-ti-in, cited by J. Tischler<sup>282</sup>; ku-wa-a-at, KBo 8.42 obv.? ii 11; KUB 60.131:4; ku-wa-a-pi, KBo 15.10 ii 13, iii 47; KBo 16.50 obv. 10; KUB 7.48 obv. 13; KUB 33.60 rev. 4; Maštigga iv 35; ku-wa-a-pi-ik-ki, KBo 17.1 iv 13; ku-wa-a-pi-ki, KBo 17.3 + rev. iv 9; ku-wa-a-pi-it-ta, KBo 7.14 rev. 7; KBo 17.1 iv 17; KBo 20.31 obv. 14; KBo 25.31 iii 10; KUB 39.64:4. The word does not seem to be related to Luwian <a href="kuwayat(i)-"fear, anxiety", E. Laroche<sup>283</sup>; J. Friedrich<sup>284</sup>; Tischler<sup>285</sup>, and <a href="kuwayat">kuwayat(i)-"fear, anxiety", E. Laroche<sup>283</sup>; J. Friedrich<sup>284</sup>; Tischler<sup>285</sup>, and <a href="kuwayat">kuwayat(i)-"fear, anxiety", E. Laroche<sup>283</sup>; J. Friedrich<sup>284</sup>; Tischler<sup>285</sup>, and <a href="kuwayat">kuwayat(i)-"fear, anxiety", E. Laroche<sup>283</sup>; J. Friedrich<sup>284</sup>; Tischler<sup>285</sup>, and <a href="kuwayat">kuwayat-"to fear"</a>.

#### rev. iv 11: arha ed-see Kammenhuber<sup>286</sup>

rev. iv 15: The contaminated ritual residuals are usually buried in the earth: GIŠPIŠAN as a receptacle for these ritual remnants (here probably hukanta "slaughtered corpse of the piglet" used probably here as a medication, see above commentary on rev. iv 5-6) appears for the first time in this text. For other ways of removing ritual residuals see in details D. P. Wright<sup>287</sup> and V. Haas<sup>288</sup>.

<sup>277</sup> See now correctly J. Boley, The Hittite Particle -z/-za (1993) 134 translating "as you 'turned' on yourself the killed offerings of living things on the ninth day, let all the gods call you!"

<sup>278</sup> A. Unal, Hittite Architect and a Rope-Climbing Ritual, Belleten 205 (1988) 1476, 1478.

<sup>1478.</sup> 279 Zum Status der 'augures' bei den Hethitern, RHA 31 (1973) 45.

<sup>280</sup> La prière hittite: vocabulaire et typologie, Annuaire École Pratique (1964-65) 13ff.

<sup>281</sup> HW<sup>2</sup> Lfg. 4 (1979) 309ff. 282 HEG 4 (1983) 698.

<sup>283</sup> DLL (1959) 58f.

<sup>284</sup> HW<sup>2</sup>. Erg. (1961) 16.

<sup>285</sup> op. cit. p. 685.

<sup>286</sup> HW<sup>2</sup> Lfg. 9-10 (1988) 135.

<sup>287</sup> Disposal of Impurity in the Priestly Writings; Ph. D. University of California, Berkeley (1984).

<sup>288</sup> Ein hurritischer Blutritus und die Deponierung der Ritualrückstände nach hethitischen Quellen, in: B. Janowski et al. (eds), Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen

rev. iv 16, 17: kinu- "to break open" and ninink- "to disturb" in its exaggerated meaning "to break open violently, to sunder" are used in this text as quasi synonyms, see above p. 25 note 122, 35. kinu- is written with the initial sign gi- in the following texts: KBo 2.7 rev. 16; KBo 10.45 iii 22 (=kinu-, KUB 7.41 iii 13); KBo 13.192 obv. 10; KBo 21.22 obv. 49; KBo 24.55:6; KBo 26.182 i 5; KBo 26.202:2; KBo 26.214:12; KUB 1.17 iv 57; KUB 13.9 iii 11; KUB 13.32 obv. 9; KUB 25.23 i 39, ii 16, iv 8, 38; KUB 57.79 iv 38; KUB 57.97 i 16; Bo 4876:10 (= kinu-, KUB 9.22 ii 49). For the disposal of ritual residuals and impure objects in general see D. P. Wright<sup>289</sup>.

rev. iv 20: LUGAL-uš=a UL tiškizzi is an ellipsis for appa(n) tiya- "to care about, to look after, to tend, to busy oneself with".

rev. iv 23: The geographical location of the city of Hurma is in southeast Anatolia, and thus in a genuine Hurrian region<sup>290</sup>. Hantitaššu, the name of the ritual practitioner, is originally the name of the city god who was venerated in Hurma alongside the Storm God, Tutelary deity, Tešub, Hepat, "male and female deities", mountains and rivers<sup>291</sup>; see A. Kempinski-S. Košak<sup>292</sup>. Thus the author of the ritual assumed his/her name from the city god which might literally mean according to G. Neumann<sup>293</sup> "Sehr-stark", i. e. "the very strong one" or "Überstarker'<sup>294</sup>.

The shift of the sex in the personal name determinative m/f indicates the long tradition of this ritual, i. e., in later times the compilers or copyists of the ritual became confused in regard to the person and sex of the author. We may assume, however, that the authentic author was a man, not a woman, since Hantitaššu is the name of a god, not a goddess. Such changes in personal names are quite common in Hittite texts, cf. Wattiti (KUB 7.1 iv 10; KUB 30.49 iv 2) versa "Wattiti (KUB 30.48:7); see

zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 129

289 Disposal of Impurity in the Priestly Writings of the Bible with Reference to Similar Phenomena in Hittite and Mesopotamian Cultures, Ph. D. University of California, Berkeley (1984) 238ff

<sup>291</sup> Listed especially in KUB 6.45 obv. i 74f., see del Monte-J. Tischler, op. cit. p. 125; V. Haas, Geschichte der heth. Religion (1994) 777 with note 45.

292 CTH 13: The Extensive Annals of Hattusili I (?), Tel Aviv 9 (1982) 101.

293 Review of Burde, StBoT 19, IF 81 (1976) 315. 294 V. Haas, Geschichte der heth. Religion (1994) 309. H. Otten<sup>295</sup> recording a ritual practitioner from Hurma ...u]z-zi SAL URU Hurma in 396/d line 13 and mKu-wa-an-ni SAL(!) É.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> (KUB 32.129 + KBo 33.123 obv. i 1); for inconsistent writing in IBoT 2.115 obv. 1 fPupuwanni LÚMUŠEN.DÙ and for more examples of this kind see B. Benedetti<sup>296</sup>. Hantitaššu's profession is mentioned neither in the incipit nor in the colophon of the ritual text. Possibly the later compilers or copyists of the ritual were ignorant of his career as well. H. D. Engelhard infers from a comparison with the rituals of Paškuwatti, Anna, Ambazzi, Uruwanda and Zualli (i. e. Alli) that Hantitaššu was a SALŠU.GI<sup>297</sup>. This is quite impossible, as he was a man. Therefore, he must have been a LÚAZU or LÚHAL.

<sup>290</sup> G. F. del Monte-J. Tischler, Die Orts-und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte, RGTC 6 (1978) 124f.; del Monte, Die Orts- und Gewassernamen der hethitischen Texte. Supplement RGTC 6/2 (1992) 43f. with further lit.; P. Cornil, Liste des noms geographiques des textes hitties. KBo XXIII-XXX, KUB XLV-LVII, Hethitica 10 (1990) 34.

<sup>295</sup> Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa, StBoT 17 (1973) 40.

<sup>296</sup> Nota sulla SALSU.GI ittita, Mesopotamia 15 (1980) 9. 297 Hittite Magical Practices: An Analysis (1970) 23f.

## V. SYNOPSIS AND STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

- i 1-2: Introduction and determination of the medical diagnosis.
- 2-17: Provision and arrangement of *materia magica* requisite for the execution of magic and the negotiation with the Sun God and the inferior deities who are assumed to be responsible for the evil or bad health of the sacrificer.
- 17-23: First application of the contagious magic followed by an incantation by means of which the practitioner attempts to conjure the Sun God and to attain his divine support for the cure of his customer.
- 24-31: Employment of a mythologem (mostly in broken context) to enchant, lure and convince the Sun God and to encourage the patient to recover quickly.
- 32-ii 19: After all sorts of conjurations, offering and pampering, the Sun God is now believed to be enticed enough and ready for the focal action of the ritual, i. e. exchange barter of the sacrificial materials against the life of the offerer. The mother of the client and the ritual practitioner undertake this incantation
- ii 20-26: Second use of the contagious magic aiming at the rescue of the client's life from Agni and to gain the aid of Kamrušepa.
- ii 27-34: Offerings accompanied by incantations which are to be repeated seven times.
  - ii 34-39: Additional offerings.
- iii 1-4: During the performance of a part of the ritual on top of the roof, the ritual expert requests his client's life from the Sun God. Representation of this "request, grant" as a magical object (tarnuwar).
- iii 5-19: Execution of a magical ritual in the inner chamber: The practitioner digs a pit in the ground and makes blood offerings for the deities of the Netherworld by slaughtering a piglet.
- iii 20-31: Carrying out a ritual accompanied by contagious magic at the door bolt, aimed at the incantation of the Sun Goddess of the Netherworld.

- iii 32-37: Offering of different parts of the suckling piglet which has been slaughtered.
- iv 1-3: In this version of the ritual, the king appears as client. The palace is the location of the ritual.
  - iv 4-8: Benediction of the king by the practitioner.
  - iv 9-12: Distribution of magical material.
  - iv 13-17: Concealing and sealing of the ritual residuals in a chest.
- iv 18-22: The final part of the ritual outside of the palace without the king's participation.
  - iv 23-25: Colophon.

The structural analysis of the text must give answers to four basic questions:

- A. What is the reason for this ritual? On this question see above the commentary on *ninink*-
- B. Who is the ritual practitioner? On this question see the commentary for iv 23. Not a single copy of the ritual is written by *Ḥantitaššu*, the genuine ritual practitioner. He or less possibly she seems to have composed his/her ritual conception already during the Middle Ilittite Kingdom.
- C. Who is the client? The present ritual composition renders at least five different versions, each of which seems to have been adopted for a special case of these different personalities: The first version KBo 11.14 is the anonymous version, i.e., it is the library copy and does not mention any person by name. The second version KBo 17.104 (+) 2029/g is adopted for the case of Atta. The third version KUB 43.57 is composed for an unknown Hittite king or for kings in general; for details see above commentary on it 8; in the other versions no information is preserved on the client's personality.
- D. What are the ritual means? Sacrifices, offerings of precious metals, gems and cereals, sedition, barter, bribery, contagious or sympathetic magic, utilization of a mythologem as a "belle chant" and mediation of gods are the basic ritual means. The Hantitassu ritual differs from the medical and homeopathic rituals in that the client is not supplied with any food, drugs, medication or concoction. It is an example of a pure magical ritual lacking any medical aspect. The usage of a mythologem is also one of the particularities of this ritual (see commentary on oby. i 24ff.).

## VI. DATE OF THE HANTITAŠŠU-RITUAL

I have already referred to the date and dating criteria of the individual versions of the *Ḥantitaššu-*ritual above in chapter ii. In this chapter I will only add some additional criteria.

It seems that the oldest preserved examples of the *Ḥantitaššu*-ritual (see below KBo 20.34) come from the reign of *Tuthaliya-Nikalmati* and *Arnuwanda-Ašmunikal*<sup>1</sup>.

KUB 43.57 (+) KBo 18.174 is, similar to KBo 11.14, MH/NS, but its script reveals earlier sign forms.

KBo 20.34 represents so far the oldest example of the whole ensemble which is to be dated in the reign of *Tuthaliya ii* and *Nikalmati*<sup>2</sup>

It is true that the main version of the *Hantitaššu*-ritual KBo 11.14 shows Old, or better Middle Hittite language while the ductus is New Hittite. MH/MS dating in CHD L-N (1980-1989) 1 has been corrected in CHD L-N 61 and 219b to MH/NS<sup>3</sup>

KBo 17.104 seems to have NS, CHD L-N (1980-1989) 219b.

# VII. ADDITIONAL FRAGMENTS BELONGING TO THE ENSEMBLE OF THE HANTITASSU-RITUAL

Some of the parallel and duplicate texts which belong to a related text assemblage have been evaluated above in the text edition of the *Hantitaššu*-Ritual. However, some parts of these texts could not be placed in the main composition, because ostensibly they do not belong primarily to the same tablet or composition. Another possibility is that they belong to the missing gaps of the composition and therefore cannot be placed exactly. KBo 17.104 is a good example, because its rev. belongs with certainty either to the gap at the end of col. ii or at the beginning of. rev. iii. It consists of the 7th (?) day. After a break of some uncountable lines KBo 13.145 rev. must have followed it. KUB 36.111 + KBo 20.34 represents obviously a totally different ritual. What brings it closer to our ritual group is the mention of *Atta*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For a full list of texts dated to their reign see briefly see *F. Freu*, Le débuts du nouvel empire hittites et les origins de l'expansion mycénienne, Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Science Humaines de Nice, 35 (1979) 13ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I. Hoffmann, in: S. Heinhold-Krahmer et al., TH 9 (1979) 93, 100 and on page 112 listing old signs such as LI, N1, DU, UK and ZU, cf. also CHD L-N (1980-1989) 79a determining it as OH/MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. in general *H. Otten*, Beinerkungen zum hethitischen Wörterbuch, ZA 72 (1982) 283 on New Hittite signs TAR, KÙ, DUMU, LI and KI; cf. also *E. Neu*. Interpretation der hethitischen mediopassiven Verbalformen, StBoT 5 (1968) 51 (ältere Sprache) and *C. Watkins*, Hittite and Indo-European Studies II, MSS 45 (1985) 248 (MH or older/NS).

84

### 

	(End of the col.) 2. 2029/g:
1	] tu-u-ri[
2	w] a-ar-ši-y[ a-
3	-] <i>ri-ya-an-da</i>
4	-] <i>iz-zi</i> [
5	]kap-piš iš-par[-
6	i]š-par-za-du EGIR-iz-z[i
7	-i]z-zi-in <sup>GIŚ</sup> ḫur-ki-i[n
8	]ḤUL-lu-uš-ša UD.KAM-za <sup>m</sup> At-ta-a-a[n
9	-t] a am-me-el ud-da-a-ar <sup>D</sup> UTU-aš <sup>D</sup> K[ am-
10	-a] š ḫu-uk-ma-uš-še-eš a-ša-an-du[
11	] ḫu-uk-ma-in 7-ŠU ḫu-uk-zi 「7「[
12	ir-ḫ]a-a-iz-zi nu NINDA.KUR4.RA par-ši-ya nu ḫ[u-
13	-] ki-iz-zi 7 NINDA.KUR <sub>4</sub> HI.A-ya D(?)[
14	-i]z-zi QA-TAM-MA <sup>D</sup> UTU-uš z[i-
15	]x ḫu-ki-eš-ki-mi na-at [
16	-n]a(?) ma-a-an ḫu-[uk-ma][
17	] x x [ (Rest broken)

<sup>1</sup> Note that KUŠ SA5 does not indicate here a "red, bloodstained" hide, but the natural color of an animal's hide, as can be seen in KBo 13.145 rev. 9: KUŠ SJA5 BABBAR-ya "red and white hide" (see below). Further attestations indicating the natural color are: KUB 7.33 + KBo 35.101 obv. 22 (with dupl. Bo 2495 + KBo 35.103 obv. i 6f.; IBoT 4.142 obv. 4): (22) 1 KUŠ GUD SA5 I KUŠ GUD GE6 I KUŠ GUD BABBAR I KUŠ UZ6 SA5 (23) I KUŠ UZ6 GE6 I KUŠ UZ6 BABBAR; KBo 19.162 rev. 3: 3 KUŠ UZ6 ŠÀBA I SA5 1GE6; cf. similarly KBo 32.7 obv. 12; KUB 54.85 obv.13; KUB 2.2 iv 3. In the meaning of "bloody, bloodstained hide" it appears in the Soldier's Oath KBo 6.34 + iii 46f. where SA5 is referred to as esharnu- "to smear with blood, soak in blood". White and black shoes (for example KUB 2.6 iii 26; KUB 56.35 i 2 and KBo 10.23 + obv. i 16) were obviously not made of animal skin or hide, as it would seem at the first sight, but made of white and black wool (SÍG), as shown in KUB 2.2 iv 5: INUTIM KUŠ.E.SIR I SÍG BABBAR I SÍG GE6. In this case one would better speak of "socks, leggings" comparabale with (TÚG)GADA.DAM.

```
3. KBo 13.145 rev.
```

1	] <i>x</i> [
2	<sup>UZ]U!</sup> SA da-a[-i
3	]x nu-kán EN.IN[IM
4	]x ú-da-a-i nu-ká[n
5	]x-ti ku-it ku-it[
6	NA4G]UG NA4TI N[A4
7	BA]PPIR mu-mu-w[a-i
8	]-i še-ir-ra-aš-ša-a[n
9	KUŠ S]A <sub>5</sub> KUŠ BABBAR-ya pu[ <sup>2</sup> -
10	]a-ra-aḫ-za ar-nu-u[z-zi
11	a-ra-aḫ-za ]al?-pa-an GIM-an x[
12	-] la-an DÙ-zi
13	a]n-dur-za QA[-TAM-MA DÙ-zi³
14	]x EN.INIM x[
15	-p] i še-ir [
16	d]a-a-i UD.[9][.KAM QA-TI
17	-i] š x[
(F	Rest broken)

4. KBo 20.34 (+ KUB 36.111)<sup>4</sup>

obv. (upper edge is visible at the right side of the tablet)

- 1 [ e-ku-u] t?-ti-en nu-za [ni-ik-ti-en]<sup>5</sup>
- 2 [nu KAŠ GEŠTIN NINDA.... P]A-N[I] DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> da-a[-i?]
- 3 [nu me-ma-i? MUHI].A [ma-ni-in-k]u-wa-an-te-es<sup>6</sup> ki-d[a-ni? A-NA EN.SISKUR?]
- 4 [ku-i-e-š? pi-ya-an?] te-eš [ nu-] uk-kán ki-da-ni [A-NA EN.SISKUR?]
- 5 [an-da? ḤUL-lu-i] li-e n[a?-i]š-du-ma-at<sup>7</sup>
- 6 [nu-uš-]ša-an<sup>8</sup> kat-ta t[ar-n]a-an-zi 3 NINDA.KUR<sub>4</sub>.RA
- 7 [ na-at? ] 1<sup>EN</sup> ki-iz 1<sup>EN</sup> [k]i-iz-zi-ya 1<sup>EN</sup> pár-ši-[ya nu-u] š?
- 8 [ši-i-e-eš-ša-]ni-it ku-e-za ir!-ḫ[a-i]z-zi<sup>9</sup> nu-uk-kán a-pu-un
- 9 [DUGḫ]u-pu-úr-ni-in<sup>10</sup> p[a-r]a-a la-ḫu-u-wa-an-zi
- 10 a-pu-un-na ar-ḥa tu-wa-ar-ni-ya-an-zi
- 11 nu 1 DUG KAŠ hu-up-ra-an ha-aš-ša-an a-ra-ah-za-an-da
- 12 ši-i-e-eš-ša-ni-it gul-aš-zi<sup>11 DUG</sup>ḤAB.ḤAB ar-ḫa tu-wa-ar-ni-ya-an-zi

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Or i[n- or te-?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This obvious simile "as ... makes outside ..., let it make in the same way inside ..." is not attested elsewhere within the Hittite magical repertoire.

 $<sup>^4</sup>$  obv. 7-9, 8-10, 11-12 are treated by *J. Boley*, The Sentence Particles (1989) 188, 238, 439, 469, 655, 439.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For this restoration see KUB 12.17:7; KUB 20.92 rev. vi? 9; KUB 33.62 iii 11; KUB 43.31 left col. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Restoration is not quite sure. For MU(ULA) maninknwant- "short year(s)" (opposite expression is GÍD(.DA) = daluga- "long year(s)) see KBo 15.12:12; KBo 17.61 rev. 3; KBo 25.193 obv.? 9 (dupl. KBo 21.6 obv. 7); KUB 9.34 i 29, ii 1; KUB 17.14 rev. 19f.; KUB 35.80 rev.? 9; HT 6 + KBo 9.125 i 11, 25; IboT 3.102 + Bo 3436:8; Hatt i 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Reading not sure. Note also that the prohibitive *le* and imper. 2. pl. *-dumat* are mismatching.

<sup>8</sup> Or še-ra-aš-ša-an.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> This restoration and emendation of this line are beyond any doubt, see KBo 4.13 + ii 26f., iii 19f. (with par. KBo 30.77 iii 23f.); KBo 21.49 ii 9f.; KBo 23.56 rev. iv 10f.; KBo 35.155 rev. 4 9f.; KUB 2.8 i 35f., ii 32f.; KUB 11.26 obv. ii 3ff., 12ff; KUB 20.84 obv. 9f.; KUB 32.87 rev. 16; KUB 41.50 iii 5ff.; KUB 53.11 iii 4; KUB 54.81 obv. 4f.; KUB 55.25 ii 15ff.; KUB 58.5 i 15; KUB 58.71 obv. 10ff.; IBoT 3.1 rev. 51, 57, 64f.; IBoT 4.137 ii 6; IBoT 4.317 obv. 5.

<sup>10</sup> This orthography of the Hurrian vessel name seems to be unique, cf. KBo 5.1 ii 44; KUB 45.54 left col 4: (DUG) ħu-pin-ni; KBo 25.190 +534/b obv. 4: ħu-wu-ur-ni; KBo 24.59 + KBo 27.199 iv 23: ħu-u-wu-ur-ni.

<sup>11</sup> The very phrase is attested in KBo 15.25 rev. 21; KBo 15.34 ii 8; IBoT 1.29 rev. 54f.

- 13 ma-a-na-at-kán [aš]-ša-nu-u[z]-z[i<sup>12</sup> nu-u]k-kán
- 14 ha-aš-ša-an a[-ra-ah-za-an-da<sup>13</sup> la-h]u-u-wa-i
- 15 [n]u ki-iš-ša-[an me-ma-i ka-a-ša šu-ma-a-aš A-] NA?? DINGIR<sup>MEŠ14</sup>
- 16 [KAŠ GEŠTIN ...] *x* [

(Rest of the column broken)

rev.

- $1 [\ldots] x[$
- 2 iš-tap-pa-an[-zi nu ki-iš-ša-an da-ra-an-zi]15
- 3 nu li-i-ma<sup>16</sup> z[i-ik <sup>D</sup>UTU-uš da-ra-an-za li-i-ma <sup>D</sup>.....]
- 4 da-ra-an-za zi[-ik [DUT]U[-uš li-i da-ra-an-za etc.
- 5 fZi-ip-la-an-da-wi<sub>5</sub> [SA]L.L[UGAL] D[UMU.NITA]
- 6 NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A li[-mi?-]id-da<sup>17</sup> iš-pa-an-za-ki-zi
- 7 nu-uš-ma-aš a-ru-i-iš-ga-zi ma-aš-ki-iš-ga-zi<sup>18</sup> nu-uš-ma-ši-kán

- 8 QA-TAM-MA mi-ya-u-e-eš e-eš-te-en nu-uš-ma-aš EGIR-ŠU
- 9 ku-it da-a-i na-at-ši-kán aš-ša-nu-ut-te-en
- 10 GIŠzu-pa-ri 2-ŠU 9-an ki<-iz>-ma 9-an lu-uk-kán-zi
- 11 [k]i-iz-zi-ya 9-an lu-uk-kán-zi
- 12 [nu ki-i] š-ša-an [d] a-ra-an-zi ku-iš <sup>m</sup>At-ta-a-i
- 13 [DUMU LUGAL? fZ]i-ip-la-an[-d]a-wi<sub>5</sub>19 SAL.LUGAL DUMU.NITA
- 14 [i-da-lu i-ya-a] t ma-a-an [n]e-e-pi-ša-aš DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>
- 15  $[na-a \bar{s}-m]a-a \bar{s}^D U[TU t \bar{a}]k-na-a \bar{s}^{<D} \hat{U}-li-li[-ya-a \bar{s}-\bar{s}i-i \bar{s}]^{20}$
- 16 [ka-a-ša ki-iz-za 9] an [GİŠBANŠUR ki-iz-zi-y]a 9-an GİŠBAN[ŠUR]
- 17 [az-zi-ki-it]-t[i-en nu aš-šu-ul ú-w]a-te-it-ti-e[n]

(Lower edge)

<sup>12</sup> For this rare orthography of aśśanu- instead of commonly used aś-śa-nu-zi see KBo 4.10 + obv. 6; KUB 6.45 iv 1; KUB 7.13 obv. 33; KUB 24.5 rev. 10, 20; KUB 39.31:6; IBoT 4.112 obv. 5; 2011/u rev. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> For the restoration see obove line 11 and KBo 15.34 ii 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Restoration very conjectural, cf. however KUB 15.34 ii 42f.

<sup>15</sup> For the restoration see KBo 10.37 iii 39ff. in the following note.

<sup>16</sup> Because of plene writing of *i*- and not gemination of -m- it is questionable whether this broken word should be subsumed under the lexeme (: lim(m)a- (a beverage), as is done in CHD L-N (1980-1989) 62. A strikingly similar passage from a magical ritual against gossip and evil tongue KBo 10.37 iii 39ff. reveals clearly that the unique and archaic writing li-i stands here in KBo 20.34 rev. 3 for prohibitive adverb li-e: KBo 10.37 iii 39.45: DUTU-us DU-as DLAMMA DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> da-pi-an-te-es ka-a-sa [X] (40) li-e-ma DUTU-us da-ra-an-za li-e-ma DU-as da-r[a-an-za] (41) li-e-ma DLAMMA-as da-ra-an-za li-e-ma ta-ma-i-is DINGIR[LIM] (42) ku-is-ki da-ra-an-za zi-ik DUTU-us DU-ni DLAMMA-ri A-NA DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-ya (43) ha-an-te-iz-zi-is nu a-as-su hu-u-ma-an su-mes DÙ-at-ten (44) na-as-ta HUL-lu wa-ah-nu-ut-ten na-at a-as-su DÙ-at-ten (45) nu-kán A-NA DUMURI EME HUL-lu-na an-da li-e tar-na-a[t-te-]ni //. Since the change of e/i is a commonplace phonological appearance in Hittite phonology (E. H. Sturtevant - E. A. Hahn, A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language 1951, 20; J. Friedrich, HE I² 1960, 25; K. K. Riemschneider, Zur Unterscheidung der Vokale e und i in der hethitischen Orthographie, Fs Otten (1973) 273-281; H. C. Melchert, Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology 1984, 67ff.), it does not surprise us.

<sup>17</sup> For reading see CHD L-N (1980-1989) 62.

<sup>18</sup> maške- "to give presents" see CHD L-N 210.

<sup>19</sup> S. R. Bin-Nun, The Tawananna in the Hittite Kingdom, TH 5 (1975) 164 with note 164, 254 reads wrongly Nikalmati, but on p. 257 she refers to this line in connection with Ziplantawi, see G. Szabó, Ein hethitisches Enrsühnungsritual, TH 1 (1971) 62.

<sup>20</sup> On account of the religio-cultural ambience, the preceding divine names, and the available space at the end of the line, the most reasonable restoration of the divine name is CDD Uliliyassi, not ulili-"green". On the other hand the optional reading of Uliliyantikes would be farfetched, since it would bring us to the Palaic pantheon which definitely is not in place here. For attestations of Uliliyassi see KUB 7.5 ii 13, iii 1, 17; KUB 9.27 + i 4; KUB 14.13 + i 12 (with dupl.); KUB 30.65 + ii 6; KUB 49.39 obv. ii 9; H. A. Hoffner, Paskuwatti's Ritual Against Sexual Impotence (CTH 406), Aula Orientalis 5 (1987) 281 relates the name to the Luwian word walila/i- "field, plain" and takes it as a goddess. I. Wegner, Gestalt und Kult der Istar-Šawuska in Kleinasien, AOAT 36 (1981) 31 and V. Haas, Geschichte der heth. Religion (1994) 143, 349, 439, 611 conceive her as a native Luwio-Anatolian interpretation of the Mesopotamian goddess Istar. If this is the case and the etymological connection to Luwian walila/i- "field" is certain, she might, then, have been venerated as a kind of "Istar of open countryside, steppe" (IŠTAR LÍL, written also GAŠAN LÍL, LIŠ LĨL hitt, gimra-).

24 nu ku-u-un hu-u[-uk-ma-i] n 3-Š $\acute{U}$  hu-u-uk-z $\acute{r}^9$  nam-ma-kán l

```
5. KUB 57.79 obv. i<sup>21</sup>
```

- 1 x[...
- 2 [ku-i]t[....
- 3 DUTU- $u[\check{s}...$
- 4 [n]u EN[.SISKUR<sup>22 D</sup>UTU-i ki-iš-ša-an ḫu-u-uk-zi]<sup>23</sup>
- 5 DUT[U!-uš-za EZEN-an DÙ-at nu-za dapianduš]24
- 6 DINGIRMEŠ-u[š halzaiš ....<sup>25</sup>
- 7 EN.SISKUR.m[a-aš-ši-kán .....
- 8 e-te-i[r e-ku-ir nu-za-kán DUTU-i .....
- 9 ŠÀ-ta [tar-na-aš UM-MA DUTU etc. ..<sup>26</sup>
- 10 nu-wa d[a-pi-an-du-uš DINGIR<sup>MEŚ</sup> ḫalziḫḫun]
- 11 nu-wa-za [dapianduš DUMUMEŠLÚ.ULÙ<sup>LU</sup> ḫalziḫḫun]
- 12 EN.SISK[UR-ma me-ir-ta<sup>27</sup>
- 13 hal-zi[-....
- 14 [k]i-nu-u[n?....
- 15 hal-zi[....
- 16 nu-wa-za [...
- 17 SAG.D[U?<sup>28</sup> ....
- 18 ÍD-za? [....
- 19 na-aš-ták-k[án ....
- 20 a-aš-ša[-....
- 21 (erasure)  $U[-UL?....U]^{U}$ NÍG.GIG
- 22 [UZUNÍG.G]IG [..... UZ]UNÍG.GIG 1EN

- 25 DUTU-i IGI-an[-da da-a-i]<sup>30</sup> še-ir-ra-aš-ša-an 1 NINDA.KUR<sub>4</sub>.RA BA.BA.ZA
- 27 GEŠTIN-ya š[i-pa-an-ti?...]x nu me-[m]a-i DUTU-uš GAR-du
- 28 nu ki-i A[-WA-TE?] ku-it h[u-u-u]k-ki-iš-ki-mi ku-it
- 29 na-at-mu [DUTU-uš EGIR-an t] ar-na-a[d!- $^{31}du$  ...]x[....] $^{32}$
- 30 EGIR-an-da [.....-]zi[......]
- 31  $\acute{\text{u-e-te-it}}$  [......]
- 32 SAL<sup>MEŚ</sup>-x[.....]
- 33 SAL<sup>MEŠ</sup>-x[......]x<sup>33</sup>
- 34 UZU t[a-.....]

23 x[-.....

GIŠBANŠUR

- 35 NA4A[RÀ? .....]
- 36 pu-x[-.....-]zi
- 37 pi-eš-š[i-....-]x[-....]
- 38 GIŠal-lu[-u-uš-š] a-an<sup>34</sup> zi[-ik-ká]n[-zi?...]
- 39 zi-ik-kán-zi LÚ.MEŠka-i-nu-uš-ša-an<sup>35</sup> É! pu-u[1-l] i<sup>36</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Popko, Or 57 (1988) 92; S. Kośak, Review of KUB 57, ZA 68 (1988) 312; G. F. del Monte, Review of KUB 58, OA 28 (1989) 166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Cf. KUB 58.94 obv. i 3 EN AWATI.

<sup>23</sup> KBo 11.14 i 23ff. and KUB 58.94 obv. i 3ff. are duplicates.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Cf. KBo 11.14 i 24 and KUB 58.94 obv. i 4.

<sup>25</sup> For restoration see KUB 58.94 obv. i 4ff.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. KUB 58.94 obv. i 7.

<sup>27</sup> Dupl. KUB 58.94 i 9f. 28 Cf. KUB 58.94 obv. i 14, 16.

<sup>29</sup> For the context cf. KBo 11.14 ii 27ff. and KUB 58.94 obv. i 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Cf. KBo 11.14 i 3.

<sup>31</sup> Wrongly -an.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. KBo 11.14 ii 33f.

<sup>33</sup> This sign and -zi in line 36 may belong to obv. ii of which nothing else is preserved.

<sup>34</sup> GIS allussa- is a wooden utensil inlaid with silver and lead, KUB 42.45:6ff.; KUB 58.100 ii 3, 4.5, cf. H. Otten, Bemerkungen zum hethitischen Wörterbuch, ZA 66 (1976) 100f.

<sup>35</sup> The role of kaina-men "in-law, relative by marriage" is not known to me from elsewhere in the rituals. They are attested only once in the festival text KBo 10.16 i 4.

<sup>36</sup> Signs are badly deteriorated, so the reading has to be taken with caution; it fits the context, however, as one needs for "sleeping" in the following line a locality, although with the exception of "bed" (sasta-, GlsNÁ) the building, room or place of "sleeping" is not indicated as a rule in the texts. The word pulla- is enigmatic itself. Its only attestation in the Old Hittite festival text KBo 17.29 + KBo 20.1 i 2 ]x  $\dot{U}$  £ or \*pu-ul-I[a..., E. Neu, Althethitische Ritualtexte in Umschrift, StBoT 25 (1980) 151 (reads £ pu-ul-I[a-), idem, Glossar zu den althethitischen Ritualtexten, StBoT 26 (1983) 152 (reads £ pulla-(?) (ein Gebäude) (?)), has been taken recently by I. Hoffmann, Das hethitische Wort für "Sohn", Fs

## 40 še-eš-ša-an-zi PAP PAP<sup>37</sup> ni-ku-uš-ša-an LÚ.MEŠGURUŠ-uš<sup>88</sup>

#### Lower bottom

#### KUB 57.79 rev. iv

- 1 [....NIN]DA.KUR4.RA-is<sup>39</sup> [NINDA] pu-u[l!-li-iš-ša-ya<sup>40</sup> ḫa-]ta-an-ti
- 2 [..... k] u-it an-da ki-it-ta KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN NA<sub>4</sub>ZA.GÌN
- 3 [N]A<sub>4</sub>GUG NA<sub>4</sub>TI NA<sub>4</sub>DUḤ.ŠU.A SI! al-pu-i-e-m[ar!]
- 4 [kap-pi-i]š mu-m[u-w]a-i DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-aš par!-ḫu-e-n[a-an]<sup>4</sup>1 ú-da-i
- 5 [še-ir-]ra-aš-ša-an GUD.MAḤ-aš <sup>UZU</sup>SA A-NA [K]UŠ SA<sub>5</sub>?
- 6 [IGI?-z]i-ya in?-na?-aš-ti<sup>42</sup> an-da da-a-i n[a-a]t-š[a-a]n
- 7 [a-r]a-aḥ-za ar-ḥ[a k]u!?-ir-zi ta-at?[...]x-x
- 8 ([<]) ki-in-za-al-pa-[aš]<sup>43</sup> GIM-an SU[M-a]n-z[i] GI]§AB-it a[r-h]a? [peššiya-?]
- 9 [n]a-at ANA? DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> ZI ki-ša-a!-i[z-zi<sup>44</sup> na-]aš da-pi-an [ma-]aḥḥ[a!- an]
- 10 an-da [ši-k]u-wa-iz-zi<sup>45</sup> na-at E[N.INI]IM EGIR-pa ka[t-t]a?

Alp (1992) 282 as the Hittite reading of É DUMU(MES), the word pulla-being then the equivalence of DUMU "child, son". The new attestation of the word here would not contradict this equation. However, if my reading is correct and it stands here, as expected, in dat. sg., "The brother-in-laws sleep in the 'children house'; the sister-in-laws (and) juveniles (sleep in ...)", Hoffmann's reading as É pu-ul-l[a... would need to be proven; note also Neu's contradictory readings É p. versa <sup>£</sup>p. (see above). pu-ul-la-an[(-) in KUB 58.49 rev. iii? 11 represents certainly a different word.

<sup>37</sup> Signs of illegilibity.

38 In this unique passage one may be tempted to find some reference to incest between brother-in-laws (kaena-) and sister-in-laws (nega-).

<sup>39</sup> For this nominal ending cf. KBo 17.88+ ii 19, 22; KUB 57.100 obv. ii 11 and acc. sg. in -in: KBo 25.178 iv 14; KBo 30.103 obv.? 10; KBo 21.99:11; KBo 19.163 iii 32, 36 etc.

40 Reading very conjectural.

41 Cf. KBo 11.14 i 12 and C i 2.

Reading very conjectural, since the signs are badly preserved.

43 For this Luwian word see ki-in-za-al-pa-aś-śi-iś, ki-in-za-al-pa(-aś) which seems to denote a silver utensil, KUB 12.1 iii 5, 36f.

44 kišai- "to comb, stroke" is not known elsewhere in connection with the "soul" of the deity.

45 Reading anda šikuwai- according to KUB 44.61 rev. 13, C. Burde, Hethitische medizinische Texte, StBoT 19 (1974) 20; cf. also rev. iv 27 and possibly KBo 8.57 i 1; Bo

- 11 A-NA NINDA ERÍN<sup>MEŠ</sup> še-ir da-a-i na-at É.ŠÀ-na pi-e-da-i
- 12 UD.8?.KAM tuḥ-ḥu-eš-ta
- 13 lu-kat-ti-ma-za UD, 9:[.KAM ka-ri-w]a-ri-wa-ar hu-u-da-ak
- 14 [w]a-ar-pu-wa-an-z[i PA-NI] GIŚABMEŚ? GIŚBANŠUR.AD.KID ti-[a]n-zi
- 15 [NINDA.KUR4].RA[par-ši-ya-a]n-z[i na-at PA-NI GIŠAB? ti-a]n-zi ma-a-an- kán  $^{\rm D}$ UTU-[u]š
- 16 [u-up-]-z[i] nu EN.SISKUR PA-[N]I GIŠAB ti-ya-zi
- 17 [na-aš] A-NA DUTU UŠ-KI-EN nu-kán 1 GUD 1 UDU
- 18 [A-NA] DUTU BAL-an-ti šu[-uš] ḫu-e[š]-wa-za zé-y[a-an-ta-za] 46
- 19 [DUT]U-i ma-n[i-ya-a]ḫ-ḫa-an-zi<sup>47</sup> 3 NINDA.KU<sub>7</sub> A-NA DUTU par-ši[-ya]
- 20 [nu-uš-]ša<-an>48 A-NA GISBANŠUR NINDA.ERÍNMES še-ir da-a-i
- 21 [nu?] A-NA EN.INIM wa-al-aḥ-ḥi SUM-an-zi nu PA-NI GIŚBAN[ŠUR ti-ya-zi nu]
- 22 [A-]NA D?[U]TU? 3-ŠÚ ši-pa-an-ti EN.SISKUR me-ma-i
- 23 [DU]TU-uš e-iz-za-du e-ku-ud-du IŠ-TU [SÍS]KUR[HI].A>
- 24 [me-ma?-] ḥa-ḥu-un ku-iš<sup>49</sup>-mu DINGIR<sup>MEŚ</sup>-aš EGIR-pa ÌR-in i-ya-at
- 25 [DUT]U? zi-i[k-m]a?-mu EGIR-pa EN-an i-ya-at
- 26 n[u EN.INI]M GUD.MAH-aš??<sup>50</sup> hu-u-kán-ta A-NA KUŠ.ŠA<sub>5</sub>

5478 i 2. From the context and sikuwai- seems to have the meaning of "to wrap, to enshroud".

47 maniyah-is attested in similar context in KUB 24.5 rev. 18ff.

48 For -san see KBo 11.14 obv. i 4.

49 The broken sign seems to be -is, but from the context -it would fit better.

<sup>46</sup> For similar sequence of offerings see KBo 4.13 + iv 29f.; KBo 26.159:6f.; KUB 7.13 obv. 41, rev. 14; KUB 7.24 + KUB 58.29 obv. 6f.; KUB 11.30 + KUB 44.14 obv. iii 7ff.; KUB 25.23 i 42f., ii 21, iv 53; KUB 44.42 obv. 10f.; KUB 53.49 obv. 13f., rev. 6f.; KUB 55.21 i 8f. Note that in most cases sipand- "to libate, consecrate, slaughter" is interchangeable with huek- "to slaughter".

<sup>50</sup> Reading is very conjectural. The preserved signs allow to read neither GUD.MAH-as nor UZUSA which are mentioned in iv 5. Unfortunately I am not able to make any better suggestion as to how to read these broken signs. From the context and parallel texts one would expect the sacrificial animals or their limbs in pl. nom.-acc. neutr.

- 27 k[u-]e? an-da š[i-k]u-u-wa[-an-ta]<sup>51</sup> A-NA EN.SISKUR pa-ra-a e-ip-z[i]
- 28 EN.SISKUR IGI-an-da UŠ-KI-EN ne-iz-za-an A-NA [EN.SI]SKUR-ma? I[- NA GÚ-ŠU na-a-i]<sup>52</sup>
- 29 EN INIM kiš-an me-ma-i zi-ik-za-kán GIM-an
- 30 UD. 6.KAM TI-an-ta-aš hu-u-kán-ta [n] a-a-iš
- 31 [k] i-e-da-ni-ya me-mi-ya-an-ni DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš
- 32 [QA-TAM-M]A a-pa-a-at e-eš-du ḥal-zi-ya-an-du<sup>53</sup>
- 33 [nu-ut-t]a MU.KAM<code>HI.A</code> ITU.KAM<code>HI.A</code> UD.KAM<code>HI.A</code> ta-lu-qa-e-eš a-ša-an- d[u]<sup>54</sup>
- 34 [nu E]N.INIM A-NA EN.SISKUR UŠ-KI-EN nu-kán EN.SISKUR
- 35 [hu]-u-kán-ta INA UD.7.KAM ne-ya-an har-zi
- 36 [ma-]a!-an? UD.7.KAM pa-iz-zi na-a[t]-za-kán ar-ḥa da-a-i
- 37 [na-]at-kán A-NA GIŚPIŚAN TÚG<sup>TI</sup> an-da ti-an-zi
- 38 [na-]aš UL gi-nu-uš-kán-zi na-an-kán ŠÀ É.NA4K[IŠIB]
- 39 [pi-]e-da-an-zi na-an nam-ma Ú-UL ku-iš-ki g[i-nu-zi?]
- 40 [ki-i-m]a-k[án] SISKUR EN.INIM ta-me-e-da-ni par-ni
- 41 [i-y]a-zi EN.SISKUR-ma-at-kán
- 42 [EGIR-pa Ú-UL ti]-i-ya-zi Ú-UL a-a-ra<sup>55</sup>

Lower bottom

6. KUB 58.94 may belong to the end of *Ḥantitaššu* ritual? KUB 58.94 i

- 1 [.M]EŠ-an?[....
- 2 S[AG.]DU-YA k[u....
- 3 nu EN A-WA-TI DUTU-i k<br/>[i!-iš-ša-an ḫu-u-uk-zi DUTU-uŝ-za EZEN-an DÙ-at]  $^{56}$
- 4 nu-za da-pi-an<-du>-uš DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> ḫal-za-a[-iš nu-za da-pi-an-du-uš LÚ.ULÙ<sup>LU</sup>-uš]
- 5 hal-za-a-iš EN.SISKUR-ma-aš-ši-kán [an-da pa-it?]
- 6 e-iz-te-ir e-ku-ir DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> nu-za-kán <sup>D</sup>U[TU-uš ki-e A-WA-TE<sup>MEŚ</sup>]
- 7 ŠÀ-ta tar!-na-aš UM-MA DUTU ki-i-wa ku-it [i-ya-nu-un]
- 8 nu-wa-za da-pi-an-du-uš DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-uš ḫal-zi-ḫi-ḫu[-un]  $^{57}$
- 9 nu-wa-za da-pi-an-du-uš DUMU $^{\rm MES}$ . LÚ. UL<br/>Ù $^{LU}$  [ḫal-zi-iḫ-ḫu-un EN.SISKUR-ma $^{58}$ ]
- 10 me-ir-ta-at nu-wa-ra-an-za-an E[N A-WA-TI mu-un-na-it? DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> dapianduš]
- 11 pa-ra-a ti-i-e-ir nu <sup>D</sup>UTU-i [ki-iš-ša-an me-mi-ir ? EN.SISKUR ku-wa-at Ú-UL ḥal-za-a-iš UM-MA <sup>D</sup>UTU-uš]
- 12 nu-wa-ra-an-za-an UL ḫal-z[i-iḫ-ḫu-un? ...
- 13 nu-wa-kán ku-it A-N[A EZEN an-da i-ya-at-ta-at?]
- 14 UM-MA DINGIR<sup>MEŚ</sup> SAG.DU-w[a-ta DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> i-ya-at] <sup>59</sup>
- 15 e-iz-za-ú<sup>60</sup> nu-wa-za e[-ku-ud-du? ...

60 The imper, sg. 2. form of ed-"to eat" which is attested only here must be added to the forms e-iz-du, e-iz-za-ad-du, e-iz-za-du in HW<sup>2</sup> E 128.

<sup>51</sup> This context supports also the suggested meaning "to wrap" for anda šikuwai-. It is possible that the hukanta's are wrapped in a bloody (i. e. fresh) skin to be applied by the offerant as a kind of poultice, see above p. 76f.

<sup>52</sup> For this possible restoration see C iv 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> All the gods should say "amen".

<sup>54</sup> This could speak for long years as opposite of ninink-; see above commentary on i lff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Cf. KUB 58.94 iv 1-3.

 $<sup>^{56}</sup>$  Cf. KBo 11.14 i 23 and dupl. KUB 57.79 obv. i 4ff. Translation of KUB 58.94 obv. i  $^{3}$  18 is given above p. 60f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> This passage refers to the festival given by the Sun God in KBo 11.14 i 24f., cf. also KUB 57.79 obv. i 4ff. and its dupl. KUB 58.94 obv. i 3ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Preserved in KUB 57.79 obv. i 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> For choosing a deity as one's "chief" god cf. DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> ŠA SAG.DU in KUB 36.80 obv. 2f.; KUB 24.1 + obv. 6f. As the claims of Queen *Puduḥepa* show clearly, the elevation of a god as one's main or protective deity is frequently used to deceive that particular deity, only in order to gain its attention towards the worshipper, see KUB 21.27 and also the prayer for Gaššuliyawiya KBo 4.6 +, CTH 380.

- 16 na-aš-ták-kán SAG.DU-i pa-x[-.....
- 17 nu-wa ú-id-du EN.SISKUR x[-....
- 18 nu-wa ú-id-du DUTU-i A-NA [ SAG.DU DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> ....
- 19 UZUNÍG.GIG-wa-kán a-aš-ša-an nu[-..
- 20 nu-wa DUTU-aš(sic!) EN.SISKUR UZUNÍG,GIG-ŠU-NĮ U...
- 21 nu[k]u-u-un hu-uk-ma-in 3-ŠU hu-uk-z[i]
- 22 nam-ma-kán GIŠBANŠUR DUTU-i IGI-an-da [da-a-i?]
- 23 še-ra-ša-an 1 NINDA.KUR<sub>4</sub>.RA BA.BA.ZA UP-NI da-a-i
- 24 1 NINDA.KUR<sub>4</sub>.RA par-ši-ya GEŠTIN-ya BAL-an-ti nu me[-ma-i]
- 25 me-mi-eš-ki-mi ku-it hu-u[k-ki-eš-ki-mi? ku-it]
- 26 [na]-at-mu DUTU-uš i[š-ta-ma-aš-du? ...

#### KUB 58.94 iv

- 1 [k]i-i-ma-kán SÍSK[UR] EN.INIM da-m[e-da-ni par-ni]61
- 2 an-da e-eš-ša-i I-NA É EN[.SISKUR-ma-kán]
- 3 Ú-UL i-ya-zi Ú-U[L a-a-ra]62

#### Free space

- 4 DUB. 1.KAM [fHa-an-ti-ta-aš-šu]
- 5 SAL URU[Hur-ma]
- 6 [Ú-UL] Q[A-TI] broken

## VIII. INDEX

## A) LIST OF THE TREATED WORDS AND NAMES

### a) HITTITE, SUMERIAN, AKKADIAN, HURRIAN, LUWIAN AND OTHER WORDS

LÚA.ZU	37
AD.KID see GISBANSUR.AD.KID and ALAM.AD.K	ID
GI\$AL	66 69
ALAM.AD.KID.SAL	
GI\$allušša-	01 04
alpu	91 note 34
alpuemar	49
AMAR	49
AN.BAR.GE <sub>6</sub>	
-(a)pa	93 note 87 72f
appa(n) see tarna	25 Hote 67, 75L.
api	60
NA <sub>4</sub> ARÀ=NA <sub>4</sub> hararazi-	
arkuwai	·····4/t.
aššanu-	77
atari- (HH) (=TI, ZI)	88 note 12
LÚAZU	66 note 210
GIŠBANŠI IR	37
GIŚBANŠUR	40ff.
GIŠBANŠUR.AD.KID É DUMU = Épulla-(?)	42f.
£ DOMO = "pulla-(?)	
É.ŠÀ-na	67
EN.SISKUR, metion of the name of E.	56ff., 75
KUSE.SIR	84 note 1
ed-, e-1z-za-ú	95 with note 60
ewan	27 note 134 46
EZEN iya	51f
GAB.LAL	50
GADA.DAM42 with	note 60, 84 note 1
GIŚGAN.KAL.	
	74

<sup>61</sup> Cf. KUB 57.79 iv 40f. 62 Cf. KUB 57.79 iv 42.

giś.DINGIR.INANNA.TUR/GAL	4 <b>3</b> f.
L <sup>Ú</sup> ḤAL	37
UZU haneššar	74
NA4 hararazi	47f., with note 109
GI <b>Ś ḫariuzzi-</b>	42
harrant	33f.
haš-"to open"	67 with note 216, 74
hašduir	49 note 114
hatta	60, 76
Gi <sup>§</sup> hattalu	73f.
hattar	46
hatteššar	68
իսek	64, 75ff.
huišwant	31 note 162
hukant	26 note 130, 75ff.
humant	26 note 130, 53
hupp <b>ai-</b> /huppiya	48
hupurni-/huwurni	87 note 10
GIŚ hurki	63
hurtalliya	
hurutai	41
(NA4) ḫušt-/ḫušza	50
GISIG	
LÚIGI.MUŠEN	
immiya	
irḫai	
išha-see uddar	
iškar-, iškarant	
išpart	
ištanana	42
ištap	
iya- see EZEN	
LÚkaina-	91 note 35, 38
kapi-(urar.)	
rapi (aim.)	

kappani	4'
kappi	
kappilaḫ	
karawar see SI	10101010
kinu2	5 note 122 35 68 78
kinzalpa	
kišai-	
-(a)ku	
kuer	
<sup>TÚG</sup> kureššar	43 note 79
kuššalai	726
kutiyan	
< kuwata	
kuwatta	
< kuwayat(i)	
la-	
Gi\$Jaḫura-	02
laknu-	41
le see li-i	41
li-i unique writing for prohibitive adv. li-e	99 mats 16
lilipa(i)	99 0 24 - 149
(:)lim(m)a	20 11016 143
LÚ <sup>D</sup> U/IŠKUR	00 110te 10
LUGAL	
maninkuwant	996 97
GI\$MAR	331., 67 note 6
maške-	
mat-/mazz-	88 note 18
menaḫḫanda dai	
*met	45
MU.KAM <sup>HI.A</sup>	
mumuwai	3311.
MUN	<b>48</b>
<sup>LÚ</sup> MUŠEN.DÙ	50f.

nai	
DUGnakappit-/nikappi	
NAM.RA	
nega	
nikti (lit.)	
NINDA.ERÍN <sup>MEŠ</sup>	47
ninink	<b>33</b> ff., 88
NUMUN	45f.
pai	53, 54f., 64
pakkuš(šuwant-)	
GIŚpapu	41f.
NA4 parašḫa	27 with note 138, 47
parhuena	27 with note 134f., 46
paddai	66, 68
patili	37
GIŚPIŠAN	77
Épulla[	91 note 36
ригарі	37
GIŚpuri(ya)	42
PURSĪTUM	48 note 109
ŠAH	67f.
ŠAH.TUR	67f., 70 with note 240
SALŠÀ.ZU.	37
GIŚSAG.KUL	73f.
KUŚ šala	73, 90f.
šamešiya	
LÚSANGA	
UZU šarnumša-	
šeš	91 note 36
šikuwai, anda š	
spen, spune (high ger.)	· ·
SALŠU.GI	
šuḫḫa	·
$\tilde{SUL}\hat{U}$ = appa(n) tarna	·

SI	
<sup>SAL</sup> SUḤUR.LAL	
da	50, 54, 74
dahanga	
<sup>DUG</sup> taḥakappi	
dai-, menaḥḫanda d	45
TAMLÛ	45
dapi	53
tariyant	
tarna-, appa(n) t	
tarnumar	
tarnuwar	
GIŚ <sub>tarzu-</sub>	
GIŚtekan	66
tekan	66
tepawah	
teri	61
TIN.TIR	
titai	
titaimmi	
<sup>UZU</sup> titan-, tetan	
ti(t)tiya	
tiva- anna(n) t	68f1.
tiya-, appa(n) t* *tri see teri-	·····
UZUUBUR	69
ulili	89 note 20
ultešk-	41 note 55
uddar, uddanaš iša-/EN-aš BELU	
uwa	74, 77
uwate	
-wa, omission of the direct speech particle -wa	in some versions 57
waḥnu-, appa w	64
walila- (luw.)	89 note 20
warḫui	49

waršiyant	
weh-, DUTU arahza weh53	
wel- see welwila-	
wellu62	
welwila61f.	
wilan	
GIŚZAG.GAR.RA	
URUDU zakki	
zinail45f.	
b)DIVINE NAMES	
Agni/Akni	
Allani40	
Allatum40	
A.NUN.NA.KE <sub>4</sub>	
EREŠ.KI.GAL39f.	
Eštan (u)	
Išhara55	
IŠTAR 56, 89 note 20	
Kamrušepa	
Kattazipuri	
Gulša	
Lelwani	
Ninga	
Uliliyašši	
DUTU	
c)PERSONAL NAMES	
ArnuwandaVII, 58	
Arnuwanda iVII, 58, 82	
AšmunikalVII, 57	
Atta	
Hantitaššu	

Hatiya	
Hattušili i	
Hattušili iii	
Kallawi	
Ma(n)duta	
Muwa	
Muwatalli i	
Nikalmati	
Puduḥepa	58
Pupuwanni	79
Ramses ii	1 note 4
Šahurunuwa	58
Šuppiluliuma i	57
Tašmišarri	57f.
Taduḥepa	
Tawananna	
Tutḥaliya ii	
Tutḥaliya iii	
Wattiti	
Ziplantawiya	
Dipimiraniya	58if.
d)GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES (TURK	ISH AND ANCIENT)
Acemhōyūk	43
Alaca Hōyūk	
Arzawa	
Ayankōy	
Babylonia	
Balıbağ	
Boğazkōy-Hattuša	passim
Çankırı	50 note 199
Çekerek	50 note 120
Delice river	50 100
Emirgazi	
Fıraktin	44 note 79
Hacıbektaş	43
	50 note 128

THE RITUAL OF HANTITASSU	10
bargain with gods	54
barter	54
blood	
belle chant see conjuration	
bragging	1
bribe	7f with note 9
butchering, terminology of b.	. G
case collection	11
chief deity, choose of c	05 note 5
clients, richness and poverty of c.	7with note 9
mention of the name of c.	564 564
collection of magical practices	
colophons	1
colors, black, white and, red	47 84 note
concoction	1,04 11000
conjuration as belle chant	te 19 59 with note 19
copies of Hantitaššu ritual	1/A
cow as mean sof ritual payment	17 note 9
cumin	2: A'
cup holes	4
date of the texts	00
date of Hantitaššu ritual	02
deportation of magicians and artists to Ḥattuša	0 95
dialoque between practitioner and god	ری روز ( c.i
dichotomy see religion	
Dipper, Big and Little D	71
lo ut des	8 note 96 54 ft 144
loctors	note 20, 54 ff., 144
lonkey, d. as means of ritual payment	7 note 95
loor	7900
reams	/ZII.
arthquake(?)	9c
ducation of magicians	
llipsis	
	····· / //

Hakmiš/Ḥakpiš	10
Ḥupišna	2 note 5
Hurma	78f.
İnandık	43f.
Išuwa	15
Kanzapida	
Kastamonu	
Kınık	
Kırmızı	
Kizzuwatna	
Kültepe	
Maršahi see Barašhi	
Maşat	10
Merzifon	
Ortaköy	
Parahi see Barašhi	
Barašhi	27 note 138
Sağırkaya	
Šapinuwa	
Sarıkamış	50 note 198
Tarsus	49
Tepesi Delik	50 note 198
Yağıı	50 11010 128
e)SUBJECT INDEX	
abstract conceptions see models	
allegory	54 note 140
altar	041 3001 40 201
ANKH	ee ee

aphrodisiac......12 apotheosis ......51 archaeological monuments (table, altars on a.) .......42ff. authorship of magical rituals ......13

error, scribal e	54
fell, animal f. see skin	
folklore	. 11f.
formula, empty f11	f., 57
gate see door	11f.
gems	59
goat as means of ritual payment	te <b>2</b> 5
gods, primeval g	72
grindstone	<b>4</b> 8
herbs, medical h	12
hide see skin	
hog see piglet	
horn, to cut, scrape or break the h. of animals	49
homo sapiens	5
human, early h. societies	6
Hurrianization of middle Hittite dynasty	10
Hurrians	
ncest	te 38
ndividuality in authorship	13
ngredients, ritual i.	
ntellectual history	13
king as patient in rituals	
eggings84 no	
entil	.45f.
evy	34
ife39, 6]	1. 66
igature17 note 4, 18 not	
Luwians	
yre see musical instruments	, , -
nagic, black and white m4ff	8f.
in historical context8f. with not	
nagicians, types of m	
ethnic background of m	9ff.
the omnipotence of m. in their field	

•• •	7f.
medicine	1ff.
Middle Hittite dynasty	10
millstone	47f.
metaphor	28 note 143, 61
minerals	
models, concrete m. of abstract conceptions	53, 65f.
mother of the patient	
musical instruments	43f.
mythology, insertion of myth in conjuration	51f.
nasal -n	54
neck, desease of n.	
numbers	
old women	11, 37
omission of particle -wa	57
oracle in Lycia and Delphi	6
painted pottery see vase	
participation, p. of human being in a divine party	51f.
party, to arrange a p., see also EZEN	51 f.
patent	13
patient, personal mention of p. in rituals	57ff.
payment, means of p. of the magicians	7f. note 22
pea, chick p	
pharmacology	2, 12
pig	
P-6.	67f.
piglet	
	67f.
piglet	67f.
pigletpit, sacrificial p.	67f. 68, 72 48
piglet	
piglet	
piglet	
piglet	
piglet	
piglet	

its construction	
royal family (s. also ruling class)1	
ruling class, dependency of r. on magic8f.	
salt50f. with note 128	
saz	
science, natural and human s6f.	
seeds46f.	
sex, change of s. in personal names of magicians78f.	
sheep as means of ritual payment	
shoe	
simile	
shish kabab74	
skewering	:
skin	
slaughtering see butchering	
socks84 note 1	
spit74	:
stone cutters from Hupišna	,
stones, precious s47	,
suggestion12	
Sun God, Sun Goddess39f.	
sword from Boğazköy59 and note 165	)
table40ff.	
wicker work table42ff.	
basket table42ff.	
take-and-give formula54ff.	
TRIANGLE	j
vase, Inandık vase43f.	
verbal imperative or spells12	)
versions of Hantitaššu Ritual14ff.	
vocative	)
wax50	)
wheels	3
year, short years in life span, short y33ff.	

# B)LIST OF THE FULLY EDITED AND TREATED TEXTS, AND CITED PASSAGES

## a) TEXTS FULLY EDITED

KBo 11.14	14, 17ff.
KBo 13.145	14f., <b>20</b> ff., <b>8</b> 6
KBo 17.104 (+) 2029/g	15, 19ff., 84f.
KBo 18.174 see KUB 43.57	
KBo 20.34 + KUB 36.111	15f., 87ff.
KUB 43.57 (+) KBo 18.174	15, 17ff.
KUB 57.79	90 <b>ff</b> .
KUB 58.94	<b>51f.</b> , 95 <b>f</b> .
2029/g s. KBo 17.104	

## b) CITED TEXTS AND PASSAGES

	KBo 2.6 ii 55f
69	KBo 3.34 i 23
37 with note 33, 38	KBo 3.38 i 16
74	KBo 4.2 ii 34
38	KBo 4.11 obv. 25
48	KBo 4.12 obv. 5
48f.	KBo 5.2 i 38, IV 20
	KBo 5.3 iv 40-41
48	KBo 6.3 IV 18
48	KBo 6.29 i 7
84 note 1	KBo 6.34 + iii 46f
	KBo 6.45+
	KBo 8.1 iv 21
39	KBo 8.91 obv. 17
45	KBo 10.2 i 32f
67	KBo 10.16 iv 1ff
	KBo 10.23 + obv. i 16
	KBo 10.37 ii 42

KBo 10.45 ii 61	48
KBo 12.38 ii 16	64 with note 198
KBo 12.96 rev. iv 10ff	55
KBo 12.123:7ff	39
KBo 13.101 obv. i 13f., 31	35, 74 with note 274
KBo 13.109 iii 6-8	
KBo 13.145 rev. 9	84 note 1
KBo 13.161 rev. right col. 1ff	55
KBo 14.98 obv. i 16	69, 71
KBo 15.10 i 18-21, 25ff	
KBo 15.25 rev. 28f	7 with note 24
KBo 16.97 obv. 42	71
KBo 16.97 rev. 5, 16	36 with note 25
KBo 17.29 + KBo 20.1 i 2	91 note 36
KBo 17.62 + iv 7ff	35 with note 18
KBo 17.105 + KBo 34.47 rev. iii 30ff	56
KBo 18.177:5	45
KBo 19.129 obv. 31	47
KBo 19.162 rev. 3	84 note 1
KBo 20.1 see KBo 17.29 +	
KBo 20.11 obv. ii 7	76
KBo 22.82 rev. iii 7	38 note 39
KBo 22.87 rev. 6f	37
KBo 22.107:13	71
KBo 22.118	62
KBo 22.250:14	56
KBo 23.8 obv. 13	74
KBo 23.44 rev. iv 10	60
KBo 24.3 + i 9, 13	
KBo 24.4 + IBoT 4.14 rev. 2ff	35 with note 21
KBo 24.93 rev. iii 19	
KBo 27.85+192/v rev. 14	
KBo 29.209:13	44
KBo 30.164 obv. iii 8f	53

KB0 32.13 1 Iff	51 with note 134
KBo 34.47 see KBo 17.105	
KUB 2.2 iv 3, 5	84 note 1
KUB 2.6 iii 26	84 note 1
KUB 4.1 ii 1-6	56
KUB 4.1 iv 29	
KUB 5.7 obv. 24	41
KUB 5.20 + KUB 18.56 obv. 38ff	
KUB 6.45 i 4f	45
KUB 6.45 iii 37 ff	64
KUB 7.33 + obv. 22	
KUB 7.41 + i 4-6	
KUB 8.14 rev. 8f.	71
KUB 8.28 obv. 17, rev. 13f	
KUB 8.57 i 10	53
KUB 9.31 ii 40	33 note 3
KUB 10.11 iv 5f., 16	67
KUB 10.99 vi 15f	39
KUB 12.16 ii 14, 19	47
KUB 12.24 obv. i 2ff	
KUB 12.63 + obv. 9ff	
KUB 12.63 obv. 31	48
KUB 13.4 i 33	71
KUB 13.14 + iii 36-39	
KUB 14.1 obv. 44f	
KUB 15.11 ii 31	71
KÜB 15.31 obv. ii 6ff	68
KUB 16.34 i 14	41
KUB 16.47, 12	76
KUB 17.24 ii 16f	7 note 25
KUB 17.27 + KUB 12.50 ii 28-34, iii 9	
KUB 17.28 i 2ff., 6, 22ff.	67
KUB 17.28 ii 51	45
KUB 17.30 iii 3-5	56

112

KUB 18.12 i 776	
KUB 20.90 iii 1274	
KUB 21.1 iii 46f	
KUB 21.27 ii 2064	
KUB 23.11 rev. iii 28ff10 and note 33	
KUB 24.1 obv. i 853	
KUB 24.3, 6f62	
KUB 24.9 + ii 18, iv 7	
KUB 24.9 + iv 22, 27f61	
KUB 24.12 ii 4	
KUB 25.12 vi 1574	
KUB 25.27 ii 22f76	
KUB 27.1 obv. i 31-3455f.	
KUB 27.67 + ii 9ff73f.	
KUB 27.67 + rev. iv 33ff55	
KUB 29.4 ii 67ff8 note 26	
KUB 30.28 rev. 1ff	
KUB 30.51 + 45 + HSM 3644 ii 19-2336	
KUB 31.68: 13	
KUB 31.71 rev. iv 35	
KUB 31.86 iv 1ff. with dupl	
KUB 31.100 obv. 2-4	
KUB 31.127 + ABoT 44 rev. iv 6f	
KUB 31.127 + obv. ii 2f	
KUB 32.129 + KBo 33.123 obv. 1	
KUB 33.121 ii 15	
KUB 35.102 iii 6, iii 56	
KUB 35.145 ii 961	
KUB 35.149 obv. i 1069	
KUB 36.18 ii 2153	
KUB 36.35 i 2-4	
KUB 36.80 obv. i 5-7	
KUB 36.83 i 3ff67	
KUB 36.91 (+) rev. 10-1263	

KUB 38.3 i 10	45
KUB 40.5 + ii 5	59
KUB 41.8 ii 27	48
KUB 41.13 ii 19	47
KUB 42.57:3	45
KUB 42.100 iii 34f	71
KUB 42.94 obv. 17	<b>4</b> 5
KUB 43.49 rev.? 30f	<b>4</b> 5
KUB 43.52 + iii 11	69
KUB 43.56 rev. iii 11ff	67
KUB 44.15 obv. 9f	<b>49 note</b> 113
KUB 49.7: 11	53
KUB 50.79 obv.? 6	3 <b>5 with</b> note 16
KUB 53.3 v 6	39
KUB 53.4 rev. 26	66
KUB 55.20 + KUB 9.4 + ii 33, 35, iii 16	61, 74
KUB 55.37 iii 12-15	35
KUB 55.48 i 14	60
KUB 56.35 i 2	84 note 1
KUB 56.36 obv. 5f	
KUB 56.51 obv. 9-12	53
KUB 56.59 rev. 33-34	
KUB 57.34:9ff	
KUB 57.35 rev. iii 3f	
KUB 57.61, 4f	
KUB 57.79 rev. iv 4	
KUB 58.43 vi 2	
KUB 58.74 obv. 22	
KUB 59.53 i 8f	
KUB 60.73 rev. 5-7	55
KUB 60.156 rev. 12ff	
HBM 74: 12ff	
HT 6 + KBo 9.125 rev. i 23	
VBoT 24 i 33	

VBoT 24 iii 1ff., iv 29-31	56
IBoT 3.148 iii 50-52	47
Во 4999	42
Bo 5478 i 4	
Bo 6200 rev. 9f	
69/d iii 6	
41/i lines 5f	
423/z 7f	
HAB ii 14f	
Kup. A i 24	53
Laws § 40, 41	
Laws § 74	
Mastigga ii 32, 51	
Tel. i 12, 20	
Weidner 1911, 81 i 4	

## C) LIST OF THE ABBREVIATIONS

a)Al	BBREVIATIONS USED IN THE LITERATURE
AAA	s. LAAA
ABoT	Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri - İstanbul 1948
ACME	Annali della Facoltà di Filosofia e Lettere dell'Università Statale di Milano
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
ÄHK	E. Edel, Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz I-Il 1994
AHW	W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch Wiesbaden 1958-1981
ANET	J. B. Pritchard, (ed.), Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament - Neukirchen-Vluyn
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen - Berlin
Athenaeum	
Belleten	Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten – Ankara
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
ВМЕССЈ	Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan, ed. by H. I. H. Prince Takahito Mikasa - Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden
BSL	Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris
CHD	The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (1980ff.)
ChS	Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler - Rome
СТН	E. Laroche, Catalogue des textes hittites, 2nd ed Paris 1971
DLL	E. Laroche, Dictionnaire de la langue louvite - Paris 1959
EOTHEN	Eothen - Florence
Fs	Festschrift
HAB	F. Sommer-A. Falkenstein, Die Hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Ḥattušili I (ABAW, NF 16) – München 1938
HBM	S. Alp, Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük – Ankara 1991

HDA	E. von Schuler, Hethitische Dienstanweisungen für höhere Hof- und Staatsbeamte, AfO Beiheft 10 (1957)	LAAA	Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology – Liverpool
HDW	J. Tischler, Hethitisch-deutsches Wörterverzeichnis -	LingBal	Linguistic Balkanic
115	Innsbruck 1982	Madd.	A. Götze, Madduwattaš (MVAeG 32.1) - Leipzig 1928
HED HEG	J. Puhvel, Hittite Etymological Dictionary - Berlin 1984ff.  J. Tischler, Hethitisches etymologishes Glossar -	MSS	Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft – München 1952ff.
	Innsbruck 1977ff.	Müze/Mu	seum published by T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı Kültür ve Tabiat
Hethitica	Hethitica – Louvain-la-Neuve	MULG	Varlıklarını Koruma Başkanlığı, Ankara (1989ff.)
HFAC	G. Beckman-H.A Hoffner, Hittite Fragments in American Collections, JCS 37 (1985)	MVAeG	Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft – Leipzig
НН	E. Laroche, Les Hiéroglyphes Hittites (1960)	OA	Oriens Antiquus - Rome
HSM	Harvard Semitic Museum, inventory number	OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
HT	Hittite Texts in Cuneiform Character in the British	Or.	Orientalia - Rome
	Museum – London 1920	RHA	Revue hittite et asianique - Paris
HW	J. Friedrich, Hethitisches Wörterbuch - Heildelberg	RIA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie – Berlin
*****	1952ff.  J. Friedrich-A. Kammenhuber, Hethitisches Wörterbuch,	StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten
HW <sup>2</sup>	2nd ed. – Heildelberg 1975ff.	SV	J. Friedrich, Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in
IBoT	İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Boğazköy  Tableri – İstanbul 1944ff.		hethitischer Sprache (MVAeG 31.1, 34.1) Leipzig 1926, 1930
IT	Indogermanische Forschungen	Targ.	Treaty of Muršili ii with Targašnalli, ed. by J. Friedrich,
IF LAGE	Journal of American Oriental Society		SV 1:51ff.
JAOS	Journal of Biblical Literature	Tel.	Telipinu-Erlass
JBL JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies	TH	Texte der Hethiter – Heildelberg
JIES	Journal of Indo-European Studies	TUAT	O. Kaiser (ed.), Texte aus der Uniwelt des Alten
JkF	Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschungen (= Anadolu		Testaments
JKI	Araştırınaları) – Heildelberg/İstanbul	Tunn	A. Götze, The Hittite Ritual of Tunnawi (AOS 14) - New
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies - Chicago		Haven 1938
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi	Ullik.	Ullikummi myth, cited according to H. G. Güterbock,
KST	Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, publihshed annaully by the Turkish Minstry of Culture, Ankara 1979ff.		The Song of Ullikummi, revised text of the Hittite Version of a Hurrian Myth, JCS 5:135ff., 6:8ff.
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi	VBoT	Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte
Kup.	Treaty of Muršili ii with Kupanta-DLAMMA, ed. SV 1:95- 181	Xenia	Xenia, Hurriter und Hurritisch. Konstanzer Althistorische Vorträge und Forschungen, Heft 21, ed. by V. Haas
KZ	Historische Sprachforschung = Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung (Kuhns Zeitschrift)	ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete

## b) GRAMMATICAL AND OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

ablative abl. accusative acc. Hakkadian akk.

common gender c., com.

confer cf. dative dat. duplicate dupl. ead. eadem, the same edited, editor ed., pl. eds

english eng. especially esp. following f., ff. fascicle fasc. figure fig.

hittite hitt.

Hittite Hieroglyphics НН

genitive gen. german ger. id est, that is i.e.. id., idem the same imper. imperative

loco citato, in the place cited 1. c.

Lieferung Lfg. Locative loc. lit. Lithuanian lit. Literally lit. Literature Luwian Luw.

MHMiddle Hittite meaning ning. MS Middle Script neuter gender n.

neuter neutr. number no. nominative nom.

NS New Script ОН Old Hittite obv. obverse

op. cit. in the work cited, opere citato

om. omit p. page parallel par. participle part. pl. plural pl. plate

PN Peronal Name present prs. prt. preterit

rev. reverse sg. singular

S.V. subvoce, under the word

Simerian sum. unpubl. unpublished urar. \hrartean var. variant