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Thomas A. Holland
and
Thomas G. Urban



Hans Gustav Güterbock leaving Boğazköy at the end of the 1936 season of excavations.
Photograph by Ilse Bittel

**PERSPECTIVES ON HITTITE CIVILIZATION:
SELECTED WRITINGS OF
HANS GUSTAV GÜTERBOCK**

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABoT	<i>Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri</i> . Istanbul, 1948
Bo	Inventory numbers of Boğazköy tablets excavated 1906–1912
CTH	<i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . Second edition. By E. Laroche. Paris, 1971
Ed(s).	editor(s)
FHG	“Fragments hittites de Genève.” E. Laroche. In <i>Revue d’Assyriologie et d’Archéologie orientale</i> 45 (1951): 131–38, 184–94 and 46 (1952): 42–50, 214
HGG	Hans Gustav Güterbock
HT	<i>Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character in the British Museum</i> . London, 1920
IBoT	<i>Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri(nden Seçme Metinler)</i> . Istanbul, 1944, 1947, 1954, Ankara 1988
KBo	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i> (volumes 1–22 are a subseries of <i>Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft</i>). Leipzig, Berlin
KUB	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy</i> . Berlin
p(p).	page(s)
<i>Perspectives</i>	<i>Perspectives on Hittite Civilization: Selected Writings of Hans Gustav Güterbock</i> . Edited by Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., and Irving L. Diamond. Assyriological Studies, No. 26. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1997
VBoT	<i>Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte</i> . Edited by A. Götze. Marburg, 1930

PREFACE

The thirty-three articles in this collection (originally published between 1948 and 1992) were chosen from the corpus of bibliographical items authored by Hans Gustav Güterbock over a span of more than sixty years. They give a rich and varied picture of ancient Hittite culture by one who literally grew up with the new discipline and experienced firsthand its most dramatic discoveries. For an autobiographical memoir, see Güterbock's "Resurrecting the Hittites," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, J. M. Sasson, ed. (New York: Scribner's, 1995), pp. 2765–2777.

Both the choice of articles and their sequence in this volume were decisions of Professor Güterbock. Articles deal with almost every conceivable aspect of ancient Hittite culture: history, literature, divination, mythology/theology, religious ceremonies, architecture, ethnic diversity, law, diplomacy, social structure, and administration. This diversity demonstrates Güterbock's proficiency in all areas of Hittitological research. The article "Hans Ehelolf and the Boğazköy Archive at Berlin," newly translated by the author from his German original, draws not only on his scholarly expertise in Hittite studies but also on his personal experience as a student of the noted scholar Ehelolf.

With only one exception, all articles appear in the language in which they were originally published. Six out of the thirty-three are in German; the remainder are in English.

Some of these articles were produced nearly fifty years ago, and many over twenty years ago. Their content reflects the status of our understanding of Hittite language, text corpus, history, and culture at the time of their original publication. To attempt to update the articles would in some cases have necessitated a complete rewriting, an undesirable task; therefore, we have not updated them with corrections. Consequently, the articles accurately reflect the many valuable contributions made by Güterbock at the time of their original publication.

A few minor corrections and changes — that are duly indicated — have been made by Professor Güterbock and the editors. Otherwise, a great deal of care has been taken to reproduce the text as closely as possible to the original, with a couple of exceptions. First, over a span of four articles E. Laroche published his "Catalogue des textes hittites" in *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* XIV (1956): 33–38; 69–116; XV (1957): 30–89; and XVI (1958): 18–64; this work is usually cited as *Cat.* (with number). Laroche published a second, revised edition of his "Catalogue" in book form as *Catalogue des textes hittites* (Paris 1971), followed by supplements in *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* XXX and XXXIII; this work is usually cited as CTH (with number). In this volume, for articles written before 1971, references to the first edition of Laroche's "Catalogue" are supplemented by references to the second edition, which are prefixed by the abbreviation CTH and placed in curly brackets. Secondly, some insignificant typographical changes have been made in the style of some of the punctuation, the internal cross-references have been changed to reflect the pagination of this volume, and references to articles that are reprinted herein are added with the prefix "Perspectives."

The date and place of original publication are clearly indicated both in the Table of Contents and on the first page of each article in this collection.

One could not ask for a more competent guide to Hittite studies than Hans Gustav Güterbock. With this volume of collected essays we hope to make the fruits of his long life of research and publication available to a new generation of readers.

This volume could not have been produced without the generous assistance of our staff of volunteer proofreaders, Ruth Barnard, Joseph Baruffi, Scott Branting, Irene Glasner, Kathleen Mineck, Denise Paul, Anne Schumacher, and Steven Thurston.

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., Editor

Irving L. Diamond, Assistant Editor

HANS EHELOLF AND THE BOĞAZKÖY ARCHIVE IN BERLIN*

Translated by Hans G. Güterbock and Frances Güterbock

The basic material for Hittitology, i.e., the study of the language, history, and civilization of the Hittites are the clay tablets inscribed in the cuneiform script that were found in the Hittite capital at Boğazköy, c. 200 km by road to the east of Ankara, Turkey.

The first 10,000 tablets and fragments were found in 1906, 1907, 1911, and 1912 in excavations conducted in the name of the Istanbul Museum by its Second Director Th. Makridi Bey and the Berlin Assyriologist Hugo Winckler. On the German side, the expeditions were financed by private donors through the German Orient Society. Most fragments were found in pieces and many of them needed conservation. While some representative tablets were kept in the Istanbul Museum and about 300 became the property of the Berlin Museum, the rest were loaned to Berlin under the agreement that the tablets should be returned to Istanbul after they were treated, photographed, and published. This last point was important, because it made it possible to work with the still unreturned texts for a long time. [After publication of the German version of this article all the remaining fragments, published or unpublished, were returned to Turkey, by the East German government.] Thus Berlin became the center of Hittite studies.

The series *Boghazköi-Studien* (BoSt) in which B. Hrozný published his first decipherment of the Hittite language in 1917¹ was edited by O. Weber, Director of the "Vorderasiatische Abteilung" (Near Eastern Department) of the museum. The first cuneiform texts copied by the Assyriologists H. H. Figulla and E. F. Weidner were published from 1916 on in the series *Keilschrifttexte aus Boğazköi* (KBo) by the German Orient Society, also with O. Weber editor.

One of the first scholars who gained an overview of the texts was the young Swiss Assyriologist E. Forrer in

Berlin, who wrote an article about "The Eight Languages of the Boğazköy Texts," which was presented to the Berlin Academy by the famous historian Eduard Meyer² and published already in 1919, i.e., before the publication of Hrozný's essay on the same subject.³ In 1922 there appeared Forrer's article "Die Inschriften und Sprachen des Hattilandes,"⁴ which is a detailed survey of the various languages, based on his reading of mostly unpublished texts.



Figure 1. Hans Ehelolf copying a cuneiform text.
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Hrozný's claim that the Hittite language belonged to the Indo-European family stirred up a lively discussion, but there were at first no linguists familiar enough with the cuneiform script to assess its peculiarities, which make it ill-suited for the rendering of an Indo-European language. In order to gain an objective view of the character of Hittite, the Indoeuropeanist Ferdinand Sommer (1875–1964) studied Assyriology with his col-

*Translated from the German original, "Hans Ehelolf und das Berliner Archiv Boğazköy-Archiv," *Das Altertum* 33 (1987): 114–120, with the permission of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.

1. *Die Sprache der Hethiter: ihr Bau und ihre Zugehörigkeit zum indogermanischen Sprachstamm* (Boghazköi-Studien 1–2), Leipzig, 1917.

2. "Die acht Sprachen der Boghazköi-Inschriften," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1919, pp. 2029–41.
3. *Über die Völker und Sprachen des alten Chatti-Landes* (Boghazköi-Studien 5), Leipzig, 1920.
4. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 76 (1922): 174–269.

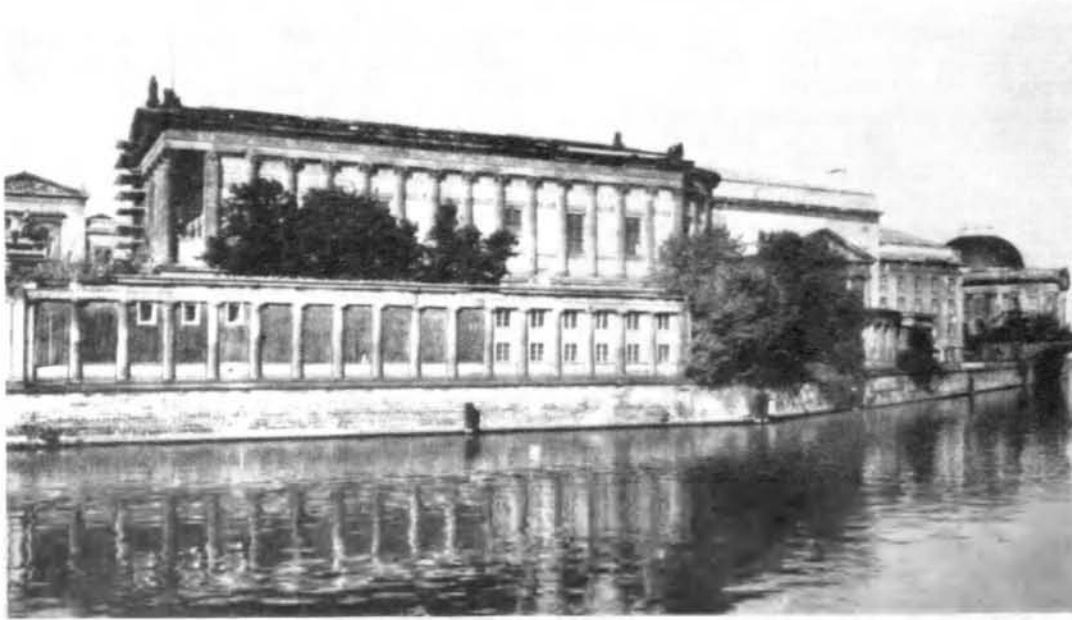


Figure 2. The former work rooms of the West Asiatic Division in the colonnade on the bank of the Spree.
M. Hamann, Berlin

league A. Ungnad. He soon noted that Hrozný had in some cases been misled by the similarity of Hittite with known Indo-European words. The best known example is the Hittite verbal root *dā-* which Hrozný equated with Latin *dare* “to give,” whereas Sommer showed that there are two different verbs one meaning “to take” and the other “to put.” Sommer also found inaccuracies in Forrer’s long article on the languages and decided that he had to work up everything from the sources. In 1920 and 1922 he published brief, but methodologically important articles.⁵ I do not know when F. Sommer first met H. Ehelolf, but it must have been early, since their first common publication appeared as early as 1924.⁶

Hans Ehelolf, born in 1891, received his doctorate in 1914 with a dissertation on a principle of word order in Akkadian,⁷ based on his own observations. His teacher at the University of Marburg was Peter Jensen whose strict philological method, best known from his commentary to his edition of mythological texts, became his model.⁸ As early as 1914 he came to the Near Eastern Department of the Berlin Museum, at first as a volunteer. In 1915 he joined the army and, because of his knowledge of Near Eastern languages, he was assigned to the Turkish Front. At the end of the war he returned to the museum where he first worked on Aššur

5. F. Sommer, *Hethitisches* (Boghazköi-Studien 4), Leipzig, 1920; idem, *Hethitisches, II* (Boghazköi-Studien 7), Leipzig, 1922.

6. F. Sommer and H. Ehelolf, *Das hethitische Ritual des Papanikri von Komana* (Boghazköi-Studien 10), Leipzig, 1924.

7. H. Ehelolf, *Ein Wortfolgeprinzip im Assyrisch-Babylonischen* (Leipziger Semitische Studien VI, 3), Leipzig, 1916.

8. P. Jensen, *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen* (Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek VI/1), Berlin, 1900.

tablets, but soon he devoted his time to the study of Hittite, a field in which almost everything remained to be done. From then on, the work on the Boğazköy material became his main vocation (see fig. 1).

Although he took the exam for entering academic teaching (*Habilitation*) in 1923 at the University of Königsberg, his feeling of duty toward the Boğazköy Project prevented him from entering a full University career. As he once confided to me, this decision was not

easy for him. Even when he, much later (1927), accepted a teaching position at the university of Berlin, his primary job remained at the museum as curator of the tablet collection.

In his own writings, Ehelolf displayed his mastery in a strictly inductive method which Sommer had introduced and which became the model also for other Hittitologists of this early generation like J. Friedrich and A. Goetze. Sommer and Ehelolf became close friends and the latter’s part in the preparation of Sommer’s two main Hittitological works⁹ is evident. I remember how Sommer, during prolonged stays in Berlin, discussed every possible reading with Ehelolf by examining the original tablet. Together they founded the journal *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*, the first volume of which appeared in three fascicles between 1927 and 1930. Unfortunately, financial difficulties made the continuation of its publication impossible.

The Boğazköy Project had several tasks. Most important was the speedy publication of the tablets. For this purpose the Near Eastern Department of the museum started its own publication series. In order to distinguish it from the *Keilschrifttexte* (KBo) of the Orient-Society it was called *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (KUB). The director of the department, O. Weber, was the editor, but Ehelolf was its driving force. The series appeared in the form of folders containing fifty loose sheets, printed on one side. The handcopies of cuneiform texts were reproduced in a relatively inexpensive method called “opalograph.” Ehelolf produced the handcopies for KUB 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 20, 29, 30, 32, and 34, the last three published posthumously. The fi-

9. F. Sommer, *Die Ahhijava-Urkunden*, München, 1932; F. Sommer with A. Falkenstein, *Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattušili I. (Labarna II.)*, München, 1938.

nancing of the series was handled in an account outside of the regular budget in which the proceeds of the sale of one fascicle were used to produce the next. In 1942, when it was feared that the existence of such an unofficial account might arouse the suspicion of the Nazi authorities, fascicles 33 and 34 were published under the auspices of the German Orient Society. Beginning with KUB 35 (1953), the publication of the series was continued by the Academy of the German Democratic Republic.

For readers who know the Berlin Museum, it may be interesting to learn where the Boğazköy Project was housed: In the colonnade that runs along the river Spree (fig. 2)! The building that is still standing between the old National Gallery and the river, colloquially called “*Der Schuppen* (the depot),” housed, apart from storage rooms, the apartment of the Ehelolfs. Ehelolf’s office was situated in the part of the colonnade adjacent to this building on the south east, i.e., towards the street. (cf. fig. 1). In the colonnade, continuing behind the “*Schuppen*,” there was a long flight of rooms: First the conservation laboratory of the museum, then Mrs. Ehelolf’s photographic establishment consisting of studio, darkroom, and archive. There followed two rooms that housed the Boğazköy tablets. Only those tablets that were the property of the museum, bearing VAT numbers, were kept in closed cupboards. Those with Bo numbers, which were in Berlin on temporary loan from Turkey, had to make do with open shelves. These two rooms were used by the Hittitologists who prepared handcopies or collated texts.

A second task resulted from the fact that most of the tablets were in Berlin on temporary loan. They all had to be photographed. This was the task of Mrs. Luise (Liesel) Ehelolf. She had developed a unique method of photographing tablets avoiding deep shadows. There were some 10,000 tablets and fragments to which were added over 3,000 from the new excavations.

A third task consisted of transliterating all hitherto unpublished tablets and fragments. This served the double purpose: (1) to keep a record of the texts even after the tablets were returned to Turkey and (2) to make possible a quick overview of their contents and



Figure 3. View of the excavations in Boğazköy. *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*

thus facilitate the selection of certain groups for publication. The greatest part of this task was carried out by Ehelolf himself. Only fractions were assigned to his pupils: C.-G. von Brandenstein, H. G. Güterbock, and H. Otten.

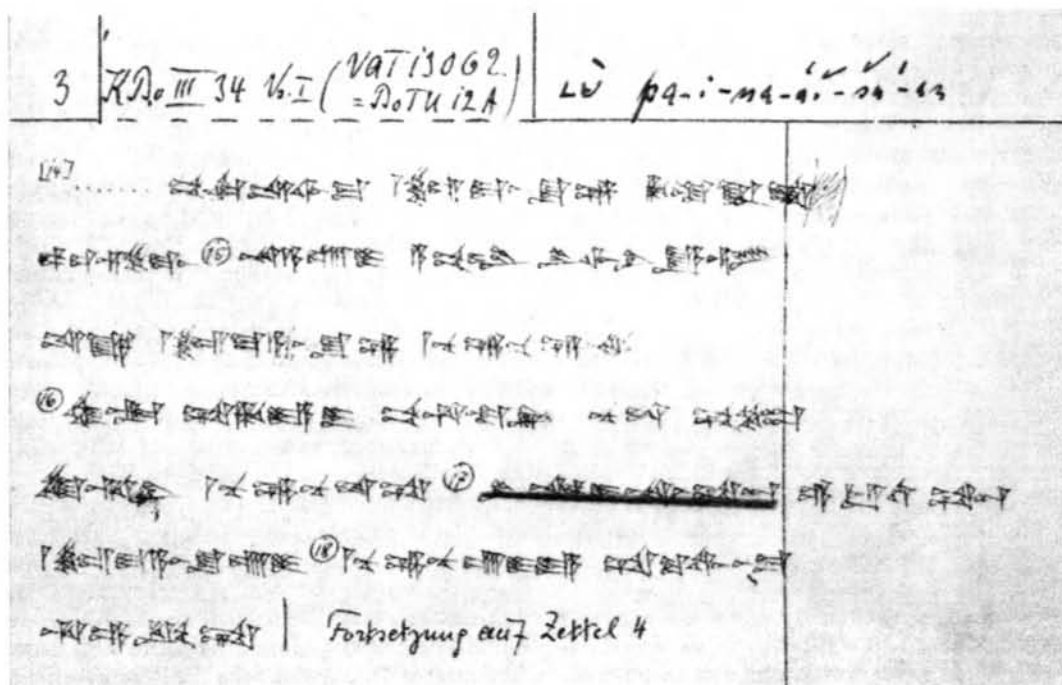
Then the new finds arrived! In 1931 excavations at Boğazköy were resumed as a common undertaking of the German Orient Society and the Istanbul Branch of the German Archaeological Institute. Already in the first season the field director, Kurt Bittel, hit upon a building containing, in the section excavated in that year, some 300 fragmentary tablets. For understandable reasons the Turkish Department of Antiquities did not permit an unlimited loan but rather set a short deadline for the return of the tablets after cleaning, preservation, and photography. Obviously, this meant a considerable workload for all involved: the laboratory, the photographer, and above all Ehelolf himself. The find of tablets in a hitherto untouched part of the acropolis and the prospect of the discovery of more tablets in the same building prompted the Orient Society and its consultant H. Ehelolf to press for the continuation of the excavation. In the short campaign of 1932, 800 fragments were found. These were again loaned to Berlin, this time for one year. In the summer of 1933, the excavation of the building, now known as Building A, was completed. It yielded c. 2,600 fragments including some well preserved large tablets. This time the Department of Antiquities was unwilling to send to Berlin all 2,600 fragments at once. They were divided into three parts, and according to the original stipulation the second batch should have been sent only after the first had been re-

turned. It was only during the work on the first shipment that the authorities could be persuaded to allow the overlapping of the first and second part and later also of the second and third, in order to facilitate the finding of joining fragments. I mention these bureaucratic and technical details because they meant a tremendous workload for Ehelolf. Because of his undaunted sense of duty he transliterated all the fragments received between 1931 and 1933 himself. Beginning in 1934 the tablets were cleaned, photographed, and transliterated in the field. The transliterations were prepared in 1934 and 1935 by H. G. Güterbock, beginning in 1936 by H. Otten. It is no exaggeration to say that Ehelolf's health was undermined by this stress. He often suffered from insomnia. It was no wonder that his body, weakened by the superhuman effort, was unable to overcome an infection to which he succumbed in 1939.

Ehelolf soon began to publish texts from the new excavations. KUB 29 (1938) contained both the betetr preserved pieces of 1933 and groups of fragments dealing with certain subjects such as omens, laws, and horse training. The next volume, KUB 30 (1939), was practically completed by Ehelolf, but was published only after his untimely death. Ehelolf had begun immediately to make handcopies of fragments found in 1931 and 1932, but when the campaign of 1933 brought such a wealth of new material, Ehelolf put those handcopies aside until they might be combined with others, either to groups or even to tablets. After Ehelolf's death, H. Otten published the texts already handcopied in KUB 32 (1942) and KUB 34 (1944). Indeed many of them were later combined with other fragments.

We have seen how much Ehelolf was involved with the organization and realization of the Boğazköy Project. For the grammatical and lexicographical study of the language he started a thesaurus for which the faithful reconstruction of coherent texts is a necessity.

Ehelolf must have started his file collection very early, because when I first met him in 1926 there already existed a fair amount of file boxes. For the files the rendering of the text in cuneiform was chosen. They were copied from the published handcopies. For each 6.5" x 4.0" file card a meaningful section of text was chosen (fig. 4). Long lines of the original texts often had to be broken, because of the smaller size of the card. Traces of signs were rendered exactly as printed and the size of lacunae was indicated by the estimated number of missing signs. In the case of duplicates, each copy was rendered on separate cards. This method was chosen for the highest possible accuracy. For the choice of the cuneiform script the "Berlin Egyptian Dictionary" based on files written in hieroglyphs, served as a model. One may ask whether so much accuracy was really necessary. Today dictionary files are written in transliteration and variants and restorations from duplicates are worked in. However, in the early 1920s the conditions for such rendering did not yet exist. In cases where a cuneiform sign had more than one reading, such as *rittal* and *kaldan*, one shied away from choosing one rendering. The books of F. Thureau-Dangin, *Le Syllabaire Accadien* (1926) and *Les Homophones Sumériens* (1929), which standardized the diacritical marks used for homophonous signs in both languages, had not yet appeared. It is obvious that the drawing of damaged signs is very useful.



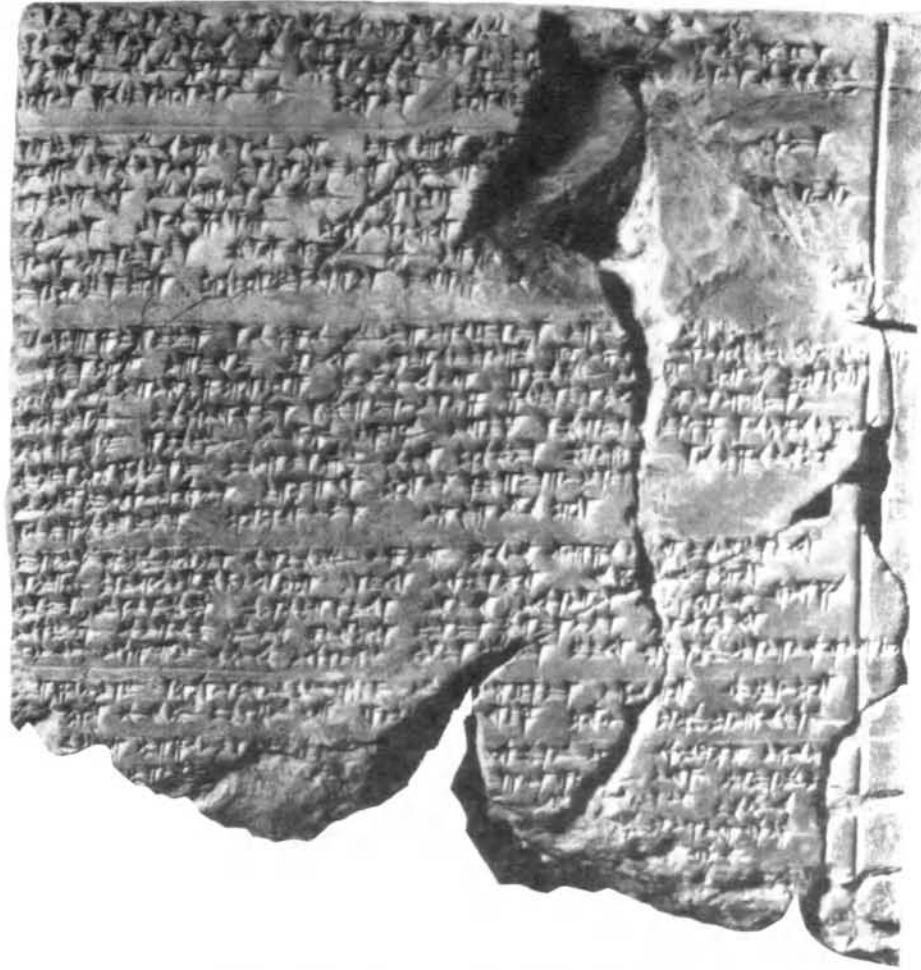


Figure 5. Cuneiform document VAT 13062 (left side)

The handwritten mastercards were prepared not only by Ehelolf himself, but also by Mrs. Ehelolf, who had acquired a sufficient knowledge of the cuneiform script, A. Walther, and H. G. Güterbock. Whether by others also, I do not know. Ehelolf did the parsing and filing himself and kept the file collection in his office.

The dictionary files — to the best of my knowledge Ehelolf never used the word “thesaurus” — were based on the published texts. New text publications were added when they appeared. Apart from the official dictionary file, Ehelolf kept a private file on smaller cards in which he noted new or interesting words occurring in unpublished texts. This private file was the source for the many quotations from unpublished material that Ehelolf used in his own writings, but which he also generously made available to other scholars. This collection was lost in the Second World War.

The official dictionary files, in contrast, survived the war and the work was continued by the East Berlin colleagues under the auspices of the Academy of the GDR.

Hans Ehelolf was a scholar of all embracing knowledge and endowed with a fine feeling for the mentality of ancient times and foreign cultures. Because of his overly critical attitude towards his own work he published the results of his penetrating art of interpretation only rarely. His few articles are masterpieces and show how much he could have contributed to Hittitology if he had been permitted to harvest the fruits of his pioneer work. We must be thankful that at least the foundation that he laid has been preserved as the basis for further study.

A VIEW OF HITTITE LITERATURE*

In attempting to give an outline of Hittite literature we shall try to take the term "literature" in its specific sense, considering as literary mainly such compositions as myths, epics, prayers, and what little exists of poetry. We shall have to include historiography, because historical narrative was a field in which the Hittites excelled from early times on and because many historical texts have their merits also as literary compositions. We are, however, aware of the fact that our definition of "literature" is not that of the ancients. Professor Oppenheim in a recent article¹ pointed out that the great majority of the texts forming what he calls "the main stream of tradition" of Babylonia — others have called it the "canon" because of the standardization it underwent around 1000 B.C. — is scholarly literature in the sense that it consists of the material the scribes considered essential for their training, and that its bulk is made up by word lists, omens, and prescriptions for exorcistic rites. The preference given to these kinds of texts reflects an encyclopedic approach, as Professor Landsberger was the first to point out, insofar as the word lists aim at covering the entire vocabulary, the omens consider all possible occurrences that could be taken as portentous, and the magic rites also aim at complete coverage.

As far as the Hittites are concerned, we shall see that their scribes used this "main stream of Babylonian tradition" as syllabus in their training, too. But they also produced other classes of texts that from our point of view are non-literary, while they themselves treated them as part of their literature. This last statement is based on an observation of the contents of the various tablet collections found in different locations within the Hittite capital, Boğazköy.

Such a study is rendered difficult by the fact that unfortunately the tablets found before World War I in three different locations were hopelessly mixed after

they had reached the museum. In contrast to this, the find spots of all tablets found after the First War have been carefully recorded. Some notes of the first excavator, Hugo Winckler, were recently rediscovered by Professor Otten; they give the find spots of a little over one hundred texts² — out of 10,000 fragments found in those early excavations! Taken together with what was later found in the same buildings as well as in some others, and also taking into account what texts were absent in the places recently excavated, one can get a rough, though incomplete, picture of the contents of the various collections.

It would seem that one building in particular deserves the name "library." This is a building situated on the slope of the acropolis, above the main temple of the city, partly excavated by Winckler in 1911 and re-investigated in recent years including the campaigns of 1960 and 1961.³ Most of what may be called "scholarly" and "literary" texts seem to have been kept there: vocabularies, omens, epics, and texts of the "historical tradition" — categories to which we shall return. On the other hand, the largest number of state treaties was found by Winckler in the temple precinct; this fits the statement contained in some treaties that they were deposited in the temple.

However, the majority of the texts found in each of the six or seven buildings that contained tablets, are rituals; that is, detailed prescriptions, on the one hand, for the performance of the cult festivals and, on the other, for magic or exorcistic rites. These texts, then, must have been considered part of the literature deemed worthy of being kept in a library. This is borne out by the colophons or scribal subscripts and by the Hittite catalogues of tablets, which clearly show that all the categories so far mentioned, whether they are for us "literary" or "non-literary," as well as some others not enumerated here, were registered and catalogued in the same way.⁴

*Reprinted from the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 84 (1964): 107–115, with the permission of the American Oriental Society.

Presidential address, read at the 172nd meeting of the American Oriental Society at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on April 4, 1962.

1. *Current Anthropology* 1 (1960) 409–423.

2. Cf. H. Otten, *MIOF* 5 (1957) 26. I am indebted to Prof. Otten for a copy of his list of texts thus identified.

3. Tablets found in and near this building are published in vols. XII and XIII of *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (KBo).

4. A classified list of Hittite texts with bibliographical references was published by E. Laroche, "Catalogue des textes

Apart from this approach based on the local distribution of texts, there is the possibility of a diachronic study. Hittite history can be roughly divided into an Old Kingdom, beginning in the 17th century (according to the "middle" chronology), and a New Kingdom or Empire period, covering most of the 14th and all of the 13th century B.C. That the language underwent a development over this long time span has long been seen, and historical texts, containing the names of rulers and often written in the name of a certain king, are immediately dated. In recent years the observation of a special, old form of handwriting, found only in texts that are old also on linguistic grounds, has made possible the recognition of original Old Kingdom manuscripts as opposed to later copies of Old Kingdom texts. Thus we know that old manuscripts were kept until the end of the Empire (shortly after 1200 B.C.) and that some old texts were copied in the New Kingdom.

Concerning the problem of when and where the Hittites learned the cuneiform system, I still think — despite other theories — that it was during the early part of the Old Kingdom, around 1650 B.C., and in Syria; for it seems more than accidental that the details of orthography have their closest analogies in Syria,⁵ and the oldest texts preserved date from the reign of king Hattusili I, who was also the first Hittite king to extend his activities into northern Syria.

On the analogy of later civilizations it may be assumed that the Hittites at first used the newly acquired script to write the language for which it had been used by their teachers, that is, Akkadian, and only secondarily proceeded to write their own language as well. This assumption finds some support in the fact that the annals of Hattusili I were written in Akkadian and only centuries later, during the New Kingdom, translated into Hittite.⁶ A literary composition about events taking place during the siege of the Syrian town of Urshu also is in Akkadian.⁷ The step to writing Hittite was, however, already taken during Hattusili's own reign; for we have fragments of an elaborate account of his war against the town of Hassuwa and its ally, the king of Aleppo, written in the Old Hittite language and in the old handwriting.⁸ The political testament of the same

king⁹ is a bilingual, Akkadian and Hittite, in which the Hittite version shows the characteristics of the old language (although the preserved manuscript is late), so that we may assume that it was composed in both languages from the outset. Yet, the fact that it was also written in Akkadian seems to indicate that this was still regarded the proper means of written expression. The same is true of the famous Proclamation of Telipinu,¹⁰ of which an Akkadian version exists although this king lived several generations later and although this regulation of the succession to the throne is a purely internal affair (in contrast to international treaties which were written in Akkadian because this was the language of diplomacy).¹¹

Another observation also points in the same direction. The Old Hittite texts contain some Akkadograms (that is, words written syllabically in Akkadian in a Hittite context and read in Hittite) that later fell into disuse. This phenomenon, too, can best be explained under the assumption that the stage at which writing Akkadian was considered natural was not yet forgotten.

What, then, are the Old Hittite texts?¹² We already mentioned the annals of Hattusili I written in Akkadian. Since his reign can be dated to about 1630 B.C., they are the oldest known example of annalistic writing, antedating the Assyrian annals by about three centuries. While these annals are written in a rather dry, enumerative style, other historical compositions of the Old Kingdom are very elaborate and detailed. Some of these, like the above-mentioned text about the war against Hassuwa and others, must have been written shortly after the events. Others, which contain motifs belonging to the realm of myth or fairytale, may reflect a popular tradition about the remote past. A fragment found in 1960, which mentions a certain Anum-ḫerwa¹³ (probably identical with king Anum-ḫirbi of Ma'ama whose letter, in Old Assyrian, was found in the city of Kanesh)¹⁴ and also speaks of the troops of Zalpa, seems to belong in this category if the badly mutilated text is correctly understood. The mention of a boy who grew up, of cattle and a sack filled with chaff, as well as the phrase "he notices [no]thing" seem to point in this direction. In addition, there are other Old Hittite texts mixing history with myth, one of them again dealing with the history of the Anatolian town of Zalpa.

hittites," *RHA* 14–16 (1956–1958); hereafter *Cat.* with number. For ancient tablet catalogues see there, No. 188, and E. Laroche, "La bibliothèque de Ḫattuša," *Arch. Or.* 17/2 (1949) 7–23; cf. also H. Otten, "Bibliotheken im Alten Orient," *Das Altertum* 1 (1955) 67–81.

5. Th. V. Gamkrelidze, "The Akkado-Hittite Syllabary and the Problem of the Origin of the Hittite Script," *Arch. Or.* 29 (1961) 406–418.
6. KBo X 1–3; H. Otten, *MDOG* 91 (1958) 75–84.
7. *Cat.* 29 {CTH 7}.
8. *Cat.* 7 {CTH 15}; photograph in *MDOG* 86 (1953) 60 Abb. 28.

9. *Cat.* 6 {CTH 6}.

10. *Cat.* 21 {CTH 19}.

11. *Cat.* 20, a, {CTH 21, I} by the same king, and many later treaties.

12. Cf. A. Kammenhuber, "Die heth. Geschichtsschreibung," *Saeculum* 9 (1958) 136–155, esp. 136–144 on the Old Kingdom.

13. KBo XII 3 {CTH 2}.

The figure of Anum-ḫirwe takes us back to the latest phase of the age of the Assyrian merchant colonies, a time that preceded the foundation of the Hittite kingdom. The events told in the inscription of king Anitta of Kussar¹⁵ belong to a period slightly after Anum-ḫirwe but still earlier than the Hittite kingdom. This text is in Old Hittite, and one of the manuscripts is old, that is, both the language and the handwriting would point to the Old Kingdom. It seems to me that the most likely theory about the origin and age of this inscription still is that it was originally written by Anitta in Old Assyrian, and translated into Hittite in the early part of the Old Kingdom, that is, some 150 years after the events. But in contrast to the partly legendary Anum-ḫirwe story this is the translation of an authentic historical account.

In order to gain an impression of the scope of writing during the Old Kingdom we may briefly list other texts of which old manuscripts exist, although the list will contain genres that we would not call literary by our modern standards. In addition to the historiographic texts already mentioned, there are: An elaborate ritual for the purification of the royal couple,¹⁶ fragments of festival rituals¹⁷ (it will be noticed that these belong to the two categories of ritual texts mentioned before as worthy of inclusion in the “libraries”); the Laws¹⁸ and two treaties,¹⁹ some land deeds, which still use Akkadian for their legal stipulations,²⁰ and some texts in the Hattic language, that is in the language of the indigenous, pre-Indo-European inhabitants of the land of Hatti.

Some of these Hattic texts are literary in the proper sense: they are even poems, since they are written in stanzas of a fixed number of verses.²¹ Since they cannot as yet be understood I refrain from giving examples. But it is significant that the Indo-European-speaking Hittites began already in the Old Kingdom to write down the religious litanies of their predecessors, whose gods they also took over. In the poetic passages we may very well have before us the first record of a poetry that was until then transmitted orally.

To the still unintelligible Hattic poems may be added the only example of a Hittite poem discovered so far. It is contained in one of the partly legendary, partly historical Old Hittite texts mentioned before.²² In this story someone sings as follows, referring to Nesa, the old capital:

*Nesas waspas, Nesas waspas
tiya-mu tiya
nu-mu annas-mas katta arnut
tiya-mu tiya
nu-mu uwas-mas katta arnut
tiya-mu tiya*

A tentative translation may be offered although some details remain problematic:

Clothes of Nesa, clothes of Nesa
put on me, put!
Bring down to me those of my mother —
put (them) on me, put!
Bring down to me those of my ...—
put (them) on me, put !

Before leaving the Old Kingdom we should mention the historical introduction to the Proclamation of Telipinu, a text already alluded to. In order to justify his regulation of the succession to the throne and of jurisdiction over the royal house, this king tells the entire history of the Old Kingdom under the motto that unity makes strong while disunity leads to disaster. This is a remarkable achievement, unique in its period (sixteenth century), since it is historiography from a definite viewpoint.

After a dark period from which texts are lacking there follows the New Kingdom or Empire which lasted from shortly after 1400 to shortly after 1200 B.C. The great majority of all Hittite texts belong to this period. Apart from very few Akkadian texts in a kind of Old Babylonian writing of which it is hard to tell whether it is genuinely old or merely archaizing, the texts of the “main stream of Babylonian tradition” mentioned earlier were written during the New Kingdom.^{22a} The main categories of this learned Babylonian literature are: vocabularies, omens, hemerologies, medical texts, rituals and incantations, hymns and prayers, and proverbs. The Gilgamesh Epic may also be included, at least its Akkadian version. Such texts were copied in the schools in their original languages, Sumerian and Akkadian, and often provided with Hittite translations, either on the same tablet or on separate tablets. The main reason

14. K. Balkan, *Letter of King Anum-ḫirbi of Mama ...* (Ankara, 1957).

15. *Cat.* 5 {CTH 1}; copy A in old writing.

16. *Cat.* 324 {CTH 416}; both copies are in the old handwriting.

17. *Cat.* 531, 12, A {CTH 669, 24}.

18. Cf. *JCS* 15 (1961) 64 f.; 16 (1962) 17–23.

19. The Ḫapiru treaty, Otten, *ZA* 52 (1957) 216–223 (KUB XXXVI 106 and KBo IX 73 are parts of one tablet!) {CTH 27}, and *Cat.* 18 {CTH 39, 10} by king Zidanda.

20. *Cat.* 154 {CTH 221, 1}; 156; edited by K. Riemschneider, *MIOF* 6 (1958) 321–381. *Cat.* 156, 1 and 3 {CTH 222, 1, 2} (Riemschneider Nos. 3 and 4) are the oldest.

21. KUB XXVIII, p. iv f., “Gruppe II”; No. 24 is in old handwriting.

22. *Cat.* 27 {CTH 16, b}, a, lines 13–15; cf. B. Hrozný, *Arch. Or.* 1 (1929) 297.

22a. However, the discovery, in 1964, of a fragment of Hittite omens in the old writing now pushes the date back at least for this class of texts.

for this activity must have been that this was the way in which learning was organized in Babylonia and that the knowledge of Akkadian was necessary not only for those scribes who were to serve in the foreign office but even for the writing of Hittite.

It would be wrong to judge the Hittite scribes only on the basis of their — admittedly not always very successful — Assyriological endeavors, or to regard the literature of the Hittites as an offshoot of that of Babylonia. Already what we have said about the Old Kingdom shows that this people developed a literature of its own. And therein lies the value of the discovery of the Hittite tablets, in contrast to contemporary Greece, from where so far only administrative documents are known but no literary texts. The achievement of the Hittites is just this: that they learned the Babylonian writing and put it to good use in writing down their own literature.

Even in some fields in which Babylonian models were used, the Hittites freely changed and adapted them. This has been shown for two categories of texts: hymns and the Gilgamesh Epic. Professor Otten was able, on the basis of new fragments, to reconstruct a large part of the first tablet of the Hittite Gilgamesh Epic and to show that it is very much abridged, leaving out some of the episodes taking place in Uruk, the Sumerian town of the hero, and concentrating on his adventure in the Cedar Mountain, situated in a region in which the Hittites were more interested.²³ About hymns to the Sun-god I published a paper some years ago in the *Journal of this Society*, showing how the author had made free use of Babylonian motifs without following a Babylonian model as a whole, and adding some details of his own.²⁴

One of the most prolific authors of the Hittites was king Mursili II, who reigned around 1330 B.C. When I call a king an author I am aware of the fact that kings in general were illiterate and had to rely on the services of the learned scribes. But sometimes we are told by the scribes that they took down one or the other text "from the mouth of the king." And although none of these statements refers specifically to Mursili, his personality speaks so vividly from the texts that go under his name that it is obvious that he must at least have given directions for their formulation, if he did not actually dictate them.

Mursili wrote his own annals in two versions. As an example I read the introduction to one of them:²⁵

Even before I sat down on the throne of my father, all the neighboring enemy countries began hostilities against me. When my father became god,

my brother Arnuwanda ascended to the throne of his father, but afterwards he fell ill. And when the enemy countries heard of the illness of my brother Arnuwanda, they began hostilities.

But when my brother Arnuwanda became god, then even those enemy countries that had not been hostile before began hostilities. And they said,

"His father, who was king of Hatti, he was a mighty king and kept the enemy countries subdued; but he became god!

"His son who ascended to the throne, he, too, formerly was a hero, but he fell ill and became god, too!

"But he who now sat down on his father's throne is a child and will not be able to save Hatti-land and the frontiers of Hatti!"

Now, while my father sojourned in Mitanni-land, he tarried on that sojourn, so that the festivals of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, were neglected.

Therefore, when I, My Majesty, ascended to the throne of my father, even before I went against any of those neighboring enemy countries that had opened hostilities against me, I first took care of the regular festivals of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, and performed them. And I lifted my hands to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, and prayed thus:

"O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady! Those neighboring enemy countries that called me a child and belittled me and tried to take thy territory away — thou, o Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, stand by me and smite those neighboring enemy countries for me!"

And the Sun-goddess of Arinna listened to my word and stood by me. And from the time when I ascended to my father's throne, I defeated those neighboring enemy countries within ten years, and smote them.

The text then gives the detailed account of the campaigns of these first ten years of Mursili's reign. The piety expressed in the introduction is not an empty phrase; we shall see more of this king's religious feelings.

Mursili also wrote a detailed work about the deeds of his father, the great conqueror Suppiluliuma, in which he repeatedly stresses his father's personal courage. For lack of time I refrain from quotations. The most famous episode is also the one told with the greatest skill; this is the story of the request of the widow of Tutankhamon for a son of Suppiluliuma whom she wanted to become her husband and king of Egypt.²⁶

Mursili had no easy life. Apart from the constant wars in which he had to face many difficult situations, there was trouble at home. The dowager queen, his stepmother, who was a Babylonian princess, caused trouble in the palace by introducing foreign mores and

23. H. Otten, in P. Garelli, ed., *Gilgameš et sa légende* (1960) 139–143, and in *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 8 (1958) 93–125.

24. *JAOS* 78 (1958) 237–245.

25. The so-called Ten-year Annals, *Cat.* 48, I {CTH 61, I}.

26. Güterbock, "The Deeds of Suppiluliuma," *JCS* 10 (1956); this episode on pp. 94–98.

by her hostility toward Mursili's wife. When the latter died, the king ascribed her death to the curses of the old lady, whom he therefore banished. This act weighed on his conscience, and he addressed several prayers to the gods in order to justify this harsh treatment of the old queen.²⁷

The request of the Egyptian queen had led to the assassination of the Hittite prince by those Egyptians who opposed the marriage plan, and Suppiluliuma had to take revenge by a campaign into Egyptian territory from which his troops brought home an epidemic that lasted long into Mursili's reign. The prayers which Mursili wrote on that occasion are among the most outstanding works of Hittite writing because of the personal piety expressed in them.²⁸

The concept underlying these prayers is that the epidemic is the punishment for some transgression. In Mursili's prayers one may discern a development of his approach. In an early prayer he asks the gods to reveal the cause of their anger and not to let the good perish with the evil, but rather to punish the culprit alone, whether he be one town, one house, or one person.²⁹ In another prayer, he sees in the pestilence the result of a transgression of his father, who broke the oath he had sworn to his older brother and even killed that brother. The gist of this prayer³⁰ is: "All those responsible have died, but I together with my family shall make amends." Still later he mentions the fact that the epidemic came in the wake of his father's Egyptian campaign, but complains that its real cause was not found out by the oracles.³¹ In the next prayer he states that he learned from an old tablet that a treaty had existed between Hatti and Egypt and that in spite of it Suppiluliuma had attacked Egyptian territory, but he stresses his own ignorance of these happenings of the past generation.³² Then in the final prayer he assumes the responsibility as his own.³³

I found two old tablets. One tablet about the offerings to the river Euphrates (neglected since the time of his father).

The second tablet about Kurustamma. (It tells) how the Storm-god of Hatti led the people of Kurus-

tamma into Egypt, how the Storm-god made a treaty between them (i.e., the Egyptians) and the Hittites and they took an oath by the Storm-god.

But the Hittites proceeded to disregard the fact that the Hittites and the Egyptians had been taken under oath by the Storm-god, and the Hittites suddenly broke the oath. My father dispatched troops and chariots, and they attacked Amka, (which was) Egyptian territory. And again he dispatched, and again they attacked.

And so on. There follows the well-known story of the Egyptian request for a prince, his assassination upon arrival, Suppiluliuma's punitive expedition, and the beginning of the epidemic. After this we read:

"When I had found this tablet about Egypt, I asked the gods through the oracles."

The gods answered that indeed this breach of an oath was the cause of their anger. Mursili then says:

"Behold, I have confessed my sin in front of the Storm-god. It is so, we did it!" Later he says:

"O gods, thus it happens: people always sin! My father sinned and transgressed the command of the Storm-god, but I did in no way sin. (However,) thus it happens: The father's sin comes upon his son, and so my father's sin came upon me. And behold, I have confessed it to the Storm-god of Hatti and to the gods, my lords: it is so, we did it! Now since I have confessed the sin of my father, ... have mercy upon me!"

Apart from the true religious feeling that speaks out of this prayer, it is also interesting because it shows that historical records kept in the archives were read and used by later generations.

Prayers exist of many rulers and members of the royal family, but there is no time to follow this one type of religious literature here. Let me only mention a recently published prayer of Muwatalli,³⁴ the son and successor of Mursili II, which was, according to the colophon, taken down "from the mouth of His Majesty." In it the king confesses the sins of the people to Teshub, the Storm-god, as well as to other deities. The occasion for this prayer seems to be the calamity that befell the Hittite kingdom at his time: the loss of the capital which forced the king to take the gods to Kummanni (as this new text puts it). A great part of the prayer consists of sections of the following type:

If any god of the country has enraged the Storm-god, let the Anunnaki reconcile the Storm-god with that god! Thou, O Storm-god, look again at the country with a peaceful eye and cause good peace, well-being, growth, prosperity, and strength to be in the country!

27. *Cat.* 283, E, reverse; *Cat.* 284 {CTH 70, 71}; *JAOS* 78 (1958) 244 n. 56.

28. *Cat.* 279 {CTH 378}.

29. *Cat.* 283 {CTH 376}, Gurney's Section III; A. Goetze in *ANET*, p. 396, "b."

30. *Cat.* 279 {CTH 378}, first version: A. Götze, *Kleinas. Forsch.* 1 (1930) 164-177.

31. *Cat.* 279 {CTH 378}, fourth version: *ibid.* 242-251.

32. *Cat.* 281 {CTH 379}; Güterbock, *RHA* 18/66 (1960) 57-63.

33. *Cat.* 279 {CTH 378}, second version; *Kleinas. Forsch.* 1 (1930) 206-219; *ANET* 394-396, Plague Prayer "a."

34. KBo XI 1.

Anunnaki is the Babylonian term for the gods of the Netherworld. Like other Mesopotamian names of deities it came to the Hittites through the Hurrians.³⁵

At this point we may turn to the Hurrian elements in Hittite literature.

It is well known that Hurrian texts were found in Boğazköy. They are religious in nature, but very little can be said about their contents. Among them there is a ritual for the "Mouth Washing,"³⁶ a rite known from Babylonia. The majority of the Hurrian texts belongs to the New Kingdom; one of the earliest names mentioned in Hurrian texts is Taduḫepa, the wife of Suppiluliuma.³⁷ One ritual text, written in Hittite but containing Hurrian terms, is ascribed to king Palliya of Kizzuwatna,³⁸ probably to be identified with king Piliya of about 1500 B.C. The text describes purification rites for Teshub of Kizzuwatna initiated by Palliya. Relations with Kizzuwatna, that is, South-east Anatolia including the Cilician plain, were strengthened in the thirteenth century. The above-mentioned transfer of the gods to Kummanni, which is another name of the same region, under Muwatalli may have been a factor in this development, and during his reign his brother, Hattusili, married Puduḫepa, the daughter of a priest of Lawazantiya, a town in Kizzuwatna. Later on, as queen, Puduḫepa sent a mission to Kizzuwatna to collect tablets, and a large description of a purification rite, in Hittite but full of Hurrian elements, was written as a result.³⁹ The Storm-god of Aleppo, in this period a Hurrian Teshub, was worshipped even in the Hittite capital already under Muwatalli.⁴⁰

In connection with Babylonian gods we already mentioned the rôle of the Hurrians as intermediaries between Mesopotamia and Anatolia. The same rôle can also be seen in literature. There is a Hurrian version of the Gilgamesh Epic and a Hurrian composition about the kings of Akkad.⁴¹ Thus it is a fair assumption that these Babylonian literary works came to the Hittites through the Hurrians. There are other literary works that can be traced to the same source, either because fragments of Hurrian versions exist or because of the names of gods and heroes contained in them. For example, the action of the Gurparanzaḫ epic is located in Akkad, and the essentially Babylonian concepts underlying the Kumarbi myth are well known.

Having thus reached such literary compositions in the narrowest sense as epics and myths, and before entering into their contents, we should stress a few points.⁴²

First, regardless of the origin of the stories, the Hittite versions of the epics in question contain a great amount of Luwian words. Thus they must have been written by scribes of Luwian background but familiar with Hurrian and other foreign stories. The region of Kizzuwatna, for which both the Hurrian and Luwian languages are attested, would be a likely place of origin for the authors of these Hittite versions.

Second, not all epics have a Mesopotamian-Hurrian background. There are also some that come from Canaan, dealing with El and Ashertu or with a Syrian deified mountain. Ugarit, a Hittite vassal kingdom, was close to Kizzuwatna. One Ugaritic myth, the victory of Hadad over Yam, the Sea, is at least alluded to in one of these Hittite fragments.

Third, the Hittite versions of these foreign myths and epics are the only ones that have a fixed literary form and are — to some extent at least — written in bound language or verse. This is in contrast to the Anatolian myths, which lack standardization and metric form. We shall try to illustrate the difference between the foreign and the Anatolian myths by a few examples. The meter, of course, is lost in translation. But there is also a difference in the sophistication and the involved plots of the foreign myths as compared to the Anatolian ones, which are simpler both in plot and style.

The stories themselves are well known and available in translations, so we can limit ourselves to short samples. I choose one from the Ullikummi Epic, which is of Hurrian background. Ullikummi is a stone monster, begotten and raised by Kumarbi, the dethroned king of the gods, as a rival to Teshub, the new ruler. The Sun-god is the first to see the monster as it grows in the sea. He approaches the house of Teshub to break the news to him.

When he saw the Sun-god coming
Tashmishu began to speak to his brother Teshub:
"Why does he come, the Sun-god of Heaven, the king
of the lands?
The matter about which he comes, that matter is
grave,
it is not to be cast aside!
Strong is it, the struggle,
strong is it, the battle!
Heaven's uproar it is,
the land's hunger and thirst it is!"

35. Cf. H. Otten, *ZA* 54 (1961) 114–157, esp. 115.

36. *Cat.* 389 f. {CTH 777}.

37. *Cat.* 389, 4; 6; 390, 6 [all in CTH 777].

38. *Cat.* 426 {CTH 475}; for duplicates see KBo XIV, *Introd.* ad Nos. 125–126.

39. *Cat.* 433 {CTH 628}; with bibliography.

40. Cf. Güterbock, *Journ. of World History* 2 (1954) 390 [= *Perspectives*, p. 183 — Eds.] with notes 61–63.

41. *Cat.* 230 {CTH 341, II}; 381 {CTH 775}.

42. Myths and epics are listed in *Cat.* under Nos. 227–256 {CTH 341–370} (of south-eastern origin) and Nos. 257–271 {CTH 321–338} (Anatolian). Cf. Güterbock, "Hittite Mythology," in S. N. Kramer, ed., *Mythologies of the Ancient World* (1961) 141–179 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 49–62 — Eds.].

Teshub began to speak to Tashmishu:
 "Let them set up a chair for him to sit,
 let them lay a table for him to eat!"

While thus they were speaking,
 the Sun-god arrived at their house.
 They set up a chair for him to sit,
 but he did not sit down;
 they laid a table for him to eat,
 but he did not reach out;
 they gave him a cup,
 but he did not put his lip to it.

Teshub began to speak to the Sun-god:
 "Is the chamberlain bad who set up the chair,
 so that thou satest not down?
 Is the steward bad who laid the table, so that thou atest
 not?
 Is the cupbearer bad who gave thee the cup,
 so that thou drankest not?"

As a common feature of these foreign myths it can be said that they belong into the great tradition of Near Eastern epic literature, whether the motifs are Canaanite, Hurrian, or Mesopotamian.

In contrast, no Mesopotamian motifs are found in the Anatolian myths. The stories are relatively simple: the fight of the Storm-god with the Dragon, and the God Who Hides. Both are recognizable as nature myths. These myths were not transmitted as literary works in their own right but rather as stories told in the course of a ritual: the Dragon Fight on the occasion of the spring festival, and the myth of the Hiding God in a ritual aimed at bringing him back and reconciling him with the person afflicted by his anger. Nor do these myths have a fixed form. The Dragon Fight is told in two different versions in the same ritual text. And there are many gods in the rôle of the Vanishing or Hiding God: the great Storm-god; Telipinu, who also belongs to the type of Storm-gods; and the local Storm-god of the town of Kuliwisna. Also goddesses: Inara and Anzili, appear in the same rôle. Even rituals dealing with one single god contain different versions of his story.

Most of the deities have Hattic names. Thus it seems that we are here dealing with "oral literature" in the sense of myths living in the oral tradition of Hatti since pre-Indo-European times, from which the authors of the individual rituals could freely draw, adding a detail here, leaving one out or changing one there.

We find a similar situation with regard to the other two Indo-European languages of Anatolia, Luwian and Palaic. All texts written wholly or partly in these languages are rituals; many consist of litanies or magic spells, but inserted in the spells some mythological tales are found which, as far as they can be understood, are close in content and form to Anatolian stories written in Hittite.

As example of an Anatolian myth I choose an episode from the Vanishing God type of stories. The begin-

ning of the story, broken in most versions, has recently been reconstructed by Professor Laroche for the version concerning the goddess Anzili.⁴³

The midwife speaks as follows:

"... (first line not clear, perhaps referring to an offering)
 Anzili was enraged. [..... (one sentence lost again)]
 Her left shoe she put on her right foot,
 her right shoe she put on her left foot.
 Her dress [she].
 She pinned her pectoral on the back of her dress,
 of her veil she let the rear part come down in front
 and the front part in back.
 She rose and left the bed-chamber.
 Fog seized the house,
 smoke seized the window.
 On the pedestal the gods were afflicted,
 in the fireplace the logs were afflicted,
 in the fold the sheep were afflicted,
 in the corral the cows were afflicted,
 [the were afflict]ed,
 his wife [..... was aff]licted."

[KUB 33.67 I 25-32, KUB 33.36 II 5-10 — Eds.]

The mention of the wife — presumably the wife of the man for whom the ritual was performed — is of interest, since it is new here. In view of the fact that the person reciting this particular story is a midwife, we may safely say that in this case the ritual for appeasing the angry goddess was performed for a woman who had difficulties in giving birth. Other versions of the Vanishing God myth were probably used for other occasions, but there is no hint at any connection with the seasons.

We have tried to give a picture of the scope of Hittite literature. If I may briefly sum up the points that seem essential, I would repeat the following:

1. What the Hittites considered literature includes categories that for us are non-literary.
2. Most categories of texts are found in all tablet collections with a preference for scholarly and truly literary works in the "House on the Slope."
3. The most common types of texts, including rituals, begin in the Old Kingdom.
4. Historiography was highly developed, also beginning in the Old Kingdom.
5. The personality of individual rulers vividly speaks from their historical accounts and particularly from prayers.
6. Hittite literature contained many different elements: The "main stream of Babylonian tradi-

43. *RHA* 19/68 (1961) 25 f. [CTH 333].

tion" in the school; Hattic, Luwian and Palaic liturgies and tales; Hurrian epics, myths, and other religious compositions; some Canaanite myths.

7. All these diverse elements were controlled by a class of learned men who wrote in the language

which we call Hittite. It is to these ancient scholars that we owe our knowledge of Hittite literature.

HETHITISCHE LITERATUR*

Bevor eine Darstellung der hethitischen Literatur versucht werden kann, müssen die beiden Begriffe »hethitisch« und »Literatur« definiert werden.

»Hethitisch« im Sinne dieses Kapitels ist zunächst die von der modernen Forschung so benannte, in Keilschrift auf Tontafeln überlieferte indogermanische Amtssprache des Hethiterreiches, das von ca. 1650 v. Chr. (mittlere Chronologie) bis kurz nach 1200 v. Chr. bestand. Die in sogenannten hethitischen Hieroglyphen geschriebenen Texte, die um 1300 v. Chr. einsetzen und bis etwa 700 v. Chr. reichen, bleiben außer Betracht; denn die meisten von ihnen sind kurze Bau- oder Weihinschriften, also nicht literarisch, und die wenigen längeren Texte, die ausführlich von den Taten eines Herrschers berichten und damit allenfalls als Geschichtsschreibung zur Literatur gerechnet werden können, sind schon durch ihr spätes Datum (9.–8. Jahrhundert v. Chr.) von der Literatur des Hethiterreiches abgerückt, während diejenigen des 13. Jahrhunderts noch unverständlich sind. Die Sprache dieser Hieroglyphentexte ist nicht das Hethitische im eben definierten Sinne, vielmehr das ebenfalls indogermanische Luwische.

Fast alle hethitischen Tontafeln wurden in den Ruinen der hethitischen Hauptstadt Hattuša bei dem Dorfe Boğazköy (neuerdings Boğazkale), ca. 200 km östlich von Ankara, gefunden, literarische Texte ausschließlich dort. Unter diesen Tafeln ist die hethitische Sprache bei weitem am stärksten vertreten, sie ist aber keineswegs die einzige. Sumerische und akkadische Texte zeugen von der Pflege mesopotamischer Schultradition, und das Akkadische wurde auch für die Abfassung eigener Texte verwendet. Daneben sind andere, mehr oder weniger »einheimische« Sprachen vertreten, und einige der in diesen Sprachen vorliegenden Texte sind von Interesse für das Verständnis der hethitischen Literatur. Diese Sprachen sind:

1. Das schon genannte indogermanische »Luwische«, das außer in Hieroglyphen auch in Keilschrifttexten vertreten und wohl im Süden Kleinasiens zuhause ist.

2. Das ebenfalls indogermanische, nur durch wenige bruchstückhafte Texte vertretene »Palaische« aus dem Norden des Landes.

In diesen beiden Sprachen liegen hauptsächlich Beschwörungen vor, die aber auch mythologische Partien enthalten.

3. Das »Churritische«, das im 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. über ein weites Gebiet vom Zagros bis zum Mittelmeer in Gebrauch war. Es gehört weder zum indogermanischen noch zum semitischen Sprachstamm. Die Churriter waren in vielen Fällen die Vermittler babylonischen Geistesgutes, und ihr Einfluß auf das Schrifttum der Hethiter ist beträchtlich.
4. Die von den Hethitern selbst als »hattili«, d.h. Sprache des Landes Hatti, bezeichnete Sprache, für die die Forschung die Termini »Protohattisch« oder »Hattisch« eingeführt hat, um sie vom »Hethitischen« zu unterscheiden. Offenbar war diese isoliert dastehende, agglutinierende Sprache diejenige, die die indogermanisch sprechenden Hethiter im Lande Hatti vorfanden. Sie übernahmen nicht nur den Namen des Landes, sondern auch die Götter der einheimischen Bevölkerung und pflegten deren Sprache im Kult. Auch unter den hattischen Texten gibt es solche, die zu literarischen Gattungen gehören.

Somit zeigt das Schrifttum des Hethiterreiches viele Züge einer Mischkultur, und bei der Betrachtung der hethitischen Literatur muß daher der Anteil der durch die genannten Sprachen vertretenen Bevölkerungsgruppen an ihrem Zustandekommen im Auge behalten werden.

Für die zuletzt genannten vier Sprachen ist die Erforschung des Wortschatzes und für die beiden letzten auch der Struktur noch im Fluß. Im Gegensatz dazu kann das Hethitische als im wesentlichen bekannt bezeichnet werden, obwohl es auch da noch manche Wortbedeutungen zu klären gibt. Diese relativ gute Kenntnis der Sprache beruht auf der großen Zahl und Vielfältigkeit der hethitischen Texte; diese wiederum erklärt sich aus dem Gebrauch des Hethitischen als Amtssprache. Und es ist diese Sprache, die das vornehmste Ausdrucksmittel der hethitischen Kultur ist.

Der Begriff »Literatur« kann hier weder in dem weitesten, alles Geschriebene umfassenden, noch auch in dem engsten, auf »Schöne Literatur« und Dichtung beschränkten Sinne gefaßt werden. Sucht man nach

*Reprinted from *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft. Band 1*, W. Röllig, ed. (Wiesbaden: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1978), pp. 211–253, with the permission of Aula Verlag (originally published by Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion).

einer auf die Fülle der hethitischen Texte anwendbaren Abgrenzung dessen, was für die Alten als »Literatur« galt, so bietet sich das Beispiel Babyloniens an. Mit der Keilschrift übernahmen die hethitischen »Schreiber« (um dieses abgegriffene Wort für die der Keilschrift mächtigen Verwaltungsbeamten, Gelehrten und Dichter anzuwenden) auch einen Teil der babylonischen Literatur und vor allem der Schreibertechnik. Als äußeres Anzeichen dafür, was die Hethiter selbst für würdig befanden, tradiert, abgeschrieben und in Tafelserien zusammengefaßt zu werden, können die Tafelunterschriften (Kolophone) und die leider nur sehr fragmentarisch erhaltenen Tafelkataloge dienen. Die Kataloge¹ verzeichnen überwiegend Ritualtexte, darunter Festrituale und hethitische »medizinische« Texte, ferner Omina, und nur ausnahmsweise königliche Erlasse und einen Staatsvertrag. Tafelunterschriften finden sich auf Tafeln der eben genannten Gattungen, dazu bei Annalen, Staatsverträgen und Dienstanweisungen, bei einigen der Pferdetrainingsvorschriften, bei der Gesetzsammlung, dann bei Gebeten und schließlich auch bei Epen und anderen im engeren Sinne literarischen Texten. Nur ein kleiner Teil der in den Katalogen verzeichneten Texte ist gefunden worden; umgekehrt sind auch die Kataloge unvollständig, so daß es wohl nur Zufall ist, wenn ganze Textgruppen dort (noch) nicht vertreten sind. Unter den kleinen, von den Ausgräbern »Etikett« genannten Täfelchen, die jeweils nur einen Titel nennen, befindet sich wenigstens eines für einen Annalentext.

Wie man sieht, betrachteten auch die Hethiter nicht alles Geschriebene als »Literatur«. Ausgeschlossen blieben die meisten administrativen Texte wie Schenkungsurkunden, Personen- und (mit geringen Ausnahmen) Gegenstandslisten; die Tafelkataloge selbst; Briefe (literarische Briefe fehlen!); die sogenannten Gerichtsprotokolle und die Aufzeichnungen über Orakelanfragen, obwohl bei den zwei letztgenannten Gattungen gelegentlich Tafelunterschriften zu finden sind. Briefe und Orakelanfragen geben ihren ephemeren Charakter oft schon durch die Flüchtigkeit der Schrift zu erkennen. Der Umstand, daß bei den Vokabularen nur ganz wenige Unterschriften vorliegen, ist auf den schlechten Erhaltungszustand der Tafeln zurückzuführen; Vokabulare, die nur kurze Vermerke wie »Nicht beendet« tragen, sind wohl als Entwürfe oder Schülertafeln zu werten. Denn gerade bei dem markantesten Produkt der babylonischen Gelehrsamkeit erwartet man die Anwendung der Schreibertechnik.

Dieser Überblick über die verschiedenen Textgruppen war notwendig, um dem Leser einen Begriff des Vorhandenen zu geben und diejenigen Kategorien

herauszuheben, die für die Hethiter und ihre babylonischen Lehrmeister wichtig und tradierend wertvoll waren. Im Sinne dieses Handbuchs ist auch davon noch vieles auszuschneiden.

Zunächst dürfen beiseite bleiben die Vokabulare und »Omensammlungen«, da diese völlig von den mesopotamischen Vorbildern abhängig sind. Daß sie auf altbabylonische oder zumindest »vorkanonische« Fassungen zurückgehen, interessiert die babylonische, nicht die hethitische Literaturgeschichte. So wie die meisten sumerisch-akkadischen Vokabulare mit einer hethitischen Übersetzung versehen wurden, so gibt es in Boğazköy auch von den Omina akkadische, churritische, hethitische und zweisprachig akkadisch-hethitische Fassungen, wobei aber keine eigene Weiterentwicklung der Gattung durch die Hethiter festzustellen ist. Dies steht im Gegensatz zu anderen Textgattungen, bei denen babylonische Vorbilder frei verarbeitet sind und die noch zu besprechen sein werden.

Eine besondere Stellung nehmen die »Beschwörungsrituale« ein. Wie erwähnt, sind sie unter den katalogisierten und mit Kolophonen versehenen Texten besonders zahlreich. Dazu kommt, daß die meisten von ihnen bestimmten Individuen in den Mund gelegt sind: der übliche Textanfang lautet »So spricht NN, der Beschwörer« (oder ähnlich), was im Kolophon und im Katalog durch »Worte des NN ... « aufgenommen wird. Man hat diese Personen als »Verfasser« bezeichnet, und das könnte diese Ritualtexte zu wirklichen Literaturwerken stempeln! Aber es ist daran zu erinnern, daß nur ganz wenige Textgruppen einen Urheber erwähnen. Außer den Erlassen und Gebeten der Könige und der Königsfamilie, die einen besonderen Platz einnehmen, sind es nur die von einem gewissen Kikkuli aus Mitanni stammende Trainingsanweisung für Wagenpferde und eben die Beschwörungsrituale. Kikkuli und die Beschwörungspriester und -priesterinnen sind in erster Linie als Urheber oder Lehrmeister bestimmter, als erfolgreich angesehener Trainings- bzw. magischer Prozeduren genannt. Die Texte selbst sind einfache Vorschriften und nichts weniger als »literarisch«.

In Babylonien ist die Gattung der *Beschwörungen* durch zahlreiche sumerische und akkadische Texte vertreten, und in vielen von ihnen erreichen die eigentlichen Beschwörungsformeln, die stets von den Ritualanweisungen getrennt geschrieben sind, ein solches religiöses wie dichterisches Niveau, daß sie durchaus zur Literatur zu rechnen, ja mit den Psalmen vergleichbar sind. Die hethitischen Schreiber kannten diese Literatur, wie die in Boğazköy gefundenen akkadischen Beschwörungstexte beweisen².

1. Bequem zugänglich in: CTH S. 153–193. Zu den Etiketten ebda. S. 40 f.

2. CTH Nr. 800 ff., darunter auch sogenannte medizinische Texte, d.h. Heilungsrituale.

Unter den churritischen Boğazköy-Texten gibt es eine mindestens 14 Tafeln umfassende Serie, die nach der (hethitisch geschriebenen) Unterschrift der babylonischen Beschwörungsserie »Mundwaschung« entsprechen soll³. Von dem rein churritischen Text ist noch zu wenig verständlich, als daß ein Vergleich mit dem akkadischen Vorbild möglich wäre. Laut Kolophon sind manche Tafeln dieser Serie »aus dem Munde seiner Majestät«, also anscheinend nach Diktat eines (ungenannten) Königs niedergeschrieben, dann aber nach Tafeln aus der Stadt Šapinuwa kollationiert worden⁴. Andere »aus dem Munde der Majestät« geschriebene Texte sind ein Gebet des Muwatalli und ein Beschwörungsritual⁵. Bei einem Gebet ist die persönliche Autorschaft verständlich; bei einer Serie von churritischen Beschwörungen ist es schwerer einzusehen, warum ein König sie diktiert haben sollte, selbst wenn Churritisch seine Muttersprache war⁶, besonders wenn es schon Tafeln desselben Inhalts gab, mit denen sein Diktat verglichen werden konnte.

Die hethitischen Beschwörungsrituale unterscheiden sich in der Form wesentlich von den babylonischen. Sie beschreiben die magischen Handlungen Schritt für Schritt und fügen die Sprüche jeweils an ihrer Stelle ein. Das gilt auch von einem eigentümlichen hethitischen Ritualtext, in den längere akkadische und sumerische Beschwörungstexte eingefügt sind, darunter das hochpoetische Gebet an die Götter der Nacht⁷. In den meisten hethitischen Beschwörungsritualen dagegen finden sich nur kurze, meistens auf Analogiezauber zielende Sprüche der Art: »Wie dieses ... rein ist, so möge auch der Mensch rein werden«. Längere Sprüche sind oft monotone Aufzählungen oder Litaneien. Ausnahmen sind Rituale, in die mythologische Erzählungen eingefügt sind.

Scheiden so schon drei der wichtigsten babylonischen Gattungen (Vokabulare, Omina und Beschwörungen), obwohl in Boğazköy vorhanden, für eine Betrachtung der hethitischen Literatur aus, so gibt es auch unter den eigentlichen hethitischen Texten Kategorien, die nicht zur Literatur zu rechnen sind, obwohl sie Kolophone aufweisen. Dazu gehören vor allem die kurz »Festrituale« genannten Texte, in denen der Verlauf der oft viele Tage dauernden Kultfeste bis in jede Einzelheit vorgeschrieben ist. Neben den Be-

schwörungsritualen sind sie die weitaus zahlreichste Art unter den Tausenden von Tafelfragmenten. Dabei gehen viele von ihnen auf alte Texte zurück, wie sich aus dem Fund solcher Texte in alter Sprache, dem Weiterleben archaischer Formen auch in späten Handschriften und der beim Vergleich von Duplikaten festzustellenden schrittweisen Modernisierung ergibt. Es liegt also eine lange schriftliche Tradition vor; trotzdem können diese langatmigen und stereotypen Ritualanweisungen keinen Anspruch darauf erheben, Literatur zu sein. Sie enthalten zwar regelmäßig Hinweise auf Gesang oder Rezitation, aber der Wortlaut wird so gut wie nie mitgeteilt. In einem Falle besitzen wir von einem Kultfest eine kurze Fassung ohne und eine ausführliche Fassung mit ausgeschriebenen Texten, aber diese sind hier in hattischer Sprache abgefaßt, also für uns (noch) unverständlich⁸.

Ebenfalls zu den nicht als literarisch anzusehenden Texten gehören die Dienstanweisungen und Vereidigungen. Dasselbe gilt strenggenommen auch von den Staatsverträgen; aber viele von diesen haben ausführliche historische Einleitungen, die als — wenn auch zweckgefärbte — Geschichtsschreibung gewertet werden können und bei dieser besprochen werden sollen.

Somit bleiben die folgenden Textgruppen, die als Literatur im Sinne dieses Handbuchs zu betrachten sind:

Geschichtsschreibung und semi-historische Geschichten; Hymnen und Gebete; Mythen, Epen und andere Erzählungen. Die Kategorien Übersetzungsliteratur und Dichtung, (Lyrik, Epik) sind nicht durch eigene Textgruppen vertreten, sondern durch Texte, die inhaltlich in die eine oder andere der obigen Gruppen fallen. Was die Übersetzungsliteratur betrifft, so bleiben nach Aussonderung der Vokabulare und Omina (s.o.) Übersetzungen eigentlich literarischer Werke zu betrachten. Ferner ist zu untersuchen, inwieweit wirkliche Übersetzungen vorliegen im Gegensatz zu freien Nachdichtungen oder freier Verwendung entlehnter Motive. Endlich sind außer babylonischen auch churritische und kanaanäische Quellen in Betracht zu ziehen.

DATIERUNG UND PERIODISIERUNG

Die erhaltenen königlichen Erlasse und Berichte ermöglichten es der Forschung schon bald, die Abfolge der hethitischen Könige herzustellen. Zwei Perioden konnten so rekonstruiert werden: das sogen. Alte Reich, für das die Eroberung Babylons durch den dritten Herrscher, Muršili I., (1595 v. Chr. mittlere Chronologie) den chronologischen Anknüpfungspunkt gibt, und das Neue Reich, auch Großreich genannt, für dessen

3. CTH Nr. 777 f. mit Nachtrag in: RHA 30 (1972). S. 123 f.

4. KBo 21, 43 und 44; vgl. KUB 29, 8.

5. CTH 382 bzw. 484, 1 A.

6. Hans G. Güterbock In: Cahiers d'histoire mondiale 2 (1954). S. 386–388 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 180–182 — Eds.].

7. CTH Nr. 432; A. L. Oppenheim: A New Prayer to the »Gods of the Night«. In: *Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959). S. 282 ff. Bes. S. 292 ff., vgl. S. 187 f. [in the volume from which this article is reprinted — Eds.].

8. CTH Nr. 591, 2 und 3; KUB 2, 10 ohne, 1, 17 mit hatt. Text.

Datierung ins 14. und 13. Jahrhundert Synchronismen mit dem Ägypten der Amarna-Zeit und mit Ramses II. maßgebend sind. Zwischen dem Alten und Neuen Reich blieb eine Lücke, deren Dauer nur aufgrund der noch immer umstrittenen allgemeinen vorderasiatischen Chronologie bestimmt werden kann. Texte liegen aus dieser Zwischenzeit nicht vor, abgesehen von einigen dürftigen und eben in ihrer historischen Zuweisung umstrittenen Fragmenten. Der seinerzeit für diese Zwischenzeit eingeführte Name »Mittleres Reich« entspricht keiner greifbaren Realität und sollte (auch aus anderen Gründen, s. unten) vermieden werden.

Schon bald wurde beobachtet, daß diejenigen hethitischen Texte, die durch Herrschernamen ins Alte Reich datiert waren, sich auch sprachlich von den Texten des Neuen Reiches unterschieden, so daß man von einer althethitischen Sprachstufe sprechen konnte. In der Boğazköy-Ausgrabung von 1952 wurde dann ein Tafelbruchstück in einer alten Bauschicht gefunden, das einen in eben dieser althethitischen Sprache geschriebenen Text enthielt, außerdem aber auch durch einen besonderen Schriftduktus auffiel. Die sogleich von Güterbock und Otten geäußerte Vermutung, daß dieser auch in anderen Fällen schon beobachtete Duktus spezifisch alt sei, wurde in der Folgezeit durch die Beobachtung bestätigt, daß alle Tafeln, die diesen Schriftduktus aufweisen, auch in »althethitischer Sprache« abgefaßt sind. Das ermöglichte es, auch andere als historische Texte ins Alte Reich zu datieren und alte Handschriften von jüngeren Kopien zu unterscheiden. Es zeigte sich, daß in den Tontafelsammlungen der Hauptstadt alte Texte bis zum Ende des Reiches aufbewahrt wurden.

Aufgrund dieses vermehrten althethitischen Materials wurde dann weiter beobachtet, daß manche der orthographischen und morphologischen Eigentümlichkeiten des Althethitischen noch bis in die ersten Generationen des Neuen Reiches fortlebten, d.h. bis zu den Vorgängern des großen Šuppiluliuma. Für diese Sprachstufe verwenden manche Forscher den Ausdruck »mittelhethitisch«. Es muß dabei aber betont werden, daß dieser sprachgeschichtliche Ausdruck nichts mit dem oben erwähnten hypothetischen »Mittleren Reich« zu tun hat, sich vielmehr auf den frühen Teil des Neuen Reiches bezieht.

Diese Beobachtungen haben es ermöglicht, einige Texte genauer zu datieren. Leider besteht diese Möglichkeit (noch) nicht für alle Textgruppen, eine Geschichte der hethitischen Literatur kann daher noch nicht geschrieben werden. Bei der folgenden Betrachtung der einzelnen Gattungen sollen aber die schon jetzt erkennbaren Alterskriterien berücksichtigt werden.

Es lohnt sich, an diesem Punkte kurz diejenigen Texte zu betrachten, für die Handschriften in dem typisch alten Duktus vorliegen; denn obgleich keineswegs alle von ihnen zur Literatur im engeren Sinne

gehören, ist es von Interesse festzustellen, was in der ältesten uns zugänglichen Periode geschrieben wurde. Dabei sei daran erinnert, daß die mykenischen Texte (Linear B) bloße Verwaltungsurkunden und um mindestens zwei Jahrhunderte jünger sind.

1. Eine ganze Gruppe von administrativen Urkunden ist so gut wie ausschließlich aus dem Alten Reich bekannt, die sogen. »Landschenkungsurkunden«, von denen die ältesten im typisch alten Duktus geschrieben sind⁹.
2. Von der hethitischen »Gesetzesammlung« zeigen zwei Exemplare der ersten Serie den gleichen alten Duktus. Wenn die Datierung dieses Schrifttypus auf die Zeit um 1600 richtig ist, dann ist die hethitische Gesetzesammlung nur um rund eineinhalb Jahrhunderte jünger als das Gesetz des Hammurapi, und die häufigen Hinweise auf Rechtssätze, die »früher« galten, weisen dann in eine sonst unbekanntes Vorzeit¹⁰.
3. Auch unter hethitischen »Omina« gibt es Exemplare in altem Duktus. Das bestätigt die schon früher geäußerte Vermutung, daß die akkadischen und hethitischen Omina aus Boğazköy auf altbabylonische Vorbilder zurückgehen¹¹.
4. Von »Staatsverträgen« aus dem Alten Reich ist wenigstens einer im typisch alten Duktus geschrieben¹².
5. Auch die später so zahlreichen »Ritualtexte«, einschließlich der Festrituale, sind schon in der ältesten Zeit belegt¹³.

GESCHICHTSSCHREIBUNG

Schon aus dem Alten Reich liegen historische Texte vor. Nach Form und Inhalt gehören sie zu mehreren Gattungen: königliche Erlasse, Selbstberichte von Königen, Sammlungen von anekdotischen Erzähl-

9. CTH Nr. 221–222 (Nr. 223 gehört an den Beginn des Neuen Reichs, 224–225 sind jünger und in Inhalt und Form verschieden). Typisch alten Duktus haben Nr. 222, 1–4, 222, 25 aus Tarsus, und 1312/u (H. Otten: In: MDOG 103 (1971). S. 61. Abb. 2); ebenso alt ist auch die Urkunde K. Balkan, Eine Schenkungsurkunde aus der althethitischen Zeit gefunden in Inandik 1966 (Ankara 1973).
10. CTH 291, 1, a, A und B: J. Friedrich: Die hethitischen Gesetze (1959), Expl. A und M. Die älteste Handschrift der zweiten Serie, Friedrich's Expl. q (JCS 16 [1962]. S. 18–21 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 248–251 — Eds.]; CTH 292, 1, A) ist der Schrift nach etwas jünger.
11. Das von H. G. Güterbock in: JAOS 84 (1964), S. 110 [= *Perspectives*, p. 9 — Eds.], Anm. 22a erwähnte Bruchstück ist 349/w mit vielleicht zugehörigem 416/w (unveröffentlicht). Vgl. K. K. Riemschneider: Babylonische Geburtsomina in hethitischer Übersetzung. In: StBoT 9 (1970). S. 3–8 mit Lit.
12. CTH 27; Vertragscharakter unsicher bei Nr. 39, 10; Nr. 21, 25, 26 und 28 sind weniger alt.
13. H. Otten - V. Souček: Ein altheth. Ritual für das Königspaar. In: StBoT 8 (1969); E. Neu: Ein altheth. Gewitterritual. In: StBoT 12 (1970) und die Inhaltsübersicht in: KBo 17 (1969) und 20 (1971).

ungen, und endlich legendarisch ausgestaltete Geschichten. Solche Texte gibt es sowohl in hethitischer wie in akkadischer Sprache. Es fragt sich, warum derartige Texte auch akkadisch abgefaßt wurden; denn im Gegensatz zu internationalen Verträgen und diplomatischer Korrespondenz ist bei ihnen die Notwendigkeit, außerhalb des Hethiterreiches verstanden zu werden, nicht ohne weiteres gegeben. Eine andere Erklärung bietet sich an: So wie das Latein im europäischen oder das Arabische im islamischen Mittelalter könnte das Akkadische auch für die hethitischen Schreiber zunächst das zusammen mit der Schrift übernommene und somit natürlich gegebene Mittel des schriftlichen Ausdrucks gewesen sein; in Alalach und Nuzi blieb es das einzige.

Für die zweisprachigen Texte des Alten Reiches ist die Frage, welche Fassung die ursprüngliche sei, von verschiedenen Forschern verschieden beantwortet worden. Der Umstand, daß es aus der gleichen Periode auch schon rein hethitische Texte gibt, macht es notwendig, die Frage für jeden Text einzeln zu untersuchen.

Von dem König Labarna (II.) mit dem Beinamen Hattušili (I.) liegen zwei Bilinguen vor. Die eine ist eine Art politisches Testament¹⁴, ein höchst persönliches Dokument, geschrieben »als Großkönig Tabarna in Kuššar erkrankte und den jungen Muršili zur Königsherrschaft berief«. In der einzigen erhaltenen Handschrift sind der akkadische und der hethitische Text in parallelen Spalten angeordnet. Die Bearbeiter führen gute Gründe dafür an, daß hier die akkadische Version Übersetzung aus dem Hethitischen sei. Die altertümliche Sprache der hethitischen Fassung zeigt, daß diese höchst wahrscheinlich auf den König selbst zurückgeht, obwohl die vorliegende Tafel eine späte Abschrift ist.

Die andere Bilingue desselben Königs ist ein annalistischer Bericht über seine Eroberungen. Die zwei Fassungen sind getrennt überliefert, und keine der beiden ist ein altes Original. Der in nur einem Exemplar erhaltene akkadische Text enthält viele Fehler, die am ehesten als Resultat wiederholten Abschreibens erklärbar sind. Nach gewissen, an das Akkadische von Mari erinnernden Wendungen zu schließen, dürfte er aber auf ein zur Zeit des Königs geschriebenes Original zurückgehen. Die hethitische Version, die in mehreren Exemplaren vorliegt, ist weitgehend »modernisiert«, einige Züge der alten Sprache haben sich aber erhalten¹⁵. Der Bericht umfaßt die Feldzüge von fünf

Jahren; der Stil ist trocken, erwähnt kaum mehr als die Tatsache der Eroberung einer Stadt nach der anderen und verweilt nur bei der Aufzählung der Beute etwas ausführlicher. Nur der letzte Feldzug, der gegen die Städte Hahhum und Haššuwa gerichtet war und eine Euphratüberquerung nötig machte, ist ausführlicher behandelt und in einem Schlußwort noch besonders hervorgehoben¹⁶.

»Niemand hatte den Euphrat überschritten, (aber) ich, Großkönig Tabarna, überschritt ihn zu Fuß, und meine Truppen überschritten ihn nach mir zu Fuß. (Nur) Sargon überschritt ihn (außer mir); er besiegte die Truppen von Hahhum, aber tat der Stadt Hahhum nichts. Er zündete kein Feuer an und zeigte dem Wettergott keinen Rauch. Aber ich, Großkönig Tabarna, zerstörte Haššuwa und Hahhum. Ich [brannte] sie mit Feuer nieder und zeigte den Rauch dem Sonnengott des Himmels und dem Wettergott. Und den König von Haššuwa und den König von Hahhum spannte ich an einen Wagen.«

Neben diesem summarischen Bericht gibt es andere Texte, die sich mit den syrischen Feldzügen desselben Königs ausführlich befassen. Der Sprache nach sind sie alt, und einer von ihnen ist eben der, der 1952 durch seinen Duktus auffiel. Obwohl Bruchstücke von späteren Duplikaten gefunden wurden, ist der Text noch so fragmentarisch, daß eine zusammenhängende Übersetzung nicht möglich ist. Das Erhaltene macht den Eindruck eines historischen Berichtes, der stark mit Reden der Beteiligten ausgeschmückt ist¹⁷. Bei so fragmentarischen Texten ist es oft nicht möglich zu entscheiden, ob sie zur eigentlichen Geschichtsschreibung gehören oder zu einer literarisch, ja bisweilen legendarisch ausgeschmückten Gattung, die als »Traditionsliteratur« bezeichnet worden ist¹⁸. Die nur akkadisch erhaltene Erzählung von der Belagerung von Uršu unter Hattušili I. ist zwar mit vielen Reden ausgeschmückt, hält sich aber durchaus im Bereich des Historisch-realen¹⁹. Dagegen ist die Geschichte von der Überschreitung des Taurus völlig ins Symbolisch-mytho-

verschiedene Beurteilung der Prioritätsfrage vgl. H. Otten: In: MDOG 91 (1958). S. 84. A. Goetze. In: JCS 16 (1962). S. 24–28. H. C. Melchert: In: JNES 37 (1978). S. 4.

16. CTH 4; dt. Übersetzung von H. Otten. In: MDOG 91 (1958). S. 78–83. Schlußteil (englisch): H. G. Güterbock: In: JCS 18 (1964). S. 1–6. Die folgende Übersetzung ist eine Kombination aus den verschiedenen Exemplaren.

17. CTH 15; Teilübersetzung von H. Otten: In: MDOG 86 (1953). S. 60 f. — Ähnliche Texte sind CTH 10–14 (zu 14 vgl. C. Kühne: In: ZA 62 (1972). S. 242–249).

18. Vgl. H. G. Güterbock: Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung. In: ZA 42 (1934). S. 1–91. 44 (1938). S. 45–149. Bes. 93 ff.

19. CTH 7; dt. Übersetzung in: ZA 44 (1938). S. 114–125.

14. CTH Nr. 6. Die Bearbeitung von F. Sommer und A. Falkenstein (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie, N. F. 16 1938) ist grundlegend; ein Zusatzbruchstück bei C. Kühne. In: ZA 62 (1972). S. 257–260.

15. O. Carruba: Die Chronologie der heth. Texte. In: ZDMG Supplement 1 (1969). S. 226 ff. Bes. S. 230–234. Für

logische gerückt²⁰. In einem anderen Text über die syrischen Kriege des Alten Reichs dürften die Motive des Kannibalismus und der »Probe« wohl auch legendarische Ausschmückungen sein²¹.

Neuere Funde haben gezeigt, daß die Traditionsliteratur auch Themen behandelt, die vor die Regierungszeit des ersten Königs Labarna fallen. Das beste Beispiel ist die *althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa*²², deren Anfang Märchenzüge aufweist:

»Die Königin von Kaneš gebar dreißig Knaben in einem Jahr. Da sprach sie: 'Was für eine Horde habe ich da geboren!' Sie füllte Kästen mit Dung(?), legte die Knaben hinein und überließ sie dem Fluß. Der Fluß trug sie zum Meer, ins Land Zalpuwa. Die Götter hoben die Knaben aus dem Meere und zogen sie auf.

Als Jahre vergangen waren, gebar die Königin wieder dreißig Mädchen. Diese zog sie selbst auf. Die Söhne machten sich auf nach Neša ...

Als sie nach Neša gingen, verliehen ihnen die Götter eine andere Gestalt, so daß ihre Mutter [die Söhne] nicht erkannte. Da gab sie ihre Töchter ihren eigenen Söhnen!«

Nur der jüngste Sohn erkennt die Situation und warnt seine Brüder davor, Blutschande zu begehen, aber — da folgt eine Textlücke. Nach dieser beginnt ein Bericht über Feindseligkeiten zwischen Zalpa und mehreren Generationen von (wohl hethitischen) Königen.

Ein anderer, leider sehr bruchstückhafter Text beginnt anscheinend ebenfalls mit Märchenmotiven: es ist die Rede von einem Knaben auf einer Wiese, von Vieh, davon, daß jemand »[ni]chts merkt«, sowie von einem mit Häcksel gefüllten Sack, wieder von Vieh und von einem Hirten. Gleich danach liest man den Namen [Z]imrili. In der zweiten Kolumne findet sich der Name Anumherwa im Zusammenhang mit der Stadt Zalpa und kriegerischen Unternehmungen²³. Mit etwas Phantasie kann man das als eine Sage deuten, nach der Anumherwa (wie Kyros) als Kind ausgesetzt, von einem Hirten zum König Zimrilim von Mari gebracht und von diesem aufgezogen wurde. Der historische Anumhirbi war König von Mama zur Zeit der altassyrischen Siedlung von Kültepe Karum 1b, die etwa der Hammurapi-Zeit entspricht, so daß die Gleichzeitigkeit der historischen Figuren zu ihrer Verknüpfung in der Sage passen würde.

In die gleiche Periode gehören die Ereignisse, von denen der König *Anitta* berichtet. Im Gegensatz zu den

eben besprochenen legendären Erzählungen ist sein Text aber ein authentischer Selbstbericht. Er ist in althethitischer Sprache verfaßt, und nach der neuesten sprachlichen Untersuchung wird man wohl annehmen müssen, daß der Text in hethitischer Sprache von Anitta selbst stammt²⁴, während die Schrift des alten Exemplars A die des hethitischen Alten Reichs ist. Es ergibt sich also, daß man in einer Periode, die dem Ende der Hammurapi-Dynastie entspricht, diesen Text eines wohl um hundert Jahre älteren Königs getreulich abschrieb, während über seine ungefähren Zeitgenossen sagenhafte Erzählungen im Umlauf waren. Und alle diese Texte hat man bis zum Ende des Hethiterreiches aufbewahrt und tradiert, was aus der traditionellen Bindung an die alten Hauptstädte, Kuššar und Kaneš-Neša, zu verstehen sein dürfte.

Der hethitische Erzählungsstil liebt das Anekdotische. Beispiele finden sich in dem Erlaß Hattušilis I. (Anm. 14) und in mehreren der bisher erwähnten Werke. Noch im Neuen Reich wurden in Vasallenverträge kurze Erzählungen aufgenommen, die als warnende Beispiele dienen sollten²⁵. Aus dem Alten Reich besitzen wir eine Sammlung solcher »Anekdoten«, die wohl ihres moralisierenden Inhalts wegen mehrfach abgeschrieben wurden²⁶.

Hier eine Anekdote als Probe:

»Zidi war Kellermeister. Der Vater des Königs bestellte einen Pithos mit Wein für Heštajara und Maratta. Dem König zeigte er guten Wein, jenen aber lieferte er anderen Wein. Da kam die eine (H.) und sprach zum König: 'Man hat nicht den Wein geliefert, den der König gesehen hat!' Und der andere (M.) kam und sprach ebenso. Da führte man ihn (den Z.) weg und verfuhr mit ihm so, daß er starb.«

Da Heštajar als Gemahlin Hattušilis I. bekannt ist, dürfte mit dem »Vater des Königs« eben dieser gemeint sein und somit der Text aus der Zeit des Muršili I. stammen.

Moralisierende Absicht spricht auch aus der historischen Einleitung des Erlasses des Telibinu²⁷. Um seine Neuregelung der Thronfolge zu begründen,

20. CTH 16a mit dt. Übersetzung von H. Otten: In: ZA 55 (1963), S. 156 ff.

21. CTH 17, 1; dt. Übersetzung in: ZA 44 (1938), S. 104–109.

22. H. Otten: In: StBoT 17 (1973): KBo 22, 2, ergänzendes Duplikat zu CTH 3, 1.

23. CTH 2, 1; vgl. H. Otten: In: StBoT 17 (1973), S. 65; H. G. Güterbock: In: JAOS 84 (1964), S. 109 [= *Perspectives*, p. 8 — Eds.].

24. E. Neu: Der Anitta-Text. In: StBoT 18 (1974), S. 10–15 (Text und Übersetzung), S. 132–135 Zusammenfassung der sprachlichen und historischen Einordnung. Ältere Lit. CTH Nr. 1.

25. Vgl. die Marija-Geschichte im Vertrag Šuppiluliumas I. mit Hukkana (J. Friedrich: In: MVAeG 34/1 (1930), S. 129) und die Mašturi-Episode im Vertrag Tudhalijas mit Šaušgamuwa (C. Kühne - H. Otten: In: StBoT 16 (1971), S. 11).

26. CTH 8 (und 9). Nur Nr. 8 D ist in altem Duktus geschrieben. Vgl. H. G. Güterbock: In: ZA 44 (1938), S. 100 f. — Die Sammlung zeigt keine zeitliche Anordnung, ihre Bezeichnung als »Chronik« ist daher unzutreffend.

27. CTH 19; ältere dt. Teilübersetzung von J. Friedrich: Aus dem heth. Schrifttum. In: AO 24/3 (1925), S. 6–9 und S. 21 f.

erzählt Telibinu die Geschichte des Reiches von Labarna I. bis zu seiner eigenen Regierung unter dem Motto: Einigkeit macht stark, Uneinigkeit bringt Unglück. Das mag eine primitive Philosophie und in den von seiner eigenen Zeit handelnden Teilen Propaganda sein; trotzdem ist es eine großangelegte Geschichtsübersicht, die bewußt das Mittel der wörtlichen Wiederholung in der Schilderung der guten alten Zeit und kontrastierender Wendungen für die Beschreibung der schlechten verwendet. Von besonderem Interesse ist es, daß es von diesem Erlaß eine akkadische Fassung gibt, obwohl er sich ausschließlich auf innerhethitische Verhältnisse bezieht. Von einem ausführlichen historischen Bericht desselben Königs über Ereignisse seiner eigenen Regierung sind leider nur Bruchstücke erhalten, immerhin genug um zu zeigen, daß der entsprechende Abschnitt in der Einleitung des Thronfolge-Erlasses von diesem Bericht abhängig ist (CTH 20).

Im Neuen Reich erreicht die »Annalistik« ihren Höhepunkt unter Muršili II. Umfangreiche Teile seiner eigenen Annalen in zwei Fassungen und der von ihm verfaßten Geschichte seines Vaters, Šuppiluliumas I., sind auf uns gekommen²⁸. Wohl durch den Zufall der Überlieferung sind von anderen Königen nur Bruchstücke von Selbstberichten erhalten²⁹, deren geringer Umfang oft nicht einmal eine Einteilung in Jahre erkennen läßt, so daß es unsicher bleibt, ob man sie zu den Annalen rechnen darf.

Selbst in den Annalen des Muršili werden die Jahre nicht gezählt sondern nur durch die Wendung »im nächsten Jahre« eingeführt. Wo die Abfolge durch Textlücken unterbrochen ist, können die berichteten Ereignisse daher nicht ohne weiteres bestimmten Jahren zugewiesen werden. In den Tafelunterschriften werden diese Werke als »Mannheit«, d. h. Mannestaten, des jeweiligen Königs bezeichnet.

Als Probe aus den *Mannestaten des Šuppiluliuma* geben wir einen Abschnitt, der die Fortsetzung der bekannten Episode von dem Heiratsangebot der ägyptischen Königswitwe bildet³⁰. Šuppiluliuma hatte von der Witwe des Nibhurija (Tutanchamon) einen Brief erhalten, worin sie ihn um einen seiner Söhne bat,

der ihr Gemahl und König von Ägypten werden sollte. Er mißtraute dem Angebot und schickte einen Gesandten nach Ägypten, um Gewißheit zu erlangen. Im nächsten Frühjahr kam dieser zurück in Begleitung eines ägyptischen Abgesandten, der einen zweiten Brief der Königin überbrachte, woraufhin Šuppiluliuma »dem Worte der Frau willfahrte«. Nach einer kurzen Lücke setzt das neue Textstück mitten in einer Rede ein, die der König dem ägyptischen Gesandten Hani hält:

»Ich war wohlgesinnt, aber ihr tatet plötzlich Böses: den Fürsten von Kinza (Qadeš am Orontes), den ich vom König von Hurri (Mitanni) [befreit] hatte, den habt ihr angegriffen. Als ich das hörte, überkam mich Zorn. Ich entsandte meine Truppen, Streitwagen und Heerführer, und diese griffen euer Gebiet, das Land Amka (die Beqa^c) an. Als sie nun euer Amka angriffen, da fürchtetet ihr euch wohl, und deshalb bittet ihr mich jetzt um einen Sohn! Er wird womöglich eine Geisel werden, aber zum König werdet ihr ihn nicht machen!»

Da sprach Hani zu meinem Vater: 'Mein Herr! Dieses [Wort] ist eine Demütigung unseres Landes! Wenn wir einen Königssohn hätten, wären wir dann in ein fremdes Land gekommen und hätten um einen Herrn für uns gebeten? Nibhurija, der unser Herr war, ist gestorben; einen Sohn hatte er nicht. Die Gattin unseres Herrn ist verwitwet. Deinen Sohn, o Herr, erbitten wir für die Königswürde im Lande Ägypten und als Gatten für die Frau unseres Herrn. Wir sind in kein anderes Land gegangen, nur hierher sind wir gekommen! Darum, o Herr, gib uns deinen Sohn!'

Daraufhin befaßte sich denn mein Vater mit dem Sohn. Dann verlangte mein Vater nach der Vertragstafel darüber, wie einst der Wettergott die Leute von Kuruštama, Hethiter, nahm und nach Ägypten brachte und zu Ägyptern machte; und wie der Wettergott zwischen Ägypten und Hatti-Land einen Vertrag schloß, und wie sie für immer miteinander befreundet waren. Als man die Tafel vorgelesen hatte, sprach mein Vater wie folgt: 'Von alters her waren Hatti und Ägypten miteinander befreundet, und jetzt hat sich auch noch dieses zwischen ihnen zugetragen, so daß Hatti und Ägypten für immer miteinander befreundet sein werden!'

Von Muršilis eigenen Annalen gibt es zwei Fassungen: eine kurze, die nur die ersten zehn Jahre seiner Regierung umfaßt, und eine ausführliche, die ursprünglich die ganze Regierungszeit behandelt haben dürfte. Die kurze Fassung (als *Zehnjahranalen* bekannt) hat die in zehn Jahren von dem jungen König selbst vollbrachte Überwindung der äußeren Feinde zum Gegenstand, wie in Einleitung und Schluß hervorgehoben ist. Die Taten der Prinzen und Generäle sind ausdrücklich ausgeschlossen. Die *Ausführlichen Annalen* enthalten nicht nur die Berichte über diese vom König nicht persönlich geführten Unternehmungen

Nach H. A. Hoffner: In: *Unity and Diversity*. Hg. von H. Goedicke und J. J. M. Roberts. Baltimore 1975. S. 49–62 ist die Absicht apologetisch-propagandistisch.

28. A. Götze: Die Annalen des Muršiliš. In: *MVAeG* 38 (1933); CTH 61; H. G. Güterbock: *The Deeds of Suppiluliuma*. In: *JCS* 10 (1956). S. 41–68, S. 107–130; CTH 40; H. Cancik: In: *GHAG*. S. 151–167.

29. CTH 82; 142; 143; 211.

30. Der schon länger bekannte Teil in dt. Übersetzung bei J. Friedrich: In: *AO* 24/3 (1925). S. 12–14; derselbe mit der später gefundenen Fortsetzung bei H. G. Güterbock: In: *JCS* 10 (1956). S. 94–98; H. Cancik. In: *GHAG*. S. 163–166.

gen, sondern gehen auch im Erzählungsstil mehr ins einzelne, vor allem in der Darstellung von Vorgeschichte und Kausalität, auch in der Begründung negativer Entscheidungen³¹.

Unter den Berichten über die Feldzüge gegen die einzelnen Arzawa-Länder im 4. Regierungsjahr nimmt derjenige über das Land des Šeha-Flusses in der kurzen Fassung 13 Zeilen ein, in der langen 20. Dagegen wird die Unterwerfung des Landes Mira in den Zehnjahranalen mit einem Satz abgetan, während die Ausführlichen Annalen sie folgendermaßen schildern (in Götzes Übersetzung):

»Dann kehrte ich nach dem Lande Mira zurück und ordnete das Land Mira. Dann baute ich (die Städte) Aršani, Šarawa und Impa und befestigte sie und belegte sie mit Besatzungstruppen Darauf setze ich in Mira den Mašhuiluwa zur Herrschaft ein und sprach folgendermaßen zu Mašhuiluwa: 'Du, Mašhuiluwa, kamst als Flüchtling zu meinem Vater; und mein Vater nahm dich auf und machte dich zum Schwiegersohn und gab dir die Muwatti, seine Tochter, meine Schwester, zur Ehe. Aber er konnte sich dann nicht um dich kümmern und deine Feinde nicht für dich schlagen. Aber ich kümmerte mich um dich und schlug deine Feinde für dich'³².

Im 12. Jahre setzte Muršili den Sohn des Mašhuiluwa, Kupanta-KAL, zum Herrscher von Mira ein. Bei dieser Gelegenheit wiederholen die Annalen die gleiche Vorgeschichte mit etwas anderen Worten, sie greifen also bis auf das Verhalten der Väter der beiden Vertragspartner zurück. Ein glücklicher Zufall hat gerade die Verträge mit einigen der in den Annalen erwähnten Länder erhalten, darunter auch denjenigen mit Kupanta-KAL von Mira. Wie die meisten Vasallenverträge enthält auch dieser eine historische Einleitung, in der dieselben Ereignisse wie folgt berichtet werden³³:

»Einst bedrängten den Mašhuiluwa seine Brüder. Sie suchten ihn zu töten und vertrieben ihn aus dem Lande. Da kam er zu meinem Vater. Mein Vater verstieß ihn nicht, sondern erhöhte ihn und gab ihm seine Tochter, meine Schwester Muwatti, zur Frau. Dir, Kupanta-KAL, war sie Mutter. Aber mein Vater war in einem anderen Land und nicht imstande, sich um ihn zu kümmern. Als aber mein Vater Gott geworden war und ich, Meine Sonne, mich auf den Thron meines Vaters gesetzt hatte, da kümmerte ich mich um ihn und sorgte für ihn. Und die Götter meines Vaters halfen mir, und ich schlug den Feind für ihn ...«

Außer der Geschichtsschreibung mit staatspolitischem Ziel gibt es auch eine religiös gebundene: in einigen seiner Gebete erzählt Muršili die Ereignisse, die den Zorn der Götter erregt haben könnten, wobei er sogar Quellen angibt. In den sogenannten *Pestgebeten* führt er zwei verschiedene in die Zeit seines Vaters gehörige Fälle an³⁴. In einem Gebet sagt er, daß ihm »die Angelegenheit mit Tudhhalija dem Jüngeren auf die Seele fiel«, deren Hergang er dann erzählt: Šuppiliuma beseitigte diesen Prinzen, obwohl er auf ihn vereidigt war, und usurpierte den Thron. In einem anderen Gebet spricht Muršili davon, daß die Orakel ihn auf zwei alte Tafeln hingewiesen hätten: eine über die Opfer für den Euphrat, die seit einiger Zeit vernachlässigt worden waren (und die er nachzuholen verspricht); die andere Tafel »über Kuruštama, wie der Wettergott die Leute von Kuruštama nach Ägypten brachte« (usw.): das entspricht fast wörtlich der oben zitierten Stelle aus den Mannestaten des Šuppiliuma, d. h. Muršili beruft sich hier auf dieselbe Tafel, die sein Vater dem ägyptischen Gesandten hatte vorlesen lassen. Die Fortsetzung der Erzählung in diesem Gebet lautet:

»Als mein Vater ihnen seinen Sohn gab und als man ihn (nach Ägypten) hinführte, da töteten sie ihn. Mein Vater ergrimmte und zog nach Ägypten. Und er griff Ägypten an und schlug die Truppen und Wagenkämpfer von Ägypten. Und auch da ließ der Wettergott von Hatti, mein Herr, durch sein Urteil meinen Vater gewinnen, (so daß) er die Truppen und Wagenkämpfer von Ägypten besiegte und schlug. Als man (aber) die Gefangenen, die man gemacht hatte, zurück nach Hatti brachte, da brach unter den Gefangenen ein Sterben aus, und sie begannen dahinzusterben«

Muršili stellt dann durch ein Orakel fest, daß der Grund des göttlichen Zornes der Eidbruch der Hethiter war, d. h. der Angriff auf Amka, durch den sie den bei der Übersiedlung der Leute von Kuruštama geschworenen Eid gebrochen hatten.

Diese Schuld lastete schwer auf Muršili, und er machte sie zum Gegenstand mehrerer Gebete. In dem eben zitierten großen *Pestgebet* nimmt er die Schuld seines Vaters auf sich, als wäre es seine eigene (s. u. S. 27). In einem anderen, vielleicht früher verfaßten Gebet beteuert er, daß er zur Zeit der Ereignisse zu jung war um etwas zu wissen. Er habe diese Dinge aus einer Tontafel gelernt, deren Text er nicht verfälscht habe³⁵:

»[Es war] eine Ta[fel über] Ägypten. Zu dieser Tafel habe ich kein Wort hinzugefügt und keines von ihr weggenommen. Ihr Götter, meine Herren, seht! Ich

31. H. Cancik: In: MhW. S. 52–61; ders.: In: GHAG. S. 51. S. 102–151. Für das folgende s. A. Götze: Die Annalen des Muršiliš (oben Anm. 28), S. 66–75 und S. 140–145.

32. H. Cancik: In: GHAG. S. 148 f.

33. J. Friedrich: Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in heth. Sprache. I. In: MVAeG 31/1 (1926); Kupanta-KAL. S. 95–179. Bes. S. 107–109, hier mit leichten Änderungen; CTH 68.

34. CTH 378: A. Götze: Die Pestgebete des Muršiliš. In: Kleinasiat. Forschungen I (1930). S. 161–251. Bes. S. 165–169 und S. 209–213.

35. CTH 379: H. G. Güterbock: In: RHA 18 (1960). S. 57–63, versuchte, eine Entwicklung in Muršiliš Auffassung der

weiß nicht, ob einer der Könige, die vor mir waren, damals [ein Wort] hinzugefügt oder weggenommen hat. Ich habe keine eigene Kenntnis und habe die Sache auch nicht nachträglich vom Hörensagen erfahren.«

Ähnlich sagt Šuppiluliuma II., der letzte König des Hethiterreiches, daß er von dem Text einer Statueninschrift seines Vaters, die er nach dessen Tode gravieren ließ, nichts ausgelassen habe, weder mit Absicht noch aus Flüchtigkeit.

Die gleiche Tafel enthält einen anderen Text desselben Königs, der mit den Worten beginnt: »Ich bin Meine Sonne, der Tabarna Šuppiluliuma« (mit Genealogie). Das ist die Standard-Einleitung hieroglyphisch-luwischer und westsemitischer Inschriften, und man hat daher diesen späten Text mit der hieroglyphischen Inschrift desselben Königs verglichen³⁶.

Dagegen lautet die normale Einleitung der Annalen, Vasallenverträge und Gebete: »So spricht NN, der Großkönig« (usw.). Diese Texte geben sich also als Worte des Königs, und das verbindet sie mit den königlichen »Erlassen«, von denen der Thronfolgerlaß des Telibinu aus dem Alten Reich schon erwähnt wurde. Auch aus dem Neuen Reich liegen Erlasse vor; die meisten erhaltenen stammen von Hattušili III. und dienen dem Zweck, gewisse Liegenschaften oder Individuen von Steuern und anderen Lasten zu befreien³⁷. Ihre historischen Einleitungen geben auch hier die Begründung. Bei Individuen handelt es sich um ihr Verhalten Hattušili gegenüber: einmal um die ihm während seiner frühen Krankheit gewährte Pflege, häufiger aber um das Verhalten während seiner politischen Laufbahn. So wird Arma-Tarhunta dadurch für seine Anfeindungen bestraft, daß sein Besitz konfisziert und der Ištar übergeben wird. Dieser Transaktion dienen dann aber auch die beiden autobiographischen Werke des Königs, der *Große Text* und seine kürzere Parallele³⁸. Beide sind auch apologetisch, indem sie seine Usurpation des Thrones zu rechtfertigen suchen. Während in der kürzeren Fassung die rechtlichen Bestimmungen ausführlich niedergelegt sind, sind in dem *Großen Text* die Bestim-

mungen knapp gehalten, genügen aber, um auch diesen Text äußerlich als Rechtsakt zu charakterisieren, durch den der Besitz des Arma-Tarhunta der Ištar geweiht und der Verwaltung des Kronprinzen Tudhaliya unterstellt wird. Der Text hat aber auch eine Einleitung, die ein religiöses Thema anschlägt: »Von dem gerechten Walten der Ištar will ich berichten.« Und der eigentliche Inhalt des Textes ist, wie längst erkannt, eine apologetische, ja propagandistische Darstellung von Hattušilis Aufstieg: es war die Göttin, die ihn auf Schritt und Tritt förderte, gegen alle Anfeindungen in Schutz nahm und ihm schließlich, weil ihr eigenes Heiligtum auf dem Spiele stand, zum Sieg über seinen Rivalen verhalf. Man hat den Text Autobiographie, Apologie, Thronbesteigungsbericht genannt: er ist all das, dazu auch ein Rechtsakt, vor allem aber ein Meisterwerk der politischen Propaganda³⁹.

HYMNEN UND GEBETE

In dieser Gattung macht sich babylonischer Einfluß in verschiedenen Abstufungen geltend, die von wörtlicher Abschrift und Übersetzung bis zur Verwendung einzelner Topoi reichen. In althethitischer Sprache liegt ein hymnisches *Gebet an den Wettergott* vor, für das zwar kein akkadisches Vorbild bekannt ist, das sich aber in babylonischen Begriffen bewegt und in der Schlußzeile ausdrücklich einen »Schreiber auf babylonisch« nennt (CTH 313). Dagegen ist ein anderes althethitisches Gebet frei von fremden Elementen⁴⁰. Es gehört zum Typus der Beschwörungsgebete, hethitisch *mugauwar*⁴¹. In diesem Gebet wird die Sonnengöttin der Erde, eine Unterweltsgöttin, beschworen, ihre Gunst dem König wieder zuzuwenden und Verleumdungen nicht zu beachten. Auch die Trabanten der Göttin werden angeredet und um Fürsprache gebeten.

Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete gehörten offenbar zum Pensum der hethitischen Schule. Von manchen liegt nur der akkadische oder sumerisch-akkadische Text vor, ohne Übersetzung (CTH 793–795). Andere Texte wurden mit hethitischen Übersetzungen versehen⁴².

Ereignisse aufzuzeigen; vgl. Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate: Muršiliš II, de bronnen voor een karakterschets. Leiden 1966. H. Cancik: In: MhW. S. 85–89 betont die Bedeutung des Wahrheitsanspruches hier und in dem sogleich zu nennenden Text Šuppiluliumas II.

36. CTH 121, II; dazu E. Laroche: Nišantaš. In: Anatolica 3 (1969–1970). S. 93–98.

37. CTH 85–88 und 224; für das folgende bes. Nm. 87 und 86.

38. CTH 81 und 85, 1. Für beide sind die sich gegenseitig ergänzenden Übersetzungen A. Götzes grundlegend: Hattušiliš. In: MVAeG 29/3 (1925) und: Neue Bruchstücke zum Großen Text des H. In: MVAeG 34/2 (1930). H. Otten plant eine Neubearbeitung für StBoT.

39. Vgl. A. Archi: The Propaganda of Hattušiliš III. In: Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici 14 (1971). S. 185–216. H. A. Hoffner: In: Unity and Diversity (oben Anm. 27), H. Cancik. In: GHAG. S. 41–44.

40. CTH 371, dt. Übersetzung von J. Friedrich: In: Rivista di Studi Orientali 32 (1957). S. 217 bis 224.

41. Hierfür und für dieses Kapitel im ganzen vgl. die grundlegende Behandlung der heth. Gebetstypen von E. Laroche: La prière hittite: Vocabulaire et typologie. In: École Pratique des Hautes Études. Section des sciences religieuses. Annuaire 1964–65. S. 3–29.

42. CTH 792 (nur Spuren der Übersetzung), 312 und 314.

Bei einem Gebet an Ištar gewinnt man einen gewissen Einblick in die Tätigkeit der Schreiber. Die akkadische Fassung ist auf einer Sammeltafel erhalten, die sich durch viele Fehler und die Vernachlässigung der Verseinteilung als Werk eines Schülers verrät; da einige Fehler offenbar Hörfehler sind, schrieb er wohl nach Diktat. Von einer hethitischen Übersetzung ist der Anfang auf einer getrennten Tafel gefunden worden, und da hier jede Zeile einem Vers der akkadischen Fassung entspricht, muß diese Übersetzung nach einer guten Vorlage hergestellt sein. Das — wohl altbabylonische — Original enthielt die wesentlichen Teile eines Beschwörungsgebets: den Lobpreis der Göttin, der den größten Raum einnimmt, sowie kürzere Abschnitte der Klage und Bitte, das Ganze wesentlich kürzer als eine neubabylonische Fassung desselben Gebets⁴³ (s. S. 182 [in the volume from which this article is reprinted — Eds.]).

Es sei gestattet, zur Illustration der Schreibertätigkeit hier ein paar weitere Texte anzufügen, obwohl sie nicht Gebete sind. Dafür eröffnen sie aber einen Ausblick nach Ugarit. Es handelt sich einmal um ein Stück *Weisheitsliteratur* (CTH 316), von dem ein akkadisches Exemplar in Ras Shamra gefunden wurde. Das Duplikat aus Boğazköy ist als Schülertafel daran kenntlich, daß in der rechten Spalte nur wenige Sprüche ganz übersetzt sind, während bei anderen die Übersetzung unvollständig ist oder ganz fehlt (vgl. S. 199 [in the volume from which this article is reprinted — Eds.]).

Der andere literarische Text, der sowohl aus Hattuša wie aus Ugarit vorliegt, ist von besonderem Interesse, weil aus Babylonien der sumerische Grundtext aus altbabylonischer Zeit bekannt ist, und weil das in Ugarit gefundene Exemplar wahrscheinlich aus der hethitischen Hauptstadt stammt⁴⁴. Der Text, als *Botschaft des Lu-dingirra* oder *Signalement Lyrique* bekannt, ist eine blumenreiche Beschreibung der Mutter des Sprechers. Warum wurde gerade dieses, auch im Sumerischen ungewöhnliche, Werk im Westen gepflegt? In beiden Exemplaren ist der Text mit einer syllabischen Umschrift des Sumerischen sowie mit einer akkadischen und einer hethitischen Übersetzung versehen. Beide Exemplare machen nicht den Eindruck von Schülertafeln, gehören aber offenbar zum Repertoire der Schulen.

Dasselbe gilt von einer anderen Trilinguis aus Boğazköy, die zu den Hymnen zurückführt. Dies ist ein

Hymnus auf den Wettergott Iškur, von dem Reste zweier Tafeln des sumerischen Textes mit syllabischer Umschrift, akkadischer und hethitischer Übersetzung gefunden wurden (CTH 314).

Während die eben besprochenen Übersetzungstexte nicht näher datierbar sind, wegen der Beziehung zu Ugarit nur allgemein ins Neue Reich gehören dürften, lassen sich andere Gebete der frühesten Periode des Neuen Reiches (ca. 1400–1350 v. Chr.) zuweisen. Ein großes Gebet des Arnuwanda (I.) und der Ašmunikal steht insofern für sich, als es, soweit erhalten, nur die gute Pflege hervorhebt, die die Hethiter den Göttern zuteil werden ließen, und die durch die Kaškäer verursachte Störung des Kultes beklagt⁴⁵.

Im Gegensatz dazu verrät eine Gruppe von »persönlichen Gebeten« sowohl im Aufbau wie auch in einzelnen Wendungen babylonischen Einfluß, ohne aber wörtliche Übersetzung zu sein. Von diesen Gebeten sind einige durch die Namen ihrer Verfasser, andere durch ihre — im oben definierten Sinne — »mittelhethitische« Sprache und Orthographie datiert. Es zeigte sich, daß Teile dieser älteren Gebete von späteren Herrschern mit großer Freiheit in ihre eigenen Kompositionen aufgenommen wurden⁴⁶.

Von drei im Aufbau und in Einzelheiten parallelen »mittelhethitischen« Gebeten ist eines dem Prinzen Kantuzzili in den Mund gelegt, der ein älterer Zeitgenosse des Šuppiluliuma war. In einem anderen wird der Betende nur »König«, ohne Namen, genannt, und im dritten einfach »Menschensohn«. Die drei Fassungen stehen sich nahe; auf ihre zeitliche Stellung zueinander kann hier nicht eingegangen werden. Der Anfang ist nur in dem letztgenannten Text erhalten; er besteht aus dem folgenden hymnischen *Gebet an den Sonnengott Ištanu*⁴⁷.

- (1) »Ištanu, mein Herr, gerechter Herr des Gerichts,
König von Himmel und Erde!
Du regierst das Land, du verleihst Kraft.
Du bist ein gerechter Gott, du hast Erbarmen, du erfüllst
die Bitte.
Du bist barmherzig, Ištanu, und hast Erbarmen.

43. CTH 312: E. Reiner - H. G. Güterbock: In: JCS 21 (1967) (1969), S. 255–266. Bes. S. 263 f. für Analyse und Vergleich. Dt. Übersetzung der neubab. Fassung: A. Falkenstein - W. von Soden: Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete (1953), S. 328–333, Nr. 61.

44. CTH 315; für die altbab. Vorlage s. M. Civil: In: JNES 23 (1964), S. 1–11.

45. CTH 375, dt. Übersetzung: E. von Schuler: Die Kaškäer 1965, S. 152–163.

46. Es handelt sich um CTH 372–374 und 376–377. Die zwei letzten wurden von O. R. Gurney bearbeitet und formal analysiert: Hittite Prayers of Mursili II. In: *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 27 (1940), die erste Gruppe wurde von H. G. Güterbock in: *JAOS* 78 (1958), S. 237–245 teilweise übersetzt und auf ihr Verhältnis zur zweiten untersucht. Vgl. noch H. G. Güterbock: In: *JNES* 33 (1974), S. 323–327. Eine gute Zusammenfassung gab Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate: *Hittite Royal Prayers*. In: *Numen* 16 (1969), S. 81–98.

47. CTH 372; *JAOS* 78 (1958), S. 239–241. Abschnittsnummern hier nur zur Bequemlichkeit eingeführt.

Der rechtschaffene Mensch ist dir lieb, und du erhöhst ihn,

Ištanu, voll erwachsener Sohn der Ningal!

Dein Bart ist aus Lapislazuli.

Siehe, ein Menschenkind, dein Diener, ist vor dir niedergefallen und spricht zu dir:

(2) Im Umkreis von Himmel und Erde bist du, Ištanu, die Leuchte,

Ištanu, mächtiger König, Sohn der Ningal!

Des Landes Sitte und Gesetz setzest du fest,

unter den Göttern bist du angesehen.

Eine starke Herrschaft ist dir verliehen, ein gerechter Regent bist du.

Du bist Vater und Mutter aller Länder.

(3) Ištanu, großer König!

Dein Vater Enlil hat dir die vier Ecken des Landes in die Hand gelegt.

Du bist Herr des Gerichts,

und am Orte des Gerichts kennst du keine Müdigkeit.

Auch unter den Früheren Göttern bist du, Ištanu, mächtig:

du setzest die Opfer für die Götter fest,

auch den Anteil der Früheren Götter setzest du fest.

(4) Man öffnet die Türflügel des Himmels für dich, Ištanu,

und du, angesehener Ištanu, durchschreitest das Tor des Himmels,

und die Götter des Himmels neigen sich vor dir,

auch die Götter der Erde neigen sich vor dir.

Was immer du, Ištanu, sagst, da fallen die Götter vor dir nieder.

(5) Ištanu, du bist Vater und Mutter für den unterdrückten und vereinsamten Menschen;

du verschaffst dem unterdrückten und vereinsamten Menschen Genugtuung.

(6) Wenn am Morgen die Sonne am Himmel aufsteigt, dann kommt dein Licht, Ištanu, über alle oberen und unteren Länder.

Du richtest den Rechtsstreit von Hund und Schwein,

auch den Rechtsstreit der Tiere, die mit dem Munde nicht sprechen, entscheidest du,

und über schlechte und böse Menschen sprichst du Urteil.

(7) Eines Menschen, dem die Götter zürnen und den sie verstoßen,

dessen nimmst du, Ištanu, dich mit Erbarmen an.

Segne dieses Menschenkind, deinen Diener,

dann wird er dir stets Brot und Bier zu opfern fortfahren; nimm ihn, Ištanu, als deinen rechtschaffenen Diener bei der Hand!

(8) Die vier (Tiere), die du Ištanu, angespannt hast, siehe, dieses Menschenkind hat ihnen Gerste aufgeschüttet,

und deine Vier sollen sie fressen.

Während deine Vier die Gerste fressen, sei du, Ištanu, willkommen!

Siehe, dieses Menschenkind, dein Diener, spricht ein Wort zu dir,

und hört auf dein Wort.

(9) Ištanu, mächtiger König! Du wandelst durch die vier Weltecken,

während zu deiner Rechten Furchtbarkeit schreitet,

zu deiner Linken Schrecken schreitet.

.....

(10) Bunene, dein Wesir der Rechten, schreitet rechts von dir,

Mišaru, dein Wesir [der Linken] schreitet links von dir, und (so) gehst du über den Himmel hin.

.....«

Dieser hymnische Teil hatte noch eine Fortsetzung, sie ist aber stark beschädigt. Im Gebet des Kantuzzili muß dieser Teil ergänzt werden; in der Fassung für einen König sind davon nur Teile erhalten. Die babylonischen Elemente sind leicht zu erkennen: Auch Šamaš ist Richter; er ist der Sohn des Mondgottes und seiner Gemahlin Ningal. Das Motiv, wonach Enlil einem Gott die Herrschaft verleiht, ist bekannt, und obwohl im üblichen System nicht er, sondern Sîn Vater des Šamaš ist, gab es diese abweichende Filiation auch in Babylonien. Die Unterscheidung von »Göttern« und »Früheren Göttern«, d. h. Göttern der früheren Göttergeneration, entspricht derjenigen zwischen den Igigi und Anunnaki. Die beiden Trabanten, Bunene und Mišaru, sind babylonisch; der Name des zweiten bedeutet »Rechtsordnung«. Trotzdem ist klar, daß die Komposition als ganze nicht aus einer babylonischen Vorlage übersetzt, sondern von einem Hethiter frei verfaßt ist. Das Einbeziehen der Tierwelt in den Kreis derer, denen der Gott Recht spricht, die vier Zugtiere — ob Pferde ist ungewiß — und der ganze Tenor zeigen das deutlich⁴⁸.

In allen Fassungen dient dieser Sonnenhymnus als Einleitung zu einem persönlichen Gebet. Der Sonnengott wird gebeten, dieses dem persönlichen Gott des Beters zu übermitteln. Während sowohl die Vorstellung vom persönlichen Gott wie auch das Motiv der Fürsprache in Babylonien bekannt sind, wird man dort schwerlich den Fall finden, daß der große Šamaš gebeten wird, den persönlichen Gott aufzusuchen.

Von hier an trennen sich die Fassungen insofern, als die einem König in den Mund gelegte kürzer ist als die beiden anderen. In ihr kommt gleich nach der Erwähnung der zwei Wesire folgende Überleitung zu dem eigentlichen Gebet⁴⁹.

»Siehe, ich, der König, falle vor dir nieder und spreche so zu dir:

Der Gott, der diese Krankheit über mich gebracht hat, ob dieser Gott im Himmel oder ob er auf der Erde ist, Du, Ištanu, wirst zu ihm hingehen.

Geh, sprich zu diesem Gott:

‘Was habe ich denn dir, mein Gott, getan?

Worin habe ich gesündigt?

48. Als Gegenbeispiel vgl. den Šamaš-Hymnus bei W. G. Lambert: *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* 1960. S. 121 ff., s. S. 182 ff. [in the volume from which this article is reprinted — Eds.].

49. CTH 374, 2 Kol. II; JNES 33 (1974). S. 323–327 mit Verweisen auf die akk. und sum. Parallelen bei W. G. Lambert: *Ebda.* S. 278 f. u. S. 301.

Du, mein Gott, hast mich geschaffen,
 du hast mich zu einem Sterblichen gemacht.
 Der Kaufmann, ein Mann, hält die Waage unter der
 Sonne und verfälscht die Waage;
 Aber ich, was habe ich meinem Gott angetan?
 [Infolge der Krankheit ist] mein Haus [ein Haus der
 Sorge geworden],
 [und vor Sorge] sickert meine Seele [dahin]!»

Die Fortsetzung dieses Gebetes besteht aus der Klage über die durch die Krankheit verursachten Leiden und der Bitte um Heilung. Von besonderem Interesse an der hier ausgeschrieben Stelle ist, daß ihr erster Teil, wie W. G. Lambert zuerst bemerkt hat, fast wörtlich dem Anfang eines akkadischen Beschwörungsgebetes entspricht, während die vorletzte Zeile in einem zwar verwandten, aber von der vorliegenden akkadischen Fassung nicht benutzten sumerischen Gebet ihre Parallele hat.

Die Fassung des Kantuzzili und diejenige für das »Menschenkind« sind ausführlicher, sowohl in der Überleitung wie auch in dem Gebetsteil selbst. Dieser umfaßt hier zwei Gebete, von denen das zweite dem eben zitierten entspricht, während das erste ein anderes »Zitat« aus dem gleichen akkadischen Gebet enthält, nämlich die Beteuerung, daß der Beter sich weder an der Speise des Gottes, noch an dessen Tieren, noch an zufällig gefundenem Brot und Wasser vergriffen habe.

Schon unter den bisher besprochenen Gebeten sind einige im Namen eines Herrschers gesprochene, während die von einem beliebigen Beter anwendbaren entweder als Übersetzungen oder durch Verwendung von Motiven ihre Abhängigkeit von Babylonien bekunden. Aus der Folgezeit liegen ausschließlich königliche Gebete vor. Wieweit bei diesen der König (bzw. die Königin) wirklich der Verfasser war, bleibe dahingestellt. Den Vermerk »aus dem Munde Seiner Majestät« trägt nur ein Gebet des Muwatalli, aber man darf wohl annehmen, daß Könige und Königinnen zumindest den allgemeinen Inhalt angaben und das fertige Werk billigten. Unter dem Namen des Muršili, des Sohnes des Šuppiluliuma, gehen viele Gebete, und einige unter ihnen dürften wegen ihrer komplizierten Komposition und Verwendung älterer Vorlagen wohl Werke gelehrter Dichter sein.

Das große Gebet des Muršili an die Sonnengöttin von der Stadt Arinna beginnt mit der Anrufung der Göttin⁵⁰:

»[O Sonnengöttin von Arin]na!
 Es schickte mich Muršili, der König, dein Diener (mit
 den Worten):

Geh, sprich zu meiner Herrin, der Sonnengöttin von
 Arinna:
 Die Sonnengöttin von Arinna, meine persönliche Göttin,
 beschwöre ich.«

Die Göttin wird zur Rückkehr aufgefordert und um Erhörung gebeten. Der nächste Abschnitt hebt die Verdienste der Hethiter um den Kult hervor, der sonst nirgends so ausgeführt werde. Das ist dasselbe Thema wie im Gebet des Arnuwanda, aber ohne wörtliche Übereinstimmung.

Der nächste Hauptteil der Komposition ist ein Hymnus auf die Göttin, der nach fünf einleitenden Zeilen mit einer wörtlichen Übernahme des älteren Sonnenhymnus fortfährt, wobei nur für »Sonnengott« jedesmal »Sonnengöttin von Arinna« eingesetzt ist und speziell dem männlichen Ištanu oder Šamaš eigene Züge ausgelassen sind⁵¹. Die Überleitung zum Bittgebet lautet hier so:

»Eines Menschen, dem die Götter zürnen und den sie
 verstoßen,
 dessen [nimmst] du, Sonnengöttin von Arinna, [dich mit
 Erbarmen an].
 Jetzt segne Muršili, den König, [deinen Diener],
 und den König Muršili, deinen Diener, nimm du, SG. von
 A., bei der Hand;
 und [den Worten], die König Muršili, [dein Diener], dir
 sagen wird,
 halte du, SG. von A., [dein Ohr] geneigt und erhöhe sie!«

Hier folgt das Bittgebet. Es handelt von der Seuche, die das Land heimgesucht hat, und den Angriffen feindlicher Nachbarn. Dieses Gebet liegt auch für sich allein in zwei Exemplaren vor, von denen wenigstens eines die Charakteristika der »mittelhethitischen« Sprachstufe aufweist⁵². In der zusammengesetzten Version des Muršili werden diese Themen noch weitergeführt, indem die Göttin gebeten wird, die Krankheit den Feinden zu geben. Im Schlußteil bittet Muršili dann die Göttin um Segen und Wohlergehen für sich und das Land Hatti.

51. O. Gurney »Section II, (b)«, S. 22–25; dt. Übersetzung von A. Goetze In: Kleinasien². S. 136. Das Ende des oben als (4) nummerierten Abschnittes ist noch in Spuren erhalten; die darauf folgende Lücke muß etwas weniger enthalten haben als (5) und (6). Ein neu gefundenes Zusatzstück zum Anfang der Kolumne II entspricht dem Abschnitt (7) als Überleitung zum Bittgebet.

52. CTH 376, C. Engl. Übersetzung bei O. Gurney. S. 26–33. Section III, von C II 3 an; A. Goetze. In: ANET 396 als »Plague Prayer b«. Für die sprachliche Stellung s. O. Carruba (Anm. 15). S. 239 ff. und 247 Anm. 40; Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate: The Records of the Early Hittite Empire. Istanbul 1970. S. 5 ff. (unter der alten Nummer »Cat. 283 C«). In dem großen Gebet des Muršili ist die Sprache »modernisiert« und Kizzuwatna nicht mehr zu den Feinden gezählt.

50. Anfang in CTH 376, E, dann Exemplare A und F, ergänzt nach dem parallelen Teil des Gebets an Telibinu, CTH 377, »Invocation« bei O. Gurney (Anm. 46). S. 16–21, »Entreaty« bei A. Goetze (ANET S. 396 f.).

Mit dieser Einbeziehung eines älteren Sonnenhymnus und eines ebenfalls älteren Gebetes aus Anlaß einer Seuche in eine große, kunstreiche Komposition ist aber die Redaktionstätigkeit der Kanzlei Muršilis noch nicht zu Ende. Ein Tafelbruchstück enthält den Anfang eines Gebetes, der mit dem ersten, oben als Anrufung bezeichneten Teil gleichlautet, und ein Stück des Schlußteils, in dem Muršili um Heilung für seine Gattin Kaššulawi bittet⁵³.

Und außerdem liegt ein Gebet desselben Königs an den Gott Telibinu vor, das mit dem großen Gebet an die Sonnengöttin weitgehend parallel läuft. Hier ist von dem hymnischen Teil nur der allgemein gehaltene Anfang erhalten; die Fortsetzung muß aus inneren wie äußeren Gründen von dem Sonnenhymnus verschieden gewesen sein. Auch der auf die Seuche bezügliche Teil fehlt hier. Die Bitten um Bestrafung der Feinde und Segen für Hatti stimmen dann wieder mit dem Gebet an die Sonnengöttin teilweise wörtlich überein, besitzen aber einen abweichenden Schlußteil⁵⁴.

Wir haben bei diesen Gebeten so lange verweilt, weil ihre mosaikartige Zusammensetzung aus Teilen verschiedenen Alters, von denen einige babylonische Elemente verwenden, einmal so etwas wie eine literarische Analyse erlaubt.

Eine von den Hethitern »arkuwar« genannte Gattung von Gebeten dient dazu, sich vor den Göttern — soweit möglich — zu rechtfertigen und ihre Verzeihung zu erbitten. Unter diesen nehmen die *Pestgebete des Muršili* den höchsten Rang ein. Aus demselben Gebet, aus dem die historische Darstellung der Schuld Šuppiluliumas oben zitiert wurde, sei das auf diese Erzählung folgende Sündenkenntnis hierhergesetzt⁵⁵.

»Wettergott von Hatti, mein Herr! Ihr Götter, meine Herren! Es geschieht so: man sündigt. Auch mein Vater sündigte und übertrat das Gebot des Wettergottes von Hatti, meines Herrn. Ich aber sündigte in keiner Weise. Und es geschieht so: die Sünde des Vaters kommt über den Sohn. Auch über mich ist die Sünde meines Vaters gekommen. Siehe, ich habe sie vor dem Wettergott von Hatti, meinem Herrn, und vor den Göttern, meinen Herren, gestanden: es ist so, wir haben es getan! Und weil ich nun die Sünde meines Vaters gestanden habe, möge sich dem Wettergott von Hatti, meinem Herrn, und den Göttern, meinen Herren, der Sinn wieder besänftigen. Habt Erbarmen mit mir, und treibt die Seuche aus Hatti-Land wieder fort!«

Weitere Gebete des »arkuwar«-Typs besitzen wir von Muwatalli und von Hattušili und Puduhepa⁵⁶. Dieses Königspaar betont mit Vorliebe die Verdienste, die sich Hattušili um den Wettergott von Nerik durch die Rückeroberung seiner Stadt erworben hatte. Als Probe geben wir hier einen Abschnitt aus einem Gebet der Königin wieder⁵⁷.

»Für das Land Nerik und das Land [...] setzte er seine eigene Person und seine eigene [Seele] aufs Spiel, während er gegen [...] zu Felde zog.

Als aber Muwatalli, dein [Diener], Gott geworden war, da erhöhstest du den Urhi-Tešub, seinen Sohn, und setz[est] ihn in die Königswürde ein. Und wie er den Hattušili, deinen Diener, in Nerik [bedrängte], das weißt du, Sonnengöttin von Arinna! Sein Oberherr hetzte ihn, und die Prinzen machten ihm Angst: 'Du wirst noch für Nerik umkommen!' Er aber ach[tete] sein eigenes Verderben und seinen eigenen Tod nicht; für Nerik zu sterben [...].«

Die Tafel enthält Gebete der Königin an die Sonnengöttin von Arinna, die Unterweltsgöttin Lelwani, der sie für den Fall, daß sie den König gesund werden läßt, ein lebensgroßes silbernes Abbild des Hattušili mit Kopf, Händen und Füßen aus Gold zu machen gelobt; an Zintuhi, die Enkelin, Mezulla, die Tochter, und den Wettergott von Zippalanda, den Sohn der Sonnengöttin. Diese werden gebeten, bei ihrer Großmutter und Mutter Fürsprache für die Bitten der Königin einzulegen.

MYTHEN, EPEN UND ERZÄHLUNGEN

Die Termini Mythos und Epos werden hier nicht im Sinne von sich gegenseitig ausschließenden Gattungen gebraucht, sondern als sich überschneidende Begriffe auf verschiedenen Ebenen: »Mythos« bezieht sich auf den Inhalt in dem Sinne, daß Mythen ursprünglich die Welt, wie sie ist, zu erklären suchen; die handelnden Personen sind Götter, die Themen: Schöpfung, Theogonie, Abfolge von Göttergenerationen, die Flut und ähnliches. »Epos« dagegen wird hier auf die Form bezogen, insbesondere eine — mehr oder weniger — gebundene Sprache. In den Tafelunterschriften werden diese Kompositionen mit dem Sumerogram *šir* bezeichnet, das wörtlich »Gesang, Lied« bedeutet. Faßt man das in dem Sinne auf, wie es im Titel *Nibelungen-Lied* gebraucht ist, dann ist es in der Tat eine zutreffende Bezeichnung für Epen. Dabei kann ein Epos durchaus

53. CTH 376, F; vgl. JAOS 78 (1958). S. 244.

54. CTH 377; O. Gurney: S. 20–23, Section II (a), und S. 32–35, Section IV (a); A. Goetze. In: ANET 396 f. »Daily Prayer of the King«, wo aber der »Hymn« benannte Teil als größtenteils dem Gebet an die Sonnengöttin entnommen ausscheiden muß.

55. Für »arkuwar« s. E. Laroche: La prière (Anm. 41). S. 13–20. Text (CTH 378, 2) bei A. Götz: Kleinas. Forschungen I (1930). S. 215.

56. CTH 381 ff.; Houwink ten Cate: Hitt. Royal Prayers (Anm. 46). S. 85 f. (mit alten Cat.-Nummern 279, 3–287). Dt. Teilübersetzungen bei A. Goetze: Kleinas² 137; H. G. Güterbock: SBo 1. S. 12–14.; H. Otten: Puduhepa. In: Akad. Mainz, Abhdl. Geistes- und Sozialw. Kl. 1975/1. S. 18 u. S. 20–24.

57. CTH 384; KUB 21, 27 Kol. I 33 ff. in neuer, von ANET 393, links, abweichender Übersetzung.

mythologischen Inhalt haben: das *Lied von Ullikummi* handelt ausschließlich von Götterkämpfen, und auch der von der Forschung *Theogonie* oder *Königtum im Himmel* genannte Text heißt in der Unterschrift *Lied von* [...] — leider ist der Name verloren. Auf der anderen Seite gibt es Mythen, die in Prosa erzählt sind.

Es ist schon bald beobachtet worden, daß unter den hethitischen Texten die »epischen«, in einer festen literarischen Form überlieferten ausnahmslos fremden Ursprungs sind, während einheimisch-anatolische Mythen nicht nur meistens in Prosa und mit vielen Varianten vorliegen, sondern durchweg in rituelle Texte eingebettet sind. Die Schreiber rechneten diese Texte nicht als »Lieder« sondern als Rituale. In diesem Zusammenhang lohnt es sich daran zu erinnern, daß Vertreter der einheimischen, rituell verwendeten Mythen sowohl auf der Königsburg wie im Tempelbezirk zutage gekommen sind, literarische Texte fremden Ursprungs dagegen nur beim Tempel.

Im Zusammenhang mit diesem formellen Gegensatz zwischen fremden und einheimischen Texten stellt sich auch die Frage nach mündlicher Überlieferung. Die fremden weisen viele der für das klassische Epos charakteristischen Stilelemente auf, wie feste »schmückende Beiwörter«, feste Formeln für Anfang und Ende von Reden, wörtliche Wiederholung ganzer Abschnitte, wenn ein Auftrag und seine Ausführung erzählt werden, und ähnliches. Diese Texte sind ihrer Sprache nach ins Neue Reich zu datieren, und schriftliche Vorlagen in akkadischer und churritischer Sprache liegen aus der Hethiterhauptstadt vor. Es ist undenkbar, daß der Dichter (z. B.) des hethitischen *Gilgamesch* oder des hethitischen *Ullikummi* die Originalfassung nicht in schriftlicher Form gekannt haben sollte. Somit konnte er den episch-formelhaften Stil sozusagen fertig übernehmen, ohne die Notwendigkeit, die Formel als Gedächtnishilfe für mündliche Tradition zu lernen (obwohl sie ihm beim mündlichen Vortrag zustatten gekommen sein wird). Dagegen stammen die einheimischen Mythen aus älterer Zeit: von einigen gibt es eine hattische Fassung, die meisten der handelnden Götter haben hattische Namen, und in mehreren Fällen ist die Sprache althethitisch. Man möchte annehmen, daß die Hethiter zunächst Mythen der hattischen Bevölkerung auf hethitisch nacherzählten und mindestens einige davon schon im Alten Reich niederschrieben. Die verschiedenen Fassungen haben in den nicht-variierten Teilen weitgehend den gleichen Wortlaut, z. T. mit festen Formeln, auch Wiederholungen bei Auftrag und Ausführung und beim Verschwinden und der Rückkehr eines Gottes. Sowohl diese Gemeinsamkeiten wie auch die z. T. weitgehenden Abweichungen in den Fassungen können mit mündlicher Tradition erklärt werden, aber die Existenz von althethitischen Tafeln zeigt, daß die schriftliche Fixierung

schon relativ früh erfolgte. (Vgl. S. 153 [in the volume from which this article is reprinted — Eds.])

EPEN UND MYTHEN FREMDEN URSPRUNGS

Als Ursprungsland epischer Dichtungen steht, wie zu erwarten, Babylonien an erster Stelle. In vielen Fällen läßt sich aber nachweisen, daß solche Werke durch die Vermittlung der Churriter zu den Hethitern gelangt sind. Wie man sich diesen Vorgang im einzelnen vorstellen soll, ist schwer zu sagen. Immerhin gibt es Anzeichen dafür, daß er im Lande Kizzuwatna und im 13. Jh. erfolgte. Das Hethitische dieser Texte ist das des Neuen Reichs, und zudem enthalten sie zahlreiche luwische Wörter, was nicht nur in eben diese späte Zeit, sondern auch auf Kizzuwatna, das Ebene Kilikien, deutet, wo nachweislich Churritisch und Luwisch gesprochen wurden und von wo auch andere religiöse Texte in die Hauptstadt kamen.

Ebenfalls über Kilikien dürfte auch der Kontakt mit der kanaanäischen Welt stattgefunden haben. Aus ihr stammt ein leider nur sehr bruchstückhaft erhaltener Mythos, der von Elkunirsa, Ašertu, dem Wettergott und Ištar handelt — das sind *El qoneh 'ereš* (El, Schöpfer der Erde), Aschera, Ba'al und 'Anat⁵⁸. Ein anderes Fragment hat die Abenteuer des personifizierten Berges Pišaiša in Syrien zum Gegenstand⁵⁹; darin wird der Sieg des Wettergottes über das Meer erwähnt, dem des Ba'al über Yam in Ugarit entsprechend. Und ein paar leider sehr kleine Fragmente (CTH 349) können zu einem Ba'al-Zyklus gehören. Nach dem, was wir an literarischen Querverbindungen zwischen Hatti und Ugarit gesehen haben, ist die Aufnahme kanaanäischer Mythen ins Hethitische keine Überraschung; man kann nur bedauern, daß nicht mehr davon erhalten ist.

Von babylonischen Dichtungen ist das *Gilgameš*-Epos in Boğazköy durch ein Fragment in akkadischer Sprache, ein paar kleine Bruchstücke einer churritischen Fassung und etwas zahlreichere Stücke einer hethitischen Version vertreten⁶⁰. In der hethitischen, die

58. CTH 342, dt. Übersetzung von H. Otten. In: Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung 1 (1953). S. 125–150 (S. 127; S. 142 f.).

59. CTH 350, 3; dt. Übersetzung von J. Friedrich: In: Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung 2 (1953). S. 147–150.

60. CTH 341. Dt. Übersetzung des akkadischen Boğazköy-Fragments von E. Ebeling: In: H. Gressmann: Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament. 1926. S. 195 f. In der von W. von Soden besorgten Neuausgabe der Übersetzung von A. Schott: Das Gilgamesch-Epos. Stuttgart 1958 ist die Vorderseite auf S. 47 f. eingearbeitet; in der Ausgabe von 1970 ist sie S. 41 Anm. 4 nur erwähnt. Die Rückseite gehört zu einer kürzeren Version der 6. Tafel. Von dem hethitischen Gilgamesch liegt die 1. Tafel in dt. Übersetzung von H. Otten vor in: Istanbuler Mitteilungen 8 (1958). S. 93–125; die übrigen Fragmente noch bei J. Friedrich. In: ZA 39

eine freie Nachdichtung ist, reicht die erste Tafel bis zum Sieg über Huwawa (Humbaba), der im klassischen Epos in der 5. Tafel erzählt wird. Diese starke Kürzung wurde dadurch erreicht, daß die speziell auf die Stadt Uruk bezüglichen Episoden ausgelassen oder sehr reduziert wurden. Offenbar war es das Abenteuer im Zederngebirge, das die Bewohner der westlichen Länder besonders ansprach (vgl. S. 170 [in the volume from which this article is reprinted — Eds.]).

Von dem anderen großen akkadischen Epos, *Atrahasis*, gibt es in Boğazköy ein kleines akkadisches Fragment, das vorläufig nicht eingeordnet werden kann. Von einem hethitischen Bruchstück nehmen die Herausgeber an, daß es die hethitische Spalte einer einst zweisprachigen Tafel sei. Trifft das zu, so liegt hier einmal eine wirkliche Übersetzung eines akkadischen Epos vor⁶¹. In einem anderen hethitischen Bruchstück gibt ein Hamša genannter Mann Worte des Kumarbi an seinen Sohn Atrahašī weiter und spricht von einer bevorstehenden Ameisenplage. Die Figur des Vaters ist aus dem babylonischen Epos nicht bekannt, und der Gottesname Kumarbi deutet auf churritischen Einfluß. Sollte in der als zweisprachig rekonstruierten Tafel die linke Kolumne etwa churritisch gewesen sein? (Vgl. S. 168 f. [in the volume from which this article is reprinted — Eds.])

Während die Epen von *Gilgameš* und *Atrahasis* aus Babylonien bekannt sind, ist in den in hethitischer Fassung vorliegenden churritischen Mythen ein babylonisches Element nur in starker Abwandlung erkennbar. Das bekannteste Beispiel dieser Gattung ist der Text vom Himmelskönigtum, der seit seiner Entdeckung durch E. Forrer im Jahre 1935 mit der Theogonie Hesiods verglichen worden ist. Abgesehen von einem kleinen Bruchstück eines Duplikats ist dieses »Lied von [...]« bis heute nur durch ein einziges Exemplar vertreten, von dem große Teile fast unleserlich sind⁶². Nur etwa die obere Hälfte der ersten Kolumne ist wirklich verständlich. Nach einem Prooemium, in dem die Früheren Götter zum Anhören aufgefordert werden, beginnt die Erzählung:

»Einst, in früheren Jahren war Alalu im Himmel König. Alalu saß auf dem Thron, aber der starke Anu, der erste der Götter, stand vor ihm. Er neigte sich zu seinen Füßen nieder und reichte ihm die Becher zum Trinken in seine Hand. Für neun »gezählte« Jahre war Alalu im Himmel König. Im neunten Jahr lieferte Anu gegen Alalu einen Kampf. Er besiegte ihn, den Alalu, und dieser floh vor ihm und ging hinunter, zur dunklen Erde. Hinunter zur dunklen Erde ging er, aber auf den Thron setzte sich Anu. Anu saß auf dem Thron, und der starke Kumarbi gab ihm zu trinken. Er neigte sich zu seinen Füßen nieder und reichte ihm die Becher zum Trinken in seine Hand. Für neun »gezählte« Jahre war Anu im Himmel König. Im neunten Jahr aber lieferte Kumarbi gegen Anu einen Kampf: Kumarbi, des Alalu Sproß, lieferte gegen Anu einen Kampf. Des Kumarbi Augen hielt er nicht mehr stand, Anu; dem Kumarbi aus seiner Hand entwand er sich, und er floh, Anu, und wollte zum Himmel gehen. Hinter ihm her stürzte sich Kumarbi und packte ihn bei den Füßen, den Anu, und zog ihn vom Himmel herunter. Seine Lenden biß er, und seine Mannheit vermischte sich mit Kumarbis Innerem wie Bronze (sich aus Kupfer und Zinn mischt). Als Kumarbi des Anu Mannheit hinunter geschluckt hatte, freute er sich und lachte. Zurück wandte sich Anu und hub an, zu Kumarbi zu sprechen: 'Über dein Inneres freust du dich, weil du meine Mannheit geschluckt hast. Freue dich nicht über dein Inneres! In dein Inneres habe ich eine Last gelegt: Erstens habe ich dich geschwängert mit dem gewichtigen Wettergott; zweitens habe ich dich geschwängert mit (dem Fluß) Aranzah, dem unwiderstehlichen; drittens habe ich dich geschwängert mit dem gewichtigen (Gott) Tašmišu; und (noch) zwei furchtbare Götter habe ich dir als Last in dein Inneres gelegt. Du wirst dahin kommen, daß du am Ende die Felsen des Gebirges mit deinem Kopfe schlagen wirst!' Als Anu diese Rede beendet hatte, ging er zum Himmel hinauf Er aber verbarg sich und spie aus seinem Munde, Kumarbi, der weise König; aus dem Munde hervor spie er Speichel(?) [und die Mannheit] vermischt. ...«

In den fragmentarischen nächsten Zeilen geht Kumarbi nach Nippur (der Kultstadt des Enlil) und beginnt,

(1930). S. 13–29. Bei Schott-von Soden sind mehrere von ihnen in den Gesamttext des Epos eingearbeitet.

61. CTH 347. J. Siegelová. In: Archiv Orientální 38 (1970). S. 135–138; mit Hinweisen auf die anderen Fragmente und Vergleich mit dem altbabylonischen Epos.

62. CTH 344. Die dt. Übersetzung von H. G. Güterbock: Kumarbi: Mythen vom churritischen Kronos 1946, S. 6–9 ist in Einzelheiten überholt; weitergeführt von P. Meriggi: I Miti di Kumarpī, il Kronos currico. In: Athenaeum N.S.31 (1953). S. 101–129 (dort auch CTH 343 und 346, 11). Neueste engl. Übersetzung von H. G. Güterbock. In: Mythologies of the Ancient World (1961). S. 156–160 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 55–57 — Eds.]; französisch von M. Vieyra. In: Les religions du Proche-orient (1970). S. 544–546.

Monate zu zählen, wie das bei Schwangerschaften üblich ist. Danach fehlt etwa eine halbe Kolumne. In der schlecht erhaltenen zweiten Spalte wurden anscheinend die Geburten der von Anu angekündigten Kinder erzählt, die aus Kumarbis Innerem durch verschiedene Öffnungen ans Licht kommen, nachdem sie erst aus dem Inneren heraus mit ihm geredet haben. »Der heldenhafte Wettergott kam heraus« liest man in Zeile 75. Sein Name, der in diesen Texten durchweg mit dem Wortzeichen geschrieben ist, lautet im Churritischen Tešub, und man darf getrost hier diesen Namen einsetzen.

In der ebenfalls fragmentarischen dritten Kolumne ist von Kämpfen zwischen Göttern die Rede, unter denen auch der Wettergott auftritt. Und gegen Ende der Tafel zählt Ea, der babylonische Gott der Weisheit, die Schwangerschaftsmonate der Erde, die dann zwei Kinder gebiert. Die Tafelunterschrift ist leider trotz dem Fund eines Zusatzstückes⁶³ noch unvollständig; außer dem Titel fehlt auch die Angabe darüber, ob das Werk sich auf weiteren Tafeln fortsetzte. Daher bleibt das Verhältnis eines weiteren Textes, der vom Königtum des ideographisch KAL geschriebenen Gottes handelt⁶⁴, zu dem Epos vom Himmelskönigtum unklar.

Die Bedeutung des oben übersetzten Textes für den Vergleich mit Hesiod einerseits, mit Sanchuniaton bei Philo Byblius andererseits ist seit seinem ersten Bekanntwerden viel besprochen worden. Hier sei nur daran erinnert, daß der Gott, von dem das Kastrationsmotiv handelt, den Namen Anu führt, der im Sumerischen »Himmel« bedeutet; er entspricht also auch im Namen dem Uranos. Dagegen führt Kumarbi einen churritischen Namen. Er ist in mancher Hinsicht dem sumerischen Enlil vergleichbar, während er im Westen mit dem Getreidegott identifiziert wurde, der im Westsemitischen Dagan heißt⁶⁵. Daß er als Vater (wenn das das richtige Wort ist) des Tešub die Stelle des Kronos einnimmt, wird besonders aus dem sogleich zu besprechenden Lied von Ullikummi deutlich.

Obwohl der Mythos vom Himmelskönigtum in dieser Form keine Entsprechung in Babylonien hat, sind die Grundvorstellungen von Göttergenerationen und von Kämpfen der jüngeren mit der älteren dort vorhanden — z. B. in *enūma eliš* — und die Namen des Anu, seines Vorfahren Alalu, aber auch die ideographisch geschriebenen Namen zweier der im Innern Kumarbis wachsenden Gottheiten sind babylonisch⁶⁶. In den anderen Kumarbi-Mythen treten zwar auch

babylonische Gottheiten auf, die Mythen selbst aber haben keine Parallelen in Babylonien, sondern sind als Produkte der churritischen Mythologie zu betrachten. In der Tat gibt es in Boğazköy kleine Bruchstücke churritischer Kumarbi-Erzählungen⁶⁷.

Aus der Fülle hethitischer mythologischer Fragmente, die den Gott Kumarbi nennen, heben sich zwei größere Dichtungen heraus: das *Lied von Ullikummi* und der *Mythos vom Schlangendrachen Hedammu*.

Die Handlung beider Texte fällt in die Zeit, in der Tešub bereits König ist, der entthronte Kumarbi aber durch ein von ihm gezeugtes Ungeheuer die Herrschaft zurückzugewinnen sucht. In der griechischen Mythologie ist dieses Ungeheuer als Typhon oder Typhoeus bekannt. Die Schilderungen seiner Gestalt weichen bei den klassischen Autoren voneinander ab: bei Hesiod ist Typhoeus ein Schlangendrache mit vielen Köpfen, bei Apollodor dagegen ist Typhon ein riesiger Stein. Der steinerne Riese Ullikummi paßt zu Apollodors Beschreibung. Nachdem Neufunde Frau Siegelová den Nachweis ermöglicht haben, daß die Handlung des Hedammu-Mythos viele Motive und stilistische Züge mit dem Ullikummi-Lied gemeinsam hat, kann man ihn als Parallele zu Hesiods Version betrachten. Ob in dem churro-hethitischen Kumarbi-Zyklus die beiden Erzählungen aufeinander folgten oder als alternative Fassungen nebeneinander bestanden, bleibt vorläufig noch offen; daran, daß sie eng zusammengehören, besteht kein Zweifel⁶⁸. Wegen dieser engen Verwandtschaft möchte man die einzige, leider fragmentarische Unterschrift bei Siegelová zu [*Lied von He*]da[mmu] ergänzen. Für den Inhalt, der aus den Bruchstücken noch nicht ganz herstellbar ist, sei auf die eben genannte Monographie verwiesen. Hier soll das *Lied von Ullikummi* skizziert und mit Textproben illustriert werden.

Es beginnt mit einem Prooemium von vier Zeilen:

»[Von ihm will ich] sing[en],
in dessen Sinn [...] ist
(und) der Weisheit in seinen Sinn nimmt:
von Kumarbi, dem Vater aller Götter, will ich singen.«

Kumarbi bricht aus seiner Stadt Urkiš (in Nordmesopotamien) auf und zeugt mit einem Felsen ein

63. H. Otten - C. Rüster: In: ZA 63 (1973). S. 88.

64. CTH 343; engl. Übersetzung in: Mythologies (1961). S. 161–164 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 57–58 — Eds.].

65. E. Laroche. In: JAOS 88 (1968). S. 149 f.; RHA 27 (1969). S. 70.

66. A. Glimm, ein Name des Marduk (Kol. II 4) und KA.ZAL (II 38), dazu noch NAM.HÉ (II 41), deren Rolle nicht klar ist.

67. CTH 345, am Ende; KUB 45, 60–64, und unveröffentlichte Fragmente.

68. Ullikummi: CTH 345. Die dt. Übersetzung in: Kumarbi (1946) ist veraltet; dort noch dazu gestellte Stücke gehören vielmehr zu Hedammu. Vollständige engl. Übersetzung des sicher Zugehörigen: H. G. Güterbock: The Song of Ullikummi. In: JCS 5–6 (1951–52), auch als Sonderheft (American Schools of Oriental Research 1952). — Hedammu: Jana Siegelová: Appu-Märchen und Hedammu-Mythus. In: StBoT 14 (1971). CTH 348 in der Neufassung in: RHA. 30 (1972). 104 f., wo viele Stücke aus dem alten CTH 346 in 348 aufgenommen sind.

Kind. Im Bunde mit dem Meer wird ein Plan entworfen und ausgeführt, durch den das aus dieser Verbindung hervorgegangene Steinkind, unbemerkt von den anderen Göttern, im Meere und auf der Schulter des Weltriesen Ubelluri aufwachsen kann. Dort wächst der Stein, dem Kumarbi den Namen Ulli-kummi »Zerstörer von Kummija« (der Stadt des Tešub) gegeben hat, in kürzester Zeit bis zum Himmel empor. Der Sonnengott sieht ihn als erster und bringt die Kunde zu Tešub. Dieser steigt zusammen mit seiner Schwester Ištar (Šaušga) und seinem Bruder Tašmišu auf den Berg Hazzi, den Mons Casius an der Orontes-Mündung, von wo sie das Ungeheuer im Meere sehen. Ištar versucht, den Unhold durch Gesang und durch ihre Reize abzulenken, muß aber erfahren, daß das nichts hilft, weil er blind und taub ist (im Gegensatz zu dem Erfolg, den sie mit dem Drachen Hedammu in der Parallel-erzählung hat!). Die Götter wagen nun den Kampf mit dem Stein, der sie aber besiegt. In dieser Not rät Tašmišu seinem Bruder, den weisen Ea um Rat und Hilfe zu bitten. Ea geht zu Ubelluri, auf dessen Schulter Ullikummi steht, und trennt diesen dann mit derselben »Schneide«, mit der einst Himmel und Erde voneinander getrennt wurden, von Ubelluri ab. Damit ist die Kraft des Steinunholdes gebrochen; die Götter freuen sich über diese Kunde und schreiten zum erneuten Kampf, dessen günstiger Ausgang zwar im Text nicht erhalten ist, angesichts der überragenden Stellung Tešubs im Kult aber nicht zweifelhaft sein kann.

Es folgen einige Textproben. Zunächst, aus der ersten Tafel, Geburt und Namengebung:

»Es brachten ihn zur Welt [die Muttergöttinnen],
und die Schicksalsgöttinnen [hoben das Kind auf]
und setzten es dem Kumarbi auf die Knie.
Kumarbi freute sich über dieses Kind,
began es zu schaukeln (?)
und schickte sich an, ihm einen trefflichen Namen zu
geben.
Kumarbi begann, zu sich selbst zu sprechen:
'Welchen Namen soll ich ihm [geben],
dem Kinde, das die Schicksals- und Muttergöttinnen
mir gegeben haben?
Es sprang aus dem Leibe hervor wie ein Speer(?).
Es soll gehen! Ullikummi sei sein Name!
Er soll Kummija, die treffliche Stadt, niederdrücken,
und den Tešub soll er schlagen!
Wie Spreu soll er ihn zerstampfen,
wie eine Ameise soll er ihn mit dem Fuß zerreiben!
Den Tašmišu soll er wie ein dürres Rohr zerbrechen,
alle Götter wie Vögel vom Himmel herunterschütten
und sie wie leere Töpfe zerbrechen!'«

Etwas später, nachdem er die Irširra-Götter durch einen Boten hat rufen lassen, wobei in epischer Breite Aufträge erteilt und ausgeführt werden, spricht Kumarbi zu den Irširra:

»Nehmt [dieses Kind] und macht es zu einer
>Sendung<
und tragt es auf die dunkle Erde!
Eilt! Sputet euch!
Setzt es dem Ubelluri auf die rechte Schulter als
Speer(?)!
In einem Tage soll es eine Elle wachsen,
in einem Monat soll es ein Stadion wachsen! ...«

In der Tat wächst der Stein so schnell, daß ihm »das Meer wie ein Gewand bis zur Stelle des Gürtels reicht«. Etwas später heißt es:

»Der Sonnengott blickte vom Himmel herab und
erblickte den Ullikummi,
und Ullikummi erblickte den Sonnengott des Himmels.
Der Sonnengott hub an, zu sich selbst zu sprechen:
'Welcher schnelle Gott [steht] da im Meer?
Sein Körper gleicht nicht dem al[ler] (anderen)
Götter!'
Der himmlische Sonnengott wandte seine Strahlen und
ging hinaus, zum Meer.
Und als der Sonnengott draußen beim Meer ankam,
da hielt der Sonnengott die Hand vor seine Stirn
[und sah den Ulli]kummi an.
Da veränderte sich ihm vor Zorn [der Sinn(?)].«

Etwas später, als der Sonnengott bei Tešub ankommt und das ihm vorgesetzte Mahl nicht anrührt, fragt ihn dieser.

»Ist der Kämmerer schlecht, der [den Sessel] aufstellte,
daß tu dich nicht gesetzt hast?
Ist der Truchsess schlecht, [der die Speisen] auftrug,
daß du nicht gegessen hast?
Ist der Mundschenk schlecht, der [dir den Becher]
reichte,
daß du nicht getrunken hast?«

Aus der Dritten Tafel geben wir die Szene, als Tašmišu der Hebat die Nachricht von der Niederlage bringt:

»Als Hebat den Tašmišu sah,
da wäre Hebat fast vom Dach hinunter gefallen:
Hätte sie einen Schritt getan, wäre sie vom Dach
gefallen,
aber ihre Dienerinnen packten sie und ließen sie nicht
(fallen).«

Schließlich noch die Szene bei dem Weltriesen Ubelluri:

»Ea hub an, zu Ubelluri zu sprechen:
'Weißt du nicht Ubelluri? Hat niemand dir Kunde
gebracht?
Kennst du ihn nicht, den schnellen Gott, den Kumarbi
gegen
die Götter geschaffen hat? ...'
Ubelluri hub an, dem Ea zu erwidern:
'Als man den Himmel und die Erde auf mir baute,
da wußte ich nichts davon.
Als man aber kam und Himmel und Erde mit einer
>Schneide<
auseinander schnitt,

da wußte ich auch das nicht!
 Jetzt schmerzt etwas meine rechte Schulter,
 aber ich weiß nicht, wer jener Gott ist!
 Als Ea die Worte hörte,
 da drehte er Ubelluris rechte Schulter um,
 und da stand der Stein auf Ubelluris rechter Schulter wie
 ein Speer(?)!
 Ea hub an, zu den Früheren Göttern zu sprechen:
 'Höret mein Wort, ihr Früheren Götter, die ihr die
 früheren Dinge kennt!
 Öffnet sie wieder, die früheren, väterlichen, großvater-
 zeitlichen
 Siegelhäuser!
 Dann soll man das Siegel der früheren Väter bringen
 und sie damit wieder versiegeln!
 Das uralte Messer soll man herauslegen,
 mit dem man Himmel und Erde auseinander schnitt,
 und den Stein Ullikummi soll man unter den Füßen
 ab[schneiden],
 den Kumarbi gegen die Götter als Rivalen großgezogen
 hat!'«

ERZÄHLUNGEN FREMDEN URSPRUNGS

Die Epen vom Himmelskönigtum und von Ullikummi sind die relativ besterhaltenen »Lieder« (*šir*) churritischen Ursprungs, und die *Hedammu*-Fragmente gehören offenbar der gleichen Gattung an. Daneben gibt es eine Anzahl von Bruchstücken, in denen Kumarbi erwähnt wird, die sich aber vorläufig keinem bestimmten Werk zuordnen lassen. Wieviel von dieser Literatur verloren ist, zeigt die Unterschrift eines churritischen Textes, der 14. *Tafel des Liedes von Kešše* genannt ist mit dem Vermerk, daß der Text weitergeht⁶⁹. Von diesem *Kešše-Epos* wurde ein kleines Bruchstück in akkadischer Sprache in Tell el-Amarna in Ägypten gefunden; aus Boğazköy liegen Fragmente der churritischen und der hethitischen Fassung vor, die aber nur einen verschwindend kleinen Teil des Werkes ausmachen⁷⁰. Kešše ist ein Jäger, der nach seiner Heirat Jagd und Opfer vernachlässigt. Als er auf Zureden seiner Mutter wieder auf die Jagd zieht, enthalten ihm die erzürnten Götter das Wild vor, so daß er drei Monate herumstreift, weil er sich scheut, mit leeren Händen heimzukehren. Nach einer Lücke folgt eine Episode, in der Kešše seiner Mutter sieben unheilverkündende Träume erzählt.

Von anderer Art ist die *Erzählung von Appu und seinen Söhnen Gut und Böse*. Die Unterschrift verwendet das Wort »Lied« nicht, der Text scheint Prosa zu sein, und dem Inhalt nach hat man die Erzählung als Märchen bezeichnet⁷¹.

Appu ist ein reicher Mann in der Stadt Šudul im Lande Lullu am Ufer des Meeres, dem nichts fehlt außer einem Sohn. Er wendet sich an den Sonnengott, der in Menschengestalt vom Himmel herabsteigt und ihm rät, nach einem reichlichen Trunk noch einmal mit seiner Gattin zu schlafen. Appu befolgt den Rat; seine Frau wird schwanger und gebiert zwei Söhne, denen der Vater die Namen Böse und Gut gibt. Nach dem Tod des Vaters schlägt Böse vor, die Brüder sollten sich trennen, so wie die Götter getrennt wohnen, und bei der Teilung nimmt er sich einen guten Ochsen und läßt dem Bruder Gut nur eine schlechte Kuh. Das sieht der Sonnengott, der sogleich bestimmt, daß die Kuh »gut werden« und »[...] gebären soll«. Damit endet die erste Tafel. Von der Fortsetzung sind nur Bruchstücke erhalten, darunter eins, das davon handelt, daß die Brüder ihren Streit erst dem Sonnengott in Sippar (also dem babylonischen Šamaš) und danach der Ištar in Ninive zur Entscheidung vorlegen. Der Schluß der Geschichte ist verloren.

Die Form der Erzählung ist kunstreich; sie verwendet viele aus den Epen bekannte Motive und Stilmittel und stellt sich damit zu der Literatur churritischen Ursprungs, obwohl die früher angenommene Existenz eines churritischen Appu-Textes sich nicht bestätigt hat. Außerdem zeigt der Verfasser seine Belesenheit darin, daß er den Bruder Böse zur Begründung der Trennung die in ihren verschiedenen Kult-Städten wohnenden großen Götter Babyloniens aufzählen läßt, von denen zwei später aufgesucht werden. Man darf hier also von einer Kunstdichtung über ein Märchenmotiv sprechen. Ein babylonisches Vorbild für diese Erzählung ist nicht bekannt, trotz der Berufung auf babylonische Kulte und obwohl das Märchenmotiv von den feindlichen Brüdern ein weltweites ist.

In der Unterschrift zu einer Erzählung, die vom Sonnengott, einer Kuh und ihrem Kinde handelt, ist leider der Titel des Werkes zerstört, man erkennt aber, daß es kein »Lied« war und in einen größeren Zusammenhang gehörte; ob zum *Appu-Märchen*, bleibt unsicher, ist aber nicht ausgeschlossen⁷². Den ersten Teil der Tafel nimmt ein Hymnus auf Ištar und ihre Dienerinnen ein, unter denen die einen menschlichen Familien Glück, die anderen Unglück bringen. Wo die Erzählung, von dem Hymnus auch äußerlich deutlich getrennt, einsetzt, blickt der Sonnengott vom Himmel herab auf die Kuh, die »sehr gut geworden ist« und wird von Verlangen zu ihr ergriffen. Er steigt in Menschen-

69. H. Ehelolf. In: *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* 1 (1930). S. 148. Anm. 2.

70. CTH 361; dt. Übersetzung von J. Friedrich. In: *ZA* 49 (1950). S. 234–242.

71. CTH 360 (in: *RHA* 30); für dt. Übersetzung s. Anm. 68.

72. CTH 363; dt. Übersetzung J. Friedrich. In: *ZA* 49 (1950). S. 224–233. Für Zugehörigkeit: H. G. Güterbock: *Kumarbi* (1946). S. 121 f.; dagegen: H. A. Hoffner: *Unity and Diversity* (1975). S. 140 f.; zurückhaltend: J. Friedrich. *A.a.O.* S. 247; J. Siegelová. In: *StBoT* 14, 3; A. Kammenhuber. In: *Kindlers LitLex*. III 2272.

gestalt vom Himmel herab und redet die Kuh an, indem er ihr vorwirft, durch Abweiden die Wiese zu verderben. Nach einer Textlücke (in der der Gott sein Verlangen gestillt haben dürfte) gebiert die Kuh ein menschengestaltiges Kind. Voll Wut über dies Mißgeburt («Warum habe ich da ein Zweibeiniges geboren?») droht sie das Kind zu fressen, wird aber vom Sonnengott daran gehindert. Die nächsten 65 Zeilen sind ganz oder teilweise verloren. Dann findet ein Fischer das Kind. Er nimmt es mit nach Hause in die Stadt Urma und rät seiner Frau, eine Niederkunft zu fingieren, damit die Bewohner die üblichen Geschenke bringen. Das geschieht und hat den gewünschten Erfolg. Damit endet diese Tafel. Auch dieser Text hat mit den Epen gewisse Motive und Wendungen gemeinsam; deutlich churritische Züge hat nur der vorangestellte Hymnus, dessen Verhältnis zur Erzählung jedoch unklar bleibt.

Dagegen ist die *Erzählung von Gurparanzah* schon durch den Namen des Helden mit dem churritischen Kreis verbunden⁷³. Zwar ist in der Unterschrift das Wortzeichen für »Lied« nicht erhalten, man darf den Text aber dem Inhalt nach als Heldenepos bezeichnen. Aranzah, der zweite Teil des Namens Gurparanzah, ist der Name eines der beiden großen Ströme: nach einem Vokabular ist das der Tigris, aber nach dem sogleich zu behandelnden Sargon-Text doch wohl eher der Euphrat. Gurparanzah ist anscheinend König einer Stadt Ailanuwa. Der Fluß Aranzah greift als göttliches Wesen in die Handlung ein. Ein Teil der Handlung spielt in Akkad, wo Impakru König ist. Gurparanzah erlegt ein wildes Tier und zieht mit Impakru und 60 Königen und 70 Helden in Akkad ein, wo ein Festmahl und ein Bogenwettkampf stattfindet, bei dem Gurparanzah die 60 Könige und 70 Helden besiegt. Er ist der Schwiegersohn des Impakru. Beim Schlafengehen verweigert sich seine Gattin Tatizuli ihm, indem sie ihn auf einen anderen Tag vertröstet. (Andere Teile sind fragmentarisch, vieles ist ganz verloren).

Die Stadt Akkad spielt in der Literatur vor allem deshalb eine Rolle, weil ihre beiden berühmtesten Herrscher, Sargon und Naram-Sîn, schon in altbabylonischer Zeit zu Figuren der Traditionsliteratur geworden sind. Einen Hinweis darauf, daß auch diese Literatur die Hethiter über die Churriter erreicht haben dürfte, hat man in der Erwähnung der Könige von Akkad in churritischen religiösen Texten gesehen⁷⁴. Die Hethiter kannten ein Werk über Sargon und zwei über Naram-Sîn. Von der durch Fragmente aus Assur und Ägypten bekannten, *König der Schlacht* genannten Erzählung über Sargons Zug nach Purušhanda in Kleinasien liegen

mehrere hethitische Bruchstücke vor⁷⁵, von denen hier ein gut erhaltener Abschnitt mitgeteilt sei (vgl. S. 179 [in the volume from which this article is reprinted — Eds.]).

»Als Sargon sich vom Schlafe erhoben hatte, begann er zu den Hofleuten die Worte zu sprechen: 'Man rufe mir die Krieger, die vor [mir] den Weg für gefährlich erklärten!'

Sargon sprach zu den Kriegern: 'Ihr Krieger, höret mich an! Die Worte, die Ištar zu mir gesprochen hat, will ich euch sagen: das Land, in das ich ziehe, werde ich besiegen!'

Sargon machte sich auf nach Purušhanda. Sein Heer wimmelte um ihn. Er opferte dem heiligen Fluß Aranzah einen Stier und sieben Schafe, der Brücke aber opferte er zwei Widder. Sargon überschritt den Fluß und forderte die Befehlshaber des Heeres zum Überschreiten auf.

Enlil erschien dem Nur-Dagan, dem König von Purušhanda, im Traum. Enlil sprach zu Nur-Dagan diese Worte: 'Sargon, der heldenhafte König, kommt gegen dich zum Kampf, (aber) dir sind Waffen von den Göttern gegeben. Es gibt keinen dir Ebenbürtigen! Deine Waffen gleichen einem großen Wind, einer furchtbaren Flut, einem [...] Wasser ...'« (Lücke).

Aus der akkadischen Fassung wissen wir, daß Sargon den Nur-Dagan trotzdem besiegte und längere Zeit in Purušhanda verweilte.

Der vorliegende Text ist nicht alt, aber es ist anzunehmen, daß der Inhalt schon im Alten Reich bekannt war, da Hattušili I. doch wohl auf diese Flußüberquerung Sargons anspielt⁷⁶. Nach Hattušili überschritt Sargon den Fluß »zu Fuß«, aber unser Text läßt das auf einer Brücke geschehen!

Von dem König Naram-Sîn von Akkad handeln zwei Werke der babylonischen Traditionsliteratur; beide waren den Hethitern bekannt. Von dem einen, das des Königs Sieg über siebzehn feindliche Herrscher zum Gegenstand hat, besitzen wir eine hethitische Fassung; von dem zweiten, das seinen vergeblichen Kampf gegen überlegene Feinde schildert, wurden in Boğazköy Teile einer akkadischen und einer hethitischen Fassung gefunden, wobei die erhaltenen Stücke sich inhaltlich nicht entsprechen⁷⁷. Hier wie beim *Gilgameš*-Epos sind die in der Hethiterhauptstadt

75. CTH 310, bes. 310, 5 Vs. Für den akkadischen Text aus Amarna und Assur s. E. F. Weidner: Der Zug Sargons von Akkad nach Kleinasien. In: Boghazköi-Studien 6 (1922). Purušhanda ist wahrscheinlich Acemhöyük bei Aksaray, sö. des Großen Salzsees, wo türkische Ausgrabungen ein bedeutendes Zentrum erschlossen haben.

76. Oben S. 218. Dort ist der Fluß eindeutig der Euphrat; aber auch für den Zug Sargons hat nur die Überschreitung des Euphrats einen Sinn, nicht die des Tigris.

77. CTH 311, 1 bzw. 2 und 3; akkadisch: H. Otten. In: AFO 22 (1968/69). S. 112.

73. CTH 362; dt. Übersetzung H. G. Güterbock. In: ZA 44 (1938). S. 84–90 bzw. in: Kumarbi. S. 118.

74. H. G. Güterbock: In: ZA 44 (1938). S. 80–84.

gefundenen Fassungen vor allem durch den Vergleich mit einer altbabylonischen und zwei späteren Redaktionen von Interesse⁷⁸.

Zusammenfassend muß man feststellen, daß ein erheblicher Teil der »hethitischen« Literatur von fremden Vorbildern abhängig ist: babylonischen, churritischen und kanaanäischen. Dabei ist aber zu betonen, daß diese Abhängigkeit keine sklavisches ist. Wörtliche Übersetzungen gibt es, außer bei den hier als nicht-literarisch beiseite gelassenen Omina, von einigen Hymnen und Gebeten. Aber in mehreren anderen Gebeten sind babylonische Elemente frei verwendet oder umgestaltet, und wieder andere Gebete sind frei von ihnen. Unter den erzählenden Texten: Epen und anderen Erzählungen, einschließlich der Sargon-Naram-Sîn-Literatur, ist kein Stück, für das eine wörtliche Vorlage gefunden wäre. Wo ein inhaltlich entsprechendes Gegenstück erhalten ist, ist die hethitische Fassung eine freie Nachdichtung, ihr Autor also kein bloßer Übersetzer. Im Rahmen einer allgemeinen Literaturgeschichte ist gerade diese Verknüpfung der hethitischen Epik mit derjenigen der Nachbarvölker von Bedeutung, besonders im Hinblick auf die inhaltlichen Parallelen, die den Kumarbi-Zyklus mit der griechischen Mythologie verbinden.

KLEINASIATISCHE MYTHOLOGIE UND DICHTUNG

Schon bei der Betrachtung der in Hattuša geschriebenen Sprachen und dann in der Einleitung zum Kapitel Epen und Mythen wurden einheimisch-antolische mythologische Texte erwähnt, die sämtlich in Ritualtexten eingebettet sind. Auch auf den hattischen Ursprung und das hohe Alter der meisten von ihnen wurde hingewiesen.

Die einzigen Beispiele für etwas, was man allenfalls als »Verse« bezeichnen kann, finden sich in dieser alten Schicht. Unter den — noch unverständlichen — einsprachigen hattischen Texten gibt es einige, die äußerlich durch Trennungslinien in Abschnitte von einer festen Zahl gleichlanger Zeilen eingeteilt sind. Das sieht nach »Versen« aus, auch wenn, wie sich gezeigt hat, die Zeilen von der linken in die rechte Kolonne durchlaufen. Nach den vorkommenden Götternamen zu schließen, dürfte es sich um Kultlyrik handeln.

In der oben S. 19 f. erwähnten althethitischen Erzählung von der Überquerung des Taurus findet sich das einzige bisher bekannte »Liedchen« in hethitischer Sprache. Es wird durch die Worte »er singt« eingeleitet und lautet:

*Nesas [waspes] Nesas waspes
tija-mu tija*

78. Vgl. O. R. Gurney: The Cuthaeon Legend of Naramsin. In: *Anatolian Studies* 5 (1955), S. 93 bis 113.

*nu-mu annas-mas katta arnut
tija-mu tija
nu-mu uwas-mas katta arnut
tija-mu tija*

In versuchsweiser, freier Übersetzung:

»Nesische [Kleider], nesische Kleider
komm zu mir, komm!
Führe mich zu meiner Mutter,
komm zu mir, komm!
Führe mich zu meinem ... ,
komm zu mir, komm!«

Unter den hattisch-hethitischen Bilinguen gibt es zwei Ritualtexte, die mythologische Erzählungen enthalten. Das eine Ritual (CTH 727) ist auszuführen »wenn der Wettergott furchtbar donnert« und enthält eine *Erzählung vom Mond, der vom Himmel fiel* und wohl vom Wettergott zurückgebracht wurde. Das andere (CTH 726) ist ein Bauritual, in welchem erzählt wird, *wie der Sonnengott sich ein Haus baute*.

Die erste Stelle unter den in hethitischer Sprache überlieferten antolischen Mythen nimmt der *Mythos vom verschwundenen Gott* ein. Er wird von vielen Göttern erzählt und ist immer mit einem Ritual für ihre Zurückführung verbunden. In der zuerst bekannt gewordenen Fassung heißt der Gott Telibinu, und daher geht der Mythos in der Literatur unter seinem Namen⁷⁹. Andere Götter in der gleichen Rolle sind: der große Wettergott; ein spezieller, in der Stadt Kuliwišna verehrter Wettergott; die Muttergöttin; die Göttinnen Anzili und Zukki. Der Mythos ist nicht an eine Jahreszeit gebunden; die Rituale sind keine Kultrituale sondern dienen der Versöhnung des erzürnten Gottes. Gelegentlich wird eine bestimmte Person genannt, die den Zorn des Gottes erregt hat, so die Königinnen Ašmunikal und Harapšili oder ein Schreiber namens Pirwa⁸⁰. Aber das Ritual konnte auch ohne einen solchen Anlaß ausgeführt werden.

Trotz der Vielzahl der Fassungen und Exemplare blieb der Anfang der Erzählung lange unbekannt. Erst durch die Zusammenstellung der von Anzili und Zukki handelnden Fragmente wurde erstmals die Überleitung vom Ritual zur Erzählung wiedergewonnen⁸¹; hier wird diese von der Hebamme vorgetragen, wohl um eine Schwangere vor Gefahren zu schützen.

Von dem Ritual für den Wettergott von Kuliwišna ist der Anfang erhalten (CTH 329, 1, 1):

»Wenn der Hausherr den Wettergott von Kuliwišna jährlich feiert — zu welcher Zeit auch

79. CTH 324; dt. Übersetzung von A. Goetze. In: *Kleinasien*² (1957), S. 143 f. Grundlegend: H. Otten: Die Überlieferungen des Telipinu-Mythus. In: *MVAeG* 46/1 (1942).

80. CTH 325–335. Ganz anders ist CTH 323 über das Verschwinden des Sonnengottes.

81. E. Laroche. In: *RHA* XIX/68 (1961), S. 25 f.

immer der Hausherr dazu imstande ist, sei es im Frühling, zur Erntezeit, [...] oder im Winter —, dann [schickt sich] der Hausherr zunächst [an], den Wettergott von Kuliwišna zu beschwören.«

Erst in der zweiten Tafel wird der Mythus erzählt, und zwar von dem Opfermandanten, also dem »Haus-herrn«, nachdem man den Gott aufgefordert hat, auf einem magischen »Weg« herbeizukommen:

»Der Wettergott von Kuliwišna erhob sich und ging hinaus.

Er [legte die Vorderseite seines Gewandes] nach hinten [an und] zog [den rechten Schuh] an den linken Fuß.«

Diese Schilderung der sinnlosen Wut ist hier nach den besser erhaltenen Parallelen ergänzt. Die unmittelbar folgende Beschreibung der durch das Verschwinden des Gottes verursachten Notzeit ist in der Kuliwišna-Version stark gekürzt und schlecht erhalten. Im folgenden geben wir den nach Paralleltextrn ergänzten Text einer Fassung wieder, in der der Gott einfach »Wettergott« genannt wird und die gegenüber den Telibinu-Versionen etwas erweitert ist⁸²:

»Nebel erfüllte die Fenster, Rauch erfüllte das Haus. Auf dem Herde wurden die Scheite erstickt, auf dem Podest wurden die Götter erstickt, in der Hürde wurden die Schafe erstickt, im Pferch wurden die Rinder erstickt. Das Mutterschaf nahm sein Lamm nicht an, die Kuh nahm ihr Kalb nicht an.

[Der Wettergott ging fort und nahm auf Feld und] Wiese [Wachstum und Gedei]hen [mit sich]. Da wachsen Gerste und Weizen nicht mehr, Rinder, Schafe und Menschen werden nicht schwanger, und die, die schwanger sind, gebären nicht. Die Berge sind verdorrt, die Bäume sind verdorrt, so daß kein Sproß wächst; die Weidegründe sind vertrocknet, die Quellen sind vertrocknet.

Der große Sonnengott veranstaltete ein Fest und lud die tausend Götter dazu ein. Sie aßen — aber wurden nicht satt, sie tranken — aber konnten den Durst nicht stillen. Des Wettergottes Vater sprach zu den Göttern: 'Mein Sohn [ist fort!] Er ergrimte und nahm alles Gute mit sich fort: Korn, Wachstum, Gedeihen und Sättigung!' Die großen Götter schickten sich an, den Wettergott zu suchen. Der große Sonnengott entsandte den schnellen Adler: 'Geh, durchsuche die hohen Berge, durchsuche die tiefen Täler, durchsuche die dunklen(?) Fluten!' Der Adler ging, aber fand ihn nicht. Der schnelle Adler brachte dem Sonnengott Kunde: 'Die hohen Berge durchsuchte ich, die tiefen Täler durchsuchte ich, die dunklen(?) Fluten durchsuchte ich, aber ich habe ihn nicht gefunden, den Wettergott des Himmels!'

Des Wettergottes Vater ging zu seinem Großvater und sprach zu ihm: '[Vat]er! Wer hat gesündigt, so daß die Samen verdorben sind und alles vertrocknet ist?' Der Großvater aber sagte: 'Niemand (sonst) hat gesündigt, nur du allein hast gesündigt!' So sprach der Vater des Wettergottes: 'Nicht ich habe gesündigt! — Aber der Großvater antwortete: 'Diese Sache werde ich ergründen und (gegebenenfalls) dich töten!'

Der Vater des Wettergottes ging zur Muttergöttin unter den Gulšeš(-Göttinnen). Die Muttergöttin sagte: 'O Vater des Wettergottes, wofür bist du gekommen?' Der Vater des Wettergottes antwortete: 'Der Wettergott ist erzürnt, alles ist vertrocknet und das Leben(?) ist zugrunde gerichtet. Mein Vater aber sagt: "Es ist deine Schuld! Ich werde die Sache ergründen und dich töten". — Wie soll ich jetzt handeln? Was ist geschehen?' Die Muttergöttin antwortete: 'Fürchte dich nicht! Wenn es deine Schuld ist, werde ich es gutmachen, und wenn es nicht deine Schuld ist, werde ich es (auch) gutmachen. Geh, suche den Wettergott, bevor sein Großvater es hört!' — Der Vater des Wettergottes sprach: 'Wohin soll ich gehen, ihn zu suchen?' Die Muttergöttin antwortete: 'Ich werde ihn dir verschaffen! Geh, bring die Biene her! Ich selbst werde sie unterweisen, und sie wird den Wettergott suchen'. — Der Vater des Wettergottes sprach: 'Die großen Götter haben ihn gesucht und nicht gefunden. Wird jetzt diese Biene gehen und ihn finden? [Ihre Flügel] sind klein, sie selbst ist klein; man wird sie verhindern(?)!'

Die Fortsetzung ist in dieser Fassung verloren bis auf eine aus keiner anderen Version bekannte Episode, in der der Wettergott zu seinem Vater zurückkehrt und die dort(!) versammelten Götter wieder satt werden. In der Erzählung vom Verschwinden des Telibinu heißt sein Vater einfach »Wettergott«, und die Episode mit dem Großvater fehlt ganz. Die Biene findet den Telibinu in einem Hain bei der Stadt Lihzina schlafend. Der Weisung der Muttergöttin folgend sticht sie ihn, so daß er erwacht, aber das erhöht nur seine Wut, so daß er Vernichtung über Tiere, Menschen und das ganze Land bringt. Den ratlosen Göttern kommt Hilfe durch Magie: in einer Version ist es die Göttin Kamrušepa, in einer anderen der Mensch, der die Riten ausführt und dadurch den Gott besänftigt, so daß er zurückkehrt und Leben und Wachstum wiederbringt.

Einige der Exemplare sowohl der Telibinu- wie der Wettergott-Fassung haben Formen der althethitischen Sprache bewahrt, die den Schluß erlauben, daß diese Mythen, schon im Alten Reich niedergeschrieben wurden, auch wenn die erhaltenen Manuskripte spätere Abschriften sind. Aber wie schon erwähnt scheint die große Zahl ähnlicher, auf verschiedene Götter bezogener und in Einzelheiten voneinander abweichender Texte darauf hinzudeuten, daß es auch eine mündliche Tradition gab, die den Verfassern von Beschwörungss-ritualen Freiheit der Wahl ließ.

82. CTH 325 mit Zusatzstücken: vgl. H. G. Güterbock: *Mythologies of the Ancient World* (1961). S. 144–148 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 50–52 — Eds.].

Die Wendungen »sie essen, werden aber nicht satt« usw. in einem palaischen mythologischen Fragment deuten darauf, daß es auch in dieser Sprache Erzählungen ähnlicher Art gegeben hat. Dagegen behandelt ein mythologisches Fragment in luwischer Sprache ein anderes Thema: hier veranstaltet der Sonnengott ein Fest, zu dem er mehrere Götter einlädt; er versäumt es aber, »die Große Gottheit« einzuladen, die natürlich mit Zorn reagiert; also das Märchenmotiv von der dreizehnten Fee⁸³! So fragmentarisch diese Texte auch sind, zeigen sie doch, daß diese Art von Literatur nicht auf das Hethitische beschränkt war.

Unter den einheimisch-anatolischen Mythen gibt es auch einen, der von dem Kampf des Wettergottes mit einem Drachen oder ähnlichen Wesen handelt. Der Name dieses Gegners, Illujanka, ist mit einem Determinativ geschrieben, das sowohl Schlangen als auch drachenartige Mischwesen kennzeichnet. *Illujanka* ist das hethitische Wort für so ein Wesen, ob Schlange oder Drache, aber um allen Schwierigkeiten des Ausdrucks auszuweichen, gebrauchen wir hier weiter Illujanka als Namen.

Die Erzählung ist ausdrücklich mit der Feier eines Festes in der nordanatolischen Stadt Nerik verknüpft, deren Gott, »Wettergott von Nerik« genannt, der Sohn des Wettergottes des Himmels ist. Dieses Fest wurde anscheinend im frühen Frühling gefeiert, und man hat daher in dem Mythos von der Drachentötung einen Ausdruck für die Überwindung des Winters gesehen. In der Tat deuten die Einleitung und die (leider noch recht dunklen) Abschnitte des Textes, die auf die erzählenden Teile folgen, auf einen solchen Naturbezug hin. Und das erklärt vielleicht auch, warum der Mythos nicht von dem Lokalgott selbst sondern von seinem größeren und für das ganze Land wichtigeren Vater handelt. A. Goetze hat als erster beobachtet, daß der Text zwei verschiedene Fassungen des Drachenkampfmythus enthält. Jede von ihnen endet mit dem Tode des Drachen, und zudem sind sie im Ton und in Einzelheiten ganz verschieden⁸⁴. Der Anfang des Textes und die erste Fassung lauten wie folgt:

»So spricht Kella: Die Worte für das *purulli*-Fest des Wettergottes von Nerik, des [Sohnes] des Wettergottes des Himmels, sind wie folgt: Wenn man sagt 'Das Land soll blühen und gedeihen und das Land soll behütet sein!' — wenn es dann blüht und gedeiht, feiert man das *purulli*-Fest.

Als der Wettergott und Illujanka in Kiškilušša miteinander kämpften, besiegte Illujanka den Wettergott. Der Wettergott flehte zu allen Göttern: 'Steht mir bei!' Da veranstaltete (die Göttin) Inara ein Fest. Sie bereitete alles reichlich zu: ein Tonfaß Wein, ein Tonfaß *marnuwan*, ein Tonfaß *walhi*; und in den Fässern bereitete sie Überfluß.

Inara ging nach Zikkaratta und traf dort den Hupašija, einen Sterblichen. Inara sprach: 'Hupašija, siehe, ich werde das und das tun; geselle dich zu mir!' — Hupašija sprach zu Inara: 'Wenn ich mit dir schlafen darf, werde ich deinen Herzenswunsch erfüllen!' Und er schlief mit ihr.

Da führte Inara den Hupašija mit sich und verbarg ihn. Inara schmückte sich und lud den Illujanka aus seiner Höhle hervor ein. 'Siehe, ich mache ein Fest! Komm zum Essen und Trinken!' Da kamen Illujanka [und seine Kinder(?)] herauf und aßen und tranken. Sie tranken ein ganzes Faß aus und wurden betrunken, und so konnten sie nicht mehr in die Höhle hinunter gehen. Und Hupašija kam und band den Illujanka mit einem Strick. Da kam der Wettergott und tötete den Illujanka, während die Götter bei ihm waren.

Inara baute ein Haus auf einem Felsen im Lande Tarukka und ließ den Hupašija in dem Hause wohnen. Und Inara trug ihm auf: 'Wenn ich ins Land hinausgehe, sieh nicht aus dem Fenster! Wenn du hinausiehst, wirst du deine Frau und deine Kinder sehen!' — Als zwanzig Tage vergangen waren, blickte er aber aus dem Fenster und sah seine Frau und seine Kinder. Als Inara vom Lande zurückkam, begann er zu klagen: 'Laß mich wieder nach Hause gehen!' — Inara antwortete: ['Warum hast du immer wieder] hinausgeschaut?'«

Leider wird der Text hier so fragmentarisch, daß man den Ausgang nur erraten kann: der ungehorsame Sterbliche muß wohl sterben.

Die zweite Fassung des gleichen Mythos lautet:

»[...] besiegte Illujanka [den Wettergott und] nahm [ihm sein Herz und seine Augen]. Der Wettergott [...]. Dann nahm er die Tochter eines Armen zur Frau und zeugte einen Sohn. Als dieser herangewachsen war, nahm er die Tochter des Illujanka zur Frau. Der Wettergott unterwies ihn: 'Wenn du in das Haus deiner Gattin gehst, verlange von ihnen das Herz und die Augen!' Als er hinging, verlangte er das Herz von ihnen, und sie gaben es ihm. Danach verlangte er die Augen, und sie gaben ihm auch die. Das brachte er zu seinem Vater, dem Wettergott, und so erhielt der Wettergott das Herz und seine Augen zurück.

Als er in seiner Gestalt wie früher und heil geworden war, ging er wieder ans Meer zum Kampfe. Als er ihm den Kampf lieferte, war er im Begriffe, den Illujanka zu besiegen. Aber des Wettergottes Sohn war auf Illujankas Seite und rief zum Himmel hinauf zu seinem Vater: 'Nimm mich dazu! Schone mich nicht!' Da tötete der Wettergott den Illujanka und seinen Sohn«

83. Palaisch: CTH 752; luwisch: CTH 764.

84. CTH 321. A. Goetze: Kleinasien (¹1933. S. 131 f.) ²1957. S. 139 f. mit dt. Übersetzung. Obwohl neue Fragmente zu einer abweichenden Interpretation des Textanfanges geführt haben (ohne die Worte »nicht mehr«), bleibt die Unterscheidung bestehen.

Es ist schon lange aufgefallen, wie verschieden die beiden Geschichten sind. In der ersten ist die List, durch die der Drache wehrlos gemacht wird, recht plump, und der für ihre Durchführung herangezogene Sterbliche muß für die Gunst der Göttin teuer zahlen, ganz wie in vielen Märchen anderer Völker. In der zweiten Fassung wird zwar auch eine List gebraucht, diese stützt sich aber auf geltende Sitte. Für den Sohn einer armen Frau ist die gegebene Heiratsform die auch aus dem hethitischen Recht bekannte der Einheirat, bei der der Vater der Braut der Familie des Mannes gewissermaßen einen Brautpreis mit umgekehrten Vorzeichen zahlt. Darum hat der Sohn des Wettergottes das Recht, die Geschenke zu verlangen, er tritt aber ganz in die Familie der Braut ein und muß daher im Kampf die Seite seines Schwiegervaters ergreifen.

Eine andere Eigentümlichkeit der zweiten Fassung ist die Lokalisation des Kampfes am Meer. Diese ist für einen zentralanatolischen Mythos ungewöhnlich. Nun hat schon vor Jahren W. Porzig, der auch die rechtliche Grundlage der Geschichte als erster gesehen hat, auf eine parallele Episode aus der *Typhonsage* hingewiesen, wie sie in Apollodors Bibliothek überliefert ist⁸⁵.

Dort raubt Typhon dem Zeus im Kampf seine Hand- und Fußsehnen, die dann Hermes durch eine List zurückbringt. Typhon wohnt in der korykischen Grotte in Kilikien, und der Kampf findet auf dem Mons Casius statt. Der Gedanke drängt sich auf, daß das Meer in der zweiten Version des *Illujanka*-Mythus eben das Mittelmeer sein und diese Fassung aus Kilikien stammen könnte. Freilich ist sie von den anderen »Vorläufern« der *Typhonsage*, den Epen von *Ullikummi* und *Hedammu*, in jeder Hinsicht verschieden. Aber die Annahme verschiedener lokaler Überlieferungen, von denen einige von der churro-hethitischen Epik behandelt wurden, diese hier aber auf anderem Wege zu dem Verfasser unseres Textes gelangt wäre, erscheint nicht unmöglich. Vielleicht war es der Priester Kella, der die südanatolische Geschichte in dem nördlichen Nerik eingeführt hat.

Rückblickend muß man zugeben, daß der Beitrag der Hethiter zur Weltliteratur, soweit es sich um eigene Schöpfungen handelt, bescheiden ist: er besteht fast nur in den zuletzt besprochenen anatolischen Mythen vom Verschwundenen Gott und vom Drachenkampf. Der größere Teil der erzählenden Literatur geht auf fremde Vorbilder zurück, und dasselbe gilt von den Hymnen und Gebeten. Dabei muß aber betont werden, daß die hethitischen Fassungen, soweit ein Vergleich möglich ist, freie Gestaltungen der übernommenen Themen

sind. Auch die Mittel des epischen und hymnischen Stils sind nicht auf die der Vorbilder beschränkt.

In der Geschichtsschreibung dagegen haben die Hethiter Wichtiges geleistet. Zwar darf man nicht mit griechischen oder modernen Maßstäben messen. Nimmt man aber die Zweckgebundenheit der Darstellung als gegeben — in den Selbstberichten der Könige wie auch in den Einleitungen zu Verträgen, Erlassen und Gebeten —, so kann man den Verfassern ein Talent für logischen, das jeweilige Thema in zeitlicher Abfolge entwickelnden Aufbau und oft auch für lebendige Erzählweise nicht absprechen. Darüber hinaus haben die sorgfältigen Untersuchungen Canciks gezeigt, daß die hethitischen Geschichtswerke, zumindest des Neuen Reiches, sich durch ihren Stil, die Fähigkeit, komplizierte Kausalzusammenhänge klar darzustellen, sowie durch die Durchführung bestimmter, einen Text beherrschender Themen als echte Literaturwerke ausweisen, die den zeitgenössischen Werken der Assyrer überlegen sind und den Vergleich mit den Geschichtsbüchern des Alten Testaments aushalten.

Im Sinne der in der Einleitung gegebenen Definition des Begriffs »Hethiter« wird man fragen, worin denn der Beitrag der indogermanisch sprechenden Hethiter bestehe. Für den Mythos vom Gewittergott, der den Drachen tötet, kann man allenfalls an Indra erinnern; aber das Thema ist zu allgemein, als daß es mit Sicherheit als gemeinsames Erbgut betrachtet werden könnte. Wohl aber ist der Bau der indogermanischen Sprache entscheidend für die ganze Ausdrucksweise und damit auch für den Stil der Texte. Die »Schreiber« des Königshofes, gleichgültig welcher Herkunft, waren Meister im Gebrauch dieser Sprache. Der Umstand, daß das Erlernen der Keilschrift gewisse assyriologische Kenntnisse erforderte, ließ sie an der »Bildung« ihrer Zeit teilnehmen. Und diesem Umstand verdanken wir es, daß die am frühesten niedergeschriebene indogermanische Sprache nicht nur für Abrechnungen und Inventare verwendet wurde, sondern für die Niederschrift von — literarischen und nicht-literarischen — Texten.

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THE HITTITE VERSION OF THE HURRIAN KUMARBI MYTHS: ORIENTAL FORERUNNERS OF HESIOD*

The old question as to what extent Greek mythology has used oriental models can be discussed now in the light of fresh material. The texts presented here were found in the royal archives at Hattuša, the Hittite capital near the Turkish village of Boğazköy in Central Anatolia. They are written in Hittite, but from the Hurrian names they contain and from the fact that fragments of a Hurrian version were found at the same place it is evident that the Hittite version goes back to a Hurrian original. The tablets actually found were written between 1400 and 1200 B.C.; the original composition may be slightly older and may date from the height of the Hurrian culture in the fifteenth century. Attention to these texts was first drawn by E. O. Forrer in 1935 at the International Congress of Orientalists held in Rome. The first part of the most interesting text was published in German translation and transliteration by Forrer in 1936¹ together with short excerpts from other fragments. In 1938, I published some notes on Forrer's text,² on the basis of which E. A. Speiser, in 1942, wrote an article investigating the Babylonian elements of this myth.³ The cuneiform edition of all relevant Hittite texts was published by H. Otten in 1943⁴ and reached Turkey in the same year. Since then, I have studied these texts and, after a preliminary attempt to arrange the various fragments,⁵ I published a German edition of the whole material in 1946,⁶ containing transliteration,

translation, philological commentary and a discussion of the contents of the texts and of their relation to Greek, Babylonian and Phoenician mythology.

Since the Editor of this Journal kindly asked me for a contribution to its special number devoted to the history of the Greek epic, I take the opportunity to present this material to the English-reading public⁷ and especially to classical scholars. In the present paper, therefore, I shall give first an outline of the texts, with the better preserved parts in full translation, followed by a short discussion of their foreign relations. Readers who want more details may consult the German book.

The mythological texts under discussion center around the Hurrian god Kumarbi who corresponds, as we shall see, to Kronos. Apart from some fragments which cannot yet be placed, there are two main compositions. The first may be called "Theogony"; the Hittite title of the text, unfortunately, is broken away. The second text is called "Song of Ullikummi" in the colophon; it consists of more than two (probably three) tablets which have come down in several copies, the fragments of which can be arranged with a fair degree of probability.

The first part of the text which we call "Theogony" deals with the "Kingship in Heaven." Unfortunately, this text has come down to us in a single copy which, moreover, is in a very bad state of preservation. Of the four columns containing about 90 lines each, only the first half of the first column is clear (it is the part published by Forrer, cf. note 1). It runs as follows.⁸

*Reprinted from the *American Journal of Archaeology* 52 (1948): 123–134, with the permission of the Archaeological Institute of America.

1. E. O. Forrer, *Eine Geschichte des Götterkönigtums aus dem Hatti-Reiche in Mélanges Franz Cumont (= Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves*, iv [1936]), pp. 687–713.
2. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xlv (n.s., x), pp. 90 ff.
3. E. A. Speiser, *An Intrusive Hurro-Hittite Myth*, in *JAOS*, lxii (1942), pp. 98–102; seen by the present writer only in 1945.
4. *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (abbr. *KUB*) xxxiii: *Mythische und magische Texte in hethitischer Sprache*, nos. 92–122.
5. In a review of *KUB*, xxxiii in *Orientalia* (n.s.) xii (1943), pp. 344–355.
6. *Kumarbi. Mythen vom churritischen Kronos, aus den hethitischen Fragmenten zusammengestellt, übersetzt und*

erklärt (Istanbuler Schriften, no. 16) 1946 [printed in Istanbul, sold through:] Europa-Verlag, Zürich-New York (Abbr.: *Kum.*).—A Turkish edition (in which only the philological commentary is omitted) appeared in 1945 as a publication of the Turkish Historical Society: *Kumarbi Efsanesi (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından, vii, no. 11)* 1945, [translated by] Sedat Alp.

7. I am indebted to my colleague, Prof. McCallien, for corrections of the language.
8. In the translation, paragraphs correspond to the sections separated by horizontal strokes in the original. Square brackets indicate restorations of words lost in the original (restorations which are certain are not indicated); paren-

(L.1 mutilated) ... ^{L2} let the mighty [...] gods hear-ken, let Na[ra], ^{L3}[Napšara, Mink]i, Ammunki hearken, let Ammezzaddu, ^{L4}[...]..., father (and) mother, hear-ken!

^{L5} Let [...], Išhara, father (and) mother, hearken, let Enlil, ^{L6}[...] who are mighty (and) ... gods, ^{L7}[...] and [...] -]ulkulimma hearken!⁹

Formerly, ^{L8} in [fo]rmer years, Alalu was king in heaven. Alalu ^{L9}is sitting on the throne, and the mighty Anu,¹⁰ the first of the gods, is standing ^{L10} in front of him. He bows down to his feet and puts the cups for drinking ^{L11} into his hand.

^{L12} Nine full years¹¹ Alalu was king in heaven. In the ninth year, Anu^{L13} fought against Alalu: he overcame Alalu, ^{L14}(so that) he fled from him and went ^{L12} down to the dark earth. ^{L15}He went down to the dark earth, (while Anu) sat on his throne. ^{L16}Anu is sitting on the throne, and the mighty Kumarbi is giving him to drink. ^{L17}He bows down to his feet and puts the cups for drink- ing into his hands.

^{L18}Nine full years¹¹ Anu was king in heaven. In the ninth year, ^{L19}Anu fought against Kumarbi: Kumarbi, in the place of Alalu, ^{L20}fought against Anu. Anu could not withstand Kumarbi's eyes ^{L21}any more; he escaped from ^{L22}Kumarbi's hand and fled. Anu, as a bird, flew toward heaven. ^{L23}After him Kumarbi rushed and he took Anu by the feet ^{L24}and pulled him down from heaven.

^{L25}He bit his "knees," (so that) his manhood was absorbed in Kumarbi's interior ^{L26}like ...¹³ When Kumarbi had swallowed Anu's manhood, ^{L27}he rejoiced and laughed. Anu turned back to him ^{L28}and to Kumarbi he spake: "Thou feelest joy ^{L29}about thine interior, be- cause thou hast swallowed my manhood.

^{L30}Do not feel joy about thine interior! Into thine in- terior I have laid ^{L31}a seed: first I have impregnated thee with the heavy Weather-God(?);¹⁴ ^{L32}secondly I

have impregnated thee with the river Aranzaḫ¹⁵ of ... ; ^{L33}thirdly I have impregnated thee with the heavy god Tašmišu.¹⁶ Three fearful ^{L34}gods I have laid as a seed into thine interior. In the end thou shalt have ^{L35/6} to strike the rocks of the ... mountains with thy head!"

^{L37}When Anu had finished his speech he w[ent] up to heaven. ^{L38}Thereupon he hid, out of his mouth he spat, [Kumarbi,] ^{L39}the wise king. Out of his mouth he spat ... [.....] ^{L40}mixed. What Kumarbi [had] s[pat], ^{L41}.....

^{L42}The angry [Kuma]rbi [into] Nippu[r¹⁷ ...] ^{L43}[...] went. ...[...]^{L44}[...] sat. Kumarbi did not [...]. ^{L45}[...] he counts. Seven (? or: nine?) months pass[ed, ...] (bro- ken).

The second half of the first column is lost. Of the second column, parts of 87 lines exist, but its surface is so much obliterated that a translation is impossible. It seems to deal with the miraculous birth of the Weather-God. There is one passage which seems to be of special interest. In lines 42 f. one reads: "Give me [the chi]ld (??). [...] I shall eat"; in line 44 the verbal form "I (shall) eat" reappears, in connection with the name of the Weather-God, and in line 51 "Kumarbi begins to eat," whereas in the following lines "mouth" and "teeth" are mentioned. In the following paragraph a new cult seems to be introduced, and in this connection it is said that a diorite stone has been thrown (l. 60 f.). We shall return to these details; unfortunately the text is so fragmentary that it is not possible to make a more definite statement about its contents.

Of the third column of the text only the ends of about 50 lines exist, so that not a single sentence is complete. What can be made out of the contents of this column seems to point to a struggle between gods. Once we read (l. 19-22): "The Weather-God grew angry in his heart, [...] to the bull Šeri¹⁸ he spake: '[...] come [aga]inst [me] for battle.'" In a later section of the col- umn, part of a speech is preserved in which someone mentions his being cursed.

Of the fourth column, only the beginnings of the last few lines are preserved; apparently, here, Earth gives birth to two children. One of them seems to be a girl, since a spindle is mentioned as a gift. This reminds

theses include words required by the English idiom. Words the reading or translation of which is uncertain are printed in italics; capitals are used for names and words written by an ideogram the Hittite reading of which is unknown.

9. Most of the gods mentioned in this introduction are known as the "Former Gods," i.e., gods of the old ages. On this conception see below, p. 46.
10. Anu, Akkadianized form of Sumerian An "Heaven"; cf. *Oùpavoc* Alalu is mentioned in Sumerian lists of gods as one of the "fathers of Anu."
11. Lit.: "nine counted years." Most probably not ordinary years but "ages."
12. The traces of the mutilated verb look like *pa-it*. If this reading is correct, *na-an-kán* must be a mistake for *na-aš-kán*. If *nankan* is considered as correct, one needs a transitive verb and has to accept a double change of subject: "He (Alalu) fled ... and he (Anu) drove him He (Alalu) went"
13. For this translation cf. *Kum.*, p. 35.
14. This reading, first proposed by Dr. Kemal Balkan (*Kum.*, p. 35), seems to me now almost certainly correct in view of

the further contents of our texts.— The Hurrian name of the Weather-God is Tešub. Our texts, however, do not use the Hurrian name; they use the ideogram with Hittite phonetic complements, the complete Hittite reading of which is still unknown.

15. I.e., Tigris.
16. Tašmišu is a satellite of the Weather-God.
17. The famous Babylonian city where Enlil, the supreme god of the Sumerians, had his shrine. On Enlil = Kumarbi, see p. 47.
18. Šeri is known as one of the divine bulls attached to the Weather-God's chariot.



A



B



C

Plate 3. The Corycian Cave. (A) Mount Casius, Seen from the Site of el-Mina; (B) General View of the Depression; (C) the Mouth of the Grotto with the Byzantine Church, Seen from Within; (D) the Mouth of the Groto, Seen from Without



D

us of the three children Anu has foretold to Kumarbi. Since the latter had spat out the seed he had first swallowed, it may be that Earth had become pregnant with it. The first child, then, ought to be the Weather-God whose birth was probably told in col. II (in another fragment¹⁹ he calls Earth his mother). The remaining two children, then, would be the Tigris and Tašmišu, and the fact that rivers were represented as female in Hittite

art²⁰ would suit our observation that one of the children is a girl.

Since the colophon of this tablet is broken, we do not know whether the text ended here or whether it continued on other tablets. Two fragments which show some resemblance to our first text might belong to the

19. *Kum.*, p.10, Text 1 b, line 9.

20. According to texts describing statues: *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (abbr. *KBo*), ii, 13 obv. 22 f.; Güterbock, *Orientalia*, (n.s.) xv, pp. 491 ff.

same composition.²¹ One of them deals with the temporary appointment to kingship of a god whose name is written by the Sumerian ideogram LAMA.

The “song of Ullikummi,” which is distinct from the “Theogony,” as is evident from its title and separate numbering of tablets, evidently deals with events taking place after the story of that text. Here, the Weather-God is already king, but Kumarbi refuses to accept this change of power and therefore tries to defeat him with the help of a monster called Ullikummi. The text runs as follows:²²

FIRST TABLET.

Fragment a. (L.1 destroyed) ^{L2}[In wh]ich mind there is wisdom, [...] ^{L3}uses to take [...]. I shall sing ^{L4} of Kumarbi, the father of all gods.

^{L5}Kumarbi takes wisdom into his mind ^{L6}and brings up a “bad day” as “evil creature”; ^{L7}he plans evil against the Weather-God ^{L8}and brings up a rebel against the Weather-God.

^{L9}Kumarbi [takes] wisdom into his mind ^{L10}and pins it on like a bead.

^{L11}When Kumarbi had taken wisdom into his mind, ^{L12}he promptly rose from his seat. ^{L13}He took a stick into his hand, un[to his feet] ^{L14}he p[ut] the swift shoes [... (?)]. ^{L15}He went out of (his) city Urkiš²³ ^{L16}and he came to ... (broken; lacuna of ca. 60 lines).

In *Fragment b* Impaluri, Kumarbi’s messenger, is talking to the Sea.

Fragment c (perhaps in part parallel to *Fragment b*) contains the Sea’s reply.

^{L4}The Sea spake again to Impaluri: ^{L5}“O Impaluri! Hear these my words! ^{L6}Go and repeat them before Kumarbi!

^{L7}Go and tell Kumarbi: ‘Why ^{L8}hast thou come in angry mood against the (my?) house, ^{L9}(so that) trembling seized the house, ^{L10}fear seized the servants? For thee, ^{L11}cedar wood hath already been broken, ^{L12}dishes have already been cooked for thee, ^{L13}and singers hold their ^{L14}instruments day and night ^{L15}ready for thee. Get up ^{L16}and come to my house!’”²⁴

^{L17}And he rose, Kumarbi, ^{L18}and Impaluri went in front of him. (^{L19-20}...²⁵). ^{L21}And he went to the house of the Sea.

^{L22}The Sea spake: “Let them set up a stool ^{L23}for Kumarbi to sit down, ^{L24}let them put a table before him, ^{L25}let them bring him to eat, ^{L26}let them bring him beer to drink!” ^{L27}The cooks brought dishes, the cup-bearers brought him ...-wine ^{L28}to drink. They drank once, they drank twice, ^{L29}they drank three times, they drank four times, they drank five times, ^{L30}they drank six times, they drank seven times. Kumarbi ^{L31}spake to Mukišanu, his vezir: ^{L32}“O Mukišanu, my vezir! To the word I speak to thee ^{L33}lend thine ear! Into thy hand take a stick, ^{L34}[unto thy feet] put the shoes, and to [...] ^{L35}[...] and into the waters [...] ^{L36}[And...these wor]ds before the waters [repeat!...]” (broken).

All these events: Kumarbi’s leaving his own town, the visit paid to the Sea²⁶ and the order given to Mukišanu, seem to be the preliminaries for what follows: the birth of Ullikummi. *Fragment d* deals with this event, but the part telling the story of the birth itself is broken. Mention is made of stones and rock, a son of Kumarbi, midwives and the goddesses called GUL-šeš and MAḪ in Hittite, Ḫudenna and Ḫudellurra in Hurrian, who nurse the child. The child, then, is put on the knees of his father, who is to bestow the name on him. He orders him to destroy the city of Kummiya,²⁷ where the Weather-God lives, to fight the Weather-God and Tašmišu and to do some more work of destruction, and names him Ullikummi. After a lacuna this fragment continues:

^{L48}Kumarbi spake these words to Impaluri: ^{L49}“O Impaluri! To the words I speak to thee ^{L50}lend thine ear! Into thy hand ^{L51}take a stick, unto thy feet put the swift shoes! ^{L52}[Hurry and] go to the Irširra-gods! ^{L53}[And ... these] words speak before the Irširras: ^{L54}[Come!] Kumarbi, father of the gods, calleth ye! ^{L55}[...] about what matter he calleth ye, ^{L56}[ye know not]. Now come promptly!

^{L57}The Irširras will take the child and they ^{L58}[will carry it] to the dark earth ...” (broken).

In *Fragment e* which follows immediately Impaluri carries out this order and repeats Kumarbi’s words verbally before the Irširras (ll. 1–13). It then goes on:

^{L14}When the Irširras heard these words, ^{L15}[they ...] made haste ^{L16}[and hurr]ied. And they covered the dis-

21. Texts 1 b and 1 c in *Kum.*

22. For the arrangement of the fragments and references to the cuneiform editions see *Kum.*

23. Situated probably in the region east of the Tigris.

24. The text omits the repetition of the message and goes on immediately with its result.

25. Two lines, mutilated in one copy, omitted in another.

26. There is another fragment dealing with a visit the Sea paid to Kumarbi (*Kum.*, Text 4 a); according to still another fragment (*Kum.*, Text 4 b) Kumarbi seems to marry the daughter of the Sea, a girl called [P]irtapšuruḫi or [I]ntapšuruḫi (after Laroche’s reading; cf. his forthcoming review of *Kum.*, in *Revue hittite et asianique*), and measuring one *bēru*, i.e., the measure of two hours’ walk! Whether these fragments belong here we do not know (cf. *Kum.*, pp. 83 ff.).

27. Somewhere in Upper Mesopotamia, exact location unknown.

tance^{L17} in one [and] came to Kumarbi.^{L18/9} Thereupon, Kumarbi spake to the Irširras:

^{L20}“[Take this child] and [make] him^{L21} into a present [and] carry him to the dark earth!^{L22} Make haste and hurry!^{L23} And put him unto Upelluri’s^{L24} right shoulder as a ...!^{L25} In one day he shall grow one yard,^{L26} in a month he shall grow one IKU^{L29} ...” (Two obscure lines, then broken).

Fragment f (following immediately):^{L6} When the Irširras heard these words,^{L7} they took [the child] from Kumarbi’s knees. The Irširras^{L8} lifted him and pressed [him] against their breast^{L9} like a garment. They lifted [him up] and [put] him^{L10} on Enlil’s^{L30} knees ... [... En]lil lifted his eyes^{L11} and s[aw] the child: [*The child*] was standing in front of the deity,^{L12} and his body [...] was made of diorite stone.

^{L13} Enlil spake [*to the Irširras*]:^{L14} “Who is this [child]? Did the GUL-šeš and^{L15} MAḪ-goddesses bring [him] up? Who of the great gods shall [ever] see [him]?^{L16} ...^{L17} As Kumarbi brought up^{L18} the Weather-God, [in the same way he now brought up] this Diorite^{L19} as a rebel!”

^{L20} When Enlil [had finished] these words,^{L21} they put the child on Upelluri’s right shoulder as a [...].

^{L22} The Diorite grows, and the mighty^{L23} [gods] bring him up. In one day he grows one yard,^{L24} in one month he grows one IKU ...^{L31}

^{L22} When fifteen days [had passed], the stone was grown up. He [stood] in the sea on his knees^{L23} like a pillar; the stone stood out of the water,^{L24} and his height was like [...]. And the sea^{L25} came up to the place of his belt like a garment.^{L26} The stone was lifted like a ..., and above, in heaven,^{L27} he reached the temples and the ...-house.

^{L28} The Sun-God looked [down] from heaven and saw Ullikummi.^{L29} When the Sun-God saw Ullikummi,^{L30} the Sun-God^{L30} [spake to himself]: “Who [is] this swift god there in the sea? ^{L31}His body doeth not resemble that of [*the other*] gods!”^{L33}

The mutilated end of this fragment seems to contain a description of the Sun-God’s fear and anger.

Thereafter, we find the Sun-God visiting the Weather-God.

Fragment g: The Weather-God and his servant Tašmišu are talking about this visit.

^{L12} The Weather-God spake to Tašmišu: “Let them set up [a chair for the Sun-God],^{L13} let them prepare a table for him to eat!”

^{L14} While they were speaking thus, the Sun-God [arrived].^{L15} To sit they set up a chair for him, but he did not [sit down].^{L16} They prepared a table, but he did not hold out his hand.^{L17} A cup^{L17} they gave him, but he did not put his lip^{L34} to it.

^{L18} The Weather-God spake to the Sun-God: “Which major-domo hath^{L19} set up [a bad chair] (so that) thou didst not sit down? Which steward hath served bad [dishes],^{L20} (so that) thou didst not eat? Which cup-bearer hath served bad [drink],^{L21} (so that) thou didst not drink?”

This is the end of the first tablet in one of the copies. We may assume that the Sun-God’s indifference toward the pleasures of the table are due to the fearful experience he has just had, and that in the missing part of the text he probably tells his host what he saw.

SECOND AND THIRD TABLETS.

After a lacuna of approximately 40 lines there comes a fragment which, in one copy, belongs to the second tablet, whereas in another copy its first part forms the end of the first tablet. We call it *Fragment a* of the Second Tablet. It is in a bad state of preservation. From what can be made out, the Weather-God, together with his sister Ištar,^{L35} walks up to the peak of Mount Ḫazzi. This mountain which, in religious texts, occurs as one of the sacred mountains of the Weather-God, was called Mons Casius by the Greeks and Romans, Zaphon by the Semites; it is situated on the Syrian sea-shore south of the mouth of the Orontes river. From here, the Weather-God and his sister see the diorite monster Ullikummi standing in the sea. At this sight,^{L36} “^{L16}the Weather-God sat down on the earth, and tears flowed [out of his eyes]^{L17} like streams.” He utters his fear, and Ištar tries to console him.

The rest of the fragments of the Ullikummi epic cannot be arranged with certainty.^{L36} In a fragment

28. A giant carrying heaven and earth, according to Second Tablet, Fragment g (p. 44).

29. A measure of length.

30. Enlil, the supreme god of the Sumerians. In our texts he is distinct from Kumarbi, although, according to another tradition, Kumarbi takes his place in the theological system. Cf. note 17 and below, p. 46 f.

31. Two lines of obscure meaning. In the following we have used the numbering of lines of another fragment.

32. In the text, subject and object of this phrase seem to have been changed by mistake.

33. For this translation see *Kum.*, p. 126.

34. I am indebted to Prof. J. Friedrich for the suggestion of these translations; cf. now Friedrich, in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 1, pp. 286 ff., and 291.

35. Her name is written with the ideogram read *Ištar* in Akkadian, *šaušga* in Hurrian. The phonetic complements in our text point to her Hittite name the complete reading of which is unknown.

36. We follow here the order of fragments proposed in *Kum.*, p. 52, where a comparative table of these fragments and of

which perhaps comes next and which, therefore, may be called *Fragment b*, we find the gods assembled near the sea, perhaps still at Mount Hjazzi where the Weather-God and Ištar first saw the monster. The seventy gods descend towards the sea and try to fight the stone, but in vain. The stone monster reaches the gate of the Weather-God's residential town Kummiya.

^{L21}When he stood at the city gate ^{L22}of Kummiya [...], the Diorite rose [*above*] Hēbat³⁷ and the te[mple(s)], ^{L23}(so that) Hēbat could not hear news of the gods any more ^{L24}and could not see the Weather-God and Šuwaliyatta³⁸ with her eyes any more.

^{L25}Hēbat spake the [words] to Takiti:³⁹ ^{L26}"I do not hear the heavy word [of the Weather-God], and I do not hear news of Šuwaliyatta ^{L27}and all the gods! This Diorite whom ^{L28}they call U[llikummi], perhaps hath he overcome ^{L29}my husband, the heavy [...] Weather-God!"

^{L30}Hēbat spake to Takiti: "Hear ^{L31}my words! Into thy hand take a stick, unto thy feet [put] the sw[ift] shoes! ^{L32}The gods [.....] go! Perhaps ^{L33}the Diorite hath killed [my husband, the Weather-God, the hea]vy king. [Bring] me w[ord]!"

The next lines describe Takiti's departure. In the following lacuna of *a*. 20 lines, the story of how this attempt failed was probably told.

Fragment c (the first part of col. II of the same tablet) runs as follows:

^{L1}When Tašmišu heard the Weather-God's words, ^{L2}he promptly rose. Into his hand he took a stick, ^{L3}unto his feet he put the swift shoes. ^{L4}And he went up to a high tower, ^{L5}opposite Hēbat⁴⁰ he took (a stand, saying): "My [*lord will stay*] at a low-place ^{L6}until he hath fulfilled the years that are decreed for him!" ^{L7}When Hēbat saw Tašmišu ^{L8}she almost fell down from the roof: had she ^{L9}taken a step, she would have fallen down from the roof, but the palace-women ^{L10}held her and did not let her (fall). When Tašmišu had ^{L11}finished his words, he went down from the tower ^{L12}and went near the Weather-God. Tašmišu spake again to the Weather-God: ^{L13}"Where shall we sit? (Shall we sit) on Mount Kandurna? ^{L14}[If] we sit on Mount Kandurna, ^{L15}[anoth]er will sit on Mount Lalapaduwa!⁴¹ ^{L16}Where shall we carry [...] ? There will be no king in heaven!"

their former arrangement, followed in the German translation, can be found.

37. Tešub's wife, queen of gods in the Hurrian pantheon.
 38. Tešub's vezir, corresponding to the Babylonian god Ninurta.
 39. A goddess who belongs to Hēbat's court.
 40. Who is on the roof of her palace, see below.
 41. The location of these two mountains is unknown.

^{L17}Tašmišu spake again to the Weather-God: "O Weather-God, my lord! [Hear] ^{L18}my words! To the words I speak to thee ^{L19}lend [thine ear]! Come, let us go to the city of Abzuwa before Ea⁴²! ..."

Tašmišu urges his master to ask Ea's help. The Weather-God agrees and they carry out this plan. At the point where they arrive at Ea's abode the text is broken. Between the last existing line of col. II and the first line preserved in col. III of this tablet, more than 80 lines are lost. Into this lacuna may belong some fragments which describe an assembly of the gods.

In *Fragment d* Ea blames Kumarbi for his evil conduct. If he is going to annihilate mankind, there will remain nobody to feed the gods with offerings. Ea says:

^{L6}"Shall it happen that the Weather-God, the hero king of Kummiya, will have to take ^{L7}the knife himself? Or shall it happen that Ištar and Hēbat ^{L8}will have to turn the handmill themselves?⁴³ ..."

Fragment e seems to contain Kumarbi's reply.

Fragment f, the reverse of our *Fragment a*, is not clear.

In *Fragment g* (the third column of the same big tablet the obverse of which we have rendered above as *Fragments b* and *c*) the leaving of the assembly is mentioned in line 5. Later on, we find Ea speaking first to Enlil, then visiting Upelluri and addressing him in the following way:

^{L30}Ea spake [again] to Upelluri: "Knowest thou not, ^{L31}O Upelluri? Hath no one brought thee word? ^{L32}Doest thou not know the swift god whom Kumarbi hath fashioned ^{L33}against the gods? And that Kumarbi ... is planning ^{L34}death for the Weather-God and fashioning ^{L35}a rebel against him? The Diorite who grew ^{L36}in the water, doest thou not know him? Like a ... ^{L37}he is lifted, and heaven, the holy temples ^{L38}and Hēbat he covered! (Is it) because thou, Upelluri, art remote from the dark earth, ^{L39}(that) thou doest not know this swift god?"

^{L40}Upelluri spake again to Ea: "When heaven ^{L41}and earth were built on me I knew nothing! ^{L42}And when it happened that heaven and earth were cut asunder with a *knife*, ^{L43}this too I knew not! Now, something is hurting ^{L44}my right shoulder, but I do not know who that god is!"

^{L45}When Ea heard these words, he turned Upelluri's ^{L46}right shoulder around: there, the Diorite stood on Upelluri's ^{L47}right shoulder like a *pillar*!

-
42. Ea, the Babylonian god of wisdom and witchcraft, rules over and dwells in the underground fresh-water ocean, called *apsû* in Akkadian. Our text has taken this word as the name of a town, Abzuwa.
 43. As today in oriental countries, slaughtering of animals is done by men, grinding of cereals by women only.

^{L48}Ea spake again to the Former Gods: “Hear ^{L49}my words, O Former Gods who know the old words! ^{L50}Open them again, the ancient seal-houses ^{L51}(*that date from*) *father’s and grandfather’s (time)*! And let them bring the old fathers’ seal ^{L52}and let them seal them (the seal-houses) again with it! Let them take out ^{L53}the old *knife* with which heaven and earth have been cut asunder! ^{L54}[*Let them cut*] the diorite Ullikummi off underneath his feet, ^{L55}whom Kumarbi [fashioned] as a rebel against the gods!”

By cutting off Ullikummi who, as we have seen, had grown on the giant Upelluri’s shoulder, Ea, apparently, breaks his power. In a fragment which, if our arrangement is right, may fit into the following gap, the gods are still afraid of the stone monster. They say (*Fragment h*):

^{L4}“Our knees ^{L5}[...]tremble, our head turns ^{L6}like a potter’s wheel, and like the kid’s ^{L7}*menu-disease*...”

But this fear, now, is groundless. So Ea, in *Fragment i* (col. IV of the big tablet containing Fragments b, c, and g), sends a message to the gods through Tašmišu, first, it seems, scolding them for their groundless fear, then reassuring them:

^{L13}[Ea] spake again [to Tašmišu]: “First I slew him, ^{L14}the [*fearful*] Diorite. Go and fight him again! ^{L15}Let [him] stand up no longer *like a pillar*!” Tašmišu ^{L16}[...] rejoiced, he *clapped his hands*⁴⁴ three times, (so that) ^{L17}[the gods] above heard it. He *clapped his hands* twice, (so that) the Weather-God, the hero ^{L18}king of Kummiya, heard it. And they came to the place of assembly, ^{L19-20}and all of the gods bellowed like bulls at the diorite Ullikummi.

^{L21}The Weather-God jumped on to his *wagon* like a ..., and in a thunder ^{L22}he went down toward the sea. And he fought him, the Weather-God (fought) the Diorite.

^{L23}The Diorite spake [again] to the [Weather-God]: “...”

The speech of Ullikummi is badly preserved, and the rest of the text is missing. We may assume, however, that it contained the description of the final battle in which the gods overcame Ullikummi and the Weather-God reestablished his kingship. A small fragment dealing with a battle may or may not belong here.⁴⁵ In any case, the end of the text must, in at least some of the copies, have been written on a third tablet.⁴⁶

44. Or: “uttered a cry of joy.”

45. *Kum.*, p. 23, III. Tafel, a; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 49 and 53.

46. The Hittites did not use a fixed division of tablets as the scribes of Assurbanipal did; we have seen that the second tablet began at different points in two of our copies. There-

The two main compositions outlined above lend themselves easily to comparison with Greek mythology. It is clear that, in the first text, Anu (“Heaven”) corresponds to Ouranos; Kumarbi, “father of the gods,” to Kronos, and the Weather-God Tešub, king of the Hurrian pantheon, to Zeus. One difference between the two traditions lies in the fact that our text knows of one more generation before Anu = Ouranos: before him, Alalu was already king in heaven. The details, too, are very similar: Kumarbi emasculates his father Anu⁴⁷ as Kronos does his father Ouranos; from this act several deities come into existence in both mythologies: Tešub, the river Tigris, and the god Tašmišu in our text, the Erinyes, the Giants, the Melic Nymphs and Aphrodite according to Hesiod. It is foretold to Kronos that his son will dethrone him, and therefore he devours his children, only Zeus being spared by a fraud of his mother. She deceives Kronos with a stone which is afterwards worshipped in Pytho. In our text Anu warns Kumarbi against the Weather-God whom he has just begotten, and we seem to have traces of Kumarbi’s eating a child and of the mention of a stone in connection with the introduction of a new cult. Even if one disregards these last details as being too uncertain — the second column of our “Theogony” being really in a hopeless state which does not allow any definite statement — there remain enough parallels. Not only the main idea of several generations of gods ruling one after another is common to both mythologies, but even some details which cannot be accidental are the same: the grandfather of the actual supreme god is called “Heaven” (Ouranos and Anu respectively) and is defeated through emasculation by his successor in Hesiod’s Theogony as well as in our text.

For the “Song of Ullikummi,” too, a Greek parallel can be found. When this story of battles between gods first became clear from the fragments, I thought of the Titanomachia. In fact, there is one detail that might be compared: just as Zeus cannot overcome the Titans before he goes down to Tartaros and asks for the help of the Hekatoncheiroi, so Tešub in our text is powerless until he secures the help of Ea who dwells in the subterranean ocean. But the situation as a whole is quite different. Zeus, by conquering the Titans, becomes king of

fore and because of the fragmentary state of our text we cannot say where the second tablet ended in the individual copies.

47. Our text, it is true, does not call these gods father and son; but Alalu is called father of Anu in a Babylonian list (see note 10), Kumarbi calls himself “son of A[nu]” in one of our texts (*Kum.*, p. 22, Fragment d 11, and p. 75), and the fact that the Weather-God is Kumarbi’s son becomes clear from our texts; cf. especially Ullikummi, First tablet, Fragment f, lines 17 f., p. 43.

the universe; in the Ullikummi text, on the other hand, Tešub is already king, and Kumarbi, the dethroned old ruler, tries to overcome him with the help of the monster Ullikummi. This situation corresponds to that of the Typhoeus episode in Hesiod's Theogony. Typhoeus appears as a new enemy, after Zeus' victory over the Titans, and tries to rob Zeus of his kingship. It is true that in Hesiod's epic there are some details which do not fit our story: Typhoeus is not the son of Kronos but of Gaia, and he is not a stone giant but a kind of a dragon with a hundred snakes' heads. But some Greek writers of later periods have preserved some details which come, indeed, very close to our text.⁴⁸ In the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodoros (I, 39 ff.), Typhon is so high that he reaches the sky. The great struggle, in this text, is still located at the *Κάσιον ὄρος* as in the Hittite version, and for the continuation of Apollodoros' story, the loss and recovery of the sinews of Zeus. W. Porzig has already found another Hittite parallel.⁴⁹ The text adduced by Porzig is the second version of the Illuyanka myth,⁵⁰ where Illuyanka, whose name is written with the determinative for "snake," in a first struggle overcomes the Weather-God and steals his heart and eyes; they are recovered by a son of the Weather-God who marries Illuyanka's daughter and, in entering the house of his father-in-law, has the right to ask for presents. Having thus regained his old power the Weather-God finally slays Illuyanka but has to kill his own son too, because he now belongs to his wife's family. In this text the fight takes place by the sea, a location which is not motivated by the context but makes good sense in connection (see pl. 3, above, p. 41) with the later tradition locating Typhon in the Corycian cave and with the Ullikummi myth. One ought not to be troubled by the connection of the Typhon tale with two different Hittite sources. If Typhon bears some traits of Illuyanka, he may very well have others from Ullikummi. And his description by the classical authors as a dragon on one side, as a sky-reaching being on the other, seems to reflect the same two sources. Even the detail that Ullikummi is Kumarbi's son, which is not found in Hesiod's and Apollodoros' versions of the myth, was not completely unknown in Greek tradition: a scholion to the *Iliad* (B

783) lets him grow in Cilicia from an egg impregnated by Kronos.

What matters for our comparison of the "Song of Ullikummi" with the myth of Typhon is its general position in the story and the location of the battle near Mount Hazzi/Casius. From the localization of Typhon in Cilicia some scholars have already concluded that this myth is of oriental origin. Our Ullikummi text which furnishes a good parallel to the Greek tradition now proves the validity of this view.

If the Ullikummi story corresponds to the Typhon episode, one has to look for another parallel to the Titanomachia. I think the place where one has to look for it is the third column of our first text where the remains of the broken context seem to indicate that the Weather-God has to fight some enemies. For the Titans as a group of gods belonging to the generation of Kronos and confined to the Tartaros after their defeat, one might adduce the "Former Gods" who, according to their name, are the gods of past ages and, in the Ullikummi text, dwell in a remote place where Ea addresses them.⁵¹

Having thus traced back the Theogony, the Titanomachia and the myth of Typhon through our Hittite versions of Hurrian texts to the Hurrians, we have to discuss two questions: that of the origin of these ideas and that of the way by which they were handed down to the Greeks.

With regard to the first question it is obvious that our texts contain Babylonian elements. The names Alalu, Anu, Enlil and Ea are Babylonian.⁵² Moreover, Ea, in the Ullikummi myth, plays exactly the same role as in Babylonian mythology. For the conception of several generations of gods and of the younger generation fighting the older, some evidence can be found scattered in various Babylonian sources.⁵³ It is curious, however, that no literary composition corresponding to our myths has so far been found in Babylonian literature, not even in the Sumerian mythological text made available in the last years through the publications of S. N. Kramer. Whether such compositions are lost by accident or whether they never existed or lived in oral tradi-

48. Not being a specialist in classics, I had to rely on general works for the following passage. Cf., e.g., the articles "Typhoeus, Typhon" and "Theogonien" in *Roschers ausführl. Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie* (by J. Schmidt and K. Ziegler respectively), where references to the sources and to previous literature can be found.

49. Walter Porzig, *Illuyankas und Typhon*, in *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*, i (1930), pp. 379-386.

50. Last German translation by A. Götze in his *Kleinasiens (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients, 1933)*, pp. 131 f. The fact that this myth has come down to us in two versions of which ours is the later was first recognized by the same author, loc. cit., 131, note 1.

51. Second tablet, Fragment g. Cf. O. R. Gurney, *LAAA*, xxvii (1940), pp. 81 f., for further details concerning the "Former Gods."

52. One has to distinguish between Sumerian and Akkadian names used as ideograms for Hurrian or Hittite gods, as ^{PU}U for *Tešub*, ^{DIŠTAR} for *Šaušga*, ^{UTU} for *Šimegi* etc., and real Babylonian names. The fact that the names mentioned above are spelled out and inflected in Hittite: *A-la-lu-uš*, *Anu-uš*, *El-li-il-lu-uš*, *A-a-aš*, shows that they are of the second type.

53. Discussed by Speiser in his article quoted in note 3, where more details and references to the sources may be found. Cf. *Kum.*, pp. 105 ff.

tion only, we cannot tell. At present we can only say that the Hurrian originals of the texts, known to us through their Hittite version, represent the first literary composition of myths some motives of which are already found in Babylonia.

In the Babylonian theological system the god who was king of the gods in the old age is Enlil. In the notes on the translation we have already said that Kumarbi can be equated with Enlil. A bilingual religious text from Boğazköy actually gives "Kumarbi" as Hittite "translation" of "Enlil" used in the Akkadian part.⁵⁴ And with the role Kumarbi plays in the Ullikummi text one may compare Enlil's role in the Babylonian Deluge story where it is he who annihilates mankind. When Kumarbi, in our first text, enters Nippur, the cult-place of Enlil, the conception of his identity with Enlil is reflected therein. On the other hand, the same text mentions Enlil among the gods who are invited to listen to the story, and in the Ullikummi text the child is carried from Kumarbi to Enlil who, accordingly, is considered as a different person. One ought not to attribute too much importance to such inconsistencies and to demand too much logic from mythology. Evidently the identification of Kumarbi with Enlil was made by some of the Hurrian or Hittite theologians but was not known (not yet known? or forgotten?) by the authors of our texts.

The age when Enlil ruled the world is actually known in history. In the Sumerian period of the third millennium Enlil was the supreme god. Only after the rise of the Semitic First Dynasty of Babylon at the beginning of the second millennium was his place taken by Marduk, the local god of Babylon, to whom, as the texts say, Enlilship was transferred. The idea that one generation of gods is replaced by another, therefore, seems to reflect a historical event in this one case. Kumarbi has practically no cult in Hittite times,⁵⁵ just as Enlil was not worshipped outside Nippur after the end of the Sumerian period, and the same seems to be true for Kronos.⁵⁶ The possibility of tracing the figures of Kronos and Kumarbi back to Enlil, whose loss of worship was the result of a historical event, now helps us to understand the character of these two gods better.

How did these myths reach the Greeks? Forrer,⁵⁷ after having rejected the idea that they were taken over by the Mycenaean contemporaries to the Hittites, thinks

of western Anatolia where the Greeks might have heard of them in the time of Homer and Hesiod. This assumption does not seem likely to me, for literary tradition was interrupted at the downfall of the Hittite Empire about 1200 B.C., and the texts under discussion are so elaborate and seem to be so much the product of learned theologians rather than popular tales, that one can hardly assume their being handed down for centuries in oral tradition. Another explanation, which was first proposed by B. Landsberger, seems more likely to me: that these myths reached the Greeks by way of Phoenicia. Not only did the Greeks themselves consider the Phoenicians as their masters, but through the discovery of the epic texts of Ras Shamra (ancient Ugarit) we know that a literature of this kind was flourishing in Phoenicia in the time of the Hittite Empire. The statement of Philo Byblius that he got his information on Phoenician mythology from the works of a man called Sanchuniaton who lived "in the time of the War of Troy" has gained much probability through the discovery of the Ras Shamra texts. Since the same texts show clearly that there was a strong Hurrian element in the population of northern Syria in those times, it is easy to understand how Hurrian myths reached Phoenicia.

Philo knows of the same subsequent generations of gods as our texts. The first generation is represented by Eliun or Hypsistos ("The Highest"); next comes Ouranos whose Semitic name is not given by Philo;⁵⁸ the third is El or Kronos. In a Hurrian text from Ras Shamra there occurs the double name El-Kumarbi which confirms our identification of Kumarbi with Kronos, since El is equated here to Kumarbi as he is equated to Kronos by Philo. In the Semitic poems of Ras Shamra, El is the old ruler, while Baal is allowed to build a palace of his own and therefore may be considered as El's successor. Baal, then, would correspond to Tešub and Zeus.⁵⁹ Before the discovery of the Ras Shamra and Boğazköy texts, scholars used to distrust Philo who, according to them, had taken his story from Hesiod. That this is a wrong accusation now becomes

54. *KUB*, IV, 1, iv, 22/24; cf. A. Ungnad, *Subartu* (Berlin, 1933), p. 64, n. 1.

55. Among the Hurrian personal names of the Nuzi documents there are none formed with Kumarbi. Cf. Gelb-Purves-McRae, *Nuzi Personal Names*, OIP, lvii (1943).

56. As far as I can see from literature. Cf. the article "Kronos" in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, XI, 2 (1922), cols. 1982 ff. (by Pohlenz).

57. In his article quoted in note 1, pp. 711 f.

58. Philo knows of two gods whose Semitic names contain the word for "heaven": Beelsamen "Lord of Heaven" and Samemroumos "Highest Heaven," rendered as Hypsouranios by Philo. But these gods are treated in another passage of Philo's work and are not the same as his Ouranos.

59. After completion of this paper I received, through kindness of the author, Albright's book, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (second edition, Baltimore, 1946). In chapter III one finds a detailed description of Phoenician mythology and of the contents of the Ras Shamra epics. For comparison with the Kumarbi myths note especially Albright's remarks on El and Ouranos (pp. 72 f.) and on Baal = Hadad (pp. 73 f.). The main idea of a feud between the old and the new generation of gods becomes quite clear now from Albright's synopsis of the Baal Epic.

clear from our texts. Especially the fact that Philo still has a generation anteceding Ouranos, which was omitted in Greek mythology, is a strong argument for the assumption that he got his material not from Hesiod but from an old source. The question whether the Greeks got their mythology from Phoenicia or not can now be answered in the affirmative. But the Phoenicians were not the inventors of these myths; they were merely the intermediaries between the Hurrians and the Greeks.

A word must be said about the form of our Hittite texts. Their most striking feature is the fact that they are composed in prose. Sumerian, Akkadian and Ugaritic epics are written in verse, and our texts are called "songs" with a term written by the Sumerian ideogram. But it is impossible to read our Hittite texts in a manner that would sound like rhythm or verse. From their contents one would call them epics, and their style, too, shows characteristics typical of the epic style. They be-

gin with a prooemium; they use stereotyped phrases for certain repeated actions or situations, such as "A spake again to B," "To the words I speak to thee lend thine ear," the taking of a stick, the putting on of the swift shoes, etc.; they use "epitheta ornantia" as "swift shoes," "dark earth," etc. The verbal repetition of whole passages, where an order of message is carried out, the motives of the assembly of gods, of speeches held in battle, and others belong to the same epic style. Parallels from Sumerian, Akkadian, Ugaritic and Greek epics can be readily adduced for all these details.

With these new texts I hope to have made a little contribution to the knowledge of Hurrian literature as well as to the history of the Greek epic. The relations of the latter with the oriental world can now, I think, be regarded as well established.

5

HITTITE MYTHOLOGY*

Speaking of Hittite mythology we have to keep in mind that the Hittite Empire, as it spread over all of Anatolia and parts of Syria and north Mesopotamia, included regions of different background, culturally as well as ethnically and linguistically. Soon after the Hittite language had been deciphered in 1915, it was noticed that among the cuneiform tablets of the Hittite capital there were texts in several other languages beside Hittite. Apart from Sumerian and Akkadian, the languages of higher learning, a number of local languages could be identified. As the number of texts and, with it, our knowledge of these languages increased, it became apparent that there existed mythical tales in all languages. For a better understanding of the myths of ancient Anatolia it will therefore be best to start with a brief survey of the various languages, so as to enable us to attribute the individual myths to the different components of Hittite civilization.

The oldest population of the central part of the Anatolian plateau whose language is known are the Hattians. Their language does not belong to any of the better-known linguistic groups but rather stands by itself, with a vague, though possible, relation to some of the idioms spoken in recent times in the Caucasus. The Hittites called this language *hattili*, that is, the language of the country of Hatti. While taking over the name of that country for their own kingdom, the Hittites reserved the term *hattili* for the language of the old inhabitants in contrast to their own Indo-European language, which they called *nesili* after the town of Nesa, the center of their own first settlement. Since moderns had already used the name "Hittite" for the official *nesili* language, they had to invent another term for *hattili*, namely, "Hattic." We thus say "Hattic" for the non-Indo-European *hattili* language, but Hittite or sometimes, for clarity's sake, "Nesian" for the Indo-European *nesili* language, which was the official language of the kingdom and, as such, most productive in literature.

There are two more Indo-European languages in Anatolia beside Hittite: Luwian and Palaic. Palaic was spoken in the north (according to the most likely local-

ization proposed, in Paphlagonia, northwest of Hatti); like Hittite, it was superimposed on a Hattic substrate. Luwian, on the other hand, was spoken in the south: probably in the southwest and certainly in the Cilician plain. We have to assume that the Luwians, too, superseded a population that spoke another language, but this substrate still remains unknown and unnamed. The language written with the so-called Hittite hieroglyphs is nothing else but a Luwian dialect. But since no mythological material has so far been found in hieroglyphic inscriptions — which, for the most part, are of votive character — we may safely leave hieroglyphic Luwian out of our consideration.

There finally is the non-Indo-European Hurrian language of north Mesopotamia and north Syria. The Hurrian element came to play an important part in Hittite civilization, especially in the New Kingdom or Empire period (fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.), during which probably the dynasty and certainly many scribes were of Hurrian background. Kizzuwatna, the region in southeastern Anatolia including the Cilician plain, was the one Hittite province in which Hurrian scribal schools must have flourished most prominently. Since, as we have seen, Luwian was also spoken in Cilicia, we find a certain amount of linguistic mixture in that region, as evidenced by Hurrian loanwords in Luwian and by Luwian loanwords in Hittite texts dealing with Hurrian myths.

Our task, then, will be to ascribe, as far as possible, the individual myths to these various ethno-linguistic groups: Hattic, Nesian (Hittite), Palaic, Luwian, and Hurrian. In so doing we immediately make an observation concerning the literary form in which mythological tales have been handed down: only the myths of foreign origin were written as real literary compositions — we may call them epics — whereas those of local Anatolian origin were committed to writing only in connection with rituals. By foreign origin in this context we mean mainly Hurrian; beside it, Babylonian, for which it can be shown that Hurrian served as intermediary, and Canaanite, for which we can only assume that the way of borrowing went from Syria via Cilicia to the Hittite capital. By local Anatolian we mean the material preserved in Hattic, Palaic, and Luwian, and those

*Reprinted from *Mythologies of the Ancient World*, S. N. Kramer, ed. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1961), pp. 139-179, with the permission of Hans Gustav Güterbock.

Hittite myths whose protagonists are local, chiefly Hattic, deities.

In Hattic we have, apart from brief and, as yet, hardly intelligible allusions to mythological concepts, only one little story: "The Moon Who Fell from Heaven."¹ Although this tale is contained in a bilingual text where the Hattic original is provided with a Hittite translation, the story itself is far from clear. We can only make out that the moon fell down from heaven and that various deities, among them the Storm-god, saw it and sent messengers after it. From the ritual that precedes and follows the tale we learn that it was told "when the Storm-god thunders" and that the Storm-god with his helpers, the clouds, thunders, and rains, received offerings; so the story seems to have been told *in maiorem gloriam* of the Storm-god, who must have played a major part in it.

Much more important is the myth of "The God Who Disappeared." The best-preserved versions of this myth are in Hittite, but the locale as well as the *dramatis personae* clearly point to a Hattic background. There are many versions of this myth. Not only do we find different deities in the role of the Vanished God, but even the versions dealing with one and the same god differ in detail. This textual instability is certainly the result of the non-literary character of the texts: all versions were written down in connection with a ritual. Contrary to what might be expected on the analogy of — real or alleged — myths of "dying gods" of other peoples,² this ritual has nothing to do with seasonal patterns but rather serves to reconcile the vanished deity with a certain individual, who may be a queen or a private person, and to secure well-being, probably also offspring, for that person and his or her household. Nor does the god die in these Hittite tales; he rather goes into hiding, as we shall see.

In the best-known version of this myth the god who disappears is Telipinu, and the story is therefore mostly referred to as the Telipinu Myth. The name of the god is Hattic. Telipinu is a son of the great Storm-god, and he himself bears many traits of a Storm-god.³ There is also a version in which the vanished god is simply called Storm-god; since this version has never been translated in full, and since it contains an episode not included in the Telipinu version, it may be good to give a transla-

tion of it here.⁴ (Brackets indicate restorations and parentheses, additions made for the sake of idiom or clarity; roman type indicates uncertainty of translation or restoration.)

The beginning of the story, which must have contained a description of the god's anger and probably a statement of its cause, is so fragmentary that it cannot be understood. In another version of the Storm-god myth⁵ it is said that the god "was angry at (queen) Ashmunikal" and that in his rage "he put his right shoe on his left foot ... and left." This is immediately followed by the description of the results of the Storm-god's leaving. At this point our main version of the Storm-god myth becomes available, in part restored from the Telipinu version.

*Fog seized the windows, smoke seized the house:
In the fireplace the logs were "oppressed" (smouldering).*

*On the pedestal the gods were "oppressed,"
in the fold the sheep were "oppressed,"
in the corral the cows were "oppressed":
The ewe refused its lamb, the cow refused its calf.
... (two and one-half fragmentary lines not paralleled by the Telipinu version)*

*Barley and emmer-wheat no longer grow,
cattle, sheep and humans no longer become pregnant,
and even those who are pregnant do not give birth.*

*The mountains dried up, the trees dried up
(so that) shoots did not come (forth).*

The meadows dried up, the springs dried up.

*[The great Sun]-god prepared a feast and invited
the thousand gods.*

*They ate but could not satisfy their hunger,
they drank but could not satisfy their thirst.*

*[The Father of the Storm-god sa]id [to the gods]:
"My son [is not there; he became enraged]
[and carried away] growth,
he carried away everything good!"*

*The great gods and the small gods set out to search
for the Storm-god.*

*The Sun-god sent out the swift Eagle (saying):
"Go, search the high mountains,
search the deep valleys,
search the darkblue waves!"*

The Eagle went but did not find him.

*The Eagle swiftly brought the Sun-god news:
"The high mountains I searched,
the deep valleys I searched,
the dark blue waves I searched,*

1. ANET p. 120.

2. For a sound warning against an easy application of the cliché of the "dying god" see the posthumous publication of a lecture by Henri Frankfort, "The Dying God," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XXI (London, 1958) 141–51.

3. For this character of Telipinu see H. G. Güterbock, "Gedanken über das Wesen des Gottes Telipinu," *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich ... gewidmet* (Heidelberg, 1959) 207–11 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 63–64 — Eds.].

4. Text: *Cat.* 261 {CTH 325}. For the distinction of the various versions of the myth see H. Otten, *Die Überlieferungen des Telipinu-Mythus* (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft 46, 1, Leipzig, 1942); the Telipinu version used here for partial restoration is *Cat.* 258 {CTH 324}, translated in ANET pp. 126–128.

5. Otten, op. cit. pp. 55–56; *Cat.* 262 {part of CTH 326, A}, 1: KUB XXXIII 15.

but I did not find him, the Storm-god of Heaven!"
 The Storm-god's Father went to his (i.e., the
 Storm-god's) Grandfather and said to him:
 "Who sinned (so that) the seed perished and every
 thing dried up?"
 The Grandfather said:
 "No one sinned, but you alone sinned!"
 The Storm-god's Father replied:
 "In no way did I sin!"
 But the Grandfather said:
 "This matter I shall investigate,
 and (if I find you guilty) I shall kill you!
 Now go, search for the Storm-god!"
 The Storm-god's Father went to Hannahanna of
 the Gulsas (the Mother-goddess).
 Hannahanna of the Gulsas said to the Storm-god's
 Father:
 "Why did you come?"
 The Storm-god's Father said:
 "The Storm-god became enraged,
 (so) everything dried up and the seed perished.
 Now my father says to me:
 'It is your fault!
 I shall investigate the matter and kill you!
 Now, how shall I proceed? What has happened?'"
 Hannahanna replied:
 "Fear not!
 If it is your fault I shall put it straight,
 and if it is not your fault I shall (also) put it straight.
 Go, search for the Storm-god
 (while) his Grandfather has not yet heard (about it)!"
 The Storm-god's Father said:
 "Where shall I go and search?"
 Hannahanna replied:
 "I shall hand him over to you.
 Go, bring (me) [the Bee]!
 I myself shall instruct it,
 and it will search for [the Storm-god]."
 The Storm-god's Father said t[o Hannahanna]:
 "The great gods and the small gods searched for him
 and did not find him;
 shall now this Bee go and search for him?
 Its wings are weak, and it is weak itself:
 They will!"
 Hannahanna replied:
 "[.....] not [.....]"

In this version the continuation is lost. Since the individual versions differ in detail, it is better to refrain from a verbal restoration taken from other versions. It seems likely, however, that Hannahanna, in the speech that originally followed, dispelled the misgivings expressed by the Storm-god's Father about the Bee's fitness and, after the Bee had been brought into her presence, gave it instructions for the search. In a small fragment of which it is not clear whether it belongs to this particular version but which at least deals with the Storm-god,⁶ parts of these instructions and of the ensu-

ing search are preserved, and in this context "a grove at the town of Lihzina" is mentioned, that is, the god's hiding place where the bee found him.

The corresponding section of the Telipinu version tells the story roughly as follows: Following Hannahanna's instructions, the Bee searches everywhere until it finds the god sleeping in a grove at Lihzina. (Note that this town, although mentioned as the hiding place of both Telipinu and the Storm-god in the two versions of our myth, is known from ritual texts as a cult center of the Storm-god only.) The Bee stings the god, thus awakening him. As a result his anger only increases; he now brings destruction over man and beast and the whole land. The gods, left in consternation, have recourse to magic.

In our Storm-god version the corresponding parts are lost. What is left of the second column of the tablet is very fragmentary and without parallel. It completely differs from the part of the Telipinu version just outlined, but we cannot tell yet whether we have here a different story or merely an addition.

The entreaty and ritual aimed at bringing the vanished god back follow the same patterns in all versions, though with variations in detail; we may safely leave them aside.⁷ The ritual is followed by the narrative of the god's return:

*The Storm-god returned to his house and took account
 of his land.
 The fog left the window, the smoke left the house.
 [On the pedestal the gods] were set straight,
 in the fireplace the logs were set straight,
 [in the fold] the sheep were set straight,
 in the corral the cows were set straight.
 [The mother] guided [her child],
 the ewe guided her lamb,
 the cow [guided her calf],
 [the Storm-god] guided [the king and queen]
 and took account of them for life and well-being [to the
 end of days].*

As said before, various deities are cast in the role of the Vanished God. Telipinu and the Storm-god are the most prominent and happen to be those dealt with in the best-preserved texts. Similar myths about other deities are less intelligible, in part because of their bad state of preservation, in part because of philological difficulties. A story in which the Sun-god disappears and "Rigor" or "Paralysis" seizes all nature⁸ belongs in the latter category. Some fragmentary texts contain a story similar to the Telipinu myth but dealing with Anzili and

6. Otten, *op. cit.* pp. 47-48; *Cat.* 262, 6 {CTH 332, 1}; KUB XXXIII 33.

7. The ritual part of the Telipinu version is in *ANET* pp. 127-128.

8. The so-called Yuzgat Tablet with parallels listed *Cat.* 263 {CTH 323}; for a partial translation see Gurney, *The Hittites*, pp. 187-88; [p. 155 in 1990 ed.].

Zukki, deities of unknown linguistic background.⁹ In a story that differs greatly in detail we find the Bee sent out to search for Inara, who is called the daughter of the Storm-god.¹⁰ The motif of the fury of the deity, but without the description of the disappearance and its consequences, is found in texts dealing with the Storm-god of the town of Kuliwisna¹¹ and with the Mother-goddess, Hannahanna.¹² The rituals performed to appease these deities are very similar to, in part even identical with, those connected with the Telipinu and Storm-god myths. Whether these texts never had the mythological tale or whether it is only lost in the existing fragments remains an open question.

What matters is that in the texts mentioned so far the mythological tales are closely connected with ritual. The texts themselves were handbooks to be used whenever the occasion arose for the performance of the magic rites described in them. Thus they fall into a large group of magic rituals containing shorter or longer mythological tales. To mention only two examples for many: a ritual against paralysis contains the story of how nature was "bound," how the news reached Kamrusepa, the goddess of magic, and how she "loosened" everything that was "bound."¹³ In a ritual for the erection of a new palace, one of many mythological passages reads as follows:¹⁴

When the king enters the house (the new palace), the Throne calls the Eagle: "Come! I send you to the sea. But when you go (there), look in the green forest (and see) who is sitting (there)!"

The Eagle replies: "I looked! Istustaya and Papaya, the primeval Netherworld goddesses, are sitting there bowing down."

The Throne answers: "And what are they doing?" The Eagle replies: "(One) holds a spindle, they (both) hold filled mirrors. And they are spinning the king's years. And of the years there is no limit or counting!"

The deified Throne is a Hattic goddess; Istustaya and Papaya are Hattic deities, too, who are elsewhere mentioned together with other Netherworld deities, the most prominent of whom is the Sun-goddess of the Earth. Here we get a glimpse of the Anatolian concepts of the Netherworld, which include goddesses spinning the thread of life like the Parcae. This similarity should,

however, not be taken as evidence for Indo-European origin, since the goddesses are Hattic. Incidentally, the "filled mirrors" have been explained as flat pans filled with water that makes a reflection. The whole passage is typical of the device of using a brief mythological tale in a ritual: it is, of course, told in order to secure long life for the owner of the new palace; the tale itself has magic power here as in the other rituals.

Returning to the myth of the Vanished God, we saw that of the deities cast in that role, Telipinu has a Hattic name; Inara, too, is connected with the Hattic element, whereas "Storm-god" and "Sun-god" are universal great gods whose names are written with word signs. These gods existed also in the Hattic pantheon, where their names, Taru and Estan, respectively, are known, and there is nothing against the assumption that our stories deal with the Hattic Taru and Estan. Yet the texts are in Hittite, which means that the speakers of Indo-European Hittite adopted the myths together with the gods of their predecessors.

Among the Indo-European languages of Asia Minor there is one other that superseded a Hattic substrate: Palaic. One of the few Palaic texts known so far contains a mythological tale followed by a kind of hymn.¹⁵ Although we still understand very little of the language we can see that here the tale contains the motif of the feast at which the gods "eat but cannot satisfy their hunger, drink but cannot satisfy their thirst." The town of Lihzina is also mentioned here. The hymnic part of the text contains the name of the god Zapparwa, the main god of the Palaicians, who, as has been proposed, may well be a Storm-god. The two features mentioned remind us of the myth of the Vanished God, but the rest of the story, as far as it can be made out, seems to run differently.¹⁶ Although we cannot, therefore, claim that the Palaic myth deals with Zapparwa as Vanished God, it is significant that it shares some motifs with the Hittite tales on that theme; these common motifs, at least, if not the whole stories, should then go back to the common Hattic substrate.

Luvian texts are almost exclusively of the magic type, either short spells or longer incantations inserted in ritual texts. Here again a myth is told in such a text.¹⁷ Although very little of the story can as yet be under-

9. KUB XXXIII 36 and 67 {CTH 333}, *Cat.* 264, 6, and 346, 2.

10. *Cat.* 267, 1 and 2; cf. *ibid.*, 6 and perhaps 3–5 {CTH 336}.

11. *Cat.* 342, 2–5 {CTH 329}.

12. *Cat.* 265, 5–9 and 16 {CTH 334}.

13. *Cat.* 332 {CTH 390}.

14. *Cat.* 308 {CTH 414}; *ANET* pp. 357–358; for the translation given here see H. G. Güterbock in *RHA* XIV/58 (1956) 22–23.

15. *Cat.* 438 {CTH 752}; A. Kammenhuber, "Das Palaische," *RHA* XVII/64 (1959) 1–92, section "Mythisches Fragment," pp. 40–63.

16. Cf. Kammenhuber, *loc. cit.*, p. 55 for contents, p. 91 for Zapparwa.

17. KUB XXXV 107–8, *Cat.* 452, 2 {CTH 764}; H. Otten, *Luvische Texte in Umschrift* (Berlin, 1953) pp. 97–99; P. Meriggi, "Zum Luvischen," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 53 (1957) 193–226; the myth on pp. 209–18; E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire de la langue luwite* (Paris, 1959) pp. 158–62.

stood, it seems to contain the motif of a feast prepared by the Sun-god, but in a completely different setting: this feast is closely linked with the cause of the illness which the ritual is intended to heal.

So far we have dealt with mythological tales written down in connection with magic rituals. There are, however, also tales connected with the cult. The best known of these is the myth of the fight between the Storm-god and the Dragon; *illuyanka*, thus far taken as proper name of the monster, is nothing but the common noun meaning "dragon" or "serpent." The text states expressly that the story was recited at the *purulli* festival of the Storm-god, one of the great yearly cult ceremonies.¹⁸

Thus speaks Kella, [the priest] of the Storm-god of Nerik:

"(These are) the words of the purulli of the Storm-god of Heaven:

When they speak as follows:

*'Let the land thrive and prosper
and let the land be protected!'*

*and if it, then, thrives and prospers,
then they perform the purulli festival."*

The story itself, whose first version follows immediately, is well known and need not be repeated here in full. In a first round the Storm-god is defeated by the Dragon, so he asks the other gods for help. The goddess Inara helps him by preparing a feast and securing the assistance of a mortal man whom she promises her love. When the Dragon is drunk from the drinks offered him by Inara, the mortal helper binds him, whereupon the Storm-god returns and kills the Dragon. The story then goes on to tell the fate of the man who enjoyed the love of the goddess: He is told not to look out of the window, of course does so as soon as the goddess has left, longs for his family and, when he expresses the wish to go home, is punished in some way. The text is broken here, but we may assume that he was killed.

Unfortunately the break in the tablet makes it almost impossible to understand the passage immediately following the end of this version. In it the king and "the first *purulli*" are mentioned. The next paragraph reads:

Mount Zaliyanu is the first of all!

*When it has apportioned rains to Nerik,
the herald brings offering bread from Nerik.*

*Mount Zaliyanu asked for rain:
he brings [.....] bread to it.*

Thereafter the tablet is broken again. Obscure as this passage may be, it somehow links the story with the important cult city of Nerik (whose priest was mentioned

as author of the text in the introduction) and mentions the rain-giving, deified mountain, Zaliyanu, which is near that town.

Where the text becomes available after the gap we find the second version of the Dragon fight. In it, too, the Dragon at first defeats the Storm-god. Here he robs him of his heart and his eyes. The Storm-god then marries a mortal maid, daughter of a poor man, and has a son from her. When the latter grows up he wants to marry the daughter of the Dragon. His father instructs him to ask for the stolen heart and eyes when entering the house of the bride (the legal background is the Hittite custom that a wealthy father can get a husband for his daughter by paying the so-called bride price to the young man; the statement in the story that the lad's mother was poor thus gains perspective). The demand is met, the Storm-god regains his former stature and can engage in a new battle which, we are told, is to take place "by the sea again" (so it seems the first fight was by the sea as well; that passage is damaged). By marrying the Dragon's daughter, however, the son of the Storm-god has taken on an obligation of loyalty to his father-in-law; he therefore takes the latter's side and asks his own father not to spare him; whereupon "the Storm-god killed both the Dragon and his own son."

At the end of this second — and more sophisticated — version there is another gap, after which there follows a very difficult text, of which only one detail is of interest here: Zaliyanu, mentioned earlier in the text as a mountain, is here said to be the wife of Zaskhapuna. Zaskhapuna was once believed to be the Hittite name of the Storm-god, and I personally still consider this a possibility; at least it can be *one* name of the god beside others. According to its form it is a Hattic name. Our text calls Zaskhapuna "the greatest of all gods," a distinction certainly befitting a Storm-god more than any other deity.

We saw that the Dragon Fight Myth is linked to the city of Nerik by the office of its author and in the section following the first version. The Storm-god of Nerik himself, however, is not mentioned in the text. This young Storm-god, who was a son of the great Storm-god, had an important cult. There is a ritual aimed at bringing him back to Nerik from other towns to which he had gone.¹⁹ This may be a mythological expression for the well-known historical fact that Nerik was for a time taken away from the Hittites by the Gasga people of the north but later regained. The text, however, explains the god's absence by his anger — a familiar motif. The god is called back to Nerik from wherever he may be. One passage (rev. 11–22) has a

18. *Cat. 257* [CTH 321]; *ANET* pp. 125–126.

19. KUB XXXVI 89, *Cat. 553* [CTH 671]; partly paralleled by KUB XXXVI 88, *Cat. 290*, 4 [CTH 386].

mythological flavor; it deals with the river Marassanta, the Halys of the ancients, now the Red River of Turkey:

*You, o Marassanta, are close to the heart of the Storm-god of Nerik.
The Marassanta formerly flowed astray,
but the Storm-god turned it and made it flow toward the sun
and (thus) made it flow near Nerik.
The Storm-god said to the Marassanta river:
"If some one infuriates the Storm-god of Nerik
(so that) he walks away from Nerik and the couch,
then you, o Marassanta, don't let him go to another river (or) another spring!"
The Storm-god of Heaven said to the Marassanta river:
"(This) shall be (a matter of) an oath for you:
do not alter your course!"
The Marassanta did not alter its course.
You, o gods, did it!
Now let the river Nakkiliata call the Storm-god of Nerik.
From under the sea (and) the [waves],
from under the nine river-beds let it bring him back!*

Other parts of this rather difficult text are prayer-like invocations directed to the Storm-god of Nerik himself, among other things asking him to "bring rain down from heaven" (rev. 60). The passage translated above, however, stands out as a rare Hittite example of an etiological myth: it was the great Storm-god of Heaven himself who diverted the course of the largest river of Central Anatolia so as to make it flow near the cult center of his son.

What we have surveyed so far does not cover all myths of Central Anatolia but may suffice to give a general picture of their character. Turning now to the myths of foreign origin, we may note in passing that the Hittites knew the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. The Akkadian version was treated in the scribal schools as it was witnessed by a fragment of it found at Boghazköy. Beside it there are fragments of a Hurrian and of a Hittite version. The latter shows that the Hittites adapted the epic to their own sphere of interest by shortening those parts that dealt specifically with Uruk, the Sumerian home town of the hero.²⁰ And from the former, that is, from the very existence of a Hurrian version, we may gather that the Hittites became acquainted with the epic

through the Hurrians; the same is true, as we shall see, of other Babylonian mythological concepts.

As stated at the outset, there is a whole epic literature in Hittite that deals with Hurrian and Canaanite deities or with human heroes bearing Hurrian names. In contrast to the Anatolian myths, which we found connected with rituals, these tales of foreign background are real literary compositions often called "songs" in the sense of "epics." Many of them can only be mentioned here very briefly. Among them there is, first, the epic of the hero Gurparanzakh. The name of the hero is Hurrian; it is derived from Aranzakh, the Hurrian name of the river Tigris, and this river, personified, plays a part in the story. The setting is, however, in Akkad, the famous north-Babylonian city; so this is another example of a Babylonian theme transmitted to the Hittites by the Hurrians, although no Akkadian prototype has yet been found. Second, there is the story of the hunter Keshshi, of which there are fragments of a Hittite and a Hurrian version, while an Akkadian version formed part of the reading material of the scribal school at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt. Third, the story of Appu and his two sons, Evil and Good, and fourth, a myth about the Sun-god and a cow, in which the cow bears a human child that is later found by a fisherman (possibly these two fragments belong to the same story as indicated by the end of the Appu text, where a cow is introduced and the Sun-god makes a prediction concerning it). Fifth, there is the myth about the serpent Hedammu, a voracious monster that is checked by the goddess Ishtar's womanly charms.²¹

Of Canaanite or Syrian myths we have Hittite versions of two: one deals with the god Elkunirsa and his wife Ashertu, that is, *El qônê ereš* "El the Creator of the Earth" and Asherah.²² Of the existing fragments, one tells that a god whose name is written with the word-sign for the Storm-god but who must in this context be Ba'al-Hadad, visits his father Elkunirsa while the latter is camping out near the Euphrates; he tells his

20. *Cat.* 227–230 {CTH 341}. H. Otten, "Die erste Tafel des hethitischen Gilgamesch-Epos," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 8 (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul, 1958) 93–125, gave a translation of the first tablet including recently found fragments and showed where the Hittite version differs from the Akkadian (for which see E. A. Speiser's translation, *ANET* pp. 72–99). For the rest of the Hittite version cf. J. Friedrich, "Die hethitischen Bruchstücke des Gilgameš-Epos," *ZA* 39 (Neue Folge 5, 1930) pp. 1–82.

21. *Cat.* 232–37 {CTH 348, 360–363}. An outline of these stories was given by H. G. Güterbock in an appendix to his *Kumarbi: Mythen vom churritischen Kronos* (Istanbuler Schriften 16, Zürich-New York, 1946) pp. 116–122; full translations were published by J. Friedrich, "Churritische Märchen und Sagen in hethitischer Sprache," *ZA* 49 (N.F.15, 1950) 213–255 (Appu, Cow, Keshshi) and "Der churritische Mythos vom Schlangendämon Hedammu in hethitischer Sprache," *Archiv Orientalní XVII/1* (Prague, 1949) 230–254.

22. *Cat.* 231 {CTH 342}; H. Otten, "Ein kanaanäischer Mythos aus Boğazköy," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung I* (Berlin, 1953) 125–150; the same, "Kanaanäische Mythen aus Hattusa-Boğazköy," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 85 (1953) 27–38; previously F. Hrozný, article "Hittites" in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Vol. 11, p. 607 of the 1956 edition).

father that when he came to his house, Asherah made him advances which he refused. El advises him to go back and threaten her. In the second fragment a goddess called Ishtar, which again stands for the West-Semitic Astarte or 'Anat, in the guise of a bird overhears a bedroom conversation of El and Asherah and tells it to her brother, the Storm-god (Hadad).

The other Syrian myth in Hittite deals with an adventure of Mount Pishaisha. This mountain must be in Syria since it is mentioned in treaties among the deities listed as witnesses together with the equally deified mountains Lebanon and Hermos. In our epic fragment Mount Pishaisha rapes the goddess Ishtar, is threatened with punishment by her, and asks for mercy.²³

The best preserved and, by their contents, most interesting Hittite epics reflecting Hurrian myths, however, are those dealing with Kumarbi, "the Father of the Gods." So far we have two, or perhaps three, such compositions. Of the first, the original title is lost; since its main theme is the sequence of gods who were kings in heaven, it has been called "The Kingship in Heaven."²⁴ The first part of this epic is preserved in a badly mutilated single copy; of other copies we only have one small fragment and possibly a second. The text begins with a proem:

[Let ... and ...] who are primeval deities
hearken,
let [... and ...], the mighty gods, hearken!
Let Na[ra Napshara, Mink]i Ammunki hearken,
let Ammezzaddu [and ...], father and mother, hearken!
Let [...] and Ishkhara, father and mother, hearken,
let Enlil [and Ninlil], who are exceedingly mighty, ever
lasting deities, hearken,
let [...]and [...]ulkulimma hearken!

The story itself follows immediately:

Formerly, in former years, Alalu was king in Heaven.
Alalu was sitting on the throne,
and mighty Anu, the first of the gods, stood before him.
He bowed down to his feet
and put the drinking cups into his hand.

For nine "counted" years Alalu was king in Heaven.
In the ninth year Anu gave battle against Alalu.
He defeated Alalu,
and he (Alalu) fled before him
and he went down to the Dark Earth.
Down to the Dark Earth he went,
but on the throne Anu sat.
Anu was sitting on his throne,
and mighty Kumarbi gave him to drink:
He bowed down to his feet
and put the drinking cups into his hand.

For nine "counted" years Anu was king in Heaven.
In the ninth year Anu had to give battle against

Kumarbi:

Kumarbi, Alalu's offspring, gave battle against Anu.
Anu no longer withstood Kumarbi's eyes;
he slipped out of his hands and fled, Anu (did),
and went up to the sky.
After him Kumarbi rushed
and seized him, Anu, by his feet
and pulled him down from the sky.

He bit his loins

(so that) his manhood united with Kumarbi's interior
like bronze (i.e., as copper and tin unite to form
bronze).

When it united,
when Kumarbi swallowed Anu's manhood,
he rejoiced and laughed.
Anu turned back and to Kumarbi he began to speak:
"Thou rejoicest about thine interior
because thou hast swallowed my manhood!
"Do not rejoice about thine interior!
Into thine interior I have put a (heavy) load:
First I have made thee pregnant with the weighty
Storm-god;
second I have made thee pregnant with the river
Aranzakh (Tigris), the irresistible;
third I have made thee pregnant with the weighty god
Tashmishu,
and two (other) terrible gods have I put as load into
thine interior.

Thou shalt come to stop hitting the rocks of Mount
Tassa with thy head!"

When Anu had finished speaking
he went up to the sky.
But (Kumarbi) hid himself
and spat out of his mouth, he, [Kumarbi,] the wise king.
Out of his mouth he spat spittle [and the manhood]
mixed together.

What Kumarbi had sp[at] out,
Mount Kanzura fear.

Kumarbi went in rage into Nip[ur, his town].
..... he sat down.

Kumarbi did not [.....] count [the months].
The ninth month came, (rest of column lost).

23. *Cat.* 246 {CTH 350, 3}; *Kum.* 122; J. Friedrich, "Zu einigen altkleinasiatischen Gottheiten," *Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung* II (1952) 144–53, esp. pp. 147–50; Otten, in the article quoted last in note 22, pp. 35–36.

24. *Cat.* 238 {CTH 344}; (and possibly 244 {CTH 344.4, suppl.}; see next note). First made known by E. O. Forrer in 1936. Translations: *Kum.*, Texts 1 a and b, pp. 6–10; Güterbock, "The Hittite Version of the Hurrian Kumarbi Myths: Oriental Forerunners of Hesiod," *American Journal of Archaeology* 52 (1948) 123–34, esp. pp. 124–25 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 39–42 — Eds.]; H. Otten, *Mythen vom Gotte Kumarbi (MGK)* (Berlin, 1950) pp. 5–9; *ANET* pp. 121–122; P. Meriggi, "I miti di Kumarpì, il Kronos Currico," *Athenaeum* N. S. 31 (Pavia, 1953) 101–57, esp. pp. 110–29.

Counting months is a common motif introducing childbirth. In the second column of the tablet, where the surface is so rubbed off that a satisfactory text cannot be established, childbirth is indeed the theme, although it is of unusual nature. It seems that here several deities who are in Kumarbi's "interior" discuss with him

through what opening of his body they should make their appearance. Two of the deities mentioned here are not among the three named by Anu: one is Marduk (the god of Babylon, here represented by a rare Sumerian name), the other's name is written with the word sign KA.ZAL, meaning "lust." These may be the "two terrible gods" mentioned without name by Anu. Only the last child is one of those announced by name: the Storm-god. Although the name of this god is here, as elsewhere, always written with a word sign, we may safely call the god by his Hurrian name, Teshub, in this Hurrian myth.

The third column is badly damaged, too, so that here again a coherent text cannot be established. Following a suggestion made, we may insert in the gap between columns ii and iii another fragment (which would be the third copy alluded to above).²⁵ In it "the king of Kummiya," who can only be Teshub (as we shall see from the Ullikummi Epic), addresses Anu; he reminds him of the fact that "[Kumarbi,] the Father of Gods, though a male, has given birth" to him; he also mentions several hard tasks that his father gave him (not otherwise known) and lists the divine powers with which he was endowed (a passage similar to a listing of the powers given Marduk in the second column). Following the same scholar's suggestion we assume that, where the third column of the main copy sets in with half-preserved lines, Teshub asks Anu to kill Kumarbi.²⁶ In his reply Anu seems to dissuade Teshub from his plan of killing Kumarbi and speaks of the kingship in terms that are too fragmentary for full understanding. The suggestion that Anu proposes to make Ea king²⁷ seems to agree with what can be gathered from the following sections. After Anu's long speech one may restore (column iii lines 19–22):

*When Teshub [heard these (Anu's?) words],
[they] became loathsome to his heart,
[and in anger] he spoke to the bull Sheri:
"[.....] are coming against [me] for battle!
....."*

Sheri is one of Teshub's sacred bulls. Several gods are mentioned in the fragmentary continuation; that Teshub pronounced a curse over them can be gathered from the reply (lines 31–32):

*The bull Sheri re[plied] to Teshub:
"My lord! Why didst thou curse them?"*

Again the rest of the speech is beyond repair. After a gap the curse is still being referred to. This time it is Ea of whom we read (lines 67–72):

*When Ea had [hear]d those words
they became loathsome to his heart.
Ea began to reply these words to (the god) ...-ura:
"Do not pronounce curses against me!
He who cursed me,
[why] does he curse me?
Now thou who [tellest me these words] again,
thou art (thereby) cursing me.
A dish [that] with beer,
that dish will break to pieces!"*

There follows another gap, after which there is childbirth again. This time it is Earth who gives birth to two children. Unfortunately we can tell neither who these children are nor who begot them. The logic of the story would require that we should hear what happened to the part of the seed that Kumarbi spat out, and Earth would be a good candidate for the one who received and bore it. In a fragment which partly restores the fourth column, however, mention is made of a "wagon," and a word that may be restored as "manhood" once follows "wagon" in an otherwise broken line. It has been suggested on these grounds that the children grew out of Wagon's seed and that with "the wagon" the constellation of the Great Wagon (or Great Dipper) is meant. To complicate things further, it is Ea who counts the months and to whom the news of the happy event is brought. Thus, the question of who is the father must be left open. Mention of a throne and the title king occurring in broken context in the vicinity of the name Ea might indicate that at this point it is indeed Ea who is king among the gods, which would agree with the tentative interpretation of the third column given above. It has to be stressed, however, that the present state of preservation of the tablet renders all these interpretations highly hypothetical. Shortly after the birth of Earth's two children the tablet ends.

Summing up the contents of this epic composition, we find that in its first part it tells how the celestial kingship passed from Alalu to Anu and from Anu to Kumarbi. Of these gods, Anu is, of course, the well-known Babylonian god whose name is Sumerian An "Sky"; a god called Alala is at least attested in a Babylonian list of gods as one of Anu's ancestors. That we are dealing with generations is stated in our text where Kumarbi is called Alalu's offspring. The name Kumarbi is Hurrian; Kumarbi is sometimes equated with the Sumerian Enlil, though — as we shall see — not consistently. The fact that in our text Kumarbi goes to Nippur seems to indicate that its author made that identification, since the Babylonian town of Nippur is well known as the cult city of Enlil. The parallels that

25. See Meriggi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 128–31, for the likely suggestion that KUB XXXIII 105 (*Cat.* 244 [CTH 344.4, suppl.]; *Kum. Text* 1b) belongs here.

26. Meriggi, *ibid.*, p. 123 to line 2 (p. 125).

27. *Ibid.*, p. 125 with n. 58 to lines 15–16.

exist between this story and both Hesiod's *Theogony* and the Phoenician mythology as related by Philo Byblius have often been discussed; a few remarks may therefore suffice here.

In Hesiod the sequence is Ouranos ("Sky") — Kronos — Zeus; the fight between Ouranos and Kronos includes the motif of castration as does the fight between Anu and Kumarbi in the Hittite text. There is in Hesiod no generation corresponding to Alalu. Philo Byblius, however, in the outline of Phoenician mythology which he ascribes to a certain Sankhuniaton, has that generation. Here the sequence is:

1. Phoenician Elioun, Greek Hypsistos "The Highest," corresponding to Alalu;
2. Greek Ouranos "Sky," Phoenician name not given, corresponding to Anu;
3. Phoenician El, Greek Kronos, corresponding to Kumarbi;
4. elsewhere Ba'al-Hadad is mentioned as the chief god, corresponding to Teshub and Zeus.

The fact that Philo knew of the first generation omitted by Hesiod is a point in favor of the authenticity of his account; similarly, the discovery of Ugaritic literature has shown that a complex mythology indeed existed in Syria some fifteen centuries before Philo.

What exactly followed Kumarbi's victory over Anu and his pregnancy incurred in this fight is not clear because of the deplorable state of the text. Teshub is born, somehow. That he became king in Heaven at some point of the story may safely be assumed because of his role as supreme god in the actual cult of both Hurrians and Hittites; but at what point of the story this happened we do not know. Nor is Ea's role too clear (Ea, the wise god, is a figure familiar from Sumero-Babylonian religion, too). We found some indications that he may have been made king (after Kumarbi?), but the bad state of the text does not allow for a definite statement. In another text, to which we shall presently turn, Ea rather is the one who appoints and deposes celestial rulers. This text²⁸ deals with the temporary rule of a deity whose name is written with the word sign KAL, which, unfortunately, is ambiguous. Neither the reading Sumerian *lama*, Akkadian *lamassu* "protective deity," nor the reading Inara — the name of an Anatolian goddess whom we met in the Dragon Fight Myth — fits the context which seems to deal with a rather unruly male god. So we shall simply use the form KAL instead of the unknown real name of the god. As far as the sequence of events is concerned, it would seem that KAL's rule interrupted that of Teshub, since

it seems that KAL takes the rule from him at the beginning but has to recognize him as his master in the end.

The beginning of the text is lost and its first column badly mutilated. At one point one may restore (column i, lines 18–26):

KAL [.....] and to[ok] the reins and [the whip] out
of the Storm-god's hand.
The [Storm]-god turned back and [to KAL] began to
speak:
"[My] re[ins and whip] thou hast taken from my hand
and [taken them into thine own] hand.
Those reins [are]!
Thou wilt be called to the ... house,
and the reins [.....]".

There follow a few lines so fragmentary that they are beyond repair, and then a lacuna of some thirty to forty lines. In it, it may have been told that Ea appointed KAL to be king, if the following restoration is correct (ii 1–9):

[When] KAL [heard] Ea's words,
he [.....]
[and] began to [rejoice].
[.....] he ate and drank,
[..... u]p to Heaven he went,
up to Heaven [.....] he [...]ed.
[In the years that] KAL [was king] in Heaven,
in those years [.....].

Whether the following lines contained the description of a time of disorder and distress or rather, as has been proposed, of blessing, is uncertain because of their fragmentary state. After another gap and some broken lines at the beginning of the third column we read (iii 5–44):

KAL began to [reply] to:
[.....] I determine!
These gods [grew] big,
[they] and they arose,
(but) I [do not fear] them at all;
I shall not [put] bread into their mouths!
The road they are to go
and the road they are to come,
those I, KAL, king of Heaven, determine for the gods!"
The impetuous winds brought the n[ews] (variant:
KAL's evil words) to Ea (while he was) on his
way.
(Variant adds: When Ea heard KAL's [words],
his [mind became angry].)
Ea began to speak to Kumarbi:
"Come! Let us go back!
This KAL whom we made king in Heaven,
just as he himself is rebellious,
so he made the countries rebellious,
and no one any longer gives bread or drink offerings
to the gods!"
Ea and Kumarbi turned [their faces]:
Ea [went] to Abzuwa,
but Kumarbi went away to Du[...].

28. *Cat.* 241 {CTH 343.1}; (and 251 {CTH, 343, III, 1} see next note). *Kum.*, Text 1 c; Otten, *MGK* pp. 9–13; Meriggi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 133–47.

Ea made a messenger stand up in front [of himself] and undertook to dispatch him to KAL (saying):
"Go, speak these words to [KAL]:
'Ever since we made thee king in Heaven [thou] hast not done anything!
Never hast thou called [an assembly '"] (end of speech fragmentary)
The messenger departed and recounted [Ea's words to KAL] exactly.
When [KAL] had heard [Ea's words], he began to [.....].
Ea began to speak to Izzummi[, his vizier]:
"Go down to the Dark Earth, and the words that I speak to thee, go and tell them to Nara Napshara, my brother (saying):
'Take my speech and hearken to my words! [KAL] has made me angry, so I deposed him from the kingship in Heaven.
"That KAL whom we made king in Heaven, just as he himself is rebellious, so he made the countries rebellious, and no one any longer gives bread or drink offerings to the gods.
Now, Nara, my brother, hear me!
And mobilize all the animals of the earth!
Mount Nasalma [.....], and unto his head [..... !']" (broken).

A small further fragment²⁹ seems to tell that Nara fulfilled Ea's wish. After another gap, someone (Ea?) gives orders on how to treat KAL, and the Storm-god and his vizier Ninurta carry that order out. It seems to consist of some bodily punishment involving mutilation. After it KAL speaks to the Storm-god, addressing him as "my lord" but apparently reminding him of the fact that he himself had been made king. The Storm-god gives a short reply most of which again is lost. There the tablet ends, and its colophon (the entry giving tablet number and title, always written at the end of a tablet) is broken in such a way that we learn neither the title of the work, nor whether this tablet forms part of the same epic as the one outlined before, nor whether the story continued.

The second (or, if the KAL text is a separate work, third) epic of the Kumarbi cycle is called "The Song of Ullikummi." Although it is a separate literary work its contents can be connected with the theme of the celestial kingship: Kumarbi tries to replace Teshub as king by the stone monster Ullikummi which he begets for this purpose.³⁰

29. KUB XXXVI 3 [CTH 343, III, 1]; (MGK No. 3), cf. Otten, *MGK* p. 12 n. 4; Meriggi, *loc. cit.*, p. 145; contrast *Cat.* 251.

30. *Cat.* 239 [CTH 345]; *Kum.*, Text 2, pp. 13–28; *MGK* pp. 13–25; *ANET* pp. 121–125; H. G. Güterbock, *The Song of Ullikummi* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1952); reprinted from *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* V (1951) 135–61; VI (1952) 8–42.

This epic also begins with a proem; its beginning is damaged, the fourth line reads:

Of Kumarbi, father of all gods, I shall sing.

There follows the beginning of the story:

Kumarbi takes wisdom unto his mind and a bad "day" as evil (being) he raises. Against Teshub he plans evil, and against Teshub he raises a rival.

Kumarbi [takes] wisdom unto his mind and sticks it on like a bead.

When Kumarbi had taken wisdom unto his mind, he promptly rose from his chair. Into his hand he took a staff, upon his feet he put the swift winds as shoes.

He set out from his town Urkish and came to (a place called) Cool Pond.

At Cool Pond a great Rock is lying: Its length is three leagues, but its width which it has below is [one] and a half leagues.

His (Kumarbi's) mind sprang forward, he slept with the Rock, and his manhood [flowed] into it. Five times he took it, [and again] ten times he took it.

Urkish, Kumarbi's home town, was in north Mesopotamia, the heartland of the Hurrians. After a gap there follows a passage in which Kumarbi is invited by the Sea; he follows the invitation and, after seven drinks, dispatches his vizier Mukishanu to the Waters with a message, the contents of which are lost. What this episode means in the story can only be guessed: presumably the two gods, Kumarbi and the Sea, agree that Kumarbi's future child should grow up in the sea. After another gap we read that the Rock bore a child:

[The midwives] brought him to birth, and the Fate-goddesses and [Mother-goddesses lifted the child]

and placed him on Kumarbi's knees. Kumarbi began to rejoice over his son, he began to fondle him and began to give him his dear name.

Kumarbi began to speak to his own mind:

"What name shall I put on him, on the son whom the Fate-goddesses and Mother-goddesses gave me?

Out of the body he sprang like a blade.

Let him go! Ullikummi be his name!

Let him go up to Heaven,

let him suppress Kummiya, the dear town!

Let him hit Teshub

and pound him like chaff

and crush him with his foot like an ant!

Let him break Tashmishu like a dry reed!

Let him scatter the gods down from Heaven like birds and smash them like empty dishes!"

(Note the obvious etymological connection made here between the name given the child, Ulli-kummi, and the task given him, to destroy Kummiya, the city of Teshub. The following speech deals with the problem of letting the child grow up unnoticed.)

*When Kumarbi had completed these words
he began (again) to speak to his own mind:
"To whom shall I give this son?
Who will [take] him and treat him as a gift?
[Who will]
and [carry] him to the [Dark] Earth?
Let the Sun-god of Heaven [and the Moon-god] not see
him!
Let Teshub, the brave king of Kummiya, not see him
and let him not kill him!
Let Ishtar, the queen of Nineveh, not see him
and let her not break him like a dry reed!"*
*Kumarbi began to speak to Impaluri:
"O Impaluri! The words which I speak to thee,
to my words lend thine ear!
Take a staff into thy hands,
put the swift winds as shoes upon thy feet!
Go to the Irshirra gods
and speak these strong words to the Irshirras:
'Come! Kumarbi, father of the gods, calls you to his
house!
The matter about which he calls you
[.....].
Now come promptly!
["Then the Irshirra]s will take the child,
and they[will carry] him to the [Dark] Earth.
The Irshirras [will],
but to the great [gods] he will not [be visible]."
[When] Impaluri [heard these words],
he took a staff into his hand ... (etc.).*

In true epic style the fulfillment of Kumarbi's command is then told with identical words. The story continues:

*When the Irshirras heard these words,
they [hurried], hastened.
[They rose from their seats]
and covered the way at once
and came to Kumarbi.
And Kumarbi began to speak to the Irshirras:
"Take [this child],
treat him as a gift
and carry him to the Dark Earth!
Hurry, hasten!
Put him on Ubelluri's right shoulder like a blade!
In one day he shall grow a yard,
but in one month he shall grow a furlong!
....."*

The Irshirras take the child, but first bring him to Enlil (who is here taken as different from Kumarbi). Enlil sees that the child's body is made of stone and immediately understands the situation. He says:

*"Of no one but of Kumarbi is this an evil plan!
Just as Kumarbi raised Teshub
so now he has raised this Stone as a rival against him."*

Only after this interlude do the Irshirras put the child on the shoulder of Ubelluri, who, as we learn later in the epic, is a giant who carries Heaven and Earth, including the sea (thus comparable to the Greek Atlas). There the stone child grows up as fast as ordered. He grows in the sea, which only comes to his waist, while his head reaches the sky. The first among the gods to see him is the Sun-god, who decides to break the news to Teshub.

*When he saw the Sun-god coming
Tashmishu began [to speak to (his brother) Teshub]:
"Why does he come, the Sun-god of Heaven, the [king
of] the lands?
The matter about which he comes,
that matter is [grave],
it is [not] to be cast aside!
Strong is it, the struggle,
strong is it, the battle!
Heaven's uproar it is,
the land's hunger and thirst it is!"*
*Teshub began to speak to Tashmishu:
"Let them set up a chair for him to sit,
let them lay a table for him to eat!"*
*While thus they were speaking
the Sun-god arrived at their [house].
They set up a chair for him to sit,
but he did not sit down;
they laid a table for him to eat,
but he did not reach out;
they gave him a cup,
but he did not put his lips to it.
Teshub began to speak to the Sun-god:
"Is the chamberlain bad who set up the chair
so that thou satest not down?
Is the steward bad who laid the table
so that thou atest not?
Is the cupbearer bad who gave thee the cup
so that thou drankest not?"*

Here the first tablet ends. At the lost beginning of the second the Sun-god must have told Teshub and Tashmishu of the stone monster he had seen growing in the sea. Where the text becomes intelligible, the Sun-god finally is persuaded to take the food and drink offered him, and after the meal he returns to Heaven. After his departure the two brothers, Teshub and Tashmishu, decide to go and look for themselves; they are joined by their sister, Ishtar (Shaushga in Hurrian), who sees them leaving. All three ascend Mount Hazzi, a mountain on the shore of northern Syria known from Classical times as Casius and from Semitic sources as Zaphon.

*They took one another by the hand
and went up to Mount Hazzi.
The king of Kummiya set his face,*

he set his face upon the dreadful Stone.
 He saw the dreadful Stone,
 and from anger his [mind] was altered.
 Teshub sat on the ground,
 and his tears flowed forth like streams.
 Teshub in tears spoke the word:
 "Who will any longer endure this one's violence?
 Who will any longer fight?
 Who will any longer endure this one's fearfulness?"
 Ishtar replied to Teshub:
 "O my brother! He does not know ... or ...,
 but bravery has been tenfold given him!
"

The continuation of Ishtar's speech is first fragmentary, then lost. Probably she tries to console and encourage her brother. After the gap we find her by the seashore, adorning herself and singing. She is told, however, (by a personified Wave?) that this is of no avail:

"In front of whom singest thou?
 In front of whom fillest thou thy mouth with [songs]?
 The man is deaf and hears not,
 in his eyes he is blind and sees not!
 And mercy he has not!
 Go away, o Ishtar, and find thy brother
 before the Stone becomes brave,
 before the skull of his head becomes overwhelming!"

Ishtar takes the advice, throws away her ornaments and her musical instrument, and leaves, lamenting. After another gap we find Teshub giving Tashmishu orders for the preparation of battle. His war chariot and the two sacred bulls that are to pull it are to be readied. Furthermore,

"Let them call forth the thunderstorms,
 let them call forth the rains and winds
!
 The lightning which strongly flashes,
 out of the bedchamber let them bring it!
 And let them bring forth the chariots!
 Now arrange, set them,
 and word bring me back!"

The order is carried out; part of the preparations are lost at the end of the second tablet, as well as the beginning of the great battle in the following tablet. Obviously the "seventy gods" who participate in it on Teshub's side are unsuccessful against the Stone, who even overshadows Kummiya, Teshub's own town, where Hebat, his wife, is worrying about her husband's fate. A maid-servant sent out by her returns without news. After another gap it is Tashmishu who, from the top of a tower, tells Hebat, who is on her roof, that her husband will have to give up his rule "until the years that have been decreed for him will be fulfilled."

When Hebat saw Tashmishu
 she almost fell from the roof.

Had she taken a step,
 she would have fallen from the roof,
 but the palace women held her and let her not go.

Tashmishu then returns to Teshub and advises him to seek the help of the wise Ea. The two brothers go to Ea's abode where they approach him with great reverence. The passage in which they actually ask him for help is again lost, and so is Ea's reply to them. After the gap Ea goes to Enlil first and then to Ubelluri. He asks both whether they know of the stone monster created as a rival to Teshub. Enlil's reply is lost; the discourse with Ubelluri runs as follows:

Ea began to speak to Ubelluri:
 "Knowest thou not, O Ubelluri?
 Has no one brought thee word?
 Knowest thou him not,
 the swift god whom Kumarbi fashioned against the
 gods?
 And that Kumarbi truly plans death for Teshub
 and fashions a rival against him?

 Is it because thou art remote from the Dark Earth
 that thou knowest not this swift god?"
 Ubelluri began to reply to Ea:
 "When Heaven and Earth were built on me
 I knew nothing.
 But when it came to pass that Heaven and Earth were
 cut apart with a 'cutter,'
 this, too, I knew not.
 Now something makes my right shoulder hurt,
 but I know not who he is, that god!"
 When Ea heard these words,
 he turned Ubelluri's right shoulder:
 there the Stone was standing on Ubelluri's right shoulder
 like a blade!

Ea then orders the Former Gods to produce the very tool with which once Heaven and Earth had been separated; now he will use it to separate the Stone from Ubelluri, on whom he has grown. This is obviously meant to break the Stone's power; for, after another gap, we find Ea telling Tashmishu:

"First I struck him, the Stone;
 now go ye and fight him again!"

Delighted by this news, Tashmishu breaks it to the gods. Teshub mounts his chariot again, rides down to the sea with thunder, and engages in a fresh fight with the Stone. There follows an almost Homeric dialogue between the two adversaries, in which Ullikummi boasts of the role his father Kumarbi has assigned him. Thereafter the text is altogether lost, but we can safely assume that the outcome of this second battle was the final victory of Teshub. Such a "happy end" is not only expected on the analogy of the Anatolian Dragon Fight story discussed above and of the Greek myth to be men-

tioned presently, but is required by the fact that in actual religion Teshub was the supreme god, so that the myth must have shown him victorious in the end.

The Greek parallel just alluded to is the story of Typhon. This monster arises as a new adversary to Zeus at the point of Hesiod's *Theogony* where Zeus has just gained power by his victory over Kronos and the other Titans. Later Greek tradition preserved details that fit our Hurro-Hittite myth even more closely. Thus one source says that Typhon grew out of an egg impregnated with the seed of Kronos. Other authors describe the first, unsuccessful battle as taking place at Mount Casius, that is, our Hazzi. Typhon himself was believed to have his home in Cilicia, and in an unpublished cuneiform text a mountain called Ullikummi* is listed among the mountains of Kizzuwatna, that is, Cilicia.

Thus far the myths, to the extent that they can be understood or reconstructed. As said before, there are others, mostly in a bad state of preservation, and there probably were still others entirely unknown to us. From the foregoing excerpts the difference between Anatolian and foreign myths will have become clear. The Kumarbi cycle is a work of literature. Whether the existing Hittite version is a translation of a Hurrian original (as suggested in the past) or whether it is the creation of an author or authors who only drew their subject matter from Hurrian tradition but freely wrote the epic in Hittite, the literary language of the Empire, will remain an open question as long as we do not know more about a Hurrian version. The Hittite epics before us are not only written in a literary, truly epic, style; also their contents, the mythological concepts they represent, are very sophisticated. The question of whether these epics are translations or free adaptations thus becomes secondary: what matters is the fact that they reflect a very complex mythology whose elements can be traced back through the Hurrians to Babylonia. Not only such names as Alalu, Anu, and Ea with his vizier Izzummi (Akkadian Usmu) are Babylonian, but also the basic concept of generations of gods who successively ruled the universe goes back to Babylonia. Thus this Hurro-Hittite epic literature and the mythology contained in it are heirs to a long-established West-Asiatic mythological literature. The ties with the West-Semitic world, Phoenicia and Ugarit, are less obvious. Sankhuniaton as quoted by Philo Byblius only seems to reflect the same Hurrian mythology that underlies the Kumarbi epics; nevertheless it is interesting that in later times this mythology was simply considered Phoenician. The Canaanite myths preserved in Hittite, in turn, that is, the stories about Asherah and Mount Pishaisha, are too fragmentary to allow for detailed comparison. Yet it

seems, even from these small fragments, that the tenor of these tales is very similar indeed to that of Ugaritic literature, although the particular stories have no counterpart there except for an allusion in the Pishaisha text to a victory of the Storm-god over the Sea, which may mean the victory of Ba'al over Yam "Sea" in the Ugaritic Ba'al cycle.³¹ If we are permitted for a moment to look at Sankhuniaton, the fragmentary Hittite versions of Syrian myths, and the Ugaritic epics as one group, we may say that in complexity and sophistication it equals the myths of Hurro-Mesopotamian background.

In contrast, the Anatolian myths discussed in the first part of this survey seem to be much simpler. Although the Anatolian deities also form families, there is here no succession of rulers, nor do these myths contain Babylonian elements (the word signs used to write names of gods should not mislead us). It is true that the Storm-god who, as provider of rain, was the supreme god all over West Asia outside Babylonia proper, is the central figure in both the Anatolian and the Hurrian and Syrian myths. But the stories told about him show a marked difference: whereas in the Kumarbi cycle Teshub is the last king in a divine dynasty going back to the Sumerian Alalu, and whereas his struggle with the stone monster is a world-shaking battle involving all the gods, the Anatolian Storm-god is simply the great god of the land whose well-being and well-meaning are badly needed. If he goes into hiding because someone aroused his anger, he has to be propitiated. To tell, at the yearly festival, the story of how he ultimately overcame the Dragon is a means to secure the much-needed rain for the land. If a local Storm-god has left his cult city he can be brought back by a prayer containing the story of the river Marassanta that was especially made to flow nearby and charged with watching over him. It thus seems that these Anatolian stories are very close indeed to what is commonly called nature myths, although, perhaps, already one step removed from an hypothetical original form of such myths. We saw that the myth of the Vanished God is no longer connected with a seasonal ritual; and for the Dragon Fight story, which does belong to a seasonal festival, I doubt that the listeners "knew" that the Dragon "meant" drought: for them it was enough to hear that the Storm-god finally defeated his enemy. Yet the connection with seasonal phenomena is apparent.

Also the plots of the Anatolian myths are simpler than those of the foreign ones. To overcome the Dragon, simple ruses are used. None of the gods, not even the sharp-eyed Eagle, can find the Vanished God, but the Bee, dispatched by the Mother-goddess, finds

*[UR.SAG]Ú-li-ka-am-ma KBo 15.61 rev. 9. — HGG]

31. *Kum.*, p. 122; cf. the Ugaritic epic translated by H. L. Ginsberg, *ANET* p. 131.

him; to overcome his increased fury magic is needed. Family relations follow an all too human pattern. In the Telipinu version of the Vanished God myth, it is the Storm-god, Telipinu's father, who is concerned about his son's disappearance but unable to bring him back; old grandmother Hannahanna rudely tells him "do something!" but she herself has to take over by sending out the Bee. In the Storm-god version translated above the episode is added in which the Father first turns to the Grandfather for counsel, only to be reprimanded that it is all his own fault; here again it is Hannahanna who finds the solution after having reassured him.

I hope that in pointing out these differences we have done no more than bring into focus what seems obvious when the Anatolian and foreign myths are read. In doing this we have tried to bring out the fact that not all that is written in Hittite is just one "Hittite mythology" but that it is necessary to distinguish between genuine Anatolian myths and those of the Hurrian-Mesopotamian-Syrian realm. That such different elements were brought together in the Empire and that the scribes of Hattusa included such diverse material in their writings only serves to illustrate the complexity of Hittite civilization. When the Hurrian or Kizzuwatnean element in the royal house and in the scribal schools imported Hurrian myths, the Anatolian tradition continued beside it; and whatever the ethnic background of the individual stories, they were written in the literary language in which the unifying power of the Hittite Empire manifested itself.

NOTES

For a general survey of Hittite history and civilization the reader is referred to:

O. R. Gurney. *The Hittites* (Pelican Book, A 259. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1952; 2nd ed. 1954, [1981, 1990]).

Translations of Hittite texts by A. Goetze are found in:

J. B. Pritchard, ed. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton: University Press, 1950; 2nd ed. 1955), which will be quoted in the notes as *ANET*.

E. Laroche published a "Catalogue des Textes Hittites" in *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* XIV (1956) 33-38; 69-116; XV (1957) 30-89; XVI (1958) 18-64, quoted hereafter as *Cat.* (with number).* It contains references to the original publications of cuneiform texts and to translations and discussions. For the scholar, reference to *Cat.* will be sufficient in most cases; only a few texts are quoted below by the cuneiform edition, for which the following abbreviation is used:

KUB: *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (Berlin, 1921-).

Other abbreviations used in the notes are:

RHA: *Revue Hittite et Asiatique*.

ZA: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.

Kum.: see note 21.

MGK: see note 24.

[*Now supplemented with CTH numbers; see the *Preface*. — Eds.]

6

GEDANKEN ÜBER DAS WESEN DES GOTTES TELIPINU*

Seit dem Bekanntwerden des "Telipinu-Mythus"¹ hat man sich allgemein daran gewöhnt, den Gott Telipinu als einen Vegetationsgott zu bezeichnen. Obwohl das im großen und ganzen zutrifft, scheint es doch, daß ein wesentlicher Zug im Wesen des Gottes bisher nicht genügend beachtet worden ist: seine Zugehörigkeit zum Typus der hethitischen Gewittergötter. Diese läßt sich aus folgenden Beobachtungen erschließen:

1. Der Mythus vom verschwundenen Gott wird nicht nur von Telipinu erzählt, sondern auch vom Gewittergott², wobei die Erzählung selbst in allen wesentlichen Punkten die gleiche ist³.

2. Die Stelle im Mythus, die den verschärften Zorn des Gottes schildert — nachdem die Biene ihn geweckt hat —, lautet in der ersten Fassung des Telipinu-Mythus⁴: "Telipinu kam wütend (*lelaniyanza*)⁵, er donnerte mit dem Blitzstrahl (*uwantiwantaz tetheškitta*),

die dunkle Erde drunten schlug⁶ er". Hier ist es ausgesprochen, daß Telipinu über Blitz und Donner verfügt.

3. Die Notzeitschilderung im Mythus ist keineswegs auf die Vegetation beschränkt, sondern erstreckt sich auf alle Lebensäußerungen. Wenn es auch willkürlich erscheinen mag, anstelle der auf Pflanzen bezüglichen eine andere Einzelheit aus dieser allgemeinen Schilderung herauszugreifen, so verleiht doch die eben genannte Beziehung zum Gewitter dem Austrocknen der Berge, Bäume, Wiesen und Quellen (Kol. i 16 f.) besonderes Gewicht: alles andere kann leicht als Folge des Vertrocknens, d.h. des Ausbleibens lebenspendenden Regens verstanden werden. In der dritten Fassung des Telipinu-Mythus⁷ werden denn auch die "guten Regengüsse und guten Winde" ausdrücklich unter den Dingen genannt, die Telipinu bei seiner Rückkehr wiederbringt.

4. Die meisten Vertreter einer Textgruppe, die der Einfachheit halber als "Kultinventare" bezeichnet sei, handeln von verschiedenen Wettergöttern, in deren Kult im Herbst und Frühling Feste gefeiert werden, die durch das *ḫarši*-Gefäß charakterisiert sind⁸. Einer dieser

*Reprinted from *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich zum 65. Geburtstag am 27. August 1958 gewidmet*, R. von Kienle, A. Moortgat, H. Otten, E. von Schuler, and W. Zaumseil, eds. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1959), pp. 207–211, with the permission of Hans G. Güterbock.

1. KUB XVII 10, 1926.

2. H. Otten, *Die Überlieferungen des Telipinu-Mythus* (MVAeG 46, 1, 1942); E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, RHA XIV/58 (1956) 33 ff., bes. 59, 110 ff., Nr. 258–259, 261–262 (abgekürzt Catal.) {CTH 324, 325, 326}.

3. Im Gegensatz zur Yozgat-Tafel und den Ritualen zur Herbeirufung der DINGIR.MAḪ, Catal. 263; 265, 5–9 und 16 {CTH 334}.

4. KUB XVII 10 ii 33 ff. {CTH 324}.

5. Diese Bedeutung ergibt sich aus der Situation, besonders bei einem Vergleich der Parallelfassungen. In der dritten Fassung (KUB XXXIII 10, 9 und 15, Otten C, Catal. 258 {CTH 324}, 3^{me} version) darf man sicher ergänzen [*le-e-la*]-*ni-e-et-ta-at* und [*le-l*]-*a-ni-it-ta-a[ti]* (vgl. A. Goetze in ANET 127). Da der Gott vorher schon *šanza* war, bezeichnet *lelaniya*- (Verb) und *lelaniyant*- (Partizip) offenbar den höchsten Grad des Zornes, also Wut ("wüten", "wütend"). Das paßt auch in der Variante zu §38 der Gesetze (KBo VI 2 + Zus. ii 14 zu 3 ii 32, Friedrich, HW 128 unter *lelaniya*-). Der Paragraph handelt von straffreiem Totschlag im Affekt; der Prozessierende darf den unerwünschten Dritten, der sich in den Streit eingemischt hat, schlagen — sogar mit tödlichem Ausgang —, weil er *lelaniatta*, wofür das

Duplikat sagt *kartimmiya*[[*n*]]*tari* "erzürnt ist". Auch hier liegt der höchste Grad von Affekt vor, also "wütend wird", nicht das blasse "vorschnell handelt".

6. So, wenn von *zahh*-, HW 256.

7. KUB XXXIII 9 iii 10, Otten C III.

8. Catal. 294 {CTH 509}, 298 {CTH 505} und einzelne weitere Texte. KUB XVII 35–37 (Catal. 305, 1–3 {CTH 525, 530}) handeln von verschiedenen Gottheiten: 35 i–ii 5 Wettergott von Guršamašša; ii 6–34 Sonnengottheit derselben Stadt im Tempel des Wettergottes, also wohl seine Gemahlin; ii 35–iii 22 Iyarri; iii 23–38 "Große Quelle", wohl wie die Quellen in KBo II 7 und 13 eine Trabantin des Wettergottes; iii 39 ff. ein Berggott (Orientalia XV 492, h); in Kol. iv wird der Wettergott öfter genannt (Anfang und Ende des Abschnittes fehlen). Dagegen handelt Nr. 37 von den "Königin" genannten Göttinnen verschiedener Städte. Die von C. G. von Brandenstein veröffentlichten Bildbeschreibungen (MVAeG 46, 2; Catal. 295–296 {CTH 501, 521, 503, 514}) mit ihrer Mannigfaltigkeit von Gottheiten enthalten keinen Hinweis auf *ḫarsi*-Riten.

Texte⁹ verzeichnet die Kultfeste folgender Gottheiten (vgl. die Unterschrift):

- 1) Die Gottheiten von Urišta (iv 60), nämlich:
 - a) (nicht erhalten);
 - b) Berg Ḫalwanna (als heiliger Berg eines Wettergottes): i 1–33;
 - c) Wettergott der Wiese von Urišta: i 34–50;
 - d) (Name verloren): ii 1–9;
 - e) Ḫatipuna (die Gattin des Telipinu): ii 10 ff. (nach 18 noch in Urišta);
- 2) Die Gottheiten einer Stadt, deren Name in der Unterschrift abgebrochen ist; auch der Text, Kol. iii, fehlt;
- 3) Die Gottheiten von Ḫakmišša (iv 61), nur das Ende in Kol. iv 1–3 erhalten;
- 4) Telipinu/Telipuna: iv 4–10; 61;
- 5) Ḫuwatta (von *ḫuwant*- "Wind"?): iv 11 ff., in 61 abgebrochen;
- 6) Wettergott des Blitzes: iv Lücke bis 46; 62;
- 7) Wettergott des Regens: iv 47–59 und lk.Rd.; iv 62.

Nach dem oben unter 1–3 Ausgeführten ist es wohl kein Zufall, daß hier Telipinu und seine Gattin unter Wettergöttern und mit den gleichen Riten wie diese aufgeführt sind.

5. Ein Gegenargument könnte der Hymnus auf Telipinu in dem Gebet des Muršili¹⁰ liefern, wenn es zuträfe, daß dieser wörtlich nach dem parallelen Hymnus auf die Sonnengöttin von Arinna¹¹ zu ergänzen

wäre¹². Daß das nicht zutrifft, hat schon Gurney gezeigt¹³, und ich bin an anderer Stelle darauf eingegangen¹⁴. Die vermeintliche Übertragung von Zügen des Sonnengottes auf Telipinu existiert also nicht.

Mit all dem soll die lebenspendende Natur des Telipinu nicht geleugnet werden. Sie scheint nur, wie schon die Parallelerzählung vom Verschwinden des Wettergottes nahelegt, der des Wettergottes zu gleichen. Wie der Gewittergott durch den Regen das Leben der Pflanzen, Tiere und Menschen ermöglicht, so offenbar auch Telipinu. Dieser fügt sich so in das hethitische Göttersystem als ein Vertreter eines wohl-bekannteren Typus ein. Daß Telipinu ein Sohn des Wettergottes ist, ist bekannt; das hat eine Analogie in den Wettergöttern von Nerik und Zippalanda, die bekanntlich ebenfalls Söhne des Hauptwettergottes sind. Daß sein Vater sagt, Telipinu pflüge und bringe Wasser¹⁵, steht nicht im Widerspruch zu der hier vertretenen Anschauung. Neuerdings hat Laroche gezeigt, daß der Name des "Priesters" Telipinu von Aleppo in ideographischer Schreibung in der Hieroglypheninschrift von Aleppo vorkommt¹⁶. Leider ist das Zeichen kein klar erkennbares Bild. Selbst wenn es ein baum — oder blütenartiges Gebilde wäre, was nicht sicher ist, würde die Wahl eines solchen Bildzeichens zwar eine Seite im Wesen des Gottes hervorheben, seiner Zugehörigkeit zum Typus Wettergott aber nicht widersprechen.

9. KUB XXV 23; Catal. 301, 1 {CTH 525, 3}.

10. KUB XXIV 1 und 2; Catal. 282 {CTH 377}.

11. KUB XXIV 3 usw.; Catal. 283 {CTH 376}.

12. So H. Ehelolf, Berliner Museen 49 (1928) 32 ff.; Goetze in ANET 396 f.; Kleinasien, 1. Aufl. 128 Anm. 7; 2. Aufl. 136 Anm. 7.

13. O. R. Gurney, Ann. Arch. Anthr. 27, 9–11.

14. Vortrag 1958, in JAOS, 78.

15. Goetze, Kleinasien, 2. Aufl. 143 zu VBoT 58 i 29 f.

16. Syria 33 (1956) 133 f. zu HHM Nr. 2, Z. 1, letztes Zeichen.

A HURRO-HITTITE HYMN TO ISHTAR*

The Hittite text I am here presenting to my friend Samuel Kramer has been known for a long time. It takes up the first and part of the second column of a tablet, *Bo* 2024, published in cuneiform copy by A. Walther as *KUB* 24.7 in 1930; the tablet is now kept in the Istanbul Museum. The second part of the tablet contains the well-known tale of “The Sungod, the Cow, and the Fisherman.”¹

In contrast to that tale the hymnic first part of the tablet (*CTH* 717) was for a long time more or less left aside because of the difficulties of understanding it. A. Goetze, in 1933, gave the first translation of col. i 12–32 (*AM* pp. 262 f.), in which he correctly brought out the essentials. C. G. von Brandenstein (in the places cited under *CTH* 717) only commented on individual lines. Only recently have editions of the whole text been published. In 1977 there appeared an article by A. Archi, “I poteri della dea Ištar hurrita-ittita,” *Oriens Antiquus* 16, 297–311, that contains a full transliteration and translation of the hymn (pp. 305–311). Almost simultaneously Ilse Wegner included individual parts of the text in her dissertation, *Gestalt und Kult der Ištar-Šawuška in Kleinasien*.² These editions have become a basis for further study and have been helpful in the preparation of this article.

For some time I wondered whether the hymn was an introduction to the tale of “The Sungod and the Cow.” In the beginning of the story the Sungod falls in

love with a beautiful cow, and (apparently as a result of their union) the cow gives birth to a human child. Was that the reason for prefacing the tale with a hymn to the goddess of love? I no longer think so. It is more likely that *KUB* 24.7 is simply a *Sammeltablet*, a tablet upon which two separate texts happen to be written. Whether the scribe who thus combined them was thinking of Ištar’s role in the adventure of the cow is another question. The main reason for separating the two texts, however, is their form: the tale is told in prose, while the hymn has a clear strophic structure. Another reason may be the following: In *Kumarbi*, 119–22, I included both the Appu story and the tale of the Cow among Hittite texts of Hurrian origin, and both Friedrich (*ZA* 49, 213 ff.) and Hoffner (l.c. in note 1) followed me in this. But Siegelová (*StBoT* 14, 33 f.) showed that there is no evidence for Hurrian origin in these two tales, and the repertory of preserved Hurrian mythological fragments published by M. Salvini (*SMEA* 18, 1977, 73–91) does not include a Hurrian text on Appu or the Cow story. The hymn, on the other hand, shows its Hurrian origin clearly in the names of the goddesses who are attendants of Ištar. If thus the two texts have different backgrounds, this is one more reason for keeping them apart.

I shall first present the text in transliteration and translation; this will be followed by a philological commentary and a literary analysis.

Transliteration

Column i

- §1 First six lines lost; line 7 damaged.
 7 [.....]-ma¹ la-aḫ-ḫi(?) i-ia[-at/an-t]a-ri(?)
 8 [...] ku-e-e[z-za o o] MEŠ(?)³ na-at ku-ra-ak-ki

Translation

- §1 (about six lines missing)
 (7) But [when she] go[es] (or: [they] go) to war, [...] on one side (are) [the ...]s, they are [like] pillars;

*Reprinted from the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103 (1983): 155–164, with the permission of the American Oriental Society.

1. Abbreviations as in the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* (*CHD*) and *HW*, *HW*².

CTH, 363; part of it was made available by H. Ehelolf as early as 1926 (*OLZ* 29, 766–769); the standard edition is by J. Friedrich, *ZA* 49 (1950), 224–233. In my *Kumarbi* (1946), 119–122 I gave an outline of the story, connecting it with the tale of Appu (*CTH* 360, ed. by J. Siegelová,

StBoT 14, 1971, 1–34) for reasons that in my mind are still valid. A new analysis of “The Hurrian Story of the Sungod, the Cow and the Fisherman” was published by H. A. Hoffner in M. A. Morrison and D. I. Owen, eds., *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians in Honor of E. R. Lacheman* (1981), 189–94.

2. *Hurritologische Studien* III = *AOAT* 36, published 1981, but, according to the preface, completed in 1976.

3. Or [o - o-t]e-eš?

9 [ma-a-an?] a-ša-an-zi šar-ga-u-e-eš-ma ku-e-ez-za
 10 [UR.SAG?].MEŠ nu za-aḥ-ḥi-ia tar-aḥ-ḥi-iš-kán-zi
 11 [ku-e-ez?]-ma SAL.MEŠ e-ši-in-zi SAL.MEŠ KAR.KID-ia
 SIG₃-an-te-eš

on the other side (are) the mighty [heroes],
 they always win in battle;
 and [on another side] (are) the ešī-women and
 'good' (shapely?) prostitutes

§2 12 [wa-al-l]a-aḥ-ḥi-ia-aš ŠA^dGAŠAN ḥa-an-te-ez-zi-uš
 SAL.SUḪUR.LÁL.ḪIA
 13 [^dNi-na]-at-ta-an^dKu-li-it-ta-an^dŠi-en-tal-ir-te-in
 14 [^dḪa]-am-ra-zu-un-na-an nu-kán^dIŠTAR-li É-ir ku-it
 15 [a-aš-ši]-ia-at-ta-ri nu a-pu-u-uš a-pé-e-da-ni É-ni
 16 [š]u²-wa-u-wa-an-zi u-i-ia-az-zi nu KIN-an ku-it an-
 ni-iš-kán-zi
 17 [na-at] ḥal-wa-am-na-az an-ni-iš-kán-zi É-ir-ma ku-it
 18 an-ni-iš-kán-zi na-at du-uš-ka-ra-at-ta-az-za
 (erasure)
 19 an-ni-iš-kán-zi ḥa-an-ta-ir-ma SAL.MEŠ É.GE₄. A-uš
 20 nu TÚG-an ša-ri-iš-kán-zi ḥa-an-da-ir-ma
 DUMU.MEŠ É-TI
 21 nu A.ŠĀ-an IKU-li ḥar-ši-iš-kán-zi

§2 (12) I shall praise them, the 'first' lady attendants of Ištar:
 Ninatta, Kulitta, Šintal-irti (and) [H]amra-zunna.
 Whatever household is beloved by Ištar,
 she sends these into that house in order to look
 (after it)(?).
 The work which they (the people of the house)
 perform,
 they perform with laughter;
 (17) the house for which they care,
 they care for it with joy.
 The young brides have been in harmony,
 and (so) they keep weaving cloth;
 and the sons of the house have been in harmony,
 and (so) they continue plowing the field by the
 acre.

§3 22 wa-al-la-aḥ-ḥi-ia-aš ŠA^dGAŠAN ap-pé-ez-zi-uš
 SAL.SUḪUR.LÁL.ḪIA
 23 ^dA-li-in^dḪal-za-a-ri-in^dTa-ru-wi₅-in
 24 ^dŠi-na-an-da-du-kar-ni-in wa-al-la-aḥ-ḥi nu-kán
^dGAŠAN-li
 25 [k]u-it É-ir pu-uk-kán nu a-pu-u-uš a-pé-e-da-ni É-ri
 26 a-ni-ia-u-wa-an-zi (eras.) u-i-ia-zi nu É-ir tuḥ-[ḥi-
 ma-az-z]a
 27 pí-d-du-li-ia-az-za e-eš-ša-an-zi nu-kán SAL¹É¹
 [GE₄.A-x]
 28 kap-pí-la-a-ir nu-kán I-aš I-an SAG.DU¹-an¹
 29 šal-la-an-ni-iš-ki-iz-zi nu nam-ma ḥa-an-t[^da-an-te-
 eš(?) TÚG-an]
 30 Ú-UL ša-a-ri-ia-an-zi LÚ.MEŠ AT-ḪU-TIM-[ma]
 31 [ku¹-ru-ri-ia¹-aḥ-ḥi-ir nu nam-ma A.ŠĀ-an [IKU-li
 Ú-UL]
 32 [ḥar¹-ši-ia-a[n-z]i ḥal-lu-wa-nu-e-er-m[a-at-za(?)]
 33 nu nam-ma [ŠE? m]a-al-lu-u-wa-ar Ú-U[L ki-ša-ri(?)]
 34 nu UR.GI, GI[M-an ŠA]Ḫ(?) Ú-UL ḥa-an-ta[-iz-
 zi(?) ... (?)]
 35 nu-kán NINDA.X[o o]X^[NA⁴]ku-un-ku-nu-uz-zi-i[n ...]
 36 GIM-an ú-e-te-ni an-da tar-nir na[-at ...]
 37 ar-ḥa ḥar-ni-in-ki-i[r]

§3 (22) I shall praise them, the 'last' lady attendants of Ištar:
 Ali, Halzari, Taruwi (and) Šinanda-dukarni
 I shall praise.
 Whatever household is hated by Ištar,
 she sends those into that house in order to treat it.
 They do the housework with gr[oaing] and anguish.
 (27) The you[ng brides] were at odds,
 and (so) one always pulls the other by the head,
 and they no longer weave [cloth] in har[mony].
 The brothers have become enemies,
 and (so) they [no] longer plow the field [by the
 acre];
 they have quarreled,
 (33) and (so) grinding [of grain] no longer
 [takes place].
 Just as the dog do[es] not [get] along with the pig(?),
 they let [...] bread (and?) basalt into the water
 like [...]
 and (so) they have destroyed [...] completely(?).

§4 38 LÚ-iš-ma-kán DAM-ZU-ia ku-i-e-eš a-aš-ši-ia-a[n-
 ta-ri]
 39 nu-uš-ma-aš-kán a-aš-ši-ia-tar ZAG[-aš]-ša-an ar[-
 nu-wa-an-zi]
 40 na-at tu-e<-da>-az-za^dIŠTAR-li-az-za [t]a-ra-a-an
 SAL¹-n[a¹-an ku-iš(?)]
 41 pu-pu-wa-la-iz-zi nu-za-kán pu-pu¹-wa-la¹-tar ZAG-
 aš[-ša-an]
 42 ar-nu-uz-zi na-at tu-e-da-za^dGAŠAN-li-z[^da ta-ra-a-
 an ...]

§4 (38) A man and his wife who love each other and carry
 their love to fulfillment:
 that has been decreed by you, Ištar.
 [He who] seduces a w[oman]
 and carries the seduction to fulfillment:
 that [has been decreed] by you, Ištar.

- 43 Ì.DÙG.GA *na-at wa-aš-ta-ri tu-uk-ma-kán*
[*ku-iš* ... (?)]
44 [*a-aš*]-š*i-ia-at-ta-ri nu-uš-ši zi-ik* URU-*a[š an-tu-uḫ-š*
a-tar(?)]
45 [*ga*]-*la-ak-ta-ra-ši na-an an-da ka-a[-ri-ia-ši]*
46 [*nu-ká*]*n*(?) *tu-e-da-az¹-pát* ^dIŠTAR-*li-az a-pé-e*
[... (?)]
47 [o]-*x ar-ḫa Ú-UL ku-it-ki iš-da*[*m-ma-aš-ša-an-zi*]

[...] (43) sweet-scented oil, and it is pleasing.
For him [who] is beloved [by you]
you make the town[’s people] drowsy and
cover him,
(so that) thanks to you, Ištar, those [people]
do not hear anything.

- §5 48 [*ma-a-a*]*n* SAL-TUM-*ma A-NA* LÚMU-TI-ŠU *pu-u*[*k-*
kán-za na-an zi-ik]
49 [^dGAŠAN-*iš*(?)] *pu-uq-qa-nu-wa-an ḫar-t*[*i*] *ma-a-*
an [LÚ-*iš-ma A-NA DAM-ŠU*(?)]
50 [*im-ma*(?)] *pu-uk-kán-za nu-uš[-ma-aš]-kán* [.....]
51 [*zi-ik*(?)] ^dIŠTAR-*iš iš-ḫu-u-wa<-an>* ¹*ḫar-ti*¹ [.....]
52 [...] *x na-aš mar-la-tar pu-pu-wa*[*la-tar*...]
53 [.....] *x ma-na-at-kán wa-at-ku-an[-zi*]
54 [..... T]*I-nu-zi ap-pa-an-zi-ma*[-.....]
55 [.....] *e-šu-wa-ar mar-la*[-.....]

- §5 (48) But [if] a woman is ha[ted] by her husband,
[then you, Ištar] have caused [her] to be hated.
[But] if [a man] is [even(?) hated [by his wife],
then [you], Ištar, have heaped up [...] for them.
[They/he will ...]
(52) and he [will commit] a foolish act,
(namely) adul[tery].
They might elope,
[but ...] will not save [them].
They will be seized [...];
to be [...] is fooli[sh](?).

- §6 56 [^dIŠTAR-*in*(?) *iš-ḫa-m*]*i-iš-ki-mi na-an*[.....]
57 [.....] *x-in nu-mu LÚ.x*[.....]
58 (traces)
(gap of about 5 lines)

- §6 (56) [Of Ištar] I shall [si]ng and [...] her.
(Two lines too fragmentary for translation,
then gap of ca. 5 lines)

Column ii

- 1 [..... *wa-aš*(?)]-*ta-aš-ku-wa-ar zi-ik* ^dIŠTAR-*iš*
2 [.....] *x nu-za* LÚMU-TI-KA *ar-ḫa ka-ri-i*[*p-ta*]
3 [*ku-in-kán* LÚ-*a*]*n* LÚ.ŠU.GI-*aḫ-ta ku-in-ma-kán* LÚ-
an ZAG-na
4 [*ar-nu-u*]*t*(?) *ku-in-ma-za LÚ-an* LÚGURUŠ-*an-pát*
ḫar-ni-ik-ta
5 [*nu-z*]*a* LÚ.MEŠ *ḫu-el-pí* GA.RAŠ.SAR *i-wa-ar ar-ḫa*
ka-ri-i[*ip-ta*]
6 [*zi-ik* ^dIŠTAR-*iš e-ša-ra-ši-la-aš-ma-aš a-ri-ša-an-*
d]*a*
7 GIM-*an du-wa-ar-ni-iš-ki-it na-aš-za-kán*
ŠE.LÚ.SAR ¹GIM-*an*¹(?)
8 IT-T [¹NUM]UN(?) *ka-ri-ip-ta na-aš-kán ar-ḫa ḫar-*
ni-ik-ta
9 TÚG.N[G.LÁ[M-*aš-ma*(?)]-*aš-za* GIM-*an pár-ku-wa-*
ia wa-aš-še-eš-ki-ši
10 *nu ku-in* [*pa*]-*ap-ra-aḫ-ti ku-in-ma-za pár-ku-un-pát*
ar-ḫa pí-d-da-la-ši
11 *ku-in* [¹*ú-wa-te*]- *ši na-an* ^{GI}ŠAN.ZA.GÀR GIM-*an*
pár-ga-nu-ši
12 *ku-in-ma*[-*ká*]*n a-pé-el-pát ú-e-ta-an-da-aš pa-ra-a*
13 *ú-wa-te-š*[*i*] A-*aš-ma* (? *a-aš-ma*?) *ku-wa-pí la-ḫu-*
uz-zi
14 *nu-wa*¹-*at-ta-ru*(?)¹ KÚ-*iz-zi zi-iq-qa-za* ^dGAŠAN-*iš*
LÚ.MEŠ-*uš*
15 QA-TAM-*M*[*A zi*]-*in-ni-iš-ki-ši nu-uš-ši-kán*
MÁŠ.TUR.ḪIA

- ii (1) [...] constant [tra]nsgression [did] you,
Ištar, [commit]:
you devoured your husbands:
[One man] you made old,
another man you [let attain] fulfillment,
another you destroyed even in his prime:
you devour[ed] men like fresh leek.
(6) You, Ištar, kept breaking them like the ... of their ...
and devoured them like coriander with (its)
[see]d(?),
and completely destroyed them.
When you put clean festive garments on them,
you soil one,
and another you neglect even though he is
clean(!).
(11) Another you bring and make him high like a tower,
he keeps eating (? drinking?) ... : you, Ištar, thus
always finish men off.

- 16 GIM-an [ta-r]u-up-pa-an-zi EGIR-an-da GUL-ki-
š[i]x(?) Afterwards(?) you keep hitting at(?) him(?)
just as one herds kids together.
- 17 ^{Giš}kat-taf-lu¹-uz-zi-ma-aš DÙ-at na-aš-kán
GĪ[R-it ...] You have made them into a threshold
and [trample] them [with your] feet.

-
- §7 18 ANŠE-aš-ma-za GIM-an pu-un-tar-ri-ia-li-iš z[i-ik]
19 SAL.LUGAL-aš ^dIŠTAR-iš x-ga-x (traces)
20 nu-ut-ta ku-wa-pí [o] x [...]
21 UR.MAḪ-ma-za GI[M-an ...]
22 KALAG.GA-aš al-p[a-aš(?) ...]
23 LÚ.MEŠ GURUŠ-aš-ma-za [...]
24 SAL.MEŠ KI.SIKIL-aš x[...]
25 SAL.MEŠ al-la-wa-an[-...]
26 zi-ik-pát ^dI[ŠTAR-iš ...]
- §7 (18) You are stubborn like an ass, O queen Ištar!
[...]
And when [...] you [...]
You are(?) like a lion [...]
a terrible clo[ud ...]
To the young men [...]
to the maidens [...]
the a.-women [...]
Only you, Ištar [...]

[End of hymn lost. Walther estimated the gap between line 26 and the double rule marking the end of the hymn as ca. 17 lines.]

(§§8 ff. lost: about 17 lines to the end of the hymn.)

COMMENTARY

i 9: Instead of [GIM-an] (Archi) I restore [ma-a-an], the same word spelled out, because it fills the space better. Although the text uses GIM-an more often, the same tablet (same scribe, although the other text) has UR.MAḪ-aš GIM-an and *ḫuwanḫueššar ma-a-an* side by side in col. iii 24, 26.

10: [UR.SAG].MEŠ is free restoration based on the context and the space available.

11: SAL.MEŠ *ešinzi*, Luwian nom. pl., not known otherwise.— SAL.MEŠ KAR.KID, Akk. (sg.) *ḫarimtu*, Hitt. reading unknown. In the Hittite Laws (§194) the word occurs with its basic meaning “prostitute.” The KAR.KID, often in the plural and occasionally with a chief or overseer (GAL, UGULA), plays a role in the cult festivals; for details see H. Otten, ZA 53 (1959), 181 f. In none of these occurrences do they actually exercise their profession. The only hint is contained in a text which I called “An Initiation Rite for a Hittite Prince,” where after much eating and some drinking twelve SAL.MEŠ KAR.KID are brought into the presence of the prince.⁴ For a prostitute functioning in the cult the term “hierodule,” which is commonly used, is adequate; in our context it may simply be “prostitute.”

12 and 22: In contrast, the SAL.SUḪUR.LÁL (also SUḪUR.LÁL, i.e., LA₅ and LÁ, respectively) in the Hittite texts is not a hierodule. The definition as a kind

of prostitute given for *kezertu* by both the CAD and the AHw is based on late sources. For the Old Babylonian period, J. J. Finkelstein (YOS 13 [1972], 10 f.) only considered the possibility that *kezrētu* might have engaged in such activities. B. F. Batto (in 1974)⁵ flatly denied it; but M. L. Gallery⁶ argues that a certain married woman, among whose activities *ḫarimūtu* “prostitution” is mentioned in one OB document, was a *kezertu*, although she is not explicitly so designated. For the SUḪUR.LÁL in Hittite texts, a perusal of the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* files⁷ resulted in the following picture, supplementing and modifying the observations of J. Friedrich, SV 2, 155 f., 170 f.

(1) The S.L. plays no rôle in the cult.

(2) She belongs to the palace (Huqq. §§31, 32; *Dienstanw.* 16; KUB 14.4 iii 15). Since she is contrasted to “free” women in the first two occurrences, she must have been unfree. Nevertheless,

(3) a S.L. named Kuwattalla and designated as GEME of the king and queen received a very large estate from Arnuwanda I and Ašmunikal (ca. 1400 B.C.).⁸

5. B. F. Batto, *Studies on Women at Mari* 1974, 114 f. (I owe this reference to Jo Ann Scurlock, Chicago.) J. Renger, ZA 58 (1967), 188 does not even mention this condition.

6. M. L. Gallery, “Service Obligations of the *kezertu*-Women,” *Or.* 49 (1980), 333–338. (I owe this reference to S. Košak, Chicago.)

7. Begun by H. A. Hoffner, Jr., continued under a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

8. *KBo* 5.7, ed. K. K. Riemschneider, *MIO* 6 (1958), 344–355 as LS 1; her name is in rev. 47 f.

4. *IBoT* 1.29 rev. 46–56; see Güterbock in D. Sinor, ed., *American Oriental Society Middle West Branch Semicentennial Volume [Oriental Studies 3]* 1969, 99–103.

(4) A S.L. of the same name, presumably the same person, is the author or co-author of several Luwian purification rituals (references in Laroche, *NH* no. 662.2). In most of the cases she appears together with a certain Šilalluḫi (*NH* no. 1148), a ^{SAL}ŠU.GI, lit. “old woman” but in effect an exorcist.

(5) In some magic rituals the “tongue,” i.e., harmful speech, slander *vel sim.*, of the S.L. is exorcised with that of the palace attendant (DUMU.É.GAL), guardsman (*MEŠEDI*), *pašišu*-priest (^{LÚ}GUDÚ), priest (^{LÚ}SANGA) and priestess (^{SAL}AMA.DINGIR); here too she belongs to the personnel of the palace (*KUB* 9.34 i 31–32 and similar texts, cf. *CHD lala-* 4, esp. 4 b 3’).

(6) Deities can have S.L.s. In addition to our text there are these examples: [^{SAL}S]UḪUR.LÁL ^ḪÉ-bat (*KUB* 10.92 vi 7); the same goddess is kept from falling by her ^{SAL.MEŠ}SUḪUR.LÁL (*KUB* 33.106 = *Ull.* III A ii 9). Apart from our hymn Ištar also has them in *KUB* 39.93 obv. 5, a text with recitations in *babili*, one of which reads: *alikātu ša paniki ali[kātu ša arkiki]* ^{SAL.MEŠ}SUḪUR.LÁL-ki ^{SAL.MEŠ}KAR.KID-ki “Those who walk before you and those who wal[k behind you], your S.L.s and your hierodules.” There are 2 ^{SAL.MEŠ}SUḪUR.LÁL DINGIR-LIM “of the deity” in *KUB* 31.67 iv 9, where the deity probably is [Ištar of] Lawazantiya of line 8. In *KUB* 7.54 ii 19, however, the deity meant in the phrase ŠA DINGIR-LIM ^{SAL.MEŠ}SUḪUR.LÁL can only be the male god Yarri (16), most probably the counterpart to Erra.

(7) Rarely does a S.L. act in a magic ritual. In the *Ritual of Tunnawi* (*CTH* 409) ii 65–67 she uses nine combs to cleanse the EN.SISKUR over his whole body while he is bathing, but it is the ^{SAL}ŠU.GI who brings the combs and pronounces the spell. And in *KUB* 27.29 iii 5–7 the S.L. throws water over the EN.SISKUR.

As a result we can state that the S.L. is definitely not a hierodule in Hittite texts. She is an attendant, in the palace (where she is unfree), among gods, and also an attendant of the exorcist. Specifically in this case she is a helper in bathing a person. This function brings to mind the reliefs no. 37 and 36 at Yazılıkaya, where Ninatta carries an ointment horn and Kulitta, a mirror.^{8a} There we may call them “lady’s maids” (German: *Zofen*), but in general we shall translate S.L. as “attendant woman” or “lady attendant.”

12: ^ḪGAŠAN is simply another logogram for Ištar, as shown by the identical phonetic complement *-li-* used with both ^ḪGAŠAN and ^ḪIŠTAR. Cf. ^ḪIŠTAR-*li* (14) with ^ḪGAŠAN-*li* (24), both dat. in parallel clauses. Both writings represent the still unknown Hittite name of the

goddess; cf. also abl. ^ḪIŠTAR-*li-az(-za)* (i 40, 46) and ^ḪGAŠAN-*li-z[a]* (42), nom. *IŠTAR-iš* (i 51, ii 19). The use of the Hittite name of the goddess rather than of her Hurrian name, Šauška, side by side with her Hurrian attendants Ninatta, Kulitta, Šentalirte etc., has a parallel in the Hittite version of the Hurrian Kumarbi cycle; cf. *Kumarbi*, 96. I therefore use the name Ištar rather than Šauška in the translation.

14: Of the two alternative restorations of the first sign of the name as *ḫa* or *na* offered by von Brandenstein, *Bildbeschr.*, 33, I prefer *ḫa*, *ḫamrazunna*, because of the frequency of the element *ḫamrali-* in Hurrian; cf. Laroche, *Gloss. hourr.*, 91 f.

15: The restoration [*a-aš-ši*]-*ia-at-ta-ri* follows Götze, *AM* p. 262; for *a-aš-...* cf. i 38 f. For the construction with the dative see Sommer, *HAB*, 185, and *HW*², 401.

15 end: The sign as copied is *-ni* rather than *-ir*. The text writes *É-ir* (*per*) for the nom./acc. (i 14, 25) and *É-ri* (*peri*) for the dat.-loc. (25), but here *É-ni* (*parni*), the more frequent form of the dat.-loc.; probably a modernization by the copyist.

16: The restoration of the first sign and with it of the verbal stem is uncertain. Goetze refrained from restoring and translating. Wegner’s restoration is against the available space and results in a non-existing form. Archi’s restoration [*š*]*u-* is preferable, but “to fill” does not yield a satisfactory sense. I think of the verb *šuwaya-* “to look” although its (unattested) infinitive should be **šuwawayanzi* rather than **šuwauwanzi*. But given the known mixing of similar verbs by the scribes (cf. Oettinger, *Stammbildung*, 269 ff.) our interpretation seems possible.

16: For KIN-*an* = *aniyan* see *HW*², 88 r.; for the spelling of the simple verb *aniya-* with single *n*, of its iter.-dur. with double *n* see *HW*², 87 r.; *anniški-* with “house” as object was translated “besorgen” by Goetze (*AM*, 262), a definition which does not appear in *HW*²; presumably it is subsumed there under “behandeln” (p. 87 sub II 2 our passage is not translated). I chose “to care for” as suiting the context best.

17: For *ḫalwamnaz* see Otten apud *HW* 3. *Erg.*, 13.

19 f.: *ḫantair* has been taken in the sense of “vermählen,” i.e., “to marry off, give into marriage” by the previous interpreters. But this translation does not really fit the context: why should the sons of the house have to be married in order to till the fields? Also the contrasting statements in lines 27–32 point into a different direction. Decisive for our passage are two catalog entries: *KUB* 30.56 iii 10–11 *mān UN-ši* İR.MEŠ-ŠU GEME.M[EŠ-ŠU-ya UL] S1XŠA-*anzi* (i.e. *ḫandanzi*) *našma* LÚ-LUM SAL-TUM-ya UL *ḫandanzi*, which Laroche, *CTH*, 182, translates: “Quand pour une personne ses serviteurs et ses servantes [ne] s’entendent [pas], ou bien qu’un homme et sa femme ne s’accordent

8a. Gallery, loc. cit. (n. 6), 338 with n. 22, cites Finkelstein’s suggestion of 1973 that the *kezertu* was a hairdresser. This would fit the reliefs very well and encourages me to interpret the hieroglyph of no. 36, Kulitta (Laroche, *HH*, sign no. 158), as representing curls.

pas"; *KUB* 30.45 iii 6–9 with dupl. 44 iii(?) 2–5, *CTH*, 160 f. as lines 14–17 of the composite text and the translation "ne sont pas d'accord." Cf. also (I took Puduḥepa for my wife) *nu handawen* Ḫatt. iii 2, which Otten, *StBoT* 24, 17, translates "wir hielten zusammen." This is a good rendering; "we understood each other, were in harmony, had good relations" would also fit. In these passages *handāi-* is intransitive, whereas in line 19 of our text ^{SAL}MEŠÉ.GE₄.A-*uš* is the accus. pl. form. Since, however, DUMU.MEŠ É-TI (20) and ^{LÚ}MEŠATHUTIM (30) can be both nom. and acc., while ^{SAL}É[.GE₄.A...] (27) is incomplete, and since in the plural improper use of the *-ēš* and *-uš* forms is frequent, I follow the examples cited in taking the verb as intransitive with "brides" as subject. This has the advantage of avoiding change of subject.

29: The restoration proposed by Archi, *ḫa-an-t[a-an-zi Ú-UL nu TÚG-an]*, which would give a good sense also with our interpretation of the verb, seems to be too long for the available space. I therefore propose a shorter restoration yielding the same sense. The participle *handant-*, attested with meanings like "corresponding to, aligned with" *et sim.*, may also serve as participle to the intrans. use assumed here.

32: For *ḫalluwanuer* see Goetze, *JAOS* 74 (1954), 188 (*HW* 1. *Erg.*, 3). Still, the causative form here is difficult. In the Gilgamesh Epic (Otten, *Ist. Mitt.* 8, 114, line 15, to be restored after *Madd.*, 82 n. 1) Gilgamesh and Enkidu "incite" Huwawa "to violence"; but in our text we expect the young men to *be* violent, unless, of course, we assume that here the goddesses are the subject. Since the end of the line is broken, one might think of restoring a *-za* for a reciprocal meaning.⁹

33: In [o]x-al-lu-u-wa-ar I can only think of restoring [m]a- which fits the preserved traces. That the neglect of plowing would lead to curtailment of grinding grain fits the context. There is space for one more sign, for which I propose ŠE.

34: The restoration [Š]AḪ rather than [n]ir as in line 36 is based on the fact that the line seems to contain a simile: "Just as the dog ..." (With Archi's restoration GIM[-an tar-n]ir I cannot construe the rest of the line). *ḫa-an-ta[-...]* brings to mind the verb discussed above, although here it seems to be transitive, since there is no "and" after ŠAḪ. But since the next lines are so fragmentary and difficult to understand, it is not clear where such a simile would lead.

35: The traces after NINDA do not support Archi's reading NINDA.ḫ̄ḫ̄-[E.DÉ]ḫ̄.A?; the first sign looks rather like KASKAL; cf. NINDA.KASKAL-NI *KBo* 2.17:2 (ŠL 597, 184). I cannot restore the next few signs. With

the "basalt" the grindstone could be meant. After *kunkunuzzi[n]* there is space for another word. "Let into the water" is used in magical and medical rituals for immersing and thereby dissolving materials in water. This cannot apply to the stone, so the whole remains rather enigmatic. Maybe the GIM-an of 36 should be taken as the temporal conjunction "when": "When they let (pret.) [the ... (35)] into the water... ." After *na[...]* in 36 there is more space than for only the enclitic pronoun *-aš* or *-an* or *-at*. If the lost word was the object, then it would have to be *na[-at ...]* "and they ..." "And they destroyed [...] completely."

39 and 41 f.: One expects the phrase beginning with ZAG to be the same in both places. I therefore restore ZAG[-aš]-ša-an in 39 and ZAG-aš[-ša-an] in 41, as did Wegner; the last sign in 41, as copied by Walther, can only be *aš*, not *na*. Besides, ZAG-aš-ša-an occurs *KUB* 31.125:7, followed by a trace that may be the beginning of *ar*, corresponding to *arnu-* in our text. The form is *kunna* (allative) "to the right" plus *-šan*. For the occurrence of this particle in the interior of a sentence see Carruba, *Part.*¹⁰ p. 20. ZAG-aš-ša-pát *KUB* 21.27 ii 32 could be either mistake for ZAG-aš-ša-an-pát or contain the possessive pronoun *-ša*, "to his/its right."

ZAG-na is used as adverb. The right side being the propitious one, ZAG-na designates what is agreeable to someone, suits him, etc. Cf. *nuttakkan kuit ZAG-na nu apāt uppi* "send whatever you please" *KBo* 2.11 rev. 14 (*AU* 242); *mān tukma UL ZAG-na nu ANA ḫUTU-ŠI ḫatrāi* "if it does not suit you write to His Majesty" Kup. §19 D iv 3 f. (*SV* 1 p. 132); "Let them unload (the grain shipments) in Ura or in Laštiš[a] *kuedani URU-ri ANA DUMU-YA ZAG-na(!, copy -uš) [na]n apiya katta i[šḫuwandu]* In whichever city it suits you, my son, [let them] un[load] it there" (*Bo* 2810:14–17, H. Klengel, *AOF* 1 [1974], 171–73). In our text, ZAG-na *arnu-* "to bring/carry to the right," with *aššiyatar* "love" as object,¹¹ would be "carry it to a state where it is pleasing or satisfying"; for the translation of our passages I chose "carry to fulfillment." In line 39 I restored the verb as 3d. pl. pres. in order to make the construction parallel to 41 f., with *-šmaš* (39) corresponding to *-za* (41). One could also think of restoring *ar[nuši]* "you (Ištar) carry the love for them to fulfillment," but that would weaken the parallelism and be redundant in view of the next clause "that has been decreed by you, Ištar."

41: *pupuwalāi-, pupuwalatar:* Wegner, *op. cit.*, p. 142, came close to the right understanding. The basic stem ^{LÚ}*pupu-* (or *bubu-*) occurs in the Laws, §198. This

9. But the form *ḫalluwanut*, *KUB* 24.7 iii 26 (Cow story, same tablet!) must be "lowered" as given in *HW* after Sommer, *HAB* 76. There seem to be two unrelated homonyms.

10. O. Carruba, *Die satzeinleitenden Partikeln in den indogermanischen Sprachen Anatoliens* [Incunabula Graeca 32], 1969.

11. Both Archi and Wegner took it as subject, which would result in intransitive use of *arnu-*, not registered in *HW*². I could not find our passage in *HW*² at all.

is the man with whom a married woman committed adultery in her house. Goetze (*ANET*, 196) translated “adulterer,” Friedrich (*HG*, 87) “Buhle.” In *KUB* 43.35:12 ^{L0}*pupuš aššuš* occurs in broken context which belongs in the forensic sphere but leaves us to guess what the adjective “good” is doing here. An abstract noun directly derived from this noun is ^{L0}*pupuwatar*, in *HW* 1.Erg., 16, without reference, now *KBo* 9.73 obv. 6, the Old Hittite Ḫabiru treaty (*CTH* 27): [... *w]aštai nu* ^{L0}*pupuwatar izzi* “sins and commits *p.*,” here perhaps “fornication” in general rather than “adultery.”

In our passage *pupuwatar*, abstract noun derived from the verb *pupuwalāi-*, has a positive connotation. I think that the term refers to all kinds of love affairs other than marriage; for translation I chose “to seduce, seduction.”¹² In the oracle questions *KUB* 49.94 obv. 2–14, where someone, presumably the king (cf. line 4), “was determined by oracle with regard to the word/affair of *pupuwatar*” (3) and where someone (again the king?) has to perform a *SISKUR pupuwalannaš* “a ritual of/against *p.*” (11), the connotation is obviously one of reproach, regardless of whether the king had actually had an affair or whether there had only been some gossip of that sort.¹³

40: For the restoration [*t*]a-ra-a-an cf. *KUB* 14.4 iii 24, *KBo* 10.7 ii 18, etc.

40 end: My restoration SAL-n[a-an ku-iš] is based on my understanding of *pupuwalāi*. The traces given by Walther, while not exactly suggesting the reading SAL-n[a-...], at least are not excluding it (not collated).

43: Ḫ.DÜG.GA must have been preceded by a word at the end of 42, after restored [*tarān*]; *waštari* after E. Neu, *StBoT* 5, 192 (:)*waš(š)*- “angenehm sein” with n. 3 about our passage.

43 and 45: In restoring [*ku-iš*] and *ka-a[-ri-ia-ši]* I follow Archi. This latter restoration together with *UL kuitki iš-d[am-...]* (47) seems to mean that Ištar somehow prevents someone — perhaps the townspeople (44) — from noticing the lovers. This leads me to my restoration and understanding of the first word in line 45.

12. Archi correctly distinguishes between this paragraph, where the verb has a positive connotation (but where his rendering “adorare, adorazione” is, to my mind, not specific enough) and the next paragraph, where it is negative and where his translation “infedeltà” is appropriate. But I am not sure that this necessitates to restore **pupuwa[tar]* instead of *pupuwa[atar]*.

13. In the prayer of Hattušili and Puduhepa, *KUB* 21.27 ii 32 (cf. above under ZAG, i 39) cited by Wegner, 142, the restoration of [*pupu*]lawatar is uncertain because of the trace of a vertical at the end of the gap which is also too long for [*pu-pu-*] alone, while a spelling **[pu-pu-ū]*-... is not otherwise attested; nor do the traces in the next line fit a form of *arnu-*.

45: [*ga*]laktaraši, 2d sg. pres. For the first sign I can only think of *ga*, since I know of no other word continuing with *-laktar-*... . A noun *galaktar* is known. It designates something that is usually deposited in incantation rituals together with other objects, most frequently with *parḫuena-*. Otten, *ZA* 46, 218, n. 1, defined both words as “angenehme, süsse Produkte pflanzlicher Art.” In some instances these substances are expected to have the effect that the deity be *galankanza* (partic. pass.) “pacified, reconciled” *vel sim*. It is assumed that the verb and the plant (product) are connected at least by the magic of the assonance, if not by etymology. There is one passage where *galaktar* is inserted or stuck into some vessel.¹⁴ Thus *g.* itself is a plant, apparently one with a stem. In our passage the verb denominated from *g.* has the result, outlined above, that the lovers are not noticed.

A plant with a stem and having this effect may be the poppy, which is at home in Anatolia. I leave it open whether the Hittites extracted the sap or only used the seeds. It is tempting to connect Hitt. *galaktar* with Greek *gála*, *gálaktos* etc., Latin *lac*, *lactis*, but I must leave it to the specialists to judge this connection. The milky sap of the poppy might be the link. However, there is another word for “milk” in Hittite, *pankur* (if this tentative definition of mine is correct; *HW* 3.Erg., 25).¹⁵ And according to W. Farber¹⁶ there is no evidence for the use of the poppy or of opium in ancient Mesopotamia. Thus I refrain from positing *galaktar* “poppy,” but I think that the context allows for the interpretation expressed in the translation.

51: I can only make sense out of the signs following *iš-ḫu-u-wa-* by inserting an omitted *-an* and restoring *ḫar-ti*. The object of the verb is lost.

52: For *marlatar* see *HW* 3.Erg., 23; for *pu-pu-wa[-...]* see above. In view of the bad state of preservation of these lines the translation can only be tentative.

56: Here begins a new paragraph. Given the small size of the gap at the end of col. i it is probable that the beginning of col. ii still belongs to the same. Since Ištar is addressed in col. ii it is assumed here that her name was the object to “I shall sing of” (*[iš-ḫa-m]i-iš-ki-mi* with Archi).

ii 1: The restoration [*wa-aš*]-*ta-aš-ku-wa-ar* is based on the fact that according to the *Glossaire inverse*

14. *KBo* 22.225 ii² 5–7 with dupl. *Bo* 2646 iii 2–4 (Otten, HTR, 121 with obsolete translation); cf. *KBo* 22 p. vi.

15. Not to speak of *GA-uš* *KUB* 28.70 rev. 12, which could be a mistake for *GUD-uš*.

16. Walter Farber, “Drogen im alten Mesopotamien — Sumerer und Akkader,” in G. Völger, ed., *Rausch und Realität: Drogen im Kulturvergleich* (Materialienband zu einer Ausstellung des ... Museums für Völkerkunde der Stadt Köln. Cologne, 1981), 270 ff., 271; courtesy of the author.

of P. Reichert¹⁷ this is the only verb that fits the preserved syllables, also because the following lines indeed describe the misdeeds of the goddess.

2: The first sign, *aš*, could be the ending of a 2d sg. pret., but I am unable to restore the verb.

3: Beginning of line restored in parallelism to the following *kuinmakan LÚ-an*.

3 end: The last sign is *na* rather than anything else, and according to the copy nothing is missing after it. This recalls the phrase ZAG-*na arnu-* of i 39 ff., and [*ar-nu*]-[*ur*]¹ fits the space and the trace at the beginning of line 4. It is true that this, in contrast to the list of her misdeeds, would be a positive act of the goddess, but this has a parallel in line 11.

6: The last two words are *hapax legomena*. I would analyze the first as *ešarašilaš+šmaš*, gen. pl. with poss. pron. of 3d. pl.¹⁸

8 beg.: The traces look like *IT-IT*¹ (thus also Archi), followed by traces which could belong to NUMUN. At least, “coriander with (its) seed(s)” would make sense.

9: ... [*aš-ma*]- is the only restoration I can think of that fits the space and the trace and yields some sense. TÚG.NÍG.LÁM must be neuter according to the adj. *parkuwaya*. The restored reading would be neuter plur. ending *-a+šmaš+za*; *-šmaš* would refer to the men, since the following *kuin* — *kuin* presupposes a plurality.

10: Although *parkun*, strictly speaking, is from *parku-* “high,” the context here calls for *parkui-* “clean, pure.” Mixing of the two adjectives is easy to assume; it would be the mistake of a scribe who thought of the verb *parganu-* “to make high” of the next line. Archi also has “pure.”¹⁹

12-14: These lines are very difficult. *wetandaš* looks like the participle of *weda-* “to build” or perhaps *wida-* “to bring,” but neither of them fits the context. Because of *lahḫu-* in 13 one thinks of water, but *wetandaš* is not a form of *watar*, *wetenaš*. However, there is a derived *-ant-* stem attested as *ú-i-te-na-an-za*

(nom. sg.)²⁰ and *ú-i-te-na-an-te-eš* (nom. pl.),²¹ and there is a short stem *wit(a)-* (HW, 255). Thus it is conceivable that an *-ant-* stem existed also from this short stem and that our form was the dat.-loc. pl. of that.

In line 13 one might read A as logogram “water.” Since the pronoun *-aš* “he” has to follow *-ma*, not to precede it, the *-aš* here would have to be phonetic complement to A, for *wetenaš* or the hypothetical *wetandaš*. But a reading *a-aš-ma* “first” is not excluded either; cf. HW, 36 and HW², 425.

14 beg.: Since there is no quoted speech with *-wa(r)-* in this whole text, one has to separate *nu* from the following. The traces and the somehow “watery” context lead to a restoration *wa-a[t-ta-r]u*. The following word must be an iter.-dur. form, regardless of whether it is meant to be KÚ (as written) or rather NAG (with an easy mistake): *azzikizzi* or *akkuškizzi*, not *ezzazzi* or *ekuzi*, respectively.

If all these hypotheses were correct, they would result in something like this: “But another one you lead out to his own waters(?), but when he pours into the waters (or: when he first pours?) he keeps drinking(?) the foun[tain].” And what would be meant by this?

15 f.: After the plural LÚ.MEŠ-*uš* of 14 the text here returns to the singular, *-ši* “to him/her.” This pronoun probably refers to a man, not to Ištar, who is here addressed in the 2d person: *GUL-ki-š[i]* (again iter.-dur., *walḫeškiši*). The first verb in 16 was restored to *ta-ru-l-up-pa-an-zi* by both Archi and Wegner. Indeed the traces given by Walther point in this direction, and if the verb were only *uppanzi* “they send” I would be unable to explain the traces before it. Since *tarup-* is transitive, MÁŠ.TUR.ḪI.A should be object; the 3d. pers. pl. then stands for the general subject “they” in the sense of German *man*, French *on*. This would result in a translation “When they gather the kids for him, you keep hitting/beat after wards(? or: from behind?).” EGIR-*anda* (*appanda*) normally means “afterwards, thereafter,” but cf. HW², pp. 148 ff., *appa*³, sections III and VI. — The translation adopted is another attempt to understand the sentence.

18: *puntarriyalış* was translated “ostinato” by Archi, who already referred to the vocabulary entry *KBo* 1.50 + *KUB* 3.99, lines 11–12:²²

g ú. [o o] x a [o ?] = [o o]-ku = *pu-un-tar-ia-u-wa-ar*
g ú. e. l a . a . e = [o-o-ku] šá ANŠE = ANŠE-*aš pu-un-ta-ri-ia*
[-u-wa-ar]

17. Pierre Reichert, *Glossaire inverse de la langue hittite* = *RHA* 21/73 (1963), 59–143; 108.

18. For *arišand[a(-) ...]* see HW², 299 with reference to *areša-*, 259. This cross-reference need not imply morphological or semantic connection.

19. It has been claimed that *parkui-* originally is the IE feminine in *-i* from an adjective **parku-* “clean,” and that the *-i* was retained in order to distinguish this adj. from its homonym *parku-* “high.” See O. Szemerényi in *Studi linguistici in onore di Vittore Pisani*, vol. 2, 1969, 991 f. with references to Holger Pedersen, *Hittitisch und die anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen*, 1938, 35 f., and H. Kronasser, *Etymologie der heth. Sprache*, 1962–66, 107. If this were correct, *parkun* could be an archaic masculine form here, as tentatively suggested by Eric P. Hamp orally.

20. *KBo* 10.45 ii 24 (Otten, *ZA* 54, 122); cf. *ibid.* 156 ad *KUB* 41.8 iv 37 = 139 n. 242, where, however, the restoration [ú-*e*][*-te-na-z*]a, variant to A-*az*, and the interpretation as nom. sg. are not certain. The central piece of *KUB* 41.8 iv 36–42 is now (1982) missing, so the width of the gap cannot be ascertained.

21. *KUB* 32.121 ii 28 (Laroche, *RA* 48, 48)

22. To be published in *MSL* 17 as *Erim-ḫuš* Bogh. C.

“To be stubborn,” “the stubbornness of an ass” are obvious translations. Our text has an adj. in *-ali-* derived from it. The clause is a nominal clause with *-za*; it therefore has to be understood with the pronoun of the 2d person as subject.²³

25: For ^{SAL.ME5}*al-la-wa-an*[-...] see *HW*², 57. *KUB* 45.43 ii 5–7 cited there has *ehu* ^a*IŠTAR* ^{URU}*x-x*[-...] *IŠTU É al-la-wa-an*[-...] *kalmušaza IŠTU É*[-...](end of paragraph). “Come, O Ištar, from(?) the town of [...]; from the *a*-building [...], but from the house [of the king(?) get] the lituus.” The word is not listed in Laroche’s *Gloss. hourr*.

LITERARY ANALYSIS

It is immediately obvious that the text has a certain structure. “I shall praise the first attendants” (i 12, §2) and “I shall praise the last attendants” (i 22, §3) form a pair, as do “The husband and wife who love each other” (i 38, §4) and “If a woman is hated by her husband” (i 48, §5). As is the case with most Hittite literary compositions, the text is written as if it were prose, without attention to poetic ‘lines’ or stichoi.²⁴ When I was editing “The Song of Ullikummi” in *JCS* 5-6 (1951–52) the editor, Albrecht Goetze, kindly allowed me to render the text twice, once in the traditional transliteration following the lines of the tablet (i.e., the tablet chosen as main manuscript) and once in ‘broad transcription’ arranged according to syntactic units (clauses) which could be assumed to coincide with the poetic ‘lines’ (cf. *JCS* 5, 141 f.). In the present case, it seems best still to transliterate the text according to the lines of the original, so as to facilitate comparison with the cuneiform copy and also to give the reader an idea of the space available in broken passages. In contrast, I arrange the translation according to the clauses supposed to be verses. In order not to clutter it I enter only a few of the original line numbers, hoping that they will enable the reader to compare the translation with the text without too much difficulty.

As will be seen from my arrangement of the lines some clauses can be combined with others to form larger units or sentences; in terms of verses, these form distichs or tristichs. In broken passages the arrangement of such units is uncertain, with the result that the distribution chosen here is by necessity arbitrary to a certain

extent. Where syntactic units are very short two of them may have formed a single ‘verse.’

As far as the inner structure of the stanzas or strophes (here numbered as §§) is concerned, a fair amount of parallel structure can be observed in the two pairs mentioned above, §§2 and 3, §§4 and 5.

Thus in §§2 and 3 the introduction “I shall praise” forms a distich with the list of four divine names. This is followed by another distich, “Whatever household is beloved/hated, she sends these/those into that house.” Thereafter, however, the two distichs of §2 ending with the words “with laughter” and “with joy” are contrasted in §3 by a single line combining “groaning” and “anguish” in one sentence. Then again §2 has one distich each for the girls’ weaving and the youths’ plowing, whereas §3 devotes a tristich to the girls and two distichs to the youths. After this come the enigmatic lines 34–37 of the text, where both the division into clauses and the translation are problematic; but in any case these lines form an addition over and above the parallel parts — if the term be allowed, a coda.

In the second pair of stanzas (§§4 and 5) the comparison is made difficult by the bad state of preservation of §5. Both speak of married couples first, of other relations second. In §4 the structure is fairly regular: one tristich each for the married couple and the other lovers; then, after an incomplete and unclear line (43), another tristich on Ištar’s help for the lovers. In §5 I wrote the translation in five distichs, but they include a short clause that is lost and other short clauses that may have to be combined with the next one. But while the exact wording and verse structure are problematic, the sequence: married couple — extramarital relations — consequences of the latter, is parallel to that of §4.

It is a pity that §§1, 6, and 7 are incomplete. In §1 it would seem that five preserved original lines (7–11) and six lost lines preceding them would have formed one, rather than two, stanzas.

Above we proposed to take the entire text from col. i 56 to ii 17 as one stanza (§6). But even if this were wrong, i.e., if the end of col. i (three preserved plus five lost lines) were a stanza by itself, the paragraph from ii 1 to 17 would still be longer than any of the others. And of §7 only the first sentence, or stich, is preserved; otherwise only unconnected words at the beginning of lines; only the length, nine lines on the tablet, is given.

About the inner structure of §6 I need not say much beyond what is expressed by the arrangement of the translation. The one feature that stands out are the sequences of *kuin* — *kuinma* “the one — the other” clauses, from time to time interrupted by a general statement. These *kuin* — *kuinma* chains are comparable to those with *kuez* — *kuezza* “on one side — on the other side” of §1.

23. H. A. Hoffner, Jr., “On the Use of Hittite *-za* in Nominal Sentences,” *JNES* 28 (1969), 225–30.

24. One exception is the Hittite version of “The Great Prayer to Ištar” (E. Reiner and H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 21 [1967], 255–66), *KUB* 31.141, where each written line is a stichos. Note the line numbers of the Hittite version, Hi (1) etc. on pp. 257 ff., and cf. p. 265.

Concerning the contents, the structure of the text is clear — as far as preserved. §1 seems to deal with Ištar the Warrior. If understood correctly it describes those who follow her into battle. In this context the two kinds of women in the last line might be camp followers (German: *Marketenderinnen*) and prostitutes.

In §§2–3 the consequences of Ištar's favor and disfavor is described as it affects whole households; in §§4–5, as it affects individuals. In §§4–5 one may say that it is the mutual love, or the lack of it, of a married couple that determines Ištar's attitude. In §§2–3, on the other hand, we do not learn why one household is loved and the other hated by the goddess.

§6 is the most surprising part of the whole composition. It is a long list of invectives, reminiscent of the sixth tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic, although different in detail. Not every single point is negative, though: we found that probably two statements give credit to the goddess (ii 3–4 *ZAG-na a[rnut]* and 11 *parganut*). They would underline the unpredictability of the goddess, also known from Mesopotamia,²⁵ but the overall tenor

of the stanza is to show her cruelty. This cruelty or dangerousness of the Goddess of Love is, of course, an essential part of her nature; in singing about it the poet, in a sense, praises her might.

One would like to know what §7 really contained. The comparison of the goddess with a stubborn ass at its beginning lets one expect a lighter tone, but nothing is preserved that would hint at such a tone. And after §7 there must have been at least one more stanza, to judge by Walther's estimate of a minimum of 16 and a maximum of 20 lines missing.

Even in this incomplete form this text is a piece of poetry of high quality. In the form in which it has come down to us it is the work of a Hittite writer. How close he followed a Hurrian original we shall only learn if and when such a Hurrian text is discovered. Ultimately one of course looks for Mesopotamian models. I hope that Sam Kramer, the rediscoverer of Sumerian literature, will be able one time to tell us about that.

25. This side of her character has been illustrated by selections from many sources in the chapter "Inanna = Infinite Variety," by Thorkild Jacobsen in his book *The Treasures of Darkness*, 1976, 135–43.

8

THE HITTITE PALACE*

Just as in other countries so also in texts of the Hittite kingdom the logogram É.GAL, with Akkadian complements *ekallum*, *ekallim*, *ekallam*, designates the “palace” both as a building and an institution. But before going into detail let me dispose of two other terms that have to be kept apart.

One is É.LUGAL, literally “house of the king,” which never means “palace” but either “royal house” in the sense of “royal family” or “estate of the king.” An example for the former meaning is the INIM É.LUGAL from which Ištar protected Ḫattušili; the latter occurs in the annals when a distinction is made between the booty brought home by the “people of Hatti” and that taken by the king to the É.LUGAL, for which he sometimes says É-IA “my estate.”¹

The other term which I would keep apart from É.GAL = *ekallu* is one written É-TIM GAL (in all occurrences genitive): the complement points to a reading *bītim rabīm*, literally “great house,” which I interpret — at least in some cases — as referring to the Great Temple of Boğazköy. One festival text mentions the Stormgod *ša bīti rabī* several times, and another describes the festival of the *bītu rabū* during which the Stormgod *ša bīti rabī* is worshipped together with other deities.² The “great house” is the source of offering ma-

terials in the XIIIth tablet of the EZEN *ḫišuwaš*.³ Some passages where I am not sure whether one should take the signs É and GAL as *ekallu* or as *bītu rabū* may be left aside here.⁴

It is hardly necessary to adduce evidence for the use of É.GAL referring to the “palace” as an institution, comparable to such modern terms as “the crown” or “the fiscus.” Well known are some passages in the Laws:

“Formerly they used to pay 6 šeqels of silver: the claimant got 3 šeqels, and they used to take 3 šeqels for the palace. Now the king has abolished the share of the palace, so that only the claimant gets 3 šeqels.” (§9; cf. §25).

In §41 fields under certain circumstances revert “to the palace.” §47a deals with fields received as “gift of the king.” According to the older version of the Laws these fields are free of feudal duties, but in the new version (§ XXXIXa) the exemption is no longer automatic but depends on whether “he is freed by the palace.” In a treaty the phrase *INA É.GAL-LIM danzi* means “they confiscate,” and the Ḫukkana treaty speaks of the law, or rule (*šaklaiš*), of the palace.⁵

These examples for the use of É.GAL for the institution may suffice here. If it seems strange that the

*Reprinted from *Le palais et la royauté* (XIX^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, 1971), P. Garelli, ed. (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1974), pp. 305–314, with the permission of Paul Geuthner.

1. Ḫattušili i 56; AM p. 56, Zehnj. ii 41 and Ausf. iii 50 (here É-IA) and passim (cf. index); KBo V 6 iii 42 (JCS X 95).
2. KBo XIX 128, colophon and ii 17, etc.; cf. Actes de la XVII^e R.A.I., 180; KBo IV 13 ii 18 etc. (DU É-TIM GAL-LIM *ibid.* iv 4 must be mistake).— The edition of KBo XIX 128 by H. Otten, *Ein heth. Festrival* (StBoT 13, 1971) reached me in June of 1971 after the completion of this paper. In this printed version I have left the text of the paper unchanged while discussing in the footnotes those points where my interpretation differs from Otten's. — The close similarity of KBo XIX 128 and KBo IV 13 is duly stressed by Otten, pp. 27 ff. — I cannot follow him (pp. 22 f.) in his assumption that É-TIM GAL be only a graphic variant of É.GAL = *ekallu*. In LÚ/DUMU.MEŠ.É. GAL-TIM the TIM only represents the well-known Hittite use of this sign as a plural marker regardless of the real Akkadian form; it has

nothing to do with the TIM in É-TIM GAL. The existence of a DU É.GAL (*op. cit.* p. 22 from KBo XVII 79, 3), even if it means “Stormgod of the Palace,” does not imply that DU É-TIM GAL is the same.

3. KBo XV 37 i 58 f. For this festival cf. Actes, *ibid.* 179 f., and Laroche, *Catalogue des Textes Hittites* (CTH, 1971) No. 628.
4. “The great house of Ḫupišna” (KUB XXV 30 i 7; Oriens XV, 1962, 345 f.; cf. Otten's note 17) could be the main temple in that city, while the “three great houses” (É.MEŠ GAL) of Nenašša, [Tuwanuwa], and Ḫupišna providing food and drink for the twelfth day of the *nuntarriyašhaš* festival in ḪARRANA (KUB X 48 ii 3–8; JNES XX, 1961, 89) could be temples or any other kind of establishments. I agree with Otten that not all occurrences of É-TIM GAL refer to one and the same temple, but I maintain that those in KBo XIX 128 most probably refer to the Great Temple in whose precinct the tablet was found.
5. Friedrich, *Staatsvertr.* I 114, Kup. C 17; Ḫuqq. (Friedrich II 122) KBo V 12 iii 4 + KUB XXVI 38 iii 19.

Hittites should have distinguished between the “palace” as “fiscus” and the “house of the king” as his “private estate,” I can only say that the distinction between É.GAL and É.LUGAL is in the texts and that I know of no example where one is used in the sense of the other.

The Laws also mention the palace as a building, e.g. in §126 which deals with the theft of “a bronze spear at the gate of the palace” (*INA KÁ É.GAL*). And in §§198 and 199 the *KÁ É.GAL* is the place where the king decides criminal cases.

We have a ritual for the erection of a new palace (KUB XXIX 1; ANET 357 f.), written in an archaic language and with a fragment of a duplicate in old script (XXIX 3). While the beginning, where the building would have been introduced, is broken, there is a reference to it later in the text (col. iii 13): “When he builds a palace (É.GAL-*LAM*) anywhere in a town.” This is followed by a statement that the offerings are provided *IŠTU É.GAL-LIM* (line 15 and thereafter). Here, then, the two meanings of *ekallu* appear in the same context. In the formulae spoken during the ritual, however, the new building is referred to simply as “house” (*pir, parna-*), once (ii 12) apparently as “house of the king” (*LUGAL-wa-aš pár-na*).⁶

There were several buildings called “palace,” both in various towns as envisaged by this old ritual, and inside the capital city. In the XIIIth tablet of the EZEN *hišuwāš* the following establishments are mentioned: in a duplicate preceding the main text by only a few lines⁷ we find the king in the É *huḫḫaš* “the house of the grandfather(s)”; a few lines later (KBo XV 37 i 7) offering material is brought from the É.GAL *huḫḫaš* “the palace of the grandfather(s),” probably the same building. We already noted that the “Great House” is mentioned in a similar passage of the same text (i 58), and later on (iii 34 and 66) the É.GAL SAL.LUGAL “palace of the queen” has the same function.

In the outline of the Spring Festival certain rites are performed in the É.SAL.LUGAL, literally “house of the queen,” which, again, is likely to be the same as her palace.⁸

So far we have only considered occurrences of the logogram É.GAL. How was it read in Hittite? We do not know.⁹ But I think there is a Hittite word which means “palace.” This is *ḫalentuwa-*. Mrs. Jakob-Rost came very close to my understanding by defining the word as “Wohnpalast”¹⁰ “in contrast to the official parts of the palace.” My own feeling is that it refers to the palace as a whole, as we shall see. I only know passages where it designates the physical palace, the building, not the institution. If *ḫalentuwa* were a “reading” of É.GAL (for which there is no direct evidence) then it might be a reading of the logogram in only one of its two semantic ranges: “palace” as building, while the Hittite word for “palace” as institution might be different. But this remains speculation.

Be that as it may, the word *ḫalentuwa* deserves some attention. It is usually written with the determinative É and declined as plural: acc. *ḫalentuwa*,¹¹ dat.-loc. *ḫalentuwaš*; rarely as singular, acc. *ḫalentu* (KUB VII 25 i 1), dat.-loc. *ḫalentuwa* (KUB X 18 i 28, vi 17; XXV 14 i 19; KBo X 24 iv 8); genitive in *-aš* and ablative in *-az* may be either singular or plural (a fortiori rather the latter).

Spellings with the sign *-en-* and additional *-u-* are by far in the majority. Rare spellings are:

- É^h*ha-li-in-du-wa* (nom.) KUB XIX 9 ii 19;
- É^h*ha-li-in-du-wa-aš* (gen.) KUB XXX 34 iv 2 (cf. n. 11);
- É^h*ha-li-tu-wa*[-...], *ḫa-li-tu-u-i* (dat.-loc.) 570/t 3 f.;
- ŠÀ É^h*ha-li-tu-aš* KBo XI 32, 17.

A form in *-iu-* is also attested:

- É^h*ha-le-en-ti-u* 665/u, 7;
- [É^h?*h*]*ha-li-ti-u-i* KBo IV 13 v 19 f.¹²

There even is a pseudo-sumerogram:

- É.ḪA.LIM.DU₃.A (signs É.ḪA.ŠI.GAB.A) Bo 6119, 11.*

The word makes the impression of being of Hattic origin. It seems to belong together with such words as *ḫalmašuit-* from Hattic *ḫanwašuit* which contains the Hattic local prefix *ḫa-*: “place to sit” = “throne.” In the

6. Cf. Sommer, HAB 111, for the possibility that É.GAL-*ni* (KUB XX 88 rev. 7) may represent simple *parni*. But also the still enigmatic [...]*x-an-na-pár-na* of Law §25 (KBo VI 2 i 58), which stands where É.GAL is expected (cf. Friedrich, Heth. Ges. p. 93), could be the Hittite word for «palace» (a composite with «house») underlying this É.GAL-*ni*.

7. 1252/v rev. 10, dupl. of KUB XX 52 + KBo IX 123 iv 19 (17); cf. Actes, loc. cit., p. 180, footnote, sub i.

8. KBo X 20 ii 3-7, JNES XIX 1960, 81. Whether the É.GAL ^{L0}ABUBITI (ibid. p. 7, 41) is a “palace” or a “great house” of the intendant (CAD, A/1, 76) is hard to decide; cf. the passages in p. 306 n. 4. Note É ^{L0}ABUBITI and DINGIR. MEŠ ABUBITI in KUB X 48 ii 21 f. with duplicate.

9. Cf. n. 6 for É.GAL-*ni*. There may, of course, have been more than one Hittite term behind the ideogram É.GAL.

10. MIO XI, 1966, 204 f.: “... möchte ich hier ‘Wohnpalast’ vorschlagen, im Gegensatz zu den offiziellen Räumlichkeiten im Palast.”

11. É^h*ha-le-en-tu-u-wa-aš* KUB XI 35 i 8 for the accus. (*ḫaššanzi*) is shown to be a mistake by the duplicate, VBoT 129, 5; similarly in KUB XXX 34 iv 4 the *-aš* is a mistake attracted by the gen. in line 2.

12. According to Otten, op. cit. 20, this is the older form. He also gives more examples. Add É^h*halentiwi* (dat.-loc.) Bo 6271, quoted by E. Neu, StBoT 5, 1968, 37, and É^h*ha-le-en*[-i-...] KBo IX 136 i 3.

*[My old mis-reading; the full passage should now be read: NÍG.ŠU.LUḫ.ḪA IGI.DU₃.A — HGG]

case of *ḫalentuwa* it even looks as though we were dealing with a “locative plural” beginning in *ḫa-le-*.¹³ The preference for plural inflexion in Hittite could easily be understood if the original were a plural, and a term originally meaning “in the chambers” (or something similar) could conceivably be the base of the word for “palace.” It seems that the word is actually attested in Hattic (though broken). KUB XXVIII 60 col. i has the following sequence:

- (5) *ašā ašā Taru* [“Come, come, o Stormgod!”¹⁴
 (8) *ašā ḫa-le-en*[–..., which could well mean “come to the palace!”

There also is a foreign term uttered in some rituals which I would connect with our word. In KBo V 11, a text known for its list of Hattic words, we read (iv 9): *mahḫan-ma ḫa-li-in-du-wa taranzi* “when they say *ḫ*.” (without determinative, as is customary in the writing of Hattic), and in line 11 *ḫa-li-in-du-wa-aš* appears in Hittite context. In the Ritual for the Dead¹⁵ the phrase *ḫalantuwa ḫalziya* occurs twice (once without *-n-*); variant forms are *ḫa-la-an-ti-u-wa ḫalziya*, [*ḫ*] *a-li-ti-u-i ḫalziya*, and ^ḫ*ḫa-la-an-tu-u-wa-aš ḫalz[iya]*,¹⁶ the last one showing by the determinative that this is indeed our word. I would interpret these as calls “to the palace.”

Again a similar word has to be set apart. This is *ḫalenzu*, which I translate “leaves, foliage” to render both the passage in the Telipinu myth where it covers the vanishing god in the thicket and the *ḫazannu* instruction where *ḫalenzu* is to be removed from the top of a pond.¹⁷ If we are right in taking the *ḫa-le-* in both words as prefixes, then the difference between *-tu* and *-zu* does not simply affect the last syllable but the actual root.¹⁸

13. See A. Kammenhuber, “Das Hattische,” in *Handbuch der Orientalistik, Altkleinasiatische Sprachen*, at the places listed in her special index, MSS, Beiheft 4, 1969, p. 100 sub *ḫa-li-*, *ḫa-le-*.

14. I had long considered *ašā* the Hattic word meaning “come!” This is now confirmed by the bilingual, Laroche, *Cat. (RHA 60) No. 359, 1 = CTH (1971) No. 726, 1, obv. 35a a-ša-a-ḫu* compared with 36b *e-ḫu*.

15. H. Otten, *Heth. Totenrituale*, 1958, p. 128, comments to p. 28, 12 and p. 78, 44. The equation with *NAPTANU GAL* proposed there is one of those cases where words occurring in similar context are taken to be identical. The logical Hittite counterpart to “great repast” is *šalli ašeššar*, often abbreviated *šalli*, and frequently with *ḫalziya* (cf. Neu, *StBoT 5, 37*). A call to the meal and a call to the palace may amount to the same thing, but that does not constitute an equation.

16. These forms are attested, respectively: KUB XXX 41 vi 36; KBo IV 13 v 19 f.; and 315/t, 4. Note the *-iu-* here again.

17. KUB XVII 10 i 13; KBo XIII 58 iii 18 ff., H. Otten, *Baghdader Mitteilungen III*, 1964, 95.

18. A river *ḫalenzuwa* occurs KBo XII 59 i 4; *ḫalenzu* in broken context and partly restored, 702/t, 7; 9.

Returning to the meaning of *ḫalentuwa*, our reasons for interpreting it as “palace” are these:

In the outline tablet of the Spring (AN.TAḪ.ŠUM) Festival quoted before, the ceremony called *šalli ašeššar* “great ‘sitting’” is held in the É.SAL.LUGAL in the presence of the queen on the 9th day, but in the *ḫalentuwa* on the tenth with the king.¹⁹ Furthermore, in the so-called Mešedi text, i.e., the *išḫiul*, “binding rules,” for the bodyguard, the word is used wherever reference is made to the complex which we call palace. In §1 we read that the guards “cover one courtyard of the *ḫalentuwa*” (i 5 f.). When the king is about to leave, “one palace attendant comes out of the *ḫ*.” (§12: i 64). The passage where, in the guards’ courtyard, one wall is *ḫalentuwaz andurza* in contrast to one that is *aškaz* “on the inner side, toward the palace” and “on the outside” (§2: i 9–16) could be interpreted in the sense that *ḫ*. is only a particular, innermost, part of the palace complex. But then, again, we read (§44: iii 71 f.): (the king) “goes to the *ḫ*. on a *ḫuluganni*,²⁰ and [when] he approaches the gate” (he is greeted there and a long description of his entry follows). Here he obviously returns “to the palace.” And toward the end of the description of this same royal entry some people are prohibited from coming “up to the gate of the palace of the king” (Š[A LU]GAL-*ma-kán* [ŠA É.G]AL-LIM KÁ. GAL-*aš šarā*, (§48: iv 14 f., with logogram!)

The very fact that the *šalli ašeššar* ceremony and cult in general can take place in a *ḫ*. speaks against the interpretation as residential part only and for that as palace as a whole. Indeed it seems that a sanctuary could be included in a *ḫ*. At least this is how I would understand the beginning of the second day of the Winter Festival (KUB II 6 iii 20–42): After the royal couple donned their regalia in the bath house they return to the *ḫ*.; here the guards’ courtyard has already been opened again, and several officials stand there in attendance. Followed by the bodyguards the king and queen then enter the temple of the Sungod.

One gets the impression that this temple is only a few steps away.²¹ This would agree with the archaeologists’ interpretation of some buildings on Büyükkale as sanctuaries.

We saw that there could be É.GALs in various towns. The same is true of the *ḫalentuwa*. At the beginning of the Spring Festival²² we find one in Taḫurpa, where the royal couple drive up to it. In Ḫattuša, too, it

19. KBo X 20 ii 7 and 9, JNES XIX 81.

20. For the vehicle *ḫuluganni* see now Otten, *StBoT 13, 20 ff.* The situation in KBo XI 73 obv. 21 ff. quoted there and in the passage *ibid.* n. 11 is similar to that in the Mešedi text.

21. Contrast KBo IV 9 i 26–ii 7, where the royal couple leaves the *ḫ*. before going to the temple of Zababa.

22. KBo X 20 i 15–18; KBo XI 73 iii 12–25.

is high up.²³ There also was one in Ankuwa,²⁴ and Ḫattušili III says:²⁵ "In Ḫišša[šhapa], above, there was a *h.* of my father."

There also was more than one *h.* in the capital. In KUB VII 25 the king leaves one *h.* in the morning (i 1–5), mounts a horse and rides up to the stela of Anzili. There he alights in the portico and enters a *h.* where he makes offerings. He then leaves this *h.* (12 ff.) and approaches the stela itself, where the main ceremony begins. Obviously there was a special "palace" in the upper city.

In the course of our survey we mentioned the Mešedi Text. Since this instruction for the bodyguard (IBoT I 36) contains many references to parts of the palace a few words about this source may be in order.

Professor Otten drew my attention to the spelling peculiarities of this unique text, and I found his observations confirmed.^{25a} Accordingly the text must be dated before Muršili II, i.e., in the first part of the New Kingdom before the middle of the 14th century. This explains why the layout of the palace as it can be deduced from the text cannot easily be matched with the plan of Büyükkale, since the latter represents the final form of the acropolis dating to the second half of the 13th century. Also, the text is meant to give general rules that can apply to different palaces, as evidenced by such passages as these:

(§12, addition) "The guards take their stand next to the canopy on the right. But if in some town it is [not customary] to stand on the right, they take a stand on the left. The unchanging (rule) for them is to stand next to the canopy."

(§48) "They shall not come up to the gate of the king's palace, but if there are two porticoes they may come up to the lower gate but not to the upper."

But even though the text was not written for the royal acropolis of the 13th century it mentions enough features that must be common to all palaces, including some that were found on Büyükkale.

We read about courtyards, one of which is called the guards' courtyard, in which the palace attendants are lined up on one side and the bodyguards on the other, waiting for the king to appear. We read about several gates and doors that are opened on different occasions. The presence of a storehouse is mentioned (at least as a possibility, in one of the additions, i 20). At the end of the text the king retires to the *tunnakeššar*, the inner chamber.

Among the structures that are either gates or buildings connected with gates we find the following:

A door (KÁ) of a courtyard (*hila*);

the *hilammar*, a pillared hall or portico. It has a gate (*hilamnaš* KÁ.GAL, iv 3 f., partly restored); also in the passage read earlier (§48) the lower and upper gates are connected with two *hilammars*;

the *arkiu*:- From occurrences in other texts²⁶ I conclude that it is an open structure, often near a gate, perhaps only an awning or canopy. In our text it is mentioned at the point where the *huluganni* is made ready (§12, addition: i 70 ff.); a canopy to protect the king while he mounts the vehicle would be well in place.

the GAL KÁ.GAL, "Great Gate" or "Main Gate," reserved for persons of high rank;

the *luštani*, which is contrasted with the Great Gate and is therefore likely to be a side door;

the *kaškaštipa*, which seems to be an elaborate gate structure, perhaps a propylon.

In §12 (i 66 f.) we read that two different guards and a gatekeeper "go to the *kaškaštipa* and lift the door bolt of the Main Gate." From this I would conclude that the *k.* (with determinative É) is a building which includes the main gate (GAL KÁ.GAL, never with determinative). Apparently the *k.* is relatively far from the guards' court, since there is a passage of four paragraphs (§§13–16) listing the officials who line the way from one to the other, apparently in sections of one *iku* (ca. 100 meters) each! It furthermore seems that the king mounts the *huluganni* inside the *k.* and drives through it (§§17–20).

In the section dealing with the return of the king (§§44 ff.) we read that, when he approaches the KÁ.GAL ("gate" without specification), the 'comedians'²⁷ arrive at the gate and shout their welcome. From there some Ḫahhaeans follow the king, singing. At the gate of the *hilammar* the 'comedians' greet the king

23. KBo X 20 i 22 f.

24. *Ibid.* iv 17; KUB XI 27 colophon.

25. KUB XIX 9 ii 19.

25a. Cf. now H. Hoffner, JNES 31, 1973, 33.

26. References listed by L. Jakob-Rost, MIO XI, 1966, 210; add IBoT III 1, where the entry into the *Ḫeštaš* proceeds via the gate (*aška*-, 17), the *arkiu*- (21), where hand-washing takes place, and a door (KÁ, 24) into the É.ŠĀ (26). One reaches the *a.* when leaving the *ḫalentuwa* (KUB XX 87 i 1–3; KBo IX 136 i 3 f.) or after coming out the door (KBo X 23 ii 23–32) or before entering a building (KUB XXXII 108 obv. 4–10; KBo X 26 i 10–18). "When the king arrives in front of the gate of the portico, bread and cups are heaped under the *arkiu*; then the king alights from the chariot" (KUB XXV 18 ii 3–6). The phrase "under the *a.*" occurs a few more times (KBo X 23 ii 26; 30; 24 iv 21). In KUB XX 87 the king pours a libation there on a live bull, which is more easily understood if the *arkiu* is an open structure.

27. The equation of the Boğazköy writing ^{LÚ}ALAN.KA×UD with ^{LÚ}ALAN.ZÚ, graphic variant of ^{LÚ}ALAN.ZU =

again. In both places the welcoming occurs when the mules emerge from the gate, so obviously the king drives through both gates; he actually alights only thereafter (§49). He then (§50) enters the palace (*halentuwa*), while the gatekeeper and guards “[come] up from the Great *kaškaštipa* and throw the door bolt.” It would seem, therefore, that either one of the gates just passed by the king or both of them form part of the *k*. and that he returned through the same gate by which he left, although the wording is different. *kaškaštipa*-, with determinative É and declined as singular, cannot be the

reading for KÁ.GAL, which is plurale tantum.²⁸ But it seems that they are interchangeable terms for one structure, just as we might say “propylon” or “gate” when referring to one and the same building.

The elaborate sortie and return of the king for which the Mešedi Text lays down the rules serves to take him to a place where he functions as judge. This is in contrast to the Hittite Laws of the Old Kingdom, and with pointing to this change we may close our brief survey of the Hittite Palace.

aluzinnu, is beyond doubt. The evidence, recognized by B. Landsberger, was presented in CAD A/1, 1964, 392 s.v.; the Proto-Lu and Lu passages are now in MSL XII pp. 54 (variant p. 72) and 136. While AHW offers the meaning “jester” (etwa “Spasmacher, Clown”) for “actor” (“Schauspieler”) proposed by Meissner, CAD avoids translation and discusses the rather scant evidence. In RHA XXII/74, 1964, 96 f. I presented the Hittite evidence which, as stated in CAD, does not help much. For lack of a better translation I use ‘comedian’ in quotation marks.

I. J. Gelb kindly provided the following evidence for UD.DA.KU, the other Sumerian equivalent of *aluzinnu*: the UD.DA.KU belongs to the class of NAR “singers/musicians” according to B.M. 14618 (unpublished); and accord-

ing to two Ur III receipts (Legrain, TRU 45, and Fish, Catalogue, p. 54, No. 494) a bear (bear cub) is received once by a NAR, the other time by an UD.DA.KU from another person (NAM.)UD.DA.KU-šè, i.e., either to be trained in the art of an *aluzinnu*, or to be used by the *aluzinnu* in the performance of his own craft. This, in conjunction with the reciting done by him in Hittite rituals and the impersonations which he claims to perform (TuL 17, CAD), seems to justify the rendering by “comedian.”

28. In contrast to E. Laroche, OLZ 1962, 29 f., I do not see that *kaškaštipa* could be the same as *hīlammār*. His reference to Hittic *kaštip* “door” (= KÁ) is valuable and confirms that *k*. is a kind of gate structure.

THE HITTITE TEMPLE ACCORDING TO WRITTEN SOURCES*

The common term for “temple” in Hittite texts is the ideogram É.DINGIR-*LIM*, Akkadian *bīt ili* “house of a god,” which is used when the word stands by itself, or simply É, when the name of the deity follows immediately: É^DUTU “house = temple of the Sungod,” etc. The Hittite equivalent was a literal translation: *šiu-naš pir/parna-* “house of the god(s).”¹ Friedrich’s Hethitisches Wörterbuch (HW) gives as equivalent of É.DINGIR-*LIM* Hittite ^É*karimmi*. Whereas this equation is supported by a variant in the *bēl madgalti* instruction,² the Instruction for Temple Officials differentiates between the two terms: “(If something happens) in the É.DINGIR-*LIM* or in another *karimmi*.”³ The natural interpretation would be to take *karimmi* as the wider term, “sacred building” or the like, which includes temples in the narrower sense. Just like É, *parna-* also occurs with the genitive of a divine name to designate the temple of a specific deity.⁴

The ritual texts mention an extremely great number of temples. I have no comprehensive collection of all passages of É followed by a divine name, but even those that can easily be gleaned from a few texts are very numerous. As could be expected, there are temples in most of the towns or cities which are mentioned as cult places of gods. In the case of Carchemish we learn from the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma that the temples were situated in the acropolis.⁵ Leaving aside for a moment the temples in other towns, even the list of temples situ-

ated in the capital city is a long one. The outline tablet of the festival of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant alone lists the following eleven:⁶ The temple of the Sun, of (the Palaic god) Ziparwa, of the Stormgod, of Zababa, of Ḫannu, of the Tutelary Deity, of the Stormgod of Aleppo, of the Mother Goddess, of Ašgašepa, of Ea, and of one god whose name is lost in the text. And in one optional variation of the rites for the first day, worship in the temple of Zithariya is included, which brings the number of temples visited in Ḫattusa during this spring festival alone up to twelve.

The KILAM festival⁷ mentions again the temple of the Sun and adds the temples of the Grain deity, of the Divine Shield, and of a god Šurra.⁸

Even without collecting more temple names from other texts we face a serious problem if we try to locate the fifteen temples so far mentioned within the area of Boğazköy. As is commonly known, the excavators speak of five numbered temples, of which the largest is No. I in the lower city, while Nos. II–V are on high terraces in the southern extension of the city. It is true that there are large parts of the city area still awaiting excavation, but not every part is suitable for temple architecture. In the upper city, west of Temple IV, there is a large unexcavated flat terrace which must conceal a monumental building, possibly a temple. The three “fortresses” in the city area, Nişantepe, Sarıkale, and Yenicekale, may have been sacred buildings or at least contained sanctuaries; but if our suggestion is right that they are the structures called “summit house,” É^{NA4}*hegur*,⁹ then they would have to be counted in addition to, not included in, the number of named temples considered so far. A large unexcavated area is, of

*Reprinted from *Le temple et le cult*, E. Van Donzel, ed. (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch Archeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1975), pp. 125–132, with the permission of Nederlands Historisch Archeologisch Instituut te Istanbul.

1. *Šiu-naš parna* KBo XIII 175 obv. 5; XVII 15 obv. 3; DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš parna* KUB XX 3, 11; KBo X 25 ii 31; DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš parni anda* KUB XIII 4 ii 27; *šiu-naš É-ri* KBo XVII 15 obv. 13; *šiu-naš É-az* KBo XVII 74 ii 38.
2. KUB XIII 2 ii 29 f.: E. von Schuler, *Heth. Dienstanweisungen* (AfO Beih. 10), 45 with variants (notes 22–23) from KUB XXXI 90 ii 10 f.
3. KUB XIII 4 iii 36 f.: E. Sturtevant, *Hitt. Chrestomathy*, 158: ŠĀ É.DINGIR-*LIM našma tamedani* ^É*karimme*.
4. ^DUTU-*aš parna* KBo X 26 i 10 etc.; ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš parna* Bo 805, 10, quoted KBo XX, vii, n. 10.
5. *Šarazzi gurti*, JCS X (1956) 95 iii 33 ff.

6. KBo X 20: JNES XIX (1960) 80 ff.

7. For this festival cf. E. Laroche, *Catalogue des Textes Hittites* (1971) (abbr.: CTH, quoted by number) 627; H. G. Güterbock, *Actes de la XVII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (abbr. XVII RAI), 178 f. [= *Perspectives*, p. 89 — Eds.]. KILAM is, on the one hand, Akk. *maḫīru* “Gegenwert, Kurs; Markt” (AHw), on the other hand, Hitt. *ḫilammar* “portico.”

8. ^DUTU-*aš parna* KBo X 26 i 10; 27 v 19; É^D*Ḫalkiyaš* 27 iv 15; É^{KUŠ}*kuršaš* iii 18; ^DŠu-ur-*ra-aš parnaš piran* KUB X 1 i 6 f.

9. JNES XXVI (1967) 81.

course, the lowest section of the city; it is flat enough to have contained large buildings including temples, but until it is excavated or at least explored by test trenches, one has to reserve judgment. One can only say that the city *may* have contained fifteen, or rather, allowing for those not included in our random sampling, up to 20 or 25 temples, if they were relatively small, smaller than, e.g., Temples II or IV, not to speak of Temple I.

Ḫattušili I of the Old Kingdom mentions three temples in his annals: that of the Sungoddess of Arinna, that of the Stormgod, and that of Mezulla. One expects them to have been situated in the Old City, i.e., the Lower City, or even on Büyükkale.¹⁰ The temples of the supreme divine couple, the Stormgod and the Sungoddess, may have been situated in the same place where in the New Kingdom Temple I was erected for the same deities, covering for ever whatever might have been beneath.

The Upper City, in contrast, is known to be an addition of the New Kingdom. If a festival text of the Empire seems to describe the temple of Zithariya as being "above," this is likely to refer to one of the four upper temples.¹¹

In view of the great number of "temples" one may, on the other hand, ask whether any one temple might have housed several gods. In Temple V two cellae were recognized because of the statue bases contained in them, and for Temple I Dr. Neve has recently also reconstructed a second sanctuary.¹² On the 21st day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival four other gods are worshipped in the temple of the Mother Goddess: Kataḫḫa, Nergal, Ḫašameli, and Ea.¹³ Does that mean that each of these had a "chapel" in the temple of the Great Goddess, or an image in her cult room? Note that a "house of Ea," which must be his temple proper, is the scene of the rites of the 29th day of the same festival! When the king, in the course of a normal festival rite, performs the drink offering for a long list of gods, he obviously does not move from one place to another, so the worship of several gods does not necessarily imply the existence, in

one temple, of different "chapels,"^{13a} but it *could* mean that all those gods were represented in one room by some sort of cult object. I can only point to the problem posed by the great number of temples but cannot solve it. For an architect's view of multiple cult rooms I refer to P. Neve's contribution to this Rencontre.^{13b}

Returning to temples outside the capital, we note that there were temples in most cities and towns, but not necessarily in every single one. The cult inventories¹⁴ list some places where a god has no temple but only a stela (*ḫuwaši* stone); in others the temple is said to be ruined, or newly built, or not yet built. In the city of Karaḫna¹⁵ there are, so we are told, 26 deities, of which 9 have temples and "14" (read: 17!) have *ḫuwašis*. The principal temple of that city is said to be "made good" (adorned?) on the inside by the goldsmith (KÛ.DIM) and seal engraver (PUR.GUL),^{15a} meaning here perhaps that the building was either filled with jewelry or adorned with metal and stone incrustations.

Cult images were either anthropomorphic figures — to judge by some measurements given in the texts perhaps statuettes rather than statues — some standing, some seated, or zoomorphic, as in the case of bull figures representing the Stormgod, or even zoomorphic vessels (*bibrû*).¹⁶ The care for local temples was entrusted, in part at least, to the provincial governors, as we learn from the Instruction for the Border Commander adduced by Professor Korošec in his paper.¹⁷

The descriptions of cult festivals give some indication of various parts of a temple, though not as much as one would wish. KBo IV 9, part of the rites of the 16th day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, describes the approach of the royal couple to the temple of Zababa as follows:

They leave the *ḫalentu* (which I understand to be the palace, as explained at the XIX^c RAI) in a proces-

10. For sacred buildings of level IVb on Büyük Kale (early Empire) see K. Bittel, *Hattusha, the Capital of the Hittites* (1970), 70–72 and fig. 18; P. Neve, *Istanbul Mitteilungen*, Beiheft 5 (1971) 16–19; later structures: *ibid.* 9–16. For a possible mention of a temple in the palace, *KUB II 6 iii 20–42*, see my remarks in *XIX RAI*.

11. As implied by the word *šarā* *KUB X 18 ii 1* followed by the mention of Zithariya; uncertain.

12. K. Krause, *Boğazköy Tempel V (Istanbul Forschungen 11, 1940)*; P. Neve, *Boğazköy IV (Abhdl. D.O.G. 14, 1969)*, p. 9.

13. *KBo X 20 iii 19 ff.* (*JNES XIX 86*) as restored by 438/s iii 8 ff., Güterbock, in: *Neuere Hethiterforschung (Historia, Einzelheft 7, 1964)*, p. 65 [= *Perspectives*, p. 105 — Eds.].

13a. "Not necessarily": it is possible, however, that passages like *KBo IV 13 v–vi* or *KBo XIX 128 iv–v*, where one god after the other receives drink offerings "outside" and "inside," could indeed refer to a movement from one room to the next; cf. H. Otten, *StBoT 13* (1971), p. 52.

13b. Cf. P. Neve, in *Festschrift H. Otten* (1973), pp 253–72.

14. For cult inventories see *Neuere Hethiterforschung*, p. 70 ff.; *XVII RAI*, p. 176 [= *Perspectives*, p. 87 — Eds.]; *CTH 501 ff.*, esp. 509, 511.

15. *KUB XXXVIII 12 iii*: M. Darga, *RHA XXVII* (1969) p. 5 ff. on *ḫuwaši* stones in general, p. 7 f. this text (also in Turkish, *Belleten XXXIII* (1969) 493 ff.).

15a. *KUB XXXVIII 12 i 1 ff.*

16. Descriptions of images: literature in *CTH* preceding No. 501; in particular Nos. 501 f., 505, 514–16; 521 f. For measurements and their relation to actual figurines: S. Alp, *Anatolia VI* (1962) 217 ff., esp. 232–34. For animal figures and *bibrû* etc. see Güterbock, *Orientalia N.S. XV* (1946) 489 ff.

17. *KUB XIII 2* etc., von Schuler, *Dienstanw.* (cf. n. 2) p. 45 f.

sion formed by high officials and accompanied by musicians. The latter enter the temple before the king and queen reach it. The royal couple then first enters the *hīlammār*, a pillared hall or portico. From there they proceed to the courtyard of the temple, where an elaborate handwashing ceremony takes place. Only thereafter do they actually “enter the Temple of Zababa,” that is, presumably, the sanctuary proper which, in the known temples, could only be reached from the courtyard. Here the king goes to the throne while the queen enters the “inner chamber” (É.ŠĀ).¹⁸ The king alone performs offerings to the “holy places” such as hearth, throne, window, and doorbolt, as well as to the statue of Ḫattušili — all these apparently were in the cult room. Thereafter the king and queen sit down, the latter apparently having re-joined her husband, and the elaborate main cult actions begin, which include a meal and the libations to a long list of deities. At the beginning of this main ceremony the musicians are called inside from the courtyard where they must have waited in the meantime.

The temple also was an economic establishment. If tribute is specified as being due to the Sungoddess of Arinna, the Stormgod of Zippalanda, the Stormgod of Ḫatti, and the Stormgod of Nerikka,¹⁹ this must mean that it was paid to their temples. The extensive storerooms surrounding Temple I give an idea of the magnitude of this establishment (here again I refer to Dr. Neve’s paper for details). As a sideline I mention that two of the names attested on sealed clay bullae found in the storerooms of Temple I also occur in inventory texts; here they belong to officials in charge of the distribution of precious metals.²⁰ One may even consider the possibility that the inventory texts refer to goods deposited in the temple storerooms, in other words, that the temple also served as state treasury. This is, of course, impossible to prove; nor is a distinction between goods kept in the temple and in the palace possible at

present. The numerous storerooms excavated on Büyük Kale must also have contained some of the deliveries made to the state.

The temple had a large personnel. There are several terms referring to such persons, and it is not easy exactly to define the meaning of each of them.

Among the functionaries mentioned in the course of the descriptions of cult ceremonies (the so-called *Festrituale*, which are the most numerous class of Hittite texts) some are clearly court officials rather than part of the temple personnel.²¹ These are the *mešedi*, who is the royal body guard, and the DUMU. É.GAL literally “son of the palace,” who is in charge of the king’s wellbeing and safety inside the palace. They accompany the king and queen during the whole ceremony but are not engaged in the cult proper, nor are they listed in enumerations of temple personnel.

Of such lists we have several. The most general term is LÚ.É.DINGIR-*LIM* “man of the temple.” The text known as Instructions for Temple Officials²² is addressed to the LÚ.MEŠ.É.DINGIR-*LIM* (apart from some persons of lower rank to be mentioned later). It defines them as LÚ.MEŠ.SANGA, LÚ.MEŠ.GUDÚ, and SAL.MEŠ.AMA.DINGIR-*LIM*. Of these ideograms, the first stands for *šankunniš*, a loan from Akkadian *šangû* into Hittite. The conventional translation “priest” is too vague but hard to replace by a better or more precise one. The *šankunniš* has the highest rank among the temple personnel. In the cult inventories he is often the only “priest” mentioned in connection with a temple. Still more difficult to translate is GUDÚ (written “IM. ME” in the Boğazköy script), since the literal meaning of Akkadian *pašišu* “anointed” does not mean much to us. The third, AMA.DINGIR-*LIM*, is an ideographic rendering of Hittite *šiwanzanniš*, literally “mother of a god.”²³ The high rank of both the *šankunniš* and the *šiwanzanniš* is shown by the fact that the king and queen occasionally apply these titles to themselves.

Another text, speaking of “all the LÚ.MEŠ.É.DINGIR-*LIM*,” lists them as follows: LÚ.SANGA, LÚ.tazzelliš, LÚ.ḫaminaš, and LÚ.GUDÚ.²⁴ The meaning of *tazzelliš* is not known; *ḫaminaš* is most probably the Hittite reading of LÚ.ŠĀ.TAM, *šatammu*, the official in charge of storehouses. His presence among the “men of

18. The plans of the excavated temples show rooms that can only be reached through the sanctuary or “adyton”; see, inter alia, the monograph by Krause cited in n. 12, Pl. 6; Bittel, *Hattusha* (see n. 10), figs. 13–14.

19. *KBo* XII 38 i 10–20: *JNES* XXVI (1967) 75–78. In the tribute lists from Ugarit (PRU IV, p. 37 ff.) the Ugaritic version has *lšpš arn* “to the Sungoddess of Arinna” (p. 45, line 18) where the Akkadian has ^DUTU-ŠĪ LUGAL GAL (p. 41, line 20); cf. the comments by Nougayrol, *ibid.* p. 39, 1°. If this is not a scribal confusion of the two terms containing the word “sun,” it would indicate that indeed tribute paid to the king could also be considered paid to the main goddess (and presumably delivered to her temple).

20. The names are Pupuli and Zuzuli; see E. Laroche, *Les Noms des Hittites*, Nos. 1054 and 1590; add *KBo* XVIII 153 (dupl. of *KUB* XXVI 66) for both, and note that *Bo* 420 is now *KUB* XLII 73. The seal impressions will be published in *Boğazköy* V.

21. Cf. S. Alp, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtennamen im hethitischen Festzeremoniell* (1940).

22. *KUB* XIII 4 etc., *CTH* 264 with bibliography, and cf. the paper by Prof. Korošec at this Rencontre, published in *Anat. Stud. H. G. Güterbock* (1974), pp. 165–74.

23. This term is not known in Mesopotamia. The phonetic complement, *lim*, shows that the Hittites meant it as **ummi ili*, not *entu* = NIN.DINGIR. For the latter cf. *CTH* 738.

24. *KUB* XLI 30 iii 2 ff. It shows that *tazzelli* cannot be identical with GUDÚ, as was claimed on the basis of listings that resemble one another without being identical (*HW* s.v.v.).

the temple” agrees with what was said about the temple storerooms. Both the *tazzelliš* and the *haminaš* are lower in rank than the *šankunniš*, as shown by the fact that they receive garments “of second rank” in contrast to the “first rank” garment given to the latter (KUB X 13 iii 4–8).

That LÚ.MEŠ.É.DINGIR-LIM is the most general term for temple personnel is confirmed by other texts. Muršili II complains that the “scribes on wood and the men of the temple undertook to change” the rites of a certain cult (KUB XXXII 133 i 4–6), and “men of the temple” are asked, and give information, about the reason for a god’s anger (IBoT II 129 obv. 1–4). In the descriptions of festivals for the goddess Ḫuwaššanna, which are performed by a *bēl bīti* “owner of a household,” the term is used concurrently with Hittite *karimnalaš*. Despite the slight difference in meaning between É.DINGIR-LIM and *karimmi* observed above, *karimnalaš*²⁵ thus seems to be the (or a) reading of LÚ.É.DINGIR-LIM. In these texts the term may simply refer to any person who is a member of a temple staff in contrast to the *bēl bīti*.

But LÚ.É.DINGIR-LIM or *karimnalaš* was not the only term of wide range. More details about temple personnel are learned from the cult inventory of the city of Karahna (KUB XXXVIII 12, CTH 517). In it we find several collective terms. The most comprehensive among them is *ḫilammateš* (plural), which is used in a narrower and a wider sense in the text. In the narrower sense it includes: The GUDÚ (*pašišu*), a kind of priest discussed above; DUB.SAR “scribe”; DUB.SAR.GIŠ “scribe on wood” (supposed to be writing hieroglyphs); LÚḪAL (*barû*), whose rôle in Boğazköy is that of an incantation priest rather than that of a seer; LÚNAR “singer” but also “musician”; LÚ.GIŠ.BANŠUR “man of the table,” approximately to be rendered by “steward”; LÚMUḪALDIM “cook”; LÚSILA.ŠU.DU₈.A “cupbearer”; LÚ.GIŠ.ŠUKUR lit. “man of the spear,” a kind of guardsman; LÚNI.DU₈ “gate keeper”; LÚGALA (*kalû*), in Boğazköy a musician; *palwatallaš*, a kind of reciter; *arkammiyalaš*, a musician who plays the *arkammi*; LÚTIN.NA “brewer”; LÚ.NINDA.DÙ.DÙ “baker”; LÚ.A.ÍL.LÁ²⁶ “water carrier”; LÚ.KISAL.LUḪ “courtyard washer”; LÚ.MUŠEN.DÙ, according to the Boğazköy texts an augur rather than a raiser of

fowl; LÚ.DUG.SILA.BUR.NA “potter”; and LÚEPIŠ BA.BA.ZA “maker of the dish called *pappasu*.” We learn from this text (col. i 1 ff.) that these were taken from captured persons or from households held by the Palace. Apart from the first-mentioned, the GUDÚ, the *bārû*, and the two kinds of scribes, the others have rather subordinate tasks: music, serving at table, preparing the food, house-cleaning, and pottery-making. The Instructions for Temple Officials use a general term for “kitchen personnel”: EN.UTÚL “master of dishes,” which includes the cupbearer, the cook, the “tableman,” the baker, and the brewer.²⁷

In the Karahna text the priests proper, i.e., three *šangû* of different gods, one AMA.DINGIR, and fifteen women whose name of profession is lost (*katra*-?), are listed separately under the category of *ḫazziwitašši*,²⁸ a term derived from *ḫazziwi*, “rite, cult ceremony.” It is said that these are not included in the count of *ḫilammateš* earlier in the text. However, in the total given at the end of the tablet the SANGA and AMA.DINGIR are included among the *ḫilammateš*. (col. iv 16 f.).

After the enumeration of *ḫilammateš* the text mentions some kind of men belonging to the É.GIŠ.KIN.TI (col. i 17).²⁹ A small tablet found in 1968 in the South Area near Temple I³⁰ contains the beginning of a list of 205 persons called DUMU.ḪIA.É.GIŠ.KIN.TI “children of the *bīt kiškattî*.” The preserved items are: 18 *šakkuneš* “priests” (SANGA), 29 *katra* women, 19

25. From the oblique stem *karimn-* with the suffix *-ala-*. For the Ḫuwaššanna rituals in general see CTH 690–694 and XVII RAI, p. 176 f. *karimnala-* occurs KUB XXVII 51, 6 and KBo VII 39, 5; LÚ.MEŠ.É.DINGIR-LIM KUB XXVII 49 iii 10; 24; 55 iii(!) 17; KBo XIV 89 i 1; 96 ii 15.

26. For this reading of the signs formerly read LÚ A ŠA KUŠ(.LAL) (HW 264 and 283), based on H. Otten and W. von Soden, StBoT 7 (1968), 33 to IV 39, see Güterbock, *Festschr. H. Otten*, p. 85 f.

27. KUB XIII 4 iii 55 ff.: Sturtevant, *Chrestomathy* 160. The instruction edited by J. Friedrich, MAOG IV (1928–29) 46 ff., KUB XIII 3 ii 20 ff., has a longer list.

28. Col. ii 1 ff. The suffix *-ašši-* is Luwian and forms adjectives of appurtenance corresponding to the genitive. While *ḫazziwi-* occurs in Hittite declension, it also has Luwian forms: Dat.-Loc. sing. *ḫazziwiti* KUB XVIII 25 i 9; Acc. plur. *ḫazziwita* KUB XXXII 133 i 4; 10; it once occurs with the marker (“Glossenkeil”): KUB XVI 77 ii 33; 39. Hence it is a Luwian stem in *-it-* dropping the *t* in final position (E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Louvite* (1959), p. 132, § 5), The Hittite equivalent of *ḫazziwitašši-* is LÚ/SAL *ḫazziwiyas* with Hitt. genitive: KBo II 8 iii 10; iv 19; 22.

On the two terms *ḫilammateš* and *ḫazziwitašši-*, with special reference to their distinction in KUB XXXVIII 12, see M. Darga in *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* I (Istanbul, 1970) 121–130 (in Turkish). Her conclusions coincide with those expressed here, and she gives ample documentation. It is hoped that her article will also be published in a Western language.

29. The group of signs preceding it is not clear. It also occurs in line 9 where both the copy and the original have clearly LÚ.MEŠ.DU.AN(*-ma-aš-kán*). In 17 collation showed the DU to be all right, but that the following sign, if it is meant to be AN, is garbled. And what about *-za*, which would be incorrectly separated from the enclitics after the next word?

30. KBo XIX 28; H. Otten, apud Neve, *Boğazköy* IV, p. 30 “Haus der Arbeit.”

scribes (DUB.SAR), 33 “scribes on wood” (DUB.SAR.GIŠ), 35 ^{LÚ}ḪAL (incantation priests), 10 singers for Hurrian (NAR *hur-ri*); further items covering the remaining 61 persons are lost. A comparison of this partial list with the enumeration of *ḫilammateš* in the Karahna tablet shows that the two kinds of scribes, the ḪAL, and the singer are common to both, while the SANGA and some woman whose lost profession may have been *katra* are among the *ḫazziwitaššiš*. Here, then, we get overlapping terms. For GIŠ.KIN.TI, Akkadian *kiškalittû*, the dictionaries give “craftsman,

Handwerker,” but in our terms priests, scribes, and singers would not be considered craftsmen. Apparently the meaning was wider, at least in Hittite usage, to include professions demanding literacy. The following observation would support this: in two colophons the scribes call themselves “pupil of PN, the EN.GIŠ.KIN.TI”;³¹ thus, the “master of the craft” would be the teacher of scribes. If the findspot of the tablet is an indication, then the South Area included the scribal school.³²

31. KAB.ZU.ZU ŠA ^mZu-wa-a EN.GIŠ.KIN.TI KUB XIII 9 + XL 62 iv 11 (E. Von Schuler, *Festschr. Friedrich*, 448); [KAB.ZU.ZU]U ŠA ^mMe-ra-A.A [E]N.GIŠ.KIN.TI KBo XII 4 iv 4 (restored according to the preceding by Laroche, *OLZ* 1964, 564).

32. For the South Area (“Südareal”) see P. Neve, in *Boğazköy IV*, pp. 20–31; on its interpretation, p. 29 f. and Dr. Neve’s contribution to this *Rencontre*.

SOME ASPECTS OF HITTITE FESTIVALS*

Among the peoples of the Ancient Near East the Hittites are those who left the richest literature concerning "festivals," if by this term we understand what they themselves expressed by the ideogram EZEN, Akkadian *isinnu*; its Hittite reading is still unknown.

It is common knowledge that so-called Festriviale are extremely numerous. These are detailed manuals, or prescriptions, for the performance, step by step, of all the rites pertaining to a festival. Without exaggeration it can be said that festival texts are the most numerous category among the tablets and fragments found in the Hittite capital. In the excavations at Boğazköy it became a bitter joke that whenever the archaeologists wanted to know what a fragment, found in an archaeologically interesting spot, might contain, the philologist would, in nine out of ten cases, have to say: ein Festriviale!

The great number of fragments and the rather stereotyped wording of the main sections of the festival texts make it difficult to assign individual pieces to specific festivals. It is true that we possess colophons through which some series can be assembled. We also have a few outline tablets for the important festivals, especially those covering many days.¹ There are also lists of festivals contained in various texts. But so far it has not been possible to correlate all these bits of evidence with one another, although good beginnings have been made. As for the rest of Hittite literature, so also for the festival texts Professor Laroche's *Catalogue des textes hittites*² is of great help. Since its publication the

material has increased considerably, and we are looking forward to the new edition of the catalogue which is in the process of publication.

To start from the meaning of EZEN as found in the Boğazköy texts, it may simply mean "feast" in the sense of "meal" or, to use a colloquial word, "a party."³ Thus it occurs in the myths: *Ištanuš EZEN-an iet*⁴ "The Sun-god prepared a meal" amounts to saying "gave a party."

The most common use of the term EZEN is, of course, in reference to the cult, where we speak of "cult festivals." Often these cult festivals are performed by the king or a member of the royal family. But to say that this is normally the case would be an unjustified generalization. The statement is true as far as the capital is concerned; but what about the rest of the country? Obviously the king could not be everywhere, and yet local gods had their regular "festivals." We know this from the so-called cult inventories.⁵ Most of these are arranged by cities, giving the name of the main deity worshipped and enumerating the festivals celebrated there. In the majority of cases such a local god had two festivals: one in the spring and one in the fall. In the fall the storage vessels were filled, in the spring they were opened. But there are also towns for whose gods more festivals were celebrated, in one case as many as eleven, of which ten were performed every year and the eleventh once in two years.⁶ Other deities had monthly festivals.

Recently, H. A. Hoffner collected all festival names attested in the cult inventories and other sources.⁷ Some names are taken from the seasons: apart

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1. For outline tablets see Güterbock, *JNES* 19 (1960) 80–89 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 91–98 — Eds.]; 20 (1961) 90; *Neuere Hethiterforschung (Historia, Einzelschriften, Heft 7, 1964)* 62–69 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 104–108 — Eds.]; also *ibid.* p. 73, n. 97. While much of the subject matter of the present paper was contained in this German article, I am grateful to the Groupe Thureau-Dangin for the opportunity to restate it here in English and with additions in the context of «Les Fêtes en Mésopotamie et dans les régions voisines».
2. First published in *RHA* XIV–XVI (1956–58); section «Fêtes» in vol. XV, fasc. 60 (1957) 65–79. Hereafter ab-

breviated *Cat.* and quoted with the numbers of that first edition. [Equivalents in CTH follow each *Cat.* number; see the *Preface*. — HGG]

3. J. Renger in his contribution to the *Rencontre* (here 77) drew attention to the "feast" given by Aššumaširpal at the completion of his palace.
4. KUB XVII 10 i 19 and parallel passages.
5. C. W. Carter, *Hittite Cult Inventories* (diss. Chicago, 1962, microfilm); L. (Jakob-)Rost, *MIO* 8 (1961) 161–217; 9 (1963) 175–239; and KUB XXXVIII.
6. KUB XXXVIII 12 i 19–24, cf. *RHA* XXV/81 (1967) 142 f.
7. H. A. Hoffner, *RHA* XXV/80 (1967) 39–41. For sources see the literature in n. 1 above; the table, *MIO* 8, 172 f. con-

from the festivals of spring and fall already mentioned there are also festivals of winter,⁸ rain, and thunder. Others refer to agricultural activities: “festival of the sickle,” “f. of the cutting of grapes,” perhaps also “f. of the grain pile.”⁹ Still other names are descriptive of one part of the ceremony, like “f. of bathing” or “f. of carrying to the mountain.”¹⁰ There are many other names, and a large proportion of them are unfortunately still unexplained.

We have to assume that these local cult festivals were performed by the personnel of the local shrines. Yet they were probably public and official, at least in the sense that the crown kept a record of them, and more than once we read that one or the other detail was introduced or changed by His Majesty. There is reason to identify this unnamed king with Tudḫaliya IV (c. 1250 B.C.).

But apart from festivals performed in the capital and in the temples of other towns there is still another use of the term EZEN. We have texts concerning the cult of the goddess Ḫuwaššanna of Ḫubišna and of the Stormgod of Kuliwišna (Ḫubišna is Kybistra = Ereḡli; that Kuliwišna has the same ending may indicate that it belongs in the same general area).

The ritual of the Stormgod of Kuliwišna is called *mukišnaš* EZEN “festival of invocation” and is performed by a person called (logographically) *bēl bītim* “owner of the house.” It is performed every year but not in any fixed season, rather at whatever time suits the *bēl bītim* best.¹¹ The Stormgod of Kuliwišna belongs to the type of the Vanishing God, and the story of his disappearance (better known of Telipinu) is told in the second tablet of our ritual. Thus we have before us a ritual, performed by a private individual every year but not in a fixed season, containing the story of the Vanishing God who is invoked to return — hence the designation of the text — and this ritual is called an EZEN!

Similarly, for the goddess Ḫuwaššanna¹² there are fragments of texts which, according to their colophons, belong to different festivals, EZEN, and yet these are performed by an EN.SISKUR = *bēl niqē*. Since the text prescribes different offerings depending on whether the EN.SISKUR is rich or poor, it is evident that a private individual is meant. And still, he is to perform an EZEN. This use of the term is, as far as I can see, only found in Hittite texts.

Concerning the festivals of the capital city, one source, the Instruction for Temple Officials,¹³ lists eighteen different names. Only a part of these can be translated. The list is as follows:

EZEN ITU.KAM	festival of the month
EZEN MU-TI	f. of the year
EZEN A-YA-LI	f. of the stag (? if this is the correct reading)
EZEN <i>zenandaš</i> (Var. <i>nuntarriyašḫaš</i>) ¹⁴	f. of autumn
EZEN <i>ḫamešḫandaš</i>	f. of spring
EZEN <i>tetḫešnaš</i>	f. of thunder
EZEN <i>ḫiya(r)raš</i>	f. of ... (?) ¹⁵
EZEN <i>pudaḫaš</i>	f. of ... (?)
EZEN <i>išuwaš</i>	(for this festival see below)
EZEN <i>iššalaššaš</i>	f. of ... (?)
EZEN <i>BIBRI</i>	f. of the animal-shaped vessels
EZEN.MEŠ <i>šuppayaš</i> ¹⁶ SANGA-aš	festivals of the pure priest
EZEN.MEŠ <i>lá.meš ŠU.GI</i>	festivals of the old men
EZEN.MEŠ <i>sal.meš AMA.DINGIR-LIM</i>	festivals of the high priestesses
EZEN <i>daḫiyaš</i>	f. of ... (?) ¹⁶
EZEN.MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ <i>upatiyaš</i>	f.s. of the people of outlying settlements
EZEN.MEŠ <i>pulaš</i>	f.s. of throwing lots (?)
EZEN.MEŠ <i>ḫaḫrannaš</i>	f.s. of raking (? sc. the grain?)

“or whatever festival there is in Ḫattuša.”

tains a number of mistakes. Other lists are in the prayers of Muršili: Gurney, *AAA* 27 (1940) 19 and 58–61; in KUB XXV 26 and 27; and in the Instruction for Temple Officials (below, p. 177, n. 2). Cf. also *Cat.*, above, 175, n. 2.

8. EZEN ŠE₁₂ KBo II 8 i 14; iv 6 (Carter); EZEN *gimmantaš* AAA 27, 18, 4. The EZEN ḪULLĀNU (KUB XXXVIII 6 iv 17; *MIO* 8, 188; 190), named after a blanket or wrap, probably also falls into the cold season.
9. The first of these is EZEN (urudu)ŠU.KIN KBo II 1 i 44; iv 9; 8 iii 4 (Carter, against *MIO* 8, 173); for the other two see *MIO* 8, 172 f. (now KUB XXXVIII 12).
10. EZEN ḪUR.SAG-i *pudummaš* KBo II 1 i 43 (Carter, against *MIO* 8, 173).
11. KBo XV 32 i 1 ff. Another EZEN performed by a *bēl bītim* is KBo XVII 83.

12. Güterbock, *Oriens* 15 (1962) 345–51; Laroche, *Dict. de la langue louvite* (1959) 175–77; *Cat.* 463–467 [CTH 690–694].

13. KUB XIII 4 i 39–45; Sturtevant-Bechtel, *Hitt. Chrestomathy*, p. 150 f. One of the duplicates, KUB XIII 6 + 17 + 19 (*Cat.* 166, C + E + G [CTH 264]) is supplemented by the unpublished fragment 17/v (cf. Otten, *Baghd. Mitt.* 3 [1964] 91, n. 2).

14. 17/v 3: EZEN *nu-un-t[a...]*.

15. -ar- in 17/v. This festival is mentioned in oracle texts, but the meaning of its name is unknown.

16. This festival has to do with cult of the dead, see H. Otten, *Heth. Totenrit.* 109, n. 1. Is the similarity to the Hattic word for “barber” more than accidental?

By no means all these festivals are known from texts, although some are.¹⁷ For the Autumn festival the variant (n. 14) confirms what was already known, namely, that the *nuntarriyašhaš* festival was celebrated in the fall, “when the king returns from a campaign” as is sometimes said.

It appears that in the center of the country the two main festivals had special names: the autumn festival was called *nuntarriyašhaš* (the word is derived from the verb “to hurry, hasten”; the reason for this designation is not clear¹⁸), the spring festival took its name from the plant called AN.TAḪ.ŠUM.SAR, for which F. Cornelius proposed the translation “crocus (saffron).”¹⁹ Both these great festivals include trips outside the capital to such cult cities as Katapa, Arinna, Ankuwa, and others. We know this from the outline tablets which also show that these festivals covered many days: the spring festival lasted as many as 38 days! Apart from these trips, many different temples within the capital were visited and many gods were worshipped in the course of these long festivals.

A number of the descriptions of individual parts of the two great festivals are available in cuneiform publication, typical examples also in translation.²⁰ The essential phase of the festivals is formed by offerings to the various gods, accompanied by music. Such festivities are illustrated on the relief vases, the best example of which still awaits publication.²¹ A procession to a place outside the city with merrymaking at that place is part of the spring festival in Ḫattuša as well as in a number of the local festivals listed in the cult inventories. This custom can be compared with the Babylonian *akītu* festivals.

With a better understanding of the cultic trips it became evident that some of the texts which seemed to

refer to a local cult really describe rites taking place at one station of such a trip. But this is not to deny the existence of regular festival texts pertaining to local cults, texts which are neither part of a greater unit like the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM or *nuntarriyašhaš* festivals nor mere cult inventories. Gradually groups of texts pertaining to a certain religious center become better known, as for instance those about the cult of Nerik.

In closing I would like to draw attention to a few special festivals. One is the EZEN *haššumaš*. Its name may be translated “festivals of procreation,” and from its contents it seems to be a puberty rite for a prince.²²

Another festival, which became known relatively recently, has the strange name EZEN KILAM.²³ It describes in detail the “sortie” of the king, how he moves from one gate of the palace to the next, and how several objects are carried along in procession while he is waiting at the gate. Among these objects are animal figures made of precious metal, which remind us of the *bibrū* after which a festival is named in the list contained in the Instruction for Temple Officials. And of special interest for archaeology is the mention of an iron hammer or adze decorated with an image of the Stormgod!²⁴ Finally the king and queen mount their chariots. Afterward, when the royal couple reaches the temple of the Graingoddess, the *abarakkū* of various towns present them with the produce that was brought from the storehouses belonging to their respective towns, storehouses which were no doubt located in the capital.²⁵ Each *abarakkū* is introduced by the herald with the Hattic gentilic name of his town, e.g. *Karahñail* “the one from Karaḫna,” etc. The rest of the ritual follows the pattern of other festivals with the usual offering ceremonies.

Another festival which has only recently become available in cuneiform edition is the EZEN *išūwaš* or *hišūwaš* {CTH 628}. Its name, which also occurs in the Temple Officials lists, is not clear to me, nor can I explain the presence or absence of the initial *h*. The colophon, known since 1951 from a preliminary note of H. Otten,²⁶ reads as follows:

“When queen Puduḫepa called the chief of scribes, UR.MAḪ-ziti, to look in Ḫattuša for tablets of

17. A group of “Gewitterrituale” which may represent the EZEN *tetḫešnaš* is published in KBo XVII 74 ff. and will be edited by E. Neu.

18. Since cult voyages are now known to be part also of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, the traveling during the *nuntarr* cannot, by itself, be the reason.

19. F. Cornelius, in the *Bossert Memorial Volume (Anadolu Araştırmaları II = Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung “II” [recte: IV], 1965) 175–77*; see also his contribution to this Rencontre. Some doubt comes from the fact that saffron is normally taken from the autumn-blossoming purple variety of crocus. Cf. *andaḫšu* in CAD in contrast to *AHw*.

20. E.g., A. Goetze’s translation of the ritual for the 16th day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, performed in the temple of Zababa (KBo IV 9 with duplicates) in *ANET* pp. 358–61.

21. K. Bittel, *Festschrift Carl Weickert* (1955) 23–33; T. Özgüç, *Anatolia II* (1957) 57–78. The best published vase, from Bitik, also in E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (1961) pl. XIV. An almost complete such vase was found in the mound of Inandık; it is in the Ankara Museum, still unpublished.

22. *IBOT* I 29. A paper characterizing it as “An Initiation Rite for a Hittite Prince” was read by the author at a meeting in 1960 and has now been published in *American Oriental Society Middle West Branch Semi-Centennial Volume*, ed. by D. Sinor (= *Asian Studies Research Inst., Oriental Series*, No. 3, Indiana University Press, 1969) 99–103 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 111–114 — Eds.].

23. KBo X, Inhaltsübersicht, Nos. 23–32.

24. KBo X 24 iii 27–iv 4 with duplicate KUB XX 91 (NÍG.GUL = *akkullu*).

25. Cf. Güterbock, *JNES* 20 (1961) 88 f. I still maintain my view that these lists of *abarakkū* are not itineraries.

26. *BiOr.* 8 (1951) 225.

Kizzuwatna, he wrote these tablets of the EZEN *hišuwāš*.”

Professor Laroche was expected to read a paper on this festival at the Rencontre, and it is hoped that he will soon find an opportunity to make known his comments. In the context of this outline the following brief remarks must suffice. In accordance with its south-eastern background the text contains many speeches in Hurrian and deals mainly with Hurrian deities. Among the latter it includes long lists of deified mountains and rivers ranging from Cilicia to Syria.²⁷ The purpose of the rites is to purify the king and the royal family and in general to secure their well-being. Known by now are tablets II, (perhaps III and IV), V, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII and XIII, which is the last.²⁸

Finally, a word about a find of 1968. In the area of the Great Temple at Boğazköy a tablet was found, with about three-fourths of the text preserved.²⁹ It belongs to

the well-known festival type — so again, the best-preserved tablet of the year was “of course, a Festrutal!” But this time it was quite interesting. The colophon says:

“Second tablet, (text) complete, of the Great House, of the Spring (festival). The second day is completed.” The writing is ŠA É-TIM GAL = *ša bitī(m) rabī*: the *tim* between É and GAL shows that one should not read *ekallu!* In accordance with the colophon we read in the text that the king enters the Great House (col. i, line 12). Among the gods worshipped in the course of the festival there is ʾIŠKUR É-TIM GAL (ii 7) “The Stormgod of the Great House.” It does not take much imagination to see what the Great House, with its Stormgod of the Great House, may be, especially since the tablet was found in one of the storerooms of — the Great Temple!

27. These lists are discussed by Otten, ZA 59 (N.F. 25, 1969) 247–60.

28. The following list is only an attempt at fitting some texts into the sequence of the numbered tablets. The division of the series into tablets varied in the different manuscripts; but the identification of individual manuscripts and of the numbering in them must be left to a fuller treatment of the series, as must also the placing of additional fragments including unpublished ones.

- a) KBo XV 48 with duplicates (*Cat.* 433, 4) contains in col. i the end of the first day; it is therefore likely to be Tablet II.
- b) KUB XII 12 with duplicates (*Cat.* 433, 5) may belong here as Tablet III or after Tablet V (as VI or VII).
- c) KUB XXVII 19 (*Cat.* 433, 1, H) {CTH 790} whose line 22 probably mentions the king’s entry into the temple of Iš(!)hara, should precede the Vth Tablet, hence represent part of Tablet IV.
- d) Tablet V was identified by colophons (*Cat.* 433, 1). Among the copies are KBo XV 60 (= C), 50 (= E) (+) 49. A further duplicate is Bo 2040 according to Otten, *Heth. Totenrit.* 134.
- e) Tablet VIII is KUB XL 102 according to the colophon.
- f) Parts of Tablet IX are covered by those copies which contain(ed) text portions preceding the lists of moun-

tains and rivers. These are mainly: KBo XV 58, 61, (65, 66), KUB XX 74 with its duplicates (*Cat.* 433, 7, including Laroche’s join B = FHG 15 + KBo XV 69), KUB XXVII 48 + IBoT II 85 + KUB XL 97 (*Cat.* 400, 1, A), and KUB XL 100.

- g) Tablet X (*Cat.* 433, 2) is now KBo XV 52 (+ ?) 54 (+) 55 (+) 63; duplicates are KUB XX 95, XXVII 47, KBo XV 51, 59, 68, XVI 95, 96, and unpublished 1113/c.
- h) Tablet XI = KUB XXX 40 (*Cat.* 433, 3); its beginning overlaps with the end of the Xth Tablet.
- i) KUB XX 52 + KBo IX 123 (*Cat.* 434, 2) follows, since its beginning closely resembles the end of the XIth Tablet. It may therefore be numbered Tablet XII. A duplicate to its col. iv is unpublished 1252/v, mentioned by Otten as duplicate to the beginning of KBo XV 37, thus showing that the latter follows immediately.
- j) KBo XV 37 with duplicates (*Cat.* 433, 6; copy H now KBo XV 39; 243/q is an unpublished duplicate to 37 v 47 ff.) thus becomes Tablet XIII. The broken tablet number in the colophon can be restored as XIII from the traces given (differently) in ABoT 7 and KBo XV 37, and the word *QATI* immediately following the name of the festival marks this tablet as the last.

29. Field number Bo 68/55, to be published by Otten as KBo XIX 128.

AN OUTLINE OF THE HITTITE AN.TAḪ.ŠUM FESTIVAL*

Among the tablets found in 1957 in the archive room of Building K on Büyükkale at Boghazköy¹ there is a nearly complete tablet ([*KBo* X 20 — Eds.] field number 126/p + 271/p + 433/p + 444/p)² which I copied in 1959. Since it has duplicates, this two-column tablet will be called copy A. Copy B is *KUB* XXX 39, the beginning and end of a one-column tablet from Building

A (Catalogue³ 496, 1, A {CTH 604}); copy C is *KUB* X 94 (496, 3 {CTH 604}), a small fragment of another two-column tablet from Winckler's excavations. *KUB* XXV 27 (508, 3 {CTH 629}) is in part parallel, although dealing with EZEN.MEŠ SAG.UŠ "the regular festivals." Quoted here as S. Transliteration and translation follow:

A, col. i, beginning restored from B

(B 1) [...]-ri ŠA EZEN.ḪI.A [AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} ... (B 2) ...m][a-a¹-an LUGAL-u]š^{URU}Ḫa-at-tu-ši še-e[r gi-im-ma-an]-da[-ri-ia-az-zi (B 3) nu GIM-an LU]GAL-uš^{URU}Ḫa-at-tu-ša-az (A 4) [(da-a-i nu LUGAL) SAL.LUGAL^{UR}(^UḪa)]-at-tu-ša-az^{URU}Ta-ḫur-pí (A 5) [(an-da pa-a-an-zi na-aš-ta LUGAL)]-uš^{URU}Ta-ḫur-pí (A 6) [š(a-ra-a IŠ-TU^{GIŠ}GIGIR)] pa-iz-zi

(A 7) [(ma-a-an LUGAL-uš a)]-ra-aḫ-za(-ma) ku-wa-pí-ik-ki da-me-e-da-ni (8) [(URU-ri gi-im-ma-a)]n-ta-ri-ia-az-zi ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma (9) [(Ú.BURU₇-an-za)] ki-ša-ri ták-kán LUGAL-uš a-pí-iz URU-az (10) [(d)a-a-i (nu a)]n-da-an^{URU}Ta-ḫur-pí(-pát) pa-iz-zi (11) [(^{URU}Ka)]-a-ta-pí-ma-kán ša-ra-a Ú-UL ku-it-ki⁴ pa-iz-zi (12) ^{URU}Ka-a-ta-pí DINGIR.MEŠ-aš ḫa-az-zi-ú-i NU GÁL ku-it-ki⁵

(13) ma-a-an LUGAL-i-ma a-aš-šu ta-aš-ta^{URU}Ka-a-ta-pí ša-ra-a (14) a-pé-e-ni-iš-ša-an pa-iz-zi DINGIR-LUM-ma-za Ú-UL ku-in-ki i-ia-zi (15) šal-li(-ia) Ú-UL ḫal-zi-ia lu-uk-kat-ti-ma LUGAL SAL.LUGAL (16) ^{URU}Ta-ḫur-pí an-da-an pa-a-an-zi na-aš-ta LUGAL-uš^{URU}Ta-ḫur-pí (17) ša-ra-a^{GIŠ}GIGIR-az pa-iz-zi ta^ḫḫa-le-en-tu-u-wa-aš (18) šal-li a-še-eš-šar

(19) lu[-uk]-kat-ti-ma LUGAL SAL.LUGAL^{URU}Ḫa-at-tu-ši⁶ an-da-an pa-a-an-zi (20) nu I-NA^{ḪUR.SAG}Ti-ip-pu-u-wa^{LÚ.MEŠ}ME-ŠE-DI DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL⁷ (21) pít-ti-ia-an-zi nu-za LUGAL SAL.LUGAL^ḫtar-nu-i wa-ar-ap-pa-an-zi (22) na-aš-ta⁸^{URU}Ḫa-at-tu-ši ša-ra-a^{GIŠ}ḫu-u-lu-ga-an-ni-it⁹ (23) pa-iz-zi nu^ḫḫa-le-en-tu-u-wa(-aš) šal-li a-še-eš-šar

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1. *MDOG* XCI 57 ff.; 75.
2. The last two fragments, completing the colophon, were added by H. Otten after my departure.
3. E. Laroche, "Catalogue des Textes Hittites," *RHA* XIV 33–38, 69–116; XV 39–89; XVI 18–64. Hereafter referred to by simple number (in italics). [Equivalents in CTH follow each *Cat.* number; see the *Preface*. — HGG]

4. B 9: ku-wa-at-qa.

5. B 9: ḫa-az-zi-i-ú (sic!) EZEN[-ia Ú-U]L ku-iš-ki, cf. *IBoT* III 40, 5.

6. Cf. S i 1': [^{UR}]UPA-ši.

7. In B 15 inverted.

8. B 16 adds [... LUGAL]-uš.

9. B 16: -na-az.

(24) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* ^{URU}[(A-ri-i)]*n-na-az* ^{KUŠ}*kur-ša-aš*¹⁰ [(ú-iz-zi)] (25) ^É*ha-l[e-en-tu-u-aš a-ni-u]r(?)*¹¹ *šal[(-li)] a-še[(-eš)]-šar*

(26) [*lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* ^{KUŠ}*kur-š(a-aš* ^{URU}*Ta-ú-i)*]-*ni-ia pa-iz-zi* (27) [... A-N(A EZEN.ITU *wa-ar-a*)]*p-zi*¹²

(28) *lu-uk[-kat-ti-ma* ^{KUŠ}*kur-ša-aš* (^{URU}*Ta-ú-i*)]-*ni-ia-az ú-iz-zi* (29) *na-aš(?)* [^{UR}(^U*Hi-ia-aš-na še-eš-zi*) *na-aš-kán*] *x-x[-x(?) p]a-iz[-zi]*¹³ (30) L[^U.ME]Š A(-*BU-BI-DU* DUMU.SAL *x*) ... ^{URU}*Zi-ip[(-pa-la-an)]-da*¹⁴ (31) [*x*] *x x* [...]-*zi*

(32) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* EZ[EN] *x-x-an l[š-T]U(?)* [É].GAL *tar-kum-mi-an[-zi]* (33) *nu* ^{KUŠ}*kur[-ša-aš]* I-NA É ^{DNISABA(?)} [^U*iz-zi*] (34) [*nu*] I-NA É ^{DNISABA(?)} *x x x [x x] x x* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}GUDÚ(?) [...?] (35) NINDA.KUR₄.RA *hi-in-kán-zi* ^{URU}*Ka-a[-ša-ia]-az-zi-ia* SILÁ-*an [ú(?)]-da-an-zi*¹⁵

(36) *nu* ^É*ha-le-en-tu[-u-wa-aš]* *šal-li a-še-eš-šar* (37) I-NA É.GAL ^U[^UA-BU-B]I-TI-*ia-kán* ZAG-*na-aš* (38) ŠA ^{DU}^{UR}[^UZ]i-*ip-pa-la-an-da* ^{DUG}*har-ši-ia-al-li* (39) *a-pé-e-da-ni-pát* UD-*ti ki-nu-wa-an-zi*

(40) [*nu*] I-NA UD.3.KAM EZEN *e-eš-ša-an-zi* 8 GUD.ḪI.A [*x*] UDU.ḪI.A (41) [*x*] *x x x x* ŠA É.GAL ^{LÚ}A-BU-BI-TI-*pát da-aš-kán-zi* (42) [... -i] *a-kán IŠ-TU* ^É*hé-eš-ti-i* SAḪAR.HI.A-*uš* (43) [*a-pé-e-da-ni U*]D-*ti pé-e-da-i*

(44) [... LUGAL SAL.LUGAL(?) I-NA] É ^{DU}TU [*pa-a-a*]*n-zi* (?) (45: traces; two more lines to end of column)

A, col. ii

(1) [... ^{UR}A-ri-in-na *pa-i[z-zi* ... (2) ... -i] *el-la šal-li a-še-eš-šar* *ša-ša-a[n-na-ma* (3) LUGAL-*uš I-N*]A ^{URU}A-ri-in-na *pa-iz-zi* SAL.LUGAL-*ma* ^{URU}KÙ.BA[*BAR-ši* (4) I-NA É.]SAL.LUGAL *pa-iz-zi*

(5)¹⁶ [(*lu-uk*)-*kat*]-*ti-ma-kán* LUGAL-*uš I-NA* ^{URU}A-ri-in-na AN.TAḪ[(^{ŠUM}SAR (6) *da-a-i* S)]AL.LUGAL-*ma-aš-ša-an* ^{URU}KÙ.BABAR-*ši I-NA* É.SAL.LUGAL (7) [(AN.TAḪ.ŠU)]M^{SAR} *da-a-i nu I-NA* É.SAL.LUGAL *šal-li a-še[(-eš-ša)]r*

(8) [(*lu-uk-k*)]*at-ti-ma* LUGAL-*uš* ^{URU}A-ri-in-na-*az* ^{URU}KÙ.BABAR-*ši* (9) *ú-iz-zi nu* ^É*ha-le-en-tu-u-wa-aš* *šal-li a-še-e[š-šar]* (10) UD.10.KAM

(11) [*u-u*]*k-kat-ti-ma* GAL.DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL I-NA ^É*he-eš-ti[-i* (12) MU.KAM-*a*]*n pé-e-da-i* LUGAL-*uš-ša* EGIR-ŠU *ia-ia-a[t-ta-ri* (13) *nu-kán pa-iz-zi pít-ti-ia-u-wa-aš* ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ KAS[-*ši da-a-i*]¹⁷

10. Cf. S i 5.

11. B 19 less, perhaps [*šal-li a-ni-u*]-*ur*.

12. S i 7 ff: [*lukkatti-ma* ^{KUŠ}*gur-ša-aš* ^{URU}*Ta-ú-i-ni-ia* (8) [*paizzi I-NA(?)*] É.GAL-LIM-*ma A-NA* EZEN.ITU.KAM (9) [*wa-ar-ap-pu*]-*wa-an-zi* (cf. A iii 30).

13. S i 12 f.: [*lu-uk-k*]*at* ^{KUŠ}*gur-ša-aš* ^{URU}*Hi-ia-aš-na še-eš-zi* (13) [*na-aš-ká*]*n(?) šu-uḫ-ḫa pa-iz-zi*.

14. In B 23 end of paragraph; the verb of A 31 could be restored on edge of B. Thereafter B breaks off.

15. Cf. S i 20 f.: *lu-uk-kat* ^{KUŠ}*gur-ša-aš* ^{URU}*Hi-ia-aš-na-za* EGIR-*pa* (21) ^{URU}PA-*ši ú-iz-zi* ^{URU}*Ka-ša-ia-za* SILÁ ... (illegible traces over erasure).

16. C is duplicate to lines 5–9.

17. Restored after iii 9.

(14) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* LUGAL-uš I-NA É^DZi-pár-wa_a-a [pa-iz-zi] (15) *nu* EZEN ŠA^{DU} URUKÛ.BABAR-TI-ia-kán^{DUG} ḫar-ši-ia[-al-li] (16) *še-ep-pí-it-ta-aš a-pé-e-da-ni* UD-ti ki-nu[-wa-an-zi] (17) I-NA É^DUTU-ma EZEN ḫa-da-ú-ri i-ia-an-zi [... (?) (18) 10] UDU.ḪI.A ḫu-u-kán-zi¹⁸

(19) [nu]-kán^[UZU] šu-up-pa da-an-zi na-at za-nu-wa-an-zi (20) [na]-at PA-NI DINGIR-LIM ti-an-zi UDU.ḪI.A-ma hu-u-ma-a[n-du-uš] (21) I-N]A É.GAL-LIM EGIR-pa da-an-zi

(22) [1] UDU-ma[-kán Š]À É.DINGIR-LIM d[a-a-l]i-ia-an-zi^{LÚ} NAR[-ia-kán] (23) ^{LÚ}ME-ŠE-DI [I-NA É] ^{DU} ma-ah-ḫa-an aš-ša-nu-ir I-NA É^DUTU-ia] (24) QA-TAM-MA [aš-ša-nu]-wa-an-zi IŠ-TU DINGIR-LIM QA-TAM-MA [SI×SÁ-at]¹⁹

(25) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* LUGAL-uš I-NA É^DZi-pár-wa_a-a (26) *nam-ma pa-iz-zi nu* EZEN-ŠU

(27) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* LUGAL-uš ták-na-aš^D UTU ... (28) ^{LÚ}ḪAL-ma ne-ku-uz me-ḫur I-NA É^{tar}nu-ú-i [... ?] (29) A-NA GIŠ.ḪI.A GIŠTÚG^{NA4} ḫu-u-wa-ši ŠA^{DU} [x].MEŠ x[...]

(30) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* LUGAL-uš I-NA É^{tar}nu-ú-i ŠA GIŠ.ḪI.A GIŠTÚG^{NA4} pa-iz-zi] (31) *nu* ŠA^{DU} NA4ḫu-u-wa-ši GUD.ḪI.A UDU.ḪI.A ḫu-u-kán-zi

(32) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* LUGAL SAL.LUGAL I-NA É^D pa-a-an-zi (33) *nu* šal-li a-še-eš-ša[r I-NA É^DZA.BA₄.BA₄-ma EZEN.x[...]²⁰ (34) i-ia-an-zi nu 10 UDU.ḪI.A ḫu-u-kán-zi nu-kán^{UZU} šu-u[p-pa] (35) da-an-zi na-at PA-NI DINGIR-LIM ti-an-zi UDU.ḪI.A-ma (36) ḫu-u-ma-an-du-uš I-NA É.GAL.LIM EGIR-pa da-an-zi (37) 1 UDU-ma-kán ŠÀ É.DINGIR-LIM da-a-li-ia-an-zi (38) GAL.ḪI.A-ma-kán ŠA EZEN.ITU.KAM aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi (39) IŠ-TU DINGIR-LIM ki-iš-ša-an ḫa-an-ta-it-ta-at

(40) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* LUGAL SAL.LUGAL I-NA É^Dḫa-an-nu pa-a-an-zi (41) *nu* šal-li a-še-eš-šar I-NA É^Dma DUMU.LUGAL (42) IŠ-TU É.GAL-LIM u-i-ia-an-zi nu EZEN ḫa-ta-ú-ri (43) i-ia-zi nu UDU.ḪI.A ḫu-u-kán-zi nu-kán šu-up-pa (44) da-an-zi na-at za-nu-wa-an-zi na-at PA-NI DINGIR-LIM (45) ti-an-zi UDU.ḪI.A-ma ḫu-u-ma-an-du-uš I-NA É.GAL-LIM (46) EGIR-pa da-an-zi 1 UDU-ma-kán ŠÀ É.DINGIR-LIM (47) da-a-li-ia-an-zi a-da-tar a-ku-wa-tar (48) [IŠ]-TU É <GAL-LIM > [A-NA] DUMU.LUGAL u-i-ia-an-zi nu GAL ḫar-zi (49) [.....]x-ma-az SÌR-ki-iz-zi (50–51 traces, then end of column)

A, col. iii

(1) [.....] ... (2) Ḫ A-NA^{Dx} URU1 ... ^{DU} URUŠa-mu-ḫa-ia (3) ši-pa-an-da-an-zi

(4) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-za-kán* LUGAL-uš É^D pák-ku-wa-ia-aš (5) ^{DU} pí-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ši-in i-ia-zi SAL.LUGAL-ma-za-kán (6) ^{DU}TU URU A-ri-in-na ŠÀ É^{tar}ḫa-le-en-tu-u-wa-aš i-ia-zi

18. Cf. S i 14.

19. Restored from iii 16–18 and ii 39; [SI×SÁ-at] on account of space.

20. Traces of Ḫ[I.A.]? But cf. S i 9 f.: I-NA É^DZA.BA₄.BA₄-ma (10) [EZEN ḫa-da]-ú-ri.

(7) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma šu-up-pa-ia-aš UD-az LUGAL-uš-ma* (8) *A-NA GIŠ.ĪIA GIŠTÚG pa-iz-zi nu-kán pít-ti-ia-u-wa-aš ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ* (9) *KAS-ši da-a-i EGIR-iz-zi-ia-az-ma-kán ma-a-an [GA]L ME-ŠE-DI* (10) *ma-a-an GAL.DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL PA-NI* ^{DU} *pí-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ši* (11) *Û PA-NI* ^{DU} *TU URUTÚL-na GAL.ĪIA aš-ša-nu-uz-zi*

(12) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma šu-up-pa wa-ar-ap-pu-u-wa-ar*²¹ (13) *ku-lu-mur-ši-ia ši-pa-an-da-an-zi I-NA* ^{DU} *[KAL(?)]* (14) *EZEN ḫa-da-ú-ri i-ia-an-zi nu 10 UDU ḫu-u-kán[-zi]* (15) *nu-kán šu-up-pa da-an-zi na-at PA-NI DINGIR-LIM [ti-an-zi]* (16) *1 UDU-ma-kán ŠÀ É.DINGIR-LIM da-a-li-ia-an-zi* (17) ^{LÚ} *NAR-ia-kán* ^{LÚ} *ME-ŠE-DI I-NA* ^{DU} *GIM-an* (18) *aš-ša-nu-e-er I-NA* ^{DU} *[KAL-ia-kán QA-TAM-MA aš-ša[-nu-wa-an-zi]*

(19) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma [I-N]A* ^{DU} ^{URU} *ḫa-la-ab I-NA* ^{DU} *[... -ia]* (20) *A-NA* ^{DU} *Ka-a[t-ta]ḫ-ḫa* ^{DU} *GUR* ^{DU} *ḫa-ša-me-li* (21) *Û A-NA* ^{DU} *[x]* *[EZEN ḫa]ḫa-da-ú-ri i-ia-an-zi* (22) *nu 10 UDU.ĪIA ŠÀ* ^{LÚ} *[É.DINGIR]LIM š[i-pa]-an-da-an-zi*

(23) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma LUGAL SAL.LUGAL I-NA* ^{LÚ} *[É]Aš-ka-ši-pa* (24) *pa-a-an-zi* ^{LÚ} *MEŠĪHAL-ma* ^{DU} *IŠTAR* ^{URU} *[ḫ]a-at-ta-ri-na* (25) *[mu-u-ga-an]-zi UD.22.KAM*

(26) *[lu-uk-kat-ti-ma LU]GAL SAL.LUGAL[... (27) ...] ...* ^{DU} *IŠTAR* ^{URU} *[ḫa-at-t]a-ri-na* (28) *[mu-u-ga-an]zi*

(29) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma LUGAL S[AL.LU]GAL I-NA* ^{DU} *[x] pa-a-an-zi* (30) *nu šu-up-pa wa-ar-ap-pu-u-wa-an-zi* ^{LÚ} *MEŠĪHAL-ma* (31) ^{DU} *IŠTAR* ^{URU} *ḫa-at-ta-ri-na nam-ma mu-u-ga-a-an[-zi]* (32) *ŠA DINGIR-LIM-ia ŠU.ĪIA šu-up-pí-ia-ah-ḫa-an-zi* (33) *ne-ku-uz me-ḫur-ma ku-lu-mur-ši-ia ši-pa-an-da[-an-zi]*

(34) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma A-NA* ^{DU} *IŠTAR* ^{URU} *ḫa-ad-da-ri-n[a ...]*

(35) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma A-NA* ^{DU} *IŠTAR* ^{URU} *ḫa-ad-da-ri-n[a ... (?)]* (36) *šu-up-pa-ia-aš UD-az*

(37) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* ^{LÚ} *MEŠĪHAL* ^{DU} *Ni-na-at-ta-an-ni-uš* (38) *ši-pa-an-da-an-zi LUGAL-uš-ma-za* ^{DU} *Kar-ma-ḫi-li-in* (39) *i-ia-zi*

(40) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-az LUGAL-uš* ^{HUR.SAG} *Ta-pa-la-an DÛ-zi*

(41) *[lu]-uk-kat-ti-ma LUGAL SAL.LUGAL I-NA* ^{DU} *[A-a] pa-a-an-zi*

(42) *[lu-u]k-kat-ti-ma LUGAL SAL.LUGAL I-NA* ^{DU} *[É] DINGIR.MAḫ pa-a-an-zi* (43) ^{DU} ^{URU} *[ḫ]ur-ša-an-na-aš-ši-in-na mu-u-ga-an-zi*

(44) *[lu-u]k-kat-ti-ma LUGAL SAL.LUGAL DINGIR.MAḫ* ^{DU} *ḫar-ki-ú-i-i[a]* (45) *i]-ia- a[n-z]i* ^{DU} ^{URU} *[ḫ]ur-ša-an-na-aš-ši-in-na mu-u[-ga-an-zi]*

(46) *[...] I-NA* ^{DU} *[É.ŠÀ.TAM SAG.KI-eš-na [... (perhaps one more line to end of column)]*

21. Cf. S iii 12: *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma šu-up-pa NISABA-ar*.

A, col. IV

(1?) ... (2)[... GUD].ḪIA UDU.ḪIA ši-pa-an-ti

(3) [lu-uk-kat-t]i-ma ka^l-ru^l-wa-ri-wa-ar I-NA É^{LÚ.MEŠ}[MU(?) (4) wa-g]a-an-na ḫal-zi-ia nam-ma LUGAL SAL.LUGAL I-NA [É^D]KAL (5) [pa^l-a-an-zi KAS-an-ma da-ra-an-zi^{HUR.SAG}Piš-k[u-ru]-nu-wa-an (6) da-a-iš (-) ti-an-zi

(7) [I]u-uk-kat-ti-ma LUGAL-uš^{URU}Ḫa-it-ta še-eš-zi [...]-ma-aš-ša-an (8) ša-ra-a ḪUR.SAG-i pé-e-da[-an-zi]

(9) lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-aš-ša-an LUGAL SAL.LUGAL ḪUR.S[AG-i UGU pa-a-a]n-zi (10) nu EZEN-ŠU ša-ša-an-na-ma an-da-an^{U[RU]}Ḫur-ra-na-aš-š*i*²² (11) pa-iz[-zi]

(12) [lu]-uk-kat-ti-ma-az LUGAL SAL.LUGAL^{DUTU} URU^{A-ri-in-n[a ...]x-ia} (13) [I]-NA URU^{Ḫur-ra-na-aš-ši i-ia-an-zi GAL.DUMU.É[GAL-ma ...]} (14) I-NA URU^{Zi-ip-pa-la-an-da pé-en-an-i} (15) ta-aš-še^{LÚ.MEŠ}SANGA pí-ra-an-a-da-an[-zi]

(16) lu-uk-kat-ti-ma^{URU}Zi-ip-pa-la-an-ti²³ [... (?)]

(17) lu-uk-kat-ti-ma^{URU}An-ku-wa nu^Éḫa-le-en-tu-u[-wa-aš] (18) šal-li [a-še]-eš-š[ar]

(19) lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-az LUGAL-uš EZEN ZU-UN-NI i-ia-zi²⁴

(19a) [DUB.1.KAM]²⁵ (20) EZEN.ḪIA AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} [(ma-aḫ-ḫ)]a-an ḫa-an-te-ez-zi²⁶ (21) a-ni-ia-an-te-eš ŠU.NIGÍN IT[(U.1.K)]AM UD.18¹(?)KAM-ia²⁷ (22) A-NA EZEN.ḪIA AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}-ša-an ku^l-i-e^l-eš (23) an-da ḫa-an-da-a-an-zi QA-TI²⁸

(24) ŠĀ-ta ši-ia-an-na-aš^DZi-it-ḫa-ri-ia²⁹ (25) A-NA EZEN.ḪIA AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SA}[(^RI)]-NA É-ŠU³⁰ a-pé-e-el³¹ (26) ^Éka-ri-im-mi pa-iš-k[(at-ta a-ri-i)]a-an-ma-at [... ?] (27) ku-it ut-tar šu-wa-at[(ta-at)]³²

(1) ... of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival ...

[1st day] If the king spends the winter up in Hattusa, then, when the king sets out from Hattusa, the king and queen go from Hattusa to Tahrupa; the king drives up to Tahrupa in a chariot.

(7) But if the king spends the winter anywhere else, in another town, then, when it becomes spring the king sets out from that town and goes to Tahrupa. But up to Katapa he does not go at all: at Katapa there are not rites (var.: and no festival) of the gods.

22. Horizontal at end of line; restored after line 13.

23. B rev. 1': [... Zi]-[ip-p]^l[a-la-an-d]a[...].24. B 3': [...-m]a-za LUGAL-uš^DU ZU-UN-NI EZE[N(?)] ... i-ia]-zi.

25. B 4': [DUB.1.KAM QA-TI; A has QA-TI at end of 23, while [DUB.1.KAM] may be restored in the break above the center of line 20.

26. B: adds -li.

27. B 5': ITU.1.KAM Û UD.5.KAM; numeral in A damaged by break between 433/p and 271/p. See below.

28. For position of QA-TI in B see note 25.

29. B 1' adds -aš.

30. B 8' adds URU^{Ḫa-at-tu-ši}.

31. B 8' adds I-NA.

32. B 9' f. after paškatta: a-ri-ia-an-ma-at DINGIR-LIM-it (10) ut-tar-kán šu-u-wa-at-ta-at.

(13) But if it pleases the king he may go up to Katapa even so; but neither shall he celebrate there any god, nor shall the great assembly be called. The next day³³ the king and queen enter Tahirpa; the king drives up to Tahirpa in a chariot. In the *halentu* house the great assembly (takes place).

[2d day] (19) Next day the king and queen enter Hattusa. At Mount Tippuwa the bodyguards and the palace attendants race. Then the king and queen bathe in the *tarnu* house. The king drives up to Hattusa in a (light) cart. In the *halentu* the great assembly (takes place).

[3d day] (24) Next day the Fleece arrives from Arinna. [Rites of] the *halentu* (var.: [great rit]es?). Great assembly.

[4th day] (26) [Next day the Fl]eece goes to Tawiniya. [...] bathes for the Festival of the Month.

[5th day] (28) Next day [the Fleece] comes (back) from Tawiniya; it stays over night at Hiyasna, [then] goes [up to the roof(?)].³⁴ The *abubitu* ... the daughter ... [... the Storm-god of (?)] Zippalanda.

[6th day] (32) Next day they announce from the palace the ... festival. The Fleece arrives at the temple of Nisaba(?); in the temple of Nisaba(?) ... to(?) the anointed (priests) they deliver bread, and they bring a lamb from Kasaya.

(36) Great assembly in the *halentu*. In the palace of the *abubitu* they open the storage vessel of the right side of the Storm-god of Zippalanda on that very day.

[6th–8th days] (40) For three days they perform the festival. Eight oxen and x sheep they take [from the ...] of the palace of the *abubitu*, and [the ...] brings earth from the House of the Dead on [that] day.

(44) [... the king and queen (?)] go into the temple of the Sun-god(dess) ...

(ii 1) [...] goes to Arinna. Great assembly [in ...] ... But for sleeping [the king] goes to Arinna, while the queen goes (back) to Hattusa into the Queen's Palace.

[9th day] (5) Next day the king takes the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant in Arinna, while the queen takes the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant in the Queen's Palace at Hattusa. Great assembly in the Queen's Palace.

[10th day] (8) Next day the king comes (back) from Arinna to Hattusa. Great assembly in the *halentu*. Tenth day.

[11th day] (11) Next day the chief of the palace attendants carries [the "year"] to the House of the

Dead, and the king follows him. He goes and puts the race horses on their way.

[12th day] (14) Next day the king goes into the temple of Ziparwa: festival. They open the grain storage vessel of the Storm-god of Hatti on that day. In the temple of the Sun-god(dess) they perform the *hadauri* festival. [...] they slaughter [ten] sheep.

(19) And they take the meat and cook it and put it before the deity. All the sheep they take back to the palace,

(22) but one sheep they leave in the temple. Just as the singer and the bodyguard have set up (the cups) in the temple of the Storm-god, in the same way they set (them) up in [the temple of the Sun-god(dess)]; thus it was determined by the deity.

[13th day] (25) Next day the king again goes into the temple of Ziparwa. His festival (takes place).

[14th day] (27) Next day the king [celebrates(?)] the Sun-goddess of the Earth, while an incantation priest in the evening [goes(?)] in(to ?) the *tarnu* house and ... es the ... s of the Storm-god at the stela (which is) at the boxwood trees.

[15th day] (30) Next day the king [goes] to the *tarnu* house of the [boxwood] trees; they slaughter oxen and sheep at the stela of the Storm-god.

[16th day] (32) Next day the king and queen go into the temple of the Storm-god. Great assembly. But in the temple of Zababa they perform the festival[s(?)] [...].³⁵ They slaughter ten sheep, take the meat and put it before the god. They take all the sheep back to the palace, but one sheep they leave in the temple. They set up the cups belonging to the Festival of the Month; thus it was determined by the deity.

[17th day] (40) Next day the king and queen go into the temple of Hannu. Great assembly. But into the temple of the Storm-god they send a prince from the palace, and he performs the *hadauri* festival. They slaughter sheep, take the meat and cook it and put it before the god. They take all the sheep back to the palace, but one sheep they leave in the temple. They send food and drink from the palace to the prince. He holds a cup [and sets it up(?) while the ...] keeps singing ... (iii 1) ... and to god X of the town of Y and to the Storm-god of Samuha they make offerings.

[18th day] (4) Next day the king celebrates the Storm-god *piḫašašši* in the Pure Temple, while the queen celebrates the Sun-goddess of Arinna in the *halentu*.

[19th day] (7) Next day is the day of the meat (offerings). The king goes to the boxwood trees and puts the race horses on their way. Afterwards (someone), be

33. If the optional trip to Katapa is taken, Tahirpa is entered on the second day, but this delay is not counted in the normal course of the festival.

34. Thus perhaps after S i 13 (n. 13).

35. Cf. note 20 to transliteration.

it the chief of the bodyguards or the chief of the palace attendants, sets up the cups before the Storm-god *piḫašašši* and the Sun-goddess of Arinna,

[20th day] (12) Next day holy ablution (takes place). They perform *kulumuršiya* offerings. In the temple of [Inara(?)] they perform the *ḫadauri* festival. They slaughter ten sheep, take the meat and put it before the deity. < They take all the sheep back to the palace, > but one sheep they leave in the temple. Just as the singer and the bodyguard have set up (the cups) in the temple of the Storm-god, in the same way they set (them) up in the temple of Inara.

[21st day] (19) Next day they perform the *ḫadauri* festival in the temple of the Storm-god of Halab and in the temple of [...] for Kattahha, Nergal, Hasameli, and [X]. They offer ten sheep in (each?) temple.

[22d day] (23) Next day the king and queen go into the temple of Askasipa, while the incantation priests lament for Ishtar of Hattarina. Twenty-second day.

[23d day] (26) [Next day] the king and queen [...] while the ...] lament for Ishtar of Hattarina.

[24th day] (29) Next day the king and queen go into the temple of X and to take the holy ablution, while the incantation priests again lament for Ishtar of Hattarina. They also purify the hands of the deity. In the evening they perform *kulumuršiya* offerings.

[25th day] (34) Next day [...] for Ishtar of Hattarina.

[26th day] (35) Next day is the day of meat (offerings) for Ishtar of Hattarina.

[27th day] (37) Next day the incantation priests make offerings to the Ninattanni goddesses, while the king celebrates Karmahili.

[28th day] (40) Next day the king celebrates Mount Tapala.

[29th day] (41) Next day the king and queen go into the temple of Ea.

[30th day] (42) Next day the king and queen go into the temple of the Mother Goddess and lament for the Storm-god of Hursanassa.

[31st day] (44) Next day the king and queen celebrate the Mother Goddess in the *arkiu* house and lament for the Storm-god of Hursanassa.

(46) [...] in the house of the *šatammu* ...

(iv 1) ... offers [oxe]n and sheep.

[32d(?) day] (3) Next day, in the morning, (people) are called into the house of the [cooks(?)] for a collation. Then the king and queen go into the temple of Inara. And they determine the road: they include (?) Mount Piskuruwa.

[33d(?) day] (7) Next day the king spends the night in Haitta, while they carry [the ...] up to the mountain.

[34th(?) day] (9) Next day the king and queen go [up] to the mountain. Its festival (takes place there). For sleeping, however, he goes into [Hurransassa].

[35th(?) day] (12) Next day the king and queen celebrate the Sun-goddess of Arinna and [...] in Hurransassa, while the chief of the palace attendants drives [(some animals)] to Zippalanda; the priests eat them in his presence.

[36th(?) day] (16) Next day: in Zippalanda [...] (?).

[37th(?) day] (17) Next day: in Ankuwa. Great assembly in the *ḫalentu*.

[38th(?) day] (19) Next day the king performs the Rain Festival (var.: performs the [...] festival for the Storm-god of Rain).

[Colophon] (20) (One tablet) (about) how the festivals of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant are first (?) performed. A total of one month and eight(?) (var.: five) days that they devote to the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festivals. Complete.

(24) To remember: For the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival of Zithariya one goes to his temple, (that is) to his own temple (in Hattusa). The wording that was determined is too long (var.: It was (thus) determined by the god; the wording is too long).

It is obvious that this text is an outline as well as a cult inventory of the long spring festival that takes its name from the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant. The ceremonies cover more than one month. In B the total is given as "one month and five days"; this would be 33, 34, or 35 days depending on whether a month had 28, 29, or 30 days. In A, the number of days added to "one month" has, according to H. Otten's copy of 433/p, two verticals at the bottom, while the top is damaged; thus, it could be 2, 5, or 8. The individual days are usually introduced simply by *lukkatti-ma* "the next day"; only the tenth and twenty-second (damaged but probable) days are expressly numbered. Counting only the *lukkatti* formulae preserved in A after the twenty-second day, one gets thirty-eight days as a minimum. This is against a reading of the damaged figure as either "2" or "5" but would fit its restoration (or emendation?) to "8" and would thus yield a month of thirty days.

There exist several rituals for individual parts of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival (485–497 {CTH 605–625}). Many of these recur in our text, and other festival texts, not hitherto recognized as belonging to the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM, can now also be placed.³⁶ The results of a first attempt at such identifications may be presented in the following list; prolonged work may well result in

additions and modifications. Even at this stage I offer this study to Professor Benno Landsberger as a small token of gratitude and affection, although we are still far from establishing a “Cult Calendar of the Hittites.”

In the following list, items of doubtful pertinence or mere comparison are put in brackets.

1st day:	To Tahirpa but not to Katapa: <i>IBoT</i> III 40 (496, 1, A' [CTH 605, 3]); [cf. for Katapa: <i>IBoT</i> II 16; <i>KUB</i> X 31 (496, 6; 2) [CTH 605, 2]].	18th–19th days:	Storm-god <i>piḥašašši</i> and Sun-goddess of Arinna: <i>KUB</i> XI 13 (516 [CTH 613, 1]).
2d day:	[For entering Hattusa via Tippuwa see at end (493) [CTH 594.01–594.03]]. Great assembly in <i>ḫalentu</i> : <i>KUB</i> X 3 etc. (497, 1 [CTH 606, 1, A]).	21st day:	[Storm-god of Aleppo: 392 [CTH 698, 1B–1D] not pertinent].
3d–5th days:	[For a different travel of the Fleece cf. <i>KUB</i> X 78 + XX 25 (512, 1) [CTH 599, 1]].	21st or 24th day:	[The short divine name in either place could be ⁴ IB; if so, <i>IBoT</i> I 3 (491 [CTH 614])].
4th day:	[For the EZEN.ITU cf. 473, 4 [CTH 591.05] and 11 [CTH 670]].	22d–24th days:	<i>mugauwar</i> for Ištar of Ḫattarina: <i>IBoT</i> III 115 (413, 2 [CTH 615, 1]).
6th day:	[Storm-god of Zippalanda: uncertain whether 474 [CTH 607] belongs here. For ⁶ <i>ḫešti</i> see 11th day].	25th–26th days:	[Offerings to the same: cf. <i>IBoT</i> II 55 (413, 1 [CTH 615, 2])?].
8th–9th days:	[Arinna: uncertain whether any of the texts under 498 [CTH 634.01–634.04] belong here]; silver used for the AN.T.Š. festival there: <i>KBo</i> IX 91 rev. 6–10.	28th day:	[Mount Tapala: 475 [CTH 593, 1] has trip there: pertinent?].
11th day:	“[Years]” to <i>ḫešti</i> house: <i>IBoT</i> II 1 (496, 4 [CTH 609, 3]); <i>KUB</i> XX 33 (510, 5 [CTH 609, 2]) Otten, <i>ZA</i> XLIX, 345 [CTH 391.01–391.02]); <i>IBoT</i> III 1 (510, 1 [CTH 609, 1]), MU.ḪI.A in line 49; [perhaps also 510, 2–4 [CTH 675, 2–4]].	29th day:	Temple of Ea: <i>KUB</i> X 5 (485 [CTH 616, 1]).
12th–13th days:	Temple of Ziparwa: <i>KUB</i> XX 8 (492 [CTH 610]); [cf. <i>KUB</i> XX 29 (476, 1 [CTH 750, 2]) with unpubl. dupl. Bo 235].	30th–31st days:	[For ^{DU} URU ^{URU} <i>ḫuršannašši</i> cf. ^{DU} <i>ḫuršannaš</i> , <i>ABoT</i> I (529, 7 [CTH 646, 7]), performed by the queen only; note “house of <i>šatammu</i> ” there and on 31st (?) day]
14th day:	Sun-goddess of the Earth: <i>KUB</i> XX 8 (492 [CTH 610]).	32d day:	[Temple of ^P KAL: cf. 486 [CTH 617, 1–2] for ^P Kal of Tauriša, performed in grove at that town: pertinent? Trip may be inferred from the following].
14th–15th days:	Stela of Storm-god at boxwood trees near <i>tarnu</i> : 495 [CTH 611].	32d–34th days:	To Ḫaitta, festival on Mt. Piškuruwa <i>KUB</i> XXV 18 [CTH 618, 1, A]; <i>IBoT</i> I 1 (490, 1; 4 [CTH 618, 2]).
16th day:	[Temple of Storm-god?]; temple of Zababa: <i>KBo</i> IV 9 etc. (487 [CTH 612.02, A]).	35th–36th days:	[To Zippalanda: <i>KUB</i> XXXIV 126 (502 [CTH 635.11])? Cf. colophon with those of 476, 1 [CTH 750, 2] and 486, 1 [CTH 617, 1]. Doubtful whether 474 [CTH 607] belongs here, cf. 6th day].
17th day:	[Prince performs in temple of Storm-god: <i>KUB</i> XX 45 (530, 4 [CTH 647.02])? Various temples, but AN.T.Š. in i 8 etc. mentioned!].	37th day:	[To Ankuwa: cf. trip there <i>KUB</i> XX 96 (474, 3 [CTH 635.02]) iii 21 in text devoted to Storm-god of Zippalanda].
		38th day:	Rain festival at Ankuwa: <i>KUB</i> XXX 73 (label only, 189, 5 [CTH 619]).
		“Note”:	The AN.TAḪ.ŠUM. Festival of Zithariya, in his temple in the capital, is <i>KUB</i> X 18 etc. (493 [CTH 594.01, A]), see X 18 ii 3–12 = 17 ii 1–8. Entry via Tippuwa; from X 17 ii 9 on parallel to 479 [CTH 627.JK, A–B], 1 (cf. 2d day).

36. I wish to express my indebtedness to Laroche’s “Catalogue” (above, n. 3), without which I could not have undertaken this task.

RELIGION UND KULTUS DER HETHITER*

Die grundlegende Darstellung der hethitischen Religion, einschließlich des Abschnittes über den Kultus, in A. Goetzes Handbuch¹ kann — dem Plane des Herausgebers dieser Zeitschrift gemäß — als bekannt vorausgesetzt werden. Während man heute selbstverständlich die zweite Auflage dieses Buches, von 1957, zu Rate ziehen wird, so sei doch noch einmal betont, daß das ursprüngliche Werk von 1933 die erste zusammenfassende, auf den Originalquellen basierende Behandlung des Gegenstandes darstellt. Daneben sind zwei Arbeiten von O. R. Gurney zu nennen, nämlich das Kapitel über Religion in seinem Buch *The Hittites* und sein Beitrag zu dem von S. H. Hooke herausgegebenen Sammelbande². Im folgenden soll im wesentlichen auf einige durch neues Material und neuere Arbeiten aufgeworfenen Probleme eingegangen werden. In ähnlicher Weise hat auch H. Otten in seinem Beitrag zu dem in Anm. 2 genannten Werk besonderes Gewicht auf neue, seit Goetzes Handbuch aufgetauchte Probleme und Quellen gelegt.

Nach dem eben Gesagten erübrigt es sich, hier noch einmal eine Gesamtdarstellung zu versuchen. Wenn der Verfasser im folgenden zu manchen Fragen seine eigenen, von seinen Vorgängern abweichenden Ansichten vorträgt, so liegt das in der Natur der Sache.

*Reprinted from *Neuere Hethiterforschung*, G. Walser, ed. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1964), pp. 54–73, with the permission of Franz Steiner Verlag.

1. A. Goetze, *Kleinasien* (in: *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, III.1.3: *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients*, 3.1), Zweite, neubearbeitete Auflage. München, 1957 (abgekürzt Kl.²). Die Abkürzungen sind grundsätzlich nach der dort aufgeführten Liste S. XII–XVI gegeben.
2. O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (Pelican Books, A 259) 1952, ²1954, revised 1961; ders., "Hittite Kingship" in S. H. Hooke (ed.), *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship* (Oxford, 1958) (abgekürzt: Hooke), S. 105–121. — Außer diesen sind zu allgemeinen Literatur, Kl.² 130, nachzutragen: Verf., Art. "Hethiter II: Religion" in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 3. Aufl., Bd. III (1959), Sp. 301–303; H. Otten, Kapitel "Kult und Religion" (S. 425–441) in seinem Beitrag "Das Hethiterreich" zu H. Schmökel u. a., *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orient* (Kröners Taschenausgabe Bd. 298) Stuttgart, 1961 (abgekürzt: Krönerausgabe). ders., "Die Religionen des alten Kleinasien" im *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, hrsg. von B. Spuler, Bd. VIII/1, Lfg. 1 (1964).

Man möge solche Äußerungen als Beiträge zur Diskussion auffassen; daß der Verfasser den Autoren früherer Beiträge zu Dank verpflichtet ist und sich wesentlich auf das von ihnen Erarbeitete stützt, versteht sich von selbst.

Die Verteilung der zahlreichen in hethitischen Texten genannten Götter auf die verschiedenen ethnischen Schichten ist im großen und ganzen klar. Besonders nützlich für bequeme Orientierung ist E. Laroche, *Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites*³, obwohl jetzt ergänzungs- und in einigen Punkten auch korrekturbedürftig; denn hier sind die Götternamen mit Belegen nach den Sprachgruppen getrennt aufgeführt.

Zu der von Goetze, Kl.² 134, im Anschluß an die churritischen und die durch das Churritische vermittelten babylonischen Götter kurz besprochenen Sondergruppe Nara, Napšara usw. ist jetzt nachzutragen, daß diese Gruppe, vermehrt um weitere Namen, als Unterweltsgötter bestimmt ist. Hatte man das schon früher vermutet⁴, so bringt ein kürzlich von H. Otten bearbeiteter Ritualtext nunmehr Gewißheit⁵. Hier (S. 120 f., Z. 46 ff.) werden diese Gottheiten als "die Früheren Götter, die Herren der Erde (so nach Variante)" bezeichnet und wie folgt aufgezählt: Aduntarri, der Seher; Zulki, die Traumdeuterin; Iripitiga, Herr des Gerichts (so Otten S. 146 nach Parallelstellen; Text "der Erde"); Nara⁶, Namšara; Minki, Ammunki; und A'abi ("Brunnen"). An den von Otten im Kommentar

3. Paris, 1947 (abgekürzt: Laroche, *Recherches*); auch erschienen als RHA Bd. VII.
4. E. O. Forrer, *Mélanges F. Cumont* (Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves, IV) Brüssel, 1936, S. 697–700; O. R. Gurney, *LAAA* 27 (1940) 81 f.; Verf., *Kumarbi* (1946) 99; Laroche, *Recherches* 126 f.
5. H. Otten, "Eine Beschwörung der Unterirdischen aus Bogazköy", *ZA* 54 (N. F. 20, 1961) 114–157; Text-Exemplare: A = KUB VII 41, B = KBo X 45, C = Bo 2072; D = KUB XII 56; E = IBoT II 128 (S. 157); vgl. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, in RHA XIV–XVI (abgekürzt: Cat.) Nr. 327 (CTH 446).
6. Nach Otten, S. 147 unter 4, und L. Rost, *MIO* VIII (1961) 189, sollen die Kultinventare Bo 434 und Bo 595 ein Kultbild des Nara in Stierform belegen. Diese Deutung beruht auf einer Fehllese. Die beiden Texte sind Duplikate, wie sich aus der Übereinstimmung von Bo 434

beigebrachten Stellen werden noch andere Namen mit diesen zusammen genannt; es gab demnach verschiedene Überlieferungen über die Zusammensetzung der Gruppe, wie ja auch die Verträge (Kl.² 131, 134) wieder andere hinzufügen. Weiter ist von Bedeutung, daß derselbe Text neben und gleichbedeutend mit der hethitischen Bezeichnung der Gruppe als *karuileš šiuneš* "Frühere Götter" den Namen *Anunnage* gebraucht, d. h. den bekannten babylonischen Namen der Unterweltsgötter. Die von Otten herangezogenen Belege aus churritischen Texten bestätigen ferner den schon früher gewonnenen Eindruck, daß diese Gruppe — was immer ihr sprachlicher Ursprung sein möge — zumindest auch dem churritischen Kreise angehört.

Für die im Kult in Götterreihen (hethitisch *kaluti*) zusammengefaßten churritischen Götter und Göttinnen ist der Artikel von E. Laroche, "Teššub, Ḫebat et leur cour"⁷, auch heute noch grundlegend. Nachträge zu der männlichen Reihe lieferte Verf.⁸ in Fortführung eines Aufsatzes von H. Otten⁹. Durch die tabellarische Zusammenstellung der verschiedenen Götterreihen — in Ergänzung zu den von Laroche schon benutzten — versuchte er dort den Nachweis zu erbringen, daß Šuwaliyat der hethitische, Tašmišu der churritische Name eines und desselben Gottes sind, nämlich des mit dem babylonischen Ninurta gleichgesetzten kriegerischen Gottes, des Bruders des Tešub¹⁰. Daneben ergab

sich aus der gleichen Zusammenstellung die Deutung der Pferdegottheit Pirwa (Kl.² 134 mit Anm. 14) als einer Erscheinungsform der Ištar. Andere Texte, die diese Gleichung nahelegen, hatte schon Otten¹¹ zusammengestellt, doch hielt ihn eine Bildbeschreibung, nach der Pirwa als Mann dargestellt wurde, von der Identifikation ab. Aber nachdem Laroche¹² für Šaušga, d. h. die churritische Ištar, Doppelgeschlechtigkeit nachgewiesen hat, würde das über Pirwa Bekannte gut dazu passen. Allerdings muß einschränkend hinzugefügt werden, daß Pirwa nicht der hethitische Name der Ištar sein kann, 1. weil das Ideogramm normalerweise mit *-li(š)* verlängert wird, also einen auf *-li-* auslautenden Namen repräsentiert, und 2. weil in KBo III 8 iii 14–16 Ištar (ideographisch geschrieben) neben Pirwa als handelnd auftritt. Trotzdem darf man die Gleichsetzung wohl mit der Einschränkung gelten lassen, daß es einen auf *-li-* endenden hethitischen Namen für eine Erscheinungsform, daneben den (in Kaneš beheimateten, Kl.² 134 m. Anm. 13) Namen Pirwa für eine andere, doppelgeschlechtige Form der Gottheit gegeben hat.

Es sei gestattet, schon hier auf die Deutung der Götterreihen in der größeren Kammer des Felsheiligtums Yazılıkaya einzugehen¹³; denn einerseits waren die eben erwähnten Aufzählungen churritischer Gottheiten, zusammen mit der Lesung einiger Namensbeischriften in Hieroglyphen, bestimmend für Laroches Deutung der Reliefs als Darstellung des churritischen Pantheons¹⁴, und andererseits hat Verf. durch die Tabellen (oben Anm. 8) zu zeigen versucht, daß keine der textlich überlieferten Listen ganz genau mit Yazılıkaya übereinstimmt, womit er implicite an den Deutungsversuchen Ottens (oben Anm. 9) Kritik übte. Bezüglich des seltsamen Phänomens, daß in der hethitischen Hauptstadt das churritische Pantheon dargestellt ist, möchte Verf. der von Goetze erwogenen Erklärung aus der churritischen Herkunft der Großreichsdynastie zustimmen und dazu auf seinen eigenen Versuch in dieser Richtung hinweisen¹⁵. Auf die von Goetze in diesem Zusammenhang erwähnte Beziehung des Felsheiligtums zum Totenkult sowie auf andere Deutungsmöglichkeiten wird am Ende dieser Arbeit in anderem Zusammenhang noch einzugehen sein.

iv 15–25 (Rost S. 188) und Bo 595 iv I–II (ebd. 196) und der gleichen Städtereihe im Kolophon von Bo 595 und dem erhaltenen Text von Bo 434 klar ergibt. Demnach lautet die Zeile Bo 434 iv 15 = Bo 595 iv 1 wie folgt: ^{URU}Mallittaš 1 GUD.MAḪ GIŠ AN.NA.GAR.RA₄.GUB-za ^D[U] ^{URU}Ma[*l*-*litta*]. Die Lesung ^DNa-a-ra für die hier AN.NA.GAR.RA umschriebenen vier Zeichen erregte Zweifel 1. wegen der scheinbaren Stellung des Gottesnamens zwischen der Angabe der Materials "aus Holz" und der weiteren Beschreibung des Stieres als "auf allen Vieren stehend", 2. wegen der in diesen Texten sonst ungebräuchlichen endungslosen Form, und 3. weil nach der durch den Duplikatcharakter gegebenen Ergänzung der wahre Gottesname am Ende der Zeile erhalten ist. Auf meine Bitte bestätigte dann Frau Jakob-Rost die Lesung GAR statt "a" an den (hier beschädigten) Originalen. Wir dürfen also übersetzen: "Stadt Mallitta: ein Stier aus Holz, mit Zinn belegt, auf allen Vieren stehend: (das ist) der Wettergott von Mallitta", und damit in diesem Stierbild — wie in allen anderen — das Kultbild eines lokalen Wettergottes erblicken.

7. JCS II (1948) 113–136.

8. "The god Šuwaliyat reconsidered", RHA XIX/68 (1961) 1–18.

9. "Die Götter Nupatik, Pirinkir, Ḫešue und Ḫatni-Pišaišaphi in den hethitischen Felsreliefs von Yazılıkaya", Anatolia IV (Ankara, 1959) 27–37.

10. Anschließend wurde vorgeschlagen, der Torgott vom sogenannten Königstor in Boğazköy könnte eben diesen kriegerischen Gott darstellen.

11. JKF II (1952) 63 f.

12. "Le panthéon de Yazılıkaya, JCS VI (1952) 115–123, bes. 116 f.

13. Kl.² 141 f. mit Lit. — Eine Kleinigkeit zu S. 142: Wie K. Bittel, Yazılıkaya (WVDOG 61, 1941) 87, gezeigt hat, ist die Waffe des jugendlichen Gottes (Nr. 44) keine Doppelsaxt, sondern einschneidig mit stumpfem Rücken.

14. Kl.² 142 mit der dort, Anm. 2–3 erwähnten Lit.

15. "The Hurrian Element in the Hittite Empire", Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale II (1954) 383–394, bes. 386–388 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 179–186, esp. pp. 180–182 — Eds.]; dazu JCS X (1956) 120–122. Vgl. Goetze, hier S. 29.

Dem Satze, daß nur wenige Gottheiten für uns greifbare Gestalt gewinnen (Kl.² 136), kann man nur zustimmen. Es scheint dem Verf., daß selbst die Quellen, die, wie der Hymnus an die Sonnengöttin von Arinna (Kl.² ebd.) und der Telipinu-Mythus (Kl.² 143 f.), etwas Einblick in das Wesen einer Gottheit zu gestatten scheinen, mit großer Vorsicht zu benutzen sind.

In einem 1958, also nach der Neuauflage von Goetzes Handbuch, erschienenen Artikel¹⁶ hat sich Verf. bemüht, die Überlieferungsgeschichte des Sonnenhymnus zu rekonstruieren und damit seine seltsame Übertragung von einer Gottheit auf die andere zu erklären. Die Ergebnisse dieser Untersuchung seien hier kurz wiederholt.

Eine ursprüngliche Form des Hymnus liegt in dem großen Text KUB XXXI 127 mit Zusatzstücken und Duplikaten vor¹⁷. Dieser Text zerfällt in zwei Teile, deren erster ein an den männlichen Sonnengott Ištanu gerichteter Hymnus ist¹⁸, während der zweite ein Gebet an den persönlichen Gott des Beters ist. Beide Teile verwenden viele Motive aus babylonischen Šamaš-Hymnen und -Gebeten, besonders der erste; diese Motive sind aber frei verwendet und mit anderen, unbabylonischen gemischt. Der Beter nennt sich in dieser Fassung einfach "Menschensohn". Eine Parallelfassung, von der nur das persönliche Gebet erhalten ist, die aber nach Schätzung des am Anfang Fehlenden den Sonnenhymnus enthalten haben dürfte, ist dem Kantuzzili, einem Prinzen der Generation Šuppiluliumas I., in den Mund gelegt¹⁹, während sich der Sprecher in weiteren, fragmentarischen Paralleltexen²⁰ als "König" bezeichnet. Der Name des Kantuzzili gibt einen Anhalt für die Datierung dieser Gruppe (mit etwas Spielraum nach oben und unten), in der der angeredete Gott, wie gesagt, der männliche Ištanu ist, also dem Šamaš entspricht.

Als nächste Stufe ist dann die Übertragung dieses Hymnus auf die weibliche Sonnengottheit der Stadt Arinna zu betrachten, die von Muršili II stammt. Ähnlich wie in der älteren Fassung der Hymnus an Ištanu als Einleitung zu einem persönlichen Gebet diente, so ist auch jetzt derjenige an die Göttin von Arinna mit anderen Gebeten verbunden. Nach der sorgfältigen Bearbeitung und Analyse Gurneys²¹ beginnen die Muršili-

Gebete mit einem von ihm "Invocation" genannten Teil (seine Section I, S. 16 ff.), auf den dann als Section II ein "Hymn of Praise" folgt (an die Göttin gerichtet S. 22–25, (b), der in Kl.² 136 übersetzte Teil). Dieser Lobhymnus beginnt mit allgemeinem Lob und nimmt erst danach (Gurney C i 34) den Wortlaut des Ištanu-Hymnus auf. Als spezielles Gebet folgt in einer der Fassungen die Bitte um Befreiung von der Pest und um Hilfe gegen äußere Feinde²².

Endlich richtete Muršili auch an den Gott Telipinu ein Gebet, das sich aus ähnlichen Teilen zusammensetzt. Diese sind: I. die "Invocation"; II. der Lobhymnus, aber nur sein erster, allgemein gehaltener Teil. Wie schon Gurney (S. 9–11) hervorhob, kann der dem Sonnenhymnus nachgebildete Teil schon aus Raumgründen nicht in dem Gebet an Telipinu enthalten gewesen sein, ganz abgesehen davon, daß er zum Charakter dieses Gottes nicht passen würde. Nach der Lücke folgt dann noch eine Bitte um göttlichen Segen (Gurney S. 20–23, A iii 1–17, woran S. 32–35, Section IV (a) anschließt). Die Übertragung göttlicher Wesenszüge geht also nicht so weit, daß Eigenschaften des Sonnengottes auf Telipinu übertragen würden!

In dem soeben exzerpierten Aufsatz hatte Verf. die Übertragung solarer Eigenschaften von dem männlichen Ištanu auf die Sonnengöttin von Arinna als legitim bezeichnet. Inzwischen ist aber von anderer Seite darauf hingewiesen worden, daß die Göttin von Arinna auch Züge einer Unterweltsgottheit trägt²³. Ob man diese auffällige Erscheinung mit Otten als "Beispiel verschiedener theologischer Systembildung im Hethiterreich" erklärt oder mit Macqueen den chthonischen Charakter als ursprünglich²⁴, die Bezeichnung der Göttin als "Sonnengöttin" und die Übertragung solarer Eigenschaften auf sie als sekundär ansieht, möge dahingestellt werden und würde, falls "verschieden" im Sinne von "zeitlich verschieden" aufgefaßt werden dürfte, sogar auf eins hinauslaufen. Richtig ist, daß die Mythologie von Nerik, für die die Gleichsetzung der Göttin von Arinna mit der babylonischen Unterweltsgöttin Ereškigal bezeugt ist, als altertümlich gelten darf. Zum chthonischen Charakter

16. "The Composition of Hittite Prayers to the Sun", JAOS 78 (1958) 237–245.

17. JAOS 78, 238, Anm. 9–13; Laroche, Cat. Nr. 274 {CTH 372}. Zu Anm. 13 ist nachzutragen, daß laut Kollation das Exemplar C von B und D verschieden ist, daß aber B und D Teile einer und derselben Tafel sein können.

18. Übersetzt JAOS 78, 239–241.

19. Übersetzt von Goetze in ANET 400 f.

20. JAOS 78, 238, Anm. 15; 242 mit Anm. 27; Cat. 276 {CTH 374}.

21. "Hittite Prayers of Mursili II", LAAA 27 (1940).

22. Gurney, Section III; ANET 396, b. Für Einzelheiten und Kombination mit anderen Bitten s. JAOS 78, 244 f.

23. J. G. Macqueen, "Hittite Mythology and Hittite Monarchy", Anat.St. IX (1959) 171 ff., bes. 175–180, mit Hinweisen auf H. Otten, JCS IV (1950) 119 ff., bes. 133–136.

24. Ihr chattischer Name Wurušemu enthält das Wort *wur*, für das zwar aus Bilinguen nur die Bedeutung "Land" (Ideogramm KUR) belegt ist, für das aber von manchen — vielleicht mit Recht — auch die Bedeutung "Erde" vermutet wird (Macqueen 179; Gurney, The Hittites 152 und bei Hooke, 106, stets auf *purulli* bezüglich, ohne Bezugnahme auf den Namen der Göttin).

der Göttin paßt auch, daß am fünften Tage des *nuntarriyašhaš*-Festes (auf das noch zurückzukommen sein wird) die Königin den Sonnengöttinnen von Arinna der verstorbenen früheren Königinnen Opfer bringt²⁵. Ferner denkt man bei einer "chthonischen Sonnengöttin" sogleich an die "Sonnengöttin der Erde", deren Rolle als Unterweltsgottheit längst erkannt worden ist (KI.² 138 [zum Geschlecht Anm. 2]; 144). Und vielleicht darf man im Anschluß an Macqueens Ausführungen weiter fragen, ob in den vielen Lokalkulten, in denen eine "Sonnengöttin" als Gemahlin eines "Wettergottes" verehrt wurde, jeweils die Göttin das chthonische Element vertritt.

Mit Wurušemu und dem Kult von Nerik haben wir bereits den ursprünglichen Götterkreis des Hethiterlandes, den chattischen (KI.² 135 ff.), erreicht. In diesem Zusammenhang sei auf eine Gruppe von Texten hingewiesen, in denen — teils in chattischer, teils in hethitischer Sprache — jedem Gott ein Name "unter Menschen" und ein anderer "unter Göttern" zugeschrieben wird. Zu den bisher bekannten Texten dieser Art²⁶ sind neuerdings weitere hinzugefunden worden, von denen einige, nach dem Schriftduktus zu urteilen, bereits dem Alten Reich angehören.

Im chattischen Pantheon steht neben der Göttin Wurušemu ihr Gatte Taru; in der üblichen Schreibung der hethitischen Texte heißt dieses Paar "Sonnengöttin von Arinna" und "Wettergott". Dabei ist "Wettergott" (englisch Stormgod oder Weathergod, französisch Dieu de l'Orage) konventionelle Wiedergabe des Sumerogramms ^DIŠKUR (mit dem Zeichen IM geschrieben, das an sich "Wind" bedeutet), für das gleichbedeutend auch die heilige Zahl "10" (^{PU}) eintritt. "Wetter" steht dabei für Gewitter, Regen, kurz für die lebenspendenden Niederschläge; vgl. die in diese Sphäre gehörigen Beiwörter "des Regens, des Blitzes, des Donners, der Wolken" usw.²⁷. Während die Namen dieses Gottes in anderen Sprachen bekannt sind (sumerisch Iškur, akkadisch Adad, kanaanäisch Hadad, churritisch Tešub, luwisch Tarḫunt, chattisch Taru), ist der hethitische Name noch immer unbekannt bis auf die Tatsache, daß er auf *-unna-* auslautet (KI.² 132 Anm. I). Von den vorgeschlagenen Lesungen ist *Ḫummuni/Ḫa(m)ma(n)ni* (Recherches 49) höchst unwahrschein-

lich, weil dieser Gott — von dem abweichenden Auslaut abgesehen — einerseits wieder dem churritischen, nicht dem eigentlich hethitischen Kreise angehört und andererseits von untergeordneter Bedeutung zu sein scheint²⁸. Der ältere Lesungsvorschlag, *Zašhapuna*, den Verf. wieder befürwortete²⁹, scheidet jetzt aus, weil *Zašhapuna/Zaḫpuna* nach Bildbeschreibungen eine Göttin ist³⁰ und Zweigeschlechtigkeit für diese Gottheit schwerlich anzunehmen sein dürfte. Neuerdings hat nun Macqueen³¹ vorgeschlagen, in ^DIM-*unnaš* das indoeuropäische Wort "Himmel" (*Diaus, Zeus*) zu erblicken. Obwohl der Gedanke einiges für sich hat — indem der nur im Anitta-Text genannte Gott *Šiušmiš* aus seiner Isolierung gelöst würde —, so bleiben doch zu viele Schwierigkeiten bestehen, als daß man ihm vorbehaltlos zustimmen könnte. Zu der schon von Macqueen selbst erwähnten Schreibung mit einfachem gegenüber doppeltem *-n-* kommt hinzu, daß *šiu-naš/šiu-niš/šiuš*, unbeschadet der Etymologie, im Hethitischen nicht "Himmel" sondern "Gott" bedeutet. So muß die hethitische Lesung des Gottesnamens weiterhin als noch unbekannt gelten^{31a}.

Der große Wettergott (Wettergott des Himmels, Wettergott von *Ḫatti*) und seine Gattin, die Göttin von Arinna, haben Söhne; genauer gesagt, sie haben in den verschiedenen Kultkreisen jeweils einen Sohn, wobei es dem Betrachter überlassen bleiben muß, ob er darin Erscheinungsformen eines und desselben Gottes oder, der hethitischen Tendenz zur Individualisierung folgend, verschiedene Götter sehen will; vgl. Goetzes Bemerkungen zu den Wettergöttern von Nerik und Zippalanda (KI.² 135 und 140). Neben dem schon oben in anderem Zusammenhang erwähnten Wettergott von Nerik ist auch *Telipinu* zu diesem Typus zu rechnen, d. h. als jugendlicher Wettergott zu betrachten³². Seine Klassifikation als "Vegetationsgott" (KI.² 143) möchte Verf. nur in dem Sinne gelten lassen, in dem sie, wie oben angedeutet, auf alle "Wettergötter" als Regenspender zutrifft. Der Passus, nach dem *Telipinu* Schollen bricht, pflügt, Wasser herleitet und das Getreide

25. Zum Text (KUB XXV 14 mit Dupl.; vgl. noch weiter unten) s. Gurney bei Hooke 120 f. "The exact meaning of this curious passage is uncertain, though it suggests that dead queens were in some way identified with the sungoddess of Arinna". Ja, eben weil sie eine Unterweltsgöttin war und die Königinnen nach dem Tode ihr ähnlich wurden (wie der Pharao dem Osiris!)?

26. Bearbeitet von E. Laroche, "Hittite Deities and Their Epithets", JCS I (1947) 187 bis 216; vgl. Otten, Kröner-Ausg. 431.

27. Laroche, Recherches 109 f. unter "Dieu naturiste".

28. B. Hrozný, Archiv Orientální IV (1932) 124 Anm. 2.

29. In seinem Beitrag "Hittite Mythology" zu S. N. Kramer u. a., Mythologies of the Ancient World (1961) 152 [= *Perspectives*, p. 53 — Eds.].

30. H. Otten, KBo XI, Inhaltsübersicht, Anm. 4 zu Nr. 60; L. Rost, MIO VIII 216; Text ebd. 215, Z. 2. Im *Iluyanka-Mythus*, KBo III 7 iv 17 f. u. Dupl., ist dem Wortlaut nicht eindeutig zu entnehmen, wer wessen Gattin ist; hier muß die Bildbeschreibung den Ausschlag geben!

31. In dem Anm. 23 zitierten Aufsatz, S. 179 f.

31a. Erwägung verdient die von S. Alp, *Bulleten XVIII/72* (1954) 466 Anm. 39 vorgeschlagene Lesung **Tarḫuna-*; zu dieser vgl. weiter E. Laroche, RHA XVI/63 (1958) 94.

32. Verf., "Gedanken über das Wesen des Gottes *Telipinu*", Festschr. Joh. Friedrich (1959) 207–211 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 63–64 — Eds.]; Macqueen, a. a. O. S. 174 f.

[wachsen läßt] (KI.² 143), ist damit durchaus vereinbar. Was den bekannten, von seinem Zorn und Verschwinden handelnden Mythos betrifft, so muß erneut³³ betont werden, daß derselbe Mythos auch, und zwar ebenso oft, vom Wettergott erzählt wird³⁴, daneben aber auch von verschiedenen anderen Gottheiten³⁵. Zu der oft wiederholten Feststellung, daß das Ritual, in das die Erzählung eingebettet ist, nichts mit dem Jahreszyklus zu tun hat, sondern lediglich der Besänftigung des göttlichen Zornes dient, ist noch nachzutragen, daß nach einem unveröffentlichten Text das Ritual für den Wettergott von Kuliwišna ausdrücklich zu jeder Jahreszeit gefeiert werden kann³⁶.

Obwohl die hethitischen Mythen in diesem Heft von anderer Seite behandelt werden, mußten sie ihres Inhalts wegen doch auch hier wenigstens kurz gestreift werden. Aus dem gleichen Grunde sei hier auch wiederholt, daß der Mythos vom Drachenkampf (KI.² 139 f.) im Gegensatz zu demjenigen vom Verschwundenen Gott mit einem Jahreszeitenfest, dem *purull*-Fest in Nerik, verbunden ist, und daß im ganzen gesehen die echt anatolischen Erzählungen mehr vom Charakter von Naturmythen bewahrt haben als die Kunststufen churritisch-mesopotamischen oder kanaanäischen Ursprungs³⁷.

Für die übrigen Götter der verschiedenen ethnischen Schichten und Kulturkreise (chattisch, hethitisch, luwisch, churritisch) darf auf die vorliegenden Gesamtdarstellungen verwiesen werden. Hier seien nur die folgenden Nachträge gestattet.

Zum Mondgott verdient der von Goetze (KI.² 133 Anm. 21; 134 Anm. 9) zitierte Artikel von Laroche besonders Beachtung³⁸, in dem gezeigt wird, daß der Mond bei den Hethitern selbst kaum als wirklicher Gott greifbar ist, im Gegensatz zum Südosten, wo der churritische Mondgott Kušuh und der langlebige Mondgott von Harran beheimatet sind.

Und für die Göttin Kubaba (KI.² 133 Anm. 22) sei auf einen seither erschienenen, erschöpfenden Artikel von Laroche hingewiesen³⁹.

Für das Weiterleben des bisher nur aus den altassyrischen Kültepe-Texten bekannten Gottes Parga im hethitischen Kult hat Otten wichtige Belege zusammengestellt^{39a}.

Zu den Abschnitten "Gott und Mensch" und "Die Magie" in KI.² (S. 146 bis 161) hat Verf. nichts Neues beizutragen, er begnügt sich daher mit ein paar bibliographischen Hinweisen.

Von den Gebeten liegen die beiden 1957 noch als unbearbeitet notierten jetzt in Übersetzung vor: KBo VII 28 wurde von J. Friedrich bearbeitet⁴⁰; es ist von besonderem Interesse, weil es in althethitischer Sprache abgefaßt ist. Und von dem großen Gebet an den Sonnengott (KUB XXXI 127 usw.) wurde der erste, hymnische Teil vom Verf. übersetzt⁴¹, während der zweite Teil parallel zu dem Gebet des Kantuzzili ist⁴².

Die Gebete des Muršili, die sich auf die Verbannung der Tawannanna beziehen, wurden als Gruppe besprochen und auszugsweise übersetzt von Laroche⁴³. Ein fragmentarisches Gebet desselben Königs, das sich auf Ereignisse der Regierungszeit seines Vaters bezieht, wurde vom Verf. bearbeitet und in die Gruppe der bekannten Pestgebete einzuordnen versucht⁴⁴.

Neu hinzugekommen, aber noch nicht übersetzt, ist ein Gebet des Muwatalli, KBo XI 1.

Zu den magischen Ritualen sind als neue Textbearbeitungen (zu KI.² 151 f.) zu nennen: die schon oben (Anm. 5) zitierte "Beschwörung der Unterirdischen" von H. Otten, und H. Kronassers Bearbeitung

ancienne (1960) 113–128. Zu Gubaba in Assyrien (Laroche 122) weist B. Landsberger darauf hin, daß die nur in theophoren assyrischen Personennamen belegte Zeichengruppe KÜ.KÁ eine Schreibung des Namens Kubaba, also *Kù-bābu* ist (K. Deller, *Orientalia* N. S. 31 (1962) S. 14 Nr. 99, ist hiernach zu modifizieren). "XV-KÁ" ist ebenfalls in KÜ.KÁ zu verbessern (nach A. Ungnad, *OLZ* 1937, 733 Anm. 1 aufgrund von Kollation; von Deller zitiert aber nicht ausgewertet). Belege unter den alten Lesungen "*Ellu-bābi- ...*" und "*Ištar-bābi- ...*" in den Namenverzeichnissen Kohler-Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden* (1913); K. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names* (1914); O. Schroeder, *Keilschr. aus Assur* *Verschied. Inhalts* (WVDOG 35, 1920).

39a. H. Otten, "Zur Kontinuität eines altanatolischen Kultes", *ZA* 53 (N. F. 19, 1959) 174–184.

40. "Ein hethitisches Gebet an die Sonnengöttin der Erde", Scritti Giuseppe Furlani = *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* XXXII (1957) 217–224; vgl. Cat. 289 {CTH 371}.

41. *JAOS* 78, 239–241, oben Anm. 16 und 18.

42. Goetze, *ANET* 400 f., oben Anm. 19.

43. In seinem Beitrag zu C. F. A. Schaeffer u. a., *Ugaritica III* (*Mission de Ras Shamra VIII*, 1956) 100–103 {CTH 70 and 71}.

44. "Mursili's accounts of Suppiluliuma's dealings with Egypt", *RHA* XVIII/66 (1960) 57–63; Text KUB XXXI 121, 121a, Cat. 281 {CTH 379}.

33. Nach H. Otten, *Die Überlieferungen des Telipinu-Mythos* (*MVAeG* 46, 1, 1942) und seitdem oft.

34. Übersetzung einer Wettergott-Fassung d. Verf. in *Mythologies* (oben Anm. 29) 144–148 [= *Perspectives*, p. 51 — Eds.].

35. E. Laroche, *RHA* XIX/68 (1961) 25 f. von einer Göttin; Verf., *Oriens* XV (1962) 351 mit Anm. 3 vom Wettergott von Kuliwišna. (Mythol. 148 dahingehend zu ändern, daß der Anfang mit der Schilderung des Zornes jetzt vorliegt).

36. 1664/c, von H. Otten anlässlich seiner Anmerkung zu KBo XIV 86 dem Verf. im Wortlaut mitgeteilt; erscheint in KBo XV.

37. Verf., *Mythol.* 172–175.

38. "Divinités lunaires d'Anatolie", *RHR* 148 (1955) 1–24.

39. "Koubaba, déesse anatolienne, et le problème des origines de Cybèle", *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque*

der Sammeltafel, die fünf medizinisch-magische Ritualtexte enthält⁴⁵.

Über den hethitischen Kult liegen wichtige neue Quellen und Untersuchungen vor.

Bessere Kenntnis des wichtigsten königlichen Kultfestes, des nach der Pflanze AN.TAḪ.ŠUM (einer Knollenpflanze, etwa Krokus ?) benannten Frühlingsfestes (KI.² 165 Anm. 5; 166) sowie vermehrte Einsicht in das Wesen der Kultreisen (KI.² 165) verdanken wir dem Funde einer Übersichtstafel über das erstgenannte Fest⁴⁶, aus der wir lernen, daß dieses sich über 38 Tage erstreckte und Reisen zu mehreren Kultstädten in sich schloß. Dieser Fund zeigte somit, daß solche Reisen nicht auf das sogenannte *nuntarriyašhaš*-Fest beschränkt waren, und daß die früher bekannten Texte über Reisen bei dem letztgenannten Fest ebenfalls als Übersichtstafeln anzusprechen sind. In beiden Fällen war es möglich, wenigstens einen Teil der zu den einzelnen Tagen gehörigen Detailbeschreibungen zu identifizieren. Als zukünftige Aufgabe zeichnet sich damit die Möglichkeit ab, den ganzen Verlauf eines solchen großen Festes in all seinen Etappen zusammenstellen und zu übersetzen. Zur Zeit allerdings stehen die noch verbleibenden erheblichen Lücken der Erfüllung dieser Aufgabe im Wege. Hier müssen wir uns damit begnügen, einen kurzen Überblick über den Gesamtverlauf des erstgenannten Festes (mit Zusätzen und Verbesserungen zu dem früheren Artikel) zu geben, wie er sich aus der genannten Übersichtstafel ergibt. Vorher ist jedoch noch auf folgende Punkte hinzuweisen.

Erstens ist 1960 ein Bruchstück einer abweichenden Fassung gefunden worden⁴⁷. Zweitens gibt es eine ähnliche Übersichtstafel, die sich laut Unterschrift auf "die Regelmäßigen Feste" bezieht, aber in ihrem ersten Teil mit einem Teil der Übersicht über das AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-Fest parallel läuft⁴⁸. Es ist möglich, daß hier ein Teil dieses Festes unter die "regelmäßigen" aufgenommen ist, doch fragt man sich dann, warum nicht das ganze, und wie die Abweichungen im einzelnen zu erklären sind. Aus der Existenz der Paralleltex-te, D und S, wird man vielleicht folgern dürfen, daß die Ausführung solch langer Kultfeste Revisionen und Änderungen unterworfen war. Da einige der Einzelrituale in Ausfertigungen Tudḫaliyas IV. vorliegen, ist es mög-

lich, daß ihm auch eine Revision des Gesamtverlaufs zuzuschreiben ist, doch sind die erhaltenen Übersichtstafeln leider undatiert.

In der folgenden Übersicht wird der Haupttext zugrunde gelegt und auf die Varianten in Klammern hingewiesen. Für die versuchsweise Identifikation der Rituale für die einzelnen Tage sei dagegen auf JNES XIX 88 f. verwiesen mit dem ausdrücklichen Vorbehalt, daß es sich dort nur um einen ersten Versuch handelte und daß neue Funde schon jetzt einige Zusätze und Änderungen notwendig machen und die Zukunft noch weitere bringen wird.

1. Tag: Reise nach Taḫurpa, entweder von Ḫattuša oder von einer anderen Stadt aus, in der der König den Winter verbracht hat. Ein Abstecher nach Katapa wird freigestellt, der dafür nötige Extratag aber nicht gezählt.

2. Tag: Rückkehr nach Ḫattuša via Tippuwa, wo der (oft besprochene⁴⁹) Wettlauf stattfindet. "Große Versammlung" im *halentu*-Haus. (Der erste erhaltene Absatz von S erwähnt Ḫattuša, weicht aber im übrigen ab.)

3. Tag: Ankunft des göttlichen Schildes⁵⁰ aus Arinna; "Große Versammlung" (auch in S, aber ohne die Versammlung).

4. Tag: Der Schild wird nach Tawiniya gebracht (in S mit Zusätzen).

5. Tag: Rückkehr des Schildes aus Tawiniya via Ḫiyašna, wo er die Nacht verbracht hat.

6. Tag: Die Ankunft des Schildes⁵¹ wird gemeldet, er erreicht den Tempel der Getreidegöttheit; ein Lamm wird aus Kašaya gebracht. (5. und 6. Tag in S i 12–21, mit erheblichen Zusätzen.) Noch am gleichen Tage

45. "Fünf hethitische Rituale", Die Sprache VII (1961) 140–167; Text KUB VII 1 + KBo III 8, Cat. 332 [CTH 390].

46. KBo X 20, bearbeitet vom Verf., "An Outline of the Hittite AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival", JNES XIX (1960) 80–89 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 91–98 — Eds.].

47. 438/s, noch unveröffentlicht; im folgenden als Exemplar D zitiert, zusätzlich zu den in JNES XIX verwerteten Exemplaren A–C.

48. KUB XXV 27, in JNES XIX und hier als Exemplar S bezeichnet.

49. Bedenken gegen die Deutung als Wettlauf hat Goetze in KI.² 163 Anm. 6 geäußert, ausführlicher in JCS I (1947) 85 im Anschluß an S. Alp, *Unters. zu d. Beamtennamen* (1940) 23 Anm. 1. Unbeachtet geblieben, da nur türkisch erschienen, ist Alps Besprechung von IBoT I in Ankara Univ. DTCF Dergisi II (1944) 790 f., wo er aufgrund von IBoT I 13 v 14–18 seine Bedenken aufgegeben hat. Hier heißt es: "Danach kommen zehn Läufer (KAS₄E); dem, der gewinnt, und dem, der auf dem zweiten Platz ist, gibt man zwei Soldatenkleider". — Daß *tarḫ-*, wenn es "besiegen" bedeutet, mit *-za* steht, ist für den absoluten Gebrauch nicht verbindlich. — Ein Wettlauf liegt also vor; ob zeremoniell oder rituell, ist eine andere Frage. Die "Pferde des Laufens" (*pittiyauwaš*) können doch wohl nur Rennpferde sein (so weiter unten im Text).

50. Zur Bedeutung von *kurša-*, "Vlies" (so JNES XIX) oder "Schild" (KI.² 168 Anm. 13–14), vgl. Friedrich, *Heth. Wb.* s. v.; Gründe für Bevorzugung von "Schild" bei Sommer, a. dort a. O.; vgl. auch Otten, *Festschr. J. Friedrich*, 355 f.

51. JNES XIX 81, Z. 32, statt EZEN *x-x-an* vielmehr ^{KUŠ}*kur-ša-an* zu lesen nach Kollation von R. Werner.

findet im *halentu*-Hause eine "Große Versammlung" statt und wird in einem anderen Gebäude das Vorratsgefäß des Wettergottes von Zippalanda geöffnet (nicht in S; zum Öffnen der Vorratsgefäße s. weiter unten).

Dieses Fest dauert drei Tage (6.–8. Tag) (S 22–27 handelt von anderen Festen). Wohl noch am 8. Tage betritt jemand (nach S 28 der König) den Tempel der Sonnengottheit. Nach einer Lücke folgt (wohl ebenfalls noch am 8. Tage) eine Reise nach Arinna. Auf dem Wege findet in Matila (so nach D, das hier einsetzt) die "Große Versammlung" statt; von dort geht der König "zum Schlafen" nach Arinna, während die Königin in ihren eigenen Palast in der Hauptstadt zurückkehrt. (D fügt Klagegebet für den Wettergott *ḫaršannaššiš* hinzu.)

9. Tag: Das "Nehmen" der AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-Pflanze, vom König in Arinna, von der Königin in ihrem Palast in Ḫattuša ausgeführt (in D mit dem gleichen Zusatz wie beim 8. Tag).

10. Tag: Rückkehr des Königs von Arinna nach Ḫattuša; "Große Versammlung" im *halentu*-Haus. (Zusatz in D fragmentarisch, dann abgebrochen.)

11. Tag: Der Oberste der Palastbeamten bringt [das Jahr] in den Totentempel, gefolgt vom König; Rennpferde werden bereitgemacht⁵².

12. Tag: Der König feiert ein Fest im Tempel des Ziparwa. Das Vorratsgefäß des Wettergottes von Ḫatti wird an diesem Tage geöffnet. Ein anderes Fest findet im Tempel der Sonnengottheit statt. Es folgen Einzelheiten über Opfer.

13. Tag: Wieder ein Fest im Tempel des Ziparwa.

14. Tag: (Feier für) die Sonnengöttin der Erde. Am Abend Vorbereitungen für den nächsten Tag.

15. Tag: Der König begibt sich zum *tarnu*-Haus des Buchsbaumhaines, wo an der Stele des Wettergottes Ochsen und Schafe geopfert werden (dazu noch weiter unten).

16. Tag: König und Königin begeben sich in den Tempel des Wettergottes, wo eine "Große Versammlung" stattfindet. Auch im Tempel des Zababa findet ein Fest statt (das Einzelritual für diesen Festteil, im Zababa-Tempel, ist das besterhaltene, s. Kl.² 166). Es folgen Angaben über die Opfer.

17. Tag: Das Königspaar feiert im Tempel des Gottes Ḫannu, während der Prinz in den Tempel des

Wettergottes delegiert wird. Nach einer Lücke, wohl noch am gleichen Tage, Opfer für den Wettergott *piḫašaššiš*, die Sonnengöttin von Arinna⁵³ und den Wettergott von Šamuḫa.

18. Tag: Der König feiert den Wettergott *piḫašaššiš*, die Königin feiert die Sonnengöttin von Arinna.

19. Tag: Der König begibt sich (wieder) in den Buchsbaumhain; wieder werden Rennpferde erwähnt. Für den Wettergott *piḫašaššiš* und für die Sonnengöttin von Arinna werden Trinkbecher bereitgestellt. (Hier setzt D wieder ein, weicht aber ab.)

20. Tag: Bad und Trankopfer. Fest im Tempel des Schutzgottes (Ideogramm ^PLAMA in D erhalten). Opfer (in D verkürzt).

21. Tag: Der König begibt sich in den Tempel des Wettergottes von Aleppo. Im Tempel der Muttergöttin (DINGIR.MAḪ, in D) Feier für folgende Gottheiten: Kattahḫa (chattisch "Königin"), Nergal, Ḫašameli und Ea (in D erhalten). Opfer.

22. Tag: König und Königin gehen in den Tempel der Ašgašepa; Klagegebet für die Ištar der Stadt Ḫattarinna. (D statt dessen: Tempel des Schutzgottes von Taurišta [so!, statt sonstigem Tauriša]; es folgen in fragmentarischem Zusammenhang die Ortsnamen Ḫantilašša und Arinna, danach abgebrochen. Ist das Einzelritual Cat. 486 zu vergleichen?).

23. Tag: (Zerstört bis auf die Erwähnung der Ištar von Ḫattarinna).

24. Tag: Das Königspaar begibt sich in den Tempel des Gottes [x]⁵⁴. Bad; erneutes Klagegebet für die Ištar von Ḫattarinna.

25. und 26. Tag: Der gleichen Ištar gewidmet.

27. Tag: Opfer für Ninatta (eine Dienerin der Ištar); der König feiert die Gottheit Karmahili.

28. Tag: Der König feiert den (göttlichen) Berg Tapala.

29. Tag: Das Königspaar geht in den Tempel des A'a (Ea).

30. Tag: Das Königspaar geht in den Tempel der Muttergöttin; Klagegebet für den Wettergott *ḫaršan-naššiš* (!)⁵⁵.

53. Diese beiden Namen in Kol. iii 1–2 ebenfalls nach Kollation Werners.

54. Nur ein Zeichen. Die JNES XIX 88 erwogene Ergänzung ^P[IB] bleibt hier möglich; für den 21. Tag liegen jetzt durch D andere Ergänzungen vor.

55. Entgegen JNES XIX 84, 87, 89 möchte ich das erste Zeichen (*ḫar/ḫur/mur*) jetzt *ḫar* lesen und außerdem das

52. Vgl. oben Anm. 49. Dazu noch KBo IX 91 Rs. B 4: *IŠTU ANŠE.KUR.RA kuiš tarahzi* "wer mit dem Pferde siegt" (d. h. das Rennen gewinnt).

31. Tag: Feier für dieselben Gottheiten in einem anderen Gebäude.

Es folgen beschädigte Abschnitte, die die Zählung der Tage unsicher machen.

32. (?) Tag: Mahl im "Haus der [Köche(?)]" König und Königin gehen in den Tempel des Schutzgottes. Festsetzung der Route für die folgende Reise zum Berge Piškurunuwa.

33. Tag: Übernachten in Haitta; Opferzurüstungen werden zum Gipfel (voraus-)geschafft.

34. Tag: Das Königspaar steigt zum Gipfel (des Piškurunuwa) auf, wo ein Fest stattfindet. Für die Nacht Abstieg nach Hurranašša.

35. Tag: In Hurranašša feiert das Königspaar die Sonnengöttin von Arinna. Inzwischen fährt der Oberste der Palastbeamten nach Zippalanda.

36. Tag: (Feier) in Zippalanda.

37. Tag: Desgleichen in Ankuwa, mit "Großer Versammlung".

38. (letzter) Tag: Der König begeht das Regenfest (in Ankuwa).

An dieser Übersicht über das achtunddreißigtägige Fest fällt zunächst die Vielzahl der in seinem Verlauf erwähnten Götter auf. Ihre Zahl wird noch vermehrt, wenn die Detailbeschreibungen der einzelnen Tage herangezogen werden, die Opfer für zahlreiche weitere Gottheiten vorschreiben. Dabei sind durchaus verschiedene der nach ihrer sprachlichen Zugehörigkeit unterscheidbaren Götterkreise vertreten. Um nur die wichtigsten der in der Übersichtstafel genannten Gottheiten zu nennen, so steht neben den Hauptgöttern, die meist chattischen Ursprungs sind, der ebenfalls ursprünglich chattische Gott Ziparwa, der aber im Lande Pala verehrt wurde; die Götter von Šamuha und Aleppo gehören dem churritischen Kreise an, wieder andere, wie Ašgašepa, dem Kult von Kaneš. Der Eindruck, daß bei diesem großen hauptstädtischen Kultfest die Gottheiten aller Reichsteile bedacht werden sollten, wird verstärkt durch einen zum AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-Fest gehörenden, in das Schema der achtunddreißig Tage aber vorerst nicht eingeordneten Text, in dem die Götter vieler Städte aus verschiedenen Reichsteilen aufgezählt sind⁵⁶.

Stadt-Determinativ (in Z. 43 und 45) als Fehler ansehen, weil im Expl. D (438/s ii 7, 11) in gleichem Kontext, wenn auch für andere Tage, die übliche Schreibung ^{DU} *ḫar-ša-an-na-aš-ši*... vorliegt (dazu Laroche, Recherches 110).

56. KBo IV 13, wegen seiner geographischen Liste oft diskutiert, vgl. JNES XX 88.

Aus dem Verlauf dieses langen, teils in der Hauptstadt, teils auf Reisen zu begehenden Festes seien hier einige Einzelzüge herausgegriffen. Unter diesen ist zu nennen einmal das Öffnen der Vorratsgefäße (am 6. und 12. Tage), zum anderen die "im Hain" stattfindende Feier des 15. Tages. Die Einzelbeschreibung für die letztgenannte liegt in zwei Fassungen vor (Cat. 495, 1 und 2), von denen die eine im Namen Tudhaliyas IV. ausgefertigt ist. Liegt es an sich schon nahe anzunehmen, daß der Hain außerhalb der Hauptstadt gelegen war, so wird diese Annahme noch bestärkt durch die Angabe der Einzelbeschreibung (KUB XI 22 i 22–24), daß der König sich zu dem dort belegenen Gebäude im Wagen begibt. Auch das Vorhandensein einer Stele (*ḫuwaši*) an dieser Lokalität deutet in dieselbe Richtung, wie noch auszuführen sein wird. Nach einem leider nicht einzuordnenden Fragment⁵⁷ liegt ein Hain (derselbe?) außerhalb des Tawiniya-Tores, also außerhalb der Stadt in der nördlichen Ebene. Auch daß am 19. Tage bei einer weiteren Feier im Hain Rennpferde erwähnt und Becher für die Götter hergerichtet werden, verbindet dieses große Frühlingsfest der Hauptstadt mit den noch zu besprechenden lokalen Frühlingsfesten, bei denen die Götter aus dem Tempel zum *ḫuwaši*-Stein hinausgeschafft werden, wo dann allerlei Belustigungen stattfinden und u. a. auch die Becher aufgestellt werden. Auch zu diesen lokalen Festen gehört jedesmal das Öffnen der Vorratsgefäße. Diese Einzelzüge deuten auf ein allen anatolischen Frühjahrsfesten gemeinsames Grundschema hin.

Eine andere Einzelheit, die Beachtung verdient, ist die Erwähnung des É *hešti*, d. i. des Totentempels, am 11. Tage. Die Ergänzung "das Jahr" ist dem für diesen Tag vorhandenen Einzelritual entnommen. Was ist damit gemeint, daß man "das Jahr in den Totentempel schafft"? Wird das abgelaufene Jahr dort beigesetzt, etwa in Gestalt eines (hieroglyphischen) Symbols? Die Schlußzeilen des Einzelrituals⁵⁸, wonach man "drei Brote vor die Jahre legt" und danach den Schauplatz der Riten "schließt", könnten in der Tat auf etwas derartiges hindeuten. Zu der Erwähnung des Totentempels darf ferner daran erinnert werden, daß nach einem von Otten erwähnten unpublizierten Text auch die Opfer vor den Abbildern verstorbener Herrscher einen Teil des AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-Festes bilden⁵⁹.

57. KUB X 91; vgl. Garstang-Gurney, The Geography of the Hittite Empire (1959), S. 11. Zur Lage s. JNES XX 86 f.

58. IBoT II 1 vi 3–7.

59. H. Otten, Heth. Totenrituale, S. 110 unten zu VAT 7501 und den Paralleltexten (Cat. 523 {CTH 660}). Allerdings brauchen diese Texte nicht zu diesem Tage zu gehören, da das Bild des Ḫattušili auch beim Einzelritual des Zababa-Tempels (KBo IV 9 iii 11) ein Opfer erhält. In ähnlicher Weise finden auch bei dem im Herbst begangenen *nuntarriyašhaš*-Fest Opfer für verstorbene Königinnen

Von Interesse ist ferner die Kultreise des Schildes, der am dritten Tage aus Arinna in die Hauptstadt kommt, am vierten von da nach Tawiniya und am fünften von dort via *Ḫiyašna* wieder zurückgebracht wird. Eine analoge Reise des Schildes findet nach der oben als Variante S benutzten Übersichtstafel über die "Regelmäßigen Feste" auch bei einer dieser Feiern statt. Wie bereits früher ausgeführt⁶⁰, ist damit typologisch vergleichbar die Sonderreise des Gottes *Zithariya* am dritten Tage des *nuntarriyašhaš*-Festes, die in zwei, der Reiserichtung nach einander entgegengesetzten, Fassungen beschrieben wird. Während die Übersichtstafel⁶¹ nur die Reiseroute des *Zithariya* angibt, stipuliert der andere Text⁶², daß an jeder Station die Opfermaterie aus dem "Hause des Schildes" geliefert werden solle. Die Angabe Ottens⁶³, wonach hier "von kultischen Reisen des *Ḫurša*- die Rede ist", ist vielleicht mit einer kleinen Modifikation aufrecht zu erhalten: Der Gott, der diese Reise macht, wird Anfangs (Z. 4) nur "der Gott" genannt, sein Name, *Zithariya* (also nicht *kurša!*) ist aber in Z. 14 ausdrücklich angegeben. In Anbetracht der Tatsache, daß *Zithariya* einer der Schutzgötter ist⁶⁴, und des auffälligen Umstandes, daß alle Lieferungen aus dem "Hause des *Ḫurša*" kommen und bei der Rückkehr des *Zithariya* ein Fest "im Hause des *Ḫurša*" stattfindet (Z. 14–17), darf man aber vielleicht annehmen, daß *Zithariya* selbst durch einen Schild repräsentiert wurde, wie ja auch der von Otten a. a. O. mitgeteilte Text von den "Schilden des *Zithariya* und des Schutzgottes von *Ḫatzenzuwa*" handelt. In diesem Falle wären die Reise des Schildes beim AN.TAḪ.ŠUM- und die des *Zithariya* beim *nuntarriyašhaš*-Feste nicht nur typologisch, sondern auch sachlich identisch.

Der von Otten behandelte Text⁶⁵ handelt an sich von etwas anderem: Wenn in *Ḫattuša* die Kultschilde der genannten Götter erneuert werden, dann werden

statt, aber in *Taḫurpa*, also nicht im Totentempel der Hauptstadt (vgl. oben, Anm. 25, und unten, Anm. 67).

60. JNES XX 90.

61. KUB IX 16 i 9–11 = KBo III 25 i 6 f.

62. KUB XXII 27 iv 1–20.

63. Festschr. J. Friedrich 356 zu KUB XXII 27 Kol. iv. Von einer anderen Kultreise des Schildes handeln KUB X 78 + XX 25 (JNES XX 92) und unveröff. 591/t. — Im Gegensatz zu Otten, a. a. O., glaubt Verf., daß das É *Ḫuršaš* nicht ein Gebäudeteil, sondern doch ein selbständiges Gebäude, wegen der Lieferungen ein Tempel, ist; in 169/p (jetzt KBo X 27) iii 18 f. steht es nicht "neben *Ḫilamni*", sondern hat selbst einen solchen Torbau: "Wenn die NIN.DINGIR beim É *Ḫuršaš* ankommt, singen im Torbau die ...; (dann) tritt die N. D. ein".

64. Laroche, Recherches 40.

65. Bo 2393 + Bo 5138: Festschr. J. Friedrich 351–359; vgl. auch Otten, Krönerausgabe, S. 427.

die alten Schilde in kleinere Orte gebracht und erhalten dabei einen anderen Namen. Daß dabei "der alte Schild des *Zithariya*" in "Schutzgott, Schild"⁶⁶ umbenannt wird, ist für die oben vorgeschlagene Interpretation von Bedeutung.

Das soeben herangezogene *nuntarriyašhaš*-Fest ist das andere mit Reisen verbundene große Fest. Im Gegensatz zum AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-Fest, das im Frühling gefeiert wird, findet es im Herbst statt, "wenn der König vom Feldzug heimkehrt"⁶⁷. Dem "Nehmen der AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-Pflanze" am neunten Tage des Frühlingfestes steht das "Nehmen" der neu geernteten Produkte am fünften Tage des Herbstfestes gegenüber; danach werden diese Produkte für den Verbrauch freigegeben⁶⁸. Dagegen ist das sonst für Herbstfeste charakteristische Füllen der Vorratsgefäße⁶⁹, das Gegenstück zum oben erwähnten Öffnen derselben beim Frühlingfest, bisher für das *nuntarriyašhaš*-Fest nicht belegt. Es kann aber in den z. Zt. noch fehlenden Textteilen erwähnt gewesen sein.

Am sechzehnten Tage des *nuntarriyašhaš*-Festes, nach der Rückkehr in die Hauptstadt, wird eine Feier begangen, die den Namen "Fest der Nerik-Reise" führt. In einem früheren Aufsatz⁷⁰ hat Verf. die Auffassung vertreten, daß dies — wenigstens zur Zeit der Abfassung des hier vorliegenden Textes unter Muršili II. — eine Ersatzfeier gewesen sei, weil Nerik sich damals in der Hand der Gašgäer befand und deshalb unerreichbar war. Zu anderen Zeiten mag die Reise bis Nerik geführt haben.

66. Ergänze Z. 22 vielleicht appositionell *ḪLAMA* *Ḫurša*-*ša*[-an] nach Anniwiyani iii 4, iv 36; dazu E. H. Sturtevant, A Hittite Chrestomathy, S. 122.

67. Zu Kl.² 165 Anm. 11 und Cat. 481 ff. {CTH 626}. vgl. Verf., JNES XX 90 mit Anm. 26–30, mit folgenden Zusätzen: Das dort in Anm. 27 genannte Fragment ist jetzt KBo XIV 76; zu Cat. 482, 1 {CTH 626} (5. Tag) sind weitere Duplikate KBo XI 43 und KUB XX 50 + XXV 19 (Cat. 482, 2 {CTH 626}). Nachzutragen ist, daß Gurney, bei Hooke 120 mit Anm. 4, bereits die Opfer für verstorbene Königinnen (KUB XXV 14 mit Dupl. KBo II 15, Cat. 529, 1 {CTH 626}) richtig als zu diesem Fest gehörig erkannt hatte. Die von ihm zitierten Zeilen KUB X 48 i 5–6 gehören zum 5. Tag (ebd. 1 ff. = KUB IX 16 i 17 ff.). Demnach gilt das eben für denselben Tag angeführte Einzelritual (Cat. 482, 1 {CTH 626}) der Tätigkeit des Königs in Arinna, während Gurneys Text die von der Königin in *Taḫurpa* begangene Feier beschreibt. — Vgl. ferner KBo X 18 und 19.

68. Übersichtstafel KUB X 48 i 3–7 mit Dupl.; am Ende des Abschnitts: *nu GIBIL adanna tarnattari* "dann wird das Neue zum Essen freigegeben (wörtl. gelassen)". Einzelrituale: KBo XI 43 i 26–28 (lies auch hier GIBIL) und KUB XXV 14 col. iii (GEŠTIN GIBIL neuer Wein).

69. S. weiter unten und Verf., Oriens XV 349 mit Anm. 1.

70. JNES XX 91 f. unter 8; KUB X 48 ii 20–23; Muršili im Dupl., KUB IX 16 iv 5.

Aus anderen Quellen tritt die Bedeutung dieses alten Kultplatzes deutlich hervor. Daß der Mythos vom Drachenkampf zum *purulli*-Fest von Nerik gehört, wurde schon erwähnt; aus den nicht zur Erzählung gehörenden Abschnitten des gleichen Texten erfährt man einiges über die dort verehrten Gottheiten. Auch im Zusammenhang mit der Göttin Wurušemu wurde auf den Kult von Nerik hingewiesen. Ritualtexte, die sich auf diesen Kult beziehen, sind von Laroche in seinem Catalogue gebucht worden (Nrn. 369, 504 und 553–556). Die große Bedeutung, die die Hethiter selbst diesem Kult beimaßen, erhellt auch u. a. aus den wiederholten Erwähnungen von Verlust und Rückgewinnung der Stadt (vgl. Kl.² 140 mit Anm. 6) sowie den auf die Rückeroberung der Stadt und ihrer Umgebung und die Wiederaufnahme des *purulli*-Festes bezüglichen Orakelanfragen.⁷¹ Eine Spezialuntersuchung dieses Kultes steht noch aus⁷².

Außer den hauptstädtischen Kulturen und dem eben genannten Kult von Nerik gibt es noch zahlreiche andere Lokalkulte, von denen jedoch hier nur auf einige wenige hingewiesen werden kann. Das große Fest EZEN (*h*)*išuwāš*, auf das zuerst Otten die Aufmerksamkeit gelenkt hat, wurde laut Unterschrift auf Befehl der Königin Puduḫepa, der Gattin Ḫattušiliš III., von einem Oberschreiber aufgezeichnet, der eigens zu diesem Zwecke nach Kizzuwatna entsandt worden war⁷³. Der zum großen Teil noch unveröffentlichte Text, zu dem in neueren Ausgrabungen noch weitere Fragmente hinzugefunden wurden, beschreibt Reinigungs- und andere Riten, die dem Königspaar Wohlergehen und göttliche Gunst sichern sollen. Unter den Reinigungsriten findet sich eine Szene⁷⁴, bei der der König und sein Gefolge vom Priester mit "Gottesstäben" auf den Rücken geschlagen werden und diese Stäbe dann küssen. Die bei diesem Fest verehrten Götter gehören dem churritischen Pantheon an, und Sprüche in churritischer Sprache werden rezitiert. Für weitere churritische Kulte sei auf den eben zitierten Abschnitt des Catalogue sowie auf die oben für die churritischen Götterreihen zitierte Literatur verwiesen (oben Anm. 7–9).

Über den Kult der Göttin Ištar (vgl. Cat. 406–414), die, unter dem Namen Šaušga, besonders im churritischen Bereich verehrt wurde, liegen Einzeluntersuchungen vor: Texte, die sich auf Ištar von Ninive beziehen, hat M. Vieyra zusammengestellt⁷⁵. Frau J. Danmanville bearbeitete einen Text, der sich nicht auf den eigentlichen Kult, sondern auf die Versöhnung der Ištar von Šamuḫa bezieht⁷⁶, und behandelte ein Ritual, das in Šamuḫa für die Ištar von Tamininga ausgeführt wurde⁷⁷.

In den luwischen Bereich gehören die Festräume der Städte Ištanuwa und Lallupiya⁷⁸ sowie der Kult der Göttin Ḫuwaššanna von Ḫupišna (Kybistra, Ereğli in der Provinz Konya)⁷⁹. Bei dem letztgenannten fällt es auf, daß sogenannte "Feste" (EZEN) auch von Privatpersonen begangen werden können. Bei einem dieser Feste werden Vorratsgefäße gefüllt, es handelt sich also offenbar um ein Herbstfest, das von einem Individuum gefeiert wird.

Über zahlreiche in kleineren Orten des Reiches ausgeführte Kulte unterrichten Texte, für die sich die Bezeichnung "Kultinventare" eingebürgert hat. Diese Inventare, die meist nach Städten angeordnet sind, nennen den Namen des in der betreffenden Stadt verehrten Gottes und fügen Angaben über das Aussehen seines Kultbildes oder sonstigen Kultobjekts, über die für ihn gefeierten Feste, und oft auch über das Kultpersonal hinzu. Obwohl oft alle diese Angaben in kürzerer oder ausführlicherer Fassung zusammen vorliegen, lassen sich in der Praxis zwei Typen unterscheiden, von denen der eine mehr Gewicht auf die Bildbeschreibung, der andere auf die Beschreibung der Feste legt. Aus der ersten Gruppe hat C.-G. von Brandenstein schon vor Jahren die wichtigsten Texte vorgelegt⁸⁰. Diese Arbeit ist neuerdings von Frau L. Jakob-Rost wieder aufgenommen und aufgrund unveröffentlichter Texte weitergeführt worden⁸¹. An wei-

71. Vor allem KUB XXII 25 (vgl. JNES XX 93 f.). Auf die Umgebung bezüglich: KUB V 1 (ebd.) und die von H. Klengel, MIO VIII (1961) 15–23 behandelten Texte. — Verf. sucht Nerik am rechten Ufer des unteren Halys, speziell seines von W noch O fließenden Teilstückes (a. a. O. 92 f.) am Fuße der hohen Berge.

72. Guter Überblick: Gurney, bei Hooke 107.

73. Cat. 433 ff. {CTH 628} unter "Rituels et fêtes Kizzuwatniens", mit Hinweis auf Otten, Bibl. Or. VIII (1951) 225–227.

74. ABoT 7 v 1 ff. mit unveröff. Zusatzfragmenten, Cat. 433, 6 {CTH 628, 10. Tafel}, bei Otten, a. a. O. 227.

75. "Ištar de Ninive", RA 51 (1957) 83–102, 130–138 (mit Vorsicht zu benutzen!).

76. "Un roi hittite honore Ishtar de Šamuḫa", RHA XIV/59 (1956) 39–61; KUB XXXII 130, vgl. Cat. 540 {CTH 710}.

77. "Le rituel d'Ištar de Tamininga: KUB XII 5", RHA XX/70 (1962) 51–61, mit Heranziehung anderer Belege für die gleiche Ištar.

78. Cat. 458–461 mit Lit.; in Umschrift Laroche, Dictionnaire de la langue louvite (Paris, 1959) S. 163–174 {CTH 772–773}.

79. Cat. 463–467 {CTH 690, 691, 692}; Dictionnaire 175–177; Verf., Oriens XV (1962) 345–351.

80. Hethitische Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen in Keilschrifttexten (MVAeG 46, 2, 1943); dazu Verf., Orientalia N. S. 15 (1946) 482–496.

81. L. Rost, "Zu den hethitischen Bildbeschreibungen", MIO VIII (1961) 161–217; IX (1963) 175–239. Der I. Teil behandelt Texte mit ausführlicher Bildbeschreibung; dort S. 163 eine Übersicht über die Formulartypen und Gattungen.

teren zu diesem Thema gehörigen Einzeluntersuchungen sind zu nennen ein Artikel von J. Danmanville⁸², in welchem die Bildbeschreibung der Ištar mit den vorhandenen Darstellungen in der Kunst verglichen wird, sowie eine Arbeit von S. Alp⁸³, in der die Angaben der Bildbeschreibungstexte, einschließlich der von L. Rost publizierten, tabellarisch zusammengestellt und die Maße bekannter Statuetten zur Bestimmung der in den Texten enthaltenen hethitischen Maßangaben benutzt sind.

Über die zweite Gruppe, aus der sich mehr über Kultfeste entnehmen läßt, liegt eine ungedruckte Chicagoer Dissertation von C. W. Carter vor⁸⁴. Diese Arbeit basiert auf den veröffentlichten Texten, von denen einige in extenso bearbeitet sind⁸⁵. Weitere, noch unveröffentlichte Texte dieser Gruppe sind im II. Teil der Arbeit von Frau Jakob-Rost (Anm. 81) exzerpiert, ihre Veröffentlichung in KUB XXXVIII angekündigt. Nach der oben (Anm. 81) genannten Übersicht scheint es, daß weitere, noch unveröffentlichte Texte dieser Gruppe in dem zu erwartenden II. Teil der Arbeit von Frau Jakob-Rost enthalten sein werden.

Was den Kult betrifft, so sind in den meisten dieser Inventartexte Feste in wechselnder Zahl angeführt⁸⁶. Über viele von ihnen ist nichts Näheres bekannt. Als häufigste heben sich unter ihnen ein Herbst- und ein Frühlingsfest heraus; in manchen Städten sind diese beiden die einzigen, und die meisten Beschreibungen beziehen sich auf diese beiden Feste. Beim Herbstfest werden die Vorratsgefäße gefüllt (*šunna-*) oder (voll-)geschüttet (*šuhha-*, *išhuwa-*), und beim Frühlingsfest werden sie geöffnet (*heš-*) oder erbrochen (*kinu-*). Gelegentlich beim Herbstfest, gewöhnlich aber, und überwiegend, beim Frühlingsfest findet eine Feier außerhalb der Stadt statt, zu der die Götterbilder aus

dem Tempel zu einem *huwaši* hinausgeschafft werden und bei der Belustigungen stattfinden. Der allgemeine Ausdruck dafür ist *duškaraz* "Vergnügung" oder das entsprechende Verb, *dušk-* (KI.² 163 Anm. 5). Im einzelnen kommen vor: Ringkampf (GEŠPÚ) und wohl Steinstoßen (NA₄-*an šiya-*)⁸⁷ sowie das schon vor langer Zeit von H. Ehelolf bearbeitete szenische Kampfspiel (KI.² 163). Es liegt nahe, an die Gauklergruppe in der Reliefszene des Sphinxtores von Hüyük bei Alaca⁸⁸ sowie an das unterste Register der Bitik-Vase zu denken, wo die erhaltenen Reste wohl als Schwerttanz zu deuten sind⁸⁹.

Von der Tatsache ausgehend, daß eine Feier außerhalb der Stadt einen so hervorragenden Platz in den Frühlingsfeiern einnimmt — sowohl in den kleinen Städten als auch, wie oben ausgeführt, in der Hauptstadt —, vergleicht Carter dann die aus Babylonien bekannten *akitu*-Feiern⁹⁰, womit dann weiter die Frage nach der Deutung von Yazılıkaya verknüpft ist. Für dieses Felsheiligtum liegen zwei Deutungsvorschläge vor: *akitu*-Haus oder Totentempel⁹¹. Es braucht nur an die oben hervorgehobene Einzelheit aus dem AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-Fest erinnert zu werden, nach der der Totentempel im Zuge dieses Festes aufgesucht wird, um die enge Verbindung zwischen Totenkult und Frühlingsfest hervortreten zu lassen. Auch an die oben erwähnten Opfer für verstorbene Könige beim Frühlings-, Königinnen beim Herbstfest ist in diesem Zusammenhang zu

82. "Aperçus sur l'art hittite à propos de l'iconographie d'IŠTAR-Šaušga", RHA XX/70 (1962) 37–50, Auszug aus einer noch ungedruckten Dissertation.

83. "Eine hethitische Bronzestatue ... aus Zara bei Amasya", Anatolia VI (1961–1962) 217–243.

84. Charles William Carter, Hittite Cult-Inventories. Diss. Chicago, 1962. Als Mikrofilm beziehbar durch Photoduplication Department, The University of Chicago, Chicago 60637, Illinois.

85. KBo II 1; 7; 13; KUB VII 24; XII 2; XVII 35; XXV 23.

86. Für Feste im allgemeinen s. KI.² 165; Listen von Festen finden sich u. a. in den Dienstvorschriften für das Tempelpersonal (Bibliographie KI.² 161) und in den Gebeten des Muršili (Gurney, LAAA 27, 19 und 58–61). Die aus Tafelanfängen und -Unterschriften identifizierbaren Feste sind in Cat. 473 ff. {CTH 591 ff.} (mit einführenden Bemerkungen, RHA XV/60, S. 65) angeführt. Neu hinzugekommen sind mehrere Tafeln des großen, wohl nach der "Vorhalle" (*hilammar*) benannten KILAM-Festes (KBo X, Inhaltsübersicht zu Nrn. 23–32; zu Nr. 33 s. Laroche, OLZ 1962, 30).

87. KUB XXV 23 i 22 (für GEŠPÚ s. B. Landsberger, WZKM 56 [1960] 115–117); XVII 35 ii 26; 36, 4.

88. H. Frankfort, The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient (The Pelican History of Art, Bd. Z 7, 1954/55) S. 127 f.

89. Tahsin Özgüç, "The Bitik Vase", Anatolia II (1957) 57–78, bes. S. 63 und 65 mit Anm. 12. Zeichnung ebd. S. 61. Zur Datierung in althethitische Zeit s. ebd. 74 ff. und vorher K. Bittel, "Eine hethitische Reliefvase aus Kappadokien", Festschr. Carl Weickert (Berlin, 1955) 23–33.

90. Zu diesen s. A. Falkenstein, "akiti-Fest und akiti-Festhaus", Festschr. J. Friedrich 147–182.

91. Für die erste: W. Andrae, Alte Feststraßen im Nahen Osten (Leipzig, 1941) 14–19; B. Landsberger, Sam'al (Ankara, 1948) 113; für die zweite: Verf., MDOG 86 (1953) 74–76. Wegen Mangels an Beweisen abzulehnen ist der Vorschlag von E. Akurgal, Die Kunst der Hethiter (München, 1961) S. 86 unten, Tudhaliya IV. habe "sich zu Lebzeiten vergöttlichen lassen". — Vereinigung der sich scheinbar widersprechenden zwei Deutungen bei Th. Beran, "Das Felsheiligtum von Yazılıkaya. Deutung und Datierung", Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch (Inst. f. Auslandsbeziehungen, Stuttgart) XII (1962) 146–152; ähnlich Otten, Krönerausg. 434 und 440. Hiernach ist die Ablehnung, MDOG 94 (1963) 23, Anm. Ende, unverständlich. — Für mich ist die Anwesenheit des Schwertgottes, dessen Beziehung zur Unterwelt auch Otten zugibt, in dieser Kammer nur im Rahmen des Totenkultes erklärbar. Übrigens scheinen nach KUB XXXV 145 Vs. 3, 10, 15 auch die Zwölf Götter in die gleiche Sphäre zu gehören wie Nergal.

erinnern. Verf. möchte daher Th. Beran darin zustimmen, daß Yazılıkaya beide Funktionen erfüllt hat. Wenn bei einer Feier im *hešti*-Hause, deren Zugehörigkeit zu einem der großen Feste allerdings nicht nachweisbar ist, eine Reihe von Opfern vor den Unterweltsgöttern, eine andere vor den großen Göttern des Reiches dargebracht wird, so könnte auch das gut zu den zwei Felskammern von Yazılıkaya passen⁹². Daß nach einem — nicht zu den hier besprochenen Kulttexten gehörigen — Fragment⁹³ am Neujahrstag eine Versammlung der Götter stattfindet, auf die sich die Darstellung des Götterzuges in der größeren Felskammer beziehen kann (nicht muß!), ist mit dieser Deutung durchaus vereinbar⁹⁴.

Im Anschluß an Yazılıkaya sei schließlich noch kurz auf das Ritual für die Brandbestattung der hethitischen Könige eingegangen. Zu den Ausführungen Kl.² 170 ist nachzutragen, daß H. Otten die einschlägigen Texte in Buchform veröffentlicht⁹⁵ und K. Bittel die

Grabfunde in einer abschließenden Publikation vorgelegt hat⁹⁶. Für Nichtphilologen ist besonders der Beitrag Ottens zu Bittels Band hervorzuheben, weil hier ohne technischen Apparat die Texte in ihrer mutmaßlichen (und inzwischen z. T. bestätigten) Reihenfolge wiedergegeben sind. Unter den bearbeiteten Texten befindet sich auch das Bruchstück einer Übersichtstafel⁹⁷. Seitdem sind in neueren Ausgrabungen viele neue Bruchstücke hinzugekommen, die Otten nach einigen vorläufigen Mitteilungen, jetzt in Keilschriftkopien veröffentlicht hat⁹⁸.

Abschließend sei noch einmal betont, daß hier im Sinne des Themas "neuere Forschung" nur gewisse Teilgebiete und Fragenkomplexe behandelt worden sind, während andere entweder nur kurz gestreift oder beiseite gelassen wurden, weil sie in den vorliegenden Werken bereits dargestellt sind.

92. Der MDOG 86, 75, Anm. 3 erwähnte Text, jetzt IBoT III 1.

93. Der von Landsberger (s. Anm. 91) erwähnte Text, jetzt KUB XXXVI 97, bearbeitet von H. Otten, "Ein Text zum Neujahrsfest aus Boğazköy", OLZ 1956, 101–105.

94. Nach Alp, *Anatolia* VI 226, wird V. Souček einen Text vorlegen, nach welchem bei einem Fest des Telipinu Götter aus verschiedenen Städten herbeigebracht werden, eine weitere Parallele zum *akitu*-Fest.

95. H. Otten, *Hethitische Totenrituale* (Dtsch. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, Inst. f. Orientforschung, Veröff. Nr. 37), 1958.

96. K. Bittel u. a., *Die hethitischen Grabfunde von Osmankyaysi* (WVDOG 71), 1958.

97. Otten, a. Anm. 95 a. O., S. 48–51.

98. KUB XXXIX (1963, ausgegeben 1964). Dazu H. Otten, "Eine Lieferungsliste zum Totenritual der hethitischen Könige", *WO* II, Heft 5/6 (1959) 477–479; "Zu den hethitischen Totenritualen", *OLZ* 57 (1962) 229–233; Kröner-Ausg. S. 438–440.

AN INITIATION RITE FOR A HITTITE PRINCE*

Among the many Hittite texts in which the ritual for so-called festivals, Sumerian *ezen*, Akkadian *isinnu*, is laid down in great detail, there is one that is unusual with regard to both its name and its contents. The tablet Bo 2017, published in cuneiform by the present author as *IBoT I* No. 29,¹ is, according to its colophon (reverse, line 57) “[The first tablet], text not complete, of the EZEN *ḥaššumaš* in [...].” The tablet number, though broken, can be restored as “first” because the fragmentary beginning of the tablet (obverse 1–5) looks like the beginning of the whole text, giving in line 1 the name of the festival and in line 2 the place where it is performed, [*Ḥa*]ttuši, “in Hattusa.” The word *ḥaššumaš* is the genitive of the gerund of the verb *ḥaš-* “to procreate, beget, give birth.” In order to find out which of these shadings, if indeed any of them, is applicable, we have to look at the contents of the text.

The main figure in the ritual is a prince, DUMU. LUGAL, “son of the king”; the king himself appears only in the first paragraph (obverse 4), never thereafter, whereas the prince, who may have been first introduced in line 5 (restored), is mentioned all through the text from there on.

The rites continue for several days: four days are covered by the extant tablet, and more days must have been contained in the lost continuation.

A great number of priests and representatives of various professions participate in the performances. There are several lists of such officials in the text, none of them completely preserved; the lists vary, but some of the officials recur.

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1. H. Bozkurt, M. Çiğ, H. G. Güterbock, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletlerinden seçme metinler* (Istanbul, Maarif Matbaası, 1944), text No. 29. The fragment 141/s, found in 1960, is a duplicate (hitherto unpublished).

This paper was read at the meeting of the Middle West Branch of 1960. A full edition of the text with transliteration and translation must await another occasion. The passages discussed in this paper are given in transliteration at the end.

Most important are the localities at which the rites are performed and the nature of these performances. One striking feature is that eating and feasting are predominant throughout the text, and in accordance with this the places most often mentioned are the É¹⁶MUḤALDIM, “house of the cook,” i.e., the kitchen, and the *arzanaš parna-*, a building which has been explained as “inn” or “dining room.” Thus we read (obverse 18 f.):

When the prince asks for food in the kitchen, then twelve priests sit down in front of him.

After an enumeration of the twelve different priests, the text goes on (25 f.):

Before they sit down to eat, the “anointed one” and the priests perform purification rites at the kitchen door.

Similarly (obverse 50): “The prince goes into the *arzana* house and asks for food.” Then, after an enumeration of foods and beverages, (53) “all the priests sit down in front of the prince. But for eating they are called into the kitchen.” Thereafter bread is put on the tables of the prince and the various priests.

Similar scenes recur several times. In outline, the performances in the various localities run as follows:

The beginning of the rites taking place in the morning of the second day (obverse 6 ff.) is badly damaged, but eating is repeatedly mentioned.

The prince asks for food in the kitchen (obverse 18); purification rites at the kitchen door (26, see above).

The prince goes into the *arzana* house; food and offerings (29 ff.).

He goes into the temple of the goddess Kataḥḥa and asks for food (35 ff.).

Third day: Ceremonies for the goddess Ariniddu in the kitchen (39 ff.).

The prince goes into the *arzana* house; eating in the kitchen; listing of tables set up for the various priests and of offerings (50 ff.).

Gap between obverse and reverse.

After some mutilated lines at the beginning of the reverse, tables, food, and offerings are listed again (rev. 10 ff.).

Meat is carried into the inner chamber of the bath house (23 f.).

The prince goes into the *arzana* house; eating (28 ff.).

Fourth day: Breakfast (33), followed by special rites to be discussed presently.

The prince leaves (probably the *arzana* house) and goes back to the temple of Kattahja; eating (41 ff.).

He then goes to the *arzana* house (again), where the following ceremony takes place (last paragraph of our first tablet, rev. 46–56):

He goes into the *arzana* house and there, too, asks for food. Three hot breads, 10 moist breads, 10 barley breads, 10 sweet breads, 3 handfuls of groats, 2 *wakšur* measures of milk, 2 *huppar* vessels of beer. And twelve prostitutes sit down before him. They eat and drink. And on that night they purify the prince again and make him lie down. At either side of his head they put two thick breads, and at either side of his feet they put two thick breads, and around him they make a drawing out of beer. When [...], then they bring in the prostitutes.

Thus ends the extant part of the text. It takes little imagination to guess what this ceremony means. It seems that this passage gives the clue to the nature of the text and thereby to the meaning of its title: it is the “festival of procreating” by which these women, written with the logogram ^{sa1.meš}KAR.KID, Akkadian *harimāti*, “prostitutes,” initiate the prince into adult life.

The preparations for this include, apart from the purification before going to bed and the extensive feasting mentioned earlier, some other ceremonies that may now be considered. At the end of the second day we read (obverse 35–38):

Then he goes into the temple of Kattahja and asks for food. Twelve plowmen sit down before him. Then he provides the gods (with offerings). The plowmen lift yokes from in front of the deity and harness one team of purified oxen and drive them to the fallow. End of second day.

Or take another scene (rev. 17–19):

A handmill is put in front of the fireplace. The prince, the “anointed” priest, the chamberlain, the barber, and the brick moulders turn the mill.

These two scenes may very well symbolize the food-providing aspects of kingship and serve to initiate the prince into the duties of plowing and flour making. In this connection it may be mentioned that one of the deities named in the text is ^dLAMA.LUGAL, “the Protective Deity of the King.”

Finally, at the beginning of the fourth day we read (rev. 33–41):

On the fourth day for breakfast: three hot breads (etc., an enumeration of food and beverages follows; then in line 35) The “anointed” priest goes to the House of the Dead. (More breads listed; libation for the gods). They lead a he-goat outside, slaughter it and eat it, and take the hide of the he-goat. They strip a blind man, beat him, and lead him to the House of the Dead. Then they eat and drink.

This rite, which is difficult to understand in all its implications, may have something to do with putting the old ego to rest now that the prince enters a new phase of his life.²

While many problems raised by this unique text remain unsolved, and although features known from ethnology as characteristic of initiation rites are lacking here, it seems that the references to such basic duties as plowing and grinding fit the pattern, just as the last paragraph describes the prince’s initiation into adult life.

2. This interpretation was suggested by Thorkild Jacobsen in the discussion of the paper.

TRANSLITERATION OF SELECTED PASSAGES

Obverse

- 1]-*ha* EZEN *ha-a*[š-š*u*-*ma-aš*
 2^{ur}*Ha-a*]t-tu-š*i* A-NA [.....
 3]x 3 UP-NU *ha-x*[.....
 4]NINDA.KUR₄.RA.ĪA LUGAL-uš p[*ár-ši-ia*
 5DUMU.LU]GAL a-še[-e]-š*a*-an-zi n[*u*

....

- 18 nu DUMU. LUGAL *ku-wa-pí* I-NA É ^{lu}MUĪALDIM a-da-an-na ú[-e-ek-zi nu-uš-š*i* pí-r]a-an
 (19) I₂ ^{lu}SANGA e-š*a*-an-da

-
- 25 ... nu-uš-ša-an ku-it-ma-an a-da-an-na n[a-a-ú-i e-ša-an-t]a-ri
- 26 a-aš-ga A-NA KÁ É.MUḪALDIM ^{lú}ta-zi-li-iš ^{lú.meš}SANGA šu-up[-pí-ia]-aḫ-ḫ[a-an-z]i
-
- 35 ... ta-aš I-NA É ^dKa-taḫ-ḫa pa-iz-zi nu a-da-an-na ú-e-ek-zi
- 36 [nu]-uš-ši 12 ^{lú.meš}APIN.LAL pí-ra-an e-ša-an-ta-ri na-aš-ta DINGIR.MEŠ aš-nu-zi
-
- 37 ^{lú.meš}APIN.LAL ^{giš}SUDUN.ḪI.A IŠ-TU PA-NI DINGIR-LIM kar-pa-an-zi nu 1 ḫa-ap-ki-ri GUD
- 38 šu-up-pí-ia-aḫ-ḫa-an-da-an tu[-u-r]i-ia-an-zi nu wa-ar-ḫu-uš-šu-i pé-en-na-an-zi
UD.2.KAM QA-TI
-
-
- 50 [nu] DUMU.LUGAL ar-za-na pá-r-na pa-iz-zi nu DUMU.LUGAL a-da-an-na ú-e-ek-zi
-
- 53 nu A-NA DUMU.LUGAL ^{lú.meš}SANGA ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš pí-ra-an-še-et e-ša-an-da-ri
-
- 54 a-da-an-na-ma I-NA É ^{lú}MUḪALDIM ḫal-zi-ia-at-ta-ri ...

Reverse

- 17 ... 1 ^{na4}ARÀ ḫa-aš[-ši-i pí-ra]-an (18) ti-an-zi ta ^{na4}ARÀ DUMU.LUGAL 1 ta-zi-el-li-iš
^{lú}ŠÀ[TAM] (19) ^{lú}ŠU.1 ^{lú.meš}SIG₄-na-al-le-e-eš ma-al-la-an-zi ...
-
- 33 I-NA UD.4.KAM wa-ga-an-na 3 NINDA a-a-an ...
- 35 ... ta ta-zi-el-li-iš I-NA ^éḫé-eš-ta-a pa-iz-zi
-
- 37 ... MÁŠ.GAL-ma a-ra-aḫ-za pé-e-ḫu-da-an-zi
- 38 nu-kán MÁŠ.GÁL-an ar-kán-zi na-an ar-ha a-da-an-zi
- 39 KUŠ.MÁŠ.GAL-ma da-an-zi 1 LÚ.IGI.NU.GÁL ni-ku-ma-an-da-ri-an-zi
- 40 na-an wa-al-ḫa-an-ni-an-zi na-an ^éḫé-eš-ta-a pé-e-ḫu-da-an-zi
- 41 nu a-da-an-zi a-ku-wa-an-zi na-aš-ta DUMU.LUGAL pa-ra-a ú-iz-zi
- 42 nu EGIR-pa I-NA É ^dKa-taḫ-ḫa pa-iz-zi ta a-da-an-na
- 43 ú-e-ek-zi ...
- ...
- 46 I-NA É ar-za-na pa-iz-zi nu a-pí-ia-ia a-da-an-na ú-e-ek-zi (47) 3 NINDA a-a-an 10 NINDA
LA-AB-KU 10 NINDA.ŠE 10 NINDA.KU₇ 3 UP-NU AR-ZA-AN-NU (48) 2 wa-ak-šur GA 2
^{duḡ}ḫu-u-up-pár KAŠ nu-uš-ši 12 ^{sa1.meš}KAR.KID (49) [pí-r]a-an e-ša-an-ta nu a-da-an-zi a-
ku-wa-an-zi (50) [nu a-p]é-e-da-ni MI-ti DUMU.LUGAL QA-TAM-MA šu-up-pí-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi
(51) [nam-ma]-an ša-aš-ša-nu-an-zi nu-uš-ši IŠ-TU SAG.DU-ŠU [ke-e-ez-za] (52) [2
NINDA.KUR₄.R]A ke-ez-zi-ia-aš-ši 2 NINDA.KUR₄.RA ti-an-zi (53) [IŠ-TU] ĞIR.MEŠ-ŠU-ia-
aš-ši ke-e-ez-za 2 NINDA.KUR₄.RA ke-e-ez[-zi-ia] (54) [2 NINDA.KUR₄.RA] ti-an-zi nam-
ma-aš-kán ši-eš-ša-ni-it (55) [a-ra-aḫ-za-a]n-da gul-ša-an-zi ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma ku[-.....]
(56) [nu-kán an-da ^{sa1}] ^{lú.meš}KAR.KID ar-nu-wa-an-zi
-
- 57 [DUB.1.KAM] NU TIL EZEN ḫa-aš-šu-ma-aš I-NA x[...]

HETHITISCHE GÖTTERBILDER UND KULTOBJEKTE*

Die in hethitischen Texten genannten Kultobjekte sind schon oft behandelt worden, und meine Beschäftigung mit dem Thema geht ebensoweit zurück wie meine Freundschaft mit Kurt Bittel — rund ein halbes Jahrhundert. Es war um jene Zeit, daß C.-G. von Brandenstein mir von seiner Beschäftigung mit Bildbeschreibungstexten nicht nur erzählte, sondern in überaus kollegialer Weise auch erlaubte, die wichtigsten seiner Texte für mich abzuschreiben. Ja, er gestattete die Verwendung der auf den Wettergott bezüglichen Stelle in der Yazılıkaya-Publikation¹ noch vor dem Erscheinen seiner eigenen Arbeit über das Thema². Die in diesem Buch veröffentlichten Texte zusammen mit schon länger bekannten dienten als Grundlage für einen 1943 vor der Türkischen Historischen Stiftung gehaltenen Vortrag³ und eine ausführliche Besprechung des Werkes von Brandensteins⁴. Nach dem Kriege führte L. (Jakob-)Rost die Arbeit weiter, indem sie viele weitere Texte gleicher oder ähnlicher Art aus dem Berliner Museum bekannt machte⁵.

Die Bildbeschreibungen sind ein Ausschnitt aus einer größeren Gruppe von Texten, für die sich die Bezeichnung "Kultinventare" eingebürgert hat. Es gibt mehrere Formen. Bei der einen liegt der Akzent auf der Beschreibung der Kultbilder, bei einer anderen auf den wichtigsten Kulthandlungen bei den Festen, wieder

andere beschränken sich auf bloße Aufzählung. Die Chicago'er Dissertation von C. W. Carter⁶ behandelt vorwiegend Kultinventare der zweiten Form. Eine Nachlese solcher Kultinventare aus den Grabungen K. Bittels lieferte Carter in KBo 26 (1978) als Nummern 147–228; leider sind fast alle sehr bruchstückhaft. Einige weitere Texte dieser Art sind auch in neueren Bänden der Serien KBo und KUB enthalten⁷. Endlich erschien im gleichen Jahre in Warschau eine Monographie von M. Popko über Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion⁸. Während hier der Begriff "Kultobjekte" weiter gefaßt ist, indem er auch die im Tempel mit Opfern versehenen heiligen Stätten wie Thron, Herd, Fenster sowie Teile des Mobiliars und andere Geräte umfaßt, so sind doch auch "Götterattribute" und vor allem "Unpersönliche Götterdarstellungen" ausführlich besprochen, Dinge also, die uns hier beschäftigen.

Trotz der inzwischen angewachsenen Literatur mag es nützlich sein, auf die Texte noch einmal zurückzukommen. Wenn dabei Dinge wiederholt werden, die der Jubilar längst kennt, so möge er es verzeihen: es geschieht zu dem Zweck, ein möglichst abgerundetes Bild zu geben und zugleich ältere Äußerungen, die z.T. an schwer zugänglichen Stellen erschienen waren, in verbesserter Form wieder zugänglich zu machen.

Viele Kultinventare sind nach Städten geordnet, indem für jede Stadt die dort zusammen verehrten Gottheiten aufgezählt werden. In denjenigen Texten, in denen die Götterbilder oder Kultobjekte beschrieben sind, wird dabei oft — aber nicht immer — ein Wort

*Reprinted from *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens: Festschrift für Kurt Bittel*, R. M. Boehmer and H. Hauptmann, eds. (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1983), pp. 203–217, with the permission of Hans G. Güterbock.

1. K. Bittel - R. Naumann - H. Otto, *Yazılıkaya*. WVD OG 61 (1941) (abgek. Yaz.¹) 83; vgl. K. Bittel et al., *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazılıkaya* (1975) (= Yaz.²) 167. Andere Abkürzungen sind die in der Hethitologie üblichen, vgl. Abkürzungsverzeichnis in J. Friedrich - A. Kammenhuber, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*² (= HW²).
2. C.-G. Frhr. von Brandenstein, *MVAeG* 46/2, 1943. Die darin bearbeiteten Texte im folgenden als v. Br. mit Nummer zitiert.
3. H. G. Güterbock, *Belleten* 7, 1943, 295–317.
4. H. G. Güterbock, *Orientalia* N.S. 15, 1946, 482–96.
5. L. Rost, *MIO* 8, 1961, 161–217; *MIO* 9, 1963, 175–239, und *KUB* 38 (1965), beide mit Einschluß der von seiten von Brandensteins bearbeiteten Texte (im folgenden nach *MIO* mit Band und Seite zitiert).

6. C. W. Carter, *Hittite Cult Inventories* (1962), unveröffentlicht, aber in photomechanischer Wiedergabe von der Universitätsbibliothek, University of Chicago, beziehbar; vgl. Verf., in: G. Walser (Hrsg.), *Neuere Hethiterforschung. Historia, Einzelschrift* 7 (1964) 71 mit Anm. 84 f.
7. Bis *KBo* 21 und *KUB* 43 verzeichnet von E. Laroche in *CTH* (1971) mit Nachtrag, *RHA* 30, 1972, 94–133, unter Nm. 501, 502, 505–522, 524–530; danach noch *KUB* 44.1; 44.4 + *KBo* 13.241; *KUB* 44.18; 20; 21; 42; 48; *KUB* 46.17; 21; 22; *KUB* 48.113; *KBo* 22.222; 223; 26.147–228.
8. M. Popko, *Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion* (nach keilschriftlichen Quellen), *Dissertationes Universitatis Varsoviensis* (1978).

gebraucht, das eine Abstraktbildung von dem Wort für "Gott" ist und mit einer Kombination aus Wortzeichen und akkadischem und hethitischem Komplement geschrieben wird: DINGIR-LIM-tar, höchst wahrscheinlich *šunijatar* zu lesen. So heißt es z.B.: "(Stadt) Lapana: (Göttin) Ijaja: das *šunijatar* ist eine hölzerne Frauenfigur, sitzend, ..." usw. (v.Br. Text 2 IV 1 f.). Wenn man dann im gleichen Text liest DINGIR-LIM-tar 2 *wakšur* (Kol. I 2) oder DINGIR-LIM-tar BIBRU GUD (Kol. I 29 f.), so kann man nicht daran zweifeln, daß das bedeutet "Die Gottesdarstellungen sind zwei *wakšur*-Gefäße" bzw. "Die Gottesdarstellung ist ein Stier-*bibru* (zur Bedeutung von *bibru*, meist mit "tierförmiges Gefäß" oder ungenau "Rhyton" wiedergegeben, s. weiter unten). Die Übersetzer, von Brandenstein und Jakob-Rost, haben in den meisten Fällen auch so übersetzt, in anderen aber offenbar nicht gewagt, den Schluß zu ziehen, daß die gleiche Konstruktion die entsprechende Übersetzung erfordert. Wendet man dieses Prinzip an, so ergibt sich z.B. für den Text v.Br. 2⁹ folgendes Bild:

"(Stadt) Tarammeka: Wettergott des Heeres und "Marduk" (d.h. Šantaš?): die Gottesdarstellungen (oder besser: Kultobjekte) sind zwei *wakšur*-Gefäße aus Silber im Gewicht von zwei Minen".

"(Gott) Zababa: das Kultobjekt ist ein GEŠPÚ aus Silber" (dazu weiter unten).

"Quelle Išḫašhurijaš: das Gottesbild ist ein Frauenbild aus Holz ..." (usw.). Es folgen zwei weitere Frauenbilder.

"(Stadt) Kunkunija: Der Starke Wettergott: das Gottesbild ist ein Stier-*bibru* ..." (usw.).

"(Stadt) Wijanawanda: Schutzgott des Feldes: [das Gottesbild] ist ein silbernes Bild eines Mannes ..." (usw.).

Schon an diesem kurzen Auszug aus einem Text kann man beobachten, daß vor allem Göttinnen anthropomorph dargestellt werden, während bei männlichen Göttern andere Kultobjekte häufig sind. Dafür gibt es zahlreiche Belege. Bevor wir auf diese verschiedenen Objekte eingehen, geben wir einige Bemerkungen zu den anthropomorphen Darstellungen, obwohl die besterhaltenen Bildbeschreibungen lange bekannt und in Übersetzung zugänglich sind.

I. ANTHROPOMORPHE GÖTTERDARSTELLUNGEN

In dem Text v.Br. 1¹⁰ handeln die zwei ersten erhaltenen Abschnitte von zwei Formen der Ištar (Šaušga). Daß der zweite Abschnitt die männliche Er-

scheinungsform der Göttin beschreibt, wurde zuerst von E. Laroche erkannt¹¹; L. Rost konnte das schon benutzen. Bei der Beschreibung einer Ištar im ersten erhaltenen Abschnitt sind ihr Beinamen sowie die Angaben des Geschlechts und des Materials nicht erhalten. Daß es sich um eine Frauenfigur handelt, ist nicht mehr so selbstverständlich wie früher. Ein Indiz für weibliches Geschlecht ist aber wohl der Becher in der Hand, weil diese Angabe meist bei der Beschreibung von Göttinnen vorkommt. Daß sie außerdem sitzend dargestellt ist, ist an sich kein Zeichen für Weiblichkeit, weil derselbe Text auch einen sitzenden Wettergott kennt, paßt aber wenigstens zu vielen anderen Bildern von sitzenden Göttinnen. — Flügel, die Trabantinnen Ninatta und Kulitta, und das geflügelte Fabelwesen *awiti* sind beiden Erscheinungsformen der Göttin gemeinsam. Die männliche steht auf ihm; bei der weiblichen heißt es nur "unter ihr befindet sich eine silberüberzogene Basis, [auf der] Basis liegt ein mit Silber überzogener *awiti*", ohne daß seine Lage im Verhältnis zu der Frauenfigur erklärt würde. Die männliche Figur, die man mit dem Relief Yazılıkaya Nr. 38 verglichen hat, hält ein goldenes Beil in der Rechten. In Yazılıkaya fehlt das Beil¹², aber auf den späthethitischen Reliefs von Malatya-Arslanteppe ist es vorhanden¹³. Auch der Goldring in Oxford¹⁴ ist schon längst zum Vergleich herangezogen worden. Auch hier fehlt das Beil. Das Mischwesen hat hier einen Löwen- und einen mit Göttertara bedeckten menschlichen Kopf und wird von dem Gott an der Leine gehalten¹⁵.

Im nächsten Abschnitt (v.Br. Text 1 II 4) kann die Ergänzung des Gottesnamens zu [Karmaḫ]iliš (v.Br. S. 35) als sicher gelten. In KUB 38.2 sind auf dem rechten Tafelrand noch die Zeichen für "Gold" (Z. 4) und "Silber" (Z. 5) wiedergegeben, es handelt sich also um "eine männliche Figur, sitzend, [die Augen(?)] aus Gold; sie hält eine Keule in der [Rechten]. Darunter eine Basis aus Silber".

11. E. Laroche, JCS 6, 1952, 116 f.; 119, "Ištar du cri" im Sinne von Ištar des Schlachtrufes. Der Name ist hier ^PLIŠ geschrieben.

12. Vgl. K. Bittel, Yaz.² 142.

13. Zuletzt bei K. Bittel, Die Hethiter (1976) Abb. 276, 278.

14. D. G. Hogarth, Hittite Seals (1920) Nr. 195; Bittel, Die Hethiter Abb. 236 f.

15. Den Gedanken, daß *awiti* einfach "Löwe" heißen könnte, habe ich längst aufgegeben; vgl. Rost, MIO 8, 1961, 175 Anm. 60. Daß das Tier Flügel hatte, zeigen die Texte. Ob es aber ausschließlich das zweiköpfige Wesen des Goldringes war, oder auch ein anderes Flügelwesen, wie ein-köpfige Sphinx oder Flügellöwe, sein konnte, bleibt offen. Die Leine auf dem Ring illustriert die Notiz v.Br. Text 2 II 8, wonach ein Gott *awiti išmerijanti* "auf einem aufgezäumten *awiti*" steht (u.S. 207 f.).

9. v.Br. Text 2 = MIO 8, 1961, 178 ff. = KUB 38.1.

10. v.Br. Text 1 = MIO 8, 1961, 174 ff. = KUB 38.2 (beachte die Umnummerierung!).

Zu dem sitzenden Bild des Wettergottes des Himmels ist nichts Neues zu bemerken¹⁶.

Bei der Beschreibung des Kriegsgottes Zababa (II 17 ff.) als silberner männlicher Figur mit Keule und Schild auf einem Löwen muß zugegeben werden, daß bei keinem der in Yazılıkaya als Kriegsgötter in Anspruch genommenen Götter (Nr. 27 und 30) die Bewaffnung zu dieser Beschreibung paßt. Daß der Löwe fehlt, ist dagegen ohne Bedeutung, da, wie schon öfter beobachtet, in Yazılıkaya solche Tiere nur auf der Nordwand dargestellt sind, in anderen Fällen aber, wo sie nach schriftlichen oder monumentalen Quellen zu erwarten wären, weggelassen sind¹⁷.

Mit dem Schutzgott (ohne spezifischen Zusatz) (v.Br. Text 1 II 24–III 1), der als stehender Mann mit Lanze und Schild auf einem Hirsch beschrieben wird, vgl. die Beschreibung des Schutzgottes der Wildflur in Text 2 (unten S. 118).

Für die seltsame Beschreibung des Sonnengottes des Himmels als sitzende männliche Figur mit Fischen am Kopf (III 5 f.) kann ich keine bessere Erklärung bieten als die, daß vielleicht ein in der Ikonographie nicht bewandertes, registrierendes Beamtler die (vielleicht beschädigte oder oxydierte) Flügelsonne so mißverstanden haben könnte. Der Name ist derselbe wie bei Yaz. Nr. 34; der Gegensatz zwischen der im Text beschriebenen sitzenden Figur und der stehenden im Felsrelief ist derselbe wie beim Wettergott.

Bei der Beschreibung der H̄atepuna (III 12–17) bleibt manches unklar. Die Ergänzung des Ideogramms für Prostituierte oder Tempeldirne (KAR.K[ID]) in der Beschreibung der Göttin ist ganz unsicher, da das zu erwartende Determinativ SAL fehlt und die Spuren *kar-x*[...] auch anders ergänzt werden könnten. Am Ende des Abschnitts, wo das Tempelpersonal genannt wird, hat L. Rost schon das Ideogramm für "Priesterin" (AMA.DINGIR) angenommen.

Das beschreibende Adjektiv *hupitanza*, in anderen Texten *hupitauwanza*, aber auch *hupigauwanza*¹⁸, findet

sich nur bei Frauenfiguren und bezieht sich offenbar auf ein Element der Tracht. Die Übersetzung "verschleiert" ist nur eine Möglichkeit. Im Anschluß an eine Textstelle, nach der die Göttin Anzili das hintere *hubiki* vorn, das vordere hinten "laufen ließ" (herunterhängen ließ?), dachte Laroche an den Schleier oder Mantel in zwei Bahnen (à double pan), der vom Polos oder der spitzen Haube herunterhängt und den E. Akurgal mit dem türkisch *çarşaf* genannten Überwurf verglichen hat¹⁹. Aber was dabei mit dem "vorderen" und "hinteren" gemeint sein mag, wird aus den Reliefdarstellungen nicht klar. Wir enthalten uns der Übersetzung.

In dem Text v.Br. 2²⁰ sind die ersten als anthropomorph beschriebenen Gottheiten die Quelle Išḫašhūrija und zwei weitere Göttinnen, deren Namen verloren sind. Vermutlich handelt es sich um zwei weitere Quellen oder um eine Quell- und eine Flußgöttin, wie in ähnlichen Aufzählungen (KBo 2.7 und 13). Alle drei sind *hupitauwant-*, sitzend und mit einem Becher in der Hand dargestellt. Ihr Schmuck ist ausführlich beschrieben. Ihre Höhe ist mit einem nur in diesem Text belegten Ideogramm für die Maßeinheiten, SIG.KÜŠ (geschrieben SIG.Ú) angegeben²¹. In seitdem veröffentlichten Bildbeschreibungen findet sich ein Maß *U-TU*, *U-TI*, das ist offenbar akkadisch *ūtu* "Halbelle"²². Ist vielleicht das SIG unseres Textes auf ein mißverstandenes Zeichen 1/2 zurückzuführen, und ist in beiden Fällen die gleiche Einheit 1/2 (!) KÜŠ = *ūtu* "Halbelle, Spanne" anzunehmen? Aus anderen Bildbeschreibungen, die die hethitische Maßeinheit *šekan* verwenden, hat S. Alp²³ unter Heranziehung erhaltener Statuetten für *šekan* die Bedeutung "Spanne" ermittelt. Ist dann *šekan* die hethitische Lesung von akkadisch

16. v.Br. Text 1 II 8 ff., zuletzt H. G. Güterbock in: K. Bittel, *Yaz.*² 169 f., 189.

17. Zur möglichen Identifikation von Yaz. Nr. 27 und 30 vgl. ebenda 176 f., im Anschluß an E. Laroche, *RHA* 84/85, 1969, 79 ff.

18. [?: *hu*]-*u-pf-da-an-za* KUB 38.2 III 13, [?:*hu-pf-ta-an* VBoT 38.1, *hu-u-pf-da-a-an* KUB 38.14 Vs. 1, *hu(-u)-pf-ta(-a)-u-wa-an-za* KUB 38.1 I 11; IV 2; 9; (ergänzt ebd. I 16; 20); KUB 38.3 III 13; 14; ohne "Glossenkeil" KUB 38.26 Vs. 31; 38.7; KBo 26.147, 2; dagegen *hu-u-pf-ga-u-wa-an-za* KUB 15.5 II 48; 50, wozu ^{TÖG}*hu-u-pf-ki* KUB 33.67 I 30, ^{TÖG}*hu-u-pf-ga-an-na* 315/t I 11 (Akkus. + "und"), ^{SAL.MEŠ}*hu-u-pf-ga-lu u[š]* Bo 3175 III 2 (Akk.Pl.). E. Laroche hielt zuerst (*RHA* 68, 1961, 25 f.) die Schreibung mit *talda* für fehlerhaft; in *OLZ* 1967, 32 f. überlegte er, ob umgekehrt *hupiki* in **hupidi* zu emendieren sei; aber die hier mitgeteilten unveröffentlichten Belege stützen die Lesung mit

g/k. Daß es zwei nur in einem Laut verschiedene Wortstämme in der gleichen Bedeutungssphäre gegeben habe, ist kaum anzunehmen. Es fällt auf, daß die Formen mit *g/k* durchweg ohne 'Glossenkeil' geschrieben sind, diejenigen mit *d/t* meist mit diesem Kennzeichen (von den oben notierten Ausnahmen abgesehen). Das sieht wie zwei verschiedene Schreibertraditionen aus, wobei der Unterschied auf einen alten Schreiberfehler zurückgehen mag.

19. E. Laroche, *RHA* 68, 1961, 26 mit Verweis auf E. Akurgal, *Späthethitische Bildkunst* (1949) 31 f. und E. Laroche, *Anatolia* 3, 1958, 46.

20. *MIO* 8, 1961, 178 ff. und KUB 38.1 mit Zusatz gegenüber v. Br. Text 2.

21. KÜŠ = akk. *ammatu* ist "Elle". Die Kombination mit SIG "schmal, dünn" kommt in Mesopotamien nicht vor; vgl. v. Br. S. 46 f.

22. KUB 38.29 Vs. 5; Rs. 8; IBoT 2.102 Rs. 9 (vielleicht auch KUB 38.14 Vs. 2 ŠA 1(!) *U-TÚ* zu lesen); W. von Soden, *AHw* 1447, wo als Wortzeichen "1/2 Ú" notiert ist; vgl. E. Laroche, *OLZ* 1967, 34.

23. S. Alp, *Anatolia* 6, 1961/62, 232 ff.

*ūtu*²⁴? Im folgenden verwenden wir durchgehend die Übersetzung "Spanne".

Der Abschnitt über die Stadt Wijanawanda (v.Br. Text 2 II 1 ff.) beschreibt zunächst den Schutzgott der Wildflur: [Das Gottesbild] ist eine goldene Figur eines Mannes, stehend, durch das Adjektiv *kurudawanza* charakterisiert²⁵. Er hält in der Rechten einen Bogen aus Gold, in der Linken einen goldenen Adler und einen goldenen Hasen; er hat ein goldenes Schwert, mit goldenen "Früchten" besetzt, und steht auf einem Hirsch aus Gold, der auf allen Vieren steht.

Von Darstellungen eines Gottes auf dem Hirsch ist das kleine Steatitrelief aus Yeniköy²⁶ schon lange bekannt. Neu hinzugekommen ist diejenige auf dem Fries des Hirschgefäßes der Sammlung Schimmel²⁷. Beide haben den Adler. In der hieroglyphischen Beischrift auf dem Goldplättchen des Hirschgefäßes hat F. Steinherr das Hirschgeweih-Zeichen erkannt²⁸, das als Namenshieroglyphe des Schutzgottes bekannt ist. Allerdings ist das darunterstehende Zeichen ungedeutet. Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich hier um einen anderen Schutzgott als in dem Text, wie ja auch die Paraphernalia nicht übereinstimmen: Lituus statt Bogen, und Fehlen des Hasen²⁹. Zudem trägt der auf dem Hirsch stehende Gott auf dem Silbergefäß nicht die hohe Hörnerkrone, sondern eine runde, eng anliegende Kappe. Da fällt es auf, daß in dem hier besprochenen Text unmittelbar auf das Obige folgend und ohne Nennung eines anderen Namens folgendes zu lesen ist: "Eine stehende Figur eines Mannes aus Gold, mit einer

Kappe bekleidet³⁰; [er steht] auf einem an der Leine gehaltenen Sphinx" (oder Flügellöwen, *awiti*, s.o.). Darauf folgt eine kurze Textlücke. — Ist das eine andere Darstellung des Schutzgottes der Wildflur, ebenfalls in Wijanawanda? Oder eher eines mit dem Schutzgott zusammen verehrten Gottes, dessen Name nur zufällig dem registrierenden Beamten unbekannt war? Daß das Kapitel Schutzgott von Wijanawanda noch weitergeht, ergibt sich daraus, daß nach der Lücke³¹, nach Erwähnung der Siebenergottheit mit Basis und einer Liste von Gegenständen, der Name der Göttin Ala erscheint, die als weibliche Schutzgöttin neben dem männlichen Schutzgott bekannt ist. Auf dem linken Rand der Tafel steht, daß in Wijanawanda Feste für den Schutzgott (^PLAMA) und Ala gefeiert wurden, daß für Ala aber noch kein Gottesbild da war³².

In der vierten Spalte sind zwei Städte behandelt, Lapana und Tiura, aber in jeder von ihnen nur eine Gottheit, und zwar in beiden dieselbe Göttin Ijaja. An beiden Orten ist sie als sitzende Frau aus Holz von einer Spanne Höhe mit der erwähnten Tracht dargestellt³³. In Lapana ist der Kopf mit Gold überzogen, der Körper und der Sitz mit Zinn; in Tiura ist die ganze Figur aus Holz, mit Silber überzogen. In Lapana sitzen zwei Bergschafe aus Holz, mit Zinn bedeckt, rechts und links unter(halb) der Göttin. Weitere Objekte sind ein zinnüberzogener Adler, zwei Kupferstäbe und zwei Bronzebecher. — Die mit Bergschafen oder Ziegen dargestellte Göttin auf Siegeln ist von N. Özgüç schon mit dieser Beschreibung der Ijaja zusammengestellt worden³⁴. In der Stadt Tiura fehlen die Schafe; statt dessen liegt auf der Basis, vor der Göttin, ein *tallaš* genannter silberner Gegenstand. Von Interesse ist, daß in Karahna die Göttin Ijaja als eine von drei Muttergöttinnen genannt wird³⁵.

24. Gleichheit von SIG.Ú mit *šekan* schon vermutet von E. Laroche, RHA 51, 1949/50, 21 ff., zitiert auch bei Alp a.O., noch mit der "Kleinelle". G. F. del Monte, RGTC 6, 1978, 492 und öfter "übersetzt" SIG.Ú im Deutschen mit *šekan*. Ausführliche Diskussion bei L. Jakob-Rost, MIO 9, 1963, 176 ff., wo aber unsere Übersetzung "Halbelle, Spanne" die Proportionen verändert.

25. In neu veröffentlichten Bildbeschreibungen einmal neben "Panzer" genannt (KBo 26.147, 8, Gottesname abgebrochen), einmal in einer Beschreibung des Gottes U.GUR (Nergal) wahrscheinlich zu ergänzen (KBo 26.149, 8), sonst aber auch Beiwort von Priestern (KUB 10.1 I 19; 41.30 III 2; 11).

26. K. Bittel, Die Hethiter (1976) Abb. 247; H. Th. Bossert, Altanatolien (1942) Nr. 570.

27. O. W. Muscarella, Ancient Art: The Norbert Schimmel Collection (1974) (ohne Paginierung) Nr. 123 (im folgenden Muscarella mit Nummer); K. Bittel, Beitrag zur Kenntnis heth. Bildkunst, SBHeidelberg, 4, 1976, 5 ff., bes. Tf. 4, 4b.

28. Zitiert von Muscarella, a.O.; Zeichen Laroche, Les Hiéroglyphes Hittites, Nr. 103, hier waagrecht.

29. Näher kommt dem Text das späthethit. Relief aus Haci Bebekli; J. Garstang, The Hittite Empire (1929) 308, Abb. 45; H. Th. Bossert, Altanatolien (1942) Nr. 817; K. Bittel et al., Yaz.¹ 68, Abb. 21.

30. *lupanauwa[nza]*, cf. Chicago Hittite Dictionary s.v., wo es statt "not preserved" vielmehr "not mentioned" heißen sollte.

31. In dem in KUB 38.2 und MIO 8, 1961, 180 veröffentlichten Zusatzstück zu v.Br. Text 2, Kol. II 26.

32. Daß die sitzende Gestalt auf dem Hirschgefäß, mit Spitzmütze und Adler aber, wie manche Frauenfiguren, mit einem Becher in der Hand und mit einem langen Gewand bekleidet, in der Beischrift das Zeichen für "Tochter" und einen mit *á*- beginnenden Namen hat, läßt zwar an die Göttin Ala denken, aber solange die übrigen Zeichen nicht klar sind, kann man ihre Identität mit dieser nicht behaupten.

33. Ebenso in KUB 38.26 Vs. 31 ff. (36), wo sie mit dem Wettergott zusammen verehrt wird.

34. N. Özgüç, The Anatolian Group of Cylinder Seal Impressions from Kültepe, T.T.K.Y. V 22 (1965) 69 f.; dies. in Ancient Art in Seals, Hrsg. E. Porada (1980) 73 f. mit Abb. III 32–36 (türkisch in Belleten 41, 1977, 374 f. mit Tf. 13–14, Abb. 32–36); vgl. auch H. G. Güterbock, SBo II (1942) Nr. 220.

35. KUB 38.12 III 9 f.: 3 ALAN DINGIR.MAḪ.MEŠ, dazu M. Darga, RHA 84/85, 1969, 9 f.

Nach einer Lücke folgt die Stadt Pirwaššuwa. Hier gibt es eine männliche Figur aus Holz, unter ihr ein auf allen Vieren stehendes Rind. Der Name des Gottes ist nicht erhalten. Ist das etwa der für die Großreichszeit bisher nicht belegte Wettergott auf dem Stier? Obwohl der Ortsname Pirwaššuwa an den Gottesnamen Pirwa erinnert, hält uns der Umstand, daß der Gott auf einem Rind steht, davon ab, den Namen Pirwa hier zu ergänzen. Denn Pirwas Tier ist das Pferd.

In der Bildbeschreibung dieser Gottheit (v.Br. Text 4)³⁶ ist das Wort für "Mann" oder "Frau" verloren. Die Erwähnung von Ringen ([a]šusaš) und die Worte "[mit ...] aus Gold gegürtet" sprechen eher für eine weibliche Figur. Allerdings hat H. Otten a.O. 64 eine Beschreibung Pirwas als Mann aus einem (ebd. Tf. I in Foto veröffentlichten) Wahrsagetext bekannt gemacht; aber die Indizien für eine Göttin Pirwa sind doch auch vorhanden, ebenso auch für ihre Ähnlichkeit mit Ištar³⁷; wie diese dürfte auch Pirwa zweigeschlechtig sein. Man darf also in der Übersetzung dieser leider so fragmentarischen Beschreibung weiter das weibliche Pronomen gebrauchen (v.Br. gegen MIO 8, 1961, 185). Man beachte, daß Pirwa nicht nur auf einem Pferde steht oder sitzt (das Verbum fehlt), sondern unter den Kultgeräten auch ein *bibru* in Pferdeform besitzt.

Nicht alle nach Städten geordneten Kultinventare enthalten die gleichen Angaben. Vielen gemeinsam ist die Erscheinung, daß einem Hauptgott — meistens dem lokalen Wettergott — mehrere Gottheiten beigeordnet sind, darunter oft eine Sonnengöttin, ferner Berge (männlich) sowie Quellen und Flüsse (weiblich). In diesem Sinne ist ein weiterer längst bekannter Text zu verstehen (v.Br. Text 3). Der erste Teil (Kol. I–II 5) behandelt die Stadt Tiliura; in dieser zuerst den Wettergott von Liḫzina, sodann eine Göttin Išḫašḫurija. In dem Text v.Br. 2 (oben S. 116) fanden wir eine Quellgöttin desselben Namens in Tarammeka, auch dort auf einen Wettergott folgend. Es ist anzunehmen, daß auch in Tiliura dieselbe Quelle gemeint ist³⁸, die auch hier dem Wettergott beigesellt ist. Das Gottesbild ist zwar nur aus Rohrgeflecht, mit Silber überzogen, dafür aber relativ groß, nämlich 1 1/2 Spannen, und mit besonders reichem Schmuck ausgestattet.

In der nächsten Stadt, Zanzišna, wird als erster ein Berggott beschrieben. Sein Name ist zu Išḫ[išaš] ergänzt worden³⁹; der Name bedeutet "Rücken". Berggötter, die nicht als Trabanten eines Wettergottes, sondern als selbständige Götter verehrt werden, gibt es

auch sonst⁴⁰. Dieser ist dargestellt als stehender Mann aus Holz, mit Silber belegt, [mit ...] bekleidet, eine Spanne hoch, mit(?) ... ausgeführt/behandelt(?); der Name des Königs und das Getier des Feldes sind darauf eingraviert — also Hieroglyphen zusammen mit bildlichen Darstellungen. Es ist sicher kein Zufall, daß in der großen Liste der Schutzgötter Tudḫalijas IV. der Schutzgott des Berges Iškiša und der Schutzgott des Getiers aufeinander folgen⁴¹. Augen und Augenbrauen der Figur sind aus "Babylon-Stein". In der Rechten hält der Gott eine Keule aus Bronze, in der Linken einen Schild aus S[ilber], einen mit Elfenbein eingelegten Adler und einen ebensolchen Löwen⁴². Ein Trinkgefäß, zwei Steinbockhörner und ein unbekannter weiterer Gegenstand gehören zu seinem Tempelgut.

Nach schlecht erhaltenen bzw. verlorenen Abschnitten folgt: "[Stadt I]ššalija: die 'Herrin der Schleuse'⁴³ ist ein Bildwerk einer Frau aus Holz, silberbelegt" mit dem erwähnten Kleidungsstück und abgebrochener Maßangabe. Dann: "Hölzernes Bildwerk einer Frau, sitzend (mit demselben Kleidungsstück), [...] Spannen: Halkiš", d.h. die Getreidegöttin⁴⁴. Nach einem anderen Text wurde für Ḫalki von Muwatalli in Nerik ein Bildwerk eingeführt und im Tempel des lokalen Wettergottes aufgestellt⁴⁵.

In einem anderen Text werden die Bilder eines Götterpaares beschrieben, und zwar das der Göttin zuerst (KUB 38.14, MIO 8, 1961, 201): "Titiutti, Bild einer Frau, aus Eisen, sitzend, (mit der erwähnten Tracht); ihre Augen sind mit Silber belegt, 1 Spanne (?) (hoch) (s. Anm. 22). Ḫanagga, Bild eines Mannes aus Silber, stehend, seine Augen mit Silber belegt: es ist verloren". Die letzte Bemerkung ist vielleicht der Grund für die Reihenfolge.

36. v.Br. Text 4 = KUB 38.4 = MIO 8, 1961, 185 = H. Otten, JbKIF 2, 1952/53, 65.

37. H. Otten a.O. 62 ff.; Verf., Oriens 9, 1956, 312; RHA 68, 1961, 14 mit Anm. 18.

38. Vgl. J. Tischler in RGTC 6, 1978, 531.

39. RGTC, s.v., mit Verweis auf E. Laroche, RHA 69, 1961, 78 f.

40. z.B. KUB 38.32 Vs. 1 f.; Rs. 19 f., in MIO 9, 1963, 193 f.; vgl. Verf., Orientalia N.S. 15, 1946, 451 f., K. Bittel in Yaz.² 128 f.

41. KUB 2.1 II 15 f., transkr. von A. Archi, SMEA 16, 1975, 108.

42. G. F. del Monte, RGTC 6, 1978, 492, s.v. Zanzišna, nimmt an, daß Adler und Löwe aus Elfenbein in den Schild eingelegt sind, was einen guten Sinn ergäbe; aber warum ist dann SI "eingelegt" beidmal gesetzt? Für DÀRA, akk. *turāḫu* "Steinbock, Ibex" (nicht "Wildschaf") s. Verf. in: Festschrift H. Otten (1973) 82 f.

43. s. J. Friedrich, Heth.Wb. s.v. *ištappeššar*. Gemeint ist wohl der Verschuß eines Bewässerungsgrabens.

44. Beide Namen sind ohne Gottesdeterminativ geschrieben, was bei Halki nicht ungewöhnlich ist (E. Laroche, RHA 46, 1946/47, 73). Das abgebrochene Wort am Anfang halte ich für den Ortsnamen, da Götternamen gewöhnlich im Nominativ stehen. Der rekonstruierte Platz erlaubt gerade die Ergänzung [URU]š- ...

45. KUB 42.100 IV 33–40.

Die oft übersetzte Beschreibung des Gottes Šulinkatte von Tamarmara⁴⁶ braucht hier nicht wiederholt zu werden.

In einem weiteren Text ist nur eine Beschreibung erhalten, die zwei Göttinnen umfaßt⁴⁷. Die zum Kreis von Nerik gehörige Zaḥapuna (sonst Zašḥapuna) als "Bild einer Frau, sitzend, aus Gold (oder: mit Gold [belegt])" und Kuišḥamaššaniš als "Bild einer Frau, sitzend, (Material nicht erhalten); in der Rechten hält sie eine Weintraube. Man bringt sie (Sing.) in den Tempel". Der Name der zweiten ist luwisch und bedeutet "Irgendeine Gottheit", auffallend bei einer Göttin mit einem Attribut.

Von der Göttin Anzili liegen drei unvollständige Beschreibungen vor. In der einen⁴⁸ liest man: "Anziliš, silberne Figur einer Frau, [...]; ihre Höhe ist 1 Spanne und 3 Finger [...]; in der Rechten hält sie einen Becher aus Silber; unter ihr [...]". Eine nähere Beschreibung, etwa das erwähnte Adjektiv *ḥupitauwanza*, ist nicht erhalten. In der zweiten⁴⁹ ist zwar gerade dieses Wort erhalten, aber es ist unsicher, ob mit *an-zi*[...]⁵⁰ unsere Göttin gemeint ist. Am aufschlußreichsten ist die dritte⁵¹. Hier folgt auf eine ausführliche Beschreibung einer offenbar weiblichen Gottheit im nächsten Abschnitt (Vs. 8 ff.): "Eine steinerne Frauenfigur, stehend; der Göttin auf den Knien [st]eht sie; (gehörig) der [Anz]ili". Es folgt eine Aufzählung von Gefäßen usw. Ein Vergleich mit der Goldfigur der Sammlung Schimmel⁵² drängt sich auf, bei der das Kind allerdings eher auf den Knien der Göttin sitzt. Vergleichbar ist aber das Motiv des Kindes auf dem Schoß als solches.

In einem anderen neuveröffentlichten Bruchstück ist von einer Beschreibung der Sonnengöttin von Arinna gerade noch zu erkennen, daß das Kultbild eine Frauenfigur war und daß seine Höhe vier Spannen betrug⁵³. Das ist auffallend hoch, was aber bei der Hauptgöttin zu verstehen ist.

Für Berggötter, die als selbständige Gottheit verehrt und in Menschengestalt dargestellt werden, führen wir einen Text an, der, soweit erhalten, nur solche Berggötter beschreibt. Der Berg Ziwana wird beschrie-

ben⁵⁴ als eine männliche Figur aus Holz, mit Eisen überzogen(?), von 1 ½ Spannen. Sein Kult wird ausführlich beschrieben, mit Herbst- und Frühlingsfest. Im Laufe der Kulthandlung werden mit Trankopfern versehen: der Berg Ziwana selbst, der Wettergott des Berges Ziwana, sowie der Gott Jarri und die Siebenergottheit desselben Berges. Hier scheint also der Berggott die Hauptgottheit zu sein. Der zweite Berg dieses Textes, Ḥaggalanna, ist eine männliche Figur aus Eisen (ohne das Wort "Holz") und hat ebenfalls zwei Feste⁵⁵.

Schon länger bekannt ist ein Text des Tudḥalija (IV.), in dem dieser berichtet⁵⁶: "Früher war der Berg Malimalija kein *šunijatar* (d.h. er war nicht durch ein greifbares Kultobjekt repräsentiert). Seine Majestät Tudḥalija (machte) ihn als männliche Figur aus Eisen von 1 ½ Spannen, die Augen aus Gold; er steht auf einem Löwen aus Eisen. Man schafft ihn in den Tempel des Berggottes Kunkumuša. Und als Stele stellt man ihn in (der Stadt) Taḥniwara auf einen Felsen". Es folgt auch hier die Beschreibung der Kultfeste. Wichtig ist hier, daß ein für sich allein verehrter Berggott an einem Ort durch eine menschliche Figur, an einem anderen durch eine Stele repräsentiert ist. Stelen für selbständig verehrte Berggötter waren nach einem anderen Kultinventar der alte Zustand, den die Reform durch andere Objekte ersetzte (KBo 2.1 III 13 ff., IV 17 ff.); ist deshalb auch in dem hier besprochenen Text (KUB 7.24) die Stele, die man nach Taḥniwara schaffte, der alte Zustand⁵⁷?

Quell- und Flußgottheiten sind, wenn Bildwerke beschrieben werden, immer weiblich, entweder Frauen- oder Mädchenfiguren. Gelegentlich werden ihre Namen nur mit dem Gottesdeterminativ geschrieben, so Išḥašḥurijaš in dem oben erwähnten Text, und wohl auch Šupilulijaš⁵⁸.

II. THERIOMORPHE DARSTELLUNGEN

In den bisher besprochenen Bildbeschreibungen fanden wir Tiere in Verbindung mit anthropomorphen Götterbildern. Diese standen entweder auf dem Tier,

46. KUB 12.36 mit Duplikat KUB 30.37; MDOG 76, 1938, 38 ff.; Yaz.¹ 64; v.Br. 61; Yaz.² 190, dazu ebd. 176 f.

47. KUB 38.25 II 7–11, MIO 9, 1963, 181; dazu G. Neumann, MünchBeitrSprWiss 16, 1964, 51.

48. KUB 38.19 + IBoT 2.102 Rs. 8–10.

49. KBo 26.147, 2–7.

50. Für haplographische Schreibung ohne Determinativ vgl. KUB 15.31 I 2.

51. KUB 38.21, MIO 8, 1961, 213 f.

52. O. W. Muscarella (Anm. 27) Nr. 125; K. Bittel, Die Hethiter (1976) Abb. 173.

53. KBo 26.218, 1 f. Lies nach Foto [*pár-q*]a-aš-ti-ia-aš 4 U-ṭ[ī] ...].

54. KUB 38.32, z.T. in MIO 9, 1963, 193 ff. Lies wohl 1 ALAN GIŠ LÚ AN.BAR <GAR.RA>.

55. Ein weiterer Berggott, für den der volle Kult vorgeschrieben ist, ist der Berg Sidduwa im ersten erhaltenen Teil von KBo 2.7.

56. KUB 7.24, Verf., Orientalia N.S. 15, 1946, 491 f.

57. Vgl. H. Otten in: Festschrift J. Friedrich (1959) 351–59 für den Brauch, alte Kultobjekte in andere Städte zu schicken, wenn sie durch neue ersetzt werden.

58. s. MIO 9, 1963, 223 f., Index s.v. "Flüsse" und "Quellen". Der Ausdruck "Mädchenbild" (ALAN.TUR.SAL) findet sich in KBo 2.13; die anderen Texte schreiben "Frauenbild" (ALAN.SAL). Für ^DŠupilulijaš, KUB 38.7 III 12 s. ebd. 216.

oder Tiere waren neben ihnen auf der Basis angebracht. Das ist das, was man als "(heilige) Tiere der Götter" bezeichnet hat. Im Hethitischen gibt es den Ausdruck "Tiere der Götter": in dem auf althethitische Vorlagen zurückgehenden Text des Kl.LAM-Festes⁵⁹ werden solche Tiere in Gestalt von Figuren aus kostbarem Metall in Prozession getragen. Es gibt aber auch Textstellen, wo anscheinend eine Tierfigur den Gott selbst darstellt. So heißt es z.B. in einem dem Wettergott des Himmels in der Stadt Karahna gewidmeten Abschnitt (KUB 38.12 II 12 f.): "Den Gott, (als sein) *šunijatar* hat man jetzt einen auf allen Vieren stehenden Stier aus Silber, mit Gold überzogen, gemacht". In einem anderen Text liest man: "(Stadt) Mallitta: 1 Stier aus Holz, mit Zinn überzogen, auf allen Vieren stehend: der Wettergott von Mallitta; 1 Schale aus Bronze (ist das) Gerät des Wettergottes"⁶⁰. Auch der Wettergott von Mammananta ist ein eiserner Stier (KBo 2.13 Vs. 21). An einer Stelle wird ein Stier aus Eisen(?) unter zwölf Bildwerke gerechnet (KUB 38.13 I 6, MIO 8, 1961, 199).

Von besonderem Interesse ist eine Tafel, die für eine Reihe von Gottheiten jeweils die älteren und die vom König (wahrscheinlich Tudḫalija IV.) eingeführten Kultobjekte aufführt⁶¹. In vielen Fällen verzeichnet der Text bei einem Wettergott jeweils die anderen, mit ihm verehrten Gottheiten; wir werden darauf zurückkommen. Hier nur die für Stierbilder wichtigen Stellen:

Wettergott von Marāša (Kol. I 28 ff.): alter Zustand: ein mit Zinn überzogener Stier, auf allen Vieren stehend; neu: ein silberner Stier auf allen Vieren, 1 Spanne (hoch). Bei sechs weiteren Wettergöttern ist der alte Zustand eine Stele, der neue ein eiserner Stier von 1 Spanne⁶².

Beim Wettergott von Šanantija ist das neue Kultbild ein eiserner Stier auf allen Vieren, von 2 Spannen, die Augen mit Gold bedeckt (Kol. IV 1–6).

Ob Adlerbilder als Kultobjekte von Berggöttern vorkommen, ist wegen des schlechten Erhaltungszustandes des Textes nicht mit Sicherheit zu entscheiden⁶³.

Anstelle des bloßen Tiernamens findet man gelegentlich in ähnlichem Zusammenhang zwei spezielle Termini in Verbindung mit dem Namen eines Tieres: das Akkadogramm *bibru* und das Sumerogramm GÚ "Hals". Seit H. Ehelolfs Notiz⁶⁴ ist es bekannt, daß *bibru* bei den Hethitern ein tierförmiges Gefäß bezeichnet. Die Literatur über dieses Wort ist umfangreich. K. Tuchelt hat in seinem Buch über Tiergefäße⁶⁵ einen eigenen Abschnitt (S. 49–55) diesem Terminus der hethitischen Texte gewidmet, wobei er sich der Hilfe H. Ottens erfreuen konnte. Die Belege wurden gesammelt und nach Tiernamen, Material und Verwendungszweck geordnet von O. Carruba⁶⁶. Über die Verwendung des *bibru* im Kult liegt eine eingehende Untersuchung von A. Archi und A. Kammenhuber vor⁶⁷. Ohne auf Einzelheiten einzugehen, darf man das Ergebnis wohl so zusammenfassen, daß bei dieser Zeremonie der König oder das Königspaar zunächst aus einem *bibru* trinkt, worauf dann der König der Gottheit ein Trankopfer spendet. Dieser zweite Teil der Handlung ist oft nicht ausdrücklich erwähnt, wie denn die Ausdrucksweise der Texte gerade bei dieser so überaus häufigen Kulthandlung oft sehr abgekürzt ist. Wenn in diesem Zusammenhang dem Wort *bibru* ein Tiername folgt, so handelt es sich gewöhnlich um das Tier, das auch sonst der betreffenden Gottheit zugeordnet ist. Der andere Terminus, "Hals", bezeichnet anscheinend das, was man Kopfbecher nennt, aber auch ganze Protomen, wie die gelegentlich hinzugefügten Bemerkungen "vorn stehend" oder "vorn kniend" nahelegen. Was ist das Verhältnis von GÚ "Hals" zu *bibru*? Einerseits werden Tierhälse aus Edelmetall als solche in Inventaren von Gegenständen aufgezählt, und auch in einem Bildbeschreibungstext (v. Br. Text 1) heißen sie einfach GÚ.GUD "Rinderhals". Andererseits wird ein Löwenhals aus Gold in einem anderen Inventartext (KUB 12.1 IV 20–22) unter die in dem Abschnitt verzeichneten "sechs *bibru* aus Gold" gerechnet, und ein Text schreibt "Ein *bibru* (in Gestalt eines) Rinderhals(es) aus Gold"⁶⁸. An dieser Stelle gehört es zum Inventar der weiblichen Ištar (s.o.), ist also ein in ihrem Kult verwendetes Gefäß. Daß solche "Hälse" als Gefäß dienten, zeigt eine Stelle, nach der man "drei Kalbs-Hälse" aus Gold mit süßem Wein vor dem G[ott aufstellt]" (KUB 44.1 Rs. 8).

Im Anschluß daran ist die Frage erlaubt, ob es sich bei den *bibru*, aus denen man trinkt, nicht oft oder

59. KBo 10.25 VI 4 f. Die Tel-Aviver Dissertation von I. Singer, The Hittite KILAM Festival, ist für Veröffentlichung in den StBoT vorgesehen; s. dort besonders den Abschnitt "The 'Animals of the Gods'".

60. ^{URU}Mallittaš 1 GUD.MAḪ GIŠ AN.NA GAR.RA 4 GUB-za [(^D)U (^{URU}Ma)-al-(i)-it-ta] 1 ^{GIŠ}KAP-PU ZABAR UNUT ^{DU}KUB 38.6 IV 15 f. mit Dupl. 10 IV 1 f.; MIO 8, 1961, 188 und 196, und RGTC 6, 1978, 257 danach zu verbessern.

61. KBo 2.1, schon 1918 von B. Hrozný, BoSt. 3, 1–27, bearbeitet; weitere Literatur bei E. Laroche, CTH Nr. 509, dazu O. R. Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion, Schweich Lecture 1976 (1977) 25 ff.

62. Kol. II 9–III 8; dazu weiter unten, speziell zu Z. 21.

63. KUB 38.7, 16 f.; 19, vgl. MIO 8, 1961, 193.

64. ZA 45, 1939, 70–72.

65. K. Tuchelt, Tiergefäße in Kopf- und Protomengestalt, Istanbulischer Forschungen 22 (1962).

66. O. Carruba, Kadmos 6, 1967, 88–97.

67. A. Kammenhuber, Materialien zu einem heth. Thesaurus, Lfg. 7–8 (1978) 328 ff.

68. 1 BI-IB-RU GÚ.GUD KÙ.GI, v.Br. Text 1 I 20.

meistens um solche "Hälse" oder Tierkopfbecher handelt. Allerdings gibt es auch Stellen, die zeigen, daß das nicht immer der Fall war. Unter dem Kultgerät des Wettergottes des Himmels werden nebeneinander aufgezählt: "drei Rinderhälse aus Silber" und "ein Bergschaf-*bibru* aus Silber, auf allen Vieren stehend" (KUB 42.100 III 27 f.). Ja man trinkt sogar aus so einem Ganztiergefäß: "König und Königin trinken sitzend (für) den Gott Zababa aus einem auf allen Vieren stehenden Löwen-*bibru*"⁶⁹. Das war nicht so schwierig, wie es zuerst erscheinen mag, da wir wissen, daß der Gebrauch von Trinkrohren bekannt war.

Daneben gibt es aber auch Stellen, an denen ein "Hals" oder ein *bibru* das Kultobjekt eines Gottes ist. In dem oben exzerpierten Text v.Br. 1 heißt es einmal: "Wettergott des Hauses: ein Rinder-'Hals' aus Silber, vorn kniend" (Kol. II 14 f.), ein andermal ebenso, aber "vorn stehend" (III 9). Daß die auf die Beinhaltung bezügliche Angabe darauf hindeutet, daß es sich bei diesen Hälsen um Protomen handelt, ist schon lange bemerkt worden. Jetzt liegen in den Silbergefäßen der Sammlung Schimmel Beispiele für "vorn kniende" Protomen vor⁷⁰. Die Angabe "vorn stehend" ist dann ein schriftlicher Beleg für die archäologisch erst später auftretende Form mit ausgestreckten Vorderbeinen⁷¹. Bei einem Beleg für einen "Rinderhals aus Holz" (KUB 38.100 III 12) ist nicht klar, ob er als Kultobjekt dient.

Einmal ist auch ein *bibru* ein Kultgegenstand: "In (der Stadt) Kunkunija: Gewaltiger Wettergott: die Gottesdarstellung (*šunijatar*) ein Rinder-*bibru* aus Holz, mit Silber überzogen, auf allen Vieren stehend; seine Höhe beträgt eine Spanne. Darunter eine Basis, mit Silber überzogen" (v.Br. Text 2 I 29 ff.). Fast mit den gleichen Worten beschreibt ein anderer Text (v.Br. Text 3 I 1 ff.) den Wettergott von Liḫzina in Tiliura, nur mit dem Zusatz, daß Kopf und Brust des Stieres mit Gold belegt sind. Es ist schon lange beobachtet worden, daß mit einem hölzernen Stier auf einer Basis kaum ein Gefäß gemeint sein kann⁷². Hier scheint also der Terminus *bibru* auf Tierfiguren im allgemeinen ausgedehnt zu sein.

69. KUB 10.89 I 20 f.; auch an der von H. Ehelolf a.O. nur erwähnten Stelle Bo 6514 IV 2-4 heißt es (nach eigener alter Umschrift) LUGAL SAL.LUGAL TUŠ-as ^DTu-u-ḫa-ša[-el] IŠ-TU BI-IB-RI GUD.AMAR 4-i[...t?] a-ra-an-te-et a-ku-wa-an-zi "König und Königin trinken im Sitzen (für) Tuḫšaēl aus einem auf allen Vieren stehenden Kalbs-*bibru*".

70. O. W. Muscarella (Anm. 27) Nr. 123-124; K. Bittel, Die Hethiter (1976) Abb. 169, 178.

71. Das Orientalia N.S. 15, 1946, 491 erwähnte achämenidische bei F. Sarre, Die Kunst des alten Persien (1923) Taf. 47 aus Erzincan jetzt bei Tuchelt (Anm. 65) 83.

72. H. Otten bei Tuchelt a.O. 50 Anm. 32.

Eine andere Ausdehnung des Begriffes liegt an Stellen vor, an denen das Wort statt mit einem Tiernamen vielmehr mit dem Namen eines Körperteiles verbunden ist. Ein solcher Fall ist die Verbindung mit dem Wort für "weibliche Brust"⁷³. Ein anderer Fall ist die Kombination mit dem Wortzeichen für "Hoden"⁷⁴, hier wohl eher Scrotum, wie "Bocksbeutel"!

Vielleicht kann man dem ein weiteres Beispiel anfügen. In dem oben besprochenen Text v.Br. 2 haben wir (S. 116) den Abschnitt über Zababa nur kurz als Beispiel dafür angeführt, daß das auf *šunijatar* folgende Wort den jeweils als Gottesdarstellung oder Kultobjekt dienenden Gegenstand bezeichnen sollte. Der Text nennt hier ein GEŠPÚ aus Silber (Kol. I 4 ff.): "(Stadt) Tarammeka: (Gott) Zababa: das *šunijatar* ist ein GEŠPÚ aus Silber im Gewicht von 20 Schekel. Zwei große Schilde, eine Lanze, drei Dolche, ein Speer, eine Keule aus Bronze, eine Axt (damit) sind die Geräte des Zababa vollständig erfaßt".

Was ist ein GEŠPÚ in diesem Zusammenhang? Das Ideogramm ist in Boğazköy sowohl in der Bedeutung "Gewalt" (akkadisch *emūqu*) wie auch "Ringkampf" (*umāšu*) bekannt⁷⁵. Daneben bezeichnet es in hethitischen Texten aber auch einen Körperteil⁷⁶. Ein von H. Otten exzerpiertes Text⁷⁷ führt folgende mit Opfern bedachte Körperteile des Wettergottes auf: Schulter, Brust und Brustwarzen, zwei *išḫunau* und zwei GEŠPÚ.ḪI.A, Hände und Finger. Otten vermutet "Oberarm" für das erste Wort, "Unterarm" für GEŠPÚ. Soviel ist klar, daß es sich um paarweise Körperteile handelt. Da Hände (ŠU.MEŠ) daneben genannt werden, erwartet man für GEŠPÚ eine davon verschiedene Bedeutung. Die von Sommer wegen der allgemeineren Bedeutung "Gewalt" des Ideogramms vorgeschlagene Bedeutung "Faust" ist trotzdem nicht ausgeschlossen, da in einer Aufzählung diese besondere Haltung der Hand eigens genannt sein kann⁷⁸. Statt an

73. *BIBRU te-ta-an* (Nom.-Akk.), *IŠTU BIBRI te-da-na-az* (Abl.) KUB 35.4 III 1 bzw. II 14.

74. *IŠTU BIBRI ŠIR* KBo 24.101 Rs. 1; 105, 3; vgl. H. Otten, KBo 24, S. VII zu Nr. 105. Daß in beiden Texten Fehler für *BIBRU UDU.ŠIR* "Widder-*bibru*" vorliegen sollte, ist unwahrscheinlich.

75. Akk. *umāšu*, B. Landsberger, WZKM 56, 1960, 115-117; A. Archi, RivStOr 52, 1978, 19 f.; E. Neu, StBoT 18 (1974) 78.

76. Einmal mit Determinativ UZU belegt; F. Sommer, AU 181: "Arm oder Faust".

77. 125/r, MDOG 93, 1962, 76, mit Dupl. IBoT 3.109.

78. Die Gleichung von GEŠPÚ mit akk. *idu* "Arm" bei A. Deimel, ŠL 354,63, ist durch ein Anschlußstück zu dem Vokabular widerlegt; lies vielmehr *emūqu* für das "Ditto" des Textes (MSL XII 110, Z. 217). Andererseits übersetzt das CAD, "E", 158 den Dual *emūqān* mit "arms", und dasselbe Vokabular, Z. 211, setzt *emūqu* auch = a (sum.) "Arm".

Faust oder Unterarm könnte man auch an Handgelenk denken.

GEŠPÚ ist in hethitischen Texten auch ein Gegenstand, mit dem Determinativ für Holz und offenbar aus Zedernholz gemacht, aber auch aus Silber⁷⁹. Ḫattušili I. stiftete dem Wettergott einen silbernen Stier und ein silbernes GEŠPÚ⁸⁰, und es gibt ein goldenes GEŠPÚ des Wettergottes⁸¹.

Neuerdings ist im Kunsthandel ein silbernes Gefäß in Form einer lebensgroßen Faust aufgetaucht, das sich zur Zeit im Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, befindet⁸². Es liegt nahe, die silberne Faust mit dem silbernen GEŠPÚ zu verbinden.

In dem hier besprochenen Bildbeschreibungstext heißt es einfach GEŠPÚ. Es ist aber möglich, daß es auch eine Verbindung **bibru* GEŠPÚ "faustförmiges *bibru*" gegeben hat. A. Kammenhuber hat eine Stelle zitiert, wo anscheinend aus einem GEŠPÚ getrunken wird, wo aber die Textanordnung auf zwei Zeilen und der rechts verfügbare Raum die Ergänzung eines weiteren Wortes notwendig machen, wofür am ehesten *bibru* in Frage kommt⁸³. Das wäre ein weiteres Beispiel für ein *bibru* in Form eines Körperteils, und die (ergänzte) Setzung und Weglassung des Wortes *bibru* wäre analog zu (*bibru*) GÚ.

III. OBJEKTE ALS KULTGEGENSTÄNDE

Streng genommen sind die zuletzt besprochenen Termini schon Objekte; wir wollten nur die Behandlung des Ausdrucks *bibru* nicht auseinanderreißen.

Außer *bibru* wird auch ein anderes Gefäß, *wakšur*, als Kultobjekt genannt. An der oben (S. 116) erwähnten Stelle ist es ausdrücklich als *šunijatar* bezeichnet⁸⁴.

Ein anderes Kultobjekt ist ein mit dem Wortzeichen GIŠ.TUKUL geschriebener Gegenstand, der mit Sonnenscheiben und Mondsicheln geschmückt ist und "auf" dem sich ein "Bild" eines Mannes befindet. Das Ideogramm steht für "Waffe" im allgemeinen; als Bezeichnung einer bestimmten Waffenart nimmt man all-

gemein "Keule, Streitkolben" an. Solche Keulen(?) werden oft als Kultobjekte für Berggötter genannt⁸⁵. Ob mit dem "Bild" "auf" der Keule eine rundplastische Figur oder ein Relief gemeint ist, ist schwer zu entscheiden. Eine männliche Figur "auf" einer Waffe kennen wir jetzt durch die Zeremonialaxt aus Şarkışla⁸⁶ mit ihrer Gottesfigur in Hochrelief und ihren Tier- und Vogel-Protomen. Aber wie soll man sich Ähnliches an einer Keule vorstellen, besonders wenn die Figur eine Spanne hoch ist⁸⁷? Ist hier mit GIŠ.TUKUL nicht Keule, sondern allgemein "Waffe" gemeint? Welcher Art? Eine Bedeutung "Axt" oder "Beil" ist für GIŠ.TUKUL durch andere Stellen ausgeschlossen.

Ein weiterer Gegenstand, der in Kultinventaren in ähnlichem Zusammenhang genannt wird wie die oben besprochenen Termini, ist der hethitisch *ḫuwaši* genannte Stein, der häufig mit dem Ideogramm NA₄.ZI.KIN geschrieben wird⁸⁸. Durch das Determinativ ist *ḫuwaši* als gewöhnlich aus Stein bestehend gekennzeichnet, und es gibt Anzeichen dafür, daß es aufrecht steht und sich oft außerhalb der Stadt befindet⁸⁹. Die übliche Übersetzung "Stele" ist daher so gut wie sicher richtig. Determinierung mit Holz ist selten⁹⁰; ein *ḫuwaši* aus Silber (u. S. 124) ist wohl ein Modell. Zu der Frage, ob ein *ḫuwaši* das Kultobjekt, also eine Darstellung der Gottheit sein könnte, die M. Darga (S. 13) verneint, möchte ich folgendes bemerken. Auf der einen Seite ist es richtig, daß man "die Götter" zu den *ḫ*. hinschafft, besonders zu solchen, die außerhalb der Stadt stehen; d.h. also, daß es Götterbilder gibt, die man dorthin trägt, daß also die Stele nicht selbst der Gott ist. Die Unterscheidung zwischen "Göttern der Tempel" und "Göttern der *ḫuwaši*-Steine"⁹¹ besagt auch nur, daß die einen Tempel hatten, während die anderen an oder vor Stelen verehrt wurden, nicht aber, daß die Stelen sie repräsentierten. Auf der anderen Seite erwecken manche Textstellen doch den Eindruck, daß das *ḫuwaši* des einen Gottes in die gleiche Kategorie gehört wie das Bild eines anderen⁹². Wenn es in oder bei einer

79. ŠA GIŠ.ERIN GIŠ.GEŠPÚ KBo 23.27 I 22, GIŠ.GEŠPÚ GIŠ.eripid(a) ebd. 25; 27; GEŠPÚ KÙ.BABAR KUB 32.129 I 14.

80. Heth. Fassung, KBo 10.2 I 12, s. F. Imparati, StClOr 13, 1964, 4 f.; die akk. Fassung nennt nur den Stier: KBo 10.1 Vs. 5, Otten, MDOG 91, 1958, 78; C. Saporetti, RivStOr 14, 1965, 80.

81. KBo 21.34 II 45; 49; vgl. Z. 31.

82. Eine vorläufige Mitteilung machte ich im Juli 1980 beim Rencontre Assyriologique in Paris; Veröffentlichung ist für später geplant.

83. ^DKarmahili I[Š-TU BI-IB-RI(?)] GEŠPÚ akuwanzi KUB 10.89 II 2 f., vgl. Mat.heth.Thes. Lfg. 7, Nr. 5, S. 350.

84. v.Br. Text 2 I 2. Ein weiteres Kultobjekt ist der Schild des Schutzgottes, der zugleich auch den Gott repräsentiert, in dem von Otten in Festschr. Friedrich 351 ff. mitgeteilten Text.

85. Belege in *Orientalia* N.S. 15, 1946, 492; einige Beispiele unten S.216.

86. Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (1976) Abb. 341; ders. (Anm. 27) a.O. 19–27 mit Tf. VII–XII.

87. So KBo 2.1 I 36; II 15; III 15; 28; 37; KUB 38.26 Rs.15.

88. Dazu ausführlich M. Darga, *RHA* 84/85, 1969, 5 ff.; O. R. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (1977) 25 ff.; 36 ff.

89. Darga, a.O 14 f.

90. Belege bei Darga a.O. 11 Anm. 6.

91. Außer KUB 38.12 III 21–23 bei Darga a.O. 8 noch KUB 38.6 IV 17 mit Dupl. 10 IV 3.

92. In KUB 38.17 (MIO 8, 1961, 208) erlauben die Textlücken nicht festzustellen, ob das *ḫuwaši* von Z. 6 noch zu der Gesamtsumme von "48 Bildwerken" gehört.

Stadt Stelen für 32 Gottheiten gab⁹³, so ist anzunehmen, daß diese irgendwie als zu den verschiedenen Gottheiten gehörig gekennzeichnet waren: durch Hieroglyphen oder durch Reliefdarstellungen? Einmal lesen wir, daß auf dem silbernen *huwaši* (-Modell) einer Sonnengöttin "Strahlen"⁹⁴ angebracht waren; vgl. auch die unten erwogene Möglichkeit, daß mit NA₄.ZI.KIN LÚ ALAN eine reliefierte Stele gemeint sein könnte. Vielleicht ist die Fragestellung falsch: ob eine durch Schrift, Symbol oder Relief einem bestimmten Gotte zugeordnete Stele nur der Ort ist, wo man ihn verehrt, oder auch gleichzeitig das Kultobjekt, das ihn repräsentiert, ist vielleicht eine Frage, die der Hethiter sich nicht stellte.

Im folgenden geben wir auszugsweise ein paar Textstellen wieder, die Gruppen von am gleichen Ort verehrten Gottheiten mit ihren verschiedenen Kultobjekten verzeichnen, unter denen sich auch *huwaši*-Steine (Stelen) befinden.

In der Stadt Mamnanta waren nach KBo 2.13 Vs. 21 ff. der Wettergott durch einen eisernen Stier, zwei mit Namen genannte Berggötter durch je eine Keule mit eisernem Bildwerk "darauf", eine Flußgöttin und fünf Quellgöttinnen durch eiserne Mädchenbilder vertreten.

Der Text KBo 2.1⁹⁵ verzeichnet jeweils den früheren und den von Seiner Majestät eingeführten Zustand:

"Wettergott von Aššaradda eine Stele von alters her; Seine Majestät hat einen Stier aus Eisen von 1 Spanne gemacht⁹⁶.

Eine Stele: Berg Šaluwanda von (der Stadt) Haruwata, von altersher; Seine Majestät hat eine Keule, mit Sonnenscheiben und Mondsicheln geschmückt, auf der ein eisernes Bildwerk eines stehenden Mannes von 1 Spanne angebracht ist, (als Darstellung des) Berg(es) Šaluwanda gemacht⁹⁷.

Wettergott von Šuruwa: 1 Stele; 1 Stele: Sonnengottheit; 1 Stele: Berg Auwara; 1 Stele: Quelle Šinaraši; (das sind) 4 Gottheiten von altersher. Seine Majestät hat gemacht: 1 eisernen Stier von 1 Spanne; 1 silberne Stele der Sonnengottheit, auf der silberne Strahlen angebracht sind; 1 Keule, mit Sonnenscheiben und Mondsicheln geschmückt, darauf 1 stehende Mannesfigur aus Eisen von 1 Spanne; 1 Figur einer sitzenden Frau, 1 Handvoll (messend): (das sind) die 4 Gottheiten von Šuruwā" (Kol. II 9 ff.).

93. KUB 38.6 IV 17 mit Dupl. 10 IV 3.

94. So möchte ich *kalmarā*- jetzt übersetzen aufgrund der durch KBo 26.58 ergänzten Stelle aus dem Ullikummi-Epos, JCS 5, 1951, 158 f., Z. 37.

95. Vgl. B. Hrozný, BoSt 3, 1919, 1-27; Verf., Belleten VII/26, 1943, 303 f., Anm. 23; Orientalia N.S. 15, 1946, 489 ff.

96. Kol. II 40 f.; parallel für andere Städte III 1 f.; 7 f.

97. Kol. III 13-16; parallel für andere Berggötter III 20-22; 26-29; 34-38.

Die Verteilung der nicht mit Namen identifizierten neuen Kultobjekte ergibt sich aus der Übereinstimmung mit der Reihenfolge der alten.

Schwierig, aber für Wesen und Aussehen einer Stele wichtig ist der folgende Abschnitt desselben Textes (II 21 ff.):

"Wettergott von Wattarwa: 1 Stele: 1 Mann (als?) Bild⁹⁸, mit Zinn überzogen, von 1 1/2 Spannen, gepanzert; in der Rechten hält er eine Keule, in der Linken ein kupfernes *henzu* (unbekannter Bedeutung): von altersher. Seine Majestät hat einen eisernen Stier von 1 Spanne gemacht". Die ungewöhnliche Ausdrucksweise ist vielleicht so zu verstehen, daß es sich um eine Stele mit Reliefdarstellung handelt, bei der vielleicht der Panzer durch einen Zinnüberzug hervorgehoben war. "Eine Stele und ein Bildwerk" wäre anders ausgedrückt worden und wäre außerdem der einzige Fall für zwei Kultobjekte dieser Art für einen Gott.

Kompliziert ist auch der Abschnitt Kol. IV 1-6:

"Wettergott von Šanantija: 3 silberne Sonnenscheiben, darunter eine aus Eisen, 1 *wakšur*-Gefäß und 1 'Donnerhorn' von altersher; Seine Majestät hat gemacht: 1 eisernen Stier, auf allen Vieren stehend, 2 Spannen (hoch), dessen Augen mit Gold eingelegt sind, (und) ein Bildwerk einer sitzenden Frau aus Silber, 1 Spanne (hoch), darunter 2 Bergschafe aus Eisen, darunter eine eiserne Basis, (und) 10 Strahlen(?), (als) Sonnengöttin von Šanantija".

Im alten Zustand dürften die Scheiben der Göttin gehören, das *wakšur* dem Wettergott, obwohl die Reihenfolge umgekehrt ist.

Ähnlich ist der Abschnitt Kol. I 28-40 zu verstehen:

"Wettergott von Marāša: 1 Stier, mit Zinn überzogen, auf allen Vieren stehend;

1 Keule aus Bronze, 1 Dolch, 1 Morgensternsymbol, [2]O(?) Stäbe, 1 *wakšur*-Gefäß, 1 silberüberzogene Schale, 2 Stäbe, die an drei Stellen silberbelegt sind, ein silberner Kranz, an dessen Vorderseite goldene Früchte sind: Berg Šuwara;

5 Dolche, darunter ein kleiner Dolch: (der Gott) *BĒLU EN-aš*.

1 Stele: Mutter (und) Säugling: (das sind) 4 Gottheiten von altersher.

1 Stier aus Silber, auf allen Vieren stehend, 1 Spanne (hoch);

1 Keule, mit Sonnenscheiben und Mondsicheln geschmückt, auf der ein Bildwerk eines stehenden

98. 1 NA₄.ZI.KIN 1 LÚ ALAN AN-NA-KI GAR.RA. Es fällt auf, daß es nicht ALAN LÚ "Bild eines Mannes" heißt wie sonst immer.

Mannes aus Eisen, 1 Spanne (hoch) angebracht ist: Berg Šuwara;

1 Bildwerk eines stehenden Mannes aus Silber, 1 Spanne (hoch), die Augen mit Gold belegt, 1 Dolch, der mit Gold tauschiert(?) ist: (der Gott) *BĒLU EN-aš* ("Herr der Herren"?);

1 Bild einer sitzenden Frau, 1 Spanne (hoch), die Augen mit Gold belegt: Mutter (und) Säugling⁹⁹; (diese) 4 Götter hat Seine Majestät gemacht".

Ziemlich häufig ist die Reihe Wettergott, Sonnengöttin, Schutzgott in Aufzählungen von Göttern einer Stadt¹⁰⁰. Das gibt Anlaß zu folgender Überlegung: Nach Aussage des Händlers sollen mehrere der anatolischen Fundstücke der Sammlung Schimmel, also das Hirsch- und das Stiergefaß und die goldene Figur einer sitzenden Göttin mit Kind, zusammen gefunden worden sein¹⁰¹. Nach den Texten gehört das Stiergefaß dem Wettergott, das Hirschgefäß dem Schutzgott, und die sitzende Frau mit der kreisrunden Haube ist höchst wahrscheinlich eine Sonnengöttin. Diese drei Fund-

stücke könnten also eben solche Kultobjekte sein wie die in den Texten erwähnten. Allerdings gehören die silbernen Tiergefäße in eine andere Zeit als die Kultinventare. Die Texte dürften aus der Regierungszeit Tudhaliyas IV., also aus der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts stammen, für die Silbergefäße dagegen trifft K. Bittels Datierung um 1400 sicher das Richtige. Aber das schließt nicht aus, daß die Gefäße zum alten Bestand gehört haben könnten, während die goldene Göttin jünger aussieht und sehr wohl zu den von Seiner Majestät eingeführten Statuetten gehören könnte. Bei so gut erhaltenen Stücken denkt man zwar in erster Linie an Grabfunde; es ist aber durchaus denkbar, daß die Raubgräber in diesem Falle auf einen Tempelschatz gestoßen sind. Ich brauche wohl nicht zu betonen, daß das alles zwar sein kann, aber keineswegs so sein muß. Trotzdem darf man solche Gedanken äußern, und mit diesem Ausblick möchte ich diesen Rückblick auf die Bildbeschreibungstexte schließen.

99. Diese von E. Laroche, OLZ 1959, 276 ermittelte Bedeutung bleibt bestehen; die Ablehnung in HW² 81, s.v. *anni*-², 1., beruht auf falscher Abteilung der auf die einzelnen Gottheiten bezüglichen Angaben.

100. KBo 2.7 Vs. 12; 18; 13 Rs. 2; 5; KUB 38.6 I 13; 33; IV 15–17 mit Dupl. 10 IV 1–3.

101. Muscarella (Anm. 27) Nr. 123–125; ob auch weitere, unter den darauf folgenden Nummern beschriebene Fundstücke, ist mir nicht bekannt.

SEALS AND SEALING IN HITTITE LANDS*

A few Hittite seals were found at Gordion, both on the mound by Professor Young and in the Hittite cemetery by Professor Mellink. Short of cuneiform texts, which may still be waiting somewhere inside the mound, these seals are the most eloquent vestiges of the Hittite settlement on the site. To put them into a wider framework seemed to be a fitting way of honoring the memory of a dear friend.

Before turning to the use of seals it may be useful briefly to review the typology of Anatolian stamp seals. Using the terminology of Hogarth in his book *Hittite Seals*,¹ we may start with two of the most archaic shapes as represented by finds from Gordion: the "stud" (fig. 1) and the stalk (fig. 2), both from burials and published by Professor Mellink in her publication of the cemetery.² As she pointed out, the stud seal, made of faience, comes from a child burial and therefore is more likely to have served as an amulet than for actual sealing, while the bronze stalk has a design of concentric circles frequently stamped on vessels of Old Hittite type.

Two examples of pottery stamps on jar handles come from the mound. One (fig. 3), also published by Mellink, has the shape of a naked human foot, for which there exist parallels elsewhere.³ The other (fig. 4), published by Professor Young in his report on the campaign of 1965,⁴ was made with a regular Hittite

stamp seal and has a hieroglyphic inscription which, unfortunately, I am unable to read. Nor am I able to shed

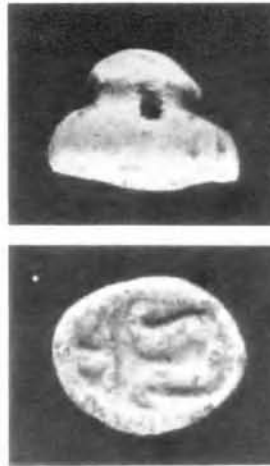


Figure 1. Gordion "stud" seal, SS 70 (2:1).



Figure 2. Gordion "stalk" seal, B 464 (2:1).

light on the meaning and purpose of seal impressions on pottery in general; the problems were well stated by Miss Seidl in her publication of the Boğazköy potmarks. Even the observation made there that impressions produced with the same stamp, showing a human figure and symbols, were found on a handle at Boğazköy and on one at Hüyük⁵ allows for more than one explanation.

To continue with the survey of stamp types, the very common so-called "knob," really a knob on top of a cone or many-sided pyramid, is now firmly dated to the period of Karum I B at Kültepe and the corresponding levels at Alishar and Boğazköy.⁶ The designs are either geometric or show stylized birds or animals.

*Reprinted from *From Athens to Gordion: The Papers of a Memorial Symposium for Rodney S. Young*, Keith DeVries, ed. (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1980), pp. 51–63, with the permission of the University Museum.

The author read a slightly different version of this paper at the symposium held at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in 1976 (see *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, M. Gibson and R. D. Biggs, eds. [Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 6; Malibu: Undena Publications, 1977], p. 3).

For special abbreviations, see p. 135.

1. *HS* pp. 20–23.
2. Machteld J. Mellink, *A Hittite Cemetery at Gordion* (Philadelphia 1956) 42, pl. 23 k–n.
3. Mellink (*supra* n. 2) 41, pl. 23e. Cf. Ursula Seidl, *Gefässmarken von Boğazköy* (Boğazköy-Hattuša VIII = WVDOG 88; Berlin 1972) nos. A 114–115, pp. 72, 75.
4. Rodney S. Young, "The Gordion Campaign of 1965," *AJA* 70 (1966) 277, pl. 74, 24.

5. Seidl (*supra* n. 3) no. A 81, p. 71 with n. 68; p. 79.

6. A good survey of Anatolian seals is by R. M. Boehmer, *PKG* 14, 437–453. For "knob"-handled seals see Nimet Özgüç, *Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib From Karum Kanish* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından, V. Seri, no. 25; Ankara 1968) esp. pl. XXXVI; H. H. von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük, Seasons of 1930–32 II* (OIP 29; Chicago 1937) esp. 212–214, figs. 249, 251; *WVDOG* 76, "Gruppen II–VIII," 19–24, 48–56, pls. 2–8.



Figure 3. Gordion stamp impression on jar handle, SS 117 (5:4).

A shape developed out of the knob is the “hammer,” of which there are two subgroups depending on whether the body of the seal is four-sided or round. A four-sided hammer in the Ashmolean Museum⁷ shows deities and worshippers accompanied by hieroglyphic symbols, which include the *crux ansata* meaning “life” and the triangle, which symbolizes “well-being” or “good luck.” Another hammer seal of the same type, found at Bitik west of Ankara,⁸ is interesting because of its unfinished state: apparently the name of an owner was going to be added in the central field when the seal was acquired by him.⁹

Of the hammers with round body a good example in the Walters Art Gallery¹⁰ has a name and the title

7. HS no. 196; E. Akurgal and M. Hirmer, *The Art of the Hittites* (New York n.d. [1961]) pl. 52; PKG 14, pl. 375c. R. L. Alexander, “The Tyskiewicz Group of Stamp-Cylinders,” *Anatolica* 5 (1973–1976 [1978]) 141–215, esp. 175 ff. with fig. 9, proposes a later date.
8. Remzi O. Arık, “Bitik Kazısı,” *Belleten* 8 (1944) 341–354, pl. LX and drawing on title page.
9. Cf. one of the hammer seals in the Louvre where hieroglyphs are found inside a frame identical with that on the Bitik seal: Delaporte, *Louvre*, no. A.1029, pl. 101, 4e.
10. WAG 42.352. Cyrus H. Gordon, “Western Asiatic Seals in the Walters Art Gallery,” *Iraq* 6 (1939) 3–34, esp. 24 f., no.



Figure 4. Gordion seal impression on jar handle, SS 223 (2:1).

SCRIBE in the middle and a circle of signs (symbols?) whose meaning escapes us.

Another form derived from the knob is the “knob-cylinder.” The most famous of the type is the so-called Tyskiewicz seal in Boston.¹¹

Whereas the hammers and the knob-cylinders belong to the older Hittite period — and I leave it open, how old! — the New Kingdom or Empire introduces new shapes. One is the tripod, always of metal, mostly a silver alloy. A good example in the Berlin Museum¹² shows a man, the name *Pi-ya-Tarhun-ta*, and a symbol which I now take as the late form of the *crux ansata*,¹³

70, pl. VIII (also in HS 75, fig. 79; H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien* [Berlin 1942] no. 679 f.; PKG 14, pl. 376g). See H. G. Güterbock, in *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 36 (1977) 7–16, esp. 8–10, no. 2. Another example: S. Alp, *Athenaeum* n.s. 47 (1969) = *Studi in onore di Piero Meriggi* 1–3 with pl. I.

11. Boston Museum of Fine Arts, no. 98–706. Henri Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London 1939) 285–287, pls. II n and XLIII n–o; PKG 14, pl. 375a. For others see A. Parrot, “Cylindre hittite nouvellement acquis,” *Syria* 28 (1951) 180–190, pls. XIII–XIV, and now Alexander (*supra* n. 7). For stamp impressions related to the base of the Boston seal see S. Alp, *Zylinder- und Stempelsiegel aus Karahöyük bei Konya* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından, V. Seri no. 26; Ankara 1968) pls. 49–52, 64–67, 74–75, 80–85.

12. L. Jakob-Rost, *Die Stempelsiegel im Vorderasiatischen Museum* (Berlin 1975) no. 78; Ed. Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* (Berlin 1914) 44–45, fig. 35. Cf. Güterbock (*supra* n. 10) 10, no. 3.

13. Hittite hieroglyphs are here referred to by their number (preceded by “L”) in E. Laroche, *Les hiéroglyphes hittites I: L’écriture* (Paris 1960). I now take L440 and L441 as more recent forms of the older L369.



Figure 5. Hemispheroid seal, formerly in Collection Aciman, Ankara.
Photos in possession of author.

together with the triangle. These two symbols also form the outer circle. Also the famous silver seal of a king of Mira, known as the Tarkondemos seal, in the Walters Art Gallery,¹⁴ may have had a tripod handle.

Another metal shape is the signet ring. There are two types: one has a circular bezel, while in the other the sealing surface is a widening of the ring itself, shaped into a pointed oval.¹⁵

One of the most common shapes of the New Kingdom is the lentoid or biconvex (Hogarth called it "bulla," but we reserve that term for sealed clay lumps!).¹⁶ An example from Ras Shamra shows that the perforation served to hold a metal mounting.¹⁷

There are also discs, i.e., two-faced flat seals of circular shape as well as "tabloids," flat seals in shapes other than circular.

Finally there are hemispheroids (Hogarth's "semi-bullae"); fig. 5 shows an example formerly in a private collection in Ankara, which has a metal mounting.

These, then, are the main shapes of Hittite stamp seals. Cylinders exist but are rare and seem to be restricted to the southeast; the impressions of cylinders of

the kings of Carchemish¹⁸ are the outstanding examples, and others point to the same general area.

Let us now turn to the use of seals.¹⁹ For "seal" the Hittite texts usually write the word sign NA₄.KIŠIB (always with the determinative NA₄ "stone") which stands for the Akkadian *kunukku* "seal." The Hittite word, if correctly reconstructed, is *šiyatar*, literally "pressing," the Hittite term would refer primarily to the impression in contrast to the Sumerian which is characterized as "stone."

Seals were impressed on tablets. At Kültepe it was only during the period Karum I B that seals were impressed either on the envelope or on the tablet itself, in contrast to Level II, the heyday of the Assyrian merchant colonies, when only the envelopes were sealed. One of the latest examples of a sealed tablet is in the Walters Art Gallery.²⁰

From the Old Hittite Kingdom we have land deeds (fig. 6) beginning around 1620 BC (middle chronol-

14. WAG 57.1512. Gordon (*supra* n. 10) no. 69. Dorothy K. Hill, "The Rediscovered Seal of Tarqumuwa King of Mera," *Archiv Orientalní* 9 (1937) 307–310 (with bibliography), pl. XXVI; PKG 14, pl. 376k; Güterbock (*supra* n. 10) 11–16, no. 4.

15. Both types shown in *HS* p. 22, figs. 21 f. The seals are nos. 194 and 195 (p. 38 and pl. VII). The latter also in PKG 14, pl. 377e and Akurgal (*supra* n. 7) pl. 52, top; an older bezel ring, *ibid.* pl. 45, bottom.

16. A good example of this common type is PKG 14, pl. 377d.

17. *Ug.* III 63, fig. 88; also in PKG 14, 451, fig. VDCf. For the seal inscriptions, see the section by E. Laroche, *Ug.* III 97–160.

18. *Ug.* III pp. 22–30, figs. 30–37, and pp. 121–131. Others: Edith Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections I* (The Bollingen Series 14; New York 1948) 115 f., pl. CXXXVII, no. 909; Th. Beran, "Hethitische Rollsiegel der Grossreichszeit," *IstMitt* 8 (1958) 137–141, pl. 35; 9/10 (1960) 128–133, pl. 88.

19. Cf. H. G. Güterbock "Das Siegel bei den Hethitern," *Symbolae Paulo Koschaker Dedicatae* (Leiden 1939) 26–36.

20. WAG 48.1464. J. V. Canby *JNES* 34 (1975) 225 ff., figs. 1–8; previously Julius Lewy, "Old Assyrian Documents from Asia Minor," *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental* 1 (1937) 1–18, esp. 16 ff. with pl. II. The tablet referred to on p. 17 as "TC 94" is illustrated in Delaporte, *Louvre* pl. 123, 9, A.843 (inv. AO 7305). Others: N. Özgüç (*supra* n. 6) pls. V, 1, 3, and VII.



Figure 6. Old Hittite land deed with impression of royal seal, VAT 7463 (5:4). Courtesy of Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin.

ogy).²¹ These tablets are thick, pillow-shaped, and bear the royal seal in the center of the obverse, which, in contrast to normal usage, is the more convex in these documents. The first line of the text refers to the seal: "Seal of the Tabarna," sometimes but not always adding the individual king's name. These tablets had strings embedded in their clay; in complete tablets only the holes through which the strings emerged are visible in the lower edge, but one fragment (fig. 7) shows the impressions of the strings in the break.²² They converge toward a hole in the lower edge of the tablet. We can only speculate about this strange device. Maybe clay bullae with seals of other persons — the recipient of the donation or witnesses — were appended, but we don't know.

We do know that treaties were sealed. Best known is the description of the silver tablet bearing the seals of Hattusili and Pudukhepa as described in the inscriptions

21. VAT 7463; courtesy Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, DDR. For the land deeds see *SBo* I 47–55; K. K. Riemschneider, "Die hethitischen Landschenkungs-urkunden," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 6 (1958) 321–381. Fig. 6 is text no. 3 in both publications, with the seal *SBo* I no. 87 (*WVDOG* 76 no. 143).

22. Fig. 7 is *SBo* I text 15, pl. V; another example is text 13 on p. 81.



Figure 7. Fragment of Old Hittite land deed, showing traces of strings coming out of hole in lower edge (5:4). Ankara Museum. Photo: Boğazköy expedition.

of Ramses II.²³ One wonders how a silver tablet could be sealed, even on both sides as the description says! Was there a wax coating on it? Strangely enough hardly any of the treaty tablets found in the Hittite capital are sealed, although the seals are mentioned in the text of some, e.g., the Aleppo Treaty of Mursili II as renewed by his son Muwatalli.²⁴ In another document of Mursili we read that the tablet was not yet sealed because not all parties were present, but would be sealed after they had been heard.²⁵ Were the official, sealed copies all of metal like the one described by Ramses?²⁶ Or did we simply not yet find the "real" archive where the official documents were kept? To be sure, there are just a few fragments of sealed tablets which once contained treaties or similar texts, tantalizingly few and broken.²⁷ Fig. 8 is one example, with part of the common seal of Suppiluliuma I and his queen.

In contrast to this, many of the documents found at Ugarit are sealed. They emanate from the royal court of Hatti, from the Hittite viceroys at Carchemish, from the neighboring kingdom of Amurru, or from individual officials, and they include not only treaties but also decisions and other pronouncements. The material is well known, so a few examples may suffice.

In two cases a common seal of King Hattusili III and Queen Pudukhepa was impressed, strangely, on

23. See "Description of the Tablet" in John A. Wilson's translation of the treaty in James B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton 1950) 201.

24. E. F. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien* (Boghasköi-Studien 8; Leipzig 1923) 80 ff., line 5; references to other sealed treaties in lines 26 and 32 of the text.

25. Horst Klengel, "Der Schiedsspruch des Mursili II . . .," *Orientalia*, n.s. 32 (1963) pp. 32–55, esp. 44 f., col. IV; pp. 53 f.

26. *KBo* 4, no. 10, rev. 21 f., seems to indicate that the official copy of the treaty with Ulmi-Teshub of Tarhuntissa was made of iron.

27. *SBo* I text 1, seal no. 9 (pp. 6 f., 73; pl. I); others are *SBo* II text 1, seal no. 5 (pp. 10 f., 82); *KBo* 14, 45 with seal of Hattusili and Pudukhepa; *KUB* 31, 103 (seal broken off).

one corner of the tablet. One is a letter to Niqmepa, king of Ugarit, instructing him how to deal with Hittite merchants, the other a verdict in a case of murder.²⁸

Two tablets with the seal of Shaushga-muwa, king of Amurru, concern the extradition of his sister, the divorced former queen of Ugarit.²⁹ His name appears in hieroglyphs in the stamp impressions which are made with two different seals. In both seals his title is KING'S SON, although he is called "king" in at least one of the two texts. On the top of that tablet is the impression of the cylinder of Aziru, his ancestor, in typical Syrian style. Aziru was the first king of Amurru who concluded a treaty with the Hittites, so he may be considered a dynasty founder, and the use of his seal by a descendant is comparable to the use of the "dynastic seal" of Ugarit, of which the excavators distinguish two versions: impressions made with the original seal, others made with a later replica.³⁰

A court order issued against a certain Kumyaziti, probably a Hittite merchant, by Zuzuli, a representative of the king of Carchemish, bears the round impression of the latter's seal on top, that of the oval ring seal of the former below, both identified by cuneiform adscripts.³¹

Returning to the Hittite capital, we read about sealed documents of various kinds. *The Instruction of Temple Officials*³² stipulates that gifts received from the king should be sold openly and before witnesses and that this sale should be documented in something called *uṣurtu*, literally "drawing," a term that has been interpreted as referring to hieroglyphic script. This document was to be sealed twice: once at the time of the sale, the second time by the Palace (i.e., "countersigned" by the "fiscus"). In another text³³ the border commander is instructed to decide any lawsuit brought before him on a sealed tablet or a sealed *uṣurtu*. The elaborate court proceedings concerning cases of embezzlement³⁴ mention various documents that should have been, but were



Figure 8. Fragmentary tablet with part of seal of Suppiluliuma I and his queen (5:4). Photo: Boğazköy expedition.

not, sealed. It seems that these were, in part, receipts or inventories. Also sealed containers and the fact that their seals were broken are mentioned.

Of sealed administrative documents from Boğazköy we have two: one is a cult inventory sealed by a high official named Tabrami, who apparently was responsible for the cults of the city of Karahna listed in the text.³⁵ On the other tablet with the seal of LION-ziti (fig. 9) only a few names in connection with a "house" or estate are preserved; presumably the seal belongs to the official responsible for the transfer of an estate with its inhabitants.³⁶

As said before, Ras Shamra yielded many sealed tablets, Boğazköy only a few. Most of the seal impressions found in the Hittite capital are on bullae, i.e., lumps of clay that were pressed around the knots of strings or straps, etc., and then sealed to secure the knot. Apart from stray finds they were found in quantity in two spots: at the west end of a corridor in the basement of Building D on Büyükkale and, more recently, in some storerooms on the north side of the Great Temple.³⁷ All were found baked, but this must have been caused by the destruction fire. Whether the bullae

28. Ug. III 16, fig. 21. For texts of sealed Ras Shamra tablets see PRU III and PRU IV. The tablets here mentioned are in PRU IV 103–106.

29. Ug. III p. 34, figs. 43 f., and pp. 131–133; texts: PRU IV 139–143.

30. Ug. III 66–77 with figs. 92–99; cf. Schaeffer in PRU III xxiv f. with pls. XIII.; Nougayrol, *ibid.* xl–xlili with pls. XVII.

31. Ug. III 56, figs. 78 f.; text: PRU IV 202 f.

32. E. H. Sturtevant and G. Bechtel, *A Hittite Chrestomathy* (Philadelphia 1935) 148–167, esp. 155, lines 39–58.

33. E. von Schuler, *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen* (*Archiv für Orientforschung*, Beiheft 10, 1957) 47 f., lines 21–23.

34. R. Werner, *Hethitische Gerichtsprotokolle* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 4; Wiesbaden 1967) 3–20, esp. 12–15, lines 20–50.

35. Bossert (*supra* n. 10) no. 728. Seal: SBo II no. 92; text: KUB 25, 32.

36. Seal: SBo II no. 100; text: *ibid.* text 2, pp. 19 and 82.

37. For easy reference see the plans in K. Bittel, *Hattusha, The Capital of the Hittites* (New York 1970) 75–83 and 56, respectively.



Figure 9. Fragmentary tablet with record of estate transfer and impression of seal probably belonging to responsible official (2:1). Photo: Boğazköy expedition.

had served to seal packages or written documents, perhaps made of perishable material (the above-mentioned *ušurtu*?) remains unknown. The accumulation of some 200 of them in one place in Building D seems to indicate that they were kept, perhaps as a record, after having been detached.

A few examples of bullae:

From the city mound at Gordion comes one example (fig. 10) found in 1965 in a rubble fill and published by Professor Young.³⁸ The knot of the string must have been too close to the sealed surface, so that the latter broke, destroying part of the inscription. From both the rather complex guilloche and the shape of the symbols LIFE and WELLBEING, the *crux ansata* and the triangle, this can be dated to the Old Hittite period.

A cone-shaped bulla from Tarsus has a string hole at the pointed end and a concave stamp impression on the base of the cone. In addition, a cylinder seal was rolled partially over the mantle of the cone.³⁹

A bulla from Boğazköy (fig. 11) has oval impressions of a seal ring on its sides and narrow rollings over the top.⁴⁰ These could have been produced with the carved edge of a disc seal like one in the Louvre.⁴¹



Figure 10. Gordion bulla, SS 209 (2:1).

Still another bulla from Boğazköy was attached to a wide strap or band, and its sides bear partial impressions (fig. 12) of the same royal seal that was impressed on its main surface: King Muwatalli protected by the Great Storm God (fig. 13). But this is not the only seal of this king: there is another seal which,

while showing the same motif of the god protecting the ruler, differs in style (and in one of the king's names).⁴² And a third seal contains only the name Muwatalli but has as the first hieroglyph the full image of the sacred animal of the Storm God.⁴³

These three seals of Muwatalli raise the question of why there are so many seals bearing the name of one and the same king. Multiple seals of other kings can easily be found among the seals of Boğazköy and Ras Shamra.⁴⁴ Apparently there were officials authorized to use royal seals for government purposes. We do not know who they were, and there is no title corresponding to "Keeper of the Seal." One find confirms the fact that there were persons so authorized: this is the only seal of a Hittite great king of which we have the actual stamp, not just the impressions, and it was found at Ugarit!⁴⁵ Certainly this stone, engraved on its convex side, must have been set in a ring or base, presumably of precious metal, and must have belonged to a person residing at Ugarit and authorized to use it.

In Ugarit a tablet was found with the text of an edict of "His Majesty" and the seal of Queen Pudukhepa alone.⁴⁶ Is the queen here writing and sealing for her husband? Or for her young son Tudhaliya? Or did the king use her seal?

38. *AJA* 70 (1966) 277 and pl. 74, fig. 25. For a similar inscription cf. *SBo* II no. 175; for dating, *WVDOG* 76, 59–61, "Gruppe XI," pls. 9 and 11, esp. nos. 97 and 100.

39. Cf. I. J. Gelb in *Tarsus* figs. 403, 407, no. 42.

40. *SBo* II nos. 227–228, pl. VII.

41. Delaporte, *Louvre* no. A.1015, pl. 100, 14; *PKG* 14, pl. 377b.

42. *SBo* I nos. 38A and 39A, pl. II.

43. *SBo* II no. 1, pl. I.

44. *SBo* I *passim*; esp. *WVDOG* 76, pls. VI–XI; *Ug.* III pp. 2–21, figs. 2–26, and pp. 98–119.

45. *Ug* III 87–93, figs. 109–112, and Güterbock, *ibid.* 161–163; *PKG* 14, 448, fig. 142d.

46. *Ug* III pp. 13, 18. figs. 16, 23; p. 109; text: *PRU* IV, 118 f.



Figure 11. Bulla with impressions of seal ring on sides and narrow rollings on top (2:1). Photo: Boğazköy expedition.

Apart from this unusual case, there are many common seals of royal couples. They range from Arnuwanda and Ashmunikal (early fourteenth century) to Hattusili and Pudukhepa; in Ugarit, only Suppiluliuma I and Hattusili III appear on seals with their queens.⁴⁷

However, the use of a seal by both a man and a woman was not restricted to the dynasty or royalty. Seal impressions from Korucutepe (fig. 14)⁴⁸ show the figure of a god and the name Ari-Sharruma, a local king as indicated by the KING sign. But his name is not alone: in smaller signs there is the name *Ki-lu-s-he-pa*, known from cuneiform texts as that of a lady, and next to it there are the signs GREAT and CHILD. Normally the latter sign has one straight and one angular line below the hand,⁴⁹ but here the element below the hand lacks the angular line, and the only element present is a slender oval rather than a simple line. This then seems to be the sign for DAUGHTER as differentiated from SON. A clearer example can be seen on a bulla from Boğazköy

(fig. 15),⁵⁰ where *Ga-su-la-wi* has the title KING'S DAUGHTER written with a clear oval which has a vertical groove in the middle. But this is not all!

It has long been observed that among the biconvex or lentoid seals there are some that have the same name on both sides but also some with two different names. When preparing such seals from Boğazköy (found in the so-called Südareal south of the Great Temple) for publication, I found again examples of both types: one such seal⁵¹ shows a human figure on one side only but the same name, *La-hi*, on both. Lahi's

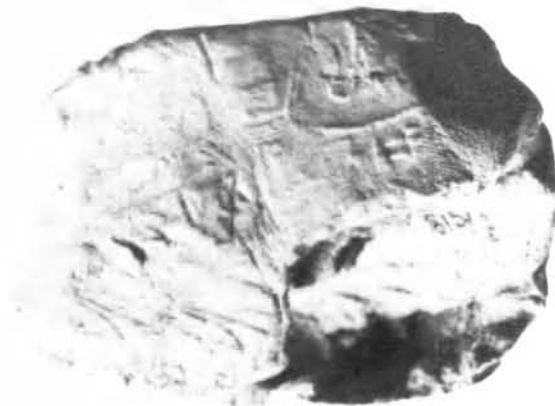


Figure 12. Side view of clay bulla, showing partial impressions of seal of King Muwatalli (5:4). Photo: Boğazköy expedition.

47. *SBo* I 60: Arnuwanda and Ashmunikal; 5–7: Suppiluliuma and Hinti, 8–11 and 36: Suppiluliuma and Tawananna, also *Ug.* III pp. 3–6, figs. 2–6, and pp. 98–103: *SBo* I 30–35: Mursili II and Tawananna; 37: Mursili II and Gasulawi; 42: Muwatalli and Tanukhepa; 43–44: Urkhi–Teshub (Mursili III) and Tanukhepa; 24–29: a Mursili (II or III?) and Tanukhepa; 49–51: Hattusili III and Pudukhepa; also *Ug.* III pp. 12–17, figs. 13–15, 17–22, and pp. 108–110. (*WVDOG* 76, pls. IX–XI, in different order and without *SBo* I 42).

48. H. G. Güterbock, "Hittite Hieroglyphic Seal Impressions from Korucutepe," *JNES* 32 (1973) 135–147, no. 2. Fig. 14 is based on both impressions 2A and 2B.

49. Signs L363 and L45, respectively, in Laroche's list (*supra* n. 13). In L45, the "crampon" above the hand is the word divider; only the lower one forms part of the logogram.

50. *SBo* I no. 104. For the combination KING + L45 see L46. Of the examples listed there under 2, "princesse," *SBo* I 37 and *Tarsus* no. 14 are damaged, while the late Malatya relief omits the element below the hand. But in *Tarsus* no. 17 the oval is well visible. It must be sign L79, WOMAN. (Did Shaushgamuwa have one seal, no. 3, together with his wife, a KING'S [DAUGHTER]? Cf. *Ug.* III p. 33, figs. 41–42, and p. 131.)

51. *Boğ.* V no. 35 (cf. 36).



Figure 13. Main surface of bulla of fig. 12 with full impression of seal: King Muwatalli under protection of the Great Storm God (5 :4). Photo: Boğazköy expedition.

title consists of the signs GOD + HOUSE (L249). Opposite it, but only on the side without picture, the sign L386, “line and angle,” is found, surmounted by the triangle which we already know as GOOD, WELLBEING (L370). A seal in the Louvre⁵² has on both sides the name of *Pa-la-tu-wa*, whose title is written with a pitcher (L354), again with the triangle and the line and angle (L370 + 386) on the right. There are many more such seals with identical inscriptions on both sides.

Another seal (fig. 16) from the same complex at Boğazköy⁵³ has two different inscriptions. One side has a name with the title CHARIOTEER (L289), but the other side reads *U-ma-ya* and has the triangle above a large, pointed, elongated oval. Now Umayya is known as a woman's name from cuneiform texts. Our sign lists register two oval signs: one (L79) with the meaning WOMAN, the other (L408) defined as a title because it appears beside names. It seems obvious now that the presumed “title” is the WOMAN sign, characterizing the name as that of a woman. Moreover, the combination “triangle over WOMAN” (L370–79) has a counterpart in L370 over L386, just like the pair “hand +L79” DAUGHTER and “hand+L386” SON. It would follow then that L386 means MAN or MALE.⁵⁴

52. Delaporte, *Louvre* pl. 102, 2, A.1044. For inscriptions on seals in Oxford and Paris see the articles by D. A. Kennedy in *RHA* 16, fasc. 63 (1958) 65–84 and 17, fasc. 65 (1959) 147–172 (hereafter *RHA* fasc. 63 and 65, respectively, with seal number). A.1044 is *RHA* fasc. 65, no. 5. Seals with identical names on both sides are too frequent to be listed.

53. *Boğ.* V no. 37.

54. Since there is another sign for MAN (L312 = 313), the relation of the two signs (L386 and L312/3) and of the word(s) (synonyms?) behind them remains to be investigated. The combinations L370–386 and L370–408, GOOD and MAN/



Figure 14. Seal of a king and a princess, from Korucutepe (5:4).

There are many seals with the names of a man and a woman, respectively, on their two sides, and it is an easy assumption that these seal owners are husband and wife. *Ku-tà-pi-ya* and *Ga-la-ya* are another such couple.⁵⁵ But there also is one seal with two men's names.⁵⁶

On a tripod seal⁵⁷ the names of husband and wife are written on the only surface, in two columns side by side. The man's name, on the left in the impression, reads *Wa-la-zi-ya*; while the reading of the woman's name is uncertain, the WOMAN sign on the right is quite clear.⁵⁸

Just like men, women could have a seal of their own, either inscribed on one side like a tripod in the Ashmolean Museum⁵⁹ or on both sides like the hemispheroid of Fig. 5 and a seal from Alishar where

WOMAN, respectively, are here taken as blessings like “well-being for the man/woman.” Cf. now J. D. Hawkins, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 92 (1978) 112; *idem*, *Florilegium Anatolicum Laroche* (Paris 1979) 153.

55. *Boğ.* V no. 38. Of other two-faced seals with names of a man and a woman I noted: Alishar no. 78 (I. J. Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity*; OIP 27, Chicago 1935); Newell no. 387 (H. H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell*; OIP 22, Chicago 1934); Oxford, *RHA* fasc. 63, nos. 15 and 20; Paris: *RHA* fasc. 65, nos. 8, 10, 14, 28; Yale, NBC 11014 and 11015 (B. Buchanan, *JCS* 21 [1967] 19–21, nos. 2 and 3).

56. *Tarsus* no. 43: Halpa-ziti and Kukulana; the sign on side b is damaged L386, not L408!

57. Giuseppe Furlani, “Un timbro hittito,” *RendLinc, Classe di scienze morali* (etc.), ser. 8, vol. 5 (1950) 376–380. Also in Bossert, (*supra* n. 10) no. 688.

58. For the sign L414 see Laroche's comments. On the Boğazköy seals it occurs in the secondary group (Nebengruppe); therefore he took it for a title. On the Furlani seal the two columns are facing each other, hence a title is not likely, and in addition there is WOMAN on the right.

59. *HS* no. 189 = *RHA* fasc. 63, no. 33; also a ring with circular bezel from Boğazköy, *RHA* fasc. 65, no. 1.



Figure 15. Impression on a clay bulla of seal of Princess Gasulawi (2:1).
Photo: Boğazköy expedition.

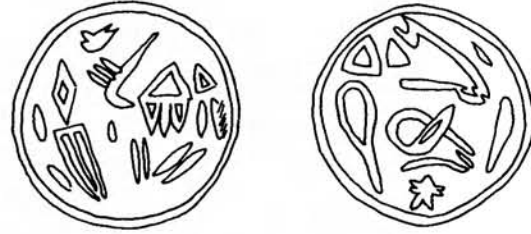


Figure 16. Two sides of lentoid seal from Boğazköy; drawing by author from impressions (5:4): *left*, name of a man; *right*, name of a woman.

the name, *Arma-wi*, has long been recognized as a woman's name.⁶⁰

This, then, explains the impressions on a tablet from Ugarit.⁶¹ According to the cuneiform text the seals of Piha-ziti and Alalimi were impressed on the tablet, but the hieroglyphic name on the two stamp impressions reads *Ma-ni-na*, which fits neither these two names nor that of any of the other persons mentioned in the text. We now see that it is a woman's seal! And since the two impressions, while having identical inscriptions, differ in detail, it was one of the two-sided seals of women just mentioned. Apparently one of the two men who are said to have sealed used the seal of his wife! Since the other man used an uninscribed cylinder we cannot tell whether Manina was Mrs. Pihaziti or Mrs. Alalimi, but we can live without knowing that.

SPECIAL ABBREVIATIONS:

<i>Boğ. V</i>	K. Bittel <i>et al.</i> , <i>Funde aus den Grabungen 1970</i> (Boğazköy V; <i>Abhandlungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft</i> 18 [Berlin 1975]).
<i>HS</i>	D. G. Hogarth, <i>Hittite Seals, with Particular Reference to the Ashmolean Collection</i> (Oxford 1920).
<i>Delaporte, Louvre</i>	L. Delaporte, <i>Catalogue des cylindres orientaux, Musée du Louvre II</i> (Paris 1923).
<i>KBo</i>	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi.</i>
<i>KUB</i>	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi.</i>
<i>PKG 14</i>	W. Orthmann, ed., <i>Der alte Orient</i> (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 14; Berlin 1975).
<i>PRU III</i>	J. Nougayrol, <i>Le Palais royal d'Ugarit III</i> (Mission de Ras Shamra VI; Paris 1955).
<i>PRU IV</i>	J. Nougayrol, <i>Le Palais royal d'Ugarit IV</i> (Mission de Ras Shamra IX; Paris 1956).
<i>SBo I</i>	H. G. Güterbock, <i>Siegel aus Boğazköy, Erster Teil</i> (<i>Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 5</i> ; Berlin 1940).
<i>SBo II</i>	H. G. Güterbock, <i>Siegel aus Boğazköy, Zweiter Teil</i> (<i>Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 7</i> ; Berlin 1942).
<i>Tarsus</i>	H. Goldman, <i>Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus II</i> (Princeton 1956).
<i>Ug. III</i>	C. F.-A. Schaeffer <i>et al.</i> , <i>Ugaritica III</i> (Mission de Ras Shamra 8; Paris 1956).
<i>WVDOG 76</i>	T. Beran, <i>Die hethitische Glyptik von Bogazköy I. Teil</i> (Boğazköy-Ḫattuša V; <i>Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft</i> 76 [Berlin 1967]).

60. Alishar no. 80; Newell no. 388 (*supra*, n. 55); one from Alalakh: L. Woolley, *Alalakh: An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana* (Oxford 1955) no. 156 on pp. 266 f., pl. LXVII, bottom; R. D. Barnett in *AntJ* 19 (1939) 34 and pl. XIII.

61. *Ug. III* pp. 57–59, figs. 80–83; p. 155; text: *PRU IV* 182–184.

HITTITE *KURSA* “HUNTING BAG”*

The following essay is an attempt at pulling together some thoughts and observations — including observations made by others — that have occupied me for some time. Although its greater part will deal with philological detail it is also concerned with Hittite iconography. I hope that Helene Kantor, who has herself contributed so much to the interpretation of pictorial representations, will accept these lines as a token of my friendship.

Part of this paper was written some years ago.¹ At that time my main concern was to further the understanding of the scene depicted in the frieze of the stag rhyton in the Norbert Schimmel Collection (pl. 16a, b) by comparing it with well-known Hittite stamp seals in the British Museum² (pl. 17a, b) and Dresden³ (pl. 17 c–e). Looking for other comparable pieces I came across a seal published by Ali Dinçol from a private col-

lection in Adana⁴ (pl. 18a), which he already compared with the seals just mentioned and the Schimmel rhyton. Through Dinçol’s discussion I was led to Sedat Alp’s description of the frieze.⁵ Alp suggested that the bag depicted in the frieze behind the seated deity might be the object called *kursa* in Hittite, a suggestion that immediately struck me as convincing.

Thus far my earlier paper. Since I thought that Professor Alp would want to present his own evidence for the equation of *kursa* with the bag, I did not go into detail but only stated in general terms that the textual evidence seemed to favor his proposal. In the meantime Professor Alp told me that he had no plans for publishing the philological evidence and that I should go ahead. This is what I propose to do here.⁶

First I have to recapitulate what the elements common to the rhyton and the stamp seals are. The main figure in all of them is a seated deity, wearing a long robe and the conical hat of Hittite gods, holding a cup in her right hand and a bird in the left; on the rhyton this is clearly a bird of prey, probably a falcon. In front of this deity there is an altar: on the rhyton it has an unusual shape (which led some scholars to doubting the genuineness of the object!), but on the three seals it is the well-known Hittite altar with its conical base. On the Adana seal a large pithos is inserted before it. Unique to the rhyton is the youthful god standing on a stag, to which we shall return. Approaching the deity are several worshippers: on the rhyton they are one man pouring a libation, one carrying a loaf of bread (which has the same shape as the hieroglyph for “bread”), and a kneeling man who holds up a pitcher, known from Hittite texts as “the cupbearer of squatting.” On the London and Dresden seals the person pouring the liquid has a bird’s head or mask, while the second, who is

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1. “A Note on the Frieze of the Stag Rhyton in the Schimmel Collection,” *Festschrift for Ekrem Akurgal*, to appear in *Anatolia* (Ankara), submitted in December, 1984; cf. now S. Alp, “Einige weitere Bemerkungen zum Hirschrhyton der Norbert Schimmel-Sammlung,” in F. Imparati, ed., *Studi di Storia e di Filologia Anatolica Dedicati a Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*, Florence, 1988, 17–23.
2. British Museum 115655 (formerly 17804): E. A. W. Budge, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 9 (1887): 27; L. Messerschmidt, *OLZ* 3 (1900): 441–42, fig. 3 = *Corpus Inscriptionum Hethiticarum*, pl. XLIII 3; D. G. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals* (1920), 75, fig. 78; R. L. Alexander, *Anatolica* 5 (1976), pl. III, fig. 6; S. Alp, *Beiträge zur Erforschung des Hethitischen Tempels*, TTKY VI 23 (1983), fig. 12 a–b (hereafter *Beitr. Tpl.*); E. Porada in J. V. Canby et al., eds., *Ancient Anatolia: Aspects of Change and Cultural Development: Essays in Honor of M. J. Mellink* (1986): 90, fig. 8–6, 8–7.
3. Dresden, Albertinum, ZV 1769: Messerschmidt, *OLZ* 3, fig. 1 = *Corpus* pl. XLIII 4–5; E. Unger in H. Th. Bossert, ed., *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes* 3, 421, 9; idem, *Janus und der Mann mit der Adler- oder Greifenmaske* (1959), pl. 3, fig. 8; S. Alp, *Bulleten* 31 (1967): 513 ff., fig. 2; idem, *Beitr. Tpl.*, fig. 11. — Both seals here turned upside-down to show the scene under discussion on top.

4. A. M. Dinçol, “Hethitische Hieroglyphensiegel in den Museen zu Adana, Hatay und Istanbul,” 213–49 in *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 9 (1983): see 220–22, no. 8.

5. S. Alp, *Beitr. Tpl.* 93–100.

6. The textual evidence for *kursa* was presented in July, 1985, at the Collège de France at the “Colloque Anatolien” in honor of Emmanuel Laroche. I regret that through lack of communication I missed having my paper included in the official publication, *Hethitica* 8 (1987).

holding up a cup, wears a trailing robe which probably marks him as king. On the Adana seal there are four worshippers; details are hard to make out in the published illustrations, except that the third man is again kneeling and holding a pitcher.

Behind the seated deity all three seals show a stag's head above two horizontally positioned legs.⁷ These parts of the animal are shown on the Schimmel rhyton as head and front part of the stag lying under the tree and two lower legs leaning against it, disconnected from the front parts of the animal. Between the deity and the stag are depicted two upright spears, a bag with a handle, and a quiver filled with arrows and provided with a carrying strap. On the seals these elements come after the head and legs: on the London seal in the sequence bag (over triangular symbol for "blessing"), the quiver with arrow points and strap, and the two spears. On the Dresden seal the quiver comes before the bag. On the Adana seal the spears and the quiver are omitted; the bag is clearer in the published photograph than in the drawing, and the triangle is replaced by a disk. On all three seals a tree marks the end of this scene (in the London and Dresden examples, a tree separates the scene from another cult scene), and on the rhyton the handle runs exactly over the tree. It is clear from all this that here, too, the stag and the hunting gear belong behind the gods, not at the other end.

Who are these deities? The frieze on the rhyton shows two divine figures: first, a male standing on a stag and holding an upright lituus and a falcon. Although the divine headgear is lacking, there is no doubt that this is a god. The fact that he stands on a stag characterizes him as the tutelary god of the open country, the protector of wildlife, as described in a cult inventory text.⁸ There are gold labels fixed to the surface of the vessel above the divine figures. Are they original or added later? The bent-over rim of the vessel covers the upper parts of both. This seems to indicate that they are original; if they were meant to replace other, original inscriptions on the silver surface, this replacement must have taken place while the rhyton was still in the making. Maybe they were added in gold just to underline the importance of the names. On the label belonging to the god on the stag the late Franz Steinherr recognized the "antler" sign which is well known as the logogram for the tutelary god (the sign below it is not identified). The other label is much harder to interpret. From right to left one sees the human profile which is the sign for

the syllable *a*; an incomplete sign partly covered by the rim; below it, the unidentified sign seen on the first label, and finally a sign which could be either the syllable *ta* or the logogram for "daughter" (though neither of them exactly). The sex of the seated figure has been a matter of debate: male because of the pointed hat or female because of the long garment? Obviously the figure on the three seals must be of the same sex as that on the rhyton. The Hittites had many tutelary deities, among them both gods and goddesses; so the possibility exists that our seated figure is a goddess. But this is not certain: the unclear label does not help.⁹

We turn now to Professor Alp's proposal to identify the bag with the Hittite *kursa*. Ordinarily this word is written with the determinative KUŠ "hide, leather," but this is not the only material it is made of. The best known description of a *kursa* is found in the myth of the god who disappears, at the point after his return when fertility has already been restored.¹⁰ Here the *kursa* of a sheep is hanging from an evergreen tree and filled with all good things, like "sheep's fat, (abundance of) grain, (wild) animals, and wine, cattle and sheep, long lifetime, and progeny." This may well be an actual sheepskin, sewed up so as to form a bag. But it was soon seen that this is not the only meaning of the word. Since it is occasionally mentioned together with weapons, it was thought that *kursa* might be a shield, an idea obviously influenced by the thought of the *aegis*.¹¹ However, the weapons associated with the *kursa* are the following: 1) the bow: "The cooks put a ^{GIS} *seni* (a tree or wooden object?) before the stela and hang up a gold bow and a *kursa*."¹² and 2) arrows and a quiver: "But the arrow and the *kursa* they carry away."¹³ "The god had a quiver, and in it were 20 arrows; now it is lost. Also the two iron handles(?) of the *kursa* are lost."¹⁴ There is no example of *kursa* mentioned together with "sword" or

7. Recognized as such by Dinçol, *Anadolu Arasturmaları* 9, 220–22. Best on the photograph of the Adana seal, *ibid.*, pl. 8, and on the illustration in Porada, in *Ancient Anatolia*, fig. 8–7 (which shows the stamp surface, not an impression!).

8. ⁴LAMMA.LÍL. KUB 38.1 ii 1–6, ed. C. G. von Brandenstein, *MVAG* 46, 2 (1943): 14 f.; L. Rost, *MIO* 8 (1961): 179 f.

9. Cf. H. G. Güterbock, in R. M. Boehmer and H. H. Hauptmann, eds., *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens: Festschrift für Kurt Bittel* (1983), 207 f. I cannot accept the readings of Alp, *Beitr. Tpl.*, 94 f.

10. Maciej Popko published two detailed studies of the *kursa*, which were of great help to me in preparing the following pages: "Zum hethitischen ^{KUŠ} *kurša*," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 2 (1975): 65–70; *Kultobjecte in der hethitischen Religion (nach keilschriftlichen Quellen)* (Warsaw, 1978), section "*kurša*- 'Vlies,'" 108–20; hereafter MP1 and MP2, respectively. — The passage cited is KUB 10.17 iv 27–31, MP1 69; cf. Goetze, in ANET, 128.

11. E. Laroche, *Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites*, 75.

12. KUB 30.41 i 15–17, MP1: 66.

13. KUB 39.14 iii 10 f., ed. H. Otten, *Hethitische Totenrituale* 80 f. MP1: 66.

14. KUB 5.7 rev. 23–25, cf. F. Sommer, *Die Ahhijavā-Urkunden* 181.

“mace.” In other words, *kursa* belongs to the implements of the hunt, not to those of war. There is no direct evidence for a meaning “shield.”¹⁵

The *kursa* can be used as container. While it is true that a sewed-up skin may serve the same purpose, it is not well suited as a container for rhyta: “He lifts up the rhyta from a *kursa*.”¹⁶ And from a fragmentary line it is learned that a *kursa* and a sheepskin are not the same.¹⁷ In addition there are texts that show that the *kursa* was not itself a hide but rather made of animal skins: “The chief of the shepherds gives six goat hides to the chief of the lea[ther workers], and he makes the god’s *kursa*.”¹⁸ “Six black he-goats, two white he-goats — they make (them into) *kursas* — the chief shepherd gives (out). Of these, the cowherd of the god takes two white ones, the priest of Telipinu takes two black ones, the priest of Zababa takes two white ones, the shepherd of the god takes two black ones, and they make *kursas*”¹⁹ (never mind the arithmetic!).

Leather is not the only material of which a *kursa* can be made. A “*kursa* of cloth” is once mentioned.²⁰ A *kursa* could also be made of wood or reed; this is expressed by the determinatives GIŠ “wood” and GI “reed,” respectively. Both the ^{GIŠ}*kursa* and the ^{GI}*kursa* have a secondary *-i*-stem, *kursi*, but *-a*-stem forms are also attested.²¹ Instead of ^{GI}*kursi*- a wickerwork *kursa* could also be written ^{GIŠ}*kursis* AD.KID,²² where the determinative GIŠ simply classifies the word as an implement while AD.KID “wickerwork” specifies the material.

I think there was a *kursa* “of beads,” either adorned with beads or actually made of beads strung on threads.²³ In the KILAM festival the “*kursas* of beads”

are carried in the procession, following the priest of the tutelary deity (^dLAMMA) and the spears, but before the “animals of the gods,” i.e. images of wild animals made of precious metals.²⁴

None of the passages cited above is positive proof that *kursa* must be a bag. But neither does anyone contradict this meaning, nor is there any evidence for “shield.” The possibility that the *kursa* was simply a sewed-up animal hide cannot be completely ruled out; in the Telipinu myth, where it is modified by the genitive “of a sheep,” it probably is just that. But the passages where hides are used to make *kursas* and the existence of *kursas* made of wood and reed show that it is not a simple hide or fleece. It is really the representation of the bag in art which is decisive for the interpretation of the word.

In the pictorial representations the bag is one of the implements of the hunt and, together with parts of the game, deposited next to the tutelary deity. From the texts it has long been known that the *kursa* belongs to this deity, or rather, to several of the deities who form the group of “protectors.” There is a ^dLAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kursas* “Tutelary deity of the Hunting Bag,” and a “Tutelary Deity, the Hunting Bag,” with the two words in apposition.²⁵ That the bag represents the god also can be observed in other texts. One of them describes the renewal of bags in the capital; the old ones were sent to other cities and renamed: the old “*kursa* of Zithariya” became “The Tutelary God of the *kursa*,” the old “*kursa* of the Tutelary God of the town of Halenzuwa” became “The Tutelary God of the town of Zapatiskuwa.” Thus a bag became a god.²⁶

15. Cf. MP1: 66.

16. KUB 46.48 obv. 3.

17. KUB 7.13 obv. 25: [...] ^{KUŠ}*kursaz harkanzi* KUŠ.UDU-ya išharwi[! ...]. “They hold [...] with a *kursa*, and the red sheepskin [...].”

18. KUB 30.32 i 9–10 with dupl. KBo 18.190:4, cf. MP1: 66 without the dupl. *kursan* sing. probably meant as collective.

19. KUB 25.31 obv. 11–13 + 1142/z, ZA 62: 234.

20. TÚG-as ^{KUŠ}*kursan*, KBo 20.32 ii 7, MP2 117 n. 48.

21. Popko (MP1 65) takes the *-i*-stem as a separate word. It is true that most of the occurrences with det. GIŠ and GI are in the so-called *babili* rituals of Hurrian background, and that these contain clear *-i*-stem forms, nom. *kursis*, acc. *kursin*. But the frequent dat.-loc. *kursi* can also be from an *-a*-stem, and there is an abl. ^{GI}*kursaz* (HT 5 i 8). Outside the *babili* texts there is the acc. pl. [...] *gur-šu-uš* AD.KID 254/d i 4, Lebrun, *Samuha* 188) and the Old Hittite *1* ^{GIŠ}*kurša*- [...] (KBo 20.4 i' 6, StBoT 25, text 13 i 23.) I take *kursi*- as a secondary stem of *kursa*- limited to the *babili* texts.

22. KUB 39.71 i 15, 36, iv 31.

23. *kunnanas kursas* KBo 10.23 v 15 (StBoT 28: 14 text la), *kunnanas kurses* KBo 10.23 vi 3–4 with dupl. KBo 30.14 v 7 (StBoT 28:52 text 1 j). *kuwanna(n)-*, *kunna(n)-*, usually

written with the det. NA₄ “stone,” is equated with NA₄.NUNUZ “bead” by the variant in the Song of Ullikummi (JCS 5: 146 with n. 16). The passages from which Goetze (JCS 1: 307 f.) deduced the identification of *kunnanas* with URUDU “copper,” are not strictly parallel to one another. Instead of “sun and moon emblems (made) of silver, gold, bronze, and copper” the other passage may have said “... and beads.” The proposed meaning “copper ore, azurite” or the like was an ad hoc attempt at reconciling “copper” with “bead.” Note that the Hittite reading of URUDU is genus commune according to KBo 4.1 obv. 8, while *kunnan-* is neuter.

24. Cf. the outline by Singer, StBoT 27: 90, where I replace “copper fleeces” by “beaded hunting bags.”

25. Many examples of the genitive construction, see MP1: 67 n. 17, the best known in the Ritual of Anniwiyani. For the apposition see KBo 14.70 i 9 etc., MP1: 68. There is also ANA ^dLAMMA ^{GIŠ}*kursas* EN-i “to LAMMA, the lord/owner of the *kursa*” KBo 4.13 i 11.

26. Parts were edited years ago by H. Otten in *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich* (1959), 351–59. Now the whole text is KUB 55.43, which is edited by J. G. McMahon (“The Hittite State Cult of the Tutelary Deities” [Ph. D. diss., Chicago, 1988], ch. 5), who shows that offerings for a god are deposited on the *kursa*.

The word *kursa* itself is occasionally written with the divine determinative; ^d*kursa* or ^d.KUS⁸*kursa*. There is a “house of the divine *kursa*”²⁷ which may or may not be the temple of that deity.

The bag is taken on a voyage through several towns in the course of the Spring Festival.²⁸ In another festival the high priestess and the king, separately, enter the “house of the *kursa*” preceded and followed by musicians playing their instruments.²⁹

It is hard to tell what specific deity — god or goddess — is meant by the logogram or, in other words, how the logogram should be read in the various contexts. One such name is Inar, the name of a goddess.³⁰ Also in apposition: “[The king and queen drink the *kursa* Inar from a cup. [The singer of] Kanish sings.”³¹ In a fragment attributed by Laroche to the myth of Inara there is a scene where the bee brings a ^{KUS}*kursa* and deposits it in a bowl which is in a well made by the Mother goddess Hannahanna.³² Unfortunately the episode is isolated. There is another isolated fragment of the myth in which the Stormgod sends out the bee to search for his daughter Inara.³³ A few lines later it seems that “[Inara ?] threw the x (a body part) of every animal into a bag.” In a list of offerings for various tutelary deities there is listed “The Labarna’s bag filling ^dLAMMA.”³⁴

However, in some cases ^dLAMMA stands for a male god, as in the description of the image of ^dLAMMA of the Field that we adduced for the figure of the god on the stag on the Schimmel rhyton. There also occurs the phrase “my lord, ^dLAMMA of the *kursa*.”³⁵

There are other named deities who either have a *kursa* or are represented by one.³⁶ The most important among them is Zithariya. That his old *kursa* became a god was mentioned above (n. 26). The *kursa* is sometimes listed as one of the “holy places” in the temple at which offerings are made,³⁷ but sometimes the name Zithariya takes the place of *kursa*: “(offerings are

made) once to the altar, once to Zithariya, once inside the hearth, (etc.).”³⁸ Another text says that “in the palace the queen’s Zithariya is already hanging.”³⁹ This can only be the *kursa*. In the autumn festival it is Zithariya who is taken on a side trip, just as the *kursa* in the spring festival.⁴⁰ In a cult inventory we read that Tudhaliya (IV) rebuilt the ruined town of Halenzuwa: “Its gods they re-made thus: Zithariya [they made] as one ^{KUS}*kursa*, one gold sundisk they struck on it; a temp[le they built].”⁴¹

A certain class of attendants is called “dog men.” In a festival “the king and queen, standing, drink ‘Zithariya of the High Priestess’ indoors. But the king drinks (only) the aroma (lit.: in the aroma). (There is music of) the great lyre and singing; The dog-men bark.”⁴² The fact that Zithariya is sometimes represented by the hunting bag suggests that these men may have been those who were in charge of the hunting dogs. Their barking during the ceremony for Zithariya may be the ritual representation of what their dogs do when chasing animals. In the KILAM Festival the “high-ranking dog-man” (LÚ.UR.GI₇.DUGUD) is apparently in charge of the procession of the “animals of the gods,” figures of wild animals made of precious metals.⁴³

A text regulating the cult of the tutelary deity of the town of Karahna mentions among the festivals celebrated for this deity one called EZEN *hurnayayassar*, a name that may be derived from the verb *hurn(iya)*- “to hunt” and might mean “Festival of the Hunt.”⁴⁴ A related but different term is EZEN AYALI “Festival of the Stag.”⁴⁵

I do not want to imply that all Hittite gods written with the logogram ^dLAMMA are hunters. Only of those connected or identified with the *kursa* “hunting bag” can we say that they are. Whether the *kursa* might have been secondarily also connected with other ^dLAMMAS I cannot tell. Nor do I know whether Inar was a huntress comparable to Artemis.

27. For the det. DINGIR and combined D.KUŠ see MP1: 66 n. 10, 11. É ^d*kursas*, KBo 14.76 i 13, KUB 22.27 iv 3, 12, etc., Otten, *Festschr. Friedrich*, 356–59.

28. EZEN.AN.TAH.ŠUM.SAR, Güterbock, JNES 19 (1960): 85, 3rd to 6th days; MP1 69.

29. KBo 10.27 iii 8–18 (the NIN.DINGIR), v 27–35 (the king).

30. *kursas* ^dLAMMA-ri KUB 41.10 iv 15, MP1: 67. Inara is the daughter of the Stormgod, KUB 33.57 ii 10 (RHA 77: 151).

31. KBo 15.36 + KBo 21.61 iii 10 f.

32. KUB 33.59 iii 5–13, Laroche, RHA 77: 149 f., MP1: 70.

33. KUB 33.57 ii (RHA 77: 150 f.).

34. ^{KUS}*kuršan šuwanza Labarnaš* ^dLA[MMA-aš] KUB 2.1 ii 32 with dupl. KUB 44.16 v(!) 11.

35. KBo 20.107 ii 10, MP1: 67.

36. MP1: 67.

37. Examples listed in MP1: 68 n. 21.

38. KBo 4.13 iii 21, v 5, KUB 20.42 ii 9, MP1: 67, MP2: 111.

39. 315/t 12’–14’ (Alp, *Beitr. Tpl.*) [n. 2] 228–31; ^h*halentuwas-ma-kan anda ŠA SAL.LUGAL* ^dZithariyas karū *ganza*.

40. Cf. Güterbock, in G. Walser, ed., *Neuere Hethiterforschung* (1964), 68.

41. KUB 38.35 i 1–5, L. Jakob-Rost, MIO 9: 195 f.

42. KBo 4.13 vi 5–7, MP2: 112.— I wonder whether the “high priestess” here is not the queen; cf. “the queen’s Zithariya” above.

43. StBoT 28:52 f., text 1j vi 3–10 (animal procession, reward) and 34 f., text 1h ii 17–20 (no animals, no reward).

44. KUB 38.12 i 21; the double -ya- may be a scribal error (dittography).

45. KUB 13.4 i 39 (against HW² 48).

The importance of the hunt in the religious life of the Hittites is also evident in their art. In addition to the stag rhyton and the seals which were our starting point there is an old Hittite seal reconstructed from two partial impressions on a bulla found on Büyükkale at Boğazköy⁴⁶ (pl. 18b). It has an elaborate outer ring, unfortunately only preserved in two unconnected sections. It shows offerings to a seated deity holding a bird in one of them, an archer shooting at a deer and a lion in the opposite one. The kneeling archer recalls those on the hunting reliefs from Hüyük, which, as first proposed by the excavator, Th. Makridi, and confirmed by the present writer,⁴⁷ originally formed the upper course of the front wall of the left-hand tower of the Sphinx gate, above the well-known elaborate cult scene of the lower course (pl. 18c). Also comparable is the stamp-cylinder in the Louvre⁴⁸ (pl. 18d). While its upper register is taken by a mythological rather than a cult scene, the lower one shows a hunt: a flock of deer, the hunter with his charioteer on one chariot, and game drivers on other chariots. Adjacent to this scene there are four dead animals spread out in front of a god standing on a lion, the offering of the game.

The hunting scenes of Höyük bring us back to the silver rhyton. The rhyton helps to understand the unfinished part of one of the reliefs. Some years ago, looking at the originals in the Ankara museum, Robert

Alexander showed me that in the unfinished upper panel of the left-hand block⁴⁹ (pl. 19) the following elements can be made out: The tree on the left is fairly clear. At its foot there is a roughly triangular form at whose top two hooks are protruding, apparently meant as parts of antlers. Thus we have here the deer head under the tree like on the rhyton. Further to the right the contours of a man pouring a libation is fairly well recognizable: the liquid comes down just in front of the object standing between the man and the tree. This object is not clear since its lower part is unfinished and its upper part is flaked off. One would think of a divine figure (seated?), or an altar, or a pithos on a stand (cf. the Adana seal). Since the libation is poured out in front of it it must somehow represent the numen. Finally, at the right end of the panel, three unfinished shapes seem to be lying flat, shown one above the other. They recall the four dead animals on the Louvre stamp-cylinder, and indeed the lowest one has two curved horns protruding.

Thus, not only were the hunting reliefs arranged on top of a scene of worship, they actually included the offering of the game. Conversely, it is significant that the rhyton depicts a scene that has this parallel at Höyük.

46. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy* 2, Nr. 220, pl. VI.

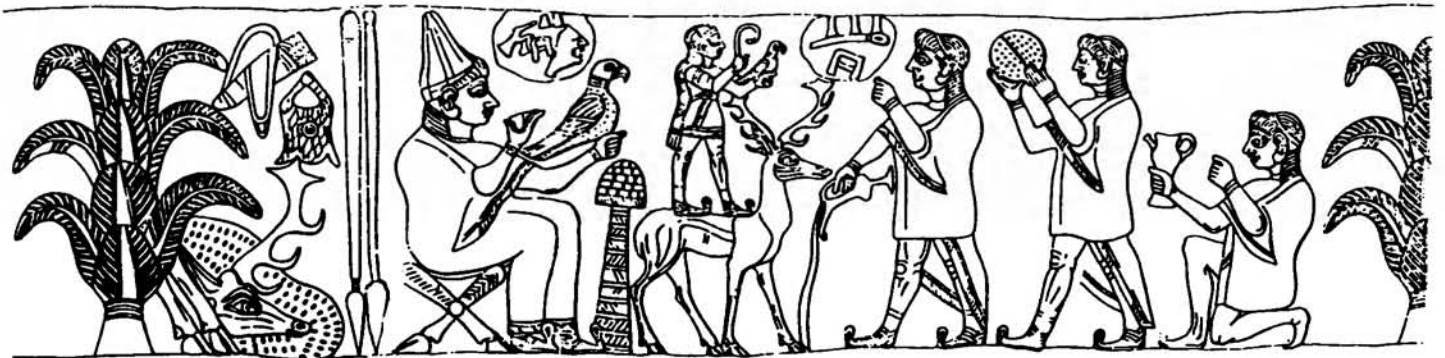
47. Güterbock in *Anatolian Studies* 6 (1956) 54–56; M. J. Mellink, "Observations on the Sculptures of Alaca Hüyük," in *Anadolu* 14 (1970 [1972]): 15–20.

48. AO 20138, A. Parrot, in *Syria* 28 (1951): 180–190; R. L. Alexander, in *Anatolica* 5 (1976): 154 f., pl. II fig. 3c; enlarged photograph in M. Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hithiter*, pl. 97.

49. Th. Macridy Bey, "La Porte des sphinx à Euyuk, MVAG 13, 3, (1908): 17 fig. 24; J. Garstang, *The Hittite Empire* (1929), pl. XXXI bottom; A. Moortgat, *Die Kunst des Alten Orients und die Bergvölker* (1932), pl. XXXVI; H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942) no. 522. In the recent books of E. Akurgal and K. Bittel the upper register is not shown due to its poor state of preservation.



a



b

Plate 16. Frieze on Stag Rhyton in the Norbert Schimmel Collection: (a) Photograph and (b) Drawing.



a



b



c



d



e

Plate 17. (a) Photograph of Impression of Stamp Seal, BM 115655, (b) Drawing of Impression of Stamp Seal, BM 115655, and (c-e) Photographs of Stamp Seal in Dresden, Albertinum, ZV 1769: Views of (c) Whole, (d) Base, and (e) Impression.



a



b



c



d

Plate 18. (a) Drawing of Impression of Stamp Seal in Adana. (b) Drawing of Seal Impression from Boğazköy. (c) Reconstructed front of the Sphinx Gate at Höyük. (d) Photograph of Impression of Stamp-Cylinder in the Louvre, AO 201 38.



Plate 19. Höyük: Photograph of Relief from Sphinx Gate.

IVORY IN HITTITE TEXTS*

It is with great pleasure that I accept the kind invitation of the Rector of Ankara University, Professor Dr. Tahsin Özgüç, to contribute to the Jubilee Volume commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Turkish Republic.

To be among the first group of Western scholars appointed to the newly founded Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi was a privilege and a great opportunity for me. It was the founder of modern Turkey, Kemal Atatürk, who created this Faculty and in it, as part of his program, a chair of Hittitology; and the enthusiasm which he instilled in his people and especially in its youth made the teaching of those ancient languages and civilizations an exciting experience. The following lines are meant as a token of my gratitude for those years. In selecting a subject I chose a theme which, while based on textual evidence, may be of some interest also to archaeologists, especially in view of the beautiful ivory works excavated in recent years by our Turkish colleagues.

The normal writing of the word for "ivory" is by ideogram: KA×UD. AM.SI or, with the Sumerian reading of KA×UD meaning "tooth," ZÚ.AM.SI "tooth of the elephant." Its Akkadian name is *šinni pīri* of the same literal meaning. This Akkadian term was borrowed into Hurrian, where the adjective *šiniperuḥḥi* "made of ivory" in the Mitanni letter was recognized by the first decipherers of that language.¹ In Hittite, however, the Akkadian term or its Hurrian form never occur in syllabic writing in the material available to date. If we may believe the Ras Shamra trilingual, there was a Hittite word *lahpa-* meaning "ivory."² Actually the

Akkadian column of this text and its Sumerian prototype have only "tooth," omitting AM.SI "elephant," but "tooth" as material can, in the Near East, be hardly anything but ivory. In fact the simple ZÚ "tooth" for "ivory" occurs not only in Babylonia but also in Boğazköy.³

The texts say almost nothing about the sources of ivory. In the so-called First Arzawa Letter, King Amenhotep III lists among his gifts (VBoT 1, 36 ff.):

3 G^{IS}GU.ZA G^{IS}ESI *šar-pa PA-NA[-AS-SU*
GUŠKI]N.GAR.RA 10 G^{IS}GU.ZA ŠA G^{IS}ESI
IŠ-TU ZÚ.AM[.SI] U-UḪ-ḪU-UZ

"Three chairs of ebony, upholstered (?), [their] fro[nt] go[ld]-covered; ten chairs of ebony, incrustated with ivory."

Although the provenience of objects is often registered in the inventory texts, no such indication is so far preserved for ivory. The fact that KUB XLII 11 obverse mentions Mišri several times as the origin of other items (i 7; 12 f.; ii 8; 17; 20), while suggestive for the 8 ZÚ.AM.SI of ii 6, is no proof. But the fact that the counted objects here (as also in KUB XL 95 ii 11) are simply "elephant teeth," i. e., tusks, is in favor of the assumption that they, too, came from Egypt, i. e., ultimately from Africa. While thus the Arzawa letter and probably also KUB XLII 11 point to Africa as source of supply, no certain mention is found in the Boğazköy texts, so far at least, of Syrian ivory, except possibly KUB XLII 34, 17, where we read: [...x^{URU}Ḫal-pa G^{IS}ESI ZÚ SI IŠ-T[U ...] "(an object from) Ḫalpa, of ebony, inlaid with ivory, fro[m ...]"; here the city indicates the origin of the object but not necessarily also that of the ivory used for its decoration.

However, the texts distinguish two colors of ivory: "white" and "red." Objects made of ZÚ.AM.SI BABBAR and ZÚ.AM.SI SA₃ are listed in KUB XLII

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1. Literature quoted by J. Friedrich, *Heth. Wörterb.*, S. 324 s.v.
2. RS 25.421 obv. 28 (Ugaritica V, text No. 169, pp. 313, 315, 444, 773-777): *ma-ku-ut* KA×UD = *la-aḫ-pa-aš(-ma-aš) ku-ra-ak-ki-iš* "a pillar(?) of ivory." Laroche, 777, connects the word with Greek *eléphas, éléphantos* "ivory." From Hittite texts he quotes KUB XXXVI 25 i 4 (RHA 82, 73 = *Textes mythologiques*, p. 187) where the word, with marker, can hardly mean "ivory." For the doubtful *la-aḫ-*

malba?-an-du-uš KUB II 13 ii 35 quoted by him in n. 4 cf. *la-aḫ-malba?-aš* KBo XVII 43 rev. 5.

3. KUB XLII 12, 5; 7. *Ibid.* Nr. 34 (passim) and Nr. 46, 5 f. write ZÚ SI, which cannot be repeated omission of AM but must be simple ZÚ followed by SI "filled, inlaid"; cf. SBo I, p. 40 n. 160a.

32 and 75 (both texts in detail below). Whether this refers to natural coloring or to artificial dye or paint I do not know.⁴

Turning to the use of ivory, here are some of the objects said to be made of it:

1. Combs:

1 [G^{IS}]GA.ZUM ZÚ.AM.SI, KBo XVIII 181 rev. 29;
6 TA-PAL GA.ZUM Z[Ú.AM.SI] “six sets,” KUB
XLII 33, 8;

1 GA.ZUM ZÚ, KUB XLII 12, 7;

1-NU-TIM G^{IS}GA.ZUM m^{AN} ŠA G^{IS}TÚG m^{AN} ŠA
ZÚ.AM.SI “one set of combs, either of boxwood or
of ivory,” KUB XXIX 4 i 26.

2. Combs for wool:

[x] GA.ZUM.SÍG ZÚ.AM.SI BABBAR, KUB XLII
75 obv. 1 (see below);

4 GA.ZUM.SÍG ŠÀ 2 ZÚ.AM.SI 2 G^{IS}TÚG “two of
ivory, two of boxwood,”

ibid. rev. 6;

1 GA.ZUM.SÍG ZÚ.AM.SI BA[BBAR], KUB XLII
32, 1.

Cf. also: 15 G^{IS}GA.ZUM ZÚ SI SÍG “fifteen combs
inlaid with ivory, (for) wool” KUB XLII 34, 7.

3. Hair clasps or pins:⁵

[x] GI-RI-ZU ZÚ.AM.SI [...], KUB XLII 75 rev. 2.

4. A different tool of toiletry (spatula?):

1-NUTIM G^{IS}manapnalla m^{AN} ŠA G^{IS}TÚG m^{AN} ŠA
ZÚ.AM.SI “one set of *m.*, either of boxwood or of
ivory” KUB XXIX 4 i 27.

5. Images or figurines:

1-EN Á^{MUSEN}ZÚ.AM.SI 2 AŠ-RA
GUŠKIN.GAR.RA “one eagle of ivory, in two
places covered with gold” KUB XII 1 iv 6;
UMMA Ḫ[é-pa-SUM 1 U]R.MAḪ ZÚ.AM.SI-wa
[iyanzi] “Thus said Ḫepapiya: ‘They shall make

one lion of ivory’ ...” KUB XV 5 iii 48 (vow,
prompted by a dream⁶).

Ivory was also used as inlay:

GÜB-la-za ŠU-za A-RI-TUM K[Ù.BABBAR]
Á^{MUSEN}ZÚ.AM.SI SI UR.MAḪ ZÚ.AM.SI SI ḫar[-zi] (a
divine figure) “holds in his left hand a shield of silver,
an eagle inlaid with ivory, and a lion inlaid with ivory”
KUB XXXVIII 3 ii 12 f.⁷

KUB XLII 34 gives a list of objects that are ZÚ SI,
literally “filled with tooth,” i.e., inlaid with ivory.
Among them are seventeen images (ALAM, line 8),
the wool combs mentioned above (7), objects of un-
known meaning (1-EN kupaš, 5; 1-NU ḫarnašalla, 6,
probably a container, see below); the name of the ob-
ject is lost in lines 15 and 17; one of these is from Ḫalpa
(as mentioned above), made of ebony and inlaid with
ivory.

6. Musical instruments:

1-NUTIM G^{IS}ḫuhupal m^{AN} ŠA G^{IS}TÚG m^{AN} ŠA
ZÚ.AM.SI “one set of *ḫ.*-drums, either of boxwood
or of ivory” KUB XXIX 4 i 24 f.

7. Furniture:

1-EN G^{IS}ŠÚ.A ZÚ.AM.SI “one chair of ivory” KUB
XLII 81, 3;

1 G^{IS}BANŠUR ZÚ.AM.SI [...] “one table of ivory”
or, if there was

[SI] in the break, “[inlaid with] ivory” Bo 840 obv. 7;

1 G^{IS}NÁ ZÚ.AM.SI 4 GÌR UR.MAḪ
GUŠKIN.GAR.RA “one bed of

ivory, (its) four lion feet covered with gold” KBo
XVIII 175 v 13 f.

4 G^{IS}BANŠUR 9 GÌR ZÚ.A[M.SI ...] 9 GÌR G^{IS}ESI 4
½ Ú 2 ŠU.SI

GÍD.DA “four tables, nine (of their) feet (made
of) iv[ory ...], nine (of their) feet (made of) ebony, four
and one-half cubits two inches long” KUB XLII 37, 8 f.
(did two of the four tables have five legs each, or how
else does one account for two times nine feet? Or is “9”
scribal error for “8”?).⁸

4. KUB XLII 12, 5: [.....]x 3 ZÚ BABBAR could mean
“three white teeth,” in which case the color would be that
of the tusks, but the break also allows for a restoration like
“ [x objects of such and such material and] three of white
ivory.”

5. CAD, s.v. *kirissu*. A. Goetze, JCS X 37: “pin” or “needle,”
quoted in HW, 1. Erg., p. 31. AHw gives “Schminks-
pachtel.”

6. Cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (Trans-
actions of the Amer. Philos. Soc., N.S. 46, 1956) p. 193.

7. Or “a silver shield inlaid with an ivory eagle and inlaid
with an ivory lion,” as L. Rost interprets this passage, MIO
VIII (1961) 184. One might then even take the “eagle” and
“lion” as collective singulars for the plural. But one won-
ders why, if this were meant, SI appears twice.

8. More furniture feet are mentioned in lines 4 and 6 and in
KBo XVIII 186 l.e. 7.

Here also belongs the ebony chair with ivory inlay mentioned above from among the gifts to the king of Arzawa.

8. Other:

[.. KA]P-PU ZÚ.AM.S[...],⁹ KBo XVIII 152, 2.

Various objects made of, or covered with, gold may have “heads” (tips, ends) of ivory: ŠÀ.BA 7 SAG-ZU ZÚ.AM.SI “among them seven whose heads are ivory” KUB XII 1 iv 29.

The inventory KUB XLII 32 contains items which can be translated literally but whose real nature eludes us: GAM *tiyannaš* “(something) of putting down” and *piran petummaš* “(something) of carrying in front.” Whether these gerunds are used to specify the use of objects mentioned earlier or whether they themselves are the full names of objects is not clear because of the lacunae in the text. It reads (col. i):

- 1' [.....] SA₅ 1 GA.ZUM.SÍG ZÚ.AM.SI
BA[BBAR]
 - 2' [.....ZÚ].AM.SI BABBAR
 - 3' [.....S]A₅ 3 GAM *ti-an-na-aš* ZÚ.AM.SI
BABBAR
 - 4' [...GAM *ti-an-na*]-aš^{NA₄}ZA.GÌN
 - 5' [...GAM *ti-an-n*]-a-aš ZÚ.AM.SI SA₅
 - 6' [...GAM *ti-an-n*]-a-aš ZÚ.AM.SI *pa-ra-aš-šu-an-za*
 - 7' [...*pi-ra-an p*]-é-e-tum-ma-aš ZÚ.AM.SI SA₅
 - 8' [.....]x ZÚ.AM.SI BABBAR
 - 9' [.....]x ZÚ.AM.SI^{GIŠ}ESI *ti-an-ta*
 - 10' [.....]x x-tuḫ-ḫa-an ZABAR
- 1' [.....of] red [ivory], one wool comb of white ivory;
 - 2' [.....] of white ivory;
 - 3' [..... of] red [ivory], three ‘of putting down,’ of white ivory;
 - 4' [... ‘of putt]ing [down’], of lapislazuli;
 - 5' [... ‘of putt]ing [down’], of red ivory;
 - 6' [... ‘of putt]ing [down’], of ivory,.....-ed;
 - 7' [...] ‘of carrying [in front’], of red ivory;
 - 8' [.....] of white ivory;
 - 9' [.....] of ivory set (in) ebony;
 - 10' [.....] ... of bronze.

9. [KA]P-PU restored after line 6. For this word see CAD, *kappu* B “bowl (usually of metal)” and AHw *kappu(m)* II “Hand(fläche),” mng. 5) “handförmige Schale” [where *kappani* should be deleted, being the Hitt. word for cumin!]. In lines 3–5 and 7 the names of objects made of ivory are lost.

A similar list is in KUB XLII 75 obverse:

- 1 [x] GA.ZUM.SÍG ZÚ.AM.SI BABBAR 1
GAD.KA × SA LUGAL EZ [EN?]
 - 2 [1] GAD.DAM SA₅ 6 NUNUZ-*kán an-da*
 - 3 1 *pi-ra-an pé-e-du-ma-aš eḫ-li-pa-ak-ki-ya-aš*
 - 4 1 *pi-ra-an pé-e-du-ma-aš* ZÚ.AM.SI SA₅
 - 5 1 GAM-*an ti-ya-wa-aš*^{NA₄}AŠ.NU₁₁.GAL
 - 6 2-*e-ma* GAM-*an ti-ya-wa-aš eḫ-li-pa-ki-ya-aš*
 - 7 ŠÀ^{GIŠ}*har-na-ša-al-la-aš* ZÚ.AM.SI
^{GIŠ}ESI.GAR.RA GAR-*ri*
- 1 [x] wool comb(s) of white ivory; one lip-cloth of the king (for a) fes [tival] (?);
 - 2 [one] red legging, thereon six ‘eggs’ (beads),
 - 3 one ‘of carrying in front,’ of *eḫlipaki*-stone,
 - 4 one ‘of carrying in front,’ of red ivory,
 - 5 one ‘of putting down,’ of alabaster,
 - 6 but two ‘of putting down’ of *eḫlipaki*-stone;
 - 7 they are lying inside *ḫarnašalla*-containers of ivory encrusted with ebony.

Here the five(!) items of lines 3–6 could describe the six(!) beads of line 2 (despite the faulty arithmetic), but still I am unable to imagine what could be meant by such descriptions.¹⁰

That *ḫarnašalla*- is a container follows from line 7. A container made of ivory is likely to be a small box or pyxis. But *ḫ.* is not the only one. Another container is written with an ideogram that looks like ^{GIŠ}UM.MIŠ.¹¹ As a container it occurs in KUB XLII 10 rev. 9 (last line of main text): ŠÀ^{GIŠ}UM.MIŠ’ GAL ŠU [...] “inside a large U., hand [of PN].” It also occurs on the reverse of

10. Other examples of these terms: 7 GAM-*an ti-ya-u-wa-aš* KUB XII 1 iv 8; 166 GAM-*an ti-i-...* KUB XLII 33, 11 at the beginning of a paragraph; 1 *kat-ta-an ti-ya-an-na-aš 1 pi-ra-an pé-e-d[u- ...]* KUB XXIX 4 i 40 restored by 5 i 24; the second term appears as 1-EN *pi-ra-an pé-e-du-na-aš* (sic! with *na!*) ŠA NA₄ in 4 i 18; 7 *pi-ra-an pé[- ...]* KUB XLII 37, 13. According to XLII 33 and XXIX 4 these terms are themselves names of objects rather than descriptive gerunds. A coaster (Untersatz) and small tray (Präsentier-teller), respectively?

11. In IBoT I 31 obv. 19 the second sign resembles a DU (GUB), hence A. Goetze’s rendering ^{GIŠ}GUB.ALAL, JCS X (1956) 34. The same form occurs KBo XVIII 176 v 3, but neither of these is a real DU, and all other examples can only be UM or DUB, especially the form with internal small verticals, KUB XLII 84, 15. The third sign has in all examples the form Forrer 184, *miš* (which rarely stands for PISÀN, ALAL), never the fuller forms of PISÀN, Forrer 218. ‘UM.MIŠ’ is an arbitrary rendering; ‘DUB.MIŠ’ would also be possible.

KUB XLII 75, from which we quoted line 2 for *kirissu* and line 6 for wool combs. The text reads:

1' [Š]À^{GIS}UM.MIŠ' [...

2' [x] GI-RI-ZU ZÚ.AM.SI x [...

3' [x]^{GIS}UM.MIŠ' ZÚ.AM.SI BABBAR x [...

4' 6^{GIS}pal-šu-u-wa-an-za ŠÀ I^{GIS}UM.MIŠ' [...

5' wa-al-la-ya-aš ki-it-ta-ri

6' 4 GA.ZUM.SÍG ŠÀ 2 ZÚ.AM.SI 2^{GIS}TÚG

7' ŠÀ^{GIS}GAN-ĦA-AN KÙ.BABBAR

8' ŠU.NIGÍN 7^{GIS}UM.MIŠ' ZÚ.AM<SI>

9' QA-DU^{GIS}ESI TUR GUŠKIN MAŠ-LU

(end of tablet)

This shows that the 'U.' can be of ivory (lines 3 and 8), beside being of silver (IBoT I 31 obv. 19). Since KUB XLII 10 rev. 9 has shown it to be a container, one may in line 4 f. of our text combine ŠÀ I^{GIS}'U.'...

kittari "lies in one 'U.'" (despite the different use of ŠÀ with numeral in line 6). Cf. KUB XLII 84, 15:

I^{GIS}'UM.MIŠ' ŠÀ-ŠU x [...] "one 'U.', in it (there is) [...]."

The word read *GANĦAN(NU)* (line 7) looks Akkadian and might be the same as *gangannu* "potstand" (CAD; AHw: *kankannu*). It can itself be of ivory: I *GAN-ĦA-AN-NU* ZÚ.AM.SI KBo XVIII 176 i 8; other occurrences: *ibidem* v 5; KUB XLII 84, 9.

KUB XLII 70 lists the following:

1 I-NU tar-ša-at-te-na ZÚ.AM.SI [...

2 19 SIG₄ TUR ZÚ.AM.SI [...

3 [x x] x-za-al-lu ZÚ.AM.SI [...

Here only line 2, "nineteen small bricks of ivory," can be translated, the other two terms being unknown. But what are small bricks or brick-shaped objects of ivory used for? Are they votive models of bricks? Or gaming stones?¹²

In summary we find that the texts attest about all the uses of ivory one expects by analogy of other times and areas, but of which not all are archaeologically attested for the Hittite empire. Furthermore the texts add the distinction between "white" and "red" ivory.

12. Is [... Š]A AM.SI ZÚ KUB XXXIX 23, 5 (HTR 94) Hittite word order, "of the elephant the tooth"? Unclear KUB XLII 61 obv. 13: SAL-u-wa-aš(?) ZÚ.AM.SI. Broken context: KBo XVIII 180 rev. 4; KUB XLII 37, 12 ff.

OIL PLANTS IN HITTITE ANATOLIA*

In the rites aimed at bringing back the vanished god several kinds of fruit are used for "Analogiezauber." Beside such examples as the fig, which holds "a thousand seeds," or the raisin, which has wine in its interior,¹ the olive is mentioned as holding oil. It is, however, not the only such fruit: there is ^{GIŠ}ša(m)ma(m)ma, which is also said to hold oil, and ^{GIŠ}liti-lleti-, which seems to be of a similar nature. Since all three occur side by side in the same texts, neither šamama nor liti- can be the Hittite reading of the Akkadogram ^{GIŠ}ZÉ-ER-DU,² "olive." The problem, thus, is to determine the meaning of the two Hittite words.

For ^{GIŠ}šamama the translation "sesame" has been proposed and entered in the dictionary.³ The present writer has for a long time held a different opinion which he will set forth in the following pages. The scholar to whose memory this issue is dedicated was always interested in problems of material culture, especially such that were connected with the spread of a term. In addition, another contribution to this issue is dealing with the problem of the very existence of sesame in the ancient Near East, so that it may not be out of place here to bring the Hittite evidence into the debate. While the decision as to whether šamaššammu is sesame or not must be left to others, I shall here use the traditional translation "sesame" for the sake of convenience.

The ideogram of Akkadian šamaššammu, ŠE.GIŠ.Ì, occurs in Hittite texts.⁴ It clearly refers to the seed: it is strewn on bread (KBo VIII 91 rev. 3 f.), or the word is used to designate a special kind of bread: NINDA.ŠE.GIŠ.Ì "sesame bread," NINDA.LÀL ŠE.GIŠ.Ì "honey bread with sesame."⁵

Much more frequent is the term for the oil, Ì.GIŠ.⁶ Again we may leave aside the question of whether this is sesame oil or some other kind as well as the problem of the Akkadian reading, *ellu* or *šamnu* (see the discussion in the dictionaries just quoted). We may safely do so since there is nothing in the Hittite texts which would link Ì.GIŠ with the word primarily to be discussed here, ^{GIŠ}šamama.

A typical passage from the invocation rituals is KUB XVII 13 col. ii:⁷

- (1-4) Behold, [olives are lying here.] Just as [the olive] holds oil in its 'heart,' thus [hold thou, o Mother-goddess,] the king, queen, princes and the land of Hatti in friendliness in thy heart and soul!
- (5-8) Behold, raisins are lying here. Just as the [raisin] holds wine in its 'heart,' thus hold thou, (etc.).
- (9-12) Behold, ^{GIŠ}šamama are lying here. Just as the ^{GIŠ}[š.] holds oil in its 'heart,' thus hold thou, (etc.).
- (13 f.) [Beho]ld, le[tiš is lying here. Just as the letiš ...] evil [... (continuation broken).

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1. Thus, ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN.È.A (= UD.DU.A), e.g. KUB XXXIII 68 ii 13 (*RHA* 77, 128); 74 i 5 (*ibid.* 164, line 14); XVII 12 iii 10 f.; 13 ii 5 f. (*ibid.* 144, partly restored). One would expect fresh grapes rather than dried ones! In KUB XVII 10 ii 19 the word is lost, restoration without È.A (*RHA* 77, 93) is possible but not certain.
2. Akkadian *sirdu*, but in Boğazköy always written with *zé* (KUB XXXVII 2 with *si* in obv. 18 is Babylonian import according to Köcher's note in the introduction).
3. First used by Goetze in *ANET*, p. 127, translating KUB XVII 10 ii 15; advocated by H. Otten, *Hethitische Totenrituale* (1958) (abbr. *HTR*), p. 134; accepted by J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch (HW)* 2. Ergänzungsheft, pp. 22 and 31.

4. References given by E. Laroche, *RHA* XIX/68 (1961) 45.
5. KBo VIII 89 obv. 12; Bo 2040 rev. 16 in *HTR* 134.
6. Friedrich, *HW* 277 without reference; Deimel, *ŠL* 231, 157 without ref. to Boğazköy; see *CAD* s.v. *ellu* B, *AHW* s.v. *ellu(m)* II. A few random references to Boğazköy texts follow: KUB IX 6 i 6-11 (Otten, *LTU* p. 37); XII 15 vi 10, 18 (cf. KUB XI 31 i 21, which writes simple Ì in analogous context); XXV 42 iii 11; KBo XV 47 rev. 7 with dupl. 48 iv 6; 52 vi 33.
7. Transliterated by E. Laroche in *RHA* XXIII/77 (1965) 143 f. For all texts transliterated there we simply refer to *RHA* 77.

These stereotype passages from invocations may be tabulated as follows:

	KUB XVII 13 ii
	<i>RHA</i> 77, 143 f. (above)
[olive]	— oil
raisin	— wine
<i>šamama</i>	— oil
<i>le[tiš]</i>	— [...]

	KUB XXXIII 74+..., i
	<i>RHA</i> 77, 164 f.
fig	— 1000 seeds
raisin	— wine
olive	— oil
<i>letiš</i>	— to <i>lilarešk</i> - heart and soul
<i>šammamma</i>	— [....]

	HT 100+ ...
	<i>RHA</i> 77, 163
fig	— sweet
<i>liti</i>	— to <i>lilarešk</i>
raisin	— wine
olive	— oil

	KUB XVII 12 iii 8 ff.
	<i>Oriens</i> XV 350
fig	— 1000 seeds
raisin	— wine

	KUB XXXIII 75 ii 16 ff.
	<i>RHA</i> 77, 146
fig	— 1000 seeds
olive	— [oil]

	KUB XXXIII 68 ii 6–16
	<i>RHA</i> 77, 128
fig	— 1000 seeds
<i>šamama</i>	— (different, see below)
raisin	— wine
olive	— oil

In some texts there is more variety in the wording of these spells. In the Telipinu text, first version (KUB XVII 10 ii 15 ff., *RHA* 77, 92 f.), this particular group

reads as follows (the preceding and following spells are not relevant here):

- (15) *kaša* ^{GIŠ}*šamama kitta* [...
 (16) *šakuwan eštu*. There follow:
 the fig — being sweet
 the olive — holding oil
 the [raisin]⁸ — holding wine; then:
 (22) *kaša* ^{GIŠ}*liti kitta nu ŠA* ⁴*Telipinu* [...]
 (23) *iškiddu*.

Here again, *šamama*, olive, and *liti* occur side by side; but whereas the passage about the olive has the well-known form, we are told that something should be *šakuwan* [like]⁹ *šamama*. Unfortunately the adjective/participle *šakuwant-* is still far from clear,¹⁰ so we cannot — at least not yet — use it to determine the character of *šamama*.

For *liti* we learn from this passage that it has something to do with anointing (*iškiddu* “let it anoint”); and since it has here (as also outside the texts so far listed) the determinative GIŠ, we may safely consider it as falling into the same class as ^{GIŠ}MA “fig,” ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN “grape, raisin,” ^{GIŠ}SERDU “olive,” and ^{GIŠ}šamama, in other words, take it as the name of a tree and its fruit.¹¹ It is for this reason that we listed *liti-* as an oil-bearing fruit in our introduction. Unfortunately the verb *lilarešk-*¹² is unknown. While a general or derived meaning like “to appease, propitiate” may be guessed at, it is hard to determine the concrete meaning of the verb said of the fruit *liti-*, except that the verb *išk-* “to anoint,” used in connection with the same fruit in the Telipinu spell, may perhaps indicate in what direction one might look.¹³

8. For the restoration, raisin or grape, see above, n. 1.

9. For this restoration see below, n. 13.

10. Cf. *HW* 178. The passage closest to ours is *RHA* 77, 161 B ii 5, where the god is invited to “eat the smooth, hot, *šakuwant*-[...]”—the name of the food being lost! Should this *šakuwant-* turn out to be the same as the participle “seen, visible” one might think of “conspicuous, beautiful, pleasing” or the like.

11. It is hard to understand why W. von Soden listed this word from this text in *AHW* under *litu(m)* III “stool” — albeit with the question “dazu?” Equally unjustified is Otten’s transliteration as Akkadogram, *HTR* 134. That it is a Hittite *-i* stem is shown by the occurrence of the nominative form in *-iš*, KUB XXXIII 74 i 8 (*RHA* 77, 165, 17), common gender, as against endless neuter in *-i* in the other texts. See already Laroche, *RA* 52 (1958) 188 (*HW*, 2. Erg. 17).

12. Ingeniously reconstructed from broken texts by Laroche, *RHA* 77, at the passages quoted and p. 144 (note 13 below). Is this, despite the *-r-*, to be connected with the verb *lila(i)-*, *HW* 2. Erg. 17?

13. Another broken text, KUB XXXIII 38 col. i (*RHA* 77, 144), seems to have a comparable combination of

Turning to other ritual texts, we find *šamama* included in various lists of ingredients. These are as follows:

1. KUB XII 26 iii 11–14

BAPPIR	‘beer bread’
BULÛG	malt
GA.KIN.AG	cheese
UZU.Ì	suet
GIŠZÉ-ER-TUM	olive
GIŠMA	fig
GIŠGEŠTIN.È.A	raisin
GIŠ <i>ha-aš-ši-ik-kán</i>	...
GIŠ <i>ša-am-ma-ma</i>	...

2. KUB XXIX 1 iv 4 ff.

Ì.ŠAḪ	lard
LÀL	honey
GA.KIN.AG	cheese
EM-ŞÚ	rennet(?)
(SÍG BABBAR	white wool)
(SÍG MI	black wool)
BAPPIR	‘beer bread’
BULÛG	malt
GIŠ <i>ša-ma-ma</i>	...
GIŠGEŠTIN.È.A	raisin
GIŠ <i>le-e-ti</i>	...
GIŠ <i>šu-wa-i-tar</i>	...
(KUŠ.GUD	cowhide)
MUN	salt

Otten, *HTR* p. 134, quotes the following from unpublished ritual texts:

3. 634/b, 6 f.

(measured by *se’ a*)

GIŠMA	fig
[...]	
GIŠ <i>ša-am-ma-ma</i>	...

spells: *lilareš[kiddu]* calls for the restoration of *liti*, and *šakuwan* recalls *šamama* in the Telipinu text just discussed. What follows (in lines 6–8) shows that that text should indeed be restored in the form of a comparison (n. 9 above).

4. 139/d i 8 ff.

(measured by handful)

[...]	
GIŠGEŠTIN.È.A	raisin
GIŠZERTUM	olive
GIŠNU[RMU]	pomegranate
[...]	
GIŠ <i>ša-am-ma-ma</i>	...
GIŠ <i>le-e-ti</i>	...

5. 110/e obv. 5

[...]	
[GIŠGEŠ]TIN.È.A	raisin
GIŠZERTUM	olive
GIŠ <i>ša-ma-ma</i>	...
GIŠ <i>ha-ši-ig-ga</i>	...

6. KUB XII 64, 1–4

[...]	
GIŠ <i>ha-aš-ši-i[g-ga]</i>	...
GIŠ <i>ša-ma-ma</i>	...
NINDA EM-ŞÚ	sour bread
BULÛG BAPPIR	malt and ‘beer bread’

In the ritual for the dead, *šamama* occurs in lists introduced by the heading “all fruit” in the sense of “fruit of all kinds.” These are:

7. KUB XXXIX 7 ii 16 f., repeated *ibid.* 63 f. (*HTR* pp. 36, 40)

GIŠIN-BI ^{BLA} (<i>humanda</i>)	(all) fruit
GIŠMA	fig
GIŠGEŠTIN.È.A	raisin
GIŠZÉ-ER-TUM	olive
GIŠ <i>ša-ma-am-ma-an-za</i>	š.s (Luwian plural)
(var.: No. 8: GIŠ <i>ša-am-ma</i> [-...]; ii 64: GIŠ <i>ša-ma-ma</i>)	
GIŠḪAŞḪUR	apple
GIŠḪAŞḪUR.KUR.RA	‘mountain apple’ (= ?)

8. KUB XXXIX 21 i 10 f. (*HTR* p. 88)

IN-BI ^{BLA} <i>human</i>	all fruit
GIŠ[...]	...
...	
GIŠḪAŞḪUR.KUR.RA	‘mountain apple’
GIŠ <i>ša-am-ma-m[a]</i>	...

9. There is another list which requires some comment. In KBo X 34 col. i, ^{GIŠ}*šamama* occurs in lines 18 and 24, but the seeming third occurrence in line 14 is a copying mistake of mine which should be corrected. The tablet has *ša-ma-iz-na-aš*, as clearly visible on the photograph.¹⁴ The passage, lines 11–25, is divided by horizontal rules into four lists.

The *first* of these deals with different kinds of bread, the last of which is honey bread. The phrase which follows, *kuišša para* (or *kuitta para*, depending on the gender), literally “each one out,” is often used in such listings in the sense of “und zwar, namely, including the following items,” or the like. It is here followed by a list of words in the genitive indicating the materials from which the breads are made; whether this refers to several of the bread names which precede it or only to the last, NINDA.LAL, remains open. The materials enumerated are:

ZÍZ “wheat,”¹⁵ *haršanila-*, *euwan-*, *parḫuena-*, GÚ.TUR “peas,” GÚ.GAL.GAL “chickpeas (? or: beans?),” *ša-ma-iz-na-*, ^{GIŠ}*ha-aš-ši-ig-ga-*, and *ša-ap-ša-ma-*.

The *second* section (15–18) lists “all fresh (and) dried fruit” ^{GIŠ}*IN-BU ḫuman RA-AṬ-BU ŠA-BU-Ú-LU* “namely, of each a little: fig, raisin, olive, *paizzinna-*, *warawara-*, apple, ‘mountain apple,’ ^{GIŠ}*zu-u-pa*,¹⁶ ^{GIŠ}*dammašḫuel*, pomegranate, grape (here without È.A!), ^{GIŠ}*ša-ma-ma*.”

In the *third* listing, the decisive first word (line 19) is not clear; does it begin with [DU]G? Does it refer to juice? At the end of the paragraph we read *memal ŠA* ^{GIŠ}*IN-BI* “meal of fruit;” is this an item by itself or a description of what precedes? The list itself, again in the genitive, is: “of apples, of figs, of raisins, of pomegranates, of [^{GIŠ}]ḫatalkešna-, of *euwan-*.”

The *fourth* is a list of “roasted” items ([š]anḫunta). They are: [*harš*]aniliš, *euwan*, *parḫuenaš*, GÚ.GAL.GAL, [GÚ.TUR], ^{GIŠ}*ša-ma-ma duwarnanda* “broken

š.s,” ^{GIŠ}.KÍN.ḪI.A *duwarnanda* “broken k.s.”¹⁷ After a short break there follows “[... š]ammaizziliš (see n. 14 above), filled.”

From these lists we learn the following about *šamama*:

a) It is consistently written with ^{GIŠ}, the determinative commonly used for trees and fruit of trees.

b) While in the first few lists it is associated with other ingredients as well as with fruit, it is expressly subsumed under the heading *INBU* in lists Nr. 7 and 8. In list 9 it appears among “fresh and dried fruit” and again under the heading “roasted ones,” but is not found among the ingredients used for breads.

c) The last section of list 9 speaks of “broken” š. This brings us to another passage which requires some discussion. In KUB XXXIII 68 ii 7 ff. (*RHA* 77, 128) we read:

- (7) *nu* ^{GIŠ}MA *mahḫan andurza LIM NUMUN-an ḫarzi*
 (8) *ziga ŠĀ-it aššu ud-da-a-na-za ḫark* ^{GIŠ}*ša-ma-ma*
 (9) *mahḫan duwarnizzi nu pâr-aš-te-ḫu-uš*
 (10) *peššiezzi kardiya-tta-ma-at-kan šara danzi* |
 (11) *ziga* ^U*idalu ud-da-a-ar arḫa peššiya*
 (12) *nu-za aššu ud-da-a-ar da-a* |

Despite the difficulties of this text we may venture the following translation:

Just as the fig has a thousand seeds inside,
 (thus) hold thou (o god) good words (?)¹⁸ in thy heart!
 Just as he¹⁹ breaks the *šamama* and throws away the *p.s*
 (= shells?),

written with SAR, attested only once in a late text and suspect of being a loan from Aramaic (see *CAD* for this information), it cannot be meant here. We therefore take ^{GIŠ}*zupa* as Hittite name, in the neuter plural form, of a fruit.

14. Against an “emendation” of *iz* into *ma* (i.e., assuming a “mistake” of the scribe which my miscopy would have “corrected”) is the occurrence of [... š]a-am-ma-iz-zi-li-iš in line 25, where *iz* before *zi* is in order. I am unable to offer an interpretation for either of these groups of signs. An “emendation” of *am-ma* to *ne* is, again, contradicted by the simple *ma* of line 14. Besides, **šamamanaš* would be the only example for the omission of ^{GIŠ} and for an *-n* stem!

15. I cannot go into details here; but since ZÍZ is the most common bread cereal of the Hittites, and since the texts never have GIG for “wheat,” whereas real wheat is archaeologically attested even for pre-Hittite times in central Anatolia, I think that ZÍZ, in Hittite texts, cannot be limited to the meaning “emmer wheat.”

16. Since Akkadian *zūpu* “origanum” (or “hyssop,” *HW* 2. Erg. p. 34 without reference) is not a fruit but an herb,

17. ^{GIŠ}.ḪAR” must here be the name of a fruit (or tree). For ^{GIŠ}.KÍN = *kiškanû* see *AHW* s. v.; another occurrence seems to be KUB XXXIII 68 ii 18 (*RHA* 77, 128 f.) with (Hittite?) complement -ri: “Whoever speaks evil to the dear Stormgod about the king and queen, *nan* ^{GIŠ}.KÍN-ri *du-ud-du-uš-x*[... -d]u? (I cannot restore or translate this); whoever speaks a harsh word to you, o [Storm-]god, give <him> a [.....] ‘mountain apple’; whoever [....] a sour [....] to the Stormgod, give him a sour apple, o Stormgod!” Here the mention of two other kinds of fruit in the next clauses makes *kiškanû* more likely than ^{GIŠ}.ḪUR = *uṣurtu*.

18. Assuming a mistake for *ud-da-a-ar*, as lines 11 and 12 actually write. An ablative here seems out of place.

19. Who is meant? The officiating priest? Or the patron of the ritual? For the general subject Hittite normally uses the 3d pers. plur., as found here in line 10. To take

and they lift it up to thy heart,
(thus) throw thou, o Stormgod, away the evil words
and take the good words!

(The next sections use the well-known similes of the raisin holding wine and the olive holding oil, as tabulated above; there follows the section with GIŠ.KÍN discussed in n. 17 above.)

It was this passage in conjunction with the observations mentioned before which made me think of some kind of nut: *šamama* is the fruit of a tree, it contains oil, and something is thrown away²⁰ when it is broken. This leaves open the question of which kind of nut or nut-like fruit *šamama* may be: walnut, hazelnut, pistachio, almond; all grow in Asia Minor.

In view of the difficulties encountered in the interpretation of this passage (XXXIII 68 ii 7 ff.) it is better not to put too much emphasis on what may be the cracking of shells! There is, however, another observation to which the lists give rise:

d) The sequence of fruits and other ingredients is by no means fixed, a fact which makes all conclusions based on sequence alone rather hazardous. Now Otten's main argument was the "Nebeneinander beider Begriffe" (HTR p. 134), viz., the combination of *haššikka* — *šamama* (XII 26, our No. 1; add Nr. 6) or *šamama* — *haššikka* (110/e, No. 5) on the one hand, and NINDA.LÁL *haššiggaš* and NINDA.LÁL ŠE.GIŠ.Ì on the other.²¹ However, we observed that *šamama* is not among the ingredients used for bread (or honey bread alone) in our text No. 9, first section. But just there, at the end of the list (KBo X 34 i 14) and following *haššiggaš*, we find a word (in the genitive) *šapšamaš*!

Now it seems obvious that, once it had been noted that *šamama* contains oil, the similarity of sound between *šamama* and Akkadian *šamaššammu* played its part in the proposal that *šamama* be sesame. But the assonance is not very close, especially in view of the fact

šamama here as subject (verb form in the sing. would be in order after a neuter plur.) would imply intransitive use of the active form of *duwarn(a)* — ("as the š.s pop and shed the p.s."), a use for which there is to my knowledge no other example.

20. Apart from the hard shell, one might think of the fleshy outer shell of a walnut (if this is what the *šamama* is). Is there any connection between *par* (*a*) *šteḫa-* and *paršdu-* "sprout, shoot"?
21. In Bo 2040 rev. 15 f. In the duplicate, KUB XXVII 19, 3, only the first term is preserved; there is space of undetermined length available for the restoration of the second. The parallel text KUB XXXII 128 i 5 simply says "all (kinds of) honey bread" without naming them. The wording in HW, 2. Erg. p. 22: "wechselt in Paralleltexten mit (dem) Idgr." puts more into Otten's statement than what the facts warrant.

that the Hurrian form is *šumišumi*.²² *šamama* lacks the second *s* found in all other forms of this international word. It seems to me that the *šapšama-* of KBo X 34 i 14 has a much better chance of being the Hittite name of the sesame, for the following reasons:

- 1) The assonance with *šamaššammu*, *šumišumi* is closer;
- 2) it does not have the determinative GIŠ;
- 3) in contrast to *šamama* it is used for honey bread, and
- 4) its position after *haššikka-* corresponds exactly to that of ŠE.GIŠ.Ì in Otten's text.²³

What, then, is ^{GIŠ}*liti-/leti-*? Also a fruit, different from both *šamama* and the olive, and one whose product can be used for anointing. Thus the almond offers itself as a candidate, since almond oil is known for its cosmetic use. It is clear that this is no more than a possibility; the evidence is not sufficient really to determine the nature of *liti-*.

If we may sum up our conclusions, even though they are only tentative, we have the following oil producing plants in the Hittite texts:

^{GIŠ} SERDU,	the olive;
^{GIŠ} šamama, ²⁴	a kind of nut;
^{GIŠ} liti-,	perhaps the almond;
ŠE.GIŠ.Ì,	probably read <i>šapšama-</i> in Hittite, "sesame" according to the traditional translation.

22. Known from the Ras Shamra vocabulary: Thureau-Dangin, *Syria* XII (1931), text No. 8 on pp. 234 ff. and Pl. L-LII, col. ii 11 on p. 238, corresponding to *Hh* II 124 (MSL V 61). HW 325 and HTR 134, n. 3, quote secondary literature.
23. It must be stated that at the time of Otten's writing the tablet KBo X 34 had not yet been excavated, so that he could not know about *šapšama-*.
24. In all places known to me ending in *-a*. According to the participle *duwarnanda* in KBo X 34 i 24 we are safe in taking this for neuter plural. Once there occurs a Luwian plural in *-anza* (above, list 7). Other occurrences, which have no immediate bearing on the discussion are:
KUB XXXI 79, 3 (letter about transport by boat) may be restored as [... AD].KID ^{GIŠ}ša-ma-ma na-aš up-p[ī ...] "[so and so many containers] of wick[er]work (filled with) *šamama*: dis[patch] them!"
KUB XXXIII 34 obv. 8 (RHA 77, 127): ^{GIŠ}ša-ma-ma-kán wa-ar-aš-t[a] "he harvested š.s."
KUB XXXIV 80 obv. 9: naš ^{GIŠ}ša-ma-am-ma ki-i-ša-ru "let him become, turn into, š." The parallel paragraphs have "let him turn into a fish" and "into the river Maraššandaš," respectively. Does line 10 contain the verb [li-]le-e-ia-ru from *lilai-*, discussed in n. 12 above?

HITTITE LIVER MODELS*

Among the thirty-six liver models from Boğazköy so far published¹ the great majority are inscribed in Akkadian only; i.e., in the omen texts written next to the various parts of the organ both the protasis and the apodosis are written in that language.² However, in a few cases the apodosis is given in Hittite. Laroche listed only two such liver models under CTH 547 II, but actually four are now known. H. Berman brought to my attention the fact that KBo 9 67 (now *sub* 547 I) actually has the apodosis in Hittite,³ and one more such model was published as no. 1 in KBo 25 as recently as 1979.⁴

Although Robert D. Biggs is preparing an edition of the Boğazköy livers, he has been kind enough to allow me to write about these four which contain Hittite text. While all Boğazköy livers are "Hittite" in the sense of having been written and kept in Hattusha, I use the short term "Hittite liver models" here for those with Hittite apodosis after an Akkadian protasis. These I am offering to Erica Reiner as a modest token of my esteem and friendship. Her interest in the omen literature is well known, and although these liver models do not contain omens based on historical events I hope she will kindly accept these lines.

One of the four such liver models, KUB 4 72 (VAT 8320, in Berlin) was edited by A. Boissier with the collaboration of H. Ehelolf.⁵ Another one, KUB 37

223 (321/d, in Ankara) was excavated in 1934, my second season with the expedition. At that time I asked the young architect of the excavation team, the late Karl Krause, to whom we also owe the drawings of the seal of Suppiluliuma (II) and of the beginning of the Nişantaş inscription,⁶ to make a drawing of the model. He did so, bringing out the plasticity of the liver surface very well.⁷ Into this drawing I then copied the cuneiform signs. Circumstances did not allow a publication of this drawing at that time; so I am happy to make it known now, half a century later. The fact that I could handle the actual model enabled me to copy the parts of the inscriptions which run over onto the reverse at the places where they belong, turning the clay model in the same way as a Hittite reader must have done. In my drawing I introduced the capital letters A–D to identify the individual inscriptions. These were chosen quite arbitrarily. I leave them unchanged in order not to tamper with the drawing. It so happened that I chose A for the text that refers to the gallbladder; cf. R. D. Biggs, art. "Lebermodelle, A. Philologisch," in RLA 7, pp. 518–21, esp. 521 on orientation and scale of handcopies.

F. Köcher, on the other hand, when he prepared Akkadian Boğazköy texts excavated between the two wars for publication in KUB 37 (1953) had only photographs from which to work. Users of the volume should always keep this handicap in mind.

Not much has to be said about KBo 9 67 (128/n, season of 1955, in Ankara). On the other hand, KBo 25 1 (798/c, season of 1933, in Ankara) was published by H. Otten in KBo 25 (1979) specifically as an example of Old Script (OS). As far as one can judge from the hand copy, this attribution seems to be correct; cf. the forms of *ki*, *e*, *šar*, *ta*; the *it* does not have the stepped horizontal wedges characteristic of Middle Script. The

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1. Listed in E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites* (1971), abbr. CTH, under No. 547.
2. CTH 547.I; note that KBo 9 61 and 62 have been joined (R. D. Biggs) and that An(kara museum no.) 11407 has not yet been published.
3. This was also noticed by K. K. Riemschneider, according to his papers now kept in the Oriental Institute.
4. That is well after CTH and also later than the supplements published by Laroche in RHA 30 (1972 [1973]), 94–133 and 33 (1975 [1977]), pp. 68–71.
5. *Mantique babylonienne et mantique hittite* (Geuthner, 1935), pp. 19–24 and pl. III–IV showing photographs of the obverse and reverse. The same photo of the obv. in a better reproduction is in A. Goetze, *Kleinasiens*, 2d ed. (1957), pl. 11, fig. 21.

6. K. Bittel - H. G. Güterbock, *Boğazköy: Neue Untersuchungen in der hethitischen Hauptstadt* (Abhdlg. Berlin 1935/1) pl. 24, 1b, and pl. 25.

7. The original photograph of 321/d from which MDOG 73 (1935), p. 31 fig. 19 was printed, is still in my possession. According to the scale photographed with the object it is slightly enlarged (1.2:1). A note on the reverse instructs the printer to reduce it to 1:1, which he did. Krause's drawing is exactly the same size as fig. 19, i.e., it is actual size.



Figure 1. Liver model from Boğazköy (Inv. no. 321/d, published KUB 37 233).
Drawing by K. Krause, cuneiform text by H. G. Güterbock, 1934.

language, with syllabic spelling of *kiššarta* and the verbal ending in *-Ci-iz-zi* (or *-Ci-ez-zi*) is also old.

The other three models, which were copied long before anyone was aware of these palaeographic differences, also fit into this picture. In KBo 9 67:5 the sign *az* has its old form without subscribed *za*. The verbal form *ú-wa-az-zi*, which is attested only in two of our liver models, KBo 9 67:5 and KUB 4 72 a:3 must be taken as old.⁸

KUB 4 72 and 37 223 are also written in OS. Since both are available in published photographs (notes 5 and 7 above) we do not have to go into details. It is interesting to observe, however, that the hand copies of Weidner (KUB 4), Köcher (KUB 37), and the present writer, all made before the recognition of Old Script, render the old forms quite faithfully.⁹

8. Against N. Oettinger, *Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbuns* (Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft 64, Nürnberg 1979), pp. 131, 134.

9. In KUB 37 223 A:6, Köcher (Rs. 4) drew the *da* with stepped horizontals, whereas I did not. A photograph of the reverse (courtesy Prof. Klengel) shows that neither this *da* nor the *it* in d 5 are stepped. G. Beckman, JCS 35 (1983 [1984], p. 102 n. 25, cites just this liver model for Middle Hittite date of the whole group!

Unfortunately the statement that all four liver models have texts written in Old Hittite does not yield a fixed date. While OS is attested in texts of the time of Hattusili I, i.e., before the fall of Babylon, the OS was apparently in use for some time thereafter, so that its use on our liver models does not necessarily date these to within the Old Babylonian period. On the other hand it dates them close enough to that time, so that the Akkadian extispicy texts underlying them are likely to be Old Babylonian. For an example see below, sub no. 1, e.

We may now turn to the texts themselves.

1. KUB 4 72

a (obv. on left in hand copy)

- 1 (Akk.) *šumma*(BE) *i-na imitti*(ZAG) *ubānim*(ŠU.SI) *kakkum*(GIŠ.TUKUL) *rēš*(SAG) *ubānim*(ŠU.SI) *iṭṭul*(IGI)
- 2 *a-na pānī*(IGI)-*šu ḫīṭ*(LAL) (Hitt.) *A-NA QA-TI-IA* ku-it-ki ú-wa-az-zi

If on the right side of the “finger” the “weapon” looks at the top of the “finger” and is facing its front: Something will come into my hand.

b (center, bottom)

- 1 (Akk.) *šumma*(BE) *manzāzum*(KI.GUB) *ki-ma pī*(KA) *ša-ar-ša-ri*
- 2 *pu-ṭur-ma* LAL.MEŠ-*šu sa-am-du*
- 3 (Hitt.) ERÍN.MEŠ-*TI-kán* ma-uš-zi na-aš-šu-ma
- 4 x x x x *x-lizl-zi* na-aš a-ap-pa
- 5 [..... - z]i

If the *manzāzu* is frayed like the “mouth” of a saw and its ... are protruding(?): The army will fall. Or, [the ...] will [...], and he will [...] again.

LAL.MEŠ-*šu sa-am-du* was rendered by Boissier *Mantique* 21: “ses pointes sont liées.” Apparently he took the verb as *šamādu* despite the spelling with *sa*. CAD S 107 s.v. *samādu*, mng. 2, quotes this liver without translating either LAL or *samādu* and considers the possibility of a different verb *samādu* or *samāṭu*, possibly a by-form of *šamāṭu*. AHW. 1155 offers *šamāṭu(m)* II “etwa ‘spitz herausragen.’” This latter proposal seems to fit our passage and is therefore tentatively adopted here.

c (obv. right)

- 1 (Akk.) *šumma*(BE) *imitti*(ZAG) *padānim*(GÍR) *a-di 3-šu*¹ LAL
- 2 (Hitt.) LÚKÚR-aš ku-it-ki
- 3 NU TI

If the right side of the *padānu* is ... up to three times: The enemy will not survive something (or: will somehow not survive).

Line 1: *šu* collated by Biggs; lines 2-3: apparently nothing missing.

d (rev. top)

- 1 (Akk.) *šumma*(BE) *rēš*(SAG) *martim*(ZÉ) *ti-tu-ra-am ša širim*(UZU) *šakin*(GAR)-*ma*
- 2 *me-ša uš-ta-ḫa-aq* (Hitt.) LÚ-aš ú-i-it-ti-mi-e-ia-ni
- 3 ar-ma-ni-ia-at-ta na-aš SIG₅-at-ta
- 4 na-aš-šu-ma-aš-ta LÚ-aš ḫa-ad-ga-u-wa-az
- 5 pé-e-da-az iš-pa-ar-zi-zi

If the head of the gallbladder forms a bridge of flesh, and its liquid gets mixed: The man will fall ill in the course of the year(?) and get well. Or, the man will emerge safely from a tight* spot.

e (rev. bottom)

- 1 (Akk.) *šumma*(BE) *danānum*(KAL) *lā*(NU) *šakin*(GAR)-*ma i-na maš-kán-ni-šu eriš*(NIN)-*tum nadât*(ŠUB-at)
- 2 (Hitt.) ERÍN.MEŠ *IT-TI* DINGIR ḫi-in-ga-ni ú-e-ek-zi

If there is no *danānu* present, and an *erištu* mark is lying in its place: With divine approval he demands the death of the army (lit.: demands the army for death).

The Hittite apodosis is so close to the OB one in YOS 10 46 iii 41 *ummānī itti ilim ana dākim eršet*, rendered “with divine approval, the destruction of my army has been demanded” CAD E 284 sub *erēšu* A mng. 1b-2’, that I tried to understand the Hittite accordingly. The dat.-loc. of ḫinkan “death; epidemic, pestilence” is, of course, not the same as *ana dākim*, and *wēkzi* is 3rd. sg. pres. active. Without the OB parallel I would have translated the Hittite: “The army will plead with a god during an epidemic.” Probably the Hittite scribe did not understand the Akkadian text, but the similarity cannot be accidental.

2. KUB 37 223

a

- 1 (Akk.) [BE Z]É *ka-ia-ma-an-tum šaknat*(GAR)-*ma la*[?]
- 2 [ka]-*ia-ma-an-tum* x[....]*x-ma*
- (rev.) 3 [.. ? ka]-*ia-ma-an-tum-ma il*[?][x x?]
- 4 [x] x *x-ša* SAG-*sà iš-ši*

¹[Original read “terrible.” H. A. Hoffner noticed that I apparently translated *ḫatugaz* instead of *ḫatgauwaz*. — HGG]

- 5 (Hitt.) ^{LÚ}KÚR-aš URU-an ḥu-la-a-li-iz-zi
6 na-an(! text aš) kat-ta pé-e-da-at-ti
7 na-an ḥu-ul-la-ši

[If] a regular [gallblad]der is present and an irregular [...] and [...] is regular [and] its [...] raises its head: The enemy will surround the city, and you will bring him down and defeat him.

Line 1, end: Köcher's and Güterbock's copies give *la*; DU (Biggs) is possible according to photograph. *lā kayamantum* across line break is difficult. Line 3 end: *il* or DU-x? The photo confirms the copies.

b

- 1 (Akk.) 2 ŠU.SI GAR-*ma* ZAG *ka-ia-an-ti*
2 3-šu DUḫ (Hitt.) LÚ-aš A-NA KUR ^{LÚ}KÚR
pít-te-an-ti-li pa-iz-zi

There are two "fingers"; the right side of the normal(?) one is three times "loosened": The man will go to the enemy country as a fugitive.

c

- 1 (Akk.) BE KIGUB *ki-ma* ŠU.GUR-*ma* GIŠ.TUKUL
sa¹-hi-ir
2 (Hitt.) A-NA LÚ ^{LÚ}šar-di-aš e-di ne-a
3 URU.DIDLÍ pí-ip-pa-an-zi ^{LÚ}KÚR LÚ-an
4 ḥu-ul-la-az-zi na-aš še-e-er-ši-i[t]
5 SIG₅-an-ta-ri-at ta[x x x]

If the *manzāzu* is like a ring and (is) surrounded by "weapons(s)": The man's helper will turn away, they will destroy the towns, the enemy will defeat the man, and he will be on top of him. They will be well, and [...].

Line 1: *sa¹* as copied (photo). — This inscription does not continue on the reverse. The break after *ta* allows for only 2–3 signs. *ta[-aš a-ki]* "and [he will die]" is a possible restoration.

d

- 1 (Akk.) BE [...]x UŠ KI ZAG
2 x [...]x LÚ x i x [x?]
3 (Hitt., [...] x [...]
beginning
here or
in 2?)
4 (rev.) [LÚ-n]i²-*ma* I-NA IÉ¹[-ŠU²?]
5 ut-tar ku-it-ki ki-i-sa

If : [... will ...], and to the [man] some problem (lit. word) will arise in [his] house.

3. KBo 9 67

- 1 (Akk.) [BE Z]É² 2¹ KI[GUB] x-*sú* x x[x x²?]
2 (Hitt.) [LÚ-aš] a-ši-wa-an-te-ez-zi AN[x]
3 [x x x²?] x x ki ¹na-aš¹-*ma*(?) ERÍN.ME[Š ...]
4 ¹na-aš a¹-ap[-pa] ša-an-na-pí-l[i-iš²?]
5 ú-wa-az-zi

[If the gall]bladder (is) double (and) the *man[zāzu]*(?), its ... [...]: The man will be poor ... [.....]. Or(?), the army [...], and it will come back empty-handed.

Line 1: Collation showed the second sign to be a "2" crossed by a crack. The sign before *sú* could be [Z]I, abbreviation of *šibtu* (see Laroche, RHA 54 (1952) 29 f., quoted CAD § 161), but this would not take the possessive suffix. Line 2, end: DINGIR[-LUM]? Line 3: The traces could be ¹DINGIR-LUM¹, but that leaves the following *ki x x -ma* unexplained. Conversely, ¹na-aš¹-*ma*, tentatively adopted here, leaves the preceding signs unexplained. For the final sentence cf. *rīqūssu*, AHw 988 s.v. *rīqūtu(m)* (courtesy R. D. Biggs).

4. KBo 25 1

a

- 1 (Akk.) *šumma*(BE) *elēnu*(UGU-*nu*) *manzāzim*(KI.GUB) *kakkum*(GIŠ.TUKUL) *ki-ma inim*(IGI)
2 (Hitt.) LÚ-aš a-aš-šu ki-iš-šar-ta e-ep-zi

If on top of the *manzāzu* (there is) a 'weapon' like an eye: The man will grasp good(s) with (his) hand.

Line 2: *aššu* (adj.) "good," used as noun with the meaning "well-being" (in the singular) and "good things; goods" (in the plural). The latter is normally written with vowel length, *a-aš-šu-u*, in Old Hittite (C. Watkins, in *Investigationes philologicae et comparativae: Gedächtnisschrift für Heinz Kronasser* [Wiesbaden, 1982], pp. 250–60). Our example, without the final -u in OH, is an exception to the rule. Watkins, l.c. p. 257, dates the shortening -ū > -u to Middle Hittite times; our liver dates it even earlier.

b

- 1 (Akk.) *šumma*(BE) *šibātum*(ŠÍ) *šitta-ma*(2-*ma*)
ki-ma šērim(MUŠ) *it-gu-ru*
2 (Hitt.) ^{LÚ}KÚR-aš te-ku-uš-ši-iz-zi
3 [ta²] ták-šu-ul [...]

If there are two *šibtu*'s and they are entwined like a snake: An enemy will appear, [then make] peace.

BILINGUAL MOON OMENS FROM BOĞAZKÖY*

The Hittite version of a collection of omens pertaining to the horns of the moon has long been known.¹ Laroche lists it in his *Catalogue des textes hittites* of 1971 (CTH) as nr. 533.3 with three copies: A = KUB 8.6, B = KUB 29.11, and the small fragment C = KBo 13.21. Of these, C was found in the debris of the so-called "House on the Slope" in square L/18 of the city plan. The find spot of A, from Makridi's excavations 1906–11, is not known, but since he worked in the same building in 1911, it is possible that it came from the same collection as C. Copy B, however, was found in 1936 on Büyükkale in Building C, near the western edge of the acropolis (it could ultimately belong to Archive A).

In both copies A and B the Hittite text is written in the right-hand column, and since the horizontal lines separating paragraphs run across the intercolumnial, it is clear that both tablets were bilinguals. Part of the Akkadian version of copy B was found, again on Büyükkale, in 1962. The fragment bearing the field number 1026/u is now in the Ankara Museum as are copies B and C, while copy A is in Istanbul. That 1026/u is actually a part of copy B, directly joining KUB 29.11, was obvious on first sight and is proven beyond doubt by the fact that the colophon runs through the entire width of the reverse. As stated in *RHA* 22/74 (1964) 109, I noticed the "join" upon receipt of the photographs of the 1962 expedition. Prof. Otten saw it independently and communicated it to the late K. K. Riemschneider, who was preparing an edition of all Boğazköy omen texts. This work was never published, and to the best of my knowledge there are no plans to publish it posthumously.² A copy of Riemschneider's manuscript is kept

in the Oriental Institute; I was allowed to consult it. Prof. Otten kindly gave the permission to publish the Akkadian text of the joined tablet here. Its inclusion in the official KBo series is planned for a later volume.

I showed the first draft of the present paper to Erica Reiner, who had earlier shown me some similar texts known to her through her work on the series *Enuma Anu Enlil*. Now (February 1987) she has found a close parallel to the Akkadian Boğazköy text among the recently published texts from Meskene-Emar.³ I am indebted to Miss Reiner for the permission to utilize her find and for her help in interpreting the Emar text.

Of the Emar tablet only the lower part of the obv. and the upper part of the rev. are preserved with a total of 66 lines, of which the first ten and the last ten are badly mutilated. A considerable number of lines must be missing at the beginning and the end. All preserved lines contain omens of the moon. In the Boğazköy text the beginning and the end of the tablet are preserved; the parallel section of the Emar text, however, begins in the middle of the obv. after an undetermined number of other moon omens. A group of omens comparable to the last item in Boğazköy is in lines 53–56 of the Emar text. This means that the Boğazköy tablet with 59 omens corresponds roughly to Emar 7'–56'. It would seem therefore that the Emar tablet contained materials corresponding to three tablets of the size of the Boğazköy tablet. I am not competent to pursue this problem, nor is it necessary for the purpose of this paper to do so. Since the Emar tablet is only a close parallel but not a real duplicate to our text, I have not entered its readings and the restorations resulting from it in my transliteration, but rather discussed them in the commentary.

*Reprinted from *A Scientific Humanist: Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs*, E. Leichty, M. deJ. Ellis, and P. Gerardi, eds. (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1988), pp. 161–174, with the permission of the University Museum.

1. Abbreviations are those listed in H. G. Güterbock and H. A. Hoffner, eds., *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (CHD) and J. Friedrich and A. Kammenhuber, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (2nd ed., = HW²).
2. Riemschneider's edition of the Hittite fragments of the series *šumma izbu*, on the other hand, was published: *Babylonische Geburtsomina in hethitischer Übersetzung*,

(StBoT) 9 (1970). Some Akkadian fragments of that series from Boğazköy are given in this publication; they are listed by Laroche, *RHA* 30 (1972) 112 f., nos. 538, 540. E. Leichty included all Akkadian Boğazköy fragments of the series then known in his volume *The Omen Series šumma izbu*, TCS 4 (1970), pp. 207–210. Since then a Hittite fragment in old script was published as KBo 25.2.

3. D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Aštata: Emar 6/1*. (Paris: Editions Recherches sur les Civilisations, 1985), ("Synthèse" no. 18), tablet no. Msk 731041 obv. 8–20 on page 121. Hereafter quoted as Emar with line number.

In the following transliteration the Akkadian column is given on the basis of photographs; I have not seen the original. For the Hittite column KUB 29.11 is used as main copy; restorations from the other copies

are given in parentheses. In order not to change the sigla introduced by Laroche, I quote KUB 8.6 as A and KUB 13.21 as C.

TRANSLITERATION

- §1 1a [BE XXX ... -ma SI ZAG-šú ke-pí] SI GÛB-šú e-ed [...]
 2a [...] i-ka-mu - [ú]
 1b *ták-ku*^dEN.ZU-aš^{a)} *kap-pa-an-za nu ZA[(G-an SI-ŠÚ)] al-pu*
 2b SI GÛB-la^{b)} -ma-aš-ši *dam-pu*^lKÚR [(KUR-e)] e- e[(p-zi)]
-
- §2 3a [BE XXX...-ma SI] GÛB-šú ke-pí SI ZAG-šú e-ed
 4a [...-k]a MUD ta-za-az - za
 3b *ták-ku*^dEN.ZU-aš^{a)} *kap-pa-an-za nu SI GÛB^{e)} [al-pu] SI ZAG^{d)} -ma[(-aš-ši)]*
 4b *dam-pu A-NA KUR*^lKÚR-KA *za-ak-ki-ia-aš i-wa-ar ti-ia[-ši^{e)}]*
-
- §3 5a [BE XXX SIG₇-ma S]I ZAG-šú ke-pí SI GÛB-šú e-ed
 6a [... ša][2] MU Ú.EBUR IGI
 5b *ták-ku*^dXXX-aš^{f)} SIG₇-wa^{g)} -an-za nu ZAG-an SI-ŠÚ *al-pu SI GÛB^{h)} -ma dam-p[u]*
 6b MU.2.KAM *ha-me-eš-ħa-an-za SIG₅-at-ta*
-
- §4 7a [BE XXX SIG₇]-ma SI GÛB-šú ke-pí SI ZAG-šú e - e[(d)]
 8a [... š]a [2 M]U Ú.EBUR [IGI]
 7b *ták-ku*^dEN.ZU-ašⁱ⁾ SIG₇-wa^{j)} -an-za nu SI GÛB^{k)} *al-pu SI ZAG-ma-aš-ši*
 8b *dam-pu MU.2.KAM ha-me-eš-ħa-an-za SIG₅-at - ta*
-
- §5 9a [BE XXX SI ZA]G-šú AN IGI EBUR nap-ša KUR K[Ú]
 10a (blank)
 9b *ták-ku*^dXXX ZAG-aš^{l)} SI-ŠÚ *ša-ra-a ne-pí-ši ne-ia - an*
 10b *mi-ia-an-ta^{m)}-an EBUR KUR-an-za ka-a-ra - pí*
-
- §6 11a BE XXX SI ZAG-šú KI IGI EBUR KUR TUR [-ir]
 11b *ták-ku*^dXXX SI ZAG-ŠÚ GAM KI-i *ne-ia-anⁿ⁾ KUR-e-aš^{o)} EBUR-aš te-ep-ša-u-e-eš-zi^{p)}*
-
- §7 12a BE XXX SI GÛB-šú AN IGI TIL.A.Ī.L.A AŠ KU[R...]
 12b *ták-ku*^dXXX SI GÛB-ŠÚ UGU AN-i *ne-ia-an ŠÀ KUR-kán^{q)} TI-tar ki-ša*
-
- §8 13a BE XXX SI GÛB-šú KI IGI ÚŠ.MEŠ AŠ KUR[]
 13b *ták-ku*^dXXX SI GÛB-ŠÚ GAM KI-i *ne-ia-an ŠÀ KUR-kán^{r)} ÚŠ-kán ki-ša*
-
- §9 14a BE XXX AŠ na-an-mu-ri-šu^{s)} SI-šú x[...]
 15a ŠUB URI.KI [...]
 14b *ták-ku*^dXXX *a-ut-ti nu SI-ŠÚ A-NA IM.GAL ne-i^{t)} -ia - an*
 15b *[(na-at ta-lu)]-ki-iš-ša-an^{u)} KUR A-ga-ti^{v)} KUR NIM.KI-ia a-k[(i)]*

a) A: ^dXXX throughout the text.

b) A adds -aš.

c) A adds -la.

d) A adds -šU-.

e) A: -zi; see commentary.

f) A: ^dXXX.

g) A omits -wa-.

h) A adds la-.

i) A: ^dXXX.

j) A omits -wa-.

k) A adds -la above the line.

l) A: ZAG-an.

m) A: -da-.

n) Text -aš; A correctly -an.

o) A: KUR-ia-aš.

p) A: *te-pa-u-e-eš-zi*; see commentary.

q) A [KU(R-i)]a-kán an-da, restored from C 3.

r) A: KUR-kán an-da.

s) Wrong word division!

t) A omits -i-.

u) A: *ta-lu-kiš-zi*.v) A: LUGAL KUR ^{uu}Ag[- ...

- §10 16a BE XXX AŠ na-an-mu-ri-šū^{w)} S[I-šú ...]
 17a UR.LMA ¹⁶KÚR [...]
 16b [(*ták-ku* ^dXXX *a-u*)-*t-ti nu* S]I-ŠU ^{im}*tar-aš-me-ni ne-ia-an*^{x)}
 17b [(LUGAL KUR ^{uu}A-ag)-*ga-ti* ¹⁶KÚR *har-ni-ik - zi*

- §11 18a [B]E XXX AŠ na-an-mu-r[i-šū^{y)} [...]
 19a [¹⁶]KÚR MAN.ID(?) [...]
 18b [(*ták-ku* ^dXXX *a-ut*)-*ti nu* SI-ŠU...-n]i *ne-ia-an*
 19b [(*na*)-*at (ta-lu)-ki-iš-ša-an*^{z)} ... (*ku-i*)]š-ki *ku-en-zi*

- §12 20a [BE] [XXX] AŠ na[-an-mu-ri-šū...]
 21a lost
 20b [(*ták-ku* ^dXXX *a*)-*ut-ti nu* SI-ŠÚ ... (*ne-ia*)] - *an*
 21b [(*na-at t*)*a-lu-ki-ša-an* ... *pa(-aḥ-ḥur)*] *ki-ša*

- §13 (Akkadian version lost)
 22b [(*ták-ku* ^dXXX) ...] x x x [(-*an*)]^{aa)}
 23b [(*ša-an-te*)-*eš* ...]

- §14 24b [*tá(k-ku* ^d)XXX ...
 (Remainder of obv. lost in both copies)

Reverse:

- 1' (traces only)
 2'a BE XXX TÙR pí-ir-sú DIŠ ^dUTU.È.A p[a-ri-is...]
 3'a ti-bu-ut IM.MAR.TU [...]
 2'b (lost)
 3'b [... *a-ra*]-i

Colophon:

- 4' ŠU.NÍGIN 59 ŠID[.BI(.IM)]
 5' ṭup-pu [...]
 6' ŠU ^mPí-ik-ku DUMU ^mTa-at-ta pa-ni ^mA-nu-wa-an-za LÚ.SAG iš-ṭur

TRANSLATION

§1

(Akk) [If the moon is ... and its right horn is blunt], its left horn is pointed: [...] (they) will capture.

(Hit) If the moon is ... and its right horn is pointed, but its left horn is blunt: the enemy will seize the land(s).

§2

(Akk) [If the moon is ... and] its left horn is blunt, its right horn is pointed:

(Hit) If the moon is ... and its left horn is pointed, but its right horn is blunt:

(A/H) you will take a stand at the land of your enemy like a door bolt.

§3

(Akk) [If the moon is yellow and] its right horn is blunt, its left horn is pointed: [...] will see spring of two years.

(Hit) If the moon is yellow and its right horn is pointed, but its left horn is blunt: for two years the spring will be good.

w) Wrong word division!

x) A adds *na-at ta-lu-kiš-zi*.

y) Wrong word division!

z) Restored after 15b; A: *na-aš ta-lu*[- ...

aa) KUB 29.11 breaks off.

§4

(Akk) [If the moon is yellow] and its left horn is blunt, its right horn is pointed: [... will see] spring of two years.

(Hit) If the moon is yellow and its left horn is pointed, but its right horn is blunt: for two years the spring will be good.

§5

(Akk) [If the moon's ri]ght horn faces the sky:

(Hit) If the moon's right horn is turned up to the sky:

(A/H) the land will consume an abundant harvest.

§6

(Akk) If the moon's right horn faces the earth:

(Hit) If the moon's right horn is turned down to the earth:

(A/H) the harvest of the land will diminish (var. dry up?).

§7

(Akk) If the moon's left horn faces the sky:

(Hit) If the moon's left horn is turned up to the sky:

(A/H) recovery will occur in the land.

§8

(Akk) If the moon's left horn faces the earth:

(Hit) If the moon's left horn is turned down to the earth:

(A/H) pestilence will occur in the land.

§9

(Akk) If the moon, upon becoming visible, its horn [...]: downfall of Akkad [and Elam (?)].

(Hit) If you see the moon, its horn is turned toward the south and is extended: (var.: the king of) Akkad and Elam will die.

§10

(Akk) If the moon, upon becoming visible, [its] ho[rn ...], Akkad [will destroy] the enemy.

(Hit) If you see the moon and its horn is turned toward the north (var.: and is extended), the king of Akkad will destroy the enemy.

§11

(Akk) If the moon, upon becoming visible, [...]: [the en]emy ... [...].

(Hit) If you see the moon, [and its horn] is turned toward [the east] and is extended: someone will kill [...].

§12

(Akk) If the moon, upon be[coming visible ...]: (apodosis lost).

(Hit) If you see the moon [and its horn] is turned toward [the west] and is extended: [...] fire will occur.

§13

(Hit) If the moon [...]: the angr[y gods will return to the land ...].

§59

(Akk) If the moon's halo is di[vided] into sections toward sunrise: rise of the west wind [will occur].

(Hit) (Protasis lost), [...] will rise.

Colophon:

Total: 59 items [...]

tablet [...]

Written by Pikku, son of Tatta, under Anuwanza, the eunuch.

COMMENTARY

§§1–4 a. The writing of “moon”: The Akkadian column writes the figure “thirty” without determinative throughout (preserved in 11a ff. and rev. 2a). The Hittite column of the same tablet writes ^dEN.ZU-*aš*(1b, 3b, 7b), ^dXXX-*aš* (5b), but ^dXXX without complement from 9b on as far as preserved, and so do both duplicates. The Hittite reading is well known as *armaš* (cf. *HW*² s.v.).

b. The predicates describing the moon: In the Akkadian col. these predicates are lost in all four sections. For the first, Emar 8’–9’ has a sign not identifiable from the hand copy. In the Hittite version the moon is *kappanza* in §§1–2, and SIG₇-(w)*anza* in §§3–4. This is the color adj. SIG₇ = -(w)*arqu(m)* “yellow, green” (*CAD*; *AHw* gives “gelbgrün”) with a Hittite phonetic complement; as shown by Riemschneider (*MIO* 5 [1955] 146), the full reading is *ḫaḫlawant-*.

For *kappant-* Riemschneider (*BiOr* 18 [1961] 25) adduced the beginning of the fifth tablet of the series *Enuma Anu Enlil* from the so-called Uruk catalog (Weidner, *Afo* 14 [1941–44] 186 and pl. I): *šumma Sin ina tāmarti-šú a-dir-ma qaran imitti-šú ki-pat qaran šumēli-šú ed-de-et*. From this he deduced the meaning “dark” for *kappant-*. The *CAD* s.v. *adāru* A gives “to become obscured (said of heavenly bodies),” while the *AHw* says “finster sein” with more examples concerning the moon, etc. Independent evidence for Hittite *kappant-* is scarce. In an *izbu* omen one reads: “If a freak’s ears are *kappanda*” (KUB 8.83:10; Riemschneider, *StBoT* 9:57 f.). The sequence [...] *ḫarki kappanza NINDA(?) x[...]* KBo 15:31 i 2 is hard to understand because *ḫarki* “white” is in the neuter form while *kappanza* is gen. com., and the context is so fragmentary. If the reading *NINDA* is correct, “bread that is *kappanza* with regard to the white” might be a possible construction. A combination of the duplicates KBo 15.48 i 6–8 and KBo 23.28 i 7 f. yields: [... (*nammaš*)]*ši* 1 TÚG SA₅ [...(*x-aš* SA₅)] *kappandan* [...] -*zi*, where it looks as if *k*. modified the color “red.” Puhvel, *BiOr* 38 (1981) 353 correctly remarked that the moon could hardly be “dark” or “black” if its horns were visible (except in an eclipse, we would add), and proposed “diminished, waned” for *k*. In a similar way I thought of “pale.” The ears of the animal fetus could be “pale” as well as “dark,” and the color “red” could be modified by “pale” as well as by “dark.” The contrasting description of the moon as “yellow” (preserved in Hittite version and in Emar) is not the logical opposite of either “dark” or “pale,” although one could argue that a yellow moon is brighter than a pale one. However, this argumentation is doubtful for the following reasons: (1) Very little of the fifth tablet of the canonical series is known beyond the incipit listed in the catalog tablet of the Seleucid period; and (2) there are other tablets

dealing with different colors of the moon and with its horns. In an unpublished text made available to me in transliteration by Erica Reiner (BM 38289, also Seleucid) the moon is “red” (SA₅) in the first four lines and UD in line 5, that is *pešû* “white,” while of its horns one is *kepât*, the other *eddet* and looking either up or down. So this might be another version of the fifth tablet. But one should not use this parallel to equate *kappant-* with SA₅, because Hittite has already a word, *mita-*, for “red” and because in one of the examples *k* stands beside SA₅ (DIR and SA₅ being the same sign, one wonders whether *a*-DIR might be a mistake for SA₅- or vice versa).

c. The right and left horns: Akkadian *qarnu* “horn” is normally feminine (*CAD*), but in this kind of omen both genders occur: cf. the masc. forms *kepi* and *ed* here and in Emar 11’ as against *kepât* and *eddet* in the Uruk catalog. In line 1a of our text there is a break after *e-ed*. Since all other lines are carried to the right end of the column one is tempted to restore here *e-ed[-de-et]*, but since this would be the only fem. form in our text it is safer to assume that this one line ended before the column divider.

The Hittite word for “horn,” *karauwar*, is neuter, and the form of the predicates, *alpu* and *dampu*, is in agreement. Of the attributes “right” and “left,” “right” is in the neuter form ZAG-*an* (*kunnan*) in line 1b (in the duplicate) and 5b, but ZAG without complement in lines 3b and 7b. “Left” appears as endingless neuter of an *-a* stem, GÜB-*la* (the Hittite reading is still unknown) in lines 2b and 3 and 5 of the duplicate, with the *-la* added above the line *ibid.* 7; without complement in 3b, 5b, and 7b. In line 1 the duplicate writes GÜB-*la-aš*, which may be the genitive “of the left (side)” but may also be a simple mistake just as *naš* for *nat* in 19.

As for the expression of the possessive relation, lines 5b and dupl. 1 and 5 write ZAG-*an* SI-*šú* where the right horn is first. Where the left horn comes first, the possessive is not expressed at all. The statement about the second horn is introduced by the adversative enclitic *-ma* “but,” followed by the enclitic pronoun *-ši* “to him” which is the normal expression of possession in later Hittite: 2b, 3b (restored from dupl.), 7b; in 5b with dupl. it is omitted. In line 3 the duplicate combines the spoken *-ši* with the (merely graphic) Akkadogram (cf. *CHD* 3/2:222a).

d. The predicate describing the horns: For *kepi*, *CAD* has *kepû* v. “to bend, blunt” with preferred translation “blunt” when referring to the horns of the moon; *AHw* gives only “beugen” (bend); *edēdu* is defined as “to be pointed” by both dictionaries.

The Hittite equivalents *alpu-* and *dampu-* have been much discussed. Laroche, *RHR* 148 (1955) 14 proposed *alpu-* “lisse (smooth),” *dampu-* “rueux (wrinkled, rough).” Holt, *Fs. Friedrich*, pp. 213–216

preferred “klar (clear)” for *alpu-*, “unklar, trübe (dull, dim)” for *dampu-*, offering etymologies by comparing *alpu-* with Latin *albus* and *dampu-* with German *Dampf*, English *damp*. Both authors wrote without knowledge of an Akkadian prototype. It was Riemschneider, *BiOr* 18 (1961) 25 f., who adduced the first line of the fifth tablet of the series *Enuma Anu Enlil* as listed in the so-called Uruk catalog (Weidner, *AfO* 14 [1941–44] 186 and pl. I, line 5) with the sequence *kepât — eddet* “blunt — pointed” which would make *alpu-* “blunt” and *dampu-* “pointed.” When the word *alpuemar* turned up in KBo 11.14, Laroche responded, *OLZ* (1963) 246, that for *alpu-* “lisse, brilliant” seemed better than “émoussé (blunt).” In 1976 I discussed the two adjectives and their derivatives in *RHA* 74 (1976) 98–100. I proposed to reverse the distribution, making *alpu-* “pointed” and *dampu-* “blunt.” One reason was my feeling for the “Gestalt” of the two adjectives: *dampu-* “pointed” simply did not sound right in an Indo-European language. Concretely I based my argument on the word *alpuemar*, of which in KBo 11.14 i 12–14 a little is cut off horns and put on a loaf of bread (see below). While my article was in the press I found the “join” of the Akkadian and Hittite columns of our text. In an addendum (*RHA* 74 [1976] 109) I conceded that the evidence of the bilingual contradicted my proposal but added that “I still do not see how it should be possible to cut off a little bluntness of a horn and put it on the bread.” I therefore considered the possibility that the Hittite translator had mixed up the two Akkadian words.

Such an iconoclastic view was—of course—rejected by other Hittitologists. Kümmel, *OrNS*. 36 (1967) 367, followed von Soden, *AHW*, in translating *kepû* not as “blunt” but rather “gebogen, krumm, rund (bent or curved, crooked, round),” hence, *alpuemar* “Krümmung, Rundung, Bogen (curvature, roundness, arc).” While one might possibly cut, or rather shave off, small parts from the curve of a horn, how do the proposed meanings fit the horns of the moon? They are curved permanently; they can hardly be crooked; they could be rounded at the end, but that is the same as blunt.

Kammenhuber, *HW² Lieferung 1* (1975) 61b took the easy way out by denying any connection between *alpuemar* and *alpu-*. Her doubts concerning the word formation were shown to be unfounded by Puhvel, *RHA* 33 (1975 [1977]) 59–62. He correctly posits (p. 60) a stative verb in *-e-* of which *alpuemar* is the verbal noun. Thus *alpue-* and *alpueš-* form a pair of stative and inchoative verbs of the kind discussed by Watkins, *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1971 (1973) 51–93, esp. 72 ff.

The passage KBo 11.14 i 12–14 reads: Û ANA GUD APIN.LAL-kán huišwanti ANA SI.ĪI.A-ŠU *alpuemar tepu kuranzi nukan apēya anda* ANA NINDA.KUR₄.RA dāi. My translation (*RHA* 74 [1976] 99) is: “One cuts a little (of

the) *alpuemar* off the horns of a live plow-ox, and he puts these, too, on the thick loaf” (together with other objects put on the same loaf before); I then added that *alpuemar* must be “the point.” Puhvel translates “on a living plow-ox they cut a little blunting into its horns,” and adds in parenthesis “(i.e. they trim off some of the point).” This is unacceptable for two reasons: (1) He does not recognize the dative of separation, best known in Hittite from *dā-* with dative “take from someone” and attested for *kuer-* and *karš-* (both “to cut”) in 2 Mast. i 31–35 (Rost, *MIO* 1 [1953] 350 f.), nor the fact that ANA GUD ... ANA SI.ĪI.A is a *skhema kath holon kai meros* “cut from the horns of the ox.” (2) *apēya* “these too” of the next clause (left out by him!) would remain without antecedent, since the “bluntness cut into the horn” obviously cannot be it.

Concerning the other occurrences of *alpuemar*: The vocabulary KBo 1.42 iii 45 is now available in MSL 13 p. 139:185 and CAD S p. 165 f. s.v. *sappartu*. One may suspect that the CAD’s rendering “tip of an animal’s horn” was influenced by my translation, but the examples quoted from Akkadian texts give independent evidence for “point” (the bilingual evidence on which the *AHW* bases its translation as “Kopffell” is interpreted differently by the CAD S s.v. *sappāru*). The passage from KUB 17.25 with dupl. 26 (*CTH* 454 belonging to 405), quoted *RHA* 74 (1976) 100, is not decisive because it is not clear how a cord tied to a horn is meant to “replace” (*hapuš-*) the *alpuemar* of the horn. KUB 33.33:14 is too fragmentary to be of use; Puhvel’s (*RHA* 33 [1975] 60) combination of *alpuemar* with the following (!) gen. GUŠKIN-aš is hardly correct. 222/b right col. 4 (Otten, *ZA* 66 [1976] 100) ŠA GÍR *alpue[mar]* may well be “the point of the dagger” (Otten: “Krümmung”).

For the adjective *alpu-* the passage KUB 27.67 iii 67–70 (*RHA* 74 [1976] 100, citing Goetze, *ANET*, p. 347b) is important. “When he returns home he takes an *eya*-tree: above it is covered with foliage (or needles) (*warhui-*) and below it is *alpu-*. He rams (*walḫzi*) it in on the right of the first door.” Obviously in order to ram a tree into the ground its lower end should be pointed (Goetze, “trimmed”), not blunt or bent! (Puhvel, *RHA* 33 [1975] 60 again omits the last clause).

The passage KBo 16.25 i 35’–39’ (46’–50’ cumulative with KBo 16.24) seems to contradict my interpretation (cf. *HW²* 61 s.v. *alpueš-*). However, there was more space on the left from the lost edge of the tablet to the first preserved signs than suggested by the dotted line in the hand copy.⁴ This allows for the restoration of

4. This was observed by H. A. Hoffner upon collation. It is also shown by the following restorations taken from a small unpublished duplicate, 256/w; recognized by H. Berman; KBo 16.25 i 31’ [(*nu ma-a-an ER*)]IN.MEŠ-an (256/w 2’) 32’ [(¹⁰UGULA LI-I)]M (256/w 3’), and the JA

the negation *lē* before the verb in line 38'. The passage now reads:

- 35' [andam]aššan kuiš kururi parā galankanza nu
kiššan
36' [imma? t]ezzi manwa ini kurur arḫa ḫarkzi nu
kiššan
37' [(imma t)]ezzi manwa ini [kuru]r(?)
38' [le(-|e¹ a)]l-pu-e-eš-zi [nu] apūn kē NIŠ
DINGIR.MEŠ appandu n[an QADU]
39' [DAM-ŠU] DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU ḫarninkandu

“[Furthermore] whoever is friendly to the enemy and [even (?)] speaks thus: ‘I wish that this war will disappear!’ and even speaks thus: ‘I wish that this [war(?)] will [no]t become sharp/pointed/acute!’ — let these divine oaths seize him and destroy him [together with his wife] and children!”

A restored negation is not proof, but neither does an incomplete text prove the opposite.

As a counterpart to the verb *alpuēš-* there is also *dampueš-*. The only occurrence, KUB 33.63 obv. 4–6, is too mutilated to be of help; cf. *CHD* 3/3 s.v. *mukrit* (with “become pointed/sharp”).

Finally, I cannot follow the tour de force by which Puhvel (*RHA* 33 [1975] 61 f.) tries to save Popko's comparison (*JCS* 26 [1974] 182) of *dampu-* with Slavic words for “blunt.” Assuming that *dampu-* meant originally “rough” in the sense of “in the natural state, untreated,” Puhvel goes on one side via “prickly, sharp” to Hittite “sharp, pointed,” on the other from “uncouth, obtuse” to “dull, blunt”!

As a result of this long discussion I must return to my original definition of *alpu-* as “pointed” and *dampu-* as “blunt” and to the explanation of the contradicting evidence of our bilingual as the mistake of a Hittite translator who knew in general that *kepû* and *edēdu* referred to pointed and blunt appearance of the horns, but did not remember which was which. The principle that one should take the text as given is fine as long as it works, but when it leads to such forced interpretations as those discussed above one is allowed to assume a mistake.

e. The apodosis of §2: Hittite *zakki-* (4b) is “door bolt,” often written with the determinative URUDU (beside rarer GIŠ: cf. Otten, *Bagh. Mitt.* 3 [1964] 93). The verb *tiya-* “to take a stand, to step (somewhere)” is in the 3rd sg. pres. *tiyazi* in the duplicate. In our main copy the last sign is lost. Because of the 2nd sg. form *tazazza* in Akkadian 4a we prefer to restore it as 2nd sg. *ti-ia[-*

ši] in 4b. “You will take a stand at the land of your enemy like a door bolt” could be a figure of speech meaning “block the enemy's approach.”

In the Akkadian version, the first fully preserved sign must be MUD, as Riemschneider has seen. Normally this sign has the shape of 𒍪+𒍪I, also in Boğazköy; but the shape seen here, with 3+2 oblique wedges instead of 𒍪I, occurs at least once more: KUB 6.39 obv. 6. In all Boğazköy occurrences except ours MUD stands for “bloodshed.” In our omen apodosis the rendering by Hittite *zakki-* shows that at least the Hittite translator must have thought of the logogram ^{<giš>}MUD which designates some device for securing a door. Its Akkadian reading is *uppu*. According to Kilmer, *Finkelstein Mem.*, pp. 130 ff. with fig. 1 (followed by *AHW uppu(m)* 1.1), it is the socket into which the door bolt fits, but the Hittite scribe must have taken it for the door bolt itself (just as earlier interpreters have defined it as part of a locking device). The sign preceding MUD seems to be part of *ka*, corresponding to the -KA in the Hittite version. In Emar 9' most of the apodosis is lost.

f. The apodosis of §§3–4. It is strange that in the Hittite version both omens have the same favorable outcome. One expects one of them to be unfavorable. In the Akkadian version the beginnings of both lines 6a and 8a are lost, so one could restore “the land” in one, “the enemy” in the other. In §§1–2 the first is unfavorable, whereas in the following pairs, §§5–6, 7–8, 9–10, the favorable omen is first. As a result it cannot be determined whether one should restore *mātu* or *nakru* first — if indeed the Akkadian version had contrasting apodoses.

In the Emar text both apodoses (10'–11') end with *i-zi-bu-ši* “they will abandon it (fem.)”; cf. the examples in *CAD* E 417b, where “the gods will abandon the land.” This phrase occurs in a later part of the Emar text: KUR DINGIR.MEŠ-ša *i-zi-bu-ši* (23' b), but in line 11' the signs preceding the verb are different: they look like DIN or KUR! MU.3.𒍪I.A?, which I cannot explain. In line 10' there is a lacuna.

The correspondence of Ú.EBUR = *dīšu* “spring” with Hitt. *ḫamešḫanza* of the same meaning is a welcome confirmation of Landsberger's interpretation of *TE-ŠI* in Hitt. texts as syllabic spelling of *dīši* (apud Friedrich, *HW*, p. 222).

§§5–8 a. The logograms AN IGI and KI IGI stand for *šamēlqaqqara inaṭṭal* “looks at, faces the sky/earth.” The Hittite version renders the verb by the participle “is turned” and adds a redundant “up” and “down” respectively.

b. §§5–6: Emar 12'–13' duplicate our text verbatim, except that *i-k[al]* and *i-še-eh-ḫi-ir* are written out. In §§7–8, Emar 14'–15' have a better rendering of the apodoses: *ba-la-tu* AŠ KUR 𒄩.GÁL] and *mu-ta-nu* AŠ KUR 𒄩.GÁL. In addition to supplying the verb *ibašši*

(256/w 4') will be the end of the -e restoring line 38'. Compare also the space needed for the obvious restoration [nu-uš-ma]-aš in line 40'. In 35' I follow Hoffner in restoring [an-da-ma]-aš-ša-an; cf. *andama* KBo 16.24 ii 7', restoring 25 I 23, and *CHD*, 9b.

(which one would have restored anyway) it writes *balātu* for the strange TI.LA.Ī.A and confirms that ŪŠ.MEŠ stands for *mutānu*. The Hitt. words *huišwatar* (TI-tar) “life” and *hinkan* (ŪŠ-kán) “death” but also “pestilence” correspond well.

c. In §6 the verb of the apodosis differs in the two Hittite copies: *tepawešzi* of the variant is the inchoative verb from *tepu-* “little, scarce,” while the bilingual has the same kind of verb derived from the adj. *tepšu-*, which has been much debated. While Sommer (*HAB* 141 f.) and Gurney (*AAA* 27 [1940] 107 f.) take it as synonymous with, and ultimately related to *tepu-*, Weitenberg (*Die heth. U-Stämme*, pp. 200 f.) rejects this connection and (modifying Goetze’s “sterile”) posits “dry” as the basic meaning of *tepšu-*. “The harvest of the land will diminish” and “will dry up” are not too far from each other. It is noteworthy, however, that the bilingual offers the equation TUR[-ir] (*išehhir*) = *tepšawešzi*, which is in favor of Sommer’s and Gurney’s view.

§§9–12a. The scribe responsible for the Akkadian column of our tablet obviously did not understand *inanmuri-šu*, because he divided the signs as if he read *ašnan murišu*. However, the translator did understand the phrase “on its being sighted” correctly and translated it by “if you see the moon.”

b. The actual observation is lost in all four sections of the Akkadian version. In the Hittite, the scheme in all four is “and its horn is turned toward ...” The word designating the direction begins with IM “wind” in §§9 and 10 while it is lost in §§11 and 12. One expects here the four winds after which the Babylonians named the cardinal points. Indeed all four are preserved in the Emar text, 16’–19’: DIŠ IM.GÁL.LU GÍD.DA followed by IM.SI.SÁ, IM.KUR.RA and IM.MAR.TU. It follows that IM.GAL (with GAL₁) in the Hittite version is indeed the phonetic rendering of IM.GÁL(.LU), as noted by Hoffner, *JAOS* 87 (1967) 357 and *RHA* 25/80 (1967) 35 n. 44, which shows that the Hittite scribes did not know the Sum. reading U₁₉ of the URU sign. Line 17b must contain the Hittite word for “north,” albeit in a spelling that poses problems. Ehelolf’s hand copy suggests *tar-aš-me-ni*, which could also be read as *haš^{as}-me-ni*, as Laroche, *RHA* 12/54 (1952) 22 pointed out. On the photograph it looks as if only *tar-me-ni* were intended, with the second horizontal of *tar* repeated. This leaves the choice between *taršmenali-*, *hašmenali-*, and *tarmenali-*. The final *i-* must be the dat.-loc. ending which may belong to an *-a-* or *-i-* stem. Also the Hittite name of the third wind “east” seems to end in *-ni*.

c. The predicate in the Hittite version is expressed by two verbs, of which the second is in a short separate clause introduced by *nu*: “is turned (participle) toward the south, and it is elongated (participle in the main text, 3rd sg. pres. in the var.)” The Akkadian equivalent

is lost in the Boğazköy bilingual, but preserved in Emar 16’–19’. It is simply GÍD.DA (*arik*) “is long,” while the direction is expressed by the preposition *ana*: “is long toward the south etc.” Most probably the Akk. column of the Boğazköy tablet had the same short expression.

d. The apodoses: in §9, the Hitt. says “Akkad and Elam will die.” The variant, probably because of the verb “to die,” adds “the king of.” In the Akk. version only the first half of the line is preserved: *miqit Akkadi*, written ŠUB URI^{ki} “downfall of Akkad” with room enough for restoration of [*ū* NIM.MA^{ki}]. In Emar *miqittu* is written with the other logogram, RI.RI.GA, and URI is followed by a MA as in our line 17a. The traces thereafter do not seem to fit a restoration of “Elam,” but it is hard to think of anything else.

In the Akkadian column of §10 only URLMA^{ki} KÚR is preserved. In the Hittite version the beginning of the line is supplied by the duplicate with “The king of Ak[kad]” like in §9; the verb is *harnikzi*, the equivalent of *uħallaq*. Emar 17’ reads URLMA^{ki} KÚR-šu x[...]x, where the traces do not fit the expected *uħallaq* or its logogram Ī.A.A. This verb is preserved in syllabic writing in 7’, i.e., before the passage parallel to the Boğazköy text.

In §11 the Akkadian version after [¹⁶]KÚR, has an enigmatic group of two signs: MAN.ID or 20.Á or however it may have to be read. Emar 18’ writes KÚR KUR *i-da-ak* “the enemy will defeat the land”. The Hittite version offers [...] *kuiški kuenzi* “someone will kill”; this may have been preceded by KÚR, making it “some enemy will kill.”

In §12 Emar 19’ writes BIL.GI KUR *i-ge-eš* “the Fire God will tear up (or: trample down) the land” (*AHw gēšu(m)* I “zerwühlen,” *CAD G gēšu* “to gash” cf. *gēš qerbeti* in *CAD Q s.v. qerbetu* 2e “who trampled down the fields.” (I am indebted to Erica Reiner for this reference). The Hittite version simply says “[in the land(?)] fire will occur.”

In §13 the three signs preserved in the Hittite column in the variant, ŠA AN TE, may be restored to *ša-ante[-eš ...]* “angry” (nom. pl.) in the apodosis: “the angry [gods will ...]” or the like. Emar 20’ confirms this restoration. It reads: BE XXX SI.MEŠ-šu AN IGI DINGIR.MEŠ *ze-nu-tum* DIŠ KUR *i-tu-ru-nim* KUR TUŠ *ne-eh-tam ū-ša-ab* “If the moon’s horns face the sky: the angry gods will return to the land; the land will dwell in security.”

In the last paragraph of the tablet, rev. 2’a, I owe the reading TÜR to Riemschneider. The photograph is not clear, but Otten in his field copy draws traces that come close to TÜR. The only sign preserved in the Hittite version, *-i*, must be the end of a verb in the 3rd sg. pres.; [*ara*]*i-* offers itself as verbal expression of *tibātu*.

The Emar text has omens about the halo of the moon in lines 43'–56'. Of these 44'–50' begin: *šumma Sin tarbaša lami* “If the moon is surrounded by a halo,” while 51'–56' begin: *šumma ina libbi tarbaši* “If inside the halo ...” Neither of these wordings exactly correspond to our line rev. 2', but in both groups there are phrases similar to ours. Cf. Emar 49': [BE XXX] TÜR *la-mi-ma* DIŠ IM.KUR.RA *pa-ri-is* “if the moon is surrounded by a halo, and it is divided toward the east” (the same wording recurs with all four cardinal points 47'–50'), and 53': BE AŠ ŠÀ TÜR *pi-ir-su 3 pa-ri-is ti-bu-ut* IM.SI.SÁ “If inside the halo three sections are separated: rise of the south wind” (lines 53'–56' list all four winds, with IM.MAR.TU as the last). It would seem that our line rev. 2' is a conflation of Emar 49' and 56', basically following 56' but omitting the number of sections and adding the direction from line 49'.

Colophon: For ŠID “numbers” in Boğazköy see Güterbock, *RHA* 25/81 (1967) 146–148 with n. 9. For the formula ŠID.BI(.IM) “is its number” cf. *minātu* in both dictionaries. The number of 59 items or individual omens seems appropriate for the size of the tablet as far as it can be estimated. The contrast of this number to 131 listed in the Uruk catalog (above 167) once more demonstrates the changes such collections underwent over the centuries.

The scribe, Pikku, son of Tatta, and his supervisor Anuwanza are known from other colophons; see Laroche, *Les Noms des Hittites*, s. vv. and the same, *ArOr* 17/2 (1949) 10. They were active during the last years of Hattušili III and the reign of his son Tuḫaliya IV. This dates, of course, only the extant tablet. We saw

that the correct understanding of *ina nanmurišu* attested a translator who worked from a correct copy. The use of *takku*, not *mān*, for “if” shows that the Hittite translation reflects an old tradition.

There is another fragment of an omen text dealing mostly with the horns of the moon, KUB 8.13 (*CTH* 533.5). The extant Hittite fragment is part of a right-hand column, so the tablet may have been bilingual. The protases run as follows: (5') “If the moon's horns be[come] branches; (7') If [there is] a branch at the moon's left horn; (9') If a star stands at the moon's right horn; (10') If a star stands at the moon's left horn; (11') If stars stand at the right and left horn of the moon.”

But the next two omens deal with different aspects: (13') “If the moon becomes exceedingly brilliant(?), and (14') If the moon becomes exceedingly little(?)” For these two lines and the problem of determining the meaning see *CHD* 3.3.299 s. v. *mišriwešš-*.

In other lunar omens from Boğazköy the horns are mentioned among different phenomena: Akkadian KUB 37.162 (*CTH* 532.I.2), a left column, and Hittite KUB 8.12 and duplicates (*CTH* 533.6), right columns in all copies; but in KUB 8.12 the lines are not running through, showing that this copy was not part of a bilingual.

These omen texts are offered to the memory of Abraham Sachs in the hope that they, in conjunction with the parallel from Emar, will help in the reconstruction of the text, or at least of the development of the series *Enuma Anu Enlil*.

HITTITE HISTORIOGRAPHY: A SURVEY*

When asking myself: what significant contributions did the Hittites make to the cultural history of the world, I can only think of two fields: art and literature. Yet even there their contributions are limited. Their art, while having a marked style of its own, owes most of its subject matters and modes of expression to the general tradition of the Near East, and in quality it cannot be compared to that of Egypt, although it does, in its best products, match that of other parts of Western Asia. Literature, too, is in great part an adaptation of foreign works. This is true of hymns and prayers as well as of the more elaborate epic compositions. As original works of mythological literature there remain those of truly Anatolian, i.e., most probably Hattic origin: the various stories about a lost or hiding god and that of the conflict between the Stormgod and the Dragon. In the field of mythology, the Hittites were transmitters rather than creators, as has been shown by a comparison of the Kumarbi myths with the *Theogony* of Hesiod and other works.

In contrast, it seems to me that the Hittites made original contributions in the field of historiography. It is true that the Hittites produced neither a Herodotus nor a Thucydides. Some of our colleagues in Classical studies consider this enough to dismiss all Hittite and — for that matter — other near-eastern historical texts as unworthy of their consideration. If this standard is employed, there is no point in arguing. But we should not apply extraneous standards to a period and a civilization to which they are not applicable. Leaving them aside, we shall see that the Hittite historical texts have merits of their own.

What kinds of historical texts do we find? There are first-person accounts of kings, a type well known from Babylonia. There it grew out of the dedicatory inscription styled in the *inūma - inūmišu* pattern: "I am king so-and-so. *When* I had conquered land X and done such and such deeds, *then* I built this temple for the god Y," where the historical account is in the "when"

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clause; the end consists of blessings for him who would preserve the building and curses against him who would destroy it.¹ It is noteworthy that this type was not taken over by the Hittites. Almost all their royal accounts begin with the Akkadian formula *umma NN šarru rabû* "thus speaks NN, the Great King," a formula that is common to royal edicts and letters. Some historical texts are indeed introductions to royal edicts or decrees, as we shall see. One cannot say that Hittite historiography grew out of royal edicts, since other texts are also introduced by the *umma* formula, for instance magical rituals which begin "Thus speaks Anniwiyani" or "Tunnawi" and many other incantation priests. What can be said is that the *umma* formula puts the historical accounts on the same level as any other pronouncement of the king.²

The only exceptions to this form are found at the very beginning and end of Hittite history. A text of Šuppiluliuma II, the last known king, begins with the words "I am Šuppiluliuma, the Great King, son of Tudhaliya, the Great King, grandson of Hattušili, the Great King." This is identical with the beginning of the hieroglyphic Luwian inscription of the same ruler, as pointed out by Professor Laroche,³ and is the standard form of introduction of all such inscriptions, which, thus, follow the Akkadian and especially the West-Semitic model.

The other exception is the much discussed text of Anitta of Kuššar. Its introduction is still a crux, since it only consists of his name, patronymic, and title followed apparently by *qibi*, the imperative "speak,"

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1. S. Mowinkel, "Die vorderasiatischen Königs-und Fürsteninschriften," *Eucharisterion* (H. Gunkel Festschrift I, *FRLANT* 19), Göttingen 1923, pp. 278–322; W. Baumgartner, *OLZ* 27 (1924), pp. 313–317.
 2. In *ZA* 44 (1938), pp. 94 f., I only spoke of historical texts which have the form of edicts, but did not derive all Hittite historiography from edicts. Nor did I do so in a paper read before the Turkish History Congress of 1937 (published in Turkish only): *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından IX. Seri, N°. 2)*, Istanbul, 1943, pp. 177–181.
 3. E. Laroche "Nisantaş," *Anatolica* 3 (1969–70), pp. 93–98.

which is common in letters but makes little sense without saying “to whom” the reader should speak. Here it almost sounds as if the command were addressed to Anitta! Be that as it may, what is perhaps more interesting is the fact that at one point the text says that this account was inscribed on the gate — a reflex of the Babylonian type of building inscription. But strangely, this mention of an inscription comes very early in the text, and the narrative continues after this, as though the author had added the accounts of the most important events to an existing short text.

The Anitta text is now available in the German translation of Erich Neu,⁴ Vieyra gave excerpts in French.⁵ A few of the better preserved sections follow as samples:

Anitta, son of Pidḫana, king of Kuššara, speak!
He (i.e., Pidḫana) was dear to the Stormgod of Heaven,
and as he was dear to the Stormgod of Heaven the king of Neša [...] to the king of Kuššara.

The king of Kuššara came with might down from (his) city
and took Neša at night by assault.
He captured the king of Neša
but did no harm to the people of Neša;
he [rather] treated them as mothers and fathers.

After my father Pidḫana I defeated an uprising in one year:
By (the help of) the Sungod, whatever country rose up, I
defeated them all.

(there follows a fragmentary section dealing with various towns, among them Ḫatti)

These words [I put] on my gate with a tablet.
In all future, let no one destroy this tablet!
Whoever destroys it shall be (counted as) enemy of Neša!

For the second time Piyušti, king of Ḫatti, ca[me],
and his helper whom he brought along,
I [defeated(?)] them at Šalampa.

All countries from Zalpuwa, from the sea on [I defeated(?)].
Formerly Uḫna, the king of Zalpuwa, had carried the god Šiušmi from Neša to Zalpuwa.
Finally I, Great King Anitta, brought Šiušmi from Zalpuwa back to Neša.
But Ḫuzziya, the (present) king of Zalpuwa, I brought alive to Neša.
But Ḫattuša ... ; I left it alone.
When it finally was plagued by hunger,

my god Ḫalmašuits handed it over⁶ (so that)
I took it at night by assault
and sowed weeds in its place.

Whoever becomes king after me
and settles Ḫattuša again,
let the Stormgod of Heaven hit him!

There follow a campaign against Šalatiwar, a report on building activities, a royal hunting expedition, and another campaign against Šalatiwar. The last paragraph reads:

When I went to war [against ...], the ruler of Puruḫanda [brought] gifts to me: he brought me a seat of iron and a staff(?) of iron as gifts. When he goes into the inner chamber, he sits down in front of me on my right. (End of text)

In the past I thought that since Anitta's name occurs in Old Assyrian documents from Kültepe and even in one from Alishar said to bear his seal, his chancery would have only used the Old Assyrian language and script. I argued that if Anitta had wanted to have the Hittite language written down, his scribes would have employed the Assyrian script for it, too. I could only explain the fact that Hittite was written in the *Babylonian* type of cuneiform by assuming a time lapse between Anitta and the first writing of Hittite. Therefore the Anitta inscription, which makes the impression of an authentic document, would have been originally written in Assyrian and later translated into Hittite.⁷ I have changed my mind. First, Neu has demonstrated that the text shows no trace of being a translation.⁸ Secondly, we now know from the sealed bullae and inscribed

6. In this interpretation I now follow F. Starke, “Halmasuit im Anitta-Text ...,” *ZA* 69 (1979), pp. 47–120.

7. H. G. Güterbock, *ZA* 44 (1938), pp. 139–143; idem, *JAOS* 84 (1964), p. 109.

8. Neu (above, n. 4), pp. 132–135. His main arguments are the fact that the language of the Anitta Text is good Old Hittite, which he contrasts with the un-Hittite word order observed in translations from the Hattic, and a few details, such as the non-occurrence of the particles *-za* and *-kan*. Neu also thinks that the divine name *Sius(mis)* here still means “Sun” in contrast to the normal (according to him: later) meaning “god” of *sius*. This theory, unconvincing as it was, has now been aptly refuted by Starke (above, n. 6). The “good Old Hittite” could also be explained if the text were a free version of an Akkadian text rather than a translation. In so far the objections to Neu's dating voiced in the general discussion by Dr. Aaron Kempinsky are valid. On the other hand, since recent finds at Kültepe (still unpublished) tend to extend the duration of the *karum* IB period, to which Anitta belongs, to some time after Hammurapi, the time lapse between Anitta (late 18th century?) and Labarna I (middle of 17th century) is much shorter than previously assumed, so Anitta would not be that much earlier than the Old Kingdom. For possible contemporary Akkadian models, see below n. 12.

4. E. Neu, *Der Anitta-Text* (*StBoT* 18). 1974.

5. M. Vieyra, in R. Labat, et al., *Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique*, 1970, p. 467.

dockets found at Acemhüyük shown by Mrs. Nimet Özgüç in lectures in New York and Chicago⁹ that about the time of Anitta central Anatolia was in contact with Mari, and that some of those dockets are inscribed in Babylonian characters, not Assyrian. If, as is likely, Acemhüyük is the site of Puruṣḫanda, the special honors accorded its king by Anitta gain in importance. And it is by no means impossible that Anitta employed Assyrian-trained scribes when dealing with the Assyrian merchants, but Babylonian, or rather Syrian-trained ones for writing Hittite. We do not know Anitta's own ethnic background, but there is no reason why he could not have been a Hittite and spoken that language, which is attested in Kültepe even long before his time. I, for one, do not call him a "Protohittite"!

The main exemplar of the text is written in the kind of handwriting which we now know to belong to the Old Hittite kingdom and may well be a copy made at that time, that is, some 100 to 150 years after Anitta.

From the Old Kingdom we have a number of historical texts of different nature. Of Ḫattušili I two texts were handed down and copied until the time of the New Kingdom. In character they differ: one is a highly personal document in which the aging and ailing king installs his adopted son Muṣṣili as successor.¹⁰ Its aim is not to write history but to show the reasons for the old monarch's decisions. In doing so he draws upon the past, tells what happened before in order to justify what he did, in the form of short episodes inserted into the body of the edict. This method is characteristic of a number of Hittite works of later times as we shall see. The other text is the oldest example of what may be called Annals in that it reports the king's military exploits year by year, covering the first five of his reign.¹¹ The term "annals" is here used in the same sense as for the later Hittite and Assyrian annals which also cover military activities only and say nothing of other events.

Two points attract our attention here. One is the fact that both documents of Ḫattušili I exist in an Akkadian version alongside the Hittite. The language is not Assyrian but Babylonian, and obviously "made in Ḫattuša"! Why or for whom were the Akkadian versions written? Was this one of the requirements of the scribal school? Maybe texts had to be put into the classical language simply because it was the basis of all learning? We do not know.

Professor Tadmor has suggested¹² that Babylonian or Syrian inscriptions similar to the building inscription of Yaḫdun-Lim might have served as model for the "Annals" of Ḫattušili I (and, by extension, we may add also for the text of Anitta?). If so, Ḫattušili's scribes changed the format: his text is not a building inscription. The style is much drier; the narrative consists of a simple enumeration of the cities conquered and the booty taken. The fragmentary inscription of Zimri-Lim, mentioned by Professor Tadmor as another possible model, is closer to this dry style. Only in the last paragraph, where Ḫattušili stresses his most glorious deed, is the style more elaborate:¹³

No-one had crossed the Euphrates, but I, the Great King Tabarna, crossed it on foot, and my army crossed it [after me(?)] on foot. Sargon [(also) crossed it]; he defeated the troops of Ḫaḫḫum [but] did nothing to [Ḫaḫḫum] and [did not] burn it down, nor did he show the smoke to the Stormgod of Heaven. I, the Great King Tabarna, destroyed Ḫaššuwa and Ḫaḫḫum and burned them down with fire and [showed] the smoke to the [Storm]god of Heaven. And the king of Ḫaššuwa and the king of Ḫaḫḫum I harnessed to a wagon.

This shows that the Sargon stories were known to the king or his writers. In the light of the discoveries at Tell Mardikh the famous expedition of Sargon of Akkad against Nur-Dagan of Puruṣḫanda has a better chance now of reflecting a real event, but this would have taken place seven centuries before Ḫattušili. Since there existed a literature about the kings of Akkad already in the Old Babylonian period, it is likely that Ḫattušili knew of this famous king through some literary texts of the so-called Historical Tradition. The Hittites themselves also produced works of this genre. Leaving aside the popular story of *šar tamḫari*, The King of Battle, about Sargon's campaign to Anatolia,¹⁴ I want to dwell on those texts of the Tradition literature which must be dated to the Old Kingdom on the basis of their archaic language.

Fragments of this literature were known for a long time, as they were included in Forrer's *Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift*, First part, of 1922. But new finds of recent years restored those texts and added new ones. The

9. A Turkish version appeared in *Belleten* 41 (1977), pp. 357–381; an English version in E. Porada (ed.), *Ancient Art in Seals*, Princeton 1980, pp. 61–69.

10. F. Sommer-A. Falkenstein, *Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattusili I (Labarna II) (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-Historische Abteilung, Neue Folge 16)*, 1938.

11. H. Otten, *MDOG* 91 (1958), pp. 78–83; F. Imparati and C. Saporetti, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 14 (1965), pp. 40–85.

12. H. Tadmor, in *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of J. J. Finkelstein* (Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Memoirs 19), 1977, p. 213.

13. H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 18 (1964), pp. 1–6.

14. H. G. Güterbock, "Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung ...," *ZA* 42 [N.F. 8], (1934), pp. 1–91; 44 [N.F. 10] (1938), pp. 45–149. For *šar tamḫari* see *ZA* 44, pp. 45–49; P. Meriggi, *Gedenkschrift W. Brandenstein*, 1968, pp. 259–269; H. G. Güterbock, *MDOG* 101 (1969), pp. 14–26.

most striking new find is the beginning of the story about the city of Zalpa. The second half of the text was known, but the beginning was a new find, ably published by Professor Otten.¹⁵ The story deserves being read:

The queen of Kaneš gave birth to thirty boys in one year. She said: "What a crowd did I give birth to!" She filled boxes with manure, put the boys inside and entrusted them to the river. The river carried them to the sea, into the country of Zalpuwa. The gods lifted the boys out of the sea and raised them.

When years had passed, the queen again gave birth, (this time) to thirty girls. Those she raised herself. The sons set out to go back to Neša, taking a donkey along. When they came to Tamarmara, they said (to the people): "You heated the house so that the donkey will mount!" The townspeople replied: "Wherever we come, a donkey will mount [once]." The boys said: "Wherever we come, a woman gives birth to [one] child [or two children], but she had us [all] at once!" The townspeople answered: "Once our queen of Kaneš gave birth to thirty girls, but her sons got lost!" The boys said in their heart: "Our mother, whom we were seeking, we have found! Come, let us go to Neša!"

When they went to Neša, the gods gave them different features, so that their mother did not recognize [her sons]. So she gave her daughters to her own sons. The sons did not recognize their sisters

The only one who senses the danger of incest is the youngest, and he warns his brothers; but a gap in the text leaves it to us to guess what happened. Since the continuation deals with hostilities lasting through three generations of Hittite kings one may guess that the sin committed by the sons was considered the cause of the ensuing evil. But this remains speculation.

You may dismiss all this as legend, hence not historiography. But so many nations counted sagas, the tradition of Before the Flood, or the tales of the Heroic Age as real part of their history, that we may allow the Hittites the same. What matters is that they wrote such a story down, probably after it had lived in oral tradition, and that it is a good story.¹⁶

Not all stories of this literary genre are as unreal as this one. The story of the siege of Uršu, in Akkadian,¹⁷ and the Old Hittite account of the war against Ḫaššuwa and its ally, the general Zukraši from Aleppo,¹⁸ are apparently dealing with real events in a

literary style that employs the device of relating the speeches of the protagonists. The events fall into the reign of Ḫattušili I, and the Old Hittite story, according to its language, must have been written relatively soon after the events, under the next king at the latest. Unfortunately the text is too fragmentary and too difficult to be presented here.

But let us turn to the best known historical text of the Old Kingdom, The Proclamation of Telipinu.¹⁹ I consider it a most remarkable piece of writing. To be sure, it is not "pure" historiography for history's sake, but rather an account that serves the purpose of showing reason for political action. The purpose is the regulation of the dynastic succession and the establishment of jurisdiction over the royal family. The introduction is to show that these measures were necessary because in the past, whenever there was unity at home there was success abroad, but when there was strife and murder in the royal family then disaster befell the whole country. The text has been criticized for being repetitious, even for having introduced a non-existing first king. I cannot share this view. The repetitions are an impressive stylistic device²⁰ telling us that under the second and third king things went as well — or nearly so — as under the first; equally impressive is the use of corresponding phrases for the description of the bad times. For reasons that lie outside our discussion here I maintain that Labarna I was a real king and not an invention of Telipinu's scribes. The ability of the author to organize a narrative covering many generations under one theme deserves our admiration.²¹

The use of historical narrative for "showing cause" for action is a device used more often, particularly in the vassal treaties. Although the history as told in these is one-sided, one has to acknowledge the clarity of these accounts and how they "make their point." One of the best examples is the treaty between Tudḫaliya IV and Šaušgamuwa of Amurru.²² Its introduction starts with the statement that Amurru was not conquered by force of arms, but that Aziru rather sought Šuppiliuma's overlordship by his own free will and remained faithful also to Muršili. Skipping Duppi-Tešub, the text then turns to the time of Muwatalli; it says that "the

15. H. Otten, *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa* (*StBoT* 17), 1973.

16. In the discussion, Judg. 12:8–9 was mentioned, which simply states that the Judge Ibzan had 30 sons and 30 daughters and acquired 30 daughters-in-law.

17. ZA 44 (1938), pp. 114–125.

18. H. Otten, *MDOG* 86 (1953), pp. 60 f.

19. E. H. Sturtevant and G. Bechtel, *A Hittite Chrestomathy*, 1935, pp. 182–193.

20. A device discussed by J. Licht, *Storytelling in the Bible*, Jerusalem, 1979. His simplest examples (pp. 57 ff.) come closest to the Hittite text.

21. An analysis of the Telipinu text was given by H. A. Hoffner, Jr., in H. Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts (eds.) *Unity and Diversity*, Baltimore, 1975, pp. 51–56; he describes it as an apology.

22. C. Kühne and H. Otten, *Der Šaušgamuwa-Vertrag* (*StBoT* 16), 1971.

people Amurru” simply declared that they had been vassals by free will and now chose to terminate the relation and sided with the king of Egypt. So then “Muwatalli and the king of Egypt fought about them, and Muwatalli defeated him” (the laconic Hittite reference to the battle of Qadesh!), subjugated Amurru and installed Šapili as its king. Ḫattušili then replaced Šapili by Bentišina, who remained faithful, and now Tudḫaliya concludes this treaty with Bentišina’s son Šaušgamuwa to whom he gives his sister in marriage.

There follows the usual admonitions to acknowledge only the direct descendants of the king, and in order to show clearly what the vassal is *not* to do, Tudḫaliya tells a story. This is not part of the introduction but rather one of those illustrating anecdotes which we briefly mentioned as being used in the edict of Ḫattušili I. It reads:

Do not act like Mašturi! This Mašturi, who was king of the Šeḫa River Land — Muwatalli took him, made him his brother-in-law by giving him his sister in marriage, and installed him as king in Šeḫa. But when Muwatalli became god, his son Urḫitešub became king. [But my father] took the kingship away from Urḫitešub. Mašturi, however, joined the plot, and he whom Muwatalli had made his brother-in-law, did not protect the latter’s son Urḫitešub but rather sided with my father, (saying) “Should I protect a bastard?” (referring to the fact that Urḫitešub was the son of a lesser wife of the king). Would you ever act like Mašturi?

The frankness with which Tudḫaliya here refers to his father’s action is quite surprising; it shows how far objectivity was on occasion carried.

There are other examples of the use of historical narrative to explain political action. From Ḫattušili III we have a number of edicts written with the stated purpose of granting exemption from feudal duties to certain estates. In some of these the narrative is no longer an introduction but has become the essential part. The best known of these is the so-called Apology or Autobiography of the king,²³ in which he ascribes his rise to power to the favor of Ištar, who protected him from the beginning and finally helped him against the transgressions of his nephew Urḫitešub. In his gratitude he donates the estate of one of his opponents to the goddess, appoints his son Tudḫaliya as its administrator, and exempts it from all duties. This is the “edict” part of the text, which otherwise is a masterpiece of political propaganda, but impressive by its logical development of events.²⁴

23. Sturtevant-Bechtel (above, n. 19), 64–83. A new edition is: H. Otten, *Die Apologie Hattusilis III* (*StBoT* 24), 1981.

24. On the propagandistic and apologetic character of the text see A. Archi. “The Propaganda of Hattušili III,”

So far I have mainly talked about historical texts written for a purpose. If you wish, you may exclude them from historiography, if you define it as only the writing of history for its own sake, for telling “what really happened.” The Hittites came close even to such “real” historiography in the class of texts which we call Annals because of the arrangement by successive years. The Hittites called them *pišnadar*, literally “manliness,” meaning Manly Deeds.²⁵ If we say “Deeds” for short, we should remember that the Hittite term is not the same as *res gestae*, but rather has the connotation of *virtutes*. We mentioned one such work of the Old Kingdom, but the best examples come from the New Kingdom, and especially from Muršili II, who reigned shortly before 1300 B.C.

It is strange that those annals texts that have been preserved are so unevenly distributed among the known kings. We have fragments of the Annals of Tudḫaliya, the first ruler of the New Kingdom, and of a similar text about his co-regency with his son Arnuwanda I.²⁶ The great Šuppiluliuma did not write annals; his Manly Deeds²⁷ were written by his son, Muršili II, who must have felt it necessary to fill the gap. Muršili’s own Annals are by far the best preserved of all.²⁸ After that we only find a few fragments which may or may not be parts of annals of Ḫattušili III.²⁹

It is hard to explain this phenomenon. Is it really by chance that all the other annals were destroyed? Is there another archive hidden underground at Boghazköy with all the ‘missing texts’? One might also think that some kings did not care to write about their deeds, and that Muršili, whose personality speaks to us from his numerous texts, was more than others given to conscientious and detailed reporting about what happened and why.

I just spoke of kings as ‘writing’ their annals. I know that most kings were not able to write, and I do not mean that the king wrote in person on a tablet. But there is no denying that some texts make the impression

Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici 14 (1971), pp. 185–216; Hoffner, (above, n. 21), pp. 51–55; cf. the paper by Prof. Tadmor in this volume on “Autobiographical Apology in the Royal Assyrian Literature.”

25. Usually written partly logographically as LÚ-*natar*; see J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. For the Hittite reading see E. Neu and H. Otten, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 77 (1972), pp. 181–190. (In the discussion, M. Weinfeld compared גבורה (*g^ebūrā*) as used, e.g., in I Kings 16:27).

26. Listed in E. Laroche, *Catalogue des Textes Hittites*, 1971, nr. 142–143.

27. H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 10 (1956).

28. A. Götze, *Die Annalen des Mursilis* (*MVAG* 38), 1933 [Nachdruck: Darmstadt, 1967] (Hereafter: *AM*).

29. Laroche (above, n. 26), nr. 82.

of vividly expressing the views or feelings of an individual, and Muršili's texts, especially his prayers, have this quality. One may argue whether such texts were actually dictated by the king or whether he would only give guidelines to his 'scribes' who would then use their own words. In this connection the question of sources comes up. A text like the Ten-year Annals of Muršili must have been conceived as a whole and written at one time, which obviously could not have been earlier than the tenth year of his reign. It is unlikely that it was then all written from memory; there must have been some records on which the writers could draw. It has been observed that some parts of the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma, which only list the conquest of one city after another, look like simple quotes from such records. The search for, and use of, archival material is mentioned. The best examples are in the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma and in one of the Plague Prayers of Muršili.³⁰ Both texts quote verbatim from the same old tablet that told how the Stormgod had led the people of Kuruštama to Egypt, and how on that occasion the Hittites and Egyptians had concluded a treaty. The context of these quotes is different: in the Deeds it serves as background to the new ties expected from the marriage of a prince with the widow of Tutankhamun; in the Prayer it serves to show that the Hittite attack on Amqa, which preceded the Egyptian queen's request for a prince, was a breach of that old treaty, causing the plague as divine punishment.

The three works of Manly Deeds composed under (or by) Muršili deserve special attention. (The following remarks are largely based on the careful analysis by Professor Cancik of Tübingen in his recent book.)³¹ There are, first, the Manly Deeds of Šuppiluliuma, written in the third person with the word "my father" as subject (and "my grandfather" where actions of Šuppiluliuma's father are reported). Thereby Muršili makes it quite clear that this is *his* account of his father's deeds. Second, the so-called Ten-year Annals, which deal with the first ten years of Muršili's reign, and third, his Comprehensive Annals which did (or at least were meant to) cover his entire reign. But the time span covered is not the only difference. The Ten-year Annals have a prologue and an epilogue in which it is stated that this is an account of how the king defeated the enemies who challenged him upon his accession, that he accomplished this within ten years, and that he left out of this

account all the military operations conducted by "the princes and lords."³²

Comprehensive Annals also cover the first ten years and then continue for several more. Where for an episode both versions are preserved, the difference is striking. Not only are the activities of the princes and generals included in the Comprehensive Annals, but in most cases much more detail is given. Also, the Comprehensive Annals describe simultaneous events and how they were related to one another. Stylistically, much use is made of quoted speech, messages, complex syntactical periods including conditional and temporal clauses, and the mode of the non-real for actions that were contemplated but not carried out. Time does not allow for verbatim quotes, so let me give a summary of the account of part of the ninth year.³³

There was trouble in Palā, that is, Paphlagonia, north-west of Ḫattuša, and Muršili sent the general Nuwanza there, who was successful. The king himself went to Kizzuwatna (Cilicia) to worship Ḫebat of Kummanni. While he was there, his brother Šarrikušuḫ, king of Carchemish, joined him but fell ill and died. Now first the body was (or rather, the ashes were) taken to Ḫattuša for the funerary rites, but Muršili apparently stayed in Kizzuwatna and mourned his brother there. Now he got news of a revolt in Nuḫašše (in North Syria). He decided to send a general named Kurunda with troops to Nuḫašše, with the order to destroy the crops. We are told that the gods punished the kings of Nuḫašše for having broken their oaths, and that Aitakama, the king of Qadesh, was killed by his son Niqmaddu.³⁴ Niqmaddu then submitted to Muršili, but the latter did not accept him as vassal, rather expressed the wish that the divine punishment should take its course. Someone, presumably Kurunda, then goes and conquers Qadesh. Meanwhile, troops of Ḫayaša (in Eastern Anatolia) made an incursion, so Muršili now ordered Nuwanza to take care of that danger. But this time Nuwanza wanted to be on the safe side, so he asked the king to consult the oracles for him. The king, still in Kizzuwatna, now first gives the reason why he himself does not march against Ḫayaša. In a broken passage the name Carchemish occurs, followed by the verb "defeated"; apparently Carchemish, which just had lost its king, was threatened by some enemy whose name is lost (Assur and Egypt have been suggested). Muršili argues like this: "Had I now marched against

30. Plague Prayer: A. Götze in *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* 1 (1930), pp. 208–213; idem, in *ANET*, 395; Deeds: Güterbock (above, n. 27), p. 98.

31. H. Cancik, *Grundzüge der hethitischen und alttestamentlichen Geschichtsschreibung (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinaverains)*, Wiesbaden, 1976.

32. Götze, *AM*, 23, 137, Cancik (above, n. 31), pp. 102 ff.

33. Götze, *AM*, pp. 107–127.

34. For this reading of the name see W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 95 (1944), pp. 31 f. The text has a clear *ma*, not *ba*. The same name also in a letter found by the British at Qadesh (Tell Nebi Mend) itself, as reported by A. R. Millard at the 23^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Birmingham, 1976.

this foe (meaning, Ḫayaša), would not [the new enemy], if he heard it, have spoken thus: 'His father conquered Carchemish . . . His brother, whom he had made king in Carchemish, has died. But he (Muršili) did not go to Carchemish and did not put it in order, but rather went into another country.' When I had said so to myself, I did consult the oracles for Nuwanza, the general, and it was decided for him by the oracles in the affirmative."

The king now sent a special messenger to Nuwanza with a letter telling him the favorable outcome of the oracles and commanding him to proceed:

"The Stormgod has already given you this Ḫayašean enemy, so you will smite him!" The king himself then proceeded to Carchemish, with a detour via Aštata (Emar near Meskene)! When he arrived at Aštata, he built a citadel and stationed a garrison there. Now Kurunda brought Niqmaddu of Qadesh, who had killed his father Aitakama, before the king, who now accepted him as vassal. While on his way from Aštata to Carchemish, Muršili was met by the prince who had been sent to Nuwanza. He reported that Nuwanza had indeed defeated the Ḫayašean army of 10,000 men and 700 chariots. After a gap we read that Muršili installed in Carchemish the son of his late brother. He then proceeded to Tegarama, where he was met by the successful Nuwanza and other lords. With another of those "I would have — but" constructions he writes: "I would even have marched against Ḫayaša, but the year had grown short. The lords, too, said to me: 'The year has grown short! Don't march against Ḫayaša, o lord! So I did not go to Ḫayaša but rather to Ḫarran, where I met my troops.'"

The full text of the episode just summarized once covered two columns or 160 lines of a tablet. In all its complexity it gives a vivid picture of events which most probably really happened the way they are told here. The description of how the king had to make decisions in difficult situations has the ring of truth. You will ask: does the objectivity go as far as admitting defeat? The answer is that I do not remember any mention of a defeat of one of the king's own campaigns. Advances of an enemy are frequently mentioned, but always as preceding the king's successful countermeasures. But Muršili says on some occasions (of which we just saw examples) that he was unable to act, and why.

Finally there is one other aspect: the degree to which the narrative includes actions of the gods. Recognition of divine help is common to the historiography of many nations, so we can expect it also in that of the Hittites. We saw that Anitta ascribes the conquest of Ḫattuša to the action of his god, whose rescue from Zalpa he tells in an inserted account of antecedents, a device used by Muršili four hundred years later. Muršili invariably mentions the help of the gods whenever he

reports a victory — it is almost a cliché.³⁵ More specific action of the gods also occurs. During the war against Arzawa a phenomenon called *kalmišana*, traditionally translated "thunderbolt," appeared in the sky and frightened the ruler of Arzawa so much that he became ill and unable to lead his troops in night marches, unnoticed by the enemy, it was the Stormgod who summoned the god Ḫašameli who then "hid" the army, that is, made it invisible.³⁶ While the "thunderbolt" may well be a real natural phenomenon, possibly a meteorite, the other instances are no more than the devout acknowledgment of divine help that we expect. They do not constitute the kind of active interference of the gods which are found in myths and epics. Nor is the mention of divine help comparable to the biblical concept of divine guidance.*

35. For the frequent phrase "the gods helped me" (lit. "walked in front of me") see the references in Götze, *AM*, p. 287 s.v. *ḫuša-* with *piran*.

36. The two episodes are in Götze, *AM*, pp. 47–49 and 127, respectively. For this kind of divine help see M. Weinfeld's paper in the present volume.

*In the interim, a detailed treatment of the subject by H. A. Hoffner, "History and Historians of the Ancient Near East: The Hittites" has appeared in *Orientalia* 49 (1980), pp. 283–332.

THE HURRIAN ELEMENT IN THE HITTITE EMPIRE*

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The oldest written sources found in Anatolia are the so-called Cappadocian tablets, letters and business documents of Assyrian merchant colonies which flourished about 150 years before Hammurabi. In these texts a few Hurrian names are found, but it appears that their bearers are not a part of the local population but rather affiliated or associated with the Assyrian merchants.¹ Similarly, the Hittite inscription of King Anitta of Kuššar,² who reigned toward the end of the Colony Age, does not contain any reference to Hurrians.

After a "dark age" of nearly two centuries, the Old Hittite Kingdom was founded by king Labarna.³ Our only source for Labarna's reign, the Proclamation of Telipinu,⁴ shows that his campaigns were limited to the Tyanitis and neighboring regions; neither did he encounter Hurrians there, nor did he enter Hurrian territory.

This situation changed under Labarna's successors. Hattušili I was the first to deal with the then mighty kingdom of Aleppo⁵ or Yamḥad, as it is called in

outside sources. It seems that the Hittite king was not successful and left the task of ending the war to his grandson Muršili I whom he had adopted as son and made his successor.

From the recently published texts of Alalaḫ (Atshana), which was a vassal kingdom of Yamḥad, we learn that in this period a considerable part of the population of Alalaḫ was Hurrian.⁶ In Aleppo itself, the ethnic situation seems to have been the same. An army commander of the king of Aleppo, mentioned both in Alalaḫ and Boğazköy, bears the Hurrian name Zukraši,⁷ and another Hittite text says that Muršili I "annihilated the Hurrians" when he took Aleppo.⁸ Seen in this connection, the following statement in an edict of Hattušili I is hard to understand:⁹

«The "man" of Zalpa rejected the father's word: this has become of Zalpa! The "man" of Ḫaššuwa¹⁰ rejected the father's word: this has become of Ḫaššuwa!» Or: «the "man" of Ḫalpa has rejected the father's word: Ḫalpa, too, will perish!»

This can hardly be taken literally to mean that the ruler of Aleppo was the son of a Hittite king; rather should one take it in a figurative sense where "father" stands for "overlord."

Hattušili's Syrian wars are the subject of some other old texts, where Ḫaššuwa, Aleppo, and the

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1. E. Bilgiç, «Die Ortsnamen der 'kappadokischen' Urkunden im Rahmen der alten Sprachen Anatoliens», *AFO* XV (1952), 19, with bibliography; Laroche, *Onom.*, p. 89. For abbreviations see the appended bibliography.
2. Latest translation by H. Otten, *MDOG* 83 (1951), pp. 40–42.
3. For the early periods, cf. R. S. Hardy, "The Old Hittite Kingdom," *AJSL* 58 (1941), pp. 177–216. Chronology: Labarna is the great-grandfather of Muršili I who put an end to the reign of Samsuditana of Babylon. On the other hand, Šarrumkīn I of Assyria, whose reign falls within the Colony period, is the fourth King before Šamši-Adad I, the older contemporary of Hammurabi. Since there are about 200 years from the beginning of Hammurabi's to the end of Samsuditana's reign, the distance between the end of the colonies and the accession of Labarna, too, is about two centuries or a little less. This relation is constant, no matter what absolute chronology is adopted.
4. Translated by Sturtevant-Bechtel, *A Hittite Chrestomathy*, p. 183.
5. Aleppo treaty of Muršili II, Goetze *MAOG* IV (1928–29), pp. 59–66; *BoTU* 20, cf. Sommer, *HAB*, pp. 213–214. Landsberger, *JCS* VIII (1954), p. 53, n. 89.

6. Cf. in the "Index of Personal Names" in *Alalakh Tablets*, pp. 125–153, such Hurrian names (marked by an asterisk as coming from Level VII) as: Ari-^dIM (read -Tešub), Ewaria, Nawar-ari, and names with elements Arip-, Binti-, Eḫl-, Ḫebat-, Ibri-, Kušaḫ-, Wanti-, Wari-, etc. For dating the bulk of the Alalaḫ VII texts to the last generations before the fall of Babylon, cf. B. Landsberger, *JCS* VIII, (1954), pp. 51–53.
7. *Alal. Tabl.* No. 6, 28; *MDOG* 86 (1953), p. 61 (where the text should be interpreted "[of the man of] Ḫalap," not "[and (?) ...]"). The identity was recognized by Landsberger, *l.c.*, (n. 6), p. 52. For Hurrian character of the name, cf. *NPN*, p. 259 s. v. *šukr-*; for writing with z also *Alal. Tabl.*, p. 153, *Zukria* (Level IV).
8. *BoTU* 20 ii, 15 f. *KUB* XXVI 72, 10.
9. *BoTU* 10 β, 30 f.; cf. Goetze, *MAOG* IV, p. 64, and Sommer, *HAB*, p. 213.
10. Note that the text in *MDOG* 86, p. 60 f., deals with a "man of Ḫaššuwa."

Hurrians are mentioned again.¹¹ In one of these narratives,¹² the ruler of a town Ilanzura seems to implore, when his country is raided by Hittites, the help of four “kings of the Hurrians” whose names appear, in the dative, as *Uwanti*, *Urutitti*, *Arka*-[...], and *Uwagazzani* (-*ya* “and”). These names have been claimed as Indo-Arian, but some, if not all, may well be Hurrian.¹³

As mentioned above, it was Ḫattušili’s successor, Muršili I who conquered Aleppo. The Telipinu Proclamation connects this event with the raid on Babylon in the following way:¹⁴

«And he (Muršili) went to Aleppo and destroyed Aleppo and brought (*udaš*) captives and goods of Aleppo to Ḫattuša. But afterwards he went to Babylon and destroyed Babylon. Also the Hurrians he defeated, and he kept (*pe ḫarta*) captives and goods of Babylon in Ḫattuša».

The insertion of the defeat of the Hurrians between the destruction of Babylon and the mention of its booty, as well as the different verb used in the latter, seems to indicate that Hurrians attacked the Hittite king on his way home, so that he had to defend his booty against them.

Telipinu, the fifth king after Muršili, again fought against Ḫaššuwa and had to deal with a rebellion in Lawazantiya.¹⁵ In later times this town belonged to Kizzuwatna, a country which included the Cilician plain. Telipinu also concluded a treaty with Išputaḫšu of Kizzuwatna, a ruler who called himself “Great King.”¹⁶ We do not know what the revolt in Lawazantiya means in this connection or what the relation of that town to Kizzuwatna was in this period. But we have a series of treaties between Ḫatti and Kizzuwatna, of which Telipinu’s is the first,¹⁷ while the last is the one con-

cluded between Šuppiluliuma I and Šunaššura.¹⁸ After it, Cilicia must have been incorporated into the Hittite Empire; already Šuppiluliuma himself installed his son Telipinu as “priest” in Kizzuwatna,¹⁹ and thereafter Kizzuwatna no longer appears as a political unit.

But it became a more and more important cultural factor in the Empire. Priests and scribes of Kizzuwatna played an important rôle in the introduction of Hurrian cults and texts into the Hittite capital (cf. below, II, b). It would be interesting to know how old the Hurrian element in Kizzuwatna was, but unfortunately our sources are not sufficient. It is true that a “Cappadocian” text mentions a scribe with the Hurrian name Ḫašim-nawar in Ḫurama, a town near Lawazantiya;²⁰ but, as stated above, we do not know whether this region already belonged to Kizzuwatna at an early time. The land-deed found at Tarsus contains Hurrian proper names, but it cannot be used as evidence for early presence of Hurrians in Cilicia.²¹ Among the kings of Kizzuwatna, the first who bears a Hurrian name is Pilliya who was contemporary with Baratarna of Mitanni, Idrimi of Alalaḫ and if our identification is correct (n. 17) — Zidanta II of Ḫatti.

During the reigns of Šuppiluliuma’s predecessors, both Kizzuwatna and Aleppo became part of the Mitanni Empire.²²

II. HURRIAN INDIVIDUALS IN THE NEW EMPIRE

A. IN THE ROYAL FAMILY

The New Empire, as we call it, begins with Šuppiluliuma’s conquests (from ca. 1380 on), and it is a well-known fact that his most important deed was the overthrow of the Mitanni Empire. We know, however, three generations of his ancestors on the throne of

11. “The Siege of Uršu” (*KBo* I 11, *ZA* 44 [1938], pp. 114–138); *BoTU* 12 (A i 24, see Sommer, *AU*, p. 43, n. 1; Hardy, *AJSL* 58, p. 191 with n. 1).

12. *BoTU* 21 iii, 10 ff. (*ZA* 44, p. 108). In contrast to Hardy, *l.c.*, p. 203 f., I date the events in the time of Ḫattušili rather than Muršili. For the location of Ilanzura cf. Albright, *BASOR* 78 (1940), pp. 27–28.

13. Albright and Dumont, *ibid.*, p. 30; Dumont *apud* O’Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim (Analecta Orientalia* 26, 1948), p. 152. It should not be overlooked that datives in -*i* point to -*a*-stems rather than -*i*-stems. For Hurrian origin of the names cf. Landsberger, *l.c.*, (n. 6), p. 58, n. 120.

14. *L.c.*, (n. 4) i 28–31. Other sources: *KUB* XXVI 74; *BoTU* 20 and the Aleppo treaty (n. 5).

15. *L.c.*, (n. 4) ii 16–21, Sturtevant, pp. 187–190. For localization of Lawazantiya cf. Goetze, *Kizz.*, pp. 71–73.

16. Seal, *Kizz.*, pp. 73–74; treaty: *KUB* IV 76, XXXI 81 and 82, and XXX 42 (catalogue entry). Cf. article quoted in n. 17, p. 110.

17. G. R. Meyer, *Mitteil. d. Inst. für Orientforschung* I (Berlin, Akad., 1953), pp. 108–124. The list (pp. 123 f.) is made to suit the “short” chronology. Following Landsber-

ger (see n. 6), I would prefer taking the Hittite Zidanta who concluded a treaty with Pilliya (*JCS* V [1951], pp. 129–132) as Zidanta II who reigned after Telipinu. The treaty between Pilliya and Idrimi (Meyer, 109) is now *Alal. Tabl.* No. 3.

18. Weidner, *BoSt.* VIII (1923), pp. 88–111; Goetze, *Kizz.*, pp. 36–60.

19. *KUB* XIX 25 and 26, *Kizz.*, pp. 12–17.

20. Bilgiç, *AFO* XV, p. 27.

21. Goetze, *JAOS* 59 (1939), pp. 1–5. If it is of pre-Empire date, as I think (*SBo* I, 53–55), the Hittite king could hardly have donated land in the then independent state of Kizzuwatna; it would then have been issued for a different region and brought to Tarsus for some reason. The mountain Šaktun[uwa] in l. 6 may once prove helpful (cf. *KUB* II 2 ii 57//61, Laroche, *RA* 41 [1947], pp. 86 and 87, n. 2).

22. Šunaššura treaty (n. 18) and Aleppo treaty (n. 5). For the history of Kizzuwatna, cf. also *Kizz.*, pp. 75–81.

Ḫatti;²³ in other words, the dynasty which ruled throughout the New Empire begins with Tudḫaliya II, Šuppiluliuma's great-grandfather, but the political status of what we may call an Empire was only reached under Šuppiluliuma himself. It is under Šuppiluliuma's ancestors that we first find queens with Hurrian names. The oldest are Nikal-mati, the queen of one Tudḫaliya, and queen Ašmu-nikal who ruled with one Arnuwanda.²⁴ It is a controversial but, in my opinion, minor question whether this Tudḫaliya is the second or third king of this name, and whether his son Arnuwanda is an older brother of Ḫattušili II or of Šuppiluliuma.²⁵ At any rate, Nikal-mati and Ašmu-nikal are the first members of the royal family known to us who bear Hurrian names.²⁶ Nikal-mati may have been a foreign princess, but Ašmu-nikal is said to have been her and Tudḫaliya's daughter, which means that a Hurrian name was given to a Hittite princess.²⁷

It is significant that all queens of the New Empire known so far bear Hurrian names: after Nikal-mati and Ašmu-nikal, we find Dadu-Ḫepa or Dudu-Ḫepa²⁸ and Ḫenti, two wives of Šuppiluliuma; Tanu-Ḫapa who is attested with Muwatalli and one Muršili;²⁹ a certain

Mal-Nikal;³⁰ and Pudu-Ḫepa, wife of Ḫattušili III and daughter of a priest of Lawazantiya. This is in contrast to the situation in the Old Kingdom where none of the queens has a Hurrian name.³¹

Among royal princes of the Empire period, too, there are many with Hurrian names: Ašmi/u-Šarrumma, son of Arnuwanda;³² Manninni;³³ Taki-Šarrumma;³⁴ Ḫešmi-Šarrumma;³⁵ Tašmi-Šarrumma;³⁶ Eḫli-Šarrumma;³⁷ Šarru-Kušuḫ, son of Šuppiluliuma I and king of Carchemish;³⁸ his son and successor [...]-Šarrumma;³⁹ and a later king of Carchemish, Ini-Tešub.⁴⁰ In hieroglyphic writing we have Tali-Šarrumma and some other names with the element Šarrumma.⁴¹

So far, the only king with a Hurrian name is Urḫi-Tešub, son of Muwatalli from a harem woman, who was dethroned by his uncle Ḫattušili III. We now know that he called himself Muršili (III) when he became king.⁴² This fact, together with the Hurrian names of queens and princes, lends more weight to the assumption that he might not have been the only king of the Empire who had originally a Hurrian name and only adopted a traditional one when he ascended to the throne.⁴³ It seems that we actually have another example of this kind. Sommer has already noticed that a certain PU-Šarrumma of late date was, in all likelihood, a Hittite king.⁴⁴ Since we know the complete sequence of Hittite kings, there is only room for this PU-Šarrumma if this name designates a ruler known to us under his throne name. The use of the original, personal name in a magic performance would be in place.

23. Güterbock, *Abhdl. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, 1935, I, pp. 63–64; Goetze, *JAOS* 72 (1952), pp. 67–72.

24. *BoTU* 24 = Otten, *MDOG* 83, p. 67 E 15–22; *SBo* I, Nos. 60 (with text *KBo* V, 7), 61, 76, 77; *KUB* XXVI 24, XXXI 42 and 44; prayer *KUB* XVII 21 with duplicates (Goetze, *ANET*, pp. 399–400); *KUB* XIII 8 (writing Ašmu-Ningal).

25. Cf. *SBo* I, pp. 32–37; Goetze, *JAOS* 72, p. 72. Some details need revision now after the discovery of a Šuppiluliuma II by Laroche, *RA* 47 (1953), pp. 70–78. I cannot follow Laroche in identifying the kings in question with Tudḫaliya IV and his son. I am still inclined to take them for Tudḫaliya III and his son, i.e., father and older brother of Šuppiluliuma I. The Išmirika treaty, used in this connection by Goetze, *l.c.*, reflects a state where the Hittite king had direct jurisdiction over Kizzuwatna and therefore belongs probably to a later Arnuwanda (son of Tudḫaliya IV).

26. The name PU-LUGAL-ma in a list of offerings for early kings is an enigma: *BoTU* 25 obv. 10. For a criticism of Sommer's restoration (*HAB*, p. 162, n. 2, adopted by Otten, *MDOG* 83, p. 65 C, obv. 19), cf. already Hardy, *AJSL* 58, p. 186, n. 27. A Hurrian name for the grandfather of Labarna would be hard to explain. There is a PU-LUGAL-ma toward the end of the Empire (below, n. 44) who might be meant here; cf. the mention of Kantuzzili in the preceding paragraph. Landsberger, *l.c.*, (n. 6), p. 125, n. 300, explains the name as non-Hurrian.

27. *SBo* I, Nos. 60 and 77. She probably was Tawananna, i.e., ruling queen, with her brother Arnuwanda, but, since brother-sister marriage was forbidden, not his wife (*SBo* I, p. 37).

28. For identity of the two names see Otten, *MDOG* 83, pp. 57 f.

29. *SBo* I, No. 42 and Nos. 24–29. Muršili II or III? See below, n. 42.

30. *Ibid.*, No. 84.

31. Otten, *MDOG* 83, pp. 64–67, texts A, B and E, col. ii.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 66 ff., C rev. 6; D 11; E v 14.

33. *Ibid.*, C rev. 6 (and 9?).

34. *Ibid.*, D 8, E v. 13.

35. Called "son of the king of Ḫatti" in a letter (correspondence with Egypt); *KUB* III 34, rev. 15.

36. Witness in *KBo* IV 10, rev. 28.

37. *Bo* 1629 iii 24, quoted *HAB*, p. 163, n. 1. Probably different from the king of Išūwa bearing the same name.

38. *MDOG* 83, pp. 67 ff., E iii 3 f., v. 16, and elsewhere.

39. Goetze, *MVAG* 38, p. 124 iii 12.

40. *KBo* IV 10, rev. 29; *KUB* XXVI 43, rev. 29.

41. *SBo* II, Nos. 15 and 224; other names *ibid.*, Nos. 14–17.

42. From a seal found at Boğazköy in 1953. Cf. my contribution to Schaeffer's forthcoming publication of Ras Shamra seals.

43. Cf. Laroche, *Onom.*, 90.

44. *HAB*, p. 163, n. 1; *KBo* IV 14 iii 40 (for the date of the text see Laroche, *RA* 47, p. 76) and *KUB* VII 61, 7–8, where Sommer's rendering should be corrected to read: (5) "[On the figure of] (6) cedar wood the name of the enemy of His Majesty [we put], (7) but on the figure of clay the name (ŠUM!) of P. [we put]; (8) and to the figure of P. [...]" (rest broken).

How is this great number of Hurrian names in the royal family to be explained? Was the choice of such names a kind of fashion, or was the dynasty actually of Hurrian origin? The last question could only be answered in the affirmative if the theory that the kings had Hurrian given names could be proved.⁴⁵ A few details which seem to speak in favor of such an assumption may be noted here. Two magical rituals containing Hurrian material were written down "from the mouth of His Majesty."⁴⁶ The "Weathergod of the (royal) House" is mentioned together with Hurrian deities in one case, in rituals which contain Hurrian elements in others.⁴⁷ It is tempting, therefore, to restore a broken passage in the following way:⁴⁸

"The king [drinks] seated for the gods of the house of H[is Majesty], the singer of Hurri s[ings]."

B. OTHER PERSONS

Laroche has already given a good picture of the situation⁴⁹ which we shall only illustrate by a few examples. In the Old Kingdom, Hurrians are only found as foreigners.⁵⁰ Looking at the New Empire, we shall leave apart the numerous Hurrians in Syria and south-east Anatolia. Apart from these we have a certain Ulmi-Tešub, vassal king of Tattašša. At the court, there is a cup-bearer by the name of Arimelku and a few other persons with Hurrian names. There are also some common people, listed as serfs who live on large estates⁵¹ or in similar lists of individuals, as well as a few slaves who also bear Hurrian names. Laroche's conclusion that the Hurrian element never altered the ethnic character of the Anatolian population is certainly correct.

Most prominent are Hurrians among the authors of magical texts: 'Allaiduraḫi, Artešna, Ašnuniḡalli, Aštabi-šarru, Azzari (called "Hurrian physician"), Eḫal-Tešub (*barū* of Ḫalap), 'Ḫebattarakki, Giziya (of

Alalah), NÍG.BA-^dU (read Ari-Teššub by Laroche), 'Ningal-uzzi, Palliya (king of Kizzuwatna), Papanikri (of Kummanni in Kizzuwatna), Dakuya, Tulpiya (of Kizzuwatna). Among scribes we have: Aliḫḫeni, Kili-Tešupa(?), Kuparapi, Gur-Šarrumma (whose father, however, is Ḫalpaziti!), Ulme-Šarrumma, and [...]Tešub⁵² whose father and grandfather again have Anatolian names (UR.MAḪ.LÚ and Mittanna-muwa, respectively; but cf. Aliḫḫeni in the same family).

The above list contains a number of Hurrian magicians from Kizzuwatna. It should be noted, however, that this country had a mixed civilization, containing Luwian elements as well as Hurrian. The Luwian incantation of Zarpiya, a physician from Kizzuwatna, has long been known; to it may now be added a second example.⁵³ We even find Hurrian deities mentioned in Luwian texts.⁵⁴ Also persons with the Canaanite name Ammiḫatna (a man and a woman) are among the Kizzuwatnaean authors of magical texts, the best known of which contains many Hurrian elements.⁵⁵ The interchange of Hurrian and Anatolian (Luwian?) personal names in some scribal families may reflect the same blending of two civilizations. We are told that the chief of scribes UR.MAḪ.LÚ, already mentioned as a member of one of these families, received orders from queen Puduḫepa to search for tablets of Kizzuwatna and produced copies of the ritual for the *ḫišuwa* festivals as a result.⁵⁶ This reflects the interest which the queen took in the cult of her homeland, and also leads us to an investigation of Hurrian cults in the Hittite Empire in general and the capital in particular.

III. HURRIAN CULTS IN THE HITTITE EMPIRE

There is a great number of Hurrian gods mentioned in Hittite texts, and many of these are descriptions of cult festivals.⁵⁷ Since most texts are fragmentary and, therefore, cannot be dated exactly, we only pick a few significant examples. The texts for the *ḫišuwa* festival have just been mentioned. Most reveal-

45. It seems to me that new material, the publication of which is to be expected soon, will furnish further evidence; but for obvious reasons it cannot be discussed here.

46. *KUB* XV 31 iv 39 and XXIX 8 iv 38 f.

47. Texts quoted by Laroche, *Rech.*, p. 110 under «Dieu de la Maison».

48. *KUB* I 12 obv. 3 f.: LUGAL-*uš* TUS-*aš* DINGIR.MEŠ É.^d[UTU-ŠI (?) ekuzi]; (4) ¹⁰NAR ^{ur}ḫur-ri ŠI[R-RU].

49. *Onom.*, pp. 89–90.

50. Cf. Laroche, *Onom.*, p. 89 with n. 12. Ewarišatuni lived in Ḫaššuwa, and 'Manni-^dNISABA probably also in Syria. For PU-Šarrumma see above, n. 26. References for these and the following proper names in the alphabetical list in *Onom.*

51. Laroche, «Le vœu de Puduḫepa», *RA* 43 (1949), pp. 55–78. Were these estates situated in the queen's homeland?

52. Otten, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* VIII (1951), p. 227, text 787/b.

53. *KUB* IX 31 with duplicates, and XXXV 8; cf. H. Otten, *Zur grammat. und lexikal. Bestimmung des Luvischen* (Berlin, Akad., 1953), pp. 30–58. "Luvili-Rituale aus Kizzuwatna."

54. Friedrich, *AFO* XIV (1941–44), p. 331 f.; Otten, *l.c.*, (n. 53), p. 20.

55. *KBo* V 2; cf. Laroche, *JCS* II (1948), p. 114.

56. Otten, *Bibl. Or.*, VIII, p. 225.

57. Chapter «Divinités hourrites» in Laroche, *Rech.*, pp. 43–65; the same author, «Teššub, Ḫebat et leur cour», *JCS* II (1948), pp. 113–136; Güterbock, «Hittite Religion» in *Forgotten Religions*, ed. by V. Ferm (1950), pp. 94–95.

ing is a prayer of king Muwatalli.⁵⁸ Already in the invocation of the main gods at the beginning of the text, *Ḫebat* occurs.⁵⁹ The king then asks the bull *Šeriš* to intercede for him, and calls him “Bull of the Weathergod of *Ḫatti*,” which means that this Hurrian bull had entered the circle of the gods of the capital. In the enumeration of gods, we find the Hurrian *Tešub eḫellibi* and *Tešub šuḫurribi* in connection with deities of *Arinna*, the great Hittite cult center; significantly enough, the same two forms of *Tešub* are also mentioned on Muwatalli’s own seals.⁶⁰ *Tešub* and *Ḫebat* of *Aleppo*, followed by a host of Babylonian deities in Hurrian disguise, are mentioned together with the main gods of *Ḫatti* and themselves called “of *Ḫatti*”;⁶¹ a ritual for the *Aleppine Tešub* exists,⁶² which may have been performed in the capital. The same divine couple of *Aleppo* appears in the same list as belonging to other countries.⁶³ That Muwatalli’s enumeration also contains Hurrian deities located in southeastern regions is not surprising; more important is, however, the mention of “*Ḫebat*, queen of heaven, and *Ištar*” among “the gods of the palace of the grandfather,”⁶⁴ because it carries the cult of these Hurrian goddesses in the palace back to the time of *Šuppiluliuma*.

The capital was not the only town in Hittite Anatolia into which Hurrian cults were introduced. *Arinna* has just been mentioned. Others were *Ankuwa*, *Durmita*, and, in the *Tyanitis*, *Uda*.⁶⁵ The introduction of the Weathergod of *Ḫalap* as *Ḫalputili* into the Hattic pantheon⁶⁶ and the use of Hurrian singers in the cult of the Hattic god *Waḫiši*⁶⁷ may be mentioned in this connection.

An important Hurrian cult center was *Šamuḫa*, probably situated near *Malatya* and thus belonging to the Hurrian realm. That the goddess of that town, written with the word-sign for *Ištar* but certainly called *Šauška* there, was the personal protectress of *Ḫattušili III* has long been known from this king’s autobiography.

One of the great Hurrian ritual texts found in *Boğazköy*⁶⁸ describes part of the first day of her cult festival. The text is written by a grandson of *Muršili* (probably *Tudḫaliya IV*) but refers to the cult of the same goddess as practiced by *Muršili*. Another text tells us how *Muršili* reorganized the cult of the “Black God” in *Šamuḫa*, which had been transplanted there from *Kizzuwatna* under one *Tudḫaliya* (probably his grandfather, *Tudḫaliya III*).⁶⁹

If we ask how old Hurrian cults in Hittite Asia Minor are, we are, unfortunately, faced with the fact that the majority of ritual texts cannot be dated. However, we have already found certain indications in the texts of *Muršili* and *Muwatalli*, and one reference, in a text of the latter, to his grandfather *Šuppiluliuma*. The text known as *Muršili’s Sprachlähmung*⁷⁰ describes rites performed to appease the Hurrian god *Tešub Manuzziya* in *Kummanni* (*Kizzuwatna*). The Hurrian terms contained in the text are, of course, explained by the nature of the god for whom the offerings are made; but the fact remains that *Muršili II* held a Hurrian god of *Kizzuwatna* responsible for his affliction.

Turning to the lists of gods invoked as witnesses in treaties, we find Hurrian gods already in *Šuppiluliuma’s* treaties. The *Mitanni* treaty has two lists of gods, each one representing the pantheon of one of the partners. The “Hittite” list is summed up by the words “the male and female gods of *Ḫatti* and of *Kizzuwatna*,”⁷¹ thus showing once more that at this time — toward the end of *Šuppiluliuma’s* reign — *Kizzuwatna* was considered part of the Hittite realm. The Hurrian satellites of the Weathergod, the bulls *Šeriš* and *Ḫurriš* and the mountains *Namni* and *Ḫazzi*, are listed right after the Hittite Weathergod (l. 40 f.). Of individual Hurrian gods we find the Weathergods of *Kizzuwatna* and *Uda* (43), *Išhara*, the *Ḫebats* of *Ḫalpa*, *Uda* and *Kizzuwatna* (46 f.), and the Babylonian-Hurrian gods of the Netherworld (51–53). The same king’s other treaties do not have separate lists of gods for the two parties, and since they were concluded with such countries as *Nuḫašše*, *Kizzuwatna*, and *Ḫayaša*, no conclusions for the cult of *Ḫatti* can be drawn from the mention of Hurrian gods. One generation later, however, we find Hurrian deities invoked by *Muršili II* in his treaty with the Land of the *Šeḫa* River in western Anatolia:⁷² Weathergods of *Ḫalap*, *Uda*, *Kummanni*, *Šamuḫa*; *Ḫebat*; *Ištar* of *Ninuwa*; *Ninatta* and *Kulitta*; *Išhara*; and the Former Gods.

58. *KUB VI 45* with duplicate, *ibid.* No. 46.

59. 45 i 11//46 i 12. A reference to *Ḫurri-land* is erased in 45 i 14, while 46 i 15 f. differs.

60. 45 i 39//46 ii 5; *SBo I*, Nos. 38 and 39.

61. ^dU ^uḪalap ^dḪebat ^uḪalap ^uḪatti, 45 i 51//46 ii 16.

62. *KUB XXVII 13*, Laroche, *JCS II*, p. 115.

63. 45 i 43–45//46 ii 9–10 (*Šamuḫa*); 45 i 74–75//46 ii 39.

64. 45 i 41–42//46 ii 8.

65. *KUB XI 27*, festival in *Ankuwa* for Hittite and Hurrian gods, used by Laroche in his table *JCS II*, p. 121. For *Durmita* see Laroche, *ibid.*, p. 117, for *Uda* *ibid.*, p. 114, n. 7 (where the reference for *Ḫebat* of *Uda* should read XV 1 i 1, while *Šarrumma* of *Uda* can be restored in i 19).

66. Laroche, *JCS II*, p. 117 and *RA 41*, p. 78.

67. Laroche, *Rech.*, p. 36, where *KUB XX 26* i 3–5 should be added.

68. *KUB XXVII 1*; cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Syria*, XII (1931), pp. 250–266.

69. *KUB XXXII 133*.

70. A. Goetze und H. Pedersen, *Muršilis Sprachlähmung* (Copenhagen, 1934).

71. Weidner, *BoSt. VIII*, p. 30, rev. 50.

72. Friedrich, *MVAG 34*, 1, pp. 14–16.

All this shows clearly enough that the Hurrian element in the Hittite religion did not appear toward the end of the imperial period only,⁷³ but already at its beginning. If, then, we find that in Yazılıkaya, the famous rock sanctuary outside the capital, the hieroglyphic inscriptions give the Hurrian names of the gods and goddesses worshipped here, we shall not take this as an indication of a late date of the reliefs.⁷⁴ The representation of the Hurrian pantheon in the rock temple of the capital may be as old as the appearance of Hurrian gods in the texts; if the hypothesis that the dynasty beginning with Tudḫaliya II, the great-grandfather of Šuppiliuma, was of Hurrian origin should prove correct, the presence of these Hurrian gods in the capital would be much less surprising than it seemed at first.

IV. LITERATURE, LANGUAGE, AND WRITING

About the Hurrian element in the literature of the Hittites we may refer here to the article of Professor Speiser in an earlier issue of this Journal.⁷⁵ The tradition concerning the kings of Akkad, the Gilgameš Epic, the myths of Kumarbi, Ullikummi, Hedammu and some other tales reached the Hittites through the Hurrians who either transmitted or created them. Since there is nothing to indicate that these literary compositions are older than the beginning of the New Empire, they fall in line with what has been said above.

The Hurrian elements in the Hittite language are not numerous.⁷⁶ Characteristically enough, those Hurrian words which entered the Hittite language as loanwords belong in the religious sphere; the texts of the Old Kingdom are free of such words, so it is safe to say that these loans, too, were not made before the beginning of the Empire.

If, however, it is true that the very system of cuneiform writing was also learned by the Hittites from their Hurrian neighbors, this would indicate much earlier contacts. The reasons given for this theory are good,⁷⁷ and the similarities between the system of writing used in Alalaḫ Level VII and Boğazköy strongly support it. If it is remembered that the bulk of the Alalaḫ VII tablets has been dated by Landsberger to the last generations before the fall of Babylon (above n. 6)

and that in Boğazköy no authentic documents are older than the same generations (Ḫattušili I and Muršili I), the contacts of these Old Hittite kings with the kingdom of Yamḫad may be considered a possible occasion for such a borrowing. But it is impossible to make a more definite statement about the date at which the Hittites learned how to write cuneiform.

V. ART

To determine the Hurrian element in the art of Hittite Anatolia is not easy. What we have of works of art of the Hurrian realm in the second millennium are mainly the cylinder seals of the so-called Mitanni style, found in the extreme east and west of the Mitanni Empire, viz., at Nuzi and Alalaḫ.⁷⁸ This glyptic art drew many of its motifs from Babylonia, either directly or through what is called Syrian glyptic. Like the latter, it shows a predilection for certain motifs, particularly mixed beings. It is true that some of these also occur in Anatolia, both in the monuments of the Hittite Empire and in stamp seals of the centuries before 1400. That the Hurrians were responsible for the wide spread of these motifs is a general assumption but hard to prove in detail. One difficulty lies in the fact that some of the allegedly Hurrian motifs turn up in increasing number in the Colony Age of Cappadocia where, as we have seen, Hurrians were not a part of the local population. One might, then, make the contacts that the colonies had with Syria responsible for their presence. But one should not think in terms of motifs alone. The elements of style and spirit ought not to be neglected. In this respect, the art of Anatolia shows its own characteristics. It has correctly been observed that cult scenes are the main subject of Hittite art, and this is true not only of the imperial monuments but also of the earlier seals, beginning with the Colony Age. It is significant that the fabulous beings are integrated here into these cult scenes. In execution, too, Anatolian works of art represent a style of their own just as much as the seals of the Mitanni and Syrian groups. The gate sculptures of Alacahüyük, the façade of Eflatun Punar, or the stamps from Yozgat and Yazılıkaya⁷⁹ are Anatolian Hittite, no matter whether they contain sphinxes, winged sun discs, or hunting scenes. What matters is that these elements look different from their counterparts in the Mitanni and

73. Laroche, *Rech.*, p. 43.

74. Laroche «Le panthéon de Yazılıkaya», *JCS* VI (1952), pp. 115–123, esp. 122 f.; cf. Güterbock, *MDOG* 86 (1953), pp. 71–74.

75. Vol. I, pp. 315 and 325.

76. Cf. F. Sommer, *Hethiter und Hethitisch* (1947), pp. 93–95.

77. E. A. Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian* (1941), p. 13 f.; E. H. Sturtevant and E. A. Hahn, *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, rev. ed., vol. I (1951), p. 2 f.

78. For this and other stylistic groups of seals see H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (1939); E. Porada, *Seal Impressions of Nuzi* (1947) and her *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, vol. I (1948).

79. These and other Hittite monuments can be found in H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942). Alacahüyük: Nos. 495–525, Eflatun Punar, Nos. 526–527. The stamp from Yozgat: D. G. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals* (1920), p. 75, fig. 78; the one from Yazılıkaya: *SBo* II, No. 221.

Syrian glyptic and are used in a different spirit. The present writer intends to discuss this matter in detail at another occasion.⁸⁰

In view of the Hurrian elements in other fields of Hittite civilization of the Empire it would be strange if there were none in its art. One might even assume that alongside with Hurrian scribes and priests, the — possibly Hurrian — kings of the Empire also had Hurrian artists at their court. But the Hittite element was strong enough to absorb these foreign elements and form them according to its own patterns. Just as the kings bore Hittite names and used Hittite as official language, as the Hurrian myths and epics were translated into Hittite, as the Hurrian gods were, in a syncretistic way, equated with their Anatolian counterparts, so were the works of art created in a style which is essentially Anatolian and can be traced back to a time which precedes the New Empire by several centuries.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung.</i>
<i>AJSL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.</i>
<i>Alal. Tabl.</i>	D. J. Wiseman, <i>The Alalakh Tablets.</i> London, 1953 (Occasional Publ. of the Brit. Inst. of Archaeology at Ankara, No. 2).
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.</i>
Bo	inventory number of unpublished Boğazköy tablets.
<i>BoSt</i>	<i>Boghazköi-Studien</i> ; No. VIII = E. F. Weidner, <i>Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien</i> , 1923
<i>BoTU</i>	E. Forrer, <i>Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift</i> (1922–26).
Goetze, <i>ANET</i>	translations of Hittite texts in <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> , ed. by J. B. Pritchard (1950).
Goetze, <i>Kizz.</i>	<i>Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography</i> (1940).
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies.</i>
<i>KBo</i>	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi.</i>
<i>KUB</i>	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi.</i>
Laroche, <i>Onom.</i>	<i>Recueil d'onomastique hittite</i> (1952).
Laroche, <i>Rech.</i>	<i>Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites</i> (1947).
<i>MAOG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft.</i>
<i>MDOG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.</i>
<i>MVAG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft.</i>
<i>NPN</i>	Gelb, Purves and McRae, <i>Nuzi Personal Names</i> (1943).
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.</i>
<i>SBo</i>	Güterbock, <i>Siegel aus Boğazköy</i> (<i>AfO</i> , Beih. 5 and 7, 1940–42).
Sommer, <i>AU</i>	<i>Die Ahhijawā - Urkunden</i> (1932).
" , <i>HAB</i>	<i>Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattušili I (Labarna II)</i> , with A. Falkenstein (1938).
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.</i>

80. Cf. Speiser, *JWH*, vol. I, p. 320. To the general literature on the problem given there in n. 29 add: *SBo* II, pp. 48–52; Landsberger, *Sam'al* (1948), pp. 83–98; Moortgat, *ZA* 48, pp. 152–160; Bittel, *ZA* 49, pp. 256–290.

KANEŠ AND NEŠA: TWO FORMS OF ONE ANATOLIAN PLACE NAME?*

In these pages dedicated to Professor Benjamin Mazar, who has done so much for the elucidation of the historical geography of the Near East, I intend to offer a hypothesis rather than a definite statement. The hypothesis is that Kaneš and Neša are the same town. The evidence is not sufficient for a proof in the strict sense, so I can only give the reasons that have led me to consider the equation.¹

Kaneš or Kaniš is well known as the ancient name of the mound called Kültepe near the village of Karahüyük, some 15 miles northeast of Kayseri.² The

name occurs frequently in the Old Assyrian documents of the merchant colonies,³ of which Kaneš was the most prominent. The place is also mentioned in a Mari letter together with two other Anatolian towns, Ḫarsamna and Ḫattusa.⁴

In the Boghazköy texts, references to the town itself are rare. A certain Zipani, king of the country of Kaneš (LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*Ka-ni-eš*), is listed among the enemies of Naram-Sin in a legendary text.⁵ That the region still bore the name of the town in the New Empire is shown by a passage in the Great Text of Ḫattušili III: "The (Gašgæan) enemy crossed the Halys and began to attack the country of [...]-pa and the country of Kaneš" (KUR ^{URU}*Ka-ni-eš*).⁶ To the same period belongs the mention of a "governor of the country of Kaneš" (*ŠA-KI-IN* KUR ^{URU}*Ka-ni-eš*) in the Vow of Puduḫepa.^{6a}

In contrast to this meager attestation in historical texts, the name is relatively frequent in festival rituals. An offering for the gods of Kaniš is mentioned in lists of offerings⁷ to a group of gods who have been recognized

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1. The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

FOR PUBLICATIONS OF BOGHAZKÖY TEXTS:

- BoTU = E. Forrer, *Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift* (Wiss. Veröff. der Dtsch. Orient-Ges. 42, 1926)
 IBoT = Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri
 KBo = Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi (Wiss. Veröff. der Dtsch. Orient-Ges. 30, 36, 68, 69, 1921–55)
 KUB = Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi (Staatliche Museen, etc., 1921 ff.)
 VBoT = A. Götze, *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte*, Marburg 1930
 Bo = Museum numbers of unpublished Boghazköy tablets from the excavations of 1906–1912.

OTHERS:

- AfO = Archiv für Orientforschung, ed. Weidner
 ArOr = Archiv Orientalní (Prague)
 HUCA = Hebrew Union College Annual (Cincinnati)
 ICK = B. Hrozný, *Inscriptions cunéiformes du Kultépe* (Monografie Archivu Orientálného XIV, 1952)
 JCS = Journal of Cuneiform Studies, ed. Goetze
 JKF = Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung, ed. Bossert
 MDOG = Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
 MVAG = Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatische-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft
 OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
 RA = Revue d'Assyriologie
 RHA = Revue Hittite et Asiatique, cited by fascicles
 ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
 ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

2. B. Hrozný, *Syria* 8 (1927), 10.

3. Occurrences in Colony texts are listed by E. Bilgiç, *AfO* 15 (1945–51), 33 f., and in ICK p. 19; spellings: *Ga-ni-eš* and *Ga-ni-iš*.
 4. G. Dossin, *RHA* 35 (1939), 70 ff., line 8: [*iš*]-*tu Ka-ni-iš*^{KI}. According to J. Bottéro et A. Finet, *Répertoire Analytique des Tomes I à V* (Archives Royales de Mari XV, 1954), 128, Kaniš is not mentioned in the texts there indexed.
 5. KBo III 13 = BoTU 3 = ZA 44 (1938), 68, obv. 11.
 6. Col. ii 5–7; A. Götze, *Hattušiliš* (MVAG 29, 3, [1925]), p. 14 f.; E. H. Sturtevant and G. Bechtel, *A Hittite Chrestomathy* (1935), p. 68 f.; cf. Götze, *RHA* 1 (1930), 25 sub a.
 6a. E. Laroche, "Le Voeu de Puduḫepa," *RA* 43 (1949) 55 ff., col. ii 18 (p. 60), text KUB XXVI 61, 15 with 63, 18. For a *šakin* of Ugarit, see J. Nougayrol, *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit IV* (Mission de Ras Shamra IX, 1956), p. 262 under *sakinnu*.
 7. KUB II 13 iii 14–iv 3; H. Th. Bossert, *Ein heth. Königsiegel* (Istanbuler Forschungen 17, 1944), 39 f.; DINGIR. MEŠ ^{URU}*Ka-ni-iš* in iii 25; restored by Bossert, *op. cit.*, p. 41, also in iv 26. A similar list, Bo 2597 + Bo 2659 ii 4 ff., is quoted by H. Otten, *JKF* 2 (1951), 73 n. 29.

as “Kanishite” deities.⁸ In the cult of these and related gods “the singers of Kaniš sing.”⁹ An adverb *kanišumnili* “in the language of the Kanisians” was found by Otten in a text which refers to two deities of this same group, namely Pirwa and The Seven.¹⁰ In this connection Otten published two fragments of poetical texts mentioning Pirwa and raised the question as to whether they were written in a strange sort of Hittite or rather in “Kanisian” (*kanišumnili*).¹¹

Turning to Neša and again starting with the Colony texts, we find the following mentions, of which the second is not quite certain: One document¹² deals with garments “that entered the palace in *Ni-ša*.” In the other,¹³ garments are given *a-na ni-ša*(? or: *iš*?)*-e-im*, a form explained by Lewy as nisbe of Neša, “to the Nesian.”

Outside the Assyrian Colony documents, the city of Neša is known mainly from the Anitta inscription.¹⁴ According to this text, Neša was conquered by Anitta’s father, Piṭhana, who defeated its king and took the town, but treated its inhabitants friendly. Anitta himself brought the statue of the god Šiušummi, whom an earlier king of Zalpuwa had carried away, back to Neša (39 ff.). In the rest of the inscription he mentions Neša as if it had become his own residence: he takes both the king of Zalpa, whom he has captured (43 f.), and the ruler of Puruṣhanda (76 f.) to Neša; in that town he erects buildings (55 ff.), and the army of Neša appears to be Anitta’s own army (68 ff.).

In other Hittite sources the name Neša is found only rarely. In a text dating from the Old Kingdom we read a short song which begins with the words “The garments of Neša” (of the rest, very little is understood).¹⁵ The only other occurrence known to me is in a passage

inserted into a ritual text, in which Neša is mentioned in connection with queen Šummiri of the Old Kingdom.¹⁶

The language which moderns call Hittite was called Nesian by the Hittites themselves.¹⁷ The pertinent adverb appears in the three forms *na-a-ši-li* (with a change from *e* to *a* known from other instances in Hittite),¹⁸ *URU ni-ši-li*,¹⁹ and *ne-eš-um-ni-li*.²⁰ The last form, used by a scribe of Arzawa who asks his Egyptian colleague to answer in that language, i.e., in Hittite, is an adverb in *-ili* derived from the gentilic noun *Nešumna-* “Nesian,” whereas *našili/nišili* is formed directly from the place name. The gentilic noun, *Nešumna-*, itself is now also attested: in a festival text²¹ “the Nesians (LÚ.MEŠ *Ne-šu-me-ni-eš*) sing” while offerings are made to three deities of the group mentioned above as “Kanishite”: [Ašgašepa],²² The Queen, and Pirwa.

Thus far the sources. We now turn to the reasons for our attempt to identify Neša with Kaneš.

First, it is curious that Kaneš is not mentioned in the Anitta text. We know that Piṭhana ruled over Kaneš.²³ Recently a dagger bearing the Old Assyrian cuneiform inscription “Palace of Anitta, the king” has been found on the city mound of Kültepe,²⁴ a fact which supplements the textual evidence.²⁵ The conclusion that the building in which the dagger was found actually was “the palace of Anitta” cannot safely be drawn, since the

8. A. Goetze, “The Theophorous Elements of the Anatolian Proper Names from Cappadocia,” *Language* 29 (1953), 263–277; our first text there p. 264, List 2.

9. References: E. Forrer, *ZDMG* 76 (1922), 196 ff., Nos. 69–97; passages translated by Bossert, *Ein heth. Königss.* 23–49; additions by Goetze, *l.c.*, 272 ff.

10. H. Otten, “Pirwa - der Gott auf dem Pferde,” *JKF* 2 (1951) 62–73; transliteration of Bo 6222, 8–13 on p. 67.

11. *Ibid.* 70; Bo 1391 and Bo 6483, p. 65 fig. 1, p. 69 fig. 2.

12. Collection Winkenbach, J. Lewy, *RHA* 17 (1934), 4; lines 1–3 transliterated in G. Eisser and J. Lewy, *Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe*, 3. und 4. Teil (*MVAG* 35, 3, [1935]), 180.

13. Eisser-Lewy, *op. cit.* 1–2 (*MVAG* 33, [1930]), p. 138, No. 150, 6, with note c. Lewy’s hand copy gives *-iš*.

14. Copy A: BoTU 7; B: BoTU 30; C: KUB XXXVI 98–98 c; cf. Otten, *MDOG* 76 (1938), 44 f. Translation by Otten, *MDOG* 83 (1951), 40 ff.; cf. Hrozný, *ArOr* I (1929), 273–298.

15. KBo III 40 = BoTU 14 a, line 13; cf. Hrozný, *l.c.* 297, whose translation is far from certain.

16. Bo 2911 and Bo 3175, cited by Forrer, BoTU II 24*. According to my copies it seems that the two fragments join; 3175 r. col. 1’+2911 r. col. 11’. Bo 2911 r. col. 5 f. reads: [.....] *URU Ne-ša-an URU-an* (6) [.....] *x-e-eš ar-ḫa da-a-ir* “[When(?)] the [..... (plur.)] took Neša, the town, away.” Bo 3175 r. col. 5 (line 15 of combined text): *na-an EGIR-pa URU Ne-e[-ša]* [.....] “And [they bring(?)] her (a certain Ašuhani) back to Ne[ša].” *Šummiris* in 2911, 11.

17. Hrozný, *Journal Asiatique* 218 (1931), 307 ff., esp. 317 ff. I fully agree with Goetze (*Language* 29, 263 n. 4) in rejecting the doubts that have been expressed concerning this meaning of the term; cf. also B. Landsberger, *Sam’al I* (*Veröff. der Türk. Hist. Ges.*, VII. Serie Nr. 16, Ankara 1948) p. 101 f.

18. KBo V 11 i 3.

19. IBoTI 36 iii 64.

20. VBoT 2, 25; for the reading see Hrozný, *l.c.*, 317.

21. KBo VII 38 r. col. 10.

22. For the restoration see E. Laroche, *OLZ* 1955, 226.

23. This is the most natural interpretation of the formula *i qāti Biṭhana rubā’im Anita rabi similti* in a Kültepe document discussed by J. Lewy, *RHA* 17 (1934), 1–8; transliterated and translated by the same, *Archives d’Histoire du Droit Oriental* 2 (1938), 120 f.

24. T. Özgüç, “The Dagger of Anitta,” *Belleten (Türk Tarih Kurumu)* 20 (1956), 33–36 with fig. 3.

25. In view of that find I would take the formula *i qāti Anita rubā’im rabi’im*, though attested only for Alishar (Lewy, *RHA* 17, 6 and *Archives, l.c.*, 133 ff.) to mean that Anitta succeeded his father in the rule over Kaneš, too.

dagger may have been brought there from another building in Kaneš or even from another town. However that may be, it seems that the large and rich city of Kaneš was under the rule of both Piṭhana and Anitta, so that it is strange not to find it mentioned in the inscription dealing with their deeds. This difficulty would disappear if Neša, conquered by Piṭhana and used as a residence by Anitta, were identical with Kaneš.

Second, there is the linguistic situation. Already in the first stages of Hittitology, E. Forrer concluded from the Hittite names of some of the gods for whom the singer of Kaneš sings, that Hittite (as we call it) was the language of that singer; he even introduced the term “Kanisch” and used it for the language called “Hittite” by all others.²⁶ It is true that not all the names of gods connected with the singer of Kaneš are Hittite, and that some of these gods also appear in different ethnic settings; however, the fact remains that those gods whose names are definitely Hittite only appear in connection with the singers of Kaneš.²⁷ That the gods of Kaneš should include older (pre-Hittite) gods, and that Hittite deities should be worshipped also by foreign peoples (Pirwa in Ḫaššuwa, a town in Hurrian territory; the same deity also in a Luwian text)²⁸ is not so strange; there are enough examples of similar borrowings in Anatolia. The contrast between the name “singer of Kaneš” of a man employed in the cult of Hittite deities and the name “Nesian” of the Hittite language²⁹ would disappear if we could equate Kaneš with Neša. I am inclined not only to believe that Forrer was right, but even to go a step further and actually to equate the two place names.³⁰ It seems that the LÚ.MEŠ *Nešumeneš* take the place of, or even are identical with, the “singers of Kaneš.”³¹ We cannot be sure that they are identical, since the possibility exists that people from a town other than Kaneš were employed in the cult of Ašgašepa, The Queen, and Pirwa, just as Pirwa was occasionally worshipped in Luwian; but this latter possibility is slight.

In this connection we have to consider two things:

1. The progressing analysis of the proper names of local inhabitants of Anatolia in the Colony Age has revealed an increasing number of Hittite elements in their names,³² and some common words have also been found.³³ In spite of the fact that some elements of the proper names were no longer living in standard Hittite,³⁴ it is safe to assume that Hittite, or rather an archaic form of it, was spoken in Kaneš in the Colony Age. The fact that Nesian seems to have been spoken in Kaneš does not prove that Kaneš and Neša are the same town; however, it could be explained more easily if they were.

2. The poetic passages mentioned above are written in a language which we do not fully understand. It contains good Hittite words and forms along with others not known from the classical language. That these passages are in *kanešumnili* is only a guess; actually, the adverb occurs in a different text, and Otten only tentatively considered the possibility that it might refer to the language of those poems. There is nothing in these poetic fragments that could not be explained as an archaic feature lost in the later language; nothing, in other words, that would force us to assume their language to be essentially different from Hittite, or prevent us from equating *kanešumnili* with *nešumnili*.

This is the reasoning that has induced me to offer the hypothesis. I am well aware of the fact that it is not conclusive; the evidence may, and will, be interpreted differently. Nevertheless, I feel that the possibility of Neša being Kaneš is strong enough that it should be taken into consideration. Final proof may come some day.³⁵ The occurrences of the name Neša in Kültepe texts may be cited as evidence against the equation. So far, the passages have been taken as referring to the town of Neša, different from Kaneš. Although this interpretation cannot be disproved, the passages can be understood also if the identity of the two names is ac-

26. ZDMG 76, p. 198.

27. Literature above, notes 7–8. There are more Hittite names now than the two mentioned by Forrer.

28. Otten, *JKF* 2, pp. 66–69; Ḫaššuwa 67 with n. 24; Luwian text 68 f.

29. Güterbock, “Hittite Religion” in *Forgotten Religions*, ed. V. Ferm, New York 1950, p. 85 f.

30. It should not be forgotten that the passage containing ^{URU}*ni-ši-li* and the improved reading *ne-eš-um-ni-li* were not available to Forrer. Gurney informs me that in the 1930s Forrer told him that he favoured an equation of the two place names. I could, however, not find a published statement of Forrer to this effect.

31. The verb is always in the plural even though the noun has the plural sign only in a few instances (Forrer, Nos. 82, 83, 88).

32. Goetze, *Language* 29, 263 ff.; 30, 349 ff.; E. Laroche, *Recueil d'onomastique hittite*, Paris 1952, pp. 101–110.

33. E. Bilgiç, *Die einheimischen Appellativa der kappadokischen Texte und ihre Bedeutung für die anatolischen Sprachen* (Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları 96: Sumeroloji Enstitüsü Yayınları 3, Ankara 1954).

34. Cf. Laroche, *l.c.*, and B. Landsberger, *JCS* 8 (1954), 121, footnote, point 4, who rejects the idea that the language was Nesian or an “archaic Nesian.” It is true that the “*aḫšu* language” as a whole is not Nesian; but proper names often belong to a stratum older than the spoken language. The fact that some names are Nesian shows that that language was spoken at the time. Cf. also A. Kammenhuber, *RHA* 58 (1956), 17 ff., notes 39–40.

35. As in the case of another of Forrer's proposals: ^bKAL = Inar(a), proof for which came now from a text excavated in 1936: Otten, *AfO* 17 (1956), 369.

cepted. There is no reason why the palace of Neša in the one document (above, note 12) should not be that of Kültepe itself,³⁶ why the Nesian of the other text (note 13) should not be an inhabitant of Kaneš, or why an Assyrian scribe should not occasionally have used the other name of the town (or rather, the Hittite form of the name, as we shall see presently).

There remains the question as to whether linguistically *Kaneš* and *Neša* can be the same. The end of the two words presents no difficulty: to the final -š of the root, a "thema vowel" -a- with inflectional endings (nom. -š, etc.) may easily have been added, just as in *Ḫakmiš/Ḫakmiššaš*, *Kargamiš/Kargamiššaš*, etc.³⁷ The beginning is more difficult. *ka-* in *Kaneš* could be a prefix.³⁸ More probably, however, *kan-* and *n-* are two ways of expressing an original *kn-*, which may or may not have developed into spoken *n-* as in English *knee*, *knife*, etc., Latin *nōsco* from the root *gnō-*. Finally, it should be noted that the form *Kaneš* occurs only in Akkadian context (apart from the Hittite derivative *kanešumnilī*); that is, in the Old Assyrian texts of Kültepe, the Babylonian Mari letter and, in Hittite texts, in the Akkadian construction of a genitive following a regens that is written ideographically: KUR (also in combinations like LUGAL KUR, ŠAKIN KUR), DINGIR.MEŠ, and L^UNAR (*māt Kaneš*, *šar/šakin māti Kaneš*, *ilāni Kaneš*, *nār Kaneš*). *Neša-*, however, has Hittite inflectional forms in all Hittite passages. This

situation is parallel to the relation of Hittite *Hattušaš* to the Akkadogram KUR URUḪatti (*māt Ḫatti*).³⁹ Therefore, if the identity of the two names were correct, the distribution of the two forms could be well understood.

ADDENDA

1) To note 30: In January, 1958, Dr. Forrer kindly wrote me that he gave "Kanis, Nesa and Nasa as names of the same town" on a map published with an article "El Génesis del Imperio Hatti" in the periodical *Síntesis* of 1954. In his letter he also gave his reasons for the equation, which are essentially the same as mine. In the linguistic analysis of the two forms he differs, taking *ka-* as the Hattic prefix (he adds an interpretation of *ka-niš* which I refrain from reproducing).

2) Prof. Kemal Balkan of Ankara tested my hypothesis, which I had communicated to him, in his recent publication *Letter of King Anum-hirbi of Mama to King Warshama of Kanish* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, VII Seri No. 31a), Ankara 1957, by using it for a reconstruction of the history of Kaneš. A new translation of the Mari letter mentioning Kaniš (above, note 4) is given there on pp. 48 f. Add another Mari reference, which I overlooked: Dossin, *RHA* 35, 73; Balkan, p. 49 *sub* 2.

36. The existence of a palace in Kaneš could be deduced from the mention of a *rubā'um* of that town: Bilgiç, *Afo* 15 34; Goetze kindly provided an actual occurrence: *ICK* I 189, 22 f. — The passages quoted by J. Lewy, *HUCA* 27 (1956), 24 n. 103, refer to the palace "of Kaniš" only by implication. Note, however, that the situation in the text quoted in our note 12 resembles that in the texts collected by Lewy very closely.

37. Added by speakers of an Indo-European language. Parallels are *Hattuš* in Kültepe and in Hattic, as against Hittite *Hattušaš*, first attested in the stem form *Hattuša* in Mari (note 4); *Durḫumit* against *Durmittaš*, etc.; however, *Kuššara* in Kültepe, whereas the Hittites write *Kuššar! Niša* (n. 12) is the oldest example of this name with a theme vowel.

38. A prefix *ka-* exists in Hattic, but it is hard to understand why it should appear — and be omitted — in a name.

39. Güterbock, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 60 (1950–52), 206 n. 1; the same apud Landsberger, *ArOr* 18, 1–2, 340 n. 59; *JCS* 10 (1956), p. 98 note o, and p. 122.

THE HITTITE CONQUEST OF CYPRUS RECONSIDERED*

The tablet containing the Hittite text of an inscription of Suppiluliuma II dealing with Alašiya, though known for several years and frequently discussed, still poses some problems; a fresh look at the text therefore seems indicated.

The tablet was found at Boğazköy in 1961 in the area of the so-called House on the Slope. It was published in cuneiform by H. Otten as No. 38 in *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Heft XII (1963) (abbr. *KBo* XII 38). A partial transliteration and translation was offered by the same author in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, XCIV (1963), 13–23 (abbr. *MDOG* 94). G. Steiner published his own translation and interpretation in *Kadmos*, I (1962), 130–38. References to the text, mainly on the basis of *MDOG* 94, are found in most recent discussions of the fall of Ugarit and of the Hittite Empire under the attacks of the so-called Peoples of the Sea.¹

Preserved is a large portion out of the middle of a two-column tablet. Top and bottom are lost. The left edge is damaged but partly preserved, so that the space available at the beginning of lines in Columns I and IV can be determined; the right edge is preserved. In other words, portions of all four columns are available, with loss of text at the beginning and between the columns; in Column IV the end of the text is reached. Of these four disconnected portions of the text, Col. I deals with a conquest of Alašiya and the tribute imposed on that country by a Hittite king. In Col. II, Suppiluliuma (II) speaks of an image of his father, Tudḫaliya (IV), which he, Suppiluliuma, made and set up in a building called “Everlasting Peak.” After a double ruled line there follows the full title and genealogy of Suppiluliuma. Since he used the same already a few lines earlier, this repetition calls for comment; we shall discuss it presently.

*Reprinted from the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26 (1967): 73–81, with the permission of the University of Chicago Press.

1. To mention only a few: J. Nougayrol, “Nouveaux textes accadiens de Ras-Shamra,” *Comptes Rendus, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, année 1960 (1961), pp. 163–71 (abbr. *CRAI*); the same, “Guerre et paix à Ugarit,” *Iraq*, XXV (1963), 110–23; M. Astour, “New Evidence on the Last Days of Ugarit,” *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXIX (1965), 253–58; cf. note 2 below.

Col. III deals with a victory over the ships of Alašiya, and Col. IV returns to the “Everlasting Peak” and speaks of privileges granted that establishment.

This strange moving back and forth between two topics: Alašiya-building-Alašiya-building, has found different explanations. G. Steiner thought that the tablet contained the same story twice, in such a way that the self-presentation of Col. II 22 ff. could be restored also at the beginning of Col. I and that Col. III would supplement the lost part of Col. I (*Kadmos*, I, 131 with fn. 11). The present writer tried to write the text in the manner thus suggested by Steiner but found that this was not feasible with the text portions at hand and in view of the size of the gaps. — H. Otten, on the other hand, took the text as one coherent story of Suppiluliuma’s deeds, which led him to ascribe to this king two campaigns against Alašiya: one (Col. I) against its king, the other (Col. III) against an unspecified enemy. — The present writer thinks that this distinction between two wars is correct, but that the former belongs not to Suppiluliuma but rather to his father, Tudḫaliya IV. He will try to demonstrate this in the following pages.²

My starting point is the second column with its double rule and its strange repetition of the full self-presentation of the king. A double rule on a tablet normally indicates the beginning of a new text.³ The passage here following the double rule, “I am My Sun, the Tabarna Suppiluliuma,” etc., is indeed a beginning. It has been correctly observed that this is not the normal

2. I have held this view for a long time but postponed publication in the hope that the long-expected full publication of the pertinent texts from Ras Shamra would contribute to the clarification of the historical problems involved. Recently I noticed that A. Goetze must have independently reached the same conclusion, as shown by his brief statement in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, rev. ed. of Vols. I and II, Chapter XXIV, pp. 51 f. of the preliminary edition (1965) with n. 1 on p. 52 (where “§IV, 16, 13” is a misprint for §IV, 10, 13, referring to Otten, *MDOG* 94, 13).

H. Otten now also favors this interpretation. In his contribution to the *Fischer Weltgeschichte*, III (1966), 173 he writes: “Vermutlich war es Tudḫaliya IV., der die Insel erobern konnte,” etc.

3. References are hardly necessary; to give just two examples: *KUB* IX 31 (rituals) and *BoTU* 30 (copy of several royal inscriptions).

introduction of a (cuneiform) Hittite royal inscription, which begins with Akkadian *umma*, "thus (speaks)," but rather corresponds to the well-known pattern of Semitic inscriptions.⁴ But it is also the normal introduction of inscriptions in Hittite hieroglyphs, where in fact the picture for "I (am)" was one of the first signs understood. We shall return to this similarity between the wording of Col. II 22 and the hieroglyphic inscriptions.

If a new text begins in line 22, the preceding part of Col. II must be the end of another text. The wording of this part is indeed suited for a concluding statement. According to my understanding, the form *Tudḫaliyaš* of line 5 cannot be a genitive depending on ALAM, "image," of line 4 but can only be nominative; with the following (damaged but certain) *UL* this leads necessarily to the restoration "[My father] Tudḫaliya did not [make] this image." Otten, although considering this interpretation, rejected it (*MDOG* 94, 17) because a negative statement about the king's father seemed incompatible with the general tone of pious devotion manifest throughout the text. However, apart from the grammatical fact just stated, no lack of reverence is involved here; for the son goes on to say that he completed the work of his father by inscribing his father's deeds on the image.⁵ This is a work of filial devotion indeed; and the use of the full title here is justified, first of all in order to introduce the agent of these pious acts,

secondly to legitimate him as son and heir, and finally to vouch for the accuracy of the rendition of the father's deeds.

Why should a text conclude with such a statement? Where are the deeds of Tudḫaliya which his son dutifully inscribed for him? The obvious answer is that the statement is a postscript to the text of the deeds, which is to say that the text of the deeds preceded this postscript; in other words, Col. I is part of the inscription of Tudḫaliya which his son set up for him. This is why I think that Col. I refers to a victory of Tudḫaliya IV and would restore *his* name and title at the head of Col. I. According to this interpretation, then, the tablet *KBo* XII 38 contains two closely related inscriptions: first, a statue inscription of Tudḫaliya IV commemorating his victory over Alašiya, which his son completed and provided with a postscript in which he records how he set the statue up in a special building; and second, an inscription of Suppiluliuma II describing his own victory over Alašiya and granting privileges to the same establishment, mentioned in the postscript to the first, which he had dedicated to the memory of his father.

Before discussing the historical consequences of this interpretation we first offer a new transliteration and translation of the text with the restorations based on the above considerations, and a brief commentary.

TRANSLITERATION

Col. I (top broken)

x+1	[	]x x x x <i>pa-an-kán</i>
2	[	]x <i>x-un</i>
<hr/>		
3	[	]x TA DAM.MEŠ-ŠÚ DUMU.MEŠ-ŠÚ
4	[	<i>e</i>]- <i>ep-pu-un</i> SIG ₅ - <i>u-wa da-pí-da</i>
5	[	<i>IŠ-TU</i> KUBABBAR G]UŠKIN URUDU* <i>pa-an-qa-u-e-eš-ša</i> NAM.RA.MEŠ
6	[	x x <i>ḫu-it</i>]- <i>ti-i-ya-nu-un na-aš-za</i> ^{uu} PA- <i>ši ar-ḫa</i>
7	[	<i>ú-da-aḫ-ḫ</i>]- <i>u-un</i> KUR A- <i>la-ši-ya-an-ma-za-kán pé-de-eš-ši</i>
8	[	<i>IR-aḫ-ḫu-u</i>]- <i>n ar-kam-ma-na-aḫ-ḫu-un ar-kam-ma-an-ma-ši-kán</i>
9	[	<i>ku-u-u</i>]- <i>n(?) iš-ḫi-ya-nu-un</i>
<hr/>		
10	[	x]x A-NA LUGAL KUR A- <i>la-ši-ya</i> Û A-NA ¹³ PÍ-ID-DU ⁷ -RI
11	[	<i>IT-TI</i> (?) ^d UTU ^{uu} TÚL- <i>na</i> Û <i>Ta-bar-na</i> LUGAL.GAL
12	[	<i>ŠA</i> (?) ^d UTU ^{uu} TÚL- <i>na</i> ¹⁰ SANGA <i>ka-a-aš ar-kam-ma-aš e-eš-du</i>
<hr/>		
13	[	x x]x GUŠKIN 1 GUN URUDU 3 BÂN GA-YA-TUM
14	[	A-NA ^d UTU ^{uu} TÚL- <i>na</i>

4. Steiner, *Kadmos*, I, 130, n. 8. On the Semitic pattern cf. A. Poebel, *Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen der 1. Pers. Sing. in den westsemitischen Inschriften und im Alten Testament*, ("Assyriological Studies," III [Chicago, 1932]). My translation "I am" in our text is based on the presence of the particle *-za*.

5. I do not see what else *andan* (line 14; damaged but certain) could refer to!

*[URUDU accidentally omitted in the original manuscript. — Eds.]

15 [x x x GUŠ]KIN 1 GUN URUDU 3 BÁN GA-YA-TUM

16 A-NA ^dU ^{ur}Zi-pal-da

17 [x x x GUŠKIN 1 GU]N URUDU 3 [BÁN] GA-YA-TUM

18 [A-NA ^dU ^{ur}][H]a-at-ti

19 [x x x GUŠKIN 1 GU]N URUDU 3 BÁN GA-YA-TUM

20 [A-NA ^dU ^{ur}]^uNe-ri-iq-qa

21 []x-ḪAR Ú-NU-TUM

22 []x x

23 [^{ur}Ḫa-at-t]u-ši pé-e ḫar-kán-zi

24 [] da-pí-ya

25 []-ta-an-zi

(broken)

Col. II (top broken)

x+1 (trace)

2 iš-pár-za-a-i x[...

3 [n]a(?)-aḫ-ḫa-an-za [...

4 ki-i-ma-za ALAM [A-BU-YA(?)]

5 ^mTu-ud-ḫa-li-ya-aš U[L DÛ-at(?)]

6 ú-uq-qa-at ^mKÛ.GA.TÚ[L-aš LUGAL.GAL]

7 LUGAL KUR Ḫat-ti DUMU ^mTu-ud-ḫa[-li-ya]

8 LUGAL.GAL DUMU.DUMU-ŠÚ ŠA ^mḪa-at-t[u-ši-li]

9 LUGAL.GAL Û DUMU.DUMU.DUMU-ŠÚ ŠA ^mMur-ši-I LI^{L(M)} LUGAL.GAL

10 i-ya-nu-un

11 nu A-BU-YA ^mTu-ud-ḫa-li-ya-aš

12 LUGAL.GAL GIM[-a]n a-ša-an-za LUGAL-uš

13 e-eš-ta nu-kán QA-TAM-MA a-ša-an-da

14 LÚ-na-tar^{BLA} [an-da]an gul-šu-un

15 wa-ak-ši-ya-nu-nu-un ku-it UL

16 EGIR-an-ma-kán UL tar-na-aḫ-ḫu-un

17 ^{na}ḫé-gur SAG.UŠ ú-e-da-aḫ-ḫu-un

18 ALAM DÛ-nu-un na-an-kán [I]-NA ^{na}ḫé-gur SAG.UŠ

19 an-da pé-e-da-aḫ-ḫu-un

20 na-an da-ni-nu-nu-un

21 wa-ar-ši-ya-nu-nu-un

22 ú-uk-za ^dUTU-ŠI Ta-bar-na-aš

23 ^mKÛ.GA.[TÚ]L-aš LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR ^{ur}[Ḫa]t-ti

24 UR.SAG DUMU ^mTu-ud-ḫa-li-ya

25 LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR Ḫat-ti UR.SAG

26 [DUMU.D]UMU-ŠÚ ŠA ^mPA-ši-ILI(M) LUGAL.GAL U[R.SAG]

27 [A-BU-YA] ^mTu-ud-ḫa-li-ya[-aš

28 (traces, then broken)

Col. III (top broken)

- x+1 nu A-BU-Y[A ...
 2 ú-uk :ti-eš-ša-iš[-ki-nu-un]
 3 nu a-ru-na-an hu-da-ak [?]
 4 ú-uk ^mKÛ.GA.TÚL-aš LUGAL.GAL [zi-i]h[-hu-un(?)]
-
- 5 nu-mu-kán ^{is}MÁ.ḪI.A ŠA KUR A-la-ši-ya
 6 ŠÀ A.AB.BA 3-ŠÚ za-aḫ-ḫi-ya ti-i-ya-at
 7 na-aš-kán ḫa-aš-pu-un ^{is}MÁ.ḪI.A-ma
 8 e-ep-pu-un na-aš-kán ŠÀ A.AB.BA
 9 lu-uk-ku-un
-
- 10 [G]IM-an-ma-kán ḫa-da-an-te-ya
 11 ar-ḫa ar-ḫu-un
 12 nu-mu ^{is}KÚR.ḪI.A ŠA KUR A-la-ši-ya
 13 pa-an-qa-ri[-it za-aḫ-ḫi-ya ú-it
 14 [n]a-an-kán za[-]x x x
 15 [n]u-mu x x [...
 16 [u](?)-i-ya[- ...
-
- 17 [.....]x EREM.MEŠ [xxx]x.MEŠ
 18 [.....]x nu-za x[..... -l]i
 19 [.....] ^mḪat[- ...
 20 [.....]x-za [x]x x [...
-
- 21 f. (traces, then broken)

Col. IV (top broken)

- x+1 [.....]DÛ-at
 2 [.....]x-x-me-el U[L k]u-it-ki
 3 [x x x(?)]x nu-uš-ši ku-u-un ^{na}ḫé-kur SAG.UŠ
 4 [ú-uk] ^mKÛ.GA.TÚL-aš LUGAL.GAL ú-e-da-ḫu-un
-
- 5 [AL]AM-š[Ú(?)]x da-ni-nu-nu-un
 6 [wa]-ar-š[i-ya-nu-nu-u]n ú-uk
 7 x-x-x x-x SUM-un
 8 URU.AŠ.AŠ.ḪI.A 70 tar-ra-u-wa-zi
-
- 9 nu-uš-ši-kán ku-iš ar-ḫa ME-i
 10 na-aš-ma-at ša-aḫ-ḫa-ni
 11 ti-it-ta-nu-zi nu-uš-ma-aš [...
 12 ku-i-e-eš ^mTu-ud-ḫa-li-ya[-an(?)]
 13 [LUGAL].GAL še-ek-k[ir] nu-u[š- ...
 14 [a]-pu-u-uš š[al?]-li-x[...
-
- (end of column blank)

TRANSLATION

Col. I (top broken)

(1-2)

- (3) [PN (or: The king of Alašiya)] with his wives, his children, [and his.....] I seized; all the goods, [with silver, g]old, and copper[†] and all the captured people I [re]moved and [brought] them home to Hattusa. The country of Alašiya, however, I [enslaved] and made tributary on the spot; and [thi]s(?) tribute I imposed on it:
- (10) [...?]for the king of Alašiya and for the *pidduri*, this shall be the tribute (owed) to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and to the Tabarna, the Great King, priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna:
- (13) [(A quantity)] of gold, 1 talent of copper, 3 seah of *gayatum* for the Sungoddess of Arinna;
- (15) [(a quantity)] of gold, 1 talent of copper, 3 seah of *gayatum* for the Stormgod of Zippalanda;
- (17) [(a quantity) of gold, 1 ta]lent of copper, 3 seah of *gayatum* for the Stormgod of Hatti;
- (19) [(a quantity) of gold, 1 tale]nt of copper, 3 seah of *gayatum* for the Stormgod of Nerik.
- (21) [.....] ... utensils [.....] in Hattusa they shall present.
- (24) [.....] all [.....] they shall [... (broken; gap)

Col. II

- (1) (2) emerges [.....] fearing [.....]
- (4) This image, [my father] Tudḫaliya did not [make (it)]; I, Suppiluliuma, [the Great King], king of Hatti, son of Tudḫaliya, the Great King, grandson of Hattusili, the Great King, and great-grandson of Muršili, the Great King, made it.
- (11) And just as my father, the Great King Tudḫaliya, was a true king, in the same way I inscribed (his) true manly deeds thereon. As I did not neglect (anything), I did not suppress (anything).
- (17) I built an Everlasting Peak. I made the image and carried it into the (building called) Everlasting Peak; I installed and ...-ed it.
-
- (22) I am My Sun, the Tabarna Suppiluliuma, the Great King, king of Hatti, the hero, son of Tudḫaliya, the Great King, king of Hatti, the hero, grandson of Hattusili, the Great King, the hero.
- (27) [My father] Tudḫaliya [...
(broken; gap)

Col. III

- (1) My father [.....] I mobilized and I, Suppiluliuma, the Great King, immediately [crossed/reached(?) the sea.
- (5) The ships of Alašiya met me in the sea three times for battle, and I smote them; and I seized the ships and set fire to them in the sea.
- (10) But when I arrived on dry land(?), the enemies from Alašiya came in multitude against me for battle. I f[ought] them, and [.....] me [.....] ...
- (17) [.....] troops [.....] And [.....] Hat[ti]
(broken, gap)

Col. IV

- (1) [.....] did/became [.....] nothing. And [I], Suppiluliuma, the Great King, built this Everlasting Peak for him.
- (5) Hi[s im]age I [.....] installed and-ed (and) gave (As for) villages, they will designate seventy.
- (9) Whoever will take (it) away from him or subject it to feudal duty, those [gods(?)] who kne[w] Tudḫaliya, the Great King, shall [.....] them.
(End of text)

†["copper" accidentally omitted in the original manuscript. — Eds.]

COMMENTARY

Col. I 3: Instead of TA (Sumerogram for “with”) the Hittite sentence connective *ta* seems less likely, especially in a text of this date and nature. In front of TA DAM.MEŠ-ŠÚ etc. one expects the person to whom the possessives refer; in all likelihood this is the ruler of Alašiya, whether by name or by his title; [LUGAL KUR A-la-ši-ya-ká]n would be a possible restoration.

Lines 7 f.: *arḫa uda-* is the usual verb in this context, as is *pedi-ši IR-ahḫ-* in the next clause. The space seems to favor the shorter spelling, without additional *-na-*.

Line 10: For ¹⁶*pidduri* I cannot offer more than Otten, *MDOG* 94, 15 with notes 54 f.

For ¹⁶*pidduri* see now the tentative translation “Erbprinz(?)” quoted after E. von Schuler by J. Friedrich, *Heth. Wörterbuch*, 3. Ergänzungsheft (Heidelberg, 1966), p. 51. The proposal is based on our text; the other passages cited by Friedrich do not fit the proposed meaning.

Lines 13, 15, 17, 19: In front of GUŠKIN, “gold,” one expects either a measure (weight) or the word GAL, “a cup,” as in the Ras Shamra tribute lists.⁶ The traces in line 13 rule out GAL, so that some weight (x GÍN) remains the most probable restoration.

For *gayatum* see W. von Soden’s remark *apud* Otten, *MDOG* 94, 15, n. 51. The measure for *gayatum* is, however, not *qa* but BÁN = *sūtu*, “seah.” The horizontal wedge clearly crosses the vertical on the tablet; besides, BÁN is a common measure in Boğazköy while *qa* is not.

Col. II 4–5: For the restorations see the introductory remarks above, p. 74

Lines 12 f.: The meaning “true” of *ašant-* is well known (cf. J. Friedrich, *Heth. Wörterbuch*, with lit.). Yet, since the form is participle of the verb “to be,” the meaning might be literally “being how ... being thus,” “qualis ... talis”: “I wrote his deeds just as he was.” Since this is not far from “true” I prefer the accepted meaning.

Lines 15 f.: Otten’s rendering of the two verbs *wakšīyanu-* and *appan tarnā-* as “fehlen lassen” and “auslassen,” respectively, comes close to the mark. From the usage in other texts it can be deduced that *wakšīya(nu)-* refers to omission by mistake, neglect, or oversight, whereas *appan tarnā-* literally “leave behind,” refers (among other usages) to intentional omission or suppression.⁷ Our translations “neglect” and “suppress” are an attempt to render these shadings. Instead of saying, as one might expect, that he “neither

added nor omitted,” the king stresses that he omitted nothing either by oversight or by intent.

Line 17: For ^{na}*ḫegur* Otten (*MDOG* 94, 18–20) has collected the evidence. The only passage that contains concrete information is the one quoted from *KBo* XIV 20 (Otten, 19; cf. now Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *JNES*, XXV [1966], 173 f., 181 f.), according to which it is a mountain peak or summit; the determinative “stone” would characterize it as rocky. While the combination É ^{na}*ḫegur*, “house of the peak,” is more frequent, our text omits É but still says that the king “built” the *ḫegur* and that he transported the image “into it.” Some kind of structure must therefore be meant; if not a regular building then at least a walled, terraced or otherwise built-up summit.

SAG.UŠ is Hittite *ukturi-*, “eternal, everlasting.”

Line 21: I leave *waršīyanu-* untranslated since I am not sure of its meaning even after recent discussions. To accept “besänftigen” with “image” as object is no less difficult than to assume that the pronoun *-an*, which in line 18 clearly refers to the ALAM (*šena-*, common gender), should, in lines 20 f., refer to the deceased king himself. The discussion of the root *warš-* etc. by Laroche, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*, LVIII (1963), 59–62, does not help for our text.

Line 27: My restoration [A-BU-YA], “my father,” is based on the consideration that here, at the very beginning of the text proper, after the self-presentation, the mention of Tudḫaliya’s name should be preceded by this apposition, just as in line 11 (and restored, for the same reason, in lines 4–5). The three signs, moreover, fit exactly into the available space. (For a parallel from a hieroglyphic text see below.)

Col. III 10: *ḫadanteya* is otherwise unknown. One expects something like “dry land” at this point, and the connection with the verb *ḫat-*, “to dry up,” offers a possibility for arriving at this meaning, although the word formation (derivative from the participle?) is not clear.

Col. IV 1: DÜ-*at* is either *iyat*, “did, made,” or *kišat*, “became.” Is this a reference to his father’s death: “became [god]”?

Line 8: *tarrauwazi*, for *tarrauwanzi*, cannot be infinitive (thus Otten: “[mit dem Auftrag] zur Versorgung”) since the *-u-* belongs to the stem. Therefore it must be 3rd. pers. plur. pres. The meaning will be discussed by C. W. Carter in connection with his edition of cult inventories.⁸

6. For these see the latest treatment by M. Dietrich and O. Loretz in *Die Welt des Orients*, III/3 (1966), 206–45.

7. *appan tarnumaš* in colophons, “(a tablet) of leaving out,” seems to designate abridged versions or excerpts.

8. On this work see the preliminary notes in *Neuere Hethiterforschung (Historia, Einzelschriften, Heft 7, 1964)*, pp. 71 f. with n. 84 [= *Perspectives*, p. 109 — Eds.].

CONCLUSIONS

Historically it seems to me that the new interpretation of the document fits well into the picture. If Tudḫaliya IV conquered Alašiya and made it tributary, one understands the passage in the Madduwatta text better, according to which Tudḫaliya's son and first successor, Arnuwanda, claimed that country as Hittite possession.⁹ We know that he did not have much success, since both Attariššiya, the man from Aḫḫiya, and Madduwatta raided it. But whatever the outcome or the real power constellation, Arnuwanda's claim as such now appears to have been founded.

How the sea victory of Suppiluliuma II will fit into the history of his time is a question which may better be left open until the Ras Shamra documents are published in full. From the information available so far (see note 1 above) there seems to be a difference in the constellation of the various parties as reflected in the different sources: whereas the texts from Ras Shamra depict Alašiya as ally of Ugarit—and, by implication, of the Hittites—Suppiluliuma in our document fights “the enemies from Alašiya.”¹⁰ Whether this means that the whole country had joined the enemies, or whether it was only partly occupied by an enemy, and whether this enemy has anything to do with the enemy to whom Ugaritian sailors are said to have handed their ships¹¹ remains to be seen.

Concerning the fragment of a treaty with Alašiya, *KBo* XII 39 (Otten, *MDOG* 94, 10–13; Steiner, *Kadmos*, I, 134–36), I am not so sure that the endingless form ^mTu-ud-ḫa-li-ya in line 16 of the “obv.” really precludes attribution of the text to Tudḫaliya.¹²

But whether the treaty belongs to this king or to one of his two sons really is not of great importance.¹³

For the structure called “Eternal Peak” Otten thinks of Yazılıkaya. But it seems to me that the three built-up peaks at Boğazköy, known respectively as Nişantepe, Sarı Kale, and Yenice Kale, are at least as likely candidates for the various *ḫegur*-houses mentioned in the sources;¹⁴ outside the capital, Gâvurkale may be another.¹⁵ Furthermore, there are reasons which make me think specifically of Nişantepe as candidate for the “Eternal Peak” of our text.

We saw that Suppiluliuma's text beginning in Col. II 22 has the opening formula “I am” familiar from hieroglyphic inscriptions. From all we know about Hittite monumental inscriptions it is most likely that the deeds of Tudḫaliya which his son put on his “image,” that is, almost certainly a statue,¹⁶ were carved in hieroglyphs. It seems to me, therefore, that *KBo* XII 38 is a Hittite version of two hieroglyphic (Luwian) inscriptions. Now it is well known that Nişantepe bears on its slope a hieroglyphic inscription of Suppiluliuma (the second, as will be seen presently). Is it mere coincidence that this inscription, known as Nişantaş, begins, after a damaged group which reads “I am,” with the titles and the same genealogy of Suppiluliuma, son of Tudḫaliya, grandson of Hattusili? Contrary to our assumption of 1935¹⁷ that the next Tudḫaliya sign (No. 21 in the drawing) was part of the genealogy, F. Steinherr and E. Laroche have convinced me (in conversation) that this is rather the beginning of the actual text, where the sign groups 18–

9. A. Götze, *Madduwattaš* (“MVAeG” 32, 1, 1928), rev. 84–90 of the text; re-edited by F. Sommer, *Die Aḫḫijavā-Urkunden* (München, 1932), pp. 337 f.

10. This is what ¹⁰KÜR.ḪIA ŠA KUR Alašiya can only mean. It is true that ordinarily this is expressed by the simple genitive construction without *ša*, ¹⁰KÜR ^{ur}X, “the enemy from X.” As an example for the use of *ša* I noted *KBo* X 2 i 24, ¹⁰KÜR ŠA ^{ur}Ḫurri, which can only mean “the Hurrian enemy.” To construe the *ša* as something different, “enemies of A.” in the sense of “hostile to A.,” would be overtaxing the difference between two writings of what in Hittite is simple genitive.

11. Text RS 20.18, cited by Nougayrol in *CRAI* 1960, p. 166, and *Iraq*, XXV, 120; to be *Ugaritica* V, No. 22.

12. Tentatively I think of the possibility of combining ^{ur}Hatti-^mTudḫaliya as a double name, comparable to the hieroglyphic name written with the ligature of the signs for Hattusa and Tudḫaliya in Karakuyu (I. J. Gelb, *Hitt. Hierogl. Monuments* [“O.I.P.” XLV (1939)], No. 34; cf. E. Laroche, *Les hiéroglyphes hittites*, I [1960], under Nos. 196 and 207, with a different interpretation). Could this “Hatti of Tudḫaliya” be the southern extension or Upper City at Boğazköy, and was it built by him?

13. Incidentally: in “obv.” 9 read DINGIR.MEŠ MA-MIT, “the gods of the oath,” since *-pat* after *-ma* is impossible. The same spelling occurs in *KUB* XXVI 25 ii 10 (and MA-MIT^{bi-a} *ibid.*, 11, 5 and 7), in a text of the same period.

14. Some are named after deities: É ^{na}ḫegur ^dPirwa, É ^{na}ḫegur ^dLAMA; material collected by Otten, *MDOG* 94, 18. Is this “Peak-house of Pirwa” or “house of the Pirwa-Peak”?

15. The idea that “to build a peak” should be taken literally as referring to the construction of something like a pyramid or a tumulus must be ruled out because pyramids do not occur in the Hittite world and tumuli appear there only later. Or is the erection of a tumulus as innovation at the threshold to the Iron Age conceivable after all?

16. That statues existed is now proved by Dr. Hâmit Koşay's discovery of a colossal Hittite stone statue at Alacahüyük; see the preliminary note by M. Mellink, *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXIX (1965), 136 with Fig. 4 on Pl. 36.

17. K. Bittel and H. G. Güterbock, *Boğazköy* (“Abhandl. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.” 1935, 1), pp. 63 f.; drawing of the first line, *ibid.*, Taf. 25. Photograph of whole inscription: K. Bittel and R. Naumann, *Boğazköy-Ḫattuša*, I (“WVDOG” LXIII, 1952), Pl. 50, a. Cf. H. Th. Bossert, “Nischan-Tepe und Nischan-Tasch,” *AfO*, IX (1934), 172–86.

21 read "My father Tudḫaliya."¹⁸ During a common visit to the Nişantaş inscription in September 1966, E. Laroche actually identified the signs for "I am" there: Group 1 of the drawing (see n. 17) is composed of the three signs No. 1, 439, and 391, followed (Group 2) by No. 450 (of Laroche's sign list); together they read AMU-wa-mi-à.

Obviously one cannot claim that the inscription beginning with "[My father] Tudḫaliya" in *KBo* XII 38 ii 22 is actually a translation of the Nişantaş inscription.

What can be stated is that our tablet contains Hittite versions of, first, a statue inscription of Tudḫaliya and, second, a hieroglyphic inscription of Suppiluliuma II *comparable* to Nişantaş and dealing with a building on a mountain peak *comparable* to Nişantepe. I confess that I personally prefer this comparison to that with Yazılıkaya; but, of course, neither of these proposals for the identification of the *ḫegur* of our text — nor any other — is capable of proof.

18. The reduced genealogy (without the previously assumed great-grandfather Tudḫaliya) could apply to either Suppiluliuma I or II. General considerations of the development of full-fledged inscriptions, however, are strongly in favor of deciding for the second.

THE HITTITES AND THE AEGEAN WORLD: PART 1. THE AHHIYAWA PROBLEM RECONSIDERED*

As early as 1924, Emil Forrer announced his discovery of Homeric Greeks in the Hittite texts from Boğazköy.¹ Not only did he claim that Greece was meant by the term "Land of Ahhiyawa," but also that a number of personal names could be equated with the names of Homeric heroes. It did not take long for other Hittitologists to challenge this sensational claim. After critical articles by Friedrich and Goetze,² it was Sommer who presented a careful reinterpretation of all the sources with detailed philological discussion.³ He came to the conclusion that none of the points adduced by Forrer could be taken as real proof; consequently, he rejected the whole theory.

This total rejection was seen by others as going too far. Already in 1935, Schachermeyr countered with a monograph⁴ in which he concluded that, despite the lack of real proof, the assumption that the name Ahhiyawa indeed referred to Greeks was highly probable.

The discussion has continued up to the present. The most outspoken advocate of connecting Ahhiyawa with the Mycenaean Greeks was Huxley.⁵ In disagreement was Steiner, who tried to disprove every single argument used by the advocates of the theory.⁶ Most re-

cently Košak categorically rejected the whole Ahhiyawa theory.⁷

Regardless of whether the term Ahhiyawa refers to Greeks or not, the country of that name must be placed on the map somewhere. Localization outside Asia Minor, either in Mainland Greece or on one of the islands, obviously was advocated only by the adherents of the Greek theory. Placement on the Asiatic continent was sought both by those who regarded Ahhiyawa as simply another Anatolian country and by those who had Mycenaean settlements in mind. Such Asiatic localizations range from Cilicia through Pamphylia all along the west coast up to the Troad, and recently even to Thrace.

It is obviously impossible here to discuss all the opinions expressed and reasons adduced in this extensive literature. I shall concentrate on a few problems, mainly of text interpretation. But first, a few general observations:

One point is the increase of knowledge since the time of Forrer and Sommer. The decipherment of Linear B showed that the people whose civilization had been called Mycenaean were indeed Greeks, confirming what until then had been surmised but not proven. Also, the number of West Anatolian sites yielding Mycenaean finds has increased considerably. Another change is the redating of certain Hittite texts from the end of the thirteenth century to the end of the fifteenth. I, among others, find the reasons for this redating quite convincing. One text among these has a direct bearing on the Ahhiyawa problem: the Indictment of Madduwattas. Still another new find is the discovery, by Harry Hoffner, of a "join" to the so-called Milawata Letter (of which we shall speak later).

The oldest source, then, is the Madduwatta text.⁸ It was written by an unnamed Hittite king who refers to

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1. E. Forrer, "Vorhomerische Griechen in den Keilschrifttexten von Boghazköi," *MDOG* 63 (1924) 1–22; "Die Griechen in den Boghazköi-Texten," *OLZ* 27 (1924) 113–118.
2. J. Friedrich, "Werden in den hethitischen Keilschrifttexten die Griechen erwähnt?," *KF* 1.1 (1927) 87–107; A. Goetze, rev. of E. Forrer, *Forschungen* 1.2 (1929): *OLZ* 33 (1930) 285–92.
3. F. Sommer, *Die Ahhijavā-Urkunden* (*AbhBayern* n.s. 6, 1932, reprint Hildesheim 1975; hereafter *AU*).
4. F. Schachermeyr, *Hethiter und Achäer* (*Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft* 9.1–2, 1935).
5. G. L. Huxley, *Achaeans and Greeks* (Oxford 1960).
6. G. Steiner, "Die Ahhijawa-Frage heute," *Saeculum* 15 (1964) 365–92. Based on this work is the entry in *Real-*

lexikon der Assyriologie 3 (1971) 643–44, s.v. Griechen 1 (W. Röllig).

7. S. Košak, "The Hittites and the Greeks," *Linguistica* 20 (Ljubljana 1980) 35–48.
8. *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (*KUB*) 14.1; A. Goetze, *Madduwattas* (*MVAG* 32.1; 1927, reprint Darmstadt 1968).

both his father's and his own reigns. Goetze was able to identify these two kings as an Arnuwandas and his father, Tudhaliyas. With the redating, these are now taken as Tudhaliyas II and Arnuwandas I, three and two generations, respectively, before the great Suppiluliumas; that puts the text some thirty to fifty years before 1400 B.C. (See Addendum).

At the beginning of the text we are told that Madduwattas was driven from his country by Attarissiyas, the man of Ahhiyâ. The name of Madduwattas' country is not given. The short form Ahhiyâ (as against the more frequent Ahhiyawâ) also occurs in an oracle text of about the same period, which mentions Ahhiyâ as an enemy. Thus the short form is the older one.

Madduwattas fled to Tudhaliyas, who prevented Attarissiyas from pursuing him any farther, gave Madduwattas the land of Mt. Zippasla (not otherwise known) and made him a Hittite vassal. Among his duties as vassal is the prohibition of any contact with Attarissiyas. Thereafter Madduwattas attacked Arzawa, an enemy of the Hittites, but was utterly defeated, so that he had to be rescued by a Hittite army. Nevertheless, the king reinstated him in his old position.

Later Attarissiyas returned, seeking to kill Madduwattas. Tudhaliyas sent out a general to help Madduwattas who was unable to withstand the attack. The Hittites fought a battle against Attarissiyas, who brought 100 chariots with him. We then read: "One leader of Attarissiyas was killed, and one leader of ours, named Zidanzas, was killed." The fact that in the context of a chariot battle the death of one leader on each side is singled out, even with the name of the Hittite one, is unique in Hittite historical texts and somehow recalls Homeric battles!

Then a town named Dalawa or Talawa began hostilities against the Hittites, and the general who had just fought Attarissiyas now turned against this city. The name Talawas has been equated by most scholars with that of the city of Tlôs in Lycia, whose Lycian name was Tlawa.⁹ In the course of the operations the town of Hinduwa is mentioned; this name, which in Hittite texts occurs only here, has by some been equated with Kandyba, some 90 km. from Tlôs. It is true that both equations are based on phonetic similarity, but the proximity of the two places supports such a double identification, apart from the fact that the Lycian Tlawa is practically identical with the Hittite form.¹⁰ While Attarissiyas' name is not connected with this city, the fact that the Hittite general who had just fought Attarissiyas in the next paragraph turns against Talawa sug-

gests that the "man of Ahhiyâ" operated in Southwest Anatolia.

In the following parts of the text no reference to Ahhiyâ is made until the last item, the much discussed attack on Cyprus. Someone, probably king Arnuwandas, reproached Madduwattas with these words:

"Since Alašiya belongs to My Majesty, [why did you attack it?]" Madduwattas replied:

"When Attarissiyas and the man of Piggaya made raids on Alašiya, I also made raids. Neither the father of Your Majesty nor Your Majesty ever advised me (saying): 'Alašiya is mine! Recognize it as such!' Now, if Your Majesty wants captives of Alašiya to be returned, I shall return them to him." (To this, the king replied:) "Since Attarissiyas and the man of Piggaya are independent of My Majesty, while you, Madduwattas, are a subject of My Majesty, why did you join them?"

We do not know on what grounds Arnuwandas could claim Cyprus for himself or who "the man of Piggaya" may be. The verb used in connection with Alašiya is the iterative form of "to attack," which is best rendered as "make raids." The text does not speak of conquest, and raids cannot be expected to leave tangible traces.

I mention only briefly a fragment which *may* say that a Hittite king banished his wife to Ahhiyawa,¹¹ and an oracle text of Mursilis' time¹² according to which a deity of Ahhiyawa and a deity of Lazpa were going to be brought to the ailing king.

Mursilis II mentions Ahhiyawa in two places in his Annals;¹³ unfortunately both are badly mutilated. Forrer (1926), Sommer (1932) and Goetze (1933) each restored and interpreted them differently.

The first mention is from the beginning of Mursilis' third year. According to Forrer,¹⁴ Uhhazitis, the ruler of Arzawa, incited the city of Millawanda to rebellion against Ahhiyawa, whereupon the Hittite king sent out the generals Gullas and Malazitis, who attacked and sacked Millawanda. This would mean that the Hittite king helped the king of Ahhiyawa against a rebellious vassal, sacking his city in the course of this intervention. Sommer¹⁵ understood the beginning of the passage in a similar way, but then made the king of Ahhiyawa the subject of the sentence "sent out Gullas and Malazitis." Goetze showed that the traces of the

9. *RE* (1937) s.v. Tlôs, 1621–26 (W. Brandenstein).

10. Initial consonant clusters cannot be written in cuneiform; hence *tla- had to be rendered ta-la-.

11. *KUB* 14.2; *AU* 298–306.

12. *KUB* 5.6 ii 57, 60; *AU* 282–83. I follow Sommer's dating (*AU* 289–90) despite A. Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis (Texte der Hethiter* 7, 1976) 27–28 n. 51; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA* 22 (1980) 354.

13. A. Goetze, *Die Annalen des Muršiliš (MVAG* 38 [1933, reprint Darmstadt 1967]; hereafter *AM*).

14. *OLZ* 27 (1924) 113–14; *Forschungen* 1.1 (1926) 45.

15. *AU* 309.

verbal form could only belong to the first person singular preterite, not to the third,¹⁶ and thus ruled out Sommer's idea that the king of Ahhiyawa employed a general with a Luwian name. Goetze's own understanding was that Uhhazitis took the side of Ahhiyawa and caused the city of Millawanda to do the same, and that Mursilis dispatched the two generals. To me, this last reconstruction seems the best.

In the course of his third year Mursilis conquered Arzawa and entered its capital, Apasa, whence Uhhazitis fled "into the sea." He was later joined there by his two sons.

The account of the fourth year takes the story from there. Preserved are only the following scraps: "[...] was in [...] son of Uhhazitis [...] and he from the sea [...] with the king of Ahhiyawa [...] I sent by ship [... (broken verb in the third singular preterite)], and they brought him back."¹⁷

Both Sommer and Goetze restored the first few lines to mean that the son of Uhhazitis, who had been "in the sea," i.e., on an island, left that place. Thereafter the two interpretations differ. Sommer thought¹⁸ that Mursilis sent the prince to the king of Ahhiyawa — he completely restored "[The (Hittite) army captured him]" in the preceding gap — continuing with another restoration: "[Since I was by the sea] I sent him by ship." (Since for Sommer Ahhiyawa was in Anatolia, this would have been along the coast.) The following "they brought back," according to him, refers to (restored) captives.

Goetze restores: "[He went away] from the sea and [came to stay] with the king of Ahhiyawa. Then I, [My Majesty], dispatched [(someone, name lost)] by boat. [The king of Ahhiyawa deliver]ed [him to him] and they brought him back."

Again, I prefer this last interpretation, except that I would rather restore "he (the emissary) [took him away]" instead of "[the king of Ahhiyawa deliver]ed." In that case the extradition mentioned by some scholars may not have been voluntary. According to Goetze's reconstruction, the prince leaves his island of first refuge and goes to the king of Ahhiyawa, who apparently is somewhere across the water, since a ship is needed to bring the prince back. I know that this is no proof for an overseas location of Ahhiyawa. But since Goetze's interpretation remains possible, this source should not simply be dismissed.

The most famous document bearing on the relations of Hatti with Ahhiyawa is the so-called Tawagalawa Letter.¹⁹ Preserved is only the third tablet (of ca. 275 lines). From internal evidence it is clear that

it was written by a Hittite king of the New Kingdom to a king of Ahhiyawa. The names of the two kings are not mentioned, since this is not the beginning of the letter. Scholars have attributed the text to Mursilis II, Muwatallis and Hattusilis III. I think that Mursilis II is out of the question, and of the other two, Hattusilis is the more likely.

Throughout the letter the king of Ahhiyawa is addressed as "My Brother." This was the standard address among sovereign kings of the time, such as those of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Mitanni and Hatti, in their letters found at Tell el-Amarna and Boğazköy. The question was raised whether or not the term implies equal rank; in other words, whether or not the address as My Brother shows that the king of Ahhiyawa was a Great King in the terminology of the time. Some thought that it did, but Sommer adduced the correspondence between the Pharaoh and the king of Cyprus as an example of the use of this address between rulers of unequal power.²⁰ There is, however, a passage in the Tawagalawa Letter that can be interpreted as showing that the king of Ahhiyawa was indeed considered a Great King.²¹

The Hittite king states that, having received a message from the king of Ahhiyawa, he said: "If anyone of my lords(?) had spoken to me — or one of my (other) Brothers — I would have listened even to *his* word." Sommer's translation continues: "But now My Brother wrote to me *as* a great king, my equal. The word of one equal to me I do not hear!"

To my knowledge the three terms "My Brother, Great King, my equal" can only be in apposition to one another. Also, Sommer's version would be rather offensive to the addressee, in contrast to the cautious, in part even apologetic tone of the rest of the letter. I therefore translate the second clause as a rhetorical question. Such a question would express the Hittite king's displeasure with the tone of the message he had received through subtle irony rather than through the bluntness of Sommer's translation. I translate: "But now, My Brother, the Great King, my equal, has written to me; shall I not listen to the word of my equal?" So I myself drove there." From this I conclude that in the early thirteenth century Ahhiyawa was indeed considered equal to Hatti, ruled by a "Great King."

From the latter part of the same century we have the much debated passage in a treaty with Amurru (in Syria)²² in which Tudhaliyas IV enumerates the kings

16. AM 235–36, text on 36–39.

17. AM 66–67.

18. AU 312–13.

19. KUB 14.3; AU 2–19, with commentary on 20–194.

20. AU 65–66.

21. Col. ii 9–20, AU 6–7.

22. KUB 23.1 col. iv; AU 320–21. Complete edition by C. Kühne and H. Otten, *Der Šaušgamuwa-Vertrag (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 16, 1971)* 14–17. The tablet is full of erasures and contains several insertions; hence it is certainly a draft.

who are his equals: those of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and — erased — Ahhiyawa. This erasure has been taken by some as showing that Ahhiyawa was of equal rank, and by others, that it was *not*. It is true that in the section immediately following this list there is no mention of the king of Ahhiyawa, in contrast to the other three kings. The text considers the possibilities that the kings of Egypt and Babylonia might be either friend or foe, but calls the king of Assyria an enemy as a matter of fact. The vassal king of Amurru is told to prevent merchants from entering Assyria through his country. There follows (now) an inserted paragraph about his military duties in the war against Assyria. After that (line 23) it seems that the original text resumes the subject of the embargo by enjoining the vassal to let no ship of Ahhiyawa “go to him,” i.e., unload merchandise destined for Assyria. Thus, Sommer may be right in claiming that the name Ahhiyawa got into the list of kings by mistake because the scribe thought he had to include all the countries mentioned afterward in the text. I am still inclined to think that even so the scribe would not have made this mistake if Ahhiyawa had been unimportant; but I admit that the text cannot be used as proof of its equal rank. (Intriguing is the thought that the original paragraph now erased and replaced by lines 19–22 might have dealt in some way with the king of Ahhiyawa.)

Let us now look at the contents of the Tawagalawa Letter. The main subject of the third tablet is the affair of a certain Piyamaradus, but for reasons not quite clear the first sections deal with a man named Tawagalawas or Tawakalawas. From the evidence in this tablet it appears that his base of operation, if not his residence, is the city of Millawanda. It has generally been accepted that he was somehow close to the king of Ahhiyawa. Forrer’s claim that he was the king’s brother was rejected by Sommer, who thought that he had actual proof against it.²³ In the passage in question the words “your brother” and *Tawagalawa* stand side by side, each one preceded by the same Akkadian preposition. Sommer had found no clear example of such a repetition of the preposition with a noun and its apposition. He also thought that a small trace after *Tawagalawa* was the beginning of the Hittite enclitic *-ya*, “and.” So he translated “with my brother and Tawagalawas.” Since Sommer’s time, good examples of the repeated preposition have been found in texts of Hattusilis III, and an enlarged photograph shows that the traces cannot be the beginning of *-ya*. Therefore I now return to Forrer’s translation: “This charioteer used to step on the chariot together with me and with your brother Tawagalawas.”

Why did the Hittite king write about this man to the king of Ahhiyawa? Where our text begins we are

told that, after someone had destroyed the town of Attarimma, the people of Lukka approached the Hittite king, just as they had approached Tawagalawas, who then came “to these countries.” So the Hittite king set out for the same region. When he reached Sallapa, a station on the road, he received a message from Tawagalawas, saying: “Take me on as a vassal. Send me the *tuhkanti* (so that) he will escort me to Your Majesty.” Thereupon the king dispatched a high official, but Tawagalawas somehow took offense and refused to go with him. He continued by saying: “Give me the kingship here, on the spot; if not, I shall not come!”

Why should a high-ranking Ahhiyawan, actually, as just demonstrated, the king’s brother, seek the overlordship of the Hittite king? The reasons, or at least antecedents, may have been contained in the preceding tablet. At least he asked for “kingship,” just as other Hittite vassals were called kings. (See Addendum).

From the next station on the road the Hittite king wrote him: “If you want my overlordship, let me not find any of your men in Iyalanda when I get there!” But in fact the Hittite king was attacked at Iyalanda in three places by an unnamed “enemy,” and a certain Lahurzi or Laharzi, “his brother” (whose? Tawagalawas’ or the unnamed enemy’s?), laid an ambush for him. Somebody, however, heeded the prohibition of entering Iyalanda; I would restore his name, which is lost, as Tawagalawas rather than Lahurzis. The Hittite king takes great pains in the next lines to assure the king of Ahhiyawa that this report of what happened is true.

At this point Piyamaradus, who is the main object of the greater part of the letter, enters the narrative. The Hittite king, who was still engaged in action, summoned Piyamaradus in a letter sent to Millawanda, while simultaneously informing the king of Ahhiyawa of Piyamaradus’ constant raids. The king of Ahhiyawa replied that he had instructed Atpas to hand Piyamaradus over to the Hittite king. So the Hittite king went to Millawanda, where Atpas resided. As an additional reason for going there he gave the following: “The subjects of My Brother shall hear the reproaches I shall make to Piyamaradus.” (From this we learn that subjects of the king of Ahhiyawa lived in Millawanda.) But when the king arrived, Piyamaradus had already left Millawanda by boat. At least Atpas and Awayanas, his sons-in-law, heard the words of the Hittite king.

Not only Piyamaradus had left Millawanda before the king arrived, but also Tawagalawas. At this point the writer of the letter reminds the addressee of all the things he did for Tawagalawas: he sent him that high official, but he refused to go with him; now the king came in person, only to find that he had left!

This is the end of the Tawagalawas chapter. Of the parts concerning Piyamaradus let me only comment on a few points.

We just read that Piyamaradus had left Millawanda by boat. Now the writer speaks of the possibility that this man might approach the addressee with his plan to present himself to the king of Hatti. So apparently Piyamaradus is now in Ahhiyawa. The writer then assures the addressee that he has given Piyamaradus all the guarantees of safe-conduct. In addition he had also dispatched Dabala-Tarhuntas, the charioteer, to stand in for him. The writer stresses the high rank of this man by reminding the addressee of the fact that this charioteer used to step on the chariot with the writer and with Tawagalawas, and that he was related to the queen. The writer also wrote to Piyamaradus that, if the interview did not lead to a solution satisfactory to him, one of the king's men would escort him back to Ahhiyawa. Nowhere is it said that the charioteer would do that, as some of the advocates of putting Ahhiyawa in Anatolia have claimed; on the contrary, Dabala-Tarhuntas "shall sit in his place while he comes here, until he returns there."

We cannot follow Piyamaradus' adventures; his name also occurs in other texts. From the letter it would seem that he was a protégé of the king of Ahhiyawa, despite his Luwian name, and a man of some importance.

The city of Millawanda or Milawata also is mentioned in a very fragmentary tablet that was named the "Milawata Letter."²⁴ Recently Harry Hoffner identified another fragment as joining it.²⁵ He presented his find to the *Rencontre Assyriologique* in Vienna in July 1981 and kindly allowed me to use the enlarged text here. I can only mention one point important for our topic. The text is a letter of a Hittite king to a vassal whom he addresses as "My Son." Since the addressee's own father is mentioned in the letter, it is clear that this is the address for a subordinate, known from other examples. In one place the added part shows that instead of "As we, My Majesty and (you) My Son [have set] the boundaries of Milawata," the verb restored as "set" is really "take away"; so the passage says: "As we, My Majesty, and (you) My Son, took away territory of Milawata"; and a little later: "that I did not add [(such and such places)] to the territory of Milawata for you."

Other results of his find are discussed by Hoffner in his paper which is to appear in the *Comptes Rendus* of the *Rencontre*. Here I only want to stress that instead of Milawata/Millawanda as a Hittite dependency, we now have a city from whose territory both the Hittite king and his unnamed vassal enlarge their own realms. The text is definitely late and probably belongs to Tudhaliyas IV (second half of the thirteenth century).

A fragment of another historical text²⁶ has been quoted to show that the king of Ahhiyawa was personally engaged in warfare on Anatolian soil. The fragmentary context mentions the Land of the Sheha River and Arzawa. After the verb "made war," whose subject is lost, there follows the short clause which was tentatively translated by Sommer: "The king of Ahhiyawa retreated(?)." I think that the meaning "to take refuge with, to rely upon" attested elsewhere for the verb in question yields a better sense here: "[So-and-so] made war and relied on the king of Ahhiyawa." He could rely on him from a distance, without the king's being on the scene.

Finally it is Tudhaliyas IV again who mentioned ships of Ahhiyawa that might arrive in the land of Amurru in Syria, and whose scribe deleted the name of Ahhiyawa from the list of equals.

I know full well that none of the above points is real proof for the assumption that Ahhiyawa is Greek territory, be it in Anatolia, on one of the islands, or in mainland Greece. But I want to say that, if the opponents of the theory blame the advocates for being biased in always choosing, among possible alternatives, the one that is favorable to their views, the same must be said of the opponents. They either choose that interpretation which can be used against the theory or reject all arguments that cannot be completely proved. Common sense tells me that the Hittites must have known the Mycenaeans, and that what they say about Ahhiyawa fits the picture if that name refers to them. I am not worried about the alleged linguistic difficulties: I do not think that phonetic laws apply to foreign names. As far as geography is concerned, I confess to be unable to reconstruct a map of Hittite Asia Minor; others have correctly called it "a mess." Again, those who put various Anatolian countries more and more toward the Northwest do so either for the sake of an assumed "tin route to Bohemia" or, if for other reasons, with intentional disregard of even the possibility that Ahhiyawa may have anything to do with the Mycenaean settlements of the Southwest. For me, Garstang and Gurney's reconstruction of the route to Arzawa and the West ending in Apasa-Ephesos and Milawata-Miletos is plausible on internal evidence, apart from leading to the Mycenaean town at Miletos.

I see no evidence for the existence of a country Ahhiyawa in Asia Minor; the evidence from the fourteenth-thirteenth centuries points overseas, and I prefer mainland Greece to any of the islands as seat of the Great King of Ahhiyawa. Attarissiyas, the man of Ahhiyâ in the fifteenth century, is different; as I see it,

24. *KUB* 19.55; *AU* 198–205.

25. *KUB* 48.90.

26. *KUB* 23.13; *AU* 314–19. The text was attributed to Tudhaliyas IV, but it may belong to Hattusilis III, as will be demonstrated elsewhere.

he may have come with his 100 chariots from one of the Mycenaean settlements in the Southwest.

ADDENDUM

In 1982 there appeared the final volume of Fritz Schachermeyr's monumental work *Die ägäische Frühzeit*, vol. 5: *Die Levante im Zeitalter der Wanderungen* (SBWien 387, 1982). The first chapter is devoted to the relations of the Hittite Empire to the Mycenaean world. Schachermeyr's review of the Ahhiyawa problem

yields the same result as ours. The author also accepts the high date of the Madduwattas text. Only in identifying the two Hittite kings I chose the earlier Tudhaliyas and Arnuwandas of the genealogical table offered by O. R. Gurney in *Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi Dicata* (Pavia 1979) 221. Schachermeyr, p. 26, offers an attractive explanation for why an Achaian prince might have sought the overlordship of the Hittite king.

HITTITES AND AKHAEANS: A NEW LOOK*

As early as 1924, only seven years after the Hittite language had been deciphered, Emil Forrer, a young Swiss scholar who worked on the Boghazköy tablets in Berlin, surprised the world by his announcement that he had found "Pre-Homeric Greeks in the Boghazköy texts."¹ According to him the term "Land of Ahhiyawa" occurring in some Hittite texts referred to the land of the Akhaeans. This claim was soon challenged by other Hittitologists, such as Johannes Friedrich (in 1927) and Albrecht Götze (in 1930).² In 1932 Ferdinand Sommer published a monumental book *Die Ahhijavā-Urkunden* (The Ahhiyawa Documents),³ in which he presented a re-interpretation of all the sources with detailed philological commentary. Coming to the conclusion that none of the points adduced by Forrer could be taken as real proof, he rejected the whole theory.

This total rejection was seen by others as going too far. Already in 1935 Fritz Schachermeyr countered with a monograph *Hethiter und Achäer*,⁴ in which he concluded that the assumption that the name Ahhiyawa referred to Greeks was highly probable, even though it could not be strictly proven. In the fifth volume of his monumental work *Die ägäische Frühzeit* (1982)⁵ the same author takes an even more positive stand. The

most outspoken advocate of the "Greek theory" was G. L. Huxley in a monograph *Achaeans and Hittites* (1960),⁶ while Gerd Steiner in an article of 1964 tried again to disprove every argument adduced by the proponents.⁷

The "Ahhiyawa question" has become a matter of faith — there are believers and skeptics. On the one side it is true that by strict linguistic laws *Ahhiyawā* or its older form *Ahhiyā* are not correct rendering of **Akhaiwoi* or **Akhaiwiya*, **Akhaiwa* (whatever the reconstructed form of the name of the people or the country, respectively, may be). I belong to those who think that strict phonetic laws cannot be applied to the rendering of foreign names, witness the Greek names of the Akhaemenian kings. I think that if other considerations favor the equation, the lack of correct phonetic correspondence is not a serious obstacle.

Since the days of Forrer's announcement and Sommer's rejection of the theory, our picture of the ancient world has changed. Thanks to Michael Ventris we now know that the bearers of the Mycenaean civilization were indeed Greeks; the number of West Anatolian sites yielding Mycenaean finds has increased, and Aegean archaeologists know more about the Mycenaean thalassocracy. Common sense tells us that the Greek world was no more remote from Anatolia than Babylon or Egypt, so that it is hard to understand why the Hittites should not have known and mentioned it.

Indeed there are some indications of contacts between the two peoples. Fig. 1 is a map of Mycenaean finds in West Anatolia published by K. Bittel in 1967.⁸ Note how close to these findspots the Hittite monuments are situated (marked ×): at the mountain pass

*Reprinted from the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 128 (1984): 114–122, with the permission of the American Philosophical Society.

Read 23 April 1983.

1. E. Forrer, "Vorhomerische Griechen in den Keilschrifttexten von Boghazköi," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (MDOG)* 63 (1924): 1–22; "Die Griechen in den Boghazköi-Texten," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (OLZ)* 27 (1924): 113–118.
2. J. Friedrich, "Werden in den hethitischen Keilschrifttexten die Griechen erwähnt?" *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* 1.1 (1927): 87–107; A. Götze, rev. of E. Forrer, *Forschungen* 1.2 (1929): *OLZ* 33 (1930): 285–292.
3. F. Sommer, *Die Ahhijavā-Urkunden (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abt. N.F. 6, 1932; reprint Hildesheim 1975)*, hereafter *AU*.
4. F. Schachermeyr, *Hethiter und Achäer (Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft 9.1–2, 1935)*.
5. F. Schachermeyr, *Die ägäische Frühzeit*, vol. 5: *Die Levante im Zeitalter der Wanderungen (Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 387, 1982)*.

6. G. L. Huxley, *Achaeans and Hittites* (Oxford 1960).

7. G. Steiner, "Die Ahhijawa-Frage heute," *Saeculum* 15 (1964): 365–392. Based thereon: W. Röllig, art. "Griechen" in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 3 (1971): 643–644. S. Košak, "The Hittites and the Greeks," *Linguistica* 20 (Ljubljana 1980): 35–48, while admitting contacts, rejects the equation of the names.

8. K. Bittel, "Karabel," *MDOG* 98 (1967): 5–23, esp. 16–23 with fig. 17. There are more recent such maps, but to my mind this is the clearest.

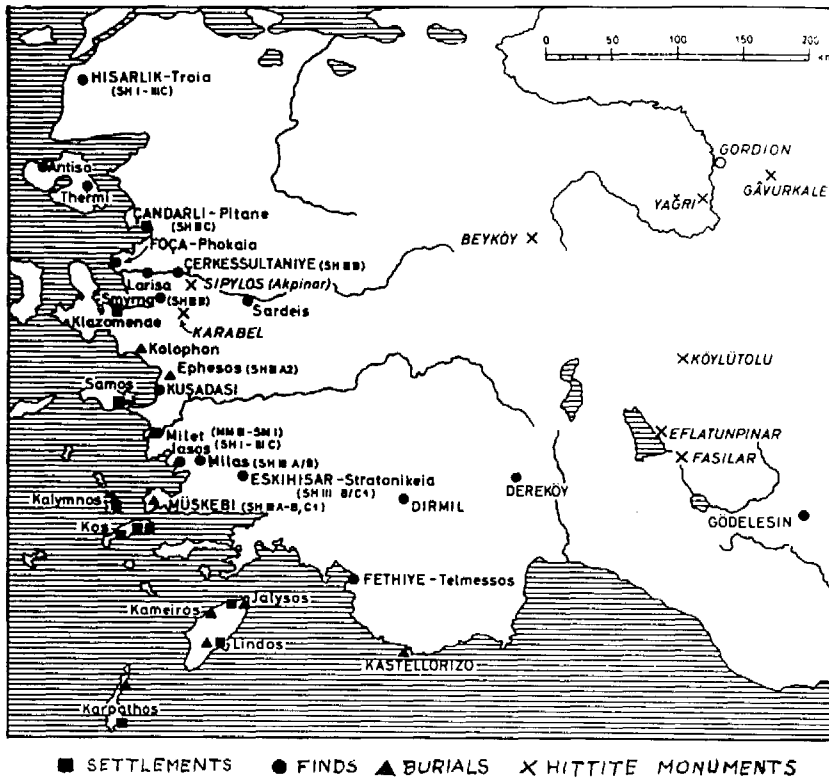


Fig. 1. Mycenaean finds in Western Anatolia
After K. Bittel, *MDOG* 98 (1967) 18 fig. 17

called Karabel (fig. 2)⁹ and on the slope of Mt. Sipylos near Magnesia (Manisa) (fig. 3).¹⁰ Both bear hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions. The Karabel inscription stems from a local ruler and marks the boundary between the Hermos and Kaystros plains. The image of the Mother Goddess on Mt. Sipylos is accompanied by two inscriptions: one belongs to a Hittite prince who also “signed” two reliefs in the Taurus mountains of Southeast Anatolia,¹¹ presumably because he was in charge of these widely separate regions at different times, the other to a man with a Hittite name and an administrative office.¹² All three inscriptions can be dated to the thirteenth century B.C.

9. For the relief see also Bittel, *Les Hittites* (Paris 1976) = *Die Hethiter* (Munich 1976), fig. 206; E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites* (1962), pl. 102 and color pl. XXII. For the inscription see *MDOG* 98: 9–14 with figs. 4–15.

10. Bittel, *Les Hittites*, figs. 204–205; Akurgal *The Art*, color pl. XXIII.

11. H. Th. Bossert, “Das hethitische Felsrelief bei Hanyeri (Gezbeli),” *Orientalia* n.s. (hereafter *Or.*) 23 (1954): 129–147 and pls. XXIV–XXIX; on the identity of the name there with that on Sipylos *ibid.* 144–146. For Hanyeri cf. Bittel *Les Hittites*, fig. 201. The other eastern relief is at Imankulu, *ibid.* fig. 203; for the reading of the prince’s name see Güterbock, “Hieroglyphische Miscellen,” *Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi Dicata* (1979): 235–245, esp. 237 f., 242 f.

12. H. G. Güterbock and R. L. Alexander, “The Second Inscription on Mt. Sipylos,” *Anatolian Studies* 33 (1983): 29–32.

The pointed hat of the figure at the Karabel is the typical headdress of Hittite gods; it often is decorated with horns in varying number and place, the sign of divinity. Fig. 4 shows two examples at random.¹³ A sherd of a locally made Late Helladic crater found at Miletus (fig. 5)¹⁴ obviously depicts just such a hat. So there were people in the Mycenaean quarter of Miletus who were aware of things Hittite. At the other end, an incised drawing inside a bowl of Hittite manufacture found at Boğazköy in a level of the late fifteenth to fourteenth century (fig. 6)¹⁵ shows that some Hittites must have seen some things Aegean. Finally there is the Hittite cylinder seal found in a Mycenaean building at Thebes (fig. 7).¹⁶ Even though, according to Professor Porada’s plausible reconstruction of the events, it did not come directly from the Hittites but rather as part of a whole lot of lapis cylinders sent by the king of Assyria, the find shows that Near Eastern artifacts were shipped to Greece at the time.

So much for the common sense approach.

What about specific problems? One basic question is whether Ahhiyawa was in Anatolia or outside it. The “believers” cited passages where it was reached by boat for a location across the sea, whether it was on one of the islands including perhaps Crete, or on the Greek mainland. The “skeptics” said that boats could have sailed along the coast of Anatolia. They stressed the necessity of disregarding the unproven and phonetically faulty equation of the names and of trying to locate Ahhiyawa in Anatolia in the framework of the historical geography of the Hittite period. But this is just where the difficulties lie. Several scholars have tried, starting from the few known fixed points, to arrange countries according to relations of one to another, but the possibilities are too many, so that a number of different “geographies” have been proposed, none of which is quite

13. Two of the samples collected by K. Bittel in *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya* (1975) pl. 63.

14. C. Weickert, “Die Ausgrabung beim Athena-Tempel in Milet 1957: III. Der Westabschnitt,” *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 9–10 (1960): 63–66, esp. 65, pl. 72, 1.

15. K. Bittel, “Tonschale mit Ritzzeichnung aus Boğazköy,” *Revue archéologique* n.s. 1976: 9–14 and figs. 1–3. Cf. now Dessa Rittig, *Or.* 52 (1983): 156–160, fig. 3; Rittig considers the drawing Anatolian.

16. E. Porada, “The Cylinder Seals Found at Thebes in Boeotia,” *Archiv für Orientforschung* 28 (1981): 1–70, esp. 46–49 (no. 25) and 68–70 (“Historical Hypotheses”); H. G. Güterbock, “The Hieroglyphic Inscription on the Hittite Cylinder, No. 25,” *ibid.* 71–72. Our fig. 7 is rearranged from the drawing on p. 48 according to the photograph on p. 47.



Fig. 2. The Karabel relief. Photo: Author

convincing. The places proposed for an Anatolian Ahhiyawa range from Pamphylia to the Troad, even Thrace.

Let us look at the evidence for a location of Ahhiyawa in Anatolia. One source is the text known as the Indictment of Madduwattas,¹⁷ because in it a “man of Ahhiyā” is obviously operating on Anatolian soil. Madduwattas (whose name sounds proto-Lyidian, like Alyattes, Sadyattes) apparently was a vassal of the Hittites. His misdeeds, listed in the document, span the reigns of two successive kings who have been identified with a Tudḫaliyas and his son Arnuwandas.¹⁸ Previously it was believed that these were Tudḫaliyas IV and Arnuwandas III of the thirteenth century B.C., but now the text has been redated on linguistic grounds to the late fifteenth century, where we have Tudḫaliyas II and Arnuwandas I.¹⁹ The text states that Madduwattas was attacked by Attarissiyas, “the man of Ahhiyā.” The term “man” may refer to a lesser ruler whom the Hittites did not regard as “king,” or it may simply be the gentilic, “an Ahhiyawan.” In any case this man on one occasion commanded one hundred chariots. Madduwattas was twice saved by the Hittites from defeat by Attarissiyas. Nevertheless he then made common cause with enemies of the Hittites: first with the city of

Dalawa, that is Lycian Tlawa, Greek Tlōs, in Lycia. Using a ruse, he helped the Tlawans smash a Hittite army and then made a formal alliance with Tlawa. Next, he joins the king of Arzawa,²⁰ an old enemy of the Hittites. Later on, Madduwattas makes common cause with his old enemy, Attarissiyas, and at the time of Arnuwandas the two together made raids on Alashiya, that is, Cyprus.²¹ The king reproaches Madduwattas for having attacked the island which he claims as Hittite possession. (How such a claim was possible in the late fifteenth century is hard to explain.) Madduwattas promptly replied that he did not know of it! It seems to



Fig. 3. The Sipylos monument. Photo: Author

me that Attarissiyas (whose name sounds Greek, although it is hardly Atreus!), rather than being the ruler of an Anatolian country Ahhiyā, would be an Akhean chieftain operating out of one of the early Mycenaean settlements on the west coast.

Another text was also adduced in favor of locating Ahhiyawa in Anatolia.²² One sentence in it was trans-

17. A. Götze, *Madduwattas* (*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft [MVAeG]* 32.1, 1927 [1928]), reprint Darmstadt 1968.

18. By Götze, *ibid.* 157–159, on the basis of a similar text, now *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi (KUB)* 23.21.

19. H. Otten, *Sprachliche Stellung und Datierung des Madduwatta-Textes (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten [StBoT]* 11, 1969). See our Table 1 for the sequence of Hittite kings. The early part of the table is based on O. R. Gurney, in *Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi Dicata* (1979): 213–223, esp. his table p. 221.

20. At that time a powerful kingdom in West Anatolia. It was conquered by Mursilis II, in whose time its capital was Apasa, probably = Ephesus. Cf. the detailed study by Susanne Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa: Untersuchungen zu seiner Geschichte nach den hethitischen Quellen (Texte der Hethiter* 8, 1977).

21. The equation of Alashiya with Cyprus has been contested, but I see no reason for giving it up. The text mentioning a naval victory of Suppiluliumas II (H. G. Güterbock, “The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26 [1967]: 73–81, esp. 78 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 191–198, esp. 195–196 — Eds.]) clearly shows that Alashiya is an island.

22. *KUB* 23.13, *AU* 314 f.; J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (1959): 120 f.; H. G. Güterbock, *AJA* 87 (1983): 137 f. with n. 26. The repetition of “with the weapon” in lines 2 and 3 requires two different subjects. Therefore I read and restore: “The grandfa-

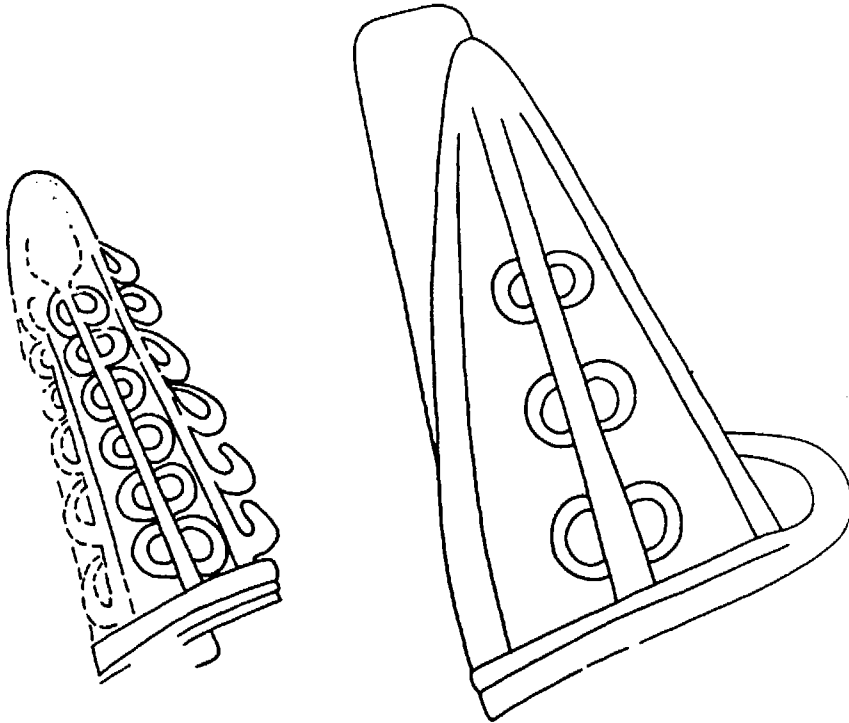


Fig. 4. Tiaras of Hittite gods

After K. Bittel et al., *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazılıkaya*, pl. 63

lated by both Forrer and Sommer as “the king of Ahhiyawa retreated.” This was taken as indicating that he was carrying out military operations on Anatolian soil, specifically in the Seha River Land in western Asia Minor, and that therefore his own country must have been nearby. Reexamining the text I found that the verb in question often means “to take refuge,” for instance: “The population fled and took refuge in hard-to-climb mountains.” In a prayer we read: “The bird takes refuge in his nest, and is saved. I took refuge with the Storm-god, so, save me (my god)!” Note that in the last example the object of the verb is a god; here one may say “to put one’s trust in, to rely on.” Thus I interpret the historical fragment to mean: “[Tarḫunaradus] started hostilities [against me] and relied on the king of Ahhiyawa.” One could obviously “rely on the king of Ahhiyawa” regardless of where that country was situated.²³

ther of Your Majesty did not defeat [us] by the force of arms. [Wh]en [the father of your Majesty def]eated the Arzawa countries, [he did not defeat] us by the force of arms.” The conqueror of Arzawa was Mursilis II. If he is called here father of the ruling king, this leaves only Muwatallis or Hattusilis III as author. Of the two, the latter is more likely because this kind of historical narrative is known from him rather than from the former. Cf. I. Singer, *Anatolian Studies* 33 (1983), kindly made available to me by the author. Singer, p. 207 n. 11 quotes D. E. Easton of Liverpool for the same restoration.

23. While my article for *AJA* was in the press I learned that Easton had found the same interpretation of this passage in a paper read at the Fifth International Colloquium on Aegean Prehistory in Sheffield in 1980 but not published. Cf. Singer (n. 22) p. 207, n. 11.

Summing up, we may say that so far we have found no proof for localizing Ahhiyawa either in Anatolia or outside of it. We shall come back to that question, but there are other aspects of the Ahhiyawa problem to discuss.

The most important document for the relations of Hatti with Ahhiyawa is the so-called Tawagalawa letter.²⁴ It covered three tablets of which only the third (ca. 275 lines) is extant. From internal evidence it is clear that it was written by a Hittite king to a king of Ahhiyawa. The names of the two sovereigns do not occur on this tablet, since the only place where the writer and addressee of a letter are mentioned by name is the very beginning. The letter has been attributed to the kings Mursilis II, Muwatallis, and Hattusilis III. Of these, Hattusilis is the most likely.²⁵

The main subject of this third tablet is the behavior of a certain Piyamaradus, whom the Hittite king accuses of having made raids and planning more attacks on Hittite territory. His name is “Hittite” (in the wider sense), but he is apparently a protégé of the king of Ahhiyawa. In the first sections of the tablet, however, a certain Tawagalawas is mentioned. His name is certainly not Hittite; it has been taken for Greek and explained as Eteoklêwês (Eteocles).²⁶ Tawagalawas is the brother of the king of Ahhiyawa. I was able to dispel Sommer’s objections to this interpretation on the basis of texts published after his time.²⁷ The Hittite king speaks of a charioteer, who is a relative of the queen, and who “has been stepping on the chariot with me since my youth, and also with your brother Tawagalawas” (against Sommer’s “your brother *and* Tawagalawas”).

At the beginning of our third tablet we read that the people of Lukka, threatened by an unidentified enemy, turned first to Tawagalawas, then to the Hittite king for help. While the latter was approaching, he received a message from a man who wanted to be taken on as vassal. It was thought that this man was Tawagalawas, but the text is not clear. I. Singer recently argued convincingly that he rather was Piya-

24. *KUB* 14.3; *AU* 2–19 with commentary pp. 20–194.

25. For this dating see now I. Singer, in *Anat.St.* 33 (1983): 209 f. Dr. Singer mentioned his reasons to me orally in Jerusalem in 1982. Recently Heinhold-Krahmer, *Or.* 52: 95–97, arrived at the same conclusion, and so did M. Popko in a paper submitted in 1983 to the *Altorientalische Forschungen*, of which he kindly sent me a copy.

26. I still prefer this explanation to that as Teukros advocated by E. Vermeule, *AJA* 87 (1983): 142.

27. Details in *AJA* 87: 136b.

maradus.²⁸ Although the Hittite king sent a high official to escort him into his presence, this man then refused to come and demanded to be given the kingship on the spot. A little later in the text the Hittite king says that he had complained to the king of Ahhiyawa about the raids of Piyamaradus, and that the king of Ahhiyawa replied that he had instructed a certain Atpas to hand Piyamaradus over to him. Atpas seems to be an Ahhiyawan official in Millawanda, because now the Hittite king goes to that city in order not only to receive that extradition, but also, “so that my brother’s subjects may hear what I have to say to Piyamaradus.” From this we learn that there were Ahhiyawans living in Millawanda. When the king arrived there, however, Piyamaradus had left — by boat.

Obviously the name *Millawanda* or *Milawata* is close to *Milātos*, that is, Miletus. The equation, proposed long ago, was doubted as not provable. It has gained in probability by the discovery of the Minoan and Mycenaean fortified settlement on the site and is now widely accepted. Outside the Tawagalawa letter Millawanda is once mentioned in connection with Arzawa and Ahhiyawa in the Annals of Mursilis II, unfortunately in a badly damaged passage. The other mention of the town is in a letter which can now be dated to Tudḫaliyas IV. It is addressed to an unnamed vassal who is not, as previously assumed, the ruler of Milawata (as the name is written here). A join found by H. A. Hoffner²⁹ shows that the writer and addressee together did not “[set] the boundaries of Milawata” (as previously restored) but rather “annexed territory of Milawata.” The added piece also shows that the writer, Tudḫaliyas IV, planned to re-install the deposed ruler of Wilusa, who had apparently taken refuge with the addressee.

Wilusa is best known from a treaty that Muwatallis concluded with its king Alaksandus.³⁰ The combination



Fig. 5. Mycenaean sherd from Miletus.
After C. Weickert, *Ist. Mitt.* 9/10 pl. 72.1

Alaksandus of Wilusa reminded many people of Alexandros of (W)llios, and a list of Western countries in a fifteenth-century text puts Wilusiya together with Tarwisa at the northern end of the list. The name Tarwisa has been claimed for Troy. That both Wilusiya and Tarwisa are called “countries” and listed side by side may perhaps be blamed on the ignorance of the Hittite scribe. Wilusa is mentioned also in the Tawagalawa letter in reference to an earlier time, when apparently the kings of Hatti and Ahhiyawa fought over that city but then made peace. If the writer of the letter is indeed Hattusilis, then this clash occurred long after the installation of Alaksandus! I shall not go into further speculation at this point.³¹

Back to the Tawagalawa letter — it has been observed that its tone in general is rather polite and cautious. The Hittite king explains why he had to go to Millawanda, and at one point excuses himself for some offending words attributed to him. In light of this, let us look at one crucial passage.

The Hittite king was apparently peeved by a message from the king of Ahhiyawa, which curtly said (referring to Piyamaradus): “Take this man, but do not le[ad] him [away]!” To this he replies: “If one of my grandees(?) or a “brother” of mine had told me, I would have listened to his words.” Sommer translated the next sentence: “But now My Brother wrote to me like a

28. In *Anat.St.* 33 (1983): 211. Heinhold-Krahmer apparently has the same idea: cf. her reference, *Or.* 52: 82 with n. 5, to the forthcoming part II of her “Untersuchungen zu Piyamaradu.”

29. H. A. Hoffner, “The Milawata Letter Augmented and Reinterpreted,” paper read at the 28th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Vienna, July 1981, published *Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft* 19 (1982): 130–137.

30. J. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache* 2 (MVAeG 34.1, 1930): 42–102, esp. 43–45

about the name. For a discussion of the history of Wiluša see Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* (n. 20) 157–178, also Singer (n. 22) 215 f.

31. In *AJA* 87 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 199 ff. — Eds.] I left out Alaksandus of Wilusa because the question of his identity has no direct bearing upon the problem of Ahhiyawa.

Table 1

Kings of the Hittite New Kingdom

Tudḫaliyas I
Ḫattusilis II
Tudḫaliyas II
Arnuwandas I
Tudḫaliyas III
Suppiluliumas I ca. 1352–22
Arnuwandas II
Mursilis II
Muwatallis around 1275
Urḫi-Teshub (Mursilis III)
Ḫattusilis III
Tudḫaliyas IV
Arnuwandas III
Suppiluliumas II to ca. 1200

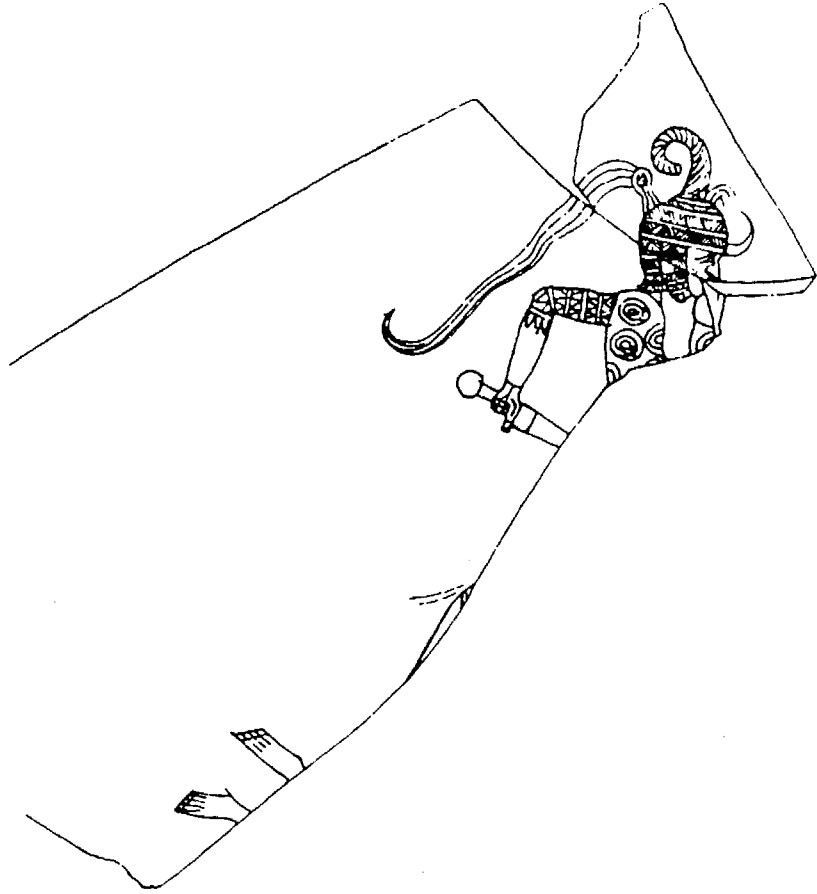


Fig. 6. Drawing on bowl from Boğazköy
After K. Bittel, *Rev. Arch.* 1976: 11

Great King, my equal: the word of my equal I hear *not!*" Such impolite language hardly fits the tone of the letter. The three terms "My Brother," "Great King" and "my equal" are best understood as simple apposition, and the last clause as rhetorical question. I translate: "But now My Brother, the Great King, my equal, has written me; shall I not listen to the word of my equal?" Recently I was pleased to learn that the Polish Hittitologist Rudolf Ranoszek gave the same interpretation as early as 1938.³² I think one should draw the necessary conclusion from it. The Great King of Ahhiyawa, equal in rank to the kings of the other great powers of the time, can-

32. R. Ranoszek, review of *AU* in *Indogermanische Forschungen* 56 (1938): 38–39, quoted by idem, *Archiv Orientalni* 18.4 (1950) 242; by Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, in R. A. Crossland and A. Birchall, eds., *Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean* (1974) 151, by Easton (n. 23), and by Heinhold-Krahmer, *Or.* 52: 96 with n. 84.



Fig. 7. Cylinder seal found at Thebes
After E. Porada, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 28 (1982): 48

not have been the ruler of some country in Anatolia, where there is no room for another great power beside Hatti. Nor would one expect him on one of the islands. I think the conclusion can only be that he ruled over mainland Greece as well as the islands and the settlements in Anatolia.

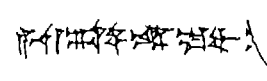
WER WAR TAWAGALAWA?*

Wie bekannt ist der Name Tawakalawa oder Tawagalawa (*ka* und *ga* wechseln in der Schreibung) nur in dem Text KUB XIV 3 belegt, einem Brief eines Hethiterkönigs an den König von Ahhijawa. Da nur die dritte Tafel des Briefes erhalten ist, sind die Namen des Absenders und des Empfängers, die am Anfang des Ganzen genannt gewesen sein müssen, nicht belegt. Aus inneren Gründen gilt Hattušili III. als der wahrscheinlichste Absender. Bekanntlich ist dieser Brief eine der wichtigsten Quellen für die Diskussion der "Ahhijawa-Frage", d.i. der Frage, ob mit dem Namen Ahhijawa das Land der Achäer, also das mykenische Griechenland, gemeint sei. Der Brief bildet daher das erste und weitaus wichtigste Kapitel in Ferdinand Sommers Buch *Die Ahhijavā-Urkunden*¹. Die lange Kontroverse über das Ahhijawa-Problem braucht hier nicht wieder geschildert zu werden. Im Grunde ist ein wirklicher Beweis weder *pro* noch *contra* möglich, und daher gibt es weiterhin "Gläubige" und "Skeptiker". Ich bekenne zu der ersten Gruppe zu gehören. Es scheint mir aber, daß die Lesungen und Ergänzungen Sommers allzu oft einfach als Grundlage der Diskussion verwendet wurden und daß es an der Zeit sei, die Texte erneut durchzusehen. Eine solche Durchsicht bildete die Grundlage für meine Referate vor dem Archeological Institute of America (Dezember 1981)² und vor der American Philosophical Society (April 1983)³.

Die gedruckten Versionen der beiden Vorträge waren aber nicht der geeignete Ort für eine detaillierte Vorlage meiner Lesungen. Eine solche gab ich mündlich bei der Jahrestagung der Middle West Branch der American Oriental Society (Februar 1982)⁴; aber ihre Veröffentlichung bin ich noch schuldig. Die wichtigste

Änderung ist allerdings in meinen genannten Artikeln genügend dokumentiert⁵, nämlich die Auffassung der Zeilen II 14–15 als rhetorische Frage: "Sollte ich auf das Wort eines mir Gleichgestellten nicht hören?" Damit scheint mir E. Forrers Auffassung, daß Ahhijawa eine Großmacht im Sinne der Diplomatie des 14.–13. Jahrhunderts war, bewiesen zu sein.

Was die Identität des Tawagalawa betrifft, so ist bekanntlich die Stelle Kol. II 61 entscheidend. Forrer entnahm ihr, daß Tawagalawa der Bruder des Ahhijawa-Königs sei⁶. Sommer lehnte das ab mit der Begründung, daß bei einer appositionellen Verbindung eines Eigennamens mit einem Ideogramm die akkadische Präposition niemals doppelt gesetzt werde⁷. Er glaubte, am Bruchrand eine Spur von *ia* zu sehen, und ergänzte *A-NA ŠEŠ-KA-ia-aš-kán A-NA* "Ta-wa-ka-la-wa-i[a A-NA ^{GIS}GIGIR] (62) GAM-an ti-iš-ki-it "Auch zu deinem Bruder u[nd?] zu T. pflegte er [auf den Wagen] zu steigen". Kollation der mir vor Jahren von Frau L. Ehelolf freundlich überlassenen stark vergrößerten Photographie ergab folgendes:



Das letzte *wa* des Namens hat einen etwas längeren Waagerechten als das *wa* der zweiten Silbe. Eine solche Verlängerung des letzten Zeichens ist beliebt zur Andeutung des Wortendes, besonders wo kein Platz für einen regulären Wortabstand vorhanden ist. Die Spuren am Bruchrand deuten auf zwei, nicht drei Waagerechte, passen also nicht zu *ia*, können aber der Anfang von ^{GIS} sein. ^{GIS}[^{GIS}GIGIR-ni] ist möglich; es wäre ein wenig kürzer als das *A-NA* ^{GIS}GIGIR, das Forrer nach Z. 60 ergänzen wollte, zu dem die Spur aber, wie Sommer gesehen hat, nicht paßt. Die Nähe des Randes könnte der Grund für die Wahl dieser Schreibung gewesen sein. Außerdem wissen wir jetzt, daß die "Sommersche Regel" nicht ausnahmslos gilt. Klar ist die Stelle aus KUB XXXVI 89 Rs. 44 KUR.KUR ^{URU}KUBABBAR-wa ŠA ^{UTU}Arinna ŠA AMA-KA "Die Länder von Hatti gehören der Sonnen-

*Reprinted from *Orientalia, Nova Series*, 59 (1990): 157–165, with the permission of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome.

1. F. Sommer, *Die Ahhijavā-Urkunden* (Abh. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Abt. N.F. 6; München 1932, Neudruck Hildesheim 1978), abgek. *AU*.
2. "The Ahhijawa Problem Reconsidered", *AJA* 87 (1983) 133–138 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 199–204 — Eds.].
3. "Hittites and Akhaeans: A New Look", *PAPS* 128,2 (1984) 114–122 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 205–210 — Eds.].
4. Gehalten im Garrett Theological Seminary, Evanston, Illinois, bei Chicago.

5. *AJA* 87, 135 f. mit Anm. 20 f.; *PAPS* 128, 121 mit Anm. 32.
6. E. Forrer, *KIF* 1 (1930) 254, der Interpretation von J. Friedrich, *ibid.* 104 f., folgend.
7. *AU* 130 f.

göttin von Arinna, deiner Mutter” in einem Gebet an den Wettergott von Nerik, das höchstwahrscheinlich von Hattušili stammt. Und in dem großen Gebet des Hattušili und der Puduḫepa, KUB XIV 7+ I 16 f., wo ich in SBo I, S. 13, der “Sommerschen Regel” wegen ein (am Zeilenende höchst unwahrscheinliches) *Ú* ergänzen zu müssen glaubte, heißt es natürlich auch “der Prozeß deiner Hohenpriesterin Danḫepa”, wie andere richtig gesehen haben⁸. Ich glaube, daß man mit gutem Gewissen sagen kann, daß Tawagalawa in der Tat ein Bruder des Königs von Aḫḫijawa gewesen ist. Übrigens ist sein Name unter allen, die für “Griechen” in Anspruch genommen wurden, der einzige, der einer möglichen mykenischen Form nahekommt: *(e-)te-wo-ke-le-we, und das würde ja gut passen.

In meinem ersten Vortrag⁹ stellte ich anschließend die Frage: “Warum sollte ein mykenischer Prinz die Oberhoheit des Hethiterkönigs gesucht haben?” Ich

machte damals den Vortragstext noch vor der Veröffentlichung Herrn Schachermeyr zugänglich, der für diese Frage sofort eine Antwort fand: die von ihm angenommene “Doppeluntertanenschaft”¹⁰.

Inzwischen hat sich die Frage als unnötig erwiesen. Vor kurzem haben I. Singer¹¹ und S. Heinhold-Krahmer¹² unabhängig voneinander und fast gleichzeitig¹³ gezeigt, daß, entgegen der bisherigen Annahme, der Mann, der die hethitische Oberhoheit erbittet aber dann sich weigert, zum Großkönig zu kommen, nicht Tawagalawa, sondern vielmehr Pijamaradu ist, von dem die erhaltene dritte Tafel des Briefes an allen anderen Stellen handelt. Die entscheidende Stelle ist Kol. I 71 ff. In den vorhergehenden Zeilen erinnert der Briefschreiber daran, daß er dem Bittsteller den *TARTĒNU* entgegen geschickt hatte, der ihn zu ihm begleiten sollte. Das folgende geben wir hier zunächst in Sommers Wiedergabe (*AU* 6 f.):

(71) [*Ú-U*]L me-ma-aš^mta-wa-ga-la-wa-aš-pítⁿ nuⁿ ku-wa-pí LUGAL GAL ú-[w]aⁿ-nuⁿ-un

(72) [nu EN(??)]^{URU}mi-el-la-wa-an-da ta-pu-ša ú-it

(73) [ka-ru-ú]ⁿma^{mD}LAMA-aš ka-a e-eš-ta nu-ut-ta LUGAL GAL

(74) [IGI-an-d]a u-un-ni-eš-ta *Ú-UL-aš* šar-ku-uš LUGAL-uš e-eš-ta

(II 1) na-aš *Ú-UL-ma* :za-arⁿ-šīⁿ-iaⁿ[...]

(71) “Nein” hat er gesagt, der Tawagalawa! — Und als ich, der Großkönig, kam,

(72) [da] hatte sich [der Herr von (??)] Millavanda abseits verzogen.

(73) [Zuvo]r(?) war schon ^DLAMA hier, und nun eilte ein Großkönig

(74) dir (scil. “o Tawagalawa”) entgegen! War das etwa kein großmächtiger König?

(II 1) Oder aber — [hatte] der [dir] nicht Garantie [geboten?]

Singer, *AnSt* 33, 121, schreibt:

(71) [(nu) *Ú-U*]L me-ma-aš^mTa-wa-ga-la-wa-aš-pát-kán ku-wa-pí LUGAL GAL ú-[w]aⁿ-nuⁿ-un

(72) [na-aš(?)]^{URU}mi-el-la-wa-an-da ta-pu-ša ú-it

(73) [ka-ru-ú]ⁿ(?)ma^{mD}KAL-aš ka-a e-eš-ta nu-ut-ta LUGAL GAL

(74) [IGI-an-d]a(?) u-un-ni-eš-ta *Ú-UL-aš* šar-ku-uš LUGAL-uš e-eš-ta

(II 1) na-aš *Ú-UL-ma* :za-arⁿ-šīⁿ-iaⁿ[...] (2)...

(71) [No!] he said. Even Tawagalawa, when (I), the Great King, came,

(72) he came aside to Millawanda.

(73) [Previously] (?) ^DKAL was here, and to you, Great King,

(74) he drove [in (?)]. Wasn't he a powerful king?

(II 1) And yet, [did] he not [accept (?)] a guarantee? ...

8. D. Stürnhagen, *AoF* 8 (1981) 90 f.

9. *AJA* 87, 136b.

10. F. Schachermeyr, *Die ägäische Frühzeit 5: Die Levante im Zeitalter der Wanderungen* (SB Wien 387; 1982) S. 26, vgl. *AJA* 87, 138b; ders., *Mykene und das Hethiterreich* (SB Wien 472; 1986) Kapitel 1 und passim; vgl. meine Besprechung, *Gnomon* 60 (1988) 360–362.

11. I. Singer, “Western Anatolia in the Thirteenth Century B.C. According to the Hittite Sources”, *AnSt* 33 (1983) 207–217.

12. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, “Untersuchungen zu Piyamaradu” (Teil II), *Or* 55 (1986) 47–62.

13. Laut Korrekturzusatz *Or* 55, 62 wurde das Manuskript von Teil II schon Anfang 1983 eingereicht, also vor dem Erscheinen von Singers Artikel.

Heinhold-Krahmer, *Or* 55, 54 f., liest:

- (71) [Ú-U]L me-ma-aš^mTa-wa-ga-la-wa-aš-pát-kán ku-wa-pí LUGAL GAL
 (72) [nu-kán]^{URU}mi-el-la-wa-an-da ta-pu-ša ú-it
 (73) [ka-ru-]ú??-ma^{md}KAL-aš ka-a e-eš-ta nu-ut-ta LUGAL GAL
 (74) [IGI-an-d]a u-un-ni-eš-ta Ú-UL-aš šar-ku-uš LUGAL-uš e-eš-ta

- (71) [“Nei]n” hat er gesagt. Als der (oben erwähnte) Tawagalawa Großkönig war,
 (72) war er abseits (seitlich?) von Millawanda (vorbei-?) gekommen.
 (73) [Früh]er? aber war^PKAL hier. Nun eilte dir ein Großkönig
 (74) [entgeg]en. War das kein mächtiger König?

Von beiden neuen Interpretationen habe ich gelernt. Vieles leuchtet unmittelbar ein, aber nicht alle Einzelheiten sind überzeugend. Im einzelnen möchte ich auf folgende Punkte eingehen.

(1) Am Anfang von Z. 71 erwartet man etwas, was dem *nu-za Ú-UL me-m[a-aš]* von Z. 11 entspricht (vgl. *Or* 55, 54). Die Tafel schreibt die akkadische Negation in der ersten Kolumne immer *Ú-UL*, später aber gelegentlich auch mit blosser *UL*¹⁴. Wenn man die kurze Schreibung auch hier ansetzen dürfte, liesse sich [*nu-za U*]L unterbringen. Da aber hier, im Gegensatz zu Z. 11, Subjektwechsel vorliegt, sollte man *[*na-aš-za U*]L erwarten, wofür der Platz zu knapp zu sein scheint. Allerdings ist zu beachten, daß nach der Photographie die linke untere Ecke der Tafel abgestoßen ist, sodaß sich die Lage des linken Randes nicht sicher bestimmen läßt. Andererseits ist es möglich, daß *natta memaš* hier asyndetisch, weil emphatisch gebraucht ist.

(2) Die für das Verständnis entscheidende Lesung ^m*Tawagalawaš-pát-kán* mit Worttrennung nur nach dem *-kán* ist nach der Photographie über jeden Zweifel erhaben (vgl. *Or* 55, 53).

(3) Das von Sommer ergänzte, von Singer noch beibehaltene **uwanun* existiert nicht. Sowohl die Photographie wie die Kollation durch Frau L. Jakob-Rost¹⁵ zeigen das deutlich.

(4) Es fragt sich nun, wie weit der Temporalsatz mit *kuwapi* reicht und wozu er gehört. Heinhold-Krahmer nimmt ^m*Tawagalawaš-pát-kán kuwapi* LUGAL GAL als den ganzen Nebensatz und übersetzt “Als T. Großkönig war”. Das ist m.E. abzulehnen, weil solche “Nominalsätze” oder Sätze “ohne Kopula” nur im Sinne des Präsens gebraucht werden; im Präteritum und Imperativ ist eine Form von *eš*-unerlässlich. Der Temporalsatz muß daher bis *tapuša uit* reichen, wie I. Hoffmann richtig gesehen hat¹⁶.

(5) Zu welchem Hauptsatz gehört der Temporalsatz? Voranstellung des Nebensatzes ist zwar die im Hethitischen häufigste Konstruktion, es gibt aber auch nachgestellte Nebensätze, und zwar Relativ- und indirekte Fragesätze, Inhaltssätze mit dem erklärenden *mahhan* “wie” und Temporalsätze. Charakteristisch ist, daß sie nicht mit *nu* eingeleitet werden¹⁷, und das trifft auf unser Beispiel zu. Wenn dagegen ein Nebensatz den Anfang einer längeren Periode bildet, dann wird diese gewöhnlich mit *nu* an das Vorhergehende angeknüpft; das ist hier nicht der Fall. Nach diesem Kriterium gehört der *kuwapi*-Satz zu dem Hauptsatz *UL memaš*.

(6) Am Anfang von Z. 72 ist Singers Ergänzung [*na-aš*], weil durch Sommers *uwanun* bedingt, abzulehnen. Heinhold-Krahmer (S. 53) verzichtet auf eine Ergänzung; auf S. 54 ergänzt sie die bei ihrer Interpretation hier nötigen Satzpartikel [*nu-kán*]. Im Kontext des langen Temporalsatzes ist ausser *Millawanda tapuša* nichts weiter nötig. Unter den Belegen für *tapuša* gibt es einige, bei denen das zugehörige Nomen im D.-L. steht¹⁸, aber der Akkusativ ist häufiger¹⁹. Für die Ergänzung des Zeilenanfangs bietet sich im ersten Falle [*A-NA*]²⁰; für die zweite Möglichkeit braucht man ein kurzes, d.h. ideographisch geschriebenes Nomen, z.B. das von Forrer vorgeschlagene ZAG ([ZAG KU]R)²¹; auch blosses KUR oder KASKAL wären möglich. Eine Übersetzung “Er (sc. Pijamaradu) hat nein gesagt, als ... Tawagalawa in die Nähe (der Grenze) von Millawanda kam” (oder: “die Grenze/Straße von M. entlang kam”) würde einen guten Sinn ergeben.

(7) Ob der Temporalsatz zu dem auf ihn folgenden Satz der Zeilen 73–74 gehören kann, hängt davon ab, wie der Anfang von Z. 73 zu ergänzen ist, aber auch von der Identität des hier genannten^{md}KAL. Die Versuchung ist groß, in diesem KAL den durch die

14. Die kurze Schreibung *UL* begegnet von Kol. II 18 an häufig, aber in stetem Wechsel mit *Ú-UL*.

15. Mitgeteilt von Heinhold-Krahmer, *Or* 55, 54 Anm. 43.

16. Zitiert ebd., Anm. 48.

17. Vgl. *CHD* s.v. *nu* h 8.

18. Z.B. *nat šarkanti andurza tapuša ijanta* IBoT I 36 III 18–19; *nukan*^DUTU-ŠI INA É^DU^{URU}Halab-ma tapuša ŠE₁₂-jazi KUB V 4 III 1–2.

19. Vgl. E. Laroche, *RHA* 28 (1970) 30.

20. So I. Hoffmann bei Heinhold-Krahmer. *Or* 55, 54 Anm. 48.

21. E. Forrer, *Forschungen* I 108.

Bronzetafel²² berühmt gewordenen Kurunta, König von Tarḫuntašša, zu sehen. In einem Text des Ḫattušili erwartet man das sogar. Es ist weiter verlockend anzunehmen, daß der *tuhkanti* (Kol. I 7), der *TARTĒNU* (9), "mein Sohn" (II 4) und ^mD^KAL eine und dieselbe Person sind²³. Nun ist zwar Kurunta ein Sohn Muwatallis, wie man der ergänzten Stelle *Hatt.* IV 62 entnommen hat und wie die Bronzetafel bestätigt²⁴. Aber die Bronzetafel sagt auch, daß Ḫattušili ihn "großzog" (*šallanuškit* I 13), was praktisch auf Adoption hinauslaufen könnte²⁵. Ich überlege weiter, ob der *AḪU MAHRŪ* der Bronzetafel (II 35 ff.), der "ältere Bruder" Tudḫalijas, nicht eben Kurunta sein könnte. Es fällt auf, daß Tudḫalija gerade im Zusammenhang mit der Einsetzung dieses Bruders als *tuhkanti* sein eigenes gutes Verhältnis zu Kurunta so stark betont. Es ist mir entgegengehalten worden, daß der zweimalige Wechsel von Kurunta und "älterer Bruder" in den Zeilen 32 bis 49 doch eher auf eine Kontrastierung der zwei Personen hinweise. Trotzdem: Warum sollte Tudḫalija seine Freundschaft mit Kurunta gerade hier unterstreichen, wenn von der Einsetzung eines anderen Bruders als *tuhkanti* die Rede wäre? Und wer ist dieser sonst unbekannte Sohn Ḫattušilis²⁶?

(8) Die Ergänzung des Anfangs von Z. 73 muß in diesem Zusammenhang diskutiert werden. Forrer (*Forsch.* I 108) ergänzte [*Ū-UL i*]m-ma, was nach unserer jetzigen Kenntnis "etwa nicht?" in rhetorischer Frage bedeutet²⁷: "War Kurunta etwa nicht hier?" Auffällig ist dabei aber die Anfangsstellung von *natta imma*. Die Negation allein zu Beginn einer Frage ist häufig genug, aber mit *imma* kenne ich sie nicht in dieser Stellung.

Die Spuren sind nicht eindeutig. Frau Jakob-Rost zeichnet etwas, das wie *a* aussieht²⁸, hat also wohl wie Forrer nur zwei Senkrechte gesehen. Sommer spricht von zwei Senkrechten, deren zweiter etwas höher ist

(*AU* 87). Er vergleicht das mit dem *ú* von Z. 74. Auf der Photographie glaube ich drei Senkrechte zu sehen, von denen der letzte etwas höher ist als die anderen. Das paßt noch besser zu *ú*. Sommer ergänzt ohne weitere Begründung [*ka-ru-ú-ma*]. Diese Ergänzung wird von den neuen Bearbeitern angenommen, und eine bessere kann auch ich nicht vorschlagen.

Wenn die Lesung [*kar*]ū-ma richtig ist, was ist dann mit "früher" oder "schon" gemeint? Je nachdem, wozu der *kuitman*-Satz gehört, stehen zwei Möglichkeiten zur Wahl: Entweder: "Er sagte Nein, als Tawagalawa ... kam. Vorher war Kurunta hier". Das würde heißen, daß Kurunta noch vor der ebenfalls zurückliegenden Ankunft des Tawagalawa schon anwesend war. Oder, formell weniger wahrscheinlich (s.o.): "Er hat Nein gesagt. Als Tawagalawa ... kam, war Kurunta schon da". Wie soll man die zeitliche Abfolge konstruieren? Und wie verhält sich dazu der nächste Satz (73–74)?

(9) Das LUGAL.GAL von Z. 73 kann ich nur als Subjekt des Satzes auffassen: "Der Großkönig fuhr dir entgegen". Eine Kombination von *-ta* mit LUGAL.GAL als Apposition, "zu dir, dem Großkönig", ist unmöglich²⁹; man würde statt des enklitischen vielmehr das betonte Pronomen erwarten: **tuk ANA* LUGAL.GAL. Auch redet der Briefschreiber den Empfänger nie mit LUGAL.GAL an, sondern mit *ŠEŠ-IA*. Objekt zu *unnešta* kann LUGAL.GAL nicht sein, weil *unna-/penna-* als direktes Objekt nur Tiere kennt, während die elliptische Bedeutung "(Tiere) treiben = fahren" nur intransitiv gebraucht wird³⁰.

(10) Wer ist mit dem *-ta* von Z. 73 gemeint? Die an sich in einem Brief nächstliegende Auffassung als Anrede an den Adressaten ist (mit Sommer, *AU* 89) abzulehnen, weil Ḫattušili in Millawanda nur Pijamaradu und Atpa sehen will, nicht den Adressaten, und weil auch von einem etwaigen früheren Zusammentreffen der beiden Großkönige nirgends die Rede ist. Ich schließe mich daher Sommer an in der Annahme, daß mit dem *-ta* ein (psychologisch verständlicher) plötzlicher Übergang in die direkte Anrede an den Neinsager vorliegt. Dafür spricht auch der Umstand, daß unmittelbar danach in Kol. II 1 ff. von diesem die Rede ist.

(11) Wie ist die Zeichengruppe LUGAL GAL in Z. 71 und 73 zu verstehen? In Z. 71 ist LUGAL GAL Apposition zu *mTawagalawaš*. Wir sahen, daß er ein Bruder des Adressaten, also des Königs von Aḫḫijawa, war. War er Mitregent neben seinem Bruder? Oder war er sein

22. H. Otten, *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy: Ein Staatsvertrag Tudḫalijas IV* (StBoT Beiheft 1, Wiesbaden 1988).

23. Für die Gleichwertigkeit von *tuhkanti* und *TARTĒNU* s. O. R. Gurney, "The Hittite Title *tuhkanti*," *AnSt* 33 (1983) 97–101; für Identität des "mein Sohn" genannten *TARTĒNU* mit ^mD^KAL vgl. Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, "Sidelights on the Ahhiyawa Question from Hittite Vassal and Royal Correspondence", *JEOL* 28 (1983) 33–79, bes. S. 37 f. Anm. 17 mit Verweis auf einen Vorschlag Forrers.

24. In Kol. III 4 werden Kuruntas Nachkommen als NUMUN ^mNIR.GÁL "Same Muwatallis" bezeichnet.

25. Für die Möglichkeit, daß derjenige, den Ḫattušili in KUB XXI 37, 40 "zum Sohn machte", Kurunta sein könnte, s. Houwink ten Cate, *JEOL* 28, 38 Anm. 17.

26. Man könnte an Nerikkaili denken, der aber auf der Bronzetafel nicht als *tuhkanti* erscheint; vgl. Otten, *Bronzetafel* S. 7, Tabelle.

27. S. L. Rost, *MIO* 4 (1956) 332 f.; vgl. *CHD* s.v. *natta* c 10'.

28. Mitgeteilt von Heinhold-Krahmer, *Or* 55, 54 Anm. 45.

29. Vgl. die Kritik an Singers Deutung bei Houwink ten Cate, *JEOL* 28, 37 f. Anm. 17.

30. Nach den Sammlungen des *CHD* kommt *penna-* zwar mit persönlichem Objekt vor, aber nur im Sinne von "vertreiben".

Vorgänger³¹, so daß hier ein Fall von Bruderfolge vorläge? Oder war er ein "Bruder" im Sinne des damaligen diplomatischen Protokolls, also Großkönig eines anderen Gebiets? Aber kann es in Aḫḫijawa neben dem Adressaten des Briefes noch einen anderen Großkönig gegeben haben, etwa in Theben, Pylos oder Orchomenos? Gegen eine Übersetzung "der große König" ist einzuwenden, daß eine solche *ad-hoc*-Übersetzung in diesem Text, der LUGAL.GAL sonst im üblichen Sinne von "Großkönig" verwendet, schwerlich zulässig ist. Oder nennt der Hethiterkönig ihn "Großkönig", weil er dem Bruder des Großkönigs einen ebenso hohen Rang zuerkennen will?

(12) Wenn Tawagalawa der Vorgänger des Adressaten wäre, dann würde Z. 71–72 besagen, daß Pijamaradu schon damals, in der Regierungszeit des Tawagalawa, "Nein" gesagt hatte. Diese Zeilen folgen aber unmittelbar auf die Stelle, wo der Briefschreiber (zum zweiten Mal) erzählt, wie er den TARTĒNU ausgeschiedt hatte (Z. 67–70). Sollte der Hethiterkönig hier auf ein früheres Ereignis zurückgreifen, wonach Pijamaradu sich schon einmal, zur Zeit des Tawagalawa, geweigert hatte? Und wie verhält sich dazu der Satz [kar]ju-ma ^{md}KAL ka ēšta? War das noch früher? Mit ^{md}KAL könnte natürlich ein anderer als der bekannte Kurunta gemeint sein. Lag etwa die ganze Episode — die Bitte um hethitische Oberhoheit und die folgende Weigerung zu kommen — schon zurück, und erfolgten die Bemühungen um Auslieferung des Pijamaradu wegen seiner anderen, neueren Übergriffe? Wenn man den ganzen Text liest, hat man aber nicht den Eindruck, daß so ein Zeitunterschied vorliegen kann. Die Annahme, daß Tawagalawa Mitregent des Adressaten war (oder vom Hethiter höflichkeitshalber "Großkönig" genannt wurde), würde besser zu dem im Text beschriebenen Ablauf der Ereignisse passen.

(13) Wer ist der LUGAL.GAL von Z. 73? Ich dachte an Kurunta, der ja als König von Tarḫuntašša einen gewissen Rang hatte (von seinem Großkönigssiegel ganz zu schweigen³²). Aber Ḫattušili würde ihn schwerlich "Großkönig" genannt haben, und gegen eine Übersetzung "ein großer König" bestehen dieselben Bedenken wie oben zu Z. 71. Oder könnte Tawagalawa gemeint sein? Das würde auf sein Kommen in Z. 71–72 anspielen. Aber die Fortsetzung des Textes, Kol. II 1, zeigt, daß nur der hethitische Großkönig gemeint sein

kann. Houwink ten Cate³³ erinnert mit Recht an die Alternativfrage: "Oder hat er [dir] nicht Garantie/Freigeleit [angeboten]?" Das kann sich nur auf den Hethiterkönig beziehen. In diesem Zusammenhang ist auch die rhetorische Frage "War das nicht ein mächtiger König?" sinnvoll: War er nicht mächtig genug, dir wirklich Sicherheit garantieren zu können?

Folgende Rekonstruktion des Sinnes der Zeilen 71–II 1 scheint möglich: Pijamaradu weigerte sich, zum Hethiterkönig geleitet zu werden, weil er sich von der Ankunft des Tawagalawa entweder eine Rückenstärkung gegen den Hethiter oder eine Drohung mit Repressalien von Seiten Aḫḫijawas erwartete, obwohl schon vorher Kurunta als Abgesandter des Hethiters und dann der Großkönig selbst ihm entgegengereist waren und ihm sogar freies Geleit zugesagt hatten. Dabei wäre der Temporalsatz "Als Tawagalawa kam" mit dem nachfolgenden "Aber Kurunta war schon da" eine diplomatische Form, die Ereignisse zu erwähnen, ohne den Kausalzusammenhang deutlich auszusprechen.

Was ergibt sich nun für Tawagalawa? Er ist der Bruder des Königs von Aḫḫijawa, an den der Brief gerichtet ist. Die Zeit, zu der die Lukka-Leute ihn um seine Hilfe baten, und die Gelegenheit, bei der der hethitische Wagenlenker Dabala-Tarḫuna mit ihm zu fahren pflegte, gehören anscheinend der Vergangenheit an, aber sein Erscheinen bei Millawanda ist zu eng mit dem Hauptthema des Briefes verknüpft, als daß er der Vorgänger des Briefempfängers sein könnte. Seine Bezeichnung als "Großkönig" versuchen wir daher so zu erklären, daß er entweder Mitregent des Königs von Aḫḫijawa war oder der Herrscher eines anderen ("achäischen"?) Königums, wenn der Titel nicht bloßer Ausdruck der Hochachtung für den Bruder des (eigentlichen) Großkönigs war.

Trotz meiner bekannten Voreingenommenheit in der "Griechenfrage" glaube ich, daß die obigen, nur auf dem gegebenen Text beruhenden Ausführungen unabhängig davon sind, wo Aḫḫijawa gelegen war und ob es mit Achäern etwas zu tun hat oder nicht. In diesem Sinne hoffe ich, daß mein lieber Kollege Einar von Schuler diese Zeilen als Beitrag zu seiner Festschrift freundlich aufnehmen möge.

31. So Heinhold-Krahmer, S. 55.

32. *Bronzetafel* S. 5, Abb. 1.

33. *JEOL* 28, 37 f. Anm. 17.

A NEW LOOK AT ONE AĦĦIYAWA TEXT*

One of the texts used in the discussion of the AĦĦiyawa Problem is KUB XXIII 13 (AU 314 f.). While preparing my lectures on the problem¹ I felt that I had to differ from Sommer's interpretation in two points: the meaning of EGIR-*pa* *ēpta* and the dating of the text.² In the lectures, which were addressed to audiences from a variety of fields, I did not go into details; even in the printed version of the second lecture³ I only mentioned my reasons in general terms. Orally I discussed the new readings at a meeting of the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society held in Evanston, Illinois, in February 1982 with the aid of "hand-outs" distributed to the audience. But I did not get around to publishing these, with one exception: my reason for confirming Forrer's view that Tawagalawa was a brother of the king of AĦĦiyawa is given in my contribution to the Festschrift for Einar von Schuler (Orientalia 1990).

If I now offer another of my detailed discussions to my colleague Sedat Alp, it is more than just a belated fulfillment of an overdue obligation. The recently published Bronze Tablet from Boğazköy⁴ has made it necessary to take back one of my innovations. Since Mašturi is still king of the Land of the Šeḫa-River in that document of Tudḫaliya IV,⁵ the revolt of his successor cannot have taken place under Ḫattušili! At the time I thought that the repetition of the phrase "de-

feated by force of arms" made better sense if it referred to two different kings. Since the conqueror of Arzawa was Muršili II, and since the text must now belong to his grandson Tudḫaliya, the subject in line 3 must indeed be *ABI ABI* ^dUTU-ŠI (as Sommer had it), and for line 2 some other restoration must be found.

KUB XXIII 13 is a fragment from the upper right part of the obverse of a tablet. In some lines the restorations on the left are clearly determined by the context, and they show that there was a considerable amount of space available. The tablet, therefore, seems to have been inscribed in a single column, and Sommer's observation that the text ended on the reverse (AU 216) fits this well. For lines 3–6 I found possible restorations which, when written out in cuneiform, resulted in equal length. Unfortunately no easy restoration offers itself for line 1. A single-column tablet is not likely to have been part of a larger work like royal annals (as previously assumed, cf. AU 316). The preserved part could be the "historical introduction" of a vassal treaty or some other royal edict. In that case one would expect an introductory formula like *UMMA tabarna* ... etc.; the horizontal wedge preserved after the break could be the end of LUGAL.GAL. In restoring such a formula however, one would have to assume rather wide word spacing to fill the available space.

TRANSLITERATION

1. [UMMA ta-ba-ar-na ^mTu-ud-ḫa-li-ia(?) LUGAL.GA]L(?) KUR ^{ld}Še-e-ḫa-aš EGIR-*pa* 2-ŠU wa-aš-ta-aš
2. [..... ka-ru-ú(?) -wa-an-na-aš-za A-BI A-B]I A-BI ^dUTU-ŠI IŠ-TU ^{Giš}TUKUL UL tar-aḫ-ta
3. [nu-za A-BI A-BI ^dUTU-ŠI ku-wa-p]I KUR.KUR Ar-za-[u-wa tar]-aḫ-ta an-za-a-aš-ma-wa-za IŠ-TU ^{Giš}TUKUL
4. [UL tar-aḫ-ta tar-aḫ-ta-ma-an-wa-a]n-na-aš-za nu-wa-aš-ši :wa-aš-ta-az-za iš-ḫu-na-aḫ-ḫu-u-en

*Reprinted from *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*, H. Otten, E. Akurgal, H. Ertem, and A. Süel, eds. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992), pp. 235–243, with the permission of the Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

1. "The AĦĦiyawa Problem Reconsidered," *American Journal of Archaeology* (AJA) 87 (1983) 133–138 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 199–204 — Eds.]; "Hittites and Akhaeans: A New Look," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (PAPS) 128 (1984) 114–122 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 205–210 — Eds.].

2. D. Easton reached the same conclusions independently and earlier, cf. PAPS 128 p. 122 notes 22 and 23; D. Easton, *Antiquity* 59 (1985) 189. As Mr. Easton kindly informed me he no longer maintains the suspicion that I had gotten these interpretations from reading a copy of his paper.

3. PAPS 128, 114–122.

4. H. Otten, *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy: Ein Staatsvertrag Tudḫalijas IV. Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten. Beiheft 1.* Wiesbaden 1988.

5. *Op. cit.* col. IV 32, p. 26, cf. p. 8.

5. [EGIR-an-da-ma(?) ^{m.d}U-na-ra-du-uš] ku-u-ru-ri-ia-aḫ-ta nu-za-kán LUGAL KUR Aḫ-ḫi-ia-u-wa EGIR-pa e-ep-ta
6. [nu-za-kán ^{NA4}ḫé-gur Ḫa-a-ra-na-an E]GIR-pa e-ep-ta LUGAL.GAL-ma i-ia-an-ni-ia-nu-un
7. [..... ^{N]A4}ḫé-gur Ḫa-a-ra-na-an-kán kat-ta da-aḫ-ḫu-un nu-kán 5 ME ANŠE.KUR.R[A.ḪI.A]
8. [..... ú-w]a-te-nu-un ^{m.d}U-na-ra-du-na QA-DU₄ DAM.MEŠ-ŠU
9. [.....]x ar-nu-nu-un na-an ^{URU}TÚL-na ^dUTU-aš URU-ri ú-wa-te-nu-un
-
10. [..... ta-b]a-ar-na LUGAL.GAL KUR-TUM UL [pa-it] nu NUMUN ^mMu[-u-wa-UR.MAḪ]
11. [..... LUGAL-u]n i-ia-a-nu-un nu-uš-ši-kán x[-x-]x ANŠE.KUR.RA[...]
12. [.....] (preserved part of line blank)
-
13. trace of one sign, then broken.

COMMENTARY

Line 1: For the restoration of the beginning see above. — Sommer took the preserved horizontal for the end of LUGAL, but the other LUGAL signs in the text are not so drawn out; also the following speech is in the first person plural, so one expects that it was the land, i.e. its people, who transgressed. What “again two times” should mean is not clear to me, unless one can take it as “again, for the second time,” alluding to the well-known fact that Manapa-Tarḫunta had at first sided with Muršili’s enemy Uḫḫaziti of Arzawa.⁶

Line 2: One expects an introduction to the speech of the people; if my restoration of the beginning of that speech is correct there is not much space for its introduction. *nu* (or *na-at*) *me-mi-ir* or *UM-MA ŠU-NU-MA* would both be short but admittedly abrupt. At the beginning of the speech, the particles *wa* and *za* and the pronoun *naš* are needed, with some word to which they were appended. Sommer took the subject here, as in line 3, to be the grandfather of His Majesty, which would be a kind of general anticipation of the following statement, but would still be somewhat redundant. I therefore tentatively restore [ABI AB]I ABI “greatgrandfather” in line 2, and the restoration *karū* is chosen with this in mind.⁷ Without such a first word, *anzāš-wa-za* would be possible and shorter. In any case I cannot offer a restoration of an introduction to the speech and its first words that could be called certain.

Line 3: As stated above, the king who conquered Arzawa must be the grandfather of the author of the text, in other words, the author must be Tudḫaliya IV

because Mašturi is still king of Šeḫa-River-Land on the Bronze Tablet. The verb *tarḫ-* requires *za* and *nu-za* is just right for the remaining space.

Line 4: That the *IŠTU* ^{GIŠ}TUKUL of the end of line 3 demands the restoration *UL tarḫta* at the beginning of line 4 was already seen by Sommer (AU 316). The restoration of what follows is based on the following consideration:

A chain of enclitics (*x-naš-za* immediately preceding a new clause (*nu-wa-ši*) can only belong to a verb which must, together with the enclitics, be the whole clause. Since verbs like “to attack” do not take *za* but *tarḫ-* does, this latter offers itself as the most plausible restoration. But since the Šeḫa people just said that they had not been conquered it seems best to put the clause in the irrealis (pret. with enclitic *man*). The last three words on the line must be the contrasting statement of the real event without *man* and with Hittite *nu* to be rendered “but.” What is here alluded to is, most probably, the episode already mentioned according to which Muršili was on the point of punishing Manapa-Tarḫunta but was stopped by the plea for mercy of the latter, his family, and the elders of Šeḫa. “He would/might have defeated us, but we ...-ed the ... for him” would make sense, but the interpretation of these words is far from clear.

The “marked” Luwian *waštazza* may well be from the common root for “sin, transgression” for which Laroche, DLL 110 cites *waštanza* in KUB XXII 70 obv. 49, 51, where it is clearly neuter sing. in *-sa*, “the transgression.” Whether *waštazza* could be the same I do not know. One would expect something like “we confessed/repented/nullified/avoided the/a transgression against him.” Can the verb *išḫunahḫ-* fit such a context? I found the treatment of this and similar sounding words in the HED I/II (1984) 403 f. s.v. *išḫunauwar* unacceptable, whereas the treatment by J. J. S. Weitenberg, *Die Hethitischen U-Stämme* (1984) 224 f. §573–577 brings out the facts correctly. The main point is that the body part *išḫunau* cannot be “sinew” despite the etymology

6. Muršili’s treaty with Manapa-Tarḫunta, § 3: J. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2, p. 6 f.; *Annals of Muršili*: A. Götze, AM p. 68 f.; S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* (THeth 8, 1977) p. 219 ff.

7. According to the material collected by Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* p. 219 ff. for the Land of the River Šeḫa there is no record of Šuppiluliuma I having conquered that country.

once proposed by Laroche.⁸ Since the most important source, 125/r, was given by H. Otten, MDOG 93 (1962)

76 only in a partial German translation, I better present a full transliteration of its col. II here.

125/R (AFTER MY OWN FIELD TRANSLITERATION)

col. i lost.

col. ii

- x+1 [.....]-aš
 2' [.....] (end of line blank)
 3' [..... 1 SILA₄ 1 MUŠ]EN.GAL ŠA^dU
 4' [.....]x [x x]-aš-ša 1 SILA₄ 1 MUŠEN.GAL
 5' [ŠA^dI]M(?) A-NA^{UZU}ZAG.LU 1 SILA₄ 1 MUŠEN.GAL
 6' [A-NA^{UZU}]GAB^dU UBUR.ḪI.A-aš-ša 1 AMAR 1 MUŠEN.GAL
 7' [ŠA^d]U 2 iš-ḫu-u-na-u-wa-aš (erasure)
 8' [A-NA] 2 GEŠPÚ.ḪI.A-ia 1 AMAR 1 MUŠEN.GAL
 9' [Š]A^dU ŠU.MEŠ-ŠU Û A-NA ŠU.SI.ḪI.A
 10' [ḫ]u-u-ma-an-da- aš
-
- 11' 1 AMAR 1 MUŠEN.GAL ŠA^dU PU-UQ-QA-TI
 12' A-NA I-ŠA-RI-ŠU-ia 1 SILA₄ ŠA^dU
 13' gi-nu-wa-aš wa-al-lu-uš-ša 1 SILA₄ 1 MUŠEN.GAL
 14' ŠA^dIM A-NA 2 ĠİR.MEŠ-ŠU 1 SILA₄ ŠA^d[U/IM]
 15' A-NA^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR Û A-NA Ú-NU-TE^{MEŠ}-ŠU

(end of column; offerings for weapons and objects continue on fragmentary col. III; col. iv lost)

(3) (They offer) [... one lamb and one d]uck(?)⁹ to the Stormgod's (4) [...] and [...]s; one lamb, one duck (5) to [the Stormgod's] shoulder; one lamb, one duck (6) to the chest of the Stormgod and the nipples; one calf, one duck (7) to the Stormgod's two išḫunau (8) and two fists(?);¹⁰ one calf, one duck (9) to the Stormgod's hands (10) and all his fingers.

(11) One calf, one duck to the Stormgod's buttocks¹¹ (12) and his penis; one lamb to the Stormgod's (13) knees and calves; one lamb, one duck (14) to the Stormgod's two feet; one lamb to the [Stormgod]'s (15) spear and utensils.

In col. iii the following objects are preserved: GIŠDÜG.GAN (TUQQANNU "bag"), ḤAŠŠINNU "axe," bow, arrow[s] and quiver, garment, even chair, table and MAKALTU "dish."

Otten translated išḫunau correctly as "Oberarm," GEŠPÚ as "Unterarm." The same position of išḫunau between shoulder and hand is also found in the listings of the parallel texts KUB IX 4 and 34.¹² išḫunau cannot be the Hittite word for "sinew" because in the continuation of some of these listings¹³ UZUSA appears between

"bones" and "blood," cf. KUB IX 4 i 6 with 16. The gen. išḫunauwaš KUB IX 4 i 25 is, of course, the gen. of the u-stem noun; next to it in the same line is the so-called 'ergative' išḫunauwanza. Also the dat.-loc. išḫunai(-ya) KUB XXV 37 ii 8 belongs to the u-stem. 125/r ii 7 has the dat. pl.

KUB VII 58 i 11–12 is hard to understand. In the preceding lines the exorcist said that a hot stone thrown into water first cries out, then becomes cold and silent, and that the manliness of the enemies' troops should equally become cold, be extinguished and silenced.¹³ The text continues: išḫunaušmit GI-za^{URU}Alminalaš NA₄-aš kittaru naš igattaru. Having tried unsuccessfully to understand these lines as written I now think one has to accept the emendations proposed by Weitenberg,¹⁴ to

8. In OLZ 1962, 30 f., esp. n. 1.

9. Thus CAD I/J s.v. iṣṣūru rabū: B. Landsberger. WdO 3 (1966) 260 sub g considered the possibility that in Boğazköy it might (also?) have meant "goose."

10. For the likelihood that GEŠPÚ, where it is the name of a body part, may mean "fist" or perhaps "wrist" see Güterbock, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasien. Festschrift für Kurt Bittel (1983) p. 214.

11. For pūqu "Gesäss, Hinterbacke" see AHw.

12. Detailed listing in Weitenberg, U-Stämme 224 § 573.

13. Up to here edited by H. Ehelolf, KIF 1 (1930) 400 with the duplicate, now KUB XLV 20; for igai- see now HW² II 28.

14. U-Stämme, p. 224 and esp. note 598. His idea that URU might have to be emended to KUŠ is intriguing: does it imply that a leather object called alminala-, not otherwise at-

read *ki-iš(!)-ta-ru* and add <*iwar*> after NA₄-*aš*. He correctly compares line 9 for both readings in a parallel passage. The -*aš* of line 12 would then refer to GI-*az* as the only common gender noun preceding. This would result in the following translation: "Let their strength, (which is) the arrow, be extinguished like a stone from Almina, and let it become cold." In any case it looks as if *išhunau* here were parallel to LÚ-*natar*, so it could be "physical strength" derived from the body part characterized by the biceps.¹⁵ The verbs *išhuna(i)-* and *išhunahh-* may or may not be derived from the body part *išhunau-*. If they are, it would be from the short stem without -*u-*; like in *tepnu-*, *parkiya-* etc.¹⁶ A finite form of the verb *išhunā(i)-* occurs in §175 of the laws: (a free woman married to a shepherd or an AGRIG becomes a slave after two or four years) Ú DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU *iš-ḫu-na-a-an-zi* (var. [*u*]š-ḫu-na-an[-zi])¹⁷ *išḫuzzi = yašš-a UL kuiški ēpzi* "and they *i*. her sons/children, and nobody seizes them by(?) the belts." These must be symbolic acts implying some loss of status for the children of the couple, but what may be meant concretely remains unclear. The variant *ušhunanzi* in the old script copy casts doubts on the connection with the words here under discussion: The verbal noun of this verb, *išhunauwar*, is attested once in KBo X 37 ii 30 ff.: *naš šallešdu parkuešdu ... nušši ḫaštaliya¹tar¹ pešten nušši išhunauwa[r] šiyauwar pešten nušši šuḫmilin genu pešten* "let him grow up and become pure, ... , give him heroism, give him *išhuna*-ing and shooting, give him a firm knee!"¹⁸ The two words in -*uwar* must both be verbal nouns; the idea that the first is a noun in -*uwar* which is the object of the verbal noun ('bowstring-shooting' HED 403) has no basis since we saw that

išhunau cannot mean "sinew."¹⁹ If the verb is derived from the word for "upper arm" as the place of physical strength the phrase may mean "give him the ability of using force and shooting," but this is as far as we can go.²⁰ While the notion of strength or force derived from the name of the upper arm fits the example just discussed from KBo X 37, it is hard to see what "they will force her children" in Law 175 should mean or whether something like "they will treat the children brutally" could be meant. Concerning the verb *išhunahh-* attested only in our text, the listing of *išhunau* next to GEŠPÚ in 125/r (above) brings to mind the verb GEŠPÚ-*ahh-* "to force"; a parallel verb derived from *išhunau* could have a similar meaning. But "to force the sin" makes no sense. In desperation I am trying "we have erased (our) transgression," namely, by asking for mercy and accepting Muršili's conditions. But I am not happy with this attempt!

On the other hand separating the verbs from the noun *išhunau* "upper arm" does not make it any easier to find a meaning that would fit the various occurrences. Oettinger's proposal "gering achten"²¹ fits only Law 175; in our text it is very forced; and for KBo X 37 he has to resort to the "bowstring" by claiming that the form is not a verbal noun.

Line 5: One expects that the subject of *kururiyaḫta* should be the same person who is later defeated. I therefore restore his name here. EGIR-*anda-ma* was chosen because it fits the space; another introductory phrase would also be possible. This restoration is, of course, also based on my understanding of the words LUGAL KUR *Aḫḫiyauwa* EGIR-*pa ēpta*, which differs radically from Sommer's. I was wondering about the basis of his translation "der König von A. zog sich zurück" ("the king of A. retreated"). Going through the CHD files for *appa* (EGIR-*pa*) *ēp-* I found the following usages:²²

a) *ēp-* "to seize" (Akkad. *šabātu*), also "to occupy" a mountain or town: "Some fugitives went to the mountain Arinnanda" *nu* ^{HUR.SAG} *Arinnandan ēppir* "and occupied Mt. A., some went to the town of Puranda" *nu URU Purandan ēppir* "and they occupied P." KBo III 4 ii 33–35, AM p. 52 f.

tested, might be "slingshot," so that we would get "Their strength, the arrow and the slingshot stone"?

15. Cf. Weitenberg, *ibidem*. I like his idea (§ 576) that -*nau* might be a suffix forming names of body parts, and that *išhunau* might be derived from the verb *išhu(wai)-* one of whose usages is "to toss, throw."
16. Oettinger, MSS 35 (1976) 94 quotes a form *iš-ḫu-na-a-at-te-n[i]* from unpublished Bo 6109 obv. 2. I transliterated the same fragment for myself some years ago and read *iš-ḫu-na-a-ut-te-n[i]*. Collation confirmed my reading. This is a strange case of a verb formed directly from a nominal stem in -*au-*, unless it is *išhuna autteni*.
17. KUB XXIX 29 rev. 3, copy q3 in old script.
18. *šuḫmili-* is an adjective modifying "the dark earth" in iii 7 of the same text and KUB XLIII 23 rev. 13 and a GI "drinking tube" KUB IX 28 iii 24 (cf. CHD s.v. *natalimng.* 3). The translation "firm" was chosen by H. A. Hoffner as fitting the three nouns. Cf. R. Beal, *Diss.* p. 597 n. 1861; he further cites A. Archi, *Festschrift Meriggi* 2 (1979) 34 "vigoroso" and H. C. Melchert, *JCS* 31 (1979) 60 "nurturing." The strange neuter nom.-acc. sg. -*in* of an -*i*-stem adj. has a parallel in SIG₅-*in*, to be read *lazzin* (Th. van den Hout, *JNES*, 50 [1991] 198).

19. The same view expressed a little more cautiously by Weitenberg, p. 225.

20. Even more to the point would be "the ability of tossing (spears) and shooting (arrows)" according to Weitenberg's proposal mentioned in note 15.

21. MSS 35, 94.

22. The following list is taken unchanged from my 'hand-out' of 1982. Cf. now HW² II p. 68 f. with fewer examples and in part different translations.

appa ēp-, lit. “to take back”:

b) “The LÚ.GIŠ.TUKUL gives the king a cup, the king puts his lip to it,” LÚ.GIŠ.TUKUL ^{DUG}*teššummin āppa ēpzi* “the L. takes the cup back” KBo XVII 74 ii 30, StBoT 12 p. 20 f.

c) “to re-occupy”: territories: KUB XIX 9 i 7–8; towns: JCS 10 p. 65, D iv 16.

d) “to take (a place, accus.) as refuge, to take refuge in/on/at ...”: (The population fled) *nu(-wa)-šmaš-kan* ḤUR.SAG.MEŠ *nakkiyaš* EGIR-*pa eppir* “and took refuge in difficult mountains” KUB XIV 15 iii 36–37, AM p. 54 f, cf. *ibidem* 34–35 with [*nak*]kiēš, see below.

e) “Pala was a country that was not at all protected”; URU.BĀD EGIR-*pa appannaš* AŠRU NU.GÁL *kuiški ēšta* “there was no fortified town where one could take refuge (lit. no fortified town as place of taking refuge), it was a low-lying country,” KBo V 8 ii 22–25, AM p. 152 ff.

f) MUŠEN-*iš* (var. MUŠEN-*za*) ^{G1Š}*taptappan* EGIR-*pa ēpzi naš huišzi uk-ma-za-kan* ^{ḏU}*pihaššaššin* EN-YA EGIR-*pa AŠBAT nu-mu huišnut* “The bird takes refuge in the nest and is saved (lit.: lives), and I took refuge with the Stormgod *p.*, my lord: so save me (lit. let me live)!” KUB VI 45 iii 40–42//46 iv 9–11, ANET, p. 398; cf. Muršili’s Plague Prayer, ANET p. 395 §10, KIF 1, 216 f.

g) “Since the Sungoddess of Arinna has been determined (by oracle) with regard to the sickness of His Majesty,” *nu-za-kan paizzi* ^{ḏUTU-ŠI} ^{ḏUTU} ^{URUTÚL-na} EGIR-*pa ēpzi* “shall His Majesty go ahead and take refuge with/put his trust in the Sungoddess of Arinna? We shall inquire by oracle” (etc.) KBo II 2 ii 29–32.

h) [... S]AL.LUGAL A-NA ^{ḏSIN} EGIR-*pa appanna kiššan* IKRUB “The queen made the following vow in order to take refuge with the Moon-god” KUB XV 3 i 5.

Sommer used the example (d), where the same statement occurs twice, once in the narrative and right after that in quoted speech. The adjective modifying “mountains” is once in the dat.-loc., once in the (nom. for) acc. pl. But there is more to it. Apart from one example in the description of a festival (KUB IX 16 i 21 with dupl. KUB X 48 i 5) where the queen ^{URU}*Taḥurpa* EGIR-*pa ēpzi* and where the name of the town may be in the allative or in the stem form standing for the acc., and where the sense may be “retreats to T.” or “betakes herself to T.,” while the king moves to the next city — apart from this unclear case and the variant with *nakkiyaš* just mentioned (under d), the verb has a direct object; I have seen no example without either direct or indirect object. Therefore the translation “the king retreated” would be unique in having the verb in “abso-

lute” use. Also, as can be seen from the examples (f) through (h) the direct object can be not only a place but also a deity, where the best translation may be “to rely on.” In our text, LUGAL KUR *Aḥḥiyawa* may, in itself, be either subject or object. For the reasons just outlined I take it as object and think that the subject of the preceding verb, *kururiyahta* “made war,” carries on: [Tarḥunaradu] made war and relied on the king of *Aḥḥiyawa*.”

Line 6: Since Tarḥunaradu is captured as a consequence of the conquest of Mt. Ḥarana, I expect that that mountain is the object of the second EGIR-*pa ēpta*. “He relied on the king of A. and took refuge on Mt. Ḥarana” assuming once the figurative, once the concrete use of the same verbal compound may be stretching the evidence, but I do not think this is a serious obstacle. One may also say “he relied on (the natural protection of) Mt. Ḥarana.”

Line 7: *katta dahhun* lit. “I took down,” meaning probably that he conquered the peak and brought down the troops from there.

Line 9: “Arinna, the city of the Sungoddess” must be the known Central Anatolian sanctuary, not the western Arinna-Xanthos. At the beginning of the line one would therefore expect something like *INA KUR* ^{URU}*Ḥatti*.

Line 10 is another crux. The half broken two signs can hardly be anything but *pa-it*, although the writing *KUR-TUM* does not really go with this verb. One has to assume that *utnē*, meant as dat.-loc., was dictated but wrongly rendered by the scribe as if it were nom. Who is meant by [T/La]barna LUGAL.GAL? Sommer (AU p. 315) restored “[Nachdem seit den Tagen des Muršili, des T]abarna, ein Grosskönig nicht in das Land gekommen war.” But Tabarna is only used of the living, ruling king, as Sommer himself later found (HAB p. 29). This usage is ruled out here by the context. Thus only the third possibility, mentioned but rejected by Sommer (AU p. 319) remains, namely a reference to the old Labarna. Still it is hard to understand why the author Tudḥaliya IV, here says that “[since the days of L]abarna no great King went to the country (of Šeḥa)” when he is on the point of installing there a new king in place of the rebellious Tarḥunaradu. This new ruler is called “offspring of Mu[- ...],” and already Sommer restored this to ^m*Mu[-wa-UR.MAḤ]*, the name of the father of Manapa-^{ḏU} (AM p. 68 f.). In other words, Tudḥaliya takes care to return the kingship of the Šeḥa River to a member of the original dynasty. *Muwa-UR.MAḤ* can now be read *Muwa-walwi*;²³ the name of his descendant, the new king, is lost in the break.

23. H. Otten WdO 51(1969) 94 f. with ref.; Houwink ten Cate, BiOr 30 (1973) 256.

After these lengthy comments I propose the following translation:

(1) [Thus speaks tabarna Tudḫaliya(?), the Great Kin]g(?): The land of the River Šeḫa transgressed again for a second time(?). (2) [They said(?): "In the past(?) the great(?)-gr]andfather of His Majesty did not conquer us by force of arms; (3) [and whe]n [the grand-father of His Majesty] conquered the countries of Arzawa, [he did not conquer] us by force of arms. (4) [He would have conquered] us, but we erased(?) for him the transgression." (5) [Thereafter Tarḫunaradu] waged war and relied on the king of Aḫḫiyawa. (6) [And] he took refuge [on Eagle Peak]. But I, the Great King, set out (7) [and ...] and raided (lit.: took down) Eagle Peak. And five hundred (teams of) horses (8) [and ... troops] I brought [home to Ḫatti-land(?)], and Tarḫunaradu together with his wives, [children, his goods(? etc.)] (9) I transported [to ...] and led him to Arinna, the City of the Sungoddess.

(10) [Ever since the days of(?) L]abarna no Great King went to the country. I made a descendent of Mu[wawalwi,] (11) [PN in the Land of the Šeḫa-River]

king [and enjoined him to deliver so-and-so many] (teams of) horses [and so-and-so many troops].

Remainder of text lost.

What interested me at the time of my work on the Aḫḫiyawa problem was the interpretation according to which the king of Aḫḫiyawa here was [attacked] as an ally of the Hittite king and had retreated; that he therefore was leading a military operation on Anatolian soil and that, *ergo*, Aḫḫiyawa as a country was located in Asia Minor. In my interpretation the king of Aḫḫiyawa is neither attacked nor does he retreat. What remains is that Tarḫunaradu "relies on him," for help which could be moral or diplomatic or military. I don't deny that parts of western Anatolia were under Aḫḫiyawan rule and therefore might have been part of what the Hittites called Aḫḫiyawa. The king of Aḫḫiyawa could, if he wanted, dispatch some troops from one of his possessions, let's say Millawanda, to help Tarḫunaradu against his Hittite overlord; but that does not make Aḫḫiyawa as a whole an Asiatic country.

TROY IN HITTITE TEXTS? WILUSA, AHHIYAWA, AND HITTITE HISTORY*

Among the Hittite tablets excavated in 1906–1907 at Hattusa, the Hittite capital at Boğazköy in central Turkey, there is a vassal treaty concluded between the Hittite Great King Muwatallis and Alaksandus, ruler of Wilusa. Already in 1924, Paul Kretschmer had pointed to the similarity between Alaksandus, king of Wilusa, and Alexandros, prince of (W)Ilios. In addition, he mentioned the note of Stephanus Byzantius according to which a certain Motylos, founder of the city of Samylia in Caria, was host to Paris and Helen (presumably on their way from Sparta to Troy); he took Motylos as an echo of Muwatallis, the name of the overlord of Alaksandus. In a postscript Kretschmer commented on Emil Forrer's equation of the place name Taruisas with Troy, which he accepted.¹

It must be because of these names that you have invited a Hittitologist to participate in this discussion of the Trojan War. In a wider sense, the Trojan War, whatever its date, is so close to the time of the Hittites and the Mycenaeans that it is legitimate to ask whether the so-called Ahhiyawa problem — the question of whether the name Ahhiyawa of the Hittite documents refers to the land of the Achaians — has a bearing on the historical background of the Trojan War.

The Ahhiyawa problem is still a matter of faith: there is no strict proof possible either pro or contra. In recent years I have publicly stated why I belong to the

believers, and have offered new interpretations of a few passages in support of my opinion. In a paper read before the Archaeological Institute of America² and repeated, with the relevant documents, in a seminar at Bryn Mawr College, I left out the Alaksandus issue because it has no direct bearing on the Ahhiyawa problem. In a later paper, read before the American Philosophical Society,³ I briefly mentioned it without taking a stand. Here now is the occasion to face this question.

I shall discuss the various aspects of the problem in the following sections:

1. The names Alaksandus and Kukkunnis;
2. The date of Alaksandus;
3. The names Wilusa, Wilusiya, and Taruisa;
4. The history of Wilusa (which will be the longest section);
5. The relation of Wilusa, Wilusiya, and Taruisa to one another;
6. The location of Wilusa;
7. The gods of Wilusa.

1. *The names Alaksandus and Kukkunnis.* In the onomastic of the Hittite period the name Alaksandus is rather isolated; it has no recognizable meaning in Hittite or Luvian and no similarity to other names. Therefore it is conceivable that it is foreign. On the Greek side, Ferdinand Sommer's objection to the antiquity of the name Alexandros — on the grounds that older compounds with the word for "man" used the form *ēnōr* — is now removed by the occurrence of the name Alexandra (*a-re-ka-sa-da-ra*) in a tablet found at Mycenae.⁴ Thus, Alaksandus *may* be the Greek name

*Reprinted from *Troy and the Trojan War. A Symposium Held at Bryn Mawr College, October 1984*, M. Mellink, ed. (Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania: Bryn Mawr College, 1986), pp. 33–44, with the permission of Bryn Mawr College.

1. Paul Kretschmer, "Alakšanduš, König von Viluša," *Glotta* 13 (1924) 205–213, an article based on a mere mention of the text by F. Hrozný, *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* 6 (1922) 67. Kretschmer wrote before the appearance of E. Forrer's much discussed article on "Vorhomerische Griechen in den Keilschrifttexten von Boghazköi," *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 63 (1924) 1–22, which he could only cite in a postscript. D. D. Luckenbill had noticed the similarity of Alaksandus with Alexandros as early as 1911: "A Possible Occurrence of the name Alexander in the Boghaz-keui Tablets," *Classical Philology* 6 (1911) 85–86.

2. H. G. Güterbock, "Hittites and the Aegean World: Part I. The Ahhiyawa Problem Reconsidered," *American Journal of Archaeology* 87 (1983) 133–138 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 199–204 — Eds.].

3. H. G. Güterbock, "Hittites and Akhaeans: A New Look," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 128 (1984) 114–122 [= *Perspectives*, pp. 205–210 — Eds.].

4. J. Chadwick, *The Mycenae Tablets III* (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 52.7, 1962) 64–65, No. V 659. For Sommer's objection see *infra*, n. 5.

Alexandros. But here we must immediately add that Alaksandus is nowhere characterized as an Ahhiyawa man. He is called one of the four kings in the Arzawa countries.

According to the treaty, a predecessor of Alaksandus, contemporary with Muwatallis' grandfather Suppiluliumas (ca. 1352–1322), bears the name Kukunnis, which may well be Anatolian, since it resembles such names as Kukkulis, Pupullis, Zuzullis, etc. Kretschmer compared it with the name Kyknos (Κύκνος) of a hero somehow connected with Troy, but he thought that Kyknos was a "Gräzisierung" (Hellenization) of a foreign, i.e., Anatolian name, since he felt that the reasons given in the Greek tradition for a hero being called "Swan" were rather artificial.

It seems to me that for both names, Alaksandus and Kukunnis, the same two explanations are possible: Either they are Anatolian, and the Greek names — if indeed their similarity is not purely accidental — are Greek interpretations of foreign names; this was Sommer's view.⁵ Or these names are actually Greek, Alexandros and Kyknos, respectively, and the forms we read in the cuneiform text are Hittitizations.

2. *The date of Alaksandus.* Hittitologists have given reasons for dating the installation of Alaksandus as king of Wilusa to that part of Muwatallis' reign which falls before the war with Egypt that culminated in the battle of Qadesh. According to the newest view on the chronology of the Egyptian New Kingdom,⁶ the battle occurred in 1275, which gives an approximate date of ca. 1280 for the Alaksandus treaty. How this date of Alaksandus compares with the date or dates proposed for the Trojan War I hope to learn from the other symposiasts.

3. *The names Wilusa, Wilusiya, and Taruisa.* Sommer, with all due disclaimers that this was not his opinion but only a possible "way out" for those who insist on the equation of Wilusa with Ilios, suggested that in addition to the initial digamma one might assume a form *Wiluwa "without the -s- suffix": *Wiluas > Wilios.⁷

As for Wilusiya, the additional -iya is no obstacle to the identification with Wilusa, since there are other Anatolian place names that occur with and without this augment.

Forrer's claim that *Ta-ru(-ú)-i-sa* was "Troy" was discussed by Kretschmer⁸ and Sommer,⁹ both admitting that the equation could be accepted on the assumption that the first syllable was only the graphic device in cuneiform for writing the cluster *tr* and that the name had a secondary form without the -s-. So one might posit Truisa > Truiya > Troiē

The relationship among the three *places* will be discussed later.

4. *The history of Wilusa.* The Alaksandus treaty, like many others, contains a preamble outlining the events that led to the conclusion of the treaty. Unfortunately most of this introduction is very poorly preserved. Since Friedrich's edition of 1930 some additional material has turned up, but not enough to fill all the gaps.¹⁰ The first few lines can now be rendered as follows:

After my forefather Labarnas had, long ago, subjugated all the lands of Arzawa [and] the land of Wilusa, Arzawa began hostilities, but Wilusa defected from Hatti — since the matter is long past I do not know from which king. (But even) when Wilusa had [defec]ted from Hatti, they (its people) were at peace with Hatti and kept sending [messengers]. But when Tudhaliyas came to Arzawa he did not enter Wilusa: [it was] at peace and kept sending [messengers].

According to this account Wilusa was brought under Hittite overlordship already under Labarnas, probably II, of the Old Kingdom (before 1600), but later became independent again. It is amusing to see that Muwatallis confesses his ignorance regarding the date of this defection. But he then stresses that Wilusa maintained peaceful relations even after it gained independence. The Tudhaliyas mentioned next must be one of the kings of that name who reigned around 1400, most probably Tudhaliyas II. The statement that he did not enter Wilusa because it was at peace is of importance for the discussion of the assumed identity of Wilusiya with Wilusa (to which we shall turn later).

The fragmentary next section deals with the time of Suppiluliumas I, apparently in the same sense that this king fought Arzawa but that Kukunnis, king of Wilusa, was at peace and kept sending messengers. The section dealing with the next Hittite king, Mursilis II, the father of Muwatallis, is unfortunately very badly damaged. From other sources we know that he defeated Arzawa and concluded vassal treaties with Mira-

5. Sommer, *AU* 370. C. Watkins (infra, 48–49) takes Alaksandus as Greek, Kukunnis as Anatolian.

6. E. F. Wente and C. C. Van Siclen, III, "A Chronology of the New Kingdom," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations* 39, Chicago 1976) 217–261, esp. 218.

7. *AU* 370–371, n. 1, comparing such pairs as Karkisa/Karkiya, Himussa/Himuwa (the last two places are, however, not identical).

8. Kretschmer (supra n. 1) 213. For Forrer, see supra n. 1.

9. *AU* 364.

10. J. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches II* (*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft* [henceforth *MVAeG*] 34.1 [1934]) 50–55, with *KUB* XLVIII.95 added to his copy $C_1 = KUB$ XXI.2.

Kuwaliya, Seha-Appawiya, and Haballa. Just the names of these countries are mentioned in our treaty; the context is lost. Preceding these names there are four beginnings of lines reading:

the land of Wi[lusa ...]
 the king of W[ilusa ...]
 help [...]
 he attacked [...]

Did Mursilis help the king of Wilusa? Was this Kukkun-nis? Against whom did he help him? There follows another section which Friedrich restored in the sense that Kukkun-nis adopted Alaksandus as son and heir, but this is only one possibility; the relationship between the two rulers remains unknown.

Where Muwatallis comes to his own time, the still fragmentary text seems to say that he helped Alaksandus against some aggressors, among them the country of Masa, before concluding the treaty.

What happened to Wilusa after the conclusion of the Alaksandus treaty?

Some time after the treaty an attack on Wilusa by Hittite troops is mentioned in a letter of Manapa-Tarhuntas, king of the Seha River Land, but its reason or significance is not clear.¹¹

Still later is the so-called Tawakalawas letter,¹² which is addressed to an unnamed king of Ahhiyawa by an equally unnamed Hittite king (their names must have been on the first tablet of this long letter, which is not preserved). Most scholars now believe that the writer was Hattusilis III (ca. 1255–1230) rather than Muwatallis. At one point the writer (Hattusilis) asks the addressee (the king of Ahhiyawa) to remind a third person of the fact that the two kings made peace in the matter of Wilusa about which they had been fighting. The name of the town is slightly damaged, and the reading *Wi-lu-ša* has therefore been doubted. But an enlarged photograph, which I owe to the kindness of Mrs. Ehelolf, shows the three signs clearly enough, so that I do not hesitate to accept the reading. I thus take it as fact that a Hittite king (most probably Hattusilis III in the middle of the thirteenth century) and a Great King of Ahhiyawa “were at odds over the matter of Wilusa.”¹³ The following clause: “He (the Hittite) persuaded me (the Ahhiyawan) in that matter and we made peace” *may* indicate that it was only a diplomatic confrontation, but the possibility of actual war is not ruled out. Whatever event is meant here, it would be very different from the Trojan War of tradition!

The next text containing information on Wilusa is the so-called Milawata letter.¹⁴ The main part of the tablet is broken in such a way that more than half the length of each line is lost. Nevertheless it was used over the years as one of the principal sources for the Ahhiyawa problem. Recently Harry Hoffner found an adjoining fragment (both pieces are in Berlin and have been physically joined) which completes the last ten lines of the reverse and the five lines of the lower edge.¹⁵ It is in this completed section that Wilusa is mentioned.

The introduction to this letter consists of a single line of which only the words “Thus (speaks) His Majesty to [...]” are preserved. No greeting or blessing follows. This was the way to address subalterns. The use of the mere title “My Majesty” without the name of the king is standard in such cases. In the text the royal writer calls the addressee “my son.” Since in the course of the letter he mentions the addressee’s own father, it is clear that the addressee is not the king’s real son; the term “my son” is rather used to address a vassal in a condescending way; conversely a vassal occasionally addresses his overlord as “my father.”¹⁶ This Hittite vassal may or may not have been the ruler of Milawata, but if his realm was not Milawata itself it must have been close to its borders.¹⁷

At the time of the Tawakalawas letter Milawanda/Milawata, which is most probably Miletos, belonged to the king of Ahhiyawa; the Milawata letter obviously presupposes a different situation. Above, we dated the Tawakalawas letter to the reign of Hattusilis III. The unnamed writer of the Milawata letter is probably Hattusilis’ son, Tudhaliyas IV. This dating is based on some spellings characteristic of the late thirteenth century and, more specifically, on the mention of a couple

14. *KUB XIX.55, AU 198–205.*

15. H. A. Hoffner, “The Milawata Letter Augmented and Re-interpreted,” in 28^{ème} Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Vienna 1981 (*Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 19, 1983*) 130–137.

16. See, e.g., H. Klengel, “Zum Brief eines Königs von Hanigalbat,” *Orientalia* 32 (1963) 280–282.

17. In the version of this paper read at the Bryn Mawr Symposium, I followed a tentative interpretation offered by Hoffner (*supra* n. 15) for the verb written on the joining fragment with a rare logogram (DU). It resulted in a translation “When we, My Majesty, and you, my son, took away territory of Milawata.” Afterwards I found that a better attested reading of the same sign (as GIN) results in “established/fixes the border of Milawata for ourselves,” which amounts to the same as Sommer’s free restoration (*AU 202–203.47*). Another ambiguity is in the subsequent phrase “I did not give you [such and such place] in addition to the territory of Milawata” or “within the borders of Milawata.” I now prefer the second alternative in both cases (“established the border” and “within the border”), but even so the addressee may originally have ruled in a neighboring area.

11. *KUB XIX.5:3–4*, translated in J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (London 1959, henceforth Garstang-Gurney) 95.

12. *AU 2–19*; the name Wilusa in col. iv 8 (p. 16) with discussion, pp. 169–170.

13. Thus *CHD III 20 s.v. laknu- 6*.

of cities otherwise known from a hieroglyphic inscription of Tudhaliyas.

In the completed section of the letter we read:

My son, send Walmus to me! Then I shall install him again in the kingship of Wilusa: just as he was previously king of Wilusa, let him now likewise [be king of Wilusa], and just as he was previously our ... vassal, let him now be likewise a ... vassal [of ...].

In the fragmentary preceding lines, restored only partially by the join, it was apparently told that someone (Walmus?) had fled, following which one reads: "Another lord for them." Apparently there had been what we now call a coup in Wilusa, and this event prompted the Hittite king to reinstate the legitimate vassal, Walmus.

Finally there is a small fragment of a royal letter¹⁸ that dealt with the affairs of Wilusa but is broken in a most tantalizing way. It is addressed by "[... , the Great King of Hat]ti, to Maḫuittas, king of [...]." Instead of Maḫuittas one can also read Parḫuittas (the name is not attested elsewhere). The next three lines contain the usual statement that all is well with the writer and the wish that it may be the same with the addressee. This indicates that the addressee was a sovereign king, and we would love to know what his country was. The next lines, of which only the ends in decreasing length are preserved, contain the following words or phrases:

[...] in that year kingship
 [...] killed (3d. sg.), but to/for me the land of Wi[lusa]
 [...] but Wilusa not to/for me
 [...] was (3d. sg.) [...]
 [...] in that affair
 [...] at the time of my father the land of x[...]
 (the sign is not *wi*; it could be *š[a]*)
 [...] to/for life [...].

It is clear that there was trouble in Wilusa. Was it the same as that just mentioned? According to the handwriting, the tablet seems to belong in the thirteenth century, but I cannot date it more precisely or determine its chronological relation to the Milawata letter.

This is what we can glean of the history of Wilusa. Is that Troy?

5. *The relation of Wilusa, Wilusiya, and Taruisa to one another.* So far we have looked at the occurrences of the name Wilusa. The other two, Wilusiya and Taruisa, occur together in the annals of Tudhaliyas,¹⁹

one of the texts that have recently been redated, on linguistic grounds, to Tudhaliyas II of ca. 1400 B.C. Both these names occur only here.

In the first section of this text which is at least partially preserved Tudhaliyas mentions, among other countries, Arzawa, the land of the river Seha, and Haballa, i.e., those parts of western Anatolia later referred to as the Arzawa lands. After he had returned to Hattusa, he continues: "the following countries started hostilities: [...].Jukka, Kispuwa," etc. This is the beginning of a list of which about twenty names are preserved while a few additional ones are lost. The last preserved items in this list are "land of *Wi-lu-ši-ya*, land of *Ta-ru(-ú)-i-ša*" (the additional *ú* sign is in the duplicate). The text then says that all these countries combined their troops against the Hittite king but that he defeated this whole army. He adds that he went into every single one of the countries that had formed the coalition and deported their inhabitants. He then sums up the whole action with the words "When I had destroyed the land of Assuwa."

This has been interpreted in the following way: The twenty-odd countries are called "the Assuwa coalition." The name Assuwa has been taken as the root of the later term Asia which refers to Lydia in its earliest attestations but was soon extended to include most of western Anatolia.²⁰ The list is supposed to be arranged geographically, although there is no evidence for the assumption. The first name, broken [...].*Jukka*, was restored to [L]ukka by some, but not by all scholars. Since Lukka is supposed to be Lycia or Lycaonia the list was interpreted as running from south to north, so that Wilusiya and Taruisa became the northernmost countries in the west, which beautifully fitted the Troad!

I guess this listing of all the assumptions suffices to show how shaky the whole argument is. In addition there is the contrast between what Tudhaliyas says about Wilusiya in his own annals and what Muwatallis mentions in the historical part of his treaty. There we read that Tudhaliyas went into Arzawa but not into Wilusa because it was at peace; but in his own annals Tudhaliyas reports that Wilusiya was part of the coalition and that he went into every one of the member countries, even deported their people.²¹

Furthermore, Wilusiya and Taruisa are listed side by side, both as countries. How does that fit the as-

18. *KBo* XVIII.18.

19. *KUB* XXIII.11, and duplicate 12, translated in Garstang-Gurney, 121–122; O. Carruba, "Beiträge zur Mittelhethitischen Geschichte, I: Die Tuthalijas und die Arnuwandas," *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 18 (1977) 137–174, esp. 158–161.

20. D. J. Georgacas, "The Name *Asia* for the Continent: its History and Origin," *Names* 17 (1969) 1–90, esp. 22 ff.

21. One could try to avoid the contradiction by assuming that the two texts refer to two different kings Tudhaliyas, both of the Middle Hittite period. But this would be an *ad hoc* interpretation. As long as we know so little about those kings, it is more natural to ascribe these western campaigns to one ruler.

sumed equations Wilusiya = (W)Ilios and Taruisa = Troiā? It is generally accepted that for the Greeks Troiā was the name of the area, while the city was called Ilios. In the Tudhaliyas annals they are both called “country.” Of course one could argue that the scribe who compiled the list had no real knowledge of all the place names and mechanically put the logogram KUR, “country,” in front of every one. Or, in order to save the Greek distinction, one could take KUR ^{mn}Taruisa as apposition to the preceding name and translate “the land of Wilusiya, a region of Taruisa.” But that would be an *ad hoc* interpretation and therefore not acceptable.

One scholar proposed to take Taruisa as the royal citadel and Wilusiya as the region surrounding it, thus reversing the distinction made by the Greeks and added that this was the land of Ahhiyawa, and that Troy VI was the royal citadel of that country. This proposal was immediately refuted.²² I only cite it as an example of a divergent view. What is certain is that Wilusa in almost all its occurrences is clearly the name of a country, in contrast to the Greek use of Ilios. The writing without the sign KUR, “land,” in the Tawakalawas letter (as reconstructed by Sommer, preceded by the logogram INIM, “the affair of”) does not necessarily mean that it was only the city about which the two kings quarreled. Omission of KUR after another logogram is frequent. On the other hand, the normal writing KUR ^{mn}Wilusa may, but need not, imply the existence of a city of that name.²³

6. *Location of Wilusa.* Garstang and Gurney,²⁴ followed by Heinhold-Krahmer,²⁵ argued that the reason why Wilusa was able to stay out of the conflict between Arzawa and Hatti was its distance from both countries. That Manapa-Tarhuntas, the king of the land of the river Seha, mentions an attack on Wilusa in his above-mentioned letter has been taken as indication that Wilusa was not too far from his own country. As for the Seha River itself, the importance given in the same let-

ter to an attack on Lazpa — assuming that it is indeed Lesbos — has been interpreted as showing that the Seha is one of the more northerly rivers, either the Kaikos, the river of Pergamon (thus Garstang), or the Hermos, which has a more impressive plain. If then Wilusa was farther than the land of the river Seha from Arzawa with its capital Apasa = Ephesos, it may well have been north of the river Seha, which would fit its position in the Troad.

I cannot discuss here all the reasons given by various scholars for putting Wilusa in the Troad, or those given by others for putting it elsewhere. Suffice it to say that the localization in the Troad seems to me the most likely one, although — as with most of Hittite geography — no strict proof is possible.²⁶ The fact that a king of Wilusa, according to the Milawata letter, took refuge with the ruler of Milawata/Miletos or of a country near it does not necessarily disprove the northerly localization of Wilusa.

7. *The gods of Wilusa.* At the end of the Alakšandus treaty the gods of Hatti and of Wilusa are invoked as witnesses. While the names of the gods of the Hittites fill twenty-six lines, the enumeration of the gods of Wilusa consists of only the following names: “The Stormgod of the Army, [one name lost,]*x-ap-pa-li-u-na-aš*, the male and female gods, mountains, rivers, [springs] and the subterranean river(?) of Wilusa.”²⁷ Despite the break it is not likely that there were many signs lost before *ap*,²⁸ and the context demands a divine name. It is therefore quite probable that we have here a god called Appaliunas. This was equated by Forrer²⁹ with Apollo, in an old form **Apeljōn* reconstructed from Cypriote *Apeilōn* and Doric *Apellōn*. The double writing *ap-pa* is the normal Hittite way of rendering voiceless /p/; Hittite *a* corresponds to epsilon also in Apasa/Ephesos, Lazpa/Lesbos, Tawakalawa/Etewokelewes. The equation was, of course, rejected by Sommer.³⁰ It is

22. T. R. Bryce, “Ahhiyawa and Troy — a Case of Mistaken Identity?,” *Historia* 26 (1977) 24–32, against J. D. Muhly, “Hittites and Achaeans: Ahhiyawā *redomitus*,” *Historia* 23 (1974) 135; cf. J. G. Macqueen, “Geography and History in Western Asia Minor in the Second Millennium,” *Anatolian Studies* 18 (1968) 169–185, esp. 184–185.
23. A. Götze, *Madduwattaš* (MVAeG 32.1 [1928]) 50–53.
24. Garstang-Gurney, 101–105.
25. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa: Untersuchungen zu seiner Geschichte nach den hethitischen Quellen* (Texte der Hethiter 8, Heidelberg 1977) 350–352; cf. her chapter on Wiluša, 157–178.
26. Cf. also S. Košak, “Western Neighbours of the Hittites,” *Eretz-Israel* 15 (1981) 12*–16*, and I. Singer, “Western Anatolia in the Thirteenth Century B.C. according to the Hittite Sources,” *Anatolian Studies* 33 (1983) 205–217, esp. 215–216.

27. *KUB XXI.1* iv 27–29; Friedrich (supra n. 10) 80 with additions after an old copy by Hugo Winckler: H. Otten, “Zusätzliche Lesungen zum Alakšandu-Vertrag,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 5 (1957) 29.
28. F. Sommer, “Apollon von Ilios?,” *Indogermanische Forschungen* 55 (1937) 181, found that a photograph showed a trace before the *ap* which could best be a “broken vertical” as found at the end of the signs *a*, *za*, *ya*, and *kar*. The choice of *a* may be begging the question, but since spelling *a-ap-* in initial position is normal in Hittite, it remains the most likely restoration. Sommer (178–179) expects a mention of the main goddess in this line. Her name would easily fit into the lacuna. (Should we venture a restoration ^q[IŠTAR-li-iš] as *interpretatio Hethitica* of Aphrodite?)
29. E. Forrer, “Apollon,” *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* 1.5 (1931) 141–144; cf. P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 24 (1936) 250–251; E. Laroche, *Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites* (Paris 1947) 80.
30. Sommer (supra n. 28) 176–182.

true that the evidence is not sufficient for proof; but neither is there any reason why the equation could not be true. The origin of Apollo, both of the god himself and of his name, is by no means clear and has been sought outside Greece by many commentators. In the *Iliad* Apollōn is on the side of the Trojans. If Wilusa were Ilios and had Apaliunas/Apollōn as one of its three named deities it would make good sense, especially since this god need not have been "Greek" Apollo. It is in conjunction with the other names here discussed that the hypothesis Apaliunas/Apollōn gains importance.

Summing up, we found the following:

Wilusa was a country, perhaps, but not certainly, with a capital city of the same name.

The localization of Wilusa in the Troad is possible, even likely, but not strictly provable, and the suspicion remains that it was influenced by the thought that Troy was meant.

There is nothing in the glimpses we get of Wilusa's history that has any similarity to the Trojan War.

The name Wilusa can be combined with Ilios, but only if a number of morphological and phonetic changes are accepted.

The relation of Wilusa to Wilusiya and T(a)ruisa remains unclear.

Alaksandus is ruler of Wilusa as Hittite vassal, while Alexandros is a son of the independent king Priam.

Muwatallis was a Hittite Great King, while Motylos, founder of a city on the Carian coast, had no comparable position.

The identity of []appaliunas with *Apeliōn/Apollōn is possible — some would even say probable — but cannot be considered proven.

Neither can any of the four equations, Kukkunnis = Kyknos, Alaksandus = Alexandros, Muwatallis = Motylos, and Wilusa = (W)ilios, be proven; there are even some counterindications, as we have seen.

Yet the five similarities remain very suggestive, and there will be some who argue that the combination of these five cannot be accidental. For the sake of argument let us suppose that the similarity can be trusted and, in addition, that Alexandros was the original name of the man called Alaksandus by the Hittites. We would then have a man with a Greek name ruling over Ilios, a city and country which, apart from the remote past under Labarnas, had been independent of the Hittites until he, Alexandros, became a Hittite vassal ca. 1280. After him the area seems to have remained under Hittite rule. That the epic tradition remembered just the existence of a royal personage of that name (and of Kyknos) and incorporated these men somehow into the story of the Trojan War would not be surprising. That the Hittite text never says anything about their ethnic background despite their Greek names is not surprising either, since the designation as rulers of Wilusa was sufficient. We said that Alaksandus is never called an Ahhiyawan, and that is as it should be. I have argued that the Great King of Ahhiyawa, equal in rank to the Great King of Hatti and, by implication, to those of Egypt and Babylonia, can only be a ruler of the rank of an Agamemnon.³¹ We heard that after the Alaksandus treaty he and Hattusilis quarreled about Wilusa. This shows that the city was not considered part of Ahhiyawa by the Hittites. All this would, of course, fit the picture of Troy as a local kingdom, quite distinct from the Greeks who fought against it. If our two Wilusian friends really have Greek names, they are not different from those Trojans in the epic who carry such names. I hope to learn more about the significance of this phenomenon.³²

I said "let us suppose for the sake of argument." Having spun out this nice hypothesis I must repeat that it is no more than just that: a hypothesis. We cannot claim with any certainty that Wilusa *is* Ilios or that Alaksandus *is* Alexandros. It would be nice if we could say that the bards remembered the name of a historical ruler, but what they made of him has about as much relevance for the historical Alaksandus as the role of kings Etzel and Dietrich von Bern in the Nibelungen Lied has for Attila or Theodoric.³³

31. See my articles cited supra, nn. 2–3.

32. On Greek and non-Greek names at Troy see the contribution by C. Watkins, pp. 53–55.

33. Postscript: L. Foxhall and J. K. Davies, eds., *The Trojan War, Its Historicity and Context: Papers of the First Greenbank Colloquium, Liverpool 1981* (Bristol 1984), has just appeared; D. F. Easton, "Hittite History and the Trojan War," pp. 23–44, has a different approach and does not mention the "five names," while placing Wilusa outside the Troad.

AUTHORITY AND LAW IN THE HITTITE KINGDOM*

I. AUTHORITY WITHIN THE STATE

(A) ROLE OF THE KING

In a Hittite text we find the following statement: "The land belongs to the Stormgod, heaven and earth with the people belong to the Stormgod. And he made the *Labarna*, the king, his deputy (*maniyahhatallaš*) and gave him the whole land of Ḫattusa. The *Labarna* shall govern the whole land!"¹

In accordance with this theocratic view of kingship, we find that the Hittite king was not deified during his lifetime; he only "became god" when he died. There is, however, one detail which has to be discussed in this connection: the title "My Sun" used for the king. Since the word "sun" is, in cuneiform, necessarily spelled with the determinative for "god," this title has been taken as evidence for the divine character of the Hittite king.² In favor of this interpretation, one might adduce the fact that in the reliefs of the Empire the king wears the same costume as the Sungod:³ round cap, long gown, and curved staff. Thus, one might say that the king wore the attire of the Sungod (or vice versa) because he was "My Sun," and attribute both title and concept to Egyptian influence. But against the latter theory it has been pointed out that the title already occurs in the Old Kingdom, that is, at a time when contacts with Egypt seem unlikely.⁴ Whatever the explanation of these reliefs, the fact remains that the phrase "the king became god," meaning he died, can only be understood if he had not been a god before his death;

and there is not a single text referring to the cult of a living king that could be compared to those of the Third Dynasty of Ur. On the contrary, in the countless cult texts the king worships the gods as a human being, and in the prayers he addresses them as his lords and calls himself their slave. In conducting the great cult ceremonies in person and in praying on behalf of the country, the king acted as the highest priest⁵ and represented the people in front of the gods. How important these priestly duties of the king were, can be seen from the fact that he sometimes postponed or interrupted a campaign in order to perform one of the cult festivals.

Special rites performed at the occasion of a king's accession existed, but the texts referring to them are too fragmentary to give a clear picture. We hear that "the King sits down on the throne of kingship, and the Queen on the throne of queenship," and that this ceremony is called a festival.⁶ (The mention of the Queen reflects her status as we know it from other sources, but we cannot dwell on it here.) More details are learned from a ritual describing the temporary installation of a substitute king (corresponding to the Akkadian term *šar puhi*);⁷ obviously the symbolic acts carried out with a prisoner whom the gods shall take as substitute, are those of a real coronation. They are: anointing with the oil of kingship, putting on the garments of kingship and a special kind of headdress which, in function at least, corresponds to a crown.

Turning now to the authority of the king, we shall postpone a discussion of the question as to in what degree his power was limited until we come to the role of the nobles. Let us see first his function as supreme judge. Law 173 of the so-called Hittite Code says that "If anyone rejects the judgment of the king, his house shall be made a shambles(?); if anyone rejects the judgment of a dignitary, they shall cut off his head."⁸

*Reprinted from the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Supplement 17 (1954): 16–24, with the permission of the American Oriental Society.

1. *Istanbul ... Boğazköy Tabletleri* I, No. 30; transl. Goetze, *JCS* 1, 90 f.
2. I. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, p. 60; cf. C. J. Gadd, *Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East*, p. 48.
3. Compare reliefs No. 34 (Sungod) and 64 (king) in Yazılıkaya (numbering according to Bittel, *Die Felsbilder von Yazılıkaya*, and Bittel-Naumann-Otto, *Yazılıkaya*). On the interpretation of No. 34 as Sungod see Güterbock, *Bulleten* 7, 298 ff., and S. Alp, *Archiv Orientalní* 18, 1/2 p. 4.
4. F. Sommer, *Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Ḫattušili I.*, p. 72.

5. Called "priest" in *KUB (Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi)* VI 45 i 20, iii 26–30.

6. *KUB* IX 10 and X 45; A. Götz, *Kleinasien*, p. 84, n. 2.

7. *KUB* IX 13 + XXIV 5; transl. A. Goetze in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, ed. by J. B. Pritchard, p. 355 f. (*ANET*). Anointing to kingship also mentioned in the text quoted by H. Otten, *MDOG* 83, 56 fn.

8. Goetze's transl. in *ANET* 195.

From other texts we learn that the king reserved for himself the right of deciding lawsuits which exceeded the power of his subordinates, such as a vassal ruler⁹ or a governor.¹⁰

(B) ROLE OF PRIESTS, NOBLES, OR ELDERS

About any role the priests played directly in the fields of authority and law we hear nothing. The existence, in Hittite times, of "holy cities" governed by their priesthood is only inferred from Strabo's account of Comana Cappadociae and from the mention of a "city of a god" in a treaty.¹¹ Also, when real estate was donated to a deity,¹² one may assume that it was administered by the priests of that deity, but this is not expressly stated.

On the other hand, it is true that the priests exercised some power by administering the oracles. Records of oracle questions with their answers are among the most numerous texts in Boğazköy. The subject matters with which such oracles are concerned are for the greater part connected with the correct performance of the cult, that is, with the priestly duties of the king; a few deal with the conduct or outcome of campaigns,¹³ and thus, with his military duties. But as far as I can see, matters of policy or jurisdiction were not treated in the oracles.

"Elders" are mentioned occasionally. Thus, it is said in the Laws that the finder of stray cattle "shall drive it to the Gate of the King, but if he finds it in the country, the elders may assign it to him If they do not assign it to him he becomes a thief" (§71). Correspondingly we find elders mentioned as making decisions in court, together with the governors of towns and districts, in the instruction for the latter.¹⁴ But we do not know whether, or to what extent, such elders had a say in the local administration; in other words, whether the existence of "elders" reflects anything that could be called "Primitive Democracy."¹⁵ The assembly of gods in one of the Kumarbi epics is no more than a literary motif taken over from Mesopotamian models.¹⁶ It is significant that in the proclamation of Ḫattusili I, a ruler of the Old Kingdom, the elders are not allowed to speak personally to the king.¹⁷

As far as noblemen are concerned, it seems as if there was a difference between their role in the Old and New Kingdoms. Our main source for the Old Kingdom, the Proclamation of Telipinu,¹⁸ speaks of the *pankuš*, presumably the body of the nobles, in the following terms:

Whoever hereafter becomes king, and plans evil against his brother or sister — you are his *pankuš* — speak frankly to him (as follows): 'Read this tale of bloodshed in the tablet [that is, the historical introduction of the text itself]. Formerly bloodshed became common in Ḫattusa, and the gods exacted of the royal family the penalty for it.' Whatever king does evil among his brothers and sisters, risks his royal head. Call the assembly! [Here called *tuliyāš*] ...

This means that the assembly had jurisdiction over the king if the latter committed a crime, and the right of warning him when it was obvious that he was about to do so. In the following paragraphs the assembly is granted jurisdiction also over royal princes and courtiers. The theory, however, that the *pankuš* had a voice in electing the successor to the throne, is not borne out by the texts, as Sommer has shown.¹⁹ We are informed, it is true, that the grandees in fact once appointed a ruler,²⁰ but this is mentioned as an offense, a usurpation of rights by the king's "subjects" (lit., slaves).

In the New Kingdom, we hear nothing of the *pankuš*. Nobles are mentioned, under different names, such as "the lords" (*bēlū*), "the dignitaries" (LÚ.MEŠ.DUGUD), or "the grandees" (GAL), etc.; we have the texts of the regulations to which they were subjected and the oaths they had to take. These texts only speak of their obligations, particularly that of loyalty toward the king and his direct descendants, but not of their rights, and the whole tenor implies that they had none.

It should be remembered in this connection that both in the Old and New Kingdoms the Hittite state was organized along the lines of feudalism, a system that prevailed at this time over a large area; according to some scholars it is characteristic of "Überlagerung," that is, a society in which a conquering group was superimposed over the local population, and this is actually true of the Hittite, Mitanni and Kassite empires. The holders of big estates formed a kind of aristocracy, but apart from the exemptions from certain feudal duties we learn nothing about their powers. On a higher level, the feudalistic system meant that conquered territories were incorporated into the Empire as vassal king-

9. *KBo* (*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*) III 3 iii 29 ff.

10. Instruction for the *bēl madgalti*, *KUB* XIII 2 iii 23 f.

11. A. Götze, *Kleinasien*, p. 96; O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 72; treaty with Kupanta-KAL §10 (J. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* I 116).

12. "Vow of Puduḫepa" (E. Laroche, *Revue d'Ass.* 43, 55 ff.).

13. Götze, *Kleinasien* p. 121, n. 6.

14. *Bēl madgalti* iii 9.

15. Th. Jacobsen, *JNES* 2, 117 ff.

16. Güterbock, *Kumarbi*, pp. 21 and *20 f., frgm. c; p. 98.

17. Sommer, *l. c.*, p. 8 f.; ii 60; Gurney, *l. c.* p. 68.

18. E. Forrer, *Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift* II No. 23, §30 f.; E. H. Sturtevant and G. Bechtel, *A Hittite Chrestomathy*, p. 190 f.; their translation quoted here with slight changes.

19. Sommer, *l. c.*, p. 209 ff.; id., *Hethiter und Hethitisch*, p. 28.

20. Sommer, *l. c.*, p. 14 f., iii 43 ff.; Gurney, *l. c.*, p. 63.

doms. The local ruler was denied the rights of external policy, but had authority in the internal affairs of his realm, except in cases of special gravity as mentioned before. Such a system could only work as long as a king was powerful; in times of trouble it was bound to collapse, and the history of the Hittites contains enough examples of such setbacks.²¹ The very elaborate loyalty oaths show clearly the vital importance that was attributed to the loyalty of vassals and officials toward the king.

(C) THE PEOPLE AND THEIR RIGHTS

The social structure of the Hittite state is not clear. In the Laws, only two classes are mentioned: free men and slaves. Who were the free? The fine stipulated in the latest version of the Laws for the murder of a free man is so high that one is inclined to take "free man" here as equivalent to "noble" or "land owner" (§IV). There were serfs, listed as inhabitants of estates, who were "given" to a new owner together with the land. What proportion of population consisted of serfs, and whether there existed free small farmers beside them at all, is not clear. The term *muškēnu*, known from the Code of Hammurabi as a special class between "free men" and "slaves," is used occasionally in Hittite texts, but seems simply to mean "poor"; there is no indication for the existence, among the Hittites, of a social class of *muškēnu*.

Still less do we know about the rights of the people. In the same context in which the old king Ḫattusili I says that the elders should not talk to the king, this statement includes the people of several towns and of the whole country.²² On the other hand, it was the duty of the government to treat the people justly; just judgment for all, including slaves and widows, is made a rule for the governors.²³

II. LAWS OF THE STATE

- (A) WHO MADE THE LAW? (B) WAS IT CODIFIED?
(C) WAS IT MADE PUBLIC?

There is what we call the Hittite Code, a collection of approximately two hundred laws, in two parts named after the first words of each "If a man" and "If a vine," respectively. Who made it? The collection contains different elements, which are in many cases expressly dis-

tinguished by the statement that "formerly" the law was such and such, but that "now" it is different. Usually the reform amounts to reducing the fine or to replacing a cruel penalty by a more humane one. For these two layers, an older and a newer, one has introduced the terms Customary and Statute Laws.²⁴ I think that this distinction is essentially correct. It would mean that the older laws existed from time immemorial, that they were customary in the sense that they reflect old customs, so that they cannot be ascribed to a legislative act of one ruler. The Statute Laws, on the other hand, would be the result of legislation, and the text sometimes mentions a king as the author of such innovations. Unfortunately the king's name is never mentioned. On grounds of language one may date this version to the period of the Old Kingdom, and as a more exact date the reign of Telipinu or of his son has been proposed. This may very well be correct although it cannot be exactly proved. If it is correct, the redaction of the Statute Laws and the edict regulating the royal succession and the rights of the *pankuš* would fall into the same period.

But the history of the Hittite Laws does not end here. As already mentioned, we have one copy of a later version. Linguistically it belongs to the New Empire, and as far as its contents are concerned it marks a considerable step forward toward clearer and more logical formulation. Unfortunately this version covers only a small part of the whole.

Whether this writing down of the laws can be called a codification is another question. Law historians distinguish between a code and a "Rechtsbuch," and the Hittite Laws would rather fall under the second category, if they have not to be considered a still looser compilation. There are instances where the normal case was not mentioned at all, in other words, where only cases of a special nature were felt to require regulation by law.

Whether or not these laws were made public is very hard to decide. With the bulk of the population illiterate, even the setting up of a stele like that of Hammurabi would not mean more to the average person than the possibility of saying: Look, here is what our king has done for us! The Hittite Laws were not even written on a stele; they were available only to the professional scribes. That some importance was given to them can be concluded from the fact that there existed several copies and that these were kept in different buildings of the capital;²⁵ but that is all we can say.

21. After the murder of Mursili I (Proclamation of Telipinu), at the accession of Mursili II (his Annals), before Suppiluliuma (*KBo* VI 28), and under the latest kings (the Madduwatta text and texts referring to Suppiluliuma II, Laroche, *Rev. d'Ass.* 47, 70 ff.).

22. See note 17.

23. *Bēl madgalti* iii 29–32; Gurney, *l. c.*, p. 92.

24. E. Neufeld, *The Hittite Laws*, p. 95 ff.

25. The "new" fragments, found in the campaigns since 1931 and published in *KUB* XXIX, come from the "archive" in the SE of Büyükkale (see numbers, find-spots and plan in *KUB* XXIX, Foreword), whereas the "old" tablets, found in 1906–11, come from other parts of the city.

(D) CONTENT: CIVIL OR RELIGIOUS, OR BOTH?

The Hittite Laws are civil, not religious. The prohibition of black magic, or of contaminating a person's property by careless disposal of the remainders of exorcism, cannot be called religious laws. They fall under the category of protection of property and personal well-being just as the laws concerning theft or assault and battery.

Of the subject matters treated we can only give a very brief outline. Homicide, assault and battery, and theft have been mentioned. They take up a large portion of the Laws. Others deal with: marriage and divorce, feudal duties and land tenure, findings, incendiarism, sexual offenses, and other things. Also wages and prices are fixed in the Laws.

(E) HOW WAS THE LAW ENFORCED?

Since we do not have Hittite legal documents, it is impossible to check the rules set in the Laws against actual practice as in Mesopotamia. About the courts we have already spoken when dealing with authority. There is one detail which sheds some light on the question of enforcement: In an instruction an official is told that he should treat cases of homicide according to the usage prevailing in different parts of his realm. Where death penalty is customary, he should apply it; where another penalty (the exact nature of which escapes us) is in use, he should act accordingly.²⁶ Now, in the Laws, death penalty is not applied for homicide at all; only a Wergeld ("composition") consisting of a certain number of persons, or of silver is paid to the family of the slain. If, therefore, the governor could apply death penalty in places where it was customary, this means that the Laws were not enforced uniformly throughout the Empire.

III. CONCLUSION

On the whole, law and authority were well established in the Hittite Kingdom. We have seen that the king was considered the deputy of the supreme god and functioned as the highest priest. The elaborate rules set up in order to protect him from all contamination²⁷ reflect the sanctity of his person. The punishment for rejection of a royal judgment may also be interpreted as reflecting the same concept. Another way of strengthening the authority by religious means are the oaths, taken by royal princes, officials and vassals alike in the presence of the gods. If the Sungod is called "the just lord of judgment" in a hymn,²⁸ this is obviously borrowed from Akkadian hymns to Šamaš; but it is significant that such ideas were taken over. Ḫattusili III says "Even while I was sick I witnessed the justice of the goddess."²⁹ Here the Hittite word for "justice," *ḫandandatar*, is written, in a recently discovered copy, with the ideogram NÍG.SI.SÁ which stands for Akkadian *mēšaru*. We have heard about this term.³⁰ It is noteworthy that it occurs here in a context quite different from that in which it is used in Mesopotamia: it is not the king who establishes *mēšaru*, but the deity who has it. It is likely that the Hittite and Akkadian terms did not mean exactly the same, but the fact remains that the association was made by the scribes.

These details reflect the impact of Babylonian civilization upon the scribes of Ḫattusa. We have seen that the conceptions of law and authority in the Hittite state were not in all points the same as in Babylonia, but the essential similarity is unmistakable and, of course, not accidental.

26. *Bēl madgalti* iii 11 ff.; Gurney p. 89.

27. J. Friedrich, *Mitt. Altorient. Ges.* 4, 46 ff.; Goetze, *ANET* 207.

28. *KUB XXXI* 127 i 1; transl. *JAOS* 65, 251.

29. "Apology of Ḫattusilis" (Sturtevant-Bechtel p. 67), i 44 f. with the dupl. *KBo III* 6 + *Ankara ... Boğ. Tabl.* No. 64 i 38.

30. When writing these "Conclusions" I had seen, through the kindness of the organizers of this symposium, Prof. Speiser's contribution.

REVIEW OF J. FRIEDRICH, *DIE HETHITISCHEN GESETZE**

Although the Hittite Laws have often been translated, the only edition containing a transliteration with critical apparatus has been Hrozný's *Code Hittite* of 1922, based exclusively on the fragments published by the same author in KBo VI. Since that time numerous additional fragments have been published, partly from the old finds of Winckler and Makridi and partly from Bittel's excavations carried out since 1931. Although these additional texts were used in the latest translations (notably by Goetze in ANET), the lack of a new edition of the text in transliteration incorporating the new fragments was badly felt. Professor Friedrich planned for many years to fill this gap; he had actually prepared a manuscript, from which Sommer was permitted to quote as early as 1938. Since he was, however, prevented by circumstances from cooperating with Paul Koschaker, who was to contribute a commentary from the viewpoint of the law historian, Friedrich did not publish his work then. After the death of Koschaker he was unable to secure the cooperation of another law historian and finally published the full text without a juridic commentary in the present volume. The text was brought up to date by the inclusion of fragments found in the 1950s. In making available now the full text with all variants, Friedrich has rendered a great service to all scholars interested in the history of law as well as in Hittitology. The aim expressed in the preface (p. VIII), to furnish "eine zuverlässige philologische Grundlage für die weitere Arbeit an den hethitischen Gesetzen," has been fulfilled. Of special value for such further work is the inclusion of a complete concordance of all words occurring in the text of the Laws (pp. 116–155).

The Hittite Laws are among the most difficult of all Hittite texts, partly because of their archaic language, partly because they deal with subject matters not covered by other text groups and therefore contain many *hapax legomena*, partly because the concepts of ancient Near Eastern law — not only Hittite! — are dif-

ficult to grasp. Hence it is only natural that some passages still defy all attempts at translation and interpretation, while one may have different opinions about others. Added to these difficulties is the fact that the text was copied and recopied over several centuries so that one has to reckon with scribal mistakes of which only a few can be corrected on the basis of the duplicate copies. Finally, all existing tablets are damaged to some extent — ranging from nearly, but not quite, complete tablets to tiny fragments — and even when all of them are used there remain some lacunae. Here again it is possible in a few cases to go beyond Friedrich's reconstruction of the text.

The present reviewer feels that the best way of doing justice to Friedrich's work is to begin, right here, the 'Weiterarbeit' on the basis of this book. The following remarks, though critical in part, are meant as just such 'further work.' All scholars interested in the subject, the reviewer included, owe Professor Friedrich a great debt of gratitude for this well organized and faultlessly printed book. It is hoped that the remarks to follow below, by offering a restoration or different reading here, an alternative translation there, will be taken as an expression of the reviewer's gratefulness for the work on which they are based, and that they may serve to enhance the usefulness of this text edition.

PRESENTATION OF THE TEXT

As is well known the Hittite Laws are contained in two collections or series, named by their incipits "If a Man" and "If a Vine," respectively. The term "tablets" used for these collections by most scholars (including Fr., p. 1) is not well chosen because the Hittite scribes applied the word DUB "tablet" in a different sense: depending on the size of the actual clay tablets used for the individual manuscripts, both "If a Man" and "If a Vine" could be written on one or two "tablets" (DUB).¹ I would, therefore, reserve the term "tablet" for these

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A review of *Die Hethitischen Gesetze*, by Johannes Friedrich. Transkription, Übersetzung, sprachliche Erläuterungen und vollständiges Wörterverzeichnis (Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui VII). Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1959. 4°, X + 155 pp.

1. So far, no copy spreading the first series over three tablets has been found, although ABoT 52 (p. 1) seems to testify to its existence, at least if it really is a label. Or does it, as a 'library slip' of some sort, simply refer to "three tablets of *takku LÚ-aš*" (since in Boğazköy KAM is also used with cardinal numbers), regardless of what parts they contained?

individual *tuppātu* and call the two large collections rather “series” (thus also Laroche, *Catalogue*² Nos. 181, 184).

Friedrich follows the arrangement of Hrozný in presenting first Series I (“Tafel I”), then, with roman numbers for the sections, the younger version of I, KBo VI 4 (“Paralleltext”), and finally Series II (“Tafel II”). Almost all existing fragments (up to those found in 1958) have been placed and used for the reconstruction of the text; the only exception is KUB XIII 31,³ certainly belonging to the Laws because of the phrase [*parn*]aššeia šuwa[izzi]. Although it has no counterpart in the text so far known, the words [*ku*]-iš-ki kar-a[š-zi] (line 1’) recall §113/13 of Series II, the last preserved section before a lacuna in our text. It may therefore belong just into this gap, either as §114/14 or after it.

Friedrich lists all manuscripts on pp. 2–4, using capital letters (A–W) for copies of Series I and lower case letters (a–t) for those of Series II (one might then introduce “u” for KUB XIII 31). His choice of sigla follows the sequence of the cuneiform editions: KBo VI, KUB XIII, XXVI, XXIX, KBo IX, and unpublished, in each series. This choice, easy as it may be, is unfortunate because it pays no attention to the distinction between one-tablet and two-tablet manuscripts, although this had been worked out previously.⁴ Using this criterium we get the following list (using Fr.’s sigla):

SERIES I

ONE-TABLET MANUSCRIPTS

A, B, K;
probably J, M.

TWO-TABLET MANUSCRIPTS

First Tablet

C (end broken);
L (end broken).

Second Tablet

D (colophon; the ca. 5 lines broken at the beginning = §50);
(E, according to Hr. possibly same tablet as D);
F (colophon; beginning with §53);⁵
G (beginning with §51);
probably H, I, N, R, W.

2. RHA XIV/59 (1956) 92.

3. *Catalogue* (ibid.) No. 185. Of the other two fragments listed there as “de place incertaine,” KUB XXIX 38 is Fr.’s q₈; for KBo VI 23, Fr. (p. 4) is right in excluding it; as the texts of 1960 show, *ták-ku ša-ki-a[š]* is the beginning of an omen (private communication of Otten).

4. As by Laroche, *Arch. Hist. Droit Or.* V (1950–51) 93–98, and in his *Catalogue*, l.c.

5. Instead of “F₃ = KUB XXIX 15 (an F₂ anschliessend),” p. 2, read “an F₁ anschliessend.” KBo VI 8 (F₁) contains in

The other copies (O, P, Q, S, T, U, V) are too small to be assigned to either one-tablet or two-tablet manuscripts. Among them, O and Q may be parts of one tablet.⁶

SERIES II

ONE-TABLET MANUSCRIPTS

o and q.

That many of the “new” fragments in KUB XXIX belonged together was recognized by both Laroche and Otten.⁷ Whereas Laroche⁸ tried to assign most fragments to one copy, with the reservation “sauf impossibilité révélée par une collation ultérieure,” Otten distinguished two sets according to the ductus as seen from photographs.⁹ His two sets are Fr.’s copies o and q, in other words, Fr. here follows Otten. Direct ‘joins’ exist only between some of the fragments of each set, with gaps remaining between the ‘joined’ pieces and others. It would be easy to check the assignment of individual fragments to either set and to prepare comprehensive handcopies of o and q on the basis of the originals in Ankara. Pending this, there remain two questions: (1) Does q₈, which has no direct ‘join’ and whose col. ii has not been placed with certainty, really belong to q (cf. above, n. 3)? (2) This reviewer had difficulties combining q₇ obv. with q₁ in §§118/15 f.; Fr.’s arrangement seems doubtful because of the expected position of the second *annanuhhan* farther to the left. If one reads [... M]A.NA instead of [*a*]n-na[-*nuhhan*] in q₇ i 8, Fr.’s arrangement would be correct, but for the freely restored “25? GÍN.GÍN” one would have to read [1 M(A.NA)].

Other one-tablet manuscripts may be i and t.

obv. i the ends of lines of F₃, whereas between F₂ (KUB XIII 11) and F₃ there remains a gap (see phot., Neufeld figs. 17 and 27).

The statement (p. 1) that F “ist ein Exemplar, das die ganze Tafel I auf einer Tafel enthielt,” fails to take account of the point where it begins and is furthermore based on a copying mistake: the phot. in Neufeld, fig. 18, shows clearly DUB.2.KAM (as against KUB XIII 11). Correct the transliteration and translation (pp. 48 f.) accordingly. Since they are fragments of one copy, F₂ and F₃ should be combined there, although their relative position is somewhat uncertain.

6. Ehelolf, KUB XXIX p. V ad Nos. 18 and 20 (Bo numbers).

7. It should be remembered that Ehelolf never had all the originals at his disposal. The individual fragments of copies o and q were found in the campaigns of 1931–36. Of these, the tablets of 1931–33 were loaned to the Berlin museum at different times (those of 1933 even in three separate lots!), those of 1934 and subsequent years never went there. All are now in the Ankara museum.

8. AHDO V 96 f.

9. *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 69 (1952) 450 f. The published photographs confirm Otten’s distinction; more on the ductus below, p. 235.

TWO-TABLET MANUSCRIPTS

FIRST TABLET

- a ($a_1 + a_2$) (end lost);
- b (ends with §168/53);
- c, e, f, h, l, p (end lost in all).

SECOND TABLET

- d (begins with §168/53);
 - n (probably part of d, ends of lines of col. iii);
 - j (begins with §157/42);
 - k + m^{9a} and s (beginning broken).
- Too fragmentary for attribution: g and r.

Note that b ends with the same law with which d begins (§168/53). Since such overlaps at the transition from one tablet to the next are known from other examples,¹⁰ it is clear that b and d together form one two-tablet manuscript. Because of the breaks it is not possible on the basis of the published texts to recognize other such pairs, but close examination of the originals might reveal some.

Friedrich postponed (p. VIII) a discussion of the relative age of the various manuscripts. Pending his future study we may recall that some work has been done on this problem in the past. KBo VI 4, the 'Paralleltext,' certainly is a later, i.e., New Kingdom redaction. KBo VI 5 (Fr.'s C) represents a version which, though on the whole closer to the main text, once shows a change in the direction of the 'Paralleltext' and thus seems to date from a time between the composition of the main text and that of the New Kingdom redaction.¹¹ We may add that copy j is of inferior quality, and that copies o and q represent an older text: o omits §200/86 b, which has long been recognized as an addition; both o and q preserve the old version of §191/77(b), which was erased and replaced by a new law in j (see below for details); q omits *UL ḫaratar* at the end of §193/79, which Koschaker suspected to be a later addition, and thus offers the original text postulated by him.¹²

I think it is possible to go a step farther. Looking at the photographs published by Neufeld^{12a} I noticed that copy q is written in the type of handwriting that Otten and I have come to regard as Old Hittite. We shall elaborate on this 'Old Hittite ductus' elsewhere. If this

criterion is valid, then q is an *old* one-tablet manuscript of "If a Vine" kept in Archive A on Büyükkale. Thus it contrasts with copy o, found in the same building, which is written in the normal ductus, hence a later copy. Nevertheless it represents, as shown above, a text older than that of j.

Having found an old manuscript of Series I, I looked for one of Series II and found that copy M (KUB XXIX 16, Neufeld fig. 29) shows the same characteristics very clearly, while the small-scale photographs of A (KBo VI 2; phot. in Hr. better than in Neufeld), although less clear, make it appear likely that A, too, has the old ductus. On inner evidence, too, A seems to represent a text older than the other copies, only that M is an almost exact duplicate of A where both are preserved. Both A and M are one-tablet manuscripts, like q. Since both external and internal criteria point in the same direction, I would consider these tablets the oldest available manuscripts of the Hittite Laws (A and M for Series I, q for Series II); in a future edition they will have to be valued accordingly.

Although this newly introduced criterium of 'Old Hittite ductus' may in the future prove useful for the preparation of a 'critical edition,' it is clear that it could not have been applied by Fr. in the present book. Faced with many, but all too fragmentary copies of the text, Fr. did not attempt to make a 'critical edition' but simply reconstructed the text from all existing manuscripts. His method of presenting the text of any given part according to the copy which happened to be best preserved, was the only possible one under the circumstances. All variants were carefully recorded by Fr. in the footnotes. Many of them are simple spelling variants, but once we have to reckon with manuscripts of different age, even these become significant. Most notes refer to single words, although some of them give a variant concerning a whole clause or phrase. In some instances one would have wished for more notes of this latter kind, because they would bring out more clearly the real textual variants and thereby the relation of one manuscript to another. And occasionally a better reading could have been put into the text rather than left in a footnote.

Discrimination of a similar kind should, in principle at least, also be applied to the division of the text into sections (or individual laws, 'Paragraphen'). This problem is, of course, closely connected with the numbering of the laws. Two principles are here in conflict with each other: expediency on one side, logic and textual criticism on the other. Since Hrozný's *editio princeps* (1922) most scholars have used his numbering in spite of its obvious shortcomings. The only scholar who did not employ Hrozný's count was Friedrich, who offering a translation of the Laws in the same year (1922) in AO 23/2 (in cooperation with H. Zimmern) used his own numbering system. In the present new edition he

9a. Cf. Friedrich, RHA XVIII/66 (1960) 33 for this 'join.'

10. KBo IV 9 and KUB II 5; tablets X and XI of the (*h*)*išuwā* Festival (*Catalogue* No. 433, 2-3) [CTH 628]; KBo X 23 and 24.

11. Cf. Rosenkranz, ZA 44 (1938) 213 f., for the observation (though with inverted temporal sequence).

12. RHA II/10 (1933) 79 f.; in the 'Nachtrag' he already used q₆.

12a. E. Neufeld, *The Hittite Laws* (London, 1951). Whatever the judgment on the book, its author rendered Hittitology a real service by including fifty plates of photographs. The fragments of copy q are figs. 66, 69-71, 74-80, 82, 83.

follows Hrozný in Series I (abandoning the difference of one for AO §§28–101 = Hr. §§27–100) but applies the numbers of AO to Series II,¹³ adding Hr.'s numbers in parentheses. This system, which preserves one of the older numberings for each series (Hr.'s for I, Fr.'s own for II), is certainly expedient up to a certain point; it would have been even more expedient if Hr.'s system had been kept throughout.

It is true that in Series II Hr.'s numbering system is demonstrably wrong. But once the second principle, that of logic and textual evidence, is applied, it is easy to see that all systems used so far are inadequate. The Hittite scribes themselves were inconsistent in their use of the dividing line and in some cases even put the line in the wrong place. Thus, in Series I, §§19a and 19b are in reality separate laws like §§20 and 21 (dividing line in A, missing in B). The first marriage laws are so fragmentary that it is hard to count them, but §§"26a" and "26b" (in J and C, Fr. n. 19) are two separate laws, different from "§26" (in B). Copy A has an arrangement totally different from B.^{13a} §28 is written in one section in B, although it contains three parts. Copy C writes the first two parts together but separates the third (with different wording), while the late redaction omits the third part but writes the first two separately (§§XX–XXI). §§44a and b, 47a and b are separate laws (dividing lines in A, missing in B and — where preserved — C), and so are §§77a and b (without line in either copy; the 'Randleiste' in B is not a dividing line!). On the other hand, §§54–55 form a logical unit and thus are really one law.

In Series II, §124/21 contains two separate laws, although none of the manuscripts separates them; copy 1 seems even to add the next without a line. After Hr. §146, copy q has an additional law, Fr. II 35b (p. 70 n. 18). The division between §§160/45 and 161/46 should come between the PISÀN and the first *ateš*, or the three

items should be all separated (thus q). §§164/49 and 165/50 are one law (correctly combined in e₂); likewise §§166/51 and 167/52 (correctly combined in q). At the end of §II 67 (Fr.) the only copy, j, is broken, so one does not know whether it had a dividing line (in contradistinction to 'Randleiste'). Since the beginning of the next column still gives prices of woven materials, Hr.'s count of a single paragraph (182) corresponding to Fr.'s 67–68 seems better. Thereafter, the enigmatic §184/70 interrupts the prices of real estate, which are resumed in the first line of §185/71, j iii 9 (j is the only manuscript here since d ii, not used by Fr., is in a hopeless state). With line 10 begins something new: prices of hides of domestic animals, so there should be a dividing line between lines 9 and 10. Then again, the prices of meat begin inside line 15; so j, still the only manuscript, obviously misplaced the dividing line. §195/81 is written in three separate sections in copies d (+) n and s, but o and q here go with j in writing it in one. §§197/83 and 198/84 are one law, although even copy o separates them. In §200/86, the last part (b) has long been recognized as a separate law added later, and copy k + m has a dividing line before b. But what is commonly called §200/86a really consists of two parts: *takku arnuwalan* is a new beginning. Copy o seems to have a short separate paragraph here, but only the end of the dividing line is preserved (that it omits part b has already been stated).

This detailed survey is meant to demonstrate the arbitrariness of all our numbering systems. If we wanted to number the laws according to the best criteria available, we would have to introduce entirely new numbers. It goes without saying that this would not be practical at all. There is, however, a possible compromise: one can keep the traditional numbering but indicate by typographical devices what belongs together. This has been done by Goetze in ANET in many instances, and by Fr. in some: contrast his separate printing of §§44a and b, 77a and b with his rendering of the other cases listed above. It would have been quite possible to arrange each case according to the best criteria while retaining the traditional numbering, where necessary in the middle of a paragraph or line. The principle of putting the best reading in the text should also apply to dividing lines and could be carried to the point of changing their position where indicated.

Once this device is applied, it makes no difference whether Hr.'s numbers or those of AO 23 are used, in other words, Fr. could have kept Hr.'s also for Series II and simply indicated where they are wrong (where q shows that there is no gap between Hr. §§152 and "157," Fr. 41 and 42). This would have made it easier not only to compare the other translations and Friedrich's own *Heth. Wörterbuch* (which quotes after Hr.), but even to quote from this new edition itself: quotations running from 1 to 200 are easier to handle than "I 50," etc., as

13. Sommer followed his system when quoting from his manuscript.

13a. It may be of interest to list these laws as they appear in the old copy A:

- i 60 ff.: "§26"? Without a dividing line there follow
- i 63–64, perhaps "§26b" (Rosenkranz, ZA 44, 214 n. 1): man divorces wife. End of column.
- ii: ca 5 lines lost at top;
- ii 1'–2': perhaps §28c (Fr. p. 24 n. 29): breach of engagement;
- ii 3–5: §32: divorce of slave and free woman;
- ii 6: §35 (Fr. §32b): marriage of shepherd and free woman;
- ii 7–9: §33: divorce of slave and slave-girl;
- ii 10–12: §37: manslaughter resulting from elopement.

From here on the sequence in A is the same as in B etc.

In these marriage laws, the older text of A is obviously less well organized than the younger text of B; we thus get a glimpse of the early development of the text.

different from “II 50*,” etc. In this review I am using numbers 1 to 100 for Series I, 101/1 to 200/86 for Series II; but how are we going to quote hereafter?

NOTES ON TEXT AND TRANSLATION

§§1–2: Fr.’s translation of *šullannaz* by “infolge eines Streites” is preferable to all previous ones because it renders the ablative literally (“because of a quarrel”) and at the same time expresses that these laws refer to intentional killing for motives other than robbery (cf. §5 and especially §III); also Alp, JCS VI 95 n. 14.

§§1–5: Concerning *arnu-* (discussed p. 88; bibliography of various interpretations: R. Haase, BiOr XVII, 1960, 182), I am not convinced by the interpretation as “büßen, ersetzen” (“to make amends for,” ANET). In agreement with Alp, JCS VI 95 n. 15, I prefer to retain the original meaning “to bring, to take somewhere” and to interpret it in the sense that the slayer has to hand over, deliver, the dead man to his family (similarly Walther). Even in §5, which seems to be in favor of “büßen” if *-pat* is translated “nur,” it is possible to take *-pat* in the literal sense of “himself”: “He delivers the merchant himself.” The money fine stated at the beginning would apply to the whole law; if in Luwia or Pala, replacement of the goods is additional; if in Ḫatti, delivery of the corpse (which was impossible from a foreign country) would also be additional (to the fine alone or to fine plus goods?).

§9 with n. 7: *nu* is not only missing in A, but seems to be erased in B. The following clause is explanatory, so asyndesis is quite in place. In the translation, “und” should be replaced by a colon.

§10 with p. 92: In determining the meaning of *šaktaizzi*, §IX has to be accounted for: “pflegen,” “to take care of” (Walther) is, of course, only possible if *ša-ak-ta-iz-zi-ia-an* in §IX is analyzed *šaktaizzi + an* (not *+ya + an*). The proposed meaning fits the context well; the above remark is not meant to question it, only to supplement the commentary.

§11–12: In the notes (p. 18 n. 32 and p. 19 n. 9) Fr. simply states that C has “6” for “20”; and in a separate note (n. 35), that C omits §12. It seems to me that Hr. (CH p. 10 f. n. 10) was right in assuming a causal connection between these two items: the scribe of C probably omitted §12 because he had jumped from the first clause of §11 directly to the fine of §12. “6 šeqels” would then originally have been a variant to “10 šeqels” of §12.

§§15–16: Since *iškalla(i)-* means “to tear” in many nuances, it may well be here “to tear off (a person’s ear),” rather than “zerschlitzten” (Fr. here) or “verstümmeln” (Fr. in §§XIV–XV); the latter (“mutilate” also in ANET) is all too general, especially if compared with “bite off” in §§13–14.

§§17–18 with notes 13 and 18 (p. 21 n. 5 and 7): This is the one instance where C goes with the ‘Paralleltext’ (§§XVI–XVII). In line 44, no question mark is needed with “5 šeqels.”

§19a: *É-ir-šet-pat arnuzi*, with comment, pp. 92 f.: I cannot accept Fr.’s translation “so darf er (ihn) nur in sein Haus bringen.” Not only is it more than forced to take the existing accusative for an ‘accusative of direction’ and then to supplement “ihn” for the direct object, but also the inner evidence of the four laws, §§19a, 19b, 20, and 21, makes it impossible to interpret the first in that sense.

Since the phrase LÚ.ULÙ.LU LÚ-*annaku SAL-naku* is never used of slaves, and since, furthermore, §§20 and 21 have ÌR in obvious contrast to it, it follows that §§19a and b deal with free persons. *taizzi* in this case amounts to “abducts (in order to enslave),” and *išhaš-šiš* must designate the person who can claim the kidnapped person, the head of his or her family, whether father, husband, or wife. The four laws, thus, form the following sequence:

- 19a) A Luwian¹⁴ abducts a (free) Hittite from Ḫatti-land and takes him to Luwia/Arzawa; penalty: the clause under discussion.
- 19b) A Hittite abducts a (free) Luwian from Ḫatti-land and takes him to Luwia; penalty: formerly 12, now 6 persons.
- 20) A Hittite steals a Hittite slave (var.: the slave of a Hittite)¹⁵ from Luwia and brings him to Ḫatti; penalty: 12 šeqels of silver.
- 21) Someone steals the slave of a Luwian from Luwia and brings him to Ḫatti: no penalty.

In this sequence there is a grading of offenses and their penalties according to the nationality of the culprit and the victim, and the social status of the latter. Abduction of a free Hittite (19a) is the most serious offense, so the highest penalty, handing over of the culprit’s estate (as hitherto understood) is quite in place.

§24: Copy A i 55 has ITU.1.KAM in both cases where B i 64 has MU.1[KAM] in the first and a break in the second. This variant is not covered by the footnotes (but was in Hr., notes 24 and 26). It explains the variants concerning the amount of wages (p. 22 n. 13 and 15, p. 23 n. 4 and 5). Copy A gives monthly, B yearly wages (delete the parentheses in the restoration

14. The correction of *-az* into *-aš*, which is generally made, is necessary and therefore accepted here, too.

15. This is the better reading (in A!) because of the parallelism with *Luiumnaš* in §21, which is genitive depending on ÌR, the object. — From the point of German expression, “Unfreier” (which is all right in contrast to *ellum*) cannot be construed with a genitive, “den Unfreien eines Luwiers” (Fr.). Why not “den Sklaven”? Also in §§22–24 dealing with runaway slaves, “Sklave” is preferable to “Unfreier.”

of B in line 65). The monthly wages of A are 12 šeqels for the man, 6 for the woman. Of the yearly wages in B, that for the woman is damaged; it could be “40” or “50” šeqels.¹⁶ Since the Hittite mina had 40 šeqels¹⁷ one would not write “40 šeqels,” but “50 šeqels” is quite possible, the equivalent of 1¼ minas. Applying the common 2:1 relation one may then restore [2½ minas] as wages of the man.

§25 with n. 16 (p. 23 n. 6): This line, like many others in A, is indented, hence there is no gap preceding the restored [x G]JN. As for the figure, simple addition of the following 3 + 3 gives [6 G]JN.

§31: The alternative translation of *anda aranzi* offered p. 27 n. 3 is preferable to that given in the text.

§34 and 36: I wonder whether the much discussed clause *nan para UL kuiški tarnai* might not mean “no-one shall sell him.”

§37 with n. 15: B has one more sign after EGIR-*an-da-lma-aš-ma-aš-l*, cf. Hr. and phot. Instead of Hr.’s -š[a] it could be ^l-kánl. In A the gap between KBo VI 2 ii 10 and the additional fragment reproduced in Hr. Pl. V is shorter than indicated in the footnote; it would allow for *n[u-kán šar-d]i-i-e-eš*.

§38: I do not think that *appanteš* means “festgenommen”; rather “engaged in” (ANET “implicated in”). For the restoration of line 32 I definitely prefer Goetze’s [*hani*]t^ltalwaš¹⁸ and see no reason for reverting to the obsolete [GIŠ-*ru-i ha*]t^ltalwaš (with unusual word order). The explanations given pp. 96 ff. are based on all too modern concepts. *hannešnaš išhaš* (in A) is ‘loan translation’ of Akkad. *bēl dīni* and means, like it, “opponent-in-court,” not “der Vorsitzende des Gerichtshofes”! Note that B ‘modernized’ both this term and the verb of A (Fr. n. 6).^{18a}

§39: The free restoration of [*šahhan*] in line 35 (n. 11) is not favored by the traces visible in the photograph. Rather, perhaps, with Hr. and ANET, “fields” (A.[ŠÀ].ĪI.A.x?-ma^l?). [*da-ma-a?*]-iš at the end of the line seems possible but would then be “another, *ein anderer*” rather than “*der andere*.”

§§40–41: LÚ.GIŠ.KU is “craftsman,” “Handwerker,” but Fr.’s rendering “Kleinbürger” gives it an unnecessary and unwarranted modern nuance. Besides, I see no reason why *šahhan* and GIŠ.KU should refer to land, as Fr. indicates by his rendering “Lehens(land),

Kleinbürger(land).” Where land is meant, the text says A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A “fields” (cf. §112/12). Just as the holder of a fief (LÚ ILKI) has to perform *šahhan* “feudal duty” (“Lehenspflicht”), so the craftsman has to perform his “craft” (“Handwerk”). By saying “this is my craft,” the LÚ ILKI assumes the obligation of carrying out the craft of the craftsman: GIŠ.KU(-*li*) *harzi* “he holds the craft” (maybe literally “he holds the tool”?) amounts to “he performs it.” If he declines this obligation he loses the land. And the same applies, vice versa, to *šahhan*.

As for the reading or the emendation of the second LÚ ILKI of B ii 43 (§41 with n. 25), it should be noted that the trace after LÚ in A ii 23 would fit G[IŠ.KU] just as well as I[L-KI]. In view of the GIŠ.KU of C and for the sake of symmetry I follow those who advocate emendation of B.

§44a: After *aki*, A ii 33 has traces of *a* (KBo VI 2) or at least one vertical wedge (phot.) instead of *nu-uš-ši*. As a tentative restoration, I think of *a[-ap-pa-aš-ši]* instead of *nušši* EGIR-*pa*. In C iv 17 the reading I[SAG.DU-*an*], offered as alternative in n. 26, seems possible and preferable.

§44b: DI.KUD, attested only by C iv 20, is not the normal expression, in Boğazköy, for *dīnu*. Copy B may have had the familiar *DI-IN* as in *DI-IN-ŠU-NU* §§32, 33 (and as *DI-IN LUGAL* in Series II).

§45: Instead of [*pehutezzi*] one may restore [*pai*] as in the next line.

§49 with n. 27: The sign is so different from DUBBIN (read UMBIN), that Otten’s suggestion cannot be accepted (KUB IX 1 ii 27, quoted p. 99 n. 3, has a normal DUBBIN quite different from the sign in our law). While rejecting this identification, I am unable to replace it by a better one.¹⁹

§52: On p. 100 Fr. quotes me for the translation “mausoleum.” It is, of course, based on the Ritual for the Dead as published and interpreted by Otten (cf. p. 100 n. 4; add now his *Heth. Totenrituale*). Although I have used the term “mausoleum” as a convenient word approximating the notion of the É.NA₄, literally “Stone House,” Fr.’s translation “der Diener des Mausoleums” or, in the glossary, p. 144, even “Mausoleumsdiener,” evokes wrong (and again all too modern!) associations. What is meant are the people attached to the estate of

16. Cf. Hr. p. 19 n. 25 and see the phot. in Hr.; Walther: “fifty (forty?).”

17. Otten, AfO XVII (1954–55) 129.

18. Inaccurately rendered in n. 5. In JAOS 74, 188, Goetze used “broad transcription” with single *t*, but in first proposing this restoration, apud Sturtevant, *Hitt. Chrestom.* 227, he wrote [*ha-an-ni-i*]t^l-tal-wa-aš, correctly taking account of the vertical wedge before *tal* by restoring it to [*i*]t (the phot. seems to show more traces).

18a. Cf. *Festschrift Joh. Friedrich*, p. 210 n. 5.

19. Forrer’s identification of our sign, which is preserved only in the old copy A, with AGA (No. 8 of his list in BoTU I) looks good as far as the shape is concerned (cf. the archaic form adduced by him). The difficulty lies in the determinative GIŠ which does not fit *agā* (though “the king’s crown” would not be bad in the context). Forrer quotes an unpublished text, Bo 2968, as the only other occurrence of our sign. It might be worth the effort to consult that text in order to find out whether its context favors the identification with AGA. — The sign AGA in AGA.UŠ (UKU.UŠ, UKUŠ) has the form Forrer No. 183. For another Boğazköy sign claimed for AGA see below, on §182/67.

an É.NA₄ of whom we read in KUB XIII 8 (*Heth. Totenrituale* pp. 104–7). One might keep a literal rendering in the text and add an explanatory footnote: “The slave of a ‘Stone-House’ (note: a serf attached to the estate of a mausoleum),” “Der Sklave eines ‘Steinhauses’ (ein zu den Liegenschaften eines Mausoleums gehöriger Unfreier).”

§§57 ff.: see the excursus on domestic animals.

§76: The shortening of the commentary of the original manuscript (p. VII) has led to a kind of circle with regard to the meaning of *appat(a)riya-* here and in §164/49. In both laws, Fr. translates this verb “pfänden” (English “to take as pawn”; thus also ANET in §164 “to get a pawn,” whereas “pawns” in §76 is the opposite, “to give as pawn,” German “verpfänden”); in HW he also gives “pfänden.” At the two places quoted there, however (*Hethitisches* II 42 n. 1; ZA 46, 49), Sommer had “mieten oder pfänden,” adding in ZA “so Friedrich im ungedruckten Kommentar der Gesetze,” where “so” might refer to both meanings (while the presentation in HW shows that it is meant for the second only). The only discussion of the meaning that I could find, in which “pfänden” is advocated (with a reference to Akk. *nepūm*) is by Haase, *ArOr* 26 (1958) 28 ff. (quoted p. 101 all too briefly). Haase saw the difficulty arising from the mention of *kuššan* in §76 and tried to overcome it by translating *kuššaššetta* “auch seinen (des Tieres) Preis.” This yields a better sense than Fr.’s “und gibt auch seinen Lohn,” since in connection with pawning one does not understand what the “Lohn” (ANET “hire”) should be. One might argue the opposite way and come back to “mieten,” but this, too, is not without difficulties. One would have wished for a full discussion in the commentary.

§78 has *kuššanizzi* for “hires (an ox),” as do also §§151/40 f., and thus is in favor of a different meaning for *appatariya-* (above). But §78 itself poses problems: why does the owner “find” his ox if he has hired it out? One would expect him to know who hired it! Goetze interprets *wemiyazi* as “finds it in the described condition,” implying some damage to the animal caused by the leather objects that are “put upon it” (*anda dai* can, of course, be “auflegt” as well as “einlegt”).

§85: with n. 12: The “a” before the break in B iv 18 could be “2” according to the phot., and a spelling 2 [PA-RI-SI ŠE] would also fill the gap. Cf. §78, where B writes [PA-RI]-SI(!) like A (p. 42 n. 27), as against §83, where both A and B have PA.

§90: According to the space, E 13 probably had [nu Ì]-an for *našta Ì-an* of B.

§95, n. 18: P 2 has traces of *gur*: [ku-ug-gu]r-aš-kán-zi.

P. 48, colophon of F: see above, n. 5.

§II: I can understand *takku* SAL-za-ma GEME only as “But if the woman is a slave.” I reconstruct the distri-

bution of the sexes and the social status in the same way as Goetze in ANET.

§IV: A.GÀR should have the same note here as in §§XXXVI–XXXIX. — *šamenzi* “he forfeits,” i.e., he has to give up, “er muss verzichten.”

§XXXV with n. 7: it combines §§45 and 71.

§101/1 with pp. 104: The interpretation of line 5 is an improvement on Hrozný.

§102/2: The position of the left edges of c and o can be determined by the certain restoration of a number of lines. Accordingly, copy o must have had one more word between *takku* and *luliaz*, against c. — Should the number of “loads of wood” in the case of a *dīn šarri* be restored higher than “three”?

§103/3, line 13: Figure “2” is preserved in c; close bracket before it, not after it.

§104/4: In e there is enough space for [tāk-ku ^{GIS}HAŠHUR ^{GIS}Ḫ.K]JUR.RA, i.e., the expected sequence of the two kinds of fruit trees. In o, the space allows for even more, so that I would restore the same list as in §105: [tāk-ku ^{GIS}GEŠTIN ^{GIS}HAŠHUR ^{GIS}Ḫ.K.R.

§105/5: Copy o has *našma* between [^{GIS}HAŠHUR]R and ^{GIS}Ḫ.K.R. and space enough for another *našma* before ^{GIS}KIB (restored in line 14). In e the space allows for only one *našma*; I would put it between ^{GIS}Ḫ.K.R. and ^{GIS}KIB (ŠENNUR).

The difference between §105/5 and §106/6 (p. 105) is that between a ^{GIS}KIRI.GEŠTIN and a field. Like Turkish *bağ*, ^{GIS}KIRI.GEŠTIN, though primarily a vineyard, includes the meaning of orchard; cf. KBo V 7 rev. 32: 3½ *iku* of ^{GIS}KIRI.GEŠTIN and in it (*našta anda*) 40 *hašhūru* trees and 42 Ḫ.K.R. trees.”

§107/7: *dannatta* “empty” here probably in the sense of “reaped.” Today animals often feed on vines after harvest, thereby causing damage though less than while the grapes are still on.

§109/9: Or: “cuts off fruit trees from a canal,” thereby cutting off their water supply?

§110/10: The “Lehm” stolen here is the finished product, mud mixed with water and chaff; nobody would “steal” simple mud. For p. 62 n. 36 see already Goetze, *Tunnawi* p. 67.

§111/11 with p. 63 n. 8 and p. 105: von Schuler’s idea is excellent and quite in keeping with the space available in copy o: simply restore [tāk-ku še-e]-ni!

§112/12 with p. 105 f.: For the last clause, copies p and a combined give a wording that differs from that of b while yielding the same sense. For *ša[hhan eššuwan ITT]I LÚ.MEŠ.GIŠ.KU dai* “he begins to perform the feudal duty with the craftsmen,” a + p have [*šahhan eššuwan dai ITTI* LÚ.MEŠ.GIŠ.KU *harapzi* “he begins to perform the feudal duty and joins the craftsmen” (or “ranks with the craftsmen,” ANET).

§113/13: Again more space at the beginning of the first line. Copy p 3 preserves a trace of the word to be

restored between *takku* and ^{GIS}GESTIN-*an*, but I cannot restore it.

§114/14: For insertion of KUB XIII 31 in or after this paragraph see above, p. 234.

§119/16 with n. 23: For a different interpretation of the last signs of q₇ see above, p. 234.

§121/18: In c and likewise in q there is enough space for both *išḥaššiššan wemiyazi* and ^{GIS}*appalaššaš šara tittanuzzi*. In e, *wemiyazi*, perhaps spelled KAR-*zi*, may have been written in the intercolumnium. After *tittanuzzi* the trace in e is not *t[a]*, rather *š[a]* or GU[D] (phot.) Copy q has *ta* followed by what could be GUD(over erasure)-*it* [a][...] (phot., Neufeld fig. 71). I would like to restore that to GUD-*it* a[*ki*] (preceded by *ta* in q, without it in e) and translate: “If someone steals a plow and its owner finds it, he makes him step upon the ... (a part of the plow), and he is killed by the oxen.” The old punishment would thus be similar to that of §166/51.

§124/21b, notes 18–20: Copies o₄ and o₅ combined yield the following wording: (o₄ 4) [*ták-ku ta-i*]š-*ti-an-da* ^{GIS}MAR.GÍD.DA[.H].A? (o₅ 2) [*I-N*]A A.ŠĀ *da*[-*i-ez-zi* (o₄ 5) *ku-i*]š-*ki* “If someone steals loaded(?) wagon(s?) in a field.” The wording given in the text, restored by Fr. from a and i, expresses the same idea. Instead of *tarnai*, *dalai* would be better for “stehen lässt,” “leaves.”

§145/34: *šamenzi*, again, “he forfeits,” “er muss verzichten.”

§146/35: At the beginning of line 20 more space. I wonder whether q₃ ii 10 could be read [(*ḥa-ap-pa-ri*) *še*]-[*e*]-*ir*(!), although the text seems to have *ni*. In a iii 20 the space also allows for [*še-er* (*ḥa-ap-pár i*)-*i*]-*a-zi*. *šer* would fit the phrase well (“over and above,” ANET).

§151/40: The gap in line 35 is filled by t ii 6: *ták-ku* GUD.ÁB *ku-iš-ki ku-uš-ša-ni-i*[*z zi*]; one would have expected the cow here anyhow!

§157/42: The variants concerning the weight (notes 7, 11, and 12), if taken together, result in two different, but clear sets, as already seen by Otten, AfO XVII 129: 1 and ½ in j and h, 3 and 1½ in q.

§163/48 with pp. 109 f.: The idea of contagion caused by contact with the sick is too modern. For the ancients sickness could result from contamination with some tangible, material impurity. The phrase *išuwanalli išuwan* looks like a ‘figura etymologica’ despite the variant *šuwanalli*; if it is, then *išuwan* cannot be ‘supine’ with *dai* “begins to ...” Also there is *-kan*, and *dai* with *-kan* is usually “he puts.” In the clause “he puts the *išuwan* on the *išuwanalli*” I understand *išuwan* as the material remnants of the purification, and *išuwanalli* as the place where these are deposited. A confirmation comes from the vocabulary KBo I 45 rev.(!) 3 = MSL III p. 59, H 3, where *išuwaniṭ watar* “water (mixed) with *išuwan*” is given as translation of Akkad. *li-iḫ-wan*

(= Sum. *ēš*, restored). The form shows *išuwan* to be an *n*-stem, as expected from the derivative *išuwan-alli*. Although a noun *liḫmu* is not otherwise attested (CAD files), the related word *luḫummû* “uncleanliness, dirt” (Oppenheim, JAOS Suppl. 10, 44), “a thick liquid or semiliquid substance,” “wet dirt” (Landsberger-Jacobsen, JNES XIV 18; I owe these references to Landsberger) fits the Hittite rendering of *liḫmu* as “water (mixed) with dirt” well indeed. The *išuwanalli* then is a refuse dump, but — in contrast to the *ukturi* of §44b — an ordinary, harmless-looking dump, so that others have to be warned if the remnants of a purification are left there. I would, then, translate §163/48: “If someone’s animals are stricken by a god and he purifies them and drives them away, but puts the remnants on a refuse dump without telling his fellow (shepherd), so that the fellow (shepherd) does not know (it) and drives his own animals (there, to the dump), and they die, (then) compensation (is required).”

§166/51: For *ti-iz-z[i]* of j i 35, q₄ iii 1’ has [... *t*]-*an-z[i]* (according to the distribution of the text in the lines of q this must correspond). *tianzi* “they put” is the easier reading, and q has in general the better text. Hence *-iz-* in j is perhaps a simple mistake. Immediately following this word, “2 ZIMTI” would make good sense. In the phot. I cannot see the oblique wedge given in KBo, so restoration of the figure “2” may be possible (reading “two yokes” also in ANET).

§169/54: The variants *nu tezzi* of copy d and *ta ki[ššan tezzi]* of q²⁰ are against taking the *kiššan* as referring back. Rather: “and he says: ‘O Sungod, O Stormgod! It is no evil intention!’ ‘? I do not understand the preceding speech because *aršik-* is ambiguous and far from clear.”

§176/61a: I cannot accept the translation “gibt man ein Königsurteil aus” for *DĪN LUGAL ḥappar-ranzi*. The whole passage is unintelligible. Since it is attested only in j, some mistake (omission?) may be involved.

§§178/63–181/66: For the domestic animals see the excursus.

§§178/63, 179/64 (lines 32 and 37): I would read *ŠI-IM-ŠU-NU* rather than *nu*.

§182/67: The “TÚGMIR” here and HW 286, the “TÚGAGA” *ibid.* 344, and the TÚGBÁR in HW I.Erg., p. 25, are identical! Goetze, *Corolla lingu. Sommer* p. 52 n. 43, is right in identifying the large sign of KUB XII 8 i 19²¹ with BÁR, because BÁR has the same shape in the month name ITU.BÁR.ZAG.GAR (*nisanu*) KUB

20. Notes 16–17 do not clearly render these variants. Since q is one copy, q₆ iii 7 immediately follows q₄ iii 13 (not “anscheinend”!) and has *ta ki*[-...] preserved.

21. Also (with TÚG) IBoT III 75, 12 with dupl. KUB XXIX 39 i 5 (*Catal.* 177 “Protocole des marchés”). This large sign was listed by Forrer under No. 247, first two shapes; of his

VIII 4, 6; 19, 18 (missing in HW). He is also right in identifying this large sign with the small one in §182/67, KUB X 13 iii 14, and XX 33 i 6, since the listing among other garments, and even the price, are the same in the law and the 'Protocole des marchés.'²² This ^{TÜG}BÁR is *bašāmu* (von Soden, AHW s.v. *bašāmu* I), a coarse weave (sackcloth) or a garment made of it. The low price in our texts agrees well with that meaning. The various entries in HW should be corrected accordingly, and ŠL 347, 17 should be combined with 344, 17.²³

§183/69: *šiššuraš* is still far from clear, and so is ȚA.LA.NI (if this is the proper reading).

§§185/71–186/72: On domestic animals see excursus; on dividing of paragraphs, above, p. 236.

§187/73: j has after *ú-wa-* a trace which is not *da/ta* but could be *t[e]: ú-wa-t[e-ez-z]i?*

§190/76: Could *akkantit* (in o) be an instrumentalis in comitative use corresponding to *ITTI* "with"? In j, the alternative reading *GEDIM-ti* might be better: dative, "to." Sexual intercourse with a corpse?

§191/77: The *-ma* after *ka-a-aš* in j (n. 23) looks small and damaged; possibly erased and to be disregarded.

The fact that in j the text as "2-el" (not *l-el*) still leaves some doubts in my mind concerning Goetze's reading and interpretation of *ša-ni-ia*.

Notes 26–29 could have been combined in a statement that two lines were erased and replaced by the new line 35. Line 36 should have been marked as not valid more clearly than by a mere footnote, for instance by parentheses or [[]].

references, the first three refer to these shapes; they are KUB VIII 4, XII 8, and IBoT III 75 here mentioned. This sign has to be kept apart from the last shape under Forrer 247, with the last two references (KUB IV 47 and 48; add KBo I 13), which is *GIŠIMAR*.

22. See preceding note. In KUB XVIII 31, 4 (listed with ^{TÜG}BÁR in *Corolla*, l.c.), however, the small sign stands with *NINDA* (also in KUB XVI 53 obv. 5, mistakenly with ^{TÜG} in ŠL 347, 17). With *NINDA* it is probably ^{GÜG}. For this ^{GÜG} = *kukku* (ŠL 345, 5; sign *ěš* + *gunû*), Landsberger supplied the following lexical texts: *éa* I 185 (= *kukku*), Hg. B Tbl. VI 59 (*kukku elletu* as kind of bread), and OECT IV 154 vi 5–9 (with *n i n d a*, unilingual forerunner of *Hh*). Cf. Falkenstein, JAOS 72 (1952) 43 (I owe this reference to Goetze). Since the small shapes of ^{BÁR} and ^{GÜG} coincided in the Boğazköy writing, the scribes used the large form also for ^{GÜG} in KUB XII 12 v 26 (contrast *ibid.* vi 13 in parallel context with the small sign!); cf. Otten, *Heth. Totenrit.* p. 32 n. k (in forthcoming KUB XXXIX 7).

23. I leave aside here other signs that look similar in Boğazköy: ^{TÜN} in ^{NA}ZA.^{TÜN} = ^{NA}NÍR (KUB XXIX 4 i 10; HT I iii 12); ^{LÛ} (or ^{GAR}, sign again *ěš* + *gunû*) in the ideogr. for *abāru* (cf. Vieyra, RHR 119, 1939, 121 ff.); and possibly ^{NIMGIR} (*nāgiru*) before *EREM.MEŠ* in IBoT I 36 cols. ii–iii. Even *ȚAŠȚUR* is sometimes confused with this group, although on the whole the difference between *ma+gunû* and *ěš+gunû* is clear.

At this point the other copies have preserved a different text:

1) The main body of §191/77 ends with *Țurkil* (j 35 end, o iv 17 beginning).

2) In copy o there follows, without dividing line, another law (which may be called 191/77b); it can be restored to read: *ták-ku LÛ-aš DAM-ZU a-ki A-ȚA[-AZ-ZU/ZA da-a-i]* (18) *Û-UL Ța-ra-a[-tar]* "If a man's wife dies and he takes her sister, no offense."

In copy o iv 19, §193/79 follows immediately.

3) Copy j introduces a different law, §192/78, written over erasure in line 37 (Fr. §78 on p. 84). Literally "If a man dies to a woman," i.e., "if a woman's husband dies, the (lit.: his) wife takes the man's share."²⁴

4) It is hard to tell which of the two original sections in copy j, each ending in *UL Țaratar* (lines 36 and 39), corresponds to the law called above §191/77b. Whatever the scribe of this copy had originally written, he replaced §"191/77b" by §192/78.

§193/79: As stated above (p. 235), copy q preserves the original version without *UL Țaratar*. As to the variant, p. 84 n. 9, p. 85 n. 4, it is obvious that copy o has the better reading, *DUMU ŠEŠ-ŠU*. In the phot. of j I cannot see the vertical wedge given in KBo at the beginning of the line, and the break seems wider than indicated in KBo, so that a restoration [*DUMU*] *ŠEŠ-ŠU* may be possible even in j. At any rate, the correct reading of o yields the following, logical sequence for the levirate: brother of husband, father of husband, "the son of his (i.e., the father's)²⁵ brother," i.e., a first cousin of the husband.

§194/80: Read ^{SAL}KAR.KID (not *LÍL*), cf. CAD VI 101 s.v. *Țarĩtu*.

§195/81: Is the parenthesis "(zur Gattin)" necessary?

§198/84: It is true that *Ța-le-en-zi* (attested in j only) would formally go better with *Țaliya-* "to kneel," but the phrase ^{GIŠ}UMBIN *Ța-la-a-i* KUB IX 1 ii 32 makes it more likely that the verb *Țala(i)-* is meant here, too (cf. Goetze's rendering, quoted by Fr., p. 115 n. 2). "They set the wheel in motion" would be another symbolic act, neither more nor less intelligible for us than Fr.'s "sie knien zum Rade."

§200/86a: The restoration *an-na-aš-ša-an-n[a? (ú-en-zi)]*, line 26 with n. 8, is doubtful, not only because j has *ne-x* [instead of **na*, but also because the traces in *k*²⁶ before *ú-en-zi* cannot be restored to *annaššanna*; cf. the phot., Neufeld fig. 57. I cannot offer a restoration.

24. I would not dare to combine the two texts as Goetze did, ArOr XVII/1, 289 n. 9.

25. I prefer this interpretation to Goetze's, l.c., who wrote "nephew," making "his" refer to the husband.

26. The reverse of *k* is not col. ii but col. iv; correct notes 7–9 accordingly.

§200/86b: The restoration of the individual professions is difficult to reconcile with the traces in j. Since most of them are, however, attested by copy k + m, and since j is not a good manuscript, Fr. is right in basing his text on the other copies. [Cf. now Friedrich, RHA XVIII/66 (1960) 33 ff.]

P. 87, colophon: Add "Second tablet" in the translation.

EXCURSUS: DOMESTIC ANIMALS IN THE HITTITE LAWS

Although the laws dealing with domestic animals have often been discussed, some observations may be in order here because, in some instances, they affect the translation. At the same time it is hoped that such a survey may be useful for comparison or contrast with the systems of other regions.

In §§57–69 of the First Series, three principles of arrangement are intermingled: the first is that of the

main categories cattle, equides, and sheep, etc.; the second is that of the relative value of various kinds within each category; and the third principle is the distinction between theft and those cases in which an animal is either found or has strayed to the flock of another person. One may arrange these items as in the following chart (Table I).

This list of domestic animals is not the only one in the Laws.

First, there are the lists of animals given as compensation for others. Those given for cattle and horses are listed according to age groups (see below). Those given for an UDU.A.LUM (§§59, 62) and other sheep (§69) are:

UDU.GANAM²⁸ "ewe";

UDU.NITÁ "ram," i.e., the male here follows the female (see below);

UDU.ÁŠ.SAL.GÀR, var. UDU.SAL.ÁŠ.GÀR (in A).

TABLE I

Value	Category	Theft	Compensation
I	Cattle	§57 GUD.MAḪ	15 animals
	Equides	§58 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAḪ	15 animals
	Sheep	§59 UDU.A.LUM	15 animals
II	Cattle	§63 GUD.APIN.LAL	10 animals
	Equides	§64 ANŠE.KUR.RA <i>turiyawaš</i>	"likewise"
	Sheep, etc. {	§65 MÁŠ.GAL <i>enant-</i>	} (1) ²⁷
		§65 DÀRA.MAŠ <i>annanuhḫa-</i>	
§65 UDU.KUR.RA <i>enant-</i>			
III	Cattle	§67 GUD.ÁB	6 animals
	Equides	§68 ANŠE.KUR.RA.SAL.AL.LAL	"likewise"
	Sheep {	§69 UDU.GANAM ²⁸	6 animals
		§69 UDU.NITÁ	6 animals
I	Cattle Equides Sheep	FINDING AND <i>parkunu-</i>	
		§60 GUD.MAḪ	7 animals
		§61 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAḪ	7 animals
§62 UDU.A.LUM	7 animals		
II	Cattle Equides Sheep, etc.	STRAYING	
		§66 GUD.APIN.LAL	return
		§66 ANŠE.KUR.RA <i>turiyawaš</i> (var. ANŠE <i>turiyawaš</i>)	return
§66 MÁŠ.GAL <i>enant-</i>	return		
III	Cattle Equides Sheep {	§66 GUD.ÁB	return
		§66 ANŠE<.KUR.RA> SAL.AL.LAL	return
		§66 UDU.GANAM ²⁸	return
		§66 UDU.NITA	return

27. Text: "Compensation is like that for a MÁŠ.GAL." However, (a) no such compensation is mentioned either before or after, and (b) the first item here is itself a MÁŠ.GAL, although a special kind. See comments below.

28. For this reading of "UDU.SÍG.SAL" see already ŠL 493, 1, 3; 537, 135, 150.

According to the context the last-mentioned must designate a kind of sheep, although SAL.ÁŠ.GÀR alone means *unīqu* "young she goat."²⁹ Fr.'s translation "Jungschaf" expresses this situation adequately; the term should be distinguished from SILÁ "lamb" of Table II and other sources.

Second, the laws immediately following the above group (§§70–71) resume the aspects of theft and finding, in part repeating animals treated before, in part introducing new ones. In both laws³⁰ the list is:

TABLE II

CATTLE					
Price of animal:	šeql	of hide:	šeql	of meat:	sheep
§178/63		§185/71		§§185/71–186/72	
GUD.APIN.LAL	12	GUD.GAL	1	GUD.GAL	1/2
GUD.MAḪ	10	GUD.GAL	1	GUD.GAL	1/2
GUD.ÁB.GAL	7	GUD.GAL	1	GUD.GAL	1/2
GUD.APIN.LAL <i>iugaš</i> ³¹	5	—	—	GUD <i>iugaš</i> ³¹	1/2
GUD.ÁB <i>iugaš</i> ³¹	5	—	—	GUD <i>iugaš</i> ³¹	1/2
GUD <i>šawitišt-</i> pregnant GUD.ÁB	4 8	GUD <i>šawitišt-</i>	1/5	GUD <i>šawitišt-</i>	1/5
AMAR	2, var. 3	AMAR(!) ³²	1/10(!)	AMAR	1/10
EQUIDES					
§178/63					
ANŠE.KUR.RA.NITÁ	} "likewise" (s. below)	(no hides)		(no meat)	
ANŠE.KUR.RA.SAL.AL.LAL		(no hides)		(no meat)	
ANŠE.NITA		(no hides)		(no meat)	
ANŠE.SAL.AL.LAL		(no hides)		(no meat)	
§180/65–181/66					
ANŠE.KUR.RA <i>turiawaš</i>	20 ³³	(no hides)		(no meat)	
ANŠE.GİR.NUN.NA	(1 mina =) 40	(no hides)		(no meat)	
ANŠE.KUR.RA (<i>wešiiawaš</i>) ³⁴	14, var. 15	(no hides)		(no meat)	
ANŠE.KUR.RA.NITÁ <i>iugaš</i> ³⁵	10	(no hides)		(no meat)	
ANŠE.KUR.RA.SAL.AL.LAL <i>iugaš</i>	15	(no hides)		(no meat)	
ANŠE.KUR.RA.NITÁ (<i>šawitišt-</i>) ³⁶	4	(no hides)		(no meat)	
ANŠE.KUR.RA.SAL.AL.LAL (<i>šawit.</i>)	4	(no hides)		(no meat)	
SHEEP AND GOATS					
§179/64		§185/71		§186/72	
UDU	1	KUŠ.UDU <i>warḫuiš</i>	1	UDU	1/10
		KUŠ.UDU <i>ḪARUPTI</i>	1/10		
SILÁ	1/2	KUŠ.SILÁ	1/20	SILÁ	1/20
MÁŠ/ÛZ ^{36a}	2/3	KUŠ.MÁŠ/ÛZ	1/4	(no meat)	
		KUŠ.MÁŠ/ÛZ <i>walli</i>	1/15		
MÁŠ.TUR ³⁵	1/4	KUŠ.MÁŠ.TUR	1/20	MÁŠ.TUR	[1/20]

29. Cf. Landsberger, AfO X 158 with n. 79.

30. Also in §§75–76 and 148/37 (in the last-mentioned, the restoration [GUD-*u*]*n*, q₄ ii 2, is supported by these parallels). §§151/40–152/41 elaborates to: plow ox, cow (in t ii 6, above, p. 240), horse, mule, donkey.

31. *iugaš*, repeated in §180/65 (copy j), belongs to both animals in §178/63. The strange form *iugaššaš* in §186/72 (Fr., 112) refers to "two GUD"; consequently one might restore *i-ú-ga-aš-š[a-aš]* also in §178/63 in j ii 32 (the space allows for it, phot.), whereas q₃ 12 has *-ša-a[n]* (cf. the phot., Neufeld fig. 76). The distribution would then be *iugaš* when referring to one animal, *iugaššaš* (var. *-šan*)

when referring to two. Is *-šaš* genitive of the possessive pronoun (and the var., old genitive in *-an*) added to the noun, "of its (for: their) year"?

32. Emendation, see n. 45 below.

33. "10 šeqels" in s (Fr., n. 16a) must be a mistake.

34. *wešiiawaš* in s and in o₂ iii 17 (add the latter to Fr.'s n. 18), omitted in j.

35. In s, this whole entry is missing by mistake.

36. *šawitištaš* in j ii 42 refers to both animals; in s it is omitted, again by mistake.

36a. See discussion below, p. 246.

GUD

ANŠE.KUR.RA

ANŠE.GİR.NUN.NA

ANŠE (§71 in A only, omitted in B; in §70 B has instead GİR (ANŠÉ), cf. Hr. and ŠL 444, 25).

No ages or qualities are distinguished here. Since cattle and horses were dealt with before, these two sections almost look like an interpolation caused by the desire of adding the mule and the donkey. The clause "its owner recognizes it" in §70 is elsewhere not used with stolen animals, only with those that strayed (although it occurs in §19a, referring to a kidnapped person); and the stipulations (return plus two-fold amends in case of theft; temporary use of a found animal provided that the proper authorities are informed) contradict those made earlier. However, the fact that §§70–71 are already found in the old copy A shows that they were not added at a late date; they might rather reflect on the character of the original text of the Hittite Laws as a collection of heterogeneous material.

Third, there are lists of animals contained in the Second Series, §§178/63 ff. They may be tabulated as shown in Table II.

We shall first discuss the arrangement in §§57–69 of Series I (Table I), drawing on Table II for comparison.

K. Riemschneider has recently³⁷ collected proof for the fact that GUD.MAḪ in Hittite means "bull" as many of us had always rendered it. From this it follows that the animals of the first value group are males that can be used for breeding. The definitions given in the text agree with this: only an animal that is two years old is considered a GUD.MAḪ or an ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAḪ. Of the terms used to designate age (both in these definitions and elsewhere in the Laws), *taiugaš* and *iugaš* (§§57, 58) are clear from the parallel MU.1 and MU.2 (§§60, 61, 63, 67) and from the known meaning "two" of the element *ta-a-*. One might ask whether these terms mean that the animals are *in* their first and second year of life, respectively, or that they have completed one and two years. That the second alternative is correct (thus most translations including Fr.'s) follows from §176/61a, which states that certain animals "procreate in (their) third year," i.e., after completion of two.

The word designating the lowest age group, *šawitišt-*, is less clear. I prefer Goetze's translation "weanling" to Fr.'s "saugend," first, because the animals in question suck less than a year; second, because with regard to the title of a ritual, adduced by Friedrich,³⁸ it is more likely that a special ritual was

needed when a child was weaned than when it was nursed. Third, Table II³⁹ shows that a GUD *šawitišt-* was twice as valuable as an AMAR, so it should be older than the latter.⁴⁰

I must leave open the question as to whether MAḪ in GUD.MAḪ and ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAḪ primarily refers to age (as the definitions given in §§57 and 58 would indicate) or whether it rather describes the full males as being "of first quality."⁴¹ If K. Riemschneider's interpretation of KBo V 7 rev. 37 (l.c., p. 377 f.) is correct, GUD.MAḪ includes male calves, so it does not primarily refer to age. As for horses, our ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAḪ is an isolated expression. Table II, while using GUD.MAḪ for "bull," has ANŠE.KUR.RA.NITÁ for "stallion," but extends the use of NITÁ to yearlings and weanlings; these are male, to be sure, but according to §58 not MAḪ, so that in the case of the stallion MAḪ seems indeed to imply age. The decisive point is that while GUD.MAḪ is the normal expression for "bull" in Boğazköy,⁴² ANŠE.KUR. RA.MAḪ is *not* common, rather looks like coined here on the analogy of GUD.MAḪ; MAḪ may have been felt to express both sex and maturity; contrast GAL in Table II (above, p. 243).

For the third animal of the first group, UDU.A.LUM, one would expect the meaning "ram;" this translation is indeed given by Goetze (in ANET) and von Soden (AHW s.v. *ālu(m)* II). However, Landsberger informed me that the last-mentioned entry is open to criticism:⁴³ the line quoted from Ḫḫ must be read differently after collation; *a . l u m* is equal to, and later replaced by, *a s₄ . l u m* (cf. AHW s.v. *aslu(m)* I; *as₄* = SUK = LAGAB × A) with the two readings *aslu* and *pasillu*. Furthermore, UDU.A.LUM = *aslu*, as already pointed out AfO X 152, designates an animal of special race rather than a simple ram. In accordance

39. In §§178/63 and 186/72; AMAR in §185/71 is emendation, see n. 45 below.

40. A "saugender Hengst" is an impossibility! For an idiomatic English rendering see §181 in ANET: "a weaned colt." German lacks the convenient distinction between "colt" and "filly" for the male and female young, respectively, but can express the same thing by "männliches (bzw. weibliches) Füllen," to which then "saugend" (or rather, with Goetze, "entwöhnt") can be added.

41. Landsberger informs me that he no longer maintains the negative statement (AfO X 152 n. 58, quoted by K. Riemschneider l.c. 376) that MAḪ could not refer to age (Altersstufe), and that he now excludes the possibility that MAḪ refers to a better breed (ibid. in the text).

42. This in contrast to Babylonia. Landsberger drew my attention to the fact that *gumāḫu* (CAD V 132) occurs almost exclusively in literary texts, the only occurrence in an economic text being in the Neo-Babylonian letter quoted there under b), 1'.

43. Cf. MSL VIII/1 notes to Ḫḫ XIII 12 and 33.

37. MIO VI (1958) 376–8.

38. JCS I 292, from KUB XXX 67, 4 f., a catalogue entry.

with this are the facts that our text (1) omits here the definition by age which it gives for bull and stallion, and (2) knows of an UDU.NITÁ, “male UDU,” i.e., “ram:” at the end of Table I (see below) and in the list of animals given as compensation (above). To be sure, UDU.A.LUM is male: this follows from the arrangement of the text [and is now confirmed by KBo X 45 iv 29 ff.].

Once the male sex of these three animals is accepted, I would propose that the term *parkunu-* “to cleanse” in §§60–62 means “to castrate.” My reasons are these:

(1) *wemiyazi tan parkunuuzi* “finds and cleanses” is used only with regard to these three animals.

(2) Whereas other animals that have strayed (§66) or are found (§71) are simply returned, a high compensation is stipulated for those “cleansed,” which indicates that their value has been impaired: since “the owner recognizes” these animals, it is unlikely that the finder is allowed to keep them and has to pay for that reason!

(3) Landsberger discusses the evidence for castration of domestic animals in Babylonia in an excursus to MSL VIII/1. He has found that *ellu* was used as a euphemism for “castrated” (attested so far only in Neo-Bab.). Since Hitt. *parkui-* = Akkad. *ellu*, Hitt. *parkunu-* may be a loan from, or a euphemism parallel to, the Akkadian term.

(4) Fr. himself pointed to the difficulties which removal of an “Eigentumsmarke” would make. Again, why should a property mark be removed only from males? Castration, in contrast, would serve the double purpose of making the animal more manageable and at the same time changing its identity.

To sum up, I propose to translate in §§60–62: “If someone finds a bull (stallion, high-breed ram) and castrates it, ... ”

The third value group lists mainly females: cow, mare, and ewe (the “she-ass” in §66 instead of the “mare” of §68 is probably a scribal error; in A lost). It is strange that UDU.NITÁ “ram” is mentioned here together with females. The assumption that UDU.A.LUM was of special breed, is supported by the lower value here given for an ordinary male; it was equivalent only to a ewe. It is also strange that UDU.NITÁ comes after the ewe, but this we found already in the list of sheep given as compensation (§§59, 62, 69, above, p. 242 f.). That an UDU.NITÁ is a full male, a ram, is shown by §176/61a, according to which it procreates in its third year. The term UDU.ŠIR, used for “ram” in other texts, does not occur in the Laws.

This then leaves the second value group between the uncastrated males and the females. The terms used are clear for the first two categories: GUD.APIN.LAL “plow ox” and ANŠE.KUR.RA *turiyawaš* “horse of harnessing,” i.e., chariot horse. From what has been said

about the highest value group one might conclude that these animals were castrated (ox and gelding, Ochse and Wallach, respectively). But this is not necessary, and in the case of the ox it is even contradicted by §176/61a, according to which a GUD.APIN.LAL *haši*, “procreates.” The terms, therefore, refer to the special kind of usage or training rather than to castration. At least we cannot tell whether or not animals to be used on the plow and chariot were sometimes, or usually, castrated; the paragraph just quoted at least shows that plow oxen were not always.

In the category of sheep etc., this second value group contains the most enigmatic names. For the second animal, Landsberger has given up Forrer’s identification of the sign with ŠEG₉.BAR (Forrer No. 227) and now identifies it with DÀRA.MAŠ = *ayalu* “deer, stag.”⁴⁴ For the adjectives modifying the three names of animals, *enant-* and *annanuḥḥa-*, Fr. is right in stating that we do not know their meaning. Yet, if the plow ox and the chariot horse are entered here because of their special use or training, the idea advanced by others that these adjectives mean something like “tamed” or “trained” gains in probability.

Still there remain some problems. Whereas the law about theft (§65) lists the three animals just discussed (an *enant* he-goat or buck, an *annanuḥḥa* stag or deer, and an *enant* mountain-sheep), only the first of these appears among animals that join another man’s fold (§66). The reason for this may be that the latter two, being originally wild animals occasionally domesticated, were not allowed to graze with the flocks and therefore not in danger of going astray.

There is the other difficulty already pointed out in note 27 to the chart, namely that *mahḥan šA MÁŠ.GAL šarnikzil apella QATAMMA-pat* (§65) makes no sense. Was a preceding law concerning the MÁŠ.GAL mistakenly omitted (in four manuscripts!)? It is strange that in this part of the Laws goats are not mentioned elsewhere: neither among the males of the first, nor among the females of the third group, only here (§§65–66). This is in contrast to the lists of prices (Table II). Maybe the easiest solution would be to consider the MÁŠ.GAL after *mahḥan šA*, which is attested only in B and F (KBo VI 3 iii 50; 8 ii 5) a mistake for the name of an animal that is mentioned before, namely, GUD.APIN.LAL.

A comparison of the two tables (taken from the two different Series) reveals other differences of arrangement and terminology. Among cattle, the GUD.MAIḤ is in Table II less valuable than the GUD.APIN.LAL, in contrast to Table I. Does this mean that a

44. Details in his new edition of Ḥḫ XIV, to be published in MSL VIII/2; cf. von Soden, AHW s.v. *ajjalu(m)* I; for the reading with MAŠ (not BAR) L. refers to MSL VII p. 124, note to line 36.

difference was made between a bull old enough for breeding (Table I) and just any bull (Table II)? For a full-grown cow we here find GUD.ÁB.GAL. The two-year-old animals are not listed in Table II, presumably because they were considered grownup and thus covered by "GAL," but the yearlings and weanlings are. That AMAR "calf" is listed in II as different from the GUD *šawitišt-* has already been mentioned.⁴⁵ The simplified listings for hides and meat, where all full-grown pieces of cattle are subsumed under GUD.GAL, are self-explanatory. Note the difference between this GUD.GAL and GUD.MAḪ (above, p. 243, Table II).

Equides are listed in Table II quite differently from Table I. In §178/63 the prices of stallion and mare, he-ass and she-ass are unfortunately expressed in an ambiguous way: to which of the animals (cattle) listed in the first part of the paragraph does *QATAMMA* refer? In addition §180/65 gives in general much higher prices for various types of horses than the cattle prices, so it is very unlikely that *QATAMMA* is correct.

Apart from the simple males and females (of horse and donkey) of §178/63, and separated from them, the following types of equides are listed in §§180/65 f.: "Horse of harnessing" (chariot horse), followed first by the mule of twice its value,⁴⁶ then by a horse that is called "of grazing" in two copies (while another leaves it unspecified), worth less than the chariot horse. This is probably a horse (still only) grazing, i.e., one that has not yet been broken in. There follow the yearlings and weanlings of both sexes as with cattle, but without a counterpart to AMAR for the youngest.

Of small animals, Table II lists sheep *and* goats as against Table I (see above). The animals themselves are simply called UDU and MÁŠ or ÛZ for the grown, SILÁ and MÁŠ.TUR for the young, without further differentiation. Goat meat is not listed, only that of the kid, for good reasons!

The question arises whether the ideogram used here for "goat" (preserved only in j and s) is MÁŠ (thus

Fr.) or ÛZ (thus Hr. and Goetze, JCS X 33 n. 13). The sign was listed by Forrer as second form under No. 179, MÁŠ. In contrast to it, the same copy j uses the normal MÁŠ (first form of 179) in MÁŠ.TUR in the same sections, and in MÁŠ.GAL in §176/61a. (From the old manuscripts there is only MÁŠ.GAL in A, §65, written with the normal, first form here as in the other copies of §§65–66.) Referring to the two signs as 179,1 and 179,2, respectively, we find a similar distinction in KUB XIII 3, which has 179,2 in col. ii 11 but writes KUŠ MAŠ in iii 12 with 179,1; perhaps also in KBo IV 6, which has a form closer to 179,1 after UDU.ŠE in rev. 8, but 179,2 in line 10 after the females, GUD.ÁB.ŠE "fattened cow" and UDU.GANAM "ewe." As far as the shape is concerned, the identification of both signs with MÁŠ seems good, since there are Old Babylonian forms of MÁŠ close to 179,2, and since it is hard to derive this form from any known shape of ÛZ. On the other hand, the distinction observed in j and the other passages cited is in favor of keeping the two signs separate, and so is the consideration that otherwise ÛZ would be altogether missing in the Boğazköy writing.

The terms specifying the hides are difficult. It is hard to see how *harub/ptu* could mean "gerupft" in Akkadian. The Laws use KUŠ UDU *ḪARUPTI* in contrast to KUŠ UDU *warḫuiš*; the meaning of the latter word is fairly well established.⁴⁷ The best explanation seems that offered by Goetze,⁴⁸ namely that "the hide of a young sheep" was less valuable because there was no wool yet that had commercial value.⁴⁹ Of the goat hides, the first is left unspecified, while the second is called *walli*, with a Hittite term for which the meaning "geschoren," "with the hair removed" is deduced from the context here and also fits the description of a leather bag, *naruqqu*, IBoT I 31 obv. 25 (Goetze, l.c.).

45. The statement in §185/71 that the price of "10 KUŠ GUD" is "1 mina" must contain two mistakes, since it contradicts the price of 1 šeqel for the hide of 1 GUD.GAL. GUD must be mistake for AMAR, and MA.NA for GÍN, the latter probably due to a scribe who read "GUD" and wanted to raise the price. If the text is emended to "10 KUŠ AMAR" and "1 GÍN," the value relation is the same as that given for meat. Goetze made the same double emendation in *Kleinasiens* (1st ed. p. 113, 2d ed. p. 121): "1 Kalb: 1/10 Šekel," but corrected only the first mistake in ANET, p. 196, §185(A): "of 10 calf-hides is 1 mina."

46. One Hittite mina = 40 šeqels: Otten, AfO XVII 128 f.

47. Cf. the literature quoted in HW 245.

48. JCS X (1956) 33 f. n. 13, as second alternative, following Landsberger, AfO X 156.

49. The notion that *all* terms in this paragraph refer to age groups ("Altersstufen") (Landsberger, l.c.) has to be given up in view of Hitt. *warḫui-*, and in all likelihood also of Hitt. *walli-* (see presently); it remains correct only for *ḪARUPTI* from *ḫarpu*, cf. CAD VI 105.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE HITTITE LAWS*

The classification of the various manuscripts of the Hittite Laws given by the present author in a review of J. Friedrich's edition, JCS XV (1961) 62–64, as well as the parallel listings of A. Kammenhuber, BiOr XVIII (1961) 78–82 and 124–127, can now be supplemented and in part modified on the basis of an inspection of the originals in Istanbul and Ankara carried out in the autumn of 1961.

It was found that copies D and E of the First Series (KBo VI 6 and 7, in Istanbul) are indeed parts of the same tablet. Reverse col. iv of No. 6 (Hrozný: "Zu Nr. 6 gehört als Rückseite Columne IV höchstwahrscheinlich das folgende Fragment") joins the obverse back-to-back, preserving the upper edge of the obverse = lower of the reverse; cf. the photographs in Neufeld,¹ figs. 12–13. No. 7 is the lower end of col. iii of the same tablet, its lines 1–4 just touching the broken protrusion visible to the right of the colophon, *ibid.* fig. 13.

It seemed to me on the basis of clay and handwriting that copies O and Q are in all likelihood parts of one tablet, as tentatively suggested by Ehelolf, KUB XXIX, Vorwort, ad Nos. 18 and 20 (Bo 6186 and Bo 1923, in Istanbul).

Copies L and P (KUB XXIX 14 and 19, 39/e and 266/c, in Ankara) have the same clay and the same handwriting; thus they form tablets I and II, respectively, of one two-tablet manuscript.

The fragments N and V (248/f = KUB XXIX 17, and 170/q, both in Ankara) join each other: N is the end of col. i, V the end of col. ii, the lower edge with "Randleiste" running through. In addition, there is a dividing line at the end of col. ii after only two lines, indicating that §71 in this copy was split in two sections, probably after *nan LUGAL-an aška unnai* of Friedrich's main text, lines 63 f.

Concerning the old ductus, it was seen that copy A of Series I (KBo VI 2 = Bo 2097, in Istanbul) has it quite clearly, just as copy M (KUB XXIX 16 = Bo 1789, in Istanbul). Copy K (KUB XXIX 13 = 2627/c, in Ankara) may also be in the old handwriting, although the

bad state of preservation (cf. phot. Neufeld, figs. 24–25) makes a decision difficult.

Of the old manuscript of Series II, the eight fragments listed by Friedrich as q₁–q₈ are indeed all parts of one tablet. A hand copy of this text is presented below.

However, inspection of the originals (in Ankara) of the fragments subsumed under Friedrich's siglum o (o₁–o₇) showed that instead of one copy we are here dealing with fragments of three different manuscripts, since the handwriting differs. Fragments o₁ + o₂ + o₃ (KUB XXIX 21+22+23) are one copy, for which the siglum o may be retained; another copy is represented by o₄ (+) o₅ (No. 26 on the right, No. 27 on the left, with a gap between them); a third copy is formed by o₆ + o₇ (Nos. 34+37). New sigla, v and w, respectively, are proposed here for these two additional one-tablet copies.²

Copies k and m (KBo XIII 14+16) were joined in Istanbul by H. Otten.³

Copies e₁ and e₂ (KBo VI 14 and 18) join each other back-to-back (see already Hrozný in KBo VI). Copy i (KBo VI 19) belongs to the same tablet according to the clay and ductus;⁴ its column iii must have contained §47 bis of Friedrich between the break and the lower edge, before §163/48 of e, col. iv, top.

Concerning the combination of fragments of tablets I and II of the Second Series in two-tablet manuscripts, the combination of b (KBo VI 11) as tablet I with d (+) n (KBo VI 13 and KUB XIII 30) as tablet II, proposed JCS XV 64, was confirmed by the identity of handwriting.⁵

2. Friedrich's sigla run up to t; u was proposed JCS XV 63 for KUB XIII 31.

3. Cf. Kammenhuber, BiOr XVIII 126 n. 3; my own footnote, JCS XV 64 n. 9a, referred to the only mention of this "join" available to me at the time, but failed to bring out Otten's priority. R. Haase, ZA 54 (1961) 104; the same, *Der privatrechtliche Schutz der Person und der einzelnen Vermögensrechte in der hethitischen Rechtssammlung* (Diss. Tübingen, 1961), pp. 155 f.

4. Cf. Kammenhuber, BiOr XVIII 125 under 6.

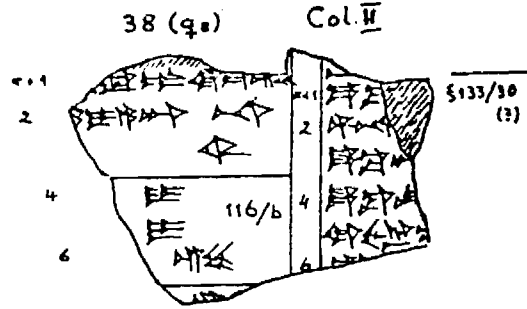
5. Kammenhuber, BiOr XVIII 125b under 2, overlooked the fact that overlaps of the last/first paragraph are well attested; for some examples see JCS XV 64 n.10.

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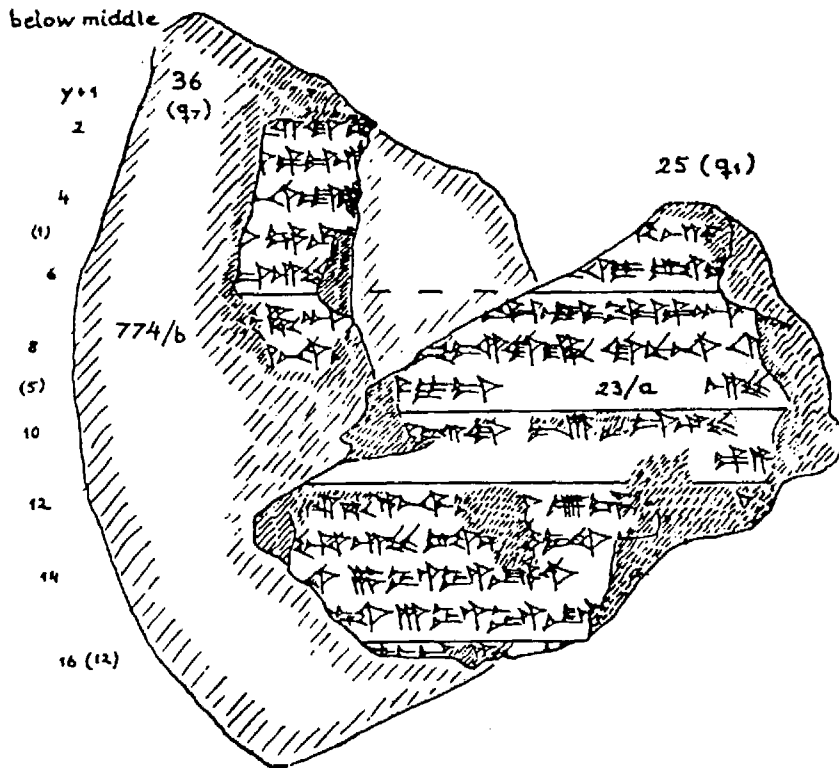
1. E. Neufeld, *The Hittite Laws*. London, 1951.

§ 106/6 Col. I

§ 107/7



§ 118/15



Col. II cont.
next page

§ 119/16

§ 120/17

§ 121/18

§ 122/19

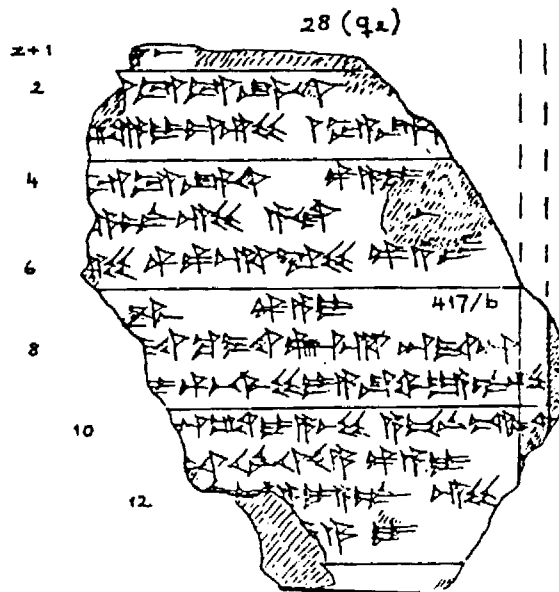
§ 125/22

§ 126/23 (a)

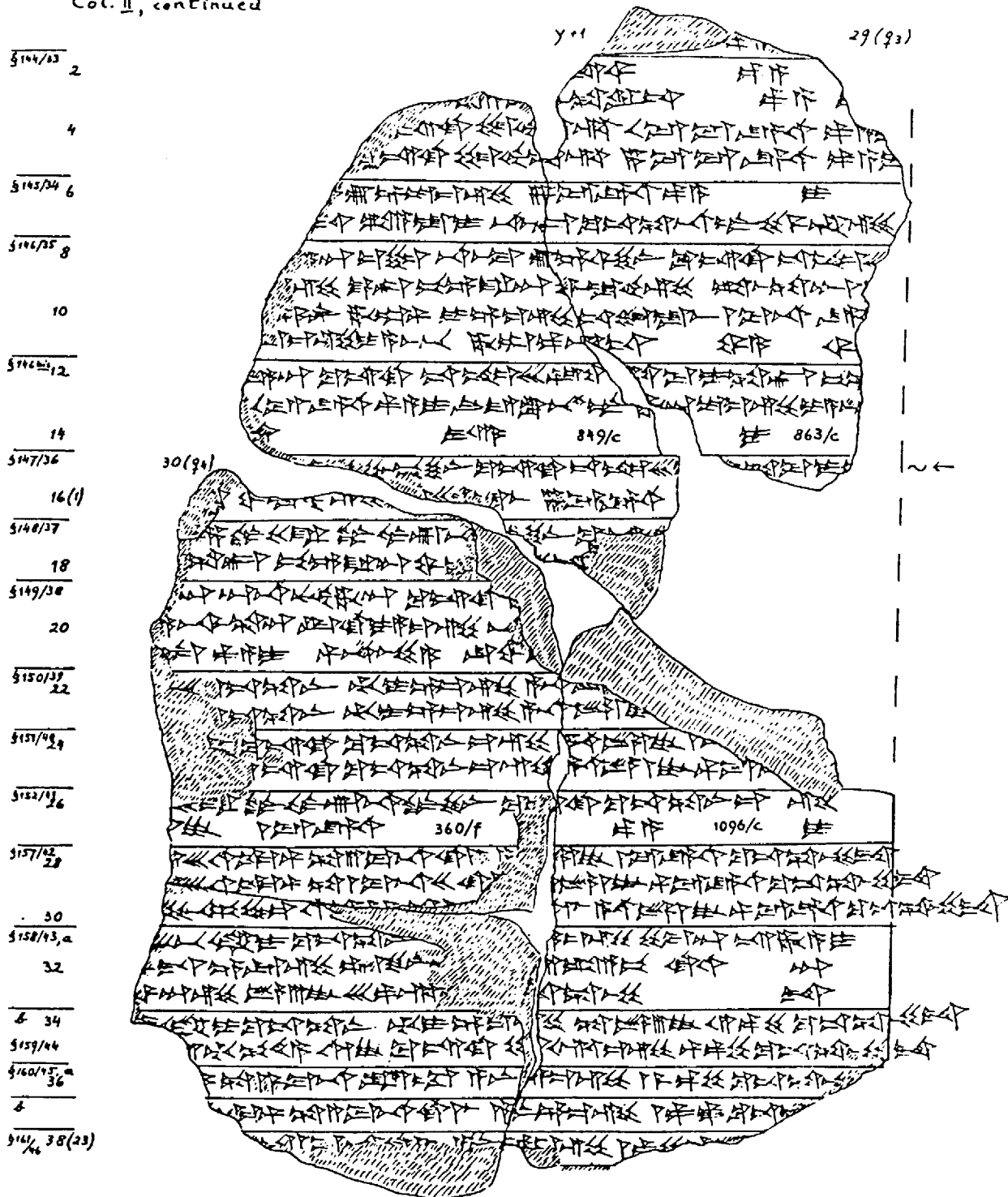
(b)

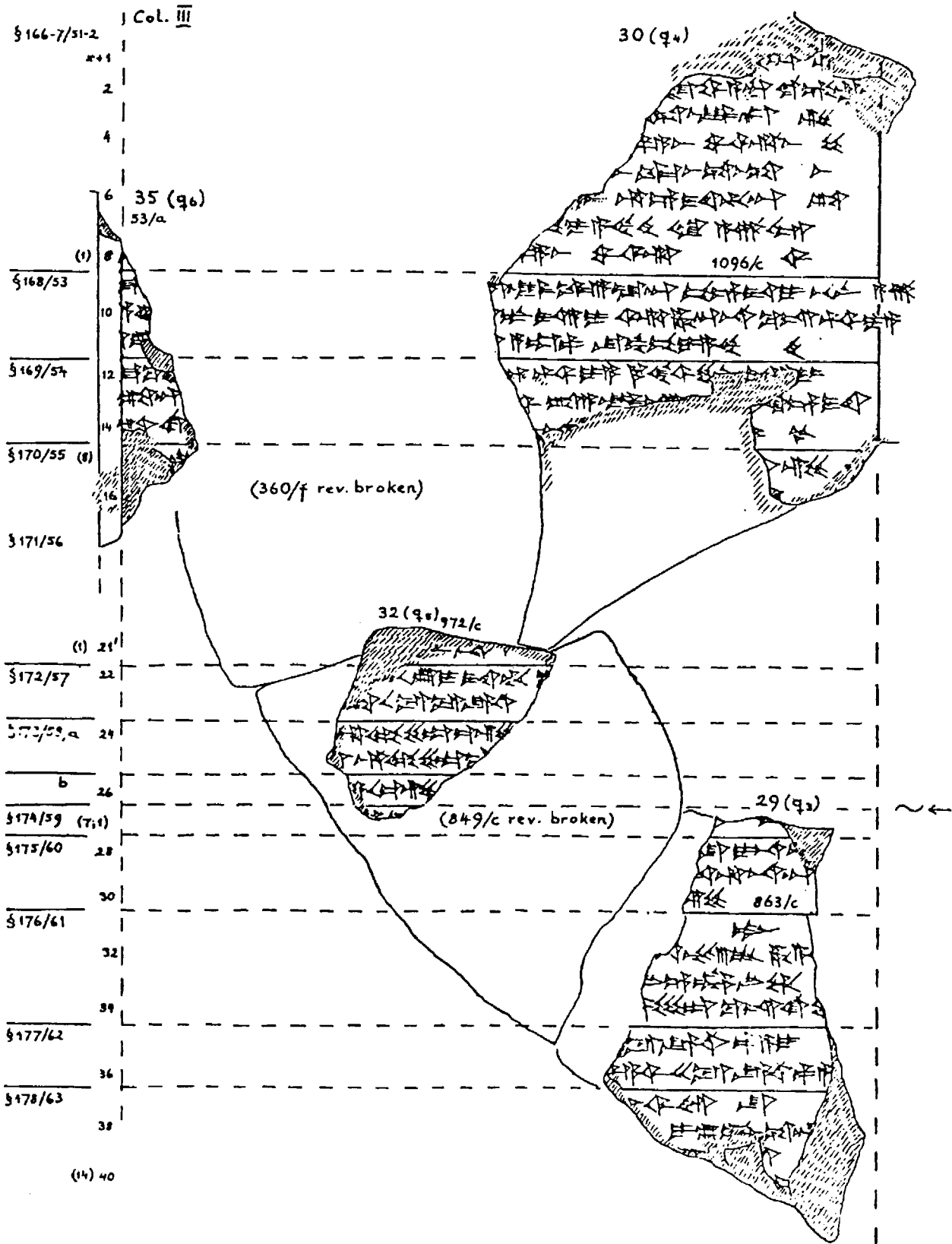
§ 127/24

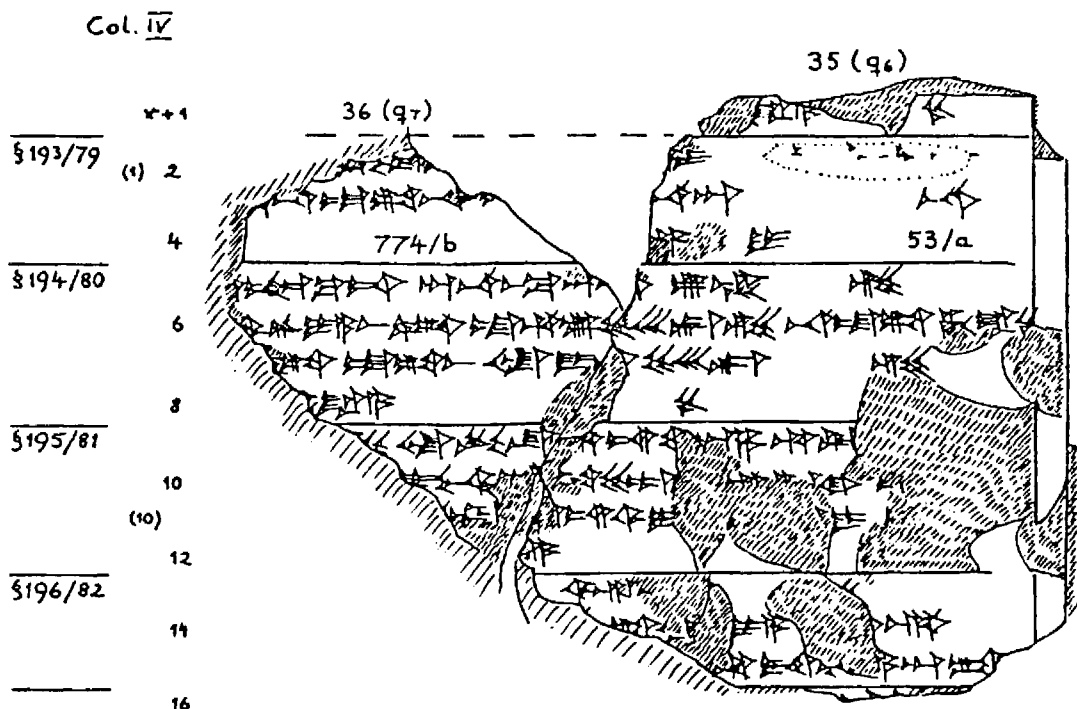
§ 128/25



Col. II, continued







Also according to the ductus, copies h (KBo VI 17) and j (KBo VI 26) are parts of the same manuscript, as tablets I and II, respectively. Here again, as in b and d, one law is repeated at the end of the first and the beginning of the second tablet, in this case §157/42 (in h this must have been followed in the break by only the colophon or — as in j — an empty space). In my copy of Neufeld I noted that the handwriting of p (KUB XXIX 24 = Bo 1619) is the same as that of h, so that p would also be part of tablet I of this copy; unfortunately I failed to check this point in Istanbul, or, in other words, the similarity did not strike me when I looked at the originals.⁶

In contrast to the existence of two-tablet manuscripts written by the same hand *within* each of the two series, I did not see any identity of handwriting *between* any copies of Series I and II. This may be oversight, but at least I did not notice a clear case in which the same hand had written a copy of *takku LÚ-aš* and one of *takku GIŠ.GESTIN-aš*.

On the basis of the above observations the following table can now be presented.⁷

FIRST SERIES

A. One-tablet manuscripts

- (1) A (KBo VI 2) old
- (2) M (KUB XXIX 16) old
col. iii = §§58–63, middle of col. in §61
- (3) K (KUB XXIX 13)⁸ perhaps old
- (4) B (KBo VI 3)
- (5) J (KUB XXVI 56)
col. ii top = §§26a–27

B. Two-tablet manuscripts

a. Both tablets preserved

- (6) L (XXIX 14) and P (XXIX 19):⁹
L = tbl. I col. iii = §§39–41
col. iv = §§49–50
P = tbl. II col. iv = §§95–96

b. Tablet I alone preserved

- (7) C (KBo VI 5) youngest; end broken

c. Tablet II alone preserved¹⁰

- (8) D+E (KBo VI 6+7)
began with restored §50
- (9) F₍₁₋₃₎ (KBo VI 8 + XXIX 15¹¹ (+) KUB XIII 11)
col. i begins with §53

6. Cf. Kammenhuber, BiOr XVIII 125 under 7.

7. The laws preserved in each manuscript are listed below only where this is of interest for the arrangement. For the rest, see Friedrich's list. Find spots of tablets found since 1931 are given in footnotes; all other tablets are from Winckler's excavations.

8. From Büyükkale, north of Building E.

9. Both from Archive A on Büyükkale.

10. None of these has the same handwriting as C; cf. already Kammenhuber, BiOr XVIII 81b, top.

11. From Temple I.

- col. ii begins with §64
col. iv ends with §100 and colophon¹²
- (10) G (KBo VI 9)
begins with §51
- (11) H (KUB XIII 12)
beginning broken; cols. ii and iii
- (12) I (KUB XIII 13)
beginning broken; cols. ii and iii
- (13) N+V (XXIX 17 + 170/q)¹³
beginning broken;
N = end of col. i = §§59–60
V = end of col. ii = §§70–71a
very short lines
- (14) R (KBo VI 21)
beginning broken
- (15) W (96/q)¹⁴
beginning broken

C. Undetermined

- (16) O(+)Q (XXIX 18 and 20)
O [iv] = §§94–95
Q [iv] = §§97–98
- (17) S (KBo VI 21)
col. ii(!) = §§72–74
col. iii(!) = §§77–78(?)
- (18) T (KBo IX 70)¹⁵
col. [iv] = §94
- (19) U (Bo 6292)¹⁶
§60 (col.?)

SECOND SERIES

A. One-tablet manuscripts

- (1) q₍₁₋₈₎ (see hand copy)¹⁷ old
- (2) o (Fr. o₁+o₂(+)o₃ = XXIX 21–23)¹⁸
col. i = §§101/1–112/12
col. ii traces
col. iii = §§176/61–180/65
- (3) v (Fr. o₄(+)o₅ = XXIX 26, 27)¹⁹
col. i = §§123/20–127/24

- (4) w (Fr. o₆+o₇ = XXIX 34+37)²⁰
col. iv = §§186/72–198/84
- (5) t (134/q)²¹
col. i = §122/19(?)
col. ii = §§149/38–157/42

B. Two-tablet manuscripts

a. Both tablets preserved

- (6) b (KBo VI 11) and d(+)n (KBo VI 13, KUB XIII 30)
b = tbl. I, col. i = §§105/5–113/13
col. iv = §168/53
d = tbl. II, col. i = §§168/53–172/57
col. ii = §§182/67–183/69(?)
d (+) n, col. iii = §§194/80–196/82
d, col. iv = colophon
- (7) h (KBo VI 17) (+ ?) p (XXIX 24)
and j (KBo VI 26)
h = tbl. I, col. i = §§106/6–109/9
p = tbl. I, col. i end = §§112/12–113/13
h = tbl. I, col. iv = §157/42
j = tbl. II complete = §§157/42–200/86

b. Tablet I alone preserved

(end lost in all)

- (8) a₍₁₊₂₎ (KBo VI 10+20)
- (9) c (KBo VI 12)
- (10) e₍₁₊₂₎ (KBo VI 14+18) (+) i (KBo VI 19)
e₁ col. i end = §§118/15–122/19
i col. ii = §§124/21–126/23
i col. iii = §§162/47–[47bis, restored]
e₂ col. iv top = §§163/48–165/50
- (11) f (KBo VI 15)
- (12) l (KUB XIII 15)

c. Tablet II alone preserved (beginning broken in all)

- (13) k+m (KUB XIII 14+16)
- (14) s (KBo IX 71 + XXIX 33)²²

C. Undetermined

- (15) g (KBo VI 16)
§§109/9–111/11
- (16) r (XXIX 31)
left col. = §§159/44–162/47
- (17) u (KUB XIII 31)
probably §114/14 f.

12. The reading DUB.2.KAM (JCS XV 63 n. 5) confirmed by collation.

13. From Büyükkale, stray finds.

14. Found near Archive A.

15. From Lower City, square K/20 of city plan.

16. Unpublished, in Berlin, not seen.

17. From Archive A. Previous publication numbers (in KUB XXIX) noted in the hand copy.

18. From Archive A.

19. From Archive A.

20. From Archive A.

21. Found near Archive A.

22. From Büyükkale, region of Buildings C and D.

Some collations of details may be added here.

JCS XV, 68 ad §44a: The traces in C = KBo VI 5 iv 17 permit only the reading 𐎠DUMU.NITA-an (Friedrich in the text), not 𐎠SAG.DU-an (Friedrich's alternative reading in n. 26, preferred by me).

P. 70 ad §119/16: For the relative position of q₇ and q₁ and the resulting interpretation of line 8 as [1 M]A.NA K[Û.BABBAR] pi-iš-(ki-)kir see now the hand copy.

P. 70 ad §121/18: See now line 13 of the combined copy of q. Accordingly I would now read ta GU[D.Ĥ]I. A-it x[... , where x cannot be a.

P. 70 ad §146/35: [... še]-[e]l-ir is quite clear on the original in q ii 10 (see hand copy); the small verticals of ir simply are not visible in the photograph from which Ehelolf had to copy.

P. 71 ad §166/51, the numeral in j = KBo VI 26 i 35: After the break a simple vertical; the oblique "wedge" is only a scratch. In the break there may have been another vertical, so that the reading "[I]I" is quite possible.

P. 72 ad §187/73, j iii 21: Two small oblique wedges that may indeed be the beginning of t[e].

P. 72 ad §191/77, j iii 33: Between ka-a-aš and ta-ki-ia there is only an erasure, no "ma."

Ibid. line 35: Numeral 2 quite clear, no need for the hatching given in KBo.

P. 72 ad §193/79, j iii 43: Before ŠEŠ no trace of a vertical, and enough space for [DUMU]; however, the small portion of surface preserved here does not show

any of the traces of the end of DUMU that one would expect.

P. 72 ad §200, reference to Friedrich, RHA XVIII 33 ff.: I was unable to confirm Otten's²³ reading Ú-UL, but also unable to interpret the traces. At the end of this line (j iv 30), the sign ra is in the intercolumnium, and nothing can be restored after it, that is, in col. iii. There is a sign written vertically upward, not in the intercolumnium but rather to the left of it, above the ša (cf. the photographs Hrozný, CH, Pl. XXVI, and Neufeld, fig. 55). It could be iz although the lower horizontal is longer than the upper. Thereafter (i.e. above it) there is a break. This is another example of the low quality of copy j.

P. 78, discussion of MÁŠ/ÛZ: Mr. Souček kindly put at my disposal an unpublished passage that clearly shows that the two signs are different. Bo 3648 reads in part:

(2) ... 1 GUD.MAḪ 1 GUD.ÁB gi-im-ra-aš 1 UDU.NITÁ [...

(3) x 1 MÁŠ.GAL (sign Forrer 179,1) 1 ÛZ (179,2) ...

Here the pairs "one bull, one cow"; "one ram, [one ewe]"; and "one he-goat, one she-goat" show that the shape 179,2 is meant as ÛZ.

Collation of Bo 5585 (Otten, Heth. Totenrit. 118) revealed the shape 179,2 also here in a context clearly referring to a female.

23. Cf. references in n. 3.

BEMERKUNGEN ZU DEN AUSDRÜCKEN *ellum*, *wardum* UND *asīrum* IN HETHITISCHEN TEXTEN*

Den drei Klassen *awilum*, *muškēnum* und *wardum*, die bekanntlich im Codex Hammurapi unterschieden werden, stehen im Hethitischen Gesetzbuch nur zwei gegenüber: *ellum* und *wardum*. (Ich gebrauche hier die akkadischen Lesungen mit Absicht, nicht nur mit Rücksicht auf die versammelten Assyriologen, sondern auch um die verschiedenen Schreibungen der Texte auf einen sprachlichen Nenner zu bringen. Für *ellum* ist zwar die hethitische Lesung *arawanniš* durch ein Vokabular belegt und findet sich ausgeschrieben auch gelegentlich in der zweiten Serie der Gesetze¹, aber das Akkadogramm überwiegt weitaus; und für das Sumerogramm *İR* (= *wardum*) ist die hethitische Lesung noch immer nicht bekannt. Im folgenden gebrauche ich *İR* und *wardum* für das *İR* geschriebene Wort.)

Die Frage ist nun: Was ist im hethitischen Gesetz mit *İR* gemeint? Die Paragraphen 22 bis 24 handeln von entlaufenen *wardū*, daher darf man wohl hier an Sklaven im eigentlichen Sinn denken. Aber es gibt auch anderes.

In §52 heißt es: *İR É.NA₄ İR DUMU.LUGAL BĒL ŠUPPATI kueš LÚ.MEŠ.GIŠ.TUKUL ištarna A.ŠÀ.ĪIA-an ħarkanzi luzzi karpianzi* "Ein *wardum* eines Totenheiligtums, ein *wardum* eines Prinzen und ein *bēl šuppatti* (Bed.?), die unter Handwerkern Felder innehaben, leisten Fronddienst".

Das erinnert an das Edikt der Königin Nikalmati, der Gattin des Tudḫalija, des ersten Königs des Neuen Reichs (um 1400)²:

"Die Ortschaften, die dem Totenheiligtum gegeben sind, die Handwerker, die (ihm) gegeben sind, die Bauern, Rinder- und Schafhirten, die (ihm) gegeben sind — die *šarikuwa*-Leute, die dafür ge-

nommen sind, sind mit ihren Hauswesen und Ortschaften dem Totenheiligtum gegeben — auch die Kultfunktionäre (*ḫilammeš*), die schon früher dem Totenheiligtum gegeben waren, sie (alle) sollen vom Lehensdienst und vom Fronddienst befreit sein".

Die Logik der Urkunde erfordert es, daß der letzte Satz sich auf alle vorher genannten Menschenklassen, nicht nur auf die *ḫilammeš* bezieht. Alle diese Menschen sind "dem Totenheiligtum gegeben", also unfrei. Sie sind aber nicht Sklaven, sondern eher das, was man Hörige, Leibeigene, *glebae adscripti*, englisch *serfs*, zu nennen pflegt. Zwar wird in der Urkunde der Nikalmati der Ausdruck *İR.É.NA₄* nicht gebraucht, es liegt aber nahe anzunehmen, daß die *İR.É.NA₄* des Gesetzes sachlich den bei Nikalmati aufgezählten Leuten entsprechen. Die Befreiung "von allem" durch die Königin ist wohl eine von ihr bewußt eingeführte Ausnahmeregelung im Gegensatz zu der im Gesetz stipulierten Fronpflicht. In der Annahme, daß die "serfs" der Nikalmati-Urkunde den *İR.MEŠ* des Gesetzes entsprechen, bestärkt uns die Formulierung der §§35 und 175, wonach eine freie Frau, die einen Hausbesorger (AGRIG) oder Hirten (SIPA) heiratet, nach einer bestimmten Frist *GEMÉ-šarešzi* "unfrei wird". Also galt ein Hirt als *İR*, und Hirten sind unter dem bei Nikalmati aufgezählten Personal.

Das Edikt fährt (nach unklaren Sätzen, deren Sinn wohl im Symbolischen liegt) so fort (KUB XIII 8 Vs. 9 ff.):

"Niemand darf sie veräußern (dazu sogleich), ein Rind oder Schaf darf ihnen niemand pfänden; sie sollen von allem befreit sein. Wenn aber jemand vom Totenheiligtum ein todeswürdiges Verbrechen begeht, dann wird er getötet, sein Hauswesen aber gehört dem Totenheiligtum".

Diese Hörigen hatten also offenbar nur die Nutzung, nicht aber das Eigentum an Vieh und Hauswesen.

Der hier mit "veräußern" übersetzte Ausdruck *parā tarnāi-* (mit *-kan*) ist viel diskutiert worden³. Es

*Reprinted from *Gesellschaftsklassen im Alten Zweistromland und in den angrenzenden Gebieten* (XVIII. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale), D. O. Edzard, ed. (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1972), pp. 93–97, with the permission of Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

1. Vokabular KBo I 45 Rs. 4 = MSL III S. 59; für die Gesetze s. J. Friedrich, *Die hethitischen Gesetze* (Leiden 1959) mit Index.
2. KUB XIII 8 Vs. 22 ff., Umschrift und Übersetzung H. Otten, *Hethitische Totenrituale* (1958) S. 106 f.

3. A. Götze, *Neue Bruchstücke* (1930) S. 73 f.; J. Friedrich, *Symbolae Koschaker* (1939) S. 4 (in *Heth. Ges.* S. 96

scheint mir nach allen Stellen, daß Goetze mit der Deutung "versklaven" das sinngemäß Richtige getroffen hat. Die Brücke zwischen der wörtlichen Bedeutung "hinaus lassen" und dem geforderten Sinn suche ich in einem dem deutschen "veräußern" ähnlichen Idiom⁴, und Verkäuflichkeit ist ja ein Charakteristikum des Sklaven.

Wenn unsere Auffassung zutrifft, so besagt die Stelle, daß das Personal des Totenheiligtums diesem auf Lebenszeit "hörig" bleibt, was wohl in diesem Falle, ebenso wie das darauf folgende Verbot, hinaus zu heiraten (Z. 13 ff.), auf die mit dem Totenkult verbundenen Tabus zurückzuführen sein dürfte. In den §§34 und 36 der Gesetze hat das Veräußerungsverbot einen anderen Sinn: ein İR kann zwar durch Zahlung des Brautgeldes eine freie Frau heiraten oder einen freien jungen Mann als Schwiegersohn, der bei ihm im Hause lebt, erwerben; die so Geheirateten können aber, obwohl sie von da an im Hause eines İR leben, nicht "veräußert" werden, d. h., sie sind nicht zu verkäuflichen Sklaven geworden.

Unter den Heiratsgesetzen finden sich mehrere, die darauf hindeuten, daß ein İR Vermögen haben konnte. Daß er in der Lage war, Brautgeld zu zahlen, wurde eben erwähnt. Ein İR und seine Frau, gleichgültig ob sie frei oder unfrei geboren ist, können im Scheidungsfalle "ihr Hauswesen teilen" (§§31–33 mit Varianten). Und in der Zweiten Serie der Gesetze finden sich Strafbestimmungen, wonach ein İR Buße in Silber zahlt⁵.

Eine andere Klasse von Menschen, die wenigstens unter Umständen unfrei im Sinne von "serf" waren, sind die viel diskutierten GIŞ.TUKUL-Leute. In der großen Landschenkungsurkunde des Arnuwanda und der Ašmunikal (Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts)⁶ gehören sie zu den Hauswesen, die den Gegenstand der Schenkung bilden. Bekanntlich werden die GIŞ.TUKUL dort folgendermaßen aufgezählt: Köche, Walker, Schneider (*ēpiš nahlapti hurri*), Lederarbeiter, Pferdepfleger⁷.

unverändert); E. von Schuler, Festschrift J. Friedrich (1959) S. 452 f.

4. A. Goetze, in ANET (1950) S. 190 schrieb "change his/her social status", was im Zusammenhang der §§ 34 und 36 dasselbe meint wie seine frühere deutsche Übersetzung "versklaven". In JCS XV (1961) S. 68 schrieb ich "sell" als sinngemäße Übersetzung für "veräußern".
5. §§ 101/1, 105/5, 121/18, 132/29, 143/32, 172/57; vgl. §97.
6. KBo V 7 Vs. 27, Rs. 13, 41 f. = K. K. Riemschneider, MIO VI (1958) S. 344 ff., LS 1.
7. Aufzählung von Insassen, aber ohne Erwähnung von GIŞ.TUKUL, findet sich schon in älteren Landschenkungs-urkunden (SBo I S. 49, Texte 7–9 und Tarsus = MIO VI, a.a.O., LS 7–9 und LS 28); "Feld der LÚ.MEŞ.GIŞ.TUKUL" in SBo I S. 50, Text 4 (= LS 4) Vs. 17 (erg. Z.14).

Auch im 13. Jahrhundert finden wir noch solche Unfreie. Im Gelübde der Puduḫepa⁸ werden der Göttin ganze Hauswesen mit Insassen gelobt, an deren Spitze jeweils eine Frau steht. Wir erfahren, daß diese Leute von Feldzügen heimgebracht wurden, also das sind, was die Texte sonst NAM.RA nennen, und in der Schlußsummiierung wird diese Benennung ausdrücklich auf sie angewendet⁹. Daß Frauen als Haushaltsvorstände erscheinen, liegt wohl daran, daß wehrfähige Männer nicht als NAM.RA heimgebracht wurden. Da eine Wirtschaft aber einen Mann braucht, wird einigen dieser Frauen jeweils ein LÚ.ŞU.DAB, ein Kriegsgefangener, zugeteilt, und zwar einer, der sich auf ein Handwerk versteht. Den Satz ANA GIŞ.TUKUL-*ma-šši EPIŞ GA* (usw.) *artari* möchte ich so verstehen, daß das jeweils angegebene Handwerk die Spezialität des betreffenden Mannes ist, trotz der Schwierigkeit, das Verbum *artari* "steht" zu interpretieren. Vielleicht so: "Für das Handwerk <steht> ihm Melker" im Sinne von "als sein Handwerk ist Melker festgestellt" oder "verzeichnet, bestimmt"¹⁰. Außer Melker werden in diesem Zusammenhang Imker und Bäcker genannt.

Daß ein NAM.RA angesiedelt und zu Leistungen verpflichtet werden konnte, wußte man aus §40 der Gesetze (vgl. Expl. A mit Zusatz KBo XIX 1):

"Wenn ein Handwerker verschwindet und ein Lehensmann eingesetzt ist, (wenn) der Lehensmann sagt <Dies ist mein Handwerk und dies ist meine Lehenspflicht>, dann kann er sich die Felder des Handwerkers verbrieft lassen und sowohl das Handwerk ausüben als auch den Lehensdienst verrichten. Wenn er aber das Handwerk verweigert, dann erklärt man die Felder des Handwerkers für verfallen, und die Bewohner des Ortes bearbeiten sie. Wenn aber der König einen NAM.RA hergibt, dann gibt man diesem die Felder, und er wird ein Handwerker".

Die auf F. Sommer zurückgehende Übersetzung "Handwerk, Handwerker" für (LÚ).GIŞ.TUKUL scheint mir den Gegebenheiten der Texte am besten gerecht zu werden, während "Kleinbürger" falsche Vorstellungen erweckt. Man hat daran Anstoß genommen, daß von GIŞ.TUKUL (*kakku*) keine Brücke zu "Handwerk" führt, weil *kakku* nur "Waffe", aber niemals "Werkzeug" bedeutet. Vielleicht hilft hier die Beobachtung von P. Garelli weiter¹¹, daß zwischen militärischem und

8. H. Otten - V. Souček, StBoT 1 (1965), zitiert nach der durchlaufenden Zeilenzählung der Übersetzung.

9. Vgl. Kol. II 6 und III 6 mit III 52.

10. Kol. I 16, III 32, 39, 44 f.; in III 50 einfach "sein Handwerk ist Imker". — Daß von "Tempeldienst" oder "Priesterschaft" hier nicht die Rede, statt SANGA-*ešni* vielmehr ŠID-*ešni* = *kappuešni* "Zählung, Zahl" zu lesen ist, habe ich RHA XXV/81 (1967) S. 146 ff. nachgewiesen.

11. In seinem Beitrag zu dieser Tagung; vgl. oben S. 75; 77.

zivilem Dienst kein Unterschied besteht, obwohl seine Bemerkung sich auf eine spätere Zeit bezieht. *awīl kakki* könnte zur Bezeichnung für einen zu irgendwelchen Dienstleistungen Verpflichteten geworden sein, unter denen schließlich die zivilen überwogen.

Wir finden also die folgenden Bezeichnungen für verschiedene Gruppen von Unfreien im Sinne von Hörigen oder *serfs*:

NAM.RA = *šallatu* = *arnuwalaš* (von *arnu-* "hinschaffen"), "Deportierter"¹²;

LÚ.ŠU.DAB = *šabtu* = *appanza* ("Genommener"), "Kriegsgefangener";

LÚ.GIŠ.TUKUL (vielleicht = *ḫatantijališ*), "Handwerker", der zumindest in den erwähnten Schenkungs- und Gelübde-Urkunden *glebae adscriptus* war.

Ob diejenigen Gesetzesparagrafen, die nicht ausdrücklich von NAM.RA oder GIŠ.TUKUL-Leuten handeln, sondern einfach zwischen *ellum* und *wardum* unterscheiden, diese drei Klassen unter İR (*wardum*) subsumieren, läßt sich nicht mit Sicherheit entscheiden, wir haben aber oben Indizien zusammengestellt, die diese Annahme befürworten.

Es muß auch Haussklaven, also Sklaven im eigentlichen Sinne, gegeben haben, und diese fallen natürlich auch unter den Begriff İR. Wir erfahren kaum etwas über sie, es sei denn aus den Gleichnissen in den Pestgebeten: "Wenn ein İR seinem Herrn seinen Fehler eingesteht, dann verzeiht ihm sein Herr" (oder ähnlich)¹³.

Nach den Gesetzen (§§48–49) scheint es, daß die *hipparaš* genannten Leute die niederste Klasse bildeten¹⁴. Sie hatten Fron zu leisten und konnten nichts verkaufen (§48). Kinder und Grund und Boden werden wohl als Beispiele genannt, aber im ganzen bezieht sich das Verbot der Formulierung nach auf jede Art von Kaufgeschäft. In §49 heißt es: "Wenn ein *hipparaš* stiehlt, findet keine Ersatzleistung statt", dann nach zwei zerstörten Wörtern, die ich nicht ergänzen kann: *nu tuikkanza-šiš-pat šarnikzi*. Im Gegensatz zu den bisherigen Interpretationen möchte ich das so übersetzen: "Seine eigene Person ersetzt", d. h., er kann keine Ersatzperson stellen und keinen sachlichen Schadenersatz leisten (im Gegensatz zum İR, oben Anm. 5), weil er kein Eigentum besitzt, und haftet daher mit dem eigenen Leibe.

Die junghethitische Fassung der Gesetze (§XL f.) gebraucht das Akkadogramm *A-SI-RUM* (viermal) offenbar gleichbedeutend mit *hipparaš* (einmal). Akkadisch *asīru* bedeutet "Eingeschlossener, Gefangener"

(vgl. die Wörterbücher). über seine genaue Bedeutung im Altbabylonischen, in Alalakh, Ugarit usw. kann ich mir kein Urteil erlauben. Aus Boğazköy kenne ich eine Stelle, nach der ein *rabi asīrūtim* zusammen mit anderen Funktionären am Festritual teilnimmt¹⁵ und wo die Bedeutung "Chef der Gefangenen" wenigstens denkbar wäre. Im hethitischen Gesetz dagegen ist der *hipparaš* offenbar wesentlich schlechter gestellt als die oben besprochenen Gefangenen, NAM.RA und ŠU.DAB. Man fragt sich, ob der Redaktor der späten Gesetzesfassung das seltene alte Wort *hipparaš* richtig verstanden hat. Etymologisch läßt sich *hipparaš* an nichts anknüpfen, was mit "einsperren" oder "fangen" zu tun hat; dagegen fällt — trotz des abweichenden Vokals der ersten Silbe — die Ähnlichkeit mit *ḫappar* "Kaufgeschäft" und *ḫapparāi-* (*ḫappirāi-*, *ḫappariia-*) "verkaufen" auf. Man darf die Frage wenigstens aufwerfen, ob *hipparaš* nicht vielleicht den "Käufpling", d. h. den gekauften und verkäuflichen Sklaven bezeichnet.

Es bleibt noch kurz der *ellum* zu besprechen. Im Hethitischen wird unterschieden zwischen dem Adjektiv *arawa-* "frei" (von Abgaben etc.), das im §51 mit dem Akkadogramm *ELLUM* wechselt, und dem Substantiv *arawanni-* "der/die Freie"¹⁶. Man fragt sich, wer in der hethitischen Gesellschaft als "Freier" galt. Die auch in den Wörterbüchern für *ellu* angeführte Bedeutung "Vornehmer", "noble" könnte gut auf den *arawanniš* der hethitischen Gesetze zutreffen. Wenigstens gibt es in der junghethitischen Fassung einen Paragraphen (§IV), der den Eindruck macht, daß es sich um einen Großgrundbesitzer handle. Dafür spricht die Höhe der im Falle unaufgeklärten Mordes zu zahlenden Buße: Haus und Feldflur plus 1/2 Minen Silber, oder gar Ortschaften im Umkreis von drei *bēru!* Das steht in krassem Gegensatz zu den 100 *gipeššar* der alten Fassung (§6). Heißt das, daß es im Alten Reich einfache Freie gab, daß aber im Neuen Reich nur noch der landbesitzende Adel als "frei" galt, oder, was auf dasselbe hinausläuft, *ELLUM* = *arawanniš* nur noch im Sinne von "Adeliger" verwandt wurde? Die Frage ist leichter gestellt als beantwortet, scheint mir aber der Erwägung wert zu sein.

12 Ausführlich zu diesem Stand: S. Alp, JKF 1 (1951) S. 113 ff.

13. A. Götze, KfI 1 (1930) S. 216 f.; ANET S. 395, 10; Kleinasien² (1957) S. 146, Anm. 6, S. 151.

14. ZU dieser Klasse ausführlich V. Souček, OLZ 1961, Sp. 461 ff.

15. VAT 7698 Vs. Kol. I 9–14 nach eigener Abschrift von 1929 (Z. 9–11 von Souček, a.a.O. Sp. 463 Anm. 2 mitgeteilt): (9) ... *nu-kán LÚ.MEŠ URUḫat-ti ḫu-u-ma[-ante-eš]* (10) *LÚ.MEŠUGULA LI-IM-TIM GAL LÚ.MEŠA-SI-RU-TIM [... ?]* (11) *GAL LÚ.MEŠšar-mi-ia-aš GAL.LÚ.MEŠ.KÁ. GAL.UR.GI₇[...?]* (12) *IŠ-TU IGI.DU₈.A.ḪI.A-TIM ḫi-in-kán-zi* (13) *na-aš a-še-ša-an-zi nu-uš-ma-aš NINDA ša-ra-a-ma [pi-an]-zi*; (14) *a-ku-ua-an-na-ia-aš-ma-aš pi-an-zi ...* ABoT 6, mit ähnlicher Situation (vgl. Z. 11 und 15), ist Z. 12 wohl auch [... GAL] *LÚ.MEŠA-SI-RU-TIM pi-an-zi* zu ergänzen.

16. Vgl. CAD, E S. 105 unter 3. a) 3' und b); AHw S. 205 unter 3); beachte, daß PRU IV S. 83 (RS 17.382 + 380) Z. 52 sich auf einen *ellu* aus ḫatti bezieht!

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