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HOW TO PRAY TO HITTITE GODS: A SEMANTIC  
AND CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF HITTITE  
PRAYER TERMINOLOGY WITH THE NEW EDITIONS  
OF SELECTED PRAYERS OF MURŠILI II

BY

IZABELLA SYLWIA CZYZEWSKA

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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DEPARTMENT OF NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST  
SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES  
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines five key terms employed in the colophons and in the main body of Hittite prayers as well as in festival, ritual and oracle texts to describe religious utterances (and rites) and are thus relevant for studying Hittite prayer terminology. These include the verbs *arkuwai-*, *mald-*, *mugai-*, *talliya-*, *walla/i-* and *wallu-* as well as the related nouns *arkuwar*, *malduwar*, *malteššar*, *mugawar*, *mukeššar*, *talliyawar* and *walliyatar*. The thesis is divided into four chapters.

Chapter one summarises the previous research on the topic of Hittite prayers and the terminology relating to Hittite prayer and praying. Issues and problems to be investigated in this thesis are identified; they pertain mainly to the function of these terms in the context of prayers. Furthermore, issues relating to the methodology used in this thesis are discussed.

In chapter two, all the terms named above are subjected to a detailed semantic and contextual analysis in order to determine their precise meanings and functions, or rather, the functions of the utterances and rites denoted by these terms, within the sphere of Hittite religion.

Chapter three investigates the usage of these terms in the prayer context and offers new important insights into the question of whether the various terms represent different prayer types or functional elements of a typical Hittite prayer and, in turn, provides a better understanding of the Hittite prayer system and its diachronic development.

Chapter four offers new critical philological editions of selected prayers of Muršili II, that is the hymn and prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 376.II) as well as the first and the second plague prayers (CTH 378.I and CTH 378.II). It also contains a translation and transliteration of the hymn and prayer to Telipinu (CTH 377). These texts are of vital importance for the study of Hittite prayer terminology. The plague prayers are the first Hittite prayers which are labelled by Hittite scribes as *arkuwar*. The prayers to the Sungoddess of Arinna and to Telipinu are the first structurally complex compositions whose elements are explicitly labelled by Hittite scribes with specialised terms.

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## FOREWORD

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I am very grateful to Prof. G. Wilhelm, Dr. S. Kořak and Dr. F. Fuscagni for showing great hospitality when I visited the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mainz to use the lexical card catalogue and the photo collection. I am especially grateful to Prof. G. Wilhelm for the permission to use unpublished photographs held at the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mainz in preparation of this thesis. Prof. Jared L. Miller kindly sent me photographs of unpublished fragments used in my new editions of selected prayers of Muřšili II, when he held a research position at the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mainz.

I also had the opportunity to visit the Vorderasiatische Museum, Berlin, in order to use the photo collection, and would like to thank director B. Salje as well as J. Marzahn and his team for their facilitation of my visit.

My visit was paid for partially by a grant from the Central Research Fund of the University of London and partially by the SOAS Postgraduate Additional Fieldwork Award. To both Institutions I extend my gratitude.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- CAD* *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.*
- CHD* *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.*
- HED* Puhvel, J. *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*
- HEG* Tischler, J. *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar*
- HG* Hoffner, H.A. – Melchert, H.C. *A Grammar of the Hittite Language* (2008)
- HW* Friedrich, J. *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*
- HW*<sup>2</sup> Friedrich, J.- Kammenhuber A. *Hethitisches Wörterbuch.*

## TRANSLITERATION CONVENTIONS USED IN THE TEXTS

<u>xxxxx</u>	signs written over erasure
/	end of a line
→	line continues
//	end or beginning of a paragraph
///	end or beginning of an entry in one line of the bi-/trilingual lexical lists
:x x x x	words preceded by a <i>Glossenkeil</i>
[?]	break in the tablet that may or may not contain signs
[∅]	break in the tablet that does not contain any signs
[ ... ]	gap of an uncertain size
< x >	sign omitted by the scribe
{x}	redundant sign
—	words not included in the text

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. General Background

Prayer was one of the fundamental features of the Hittite religion. The royal archives of Hattuša (Boğazköy), the capital city of the Hittite empire that flourished in central Anatolia in the late second millennium B.C.E., contained numerous festival, ritual and oracle texts that included short prayers spoken by a Hittite priest or a ritual expert. These prayers, which asked the gods for the general well-being of the king and his family and occasionally requested the gods to cure various indispositions of the human body, were part of the Hittite religious landscape since the Old Hittite period (c. the 16<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E.) and continued to be an essential part of various festivals and rituals until the fall of the Hittite empire in the 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E.

The other group of prayers found in the royal archives consists of longer texts also called by some scholars “invocations” (Singer 2002b: 307) that were embedded in rituals and that were accompanied by various offerings. Although these texts were written down in the Middle and New Hittite periods, they show thematic and linguistic features of the Old Hittite texts. This group of texts includes three prayers:

- (i) the prayer to the Sungoddess of the Netherworld (CTH 371), in which a Hittite priest appeals to the Sungoddess and asks her not to listen to the slander against the king brought by his relatives and political supporters. This appeal is also directed to the gods and goddesses that form the entourage of the Sungoddess.
- (ii) The prayer to the Sungoddess and to the Stormgod (CTH 389.2.A), which apparently was to be recited by both a priest and the king. The king implores the gods to be his divine parents, while the priest asks the gods to lavish the royal couple with favours while destroying those who slander them.
- (iii) The prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 385.10.A) that asks for the blessing of the royal couple and of Ḫatti.

The royal archives also included prayers whose composition was commissioned by members of the Hittite royal family. These texts date exclusively to the Middle (the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> – the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> B.C.E.) and the New Hittite (middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> - early 12<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.E.) periods. They usually identify the name of the king

or queen who initiated the composition of a given text, and hence they have been labelled by students of Hittite prayer as either 'personal' or 'royal' prayers.

The first personal prayer is believed to be the prayer of Kantuzzili (Popko 1995: 103; Singer 2002b) which shows in its structure and theme the strong influences of the Babylonian hymn to Šamaš and of incantations for appeasing an angry deity (*dingir šadabba*). The royal prayers further developed in the New Hittite period and acquired their Hittite name *arkuwar* during the reign of Muršili II.

To date, several 'royal prayers' have been identified. These include:

- (i) Five prayers of Muršili II in which the king asks various deities to remove the plague that broke out in the lands of Ḫatti during the reign of Šuppiluliuma; one prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna in which the priest-scribe, on behalf of Muršili II, asks the goddess to remove the plague and to stop the enemy invasion; one prayer to Telipinu in which the priest-scribe, on behalf of Muršili II and his wife, asks the god to bless the royal family and the Hittite lands; two prayers in which the king asks for the recovery of his wife Gaššuliyawiya and two prayers in which Muršili explains his dealings with Tawannanna, his stepmother.
- (ii) One prayer of Muwatalli, in which the king explains why the cult of the goddess Ḫepat in Kummanni was neglected and vows to renew the cult provisions; one 'prayer' addressed to the assembly of gods which reads more like a list of religious activities (including the presentation of an *arkuwar*) that are to be undertaken when a person is faced with a problem and wants to appeal to the gods.
- (iii) Two prayers composed during the reign of Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa and addressed to the Sungoddess of Arinna. In the first of these prayers the king dissociates himself from all the offences committed by his predecessors and lists all the favours that he bestowed on the Stormgod of Nerik. In the other prayer the queen Puduḫepa asks for the well-being of Ḫattušili.
- (iv) A fragmentary prayer of Tudḫaliya IV in which the king asks the Sungoddess of Arinna for a military success.

## 1.2. History of Research on the Hittite prayer

Thus far, the focus of Hittite scholarship has been primarily and invariably on the royal prayers and their *termini technici*. The main efforts have been directed towards the comprehensive editions of these texts, on their textual analysis, as well as on the semantic analysis of specialised terminology used in Hittite prayers.

Each individual royal prayer and groups of royal prayers have been edited. A group of prayers written in the Middle and New Hittite ductus and addressed to the Sungod (CTH 372-4) has been partially transliterated, translated and studied by Güterbock in a series of articles (1958, 1974, 1978, 1980). All three prayers have been recently edited in full by Schwemer in “Hittite Prayers to the Sun-God for Appeasing an Angry Personal God: A Critical Edition of CTH 372–74” (forthcoming).

The philological edition of two prayers of Muršili II, one addressed to the Sungoddess of Arinna (here CTH 376.II), the other to Telipinu (CTH 377), was given by Gurney (1940). Because of many textual similarities shared by both texts, Gurney treated them as one composition thus contributing greatly towards our understanding of the close relationship between these two texts.

While the prayer of Muršili to the Sungoddess of Arinna was later translated and transliterated by subsequent scholars without, however, being fully edited, the prayer to Telipinu (CTH 377) has been recently treated by Kassian and Yakubovich (2007:423-454). They provide a full edition of manuscript A (KUB 24.1+) and a transliteration and translation of manuscript B (KUB 24.2 +) of this text. The edition also includes general remarks on the structure of this complex text, on its affinities to the prayer of Muršili to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 376.II) and on the dating of both manuscripts.

The edition of another group of prayers of Muršili II, which dealt with the plague that broke out in Ḫatti at the end of the reign of Šuppiluliuma I (CTH 378.I-IV), was first undertaken by Goetze (1930: 161-251), who first referred to them as “plague prayers”. Goetze’s transliteration, translation and a full commentary of the four prayers of Muršili II, has stood the test of time admirably. Despite being partially outdated by the identification of new fragments of some of the prayers and by the general progress in the understanding of the Hittite language, his work remains an important and standard treatment of these texts.

New joins to the first plague prayer of Muršili II (CTH 378.I), have recently been presented by Miller (2007b: 135-6, 2010: 46-47) and by Groddek (2009). Miller gives the transliteration and translation of the beginning of the prayer. Groddek (2009) edits the

fragments of the prayer that have been completed by the new joins and comments on their historical implications.

Another text, published as KUB 48.111+, has been recently translated by Singer (2002a: 66), who treats it as the “fifth plague prayer” of Muršili II. The same text has been transliterated and translated by Güterbock (1960) and by Sürenhagen (1985). The latter scholar considers this text as a “purification oath” rather than a prayer and discusses this text as a historical source important for the study of the Hittite-Egyptian relations.

The prayer of Muršili II addressed to Lelwani, in which either the king himself or the Tawannanna<sup>1</sup>, asks the deity for the recovery of Gaššuliyawiya (CTH 380), was edited in full by Tischler (1981). In the same book, Tischler transliterates and translates all the texts that are concerned with or mention the woman named Gaššuliyawiya and discusses Gaššuliyawiya’s identity.

A prayer in which Muršili II accuses his stepmother, Tawannanna, of many abuses of power (CTH 70) has been treated by Cornelius (1975:27-40) and recently by de Martino (1998: 19-48). De Martino gives a new edition of this text, briefly discusses all textual sources that mention the conflict between Muršili II, Gaššuliyawiya and Tawannanna and gives a lively and insightful discussion of the content of the prayer and the interpretation of some of the lines that contributes to our better understanding of this text.

Another prayer of Muršili II containing the king’s dealings with Tawannanna, (CTH 71), has been studied and edited in full by Hoffner (1983). In his article, Hoffner joins a new fragment to the text and then transliterates and translates the prayer. He also discusses how this new fragment changes the historical context and betters our understanding of this text.

Houwink ten Cate and Josephson (1967: 101-140) edited one of the prayers of the king Muwatalli II addressed to the Stormgod of Kummanni (CTH 382). In a short introduction to their edition, both authors briefly discuss the content of the prayer and the structural division of the entire text. They place its composition in the scribal tradition influenced by Hurro-Luwian and Mesopotamian religious thought and point out the structural similarities between this prayer and another prayer of the same king addressed to the assembly of gods (CTH 381). According to Houwink ten Cate and Josephson, these similarities can be explained by the fact that both texts were commissioned by the same king and thus both show his personal touch.

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<sup>1</sup> Singer 2002a: 71-2 and Dinçol et al. 1993: 98.

A thorough and excellent new edition of another prayer of the same king addressed to the assembly of all gods (CTH 381) was published by Singer (1996), who also gives a palaeographic and linguistic analysis of two manuscripts of this text and discusses its content, purpose, composition and date.

Sürenhagen (1981) provides a full edition of two prayers composed during the reign of Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa, one addressed to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 383), and a second to the Sungoddess of Arinna and her circle of the lesser deities (CTH 384). The edition is followed by a description of the historical context of both prayers, as well as a brief discussion of the terms *walliya-* and *walliyatar*, *arkuwar*, *malteššar*, *wek-* and *wekuwar*. Sürenhagen regards these words as Hittite designations of a hymn, a plea, a vow and a request, which he considers to be the functional elements of both prayers.

The entire corpus of Hittite royal prayers was transliterated and translated by Lebrun (1980). His monumental work remains an important starting point for every student of Hittite prayer, despite its many flaws in transliteration and translation, and the absence of significant philological comments. The main merit of his work lies in short essays on the Hittite religion and religious thought reflected in prayers, in an attempt to provide a structural analysis of Hittite prayers and to classify them into types according to the native taxonomy.

Translations of the better preserved and historically important prayers have been included in the various compendia of Ancient Near Eastern texts in translation. Goetze in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (1950) provided the translation of six prayers, including the prayer of Kantuzzili, the second plague prayer of Muršili II, the prayer of Muwatalli to the assembly of gods and the prayer of queen Puduḫepa to the Sungoddess of Arinna and her circle. However, he presented these texts without any particular chronological order or even without a short introduction which would allow the general reader to place these texts in their historical context.

Kühne's partial translation of the Kantuzzili prayer and the translation of the second plague prayer of Muršili II have been included in *Near Eastern Religious Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (1978). Together with the translations of both prayers, Kühne also gives a brief introduction to Hittite royal prayers in general. He states that since there is only over a dozen royal prayers, they should not be regarded as a separate genre. He further argues that "In so far as Hittite prayer is a genre, however, it may be said to be essentially argumentative petition" (1978: 165). Kühne then summarizes types of requests and arguments that are included in the royal prayers and briefly compares these texts to the Old Testament petitions.

Christmann-Franck in *Prières de l'Ancient Orient* (1989) translates several prayers, including the prayer to the Sungoddess of the Netherworld, a prayer of a mortal to the Sungod for appeasing an angry deity, the prayer of Muršili II addressed to Telipinu and three plague prayers of the same king. She introduces each prayer with a short description of the specific historical event that induced the composition of a given prayer.

Ünal in *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* (1991) first gives a short introduction, in which he explains the religious context of the royal prayers. He then provides a generally reliable translation of six prayers and orders them chronologically from the oldest invocations to the prayer of Puduḫepa to the Sungoddess of Arinna.

Beckman's translations of four plague prayers of Muršili II are included in the *Context of Scripture I* (1997). Beckman introduces his translations with a short paragraph, in which he gives a historical background of the prayers and briefly comments on the main arguments which the king presents to his divine masters as well as on the chronological ordering of these four texts.

The most recent translation of two first plague prayers of Muršili II were published by van den Hout in *The Ancient Near East: Historical Sources in Translation* (2006: 259-266). Together with the translations, van den Hout also gives a detailed discussion of the historical background, as well as a description of the content and the manuscripts of both prayers.

Transliterations and translations of several prayers were also included in the various corpora of Hittite religious texts. Bernabé provided translations of some of the Hittite royal prayers with brief introductions and summaries of their content in his *Textos literarios hititas* (1979). He translated in full or in part several prayers, including the invocation to the Sungoddess of the Netherworld, some of the plague prayers of Muršili II, two prayers of Muwatalli and a prayer of Puduḫepa to the Sungoddess of Arinna and her circle.

Singer in his excellent *Hittite Prayers* (2002a) provides translations of all reasonably well preserved royal prayers, that is, some 28 examples and gives brief and insightful introductions to each prayer. The book also includes an introductory chapter in which Singer analyses Hittite royal prayers as enactment of a case in the divine court and discusses briefly their terminology, structure, evolution and their cultic setting.

In the same year Trabazo published *Textos religiosos hititas. Mitos, plegarias y rituales* (2002) in which he included his excellent transliterations and translations of five royal prayers including a group of prayers to the Sungod for an appeasing an angry deity, Muršili II's prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna and the second plague prayer,

Muwatalli's prayer to the assembly of gods and a prayer of Puduḫepa to the Sungoddess of Arinna and her circle.

Specific groups of Hittite prayers have given rise to the study of the Mesopotamian and Hurrian (or Hurro-Mesopotamian) influence on the composition of individual texts and the formation of one type of Hittite prayers more generally. The most important studies on this are the articles of Güterbock (1958, 1974, 1978, 1980), who analysed a group of closely related prayers (CTH 372-374) and traced them back to a Mesopotamian prototype. He demonstrated that the hymn to the Sungod that accompanied these prayers was influenced by a Babylonian hymn to Šamaš and that the prayers themselves were inspired by the Sumerian and Akkadian incantations to appease an angry deity. Güterbock argued that the Hittite texts are not to be understood as translations or even faithful copies of their Mesopotamian prototypes, but rather that the Hittite scribes were inspired by the Babylonian models when composing their hymns. Güterbock also discussed how the hymn to the Sungod influenced the composition of hymns that accompanied the prayers of Muṣili II to the Sungoddess of Arinna, the prayer for recovery of Gaššuliyawiya and the prayer to Telipinu.

Various overviews of Hittite prayers have been also produced within the framework of general descriptions of Hittite literature and religion and in separate studies. Güterbock (1964) focused on the definition of "literature" and what the Hittites considered a literary text, then gave brief overview and description of the genres of Hittite literature. With regard to prayer, Güterbock concentrated on a brief description of the plague prayers of Muṣili II.

Houwink ten Cate in his important study of the Hittite royal prayer (1969), lists all the prayers that have been explicitly labelled by Hittite scribes as *arkuwar*, namely prayers of Muṣili II, Muwatalli, Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa, but also includes in this type of texts the Middle Hittite prayers of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal, of Kantuzzili with its parallels and a prayer of Muṣili II addressed to the Sungoddess of Arinna. In his study ten Cate also briefly discusses the meaning of the Hittite verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar* and analyses the individual prayers with regard to their content, composition, the gods addressed, the religious thought and themes employed.

Popko (1995) in his excellent history of Hittite religion, gives a brief overview of the diachronic development of the prayer genre, which is quite useful and a good starting point for the detailed analysis of the Hittite prayer system.

De Roos (1995) comments on the relationship between humans and the gods, the authorship of royal prayers as well as gestures that accompany the presentation of a

prayer. De Roos also subdivides Hittite prayers into types according to their native designations, briefly describes each type and discusses the content of a few prayers of the *arkuwar* type. In that sense, de Roos' overview may be considered as one of the most comprehensive overviews of Hittite prayer. However, even this work is not free of problems. For instance, his division of the prayer into types is rather questionable, as is his definition of a Hittite prayer.

Surprisingly, the monumental work of Haas *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* (1994) does not discuss Hittite prayers at all. Instead, Haas provides an overview of the Hittite prayer in his *Die hethitische Literatur* (2006), in which, following a short discussion of prayer terminology, he describes and partially translates each well-preserved Hittite royal prayer.

Singer (2002b) defines the Middle Hittite compositions, to which he applies the name invocations (*mugawar*) and argues that the prayers of Kantuzzili, Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal and the Hurrian prayer of Taduḫepa are the first personal prayers. He then discusses the authorship, the date, the structure and content of the prayer of Kantuzzili and its parallels. He also comments on its contribution to the introduction of the new genre of personal prayer into the Hittite religion.

Finally, the terminology referring to different types of prayers and their performance has been examined in a number of studies. Scholars have identified six terms which are classified as *termini technici* of Hittite prayer. They include the verbs *arkuwai-mald-*, *mugai-*, *talliya-*, *walla/i-*, *wek-* and the nouns *arkuwar*; *malduwar*, *malteššar*; *mugawar*, *mukeššar*; *tallyawar*, *wallyatar* and *wekuwar*. The meaning and usage of individual Hittite prayer words have been analysed and commented upon in various studies, commentaries and dictionaries. For a detailed history of research with regard to each of these terms, see chapter two.

Also comprehensive studies of Hittite prayer vocabulary have been undertaken. Laroche (1964) translated all six specialised terms employed in prayer context, gave the most important examples of the texts in which the given term occurs and divided Hittite prayer into types based on the native taxonomy. He opposed a commonly held view that all terms were the Hittite words for 'prayer' and rightly argued that each term describes a very different religious utterance and serves a very different purpose. This detailed and ground-breaking analysis is still regarded as a fundamental work on Hittite prayer terminology. Lebrun (1980: 426ff) gives another overview of the prayer terminology and makes an attempt, however flawed it may be, at recreating the Hittite prayer system based on the Hittite taxonomy. Justus in a series of the articles attempted to show that the Hittite

prayer terms are related to the PIE (i.e. Proto-Indo-European) cultic sphere and, consequently, must be analysed within this context (1993, 1998, 2002, 2004).

### 1.3. Identifying the Problems

After nearly a century of research, all royal prayers have been edited, their content and language have been analysed, their literary history traced and the meaning and the usage of their *termini technici* have been examined. However advanced our knowledge of this type of Hittite prayer may be, our knowledge of the Hittite prayer in general is still incomplete. To date, no clear definition of this genre of religious literature has been formulated that would include the features that are shared by all the Hittite prayers. Also, although the diachronic evolution of Hittite prayers has been sketched, no detailed synchronic and diachronic comprehensive study of the Hittite prayer system has been undertaken that would take into account the native taxonomy. Finally, no consensus has been reached with regard to the function of the Hittite prayer terms within the prayer context.

#### 1.3.1. Definition of a Hittite Prayer

In the history of research several attempts have been made at defining Hittite prayer or at least at describing some of its most salient features.

Justus (2004: 270), whose main objective was to show the Indo-European core of Hittite prayers rather than to define the Hittite prayer *per se*, divided these texts into three structural elements: invocation (attention getting), basis (motivating a deity) and petition (communicating the supplicant's purpose). She gave the most prominent grammatical features of each structural element as (i) the deity addressed in the invocation bears the vocative case ending, (ii) the verbs used in the basis or motivation part of Hittite prayers are always in the indicative mood and (iii) the petition employs verbs in the imperative mood. Although the points she made are fundamental in formulating a definition of a Hittite prayer, her "definition" is limited in scope to only three short prayers and by no means exhausts the topic.

Singer (2002b: 306-307; 2005: 557-567) argues that the Old/Middle Hittite "invocations"<sup>2</sup> as well as personal and exclusively royal prayers of the late 13<sup>th</sup> and early 14<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.E. can be regarded as prayers, with the restriction that the term

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<sup>2</sup> These texts are preserved in Middle or even Late Hittite *ductus* but show the linguistic characteristics of the Old Hittite texts.

“prayer” itself applies only to the latter texts.<sup>3</sup> The personal prayers a) are evoked by a specific event: plague, illness, enemy invasion etc., b) the main concept underlying their argumentation is that of the personal responsibility for committed sins and their ensuing punishment, c) their purpose is to seek absolution from a sin through confession and restitution and d) they are initiated by the king or the queen and their authorship is clearly indicated in the text. The Middle Hittite invocations are different from the personal prayers in that they are embedded within ritual ceremonies; they are performed by a priest of the Sungoddess rather than the king himself; and they contain rather general requests for the blessing of the royal couple (Singer 2002b: 306). Although very insightful, Singer description is also limited in scope to one type of personal prayer.

Another much broader definition of Hittite prayer has also been advocated, according to which any address to the gods, including “spells” embedded in rituals (Engelhard 1970; Polvani 2004: 369; Popko 1995: 102) and even a curse in the text of a treaty (de Roos 1995: 1998) or a personal name (Lebrun 1980: 423) can be regarded as a prayer. These definitions, however, are much too broad to serve as meaningful categories. If a curse is understood as part of the prayer genre without any specific argument that the given curse shares specific formal features with typical prayers, all texts that somehow or other address a deity must be regarded as prayers, and then the genre designation has lost any purpose and meaning.

### **1.3.2. *Termini Technici* of Hittite Prayers**

Although the study of Hittite prayer words has been mainly guided by linguistic and lexicographic interest with the main efforts directed towards a proper understanding of the meaning of these words, the context and the usage of prayer terminology has also been examined. Two main questions have been asked: (i) whether any of the terms represent a generic name for prayer and (ii) whether the diversity of terms is indicative of a subdivision of one genre into various types or whether each term should instead be regarded as a functional element of a typical Hittite prayer?

Most scholars agree that the noun *arkuwar* was the most common designation for Hittite ‘prayer’; however, no consensus has yet been reached with regard to the function of these terms (or rather the utterances and rites designated by these terms) within the prayer context.

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<sup>3</sup> Also Houwink ten Cate 1969: 82.

Some regard the terms as Hittite designations of different types of prayer. Thus, Laroche (1964-65) considered only *arkuwar*, *malduwar*, and *mugawar* as prayer types, Lebrun (1980: 435-449) argues that all terms refer to prayer types, while de Roos (1995: 1999) classifies *arkuwar*, *mugawar* and *walliyatar* as types of prayer. Justus (2004: 274) regarded the terms as representing both prayer types and prayer elements. She adopted the Indo-European tripartite structure for Hittite prayer (invocation, motivation, petition) and considered *talliyawar* as an initial vocative address, *wekuwar* as the final imperative request, and *arkuwar*, *malduwar* and *mugawar* as denoting the middle part of a prayer that had the function to motivate and predispose the deity to act. These she regarded as prayer types.

Singer (2002a: 5-6) considers the various terms as parts of the overall composition, with *arkuwar* ‘pleading’ being the main part of the text and *wek-* expressing the supplicant’s “wish, request, petition”. Singer argues that a typical Hittite prayer contains, in different proportions, all these elements, but admits that rarely all of them are preserved.

All of the above suggestions are correct to some extent depending on what kind of evidence is considered. If all Hittite prayers are examined, that is, Old, Middle and New Hittite prayers embedded in the festival and ritual texts as well as the New Hittite personal prayers, the claim that some of the terms refer to prayer types is accurate. If only the New Hittite structurally complex compositions commonly referred to as “royal prayers” are taken into consideration, the proposition that some terms are the Hittite designations of the functional elements of these compositions is also true.

Despite being correct, both suggestions are not free of problems. First, the fact that prayers embedded in ritual and festival texts have been at the margin of scholarly attention, has led to the misleading statements that the royal prayers prevailed in the New Hittite period and that the noun *arkuwar* was either the most common designation of Hittite prayer or was *the* designation of Hittite prayer. The noun *arkuwar* was indeed used in religious context to designate Hittite prayer, but that is true only for one type of prayer, namely the New Hittite personal prayer (including also those texts whose composition was not commissioned by the members of the Hittite royal family). The textual evidence shows that the other types of prayer with other Hittite designations were composed in the Old, Middle and New Hittite periods; each type was employed in different context and all types of prayer coexisted in one system.

Second, not all the terms refer to prayer types or prayer elements. One has to exercise great caution when claiming that a certain term denotes a prayer element or a

prayer type, particularly in those instances in which the particular type or the part is not explicitly labelled by the Hittite scribe. This is particularly relevant for the noun *talliyawar* that supposedly designates the invocative address in a Hittite prayer and the verb *wek-* which has been interpreted as designating the request part of the prayer. To date no invocation or request introduced by either *talliyawar* or *wek-* have been identified.

Third, the claim that the various terms designate the functional elements of a typical Hittite prayer is not entirely accurate. While, the ‘prayer’ of Muršili II to the Sungoddess of Arinna (here CTH 376.II) and the ‘prayer’ of Muršili II to Telipinu (CTH 377) consist of a hymn, a prayer of the *arkuwar* type and a *mukeššar* ritual, and the fragmentary ‘prayer’ of Muršili II to the Sungoddess of Arinna for the recovery of Gaššuliyawiya (here CTH 376.III) includes a hymn and a prayer, the plague prayers as well as the prayers concerning Tawannanna consist of an *arkuwar* only. The prayer of Muwatalli to the Stormgod about the cult of Kummanni consists of an *arkuwar*, and the ‘prayer’ of the same king to the assembly of gods includes invocations which entail calling or addressing a deity by his/her name (not labelled by Hittite scribes as *mukeššar*), several *arkuwar*s and various offerings. The *arkuwar*-prayer of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 383) is preceded by a hymn and the *arkuwar*-prayer of Puduḫepa to the Sungoddess of Arinna and her circle (CTH 384) does not contain a hymn but includes vows instead. It seems that different kings or rather their scribes had a different approach to what a ‘typical royal prayer’ should entail.

Fourth, the introductory paragraphs of the hymn and the prayer of Muršili II to the Sungoddess of Arinna and of the hymn and the prayer of Muršili II to Telipinu mention that these compositions were accompanied by a *mukeššar* ritual. Since in both cases the *mukeššar* ritual was recorded on a separate tablet, it is conceivable to assume that it was a separate composition. Consequently, it seems that the *mukeššar* ritual cannot be regarded as a functional element of either of these ‘prayers’ but rather should be viewed as a religious activity that accompanied the performance of these prayers.

Fifth, since to date no clear definition of a Hittite prayer has been formulated, it is uncertain whether the compositions that contain a hymn and a prayer or a prayer and a vow should be, in their entirety, regarded as prayers (for the discussion of all of the above points see chapter three).

## 1.4. Main Research Objectives

The current thesis focuses on five lexemes connected with Hittite prayer, namely the verbs *arkuwai-*, *mald-*, *mugai-*, *talliya-*, *walla/i-* and *wallu-* as well as the nouns *arkuwar*; *malduwar*, *malteššar*; *mugawar*, *mukeššar*; *talliyawar* and *walliyatar*. Since there is no clear indication in Hittite texts that either the verb *wek-* or the noun *wekuwar* were used to designate the request part of a Hittite prayer or any other religious utterance or rite, both words are excluded from this study.

The first objective of this work is to examine all well-preserved contexts in which the terms under study appear in order to determine their precise meaning(s) and their usage in the Hittite religious texts. The purpose of this analysis is to determine which of the terms were *termini technici* of only Hittite prayer and which terms were more widely used as designations of other religious utterances and rites, including prayer. The meaning of each term is studied because the semantics of these words gives insights into the way the Hittites perceived their relationship with the divine and the way they perceived prayer, the most direct means of this relationship. Any changes in the meaning and/or the usage of the prayer words reflect the change in Hittite prayer.

This semantic and contextual analysis, besides being the objective on its own, also, perhaps even more importantly, provides the basis for structural and textual study of Hittite prayers denoted by these terms. The three main questions are asked in this part of the dissertation:

- Did at any time during the Hittite history any of the terms represent a generic name “prayer” that equally referred to all types of Hittite prayer?
- What were the key grammatical, structural and textual features of each prayer designated by the terms under study? Does the textual evidence indicate why and when Hittite scribes began to use a particular word to denote a particular type of prayer? How did each type of prayer denoted by these terms evolve over time?
- What was the exact function of the terms under study in the complex compositions commonly referred to as “royal prayers”? Because the function of the terms, or rather the utterances and rites designated by these terms, is tied to the function of the texts in which they appear, two other questions arise: (i) was the primary function of the royal prayers literary or religious? And (ii) what is a Hittite royal prayer?

The third objective of this dissertation is to give new critical philological editions of the prayers of Muršili II whose most recent editions have become outdated by the advancements made in Hittite philology, grammar and palaeography and by joining new fragments to previously identified manuscripts. These include the hymn and prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna, the first and the second plague prayer and the hymn and prayer to Telipinu. These texts are of vital importance in the study of the function of Hittite prayer terminology in the context of royal prayers. The plague prayers are the first texts in which the term *arkuwar* is attested. In two texts, one addressed to the Sungoddess of Arinna and the other to Telipinu, prayers were accompanied by a *mukeššar* ritual and by a hymn of praise, referred to once by the verb *walli/a-*.

## 1.5. Remarks on Methodology

This dissertation relies equally on lexical semantics (the study of the meaning of individual words) and on the study of literary genre. It is not the intention of the sections below to give a complete description of either field, rather the purpose is to highlight the main points that are relevant for the study of the Hittite prayers and their terminology.

### 1.5.1. Lexical Semantics

The key notions of lexical semantics that are important in studying Hittite prayer terminology include “meaning”, “contextual variability” and “semantic change”.

Meaning is a vague concept. Various schools of thought have advocated different theories regarding linguistic meaning (i.e. the actual meaning of an expression in a language), without reaching a consensus. The meaning of a word has been explained as: (i) the actual object it denotes<sup>4</sup>, (ii) a combination of small, elementary, invariant units of meaning called semantic features<sup>5</sup>, (iii) the totality of the relationship a word has with other words in a given language<sup>6</sup>, (iv) a prototype to which all new meanings are

<sup>4</sup> Goddard (1998: 4-5), Akmajian et al. (1990: 198-199). According to this approach the language conveys meaning partly by “pointing” to various kinds of phenomena in the ‘real world’. These phenomena are termed denotations. Each linguistic form is associated with a concept and each concept is the mental representation of a phenomenon in the ‘real world’ (Lehmann 1992: 64-65).

<sup>5</sup> The componential approach analyses the lexical meaning into components, otherwise labelled as semantic markers or semantic features (Lehmann 1992: 75; Cruse 2004: 95). The word ‘ram’ for instance has the semantic features [animal], [male], [adult]; ‘mare’ has the features [animal], [horse], [female], [adult] etc.

<sup>6</sup> The structuralist’s approach relies on the principle that the units of a given language can be identified only in terms of their relationship with other units in the same language. Although various theories regarding the lexical meaning have been advocated within this school of thought, J. Lyon’s theory has been widely accepted. He acknowledges that aspect of meaning which is derived from the relationship of some linguistic forms with the ‘real world’ or world beyond

matched<sup>7</sup>, (v) an idea or ‘concept’ in the mind of the person<sup>8</sup> and less well-known, (vi) a type of translation, that is, the translation of one word with another, more easily understood word.<sup>9</sup>

Although each approach has its merits, the definition of meaning that best describes the Hittite context combines the structuralist (i.e. iii) and denotation approach (i.e. i) to lexical meaning, with some minor modifications.

According to this definition each word has a root that contains information about the function of a given word in the real (non-linguistic) world. This set of information can be termed the literal or default meaning, which comes first to mind when a word is mentioned out of context. However, a word on its own does not convey ‘a whole thought’; the complete meaning is determined only through relations of a given word with the other words that appear in the same language and in any given context. These meaning relations include synonymy, polysemy, hyponymy etc. (Goddard 1998: 17; Lehmann 1992: 68).<sup>10</sup>

The context shapes the meaning of a word in various ways. According to Cruse (2004: 118) the effects of the context on the meaning of a word, which he called “contextual variability”, are threefold: selection, coercion and modulation. In the selection the ‘ready-made bundles’ of meaning are selectively activated by the context. The readings which clash with the context are suppressed, and usually one meaning is

language, but also recognises that the meaning of an individual expression crucially depends on the network of relations with other expressions into which it enters. The relations can be paradigmatic (the relations held between the same grammatical category) and syntagmatic (the relations held between expressions of different grammatical categories, for instance nouns and adjectives, verbs and adverbs etc.). The paradigmatic relations include synonymy, hyponymy, incompatibility and meronymy. In this system the relations between the words belong to specific types, such as “x is a kind of y” or “x is not a kind of y” or “x is part of y” etc. (Lehmann 1992: 66-69; Cruse 2004: 97; Goddard 1998: 9-10).

<sup>7</sup> The main proponent of the prototypical approach is Rosch. According to her and other advocates of this theory people create in their minds, on the basis of their experience of the world, ‘ideal exemplars’ of particular categories of ‘real world’ phenomena with its ideal sets of characteristics. These ideal exemplars are the prototypes. When we come across further candidates for inclusion in the same category, we judge them against the prototype we have established (Lehmann 1992: 77). The members of a category are not equal – they vary in how good or how representative they are of the category. The best are the prototypical members and the category is built around these. The advocates of this theory postulate the prototypical sense of an expression/word (Cruse 2004: 98).

<sup>8</sup> The conceptual approach has been advocated by Jackendoff (1983; 1990). According to his theory a person growing up acquires a number of concepts, in the form of word-meanings, shared by those around him/her. Because these underlying ideas are shared communication is possible (Goddard 1998: 7-8). Jackendoff suggests that semantic structure coincides with the conceptual structure and that semantic analysis is also an analysis of mental representations. The lexical meaning is the combination of our inborn conceptual primitives, our inborn concept-combination principles, our experience of the world and our experience of the language (Lehmann 1992: 78).

<sup>9</sup> The main proponent of the semiotic approach, also called ‘translational’, approach is Goddard (1998: 10-11).

<sup>10</sup> Real synonymy where the words have identical meaning in all the contexts is rare. Most synonyms are best termed “near-synonyms”.

selected. Sometimes none of the readings are compatible with the context; then the speaker searches through the meaning extensions for the reading that fits. If one is found, this will be taken to be the intended meaning, and we can say that context coerced a new reading. Some context effects do not go beyond the bounds of a single sense, these were called by Cruse “contextual modulations” and they include enrichment and impoverishment according to whether the context adds or removes meaning (Cruse 2004: 118).

Another point relevant to the study of Hittite prayer terminology is that most words refer to or describe phenomena in a real, non-linguistic world. These phenomena or referents and the situations in which they are employed are liable to change. Once the referent changes the meaning of a word that describes this referent also changes. This change in meaning is called semantic change, also known as semantic shift or semantic progression. The semantic change can be triggered by many factors, including the changes in the material culture, in technology, society, religion and other spheres of human life (Campbell 2004: 268; Antilla 1989: 136-7).

While there are numerous classifications of types of semantic change, the types relevant to this study include (i) widening, in which the range of meanings of a word increases, so that the word can be used in more contexts than before the change. The change from more precise to more abstract fits here and (ii) narrowing, when the range of meaning decreases so that the word can be used in a fewer context than before the change. The change from more general to more concrete fits here (Campbell 2004: 256-258, 259).

### **1.5.2. Generic Approach to Hittite Prayer**

A generic approach adopted in studying the Hittite prayer and its terminology is based on the assumption that genres of text exist. Although each text represents an individual composition, several texts can share certain outer (structure) and inner (motifs, theme, rhetoric devices etc.) similarities that allow a researcher to study them as a group. Such a definition of genre as a group of texts can be further expanded by regarding literary genre as an act of communication between the author and his audience. Such communication is governed by rules which not only guide the author in his composition of a text, but also direct the proper interpretation of the text on the part of the reader/audience. In that sense, any new work is similar in form and content to something that was created previously.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Longman 1991: 6.

Another point relevant to the study of prayers is that genres change and mutate over time. The diachronic approach to genres does not imply a mutually exclusive sequence of changes within a given genre. Rather one genre might give rise to another genre, but the former is not necessarily completely replaced by the new development; rather the two genres coexist and are still connected by some shared features.<sup>12</sup>

Two kinds of approaches to the study of prayers as genre are employed in this dissertation. The first approach investigates the native designations generally and, more specifically, the relevant classifications found in the texts themselves; the second approach imposes a non-native view of literature and classification scheme onto the texts in order to categorize them in a way that not only leads to a better understanding of the texts and their development, but also enables us to study texts from a comparative perspective.<sup>13</sup>

The aim of the first approach, e.g. the study of the Hittite genre terminology, is to gain insight into the notion of a Hittite (scribe) with regard to a particular text and its relations to other texts carrying the same designation(s); ideally, this would lead to the reconstruction of a whole set of native genres. One drawback of such an approach is a lack of any Hittite theoretical treatments of their religious literature that would provide us with information about their own attitudes and understanding of their texts. Nonetheless, the examination of the native prayer terminology and the contexts in which the individual terms are employed should not be dismissed as irrelevant to a differentiated perspective on the texts, nor should one ignore the fact that the transmitted body of texts contains important relevant information, even though we will not be able to discuss it with a native expert.

With the absence of any theoretical discourse in Hittite literature on prayers we must rely on the study of genre labels to comprehend how the Hittite terminology was actually used and which criteria underlie the distinctions apparent in the usage of different terms in relation to specific groups of texts. One element of this investigation must be the study of structure and language of the texts independent of their native genre labels in order to establish genre distinctions. However, one cannot rely solely on the analysis of genre terminology in studying Hittite prayers either. Rather two approaches must complement each other. We will never comprehend the phenomenon of Hittite prayer without investigating the Hittite terminology of prayers, imperfect as it may be. Conversely, we will not be able to recognize the purpose or the meaning of the Hittite

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<sup>12</sup> Longman (1991: 20).

<sup>13</sup> The former approach has been labelled by the students of literary genres as *emic*, the former as *etic* genre. Longman (1991: 14).

prayer terms if we do not undertake the structural, formal and linguistic analysis of the relevant prayer texts in which these terms were employed.

## CHAPTER TWO: HITTITE PRAYER TERMINOLOGY. A SEMANTIC ANALYSIS

### 2.1. Introduction

This chapter offers a comprehensive lexical discussion of verbs *arkuwai-*, *mald-*, *mugai-*, *talliya-*, *walla/i-* and *wallu-* as well as the nouns *arkuwar*; *malduwar* and *malteššar*; *mugawar* and *mukeššar*; *tallyawar* and *walliyatar*. The main objective is to establish the precise meaning(s) of each term, to describe the semantic changes that each term underwent and to summarize the employment of these terms within the sphere of Hittite religion. The implications that the semantic changes have for our understanding of the composition and development of Hittite prayers will be fully discussed in chapter three.

The study of each term includes an overview of the previous research, a list of all attestations and the discussion of the meaning(s) based on the data available. All the passages where the verb and/or a noun appear in a relatively well-preserved context are given in Appendix 1. Within the lexical discussion, these passages will be referred to by the number under which they appear in the appendix.

### 2.2. Previous Research, Attestations and Meaning

#### 2.2.1. *arkuwai-*, *-za arkuwar iya*, *-za arkuwar ešša-*, *\*arkueššar*

##### *Previous Research*

The verb *arkuwai-* and the verbal noun *arkuwar* have been studied since the earliest days of Hittitology. The first to comment on *arkuwar* was Hrozný, who proposed that this noun, appearing in obv. 5 and 7 of a Sumerian-Akkadian-Hittite lexical list (KBo 1.30), carries the meaning “Abwehr” and is cognate to Latin *arceo* and Greek ὑπέω “keep away, ward off” (1917: 78). In 1919, in his edition of a text containing Syrian arbitrations of Muršili II (KBo 3.3), Hrozný (1919: 153) offered another translation of *arkuwar*, namely “request, plea,” but observed, in a footnote, that the same noun can also be rendered as “prayer”, for instance in a prayer of Muwatalli addressed to the assembly of gods (KUB 6.45 with the duplicate KUB 6.46).

Sommer and Ehelolf assumed that *arkuwar* in KBo 1.30 must mean “Entgegentreten”. They also observed that this noun resembles the Akkadian verb *maḥāru* in that both terms carry the same two meanings, *maḥāru* “to go against

somebody”, “to pray” and *arkuwar* “confrontation”, “prayer” (1924: 39-40). Nine years later, in his edition of a text commonly referred to as the “Tawagalawa Letter”, Sommer suggested yet another translation of *arkuwar*, namely “Bittgang”. He also noted that the general sense of the phrase, in which this noun appears in KUB 14.3, namely *-za arkuwar iya-*, is “mache ein Gegenübertreten = tritt als Bittender vor mich hin” (1932: 133).

Sturtevant (1931) translated the verb *arkuwai-* as “to plead” and gave its grammatical forms as *arkuwanun* (the first person singular preterite) and *arkuwar* (infinitive). He also rendered the noun *arkuweššar* as “plea”. In the *Hittite Grammar*, published two years later, although correctly assuming that the noun *arkuwar* means “prayer”, Sturtevant wrongly derived it from the verb *ark-* (1933: 222). He modified this view three years later in his 1936 edition of the *Glossary*. In this lexicon, Sturtevant listed *arkuwar* and *arkuešni* as nouns derived from the verb *arkuwai-* “to plead, to pray”, and accordingly translated them as “plea, prayer”, duly noting, that in this translation, he followed Sommer and Ehelolf 1924 and Sommer 1932 (1936: 27).

Friedrich, in his review of Goetze and Pendersen’s *Muršiliš Sprachlähmung*, noted that certain verbs always co-occur with the particle *-za* without, however, acquiring a reflexive meaning. He included in this group the expressions *-za arkuwar iya-*, *-za arkuwar ešša-* and *-za arkuwar dai-* and translated them as “to pray” (1936: 39).

Another discussion of *arkuwar* was offered four years later by Gurney in his *Prayers of Muršili II* where he observed that *arkuwar* is used to describe the prayer of Muršili II to Telipinu, the plague prayers (KUB 14.14, KUB 14.8+ with the duplicates KUB 14.12, KUB 14.13), the prayers of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa (KUB 21.19 and KUB 21.27) and a prayer of Muwatalli to the assembly of gods (KUB 6.45 with the duplicate KUB 6.46). Although Gurney translated the noun *arkuwar* in the colophon of the Prayer to Telipinu as “prayer” (1940: 37), he suggested that the primary meaning of the verb *arkuwai-* is “to present oneself” (1940: 47 n. 3).

Seven years later, Sommer restated his argument, formed in 1924, that the double meaning shown in Akkadian *maḫāru* “to go against somebody” and “to appeal to” is also seen in the Hittite verb *arku-*, from which verb he presumably derived the noun *arkuwar* (1947: 85).

In the second half of the twentieth century the research into the meaning of the verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar* advanced further and yielded greater results; the standard Hittite dictionaries and ground-breaking studies on the verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar* were written and published.

During 1952-54 Friedrich published the *Hethitische Wörterbuch*, to which he added three supplements in 1957, 1961 and 1966. In the main volume of his dictionary (HW: 31), Friedrich translated the verb *arkuwai-* as “to pray” and the noun *arkuwar* as “prayer, plea, request” and referred for these meanings to the studies of Hrozný (1919), Sommer-Ehelolf (1924), Sommer (1932) and Gurney (1940). In the third supplement (1966), Friedrich fundamentally changed his idea with regard to the meaning of the verb *arkuwai-*, stating that it carries the meaning “to apologise, excuse oneself” rather than “to pray” (HW: 437). This modification was initiated by Laroche’s study on Hittite prayer terminology, in which he examined the non-religious and religious use of *arkuwai-* and *arkuwar* in order to establish their core meaning (1964: 13-20).

Laroche rightly emphasised the fact that both terms have a juridical background; however, because he focused only on those texts in which, according to him, a “plea” is made by a defendant, Laroche wrongly concluded that the inherited meaning of the verb *arkuwai-* is “to respond to a charge, to defend/excuse oneself.” This assumption was criticised by Houwink ten Cate (1967 but particularly 1969). He argued that Laroche was too specific in his translations of both terms as “to excuse oneself, to plead” and a “defence, excuse, justification.” He noted that these translations of the verb and the noun may fit well in royal prayers, in which, according to Houwink ten Cate, a feeling of guilt is expressed; however, in other texts, the same verb and noun are also used to explain one’s merit or to complain about injustice. Consequently, he proposed to translate the verb as “to present oneself, to argue, to plead” and the noun as “argument, proposition”.

A few years later, von Schuler commented on the form *kattan arkuwanzi* employed in lines ii 3 and 6 of a fragmentary Proto-Hattic text. Assuming that *arkuwanzi* is a verbal form derived from *arkuwai-*, von Schuler argued that, in the context of this text, the verb can mean neither “to pray” nor “to apologise.” Instead he offered a new meaning “to answer”, “to object to something.” Although the interpretation of *arkuwanzi* as a form of *arkuwai-* was wrong (see Melchert 1998 and here *infra*), von Schuler’s suggestion that *arkuwai-* can mean “to respond” proved to be correct (1968-69: 4-5).

In the next decade (1975-1984) three Hittite dictionaries were published: *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* by Friedrich and Kammenhuber including words beginning with *a*, *e* and *h*; Tischler’s *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar. Teil 1, A-K* (1977-1983) and Puhvel’s *Hittite Etymological Dictionary vol. 1: Words beginning with A* and *vol. 2: Words beginning with E and I* (1984).

Kammenhuber lists all the texts in which the verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar* appear in a relatively well-preserved context. She postulates the core meaning of the verb

to be “to pray”, which would manifest itself in Old Hittite as “to psalmodize, to recite a hymn or a song” but in New Hittite mostly as “to pray, plead for”, rarely as “to excuse, justify oneself, request”. Kammenhuber also translates the noun *arkuwar* appearing in prayers, oracles and rituals as “prayer” but in non-religious contexts as “justification, defence, apology.” Tischler observes that the core meaning of the verb *arkuwai-* remains unclear and he cites diverse translations of the verb and the noun by Goetze (1928), Laroche (1964), von Schuler (1962) and Houwink ten Cate (1967, 1969). Puhvel offers eight meanings for the verb *arkuwai-* (“to plead, argue, rejoin, riposte, respond, explain oneself, make excuses, offer defence”) all of which reflect earlier proposals.

Lebrun (1980), following Laroche, translates *arkuwai-* and *arkuwar* as “to defend oneself, to excuse oneself” and “excuse, plea”. He also rightly observes that *arkuwar* denotes a New Hittite prayer type in which a human being was allowed to reason with the divine and justify his/her actions.

Eleven year later Alp’s edition of the letters from Tapikka (Maşat Höyük) appeared in print, in which he suggests that the noun *arkuwar* employed in the Maşat Letters carries the meaning “request” (1991: 333).

Singer, in *Muwatalli’s Prayer to the Assembly of Gods Through the Storm-god of Lightning* (1996), notes that the verb *arkuwai-* expresses the notion of praying and that the noun *arkuwar* is a Hittite word for prayer. He then lists all the grammatical forms of this verb and noun attested in this text and translates them as “to plead, exculpate oneself, argue” and “plea, argument.” He also comments on the use of the particle *-za* in the expressions *-za arkuwar iya-/dāi-*, briefly discusses *arkuešni*, the dative/locative form of \**arkuešsar*, appearing only in this text and comments on the expression *arkuwar tiyauwar* (1996: 47-49, 74-75).

Melchert (1998) argues that the basic meaning proposed for the verb *arkuwai-* by Laroche, namely “to respond to a charge, to defend/justify oneself”, is incorrect. To prove this point he briefly discusses one of the examples used by Laroche, a text containing the Syrian arbitration of Muršili II (KBo 3.3). Melchert also argues that, contrary to Laroche, none of the Hittite royal prayers involves someone with a guilty conscience justifying himself/herself before the gods. Rather he/she, as a slave, appeals to his divine masters for a solution to a problem. Consequently, Melchert proposes that the basic meaning of *arkuwai-* is “make a plea/case, present arguments”; however, he does not deny that *contextually* it can come to mean “to explain”, “to respond”, “to justify oneself.” Melchert also separates the verb *arku-* from *arkuwai-* and convincingly argues, contrary to von

Schuler, Kammenhuber, Puhvel and other scholars, that the forms *arkutta* and *kattan arkuwanzi* belong to the paradigm of *arku-* rather than to *arkuwai-* (1998: 45-51).

Singer (2002a: 5) follows previous studies of Houwink ten Cate (1969), Lebrun (1980), Sürenhagen (1981) and Melchert (1998) and argues that *arkuwar* designates Hittite prayer and should be regarded as a juridical term used when a servant justifies himself before his master, when a vassal king argues his case before his suzerain, or when the king presents arguments before the divine judges.

Ünal (2007) lists the grammatical forms of the verb *arkuwai-*, which he translates as “to plead, to argue, to proclaim, to rejoin, to riposte, to respond, to explain oneself, to exculpate oneself, to make excuses, to offer defence, to make plea (prayer); to speak or sing antiphonally”. For the noun *arkuwar* he proposes the meanings “plea, prayer, supplication, argument” and for the expression *arkuwar ešša-* “make a plea” but for *arkuwar iya-* “to make a petition”. Ünal also translates the noun *arkueššar* as “response, defence, plea, argument, prayer” (2007: 54-55).

Kloekhorst translates the verb *arkuwai-* as “to make a plea”, the verbal noun *arkuwar* as “prayer, plea, excuse” and the noun *\*arkueššar/arkuešn-* as “prayer”. He also provides a brief paragraph on the etymology of these terms (2008: 205-206).

### *Grammatical Forms*

The verb *arkuwai-* appears in Hittite texts without the particle *-za* and with a noun in the dative case denoting a person/deity to whom the action of *arkuwai-* is addressed. The only noted exception occurs in KUB 6.45 iii 33.

The verbal noun *arkuwar* appears mostly in the nominative/accusative case within the following constructions:

1. *-za arkuwar iya-* / *-za arkuwar ešša-* with *arkuwar* in the accusative case  
“make *arkuwar*”  
*-za arkuwar iya-* with *arkuwar* in the accusative and another noun in the accusative “make sth. (usually words) into *arkuwar*”
2. *arkuwar dāi-* “to present *arkuwar*”  
*arkuwar tiyawar* “presentation/presenting *arkuwar*”
3. *arkuešni ḫalziya-* “to invoke with *arkuwar*”
4. *arkuwar ḫatrai-* “to write *arkuwar*”
5. *arkuwar ištamaš-* “to hear/listen to *arkuwar*”
6. *arkuwar šak-* “to know *arkuwar*”

7. *arkuwar uda-* “to bring *arkuwar*”

For the oblique cases the noun \**arkueššar* is employed, thus far only attested in KUB 6.45 iii 22, where it appears in the dative/locative case (*arkuešni*).

A. Well or relatively well preserved contexts<sup>14</sup>

*arkuwai-*: **1.sg.pres.** *arkuwa*[*mi*] (KUB 14.14 obv. 6); **1.sg.pret.** *arkuwanun* (KUB 6.45 iii 35 and the duplicate KUB 6.46 iv 3; KBo 4.8 iii 22’); **3.sg.pret.** *arkuwait* (KBo 11.1 obv. 18, 32, rev. 4’(2x)); **1.sg.pres.iter.** *arkueškimi* (KUB 14.8 rev. 37’ and the duplicate KUB 14.10 iv 2’ *arkuešk[imi]*), *arkuiškimi* (KUB 6.45 iii 19), *arkūiškimi* (KUB 6.46 iii 59), *arkūēškimi* (KUB 6.45 iii 33); **2.sg.pres.iter.** *arkuiškiši* (KBo 18.24 i 12). *-za arkuwar iya*: **1.sg.pres.** *arkuwar iyami*/DÛ-*mi* (KUB 6.45 i 22-23 and the duplicate KUB 6.46 i 23; KUB 6.45 i 25, 27-28, 30 and the duplicate KUB 6.46 i 26, 28, 31; KUB 6.45 iii 38, 42 and the duplicate KUB 6.46 iv 7, 11-12; KBo 11.1 obv. 11?, 12; KUB 54.1 ii 18); **3.sg.pres.** *arkuwar iyazi*/DÛ-*zi* (KBo 13.161 iii 1, 5, 10, 14; KBo 3.3 iv 10’ and the duplicate KUB 19.44 line 10’; KUB 14.8 line 114’ (rev. 24’); KUB 6.45 + KBo 57.18 i 3 and the duplicate KUB 6.46 i 3; KUB 6.45 iv 45-47 and the duplicate KUB 6.46 ii 1, iv 46-47; KBo 1.30 obv. 5’; KUB 24.5 rev. 3 and the duplicate KUB 36.93 rev. 8’; KBo 15.7 line 14’; KUB 16.78 iii 10’; KUB 16.72 line 9’, 25’; KUB 22.39 iii<sup>2</sup> 8’; KUB 55.66 iv 3’; KUB 57.37 obv. 4’; KUB 58.41 obv.<sup>2</sup> ii 9’; KUB 44.50 i<sup>2</sup> 16’; KBo 41.210 line 6’); **1.sg.pret.** *arkuwar iyanun* (KUB 54.1 i 34, ii 16; KUB 36.87 iv 10’; KUB 21.27 ii 13, rev. 20’, 34’); **3.sg.pret.** *arkuwar iyat* (KUB 14.14 colophon; KUB 21.19 i 15; KBo 32.202 rev. 9’); **2.sg.imp.** *arkuwar iya*/DÛ-*ia* (KBo 5.9 iii 4 and the duplicate KBo 50.25 line 1’); **1.sg.pres.iter.** *arkuwar eššaḥḥi* (KUB 14.14 obv. 6-7; KUB 21.27 iv 46’; KUB 14.8 rev. 20’ and the duplicate KUB 14.11 iii 45’; KBo 11.1 obv. 18; HKM 52 obv. 9); **3.sg.pres.iter.** *arkuwar eššai* (KUB 24.1 iv 21); **1.sg.pret.iter.** *arkuwar eššaḥḥun* (KUB 54.1 i 13, 20; KUB 14.10 i 23-24 and KUB 14.11 i 17’); **3.sg.pret.iter.** *arkuwar eššešta* (KUB 15.1 ii 45-51; KUB 15.19 obv. 12’). *arkuwar dāi-*: **3.sg.pret.act.** *arkuwar dāiš* (KUB 6.54 iv 53 and the duplicate KUB 6.46 iv 51); *arkuwar tiyawar* (VBoT 121: 10’; KUB 6.45 iv 48 and the duplicate KUB 6.46 iv 47-48); *arkuwar tiyawaš* (KUB 6.45 i 34 and the duplicate KUB 6.46 i 35, 37; KUB 22.57 obv. 14-15; KBo 11.1 iv 24’; 354/z: 8’); *arkuwar tiyauwanzi* (KUB 15.22: 3’; KUB 36.92: 4’). *arkuešni ḥalziya-* **dat./loc.sg.n.** (KUB 6.45 iii 22 and the duplicate KUB 6.46 iii 61-62). *arkuwar ḥatrai-*: **2.sg.imper.**

<sup>14</sup> The list of attestations is based on Puhvel HED vol. 1, on HW<sup>2</sup> and on the lexical card catalogue of the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mainz.

*arkuwar ħatrāi* (HKM 89 = Mšt. 73/78 rev. 26-27). *arkuwar ištamaš-*: **3.sg.pret.** *arkuwar ištamašta* (KBo 6.1 = KUB 8.53 iv 12); **2pl.pret./imper.** *arkuwarri*<sup>HIA</sup> *ištamašten* (KUB 6.45 i 22-23 and the duplicate KUB 6.46 i 23); **3pl.imper.** *arkuwar ištamašdu* (KUB 6.45 i 35-36 and the duplicate KUB 6.46 i 36-38). *arkuwar šak-*: **3.sg.pres.** *arkuwar šakki* (KBo 1.30: 7'). *arkuwar uda-*: **3sg.pres.** *arkuwar udai* (HKM=Mšt. 75/49 obv. 10-11)

## B. Fragmentary contexts

*arkuwai-*: **3.sg.pret.** *še-er ar-ku-wa-a-i[t]* (KUB 50.53: 12'); **3sg.pres.iter.** [... *a*]r-ku-ú-e-eš-ki-iz-zi (Bo 4222: obv.<sup>?</sup> 4' = KUB 21.19); *še-er ar-ku-eš-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-[ ... ]* (KUB 50.53: 7'). *arkuwar iya-*: **1sg.prs.** [... *a*]r-ku-wa-ar DÛ-mi (KBo 18.19 obv.22'); *ar-ku-wa-ar i-[ia-mi(?) ... ]* (KBo 9.83 obv. 8)<sup>15</sup>; **3sg.prs.** *-za <sup>r</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-ku-wa-ar DÛ-zi* (KUB 18.22: 3'-4'); *-<sup>r</sup>za<sup>1</sup> [ar-ku-w]a-ar DÛ-zi* (KUB 5.6 + KUB 18.54 iii 77'); *ar-ku-u-wa-ar DÛ-zi* (KUB 49.98: 4', KBo 18.146: 15, KUB 16.37 iv<sup>?</sup> 4); [*ar-k*]u-wa-a[r Q]A-TAM-M[A i-ia-zi(?) ... ] (KBo 15.2 rev.32'?) ; *ar-ku-wa-a[r i-ia-zi(?)... ]*, *-za ar-ku-wa-a[r i-ia-zi(?) ... ]* (KUB 22.41: 5, 6); **3pl.prs.** *-za ar-ku-wa-ar DÛ-an-[z]i* (KBo 44.203 rev. 8'); *ar-ku-wa-ar-<sup>r</sup>za<sup>1</sup> DÛ-an-zi* (KUB 6.13: 14'); **1 sg.pret.** [...] *ar-ku-wa-ar i-ia-nu-un* (ABoT 56 i 11); [... *ar-ku-wa*]-ar i-ia-nu-[un ... ] (Bo 69/707: 3'); *ar-ku-wa-a[r] / [ i-ia-nu-un(?) x x x x]* (KUB 40.1 line 1-2); **3 sg. pret.** *ar-ku-wa-ar i-ia-at* (ABoT 56 i 8); [...ar]-ku-wa-ar i-ia-at [...] (Bo 4573); **3sg.pret.** *ar-<sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-wa-ar e-[eš-še-eš-ta ... ]* (KBo 54.249: 7'); *ar-ku-wa-ar e-[eš-še-er(?) ... ]* (KUB 57.116: 8'). *arkuwar tiyawar*: [*a*]r-ku-wa-ar ti-ia-u-wa-ar (Bo 7832: 6'); *ar-ku-ar ti-ia-wa-aš SISK[UR ... ]* (KUB 5.1 ii 109), *ar-ku-wa-ar ti-ia-u-wa-aš* (KUB 22.57 obv. 14-15); [... *a*]r-ku-wa-ar ti-ia-u-wa-aš (Bo 69/979: ii 11'); *ar-ku-u-wa-ar ti-ia-u-wa-aš-ša* (KUB 52.14 ii 24'); *ar-ku-wa-a[r ti-ia-u-wa-aš(?) ... ]* (366/v line 6')<sup>16</sup>; [...ar-k]u-wa-ar ti-iš-ki-it (KBo 18.116: 4'). *arkuwar*: *ar-ku-u-wa-[ar...]* (KUB 54.1 ii 26, iii 13'); *ar-ku-wa-ar-ra [ ... ]* (Bo 69/979 ii 12'); [... ] *ar-ku-wa-ar <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[ ... ]* (KBo 50.180: 6'); *ar-ku-wa-a[r ... ]* (Bo 6590 line 13'; 366/v line 6'); *ar-ku-wa-a[r ... ]* (KUB 31.140 line 3'); *ar-ku-wa-ar* (Bo 4122 line 5'); [... ] *še-er ar-ku-wa-ar* (Bo 3823 line 15'); [... *ar*]-ku-wa-ar (KBo 18.60 rev. 7'); [... ] *ar-ku-u-wa-a[r ... ]* (KBo 48.196 line 1').

<sup>15</sup> The expression *-za arkuwar iyami* was restored in line obv. 8 of this New Hittite letter fragment by Hagenbuchner (1989 vol.2: 48): *nu-za A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU-š[*I* ... ] / ar-ku-wa-ar i-[ia-mi(?) ... ]* / (lines 7-8).

<sup>16</sup> Restoration suggested by Roos 2007: 301.

## C. Restored forms

**3.sg.prs.** *arkuwa*[izzi] (KUB 5.7 obv. 50’); **1sg.prt.** [*a*]rkuwā[nun] (KUB 14.13 iv 28); [*arkuwanun*] (KUB 14.12 rev. 2’); **3.sg.pres.iter.** *ark*[uwar iyazi] (HKM 57 = Mšt. 75/60 obv. 26); **2.sg.pres.** *arkuwar* [*daitti*] (KUB 14.1 rev. 36)

## D. Notes

1. **3.sg.prs.** *arkuwaizzi* is employed in Bo 3786 line 3’ and in KUB 43.57 iv 7. However, in both texts, this form appears due to a scribal error.

Bo 3786 (CTH 678) is a New Hittite fragment of a festival text. Although it is considered a duplicate of KUB 2.15 + (CTH 678.A), it shows a closer affinity to KBo 8.115 (CTH 678.B).<sup>17</sup> It is therefore reasonable to assume that Bo 3786 and KBo 8.115 are duplicates, or close parallels, and that both represent shorter versions of KUB 2.15 +.

Bo 3786: (1’) [LUGAL M]JUNUS.LUGAL TUŠ-aš<sup>d</sup> I<sub>Z</sub>-zi-iš-ta-nu / (2’) [*a*-ku]-wa-an-zi LUGAL-uš kat-ta / (3’) [*a*]r-ku-wa-iz-zi<sup>LÚ</sup> ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> / (4’) [*me*]-ma-i<sup>LÚ</sup> ki-i-ta-aš

KBo 8.115: (4’) [LUGAL MUNUS.LUG]AL TUŠ-aš<sup>d</sup> I<sub>Z</sub>-zi-iš-t[a-nu] / (5’) [*a*-ku-w]a-an-zi // (6’) [LUGAL-u]š kat-ta UŠ-KE-EN / (7’) [<sup>LÚ</sup>ALA]M.ZU<sub>9</sub> me-ma-i

KUB 2.15 vi: (2) LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL TUŠ-aš<sup>d</sup> I<sub>Z</sub>-zi-iš-ta-nu / (3) *a*-ku-wa-an-zi LUGAL-uš kat-ta **a-ru-wa-a-iz-zi** // (4) <sup>LÚ.MEŠ<sub>r</sub></sup>GALA <sup>URU<sub>1</sub></sup>Ka-ni-iš SÌR-RU / (5) *wa-al-ḫa-an-zi-iš-ša-an* // (6) <sup>LÚ</sup>ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> me-ma-i<sup>LÚ</sup> *pal-wa-tal-la-aš* / (7) *pal-wa-a-iz-zi* <sup>LÚ</sup>ki-i-ta-aš *ḫal-za-a-i*

The sitting king (and) the queen drink to/for *Izzistanu*. The king bows down. (KUB 2.15: The lamentation priests from Kaneš sing, (and) play (a musical instrument)). The performer speaks, (KUB 2.15: the crier cries), the *kita*-man calls out.

Because the verb *aruwai-/ŠUKÊNU*- “to bow/prostrate oneself” is employed after LUGAL-uš *katta* in KUB 2.15+ and KBo 8.115, probably the same verb must have been intended in line 3’ of Bo 3786 and *arkuwaizzi* must be regarded here as a scribal error (see already Otten-Rüster 1967: 61-62 and Yoshida 1995: 242 n.152)

<sup>17</sup> Both fragments (Bo 3786 and KBo 8.115) omit the entire paragraph that is present in KUB 2.15: <sup>LÚ.MEŠ<sub>r</sub></sup>GALA <sup>URU<sub>1</sub></sup>Ka-ni-iš SÌR-RU *wa-al-ḫa-an-zi-iš-ša-an* as well as the sentence <sup>LÚ</sup>*pal-wa-tal-la-aš pal-wa-a-iz-zi*.

According to Puhvel HED vol. 1: 148 and Kloekhorst (2008: 205), the verbal form *arku[wa]izzi* appears in line iv 7 of a Middle Hittite/New Script<sup>18</sup> ritual of Ḫantitaššu from the City of Ḫurma (KUB 43.57 = CTH 395.C)

KUB 43.57 iv: (4') *ud-da-na-aš-ša* EN-*aš ki-iš-ša-an me-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-i zi-ik-za-an* / (5') *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an I-NA* UD.9.KAM *ḫu-iš-wa-a[n]-ta-aš ḫu-u-kán-ta* / (6') *na-a-it-ta tu-uq-qa* DINGIR.MEŠ *ḫu-u-m[a-a]n-te-eš-pát<sup>1</sup> ḫal-zi-ya-an-du* / (7') *ud-da-a-na-aš* EN-*aš LUGAL-i ar-ku-[wa-i]z-zi* / (8') *[na-a]š-kán pa-ra-a ú-iz-zi* UD.<sup>r</sup>9'.[KAM tú]ḫ-ḫu-uš-ta

The ritual practitioner (lit. lord of word/s) says as follows: “As soon as /When on the ninth day, you (the king) have placed the conjured (CHD L-N p.360 5.1'.b) /slaughtered (Ünal 1996: 31 and 75-76) things of the living around yourself, let all the gods call to you.” The ritual practitioner bows (*aruwai*) to the king and he leaves (lit. comes forth). The ninth day comes to the end.

Since the duplicate text KBo 11.14 (CTH 395.A) employs the verb *aruwai-* “to bow” in the same sentence: *ud-da-a-na-aš* / EN-*aš [LUGAL-i a-r]u-<sup>r</sup>wa-iz<sup>1</sup>-zi* (line iv 10'), it is reasonable to assume that the same verb should also appear in KUB 43.57. The form *arkuwaizzi* must be a scribal error (see already Kammenhuber HW<sup>2</sup>: 311 II d).

2. **3sg.pret.act.** *kattan arkutta* and **3pl.pres.** *kattan arkuwanzi* are listed under *arkuwai-* in Friedrich HW: 31; Kammenhuber HW<sup>2</sup>: 309 and Puhvel HED vol. 1: 148. For assigning these forms to the verb *arku-* “chant, intone” rather than *arkuwai-* see Melchert (1998: 47-50). **3.pl.prs. iter.** *kattan arkuiškanzi* is probably also a grammatical form of *arku-* rather than *arkuwai-* (KUB 17.9 i 19'; KUB 36.12 + KBo 26.64 ii 4/12).

### Discussion<sup>19</sup>

The verb *arkuwai-* and the verbal noun *arkuwar* show a wide range of meanings from “respond” to “pray”.<sup>20</sup> While, the noun *arkuwar* is attested in Old, Middle and New Hittite texts, the verb *arkuwai-* is found only in texts dated to the Middle and New Hittite periods.

In the Old Hittite Sumerian-Akkadian-Hittite lexical list (KBo 1.30 = I.E.3) the noun *arkuwar* is employed in the two constructions *-za arkuwar iya-* and *-za arkuwar*

<sup>18</sup> See Ünal 1996: 82.

<sup>19</sup> The following discussion of the relevant attestations is structured diachronically.

<sup>20</sup> Friedrich-Kammenhuber derive the verb *arkuwai-* from PIE *\*erk<sup>w</sup>-* “praise, sing”. Laroche (1964), Lebrun (1980), Puhvel (1984), Melchert (1998), Singer (2002) and Kloekhorst (2008), among others, opt for a PIE root (*\*argu-ye/o*) that gave rise to Latin *arguere* and whose basic meaning is “to present arguments.” Tischler (*HEG* vol. 1: 60-61) cites both etymologies; Oettinger (1979: 369) leaves the question open.

*šak(k)*- as a translation of Akkadian *têrtam îrtam*. The relationship between the Hittite and Akkadian sentences that contain above phrases is problematic. According to Laroche (1964: 16), the Akkadian sentence has military implications and can be translated as “celui qui (au combat) ne fait/sait pas la poitrine tournée” in the general meaning “qui n’a pas de défense, qui ne fait pas front, ne va pas à la rencontre.” With regard to the Hittite sentence, he translates it as “celui qui dans une chose ne fait/ne sait pas d’excuse/de défense”, rightly observing that it does not carry any military connotations and that Hittite *uddani* does not correspond to Akkadian *irtum*. The translation of the Hittite sentence offered by the authors of *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* (volume Š: 22-23) as “he who does not know an (oracular) answer to the matter/word” is also unsatisfactory in the present context as it does not reflect the Akkadian phrase. One possible interpretation of the Akkadian sentence is based on the assumption that *îrtam* is a form of *\*îru* (*’îr*), a verbal adjective of *(w)âru(m)* (root *w’r*), meaning “to go, to confront.”<sup>21</sup> If that hypothesis is correct, the Akkadian sentence would probably translate as “who does not have/does not recognize a confronting message” (for a different, but semantically problematic interpretation, see *CAD T 367*). Such sentences could be understood in Hittite as “he who does not respond to the word/matter” and “he who does not know the answer to the matter/word.”

While the translation of the phrase *-za arkuwar iya-* as “to respond” is only assumed in the Old Hittite trilingual lexical list, it is assured by the context and by the use of the preverb *appa* in three Middle Hittite texts, namely two Maşat Letters (HKM 52 = I.E.1, HKM 64 = I.E.5) and a letter of an unknown Hittite dignitary (KBo 32.202 = I.E.2). On one occasion the preverb *appa* is missing from the text; however, the context secures the meaning “response” for the noun *arkuwar*. In a Maşat letter (HKM 89 = I.E.6) the sender asks the recipient to write him an *arkuwar* (i.e. “response”) regarding the actions of a certain Luparrui.

In two noteworthy Middle Hittite examples, an *arkuwar* involves self-justification or explanation. First, in his letter to Piyama-Tarḫunta (HKM 63 = I.F.3), Ḫimmuili complains that he has not received any *arkuwar* or “answer-explanation” with regard to the matter about which he has been inquiring. Second, a passage appearing in KUB 14.1, a text commonly referred to as “Indictment of Madduwatta” (KUB 14.1 = I.F.2), mentions that Madduwatta has occupied cities and has been accepting the refugees whom

<sup>21</sup> On analogy to the verb *wiāšum*, *âšu* “to be(come) little” and its verbal noun *îšu* “little.” The relationship between the adjective *\*îru* and the adjective *îru* attested in Mesopotamian lexical lists (see *CAD I-J 188b*) remains unclear.

he is not supposed to welcome in his territory. Since both activities are outside his authority, the Hittite kings have been writing to him. Madduwatta, as a subordinate to the Hittite kings, would have to account for his actions. Unwilling to do that, he ignores the Hittite royal letters and does not respond (*appa arkuwar dai-*) to the queries of the Hittite kings.

The noun *arkuwar* can, in some contexts also mean “petition”; this meaning can be ascertained for at least one Middle Hittite Maṣat letter (HKM 57 = I.D.b.4). The text deals with a legal case against Ḫimmuili and Tarḫumuwa, two men of Ḫaššarpanda, who are charged with stealing a woman belonging to Kaštanda, a slave of a “son of a priest.” Two men who bring the case to the court of law, namely Ilali and Kašilti, mediate in this matter, because the owner of the slave is reluctant to make *arkuwar* or “petition” in support of his slave.

The verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar* continue to be used in the sense “to respond”, “to explain; to justify oneself” (a prayer of Muršili II containing the king’s exculpation for the deposition of Tawannanna, KBo 4.8 = I.F.1, discussed in chapter three), “to petition”, and less formal “to request” in the New Hittite period.

The meaning “to respond” is found in KUB 5.7 (I.E.4), a text that deals with “something unfavourable” that has been established with regard to the temple in the town of Kizmara. The questions are posed to the Temple-men regarding the nature of the ‘unfavourable’ deed and the answers are given. In the passage where a grammatical form of the verb *arkuwai-* appears, most likely the third singular present *arkuwaiizzi*,<sup>22</sup> questions are asked of the gods Ziparwa, Ḫalki and GİR and again the answer(s) is/are given by a deity, which is expressed by the verb *arkuwai-*.

The noun *arkuwar* carries the meaning “petition” in three New Hittite texts: in the letter of Manapa-Tarḫunta to a Hittite king (KUB 19.5 + KBo 19.79 = I.D.b.2); in a treaty of Muršili II with Tuppi-Tešub (KBo 5.9 = I.D.b.1) and in a text commonly referred to as the “Tawagalawa Letter” (KUB 14.3 = I.D.b.3).

The first text is about the abduction of two groups of *ṢARIPŪTU*-men or “purple-dyers” by Piyamaradu. One group belonged to Manapa-Tarḫunta, the king of the Seḫa River Land, and the other to the Hittite king. After their abduction, the “purple-dyers”, led by a man whose name ends in -ḫuḫa, appealed to Atpa, Piyamaradu’s son-in-law. In their petition, which is introduced and finished with the expression *-za arkuwar iya-*, the “purple-dyers” state their profession and “mission”, namely the preparation or a

<sup>22</sup> For the discussion of this form see appendix 1, texts I.E.4.

presentation of the purple-dyed textiles(?) in Lazpa. They also maintain that it was a certain Šiggauna who sinned; they were not involved in this matter (whatever that might refer to) and therefore they should be released.

One clause in a treaty between Muršili II and Tuppi-Tešub describes a plausible situation in which the latter receives an order from the Hittite king that for some reason he cannot carry out. In that case Tuppi-Tešub is advised to make *arkuwar* in which he would have to explain why he cannot fulfil the royal orders. In this context the main focus of *arkuwar* is a formal request to be excused from an obligation.

The “Tawagalawa Letter” deals with one part of the affair of Piyamaradu, an Arzawan prince, who found asylum in the kingdom of Aḫḫiyawa and who, with the support of the king of Aḫḫiyawa, had been raiding Hittite territory in Western Anatolia. To solve the “Piyamaradu problem” the Hittite king proposes three alternatives: a) to persuade Piyamaradu to submit once more to Hittite sovereignty b) to provide him with a safe haven in Aḫḫiyawa on the understanding that he will not engage any more in any anti-Hittite activities, or c) to compel him to move to another country, taking his family with him. The passage in which the expression *-za arkuwar iya-* is employed is concerned with the first alternative. Piyamaradu would have to appear before the Hittite king in order to negotiate a settlement with the assurance that if it is not reached, he will be sent back to Aḫḫiyawa unharmed. The negotiation of a settlement is expressed here with the noun *arkuwar* and would probably involve the presenting of arguments by Piyamaradu.

The noun *arkuwar* in the meaning “request”, which is closely related to “petition” but slightly less formal, is employed in two fragmentary ritual texts composed during the New Hittite period. In a substitute ritual for a Hittite king (KBo 15.7 = I.D.a.1), the king addresses a deportee who is acting as a king’s substitute. In this passage it is not credible that the former would justify himself, nor would he be giving an answer since the king initiates the speech. Consequently, the translation of *arkuwar* as “request,” the meaning first proposed for this noun by Friedrich-Kammenhuber, fits the context very well. Alternatively, since the deportee acts as the king’s substitute and wears the king’s impure attire, the meaning of *-za arkuwar iya-* as “to beg, earnestly entreat” could also fit the present context.<sup>23</sup> In another ritual (KBo 13.161 = I.D.a.2), a “sacrificer” (EN SISKUR) is presenting the Stormgod with gifts, which are then asked back by the “sacrificer” with the promise that they will be available to the god. The only meaning of the expression *-za arkuwar iya-* that makes sense in this context is “to request.”

<sup>23</sup> Kummel assumes that calling a deportee “my lord” presupposes some sort of dressing up of a deportee as lord/king (Kummel 1967: 42).

In New Hittite texts the verb *arkuwai-* also acquires juridical overtones and, in some contexts, carries the meaning “to plead” in the general sense “to present a case/plea.” The most significant examples in profane contexts are found in a treaty between Muršili II and Tuppi-Teššub (KBo 3.3 = I.A.1) and in a letter of a Hittite king to Shalmaneser (KBo 18.24 = I.A.2).

In the first text, Tuppi-Teššub complains that the King of Karkamiš, Tudḫaliya and Ḫalpaḫi have gained control of captives that have fled Amurru and he demands that the captives be returned to him. The document is directed against the three individuals, who, along with their accuser, are to appear before Muršili II to lay the matter to rest by sealing the agreement. As pointed out by Melchert (1998: 46), the translation of the expression *-za arkuwar iya-* as “to justify oneself,” suggested here by Laroche, does not fit the present context; *arkuwar* refers here equally to the presentations of arguments by each party (*kuiš*); at least one of whom, namely Tuppi-Teššub, is not guilty.<sup>24</sup> Consequently, the meaning of the expression *arkuwar iya-* is “to plead” in the general sense “to make a case,” “to present arguments.”

In the second text the verb *arkuwai-* has to be read in the context of the previous paragraph:

As for the fact that a legal dispute arose between us, and that we withdrew from the legal dispute - which messages should I be sending you? If I write to you in a friendly way, you call it ‘ingratiating (myself)’; whereas if I write to you about (our) legal dispute you keep cursing me.<sup>25</sup>

Because of the slightly sarcastic tone of the above passage, it would seem that the verb *arkuwai-* in obv. 12 refers not as much to the habitual action of praying but rather to Shalmaneser’s alleged endless pleading with the gods in this specific matter - probably an allusion to references to divine justice in Shalmaneser’s own letter. The meaning of *arkuwai-* is here “to plead” or “to justify oneself” already proposed by the scholars who worked on this text (see Appendix 1 under I.A.2).

By the 14<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. the meaning of the verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar* as “to present a plea/case”, and “plea” had been transplanted into the religious context, where it mainly appears in Hittite royal prayers as well as in ritual and oracle texts.

<sup>24</sup> Melchert 1998: 45-46.

<sup>25</sup> [ku-i]t-na-aš-kán DI-eš-šar iš-tar-na ki-ša-at / ku-it-pát DI-za ar-ḫa ti-ia-u-en nu-ut-ta ḫa-at-ri-eš-šar / ku-e ḫa-at-ri-eš-ki-mi nu-ut-ta ma-a-an aš-šu-ul / ḫa-at-ra-a-mi zi-ik-ma-at-za pa-ra-a dam-me-en-ku-u-wa-ar / ḫal-zi-eš-ša-at-ti DI-šar-ma-ta ḫa-at-ra-a-mi / zi-ik-ma-mu ḫur-za-ki-ši // (KBo 18.24 obv. 3-8)

In royal prayers the verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar* are used when a supplicant, usually the Hittite king or the Hittite queen, as a servant, addresses his/her divine masters, as dispensers of justice, for the solution to a problem. The supplicant must present arguments to convince the gods that he/she deserves assistance. The beginning of a long composition attributed to king Muwatalli II (KUB 6.45 = I.A.7) and addressed to the entire Hittite pantheon contains a statement of purpose of this type of prayer: “If some matter weighs on a man, he makes a plea to the gods”.

The verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar* are first attested in the royal prayers of Muršili II (KUB 14.14 = I.A.3., KUB 14.8 with duplicates = I.A.4, KUB 14.12 = I.A.5, KUB 14.13 = I.A.6.) and continue to be used in prayers of Muwatalli II (KBo 11.1 = I.A.8, KUB 6.45 = I.A.7) and prayers of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa (KUB 21.19 = I.A.9, KUB 21.27 = I.A.10). All of the above texts except KUB 14.12 and KUB 14.13 are fully discussed in chapter three.

In a fragmentary prayer to the Stormgod of Nerik (KUB 36.87 = I.A.11), if all the restorations are correct, the supplicant acknowledges that the Stormgod is angry with him. The reason of the divine anger was probably communicated to the supplicant by the god (through an oracle) and probably involved some wrong-doing on the part of the supplicant. The petitioner then declares that he corrected his error(s) and made an *arkuwar*. Had the words of this *arkuwar* been given in this text, they would probably comprise a presentation of arguments that would include a confession of petitioner’s wrong-doing and a promise of penitence.

Also in oracle and ritual texts (KUB 22.39 = I.A.12; KUB 22.57 = I.A.13, KBo 41.210 + I.A.14 and KUB 58.41 = I.A.15) the noun *arkuwar* denotes one element of a process whose sole purpose is to appease an angry deity. In that context *arkuwar* appears together with making sacrifices, performing rituals, offering gifts and reparations and would probably entail a search for the causes of divine anger, promises of penitence and perhaps some arguments to appease the angry deity. In those contexts the translation “to make a plea” in the general sense to “make arguments” would make perfect sense.

During the New Hittite period, the verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar* also acquired the general meaning “to pray” and “prayer”, found in prayers whose main subject is a mistreatment of cult centres or a termination of the cult practices caused either by the enemy invasion or by neglect, usually by a previous king. These texts resemble in form reports on the conditions of the state cults, in which supplicant(s) promise amends to the deities whose cult was neglected but does not necessarily present arguments (KUB 6.45 = I.B.a.4.(1)). Another type of prayer that does not entail a presentation of arguments

is that which asks for the general well-being of the supplicant (KUB 24.1+ = I.B.a.3; KUB 6.45 = I.B.a.4.(1),(3),(4)), for intercession on behalf of the supplicant (KUB 6.45 = I.B.a.4.(2)), for removing the plague and an enemy invasion (VBoT 121 + I.B.a.2), for curing an illness (KUB 24.5+ = I.B.a.7) or for accepting a substitute offered during the substitute ritual (KUB 55.66 = I.B.a.8). In all these texts, the supplicant does not reason with the gods, rather he prays or personally entreats the gods.

The meaning “prayer” is also assured for the noun *arkuwar* in KUB 54.1 (I.B.a.6), which is either a prayer or a legal text (see chapter three pp 113-115); in votive texts (KUB 15.1 = I.B.b.1; KUB 15.19 = I.B.b.2; KUB 15.22 = I.B.a.14) as well as in ritual, festival and oracular texts (KUB 16.72 = I.B.a.11; KUB 16.78 = I.B.a.13; 354/z + = I.B.a.12; KUB 57.37 = I.B.a.9; KUB 44.50 = I.B.a.10; KBo 6.1/KUB 8.53 = I.B.a.1).

The words of *arkuwar* are preserved partially only in KUB 15.1 and KUB 15.19 (for a discussion of these two texts see under *mald-*), KUB 54.1, KUB 57.37 and KBo 6.1/KUB 8.53.

In KUB 54.1 the author, a certain high-ranking individual named IŠTAR-ziti, requests from the gods that they examine the legal matters for him and complains to or even reproaches the gods for his unjust treatment. Since gods are addressed, *arkuwar* in these passages can indeed be translated as “prayer”, but the focus of these ‘prayers’ is clearly a complaint. In KUB 57.37 the petitioner asks the gods for benediction, in KBo 6.1/KUB 8.53 Gilgamesh appears to present some arguments to the Sungod.

Finally, the verb *arkuwai-*, as attested in New Hittite texts, also acquired a meaning “to complain”. The one crucial attestation of this usage is Muwatalli II’s prayer to the Stormgod (KBo 11.1 = I.C.1), which consists of a systematic search for the causes of the Stormgod’s anger and the king’s promise to make amends. The author of the text suggests that the Stormgod is angry because a local deity, a mountain, a *šinapši* sanctuary, a holy pit or an orphan has been mistreated and they *arkuwai*-ed or “complained” about it to the Stormgod.

### 2.2.2. (-za) *mald-*, *mammalt-*, *malduwar*, *malteššar*, *mielteššar*, *malteš(ša)nala-*

#### *Previous Research*

Words that share the stem *malt-/melt-* have been subject of scholarly investigation for nearly a century. Their meaning, orthography, grammatical forms and etymology have been examined and commented upon in various editions of Hittite texts, linguistic studies and in Hittite dictionaries.

The first comment on the verb *mald-* was offered by Hrozný (1919: 44 n. 1, 45) who observed that this verb is related to the noun *malteššar*, which denotes a divine answer to a human request, and gave its Old Saxon cognate as *meldon* meaning “angeben, verraten, ankündigen, melden.”

Three years later Forrer rendered *mald-* employed in KUB 48.13 as “geloben” (1922: 191). In 1928 Goetze translated the verb as “recite” and the noun *malteššar* as “hymn” (1928: 63). Based on these translations, Benveniste proposed that the verb *mald-* is the Hittite reflex of the PIE root *\*meld-* whose basic meaning is “to announce; to pray” (1932: 133-135).

In the first edition of his *Glossary*, Sturtevant followed Goetze and translated the verb *mald-* as “to recite”, the noun *malteššar* as “hymn” and the Akkadogram *IKRIBU* as “prayer, votive offering” (1931: 43, 26). In the second edition of the *Glossary*, Sturtevant offered another translation for the verb *malt-/malta-* and its grammatical forms *maldiya/e-* and *malzake/a-* (1.sg.pres.iter. *malzakimi*): “to pray (in some certain way)”. He also rendered the noun *malteššar* as “prayer (of some certain kind)”, the adjective *\*malteššanalaš* that appears in KUB 7.5 i 22 and in KUB 7.8 iii 13, as “invoked by *malteššar*” and the Akkadogram *IKRUB* as “he prayed” (1936: 57, 96).

The next comment on this word family was made thirteen years later. In 1949, Laroche noted that the first person singular preterite *maldaḥḥun* appearing with the particle *-za*, does not, in the context of one of the votive texts (CTH 585), carry the meaning “to recite.” He observed that the particle *-za* signals that the action of *mald-* affects directly the person who is performing it. He further noted that this verb designates the type of prayer in which the queen promises offerings in exchange for certain benefits from the deity, hence he translated the verb in that text as “j’ai fait ce vœu” (1949: 66-67).

Next to comment on *mald-* was Kronasser who translated the verb as “geloben” and drew attention to Lithuanian *meldžiù* as a cognate of the form *maltiya* (1956). In 1962-1966 Kronasser published *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache* in which he further commented on the words built on the stem *malt-*. In volume 1 (1962) he noted that the adjective *malteš(ša)nala-* meaning “durch Gelübde angerufen” is an *r/n-* stem derivative from the noun *malteššar* “Gelübde” (172). In vol. 5 (1966) he translated the verb *malt(a)-* as “beten” and observed that in some texts the verb is followed by the actual words of a prayer (IBoT 1.30, KUB 17.28). In the same volume, Kronasser noted that the consonantal stem of this verb is seen in its iterative form *malzakimi*.

In the main volume of *Hethitische Wörterbuch* (1952-54: 134) Friedrich translated the verb *mald-* and its iterative *malzak-* as “geloben” and the noun *malteššar* as “Gelübde; Spende an die Gottheit”, noting that *malteššar* is often represented in Hittite texts by the Akkadogram *IKRIBU*. He also rendered the adjective *malteš(ša)nala-* (*maltešnala-*) as “durch ein Gelübde angerufen” referring for this translation to Sturtevant’s *Glossary* (1936). In his third supplement to the dictionary (1964), Friedrich, influenced by Laroche’s study on Hittite prayer terminology, translated the verb *mald-* appearing without the particle *-za* as “feierlich erklären”, with the particle *-za* as “sich feierlich verpflichten, geloben” and the noun *malteššar* as “feierliche Erklärung, Gelübde” as well as “Opferspende.”

Laroche (1964-65: 8-13) distinguished two constructions in which the verb *mald-* appears. In the first the verb occurs without the particle *-za* and can be regarded as *verbum dicendi* carrying the meaning “to recite, to announce/proclaim publicly, to affirm solemnly” and alternating with the verbs *memai-* and *te-* “to say/speak”. In the second construction the verb *mald-* appears with the particle *-za* and acquires a specific, almost technical meaning, “s’engager par une déclaration solennelle” and “vouer pour sa part, dans son propre intérêt, sous sa responsabilité personnelle”. In this second construction the third singular preterit *-za maldi* is equivalent to Akkadian *ikrub*, and the noun *malteššar* to Akkadian *ikribu*. Laroche also argued that since the noun *malteššar* is occasionally represented in Hittite texts by the Akkadogram *IKRIBU*, and *IKRIBU* does not carry the meaning “hymn”, Goetze’s translation of the noun *malteššar* as “hymn” (1927: 63) is inaccurate (1964-65: 9).

Five years later, Benveniste gave the form of the verb as *maltai-* and proposed that it reflects the PIE word for prayer. He then translated the verb as “to recite the invocations; to pray” and the verbal noun *malduwar* as “prayer, invocation.” He also gave the Indo-European cognates of this verb and noun, attested almost exclusively in the Balto-Slavic branch of the Indo-European languages, as Lithuanian *meldžiù*, *melsti* “to pray” and the noun *maldà* “prayer”; Old Church Slavonic *moljo* and the middle form *moliti* (*sę*); Polish *modlić się* “to pray”; Czech *modal* “idol; temple”. Benveniste added to these forms the Germanic *melden* “say, announce” and suggested that all of them, including Hittite *maltai-* and *malduwar*, are derived from the PIE root *\*meld-yō* (1969: 246-247).

While most scholars examined the meaning and etymology of the verb *mald-* and its derivatives, Neu commented on the orthography of this verb. He noted that, in the Old Hittite manuscript of the text commonly referred to as “Anitta’s Proclamation” (KBo

3.22), the first person singular preterite is spelled *ma-a-al-taḫ-ḫu-un* and in the New Hittite copy of this text (KUB 26.71) *ma-al-da-aḫ-ḫu-un*. The latter spelling is also found in other New Hittite texts, namely KUB 15.17+ and Bo 5956. Neu also observed that the third person singular present form *maldi* is written as *ma-a-al-di*, *ma-al-di* or *ma-al-ti* already in the Old Hittite texts; that the first person singular present form is written in Hittite texts as either *ma-al-da-aḫ-ḫi* or *ma-al-ta-aḫ-ḫi*; that the spelling of the infinitive *ma-al-tu-u-an-zi* is attested already in the 13<sup>th</sup> century text; and that the third person singular preterite is written as *ma-al-ta-aš* (1974: 44-45).

Next to comment on the verb *mald-* was Oettinger, who translates the verb as “aufsagen, geloben” and notes that this verb belongs to the II 1 b inflectional group. He also gives the grammatical forms of *mald-*, found in the Old Hittite texts, as *maldi/malti* (third person singular present) and *maldahḫun* (first singular preterite); he notes that the *ske-* form *malzak-* is first attested in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and that *mald-* “recite” is a *terminus technicus* in festival texts. Oettinger further assumes that the verb *mald-* is derived either from the iterative *\*mold<sup>h</sup>-éye-ti* or from the perfect of the PIE root *\*mold<sup>h</sup>* (1979: 443-444).

Lebrun lists the main texts which employ either the verb *mald-* or the nouns *malduwar/malteššar* and comments on the meaning that these terms assume in those texts. For instance in the “Proclamation of Anitta” (KBo 3.22), Lebrun translates the verb *mald-* as “vouer officiellement”; in IBoT 1.30, which includes a passage describing Hittite kingship, Lebrun renders the verb as “proclamer officiellement” and finally, in a group of texts that contain Hattic-Hittite invocations of the Hattic deities (CTH 733), Lebrun observes that *malteššar* and *mald-* are used to introduce short prayers. He further argues that *malteššar* also refers to Hattic chants/hymns/psalms that are inserted in the texts of some festival, for instance in KUB 28.74 (CTH 744.4), IBoT 2.44 (CTH 744); KUB 28.89 (CTH 678). Another meaning of the verb *mald-* and the nouns *malteššar* and *malduwar* discussed by Lebrun is “to vow”, “vow” which is mainly found in the group of texts that are assigned numbers 583-590 in Laroche’s *Catalogue* and that comprise vows of the king and the queen as well as dreams of the Hittite dignitaries. Lebrun suggests that the *malteššar*, “votive prayer”, shows how, in the Hittite religious thought, a human and a deity benefit equally from their relationship: a supplicant promises to offer a gift and that promise becomes a condition/guarantee that a deity will grant supplicant’s wish (1980: 443-449).

In a commentary to his edition of two prayers of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa, Sürenhagen argues that *malduwar* is a Hittite designation for a vow. This vow exhibits a

rigid structure, namely a conditional clause that also contains a request and the main clause which comprises a promise of gifts or worship made to a deity. According to Sürenhagen, *malduwar* had a typically mercantile character with regard to the form and content, which implies that vows were not understood as literary texts. Rather, *malduwar* resembles a ritual and as such is closely related to the Babylonian *ikribu* which he translated as “temple donation”. However, unlike Babylonian *ikribu*, Hittite *malduwar* has not developed into a prayer type (1981: 143-144).

A year later, in his *Hethitisch-deutsches Wörterverzeichnis*, Tischler translates the verb *mald-* and its grammatical forms *maltuwanzi* (infinitive) and *malzak-* (iterative) as “aufsagen, geloben”, the noun *malteššar* as “Gelübde; Opferspende”; the adjectives *maltalli-* and *malteššanala-* as “zum Gelübde gehörig” and “durch ein Gelübde angerufen” (1982: 50).

In the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*, Güterbock and Hoffner translate the verb *mald-* as “to recite, make a recitation” and as “to make a vow, to vow (something)” when the verb appears with the particle *-za*. Searching for an area of common meaning for the various usages of this verb, they observe that *mald-* is occasionally used with the adverb *duddumili* “quietly, silently, secretly,” therefore, they conclude that the recitation of *malteššar* was not necessarily heard by a human audience. Consequently, Laroche’s suggestion that the common meaning for the verb *mald-* is to be sought in a solemn, public declaration or pronouncement cannot be maintained. Both authors also observe that the recitations quoted in Hittite often contain imperatives and therefore should be regarded as requests. Also a vow, according to the authors of the dictionary, is a promise in return for a requested benefit, hence a kind of contractual request (1983: 132-135).

Güterbock and Hoffner translate the noun *malteššar* as “recitation, hymn(?), prayer(?); vow, votive offering (represented also by the Akkadogram *IKRIBU*); ritual” and briefly discuss the relationship of this noun with the logogram *SISKUR*. They note that in a prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal, in which the noun *malteššar* is written with the Sumerogram *SISKUR*, *malteššar* should be translated as “ritual/offering performed in fulfilment of a vow” (1983: 136-137).

Güterbock and Hoffner then render the adjectives *maltalli-* and *malteššanala-* as “obliged to make a *malteššar*” and as “recipient of *malteššar* (chants, vows, votive offerings).” With regard to the adjective *maltalli-* they note that it seems to be derived from the verb *mald-* to which they added another meaning “to treat (a deity) with a ritual.” They briefly discuss the meaning of this adjective in the context of KBo 8.68, a very fragmentary text, in which this adjective is used attributively with the Sumerogram

UN “person”. They conclude that the *maltalli*-man must be someone obliged to make a *malteššar* offering (135).

Finally, in 1986 Güterbock and Hoffner translate a noun showing the stem *melt-*, namely *melteššar*, employed twice in Meskene 74.57, as “votive offering” (1986: 253).

In volume six of *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar* Tischler translates the verbs *mald-/malda-* as “rezitieren, geloben” and *mammalt-* in KUB 30.68 as “rezitieren.” He observes that there are no Anatolian cognates of the verb *mald-* except perhaps Lydian *młatalad* “Versprechen”(?) for which form he refers to Gusmani’s *Lydian Wörterbuch Ergänzungsband: 75*. Tischler also gives an overview of various theories regarding the etymology of the verb *mald-/malda-* and translates the verbal noun *malduwar* as “Versprechen” and the noun *malteššar* as “Rezitation, Gebet; Gelübde; Ritual.” In the same dictionary, Tischler maintains the translation of the adjective *malteš(ša)nala-* which he offered in 1982 and comments on the adjective *maltalli-* “durch Gelübde zum Opfer verpflichtet(?)“ appearing only in a Kizzuwatna ritual (KBo 8.68), which describes religious activities of the *maltalliš* UN-*aš* or *maltalliš*-man (1990: 109-112). In 2001, in *Hethitisches Handwörterbuch*, Tischler offers the same translations for the verb *mald-/malda-* (adding only the meaning “opfern”), for the nouns *malduwar* and *malteššar*, and for the adjectives *malteš(ša)nala-* and *maltalli-* (2001: 98).

Gamkrelidze and Ivanov derive the Hittite verb *mal dai-* from the PIE root *\*meld<sup>h</sup>*- meaning “to pray offering sacrifice; to offer prayerful words to gods”. They translate the Hittite verb as “to pray, to promise solemnly to the gods to offer a sacrifice” and gave its Indo-European cognates as Armenian *malt’em* “I pray”, Lithuanian *meldžiù* “I pray”, Old Church Slavonic *moliti* “pray”, Old Russian *molit’* “pray while making a sacrifice”, Old High German *meldōn* “communicate, report” (Ger. *melden*) and Old English *meld* “acquaintance” (1995: 703-704).

In 2004, Justus argued that the Hittite verb *mald-* reflects the non-sacral PIE root *\*meld<sup>h</sup>*- meaning “to announce, to inform”. Over time, the root would have acquired the connotation “to pray” in Hittite, Armenian (*malt’em* “to pray”), Old Church Slavonic (*moliti* “to pray”) and Lithuanian (*meldzhiu* “I pray”). Justus considered Hittite *malduwar* as a designation of a prayer type which is based on the *do-ut-des* principle: first a deity grants a request whereupon the supplicant will give promised gifts or worship (2004: 270, 272-274, 275, 280).

In volume six of his *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* Puhvel translates the verb *malt(a)-* as “to utter, to pronounce, to declaim, to recite” as well as “to commit oneself (to), to vow, to make vow(s)” and “to treat to commitment, to engage with vow(s) (in

expectation of divine reciprocity)” when this verb appears with the particle *-za*. He notes that when *malt(a)-* is employed in the latter sense, it is occasionally represented in Hittite texts by the Akkadogram *KARĀBU* “to pray, consecrate”.

Puhvel translates the noun *malteššar* as “declamation, prayer, ritual (utterance)” and observes that it is occasionally written with the Sumerogram *SISKUR*. However, if the same noun carries the meaning “vow(s), votive offering(s)”, it is written with the Akkadogram *IKRIBU*.

Puhvel translates the verb *mammalt-*, which shows the reduplicated root *malt-*, as “declaim repeatedly” and the adjective *malteš(ša)nala-*, attested in KUB 7.8+ KUB 7.5, the ritual against the impotence, as “votive (beneficiary)”. He then comments on the etymology of this word family noting that the noun *melteššar* points to the PIE root *\*meldh-*, while the verb *malt-* reflects *\*moldh-*, a perfect stem. He gives the Indo-European cognates of the verb *malt-* attested only in Balto-Slavic, Germanic and Anatolian languages (Hittite *malt-* and Lydian *młatalad* “vow”(??)) and concludes that the verb *malt-* reflects a Baltic-Germanic-Anatolian isogloss (*HED* vol. 6: 31, 34, 36).

Rose translates the verb *mald-* employed in prayers and rituals as “to recite, to pray (use words magically), to vow (something)”, noting that the latter meaning is attested in the post-Old Hittite periods and only when the verb appears with either the particle *-za* or the dative singular personal pronoun *-šī*. In that observation she follows *CHD*. Rose further notes that although the verb is occasionally used with the adverb *duddumili* “quiet, silently, secretly”, it was probably also used to denote a public religious utterance for the benefit of the entire community. Rose also gives a brief overview of the main theories regarding the etymology of the verb *mald-* as either *méldh-* (e-grade root) or *móldh-* (o-grade root) and discusses selected attestations of this verb (2006: 319-321).

A year later, de Roos’ *Votive Texts* appeared in print. It is divided in two parts. In part one (pp. 3-70) de Roos defines a typical vow and lists the main elements of the most complete vows. In part two (pp. 71-129) he offers the transliteration and translation of Hittite votive texts. In part one de Roos also comments on various aspects of votive texts such as: fulfilment or negligence to fulfil the vows; the relationship between gods and humans; the locations where the dreams or vows occur; the gods invoked and the purpose of their invocation; the dating of the votive texts; the objects promised in the vows; vows in the other parts of the ancient Near East and finally the persons mentioned in the votive texts. A major section of de Roos’ work is dedicated to a discussion of the meaning of *malteššar*. He proposes that the meaning of this noun shifted from Old and Middle Hittite

“offering”, “ritual” to New Hittite “vow”. According to de Roos, the noun *malteššar* acquired the meaning “vow” only during the reign of Ḫattušili.

In *Multilingual Hittite Dictionary* Ünal translates the verb *mald-* as “to recite, to make recitation, to make a vow, to vow” and the noun *malteššar* as “recitation, prayer, hymn; vow, votive offering; ritual”. He also gives the Akkadian and Sumerian equivalents of the noun *malteššar-* as *IKRIBU* and *SISKUR* (the latter with a question mark) and translates the phrase *maltešnaš išḫaš* as “the ritual’s master” without, however, giving the reference to the text in which this phrase appears (2007:421-422).

Kloekhorst translates the verb *mald-* as “to recite, to make a vow” and its derivatives: *mammalt-* as “to recite”; *malteššar/maltešn-* as “recitation, vow, votive offering, ritual” (also written as an Akkadogram *IKRIBU*); *malteš(ša)nala-* as “recipient of *malteššar*”; *mielteššar/mieltešn-* as “votive offering” and *maltalli-* (adj.) as “obliged to make a *malteššar*”. He gives as Indo-European cognates of this verb an Armenian *malt'em* “to pray”; Old Saxon *meldon* “to tell”, Lithuanian *maldà* “prayer”, *meldžiù* “to pray” and Old Church Slavonic *moliti* ‘to ask, to pray’ and suggests that the PIE root of this verb was *\*móld<sup>h</sup>-ei/\*mld<sup>h</sup>-énti*. Kloekhorst also comments on the inflection of the verb and notes that if the noun *malteššar*, attested only twice in the New Hittite text (Meskene 74/57), is a real form it shows an e-grade stem *\*meld<sup>h</sup>-* which stands in contrast to the o-grade *\*móld<sup>h</sup>-ei* in strong forms like *maldi*, and to the zero grade in weak stem forms *maltant-* < *\*mld<sup>h</sup>-énti*.

#### *Attested Grammatical Forms*<sup>26</sup>

As noted by various scholars, the verb *mald-* appears in two constructions: (i) without the particle *-za* and (ii) with the particle *-za* or with the dative singular personal pronoun *-ši* (after the Old Hittite period). In the first construction the verb carries the meaning “to recite, to offer” and occasionally alternates with the verb *memai-* “to say/speak”; in the second construction the verb means “to make a vow, to vow (sth.)” and is often written akkadographically with the forms of *KARĀBU*. When the noun *malteššar* carries the meaning “ritual, offering,” it is sometimes written with the Sumerogram *SISKUR*.

#### A. Well or relatively well preserved contexts

*mald-*: **3.sg.pres.** *mālti* (KUB 30.42 iv 10; KBo 19.132 rev.<sup>?</sup> 12'; KBo 21.80 + KBo 20.44 i 17'), *māldi* (KBo 20.71 + KBo 20.76 + KBo 23.99 i 20; KBo 30.31 + KBo 25.51: 23');

<sup>26</sup> The list of attestations is based on Puhvel HED vol. 6, on CHD L-N and on the lexical card catalogue of the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mainz.

KUB 28.75 iii 24' with *QATAMMA*; KUB 28.77 i 3 with *kišan*; KBo 8.133: 11'; KUB 25.120: 10' with *QATAMMA*; KBo 25.112 + ii 15'), *m[a-a-al-di ...]* (KUB 28.75 ii 24'); *malti* (KUB 41.44 vi 8; KUB 25.36 v 10-11, 17, 23-24, 29 with *ḥatīli*; KBo 11.45 iii 15', 18'-19' with *ḥatīli*; KBo 20.10 i 12, ii 9; KUB 17.28 iii 7; KUB 25.37 iii 8'); *maldi* (KBo 11.30 rev.13'; KUB 25.17 vi 8; IBoT 2.101 v 14'; KUB 48.9 ii 15 with *kiššan*; KUB 56.44: 4' and restored in line 1'; VSNF 12.12 i 8; KUB 34.115 + KBo 30.28 iii 8', 11'; KUB 58.33 iv 21'; KBo 21.84 iv 1; KUB 1.14 ii 14; KUB 28.74 ii 4'; IBoT 1.30 obv. 1; Bo 68/525: 7'), *[ma-a]l-di* (KUB 28.96: 18'), *ma-al-[di]* (KBo 8.117 ii 11'), *[ma-a]l-di* (KUB 60.165: 2'); *malta* (KBo 2.2 ii 40), *maldai* (KBo 24.126 rev. 9', 15'); **1.sg.pret.** *māldaḥḥun* (KBo 3.22: 59), *maldahḥun* (KUB 26.71: 7; KUB 15.17 i 3), *maltaḥḥun* (KUB 56.31 rev. 10'); **3.sg.pret.** *maltaš* (KUB 7.20 i 3; KUB 5.6 i 32), *mal[tiš]* (KBo 9.115 i 2); **2.sg.imp.act.** *maldi* (KUB 15.3 i 18 with *kišan*); **1.sg.pres.iter.** *malzakimi* (KUB 14.4 ii 18'); **1.sg.pret.iter.** *malzaškinun* (KUB 14.10 i 25 and KUB 14.11 i 18'); **nom.-acc.sg.neut.partic.** *maltan* (KBo 15.33 iii 16; KUB 15.11 + KBo 60.99 ii 13); *malduwar*: **nom.sg.** *malduwar* (KUB 5.6 i 31; KUB 25.36 v 20, 24, 32 and restored in v 11); *malteššar*: **nom.-acc.sg.neut.** *malteššar* (KUB 31.51 obv. 6; KUB 27.1 i 11, 26, 31, 33; KBo 22.242 + KBo 52.225b ii 7), *mielteššar* (*Meskene* 74/57: 50); **gen.sg.neut.** *maltešnaš* (KUB 30.68 iii 4, 6; KBo 51.17: 5'; KUB 22.70 obv. 22; KUB 44.12 ii 8'); **abl.sg.** *mieltešnaza* (*Meskene* 74/57: 50); **acc.pl.neut.** *mal[teš]šar* (KUB 28.80 iv 8'); **gen.pl.neut.** *maltešnaš* (KUB 28.80 iv 1'); **dat.pl.neut.** *maltešn<aš>*, *m[altešnaš]* (KUB 8.41 ii 13', 17'), *maltešnaš* (KUB 31.143 ii 17; VBoT 124 + KUB 31.143a ii 17'; KUB 28.80 iv 10'), *malt[ešnaš]* (KUB 31.143 ii 23); *malteš[n]aš* (VBoT 124 + KUB 31.143a ii 12'); **abl.pl.neut.** *maltešnaz* (KUB 5.24 ii 2); *mammalt*:- **3.pl.pres.mid.iter.** *mammalzikanta* (KUB 30.68 iii 9); *malteš(ša)nala*:- **acc.sg.c.** *malteššalan* (KUB 7.8 iii 13'), *malteššalan* (KUB 7.5 i 22).

*KARĀBU*: **1.sg.pret.** *AKRUB* (KBo 15.33 iii 21); **3.sg. pret.** *IKRUB* (KBo 16.98 i 4; KBo 44.210 obv. 19'; KUB 15.3 i 5 with *kišan*; KUB 15.11 + KBo 60.99 ii 5; KUB 15.1 i 4 with *kiššan*, ii 2 with *kišan*, ii 10, 12, 41, iii 12', 17', 22' with *kišan*, restored in iii 28'; KUB 15.23 rev. 18'; KUB 56.31 rev. 8', 14' with *kišan*; KUB 10.11 + i 9'); *IKRIBU*: **nom.sg.** *IKRIBU* (KBo 2.2 iii 33; *Meskene* 74/57: 37, 45); **acc.sg.** *IKRIBU* (KBo 44.210 obv.8'; 16'); **nom.pl.** *IKRIBI*<sup>H1A</sup> (KBo 2.2 iii 45, iv 7; KUB 31.52 iv 3 and KUB 31.54 iv 15); **acc.pl.** *IKRIBI*<sup>H1A</sup> (KUB 14.10 i 24; KUB 22.38 i 2); **dat.pl.** *A-NA IKRIBI*<sup>H1A</sup> (KBo 2.2 iii 11, 15, 31), *A-NA IKRIBI*<sup>H1A</sup>-*pat* (KUB 6.22 iii 13).

## B. Fragmentary context

*mald-: 1.sg.pres.* [ ... ] *ma-al-ta-aḥ-ḥi-ia-za-kán* x [ ... ] (KBo 57.22: 6), *ma-al-da-aḥ-ḥi* (Bo 3308 iii 7); *3.sg.pres.* *ma-al-ti* (Bo 7076: 5'), *ma-al-di* (Bo 4255 iii), *ma-al-di* (Bo 5193: 8'), [ ... ] x *ga-an-ga-aḥ-ḥi ḥa-[at-te]<sup>-r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-li kiš-an ma-al-d[i ...]* (KUB 40.85 + KUB 28.88 i 3); [ ... <sup>LÚ</sup>ALA]M.ZU<sub>9</sub> *ma-al-di* ... (KBo 24.113: 6); [ ... ]-en/EN <sup>LÚ</sup>ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> *ma-al-di* (Bo 3774 obv. 4'); *ki-iš-an-na ma-al-di* ... (Bo 3995 ii 13'); *nu QA-TAM-MA ma-al-di* [ ... ] (Bo 6167 iii 12'); [ ... ] x-zi *ku-<sup>-r</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-za-an ma-al-di* [ ... ] (KBo 11.8: 10'); <sup>LÚ</sup>ALAM.Z[U<sub>9</sub> GE]ŠTIN *ma-a-al-di ú-*[ ... ] (KBo 30.34 + KBo 40.80 ii 9); [ ... ] *ma-al-ti ḥa-at-ti-i-li* (KUB 25.36 i 17); [ ... ] *ma-al-ti* (KUB 58.1 iii 10'); [ x x x x ] x x *ma-al-di* [ ... ] (KBo 11.48 obv. 10'); [ ... ] x *ma-a-al-ti* [ ... ] (KBo 34.15 obv. 4'); [ ... ] x-ri LUGAL *še-e-e[r e-e]zi* <sup>LÚ</sup>ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> *ma-al-<sup>-r</sup>di<sup>1</sup>* [ ... ] (KBo 20.19 + KBo 20.25: 9'); [ ... *ma-*]<sup>-r</sup>*al-di* (KBo 43.129: 6'); *ma-al-di ša-aš-*[ ... ] (KBo 53.174: 4'); [ ... ] *ma-al-di* (IBoT 2.78 i 4'); [ ... ] *ma-al-di* (IBoT 4.94 obv. 9'); [ ... ] *ma-a-al-di* (KBo 30.42: 6'); [*nu ki*]š-an *ma-al-di* erasure [ ... ] (KUB 51.54 rev.<sup>?</sup> 13); [x x x x x (x)] x-*aḥ/eḥ/iḥ/uḥ-ḥi ta-a ma-al-di* erasure [ ... ] (KUB 28.89 i 11'); [ ... ] *tar-ku<sup>?</sup>-a-iz-zi nu ḥa-at-te-li m[a-al-di ...]* (KUB 28.78 iv 2'); [ ... ] *ke-e 2-ŠU ma-a-al-di*, [ ... ] *a-ru-ni ḥu-e-ek-zi* <sup>LÚ</sup>BE-LÍ-ša *ma-a-al-di* (KBo 25.121 i: 9', 10'); <sup>LÚ</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub>-ša *ki-iš-ša-an ma-a-[al-di ...]*; <sup>LÚ</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub>-ša *ma-a-al-di* x x [ ... ]; (KUB 48.12: 7', 13'); [ ... *m*]a-a-al-di (KBo 8.133 : 7'); [ ... ] *ma-a-al-ti ḥa-at-ti-l[i ...]* (KBo 37.92 : 3'); [ ... *ma-a*]al-ti *te-w[a<sub>a</sub>-...]* (KBo 17.50 + iii 2'); *ma-al-di ḥa-at-te-li* [ ... ] (KUB 28.95 ii<sup>?</sup> 2); *ki-iš-ša-an ma-al-ti* [ ... ], [ ... ] x *ma-al-ti* [ ... ] (KBo 19.153: 4' with recitation in Palaic?, 15'); [ ... ] x *ma-al-di du-ud-du-mi-li* [ ... ] (KUB 48.13 obv. 11), [LÚ.ME]Š<sup>É</sup> *ḥé-eš-ta-a-ma* [ ? ] / [ḥa]-at-te-li *ma-al-di* (Bo 4929 v 5'), [<sup>d</sup>Al-ḥi-š]u-wa *ta ma-al<sup>1</sup>(an)-di ši-pa-an-da-a[n-zi ...]* (VBoT 89 i 16'), [ ... <sup>d</sup>Al-ḥi]i-šu-wa *ta ma-al-di ši-pa-an-da-[an-zi ...]* (KBo 53.125:14'); -za-kán [še-e]r *ma-al-da-i* (KBo 24.126 rev.3'); *ma-al-te* <sup>d</sup>UTU-an [ ... ] (IBoT 2.44 : 5); [ ... ] x-a *ma-al-di* (KUB 44.25 ii 9'); *3.sg.pret.* [ ... A-NA] <sup>r<sup>d</sup></sup>UTU <sup>r<sup>URU</sup></sup>TÚL-na *ma-a[l-ta-aš]*, [ ... SA]G.DU KÙ.GI *ma-al-ta-aš*, [ ... ] 1 ALAM.KÙ.BABBAR 1 MA.NA *ma-al-ta-aš na-[a-wí]*, [ ... ]-x-an-ni <sup>URU</sup>ZA-AN-ZA-RA *ma-al-ta-aš* (KBo 34.145: 3', 5', 6', 8'); *1.sg.pres.iter.* [ ... ] <sup>r<sup>a</sup></sup>*a<sup>1</sup>-pé-e-da-ni ma-al-za-ki-mi* (KUB 56.28 rev. 7'); *1.sg.pret.iter.* [ ... ] <sup>r<sup>A</sup></sup>*A<sup>1</sup>-NA DINGIR-LIM ma-al-za-ki-nu-un* (KBo 23.111 : 13'); *part.sg.neut.* *ma-al-ta-an ḥar-z[i? ...]* (KUB 60.60: right column 19'); *inf.* [*ma-a-an-ma*]-an-na-aš-mu *ku-it še-er ma-al-tu-u-an-zi* <sup>r<sup>SIxSÁ</sup></sup>*at<sup>1</sup>* (KUB 15.28 rev. 8'); *malduwar: nom.sg.* [ ... *ma-a*]l-du-wa-ar (KUB 25.36 i 12'), GIM-an-ma *ma-al-ḏu-u-w[a-ar ...]* (KBo 13.247 obv. 14'); *malteššar: nom.-acc.sg./pl.neut.* [ ... *m*]a-al-te-eš<sub>17</sub>-šar *da-an-zi*, [ ... *ma-a*]l-te-eš<sub>17</sub>-šar (KUB 9.19: 4', 12');

*ma-al-de-<sup>r</sup>šar<sup>1</sup>* [ ... ] (KBo 46.169 ii 4’); *ma-al-te-eš-šar ḫar-zi* [ ... ] (IBoT 4.131: 13’); [ ... ] *x-aš-ta ma-al-te-eš-š[ar ...]* (KUB 54.97: 8’); **gen.sg.neut.(?)** [ ...]-*ia-aš ma-al-te-eš-na-aš nu ma-a-an* DINGIR.MEŠ (KBo 20.75 rev. 8); **dat.-loc.pl.neut.** [ ...]*a-a[l-t]e-eš-na-aš ḫa-an-[da-a-an]* (KBo 25.117 obv.<sup>2</sup>3’); [ ... *ma-al-t]e-eš-na-aš ḫa-an-da-a-an*, [ ... *ma-al-te-e]š-na-aš ḫa-an-da-an pa-a-i-u-e-ni-wa-ma* (KUB 60.20 obv. 5); [ ... *ma]-al-te-eš-na-aš ḫa-an-da-a-an*, [ ... *pa]-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-ma-aš-ta<sup>d</sup>IM-aš ma-al-te-eš-na-aš ḫa-a[n-da-a-an]*, [ ... *ma]-al-te-eš-na!* *ḫa-an-da-a-an pa-i-wa-ni-m[a]*, [ ... ]-*x ma-al-te-eš-na-aš ḫa-an-da-a-an* (KUB 31.143 ii 10, 27, 31, 35); [ ... *ma]-<sup>r</sup>al-te-eš-na-aš ḫa<sup>1</sup>-an-da-a-an*, [ ... ]-*pát ma-al-t[e-eš-na-aš ḫa-an-da-a-an ... ]*, [ ... ] *<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-al-te-eš-na-aš ḫa-an-da-a-an* (VBoT 124 + KUB 31.143a ii 8’, iii 10’, 19’); *mammalt-*: *ma-am-ma-al-[ ... ]* (KBo 8.45: 7’); *maltalli-* **nom.sg.c.** [ ... ] *ma-a-an-wa ma-al-ta-al-liš UKÛ-aš*, [ ... ]-*<sup>r</sup>wa<sup>2</sup>-za<sup>1</sup>-at ma-al-ta-al-[liš] UKÛ-aš*, [ ... *m]a-a[l]-ta-al-liš UKÛ-aš pa-it* (KBo 8.68 obv.<sup>2</sup> 6’, 8’, 9’); **acc.sg.c.** [ ...]-*x-an i-ia-zi ma-al-ta-al-li-in UKÛ-an* (KBo 8.68 obv.<sup>2</sup> 12’); **dat.-loc.** [ ... ] *x DUḫ.LÀL DÛ-an-zi na-at ma-al-ta-al-li / [UKÛ-šī ... ] x da-a-i nu<sup>GIŠ</sup>BANŠUR AD.KID ma-al-ta-al-li / [UKÛ-šī ... ]*, [ ... *ma-al-t]a-li-wa UKÛ-šī x x x x x NINDA ḫar-ši-in* (KBo 8.68 obv.<sup>2</sup> 13’-15’, 18’).

**KARĀBU: 1.sg.pret.** [ ... ] *x AK-RU-UB ma-a-an-wa<sup>d</sup>UTU-š[ī ... ]* (KUB 48.123 obv. 5’); **3.sg.pret.** [ ... ]-*al-la-an-ni IK-RU-UB ma-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[an-x (x)]* (KUB 15.4: 1); *<sup>r</sup>IK<sup>1</sup>-RU-UB ma-a-an* DINGIR-LIM EN-IA *<sup>d</sup>U[TU-šī ... ]* (KUB 15.8 obv.<sup>2</sup> 5’); [ ... *IK]-<sup>r</sup>RU<sup>1</sup>-UB*, [ ... *IK-R]U-UB*, [ ... ] *<sup>r</sup>IK<sup>1</sup>-RU-U[B]* (KUB 15.13: 2’, 4’ 7’); [ ... ] *IK-RU-UB ma-a-an-x[ ... ]* (KUB 15.15 rev.<sup>2</sup> 5’); [ ... ] *kiš-an IK-RU-UB ku-it-m[a-an-wa(?)]*, [ ... ] *[K-RU]-UB ma-a-an-wa-mu* IGI ZAG (KUB 15.18 obv.<sup>2</sup> 8’, rev.<sup>2</sup> ...); [A-NA *<sup>d</sup>WA]-AN-ZA kiš-an IK-RU-UB ma-a-an-wa-mu x [ ... ]* (KUB 15.20 ii 3’); [ ... *IK]-<sup>r</sup>RU-UB ma-a-an<sup>1</sup>-[ ... ]*, [ ... *kiš-a]n IK-RU-UB<sup>d</sup>Wa-an-za-aš GAŠAN-IA ka-a-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup> ti-ia-u-wa-aš [ ... ]* (KUB 15.22:1’, 4’); A-NA *<sup>d</sup>U<sup>r</sup>URU ḪAT<sup>1</sup>-[TI k]iš-an IK-RU-UB ma-<sup>r</sup>a-an<sup>1</sup> [ ... ]* (KUB 15.24 obv. 4); [ ... A-NA *<sup>d</sup>]URU ḪAT-TI kiš-an IK-RU-UB* (KUB 15.25 iii 1); [ ... ] *<sup>KUŠ</sup>kur-ša-aš kiš-an IK-RU-UB*, [ ...*ki]š-an IK-RU-UB* (KUB 15.27 ii<sup>2</sup> 6’, iii<sup>2</sup> 2’); [ ... A-NA *<sup>d</sup>IŠTAR<sup>URU</sup>ŠA-MU-ḪA<sup>1</sup>(za) IK-RU-UB*, [ ... A-NA *<sup>d</sup>]IŠTAR<sup>URU</sup>ŠA-MU-ḪA<sup>1</sup> kiš<sup>1</sup>-an IK-RU-UB*, [ ... A-N]A *<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup>TÚL-na an-na-al-li IK-RU-UB* (KUB 15.28 obv. 6’, 11’, rev. 7’); [ ... A-NA *<sup>d</sup>Ḫé]-pát<sup>URU</sup>KUM-MA-AN-NI IK-RU-UB* (KUB 15.29: 9’); [ ... ] *[K-RU-UB ma-a-an [ ... ]* (KUB 31.69 rev.<sup>2</sup> 14’); [MUNUS.LUGAL-za-kán] A-NA *<sup>d</sup>rIŠTAR<sup>1</sup>URU*La-wa-za-an-ti-ia IK-RU-UB, [MUNUS.LUGAL-za-kán A-NA *<sup>d</sup>IŠTAR<sup>URU</sup>La-wa]-za- an-ti-ia IK-RU-UB*, [MUNUS.LUGAL-za-kán A-NA *<sup>d</sup>IŠTAR<sup>URU</sup>La-wa-z]a-an-ti-ia kiš-an IK-RU-UB ma-a-*

*an-kán* (KUB 48.123 obv. 9', 23', rev. 16); [ ... A-NA <sup>d</sup>L]E-EL-WA-NI *kiš-an* I[K-RU-UB ... ] (KUB 56.12: 3'); [ ... ] 'A<sup>1</sup>-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI <INA> <sup>URUR<sup>d</sup></sup>[U-A]Š-ŠA *IK-RU-UB*, [MUNUS.LUGAL-*za-kán* AN]-A 'GIG' IGI.ḪI.A <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI *še-er IK-RU-UB*, [MUNUS.LUGAL-*za-kán kiš-an*] *IK-RU-UB ma-a-an-kán* A-NA IGI <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI, [ ... A-NA <sup>d</sup>PÍ-ḪA-ŠA]-'AŠ<sup>1</sup>-ŠI <sup>URUR<sup>d</sup></sup>U-AŠ-ŠA 'IK<sup>1</sup>-[RU-UB ... ] (KUB 56.13 obv. 8', 11', 15', rev. 3'); '*kiš<sup>1</sup>-an IK-RU-<sup>r</sup>UB<sup>1</sup>* [ ... ] (KUB 56.18 obv. 9'); [ ... I]K-RU-UB *ma-a-an-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> ḫa-*[ ... ] (KUB 56.26: 5'); [...-n]u-um-ma-aš *kiš-an IK-RU-<sup>r</sup>UB<sup>1</sup>* (KUB 56.28 rev. 22'); [ ... ]x-nu-mar-ra *IK-R[U-UB ... ]* (KBo 3.51: 4'); [<sup>d</sup>UTU]-ŠI-*za-kán* A-NA <sup>HUR.rSAG<sup>1</sup></sup>TA-PA-ŠU-NU-WA '*kiš-an IK-<sup>r</sup>RU<sup>1</sup>-[UB]* (KBo 13.72 rev.<sup>?</sup> 8'); [ ... *kiš-an*] *IK-RU-UB ma-a-an-wa* DI[NGIR-LUM ... ] (KBo 27.25: 8'); [ ... A-N]A <sup>d</sup>ŠA-Ú-MA-TA-RI I[K-RU-UB ... ] (KBo 27.60: 3'); [ ... ] 'A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI *a-píd-da* *še-er 'kiš-an IK-RU-U<sup>r</sup>[B]* (KBo 34.145: 11'); [ ... ] *IK-RU-UB ma-[a-an-...]* (KBo 41.59: 7'); [ ... I]K-RU-UB *ma-a-an-wa* GAL ME-ŠE-DI, [ ... ] :*pár-zi-ša IK-RU-UB na-a-wi*, [ ... -d]a *še-er kiš-an IK-RU-UB* (KBo 41.60 + i 4', 8', 9'); [ ... ] 'IK<sup>1</sup>-RU-<sup>r</sup>UB *ma-a-an<sup>1</sup>-[...]* (KBo 53.112: 1'); [ ... *kiš-an IK-RU-UB* [ ... ] (KBo 57.139: 5'); [ ... ] *IK-RU-UB ma-a-an-mu-za-kán* <sup>d</sup>IŠT[AR(?) ... ] (VSNF 12.103: 7'); *IR-KU-UB* (Bo 5777 rev. 2); [ ... *kiš-an IK-]RU-UB ma-a-an* (Bo 6102: 19'); *IR-KU-U[B ... ]* (Bo 7048: 4'); [ ... E]ME-NI *še-er IK-RU-U[B ... ]* (Bo 69/522: 5'); 2 MA.NA 1 GU<sub>4</sub> 8 UDU.VI.A *IK-RU-U[B ... ]* (366/v: 2'); [...I]K-RU-<sup>r</sup>UB<sup>1</sup>, [...*kiš-a*]n *IK-RU-<sup>r</sup>UB<sup>1</sup>* (367/u: 1', 2'); [ ... *IK-R]U-UB ma-a-na-aš* (410/u: 2'); [ ... ŠÀ] 'Ù-TI' *kiš-an IK-RU-UB* (941/v: 4'); [ ... I]K-RU-UB 1 'ZI' KÙ.BABBAR 2 MA.[NA ... ] (1111/v: 12'); [...I]K-RU-UB [ ... ] (1147/z: 11'); [...I]K-RU-UB (1159/z: 9'); [ ... ] :*ku-ru-ta-an-za IK-RU-U[B ... ]* (1309/u + 543/u: 9'); [ ... ] *kiš-an IK-RU-UB* (HT 33: 2'); *kiš-an IK-RU-UB* [ ... ] (KBo 34.143: 4'); *kiš-an IK-RU-UB ma-a-an-w[a ... ]* (183/u rev.<sup>?</sup> 12'); [ ... *kiš-a*]n *IK-[RU-U]B ma-a-an-wa-mu* [ ... ] (KUB 48.126 i 20'); IKRIBU: [... ] *nu-u-ni-uš IK-RI-BI<sup>HIA</sup> A-N[A ... ]* (KUB 6.13: 15'); [ ... ] x *IK-RI-BI<sup>HIA</sup>* (KUB 56.13 obv. 16'); **acc.pl.** *nu ku-i-e-eš IK-RI-BI<sup>HIA</sup> pé-eš-t[a ... ]* (KUB 22.65 iii 3', 13'); [ ... ] 'A<sup>1</sup>-NA DINGIR-LIM *IK-RI-<sup>r</sup>BI<sup>HIA</sup> me-ma-an ḫar-z[i ... ]* (KUB 15.20 obv. 9'); **dat.pl.** [ ... *IK-R]I-BI<sup>HIA</sup> ṣe<sup>1</sup>-er SIxSÁ-at k[a-ru-ú ... ]* (KUB 15.20 obv.<sup>?</sup> 11').

### Discussion

The verb *mald-* and the nouns *malduwar*, *malteššar/melteššer* have in Hittite context exclusively religious connotations and carry the meanings “to recite; to pray; to vow; to

make an offering (in fulfilment of a vow)” and “recitation; prayer; vow; (votive) offering; ritual.”<sup>27</sup>

The Old and Middle Hittite compositions that employ the verb *mald-* and the noun *malteššar* include “shelf-lists” as well as festival and ritual texts.

“Shelf-lists” record tablets kept in the state archives of Ḫattuša. Each entry in these catalogues includes the author and/or title/incipit of the composition, how many tablets it comprised, the tablet’s form (either an ordinary tablet DUB, or a special tablets called IM.GÍD.DA or “long tablet”), and whether or not all known tablets were found. Two noteworthy examples of shelf-lists include KUB 30.42+ and KUB 30.68++. KUB 30.42+ (II.A.1) is an Old Hittite catalogue of the DUBxKAM type that registers, among others, a tablet of a festival celebrated for the goddess Inara. During this festival, the LÚNAR “singer” libates to the goddess, breaks the offering bread and “recites” (*mald-*) in Hattic. KUB 30.68++ (II.A.2), a catalogue of the DUB *UMMA/mān* type compiled in the Middle Hittite period, mentions a tablet that contains the *malteššar* of a certain Tatta, the man of the Stormgod, and of Waḫutaili. Both men perform their *malteššars* while the prince worships the gods of Zalpuwa. Their recitations are also referred to by the verb *mammalt-* “to recite (chants)”, a reduplicated form of the stem *mald-*. The words that would be introduced by the verb *mald-* or by the noun *malteššar* are not given in the above texts. Consequently, the meaning of these terms in the shelf-lists remains ambiguous and they are best understood as “to recite” and “recitation.”

The vast majority of the Old and Middle Hittite festival and ritual texts describe religious rites performed by either the king or the prince that usually include libating to deities and breaking offering breads. Although the king or the prince participated in the festivals, the oral rites, denoted by the verb *mald-*, were nearly always performed by Hittite priests. As in the shelf-list, also in most ritual and festival texts the actual words denoted by the verb *mald-* are not cited (KBo 21.80 + KBo 20.44 = II.A.5; IBoT 2.101 = II.A.6.(3); KUB 34.115 + KBo 30.28 = II.A.11; KBo 20.10 = II.A.12; KUB 25.36 = II.A.9.(1); KBo 11.45 = II.A.9.(2); KBo 30.31 + KBo 25.51 = II.A.8), therefore the best rendering of *mald-* in those contexts is the general “to recite.”

A number of Old Hittite texts preserved in the New Hittite script, indicate that king was not always involved in the part of the festival in which the recitations were spoken. The crucial examples include various manuscripts of the text of the “Haste

<sup>27</sup> After nearly a century of research, a consensus has been reached that the verb *mald-* and the nouns *malduwar*, *malteššar/melteššer* are Hittite realisations of the PIE root *\*mVld<sup>h</sup>-*. It has been proposed that while the noun *melteššer* reflects the *e*-grade (*\*meld<sup>h</sup>-*), the verb *mald-* shows the *o*-grade or zero grade (*\*móld<sup>h</sup>-/ mld<sup>h</sup>-*) of this root (Kloekhorst 2008, Puhvel 2004).

festival,” namely KBo 11.30 (II.A.6.(1) and KUB 41.44 (II.A.6.(2)) as well as KUB 25.17 (II.A.6.(4)). In lines rev. 11’-14’ of KBo 11.30 and lines vi 6-10 of KUB 41.44 a *huppar*-vessel of wine is given to the performer (<sup>LÚ</sup>ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub>) who then recites what seems to be a “wine-formula” or wine blessing, as is suggested by the Hittite wording *ta GEŠTIN mali* “he recites wine/about wine.” In lines vi 4-8 of KUB 25.17 the chief of the bodyguards seems to announce that the performers (<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub>) will receive a *huppar*-vessel of wine, which is then given to them. Then one of the performers is said to recite. Neither text mentions the presence of the king and neither text includes the words of recitations.

Several texts include the words denoted by the verb *mald-*. In one Old Hittite festival text the verb *mald-* introduces words, which can be best regarded as prayer-request (KUB 41.23 = II.A.4. This text is discussed in section 3.2.2. of chapter three). In a Middle Hittite ritual (KUB 17.28 = II.A.16), the verb introduces request addressed to the table that was earlier placed in front of the Sungod; the ritual client asks the table to intercede on his behalf. While in KUB 41.23 the verb *mald-* could be rendered by either “to recite” or “to pray”, in KUB 17.28 the verb is best translated as “to recite.”

In the Old Hittite texts grouped under CTH 733 (II.A.17.1-6) the verb *mald-* and the noun *malteššar* introduce invocations of Hattic deities. The deities are invoked by two sets of names and epithets, one used ‘among humans’ and the other ‘among gods.’ No requests seem to accompany the invocations. These invocations are spoken at various cultic centers by the GUDU-priest and by the prince (KUB 28.75 = II.A.17.1, KUB 28.77 = II.A.17.2.(1)), only by the prince (KUB 25.120 = II.A.17.2.(3)), by the GUDU-priest and the king (KBo 25.112 = II.A.17.6) or only by the <sup>LÚ</sup>NAR “singer” (KUB 8.41 = II.A.17.3, KUB 31.143+ = II.A.17.4, VBoT 124 + KUB 31.143a = II.A.17.5). In KUB 8.41, KUB 31.143 and VBoT 124+ the noun *malteššar* has been rendered as “prayer” by Laroche (1947: 188) and as a “ritual” by Neu (1983: 114). However, because in VBoT 124+ the noun *malteššar* is represented by the Akkadogram *AWAT* “word”, Neu’s translation of *malteššar* as “ritual” is very unlikely in this context.

The verb *mald-* continues to be used in the meaning “to recite” in the New Hittite period. As in Old and Middle Hittite texts, also in the New Hittite rituals and festivals the oral rites denoted by the verb *mald-* are spoken almost exclusively by the members of the Hittite priesthood. As in most Old and Middle Hittite texts, the words that would follow the verb *mald-* are either missing from the text or are given in Hattic (VsNF 12.12= II.A.10; Bo 68/525 = II.A.13; KBo 8.117 = II.A.14; KUB 58.33 = II.A.15; KBo 19.132 =

II.A.3.(2); KUB 48.9 (II.A.7). Consequently both terms are understood in these texts as “recite” and “recitation.”

A number of texts that have been assigned to CTH 744 (II.A.19.1-3) pertain to festival(s) that include some cultic recitations in Hattic. Only three texts of this group that contain the verb *mald-* are relatively well preserved, namely KBo 21.84 (II.A.19.1), KUB 1.14 with its duplicate KUB 28.96 (II.A.19.2) and KUB 28.74 (II.A.19.3). In KBo 21.84 a GUDU-priest recites (*mald-*) in Hattic; in KUB 1.14, *zilipuriyatalla*-men strike themselves while their overseer recites (*mald-*) in Hattic, and in KUB 28.74 someone libates a *tawal*-drink, a *walḫi*-drink, beer and wine and recites in Hattic. All three texts give the wording of the Hattic recitations.

KUB 28.80 (II.A.18) records a festival celebrated at Nerik. The recitations included in the text (but not introduced by the verb *mald-*) are in Hattic. The colophon, in which the noun *malteššar* appears three times, mentions the fact that during the year in which a war disrupts the regular celebration of the festival in Nerik, the celebrations are carried out in the city of Ḫakmiš. For those celebrations a new tablet of recitations is made. The nature of these recitations remains unknown.

In one instance the verb *mald-* introduces words that refer to actions performed during the celebration of a festival. KUB 25.37 + KUB 35.132 (II.A.20) is a ritual performed by the “men of Lallupiya” on behalf of the king and the queen that contains songs sung in Luwian. In lines iii 8’-13’ someone announces (*mald-*) who should drink the ritual wine. In that context the only plausible translation of the verb *mald-* is “to recite.”

Only in one New Hittite ritual text the verb *mald-* introduces words of prayer-request (IBoT 1.30 = II.A.21. For the discussion of this text see section 3.2.2. in chapter three) and can be translated as either “to recite” or “to pray.”

While in catalogues, festival and ritual texts the verb *mald-* can be regarded as *verbum dicendi* employed mostly when a prayer, invocation or incantation is spoken before a deity and is occasionally replaced by the verb *memai-* “to speak”, in some Old, Middle and New Hittite texts the same verb can be interpreted as a verb of motion. In these contexts the verb and the noun *malteššar* carry the meaning “to offer” and “offering; ritual (performed in fulfillment of a vow).”

In lines 6-7 of Anitta proclamation (KBo 3.22 = II.C.3) the king declares that he built temples for Ḫalmaššuit and for the Stormgod in which he deposited spoils that he brought from the campaigns. Then he says *nu maldahḫun nu ḫūwartahḫun*. The verb

*mald-* has been rendered here by most scholars<sup>28</sup> as “to vow/ to make a vow.” This translation would be justified only if objects or worship were promised in exchange for a successful hunt. This, however, is not indicated in the text. According to the text, the king has come back from a successful campaign. To thank the gods for his military victory, he built temples and made offering(s) to the gods probably in fulfilment of a vow. This offering of gifts is expressed here with the verb *mald-*.

The verb *mald-* carries a similar meaning in KUB 7.20 (II.C.2), a Middle Hittite ritual of Palliya, the king of Kizzuwatna. The line of arguments presented by the authors of the *CHD* (L-N: 134) with regard to the meaning of this verb in this context is very convincing and therefore it is summarized here. Güterbock and Hoffner note that what follows *mald-* is a purification ritual, therefore *mald-* cannot mean here “to vow”, as suggested by Laroche 1964-65: 11. Since the text is a purification ritual that probably includes offerings, and since, according to the colophon, the king re-erected the statue of the god it is conceivable that the ritual was meant to fulfill a vow to replace the previous statue. The authors of the dictionary give a tentative translation of *mald-* as “provide (a deity) with offerings or with a ritual in fulfillment of a vow.”

In KBo 51.17 (II.C.1.(2)), a New Hittite copy of the prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal to the Sungoddess of Arinna, the genitive plural *maltešnaš* is used instead of the logogram SISKUR.ḪI.A that appears in the Middle Hittite manuscript of this prayer, KUB 17.21 = II.C.1.(1) (line 19’). The meaning of the noun *malteššar* has to be read here in the context of the logogram SISKUR, which in Hittite texts is used for both “offering” and “ritual”. The definition of SISKUR offered by Kammenhuber in HW<sup>2</sup>: 85 as “magische Ritual” is too narrow as this logogram also represents the noun *mukeššar*. A solution to this problem has been suggested by the authors of the *CHD* (L-N: 137), who propose that *mukeššar* could be a ritual (including words and offerings) aimed at invoking the gods, while *malteššar* was a ritual performed in fulfillment of a vow. The translation of *malteššar*/SISKUR in KBo 51.17 and KUB 17.21 as “ritual (performed in fulfillment of a vow)” is very plausible, particularly because it appears in the part of the text that deals with temples, precious objects and statues, rituals and festivals.

Another text that employs the noun *malteššar* in the sense “offering” is KUB 27.1 (II.C.6). In lines i 7-11 and i 20-34 Ḫattušili III describes how his father, Muršili II, celebrated a festival for his tutelary deity on military campaigns, the mighty Ištar of the Field and how he, Ḫattušili, celebrates the same festival for his goddess, Ištar of the Field

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<sup>28</sup>

II.C.1 note 398.

of Samuḫa. Muršili had acted as follows: for the campaigns, which he undertook in the years after the goddess was last venerated, the oracular inquiries were made about *ambašši*, *keldi* offerings and about *malteššar*. Then the *ambašši* and *keldi* were given to the goddess and raw meat was placed for her. Ḫattušili then states that in the year in which he himself did not go on campaigns he did not give *ambašši*, *keldi* or *malteššar*. However, in the year, in which he goes on campaign, he makes *ambašši*, *keldi* offering and *malteššar* to Ištār of the Field of Samuḫa as was determined by the oracle. For the mighty Ištār of the Field of Muršili only *ambašši* and *keldi* offering are given but no *malteššar*. In the year when the king does not go on a military expedition he does not give any offerings. The above description of a festival indicates that *malteššar* is given only in the year in which the king goes on a campaign and is given only to the tutelary goddess who is expected to support the king during his campaign. It seems that the *malteššar* of Muršili includes meat-offerings and is given to the goddess to thank her for the former campaigns. Because nothing in the text suggests that Ḫattušili gives his *malteššar* after the military campaign, this noun cannot mean here an “offering of thanks” (suggestion of de Roos 2007: 41) or “ritual/offering in fulfilment of a vow,” which is another meaning proposed for that noun. On the contrary, it seems that Ḫattušili offers *malteššar* before he goes on campaign and thus *malteššar* denotes perhaps a votive offering/ritual given to the goddess to secure the military success.

In KUB 5.24 + (II.C.4), a New Hittite oracle text, the noun *malteššar* is used in the oracle question. The diviner is asking the Sungoddess Kauri, whether the queen should give compensation together with proprietary gift and with *malteššar*. The fact that the noun *malteššar* is employed here with the verb *pāi*- “to give” suggests that it denotes an offering or a ritual of some kind, perhaps a ritual performed in fulfillment of a vow.

In one text, KBo 22.242 + KBo 52.225b (II.D.1), a New Hittite fragmentary text that contains cultic itinerary of the king, the noun *malteššar* seems to carry the more general meaning “offering.” Nothing in the text indicates that this offering was made in fulfillment of a vow. Lines ii 5-8 describe the gift of the elders of Anniyatta which consists of a goat, beer and bread. It is then said that the *malteššar* of the king is the same. Since the gift of the elders included offerings, then what was provided by the king on his visit was probably also an offering of some kind.

In texts dated to the Middle Hittite and New Hittite periods, the verb *mald*- and its derivatives are also attested in the meanings “to vow” and a “vow”. In that sense the verb is often written akkadographically with forms of *KARĀBU*; likewise, Akkadian *IKRIBU* is used as an Akkadogram for the noun *malteššar*. The main texts that contain vows or

that refer to vows include oracles (KBo 24.126 = II.B.7.II, KUB 22.70 = II.B.4, KUB 5.6 + KUB 18.54 + II.B.5, KBo 2.2 = II.B.7.I; KUB 6.22 = II.B.7.III; KBo 16.98+ = II.B.7.IV; KUB 22.38 = II.B.6) votive texts (KUB 15.3 = II.B.9; KUB 15.11+ = II.B.10, KUB 15.17+ = II.B.12.; KUB 15.23 = II.B.11), dreams (KUB 15.1 = II.B.8; KUB 56.31 = II.B.13), rituals (KBo 15.33 = II.B.2), festivals (KUB 44.12 = II.B.14, KUB 10.11+ = II.B.15), and prayers (KUB 14.4 = II.B.1; KUB 14.10 and KUB 14.11 = II.B.3). In all these texts some objects or animals are promised to a deity in order to receive a favour or in order to alleviate misfortunes caused by an angry deity.

In a few texts containing liver, bird and KIN oracles, the Akkadograms *IKRIBU* and *IKRIBI*<sup>HL.A</sup> as well as *-za mald-* are used in the sense “to vow” and “vow” in the questions directed to a deity (KUB 6.22 = II.B.7.III). The questions are twofold; either the deity is asked whether or not a vow should be made (KBo 2.2+ lines ii 39-40 = II.B.7.I) or whether or not a deity is angry because of an unfulfilled vow (KBo 2.2+ lines iii 10-16; Meskene 74.57 = II.B.16).

In KBo 16.98 + KUB 49.49 (II.B.7.IV), rather than being employed in the oracular question the Akkadogram *IKRUB* seems to introduce the actual words of an oracular question in which the queen asks whether or not the king’s military campaign will be successful.

As noted above, the phrase *IKRUB kiššan* “he/she vowed as follows” introduces words of a vow which consist of the formula “if you O deity....., then I will ...” and is often made in or because of a dream. In well preserved votive texts (II.B.8-13), the vow is usually made by the queen. The request that is most often found in these texts concerns the well-being of the king (lines i 2-11 and iii 12’-16’ of KUB 15.1 (II.B.8); lines i 5-16 and i 17-21 of KUB 15.3 (II.B.9); lines rev. 17’-22’ of KUB 15.23 (II.B.11) and lines i 1-9 of KUB 15.17++ (II.B.12). In two instances (lines ii 5-12 and ii 37-41 of KUB 15.1 = II.B.8), the queen promised precious objects to the gods Šarruma of Urikina and Šarruma of Laiuna because she had a dream in which she was “trapped behind the bathhouse” by young men. In KUB 15.11+ (II.B.10) the queen asks the goddess Allani for deliverance of the land from a drought or similar natural disaster (lines ii 5-11) and promises offerings if the goddess grants this wish. In lines ii 12-26 the queen promises a propitiatory gift because of unfulfilled vows. In KUB 56.31 (II.B.13) the queen asks various deities to support the king in a military campaign, while in KUB 15.1 and KUB 15.11+, both the king and the queen make vows for successful military campaigns.

The phrase *IKRUB kiššan* has been considered to be the akkadographic writing for only Hittite *kiššan maltaš*. However, in at least two texts, that is KUB 15.1 (I.B.b.1) and

KUB 15.19 (I.B.b.2), the phrase *-za arkuwar eššešta* is used instead. Enough is preserved of both texts to conclude that what follows that Hittite phrase is a typical vow, which comprises a wish of the supplicant (here: the queen) and the promised objects if the wish is fulfilled.

At least two other texts suggest that there might have been yet another Hittite word that carried the meaning “vow” but was written in Hittite texts as *IKRIBU/IKRIBI*<sup>HLA</sup>. KUB 22.38 (II.B.6) is a New Hittite oracle text that deals with the divine anger. In lines i 1-2 it is stated that *IK-RI-BI*<sup>HLA</sup> have been spoken in front of a deity to appease his/her anger. Güterbock and Hoffner (CHD L-N: 136) as well as Lefèvre-Novaro and Mouton (2008: 20) translate this noun as “vows”; Güterbock and Hoffner further note that this noun agrees with the plural common gender *meqauš*. Laroche (1958: 151) rendered this noun here as “prayers” and argued that this common gender agreement suggests that the Hittite noun, which is written akkadographically *IK-RI-BI*<sup>HLA</sup>, must also be common gender. This in turn, excludes nouns such as *malteššar* and *arkuwar*. That Laroche might be right in his claim is shown by another text, Meskene 74.57 (II.B.16 and II.C.7). This text contains an oracular inquiry into the causes of divine anger. The oracle inquiry determined that the goddess <sup>d</sup>NIN.KUR was angry because of some matters in her temple (i.e. sacrilege, neglected festivals and damaged or missing implements), and because the king was guilty of *IKRIBU merranza*, an “unfulfilled vow”. Another oracular inquiry has been carried out and it was determined that this *IKRIBU merranza* concerned a ritual (SISKUR) not yet performed and a votive offering (*mieltešnaza*) not yet presented. In this text *IKRIBU* clearly covers both SISKUR and *mielteššar* and shows common gender agreement.

In one attestation *IKRIBU* denotes an object in the KIN oracle. In KBo 44.210 (II.F.1), a New Hittite text containing KIN and SU oracles, the meaning of *IKRUB* and *IKRIBI* is ambiguous. It may be understood as either “recitation” or “vow”, the usual rendering of these Akkadograms in Hittite, but the context does not secure either reading.

The word family derived from the stem *mald/t-* also includes *malteššanala-*, an adjective derived from the oblique stem of the noun *malteššar*. This adjective is only attested in KUB 9.27++ (II.E.1), a Middle Hittite text recording a ritual against impotence. In lines i 11'-22' and iii 7'-14', the woman named Paškuwatti, who performs the ritual, summons the goddess to the client's location so that the deity can hear and grant his wish. Paškuwatti promises the goddess, on behalf of the petitioner, the temple, servants and the offerings. Also, if the goddess grants the petitioner's wish, he will make her his personal deity and will make her *malteššanala-*. The only meaning of this

adjective, which appears here in the accusative case, that makes sense in the present context is “the recipient of *malteššar*” (see *CHD* L-N: 135), which can here mean “offering” or a “vow.”

### 2.2.3. *mugai-*, *mugawar*, *mukeššar*

#### *Previous Research*

The verb *mugai-* and its derivatives have been subject of scholarly investigation since Goetze’s *Hattušiliš: der Bericht über seine Thronbesteigung nebst den Paralleltexten*, published in 1925. In his commentary to that text, Goetze translated the verb *mugai-* as “klagen” (1925: 100). Two years later, in his edition of “Madduwatta text”, Goetze maintained the same translation of the verb *mugai-* and rendered the noun *mukeššar* as “Klage-Gebet” (1928: 63 n 1).

In the first edition of his *Glossary*, Sturtevant translated the verb *mugai-* as “to lament, to implore” and the noun *mukeššar* as “complaint, lamentation” (1931: 46). For these translations he referred to Goetze 1928. In the second edition of his *Glossary*, Sturtevant offered the same rendering of the noun *mukeššar* but expanded the semantic range of the verb *mugai-* by the meaning “to cry” (1936: 104). Finally, in *A Hittite Chrestomathy*, published in 1935, Sturtevant argued that the primary meaning of the noun *mukeššar*, employed in ritual of Anniwiyani (VBoT 24), should be “lamentation” since it is derived from the verb *mugai-* “to lament, to implore”. However, in the context of this text, the noun refers to materials used in the ritual that accompany a prayer of lamentation (1935: 126 note to line iv 17 of VBoT 24).

Another important observation on *mugai-* was made by Gurney (1940: 17, 39) who translated this verb in the introduction and in the colophon of the prayer of Mušili II to the Sungoddess of Arinna as well as in a preface to the prayer to Telipinu as “entreat.” He also observed that in a trilingual lexical list (KUB 3.103) the verbal noun *mugawar* is employed to translate the Akkadian noun *tazzimtu* that carries the meaning “complaint” (< *nazāmu* “complain of”). Next, Gurney drew attention to several Hittite texts in which *mugai-* does not mean “to complain”. According to Gurney, in some of these texts, namely KUB 9.27+, KUB 15.32, KUB 15.34, KUB 15.35+, KUB 24.2, the verb refers to a prayer consisting of (i) “evocatio” (calling the deity to the location of the supplicant) and (ii) a request for the blessing for the land of Ḫatti. The prayer is accompanied by various sacrifices and rituals of “drawing” the deity from whatever place he/she is. In two other texts (KBo 3.7 and KUB 23.77) the verb *mugai-* refers to a demand or request of

some kind. Since the verb is used in those texts with regard to an inferior addressing a superior with a request, the verb must mean “entreat, beseech” and the etymological connection of this verb with Greek *μύζω* “moan” and with Latin *mūgio* “roar”, suggested by some scholars, is problematic. In four other texts (VBoT 58, KUB 17.23, KUB 20.1 and KUB 27.16) the verb *mugai-* does not seem to be connected with prayers at all. From all the available data Gurney concluded that the inherited meaning of the verb *mugai-* must be “to entreat” and the noun *mugawar* must denote prayer of the *evocatio* type. Gurney also suggested that the Akkadian *tazzimtu*, in some context, carried the meaning “prayer” rather than “complaint” and that perhaps the Hittite scribe who wrote the lexical list (KUB 3.103) had the former meaning of the Akkadian noun in mind when he translated it into Hittite as *mugawar* (1940: 45-51).

In the main volume of his *Hethitische Wörterbuch*, published between 1952 and 1954, Friedrich translated the verb *mugai-* as “beten, bitten, anflehen” and as “sich erbitten lassen” when the verb appears in the mediopassive voice. For these translations he referred to his own comment on this verb in ZA NF1: 12 as well as to Gurney 1940. Friedrich also gave the Indo-European cognate of the verb *mugai-* as Latin *mugire* ‘brüllen?’ in which he followed Benveniste 1932: 140, and rendered the noun *mukeššar* as “Bitte, Bittegebet” (144-145). In the third supplement to his dictionary, Friedrich, influenced by Laroche’s study on Hittite prayer terminology, added another meaning to this verb and noun, that is, “(durch ein magisches Ritual einen Gott) zu Hilfe rufen” and “magisches Ritual, rituelles Fest” (1966: 450).

Two years before Laroche’s article appeared in print, Otten made some observations on the verb *mugai-* and the noun *mukeššar*. First, he pointed out that, occasionally, the verb *mugai-* alternates with the verb *aniya-* “to celebrate” and the noun *mukeššar* with the logogram SÍSKUR “offering”. He did not, however, venture to offer a translation of either Hittite word. Second, Otten suggested that the phrase <sup>LÚ</sup>*mukišnaš* EN-*aš*, appearing in the ritual for the Stormgod of Kuliwišna (CTH 330), might correspond to the logographic writing EN.SÍSKUR (1962: 77 n.5).

Laroche focused on the verb *mugai-* and the verbal noun *mugawar*. He rejected the meaning “complaint, lamentation” proposed for *mugawar* by some scholars and drew attention to other semantic equations *mugawar* = SISKUR and *mugai-* = *aniya-* “perform (a ritual)” found in the catalogue texts. Laroche observed that both verbs, namely *mugai-* and *aniya-*, refer to magical rites performed by the Old Woman and that they are both verbs of action rather than verbs of speech. According to Laroche while the verb *aniya-* and the noun *aniur* designate rituals of a medical-magical nature performed on humans,

whose function was to cure the illnesses caused by bewitchment, the verb *mugai-* and the noun *mugawar* describe a ritual that focuses on a deity. The function of the *mugawar* ritual was to induce a deity to abandon hostility, retreat and inactivity. After a brief analysis of a few texts which employ either the verb *mugai-* or its derivatives, Laroche concluded that the basic sense of the verb *mugai-* is “to move, to stir, to set in motion” and that it should be derived from the PIE *\*meug<sup>w</sup>*- “to move” (1964-5: 20-24). Laroche’s arguments and translation of the verb *mugai-* were followed by Glocker (1997) and recently by Melchert (2010b: 207-215).

Next two brief notes on the verb *mugai-* were made by Neu and Oettinger. Neu (1968: 118) followed Friedrich (*HW*) and translated the verb *mugai-* as “beten, bitten, anflehen.” Oettinger renders the verb *mugai-* as “klagen” and “wehklagen” and notes that it might be derived from the PIE *\*múg-eh<sub>2</sub>* which has the Greek cognate *μυγμός* “Seufzer” (1979 : 33, 369).

Lebrun (1980) translates the verb *mugai-* as “traiter rituellement, magiquement” and the verbal noun *mugawar* as “invocation”. He argues that, on the one hand, *mugawar* denotes a prayer that usually accompanies the ritual, whose purpose is to draw a deity out of its anger (*mukeššar*). On the other hand, the noun *mugawar* describes “mise en marche” of the deity and it is a type of *aniur* or “action (exercé sur la divinité).” This *mugawar*-ritual often contains the recitation of a myth, whose function is to support and explain the magical rites performed during the ritual. According to Lebrun, the *mugawar* ritual was performed to catch the attention of a deity; create, with scent, offering and words (prayer of *evocation* type), an ambiance that will entice the deity to leave his/her anger and torpor and that will mobilise the deity to act. In this context the verb *mugai-* appears together with the verbs *talliya-* “evoke” and *ḫuttiya-* “to draw.” Lebrun, following Laroche (1964), derives the verb *mugai-* from the PIE root *\*meug<sup>w</sup>*- meaning “remuer” (1980: 414, 416, 431-440).

Güterbock and Hoffner, in the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*, render the verb *mugai-* as “to invoke, evoke, entreat” and the noun *muke/iššar* as “invocation, evocation, invocation/evocation ritual”. They observe that this noun can be an object in the lot oracle and, like the verbal noun *mugawar*, can denote materials used in the invocation/evocation ritual. The noun *mukeššar* denotes a concrete object or thing when it appears with the verbs *pai-* “to give”, *ašnu-* “to provide for (a ritual with offerings), *šarā da-* “to pick up” and *parā peda-* “to carry off.”<sup>29</sup> Güterbock and Hoffner also argue that while in some

<sup>29</sup> The writing of the preverbs *šarā* and *parā* with a macron follows Friedrich *HW*: 158, 183 and CHD P: 109ff ; Š: 210ff.

contexts this noun is a Hittite reading of the logogram SISKUR, in other texts, for instance KUB 15.34, this equation must be excluded (1986: 319-322, 324-326).

Kellerman (1986: 115-123), in her discussion of various aspects of the first manuscript of the Telipinu myth (KUB 17.10), argues that this myth gave the performer of a *mugawar* ritual, who was almost exclusively the female ritual expert called “Old Woman”, the means of pacifying an angry deity. The myth teaches the exorcist how to act if a disaster strikes, which is caused by an angry deity.

In volume six of *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar* Tischler translates the verb *mugai-* as “beten, bitten, anflehen, beschwören” and as “sich bitten lassen” when the verb appears in the middle voice. In these translations, Tischler follows Gurney (1940), Kronasser *EHS* and *CHD* (1986). Tischler also comments on the orthography of the verb *mugai-* and gives an overview of the main theories regarding the etymology of this verb and its derivatives. He also translates the nouns *mugawar* and *mukeššar* as “Anrufung” and “Anrufung, Bitte” and the phrase <sup>LÚ</sup>*mukišnaš* EN-*aš/išḫaš* as “Opfer-/Ritualherr” (1990: 226-228). Tischler maintains the above translations in his *Hethitisches Handwörterbuch* (2001:107).

Gamkrelidze and Ivanov translate the verb *mugai-* as “to pray” and the noun *mugawar* as “prayer”. They derive this Hittite verb from the PIE root *\*muk'* - meaning “to pray, pronounce the words of a prayer”. They also give the Indo-European cognates of this word family as Umbrian *muga-* “whisper; pronounce in low voice” and Latin *conmūgentō* “I call together”, *mūgio* ‘I moo’ (1995: 703).

De Roos argues that *mugawar* denotes both a prayer, which invites a deity to approach and a ritual that accompanies the recitation of this prayer indicating the route to be followed by the deity. De Roos rejects the semantic equation of *mugawar* with words meaning “lament, desire, prayer” and translates this noun as “(the ritual of) evocation,” “invocation” and “entreaty.” According to de Roos, *mugawar* also denotes the purpose of the invocation ritual, namely, the activation of the deity, so that he/she will reverse his/her hostile attitude and will stand behind the supplicant (1995: 2000-2001).

Puhvel *HED* vol. 6 translates the verb *mugai-* as “to implore, to pray (to), to beseech, to entreat, to invoke (deities, rarely mortals); to summon up, to evoke (deities, revenants); to treat (ritually) by prayer”. He renders the noun *mugawar* as “invocation, imploration and evocation” and the noun *mukeššar*, occasionally used as an animated abstraction in KIN oracles and sporadically written with the logogram SISKUR, as “invocation (rite), prayer”. Puhvel also comments on the etymology of the verb *mugai-*. He observes that most scholars derive the verb *mugai-* from the PIE root which also gave

rise to Latin *mūgiō* “bellow, roar” and Greek μύζω “moan”. He also notes that another etymology was suggested by Laroche, namely a non-vocalic root with the meaning “to stir (into action)” cognate with Latin *moveō*. Puhvel supports the first etymology (HED vol. 6: 177-184).

The most recent translations of the verb *mugai-* and the nouns *mukeššar* and *mugawar* can be found in Ünal’s 2007 *A Concise Multilingual Hittite Dictionary* and in Kloekhorst’s *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon* published in 2008.

Ünal translates the verb as “to impetrate, to entreat, to invoke, to evoke, to complain, to pray”, the noun *mukeššar* as “invocation, evocation, evocation ritual; materials used in an invocation/evocation ritual; object of a lot oracle” and the verbal noun *mugawar* as “materials used in an invocation/evocation ritual” (2007: 456-457).

Kloekhorst translates the verb *mugai-* as “to invoke, to evoke, to entreat”, the verbal noun *mugawar* as “materials of an invocation/evocation ritual” and the noun *mukeššar* as “invocation, evocation”; he also observes that this noun can denote materials used in an invocation/evocation ritual as well as an object in a lot oracle. Kloekhorst also notes that the verb *mugai-* belongs to the *ḫatrae*-class and therefore is very likely derived from a noun *\*mūga-*. According to Kloekhorst, this verb is connected to Latin *mūgīre* “to roar” and Greek μγγμός “sigh”, for which a semantic link is provided by the noun <sup>GIŠ</sup>*mūkar-* denoting an implement that makes noise to invoke the gods. This led Kloekhorst to reconstruct a PIE root *\*meug-* “to make noise (in order to invoke the gods)”, which would give rise to the Hittite nouns *mukeššar* and <sup>GIŠ</sup>*mukar-*. From this root a noun was formed *\*moug-o-* meaning “invocation of the gods through noise” from which the verb *\*moug-o-ie/o-* was derived. This verb then yielded the Hittite verb *mugae-* meaning “to invoke” (2008: 585-586).

### *Attestations*<sup>30</sup>

The verb *mugai-* is employed in Hittite texts in two constructions (i) intransitively with the noun in the dative case denoting either the invoked deity or the spirit of a deceased and (ii) transitively with the noun in the accusative case. In a prayer of Muršili II to the Sungoddess of Arinna (here CTH 376.II) *mugai-* is employed in the middle voice as reflexive verb with the particle *-za*.

Occasionally, the finite forms of the verb *mugai-* occur with nouns in the dative-locative case to express to what or to where a deity is invoked: for instance *ḫaršiya pedi*

<sup>30</sup> The list of attestations is based on Puhvel HED vol. 6, on CHD L-N and on the lexical card catalogue of the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mainz.

(KUB 15.32 i 48), *parā ḫandanni* (KUB 15.32 i 50), *kuedani uddani* (KUB 7.8 ii 20), *kuedaš É-naš* (KUB 20.1 ii 33); and with instrumental of means <sup>NINDA</sup> *ḫaršit* <sup>DUG</sup> *išpanduzit* (KUB 24.2 obv. 12).

Although, in Hittite texts, the noun *mukeššar* is written occasionally with the logogram SISKUR, the fact that, in some text, SISKUR appears side by side with *mukeššar* shows that *mukeššar* is only one possible reading of this logogram (e.g. *mukišnaš SISKUR* in KBo 15.34 = CTH 330.1.O).

#### A. Well or Relatively Well Preserved Context

*mugai*:- **1.sg.pres.** *mugami* (KBo 31.5 ii 6, 8, 9; VBoT 58 iv 10'), *mugāmi* (KBo 41.1.b obv. 2; KBo 31.5 + ii 6, 8, 9; KBo 31.26 obv. 3, 5, 6; KUB 30.42 iv 7'; KUB 30.51 + KUB 30.45 i 26'; KUB 36.80 i 4; KUB 30.58 i 24', 25'), [*m*]ugāmi (KBo 41.1.b. rev. 32'); *mug[āmi]* (KUB 7.5 iv 5; KBo 14.68 i 4'), *mūgāmi* (KUB 9.27 i 5), *mūgami* (KUB 7.5 ii 21'; KUB 30.57 i 6'); **2.sg.pres.** *mugāši* (KUB 23.77: 66); **3.sg.pres.** *mugaizzi* (KBo 12.116 rev. 8'; KBo 31.8 + iv 4; KUB 8.71 obv. 15'; KUB 30.51 + KUB 30.45 i 20'; KUB 30.58 i 19'), *mugāizzi* (KBo 31.5 + ii 10; KUB 56.55 iv 9'), [*m*]ugāizzi (KBo 31.26 obv. 7); **3.pl.pres.** *muganzi* (KUB 30.42 + i 4; KUB 30.58 + KBo 14.68 i 18', 20'; KBo 45.16 ii 7'; ABoT 1 i 7), *mugānzi* (KUB 30.27 obv. 4'; KUB 32.130: 18; KUB 36.80 iv 6'; KBo 45.16 ii 11'), *mūgānzi* (KBo 10.20 iii 31), *mūganzi* (KBo 10.20 iii 43, 45?), *mug[ānzi]* (KBo 31.26 obv. 1), [*mug*]ānzi (KUB 30.58 i 22'); **3.sg.pret.** *mūgait* (KBo 3.7 i 13); **2.sg.imp.** *mugai* (KBo 3.16 rev.10), *mugāi* (KBo 3.18 rev. 14; KUB 24.1 i 4, KUB 24.2 obv. 6); **1.sg.pres.iter.** *mukiškimi* (KUB 24.1 i 14; KUB 24.2 obv. 12), *mūkiškimi* (KUB 7.5 i 23'); **3.sg.pres.iter.** *mukiškizzi* (KUB 7.28 + KBo 8.92 obv. 3'), *mukeškizzi* (KUB 27.16 iii 15); **3.pl.pres.iter.** *mukeškanzi* (KUB 32.130: 17), *mūkiškanzi* (KUB 23.77: 75); **1.pl.pres.iter.** *mukišgaueni* (KUB 15.32 i 51; KUB 15.34 iv 31'; KUB 23.115 + KUB 23.17 + KUB 31.117 iii 14'), *mukeškiueni* (KUB 7.8 ii 20), *mukiškiueni* (KUB 15.31 i 50); [*m*]u-li-iš-ke-u-ni (KUB 13.29 + Bo 3444 iv 7'); **1.sg.pret.iter.** *mukiškinun* (KUB 14.4 iii 29) *mukeškinun* (KUB 24.3 + iv 48', 50'); **3.sg.pret.iter.act.** *mukiškit* (KUB 15.32 i 49); **1.pl.pret.iter.** *mukiškiuen* (KBo 23.50 ii 13'); **3.pl.pret.iter.act.** *mukiškir* (KBo 17.105 ii 18'); **2.sg.imp.iter.mid.** *mukeškiḫḫut* (KUB 24.3+ iii 13'); **3.pl.imp.iter.** *mukiškandu* (KBo 11.14 iii 30'); **supine.iter.** *mukiškiuwan* (KBo 3.16 rev. 13; KBo 3.19 rev. 2'); **inf.** *mugauwanzi* (KUB 17.23 i 1; KUB 24.3+ iv 45'); *mugāuanzi* (KBo 15.32 i 5); **nom.sg.com.part.** *mugānza* (KUB 33.21 iii 19'); **nom.-acc.n.part.** *mugān* (KUB 15.31 i 45; KUB 15.32 i 47); *mugawar*: **nom.sg.**

*mugau[war]* (KUB 3.103 obv. 5), *muqāuwar* (KBo 26.20 iii 11), *mugāu[war]* (KBo 1.42 iii 57); **nom.-acc.pl.** *mugāuwar* (KUB 30.27 obv. 2'; KUB 31.127 i 6), *mugāuar* (KUB 30.27 obv. 3', 5'); **gen.sg.** *mugawaš* (KBo 14.70: 10', 11', 14'), *mugauwaš* (KBo 14.68 i 5'; KBo 14.70: 16'), *mugāuaš* (KUB 24.3 + iv 51; KUB 30.51 + KUB 30.45 i 10', 19'; VBoT 58 iv 13'); *mugāu[aš]* (KBo 31.26 obv. 10), *mūgau[waš]* (KBo 14.68 i 7'); *mūgāuwaš* (KUB 33.68 ii 3); **mukeššar**: **nom.-acc.sg.** *mukiššar* (KBo 2.6 ii 40; KUB 5.1 ii 43, iii 45, 58, 99, iv 44, 74, left edge right line 2; KUB 5.3 i 32; KUB 5.6 ii 34', 35'; KUB 30.51 + KUB 30.45 i 16'; KUB 49.14: 4'; 354/z: 7'; KUB 22.40 iii 20'; KUB 18.62 + KUB 6.13: 7'), *mukeššar* (VBoT 24 iv 17; KUB 32.130: 7), *mukieššar* (KBo 16.97 obv. 36); **gen.sg.** *mukiššanaš* (KUB 30.27 obv. 8'; KUB 36.81 i 18'), *mukišnaš* (KUB 24.1 ii 5; KBo 15.32 iv 6'), *m[ukišnaš]* (KUB 24.3 i 18'); **dat.-loc.sg.neut.** *mukešni* (KUB 7.5 iv 17; KUB 33.75 ii 8'), *mukišni* (KBo 15.32 i 6); **nom.-acc.pl.** *muk[eššar<sup>HLA</sup>]* (KBo 14.68 i 8')

## B. Fragmentary Contexts

*mugai*:- **1.sg.pres.** [ ... ]-tal-li ma-aḫ-ḫa-an <sup>r</sup>mu-ga-a'-[mi ...] (KBo 7.74 ii 1'); [ ... mu-g]a-a-mi [QA]-TI / [ ... m]u-ga-a-ami QA-TI (KBo 31.5 ii 1-2), [... mu-ga]-a-mi QA-TI (KBo 31.26 rev. 9'), [ ... mu-ga]-<sup>r</sup>a'-mi QA-TI (KUB 30.58 i 31'); **3.sg.pres.** [ ... ] mu-ga-a-iz-zi [ ... ] (KBo 16.28 iii 21), [x x] x QA-TAM-MA mu-g[a-a-iz-zi ...], [QA-TAM-M]A(?) mu-ga-a-iz-zi <sup>LÚ.r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>[...] (IBoT 3.115 iv. 4', 6'); [ x x x x ] <sup>r</sup>T-NA DU.1.KAM 2-ŠU mu-ga-a-iz-zi ka-ru-ú a-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup> (KUB 33.62 iii 14'); **3.pl.pres.** [ ... mu-ga]-a-an-zi QA-TI (KUB 30.58 i 30'); [ ... <sup>d</sup>U] mu-u-wa-nu-un du-e-da-aš É-na-aš an-da mu-ga-an-[zi] (KUB 20.1 ii 33'); **3.sg.pret.** [ ...]x-uš mu-ga-it (KUB 36.54 i 3'); **1.pl.pret.** [ ... ] x-a-ša-at-ta mu-ga-u-en tal-li-e-[u-e]n (KBo 41.1.b rev. 12'); **2.pl.imp.** mu-ka-e-et-te-en x [ ... ] (KBo 3.43 + rev. 9'); **1.sg.pres.iter.** mu-ki-eš-ki-mi-i[a ...] (KBo 2.36: 2); [...]x-za-ša mu-ki-iš-ki-mi, [...] x [x-n]a mu-ki-iš-ki-mi (KBo 38.160 i 9, 10); **2.sg.pres.iter.** ... ma-a-an DINGIR.MEŠ [ ... ] / mu-ki-iš-ki-ši ... (KUB 34.42: 8'-9'); **3.sg.pres.iter.** nu UD.3.KAM mu-ki-iš-ki-iz-z[i ...] (KBo 13.86 rev. 5'); [ ... ] x an-da pa-iz-zi nu-z[a ar-ku-w]a-ar DÛ-zi mu-ki-iš-k[i-iz-zi x] x (KUB 5.6 iii 77); [ ... ] x mu-ki-eš-ki-i[z-zi ...] (KUB 53.24 rev.<sup>2</sup> 11'); mu-ki-iš-ki-iz-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup> [ ... ] (KUB 33.17 iv 5'); mu-ki-iš-ki-iz-zi (KUB 12.19 + iii 13'); mu-ki-iš-ki-iz-z[i ...] (KBo 9.109 + iv 19'); [... mu-ki-iš-ki-i]z-zi nu <sup>d</sup>IM <sup>URU</sup>Ku-[li-ú-iš-na] (KBo 15.34 + iii 21'); **2.pl.pres.act.iter.** mu-ki-iš-kat-ti-ni ka-a-[ ... ] (KBo 12.18: 9); **1.pl.pres.iter.** [ ... ] x ka-a-ša-at-ta mu-ga-aš-ga-u-e-ni (KBo 22.116 obv. 11), ... ḫu-it-ti-ia-an-ni-iš-[ki-u-e-ni]/tal-l[i-iš-ki-u-e-ni mu-ki-iš-g]a-u-e-ni (KUB 15.34 iv 9'-

10'); **3.pl.pres.iter.** *na-an-kán ŠÀ É-TI 'T-NA UD [ ... ] / mu-kiš-kán-zi ...* (KBo 22.249 iii 4'-5'); **2.sg.imp.iter.mid.** [*mu-ki-i*]š-ki-iḫ-<sup>r</sup>ḫu<sup>1</sup>-[*ut*] (1229/u (+) Bo 4328: 2'); **inf.** [GI]M-*an-ma mu-ga-u-wa-an-zi zi-in-[na-i ...]* (KUB 7.13 rev. 21); [...] 'T-NA 2 KASKAL-NI *mu-ga-u-an-zi* (KUB 33.62 iii 21'); **mugawar: nom.-acc.sg.** *mu-ga-u-wa-ar* x [...] (KUB 34.76 i 18); **gen.sg.** DUB.1.KAM QA-TI <sup>d</sup>U / *mu-u-ga-u-wa-aš QA-TI* (IBoT 2.114: 1-2); [...] ŠA <sup>d</sup>U *mu-ga-u-wa-aš* [...] (KBo 13.130 iv 5'); [... *mu-g*]a-a-u-wa-aš QA-T[*I*], [...] *-d*]u-un-na <sup>d</sup>U-aš *mu-ga-u-wa-aš QA-TI* (KBo 31.5 i 2', 4'); [...] *mu-ga-u-wa-aš* (KUB 30.43 iii 9'); [...] *mu*]-ga-a-u-wa-aš QA-T[*I*], [...] x-un-na <sup>d</sup>U-aš *mu-ga-u-wa-aš QA-TI* (KUB 30.61 2', 4'); *mu-ga-u-wa-aš* x x [...] (KBo 9.109 rev. 11'); **mukeššar: nom.-acc.sg.** [... *m*]u-ke-eš-šar *kar-ap-ta-ri* (KBo 41.1b rev. 2); [x x x] x.ḪI.A-*ma-aš GÜB-tar KASKAL mu-kiš-šar-ra ME-ir nu- kán DINGIR.ME[Š-aš], mu-kiš-[šar-ra ...]* (KUB 5.1 ii 3, iv 16); [...] S]UM-*ir mu-ke-eš-šar-ra-aš-ši ka-ru-ú ti-i-e-er,* [...] x *an-da pa-iz-zi nu-z[a ar-ku-w]a-ar DÜ-zi mu-ki-<sup>r</sup>iš-š<sup>r</sup>[ar-ra-aš-š]i* (KUB 5.6 iii 73, 77); *mu-kiš-šar da-an-za* M[U.KAM.Ḫ]I.A 'GÍD'.DA or ... *IŠ-TU M[U.KAM.Ḫ]I.A 'GÍD'.DA / mu-kiš-šar da-an-za n[a-aš]* or *IŠ-TU M[U.Ḫ]I.A 'GÍD'.DA / mu-kiš-šar da-an-za n[a-aš]* (KUB 16.31 + iii 28 = KUB 16.31 iii 9); [...] ANA LUGAL.MEŠ *mu-kiš-šar EGIR-pa<sup>m</sup>Al-la-mu* x [...] (KUB 22.51 rev.13'); *mu-ke-eš-šar aš-nu-z[i ...]* (KUB 34.76 i 21); *mu-kiš-šar ME-ir na-a[n ...]* (50.24: 3); TAR *mu-kiš-šar IGI.LÁ ME-aš na-aš pa-u-i* x [...] (KUB 50.79: 5'); *mu-ke-eš-šar* x [...] (KUB 52.90 i 17); [...]x *mu-kiš-šar-ra ME-aš nu-kán* A-NA MU.ḪI.A GÍD.DA (KUB 52.68 iv 7'); [x] x x *mu-kiš-šar ME-aš nu-kán* [...] (KUB 52.74 iv 7'); [...]l<sup>i</sup>-in *mu-ki-eš-šar IZI/BIL.NE MUNUS.MEŠ* [...] (KUB 53.24 obv.<sup>?</sup> 8'); **gen.sg.** [...] x-wa *mu-ge-eš-na-aš* [...] (KBo 22.259: 3); [...] *mu-ke-eš-na-aš pa-ra-a* (KBo 26.130 ii 8'); *na-an-za<sup>LÚ</sup> mu-ki-iš-na-aš EN-aš da-a-i na-š-za P[A-NI ...]* (KBo 14.86 i 7); **dat.-loc.sg.** *ka-a-ša-at-t[a<sup>?</sup> m]u-ki-iš-ni* [...], [*ka-a-ša-a*]t-ta [*mu-ki-i*]š-ni erasure <sup>GIŠ</sup>S[E<sub>20</sub>-ER-DUM] (KUB 33.75 ii 12, 19); [...] x [...] *mu-kiš-ni* x x-a-i (IBoT 3.148 i 63); **nom.-acc.pl.n.** [... *m*]u-kiš-šar<sup>ḪI.A</sup> TI-an/ti-an-[...] (KUB 50.106 + obv. 9)

### Discussion

See below after *talliya-* (pp. 71ff).

#### 2.2.4. talliya-, talliyawar

##### *Previous Research*

The first noted comment on the verb *talliya-* is that of Sturtevant and Bechtel, who following Goetze and Friedrich (1930: 24), translated this verb as “to propitiate” and observed that *talliya-* has always a human subject and takes a deity as its direct object (1935: 125).

In his 1940 study of two prayers of Muršili II, Gurney translated the verb *talliya-* as “entreat(?)” and suggested that *talliya-* is practically synonymous with *mugai-*. He observed that both verbs appear together in the *evocatio* type of prayer (KUB 15.34 +, KUB 15.32, KUB 15.34 and KUB 9.27 +) and that *talliya-* appears alone in a similar context in KUB 7.60 (1940: 49 n. 3).

In his discussion of the verb *talliya-* and the noun *talliyawar*, Laroche made the following observation: (i) the action denoted by *talliya-* should be considered as a type of *mugawar*; (ii) *talliyawar* is the Hittite denotation of “invocation”; (iii) the verb *talliya-* is a transitive verb of movement like *huttiye/a-* and *mugai-* with which it is often paired; (iv) the fundamental sense of the verb *talliya-* is “to draw, to lure, to attract”; (v) the construction *arḫa talliya-* expresses the idea that a deity, whom one is luring, has turned away from the supplicant. This construction can be translated as “détourner”; (vi) the precise meaning of the expression *šer talliya-* and *katta talliya-* must remain undetermined because both constructions appear in fragmentary contexts; (vii) it is difficult to decide whether or not the verb *tallieš-* is connected semantically to the verb *talliya-* (1964-65: 24-27). The similar analysis of the verb *talliya-* was recently offered by Melchert (2010a: 226-232).

Oettinger argues that the verb *tallieš-* meaning “gewogen werden” might be related to the verb *tallye<sup>-mi</sup>*, which he translates as “milde machen, beruhigen” on page 251 and as “anflehen, beschwören” on page 346 (for the latter translations he refers to Laroche 1964-5). He then suggests that the verb *tallye<sup>-mi</sup>* might be derived from the PIE root *\*tlh<sub>1</sub>-yé-* meaning “ruhig machen” and might be related to OCS *u-toliti* “beruhigen” (1979: 251, 346; similarly Kassian, Korolëv and Sidel'tsev who suggest that the participle *talliyant-* might be a denominative from the adjective *talla-*, meaning “mild”. 2002: 545 note on line iv 17).

Lebrun translates the verb *talliya-* as “évoquer” and notes that the noun *talliyawar* corresponds to Latin *evocatio*. Lebrun argues that as in ancient Rome, the Hittite *talliyawar* was performed to lure the deities of the enemy lands. The Hittite *ecovatio*

contained the ritual of “pulling” a deity on the path and was performed so that the gods were more inclined to hear prayers. Following Laroche, Lebrun suggests that *talliyawar* can be regarded as an integral part of the *mugawar* (1980: 415, 440-442).

Mazoyer, following Laroche, translates the verb *talliya-* as “se tourner (favorablement) (?)” and the construction *arḫa talliya-* as “se détourner (?)” and observes that *talliya-* is used when a performer of a ritual is asking a deity to turn favourably towards the king. Mazoyer also notes that this verb often appears with the verbs *ḫuttiya-* “tirer” and *mugai-* “évoquer, mettre en mouvement”, with which it sometimes alternates. According to Mazoyer, since the verb *talliya-* in the texts dated to the Old and Middle Hittite periods is occasionally employed in the same contexts as the verb *mugai-*, perhaps *talliya-* is the older and *mugai-* the younger designation of the same ritual activity (2003: 99-100; 112).

The main lexica that translate the verb *talliya-* include Friedrich (HW 1952-54, 1966), Kronasser (1987), Tischler (1991, 2001), Ünal (2007) and Kloekhorst (2008).

Friedrich, in the main volume of his dictionary, translated the verb *talliya-* as “(Götter) anrufen, anflehen” and referred for these translations to his work in 1930: 24, to Goetze in Sturtevant 1935: 125 and Gurney 1940. He also rendered the construction *arḫa talliya-* as “wegbeten(?), durch beten wegrufen(?)” and made a note that *talliya-* employed in KUB 29.3 is replaced by the verb *wek-* in the duplicate of this text (KUB 29.1). In the third supplement to his dictionary, Friedrich, influenced by Laroche’s study of Hittite prayer terminology, translated the verb *talliya-* as “(eine Gottheit) beschwören” (1952-54: 206, 1966: 457).

Kronasser rendered the verb *talliya-* as either “anrufen” or “abzurufen” and the construction *arḫa talliya-* as “wegrufen, wegbeten”. As Friedrich before him, Kronasser also noted that the verb *talliya-* (KUB 29.3) seems to correspond to the verb *wek-* in KBo 29.1 (1987: 488).

In *Hethitisch-Deutsches Wörterverzeichnis* and in *Hethitisches Handwörterbuch*, Tischler translates the verb *talliya-* as “(Götter) anrufen, anflehen, gewogen machen” and notes that the noun *talliyawar* denotes a type of evocation prayer (1982: 82; 2001: 161). In *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar* Tischler renders this verb as “(Götter) anrufen, anflehen”, lists the main scholars, who either translated or commented on this verb, gives a brief overview of the etymologies proposed for this verb and gives attestations of this verb and of the noun *talliyawar*. Tischler also comments on some of the grammatical forms of this verb and following Friedrich and Kronasser, observes that the verb *talliya-*

in KBo 29.3 is replaced by the verb *wek-* “to wish, ask” in the New Hittite copy of this text (KBo 29.1) (1991: 58-60).

Ünal translates the verb *talliya-* as “to call upon, to invoke, to implore a deity, to entreat, to conjure” and the construction *para talliya-* as “to call forth”. He notes that the verb *talliya-* also appears with the preverb *arḥa* but he does not offer any translation of this construction (2007: 672-3).

Kloekhorst renders the verb *talliye/a-<sup>zi</sup>* as “to pray to, to evoke (a deity).” He criticises the semantic connection made by some scholars between the verb *talliya-* and the adjective *talli-* “pleasant (?)” and the verb *talliyēšš-<sup>zi</sup>* “to be pleasant(?)”<sup>31</sup> and leans toward Tischler’s suggestion that the verb *talliya-* is connected with OI *telja*, OE *talian* “to tell” and Greek δόλος “guile, trick” (1979: 26). Kloekhorst argues that if Hittite *talliye/a-* is indeed related to the above words, then the Hittite geminate *-ll-* points to *\*-lH-* sound sequence and to the restoration of the PIE root *\*delH-*, with Hittite *talliye/a-* reflecting either *\*delH-ye/o-* or *\*dolH-ye/o-* (2008: 819).

### Attestations<sup>32</sup>

The verb *talliya-* is a transitive verb that typically takes deities or the spirits of the dead as its direct object. The verb is also employed in Hittite texts with the preverb *arḥa* and a noun in the dative case denoting a person to/for whom a deity is lured or with nouns in the ablative case denoting place/s from which a deity is attracted. Other preverbs/adverbs used with the verb *talliya-* include *appa*, *parā*, *katta* and *šer*.

#### A. Well or Relatively Well Preserved Context

*talliya-*: **3.sg.pres.** *talliyazi* (KUB 7.60 ii 20 and KBo 43.52: 5’), *tal[liyazi]* (KUB 29.3: 7’); **3.sg.imp.** *tallīeid[u]* (KUB 17.10 ii 14’), *[tal]liyadu* (HT 100 + KUB 33.69 + KBo 26.131 obv. 5’), *tal[līēdu/liyadu]* (KUB 33.75 ii 9); **1.sg.pres.iter.** *talleškimi* (KUB 7.5 i 23’); **1.sg.pret.iter.** *talliškinun* (KUB 14.4 iii 29); **3.sg.pret.iter.** *talliškit* (KUB 19.49 i 12); **1.pl.pres.iter.** *talliškiuēni* (KUB 15.34 iv 31’), *tallieškiuwani* (KUB 15.32 i 51), *[tall]iškiyauēni* (KUB 13.29 + Bo 3444 iv 6’); **1.pl.pret.iter.** *[talli]škiuēn + arḥa* (KBo 23.50 + ii 13’); **nom.sg.part.c.** *talli[anza]* (KBo 33.75 ii 11), *[tall]iyanza + arḥa* (KBo 14.70 i 16’), *talliyanza + arḥa* (KBo 31.5 ii 8 and KBo 31.26 obv. 5), *talliya[nza] + arḥa* (KBo 41a + b obv. 1-2), *[ta]l-li-ia-an-za + arḥa* (KBo 41a + b rev. 31’), *talliyanza + parā*

<sup>31</sup> The writing *talliyēšš* with a macron follows Kloekhorst (2008: 219).

<sup>32</sup> The list of attestations is based on Tischler *HEG* and on the lexical card catalogue of the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mainz.

(KUB 33.62 ii 14’); **nom.-acc.sg.part.n.** *talian* (KUB 15.32 i 47), *talliyan* (KUB 15.31 i 45); **inf.** *tallyauwanzi* (KUB 7.60 iii 6’); *tallyauwar*: **nom.-acc.sg.n.** *tallyauwa[r]* (KBo 26.20 iii 12); **gen.sg.n.** *tallyauwaš* (KUB 58.11 obv. 6), [*tall*]i<sub>y</sub>auwaš (KUB 58.11 obv. 15), *talliya[uaš]* (KUB 28.92 i 6’), *tallyauaš* (KUB 28.92 i 9’).

## B. Fragmentary Context

*talliya*:- [...]x-a-ta tal-li-ia-x[ ...] (KUB 36.96: 16’); *tal-li-i[š-...]* (KBo 18.120 obv.? 4’); *tal-li-iš-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-[...]* (KBo 53.6 right col. 6’); *nu-wa-za tal-li-i[a-...]* (KBo 47.32: 4’); *ar-ḥa tal-li-i[a-...]* (KUB 15.38 i 17’); **1.sg.pres.** *ú-wa-mi nu-za* <sup>d</sup>IŠ<sup>T</sup>A<sup>R</sup> *ta-a[l-li-ia-mi]* (KBo 9.96 i 4’); **3.sg.pres.** *kat-ta tal-li-ia-zi* [...] (KUB 30.51 iv 22’); **1.sg.pret.** [... *tal*]-*li-ia-nu-un* (KBo 18.76 obv. 4’); **3.sg.pret.** *tal-li-ia-at nu-ut* x [ x x x x x (x)] (KUB 10.72 ii 5’); [...] x *tal-li-e-et* x [...] (KBo 34.265: 4’); **1.pl. pret.** [...] x-a-ša-at-ta *mu-ga-u-en tal-li-e-[u-e]n* (KBo 41.1.b rev. 12’); **3.sg.imp.** *tal-li-ia-ad-du* x x [ ...] (Bo 6565: 2’); **1.sg.pres.iter.** [...] *tal-li-iš-ki-mi* [...] (KBo 45.236 iii 5’); [...*ḥu-it-t*]i-ia-an-ni-iš-ki-mi *nu-ud-du-za tal-li-[iš-ki-mi]* (KUB 15.35 + i 22’); [...] x *nu-ut-ta tal-li-iš-ki-mi* (Bo 6885 + line 17’); [ ...]x-ke-eš-ki-mi *tal-liš-x* [...] (Bo 69/745: 5’); **1.pl.pres.iter.** *tal-l[i-iš-ki-u-e-ni mu-ki-iš-g]a-u-e-ni* (KUB 15.34 iv 10’); **3.pl.pres.iter.** [...] x x *pa-ra-a tal-li-iš-kán-zi* x [ ...] / [...] x <sup>r</sup>E<sup>1</sup>.DINGIR-LIM GIBIL *an-da-an tal-li-i[š-kán-zi ...]* (KBo 26.207: 5’-6’); **3.sg.imp.iter.** [...]ta *tal-le-eš-ki-id-<sup>r</sup>du<sup>1</sup>* (KBo 26.130 ii 6’); **nom.sg.part.c.** [... *pá*]r-*ḥu-e-na-aš ki-it-ta nu tal-li-ia-an-za e-e[š(-x)]* (KUB 33.34 obv.? 11’); [... *ta*]l-li-ia-an-za *e-eš-tu* (1136/u: 3’); [... *ta*]l-li-ia-an-za *ka-la-an-k[a-an-za ...]* (KUB 39.41 i 18’); [... *ma-a-an-kán(?) ak-kán-an*]-za(?) *ku-e-da-ni ar-ḥa tal-li-ia-an-<sup>r</sup>za<sup>1</sup>* (KBo 41.1.b. + obv. 16); [ ... *tal<sup>2</sup>-l*]i-ia-an-za *e-eš-du na-aš* x [...] (Bo 3234: 13’); **nom.pl.part.c** *tal-li-ia-an-te-eš na-aš-ma-aš* [...] (KUB 7.47: 2); [...] x *tal-li-ia-an-te-eš-ša a-š[a-an-du(?)]* (KBo 38.277 i 11’); **nom.-acc.sg.part.n.** [...*t*]u<sup>2</sup>-*uḥ-ḥa-aš ar-ḥa tal-li-ia-an ḥar-zi* (KBo 41.1.b + obv. 15); [...] <sup>r</sup>le<sup>1</sup>-e *ku-iš-ki tal-li-ia-an* (KBo 38.188 left.col. 6’); [ ...E]N<sup>2</sup>.SISKUR IGI-*an-da tal-li-ia-an(-)[...]* (KBo 38.250: 8’); *tal-li-ia-an* [ ...] (KBo 54.69 i 6’)

## Discussion

A review of the available evidence shows that the verbs *mugai-* and *talliya-* are contextually and semantically related; their semantic fields overlap and in some contexts they can be regarded as partly synonymous. Consequently, both verbs are treated in one section. First, each verb is discussed in texts in which it appears alone, then both verbs are examined in contexts in which they appear together or they replace each other.

A. *mugai-*

The verb *mugai-* is principally a motion verb.<sup>33</sup> In the Old Hittite “Illuyanka” myth (KBo 3.7 = III.A.a.3), in the Old/Middle Hittite historical text entitled “Deeds of Naram-Sîn” and in the Middle Hittite treaty between the Hittite king Arnuwanda I and a ruler of the Kaška lands (KUB 23.77 = III.A.a.1), the verb carries the meanings “to induce; to urge (into action)” (cf. Laroche 1964-5; Melchert 2010). The beginning of the first text tells the story of how the Stormgod was defeated by Illuyanka and how he urged all the gods (*mugai-*) to stand by his side.

In the “Deeds of Naram-Sîn” (KBo 3.16 = III.A.a.2), the Assyrian king is advised by the goddess Ištar to practise incubation with the intention of experiencing a divinely-inspired dream. This entailed ritual purification, sleeping on a holy bed, wearying out (*tariyanut*) and urging (*mugai-*) the gods to give an answer to Naram-Sîn’s question about the planned military campaign.

In the Middle Hittite treaty the verb *mugai-* appears twice: in the first relevant passage (lines 65-67) it is declared that when the Hittite king sends a “runner” in the land of Kaška, the Kaška king shall not ... him and shall not induce him (*mugai-*). In the same treaty, in the clause about fugitives (lines 71-75), both sides agree that when a Kaška man comes to the land of Ḫatti, he shall not be induced (*mugai-*) to return to the kingdom of Kaška. The author of this dissertation agrees with Melchert who argues that the intention of the Hittite king is on the one hand to prohibit the Kaška people from inducing his own messenger to desert the king, and on the other hand to prohibit the Kaška fugitives from returning to their own country. According to Melchert the inducement probably involved concrete rewards (2010: 213).

In religious contexts, the verb *mugai-* along with its derivatives, is used mainly to designate a ritual whose function was to induce the return of an absent or an angry deity or the alienated spirit of the dead person (Melchert 2010: 207). This ritual entailed both magical and verbal acts, including a prayer. The primary function of this prayer was to summon a deity or a spirit of the deceased. In these contexts the verb *mugai-* is best translated as “to invoke” and the nouns *mukeššar* and *mugawar* as “invocation”.

The following catalogues, festivals, rituals and prayers record or mention the action but not the reason for summoning a deity. Not all rituals listed below involve oral rites, which suggests that the invocation ritual might but did not need to include speech.

<sup>33</sup> The verb *mugai-* has been derived either from the PIE root *\*meug-* meaning “to make noise”, which also gave rise to Latin *mūgīre* “to roar” and Greek *μυγμός* ‘sigh’; from the PIE root *\*meug-* “to move” (Laroche 1964: 24) or from the PIE root *\*meuk-* “be pointed” (Melchert 2010b: 214).

One text (i.e. viii) suggests that the noun *mugawar* referred to the words of an invocation prayer:

- (i) a Middle Hittite manuscript of the Old Hittite ritual of invoking the Stormgod (KUB 33.68 = III.A.b.10) in which the noun *mukeššar* refers to words spoken during the performance of the ritual<sup>34</sup>,
- (ii) a New Hittite invocation ritual of the deities Anzili and Zukki (KUB 17.23 = III.A.b.21), in which the verb *mugai-* seems to denote both ritual and verbal acts,
- (iii) a New Hittite copy of the Old Hittite shelf list of the DUBxKAM type (KUB 30.42 + KBo 31.8 = III.A.b.2 and KBo 14.70+ = III.A.b.5) as well as the New Hittite shelf-lists of the *TUPPU* type (KBo 31.5 = III.A.b.6.I and KUB 30.51 + KUB 30.45 = III.A.b.6.II),
- (iv) a New Hittite copy of the Middle Hittite ritual performed for the Stag-god of the Hunting Bag and for the Heptads (KBo 17.105 = III.A.b.20.I),
- (v) a New Hittite text that outlines and gives a cult inventory of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival (KBo 10.20 = III.A.b.33). This text mentions various offerings and rites performed during the celebration of the festival, including invoking (*mugai-*) the goddess Ištar of Ḫattarina, the Mother Goddess as well as the Stormgod of Ḫuršanašša by both the royal couple and by <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>ḪAL,
- (vi) a New Hittite festival (ABoT 1 = III.A.b.34) in which the scribe and a priestess of the Mother Goddess invoke (*mugai-*) the Stormgod of the Head, while the queen worships the god,
- (vii) a New Hittite festival performed for the goddess Ištar of Nineveh (KUB 27.16 = III.A.b.36), in which the queen invokes (*mugai-*) the goddess. The verb *mugai-* refers here to various religious activities that are described earlier in the text, but which do not seem to include oral rites,
- (viii) a New Hittite hymn that precedes a “Prayer of a Mortal” (KUB 31.127+ = III.A.b.13), in which the Sungod is addressed as the god who fulfils/acts upon (*ešša-*) *mugawars*. Manuscript B of this text (i.e. KUB 31.128 i 5) employs in the same sentence the finite form of the verb

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<sup>34</sup>

The wording of the *mukeššar* invocation is not preserved in the text.

*ištamaš-* (*ištamaskiši*) “to hear”, which suggests that the verbal noun *mugawar* referred here to the spoken word,

- (ix) a New Hittite copy of a prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal to the Sungoddess of Arinna (KUB 23.115+ = III.A.b.14)
- (x) a New Hittite version of the Middle Hittite ritual of Ḫantitaššu from Ḫurma performed in case of/against the difficult times (troublesome years) (KBo 11.14 = III.A.b.18). The third plural imperative iterative *mukiškandu* appears in a prayer addressed to the door bolt which is asked to release the netherworld deities so that they can invoke (*mugai-*) the gods.

In several texts, namely the invocation ritual of the Stormgod of Kuliwišna (KBo 15.32+ = III.A.b.9.I, KBo 15.34 = III.A.b.9.II, 34.35 = III.A.b.9.III), a few catalogues (KUB 30.51+ = III.A.b.6.II; KUB 8.71 = III.A.b.4.(1)), several oracles and a myth about the disappearance of a Sun deity (VBoT 58 = III.A.b.7) the verb *mugai-* and the noun *mukeššar* refer to the ritual performed in order to appease an angry deity who has ceased his or her proper functions and retreated into inaction. The other aim of the ritual is to compel the angry deity to return and resume his or her beneficent role.

The invocation ritual is performed for the same reasons also in a New Hittite catalogue listing several tablets whose common denominator is DINGIR GE<sub>6</sub> “The Deity of the Night” (KUB 8.71 = III.A.b.4.(1); KBo 12.116 = III.A.b.4.(2); KUB 56.55 = III.A.b.4.(3)) as well as in one Middle Hittite (KBo 16.97 + III.A.b.28) and six New Hittite oracle texts.

The former mentions the *mukeššar* performed by the priest of the deity of the night and by Arzakiti, the *katra*-woman. The ritual is performed because the angry goddess has left her temple and is being invoked (*mugai-*) to come back by her servants.

In two of the oracle texts the *mukeššar* is performed alone (KBo 41.199+ = III.C.5; KUB 32.130 = III.A.b.35). In other texts, either the *mukeššar* is given together with a propitiatory gift (*maškan-*) and reparation(s) (*zankilatar*) (KUB 5.6 + KUB 18.54 = III.A.b.27), or together with a propitiatory gift (*maškan-*), reparation(s) (*zankilatar*) and the presentation of a plea-prayer (*arkuwar tiyauwaš*) (354/z+ = III.A.b.29), or together with an offering/ritual (SISKUR) (KUB 22.40 + KBo 43.61 = III.A.b.31) or together with a ritual (SIKUR) and a propitiatory gift (*maškan-*) (KUB 18.62 + KUB 6.13 = III.A.b.32). In one oracle text (KUB 22.57 = III.A.b.30), a deity named ḪAL is asked whether performing certain religious activities would be pleasing to him/her. These activities

include offering a propitiatory gift (*maškan-*) and reparation(s) (*zankilatar*), presenting a plea-prayer (*arkuwar tiyauwaš*) and cancelling one of the *mukeššar* rituals, which will be performed until the king, with whom the deity is angry, appeases him/her. In all other oracle texts mentioned above, the *mukeššar* was one of the activities undertaken to appease an angry deity. It is therefore unclear why, in this text, it is the cancellation and not the performance of the *mukeššar* that is mentioned along with propitiatory gift (*maškan-*), reparation(s) (*zankilatar*) and the presentation of a plea-prayer (*arkuwar tiyauwaš*).

In three noteworthy examples, the verb *mugai-* and the noun *mukeššar* describe or refer to either the oral rites or the entire ritual whose main objective was to induce and summon a deity to come back so that he/she could hear a prayer or give an answer to a question.

At the beginning of an Old Hittite prayer to the Sungoddess of the Netherworld (KUB 7.28+ = III.A.b.12) an unidentified priest libates to the goddess and mentions that the king is invoking (*mugai-*) and kneeling down before the goddess. The priest then utters a prayer, in which he requests that the Sungoddess disregard slanders directed against the king by members of his own family and associates and that she brings prosperity and well-being to the land and the king.

In two prayers composed during the reign of the king Muršili II, namely a ‘prayer’ to the Sungoddess of Arinna (KUB 24.3+ = III.A.b.15) and a ‘prayer’ to Telipinu (KUB 24.1+ = III.A.b.17), the verb *mugai-* and the noun *mukeššar* are employed in the introduction, colophon and the main body of texts to designate the ritual of invocation which accompany the prayer of request. In both texts, the deities are summoned back to their temples so that they can hear the words of the prayer.

In two rituals (VBoT 24 = III.B.1 and KUB 30.27 = III.A.b.22) the noun *mukeššar* rather than referring to the invocation ritual, denotes the materials used in an invocation ritual.

The verb *mugai-* is also used in Hittite texts to express the notion of summoning and inducing a soul of the deceased to come (KUB 30.57+ = III.A.b.3; KUB 30.27 = III.A.b.22). Unfortunately, nothing is mentioned of what these rituals consisted.

In several New Hittite oracles, the noun *mukeššar* is employed as an object of the KIN oracle (KUB 5.1+ = III.C.1; KUB 5.3+ = III.C.2; KBo 2.6+ = III.C.3; KUB 49.14+ = III.C.4; KBo 41.199 ++ = III.C.5; KUB 16.29 + = III.C.6).

Finally, in three trilingual lexical lists, the noun *mugawar* was chosen by Hittite scribes as a translation of various Akkadian and Sumerian words. In a New Hittite lexical

list of the type diri DIR siaku = watru (KUB 3.103 = III.D.1), the noun *mugawar* is used to translate the Akkadian *tazzimtu(m)* “complaint” (“prayer” see Gurney 1940 and here supra); in a New Hittite lexical list of the series erim.ḫuš = anantu (KBo 26.20 = III.D.2), *mugawar* translates Sumerian [š]u-bal and Akkadian *supû* “prayer, supplication” and in a New Hittite lexical list of the izi = išatu series (KBo 1.42 = III.D.3), the Hittite *mugawar* is an equivalent of Sumerian si and Akkadian *šebû* “wish; desire”. The equation of *mugawar* and the Akkadian *supû* “prayer, supplication”, *šebû* “wish” and *tazzimtu*, which can also mean “wish” and which is used similarly to *šebû* (CAD T: 302-304), can be justified in the Hittite context: the noun *mukeššar* designates in some texts a prayer that is embedded in the invocation ritual and that always includes a wish or a request.

#### B. talliya-

Like *mugai-* also the verb *talliya-* is principally a verb of motion designating the ritual of attracting a deity or the spirit of a dead person.<sup>35</sup> This ritual entailed both magical and verbal acts. Consequently, the main meaning of the verb *talliya-* and the noun *talliyawar* are “to lure” and “allure”. In one text the verb *talliya-* is best rendered as “to exhort”. In some instances the verb *talliya-* can also be interpreted as a verb of speech meaning “to implore.”

The noun *talliyawar* in the sense “allure” is employed in two New Hittite texts that record a ritual for the Stormgod of Nerik (KUB 58.11 = IV.B.15 and KUB 28.92 = IV.B.16). In both texts, the noun *talliyawar* refers to words spoken during the performance of the ritual. The preserved part of the first text gives the order of the ritual actions. Before the king goes to the *daḫanga*-house, certain officials perform a ritual which includes a recitation of *talliyawar*. The offerings are carried to the *daḫanga*-house, the *mukar* instrument is placed before it and more words are recited. Then, the scribe offers a lamb and the words of *talliyawar* to the Stormgod of Nerik. In the second text the noun *talliyawar* refers to words of luring and attracting the divine mountains, rivers as well as the deity Zaḫaliqa. Although the wording of the respective *talliyawars* is not included in either of the texts, one could suggest that it may have comprised prayer spoken during the ritual of attracting the deity.

<sup>35</sup> One etymology suggested for the verb *talliya-* is the PIE root *\*del-* that is the source of the Old Norse *telja*, Old English *talian* “to tell” and Greek δόλος “guile, trick”. Another etymology has been recently suggested by Kloekhorst (2008) and by Melchert (2010a: 230-31) who propose the PIE root *\*delH-* meaning “to draw, to allure” which gave rise to Middle English *tollen/tullen* and to Hittite *talliya-*.

In a New Hittite ritual aimed at luring and diverting the favour of the deities of a foreign city to the land of Ḫatti and to the Hittite king (KUB 7.60 = IV.B.9), the finite form of the verb *talliya-* appears at the end of sections that describe the rite of preparing paths on which the gods are to come. After the paths are drawn, the Old Woman takes some objects, lures (*talliya-*) the gods and utters a prayer, in which she implores the gods to travel to the Hittite king and to turn towards him in favour. Also the infinitive of verb *talliya-* refers in this text to the action of attracting the gods by means of/from the paths.

The verb *talliya-* carries the meaning “to exhort” in the New Hittite treaty of the Hittite king, Muršili II, and Manapa-Tarḫunta of the land of the Šeḫa River KUB 19.49+ (IV.A.1). In the introduction to this text, the scribe describes how the Hittite king saved Manapa-Tarḫunta from certain death at his brothers’ hands and how he, the king, protected his young charge by sending him to the people of Karkiš. The king and his brother kept sending gifts and kept exhorting (*talliya-*) the people of Karkiš to offer an asylum and protection to Manapa-Tarḫunta. It is improbable that either the Hittite king or his brother would implore the men of a minor western Anatolian country. Rather, the king or his brother exhorted the men of Karkiš to the action desired by both with deeds and words (so Melchert 2010: 230).

The meaning “to implore” and “entreaty” is attested in two texts: (i) the Old Hittite manuscript of the ritual for the erection of a new palace (KUB 29.3 = IV.C.2) and (iii) in a New Hittite trilingual lexical list (KBo 26.20 = IV.C.1).

In the first text the king implores (*talliya-*) the Stormgod to allow him (i.e. the king), to cut down the trees that will be used to build a new palace. The sense “to implore” is secured not only by the context but also by the fact, that in the New Hittite manuscript of this text (KUB 29.1), the verb *talliya-* is replaced by the verb *wek-* “to request”.

In a New Hittite lexical list the verbal noun *talliyawar* is chosen as a translation of the Sumerian *šu-lum* and Akkadian *sullû*. In view of the fact that the main meanings of the Akkadian verb *sullû(m)* are “to implore (gods)”; “to pray to”, “to beseech, to appeal” (CAD Š: 366-368), the translation of the Hittite noun *talliyawar* in the lexical list as “entreaty” is very plausible. The fact that the nouns *mugawar* and *talliyawar* are mentioned in this text one after the other also supports the argument that the verbs *mugai-* and *talliya-* and their derivatives are related contextually.

### C. *mugai-* and *talliya-*

In several texts, the verbs *mugai-* and *talliya-* either replace each other or appear in one text as verbs that designate various aspects of the same ritual activity. While *mugai-* refers to the action of inducing the gods or spirits of the dead to approach and resume their beneficent role; *talliya-* designates the action of luring the deities or spirits.

One passage of the myth about the disappearance of the Stormgod, the personal deity of queen Ašmunikkal (KUB 33.21 = III.A.b.8), describes how an altar is erected and a hunting bag is hung on a tree. Inside the bag, among other things, are *galaktar* and *parḫuena-*; *galaktar* is placed to soothe (*gala(n)k-*) and *parḫuena-* to *mugai-* the god. The verb *mugai-* replaces here *talliya-* that is typically employed with the noun *parḫuena-* in the context of myths about the disappearing gods (e.g. the Telipinu myth KUB 17.10 = IV.B.4 or the myth about the disappearance of the goddess Ḫannaḫanna HT 100+ = IV.B.6). There seems to be a particular relationship between the noun *parḫuena* and the action denoted by the verb *talliya-*, much the same as between the noun *galaktar* and the verb *kala(n)k-/gala(n)k-*. As *galaktar* is able to soothe a deity, *parḫuena-* is able to *talliya-* and, in one instance to *mugai-*, a deity. One may suggest that perhaps the nouns, *galaktar* and *parḫuena-*, denote substances that have similar qualities; as *galaktar* soothes a deity, *parḫuena-* perhaps relaxes and puts a deity in a pleasant mood. Here the connection with the verb *tallieš-* “to be pleasant” and the adjective *talli-* “pleasant” suggested by Oettinger (1979: 251) and Kassian et al. (2002: 545) would make sense. However, since the verb *mugai-* is never employed in Hittite texts in the sense “to please” or “to be pleasant” and since *mugai-* is interchangeable with *talliya-* in this context, this meaning has to be ruled out for both verbs (i.e. *mugai-* and *talliya-*).

Another, more plausible, meaning is suggested by the invocation ritual of the Stormgod of Kuliwišna (KUB 33.62 = IV.B.5) and by the myth and the invocation ritual of the goddess Ḫannaḫanna (DINGIR.MAḪ) (KUB 33.75 = III.A.b.11 and IV.B.7). In the first ritual the noun *parḫuena-* is used to attract the god so that he can return all the favours to persons who commissioned the ritual (i.e. “the lord of the house” and his wife). The attracting is denoted by the expression *para talliya-*. The *parḫuena* grain along with other materials, such as figs, wine or water, is also used to lure a deity in the Ḫannaḫanna myth. Since the *parḫuena-* grain has a quality that is able to lure a deity, it is reasonable to assume that the verbs *talliya-* and *mugai-* employed with this noun in the context of myths about the disappearing gods carry the meaning “to lure, to induce”.

Both verbs carry their basic meanings, that is “to induce, to invoke” (*mugai-*) and “to lure” (*talliya-*) in the texts in which both verbs appear together, namely several invocation rituals, a few rituals of summoning the soul of a deceased and one New Hittite prayer.

The invocation rituals include:

- (i) a Middle Hittite ritual performed by the woman named Paškuwatti to cure impotence (KUB 9.27++ = III.A.b.19 and IV.B.8),
- (ii) a Middle Hittite invocation ritual of the Stag-god of the Hunting Bag (KBo 20.107++ = III.A.b.20.II and IV.B.10),
- (iii) a Middle Hittite ritual of invoking the male Cedar-gods (KUB 15.34 = III.A.b.24 and IV.B.12),
- (iv) a New Hittite copy of a Middle Hittite invocation ritual (KUB 15.31 = III.A.b.26 and IV.B.14)
- (v) a late New Hittite copy of the invocation ritual of the male Cedar-gods (KUB 13.29 + III.A.b.25 and IV.B.13).

In all these texts the verbs *mugai-* and *talliya-* are employed together in a prayer spoken during the performance of the ritual to emphasise the action of summoning and attracting the deities, motivating as well as activating the deities to come or to return to the side of the supplicant and listen to his/her request.

Both verbs are also used to lure a deity or the soul of a deceased (KBo 14.70 + KUB 30.60 = III.A.b.5 and IV.B.2; KBo 31.5 + = III.A.b.6.I and IV.B.3; KBo 41.1a + b = III.A.b.23 and IV.B.11). While, in these contexts, the verb *talliya-* always expresses the notion of drawing or luring a deity or a soul away from someone; the noun *mukeššar* always denotes a ritual performed to induce the deity or the soul of a deceased to come back to the supplicant so that he/she can resume his/her protective roles.

Finally both verbs are employed together in a New Hittite prayer of Muršili II in which the king accuses his stepmother of killing his wife and of a series of abuses of power (KUB 14.4 = III.A.b.1 and IV.B.1). In one passage, the king or the scribe, on behalf of the king, mentions the neglected cult of the goddess Ḫebat of Kummanni; Muršili’s father promised the goddess a festival of invocation but did not perform it, causing the goddess’ wrath. The task of appeasing the angry goddess fell on Muršili II. In the relevant passage, the king reminds the goddess that he already has given

compensation gifts and that he has been constantly luring (*talliya-*) and invoking (*mugai-*) the goddess on behalf of himself, his family and his land.

To sum up, *mugai-* and *talliya-* are both verbs of motion that describe various aspects of ritual actions that are to summon and lure the deities and souls of the deceased. The verbal acts also designated by both verbs are the integral components of these rituals.

### 2.2.5. *walla/i-*, *wallu-*, *walluške/a-*, *walli-*, *walliyatar/walliyann-*

#### *Previous Research*

The first noted comment on the group of words based on the stem *walli-/wallu-* was made by Sturtevant (1931: 76, 1936: 176). He translated the verb *walliya/e-* and its iterative *walleške/a-* without the particle *-za* as “to praise” and with the particle *-za* as “to boast”. He rendered the noun *walliyatar* as “glorification, praise” but the verb *walluške/a-* as “to be strong(?)”.

Gurney (1940: 42-44) rendered the verb *walliya-* employed in an introduction to a hymn and prayer to Telipinu (KUB 24.1) as “to praise” and commented on the meaning of this verb in other Hittite texts. After examining the available evidence, he observed that this verb occurs in two constructions (i) without the particle *-za* and with a noun in the accusative case denoting a praised deity (KBo 4.6; KUB 24.7) and (ii) with the particle *-za* (KUB 4.1; KUB 5.6). In the first construction the verb carries the meaning “to praise” and in the second “to praise oneself, to boast.” Gurney connected this verb to the noun <sup>UZU</sup>*walla-* “leg, thigh” and concluded that at some point in time there was a shift in meaning from “thigh” to “strength.”

In the main volume of his *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* Friedrich translated the verb *walla-* without the particle *-za* and the verb *wallu-* (with its iterative *wallušk-*) as “rühmen, preisen” and the verb *walla-* with the particle *-za* as “sich rühmen, prahlen.” He rendered the noun *walliyatar* as “Ruhm, Lobpreis; Preislied” and the adjective *walliwalli-* as “ungestüm(?), stürmisch(?)” (HW: 242-243). In the third supplement to his dictionary published in 1966, Friedrich, following Laroche, derived the verb *walla-* from *\*wal-* “to be strong” and gave as its cognate Latin *valere* (1966: 461).

Laroche (1964: 27-29) began his discussion of the verb *walliya-* with a brief definition of a hymn as a poem that is composed to honour a particular deity. It usually contains the most important attributes of a given deity, mentions the position held by the deity in the pantheon, recalls episodes of the deity’s life and occasionally but not necessarily introduces a prayer. Laroche argued that since all the hymns that have been found in the Hittite archives at Boğazköy are Akkadian compositions or Hittite

translations of Akkadian hymns or, at least, are heavily influenced by Akkadian phraseology, the hymn was not a genre native to the Hittite literary system. Laroche did not mean to say that the idea of praising a deity as such was alien to the Hittites, but that such praise would have assumed a different form. Rather than composing hymns, the Hittite scribes employed short phrases and formulas that formed part of a ritual. Laroche also noted that the Hittite verb for “to praise, to glorify” is *walliya-* and argued that in religious context it assumed the more specific meaning “to recite a hymn”. He also briefly discussed words that, according to him, belong to the same semantic family. Thus, he observed that *-za walliya-* and its iterative *-za wallu(šk)-* “to praise oneself”, the noun *walliyatar* “glory, renown, boastfulness, pride”, the negative *niwalli-* “powerless, helpless, innocent”, *walliwalli-* an epithet of the winds and the goddess Ištar and *waliwaliya* “to strengthen” are all derived from the adjective *walli/u-* “strong, powerful” which is related to Indo-European *\*wal-* “to be strong” and is a cognate of Latin *valeo*, Gothic *waldan* etc.

Neu translated the verb *wallu-* as “rühmen, preisen” (KUB 48.99: 14’). Although he interpreted *walluškiddumatwaza*, which appears in line i 14’ of KUB 36.44, as the second person plural preterite (*walluškiddumat=wa=za*), he observed that this form can also be read as imperative (*walluškiddu=ma=at=wa=za*) (1968: 188 with notes 1 and 2).

Oettinger (1979: 490-491) translates the verb *wallie<sup>hhi</sup>* as “rühmen”, identifies its grammatical forms as *wallahhi* (first person singular present) and *waliyanzi* (third person plural present) and observes that the iterative form *wallišk-* is ambiguous. He regards the verb *wallu<sup>mi</sup>(?)*, the Luwian *\*wallyi-* and the adjectives *\*walli-* “strong” (the meaning prompted probably by the cuneiform Luwian *niwalli-* “innocent”) and *walliwalli-* “quick” as belonging to the same semantic group as *wallie<sup>hhi</sup>*. He connects this word family with Latin *valēre* “to be strong” and Tocharian B *walo* “king” and derives it from the PIE *\*ualH-*.

Lebrun (1980: 415, 416, 442-443) follows Laroche in deriving the verb *walliya-*, its iterative *wallišk-* and the adjective *walliwalli-* (an epithet of Ištar of Samuḫa) from the adjective *walli/u-* “strong, powerful” for which he gives the Indo-European cognates, namely Latin *valeo/validus* and Old Church Slavonic *vlado*, as well as a PIE root *\*wal-* meaning “to be strong”. He then translates the verb *walliya-* as “to celebrate, praise” and argues that this verb describes the laudatory part integrated into a *malteššar*. Lebrun also comments on the semantic shift of the verb *walliya-* from “to be strong” to “praise”. According to Lebrun the Hittites regarded their gods as supernatural kings, who expected and relished flattery. The Hittite deities particularly enjoyed it when their divine power

was mentioned and praised. The more adulation the gods received, the more inclined they were to fulfil the request(s) of a supplicant. Therefore, according to Lebrun, it is not a coincidence that the Hittites employed the verb *walliya-* “to strengthen” in the specific meaning “to praise”.

Hoffner (1982: 135 note 13) notes that the verb *walliya-* with the particle *-za* means “to boast” and that, in the context of the Milawata letter, the object of *-za walliya-* is what one prides oneself on owning or controlling.

Melchert treats the verbs *walla-* and *wallu-* as closely related to one another and translates them as “to praise, boast”. He reconstructs *walla-* as PIE *\*wal-neh<sub>2</sub>* and *wallu-* as PIE *\*wal-neu-* and gives the semantic evolution of the verbs *walla-/wallu-* from “make strong” to “magnify” to “praise”. Melchert also identifies the Cuneiform Luwian cognate of Hittite *walliya-* as *walliya-* “to lift, raise” (1994: 81). He mentions the same cognates, that is, Cuneiform Luwian *walli(ya)-* “to raise, lift”, Hieroglyphic Luwian *wa/i-li-ia-* “exalt” and Hittite *walliya-* “praise” in his *Cuneiform Luwian Lexicon* (1993: 252).

De Roos classifies *walliyatar* as a prayer type (1995: 1999) and observes that in the structurally complex royal prayers, the noun *walliyatar* also designates a hymnic part (1995: 2001-2).

Tischler (2001: 193) translates the verb *walla-/walliya-*, the iterative *wallešk-/wallišk* without the particle *-za* as well as the medio-passive verb *wallu-* as “rühmen, preisen” and the verb *walla-/walliya-* with the particle *-za* as “sich rühmen, prahlen.” He renders the nouns *walli-* as “Ruhm, Stolz” and *walliyatar-* as “Ruhm, Preislied” and derives these forms from the adjective *\*walli-* “kräftig”, arguing that this meaning of the adjective *\*walli* is secured by the existence of such forms as *walliwallai-* “kräftigen” and the adjective *walliwalli-* “stark, kräftig”.

Trabazo (2002: 513 n. 18) follows Gurney (1940: 42-44) and translates the verb *walla-/walliya-* with the particle *-za* as “vanagloriarse, jactarse” and without *-za* as “ensalzar, rezar.”

Mazoyer notes that *wallušk-* is “formation distributive, doublet de *-za walliya-* *se vanter*”. He also notes that the verb *wallišk-* with the particle *-za* often appears with the name of a deity in the sense “célébrer un hymn” and, following Laroche, observes that in religious context the Hittite verb *walliya-* “to praise, to glorify” carries a specific meaning “to recite a hymn” (2003: 185).

Ünal (2007: 780, 783) treats the verbs *walla-*, *wallai-*, *walliya-*, and *wallu-* as related to one another. He translates them as “to extol, to glorify, to praise” when they appear without the particle *-za*, and as “to boast about; to take pride in possession of”

when they co-occur with the particle *-za*. He also translates the nouns *walliya-* as “praise, boast, fame, reputation, glory”, *walliyatar-* as “praise, hymn of praise, glorification” and the adjective *walliwalli-* as “mighty, strong, powerful, violent.”

Kloekhorst (2008: 948-952), proposes, as others before him, that the stem *walli-* is the source of the derivatives *walliyatar/walliann-* “(song of) praise”, *walli-* “pride” and the verb *walla/i-* meaning “to praise, to honour” when the verb appears without the particle *-za* and “to boast, to brag” when the verb appears with *-za*. For the verb, Kloekhorst employs the form *walla/i-* rather than *walliya-* since the exact inflection of this verb is unknown. Kloekhorst also comments on the adjective *walliwalliya-*, which appears mostly as an epithet of the goddess Ištar and on one occasion as an epithet of “winds” (KUB 33.112). As Gurney (1940) also Kloekhorst does not believe that there is a connection between the verb *walla/i-* and *walluške/a-* and he translates the latter as “to pray to, to ask (of a deity)”, although, he notes, that in KUB 29.1 this meaning is not ascertained.

#### *Attestations*

Verbs and nouns that share the root *wal(l)-* and that carry the meanings “to praise, to honour, to boast” and “praise, pride, glory” include the nouns *walli-*, *walliyatar/walliyann-* and the verbs *walla/i-*<sup>36</sup> and *wali-* attested once (KUB 19.55+ = V.B.2) as *waliat* (hapax). To date, no consensus has been reached as to whether or not the verb *wal(l)u-* and the iterative *walluešk-* also belong to the same semantic group. Most scholars argue in favour of such a connection (Oettinger 1979, Laroche 1964, Lebrun 1980, Melchert 1994), others either firmly oppose it (Gurney 1940) or are hesitant to acknowledge it (Kloekhorst 2008). A review of all the available evidence shows that *wallu-* and *walla/i-* are semantically related to each other. In four well-preserved texts, in which the form of *wallu-* and *wallušk-* appear (one Old Hittite, one Middle Hittite and two New Hittite texts), the meanings “to boast; to praise, to honour” are assured by the context.

As already observed by previous scholars, two constructions with the verbs *walla/i-* and *wallu-* are attested in Hittite text (i) without the particle *-za* and with a noun in the accusative case designating the praised person/deity/object and (ii) with the reflexive particle *-za*. In the first construction both verbs carry the meanings “to praise, to honour”; in the second construction, when used intransitively both verbs mean “to praise

<sup>36</sup> This dissertation follows Kloekhorst 2008: 944, 945 in citing the verb as *walla/i-* rather than as *walliya-*.

oneself, to boast” and when used transitively “to boast about sth.” with the object of boasting appearing in the accusative.

#### A. Well or Relatively Well Preserved Contexts<sup>37</sup>

walla/i-: **1.sg.pres.** *wallahhi* (KUB 24.7 i 12', 22', 24'); **3.pl.pres.** *walianzi* (KUB 6.45 iii 59 and KUB 6.46 iii 28); **3.sg.pres.iter.** *walleškizzi* (KBo 5.6 i 4; KBo 26.88 iv 4, 7), *walliškizzi* (KUB 24.1 i 2, KUB 24.2 obv. 2; KBo 4.6 obv. 19', rev. 25'), [*wa*]lliškizzi (KBo 26.89 + KBo 52.11: 6'); **3.pl.pres.iter.** *walliškanzi* (KUB 4.1 i 18), [*wal*]liškanzi (KUB 31.141: 3) wali-: **3.sg.pret.** *waliat* (KUB 19.55 lower edge line 3 and KUB 48.90 lower edge line 4); wallušk-: **1.sg.pres.iter.** *walluškimi* (KUB 29.1 i 26); **2.sg.pres.mid.iter.** *waluškidu* (KUB 36.44 i 14'); **2.pl.imper.iter.** *walluškitten* (KUB 23.77 rev. 79'); **supine** *walluškiuan* (KUB 36.44 i 6'); walli-: **gen.sg.pres.** *walliaš* (KUB 19.13 i 48'); walliyatar/waliyann-: **nom.-acc.sg.** *walliyatar* (KUB 21.38 obv. 48, 51; KUB 6.45 iii 48, 49 and KUB 6.46 iii 17, 18); **dat.-loc.sg.** *walliyanni* (KBo 32.14 ii 42, iii 41; KBo 32.19 ii 19, iii 44').

#### B. Fragmentary Contexts

walla-: *tu-uk DINGIR-IA wa-al-la-aḫ-ḫi nu-ud-du-za-kán ŠA* [ ... ] (KUB 31.127 iii 37); x x /// *wa-al-la-an<sup>1</sup>(qa)-ti-iš* (KBo 26.34 i 11) walli-: *na-aš-za-kán wa-al-l[i-* ... ] (KBo 19.80: 13'); *na-aš-za wa-al-li-i[š-ki ...]* (KBo 12.26 obv./rev. 9'); [ ... *wa-a*]l-li-iš-ki-id-du A-NA DINGIR [ ... ] (KUB 31.125: 9'), [... ] x *wa-al-le-eš-ki-id-du* (KBo 22.116 rev. 2'), [ ... ] x *wa-li-ia-wa-an-za* (participle of the verb *walli-*?) (KUB 8.17 i 7'), *w[a<sup>2</sup>-al-l]i<sup>2</sup>-i<sup>2</sup>-kir ḪUR.SAG-a[z-...]* (KBo 16.21: 3'); wallu-: *wa-al-lu-u[š- ...]* (KBo 54.33: 3'); *wa-al-lu-wa-an-za* (KBo 26.34 i 3); walluške-: [ ... ] x ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *wa-al-lu-uš-ki-ši am-mu-ga-za ÉRIN.MEŠ* (KUB 19.20 + rev. 15); *ku-in-ki DINGIR-LAM wa-al-lu-uš-ke-zi* [ ... ], *ku-e-da-ni-ia še-er wa-al-lu-uš-ká[n-zi]* (KUB 34.53 ii<sup>2</sup> 12', 13'); [ ... *wa-a*]l-lu-uš-<sup>r</sup>kán-ta<sup>1</sup>-r[i] (KUB 60.80: 2'); [ ... *wa-a*]l-lu-uš-ki-zi nu a-pé-e-da-ni-ia (KBo 32.16 iii 6'); walli- (noun): [ ... NINDA.GUJR<sub>4</sub>.RA A-NA <sup>d</sup>IŠ<sup>r</sup>STAR *wa-al-li-ia-aš pár-ši-ia* (KUB 59.55: 4'); [ ... ] x x- *wa-al-li-wa-al-li-ia-aš ŠA<sup>m</sup>Mur-[ši]-li* / [ ... ] x x A-NA <sup>d</sup>IŠ<sup>r</sup>STAR LÍL *wa-al-li-ia-<sup>r</sup>aš<sup>1</sup>* (Bo 3320: 19'- 20'); [ ... *w]a-<sup>r</sup>al<sup>1</sup>-li-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-a[š]* (KUB 54.16 iv 1'); walliyatar/waliyann-: [ ... ] x *wa-al-li-ia-tar* x [ ... ] (KUB 31.125: 10'); *wa-al-li-ia-an-ni ú-*[ ... ] (888/z i 7').

<sup>37</sup>

The list of attestations is based on the lexical card catalogue of the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mainz.

### C. Restored Forms

*walla-*: [wa]-al-la-[aḫ-ḫi]-ia-an (KUB 8.57: 1); *walliyatar*: wal[liyatar ēšdu(?)] (KBo 11.1 rev. 21).

KUB 8.57 + (CTH 341.III.1.A + H) is a fragment of the New Hittite version of Gilgamesh. The present fragment preserves the beginning of the first tablet of the series.

Friedrich (1930: 2) read the first two lines as: (1) x-x-x-x-ia-an x x [. . . . .] / (2) [U]R.SAG-in [. . . . .]; Otten (1958: 98) as: (1) [w]a<sup>2</sup>-al-l[i<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>ia-an<sup>1</sup> x x [...] / (2) [U]R.SAG-in [...] restoring an accusative singular of the noun *walliyatar-* and translating it as ein “Preislied” (Ein Preislied [auf Gilgamesch] den Helden [will ich singen:]); Bachvarova (2002: 142), following Laroche (1964: 28, n.8), reads the first two lines as <sup>r</sup>wa-al-la<sup>1</sup>-[aḫ-ḫi]-<sup>r</sup>ia-an <sup>d</sup>1G[ILGAMESḪ-un] / <sup>r</sup>UR<sup>1</sup>.SAG-in “I [pr]ai[se] him. G[ilgamesh]/ the hero.”

Beckman (2001:158) and Haas (2006: 274) give the first two lines of KUB 8.57 as “[Of Gilgamesh], the hero, [I will sing his praises]” and “[Gilgameš], den Helden, [will ich preisen ...]”, indicating that neither the verb *walla/i-* nor the noun *walliyatar-* is preserved on the tablet.

Since the traces on the photograph are consistent with <sup>r</sup>wa-al-la<sup>1</sup>-[x x]-<sup>r</sup>ia-an, Laroche’s reading [wa]-al-la-[aḫ-ḫi]-ia-an “je vais célébrer” is accepted here.

### Discussion

Most written evidence for the verbs *walla/i-* and *wallu-* and the nouns *walli-* and *walliyatar* comes from the Middle and New Hittite periods.<sup>38</sup> If a New Hittite duplicate of a ritual for the erection of a new palace (KUB 29.1 = V.A.10) was copied verbatim, there is at least one instance of the verb *wallu-* employed in an Old Hittite composition.

The verbs *walla/i-* and *wallu-* and the noun *walliyatar* are employed in Middle and New Hittite texts when a person is praised for his/her accomplishment(s) (KUB 21.38 = V.A.3) or a handiwork (KBo 32.14 = V.A.13), a hero is glorified for his qualities and exploits (KUB 8.57 = see above under “restored forms”) and an object is admired for its exceptional features (KBo 32.14 = V.A.13; KBo 32.19 = V.A.14).

KUB 21.38 is a letter commissioned by queen Puduḫepa to respond to an angry communication from Ramses II complaining about the delay in the dispatch of the Hittite princess to Egypt. The sole purpose of the letter is to explain the Hittite position and smooth over the dispute. In lines 47-52 of the obverse the queen draws an analogy. She

<sup>38</sup> The verb *walla/i-* has been traditionally derived from the PIE root \*wal- meaning “to be strong”.

has selected Babylonian and Amorite princesses as her daughters-in-law, although there were more than adequate candidates among the Hittite women. By doing so she allied the kingdom of Ḫatti with the great powers of the time and hence brought glory and renown (*walliyatar*) to herself, the king and her own people. Accordingly, if the pharaoh takes the Hittite princess for a wife he will do it for his own renown and glory.

KBo 32.14 or the Middle Hittite “Song of Release” mentions a smith who cast a cup “for praise” (*walliyanni*) and a builder who built a tower “for praise” (*walliyanni*). On the one hand the noun *walliyatar* expresses idea that a cup was made to be praised for its exquisite beauty and a tower for its sturdiness; on the other hand, it implies that the creators of this exceptional object and building will be praised for their skills.

In another fragment of the “Song of Release” (KBo 32.19) two human speakers, namely Meka and Zazalla, argue, in the assembly of Ebla, over freeing the captives. In lines ii 9-26 and iii 33’-51’ of KBo 32.19 the god Tešub is threatening Ebla, in words conveyed by Meki: if the Eblaites release Purra and the men of Ikinkalis, they will be victorious in battles and their fields will thrive; if they do not release the captives, the city will be destroyed. The noun *walliyatar* refers here to <sup>A.ŠA</sup> *baršāuar* or an “agrarian field” and must mean in the present context “praise.” The general sense is that the god will make the field so productive that it will become a source of praise for the Eblaites.

In the following two examples the verbs *walla/i-*, *wallu-* and the noun *walli-* carry the meaning “to honour” and “pride.”

A treaty between the Hittite king Arnuwanda I and the Kaška people (KUB 23.77+ = V.A.2) includes passages that define an enemy of the Hittite king, namely a person who attacks a Hittite city. The Hittites and the Kaška people alike, shall not allow him into their cities, shall not give him food and drink, but most importantly, the Hittites shall not abandon to him the city of Ḫattuša. Instead they shall defend the city and treat it with the outmost respect and reverence (*wallu-*). A similar use of the verb *walla/i-* is found in a fragment of the “Deeds of Šuppiluliuma” (KUB 19.13+ = V.A.1). The fragment describes how the king attacks the Kaška people by burning down the land of the river Dağara and the land of Tapapinuwa. The king is at the brink of destroying also the town of Timuḫala but the Kaška people submit to the rule of the Hittite king. The town of Timuḫala is described as a place *walliyaš* of the Kaška people, which probably means the core of the kingdom. If the city falls into the hands of the enemy, the entire kingdom would collapse. In that context the noun *walli-* can only mean a place of pride in the sense of “dignity, honour”.

In religious context, the verb and noun that share the root *wall-* are employed in the sense “to praise” when (i) a deity is praised in order to be motivated to fulfill the supplicant’s requests, (ii) a deity is praised as part of a worship and (iii) a deity is praised because he/she heard and fulfilled requests of the supplicant.

In “praise to receive” the verb and the noun are used to designate a religious utterance that is to empower and motivate a deity to act. The worshipper reminds the deity of his/her divine attributes, which the worshipper wishes to see put to work for him/her. He/she also reminds the deity of the divine right and obligation to take the lead in this matter. A typical example of this type of praising is found in KUB 24.1 (V.A.6), a prayer and hymn of Muršili II to Telipinu (the text will be discussed in full in chapter three).

In “praising to worship” a supplicant does not approach a deity to present a request or wish but to praise a deity for his/her cosmic functions and his/her divine attributes in the hope that the deity will be well disposed towards the worshipper in case his/her good will and assistance is needed. The finite form of the verbs *walla/i-*, *wallu-* and/or the noun *walliyatar* are employed in this sense in three texts: in a Hittite version of the hymn to the goddess Ištar (KUB 31.141 = V.A.4), in a hymn to Ištar and her circle (KUB 24.7 = V.A.12) and in a fragment belonging to the Kumarbi myth (KBo 26.88 + HFAC 45 = V.A.5). In KBo 26.88 + the god Takidu, who acts on behalf of the goddess Ḫepat, goes to the city of Simmurra to investigate a woman called Kutiladu. After being questioned by the god, Kutiladu is said to “abandon the sin” and praise (*wallišk-*) the goddess. One must conclude that the “sin” must have been that previously she did not worship the deity. In this context *wallišk-* clearly means “to praise, to worship.”

The following attestations of *walla/i-* and *wallu-* involve praising a deity as a form of payment for the fulfillment of the supplicant’s requests. The *walliyatar* presupposes the reciprocal giving, the deity gives and then the supplicant will give, and it serves as a commodity in this mutual relationship. In KBo 4.6 (V.A.7), a prayer of Muršili for the recovery of Gaššuliyawiya, the goddess Lelwani is promised praise and worship if the queen is cured. The same pledge of respect/worship is made in prayers of Muwatalli (KUB 6.45 iii 59 = V.A.8 and KBo 11.1 = V.A.9) and in the New Hittite copy of the ritual for the erection of a new palace (KUB 29.1 = V.A.10). In KUB 6.45 the king promises that he and his successors will praise the gods, if they fulfill the king’s plea to remove an “evil thing” from his soul. In KBo 11.1 the noun *walliyatar* is employed in the request part of the prayer. The king asks the Stormgod to return the favour to Kummanni. When the people are content they will praise the Stormgod. In KUB 29.1, in his speech to

the divine throne, the king mentions that he has been selected to the Hittite throne by the Sungoddess and by the Stormgod. Since his installment on the Hittite throne the king has been worshipping (*wallu-*) the Stormgod in exchange for the favour the god has shown him.

When the verbs *walla/i-* and *wallu-* are employed with the particle *-za* they carry the meaning “to praise oneself, to boast.” Typical examples of this use of the verb include KBo 5.6 (V.B.1), KUB 19.55 + KUB 48.90 (V.B.2) and KUB 4.1 (V.B.5). In all three texts either nations or rulers boast about their strength and invincibility. Two other texts show that also gods can boast (KUB 36.44 = V.B.3; KUB 48.99 = V.B.4).

Occasionally, the nouns *walliyatar* and *walli-* are used as divine epithets. In KUB 59.55 line 4’ we read [ ... NINDA.GU]R<sub>4</sub>.RA A-NA <sup>d</sup>IŠ<sup>h</sup>TAR *wa-al-li-ia-aš pá-r-ši-ia* “he/she breaks the thick bread [...] for Ishtar of glory/praise”; in Bo 3320 line 20’ [ ...] x x A-NA <sup>d</sup>IŠ<sup>h</sup>TAR LÍL *wa-al-li-ia-<sup>r</sup>aš<sup>1</sup>* “for Ishtar of the field of glory” and in KUB 2.1 (V.A.11) <sup>d</sup>A-a-la-aš *wa-al-li-i[a-an-na-aš]* “Ala of praise/glory.” The meaning of *walliyatar* in these contexts is ambiguous. However, since this noun is used in the sense “praise” in other contexts, it is reasonable to assume that it carries the same meaning in the above texts.

### 2.3. Conclusion: Summary of Semantic Development and the Usage of Hittite Prayer Terminology

The analysis of all the evidence shows that the verbs *arkuwai-*, *mald-*, *mugai-*, *talliya-*, *walla/i-*, *wallu-* and the nouns *arkuwar*, *malduwar*, *malteššar*, *mugawar*, *mukeššar*, *talliyawar* and *walliyatar* were employed in Hittite religious contexts to denote various religious utterances and rites, including prayer. All verbs together with their derivatives are polysemic, that is, have more than one related meaning. The paragraphs below summarise the semantic development and the usage of each term. The table at the end of this section provides a summary of the usage of the religious utterances and rites denoted by the terms under study.

The sense that underlies all the meanings assumed by the Hittite verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar*, is “to argue”. In the Old Hittite lexical list as well as in Middle Hittite letters discovered in Tapikka (Maşat Höyük) and in the royal archives of Ḫattuša (Boğazköy), the noun *arkuwar* carries the meanings “response”, “petition” or “explanation”. Because arguments can often be made when responding, petitioning or explaining, the semantic connection of these meanings to the sense “to argue” is easily recognised. In the New Hittite period the meanings “petition” and “to respond” are still

attested for the noun *arkuwar* and for the verb *arkuwai-* in letters and treaties, but certain semantic and contextual changes also take place. First, the noun *arkuwar* expands its sphere of reference and takes on an additional meaning “request”, which is found in at least one ritual text. Even though “request” does not necessarily imply a presentation of arguments, the connection with the meaning “to argue” is through the sense “petition”, since a request may be considered a less formal type of petition. Second, in the profane context, the verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar* acquire juridical overtones and are used in the sense of “to make a plea/case” and “plea” when a vassal king argues his case before his suzerain (New Hittite treaty) or a ruler makes a plea before his gods (New Hittite letter). It is in this juridical sense that the verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar* are first used in prayers of Muršili II to denote a prayer, in which the king as a supplicant personally presents arguments before the gods as if in a court of law. Once *arkuwai-* and *arkuwar* became the established designation for one type of personal prayer, the verb and the noun are then employed to designate all types of personal prayers, even those that do not entail arguments, including vows and prayer-requests. Also in the New Hittite period the noun *arkuwar* begins to denote a physical object in KIN oracles.

The noun *arkuwar* and the verb *arkuwai-* show the semantic change from specific to general with two meanings “to plead” and “to pray” becoming more central and prominent in the New Hittite period. The other meanings “to respond, to petition” either disappear or become more peripheral. The transfer of meaning and usage of the verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar* from profane to religious context, particularly to the context of Hittite prayer, reflects the changes that occur in the Hittite prayer system and in the relationship between the supplicant and the Hittite gods during the New Hittite period (on this, see chapter three).

Contrary to *arkuwai-*, the verb *mald-* and its derivatives, the nouns *malteššar* and *malduwar*, are employed exclusively in religious contexts. In the Old Hittite shelf-lists as well as in the ritual and festival texts, the verb *mald-* carries the meaning “to recite; to pray” and refers to words spoken before a deity during the performance of a ritual or a festival. When the words introduced by the verb *mald-* are included in a text, they entail Hittite incantations, invocations (summoning a deity by uttering his/her name), recitations of activities undertaken during the performance of the ritual/festival, blessings over wine and prayers of request. When used in this meaning the verb *mald-* alternates with the verb *memai-* “to speak”. In the Old Hittite period the verb *mald-* is also used in the sense “to make a votive offering”. The semantic connection of this meaning to the sense “to recite” is through the fact that making an offering would also include the spoken word.

In the Middle and New Hittite periods the verb *mald-* and the noun *malteššar* continue to be used in the festival and ritual texts to denote words spoken before a deity but also seem to expand their sphere of reference to denote an oracular question (in one New Hittite oracle text) and to designate all aspects of vow-making, including a vow itself, a ritual or offerings made in fulfilment of a vow and as the reference to a deity that is the recipient of vows (*malteššanala*). The meaning “to vow” might have been associated with the verb *mald-* already in the Old Hittite period but has so far not been attested due to the scanty evidence. In the sense “to vow”, the verb *mald-* and the noun *malteššar* are often written in Hittite texts with the Akkadograms *KARĀBU* and *IKRIBU*. The Hittite scribes chose Akkadian *karābu* (“to pronounce formulas of blessing; to pronounce formulas of praise, adoration, homage and greeting; to invoke blessing; to pray to the gods”, see *CAD* vol. K: 192-3) and *ikribu* (“blessing; money or goods pledged by a vow to a deity; prayer”, see *CAD* vol. I: 62) as semantic equivalents of Hittite *mald-* and *malteššar* probably because both the Akkadian *karābu* and *ikribu* and the Hittite *mald-* and *malteššar* combined the meanings “prayer” and “vow”. This and the fact that, on a few occasions, the Akkadogram *KARĀBU* is replaced by the Hittite expression *-za arkuwar ešša-*, suggest that the Hittites perceived the vow as a type of prayer.

In the New Hittite period the noun *malteššar* also assumes a more general meaning “offering”, occasionally written logographically as *SISKUR* (in a cultic itinerary of the king, festival, oracle texts). This extension of meaning was a natural development from the meaning “to make votive offerings”, which the verb *mald-* carries already in the Old Hittite texts.

When describing the semantic development of the verb *mald-* and its derivatives, one cannot really speak of a semantic shift, rather the meanings are selectively activated by the context. The only semantic developments detected for this verb and noun are: (i) the change of meaning of the noun *malteššar* from specific “votive offering” to general “offering” and (ii) the extension of referent from “votive offering” to all aspects of vow making.

The sense that underlies all the meanings assumed by the verb *mugai-* and its derivatives is “to induce”. In the Old, Middle and New Hittite texts the verb *mugai-* and the nouns derived from this verb, namely *mugawar* and *mukeššar*, carry the meanings “to invoke; to induce; to urge into action” and “invocation”, without any semantic changes noted. While the meanings “to induce; to urge into action” are attested in both profane and religious contexts, the meaning “to invoke” is found only in the religious texts. In festivals, rituals, prayers, oracles and myths the verb and the noun *mukeššar* denote every

aspect of a ritual of invocation; that is, the offerings made, the rites performed, the materials used in the ritual and the oral rites spoken, including a prayer of invocation. The main function of this ritual was to induce an angry or an absent deity to return so that he/she could hear a prayer, or could cure various physical and mental indispositions of the human body or could resume the roles which he/she abandoned. The verb *mugai-* and the noun *mukeššar* were also used when a ritual expert induced a soul of a deceased to return to the ritual client and to resume its protective functions. In the New Hittite oracles, the noun *mukeššar* was also employed to denote a physical object in KIN oracles.

In the Old Hittite period, the verb *talliya-* is attested once in the meaning “to implore”. In the Middle Hittite rituals, festivals, prayers and myths the verb *talliya-* and the noun *talliyawar* carry the meaning “to lure” and “allure”; in the New Hittite texts, the verb and the noun are attested in the meanings “to lure (away); to exhort” and “supplication”. It is uncertain whether the meanings “to lure; to exhort” were associated with the verb *talliya-* already in the Old Hittite period but have so far not been attested due to the scanty evidence, or whether they developed from the meaning “to implore”.

The verb *talliya-* and the noun *talliyawar* are partially synonymous with the verb *mugai-* and the nouns derived from this verb. Like *mugai-*, the verb *talliya-* is used mainly to attract a deity or the soul of a deceased. Differences in the usage of these two verbs are that *talliya-* is used when a deity or a soul of a deceased is lured away from someone and the verb *mugai-* is used to induce the deity or the spirit of a deceased to return to the supplicant. Besides designating the ritual of drawing or luring a deity, the noun *talliyawar* possibly denotes also a prayer recited during the performance of this ritual. This, however, must remain a mere suggestion, since in the text that would attest such usage of the noun *talliyawar*, namely a New Hittite ritual for the Stormgod of Nerik, the words of *talliyawar* are not included.

In Old, Middle and New Hittite profane and religious texts the verbs *walla/i-* and *wallu-* and the noun *walliyatar* carry two main meanings: “to praise (a deity)” and “to honour”. In the New Hittite religious context, a semantic change takes place from the specific “to praise” to the general “to worship” which implies that, at least in some contexts, “to worship” equalled “to praise”. In Middle Hittite myths and New Hittite historical texts the verb *walla/i/u-* with the particle *-za* carries the meaning “to praise oneself”. Occasionally, the noun *walliyatar* is used as a divine epithet.

In most religious texts the noun and the verb denote short phrases of praise or when the words of *walliyatar* are not included, they refer to praising a deity. One text provides evidence that the verb could denote a hymn of praise. In the introduction to the

prayer of Muršili II to Telipinu the scribe-priest mentions that he was sent by the royal couple to praise the god and a phrase that can be regarded as an excerpt from the hymn of praise is included. This may suggest that the noun *walliyatar* in fact denoted the hymn of praise as a specific section of structurally complex Hittite royal prayers.

### Hittite Prayer Terms in Religious Context

The table below provides an overview of the usage of the terms under study in the religious contexts. The verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar* were used to designate various types of personal prayer. The verb *mald-* designated mainly all types of ritual speech during the state festivals and rituals, but also denoted a personal prayer-vow and a ritual performed in fulfillment of a vow. The verb *mugai-* as well as the nouns *mukeššar* and *mugawar* denoted a ritual of invocation as well as the offerings given, the materials used and the prayer spoken during the performance of this ritual. The verb *talliya-* and the noun *talliyawar* designated the ritual of luring a deity or the spirit of a dead person and perhaps a prayer spoken during the performance of this ritual. On one occasion, the verb *walla-* designated a hymn of praise that accompanied the recitation of a personal prayer.

arkuwai- arkuwar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• personal prayer:</li> <li>• plea-prayer</li> <li>• prayer-complaint</li> <li>• prayer-vow (also <i>IKRIBU</i>)</li> <li>• prayer-request</li> <li>• object in KIN oracle</li> </ul>
mald- malteššar ( <i>IKRIBU</i> )	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• prayer – request</li> <li>• incantation in Hattic</li> <li>• blessing over drinks libated to a deity</li> <li>• prayer-vow</li> <li>• ritual/offering performed in fulfillment of a vow</li> <li>• offering</li> <li>• oracular question</li> </ul>
malteššanala	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• recipient of a vow</li> </ul>
mugai- mugawar/mukeššar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• invocation prayer</li> <li>• invocation ritual</li> <li>• materials used in invocation ritual</li> <li>• offerings given in invocation ritual</li> <li>• object in KIN oracle</li> </ul>
talliya- talliyawar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ritual of conjuring a soul of the deceased</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• a ritual of luring a deity</li><li>• prayer spoken during the performance of the ritual of luring a deity (?)</li></ul>
walla/i and wallu-walliyatar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• hymn of praise</li></ul>

## CHAPTER THREE: PRAYER TERMS IN CONTEXT

### 3.1. Introduction

The semantic and contextual analysis of the *termini technici* of Hittite prayer carried out in the last chapter showed that at least three of those terms designated prayer types. These include the verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar*, the verb *mald-* and the noun *malteššar* as well as the verb *mugai-*. The verbs *walla/i-* and *wallu-* were used in religious context to denote an action of praising a deity. The verb *talliya-* and the noun *talliyawar* designated the ritual whose objective was to lure a deity or the spirit of a deceased. It would be tempting to assume that *talliya-* and *talliyawar* also designated prayers that were spoken during the performance of this ritual. Since, however, none of them are introduced by or even alluded to by either of these two terms, this must remain a mere suggestion.

In two New Hittite composite texts commissioned by Muršili II, one addressed to the Sungoddess of Arinna (here CTH 376.II), the other to Telipinu (CTH 377), a prayer was accompanied by a ritual designated by the verb *mugai-* and by a hymn of praise. In CTH 377, the hymn is denoted by the verb *walla/i-* and the prayer is labelled as *arkuwar*. Another prayer of the *arkuwar* type, composed for Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa and addressed to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 383), is preceded by a short hymn of praise. In a longer composition that contains prayers of Puduḫepa to the Sungoddess of Arinna and her circle, the short prayers-requests to Lelwani, to Zintuḫi, to Mezzulla and to the Stormgod of Zippalanda are followed by vows (CTH 384).

These facts about Hittite prayer prompted scholars to suggest that the *termini technici* named above designated either prayer types or the functional elements of a typical Hittite prayer. Both suggestions are correct, but only to a certain extent (see chapter section 1.3.2). For instance, only three out of five terms represent prayer types. Second, the Hittite evidence does not support the claim that the verb *talliya-* and the noun *talliyawar* designated the invocative part and the verb *wek-* the request part of a Hittite prayer. Third, it is not certain that those “royal prayers” which comprised a ritual, a hymn and a prayer, or a hymn and a prayer or a prayer and a vow can and should be viewed as unified literary compositions. Finally, it is unclear what a typical Hittite prayer is and what a typical Hittite prayer entailed.

The issues investigated in this chapter pertain to the problems outlined above and answer the following questions posed in chapter one:

- (i) Did any of the terms represent a generic name “prayer” that referred equally to all prayer types?
- (ii) When did a particular term begin to be used as a designation for a particular type of prayer?
- (iii) What were the key elements of each prayer type?
- (iv) How did the use of each term in prayer context evolve over time?
- (v) What can semantics of the terms reveal about the way the Hittites perceived their relationship with the divine and the way they perceived prayer, the most direct means of this relationship?
- (vi) What is a Hittite royal prayer?

It is assumed here that one of the fundamental features that classifies a given text as a prayer is its tripartite structure<sup>39</sup>. In most cases a Hittite prayer comprises three elements: (i) an invocation, whose objective is to address a deity usually by pronouncing his/her name, (ii) a motivation that is to convince the deity to hear and grant the request and (iii) a request itself (Justus 2004: 270 and chapter one section 1.3.1). The order in which these structural elements appear in a given text is not fixed and while the address or an invocation may, on some occasions, be absent, the request is always present. This suggests that the essence and the ultimate objective of each prayer was to present a request.

The prayers introduced by the verbs *arkuwai-*, *mald-*, *mugai-* and the noun *arkuwar* as well as selected royal prayers are first studied separately and then together within the reconstructed Hittite prayer system.

### 3.2. Hittite Prayer Terminology and Taxonomy of the Genre

This section examines those types of Hittite prayer that are explicitly labelled or referred to by the verbs *arkuwai-*, *mald-* and *mugai-* and by the noun *arkuwar*. A general description of each type of prayer is followed by a detailed analysis of selected typical examples.

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<sup>39</sup> The structural division of a prayer into an opening *invocatio*, a closing *prex* and intervening *pars epica*, motivation was proposed for Greek prayers by Ausfeld (1903). Another nomenclature for this structure was proposed by Bremer (1981: 196) as ‘invocation’ (to address a given deity), ‘argument’ (motivation of a deity to act) and ‘petition’ (request).

### 3.2.1. MALD-

#### *prayer-request*

The verb *mald-* designates a prayer recited by a Hittite priest on behalf of the king or another member of the royal family during the performance of a state festival or ritual. The official and impersonal character of this type of prayer is reflected in the use of verbs in the third person.

Only two prayer-requests introduced by the verb *mald-* are preserved. One appears in the OH/NS conjuration ritual (KUB 41.23+ = II.A.4), the other in the New Hittite ritual of unknown nature (IBoT 1.30 = II.A.21). In KUB 41.23 the name of a deity addressed is unknown; it must have been mentioned in the part of the text that is now missing. In IBoT 1.30 the addressed deity is the Stormgod of Ḫatti.

The primary function of both prayers is to present a request. To motivate the deity, the priest either reminds him/her of the petitioner's piety (KUB 41.23) or of the personal relationship between the god and the supplicant. Because of this relationship, the god is believed to be personally responsible for the health and prosperity of the petitioner (IBoT 1.30).

	<b>KUB 41.23 (CTH 458.10.A)</b>	<b>IBoT 1.30 (CTH 821.1)</b>
<b>Officiant</b>	LÚAZU “exorcist”	LÚGUDU <sub>12</sub> “GUDU”-priest”
<b>Context</b>	conjuration ritual	festival/ritual of an unknown nature
<b>Structure</b>	request motivation request	request motivation request
<b>Request</b>	the priest asks for the rejuvenation and the well-being of the king	the priest asks the Stormgod to be well-disposed towards the king.
<b>Motivation</b>	the priest reminds the deity that the king has been worshipping him/her incessantly and thus has a claim on the deity's attention	the priest reminds the god that he appointed the king as his governor on earth and therefore the god is personally responsible for the well-being of the king
<b>Request:</b>	the priest asks the deity for preventing an “evil curse” being pronounced against the king	the priest asks the god for the continual successful reign of the king and for the destruction of those who wish to

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*prayer-vow*

In texts dated to the Middle and New Hittite periods, the verb *mald-* also expresses the notion of vow making. The actual words of prayer-vows are preserved mostly in the New Hittite dreams and votive texts where they are typically introduced by the phrase *kiš(š)an IKRUB*. In a few instances the vow is introduced by the verb *mald-* (KUB 15.3 = II.B.9, KUB 15.17+ = II.B.12) and in two cases by the phrase *-za arkuwar kiš(š)an ešša-* (KUB 15.1 = I.B.b.1 and KUB 15.19 I.B.b.2).

A vow is a promise made to a deity by the petitioner. The supplicant either promises precious objects, metals or minerals, or vows to worship the deity, if the deity grants his/her request. The most complete vows contain the name of a deity to whom the vow is made, the circumstances in which the vow is made, the person who makes it, the condition(s) imposed on the deity by the petitioner and the promised objects or religious acts. While some of these features may be absent, the elements that are always present are the name or the social status of the petitioner, the condition(s) imposed on a deity and the promised objects/worship (de Roos 2007: 4-5).

All preserved prayer-vows are usually made by the queen and occasionally by the king.<sup>40</sup>

The primary function of a prayer-vow is to present a request and to convince the gods to grant this request by making promises. The formula used in prayer-vows is *da-ut-dem* “give so that I may give”. It is grammatically marked by the conditional clause *mān ... nu...* “if you..., then I ...”.

KUB 15.1 (II.B.8) is a New Hittite text in which the queen makes several vows to different deities. The queen makes her vows either in a dream or because a deity or a person has instructed her in a dream to make a vow. Two vows from KUB 15.1 are analysed below; one is introduced by the phrase *kišan IKRUB*, the other by the expression *-za arkuwar kišan ešša-*. KUB 15.3 (II.B.9), contains two vows. The first is introduced by the phrase *kišan IKRUB*, the second by the expression *kišan mald-*; only the latter is examined.

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<sup>40</sup> For the detailed discussion of the votive texts see deRoos 2007: 22-70.

	<b>KUB 15.1 (CTH 584)</b>	<b>KUB 15.3 (CTH 584)</b>
<b>Petitioner:</b>	the queen	the queen
<b>Deity:</b>	Ḫepat of Uda	Ningal
<b>Context:</b>	the queen makes a vow in a dream	the queen has been instructed in her dream to make a vow
<b>Structure:</b>	motivation request	motivation request
<b>Motivation:</b>	the queen promises the goddess a golden statue, a golden rosette and a golden pectoral	the queen promises the goddess a golden <i>talla</i> inlaid with lapis lazuli
<b>Request:</b>	the queen asks for the life and safety of the king	the queen asks the goddess to cure inflammation of the king's feet
<b>Introduced by:</b>	<i>IKRUB kiššan</i>	<i>kišan mald-</i>

	<b>KUB 15.1</b>
<b>Petitioner:</b>	the queen
<b>Deity:</b>	a deity called “Queen” of Tarḫuntašša
<b>Context:</b>	the queen makes her vow in a dream
<b>Request:</b>	motivation request
<b>Motivation:</b>	the queen promises the goddess precious objects? of silver (context too fragmentary)
<b>Request:</b>	the queen asks the goddess to support the king and grant him success in some unspecified matter
<b>Introduced by:</b>	<i>-za arkuwar kišan ešša-</i>

### 3.2.2. MUGAI-

The hymn and prayer of Muršili to the Sungoddess of Arinna (here CTH 376.II) and the hymn and prayer of Muršili to Telipinu (CTH 377) are the only Hittite texts in which the verb *mugai-* is used to designate a type of prayer. In the prefaces to both texts, the verb *mugai-* denotes the ritual of invocation and introduces the words of a prayer that was

spoken during the performance of this ritual. Both texts include only excerpts of the invocation prayers; according to the colophon of manuscript A of CTH 376.II, the complete ritual of invocation was written on a separate tablet.

These two excerpts employ the most salient feature of an invocation prayer, namely the summoning of a deity marked by the formula *nu-za ma-a-an ....appa ... e-ḫu* “If you are .... come back!” Another expression, also commonly used in this type of prayer, is *arḫa uwa-* ... or *appa uwa-*. .... “come away/back ...”

The invocation prayer was typically spoken on behalf of a client by a ritual expert who also performed the invocation ritual.

The primary function of the invocation prayer was to summon a deity either back to his/her temple, or back to the land of Ḫatti, or to the location of a petitioner, so that he/she can approach and grant the request of the petitioner. A deity was also summoned and asked to resume his/her cosmic functions and his/her roles as the protector and benefactor of the petitioner, which functions the deity has abandoned.

The examples below include the excerpt of the invocation prayer employed in NH/NS ‘prayer’ of Muršili II to the Sungoddess of Arinna (ms. A = KUB 24.3+ and ms. B = KUB 36.80 = III.A.b.16) and the prayer appearing in the MH/NS ritual of Paškuwatti (KUB 9.27+ = III.A.b.20; IV.B.8). The ritual of invocation mentioned in the Muršili II’s ‘prayer’ summons the Sungoddess of Arinna, the ritual of Paškuwatti summons the goddess named Uliliyašši.

	KUB 9.27 (CTH 406)	KUB 24.3+ (CTH 376.II) <sup>41</sup>
<b>Officiant:</b>	Paškuwatti from Arzawa, a ritual expert called “Old Woman”	a priest or a ritual expert acting on behalf of the king Muršili II <sup>42</sup>
<b>Context:</b>	the prayer was spoken during the ritual of invocation performed to cure impotence	the prayer was recited during the ritual of invocation that accompanied the recitation of a hymn and prayer, in which the priest on behalf of the king asked the Sungoddess of Arinna to

<sup>41</sup> The full philological edition of the ‘prayer’ of Muršili II to the Sungoddess of Arinna (here CTH 376.II) is included in chapter four.

<sup>42</sup> The identity of the person who performs the ritual and who utters a prayer of invocation is unknown. However, because this type of prayer was typically spoken by a ritual expert who also performed a ritual of invocation, it is reasonable to assume that the officiant was also a ritual expert.

		remove the plague from Ḫatti and to stop the enemy invasion
<b>Structure:</b>	introduction calling motivation calling request motivation request motivation	calling <sup>43</sup> request
<b>Introduction:</b>	the petitioner has lost his reproductive powers and seeks the help of the goddess Uliliyašši	
<b>Calling:</b>	formula used <i>nu-za ma-a-an</i> ... <i>eḫu</i> “if you are ... come!” the goddess is summoned from mountains, meadows, valleys or from any other place in which she could be	formula used <i>nu-za ma-a-an</i> ... EGIR- <i>pa eḫu</i> “if you are ... ... come back!” the goddess is summoned back to her temple from heaven, sea, mountains or from the enemy lands
<b>Motivation:</b>	Paškuwatti declares that the petitioner promises to worship the goddess, to make her his personal deity and to make vows to her	
<b>Calling:</b>	the goddess along with the moon, stars, the nocturnal sun and her entourage is summoned to the location of the petitioner	
<b>Request:</b>	Paškuwatti asks the goddess to return the reproductive powers to the petitioner	
<b>Motivation:</b>	the petitioner’s children, whom he will have if the goddess cures him, will worship the goddess in the future	
<b>Request:</b>	Paškuwatti asks the goddess to show her divine power and mercy to the petitioner	the officiant requests that the goddess be pacified, listens to the hymn of praise and hears the king’s prayer
<b>Motivation:</b>	the petitioner will make the goddess his personal deity	

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The motivation part of the prayer is not included in this text.

### 3.2.3. ARKUWAI-, ARKUWAR

The verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar* begin to be used in Hittite texts as designations of prayer type only in the New Hittite period. The main characteristic that distinguishes the *arkuwar* prayer from other prayer types, except prayer-vow designated by either the verb *mald-* or the noun *arkuwar* (see pp. 97-98), is its personal character, expressed either by the employment of the verbs in the first person and/or by mentioning the name of the person for whom the prayer was composed. This type of prayer was usually recited by the petitioner himself/herself.

The noun *arkuwar* and the verb *arkuwai-* were used to designate various types of personal prayer, namely prayer-plea, prayer-vow, prayer-complaint or prayer-request. According to Singer (2002a: 5), the personal or royal prayers labelled by Hittite scribes as *arkuwar*, resemble in their form a court case, with the king playing the role of defendant, the offended god(s) acting as prosecutor, and various other gods as witnesses for the defence. Although some elements of plea-prayers may indeed resemble the proceedings in the court of law, the other types of personal prayer do not conform to Singers' definition.

#### *plea-prayer*

The plea-prayer was one element of a process whose sole purpose was to appease an angry deity. In that context the plea-prayer appears with making sacrifices, performing rituals and/or offering gifts and reparations.

In the plea-prayer the supplicant, usually the Hittite king or the Hittite queen, as a servant, addresses his/her divine masters, as dispensers of justice, asking for a solution to a problem. The supplicant must present arguments, as he/she was making a case in the court of law, to persuade the deity that he/she deserves assistance. These arguments are included in the motivation part of the *arkuwar* prayer.

Arguments can be presented either to convince the gods to stop the plague and/or the enemy invasion, to excuse or explain one's conduct, or to find the causes of the divine wrath. The motives that reappear in most of the plea-prayers are the confession of sins usually committed by the petitioner's predecessors, insistence of the petitioner's innocence and the promise of penitence. In some of the plea-prayers, the supplicant is allowed to complain to the gods or even to reproach the gods for the unfair treatment.

The beginning of a long composition attributed to the king Muwatalli II (KUB 6.45 = I.A.7) and addressed to the entire Hittite pantheon contains a statement of purpose of the plea-prayer: “If some matter weighs on a man, he makes a plea to the gods”; the plea-prayer was thus spoken in times of mental distress or adversity.

#### A. plague prayers

Two *arkuwar* prayers included below, namely KUB 14.14+ and KUB 14.8+ (for the full editions of these two texts see chapter four), deal with the plague that broke out in Ḫatti during the reign of Muršili’s father, Šuppiluliuma I. The first prayer (KUB 14.14+) is addressed to all the male and female gods, all the male and female gods of the oath, all the male and female primeval gods, mountains, springs and underground watercourses. The second prayer addresses the Stormgod of Ḫatti and other Hittite gods.

Although these two prayers differ in details, the general structure of both texts is the same. Both prayers show tripartite structure (i.e. address, motivation and request). Both prayers include the presentation of the case; the confession of the possible offences that might have caused the plague and that have been confirmed by the oracle; the punishment that ensued these offences; the promise of reparations or reminding the gods that reparations had been made in the past and continue to be made in the present; the insistence of the petitioner’s innocence and the request to remove the plague.

<b>KUB 14.14+ (CTH 378.I)</b>		<b>KUB 14.8 (CTH 378.II)</b>	
<b>Officiant:</b>	the king, Muršili II		the priest(?) reciting Muršili II’s personal prayer
<b>Structure:</b>	address motivation (plea) motivation (plea) request motivation (plea) request motivation (plea) request		address introduction motivation (plea) request motivation (plea) request motivation (plea) request motivation (plea) request
<b>Introduction:</b>	—————		the officiant declares that he was sent by the king to speak the prayer before the gods
<b>Motivation:</b>	<i>the presentation of the case</i> the outbreak of the plague in Ḫatti		<i>the presentation of the case</i> the outbreak of the plague that devastated Ḫatti in the time of

the king's father and during the reign of the king's brother

*Argument 1*

the king reminds the gods that he himself has been worshipping all the gods and that he has been making pleas and vows to them, but they did not hear the king's appeal. The plague continues to ravage the Hittite lands and the people who attend to the gods continue to die

*Argument 2:*

*Identification of the offence*  
the king consulted the oracle which ascertained two offences that might have caused the plague, first the neglect of the ritual of the Mala River, second Šuppiluliuma's breach of his treaty with the Egyptians

*Punishment*

the king describes the successful campaigns of Šuppiluliuma against the Egypt before the plague broke out among the captives and then spread to the Hittite population

*Argument 3: Confession*

the king confesses his father's sins because it has been determined by the oracle that he does so

**Request:**

\_\_\_\_\_

the king begs the Stormgod to hear his pleas and to stop the plague

**Motivation:**

*Argument 2: penitence*  
the king claims that the reparation for the sin has been paid by the culprits and by the population of Ḫatti and is being paid by Muršili himself

*Argument 4: penitence*

the king declares that he has been giving and that he will continue to give reparations for the offences of his father

the king announces that he has already celebrated the ritual of the oath for the Stormgod of Ḫatti and for the other gods and that he will also celebrate the neglected ritual of the Mala River

**Request:**

the king asks the gods to have pity on him

the king asks the god to remit the festival of the Mala River to him, to have pity on him and to stop the plague

<b>Motivation:</b>	<i>Argument 3: Exculpation</i> Muršili's exculpates himself from any guilt. The culprits are dead, but because the sin of his father passed to him, the king is making restitutions and is paying compensation	<i>Argument 5: Exculpation</i> the king admits that his father sinned but he is innocent. However, because sins pass from father to son, the king accepts the responsibility for his father's sin
<b>Request:</b>	the king again asks the gods to have pity on him	the king asks the Stormgod and other gods of Ḫatti to have pity on him, to send the plague away and to spare those bread makers and libation pourers who are still alive
<b>Motivation:</b>	<i>Argument 4</i> it is in the gods best interest to stop the plague lest no one remain to attend to them	<i>Argument 6</i> to convince the gods to grant his wish the king uses analogy: as a bird seeks the security of his cage and the cage saves it, as a servant appeals to his master for help and his master hears his plea, as a servant commits an offence and confesses to his master and the master forgives his servant, so the king expects to be saved and forgiven because he has confessed the sin of his father and accepted the responsibility for his father's offences. The king and the population of Ḫatti have paid the price for the sin of Šuppiluliuma, but the gods are still not pleased
<b>Request:</b>	the king asks the gods to remove the plague from Ḫatti, send it to the enemy lands and spare those bread makers and libation pourers who are still alive	the king asks the gods to save him and Ḫatti, to remove the plague and to spare those bread makers and libation pourers who are still alive  the kings also asks the gods to inform him of any restitution that still need to be paid and to reveal to him, through a dream any other offences that might have caused the divine anger and consequently the plague

#### B. exculpation prayer

In this type of the plea-prayer the supplicant pleads with the divine judges and presents arguments that are to explain or justify his conduct. One can interpret this type of prayer as a defence in the court of law, where the gods are the judges and the king is the defendant.

The fragmentary prayer included below and labelled by the Hittite scribe with the verb *arkuwai-* was commissioned by the king Muršili II. It was probably addressed to the

entire assembly of the Hittite gods (the beginning of the prayer is lost, however, within the prayer the king asks the gods to investigate the king's case) and was spoken by the king himself.<sup>44</sup>

In this prayer the king promises penitence, expresses his dissatisfaction with the gods and complains about the unjust treatment.

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### KBo 4.8+ (CTH 71)

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<b>Officiant:</b>	the king
<b>Context:</b>	after the passing of his wife, the king turns against Tawannanna, his stepmother, who was allegedly responsible for her death. However, because Tawannanna was the priestess of the Sungoddess of Arinna, the king fears divine punishment and makes this exculpation prayer to avoid the divine wrath
<b>Structure:</b>	motivation request motivation request
<b>Motivation:</b>	<p>the king declares that the oracular investigation confirmed the guilt of Tawannanna and determined that she should be dethroned and put to death</p> <p>However, the king did not execute her but instead deposed her from the office of the priestess. He also banished her from the palace and gave her an estate, where she lives in peace and prosperity</p> <p>the king now asks the gods to carefully consider the case and to determine who has been really punished in this situation: while guilty Tawannanna, although dethroned and deposed from her office, is still alive and well, the king has lost his beloved wife. The king declares that it is him who has been punished and expresses his surprise at the divine failure to recognise the truth</p> <p>Still, the king promises that for the deposition of Tawannanna, he will provide the gods with offerings and he will worship them regularly</p>
<b>Request:</b>	in exchange the king request that the gods do not reinstate Tawannanna to the priesthood.
<b>Motivation:</b>	The king reminds the gods that she was an evil person when she was the queen and she continues to be a malevolent

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<sup>44</sup>

Edition: Cornelius 1975; Hoffner 1983: 187-192.

woman now; she keeps cursing the king, the god's servant and priest

**Request:** The gods listened to her before and the king's wife is dead. Now, the king asks that the gods hear his plea instead and stop listening the "word of evil"

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### C. prayer of confession and penitence

Two *arkuwar* prayers of this type are analysed below. The first prayer (KBo 11.1 = I.A.8)<sup>45</sup> was composed during the reign of Muwatalli and was addressed to the Stormgod. The occasion for the prayer was probably a general decline in the state of Kummanni/Kizzuwatna that was regarded to have been caused by a prolonged neglect of its cults by Muwatalli's father, Muršili II. The second prayer (KUB 21.19 = I.A.9)<sup>46</sup> was commissioned by Hattušili III and was addressed to the Sungoddess of Arinna.

Both prayers were spoken in order to appease an angry deity through confession of sins and a promise of penitence. In both prayers, the Hittite king does not know the real cause of the deity's anger and thus seeks to discover it through listing the possible reasons.

In the first of those prayers (KBo 11.1) the king searches through the offences committed by local gods and offences committed by people (either human transgressions against local gods and holy places, or violation of codes of social justice, or desecration of holy entities, expropriation of divine property or inadmissible speech). The king promises to make amends, if the offence/sin is a human's transgression. However, if the Stormgod's anger was caused by a deity, the king invokes the netherworld deities and asks them to reconcile the discordant parties. In the second prayer (KUB 21.19), the king provides a list of offences committed by his father and his brother and focuses on his own innocence.

	<b>KBo 11.1 (CTH 382)</b>	<b>KUB 21.19 (CTH 383)</b>
<b>Officiant:</b>	the king	the king
<b>Structure:</b>	invocation request 1 <sup>st</sup> offence request 2 <sup>nd</sup> offence request 3 <sup>rd</sup> offence	hymn 1 <sup>st</sup> offence <sup>47</sup> request 2 <sup>nd</sup> offence 3 <sup>rd</sup> offence request 4 <sup>th</sup> offence

<sup>45</sup> Editions: Houwink ten Cate/Josephson 1967, and Lebrun 1980: 294-308.

<sup>46</sup> Edition: Lebrun 1980: 309-328; Sürenhagen 1981: 88-108.

<sup>47</sup> The deity addressed in this prayer is named in the short hymn of praise that precedes this prayer.

request	motivation
4 <sup>th</sup> offence	request
request	
5 <sup>th</sup> offence	
request	
6 <sup>th</sup> offence	
request	
7 <sup>th</sup> offence	
request	
8 <sup>th</sup> offence	
9 <sup>th</sup> offence	
request	
10 <sup>th</sup> offence	
request	
motivation	

<b>Invocation:</b>	various deities are invoked to witness the expiation of the sins by Muwatalli and to dispel the Stormgod's anger. These include: the Stormgod, the goddess Ḫepat, the god Šarruma, the deities of the lands, mountains, rivers, sources and springs, deities Ḫuzzi and Ḫutanni, the Sungod of Heaven, Heaven and Earth	—————
<b>Request:</b>	the king asks the Stormgod to look upon the Hittite land and its population with conciliatory eyes, to hear the king's plea and to dispel the sin of the Hittite land	—————
<b>Hymn:</b>	—————	the Sungoddess of Arinna is praised as the Queen of Ḫatti and as the protector of the Hittite king and queen.
<b>Context:</b>	in twelve paragraphs the king lists possible reasons for the Stormgod's wrath. Most paragraphs are concluded with a request.	the king provides a long list of offences committed by his predecessors which might have caused the goddess' anger. The king declares his own innocence in the matter of all the sins.
<b>1<sup>st</sup> offence:</b>	a god of the land has angered the Stormgod	curtailing of the power of Tawannanna by Muršili, the king's father. The king declares that if this is the cause of the goddess's anger, the culprit has paid the price; he is dead. The king declares that he is innocent because he was a child when the offence was committed.

<b>Request:</b>	the king asks the Netherworld deities to reconcile the gods and requests that the Stormgod gives to the land of Ḫatti wealth, peace, well-being, growth and prosperity	the king requests that the goddess does not hold him responsible in in that matter
<b>2<sup>nd</sup> offence:</b>	mountains, rivers, wells and springs have angered the Stormgod	Muwatalli, the king brother's, transfer of the capital from Ḫattuša to Tarḫuntašša. The king declares that this was done against his own wish
<b>Request:</b>	the king asks the Netherworld deities to reconcile the gods and asks the Stormgod to give to the land of Ḫatti wealth, peace, well-being, growth and prosperity	_____
<b>3<sup>rd</sup> offence:</b>	a man offends a local god. If that god complains to the Stormgod, the king promises to make a plea and to reinstall the cult of the god according to the instructions found the in old records or according to the instruction of a “venerable old man”	Muwatalli's case against Danuḫepa and her sons. The kings states that the one who was responsible for ruination of Danuḫepa has paid the price with his life. Again the king declares his own innocence in this matter
<b>Request:</b>	the king asks the Stormgod to give to the land of Ḫatti wealth, peace, well-being, growth and prosperity	the king requests that the goddess does not hold him responsible in that matter
<b>4<sup>th</sup> offence:</b>	mountains, rivers, sources, springs or fountains of the land keep making the Stormgod angry	the king declares that he installed on the Hittite throne Muwatalli's son, Urḫi-Tešub, but does not take responsibility for the war that ensued between them, nor does he take responsibility for the offences against the gods committed by the latter
<b>Request:</b>	the king asks the Netherworld deities to reconcile the gods and requests that the Stormgod gives to the land of Ḫatti wealth, peace, well-being, growth and prosperity	_____
<b>5<sup>th</sup> offence:</b>	if a human desecrated or neglected a mountain, a <i>šinapši</i> -sanctuary or another holy place and if that place complains to the Stormgod, the king promises to make amends and to re-consecrate the neglected sanctuary.	_____
<b>Motivation:</b>	_____	Ḫattušili emphasises his own piety and his dedication to recapturing and rebuilding Nerik, the city of the

Sungoddess' son, the Stormgod of Nerik. For his self-sacrifices and dedication to the matter of Nerik the king expects the Sungoddess of Arinna to reciprocate the favours

- Request:** The king asks the Stormgod to hold responsible and to punish only that place/person who committed the offence and not the entire land
- the king asks the goddess to disregard any sins of his father, his mother or any older sin that might have caused the goddess' anger
- The king asks the goddess to spare his life and spare the life of his wife and children.
- The king also asks that the goddess protects Hattuša, Arinna, Zippalanda and Nerik, the cities that are the places of residence of the goddess herself and of her son, the Stormgod of Nerik
- 6<sup>th</sup> offence** if somebody has expropriated the property of the Stormgod, the king promises to correct the situation.
- Request:** In case the king does not find the written records that would instruct him how to do it or if a "venerable old man" does not remember how to make amends, the king asks the god to reveal to him in a dream the manner in which the amends should be made.
- 7<sup>th</sup> offence:** if an orphan has been mistreated and he/she appealed to the Stormgod, the king promises that people responsible will pay for it.
- Request:** The king asks the Stormgod to take vengeance only on the guilty party not on the entire land
- 8<sup>th</sup> offence:** the king declares that people who ...-ed from an evil bird by an augur or defiled bread offered to the dead, have treated and released the bird and purified the bread
- 9<sup>th</sup> offence:** the father of the king has neglected the cult in Kummanni
- Request:** the king asks the god to take vengeance only on the father not on the son.
- 10<sup>th</sup> offence:** if an inadmissible speech is the cause

for the Stormgod's anger,

**Request:** the king asks the Netherworld deities to dispel it. The king also requests that the Stormgod looks on Kummanni with conciliatory eyes and asks the god to allow himself to be appeased.

**Motivation:** the god will be provided with unlimited supply of offerings and libation.

*prayer-request*

The verb *arkuwai-* also introduces the personal prayer-request. The argumentation presented in the motivation part of this prayer type is similar to the motivation of short prayers-requests introduced by the verb *mald-*. The petitioner expects his/her request to be granted because he/she has been worshipping the addressed deity incessantly or because the relationship between the petitioner and the addressed deity is of a personal kind. The main difference between the *arkuwar* prayer-request and the prayer-request designated by the verb *mald-* is that the former is spoken by the petitioner, who personally addresses a deity; the latter is recited by a Hittite priest, who addresses the deity on behalf of the petitioner.

This prayer type does not entail confession of sins or the statement of innocence, only arguments.

The first example of the personal prayer-request appears in a composition commissioned by the queen Puduḫepa (KUB 21.27 = I.A.10)<sup>48</sup>, in which the queen pleads for the well-being of her husband, Hattušili III. The composition includes the *arkuwar* prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna and prayers-requests to four deities of the goddess' entourage, namely the goddesses Lelwani, Zintuḫi and Mezzulla and the Stormgod of Zippalanda. Only the prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna is labelled as *arkuwar*.

The queen reminds the goddess of her piety and obedience to the goddess' wishes and of the dedication of her spouse to the matters of the goddess' son, the Stormgod of Nerik. The queen feels in her right to request and demand that the goddess reciprocates all the favours.

<sup>48</sup>

Edition: Lebrun 1980: 329-347; Sürenhagen 1981: 108-122.

The other prayer-request appears in the long composition commissioned by the king Muwatalli and addressed to the Stormgod of Lightning and to the entire Hittite pantheon (KUB 6.45 iii 25 - iv 2)<sup>49</sup>. The composition includes invocations and prayers to various Hittite gods.

The king motivates his requests with the fact that the Stormgod of Lightning raised him and appointed him to Hittite kingship.

	<b>KUB 6.45+ (CTH 381)</b>	<b>KUB 21.27 (CTH 384)</b>
<b>Officiant:</b>	the king	the queen
<b>Context:</b>	the king makes this prayer after invoking all the gods of all the Hittite lands	the queen, concerned with the poor health of her spouse, the king Ḫattušili, presents her prayer which is dedicated to the king's well-being
<b>Structure:</b>	address motivation request motivation request motivation request	introductory statement address motivation request motivation
<b>Introduction:</b>	—————	the queen starts the prayer with identifying the main goddess, to whom she will be making her plea, namely the Sungoddess of Arinna
<b>Address:</b>	the king addresses the Stormgod of Lightning	the queen addresses the goddess by her two names; the Sungoddess of Arinna, which name the goddess assumed in Ḫatti, and Ḫepat, by which name the goddess is known in Kizzuwatna
<b>Motivation:</b>	<i>Argument 1: personal relationship</i> the king focuses on his personal relationship with the god, who reared him, made him the priest of the Sungoddess of Arinna and of all the gods, and finally appointed him to kingship	<i>Argument 1: the personal relationship</i> the queen reminds the goddess of her piety and her dedication to worshipping the goddess. The queen also emphasises the special relationship she has with the goddess; the goddess initiated her marriage to Ḫattušili and installed them both in Nerik
<b>Request:</b>	because of this close relationship the king asks the god to intercede	

<sup>49</sup>

for him with all the gods, whom the king invoked, and to pass and support the plea the king is making to the gods

**Motivation:**

*Argument 2*  
to describe his relationship with the Stormgod, the king uses an analogy: as a bird seeks refuge in its cage and the cage saves its life, so the king took refuge with the god, and the god has kept the king alive

*Argument 2: Ḫattušili's piety*  
the queen now reminds the goddess of the king's dedication and self-sacrifice to recapturing of Nerik, the seat of the goddess' beloved son, and restoring the city to its former glory

**Request:**

the king now asks the god to transmit his plea to all the gods

**Motivation:**

*Argument 3: promise*  
in exchange, the king promises to praise the Stormgod. The king is certain that the gods will hear his plea and will find the solution to the problem that troubles him. Then, after observing how the Stormgod takes care of the king, the people of Ḫatti will praise the god. The king promises that in future, king's descendants, the future kings and the queens of Ḫatti, the noblemen as well as the gods of heaven, mountains and the rivers will also praise the god

*Argument 3: Ḫattušili's dedication to Nerik*  
the queen reminds the goddess how, Ḫattušili after the death of his brother, installed on the Hittite throne his brother's son, Urḫi-Tešub, and how the latter with the members of Hittite nobility oppressed Ḫattušili because of Nerik. Despite this abuse, Ḫattušili, defended Nerik

*Argument 4: promise*  
the king promises that he will exalt the Stormgod, will build him temples and will provide the god with rituals and offerings

*Argument 4: promise*  
the queen promises the gods (of Nerik?) that their neglected rituals and festivals will be observed regularly once more

*Argument 5: Puduḫepa – a woman of the birth stool*

Puduḫepa enhances her arguments by referring to a saying: "to a woman of the birth stool the deity grants her wish. Since I, Puduḫepa, am a woman of a birth stool...grant me what [I ask of you]!" This either refers to Puduḫepa as a woman who is about to give birth or her abilities as a midwife, in either case she deserves to be heard

**Request:**

the king asks the god to stand by his side and protect him

the queen asks the goddess to hear her plea and to grant Ḫattušili long life and health. She also asks that the goddess to intercede for her in the assembly of all

the gods and asks them to grant her husband life and well-being

**Motivation:** \_\_\_\_\_

*Argument 6: Puduḫepa's piety*

to support further her request, the queen reminds the goddess that she, the queen, fulfilled all the wishes and orders of the goddess and now the goddess should reciprocate the favour and fulfil the wishes of the queen

*prayer – vow*

On a few occasions, the noun *arkuwar* also denotes a prayer-vow. On the description of this type of prayer and the example of the prayer-vow introduced by the expression *-za arkuwar ešša-* see above (pp. 97-98).

*prayer-complaint*

In two texts the noun *arkuwar* denotes the prayer whose aim was to file a complaint to a god.

In the prayer commissioned by the king Muwatalli and addressed to the Stormgod (KBo 11.1 = I.B.a.5), a mistreated orphan makes a prayer-complaint (referred to by the verb *arkuwai-*) to the deity named Šarruma. The words of this complaint are not included in this text.

Another prayer-complaint is preserved in the New Hittite text (KUB 54.1 = I.B.a.6) catalogued as a fragment of a prayer on the Hethitologie Portal (CTH 389). The same text was placed by Collins in her emendations to Laroche's Catalogue of the Hittite Texts under the heading "Legal Texts" and categorized as possibly a deposition. Collins assigned this text the CTH number 297. Since the first paragraph is missing, it is at present impossible to reach a decision with regard to the nature of this text.

In the *arkuwar* prayer contained in this text, a certain high-ranking individual named IŠTAR-*ziti*, requests from the Sungod of heaven and from the deities of Liprašša that they examine his legal matters. He also reproaches the gods of Liprašša for his unjust treatment (as compared to those who ruined him, including a Hittite king). Because the petitioner addresses different gods, first the gods of Liprašša, then the Sungod of heaven and then an unnamed deity, it is possible that this text contains three different *arkuwar*-prayers. First, the prayer-complaint, then prayer-request and again prayer-complaint.

The motive of complaining and reproaching the gods also appears in the exculpation prayer of Muršili II (see above). However, while in the prayer of Muršili the main objective was to explain the conduct of the king and the complaint was one of the arguments, in this prayer the sole objective is to complain.

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### KUB 54.1 (CTH 389/297)

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<b>Officiant:</b>	a high-ranking individual named IŠTAR-ziti
<b>Context:</b>	IŠTAR-ziti describes his dealings with Nanizi, with the family of Mutti and with other unnamed individuals
<b>Structure:</b>	Prayer 1: complaint  Prayer 2: request  Prayer 3: complaint
<b>Prayer 1 Complaint:</b>	IŠTAR-ziti complains to the gods of Liprašša, who are the deities of his mother and the gods of his grandfather. When he presented his case before the gods and asked them to investigate it the gods did not listen.  When IŠTAR-ziti became ill, he prayed again to the same gods and again he complained about injustice. He reproaches the gods, because they support the one who ruined IŠTAR-ziti.
<b>Prayer 2 Request:</b>	IŠTAR-ziti asks the Sungod of heaven to investigate his case
<b>Prayer 3 Complaint:</b>	IŠTAR-ziti complains that he has been mistreated by an unnamed god, who harmed him, brought him to the place of isolation and separated him from his relatives.

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### 3.3. Hittite Prayer Terminology and Structure of Royal Prayers

This section analyses the structure of the well-preserved complex compositions dated to the New Hittite period and termed by students of Hittite prayer as “royal prayers”. These composite texts comprise, in various combinations, several religious utterances and rites, including a *mukeššar* ritual, a hymn of praise (*walla-*), a personal prayer (*arkuwar*) and a **vow**. While these structurally complex compositions may or may not contain an

invocation ritual, a hymn or a vow, they always include a personal prayer commissioned by the Hittite king or the Hittite queen. Some of the religious utterances and rites included in these compositions are explicitly labelled by the Hittite scribes. Those which are not, exhibit enough features that can safely classify them as either a personal prayer, an invocation ritual, a hymn or a vow. While each composition has a macro-structure, each of its elements retains its own internal structure.

### 3.3.1 Invocation Ritual, Hymn and Prayer of Muršili II to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 376.II)<sup>50</sup>

This composite text can be divided into three structural elements:

- preface that contains excerpts from the invocation ritual labelled with the verb *mugai-*
- hymn of praise in two parts (unlabelled)
- a personal prayer in two parts (unlabelled):

prayer against the plague

address  
motivation  
request

prayer against the enemy invasion

—————  
motivation  
request  
motivation  
request  
motivation

#### PREFACE

The composition begins with the preface, in which a priest-scribe<sup>51</sup> addresses the Sungoddess of Arinna. He announces that he has been sent by the king and asked to invoke (*mugai-*) the goddess. He then utters a few lines of the invocation prayer, in which he asks the goddess to come back to her temple and to listen to what he is about to say (on this invocation prayer see section 3.2.2. of this chapter).

<sup>50</sup> For the full edition of this prayer see chapter four.

<sup>51</sup> The person who composed this composition also recited it before the goddess. Since it is unlikely that a regular scribe would be allowed to address the goddess personally, the person who wrote this composition and the person who spoke the prayer must have been a Hittite priest.

## HYMN

The hymn of praise comprises two parts, both of which begin with the phrase *zik=za* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>ARINNA *nakkiš* DINGIR-LIM-iš “You, O Sungoddess of Arinna, are an honoured goddess”.

The first section of the hymn (lines 15-38) has probably been inspired by lines i 1'-27' of manuscript A and lines i 9-17 of manuscript B of the Middle Hittite prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal (CTH 375), which it resembles in wording and spirit. The goddess is assured that nowhere except in Ḫatti, she is piously worshipped and provided with temples, precious objects, festivals and rituals, offerings and libation. Only the Hittite king, Muršili II, respects and celebrates the goddess so devoutly.

The first six lines of the second part of the hymn (lines 39-44) praise the goddess as the most important and most honoured goddess in the entire Hittite pantheon.

The next lines (44-77') were clearly inspired by or even copied from the hymn to Ištanu that was attached to the prayer of a mortal (CTH 372) (on this see chapter four, the edition of CTH 376.II). This part of the hymn praises the goddess as a divine judge, who is merciful and just. It exalts the goddess as the queen of heaven and earth, a queen who sets the borders of the land, who hears the prayers, who protects the just person and who assigns the shares of offerings for the gods. All the gods of heaven and earth bow to her and submit to her will. In short, the priest reminds the goddess of her divine attributes and her right and even obligation to take lead in the matter, which will be laid out in the prayer. All these qualities were those of Ištanu in the CTH 372 hymn. The only passages that were omitted from that hymn describe the god's physical attributes and his filial relationship to Ningal.

The hymnic part of this composition ends with a request. The priest asks the goddess, on behalf of the king Muršili II, to protect and sustain the king and to listen to the words of the king's prayer.

## PRAYER

Lines 78'-154' of this composition contain a prayer in two parts, which was copied almost verbatim from the Middle Hittite prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna (on this see chapter four edition of CTH 376.II). Lines 139'-154' show many similarities to a fragmentary prayer found in private collection (on this prayer, published by Schwemer

2006: 239-241, see chapter four under manuscripts CTH 376 and appendix 3 under CTH 376.V).

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*plague-prayer*

- Address:** the Hittite gods
- Motivation:** The prayer begins with the presentation of the case, namely the outbreak of the plague in Ḫatti. The general population and those who attend to the gods died and the offerings for the gods ceased. For this the gods hold people responsible. The people did all they could to appease the gods, but all their efforts were in vain. Now the people are lost, they do not know what to do
- Request:** The priest asks the gods to show mercy and to reveal the cause of the divine anger so that people can act accordingly and appease the gods.

*prayer against the enemy invasion*

- Motivation:** The priest declares that the lands, which are in the *kuriwana* relationship with Ḫatti (i.e. Arzawa and Mitanni), do not respect the Hittite gods and are seeking to despoil their temples.
- Request:** The priest asks the gods to take vengeance on those lands and to send there the plague and all the evils.
- The priest reminds the gods that lands which act against the divine will are prosperous, while Ḫatti is oppressed by the plague. He asks the gods to rectify the situation and to reverse the fortunes.
- Motivation:** Now the priest addresses the Sungoddess of Arinna. He declares that the lands that are bound to Ḫatti by treaties (i.e. Kaška, Arawanna, Kalašma, Lukka and Pitašša) do not respect the goddess. They stopped paying tributes and began to attack Ḫatti. The priest reminds the goddess how, in the past, she protected Ḫatti and how, with her help, Ḫatti attacked and conquered other lands. Now all has changed and the goddess does not support the Hittite cause anymore.
- Requests:** The priest asks the goddess to take vengeance on the enemy lands and to resume her role of the protector and defender of Ḫatti.

The priest asks the gods to punish only those towns, household, or a person that do not respect the gods. He requests that the gods have mercy on Ḫatti, send the plague and all the evils to the enemy lands and return the prosperity to Ḫatti.

The priest asks the Sungoddess of Arinna to send the plague and all the evils to the enemy lands and to return all the favours and prosperity to the king, Muršili II and to the Hittite lands.

**Motivation:** The priest promises that when all the requests are granted, all the gods will be provided with bread offerings and libation.

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In the colophon the priest declares that he invoked (*mugai-*) the Sungoddess of Arinna in Hattuša and in Arinna. In each city, the priest invoked the goddess for seven days. He also mentions that the invocation ritual (*mukeššar*) has been recorded in writing on a separate tablet.

### 3.3.2 Invocation Ritual, Hymn and Prayer of Muršili II to Telipinu (CTH 377)<sup>52</sup>

This composition is very similar to the previous one. It is divided into three separate parts:

- preface containing excerpts from the invocation ritual labelled with the verb *mugai-* and from the hymn of praise labelled with the verb *walla-*
- hymn of praise (*walla-*)
- personal prayer (*arkuwar*)

#### PREFACE

The composition begins with a statement that the priest-scribe reads this text daily before the god Telipinu and praises the god (*walla-*). This is followed by excerpt from the hymn of praise and the scribe's declaration that he has been sent by the king Muršili II and by the queen to invoke (*mugai-*) the god. He then utters a few lines of the invocation prayer, in which he asks the god to come back to his temple, to be pacified and to listen to what he, the scribe-priest, is about to say.

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<sup>52</sup> For the transliteration and translation of this text see chapter four.

HYMN (*walla-*)

Because of numerous textual similarities, it is generally assumed that the hymn to Telipinu has been copied almost verbatim from the hymn to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 376.II). The hymn to Telipinu, however, is somewhat shorter.

As the hymn to the Sungoddess of Arinna, it is also divided into two parts, both of which are introduced by the sentence *zik=za*<sup>d</sup> *Telipinuš nakkiš DINGIR-LIM-iš* “You, Telipinu, are an honoured god”

The first part of the hymn (lines 18-46) assures the god that nowhere except in Ḫatti, he is piously worshipped and provided with temples, precious objects, festivals and rituals, offerings and libation. The priest-scribe also asserts the god that he is respected and worshipped devoutly only by the Hittite king, Muršili II, by the queen and by the royal princes.

Only three lines of the second part of the hymn (lines 47-49) are preserved. They praise the god as the most important and most honoured god in the entire Hittite pantheon. The rest of the hymn is missing, but probably continued only for a few more lines.

The part of the hymn in which the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 376.II) is praised as the divine judge, as the queen of heaven and earth who protects and supports the just person and who hears and fulfils the prayers, as well as the mistress of all the gods, was probably not included in the hymn to Telipinu. This part was omitted since it did not describe the qualities nor the status of Telipinu in the hierarchy of the Hittite gods.

## PRAYER

Only the prayer against the enemy invasion was included in this composition. Due to the fragmentary state of preservation, the address and the motivation parts of the prayer are not preserved.

**Requests:**

The requests presented in this prayer are similar to those included in the prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna. The priest-scribe asks the god to give all the favours, prosperity and the well-being to the king, the queen and the royal princes. He also asks the god to remove all the evils from Ḫatti and to send them to those enemy lands, which do not respect the Hittite gods.

In the colophon the priest-scribe declares that this tablet records the presentation of the *arkuwar* before the god Telipinu.

### 3.3.3 Muwatalli's "Prayer" to the Assembly of the Hittite Gods (CTH 381)

This long composition contains various prayers-requests, invocations and offerings presented to all the Hittite gods and the gods of all the lands. The structure of this composition is as follows:

- preamble
- prayer-request addressed to all the gods of Ḫatti (*arkuwar*)
  - address
  - request
  - motivation (agenda of prayers)
  - request
- prayer to Šeri, Champion of Ḫatti (*arkuwar*)
  - address
  - request
- invocation of the gods of all the lands
- prayer to the Sungod of Heaven (*arkuwar*)
  - address
  - praise
  - request
- prayer to the Stormgod of Lightning (*arkuwar*)
  - address
  - motivation
  - request
  - motivation
  - request
  - motivation
  - request
- a list of offerings presented to the gods of Ḫatti before the personal plea-prayer is recited
- a list of offerings given to the gods of all the lands after the personal prayer is spoken

## PREAMBLE

The text begins with the statement of purpose: when something troubles a human being and he/she needs a divine assistance he/she should make a plea (*arkuwar*). This statement is followed by presenting offerings to the Sungoddess of Arinna, the Sungod of Heaven and to the male gods.

## PRAYER-REQUEST TO THE GODS OF ḪATTI (*arkuwar*)

### **Address:**

The king, Muwatalli, addresses all the gods of Ḫatti, starting with the most important deities (i.e. the Sungod of Heaven, the Sungoddess of Arinna, the Stormgod) and ending with all the male and female gods, mountains and rivers of “the land of Ḫatti”; in short all the gods whom he serves as priest and who conferred on him the kingship in Ḫatti.

### **Request:**

The king asks all the gods to listen to his pleas.

### **Motivation (Agenda of Prayers):**

The king presents the agenda of prayers which he will make. First, he will utter a prayer, in which he will report to the gods on the state of their cult centres. Then, the king will make his personal prayer, in which he will present the problem(s) that trouble his soul.

### **Request:**

The king asks the gods to listen to his prayers and to grant the request presented in them. The king also asks the gods to disregard those pleas, which the gods do not want to hear. He will nonetheless keep making them.

## PRAYER-REQUEST TO ŠERI (*arkuwar*)

### **Address:**

The king addresses Šeri as the bull of the Stormgod, the champion of Ḫatti

### **Request:**

The king asks Šeri to intercede on his behalf with the gods and pass on his plea so that the gods can hear and fulfil the requests of the king

## INVOCATION OF THE GODS OF ALL THE LANDS

The king invokes and addresses all the gods of all the lands, beginning with the most important gods in the Hittite pantheon and then moving to all the gods of all the lands under Hittite control.

### PRAYER-REQUEST TO THE SUNGOD OF HEAVEN (*arkuwar*)

#### **Address:**

The king addresses the god and praises him as the shepherd of mankind and as the Supreme judge of men and animals alike

#### **Request:**

The king asks the god to stop the gods in their tracks and to summon from heaven and earth, mountains and rivers, temples and thrones all the gods, whom the king have just invoked and to whom he had just made a plea.

### PRAYER-REQUEST TO THE STORMGOD OF LIGHTNING (*arkuwar*)

For a detailed analysis of this prayer, in which the king asks the god to intercede on his behalf with the gods, to pass on and to support his plea see section 3.2.3 under the heading “prayer-request.”

## RITUAL OFFERINGS

A list of offerings and libation that are to be given to the gods of Ḫatti follows the prayer to the Stormgod and precedes the presentation of a personal prayer. Because the personal prayer is not included in this composition, the entire text should be regarded as a model text (see section 3.4.2 of this chapter).

## RITUAL OFFERINGS

Another list of offerings that are to be given to the gods of all the lands is included here. These offerings are to be given after the recitation of a plea-prayer.

### **3.3.4. Hymn and Prayer of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 383)**

This text comprises two religious utterances:

- hymn of praise (unlabelled)

- a personal prayer (*arkuwar*) comprising motivation and request

#### HYMN

The text begins with a short hymn, in which the king, Hattušili III, names the goddess to whom he will be directing his plea, as the Sungoddess of Arinna. In the thirteen lines of the hymn, the goddess is praised and identified as the queen of heaven and earth, as the Queen of Ḫatti and as the protector and supporter of the kings and the queens of Ḫatti.

PRAYER-PLEA (*arkuwar*) (for a detailed analysis of this prayer see above in section 3.2.3 under the heading “prayer of confession and penitence”)

#### **Motivation:**

The king lists the offences committed by his predecessors that might have caused the divine anger. In all those offences the king declares his own innocence. The king also reminds the goddess of his own dedication and self-sacrifice in the matter of Nerik.

#### **Request:**

The king asks the goddess to dispel the known and unknown sins of his predecessors, to spare and protect the life on the king, the queen and their children, to stand by the king in the assembly of gods and repress all evil things said against the king, and finally to protect the cities which belong to the goddess and to her son Stormgod of Nerik, namely Hattuša, Arinna, Nerik and Zippalanda.

### **3.3.5 Prayers of Puduḫepa to the Sungoddess of Arinna and Her Entourage (CTH 384)**

This composite text contains five independent prayers:

- prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna (*arkuwar*)
- prayer and a vow to Lelwani (unlabelled)
- prayer and a vow to Zintuḫi (unlabelled)
- prayer and a vow to Mezzulla (unlabelled)
- prayer and a vow to the Stormgod of Zippalanda (unlabelled)

PRAYER TO THE SUNGODDESS OF ARINNA (*arkuwar*) (this prayer is analysed in section 3.2.3 under the heading “prayer-request”)

- introductory statement
- address
- motivation
- request

#### PRAYER-REQUEST AND A VOW TO LELWANI

##### *Prayer*

- address
- motivation
- request

##### *Vow 1*

- request
- motivation (missing due to a break in the tablet)

##### *Prayer*

- request

##### *Vow 2*

- request
- motivation

#### PRAYER AND A VOW TO ZINTUḪI

##### *Prayer*

- address
- praise
- request

##### *Vow*

- request
- motivation

#### PRAYER AND A VOW TO MEZZULLA

##### *Prayer*

- address
- motivation

- request

*Vow*

- request
- motivation

PRAYER AND A VOW TO THE STORMGOD OF ZIPPALANDA

*Prayer*

- address
- motivation
- request
- motivation

*Vow*

- request
- motivation

<b>prayer to Lelwani</b>	<b>prayer to Zintuḫi</b>
<i>prayer-request</i>	<i>prayer-request</i>
<b>Address:</b> the queen addresses Lelwani, the goddess of the Netherworld	Zintuḫi is addressed by the queen as the grand-daughter of the Stormgod and the Sungoddess of Arinna and as the goddess watched over by her divine grandparents
<b>Praise:</b> _____	the goddess is praised as an ornament on the breasts of the Stormgod and of the Sungoddess of Arinna
<b>Motivation:</b> the queen reminds the goddess that all the gods always listen to her	missing due to the broken tablet
<b>Request:</b> the queen asks the goddess to support her in the matter in which she is making the request, namely, the alleged illness of Hattušili	the queen asks the goddess to intercede with the Stormgod and the Sungoddess of Arinna. She also requests that the goddess asks her divine grandparents to grant Hattušili a long life
the queen asks the goddess not to listen to the words that were uttered with the purpose of defaming the king but also not to listen to words spoken by the king that might have offended the gods	

the queen requests that the goddess protects the queen and the king from their enemies

*prayer-vow 1*

**Motivation:** if the goddess keeps the king alive, does not listen to the evil words and speaks well about the king in front of the gods

**Request:** \_\_\_\_\_

*prayer-request*

**Request:** the queen asks the goddess to intercede with the gods and ask for Ḫattušili's life. The queen asks that also the goddess grants the royal couple a long and healthy life

*prayer-vow 2*

**Motivation:** if the goddess fulfils all of the above requests

**Request:** the queen promises to offer her a full-sized statue of Ḫattušili made of silver with its head, hands and feet made of gold

*prayer-vow*

if the goddess fulfils this request

the queen promises to make for her a great ornament

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**prayer to Mezzulla**

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**prayer to the Stormgod of Zippalanda**

*prayer-request*

**Address:** the goddess is addressed as the daughter of the Stormgod and of the Sungoddess of Arinna

**Motivation:** the goddess' parents listen to her and always grant her requests

**Request:** the queen asks the goddess to pass on the words of the *arkuwar*, which the queen makes to the Stormgod and to the Sungoddess of Arinna and to support her, the queen, in her plea

**Motivation:** \_\_\_\_\_

*prayer-request*

the god is addressed as the son of the Stormgod and of the Sungoddess of Arinna

the god's parents listen to him and always grant his requests

the queen asks the god to pass on to his divine parents the words of the *arkuwar*, which she is making and to support the queen in her plea

to motivate the god the queen declares that she is a woman of the birth stool and that she has personally made restitutions to the god. She also reminds the god of her husband's dedication to

		the matter of Nerik, the god's beloved city.
<b>Request:</b>	_____	the queen asks the god to intercede on her behalf with the Stormgod and with the Sungoddess of Arinna, to be well-disposed towards Ḫattušili, her husband and to pass on the words of <i>arkuwar</i> , which the queen makes to the Stormgod and to the Sungoddess of Arinna
	<i>prayer-vow</i>	<i>prayer-vow</i>
<b>Request:</b>	If the goddess fulfils this request,	if the god fulfils the queen's requests and saves Ḫattušili from evil
<b>Motivation:</b>	the queen will dedicate to her towns and will give her deportees as servants	the queen will make for him a golden shield weighing two minas, she will also make an unspecified object (break in the tablet) and will consecrate to the god the town of Puputana

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### 3.4. Summaries and Conclusions

The last two sections described and analysed in detail those types of prayer which were designated by the verbs *mald-*, *mugai-* and *arkuwai-* as well as several longer compositions commonly referred to as “royal prayers”. This section places these texts within the reconstructed Hittite prayer system and answers the questions of whether any of the terms named above represent a generic name for prayer, when a given term was used to designate a particular type of prayer and how the prayer system evolved over time. The below paragraphs also examine Hittite “royal prayers”. Of particular interest are the following questions, what is a typical Hittite royal prayer, did it exist? What was the primary function of these structurally complex compositions? Why were the utterances and rites designated by the verbs *mald-*, *mugai-*, *arkuwai-* and *walla-* used in these compositions? Do all these terms designate the functional elements of a typical Hittite prayer or perhaps a prayer along with the other utterances and rites could be regarded as an element of a religious activity?

### 3.4.1 The Usage of *mald-*, *mugai-*, *arkuwai-* and *arkuwar* in Prayer Context: A Diachronic and Synchronic View

While the verbs *mald-* and *mugai-* were used in Hittite texts as designations of a prayer-request, a prayer-vow and an invocation prayer from the Old to the New Hittite periods, the verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar* make their first appearance in the prayer context only in the New Hittite period.

The employment of the verb *arkuwai-* to designate a personal prayer reflects the change that took place in the Hittite prayer system. This change is not viewed as a linear development (i.e. one type of prayer developed into another and then replaced it); rather it is seen as an addition of a new type of prayer and its coexistence with other prayer types in one system. Each type of prayer was used in a different context and, in most cases, the function and the usage of one type of prayer did not infringe the function and the usage of the other. All the texts which include or mention prayers designated by the verbs *mald-*, *mugai-* and *arkuwai-* or which contain hymns of praise (*walla-*) were found in the royal archives of Hattuša, and therefore belong to the sphere of the state religion.

The table below summarises the usage of the *termini technici* in the prayer context.

	OLD HITTITE	MIDDLE HITTITE	NEW HITTITE
<i>arkuwai-</i> <i>arkuwar</i>	_____	_____	personal-prayer: prayer-plea, prayer-complaint, prayer-request, prayer-vow
<i>mald-malteššar</i>	prayer-request	prayer-request prayer –vow	prayer-request, prayer-vow
<i>mugai-</i> <i>mukeššar</i>	invocation prayer	invocation prayer	invocation prayer

#### *OLD HITTITE*

In the Old Hittite period the verb *mugai-* expresses the notion of inducing the return of an absent or an angry deity or the alienated soul of a deceased through performing an invocation ritual, which also included the recitation of an invocation prayer. However, the actual words of this type of ritual and prayer are preserved only in the texts dated to the Middle and New Hittite periods.

In the Old Hittite period the verb *mald-* designates a type of prayer whose primary function was to present a request to the gods. It was recited by a Hittite priest on behalf of the supplicant, usually the Hittite king or other member of the royal family, during a state festival or a ritual. Although the king participated in the festival and/or ritual by making

offerings, pouring libations and occasionally addressing a deity by pronouncing his/her name or repeating some formulas spoken first by the priest, the prayer-request was recited only by the Hittite priest. It follows, that the language of those prayer-requests was official and was dictated by the conventional rules of prudent phrasing. The requests were general, usually asking for the well-being of the king or another member of the Hittite royal family and the motivation included reminding the god(s) of the supplicant's piety or of the close relationship the deity has with the petitioner and hence the responsibility the deity has to protect the supplicant and to grant him/her all the favours.

The meaning of the verb *mald-* "to recite" indicates that to pray meant simply to pronounce words before a deity. Since the verb *mald-* was also used to introduce other utterances recited during the state festivals and rituals, such as invocations in Hattic and in Hittite, Hattic incantations, blessings and the like, this verb can be considered as *the* word for communicating with the divine. However, that communication was entirely in the hands of Hittite priests and was solely conducted in the cultic setting. The Old Hittite prayer then placed a restriction on who was permitted to pray and when.

#### *MIDDLE HITTITE*

In the Middle Hittite period the verb *mald-* continues to designate an official prayer-request recited during the state festivals and rituals but also begins to express the notion of vow-making. The latter is reflected in the new meaning "to vow, to promise" assumed by this verb. The actual words of prayer-vows or prayer-requests are not attested in the Middle Hittite period.

The verb *mugai-* is used in the texts dated to the Middle Hittite period to designate a ritual of invocation and a prayer recited during this ritual. The prayer was spoken on behalf of the client by a ritual expert who also performed the ritual. As in the prayer-request denoted by the verb *mald-*, the client could participate in the ritual by making offerings, pouring libations and performing other actions required by the ritual, but all the oral rites including the invocation prayer were recited by the officiant of the ritual. The main function of the prayer was to summon a deity to the location of the supplicant or back to his/her temple and to present a request.

Although the language of the invocation prayer was official and formulaic and although the requests were, for the most part, general (i.e. asking a deity to hear the supplicant's request), this prayer also contained personal elements. The personal 'touches' could be discerned in the motivation part of this prayer type. To motivate a deity to hear the request, the ritual expert often promised that the client and occasionally

also his descendants will worship the deity in the future. Although the promise was that of the supplicant, it was spoken by the ritual expert, since only the ritual expert was permitted to perform the ritual and to speak directly to the deity.

A new type of prayer, in which the petitioner himself/herself presents his requests and talks to the gods without the mediation of a priest or a ritual expert, makes its first appearance also in the Middle Hittite period. The emergence of this type of prayer coincides with the Hittite annexation of Kizzuwatna, a hybrid Luwian-Hurrian zone in Cilicia, and renewal of contacts with other regions where the Hurrian culture prevailed. This in turn led to adoption of Hurrian, and through the Hurrian mediation, of Mesopotamian literary and cultural elements into the various domains of the Hittite culture and religion.

All prayers of this type were commissioned by members of the Hittite royal family; hence they have been labelled by modern scholarship “royal prayers”. Some of them appear independently (i.e. out of the ritual or festival context), others occur in the structurally complex composition, inspired by the Babylonian prayers.

The first prayers of this type composed in the Middle Hittite period are prayers assigned to CTH 372-4 (i.e. the prayer of Kantuzzili, the prayer of a mortal and the prayer of the king), as well as the prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal (CTH 375). In the first prayer the supplicant begs his personal god to relieve him from sufferings caused by the grave illness and to reveal to him the cause of god’s anger. The supplicant claims that he has not transgressed any religious taboos. This prayer shows a new motive not present either in the prayer-requests or invocation prayer, namely the belief that sin was a breach of laws established by gods. This resulted in the divine anger that expressed itself in various disasters that befell an individual or the country (i.e. Ḫatti), if the individual was the king.

In the second prayer the royal couple lists the harm done to the gods and their cults by the Kaška people, emphasising and contrasting the personal piety of the Hittite royal couple.

To sum up, in the Middle Hittite period, the Hittite prayer system comprises three main types of prayer, an official prayer spoken during the state festivals and rituals and denoted by the verb *mald-*; an invocation prayer recited during an invocation ritual and designated by the verb *mugai-*; and a personal prayer. The personal prayer is divided into two subtypes: (i) prayer-vow also denoted by the verb *mald-*, in which the petitioner bargains with the gods and promises gifts and worship only if the deity first grants the supplicant’s request and (ii) a prayer, in which the petitioner himself/herself speaks to the

gods and either begs the gods for help, or reminds the gods of his/her piety. This type of prayer is not labelled by any technical term in the Middle Hittite period.

In the Middle Hittite period, the Hittite priests and ritual experts retain their right to pray in the cultic setting, but outside of the festival and ritual context, also an individual is permitted to speak to the gods directly. Although, the supplicant's attitude towards the divine is that of submission, timid attempts to defend oneself in front of the gods and to change the gods' will are already made. A bolder attitude of the petitioner is seen in prayer-vows, in which he/she is allowed to bargain with the gods. The phrasing of these texts leaves no doubt; the petitioner will offer gifts and worship to the deity, but only if and when the deity first grants the petitioner's request.

### *NEW HITTITE*

In the texts dated to the New Hittite period the verb *mald-* continues to designate an official prayer-request and a personal prayer-vow. The verb *mugai-*, as in the Old, and Middle Hittite periods, denotes an invocation prayer spoken by a ritual expert during an invocation ritual. The verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar* are used for the first time in religious context to designate a personal prayer.

The first prayers explicitly labelled by Hittite scribes as *arkuwar* are the plea-prayers of Muršili II dealing with the plague, in which the king, as a servant, appears before the gods, as divine judges, to ask his divine masters for help. The king presents arguments to convince the gods that he deserves their assistance.

The employment of the verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar* as Hittite designations of a plea-prayer can be understood in the context of another text composed during the reign of the same king, namely the treaty between Muršili II and Tuppi-Teššub (KBo 3.3 = I.A.1 and chapter two p. 39). In this text Tuppi-Teššub, complains to the Hittite king that the King of Karkamiš, Tudḫaliya and Ḫalpaḫi have gained control of captives that fled Amurru and he demands that the captives are to be returned to him. All four individuals are to appear before Muršili II to present their *arkuwars* 'pleas' in that matter. The king must have viewed his relationship with the gods, in the same way as his relationship with his vassals. With his vassals the king acted as the judge who hears arguments of each party and declares his verdict, in his relationship with the gods the king became a servant who has to present *arkuwar* to his divine judges.

Once the verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar* began to denote one type of personal prayer, namely the plea-prayer, it was only natural that, in time, they would also be used to designate all types of personal prayer. This must have occurred sometime

between the composition of the plague prayers and the composition of the prayer to Telipinu. In the latter text, which was composed after the plague prayers (see chapter four), no arguments of any kind are given. Rather a priest, on behalf of the king and the queen, asks the gods for the well-being of the royal family. The noun *arkuwar* is also used in prayers in which the petitioner defends or explains his own conduct (prayer about Tawannanna see section 3.2.3 under the heading ‘exculpation prayer’) or when he/she complains to the gods about unjust treatment (KUB 54.1 see section 3.2.3 under the heading ‘prayer-complaint’). Finally, during the reign of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa the verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar* begin to designate a personal prayer-vow, until then denoted only by the verb *mald-*.

In the New Hittite period, the three main types of prayers that have been part of the religious landscape since the Middle Hittite period, are well established and coexist in one prayer system. All prayer types are labelled by specialised terms, either by the verbs *mald-*, *mugai-*, *arkuwai-* or by the noun *arkuwar*.

The verb *mald-* continues to be *the* word for communicating with gods carried out by members of the Hittite priesthood in the official festival and ritual contexts; the verb *mugai-* continues to be *the* word for communicating with a deity in the context of invocation rituals which was solely in the hands of the ritual experts; and the verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar* became *the* words for personal communication with the divine.

The petitioners, usually members of the royal family, become even more daring in their personal communication with the gods than in the Middle Hittite prayer-vows. Now, they not only bargain with the gods but also argue, defend and justify their actions, complain to the gods about injustice that has been done to them and even reproach the gods for their unjust treatment. Thus, in the New Hittite period one can detect a change of relationship between the gods and the Hittite ruling classes that evolved from a total submission to reasoning with the gods and gaining the power and ability to change the god’s will.

However, this is true only for personal prayers. The prayers set in the cultic and magic spheres continue to be spoken only by the Hittite priests and ritual experts and continue to be ruled by the conventions of prudent phrasing.

### 3.4.2. Function of *mald-*, *mugai-*, *arkuwai-*, *arkuwar* and *walla/i/u-* in Royal Prayers

The conclusions of the discussion of the specific meaning and connotations of *mald-*, *mugai-*, *arkuwai-* and *walla-* in the preceding sections may be briefly summarised as follows: the verb *mald-* denoted a prayer-request spoken during a state festival or ritual as well as a personal prayer-vow; the verb *mugai-* designated an invocation ritual and a prayer recited during that ritual; the verb *arkuwai-* and the noun *arkuwar* denoted a personal prayer, usually commissioned by members of the royal family; on one occasion the verb *walla-* can be shown to refer to a hymn of praise.

Each of these utterances and rites was used in different religious contexts and situations. However, beginning with the New Hittite period, they were also employed, in different combinations, as structural elements of compositions that have been traditionally labelled “royal prayers”. This labelling possibly results from the difficulty of finding a proper designation for these texts, but is rather due to the fact that the *arkuwar* prayer was a core element of these complex compositions and was therefore, *a potiori*, used as label for these texts (Güterbock 1958: 242, Houwink ten Cate 1969:82). For the same reason, the traditional term ‘prayer’ is retained for these compositions in this dissertation though it is used with quotation marks.

These composite texts, in their entirety, do not match all the criteria that form part of the definition of a Hittite prayer accepted in this dissertation. According to this definition a prayer is a text addressed to a deity that is characterised by a tripartite structure: invocation, motivation and request; the essence and ultimate goal of the text is the presentation of a request. Bearing this definition in mind only certain elements of these complex texts can be called prayers, namely the *arkuwar* prayer and prayer passages that are usually text-internally referred to by the verbs *mald-* and *mugai-*.

Since these composite texts as a whole do not conform to the above definition of a prayer, one could argue that they should be regarded either as a new type of prayer or as a new literary genre altogether not seen in Hittite religion before the Middle Hittite period and created through an aggregation of several self-contained shorter texts that were combined in one composite. This composite, then, would represent a new genre or type of text, and the originally individual elements of the composite would be the typical components of the new genre. One would then expect each new text of this new genre to contain these typical elements.

The Hittite evidence does not support the latter argument. While a hymn (*walla-*) nearly always accompanies the *arkuwar* prayer when the latter is addressed to the Sun

deity (CTH 376.II, CTH 376.III, CTH 383) and therefore these compositions in their entirety can indeed be viewed as belonging to one prayer type, the combination of other utterances and rites appears to be optional. The only regular element of each complex composition was the *arkuwar* prayer.

### **Literary or religious?**

The above difficulties in determining the character of these complex compositions are mainly due to the fact that they have been traditionally classified as literary texts. This author does not deny that once these compositions had served their primary purpose and were kept in the archives, they may have been valued as literary compositions. However, their primary function was within the religious practice. The composite texts record and prescribe a religious activity whose core was the personal prayer and whose objective was to present the supplicant's request in the most persuasive way.

The terms *mald-*, *mugai-* and *walla-* designate independent types of religious utterance that were occasionally spoken during this kind of religious activity. Their overall function was to support and strengthen the requests presented in the *arkuwar* prayer and to predispose the deity to hear and grant these requests. In that context, one may view these utterances as a frame within which the *arkuwar* prayer was set. Consequently, the terms *mald-*, *mugai-*, *arkuwai-* and *walla-* in these complex compositions designate the functional elements of a religious activity rather than textual constituents of a typical Hittite prayer as a literary genre.

Although this activity had a single purpose, each type of ritual speech or rites retained its own internal structure and its own function, which also characterised these types of speeches and rites when used outside of the composite texts. Thus, the main function of a vow (*mald-/arkuwar*) was to bargain with the deity and promise him/her gifts if (and only if) the deity grants the request of the petitioner. The invocation ritual (*mugai-*) summoned and attracted a deity to the location of the supplicant, so that the deity could approach and pay attention to his plea or request. The hymn (*walla-*) reminded the deity of his/her divine attributes and qualities which the supplicant wished to see put to work for him and drew attention to the deity's right and obligation to take the lead in the matter in which the petitioner presented his plea.

### **Experimenting with the frame**

The selection of the utterances and rites that accompanied and supported the presentation of the *arkuwar* prayer varies from composition to composition and it seems that the

choice of components depended on the author. All royal ‘prayers’ show a different structure which reflects the respective approach to choosing the most effective method of presenting the request. The following table gives a comparative overview of the structure of the compositions in question:

MURŠILI II		MUWATALLI	ḪATTUŠILI III	
CTH 376.II	CTH 377	CTH 381	CTH 383	CTH 384
preface with excerpts of the invocation prayer ( <i>mugai-</i> )	preface with excerpts of the hymn of praise ( <i>walla-</i> ) and of the invocation prayer ( <i>mugai-</i> )	preamble	_____	_____
hymn	hymn ( <i>walla-</i> )	_____	hymn	_____
prayer dealing with the plague and the enemy invasion	prayer ( <i>arkuwar</i> ) concerning the enemy invasion	prayer-request to all the Hittite gods ( <i>arkuwar</i> )	prayer ( <i>arkuwar</i> ) of confession and penitence	prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna ( <i>arkuwar</i> )
		intercession prayer to Šeri, Champion of Ḫatti ( <i>arkuwar</i> )		prayer and a vow to Lelwani
		invocations of all the gods of all the lands		prayer and a vow to Zintuḫi
		prayer-request to the Sungod of heaven ( <i>arkuwar</i> )		prayer and a vow to Mezzulla
		intercession prayer to the Stormgod of Lightning ( <i>arkuwar</i> )		prayer and a vow to the Stormgod of Zippalanda
		offerings to be given to the gods of Ḫatti before		

		the recitation of a personal prayer		
		offerings to be given the gods of all the lands after the presentation of the personal prayer		

### *Prayers of Muršili II*

Only two well-preserved personal prayers (*arkuwar*) of Muršili II were accompanied by other religious utterances and rites. The prayer addressed to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 376.II) and the prayer to Telipinu (CTH 377) were both preceded by a hymn of praise (*walla-*). In both compositions, the recitation of the hymn and the prayer was accompanied by an invocation ritual (*mugai-*).

The composite ‘prayer’ to the Sungoddess of Arinna was labelled in the colophon as *mukeššar*; the ‘prayer’ to Telipinu as *arkuwar*. It seems that the authors of these compositions focused on two different aspects of presenting a personal prayer, in CTH 376.II the emphasis was laid on the ritual actions, in CTH 377 on the prayer itself.

The frame employed in these two compositions (invocation ritual – hymn – prayer) was a mix of old and new traditions of praying. The recitation of the prayer-request during the ritual of invocation by a Hittite priest on behalf of the king belonged to the old tradition. New features include the naming of the specific person who commissioned the prayer, thus giving the prayer a personal character and specifying the event that led to the composition of this text. Also new was the addition of a hymn of praise. The hymn of praise began to be used with personal prayers in the Middle Hittite period (i.e. a group of related prayers CTH 372-4).

Not only the frame shows influence of older traditions, also the particular structural elements of that frame were inspired by or even occasionally copied from earlier texts. Thus, while parts of the hymn to the Sungoddess of Arinna were inspired by the prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal, other parts were copied from the hymn to Ištanu that preceded the Middle Hittite prayer of a mortal (CTH 372); large parts of the prayer itself were copied almost verbatim from the Middle Hittite prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 376.I) and other parts were based or inspired by another prayer (edited by Schwemer 2006; see also chapter four and appendix 3 under CTH 376.V). The hymn and prayer to Telipinu was composed by copying the hymn and prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna almost verbatim with only some minor modifications.

This frame was employed only in two ‘prayers’ of Muršili II and possibly in the prayer of the same king for the recovery of his wife (CTH 376.III, see appendix 3). This prayer addressed also to the Sungoddess of Arinna was preceded by a hymn of praise and perhaps also by an invocation ritual. But the text is too fragmentary for a meaningful inclusion in the present discussion.

The available texts suggest that the hymn and ritual were used as a framework of the personal prayer only when the prayer did not contain a presentation of arguments. All plea-prayers which comprise the presentation of arguments appear without this frame; they were only accompanied by offerings. Apparently, the Hittites considered reasoning with the gods and making offerings as sufficient for convincing them to grant a request. No flattery (in form of an introductory hymn) was needed.

### *Prayers of Muwatalli*

Only two composite ‘prayers’ commissioned by Muwatalli are preserved. One is addressed to the Stormgod (CTH 382), the other to the assembly of Hittite gods (CTH 382). Neither of these two prayers follows the structure of the ‘prayers’ of Muršili II discussed in the preceding paragraphs.

In the prayer to the Stormgod (CTH 382), the personal prayer (*arkuwar*) is preceded by an invocation of various deities. This invocation was not labelled with the verb *mugai-*; therefore one may assume that the king invoked the deities by uttering their divine names rather than by performing a ritual of invocation (*mugai-*). The deities are invoked to witness the expiation of sins by Muwatalli and to dispel the Stormgod’s anger.

The other composite royal ‘prayer’ commissioned by Muwatalli is addressed to the entire Hittite pantheon (CTH 381). The preamble of this text states the purpose of the long composition, namely the presentation of a plea-prayer (*arkuwar*).

The composition contains a series of offerings, invocations (not labelled with the verb *mugai-*) and prayers (*arkuwar*), which were to be performed and recited in support of the main plea-prayer. The main plea-prayer is not included in this long composition, which led Singer (2002: 86) to suggest, probably correctly, that we should regard this text as an all-purpose model prayer. The actual plea was to be inserted when the need arose.

This composition to the assembly of Hittite gods contains the personal prayer-requests to all the Hittite gods and separate prayers to the main gods of the Hittite pantheon, that is, the Sungod of Heaven and the Stormgod of Lightning.

As in the ‘prayers’ of Muršili II, the frame in which the personal prayer was set is new and original. At the same time, some of the elements of that frame are inspired by

older texts. Thus, the prayer to the Sungod contains a few phrases of praise; this follows the tradition according to which a prayer addressed to a solar deity was always accompanied by a hymn. That model first appears in a group of related prayers (CTH 372-4), namely the Kantuzzili prayer, the ‘prayer of a king’ and the ‘prayer of a mortal’. The prayer to the Stormgod is a prayer-request in which the petitioner asks his personal god to intercede on his behalf with the other gods and to present and support his plea before other gods. This motif of intercession is also first encountered in the text group CTH 372-4.

### *Prayers of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa*

Only two composite royal ‘prayers’ of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa are known at this point; the first is the so-called exculpation prayer of Ḫattušili to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 383), the other the prayer of Puduḫepa to the Sungoddess of Arinna and her entourage for the well-being of Ḫattušili (CTH 384). Both compositions are unique with regard to their structure.

CTH 383 is addressed to the Sungoddess of Arinna and preceded by a short hymn, which seems to be an originally Hittite composition (rather than an adaptation of a Babylonian model). It praises the Sungoddess as the Queen of Ḫatti and as the protector of Hittite kings and queens.

In CTH 384 the hymn is omitted altogether. One may argue that this composition was influenced by Muwatalli’s model prayer with regard to its structure. Like Muwatalli’s composition, it also contains various prayers to different gods. This, however, is the only similarity between the two texts. In the Puduḫepa ‘prayer’ the main plea-prayer (*arkuwar*) addressed to the Sungoddess of Arinna is followed by prayer-requests and vows addressed to the lesser deities that form the entourage of the Sungoddess; these deities are either the Sungoddess’s children or grandchildren. Each of these shorter prayers is a prayer of intercession, which is composed in the tradition of other intercession prayers (e.g., the Kantuzzili prayer or the prayer to the Stormgod of Lightning included in Muwatalli’s ‘prayer’ to the assembly of Hittite gods). However, while in the older intercession prayers the focus is on the relationship between the god and the supplicant, in the prayers of Puduḫepa the emphasis is laid on the relationship of these lesser deities to their divine parents, the Sungoddess of Arinna and the Stormgod, and on the fact that this divine couple always grants the requests of its children. Each intercession prayer is followed or combined with vows, which is not surprising, since this

type of personal prayer became prominent only during the reign of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa.

To conclude, only two personal prayers of Muršili II were embedded in a ritual of invocation, and this tradition seems to have been abandoned during the reigns of Muwatalli and Ḫattušili. Also, the long and elaborate hymns to the Sun deity that preceded the prayers of Muršili were replaced in the ‘prayers’ of Muwatalli and Ḫattušili by either a short hymn or just a few phrases of praise. In the prayer of Puduḫepa to the Sungoddess the hymn is not included at all. During the reign of Ḫattušili the personal prayer-requests begin to be employed together with a prayer-vow. The prayer-vows were not used by either Muršili or Muwatalli.

Only once, during the reign of Muwatalli, the Hittite scribes attempted to standardise the method of presenting a personal prayer (*arkuwar*). However, this standard was not adhered to by later authors, and it seems that a strict formal tradition of how to compose a royal prayer never established itself. Each king (or rather his scribes) had a different approach of how to present a prayer in the most convincing way. Consequently, the structure of each royal ‘prayer’ is different; strands of continuity can only be seen in individual textual elements, not in the overall structure that frames the personal prayer.

## CHAPTER FOUR: PRAYERS OF MURŠILI II. CRITICAL EDITIONS.

### 4.1. Introduction

Nearly all prayers in this chapter can be dated to the reign of Muršili II. His famous plague prayers (CTH 378.I-V), which are concerned with the deadly epidemic that ravaged the Hittite lands for over twenty years, contain ample historical references, as the king explores the possible political and religious causes of the divine anger that has become manifest in this disaster. Also, perhaps more importantly, these texts are the first Hittite prayers labelled by the scribes as *arkuwar* (CTH 378.I and CTH 378.II) in which the author presents the arguments before his/her divine overlords. Two of the prayers of Muršili, CTH 376.II<sup>53</sup> and CTH 377, are accompanied by the ritual of invocation and a hymn and are thus the most important texts in studying the role of the prayer terminology in the context of Hittite ‘royal prayers’. The prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna (here CTH 376.I) is known since the Middle Hittite period and provides important insight into the techniques that the Hittite scribes employed in their composition of prayers. The other group of texts requests the recovery from illness of Gaššuliyawiya, Muršili II’s wife (here CTH 376.III. and CTH 380), and the third group of Muršili prayers (CTH 70, 71) is concerned with his dealings with his stepmother.

This chapter includes the new critical philological editions as well as the transliterations, translations and brief editorial notes to those prayers of Muršili II which are relatively well preserved and which are explicitly labelled by the Hittite scribes either in the invocation/address, the colophon or within the main body of the prayer texts. These include the prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna (here CTH 376.II) and its precursor, a Middle Hittite prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna (here CTH 376.I), the first and the second plague prayers (CTH 378.I, CTH 378.II) and the hymn and prayer to Telipinu (CTH 377).

### 4.2. Prayers Concerning the Plague and Enemies (CTH 376)

Two prayers are included in this section, namely, a Middle Hittite prayer addressed to the Sungoddess of Arinna composed possibly during or before the reign of Muršili’s father, Šuppiluliuma I (here CTH 376.I) and a prayer of Muršili II addressed to the Sungoddess of Arinna (here CTH 376.II). The Middle Hittite prayer deals with enemy invasion and

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<sup>53</sup> For the distribution of the manuscripts of CTH 376 see pp. 141-144.

with a plague, probably the same plague that broke out in the “land of Ḫatti” during the reign of Šuppiluliuma I and that continued to ravage the Hittite population during the first years of Muršili II. This prayer was incorporated almost verbatim with some minor modifications and changes by scribes of Muršili II into a larger composition including the hymn and the prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna (here CTH 376.II). Both the Middle Hittite and the New Hittite prayers to the Sungoddess were recited during an invocation ritual; however, it is uncertain whether the Middle Hittite prayer was also accompanied by a hymn.

#### 4.2.1. CTH 376 Manuscripts

Distribution of the manuscripts according to Laroche (1975) and followed by Lebrun (1980: 155):

Prayer of Muršili to the Sungoddess of Arinna (376)

- A. KUB 24.3 + 544/u + KUB 31.144 + 401/u + 1947/u
- B. KUB 30.13 (+) KBo 7.63 = A ii 13ff.
- C. KUB 24.4 + 30.12 = A ii 9ff.
- D. VBoT 121; parallel to C rev. 11ff.
- E. KUB 36.80
- F. KUB 36.81 = C i 1ff.

Most scholars do not agree with the above grouping of the manuscripts. Thus, Güterbock (1958: 244) labels KUB 24.4+ (CTH 376.C) as a short Plague Prayer and further observes that “at least two of the existing copies contain only this prayer, namely KUB 24.4 + 30.12, KUB 30.13 and VBoT 121, the latter two possibly parts of one copy”. Carruba also separates KUB 24.4 + 30.12 from the prayer of Muršili II to the Sungoddess of Arinna. His decision is based on orthographic and linguistic features as well as on the fact that the text mentions the land of the Hurrians and Kizzuwatna as separate countries which suggests a Middle Hittite composition of the text prior to Šuppiluliuma I (Carruba 1969: 247f; 1983: 5, 80; Güterbock 1978: 136; Houwink ten Cate 1970: 68f). Carruba suggests the following distribution of the manuscripts of CTH 376 (1983):

376 Hymn and prayer of Muršili II to the Sungoddess of Arinna

- A. KUB 24.3 + 544/u + KUB 31.144 + 401/u + 1947/u
- B. KUB 30.13 (+) KBo 7.63
- C. KUB 36.80

## 376.2 (or 375) Middle Hittite Prayer against troubles and disasters

- A. KUB 24.4 + 30.12
- B. VBoT 121

## 376.3 (or 376.2) Prayer of Muršili II to the Sungoddess of Arinna for the recovery of Gaššuliyawiya

- A. KUB 36.81

Carruba's division of the manuscripts is followed here with some modifications and the addition of new fragments that have been joined to the manuscripts of the MH prayer (here 376.I) and Muršili's prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna (here 376.II):

## 376.I. Middle Hittite prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna (here pp. 145-155)

- A. KUB 24.4 + 30.12
- B. KBo 58.7 + KBo 53.9 + KBo 58.6
- C. KBo 55.22
- D. KBo 7.63 (+) KBo 57.20

- 1) Singer (2002a: 113) lists the manuscripts of this Middle Hittite prayer as: KUB 24.4 + 30.12; VBoT 121 and KBo 7.63 omitting KUB 30.13 in which he follows Carruba (1983) who treats KUB 30.13 as a copy of KUB 24.3. However, since KUB 30.13 shows the same paragraph division as KUB 24.4+, it seems more probable that it either represents a copy of KUB 24.4+ or that it is modelled on KUB 24.4+. KUB 30.13 is treated here as a separate prayer (here CTH 376.IV) whose composition was inspired by KUB 24.4+.
- 2) KBo 58.7 (here ms. B<sub>1</sub>), KBo 53.9 (here ms. B<sub>2</sub>) and KBo 58.6 (here B<sub>3</sub>) are treated here as fragments of one text (manuscript B of CTH 376.I), which follows a suggestion of Miller (2008a: IV).
- 3) Also, according to Miller (2008b: 128), KBo 7.63 and KBo 57.20 show a similar handwriting. Since KBo 7.63 resumes the text when KBo 57.20 breaks off, both fragments are likely to have belonged to the same tablet (manuscript D of CTH 376.I).
- 4) The join KBo 7.63 + KUB 30.13 suggested by Laroche (1975) and followed by Carruba, was refuted by van den Hout, because the fragments were found in different finding spots (van den Hout 2007: 406). Miller suggests a new join KBo 7.63 + KBo 57.20 (see above), which is followed here.

376.II. Prayer of Muršili II to the Sungoddess of Arinna (here pp. 156-196)

- A. KUB 24.3 + 544/u + 1947/u + 401/u + KUB 31.144 + 107/u
- B. KUB 36.80
- C. 1229/u (+) Bo 4328
- D. KBo 53.13

376.III. Prayer of Muršili II for the recovery of Gaššuliyawija (here vol.II, pp. 139-141)

- A. KUB 36.81

376.IV. New Hittite Prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna(?) (here vol.II, pp. 142-145)

- A. KUB 30.13 (+) KBo 12.132 (+) VBoT 121

According to Torri, KUB 30.13 and KBo 12.132 belong to the same manuscript. Following Güterbock (1958: 244 n. 48), she also suggests that VBoT 121 may be a fragment of the same text (Torri 2010: 362-369).

To date, KUB 30.13 and VBoT 121 have been regarded as copies of either KUB 24.4+ or KUB 24.3+, while KBo 12.132 has been considered to belong to the CTH 375 manuscripts, based on the textual similarities to the prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal.<sup>54</sup>

In terms of paragraph division, the fragments KUB 30.13 and VBoT 121 show similarities to the Middle Hittite prayer (KUB 24.4+); both KUB 30.13 and VBoT 121 have the same paragraph division as KUB 24.4+ and seem to duplicate obv. 1'-10' and rev. 10-17 of KUB 24.4+ respectively. However, lines 8'-11' of VBoT 121 contain a KIN oracle, which is not present in KUB 24.4+.

KBo 12.132 employs some phrases that are also present in KUB 24.4+: (i) [...z]i É.MEŠ.DINGIR.MEŠ-*ma* (corresponds to the end of obv. 19' of KUB 24.4+), (ii) [š*u-ul-l*a-an-da KUR.KUR-TIM (corresponds to obv. 23' of KUB 24.4+) and (iii) [... ka-r]u-ú KUR<sup>URU</sup> HA-<sup>r</sup>AT<sup>r</sup>-[TI ...] (corresponds to rev. 2' of KUB 24.4+). However, the fragments of the text that appear between these phrases do not correspond to KUB 24.4+. Also, KBo 12.132 does not have the same paragraph divisions as KUB 24.4+.

Consequently, if one accepts that the three fragments belong to the same manuscript<sup>55</sup>, this text, numbered here CTH 376.IV, due to the textual differences between KBo 12.132 and KUB 24.4+ and between VBoT 121 and KUB 24.4+, should be regarded as a new composition modelled on KUB 24.4+, rather than as a duplicate of this

<sup>54</sup> The latter suggestion has been disputed by Neu 1983: 396 and van den Hout 2007: 404.

<sup>55</sup> Because the final paleographical analysis of either of the three fragments cannot be carried out at this stage, Torri's suggestion that they belong to the same manuscript is tentatively accepted.

text (this already Torri 2010: 367). For a transliteration and translation of this text see Appendix 3).

376.V. A New/Middle Hittite Prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna and her circle (here vol. II, pp. 146)

A small fragment of a two column tablet from a private collection has been recently transliterated and translated by Schwemer (2006: 239-241) and dated to either the reign of Muršili II or to the Middle Hittite period. Schwemer observes that lines iii 4'-11' of this text resemble lines iii 1'-8' of manuscript A (KUB 24.3+) of the prayer of Muršili II to Sungoddess of Arinna (here CTH 376.II) as well as lines iii 18'- iv 4 of manuscript A (KUB 24.1+) and rev. 3'-10' of manuscript B (KUB 24.2) of the prayer of Muršili II to Telipinu (CTH 377).

The phrasing of the relevant lines of both prayers of Muršili and of this fragment is indeed similar, but is by no means identical. One may propose three possible interpretations of the relationship between this fragment and both prayers of Muršili II: (i) this fragment was a Middle Hittite prayer that was used by the scribes of Muršili II as a reference when they were composing prayers to the Sungoddess of Arinna and to Telipinu, (ii) this was a New Hittite prayer whose composition was inspired by either the prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna or by the prayer to Telipinu and (iii) this prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna and her circle, the prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna and the prayer to Telipinu were three prayers of Muršili II that were modelled on one, to date unknown, archetype.

Whatever the right interpretation of this fragment may be, this text seems to belong to a group of texts that have been assigned the number 376 in Laroche's catalogue of Hittite texts. The text is numbered here 376.V. For a full transliteration and translation of this fragment see Schwemer (*supra*). The transliteration of the relevant fragment is reproduced from Schwemer (2006: 240-241) in Appendix 3.

### 4.2.2. Texts

#### A MIDDLE HITTITE PRAYER TO THE SUNGODDESS OF ARINNA (376.I)

The text of this prayer is preserved in five manuscripts. All show the same paragraph division.

Manuscript A (KUB 24.4 + KUB 30.12) is a single-column tablet written in the Middle Hittite script (note the old sign shapes of *al*, *du*, *gi*, *ik*, *li*, *nam*, *ni*, *šar*, *tar*, URU). This text has not been preserved in its entirety. The parts missing include: the first lines of the prayer, the beginning of lines 1'-8' and 19'-28' of the obverse as well as lines 1-7 of the reverse, the end of lines 1'-14' and 27'-28' of the obverse and lines 1-4 and 16-24 of the reverse. The language of the text exhibits a large number of linguistic and orthographic features that safely date the text to the Middle Hittite period. The most salient of these include: the use of the locative particles *-an* and *-ašta*, the older spelling of the third plural preterite of the verb *ak(k)-* as *a-ki-ir* and the use of this verb in the middle voice with the meaning "to die", the older spelling of the third plural present of the verb *iya-* as *i-en-zi*, a tendency to use the syllabic writings rather than their logographic variants (*HA-AT-TI* often replaced in NH manuscripts with the logographic <sup>URU</sup>KÛ.BABBAR, *kunnan* instead of *ZAG-an*, <sup>URUDU</sup>šepikuštaš instead of <sup>URUDU</sup>ZI.KIN.BAR-aš, *appa* instead of *EGIR-pa* etc.) and the use of enclitic possessive pronouns.

To date, only three fragments belonging to manuscript B have been identified, KBo 58.7 (here ms. B<sub>1</sub>), KBo 53.9 (here ms. B<sub>2</sub>) and KBo 58.6 (here B<sub>3</sub>). The numbering of the fragments as B<sub>1</sub>, B<sub>2</sub> and B<sub>3</sub> reflects their place within the manuscript, at the beginning, the middle and the end of the manuscript. KBo 58.7 duplicates obv. 1'-7', KBo 53.9 rev. 1-6 and KBo 58.6 rev. 12-17 of manuscript A. All fragments of the manuscript B are written in the Middle Hittite script (the employment of the older variants of the signs *az*, *du*, *li*, *ni* and URU).

The small fragment KBo 55.22 (here manuscript C) duplicates obv. 25'- rev. 2 of manuscript A. Although all lines of manuscript C are written on the same side of the tablet, they show the same paragraph division as manuscript A. Lines 1'-5' of manuscript C copy obv. 25'-28' of manuscript A and lines 6'-7' of manuscript C duplicate rev. 1-2 of manuscript A. Not enough is left of manuscript C to date this text safely. Of the diagnostic signs used for dating Hittite texts, two *uk* and URU appear in their older variants. The fragment is dated to New Hittite period in Konkordanz and by Torri (2010: 369).

Two fragments of manuscript D, KBo 57.20 (here D<sub>1</sub>) and KBo 7.63 (here D<sub>2</sub>) duplicate obv. 6'-18' of manuscript A. The fact that the manuscript mentions the "land of the Hurrians" would suggest either a Middle Hittite composition or a verbatim New Hittite copy of the Middle Hittite manuscript. The latter could be supported by the usage of the new variant of the sign URU. However, not enough of this text is preserved to either confirm or refute this suggestion. Both fragments are dated to the New Hittite period in Konkordanz and by Torri (2010: 369).

This Middle Hittite prayer was incorporated almost verbatim into the larger New Hittite composition of Muršili II to the Sungoddess of Arinna, but also continued to be copied in the Middle and New Hittite periods as a separate and independent text. This is suggested by the numerous New Hittite copies of this prayer.

**Manuscripts:**<sup>56</sup>

A	<i>KUB</i> 24.4 + <i>KUB</i> 30.12	Bo 2605 + Bo 3556 <sup>57</sup>	--- ---
B <sub>1</sub>	<i>KBo</i> 58.7 (+)	95/w (+)	T.I <sup>58</sup>
B <sub>2</sub>	<i>KBo</i> 53.9 (+)	1795/u (+)	T.I
B <sub>3</sub>	<i>KBo</i> 58.6	79/w	T.I
C	<i>KBo</i> 55.22	369/v	T.I <sup>59</sup>
D <sub>1</sub>	<i>KBo</i> 57.20 (+)	863/v (+)	T.I
D <sub>2</sub>	<i>KBo</i> 7.63	2039/k	T.I <sup>60</sup>

**Transliteration**<sup>61</sup>

1' A obv. 1'	[ ... DINGI]R.ʽMEŠ <sup>1</sup> N[INDA.GUR <sub>4</sub> .RA.ḪI.A <i>ku-i-e-eš</i>
B <sub>1</sub> 1'	[ ]
A ctd.	<i>ma-al-le-eš-ki-ir</i>
B ctd.	[ ] →
2' A obv. 2'	[ <i>na-at a-ki-ir nu</i> ] <i>nam-ma</i> NINDA.ʽGUR <sub>4</sub> .RA <sup>1</sup> .[ḪI.A] ʽÚ <sup>2</sup> -[UL]
B <sub>1</sub> 1'-2'	ʽna <sup>2</sup> -a[t <sup>2</sup> ] / [ ] ʽÚ <sup>1</sup> -UL
A ctd.	[ <i>ku-iš-ki ma-al-zi</i> ]
B <sub>1</sub> 2'	ʽku-iš <sup>1</sup> -[ <i>ki</i> ]
AB <sub>1</sub>	_____
3' A obv. 3'	[ <sup>UDU</sup> <i>a-ú-li-ú-u</i> ]š-kán GU <sub>4</sub> .ḪI.A UDU.ḪI.A ḫa-ʽa <sup>1</sup> -l[ <i>i-ia-az</i> ]
B <sub>1</sub> 3'	[ ] ḫ[ <i>a-a-li-ia-az</i> ]
A ctd.	[ ] <i>ku-e-ez-za-(uš/aš) kar-aš-ki-ir</i>
B <sub>1</sub> 3'-4'	<i>a-ša-a-ʽú<sup>1</sup>-[na-az]</i> [ ] / [ ] →
4' A obv. 4'	[ <i>nu</i> <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> SIPA.GU <sub>4</sub> <sup>LÚ.M<sub>1</sub></sup> EŠSIPA.UDU <i>a-ki-ir ḫa-a-li-i</i> [ <i>a a-ša-a-u-wa-ar</i>
B <sub>1</sub> 4'	[ <i>nu</i> <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> SIPA.G]U <sub>4</sub> <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> SIPA.ʽUDU <sup>1</sup> <i>a-ki-i</i> [ <i>r</i> ]

<sup>56</sup> A join sketch of ms A is included in Appendix 2.<sup>57</sup> Text D in Gurney 1940.<sup>58</sup> T.I = Temple 1 (great temple). Fragments KBo 58.6 and KBo 58.7 were found in the storeroom 12 of temple 1.<sup>59</sup> At the time of completion of this edition, the fragment 369/v was unpublished. The photograph of this fragment was sent to me by Prof. J. Miller, when he held a research position at the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mainz. The fragment is now published as KBo 55.22.<sup>60</sup> Fragment KBo 7. 63 was found in room 10 of temple 1.<sup>61</sup> All restorations are based on the duplicates of this Middle Hittite prayer and on the New Hittite text incorporated into the composition of Muršili II to the Sungoddess of Arinna (here CTH 376.II).

- A ctd. *kar-ša-an-da-ri(?)*  
 B<sub>1</sub> ctd. [ ]
- AB<sub>1</sub> \_\_\_\_\_
- 5' A obv. 5' [nu ú-iz-zi A-N]A DINGIR.MEŠ NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA.ĪI.A  
 B<sub>1</sub> 5' [ ]
- A ctd. <sup>DUG</sup>*iš-pa-an-d[u-uz-zi* <sup>UDU</sup>*a-ú-li-uš-ša*  
 B<sub>1</sub> 5'-6' [<sup>DUG</sup>*iš-p*]a-<sup>r</sup>*an-du-uz-zi*<sup>1</sup> / [ ] →
- 6' A obv. 6' [*kar-ša-an-da-ri*] nu-un-na-aš ú-wa-a-at-te-ni DINGIR.ME[Š]  
 B<sub>1</sub> 6'-7' [ nu-un-na]-aš ú-wa-at-<sup>r</sup>*te*<sup>1</sup>-n[i] / [ ]
- A ctd. [*a-pé-e-da-ni* ]  
 B<sub>1</sub> 7' [ ] →  
 D<sub>1</sub> 1' [ ... ] <sup>r</sup>*ud-da-ni*<sup>1</sup>-i[a]
- 7' A obv. 7' [*wa-aš-du*]-<sup>r</sup>*li*<sup>1</sup> ħar-te-ni  
 B<sub>1</sub> 7' [*wa-aš-du*]-<sup>r</sup>*li*<sup>1</sup> ħ[ar-te-ni]  
 D<sub>1</sub> ctd. [ ]
- AB<sub>1</sub>D<sub>1</sub> \_\_\_\_\_
- (B<sub>1</sub> breaks)
- 8' A obv. 8' n[a-aš-t]a A-NA DUMU.LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU ħa-at-ta-ta-šum-mi-it  
 D<sub>1</sub> 2' [ DUMU.LÚ].U<sub>19</sub>.LU ħa-at-[ta-tar-šum-mi-it]
- A ctd. [*ħar-ak-ta*]  
 D<sub>1</sub> 3' [ ] →
- 9' A obv. 9' nu <sup>r</sup>*ku*<sup>1</sup>-un-na-an ku-it i-ia-<u>-e-ni na-at NU.G[ÁL]  
 D<sub>1</sub> 3' [ ku-i]t i-ia-u-<sup>r</sup>*e*<sup>1</sup>-[ni ]
- AD<sub>1</sub> \_\_\_\_\_
- 10' A obv. 10' nu DINGIR.MEŠ ku-it wa-aš-du-ul uš-ka-at-te-ni nu na-aš-šu  
 D<sub>1</sub> 4' [ ] uš-kat-<sup>r</sup>*te*<sup>1</sup>-n[i ]
- A ctd. [DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-ia-an-za ú-id-du]  
 D<sub>1</sub> 4'-5' [ ] / [ ] →
- 11' A obv. 11' na-at me-e-ma-a-ú na-aš-ma-at <sup>MUNUS.MEŠ</sup>ŠU.GI <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>AZ[U]  
 D<sub>1</sub> 5' [ me-(e)-m]a-a-ú [ ]
- A ctd. [<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>MUŠEN.DÙ me-mi-ia-an-du na-aš-ma-at]  
 D<sub>1</sub> 5'-6' [ ] / [ na-aš-ma]-at →
- 12' A obv. 12' za-aš-ħé-az DUMU.LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU ú-wa-an-du  
 D<sub>1</sub> 6' ctd. za-a[š-

AD<sub>1</sub>*(D<sub>1</sub> breaks)*

13' A obv. 13' *na-aš-ta*<sup>URUDU</sup> *še-pí-ik-ku-uš-ta-aš*<sup>GIŠ</sup> *šar-pa-az ku-un-ku-[u-e-en]*  
 D<sub>2</sub> 7' *na-aš-ta*<sup>URUDU</sup> [ ]

14' A obv. 14' *nu* DINGIR.[M]EŠ *A-NA KUR*<sup>URU</sup> *HA-AT-TI ge-en-zu nam-ma*  
 D<sub>2</sub> 8' *nu* DINGIR.MEŠ *A-NA KUR*<sup>URU</sup> *HA-A[T-TI* ]

A ctd. *da-[at-te-en]*D<sub>2</sub> ctd. [ ]AD<sub>2</sub>

15' A obv. 15' *ke-e-[e]z-za-at ħi-in-ka-na-an-za ta-ma-a-aš-ta ke-e-e[z-za-at-ta]*  
 D<sub>2</sub> 9' *ke-e-ez-za-at ÚŠ-a[n-* ]

16' A obv. 16' *ku-u-r[u-r]a-an-za ta-ma-aš-ta nu ku-ri-wa-na-aš KUR.KUR-TIM*  
 D<sub>2</sub> 10' *ku-ru-ra-an-<sup>r</sup>za<sup>1</sup> t[a-ma-aš-ta* ]

A ctd. *k[u]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup> a-ra-aħ-za-an-d[a]*D<sub>2</sub> ctd. [ ]AD<sub>2</sub>

17' A obv. 17' *ħur-la-aš KUR-e KUR*<sup>URU</sup> *KI-IZ-ZU-WA-AT-NI KUR*<sup>URU</sup> *AR-ZA-U-WA*  
 D<sub>2</sub> 11' *ħur-la-an K[UR-e* ]

A ctd. *nu ħu<sup>1</sup>-u-ma-an-za šu-ul-l[i-e-et]*D<sub>2</sub>12' *nu ħu-u-m[a-an-za* ] →

18' A obv. 18' *<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-za-an DINGIR.MEŠ ša-ra-a Ú-UL <sup>r</sup>i-en<sup>1</sup>-zi na-aš-ta NI-IŠ*  
 D<sub>2</sub> 12'-13' [ ] / *<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-[aš-ta* ]

A ctd. *D[INGIR].MEŠ šar-ra-an-ta-ti*D<sub>2</sub> 13' [ ]*(D<sub>2</sub> breaks)*

A

19' A obv. 19' *<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> KUR*<sup>URU</sup> *HA-AT-TI i-da-a-la-u-wa-an-ni ša-an-ħi-iš-[ká]n-zi É*  
 DINGIR.MEŠ-*ma l[a-u-wa-ar-ru-na]*

20' A obv. 20' *[š]a-an-ħi-iš-kán-zi na-at DINGIR.MEŠ-aš kat-<sup>r</sup>ta-wa<sup>1</sup>-tar n[am]-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>*  
*ki-i-ša-ru*

A

21' A obv. 21' *[nu]-u[š-š]a-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup> ħi-in-kán ku-u-ru-ur ka-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-aš-ta-an A-NA <sup>r</sup>KUR*<sup>URU</sup>

*MI-IT-TA-AN-NI*<sup>62</sup>

22' A obv. 22' [A-NA KUR<sup>U</sup>]<sup>RU</sup>*KI-IZ-ZU-WA-AT-NI* Û A-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup>*AR-ZA-U-WA*  
*tar-na-at-te-en*

A

23' A obv. 23' [*wa-ar*]-š*i*-i[a]-<sup>r</sup>*an*<sup>1</sup>-*da* š*u*-*ul-la-an-da* KUR.KUR-TIM KUR<sup>URU</sup> *HA-AT-*  
*TI-ma ta-ri-e-a*[n]

24' A obv. 24' [KUR-*e nu*] *ta*-[*ri-ia-a*]n-*da-an la*-*a-at-te-en wa-ar-š*i-*ia-an-da*-<sup>r</sup>*an-na*<sup>1</sup>  
*tu-ri*-[*ia-at-te-en*]

A

25' A obv. 25' [*ke-e-m*]a nam-[*ma ŠA* KUR<sup>U</sup>]<sup>RU</sup> *HA-AT-TI-pát*<sup>63</sup> KUR.KUR-TIM  
 C 1' [ ]

A ctd. KUR<sup>URU</sup>*KA-A-AŠ-KA*C ctd. KUR<sup>URU</sup>*KA-AŠ<sup>r</sup>-K[A]*

26' A obv. 26' [*na-at*<sup>L</sup>]<sup>U</sup>.M<sup>[EŠ]</sup>*SIPA.ŠA*]*Ĥ e-še-er* Û<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>*E-PÍ-IŠ* GADA.ĤIA  
 C 2' [ ] GADA.ĤIA

A ctd. *e-še-er*C ctd. *e-šir*

AC

27' A obv. 27' [Û KUR<sup>URU</sup>*A-RA-U-WA-AN-NA* KUR<sup>UR</sup>]<sup>U</sup>*r KA<sup>r</sup>-LA-A-AŠ-PA*  
 C 3' [ ]

A ctd. KUR<sup>URU</sup>*LU-UG-GA-A* KUR<sup>URU</sup>*PÍ-I-T[A-AŠ-ŠA]*C 3'-4' [KUR]<sup>URU</sup>*LU-UQ-QA-A* / [ ] →

28' A obv. 28' [*na-aš-ta ke-e-ia* KUR.KUR-TIM] A-NA<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup>*A-RI-IN-NA*  
 C 4' [ ]UR.KUR-TIM A-NA<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup>*A-RI-IN-NA*

A ctd. *a-ra-a-u-e-eš-še*-<sup>r</sup>*er*<sup>1</sup>

C 5' [ ]

AC

29' A rev. 1 [*nu ar-ga-mu-u*]š *ar-ĥa pé-e-eš-še-i-e-er nu a-ap-pa*  
 B<sub>2</sub> 1' [*nu ar-ga-mu-u*]š *a[r-ĥa* ]  
 C 6' [ ] *pé-e-e*]š-š*i-e-er nu E[GIR-pa*

<sup>62</sup> Note that KUR<sup>URU</sup>*MI-IT-TA-AN-NI* is also referred to as *Ĥur-la-aš* KUR-*e* in line 17' of ms. A. and *Ĥur-la-an* K[UR-*e* in line 11' of ms. D<sub>2</sub>. The beginnings of lines 21'-24' are better preserved on the hand-copy of this text: line 21' [*nu-u*]š-š*a-an* ...; line 22' [A-N]A KUR<sup>URU</sup>*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni* ...; line 23' [*wa-a*]r-š*i-i*[a]-<sup>r</sup>*an*<sup>1</sup>-*da*; line 24' [KUR-*e n*]u.

<sup>63</sup> The sign *pat* is written above the line.

- A ctd. KUR<sup>URU</sup> *ĤA-A[T-TI]*  
 B<sub>2</sub> 2 [ ] →  
 C ctd. [ ]
- 30' A rev. 2 [ *wa-al-ĥa-an-ni-ia-u-wa-an ti<sup>2</sup>-ia<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-zi<sup>64</sup> nu ka-ru-ú KUR<sup>URU</sup>*  
 B<sub>2</sub> [ <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚ]R-ni-li [ ] / [ ]  
 C 7' [ ] -a]n <sup>r</sup>da-an-zi<sup>1</sup> [ ]
- A ctd. *ĤA-AT-TI*<sup>URU</sup> A-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-in-n[a-aš]  
 B<sub>2</sub> 3' [ <sup>UR</sup>U]A-ri-i[n-na-aš] →  
 C 7' [ ]
- 31' A rev. 3 <sup>d</sup>UTU-it za-a]ĥ-ĥa-it a-ra-aĥ-zé-na KUR-e UR.MAĤ ma-a-an  
 B<sub>2</sub> 3'-4' [ ] / [a-ra-aĥ-zé-n]a KUR-e [ ]  
 C 8' [ ] -n]a KUR-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup> [ ]
- A ctd. a-a[r-aš-ki-it]  
 B<sub>2</sub> 4' [ ]
- (C breaks)
- AB<sub>2</sub>
- 
- 32' A rev. 4 [ *nu pa-ra-a*<sup>URU</sup> *Ĥal-pa*]-an ku-i-<sup>r</sup>uš<sup>1</sup> <sup>URU</sup>KÁ.DINGIR.RA ku-i-uš  
 B<sub>2</sub> 5' [ *nu pa-ra*]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> <sup>URU</sup>Ĥal-pa-an k[u-i-uš ]
- A ctd. *ĥar-ni-in-ki-iš-ki-i[t]*  
 B<sub>2</sub> 6' [ *ĥar-ni-in-k*]i-iš-ki-it →
- 33' A rev. 5 [ *nu KUR-e-aš ĥ*]u-u-ma-an-da-a-aš a-aš-šu-<uš>-mi-it KÙ.BABBAR  
 B<sub>2</sub> 6'-7' n[u ] / [a-aš-šu-uš-m]i-it KÙ.BABB[AR]
- A ctd. KÙ.SI<sub>22</sub> DINGIR.MEŠ da-a[š]<sup>65</sup>  
 B<sub>2</sub> 7' [ ]
- 34' A rev. 6 [ *na-at PA-NI*]<sup>r<sup>d1</sup></sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-<sup>r</sup>NA<sup>1</sup> zi-ik-ki-i-it  
 B<sub>2</sub> 8' [ *na-at PA-NI*]<sup>r<sup>d</sup></sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-[RI-IN-<sup>r</sup>NA<sup>1</sup> ]
- (B<sub>2</sub> breaks)

<sup>64</sup> This restoration is uncertain. Manuscript A (KUB 24.3 +) of the prayer of Muršili II to the Sungoddess of Arinna employs in this sentence the construction supine with the verb *dai-* “to put”: GUL-*ĥa-an-ni-ia-u-wa-an d[a-a-ir]* (ii 50). To maintain the same construction one would have to restore in rev. 2 of ms. A of this Middle Hittite prayer, the form *ti-(ia)]-an-zi*. However, because ms. C employs here the third plural present *da-an-zi*, this verb may have also been employed in ms. A. The usage of the verb *da-* here could indicate either a different construction from supine + *dai-/tiya-* or a scribal error.

<sup>65</sup> Similar spelling of the third singular preterite of the verb *dā-* also appears in KBo 18.151 obv. 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14 (MH/MS). The other spelling *da-<a>-a[š]* with the restoration of ‘a’ is also possible here.

A

- 35' A rev. 7 [ki-nu-na a-ra-aḥ-z]é-ni-e-eš<sup>66</sup> ud-<sup>r</sup>ne<sup>1</sup>-e-an-te-eš<sub>17</sub> <sup>r</sup>ḥu<sup>1</sup>-u-ma-an-te-eš  
 {KUR.KUR.MEŠ} KUR<sup>URU</sup> ḤA-[AT-TI]
- 36' A rev. 8 [w]a-a[l-ḥa-a]n-ni-u-wa-an da-a-i-ir na-at A-NA<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup>A-[R]I-IN-NA  
 kat-ta-w[a-(a)-tar]
- 37' A rev. 9 nam-ma ki-i-ša-ru nu-za tu-el <le>-e ŠUM-KA te-ep-n[u]-<sup>r</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>-ki-ši
- A
- 38' A rev. 10 nu ma-a-an DINGIR.MEŠ-na-aš kar-di-{'dim<sup>1</sup>}-mi-ia-<sup>r</sup>az<sup>67</sup> ku-iš<sup>1</sup> k[u-  
 i]š(?) DINGIR.MEŠ Ú-UL na-aḥ-[ḥa-an-za]
- 39' A rev. 11 na-pa le-e a-aš-ša-a-u-e-eš <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[da-a-la-u-wa-aš an-da]<sup>68</sup> ḥar-kán-zi na-aš  
 ma-a-a[n]
- 40' A rev. 12 1-EN URU-LUM na-aš-ma-at <sup>r</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-[EN É-TUM na-aš-ma 1]-EN LÚ  
 B<sub>3</sub> 1'-2' [na-aš-ma]<sup>69</sup> <sup>r</sup>1 É<sup>1</sup>-T[UM] / <sup>r</sup>na-aš-ma<sup>1</sup>-aš 1 L[Ú ]
- A ctd. nu DINGIR.MEŠ  
 B<sub>3</sub> 2' [ ] →
- 41' A rev. 13 a-pu-u-un-pát 1-EN ḥ[ar-ni-ik-te-en(?)]  
 B<sub>3</sub> 2' [ ]
- AB<sub>3</sub>
- 42' A rev. 14 KUR<sup>URU</sup> ḤA-AT-TI-ma-aš-ta D[INGIR.MEŠ an-da SIG<sub>3</sub>-u-it] IGI.ḤI.A-it  
 B<sub>3</sub> 3' KUR<sup>URU</sup> ḤA-AT-TI [ ]
- A ctd. <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-uš-te-en  
 B<sub>3</sub> 4' a-uš-tén →
- 43' A rev. 15 i-da-a-<sup>r</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-ma ḥi-in-kán [ ] ud-ne-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-[aš p]í-iš-<te>-en  
 B<sub>3</sub> 4'-5' i-d[a-a-lu ] / A-NA KUR.KUR-TI[M ]
- AB<sub>3</sub>
- 44' A rev. 16 I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup> ḤA-AT-TI-ma [ma-a-ú (?) še-eš-du(?) x x x] x [ ...]  
 B<sub>3</sub> 6' I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup> [ ] →
- 45' A rev. 17 nu ( -----) KUR<sup>URU</sup> ḤA-AT-TI <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[ap-pa(?) ka-ru-ú-i-li-at-ta ki-ša-ru]  
 B<sub>3</sub> 6'-7' [ ] / EGIR-pa k[a-ru-ú-i-li-at-ta ]

<sup>66</sup> The hand copy ms A preserves more text at the beginning of rev. 8-9 than the photograph. Line rev. 8 [ki-n]u-n[a ...]; rev. 9 [w]a-al-ḥ[a-a]n-ni-u-wa-an.

<sup>67</sup> The noun *kardimiyatt-* is usually written with the sequence *-di-mi-* or *-tim-mi-*, with the former spelling found mostly in the MS manuscripts. Since this noun here is spelled with *-di-<sup>r</sup>dim<sup>1</sup>-mi-*, the sign *dim* is considered a scribal error.

<sup>68</sup> Traces visible on the hand-copy of this text suggest the reading *i<sup>1</sup>-[d]a-[a-la-u-w]a-a[š...]*.

<sup>69</sup> The lacuna at the beginning of this line accommodates only three signs.

AB<sub>3</sub>(B<sub>3</sub> breaks)

## Colophon

- 46' A rev. 18 *ma-a-an* erasure KUR-*e* a[n-da ak-ki-iš-ki-it-ta-ri]  
 47' A rev. 19 *nu-mu* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI <sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-WA-[TE<sup>MEŠ</sup> x x x x x x (x)]  
 48' A rev. 20 [n]u pa-a-un DINGIR.MEŠ m[u-ki-iš-ki-nu-un <sup>URU</sup>Ha-at-tu-ši(?)]  
 49' A rev. 21 [<sup>URU</sup>A-ri-in-ni <sup>URU</sup>Z[i-ip-pa-la-an-di ... ]  
 50' A rev. 22 [nu k]i-i ud-da-a-a[r an-da me-mi-iš-ki-nu-un]

A

- 51' A rev. 23 [x x x x <sup>m</sup>]ZU-U-W[A(?) ... ]  
 52' A rev. 24 [x x x x x] x [ ... ]

**Translation:**

- 1'-2' [The women of the mill-stone who used to mill/grind (the flour for) the thick breads of the god]s [have died]. No one [mills/grinds] (the flour for) the thic[k breads] anymore.
- 3'-4' The corrals and sheepfold[s from which they used to select the sacrificial anima]ls, (such as) cattle and sheep, [(now when) the cowherd]s and shepherds have died, the corra[l and the sheepfold *are neglected*].
- 5'-7' [So it happens] that the thick breads, the libation [and the sacrificial animals for the gods are neglected]. And you, o gods, proceed to hold us guilty in that very matter.
- 8'-9' (To us), to mankind, our wisdom [has been lost] and we cannot do anything right (lit.whatever right we do, it does not exist).
- 10'-12' O gods, whatever sin you perceive, eith[er let a man of gods come] and pronounce it, or let the old women, the divine[rs or the augurs pronounce] it, [o]r let (some) men see it through a dream.
- 13'-14' W[e have been] dangling/swaying from the point of a needle. O gods, tak[e] pity on the land of Ḫatti again!
- 15'-16' On the one hand the plague has been oppressing it, on the [other hand] hostility has been oppressing it. The lands of *kuriwana*, which are around,

- 17'-18' namely the land of the Hurrian (D: Hurrian land), the land of Kizzuwatna and the land of Arzawa, each (of them) quarrel[ed]. They do not extol the gods; they transgressed the oaths.
- 19'-20' They continually seek to harm the land of Ḫatti<sup>70</sup> and [to] d[espoil] the temples (lit. house of the gods). May this become an [addi]tional (cause for) vengeance for the gods.
- 21'-22' Turn the plague, the hostility (and) the famine toward the land of Mitanni, [and the lan]d of Kizzuwatna and the land of Arzawa.
- 23'-24' [Res]ted are the quarrelsome lands, but the land of Ḫatti is a tired [land]. Unhitch the ti[re]d one, and hi[tch] the rested one.
- 25'-26' Further[more, these] lands [belonged to the land of] Ḫatti itself: the land of Kaška – [they] were [swineherd]s and they were weavers –
- 27'-28' [the land of Arauwanna, the land] of Kalašpa, the land of Lukka and the land of Pit[ašša. Also these] lands became free from the Sungoddess of Arinna.
- 29'-31' They have repudiated [(their) tributes] and again [be]gan [to attack] the land of Ḫatti. Formerly, the land of Ḫatti [with the (help of) the Sungoddess of] Arinna [used to] overpower the foreign lands like a lion.
- 32'-34' [Further]more, (as to) Aleppo and Babylon, which it (i.e. the land of Ḫatti) used to destroy, it [took] their goods [of] all [the lands], namely silver, gold (and) gods, and deposited [them before] the Sungoddess of Arinna.
- 35'-37' [Now], all the [surround]ing lands began to attack the land of Ḫat[ti]. May this become an additional (cause for) veng[eance] for the Sungoddess of Arinna. O Goddess, do not continue to degrade your own name!
- 38'-41' And if any[one] is (a cause of) anger to the gods and is not respect[ful] of the gods, let not the good ones perish together with the ev[il ones]. Whether it is a single city or it is a single house [or] a single person, o gods, d[estroy] only that single one!
- 42'-43' O g[ods], behold the land of Ḫatti [with favorable] eyes. [G]ive the evil plague to [the evil] land[s].
- 44'-45' But in the land of Ḫatti [let (everything) thrive and prosper ... ], and let the land of Ḫatti be[come] again as (it was) before.

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<sup>70</sup> lit. they continually seek the land of Ḫatti in malice

## Colophon

46'-50'        When [there is continual dying] in the land. His Majesty [*entrusted*] the word[s] to me. I went and i[nvoked] the gods [in Ḫattuša], in Arinna, in Z[ippalanda ...], and I spoke] these words.

51'-52'        [By the hand(?) of Z]uw[a ... ]

**Comments:**

For the commentary to this prayer see the New Hittite prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 376.II).

HYMN AND PRAYER OF MURŠILI II TO THE SUNGODDESS OF ARINNA  
(376.II)

This long composition comprising a hymn and a prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna is preserved in four manuscripts.

Manuscript A (KUB 24.3+) is a four-column tablet that has been restored to a large extent through newly identified joins. The beginning of column ii (lines 1-12) is completed by KBo 51.18a (544/u + 1947/u) and lines 18-37 of column ii by KBo 51.18b (401/u). Lines 13'-25' of column iii are completed by KUB 31.144, and partially by the fragmentary 107/w, which also fills the middle parts of lines iii 22'-27'. Lines 25'-38' of column iii are completed by KBo 51.18b (401/u) and lines 43'-44' by KBo 51.18a (544/u). Despite the identification of these joins, some small parts of manuscript A are still missing (see commentary).

Manuscript A employs exclusively older forms of *aḫ, ik, li, nam, ni, šar, du, KÙ, URU*; older and newer variants of *ak, tar, gi* and new forms of *al, az, Û, uk* and *zu*. The scribe who wrote manuscript A consistently used the plural marker MEŠ with logograms that designate people and deities and ḪI.A with all the other logograms. Although this distribution of plural markers is typical for the Old Hittite period, it can also be found in Middle Hittite and New Hittite compositions that belong to traditional genres, such as prayers (Hoffner 2010: 184-158). While the orthography and the usage of plural markers on the logograms could indicate the Middle Hittite date of this manuscript, the linguistic and textual evidence safely date this text either to the reign of Muršili II or to a later period. First, the text identifies the name of the king who commissioned this hymn and prayer as Muršili. Second, the text is concerned with the plague that ravaged the Hittite lands during the reign of Šuppiluliuma and in the first years of the reign of his son, Muršili II. Third, the text mentions the kingdom of Mitanni and Arzawa as neighbouring lands that were bound to Ḫatti by various treaties. Fourth, the scribe, while incorporating the Middle Hittite prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna into this composition, modernized the language and replaced most of the Middle Hittite linguistic features with New Hittite ones. The most salient of those include:

- (i) spelling of the third plural preterite of the verb *ak(k)-* as *e-kir* rather than MH *a-ki-ir* and the third plural present of the verb *iya-* as *i-ia-an-zi* instead of MH *i-en-zi*.
- (ii) employment of the CVC signs rather than CV-VC sequence found in the Middle Hittite text (*wa-aš-túl* for MH *wa-aš-du-ul; tar-na-at-tén* for

- MH *tar-na-at-te-en*; *uš-kat-te-ni* for MH *uš-ka-at-te-ni*; *la-a-at-tén* for MH *la-a-at-te-en*).
- (iii) less plene writing in the New Hittite text as compared to its Middle Hittite model (*me-ma-ú* instead of MH *me-e-ma-a-ú*, *ki-ša-ru* rather than MH *ki-i-ša-ru*, *tu-ri-ia-at-tén* instead of MH *tu-u-ri-ia-at-te-en* and <sup>URU</sup>*GA-AŠ-GA* for MH <sup>URU</sup>*KA-A-AŠ-KA*).
- (iv) replacement of the phonetic writing with the logographic writing (<sup>URU</sup>*KÙ.BABBAR* for MH <sup>URU</sup>*HA-AT-TI*, *ZAG-an* for MH *ku-un-na-an*, <sup>URUDU</sup>*ZI.KIN.BAR-aš* for MH <sup>URUDU</sup>*še-pi-ku-uš-ta-aš* and *EGIR-pa* for MH *a-ap-pa*).
- (v) replacement of the local particle *-an* with *-kan*
- (vi) omission of the enclitic possessive pronoun (*a-aš-šu* for *a-aš-šu-<uš>-mi-it*).

Only one small fragment of manuscript B (KUB 36.80) has been identified. It is inscribed on both sides, which probably represent column i and iv. The text of column i gives the beginning of the prayer that is missing from manuscript A, although it seems to contain more lines and more text than manuscript A (see commentary). The fragments of column iv contain a colophon that differs from the colophon of manuscript A. This fragmentary tablet employs the new forms of the signs *du*, *SAG* and *URU*, mentions the name *Muršili* and employs either the particle *-za* and/or the dative of the personal enclitic pronoun in the nominal sentences with the second person subject. These orthographic, textual and linguistic features date this fragment to either the reign of *Muršili II* or to a later period.

Manuscript C is preserved in three fragments, 1229/u, Bo 4328 and AnAr 11621c, which join directly and duplicate lines iii 11' - iii 27' of manuscript A. This fragmentary text mentions the name *Muršili*, and uses the new forms of the signs *ha*, *ik*, *li*, *tar*, *uk*, *URU*. Otten 1991: 110 dated this manuscript to the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

A fragment of manuscript D (KBo 53.13) is inscribed on both sides and copies lines 13-24 and 47-54 of column ii of manuscript A. The text employs the new forms of the signs *li* and *az* and although it does not mention the name of the king who commissioned this text the fact that the scribe uses the plural markers *MEŠ* with all logograms, those that designate persons and deities and those that designate objects and animals, safely dates this manuscript to the New Hittite period.

**Manuscripts:**<sup>71</sup>

A	<i>KUB</i> 24.3 + <i>KBo</i> 51.18.a + <i>KBo</i> 51.18.b + unpubl. <i>KUB</i> 31.144	Bo 2034 <sup>72</sup> 544/u + 1947/u 401/u 107/w <sup>74</sup> Bo 6808	T.I <sup>73</sup>
B	<i>KUB</i> 36.80	Bo 1603	---
C	<i>KBo</i> 52.16	1229/u + Bo 4328 <sup>76</sup> + AnAr 11621c	T.I <sup>75</sup>
D	<i>KBo</i> 53.13	1445/u	T.I <sup>77</sup>

Previous editions: Gurney 1940, Lebrun 1980: 155-179.

Partial transliterations and translations: Trabazo 2002: 289-303; Mouton 2007: 120-121 (lines ii 19'-22' of *KUB* 24.3+)

Previous translations: Bernabé 1987: 267-271; Goetze 1950: 396 (partial translation); Singer 2002a: 49-54, Ünal 1991: 803-811.

**Transliteration:**

1	B i 1	[ <sup>d</sup> UTU <sup>URU</sup> A-RI-IN]- <sup>r</sup> NA <sup>1</sup> u-ia-it-mu <sup>r</sup> mMur <sup>1</sup> -ši-l[i-iš LUGAL-uš]
2	B i 2	[tu-e-el ÌR-K]A i-it-wa am-me-el A-NA BE-[EL-TI-IA]
3	B i 3	[A-NA <sup>d</sup> UTU <sup>UR</sup> ]U A-RI-IN-NA me-mi nu-wa <sup>d</sup> UTU <sup>UR</sup> [ <sup>U</sup> A-RI-IN-NA]
4	B i 4	[DINGIR-LAM ŠA S]AG.DU-IA mu-ga-a-mi nu-za-k[án ma-a-an]
5	B i 5	[na-ak-k]i-iš <sup>d</sup> UTU <sup>URU</sup> A-RI-IN-NA ne-pí-š[i DINGIR.MEŠ-aš]
6	B i 6	[iš-tar-na] še-er ma-a-an-za a-ru-ni ma-a-an-za A-N[A ĤUR.SAG.MEŠ]
7	B i 7	[ku-e-da(?) -a]š <sup>2</sup> -qa <sup>r</sup> wa-aḫ-ḫa <sup>1</sup> -an-na pa- <sup>r</sup> a <sup>1</sup> -an-[za]
8	B i 8	[na-aš-ma]- <sup>r</sup> at-ta MÈ <sup>?</sup> -ia <sup>?</sup> pa <sup>?</sup> -a <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup> -an-za Ì-aš-š[a <sup>?</sup> -at-ta ša-ne-ez-zi-iš(?)]
9	B i 9	[wa-ar-šu]- <sup>r</sup> la <sup>1</sup> -[aš kal-li-iš]-du nu-ut- <sup>r</sup> ta <sup>1</sup> [ka-a-ša(?)]

<sup>71</sup> For the join sketches of ms A and ms C see Appendix 2.

<sup>72</sup> Text C in Gurney 1940.

<sup>73</sup> The find spot of *KUB* 24.3 and *KUB* 31.144 has been determined through joining these two fragments to *KBo* 51.18.a, *KBo* 51.18.b and 107/u.

<sup>74</sup> The unpublished photograph of this fragment was sent to me by Prof. J. Miller, when he held a research position at the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mainz. The 107/w fragment was found in the storeroom 12 of temple 1.

<sup>75</sup> The find spots of Bo 4328 and AnAr 11621c have been determined by join.

<sup>76</sup> The unpublished photograph of this fragment was sent to me by Prof. J. Miller, when he held a research position at the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mainz.

<sup>77</sup> *KBo* 53.13 fragment was found in the "fill" or secondary deposited earth of storeroom 12 of temple 1.

- 10 B i 10 [mu-ki-iš-ki-mi(?)<sup>GIŠ</sup>ERIN-aš(?)] Ì-aš-ša š[a-ne-ez-zi-it(?)]  
 Ai 1' [ ... ] x
- 11 B i 11 [wa-ar-šu-li-it(?) na-aš-ta EGI]R-<sup>r</sup>pa<sup>É</sup>k[a-ri-im-ni-it-ti an-da]  
 Ai 2' [ ... na-aš-ta EGIR]-pa<sup>É</sup>ka-ri-im-m[a<sup>?</sup>-at<sup>?</sup>-ti<sup>?</sup>] / [an-da] →
- 12 B i 12 [e-ḫu nu-ut-ta(?) ka-a-ša(?)-š]a<sup>?</sup>m[u<sup>?</sup>-ki-iš-ki-mi(?) NINDA ḫar-ši-it]  
 Ai 3' [e-ḫu nu-ut-ta ka-a-ša mu-ki-iš-ki-m]i NINDA ḫar-ši-it
- 13 B i 13 [ ... pa]-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-[a  
 Ai 4' [<sup>DUG</sup>iš-pa-an-du-uz-zi-it nu-uš-ša-an pa-ra-a ka-l]a-an-ga-an-za e-eš
- (B i breaks)
- 14 Ai 5' [nu-ut-ta ku-it me-mi-iš-ki-mi na-at iš]-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-ma-aš-ki  
 A
- 
- 15 A i 6' [zi-ik-za<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-NA na-ak-ki-iš] DINGIR-LIM-iš  
 16 A i 7' [nu-ut-ta DINGIR-LIM-IA (Ù) É.DINGIR.MEŠ I-NA KU]R  
<sup>URU</sup>KÙ.BABBAR-TI-<pát> ta-aš-ša-nu-wa-an
- 17 A i 8' [nam-ma-ma-at-ta ta-me-e-da-ni KUR-e] É.DINGIR-LIM-KA  
 18 A i 9' [Ú-UL ku-wa-pí-ik-ki e-eš-zi nu-u]t-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A SÍSKUR.ḪI.A-ia  
 19 A i 10' [I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup>KÙ.BABBAR-TI-pát šu-up-pí pár-ku]-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup> pé-eš-kán-zi  
 20 A i 11' [nam-ma-ma-at-ta ta-me-e-da-ni KUR]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup> Ú-UL ku-wa-pí-ik-ki pé-eš-kán-zi  
 21 A i 12' [É.MEŠ.DINGIR.MEŠ-ta pár-ga-u-wa ]š-TU KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.SI<sub>22</sub>  
 22 A i 13' [ú-nu-wa-an-ta I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup>KÙ.BABBAR-TI-pát]t e-eš-zi nam-ma-ma-at-ta
- 23 A i 14' [ta-me-e-da-ni KUR-e Ú-UL ku-wa-pí]-ik-ki e-eš-zi  
 24 A i 15' [GAL.ḪI.A-ta BI-IB-RI<sup>ḪI.A</sup> KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.S]I<sub>22</sub> NA<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup>KÙ.BABBAR-TI-pát
- 25 A i 16' [e-eš-zi EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A-it-ta EZEN<sub>4</sub>.IT]U.ḪI.A <EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A> MU-ti mi-i-ia-na-aš
- 26 A i 17' [gi-im-ma-an-ta-aš zé-na-an-d]a-aš ḫa-<sup>r</sup>me-eš-ḫa-an<sup>1</sup>-da-aš  
 27 A i 18' [a-ú]-<sup>r</sup>li-uš<sup>1</sup> m[u-ki-iš-na-aš-ša EZ]EN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A I-NA [KUR<sup>U</sup>]RU<sup>RU</sup>  
 KÙ.BABBAR-TI-pát
- 28 A i 19' e-eš-ša-an-zi nam-ma-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-[at-ta] ta-me-e-da-ni <sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>-e  
 30 A i 20' Ú-UL ku-wa-pí-ik-ki e-eš-š[a-a]n-zi

A

- 31 A i 21' *nu tu-el ŠA<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup> A-RI-IN-NA DINGIR-LIM-ia-tar I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup> ĤA-AT-TI-pát*
- 32 A i 22' *na-ak-ki-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-aĥ-ĥa-an nu-ut-ták-kán<sup>m</sup> Mur-ši-DINGIR-LIM-iš LUGAL-uš ĪR-<sup>r</sup>KA<sup>1</sup>*
- 33 A i 23' *I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup> KÙ.BABBAR-TI-pát <sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-aĥ-ĥa-an-za nu tu-el ŠA<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup> A-RI-IN-NA*
- 34 A i 24' *ĥi-im-mu-uš <sup>r</sup>SÍSKUR<sup>1</sup>.ĤI.A <sup>r</sup>EZEN<sup>4</sup>.ĤI.A i-ia-u-wa-an-zi*
- 35 A i 25' *ša-ra-a ti-it-ta-nu-uš-kán-zi nu-ut-ta ĥu-u-ma-an pár-ku-i*
- 36 A i 26' *pé-eš-kán-zi nam-ma-aš-ša-an É.DINGIR-LIM-KA A-NA KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.SI<sub>22</sub>*
- 37 A i 27' *na-aĥ-ša-ra-az ti-ia-an-za nu ma-ni-in-ku-wa-an*
- 38 A i 28' *<sup>r</sup>Ú<sup>1</sup>-UL ku-iš-ki ti-ia-az-zi*

A

- 39 A i 29' *<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-ik-za<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup> A-RI-IN-NA na-ak-ki-iš DINGIR-LIM-iš*
- 40 A i 30' *<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-ut-ták-kán ŠUM-an lam-na-aš iš-tar-<sup>r</sup>na na<sup>1</sup>-ak-ki-i DINGIR-LIM-ia-tar-ma-ták-<sup>r</sup>kán<sup>1</sup>*
- 41 A i 31' *DINGIR.MEŠ-aš iš-<sup>r</sup>tar<sup>1</sup>-na na-ak-ki-i nam-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-za-<sup>r</sup>kán<sup>1</sup> DINGIR.MEŠ-aš iš-<sup>r</sup>tar<sup>1</sup>-na*
- 42 A i 32' *zi-ik-pát<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup> A-RI-IN-NA na-ak-ki-iš <sup>r</sup>šal-le<sup>1</sup>-eš-ša-az*
- 43 A i 33' *zi-ik-pát<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup> A-RI-IN-NA nam-ma-ták-kán <sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-ma-a-iš <sup>r</sup>DINGIR<sup>1</sup>-LUM*
- 44 A i 34' *<sup>r</sup>na-ak<sup>1</sup>-ki-iš šal-li-iš-ša Ú-UL e-eš-zi ĥa-an-ta-an-da-ša-<sup>r</sup>az<sup>1</sup>*

A

- 45 A i 35' *[ĥa-an]-ni-eš-na-aš EN-aš zi-ik-pát ne-pí-ša-aš-ša*
- 46 A i 36' *[ták-na]-<sup>r</sup>aš-ša<sup>1</sup> LUGAL-u-iz-na-tar zi-ik-pát du-ud-du-uš-ki-ši*
- 47 A i 37' *[KUR.KUR.HI.]<sup>r</sup>A-aš<sup>1</sup>-kán ZAG.ĤI.A-uš zi-ik-pát zi-ik-ki-ši*
- 48 A i 38' *<sup>r</sup>mu-ga-wa<sup>1</sup>-ar-ra zi-ik-pát iš-ta-ma-aš-ki-ši*
- 49 A i 39' *[zi-i]k-pát-za<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup> A-RI-IN-NA gi-i[n]-zu-wa-la-aš DINGIR-LUM {zi-ik}*
- 50 A i 40' *<sup>r</sup>nu gi<sup>1</sup>-in-zu zi-ik-pát da-aš-ki-[š]i pa-ra-a ĥa-an-da-an-za-ša-<sup>r</sup>kán<sup>1</sup>*
- 51 A i 41' *<sup>r</sup>an-tu<sup>1</sup>-uĥ-wa-aĥ-ĥa-aš tu-uk-pát A-NA<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>[UR]</sup> A-RI-IN-NA aš-ši-ia-an-za*

- 52 A i 42' *na-an zi-ik-pát* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-NA [ša]r-le-eš-ki-ši
- 53 A i 43' *ne-pí-ša-aš-ša-az ták-na-aš-ša hu-u-la-le-e-eš-ni*
- 54 A i 44' *zi-ik-pát* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-NA la-lu-uk-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-[m]a-aš
- 55 A i 45' KUR.KUR.ĤI.A-ša-za-kán iš-tar-na zi-ik-pát aš-š[a-nu-w]a-an-za  
DINGIR-LIM-iš
- 56 A i 46' *nu-za* KUR-e-aš hu-u-ma-an-da-aš at-ta-aš an-na-aš <sup>r</sup>zi-ik<sup>1</sup>
- 57 A i 47' *ha-an-ni-eš-na-ša-az pa-ra-a ha-an-da-an-za* EN-aš zi-ik
- 58 A i 48' *nu-<sup>r</sup>ut<sup>1</sup>-ta ha-an-ni-eš-na-aš pí-di <sup>r</sup>tar<sup>1</sup>-ri-ia-aš-ha-aš* NUN.GÁL
- 59 A i 49' *ka-ru-ú-i-li-ia-ša-za-kán* DINGIR.MEŠ-aš iš-tar-na zi-ik-pát
- 60 A i 50' *aš-ša-nu-wa-an-za* DINGIR.MEŠ-na-aš-ša-aš-ša-an SÍSKUR.ĤI.A zi-ik-  
pát
- 61 A i 51' <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-NA zi-ik-ki-ši ka-ru-ú-<sub>i</sub>-li-ia-ša-aš-ša-an
- 62 A i 52' DINGIR.MEŠ-na-aš ĤA.LA-ŠU-NU zi-ik-pát zi-ik-ki-ši
- 63 A i 53' <sup>r</sup>ne-pí<sup>1</sup>-ša-aš-ša-aš <sup>GIŠ</sup>IG EGIR-pa tu-uk-pát ha-aš-kán-zi
- 64 A i 54' [nu-za-ká]n [ne-pí-ša-aš] KÁ-uš zi-ik-pát aš-ša-nu-wa-an-za
- 65 A i 55' [<sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-NA ša]r-ri-iš-ki-it-ta ne-pí-ša-aš-ša
- 66 A i 56' [ták-na-aš-ša DINGIR.MEŠ-eš tu-u]k-pát A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-NA
- 67 A i 57' [kat-ta-an ka-ni-na-an-te-eš ku]-<sup>r</sup>it-ta <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A-<sup>r</sup>RI<sup>1</sup>-IN-NA me-mi-eš-  
ki-ši
- 68 A i 58' [DINGIR.MEŠ-ša EGIR-pa tu-uk-pát A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN]-<sup>r</sup>NA a-ru-  
ú-i-iš<sup>1</sup>-[kán-zi]

(A i breaks. Approximately 3-4 lines missing)

- 69' A ii 1 [a]n-<sup>r</sup>tu-uĥ<sup>1</sup>-ši-ia-za-kán ku-e-da-ni DINGIR.MEŠ š[a-a-an-zi]
- 70' A ii 2 [n]a-an-ša-an ar-ha pa-aš-ku-wa-an-z[i]
- 71' A ii 3 [z]i-ik-pát <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-NA g[e-en-zu-wa-ši]
- 72' A ii 4 ki-nu-na <sup>m</sup>Mur-ši-DINGIR-LIM-in LUGAL-u[n] <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-R[I-IN-NA]
- 73' A ii 5 lu-lu-wa-a-i nu <sup>m</sup>Mur-ši-DINGIR-LIM-in LUGAL-un ha-an-da-a[n-da-  
an]
- 74' A ii 6 ÌR-KA <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-NA ki-iš-šar-ta har-a[k]
- 75' A ii 7 nu-ut-ta <sup>m</sup>Mur-ši-DINGIR-LIM-iš<sup>1</sup> (uš) LUGAL-uš ud-da-a-ar
- 76' A ii 8 <sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-e <sup>r</sup>me<sup>1</sup>-mi-eš-ki-iz-zi nu <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-NA GEŠTUG-[an]
- 77' A ii 9 pa-ra-a l[a-ga-a]-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup> har-ak <sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-at iš-ta-ma-aš-ki

A

- 78' A ii 10 [k]i-i DINGIR.ME[Š ku-it] 'i<sup>1</sup>-i[a]-at-tén nu ħi-in-kán tar-na-a[t-tén]
- 79' A ii 11 'nu<sup>1</sup> KUR<sup>URU</sup>KÙ.'BABBAR<sup>1</sup>-T[I ħu-u-m]a-an-pát BA.ÚŠ nam-ma A-NA  
D[INGIR.MEŠ]
- 80' A ii 12 'NINDA<sup>1</sup> ħar-ši-in [<sup>DUG</sup>iš-pa]-an-du-zi-ia Ú-UL ku-iš-k[i]
- 81' A ii 13 i-ia-zi<sup>LÚ.M</sup>[<sup>EŠ</sup>APIN.L]Á<sup>A.ŠĀ</sup>A.GÀR.ĤI.A DINGIR-LIM ku-i-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[eš]  
D obv. 1' [ ] →
- 82' A ii 14 an-ni-eš-<sup>r</sup>kir<sup>1</sup> na-a[t] 'e<sup>1</sup>-kir nu nam-ma<sup>A.ŠĀ</sup>A.GÀ[R.ĤI.A]  
D obv. [an-ni-i]š-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>2</sup>-[ir] / [ ]<sup>rA.1</sup>[<sup>ŠĀ</sup>A.GÀ]R.MEŠ  
1'-2'
- A ctd. [DINGIR-LIM]  
D obv. 2' DINGIR- LIM
- 83' A ii 15 a-ni-ia-an-zi w[a-a]r-aš-ša-an-zi Ú-UL ku-[it-ki]  
D obv. 3' [ ] 'Ú-UL [k]u-it-ki
- 84' A ii 16 MUNUS.MEŠ<sup>NA4</sup>ARA<sub>5</sub> ŠA DINGIR.MEŠ NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA.ĤI.A  
D obv. 4' [ NINDAGUR<sub>4</sub>.RA.ME]Š
- A ctd. ku-i-e-e[š ]  
D ctd. ku-i-e-eš 'ma<sup>1</sup>-al-le-eš-ki-ir
- 85' A ii 17 na-at e-kir nu nam-ma NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA Ú-<sup>r</sup>UL<sup>1</sup> [ku-iš-ki ]  
D obv. 5' [ NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.R]A Ú-UL ku-<sup>r</sup>iš-ki<sup>1</sup> ma-al-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>
- 86' A ii 18 <sup>UDU</sup>a-ú-li-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-uš-kán GU<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A UDU.ĤI.A ħa-a-l[i-ia-az]  
D obv. 6' [ UDU.M]EŠ ħa-a-li-ia-<sup>r</sup>az<sup>1</sup>
- 87' A ii 19 a-ša-u-na-az ku-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[e]z-za-aš kar-a[š-k]i-ir nu<sup>L</sup>[<sup>Ú.MEŠ</sup>SIPA.GU<sub>4</sub>]  
D obv. [ kar]-aš-ki-ir / [ ] →  
7'-8'
- 88' A ii 20 <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>SIPA.UDU e-kir 'ħa<sup>1</sup>-a-li-ia a-ša-a-u-wa-a[r]  
D obv. [ ] e-kir ħa-a-li-ia / [ ]  
8'-9'
- A ctd. [kar-ši-ia-an-da-ri(?)]  
D obv. 9' [ ] →
- 89' A ii 21 nu ú-iz-zi A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ NINDA.'GUR<sub>4</sub>.<sup>1</sup>RA.ĤI.A  
D obv. [nu ú-iz-z]i A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ / [ ]  
9'-10'
- A ctd. <sup>DUG</sup>iš-pa-[an-du-zi]  
D obv. 10' [<sup>DUG</sup>iš-pa-an-du-z]i →
- 90' A ii 22 <sup>UDU</sup>a-ú-li-uš-ša kar-<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-an-da-ri nu-un-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-[aš]

- D obv.  
10'-11' <sup>UDU</sup>*a-ú-li-uš-ša* / [ ] →
- 91' A ii 23 *ú-wa-at-te-ni* DINGIR.MEŠ *a-pé-e-da-ni ud-da-a-ni-i[a]*  
D obv.  
11'-12' [*ú-wa-a*]t-te-ni DINGIR.MEŠ / [ ] →
- 92' A ii 24 *wa-aš-du-li ħar-te-ni na-aš-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>* A-NA DUMU.LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.L[U]  
D obv. 12' [*wa-aš-d*]u-<sup>r</sup>li ħar-te-ni<sup>1</sup>
- (D obv. breaks)
- 93' A ii 25 *ħa-at-ta-tar-šum-mi-it ħar-ak-ta nu* ZAG-an ku-<sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup> [*i-ia-<u>-e-ni*]
- 94' A ii 26 *na-at* NU.GÁL nu DINGIR.MEŠ *ku-it wa-aš-túl uš-kat-te-ni*
- 95' A ii 27 *nu na-aš-šu* DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-ia-an-za *ú-id-du na-at me-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-ú*
- 96' A ii 28 *na-aš-ma-at* <sup>MUNUS.MEŠ</sup>ŠU.GI <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>AZU <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>MUŠEN.DÙ *me-mi-ia-an-<sup>r</sup>du<sup>1</sup>*
- 97' A ii 29 *na-aš-ma-at za-aš-ħi-ia-az* DUMU.LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.L[U] *a-uš-du*
- 98' A ii 30 *na-aš-ta* <sup>URUDU</sup>ZI.KIN.BAR-aš <sup>GIŠ</sup>šar-pa-az *ku-un-ku-u-e-en*
- 99' A ii 31 *nu* DINGIR.MEŠ A-NA KUR <sup>URU</sup>KÙ.BABBAR-TI *ge-en-<sup>r</sup>zu<sup>1</sup> nam-ma*  
*ta-at-tén*
- 100' A ii 32 *ke-e-ez-za-at ħi-in-ga-na-an-za ta-ma-aš-ta ke-e-ez-za-at-ta<sup>1</sup>(at)*
- 101' A ii 33 *ku-ru-ra-an-za ta-ma-aš-ta nu ku-ri-wa-na-aš* KUR.KUR.MEŠ *ku-e*
- 102' A ii 34 *a-ra-aħ-za<sup>1</sup>(ħa)-an-da* KUR <sup>URU</sup>MI-IT-TA-AN-NI KUR <sup>URU</sup>AR-ZA-U-WA
- 103' A ii 35 *nu ħu-u-ma-an-za šu-ul-li-e-et nu-za-kán* DINGIR.MEŠ *ša-ra-a*
- 104' A ii 36 *Ú-UL i-ia-an-zi na-aš-ta NI-EŠ* DINGIR.MEŠ *šar-ri-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-eš-kán-zi*
- 105' A ii 37 *'É<sup>1</sup>.ĦI.A* DINGIR.MEŠ-ma *la-u-wa-ar-ru-na ša-an-ħi-iš-kán-zi*
- 106' A ii 38 [*n*]a-at A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ *kat-ta-wa-a-tar nam-ma ki-ša-ru*
- 107' A ii 39 *nu-uš-ša-an ħi-in-kán ku-ru-ur ga-aš-ta-an i-da-a-lu-un*
- 108' A ii 40 *ta-pa-aš-ša-an A-NA KUR* <sup>URU</sup>MI-IT-TA-AN-NI *Ù A-NA 'KUR<sup>1</sup>*  
<sup>URU</sup>AR-ZA-U-WA
- 109' A ii 41 *tar-na-at-tén wa-ar-ša-an-da šu-ul-la-an-da* KUR.KUR.ĦI.A
- 110' A ii 42 {A-NA} KUR <sup>URU</sup>KÙ.BABBAR-TI-ma *ta-ri-ia-an KUR-e*
- 111' A ii 43 *nu ta-ri-ia-an-da-an la-a-at-tén wa-ar-ši-ia-an-da-an-ma*
- 112' A ii 44 *tu-u-ri-ia-at-tén*
- A
- 
- 113' A ii 45 *ke-e-ma nam-ma ŠA* KUR <sup>URU</sup>ĤA-AT-TI-pát KUR.KUR.ĦI.A-TIM KUR  
<sup>URU</sup>GA-AŠ-GA

- 114' A ii 46 [n]a-at<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>SIPA.ŠAḪ Û<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>E-PIŠ GADA e-eš-šir  
D rev. 1' [ ] →
- 115' A ii 47 ṽ<sup>URU</sup>KUR<sup>URU</sup>A-RA-U-WA-AN-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup>KA-LA-AŠ-MA KUR  
D rev.  
1'-2' [ <sup>URU</sup>ṽA<sup>1</sup>-RA-U-WA-AN-NA / [ ] ]
- A ctd. <sup>URU</sup>LU-UQ-QA  
D rev.2' [ ] →
- 116' A ii 48 KUR [<sup>URU</sup>P]Í-<sup>URU</sup>TA<sup>1</sup>-AŠ-ŠA na-aš-ta ke-e-ia KUR.KUR.ḪI.A-TIM  
D rev.  
2'-3' [ <sup>URU</sup>Í-<sup>URU</sup>TA-AŠ-ŠA / [ ] ]
- 117' A ii 49 A-N[A<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup>]<sup>URU</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-RI-IN-NA a-ra-u-e-eš-ta nu ar-ga-mu-uš  
D rev. 4' [ a-ra-u-e-eš]-ta nu ar-ga-mu-<sup>URU</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>
- 118' A ii 50 ar-ḫa [pé-(e)-eš-š]ir nu EGIR-pa KUR<sup>URU</sup>ḪA-AT-TI  
D rev.5' [ <sup>URU</sup>ḪA-AT-TI ]
- A ctd. GUL-ḫa-an-ni-ia-u-wa-an d[a-a-ir]<sup>78</sup>  
D rev. 6' [ da-i]-<sup>URU</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-er
- 119' A ii 51 ka-ru-ú-<sup>URU</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [KUR] <sup>URU</sup>KÙ.BABBAR-TI IŠ-TU<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-NA  
D rev.7' [ IŠ-TU<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-NA ]
- 120' A ii 52 a-ra-aḫ-zé-na-aš [A-N]A KUR.KUR.ḪI.A-TIM UR.MAḪ ma-a-an  
D rev.  
8'-9' [ KUR.KUR.ḪI.]A(?)<sup>URU</sup>-TIM UR.MAḪ / [ ] ]
- A ctd. šar-ḫi-iš-ki-it  
D rev. 9' [ ] ]
- 121' A ii 53 nu pa-ra-a<sup>URU</sup>Ḫal-pa-an<sup>URU</sup>KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>1</sup>-an ku-i-uš  
D rev.10' [ <sup>URU</sup>KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>1</sup>-an<sup>URU</sup> ku-it ]
- A ctd. ḫar-ni-in-ki-iš-ki-it  
D rev.11' [ ] →
- 122' A ii 54 nu KUR-e-aš ḫu-u-ma-an-da-a[š a-aš-š]u <sup>URU</sup>KÙ.BABBAR<sup>1</sup> KÙ.SI<sub>22</sub>  
D rev.  
11'-12' [ <sup>URU</sup>K]Ù.BABBAR / [ ] ]
- A ctd. DINGIR.MEŠ-ia [da-a-ir]  
D ctd. [ ] ]
- (D rev. breaks)
- 123' A ii 55 na-at PA-NI<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-N[A zi-ik-ki]-ir

<sup>78</sup> da-a-ir is restored here from a similar sentence in line 125'.

A

- 124' A ii 56 *ki-nu-na a-ra-aḥ-zé-na-an-te-<sup>r</sup>eš<sup>n</sup> [ud-ne-(e)-an-te]-eš*  
 125' A ii 57 *ḥu-u-ma-an-te-eš KUR<sup>URU</sup> KÙ<sup>r</sup>.BABBAR-TI [wa-al-ḥ]a-an-ni-eš-ki-u-  
 wa-an da-a-ir*  
 126' A ii 58 *na-at A-NA<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup> A-RI-IN-NA<sup>r</sup>kat-ta<sup>1</sup>-wa-a-tar*  
 127' A ii 59 *nam-ma ki-ša-a-ru nu-za DINGIR-LUM tu-el ŠUM-KA*  
 128' A ii 60 *le-e<sup>79</sup> te-ep-ša-nu-ši*

A

- 129' A ii 61 *nu A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>š</sup> ku-iš kar-pí-iš kar-tim-mi-ia-az*  
 130' A ii 62 *ku-iš DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>š</sup>-na-aš Ú-UL na-aḥ-ḥa-an-za na-aš-ta l[e-e]*  
 131' A ii 63 *a-aš-ša-u-e-eš i-da-a-la-u-wa-aš an-da<sup>r</sup> ḥar-kán-zi<sup>1</sup>*  
 132' A ii 64 *na-aš ma-a-an 1-EN URU.KI na-aš-m[a-at 1-EN É-TUM]*  
 133' A ii 65 *na-aš-ma 1-E[N L]Ú nu DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>š</sup> a-pu-u-u[n-pát]*  
 134' A ii 66 *<sup>r</sup>1<sup>1</sup>-an<sup>r</sup> ḥar<sup>1</sup>-n[i-ik-tén nu A-NA KUR<sup>U</sup>]RU KÙ<sup>r</sup>.<sup>r</sup>BABBAR-TI<sup>1</sup>-[ma-kán  
 DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>š</sup>]*

(A ii breaks. The end of line 134' and lines 135'-138' are restored from lines 42'-45' of 376.I; lines 139'-142' are restored from CTH 377)

- 135' *[an-da SIG<sub>5</sub>-u-it IGI.ḪI.A-ti a-uš-tén i-da-a-lu-ma ḥi-in-kán]*  
 136' *[i-da-la-u-aš KUR-e-aš pé-eš-tén I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup> KÙ<sup>r</sup>.BABBAR-TI-ma]*  
 137' *[ma-a-ú ši-eš-du nu EGIR-pa KUR<sup>URU</sup> KÙ<sup>r</sup>.BABBAR-TI ka-ru-ú-i-li-at-ta*  
 138' *ki-ša-ru]*

- 139' *[nu KUR.KUR.ḪI.A<sup>LÚ</sup> KÚR ku-e šu-ul-la-an-ta]*  
 140' *[ḥar-šal-la-an-ta ku-i-eš-kán tu-uk A-NA<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup> A-RI-IN-NA]*  
 141' *[Ú-UL na-aḥ-ḥa-an-te-eš ku-i-e-eš-ma-az šu-me-en-za-an]*  
 142' *[É.ḪI.A DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>š</sup>-KU-NU ar-ḥa wa-ar-nu-um-ma-an-zi]*  
 143' A iii 1' *<sup>r</sup>i-la<sup>1</sup>-[li-iš]-<sup>r</sup>kán-z[i ku]-<sup>r</sup>i-eš-ma<sup>1</sup>-[aš-za]*  
 144' A iii 2' *BI-IB-RI<sup>ḪI.</sup>]A<sup>rA1</sup> [GAL.ḪI.A] Ú-NU-TE<sup>MEŠ</sup> ŠA [KÙ<sup>r</sup>.BABBAR KÙ<sup>r</sup>.SI<sub>22</sub>]*  
 145' A iii 3' *da-an-na š[a-a]n-<sup>r</sup>ḥi<sup>1</sup>-iš-kán-zi*  
 146' A iii 4' *ku-i-e-eš-ma-aš-za<sup>A.rŠÀ1</sup> A.GÀR.ḪI.A-KU-NU<sup>GIŠ</sup> KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ-x x [x K]U-  
 N[U]*  
 147' A iii 5' *<sup>GIŠ</sup>TIR.MEŠ<sup>š</sup>-KU-NU ta-an-na-at-ta-u-wa-an-zi*

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The sign *e* in *le-e* is written above the line and was probably added later.

- 148' A iii 6' *ša-an-ḫi-iš-kán-zi ku-i-e-eš-ma-aš-za*
- 149' A iii 7' LÚ.MEŠ APIN.LÁ LÚ.MEŠ NU. GÍŠ KIRI<sub>6</sub> MUNUS.MEŠ NA<sub>4</sub> ARA<sub>5</sub>
- 150' A iii 8' *ta-an-na ša-an-ḫi-iš-kán-zi*
- 151' A iii 9' *nu i-da-a-lu-un ta-pa-aš-ša-an ḫi-in-kán*
- 152' A iii 10' *ga-aš-ta-an* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-NA GAŠAN-IA
- 153' A iii 11' *a-pé-e-da-aš A-NA KUR.KUR.ḪI.A* <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR *pa-a-i*  
C 1' [ <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR ]? <sup>r</sup>pa<sup>?</sup>-a<sup>?</sup>-i<sup>r</sup>
- AC
- 
- 154' A iii 12' *nu-za* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A-RI-I[N]-<sup>r</sup>NA-ia<sup>r</sup> *zi-ki-la*  
C 2' [ <sup>r</sup>URU A<sup>r</sup>-[RI-IN-NA-ia] <sup>r</sup>zi<sup>r</sup>-ki-[la]
- 155' A iii 13' *mu-ke-eš-ki-iḫ-ḫu-[ut zi-ik-la]-za me-mi*  
C 3' [mu-ki-i]š-ki-iḫ-<sup>r</sup>ḫu<sup>r</sup>-[ut zi-ik-l]a-za me-[mi]
- 156' A iii 14' *ú-e-šú-ri-ia-an-za* [ <sup>r</sup>ḫa<sup>r</sup>-an-da-ḫu-ut  
C 3' [ú-e-š]u-ri-ia-an-za-ma n[am-ma] ḫa-an-da-[ḫu-ut]
- 157' A iii 15' *na-aš-ta A-NA* <sup>m</sup>M[UR-ŠI-LI LUGA]L-i A-NA ÌR-KA  
C 4' [na-aš-t]a A-NA <sup>m</sup>MUR-ŠI-LI LUGAL-[i] A-NA ÌR-K[A]
- 158' A iii 16' A-NA KUR <sup>URU</sup>ḪA-AT-TI [an-da] aš-šu-li  
C 5' [A-N]A KUR <sup>URU</sup>KÙ.BABBAR-TI-ia a[n]-da aš-šu-l[i]
- 159' A iii 17' *ne-iš-ḫu-ut nu A-N[A* <sup>m</sup>MUR-ŠI-I-LI] ÌR-KA  
C 6' [n]e-eš-ḫu-ut nu A-NA <sup>m</sup>M[UR-ŠI-L]I ÌR-K[A]
- 160' A iii 18' TI-tar ḫa-at-tu-l[a-tar in-na]-ra-u-wa-a-tar  
C 7' [T]I-tar ḫa-at-tu-la-tar i[n-na-r]a-u-wa-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>r</sup>-[tar]
- 161' A iii 19' <sup>r</sup>ŠA<sup>r</sup> EGIR.UD-MI [ <sup>r</sup>la-l]u-uk-ki-ma-an  
C 8' [Š]A EGIR.<sup>r</sup>UD<sup>r</sup>-MI ZI-a[š <sup>r</sup>la-lu-uk]-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>r</sup>-[ma-an]
- 162' A iii 20' [MU.KAM] <sup>r</sup>GÍD<sup>r</sup>.DA-ia [ <sup>r</sup>nu]-<sup>r</sup>uš<sup>r</sup>-š<sup>r</sup>i-kán  
C 9' [M]U.KAM GÍD.DA-ia pé-eš-ki [nu-uš-š<sup>r</sup>i-kán] →
- 163' A iii 21' [A-NA ZI-Š]U a[n-da la-lu-u]k-ki-ma-an  
C 9'-10' [A-NA ZI-ŠU] / [a]n-da la-lu-uk-ki-ma-an →
- 164' A iii 22' [du-uš-ga-ra-a]t-t[a-an-na] *zi-ik-ki*  
C 10'-11' [du-uš-ga-ra-at-ta-an-na(?)] / *zi-ik-ki*
- 165' A iii 23' [nu-uš-š<sup>r</sup>i ḫa-aš-š]a-tar [DUMU.MEŠ] DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ  
C 11' nu-uš-š<sup>r</sup>i ----- D[UMU.MEŠ DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ]
- 166' A iii 24' [ḫa-aš-šu-u]š ḫa-an-[za-aš-š]u-<sup>r</sup>uš<sup>r</sup> pé-eš-ki  
C 12' ḫa-aš-šu-uš ḫa-an-za-aš-š[u-uš pé-eš-ki]

- 167' A iii 25' [nu-uš-š]i nu-ú-un [t]u-u-ma-an-[ti]-<sup>r</sup>ia-an<sup>1</sup>  
C 13' <sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-uš-ši nu-ú-un tu-[um-ma-an-ti-ia-an]
- 168' A iii 26' [ ] nu-uš-ši [ħal]-ki-ia-aš<sup>GIŠ</sup>[GEŠ]TIN-aš  
C 14' [pé-e]š-ki nu-uš-ši ħal-k[i-ia-aš ]
- 169' A iii 27' [UZ<sub>6</sub>]-aš GU<sub>4</sub>-aš UDU-aš ANŠE.KUR.R[A]-aš  
C 15' [ ] <sup>r</sup>ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>1</sup>-a[š]
- (C breaks)
- 170' A iii 28' [DUMU.L]Ú.[U<sub>19</sub>.LU-aš-ša(?) m]i-ia-tar pé-eš-[k]i
- 171' A iii 29' [nu-uš-ši x x x x] x-tar tar-ħu-u-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[l]a-a-tar
- 172' A iii 30' [x x x x x (x)] x pa-ra-a <sup>r</sup>ne<sup>1</sup>-ia-an-da-an
- 173' A iii 31' [<sup>d</sup>.GIŠTUKUL-in pé-eš-ki nu-uš]-ši KUR.[KU]R.ĤI.A<sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR
- 174' A iii 32' [ŠA-PAL(?) ĠİR.MEŠ(?)-Š]U <sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-ik-ki
- 175' A iii 33' [ ... ] x x-id-du
- 176' A iii 34' [ ... ] x-<sup>r</sup>ši<sup>1</sup> pí-ra-an
- 177' A iii 35' [ ... ]-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>1</sup> nu <sup>d</sup>U[TU]<sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-N[A]
- 178' A iii 36' [A-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup>ĤA-A]T-TI <sup>r</sup>ge<sup>1</sup>-en-zu
- 179' A iii 37' [nam-ma da-a n]a-at-za EGIR-an x[x x(x)]
- 180' A iii 38' [x x x ša-k]u-wa-an-du-uš ħ[é<sup>2</sup>-e]-<sup>r</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-[uš]
- 181' A iii 39' <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[wa-an-d]u nu še-iš-du-wa-a[š]
- 182' A iii 40' IM-an-<sup>r</sup>te-eš<sup>1</sup> i-ia-an-da-ru m[a<sup>2</sup>-a-ú]
- 183' A iii 41' še-iš-du [n]u šu-ma-a-aš A-NA DINGIR.M[EŠ]
- 184' A iii 42' <sup>NINDA</sup>GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA.Ĥ[I.A-K]U-NU<sup>DUG</sup>iš-pa-an-tu-zi
- 185' A iii 43' ša-ra-[a ki-i]t-ta-ri nu pa-an-ku-[uš]  
B iv 1' [ ... ] x [ ... ]
- 186' A iii 44' a-pa-a-at <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[eš-d]u ħal-za-i  
B iv 2' [ ... ] x <sup>r</sup>wa-ar<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>-[ ... ]

A

Colophon A (perhaps one or two lines missing)

- 187' A iv 1' <sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-[NA UTU<sup>URU</sup>A-RI-I]N-<sup>r</sup>NA mu-ga-u-wa-an-zi<sup>1</sup>
- 188' A iv 2' x [x x x x am-mu-u]k(?) tup-pí-ia-aš A-WA-TE<sup>MEŠ</sup>
- 189' A iv 3' a-<sup>r</sup>pí-ia a-ni-ia<sup>1</sup>-nu-un nu <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-NA

- 190' A iv 4' <sup>URU</sup>KÙ.BABBAR-ši I-NA UD.7.KAM *mu-ke-eš-ki-nu-un*  
 191' A iv 5' I-NA <sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-NA-ia I-NA UD.7.KAM  
 192' A iv 6' *mu-ke-eš-ki-nu-un na-aš-ta ki-i A-WA-TE*<sup>MEŠ</sup>  
 193' A iv 7' *an-da me-mi-iš-ki-nu-un mu-u-ga-u-wa-aš-ma*  
 194' A iv 8' *ar-ḫa-ia-an ḫa-an-ti tup-pí*

## Colophon B

- B iv 3' [DUB.1 QA-TI(?)] *ma-a-an ŠÀ KUR* <sup>URU</sup>ḪAT-<sup>r</sup>TT [∅]  
 B iv 4' [*an-da(?) ak-k*] *i-iš-ki-it-ta-ri* [?]  
 B iv 5' [*ar-ḫa-ia-an(?)*] <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-*ap-pa* {x} *ḫa-an-ti-i*  
 B iv 6' [*tup-pí m*] *a-a-an* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-N[A]  
 B iv 7' [<sup>URU</sup>KÙ.BABBAR-ši(?) *mu*]-*ga-a-an-zi nu-uš-ša-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>* [*ke-e*]  
 B iv 8' [*ud-da-a-ar*] *an-da me-mi-iš-kán-zi*

**Translation:**

1-14

Manuscript B:

[O Sungoddess of Arinn]a! Murši[li, the king, your servant] sent me (saying): “Go to my l[ady, to the Sungoddess of] Arinna (and) say: I invoke the Sungoddess of [Arinna], my personal [goddess]. [Whether you, [O honoure]d Sungoddess of Arinna, are above in heav[en among the gods], or you are in the sea, or you are gon[e] to [som]e [mountains] to roam, [or] you are gone for battle, let [the fragrant odo]ur of the oil [summon you]. [*I hereby invoke*] you [with] *the fra[grant odour of the cedar]* and of the oil. [Come b]ack [to your] te[mple]!

Manuscript A:

[I hereby invo]ke [you] with the thick bread [and libation]. Be [completely satis]fied [and keep lis]tening [to what I am saying to you]!

15-30

[You, O Sungoddess of Arinna, are an honoured] goddess.

[In the lan]d of Ḫatti alone you, my goddess, possess strongly-built [temples], but [nowhere in any other land in addition (to ours) you have] a temple.

[In the land of Ḫatti alone] they provide [holy and pur]e festivals and rituals [for you, but] nowhere [in any other lan]d in addition (to ours) they provide (them) [for you].

[In the land of Ḫatti alone you] possess [lofty temples adorned with] silver and gold, but [nowh]ere [in any other land] in addition (to ours) you possess (them).

In the land of Ḫatti alone [you possess cups and rhyta of silver and gol]d as well as precious stones.

In the [land] of Ḫatti alone they celebrate [festivals for you (such as) the monthl]y [festivals], the annual <festivals> [of winter, autu]mn, spring, the animal sacrifices, [and the fes]tivals [of] in[voking], bu[t] nowhere in any other land in addition (to ours) do they celebrate (them) [for you].

31-38 In the land of Ḫatti alone, your divinity, O Sungoddess of Arinna, is honoured.

In the land of Ḫatti alone, Muršili, the king, your servant, is respectful to you.

They are setting, your, the Sungoddess of Arinna's, images in order to perform rituals and festivals. They offer you everything that is pure.

Furthermore, respect is established for silver and gold belonging to your temple. No one steps near (them).

39-68 You, O Sungoddess of Arinna, are an honoured goddess.

Your name is honoured among the names.

Your divinity is honoured among the gods.

Furthermore, among the gods, you alone, O Sungoddess of Arinna, are honoured, and you alone, O Sungoddess of Arinna, are great; furthermore, no other god is more honoured or greater than you.

You alone are the lady (text: lord) of just [judg]ment.

You alone control the kingship of heaven and [earth]!

You alone set the borders of [the land]s!

You alone listen to [in]vocations!

You alone, O Sungoddess of Arinna, are a merciful goddess and you alone take pity!

The just man is dear to you alone, o Sungoddess of Arinna, and you alone, O Sungoddess of Arinna, [let] him to prevail!

In the circumference of heaven and earth, you alone, O Sungoddess of Arinna, are the (source of) light!

Among the lands, you alone are the (most) celebrated deity.

To all the lands you are father and mother.

You are the rightly guided lady (text: lord) of judgement, and in the place of judgment you never tire (lit. there is no tiring you).

Also among the primeval gods you alone are the (most) celebrated!

You alone, O Sungoddess of Arinna, set the gods' offerings, and you alone, set the primeval gods their share.

For you alone they open back the door of [hea]ven, and you alone, O celebrated [Sungoddess of Arinna] pass through the gate [of heaven].

[The gods] of heaven [and earth are bowing down to you] alone, O Sungoddess of Arinna. [And whatever] you, O Sungoddess of Arinna, are saying, [the gods] keep pros[trating themselves before you alone, O Sungoddess of Ar]inna.

*(Approximately 3-4 lines missing)*

69'-77' You alone, O Sungoddess of Arinna, have m[er]cy on the [per]son at whom the gods are a[n]gry, and (whom) they reject.

And now, O Sungoddess of Arinna, sustain Muršili, the kin[g]!

O Sungoddess of Arinna, ta[ke] Muršili, the just king, your servant by the hand!

O Sungoddess of Arinna turn your ear toward the words, which Muršili, the king, keeps telling you and keep listening to them!

78'-112' O god[s], [what] (is) [th]is you have [do]ne? You have allow[ed] a plague (into Ḫatti), and the [en]tire land of Ḫatt[i] is dying. No on[e] prepares the thick bread and the [lib]ation for the g[ods] anymore. The [plough]men wh[o] used to work the fields of the gods have died. No o[ne] works (or) harvest the fields of the gods anymore. The women of the mill-stone who used to grind (the flour for) the thick breads of the gods have died. No one grinds (the flour for) the thick bread anymore. Corrals and sheepfolds from which they used to select the sacrificial animals (such as) cattle and sheep, (now when) [the cowherds] and shepherds have died, the corral and the sheepfol[ds *are neglected*]. So it happens that the thick breads, the liba[tion] and the sacrificial animals for the gods are neglected. And you, O gods, proceed to hold us guilty in that very matter. To (us), to mankind, our wisdom has been lost and we cannot do anything right (lit. whatever right [we do], it does not exist). O gods, whatever sin you perceive, either let a man of gods come and pronounce it, or let the old women, the

diviners or the augurs pronounce it, or let a man see it through a dream. We have been dangling from the point of a needle. O gods, take pity on the land of Ḫatti again! On the one hand the plague has been oppressing it, on the other hand hostility has been oppressing it. The lands of *kuriwana*, which are around, namely the land of Mitanni and the land of Arzawa, each (of them) quarreled. They do not extol the gods; they keep transgressing the oaths and they continually seek to despoil the temples (lit. houses of the gods). May this become an [addi]tional (cause of) vengeance for the gods. Turn the plague, the hostility, the famine and the evil fever towards the land of Mitanni and the land of Arzawa. Rested are the quarrelsome lands, but the land of Ḫatti is a tired land. Unhitch the tired one, but hitch the rested one.

- 113'-123' Furthermore, these lands that belong to the land of Ḫatti itself, (namely) the land of Kaška – they were swineherds and weavers – and the land of Arauwanna, the land of Kalašma, the land of Lukka and the land of Pitašša: also these lands have become free fr[om the Sungoddess] of Arinna. They have [repudia]ted (their) tributes and have begun again to attack the land of Ḫatti. Formerly, also [the land]of Ḫatti with the Sungoddess of Arinna used to maul the foreign lands like a lion. Furthermore, (as to) Aleppo and Babylon, which it (i.e. the land of Ḫatti) used to destroy, [they took] the goods of all the lands, namely silver, gold and the gods, and [they deposit]ed them before the Sungoddess of Arinna.
- 124'-128' Now, all the surrounding [land]s began to [at]tack the land of Ḫatti. May this become an additional (reason for) the vengeance for the Sungoddess of Arinna. O Goddess, do not degrade your own name!
- 129'-138' Whoever is (a cause of) rage and anger to the gods, whoever is not respectful to the gods, let not the good ones perish together with the evil ones. Whether it is a single city or [it is a single house] or a single person, O gods, destr[oy only] that single one! [O gods, behold] the land of Ḫatti [*with favourable eyes. Give the evil plague to the evil lands. But in the land of Ḫatti let everything thrive and prosper, and let the land of Ḫatti become again as (it was) before.*].
- 139'-153' [(As for) the enemy lands which are quarrelsome and wrathful: those who are not respectful to you, O Sungoddess of Arinna; those who] wi[sh to burn down your temples]; those wh[o] seek to take (your) rhy[ta, cups] and

objects [of silver and gold]; those who seek to lay waste your farmlands, your orchards (and) your groves; those who seek to capture (your) farmers, gardeners (and) women of the mill, to those enemy lands, O Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, give evil fever, plague and famine!

154'-186'<sup>80</sup> And let you yourself, O Sungoddess of Arinna, be invoked [(and) you yourself] speak (as follows): “May, you the oppressed one, be fit [again]”! Turn [in] favour toward Muršili, the king, your servant and toward the land of Ḫatti! To Muršili, the king, your servant grant life, health, vi[gour, brigh]tness o[f] spirit for the future (lit. of the future), and longevity! Put [in his soul] brightness [and joy]! Give him (A: virility,) [sons], daughters, grandchildren and great-grandchildren! [Give] him contentment(?) and obedience(?)! Give him the [g]rowth of grain, vines, [goats], cattle, sheep, horses [and manki]nd! [Give him ... ], valor, [ ... ], the battle-ready [divine weapon]! Put [beneath h]is [feet] the enemy lands! [...] O Sungoddess of Arinna, [have] pity [on the land of Ḫatti again]! [May] it (i.e. the land of Ḫatti) [ ... ] again! May the [soa]king r[ains] come! May the winds of prosperity pass over! [May (everything) thrive] and prosper! To you, O gods, [you]r thick bread[s] and libation will be [pre]sented. And the congregati[on] cries out: “Le[t] that [be]!”

#### Colophon A

[... I went] to invoke the [Sungoddess of Arin]na. At that time I recorded the words of the tablet. I invoked the Sungoddess of Arinna in Ḫattuša for seven days. I also invoked (her) for seven days in Arinna, while I spoke these words. There is in addition a separate tablet of the invocation.

#### Colophon B

[One tablet complete]. When [there has bee]n dying in the land of Ḫatti. [In addition] there is again a separate [tablet. Wh]en they [in]voke the Sungoddess of Arinna [in Ḫatti], they speak to her [these words].

#### Comments:

1-11 The same amount of lines is missing at the beginning of column i and column ii of manuscript A (KUB 24.3+). Since seven lines have been restored by the join KBo

<sup>80</sup> Lines 175'-176' are too fragmentary for translation.

51.18a at the beginning of column ii, the same amount of lines must be missing at the beginning of column i. The beginning of this composition is preserved in eleven lines of manuscript B (KUB 36.80). However, since the amount of missing lines does not allow for so much text in manuscript A, one has to assume that some of the sentences present in manuscript B must have been absent from manuscript A. Because manuscript B contains more text than manuscript A and because the colophon of manuscript B differs from the colophon of manuscript A, it is possible that manuscript B may have been, in fact, a separate composition modelled on manuscript A rather than a duplicate of manuscript A.

Restorations in lines i 1-11 are based on the similar passage that appears in the hymn and prayer of Muršili II to Telipinu (CTH 377), except for the gaps at the end of lines 9 and 10 and the beginning of lines 10 and 11. Although the text restored in these lacunas fits the context well, it must remain a mere suggestion.

- 4 For the discussion of the meaning of the verb *mugai-* see chapter two. Although the verb *mugai-* may not have been originally a verb of speaking (see Laroche 1964-5, Melchert 2010b), in this context the verb clearly refers to the words of a prayer spoken during the performance of the *mukeššar* ritual and to the ritual activities. The meaning of the verb *mugai-* within this context is “to invoke”; the goddess is called back to her temple so that she can hear the hymn and prayer.
- 4-6 The position of *šer* “above” in the sentence *nu-za-k[án ma-a-an na-ak-ki]-iš<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-NA ne-pí-š[i DINGIR.MES-aš iš-tar-na] še-er* differs from the position this word occupies in the similar sentence in the prayer to Telipinu (KUB 24.1 i 8 and KUB 24.2 obv. 7). While in this prayer the adverb/postposition is placed at the end of the sentence, in the prayer to Telipinu it stands before the noun *nepiši*. It is not sure whether this positioning of *šer* in the prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna has any syntactic or semantic reasons. One may suggest that perhaps in the hymn and prayer to the Sungoddess, *šer* can be interpreted as postposition dislocated to the end of the sentence, while in the prayer to Telipinu it can be taken as a free-standing adverb.
- 9-11 *nu=tta [kāša mukiškimi<sup>GIŠ</sup> ERIN-aš(?) ] Ĩ-ašš=a š[anezzit(?) waršulit(?)].* If all the restorations are correct, the syntax of this sentence mirrors the syntax of the sentence in lines 12-13, restored from lines i 13-14 of the KUB 24.1+ (CTH 377).

Both sentences show the OVO<sub>indirect</sub> word order. According to Kassian and Yakubovich (2007: 438), such an inversion of the regular word order (S)OV is characteristic of formulaic evocations and direct speech in Hittite.

*kāša* in both restored sentences is employed to reinforce an “immediate present” and indicates that the action of making offerings during the performance of this *mukeššar* ritual coincides with the moment of speech. On this use of *kāša*, see Hoffner and Melchert (2002: 388) and (2008: 324).

12 M. Weeden (StBoT 54: 225) translates the expression NINDA *ḫarši-*, also written in Hittite texts with the logogram NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA, as “thick bread/oven bread”. He refers to the Ortaköy Ura 17<sup>81</sup>, which indicates that *ḫarši-* may be the Hittite word for “oven” and suggests that the expression NINDA *ḫarši-* could designate either bread that was baked in oven (*ḫarši-*) or that resembled DUG *ḫarši-* in shape.

12-14 The beginning of lines 12-26 are restored from lines i 13- ii 8 of KUB 24.1+.

15-30 The adverb *namma=ma* here means “in addition”. Within this construction it follows a sentence containing the particle *-pat*, is used with negation and is associated with *tamai-* (see CHD L-N: 390 sub 6d and 95f sub b8’). The translation of this adverb in lines 15-30 follows CHD L-N 390 sub 6d.

16-17 lit. “In the land of Ḫatti alone there are strongly-built temples for you, but nowhere in any other land in addition (to ours) you have a temple”.

21-25 lit. “In the land of Ḫatti alone there are lofty temples for you adorned with silver and gold, but nowhere in any other land in addition (to ours) do they exist for you. In the land of Ḫatti alone, there are cups and ryhta of silver and gold as well as precious stones”.

25-28 [EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A-*it-ta* EZEN<sub>4</sub>.IT].ḪI.A < EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A> MU-*ti mi-i-ia-na-aš*

<sup>81</sup> According to Weeden (2011: 108) ur<sub>5</sub>.ra (abbreviated Hh, Ura) is a new reading of HAR-ra = *ḫubullu*, “an encyclopaedic list of word-signs denoting objects of the world, ... arranged according to type (trees, chairs, etc.)”. Weeden further argues that the oldest Hittite Ura series is the Middle Hittite fragment from Ortaköy/Sapinuwa (95/3), which is probably a version of late Ura 17 (Middle Babylonian Ura 10). He observes that this text was published by A. Süel and O. Soysal (2003) and that the tablet has two Sumerian entries and two with Hittite/Luwian correspondences. The relevant lines read: Ú SULLIM<sup>IM</sup>NÍGIN.NA :GUB.BA = *ḫar-ši-it-kán ku-iš ša-an-ḫu-wa-an-za ta-<sup>r</sup>wa-ti-iš<sup>7</sup>* Weeden (2011: 108-110 and footnote 545).

[*gi-im-ma-an-ta-aš zé-na-an-d*]a-aš *ḫa-mi-iš-ḫa-an-da-aš*  
 [a]-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-li-uš m[u-ki-iš-na-aš-ša EZ]EN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A ...

A similar passage appears in lines ii 3-6 of manuscript A (KUB 24.1+) of the prayer to Telipinu (CTH 377):

EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A-*it-ta* EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ITU EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A MU-aš *me-e-a-na-aš*  
*gi-im-ma-an-ta-aš ḫa-mi-iš-ḫa-an-da-aš*  
*zé-na-an-da-aš a-ú-li-uš mu-ki-iš-na-aš-ša*  
 EZEN<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ

The scribe of KUB 24.1+, while incorporating the hymn and prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 376.II) into his composition, amended this passage by adding EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A before MU *miyani-* and changing MU-*ti* to MU-*aš*.

Kassian and Yakubovich (2007: 440-442) regard these changes as scribal errors. They consider the passage appearing in the hymn to the Sungoddess of Arinna as more accurate, emend the passage in the hymn to Telipinu, so that it reads like the passage in the hymn to the Sungoddess of Arinna and propose that all the phrases starting with MU-*ti* and finishing with *mukišnaš* depend on the Sumerogram EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A (EZEN<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ in CTH 377) that is employed after *mukišnaš*. They explain the fact that the noun *auli-* appears in both passages in the nominative plural case rather than in the expected genitive, by stating that it must be an unusual case attraction, found also in KBo 2.9 i 22'-24' cited in CHD L-N: 237b.

The phrase *auliuš mukišnaš* EZEN.MEŠ is rendered in CHD L-N: 231b as “festivals of invoking the *auli-*”. This interpretation is rejected because the verb *mugai-* is used in Hittite contexts to summon only deities and the souls of the deceased. Since the noun *auli-* refers to neither it could not have been summoned.

Puhvel *HED* vol. 1-2: 230 renders this sentence as “sacrificials (*auliuš*) of winter, spring, fall and feasts of ritual (*mukišnaš*). This interpretation would make sense on both the syntactic and semantic level, however, as rightly pointed by Kassian and Yakubovich (2007: 442), the Hittite evidence does not support the claim that the *auli-* had a seasonal character.

There is no obvious interpretation of this passage. One could accept Kassian and Yakubovich's suggestion that all phrases starting with MU-*ti* depend on EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A, but then, one is left with the unusual case attraction. Another

possibility is to amend the passage in CTH 376.II with EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A: then *auliuš* has to be interpreted as one of the four co-ordinated nominative noun phrases: monthly festivals (EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ITU.HI.A), annual festivals of winter, spring and fall (<EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A> MU-ti mīyanaš gimmantas̄ zenandas̄ ḫamišḫandas̄), a.-sacrifices (*auliuš*) and festivals of invocations (*mukišnaš* EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A). The latter interpretation is adopted here.

33-35 *nu tuel ŠA* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>ARINNA *ḫimmuš* SÍSKUR.ḪI.A EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A *iyauwanzi šarā tittanuškanzi*. The proper understanding of this sentence depends on the correct interpretation of three words: the noun *ḫimma-*, the infinitive *iyauwanzi* and the verb *šarā tittanu-*.

#### *ḫimma-*

Friedrich *HW*: 69, following Gurney (1940: 21), proposed that this noun denoted either a kind of cultic celebration or feast. Recent scholarship shows that there is enough compelling evidence to suggest that this noun carries the meaning “replica, image” (see Puhvel *HED* vol. 3: 314). Since some of the substitute rituals included the presentation of images to a deity in place of an actual person, one could propose that at a certain point the noun *ḫimma-* expanded its sphere of reference and began to denote a substitute ritual. Hence the interpretation of Ünal (1991: 804), Puhvel *HED* vol. 3: 315 and Singer (2002a: 51), who suggested that the noun here carries the meaning “substitute rite” (lit. “offering images”).

#### *iyauwanzi*

The infinitive *iyauwanzi* has been interpreted in this context as the complement of the main verb *šarā tittanu-* by Gurney (1940: 62-70), Singer (2002a: 51), Ünal (1991: 804), Puhvel *HED* vol. 3: 315 and *CHD* Š: 227b. Kassian and Yakubovich (2007: 444) interpret this form as a supine and understand it as an adjunct. They follow Ose (1944: 44-45) and argue that, although this use of the supine is rare, it is nonetheless found in Hittite texts.

#### *šarā tittanu-*

This verb carries both the literal meaning “to erect, to put up on” (*CHD* Š: 220 sub 53’ a’ and c’) and the metaphorical meaning “to finish, to do something completely” when appearing with the infinitive (see *CHD* Š: 227 sub j1’b’).

All of the above interpretations of these three words have been taken into consideration by scholars who either edited or translated the hymn and prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 376.II) or the hymn and prayer to Telipinu (CTH 377). This sentence has been rendered as:

- (i) Gurney (1940: 21): “And the celebration of thy feasts (?) sacrifices (and) festivals, Telipinu, they continually carry out (?)”
- (ii) Puhvel *HED* vol. 3: 15: “they keep undertaking to perform substitute rites, [genuine] rituals, and feasts for thee, Sungoddess of Arinna”
- (iii) Ünal (1991: 804): “Um deine, der Sonnengöttin von Arinna, Ersatz-, Opfer- (und) Festrüten regelmässig begehen zu können, setzt man sich ständig ein.”
- (iv) Singer (2002a: 51): “They perform fully substitute rites, rituals, and festivals for you, O Sungoddess of Arinna”
- (v) *CHD* Š: 227b: “They finish worshipping your images, performing/celebrating your rituals and festivals, O Sungoddess of Arinna”.
- (vi) Yakubovich and Kassian (2007: 433): “They set up your, Telipinu’s, replicas in order to perform festivals and rituals”

This edition follows the translation of Kassian and Yakubovitch. Setting up images and statues to the goddess in order to present her with offerings and festivals fits the context best and makes most sense on the contextual and syntactic levels.

- 44 With the sentence *hantandaša=z [ħa]niešnaš EN-aš zik=pát* begins the part of the hymn that is modelled closely on the hymn to the Sungod attached to the ‘prayer of a mortal’ (CTH 372). The hymn is not copied verbatim; while some lines are omitted, particularly those that describe the physical attributes of the Sungod and his filial connections to Ningal and Enlil, some sentences are changed either in wording or in structure. For the line-by-line comparison of these hymns see Güterbock (1980: 43-49).
- 45 The Sumerogram *EN-aš* “lord” has been erroneously copied here by the scribe instead of the logogram *GAŠAN* “lady” that is required by the context. The same mistake occurs in line 57.

48 The noun *[mu-ga-u-w]a-ar-ra* is restored from the same sentence in the hymn to the Sungod (CTH 372.A = KUB 31.127). The same reading is proposed here by Gurney (1940: 22) and Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 179

49 *[zi]k=pat=za* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>ARINNA *gi[n]zuwalaš* DINGIR-LUM {*zik*}. This line is interpreted as a nominal sentence with the subject *zik* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>ARINNA and the predicates *ginzuwalaš* DINGIR-LUM. The personal pronoun *zik* at the end of the line must be considered redundant and must have been repeated by mistake.

50-51 lit. “rightly guided man”

64 The beginning of the line is restored from line i 30 of KUB 31.127+.

65-68 Since the scribe of manuscript A (KUB 24.3+) of the hymn and prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna followed the hymnic part of CTH 372 more or less faithfully, it is reasonable to assume that the beginnings of lines 65-68 partially missing from the manuscript A can be restored from manuscript A (KUB 31.127+) of CTH 372. The lines i 32-33 of KUB 31.127+ read as follows:

*nu ne-pí-ša-aš* DINGIR.MES *-eš tu-uk-pát kat-ta-an ka-ni-na-an-te-eš*  
*ták-na-aš-ša* DINGIR.MES *-eš [tu]-uk-pát kat-ta-[an] ka-ni-na-an-te-eš*

There is not enough space in the lacunas at beginning of lines i 56'-58' of KUB 24.3+ (here lines 65-68 of CTH 376.II) to accommodate all the text that appears in KUB 31.127+. The scribe of KUB 24.3+ must have merged two sentences into one. The next sentence he wrote starting with *kuitta* (lines 67-68 of CTH 376.II) corresponds to lines 33-34 of KUB 31.127+ .

81' The reading <sup>A.ŠÀ</sup>A.GÀR follows Hoffner (1997: 191) and Weeden (2011: 160-161). Hoffner's understanding of this logogram as idle land/fallow land that has been cleared but not yet sown with a crop, is followed here.

86' According to Puhvel *HED* vol. 1: 229, 231 the noun <sup>UZU</sup>*auli-* denotes “a fleshy internal body parts of animals and humans, which are squeezable and yield liquid”. He translates it as “milt, spleen” and as “sacrificial (feast or contingent); some kind of emotion” when the noun appears in the plural. Puhvel also suggests that the usage of the determinative UDU in the instances in which the noun means

“sacrificial contingents” is due to the fact that sheep were typically used for sacrifices.

Kloekhorst (2008: 229-230) argues that the noun denotes a tube-shaped organ in the neck, translates it as “throat, windpipe, carotid artery” and compares this noun to Greek *αλών* “reed, flute” and other words referring to hollow tube-like objects. For these translations Kloekhorst refers to Kühne (1986: 85-117), who proposes three meanings for this noun “throat; sacrificial animal; animal sacrifice” and argues that the noun *auli-* underwent a metonymic shift from the literal sense “throat” to “sacrificial animal” and then to “animal sacrifice”.

The translation of <sup>UDU</sup>*auliuš* adopted in this edition is “sacrificial animals”, which are then specified as GU<sub>4</sub>.HI.A and UDU.HI.A. Such translation has been already suggested by Gurney (1940: 27).

The Sumerogram UDU is written separately from the noun *auli-* in line 86’ and 90’ of CTH 376.II, which might indicate that it represents a separate word rather than a determinative of *auli-*.

86’-88’

[<sup>UDU</sup>*auliū*]=*kán* GU<sub>4</sub>.HI.A UDU.HI.A *hāl*[*iyaz ašaunaz kuēzz=aš karaškir nu*  
LÚ.MEŠ SIPA.GU<sub>4</sub> LÚ.MEŠ] SIPA.UDU *akir hāli*[*a ašāuwar kar-ša-an-da-ri(?)*] (CTH 376.I lines 3’-4’)

<sup>UDU</sup>*auliūš*=*kán* GU<sub>4</sub>.HI.A UDU.HI.A *hāl*[*iyaz*] *ašaunaz kuēzz=aš karaškir nu* [  
LÚ.MEŠ SIPA.GU<sub>4</sub>] LÚ.MEŠ SIPA.UDU *ekir hālia ašāuwa*[*r kar-ša-an-da-ri(?)*] (CTH 376.II lines 86’-88’)

Because the scribe of KUB 24.3+ copied the Middle Hittite prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 376.I.) almost verbatim, it is assumed that the Middle Hittite manuscript also included in this sentence the ablative of the relative pronoun *kui-* with the accusative plural of the personal pronoun *-aš*. In the Middle Hittite manuscript this pronoun could have been written as either *-uš* or *-aš*, since both forms were used in the Middle Hittite texts.

Two main interpretations of this sentence have been proposed. According to the first, this entire sentence focuses on the corrals and sheepfolds (Singer, Lebrun), according to the other, the sentence concentrates on the shepherds and cowherds (Gurney, Goetze, Trabazo, Ünal).

- (i) Gurney (1940: 27) rendered the sentence as “From whatever corral (or) sheepfold [they used to] select (?) the sacrificial animals(?) oxen and sheep, [now the cowherds] (and) shepherds are dead, and the corral [(and) sheepfold ...].
- (ii) Goetze (1950: 396) translated it as: “From whatever corral (or) sheepfold they used to select the sacrifices of sheep and cattle, the cowherds and shepherds are dead and the corral [and the sheepfolds are empty].”
- (iii) Lebrun (1980: 169) renders this sentence as: “Les vachers et les bergers du parc à gros bétail (et) de l’enclos à petit bétail dont [ils] préle[vaient] les morceaux de bovins (et) d’ovins pour le sacrifice, sont morts. Ils ont séparé les parcs à gros bétail (et) l’enclos pour le petit bétail”.
- (iv) Ünal (1991: 805) translates it as: “Aus Sta[ll] (und) Pferch Opfertiere, Rinder (und) Schafe (zu liefern) hat man (daher) unterlassen. Die Rinder–(und) Schafhirten sind (ebenfalls) dahingestorben; sie vernachlässigten (daher) den Stall (und) Pferch”.
- (v) Singer (2002a: 52) translates this sentence as “The cowherds and shepherds of the corrals and sheepfolds from which they used to select sacrificial cattle and sheep are dead, so that the corrals and sheepfolds are neglected”.
- (vi) Trabazo (2002: 295) reads this sentence as: “De cualquier establo (o) aprisco de los que se seleccion[aban] los *animals de sacrificio*, las vacas (y) las ovejas, [ahora los pastores de vacas] (y) los pastores de ovejas han muerto: los establos (y) aprisc[os se han abandonado].”

The syntax of this relative clause is unusual. It begins with a *nominativus pendens*, the noun phrase <sup>UDU</sup>*auliūš* GU<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A UDU.ḪI.A, which is dislocated to the beginning of the sentence and is referred to by the accusative plural pronoun *-aš* attached enclitically to the relative pronoun *kui-*.

This noun phrase (i.e. <sup>UDU</sup>*auliūš* GU<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A UDU.ḪI.A) together with *ḫāliyaz ašaunaz* precede the determinate relative pronoun *kui-*, which is an exception to

the rule according to which the relative pronoun is preceded by only one syntactic constituent (Hale 1987: 49; Garrett 1994: 46). The real antecedent of this relative clause is *ḫāliyaz ašaunaz*, which is resumed in the main clause by repetition of the antecedent *ḫālia ašāuwara*.

This relative sentence is interrupted by a simple sentence *nu* <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>SIPA.GU<sub>4</sub> <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>SIPA.UDU *ekir* which serves two functions. On the one hand it explains who “they” who selected the sacrificial animals are and on the other hand it explains why the corrals and sheepfolds are neglected. Although syntactically the <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>SIPA.GU<sub>4</sub> <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>SIPA.UDU are not the focus of this relative clause, contextually they carry the same weight as the ploughmen and women of the millstone in the previous paragraphs; the ploughmen who used to work the fields of the gods and the women who used to prepare the flour for the breads of the gods are dead and so offerings are no longer made, also the cowherds and shepherds who took care of the animals are dead, so the sacrifices for the gods have ceased.

91’-92’ The sentence *nu=naš uwātteni ... [wašduli] ḫarteni* is read here as a serial or phrasal construction. Since the form *uddaniya* is not attested in Hittite texts as the dative of the noun *uttar*, its only possible interpretation is the dative of the noun *uttar* with the enclitic *-ya* (*uddani=ya*). This enclitic *-ya* must be understood here as a particle that places emphasis on the fact that the offerings, libation and sacrifice of animals ceased to be made to the gods and together with the demonstrative *apā-* is translated as “in that very matter”.

92’-93’ *n=[ašt]a ANA DUMU.LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU ḫattatar=šummit [ḫarakta]*. While in CTH 376.II the final *r* of the noun *ḫattatar* is protected by the suffix *-šummit* (the possessive pronoun), in CTH 376.I. the consonant *r* is lost in exactly the same environment, that is, in the final position and after the unaccented vowel (see HG: 46: 1.133.), resulting in the spelling *ḫa-at-ta-ta-šum-mi-it*. This phenomenon was listed by Carruba (1983: 5) among the features that safely date manuscript A of CTH 376.I (i.e. KUB 24.4+) to the Middle Hittite period.

Grammatically, the most logical interpretation of this sentence would be the assumption that the dative plural of the first person enclitic personal pronoun *-naš* is omitted from the text but should be understood here. Since the form *-šummit* is the nominative-accusative plural of either the 1<sup>st</sup> or the 3<sup>rd</sup> person possessive pronoun, this edition follows Catsanicos (1991: 3 n. 5) and Singer

(2002a: 52 and 68 n.4) in translating the enclitic *-šummit* as “our” rather than “your” adopted in most translations (Gurney 1940: 27; Archi 1978: 83; Carruba 1983: 5; Lebrun 1980: 169; Beckman 1986: 28; Ünal 1991: 805; Trabazo 2002: 295). Although Beckman’s (1986: 27-28) understanding of this sentence according to which the human incompetence is a consequence of the absence of divine *ḫattatar* (“advice” or “guidance”), is very tempting, it is not supported by either the syntax or the grammar of this sentence.

In the context of these two prayers (CTH 376.I and CTH 376.II), the noun *ḫattatar* refers to the wisdom and understanding of people. The sentence is translated here as “to (us), mankind, our wisdom has been lost” and its general sense is that people have lost confidence in their own wisdom and cannot think of any reasons or transgressions committed that would have caused the plague.

97’ Lines obv. 11’-12’ of manuscript A of CTH 376.I read *našma=at zašḫeaz DUMU.LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU ú-wa-an-du*. The employment of the plural verb with the logogram that does not bear the plural marker can be considered as a scribal error. This error has been corrected by the scribe of manuscript A (KUB 24.3+) of CTH 376.II, who instead of the plural *uwandu* used the third singular imperative of the verb *auš-*.

98’ *n=ašta*<sup>URUDU</sup> *šepikkuštaš*<sup>GIŠ</sup> *šarpaz kunkū[en]* (CTH 376.I)  
*n=ašta*<sup>URUDU</sup> *ZI.KIN.BAR-aš*<sup>GIŠ</sup> *šarpaz kunkūen* (CTH 376.II)

The exact meaning of some of the words in these lines as well as the precise significance of the entire expression is unclear.

*kunk-*

Puhvel *HED* vol. 4: 248 provides five meanings for the verb *kunk-* “to shake, to sway, to swing, to rock, to dandle” which reflect several earlier proposals (Gurney 1940: 90, Friedrich *HW*: 116 followed by Lebrun 1980: 175, Kühne 1978: 174).

<sup>(GIS)</sup> *šarpa-*

*CHD* Š: 288-289 translates the noun <sup>(GIS)</sup> *šarpa-* as “(sharp) point”, provides compelling evidence for interpreting this noun as a Hittite designation for an agricultural implement (already suggested by Gurney 1940: 90), perhaps a harrow, and gives a long list of translations that have been suggested for this noun in

various studies. Puhvel gives the cognates of this noun as Lat. *sarpō* ‘I prune’, OHG *sarf* ‘sharp, rough’, Russ. *serp* ‘sickle’ and translates the Hittite *šarpa-* as “sickle” (Puhvel *HED* vol. 4: 249).

*šepikkušta-*

Gurney (1940: 90) argued that in KUB 27.49 (fragment of a *witašš(ij)aš* festival), this noun designates “a small copper object of little value, several of which may be worn by a bride on the head together with a head-band”; in two other texts (KUB 17.20 and KUB 17.28) *šepikkušta-* seems to denote a ‘stylus’. Beckman (1983: 63-4) suggests that *šepikkušta-* designates a long pointed metal object with a single shaft and translates it as either “point” or “needle”. Kloekhorst (2008: 744) renders the noun *šepikkušta-* as “pin; hairpin; stylus”, drawing on the previous two suggestions.

Several scholars have translated and commented on the sentence  $n=ašta$  <sup>URUDU</sup>ZI.KIN.BAR-*aš* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*šarpaz kunkūen* that employs all of the above words.

- (i) Forrer (*Forsch. II*) suggested that this line should be read as “we will pull the nails out of the tally” and should be understood as reflecting the practice of pulling nails out of the debtor’s stick by the creditor upon the payment of the debt by the latter.
- (ii) Goetze (1930: 235), commenting of the same expression employed in the second plague prayer (CTH 378.II), proposed that it denotes religious activity that involved a sacred symbol but he did not venture a translation of this sentence.
- (iii) Bechtel - Sturtevant (1935: 123) rendered the sentence as “we shall decorate(?) the statues(?) with *verbena*”
- (iv) Gurney (1940: 90-92) suggested that this line expresses the general thought “we will make amends” and proposed that the approximate sense of this metaphorical sentence must be “we will prepare (adorn, decorate?) (the?) pins (amulets?) with (a?)...”
- (v) Kühne (1978: 174) translates this expression in the second plague prayer (CTH 378.II) as “we will hang the bronze clasp(?) from the

*sarpa-wood*”, suggesting that the noun *šarpa-* may be a Hittite designation for a pendulum oracle and that this expression reflects an otherwise obscure religious practice.

- (vi) Lebrun (1980: 161) translates the sentence as “Alors, [nous] suspendrons des bracelets en bois *šarpa*” and comments that the noun <sup>GIS</sup>*šarpa-* designates an object made of wood.
- (vii) Bernabé (1987: 269) renders this sentence as “luego colgaremos prendedores de madera de *sarpa*”
- (viii) Singer (2002a: 52 and 68 n. 5) translates the sentence as “We shall stroke(?) by means of thorns(?)/pins(?) of *sarpa*” and comments that the exact significance of this idiom remains unknown.
- (ix) Trabazo (2002: 295) translates the sentence as “Entonces colgar[emos] *prendedores (de cobre) de los sarpa*”.
- (x) Puhvel *HED* vol. 4: 248 renders the sentence as “we shake [copper] spikes from the [wooden] harrow” and suggests that this idiom may represent a symbolic manner of counteracting the plague and may be a metaphor for defanging death.
- (xi) Ünal (1991: 806) renders the sentence as “wir es mit dem Kratzer der Spange putzen können” and interprets the noun *šarpa-* in this context as a comb-like spatula with teeth, which would be used metaphorically to scrape away the plague.
- (xii) The authors of *CHD* Š: 289 translate the sentence as “we are dangling /swaying from the point of a needle”.

In order to interpret properly and understand this sentence one has to read it in the context of this prayer. In the first lines, the author blames the gods for sending the plague into Ḫatti and killing people responsible for providing the gods with offerings and sacrifices. All the offerings ceased and the gods hold people responsible. The Hittites have done all they could to appease the gods and to find any transgressions and sins that would have caused the anger of the gods and by extension the plague. All their efforts were in vain. The author asks for the divine

guidance to find and determine the sin that has caused the plague. Now the author states that people have run out of options; they do not know what to do and they do not know how to act. This sentence ends the plague topic and stands at the beginning of another part of the prayer, in which the author describes how the “land of Ḫatti” is attacked by enemies. This sentence thus links these two parts of prayer and refers to both parts equally; the Hittites are overwhelmed with both the plague and the enemy invasion and they cannot cope with these disasters anymore.

It is therefore argued here that this expression reflects the state of great despair in which the humans find themselves, rather than a religious practice that would involve either shaking, stroking, scraping, suspending or decorating any objects. The image evoked by this expression is that of a person hanging from a cliff, a tip of a tree or the like just by a collar. The immediate danger is the fall and death.

In that context the translation suggested in *CHD* makes the most sense in this context and is adopted in this edition with one change. The form *kunkuwen* that appears in line 98 of CTH 376.II and that is restored in the same sentence in CTH 376.I, is a first person plural preterite rather than the first person plural present of the verb *kunk-*. Hence the translation of this sentence in this edition reads: “we have been dangling from the point of a needle”.

101’-102’

*nu ku-ri-wa-na-aš* KUR.KUR-TIM *k[u]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup> a-ra-aḫ-za-an-d[a]* (CTH 376.I)

*nu ku-ri-wa-na-aš* KUR.KUR.MEŠ *ku-e a-ra-aḫ-za<sup>1</sup>-an-da* (CTH 376.II)

The syntax of this sentence presents several interpretative problems:

- (i) It is uncertain what Hittite word hides behind the Sumerogram KUR.KUR-TIM. Two possibilities present themselves, either the nominative plural common gender *udneyanteš* or the nominative plural neuter *utnē*.
- (ii) If *kuriwanaš* is understood here as a predicate of KUR.KUR-TIM, one has to account for the lack of grammatical agreement in this sentence. If KUR.KUR-TIM is a logographic writing for the Hittite *udneyanteš*, then the phrase *kuriwanaš* KUR.KUR-TIM does not agree in gender with the neuter relative pronoun *ku-e*. If, on the other hand, KUR.KUR-

*TIM* represents the Hittite noun *utnē*, then the neuter KUR.KUR-*TIM* *kue* does not agree with the common gender adjective *kuriwanaš*.

- (iii) If one interprets *kuriwanaš* as the predicate of KUR.KUR-*TIM*, one has to also account for the inverted word order, which normally is subject - predicate.
- (iv) A fragment of a treaty between Muršili II and Tuppi-Tešub of Amurru (KBo 22.39 ii 12') employs a similar phrase: *ku]-e* KUR.KUR.MEŠ *ku-ri-wa-na*, which shows the indeterminate relative clause with the regular word order and the grammatical agreement.

One possible solution to these problems has been proposed by Gurney (1940: 29, 94). He translated this sentence as “the independent countries which are round about” and suggested that the Sumerogram KUR.KUR-*TIM* in this sentence is a logographic writing for the Hittite noun *udneyanteš*, in which he follows Sommer (1932: 342). He explained the lack of grammatical agreement between the *kuriwanaš* KUR.KUR-*TIM* (*udneyanteš*) and the neuter relative pronoun *kue* by comparing it to the irregular use of the demonstrative neuter *kē* with the noun in the common gender, for which he gave the example *ke-e a-ra-aḫ-ze-na-aš* KUR.KUR.MEŠ <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR (KBo 3.4 i 28f. cf. Friedrich 1926: 38; Goetze 1928: 203ff and Sturtevant 1933: 258).

Gurney's explanation and interpretation of this sentence have been widely accepted by the translators of this text: Goetze (1950: 396) translated this sentence as “the protectorates beyond the frontier”; Lebrun (1980: 169) as “les pays indépendants q[u]i (sont) ses voisins...”, Ünal (1991: 806) as “(Auch) unabhängige Länder ringsum, ...”, Trabazo (2002: 297) as “los países independientes que la rodean..” and Singer (2002a: 52) as “the protectorates which are round about...”

However, since the form *kuriwanaš* can also be interpreted as the genitive singular as well as the genitive or dative plural, it is possible to advocate another interpretation of the syntax of this relative clause. The word *kuriwanaš* could be taken here as a noun in the genitive case (already Forrer 1929: 266f), that describes the ‘state of being in a *kuriwana-* relationship with the Hittite king’. On the semantic level, this interpretation is not that much different from the

interpretation according to which *kuriwanaš* is an adjective that refers to the KUR.KUR-TIM, but on the syntactic level it resolves the grammatical awkwardness of this sentence. This edition adopts the new interpretation of the relative clause *nu kuriwanaš* KUR.KUR-MEŠ/KUR.KUR-TIM *kue araḫzanda* and translates it as “the lands (with the status) of *kuriwana-*, which are around”.

The meaning of *kuriwana-* is not well understood. Some of the suggested interpretations of this word include:

- (i) Lebrun (1980: 175) suggests that the *kuriwana-* describes the lands/kingdoms that were bound to the land of Ḫatti by treaties. The people who inhabited these kingdoms enjoyed rights equal to those enjoyed by the population of Ḫatti, but could not conduct independent foreign relations. The nobles of those lands had to pay an annual tribute to the Hittite king.
- (ii) Similarly, Puhvel *HED* vol. 4: 265 considers *kuriwana-* as “an adjective that describes a foreign person, people or a country in relation to a superior potentate or power. It expresses the status of dependency without a formal subjection or incorporation, a position between an ally and a subject. These lands or people were internally self-governing but were barred from independent foreign relations”.
- (iii) According to Kloekhorst (2008: 494-5), *kurewana-* is an adjective that describes a foreign person or country in relation to a superior potentate.

The above interpretations of this word seem to be supported by the textual evidence. The adjective *kuriwana-* is employed in four well-preserved texts, the so-called “Indictment of Madduwatta” (KUB 14.1+), two treaties of Muršili II, one with Kupanta-Kurrunta of Mira and another with Targašnalli of Ḫapalla as well as a treaty of Muwatalli with Alakšandu of Wiluša.

In lines rev. 84-90 of KUB 14.1+, Madduwatta justifies his participation in raiding the land of Alašiya together with Attarašiya the man of Aḫḫiyawa and the man of Piggaya. While Attarašiya and the ruler of Piggaya are described as LÚ.MEŠ *ku-re-e-wa-ni-eš* of the Hittite king, Madduwatta is called ÌR <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI ‘servant of His Majesty’ (KUB 14.1 rev. 89’).

In the treaty between Muršili II and Kupanta-Kurrunta of Mira, the latter is warned that if he learns about any revolt being planned by either a Hittite man or man of one of the Arzawan kingdoms, he should inform the Hittite king immediately. The men of the Arzawa kingdoms are described as LÚ.MEŠ *ku-ri-wa-na-aš* in their relationship to Kupanta-Kurrunta (*ki-nu-un-ta ku-i-e-eš ku-u-uš* LÚ.MES *ku-ri-wa-na-aš* “those who are now *kuriwana*-men in relations to you”; KBo 5.13 iii 26).

The same phrase is used in the same context in the treaty of Muršili II and Targašnalli of Ḫapalla (*ki-nu-un-ta ku-u-[uš ku-e-eš LÚ.MEŠ ku]-ri-u-wa-nu-uš* KBo 5.4 obv. 15-16) and in the treaty of Muwatalli and Alakšandu of Wiluša (*[ki]-nu-un-ta ku-i-e-eš ku-e-uš LÚ.MEŠ ku-ri-wa-[nu-uš]* KUB 21.1 ii 77).

It appears that the adjective *kuriwana*- indeed describes the relationship between a foreign kingdom or a person towards a superior potentate. This relationship is not a state of servitude, but rather a state of dependence of some kind (Aḫḫiyawa and Piggaya towards the Hittite king and the other Arzawa kingdoms towards the ruler of Mira, the ruler of Ḫapalla and the ruler of Wiluša). This interpretation of *kuriwana*- also fits well in the present context, where a clear division is made between lands that held the status of *kuriwana*- and the lands that belonged to Ḫatti.

103'-104'

For the interpretation of *šara iya-* as the semantic equivalent of *šer iya-* meaning “to exalt, celebrate” see Gurney 1940: 96.

104' *našta NIŠ* [DINGIR].MEŠ *šarrantati* (CTH 376.I)  
*našta NI-EŠ* DINGIR.MEŠ *šarriēškanzi* (CTH 376.II)

Note the slight semantic/stylistic change that the scribe of the New Hittite prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 376.II) made in this sentence. The scribe of the Middle Hittite prayer employed the verb *šarra-* in the third plural preterite, probably to emphasize the fact that the rulers of Hurrian lands, of Kizzuwatna and of Arzawa had broken the oaths in the past; the scribe of the New Hittite prayer employed the same verb in the third plural present iterative and thus drew attention to the fact that the breaking of oaths by these countries continues.

105' The scribe of manuscript A (KUB 24.3+) of CTH 376.II omitted the sentence *nu KUR* <sup>URU</sup> *ḪATTI idālauwanni šanḫiškānzi* “They continually seek to harm the land

of Ḫatti (lit. they continually seek the land of Ḫatti in malice)”, which is employed in the Middle Hittite prayer (CTH 376.I).

The enclitic conjunction *-ma* attached to DINGIR.MEŠ in line 105’ of CTH 376.II and in line 19’ of CTH 376.I, marks the change of topic from transgressing the oaths to despoiling the temples. This conjunction is rendered here and in CTH 376.I as “and”.

106’ *n=at* DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš* *kattawatar* [*nam*]*ma* *kīšaru* (CTH 376.I)  
 [*n*]=*at* ANA DINGIR.MEŠ *kattawātar* *namma* *kišaru* (CTH 376.II)

The preferred translation of the noun *kattawatar* in this sentence and in lines 126’-127’ is “vengeance” particularly in view of the next sentence in which the gods are asked to turn the plague and all the evils into the lands that do not respect the gods. The enclitic pronoun *-at* refers to the atrocities that have been described above and that include disrespecting the gods and despoiling the temples (cf. Gurney 1940: 98-99).

This sentence is a rare exception to the rule that operates in the post-Old Hittite period, according to which the verb *kiš-* occurs with the particle *-za* when it links two nominatives and means “to become” (HG: 361-362).

109’-110’

[*war*]šiy[*a*]*nda* *šullanda* KUR.KUR-TIM KUR<sup>URU</sup>ḪATTI=*ma* *tariea*[*n* KUR-*e*]  
 (CTH 376.I)

*waršanda* *šullanda* KUR.KUR.ḪIA A-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup>KÙ.BABBAR-TI=*ma*  
*tariyan* KUR-*e* (CTH 376.II)

The inverted word order *šullanda* KUR.KUR-TIM / KUR.KUR.ḪIA instead of the regular KUR.KUR-TIM / KUR.KUR.ḪIA *šullanda* places the adjectives *waršanda* and *šullanda* side by side to emphasize the fact that the lands which do not show respect to gods are the lands that are free from the plague and/or from the enemy invasion.

The scribe of the manuscript A of CTH 376.II writes the phrase A-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup>KÙ.BABBAR-TI=*ma* in the dative case. Because the syntax of this sentence does not require the dative case of the phrase “the land of Ḫatti” and because the Middle Hittite prayer does not employ the dative case here, it is

assumed that the scribe of ms A of CTH 376.II made a mistake while copying this sentence (cf. already Sommer 1974: 156, who explained it as a dictation mistake due to misunderstanding of the Hittite word *utne*, and Gurney 1940: 101).

111'-112'

[*nu*] *ta[riya]ndan lāttē waršiyandann=a tur[iyatten]* (CTH 376.I 24')  
*nu tariyandan lāttē waršiyandan=ma tūriyatten* (CTH 376.II 111'-112')

This expression is a metaphor taken from the field of horse-training. It follows and concludes the part of the text in which the sins and transgressions of the lands that hold the status of *kuriwana-* are described and follows the request that the plague and all the evils be sent to these lands. In the sentence that immediately precedes this saying the author expresses his feeling of injustice; while the lands that do not respect the gods are being awarded by having a prosperous existence, Ḫatti that has been worshipping the gods suffers from terrible disasters. Now, with this expression the authors request the change of fortunes and demands that Ḫatti is relieved from all the oppressions.

Note here the slight stylistic change. While the Middle Hittite prayer (CTH 376.I) employs the conjunctive/additive *-a* “and, also”, the scribe of the New Hittite prayer uses here the topicalizing/contrastive conjunction *-ma*. The Middle Hittite text adds and coordinates these two sentences, the New Hittite text contrasts them.

114' [*n=at* <sup>L</sup><sub>1</sub> <sup>Ú.M</sup> <sup>EŠ</sup> SIPA.ŠA]Ḫ *ešer* <sup>Ú</sup> <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> <sup>ĒPIŠ</sup> GADA.ḪI.A *ešer* (CTH 376.I 26')  
 [*n*]=*at* <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> SIPA.ŠAḪ <sup>Ú</sup> <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> <sup>ĒPIŠ</sup> GADA *ešer* (CTH 376.II)

The scribe of manuscript A of CTH 376.II chose to combine the two sentences that appear in the Middle Hittite prayer into one and omitted the plural marker on the Sumerogram GADA, which he probably found superfluous because of the plural <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> <sup>ĒPIŠ</sup>.

116'-117'

[*n=ašta kē=ia* KUR.KUR-TIM] ANA <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup> ARINNA *arāuēš[er]* (CTH 376.I 28')

*n=ašta kē=ia* KUR.KUR.HI.A-TIM AN[A <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>] ARINNA *arauēšta* (CTH 376.II)

The local particle *-ašta* marks the separation and relates to the dative of disadvantage ANA <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup> ARINNA.

The conjunction *-ya* attached to the demonstrative pronoun *kē* is rendered here as ‘also’ and emphasises the fact that not only the lands that hold the status of *kuriwana-* do not respect the gods, but also the people who belong to Ḫatti do not revere the goddess of Arinna.

Note the change of the number of the verb *araueš-*. In the Middle Hittite prayer the Sumerogram KUR.KUR.MEŠ must be a logographic writing for the Hittite noun *udneanteš* reflected in the plural verb; in the New Hittite prayer this logogram must represent the neuter collective *utnē*, hence the singular verb.

119’-120’

*nu karū* KUR<sup>URU</sup> ḪATTI<sup>URU</sup> Arinn[*aš*<sup>d</sup>UTU-*it za*]ḫḫait *araḫzena* KUR-*e* UR.MAḪ mān ā[...škit] (CTH 376.I 30’-31’)

*karū=ia* [KUR]<sup>URU</sup> KÙ.BABBAR-TI IŠTU<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup> ARINNA *araḫzena*[š AN]A KUR.KUR.ḪI.A-TIM UR.MAḪ mān šarḫiškit (CTH 376.II)

While incorporating the Middle Hittite prayer, the scribe of Muršili made a few changes to the structure of this sentence:

- (i) he replaced the sentence-introductory particle *nu* with the enclitic additive *-ya*, perhaps to emphasise the fact that the surrounding lands attack Ḫatti, just as in the past Ḫatti attacked the foreign lands.
- (ii) he replaced the nominative-accusative neuter plural *araḫzena* KUR-*e* with the dative plural common *araḫzenaš ANA* KUR.KUR.ḪI.A-TIM, which reflects the employment of two different grammatical constructions. Also while in the Middle Hittite prayer the Sumerogram KUR-*e* represents the neuter plural *utnē*, in the New Hittite prayer KUR.KUR.ḪI.A-TIM is a logographic writing for Hittite *udneanteš*.
- (iii) he replaced the verb that begins with *ar*-[...] with the verb *šarḫ-* meaning “to maul, to press upon”

Our understanding of the Middle Hittite sentence is obscured by the fact that the verb is missing. Kammenhuber HW<sup>2</sup>: 217 restores here the verb *ar-* “to come (to), to arrive (at)”, observes that in this context the action expressed by the verb is done by an invading enemy and translates the sentence as: “[Früher] pflegte [Ḫatti ...] mit [Ka]mpf wie ein Löwe in einem umliegenden (Feindes-)Land

anzu[kommen]”. Following Kammenhuber, the authors of *CHD* Š: 252 also restore here a finite form of the verb *ar-* (i.e. *a[raškit]*) and translate it as “to invade”. Because this sentence uses analogy and compares Ḫatti to a lion, one could also argue that, a verb that begins with the syllable *ar* and that would mean either “attack” or perhaps “overpower” could be restored in the present context. The latter meaning has been assigned by Kloekhorst (2008: 199) to the verb *arai-*. However, in most instances this verb carries the meanings “to stop, to check; hold in check”.

Since, no well-known Hittite verb that begins with the syllable *ar* carries the meaning “to overpower; to attack”, the restoration of the verb *ar-* “to come (to), to arrive (at)” is followed here. The literal translation of the sentence in the Middle Hittite prayer is “Formerly, the land of Ḫatti [with the (help of) the Sungoddess of] Arinna [used to] com[e] to the foreign lands with [a batt]le like a lion”.

- 121’ [nu parā <sup>URU</sup>Ḫalpa]n kuiuš <sup>URU</sup>KÁ.DINGIR.RA kuiuš ḫarninkiški[t] (CTH 376.I 32)  
 nu parā <sup>URU</sup>Ḫalpan <sup>URU</sup>KÁ.DINGIR.RA-an kuiuš ḫarninkiškiit (CTH 376.II)

The relative pronoun *kuiuš* is employed in the Middle Hittite prayer twice, after <sup>URU</sup>Ḫalpan and then after <sup>URU</sup>KÁ.DINGIR.RA. This repetition of the pronoun was considered unnecessary by the scribe of the New Hittite prayer, who wrote it only once at the end of <sup>URU</sup>Ḫalpan <sup>URU</sup>KÁ.DINGIR.RA-an. The scribe also added the Hittite phonetic complement *-an* to the Sumerogram <sup>URU</sup>KÁ.DINGIR.RA, which is not present in the Middle Hittite text. Manuscript D of CTH 376.II employs here either the accusative singular neuter relative pronoun *kuit* or the conjunction *kuit* “since” instead of the accusative plural common relative pronoun *kuiuš*. The text of manuscript D is too fragmentary for interpretation.

- 122’ [nu KUR-eaš ḫ]ūmandāš āššu<u= š>mit KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.SI<sub>22</sub> DINGIR.ME d[āš(?)]] (CTH 376.I 33’)

nu KUR-eaš ḫūmandaš āššu KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.SI<sub>22</sub> DINGIR.MEŠ-ia [dāier] (CTH 376.II)

The Middle Hittite prayer employs here the possessive enclitic pronoun *-šmit* attached to the noun *āššu*. The scribe of the New Hittite prayer omitted this, by then, archaic construction but did not feel the need to replace it with the New Hittite possessive construction. The scribe of the New Hittite prayer also changed

the singular forms of the verb *da-* “take” and *zikk-* “to set, deposit” with the plural forms *daier* and *zikkir* (CTH 376.II 122’, 123’).

- 124’ While the scribe of the Middle Hittite prayer used the adjective of the base stem in *a-*, that is, *arabzena-*, the scribe of manuscript A of CTH 376.II employed in the same sentence the adjective with the derived stem *arabzenant-*. Since there is no discernible difference in meaning between these two adjectives, the choice may have been stylistic.

127’-128’

*nu=za tuēl(!) ŠUM-KA tepnuškiši* (CTH 376.I 37’)

*nu=za DINGIR-LUM tuel ŠUM-KA lē tepšanuši* (CTH 376.II)

The genitive of the second person pronoun is spelled in Middle Hittite prayer *tu-el-e*. Sommer (1932: 95) argued that because manuscript A of CTH 376.II employs in the same sentence *le-e*, this negative was also intended in the Middle Hittite text, but was omitted by mistake. Hoffner (1977: 154 and n.15) and Carruba (1983: 6) interpret this form as a scribal error for *tu-e-el* assuming that the second and third signs were transposed.

The sentence as it stands can be interpreted as either a rhetorical question or a statement. Sommer argued against the former, because such question would not have a connecting particle, unless preceded by another rhetorical question or by a subordinate clause. Neither of those is employed here. Gurney (1940: 107) and Hoffner (1977: 154), against Sommer, read this sentence as a positive rather than a negative statement. Hoffner translates the sentence as “You are belittling your own name” arguing that if the goddess fails to protect Ḫatti against the enemies, she allows her name to fall into disrepute (Hoffner 1977: 154 n.16). The same interpretation of this sentence is followed by Singer (2002: 68 n. 8). This edition follows Sommer and reads this sentence as a negative statement.

With regard to the sentence appearing in CTH 376.II three possible interpretations could be proposed: (i) the scribe copied the text from this particular Middle Hittite manuscript (KUB 24.4+), which contained the error. He might have assumed that the writing *tu-el-e* was an error for *tu-e-el le-e*, and hence he included this negative in his text; (ii) the scribe was not sure whether he should interpret this sentence as a rhetorical question or as a statement. To avoid ambiguity he chose to

change this sentence into a request; (iii) the scribe of the New Hittite prayer considered this sentence to be unsuitable. He changed the syntax so that the sentence asked the goddess to stop degrading her name, rather than stating the fact that she fails to protect Ḫatti and thus disgraces her name. Although in both sentences the message is the same, the way of delivering is different. The first interpretation of the sentence in CTH 376.II is followed in this edition.

129' *nu mān DINGIR.MEŠ-naš kardi{di}miyaz kuiš [kui]š DINGIR.MEŠ UL nahḫanza* (CTH 376.I 38')

Traces preserved suggest that the scribe of the Middle Hittite prayer wrote in this line the indefinite *kuiš kuiš*. The double *kuiš* refers here equally to *DINGIR.MEŠ-naš kardi{di}miyaz* and to *DINGIR.MEŠ UL nahḫanza*, which belong to one conditional clause introduced by *mān*. This construction is not repeated by the scribe of the New Hittite prayer:

*nu ANA DINGIR.MEŠ kuiš karpiš kartimmiyaz kuiš DINGIR.MEŠ-naš UL nahḫanza* (CTH 376.II 129'-130')

Gurney 1940: 109 was disconcerted by the double use of the relative pronoun *kuiš* in these lines and put forward three possible explanations. He suggested that either the first *kuiš* referred to *karpiš* and the second to *kartimmiyaz* or that these two relative pronouns are to be taken together in the meaning “whoever”, or that the scribe must have inserted the second *kuiš* to separate *karpiš kartimmiyaz* from *UL nahḫanza* to avoid the use of these words together.

In a similar vein, one may suggest that the scribe of the New Hittite prayer wished to avoid juxtaposing the conditional and the relative clauses, which he found in the Middle Hittite prayer. He changed these two sentences into the two relative clauses.

139'-150'

These lines bear a close resemblance to lines 4'-11' of a two-column fragment transliterated and translated by Schwemer 2006 (on this see supra and appendix 3 text CTH 376.V) and to lines 67'-78' of the prayer of Muršili II to Telipinu (CTH 377).

143' For interpretation of the clitic chain *ku-i-e-eš-ma-aš-za* (also in lines 146' and 148') as the relative pronoun *kuieš*, the conjunction *-ma*, the enclitic personal

pronoun *-aš* and the reflexive particle *-za* (i.e. *kuiēš=ma=aš=za*) rather than the relative pronoun *kuiēš*, the personal pronoun *-šmaš* and the reflexive particle *-za* (i.e. *kuiēš=<š>maš=za*; Boley 1993: 175) or the relative pronoun *kuiēš*, the conjunction *-ma*, the personal pronoun *-šmaš* and the reflexive particle *-za* (i.e. *kuiēš=ma=šmaš=za*; Gurney 1940: 112), see CHD Š: 167a. Kassian and Yakubovich (2007: 449) argue that the pronoun *-aš* should be interpreted here as a proleptic accusative plural clitic anticipating the following direct objects. According to both authors, this construction is very rare and is characteristic of direct speech.

167' The translation of *nūt-* as “contentment (?)” and *tummantiya-* as “obedience” follows CHD L-N: 476 and 476a-b. See Kassian and Yakubovich (2007: 445-447 and 433-4) for rendering these two nouns as “(power) of hearing (?) and understanding(?)”.

169'-174'

The restoration of the logogram *UZ<sub>6</sub>* at the beginning of line 169' is based on a similar sentence found in rev. 14' of KUB 24.2+ (ms. B of CTH 377); *DUMU.LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-aš-ša* at the beginning of line 170' is restored after line iii 12' of KUB 24.1+ (ms. A of CTH 377); <sup>d.GIŠ</sup>*TUKUL-in pé-eš-ki nu-uš-ši* at the beginning of line 173' and *ŠA-PAL(?) GÌR.MEŠ(?) -Š]U* in line 174' are restored from lines iii 14'-15' of KUB 24.1+ (ms. A of CTH 377).

177'-179'

The sentence is restored from line 99' of this text.

180'-182'

The restorations in these lines follow Kassian and Yakubovich (2007: 450). Note the late New Hittite nominative plural *ša-ku-wa-an-du-uš ḫ[é<sup>2</sup>-e-mu-uš]*.

185' Some type of verb of giving that appears in the middle voice and with the adverb/preverb *šara* is required in this context. It is suggested that perhaps the verb *ki-*, the passive of the verb *dai-* ‘to put’ should be restored here.

### 4.3. Prayers Concerning the Plague

During the reign of Šuppiluliuma I, an unknown plague broke out in Ḫatti claiming countless victims, among them both Šuppiluliuma himself and his son Arnuwanda. The difficult task of investigating the causes of divine wrath that resulted in this calamity and of appeasing the divine anger fell on Muršili II, Šuppiluliuma's younger son. In the so-called Plague Prayers (CTH 376.II, 378.I-IV, 379), the king presents to the gods various political and religious offences committed by his father and details the reparations which have been made and which will be made to atone for these transgressions.

The order of the prayers has not been indicated in the texts themselves, however has been established by modern scholars on the basis of the development of the king's approach to the collective guilt. Accordingly, prayers in which the king insists on his own innocence (CTH 378.I) must have been composed earlier than those in which Muršili accepts his father's guilt (CTH 378.II) (Güterbock 1960: 61f; 1964: 112; Houwink ten Cate 1969: 97f, Singer 2002a: 62-63). Singer proposed an alternative to such an arrangement of these texts; he observed that the general assembly of gods was addressed only when pleading to individual gods failed (1996: 151-152; 2002a: 49). Consequently, since in CTH 378.I Muršili addresses all of the Hittite gods, this prayer would have to have been composed last.

The plague prayers are explicitly labelled by the Hittite scribes as *arkuwar* "plea". Their ultimate goal is the presentation of request and the absolution of the sin through confession and reparations.

## THE 'FIRST' PLAGUE PRAYER (CTH 378.1)

This prayer addresses the totality of the Hittite pantheon, particularly the oath deities. Muršili II pleads with the gods on behalf of his land and in his own name to stop the plague that has been ravaging the land of Ḫatti for twenty years. The text can be regarded as a classic example for an *arkuwar* prayer.

The text of the prayer is preserved in two copies: a single column tablet (manuscript A) and three small fragments of manuscript B. Manuscript A, which is written in the New Hittite ductus (note the New Hittite sign shapes of *az*, *du*, *ik*, *li*, *ni*, *uk*, *šar*, SAG and URU), can be almost completely restored, except for the end of the obverse as well as the beginning and parts of the last paragraph of the reverse. The language of the text exhibits a large number of linguistic and orthographic features that safely date the text to the New Hittite period. The most salient of these include: the nominative plural common and nominative-accusative plural neuter of the personal enclitic pronoun “they, them” *-at*, the accusative plural common of the personal enclitic pronoun “them” *-aš*, the employment of the independent personal pronoun *ammuk* in the position of the subject, the replacement of the suffixed possessive pronouns by the oblique enclitic personal pronouns that were used in possessive function, the spelling of the dative case of the enclitic personal pronoun with *-ši* instead of *-še*, a tendency to replace syllabic writings with their logographic variants (*Ú-UL* instead of *natta*, *EGIR-pa* for *appa* etc.), the use of the verb *ak(k)-* in the middle voice meaning “to die”. The one instance of the possessive clitic pronoun *-mit* (nom.-acc.sg.neut.) in line 7 might represent an attempt on the part of the scribe to archaize the text, which is typical for a genre that has its origins in the Old and Middle Hittite literary traditions (*CHD* L-N 221-222). In view of the many erasures and the still remaining mistakes, one may assume that this is a rough copy, perhaps a work of a junior scribe, or a copy of the text done as a scribal exercise.

Three small fragments of manuscript B, also written in the New Hittite ductus, are duplicates to lines 1-16 of the obverse. Since the line length in manuscript B is similar to that of manuscript A, the two fragments probably also come from a single column tablet.

**Manuscripts.**<sup>82</sup>

A	<i>KUB</i> 14.14 + <i>KUB</i> 19.1 + <i>KUB</i> 19.2 +  <i>KBo</i> 3.47 + <i>KBo</i> 50.184 + <i>KBo</i> 53.303 + <i>KBo</i> 54.6 + <i>KBo</i> 58.8 +  unpubl.+ unpubl.	Bo 2801 Bo 4336 Bo 4369 + Bo 9326 + Bo 4533 + Bo 3038 + Bo 9326 Bo 9451 1612/u 1804/u 1858/u 1107/v + 1132/v + 1121/z Bo 4229 Bo 9433	T.I <sup>83</sup>
B	<i>KUB</i> 23.3 + <i>KBo</i> 55.24 + <i>KBo</i> 51.19	Bo 4795 + 970/v + <sup>85</sup> 1104/z	T.I <sup>84</sup>

Previous Editions: Goetze 1930: 164-177; Lebrun 1980: 193-203; Groddek 2009: 93-110 (lines obv. 1-7, obv. 16-22, rev. 44-51).

Previous Translations: Beckman 1997: 156-157, Christmann-Franck 1989: 51-53, Singer 2002a: 61-64, Ünal 1991: 808-811, van den Hout 2006: 261-263.

Previous Transliterations: Miller 2007b: 135-36 (lines 1-7); Miller 2010: 46-46 (lines 1-11 of ms. A); Groddek 2008: 126-7 (lines 16-23); Groddek 2010:5 (lines rev. 32'-39' of ms. A = here lines 84'-91').

**Transliteration:**<sup>86</sup>

1	A obv. 1 B 1'	[DINGIR.MEŠ] 'EN.ME.EŠ-IA' DI[NGIR.MEŠ LÚ].M[EŠ <i>h</i> ]u-[u-ma-an- [ ] EN.MEŠ-IA DINGI[R.MEŠ ]
	A ctd. B ctd.	<i>te-eš</i> D]INGIR.MEŠ MUNUS.ME.EŠ ' <i>h</i> u-u-ma <sup>1</sup> -[a]n-[te]-'eš DINGIR. [ ]
	A.ctd.	MEŠ <sup>1</sup>

<sup>82</sup> A join sketch of ms A is included in Appendix 2.

<sup>83</sup> The find spots of KUB 14.14, KUB 19.1, KUB 19.2, KBo 3.47, Bo 4229 and Bo 9433 were determined by joining them to other fragments of manuscript A found in temple 1. The fragment KBo 50.184 was found in "fill" or secondary deposited earth from storeroom 12 and 1121/z in storeroom 11 of temple 1.

<sup>84</sup> The fragment KBo 51.19 was found in storeroom 11 of temple 1. The find spot of KUB 23.3 was determined by join.

<sup>85</sup> At the time of completion of this edition, the fragment 970/v was unpublished. The photograph of this fragment was sent to me by Prof. J. Miller, when he held a research position at the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mainz. The fragment is now published as KBo 55.24.

<sup>86</sup> The transliteration is based on collation of photographs of all fragments.

- B ctd. [ ]
- 2 A obv. 2 [ŠA KU]R<sup>URU</sup> HA-AT-TI [DINGIR].<sup>1</sup>ME.EŠ LÚ<sup>1</sup>.ME.EŠ ḫ[u-u-ma-an-te-  
B 2' [ŠA K]UR<sup>URU</sup> HA-AT-[TI ]
- A ctd. eš] li-in-ki-ia-aš DINGIR.<sup>1</sup>ME.EŠ<sup>1</sup> MUNUS.ME.EŠ ḫu-ma-an-t[e-eš]  
B ctd. [ ]
- 3 A obv. 3 [l]i-i[n]-ki-ia-aš ka-ru-ú-i-li-eš DINGIR.MEŠ [LÚ.MEŠ] ḫu-u-ma-an-te-  
B 3' [l]i-in-ki-ia-[aš ]
- A ctd. eš <ka-ru-ú-i-li-eš> DINGIR.MEŠ MUNUS.ME.EŠ ḫu-u-ma-an-t[e-eš]  
B ctd. [ ]
- 4 A obv. 4 a-pé-da-<sup>1</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>-za UD-ti ku-i-e-eš DINGIR.ME.EŠ tu-l[i-ia] li-in-ki-i-ia  
B 4' [a]-pé-e-da-ni-z[a ]
- A ctd. k[u-ut]-<sup>1</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-wa-an-ni  
B ctd. [ ]
- 5 A obv. 5 ḫal-zi-[i]a-an-te-iš <sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-eš-tén ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ ÍD.MEŠ TÚ[L.MEŠ]  
B 5' [ḫal]-zi-ia-an-t[e-eš<sup>2</sup> ]
- A ctd. <sup>d</sup>KASKAL.KUR.ME.EŠ-ia k[a<sup>2</sup>-a]-ša'(ta)-aš-ma-aš am-mu-u[k]  
B ctd. [ ]
- 6 A obv. 6 <sup>m</sup>Mur-ši-<sup>1</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-iš LÚ SANGA-KU-NU ÌR-KU-NU ar-ku-wa-[mi] {x-x}  
B 6' [<sup>m</sup>]Mur-ši-li-i[š ]
- A ctd. nu-uš-ma-aš-<sup>1</sup>za<sup>1</sup> ar-ku-wa-ar  
B ctd. [ ]
- 7 A obv. 7 ku-e-da-ni <sup>1</sup>me<sup>1</sup>-m[i-i]a-an-ni še-er e-eš-ša-aḫ-ḫi [n]u-mu DINGIR.MEŠ  
B 7' [ku]-<sup>1</sup>e-da<sup>1</sup>-n[i ]
- A ctd. EṢ.ME.EŠ-IA me-m[i-i]a-an-mi-i[t iš-ta-ma-aš-tén]  
B ctd. [ ]

(KBo 55.24 breaks)

A

- 
- 8 A obv. 8 DINGIR.MEŠ <sup>1</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>.ME.EŠ-IA <sup>1</sup>ŠÀ<sup>1</sup> KUR<sup>URU</sup> HA-AT-TI-kán ÚŠ-an  
B 8' [ <sup>UR</sup>]UR<sup>1</sup> HA-AT<sup>1</sup>-[I ]
- A ctd. <sup>1</sup>ki-ša<sup>1</sup>-at nu KUR<sup>URU</sup> HA-AT-TI ḫi-in-<ga>-na-az  
B ctd. [ ]
- 9 A obv. 9 ta-ma-aš-t[a]-at <sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-at me-ek-ki dam-m[e-eš-ḫa-it-ta-a]i<sup>2</sup> nu ka-a-aš  
B 9' [ n]a-at me-ek[-ki ]
- A ctd. MU.20.KAM me-ek-ki-ia

- B 9'-10' [ ] / [ ] →
- 10 A obv. 10 *ku-it* K[UR<sup>URU</sup> *HA*]T-T[I] *ak-ki-iš-ki-it-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-[ri nu am-mu-u]k še-er*  
 B 10' [k]u-it KUR<sup>URU</sup> *HA*-A[T-TI] ]
- A ctd. A-WA-AT  
 B 11' [ ] →
- 11 A obv. 11 <sup>m</sup>DU-UT-*HA*-[LI-IA DUM]U<sup>RI</sup> ŠA DUMU <sup>m</sup>DU-<sup>r</sup>UT-*HA*-LI-IA<sup>1</sup>  
 B 11' [<sup>m</sup>DU-U]T-*HA*-LI-IA DUMU<sup>RI</sup>[ ]
- A ctd. <sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-[a]k-ke-e-eš-ta IŠ-TU DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-ia  
 B 11'-12' [ ] / [ -i]a →
- 12 A obv. 12 *a-ri-ia-[nu-un nu] <sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-WA-AT <sup>m</sup>DU-UT-*HA*-LI-IA DUMU<sup>RI</sup> I[Š-T]U*  
 B 12' *a-ri-ia-nu-u[n] ]*
- A ctd. DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-ia *ha-an-da-a-it-ta<sup>2</sup>-at*  
 B 12'-13' [ ] / [ -t]a-at →
- 13 A obv. 13 <sup>m</sup>DU-U[T-*HA*-LI-IA] *ku-it* DUMU<sup>RU</sup> A-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup> *HA*-AT-TI  
 B 13' <sup>m</sup>DU-UT-[*HA*-LI-IA ] /
- A ctd. BE-[E]L-ŠU-NU *e-eš-ta*  
 B 14' [ <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-eš-ta →
- 14 A obv. 14 <sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-u[š-ši<sup>URU</sup> *Ha-at*]-tu-ša-aš DUMU.ME.EŠ.LUGAL BE-LU<sup>HI.A</sup>  
 B 14' nu-uš-ši[ ]
- A ctd. UGULA <sup>r</sup>LÚ.ME.EŠ *LI-IM-TUM* <sup>LÚ.ME.EŠ</sup>DUGUD  
 B ctd. [ ]
- 15 A obv. 15 ERÍN.<sup>r</sup>ME<sup>1</sup>.*[EŠ-ia ANŠE.KUR.]RA.ĪI.A hu-u-ma-an-za še-er*  
 B 15' [ ]-ia ANŠE.KUR.RA.ĪI.A *h[u-* ]
- A ctd. *li-in-ki-eš-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> A-BU-IA-ia-aš-šī. še-er li-in-ki-[eš-ta]*  
 B 15'-16' [ ] / [ -š]i <sup>r</sup>še<sup>1</sup>-er [ ]
- AB
- 
- 16 A obv. 16 *ú-it-ma A-B[U-I]A <sup>m</sup>Tu-ut-*ha*-li-ia-an dam-mi-eš-*ha*-a-*it**  
 B obv. 17' [ <sup>m</sup>Tu<sup>2</sup>-ut<sup>2</sup>-*ha*<sup>2</sup>-[li-ia-an ]
- A ctd. <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup> *Ha-at-tu-ša-aš<sup>2</sup>(ša)-za-kán*  
 B ctd. [ ]
- (B breaks)
- 17 A obv. 17 DUMU.ME.EŠ.<sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup> BE-LU[M]<sup>E.EŠ</sup> UGULA <sup>LÚ.ME.EŠ</sup>LI-IM  
<sup>LÚ.ME.EŠ</sup>DUGUD *hu-u-ma-an-za A-NA A-BI-IA <sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-d[a]*
- 18 A obv. 18 *kī-ša-an-da-at nu <sup>m</sup>Du-ut-*ha*-li-ia-an li-in-ki-ia-aš<sup>2</sup>(an) EN-ŠU<sup>1</sup>(ku)-NU*

*wa-ag-ga-ri'(ḫu)-e-<sup>r</sup>er<sup>1</sup>*

- 19 A obv. 19 *na-an-kán ku-<sup>r</sup>en<sup>1</sup>-ni-ir nam-ma-aš-ši kú-e-eš ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ŠU {-NU<sup>2</sup>}  
[<sup>m</sup>P]i<sup>2</sup>-qa<sup>2</sup>-ú-da <sup>m</sup>Pi-ir-wa-aš-ša [ú-e-mi-er]*
- 20 A obv. 20 *na-aš e-ep-pir na-aš <sup>r</sup>T-[N]A KUR <sup>URU</sup>A-la-ši-ia up-<pi>-<sup>r</sup>ir<sup>1</sup> n[u-uš-  
m]a-<sup>r</sup>aš<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>Du-ut-ḫa-li-ia-aš*
- 21 A obv. 21 *ku-it BE-EL-<sup>r</sup>ŠU<sup>1</sup>-NU <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-eš-ta a-pu-ú-uš-ma-aš-<sup>r</sup>ši<sup>1</sup> [i-in-ki-i]a-aš  
İR.MEŠ-ŠU <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-š[ir]*
- 22 A obv. 22 *nu-kán šu-me-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[e]l EN.ME.EŠ-IA NI-EŠ DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> šar-ri-e-e[r nu-  
kán] <sup>m</sup>Du-ut-ḫa-li-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-[an ku]-en-nir*
- A
- 
- 23 A obv. 23 *[D]INGIR.MEŠ EN.M[EŠ]-IA [A]-BU-IA pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-te-en{x}[nu-uš-  
ši(?) LUGAL-u-e-ez-na-an-ni(?)] an-d[a EGIR-an]*
- 24 A obv. 24 *ar-tum-ma-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> nu [<sup>URU</sup>]Ḫa-at-tu-ša-aš ku-it IŠ-TU <sup>LÚ</sup>[KÚR x x x x x x x x  
x -w]a?-nu-uš*
- 25 A obv. 25 *<sup>r</sup>ZAG.ḪI.A<sup>1</sup>(za) ŠA<sup>1</sup> KUR <sup>URU</sup>ḪAT<sup>1</sup>-TI <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR da-a-an ḫar-ta n[u(?) A-  
BU-IA ŠA <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR KUR.KUR.ME]Š(?)*
- 26 A obv. 26 *[GUL-an-ni-i]š-ki-it na-aš-kán ku-wa-aš-ki-it ŠA KUR <sup>URU</sup>ḪAT-TI-[i]a  
Z[AG.ḪI.A EGIR-pa]*
- 27 A obv. 27 *[da?-aš?]-ki-it ZAG.ḪI.A-ma-aš-ma-aš-kán ar-ḫa da-a-aš na-aš EGIR-  
p[a a-ša-a-aš-ta]*
- 28 A obv. 28 *<sup>r</sup>nam-ma-ia<sup>1</sup>-za da-ma-a-i a-ra-aḫ-zé-na KUR.KUR.ME.EŠ LUGAL-u-e-  
ez-<sup>r</sup>na-an<sup>1</sup>-[ni an-da tar-aḫ-ta]*
- 29 A obv. 29 *nu KUR <sup>URU</sup>ḪAT-TI lu-lu-wa-it nu-uš-ši ZAG.ḪI.A-uš<sup>1</sup>(da) <sup>r</sup>ke<sup>1</sup>-e-ez  
ke-e-ez-zi-ia [da-a-iš]*
- 30 A obv. 30 *nu-uš-ši KUR <sup>URU</sup>ḪAT-TI ḫu-u-ma-an pí-ra-an SIG<sub>5</sub>-in i-ia-an-ni-eš  
nu-uš-š[i an-tu-uḫ-ša-aš]*
- 31 A obv. 31 *GU<sub>4</sub> UDU pí-ra-an ma-ak-ke-eš-ta NAM.RA.ME.EŠ-ia-za ku-i-e-eš IŠ-  
TU KUR <sup>LÚ</sup>K[ÚR ú-e-ta-an-te-eš e-šir]*
- 32 A obv. 32 *na-at lu-lu-wa-an-da-at Ú-UL ku-it-ki ḫar-<sup>r</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-ta nu-kán ú-wa-at-tén  
DINGIR.M[EŠ EN.ME.EŠ-IA]*
- 33 A obv. 33 *a-pu-un A-WA-AT <sup>m</sup>DU-UT-ḪA-LI-IA DUMU<sup>RI</sup> A-<sup>r</sup>NA<sup>1</sup> A-BI-IA ki-nu-un  
ap-pé-ez-z[i-ia-az x x]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ia-za*
- 34 A obv. 34 *an-da ša-an-ḫa-at-tén nu-kán A-BU-IA [I[Š-T]U ŠA <sup>m</sup>DU-UT-ḪA-LI-IA iš-  
ḫa-na-[az ḫar-ak-ta nu-kán A-NA A-BI-IA-za]*

- 35 A obv. 35 *ku-e-eš* DUMU.ME.EŠ LUGAL BE-LU<sup>ME.EŠ</sup> UGULA<sup>LÚ.ME.EŠ</sup> LI-IM<sup>LÚ<sup>1</sup>.ME.EŠ</sup> DUGUD *an-da ki-ša-an-da-at nu* <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[pu-ú-uš-ša a-pé-e-ez]
- 36 A obv. 36 *me-mi-ia-na-az e-kir* A-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup> HAT-TI-ia-ká[n] a-pa-a-aš-pát *me-mi-aš a-ar-aš nu* KUR<sup>U</sup>[<sup>RU</sup>HAT-TI a-pé-e-ez]
- 37 A obv. 37 *me-mi-ia-na-az ak-ki-iš-ki-u-an ti-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[ia-a]t nu* KUR<sup>URU</sup> HAT-TI *du-wa-a-an pa-r[a-a x x x x x]*
- 38 A obv. 38 *ki-nu-na ħi-in-kán pa-ra-a nam-ma d[a-aš-še-eš-t]a* KUR<sup>URU</sup> HAT'(bar)-TI *ħi-in-ga-na-a[z me-ek-ki]*
- 39 A obv. 39 *dam-me-eš-ħa-it-ta-at na-at te-<sup>1</sup>pa-u<sup>1</sup>-[e-eš-ta am]-<sup>1</sup>mu-uk-ma<sup>1</sup>-za*<sup>m</sup> Mur-ši-li-iš<sup>L</sup>[<sup>U</sup>SANGA-KU-NU (İR-KU-NU) ŠÀ-az]
- 40 A obv. 40 *la-aħ-la-aħ-ħi-ma-<sup>1</sup>an Ú-UL<sup>1</sup> [tar]-aħ-mi [NÍ.T]E-<sup>1</sup>az-ma-za<sup>1</sup> pít-<sup>1</sup>tu-li-ia-an Ú-UL<sup>1</sup> [tar-aħ-mi]*
- A
- 
- 41 A obv. 41 [x x x x x (x)] DINGIR.MEŠ EN.ME.EŠ-IA *ku-e-eš iš-ta-ra-a-iz-zi* A-NA D[INGIR.MEŠ(?) x x x (x)]
- 42 A obv. 42 [x x x x x x x ] *tu-li-ia-az ku-it li-in-ki-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> ku-ut-ru-<sup>1</sup>wa<sup>1</sup>-an-ni ħa[l-zi-ia-an-te-eš]*
- 43 A obv. 43 [e-eš-tén nu(?)<sup>URU</sup> Ĥa-a]d-du-ša-aš *ku-wa-pí ħu-u-ma-an-za {in} li-in-ki-eš-ki-it nu-<sup>1</sup>za<sup>1</sup>*
- 44 A obv. 44 [x x x DINGIR.MEŠ(?) EN.ME.EŠ (?) ku-ut-r]u-wa-aħ-ħi-iš-kir(?) <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-e-er-ma-za *li-i[n]-ki-ia-aš ku-it BE-E[L-ŠU-NU x x x]*
- 45 A obv. 45 [x x x ma-a-am-m]a-an DINGIR.MEŠ BE-LU<sup>ME.EŠ</sup>-IA *a-pí-t[a]-ni ħa-an-ne-eš-ni Ú-[UL x x x x (x)]*
- 46 A obv. 46 [nu-kán x x x m]a-a-an a-pa-a[t ] e-eš-ħar Ú-UL *ma-an-qa* EGIR-an *ša-[an-aħ-te-ni]*
- 47 A obv. 47 [x x x x (x) šu]-me-eš-pát [DINGIR.MEŠ] BE-LU<sup>ME.EŠ</sup>-IA <sup>1</sup>ša-ra-az-zi-e-eš<sup>1</sup> [x x x x x (x)]
- A
- 
- 48 A obv. 48 [x x x x x x x x x] x [(x)] x-ut-ma *wa-aš-ku-iš-kán-zi n[u<sup>2</sup> x x x x x]*
- 49 A obv. 49 [x x x x x x DINGIR.MEŠ] <sup>1</sup>BE<sup>1</sup>-LU<sup>ME.EŠ</sup>-IA *li-in-ke-en ku-e-eš* [x x x x]
- 50 A obv. 50 [x x (x) li-in-ki-ia-aš BE-EL]-ŠU-NU *ku-en-nir nu a-pé-el* UD.KAM.ĤI.[A nam-ma Ú-UL]
- 51 A obv. 51 [ku-e-iš-ki e-eš-zi x x x x (x)] *ka-ru-ú-wa-at e-ki-i[r x x x x x]*
- 52 A obv. 52 [x x x x x x x x x (x) šar-n]i-in-kir *ku-e-eš-ma <sup>1</sup>ka-ru-ú<sup>1</sup> [ x x x x x ]*

(A obv. breaks)

*break of uncertain length*

- 53' A rev. 1' [x x x x] x [
- 54' A rev. 2' [KUR<sup>URU</sup> HA-AT]-TI-i[a x x x x x ak-k]i-iš-ki-it-ta-[ri x x x x x]
- 55' A rev. 3' [x x x (x)] e-eš-x [x x x x x x w]a-aš-ta-i kat-t[a x x x x x x]
- 56' A rev. 4' [ki-nu-n]a-kán an/DINGIR[x x x x x a]-pé-el A-NA [x x x x x x]
- 57' A rev. 5' [x x ] A-BI-IA ku-[it x x x x x m]a-an i-ia-m[i x x x x x x]
- 58' A rev. 6' [ma]-an-qa šu-<sup>r</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-[x x x x x x]-x ŠA <sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-BI-I[A x x-e]š x [x x x]
- 59' A rev. 7' [ki-nu-na]-za-kán šu-m[a-a-aš ŠA A-BI-IA wa-aš-tul ta]r-na-an ħar-m[i  
n]u A-BI-IA ku-[u-un]
- 60' A rev. 8' [<sup>m</sup>Du]-ut-ħa-li-ia-an [ku-it x x x x x] x nu-za A-BI-I[A] a-pad-da-añ  
EG[IR-an-da]
- 61' A rev. 9' [e]-eš'(še)-ħa-na-aš SÍSK[UR i-ia-at <sup>URU</sup> H]a-ad-du-ša-aš-ma-za Ú-UL  
ku-it-k[i i-ia-at]
- 62' A rev. 10' [ú-w]a-nu-un-ma-za <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[eš-ħa-na-aš SÍSKUR a]m-mu-uq-qa i-ia-nu-un  
KUR-e-an-za-m[a]
- 63' A rev. 11' [Ú-U]L ku-it-ki i-i[a-at Ú-UL-ma-za A-NA] KUR<sup>TI</sup> ku-it-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup> še-er i-e-e[r]
- A
- 
- 64' A rev. 12' ki-nu-na KUR<sup>URU</sup> HAT-<sup>r</sup>TI<sup>r</sup> ku-it ħi-i[n-ga]-<sup>r</sup>na-za<sup>1</sup> me-ek-ki ta-ma-aš-[ta-  
a]t
- 65' A rev. 13' nu KUR<sup>URU</sup> HAT-TI ak-ki-iš-ki-it-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-[ri nu] <sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-WA-AT <sup>m</sup>DU-UT-ĤA-  
LI-IA A-NA KUR<sup>TI</sup>
- 66' A rev. 14' še-er na-ak-ki-iš-ta IŠ-TU [DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>]-ia-aš-mu ħa-an-ta-it-ta-at  
nu-<sup>r</sup>uš<sup>r</sup>-[ši še-er]
- 67' A rev. 15' a-ri-ia-nu-un nu šu-ma-a-aš A-<sup>r</sup>NA<sup>1</sup> [DINGIR.MEŠ B]E-LU<sup>ME.EŠ</sup>-IA  
A-NA É.ME.EŠ DINGIR.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-[KU-NU SÍSKUR]
- 68' A rev. 16' MA-MI-TI A-NA KUR<sup>TI</sup> ħi-in-ga-[ni še]-er ħa-an-ta-it-ta-at nu  
<sup>r</sup>šū-ma<sup>1</sup>-[a-aš A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ]
- 69' A rev. 17' EN.ME.EŠ-IA ŠA MA-MI-TI SÍSKUR [pí]-ra-an ar-ħa i-ia-an-zi  
nu-<sup>r</sup>uš<sup>r</sup>-[ma-aš-at pí-ra-an]
- 70' A rev. 18' erasure pár-ku-wa-an-zi am-mu-u[k-m]a šu-ma-a-aš A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ  
<sup>r</sup>EN.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ-I[A]

- 71' A rev. 19' *šar-ni-ik-ze-el maš'-kán-na KUR-e-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>?</sup> še-er šar-ni-in-ki-iš-ki-mi*
- A
- 
- 72' A rev. 20' *'DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> BE-<sup>r</sup>LU<sup>ME.EŠ<sup>1</sup></sup>-IA ŠA<sup>m</sup> DU-UT-ĤA-LI-[I]A ku-it e-eš-ĥar  
EGIR-an ša-an-ĥa-a[t-te-en]*
- 73' A rev. 21' *n[u-ká]n<sup>m</sup> Du-ut-ĥa-li-ia-an ku-i-e-eš ku-en-nir nu e-eš-ĥar a-pu-u-<sup>r</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>  
šar-ni-[in-kir]*
- 74' A rev. 22' *nu KUR<sup>URU</sup> ĤA-AT-TI-ia a-pa-a-aš iš-<sup>r</sup>ĥa<sup>1</sup>-na-an-za ar-ĥa nam-ma  
<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-in-ni-e[š-ta]*
- 75' A rev. 23' *na-at KUR<sup>URU</sup> ĤAT-TI-ia ka-ru-ú<sup>r</sup> šar<sup>1</sup>-ni-ik-ta ki-nu-na-ia-at-kán ku-it  
am-mu-u[k]*
- 76' A rev. 24' *a-ar-aš na-at am-mu-uq-qa IŠ-TU É<sup>TI</sup>-IA šar-ni-ik-zi-la-az  
maš-kán-na-[az]*
- 77' A rev. 25' *šar-ni-en-ki-iš-ki-mi nu A-NA DINGIR.[M]EŠ EN.MEŠ-IA ZI-an-za  
nam-ma wa-ar-aš-<sup>r</sup>du<sup>1</sup>*
- 78' A rev. 26' *nu-mu DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-IA gi-i[n-z]u nam-ma da-at-tén  
nu-uš-m[a-aš-k]án u-wa-aĥ-<sup>r</sup>ĥa-ru<sup>1</sup>*
- 79' A rev. 27' *nu-uš-ma-aš ku-it me<sup>1</sup>(ku)-mi-iš-ki-mi n[u]-mu iš-ta-ma-aš-tén i-da-a-lu  
[Ú-UL] ku-it-ki ku-it*
- 80' A rev. 28' *am-mu-uk i-ia-nu-un wa-aš-te-er<sup>r</sup> ku<sup>1</sup>-i-e-eš nu {nu} i-da-a-lu i-e-er nu  
a-pé-el UD.KAM-aš nam-ma Ú-UL*
- 81' A rev. 29' *[k]u-e-iš-ki e-eš-zi ka-ru-ú-<sup>r</sup>wa<sup>1</sup>-at ar-ĥa e-kir a[m-m]u-uk-ma-kán ŠA  
A-BI-IA me-mi-aš*
- 82' A rev. 30' *<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ar-aš ku-it nu-za ka-a-ša<sup>r</sup> A<sup>1</sup>-NA KUR<sup>TI</sup> ĥi-in-ga-ni<sup>r</sup> še-er šu<sup>1</sup>-me-e-eš  
A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ*
- 83' A rev. 31' *BE-L[U<sup>HL</sup>]<sup>A</sup>-IA maš-kán pé-eš-ki-mi šar-ni-ik-zi-le-e-eš-ki-m[i n]u-uš-ma-  
aš maš-kán*
- 84' A rev. 32' *šar-n[i-i]k-ze-el-la šar-ni-i[n-k]e-eš-ki-mi nu-mu DINGIR.MEŠ BE-  
LU<sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup></sup>-<sup>r</sup>IA<sup>1</sup> gi-in-zu erasure nam-ma*
- 85' A obv. 33' *da-at-té[n] <sup>r</sup>nu-uš-ma<sup>1</sup>-<aš>-kán u-wa-aĥ-ĥa-ru nu KUR<sup>URU</sup> ĤAT-TI  
ku-it ĥi-in-ga-na-[z]a dam-me-iš-ĥa-a-it-<ta>*
- 86' A rev. 34' *na-at [te]-pa-u-i-eš-ta nu šu-ma-a-aš A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-IA  
NINDA ĥ[ar]-ši-in<sup>DUG</sup> iš-pa-an-du-uz-zi-i[a]*
- 87' A rev. 35' *ku-e-eš [e-eš]-šir na-aš ĥi-in-ga-na-<sup>r</sup>az<sup>1</sup>-za me-ek-ki ta-ma-aš-ta na-at  
ĥi-in-ga-na-az*

- 88' A rev. 36' [t]e-<sup>r</sup>pa<sup>1</sup>-[u-e-e]š-ta an-da-at ÚŠ<sup>87</sup>-an-za-ma EGIR-an ar-ḫa Ú-UL-pát  
da-a-i nu ak-ki-iš-ki-<sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-[ta-ri]
- 89' A rev. 37' [nu-kán ke-e-u]š ku-e-eš LÚ.ME.EŠ ḫar-ši-ia-la-<sup>r</sup>aš<sup>1</sup> LÚ.ME.EŠ iš-pa-an-tu-uz-  
zi-ia-la-aš-ša te-pa-u-e-eš
- 90' A rev. 38' a[š<sup>2</sup>-ša-an-te-eš n]a-at ma-a-an ar-ḫa ḫar-kán-zi nu-uš-ma-aš nam-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>  
NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA iš-pa-<sup>r</sup>an-tu-uz<sup>1</sup>-[zi-ia]
- 91' A rev. 39' Ú-[UL] ku-iš-ki ku-it-ki pa-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-i
- A
- 
- 92' A rev. 40' nu-x [x x x x x x x x x A-N]A NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-ia  
še-er ku-in {x}
- 93' A rev. 41' e-e[š-ša-an-zi(?) nu-mu DINGIR.MEŠ EN.ME.EŠ-IA nam-ma(?) gi-in-z]u  
da-at-tén nu-uš-ma-aš-kán ú-wa-aḫ-ḫa-ru nu-ká[n]
- 94' A rev. 42' ḫi-in-g[a-an IŠ-TU KUR<sup>URU</sup> ḪAT-TI ar-ḫa ú-i-i]a-<sup>r</sup>at-tén<sup>1</sup> n[u-uš]-ma-aš-  
kán ku-u-ú-uš ku-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-eš LÚ<sup>ME.EŠ</sup> NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA LÚ.M<sup>EŠ</sup> iš-pa-an-tu-uz-  
zi-ia-la-aš]
- 95' A rev. 43' te-e-p[a-u-e-eš a-ša-an-te-eš na]-<sup>r</sup>at<sup>1</sup> nam-ma [l]e-e<sup>r</sup> dam-me-eš-ḫa-an<sup>1</sup>-  
[ta-ri] na-at le-e ak-[ki-iš-kán-ta-ri]
- 96' A rev. 44' nu-uš-m[a-aš NIND]A.<sup>r</sup>GUR<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>.R[A iš-pa-an-t]u-uz-zi-ia e-[eš-š]a-an-du  
nu-kán DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>r</sup> BE-LU<sup>ME.EŠ</sup>-IA I[Š-TU KUR<sup>URU</sup> ḪAT-TI]
- 97' A rev. 45' ḫi-in-g[a-a]n a[r-ḫa ú]-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-ia-at-tén ku-e-ia-kán<sup>r</sup> ku-e<sup>1</sup> i-da-a-la-wa A-NA  
x x x-ú-x x
- 98' A rev. 46' ŠA<sup>m</sup>D[U-U]T-ḪA-LI-IA [še-e]r I-NA ŠÀ KUR<sup>URU</sup> ḪAT'(bar)-TI ki-ša-an-  
<ta><sup>?</sup> na-at-kán DINGIR.MEŠ šar-[az-zi-e-eš na-at ar-ḫa]
- 99' A rev. 47' u-e-i-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-at-tén<sup>r</sup> na<sup>1</sup>-at I-NA KUR<sup>LÚ</sup> KÚR ú-e-ia-at-tén A-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup>  
ḪAT-TI-ma gi-i[n-zu nam-ma]
- 100' A rev. 48' da-at-tén nu-kán KUR-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup> an-da SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru nam-ma am-mu-uq-qa-aš-ma-aš-  
kán<sup>LÚ</sup> SANGA-KU-NU ÌR-KU-N[U]
- 101' A rev. 49' u-wa-aḫ-ḫa-ru nu-mu gi-in-zu da-at-te-en nu-mu-kán ŠÀ-az la-aḫ-la-  
<aḫ>-ḫi-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-an ar-ḫa
- 102' A rev. 50' u-e-ia-at-te-en NÍ.TE-az-ma-<sup>r</sup>mu-kán pí<sup>1</sup>-tu-li-ia-an da-a-at-tén

<sup>87</sup> Úš is an alternative reading of UG<sub>6</sub>. See Rüter and Neu (1989), *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon*, pp. 96 and 357.

Colophon [DUB.I.KAM] ʿQAʿ-TI <sup>m</sup>Mur-ši-li-iš-ʿza GIMʿ-a[n ] ÚŠ-ni še-er  
[A-NA DINGIR.ME]Š ar-ku-wa-ar i-i[a-a]t

**Translation:**

- 1-7 [O gods], my lords, [all male deities], all female deities, gods [of the land] of Ḫatti, [all] male [deities] of the oath, all female deities of the oath, all primeval [male] deities, all <primeval> female deities, you gods, who, on that day, had been summoned to the assem[bly] for witnessing the oath! O mountains, rivers, spri[ngs] and underground watercourses! I Muršili, your priest, your servant, hereby plea[d] with you. O gods, my lords, [hear] my word, regarding the matter in which I am making a plea to you!
- 8-15 O gods, my lords, a plague broke out within the land of Ḫatti, and the land of Ḫatti has been oppressed by the plague. It has been very much har[med]. And since the land of [Ḫatti] continues to die this twentieth year in large numbers, the affair of Tudḫali[ya the Younger], the son of Tudḫaliya began to haunt [me]. I inquired (about it) from a deity through an oracle, and the affair of Tudḫaliya the Younger was confirmed b[y] the deity. Since to the land of Ḫatti Tud[ḫaliya] the Younger was their lord, the princes, the lords, the overseers of a “thousand”, the officers, [as well as] the entire infant[ry] (and) horse-troops of [Ḫat]tuša swore an oath to him. My father also swore an oath to him.
- 16-22 But it happened that m[y fat]her harmed Tudḫaliya. All the princes, the lords, the overseers of a “thousand”, (and) the officers of Ḫattuša joined in with my father, they rebelled against Tudḫaliya, their lord of the oath and they killed him. Furthermore, those of his brothers, (namely) *Piqauda* and Pirwa, whom they [found], they seized and sent to Alašiya (Cyprus). Since Tudḫaliya was their lord and they we[re] his subjects bound by o[ath], they transgressed your, my lords’, oath; they [ki]lled Tudḫaliya.
- 23-40 You, gods my lord[s], have protected my father, [and] during [*his reign*] you stood [by *him*]. Since Ḫattuša [*was destroyed*] by the e[nemy], and the enemy had taken the border regions as well as [...] of the land of Ḫatti, [my father] repeatedly [attack]ed [the enemy lands] and repeatedly defeated them. He [to]ok [back the border regions] of the land of Ḫatti, but (also) he took away from them (their) border regions and [resettled] them. And [furthermore, during] his reign, [he

conquered] other foreign lands. He sustained the land of Ḫatti and for it [*he established*] the borders on this side and that. All the land of Ḫatti prospered in his time (lit. walked in well-being). [Humans], cattle and sheep became numerous in his time. Also, the civilian captives who [were brought] from the ene[my] land survived; none of them perished. You god[s, my lords], now finally [ ...] ... avenged that affair of Tudḫaliya the Younger on my father. And so my father [died] because of the blo[od] of Tudḫaliya. The princes, the lords, the overseers of a “thousand” (and) the officers who joined in [with my father, they too] died because of [that] matter. The aforementioned matter came also upon the land of Ḫatti and the land of [Ḫatti] began to perish [because of that] affair. Until no[w] the land of Ḫatti [...]. Now the plague has become even ha[rsher]. The land of Ḫatti has been [very much] harmed by the plague and it has been dimini[shed]. I, Muršili, [your] pr[iest, (your servant)] cannot [over]come the worry [with my heart]. I cannot [overcome] the anxiety with my body.

41-47 [...] o gods, my lords, you who *ištarāizzi* to/for [...], since you [were summoned] by/to the assembly for witnessing the oath. When the whole of [Ḫa]ttuša was swearing the oath, they repeatedly [*sum*]moned [*you the gods, my lords*] as witnesses. But since it came to pass that they [*harmed* their] lord of the oath, had/would you the gods, my lords no[t ...] in that case? [Ha]d/would you in no way aven[ge] tha[t] blood [*on them*]? [...] O you yourselves, [gods], upperworld lords [...]!

48-52 [...] they continue to *transgress*. [...gods], my lords, those who [...] the oath, [...] they killed their [lor]d [of the oath]. [No one] of that da[y is still (alive)]. They have already died. They [...have made res]titution. But whoever already [...].

*break*

53'-58' [ ... a]nd the land [Ḫa]tti [ ... conti]nues to di[e ... ]. [ ... he off]ends [ ... ]. [Now ... of th]at to [ ... ]. [ ... si]nce my father [ ... ]. [ ... *if* I will ma[ke/perform ... at al]l [ ... ] of my father [ ... ].

59'-63' [No]w I have confess[ed *the sin of my father* to yo]u. [Because] my father [*harmed*] thi[s Tu]dḫaliya, therefore my father la[ter performed] the ritual of blood. But [Ḫa]ttuša did not [perform] anything for herself. And I too performed [the ritual of bloo]d, bu[t] the people [did no]t per[form] anything for themselves. They [did not] perfor[m] anything on behalf of the land.

64'-71' Now because the land of Ḫatti has been oppressed very much b[y the plague], and the land of Ḫatti continues to di[e], the affair of Tudḫaliya began to haunt the land. It (the affair of Tudḫaliya) has been confirmed for me by [a deity], and I have consulted the oracle [about i]t. The [ritual] of the oath concer[ning] the plague has been confirmed for you [the gods], my lords, and for your temples on behalf of the land. They are performing the ritual of the oath before yo[u, the gods], my lords, and they are clearing [it before you]. But I myself am making restitution to you, the gods, [my] lords, with compensation and propitiatory gift on behalf of the land.

72'-91' O gods, my lords, because [you have] sought (revenge for) the blood of Tudḫaliya, those who killed Tudḫaliya have made res[titution] for th[e] blood. In addition, that blood has fini[shed] off the land of Ḫatti as well, and the land of Ḫatti has already made restitution for it. Because now it (the blood of Tudḫaliya) fell on me too, I, from my estate, am also making restitution for it through compensation and propitiatory gift. To the gods, my lords may the soul again be appeased! O gods, my lords, have pity on me again! Let me appear before yo[u]! Listen to me, to what I continue to say to you, since I have done no evil! Of those who sinned and who did evil, no one of that day is still (alive). They have already died off. But because the deed of my father has fallen upon [m]e, I am hereby giving to you, the gods, my [lord]s, on behalf of the land, a propitiatory gift concerning the plague. I am making restitution. To you I am making restitution with a propitiatory gift and compensation. O gods, my lords, have pity on me again! Let me appear before you! Because the land of Ḫatti has been harmed by the plague, it (the land of Ḫatti) has been diminished. Those who [pre]pared for you, the gods, my lords, the thick bread [and] libation have been also oppressed by the plague very much and by the plague they have been dim[inish]ed. But furthermore, does not the plague take them away again? They continue to die (lit. there is continual dying). If [those] few makers of the thick bread and libation bearers who [remain] perish, n[o] one will give you ever again anything (whether thick bread [or] libation).

92'-102' [ ... O gods, my lords] on account of the thick bread and libation which [they prepare for you, have pit]y [on me again]! Let me appear before you! [Se]nd the pla[gue from the land of Ḫatti]! Let those fe[w] makers of the thick bread [(and) the libation pourers] who [remain] for you not be harm[ed] again, let them not go on [dying]! Let them [prepare] for you thick [bre]ad and [libat]ion. O gods, my

lords, send the plague [away from the land of Ḫatti]! Whatever evils happened within the land of Ḫatti [on account of] ... of Tudḫaliya, O up[erworld] gods [...] them, send them [away]! Send them to the enemy land! Have pity on the land of Ḫatti [again]! Let the land be well again! Let me, your priest, your servant, appear before you! Have pity on me! Send away the worry from my heart! Take the anxiety from my body!

Colophon:

[One tablet]; (text) complete. When Muršili ma[de] a plea [to the god]s because of the plague.

**Comments:**

- 1 The reading DINGIR.MEŠ at the end of line 1 and the restoration <*ka-ru-ú-i-li-eš*> in line 3 follow Miller (2007: 136).
- 6 *ar-ku-wa-[mi]{x x}*. The spacing, as shown on the photograph of manuscript A, would suggest that the traces preserved after the break are part of the verb. This verbal form, however, is difficult to interpret. The gap is both too small to accommodate *nu* and *un*, and too large to contain only the beginning or the entire *nu*, therefore, the suggested readings *ar-ku-wa-[nu-un]* (Lebrun 1980: 193) and *ar-ku-wa-[n]u-un* (Miller 2007b: 136), *ar-ku-wa-[n]u<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>un<sup>1</sup>* (Groddek 2009: 96) as well as an alternative *ar-ku-wa-[nu]-un* must be excluded. The first singular preterite of the verb *arkuwai-* also does not seem to fit into the present context; it follows directly the address to the gods and therefore would have to carry a meaning “to address.” This, however, does not agree with the use of this verb in or outside of prayer contexts (see discussion in chapter two). On the other hand, if not part of the verb, these two sings would have to belong to the next clause/sentence, so perhaps *nu-za* (Lebrun 1980: 193). This reading, however, is excluded by the fact that the sentence beginning after the gap has already a sentence initial clitic chain *nu-uš-ma-aš-za*. Because of these considerations it is proposed here that the verb is to be read *ar-ku-wa-[mi]* (first singular present) and the two signs {x x} are left over from an erasure (so Goetze 1930: 164 and footnote 6).
- 9 The nominal sentence *nu ka-a-aš* MU.20.KAM is interpreted here as syntactically belonging to the causal *kuit* clause. The general sense is that because the Hittite

population has been dying for twenty years, Muršili seeks the causes that underlie this disaster; in this prayer the reason or the sin that triggered the plague is the murder of Tudhaliya the Younger by Muršili's father Šuppiliuma I.

16

<sup>URU</sup> *Ha-at-tu-ša-ša-za-kán*. A scribal error must be postulated here: the second *ša* is a mistake for *aš*. Against an interpretation <sup>URU</sup> *Hattušaš=a=za=kán* is the fact that the contrastive enclitic conjunction *-a* is no longer employed in New Hittite compositions; isolated examples are used after personal independent pronouns (see for instance KUB 6.45 iii 60; *HG*: 395-399).

18

*linkiyan*. A recently joined fragment (1612/u) completes the context and excludes restoration *linkiyanteš* suggested by Goetze (1930: 166) and followed by Singer (2002a: 62) as well as by *CHD* L-N 64. The present context requires the noun *lingai-* "oath" to appear in the genitive. Although *linkiyan*, not attested elsewhere in Hittite texts, may be analysed as an Old Hittite genitive plural, it is more likely that this form is a scribal error and should be read *linkiyaš* (a genitive singular). *linkiyaš* is employed in Hittite texts to identify various aspects of the oath and its ceremony. It describes the place where the oath was taken, or a tablet containing the oath, the seal of the oath or persons bound by the oath (*CHD* L-N 65-66). *linkiyaš* EN/BE-EL would be another variant of this standard phrase and would denote a person to whom others are bound by the oath: "lord of the oath." The same expression is also attested in line 44 of this text *li-i[n]-ki-ia-aš ... BE-E[L-ŠU-NU]*.

19

Of the two personal names, *Pirwa* is well attested in Hittite texts; however, the reading of the first name is problematic. Two signs *ú* and *da* are preceded by a sign that is most likely to be read *qa* though it does not have exactly the same form as other *qa* signs in this manuscript. The traces of the sign that precede *qa* seem to be consistent with *pí* but other readings are not excluded. Since the break that contains the beginning of the name allows only for one or two signs the name could be read *Piqauda*, a name that is, however, not attested otherwise.

22

Most probably *-en-nir* inscribed below line 86' of the reverse belongs to the verb *ku-en-nir* that is restored at the end of line 22 of the obverse side.

23

Although the traces of the last three signs following *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-*, as shown in Goetze's copy of KUB 14.14, are difficult to interpret, the photograph confirms that *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-te-en* is to be read here (so Goetze 1930: 166). The third sign is probably left over from an erasure. Groddek reads here *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ta<sup>?</sup>-x-ni* (2008: 127).

23-24

Because the present context requires that the verb *ar-* carries a meaning “to stand by, take care of”, a restoration of [*appan*] at the end of line 23 is fairly certain. *anda* is interpreted here as a postposition governing restored [LUGAL-*u-e-ez-na-an-ni*]. This restoration seems very plausible, particularly because what follows is the description of the reign of Šuppiluliuma. The same phrase seems to be also employed at the end of line 28.

24

Goetze (1930: 167) and Lebrun (1980: 194) read *-wa-nu-uš* at the end of the line 23. The photograph of manuscript A shows that these signs are written two or three lines below *ku-en-nir*. Since that verb is restored in line 22, it is suggested that *-wa-nu-uš* is to be read at the end of line 24 and possibly is to be interpreted as an accusative plural ending of a common gender noun which together with ZAG.ḪI.A in line 25 would be the direct object of the verb *da-* “to take.”

25 Since *-wa-nu-uš* in line 24 is understood here as the ending of a noun in an accusative case, ZAG.ḪI-*za* appearing on the fragment 1132/v does not stand at the beginning of a sentence and therefore cannot host any clitics. For that reason this form must be a scribal error and is read here as ZAG.ḪI.A<sup>1</sup>.

27 The restoration [*da-aš*]-*ki-it* (Goetze 1930: 168) at the beginning of the line is problematic, although contextually plausible; the present context requires a verb of holding or taking. The break at the beginning of this line is too large to accommodate only *da-aš-*. Another possibility would be to restore a form of *ḫark-* “to have, hold”; since, however, the usage of this verb in the iterative has not been attested otherwise its restoration here seems uncertain.

33 The interpretation of *-e-ia-za* at the end of the line is difficult. Perhaps it represents the end of another adverb following *kinun* and *appezziyaz*.

36

*e-kir* occurs twice in this text in line 36 and 81'. Goetze (1930: 168, 174) followed by Otten (1973: 46) transliterated this verb as *a'-kir* in line 36 and *a-kir* in line 81.' While Goetze's copy of KUB 14.14 shows *e-kir* in both lines, the photograph is unclear. In line 36 the vowel sign is damaged, in 81' it shows two small horizontals. Because the traces are more consistent with *e-kir* than *a-kir* and because this text is a New Hittite composition, the New Hittite spelling *e-kir* is adopted here.

- 39 The reading ÌR before the break at the end of the line (so all previous editors and translators of the text) cannot be reconciled with the traces as shown in Goetze's copy. The end of the line is not clearly visible on the photograph. Because the phrase <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA-KU-NU ÌR-KU-NU, is also employed in obv. 6 of this text and because the traces visible in Goetze's copy are consistent with the logogram LÚ, the restoration of <sup>LÚ</sup>[SANGA-KU-NU ÌR-KU-NU] is suggested here. However, the lacuna at the end of the line is not large enough to accommodate that phrase and ŠÀ-az, which belongs to the next sentence. It is therefore suggested that the phrase was either shortened to <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA-KU-NU or the writing in this line continued to the edge and the reverse of the tablet.
- 41 *ištarāizzi*. This verb is found nowhere else in Hittite texts. Because of the plural relative pronoun *kuēš* one would expect the plural verbal form, instead of the third singular present that appears here. Due to the very fragmentary context, no ready explanation can be offered for the singular form of the verb. One could propose that *ištarāizzi* is a scribal error for *išgaraizzi*. The verb *iškar-* covers a broad semasiological spectrum "to sting, prick, stab, pierce; stick, fasten, attach, set, post; (intransitive) cleave, cling" (Puhvel *HED* vol. 1: 416). However, none of these meanings seems to make sense within the present context.
- 43 Even though the spacing would suggest that *in* is part of *humanza*, the form *humanzain* has never been attested and is not part of the paradigm of this adjective. The sign *in* must therefore be interpreted as a scribal error.
- 44 The present context seems to call for the verb *kuen-* "to kill" (so Goetze 1930, Singer 2002a: 62). However, because of the lack of the particle *-kan* a restoration of this verb is not possible.

- 47 'ša-ra-az-zi-e-eš'. This spelling of the nominative plural common gender of the adjective šaraz(z)i(ya)- 'upper, superior, upperworld' is attested here for the first time. The nominative plural of this adjective is usually written phonetically as ša-ra-a-az-zi-iš, or, more commonly, as the logogram UGU-(az)-zi-iš/UGU-(az)-zi-uš (see CHD Š: 247ff).
- 48 The translation of wa-aš-ku-iš-kán-zi as "transgress" assumes some connection of this verb with a noun wašku-/ waškui- "transgression, offence". The verb waškui- is attested here for the first time.
- 49 The form li-in-ki-en is unusual. A scribal error must be postulated here: li-in-ki-en is probably a mistake for li-in-ga-en, the accusative singular of the common gender noun lingai- 'oath'.
- 50-51
- The sentence that begins with nu a-pé-el and the sentence in line 51 are restored from the parallel sentences in lines 80'-81'.
- 52 The restoration of šar-ni-in-kir is confirmed by the traces preserved on the tablet and by the present context.
- 70' This edition follows CHD P 161-162 and Singer 2002a: 63 in translating the verb parkuwa- as "clear" rather than "purify" (so Beckman 1997: 157, Goetze 1930: 173 and Lebrun 1980: 201). The purpose of the ritual was to clear and free the land of Ḫatti from the consequences of breaking the oath taken by Muršili's father and the Hittite nobility.
- 71' Although the spacing, as shown on the photograph of KUB 14.14, would indicate that whatever sign has been lost in the break was not part of KUR-e, the postposition šer requires a noun in the dative. Therefore, the reading KUR-e-'i' is suggested here.

The construction šarnink- with nouns in the dative and the accusative, also appearing in lines 83'-84', is usually translated as "to compensate someone for something" (CHD Š: 285). However, the present context requires the meaning "to compensate someone with something", which is typically expressed with the verb and the nouns in the dative and the ablative (employed here in lines 76'-77'). The construction

*šarnink-* with nouns in the dative and the accusative in the meaning “to compensate someone with something” appears only in this text.

The noun *maškan* is included in the *figura etymologica šarnikzel šarnink-*. The literal meaning of this expression is “to compensate (with) compensation and a propitiatory gift”.

- 74’ The ending of the verb *zinni-* employed at the end of the line is broken. Since the subject of the sentence is the ergative *išhananza*, the verb must have been used here in the third person singular. The possible restoration include the third singular present active *zi-in-ni-zi*, the third singular preterite active *zi-in-ni-it* or the third singular imperative active *zi-in-ni-eš-du*. If one restores here *zinnizi* or *zinnit*, one has to assume that *zinni-* is the transitive verb and the sentence should be understood as: “In addition, that blood also destroyed/destroys completely the land of Ḫatti”. If one restores *zinniešdu*, one would also have to restore the Akkadogram *INA* or *ŠÀ* before the KUR <sup>URU</sup> *HA-AT-TI-ia* and the sentence would read as: “And in addition let that blood(shed) stop completely <in> the land of Ḫatti”. The first interpretation is adopted here. The general sense conveyed in these lines is that those guilty of the murder of Tudḫaliya already paid their restitutions. Now they are dead. The consequences of that sin fell on the land of Ḫatti. The Hittite population has been dying and thus has also been paying restitution for the murder of Tudḫaliya. Since the gods are still not appeased, the king himself must now atone for the sin and pay restitution. The blood(shed) destroyed those guilty of the crime and those innocent, namely the population of Ḫatti.

- 79’ Since the verbal form *ku-mi-iš-ki-mi* is not attested otherwise, and cannot be derived from or connected to any Hittite verb or noun, it may be regarded as corrupt. Goetze (1930: 198) emended the form to <ar>-*ku-mi-iš-ki-mi*. Lebrun (1980: 197) read here *me-mi-iš-ki-mi*. The fact that the regular iterative of the verb *arkuwai-* is *arkuišk-/arkuešk-*, spelled with the sign *wi*<sub>3</sub> rather than with *mi* is not in favour of the emendation <ar>-*ku-mi-iš-ki-mi*. The form *me*<sup>1</sup>-*mi-iš-ki-mi* seems more likely and is adopted here.

With an asyndetic causative sentence at the end of the line (contrary to Singer 2002a: 63 and Beckman 1997: 157) Muršili emphasizes his innocence and

suggests that his request should be granted because of his blamelessness, but not ignorance, in the matter of the murder of Tudḥaliya.

82' This edition follows Lebrun (1980: 203) in interpreting *šumēš* as a scribal error for *šumāš* dative plural common.

83' For the reading *šar-ni-ik-zi-le-e-eš-ki-mi* as a denominative verb from *šarnikzel-* “restitution, reparation” see Goetze (1930: 198-199) and recently Kloekhorst (2008: 737).

86'-88'

Because of *kuēš* that appears on the fragment KBo 58.8 (1132/v) at the beginning of line 87', the sentence in lines 86'-88' is read here as a relative clause, contrary to earlier restorations/interpretations (see Beckman 1997: 157, Singer 2002a: 63, and Goetze 1930: 175). The pronoun *-aš* of the first resumptive clause is understood here as a collective singular referring back to *kuēš*. This is supported by the fact that the singular verbal forms occur in both resumptive clauses. See also line 41, where the plural relative pronoun *kuēš* occurs with a verb in the third singular present (*ištaraizzi*).

88'

*-at* attached enclitically to the adverb *anda* must have the same grammatical referent as *-at* in the second resumptive clause in line 87'. The sentence that begins with *anda=at* is interpreted here as a question: “But furthermore (*anda ... -ma*), does not the plague take them away again (and again)? They continue to die (lit. there is continual dying).”

Singer (2002a: 63) translated “they have died” in the break at the beginning of the line. Goetze (1930: 174) restored here *ak-ki-iš-ki-it-ta-at*. KBo 58.8 (1132/v) shows possibly broken *te* and *pa* before the break in the tablet; 1858/u shows two *Winkelhaken* that can be read as *eš* and a clear *ta*. Therefore, the reading suggested here is  $[t]e^{-1}pa^{-1}-[u-e-eš]-ta$ .

89'  $[nu-kán ke-e-u]š$  and  $a[š-ša-an-te-eš]$  has been restored in line 90' through comparison with the parallel relative clause in lines 94'-95' as well as in KUB 14.8 rev. 18-19.

92' *kuin* {x}. Because the present context seems to require the accusative singular relative pronoun, which would refer to NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-ia*, the traces, as shown on Goetze's copy and the photograph of KUB 14.14, cannot be part of *kuin* despite the spacing that would indicate otherwise. It also seems that nothing has been lost in the break at the end of this line since the verb *ešša-* appears at the beginning of the next line. The traces must be then regarded as a scribal error.

93' The restoration of [*nu=mu* DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-IA *namma ginz*]u in the break at the beginning of the line is based on the parallel sentence in lines 84'-85'. The sign *zu* at the end of the break, although not suggested by Goetze's copy, is confirmed by the photograph.

94' [*IŠ-TU* KUR <sup>URU</sup>*HAT-TI ar-ḫa ú-i-i*]a-<sup>r</sup>*at-tén*' is restored based on the comparison with a similar phrase in lines 96'-97'.

97'-98'

It is not certain whether the phrase KUR <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR really occurs here (so the previous editors and translators of the text). The traces, as shown in Goetze's copy and on the photograph of KUB 14.14, are unclear. It is more probable that because of the context, with the postposition *šer* in line 98', another noun in a dative case indicated by *A-NA* occurs here. This noun has been written after the erasure and has been lost in the break at the end of line 97'.

98' *kišan*. It is not certain whether *kišan* is to be read here as defective writing for the third plural present (i.e. *kišanta*) or for the third plural preterite (i.e. *kišantat*) of the verb *kiš-* agreeing with *idālawā* in line 97', or whether *kišan* should be treated here as nominative-accusative neuter singular participle and *idālawā* as collective singular.

## THE 'SECOND' PLAGUE PRAYER (378.II)

This prayer is preserved in four manuscripts. Although all manuscripts are incomplete, the text of nearly the entire prayer can be restored. The middle part of the prayer is preserved in manuscript A and partially in manuscripts B and C; the first 29 lines of the text are extant in manuscripts B and C and the end of the text together with the colophon is preserved in manuscript C.

All manuscripts are written in the New Script characteristic of the reign of Muršili II. Manuscript A (KUB 14.8) is a one-column tablet that lacks the beginning and the end of the obverse as well as the beginning and the end of the reverse. The scribe employs exclusively older sign shapes of *ak*, *al*, *gi*, *ik*, *li*, *nam*, *ni*, *tar* and URU. He uses newer variants of the signs *az*, *šar*, *uk*,  $\dot{U}$  and the older and newer forms of *du* and *zu*.

Manuscript B (KUB 14.11+) is a four-column tablet. Column i and column iv both preserve twelve lines. The first twelve lines of column ii and the last seven lines of column iii are completed by the recently joined fragment KBo 55.25 (650/u). Column ii is missing the end, column iii the beginning. The scribe of manuscript B uses the older variants of *al*, *li*, *ni*, *šar*, *zu*, the new shapes of *az*, *du*, *gi*, *šar*, *tar*, *uk*,  $\dot{U}$  and both the old and the new forms of *ak*, *ik*, URU. Many erasures and errors in this text may indicate that this manuscript was a draft, perhaps written by an inexperienced scribe.

Manuscript C (KUB 14.10 + KUB 26.80 + ABoT 2.22) is a four-column tablet. Only the first 26 lines of column i, 31 fragmentary lines of column ii, approximately 50 fragmentary lines of column iii and 26 lines of column iv are preserved. The scribe of this manuscript uses the older shapes of *ak*, *al*, *ik*, *gi*, *nam*, *ni*, *tar*, URU and the new variants of *az*, *li*, *šar*, *uk*,  $\dot{U}$  and the old and new variants of *du* and *li*.

Manuscript D (KBo 57.21) contains fragments of seven lines which duplicate rev. 25'-28' of manuscript A. Not enough is left of this manuscript to allow comments on either its palaeography or language.

The language of manuscripts A, B, and C exhibits a large number of linguistic and orthographic features that safely date the text to the New Hittite period. The most salient of these include: the nominative plural common and nominative-accusative plural neuter of the personal enclitic pronoun "they, them" *-at*; the accusative plural common of the personal enclitic pronoun "them" *-aš*; the use of the independent personal pronoun *ammuk* in the position of the subject; the use of the plural determinative MEŠ not only with the Sumerograms that designate people and deities but also with the Sumerograms that denote other concepts; the tendency to replace syllabic writings with their

logographic variants (*Ú-UL* instead of *natta*, EGIR-*pa* for *appa* etc.) and the use of the verb *ak(k)*- in the middle voice in the meaning “to die”.

**Manuscripts.**<sup>88</sup>

A	<i>KUB</i> 14.8	Bo 2803	----
B	<i>KUB</i> 14.11 +  <i>KBo</i> 55.25	Bo 2029 + Bo 3713 + Bo 4692 + 650/u <sup>90</sup>	T.I <sup>89</sup>
C	<i>KUB</i> 14.10 + <i>KUB</i> 26.86 + <i>ABoT</i> 2.22	Bo 2067 + Bo 3144 + <i>AnAr</i> 11398 <sup>91</sup>	---- ----
D	<i>KBo</i> 57.21	513/v	T.I

Previous Editions: Goetze 1930: 204-235; Lebrun 1980: 203-216

Previous Translations: Beckman 1997: 157-159; Bérnabe 1987: 279-284; Christmann-Franck 1989: 53-56; Goetze 1950: 394-396; Kühne 1978: 169-174; Pintore 1978: 47 (obv. 15'-28' of ms A); Singer 2002a: 57-61; Theo van den Hout 2006: 263-266.

Previous Transliterations and Translations: Trabazo 2002: 305-329, Mouton 2007: 121-122 (obv. 34'-47' of ms. A).

Previous Transliterations: Groddek 2011: 13 and the footnote 48 (lines 1'-7' of ms. D).

**Transliteration:**

1	C i 1	[ <sup>d</sup> I]M <sup>URU</sup> <i>HA-AT-TI BE-LÍ-IA</i> [DINGIR.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup> <i>HA-AT-TI(?)</i> ]
2	C i 2	[ <i>BE-L</i> ]U <sup>MEŠ</sup> - <i>IA u-i-ia-at-mu</i> <sup>m</sup> <i>Mu-ur-š[i-li-iš</i> LUGAL(?)] x
3	C i 3	[š]u-me-e-el ÌR-KU-NU <i>i-it-wa A-NA</i> <sup>r</sup> d <sup>1</sup> [I]M <sup>rURU1</sup> <i>HA-AT-TI</i>
4	C i 4	<i>BE-LÍ-IA Û A-NA</i> DINGIR.MEŠ <i>BE-LU</i> <sup>MEŠ</sup> - <i>IA k[i]-iš-ša-an</i>
5	C i 5	<i>me-mi ki-i-wa ku-it i-ia-at-tén</i>
6	C i 6	<i>nu-wa-kán I-NA ŠÀ</i> <sup>BI</sup> KUR <sup>URU</sup> <i>HA-AT-TI hi-in-kán</i>
7	B i 1' C i 7	<i>n[u-wa</i> ] → <i>tar-na-at-te-en nu-wa</i> KUR <sup>URU</sup> <i>HA-AT-TI</i>

<sup>88</sup> All manuscripts were collated with the photograph. The join sketches of ms B and ms C are included in Appendix 2.

<sup>89</sup> The fragment *KBo* 55.25 was found in temple 1. The find spots of three fragments of *KUB* 14.11 were determined by joining them to *KBo* 55.25.

<sup>90</sup> At the time of completion of this edition the fragment 650/u was unpublished. The photograph of this fragment was sent to me by Prof. J. Miller, then holding a research position in the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. The fragment has been recently published as *KBo* 55.25.

<sup>91</sup> *ABoT* 2.22 was joined to manuscript C by Groddek after the author of this dissertation completed her edition.

- 8 B i 2' [ ] *a-ru-<sup>r</sup>um-ma<sup>1</sup>* [ ]  
C i 8 *ḫi-in-ga-na-az a-ru-um-ma me-ek-ki ta-ma-aš-ta-at*
- 9 B i 3' *nu-wa PA-AN* [ ]  
C i 9 *nu-wa PA-AN A-BI-IA PA-AN ŠEŠ-IA ak-ki-iš-ki-ta-at*
- 10 B i 4' *ku-it-ta-[ia-wa-az ]*  
C i 10 *ku-it-ta-ia-wa-az am-mu-uk A-[N]A DINGIR.MEŠ*
- 11 B i 5' <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA *ki-[iš-ḫa-at ]*  
C i 11 <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA *ki-iš-ḫa-at nu-wa ki-nu-un-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> am-mu-uk*
- 12 B i 6' *pí-ra-an a[k-ki-iš-ki-it-ta-ri ka]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[aš]*  
C i 12 *pí-ra-an ak-ki-iš-ki-it-ta-ri ka-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-aš →*
- 13 B i 7' MU.20.KAM *ku-i[t* <sup>URU</sup>*ḫA-AT-TI*  
C i 12-13 MU.20.KAM / *ku-it-kán I-NA ŠÀ KUR* <sup>URU</sup>*ḫA-AT-TI →*
- 14 B i 8' *ak-ki-iš-[ki-it-ta-ri nu-kán] IŠ-TU KUR* <sup>URU</sup>*ḫA-AT-TI*  
C i 13-14 *ak-ki-iš-ki-it-ta-ri / nu-kán IŠ-TU KUR* <sup>URU</sup>*ḫA-AT-TI →*
- 15 B i 9' *ḫi-in-ká[n Ú-UL-pá]t ta-ru-up-ta-ri*  
C i 14-15 *ḫi-in-kán / ar-ḫa Ú-UL-pát ta-ru-up-ta-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ri*
- 16 B i 10' [ *am-m]u-u[k-ma-az l]a-aḫ-la-aḫ-ḫi-ma-an*  
C i 16 *<sup>r</sup>am<sup>1</sup>-mu-uk-ma-az ŠÀ-az la-aḫ-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-aḫ-ḫi-ma-an*
- 17 B i 11' [ *NÍ.T]E-az-ma-za *pít-tu-li-ia-an**  
C i 17-18 *<sup>r</sup>Ú<sup>1</sup>-UL tar-aḫ-mi NÍ.TE-az-ma- [ø] za / [pít]t-tu-li-ia-an →*
- 18 B i 12' [ ] *tar-aḫ-mi*  
C i 18 *nam-ma Ú-U[L] tar-aḫ-mi*
- BC
- 
- 19 B i 13' [ ] *ku-wa-pí e-eš-ša-aḫ-ḫu-un*  
C i 19 *<sup>r</sup>nam<sup>1</sup>-ma-za EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḫI.A-ia ku-wa-pí e-eš-ša-aḫ-ḫu-un*
- 20 B i 14' [ ] *ḫu-u-ma-an-d]a-aš pí-ra-an EGIR-pa*  
C i 20-21 *nu A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ ḫu-u-ma-an-da-a-aš p[í-r]a-an / [EGI]R-pa →*
- 21 B i 15' [ ] *DINGI]R-LIM-kán Ú-UL te-eḫ-ḫu-un*  
C i 21-22 *i-ia-aḫ-ḫa-at 1-EN É DINGIR-LIM-kán / <sup>r</sup>Ú<sup>1</sup>-UL te-eḫ-ḫu-un →*
- 22 B i 16' [ ] *<sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-NA DINGIR.MEŠ ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš*  
C i 22-23 *nu-za ḫi-in-g[a]-ni še-er / A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ ḫu-u-ma-an-da-a-aš*
- 23 B i 17' [ ] *e-eš-ša-aḫ]-ḫu-un*  
C i 23-24 *<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-a[r]-<sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-u-wa-ar / [e-eš]-<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-aḫ-ḫu-un →*

- 24 B i 18' [ *ma-a*]l-za-aš-ki-nu-un  
C i 24-25 <sup>1</sup>IK<sup>1</sup>-[RI-BI<sup>HIA</sup>-aš-m]a-[aš-ká]n / [m]a-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-za-aš-ki-nu-<sup>1</sup>un<sup>1</sup> →
- 25 B i 19' [ *iš-t*]a-ma-aš-tén  
C i 25-26 [nu-(wa)-mu(?)] DINGIR.MEŠ BE-LU<sup>ME</sup>]Š-IA / [i]š-<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-ma-aš-[tén] →
- 26 B i 20' [ *ḫi-in-kán*  
C i 26-27 [nu-(wa)-kán(?)] IŠ-TU(?) KUR<sup>URU</sup> ḪA-AT-TI(?) / [ḫi-i]n-<sup>1</sup>kán<sup>1</sup> →
- 27 B i 21' [ *Ḫa-at-tu-š*]a-aš-wa  
C i 27 [ar-ḫa(?)] ú-i-ia-at-tén(?)<sup>URU</sup> Ḫa-at-tu-š]a-aš-wa
- 28 B i 22' [ *tar-aḫ-zi*  
C i 28 [ḫi-in-kán(?)] nam-ma Ú-UL tar-aḫ-zi
- (C i breaks)
- 29 A obv. 1' [nu-wa(?) ku-e-ez]-<sup>1</sup>qa(?) INIM<sup>1</sup>(?) a[k-ki-iš-ki-it-ta-ri]  
B i 23' [ *ak-ki-i*]š-ki-it-ta-ri
- A ctd. [nu-wa-ra-at na-aš-šu a-ri-ia-še-eš-na-az]  
B i 24' [ ] →
- 30 A obv. 2' [ḫa-an-da-it]-<sup>1</sup>ta-ru<sup>1</sup> na-aš-ma-wa-at-za-ká[n te-eš-ḫi-it ú-wa-al-lu]  
B i 24' [ḫa-an-da-i]t-ta-ru
- A ctd. [na-aš-ma-at]
- (B i breaks)
- 31 A obv. 3' [LÚ DINGIR-LIM-ni]-an-za-ma me-ma-a-ú DINGIR.MEŠ-ma-<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup> [Ú-UL  
iš-ta-ma-aš-šir nu-kán I-NA]
- 32 A obv. 4' [KUR<sup>URU</sup>] ḪA-AT-TI ḫi-in-kán Ú-UL SIG<sub>5</sub>-i[a-at-ta-at nu KUR<sup>URU</sup> ḪA-  
AT-TI ḫi-in-ga-na-az me-ek-ki]
- 33 A obv. 5' [ta-ma-aš-t]a-at
- A
- 
- 34 A obv. 6' [nu-kán Š]A DINGIR.MEŠ-ia ku-i-e-eš LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA  
[LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-ia-la-aš-ša]
- 35 A obv. 7' [a-aš-ša-a]n-te-eš e-še-er na-at ak-ki-i[š-kán-ta-ri x x x x x x x x]
- 36 A obv. 8' [ḫi-in-ga-na-a]š(?) nam-ma na-ak-ki-iš-ta nu ŠA DING[IR.MEŠ x x x  
x x x x x x x x]
- 37 A obv. 9' [nu-za(?) ka]-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ru-ú-i-la DUB.2.KAM.ḪI.A pí-ra-an <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[e-mi-ia-nu-u]n  
1 TUP-<sup>1</sup>PU<sup>1</sup> Š[A SISKUR<sup>ID</sup>MA-A-LA(?)]
- 38 A obv. 10' [ma-aḫ-ḫa-an(?)]-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>-wa SISKUR ŠA<sup>ID</sup>MA-A-LA ka-ru-ú-[i-li-i]-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-eš

LUGAL.MEŠ *hi-<sup>r</sup>in<sup>1</sup>-<ga><sup>?</sup>-n[i(?)]*

39 A obv. 11' [*še-er i-e*]r(?) *ku-it-ma-an-ma IŠ-TU* UD.KAM-U[M] <sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-BI-IA I-NA KUR  
<sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI a[k-ki-iš-ki-it-ta-ri(?)]

40 A obv. 12' [nu SISKUR] ŠA <sup>r</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>-A-LA Ú-UL k[u]-wa-pí-ik-ki i-ia-u-e-e[n]

A

41 A obv. 13' [ TUP-P]U-ma ŠA <sup>URU</sup>KU-RU-UŠ-TA-AM-<sup>r</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>  
 C ii 1' <sup>r</sup>ŠA<sup>1</sup>-[NU]-<sup>r</sup>Ú T[UP-PU] ]

A ctd. LÚ.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>KU-RU-UŠ-TA-AM-MA ma-aḫ-ḫa-an  
 C ii 2' LÚ.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>KU-RU-U[Š-TA-AM-MA] ]

42 A obv. 14' [<sup>d</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>HA-A]T-TI I-NA KUR <sup>URU</sup>MI-IZ-RI pé-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[d]a-aš  
 C ii 3' <sup>d</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI [ ]

A ctd. nu-uš-ma-aš <sup>d</sup>IM <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI ma-aḫ-ḫa-an  
 C ii 4' nu-uš-ma-aš <sup>d</sup>U [ ]

43 A obv. 15' [*iš-ḫi-ú-u*]l A-NA LÚ.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI <sup>r</sup>me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da i-ia-at  
 C ii 5'-6' *iš-ḫi-ú-ul* A-NA[ ] / *me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-d*[a ]

A ctd. nam-ma-at IŠ-TU <sup>d</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI  
 C ii 6'-7' [ ] / IŠ-TU <sup>d</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI →

44 A obv. 16' <sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-[in]-ga-nu-wa-an-te-eš nu LÚ.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI ku-it  
 B ii 1 nu LÚ.ME.EŠ <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI ku-it  
 C ii 7'-8' [ ] / nu LÚ.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>HA-A[T-TI] ]

A ctd. LÚ.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>MI-IZ-RI-ia  
 B ctd. LÚ.ME.EŠ <sup>URU</sup>MI-IZ-RI-ia  
 C ctd. [ ]

45 A obv. 17' IŠ-TU <sup>d</sup>IM <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI li-in-ga-nu-wa-an-te-eš e-še-er nu ú-e-er  
 B ii 2-3 IŠ-TU <sup>d</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI <sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-in-ga-nu-wa-an-te-eš / e-še-er nu ú-e-er  
 C ii 9'-10' IŠ-TU <sup>d</sup>IM [ ] / e-še-er nu ú-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[er]

A ctd. LÚ.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI  
 B ctd. LÚ.ME.EŠ <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI  
 C ctd. [ ]

B

46 A obv. 18' pí-ra-an wa-aḫ-nu-e-er nu-kán NI-IŠ DINGIR-LIM LÚ.MEŠ  
 B ii 4-5 pí-ra-an wa-aḫ-nu-ir / nu-kán NI-IŠ DINGIR-LIM LÚ.ME.EŠ  
 C ii 11'-12' pí-ra-an wa-aḫ-[ ] / LÚ.MEŠ

A ctd. <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI ḫu-u-da-a-ak  
 B ii 5-6 <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI / ḫu-u-da-ak →

- C ctd. <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI [ ] →
- 47 A obv. 19' *šar-ri-i-e-er nu A-BU-IA ÉRIN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ*  
 B ii 6-7 *šar-ri-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-er / nu A-BU-IA ÉRIN.ME.EŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ*  
 C ii 12'-13' [ ] / *nu A-BU-IA ÉRIN.MEŠ AN[ŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ]*
- A ctd. *u-i-ia-at nu ZAG KUR — MI-IZ-RI KUR — AM-GA*  
 B ii 7-8 *u-i-ia-at / nu ZAG KUR<sup>URU</sup>MI-IZ-RI KUR<sup>URU</sup>A-AM-GA*  
 C ii 14' [ ] *nu ZAG KUR<sup>URU</sup>MI-IZ-R[I* ]
- A ctd. *wa-al-aḥ-ḫi-ir nam-ma-ia u-i-ia-at*  
 B ii 9 *wa-al-aḥ-ḫi-ir \_\_\_\_\_ →*  
 C ctd. [ ] \_\_\_\_\_
- 48 A obv. 20' *nu nam-ma wa-al-aḥ-ḫi-ir LÚ.MEŠ<sup>URU</sup>[M]I-IZ-RI-I-ma ma-aḥ-ḫa-an*  
 B ii 9-10 \_\_\_\_\_ *LÚ.MEŠ<sup>URU</sup><sup>r</sup>MI-IZ-RI<sup>r</sup>-ma / ma-aḥ-ḫa-an*  
 C ii 15' \_\_\_\_\_ *LÚ.MEŠ<sup>URU</sup>MI-IZ-RI-m[a* ]
- A ctd. *na-aḥ-ša-ri-ia-an-ta-at*  
 B ctd. *na-aḥ-ša-ri-ia-an-ta-at*  
 C ctd. [ ]
- 49 A obv. 21' \_\_\_\_\_ *na-at ú-e-er nu A-NA A-BI-IA DUMU-ŠÚ*  
 B ii 11-12 *<sup>r</sup>nam<sup>1</sup>-ma u-i-e-er na-at ú-e-er / nu <sup>r</sup>A-NA A<sup>1</sup>-BI-<sup>r</sup>IA<sup>1</sup> DUMU-ŠU*  
 C ii 16' \_\_\_\_\_ *na-at ú-e-er nu A-<sup>r</sup>NA<sup>1</sup> [ ]*
- A ctd. [LUGAL]-*<sup>r</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-iz-na-an-ni an-ku ú-e-ki-ir*  
 B ii 12-13 *LUGAL-u-iz-na-ni / an-ku ú-e-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-[i]r →*  
 C ii 16'-17' [ ] / *an-ku ú-e-ki-ir →*
- 50 A obv. 22' *nu-uš-ma-aš ma-aḥ-ḫa-an A-BU-IA a-pé-<sup>r</sup>e-el<sup>r</sup> [DUMU-ŠÚ]*  
 B ii 13-14 *nu-uš-ma-aš ma-aḥ-ḫa-an / A-BU-IA a-pé-e-el DUMU-ŠU*  
 C ii 17'-18' *nu-[uš-ma-aš ] / a-pé-e-el DUMU-ŠÚ*
- A ctd. *pé-e-ěš-ta na-an ma-aḥ-ḫa-an pé-e-ḫu-te-er*  
 B ii 14-15 *pé-e-ěš-ta / na-an ma-aḥ-ḫa-an pé-e-ḫu-te-er*  
 C ii 18' *pé-e-ě-t[a ]*
- 51 A obv. 23' *na-an-kán ku-e-en-ni-ir A-BU-IA-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> < <sup>r</sup>kap-pí<sup>r</sup>-la-az-za-at-ta*  
 B ii 16-17 *na-an-kán ku-en-ni-ir A-BU-IA-ma / kap-pí-la-az-za-at-ta*  
 C ii 19'-20' *na-an-kán ku-en-ni-ir [ ] / kap-pí-la-az-za-at-t[a]*
- A ctd. *na-aš I-NA KUR — MI-IZ-RI*  
 B ii 18 *na-aš I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup>MI-IZ-RI →*  
 C ctd. [ ]
- 52 A obv. 24' *pa-it nu KUR<sup>URU</sup>MI-IZ-RI wa-al<sup>1</sup>-aḥ<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>*  
 B ii 18-19 *pa-it / nu KUR<sup>URU</sup>MI-IZ-RI wa-al-aḥ<sup>r</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>*  
 C ii 21' *pa-it nu KUR<sup>URU</sup>MI-IZ-[RI ]*
- A ctd. *ÉRIN.MEŠ-ia-kán ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ŠA KUR — MI-IZ-RI*  
 B ii 20 *ÉRIN.MEŠ-ia-kán ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ŠA KUR<sup>URU</sup><sup>r</sup>MI-IZ-RI<sup>r</sup>*

- C ii 22' ÉRIN.MEŠ-*ia-kán* ANŠE.KUR.[RA.MEŠ ]
- A ctd. *ku-en-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>*  
 B ctd. [*ku-en-ta*]  
 C ctd. [ ]
- A
- 
- 53 A obv. 25' *nu a-pí-ia-ia* <sup>d</sup>IM <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI BE-LÍ-IA A-BA-I[A]  
 B ii 21-22 *nu a-pí-ia-ia* <sup>d</sup>IM <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI [BE-LÍ-IA] / *at-ta-aš-mi-in*  
 C ii 23' *nu a-pí-ia-ia* <sup>d</sup>U [<sup>URU</sup> ]
- A ctd. *ḫa-an-ne-eš-ni-it šar-la-a-[it]*  
 B ii 22-23 *ḫa-an-ni-iš-ni-it / šar-la-a-it →*  
 C ii 24' *ḫa-an-ne-eš-ni-i[t* ] →
- 54 A obv. 26' *nu-za* ÉRIN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ŠA KUR <sup>URU</sup>MI-IZ-RI  
 B ii 23-24 *nu-za* ÉRIN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.ME.EŠ / ŠA KUR <sup>URU</sup>MI-IZ-RI  
 C ii 24'-25' [ ] / ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ŠA [ ]
- A ctd. *tar-aḫ-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> [na-a]t-kán ku-en-ta nu* <sup>LÚ</sup>.<sup>[MEŠ]</sup>ŠU.DAB.BI.ḪI.A  
 B ii 24-25 *tar-aḫ-ta / na-at-kán ku-en-ta nu* <sup>LÚ</sup>.ME.EŠ *ap-pa-a[n-te-eš<sup>?</sup>]*  
 C ii 25'-26' [ ] / *na-at-kán ku-en-[ta* ]
- 55 A obv. 27' *ku-in e-ep-pir na-an* <sup>r</sup>ma-aḫ-ḫa-an I-NA KUR <sup>URU</sup>HA-A[T-TI]  
 B ii 26-27 *ku-in e-ep-pir na-an* ma-aḫ-ḫa-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup> / I-NA KUR <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI  
 C ii 27' *ku-in e-ep-pir n[a-a]n* [ ]
- A ctd. EGIR-*pa ú-wa-te-e-[er]*  
 B ctd. EGIR-*pa ú-wa-<sup>r</sup>te<sup>1</sup>-[er]*  
 C ii 28' EGIR-*pa ú-wa-te-er →*
- 56 A obv. 28' *nu-kán* I-NA ŠÀ<sup>BI</sup> <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠŠU.DAB.BI.ḪI.A *ḫi-in-kán ki-š[a-a]t*  
 B ii 28-29 *nu-kán* I-NA ŠÀ<sup>-</sup> <sup>LÚ</sup>.ME.EŠŠA-AB-TU<sub>4</sub>-TI / *ḫi-in-kán ki-ša-at*  
 C ii 28'-29' *nu-<sup>r</sup>kán<sup>1</sup>* [ ] / *ḫi-in-kán ki-ša-at*
- A ctd. *na-aš <sup>r</sup>ak-ki-iš<sup>1</sup>-ki-u-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup> d[a-a-iš]*  
 B ii 30 *na-aš ak-ki-iš-ki-it*  
 C ctd. *na-a[š* ]
- CB
- 
- 57 A obv. 29' *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-<kán>* <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠŠU.DAB.BI.ḪI.A<sup>1</sup>  
 B ii 31 *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-kán* <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠŠA-AB-TU<sub>4</sub>-TI  
 C ii 30'-31' [*ma-a*]ḫ-ḫa-an-ma-<sup>r</sup>kán<sup>1</sup> <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠŠA-A[B-TU<sub>4</sub>-TI]
- A ctd. I-NA ŠÀ<sup>BI</sup> KUR <sup>URU</sup>HA-<sup>r</sup>AT-TI<sup>1</sup> *ar-nu-e-er nu-kán ḫi-in-ga-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>*  
 B ii 32-33 I-NA ŠÀ<sup>-</sup> KUR <sup>URU</sup>HA-TI<sup>1</sup> *ar-nu-ir / nu-kán ḫi-in-kán {x}*<sup>92</sup>  
 C ii 31'-32' [I-NA ŠÀ<sup>B</sup>]<sup>I</sup> <sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup> Ḫ[A-T]-TI<sup>1</sup> *ar-nu-i[r* ] / [ ] →

<sup>92</sup> The traces show the sign *aš* written after *ḫi-in-kán*, which was left over erasing the preceding signs.

- 58 A obv.30' *I-NA ŠÀ<sup>BI</sup> KUR<sup>URU</sup> HA-<sup>r</sup>AT-TI<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> SA-AB-TU<sub>4</sub>-TUM*  
 B ii 33-34 *I-NA — KUR<sup>URU</sup> HA-AT-TI / LÚ.MEŠ SA-AB-TUM*  
 C ii 32' [ *HA-A]T-TI<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> [ ]*
- A ctd. *ú-te-e-<sup>r</sup>er<sup>1</sup> nu-kán I-NA ŠÀ KUR<sup>—</sup> HA-AT-TI*  
 B ii ctd. *ú-e-te-er nu-kán I-NA ŠÀ —<sup>URU</sup> HA-T-TI*  
 C ii 33' [ *H]A-AT-TI erasure →*
- 59 A obv. 31' *a-pé-e-ez-za UD.KAM-az a[k-k]i-iš-ki-it-ta-ri nu-za*  
 B ii 35-36 *a-pé-e-ez-za UD.KAM-az ak-ki-iš-ki-it<sup>93</sup>-ta-ri / [nu]-za*  
 C ii 33'-34' *a-p[é-e-ez-za] / [ ak-ki-iš-ki-i]t-ta-ri n[u-za]*
- A ctd. *ma-<sup>r</sup>ah<sup>1</sup>-ha-an e-ni TUP-PA*  
 B ctd. *ma-ah<sup>1</sup>-ha-an e-ni TUP-PA →*  
 C ii 35' [ ] →
- 60 A obv. 32' *ŠA KUR<sup>URU</sup> MI-IZ-RI pí-ra-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup> ú-e-mi-ia-nu-un na-at IŠ-TU*  
 B ii 36-37 *ŠA KUR<sup>URU</sup> MI-IZ-RI / [pí-r]a-an AK-ŠU-UD na-at IŠ-TU*  
 C ii 35'-36' [ *<sup>URU</sup>M]I-IZ-RI pí-[ra-an] / [ ]*
- A ctd. *DINGIR-LIM a-ri-ia-nu-un*  
 B ii 37-38 *DINGIR-LIM / [a-r]i-ia-nu-un →*  
 C ii 36' [DINGIR-L]M a-ri-ia-n[u-un]
- 61 A obv. 33' *a-ši-wa ku-iš me-mi-ia-aš IŠ-TU<sup>dIM</sup> URU HA-AT-TI i-ia-an-za*  
 B ii 38-39 *a-ši-wa ku-iš me-mi-aš / [IŠ-TU]<sup>dU</sup> URU HA-AT-TI i-ia-an-za*  
 C ii 37'-38' [ *me-m]i-aš IŠ-TU<sup>r<sup>d</sup></sup>[IM/U] / [ ] →*
- A ctd. *LÚ.MEŠ<sup>URU</sup> MI-IZ-RI ku-it*  
 B ii 40 [LÚ.MEŠ<sup>URU</sup> M]I-IZ-RI ku-it →  
 C ctd. [LÚ.MEŠ<sup>URU</sup> M]I-IZ-RI ku-it →
- 62 A obv. 34' *LÚ.MEŠ<sup>URU</sup> HA-AT-TI-ia IŠ-TU<sup>dIM</sup> URU HA-AT-TI*  
 B ii 40-41 *LÚ.MEŠ<sup>URU</sup> HA-T-TI — / [IŠ-TU]<sup>r<sup>d</sup></sup> U<sup>URU</sup> HA-AT-TI*  
 C ii 38'-39' [LÚ.MEŠ<sup>URU</sup> ] / [ *<sup>URU</sup>H]A-AT-TI*
- A ctd. *li-in<sup>1</sup>-ga<sup>194</sup>-nu-an-te-eš*  
 B ii 41 *li-in-ga-nu-wa-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-[te-eš]*  
 C ii 39' *li-in-g[a- ]*
- A
- 
- 63 A obv. 35' *<sup>d</sup>Dam-na-aš-ša-ru-uš-kán ku-it I-NA ŠÀ<sup>BI</sup> É<sup>dIM</sup>*  
 B ii 42 [ *<sup>d</sup>Dam-na-aš-š]a-ru-uš-kán ku-it I-NA ŠÀ<sup>—</sup> É DINGIR-LIM*  
 C ii 40' [ *<sup>d</sup>Dam-na-aš-ša]-ru-uš-kán ku-it I-NA Š[À ]*
- A ctd. *<sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI BE-LÍ-IA*

<sup>93</sup> The scribe first wrote the sign *ta* but then corrected it to *it*.

<sup>94</sup> The scribe wrote this sign with three verticals instead of one.

B ii 43 \_\_\_\_\_ →  
 C ctd. \_\_\_\_\_

- 64 A obv. 36' *me-mi-ia-an-ma-kán* LÚ.MEŠ<sup>URU</sup> *HĀ-AT-TI-pát* *ḥu-u-da-a-ak*  
 B ii 43-44 [ *-a*]n-ma-kán LÚ.ME.ÉŠ<sup>URU</sup> *HĀ-AT-TI* — / [ ]  
 C ii 41'-42' [ *-a*]n-ma-kán LÚ.MEŠ<sup>URU</sup> *HĀ-[AT-TI ]* / [ ]

A ctd. *šar-ri-i-e-er*  
 B ctd. [šar-r]i-e-er  
 C ctd. [šar]-ri-i-e-er →

- 65 A obv. 37' <sup>1</sup>nu-wa<sup>1</sup>-ra-aš ma-a-an A-NA<sup>dIM</sup> <sup>URU</sup>*HĀ-AT-TI* BE-<sup>1</sup>LÍ-IA  
 B ii 45 [ ] <sup>d</sup>U<sup>URU</sup> *HĀT-TI* EN-IA  
 C ii 42'-43' nu-wa-r[a-aš ] / [ <sup>URU</sup>*HĀ-A*]T-TI EN-IA

A ctd. [k]ar-dim-mi-ia-az ki-ša-at  
 B ii 45-46 kar-dim-mi-ia-za / [ ] →  
 C ii 43'-44' kar-d[im- ] / [ ] →

- 66 A obv. 38' *na-at ḥa-an-da-a-it-ta-at*  
 B ii 46 [ ḥ]a-an-ta-it-ta-at  
 C ii 44' [ ] ḥa-an-da-a-it-t[a-at]

CB

A ctd. SISKUR-ia ŠA<sup>1</sup>[<sup>D</sup>MA]-<sup>1</sup>A<sup>195</sup>-[LA] *ḥi-in-ga-ni še-e-er*  
 B ii 47 [ <sup>ID</sup>MA-A-L]A *ḥi-in-ga-ni <še-er> (?)* →  
 C ii 45' [ <sup>ID</sup>MA-A-L]A *ḥi-in-g[a-ni ]*

- 67 A obv. 39' *a-ri-ia-nu-un nu-mu-kán a-pí-ia-ia* <sup>d</sup>I[M<sup>URU</sup> *HĀ-AT-TI*]I  
 B ii 47-48 *a-ri-ia-nu-un* / [ <sup>U</sup>R<sup>U</sup>*HĀ-AT-TI* ]  
 C ii 46' [ *nu-mu-ká*]n a-pí-i[a-ia]

A ctd. EN-IA *pí-ra-an ti-ia-u-an-zi*  
 B ii 49 [ ] →

(C ii breaks)

- 68 A obv. 40' *ḥa-an-da-a-it-ta-at nu-za-kán k[a]-<sup>1</sup>a-ša<sup>1</sup> [A-NA PA-NI<sup>dIM</sup> wa-aš]-túl*  
 B ii 49-50 [ḥa-an-ta-it-ta-a]t / [ ] x x-a<sup>1</sup>-[

A ctd. *tar-na-aḥ-ḥu-un*

(B ii breaks)

- 69 A obv. 41' *e-eš-zi-ia-at i-ia-u-e-en-n[a-at nu(?) wa-aš-túl Ú-UL] am-mu-uk pí-ra-an*  
 70 A obv. 42' *ki-ša-an-za A-NA PA-AN A-BI-IA-m[a<sup>2</sup>-at<sup>2</sup> ki-ša-an-za x x x x x]* <sup>1</sup>an-da<sup>1</sup>  
 71 A obv. 43' *im-ma ša-a-ag-ga-aḥ-ḥi* x [x x x x x x x x (x)] x  
 72 A obv. 44' *me-mi-ia-aš nu-za* <sup>d</sup>I[M<sup>URU</sup> *HĀ-AT-TI* BE-LÍ-IA] *ku-it(?) ke-e-da-ni(?) me*

<sup>95</sup> Traces of the sign *a* are preserved only in Goetze's hand-copy of this manuscript.

-mi-ia-n)i(?)

73 A obv. 45' *še-er kar-dim-mi-ia-u-wa-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-[za nu-kán I-NA ŠÀ KUR<sup>URU</sup> HA-AT-TI]*

74 A obv. 46' *[a]k-ki-iš-ki-it-ta-r[i]*

A

(A obv. breaks)

75' C iii 1' *[nu-kán] <sup>r</sup>ma-a-an I-NA ŠÀ KUR<sup>URU</sup> HA<sup>1</sup>-A[T-TI]*

76' C iii 2' *[ak-k]i-iš-ki-it-ta-ri nu-za k[a-a-ša(?)]*

77' C iii 3' *[A-N]A<sup>d</sup>IM<sup>URU</sup> HA-AT-TI EN-IA [ar-ku-wa-ar(?)]*

78' C iii 4' *[a-pá]d-da še-er e-eš-ša-aḫ-ḫi nu-ut-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>*

79' C iii 5' *[ḫ]a-li-iḫ-li-iš-ki-mi nu du-ud-du ḫ[al-zi-aḫ-ḫi]*

80' B iii 1' *[ ... ] x [∅]*

B iii 2' *[ ... ] iš-da-ma-aš*

C iii 6' *[n]u-mu<sup>d</sup>U<sup>URU</sup> HA-AT-TI EN-IA iš-ta-m[a-aš]*

81' B iii 3' *[ ... ] ḫi-in-kán da-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-u[p-ta-ru]*

C iii 7' *[n]u-kán I-NA ŠÀ KUR HA-AT-TI ḫi-in-kán [da-ru-up-ta-ru]*

CB

82' B iii 4' *[ ... ] a-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-ia-nu-un*

C iii 8' *[nu]-za ut-tar ku-it ar-ḫa a-ri-ia-nu-un [∅]*

83' B iii 5' *[ ... ] ku-e INIM.MEŠ ḫa-an-da-it-ta-at*

C iii 9' *[nu] ḫi-in-ga-ni še-er ku-e A-WA-TE<sup>MEŠ</sup> ḫa-[an-da-it-ta-at]*

B iii 6' *[ ... ] -i]š-ki-mi erasure*

C iii 10 *[na-a]t EGIR-pa la-a-iš-ki-mi →*

84' B iii 7' *[ ... ] ša]r-ni-in-ki-iš-ki-mi*

C iii 10'-11' *na-at [∅] / [šar-ni]-<sup>r</sup>in<sup>1</sup>-ki-iš-ki-mi →*

85' A rev. 1' *[ ... ] →*

B iii 8' *[ ... ] DINGIR-LIM ku-it ḫi-in-ga-ni*

C iii 11'-12' *nu A-WA-AT NI-[IŠ DINGIR-LIM] / [ku-it ḫi-i]n-ga-ni*

A ctd. *[ ... ] n]u <sup>r</sup>SISKUR<sup>1</sup> [∅]*

B iii 9'-10' *[ ... ] -<sup>r</sup>ḫa<sup>1</sup>?-at / [ ... ] →*

C iii 12'-13' *še-er ḫa-an-da-a-<sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-[ta-at] / [nu SISKUR] →*

86' A rev. 2' *[ ... ]*

B iii 10' *[ ... ] A-NA <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>U<sup>URU</sup> HA-AT-TI*

C iii 13' *[N]I-IŠ DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> A-NA <sup>d</sup>U<sup>URU</sup> HA-A[T-TI]*

A ctd. *[ ... ] ši-pa-an-t[e-er]*

B iii 11' *[ ... ] <sup>r</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-[ḫa š]i-<sup>r</sup>pa<sup>1</sup>-an-ta-aḫ-ḫu-un*

- C iii 14' [BE-LÍI]A(?) pí-ra-an ar-ḫa ši-pa-a[n-ta-aḫ-ḫu-un]
- 87' A rev. 3' [ ]  
 B iii 12' [ ar-ḫ]a ši-pa-an-ta-aḫ-ḫu-un  
 C iii 15' [na-at A-NA x x] x pí-ra-an erasure ar-ḫa ši-p[a-an-ta-aḫ-ḫu-un]
- A ctd. [ ] t]u-uk  
 B iii 13' [ ] →  
 C iii 16' [x x x SISKUR] ṽtu¹-uk →
- 88' A rev. 4' [ ]  
 B iii 13'-14' ṽA¹-[NA] ṽU<sup>URU</sup> HAT-TI / [ SISKUR]-ṽia-aš¹-ma-aš  
 C iii 16'-17' A-NA ṽU<sup>URU</sup> HA-A[T-TI] / [EN-IA i]-er SISKUR-ia-aš-ma-aš
- A ctd. [ ] ŠA<sup>ÍD</sup> MA-A-LA-ma-mu  
 B iii 15' [ SISK[UR Š]A<sup>ÍD</sup> MA-A-LA-ma-mu  
 C iii 17-18' D[INGIR.MEŠ BE-LU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-IA(?) i-er(?)] / [SISKUR ŠA<sup>ÍD</sup> MA]-A-LA-ma-mu
- 89' A rev. 5' [ ] ḫa-an-da-it-ta-a]t [ ]  
 B iii 16'-17' [k]u-i]t še]-ṽer ḫa¹-an-da-it-ta-at / nu ka-ṽa¹-š[a]  
 C iii 18'-19' ku-it ḫi-[in-ga-ni] / [še-er ḫa-an-da-i]t-ṽta¹-at nu ṽka¹-[a-ša]
- A ctd. [ ]<sup>ÍD</sup>MA]-A-LA ku-it  
 B iii 17' [A-NA<sup>ÍD</sup>MA-A]-ṽLA¹ ku-it →  
 C iii 20' [ ] ku-i]t
- 90' A rev. 6' [ ]  
 B iii 17'-18' i-ia-aḫ-ḫa-ri / nu-mu ṽU<sup>URU</sup> HAT¹-[TI EN-IA DINGIR.ME.EŠ  
 C iii 21' i-ia-a[ḫ-ḫa-ri] / [ ] EN-IA DINGIR.MEŠ
- A ctd. [B]E-ṽLU<sup>MEŠ¹</sup>-IA SI[SKUR<sup>ÍD</sup>MA]-ṽA¹-[L]A EGIR-an tar-na-at-tén  
 B iii 18'-19' BE-LU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-IA / SISKUR ŠA<sup>ÍD</sup>MA-[A-LA EG]IR-an tar-na-at-tén  
 C iii 21'-22' [BE-LU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-IA] / [ ]<sup>ÍD</sup>MA-A]-L A EGIR-ṽan¹ tar-[na-at-tén]
- 91' A rev. 7' [ ] na-at-kán  
 B iii 20'-21' nu SISKUR ŠA<sup>ÍD</sup>[MA-A-LA]-ṽA¹ i-ia-al-lu / na-at-kán  
 C iii 23' [ ]<sup>ÍD</sup>MA]-A-LA i-ia-ṽa¹-l[u ]
- A ctd. aš-nu-ṽul-lu¹ [i-ia-m]i-ia-at-az  
 B iii 21' a-aš-ṽša¹-[nu]-ul-lu i-ia-mi-ṽia-at¹-za  
 C iii 24' [a¹-aš-ša-nu-u]l-lu i-ia-mi-[ ]
- 92' A rev. 8' ku-e-da-ṽa¹-n[i ]  
 B iii 22'-23' ku-e-da-ni ud-da-n[i]-i ḫi-in-ga-ni še-er / nu-mu erasure  
 C iii 25' [ku-e-da-ni ud-da-n]i-i ṽḫi¹-in-g[a-ni ]
- A ctd. DINGIR.MEŠ BE-LU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-IA ge-en-z[u da-at]-tén  
 B iii 23'-24' DINGIR.ME.EŠ BE-LU<sup>ME.EŠ</sup>-IA gi-in-zu / da-at-tén →  
 C iii 26' [ ] gi-en-zu [ ]
- 93' A rev. 9' nu-kán I-ṽNA¹[ ] ḫi-in-ga-an la-az-z[i-ia-a]t-ta-ru

- B iii 24'-25' *nu-kán I-NA ŠÀ KUR* <sup>URU</sup> *HAT-TI* *hi-<sup>r</sup>in-kán-an<sup>1</sup>* / SIG<sub>5</sub>-*ia-at-ta-ru*  
 C iii 27' [ *KUR* <sup>r</sup> *HA<sup>1</sup>-[A]<sup>1</sup>-TI* *hi-in-ga-an* ]  
 ABC
- 
- 94' A rev. 10' <sup>d</sup>IM <sup>URU</sup> *HA-A[T-TI* *BE]-LU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-IA*  
 B iii 26' <sup>d</sup>U <sup>URU</sup> *HA-AT-TI* *BE-LÍ-IA* DINGIR.MEŠ *BE-LU<sup>[MEŠ]-IA</sup>*  
 C iii 28'-29' [ <sup>URU</sup> *HA-AT-TI* EN-IA DINGI[R ] / [ ]
- A ctd. *ki-ik-ki-iš-ta-a-r[i* QA-TAM-M]A *wa-aš-te-eš-kán-zi*  
 B iii 27' *ki-ik-ki-iš-ta-ri* QA-TAM-MA *wa-aš-te-eš-k[án-zi]*  
 C iii 29' [ *ki-ik-k* ] *i-iš-ta-a-r[i* ]
- 95' A rev. 11' *nu A-BU-IA-i[a wa-aš-t]a-[aš] n[u]-<sup>r</sup>kán<sup>1</sup>* [Š]A <sup>d</sup>IM <sup>URU</sup> *HA-AT-TI*  
 B iii 28' *nu A-BU-IA-ia wa-aš-ta-aš nu-kán ŠA* [ ]  
 C iii 30' [ *nu A-B* ] *U-IA-ia wa-aš-t[a-aš* ]
- A ctd. EN-I[A *me-m*] *i-ia-an za-a-i-iš*  
 B iii 28'-29' [ ] / *me-mi-an za-a-iš* →  
 C iii 31' <sup>r</sup>EN<sup>1</sup>-IA *me-mi-an za-a-iš* →
- 96' A rev. 12' *am-mu-uk-ma* <sup>r</sup>Ú-UL<sup>1</sup> *ku-it-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>* [wa]-*aš-da-aḫ-ḫu-un*  
 B iii 29'-30' *am-mu-uk-ma* <sup>r</sup>Ú-UL<sup>1</sup> [ ] / *wa-aš-ta-aḫ-ḫu-un*  
 C iii 31'-32' [ ] / <sup>r</sup>Ú-UL *ku-it-ki wa-aš-t[a-aḫ-ḫu-un]*
- A ctd. *nu ki-ik-ki-i[š-t]a-a-ri* QA-TAM-MA  
 B iii 30' *nu ki-ik-ki-iš-t[a-* ]  
 C iii 33' *nu ki-ik-ki-iš-ta-a-r[i* ] →
- 97' A rev. 13' ŠA *A-BU-ŠU-kán wa-aš-túl* A-NA DUMU-ŠÚ *a-ri*  
 B iii 31' ŠA *A-BU-ŠU-kán wa-aš-túl* A-NA DUMU-ŠÚ <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[ri]  
 C iii 33'-34' [ ] / <sup>r</sup>wa<sup>1</sup>-*aš-túl* A-NA DUMU-ŠÚ *a-[ri]*
- A ctd. *n[u-ká]n am-mu-uq-qa* Š[A] *A-BI-IA wa-aš-túl*  
 B iii 32' *nu-kán am-mu-uq-qa* ŠA *A-BI-IA wa-[aš-túl]* →  
 C iii 34'-35' [ ] / ŠA *A-BI-IA wa-aš-túl* →
- 98' A rev. 14' *a-ar-aš na-at-za-kán ka-a-ša* A-NA <sup>d</sup>U <sup>URU</sup> <sup>r</sup>HA<sup>1</sup>-A[T-T]I  
 B iii 32'-33' [a-a]r-aš / *na-at-za-kán ka-a-ša* A-NA <sup>d</sup>U <sup>URU</sup> *HA-A[T]-TI*  
 C iii 35'-36' *a-a[r-aš* ] / *ka-a-ša* A-NA <sup>d</sup>U <sup>URU</sup> <sup>r</sup>[HA-AT-TI]
- A ctd. EN-IA Û <sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-[N]A DINGIR.MEŠ *BE-LU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-IA*  
 B iii 34' EN-IA A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ *BE-LU<sup>ME.ÉŠ</sup>-<sup>r</sup>IA<sup>1</sup>* →  
 C iii 36'-37' [ ] / A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ *BE-LU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-<sup>r</sup>IA<sup>1</sup>*
- 99' A rev. 15' *pí-ra-an* <sup>r</sup>tar<sup>1</sup>-*na-an ḫar<sup>1</sup>-mi e-eš-zi-ia-at* <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[i] *a-u-e-na-at*  
 B iii 34'-35' [p]í-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-*an / tar-na-an ḫar-mi e-eš-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-[ia-a]t i-ia-u-e-na-at*  
 C iii 37'-38' [ ] / *e-eš-zi-ia-at* <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[ ]
- A ctd. *n[u-z]a-kán* ŠA *A-BI-IA ku-it wa-aš-túl*  
 B iii 36' *nu-za-kán* ŠA *A-BI-<sup>r</sup>IA<sup>1</sup>* [ku-*i*]t *wa-aš-túl* →  
 C iii 39' *nu-za-kán* ŠA *A-BI-[IA* ]

- 100' A rev. 16' *tar-na-an ħar-mi nu A-NA* <sup>dU</sup> <sup>URU</sup> *ĤA-AT-TI* EN-IA  
 B iii 36'-37' *tar-na-an / ħar-mi nu A-NA* <sup>dU</sup> [<sup>URU</sup> *ĤA-AT-TI*] EN-IA  
 C iii 40'-41' *tar-na-an ħar-mi* [ ] / EN-IA

A ctd. <sup>ʾ</sup>U A<sup>1</sup>-NA DINGIR.MEŠ BE-LU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-IA ZI-an-za  
 B iii 38' <sup>ʾ</sup>U A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ BE-LU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-IA ZI-an-za →  
 C iii 41'-42' <sup>ʾ</sup>U A-N[A ] / ZI-an-za →

- 101' A rev. 17' *nam-ma wa-ar-ši-ia-ad-du nu-mu ge-en-zu nam-ma*  
 B iii 38'-39' *nam-ma / wa-ar-ši-ia-ad-du nu-mu ge-en-zu nam-ma*  
 C iii 42'-43' *na[m-ma ] / nu-mu ge-e[n-zu ]*

A ctd. *da-a-at-tén nu-kán IŠ-TU* KUR <sup>URU</sup> *ĤA-AT-TI*  
 B iii 40' *da-at-tén nu-kán* <sup>ʾ</sup>IŠ<sup>1</sup>-TU KUR <sup>URU</sup> *ĤA-AT-TI*  
 C iii 43'-44' [ ] / *nu-kán IŠ-T[U ]* →

- 102' A rev. 18' [*ħ*]i-in-kán ar-ħa nam-ma u-i-ia-at-tén  
 B iii 41' *ħi-in-<sup>ʾ</sup>ga<sup>1</sup>-[a]n ar-ħa nam-ma u-i-ia-at-<sup>ʾ</sup>tén<sup>1</sup>*  
 C iii 44'-45' [ ] / <sup>ʾ</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-ħa nam-[ma ]

A ctd. *nu-kán ke-e-uš ku-i-e-eš* LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA-uš  
 B iii 42' [*n*]u-kán ku-u-uš ku-i-e-<sup>ʾ</sup>eš<sup>1</sup> LÚ<sup>ME.EŠ</sup> NINDA.<GUR<sub>4</sub>>.RA-<sup>ʾ</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>  
 C iii 45'-46' [ ] / [LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> NIND]A.<sup>ʾ</sup>GUR<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>.[RA-uš

(C iii breaks)

- 103' A rev. 19' LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-ia-<sup>ʾ</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-uš te-e-pa-u-e-eš*  
 B iii 43' LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> *iš-pa-an-tu-zi-ia-li-e-eš te-e-pa-u-e-eš*

A ctd. *a-aš-ša-an-te-eš na-at-<sup>ʾ</sup>mu<sup>1</sup> [le-e ak-ka]-an-zi*  
 B iii 44' <sup>ʾ</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-<aš>-ša-an-te-eš na-at — <sup>ʾ</sup>le<sup>1</sup>-e ak-kán-zi

AB

- 104' A rev. 20' *nu-za ka-a-ša A-NA* <sup>dIM</sup> EN-IA *ħi-i[n-g]a-ni še-er*  
 B iii 45' [*n*]u-za ka-a-ša A-NA <sup>dU</sup> [E]N-IA *ħi-in-ga-ni še-er*

A ctd. *ar-ku-u-wa-ar e-eš-ša-aħ-ħ[i]*  
 B iii 46' [*a*]r-ku-wa-ar e-eš-ša-aħ-<sup>ʾ</sup>ħi<sup>1</sup> →

- 105' A rev. 21' *nu-mu* <sup>dU</sup> <sup>URU</sup> *ĤA-AT-TI* EN-IA *iš-ta-<sup>ʾ</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-aš nu-mu*  
 B iii 46'-47' *nu-mu* <sup>dU</sup> <sup>URU</sup> *ĤAT-TI* / [EN-ŋ]A *iš-da-ma-aš nu-mu*

A ctd. *ħu-iš-nu-ut nu-ut-<sup>ʾ</sup>ták-kán<sup>1</sup> k[i-iš-ša-an me-ma-aħ-ħi]*  
 B iii 47' <sup>ʾ</sup>TI<sup>1</sup>-nu-ut

(B iii ends)

- 106' A rev. 22' MUŠEN-iš-za-kán <sup>GIŠ</sup> *tap-ta-ap-pa-an EGIR-pa e-ep-zi na-an* <sup>GIŠ</sup> *tap-ta-[a]p-pa-aš ħu-u-[iš-nu-zi]*

- 107' A rev. 23' *na-aš-ma ma-a-an A-NA ÌR-TI ku-e-da-<sup>1</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>-ik-ki ku-it-ki na-a[k]-ki-ia-aḥ-ḥa-a[n]*
- 108' A rev. 24' *nu-za A-NA EN-ŠU ar-ku-wa-ar i-ia-az-zi na-an EN-ŠU iš-<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-ma-aš-zi nu-uš-<sup>1</sup>ši<sup>1</sup> g[e-en-zu da-a-i]*
- 109' A rev. 25' *ku-it na-ak-ki-ia-aḥ-ḥa-an na-at-ši<sup>1</sup> SIG<sub>5</sub><sup>1</sup>-aḥ-zi na-aš-ma ma-a-an*  
D 1' *ku-i]t n[a- ]*
- A ctd. *A-NA ÌR-TI ku-e-da-<sup>1</sup>ni-ik-ki<sup>1</sup>*  
D 2' *[ ÌR-TI ku-e-[da-ni-ik-ki*
- 110' A rev. 26' *wa-aš-túl wa-aš-túl-ma-az-za-kán A-NA PA-NI E[N-Š]U tar-na-a-i*  
D 3' *[ ]-kán A-NA PA-[NI*
- A ctd. *na-an EN-ŠU ku-it a-pí-ia*  
D 4' *[ ku-i]t a-pí-ia*
- 111' A rev. 27' *i-e-ez-zi na-an i-e-ez-zi wa-aš-túl-ma-za-k[án] <sup>1</sup>A-NA<sup>1</sup> PA-NI*  
D 4'-5' *i-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[ez-zi ] / wa-aš-túl-ma-za-ká[n]*
- A ctd. *EN-ŠU ku-it tar-na-a-i*  
D 5' *[ ]*
- 112' A rev. 28' *nu A-NA EN-ŠU ZI-an-za wa-ar-ši-ia-az-zi nu EN-ŠU a-pu-u-un*  
D 6' *[n]u A-NA EN-<sup>1</sup>ŠU<sup>1</sup> Z[I-an-za*
- A ctd. *ÌR-DI EGIR-pa Û-UL kap-pu-u-iz-zi*  
D 7' *ÌR]-<sup>1</sup>DI<sup>1</sup> EGIR-[pa*
- (D breaks)
- 113' A rev. 29' *[a]m-mu-uk-za-kán ŠA A-BI-IA wa-aš-túl tar-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-[aḥ-ḥu-un] <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ša-a na-at i-ia-nu-na-at*
- 114' A rev. 30' *[ma-a-a]n šar-ni-ik-ze-el ku-iš nu a-pé-[e-ez ḥi-in-ga]-na-az ka-ru-ú-ia ku-it me-ek-ki*
- 115' A rev. 31' *[pe<sup>2</sup>-e<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>1</sup>eš<sup>1</sup>-[t]a<sup>2</sup> [x] x IŠ-TU KUR<sup>URU</sup> MI-IZ-RI ku-in <sup>1</sup>LÚ.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>[ŠU.]*  
DAB ú-wa-te-er NAM.RA.ḪI.A-ia ku-in
- 116' A rev. 32' *[ú-wa-te-er? a-š]i-ma<sup>2</sup> ku-[i]t<sup>URU</sup> Ḫa-at-tu-ša-aš ḥ[i-i]n-ga-na-az šar-ni-ik-ta na-at 20-an-ki*
- 117' A rev. 33' *[šar-ni-ik-ta(?)] <sup>1</sup>ka-ru-ú<sup>1</sup> a-pé-e-ni-iš-ša-an ki-ša-ri n[u] <sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-NA<sup>d</sup>IM<sup>URU</sup> ḪA-AT-TI EN-IA*
- 118' A rev. 34' *[Û A-N]A DINGIR.MEŠ BE-LU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-IA ZI-an-za Û-UL-pát wa-ar-ši-ia-at-ta-ri na-aš-ma-kán ma-a-an*

119' A rev. 35' [am-m]u-uk-ma ku-it-ki šar-ni-ik-ze-el ḥa-an-ti iš-ḥi-ia-at-te-e-ni  
B iv 1' [ t]e-ni

120' A rev. 36' [na-a]t-mu te-eš-ḥa-az me-mi-eš-tén nu-uš-ma-ša-at pí-iḥ-ḥi  
B iv 2'-3' [ ] / [ ]

AB

121' A rev. 37' [nu-ut-t]a ka-a-ša am-mu-uq-qa A-NA <sup>d</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI EN-IA  
B iv 4' [ <sup>UR</sup>]ḤAT-TI EN-IA  
C iv 1'-2' [ ka-a-š]a a[m- ] / [ EN-]A

A ctd. ar-ku-eš-ki-mi nu-mu TI-nu-ut  
B iv 5' [ ] →  
C iv 2' 'ar<sup>1</sup>-ku-e-eš-k[i-mi ]

122' A rev. 38' [nu ma-a]-an ke-e-ez-za ku-wa-at-qa ud-da-a-na-az  
B iv 6' [ ] ud-da-na-az  
C iv 3' [ -a]n ke-e-ez-za ku-w[a- ]

A ctd. ak-ki-iš-ki-it-ta-ri na-at ku-it-ma-an  
B iv 7' [ k]u-it-ma-an  
C iv 4' [ak-ki-i]š-ki-it-ta-ri n[a-at ]

123' A rev. 39' [EGIR-p]a SIG<sub>5</sub>-aḥ-ḥi-iš-ki-mi nu-kán ŠA DINGIR.MEŠ  
B iv 8' [ ] 'nu<sup>1</sup>-kán ŠA DINGIR.MEŠ  
C iv 5' [ SIG<sub>5</sub>-aḥ]-'ḥi<sup>1</sup>-iš-'ki<sup>1</sup>-mi nu-kán ŠA [ ]

A ctd. ku-i-e-eš LÚ<sup>.MEŠ</sup>NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA LÚ<sup>.MEŠ</sup>iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-la-aš-ša  
B iv 9' [ L]Ḥ<sup>.ME.EŠ</sup>iš-pa-<an>-tu-uz-ze-e-la-aš-ša  
C iv 5'-6' [ ] / [LÚ<sup>.MEŠ</sup>NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.]RA LÚ<sup>.MEŠ</sup>.DUG<sup>.</sup>iš-pa-an-t[u ]

124' A rev. 40' [a-aš-š]a-an-te-eš na-at le-e nam-ma ak-kán- erasure zi  
B iv 10' [ ] [e-e nam-ma ak-kán-zi  
C iv 7' [ -an]-te-eš na-at le-e nam-[ma ]

A

125' A rev. 41' [na-aš-m]a ma-a-an ta-me-e-ta-az-zi-ia ku-e-ez-qa  
B iv 11' [ ta-me]-'e<sup>1</sup>-da-zi-ia ku-e-ez-qa  
C iv 8' [ ma]-'a<sup>1</sup>-an ta-me-ta-zi-ia 'ku<sup>1</sup>-[e-ez-qa

A ctd. ud-da-a-na-az ak-ki-iš-ki-it-t[a-r]i  
B iv 12' [ -t]a-ri →  
C 8'-9' [ ] / [ak-ki-i]š-[k]i-it-ta-ri

126' A rev. 42' [na-at-za-ká]n na-aš-šu te-eš-ḥi-it ú-wa-al-lu na-aš-ma-at  
B iv 12'-13' na-at-za-kán na-aš-šu / [ -a]l-lu na-aš-ma-at  
C iv 9'-10' na-at-za-kán n[a-aš-šu] / [te-eš-ḥi-i]t ú-wa-al-lu na-aš-ma-at

A ctd. a-ri-ia-še-eš-na-az

- B iv 13' *a-ri-ia-še-eš-na-za-ma*  
 C iv 10' *a-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-[ia-še-eš-na-a]z*
- 127' A rev. 43' [*ha-an-da-ia-a*]t-ta-ru na-aš-ma-at LÚ.DINGIR-LIM-ni-an-za-ma  
 B iv 14' [ -t]a-ru na-aš-ma-at LÚ.DINGIR-LIM-ni-an-za-ma  
 C iv 11' [*ha-an-da-i*]a-at-ta-ru na-aš-ma-at LÚ.DINGIR-L[IM]-ni-an-za-ma
- A ctd. *me-ma-a-ú na-aš-ma <sup>r</sup>A-NA<sup>1</sup> [LÚ.MEŠ SANGA]*  
 B iv 15' [*me-ma-a*]-ú [*na-aš-m*]a<sup>96</sup> A-NA [LÚ.ME.EŠ SANGA erasure]  
 C iv 12' [*me-m*]a-<sup>r</sup>a-ú<sup>1</sup> na-aš-ma A-NA [LÚ.MEŠ SANGA]
- 128' A rev. 44' [*ku-it hu-u-ma-an-d*]a-a-aš wa-tar-na-aḫ-hu-un  
 B iv 16' [*ku-i*]t da-[*pí-ia-aš?*] wa-a-tar-na-aḫ-hu-un  
 C iv 12'-13' *ku-it / [hu]-u-ma-an-da-aš wa-tar-na-aḫ-hu-un*
- A ctd. *na-at-ša-ma-aš šu-up-pa-ia še-eš-k[i-iš-kán-zi]*  
 B iv 17' <sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-at-za š[*u-up-p*]a še-eš-ki-<iš>-kán-zi  
 C 13'-14' *na-at-za šu-up-pa / [še-eš-k]i-iš-kán-zi →*
- 129' A rev. 45' [ <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-T]I EN-IA *hu-u-iš-nu-ut*  
 B iv 18' *nu-mu* erasure <sup>d</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>[<sup>URU</sup>H]AT-TI EN-IA TI-*nu-ut*  
 C iv 14'-15' *nu-mu* <sup>d</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI EN-IA / [TI]-*nu-ut*
- A ctd. *nu-za DINGIR.MEŠ BE-LU<sup>MEŠ</sup> - erasure -<sup>r</sup>IA<sup>1</sup>*  
 B iv 19' *nu-za DINGIR.MEŠ B[E-LU<sup>M</sup>]EŠ-IA →*  
 C iv 15' *nu-za DINGIR.MEŠ BE-LU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-IA →*
- 130' A rev. 46' [ ] <sup>r</sup>ti-ik<sup>1</sup>-ku-uš-nu-wa-an-du  
 B iv 19'-20' *pa-ra-a ha-an-da-an-da-a-tar / ti-ik-ku-uš-n[u-wa-a]n-<sup>r</sup>du<sup>1</sup>*  
 C iv 15'-16' *pa-ra-a ha-an-da-a-an-ta-tar / <sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-ik-ku-uš-nu-wa-an-du*
- A ctd. *na-at-za-kán a-p[í-ia ]*  
 B iv 21' *na-at-za-kán a-p[í-i]a ku-iš-ki →*  
 C 16'-17' *na-at-za-kán a-pí-ia / ku-iš-ki →*
- 131' A rev. 47' [ ] <sup>r</sup>ud-da<sup>1</sup>-a-na-az  
 B iv 21'-22' *te-eš-ḫi-it / a-uš-du nu [ku-e-ez-z]a ud-da-na-az*  
 C iv 17'-18' *te-eš-ḫi-it a-uš-du nu ku-e-ez-za / ud-da-a-na-az*
- A ctd. *ak-ki-iš-ki-<sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-[ta-ri ]*  
 B iv 23' <sup>r</sup>ak-ki-iš<sup>1</sup>-k[*i-it-ta-ri na-a*]t  
 C iv 18'-19' *ak-ki-iš-ki-it-ta-ri / na-at*
- 132' A rev. 48' [ <sup>URUDU</sup>ZI.KIN.BA]R-aš  
 B iv 23-24' *ú-e-mi-ia-at-ta-ru / [ ]*  
 C iv 19' *ú-e-mi-ia-<sup>r</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-ta-ru nu-kán <sup>URUDU</sup>ZI.<sup>r</sup>KIN<sup>1</sup>.BAR-aš*
- A ctd. *GÍŠ<sup>š</sup>[ar-pa-az*  
 B ctd. *GÍŠ<sup>š</sup>ar-p]a-az ku-un-ku-u-e-ni*  
 C iv 20' *GÍŠ<sup>š</sup>ar-pa-az ku-un-ku-u-e-ni →*

<sup>96</sup> Traces of the sign *ma* are visible on the photograph of the tablet.

(A breaks)

133' B iv 25' [ ] 'TI'-nu-ut  
 C iv 20'-21' nu-mu<sup>d</sup>[M<sup>UR</sup>]<sup>U</sup> HA-AT-TI / [E]N-IA hu-iš-nu-ut nu-kán hi-in-kán

(B iv breaks)

134' C iv 22' [I]Š-TU KUR<sup>URU</sup> HA-AT-TI ar-ḫa nam-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> [ta-ru-u]p-da-a-ru

C

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### Colophon C

135' C iv 23' [DU]B.<sup>1</sup>KAM<sup>1</sup> QA-TI<sup>m</sup> Mu-ur-ši-li-[iš-za LUGAL]

136' C iv 24' [ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-a]n hi-in-<sup>r</sup>ga-ni še<sup>1</sup>-[er A-NA<sup>dU</sup>]<sup>URU</sup> HA-AT-TI Û  
 DINGIR.MEŠ(?)

137' C iv 25' [ar-ku-u-w]a-<sup>r</sup>ar<sup>1</sup> [i-ia-at]

### Translation

1-18 [O Sto]rmgod of Ḫatti, my lord, [and gods of Ḫatti], my [lor]ds! Murš[ili], [the king], your servant, has sent me (saying): “Go speak to the Stormgod of Ḫatti, my lord, and to the gods, my lords, as follows: What is this you have done? You have allowed a plague into the land of Ḫatti and the land of Ḫatti has been very greatly oppressed by the plague. During the reign of my father and during the reign of my brother there was continual dying, and since I have become a priest to the gods, also now, during my reign, there is continual dying. This is the twentieth year since there is continual dying within the land of Ḫatti and the plague is not at all removed from the land of Ḫatti. I myself cannot overcome the wo[r]ry with my heart, I can no longer overcome the anguish with my body.

19-33 [Further]more, also when I performed the festivals, I went [bac]k and forth to all the gods. I did not prefer one temple. I have repeatedly made a plea to all the gods concerning the plague and I have repeatedly [vow]ed vo[ws to you]: “Hear [me, O gods], my [lords, and send away] the plague [from the land of Ḫatt]i. [Ḫattu]ša [can no longer] overcome [the plague]. Let [the matter because of which there is continual dy]ing be [deter]mined [either through an oracle, or let me see it in a dream, or] let a [man of go]d pronounce it.” But the gods [did not hear] me, and the plague has not

- subsi[ded in the land] of Ḫatti. [The land of Ḫatti *continues to be* very greatly oppress]sed [by the plague].
- 34-40 The makers of thick bread [and libation pourers] of the gods who remained also die[d. *The matter*] of [*the plague*] continued to trouble [me] and [I ...] of go[d/s ...]. I have f[oun]d two old tablets. One tablet (deals) [with the ritual of Mala river<sup>97</sup>: ho]w the previous kings [perform]ed the ritual of the Mala river [on account of] a pl[ague]. Meanwhile, from the days of my father, [there has been continual death] in the land of Ḫatti, [(but)] we never performed [the ritual] of the Mala river.
- 41-56 The second tablet (deals with) the city of Kuruštama: how the Stormgod of Ḫatti carried the men of Kuruštama to the land of Egypt and how the Stormgod of Ḫatti made a treaty concerning them (i.e. the men of Kuruštama) and the men of Ḫatti. Furthermore, they were put under oath by the Stormgod of Ḫatti. Since the men of Ḫatti and the men of Egypt were bound by the oath by the Stormgod of Ḫatti, and the men of Ḫatti proceeded to turn about; the men of Ḫatti suddenly transgressed the oath of the gods. My father sent infantry and chariotry and they attacked the border region of the land of Egypt, the land of Amka, [manuscript A: And again he sent (them), and again they attacked]. When the men of Egypt became afraid, [B: they sent again], they came and they asked my father outright for his son for kinship. When my father gave them his son, as they led him off, they killed him. My father became angry, he went to the land of Egypt, attacked the land of Egypt and destroyed infantry and chariotry of the land of Egypt. Even then, the Stormgod of Ḫatti, my lord let my father prevail by (his) judgement, and so he defeated the infantry and chariotry of the land of Egypt, and he destroyed them. When they brought back to Ḫatti the prisoners of war whom they captured a plague broke out among the prisoners of war and they began to die [B: kept dying].
- 57-62 When they transported the prisoners of war into the land of Ḫatti, the prisoners of war brought the plague into the land of Ḫatti. And from that day on there has been continual dying in the land of Ḫatti. When I found the aforementioned tablet dealing with the land of Egypt, I inquired from

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<sup>97</sup> lit. the first tablet (was) of the ritual of the Mala river.

- the god by an oracle (saying)<sup>98</sup>: “Concerning that thing mentioned earlier (i.e. the oath) which was done by the Stormgod of Ḫatti; because the men of Egypt and the men of Ḫatti were bound by the oath by the Stormgod of Ḫatti (and)
- 63-66 because the *damnaššara*-deities (were) inside the temple of the Stormgod of Ḫatti, my lord [B: inside the temple of the god], but the men of Ḫatti on their own suddenly broke the word (lit. transgressed the word). If the Stormgod of Ḫatti, my lord, is angry on account of it?” This was confirmed.
- 67-74 I have also made an oracular inquiry about the ritual of the Mala River on account of the plague. And at that time it was determined for me that I should stand (in plea) before the Stormgod of Ḫatti, my lord. I have just confessed the s[in] t[o the Stormgod]. It is (true), we have done [it. However, the sin did not] happen during my reign, i[t happened] during the reign of my father [...]. Indeed I know [...]. The matter [...]. [*Because*] the St[ormgod of Ḫatti, my lord] is angry about [*that matter*], there is continual dying [within the land of Ḫatti].
- 75'-81' When there is continual [dy]ing in the land of Ḫat[ti]. [Be]cause of this I am making [*a plea*] to the Stormgod of Ḫatti, my lord. I am kneeling before you and I cr[y] for mercy. Hear me, O Stormgod of Ḫatti, my lord! Let the plague be brought to an end within the land of Ḫatti!
- 82'-93' I am resolving the matter on account of which I have made an oracular inquiry and the matters which were ascertained (for me) on account of the plague. I am making restitution for them. Because the matter of oath concerning the plague has been confirmed, I have offered before the Stormgod of Ḫatti, my lord, the ritual of oath [(and)] before [*the gods, m*]y [*lords*] I have offered [it] (A: *they have offered it*). *They [have celebrat]ed [the ritual f]or you, the Stormgod of Ḫatti, [my lord], and [they have celebrated] the ritual for you, [the gods, my lords]. Since the festival of the Mala River concerning the plague has been confirmed for me, and since I am on my way (lit. going) to the Mala River, O Stormgod of Ḫatti, my lord and gods, my lords remit the festival of the Mala River to me. Let me perform the festival of the Mala River, let me carry it out. In the matter in*

<sup>98</sup> lit. I inquired from a deity through an oracle

which I am performing it, namely the plague, O gods, my lords have pity on me! Let the plague become well (i.e. subside) in the land of Ḫatti.

94'-103' O Stormgod of Ḫatti, my lord! O gods, my lords! It always happens so – people sin (lit. they sin). Also my father sinned. He transgressed the word of the Stormgod of Ḫatti, my lord. But as for me, I did not sin in any way. It always happens so – the sin of a father comes upon his son. And so the sin of my father came upon me too. I have been confessing it to the Stormgod of Ḫatti, my lord, and to the gods, my lords. It is so, we have done it. Because I have been confessing the sin of my father, may the soul of the Stormgod of Ḫatti, my lord, and of the gods, my lords, be appeased again! Have pity on me again! Send the plague away from the land of Ḫatti again! Let those few makers of thick bread and the libation bearers who remain not die! (A: on me)

104'-120' I am making a plea concerning the plague to the Stormgod, my lord. Hear me, O Stormgod of Ḫatti, my lord! Save me! To you [*I say*] as fo[llows]: “The bird takes refuge (lit. takes back the cage) in the cage and the cage sa[ves] it. Or if anything is a concern to some servant, he makes a plea to his master. His master hears him and ha[s pity] on him; and whatever was a concern, he sets it right for him. Or if some servant commits an offence,<sup>99</sup> but he confesses the offence before his master, as his master treats him there he may treat him but since he confesses his offence before his master, the soul of his master is appeased and his master will not call that servant to account. I have confessed the sin of my father. It is (true), I have done it. [I]f there was any reparation (to be made), and because (Ḫatti) [*has paid*] already much through th[at plag]ue [and] (for) the war prisoners whom they brought from the land of Egypt and civilian captives whom they [brought], that (for) which Ḫattuša has made restitution through the plague, [it (i.e. Ḫattuša) has made restitution] for it twentyfold already. It happens so. And yet the soul of the Storm-god of Ḫatti, my lord, and of the gods, my lords, is not at all appeased. Or if you impose on me some special restitution, tell me about it in a dream so that I can give it to you!

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<sup>99</sup> lit. If an offence is on some servant

- 121'-124' I continue to make a plea to you, the Stormgod of Ḫatti, my lord. Save me!  
If perhaps there has been continual dying because of this matter, let the makers of the thick bread and libation bearers of the gods who remain not die anymore, while I am setting it right!
- 125'-134' [Or] if there has been continual dying because of some other matter, let me either see it in a dream, or let it be determined through an oracle, or let a man of the gods pronounce (it), or the priests will keep sleeping sacredly (A: for you), with regard to that (matter in) which I instructed all of them. Save me, O Stormgod of Ḫatti, my lord! Let the gods, my lords, show (their) divine power, and then let someone see it in a dream! Let this matter because of which there has been continual dying be discovered! We are dangling from the point of a needle. Save me, O Stor[mgod of Ḫa]tti, my [lo]rd! Let the plague be aga[in remo]ved from the land of Ḫatti!

#### Colophon C

Tablet One. (Text) complete. [When] Muršili, [*the king*, made a p]le[a to the Stormgod of Ḫatti and the gods] con[cerning] the plague.

#### Comments

- 2 Goetze (1930: 206; 1950: 394), followed by Bernabé (1987: 279), Christmann-Frank (1989: 53, 263), Trabazo (2002: 308) and van den Hout (2006: 263) restored at the end of the line LUGAL.GAL “the great king”. Beckman (1997a: 157) and Kühne (1978: 170) read here LUGAL. An alternative reading is proposed here, namely LUGAL-*uš*. The phrase <sup>m</sup>MUR-ŠI-LI LUGAL-*uš* is also employed in obv. 4 of manuscript B of the hymn and prayer to Telipinu (CTH 377) and is restored in line i 1 of manuscript B of a prayer and hymn to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 376.II).
- 8 For the translation of *aruma mekki* as “very greatly” see Puhvel *HED*: vol.1: 177.
- 10 *ku-it-ta-ia-wa-az* is interpreted here as *kuitt=a=ia=wa=za* with a double writing of the conjunction (-*aya*). This writing of the conjunction after words ending in a consonant is occasionally found in New Hittite texts (see *HG*: 399-400 § 29.38).
- 13-14 *kāš* MU.20.KAM *kuit=kan* INA ŠÀ KUR <sup>URU</sup>ḪATTI *akkiškittari*

The exact function of the particle *-kan* in this sentence is uncertain. Usually, it does not appear with the verb *akk-* ‘to die’ unless there is a dative expression indicating person(s) most affected by the death. The translation of this construction is “to die on somebody” (*HG*: 371 § 28.76). Since this expression is not used here, the particle must have another function; perhaps it conveys the local restriction, since it appears with the phrase *INA ŠÀ KUR<sup>URU</sup> HATTI*. The particle *-kan* with the same phrase and the verb *akk-* also appears in lines 58-59.

The nominal sentence *ka-a-aš MU.20.KAM* is interpreted here as syntactically belonging to the causal *kuit* clause (thus Beckman 1997: 157, Singer 2002a: 57, van den Hout 2006: 263. See also CTH 378.I p. 209 note on line 9) and not to the previous sentence (thus Goetze 1930: 207, Kühne 1978: 170), or as a separate sentence altogether (thus Lebrun 1980: 210, Christmann-Franck 1989: 53, Trabazo 2002: 309).

14-15 *nu=kan IŠTU KUR<sup>URU</sup> HATTI ħinkan arĥa UL=pat taruptari*

I follow most editors and translators of this text (Bernabé 1987: 279, Beckman 1997a: 157, van den Hout 2006: 263, Lebrun 1980: 210, Christmann-Franck 1989: 53) in reading this sentence as a statement rather than a question (differently Singer 2002a: 57).

The literal meaning of the verb *tarupp-* in the middle voice is “to be completed; to collect oneself” (*HW*: 217, Tischler *HEG* vol. 3: 240, Kloekhorst 2008: 850); however, neither of these meanings fits the present context. Since the verb *tarupp-* appears here with the adverb/preverb *arĥa* and the noun in the ablative case (*IŠTU KUR<sup>URU</sup> HATTI*), it must mean “to remove from”. A similar translation can be found in all translations and editions of this text (for a discussion of the meaning of this verb see also Goetze 1930: 222-3).

17-18 *ammuk=ma=z ŠÀ-az laĥlahĥiman UL taraĥmi NÍ.TE-az=ma=z(a) pítuliyan namma UL taraĥmi*

*ŠÀ-az* and *NÍ.TE-az* are read here as ablatives of means depending on the verb *tarĥ-*. This interpretation follows Stefanini (1983: 147 with a discussion of this expression).

Enclitic *-ma* attached to *ammuk* and to NÍ.TE marks a change of topic in each case; the first *-ma* indicates the change from the description of the situation in Ḫatti to the description of the emotional state of the king, the second *-ma* the change from heart (ŠÀ) to body (NÍ.TE). Neither of these conjunctions is rendered in the English translation of these two sentences.

- 21 1-EN É DINGIR-LIM=*kan UL teḫḫun*. The literal meaning of this sentence employing the first singular preterite of the verb *dai-* ‘to lay, to put, to place’ and the particle *-kan* is “I did not put one/a single temple”. The general sense is that the king did not favour one god while he was pleading and making restitutions on account of the plague. On the contrary, the king emphasises the fact that he went to the temples of all the gods and that he made offerings and vows to all the gods. Consequently, the sentence is rendered in this edition as “I did not prefer one temple”. The same interpretation of this sentence was adopted by other editors or translators of this text, which is reflected in their renderings of this sentence. Thus Goetze (1930: 207) read this sentence as “ein Gotteshaus (allein) pflegte ich nicht”, “I never preferred one temple” (1950: 394); Lebrun (1980: 210) and Christmann-Franck (1989: 53) as “je n’ai pas omis? un seul temple”; Beckman (1997a: 157) as “I did not privilege any single temple”; Singer (2002a: 58) as “I did not pick out any single temple” and finally van den Hout (2006: 263) as “not a single temple did I leave aside.”
- 24 The restoration *IK-[RI-BI<sup>HLA</sup>-aš-ma-aš-ká]n* follows Goetze (1930: 206), CHD L-N: 132, Trabazo (2002: 310) and Lebrun (1980: 204).

The reading *[m]a-<sup>r</sup>al<sup>r</sup>-* at the beginning of line i 25 of manuscript C was suggested by CHD L-N: 134. Since it is consistent with the traces shown in Goetze’s hand-copy and on the photograph it is followed here. The beginning of this word in manuscript B is broken off. The traces of the sign appearing before *za* seem to be consistent with *al*, therefore the reading *[ma-a]l-za-* is restored here. The spelling of the first singular preterite iterative *ma-al-za-aš-ki-nu-un* is attested only in this text. The other spelling of the same form as *ma-al-za-ki-nu-un* is found in KBo 23.111 rev. 13’.

- 26-33 The restorations in lines 26-27 are based on a similar sentence in lines 93'-94' of CTH 378.I. The restorations in lines 29-30, 32 and 33 are based on lines 132'-133' and 7-8 of the present text.
- 34 The sentence in lines 34-35 is restored from lines 123'-124' of the present text. However, the exact spelling of the restored <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>*iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-ia-l-* remains uncertain. This noun is spelled as <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>*iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-ia-li-uš* (manuscript A) and as <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>*iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-ia-lie-eš* (manuscript B) in lines 108'-109' and as <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>*iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-ia-la-aš-ša* (manuscript A) and <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>*iš-pa-<an>-tu-uz-ze-e-la-aš-ša* (manuscript B) in line 129'.
- 36 The restoration [*hi-in-ga-na-aš*] follows the translation of Singer (2002a: 58): “[The matter of the plague] continued to trouble me...”.
- 37 The restoration [*nu-za*] at the beginning of the line follows Goetze (1930: 208) and fills the gap in the tablet.
- 38 Goetze (1930: 208) followed by Lebrun (1980: 204) and by Trabazo (2002: 312) read at the beginning of this line [*zi-la-d*]u-wa. Although the photograph of manuscript A confirms the reading wa, the sign that precedes it could also be interpreted as ma. The gap at the beginning of the line can accommodate approximately four signs. In view of the above, it is suggested here that the word which is now missing in the lacuna was *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an*. The phrase 1 DUP-PU ŠA ... *maḥḥan*, would mirror the construction in lines 41-42.
- 38-39 The traces preserved at the end of obv. 10 of manuscript A (here line 38) could be read as either *kan* or *ni*. The first reading was adopted by Goetze, who restored here *hi-in-ká[n ḥar-kir]* thus postulating the construction with the auxiliary verb *ḥar(k)-* and the neuter nominative-accusative singular participle of the verb *ḥink-* “to offer”. Goetze also restored at the beginning of the next line *ki-nu-na* (1930: 208). An alternative restoration proposed here is *hi-in-<ga>-n[i]* at the end of obv. 10 of manuscript A and [*še-er i-e*]r at the beginning of the next line. The lacuna at the beginning of obv. 11 of manuscript A is large enough to fit three to four signs, therefore the restoration of only [*i-e*]r would not fill the entire gap. This restoration assumes that the ritual of the Mala river was performed on account of a plague by earlier kings but was neglected by Muršili's father and by

Muršili himself. The main consequence of this neglect is the continual destruction of the Hittite population by the plague.

- 46 A faint line is drawn through ii 4 of manuscript B (KUB 14.11 + 650/u). It appears that either the scribe drew this line first and then decided to write over it or decided to draw here a paragraph line after having written the text. Since the line is drawn in the middle of a sentence, thus dividing it between two paragraphs, the first possibility is more likely.

The authors of CHD Š: 303 (sub k) translate the expression *peran waḥnu-* as “to be or become important, vital, preeminent, to gain pre-eminence, get the upper hand”. This is followed by Beckman (1997a: 158) and by Singer (2002a: 58). The latter renders this expression as “to gain the upper hand”. The other translations of this phrase in the context of this prayer include “schulgen ... in den Wind” (Goetze 1930: 209) and “prevail” (1950: 395); “détourner (le serment)” (Lebrun 1980: 211 and Christmann-Franck 1989: 54); “transgredir” by Trabazo (2002: 315 and a footnote 53) and “turn away” by van den Hout (2006: 164).

Although the main meaning of the preverb/postposition *peran* is “in front, before” and *peran waḥnu-* may in some text carry the meaning “to be important, get the upper hand” (see CHD Š: 303), in this context the expression must mean “to turn around/about” and thus implies that the Hittites had a change of heart and breached the treaty with Egypt.

- 47-48 The sentences *namma=ia uiyat* “and again he sent” and *nu namma walaḥḥir* “and again they attacked” appear only in manuscript A. The first sentence is written on the edge and on the reverse of the tablet; the second is written over an erasure. Miller (2007a: 268) surmises that the scribe either added these phrases by mistake or that he began to add details of the Hittite attack but then changed his mind and ‘summarized’ this military event in these two sentences.
- 48 Note the use of the conjunction *-ma* in line 48 and in line 51 to mark the change of topic from “the men of Ḫatti”, to “the men of Egypt” and then from “the men of Egypt” to Šuppiluliuma.
- 51 The verb *kappilazza-* is taken by Kloekhorst (2008: 439) and Melchert (1987: 198-199) as a Cuneiform Luwian word meaning “become hostile” (Kloekhorst),

“become angry” (Melchert). Melchert suggests that the form *kappilazza-* may be the iterative of an *ā(i)-* stem verb, here *\*kappilā(i)-*, which he renders as “be angry”. He further argues that this verb is also attested in Hittite *kappilā(i)-*, which he translates as “to incite anger”. This interpretation is followed by Puhvel in *HED* vol. 4: 63, who renders the verb *kappilai-* as “to pick a fight” and the form *kappilazzata* as “initiated conflict”.

- 53 The scribe of manuscript B wrote here *attaš=min*, rather than the Akkadogram *A-BA-IA* (ms A). The scribe composed the text in the New Hittite period when the enclitic possessive pronouns had begun to fall out of use. He therefore declined only the final element of the bipartite construction (i.e. noun + possessive pronoun). For this phenomenon in New Hittite texts see Francia (1996: 210-211) and *HG*: 141 § 6.9.

The noun *ħannešar* has been rendered in this context as “Urteil zum Überlegenen” by Goetze (1930: 211) and “by his decision” (1950: 395); “to win in a dispute” Kühne (1978: 172); “judgement” (Lebrun 1980: 212; Christmann-Franck 1989: 53); “the lawsuit” by Beckman (1997a: 158); “verdict” by Singer (2002a: 58); “decision” Trabazo (2002: 317) and “lawsuit” by van den Hout (2006: 264).

Trabazo rightly argues that Muršili must have thought that by making his decision/judgement about granting victory to Šuppiluliuma, the Stormgod supported and approved the king’s action. One may also suggest that by using this noun the king attempts to justify the action of his father and reminds the Stormgod that attacking Egypt and thus breaching the treaty was initially supported by the god.

- 54 Note the singular common relative pronoun *kuin* and enclitic pronoun *-an* in line 55 as well as the singular common pronoun *-aš* in line 65 all referring to the collective plural <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>*appan[teš?]* in manuscript B and <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>ŠU.DAB.BI.ḪI.A in manuscript A.
- 56 The amount of space at the end of line ii 29’ of manuscript C allows only for the restoration of the third singular preterite *ak-ki-iš-ki-it* also found in manuscript B rather than *ak-ki-iš-ki-u-an d[a-a-iš]* employed in manuscript A.

61-66 Because the *damnaššara*-deities were present in the temple when the oath was sworn, they must have been the deities who protected or guaranteed the oath (Beckman 1997: 158). For brief discussions of the nature of these deities see Goetze (1930: 228-229), Trabazo (2002: 319 footnote 100), Tischler *HEG* III: 85-6 (statues of deities in the shape of animals), van den Hout (1991: 108 n. 34, movable images), Güterbock (1961: 15, sphinxes), Goetze (1953: 169, female deities who were guarding the gate).

65 *nu=war=aš mān ANA* <sup>dIM/U</sup> <sup>URU</sup> *ḪATTI BELI-YA/EN-YA kardimmiyaz kišat*

The pronoun *-aš* is interpreted here as the nominative singular common that refers back to the phrase *kuiš memiyaš* in line 61, which in turn must refer to the treaty with Egypt created and supported by the Stormgod of Ḫatti and then breached by the Hittites. The verb *kiš-* links here two nominatives, the pronoun *-aš* and the noun *kardimmiyaz* (thus Singer 2002a: 59 and van den Hout 2006: 264). The sentence is translated in this edition “If the Stormgod of Hatti is angry on account of it (i.e. the breaking of the oath)”.

63 Manuscript A employs in obv. 35’ phrase *I-NA ŠÀ<sup>BI</sup> É* <sup>dIM</sup> <sup>URU</sup> *ḪA-AT-TI BE-LÍ-IA*. Manuscript B has *I-NA ŠÀ<sup>BI</sup> É DINGIR-LIM*. The lacunae at the end of line ii 40 and at the beginning of line ii 41 of manuscript C are not large enough for a restoration <sup>dIM</sup> <sup>URU</sup> *ḪA-AT-TI BE-LI-IA/EN-IA*. Therefore it is assumed that manuscript C used the same phrase as manuscript B.

68 The traces that appear in obv. 40’ of manuscript A immediately before and above the break are consistent with *ka* as written in this manuscript, *a* and *ša*. Since there is no space between these signs they are read here as one word (i.e. *kāša*). This word appears in the sentence together with the expression *ANA PANI* <sup>dIM</sup> *waštul tarnā* restored partially in the break.

70-71 Melchert 1985: 186 proposes here the restoration of the expression *natta anda imma šāggahhi*, which he interprets as a rhetorical question and translates as “Do I not acknowledge ...?” Although this restoration is entirely possible in this context, it cannot be ascertained.

- 72 Note the unusual syntactic position of the nominative singular common of the word *memiya*- “word, matter”. It stands at the end of the sentence that is now lost in the gap.
- 76’ Traces preserved in line iii 2’ of manuscript C before the break are consistent with the sign *ka*, hence the restoration *ka-a-ša. kaša* expresses and reinforces here the “immediate present” contemporaneous with the speech act: while the Hittite lands are being ravaged by the plague, the king pleads with the gods to put a stop to this disaster.
- 77’ The restoration [*ar-ku-wa-ar*] is supported by the context and by the fact that the sentence uses the particle *-za* in combination with the verb *ešša-*. For the expression *-za arkuwar ešša-* see chapter two.

- 82’ [*nu*]=*za uttar kuit arḫa ariyanun*

*HW*: 30 translates the verb *ariya-* with the preverbs *anda*, *arḫa*, *katta* and *peran* as “durch Orakel bestimmen”. Kammenhuber *HW*<sup>2</sup>: 294 § 3a renders *arḫa ariya-* as “wegorakeln (durch Orakel aus der Welt schaffen)”. Beckman (1997: 158) translates this expression as “research thoroughly (through oracular inquiry)”; while all other scholars who either edited or translated this text render it as “make an oracular enquiry”. Another translation could also be suggested. Puhvel *HED* vol. 1: 131 and Kloekhorst (2008: 245) translate the adverb *arḫa* as “off, away (from), out of, on account of”. Since the meaning “on account of” fits the context well, it is adopted in this edition and the sentence is rendered as “the matter on account of which I have consulted the oracle ...”

- 86’ The function of the adverb *arḫa* in the sequence *peran arḫa šipand-* is to strengthen the preceding adverb *peran* (on this function of the adverb *arḫa* see Puhvel *HED* vol. 1: 131).

Manuscript B employs at the end of line iii 10’ *šipantaḫḫun*. The traces preserved in rev. 2’ of manuscript A suggest that this verbal form was not used in this manuscript. The traces are consistent with *te* rather than with the expected *ta/da*, therefore the verbal form used in manuscript A must have been *šipanter*.

87'-88' All restorations in lines iii 14'-18' of manuscript C are only based on the context and must consequently remain uncertain (for a similar understanding of these lines see Goetze 1950: 395 and Kühne 1978: 173). Note that the break at the beginning of C iii 15' is not large enough for the restoration of the expected *na-at A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-IA*. There also seems not to be enough space for a restoration *na-at A-NA* <sup>d</sup>U EN-IA.

90' The verb *tarna-* with the preverb *appan* was translated in HW: 215 as “überlassen; nachlassen, verzeihen, erlassen”. Goetze (1930: 215) and (1950: 395) translated it as “nachlassen” and as “acquit”; Beckman (1997a: 158) rendered it as “leave me alone”, Lebrun (1980: 213) followed by Christmann-Franck (1989: 55) as “accepter”, van den Hout (2006: 265) as “let me off the hook”, Trabazo (2002: 323) as “dispensadme” and Kühne (1978: 173) as well as Singer (2002a: 59) as “forgive me”. The translation adopted in this edition is “to remit”. The **king** begs the gods to be absolved in the matter of neglecting of the ritual of the Mala river, since he is on his way to perform it.

91'-92' *iyami=ya=at=za kuedani uddanī ḫingani šer*

This sentence is interpreted here as a relative clause. The verb *iya-* is fronted in accordance with the rule that the relative pronoun is preceded by one syntactic constituent (Hale 1987: 49, Garrett 1994: 46, HG: 425 § 30.60). A similar interpretation was suggested by Kühne 1978: 173, who renders this sentence as “in the matter because of which I am performing it, namely because of the plague”.

103' The usual spelling of the participle of the verb *āšš-* “to remain, to stay, to be left” is *a-aš-ša-an-t-* (cf. manuscript A *a-aš-ša-an-te-eš*). The scribe of manuscript B spelled it as *a-ša-an-te-eš*; probably this is just a scribal mistake.

106' The noun <sup>GIŠ</sup>*taptappa-* was translated here as “nest” by Beckman (1985: 22) and (1997a: 158), Goetze (1950: 395), Christmann-Franck (1989: 56), Kühne (1978: 173) and Trabazo (2002: 325). The translation “cage” (see Singer 2002a: 60; van den Hout 2006: 265) is also possible in this context particularly because the author evokes here an image of the ‘ideal’ relationship between a servant and his master. When a servant is faced with a problem he seeks the help and assistance of his master; when he commits an offence against his master, but he confesses, the

master forgives his servant. Because the focus seems to be here on the relationship between a servant and his master, the sentence “the bird seeks the refuge in the cage”, could be understood as “the bird seeks refuge with its owner”. For a similar interpretation of this noun and this metaphor see Singer (1996: 66).

#### 114’-117’

The sentences that begin with restored *ma-a-an* in line 114’ and end with the verb *ki-ša-ri* in line 117’ are difficult to interpret. The restorations at the beginning of lines 114’, 116’ and 117’ follow Goetze (1930: 216), the restoration in line 115’ is borne by the context and by the translation of Singer (2002a: 60) “has been paid”. Following Singer, the end of the lines 116’ and 117’ are interpreted as two sentences *na-at 20-an-ki šar-ni-ik-ta ka-ru-u* and *a-pé-e-ni-iš-ša-an ki-ša-ri* “It has made restitution for it twentyfold already” and “it happens so” rather than “it is thus happening [now] twentyfold already (cf. van den Hout 2006: 265).

These lines emphasise the fact that whatever restitution was required by the gods for breaching the treaty with Egypt, it has already been paid by the Hittite population with death.

#### 127’-128’

*šuppa šeškiškanzi* “they will keep sleeping sacredly”. This expression refers to the practice of dream incubation; the king instructs the (SANGA) priests to sleep in the temple in order to receive the answer or the solution to the problem from the gods.

While manuscript A and C employ in line 134’ the adjective *hūmandaš*, the scribe of manuscript B uses here the adjective *dapiyaš*. On the semantic level there is no difference between these two adjectives.

- 132’ The traces indicated by Goetze’s hand-copy are consistent with <sup>URUDU</sup>ZI.KIN.B]AR-aš <sup>GIŠ</sup>š[ar-pa-az. These are not visible on the photograph of KUB 14.8. The photograph was probably taken after Goetze made his copy of the tablet. During the time that elapsed between drawing of the copy and taking the photograph the condition of the tablet might have deteriorated. For a discussion of the meaning of this expression see the commentary on CTH 376.II line 98’ (pp. 182-185).

#### 4.4. HYMN AND PRAYER TO TELIPINU (CTH 377)

The hymn and prayer to Telipinu shows similar structural frame as the hymn and prayer to the Sungoddes of Arinna (CTH 376.II).

The end of the hymn and the beginning of the prayer are lost in the lacunae in the two main manuscripts of the text, namely KUB 24.1+ (manuscript A) and KUB 24.2 (Manuscript B). Based on the textual similarities that this hymn and prayer to Telipinu shares with the hymn and the prayer to the Sungoddes of Arinna (CTH 376.II), it is generally assumed that the former was modelled on the latter.

The hymn to Telipinu breaks after the sentence [DINGIR-*LIM-ia-tar=ma=ta=kan*] DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš ištar*na nakki “[Your divinity] is honoured among gods.” The hymn to the Sungoddes of Arinna continues here for additional 36 lines, which is then followed by approximately 22 lines that deal with the plague and approximately the first 40 lines of the prayer section that is concerned with the enemy invasion.

The break in manuscript A of CTH 377 is not large enough to accommodate all this text. Because approximately nine lines are preserved at the end of column i, it is assumed here that 8-9 lines are missing at the end of column ii. Also, because ten lines are partially preserved at the beginning of column iv, approximately 8-10 lines must be missing at the beginning of column iii. In total, manuscript A lacks between 16-19 lines. Assuming that manuscript B is an exact duplicate of manuscript A, the same amount of text must be missing from this manuscript.

It seems likely that the hymn to Telipinu continued for some more lines after the break but was, as a whole, perhaps not as long as the hymnic section of CTH 376.II. The rest of the text that is now lost must have contained the prayer against the enemy. In all probability, the part of the prayer that deals with the plague was not included in the Telipinu text.

The fact that the prayer was composed on behalf of the king, the queen and the royal princes (Carruba 1983:12; Singer 2002: 54) as well as the fact that the prayer does not refer to the plague may suggest that this prayer was composed after the epidemic ceased and thus after the prayer to the Sungoddes of Arinna and the “plague prayers” (CTH 378).

The prayer is preserved in three manuscripts. Manuscript A (KUB 24.1 + KBo 58.10) is a four-column tablet that lacks large parts of column ii and iii as well as the ends of lines 1-16 of column iv. The beginnings of the first nine lines of column i are partially

completed by KBo 58.10. The scribe of this manuscript uses the older forms of *ni*, *du*, *nam*, *gi*, the New Script forms of *al*, *az*, *ik*, *šar*, *tar*, *uk*, URU and both the new and the old variants of *ak* and *li*. The manuscript contains numerous erasures and errors, which indicates that it was either a first draft or a scribal exercise.

Manuscript B (KUB 24.2) is a one-column tablet. Only 23 lines of the obverse and 19 lines of the reverse are partially preserved. The scribe uses the older forms of *al*, *li*, *nam* and *ni*, the New Script variants of *gi*, *az*, *šar*, *tar*, *uk*, *Ú* and URU as well as both the older and newer shapes of *ak*, *ik*, and *du*. The paragraph divisions drawn by the scribe of this manuscript are not straight and the scribe did not manage to fit the colophon on the tablet. This may indicate a scribal apprentice rather than a proficient scribe.

Manuscript C (Bo 8072) is very fragmentary. It contains only the beginnings of ten lines that duplicate lines iii 1'-14' of manuscript A.

A full edition of this text, which also includes the dating of manuscripts A and B as well as a discussion of their orthographic and linguistic features, has been recently published by Kassian and Yakubovich (2007). Consequently, this dissertation includes only the transliteration and translation of this text as well as brief notes on either the cuneiform or the translation of the text. These are included in the footnotes.

**Manuscripts:**<sup>100</sup>

A	<i>KUB</i> 24.1 <sup>101</sup> + <i>KBo</i> 58.10 <i>KBo</i> 58.10	Bo 2415 + 1122/v + 217/w	T.I <sup>102</sup>
B	<i>KUB</i> 24.2	Bo 2082 <sup>103</sup>	---
C		Bo 8072 <sup>104</sup>	---

Previous editions: Gurney 1940: 16-23; Lebrun 1980: 180-191; Kassian and Yakubovich 2007: 423-454

Previous translations: Goetze 1950: 396-397 (partial translation); Bernabé 1987: 273-275; Christmann-Franck 1989: 47-50, Singer 2002a: 54-56.

Previous transliterations: Otten and Rüter: 1972: 232 (lines 1-8 of ms A)

**Transliteration:**

1	A i 1 B obv. 1	[ <i>ke-e</i> ]- <i>ma-kán</i> <i>t[up-pi</i> DINGIR-LI]M <i>an-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup></i> [ <i>ke-e-k</i> ] <i>án</i> <sup>r</sup> <i>tup-pí</i> DUB <sup>1</sup> .SAR A-NA DINGIR-LIM <i>an-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup></i> →
2	A i 2 B obv. 1-2	[ U]D- <i>at me-mi-iš-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-i[z-zi</i> ] UD- <sup>r</sup> <i>at UD-at<sup>1</sup> me-mi-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-k[i-iz-zi] / [nu DINGI]R-LAM</i>
	A ctd. B ctd.	<sup>r</sup> <i>wa<sup>1</sup>-al-li-iš-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-i[z-zi]</i> <i>wa-al-li-iš-ki-iz-zi</i>
	AB	_____
3	A i 3 B obv. 3	[ <sup>d</sup> <i>Te-li-p</i> ] <i>í-nu-uš šar-ku-uš n[a-ak-ki-iš] DINGIR-LIM-iš zi-ik</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Te-li-pí-nu-uš šar-ku-uš na-ak-ki-iš DINGIR-uš zi-ik</i>
4	A i 4 B obv. 4	<i>u-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-ia-at-mu</i> <sup>m</sup> <i>Mur-ši-DINGIR-LIM</i> L[UGAL- <i>uš tu-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-el</i> ÌR-KA <i>u-i-ia-at-mu</i> <sup>m</sup> <i>MUR-ŠI-I-LI LUGAL-uš tu-e-el</i> ÌR-KA →
5	A i 5 B obv. 4-5	MUNUS.LUGAL- <i>aš-ša tu-e-el GÉME-iš [u-i]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[e]r i-it-wa</i> MUNUS.LUGAL- <i>aš-ša / tu-e-el GÉME-KA u-i-e-er i-it-wa</i> →
6	A i 6 B obv. 5-6	<sup>d</sup> <i>Te-li-pí-nu-un an-zi-el EN-NI DINGIR-LAM</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>Te-li-pí-nu-un / an-zi-el EN-NI DINGIR-LAM</i> →

<sup>100</sup> A join sketch of ms A is included in Appendix 2.

<sup>101</sup> Text A in Gurney 1940.

<sup>102</sup> Fragment 1122/v was found in temple 1; fragment 217/w was found in debris from the storerooms 11 and 12 of temple 1. The find spot of KUB 24.1 was determined by join.

<sup>103</sup> Text B in Gurney 1940.

<sup>104</sup> I was able to consult a photograph of this unpublished fragment during my stay at the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz in February 2009.

- 7 A i 7 ŠA SAG.DU-NI *mu-ga-<sup>r</sup>a-i<sup>1</sup>*  
 B obv. 6 ŠA SAG.DU-NI *mu-ga-a-i*
- AB
- 
- 8 A i 8 *nu-za-kán ma-a-an na-ak-ki-i[š]* <sup>d</sup>*Te-li-pí-nu-uš še-er ne-pí-ši*  
 B obv. 7 *nu-za-kán ma-a-an na-ak-ki-iš* <sup>d</sup>*Te-li-pí-nu-uš še-er ne-pí-ši*
- 9 A i 9 DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš iš-tar-na ma-a-an <sup>r</sup>a-ru-ni<sup>1</sup> na-aš-ma A-NA*  
 B obv. 8 DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš iš-tar-na ma-a-an a-ru-ni na-aš-ma A-NA*
- A ctd. ҲUR.SAG.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> (*eš*)  
 B ctd. ҲUR.SAG.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> (*eš*)
- 10 A i 10 *wa-ḥa-an-na [p]a-a-an-za <sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-aš-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-za I-NA KUR <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR*  
 B obv. 9 *wa-ḥa-an-na pa<sup>1</sup>(áš)-a-an-za na-aš-ma-za I-NA KUR <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR*
- A ctd. *za<sup>1</sup>(ḥa)-aḥ-ḥi-ia pa-a-an-za*  
 B ctd. *za-aḥ-ḥi-ia pa-a-an-za*
- AB
- 
- 11 A i 11 *ki-nu-na-at-ta ša-ne-ez-zi-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup> wa-ar-šu-la-aš*  
 B obv. 10 *ki-nu-na-at-ta ša-ne-ez-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-iš wa-ar-šu-la-aš →*
- 12 A i 12 <sup>GIŠ</sup>ERIN-*an-za Ì-an-za kal-<sup>r</sup>li-iš<sup>1</sup>-du na-aš-ta EGIR-pa*  
 B obv. 10-11 <sup>GIŠ</sup>ERIN-*an-za Ì-an-za / kal-li-iš-du na-aš-ta EGIR-pa →*
- 13 A i 13 <sup>É</sup>*ka-ri-im-ni erasure an-<sup>r</sup>da e-ḥu<sup>1</sup> erasure nu-ut-ta ka-a-ša*  
 B obv. 11-12 <sup>É</sup>*ka-ri-im-ni-it-ti an-da e-[ḥ]u / nu-ut-ta ka-a-ša →*
- 14 A i 14 *mu-ki-iš-ki-mi NINDA ḥar-ši-i[t <sup><DUG></sup>iš-pa-a]n-du-zi-it<sup>105</sup>*  
 B obv. 12 *mu-ki-iš-ki-mi NINDA ḥar-ši-it <sup>DUG</sup>iš-pa-an-du-zi-it*
- 15 A i 15 *nu-uš-ša-an pa-ra-a ka-<sup>r</sup>la-a-an<sup>1</sup>-[ká]n-za e-eš nu-ut-ta ku-<sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup>*  
 B obv. 13 *nu-uš-ša-an pa-ra-a ka-la-a-an-kán-za e-eš nu-ut-ta ku-it*
- 16 A i 16 *me-mi-iš-ki-mi nu-mu DINGIR-LUM iš-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-ma-na-an*  
 B obv. 14 *me-mi-iš-ki-mi nu-mu DINGIR-LUM iš-ta-ma-na-an →*
- 17 A i 17 *la-ga-a-an ḥar-ak na-at iš-t[a-m]a-aš-ki*  
 B obv. 14 *la-ga-a-an ḥar-ak na-at i[š-ta-ma-aš-ki]*
- AB
- 
- 18 A i 18 *zi-ik-za <sup>d</sup>Te-li-pí-nu-uš na-[ak-ki-i]š DINGIR-LIM-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>*  
 B obv. 15 *zi-ik-za <sup>d</sup>Te-li-pí-nu-uš na-ak-ki-iš DINGIR-LIM-iš →*

<sup>105</sup> The break is not large enough to accommodate [ <sup>DUG</sup>iš-pa-a]n-. It is therefore assumed that the determinative DUG has been omitted from the text.

- 19 A i 19 *nu-ut-ta* DINGIR-LIM-IA Û É.M[EŠ DINGIR.MEŠ] 'T-NA KUR  
 B obv. 15-16 *nu-ut-ta* DINGIR-LIM-IA / Û É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ I-NA KUR  
 A ctd. <sup>URU</sup>HA[T-TI-pát]  
 B obv. 16 <sup>URU</sup>rHA<sup>1</sup>-AT-TI-pát →
- 20 A i 20 *da-aš-ša-nu-wa-an nam-ma-ma-ta* [ta-me]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-da-ni ut-ni-[e]  
 B obv. 16-17 *ta-aš-nu-wa-an nam-ma-ma-at-t[a]* / <sup>r</sup>ta-me-e<sup>1</sup>-da-ni KUR-e
- 21 A i 21 *Ú-UL ku-wa-pí-ik-ki e-e[š-zi n]u-ut-ta* 'EZEN<sub>4</sub>'.[HI.A]  
 B obv. 17-18 *Ú-UL ku-wa-pí-ik-ki e-eš-zi* / [ E]ZEN<sub>4</sub>.HI.A →
- 22 A i 22 SÍSKUR I-NA KUR <sup>URU</sup>HA<sup>1</sup>T-TI — p[ár-k]u-i šu-up-pí  
 B obv. 18-19 SÍSKUR.HI.A I-NA KUR <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI-pát pár-ku-i / [ ] →
- 23 A i 23 *pí-iš-kán-zi nam-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-ma-ta dam-me-e-d[a-ni]*  
 B obv. 19 [pí-iš-kán]-<sup>r</sup>zi nam<sup>1</sup>-ma-ma-at-ta ta-me-e-da-ni
- 24 A i 24 *ut-ni-e Ú-UL ku-w[a]-<sup>r</sup>pí-ik-ki pí-iš<sup>1</sup>-[kán-zi]*  
 B obv. 20 [KUR-e Ú-UL ku-wa-pí-ik]-ki pí-iš-kán-zi
- AB
- 
- 25 A i 25 É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ-ta pár-ku IŠ-T[U ]  
 B obv. 21 [ KÙ.BA]BBAR KÙ.SI<sub>22</sub>
- A ctd. [ ]  
 B ctd. <sup>r</sup>ú-nu-wa-an-ta<sup>1</sup> →
- 26 A i 26 I-NA KUR <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-<sup>r</sup>TI-pát<sup>1</sup> [e-eš-zi nam-ma-ma-ta]  
 B obv. 21-22 I-NA KUR <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-[TI-pát] / [ ] →
- 27 A i 27 *ta-me-e-da-ni u[t-ni-e Ú-UL ku-wa-pí-ik-ki e-eš-zi]*  
 B obv. 22 <sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-[me]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-d[a-ni KUR-e] <sup>r</sup>Ú<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>UL<sup>1</sup> ku-wa-pí-ik-[ki ]
- A
- 
- 28 A ii 1 [GAL].HI.A-ta BI-IB-RI<sup>HI.A</sup> KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.BABBAR.SI<sub>22</sub>  
 B obv. 23 [ ]
- A ctd. NA<sub>4</sub>.[HI.A]  
 B ctd. [ ]
- 29 A ii 2 'T-NA KUR <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI-pát e-eš-zi  
 B ctd. [ KUR <sup>URU</sup>HA-<sup>r</sup>AT-TI-pát e<sup>1</sup>-e[š-zi]
- (B obv. breaks)
- A
- 
- 30 A ii 3 EZEN<sub>4</sub>.HI.A-it-ta EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ITU EZEN<sub>4</sub>.HI.A erasure MU-aš me-e-a-na-

- 31 A ii 4 *aš*  
*gi-im-ma-an-ta-aš ha-mi-iš-ha-an-da-aš*
- 32 A ii 5 *zé-na-an-da-aš a-ú-li-uš* erasure *mu-ki-iš-na-aš-ša*
- 33 A ii 6 EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ME.EŠ I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup> HA-AT-TI-pát *e-eš-zi*
- 34 A ii 7 *nam-ma-ma-at-ta ta-me-e-da-ni* KUR URU Ú-<sup>r</sup>UL<sup>1</sup>
- 35 A ii 8 *ku-wa-pí-ik-ki e-eš-ša-an-zi*
- A
- 
- 36 A ii 9<sup>106</sup> *n[u]* <sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-el <sup>r</sup>ŠA<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>TE-LI-PÍ-NU erasure DINGIR.MEŠ-tar <sup>r</sup>T-[NA KUR<sup>URU</sup> HA-AT-TI-pát]
- 37 A ii 10 *n[a-a]k-k[i-ia-aḥ-ḥ]a-an nu-ut-ták-kán* <sup>m</sup>Mur-š[i-DINGIR-LIM LUGAL-uš ÌR-KA]
- 38 A ii 11 [MUNUS.LUGAL-aš GÉME-KA] <sup>r</sup>Ù DUMU.MEŠ.LUGAL<sup>1</sup> Ì[R.MEŠ-KA]
- 39 A ii 12 [I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup> HA-AT-TI-pát na-aḥ-ha-an-te-eš nu tu-e-el]
- 40 A ii 13 [ŠA <sup>d</sup>TE-LI-PÍ-NU ḥ[i-im-mu-uš SÍSKUR.ḪI.A EZ]EN<sub>4</sub>.[ḪI.A]
- 41 A ii 14 [i-ia-u-wa-an-zi]i ša-ra-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> [ti-it-ta-nu-uš-ká]n-z[i] erasure<sup>107</sup>
- 42 A ii 15 [nu-ut-ta ḥ]u-u-ma-an šu-up-p[í pár-ku-i p]í-iš-kán-zi
- 43 A ii 16 [nam-ma-aš-ša]-an erasure É.DINGIR-LIM-K[A BI-IB-R]I<sup>ḪI.A</sup>-KA
- 44 A ii 17 [GAL.ḪI.A-KA] Ú-NU-TE<sup>MEŠ</sup>-KA na-<sup>r</sup>aḥ-ša-ra-za<sup>1</sup> erasure ti-ia-an-za
- 45 A ii 18 [na-at-za E]GIR-pa kap-pu-wa-an A-NA <sup>r</sup>Ú-NU-UT
- 46 A ii 19 [DINGIR-LIM(?) ma-ni-i]n-ku-wa-an Ú-UL ku-iš-ki <sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-ia-az-zi
- A
- 
- 47 A ii 20 [zi-ik-za <sup>d</sup>Te-l]i-pí-nu-uš na-<sup>r</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-ki-iš DINGIR-LIM-iš
- 48 A ii 21 [nu-ut-ták-kán ŠUM-a]n ŠUM<sup>ḪI.A</sup>-aš iš-tar-na {aš} na-ak-ki-i
- 49 A ii 21 [DINGIR-LIM-ia-tar-ma-ták-kán] <sup>r</sup>DINGIR.MEŠ-aš iš-tar-na na-ak-ki<sup>1</sup>-[i]
- (A ii breaks. Approximately 10 lines missing at the end of column ii and the beginning of column iii)
- 50' A iii 1' [A-NA LUGAL-ma(?) MUNUS.LUGAL] DUMU.M[E.EŠ.LUGAL Ù]  
C 1' Ù
- 51' A iii 2' [A-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup> HA-T-T]I an-da aš-<sup>r</sup>šu-li ne<sup>1</sup>-[iš-ḥu-ut]  
C 1' ] →

<sup>106</sup> Lines 36-49 are restored from the similar passage in the hymn and prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 376.II).

<sup>107</sup> On the edge of the tablet.

- 52' A iii 3' [zi-ik-za <sup>d</sup>Te-l]i-pí-nu-uš šar-ku-uš DINGIR-[LIM-iš]  
C 1'-2' [ ] / <sup>d</sup>Te-li-[pí-nu-uš ] →
- 53' A iii 4' [LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL Û DUMU.ME]Š.LUGAL TI-an  
C 2'-3' [ ] / TI-an
- A ctd. *ḥar-ak nu-uš-<sup>r</sup>ma-aš<sup>r</sup>*  
C 3' *ḥar-a[k ]* →
- 54' A iii 5' [TI-tar EGI]R.<sup>r</sup>UD<sup>1</sup>-MI *ḥa-ad-du-la-tar* MU.KAM.ḪI.A GÍD.DA  
C 3'-4' [ ] / EGIR.UD-[MI ] →
- 55' A iii 6' [in-na-ra-u-wa-tar] pé-eš-ki nu-uš-ma-aš-kán A-NA ZI-ŠU-NU an-da  
C 4' [ ] →
- 56' A iii 7' [mi-ú-mar(?) la-lu-u]k-ki-ma-an du-uš-ga-ra-da-an-na  
C 4'-5' [ ] / la-lu-u[k-ki-ma-an ] →
- 57' A iii 8' [zi-ik-ki]  
C 5' [ ]
- AC
- 
- 58' A iii 9' [nu-uš-ma]-<sup>r</sup>aš DUMU<sup>1</sup>.NITA.ME.EŠ DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ  
C 6' *nu-uš-ma-a[š ]*
- A ctd. *ḥa-aš-šu-uš ḥa-an-za-šu-uš pé-eš-ki*  
C ctd. [ ] →
- 59' A iii 10' [nu-u]š-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-aš nu-ú-un erasure tu-um-ma-an-ti-ia-an pé-eš-ki  
C 6'-7' [ ] / tu-um-m[a-an-ti-ia-an ]
- 60' A iii 11' <sup>r</sup>nu-uš<sup>r</sup>-ma-aš ḥal-ki-ia-aš <sup>GIŠ</sup>GESTIN-aš ŠA GU<sub>4</sub> UDU  
C 7' [ ]
- 61' A iii 12' DUMU.LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-ia erasure mi-i-ia-ta pé-eš-ki  
C 8' DUMU.LÚ.<sup>r</sup>U<sub>19</sub><sup>1</sup>.[LU-ia ] →
- 62' A iii 13' nu-uš-ma-aš LÚ-aš tar-ḥu-u-i-li-in pa-ra-a <sup>r</sup>ne-ia<sup>1</sup>-a[n-ta]-a[n]  
C 8'-9' [ ] / pa-ra-a [ ] →
- 63' A iii 14' <sup>d.GIŠ</sup>TUKUL-in pé-eš-ki nu-uš-ma-aš KUR.KUR <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR  
C 9-10' [ ... ] x x [ ]
- (C breaks)
- 64' A iii 15' ŠA-PAL erasure GÌR.ME.EŠ-ŠU-NU zi-ik-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup> na-at i[n- x x x x x]<sup>108</sup>  
A
- 

<sup>108</sup> Kassian and Yakubovich (2007: 431) restore here *in-[na-ra ḥar-ga-nu?]*

- 65' A iii 16' *IŠ-TU KUR* <sup>URU</sup>*HA-AT-TI*-*ma-kán i-da-lu-un ta-[pa-ša-an]*  
 B rev. 1' *IŠ-<sup>r</sup>TU KUR* <sup>URU</sup>*HA-A[T-TI* ]
- 66' A iii 17' *ḫi-in-kán ka-aš-ta-an* erasure *ma-a-ša-an-na a[r-ḫa(?) u-i-ia(?)]*<sup>109</sup>  
 B rev. 2' *ḫi-in-kán ka-aš-<sup>r</sup>ta-an* [ ]
- AB
- 
- 67' A iii 18' *nu KUR.KUR.ḪI.A* <sup>LÚ</sup>*KÚR* erasure *ku-e šu-ul-la-an-ta*  
 B rev. 3' *nu KUR.KUR.ḪI.A* <sup>LÚ</sup>*KÚR* *ku-e šu-ul-l[a-an-ta] →*
- 68' A iii 19' *ḫur-šal-la-an-ta ku-e-eš-kán tu-uk A-NA* <sup>d</sup>*TE-LI-<sup>r</sup>PÍ-NU*'(ni)  
 B rev. 3'-4' [ ] / *ku-e-eš-kán tu-uk A-NA* <sup>d</sup>[*TE-LI-PÍ-NU*] →
- 69' A iii 20' *Ù A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ* <sup>URU</sup>*HA-AT-TI UL* *na-aḫ-ḫa-an-te-eš*  
 B rev. 4'-5' [ ] / *na-aḫ-ḫa-an-te-eš →*
- 70' A iii 21' *ku-e-da-aš-ma-az šu-me-en-za-an É.ḪI.A DINGIR.MEŠ-KU-NU*  
 B rev. 5' *ku-i-e-eš-ma-a[z* ]
- 71' A iii 22' *ar-ḫa wa-ar-nu-um-ma-an-zi i-la-li-iš-kán-zi*  
 B rev. 5'-6' [ ] / *i-la-li-iš-kán-zi →*
- A
- 
- 72' A iv 1 *ku-e-eš-ma BI-I[B-RI]*<sup>ḪI.A</sup> ]  
 B rev. 6' *ku-e-eš-m[a] <sup>r</sup>BI-IB-RI*<sup>ḪI.A</sup> *GAL.ḪI.A* <sup>1</sup>[*Ú-NU-TE*<sup>MEŠ</sup> *KÙ.BABBAR*]
- 73' A iv 2 *KÙ.BABBAR. SI<sub>22</sub>* *da-a[n-na* ]  
 B rev. 7' *KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.SI<sub>22</sub>* *da-an-na ša-an-ḫi-iš-kán-zi ku-e-eš-[ma-aš-za]*
- 74' A iv 3 *A.ŠÀ A.GÀR-KU-NU* <sup>GIŠ<sub>r</sub></sup>*KIRI<sub>6</sub>* <sup>1</sup>.[*GEŠTIN* ]  
 B rev. 7'-8' [ ] / <sup>GIŠ</sup>*KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*MÚ.SAR* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*TIR*'(*ŠAḪ*) →
- 75' A iv 4 *dan-na-at-ta-aḫ-ḫu-wa-an-<sup>r</sup>zi* [*ša-an-ḫi-iš-kán-zi*]  
 B rev. 8' *dan-na-ta-aḫ-ḫu-u-wa-an-[zi* *ša-an-ḫi-iš-ká]n-<sup>r</sup>zi*'
- AB
- 
- 76' A iv 5 *ku-i-e-eš-ma-aš-za* <sup>LÚ.ME.EŠ</sup>*APIN.LÁ* <sup>1</sup>*LÚ<sup>1</sup>.M[<sup>EŠ</sup>NU. GIŠ* *KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN*]  
 B rev. 9' *ku-i-e-eš-ma-aš-za* <sup>LÚ.ME.EŠ</sup>*APIN.LÁ* <sup>1</sup>*LÚ.ME.EŠ* *NU. GIŠ* *KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN →*
- 77' A iv 6 {<sup>LÚ</sup>}*LÚ.MEŠ* *NU. GIŠ* *MÚ.SAR* erasure *MUNUS.MEŠ* <sup>N</sup>[<sup>A4</sup>*ARA<sub>5</sub>* *da-an-na*  
 B rev. 9'-10' <sup>LÚ.ME.EŠ</sup>*NU. GIŠ* *M[<sup>U</sup>.SAR* *MUNUS.MEŠ* <sup>N</sup>]<sup>A4</sup>*ARA<sub>5</sub>* / *da-an-na*
- A ctd. *ša-an-ḫi-iš-kán-zi*  
 B rev. 10' erasure *ša-an-ḫi-iš-kán-zi →*
- 78' A iv 7 *nu i-da-lu-un ta-pa-ša-an* [ ]  
 B rev. 10'-11 *nu i-da-lu-un ta-pa-aš-š[a-an ḫi-in-k]án* / *ka-a-aš-ta-an-na* erasure →

<sup>109</sup> Kassian and Yakubovich (2007: 431): *a[r-ḫa da-a?]*.

- 79' A iv 8 BURU<sub>5</sub>.ĤI.A-ia erasure *a-pí-e-da-aš* A-NA [ ]  
 B rev. 11' BURU<sub>5</sub>.ĤI.A-ia *a-pí-e-da-aš* A-NA 'KUR'.K[UR<sup>L</sup>]<sup>U</sup>KÚR
- A ctd. [ ]  
 B ctd. 'pa-a-i'
- AB
- 
- 80' A iv 9 A-NA LUGAL-*ma* MUNUS.LUGAL DUMU.ME.ĚŠ.LU[GAL]<sup>110</sup>  
 B rev. 12' A-NA LUGAL-*ma* MUNUS.LUGAL DUMU.MEŠ.LUGAL
- A ctd. [ ]  
 B ctd. <sup>U</sup>A-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup>ĤA-AT-TI →
- 81' A iv 10 TI-*tar ĥa-ad-du-la-tar in-na-[ra-wa-tar* ]  
 B rev. 12'-13 TI-*tar ĥa-at-tu-<sup>r</sup>la-tar<sup>1</sup> / <sup>r</sup>in-na<sup>1</sup>-ra-wa-tar* MU.KAM GÍD.DA →
- 82' A iv 11 EGIR.UD-MI *du-uš-ga-ra-at-ta-a[n-na* ]  
 B rev. 13' EGIR.UD-MI *du-uš-ga-ra-at-ta-an-na <sup>r</sup>pí-eš-ki<sup>1</sup>*
- A ctd. [ ]  
 B rev. 14' [*nu-uš-ma-aš ĥa*]<sup>r</sup>ki-ia<sup>1</sup>-aš →
- 83' A iv 12 <sup>GIŠ</sup>GEŠTIN-*aš* <sup>GIŠ</sup>še'(KUR)-*e-ša-an-na-aš* GU<sub>4</sub>.[ĤI.A-*aš* ]  
 B rev. 14' <sup>GIŠ</sup>GEŠTIN-*aš* <sup>GIŠ</sup>še-e-ša-na-aš GU<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A-*aš* UDU.ĤI.A-*aš*
- A ctd. [ ]  
 B ctd. UZ<sub>6</sub>.ĤI.A-[*aš*]
- 84' A iv 13 ŠAĤ-*aš* ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA.ĤI.A-*aš* erasure  
 B rev. 15' [ ANŠE.GÌR].<sup>r</sup>NUN.NA'.ĤI.A-*aš*
- A ctd. ANŠE<sup>1</sup>(GÌR).KUR.RA-*aš* g[*i-im-ra-aš* ]  
 B ctd. ANŠE-*aš* erasure — *gi-im-ra-aš ĥu-u-it-ni-it*
- 85' A iv 14 DUMU.LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-*aš-ša ŠA* EGIR.UD-M[*I* ]  
 B rev. 16' [ Š]A<sup>r</sup>EGIR.UD<sup>1</sup>-MI *mi-ia-a-tar pí-iš-ki* →
- 86' A iv 15 *nu mi-e-eš-du ĥe-<sup>r</sup>e-mu-uš-ša ú<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>-[wa-an-du(?)]*  
 B rev. 16'-17 *nu mi-e-eš-ša-<sup>r</sup>du<sup>1</sup> / [ ]*
- 87' A iv 16 *nu še-e-eš-ša-u-wa-a[š]* <sup>r</sup>IM.ĤI.A<sup>1</sup>-*uš* erasure *i-i[a-an-ta-ru]*  
 B rev. 17' [*nu ši*]-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-*ša-wa-aš ĥu-u-wa-du-uš i-ia-an-ta-r[u]*
- 88' A iv 17 *nu* erasure I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup>ĤAT-<sup>r</sup>TI erasure *ma-a-ú še-<sup>r</sup>eš-du<sup>1</sup>*  
 B rev. 18' [ <sup>UR</sup>]<sup>U</sup>KÚ<sup>1</sup>.BABBAR-TI *ma-a-ú ši-iš-du* →

<sup>110</sup> The Sumerograms DUMU and LUGAL are usually written together to indicate how these logograms were perceived by Hittite scribes. Here these signs DUMU.ME.ĚŠ LU[GAL] are written separately.

89 A iv 18 *nu pa-a-an-ku-<sup>r</sup>uš<sup>r</sup> a-pa-a-at e-eš-du ḫal-za-a-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>r</sup>*  
 B rev. 18'-19 *nu pa-an-ku-[uš ] / e-eš-<sup>r</sup>du<sup>r</sup> ḫal-za-a-i<sup>r</sup>*<sup>111</sup>

AB

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Colophon A

90 A iv 19 DUB.1-*PU QA-TI* <sup>LÚ</sup>DUB.SAR-*za GIM-an*  
 91 A iv 20 *A-NA LUGAL še-er PA-NI* <sup>d</sup>*TE-LI-PÍ-NU*  
 92 A iv 21 UD.KAM-*ti-li ar-ku-wa-ar e-eš-ša-i*

**Translation:**

- 1-2 The scribe reads out<sup>112</sup> [this] tablet daily to the god and he praises the god (saying):
- 3-7 “O Telipinu, you are a powerful and honoured god! Muršili, the king, your servant sent me. Also the queen, your maidservant (sent me). They sent (me saying): Go invoke Telipinu, our lord, our personal god.
- 8-10 Whether you, O honoured Telipinu, are above in heaven among the gods, or you are in the sea, or you are gone to the mountains to roam, or you are gone to an enemy land for battle,
- 11-17 now let the fragrant odour, the cedar (and) the oil summon you. Come back to the (ms. B: your) temple. I am invoking you by means of thick bread and libation. Be pacified! (With regard) to what I am saying to you, turn your ear, O god, towards me and keep listening!
- 18-24 You, Telipinu, are an honoured god.  
 Furthermore,<sup>113</sup> in the land of Ḫatti alone (there are) strongly-built temples (dedicated) to you, my god, but nowhere else, in no other land in addition (to ours)<sup>114</sup> they exist for you. In the land of Ḫatti (ms. B: alone) they perform pure and holy festivals and rituals for you, but nowhere in any other land in addition (to ours) they perform (them) for you.

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<sup>111</sup> This last short sentence is written in manuscript B in a smaller script and is squeezed near the lower edge of the tablet. This may perhaps indicate that it was added later.

<sup>112</sup> lit. “speaks”

<sup>113</sup> For the interpretation of *Ù* as Hittite *-a/ya* and its translation as “furthermore” see Kassian and Yakubovich (2007: 433 and 438 comment to line i 19).

<sup>114</sup> For this translation of *namma=ma* see comment to lines 15-30 of CTH 376.II and CHD L-N: 390 sub 6d.

- 25-27 In the land of Ḫatti alone [(there are)] lofty temples adorned with [silv]er and gold (dedicated) to you, [but nowh]ere, in any other [land in addition (to ours) do they exist for you].
- 28-29 In the land of Ḫatti alone you possess [cup]s and rhyta of silver, gold (as well as) precious stone[s].
- 30-35 In the land of Ḫatti alone there are festivals for you (such as) the monthly festival, the annual festivals (lit. of the course of the year) of winter, spring, autumn, the *auliš*-sacrifices, and invocation festivals, but nowhere in any other land or town do they celebrate (them) for you.<sup>115</sup>
- 36-46 Your divinity, O Telipinu, is honoured [in the land of Ḫatti alone].  
 [In the land of Ḫatti alone] Murši[li, the king, your servant, the queen, your maidservant], and the princes, [your] se[rvants, are respectful] to you. [They are setting up your] i[mages, O Telipinu, in order to perform rituals and fest]iv[als].<sup>116</sup>  
 [They o]ffer [you ev]erything that is hol[y and pure].  
 [Furthermore], respect is established for your [rhyt]a, [your cups] and your objects (belonging) to your temples.  
 [They are] accounted for.  
 No one steps near the objects [*of the god*].
- 47-49 [You, O Tel]ipinu, are an honoured god.  
 [Your nam]e is honoured among the names.  
 [Your divinity] is honoured among the gods.
- (Approximately 15-20 lines missing)
- 50'-57' [Turn] in favour [towards the king, the queen,] the prince[s and towards the land of Ḫatti]! [You, O Telipi]nu, are a powerful go[d]. Keep alive [the king, the queen and the princes]! Give them [life] for the future, health, longevity [and vigour! Put] in their soul [*gentleness*], brightness and joy!
- 58'-64' Give them [so]ns, daughters, grandchildren and great-grandchildren! Give them contentment(?) and obedience(?)! Give them the growth of grain, vines, cattle, sheep and people (lit. mankind)! Give them a man's valiant,

<sup>115</sup> For this sentence see Kassian and Yakubovich (2007: 440-441) and comment to lines 25-28 of CTH 376.II.

<sup>116</sup> For this translation of this sentence see comment to lines 33-35 of CTH 376.II as well as Kassian and Yakubovich (2007: 433 and 443-4).

- battle-ready divine weapon! Put beneath their feet the enemy lands, and [...] them!
- 65'-66' But from the land of Ḫatti [send] a[way] the evil fe[ver], plague, famine and locust!
- 67'-71' (As for) the enemy lands which are quarrelsome and wrathful: those who are not respectful to you, Telipinu, and to the gods of Ḫatti; those who (A: to those who) wish to burn down your temples;
- 72'-75' those who seek to take (your) rhyta, cups [(as well as) the objects of silver] and gold; those who [seek] to lay waste your fields, vineyards, gardens (and) groves;
- 76'-79' those who seek to capture (your) farmers, vine dressers, gardeners (and) women of the mill, to those enemy lands give evil fever, [plagu]e, famine and locusts!
- 80'-89' But to the king, the queen, the princes and to the land of Ḫatti [give] life, health, vigour, longevity for the future, and joy! Give [them] for the future the growth of grain, vines, fruit-trees(?), cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, mules, horses (B: donkeys), together with the beast of the field, and people (lit. mankind)! May (everything) grow! [May] the rains *c[ome]*! May the winds of prosperity come! May (everything) in the land of Ḫatti thrive and prosper! And the congregation cries out: "Let that be!"
- Colophon: One tablet. (Text) Complete. When the scribe presents daily the prayer on behalf of the king before Telipinu.

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APPENDICES TO  
HOW TO PRAY TO HITTITE GODS: A SEMANTIC AND  
CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF HITTITE PRAYER  
TERMINOLOGY WITH THE NEW EDITIONS OF  
SELECTED PRAYERS OF MURŠILI II

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IZABELLA SYLWIA CZYZEWSKA

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## APPENDIX 1: CATALOGUE

All the well or relatively well preserved passages that contain terms discussed in chapter two are included below, namely the verbs *arkuwai-*, *mald-*, *mugai-*, *talliya-*, *walla/i*, *wallu-* and the nouns *arkuwar*, *arkuešni*; *malduwar*, *malteššar*; *mugawar*, *mukeššar*, *talliyawar*, *walliyatar* and *walli*. The verbs and the nouns are arranged according to their meanings.

### I. ARKUWAI-, ARKUWAR, ARKUEŠNI

#### I.A. arkuwai-, -za arkuwar iya- “to plead” = “to present arguments”, “to make a plea/case”

1. KBo 3.3 (CTH 63.A), the arbitration of Syrian disputes, NH/NS (Muršili II).<sup>1</sup>

KBo 3.3 iv: (2') *ki-i-ma [k]u-it TUP-P[U Š]A DI.ĪL.A ki-nu-un Ú-UL / (3') ši-ia-ir nu LUGAL KUR URU K[a]r-ga-miš ku-it mDu-ut-ḫa-li-ia-aš<sup>2</sup> / (4') mḪal-pa-ḫi-iš-ša MA-ḪAR r<sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI Ú-UL e-šir / (5') nu ki-i TUP-PU ki-nu-<sup>r</sup>un<sup>1</sup> a-pád-da Ú-UL ši-ia-ir / (6') GIM-an-ma LUGAL KUR URU Kar-kà-miš mDu-ut-ḫa-li-ia-aš<sup>3</sup> / (7') mḪal-pa-ḫi-iš-ša mTup-<sup>r</sup>pí<sup>d</sup>10-ša<sup>4</sup> MA-ḪAR dUTU-ŠI / (8') ú-wa-an-zi na-at PA-NI dUTU-ŠI ták-ša-an / (9') ti-ia-an-zi na-aš dUTU-ŠI A-NA DI<sup>1</sup>(ki).ĪL.A<sup>5</sup> / (10') pu-nu-uš-mi nu-za ku-iš ku-it **arku-wa-ar** / (11') DÜ-zi na-at dUTU-ŠI iš-ta-ma-aš-mi<sup>6</sup> / (12') nu ke-e TUP-PU ŠA DI<sup>1</sup>(ki).ĪL.A<sup>7</sup> a-pí-ia / (13') ši-ia-an-zi (The passage is duplicated by lines 2'-12' of KUB 19.44).*

Concerning the fact that they have not, at this time, sealed this tablet of legal disputes: because the king of the land of Karkamiš, Tudḫaliya and Ḫalpaḫi were not before My Majesty, therefore they have not at this time sealed this tablet. When, however, the king of the land of Karkamiš, Tudḫaliya and Ḫalpaḫi as well as Tuppi-Teššub come before My Majesty, and they will stand together before My Majesty, I, My Majesty will question them about the legal disputes. And whoever **will make a plea**,<sup>8</sup> I, My Majesty will hear it. And then they will seal this tablet of legal disputes.

<sup>1</sup> The text has one duplicate KUB 19.44 (63.D).

<sup>2</sup> D: mT[u-ut-ḫa-li-ia-aš]

<sup>3</sup> D: mTu-ut-ḫ[a-li-ia-aš]

<sup>4</sup> D: mTup-pí<sup>d</sup>10-aš-ša

<sup>5</sup> D: DI.ĪL.A

<sup>6</sup> D: iš-dam-ma-[aš-mi]

<sup>7</sup> D: DI.ĪL.A

<sup>8</sup> The sentence with the phrase *arkuwar iyazi* has been previously translated as: “Nun wer welche Bitte machen wird, die (ich), Meine <sup>Gott</sup>Sonne, werde ich hören” Hrozný 1919: 153; “L'arkuwar que chacun fera, je l'écouterai” Laroche 1964-65: 14 (Laroche proposes the following meanings for *arkuwar* “defense, une justification, une plaidoire”); “what plea each makes” Puhvel HED vol. 1: 149; “I will listen to the plea which each makes” Melchert 1998: 46; “and whoever makes some argument, I, My Majesty will listen to it” Beckman 1999: 173; “and who makes what plea” CHD vol. Š 1.a p.16; “whoever argues a case, I, My Majesty will listen to it” Miller 2007a: 130.

2. KBo 18.24 (CTH 187), a letter of the Hittite king to <sup>md</sup>Šul-ma-nu-SAG, NH/NS (either Ḫattušili III or Tudḫaliya IV).

KBo 18.24 obv.: (9) *ki-nu-un-ma-ta* INIM.ḪI.A *ku-e ḫa-at-ra-a-nu-un* / (10) *nu-za* LUGAL GAL *ku-it UL-za 2-an ta-pa-ra-an-za* / (11) *na-at-za-kán : ú-pa-aš-ša-al-la-i na-at* SIG<sub>5</sub>-in / (12) *iš-da-ma-aš nu A-NA* DINGIR.MEŠ *ku-it ar-ku-iš-ki-ši* / (13) *nu ki-i* GIM-an TUP-PU *ú-da-an-zi* / (14) *nu-kán ki-i* TUP-PU PA-NI DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.ḪI.A *ḫal-za-a-i* / (15) *ṛaš<sup>1</sup>-šu-la-aš-ma-ta ku-it TUP-PU ú-da-an-zi* / (16) *[z]i-ik-ma-at-za pa-ra-a dam-me-ṛen-ku-u-wa-ar<sup>1</sup> e-e[š-ša-at-ti]* / (17) *[nu-u]t-ták-kán ku-wa-at-ta-an še-er x [x] x x [x (x)]* / (18) *[x pá<sup>r</sup>]-ku-nu-uš-ki-mi UL-za* LUGAL.GAL *x [x x] x x*

But now *upaššallai* the matters about which I have written to you, and hear them well, because I am a great king not a “second-ranked man”! Since you **keep pleading with**<sup>9</sup> the gods, when they bring this tablet, read (lit. call) this tablet aloud in front of the great gods! But because they will bring to you the tablet of greeting/friendship, you will in[terpret] it (lit. make it) as ‘ingratiating (yourself)’. Why, on account of that, should I keep [clary]fying it for you? A great king does not [...].

3. KUB 14.14+ (CTH 378.I.A), the first plague prayer, NH/NS (Muršili II).

(1)

KUB 14.14 obv.: / (5) ... *k[a<sup>2</sup>-a]-ša<sup>1</sup>(ta)-aš-ma-aš am-mu-u[k]* / (6) <sup>m</sup>*Mur-ši-ṛli<sup>1</sup>-iš* <sup>L<sup>U</sup></sup>*SANGA-KU-NU Ṛ-KU-NU ar-ku-wa-[mi]* {x x} *nu-uš-ma-aš-ṛza<sup>1</sup> ar-ku-wa-ar* / (7) *ku-e-da-ni ṛme<sup>1</sup>-m[i-i]a-an-ni še-er e-eš-ša-aḫ-ḫi* *[n]u-mu* DINGIR.MEŠ EN<sub>1</sub>.ME.EŠ-IA *me-m[i-i]a-an-mi-i[t iš-ta-ma-aš-tén]* //

I Muršili, your priest, your servant, hereby **plea[d]**<sup>10</sup> with you. O gods, my lords, [hear] my word, regarding the matter in which **I am making a plea**<sup>11</sup> to you!

<sup>9</sup> The sentence that contains the verbal form *arkuiškiši* has been previously translated as: “Und weil du bei den Göttern dich rechtfertigen wirst” Otten 1968/1969: 112; “(Für) was du bei den Göttern (immer wieder) betest” Kammenhuber HW<sup>2</sup> II.1.a: 310; “Da du dich bei den Göttern immerzu rechtfertigst” Heinhold-Krahmer 1988: 100; “Weil du zu den Göttern zu beten pflegst” Hagenbuchner 1989: 242; “Poiché tu sei solito appellarti/giustificarti di fronte agli dei” Mora-Giorgieri 2004: 92.

<sup>10</sup> The previous translations of *arkuwami* in the present context include: “bete ich” Goetze 1930: 165; “молюсь” (I pray) Ivanov 1977: 182; “je viens plaider” Lebrun 1980: 198; “bete ich” Kammenhuber HW<sup>2</sup>: II.1.a 310; “j’ai présenté ma plaidoirie” Christmann-Frank 1989: 51; “bete ich” Ünal 1991: 808; “I have pled my case” Beckman 1997: 156; “I herewith plead” Singer 2002a: 61; “I plead” van den Hout 2006: 261. The reading *arkuwanun* suggested here by Lebrun 1980: 193, Miller 2007b: 136 and by Beckman 1997: 156 (the latter only in translation) is excluded (see commentary to KUB 14.14 line 6).

<sup>11</sup> The phrase *arkuwar eššaḫi* in lines 6-7 of the obverse has been rendered as: “ich an euch das Gebet richte” Goetze 1930: 165; “я вам совершаю молитву” (I tell you prayers) Ivanov 1977: 182; “je vous demande des excuses” Lebrun 1980: 198; “ich euch das Gebet mache” Kammenhuber HW<sup>2</sup>: II.1.a 310; “je vous présente ma plaidoirie” Christmann-Frank 1989: 51; “ich zu euch beten werde” Ünal 1991: 808; “I present you my justification” Beckman 1997: 156; “I am making a plea” Singer 2002a: 61; “I make a plea” van den Hout 2006: 261.

(2)

KUB 14.14 colophon: [DUB.I.KAM Q]A-TI <sup>m</sup>Mur-ši-li-iš-<sup>r</sup>za<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>GIM<sup>1</sup>-a[n]  
 ÚŠ-ni še-er / [A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ]Š ar-ku-wa-ar i-i[a-at]

[One tablet]. (Text) finished. When Muršili ma[de] a plea<sup>12</sup> [to the god]s  
 because of the plague.

4. KUB 14.8 (CTH 378.II.A), the second plague prayer, NH/NS (Muršili II). The prayer has two duplicates, KUB 14.10 (CTH 378.II.C) and KUB 14.11 (CTH 378.II.B).

(1)

KUB 14.10 i: // (19) <sup>r</sup>nam<sup>1</sup>-ma-za EZEN<sub>4</sub>.HI.A-ia ku-wa-pí e-eš-ša-aḫ-ḫu-un / (20) nu A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ ḫu-u-ma-an-da-a-aš p[í-r]a-an / (21) [EGI]R-pa<sup>13</sup> i-ia-aḫ-ḫa-at 1-EN É DINGIR-LIM-kán / (22) <sup>r</sup>Ú<sup>1</sup>-UL te-eḫ-ḫu-un<sup>14</sup> nu-za ḫi-in-g[a]-ni še-er / (23) A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ ḫu-u-ma-an-da-a-aš<sup>15</sup> <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-a[r]-<sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-u-wa-ar / (24) [e-eš]-<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-aḫ-ḫu-un<sup>16</sup> <sup>r</sup>IK<sup>1</sup>-[RI-BI]<sup>HL.A</sup>-aš-m)a-[aš-ká]n / (25) [m]a-<sup>r</sup>al<sup>1</sup>-za-aš-ki-nu-<sup>r</sup>un<sup>17</sup> [nu-(wa)-mu(?) DINGIR.MEŠ BE-LU<sup>ME1</sup>Š-IA / (26) [i]š-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-ma-aš-[tén<sup>18</sup> nu-(wa)-kán(?) IŠ-TU(?) KUR <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI(?) / (27) [ḫi-i]n-<sup>r</sup>kán<sup>19</sup> [ar-ḫa(?) ú-i-ia-at-tén(?) <sup>URU</sup>ḫa-at-tu-š]a-aš-wa / (28) [ḫi-in-kán(?) nam-ma Ú-UL tar-aḫ-z]i (the same passage also appears in KUB 14.11 i 13'-22'). Manuscript C (KUB 14.10) breaks. The text continues in manuscripts A (KUB 14.8) and B (KUB 14.11). KUB 14.8 obv.: (1') [nu-wa(?) ku-e-ez-]-<sup>r</sup>qa(?) INIM<sup>1</sup>(?) a[k-ki-iš-ki-it-ta-ri(?)<sup>20</sup> nu-wa-ra-at na-aš-šu a-ri-ia-še-eš-na-az] / (2') [ḫa-an-da-it]-<sup>r</sup>ta-ru<sup>21</sup> na-aš-ma-wa-at-za-ká[n te-eš-ḫi-it ú-wa-al-lu na-aš-ma-at] / (3') [<sup>LÚ</sup>DINGIR-LIM-ni]-an-za-ma me-ma-a-ú ... (obv. 1-3 of KUB 14.8 is duplicated by lines i 23'-24' of KUB 14.11).

[Further]more, also when I performed the festivals, I went [bac]k and forth to all the gods. I did not prefer one temple. ***I have repeatedly made pleas***<sup>22</sup>

12

The phrase *arkuwar iyat* has been translated here as: “Als Muršiliš ... ein Gebet verr[ichtete]” Goetze 1930: 177; “Как Мурсилис .. молился богам“ (When Muršili... prayed to gods) Ivanov 1977: 186; “Quand Mursili (a) fait sa plaidoirie” Lebrun 1980: 202; “Quand Mursili présente som plaidoyer” Christmann-Franck 1989: 53; “Als Mursili (ein) Gebet verrich[tete]” Ünal 1991: 811; “When Mursili [pled] his case” Beckman 1997: 157; “When Mursili made a plea” Singer 2002a: 64; “When Muršili ma[de] his plea” van den Hout 2006: 263.

13

B: line division

14

B: line division

15

B: *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš*

16

B: line division

17

B: [ma-a]l-za-aš-ki-nu-un and line division.

18

B: line division

19

B: line division

20

B: line division

21

B breaks

22

The previous translation of *arkuwar eššaḫḫun* in the present context include: “I have pled my case” Beckman 1997: 157; “he incluido en mis plegarias” Bérnabe 1987: 279; “j’ai fait mon plaidoyer” Christmann-Franck 1989: 53; “I repeatedly made a self-justification to all the gods” *CHD* L-N: 134; “Und so richtete ich Gebet” Goetze 1930: 207; “I have laid in

to all the gods concerning the plague and I have repeatedly [vow]ed v[ows to you]: “Hear [me, O gods], my [lords, and send away] the plague [from the land of Ḫatt]i. [Ḫattu]ša [*can no longer*] overcome [*the plague*]. Let the matter [becau]se of which the[re is continual dy]ing be [*deter*]mined [*either through an oracle, or let me see it in a dream, or*] let a [man of go]d pronounce it.”

(2)

KUB 14.8 rev.: // (20') *nu-za ka-a-ša A-NA* <sup>d</sup>IM<sup>23</sup> EN-IA *ḫi-i[n-g]a-ni še-er*<sup>24</sup> *ar-ku-u-wa-ar*<sup>25</sup> *e-eš-ša-aḫ-ḫi* / (21') *nu-mu* <sup>d</sup>U <sup>URU</sup> *ḪA-AT-TI*<sup>26</sup> EN-IA *iš-ta-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-aš*<sup>27</sup> *nu-mu ḫu-iš-nu-ut*<sup>28</sup> ... / (the passage is duplicated by lines iii 45'-46' of KUB 14.11)

**I am making a plea**<sup>29</sup> concerning the plague to the Stormgod, my lord. Hear me, o Stormgod of Ḫatti, my lord! Save me!

(3)

KUB 14.8 rev.: (23') *na-aš-ma ma-a-an A-NA* *İR-TI ku-e-da-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>-ik-ki ku-it-ki na-a[k]-ki-ia-aḫ-ḫa-a[n]* / (24') *nu-za A-NA EN-ŠU ar-ku-wa-ar i-ia-az-zi na-an EN-ŠU iš-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-ma-aš-zi nu-uš-<sup>r</sup>ši<sup>1</sup> g[e-en-zu da-a-i]* / (25') *ku-it na-ak-ki-ia-aḫ-ḫa-an na-at-ši* <sup>r</sup>SIG<sub>5</sub><sup>1</sup>-*aḫ-zi*

Or if anything is a concern to some servant, **he makes a plea**<sup>30</sup> to his master. His master hears him and h[as pity] on him and whatever was a concern, he sets it right for him.

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prayer” *idem* 1950: 394; “I made pleas” van den Hout 2006: 263; “я совершал моления” (I continued to pray) Ivanov 1977: 186; “habe ich (immer wieder) an alle Götter ein Gebet gemacht (gerichtet)” Kammenhuber HW<sup>2</sup> 1a: 310; Kühne does not include this paragraph in his translation; “j'ai [présenté] ma plaidoirie” Lebrun 1980: 211; “I made a plea” Puhvel HED vol. 1: 150; “I kept making pleas” *idem* vol. 6: 36; “I have repeatedly pled” Singer 2002a: 58; “he realizado la plegaria” Trabazo 2002: 311.

23

B: <sup>d</sup>U

24

B: line division

25

B: [*a*]r-ku-wa-ar

26

B: <sup>URU</sup> *ḪA-AT-TI* and line division

27

B: *iš-da-ma-aš*

28

B: <sup>r</sup>ḫu<sup>1</sup>-u-<iš>-nu-ut

29

The phrase *arkuwar eššaḫḫi* has been rendered here as: “I am now pleading my case” Beckman 1997: 158; “He remitido”; Bérnabe 1987: 283; “je présente ma plaidoirie” Christmann-Franck 1989: 56; “richte ich ... ein Gebet” Goetze 1930: 217; “I lay the matter of the plague” Goetze 1950: 395; “I made a plea now”; van den Hout 2006: 265; “я совершил молитву” (I pray) Ivanov 1977: 188; “I continue in prayer” Kühne 1978: 173; “je present[e] ma plaidoirie” Lebrun 1980: 214; “I make a plea” Puhvel HED vol. 1: 149; “I am now continuing to make a plea” Singer 2002a: 60; “realizo le plegaria” Trabazo 2002: 325.

30

Previous translations of *arkuwar iyazi* in the present context include: “he pleads his case” Beckman 1997: 158; “él presenta su alegato” Bérnabe 1987: 283; “il présente sa defense” Christmann-Franck 1989: 56; “richtet er eine Bitte” Goetze 1930: 217; “he appeals” *idem* 1950: 395; “he will make a plea” van den Hout 2006: 265; “он обращается с мольбой” (he makes a plea) Ivanov 1977: 190; “he makes a request” Kühne 1978: 173; “il présente sa défense” Lebrun 1980: 214; “he makes a plea” Melchert 1998: 46; “he makes a clean breast of it” Puhvel HED vol.1: 149; “he makes a plea” Singer 2002a: 60; “realize una petición” Trabazo 2002: 325.

(4)

KUB 14.8 rev.: // (37') [nu-ut-t]a ka-a-ša am-mu-uq-qa A-NA <sup>dU URU</sup>HA-AT-TI EN-IA **ar-ku-eš-ki-mi**<sup>31</sup> nu-mu TI-nu-ut / (38') [nu ma-a]-an ke-e-ez-za ku-wa-at-qa ud-da-a-na-az ak-ki-iš-ki-it-ta-ri na-at ku-it-ma-an / (39') [EGIR-p]a SIG<sub>5</sub>-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ki-mi nu-kán ŠA DINGIR.MEŠ ku-i-e-eš LÚ.MEŠ NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-la-aš-ša<sup>32</sup> / (40') [a-aš-ša]-ante-eš na-at le-e nam-ma ak-kán- erasure zi // (the passage is duplicated by lines iv 1'-7' of KUB 14.10).

**I continue to make a plea**<sup>33</sup> to you, o Stormgod of Ḫatti, my lord. Save me! If perhaps there has been continual dying because of this matter, let the makers of the thick bread and libation pourers of the gods who remain not die anymore, while I am setting it right!

(5)

If the restoration of line iv 25' of manuscript C (KUB 14.10) is correct either *arkuwar iyat* or another form of that expression is employed in the colophon probably as a generic label.

KUB 14.10 iv: // (23') [DU]B.<sup>r</sup>1.KAM<sup>1</sup> QA-TI <sup>m</sup>Mu-ur-ši-li-[iš-za LUGAL] / (24') [ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-a]n ḫi-in-<sup>r</sup>ga-ni še<sup>1</sup>-[er A-NA <sup>dU URU</sup>HA-AT-TI Û DINGIR.MEŠ(?)] / (25') [**ar-ku-u-w**]a-<sup>r</sup>ar<sup>1</sup> [**i-ia-at**]

[Table]t one. (Text) complete. [When] Muršili, [*the king, made a p*]le[a<sup>34</sup> to the Stormgod of Ḫatti and the gods] con[cerning] the plague.

#### 5. KUB 14.12 (CTH 378.3.A), the third plague prayer, NH/NS (Muršili II).

KUB 14.12 rev.: (2') nu ka-a-ša am-mu-uk <sup>m</sup>Mur-š[i-li-iš <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA-KU-NU ÌR-KU-NU **ar-ku-wa-nu-un**(?)<sup>35</sup> / (3') nu-mu-uš-ša-an DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-IA [iš-ta-ma-aš-tén ... ]

I, Murš[ili, your priest, your servant have] hereby [**plead my case**].<sup>36</sup> Hear] me, o gods, my lords!

<sup>31</sup> C: <sup>r</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-ku-e-eš-k[i-mi]

<sup>32</sup> C: <sup>LÚ.MEŠ.DUG</sup>iš-pa-an-t[u- ...]

<sup>33</sup> The verbal form *arkueškimi* has been translated here as: “I repeatedly plead my case” Beckman 1997: 159; “te estoy suplicando” Bérnabe 1987:283; “je t’adresse une plaidoirie” Christmann-Franck 1989: 56; “bete ich” Goetze 1930: 217; “I am praying” *idem* 1950: 396; “I keep pleading” van den Hout 2006: 266; “я тебе молюсь” (I pray to you) Ivanov 1977: 190; “I address my prayers to you” Kühne 1978: 174; “j’adresse plaidoirie sur plaidoirie” Lebrun 1980: 214; “I am now continuing to plead” Singer 2002a: 60, “yo te rezo sin cesar!” Trabazo 2002: 327.

<sup>34</sup> The expression *arkuwar iya-* has been translated here as “молился” (prayed) by Ivanov 1977: 191 and as “ha realizado la plegaria” by Trabazo 2002: 329.

<sup>35</sup> In the framework of the plague prayer, the restoration of the verb *arkuwai-* meaning “to plead” is very likely; however, it is not certain whether one should restore here the first person singular present tense (*arkuwami*) or the first person singular past tense form (*arkuwanun*) of *arkuwai-*. Both forms are possible in the present context.

<sup>36</sup> The sentence that contains *arkuwanun* has been previously translated as: “Now, I, Muršili, [have pled my case] Beckman 1997: 159; “moi, Mursili, [j’ai fait mon plaidoyer]” Christmann-Franck 1989: 57; “ich Murš[i]liš, euer Priester (und) euer Knecht betete!”

## 6. KUB 14.13 (CTH 738.4.A), the fourth plague prayer, NH/NS (Muršili II).

KUB 14.13 iv: (23) [ma-a-an-ma-w]a a-ši me-mi-aš ŠA DINGIR-LIM a-ša-a[n-za] / (24) [nu-wa-ra-aš-m]u A-BU-IA a-ri-ia-še-eš-na-[az] / (25) [Ú-UL ú-e-mi-i]a-at Ú-UL-ma-wa-ra-aš am-mu-[uk] / (26) [a-ri-ia-še-eš-na-az] AK-ŠU-UD nu-wa KUR<sup>URU</sup> ĤAT-[TI] / (27) <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[ri-ia-zi ki-nu-n]a-wa-ra-aš a-ri-ia-še-<sup>r</sup>eš-na<sup>1</sup>-[az] / (28) <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[e-mi-ia-az-zi nu-wa-za(?)] a[r-ku-wa-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[nu-un(?)]<sup>37</sup>

[If] the aforementioned matter concerning the god is tr[ue], my father [did not fin]d [it] through an oracle, nor did I find it [through an oracle]. Should the land of Ĥatti [enquire an oracle? Will it now] fi[nd] it through an oracular investigation?<sup>38</sup> **I have ple[d ma case]**<sup>39</sup>

## 7. KUB 6.45 (CTH 381.A), a “prayer” addressed to the assembly of Hittite gods, NH/NS (Muwatalli II). The text has one duplicate KUB 6.46 (CTH 381.B).

(1)

KUB 6.45 + KBo 57.18 i: (1) <sup>r</sup>UM-MA<sup>1</sup> Ta-ba-ar-na<sup>m</sup> NIR.GÁL LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR<sup>URU</sup> ĤA-AT-TI / (2) [DUMU]<sup>m</sup> MUR-ŠI-I-LI LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR<sup>URU</sup> ĤA-AT-TI UR.SAG ma-a-an UN-[ší]<sup>40</sup> / (3) [me-m]i-aš ku-iš-ki na-ak-ki-ia-aš-zi nu-za A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ ar-ku-wa-ar / (4) [D]Û-zi (The passage is duplicated by KUB 6.46 i 1-4).

Thus (says) Tabarna Muwatalli, great king, the king of the land of Ĥatti, [so]n of Muršili, great king, the king of the land of Ĥatti, the hero: If some [matt]er weighs [on] a man, **he [ma]kes a plea**<sup>41</sup> to the gods.

(2)

KUB 6.45 iv: (45) GIM-an-ma NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA.ĤIA pá-r-ši-ia-u-wa-an-zi zi-in-na-i / (46) nu-kán ku-e A-WA-TE<sup>MEŠ</sup> A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI ŠĀ-ta / (47) na-

Goetze 1930: 239; “I, Muršili, [your priest, your servant] hereby [pled my case]” Singer 2002a: 57.

<sup>37</sup> The traces preserved on the tablet suggest that some form of the verb *arkuwai-* or the expression *arkuwar iya-/dai-* appears in line iv 28. The previous editors and translators of this text restored here the verbal form *arkuwanun*.

<sup>38</sup> This sentence was interpreted by Beckman 1997: 159, Goetze 1930: 251 and Lebrun 1980: 227 as a statement “The land of Ĥatti [enquired through an oracle] and [now have found it] through an oracle.” Singer 2002a: 66 understood this sentence as a question. The latter interpretation is followed here. The king states that both, his father and himself, failed to obtain the answer from the god in the matter of the re-establishing the neglected rites. Perhaps if the Hittite people ask the god, he will be more willing to respond.

<sup>39</sup> The verbal form *arkuwanun* has been rendered here as: “I have pled my case” by Beckman 1997: 159 and Singer 2002a: 66; “[und ich] betet[e]” by Goetze 1930: 251 and as “j’ai [présenté ma plaidoirie]” by Lebrun 1980: 227.

<sup>40</sup> B: *an-tu-uḫ-ši*

<sup>41</sup> Previous translations of the sentence that employs the expression *arkuwar DÛ-zi* include: “Cuando la situación abrumba a un hombre y se acerca a sus dioses en plegaria” Bernabé 1987: 285; “When things get too much for a man and he approaches his gods in prayer” Goetze 1950: 397; “si une parole pèse sur un individu, il fait son excuse aux dieux” Laroche 1964: 18; “Si pour un individu, quelque parole devient pénible, il se justifiera devant les dieux” Lebrun 1980: 273; “or if something [is] heavy on some servant’s mind, he makes a clean breast of it to his master” Puhvel HED vol. 1, 149; “If some problem burdens a man(’s conscience), he [mak]es a plea to the gods” Singer 1996: 31 and 2002a: 86, “él realiza una plegaria” Trabazo 2002: 335.

*at-za*<sup>42</sup> A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ *ar-ku-wa-ar* DÛ-zi GIM-an-ma-kán / (48) *ar-ku-wa-ar ti-ia-u-wa-ar* kar-ap-ta-ri // <sup>43</sup>  
 (49) *nu* EGIR-ŠU-ma<sup>44</sup> 3 N[INDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.R]A BABBAR ŠÀ.BA 1 SA<sub>5</sub> A-NA DINGIR.LÚ.MEŠ KUR-e-aš / (50) *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš pá[r-š]i-ia* NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A *me-ma-al iš-ḫu-u-wa-i* / (51) LÁL Ì.DÛG.GA *la-ḫu-u-wa-i* 1 <sup>DUG</sup>KU-KU-UB GEŠTIN BAL-ti<sup>45</sup> // <sup>46</sup> (52) EGIR-ŠU-ma<sup>47</sup> 3 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA BABBAR A-NA DINGIR.MUNUS.MEŠ KUR-e-aš *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš* / (53) *pár-ši-ia ar-ku-wa-ar-za* 'ku<sup>1</sup>-e-da-aš *da-a-iš* (The passage is duplicated by lines ii 1 and iv 46-51 KUB 6.46)

When he finishes breaking the thick breads, **he makes**, the matters which are in His Majesty's heart, **into a plea**<sup>48</sup> to the gods.

When **the presentation of the plea** (lit. the presenting the plea)<sup>49</sup> is finished, thereafter he br[ea]ks three white thi[ck bread]s within/inside one red, for the male gods of all the lands. He scatters a oily bread (and) groats. He pours out honey (and) fine oil. He libates one pitcher of wine. Thereafter he breaks three white thick breads for the goddesses of all the lands, to whom **he presented the plea**.<sup>50</sup>

8. KBo 11.1 (CTH 382), a prayer to the Stormgod concerning the cult of Kummanni, NH/NS (Muwatalli II).

(1)

KBo 11.1 obv.: (11) <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI-ma-aš <sup>m</sup>NIR.GÁL EN KUR.KUR.ḪI.A 'ka<sup>1</sup>-a-ša [ḫal-zi-iḫ-ḫu-un nu-za ki-i] 'ar<sup>1</sup>-[ku-wa]-ar i-[ia-mi(?)] / (12) *na-at* <sup>d</sup>U EN-IA *iš-ta-ma-aš-du nu-za* KUR.KUR.ḪI.A-aš *wa-aš-túl*<sup>HLA</sup> *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* EGIR-pa *la-a-mi* [na-at-za ki-i] 'i 'ar-ku<sup>1</sup>-wa-ar i-ia-m[i] / (13) *na-at* <sup>d</sup>U EN-IA *iš-ta-ma-aš-du*

I, My Majesty, Muwatalli, lord of the lands, [have] just [invoked] them, [and **I am making** this] **p[le]a**. May the Stormgod, my lord, hear it! How I dispel the sins of the lands and **make [them] into [th]is plea**<sup>51</sup>, may the Stormgod, my lord, hear it!

42

B: line division.

43

Paragraph division is omitted in ms B

44

B: EGIR-ŠU-ma

45

The sentence 1 <sup>DUG</sup>KU-KU-UB GEŠTIN BAL-ti is omitted in ms B

46

Paragraph division is omitted in ms B

47

B: EGIR-an-da

48

The expression *arkuwar* DÛ-zi has been translated in the present context as: "he presents in prayer..." Goetze 1950: 398-399; "qu'il présente comme plaidoirie" Lebrun 1980: 282; "he makes into a plea..." Singer 1996: 44 and 2002a: 94, "las hace plegaria" Trabazo 2002: 351.

49

The previous translations of *arkuwar tiyauwar* in the present context include: "la presentation de la plaidoirie" Lebrun 1980: 282; "plea-presentation" Puhvel HED vol. 1: 149; "the presentation of the plea" Singer 1996: 44 and 2002a: 94.

50

*arkuwar dāiš* has been translated in this context as: "I prayed" Goetze 1950: 398; "j'ai adressé une plaidoirie" Lebrun 1980: 281; "I have pleaded" Puhvel HED vol. 1 149; "...he presented a plea" Singer 1996: 45 and 2002a: 94.

51

The phrase *arkuwar iyami* has been translated in the present context as: "los present en este alegato" Bernabé 1987: 294; "to make a plea; to make sth. into a plea" in *CHD* L-N: 3 and by Houwink ten Cate/Josephson 1967: 114-115; by Lebrun 1980: 300; and by Singer 2002a: 82-83.

(2)

KBo 11.1 obv.: (18) *ma-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[an]* DINGIR-LIM KUR-TI-*ma ku-iš-ki* 𒄩UL-*aḫ-ḫa-an-za nu* <sup>d</sup>U-ni <sup>r</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-[*ku-wa-it ki-nu-na-at-za* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI] <sup>m</sup>NIR.[GÁL EN.KUR.KUR.ḪI.]A *ar-ku-wa-ar e-eš-ša-aḫ-ḫi* / (19) <sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-at<sup>1</sup> (NI EŠ) <sup>d</sup>U EN-IA *iš-ta-ma-aš-du*

If some god of the land was maltreated and he com[plained] to the Stormgod, [now I, My Majesty], Muwa[talli, lord of the land]s **will make** [that] **into a plea**<sup>52</sup>, and may the Stormgod, my lord, hear it!

(3)

KBo 11.1 colophon: DUB.1.KAM ŠA <sup>d</sup>U *ar-ku-wa-ar ti-ia-u-wa-aš* A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI-at-kán K[AxU-az(?)] / [p]a-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-a a-ni-ia-an QA-TI / {ŠU} ŠU <sup>m</sup>Lu-u-ur-ma <sup>LÚ</sup>53 A.ZU.TUR GÁB.[ZU.ZU ...] / DUMU <sup>m</sup>A-ki-<sup>d</sup>U-ub

Tablet one of **presenting a plea**<sup>54</sup> of/to the Stormgod. It was written down [from the] *mo[uth]* of His Majesty. (Text) complete. (Written) by the hand of Lurma(ziti), junior incantation priest, apprentice [of...], son of Aki-Teššub.

9. KUB 21.19 (CTH 383), a prayer of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa to the Sungoddess of Arinna, NH/NS.

KUB 21.19 obv.: (14) <sup>m</sup>Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li-iš 𒊩R-KA <sup>m</sup>Pu-d[u-ḫ]é-pa-aš GÉME-KA / (15) *ar-ku-wa-ar ki-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>r</sup>-ša-an i-ia-[a]t*

Ḫattušili, your servant, and Pud[uh]epa, your maid, **have made this plea**<sup>55</sup> as follows.

10. KUB 21.27 (CTH 384), a prayer of Puduḫepa to the Sungoddess of Arinna and her circle, NH/NS.

(1)

“Prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna” KUB 21.27 ii: (11) *nu-za ki-i ut-tar* A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>TÚL-na <sup>r</sup>GAŠAN<sup>1</sup>-IA / (12) GAŠAN KUR.KUR.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>ḪAT-TI MUNUS.LUGAL ŠA-ME-E Û ER-ŠE-TIM / (13) *am-mu-uk* <sup>m</sup>Pu-du-ḫé-pa-aš GÉME-KA *ar-ku-wa-ar i-ia-nu-un* / (14) *nu-mu* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>TÚL-na GAŠAN-IA *ka-a-ri ti-ia nu-mu iš-ta-ma-aš*

<sup>52</sup> The phrase *arkuwar eššaḫḫi* in line 18 has been previously translated as: “lo hago motivo de mi alegato” Bernabé 1987: 294; “I make [this] (the subject of) my plea” Houwink ten Cate/Josephson 1967: 115; “mache ich ... zum Gebet” Kammenhuber HW<sup>2</sup>: II 1.b 310-311; “je présente ma plaidoirie” Lebrun 1980: 300; “I make that into a plea” Singer 2002a: 83.

<sup>53</sup> For the interpretation of the Sumerogram LÚ as part of <sup>m</sup>Lu-u-ur-ma-LÚ (Lurmaziti) rather than a determinative of A.ZU.TUR see Singer 1996: 162 n. 353.

<sup>54</sup> The previous translations of the phrase *arkuwar tiyauwaš* in the present context include “presenting of a prayer” by Berman 1982: 98, Kammenhuber HW<sup>2</sup>: 312, Puhvel HED vol. 1: 149 and Singer 2002a: 85; “presenting of a plea” by Houwink ten Cate 1967: 119 and Neu 1982: 132/144 and “la présentation de la prière-plaidoyer” by Mouton 2007: 126.

<sup>55</sup> The previous translations of *arkuwar iyat* in the present context include: “... ont présenté la plaidoirie” Lebrun 1980: 317; “...have made this plea” Singer 2002a: 97; “...erhoben Einspruch” Sürenhagen 1981: 89.

This matter I, Puduḥepa, your maid, **made into a plea**<sup>56</sup> to the Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, lady of the Ḫatti lands, the queen of heaven and earth. O Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, be gracious towards me and hear me!

(2)

“Prayer and Vow to Mezzulla” KUB 21.27 + 676/v iv: (18’) [am-mu-u]q-qa-za <sup>m</sup>Pu-du-ḫé-pa-<sup>r</sup>aš GÉME<sup>1</sup>-KA ki-e ku-e A-WA-TE<sup>MEŠ</sup> / (19’) [A-NA] <sup>d</sup>IM A-BI-KA <sup>r</sup>Ú<sup>r</sup> A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>rTÚL<sup>1</sup>-na <sup>r</sup>AMA<sup>1</sup>-KA / (20’) [ar-k]u-wa-ar i-ia-nu-<sup>r</sup>un<sup>1</sup> na-at-mu <sup>d</sup>rMe-ez-zu-ul<sup>1</sup>-la-aš <sup>r</sup>GAŠAN<sup>1</sup>-IA / (21’) [tar-kum]-ma-a-i na-at A-NA <sup>d</sup>IM <sup>r</sup>A-BI-KA<sup>1</sup> / (22’) [Ú] <sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>T[ÚL-n]a <sup>r</sup>AMA<sup>1</sup>-K[A p]a-ra-a ar-nu-ut / (23’) [nu-mu]-kán u-wa-a-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[nu-ut]

These words which [I], Puduḥepa, your maid, **have made into a [pl]ea**<sup>57</sup> to the Stormgod, your father, and to the Sungoddess of Arinna, your mother, announce them for me, O Mezulla, my lady; pass them on to the Stormgod, your father, [and] to the Sungoddess of Arinna, your mother. Recommend me (“intercede on my behalf!” Singer 2002a: 104)!

(3)

“Prayer and Vow to the Stormgod of Zippalanda” KUB 21.27 + 676/v iv: (32’) nu-za ku-u-un ku-[in <sup>58</sup> me-mi-an] am-<sup>r</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-uk <sup>m</sup>Pu-du-ḫé-pa-aš GÉME-KA / (33’) ar-ku-wa-ar i-[ia-nu-un]<sup>59</sup> nu-mu zi-ik <sup>d</sup>IM <sup>URU</sup>ZI-IP-PALA-AN-DA EN-IA / (34’) tar-kum-ma-a-i na-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-[kán p]a-ra-a ar-nu-ut DINGIR-LUM-mu EN-IA / (35’) ki-e-da-ni me-mi-ni <sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-ri ti-ia ḫar-na-a-u-aš-za ku-it MUNUS-za / (36’) A-NA DINGIR-LIM EN-IA še-er S[AG.D]U-za šar-ni-in-kán ḫar-mi / (37’) nu-mu-kán DINGIR-LUM EN-IA A-NA <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>[IM] A-BI-KA Û A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>rTÚL-na / (38’) u-wa-a-i-nu-ut <sup>m</sup>Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li-i[š-š]a ÌR-KA A-NA ZI DINGIR-LIM / (39’) še-er da-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-ia-at nu-za a-pí-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[el SA]G.DU-an ZI-ŠÚ-ia / (40’) uš-ša-ni-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-ki-it ku-it-ma-an [ŠA DING]IR-<sup>r</sup>LIM<sup>1</sup> EN-IA / (41’) <sup>URU</sup>Ne-ri-iq-qa-an a-aš-ši-ia-an-t[a-an UR]U-an EGIR-pa / (42’) ú-e-te-it nu-kán zi-iq-qa DINGIR-LUM [EN-]A / (43’) A-NA <sup>m</sup>ḪA-AT-TU-ŠI-LI ÌR-KA aš-šu-li <sup>r</sup>ḫar<sup>1</sup>-p[í-i]a-aḫ-ḫu-ut / (44’) nu-za ki-e ku-e A-WA-TE<sup>MEŠ</sup> A-NA <sup>d</sup>IM A-BI-KA / (45’) Û A-NA

<sup>56</sup> The previous translations of *arkuwar iyanun* in the present context include: “yo, Puduḥepa, ...expongo en un alegato” Bernabé 1987: 300; “I, Puduḥepa... laid in prayer” Goetze 1950: 393; “habe ich, Puduḥepa ... ein *arkuwar*-Rechtfertigungsgebet verfaßt” Haas 2006: 266; “я, Пудухепа, ... молюсь... (I, Puduḥepa, ... am praying about...) Ivanov 1977: 205; “je tiens le discours que voici en guise de plaidoirie” Lebrun 1980: 338; “I ...made into a prayer” Singer 2002a: 103; “habe ich ... als Einspruch erhoben” Sürenhagen 1981: 113; “he presentado como plegari” Trabazo 2002: 365; “Nun habe ich, Puduḥepa ...als ein Bittgebet formuliert” Ünal 1991: 815.

<sup>57</sup> The previous translations of *arkuwar iyanun* in the present context include: “... yo, Puduḥepa, ... he presentado en mi alegato” Bernabé 1987: 302; “... [I], Puduḥepa... have laid in [pray]er” Goetze 1950: 394; “...[ic]h, Puduḥepa... als [ark]uwar-Rechtfertigungsgebet gesprochen habe” Haas 2006: 268; “...j’ai présentée en guise [de plai]doirie” Lebrun 1980: 341; “... I, Puduḥepa ... have made into a prayer” Singer 2002a: 103; “... [i]ch, Puduḥepa ... [als Einsp]ruch erhob” Sürenhagen 1981: 113; “... yo, puduḥepa, ... he presentado como plegaria” Trabazo 2002: 373; “... [ic]h, Puduḥepa ... als Gebete gesprochen habe” Ünal 1991: 816.

<sup>58</sup> Boley 1984: 91 reads here *ku-i[t]*.

<sup>59</sup> Ünal and Haas must have read here *arkuwar i[yamū]*, which can be assumed from their translation of the expression *arkuwar iya-* in the present tense: “Gebet spreche” (Ünal 1991: 817) and “*arkuwar*-Rechtfertigungsgebet verfa[ßte]” (Haas 2006: 268).

<sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>TÚL-na AMA-KA *ar-ku-wa-ar e-eš-[ša]-aḫ-ḫi* / (46') *na-at-mu*  
<sup>d</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>ZI-IP-PA-LA-AN-DA EN-IA *pa-ra-a ar-nu-ut*

This [word] whi[ch], I, Puduḫepa, your maid, **[made] into a plea**<sup>60</sup>, you, O Stormgod of Zippalanda, announce it for me, and pass it on! O god, my lord, be gracious towards me in this matter! Since I am a woman of a birth stool and I have personally made restitution to the god, my lord, intercede on my behalf, O god, my lord, to the [Stormgod] your father and to the Sungoddess of Arinna! Ḫattušili, your servant made an effort (lit. exerted himself) with regard to the will of the god. He kept committing (lit. he kept risking) hi[s b]ody and his soul until he rebuilt Nerik, the belo[ved ci]ty [of the go]d, my lord. You, O god, [my lord], (lit. join up in favour) be favourably inclined towards Ḫattušili, your servant! And these words which **I make into a plea**<sup>61</sup> to the Stormgod, your father and to the Sungoddess of Arinna, your mother, pass them on for me O Stormgod of Zippalanda, my lord!

11. KUB 36.87 (CTH 386.3), a fragmentary prayer to the Stormgod of Nerik, NH/NS (either Muršili II or Ḫattušili III).<sup>62</sup>

KUB 36.87 iv: (2') <sup>d</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>*Ne-ri-ik* [EN-IA *am-mu-uk* (?) IGI-*an-da*(?)] / (3') [TUK]U.TUKU-*u-an-za*(?)<sup>63</sup> A-WA-TE<sup>rMES</sup><sub>1</sub> / (4') [*me-m*]a-an *ḫar-zi na-at e-[pu-un* (?) *na-aš-ta*(?)<sup>64</sup> / (5') [Z]I-*ni-it še-er ar-ḫa pa-a-u-[un* / (6') [*nu-u*]t-ta <sup>d</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>*Ne-ri-ik* / (7') [*ta-n*]i-*nu-wa-an ḫar-mi na-aš-mu* IGI-[*an-da*] / (8') [*ku-i*]t TUKU.TUKU-*u-wa-an-za* / (9') <sup>r</sup>*am*<sup>1</sup>-*mu-uk-ma-za tu-u-wa-<sup>r</sup>az*<sup>1</sup> / (10') *ar-ku-wa-ar i-ia-nu-<sup>r</sup>un*<sup>1</sup> / (11') *na-aš-ta* <sup>d</sup>IM EN-IA / (12') A-NA DUMU.NITA-KA *a-aš-ši-ia-an-<sup>r</sup>ti*<sup>1</sup> / (13') *pár-ra-a-an-da me-mi* / (14') *nu-mu-<sup>r</sup>kán*<sup>1</sup> *u-wa-i-nu-ut*

<sup>60</sup> The previous translations of the sentence that includes the expression *arkuwar iyanun* in the present context include: “Estas palabras que yo, Puduḫepa, tu sierva, he dicho en mi alegato” Bernabé 1987: 303; “Because I, Puduḫepa, your servant, make/have made prayer about this matter” Boley 1984: 92; “This [word], which I, Puduḫepa ... have sp[oken] in prayer” Goetze 1950: 394; “Und diese [Worte], die ich, Puduḫepa ... als *arkuwar*-Rechtfertigungsgebet verfa[ßte]” Haas 2006: 268; “Ce [mot]-ci qu[e] moi, Puduḫépa...j'ai pré[senté] comme plaidoirie” Lebrun 1980: 341; “This [word] which I, Puduḫepa ... [made] into a prayer” Singer 2002a: 105; “Und diese [Rede], wel[che] ich, Puduḫepa ... als Einspruch er[he]be” Sürenhagen 1981: 119; “esta palabras que yo, puduḫepa, ... he presentado como plegaria” Trabazo 2002: 375; “Diese [Worte], die ich, Puduḫepa ... als Gebet sp[reche]” Ünal 1991: 817.

<sup>61</sup> The previous translations of the sentence containing *arkuwar* include: “Estas palabras que present en mi alegato” Bernabé 1987: 303 “These words, which I lay in prayer” Goetze 1950: 394; “...diese Worte, die ich ... als *arkuwar*-Rechtfertigungsgebet verfasse” Haas 2006: 268; “faire parvenir pour moi ces mots que je multiplie en guise de plaidoirie” Lebrun 1980: 341; “And the words which I lay in prayer...” Singer 2002a: 105; “und ... diese Worte, die ich ... als Einspruch erhebe” Sürenhagen 1981: 119; “Estas palabras que hago plegaria” Trabazo 2002: 375; “...diese Worte, die ich ... als gebet spreche” Ünal 1991: 817. Haas 1970: 189-191; Lebrun 1980: 364.

<sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> [*meš*<sup>2</sup>-*r*]i-*u-an-za* was restored by Haas 1970: 192 and followed by Lebrun 1980: 371. Singer 2002a: 107 translated here “is angry (?)” probably due to the fact that the adjective TUK]U.TUKU-*u-an-za* appears here in the nom.sg.c. while the noun A-WA-TE<sup>MES</sup> is employed in the nom.-acc.c./n.pl.

<sup>64</sup> For the restoration *e-[pu*<sup>2</sup>-*un*<sup>2</sup>] see Haas 1970: 192 and Lebrun 1980: 367.

The Stormgod of Nerik, [my lord] is [an]gry [with me]. He has spoken words. [I accepted (lit. took)] them (and) I went off for the sake of the will(?) (of the god). O Stormgod of Nerik I have brought them in order for you. Since you are angry with me about them, **I have made a plea**<sup>65</sup> from afar. Speak across to your beloved son, O Stormgod, my lord and intercede on my behalf!

12. KUB 22.39 (CTH 577), a fragment of the SU, KIN and MUŠEN oracles, NH/NS.

KUB 22.39 iii: (3') ṚŠA<sup>1</sup> dU<sup>URU</sup> Ne-ri-Ṛik<sup>1</sup> ku-it ALA[M ...] / (4') ki-nu-un-ma-at Ú-ṚUL<sup>1</sup> ku-it pí-[ ...] / (5') dUTU-ŠI I-NA<sup>URU</sup> Ne-ri-iq-qa ši-[pa-an-ti(?) nu] / (6') A-NA DINGIR-LIM pí-ra-an ar-ḫa pé-e[n<sup>2</sup>-na-i(?)] / (7') EGIR-an-da-ma A-NA DINGIR-LIM SIS[KUR i-ia-zi(?)] / (8') ar-ku-wa-ar-za DÙ-zi du-ud-d[u-ia(?)] ḫal-za-i(?) / (9') KI.MIN nu SU.MEŠ SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru

Concerning the fact that the figure/statue of the Stormgod of Nerik [ ...]. But since now he/they does/do not [ ...] it, [should] His Majesty [sacrifice] in Nerik, [and drive away] before the god? Further, [should he perform] a rit[ual] to the god, **make a plea**<sup>66</sup>, [and call/cry] for mer[cy]? The same. Let the SU oracles be favourable.

13. KUB 22.57 (CTH 577), KIN oracles, NH/NS.

KUB 22.57 obv.: (11) Ṛd<sup>1</sup>HAL ku-it IT-TI dUTU-ŠI TUKU.TUKU-ti SIxSÁ-at / (12) Ṛnu-uš-ša-an<sup>67</sup> 1-an mu-u-kiš-šar<sup>HLA</sup> kar-ap-pu-u-e-ni / (13) Ṛnu<sup>1</sup> [x x e]n-Ṛni<sup>7(2)</sup> x x x pa-ra-a erasure Ṛe<sup>1</sup>-ep-pu-u-e-ni / (14) nu-uš-ši EGIR-pa tak-šu-la-u-Ṛe<sup>1</sup>-[ni] nam-ma-aš-ši ar-ku-wa-ar / (15) ti-ia-u-wa-aš še-er erasure maš-kán za-[an-k]i-la-tar SUM-an-zi / (16) ku-it-ma-an dUTU-ŠI ú-iz-zi nu-ut-ta dUTU-ŠI KASKAL-ši-aḫ-zi / (17) DINGIR-LUM a-pé-ez-za ZI-an wa-ar-š[i]-Ṛia<sup>1</sup>-ši A<sup>68</sup>-NA dUTU-ŠI erasure / (18) a-pé-e-da-ni UD-TI SIG<sub>5</sub>-in [m]e-ma<sup>1</sup>-at-ti SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru / (19) ḫUL<sup>1</sup>-u-an-za GAL wa-x-x-ia [ME-a]š<sup>69</sup> nu-kán DIN[GIR.MEŠ]-aš ṚNU<sup>1</sup>.S[IG<sub>5</sub>] //

Since it has been determined that divine HAL is angry with His Majesty,<sup>70</sup> we will 'lift'/cancel one invocation ritual. We will give ... and make peace with him again. Further, they will give him a gift (and) reparation on account of **presenting a plea**<sup>71</sup>, until His Majesty comes and (until) His Majesty satisfies you.<sup>72</sup> Will you, o god, reconcile your mind with that? Will

<sup>65</sup> The previous translations of *arkuwar iyanun* in the present context include: "habe ich ... ein Opfergebet gemacht" Haas 1970: 193; "j'ai présenté une plaidoire" Laroche 1980: 371; "I have made a plea" Singer 2002a: 107; "I have made a prayer from afar" CHD P 137 4b2'b'.

<sup>66</sup> The previous translations of the sentence employing the expression *arkuwar DÙ-zi* has been offered by Sommer-Falkenstein 1974: 180: "... hinterdrein aber der Gottheit ein Op[fer....] ein Bittgebet darbringen [und] um Gnad[e flehen]."

<sup>67</sup> This restoration follows *CHD* vol. L-N: 325.

<sup>68</sup> The sign *a* is written here with two single vertical strokes.

<sup>69</sup> The reading [m]e-ma<sup>1</sup>-at-ti in line 18 and ḫUL<sup>1</sup>-u-an-za and [ME-a]š in line 19 was suggested by Schwemer (6.10.2010).

<sup>70</sup> Lit. "Because the divine HAL has been determined to be in anger with His Majesty"

<sup>71</sup> The phrase *arkuwar tiyauwaš* has been rendered here as "presenting a defense" in *CHD* vol. L-N: 209 sub 2.

<sup>72</sup> Lit. "will put you on the way."

you, on that day, speak favourably to His Majesty? Let (the oracle) be favourable! GREAT EVIL [too]k ... and (it is) with the G[ODS]. Unfavourable.

14. KBo 41.210 (CTH 581), an oracle text, NH/NS (Hattušili III).<sup>73</sup>

KBo 41.210: (4') *nu-za* 'GIM<sup>1</sup>-an 'd<sup>1</sup>UTU-ŠI 'SISKUR<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ DÛ-zi / (5') 'nu-za<sup>1</sup> a-pí-e<sup>1</sup>(tak)-da-ni EGIR-pa ti-ia-u-wa-aš<sup>2</sup> 'INIM<sup>1</sup>-ni(?) / (6') **ar-ku-wa-ar** DÛ-zi šar-ni-ik-zi-el I-NA KUR URU<sup>URU</sup>GAM-TI / (7') pa-ra-a pa-a-i 'SIxSÀ-at<sup>1</sup>

When His Majesty performs rituals, **he makes a plea** in that matter of 'stepping back.' He gives compensation in the Lower land. It has been established.

15. KUB 58.41 (CTH 678), fragment of a ritual celebrated in Nerik, NH/NS.

KUB 58.41 obv. ii: (2') *nu-kán* 'GU<sup>4</sup>? < A-NA > <sup>d</sup>U AN-E / (3') <sup>UDU</sup>i-ia-a[n-ta-a]n A-NA <sup>d</sup>NIN.É.GAL / (4') BAL-ti n[a-aš<sup>2</sup>-ká]n GUNNI pa-ra-a / (5') a-ni-i[a-z]i an-da-ma-kán kiš-an me-ma-i / (6') ka-'a<sup>1</sup>-[ša] 'LUGAL<sup>1</sup> MUNUS.LUGAL <sup>GIŠ</sup>da-ḥa-an-ga / (7') mu-u-[ga-u-an-z]i(?) i-ia-an-ta-ri nu-wa ma-a-an / (8') DINGIR <sup>U</sup>[<sup>RU</sup>N]e-ri-ik ku-it-ki TUKU.TUKU-u-an-za / (9') [nu-wa-ar-a]t<sup>2</sup>-za **ar-ku-wa-ar** DÛ-zi nu-wa le-'e<sup>1</sup> / (10') iš-dam-ma-aš-zi KASKAL-za-wa-kán ar-ḥa a[r-ta(?)]

He sacrifices an ox to the Stormgod of heaven (and) a sh[ee]p to NIN.É.GAL. He prep[are]s [them] on the hearth and speaks as follows: “The king and the queen hereby proceed to the *daḥanga* to in[voke] (the god)]. If the god of [Ne]rik is angry about something, **he will make a plea**<sup>74</sup> about it. (If) he does not hear, [*he will stand*] away from the road.”

**I.B.a. arkuwai-, -za arkuwar iya- “to pray”, arkuwar, akuešni “prayer”**

1. KBo 6.1 = KUB 8.53 (CTH 341.III.1.C), a Hittite version of the Epic of Gilgameš, NH/NS.

KBo 6.1 iv: (7) *nu* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ-aš A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU ŠA-ME-E [ ... ] / (8) ka-a-aš-wa a-pa-a-aš UD.'KAM<sup>1</sup>-za I-NA URU-ri<sup>2</sup> [ ... ] / (9) ku-it URU-ri EGIR-pa a-še-ša-nu-ut [ ... ] / (10) am-mu-uk<sup>1</sup>(az)-ma-'za-kán<sup>1</sup> A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU Š[A-ME]-'E<sup>1</sup> [ ... ] / (11) *nu* 'KASKAL<sup>1</sup>-an e-ep-pu-'un<sup>1</sup> x [x] x x [ ... ] / (12) [<sup>d</sup>UT]U 'ŠA<sup>1</sup>-ME-E Š[A<sup>d</sup>] 'GIŠ<sup>1</sup>.GIM.MAŠ **ar-ku-wa-[ar]** / (13) iš-ta-ma-aš-t[a] 'nu<sup>1</sup> A-NA <sup>d</sup>HU-WA-WA 'IM'.[MEŠ] / (14) GAL.MEŠ-iš a-ra-iz-zi

And Gilgameš [said] to the Sungod of heaven: “Behold! (This is) that very day that in the city [ ... ]. Since she/he resettled [Enkidu(?)]<sup>75</sup> in the city,

<sup>73</sup> Van den Hout 1998: 62.

<sup>74</sup> The previous translation of the sentence containing *arkuwar* DÛ-zi has been offered by Taggar-Cohen 2006: 255: “Now, if in any way he (i.e. the god) (is) angry at Nerik he will make a plea on that.”

<sup>75</sup> Restored by Beckman 2001: 161.

[...]. But I [...] <sup>76</sup> to the Sungod of heaven, and I have taken the road ... [ ... ].  
The Sungod] of heaven hear[d] **the praye[r]** o[f G]ilgameš and arouse the  
great wind[s] for H̄uwawa.

2. VBoT 121+ (CTH 376.I.B), a New Hittite copy of the prayer concerning the plague and enemy invasion and addressed to the Sungoddess of Arinna and a KIN oracle, NH/NS.

VBoT 121: (8') [ma-a-an-za] LUGAL-uš-ma I-NA <sup>URU</sup>PÚ-na **ar-ku-wa-ar**  
**i-i[a-zi? nu KIN SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru (?)** / (9') [x x] x da-a-aš nu-kán an-da SIG<sub>5</sub>-u-i I-  
NA x [ ... ] / (10') [**ar-ku-w**]a-ar **tí-ia-u-wa-ar** ME-aš na-<sup>r</sup>at<sup>r</sup> A-N[A ... ] /  
(11') NINDA GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA A-DAM-MA-ia ME-aš na-at pa-[ ... ]

[Should] the king **ma[ke]** (**this**) **prayer**<sup>77</sup> in Arinna? [Let the KIN oracle be favourable]. He took [ ... ], and [gave it] to the GOODNESS/RIGHTNESS. On [*the second day*] he took the **PRESENTATION OF THE [PRA]YER**<sup>78</sup> and he [gave] it t[o ...]. He took the THICK BREAD and BLOOD SACRIFICE(?) and he [gave] them [to ...]

3. KUB 24.1+ (CTH 377.A), a hymn and prayer of Muršili II to Telipinu, NH/NS.

KUB 24.1 colophon: // (19) DUB.1-PU QA-TI <sup>LÚ</sup>DUB.SAR-za GIM-an /  
(20) A-NA LUGAL še-er PA-NI <sup>d</sup>TE-LI-PÍ-NU / (21) UD.KAM-ti-li **ar-ku-**  
**wa-ar e-eš-ša-i**

Tablet one. (Text) complete. When the scribe **makes** daily a **prayer**<sup>79</sup> on behalf of the king before Telipinu.

4. KUB 6.45 (CTH 381.A), 'prayer' of Muwatalli to the Assembly of the Hittite gods, NH/NS.

(1)

"A prayer to all the gods of H̄atti" KUB 6.45 i: (20) *ki-nu-na-mu*  
DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>80</sup> *am-me-el ŠA* <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA-KU-NU ÌR-KU-NU *me-mi-an* /  
(21) **ar-ku-wa-ar**<sup>81</sup> **iš-ta-ma-aš-tén**<sup>82</sup> *hu-u-da-ak-ma-az šu-me-el-pát*<sup>83</sup> ŠA

<sup>76</sup> Beckman 2001: 161 restores here "prayed" with a question mark.

<sup>77</sup> The expression *arkuwar iya-* in line 8' was translated by Berman 1982: 98 and 1983: 8 as "if the king will make a prayer."

<sup>78</sup> The phrase *arkuwar tiyauwar* was translated by Berman 1982: 98 and 1983: 8 as "presenting the [pray]er."

<sup>79</sup> The sentence with the expression *arkuwar ešša-* has been rendered in the present context as: "Lorsque le scribe, au nom du roi, en face de Telibinu, chaque jour, présente sa défense" Christmann-Franck 1989: 50; "Wenn der Schreiber wegen des Königs vor Telipinu täglich ein Gebet macht (verrichtet)" Kammenhuber HW<sup>2</sup> 1a: 310; "When the scribe daily makes a prayer" Gurney 1940: 37; "When the scribe presents daily a plea" Kassian-Yakubowitch 2007: 434; "Lorsque le scribe présente quotidiennement la plaidoire" Lebrun 1980: 187; "[he] daily makes a plea" Puhvel HED vol.1: 149; "When the scribe presents daily a plea" Singer 2002a: 56.

<sup>80</sup> B: DINGIR.ME.EŠ

<sup>81</sup> B: *ar-ku-wa-ar-ra*; a line division.

<sup>82</sup> The phrase *arkuwar ištamaš-* is also employed in lines i 21-22, 27-28 of ms. B (i.e. KUB 6.46).

EN-LÍ DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>84</sup> / (22) ŠA É.ME.EŠ<sup>85</sup> DINGIR-LIM-KU-NU<sup>86</sup> ŠA  
 ALAM-KU-NU *ar-ku-wa-ar* / (23) *i-ia-mi*<sup>87</sup> DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>88</sup> ŠA KUR  
 URU.GIŠ<sup>89</sup> *ḤAT-TI* GIM-an *i-ia-an-te-eš* / (24) GIM-an-na-at<sup>90</sup> *i-da-la-wa-aḥ-  
 ḥa-an-te-eš* // (25) EGIR-ŠU-ma-za<sup>91</sup> ŠA ZI-IA A-WA-TE<sup>MEŠ92</sup> *ar-ku-wa-ar  
 i-ia-mi*<sup>93</sup> nu-mu DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>94</sup> / (26) EN.MEŠ<sup>95</sup> GEŠTUG-an *pa-ra-a e-  
 ep-tén nu-mu ke-e ar-ku-wa-ar-ri*<sup>HL.A96</sup> / (27) *iš-ta-ma-aš-tén*<sup>97</sup> nu-za A-WA-  
 TE<sup>MEŠ98</sup> *ku-e A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ<sup>99</sup> ar-ku-wa-ar* / (28) *DÙ-mi*<sup>100</sup>  
*nu ki-i A-WA-TE<sup>1</sup> MEŠ* DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ<sup>101</sup> *da-at-ti-in*<sup>102</sup> *iš-ta-ma-aš-  
 ti-ni-ia-at*<sup>103</sup> / (29) *ku-e-ma-mu A-WA-TE<sup>MEŠ104</sup> Ú-UL iš-ta-ma-aš-te-ni am-  
 mu-uk-ma-za-at* / (30) A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>105</sup> *ar-ku-wa-ar i-ia-mi-pát na-  
 at-mu-kán UN-az*<sup>106</sup> / (31) KA<sub>x</sub>U-az *ša-ra-a ú-iz-zi-pát na-at* DINGIR.MEŠ  
 EN.MEŠ<sup>107</sup> / (32) *iš-ta-ma-aš-šu-wa-an-zi*<sup>108</sup> *pa-ra-a tar-ni-iš-tén* (the  
 passage is duplicated by lines i 21-33 of KUB 6.46)

Now, gods, **hear** my, your priest's, your servant's word (B: and) **prayer**.<sup>109</sup>  
 First, **I will** make a **prayer**<sup>110</sup> about yourselves, the divine lords, about your  
 temples, about your statues; how the gods of Ḥatti are treated and how they

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- 83 B: *am-me-el-pát*  
 84 B: DINGIR.ME.EŠ *BE-LU*  
 85 B: line division  
 86 The scribe of ms B inserts here *šu-me-el*  
 87 B: line division. The phrase *arkuwar iya-* appears also in lines i 23, 26, 28, 31 of ms. B  
 (KUB 6.46).  
 88 B: DINGIR.ME.EŠ  
 89 B: <sup>URU</sup> *ḤA-AT-TI*  
 90 B has *ma-aḥ-ḥa-na-at* at the end of the line  
 91 B: EGIR-an-<na>-da-ma-za  
 92 B: A-WA-TE<sup>ME.EŠ</sup>  
 93 B: line division  
 94 B: DINGIR.ME.EŠ  
 95 B: EN.ME.EŠ  
 96 B has *ar-ku<sup>(u)</sup>-wa-ar-ri-ia* at the end of the line  
 97 B: *iš-ta-<ma>-aš-tén*  
 98 B: A-WA-TE<sup>ME.EŠ</sup>  
 99 B: DINGIR.ME.EŠ EN.ME.EŠ  
 100 B: *i-ia-mi* is written at the end of the line  
 101 B: A-WA-TE<sup>ME.EŠ</sup> DINGIR.ME.EŠ EN.ME.EŠ  
 102 B: *ta-at-ti-ni*  
 103 B: *iš<sup>(uš)</sup>-ta-ma-aš-ti-<ni>-ia-at*  
 104 B: A-WA-TE<sup>ME.EŠ</sup>  
 105 B: DINGIR.ME.EŠ  
 106 B: *an-tu-uḥ-ša-aš*  
 107 B: DINGIR.ME.EŠ EN.ME.EŠ  
 108 B: line division  
 109 The sentence that contains the phrase *arkuwar istamašten* has been previously translated as:  
 “Oíd ahora, dioses, la palabra y el alegatode vuestro sacerdote y vuestro siervo” Bernabé  
 1987: 286; “Now, hearken ye, gods, to the prayer of me, your priest and your servant”  
 Goetze 1950: 398; “ô dieux, écoutez ma parole, ma plaidoirie” Lebrun 1980: 274; “listen to  
 the word (and) plea of me” Singer 1996: 32 and 2002a:87; “escuchad mi palabra, mi  
 plegaria” Trabazo 2002: 337.  
 110 The previous translations of *arkuwar iyami* in lines i 22-23 include: “Presentaré primero un  
 alegato” Bernabé 1987: 286; “I shall speak in prayer” Goetze 1950: 398; “Je vais presenter  
 immédiatement ma plaidoirie” Lebrun 1980: 274; “First, I shall make a plea” Singer 1996:  
 32 and 2002a: 87; “Realizo urgentemente mi propia plegaria” Trabazo 2002: 339..

are mistreated. Thereafter, **I will make** the matters of my soul **into a plea**<sup>111</sup>. Divine lords, lend me (your) ear, and **listen to these prayers o mine** (lit. to these my prayers!)<sup>112</sup> And the words, which **I will make into a prayer** to the divine lords, these words, divine lords, accept (lit. take) and hear them! And whatever words you do not (wish to) hear from me, and I nevertheless **will make them into a prayer**<sup>113</sup> to the gods, they merely emerge (lit. come up) from my human mouth. Refrain<sup>114</sup> from listening to them, divine lords.

(2)

“Invocation of Šerri” KUB 6.45 i: (33) <sup>d</sup>Še-ri-iš-ma<sup>115</sup> EN-IA GUD ŠA <sup>d</sup>U ŠA KUR <sup>URU</sup>KÙ.BABBAR-TI<sup>116</sup> pé-ra-an ti-an-za / (34) nu-mu ke-e-da-aš A-NA A-WA-TE<sup>MEŠ</sup> 117 ar-ku-wa-ar ti-ia-u-wa-aš<sup>118</sup> / (35) A-NA DINGIR.ME.EŠ tar-kum-ma-a-i nu-mu DINGIR.ME.EŠ EN.MEŠ<sup>119</sup> ke-e<sup>120</sup> A-WA-TE<sup>MEŠ</sup> 121 / (36) ar-ku-wa-ar<sup>122</sup> (B: ti-[ia-u-wa]-aš) DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ<sup>123</sup> ne-pí-ša-aš KI-aš-ša<sup>124</sup> (B: [hu-u-ma]-an-te-eš<sup>17</sup> iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-an-du<sup>125</sup> (the passage is duplicated by KUB 6.46 i 34-38)

Šeri, my lord! You are a bull stepping before the Stormgod of the land of Ḫatti. In these words of **presenting the prayer**,<sup>126</sup> announce me to the gods!

<sup>111</sup> The previous translations of the sentence containing *arkuwar iyami* include: “Luego hare alegato sobre mi propia situación” Bernabé 1987: 286; “I will make into a prayer” Goetze 1950: 398; “mache ich aber die Worte meiner Seele zum Gebet” Kammenhuber HW<sup>2</sup>: 310; “je vais presenter comme plaidoirie” Lebrun 1980: 274; “Thereafter I shall make the matters ...into a plea” Singer 1996: 32 and 2002a: 87; “hare plegaria las palabras de mi espíritu” Trabazo 2002: 339.

<sup>112</sup> The phrase *arkuwarri*<sup>HLA</sup> *ištamašten* has been translated here as: “Oíd estas súplicas” Bernabé 1987: 286; “Listen to these my prayers!” Goetze 1950: 398; “prêtez l’oreille à mes plaidoiries” Lebrun 1980: 274; “hear these my pleadings!” Puhvel HED vol. 1 150; “listen to these my pleas!” Singer 1996: 32 and 2002a:87; “escuchadme estas plegarias!” Trabazo 2002: 339.

<sup>113</sup> The phrase *arkuwar iyami* employed in lines i 27-28 and 30 has been previously translated as: “... present en mi alegato” Bernabé 1987: 286; “... I lay in prayer,” (the expression *arkuwar iyami* in line 30 was left untranslated) Goetze 1950: 398; “... ich zum Gebet mache” Kammenhuber HW<sup>2</sup>: 310; “... j’adresse en guise d’excuse”, and “... j’adresse uniquement comme plaidoirie” Lebrun 1980: 274; “... I will make into a plea...” Singer 1996: 32 and 2002a: 87; “... yo las hago plegaria” Trabazo 2002: 339.

<sup>114</sup> The verb *tarna* with the preverb *parā* has been translated in the present context as “permit/allow” in CHD P: 125 and Puhvel HED vol. 2: 457. The same verb has been rendered as “refrain” by Goetze 1950: 398. The latter translation of the verb was followed by Singer 1996: 32.

<sup>115</sup> B: <sup>d</sup>GUD<sup>š</sup>Še-ri-iš-ma

<sup>116</sup> B: <sup>URU</sup>ḪA-AT-TI

<sup>117</sup> B: A-WA-TE<sup>ME.EŠ</sup>

<sup>118</sup> The phrase *arkuwar tiyauwaš* also appears in lines i 35, 37 of ms B (KUB 6.46).

<sup>119</sup> B: EN.ME.EŠ

<sup>120</sup> B: ki-i

<sup>121</sup> B: A-WA-TE<sup>ME.EŠ</sup>

<sup>122</sup> B: line division

<sup>123</sup> B: DINGIR.ME.EŠ EN.ME.EŠ

<sup>124</sup> B: da-ga-zi-pa-aš-ša{aš-ša}

<sup>125</sup> B: iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-du. This verb appears in line 38 of manuscript B, rather than in line 39 (suggested in Weber’s hand-copy of this text). For the same reading see Singer 1996: 9 and 54.

<sup>126</sup> The phrase *arkuwar tiyauwaš* in lines 34 and 36 was previously translated as: “los asuntos que present en mi alegato” Bernabé 187: 286; “these matters that I present in my prayer”, Goetze 1950: 398; “des paroles que voici à présenter comme plaidoirie”, “les présentes

Let the gods, my lords, (B: all) the gods, my lords of heaven and earth **hear** these words (and) (B: of **presenting**) **the prayer!**

(3)

“Hymn and prayer to the Sungod of heaven” KUB 6.45 iii: (18) *nu k[a]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ša am-mu-uk* <sup>m</sup>NIR.GÁL LUGAL-*uš* <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA <sup>127</sup>ŠA <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>TÚL-*na* <sup>128</sup>/ (19) *Û* DINGIR.ME.EŠ <sup>129</sup>*ħu-u-ma-an-da-aš* <sup>130</sup>*ne-pí-ša-aš* <sup>131</sup>*d*UTU-*i ar-ku-iš-ki-mi* <sup>132</sup> / (20) *nu ne-pí-ša-aš* <sup>133</sup>*d*UTU-*uš* <sup>134</sup>EN-IA *ke-e-da-ni* UD.KAM-*ti* <sup>135</sup> / (21) DINGIR.ME.EŠ *a-ra-a-i nu* DINGIR.MEŠ <sup>136</sup>*ku-i-e-eš* <sup>137</sup>*ke-e-da-ni* <sup>138</sup>UD-*ti* / (22) *ku-e-da-ni ar-ku-u-e-eš-ni* <sup>139</sup>*IŠ-TU* EME-IA *ħal-zi-i ħ-ħu-un* // (23) *na-aš ne-pí-ša-aš* <sup>140</sup>*d*UTU-*uš* <sup>141</sup>*ne-pí-ša-aš* KI-*az* <sup>142</sup>ĤUR.SAG.ME.EŠ-*az* / (24) *ÍD.ME.EŠ-az* <sup>143</sup>*IŠ-TU* *É.MEŠ* <sup>144</sup>DINGIR.ME.EŠ-*ŠU-NU* <sup>145</sup> <sup>GIŠ</sup>GU.ZA.MEŠ-*ŠU-NU* <sup>146</sup> *ħal-za-a-i* (The passage is duplicated by KUB 6.46 iii 57-64)

I, Muwatalli, the king, the priest of the Sungoddess of Arinna and (B: of) all the gods, **am** hereby **praying**<sup>147</sup> to the Sungod of heaven: O Sungod of heaven, my lord, halt the gods on this day! O Sungod of heaven, invoke from heaven (and) earth, from mountains (and) rivers, from their temples and thrones (B: these) gods whom on this day I have invoked with my tongue in whatever *arkuešni*!<sup>148</sup>

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paroles comme une plaidoirie” Lebrun 1980: 274; “In these words of the presentation of the plea”, “Let the divine lords listen to (B: these words of pre[senting]) a plea” Singer 1996: 32 and 2002a: 87; “estas palabras que van como plegaria” and “estas palabras como plegaria” Trabazo 2002: 339, 341.

127

B: line division

128

B: <sup>URU</sup>*A-ri-in-na*

129

B has here ŠA DINGIR.ME.EŠ

130

B: line division

131

B: *ne-pí-aš*

132

B: *ar-ku-ú-i-iš-ki-mi*

133

B: *ne-pí-aš*

134

B: line division

135

B: UD-*ti*

136

B: DINGIR.ME.EŠ

137

B: line division

138

B: *ku-u-uš ki-i-da-ni*

139

B: *ku-i-e-da-ni ar-ku-e-eš-ni* after which the paragraph ends

140

B: *ne-pí-aš*

141

B: line division

142

B: *ták-na-az*

143

B: line division

144

B: *É.ME.EŠ*

145

B: DINGIR-*LIM-ŠU-NU*

146

B: <sup>GIŠ</sup>GU.ZA.ME.EŠ-*ŠU-NU*

147

The previous translations of *arkuiškimi* in the present context include: “estoy suplicando”Bérnabe 1987: 291; “am I praying” Goetze 1950: 398; “j’e multiplie les plaidoiries” Lebrun 1980: 280; “I am pleading” Puhvel HED vol.1: 150; “Here (am) I pleading” Singer 1996: 40 and 2002a: 91; “estoy rezando” Trabazo 2002: 343.

148

The verbal noun *arkuešni* has been translated in the present context as: “con toda clase de peticiones” Bérnabe 1987: 291; “with whatever request” Goetze 1950: 398; “pour leur adresser une plaidoirie” Lebrun 1980: 280; “in whatever pleading” Puhvel HED vol. 1: 149; “in whatever plea” Singer 1996: 40 and 2002a: 91; “con esta plegaria” Trabazo 2002: 345.

(4)

“Prayer for intercession to the Stormgod of lightning” KUB 6.45 iii: (32) [k]i-nu-na am-mu-uk <sup>m</sup>NIR.GÁL LUGAL-uš tu-e-da-az / (33) [IŠ]-TU <sup>d</sup>U pí-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ši šal-la-nu-wa-an-za ar-ku-ú-e-eš-ki-mi<sup>149</sup> / (34) [nu I]Š-TU EME-IA ku-i-e-eš DINGIR.MEŠ ḫal-zi-iḫ-ḫu-un / (35) n[u A-NA] DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>150</sup> ar-ku-wa-nu-un<sup>151</sup> nu-mu-kán DINGIR.MEŠ-aš ú-wa-ia-nu-ut da-pí-aš<sup>152</sup> / (36) a[m-me-e]l-ma<sup>153</sup> ŠA <sup>m</sup>NIR.GÁL ÌR-KA A-[W]A-TE<sup>MEŠ</sup> 154 ŠA EME-IA / (37) [d]a-[a<sup>155</sup> n]a-[a]t-kán A-NA<sup>156</sup> PA-NI DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>157</sup> ṛšú<sup>1</sup>-un-ni nu-za A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>158</sup> / (38) [ku-e<sup>159</sup> A-WA-TE<sup>MEŠ</sup>] ṛar-ku-wa-ar i-ia-mi<sup>160</sup> / (39) n[a-at-mu EGIR]-ṛpa le-e<sup>161</sup> wa-aḫ-nu<sup>1</sup>-wa-an-zi // (40) MUŠEN-ṛiš<sup>2</sup>162 GIS<sup>1</sup> tap-tap<sup>1</sup>-pa-an EGIR-pa e-ep-zi<sup>163</sup> na-aš TI-zi<sup>164</sup> / (41) ú-u[k-ma-z]a-[ká]n<sup>165</sup> <sup>d</sup>U pí-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ši-in EN-IA<sup>166</sup> EGIR-pa AŠ-BAT / (42) nu-[mu TI]-nu-ut nu-za A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>167</sup> ku-it ar-ku-wa-ṛar<sup>168</sup> i-ia-mi / (43) nu-kán A-WA-TE<sup>MEŠ</sup> 169 A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>170</sup> an-da šu-un-ni<sup>171</sup> nu-[m]u ṛiš<sup>1</sup>-ta-ma-aš-ša-an-du / (44) nu a-pí-ia-ia <sup>d</sup>U pí-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ši-in<sup>172</sup> šar-li-iš-ki-mi (The passage is duplicated by lines iv 1-14 of KUB 6.46)

Now I, Muwatalli, the king raised by you, O Stormgod of lightning, **am praying**<sup>173</sup>: Recommend me to all the gods, whom I have invoked with my tongue and (to whom) **I prayed**<sup>174</sup>! Take the words of my tongue, that of

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- 149 The verbal form *arkueškimi* is also employed in line iv 2 of ms B (KUB 6.46).  
 150 B: DINGIR.ME.EŠ  
 151 B: line division. The verbal form *arkuwanun* appears also in line iv 3 of ms B (KUB 6.46).  
 152 B: d]a<sup>2</sup>-[p]i<sup>2</sup>-aš ú-wa-ia-nu-ut  
 153 B: line division  
 154 B: A-WA-TE<sup>ME.EŠ</sup>  
 155 B: line division  
 156 B omits A-NA  
 157 B: DINGIR.ME.EŠ  
 158 B: DINGIR.ME.EŠ  
 159 B: line division  
 160 The expression *arkuwar iya-* also appears in lines iv 7, 11-12 of ms. B (KUB 6.46).  
 161 B: line division  
 162 B: MUŠEN-za  
 163 B: line division  
 164 B: ḫu-i-iš-zi  
 165 B: am-mu-uk-ma-kán  
 166 B: line division  
 167 B: DINGIR.ME.EŠ  
 168 B: line division  
 169 B: A-WA-TE<sup>ME.EŠ</sup>  
 170 B: DINGIR.ME.EŠ  
 171 B: line division  
 172 B: line division  
 173 The verbal form *arkueškimi* has been rendered here as: “estoy ahora suplicándote” Bernabé 1987: 291; “I am now praying” Goetze 1950: 398; “je fais excuse” Laroche 1964: 18; “Dès cet instant, moi, je ne cesserai de t’adresser plaidoirie sur plaidoirie” Lebrun 1980: 281; “I am pleading” Singer 1996: 40 and 2002a: 91; “por el dios estoy rezando” Trabazo 2002: 347.  
 174 The verbal form *arkuwanun* has been previously translated here as: “he suplicado” Bernabé 1987: 291; “I prayed” Goetze 1950: 398; “j’ai plaidé” Laroche 1964: 18; “j’ai adressé une plaidoirie” Lebrun 1980: 281; “I have pleaded” Puhvel HED vol. 1 149; “I have pleaded” Singer 1996: 40 and 2002a: 91; “he rezado” Trabazo 2002: 347.

Muwatalli, your servant, and transmit (lit. fulfill) them before the gods! May they not turn back to me the words which **I will make into a prayer**<sup>175</sup> to the gods! The bird takes refuge in the cage and lives. I too, have taken refuge with the Stormgod of lightning, my lord, and he has kept me alive. Transfer to the gods (lit. fulfill) the words, which **I will make into the prayer** to the gods, and may they hear me! Then, I will constantly exalt the Stormgod of lightning.

5. KUB 54.1 (CTH 389), a fragment of a prayer or a legal text, NH/NS.

(1)

KUB 54.1 i: (11) *da-ad-da-wa-an-te-e[š-ma-wa]-kán ku-wa-pí* / (12) A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ-*ma-at-za*{za} ŠA<sup>URU</sup> *Li-ip-ra-[aš-ša Š]A AMA-IA* / (13) Û ŠA A-BI A-BI-IA *ar-ku-u-wa-ar [e-eš-ša]-aḫ-ḫu-un*<sup>176</sup> / (14) *nu-uš-ma-aš ki-i me-mi-iš-ki-nu-un am-mu-uk-[wa<sup>2</sup>-a]i<sup>2</sup> kiš-an i-ia-at* / (15) *nu-wa-aš-ma-aš a-pí-ia an-da-an Ú-UL tar-[aḫ-te-n]i* / (16) *nu-uš-ma-aš am-mu-uk an-da-an tar-aḫ-ḫa<sup>1</sup>-a[n ḫar-t]e-ni* / (17) *ḫar-ga-nu-ir-ma-wa-mu-kán ku-i-e-eš nu-wa-mu-[kán] a-pé-e-da-ni* / (18) *me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da ḫa-an-ni-iš-šar Ú-UL [pu]-nu-uš-te-ni* // (19) *iš-tar-ak-ki-ia-at-wa-mu ku-wa-pí nu-wa-za A-N[A] DINGIR.MEŠ a-pád-da-ia* / (20) *ar-ku-u-wa-<sup>r</sup>ar<sup>1</sup> e-eš-ša-aḫ-ḫu-un šu-me-eš-wa* [DI]NGIR.MEŠ *Ú-UL uš-kat-te-ni* / (21) *ki-iš-ša-an-wa-mu ku-iš i-ia-an ḫar-zi nu-wa-[a]š-ma-aš am-mu-uk* / (22) *tar-aḫ-ḫa-an ḫar-te-ni* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI-*ma-wa-za Ú-UL [ta]r-aḫ-te-ni* / (23) *nu-wa-aš-ma-aš a-pé-e-ni-iš-ša-an a-ša-a-an a-aš-šu* / (24) EGIR-*pa-ma-aš-kán ku-wa-pí iš-tap-pa-an-te-eš*

[But] when they were *daddawanteš*, **I [ma]de** it/them into a **prayer**<sup>177</sup> to the gods of Liprašša, (the gods) of my mother and my grandfather. I spoke to them this: “He did [*it*] to me in this way. Then you did not prev[ai]l (over him), you h[ad] preva[iled] over me. You do/will not investigate my legal case with regard to who ruined me.” When I became sick, also then **I made a prayer** to the gods: “Do you, o gods, not see who has done so to me? You have prevailed over me, but you do not prevail over His Majesty. Is thus a true kindness (according) to you, when they are confined?”

(2)

KUB 54.1 i: (33) *nam-ma am-ba-aš-ši-in wa-ar-nu-nu-un nam-ma-za a[m-b]a-aš-ši* / (34) EGIR-*an ar-ku-u-wa-ar DÛ-un ma-a-an-wa ka-a-aš [a]n-tu-uḫ-ša-aš* / (35) *a-ki-ia am-me-el-ma-wa DI-šar* <sup>d</sup>UTU AN-E :*zi-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-la-an* / (36) *pu-nu-uš-du in-na-ra-u-wa-mu-kán ku-i-e-eš ḫar-g[a-n]u-ir*

<sup>175</sup> The phrase *arkuwar iyami* in lines iii 38 and 42, has been translated here as: “presento en mi alegato” Bernabé 1987: 291; “I lay in prayer” Goetze 1950: 398; “je présente comme plaidoirie” Lebrun 1980: 281; “prayer which I will present”, “the plea which I make” Singer 1996: 40 and 2002a: 91; “hago plegaria”, “la plegaria que realize” Trabazo 2002: 347.

<sup>176</sup> Archi-Klengel (1985) read here [*me-ma*]-*aḫ-ḫu-un*. Although the spacing, as shown on the autograph of KUB 54.1 suggests that there is room for only two signs *-me-ma-*, it cannot be correct. The gap must be large enough to accommodate *-aḫ-te-ni* in the line below as well as the end of *-an* and *ḫar-te* in line 16. If the gap is large enough to accommodate the above sings, it would be large enough to fit *e-eš-ša-* in line 13. The reading [*e-eš-ša*]-*aḫ-ḫu-un* is also consistent with the expression *-za arkuwar ešša-*.

<sup>177</sup> Archi and Klengel 1985: 58 translated the noun *arkuwar* in this text as “prayer.”

Then I set fire to the burnt offering, and again **I made a prayer** at/for the burnt offering: “If this man dies, may the Sungod of heaven investigate my case, namely who has ruined me purposely.”

(3)

KUB 54.1 ii: (15) *am-mu-uk-ma-wa* A-[NA DINGIR-LIM] / (16) *pí-ra-an ša-ra-a ti-ia-nu-un nu-wa-za ar-ku-u-[wa-ar DÛ-un]*<sup>178</sup> / (17) *nu-wa ki-i me-ma-aḫ-ḫu-un* A-NA DINGIR-LIM-wa-za EN-I[A] / (18) *ku-it ar-ku-u-wa-ar i-ia-mi* nu-wa-ra-at-mu [ ... ] / (19) EN-IA-wa-mu ḪUL-u-wa-aḫ-da nu-wa-mu-<sup>r</sup>kán<sup>1</sup> x [...] / (20) *ar-ḫa :za-am-mu-ri-nu-ut nu-wa-mu ku-e-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-ni* / (21) *pí-di ar-nu-ut nu-wa-kán* A-NA ŠEŠ.MEŠ-IA NIN.M[EŠ-IA] / (22) *TI-an-za a-ku-un nu-wa-za ŠEŠ.MEŠ-IA NIN.MEŠ-IA* x[...] / (23) *Ú-UL u-uḫ-ḫi*

I stepped up before [the deity, **made**] **a pray[er]** and I said this: “[...] to/for me the prayer, which I make to the god, [my] lord. [ ... ] My lord has treated me badly. [...] he harmed me. And to which place he brought me, I, living, became dead to my brothers [and] sisters. I do not see *a[t all]* my brothers and sisters.

6. KUB 24.5+ (CTH 419.A), a substitute ritual for a Hittite king, NH/NS. The text has two duplicates KUB 36.92 (419.B) and KUB 36.93 (CTH 419.C).

(1)

KUB 36.92: (2') [x x -m]a GE<sub>6</sub>-za ki-š[a-ri ...] / (3') [na]-aš ŠA <sup>d</sup>SÎN ḫar-<sup>r</sup>pi<sup>1</sup> [ ... ] / (4') *nu kiš-an te-ez-zi* [ ... ] / (5') **ar-ku-wa-ar ti-i[a-u-wa-an-zi]**<sup>179</sup> x x x x / (6') *nu-wa-mu <sup>d</sup>SÎN* EN-IA [...] / (7') GISKIM-[aḫ]-ta nu-wa m[a-a-an ...] / (8') *nu-wa-za ku-u-uš <sup>r</sup>da-a<sup>1</sup>* [ ... ] (Lines 2'-8' of KUB 36.92 duplicate and partially complete obv. 6'-11' of KUB 24.5)

KUB 24.5: (6') [GIM-an-ma GE<sub>6</sub>-za ki-ša-ri nu ka-ru-ú-i-l]i-uš <sup>r</sup>la-pár<sup>1</sup>-nu-uš da-a-i na-aš ŠA <sup>d</sup>SÎN ḫar-pí pa-iz-zi / (7') [ ... nu ki-iš-š]a te-ez-zi ka-a-ša-wa me-mi-ia-an-ni ku-e-da-ni / (8') [še-er ar-ku-wa-ar ti-ia-u-wa-an-zi] <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-wa-nu-un nu-mu <sup>d</sup>SÎN EN-IA iš-dam-ma-aš / (9') [x x x <sup>d</sup>SÎN ku-it GISKI]M-aḫ-ta nu-wa ma-a-an am-me-el ḪUL-lu i-ši-iḫ-ta / (10') [nu-wa-za ka-a-ša :tar-pa-al]-li-uš pí-di SUM-iḫ-ḫu-un nu-wa-za ku-u-uš da-a / (11') [am-mu-uk-ma-wa ar-ḫa tar-ni ...]

And [when] the night falls, he takes [(the images of) the ancient] labarnas and goes to the *ḫarpa* of the Moongod. [He ...] and he says as follows: “In the matter on account of which I have come [**to present**] **a prayer**<sup>180</sup>, hear me o Moongod, my lord! [Since the Moongod gave] an omen, when he announced evil (lit. my harm) for me, I have [just] given in (that) place [substitute imag]es. Take them for yourself [and set me free/spare me!]

<sup>178</sup> Restoration of Archi and Klengel 1985: 57.

<sup>179</sup> The restoration in line 5' of KUB 36.92 and all the restorations in KUB 24.5 were suggested by Kümmel 1967: 8.

<sup>180</sup> The phrase *arkuwar dai-* was translated by Kümmel 1967: 9 as “ich zu beten gekommen bin.”

(2)

KUB 24.5 rev.: (2) [... a]n-da pa-iz-zi / (3) <sup>r</sup>nu-kán<sup>1</sup> A-NA <sup>d</sup>EREŠ.KI.GAL[UDU.NÍTA BAL-an<sup>181</sup>]-ti / (4) nu-za ar-ku-wa-ar ki-iš-ša-a [DÛ-zi ka-a-ša-wa(?)<sup>d</sup>] EREŠ.KI.GAL GAŠAN-IA / (5) ki-i-wa ku-it <sup>d</sup>SĪN-aš GISKIM-aḥ-ta nu-w]a ma-a-an am-me-el / (6) ḪUL-lu i-ši-iḥ-ta nu-wa-ták-kán <sup>r</sup>UGU<sup>1</sup>-[az-zi-eš DIN]GIR.MEŠ am-mu-uk / (7) ŠU-i ti-i-e-er am-mu-uk-ma-wa-ták-[kán<sup>182</sup>] :tar-pa-al-li-uš ku-i-e-eš / (8) ŠU-i te-eḥ-ḫu-un nu-wa-za a-pu-u-uš da-a <sup>r</sup>am-mu<sup>1</sup>-uk-ma-wa ar-ḫa tar-ni / (9) nu-wa <sup>d</sup>UTU AN-E IGI.ḪI.A-it uš-gal-lu<sup>183</sup> (The passage is duplicated by KUB 36.93 lines 7'-12')

...he goes in. [He offe]rs a ram to Ereskigal (Lelwani) and [makes] the following **prayer**<sup>184</sup>: “[O] Ereskigal (Lelwani), my lady! The Moongod has just given (me) this omen, when he announced an evil (lit. my harm) for me. The up[per go]ds placed me in your hand. Take the substitute (images) which I have placed in your hand, and release me! Let me see the Sungod of heaven with my eyes!”

#### 7. KUB 55.66 + KUB 24.12 (CTH 448), a substitute ritual for Tudḫaliya, NS.

KUB 55.66 iv: (2') [... a]r-ḫa kán-ga-at-ta'(ga)-ri x [ x x x x x x ] / (3') [... a]r-ku-u-wa-ar i-ia-zi <sup>d</sup>UTU AN [UGU-zi-uš DINGIR.MEŠ (?) / (4') [... ]x-za NÍ.TE.MEŠ ḫu-u-ma-an-da <sup>r</sup>al-wa<sup>1</sup>-a[n-za-aḥ-ḫa-an(?) / (5') [... ] x ki-nu-un-ma-wa-mu KI-aš <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš GAM-ra-a[š-š]a / (6') [DINGIR.MEŠ ḫa-aš-š]a-aš <sup>r</sup>dZa-li<sup>1</sup>-pu-ra-a-aš wa-ap-pu-u-wa-aš / (7') [...DIN]GIR.MAḪ-aš tu-uk A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU A[N] / (8') [UGU-zi-uš DINGI]R.MEŠ SIG<sub>5</sub>-an-ni EGIR-pa ma-[ni]-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-aḥ-ḫ[<sup>a</sup>-du<sup>2</sup>...] <sup>185</sup> / (9') [... tu-u]k<sup>2</sup> A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU AN UGU-zi-uš / (10') [DINGIR.MEŠ ...] x [ar-ḫ]a kán-ga-aḥ-ḫu-ut / (11') [... <sup>d</sup>UTU AN U]GU-zi-uš DINGIR.MEŠ / (12') [... ] x-e-eš a-ša-al-lu<sup>17</sup>

[...] he is weighed out [...] and **he makes a [pr]ayer**<sup>186</sup> (as follows): “O Sungod of heaven [and *upperworld deities*], [...] all my limbs have be[en *bewi*][tched]. But now, O Sungoddess of Earth and nether(world) [deities], Zalipura of the [hea]rth, [...] of the riverbank (and) the Mother goddess[...] to me! [May he] deliver [...] to you, o Sungod of heaven (and) the upperworld [deit]ies in favour! May you weigh out [...] for yourself, O Sungod of heaven and upperworld [deities]! [...] O Sungod of heaven] and upperworld deities! [...] Let me be [...]!”

<sup>181</sup> This restoration is based on the duplicate KBo 15.14 line 5'

<sup>182</sup> The restoration is based on the duplicate KUB 36.94 line 3'

<sup>183</sup> KUB 36.93 rev.: (7') [... nu-ká]n A-NA <sup>d</sup>EREŠ.KI-GAL / (8') [... ] kiš-an DÛ-zi / (9') [... <sup>d</sup>SĪN-ša-za GISKIM-aḥ-ta / (10') [... i-ši]-iḥ-ta / (11') [... Š]U-i ti-i-e-er / (12') [... ŠU-i t]i-e-ḫu-<sup>r</sup>un<sup>1</sup> [...]

<sup>184</sup> Kümmel 1967: 13 translated the expression -za arkuwar iya- in the present context as “Er betet folgendermaßen.”

<sup>185</sup> Taracha 2000: 93 reads here ma-[ni]-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-aḥ-ḫ[<sup>a</sup>-an-du].

<sup>186</sup> The same translation of the phrase arkuwar iyazi in the present context was offered by Taracha 2000: 94.

## 8. KUB 57.37 (CTH 470), a fragment of a ritual text, NH/NS.

KUB 57.37: (2') 3-ŠU *ir-ḫa-iz-zi nu-za A-NA* <sup>d</sup>AL-LA-TI / (3') Û A-NA <sup>d</sup>UD.KAM.SIG<sub>5</sub> *ki-iš-ša-an* / (4') *ar-ku-wa-ar i-ia-zi* // (5') <sup>d</sup>LE-EL-WA-NI <sup>d</sup>UD.KAM.SIG<sub>5</sub>-ia EN.MEŠ / (6') MU.KAM.ḪI.A-*aš-za* ITU.KAM.ḪI.A-*aš* UD.KAM.ḪI.A-*aš iš-ḫu-u-i*[š<sup>2</sup>-ni<sup>2</sup> x x x] / (7') [x x] x MU.KAM.ḪI.A ITU.KAM.ḪI.A UD.KAM.ḪI.A A-NA [x x x] / (8') [x x x x x]-<sup>r</sup>wa<sup>1</sup>-x x -ni<sup>2</sup>//

He completes the rounds 3 times. (Then) **he makes a prayer**<sup>187</sup> to Allatum and to “Favourable Day” as follows: “O Lelwani, O “Favourable Day”, my lords, years, months, days *in ful*[l ...]. Years, months, days [...]

## 9. KUB 44.50 (CTH 500), a New Hittite fragment of a ritual.

KUB 44.50: (12') [ ... ] *me-mi-ia-an-kán an-da me-ma-i* / (13') [ ... ] x-nu-zi INIM-an-kán an-da DU<sub>11</sub>-i EGIR-š<sup>2</sup>-[m]a *pár-ḫu-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-na-an* / (14') [ ... ] *me-mi-ia-an-kán(?) an-d*a DU<sub>11</sub>-i nu A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ Û A-NA EN SISKUR *kán-qa-ti* / (15') [ ... ] x 9 TI<sub>8</sub>.MUSEN<sup>1</sup>(ri) ḪI.A(?) *ti-ia-an-zi* <sup>DU<sub>6</sub></sup>*da-a-la-i-mi-uš-kán* / (16') [ ... ] EN SISKUR-za *e-ez-za-i nu-za ar-ku-wa-ar i-ia-zi* //

[ ...and] he speaks the word<sup>188</sup> / [He ...] and he speaks the word. [He ...] *parḫuena* back to him, [and] he speaks [the word]. Then [he/they present] *kangati*-plant to the gods and to the ritual practitioner. They present 9 eagles. [They ...] *dalaimi*-vessels. The ritual practitioner eats and **makes a prayer**.

## 10. KUB 16.72 (CTH 573), a fragment of MUŠEN oracle, NH/NS.

(1)

KUB 16.72: (7') [ ... A-N]A DINGIR-LIM GAM-an *ḫa-li-ia-zi* ŠU.MEŠ DING[IR ...] / (8') [ ... d]u-ud-du *ḫal-za-a-i* <sup>L<sub>U</sub></sup>NAR ŠA <sup>GIŠ<sub>d</sub></sup>INANNA.G[AL ...] / (9') [...nu-za] <sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-NA DINGIR-LIM *ar-ku-wa-ar DÛ-zi* DINGIR.MAḪ-ia x [...] / (10') [ ... GIŠ]ŠUKUR-ia GIM-an GAL DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL GIM-an <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI [ ...] / (11') [ ...A-NA <sup>UR</sup>]TÚL-na-ma-kán UN-an *pa-ra-a ne-an-zi nu-ká[n ...]* / (12') [...]-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-aš-ši SUM-an-zi SISKUR-ma-za-ká[n] LUGAL ZI-za x [ ...] / (13') [ ...]-ki 2 <sup>r</sup>MUŠEN<sup>1</sup>.ḪI.A SIxSÀ-an-du //

[...] he kneels down before the deity. [*He raises*] his hands [towards] the dei[ty], [he ...] and calls for mercy. The singer [..., the...] of the string instrument [...], **he makes a prayer** to the deity. Also [he ...] to the mother goddess [...] and spear. Either the great sons of the great palace or His Majesty [...]. They send a man [to] Arinna, [they ...] and they give [...] to him. And the KING [...] RITUAL (and) SOUL. [...]. Let 2(?) bird (oracles) be favourable.

187

Torri 1999: 56 translated the sentence containing the expression *arkuwar iya-* as: “poi ad Allatum e al “Giorno Propizio” in tal modo rivolge une preghiera.”

188

*anda mema-* “speak concurrently with an action” CHD L-N: 261b-262a.

(2)

KUB 16.72: (23') [ ... A-NA DINGIR-LIM GAM-an *ḫa-li-ia-zi* ŠU.MEŠ  
 DINGIR[ ... ] / (24') [ ... *du-ud-du ḫal-z*]a-a-i <sup>LU</sup>NAR ŠA  
<sup>GIŠd</sup>[NANNA.GAL ... ] / (25') [...*nu-za A-NA DINGIR-LIM ar-ku-w*]a-<sup>r</sup>ar  
 DÛ-zi<sup>1</sup> [ ... ]

[...] he kneels down [before the deit]y. [*He raises*] his hands [towards] the deity, [he ... and call]s [for mercy]. The singer [ ... ], [the ... ] of the str[ing instrument ...], **he makes [an arku]ar** [to the deity].

11. 354/z + 732/z + KBo 53.107 + KUB 50.72 (CTH 575.7), a New Hittite fragment of a snake oracle.

354/z: (6') [x x x K]ASKAL <sup>URU</sup>*Ne-ri-iq-qa-ia :da-ḫa-ga-an* x x [ ... ] / (7') [x x] x-an *pa-ra-a-ma-kán mu-kiš-<sup>r</sup>šar<sup>1</sup> ti-an-zi* x x [ ... ] / (8') **ar-ku-u-wa-ar ti-i-ia-u-wa-aš pé-e-da-an-zi** [ ... ] / (9') *maš-kán za-an-ki-la-<sup>r</sup>tar<sup>1</sup> QA-TAM-MA-pát pí-eš-ki-u-wa-[an<sup>2</sup>-zi<sup>2</sup> ... ]* / (10') *IŠ-TU DINGIR-LIM kiš-an ma-la-a-an nu SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru* [ ... ] / (11') MUŠ SAG.DU-kán A-NA <sup>dU</sup>*lam-ma-ni-ir* [ ... ] / (12') *nu-kán* 1 GUNNI DIB-ta *nu-kán DIB-t[a ... ]* / (13') *nu-kán A-NA EZEN.ḪI.A DINGIR-LIM UGU DIB-ta* [ ... ]

And [on] the road to the city of Nerik. *dahagan* [...] And they will bring forth the invocation ritual. [They will ...]. They will carry the **presentation of prayer**, [they will ...] and in the very same way [they will giv]e the propitiatory gift and reparation [...]. If [this] is approved by the deity, let [(the oracle) be favourable. We named/assigned the 'snake of the head' to the Stormgod. [ ... ] He took one HEARTH, he took [...] and he held (it) over the DEITY for/to the FESTIVALS [...].

12. KUB 16.78 (CTH 580), a fragment of MUŠEN and KIN oracles, NH/NS?

KUB 16.78: (6') *nu A-NA DINGIR-LIM-ma SISKUR INIM* [ ... ] / (7') *ḫa-ap-ra-an-zi nu A-NA DI[NGIR-LIM ... ]* / (8') *INA É.DINGIR-LIM-ia ḫa-ap-ra-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-[zi ... ]* / (9') *A-NA DINGIR-LIM SISKUR SUM-an-zi an/DINGIR-[...nu-za(?)]* / (10') *A-NA DINGIR-LIM ar-ku-u-wa-ar DÛ-[an-zi]* / (11') *ZI DINGIR-LIM a-pí-iz-za INIM GAM-(x)* [ ... ] / (12') *ku-it-<sup>r</sup>ma-an<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>Tu-ut-ḫa-li-ia-aš* [ ... ] / (13') *'EGIR<sup>1</sup>-pa ú-iz-zi ma-a-an-ma-aš-ši-<sup>r</sup>za<sup>1</sup>* [ ... ] / (14') *Ú-UL ku-it-ki ḪUŠ-u-e-ni nu SU.M[EŠ(?) SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru(?)]*

They deliver a ritual, a word [*and ...*] to they deity. [*They deliver ...*] to the de[ity]. And in the temple they deliv[er ...]. They offer a ritual to the deity. [They ... to] the deity(?). They **ma[ke] a prayer** to the deity. And with that word the soul of the deity [...]. Until Tudḫaliya [...] comes back. If we have nothing to fear for him, [let] the S[U oracles be favourable].

13. KUB 15.22 (CTH 590), a fragment of a vow of queen Puduḫepa to the Sungoddess of Arinna, NH/NS.

KUB 15.22: (3') [ ... ] x *INA <sup>URU</sup>TÚL-na ar-ku-u-wa-ar ti-ia-u-wa-an-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>* [ ... ] / (4') [...*kiš*]-an *IK-RU-UB*

In order to present a prayer<sup>189</sup> in Arinna [...]. He/she made the following vow.

### I.B.b. -za arkuwar iya- “to pray/to vow”

1. KUB 15.1 (CTH 584), a votive text, NH/NS (Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa).

KUB 15.1 obv.: (45) [z]a-aš-ḫi-ia-za [MUN]US.LUGAL A-NA UD.KAM.ḪI.A EZEN<sub>4</sub> <sup>GIŠ</sup>zu-up-pa-ri / (46) [A-N]A <sup><d></sup>MUNUS.LUGAL <ŠA><sup>190</sup> URU<sup>d</sup>U-aš-ša ar-ku-wa-ar / (47) [kiš]-an e-eš-<sup>r</sup>še<sup>1</sup>-eš-ta ma-a-an-wa<sup>d</sup> UTU-ŠI<sup>r</sup> am<sup>1</sup>-[me]-e-da-<sup>r</sup>az<sup>1</sup> / (48) [Ú-U]L ku-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[ez]-qa GÜB-li-iš-zi<sup>d</sup> [MUNUS.LUGAL Š]A<sup>?</sup> URU<sup>d</sup>U-aš-ša-wa / (49) [x x] x [x x x x -a]ḫ<sup>2</sup>-ḫi nu-wa A-NA<sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>[MUNUS.LUGAL Š]A<sup>?</sup> / (50) [URU<sup>d</sup>U-aš-ša MA.N]A KÛ.BABBAR 1[x x x] KÛ.BABBAR / (51) [x x x x x x KÛ.B]ABBAR x [x x x x] x x-an [x x x x x x] x

In a [d]ream the [qu]een **made a vow**<sup>191</sup> to the goddess (named) “Queen of Tarhuntašša” for the days of the Festival of Torches [as fo]llows: “If, His Majesty does not become any worse on my account, and the goddess [(named) “Queen] of Tarhuntašša” will [...], *I will give*] to the goddess [(named) “Queen] of [Tarhuntašša” mi]na of silver, one [...] of silver [... of sil]ver [

2. KUB 15.19 (CTH 590), a votive text, NH/NS (Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa).

KUB 15.19 obv.: (11') [za-aš-ḫi-ia-z]a MUNUS.LUGAL A-NA UD.KAM.ḪI.A EZEN<sub>4</sub> <sup>GIŠ</sup>zu-up-pa-ri A-NA<sup>d</sup>Ša-ú-ma-ta-r[i] / (12') [ar-ku-wa-ar kiš-an] <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-eš-še-eš-ta<sup>192</sup> ma-a-an-wa<sup>d</sup> UTU-ŠI am-me-e-da-za Ú-UL ku-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[ez-qa GÜB-li-iš-zi] / (13') [nu-wa A-N]A<sup>d</sup>Ša-ú-ma-ta-ri 1 ZI GUŠKIN 20 GÍN up-pa-aḫ-ḫi

[In a dream] the queen **made a vow** to Šaumatari for the days of the Festival of Torches [as follows]: “If, His Majesty does not [become] an[y worse] on my account, I will send [t]o Šaumatari 1 golden soul (of) 29 šekels (20 GIN).”

<sup>189</sup> The phrase *arkuwar tiyauwanzi* has been translated in the present context as “ein Gebet zu setzen” by Kammenhuber *HW*<sup>2</sup>: 313; “to present a plea” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 1: 149 and “to address a prayer” by de Roos 2007: 184

<sup>190</sup> The hand copy of KUB 15.1 indicates that the enclitic *-ma* follows the Sumerogram MUNUS.LUGAL (see also Ünal 1974: 218). The photograph of this tablet is not clear. Considering the fact, that *ma* would be problematic in the present context because of the continuing main clause, the reading ŠA is adopted here (already suggested by de Roos 2007: 93 and note 100) and in line 48.

<sup>191</sup> The previous translations of the sentence that employs the expression *arkuwar iya-* include: “the queen made the following plea” Hoffner 2003: 67; “the queen prayed” de Roos 2007: 101; “Die Königin machte ein Bittgebet” Ünal 1974: 218.

<sup>192</sup> The restoration of the noun *arkuwar*, suggested by de Roos 2007: 177, seems very plausible because of the similarities this passage shares with in relevant passages in KUB 15.19 and KUB 15.1.

### I.C. arkuwai- “to complain”

1. KBo 11.1 (CTH 382), a prayer to the Stormgod concerning the cult of Kummanni, NH/NS (Muwatalli II).

(1)

Obv.: (18) *ma-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[an]* DINGIR-LIM KUR-TI-*ma ku-iš-ki* HUL-*aḫ-ḫa-an-za nu* <sup>d</sup>U-ni <sup>r</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-[*ku-wa-it* *ki-nu-na-at-za* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI] <sup>m</sup>NIR.[GÁL EN.KUR.KUR.ḪI.]A *ar-ku-wa-ar e-eš-ša-aḫ-ḫi* / (19) <sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-at<sup>1</sup> (NI EŠ) <sup>d</sup>U EN-IA *iš-ta-ma-aš-du*

[f] some god of the land was maltreated and **he has co[mplained]** to the Stormgod, [now I, My Majesty], Muwa[talli, lord of the land]s am making [that] into a plea, and may the Stormgod, my lord, hear it!

(2)

Obv.: (32) *ma-a-an-ma* HUR.SAG-*ma <sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-iš-ki na-aš-ma ši-nap-ši šu-up-pa AŠ-RU ku-it-ki* HUL-<sup>r</sup>*aḫ-ḫa<sup>1</sup>-an nu A-NA* <sup>d</sup>U *ar-ku-wa-it ki-nu-na-at* <sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-[*a-ša* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI <sup>m</sup>NIR.GÁL] / (33) EGIR-*pa SIG<sub>5</sub>-aḫ-mi*

If some mountain, or a *šinapši*-sanctuary, (or) some holy place has been mistreated and **has complained**<sup>193</sup> to the Stormgod, now [I, My Majesty, Muwatalli] am hereby setting it right again.

- (3) Rev.: (3') <sup>r</sup>ma-a-an DUMU.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> *ku-ri-im-mu-uš-ma ku-i-e-eš pí-eš-kán-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>* [ ... ] / (4') *nu A-NA* <sup>d</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-*ma ar-ku-wa-it* <sup>d</sup>LUGAL-*ma-aš-ma A-NA* <sup>d</sup>U *a[r-ku-wa-it]* / (5') *na-at* [EGI]R-*pa SIG<sub>5</sub>-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi*

If some people(?) give orphans (lit. orphaned children) [ ... ], and he **has complained** to Šarruma, and Šarruma [**has complained**] to the Stormgod, they will bring it in order again.

### I.D.a. -za arkuwar iya- “to make a request”

1. KBo 15.7 (CTH 420), a fragment of a substitute ritual for a Hittite king, NH/NS.

KBo 15.7: (11') LUGAL-*uš-ma-za ar-ḫa* [n]i-*ku-ma-an-ta-iz-zi na-aš-kán* / (12') [k]at-ta *ú-iz-zi nu-za wa-ar-ap-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>* <sup>TUG</sup>NÍG.LÁM.MEŠ-*ia-za dam-m[a-i]* / (13') [w]a-aš-ši-ia-iz-zi *na-aš* EGIR-*pa GISKIM.ḪI.A* <sup>r</sup>MA-ME<sup>1</sup>-TI *pa-iz-zi [nu-za(?)]* / (14') [x] x x<sup>194</sup> A-NA NAM.RU *ar-ku-wa-ar kiš-an DÜ-zi* <sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-*a-ša-wa-mu-za* / (15') [x x] x <sup>r</sup>EGIR<sup>1</sup>-*pa ḫa-aš-ta* <sup>r</sup>nu-mu-za<sup>1</sup> [N]AM.RA EN-IA *le-e nam-m[a ...]* / (16') [x x x x x] x x [x x x] x-u<sup>?</sup>-*zi nu kiš-an me-m[a-i ...]* / (17') [ ... z]i-ia IŠ-<sup>r</sup>TU<sup>1</sup> KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN [ ... ] / (18') [ ... ]-*pa-al-la-za ar-ḫa ú-* [ ... ] / (19') [ ... -š]Ú DUMU-ŠÚ *pa-<sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup>* NAM.RU-*u[š ...]* //

<sup>193</sup> The verb *arkuwai-* appearing in the present context has been previously translated as “to plead,” “to present a plea” by Buis 2007: 182; Lebrun 1980: 300, 301, 302; Houwink ten Cate/Josephson 1967: 116, 115, 118; Puhvel HED vol.1: 149 and Singer 2002a: 83, 84; “to pray” by Kammenhuber HW<sup>2</sup>: II 1.b 310-311 or to “explain in prayer” by Haas-Wilhelm 1974: 38 n. 3.

<sup>194</sup> The particle *-za* is missing from this construction. Garrett (1999: 242) suggested that the clitic chain *nu-za* appears at the end of line 13' and that the two signs at the beginning of line 14' belong to another word.

The king strips. He comes down. He washes and puts on another festival attire. He ‘goes behind’ the curse omens. And **he makes request**<sup>195</sup> to the deportee as follows: “He has just opened back [ ... ] for me. You [dep]ortee, my lord, do not [ ... ] me/for me further. [He ... ] and sa[ys] as follows: “[ ... ] with silver and gold. [He ... ] away. He went [ ... with ] his and his son.” The deportee [ ... ]

2. KBo 13.161 (CTH 470.1358), a fragment of a ritual, NH/NS.

KBo 13.161: (1') EN.SISKUR-*za* A-NA <sup>d</sup>U *ar-ku-wa-ar i-[ia-zi]* / (2') <sup>d</sup>U EN-IA EGIR-*pa-wa-ra-aš-mu pa-a-i UM-M*[A <sup>d</sup>U-MA] / (3') *im-ma-ak-ku-wa-ra-aš-mu pe-eš-ta* / (4') *ki-nu-un-ma-wa-ra-aš-mu* 'EGIR<sup>1</sup>-*pa ú-e-ki-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-[ki-ši]* / (5') *nu-za* EN.SISKUR A-NA <sup>d</sup>U *ar-ku-wa-ar i-[ia-zi]* / (6') *pa-a-i-wa-ra-aš-mu nu-wa-at-ták-kán me-na-aḫ-ḫ[a-an-da]* / (7') *uš-kán-zi ta-aš-ši-aš* <sup>d</sup>U-*aš pa-ra-a pe-eš-ta* // (8') 'EGIR-ŠU' ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ <sup>GIŠ</sup>GIGIR <sup>GIŠ</sup>TUKUL <I-NA> <sup>URU</sup>A-RI-I[N-NA] / (9') A-NA <sup>d</sup>U *pa-ra-a ti-it-ta-nu-wa-an-zi* / (10') *nu-za* EN.SISKUR A-NA <sup>d</sup>U *ar-ku-wa-ar i-i[a-zi]* <sup>d</sup>U EN-IA] / (11') EGIR-*pa-wa-ra-aš-mu pa-a-i UM-MA* <sup>d</sup>U-<sup>r</sup>MA' / (12') *im-ma-ak-ku-wa-ra-aš-mu pe-eš-ta k[i-nu-un-ma-wa-ra-aš-mu]* / (13') EGIR-*pa IR-ki-ši nu-za* EN.SISKUR 'A'-[NA <sup>d</sup>U] / (14') *ar-ku-wa-ar i-ia-zi* [*pa-a-i-wa-ra-aš-mu*] / (15') *nu-wa-mu* 'É<sup>1</sup>-ri pí-ra-<sup>r</sup>an' [ ... ]

The sacrificer (lit. lord of the ritual) **reque[sts]** from<sup>196</sup> (lit. makes a request to) the Stormgod: “O Stormgod, my lord! Give them back to me!” Thu[s] says [the Stormgod]: “You just<sup>197</sup> gave them to me. Are you now as[king] them back from me?” The sacrificer **reques[ts]** from (lit. makes a request to) the Stormgod: “Give them to me! and they will always await you.” The Stormgod gave them over to him // Afterwards they set up horses, a chariot and a weapon in Arinna for the Stormgod. The sacrificer **reque[sts]** from the Stormgod: “[O Stormgod, my lord!] Give them back to me! Thus says the Stormgod: “You just gave them to me. Are you n[ow] asking [them] back [from me?]” The sacrificer **request**: “[give them to me!], and they will [...] in front of my house.”

**I.D.b (-za) arkuwar iya- “to make a petition”**

1. KBo 5.9 (CTH 62.II.A), a treaty of Muršili II of Hatti with Duppi-Tešub of Amurru. The relevant lines are duplicated by KBo 50.25 (CTH 62.II.E):

KBo 5.9 ii (49) ...*na-aš-ma-at-ta ma-a-an* <sup>d</sup>UTU-<sup>r</sup>ŠI' // iii (1) *ku-e-qa me-mi-ia-nu-uš ḫar-wa-ši me-ma-i ku-u-uš-wa me-mi-ia-aš* / (2) *na-aš-ma-wa ku-u-un me-mi-ia-an i-ia ku-u-uš-wa me-mi-ia-aš* / (3) *ku-iš Ú-UL i-ia-u-wa-aš na-an-za-an a-pí-ia-pát* / (4) *pé-di-iš-ši ar-ku-wa-ar DÛ-ia*<sup>198</sup> *ku-u-*

<sup>195</sup> The expression *arkuwar DÛ-zi* in line 14' was translated as as: “He makes a plea” Garrett 1999: 241; “Er [der König] macht eine Bitte” Friedrich-Kammenhuber *HW*<sup>2</sup> 1, 312; “spricht er eine Bitte” Kümmel 1967: 37; “And he (the king) makes a plea/request” Melchert 1998: 47.

<sup>196</sup> The expression *arkuwar iya-* has been translated by Hoffner 1995: 192 as “to make a plea”. Ünal 1996: 55 rendered this expression in lines 1' and 5' as “to demand,” but in lines 10' and 14' as “to argue.”

<sup>197</sup> For the translation of *immakku* as “just” see Hoffner 1995: 192-193.

<sup>198</sup> E: <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[ia]

*un-wa me-mi-ia-an* / (5) *Ú-UL tar-aḫ-mi nu-wa-ra-an Ú-UL DÙ-mi* / (6) *na-an-za-an ma-aḫ-ḫa-an nam-ma LUGAL-uš še-eš-ḫa-a-i*/ (The passage is duplicated by lines 1'-2' of KBo 50.25)

Or if His Majesty should somehow secretly give you orders: “Do this thing or that thing,”<sup>199</sup> **make a petition**<sup>200</sup> about that one among these things which cannot be done<sup>201</sup> right on the spot (saying): “I cannot and I won’t do this thing.” As soon as the king decides it further ....

2. KUB 19.5 + KBo 19.79 (CTH 191), a Letter of Manapa-Tarḫunta, the king of the Seḫa River Land to a Hittite king, NH/NS (Muršili II or Muwatalli).<sup>202</sup>

KUB 19.5 obv. + KBo 19.79: (14) [<sup>m</sup>x-x]-x-ḫu-ḫa-aš <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>ŠE-RI-PU-TE-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>r</sup> A-NA <sup>m</sup>AT-PA-A kiš-ša-an / (15) [**ar-ku-w**]a-ar <sup>r</sup>i-[e]-er an-za-aš-wa-an-na-aš ar-kam-ma-na-al-<sup>r</sup>li-uš<sup>r</sup> / (16) [*nu-wa-kán*] <sup>r</sup>A<sup>r</sup>.AB.BA p[ár-ra]-an-ta ú-wa-u-en nu-wa-an-na-aš ar-kam-ma-an / (17) [píd-da-u]-<sup>r</sup>e-ni nu-wa <sup>m</sup>Ši<sup>r</sup>-ig-ga-ú-na-aš wa-aš-ta-aš / (18) [an-za-aš-ma-w]a <sup>r</sup>Ú-U[L] ku-<sup>r</sup>it<sup>r</sup>-ki i-[i]a-u-en nu-uš-ma-aš GIM-an / (19) [ar-kam-m]a<sup>r</sup>-na <sup>r</sup>ar<sup>r</sup>-ku-wa-<sup>r</sup>ar<sup>r</sup> [i]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>r</sup>-er <sup>m</sup>!(pár)At-pa-a-aš-ma-wa-<ra>-aš / (20) [Ú-UL a]r-nu-ut

However, ...ḫuḫa and the purple-dyers<sup>203</sup> **made a [petitio]n**<sup>204</sup> to Atpas as follows: “We are the purple-dyers [and] we came o[ve]r the sea. Let us [prese]nt (our) purple-dyed wool/things! Šiggauna sinned, [but] we have [d]on[e] noth[ing]!” When they **have made** their [purple-dy]ed wool/things (the subject of) **a petition**, Atpas [did not] transport them.

<sup>199</sup> Lit. “Do these things or this thing”. Beckman 1999: 62 read this sentence as “perform these deeds or that deed”.

<sup>200</sup> The phrase *arkuwar DÙ-ia* has been translated in the present context as either “to make an appeal” Beckman 1999: 62; Singer 2002b: 97, Friedrich 1926: 21 or “to petition” Goetze 1950: 204. Puhvel’s translated *arkuwar* as “explanation” HED vol. 1: 149.

<sup>201</sup> The sentence was translated as: “...what you do not want to perform” Beckman 1999: 62; “...(if) that order cannot be executed” Goetze 1950: 204; “which is not possible to perform” Singer 2002b: 97; “...what you do not want to perform” Beckman 1999: 62.

<sup>202</sup> Sommer (1932: 33ff) as well as Garstang and Gurney (1959: 95) were indecisive in the matter of assigning the text to either king. Those in favour of Muršili II include: Forrer (1926: 22ff) and Cornelius (1973: 217-218). For Muwatalli see Bryce (1998: 246, 2003: 70), Freu (1990: 25), Güterbock (1986: 37 n. 11), Heinhold-Krahmer (1977: 174, 221); Hoffner (2009: 293), Houwink ten Cate (1983-1984: 50, 58-64), Singer (1983: 206), Starke (1997: 453), Taracha (2001: 419) and Ünal (1974: 55).

<sup>203</sup> For the translation of the Akkadian term <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>ŠARIPŪTI as “purple-dyers”, its equation with the Hittite *arkammaliuš* and for the translation of Hittite *argamman* as “purple-dyed wool” see Singer 2008: 21-32 and Hoffner 2009: 295. Houwink ten Cate 1983-84: 40, does not translate <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>ŠARIPŪTI, and interprets the Hittite *arkammaliuš* and *argamman* as “tributaries” and “tribute.”

<sup>204</sup> The previous translations of the phrase *arkuwar iyer* employed in obv. 15 and 19 include: “...addressed a petition” and “made their purple-dyed stuff (the subject of) a petition” Hoffner 2009: 295; “a[dress]ed [a petit]ion” and “they had [mad]e their tribute (the subject of) a petit[io]n” Houwink ten Cate 1983/4: 40; “ont ad[ressé] une péti[ti]on” and “et quand ils ont fait du tribut (le sujet de) leur péti[ti]on” Freu 2004 : 301.

3. KUB 14.3 (CTH 381), “Tawagalawa Letter” letter, NH/NS (Muwatalli II/Hattušili III).<sup>205</sup>

KUB 14.3 ii: (61)<sup>206</sup> ...nu A-NA <sup>m</sup>Pí-ia-ma-ra-du :za-ar-ši-ia-an Ú-[UL AD-DIN]<sup>207</sup> / (62) :za-ar-ši-ia-aš-ma I-NA <sup>KUR</sup>ḪAT-TI kiš-an ma-a-an NINDA ši-ia-an-ta-a[n<sup>?</sup>]<sup>208</sup> / (63) ku-e-da-ni up-pa-an-zi nu-uš-ši-kán ḪUL UL ták-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-iš-ša-an-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup> / (64) :za-ar-ši-ia-ma še <sup>(li)</sup>-<sup>r</sup>er<sup>1</sup> ki-i ar-nu-nu-un e-ḫu-wa nu-wa-mu-<sup>r</sup>za<sup>1</sup> ar-<sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-[wa-ar] / (65) i-ia nu-wa-ták-kán KASKAL-ši te-eh-ḫi KASKAL-ši-ma-wa-ták-kán GIM-an te-eh-[ḫi] / (66) nu-wa-ra-at A-NA ŠEŠ-IA ḫa-at-ra-a-mi nu-ut-ta ma-a-an ZI-an-za / (67) wa-ar-ši-ia-zi e-eš-du-wa ma-a-an-ma-wa-at-ta ZI-an-za / (68) Ú-UL wa-ar-ši-ia-zi nu-wa ú-it GIM-an EGIR-pa-ia-wa-at-ta / (69) I-NA KUR <sup>URU</sup>AḪ-ḪI-IA-WA-A am-me-el UN-aš QA-TAM-MA pé-ḫu-<sup>r</sup>te<sup>1</sup>-iz-zi

[Have I] n[ot offered] the guarantee to Piyamaradu? In the land of Ḫatti the guarantee is as follows: if they send bread and *šiyanta* (drink?<sup>209</sup>/salt?<sup>210</sup>) to someone, they may not harm him (lit. they may not do harm to him). As a guarantee I brought this (message): “Come, **make a petition**<sup>211</sup> before me. Then I will put you on the road. And I will write to my brother when I put you on the road. If your wish is satisfied, let it be (so); but if your wish is not satisfied, then my man will bring you back, just as you came, into the land of Aḫḫiyawa.

4. HKM 57 = Mšt. 75/60 (CTH 190), a Middle Hittite letter from Ilali and Kašilti to <sup>LÚ</sup>BE-EL MADGALTI and to Ḫuilli.

HKM 57: (25) nu ú-iz-zi L[Ú DUMU SANGA] / (26) Ú-UL ar-k[u-wa-ar i-ia-zi(?)]<sup>212</sup> / (27) nu-za-kán šu-ma-aš [ ... ] / (28) EGIR-pa Ú-UL t[e-ez-zi?] / (29) ÌR-IA-wa-m[u] / (30) Ú-UL ḫa-a[n-n]a-[at-te-ni] //

[The son of the priest] will not proceed to **[make] a p[etition]**.<sup>213</sup> He will not s[peak] back to you (pl.) (saying): “Will you not j[udge] the c[ase] of m[y] slave (i.e. Kaštanda)?”

<sup>205</sup> Although most scholars date the text to the reign of Hattušili II, some are still in favour of Muwatalli I. See Smith, 1990: 22-23; Freu, LAMA 10/11; Gurney 2002: 133-141.

<sup>206</sup> Line count is that of KUB 14.3 hand-copy.

<sup>207</sup> Restored by Hoffner 2009: 307.

<sup>208</sup> For a discussion of NINDA and *šiyanta*[n] see Hoffner 2009: 392 note 304.

<sup>209</sup> Translation of Friedrich HW 191.

<sup>210</sup> Translation of Forrer 1926: 164 (*Forschungen* 1).

<sup>211</sup> The previous translations of the expression *arkuwar iya-* in the present context include: “make an appeal” Gurney and Garstang 1959: 113; “make your case” Hoffner 2009: 307; “make your plea to me” Puhvel HED vol.1: 149; “tue einem Bittga[ng] zu mir” Sommer 1932: 11 and “mache ein Gegenübertreten” = “tritt als Bittender vor mich hin” *idem* 133; “honor me” Ünal 1991: 35.

<sup>212</sup> The restoration of Alp 1991: 228.

<sup>213</sup> The previous translations of the phrase *arkuwar iya-* in line 26 include: “wird...die Bitte richten” Alp 1991: 229; “to make a plea” Hoffner 2009: 205.

### I.E. (-za) appa arkuwar iya-/ešša- “to respond”

1. HKM 52 = Mšt. 75/57 (CTH 190), a Middle Hittite letter of a scribe Ḫattušili to Ḫimuili, *BĒL MADGALTI* “district governor”, in Mašat (Tapikka) and a supplementary letter of a scribe Tarḫunmiya to Ḫimuili.

HKM 52 obv.: (6) ŠEŠ.DÙG.GA-IA-mu ku-e tu-el ud-da-a-ar / (7) ḫa-at-re-eš-ki-ši na-at I-NA É.GAL-LIM / (8) Ú-UL am-mu-uk-pát me-mi-iš-ki-mi / (9) nu-ut-ta **EGIR-pa ar-ku-wa-ar iš-ša-a[ḫ]-ḫi**

My dear brother, as to your matters about which you keep writing to me, do I not, on my part, keep speaking about them in the palace? I keep **giving** you a **reply**.<sup>214</sup>

2. KBo 32.202 (CTH 215), a letter of a Hittite dignitary, MH/MS.

KBo 32.202 rev.: (7') [A-NA] r<sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI ku-it ḫa-at-ri-<sup>r</sup>eš<sup>7</sup>-na-aš tup-pí up-pa-[aš] / (8') [na-a]t PA-NI dUTU-ŠI ḫal-zi-<sup>r</sup>ú-en<sup>1</sup> nu-ut-ta k[a-a-aš-ma-za(?)] / (9') [ud-da-n]i-[i(?)] a-ap-pa **ar-ku-a[r i]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-et** nu am-m[e-el] / (10') *BE-LÍ-IA ud-da-ni-i EGIR-an [ti-i-]a(?)*

Regarding the message (lit. the tablet of writing) which [he] sent [to] His Majesty, we read [i]t before His Majesty. **He has** *j[ust]* **replied** (lit. made a response) to you [in (this) matter]. My lord, [*carry o*]*n* in (this) matter.

3. KBo 1.30 (CTH 305) is a trilingual lexical list (Sumerian-Akkadian-Hittite) commonly referred to as the Old Babylonian “lú-series”, OH/OS.

(1)

KBo 1.30 obv.: [lú KI.MIN-šu]-gar-nu-tuku /// lu-KI.MIN-šu-kar-nu-ut-ku /// *ša te-er-tám ir-tám la-a i-šu-u* /// [u]t-ta-ni-i-za ku-iš **ar-ku-u-wa-ar na-at-ta i-ia-zi**

Sum. “someone who does not have ...” Akk. “someone who does not have a confronting message?”; Hittite “someone who does not **respond** (lit. make an answer)<sup>215</sup> to the matter/word”.

(2)

KBo 1.30 obv.: [lú KI.MIN-šu]-gar-nu-zu /// lu-KI.MIN-šu-kar-nu-zu /// *ša te-er-tám ir-tám la-a i-du-u* /// ut-ta-ni-i-za ku-iš **ar-ku-u-wa-ar na-at-ta ša-ak-ki**

<sup>214</sup> Alp 1990: 110 and 1991: 215 translates the expression *arkuwar ešša-* in line 8 as “request”, Hoffner 2009: 191 as “to send a reply”.

<sup>215</sup> The previous translations of the expressions *arkuwar iya-* and *arkuwar šak(k)-* in the above passages include: “who does not make a reply to a word”, “who does not recognize a reply to (his) word” Güterbock 1969: 215; “celui qui dans une chose ne fait pas d’excuse/de defense” Laroche 1964: 16; “who does not make a turned breast” (Akk.), “who does not offer defence in a matter” (Hitt.) Puhvel *HED* vol.1: 149-150. Hrozný understood the noun *arkuwar* in these lines as “Abwehren” (1917). The above sentences are cited in the *CAD* vol T: 367, without the translation and with a note that Akkadian phrase *tertam irtam* may reflect the idiom *irta turru*.

Sum. “someone who does not know...”, Akk. “who does not know a confronting message?” Hitt. “someone who does not recognize<sup>216</sup> an answer to the matter/word.”

4. KUB 5.7 (CTH 574), a **Ḫurri**-bird oracle, NH/NS.

KUB 5.7 obv.: (49') IGI-zi IR-TAM *ki-iš-ša-an a-ri-ia-u-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-en* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI I[R-TAM *ma-a-an(?) ...*] / (50') *pa-ra-a-aš-kán* SIG<sub>5</sub>-in *ú-iz-zi* DINGIR-LUM-ši **ar-ku-wa-[iz-zi(?)...]**<sup>217</sup> /

We posed the first oracle question in the following way: [*If*] His Majesty *as*[*ks* the oracle question ...], will it come out well? The deity **respon[ds]**<sup>218</sup> to him [...].

5. HKM 64 = Mšt. 75/24 (CTH 190), a Middle Hittite letter from Piyama-Tarḫunta to Kaššū.

HKM 64: // (22) *nu ud-da-na-aš ar-ku-wa-ar* / (23) *ku-it EGIR-pa i-e-er* / (24) *ne-et-ta ka-a-aš-ma* / (25) *TUP-PÍ ŠA<sup>m</sup> Ḫi-mu-DINGIR-LIM* / (26) *LÚ TE<sub>4</sub>-MI ú-da-aš* //

And (my) messenger brought to you the **response**<sup>219</sup> to the matter, which they have made, (written) on a tablet of Ḫimmuili.

6. HKM 89 = Mšt. 73/78 (CTH 190), a Middle Hittite letter from Mašat-Höyük.

HKM 89 rev.: (26) [*nu-m*] *u ke-e-da-ni* <A-NA> *TUP-PÍ ar-ku-wa-ar* / (27) [*x*]-*x ḫu-u-da-a-ak ḫa-at-ra-a-i*

Write to [m]e promptly the **response**<sup>220</sup> to this tablet!<sup>221</sup>

### I.F. arkuwai- “to explain (onself)”, arkuwar “explanation”

1. KBo 4.8 (CTH 71.A), an exculpation prayer of Muršili II, NH/NS.

KBo 4.8 iii: (20') [*x x x x x x n*] *u ka-a-ša am-mu-uk* <sup>m</sup>*Mur-ši-li-iš* / (21') [*x x x x x x x*] *pí-ra-an wa-aḫ-nu-nu-un* / (22') [*x x x x x x x x x x x x*] *ḫu-*

<sup>216</sup> For the translation of *-za ... šak(k)-* as “to recognize, acknowledge, accept” see *CHD* vol. Š 29-30, 31.

<sup>217</sup> The restoration of Tognon 2004: 68. From the grammatical perspective, the restoration of *arkuwaizzi* in the present context could be accurate since the Sumerogram DINGIR-LUM, a singular subject, requires a verb in the third person singular. However, it is not entirely certain whether one should restore here the verbal form *arkuwaizzi* or perhaps the expression *arkuwar dai-*. One cannot restore the *arkuwar iya-* because of the lack of the particle *-za*, which commonly appears with that expression. Trabazo 2002: 614 reads here DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> *ši-x-RI-QÚ-wa*].

<sup>218</sup> The verb *arkuwai-* in the present context has been translated as “respond, reply” by Tognon 2004: 69.

<sup>219</sup> For the same translation of the expression *arkuwar ešša-* in the present context see Hoffner 2009: 191. Alp 1991: 243 renders the expression *arkuwar iya-* in this context as “request.”

<sup>220</sup> The previous translations of the noun *arkuwar* in line 26 include: “die Bitte (als Antwort?)” Alp 1991: 291 and “reply” Hoffner 2009: 251.

<sup>221</sup> For the translation of *ke-e-da-ni* <A-NA> *TUP-PÍ* as “to this tablet” see Hoffner 2009: 252 note 26.

*d]a<sup>l</sup>-ak* *ar-ku<sup>1</sup>-wa-nu-un*<sup>222</sup> / (23') [x x x x x x x x x x x x *nu-mu i]š-<sup>r</sup>ta-  
ma<sup>1</sup>-aš-[t]en*

Hereby, I, Muršili [...] have come forward. [...] **I have** promptly **explained myself** ?[ ... ], hear [me].

2. KUB 14.1 (CTH 147), “Indictment of Madduwatta”, MH/MS (Arnuwanda I).

KUB 14.1 rev.: (34) [<sup>URU</sup>U]p-ni-ḫu-wa-la-an-ma-az URU-an ZI-it [e-eš]-ta-at(?) nam-ma-ták-kán ŠA KUR <sup>URU</sup>ḪA-AT-TI ku-i-e-eš<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> pít-te-ia-an-te-eš an-da i-ia-[an-ta-at] / (35) <sup>r<sup>m</sup></sup>Ma<sup>1</sup>-ad-du-wa-at-ta-aš-ma-aš-za da-aš-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-eš [A-BI] <sup>r<sup>d</sup></sup>UTU-ŠI-ma-at-ta <sup>q</sup>UTU-ŠI-ia EGIR-an-ta ḫa-at-ri-eš-ki-ir zi-ga-aš a-ap-pa Ú-U[L pa-it-ta] / (36) [nu-ut-t]a ma-a-an ši-e-ta-ni ud-da-[ni]-i x [x x x ḫa]-<sup>r</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-ra-a-u-ni zi-ga-an-na-aš nam-ma ud-da-ni-i **a-ap-pa ar-ku-wa-ar** <sup>r</sup>Ú<sup>1</sup>-[UL i-ia-šī(?)]<sup>223</sup> / (37) [nu]-kán ta-ma-a-i ku-e-ik-ki <sup>r</sup>ud<sup>1</sup>-da-a-ar [ḫa-at-ra-a-ši nu-u]n-na-aš EGIR-pa ta-ma-a-i ud-da-a-ar ḫa-at-re-eš-ki-[šī] //

But you [occup]ied the city of [U]pniḫuwala on your own authority. Furthermore, the fugitives of the land of Hatti, who w[ent] to you, you, Madduwatta, kept taking for yourself. [The father] of His Majesty and His Majesty wrote to you after them repeatedly, but you did no[t give] them back. When we [wr]ite [to yo]u, [you do not ...] about this matter. Furthermore, you do n[ot make] us **an explanation**<sup>224</sup> with regard to the matter. You [write] about other matter. You always write back to us about other matter.

3. HKM 63 = Mšt. 75/49 (CTH 190), a letter from Piyama-Tarḫunta to Ḫimmuili, MH/MS.

HKM 63 obv.: (7) ŠEŠ.DÜG.GA-IA-mu ku-it ki-iš-ša-an / (8) ḫa-at-ra-a-eš ud-da-a-ar-wa ku-e / (9) ḫa-at-re-eš-ki-mi nu-wa-mu ud-da-na-a-aš / (10) **EGIR-pa ar-ku-wa-ar** Ú-UL / (11) ku-iš-ki **ú-da-i** //

<sup>222</sup> Hoffner 1983: 189 read *arkuwanun* as *ar-wa-nu-un* and translated it as “I presented myself.” The same verbal form was translated by Singer 2002a: 78 as “I bowed down.” The beginning of this verbal form is partially broken. The photograph of KUB 14.8 shows that the traces visible before and after the small break in the tablet are consistent with *ar-ku* and the space available suggests restoration of two rather than only one sign. Consequently, the verb *arkuwai-* is restored here (already suggested by Laroche 1964-65: 17, Kammenhuber HW<sup>2</sup>: 309; Puhvel HED vol. 1 1984: 149; Kloekhorst 2008: 205 who translated this verbal form here as “to make a plea”).

<sup>223</sup> The verb in the sentence that contains *arkuwar* was restored by Goetze (1928) as *ištamaš-* “to hear” and as *dai-* “to put, to present” by Beckman (1999). Alternatively, one may restore here the expression *arkuwar iya-* (see already Puhvel HED vol. 1: 149). The fact that the particle *-za* is missing, does not make such a restoration invalid. In fact, in some of the Middle Hittite texts (for instance, letters from Mašat Höyük), the expression *arkuwar iya-* appears without the particle *-za*.

<sup>224</sup> The noun *arkuwar* has been translated in the present context as “defence” by Beckman 1999: 258, “request” by Goetze 1928: 29 and “excuse” by Puhvel HED vol.1: 149.

With regard to what you, my dear brother, wrote to me, as follows:  
“Nobody **brings** back to me (**any**) **explanation**<sup>225</sup> with regard to the matter  
about which I keep writing to you.”

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<sup>225</sup>

The nonun *arkuwar* has been translated here as “explanation” by Melchert 1998: 46 and Hoffner 2009: 215 and as “request” by Alp 1991: 239.

## II. MALD-, MALDUWAR, MALTEŠŠAR

### II.A. mald-, “to recite”, “to pray”, malteššar “recitation”, “invocation”

1. KUB 30.42 + KBo 31.3 (CTH 276.1), shelf list of the DUBxKAM type, OH/NS(?).

KUB 30.42 iv: (14) 1 IM.GÍD.DA *ma-a-an* <sup>LÚ</sup>NAR *I-NA É<sup>d</sup>I-NA-AR* / (15) *iš-pa-an-ti*<sup>226</sup> <sup>NINDA</sup> *ḫar-ša-uš pâr-ši-ia ta ki-iš-ša-an* / (16) *ma-a-al-ti ḫa-at-ti-li QA-TI*

One “long tablet”: “When the singer libates in the temple of Inara, breaks a thick bread, (When, at night, the singer breaks a thick bread in the temple of Inara) and **recites**<sup>227</sup> in Ḫattic as follows.” (Composition) finished.

2. KUB 30.68 + KUB 30.52 + KBo 31.1 + KBo 31.2 + KBo 31.14 (CTH 278.1), a lexical list of the DUB *UMMA*/mān type, MH/NS.

KUB 30.68 iii: (4) [ ... DUB *ma-a]l-te-eš-na-aš* <sup>m</sup>*Ta-a-at-ta* <sup>LÚ</sup> <sup>d</sup>[M x x x x x (x)] / (5) [ ... <sup>LÚ</sup>] <sup>MEŠ</sup>NAR *ki-i ŠA* <sup>URU</sup>*Ne-{ni}-r[i-ig-ga x x x]*<sup>228</sup> // (6) [ ... DUB *ma-al-t]e-eš-na-aš* <sup>m</sup>*Wa-a-ḫu-ut-ta-a-i-li* [x x x (x)]<sup>229</sup> / (7) [ ... ]x <sup>LÚ</sup>NAR <sup>m</sup>*ḫu-uz-zi-ia* L[<sup>Ú</sup> <sup>d</sup>IM] / (8) [ ... <sup>URU</sup> *ZA-AL-P]U-WA ma-a-an DUMU-[aš<sup>z</sup>] A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ* <sup>URU</sup> *ZA-A[L-P]U-WA* / (9) [ ... *pa-a-iz-z]i ki-ma*<sup>230</sup> *ma-am-ma-al-zi-kán-ta* //

[... tablet of the **re]citation(s)**<sup>231</sup> of Tatta, the man of the S[torm]god, [...] those singers of Ner[ik. ... tablet of **reci]tation(s) of Waḫutaili, [the ...], [...], the singer, Ḫuzziya, the man of the [Stormgod], [...the city of Zalpuwa. When the prince [goe]s to [worship]<sup>232</sup> the gods of Zalpuwa, **they recite these (chants)**.<sup>233</sup>,**

3. KUB 9.28 (CTH 442.A), a festival dedicated to the goddess Heptade (<sup>d</sup>IMIN.IMIN.BI), MH/NS. This texts has one duplicate, KBo 19.132, MH/NS.

<sup>226</sup> Laroche (1964) followed by Lebrun (1980) interpret *išpanti* in the present context as a dative-locative singular of the noun *išpant-* “night”. The form *iš-pa-an-ti* has been found twice in Old Hittite texts (Kloekhorst 2008: 404-405) as the spelling of the third singular person present active of the verb *šipant-* “to libate.” Consequently, *išpanti* in the present context can be translated either as “at night” (Laroche, Lebrun) or as “he libates” (Hoffner 2003: 69). Either translation makes sense in the present context.

<sup>227</sup> The verb *mald-* has been translated in the present context as “to recite” by Dardano 2006: 29, in *CHD* L-N: 133, by Hoffner 2003: 69, Laroche 1975: 164 and Lebrun 1980: 444. Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 32 translates this verb here as “to utter.”

<sup>228</sup> Taggar-Cohen (2006: 256) reads here *Ne-ni<sup>1</sup>-r[i]*, Lebrun (1980: 444) *Neni<sup>1</sup>r[igga]*.

<sup>229</sup> Dardano 2006: 194 restores at the end of line 6 [<sup>LÚ</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub>].

<sup>230</sup> Laroche 1975: 174 reads here the Akkadian *kīma* “when”.

<sup>231</sup> The noun *maltešnaš* has been translated here as: “chants” in *CHD* L-N: 139; “Rezitation” by Dardano 2006: 195; “hymnes” by Lebrun 1980: 444.

<sup>232</sup> This restoration is suggested in *CHD* L-N: 139.

<sup>233</sup> The verb *mammalt-* has been translated in this context as “recite (chants)” in *CHD* L-N: 138, as “rezitieren (Gesang)” by Dardano 2006: 195 and by Tischler 1990: 111 and as “declaim repeatedly” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 36. Forlanini 1984: 253 does not translate this verb at all, but argues that it expresses the idea of an appeal/calling (Anrufungen). Also Laroche 1975: 174 leaves the verb untranslated but considers it as a title of the chant/song.

- (1) KUB 9.28 iii: // (22) 2<sup>DUG</sup> KU-KU-UB ŠÀ.BA I-NA 1<sup>DUG</sup> ḪAB.ḪAB KAŠ / (23) a-ku-wa-[an]-na-aš pář-šu-il šu-u-uš / (24) 1 GI [šu]-uḫ-mi-li-iš tar-na-an-za // (25) n[a-an<sup>LÚ</sup>]AZU da-a-i nu DINGIR.MEŠ-aš / (26) m[a-a-al-ti] na-an du-wa-ar-ni-iz-zi //
- (2) KBo 19.132 rev. // (10') [ ... ] 1<sup>DUG</sup> KU-KU-UB a-ku-wa-an-na-aš / (11') [ ... 1 G]I(?) šu-uḫ-mi-li-iš tar-na-an-za // (12') [ ... ] 'DINGIR'.MEŠ-aš ma-a-al-ti / (13') [ ... i]z-zi //

Two pitchers: in one pitcher of beer for drinking, a rigid (?) drinking straw full (of?) pářšuil (or: a full pářšuil?) is inserted<sup>234</sup>. The diviner takes [i]t, re[cites]<sup>235</sup> to the gods, and breaks it.

4. KUB 41.23 (CTH 458.10.A), incantation ritual, OH/NS. The passage, which contains the verbal form *maldi*, is partially duplicated by lines 1'-5' of KBo 22.170.

KUB 41.23 ii: // (9') LÚ AZU **ma-al-ti** a-aš-šu-u ša-ku-wa-i[a<sup>1</sup>(ap)]<sup>236</sup> x x x x / (10') nu 'La<sup>1</sup>-ba-ar-na-an a-aš-šu šu-ú-wa-i 'e<sup>1</sup>'-[eš-ri-še-et ne-wa-aḫ(?)]<sup>237</sup> / (11') na-an EGIR-pa ma-ia-an-ta-aḫ i-da-lu ut-t[ar ar-ḫa] / (12') pé-e-da ši-ú-na-aš-ša-aš<sup>238</sup> ta-ri-ia-an-za x [ x x x ] / (13') ši-ú-wa-at-te-ia-aš ta-ri-ia-an-za<sup>239</sup> iš-pa-'an<sup>1</sup>-[ti-ia-aš ta-ri-ia-an-za(?)] / (14') ši-ú-wa-at-te-ia-aš ar-ta iš-pa-an-ti-ia-aš [ar-ta] / (15') SILA<sub>4</sub>-aš iš-ta-an-za-na-an da-ša-a-ša-aš<sup>240</sup> ḫ[a-lu-ka-an da-a] // (16') i-da-lu-un ḫur-ta-an le-e tar-na-at-ti i-da-'lu<sup>1</sup>-[un(?) . . . ] / (17') le-e tar-na-at-ti na-an ge-en-zu-u-wa-<i>ge-en-'zu<sup>1</sup>(-) [ ... ] //

The exorcist **recites**: “Look favourably [...] and regard Labarna kindly! [Renew his] f[rame] and rejuvenate him! Carry [off] the evil word/matter! He has exhausted himself for his gods [...]. By day he has exhausted himself, by night [he has exhausted himself]. By day he is standing (there in prayer), by night [he is standing (there in prayer)]. Take the soul of the lamb! [Take] the mes[sage] of the šāša-goat! Do not allow the evil curse! Do not allow evil [...]! Treat him gently! [Treat him] gen[tly]!

5. KBo 21.80 + KBo 20.44 (CTH 621.A), the first tablet of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUMŠAR festival, OH/MS. Lines i 15'-19' of KBo 21.80+ are

<sup>234</sup> Translation of *CHD* vol. P: 191. Catsanicos 1986: 153 translates these sentences as “Deux ‘vases’; dans l’un d’eux (se trouve) de la bière à boire (et) de *paršuil*; (il en est) plein. On (y) laisse un roseau (qui est) bien fixé (/bien joint).” Kammenhuber 1974: 78 renders this sentence as “2 K.-Gefäße, davon 1 Ḫ.-Gefäß Bier zum Trinken voll.”

<sup>235</sup> The verb *mald-* in the present context has been translated as “il recite (des formules)” by Catsanicos 1986: 153, “recite” in *CHD* L-N: 133 and as “utter” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 32.

<sup>236</sup> Reading of *CHD* Š: 56 b.

<sup>237</sup> This restoration was suggested in *CHD* vol L-N: 118.

<sup>238</sup> KBo 22.170 line 1': ši-ú-na-ša-aš.

<sup>239</sup> KBo 22.170 line 2': ta-a-ri-ia-an-za.

<sup>240</sup> KBo 22.170 line 5': ša-ša-aš.

duplicated by lines 18-22 of KBo 20.71 + KBo 20.76 + KBo 23.99 (CTH 621.B).

(1)

KBo 21.80 + KBo 20.44 i: // (15') [UGULA<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> MUḪALDI]M KAŠ GEŠTIN-*an iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-aš-<sup>r</sup>šar<sup>1</sup>* LUGAL-*i p[a-ra-a]* / (16') [*e-ep-zi*] LUGAL-*uš QA-TAM da-a-i* UGULA<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> MUḪALDIM<sup>r3'</sup>-ŠU<sup>LÚ</sup> ši-pa-an-t[i] / (17') [ x x] x<sup>LÚ</sup> ḫi-iš-tu-um-ma-aš **ma-a-al-ti** SĪLA.ŠU.DUḪ LUGAL-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup> GAL(?) *pa-a-i*<sup>241</sup> / (18') [LUGAL-*u*]š<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>d</sup> *Me-ez-zu-ul-la-an* <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>EN.ZU-*na e-ku-zi* / (19') [LÚ.MEŠ ŠU.Ī] <sup>r</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-*wa-an-zi ta-aš-ša-an* A-<sup>r</sup>NA<sup>LÚ1.MEŠ</sup> ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> / (20') [*wa-a-tar l*]a-<sup>r</sup>ḫu<sup>1</sup>-*wa-an-zi* //

(2)

KBo 20.71 + KBo 20.76 + KBo 23.99 i: // (18) UGULA<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> MUḪALDIM GEŠTIN-*an iš-pa-an-tu-zi-a[š-š]ar* LUGAL-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup> [*pa-ra-a e-ep-zi*] / (19) LUGAL-*uš QA<sup>1</sup>-TAM da-a-i* UGULA<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> MUḪALDIM 3-[Š]U<sup>LÚ</sup> ši-pa-a[n-ti x x x] / (20) <sup>LÚ</sup>ḫi-iš-tu-u-ma-aš **ma-a-al-di** <sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup>1</sup>[SĪLA.Š]U.DUḪ LUGA[L-*i* GAL(?) *pa-a-i* LUGAL-*uš* <sup>d</sup>UTU] (21) <sup>d</sup>ME-EZ-ZU-UL-<sup>r</sup>LA<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-*na<sup>1</sup> e-ku-zi* <sup>r</sup>LÚ.MEŠ ŠU.Ī [*ú-wa-an-zi*] / (22) *ta-aš-ša-an* [A-NA<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> AL]M.ZU<sub>9</sub> *wa-a-tar la-ḫu-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-zi* //

The overseer of the cooks [holds out] to the king a beer and wine libation vessel (B: wine libation vessel). The king puts his hand (over it). The overseer of the cooks libates three times. [...] The *ḫešta*-man **recites**<sup>242</sup>. The cupbearer [*gives a cup*] to the king. The king drinks to the Sungoddess, to Mezulla and to the Moon god. The “barbers” come and pour water over the reciters.

6. Various manuscripts of a “Haste festival” (EZEN<sub>4</sub> *nuntarrijašḫaš*) CTH 626, OH/NS. Lines rev. 11'-14' of KBo 11.30 (CTH 626.6.T.III.1.B) and vi 6-10 of KUB 41.44 (CTH 626.6.T.III.1.H) are duplicates. Although IBoT 2.101 (CTH 626.6.T.III.1.G) and KUB 25.17 (CTH 626.6.T.III.1.J) do not duplicate one another, their context and wording is similar.

(1)

KBo 11.30 rev.: // (11') GAL *ME-ŠE-DI te-ez-zi ta-[u-wa-al ...]* / (12') *ta* <A-NA><sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> *ḫu-u-[up-pár* GEŠTIN *pí-an-zi]* / (13') *ta* GEŠTIN **ma-al-di** *ta-a[z ḫu-u-up-pár* GEŠTIN] / (14') <sup>LÚ</sup>ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> *da-a-i* //

<sup>241</sup> There is enough space for one sign after the Sumerogram LUGAL-*i*. To complete the sentence a noun and the verb are needed. Yosida 1992: 126 restores here *a-ku-wa-an-na pa-a-i*. If his restoration is correct, it would have to be written on the edge and perhaps on the other side of the tablet.

<sup>242</sup> The verb *mald-* has been translated in the present context as “declaim” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 32.

The chief of the bodyguards says: *ta[wal ... They give] a hu[ppar-vessel of wine] to the performers. He recites<sup>243</sup> “wine-formula” and the performer takes for him[self the huppar-vessel of/with wine].*

(2)

KUB 41.44 vi.: // (6) [*t*]a A-NA<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> / (7) [*h*]u-u-up-pár<sup>1</sup>(pa) GEŠTIN pí-an-zi / (8) [*t*]a GEŠTIN **ma-al-ti** / (9) [*ta-a*]z hu-u-up-pár GEŠTIN / (10) [<sup>LÚ</sup>AL]AM.ZU<sub>9</sub> da-a-i //

They give a [*h*]uppar-vessel of/with wine to the performers. He **recites<sup>244</sup>** “wine-formula” and [the perfor]mer takes [for him]self the huppar-vessel.

(3)

IBoT 2.101: (10') [ ... GAL M]E-ŠE-DI LUGAL-i te-ez-zi / (11') [ *ta*(?) A-NA(?)<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>] ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> hu-u-up-pár GEŠTIN / (12') [*tar-ku-mi-ia-iz-zi* (?) *t*]a-aš-ma-aš<sup>LÚ</sup> ZABAR.DAB / (13') [*hu-u-up-pár* (?) G]EŠTIN pa-a-i<sup>LÚ</sup> ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> / (14') [ ... ] x-it **ma-al-di** //

[The chief] of the bodyguards speaks to the king. [He announces] a huppar-vessel of wine [for] the performers. The “bronze bowl owner” gives them [a huppar-vessel(?) of w]ine. The performer [ ... ] **recites<sup>245</sup>**.

(4)

KUB 25.17 vi: (4) ... GAL ME-ŠE-DI / (5) 'A'-NA<sup>LÚ.<MEŠ></sup> ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub><sup>DUG</sup> hu-u-up-pár GEŠTIN-aš / (6) [*t*]ar-ku-mi-ia-iz-zi / (7) ta-aš-ma-aš<sup>DUG</sup> hu-u-up-pár GEŠTIN-aš pí-an-zi / (8) [<sup>L</sup>] ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> **ma-al-di**

The chief of the bodyguards [a]nnounces for the performers a huppar-vessel of wine and they give them the huppar-vessel of wine. The performer **recites<sup>246</sup>**.

#### 7. KUB 48.9 (CTH 627.3.b.C), the KI.LAM festival, NS.

KUB 48.9 ii: (14) <sup>LÚ</sup>ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> kal-ti-<sup>r</sup>az<sup>1</sup> GEŠTIN / (15) ha-a-ni nu **ki-iš-ša-an ma-al-di** // (16) li-i-na-ia li-i-na-ia / (17) wa<sub>a</sub>-pí-iš kur-ku-wa<sub>a</sub>-na li-ga-ra-an //

The performer/reciter dips wine from the *kalti*-vessel and **recites<sup>247</sup>** as follows: (text in Hattic) “*līnaia līnaia wa<sub>a</sub>pīš kurkuwa<sub>a</sub>na ligaran*”

#### 8. KBo 30.31 + KBo 25.51 (CTH 631), the “Thunderstorm” ritual celebrated by the royal couple, OH.

<sup>243</sup> The same translation of the verb *mald-* in the present context has been offered in *CHD* L-N: 133, by Oettinger 1979: 444, by Popko 1994: 261 and Nakamura 2002: 227. Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 33 translates this verb here as “pronounce”.

<sup>244</sup> The same translation of the verb *mald-* in the present context has been offered in *CHD* L-N: 133, by Oettinger 1979: 444, by Popko 1994: 261 and by Nakamura 2002: 227. Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 33 translates this verb here as “pronounce”.

<sup>245</sup> The verb *mald-* in the present context has been translated as “recite” by Nakamura 2002: 211.

<sup>246</sup> The same translation of this verb in the present context was offered by Nakamura 2002: 234.

<sup>247</sup> The verb *mald-* has been translated in the present context as “recite” in *CHD* L-N: 133b, by Klinger 1996: 240 and Singer 1984: 151. Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 32 translates this verb here as “declaim”.

KBo 30.31 + KBo 25.51: (18') [LUGAL-uš *ḫal-m*]a-<sup>r</sup>š<sup>u</sup>-it-ti ti-e-ez-zi 2 e-ku-zi / (19') [<sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>Me-ez-z]u-ul-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-an-na <sup>r</sup>ḫ<sup>u</sup>-up-pa-ri ši-pa-an-t[i] / (20') [GIŠ <sup>d</sup>INANNA GAL wa-a]l-ḫa-an-zi <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> / (21') [*pal-ú-eš-ká*]n-zi // (22') [LUGAL-uš A-NA <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>ALAM.Z]U<sub>9</sub> 1 DUG GEŠTIN ma-ni-ia-ah-ḫ[i] / (23') [ ... t]a <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-a-al-d[i] //

[The king] steps towards the throne/Ḫalmašuit and drinks twice. He libate[s] from the *ḫuppar*-vessel [to the Sungoddess and Mezzul]a. They [pla]y (lit.strike) [the great string instrument]. The performers [are shouti]ng. [The king] hands over one vessel (with) wine [to the performers ... a]nd **recites**.

9. CTH 647, festivals celebrated by the king or the prince at Nerik.

(1) KUB 25.36 (CTH 647.6), MH/MS.

KUB 25.36 v: (9) LUGAL-uš pa-iz-zi A-NA <sup>d</sup>IM UŠ-KÉ-EN / (10) <sup>LÚ</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub> EGIR-<sup>r</sup>ŠU<sup>r</sup> ti-ia-zi ta ma-a[l-ti] / (11) ḫa-at-ti-i-li ma-a-an <sup>LÚ</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub> m[a-al-du-wa-ar] / (12) zi-in-ni-iz-zi nu LUGAL-<sup>r</sup>un QA-TE-<sup>r</sup>EŠ-ŠU / (13) [š]a-ap-zi <sup>r</sup>LUGAL-uš<sup>r</sup> U[š-K]É-EN erasure / (14) [ta]-<sup>r</sup>az<sup>r</sup> [A]-ŠAR-ŠU e-ep-zi // (15) <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA <sup>d</sup>IM <sup>URU</sup>ZA-ḪA-LU-UQ-QA pa-iz-zi (16) A-NA <sup>d</sup>IM UŠ-KÉ-EN QA-<sup>r</sup>TE-<sup>r</sup>EŠ-ŠU ar-ḫa e-e[p-zi] / (17) ta ḫa-at-ti-i-li ma-al-ti / (18) ù <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA <sup>d</sup>ḪA-LI-PI-NU EGIR-ŠU ti-ia-<sup>r</sup>zi // (19) ma-a-an <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA <sup>d</sup>IM <sup>URU</sup>ZA-ḪA-LU-UQ-QA / (20) ma-al-du-wa-ar zi-in-ni-iz-zi UŠ-KÉ-<sup>r</sup>EN<sup>r</sup> / (21) nu-za EGIR-pa A-ŠAR-ŠU e-ep-zi // (22) LUGAL-uš pa-iz-zi A-NA <sup>d</sup>ZA-BA<sub>4</sub>-BA<sub>4</sub> UŠ-KÉ-EN / (23) <sup>LÚ</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub> EGIR-ŠU ti-ia-zi ta ma-al-ti / (24) ḫa-at-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>r</sup>-i-li <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-a-an <sup>LÚ</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub> ma-al-du-wa-<sup>r</sup>ar / (25) <sup>r</sup>zi<sup>r</sup>-in-ni-iz-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>r</sup> [L]UGAL-un QA-TE-EŠ-ŠU ša-ap-zi / (26) <sup>r</sup>LUGAL-<sup>r</sup>uš UŠ-KÉ-<sup>r</sup>EN<sup>r</sup> ta-az A-ŠAR-ŠU e-ep-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>r</sup> // (27) <sup>LÚ</sup>rSANGA<sup>r</sup> <sup>d</sup>IM <sup>URU</sup>ZA-ḪA-LU-UQ-QA pa-iz-zi / (28) <sup>r</sup>A-NA<sup>r</sup> <sup>d</sup>ZA-BA<sub>4</sub>-BA<sub>4</sub> UŠ-KÉ-EN QA-TE-EŠ-ŠU a[r-ḫa] / (29) <sup>r</sup>e-ep<sup>r</sup>-zi ta ma-al-ti ḫa-at-ti-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>r</sup>-[li] / (30) <sup>r</sup>ù<sup>r</sup> <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA <sup>d</sup>ḪA-LI-PI-NU <sup>r</sup>EGIR-<sup>r</sup>ŠU t[i-ia-zi] // (31) [m]a-a-an <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA <sup>d</sup>IM <sup>URU</sup>ZA-ḪA-LU-<sup>r</sup>UQ<sup>r</sup>-QA / (32) <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-al-du-wa-ar zi-in-ni-iz-zi / (33) nu-za EGIR-pa A-ŠAR-ŠU e-ep-zi //

The king goes and bows to the Stormgod. The GUDU-priest steps behind him and **recit[es]**<sup>248</sup> in Hattic. When the GUDU-priest finishes the **r[ecitation]** he [c]leans the king's hands (lit. he cleans the king, his hands). The king b[ow]s [and] he (i.e. the GUDU-priest) takes his [p]lace. The SANGA-priest of the Stormgod of Zahḫaluqqa goes, bows to the Stormgod, ho[ld]s out his hands and in Hattic **recites**. And the SANGA-priest of Ḫalipinu steps behind him. When the SANGA-priest of the Stormgod of Zahḫaluqqa finishes the **recitation**, he bows and takes back his place.

The king goes and bows to ZABABA. The GUDU-priest steps behind him and **recites** in Hattic. When the GUDU-priest finishes the **recitation**, he cleans the [k]ing's hands. The king bows and he (i.e. the GUDU-priest)

<sup>248</sup>

The verb *mald-* has been translated in these passages as “recite” and the verbal noun *malduwar* as “recitation” by Haas (“rezitiert”, “Rezitativ”) 1970: 207, 209, by Taggar-Cohen 2006: 249 and in *CHD* L-N: 133. Although Lebrun 1980: 446 does not translate this text in its entirety, he describes the ritual activities performed in the relevant passages by the king and the priests and renders the verb *mald-* as “proclament solennellement le voeu en hattî” (*mald-*). Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 35 translates the verbal noun *malduwar* in line v 20 as “declaiming” and indicates that the same translation applies to all the instances of this noun in this passage.

takes his place. The SANGA-priest of the Stormgod of Zaḥḥaluqqa goes, bows to ZABABA, holds o[ut] his hands and **recites** in Hatti[c]. And the SANGA-priest of Ḫalipinu s[teps] behind him. [Wh]en the SANGA-priest of the Stormgod of Zaḥḥaluqqa finishes the **recitation**, he takes back his place.

(2) KBo 11.45 (CTH 647.13.A), OH/NS.

KBo 11.45 iii: (13') DUMU.LUGAL *pa-iz-zi A-NA* <sup>d</sup>ZA-BA<sub>4</sub>-BA<sub>4</sub> UŠ-KI-EN / (14') <sup>LÚ</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub> EGIR-ŠU *ti-ia-zi* / (15') *ta ma-al-ti ḫa-at-ti-li ta-az A-ŠAR-ŠU* / (16') *e-ep-zi* <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA <sup>d</sup>ZA-ḪA-LU-UQ-QA / (17') A-NA <sup>d</sup>ZA-BA<sub>4</sub>-BA<sub>4</sub> UŠ-KI-EN / (18') QA-TI-ŠU *ar-ḫa e-ep-zi ta ma-al-ti* / (19') *ḫa-at-ti-li* <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA {an} <sup>d</sup>ḪA-LI-PI-NU-Ú / (20') <sup>r</sup>EGIR<sup>1</sup>-ŠU *ti-ia-zi ta UŠ-KI-EN* / (21') *ta-az A-ŠAR-ŠU e-ep-zi* //

The prince goes and bows to ZABABA. The GUDU-priest steps behind him, **recites**<sup>249</sup> in Hattic and takes his place. The SANGA-priest of the deity Zaḥḥaluqqa bows to ZABABA, holds away his hands and **recites** in Hattic. The SANGA-priest of Ḫalipinu steps behind him, bows and takes his place.

10. VsNF 12.12 (CTH 648.1), a festival celebrated by DUMU-aš, NS.

VSNF 12.12 i: (1) DUMU-aš-ta IŠ-TU É <sup>d</sup>U *pa-ra-a ú-iz-zi* / (2) *na-aš I-NA É* <sup>d</sup>ZA-BA<sub>4</sub>-BA<sub>4</sub> *pa-iz-zi* / (3) <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> *pí-ra-an ḫu-u-ia-an-te-eš* / (4) DUMU-aš <sup>É</sup>ḫi-i-li a-ri <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> *a-ḫa-a* / (5) *ḫal-zi-ia-an-zi* <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA <sup>d</sup>I-NA-AR / (6) DUMU-li *tuh-ḫu-eš-šar pí-ra-an e-ep-zi* / (7) DUMU-aš *tuh-uh-ša*<sup>r</sup> DUMU-aš *an-da pa-iz-zi DINGIR-LIM-ni* / (8) UŠ-KÉ-<sup>r</sup>EN<sup>r</sup> <sup>LÚ</sup>ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> *ma-al-<sup>r</sup>dī* //

The prince comes out of the temple of the Stormgod and goes to the temple of ZABABA. The prince, preceded by the performers, comes into the courtyard. The performers call out “aha”. The SANGA-priest of the goddess Inara holds out *tuhḫueššar*-cleansing substance to the prince and the prince cleans himself ritually. The prince goes in (i.e. into the temple) and bows to the god. The performer **recites**.

11. KUB 34.115 + KBo 30.28 (CTH 648.3), a festival celebrated by DUMU-aš, OH.

KUB 34.115 + KBo 30.28 iii: (6') DUMU-aš *a-ku-an-na ú-ek-zi* <sup>LÚ</sup>ŠÌLA.ŠU.DUḪ GAL-ri *pa-a-<sup>r</sup>i*<sup>r</sup> [nu(?) DUMU-aš(?) A-NA(?)] / (7') <sup>d</sup>UTU *e-ku-zi* 1 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA E[M-Š]A *da-a-i nu* <sup>LÚ</sup>ŠÌLA.ŠU.DUḪ [ ... ] / (8') <sup>LÚ</sup>NAR <sup>d</sup>UTU ŠÌR-RU <sup>LÚ</sup>[A]LAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> *ma-al-di* n[u<sup>2</sup> <sup>LÚ</sup>ŠÌLA.ŠU.DUḪ] / (9') GAL-ri *e-ep-zi* <sup>LÚ</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub> N[INDA].GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA EM-ŠA DUMU-li *pa-a-<sup>r</sup>i*<sup>r</sup> [DUMU-aš(?) pár-ši-ia(?)] / (10') <sup>LÚ</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub> DUMU-li 2 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA *e-[e]p-zi tu-uš-ša-an* 1 [ ... ] / (11') *ma-al-di* <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA *ḫi-in-kán-[f]a(?) ne a-ap-pa a-š[a- ... ]* / (12') *nu-uš-ma-aš a-ku-an-na pí-an-[z]i* <sup>LÚ</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub>-aš<sup>2</sup> 2 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA [ ... A-NA(?)] / (13') <sup>LÚ</sup>ŠÌLA.ŠU.DUḪ LUGAL-aš *pí-an-[z]i* //

<sup>249</sup>

The same translation of the verb *mald-* in lines iii 15' and 18' has been offered by Haas 1970: 233. Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 33 translates the verb *mald-* in line iii 15' as “declaim”.

The prince asks to drink. The [cup]bearer gives (him) a cup. [*The prince*] drinks [to] the Sungod. He takes one thick s[ou]r bread and the cupbear[er ...]. The singer sings (to) the Sungod/the singer of the Sungod sings; the [per]former **recites**. [The cupbearer] takes the cup. The GUDU-priest gives sour thick b[rea]d to the prince. [*The prince breaks* (it)]. The GUDU-priest ta[ke]s two thick breads to the prince and [ ... ] one. [ ... ] **recites**. The SANGA-priest bows. They [ ... ] again/back. They gi[ve] them to drink. The GUDU-priest [ ... ] two thick breads. They giv[e ... to] the cupbearer of the king.

12. KBo 20.10+ (CTH 669), a ritual celebrated by the king, OH/OS.<sup>250</sup>

(1)

KUB 20.10 i: // (8) [DUMU].É.GAL *mar-nu-an pé-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-i* LUGAL-uš 2-ŠU / (9) *ši-pa-an-ti* DUMU.É.GAL GAL-AM *pa-ra-a pé-ta-i* / (10) *ta* LÚ<sup>d</sup>U-an *an-da pé-ḫu-te-ez-zi* 'A-NA' LUGAL *ḫé-ek-ta* / (11) *ta* LUGAL-un *šu-up-pí-aḫ-ḫi* [wa]-<sup>r</sup>tar<sup>1</sup> 3-ŠU / (12) *iš-pár-nu-zi* **ma-al-ti** LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL <sup>r</sup>e-ša<sup>1</sup>-an-da / (13) *ME-E QA-TI pé-ta-an-zi* <sup>GIŠ</sup>BANŠUR-uš *ti-an-zi* //

The palace [attendant] carries the *marnuant*-beer. The king libates twice. The palace attendant brings (forth) the cup and leads in the Man of the Stormgod. He bows (down) to the king. He (i.e. the Man of the Stormgod) consecrates the king, scatters water three times (and) **recites**. The king and the queen sit. They bring water for hand-(washing) and they put (down) the tables.

(2)

KUB 20.10 ii: // (5) GAL DUMU.É.GAL *mar-nu-an pé-ta-i* LUGAL-uš 2-ŠU / (6) *ši-pa-an-ti* GAL DUMU.É.GAL GAL-AM *pa-ra-a pé-ta-i* / (7) *ta* LÚ<sup>d</sup>U-an *an-da pé-ḫu-te-ez-zi* / (8) *ta* LUGAL-un *šu-up-pí-aḫ-ḫi* wa-tar 3-ŠU / (9) *iš-pár-nu-zi* *ta* **ma-al-ti** LUGAL-uš MUNUS.LUGAL-aš *e-ša-an-da* / (10) *ME-E QA-TI pé-ta-an-zi* <sup>GIŠ</sup>BANŠUR-uš *ti-an-zi* //

The chief palace attendant carries the *marnuant*-beer. The king libates twice. The chief palace attendant brings (forth) the cup and leads in the Man of the Stormgod. He (i.e. the Man of the Stormgod) consecrates the king, scatters water three times and **recites**.<sup>251</sup> The king and the queen sit. They bring water for hand-(washing) and they put (down) the tables.

<sup>250</sup>

The two passages which employ the verb *mald-*, namely i 8-13 and ii 5-20, are virtually identical, except for a few details: (i) in lines i 8-13 the king and the queen are assisted by a palace attendant, in lines ii 5-10 by the chief palace attendant, (ii) the phrase ANA LUGAL *ḫekta* is employed only in line i 10 and it is written with smaller signs indicating that it was added later to the text, (iii) the verb *mald-* in line i 12 is also written with smaller signs and hence it is a later addition to the text, (iv) the sentence introductory particle *ta* is omitted in line i 12, (v) the Hittite phonetic complements appear with LUGAL and MUNUS.LUGAL only in line ii 9.

<sup>251</sup>

The verb *mald-* has been translated in line i 12 as “rezitiert” by Oettinger 1979: 444 and in line ii 9 as “declaim” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 32.

13. Bo 68/525 (CTH 670), a ritual celebrated by the king, NH/NS.

Bo 68/525: // (4) [LUG]AL-uš GUB-aš <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>Me-ez-zu-ul-la-an / (5) <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ku-zi *ħu-u-up-pa-ri ši-pa-an-ti* / (6) [GIŠ <sup>d</sup>]INANNA.GAL ŠIR-RU <sup>LÚ</sup>ALAM.ZU<sub>9</sub> / (7) [ x x] x-i mar-nu-wa-an-ti-ia **ma-al-di** //

[The ki]ng, standing, drinks to the Sungoddess and Mezzula. He libates to/from the *huppar*-vessel. They play the large string [instrument]. The performer **recites** over [...] and *marnuwa*-beer.

14. KBo 8.117 (CTH 666), a festival celebrated in Arinna, NH/NS. The relevant passage is duplicated by KUB 60.165.

KBo 8.117 ii: // (8') 'LUGAL-uš' DINGIR-LIM-ni a-ru-wa-a-iz-zi / (9') [nu(?)] <sup>LÚ.M</sup>ES GUDU<sub>12</sub> a-ru-u-wa-an-zi / (10') [nu(?)] <sup>LÚ</sup>k[i-i-da-aš ħal-za-a-i / (11') [nu(?)] <sup>MUNUS</sup>z[i-in-du-uĥ-ħi-ia-aš **ma-al-[di]**]<sup>252</sup> //

The king bows to the deity. The GUDU-prie[sts] bow (down). The *kita*-[man] calls. The *zintuħi*-[woman] (female singer?) **recit[es]**.

15. KUB 58.33 (CTH 678), a festival celebrated in Nerik, NH/NS.

KUB 58.33 iv: // (19') [<sup>LÚ</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub> ħ]u-up-pár LUGAL-i / (20') [pa-ra-a] <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ep-zi LUGAL-uš / (21') [da-a]-i <sup>LÚ</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub> **ma-al-di** / (22') [LUGAL-uš(?) ħ]u-up-pár-an ħa-ap-pí-na-aš / (23') [da-a]-i //

[The GUDU-priest] holds [forth] to the king a [ħ]uppar-vessel. The king [take]s (it). The GUDU-priest **recites**<sup>253</sup>. [*The king* put]s the [ħ]uppar-vessel into the flames.

16. KUB 17.28 (CTH 730), lines ii 33-36 and iii 1-17 are part of a *Sammeltafel*, which collects rites and incantations of different character, content and aim, MH/NS. Lines iii 1-17 are duplicated by KBo 37.10 (CTH 730.C).

KUB 17.28 iii: (4) UDU-kán ar-<sup>r</sup>kán<sup>1</sup>-zi nu šu-up-pa <sup>UZU</sup>NÍG.GIG<sup>254</sup> <sup>UZU</sup>GABA / (5) SAG.DU-[Z]U<sup>255</sup> ĞÌR.MEŠ erasure PA-MI <sup>GIŠ</sup>BANŠUR da-a-i / (6) <sup>UZU</sup>NÍG.<sup>r</sup>GIG<sup>1</sup>.ĤI.A za-nu-an-zi NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA.ĤI.A pár-<sup>r</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>-ia-an-da<sup>256</sup> / (7) nu 1 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.<sup>r</sup>RA<sup>1</sup> da-ga-an da-a-i nu **ma-al-ti** / (8) <sup>d</sup>UTU-i <sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-iš pí-ra-an ar-ta / (9) nu-wa-kán <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>UTU-i pár-ra-an-da SIG<sub>5</sub>-in me-mi-iš-ki / (10) 2 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA.ĤI.A pár-ši-ia<sup>257</sup> na-aš-kán A-NA <sup>GIŠ</sup>BANŠUR-i / (11) da-a-i še-er-ra-aš-ša-an<sup>258</sup> <sup>UZU</sup>NÍG.GIG da-a-i / (12) KAŠ.GEŠTIN BAL-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-ti<sup>259</sup> <sup>UZU</sup>Ī-ma za-nu-wa-an-zi / (13) <sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-at ar-

252 KUB 60.165 line 2': [...ma-a]l-di

253 The same translation of the verb *mald-* in the present context was offered by Haas 1970: 265 and Taggar-Cohen 2006: 249.

254 C: <sup>UZU</sup>ZAG.UDU.

255 C: <sup>r</sup>SAG.DU<sup>1</sup>?

256 C: pár-ši-an-da

257 C: <sup>GIŠ</sup>[BANŠUR]-i da-a-i.

258 C: še-e-ra-aš-ša-an

259 C: [...š]i-pa-an-ti

<sup>r</sup>ha<sup>1</sup> a-da-an-zi<sup>260</sup> nu<sup>261</sup> 3-ŠU a-ku-wa-an-zi / (14) nu<sup>r</sup>Giš<sup>1</sup> BANŠUR ša-ra-a da-an-zi //

They slaughter the sheep. He (i.e. the person who commissioned the ritual) puts meat, liver (C: shoulder), breast, its (i.e. the sheep) head, and feet in front of the table. They cook the entrails and break the thick breads. He places one (broken) thick bread on the ground and **recites**<sup>262</sup>: “You (i.e. the table) who stand in front of the Sungod, keep speaking favorably across to the Sungod!” He breaks two thick breads (C: He puts two thick breads on [the table]) and puts them on the table. On them (i.e. thick breads) he puts the liver. He offers wine. They cook the fat meat and eat it. They drink three times and pick up the table.

17. CTH 733, invocations of Hattic deities in Hittite and in Hattic languages. Texts with invocations in Hattic include KBo 25.121 (fragmentary), KUB 28.75, KUB 28.77+ KBo 8.133 + KUB 48.12 (fragmentary), KBo 25.120+. Texts with invocations in Hittite include KBo 25.117 (fragmentary), KUB 60.20 (fragmentary), KUB 8.41, KUB 31.143, VBoT 124 + KUB 31.143a and KBo 25.112 +.

1 KUB 28.75 (CTH 733.I.1.A), OH/OS.

KUB 28.75 iii: (19') *ma-a-an* DUMU-aš I-NA<sup>URU</sup> KA-A-AK-ŠA-AT *hu-wa-ši-ia* / (20') A-NA<sup>d</sup> UTU *hu-e-ek-zi* LU<sup>1</sup> GUDU<sub>12</sub>-ša *me-ma-i* // (21') ut-hu-ru-u<sup>d</sup> UTU<sup>URU</sup> KA-A-AK-ŠA-ZE-E-ET *ha-pi-pu-na-a-an* / (22')<sup>d</sup> UTU<sup>URU</sup> KA-AK-ŠA-ZE-E-ET *ha-wa<sub>a</sub>-aš-ja-wi<sub>i</sub>-pi* / (23') le-e-li-ia-hu DINGIR-ap ka-at-taḥ / (24') **QA-TAM-MA ma-a-al-di** //

When in Kakšat the prince conjures the Sungod at the *huwaši*-stone, the GUDU-priest says: “*utḥurū*, Sungod(dess) of Kakšatze! For mankind you are the Sungod(dess) of Kakšatze, among the gods (you are known as) a *lēliah*, a god(dess), the king/queen”. He (i.e. DUMU-aš) **recites**<sup>263</sup> in the same way.

2 KUB 28.77+ (CTH 733.I.B), text preserved in eleven fragments, OH/NS.

(1)

KUB 28.77 + i: (1) [*ma-a-an* I]-NA<sup>URU</sup> ZI-PU-NU-WA DUMU-aš I-<sup>r</sup>NA<sup>1</sup> É a/A [x-x-x-x] / (2) [ x x x]x-ta-i-li-ša LU<sup>1</sup> GUDU<sub>12</sub> EGIR DUMU-RI [ x x x x] / (3) [*nu ki-i*]š-an **ma-a-al-di** // (4) [ud-hu]-ru-u AMAR-mi-en-te-el *ha-wa<sub>i</sub>-wu<sub>a</sub>-na-a-an* AMAR-mi-en-te-el / (5) [ha]-wa<sub>a</sub>-aš-ja-wi<sub>i</sub>-i *ha-aš-ta-nu-e-el* DINGIR-ap ka-at-te //

<sup>260</sup>

C: *nu a-ta-an-zi*.

<sup>261</sup>

Manuscript C omits *nu*.

<sup>262</sup>

The form *malti* in line i 7 has been translated in the present context as “recites” in *CHD* L-N: 133 as well as by Torri 2004: 134 and as “sagt” by del Monte 1995: 215. Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 32 translates this verb as “declaims”.

<sup>263</sup>

The verb *mald-* has been translated in this context as “utter” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 32.

[When i]n Zipunuwa the prince [ ... ] in the temple of A[...], the GUDU-priest [ ... ] again/back the prince [and] **recites**<sup>264</sup> as [fol]lows: “[*ud*]hurū *mientel*, for mankind (you are) *Mientel*, but among the gods (you are known) as a *ħaštanuēl*, a deity, the king.” (12 more lines in Hattic follow before the text breaks, it is difficult to determine whether or not they are also part of the recitation).

(2)

KBo 8.133: // (8') [ ... t]a(-)i-e-it ħa-wa<sub>i</sub>-wu<sub>i</sub>-na-a-[an] / (9') [ ... ] x ħa-wa<sub>a</sub>-aš-ħa-wi<sub>i</sub>-i-pí / (10') [ ... ] x zi-lu-wa-a-lu-wa DINGIR-ap 'ka<sup>1</sup>-[... ] / (11') [ ... QA-TAM-MA(?)] **ma-a-al-dī** //

[ ... ] for manki[nd you are ... ] but for the gods (you are) *ziluwāluwa*, the god(dess), the ki[ng/queen]. He **recites** [in the same way]

(3)

KUB 25.120: (8') *mā-a-an* DUMU-*aš* ut-<ħu>-ru-u Ka-a-aš-tu-wa-re-e ħa-pí-pu-na-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[an] / (9') Ka-a-aš-tu-wa-<sup>r</sup>re<sup>1</sup>-e-et ħa-wa<sub>a</sub>-aš-ħa-wi<sub>i</sub>-i-pí ka-i[... ] / (10') DINGIR-ap ka-a-at-<sup>r</sup>taħ<sup>1</sup> **QA-TAM-MA ma-a-al-dī** //

When the prince (says?): “*ut*ħurū, *Kāštuwarē*! For manki[nd] (you are) *Kāštuwarē*, among the gods (you are known as) *kaia*[ ... ], a goddess, the queen.” He **recites** in the same way.

### 3 KUB 8.41 (CTH 733.II.1), OH/OS.

KUB 8.41 ii: (10') *mā-a-an* DUMU-*aš* A-NA SUKKAL<sup>265</sup>-ŠU ŠA<sup>d</sup>IM<sup>r</sup> ħu-e-ek-zi<sup>LÚ</sup>NAR me-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-[i] / (11') *da-an-du-ki-iš-ni*<sup>d</sup>IM-na-aš<sup>LÚ</sup>SUKKAL-ŠU *zi-ik* DINGIR.<sup>r</sup>MĒŠ<sup>1</sup>-na-š[a *iš-tar-na*] / (12') *gi-im-ra-aš*<sup>d</sup>IM-aš *zi-ik nu ne-pí-iš te-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-k[án-na ħar-ši]* / (13') *ke-e-ma-aš-ta*<sup>d</sup>IM-aš **ma-al-te-eš-na-*<aš>*** <sup>r</sup>ħa-an<sup>1</sup>-t[a-an] // (14') *mā-a-an* DUMU-*aš* A-NA ĤUR-SAG<sup>1</sup> ħu-e-ek-zi<sup>LÚ</sup>NAR me-ma-i *da-an-du-ki-iš-ni* / (15') ĤUR-SAG-*aš* *zi-ik* DINGIR.MĒŠ-na-š[a *iš-tar-na ...*] / (16') *nu ħa-a-ri-uš ú-e-el-lu-w[a ... ]* / (17') *pa-ra-a-ma* ŠA<sup>d</sup>IM<sup>r</sup> **m[a-al-te-eš-na-aš ħa-an-ta-an(?)]**

When the prince conjures the Stormgod's vizier, the singer say[s]: “For mankind you are the vizier of the Stormgod, [among] the gods you are the Stormgod of the field, [you hold] heaven and earth.” These (names) are determin[ed] in the **invocation**<sup>266</sup> of the Stormgod. When the prince conjur[es] the mountain, [the singer says: “For mankind] you are a mountain, but a[mong the] gods you are [ ... ]. Further, [it is determined in the invocation] of the Stormgod.

### 4 KUB 31.143 (CTH 733.II.2), OH/OS.

KUB 31.143 ii: (12) // [*mā-a-an* A-NA K]A-AŠ-<sup>r</sup>TU-WA-RĪ-T[I ħu-e]-ek-zi<sup>LÚ</sup>NAR-š[a ma-e-ma-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>] / (13) [*ta-an-du-ki-iš-ni* Ka-aš-tu-wa-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-[ti-i]š *zi-*

<sup>264</sup> The same translation of the verb *mald-* in the present context was offered in *CHD* L-N: 133. Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 32 renders the verb *mald-* here as “declaim”.

<sup>265</sup> Laroche 1947: 188 interprets the traces preserved on the tablet as the logogram É; Neu 1980: 183 as SUKKAL. In line 11', where this logogram appears again, it is preceded by the determinative LÚ.

<sup>266</sup> The noun *malteššar* has been translated in the present context as “prayer” by Laroche 1947: 188 and as “ritual” by Neu 1983b: 114 and by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 35.

ik DINGIR.MEŠ-na-na iš-tar-n[a] / (14) [ x x x x x]-at-tal-aš  
 MUNUS.LUGAL-[aš] zi-ik // (15) [nu-uš-ša-an] <sup>r</sup>8<sup>1</sup>-in-zu ne-pí-ši <sup>r</sup>e-eš<sup>1</sup>-  
 [ši] nu-za-kán 2-iš 8-ta-aš ki-i[š-tu-na-aš] / (16) [ak-ku-uš-ke-e-ši(?)<sup>267</sup>] nu-  
 uk-kán 2-iš 8-ta-aš ma-k[i-t]a-aš ak-ku-uš-ke-e-ši / (17) [ki-i-ma-aš-ta] <sup>d</sup>I-  
 na-ra-aš ma-al-te-eš-na-aš ħa-an-da-a-an // (18) [QA-TAM-MA] te-ez-zi //  
 (19) [ma-a-an] <sup>d</sup>Te-li-pí-nu-i ħu-e-ek-zi <sup>LU</sup>NAR-ša me-e-ma-i / (20) [ta-an-  
 du-ki-i]š-ni <sup>d</sup>Te-li-pí-nu-uš zi-ik DINGIR.MEŠ-na-na iš-<sup>r</sup>tar-na<sup>1</sup> [ ... ] / (21)  
 [zi-ik nu] ne-pí-iš te-e-kán-na ħar-ši // (22) [ ... GA]L šu-uš-ki-ši <sup>r</sup>pal<sup>1</sup>-ħa-e-  
 a<sup>HI.A268</sup> GAL šu-<sup>r</sup>uš-ki-ši pa-ra<sup>1</sup>-ma-aš-ta / (23) [ ... ] x ma-al-t[e-eš-na-aš]  
<sup>r</sup>ħa-an<sup>1</sup>-da-a-an ú-nu-ut-wa-az

[When] he [con]jures [Ka]štuwarit[i], the singer says: “[for mankin]d you are Kaštuwar[it]i, but amo[ng] the gods you are [...], the queen. You 8-*inzu*<sup>269</sup> resid[e] in heaven. Twice you [drink] eight *kištu*; twice you drink eight *ma[kiš]ta*. [This] is determined in the **invocation**<sup>270</sup> of Inara.<sup>271</sup> He says [the same]. [When] he conjures Telipinu, the singer says: “[For manki]nd you are Telipinu, but among the gods [you are ... You] hold heaven and earth. You fill [la]rge [...], you fill large *palħa*-vessels. [This] is determined in the **invocation** [of ...]. You adorn yourself.

##### 5 VBoT 124 + KUB 31.143a (CTH 733.II.3), OH/OS.<sup>272</sup>

VBoT 124 + KUB 31.143a ii: (10') [ma-a-an A-NA D]AM-ŠU ħu-ek-zi  
<sup>LU</sup>NAR-aš me-ma-i ta-an-du-ki-iš-ni / (11') [Ta-ħa-at-ta-nu]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-di-iš zi-ik  
 DINGIR.MEŠ-n[a-a]š iš-tar-na wa-at-ta-ru-aš an-na-aš / (12')  
 [MUNUS.LUGAL zi-ik ki-i-ma-aš-t]a(?) <sup>d</sup>I-na-ra-aš ma-al-te-<sup>r</sup>eš<sup>1</sup>-[n]a-aš  
 ħa-an-da-a-an // (13') [QA-TAM-MA te-ez-zi] // (14') [ma-a-an A-NA W]A<sub>a</sub>-  
 ŠE-EZ-ZI-LI ħu-ek-zi <sup>LU</sup>[NAR-aš me-ma-i] / (15') [ta-an-du-ki-iš-n]i Wa<sub>a</sub>-  
 še-ez-zi-li-iš zi-i[k DINGIR.MEŠ-na-aš iš-tar-na] / (16') [UR.MAḤ(?)  
 LUGAL-u]š zi-ik ne-pí-iš te-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[kán-na ħar-ši] / (17') [ki-i-ma-aš-ta(?) ]  
<sup>d</sup>IM-aš ma-al-te-eš-na-aš [ħa-an-da-a-an] // (18') [QA-TAM-MA te-e]z-zi  
 //<sup>273</sup>

[When] he conjures his (i.e. the preceding god's) [w]ife, the singer says:  
 “For mankind you are [Taħattanu]it, but among the gods [you are] the  
 mother of the spring, [the queen. *This is*] determined in the **invocation**<sup>274</sup> of

<sup>267</sup> Restoration of Laroche 1947: 202 (note on page 205). See also Neu 1980: 186.

<sup>268</sup> Laroche 1947: 202 reads here *pal-ħa-e* A.ḪI.A.GAL and translates the phrase as a “kettle”. For arguments against Laroche’s reading see CHD P: 66 sub b2’.

<sup>269</sup> The meaning of 8-*inzu* is obscure. For discussion of this word see Laroche 1947: 205 and Neu 1983: 288 n. 14.

<sup>270</sup> The noun *malteššar* employed in lines 17 and 23 has been translated as “ritual” by Neu 1983: 114 and by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 34, 35 who also notes that it is unclear whether this noun appears here in the genitive singular or the genitive plural.

<sup>271</sup> This sentence is translated as “[This (recitation)] corresponds to the recitation of Inara” in CHD L-N: 136.

<sup>272</sup> Lines 10’-20’ seem to correspond to, but not exactly duplicate, lines ii 1-8 of KUB 8.41.

<sup>273</sup> KUB 8.41 ii: (1) <sup>r</sup>ma-a-an A-NA<sup>1</sup> DAM-ŠU ħu-ek-zi <sup>LU</sup>NAR [me-ma-i] / (2) da-an-du-ki-iš-ni Ta-ħa-at-ta-nu-i-ti-iš zi-i[k DINGIR.MEŠ-na-ša] / (3) iš-tar-na wa-<sup>r</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-<ta>-ru-aš an-na-aš MUNUS.LUGAL-aš [zi-ik] // (4) ma-a-an DUMU-aš <sup>r</sup>A-NA<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>WA<sub>a</sub>-ŠE-EZ-ZI-LI ħu-ek-zi [<sup>LU</sup>NAR me-ma-i] / (5) da-an-du-ki-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-ni <sup>d</sup>Wa<sub>a</sub>-še-ez-zi-li-iš DINGIR.MEŠ-na-ša [iš-tar-na] / (6) UR.MAḤ LUGAL-uš zi-ik nu ne-pí-iš te-e-kán-na [ħar-ši] //

<sup>274</sup> The noun *malteššar* employed in lines 12’ and 17’ has been translated as “ritual” by Neu 1983: 114.

Inara. [He says the same]. [When] he conjures Wašizzil, [the singer says: “For mankin]d y[ou] are Wašizzil, [but among the gods] you are [a *Lion*, the kin]g. You [hold] heaven [and] ear[th]. [*This is determined*] in the **invocation** of the Stormgod. He say[s in the same way].

6 KBo 25.112+ (CTH 733.II.4), OH/OS.<sup>275</sup>

KBo 25.112 ii: // (10') *ma-a-an* DUMU-*aš* KASKAL-*ši* MA-*ḪAR*  
<sup>A.ŠA</sup>A.QAR GE[ŠTIN-*an* *ši-p*]a-a[n-*tí*] / (11') <sup>LÚ</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub>-*ša* me-e-ma-i tu-  
*wa-a-at-tu* <sup>r<sup>di</sup></sup>[UT]U-i d[a-an-du-ki-iš-ni] / (12') <sup>d</sup>UTU-*uš* zi-i-ik  
 DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-ša* [i]š-*tar-<sup>r</sup>na* la-lu-u[k-ki-ma-aš] / (13') DINGIR-*uš*  
 MUNUS.LUGAL zi-i-ik // (14') LUGAL-*uš-za* šu-up-*pí-a-aḫ-ḫa-ti*<sup>276</sup> A-N[A  
*ḫal*]-*pu-u-ti*<sup>277</sup> ma-a-an-*ḫa-an-d[a]* / (15') **ma-a-al-di**<sup>278</sup> ke-e-a QA-TAM-MA

When the prince [li]bat[es] wi[ne] on the road before the “agrarian(?) field”, the GUDU-priest says: “Behold(?), O [Sun]goddess! For m[ankind] you are the Sungoddess, but [a]mong the gods you are a source [of light], the goddess, the queen.” The king purifies himself (and) facing(?) the [*ḫal*]puti-instrument he **recites**<sup>279</sup> these, in the same way.

18. KUB 28.80 (CTH 737), a festival celebrated in Nerik, NH/NS.

KUB 28.80 iv: (1') *tup-pí* **ma-al-te-eš-na-aš** <sup>r</sup>ŠA EZEN<sub>4</sub> / (2') <sup>URU</sup>NE-RI-*IK*  
 KA-IA-MA-NIM / (3') *ki-nu-na-aš* <sup>r</sup>GIBIL<sup>1</sup>-*an* *tup-<sup>r</sup>pí* / (4') *ma-a-an* ku-u-  
*ru-ra-aš* MU.<sup>r</sup>ḪI.A<sup>1</sup> / (5') <sup>r</sup>EZEN<sub>4</sub> <sup>URU</sup>NE-RI-<sup>r</sup>IK<sup>1</sup> [<sup>URU</sup>Ḫa-aq-qa-mi-<sup>r</sup>iš-š<sup>i</sup>  
 / (6') <sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-*šu-wa-an* da-i-e-er nu LÚ <sup>d</sup>rIM<sup>1</sup> / (7') <sup>LÚ</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub> <sup>URU</sup>Ne-<sup>r</sup>ri-ig-  
 ga-a<sup>z</sup> x x<sup>280</sup> / (8') *ú-<sup>r</sup>e-er* nu-kán ki-<sup>r</sup>i **ma-<sup>r</sup>al-[te-eš]-ša[r]** / (9') *a-pé-[e]-*  
*da-aš* da-a-e-er x x<sup>281</sup> / (10') *ka-ru-i-li-aš* **ma-a[l]-te-eš-na-aš** / (11') *na-*  
*at-ta* *ḫa-an-[t]a-a-a[n]*

Tablet of **recitations**<sup>282</sup> of the regular festival of Nerik. Now (there is) a new tablet. When, during the hostile years, they began to celebrate the festival of Nerik in Ḫakmiš, the man of the Stormgod and the GUDU-priest came out of Nerik. They took these **rec[ita]tion[s]** from th[o]se (refugee priests). (This tablet) does not correspond to the former **recitations**.

19. CTH 744, festival/s that include cultic recitations in Hattic. Only three texts of this group that employ the verb *mald-* are relatively well preserved, namely KBo 21.84, KUB 28.74 and KUB 1.14 with a duplicate KUB 28.96.

<sup>275</sup> Lines ii 10'-15' of this text correspond to lines ii 20-24 of KUB 28.75.

<sup>276</sup> The sentence LUGAL-*uš-za* šu-up-*pí-a-aḫ-ḫa-ti* is missing in KUB 28.75.

<sup>277</sup> KUB 28.75 ii 24': <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ḫal-pu-u-ti*

<sup>278</sup> KUB 28.75 ii 24': *m[a-a-al-di ...]*

<sup>279</sup> The same translation of the verb *mald-* in the present context was offered by Taggar-Cohen 2006: 251.

<sup>280</sup> Taggar-Cohen 2006: 234 reads here *a[r-ḫ]a<sup>?</sup>*.

<sup>281</sup> Taggar-Cohen 2006: 234 reads here *na-a[t-ká]n<sup>?</sup>*.

<sup>282</sup> The noun *malteššar* has been translated in this passage as “recitations” in *CHD* L-N: 136, by Dardano 2006: 205 and by Taggar-Cohen 2006: 234. Laroche 1964: 11 and Lebrun 1980: 446 render this noun here as “voeux”, Kühne and Otten 1971: 27 as “Opfer”. Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 34 renders the noun *malteššar* in line iv 1', 8' and 10' as “ritual/s”.

## 1. KBo 21.84 (CTH 744), OH/MS.

KBo 21.84 iv: (1) <sup>LÚ</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub> **ma-al-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>r</sup>** *ḫa-at-ti-i-li* / (2) pu-ul-la ka-an-ni zi-il-la-[an-a<sup>?</sup>] / (3) an-ta-ši-mi-iz

The GUDU-priest **recites** in Hattic: “*pulla kani zill[ana<sup>?</sup>] antašimiz*”

2. KUB 1.14 (CTH 744.I.A), NS.<sup>283</sup>

KUB 1.14 ii: (8') <sup>EGIR</sup><sup>1</sup>-<sup>ŠU</sup>-<sup>ma</sup><sup>284</sup> <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>*zi-li-pu-ri-ia-tal-la-aš* / (9') *ú-wa-an-zi nu-za 6-ŠU* / (10') *wa<sup>1</sup>-al-ḫa-an-zi 1-aš-za-kán* / (11') [<sup>Š</sup>]U-ZU *ḫa-at-ta 1-aš-ma-za-kán* / (12') [<sup>GÌ</sup>]R-<sup>ŠU</sup> erasure *ḫa-at-ta* / (13') [UGULA<sub>L</sub>]<sup>Ú.MEŠ</sup>*zi-li-pu-ri-ia-tal-la-aš* / (14') [<sup>ḫ</sup>]a-at-ti-li ki-iš-ša-an **ma-al-di**<sup>285</sup>

Thereafter *zilipuriyatalla*-men come and strike themselves six times. One cuts himself on his [ha]nd; the other cuts himself on his [foo]t. [The chief] of *zilipuriyatalla*-[m]en **recites**<sup>286</sup> as follows in Hattic.

## 3. KUB 28.74 (CTH 744.4), NH/NS.

KUB 28.74 ii: (1') [ ... m]a-a-an lu-uk-kat-ta <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš-kán *ú<sup>1</sup>-i[z-zi]* / (2') [ ... ] <sup>d</sup>UTU-i me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-ta IŠ-TU / (3') [ ... ] nu ta-wa-al wa-al-ḫi KAŠ GEŠTIN *š[i-pa-an-t]i* / (4') [*ḫa-at-ti-li ki-iš-ša-an(?) m]a-al-di*

[ ... W]hen on the following morning the sun ris[es], [ ... ] before/facing the Sungod(dess) from [ ...] and he/she l[ibat]es *tawal*-drink, *walḫi*-drink, beer and wine. [And r]ecites [in Hattic as follows].

## 20. KUB 25.37 + KUB 35.132 (CTH 771), a ritual performed by “men of Lalupiya” on behalf of the king and the queen, NS.

KUB 25.37 iii: // (6') [ x x x x x (x) -z]i nu A-NA LÚ.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>LA-LU-PÍ-IA / (7') [*ú-i-ni-ia-an-da-a*]n<sup>21287</sup> *a-ku-an-na IŠ-TU GAL pí-an-zi* / (8') [ x x x x x x ] *ki-iš-ša-an ma-al-ti* / (9') [*ḫu-u-ma-an-da-an-wa(?)*] *ku-i-e-eš ša-aš-nu-uš-kán-[z]i* / (10') [*a-ra-nu-an(?)*]-z]i-ia-wa-ra-an *ku-i-e-eš ša-ra-<sup>r</sup>a-wa-ra<sup>1</sup>-an* / (11') [*ku-i-e-eš SIG<sub>5</sub>(?)*]-in *da-a-i-ir kat-ta-wa-ra-an-kán* / (12') [*ku-i-e-eš SIG<sub>5</sub>-i*]n *da-a-i-ir nu-wa a-pé-e-pát* / (13') [*ak-ku-uš-kán-du(?)*] NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA-ma NU.GÁL SÌR-ia / (14') [x x x x NU.GÁ]L *nam-ma ḫu-u-ma-an-ti-ia* / (15') [*a-ku-an-na pí-an-z]i nu ḫu-u-ma-an-za e-ku-zi* //

[...] From a cup they give [win]e to drink to the men of Lalupiya. [ ...] **recites**<sup>288</sup> as follows: “Those who pu[t *each person*] to bed, those who [arouse] him (i.e. each person), [those who] took/put him up [well, those who] took/put him down [well], also those [should drink]. There is no thick

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Lines ii 8'-14' of KUB 1.14 are duplicated by lines 11'-18' of KUB 28.96 (CTH 744.I.B).

284

KUB 28.96 omits *-ma*.

285

KUB 28.96 reads here *ḫa-a]t-ti-li ki-iš-ša-an [ma-a]l-di*.

286

The same translation of the verb *mald-* in the present context is offered in *CHD* L-N: 133b.

287

All the restorations at the beginning of each line are those of Güterbock 1995: 68.

288

The same translation of the verb *mald-* was offered here by Güterbock 1995: 68.

bread and there is [no] singing [...]. Then to everyone [they giv]e [to drink] and everyone drinks.

21. IBoT 1.30 (CTH 821.1), fragment of festival/ritual(?), NS. The passage is duplicated by KUB 48.13 rev. 9'-16'.

IBoT 1.30 obv.: (1) 'LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-uš ku-wa-pí DINGIR.MEŠ-aš a-ru-wa-a-iz-zi<sup>LU</sup> GUDU<sub>12</sub> kiš-an **ma-al-dī**<sup>289</sup> / (2) ta-ba-ar-na-a[š]-r<sup>1</sup>kán<sup>1</sup> LUGAL-uš DINGIR.MEŠ-aš a-aš-šu-uš e-eš-du KUR-e<sup>d</sup>U-aš-pát<sup>290</sup> / (3) ne-pí-eš te-ká[n]-na ÉRIN.MEŠ-az<sup>d</sup>U-aš-pát nu-za<sup>291 LU</sup>La-ba-ar-na-an LUGAL-un<sup>292</sup> / (4) <sup>LU</sup>ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫa-t[a]l-la-an i-ia-at nu-uš-ši<sup>URU</sup>KÛ.BABBAR-aš KUR-e<sup>293</sup> / (5) ḫu-u-ma-an pa-iš [nu-uš]-ša-an KUR-e ḫu-u-ma-an La-ba-ar-na-aš<sup>294</sup> / (6) ŠU-az ma-ni-[ia-aḫ-ḫi-i]š-ki-id-du ku-iš-ša-an<sup>295</sup> / (7) La-ba-ar-n[a-aš LUGAL-wa-aš] NÍ.TE-aš ir-ḫa-aš-ša<sup>296</sup> / (8) ša-li-g[a-ri<sup>297</sup> na-a]n<sup>d</sup>U-aš ḫar-ni-ik-du<sup>298</sup>

When the king prostrates himself before the gods, the GUDU-priest **recites/prays**<sup>299</sup> as follows: “Let the Labarna[a], the king, be dear to the gods! The land (is) of the Stormgod alone. The heaven and earth (and) the troops are of the Stormgod alone. He (i.e. the Stormgod) made the Labarna, the king, his governor. He gave him the whole land of Ḫattusa. Let the Labarna keep go[vern]ing the whole land with his hand. May the Stormgod destroy the one who approaches the person or the borders of the Labarna, [the king]!”

## II.B. (-za) mald-, KARĀBU “to vow, to make a vow”; malteššar, IKRIBU “vow”

1. KUB 14.4 (CTH 70.1.A), a prayer of Muršili II regarding deposition of Tawannawa, NH/NS.

KUB 14.4 ii: (13') na-aš UD-ti GE<sub>6</sub>-ti-ia A-NA PA-NI 'DINGIR'.MEŠ ar-ta-ri nu DA[M-IA ḫu-ur-za-ki-iz-zi(?)]<sup>300</sup> / (14') nu ma-a-an am-mu-uk DINGIR.MEŠ NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA-az<sup>DUG</sup>iš-pa-a[n-tu-uz-zi-ia-az] / (15') EGIR-pa ḫu-u-it-ti-ia-mi erasure nu-uš-ma-aš NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.R[A-an<sup>DUG</sup>iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-ia-an] / (16') pé-eš-ki-mi na-aš-za-kan am-mu-uk A-NA SAG.D[U-IA DAM-IA DUMU-IA] / (17') É-IA KUR-TI-IA Û A-NA ŠEŠ!(

289 KUB 48.13 rev. 9': [ ... P]A-NI(?) DINGIR-LIM kiš-an me-ma-i

290 KUB 48.13 rev. 10': [... e-eš-d]u ut-ne-e<sup>d</sup>IM-na-aš-pát

291 KUB 48.13 rev. 11' omits here nu-za. The traces preserved could be consistent with me.

292 KUB 48.13 rev. 11': [ ... ] x La-ba-ar-na-an LUGAL-un

293 KUB 48.13 rev. 12': [ ... ] nu-uš-ši<sup>URU</sup>ḫa-at-tu-ša-an

294 KUB 48.13 rev. 13': [ ... ḫu-(u)-m]a-an La-ba-ar-na-aš 'LUGAL-uš'

295 KUB 48.13 rev. 14': [ ... ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ki]i-id-du [?]

296 KUB 48.13 rev. 15': [ ... ]x-ḫa-aš-ša. The sign before ḫa is not consistent with ir.

297 Goetze JCS 1: 91 restores here ša-li-ga-[aš]

298 For the restorations in lines 7-8 see CHD Š: 102b followed by Taggar-Cohen 2006: 253.

KUB 48.13 rev. 16': [ ... ḫar-ni-i]k-du]

299 The same translation of mald- in the present context was offered by Archi 1979: 32, by Bachvarova 2002: 168; in CHD L-N: 132-133, by Goetze 1947: 91 and Taggar-Cohen 2006: 252. Laroche 1964: 10 renders this verb here as “declarer”; Puhvel HED vol. 6: 32 as “declaim”; Haas 1970: 97 as “geloben.”

300 The restoration of de Martino 1998: 25; Cornelius 1975 restores here [DAM-IA-an na-a-an-zi].

<sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR).ĪA k[u-... ] / (18') *ma-<sup>r</sup>al-za<sup>1</sup>-ki-mi* <sup>f</sup>*Ta-wa-an-na-an-na-aš-ma*  
 [UD-ti GE<sub>6</sub>-ti-ia DINGIR.MEŠ-aš] / (19') *pí-ra-an ar-ta-ri nu DAM-IA*  
 D[INGIR.MEŠ-aš *pí-ra-an ħu-ur-za-ki-iz-zi ...*] / (20') *ši-pa-an-za-ki-iz-zi*  
*nu-za-kán ŠA D[AM-IA ...]*<sup>301</sup>

By day and by night she stands before the gods and [curses my] wife. And when I draw back the gods with thick bread and lib[ation], and I constantly give them thick bread [and libation], I [ ...] them for my[self, for my wife, my son], my house, my land, and (my) brothers, and **I make vows**<sup>302</sup> [to them]. Tawannanna, however, stands [by day and by night] before the go[ds and curses] my wife [before the gods]. [...] she keeps libating. My wife's [...]

2. KBo 15.33 (CTH 330.2.A) a ritual performed before the Stormgod of Kuliwišna, MH/MS.

KBo 15.33 iii: (13) <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ MUĤALDIM-*ma-aš iš-ta-na-a-ni ħu-kán-zi nu ku-iš* <sup>LÚ</sup>MUĤALDIM *ħu-i-ku-an-zi* / (14) *tar-aĥ-zi nu-uš-ši a-pí-e GÍR.ĪA pí-an-zi ma-a-aĥ-ħa-an-ma* / (15) ŠA DINGIR-LIM *uk-tu-u-ri ŠA ĤA.LA ħu-ki-eš-šar túĥ-ħu-uš-zi* / (16) *nu-za-an ma-a-an* <sup>LÚ</sup>EN É-TIM *ku-it-ki A-NA DINGIR-LIM ma-al-ta-an* / (17) *ħar-zi ma-a-an Ú-NU-TUM ku-it-ki ma-a-an* GU<sub>4</sub> UDU // (18) *nu-uš-ša-an Ú-NU-UT I-NA NINDA.ÉRIN.MEŠ ti-an-zi* GU<sub>4</sub>-*ma* UDU <sup>LÚ</sup>MUĤALDIM *túĥ-ħu-iš-[ni-it]* / (19) *šu-up-pí-ia- aĥ-ħi-nu-uš-kán an-da u-un-ni-an-zi nu-uš-ma-aš* <sup>LÚ</sup>EN 'É<sup>1</sup>-TIM / (20) EGIR-ŠU-NU UŠ-GI-EN *nu PA-NI DINGIR-LIM a-pa-a-ši-la me-ma-i ka-a-aš-<sup>r</sup>wa-za<sup>1</sup>* / (21) *ki-i ki-ia ki-e-da-ni ud-da-ni-i še-er AK-RU-UB ki-nu-na-wa-ra-a[t]* / (22) *ka-a-ša A-NA DINGIR-LIM ú-da-aĥ-ħu-un ... //*

The cooks slaughter them (i.e. the ram and the ox mentioned in the earlier paragraphs) on the altar. They give those bronze knives to the cook who can slaughter. But when he finishes the regular slaughtering of the share of the god, if the owner of the house **has vowed**<sup>303</sup> something to the god, (be it) some implement or an ox (or) sheep, they place the implement on the soldier's breads, but the ox and sheep, the cook cleans [with] a purifying substance. They drive them (i.e. the ox and the sheep) in, and the owner of the house bows down to them. He himself (i.e. the owner of the house) speaks before the god: "**I have just vowed** this and this for the sake of this matter. Now I have just brought it to the deity. [...] it before the deity.

3. KUB 14.10+ (CTH 378.2.C) and KUB 14.11 (CTH 378.2.B), two manuscripts of the second plague prayer, NH/NS.

(1)

KUB 14.10 i: (19) [*na*]*m-ma-za* EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ĪA-*ia ku-wa-pí e-eš-<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-aĥ-ħu-un* / (20) [*nu*] <sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-NA DINGIR.MEŠ *ħu-u-ma-an-da-a-aš p[í-r]a-an* / (21) [EGIR]-*pa i-ia-aĥ-ħa-at 1-EN É DINGIR-LIM-kán* / (22) <sup>r</sup>Ú<sup>1</sup>-UL *te-eĥ-ħu-*

<sup>301</sup> All the restorations are those of de Martino 1998.

<sup>302</sup> The previous translations of the verb *mald-* in the present context include: "faccio voti" de Martino 1998: 34; "I make vows" Singer 2002a: 76.

<sup>303</sup> The forms *maltan ĥarzi* and *AKRUB* have been translated in the present context as "has vowed", "I vowed" in *CHD L-N*: 134, by Glocker 1997: 71 and by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 33, 34.

*un nu-za ħi-in-g[a]-ni še-er / (23) [A]-NA DINGIR.MEŠ ħu-u-ma-an-da-a-  
aš<sup>r</sup> a<sup>r</sup>-a[r]-<sup>r</sup>ku-u-wa<sup>r</sup>-ar / (24) <sup>r</sup>e<sup>r</sup>-e[š]-<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>r</sup>-aĥ-ħu-un <sup>r</sup>IK<sup>r</sup>-[RI-BI]<sup>HLA</sup>-aš-ma-  
aš-ká]n / (25) [m]a-<sup>r</sup>al<sup>r</sup>-za-aš-ki-nu-<sup>r</sup>un<sup>r</sup>*

(2)

KUB 14.11 i: (13') [x x x x x] *ku-wa-pí e-eš-ša-aĥ-ħu-un / (14') [x x x x  
x ħu-u-ma-an-d]a-aš pí-ra-an EGIR-pa / (15') [x x x x x x DINGI]R-LIM-  
kán Ú-UL te-eĥ-ħu-un / (16') [x x x x x x x] <sup>r</sup>A<sup>r</sup>-NA DINGIR.MEŠ ħu-u-  
ma-an-da-aš / (17') [x x x x x x e-eš-ša-aĥ]-ħu-un / (18') [IK-RI-BI]<sup>HLA</sup>-aš-  
ma-aš-kán **ma-a]l-za-aš-ki-nu-un***

[Further]more, also when I performed the festivals, I went [bac]k and forth  
to all the gods. I did not prefer one temple. I have repeatedly made a plea to  
all the gods concerning the plague and I have repeatedly [vow]ed vo[ws to  
you]<sup>304</sup>

4. KUB 22.70 (CTH 566), oracular text, NH/NS.

KUB 22.70 obv.: (22) ... 2 GILIM KÙ.GI-*ma-wa ku-e ma-al-de-eš-na-[a]š*  
MUNUS.LUGAL A-NA DINGIR-LIM *e-eš-ši-eš-ta nu-wa 1-EN GILIM*  
KÙ.GI/ (23) *ú-e-mi-ir nu-wa-ra-at A-NA DINGIR-LIM ar-ħa up-pé-er*

(Of) the two golden wreaths which the queen made for the deity (**in fulfillment) of a vow**<sup>305</sup>, they found one golden wreath and sent it off to the deity.

5. KUB 5.6 + KUB 18.54 (CTH 570), SU oracle, NH/NS.

KUB 5.6 obv.: (31) A-NA DINGIR-LIM *ma-al-du-wa-ar ŠA* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI  
SIXSÁ-at nu 1 GUD.ŠE 6 UDU-ia SIXSÁ-at / (32) *nu-za-kán ka-ru-ú ma-  
al-ta-aš ma-<sup>r</sup>aĥ<sup>r</sup>-ħa-an-ma* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI SIG<sub>5</sub>-ri erasure / (33) *na-at pí-i-ia-an-zi*  
erasure

**The vow**<sup>306</sup> of His Majesty for a deity was determined. It (the vow) was  
determined (to be) one fattened ox and six sheep. He has already **made the  
vow**. But when His Majesty gets well, then they will give them (i.e. one ox  
and six sheep).

<sup>304</sup> Previous translations of the verb *mald-* and the noun *IKRIBI*<sup>HLA</sup> in the present context include: “I have repeatedly offered [votive gifts..] Beckman 1997: 157; “I repeatedly made vows” *CHD* L-N: 134; “j’<sup>r</sup>ai multiplié pour vous les ex-voto” Christmann-Franck 1989: 53-54; “(I have laid in prayer...) making vows..” Goetze 1950 (*ANET*): 394; “...[while] making vows to them...” van den Hout 2006: 263-264; “j’[ai] multiplié les [ex-votos..] Lebrun 1980: 210-211 and “I kept vowing vows” Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 36.

<sup>305</sup> The noun *malteššar* has been rendered in the present context as: “vow” by Beckman 2003: 205, in *CHD* L-N:136, by Laroche 1964: 13, by Lebrun 1980:448, by Mouton 2007: 175 and by Ünal 1978: 61. Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 35 translates this noun as “votive offering”.

<sup>306</sup> The verbal noun *malduwar* has been translated in the present context as “vow” in *CHD* L-N: 134, by Laroche 1964: 12 and by Lebrun 1980: 447. Puhvel *HED* vol. M: 33 renders this noun as “votive offering”. The verbal form *maltaš* has been translated here as “he made the vow” in *CHD* L-N: 134, by Laroche in 1949: 66 and by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 33. Laroche 1964: 12 and Lebrun 1980: 447 read this verb here as “the vow has been pronounced”.

## 6. KUB 22.38 (CTH 575.2), oracle text, NH/NS.

KUB 22.38 i: (1) [ x x] *ku-<sup>r</sup>it* DINGIR<sup>1</sup>.GAL <sup>r</sup>TUKU.TUKU<sup>1</sup>-*u-an-za nu* A-NA DINGIR-LIM <sup>r</sup>*ku-it<sup>1</sup>* / (2) <sup>r</sup>*me-eq<sup>1</sup>-qa-uš* **IK-RI-BI**<sup>Hl.A</sup> *me-ma-an ħar-mi* / (3) *na-at* GAM-an *ar-ħa* GAR-ru *ma-a-an-ma-kán tu-<sup>r</sup>uk<sup>1</sup>* / (4) A-NA DINGIR-LIM *ta-me-e-da-az* <sup>Ú</sup>-UL *ku-it-ki da-li-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-an* / (5) *nu* <sup>TUL</sup>*al-dan-ni-eš* SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru

Since the great god is angry and since to the god I have spoken many **vows**<sup>307</sup>, let it (i.e. the anger) be set aside (lit. set along and away). But if, for you, o god, nothing is omitted by another (person), let the pool (oracle) be favourable. (MUŠ oracle involving releasing snakes into the pool and observing their movements follows. The oracle ends with NU.SI[G<sub>5</sub>] “unfavorable.”)

## 7. CTH 577, SU, KIN and Bird Oracles.

## I. KBo 2.2 (CTH 577.I), NH/NS.

(1)

KBo 2.2 ii: (39) *nam-<ma>* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>PÚ-*na* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI *maš<sup>2</sup>-kán pa-a-i* / (40) **ma-al-ta-i-za-kán** KI.MIN / (41) *nu* <sup>ME.EŠ</sup>TE SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru 3-ŠÚ <sup>Ú</sup>-UL *ar-ħa* / (42) *ap-pa-at-ta-at*

Furthermore, will His Majesty give a gift to the Sungoddess of Arinna (and **will he make a vow**<sup>308</sup> ditto (i.e. to the Sungoddess of Arinna)? Let the exta be favourable. Three times they were not taken away<sup>309</sup>

(2)

KBo 2.2 iii: (10) <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>PÚ-*na* *ku-it* DUMU-*an-na-aš* SIxSÁ-<sup>r</sup>*at<sup>1</sup>* / (11) A-NA **IK-RI-BI**<sup>Hl.A</sup> *še-er* / (12) *nu* <sup>ME.EŠ</sup>TE NU.SIG<sub>5</sub>-*du* SAG.ME NU.SIG<sub>5</sub>// (13) *ma-a-an-za* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>PÚ-*na* / (14) *zi-ik-pát* DUMU<sup>1</sup>(i)-*an-na-aš* / (15) A-NA **IK-RI-BI**<sup>Hl.A</sup> *še-er* *kar-<dim<sub>x</sub>-mi-ia>*<sup>310</sup> *-u-wa-an-za* / (16) *nam-ma-ma* KI.MIN *nu* <sup>ME.EŠ</sup>TE SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru / (17) <sup>r</sup>*nī<sup>1</sup>* *nu-kán* ZAG-*na-aš* KAxU-i NU.SIG<sub>5</sub>

Concerning the fact that the Sungoddess of Arinna of Progeny was ascertained, (is it) **because of (unfulfilled) vows**? Then let the exta be unfavourable. SAG.ME; unfavourable. If, you alone, o Sungoddess of Arinna of Progeny (are) angry **because of (unfulfilled) vows**<sup>311</sup> but further

<sup>307</sup> The nominative-accusative plural **IK-RI-BI**<sup>Hl.A</sup> has been translated in the present context as “vows” in *CHD* L-N:136, by Lefèvre-Novaro and Mouton 2008: 20 as well as by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 35. Laroche 1958: 150 renders this noun as “prayers”.

<sup>308</sup> The verb *mald-* has been translated here as “to make a vow” by van den Hout 1998: 131, Laroche 1964: 12, Lebrun 1980: 447 and Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 33. Kronasser 1966: 522 renders it as “beten.”

<sup>309</sup> According to van den Hout 1998: 131 n. 56 the last sentence is to be understood as “they were not completed.”

<sup>310</sup> The restoration of van den Hout 1998: 132.

<sup>311</sup> The dative-locative plural **IK-RI-BI**<sup>Hl.A</sup> has been translated in the present context as “vows” in *CHD* L-N: 136, by van den Hout 1998: 133 and by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 35.

ditto, then let the exta be favourable. *nipašuri*. In the mouth (it is) on the right; unfavourable.

(3)

KBo 2.2 iii: (30) *a-ši ku-iš* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>PÚ-*na* DUMU-*an-na-aš* / (31) **A-NA IK-RI-BI**<sup>H<sup>1</sup>A</sup> *še-er* S<sup>1</sup>XŠÁ-*at* / (32) *nu* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI *pu-nu-uš-ša-an-zi* / (33) *ku-iš* **IK-RI-BU** <sup>r</sup>šar-*ni-in-ku-wa-aš*<sup>312</sup> / (34) *na-an* šar-*ni-in-kán-<sup>r</sup>zi* / (35) *Ú-UL-ma* *ku-iš* <sup>r</sup>šar-*ni-in*<sup>1</sup>-[*ku-wa-aš*]<sup>313</sup> / (36) *nu-uš-ši* *za-an-ki-<sup>r</sup>la*<sup>1</sup>-[*tar* SUM-*an-zi*] / (37) *ma-a-an-ma-za* DINGIR-<sup>r</sup>LUM<sup>r</sup> [*ma-la-a-ši/ma-la-a-an* ħar-*ti*]<sup>314</sup> / (38) *nu* TE<sup>ME.EŠ</sup> SIG<sub>5</sub>-*ru* <sup>r</sup>NU<sup>1</sup>.[SIG<sub>5</sub>] //

Concerning the fact that the aforementioned Sungoddess of Arinna of Progeny was ascertained because of (unfulfilled) **vows**: they will ask His Majesty which **vow**<sup>315</sup> is subject to compensation<sup>316</sup> and they will pay compensation for it. But, the one which is not subject to compen[sation], [they will pay] a penalty<sup>317</sup> to her. If you, o goddess, [have approved], then let the exta be favourable; un[favourable].

(4)

KBo 2.2 iii: (45) *nu* **IK-RI-B**[I<sup>H<sup>1</sup>A</sup> *ku-it(?)* *ku-i-e-eš* *Ú-UL(?)*]<sup>318</sup> / (46) *šar-ni-in-<sup>r</sup>ku*<sup>1</sup>-[*wa-aš*] // iv (1) *kat-ta-an-na* *za-an-ki-la-tar* <sup>r</sup>SUM<sup>1</sup>-*an-zi* / (2) DINGIR-LUM-*ia* *ku-it* *du-wa-an* *pa-ra-a* / (3) *šal-la-lar-ta-an* ħar-*ku-un* / (4) *nu* *a-pád-da-an-na* *še-er* SISKUR SUM-*an-zi* / (5) KL.MIN *nu* TE<sup>ME.EŠ</sup> SIG<sub>5</sub>-*ru* erasure / (6) *ke-eš-kán* *ne-ia-at-ta-at* NU.SIG<sub>5</sub> // iv (7) *nu* **IK-RI-B**[I<sup>H<sup>1</sup>A</sup> *ma* *ku-i-e-eš*] / (8) *šar-ni-in-ku-e-eš* *na-aš* šar-*ni-in-kán-zi* / (9) *kat-ta-an-na* *za-an-ki-la-tar* SUM-*an-zi* / (10) *maš-kán-na-kán* BAL-*an-zi*

[Concerning] the **vow**[s]<sup>319</sup> which (are) *not* subject to compensa[tion] and (for which) they will subsequently pay a penalty, and concerning the fact that until now I have offended the goddess, because of that should they also give offering? Ditto. Then let the exta be favourable. *Ke(ld)i* has turned; unfavourable. They will give compensation for the **vows** which are subject to compensation. Subsequently, they will pay a penalty and they will offer a gift.

<sup>312</sup> The hand-copy of the tablet has here *šar-ni-in-kàn*. The word is barely visible on the photograph. The reading *šar-ni-in-ku-wa-aš* (c.f. Goetze 1925: 140) was adopted by van den Hout 1998: 134 and is followed here. The verbal noun makes more sense in the present context than a participle.

<sup>313</sup> Emendation of van den Hout 1998: 134.

<sup>314</sup> For these restorations see van den Hout 1998: 134 n. 56.

<sup>315</sup> *IK-RU-UB* and *IK-RI-B*[I<sup>H<sup>1</sup>A</sup> have been translated as “vow”, “vows” in *CHD* Š: 284, by van den Hout 1998: 135, Kronasser 1962: 338 and Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 34, but as “prayer” by Goetze 1925: 140.

<sup>316</sup> Van den Hout translates the verb *šarnink-* as “to fulfill”.

<sup>317</sup> Van den Hout renders *zankilatar-* in the present context as “compensation”.

<sup>318</sup> The restoration of van den Hout 1998: 134.

<sup>319</sup> *IK-RI-B*[I<sup>H<sup>1</sup>A</sup> in line iii 45 has been translated as “vows” by van den Hout 1998: 135 and Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 35; in line iv 7 the same noun has been rendered as “vows” in *CHD* L- N: 136, by van den Hout 1998: 135 and by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 35.

## II. KBo 24.126 (CTH 577), NH/NS.

KUB 24.126 rev.: // (7') *nu-uš-ši*<sup>LÚ</sup> *Pa-ti-li-iš še-er aš-ta-ni-ia-i(?) maš-kán-na za-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-ki-la-tar-ra* *IŠ-TU* É.LUGAL SUM-an-zi (8') SISKUR-ia *IŠ-TU* É.LUGAL *SUM<sup>1</sup>-an-zi SISKUR-ma a-ri-ia-an-zi GIM-an-at* *SIXSÁ<sup>1</sup>-ri na-at QA-TAM-MA* (9') *pí-an-zi*<sup>d</sup> *UTU-ŠI-ia-aš-ši-kán še-er ma'(GIŠ)-al-da-i* *ma-a-an-ma-za DINGIR-LUM KI.MIN nu ŠU.MEŠ SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru* (10') ZAG-za RA-IŠ NU.SIG<sub>5</sub>// (11') *IŠ-TU*<sup>MUNUS</sup> *ŠU.GI IR-TUM QA-TAM-MA-pát nu KIN SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru DINGIR-LUM-za da-pí-an ZI-an ME-aš* / (12') *na-an-za-an-kán kar-pí ME-iš NU.SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru* // (13') *nu wa-aš-ku-uš-ma te x x <IŠ-TU>* É.LUGAL SUM-an-zi {SUM-an-zi} *še-er-ma-kán*<sup>m</sup> *Ta-at<sup>1</sup>-ta-ma-ru-un* / (14') *hal-zi-ia-an-zi maš-kán za-an-ki-la-tar-ra <IŠ-TU>* É.LUGAL *SUM-an<sup>1</sup>-zi SISKUR-ia <IŠ-TU>* É.LUGAL *SUM-<sup>1</sup>an-zi* / (15') *dUTU-ŠI-ia-za-kán še-er ma'-al-da-i*

Patiliš *aštaniyai*<sup>320</sup> for the sake of it. Also they give a gift and a penalty from the palace and they give a ritual from the palace. They make an oracular inquiry about the ritual and if it is ascertained, they give it likewise. Also His Majesty **will make a vow**<sup>321</sup> for the sake of it. But if the deity likewise, let the SU be favourable; (it is) detached on the right; unfavourable.

That same question through the Old Woman; let the KIN be favourable. The DEITY took for him-/herself the ENTIRE SOUL and put it on WRATH; unfavourable.

And with regard to the offences they will give ... from the palace. That is why they call Tattamaru; they give the gift and a penalty from the palace, and they give a ritual from the palace. Also that is why His Majesty **makes a vow**<sup>322</sup>.

## III. KUB 6.22 (CTH 577), NH/ NS.

KUB 6.22 iii': // (13') *ma-a-an A-NA IK-<sup>r</sup>RI-BU<sup>HL.A</sup>-pát še-er nam-ma-ma KI.MIN nu SU.ME[Š ...]* //

If for the sake of those very **vows** again the same, [let] the SU oracles [be ...]

## IV. KBo 16.98 + KUB 49.49 (CTH 577), oracle text, NH/NS.

KBo 16.98 i: (1) [...] x *ÉRIN.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> ša-ri-ku-wa* *ÉRIN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ UKU.UŠ* [x x x] x / (2) [...] *-at nu a-ri-ia-u-en nu DINGIR-LUM EGIR [SIXSÁ-a]t(?)* / (3) [...] *M]UNUS.LUGAL A-NA*<sup>d</sup> *HÉ-pát*<sup>URU</sup> *Kum-ma-an-ni* x [x x] x x / (4) [ ? <sup>d</sup>*Le*]-<sup>r</sup>*e<sup>l</sup>-wa-ni IK-RU-UB* *ma-a-an-wa-mu DINGIR.MEŠ* [?] / (5) [ ? *iš-t*]*a-ma-aš-te-ni GEŠTUG-an-mu pa-ra-a e-ep-<sup>r</sup>te<sup>1</sup>-[ni*<sup>LÚ</sup> *KÚR* (?) / (6) [ ? *hu-u*]<sup>l</sup><sup>323</sup> *-la-at-te-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup> UŠ-an Ú-UL DÛ-ri* [ x x x x] / (7) [ ? *TE*<sup>MEŠ</sup> ] *SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru EGIR-ma NU.SIG<sub>5</sub>-du IGI-zi TE*<sup>ME</sup><sup>Š</sup> ? *KASKAL-NU* / (8) [*iš-ki*]-*ša*

<sup>320</sup> Probably the third singular present of an unknown verb *\*aštaniya-*.

<sup>321</sup> The verb *mald-* has been translated in the present context as “to make a vow” in *CHD* L-N: 134, 210 and by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 33.

<sup>322</sup> The verb *mald-* in the present context has been rendered as “to make a vow” by van den Hout 1995: 119.

<sup>323</sup> The restoration of van den Hout 1998: 94.

GAM IGI-*zi zi* GAR-*ri* 12 ŠÀ DIR [SIG<sub>5</sub> EGIR TE<sup>MEŠ</sup>]<sup>324</sup> / (9) [?<sup>GIŠ</sup>ŠU].<sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-*hi* GÛB-*an* NU.SIG<sub>5</sub>

[...] the *šarikuwa*-troops (and) the heavily-armed troops [...]. We enquired an oracle and the deity was later [*ascertained*]. The queen **vowed** to ̕hebat of Kummanni, [to...] (and) to Lelwani: “If you, o gods [he]ar me, (if) [you] lend me (your) ear, (if) you [def]eat [*the enemy*] (and) the downfall does not occur”, then let [the exta] be favourable, but the following ones be unfavourable. The first ext[a: ...the road (is) back]wards down in front, a bladderworm lies (there) twelve coils; fav[orable. The following exta: the thro]ne (is) left; unfavourable.

8. KUB 15.1 (CTH 584), dreams of the queen, NH/NS.

(1)

KUB 15.1 i: (3) ... *nu-za-kán* MUNUS.LUGAL ŠÀ Û-TI / (4) A-NA <sup>d</sup>Hé-pát <sup>URU</sup>U-*da ki-iš-ša-an IK-RU-UB* / *ma-a-an-wa* DINGIR-LUM GAŠAN-IA <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI TI-*nu-an ha-ri-ti* / (5) ̕UL-u-i-wa-ra-an *pa-ra-a* Ú-UL *tar-na-at-ti* / (6) *nu-wa* A-NA <sup>d</sup>Hé-pát ALAM 'KÛ.GI' *i-ia-mi* / (8) A-IA-RU KÛ.GI-*ia-wa-aš-ši i-ia-mi* {*nu*} erasure / (9) *nu-wa-ra-at-za* ŠA <sup>d</sup>Hé-pát A-IA-RU *hal-zi-iš-ša-an-[z]i* / (10) <sup>UZU</sup>GABA-*aš-ma-wa-du-za TU-TI-TUM* KÛ.GI *i-ia-mi* / (11) *nu-wa-ra-at-za TU-TI-TUM* DINGIR-LIM *hal-zi-iš-ša-an-zi*

The queen **vowed**<sup>325</sup> in her dream to ̕hebat of Uda as follows: “If you, o goddess, my lady, keep His Majesty alive (and) do not deliver him to evil, then I will make a statue of gold for ̕hebat and for her I will make a rosette of gold, and [th]ey will call it the “̕hebat’s rosette”. For your breast I will make a pectoral<sup>326</sup> of gold and they will call it the “pectoral of the goddess.”

(2)

KUB 15.1 ii: (1) [<sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI]<sup>327</sup>-*za-kán* ŠÀ Û-TI [I A-N]A<sup>1</sup>(an) LUGAL-*aš* <sup>d</sup>ZA.BA<sub>4</sub>.BA<sub>4</sub> <sup>URU</sup>Ú-*ri-ki-na*<sup>328</sup> / (2) *kiš-an IK-RU-UB* *ma-a-an-wa-mu* DINGIR-LUM EN-IA / (3) TI-*nu-ši nu-wa-at-ta* <sup>NA</sup>ZI.KIN ZAG.GAR.RA-*ia* / (4) *ha-li-iš-ši-ia-mi* // (5) <sup>d</sup>LUGAL-*ma-aš* <sup>URU</sup>Ú-*ri-ki-na* / (6) ŠÀ Û-TI-*kán* GIM-*an* MUNUS.LUGAL I-NA <sup>URU</sup>I-*ia-am-ma* / (7) <sup>rE1</sup>*tar-nu-ú-i* EGIR-*an* LÚ.MEŠ GURUŠ *ku-i-e-eš-qa* / (8) *ha-at-ki-iš-ša-nu-uš-kir* MUNUS.LUGAL-*ma-za-kán* ŠÀ Û-TI / (9) 1 <sup>rE1</sup>*tar-nu-za-an* ŠA<sup>1</sup>(ta) KÛ.GI / (10) A-NA <sup>d</sup>[L]UGAL-*ma* <sup>URU</sup>Ú-*ri-ki-na* **IK-RU-UB** // (11) MUNUS.LUGAL-*za-kán* A-NA <sup>d</sup>LUGAL-*ma-an-ni* <sup>URU</sup>Ú-*ri-ki-na* / (12) 1 ZI KÛ.GI 'KI'.LÁ.BI NU.GÁL 1 ZI KÛ.BABBAR 10 GÍN **IK-RU-UB** //

<sup>324</sup> The restoration of van den Hout 1998: 94.

<sup>325</sup> The third singular preterit *IKRUB* has been rendered here as “made a vow” in *CHD* L-N: 134 and by Güterbock 1956: 254, Laroche 1949: 66, Mouton 2007: 261, de Roos 2007: 97. Hoffner 2003: 66 and Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 33 translates this verb here as “vowed” and this translation is followed here.

<sup>326</sup> Hoffner 2003: 66 translates *TUTITUM* as “toggle pin.”

<sup>327</sup> The restoration of Mouton 2007: 261.

<sup>328</sup> De Roos suggests here the following restoration: [MUNUS.LUGAL]-*za-kan* ŠÀ Û-TI [I A-NA] <sup>d</sup>LUGAL-<ma>-*as* <sup>d</sup>ZA.BA<sub>4</sub>.BA<sub>4</sub> <sup>URU</sup>Ú-*ri-ki-na*. However, that would indicate that the queen is making a vow on her own behalf. Since making a vow on one’s own behalf is very unusual in vows, the restoration LUGAL at the beginning of the line, suggested already by Hoffner 2003: 66, is more likely.

[His Majesty] **vowed**<sup>329</sup> in a dream [to] the king's deity <sup>d</sup>ZA.BA<sub>4</sub>.BA<sub>4</sub> of Urikina: "If you, O god, my lord, continue my life, then I will plate for you a stele and an altar." Šarruma of Urikina. Since, in a dream, some young men shut the queen behind the bathhouse in Iyamma, the queen **vowed**, in the dream, 1 golden bathhouse to Šarruma of Urikina.

The queen **vowed** to Šarruma of Urikina one gold ZI of unspecified weight (and) one silver ZI of ten shekels weight.

(3)

KUB 15.1 ii: (37) <sup>d</sup>LUGAL-*ma*<sup>URU</sup> *La-i-ú-na* / (38) ŠÀ Ò-TI-kán GIM-an MUNUS.LUGAL I-NA<sup><URU></sup> *La-i-ú-na* / (39) <sup>E</sup>*tar-nu-ú-i* EGIR-an LÚ.MEŠ GURUŠ *ku-i-e-eš-qa* / (40) *ha-at-kiš-ša-nu-uš-kir* MUNUS.<sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>r</sup>-*ma-za-kán* ŠÀ Ò-TI / (41) 1 <sup>E</sup>*tar-nu-za-an* ŠA <sup>r</sup>KÙ.GI<sup>r</sup> [A-N]A <sup>d</sup>LUGAL-*ma*<sup>URU</sup> *La-i-ú-na* **IK-RU-UB** //

Šarruma of Laiuna. Since, in a dream, some young men shut the queen behind the bath house in Laiuna, in the dream the queen **vowed**<sup>330</sup> 1 gold bathhouse [t]o Šarruma of Laiuna.

(4)

KUB 15.1 iii: (12') ... MUNUS.LUGAL-*ma-za-kán* ŠÀ Ò-TI **kiš-an** <sup>r</sup>IK<sup>r</sup>-**RU-UB** / (13') *ma-a-an-wa-mu a-pé-e-ni-iš-šu-wa-an i-ia-ši* / (14') *nu-wa*<sup>LÚ</sup> *MU-DI-IA* TI-an-za *nu-wa A-NA* DINGIR-LIM / (15') 3 <sup>DUG</sup>*har-ši-ia-al-li* 1-EN ŠA Ì 1-EN ŠA LÀL / (16') 1-EN ŠA IN-BI *te-eḫ-ḫi* //

...In the dream, the queen **vowed** as follows<sup>331</sup>: "If you do that (i.e. the long life for the king) for me, and my husband lives, then I will give to the deity three storage vessels: one with oil, one with honey, (and) one with fruit".

(5)

KUB 15.1 iii: (17') <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI-kán A-NA <sup>d</sup>KA-TAḪ-ḪA **kiš-an** **IK-RU-UB** / (18') *ma-a-an-kán*<sup>URU</sup> *An-ku-wa-aš* URU-aš *iš-pár-za-zi* / (19') *Ú-UL-aš da-pí-an-za ar-ḫa* BIL-ni / (20') *nu A-NA* <sup>d</sup>KA-TAḪ-ḪA 1 URU-LUM KÙ.BABBAR DÛ-mi / (21') KILÁ.BI NU.GÁL 1 GU<sub>4</sub> 8 UDU-ia *pí-iḫ-ḫi* // (22') MUNUS.LUGAL-*za-kán* A-NA <sup>d</sup>U AN-E **kiš-an** **IK-RU-UB** / (23') *ma-a-an-kán*<sup>URU</sup> *An-ku-wa-aš* URU-aš *iš-pár-za-zi* / (24') *Ú-UL-aš da-pí-an-za ar-ḫa* BIL-ni / (25') *nu A-NA* <sup>d</sup>U AN-E 1 URU-LUM KÙ.BABBAR DÛ-mi / (26') <sup>r</sup>KILÁ.BI<sup>r</sup> NU.GÁL 1 GU<sub>4</sub> 8 UDU-ia *pí-iḫ-ḫi* // (27') [<sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI-ká]n A-NA <sup>d</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>ZI-<sup>r</sup>IP<sup>r</sup>-PA-LA-AN-DA / (28') [**kiš-an** **IK-RU-UB**] *ma-a-an-kán*<sup>URU</sup> *An-ku-wa-aš* URU-aš / (29') [*iš-pár-za-zi* *Ú*]-<sup>r</sup>UL-aš<sup>r</sup> *da-pí-an-za ar-ḫa* BIL-ni / (30') [*nu A-NA* <sup>d</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>ZI]-<sup>r</sup>IP<sup>r</sup>-PA-LA-AN-DA 1 URU-LUM KÙ.BABBAR / (31') [DÛ-mi KILÁ.BI NU.GÁL] 1 GU<sub>4</sub> 8 UDU-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>r</sup> *pí-iḫ-ḫi* //

<sup>329</sup> *kiššan* *IKRUB* in line ii 2 has been rendered in the present context as "made the following vow" by Hoffner 2003: 66, Mouton 2007: 264 and de Roos 2007: 99. *IKRUB* in line ii 10 has been translated as "vowed" by Hoffner 2003: 66 and by Mouton 2007: 264; de Roos renders this expression here as "promised". *IKRUB* in line ii 12 has been translated as "vowed" by Hoffner 2003: 66 and as "promised" by de Roos 2007: 99.

<sup>330</sup> *IKRUB* in line ii 41 has been translated as "vowed" by Hoffner 2003: 67 and by Mouton 2007: 265. De Roos 2007: 101 renders this verb here as "promised."

<sup>331</sup> The same translation of *kiššan* *IKRUB* in the present context was offered by Hoffner 2003: 67, Güterbock 1956: 255, Laroche 1949: 66, Mouton 2007: 265 and de Roos 2007: 102.

His Majesty **vowed**<sup>332</sup> to the goddess Kataḫḫa as follows: “If Ankuwa, the city, survives (lit. escapes) i.e. it does not burn down completely, then I will make for Kataḫḫa one silver (model of a) city of unspecified weight (and) I will give one ox and eight sheep”.

The queen **vowed** to the Stormgod of Heaven as follows: “If Ankuwa, the city, survives i.e. it does not burn down completely, then I will make for the Stormgod of Heaven one silver (model of a) city of unspecified weight (and) I will give one ox and eight sheep.”

[His Majesty **vowed**] to the Stormgod of Zippalanda [as follows]: “If Ankuwa, the city, [survives] i.e. it does [not] burn down completely, [then I will make for the Stormgod of Z]ippalanda one silver (model of a) city [of unspecified weight] (and) I will give one ox and eight sheep.”

9. KUB 15.3 (CTH 584), dream of the queen, NH/NS.

(1)

KUB 15.3 i: (5) [nu-za-kán]<sup>333</sup> ṛMUNUS<sup>1</sup>.LUGAL A-NA <sup>d</sup>SÎN EGIR-pa ap-pa-an-na *kiš-an IK-RU-U[B]* / (6) [ma-a-an-wa] <sup>d</sup>SÎN EN-IA A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI *da-lu-ga-uš* MU.KAM.ḪI.A-uš / (7) [pí-eš-ti] MU.KAM.ḪI.A-wa *ku-i-e-eš IŠ-TU DINGIR-LIM da-ra-an-te-eš* / (8) [ma-a-an]<sup>334</sup> UGU *ti-it-ta-nu-zi nu A-NA DINGIR-LIM EN-IA* / (9) MU.KAM-ti 1 GAL KÙ.BABBAR MU.KAM-ti-ma-aš-ši 1 GAL KÙ.GI / (10) KILÁ.BI NU.GÁL *pi-iḫ-ḫi A-NA MU.KAM-ia ku-it ITU.12.KAM* / (11) MU.KAM-li MU.1.KAM ITU.12.KAM-ia ŠA KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI / (12) *e-eš-šu-u-wa-an te-eḫ-ḫi KILÁ.BI ZI-za da-aḫ-ḫi* / (13) *na-aš A-NA DINGIR-LIM pí-eš-ki-u-wa-an te-eḫ-ḫi* <sup>d</sup>SÎN-ma / (14) *ku-iš ZI-an-za nu ITU.KAM.ḪI.A ŠA KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI a-pí-e-da-ni* / (15) *pí-eš-ki-mi ma-a-an* erasure <sup>URU</sup>Ú-ri-ki-na / (16) *ma-a-an im-ma ku-wa-pí //*

The queen **vowed**<sup>335</sup> to the Moongod for the recovery (of His Majesty)<sup>336</sup> as follows: [“If], you, O Moongod, my lord, [giv]e to His Majesty long years and [if] he (i.e. His Majesty) completes the years which (have been) promised by the god, then to the god, my lord, (I will give) in one year 1 silver goblet and I will give to him in one year 1 golden goblet of unspecified weight. And since a year has twelve months, yearly I will begin to make one year and twelve months of silver (and) gold. I will determine

<sup>332</sup> All three instances of *kiššan IKRUB* appearing in this passage were rendered as “made the following vow” by Güterbock 1956: 254, Hoffner 2003: 67, Laroche 1949: 67 and de Roos 2007: 102-103.

<sup>333</sup> The restoration of Ose 1944: 77 was followed by de Roos and is adopted here. The phrase *kiššan IKRUB* usually requires the particle *-za* and often appears with the particle *-kán*.

<sup>334</sup> In this restoration I follow Gurney 1940: 63. De Roos 2007: 106, 107 restores here <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI. In the context of vows *mān* would make more sense, especially when the second condition is introduced into the vow.

<sup>335</sup> The same translation of *kiššan IKRUB* was offered by Laroche 1949: 67 and by de Roos 2007: 109. Ose 1944: 77 translated this phrase as “betete folgendermaßen”.

<sup>336</sup> The form *appanna* was interpreted here as an infinitive of *epp-* “to seize” by Ose 1944: 77, 86 and by Rosenkranz 1959: 421. Laroche 1949: 67 translated this form as “pour qu’il se rétracte”. De Roos takes this form as the Old Hittite dative of the verbal noun *apatar* ending in *-a*. Although *appanna* is not attested in Hittite texts, it would make sense in the present context. The phrase *appa apatar* carries the meaning “recovery” and in the vow that follows the queen is asking for the health and a long life for the king.

the weight (according to my own) judgment and I will begin to give them to the god. And whatever the Moon-god wishes, according to that (wish) will I give the months of silver and gold, either in Urikina or anywhere else

(2)

KUB 15.3 i: (17) Û-TUM MUNUS.LUGAL *za-aš-ḫi-ia-wa-mu ku-iš-ki me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi* / (18) A-NA <sup>d</sup>NIN.GAL-wa-za-kán *kiš-an ma-al-di ma-a-an-wa A-NA* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI / (19) <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ni IZI ŠA GÌR.MES-ŠÚ *nu-un-tar-aš* <sup>r</sup>SIG<sub>5</sub><sup>1</sup>-ri *nu-wa A-NA* <sup>d</sup>NI[N.GAL] / (20) [:t]al-la-an KÙ.GI <sup>NA4</sup>ZA.GÌN GAR.RA *i-ia-mi :tal-la-an d[a-pi-an]* / (21) [nu A-N]A K[UR <sup>URU</sup>]MI-IZ-RĪ INIM-an *a-ša-an-ta-an up-<sup>r</sup>pi<sup>1</sup>-[an-zi]*

Dream of the queen: “Someone keeps saying to me in a dream: “**Make the following vow**<sup>337</sup> to Ningal: If the aforementioned inflammation of His Majesty’s feet (lit. burning of His Majesty’s feet) subsides soon (lit. gets better), then for Ni[ngal] I will make a golden *talla* inlaid with lapis lazuli; a w[hole] *talla*. [And they will] send [t]o the l[and] of Egypt a true information (about it).

#### 10. KUB 15.11 + KBo 60.99 (CTH 584.3), votive text, NH/NS.

KUB 15.11+ ii: (5) [MUNUS.LUGAL] A-NA <sup>d</sup>Al-la-ni *IK-RU-UB nu*<sup>338</sup> DINGIR-LUM *ku-it GAŠAN-IA* / (6) [GE<sub>6</sub>-in] <sup>r</sup>KI<sup>1</sup>-an *a-ra-a-an nu ḫal-ki-iš iš-ḫi-ia-an-te-eš* / (7) [ma-a-a]n GAŠAN-IA GE<sub>6</sub>-in KI-an *la-a-ši <nu> ḫal-ki-iš SIG<sub>5</sub>-ri* / (8) [nu] <sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-NA DINGIR-LUM <sup>DUG</sup>ḫar-ši-ia-al-li I-NA <sup>URU</sup>KÙ.BABBAR-TI / (9) <sup>r</sup>Ú<sup>1</sup> INA <sup>339</sup> <sup>URU</sup>Ḫa-ak-miš *iš-ḫu-wa-aḫ-ḫi* <sup>DUG</sup>ḫar-ši-ia-al-li-ma-wa-za-kán / (10) <sup>r</sup>ZI<sup>1</sup>-za *da-aḫ-ḫi* <sup>DUG</sup>ḫar-ši-ia-al-li-ma *ma-a-an IŠ-TU É.GAL-LIM* / (11) <sup>r</sup>ḫé-<sup>r</sup>e-ša<sup>1</sup>-an-zi *ma-a-an BE-LU ku-in-ki u-i-ia-an-zi* // (12) A-NA <sup>d</sup>Al-la-ni-ia-za-kán *ku-it ŠA É* <sup>dU</sup> <sup>URU</sup>MA-NU-ZI-IA 6 [...] / (13) A-NA TI <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI *še-er ma-al-ta-an ḫar-mi* MU.KAM-li-wa-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-[at(?)]<sup>340</sup> / (14) [A-N]A DINGIR-LIM *pé-eš-ki-u-wa-an te-eḫ-ḫi*

[The queen] **vowed**<sup>341</sup> to Allani (as follows): “O goddess, my lady, since [the dark] earth (is) restrained<sup>342</sup> and the grain does not grow (lit. is tied up), [i]f (you), my lady, release the dark earth and the grain flourishes, [then] for the goddess I will empty (lit. pour) a storage vessel in Ḫattuša and in Ḫakmiš. I will take the storage vessel into consideration and either they will open the storage vessel from the palace or they will send a certain lord. //

<sup>337</sup> The same translation of *kišan maldi* was offered in *CHD* L-N: 134, by Güterbock 1956: 255, Laroche 1949: 66, Mouton 2007: 266, Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 34 and by de Roos 2007:108.

<sup>338</sup> De Roos 2007: 109 includes *nu* in his transliteration of this line noting; however, that this sign is marked as erasure in *HW*<sup>2</sup>. Cornil-Lebrun 1972: 40 read the same sign as the ideogram *Ī* meaning “oil”. Although the sign in question does not resemble any other *nu* employed in this text (already observed by de Roos 2007: 109 n. 178), the phrase DINGIR-LUM is a new sentence and therefore needs some grammatical marking. Since the traces visible on the tablet could be consistent with the sign *nu*, this reading is adopted here.

<sup>339</sup> *INA* is written here with a single horizontal stroke.

<sup>340</sup> The restoration of Cornil-Lebrun 1972: 50 and de Roos 2007: 109.

<sup>341</sup> *IKRUB* in line ii 5 has been translated by de Roos 2007: 112 as “made a vow”, by Cornil-Lebrun 1972: 51 as “elle a promis” and in *HW*<sup>2</sup> as “gelobte”; *maltan ḫarmi* in line ii 13 was rendered by Cornil-Lebrun 1972: 52 and by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 34 as “I have vowed” and as “I have promised” by de Roos 2007: 113.

<sup>342</sup> For a discussion of the form *a-ra-a-an* see de Roos 2007: 112 n. 196.

Regarding the fact that for the sake of His Majesty's life **I vowed** to the goddess Allani 6 [...] of the temple of the Stormgod of Manuziya, I will begin to give [them] yearly to the goddess.

11. KUB 15.23 (CTH 584.4), votive text, NH/NS.

KUB 15.23 rev.: (17') 'MUNUS'.LUGAL-*za-kán* A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU AN-E ŠA  
<sup>URU</sup> *Ḫu-ḫa-na* / (18') [*kiš*]-**an IK-RU-UB** *ma-a-an* DINGIR-LUM EN-IA  
<sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI / (19') 'MU(?)'<sup>343</sup>.ḪI'.A TI-*nu-ši nu-za* DINGIR-LUM *ḫal-zi-<sup>r</sup>ia-*  
*mi*' / (20') 'ŠA' <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI-*ia-aš-ši* AL[AM KÙ.GI (?)] / (21') [?] DÙ-*mi*  
 KI.'LÁ'[.BI NU.GÁL(?)]<sup>344</sup>

The queen made **vowed**<sup>345</sup> to the Sungod of heaven of Ḫuḫana [as follows]:  
 “If you, o god, my lord, make His Majesty live *for years*, then I will invoke  
 the god and I will make for him a [*golden*] *sta[tue]* of His Majesty of  
 [unspecified] *weig[ht]*.”

12. KUB 15.17 + KUB 31.61+ (CTH 585.A), votive text, NH/NS.

(1)

KUB 15.17 + KUB 31.61 i: (1) 'UM'-MA <sup>r<sup>f</sup></sup>*Pu-du-ḫé-<sup>r</sup>pa*<sup>1</sup>  
 MUNUS.LUGAL GAL MUNUS.LUGAL KU[R <sup>URU?</sup>Ḫ]A-AT-TI  
 DUMU.MUNUS <sup>URU</sup>*KUM-MA-AN-NI* / (2) A-NA <sup>d</sup>*Le-el-wa-ni-za-kán*  
 GAŠAN-IA A[Š-ŠUM]<sup>346</sup>*BA-LA-AṬ* SAG.DU <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI / (3) *še-er ma-al-*  
*da-aḫ-ḫu-un* *ma-a-an-[w]a*<sup>347</sup> DINGIR-LUM GAŠAN-IA <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI / (4) *IŠ-*  
*TU* MU.ḪI.A GÍD.DA TI-*nu-an ḫa-[ad]*<sup>348</sup>-<sup>r</sup>*du<sup>1</sup>-la-aḫ-ḫa-an ḫar-ti tu-uk-*  
*wa-ra-aš* / (5) A-NA DINGIR-LIM *da-lu-ga-ia-az* [MU.KAM-*za pí-r*]<sup>349</sup>  
*an* 'EGIR<sup>1</sup>-*pa i-ia-at-ta-ri* / (6) *nu-wa tu-uk* A-NA DINGIR-LIM MU-<sup>r</sup>*ti*<sup>1</sup>-  
 [*li*<sup>350</sup> x x (x)] x MU.ḪI.A. KÙ'.BABBAR MU.ḪI.A.KÙ.GI<sup>351</sup> / (7)  
 ITU.ḪI.A<sup>352</sup> KÙ'.BABBAR KÙ.GI UD.KAM.ḪI.[A KÙ'.BABBAR  
 UD.KAM.ḪI.A] KÙ.GI GAL.KÙ'.BABBAR<sup>353</sup> GAL.KÙ.GI<sup>354</sup> / (8) 1  
 SAG.DU <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI KÙ.GI [*pí-eš-ki-mi* MU.KAM]-*li*<sup>355</sup> *ma-a-an* 100<sup>356</sup> / (9)  
*ma-a-an* 50 UDU *pé-eš-ki-mi* [Ú-UL *ku-it-ki*<sup>357</sup> *t*]-*u-qa-a-ri* (the passage  
 is duplicated by lines 1-10 of KUB 15.16 (CTH 585.B), and by line 1'-7'  
 1421/u (CTH 585.AA).

<sup>343</sup> The restoration of de Roos 2007: 115. Sürenhagen 1981: 143 reads here [GÍ]R?.ḪI.A.

<sup>344</sup> Lines 20 and 21 are read by Cornil-Lebrun 1972: 62 as:

(20) [A-N]A <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI-*ia-aš-ši it-t*[ ... ]

(21) [ ... ] DÙ-*mi* KI.MIN [ ... ]

<sup>345</sup> The same translation of *kišan IKRUB* in the present context was offered by de Roos 2007: 117 and by Sürenhagen 1981: 143. Cornil-Lebrun translate *kišan IKRUB* here as “la reine a fait la promesse”.

<sup>346</sup> The reading AŠ-ŠUM is confirmed by manuscript B: KUB 15.16.

<sup>347</sup> The reading -*wa* also appears in line 4 of manuscript B.

<sup>348</sup> The reading -*ra* is restored from line 5 of manuscript B.

<sup>349</sup> Restored after line 6 of manuscript B.

<sup>350</sup> B: MU.KAM-*li*.

<sup>351</sup> B: MU.KAM.ḪI.A KÙ.GI.

<sup>352</sup> B: ITU.KAM.ḪI.A.

<sup>353</sup> Both, manuscripts AA and B have here 1 GAL

<sup>354</sup> B: 1 GAL KÙ.GI

<sup>355</sup> Restored after line 6' of manuscript AA.

<sup>356</sup> B: 100 UDU.

<sup>357</sup> AA: -*it-ki*.

Thus (speaks) Puduhepa, the great queen, the queen of the la[nd of H]a]tti, the daughter of Kummanni: “**I vowed**<sup>358</sup> to Lelwani, my lady, for the sake of the life of the person of His Majesty (as follows): ‘O goddess, my lady, if you keep His Majesty alive and in (good) health for many (lit.) long years, he will appear (lit. go back) before you, o goddess, for many (lit. long) [years]. And year[ly], I will keep giving you, o goddess, [...] years of silver (and) years of gold, months of silver and of gold, day[s of silver (and) days] of gold, a cup of silver and a cup of gold, one golden statue (lit. person) of His Majesty, [year]ly I will keep giving either a hundred or fifty sheep. (the number) [does not] matter (lit. nothing matters).

13. KUB 56.31 (CTH 590), fragment of a dream and a votive text, NH/NS.

(1)

KUB 56.31 rev.: (8') [MUNUS.LUGAL]-za-kán A-NA <sup>dr</sup>GAZ'.BA.A.A [kiš]-an 'IK'-RU-'UB' [ma-a-an DINGIR-LUM GAŠA]N-[I]A / (9') A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI pí-an hu-u-i-ia-ši nu-za-[kán] A-NA DINGIR-LIM ku-it / (10') 'ka'-ru-ú ma-al-ta-aḫ-hu-un nu DINGIR <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR INIM-an / (11') [u]š-ki-nu-un ... (the reading and meaning of the rest of the passage is unclear)

[The quee]n **vowed**<sup>359</sup> to the goddess GAZ.BA.A.A [as foll]ows: [If you, o goddess, [m]y l[ady], run before (i.e. support) His Majesty, then what **I have already vowed** to the goddess, I have seen Ištar about that matter ....

(2)

KUB 56.31 rev.: (13') M[UNUS.LUGAL]-za-'kán' INA<sup>360</sup> URU I-AL-AN-TA A-NA <sup>Id</sup>Š[I-TAR-PU kiš-an] / (14') IK-RU-UB ma-a-an-mu <sup>rId1</sup>Še-'tar'-pu-uš A-NA [<sup>d</sup>IŠTAR]R(?) A-'NA DINGIR-LIM' / (15') tar-kum-ma-a-ši A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI pí-an hu-u-i-'ia'-[ši x x x x] / (16') nu-za DINGIR-LUM ALAM KÙ.BABBAR KILÁ.BI NU.GÁL DÛ-mi x x x x x //

In Yalanta, the qu[een] **vowed**<sup>361</sup> to Š[itarpu as follows]: If you Šitarpu intercede on my behalf to [Ištar]r, the goddess and (if) you run before (i.e. support) His Majesty, then o god, I will make a silver statue of unspecified weight ...

14. KUB 44.12 (CTH 656), fragment of a festival, NS.

KUB 44.12 ii: (5') 'LUGAL'-uš-kán 1 GU<sub>4</sub> 8 'UDU' [ši-pa-an-ti] / (6') Û A-NA <sup>d</sup>IMIN.IMIN.BI(-)ša-k[án' ...] / (7') 'ši'-pa-an-[ti] (8') ma-a-an-'na' ma-al-te-eš-n[a-aš ...]<sup>362</sup> / (9') e-eš-zi na-an-kán ši-pa-an-[ti] / (10') ma-a-an-ma Ú-UL e-eš-z[i] / (11') nu-kán Ú-UL ku-it-ki [ši-pa-an-ti] //

<sup>358</sup> The verbal form *maldaḫḫun* has been translated in this context as “I made a vow” in *CHD* L-N: 134 and by Laroche 1949: 62, Lebrun 1980: 447, Otten and Souček 1965: 17 and by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 33.

<sup>359</sup> The phrase *kišan IKRUB* and the verbal form *maltaḫḫun* have been previously translated by de Roos 2007: 283 as “made the following vow” and “promised”.

<sup>360</sup> *INA* is written with a single horizontal stroke.

<sup>361</sup> The same translation of the phrase *kišan IKRUB* in lines 13'-14' was offered by de Roos 283.

<sup>362</sup> The noun *malteššar* in line ii 8' is broken, *CHD* L-N: 136 restores there the genitive singular *maltešnaš*, which is followed here.

The king [offers] 1 cattle (and) 8 sheep and he offers [...] to <sup>d</sup>IMIN.IMIN.BI. If there is [a... of] a **vow**<sup>363</sup> (i.e., a ... which has been promised), he offer[s] it; but if there i[s] not, [he offers] nothing

15. KUB 10.11+ (CTH 660.1.A), a festival celebrated by the king, NS.

KUB 10.11 i: (6') *ku-u-un-ma-an-za-an* NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA [GAL] / (7') LUGAL.GAL <sup>m</sup>*Šu-up-pí-lu-l[i-u-ma-aš]* / (8') A-NA <sup>d</sup>IM A-NA KASKAL <sup>URU</sup>A[r-...] / (9') *še-er IK-RU-UB*

The great king, Šuppiluliuma, **vowed**<sup>364</sup> this [large] (loaf of) thick bread to the Stormgod for the sake of the campaign to the city of A[r...].

16. Meškene 74.57 is the only Hittite text that employs the form *mieteššar*. The text is a New Hittite composition that seems to be concerned with oracular inquiries.

Meškene 74.57 rev: // (45) **IK-RI-BU** *me-er-ra-an-za* GAM MÁŠ-*u-en* / (46) *nu IŠ-TU* SISKUR *mi-el-te-eš-na-za* KI.MIN // (47) *zi-la-aš* [SI]G<sub>5</sub> // (48) SISKUR GAM MÁŠ-*u-en* *nu* 2 UDU.ĪI.A IZI-*ši* 3 UDU.ĪI.A *ki-ia* KI.MIN// (49) *zi-la-aš* SIG<sub>5</sub> // (50) *mi-el-te-eš-šar-ma* GAM MÁŠ-*u-en* / (51) *nu IŠTU* KÙ.BABBAR KI.MIN //

We enquired about ‘**unfulfilled vow**’<sup>365</sup> and a ritual as well as votive offering, the same (i.e. were determined). *zilaš* is [fav]ourable. We inquired about the ritual and two sheep *ambašši* and three sheep *keldiya* the same (i.e. were determined). *zilaš* is favourable. We enquired about the votive offering and silver the same (i.e. was determined).

## II.C. malteššar, mileteššar “ritual in fulfilment of a vow”, “votive offering”

1. KUB 17.21 (CTH 375.1.A), a prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal, MH/MS. Lines i 19-20 are also included in the New Hittite copy of this manuscript, KBo 51.17 (CTH 375.1.C).

(1)

KUB 17.21 + i: (19) *nam-ma-aš-ma-aš-ša-a[n S]ÍSKUR.ĪI.A-aš pá-r-ku-ia-an-na-aš ud-da-ni-i* / (20) *na-aḫ-ša-ra-at-t[a-a]n ki-iš-ša-an Ú-UL ku-iš-ki ti-ia-an ḫar-ta*

<sup>363</sup> The noun *malteššar* has been translated here as “vow” in *CHD* L-N: 136. Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 35 translates the sentence with *maltešnaš* as “if he is [the maker] of a vow [= votary].

<sup>364</sup> The same translation of *IKRUB* in the present context was offered in *CHD* L-N: 134 and by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 33.

<sup>365</sup> The noun *IKRIBU* has been rendered as “vows” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 253 and by Salvini-Trémouille 2003: 235.

(2)

KBo 51.17: (5') [nam-ma-a]š-ma-aš-ša-an **ma-al-te-eš-na-aš** pár-ku-ia-an-n[a-aš ud-da-ni-i] / (6') [na-aḥ-š]a-ra-at-ta-an ki-iš-ša-an Ú-UL ku-i[š-ki ti-ia-an ḥar-ta]

Furthermore, no one had placed such respect for you in the matter of the purity of the **rituals**<sup>366</sup> (performed in fulfilment of a vow).

2. KUB 7.20 (CTH 475.a.1.A), ritual of Palliya, the king of Kizzuwatna, MH/NS.

The text has a New Hittite duplicate KBo 9.115 (CTH 475.a.1.B).

(1)

KUB 7.20 i: (1) <sup>m</sup>Pal-li-ia-aš LUGAL <sup>URU</sup>KT-IZ-ZU-WA-AT-NA ku-wa-pí / (2) <sup>dU</sup> <sup>URU</sup>KI-IZ-ZU-WA-AT-NA ša-ra-a ti-it-ta-nu-ut / (3) na-an ki-iš-ša-an **ma-al-ta-[aš?]**<sup>367</sup> //

(2)

KBo 9.115 i: (1) <sup>m</sup>Pal-li-ia-aš LUGAL <sup>URU</sup>KUM-<sup>r</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>-AN-NI ku-wa-pí <sup>dU</sup>KUM-MA-AN-N[I] / (2) ša-ra-a ti-it-ta-nu-ut na-an ki-iš-ša-an **ma-al-t[i-iš(?)]** //

When Palliya, the king of Kummanni/Kizzuwatna, erected (the statue of) the Stormgod of Kummanni/Kizzuwatna, he *mald*-ed<sup>368</sup> him (or “it”) as follows.

3. KBo 3.22 (CTH 1.A), Proclamation of Anitta, OH/OS. The relevant lines are duplicated by KUB 26.71 (CTH 1.B), NH/NS.

(1)

KBo 3.22: (57) É <sup>d</sup>Ḥal-ma-šu-it-ta-aš É <sup>d</sup>IM-<sup>r</sup>na-aš<sup>1</sup> [x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x] / (58) KASKAL-za ku-it a-aš-šu ú-taḥ-ḥ[u-un x x x x x x x x x x x] // (59) nu **ma-a-al-taḥ-ḥu-un** <sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> [x x x x x x x]

(2)

KUB 26.71: (6) [x x x x x -t]a-aš É <sup>dU</sup>BE-LI-IA Û É <sup>d</sup>Ši-ú-na-šum-mi-iš AB-NI KASKAL-az ku-it / (7) [x x x x x x x] <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-pé-e-da-an-<sup>r</sup>da ḥa<sup>1</sup>-liš-ši-ia-nu-un nu **ma-a-al-da-aḥ-ḥu-un** nu ḥu-u-wa-ar-[taḥ-ḥu-un]

<sup>366</sup>

The noun *malteššar*/SISKUR.ḪIA has been translated in this context as “ritual” by Bachvarova 2002: 146; as “rituals” in *CHD* L-N: 136, “sacrifices” by Goetze 1950: 399, “des [o]ffrandes votives” by Lebrun 1980: 443, “votive rites” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 34, “recitations/offerings” by Singer 2002a: 41, “Opfern” by von Schuler 1965: 153 and “die rituelle Reinheit der Opfertgaben” by Ünal 1991: 800.

<sup>367</sup>

Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 33 reads at the end of line 3 of KUB 7.20 *malta* and in KBo 9.115 *malta*; Neu 1974: 45, following Friedrich *HW*: 134, read in line 3 of KUB 7.20 *ma-al-ta-[aš]* but in KBo 9.115 *ma-al-t[i]*.

<sup>368</sup>

The verb *mald*- has been translated in this context as “il l’a proclamé/voué” by Laroche 1964-65: 11. *CHD* L-N: 134 provides a tentative translation of the sentence with *mald*- as “He provided him (the deity) with offerings/ a ritual in fulfillment of a vow”. Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 33 translates the verb *mald*- appearing in this context as “treat somebody to commitment.”

(B: I built) the temple of Ḫalmaššuit, the temple of the Stormgod, (B: my lord, and the temple of our goddess).<sup>369</sup> And goods which I brought from (my) campaign, (B: I dedicated(?))<sup>370</sup> to that place. **I made an offering (in fulfillment of a vow)**<sup>371</sup> and I went on a hunt.

4. KUB 5.24+ (CTH 577), oracle text, NH/NS.

KUB 5.24 ii: (1) *nu ANA* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>r</sup>Ka<sup>1</sup>-ú-ri-i za-an-ki-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-tar m[aš-kán-na-az(?)]<sup>372</sup> / (2) <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-al-te-eš-na-az-zi-ia pa-a-i nu <sup>r</sup>KIN NU<sup>1</sup>.[SIG<sub>5</sub>-du] / (3) DINGIR-LUM-za da-pí-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup> ZI-an d[a]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-aš / (4) *nu-kán an-da* <sup>r</sup>ḪUL<sup>1</sup>-u-i NU.SIG<sub>5</sub>

Should she (i.e. the queen) give a penalty with a p[ropiatory gift] and with a **votive offering**<sup>373</sup> to the Sungoddess Kauri? [Let] the KIN oracle be un[favourable]. The DEITY took for him/herself the ENTIRE SOUL and (it is) in EVIL; unfavourable.

5. CTH 585, votive text preserved in sixteen manuscripts, NH/NS. The better preserved manuscripts include KUB 31.52 (CTH 585.C), KUB 31.51 (CTH 585.D) and KUB 31.54 (CTH 585.O).

(1)

KUB 31.51 obv.: (6) ŠA MU IL.KAM **ma-al-te-[eš-šar** A-NA <sup>d</sup>Le-el-wa-ni ... ] // (12) 1 DUMU.NITA <sup>m</sup>Tu-ut-tu ŠU[M-ŠU 1 DUMU.NITA <sup>m</sup> ... ] / (13) ŠÀ É <sup>m</sup>Pa-az-zi-x [1 DUMU.NITA <sup>m</sup> ... ] / (14) 1 DUMU.NITA <sup>m</sup>x x x[ ... ] (KUB 31.51 breaks)

The second's year **votive offering**<sup>374</sup> [to the goddess Lelwani...]: 1 boy by na[me] Tutu, [I boy by name] in/from the house of Pazzi, [one boy ...], one boy by name [...]

(2)

KUB 31.54 iv: (15) [k]e-e-ma-kán **IK-RI-BI**<sup>m.A</sup> ŠA <sup>d</sup>L[e-el-wa-ni ... ] / (16) [3].GAL.KÛ.GI TUR-TIM 5 SAG.DU [ ... ] / (17) [3]0.ITU.KÛ.SI<sub>22</sub> [30] ITU.KÛ.BABBAR [...] / (18) [<sup>m</sup>A-ri]-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-[ ... ] //

<sup>369</sup> Hoffner (2003: 183-184) observes that the reading <sup>d</sup>Ši-ú-na-šum-mi-iš “of our god(dess)” found in the New Hittite duplicate of this text (Manuscript B) is problematic. If it refers to Ḫalmaššuit, it would be redundant with the first part of the sentence.

<sup>370</sup> Hoffner 2003 notes that the principal meaning of *ḫališšiya-* is “to plate with silver or gold.”  
<sup>371</sup> The verb *mald-* has been previously translated in the present context as: “I made a vow” by Beckman 2006: 218 and by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 33; as “I vowed” in *CHD* L-N: 134; “ich sprach ein Gelübde” by Haas 2006: 3, “ich sprach einen Segen (Gelübde??)” by Kronasser 1966: 522; “je prononçai ce voeu” by Laroche 1949: 66 and by Neu 1974: 12; “j’ai voué officiellement” by Lebrun 1980: 444.

<sup>372</sup> Because the nouns *zankilatar* and *maškan* are often employed together in Hittite texts, the restoration of *maškan* in this context is very likely.

<sup>373</sup> The same translation of the noun *malteššar* in the present context was offered by van den Hout 1995: 257, Laroche 1964: 13, Lebrun 1980: 448 and by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 35.

<sup>374</sup> The noun *malteššar* in the present context has been previously translated as “offrande” by Laroche 1949: 63, “Gebäude” by Otten and Souček 1965: 19 and as “votive offering” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 34.

(3)

KUB 31.52 iv: (3) *ke-e-ma-kán IK-R[**I-BI**]<sup>HLA</sup> ŠA<sup>d</sup> Le-el-wa-ni ... ] / (4) 3.GAL.KÙ.GI TUR-TI[M 5 SAG.DU ...] / (5) 30.ITU.KÙ.SI<sub>22</sub> 30 [ITU KÙ.BABBAR ...] / (5) <sup>m</sup>A-ri-ki-im-ra-[aš ...] //*

And these **votive offerings**<sup>375</sup> for the goddess Lelwani [... (namely) three small cups of gold, five persons ...], ... , thirty months of gold (and) thirty months of silver [...] of Arikimra.

6. KUB 27.1 (CTH 712.A), a festival dedicated to Ištar of Samuḫa, NH/NS (Ḫattušili III).

(1)

KUB 27.1 i: (7) LUGAL-uš-ma ku-i-e-eš gi-im-ri-uš la-aḫ-ḫe-eš-ki-it / (8) nu ma-ši-e-eš gi-im-ru-uš la-aḫ-ḫi-ia-an ḫar-zi iš-tar-na-kán / (9) ku-i-e-eš MU.ḪI.A pa-an-te-eš ku-it-ma-an<sup>376</sup>-za DINGIR-LIM i-ia-zi / (10) nu-za a-pé-e-da-aš gi-im-ra-aš še-er SISKUR am-ba-aš-ši-in ke-el-di-an-na / (11) **ma-al-te-eš-šar-ra** a-ri-ia-an-zi

On account of those campaigns which the king conducted - however many campaigns he had conducted during the past years until he celebrates the goddess - they will enquire an oracle about the *ambašši* and *keldi* offering and the **votive offering**<sup>377</sup>

(2)

KUB 27.1 i (20) ma-a-an-<sup>r</sup>kán<sup>1</sup> MU.ḪI.A-ma ku-i-e-eš iš-tar-na pa-an-te-eš nu LUGAL-uš / (21) la-aḫ-ḫi Ú-UL ku-wa-pí-ik-ki pa-an-za nu SISKUR Ú-UL ku-it-ki / (22) e-eš-zi MU.KAM.ḪI.A-pát-kán me-e-na-aš SISKUR ḫa-pu-ša-an-zi / (23) LUGAL-uš-ma a-pé-e-da-ni MU-ti ku-e-da-ni LÍL-ri pa-iz-zi / (24) DINGIR-LIM-za ku-e-da-ni MU-ti i-ia-zi nu-za LUGAL-uš a-pé-da-ni / (25) LÍL-ri še-er A-NA<sup>d</sup> IŠTAR.LÍL<sup>URU</sup> ŠA-MU-ḪA an-na-al-li SÍSKUR / (26) am-ba-aš-ši ke-el-di-ia **ma-al-te-eš-šar-ra** IŠ-TU DINGIR-LIM / (27) <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ri-ia-an-zi nu ku-it SIxSÁ-ri na-at A-NA<sup>d</sup> IŠTAR.LÍL<sup>URU</sup> ŠA-MU-ḪA / (28) an-na-li pí-an-zi // (29) A-NA<sup>d</sup> IŠTAR.LÍL wa-al-li-wa-al-li-aš-ma ŠA<sup>m</sup> MUR-ŠI-LI SISKUR am-ba-aš-ši / (30) ke-el-di-ia a-ri-ia-an-zi nu-uš-ši ku-it SIxSÁ-ri nu a-pa-a-at pí-an-zi / (31) **ma-al-te-eš-šar-ma-aš-ši** Ú-UL e-eš-zi {ma-a-an} LUGAL-uš-ma ku-e-da-ni / (32) MU-ti LÍL-ri Ú-UL pa-iz-zi nu-uš-ma-aš LÍL-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup> pa-a-u-wa-aš A-NA<sup>d</sup> IŠTAR.LÍL / (33)

<sup>375</sup> *IK-RI-BI*<sup>HLA</sup> has been previously translated in the present context as: “objects vowed” in CHD L-N: 136, “offrandes” by Laroche 1949: 6, “Weihgaben” by Otten and Souček 1965: 35, and “votive offerings” by Puhvel HED 6: 34, 35.

<sup>376</sup> This sign *an* is written here with a single horizontal stroke and can therefore be mistaken for *pár*; the scribe seems to write *an* in this fashion (i.e. with a single horizontal), more than once in this text. Therefore this sign is not regarded here as a scribal error but rather as a feature idiosyncratic to this particular scribe.

<sup>377</sup> The noun *malteššar* in lines 26, 31 and 33 has been translated as “un voeu” by Lebrun 1976: 86 and “(*malteššar*)-Ritual” by Wegner 1995: 36. With regard to the noun *malteššar* appearing in line i 11 Laroche 1964:13 wrote: “la nature du *malteššar*, qui vient ici apres les rituels *ambašši keldiya*, reste problématique”. Puhvel HED vol. 6: 34 translates this noun as “vows” and notes that it is unclear whether *malteššar* in the present context appears in the nominative-accusative singular or plural.

<sup>URU</sup>ŠA-MU-ĤA SISKUR *am-ba-aš-ši ke-el-di-ia ma-al-te-eš-šar-ra Ú-UL /*  
(34) *e-eš-zi LUGAL-uš ku-it gi-im-ri Ú-UL pa-a-an-za //*

But if during the past years (lit. years that are gone), the king has gone nowhere on a campaign, there is no offering; for (those) years they make up an offering of the “year cycle”. But in that year in which the king goes to the field (for a campaign) and in which year he celebrates the goddess, they will enquire the goddess through an oracle about the *ambašši*, *keldi* offering and **votive offering** (which) the king (should give) to Ištar of the Field of the city of Samuĥa, the former (goddess), for the sake of that campaign. And what is ascertained, this they will give to Ištar of the Field of Samuĥa, the former (goddess). For the mighty Ištar of the Field of Mušili they will enquire an oracle about the ritual, *ambašši* and *keldi* offering, and what is ascertained for her, this they will give (her); but there is no **votive offering** for her. But in the year in which the king does not go into the field (for a campaign), for them (i.e. those years) there is no (ritual) of going on a campaign, (no) *ambašši*, *keldi* (or) **votive offering** for Ištar of the Field of Samuĥa, because the king is not going into the field.

7. Meškene 74.57, NH (see also II.B.16).

Meškene 74.57 rev: // (45) *IK-RI-BU me-er-ra-an-za GAM MÁŠ-u-en /*  
(46) *nu IŠ-TU SISKUR mi-el-te-eš-na-za KI.MIN //* (47) *zi-la-aš [SI]G<sub>5</sub> //*  
(48) *SISKUR GAM MÁŠ-u-en nu 2 UDU.ĤI.A IZI-ši 3 UDU.ĤI.A ki-ia*  
*KI.MIN //* (49) *zi-la-aš SIG<sub>5</sub> //* (50) *mi-el-te-eš-šar-ma GAM MÁŠ-u-en /*  
(51) *nu IŠTU KÙ.BABBAR KI.MIN //*

We enquired about ‘unfulfilled vow’, and ritual as well as a **votive offering**,<sup>378</sup> the same (i.e. were determined). *zilaš* is [fav]ourable. We inquired about the ritual and two sheep *ambašši* and three sheep *keldiya* the same (i.e. were determined). *zilaš* is favourable. We enquired about the **votive offering** and silver the same (i.e. was determined).

## II.D. mald- “to offer”, malteššar “offering/ritual”

1. KBo 22.242 + KBo 52.225b (CTH 824.1), fragment of the cultic itinerary of the king, NH/NS.

KBo 22.242 + KBo 52.225b ii: (5) [<sup>URU</sup>Ta]p-pa-ru-ta-a[z]-ma-aš <sup>URU</sup>A-an-ni-ia-at-ta pa-iz-zi nu <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>ŠU.GI / (6) [MÁ]Š.[G]AL DUG.K[A].DÙ NAG 12 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA pí-an-zi / (7) [m]a-al-te-[eš]-šar-ši-it QA-A-TAM-MA <sup>URU</sup>A-ni-ia-at-ta-az-ma-aš / (8) <sup>rURU</sup>[Pár]-[ma-an-na] pa-iz-zi ...

And [from Ta]pparuta he goes to Anniyatta. And the elders (of Anniyatta) give a [go]at, a jug of *PI-I-HU*-beer for drinking (and) twelve (loaves of) thick bread. And his [o]ffer[ing]<sup>379</sup> is the same. And from Anniyatta he goes to [Par]manna...”

<sup>378</sup> The noun *mielteššar* has been rendered in this text as “votive offering” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 253 and as was left untranslated by Salvini-Trémouille 2003: 235, 236.

<sup>379</sup> The noun *malteššar* has been translated here as “maltessar-offering/ritual” in *CHD* L-N: 137 and as “votive offering” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 34.

## II.E. malteššanala- “recipient of malteššar”

1. KUB 9.27 + KUB 7.5 + KUB 7.8 (CTH 406), the ritual of the woman from Arzawa named Paškuwatti, MH/NS.<sup>380</sup>

(1)

KUB 7.5 i: // (11') *ki-nu-na-aš-ta ka-a-ša kat-ta-an* 'EGIR<sup>1</sup>-*pa ke-nu-wa-aš-ša-aš* / (12') *ú-it nu-ut-ta* DINGIR-LUM DINGIR-LIM-*an-ni EGIR-an* / (13') *ša-an-ḫi-iš-ki-iz-zi nu-za ma-a-an* ḪUR.SAG-*i* / (14') *nu-za ma-a-an ú-e-el-lu-ú-i nu-za ma-a-an* ḫa-a-ri-*ia* / (15') *ku-wa-pí-it-za im-ma ku-wa-pí nu ke-e-da-ni* / (16') *an-tu-uḫ-ši kat-ta-an aš-šu-li e-ḫu* / (17') *nu-ut-ták-kán ḫu-u-wa-an-te-eš<sub>17</sub> ḫé-e-u-uš* IGI.ḪI.A-*wa le-e* / (18') *wa-al-ḫa-an-ni-ia-an-zi* // (19') *nu-ud-du-za pa-iz-zi* DINGIR-LAM DÜ-*zi nu-ut-ta pé-e-da-an* / (20') *ḫi<sup>1</sup>-in-ik-zi nu-ut-ta É-er pa-a-i* / (21') *nu-ut-ta* ḪR-*an GÉME-an pa-a-i nu-ut-ta* GU<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A UDU.ḪI.A *pa-a-<sup>1</sup>i* / (22') *nu-ud-du-uš-ša-an ma-al-ti-eš-ša-na-la-an i-ia-zi* //

Now he had just come to you on his knees for help<sup>381</sup> and is seeking you, o goddess, for the sake of your divinity. Whether you are in the mountain, whether you are in the meadow, whether you are in the valley, wherever you are, come down to this man in favour! Let the winds and rain not beat (against) your eyes! He will proceed to make you his (personal) goddess. He will offer you a place. He will give you a house. He will give you a male and a female slave. He will give you cattle and sheep. He will make you a **recipient of votive offerings**.<sup>382</sup>

(2)

KUB 7.8 iii: (7') *nu-wa-za* DAM-ZU *da-a-ú* / (8') *nu-wa-za* DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU *i-ia-ad-du* / (9') *nu-wa-za* DUMU.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ *i-ia-ad-du* / (10') *nu-za zi-ik* DINGIR-LUM DINGIR-LIM-*tar te-ek-ku-uš-nu-ut* // (11') *nu-wa-du-za na-ak-ki-ia-tar a-uš-du* / (12') *nu-wa-du-za* DINGIR-LUM ŠA SAG.DU-ŠU / (13') *i-ia-az-zi nu-du-za ma-al-ti-eš-na-la-an* / (14') *i-ia-zi*

“Let him take his wife, let him produce children for himself! Let him produce sons and daughters for himself! You, o goddess, show him your divinity! Let him see your power! And he will make you his personal goddess. He will make you the **recipient of his vow**.”<sup>383</sup>

<sup>380</sup> See Hoffner 1987: 279-281.

<sup>381</sup> On this translation see Hoffner 1987: 277, 284 note on lines 38-39.

<sup>382</sup> The adjective *malteš(ša)nala-* has been previously translated in this context as “recipient of *malteššar*” (votive offerings?) in *CHD* L-N: 135, as “recipient of vows” by Hoffner 1987: 277 and “quelqu’un qui reçoit des offrandes votives” by Mouton 2007: 137 and as “votive (beneficiary)” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 36. Goetze 1950: 349 translated the sentence that employs this adjective as “he will make vows.”

<sup>383</sup> The adjective *malteš(ša)nala-* has been rendered in this context as “recipient of *malteššar*” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 135, as “recipient of vows” by Hoffner 1987: 279; as “quelqu’un qui reçoit des offrandes votives” by Mouton 2007: 140 and as “votive (beneficiary)” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 36. Goetze 1950: 350 translated the sentence that employs this adjective as “He will make vows to thee.”

## II.F. IKRIBU ‘object in KIN oracle’

### 1. KBo 44.210 (CTH 578), KIN and SU oracle, NH/NS.

(1)

Obv. (6') [ŠA<sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI IR-TU]M QA-TAM-<sup>r</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>-pát nu KIN SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru  
<sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-uš [ ... ] / (7') [x x x x] x x da-pí-i ZI-ni UD.II.K[AM ...] / (8') x  
 [ x x DIN]GIR.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ GUB<sup>1</sup>-ir TI-tar **IK-RI-BU-ia** d[a-a-ir ...] //

That same [questi]on [of the Old Woman]. Let the KIN be favourable. The KING [...], [...] in the ENTIRE SOUL. On the seco[nd] day [ ... DEI]TIES stand. They [took] LIFE and **VOW**.

(2)

Obv. (15') <sup>r</sup>ŠA<sup>1</sup> <sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI IR-TUM QA-TAM-MA-pát nu KIN <sup>r</sup>SIG<sub>5</sub>-r[u  
 ...] / (16') **IK-RI-BU-ia** ME-aš nu-kán DINGIR.MEŠ-aš INA  
 UD<sup>384</sup>. [II.KAM ...] / (17') <sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-kán EGIR-pa<sup>GIŠ</sup> <sup>r</sup>DAG<sup>1</sup> INA UD.III.KAM  
 HUL-lu [ ...] // (18') MUNUS.LUGAL<sup>d</sup> <sup>r</sup>IŠTAR<sup>URU</sup> La-wa-za-an-ti-ia INIM  
 [ ...] / (19') <sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-NA DINGIR-LIM **IK-RU-UB** //

That same question of the Old Woman. L[et] the KIN be favourable. And he/she took [ ...] and the **VOW**, and (it is) with the GODS. On the [second] day [...], and (it is) back with the THRONE. On the third day EVIL [...]. The queen [ ... ] the matter of Ištar of Lawazantiya. She **vowed** to the deity.

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INA is written with a single horizontal stroke.

### III. MUGAI-, MUGAWAR, MUKEŠŠAR

#### III.A.a. mugai- “to induce, to urge (into action),”

1. KUB 23.77+ (CTH 138), a treaty of the Hittite king Arnuwanda I and the king of the Kaška lands, MH/MS.

(1)

KUB 23.77: // (65) [ma-a-an] <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI-ma <sup>LÚ</sup>KAŠ<sub>4</sub>.E I-NA KUR <sup>URU</sup>KA-AŠ-GA pí-i-ia-mi nu-uš-ši x [x x x]-iš-ši na-an-za <sup>LÚ</sup>ták-šu-la-aš / (66) [le]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup> **mu-ga-a-ši** nu-uš-ši ki-iš-ša-an le-e te-ši ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an-w[a A-NA <sup>URU</sup>ḪA-AT-TI(?)] ša-ra-a a-ar-ti / (67) [x x] x-wa-kán ḫu-wa-a-i nu-wa EGIR-pa am-mu-uk kat-ta-an [x x x x (x)] //

But [if], I, His Majesty, send a messenger into the land of Kaška, you [...] to him, and you, as an ally (lit. friend), will n[ot] **induce/temp**<sup>385</sup> him and you will not say to him thus: “When you arrive up [to Hattuša], [then] run away, and [come] back to me”.

(2)

KUB 23.77 + KUB 13.27: // (71) [x x x x x] x ku-i-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-eš I-NA KUR <sup>URU</sup>ḪA-AT-TI pí-t-te-an-ti-li ú-[iš-kán-ta(?) nu(?) ku-i-e-eš(?) <sup>U</sup>RU] Ḫa-at-tu-ša-az / (72) [I-NA] <sup>r</sup>KUR <sup>U</sup><sup>RU</sup>[<sup>RU</sup>K]A-AŠ-GA pí-t-te-an-ti-li pa-iš-kán-ta nu-za <sup>URU</sup>Ḫa-at-t[<sup>u</sup>-x x x x x (x)]-x-mi le-e / (73) <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-i-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-at-te-ni LÚ.M[EŠ KUR(?) <sup>URU</sup>KA-AŠ-GA(?)] <sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-i-e-eš <sup>URU</sup>Ḫa-at-tu-ši pí-t-te-an-ti-l[i ú-wa-an-te]-eš / (74) na-aš EGIR-pa I-NA K[UR <sup>URU</sup>KA-AŠ-GA le-e] **mu-u-ki-iš-kán-z[i]** //

Do not bring (pl.) those who c[ome] as fugitives [from the land of Kaška] to the land of Ḫatti, [and those who] go as fugitives from Ḫattuša [to] the land of [K]aška, [... to/from] Ḫattuša! May they [not] **induce/temp**<sup>386</sup> the me[n of Kaška], who [have com]e to Ḫattuša as fugitiv[es], (to go) back to the [land of Kaška].

2. KBo 3.16 (CTH 311.2.A), “Deeds of Naram-Sîn in Anatolia”, OH/NS. Lines rev. 5-13 of KBo 3.16 are duplicated by KBo 3.18 + KBo 3.19 + (CTH 311.2.B).

(1)

KBo 3.16 rev.: (5) [<sup>m</sup>Na]-ra-am-<sup>d</sup>SÎN<sup>1387</sup>-na-aš-kán A-NA <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR ú-e-eš-ki-u-wa-an da-a-iš / (6) [zi-i]k-mu tar-aš-ki-it SAG.DU-an ta-an-ku-wa-ia-wa-ta / (7) [ut-n]e-e ke-eš-šar-ta te-eḫ-ḫi <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR<sup>1388</sup>-iš-ša-aš-ši / (8) [a-ap-p]a tar-aš-ki-iz-zi i-it šu-up-pí-ia-aḫ-ḫu-ut / (9) [šu-up-p]í-ia-aš <sup>GIŠ</sup>NÁ-aš še-eš-ki-ia-aḫ-ḫu-ut DINGIR.MEŠ-KA / (10) [da-r]i-ia-nu-ut nu DINGIR.MEŠ-KA **mu-ga-i** / (11) [<sup>m</sup>Na-r]a-am-<sup>d</sup>SÎN-na-aš šu-up-pí-ia-aḫ-ḫa-ti šu-up-pa-ia-aš [<sup>GIŠ</sup>]NÁ-aš / (12) [še-eš-k]i-iš-ki-u-wa-an da-a-iš erasure / (13)

<sup>385</sup> The verb *mugai-* has been rendered in this context as: “entreat” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 322 sub b; by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 177 and by von Schuler 1965: 121. Gurney 1940: 49 did not translate *mugai-* in this context but observed that it must have denoted some sort of request or demand for a personal favour.

<sup>386</sup> The verb *mugai-* has been rendered here as “entreat” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 183 and as “zurückbitten” by von Schuler 1965: 121.

<sup>387</sup> The Akkadogram *SÎN* is written with 5 wedges instead of three.

<sup>388</sup> The Akkadogram *IŠTAR* is written with two verticals instead of one.

[DINGIR-MEŠ-Š]U *da-ri-ia-nu-ut nu* DINGIR.MEŠ-<ŠU> *mu-ki-iš-{eš}-ki-u-wa-an da-a-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>r</sup>*

(2)

KBo 3.18 rev.: (9) [<sup>m</sup>Na]-*ra-am-<sup>d</sup>SÎN-aš A-NA <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR ú-e-eš-ki-u-wa-an* [...] / (10) [*zi-ik-mu tar-ši-ki-ši da-an-ku-wa-ia-wa KUR-e* / (11) [*ke-eš/iš*]-<sup>r</sup>*ši-ri-it<sup>1</sup>-ta te-eḫ-ḫi <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR-ša-aš-ši* / (12) [ ... *tar-aš-ki-i*]-*z-zi i-it šu-up-pí-ia-aḫ-ḫ[u-ut<sup>2</sup>]* / (13) [ ... *š*]-*e-eš-ki-iḫ-ḫu-ti* DINGIR.MEŠ-K[A] / (14) [ ... *m*]-*u-<sup>r</sup>ga<sup>1</sup>-a-i* <sup>m</sup>*Na-ra-a[m-<sup>d</sup>SÎN-na-aš]* / (15) [ ... *šu-up-pa-i*]-*a-aš* <sup>GIŠ</sup>NÁ[-*aš*] (tablet breaks)

(3)

KBo 3.19 rev.: (1') [ ... ] <sup>r</sup>*da-a-iš* DINGIR<sup>1</sup>.M[EŠ ... ] / (2') [ ... ] <sup>r</sup>DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-*SÚ mu-ki-iš-ki-u-an d[a-a-iš]*

[Na]ram-Sîn began to call out to Ištar: “Have you said to me (A: about my person): ‘I place in your hand the dark [la]nds?’” Ištar replies to Naram-Sîn: “Go! Purify yourself! Sleep upon the [ho]ly bed! [Exh]aust your gods! **urges**<sup>389</sup> your gods!” [Na]ram-Sîn purified himself and began to lie down to sleep on the holy [b]ed. He exhausted (his) gods. He **began to urge**<sup>390</sup> his gods”

3. KBo 3.7 (CTH 321.A), “Illuyanka myth”, OH/NS. Lines i 12-14 are duplicated by the partially preserved KUB 36.54 (CTH 321.E).

KBo 3.7 i: (9) *ma-a-an <sup>d</sup>IM-aš <sup>MUŠ</sup>il-lu-ia-an-ka-aš-ša* / (10) *I-NA <sup>URU</sup>Ki-iš-ki-lu-uš-ša ar-ga-ti-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-e-er* / (11) *nu-za <sup>MUŠ</sup>il-lu-ia-an-ka-aš <sup>d</sup>IM-an [tar-a]ḫ-ta<sup>391</sup> // (12) <sup>d</sup>IM-*{aš}-ta-aš-ša* DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-aš ḫu-u-ma-a[n-du]-uš* / (13) *mu-ú-ga-it<sup>392</sup> an-da-ma-pa<sup>393</sup> ti-i-ia-[a<sup>2</sup>-a]t-te-en* / (14) *nu-za <sup>d</sup>I-na-ra-aš EZEN-an i-e-it**

When the Stormgod and the serpent came hand to hand in combat in the town of Kiškilušša, the serpent de[fea]ted the Stormgod. Then the Stormgod **urged**<sup>394</sup> a[ll] the gods (saying): “Co[m]e to my side! Inara has prepared a feast!”

<sup>389</sup> The imperative of *mugai-* has been rendered in the present context as “invoke” in *CHD* L-N: 320 and by Mouton 2007: 110. Güterbock 1938: 57 translated it as “klage” and Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 178 as “implore”.

<sup>390</sup> The supine *mukiškiuwan* was translated here as “began to invoke” in *CHD* L-N: 320 and by Mouton 2007: 11, “begann zu klagen” by Güterbock 1938: 57 and as “began imploring” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 183.

<sup>391</sup> E: [ ... <sup>d</sup>I]-*M-an tar-a[ḫ-ta ...]*

<sup>392</sup> E: *mu-ga-it*

<sup>393</sup> *an-da-ma-pa* is to be analysed as *anda=m(u)=apa* (see Hoffner 2007: 132), which is also seen in translations of Goetze 1950: 125, Haas 2006: 99, Hoffner 1998: 11, Pecchioli-Daddi 1990: 50 and Trabazo 2002: 87.

<sup>394</sup> The form *mugait* has been previously translated in the present context as: “entreat” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 322; “summoned” by Beckman 1982: 18 and 1997b: 150; “suplicaba” by Bernabé 1987: 33; “besought” by Goetze 1950: 125; “flehte” by Haas 2006: 99; “invoked” by Hoffner 1998: 11; “supplicò” by Pecchioli-Daddi and Polvani 1990: 50; “implore” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 178; “anflehen” by Rieken et al. (ed.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 321; “supplicò” by Trabazo 2002: 87.

### III.A.b. *mugai*- “to invoke”, *mukeššar* “invocation”

1. KUB 14.4 (CTH 70.1.A), Muršili II’s dealings with Tawannanna, NH/NS.

KUB 14.4 iii: (23) *ma-a-an-ma I-NA KUR* <sup>URU</sup>*KUM-MA-AN-NI-ma pa-a-<sup>1</sup>un A-BU-IA* <sup>2</sup>*A-NA* <sup>d</sup>*Ḫé-pát* <sup>URU</sup>*KUM-MA-AN-NI* / (24) *EZEN* <sub>4</sub>*ḫal-zi-ia-wa-<aš>? ta-ra-a-an* <sup>1</sup>*ḫar-ta pé-eš-ta-ma-an-ši<sup>3</sup> na-a-ú-i* / (25) *na-aš am-mu-uk na-ak-ke-e-eš-<sup>1</sup>ta-at* <sup>1</sup>*nu I-NA* <sup>URU</sup>*KI-IZ-<sup>1</sup>ZU-<sup>1</sup>WA-AT-NA pa-a-a-un* / (26) *nu ki-iš-ša-an* <sup>1</sup>*me-mi-iš-ki-nu-un* <sup>1</sup>*pa-i-<sup>1</sup>mi-wa-za ŠA A-BI-IA še-eš-ši<sup>1</sup>-i[a-a]n* / (27) *ar-ḫa* <sup>1</sup>*šar-ni-ik-mi<sup>1</sup>(?) [nu]-za* <sup>1</sup>*am-mu-uk* <sup>d</sup>*Ḫé-pát* <sup>URU</sup>*KUM-MA-[AN-NI A-NA] SAG.DU-IA* / (28) *DAM-IA [DUMU-I]A É-IA KUR-TI-IA* <sup>1</sup>*Ḫ A-NA ŠE[Š.ḪI.A]* (29) *tal-li-iš-<sup>1</sup>ki-nu-un mu-ki-iš-ki-nu-un* <sup>1</sup> x [...]

When I went to Kummanni - my father had promised a Festival of Invocation to Ḫebat of Kummanni, but (because) he had not given it to her, she weighted it on me - I went to Kizzuwatna and I said as follows: “I will recompensate for the omission of my father.” I constantly lured and **invoked**<sup>395</sup> Ḫebat of Kumm[anni for] myself, for my wife, m[y son], my household, my land and my broth[ers].

2. KUB 30.42 + KBo 31.8 (CTH 276.1), shelf list of the DUBxKAM type, OH/NS.

KUB 30.42 + i: // (3) *DUB 1.KAM* erasure *INIM* <sup>f</sup>*An-na-na* <sup>MUNUS</sup>*ŠU.GI* erasure *ma-a-an* <sup>d</sup>*IM-an* / (4) *mu-ga-an-zi* <sup>1</sup>*Ú-UL QA-TI* //

One tablet. The word of Annana, the Old Woman: “When they **invoke**<sup>396</sup> the Stormgod”. (Text) not finished.

KUB 30.42 + KBo 31.8 iv: (12) *DUB.1.KAM INIM* <sup>f</sup>*An-na-na* <sup>MUNUS</sup>*ŠU.GI* <sup><URU></sup>*Zi-ga-az-ḫur* / (13) *ma-a-an* <sup>d</sup>*Mi-ia-ta-an-zi-pa-an mu-ga-a-mi QA-TI*

One tablet. The word of Annana, the woman of Zigazḫur: “When I **invoke**<sup>397</sup> the deity Miyatanzipa”. (Text) finished.

KBo 31.8 + iv: // (4) [ ... *ma-a-an LU]GAL*<sup>398</sup> <sup>d</sup>*IŠTAR mu-ga-iz-zi QA-TI*] //

[x tablet ... “When the ki]ng **invokes**<sup>399</sup> the goddess Ištar”. (Text) finish[ed]

3. KUB 30.57 + KUB 30.59 (CTH 276.3), shelf list of the DUBxKAM type, OH/NS.

<sup>395</sup> The verb *mugai*- has been translated in the present context as: “j’ ai multiplié invocations” by Lebrun 1980: 438; “ho invocato” by de Martino 1998: 37; “I kept invoking” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 183 and “I invoked” by Singer 2002a: 76.

<sup>396</sup> The verb *mugai*- has been translated in the present context as “beschwört” by Dardano 2006: 23; as “invoke” by Hoffner 2003: 69 and as “invoquer” by Laroche 1975: 162 and Lebrun 1980: 434.

<sup>397</sup> The verb *mugai*- has been translated in the present context as “anrufe” by Daradno 2006: 27; as “invoke” by Lebrun 1980: 434 and by Hoffner 2003: 69.

<sup>398</sup> This Sumerogram can also be read here as LÚ.

<sup>399</sup> Daradno 2006: 27 translates the verb *mugai* in the present context as “anruft”.

KUB 30.57 + KUB 30.59 i: // (5') [D]UB.1.KAM A-WA-AT <sup>f</sup>Du-un-na-wi-ia [<sup>MUNUS</sup>]ŠU.GI / (6') [m]a-a-an ak-kán-ta-an **mu-u-ga-mi** <sup>r</sup>Ú-[U]L QA-TI / (7') [E]GIR-iz-zi-ma-aš-ši TUP-PU na-a-wi ú-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-mi-ia-u-en //

One [ta]blet. The word of Dunnawiya, the Old [Woman]: “[W]hen I **invoke**<sup>400</sup> a dead person” (Text) n[ot] finished. We have not yet found this last tablet for it (i.e. the ritual of invocation)

4. KUB 8.71 (CTH 276.9), shelf list that includes titles of several tablets whose common denominator seems to be DINGIR GE<sub>6</sub> “The Deity of the Night”, NS. The lines obv. 10'-15' also appear in KBo 12.116 (rev. 2'-8') and KUB 56.55 (iv 3'-9').<sup>401</sup>

(1)

KUB 8.71 obv.: // (10') DUB.8.KAM QA-TI INIM <sup>m</sup>I-LI-MA-<sup>r</sup>A<sup>402</sup>-[BI...] / (11') <sup>r</sup>Ú <sup>f</sup>Ar-ša-ki-ti <sup>MUNUS</sup>kat-ra-a[š ... ] / (12') [ku]-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ez-qa TUKU.TUKU-u-an-za na-aš-ma-a[š ... ] / (13') [ku-iš]-ki pé-ra-an DŪ-an-za na-aš-m[a-aš-ši-kán ... ] (14') [ku-i]t-ki ḫar-kán na-an SAG.GÉ[ME.İR.MEŠ ... ] / (15') **mu-<sup>r</sup>ga-iz<sup>1</sup>-zi** //

(2)

KBo 12.116 rev.: // (2') [DU]B.3.KAM <sup>r</sup>QA-TT INIM <sup>m</sup>I-LI-MA-A-BI <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA DINGIR G[E<sub>6</sub>] / (3') <sup>r</sup>Ú <sup>f</sup>Ar-za-a-ki-i-ti <sup>MUNUS</sup>kat-ra-aš ma-a-an DI[NGIR-LUM] / (4') [ud-da-na-a]z ku-e-ez-ga kar-tim-mi-ia-u-wa-an-z[a] / (5') [na-aš-m]a-aš-ši mar-ša-aš-tar-ri-iš-ma ku-iš-ki / (6') [pé-ra-a]n i-ia-an-za na-aš-ma-aš-ši-ká[n U-NU-UT-ma] / (7') [ku-it-ki ḫa]r-kán-{an} na-an <sup>r</sup>SAG<sup>1</sup>.[GÉME.İR.MEŠ] / (8') [ma-aḫ-ḫa-an EG]IR- pa **mu-ga<sup>1</sup>-i-iz-zi**

(3)

KUB 56.55 iv.: (3') DUB.5.KAM A-WA-AT <sup>r<sup>m</sup></sup>I-LI-MA-A-BI <sup>LÚ</sup>[SANGA DINGIR GE<sub>6</sub>] / (4') <sup>r</sup>Ú <sup>f</sup>Ar-za-k[i]-ti <sup>MUNUS</sup>kat-ra-aš ma-a-a[n DINGIR-LUM] / (5') ud-da-na-az ku-e-ez-qa kar-tim-mi-ia-[u-wa-an-za] / (6') na-aš-ma-aš-ši mar-ša-aš-tar-ri-iš-ma ku-iš-k[i] / (7') pé-ra-an i-en-za na-aš-ma-aš-ši-kán <sup>r</sup>U-NU-UT-m[a] / (8') ku-it-ki ḫar-kán-{an} na-an <sup>r</sup>SAG<sup>1</sup>.GÉME.İR.MEŠ / (9') ma-aḫ-ḫa-an EGIR- pa **mu-ga-a-iz-zi** <sup>r</sup>Ú-UL Q[A-TI] //

The eighth (KBo 12.116: third, KUB 56.55: fifth) tablet, (text) finished.<sup>403</sup> Word of *Ilīma-abī*, the priest of the Deity of the Night, and of Arzakiti<sup>404</sup>, the *katra*-woman: “When the deity is angered by some matter, either some sacrifice has been done before her, or some implement of her has been

<sup>400</sup> The verb *mugai*- has been translated in the present context as “evoke” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 321 and by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 177; as “anrufen” by Daradno 2006: 49; as “invoquer” by Laroche 1975: 157 and by Lebrun 1980: 433.

<sup>401</sup> The only difference between KUB 8.71 obv. 10'-15', KBo 12.116 rev. 2'-8' and KUB 56.55 iv 3'-9' is that KUB 8.71 is the eighth, KBo 12.116 the third and KUB 56.55 the fifth tablet of this composition.

<sup>402</sup> Collation of Klengel 1985: 169 n.2.

<sup>403</sup> The scribe of KUB 56.55 does not indicate whether the text is finished or not.

<sup>404</sup> The name of the woman in line 11 of KUB 8.71 is spelled Ar-ša-ki-ti. It is uncertain whether this spelling is a scribal error for Arzakiti (spelling found in KBo 12.116 and KUB 56.55), or Aršakiti and Arzakiti were two different women.

destroyed, how the servants of the deity **invoke**<sup>405</sup> her back. (KUB 56.55: not fi[nished])

5. KBo 14.70 + KUB 30.60 (CTH 276.11), shelf list of the DUBxKAM type, NS.

KBo 14.70 i: // (10') [DU]B.2.KAM QA-TI<sup>URU</sup> *Túr-mi-it-ta-<aš>* <sup>d</sup>*Gul-ša-aš mu-ga-u-aš* // (11') [DUB].<sup>r</sup>1'.KAM <sup>d</sup>*Te-li-pí-nu-aš mu-ga-u-aš* // ... // (14') [DUB.x.KAM Q]A-TI<sup>d</sup> *UTU-aš mu-ga-u-aš* // (15') [DUB.x.KAM QA-T]I *ma-a-an-kán ak-kán-za ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki* / (16') [*ar-ḫa tal-l*]i-ia-an-za *mu-ga-u-wa-aš* //

Two [tab]lets. (Text) complete, of **invocation**<sup>406</sup> of the *Gulšaš*-deity of Durmitta. One [tablet] of **invocation** of Telipinu. [x tablet] of **invocation** of the Sungoddess, (text) complete. [x tablet, (text) comple]te, of the **invocation** (entitled): “When a dead person is [lur]ed [away] from/for someone”.

6. CTH 277, “shelf lists” of the *TUP-PU* type.

I. KBo 31.5+ (CTH 277.6.A), NH/NS. The text is duplicated by KBo 31.26 (CTH 277.6.B).

(1)

KBo 31.5 + ii: // (6) <sup>r</sup>1' [TUP-PU INIM <sup>f</sup>*Pa-aš-ku-wa*]-at-ti ma-a-an <sup>d</sup>Ú-li-li-aš-ši-in *mu-ga-a-mi* // (7) 1 TUP-P[U INIM <sup>f</sup>*An-na-an-n*]a MUNUS<sup>URU</sup> *Ir-ḫa-a-aš-ša ma-a-an-kán* <sup>d</sup>LAMMA<sup>KUŠ</sup> *kur-ša-aš* / (8) *ku-e-d[a-ni-i]k-ki* [*a*]r-ḫa tal-li-ia-an-za na-an *mu-ga-a-mi* // (9) 1 TUP-P[U INI]M <sup>f</sup>*Ma-al-li-i* MUNUS<sup>ŠU.GI</sup> *ma-a-an* <sup>d</sup>U-an *mu-ga-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-mi* QA-TI // (10) [x TUP-PI] ma-a-an<sup>MUNUS</sup> <sup>ŠU.GI</sup> <sup>d</sup>*Wa-al-li-ia-ra-an mu-ga-a-iz-zi* QA-TI //

(2)

KBo 31.26 obv.: // (1) [x TUP-PU ma-a]-an <sup>d</sup>LAMMA *lu-li-im-<sup>r</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>-in mu-ga-[a-an-zi]* // ... // (3) [1 TUP-PU INIM <sup>f</sup>*Pa*]š-ku-wa-at-ti ma-a-an <sup>d</sup>Ú-[[i-]]i-aš-ši-in *mu-ga-a-m[i]* // (4) [1 TUP-PU INIM] <sup>f</sup>*An-na-a* MUNUS<sup>URU</sup> *Ir-ḫa-aš-ša m[a]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-an-kán* <sup>d</sup>LAMMA-aš<sup>KUŠ</sup> *kur-ša-aš* / (5) [*ku-e-da-ni*]-ik-ki *ar-ḫa tal-li-ia-an-za* [*na-a*]n *mu-ga-a-mi* // (6) [1 TUP-PU INI]M <sup>f</sup>*Ma-al-li-i* MUNUS<sup>ŠU.GI</sup> *ma-a-an* [<sup>d</sup>U-an *mu-ga-a-mi* QA-TI // (7) [x TUP-PU ma-a-a]n<sup>MUNUS</sup> <sup>ŠU.GI</sup> <sup>d</sup>*Wa-al-li-ia-ra-a*[n *mu-ga-a-iz-zi* QA-TI // ... // (10) [x TUP-PU ŠA<sup>d</sup>]U <sup>f</sup>*Ḫa-ra-ap-še-li mu-ga-a-u-[wa-aš]* QA-TI //

(B: [x tablet. Whe]n [we] **inv[oke]**<sup>407</sup> the Protective deity *lulimmi*. One [tablet]. [The word of Paškuw]atti: “When I **invoke** the goddess *Uliliašši*”.

<sup>405</sup> The same translation of the verb *mugai-* in the present context has been offered by Dardano 2006: 67, Klengel 1985: 170 (KUB 56.55), Miller 2004: 383, Taggar-Cohen 2006: 175, Lebrun 1980: 434. Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 178 translated *mugai-* in this context as “entreat”.

<sup>406</sup> The verbal noun *mugawar* has been translated in this text as “invocation” by Dardano 2006: 76, Hoffner 2003: 68, Laroche 1975: 155, Lebrun 1980: 432 and as “Klage” by Otten 1958: 9. Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 179 translates the noun *mugawar* in lines 10', 11', 14' as “invoking” and in line 16' as “evocation.”

<sup>407</sup> The verb *mugai-* has been translated in the present context as “to invoke” by Dardano 2006: 163, Laroche 1975: 170, Lebrun 1980: 434, Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 177, Tischler 1991: 59 and Bawanypeck 2005: 117. The authors of *CHD* vol. L-N: 231 translate the verb *mugai-* in KBo 31.5 ii 6 and 9 as “evoke” and as “invoke” in ii 8.

One tabl[et]. [The word of An]anna, the woman of Irḫašša: “When the protective deity of the hunting bag is lured away from/for someone, I **invoke** him/her”. One table[t]. [The wo]rd of Malli, the Old Woman: “When I **invoke** the Stormgod. (Text) complete. [x tablet]: “When the Old Woman **invokes** the deity Walliyara”. (text) complete. [B: x tablet of] the **invoking** the Stormgod of the woman Ḫarapšeli. (Text) complete.

II. KUB 30.51 + KUB 30.45 (CTH 277.4.A), a shelf-list. NH/NS. Lines i 10’-27’ of KUB 30.51+ are duplicated by lines 5’-25’ of KBo 31.27 + KBo 14.68 + (CTH 277.4.B).

(1)

KUB 30.51 + KUB 30.45 i: // (10’) 1 TUP-PU <sup>d</sup>Ak-ni-ia-aš **mu-ga-a-[u-aš]** QA-TI // (11’) 1 TUP-PU nu-uš-ša-an 3 **SÍSKUR.ḪI.A**<sup>1</sup> [a-ni-ia-a]n 1-EN / (12’) ma-a-an-kán UN-ši <sup>d</sup>Ḫé-pát <sup>d</sup>Šar-[ru-ma-aš <sup>d</sup>A]l-la-an-zu-uš-ša / (13’) ša-a-an-te-eš 1-EN SISKUR ma-a-an-ká[n KUR-e AN x x]- x-ra-a-an / (14’) 1-EN SISKUR ma-a-an **ták-na-aš** <sup>d</sup>UTU-i k[u-iš pé-ra-an] wa-aš-ta-a-i QA-TI // (15’) 1 TUP-PU INIM <sup>f</sup>MA-AL-LI-ID-DU-UN-N[A ma-a-a]n<sup>408</sup> ŠA <sup>d</sup>UTU / (16’) Û erasure ŠA DINGIR.MAḪ **mu-kiš-šar** [a-ni-ia-a]n<sup>409</sup>QA-TI // (17’) 1 TUP-PU INIM <sup>m</sup>A-AŠ-TA-BI-LUGAL ma-a-an UN-aš U[N-ši me-n]a-aḫ-ḫa-an-<da> / (18’) li-in-ga-an ḫar-zi nam-ma-kán ú-iz-zi [ku-e]n-zi nu-uš-ši ki-i SISKUR / (19’) ŠÀ-BA 1-EN <sup>d</sup>U-aš **mu-ga-a-u-aš** [Q]A-TI // (20’) 1 TUP-PU ma-a-an <sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI <sup>d</sup>U-an **m[u-ga-iz-zi]** // (21’) 1 IM.GÍD.DA ma-a-an <sup>d</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>ZI-IP-PA-L[A-AN-DA mu-ga-an-zi] / (22’) 1 TUP-PU INIM <sup>f</sup>AN-NA-AN-NA <sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI <sup>rURU</sup>[ZI-GA-AZ-ḪU-RA] / (23’) ma-a-an <sup>d</sup>LAMMA-an [mu-ga-a-an-zi] // (24’) 1 TUP-PU INIM <sup>f</sup>IR-mi-im-ma-kán <sup>MUNUS</sup>UR[<sup>U</sup>Kur-ku-re-eš-ša] / (25’) ma-a-an-kán TUKU<sup>1</sup>-an-za ku-e-da-ni x [...] / (26’) na-an **mu-ga-a-[mi QA-TI]** // (27’) [ x TUP-P]U INIM <sup>f</sup>TI-Ú-I-IA-NI [ma-a-an TUKU-an mu-ga-a-mi] //

One tablet of **invoc[ation]**<sup>410</sup> of the deity Akniya. (Text) complete. One tablet. Three **invocation rituals**<sup>411</sup> [are recorded]: one (ritual) when Ḫebat, Šar[ruma and A]llanzu are angry with a man; one ritual when [the land (and) heaven ...] xxx; one ritual when so[mebody] sins [against] the Sungoddess of the earth. (Text) complete. One tablet. Word of Mallidunn[a: “When] the **invocation**<sup>412</sup> of the Sungoddess and of the Mother goddess (is) [reco]rded. (Text) complete. One tablet. Word of Aštabišarri: “When a man had sworn an oath aga[inst another man] and proceeds to [kil]l (him), this ritual is for him. Included (lit. in it) one **invocation (ritual)**<sup>413</sup> of the Stormgod. (Text) complete. One tablet: “When the Old Woman **i[nvoke]s**

<sup>408</sup> CHD vol. L-N: 324 and Dardano 2006: 128 restore here [nu-uš-ša-a]n.

<sup>409</sup> The restoration of CHD vol. L-N: 324 and Dardano 2006: 128.

<sup>410</sup> The verb *mugai-*, the verbal noun *mugawar*, and the noun *mukeššar* were translated in this passage as “to invoke” and “invocation” by Dardano 2006: 127, 129, by Laroche 1975: 159 and by Lebrun 1980: 433.

<sup>411</sup> The noun *mukiššar*<sup>HLA</sup> in KBo 14.68 + i 8’ and the Sumerogram SISKUR.ḪI.A in KUB 30.51 i 11’ were translated as “rituals” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 181.

<sup>412</sup> The noun *mukiššar* was translated here as “prayer” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 180.

<sup>413</sup> The verbal noun *mugawar* was translated in this line as “invoking” in CHD vol. L-N: 321 and by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 179.

the Stormgod. One long tablet: “When [they invoke] the Stormgod of Zippal[anda]. One tablet. Word of Ananna, the Old Woman of [Zigazhura]: “When [they invoke] the protective deity. One tablet. Word of Irmimma, the woman of [Kurkurešša]: “When an angry (deity) to whom [ ...] I **invoke** him/her. [(Text) complete. x table]t. Word of Tiwiyani: [“When I invoke an angry (deity)].

(2)

KBo 14.68 + KUB 30.58 i: // (3') <sup>r</sup>1 TUP<sup>1</sup>-PU A-WA-AT <sup>f</sup>Al-la-i-tu-u-ra-ḫi [ ...] / (4') na-an ki-iš-ša-an **mu-ga-[a-mi ...]**<sup>414</sup> / (5') 1 TUP-PU <sup><d></sup>Ak-ni-ia-aš **mu-ga-a-u-aš** [QA-TI] // (6') 2 TUP-PU ŠA <sup>URU</sup>Ta-wi-ni-ia <sup>r</sup>Ū [ŠA <sup>URU</sup>Túr-mi-it-ta] / (7') <sup>d</sup>Te-li-pí-nu-wa-aš **mu-u-ga-u-[wa-aš ...]** // (8') 1 TUP-PU nu-uš-ša-an 3 **mu-k[e-eš-šar]**<sup>HLA</sup> a-ni-ia-an 1 SISKUR / (9') ma-a-an <sup>d</sup>Hé-pát <sup><d></sup>LUGAL-ma-aš <sup>d</sup>A[l-la-an-zu-uš-ša ša-a-an-te-eš] / (10') 1 SISKUR ma-a-an-kán KUR-e AN [x x x x x 1 SISKUR ma-a-an ták-na-aš <sup>d</sup>UTU-i] / (11') ku-iš pé-ra-an wa-aš-ta-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[i QA-TI] // (12') 1 TUP-PU INIM <sup>f</sup>MA-AL-LI-[ID-DU-UN-NA ma-a-an] / (13') ŠA <sup>d</sup>UTU Û ŠA DINGIR.M[Aḫ mu-kiš-šar a-ni-ia-an QA-TI] // (14') 1 TUP-PU INIM <sup>m</sup>Aš-ta-bi-LUGAL x [ ...] / (15') 1 SISKUR ma-a-an UN-aš UN-ši [me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da li-in-ga-an ḫar-zi] / (16') nam-ma-kán ú-iz-zi <sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-[en-zi nu a-pa]-<sup>r</sup>a-at<sup>1</sup> e-eš-ḫar / (17') a-pé-e-da-ni UN-ši na-a[k-ke-eš-z]i nu-uš-ši ki-i SISKUR [ ...] / (18') 1 SISKUR ma-a-an <sup>d</sup>U-an **mu-ga-an-zi** // (19') 1 TUP-PU ŠUM-MI <sup>M</sup>[<sup>UNUS</sup>ŠU.GI N]U.GÁL ma-a-an <sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI <sup>d</sup>U-an **mu-ga-iz-zi** // (20') 1 IM.GÍD.DA [ma-a-an] <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>ZI-IP-PA-LA-AN-DA **mu-ga-an-zi** / (21') <sup>r</sup>1 TUP<sup>1</sup>-P[U INIM <sup>f</sup>AN-NA-A]N-NA <sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI <sup>URU</sup>ZI-GA-AZ-ḪU-RA / (22') [ma-a-an <sup>d</sup>LAMMA-an **mu-ga-]a-an-zi** // (23') [1 TUP-PU INIM <sup>f</sup>IR-mi-im-ma-ká]n <sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI <sup>URU</sup>Kur-ku-re-eš-ša ma-a-an-kán TUKU-an-za / (24') [ku-e-da-ni ...] x na-an **mu-ga-a-mi** QA-TI // (25') [x TUP-PU INIM <sup>f</sup>TI-Ū-I-IA-NI] ma-a-an TUKU-an **mu-ga-a-mi** QA-TI //

One tablet. Word of Allaituraḫi [ ...] and I **invoke**<sup>415</sup> him/her as follows [ ...]. One tablet of **invocation** of the deity Akniya. [(Text) complete]. Two tablets of **invocat[ion]** of Telipinu of the cities Tawiniya and [Turmitta]. One tablet. Three **invoc[ation] rituals**<sup>416</sup> are recorded: one ritual] when Ḫebat, Šarruma and A[llanzu are angry]; one ritual when the land (and) heaven(?) [ ... ; one ritual when] somebody sins against [the Sungoddess of the earth. (Text) complete]. One tablet. Word of Malli[dunna: “When the invocation] of the Sungoddess and the Mother goddess [is] done. (Text) complete.] One tablet. Word of Aštabišarri [ ...]: one ritual when a man [had sworn an oath against] another man and proceeds to ki[ll (him) and tha]t blood weighs on that man. This ritual is for him [ ...]. One ritual when they **invoke**<sup>417</sup> the Stormgod. One tablet. The name of the [Old] W[oman is un]known: “When

<sup>414</sup> Manuscript A (line i 9') reads here a-ni-i[a-mi] “I treat”.

<sup>415</sup> The verb *mugai-*, the verbal noun *mugawar*, and the noun *mukeššar* were translated in this passage as “to invoke” and “invocation” by Dardano 2006: 127, 129, Laroche 1975: 159 and in *CHD* vol. L-N: 322. Kammenhuber *HW*<sup>2</sup> renders the verb *mugai-* in line i 4' of KBo 14.68 + as “behandlen (mit einem Ritual).” Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 177, 179 translates *mugāmi* in line i 4 of KBo 14.68 as “I treat by prayer” and the verbal noun *mugawar* in line 5' of KBo 14.68 as “invocation”.

<sup>416</sup> The noun *mukeššar* has been translated here by Dardano 2006: 151 as “Anrufungen”.

<sup>417</sup> The verb *mugai-* has been rendered here as “invoke” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 231 and by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 178.

the Old Woman **invokes**<sup>418</sup> the Stormgod. One long tablet: “[When] they **invoke** the Stormgod of Zippalanda. One tablet. [Word of Anan]na, the Old Woman of Zigazhura: “[When **they invo**]ke [the protective deity. One tablet. Word of Irmimma], the woman of Kurkurešša: “When a (deity) is angry [with somebody ...] I **invoke** him. (Text) complete. [x tablet. Word of Tiwiyani]: “when I **invoke** and angry (deity)”. (Text) complete.

7. VBoT 58 (CTH 323.1.A), myth about the disappearance of a Sun deity, OH/NS.

VBoT 58 iv: (8') 'DINGIR'.MEŠ-aš ud-da-a-ar Ú-UL ku-it-ki ħar-ni-in-ku-un ma-a-an-ša-an / (9') <sup>rd1</sup>Te-li-pí-nu-ša ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki na-ak-ke-eš-zi ú-ga DINGIR.MEŠ-aš ud-[da-a-ar] / (10') [me]-ma-aḫ-ḫi ta-an **mu-ga-mi** <sup>d</sup>UTU-ša te-ez-zi DINGIR.MEŠ-aš ud-da-a-ar pa-a-i[d-du] / (11') [tar]-na-az-mi-ša ma-wa-a UM-MA <sup>d</sup>MAḪ nu ma-a-an <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš a-aš-šu ku-e-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-[ni] / (12') [pa-i]t-ti <sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-ga 9-an pa-a-ú ku-iš <sup>LÚ</sup>MÁŠDA nu-ut-ta 1 UDU pa-a-ú // (13') [<sup>d</sup>UTU]-u-wa-aš <sup>d</sup>Te-li-pí-nu-wa-aš-ša **mu-ga-a-u-wa-aš QA-TI** //

(the first two lines are part of the conjuration? ritual of the *annanna*-woman) “I lost none of the god’s words. When Telipinu has become troublesome to somebody, I [sp]eak the god’s w[ords] and I **invoke**<sup>419</sup> him”. And the Sungod says: “Let the god’s words g[o]! Where is my allocation?” Ḫannaḫanna (says) as follows: “If you, o Sungod, [d]o a favour [to] someone, may he give you nine (sacrificial animals). And may the man, who is poor, give you 1 sheep.” It is the (text) of the **invocation**<sup>420</sup> of the [Sungod] and Telipinu; it is finished.

8. KUB 33.21+ (CTH 326.A), myth about the disappearance of the Stormgod, the personal god of the queen Ašmunikkal, MH/NS.

KUB 33.21 + iii: (17') ga-la-ak-tar ki-it-ta nu-uš-ši [ ... ] / (18') ga-la-an-ga-za e-eš pá-r-ḫu-e-n[a-aš ki-it-ta] / (19') na-aš-ši-pa an-da **mu-ga-a-an-za** e-e[š-du ... ] / (20') <sup>M[UNUS]</sup>Aš-m]u-ni-kal-la-ia DUMU.MEŠ DUMU.M[UNUS ... ] / [ x x x x t]u<sup>7</sup>-uš ta-lu-ga-u[š ... ] //

*galaktar* is placed (for you), so be soothed for her! *parḫuen*[aš is placed (for you)], so let him (i.e. the god) b[e] **invoked**<sup>421</sup> for her! [*Let the god give to the king*] and to Ašmunikkal, to their sons, daughter[s ... ] and long [year]s.

<sup>418</sup> The same translation of the verb *mugai-* in this line was offered by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 177.  
<sup>419</sup> The verb *mugai-* was translated in the present context as: “invoke” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 320, by Haas 2006: 119; Hoffner 1998: 28 and Rieken et al. (ed.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 323.1. Gurney 1940: 50 rendered this verb here as “entreat”. This translation was recently followed by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 177. Kellerman 1987: 113 translate *mugai-* here as “je le pousse à agir favorablement” and Mazoyer 2003: 181 as “évoquer”.

<sup>420</sup> The noun *mugawar* has been rendered in the present context as: “*mugawar*-Anrufungsgebete” by Haas 2006: 120; “invocation” by Hoffner 1998: 28, Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 179, Rieken et al. (ed.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 323.1 and as “l’évocation” by Mazoyer 2003: 181.

<sup>421</sup> The same translation of the participle *muganza* has been offered in *CHD* L-N: 320, by Hoffner 1998: 25, by Pecchioli-Daddi, by Polvani 1990: 105, by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 178, by Rieken et al. (ed.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 326 and by Otten 1942: 59. Lebrun 1980: 436 translated this participle as “ébranler.”

9. CTH 330, various manuscripts of a ritual performed for the Stormgod of Kuliwišna.<sup>422</sup>

I. KBo 15.32+ (CTH 330.1.C/CTH 329 or 330.1.A), OH/MS.

(1)

KBo 15.32 i: (1) [ma]-a-an-za<sup>LÚ</sup>EN É-TIM<sup>dIM</sup> URU Ku-li-ú-iš-na [MU-ti] / (2) me-i-ia-ni i-ia-az-zi nu ku-it ku-it me-ḫur<sup>LÚ</sup>E[N É-TIM] / (3) tar-ra-at-ta ma-a-an ḫa-me-eš-ḫi ma-a-an BURU<sub>14</sub>-i ma-a-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup> / (4) gi-im-mi na-aš-ta<sup>LÚ</sup>EN É-TIM pí-ra-an pa-ra-a / (5) A-NA<sup>dIM</sup> URU KU-LI-Ú-IŠ-NA<sup>423</sup> mu-ga-a-u-an-zi pa-r[a-a pa-iz-zi] // (6) [nu A-N]A<sup>424</sup> dIM<sup>URU</sup> KU-LI-Ú-IŠ-NA <sup>r</sup>mu-ki-iš-ni<sup>1</sup> k[i-i da-an-zi]<sup>425</sup> /

[W]hen the ‘lord of the house’ celebrates the Stormgod of Kuliwišna during the course of [the year] – whenever the ‘lo[rd of the house]’ can<sup>426</sup>, either in Spring or in Fall<sup>427</sup> or in Winter- then the lord of the house [proceed]s to **invoke**<sup>428</sup> before the Stormgod of Kuliwišna. For the **invocation (ritual)**<sup>429</sup> [for] the Stormgod of Kuliwišna [they giv]e th[ese]: (a list of offerings follows)

(2)

KBo 15.32 iv: (5’) DUB.1.KAM ŠA<sup>dIM</sup> URU KU-LI-Ú-<sup>r</sup>IŠ<sup>1</sup>-NA / (6’) mu-ki-iš-na-aš Ú-UL QA-TI

One tablet of **invocation (ritual)**<sup>430</sup> of the Stormgod of Kuliwišna. (Text) not finished.

II. KBo 15.34+ (CTH 330.I.O), NH/NS.<sup>431</sup>

KBo 15.34 ii: (13’) na-aš-ta DINGIR.LÚ.MEŠ-aš MÁŠ.GAL pí-ia-an-na ku-e-da-ni UD-ti kar-[pa-an-zi]<sup>432</sup> / (14’) nu ma-a-an<sup>LÚ</sup>EN.É-TIM Ú-UL tar-ra-an-za nu lu-uk-kat-ta / (15’) mu-ki-iš-na-aš<sup>433</sup> EZEN<sub>4</sub> A-NA<sup>d</sup>[I]M<sup>URU</sup> KU-LI-Ú-IŠ-NA<sup>LÚ</sup> mu-ki-[iš-na-aš-(pát)]<sup>434</sup> / (16’) iš-ḫa-a-aš i-e-ez-zi / (17’) ma-a-an A-NA<sup>LÚ</sup>BE-EL É-TIM-ma ZAG-an nu a-pí-e-da-ni UD-ti / (18’) URU KU-LI-Ú-IŠ-NA an-da u-un-na-a-i nu-za-kán wa-ar-ap-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>

<sup>422</sup> The order of manuscripts differs between the Konkordanz and Glocker 1997: 16, who edited these texts. When the number assigned to a given manuscript is different in Konkordanz and in Glocker, the number listed first is that of Konkordanz. Most of the manuscripts are fragmentary, except KBo 15.32, KBo 15.34 and KUB 12.19.

<sup>423</sup> KBo 38.224: 3’ (CTH 330.1.B) has here URU Ku-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[

<sup>424</sup> The restoration is based on line 4’ of KBo 38.224 (CTH 330.1.B).

<sup>425</sup> The restoration of Glocker 1997: 18.

<sup>426</sup> lit. “at whatever time the l[ord of the house] can”.

<sup>427</sup> lit. “harvest time”.

<sup>428</sup> The infinitive *mugauanzi* has been rendered here as “beten” by Glocker 1997: 19.

<sup>429</sup> The dative-locative *mukišni* has been translated here as: “Anrufungsritual” by Glocker 1997: 19 and as “invocation” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 181.

<sup>430</sup> The noun *mukeššar* has been rendered in the present context as: “Anrufungsritual” by Glocker 1997: 27 and as “invocation” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 181.

<sup>431</sup> The text is duplicated by KUB 12.19 + (CTH 330.I.P<sub>1</sub>/CTH 329 or 330.I.P).

<sup>432</sup> The restoration of Glocker 1997: 48.

<sup>433</sup> Manuscript P ii 11’ reads here *mukišnaš* EZEN<sub>4</sub>.

<sup>434</sup> Manuscript P ii 12’ has here<sup>LÚ</sup> *mukišnaš=pát*.

/ (19') *ma-a-an-ši Ú-UL-ma ZAG-an na-aš še-eš-zi ku-wa-pí* / (20') *nu-za-kán a-pí-ia-pát wa-ar-ap-zi lu-uk-kat-ta-ma an-da* / (21') <sup>rURU</sup>*KU-LI-Ú-IŠ-NA u-un-<sup>r</sup>na-a<sup>1</sup>-i* // (22') *na-aš-ta ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* <sup>d</sup>*UTU-uš* <sup>r</sup>*ú-iž<sup>1</sup>-zi* <sup>LÚ</sup>*EN.É-TIM-ma* / (23') *A-NA* <sup>d</sup>*IM* <sup>URU</sup>*KU-LI-Ú-IŠ-NA m[u-k]i-iš-na-aš* *SÍSKUR ki-iš-ša-an pa-a-i* /

Then, if, on the day on which [they] fin[ish] giving the billy-goat to the male gods, the 'lord of the house' is not able, then on the next morning the 'lord of the **invocation (ritual)**', celebrates the festival of **invocation**<sup>435</sup> for the [Sto]rmgod of Kuliwišna. If (things are) favourable for the 'lord of the house', then on that day he drives to Kuliwišna and washes himself. But if (things are) not favourable for him, he sleeps somewhere else and washes himself there. On the next morning he drives to Kuliwišna. Then as soon as the sun rises, the 'lord of the house' gives to the Stormgod of Kuliwišna, the offering of the **i[nvo]cation (ritual)**<sup>436</sup> as follows (the sacrifices and offerings performed by the 'lord of the house' and other festival officiants are listed in columns ii and iii).

### III. KBo 34.35 (CTH 330.I.R), NH/NS.

KBo 34.35 iv: // (7') DUB.1.KAM ŠA <sup>d</sup>*U* <sup>URU</sup>*KU-L[I-Ú-IŠ-NA]* / (8') *mu-ki-iš-na-aš* [*Ú-UL QA-TI*]<sup>437</sup>

One tablet of the **invocation (ritual)**<sup>438</sup> of the Stormgod of Kul[iwišna]. [(Text) not finished].

### 10. KUB 33.68 (CTH 332.3.A), ritual of invocation of the Stormgod, OH/MS.

KUB 33.68 ii: // (1) *nu ša-an-ku-uš a-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-il ma-aḫ-ḫa-an pá-r-ki-ia-at* / (2) *tu-el-la ŠA* <sup>d</sup>*U* *ZI-KA a-li-il pá-r-ak-ta-ru* / (3) *nu-ut-ta ki-i mu-ga-a-u-wa-aš ud-da-a-ar mu-um-mu-wa-a-a[n]*<sup>439</sup> / (4) *e-eš-tu nu* *GEŠTU-an la-ga-a-an ḫar-ak nu-ut-ta ku-it* *LUGA[L MUNUS.LUGAL]* / (5) *me-mi-iš-kán-zi nu-uš iš-ta-ma-aš-ki* //

Just as the *šanku*-flower grew, so may your, the Stormgod's, soul grow (like) a flower. May these words of **invocation**<sup>440</sup> be falli[ng](?)<sup>441</sup> upon

<sup>435</sup> The phrase <sup>LÚ</sup>*mukišnaš* has been translated in the present context as: "the person who has commissioned the invocation ritual (lit. owner/lord of invocation" in *CHD* vol. L-N: 325.4'; "Ritualherr" by Gloker 1997: 49 and as "invocant" by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 181; the phrase *mukišnaš* *EZEN*<sub>4</sub> has been previously rendered here as: "the festival of invocation" in *CHD* vol. L-N: 325.4'; "das Fest des Anrufungsrituals" by Gloker 1997: 49 and as "feast of invocation" by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 181.

<sup>436</sup> The phrase *mukišnaš* *SISKUR* has been translated in the present context as: "an offering of invocation" in *CHD* vol. L-N: 325 sub b and by Gloker 1997: 49 and as "a rite of invocation" by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 181.

<sup>437</sup> The restoration of Gloker 1997: 86, probably based on the colophon of manuscript A.

<sup>438</sup> Gloker 1997: 87 translates the noun *mukeššar* in the present context as "Anrufungsritual".

<sup>439</sup> Reading of Rieken et al. (ed.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 332.3 confirmed by the photograph. Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 179 reads here *iš*.

<sup>440</sup> The noun *mugawar* has been rendered here as "evocation" in *CHD* vol. L-N: 321 and by de Roos 1995: 2000; as "supplication" by Lebrun 1980: 435; as "invocation" by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 179 and as "Anspornung" by Rieken et al. (ed.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 332.3.

<sup>441</sup> For this translation of *mummuwai*- see *CHD* vol. L-N: 329.

you! Turn you ear and listen to what the kin[g (and) the queen] are saying to you!

11. KUB 33.75 (CTH 334.7.A), myth about the disappearance of the goddess Hannahanna (DINGIR.MAḪ), NH/NS.

KUB 33.75 ii<sup>442</sup>: // (8') *ka-a-ša-at-[ta] ʿmu-ki<sup>1</sup>-iš-ni pá-r-ʿḫu-u-i<sup>1</sup>-[na-aš] / (9') ki-it-ta-r[i] DINGIR.MAḪ-aš-š)a ʿtal<sup>1</sup>-[li-i-e-ed-du] / (10') nu-uš-ša-an [ ... DUM]U.ʿMEŠ<sup>1</sup> LU[GAL] / (11') KUR <sup>URU</sup>ḪA-AT-TI-[ia QA-TAM-M]A? tal-li-i[a-... ] //*

Behold, here lie[s for you] *parḫue[na]* for the **invocation (ritual)**<sup>443</sup> [May Hannahanna] be lu[red! May] she be lur[ed likewis]e [by the princ]es, the king, [and] the land of Ḫatti!

12. KBo 7.28 + KBo 8.92 (CTH 371), prayer to the Sungoddess of the Netherworld, OH/NS.

KBo 7.28 + KBo 8.92 obv. (1') [n]a-aš-t[a(?) ...] / (2') nu ki-ʿi<sup>1</sup> [ ... ták-na]-ʿa<sup>1</sup>-aš <sup>d</sup>UTU-i ʿDINGIR.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-aš-ta ʿši-pa<sup>1</sup>-an-ʿti<sup>1</sup> [ ... ] // (3') du<sup>2</sup>-wa<sup>2</sup>-a[d<sup>2</sup>-du(?) ták-na-a-aš] <sup>d</sup>UTU-ʿi<sup>1</sup> ka-ʿa<sup>1</sup>-ša ʿSAG<sup>1</sup>.DU-za LUGAL-uš **mu-ʿki<sup>1</sup>-iš-ki-iz-z[i] ...** / (4') nu-za x [ták-na-a-aš <sup>d</sup>UT]U-i(?) še-er-ši-it da-ra-a-i DINGIR-LAM GUB-za i-e-et x [ ... ] / (5') ni-e-x [ ... ] x IŠ-BAT ták-na-a-aš ḫa-li-iḫ-li-iš-ta-ri // (6') ták-ʿku<sup>1</sup>-[an at-ta-aš]-š-i-iš ku-uš-du-wa-ʿa<sup>1</sup>-it zi-ga-ʿan le<sup>1</sup>-[e] iš-ta-ma-aš-ši tá[k-ku-an] / (7') an-n[a-aš-ši-iš ku-uš-d]u-wa-a-it zi-ga-an le-e iš-ta-ʿma-aš<sup>1</sup>-[š]i ták-ku-wa-an [ŠEŠ-ŠU] / (8') ku-ʿuš<sup>1</sup>-du-ʿwa-a-it zi<sup>1</sup>-ga-an le-e iš-ta-ma-aš-ši ták-ku-an NIN-ZU ku-uš-d[u-wa-a-it] / (9') zi-ga-an le-e iš-ta-ma-aš-ši ták-ku-an <sup>LU</sup>ga-i-ʿna<sup>1</sup>-aš-ši-iš <sup>LU</sup>a-ra-aš-ši-i[š] / (10') ku-uš-du-wa-a-it zi-ga-an le-e iš-ta-ma-aš-ši // (11') a-aš-šu-u IGI.ḪI.A-KA la-a-ak LI-IM ʿla<sup>1</sup>-ap-li-ip-pu-uš kar-ap na-[aš-ta] / (12') [L]UGAL-un an-da a-aš-šu ša-ku-wa-ia ʿGEŠTU.ḪI.A-KA<sup>1</sup> la-a-ak nu a-aš-šu ut-ta[r] / (13') [i]š-ʿta<sup>1</sup>-ma-aš nu-uš-ša-an A-NA ʿİR.ʿḪI.A-KA<sup>1</sup> pa-ra-a ʿna-an<sup>1?2</sup>-ni<sup>444</sup> na-an-kán i-[da-a-la-wa-az(?)] / (14') [da]-ʿa<sup>1</sup> [n]a-an a-aš-ša-ú-i pé-e-di ti-it-ʿta<sup>1</sup>-nu-ut nu ut-ni-ia-an-ti mi-i[a-tar e-eš-du] / (15') nu ma-a-ʿú<sup>1</sup> ši-iš-du nu A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA.ḪI.A GEŠTIN iš-pa-an-du-uz-z[i] / (16') ar-ši-ʿia<sup>1</sup>-at-ta-ru //

[Th]e[n ...] he/she libates this [ ...] to the Sungoddess of the [ear]th and to the gods [...]. Mer[cy], O Sungoddess [of the earth], the king herewith **invokes**<sup>445</sup> you personally. He appeals to the *S[ungoddess of the earth]* on his behalf. He treated you as a goddess. He caught [...]. He kneels down to

<sup>442</sup> All the restorations follow Rieken et al. (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 334.7.

<sup>443</sup> The noun *mukeššar* has been translated in this context as “to invoke” in *CHD* vol. P: 150 and as “Ansporn” by Rieken et al. (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 334.7.

<sup>444</sup> The present context requires the verb “to turn,” but the traces preserved seem to be more consistent with Friedrich’s reading *na-an-ni* “drive” (1957: 218), that is to say, if one accepts the slight emendation of the second sign to *-an*.

<sup>445</sup> The verb *mugai-* has been previously translated in the present context as: “(le roi) t’adresse une invocation” by Christmann-Franck 1989: 41; “entreat” by Güterbock 1958: 128; “traite magiquement” and “multiplie les supplications” by Lebrun 1980: 86, 431; “invokes” by Singer 2002a: 22 and by Únal 1991: 793.

the earth. If his [father] defamed [him], do no[t] listen to him! If [his] mo[ther defa]med [him], do not listen to her! If [his brother] defamed him, do not listen to him! If his sister defam[ed] him, do not listen to her! If his in-law or h[is] companion defamed him, do not listen to him! Turn (here) your benevolent eyes! Lift (your) thousand eyelashes! Look kindly at the king! Turn (your) ears and hear a good wor[d]! Turn towards your servant, [fre]e him [from evil] (Lit. Take him from evil)! Establish him in a good place! [May there be] gro[wth] in the land! May it thrive and prosper! For the gods may the loaves of thick bread and wine libation multiply!

13. KUB 31.127+ (CTH 372.A), hymn and a prayer of a mortal to appease an angry deity, NS.

KUB 31.127 i: (1) <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>UTU-e iš-*ḫa-mi ḫa-an-da-an-za ḫa-an-ni-eš-na-aš* / (2) *iš-ḫa-aš ne-pí-ša-aš da-a-ga-zi-pa-aš-ša* LUGAL-u-e erasure / (3) KUR-e zi-ik du-ud-du-uš-ki-ši tar-*ḫu-u-i-la-tar* / (4) zi-ik-pát pé-eš-ki-ši zi-ik-pát *ḫa-an-da-an-za* / (5) [DI]NGIR-<sup>r</sup>uš<sup>446</sup> ge-en-zu-ú da-aš-ki-ši zi-ik-pát / (6) *mu-ga-a-u-wa-ar* zi-ik-pát e-eš-<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-at-ti

O Sungod, my lord, just lord of judgment, king of heaven and earth! You are constantly controlling the lands (B: and you [set] the boundaries). You alone are constantly giving strength (B: you are giving life in [the land]). You alone are just! You alone, O god, exercise mercy! You alone act upon the **invocations**<sup>447</sup> (B: you alone are listening to invocations)

14. KUB 23.115+ (CTH 375.C), prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal, MH/NS.

KUB 23.115 iii: (11') [*ki-n*]u-un-pát ú-e-eš <sup>m</sup>Ar-nu-wa-an-ta LUGAL.GA[L] / (12') [*Ú*] <sup>r</sup>Aš-mu-ni-kal MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL šu-ma-a-aš DINGIR.ME[Š] / (13') [EGI]R-an ar-wa-aš-ta-at nu-kán šu-ma-a-<sup>r</sup>aš<sup>1</sup> [DINGIR.MEŠ(?)] / (14') [*mu-k*]i-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-ga-u-e-erasure-ni //

And even [no]w, we, Arnuwanda, the gre[at] king, [and] Ašmunikkal, the great queen, have [tak]en care of you, o god[s], and we **keep [inv]oking**<sup>448</sup> you, [o gods].

15. KUB 24.3+ (CTH 376.II.A), a prayer and hymn of Muršili II to the Sungoddess of Arinna. The beginning of the text and one of the colophons are included in KUB 36.80 (CTH 376.II.B). 1229/u (+) Bo 4328 + AnAr 11621c (CTH 376.II.C) duplicate lines iii 11'-27' of KUB 24.3+.

<sup>446</sup> The reading of Schwemer (awaits publication).

<sup>447</sup> The verbal noun *mugawar* was translated in the present context as “invocations” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 322, Singer 2002a: 36 and Schwemer (unpublished); as “prayers” by Güterbock 1980: 43 and by Ünal 1991: 796; as “Bitten” by Haas 2006: 246 and as “supplication” by Lebrun 1980: 101, 431.

<sup>448</sup> The verb *mugai-* was rendered in the present context as “nous adressons sans cesse une supplique” and “nous ne cessons de vous supplier” by Lebrun 1980: 146 and 431; “we kept invoking you” by Singer 2002a: 43; “flechen wir standing” by von Schuler 1965: 161.

(1)

KUB 36.80 i: (1) [<sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN]-NA *u-ia-it-mu* <sup>rm</sup>Mur<sup>1</sup>-ši-l[*i-iš* LUGAL-*uš*] / (2) [*tu-e-el* ÌR-K]A *i-it-wa am-me-el* A-NA B[E-EL-TI-IA] / (3) [A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-NA *me-mi nu-wa* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-NA] / (4) [DINGIR-LAM ŠA S]AG.DU-IA **mu-ga-a-mi** *nu-za-k[án ma-a-an]* / (5) [*na-ak-k*]i-iš <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A-RI-IN-NA *ne-pí-š*[i DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš*] / (6) [*iš-tar-na*] *še-er ma-a-an-za a-ru-ni ma-a-an-za* A-N[A HUR.SAG.MEŠ] / (7) [*ku-e-da(?)*-a]š<sup>2</sup>-*qa wa-aḥ-ḥa-an-na pa-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-an-z*[a] / (8) [*na-aš-ma*]-<sup>r</sup>at-ta MÈ<sup>2</sup>-*ia<sup>2</sup>* pa<sup>2</sup>-a<sup>2</sup>-an-za Ì-aš-š[*a<sup>2</sup>-at-ta ša-ne-ez-zi-iš(?)*] / (9) [*wa-ar-šu*]-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-[*aš kal-li-iš*]-*du nu-ut-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>* [*ka-a-ša(?)*] / (10) [**mu-ki-iš-ki-mi(?)** <sup>Giš</sup>ERIN-*aš(?)*] Ì-aš-ša *ša*-[*ne-ez-zi-it(?)*] / (11) [*wa-ar-šu-li-it(?)*] *na-aš-ta* EGIR-<sup>r</sup>pa<sup>1</sup> <sup>E<sub>k</sub></sup>[*a-ri-im-ni-it-ti an-da*] / (the texts is resumed by manuscript A). KUB 24.3 i: (3') [*an-da e-ḥu nu-ut-ta ka-a-ša mu-ki-iš-ki-m*]i NINDA *ḥar-ši-it* (4') [<sup>DUG</sup>*iš-pa-an-du-uz-zi-it nu-uš-ša-an pa-ra-a ka-l*]a-an-ga-an-za *e-eš* / (5') [*nu-ut-ta ku-it me-mi-iš-ki-mi na-at iš*]-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-*ma-aš-ki*

Manuscript B: [O Sungoddess of Arinna]a! Murši[li, the king, your servant] sent me (saying): “Go to my [ady, the Sungoddess of] Arinna (and) say”: “**I invoke**<sup>449</sup> the Sungoddess of [Arinna], my personal [goddess] (saying): [Whether] you, [O honoure]d Sungoddess of Arinna, are above in heav[en among the gods], or you are in the sea, or you are gon[e] to [som]e [mountains] to roam, [or] you are gone for battle, let [the fragrant odo]ur of the oil [summon you. **I hereby invoke**] you [with] *the fra[grnat odour of the cedar]* and of the oil. [Come b]ack [to your] te[mple]! Manuscript A: [I hereby **invo**]ke [you] with thick bread [and libation]. Be [completely satis]fied [and keep lis]tening [to what I am saying to you]!

(2)

KUB 24.3 + i: / (16') [*e-eš-zi* EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A-*it-ta* EZEN<sub>4</sub>.IT]U.ḪI.A < EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A> MU-*ti mi-i-ia-na-aš* / (17') [*gi-im-ma-an-ta-aš zé-na-an-d*]a-aš *ḥa-<sup>r</sup>me-eš-ḥa-an<sup>1</sup>-da-aš* / (18') [*a-ú*]-<sup>r</sup>li-uš<sup>r</sup> **m[u-ki-iš-na-aš-ša** EZ]EN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A I-NA [KUR <sup>URU</sup>KÜ.BABBAR-TI-*pát*] / (19') *e-eš-ša-an-zi nam-ma-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-[at-ta] ta-me-e-da-ni* <sup>r</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>-*e* / (20') Ú-UL *ku-wa-pí-ik-ki e-eš-š*[a-a]n-zi

Only in the [land] of Ḫatti there are [festivals for you (such as) the monthl]y [festival], the annual festivals of [winter, autu]mn, spring, the *auli*š-sacrifices, [and the fest]ivals [of] **in[vocation]**, but in no other land they exist [for you].

(3)

KUB 24.3+ iii: (12') *nu-za* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>A-RI-I[N]-<sup>r</sup>NA-*ia<sup>1</sup>* *zi-ki-la* (13') **mu-ke-eš-ki-iḥ-ḥu-u[t]** ] The lines are duplicated by lines 2'-3' of manuscript C)

449

The verb *mugai-*, the nouns *mukeššar* and *mugawar* were translated in this text as “ébranler/supplier, émouvoir” and “(les fêtes) de la mise en branle/supplications” by Lebrun 1980: 166, 167, 171, 431; as “invoke” and “(festivals of the) sacrificial rituals” by Singer 2002a: 50, 51, 53, 54. Ünal 1991: 803, 804, 807-808 translates the verb *mugai-* in KUB 36.80 i 4, 10 and in KUB 24.3 i 3' as “anflehen”, in KUB 24.3 iii 12 as “gebeten” and in KUB 24.3 iv 1', 4', 6' as “beten”. He renders the noun *mukeššar* in 24.3 i 18' as “(Feste zur Einweihung) von Opfertieren and the *mugawar* in KUB 24.3 iv 7' as “Gebet.”

And you yourself, O Sungoddess of Arin[n]a, [let] yourself **be invoked!**<sup>450</sup>

(4)

KUB 24.3+ iv: (1')  $\text{r}^{\text{A}^1}\text{-[NA(?)] UTU}^{\text{URU}}\text{A-RI-IN-}\text{r}^{\text{NA}}\text{ mu-ga-u-wa-an-zi}^{\text{r}^1}$  / (2') x [ x x x x *am-mu-u*]k(?) *tup-pí-ia-aš* A-WA-TE<sup>MES</sup> / (3')  $\text{a-}\text{r}^{\text{pí-ia a-ni-ia}^1}\text{-nu-un nu}^{\text{d}}\text{UTU}^{\text{URU}}\text{A-RI-IN-NA}$  / (4')  $\text{KÙ.BABBAR-ši I-NA}$  UD.7.KAM *mu-ke-eš-ki-nu-un* (5')  $\text{I-NA}^{\text{URU}}\text{A-RI-IN-NA-ia I-NA}$  UD.7.KAM (6') *mu-ke-eš-ki-nu-un na-aš-ta ki-i A-WA-TE*<sup>MES</sup> (7') *an-da me-mi-iš-ki-nu-un mu-u-ga-u-wa-aš-ma* (8') *ar-ḫa-ia-an ḫa-an-ti tup-pí*

[...] to **invoke**<sup>451</sup> the [Sungoddess of Arin]na. [...] Then I recorded the words of the tablet. **I have invoked**<sup>452</sup> the Sungoddess of Arinna in Ḫattuša for 7 days. I have **invoked** (her) for seven days in Arinna, and I spoke these words. There is in addition a separate tablet **of the invocation (ritual)**.

(5)

KUB 36.80 iv: (3') [DUB.1 QA-TI(?)] *ma-a-an ŠÀ* KUR<sup>URU</sup> *ḪAT-TI* [ø] / (4') [*an-da*(?) *ak-k*]i-iš-ki-it-ta-ri(?) / (5') [*ar-ḫa-ia-an*(?)]  $\text{r}^{\text{a}^1}\text{-ap-pa}$  {x} *ḫa-an-ti-i* / (6') [*tup-pí m*]a-a-an  $\text{dUTU}^{\text{URU}}\text{A-RI-IN-N[A]}$  / (7') [ $\text{KÙ.BABBAR-ši}$ (?) *m*]u-ga-a-an-zi *nu-uš-ša-ran*<sup>1</sup> [*ke-e*] / (8') [*ud-da-a-ar*] *an-da me-mi-iš-kán-zi*

Colophon B: [One tablet. (text) complete]. When [there has bee]n dying in the land of Ḫatti. [*In addition*] there is again a separate [tablet. Wh]en they [**in**]voke the Sun-goddess of Arinna [*in Ḫattuša*], they speak to her [these words].

16. KUB 36.81 (CTH 376.III),<sup>453</sup> fragment of a hymn and prayer of Muršili II to the Sungoddess of Arinna asking for recovery of Gaššuliyawija.

KUB 36.81 i: (16') ... EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A-ia-at-ta / [EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ITU EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A MU-ti mi]-i-ia-na-aš zé-e-na-an-d[a-aš] / (18') [*gi-im-ma-an-ta-aš ḫa-mi-iš-ḫa-an-da-aš a-ú-lí*]-[uš]  $\text{r}^{\text{mu-ki}^1}\text{-iš-ša-na-aš}$  / (19') [EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup> *ḪA-AT*]-TI-pát *e-eš-š[a-an-zi nam-ma-ma-a]*t- $\text{r}^{\text{ta}^1}$  / (20') [*da-me-e-da-ni* KUR-e *Ú-UL ku-wa*]- $\text{r}^{\text{pí-ik-ki e}^1}\text{-[eš-ša-an-zi]}$

Only [in the land of Ḫat]ti there ar[e] festivals for you (such as) [the monthly festival, the ann]ual [festivals] of autu[mn, winter, spr]ing, the *auliš*-sacrifices, [and the festivals] of **invocation**<sup>454</sup>, [but in no other land] they ex[ist] for you.

<sup>450</sup> The verb *mugai-* was translated in this line as “entreat” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 322 and by Gurney 1940: 35; as “émouvoir” by Laroche 1964-5: 24; as “erbitten” by Neu 1968: 118 and as “invoke” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 183.

<sup>451</sup> The verb *mugai-* and the noun *mukeššar* have been rendered in this passage as “entreat” and “supplication” by Gurney 1940: 39. Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 179 translates the verbal noun *mugawar* in line iv 7 of KUB 24.3 as “invocation”.

<sup>452</sup> Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 183 translates the verb *mugai-* in lines iv 4' and 6' of KUB 24.3+ as “besought”.

<sup>453</sup> This text has been assigned the 376.II.E number in Konkordanz. For assigning this text number CTH 376.III see vol. I pp. 141-143.

<sup>454</sup> The noun *mukeššar* in the present context has been translated as “(festivals of the) sacrificial rituals” by Singer 2002a: 73 and as “Bittegebet” by Tischler 1981: 47.

17. KUB 24.1+ (CTH 377.A), a hymn and prayer of Muršili II to Telipinu. The text is duplicated by KUB 24.2 (CTH 377.B).

(1)

KUB 24.1 i: (4) *u-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-ia-at-mu* <sup>m</sup>*Mur-ši-DINGIR-LIM*<sup>455</sup> L[UGAL-*uš tu*]-<sup>r</sup>*e<sup>1</sup>-el* ĪR-KA / (5) MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš-ša tu-e-el* GÉME-*iš*<sup>456</sup> [u-i]-<sup>r</sup>*e<sup>1</sup>-ir i-it-wa* / (6) <sup>d</sup>*Te-li-pí-nu-un an-zi-el* EN-NI DINGIR-*LAM* (7) ŠA SAG.DU-NI *mu-ga-<sup>r</sup>a-i* // (8) *nu-za-kán ma-a-an na-ak-ki-i[š]* <sup>d</sup>*Te-li-pí-nu-uš še-er ne-pí-ši* / (9) DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš iš-tar-na ma-a-an <sup>r</sup>a-ru-ni<sup>1</sup> na-aš-ma* A-NA ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> (*eš*) / (10) *wa-ḫa-an-na [p]a-a-an-za <sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-aš-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-za* I-NA KUR <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR *za'(ḫa)-aḫ-ḫi-ia pa-a-an-za* // (11) *ki-nu-na-at-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> ša-ne-ez-zi-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup> wa-ar-šu-la-aš* / (12) <sup>GIŠ</sup>ERIN-*an-za Ḫ<sup>1</sup>-an-za kal-<sup>r</sup>li-iš<sup>1</sup>-du na-aš-ta* EGIR-*pa* / (13) <sup>É</sup>*ka-ri-im-ni*<sup>457</sup> *an-<sup>r</sup>da e-ḫu<sup>1</sup> nu-ut-ta ka-a-ša* / (14) *mu-ki-iš-ki-mi* <sup>NINDA</sup>*ḫar-ši-i[t* <sup><DUG></sup>*iš-pa-a]n-du-zi-it* / (15) *nu-uš-ša-an pa-ra-a ka-<sup>r</sup>la-a-an<sup>1</sup>-[ká]n-za e-eš nu-ut-ta ku-<sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup>* / (16) *me-mi-iš-ki-mi nu-mu* DINGIR-LUM *iš-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-ma-na-an* / (17) *la-ga-a-an ḫar-ak na-at iš-t[a-ma]-aš-ki*

Muršili, the k[ing], your servant, sent me and the queen, your maidservant (sent me). They [se]nt (me saying): “Go, **invoke**<sup>458</sup> Telipinu, our lord, our personal god (saying): Whether you, honour[ed] Telipinu, are above in heaven among the gods, or in the sea, or you are gone to the mountains to roam, or you are gone to an enemy land for battle, now let the fragrant odour, the cedar (and) the oil summon you. Come back to the (B: your) temple. **I hereby invoke** you [with] thick bread and [lib]ation. Be paci[fi]ed! O god, turn your ear towards me! Keep listening to what I am saying to you!

(2)

KUB 24.1 ii: (3) EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A-*it-ta* EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ITU EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.Ā MU-*aš me-e-a-na-aš* / (4) *gi-im-ma-an-ta-aš ḫa-mi-iš-ḫa-an-da-aš* / (5) *zé-na-an-da-aš a-ú-li-<sup>u</sup>š mu-ki-iš-na-aš-ša* / (6) EZEN<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ I-NA KUR <sup>URU</sup>ḪA-AT-TI-*pát e: eš-zi* / (7) *nam-ma-ma-at-ta ta-me-e-da-ni* KUR URU *Ú-<sup>r</sup>UL<sup>1</sup>* / (8) *ku-wa-pí-ik-ki e-eš-ša-an-zi*

Only in the land of Ḫatti there are festivals for you (such as) the monthly festival, the annual festivals (lit. of the course of the year) of winter, spring, autumn, the *auliš*-sacrifices, and festivals of **invocation**<sup>459</sup>, but in no other land and city they exist for you.

<sup>455</sup> B obv. 4: <sup>m</sup>*MUR-ŠI-I-LI*

<sup>456</sup> B obv. 5: GÉME-KA

<sup>457</sup> B obv. 11: <sup>É</sup>*ka-ri-im-ni-it-ti*

<sup>458</sup> The verb *mugai-* was translated in lines i 7 and 14 as: “invoke” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 321, by Kassian- Yakubovich 2007: 432, by Singer 2002a: 54 and by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 178; as “suplica” and “estoy supplicándote” by Bernabé 1987: 273; as “glorifie” in obv. 7 and as “t’appelle” in obv. 14 by Christmann-Franck 1989: 47, 48; as “entreat” and “I am entreating” by Gurney 1940: 1 and by de Roos 1995: 2001; as “bouger” in line i 6 and “ébranler” in line i 14 by Lebrun 1980: 184, 185, 433.

<sup>459</sup> The noun *mukeššar* was translated in this context as: “las de súplica” by Bernabé 1987: 274; “(festivals) of invoking the *auliš*” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 325c.1’; “(fêtes de) l’évocation” by Christmann-Franck 1989: 48; “(festivals of) supplication” by Gurney 1940: 19; “the

## 18. KBo 11.14 (CTH 395.A), ritual of Ḫantitaššu from Ḫurma, MH/NS.

KBo 11.14 iii: (25')<sup>460</sup> GIŠ ḫa-at-tal-wa-aš zi-ik ak-[x]-x-ki-na-pa<sup>461</sup> [GIM-an] / (26') EGIR-pa ḫa-aš-ki-ši {x} da-an-ku-i[n]-na-pa ta-g[a-an-zi-pa-an] / (27') i-it 'zi-ik' EGIR-pa ḫa-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-aš // (28') nu ka-ru-ú-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-uš DINGIR.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>uš<sup>r</sup> ú-wa-te n[a-at-za] / (29') a-pí-ia da-an-zi nu-za pa-a-an-du a-pí-[ia] / (30') ták-na-aš <sup>d</sup>UTU-un mu-<sup>r</sup>ki-iš<sup>r</sup>-kán-du nu Ḫ[UL-lu] / (31') ku-it DŪ-nu-un na-an-mu DINGIR.MEŠ EGIR-[pa me-mi-iš-kán-du] //

You, the door bolt! [As] you keep opening back ak[...]*kinapa* (the bolt?), you go and open back the da[r]k e[arth]! Bring (up here) the primeval deities! There they will take [them (i.e. the offerings made to the primeval deities) for themselves]! Let them go there and **invoke**<sup>462</sup> the Sungoddes of the earth! Whatever [*evil things*] I have committed, [let] the deities [*tell*] me about it!"

19. KUB 9.27 + KUB 7.5 + KUB 7.8 (CTH 406), ritual of a woman of Arzawa named Paškuwatti, MH/NS.<sup>463</sup>

(1)

KUB 9.27 + KUB 7.8 i: (1) UM-MA <sup>f</sup>Paš-<sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-wa-at-ti MUNUS <sup>URU</sup>AR-ZA-WA e-eš-zi-[ma-aš-š]a-an / (2) <sup>r</sup>I-NA <sup>URU</sup>PÁR-AŠ-ŠA ma-a-an LÚ-ni ku-e-da-ni ḫa-a[š-š]a-tar / (3) NU.GÁL na-aš-ma-aš MUNUS-ni me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da Ú-U[L L]Ú-aš // (4) nu-uš-ši <sup>d</sup>Ú-li-li-ia-aš-ši-in ši-ip-pa-an-t[ah]-ḫi / (5) na-an I-NA UD.3.KAM mu-u-ga-a-mi

Thus (speaks) Paškuwatti, the woman from Arzawa (who) lives in Parašša. "If rep[rodu]ctive power is lacking in some man or (if) he is no[t a ma]n before a woman, I make of[feri]ngs to Uliliyašši on his behalf and I **invoke**<sup>464</sup> her for three days.

(2)

KUB 7.5 i: (7') ... nu-wa-<sup>r</sup>aš<sup>1</sup>-ši-kán an-da-ki-it-ti-iš-ši / (8') kat-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-an-ta pa-it nu-wa ka-a-aš ta-an-tu-ke-eš-na-aš DUMU-aš / (9') ša-ak-na-aš ši-e-ḫu-na-aš nu-ud-du-uš-ša-an Ú-UL / (10') ú-e-mi-ia-at // (11') ki-nu-na-aš-ta ka-a-ša kat-ta-an 'EGIR<sup>1</sup>-pa ke-nu-wa-aš-ša-aš / (12') ú-it nu-ut-ta DINGIR-LUM DINGIR-LIM-an-ni EGIR-an / (13') ša-an-ḫi-iš-ki-iz-zi nu-za ma-a-an ḪUR.SAG-i / (14') nu-za ma-a-an ú-e-el-lu-ú-i nu-za ma-a-an ḫa-a-ri-ia / (15') ku-wa-pí-it-za im-ma ku-wa-pí nu ke-e-da-ni / (16') an-tu-

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festivals of invocation" by Kassian- Yakubovich 2007: 433; "(des fête avec) rituels magique" by Lebrun 1980: 185; "(feasts of) invocation" by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 181; "(festivals of the) sacrificial rituals" by Singer 2002a: 55.

460

All the restorations are those of Ünal 1996: 23-24.

461

This word is read by Ünal 1996: 23 as ak-[ki?-i]š?-ki-na-pa, which would be a hapax in this context. The meaning of this word is unknown; Ünal 1996: 23 n. 87 argues that it must mean either a 'leaf of a door' or something similar.

462

The same translation of the verb *mugai-* was offered in the present context by Collins 2006: 45 and Ünal 1996: 30. Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 183 renders this verb here as "implore".

463

See Hoffner 1987: 279-281.

464

The first singular present of the verb *mugai-* has been translated in the present context as: "I invoke" in *CHD* vol. L-N: 321, by Mouton 2007: 135 and by Trabazo 2002: 451; as "I entreat" by Hoffner 1987: 277 and by Goetze 1950: 349 and as "I implore" by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 177.

*uḫ-ši kat-ta-an aš-šu-li e-ḫu / (17') nu-ut-ták-kán ḫu-u-wa-an-te-eš<sub>17</sub> ḫé-e-u-uš IGI.ḫI.A-wa le-e / (18') wa-al-ḫa-an-ni-ia-an-zi // (19') nu-ud-du-za pa-iz-zi DINGIR-LAM DÙ-zi nu-ut-ta pé-e-da-an / (20') ṽḫi<sup>1</sup>-in-ik-zi nu-ut-ta É-er pa-a-i / (21') nu-ut-ta ÌR-an GÉME-an pa-a-i nu-ut-ta GU<sub>4</sub>.ḫI.A UDU.ḫI.A pa-a-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup> / (22') nu-ud-du-uš-ša-an ma-al-ti-eš-ša-na-la-an i-ia-zi // (23') nu-ud-du-za ka-a-erasure-ša **mu-u-ki-iš-ki-*<mi>*** tal-le-eš-ki-mi / (24') nu e-ḫu <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-na-za MUL ták-na-aš <sup>d</sup>UTU-un / (25') kat-ti-it-ti ú-wa-te {et} GÉME.ḫI.A-ia-at-ta ÌR.MEŠ / (26') pí-ra-an ḫu-i-ia-an-<sup>r</sup>te<sup>1</sup>-eš<sub>17</sub> a-ša-an-du DINGIR.LÚ.MEŠ-ta [DINGIR.MUNUS.MEŠ] // (text continues in column ii) ii (KUB 7.8) (1) pí-ra-an ḫu-i-ia-an-te-eš<sub>17</sub> a-ša-an-du / (2) nu ke-e-da-ni an-tu-uḫ-ši / (3) kat-ta-an e-ḫu DUMU-an-na-aš-ši DAM-ZU / (4) zi-ik na-an-za EGIR-an kap-pu-u-i / (5) nu-uš-ši-kán an-da na-i-eš-ga-ḫu-ut / (6) nu-uš-ši me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da me-mi / (7) nu-uš-ši GÉME-KA ma-ni-ia-aḫ / (8) na-aš-za <sup>GIŠ</sup>i-ú-ga-an ki-ša-ri nu-za DAM-ZU / (9) da-a-ú nu-za DUMU.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ i-ia-ad-du / (10) na-at tu-el ÌR.MEŠ-KA GÉME<sup>465</sup>.MEŠ-KA / (11) nu-ut-ta SÍSKUR.ḫI.A-TIM NINDA ḫar-ša-ú-uš / (12) me-ma-al <sup>DUG</sup>iš-pa-an-du-uz-zi-ia-aš-šar / (13) a-pé-e pé-eš-kán-zi // (14) nu-ud-du-za ka-a-ša ka-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-aš an-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-wa-aḫ-ḫa-aš / (15) Ú-UL še-ek-ta ki-nu-na-at-ta ka-a-ša / (16) EGIR-an ša-aḫ-ta nu ka-a-aš / (17) ma-aḫ-ḫa-an tu-uk EGIR-an ṽḫa<sup>1</sup>-aḫ-ta / (18) nu-uš-ši-kán zi-ik DINGIR-LUM an-da aš-šu-li / (19) ti-i-ia nu-<sup>r</sup>ut<sup>1</sup>-ta KI-i še-er / (20) ku-e-da-ni ud-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-[a-ni]-i **mu-ke-eš-ki-u-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-n[i]** / (21) nu-za DINGIR-LUM DINGIR-L[IM-tar] te-ek-ku-uš-nu-[ut] /*

“(Three lines at the beginning of the speech are too fragmentary for translation) “He went down to her bedchamber, but this mortal (li. the son of mortality) (was just) one of excrement and urine. He did not find you. But now he had just come to you down on his knees for help<sup>466</sup> and is seeking you, o goddess, for the sake of your divinity. Whether you are in the mountain, whether you are in the meadow, whether you are in the valley, wherever you are, come down to this man in favour! Let winds and rain not beat your eyes! He will proceed to make you his (personal) goddess. He will offer you a place. He will give you a house. He will give you a male and a female slave. He will give you cattle and sheep. He will make you a recipient of votive offerings. I am presently **invoking**<sup>467</sup> and luring you. Come! Bring with you the moon, the star and the Sungoddess of netherworld. Let the female and male slaves run before you! Let the male [and female deities] run before you! Come down to this man! You are his “wife of children” for him. Look after him! Turn to him in favour! Speak to him! Hand your maidservant over to him! He will become a yoke (for her). Let him take his wife and let him produce for himself sons and daughters! They will be your male and female servants. They will keep giving you offerings, thick breads, groats, (and) libations. Till now this man has not known you, but just now he has sought you. Since he has just sought you, you, O goddess, step towards him in favour! Show your divinity, O goddess,

<sup>465</sup> The Sumerogram GÉME is written here with a vertical stroke at the end, which is not the usual rendering of this logogram.

<sup>466</sup> On this translation see Hoffner 1987: 277 and 284 note on lines 38-39.

<sup>467</sup> The verbal form *mukiškimi* has been translated in the present context as “I am entreating” by Goetze 1950: 349, by Hoffner 1987: 278 and by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 181. Mouton 2007: 137 renders this verb here as “je suis en train de t’invoquer.”

and make good the matt[er] in which **w[e] are invoking**<sup>468</sup> you upon earth!  
[Let] him look up at you divi[nity]!

(3)

KUB 7.5 ii: (17') A-N[A NINDA.ERÍ]N.MEŠ-*ia-aš-ša-an še-er ku-e*  
<sup>TUG</sup>BAR.TE.MEŠ / (18') *n[a-aš-m]a* <sup>TUG</sup>GÚ.È.A *ki-it-ta* / (19') *na-[at-z]a iš-*  
*pa-an-da-az kat-ta iš-pa-re-eš-ki-iz-zi* / (20') *iš-š[a]-aḫ-ḫi-ma-at I-NA*  
UD.3.KAM I-NA UD.1.KAM-*ma* / (21') 3-<sup>r</sup>ŠU<sup>1</sup> **mu-u-ga-mi** *ka-ru-ú-wa-ri-*  
*wa-ar* / (22') UD.<sup>1</sup>KAM<sup>1</sup>(ḪI.A)-*ti iš-tar-na pé-di* 1-ŠU *ne-ku-uz me-ḫur* /  
(23') 1-<sup>r</sup>ŠU<sup>1</sup> *me-mi-ia-nu-ša-kán an-da a-pu-u-uš-pát* / (24') *me-mi-iš-ki-mi*

He will spread out at night the BAR.TE garments o[r] the cloak which are lying on the [soldier brea]ds. I do it for three days. But on the first day **I invoke**<sup>469</sup> (the deity) three times: (once) in the morning, once at midday, once at dusk. While doing so I speak those very words (words not cited, they probably refer to the speech in lines i 31-ii 25).

(4)

KUB 7.5 iv: (1) *nu-za BE-EL SÍSKUR še-eš-zi* / (2) *nu-za-kán ma-a-an*  
DINGIR-LUM *za-aš-ḫi-ia* / (3) *tu-e-ek-ki-iš-ši a-uš-zi kat-ti-iš-š[i]* / (4) *pa-*  
*iz-zi na-aš-ši kat-ti-ši še-eš-zi* / (5) *ku-it-ma-an-ma* DINGIR-LUM I-NA  
UD.3.KAM **mu-g[a-a-mi]** / (6) *nu-za-kán za-aš-ḫi-mu-uš ku-i-e-eš uš-ki-iz-*  
*z[i]* / (7) *na-aš me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi ma-a-an-ši* DINGIR-LUM / (8) IGI.ḪI.A-  
*wa pa-ra-a te-ek-ku-uš-nu-uš-ki-iz-z[i]* / (9) *nu-uš-ši ma-a-an* DINGIR-LUM  
*kat-ti-iš-ši* / (10) *še-eš-zi* // (11) *nu-za ú-iz-zi* DINGIR-LUM *i-e-zi* / (12)  
*nam-ma-aš-ši ma-a-an* <sup>DUG</sup>ḫar-*ši-ia-al-li* / (13) *a-aš-šu na-an-za-an* <sup>DUG</sup>ḫar-  
*ši-ia-al-li* / (14) *tí-it-ta-nu-zi ma-a-an* Ú-UL-*ma* / (15) *na-an-za* <sup>NA4</sup>ḫu-*u-wa-*  
*ši tí-it-ta-nu-zi* / (16) *na-aš-ma-an-za* ALAM-*ma i-ia-zi* / (17) [<sup>GI</sup>Š]BANŠUR  
GIBIL-*ma ku-iš mu-ke-eš-ni ar-ta* / (18) [*na-a*]t <sup>r</sup>ŠA<sup>1</sup> DINGIR-LIM-*pát ki-*  
*ša-ri* //

The client (lit. lord of the ritual) lies down (to see) if he will see in a dream the goddess in her body (i.e. the maidservant body), (if) she will go to him and sleep with him. Throughout the three days in which **I invo[ke]**<sup>470</sup> the goddess, he tells (me) about dreams he see[s], whether the goddess shows her eyes to him, whether the goddess sleeps with him. He will proceed to worship the goddess. Furthermore, if she likes *ḫaršiyalli*-vessel, he will make her stand as a *ḫaršiyalli*-vessel. But if not, he will make her stand as a

<sup>468</sup> The verbal form *mukeškiueni* was translated as: “we are invoking” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 321, by Mouton 2007: 138 and by Trabazo 2002: 459; as well as “we are evoking” by Hoffner 1987: 278 and by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 182. Goetze 1950 and Gurney 1940: 48 left this verb untranslated.

<sup>469</sup> The first singular present *mugami* has been translated in this context as: “I evoke” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 321; “I entreat/will entreat” by Goetze 1950: 350 and by Hoffner 1987: 278. Mouton 2007: 139 renders this verb here as “j’invogue”; Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 177 as “I implore” and Trabazo 2002: 461 as “rezaré”.

<sup>470</sup> The same translation of the first singular present *mugami* in this context has been offered by Hoffner 1987: 279, by Mouton 2007: 140 and by Trabazo 2002:465. Goetze interpreted the verb *mugai-* that appears at end of line 5 as the third singular present and translated it as “he entreated” assuming that it was the client who was entreating the deity. This interpretation is contrary to the entire texts, in which the action expressed by the verb *mugai-*, is performed by Paškuwattiš, the woman of Arzawa.

*ḥuwaši* stone, or he will make her a statue. But the table which stood (here) for the **invocation (ritual)**<sup>471</sup> becomes the property of the goddess alone.

20. CTH 433, rituals dedicated to the Tutelary/protective Deity of the Hunting bag (LAMMA<sup>KUŠ</sup> *kuršaš*).

I. KBo 17.105 + (CTH 433.2), MH/NS.

KBo 17.105 ii: // (13') [LUGAL-wa-kán MUNUS.LUG]AL-ri 'A'-[NA DUMU.M]EŠ.LUGAL *an-da aš-šu-li ne-eš-ḥu<sup>1</sup>-ut* / (14') [A-NA] LÚ.MEŠ<sup>MUŠEN.DÛ-ia-kán a[n-da] aš-šu-li ni-iš-ḥu<sup>1</sup>-ut // (15') *tu-ga ḥa-a-aš-ša-an ma-aḥ-ḥa-an* [UD.KAM-a]z DUMU.LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU *an-da ḥu-u-la-li-iš-ki-iz-ḥi<sup>1</sup>* / (16') *iš-pa-an-da-az-ma-at-<ta> an-da DINGIR.MEŠ-eš ḥu<sup>1</sup>-u-la-a-le-eš-kán-zi* / (17') *nu-ut-ta ma-a-an DINGIR.MEŠ ki-iš-ša-an pu-ḥu<sup>1</sup>-uš<sup>1</sup>-ša-an-zi ki-i-wa* / (18') *ku-it i-e-eš-šir* <sup>d</sup>LAMMA<sup>KUŠ</sup> *kur-ša-aš-wa* <sup>d</sup>IMIN.IMIN.BI-ia **mu-ki-iš<sup>1</sup>-ki-ir** // (19') *na-aš-ta zi-ig-ga ḥa-aš-ša-a-aš A-NA* <sup>d</sup>LAMMA<sup>KUŠ</sup> *kur-ša-aš* <sup>d</sup>IMIN.IMIN.BI / (20') *Û A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ ḥu-u-ma-an-da-a-aš pa-ra-a-an-da a-aš-šu 'me-mi-iš-ki' / (21') LUGAL-wa-kán MUNUS.LUGAL-ri A-NA DUMU.MEŠ.LUGAL an-da aš-šu-ú-li ne-ḥi<sup>1</sup>-an-te-eš / (22') e-eš-tén nu-wa-aš-ma-aš TI-tar in-na-a-ra-u-wa-tar pí-iš-ki-tén //*</sup>

Turn in favour towards [the king, the quee]n (and) the [prin]ces! Turn in favour also [towards] the augurs! As a human continually surrounds you, the hearth, [during the day], the gods keep surrounding you at night. And when the gods will ask you the following: “What is this that they have done (that) they continually **invoked**<sup>472</sup> the Tutelary Deity of the Hunting Bag and <sup>d</sup>IMIN.IMIN.BI” you, o hearth, speak favourably across to the Tutelary Deity of the Hunting Bag, the Heptads and all the gods (saying): “Be turned in favour towards the king, the queen and princes! Give them life and vital strength!

II. KBo 20.107 + KBo 23.50 + (CTH 433.3.A), MH.

KBo 20.107 + KBo 23.50 ii: // (8) KÁ.GAL-aš <sup>d</sup>Ša-l[a]-ḥi<sup>1</sup>-wa-ni-eš *šu-me-eš-ša* / (9) *az-zi-ki-it-tén [a]k-ku-uš<sup>1</sup>(iš)-ki-it-tén ka-a-ša* / (10) <sup>d</sup>LAMMA<sup>KUŠ</sup> *kur-ša-ḥi<sup>1</sup>-[a]n a-ra-aḥ-zé-na-aš KUR.KUR.MEŠ-az* / (11) *ḥu-u-ma-an-da-az [ḤU]R.SAG.MEŠ-az ḥa-a-ri-ia-az* / (12) <sup>d</sup>ÍD.MEŠ-ḥi<sup>1</sup>-[ḥa-an-ti]-ia-aš-ša-az <sup>d</sup>PÚ.MEŠ-az *ú-e-ḥi<sup>1</sup>-lu<sup>1</sup>-wa-az* / (13) *[ar-ḥa tal-li-i]š-ki-u-en<sup>473</sup> mu-ki-iš-ki-u-en* / (14) *ḥi<sup>1</sup>-za<sup>1</sup> [šu-me-eš x] x x<sup>474</sup> ga-la-an-kán-te-eš e-eš-tén! //* (15) *nu ma-ḥi<sup>1</sup>-[an* <sup>d</sup>LAMMA<sup>KUŠ</sup> *kur-š]a-aš ú-iz-zi nu-uš-ši* / (16) *EGIR-pa ḥi<sup>1</sup>-[da-a-ak x x-ḥi]i-eš-tén na-an IT-TI LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL / (17) ḥu-u-da-a-ak [x x x x]-x-tén //*

<sup>471</sup> The same translation of *mukešni* was offered in the present context by Goetze in 1950: 350, by Hoffner 1987: 279, by Mouton 2007: 140, by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 181, in *CHD* vol. L-N: 326 and by Trabazo 2002: 465.

<sup>472</sup> The verb *mugai-* has been translated here as “unentwegt anriefen” by Bawanypeck 2005: 89 and “implore” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 183.

<sup>473</sup> This restoration of Bawanypeck 2005: 110 and 116 is based on the fact that the verbs *talliya-* and *mugai-* often appear together.

<sup>474</sup> Bawanypeck 2005: 110 restores here *pé-ra-an*. This restoration, however, does not make sense in the present context and is not consistent with the traces preserved.

You, the *Ša[la]waneš*-deity of the city gates, keep drinking and [e]ating! We have just been [lur]ing and **invoking**<sup>475</sup> the Tutelary Deity of the Hunting [B]ag [away] from all the foreign lands, [mou]ntains, valleys, rivers, [*hanti*] *yašša*-places, springs and meadows. May [you], yourselves be appeased! And whe[n the Tutelary Deity of the Hunting] Bag comes, may you be [...] hasty for him again! And may you [...] hasty with the king and the queen!

21. KUB 17.23 (CTH 439.A), a ritual performed for the deities Anzili and Zukki, NH/NS.

KUB 17.23 i: // (1) [m]a-<sup>r</sup>aḫ-ḫa-an<sup>1</sup>-kán<sup>MUNUSŠU.IGI</sup> **mu-ga-u-<sup>r</sup>wa-an-zi**<sup>1</sup> / (2) *aš-nu-zi nu a-ru-wa-iz-zi nu* 9 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA.ḪI.A / (3) *an-da ne-ia-an-du-uš tar-na-aš* / 9 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA.ḪI.A Ḫ tar-na-aš / (4) 3 NINDA *a-a-an ku-iš-ša tar-na-aš ú-da-an-zi* / (5) *nu-uš<sup>MUNUSŠU.GI</sup> pár-ši-ia nu A-NA DINGIR-LIM ku-it* / (6) <sup>GIŠ</sup>BANŠUR AD.KID ZAG-az *ar-ta-ri na-aš-kán a-pí-ia ti-an-zi* //

[Wh]en the Old Woman finishes **invoking**<sup>476</sup> she prostrates herself. They bring nine turned thick breads of one *tarna*-measure, nine thick breads with fat of one *tarna*-measure (and) three warm breads each of one *tarna*-measure. The Old Woman breaks them and they put them there, on the table of wicker which stands on the right of the (statue of the) deity.

22. KUB 30.27 (CTH 451), one-column synoptic tablet of a funerary ritual, MH(?) / NS.

KUB 30.27 obv.: (2') *I-NA UD.5.KAM-ma mu-ga-a-u-wa-ar-pát* // (3') *I-NA UD.6.KAM-ma mu-ga-a-u-ar-pát* // (4') *I-NA UD.7.KAM-ma mu-ga-a-an-zi* / (5') **mu-ga-a-u-ar-ra** *ša-ra-a da-an-<sup>r</sup>zi* // (6') *ta a-ap-pa-a-i* // (7') *ḫa-aš-ta-i-ma tu-u-wa-za ku-it KUR-az ú-da-an* / (8') *nu ku-it-ma-an UD.KAM.ḪI.A mu-kiš-na-aš* / (9') *nu-uš-ši* 'UD'.KAM-ti-li SISKUR *kiš-an pí-eš-kán-z[i]* // (10') 'IGI'-*zi-ia-an UD.KAM-ti ku-wa-pí :li-la-an-zi* / (11') *nu-kán* 1 UDU A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU DINGIR.MEŠ *ŠA-ME-E-ia* / (12') [š]i-<sup>r</sup>pa<sup>1</sup>-an-ti 1 UDU A-NA <sup>d</sup>AL-LA-NI *ták-na-aš* <sup>d</sup>UTU-i / (13') [*ták-na-aš-š*]a DINGIR.MEŠ-aš BAL-ti / (14') [1 UDU-m]a-kán A-NA <sup>d</sup>A-A-RA BAL-ti //

On the fifth day there is only **invocation**.<sup>477</sup> On the sixth day there is only **invocation**. And on the seventh day they perform **invocation** and they pick up the **invocation materials**. It is finished. But during the days of **invocation** they give daily sacrifices for the bones which are brought from a

<sup>475</sup> The verb *mugai* has been rendered in the present context as “angefleht” by Bawanypeck 2005: 117.

<sup>476</sup> The infinitive *mugauwanzi* has been rendered here as “invocare” by Fuscagni hethiter.net/: CTH 439 (2001) and as “to pray” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 1: 192 and vol. 6: 182.

<sup>477</sup> The verbal noun *mugauwar* was rendered here as: “evocation” in *CHD* L-N: 322 (obv. 2', 3'); “invocation” (obv. 8) in *CHD* L-N: 325; “evocation material” (obv. 5') in *CHD* L-N: 322; “invocation material” in *CHD* L-N: 324. The verb *mugai* in line 4' is translated as “invoke” in *CHD* L-N: 324. Otten 1958: 99 translated *mugauwar* in obv. 2', 3' as “Klagegebet” and in obv. 5' and 8' as “Klageritual”. Otten also rendered the verb *mugai* in obv. 4' as “sprechen das Klagegebet”. Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 178, 179, 181 translates the verb *mugai*- in line 4' as “implore”, the verbal noun *mugauwar* in line 2', 3' and 5' as “imploration” and the noun *mukeššar* in line 8' as “(days of) evocation.”

distant land, as follows: On the first day, when they pacify him (the deceased), he offers one sheep to the Sungod and to the deities of heaven. He offers one sheep to Allani, the Sungod of the netherworld and to the deities [of the netherworld]. He also offers [one sheep] to Ara.

23. KBo 41.1a + b (CTH 453), ritual of invoking a soul of the deceased, MH.

(1)

KBo 41.1a + b obv.: // (1) *UM-MA*<sup>MUNUS</sup> *Za-a[r-x-x]-x ma-a-an-kán ak-kán-an-za ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki ar-ḫa* / (2) *tal-li-ia-a[n-za na-an EGI]R-pa mu-ga-a-am-mi ú-i-ia-am-mi nu ki-iš-ša-an i-ia-mi* /

Thus (speaks) Zar[...]: “If a dead person [has been] lur[ed] away from someone, I **invoke** [him/her ba]ck, I cry out (to him/her) and I do as follows: (a list of materials to be used in a ritual follows. Then some ritual activities are described; however, because the text becomes very fragmentary, it is difficult to determine what these activities entailed)

(2)

KBo 41.a + b rev.: (30') [ ...-š]a-li [m]a-a-na-aš-ta / (31') [ak-kán-an-za ...] x ar-ḫa [ta]l-li-ia-an-za / (32') [na-an(?) EGIR-pa(?) m]u-ga-a-mi QA-TI

[... wh]en [a dead person] is [lur]ed away, I [**in**]voke [him/her back]. (Text finished.

24. KUB 15.34 (CTH 483.I.A), ritual of invoking the male Cedar-gods (DINGIR.MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ<sup>GIŠ</sup>ERIN-aš), MH/NS. The lines iv 27'-34' of KUB 15.34 are duplicated by lines iv 13-18 of KUB 15.38 + (CTH 483.II.A).

KUB 15.34 iv: // (27') EGIR-ŠU-<ma><sup>478</sup> *ne-pí-ša-az QA-TAM-MA ḫu-it-ti-i[a-az-zi x x x x x]*<sup>479</sup> / (28') *ma-a-an šu-ma-a-aš DINGIR.MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ<sup>GIŠ</sup>ERIN-aš x [x x x x x]*<sup>480</sup> / (29') <sup>E</sup>*ka-ri-im-na-az-wa-kán pa-ra-a ú-w[a-at-ten x x x] x x* / (30') *ša-ra-a ne-pí-ši i-it-ten ki-nu-na-aš-ma-aš k[a-a-š]a* 'ne<sup>1</sup>-pí-ša-az / (31') *ḫu-it-ti-ia-an-ni-iš-ki-u-<sup>r</sup>wa-ni<sup>1</sup> tal-li-iš-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-u-e-ni mu-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-iš-ga-u-e-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>* / (32') [n]u-uš at-ta-aš<sup>481</sup> *ne-pí-ša-an-z[a] EGIR-an tar-na nu-za-an 'EGIR-pa<sup>1</sup> / (33') [š]u-<sup>r</sup>me<sup>1</sup>-en-za-an A-NA É.DINGIR-LIM-<sup>r</sup>KU<sup>1</sup>-N[U]*<sup>482</sup> *ú-wa-at-ten // (34') [na-aš-ta] 'A<sup>1</sup>-NA 'LUGAL MUNUS<sup>1</sup>.LUGAL an-da aš-šu-li na-iš-du-ma-<sup>r</sup>at<sup>1</sup> /*

And then he draw[s] (the gods) from the heaven in the same way [*and says*]: “If you, the Cedar-gods [...], co[me] out of the temple! [...] go up to heaven! We are now drawing you, luring you and **invoking**<sup>483</sup> you from

478

KUB 15.38 iv 13: EGIR-ŠU-ma.

479

Haas-Wilhelm 1974: 204 restore here *nu te-zi-zi*.

480

KUB 15.38 iv 15: *pa-it*<sup>E</sup>*ka-r[i-*

481

The scribe of KUB 15.38 indicates in line iv 18 that the tablet from which he copied the text was unreadable.

482

KUB 15.38 iv 19 seems to omit *-KU-NU* after É.DINGIR-LIM.

483

The verb *mugai-* has been translated in the present context as “invoke” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 321 and as “anbeten” by Haas and Wilhelm 1974: 205.

heaven. O father return them from heaven!<sup>484</sup> (O gods), come back to your temple! Turn in favour to the king and the queen!

25. KUB 13.29 + Bo 3444 (CTH 483.I.C), invocation ritual of the male Cedar-gods (DINGIR.MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ<sup>GIŠ</sup>ERIN-aš), NH/NS. Lines iv 5'-13' can be restored with aid of KUB 15.34 + Bo 8027 ii 1-5 (CTH 483.I.A) and KBo 54.69 + iv 10'-13' (CTH 483.I.B):

KUB 13.29 + Bo 3444 iv<sup>485</sup>: (5') *ú-e-ša-aš-ma-a[š ... pa-r]a-a ḫa-an-da-an-ni ŠA-PAL<sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>[UTU]<sup>486</sup> / (6') [ḫ]u-it-ti-ia-an-ni-eš-k[e-u-ni tal-l]i-iš-ki-ia-u-e-ni<sup>487</sup> ú-iš-ke-u-n[i] / (7') [m]u-ki-iš-ke-u-ni na-aš-t[a A-NA]<sup>488</sup> KUR.<sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR i-da-a-la-wa-aš-ša / (8') [a]n-tu-uḫ-ša-aš iš-tar-na [a]r-ḫa ú-wa-at-tén na-aš-ta A-NA KUR<sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR / (9') i-da-la-wa-aš-ša<sup>489</sup> an-tu-uḫ-[ša-aš] iš-ki-ša na-iš-tén A-NA LUGAL-ma-kán / (10') MUNUS.LUGAL IGI.ḪI.A-wa an-da aš-[šu-li n]a-iš-tén nu-uš-ma-aš<sup>490</sup> SÍSKUR pá-r-ku-i / (11') pé-eš-kán-zi<sup>491</sup> nu aš-šu-li [ták-šu-la]-at-tén nu-uš-ma-aš-kán / (12') SÍSKUR ar-ḫa I[Š-TU]<sup>492</sup> 2 QA-TI<sup>493</sup> 10 Š]U.SI <ta-at-te-en><sup>494</sup> na-aš-ta IŠ-TU KUR.<sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR / (13') i-ta-la-wa-az<sup>495</sup> pa-a[p-ra-an-na-az] ar-ḫa ú<sup>1</sup>(ta)-wa<sup>1</sup>(aš)-at-tén<sup>496</sup> //*

We are continually [dr]aw[ing] you (forth), [lur]ing you (pl.), cryin[g] (out to you) and [in]voking you in [div]ine guidance under [the Sun]. Therefore, come [a]way from among the enemy land (and its) evil [m]en! Turn (your) back to the enemy land (and) to (its) evil me[n], but to the king and the queen [tu]rn your eyes in fav[our]! They are giving you a pure ritual. Be [frien]dly in favour! Take your offering with [both hands and ten finge]rs and then come away from the enemy land (and its) evil unc[leanness]!

26. KUB 15.31 (CTH 484.I.A), invocation ritual, MH/NS. The below passage (i 43-57) is duplicated by lines i 46-59 of KUB 15.32 ++ (CTH 484.I.B).

KUB 15.31 i: // (43) *ki-iš-ša-an-na me-ma-i m[a-an-wa-za x x x x x] / (44) na-aš-ma-wa-ra-aš-ma-aš-kán a[r-ḫa x x x x x x x x] / (45) ta-li-ia-an mu-ga-a-an [ x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x] / (46) ḫu-wa-ap-pa-aš ḫar-wa-a-ši-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [ x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x] / (47) ka-a-ša an-za-a-aš pa-r[a-a x x x x x x x x x x] / (48) aš-šu-li<sup>1</sup> ḫu<sup>1</sup>-u-it-ti-[ia-an-ni-eš-ki-u-wa-ni x x x x x x x x] /*

484 The subject of this sentence and the sentences that immediately precede and follow are not the 'gods'. Rather, it appears that the performer of this ritual is addressing here the chief god of the Hittite pantheon.

485 The join and the transliteration after Miller 2008b: 134.

486 Manuscript B iv<sup>2</sup> 11' [Š]A-PAL<sup>d</sup> rUTU<sup>r</sup> ḫu-<sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-[...].

487 Manuscript B iv<sup>2</sup> 12': [tal]-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-iš-ke-u-wa-ni<sup>r</sup> ú<sup>1</sup>-[...].

488 Manuscript B iv<sup>2</sup> 13': [A-N]A.

489 Manuscript A ii 1: [i-d]a-a-la-u-wa-aš-ša.

490 Manuscript A ii 3: nu-uš-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>.

491 Manuscript A ii 3: pí-iš-kán-zi.

492 Manuscript A ii 4: IŠ-TU.

493 Manuscript A ii 4: 2 QA-TI ŠU-.

494 Manuscript A ii 4: ta-at-<sup>r</sup>te-en<sup>1</sup>.

495 Manuscript A ii 5: i-da-a-la-u-wa-az pa-ap-ra-a[n].

496 Manuscript A ii 5: <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-w[a-at-t]e-en.

(49) *mu-ki-iš-ki-u-e-ni* S[ÍSKUR-x x x x x x x x x x] / (50) *pí-eš-ga-u-e-ni nu-wa-[kán x x x x x x x x x x x (x)]* / (51) *a-wa-an ar-ḫa ú-wa-a[t-ten x x x x x x x x x]* / (52) *É-ri ú-wa-at-ten n[u-uš-ši-iš-ša-an x x x x x]* / (53) *ne-ia-at-ten ti-ia-a[t-ten x x x x x x x x x x x]* / (54) *in-na-ra-a-wa-a-tar MU.ḪI.A x x x x x x x x x]* / (55) DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš mi-i-nu-mar Z[I-aš x x x x x x x x x]* / (56) *ḫa-aš-ša-aš ḫa-an-<sup>r</sup>za-aš-ša<sup>1</sup>-[aš-x x x x x x x x x]* / (57) *tu-u-ma-an-ti-ia-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup> [x x x]* //

KUB 15.32 i: // (46) *ḫi<sup>1</sup>-iš-ša-an-na me-ma-i ma-an-wa-za ša-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-an-te-ēš na-aš-ma-wa-aš-ma-aš-kán* / (47) *ḫar<sup>1</sup>-ḫa ku-iš-ki ḫu-it-ti-ia-an ta-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-an mu-ga-a-an ḫar-zi* / (48) *nu-wa-aš-ma-aš a-ap-a-aš i-da-a-lu-uš ḫu-w[a-a]p-pa-aš ḫar-wa-ši-ia pí-di* / (49) *mu-ki-iš-ki-ūt ki-nu-na-wa-aš-ma-aš k[a]<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ša an-za-a-aš* / (50) *pa-ra-a ḫa-an-da-an-ni<sup>d</sup>UTU-i kat-ta-a[n] aš-šu-li ḫu-u-it-ti-ia-an-ni-eš-ki-u-wa-ni* / (51) *tal-li-eš-ki-u-wa-ni mu-ki-iš-ga-u-e-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>* SÍSKUR-*ia-wa-aš-ma-aš* / (52) *ša-ni-iz-zi pár-ku-i pí-eš-ga-u-e-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup> nu-wa-kán a-pí-e-da-ni* / (53) *i-da-a-la-u-i an-tu-uh-ši a-wa-an ḫar<sup>1</sup>-ḫa ú-wa-at-ten nu-wa<sup>1</sup>EGIR<sup>1</sup>-pa* / (54) *ki-e-el ŠA EN.SÍSKUR É-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup> ú-wa-at-ten nu-uš-ši-iš-[ša-an]* / (55) *an-da aš-šu-li ne-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-ten erasure ti-ia-ten erasure nu-uš-ši pí-iš-<kat><sup>?</sup>-t[en TI-tar]<sup>497</sup>* / (56) *ḫa-ad-du-la-a-tar in-na-ra-u-wa-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-tar MU.ḪI.A.GÍD.DA DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš** / (57) *du-uš-ga-ra-at-ta-an DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš* [mi]-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-mar ZI-aš la-lu-uk-k[i-ma-an]* / (58) [DUMU].MEŠ DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ *ḫa-aš-šu-uš ḫa-an-z[a-aš-š]u-uš-ša pí-<sup>r</sup>iš-kat<sup>1</sup>-[ten]* // (59) *[nu-u]š-ši nu-ú-un tu-u-um-ma-an-ti-[ia-an pí-iš-kat-ten]* //

And thus he (<sup>LÚ</sup>AZU) says: “If you (deities) are angry, or someone has drawn you away, lured and **invoked**<sup>498</sup> you, or that evil ho[st]ile one **invoked**<sup>499</sup> you to a secret place, we are now continually drawing you toward us, luring and **invoking**<sup>500</sup> you in divine guidance and in good will under the Sun (or together with the Sun). We are continually giving you pleasant and pure rituals. Come away from that evil man and come back to the house of this ‘lord of the ritual/offering’! Turn to him in favour! Join him and give him [life], health, vigor, long years, the joy of the gods, the gentleness of the gods, brightness of spirit, sons, daughters, grandchildren and great-grandchildren! (This) give him! [Give] him contentment(?) and obedience(?)!

## 27. KUB 5.6 + KUB 18.54 (CTH 570), oracle text, NH/NS.

KUB 5.6 + ii: // (21') *nu-kán IŠ-TU<sup>MUNUS</sup>ENSI ŠA x [x] x x x x<sup>rMUNUS</sup>dam<sup>1</sup>-ma-ra-x [x x x x] x x x x* / (22') *MUNUS<sup>URU</sup>Iš-ki-ia-wa-za NÍG.BA.ḪI.A x [ . . . ]* / (23') *nu-wa-ra-at A-NA SISKUR ŠA<sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI [ . . . ]* / (24') *ŠA É.DINGIR-LIM-ia wa-kán an-tu-uh-šu-[uš . . . ]* / (25') *I-NA*

<sup>497</sup> The restoration of Haas and Wilhelm 1974: 154.

<sup>498</sup> The participle *mugan* has been translated as “invoke” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 320 and *CHD* Š: 14. Haas and Wilhelm 1974: 153 render it as “weggeflecht hat”; Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 179 as “evoke” and Tischler 1991: 59 as “weggefleht hat”.

<sup>499</sup> The third person preterit active iterative *mukiskit* has been translated in the present context as “called” in *CHD* L-N: 320; as “angefleht hat” by Haas – Wilhelm 1974: 153 and as “has been invoking” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 183.

<sup>500</sup> The verb *mugai-* has been translated here as “invoke” in *CHD* L-N: 320. Haas – Wilhelm 1974: 153 render it as “beten”, Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 182 as “evoke.”

<sup>URU</sup>*Ma-ra-aš-ša-an-ti-ia-aš-za ku-<sup>r</sup>wa<sup>1</sup>-p[í ... ] / (26') <sup>r</sup>Ta-a-ti-wa-aš-ti-in-na*  
<sup>MUNUS</sup>*dam-ma-ra-[ ... ] / (27') UD.KAM-ti-li ma-al-liš-kán-zi <sup>r</sup>Pa-az-z[a- ... ]*  
 / (28') *pa-ra-a tar-nu-ma-aš me-<sup>h</sup>ur wa-aš-ta-nu-ir nu-x [ ... ] / (29') <sup>U</sup>-UL*  
*i-ia-at-ta-at MUNUS DINGIR-LIM-ia-wa 1ku-[ ... ]<sup>501</sup> / (30') nu-ki-e-da-aš*  
*wa-aš-ku-i-e-eš EGIR-an-da S[U.MEŠ(?)] x [ ... ] / (31') zi-la-aš-ma*  
<sup>SU.MEŠ</sup>*pu-u-ra-mi-im-ma SIG<sub>5</sub> IŠ-TU <sup>L</sup>[<sup>U</sup> ... ]<sup>502</sup> / (32') <sup>r</sup>IŠ<sup>1</sup>-TU*  
<sup>MUNUS</sup>*ŠU.GI KIN 3-Š<sup>U</sup> SIG<sub>5</sub> nu-kán ŠÀ É.DINGIR-LIM-x [ ... ] / (33') nu*  
<sup>m</sup>*An-ta-ra-wa-aš pí-en-ni-iš-ta na-aš ka-ru-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> [maš-kán- ... ] / (34') za-*  
<sup>r</sup>*an<sup>1</sup>-ki-la-tar-ri<sup>HI.A</sup>-ia SUM-eš-ta mu-ki-eš-šar-ra EGIR-pa [ ... ] / (35')*  
<sup>r</sup>*nu<sup>1</sup>-za-kán mu-ki-eš-šar IŠ-TU tup-pí me-na-a<sup>h</sup>ḫa-an-ta a-x-[x x x]<sup>503</sup> //*

And by the divination priestess of ... *dammara*-woman [...]. “The woman of Iškiya [ ... ] gifts. And [ ... ] these for the offering/ritual of His Majesty. In the temple people (acc.pl.) [ ...]. Whe[n ...] in Maraššantiya. Tatiwašti (and) the *dammara*-woman [...], they grind daily [...]. Pazza-[...] they made into a sin the moment of setting free and [ ... ] she/he did not go. And/also the woman of the deity ... [...]. And for these sins [ ... ] again the liver orac[les]. Oracle reply: the *puramimma*-exta are favourable. By the d[iviner ...]. By the Old woman 3 KIN are favourable. In the temple [...] Antarawa acknowledged, and he/she already gave [gifts] and reparations. And [...] the **invocation ritual**<sup>504</sup> again. They *obs[erved]* the **invocation ritual** from the tablet.

28. KBo 16.97+ (CTH 571), oracle text, MH/MS or NS.<sup>505</sup>

KBo 16.97 (396/c + 397/c) obv.: // (36) A-NA <sup>d</sup>IM ḫar-ši-ḫar-ši-ia-aš tup-pí-aš **mu-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-eš-<sup>r</sup>šar<sup>1</sup>** ni-pa-šu-u-ri-iš / (37) ši-in-ta-ḫi-iš ta-na-an-ni-iš <sup>r</sup>ki-el<sup>1</sup>-ti-iš u-ur-ki-i-iš KASKAL-iš SIG<sub>5</sub>//

Shall (there be) an **invocation** (ritual)<sup>506</sup> of (i.e. according to) the tablet for the Stormgod of lightning?<sup>507</sup> The *nipašūriš*, *šintaḫiš*, *tananniš*, *kieltiš*, *ūrkiš*, the “path” are favourable.

29. 354/z + 732/z + KBo 53.107 + KUB 50.72 (CTH 575.7), snake oracle, NH/NS.

354/z: (6') [x x x K]ASKAL <sup>URU</sup>*Ne-ri-iq-qa-ia :da-ḫa-ga-an x x [ ... ] / (7')*  
 [x x] *x-an pa-ra-a-ma-kán mu-kiš-<sup>r</sup>šar<sup>1</sup> ti-an-zi x x [ ... ] / (8') ar-ku-u-wa-*  
*ar ti-i-ia-u-wa-aš pé-e-da-an-zi [ ... ] / (9') maš-kán za-an-ki-la-<sup>r</sup>tar<sup>1</sup> QA-*  
*TAM-MA-pát pí-eš-ki-u-wa-[an<sup>2</sup>-zi<sup>2</sup> ... ] / (10') IŠ-TU DINGIR-LIM kiš-an*  
*ma-la-a-an nu SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru [ ... ] / (11') MUŠ SAG.DU-kán A-NA <sup>d</sup>U lam-ma-*  
*ni-ir [ ... ] / (12') nu-kán 1 GUNNI DIB-ta nu-kán DIB-t[a ... ] / (13') nu-*  
*kán A-NA EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A DINGIR-LIM UGU DIB-ta [ ... ]*

<sup>501</sup> An alternative reading of the last two signs before the break is <sup>m</sup>Ku-[ ... ].

<sup>502</sup> Sommer 1932: 280 reads here <sup>L</sup>[<sup>U</sup>ḪAL(?) x x(?)].

<sup>503</sup> Sommer 1932: 280 reads here a-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-[e-ir<sup>2</sup>].

<sup>504</sup> Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 180 translates the noun *mukeššar* as “invocation”; Sommer 1932: 281as “Klagegebet.”

<sup>505</sup> For dating of this text see Houwink ten Cate 1995-96: 63ff and de Martino 1992: 33ff.

<sup>506</sup> The same translation of the noun *mukeššar* in this context has been offered in *CHD* vol. L-N: 324 and by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 180.

<sup>507</sup> Translation of this sentence follows *CHD* L-N: 324. Schuol (1994: 108, 114) translates the sentence as “Soll für den Wettergott ein Bittegebet der ‘Gewitter-Tafel’ stattfinden?”

[...] And the road to the city of Nerik, *dahagan* [...]. And they will put forth the **invocation (ritual)**. [...] They will carry out(?) the presentation of prayer, and in the very same way [they will] give the propitiatory gift and reparation [...]. If [this] is approved by the god, let [(the oracle) be] favourable. We named/assigned the ‘snake of the head’ to the Stormgod. [...] He took one HEARTH, he took [...] and held (it) over the FESTIVAL and the DEITY [...].

30. KUB 22.57 (CTH 577), oracle text, NH/NS.

KUB 22.57 obv.: (11) <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>HAL *ku-it IT-TI* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI TUKU.TUKU-ti SIxSÁ-at / (12) <sup>r</sup>nu-uš-ša-an<sup>508</sup> 1-an **mu-u-kiš-šar**<sup>HLA</sup> *kar-ap-pu-u-e-ni* / (13) <sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> [x x e]n-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>(?)</sup> x x x *pa-ra-a* erasure <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ep-pu-u-e-ni / (14) *nu-uš-ši EGIR-pa tak-šu-la-u-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[ni] nam-ma-aš-ši ar-ku-wa-ar* / (15) *ti-ia-u-wa-aš še-er* erasure *maš-kán za-[an-k]i-la-tar SUM-an-zi* / (16) *ku-it-ma-an* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI *ú-iz-zi nu-ut-ta* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI *KASKAL-ši-aḥ-zi* / (17) *DINGIR-LUM a-pé-ez-za ZI-an wa-ar-š[i]-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-ši A<sup>1509</sup>-NA* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI erasure / (18) *a-pé-e-da-ni UD-TI SIG<sub>5</sub>-in [m]e-ma<sup>1</sup>-at-ti SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru* / (19) <sup>ḥ</sup>UL<sup>1</sup>-u-an-za GAL *wa-x-x-ia [ME-a]š<sup>510</sup> nu-kán DIN[GIR.MEŠ]-aš <sup>r</sup>NU<sup>1</sup>.S[IG<sub>5</sub>] //*

Since it has been determined that the divine HAL is angry with His Majesty,<sup>511</sup> we will ‘lift’/cancel one of the **invocation (rituals)**. We will give ... and make peace with him again. Further, they will give him a gift and reparation for presenting a plea<sup>512</sup>, until His Majesty comes and (until) His Majesty satisfies you.<sup>513</sup> Will you, o god, reconcile your mind with that? Will you, on that day, speak favourably to His Majesty? GREAT EVIL took ... and (it is) with the GODS. Unfavourable.

31. KUB 22.40 + KBo 43.61 (CTH 577), oracle text, NH/NS.

KUB 22.40 + KBo 43.61 iii: // (16’)<sup>514</sup> *GIM-an-ma-kán ki-i kar-ap-ta-ri nu DINGIR-LIM* <sup>URU</sup>TÚL-NA / (17’) [x x x(?)] *SUD-an-zi PA-NI DINGIR-LIM* <sup>URU</sup>TÚL-NA :*ḥu-wa-al-liš ki-iš-ta-nu-an-zi* / (18’) *nam-ma DINGIR-LUM* <sup>r</sup>Du<sup>1</sup> <sup>515</sup> *-ut-tar-ri-ia-ti-iš :na-ni-ti kán-ga-ti-ti* / (19’) *[na]m-ma A-NA DINGIR-LIM SISKUR pí-an-zi GIM-an-ma MUNUS.LUGAL* / (20’) *[I-N]A* <sup>URU</sup>AN-KU-<sup>r</sup>WA<sup>1</sup> *a-ri nu-kán <sup>r</sup>A-NA* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>TÚL<sup>1</sup>-na **mu-kiš-šar** *ti-an-zi* / (21’) *[I]š-TU* <sup>MUNUS</sup>ENSI MUŠEN *ḤUR-RI SIxSÁ-at(?) SISKUR A-NA* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>TÚL-NA *ka-ru-ú* x x //

When this is finished, they will pull the goddess of Arinna [...] and they will destroy a fir cone before the goddess of Arinna. Next, Duttarrijati will appease and propitiate<sup>516</sup> the goddess. [Th]en they will give the goddess a ritual/offering (SISKUR). But when the queen arrives [i]n Ankuwa, should

<sup>508</sup> This restoration follows *CHD* vol. L-N: 325.

<sup>509</sup> The sign *a* is written here with two single vertical strokes.

<sup>510</sup> Reading of *[m]e-ma<sup>1</sup>-at-ti* in line 18 as well as <sup>ḥ</sup>UL<sup>1</sup>-u-an-za and *[ME-a]š* in line 19 was suggested by Schwemer.

<sup>511</sup> Lit. “Because <sup>d</sup>HAL has been determined to be in anger with His Majesty”

<sup>512</sup> The phrase *arkuwar tiyauwaš* has been rendered here as “presenting a defense” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 209.2.

<sup>513</sup> Lit. “will put you on the way.”

<sup>514</sup> Line count follows KUB 22.40.

<sup>515</sup> The sign *du* is written here with two vertical wedges instead of one.

<sup>516</sup> For that translation of these two verbs see *CHD* L-N: 355 and Puhvel *HED* vol. 4: 53.

they put<sup>517</sup> an **invocation (ritual)**<sup>518</sup> to the Sungoddess of Arinna? [B]y the prophetess the *ḪURRI*-bird (oracle) was ascertained. *They(?)* already gave the ritual/offering (SISKUR) to the Sungoddess of Arinna.

32. KUB 18.62 + KUB 6.13 (CTH 578), SU and KIN oracle, NH/NS.

KUB 18.62 + KUB 6.13: // (5') *nu* <sup>MUNUS</sup>ENSI *pu-nu-uš-šu-en nu-kán*  
<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU *ú-<sup>r</sup>te-er<sup>r</sup>* erasure / (6') *tu-uk* <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU *kiš-an DÛ-an-zi*  
<sup>LÚ</sup>A-ŠI-PU-*kán* / (7') ***mu-kiš-šar*** *da-a-i nam-ma* DUMU.MUNUS *du-ud-du-*  
*un-un(?)* / (8') *nu* A-NA DINGIR-LIM SISKUR SUM-*an-zi maš-kán-na-ši*  
SUM-*an-zi* / (9') *'ma-a-an-ma'*(?) ZI DINGIR-LIM *wa-ar-ši-ia-zi nu*  
SU.MEŠ SIG<sub>5</sub>-*ru* / (10') [x x] x x NU.SIG<sub>5</sub>//

We asked the prophetess and they brought (the statue of) Marduk. For you, o Marduk, they do as follows: the exorcist puts/presents an **invocation (ritual)**.<sup>519</sup> Next, the daughter *duddun*; they give (you), o god, a ritual/offering (SISKUR) and they give (you), o god, the propitiatory gift. If the soul of the god will be appeased (by that), let the SU oracles be favourable. [...] Unfavourable.

33. KBo 10.20 (CTH 604.A), a New Hittite text that outlines and gives a cult inventory of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival. The verb *mugai-* is also employed in KBo 45.16 (CTH 604.D), one of the several manuscripts of this text.

(1)

KBo 10.20 iii<sup>520</sup>: (29) // [*lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL I]-NA  
<sup>É</sup> x x *pa-a-an-zi* / (30) [*nu šu-up-pa wa*]-<sup>r</sup>*ar-ap<sup>r</sup>-pu-u-wa-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>r</sup>-zi*  
<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>ḪAL-*ma* / (31) <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR<sup>r</sup> [<sup>URU</sup>Ḫa<sup>r</sup>-*at-ta-ri-na nam-ma 'mu-u-ga-a-*

***an<sup>r</sup>-[zi]*** / (32) <sup>ŠA</sup> DINGIR-LIM-*ia<sup>r</sup> ŠU.ḪI.A šu-up-pí-ia-aḫ-ḫa-an-z[i]* /  
(33) *ne-ku-uz me-ḫur-ma ku-lu-mur-ši-ia ši-pa-an-d[a-an-zi]* // (34) *lu-uk-*  
*kat-ti-ma A-NA* <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR<sup>URU</sup> *Ḫa-ad-da-ri-n[a mu-u-ga-an-zi]*<sup>521</sup> // (35) *lu-uk-*  
*kat-ti-ma A-NA* <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR<sup>URU</sup> *Ḫa-ad-da-ri-n[a mu-u-ga-an-zi]* / (36) *šu-up-pa-*  
*ia-aš UD-az* // ... // (42) [*lu-u*]k-*kat-ti-ma* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL I-NA  
<sup>É</sup> DINGIR.MAḪ *pa-an-z[i]* / (43) [<sup>dU</sup> <sup>URU</sup>Ḫur-*ša-an-na-aš-ši-in-na mu-u-*

***ga-an-zi*** // (44) [*lu-u*]k-*kat-ti-ma* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL DINGIR.MAḪ  
<sup>E</sup>*ar-ki-ú-i-i[a]* / (45) [*i*]-*ia-a[n-z]i* <sup>dU</sup> <sup>URU</sup>Ḫur-*ša-an-na-{na}*-*aš-ši-in-na mu-*  
*u-[ga-an-zi]* //

<sup>517</sup> CHD L-N: 325.2' observes that the use of the verb *pai-* "to put" does not necessarily indicate that *mukeššar* here means "an offering" or "ritual implement", since *dai-* is also employed with the noun *arkuwar* meaning 'defense.'

<sup>518</sup> The noun *mukeššar* has been translated here as "invocation" in CHD vol. L-N: 325 and by Puhvel HED vol. 6: 180.

<sup>519</sup> The noun *mukeššar* has been translated in this context as: "invocation" in CHD vol. L-N: 325 and by Puhvel HED vol. 6: 180.

<sup>520</sup> The text at the beginnings of lines 29-30 is barely visible on the photograph. The restorations in these lines follow Güterbock and Alp (1983).

<sup>521</sup> Alp 1983: 142 as well as Haas and Wegner 1992: 251 restore here and at the end of line 35 the form *mūganzi*.

[On the next day the king and the queen] go [t]o the temple of x x to take a [holy] bath, while the incantation priests again **invo[ke]**<sup>522</sup> Ištar of Ḫattarina. They also purif[y] the hands of the deity. In the evening they off[er] *kulumuršiya*-offering. On the next day [*they invoke*] Ištar of Ḫattarina. On the next day [*they invoke*] Ištar of Ḫattarina. It is the day of the holy (rituals/offering)... [On the ne]xt day the king and the queen g[o] to the temple of the Mother Goddess and **invoke** the [Stormgod] of Ḫuršanašša. [On the next] day the king and the queen [cel]eb[rate] the Mother Goddess in the *ariku*-house and [they] **in[voke]** the Stormgod of Ḫuršanašša.

(2)

KBo 45.16 ii: (2') [nu-k]án GU<sub>4</sub>UDU pí-ra-an ú<sup>?</sup>-[i-ia-an-te-eš(?)] LUGAL-uš(?) / (3') [I-N]A<sup>7523</sup> URU MA-TI-LA pa-iz-zi nu šal-l[i a-še-eš-šar(?)] / (4') [G]U<sub>4</sub> pá-r-ša-ḫa<sup>1</sup>(za)-an-na-<aš><sup>524</sup> a-uš-zi ša-ša-an-na-m[a<sup>?</sup> LUGAL-uš(?)] I-NA(?) / (5') URU A-RI-IN-NA pa-iz-zi MUNUS.LUGAL-ma URU Ḫa-at-t[u-šī] / (6') I-NA É.MUNUS.LUGAL pa-iz-zi / (7') <sup>d</sup>U ḫar-ša-an-na-aš-ši-in-na **mu-ga-an-zi** // (8') lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-kán LUGAL-uš URU A-RI-IN-NA AN.TAḪ.ŠUM<sup>SAR</sup> / (9') da-a-i MUNUS.LUGAL-ma-kán I-NA É.MUNUS.LUGAL AN.TAḪ.ŠUM<sup>SAR</sup> da-a-i / (10') nu I-NA É.MUNUS.LUGAL šal-li a-še-eš-šar / (11') <sup>d</sup>U Ḫur-ša-an-na-aš-ši-in-na **mu-ga-a-iz-zi** //

An ox and sheep are *s[ent]* in advance. [The king] goes [t]o the city of Matila, (where) there is a gre[at assembly]. He (i.e. the king) inspects (lit. sees) the [o]x of *paršaḫanna*. Whi[le the king] goes to Arinna to sleep, the queen goes to Ḫattu[ša] to the “queen’s house”. They **invoke**<sup>525</sup> the Stormgod *Ḫaršanašši*. On the next day the king places AN.TAḪ.ŠUM in Arinna, while the queen places AN.TAḪ.ŠUM in the “queen’s house.” And in the “queen’s house” there is a great assembly and it (i.e. the great assembly) **invokes** the Stormgod *Ḫaršanašši*.

34. ABoT 1 (CTH 646.7), festival, in which the queen celebrates the Stormgod of the Head, NH/NS.

ABoT 1 i: // (1) ma-a-an-za MUNUS.LUGAL <sup>d</sup>U ḫar-ša-an-na-aš / (2) I-NA É<sup>LÚ.MEŠŠÀ</sup> (TAM).TAM LUGAL-ša-an še-er / (3) MU.KAM-ti me-i-e-ni ku-it im-ma ku-it / (4) me-ḫur i-ia-zi nu-za <sup>LÚ</sup>DUB.SAR / (5) <sup>MUNUS</sup>AMA.DINGIR-LIM-ia wa-ar-ap-pa-an-zi / (6) nu <sup>d</sup>U ḫar-ša-an-na-aš pí-ra-an pa-ra-a / (7) I-NA UD.ʽ2ʽ. KAM kiš-an **mu-ga-an-zi** //

<sup>522</sup> The verb *mugai-* was translated in these passages as “to lament” by Güterbock 1997: 97 (reprint of 1960b: 83-84); “richten ein Klagegebet” by Haas-Wegner 1992: 251 and as “klagen” by Alp 1983: 145. Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 178 translates the verb *mugai-* in line iii 31 of KBo 20.10 as “invoke” and in line ii 11 of KBo 45.16 (CTH 604.D) as “implore”. The verb *mugai-* in line iii 31 has been translated as “invoke/entreat” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 321.

<sup>523</sup> Alp 1983: 146 reads here [LUGAL-u]š; Roszkowska-Mutschler 2005: 20 [*t*]a. Although the traces could suggest that the latter reading is correct, it is excluded here. This is based on the fact that the text is composed in the New Hittite period and that in no other instance of this text the sentence introductory particle *ta* is used, excludes this reading. The traces could also be read as *I-NA* and that is the reading adopted here.

<sup>524</sup> The reading *pár-ša-ḫa-an-na-<aš>* follows Roszkowska-Mutschler 2005: 20.

<sup>525</sup> The verb *mugai-* has been translated in this context as “richten das Klagegebet an” by Alp 1983: 147. Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 178 renders *mugai-* in line 11’ as “implore”.

When, at whatever time during the course of the year, the queen worships the Stormgod of the head in the house of the chamberlains for the sake of the king, the scribe and the (priestess of the) Mother Goddess wash themselves and for two days **invoke**<sup>526</sup> before the Stormgod of the head as follows: (the opening of *ḥašiyalli*-vessel and the display of ingredients such as raisins, figs, malt, BAPPIR etc. follow)

35. KUB 32.130 (CTH 710), a bird oracle, MH/MS<sup>527</sup>, OH/NS or MH/NS.<sup>528</sup>

KUB 32.130: (1) <sup>d</sup>I[ŠTAR] ŠÉ-RI <sup>URU</sup>ŠA-MU-U-ḪA / (2) *kar-di-mi-at-ti ḥa-an-da-a-it-ta-at* / (3) *nu* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI *ki-iš-ša-an a-ri-ia-nu-un* / (4) *pa-i-mi-kán* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI *an-tu-uh-ša-an* / (5) *I-NA* <sup>URU</sup>ŠA<sup>1</sup>-MU-U-ḪA *pa-ra-a ne-eḫ-ḫi* // (6) *nu-uš-ša-an pa-iz-zi I-NA* <sup>URU</sup>ŠA-MU-U-ḪA / (7) *A-NA* <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR ŠÉ-RI ***mu-ke-eš-šar*** *pé-di-pát*<sup>529</sup> *pa-a-i* / (8) *nam-ma-aš-ši EZEN-an i-e-ez-zi* / (9) *me-mi-ia-nu-ša PA-NI DINGIR-LIM aš-šu-li me-ma-i* // (10) *ku-wa-pí-ma-kán KASKAL* <sup>URU</sup>IŠ-ḪU-U-BI-IT-TA / (11) *KASKAL* <sup>URU</sup>TA-AŠ-MA-ḪA-IA *aš-nu-ut-ta-ri* / (12) *nu* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI *pí-i-e-mi nu-mu* <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR ŠÉ-RI / (13) *kat-ti-mi ú-da-an-zi EGIR.KASKAL-ma-aš-ši* / (14) *UD-at UD-at SÍSKUR pí-iš-kán-zi* // (15) *ma-aḫ-ḥa-an-ma-an MA-ḪAR* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI / (16) *ar-nu-an-zi na-an I-NA* <sup>URU</sup>ŠA-MU-U-ḪA / (17) *ma-aḫ-ḥa-an mu-ke-eš-kán-zi a-pí-ia-ia-an* / (18) *I-NA UD.8.KAM QA-TAM-MA mu-ga-a-an-zi* / (19) *nam-ma-an-za* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI *i-e-mi* // (20) *nam-ma-an a-ap-pa I-NA* <sup>URU</sup>ŠA-MU-U-ḪA / (21) *pé-e-da-an-zi nu-uš-ši a-pí-ia-ia* / (22) *EGIR.KASKAL UD-at UD-at SÍSKUR QA-TAM-MA pí-iš-kán-zi* / (23) *ma-aḫ-ḥa-an-ma-an a-ap-pa I-NA* erasure <sup>URU</sup>Ša-mu-ḫi / (24) *ar-nu-an-zi nu-uš-ši a-pí-ia-ia EZEN i-an-zi* // (25) *nu ma-a-an A-NA* <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR ŠÉ-RI <sup>URU</sup>ŠA-MU-U-ḪA / (26) *a-pa-a-at a-aš-šu SÍSKUR-az da-a-at-ti* / (27) *A-NA* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI-kán *an-da aš-šu-li* / (28) *na-iš-ta-ri kat-ti-mi aš-šu-li ar-ta-ri* / (29) *I-NA KUR* <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR-IA *ku-wa-pí pa-i-mi* / (30) *nu-mu kat-ti-mi aš-šu-li ar-ta-ri* / (31) *am-me-el-za A-NA SAG.DU-IA aš-šu-li* erasure *TI-an-ni* // (left edge) (32) *ḥa-an-za ḥar-ši* <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR.MEŠ-IA-mu / (33) *pa-ra-a pí-iš-ki-ši nu-uš* / (34) *ḥar-ni-in-ki-iš-ki-mi nu MUŠEN.ḪI.A* / (35) <sup>r</sup>ḥa<sup>1</sup>-an-da-a-an-du *nu ke-e MUŠEN.ḪI.A* //

[Išta]r of the Battlefield of Samuḫa has been angry (lit. has been fixed in anger). I, His Majesty, made the following oracular inquiry: “I, His Majesty, will (go and) send to Samuḫa (my) delegate (lit. a man). He will go and at the very place in Samuḫa he will give an **invocation (ritual)**<sup>530</sup> to Ištar of the Battlefield, furthermore he will celebrate a festival for her and will speak the words of (lit. for) greeting before the goddess. When the journey to Išhubitta and the journey to Tašmaḫaya is over, I, My Majesty, will send (men) and they will bring the (statue) of Ištar of the Battlefield to my side. On the way back daily they will offer her ritual. When they bring her (i.e.

<sup>526</sup> The verb *mugai-* has been translated in the present context as “entreat” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 231; “anrufen” by Glocker 1997: 126 and “implore” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 178.

<sup>527</sup> This dating of the text is suggested in Konkordanz.

<sup>528</sup> Lebrun 1976: 167 and 170-171. Lebrun (1976: 169 and 171) argues that SISKUR appearing in lines 22 and 26 replaces *mukeššar*.

<sup>529</sup> The sign *pat* is written over the line.

<sup>530</sup> The noun *mukeššar* was translated in this text as: “supplique” by Lebrun 1976: 169; “prayer” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 180 and as “Bittgebet” by Wegner 1981: 135. Lebrun 1976: 169 and Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 178, 182-3 translate the verb *mugai-* that appears in this text as “to invoke” and Wegner 1981: 136 as “anbeten”. *CHD* vol. L-N: 325 translate the noun *mukeššar* in line 7 as an “invocation ritual.”

the statue of the goddess) before His Majesty, then they will **invoke** her for eight days in the same way as they **keep invoking** her in Samuḫa. Furthermore, I, His Majesty, will celebrate her. Then they will bring her back to Samuḫa and then, on the way back, daily they will offer her **invocation ritual** in the same way. And when they bring her back to Samuḫa, there, they will celebrate a festival for her. If that is pleasing to you, o Ištar of the Battlefield of Samuḫa, (if) you accept (lit. take for yourself) the **invocation ritual**, (if) you will turn in favour towards His Majesty, (if) you will stand at my side (lit. with me) in favour, and when I go the enemy land (if) you will stand at my side in favour, (if) you will hold my person in favour and alive, (if) you hand over to me my enemies, and I will keep defending them, let the birds establish (this). There are the birds (lit. these birds).

36. KUB 27.16 (CTH 714), festival celebrated for Ištar of Nineveh, NH/NS.

KUB 27.16 iii: // (14) *nu* MUNUS.LUGAL<sup>531</sup> <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR<sup>URU</sup> NI-NU-WA I-NA UD.3.KAM *ki-iš-ša-an* / (15) <sup>r</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-ke-eš-ki-iz-zi ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma I-NA UD.3.KAM KASKAL [?] / (16) EGIR-pa *ú-iz-zi na-aš-ta ma-aḫ-ḫa-an I-NA* <sup>r</sup>É<sup>1</sup> [ ... ] / (17) *am-pa-aš-ši-iš kar-ap-ta-ri* //

When on the third day she comes back from the journey and when she finishes the fire offering in the temple of [...], the queen continues to **invoke**<sup>532</sup> Ištar of Nineveh in this way on the third day.

### III.B. mukeššar “materials used in invocation ritual”

1. VBoT 24 (CTH 393.A), ritual of Anniwiyani invoking the tutelary deities (<sup>d</sup>LAMMA) of *lulumi*, *innarawant-*, and <sup>KUŠ</sup>*kuršaš* (hunting bag), MH/NS.

VBoT 24 iv: (17) I-NA UD.4.KAM-ma *mu-ke-eš-šar ḫu-u-ma-an* / (18) *ša-ra-a da-aḫ-ḫi na-at-kán pa-ra-a* <sup>r</sup>pé<sup>1</sup>-e-da-aḫ-ḫi

But on the fourth day I pick up all **the material of the invocation ritual**<sup>533</sup> and carry them out.

### III.C. mukeššar “invocation” (an object in the KIN oracles)

1. KUB 5.1 + KUB 52.65 (CTH 561), KIN and SU oracle text, NH/NS.

(1)

KUB 5.1 ii: // (39) [<sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI]<sup>rURU</sup> <sup>Ha</sup>1-ḫa-ni-pát EGIR-pa *pa-iz-zi nu* <sup>URU</sup>*ḫur-na-an* RA-zi <sup>URU</sup>*ḫur-na-za-ma-kán ar-ḫa* / (40) <sup>URU</sup>*Ka-pí-pí-iš-ša an-da-an* <sup>URU</sup>*ḫa-ak-miš an-da-an* <sup>URU</sup>*Ne-ri-ki an-da-an* / (41) *nu* <sup>URU</sup>*Ta-ni-zi-la-an* [RA]-zi EGIR-pa-ma <sup>URU</sup>*Ne-ri-ki-pát an-da-an nu* INIM <sup>URU</sup>*Tap-te-*

<sup>531</sup> The Sumerograms MUNUS.LUGAL are written above the line.

<sup>532</sup> The verb *mugai-* has been translated here as: “multiplier les invocations” by Lebrun 1980: 440; “pray” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 182 and as “klagen” by Wegner 1981: 153.

<sup>533</sup> The noun *mukeššar* was translated in the present context as “the materials of the invocation ritual” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 326 and by Bawanypeck 2005: 63; and as “invocation [ritual]” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 180. Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935: 115 leave this noun untranslated.

na / (42) INIM <sup>URU</sup>Ḫur-ša-ma a-pí-ia DÛ-zi<sup>534</sup> KI.MIN SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru LÚ.MEŠ<sup>URU</sup>PA-ma-aš EGIR-an ar-ḫa wa-aš-túl / (43) ʾKASKALʾ ŠA LUGAL-ia da-pí-an ZI-an **mu-kiš-šar-ra** ME-ir nu-kán DINGIR.MEŠ-aš / (44) 2 <sup>LÚ</sup>ʾKÚRʾ-za ZAG-ʾtarʾ MÈ-ia ME-aš nu-uš-ma-ša-aš-kán ŠÀ KUR-TI NU.SIG<sub>5</sub> //

[His Majesty] will go back only to Ḫaḫana. He will attack Ḫurna. From Ḫurna (he will go) to Kapipišša, to Ḫakmiš (and) to Nerik. He will [attac]k Tanizila. Then, (he will go) back only to Nerik. He will carry out there the affair of Taptena and Ḫuršama. Ditto. Let (the KIN oracle) be favourable. The MEN OF ḪATTI took again the HIDDEN<sup>535</sup> SIN, the CAMPAIGN, the WHOLE SOUL OF THE KING (and) **INVOCATION**<sup>536</sup> and (they are) with the GODS. Second: The ENEMY took RIGHTNESS and BATTLE. They (are) for them within the LAND. Unfavourable.

(2)

KUB 5.1 iii: // (44) nu-kán DINGIR.MEŠ-tar-ma pí-an ti-ia-at nu a-pí-iz-za NU.SIG<sub>5</sub> NU.SIG<sub>5</sub>-du / (45) UGULA-za GÛB-tar IZI **mu-kiš-šar-ra** ME-aš nu-kán DINGIR.MEŠ-aš NU.SIG<sub>5</sub> //

(In lines iii 28-32 the questions were asked about the campaigns in Tanizila and against the troops of Mount Ḫaḫarwa. The KIN oracle was carried out with an unfavourable outcome. Then the questions are asked why was it unfavourable).

The divine (statues) traveled in front: is it for that reason that it is bad? Let (the KIN oracle) be unfavourable. The OVERSEER took for himself SINISTERNESS, FIRE and **INVOCATION** and (it is) with the GODS. Unfavourable.

(3)

KUB 5.1 iii: // (58) na-an A-NA KASKAL <sup>URU</sup>Tal-ma-li-ia-ma uš-kat-te-ni NU.SIG<sub>5</sub>-du LUGAL-za ZAG-tar<sup>537</sup> **mu-kiš-šar-ra** ME-aš / (59) nu-kán an-da SIG<sub>5</sub>-u-i 2 UGULA-za ZAG-tar <sup>GIŠ</sup>DAG ŠA LUGAL da-pí-an ZI-an MÈ-ia ME-aš nu-kán DINGIR.MEŠ-aš / (60) 3-ŠU GIG GAL TI-tar ME-aš nu-kán DINGIR.MEŠ-aš SIG<sub>5</sub> //

Will you (gods) see it<sup>538</sup> (i.e. the fear) on the Talmaliya campaign? Let (the KIN oracle) be unfavourable. The KING took for himself the RIGHTNESS and **INVOCATION** and (took them) into the GOOD. Second: the OVERSEER took for himself RIGHTNESS, THRONE, the WHOLE SOUL OF THE KING and BATTLE, and (they are) with the GODS. Third: the GREAT SICKNESS took LIFE and (it is) with the GODS. Favourable.

(4)

KUB 5.1 iii: // (97) A-NA LÚ.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>Ti-ia-aš-ši-li-ma-kán an-da ša-li-ku-ar ku-e-iz-za NU.SIG<sub>5</sub> / (98) LÚ.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>PA-ʾkánʾ ku-wa-pí an-da ša-li-

534

One vertical is added under the four wedges in the sign *zi*.

535

This notion is expressed here by the adverb *arḫa*.

536

The noun *mukiššar* has been translated in this text as “evocation ritual” by Beal 1999 and as “Bitte” by Ünal 1974.

537

ZAG-tar is written above the line.

538

The personal pronoun *-an* refers here to the king’s fear also mentioned in line iii 56.

*kán-zi* NU.SIG<sub>5</sub>-*du* LÚ.MEŠ<sup>URU</sup>PA-*ma-aš* GÙB-*tar* / (99) *mu-kiš-šar-ra*  
ME-*ir nu-kán* DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš* NU.SIG<sub>5</sub>//

For the men of Tiyaššili invasion from any direction (is) not favourable. Should the men of Ḫatti invade somewhere? Let (the KIN oracle) be unfavourable. The MEN of ḪATTI took SINISTERNESS and **INVOCATION** and (they are) with the GODS. Unfavourable.

(5)

KUB 5.1 iv: // (44) *IŠ-TU*<sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI IR-*TUM QA-TAM-MA-pát nu* KIN  
SIG<sub>5</sub>-*ru* LUGAL-*za* ZAG-*tar mu-kiš-šar-ra* 'ME'-[*aš*] / (45) *nu-kán an-da*  
SIG<sub>5</sub>-*u-i* 2 UGULA-*za* ZAG-*tar*<sup>GIS</sup>DAG-*in ŠA* LUGAL-*{ia}* *da-pí-an* ZI-*an*  
'ME'<sup>1</sup>-*ia* ME-*aš* / (46) *nu-kán* DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš* 3-ŠU GIG GAL TI-*tar* ME-  
*aš nu-kán* DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš* SIG<sub>5</sub>//

The very same question from the Old Woman<sup>539</sup>. Let the KIN (oracle) be favourable. The KING to[ok] for himself the RIGHTNESS and **INVOCATION** and (took them) into the GOOD. Second: the OVERSEER took for himself RIGHTNESS, THRONE, the WHOLE SOUL OF THE KING and BATTLE and (they are) with the GODS. Third: the GREAT SICKNESS took LIFE and (it is) with the GODS. Favourable.

(6)

KUB 5.1 iv: // (74) TA<sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI IR-*TUM QA-TAM-MA-pát nu* KIN  
SIG<sub>5</sub>-*ru* LUGAL-*za* ZAG-*tar mu-kiš-šar* *in-na-ra-wa-tar-ra* ME-*aš* / (75)  
*nu-kán ŠÀ* SIG<sub>5</sub>-*u-i* 2 ḪUL-*u-wa-za-aš-kán* TA GIG GAL-*ia iš-tar-na ar-*  
*ḫa* erasure / (76) ŠA LUGAL IGI-*wa ú-wa-tar* TI-*tar-ra* ME-*aš nu-kán*  
DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš* SIG<sub>5</sub>//

The very same question from the Old Woman<sup>540</sup>. Let the KIN (oracle) be favourable. The KING took for himself the RIGHTNESS, **INVOCATION** and VIGOUR and (took them) into the GOOD. He (came)<sup>541</sup> through from both EVIL and GREAT SICKNESS, took the VISION OF THE KING'S EYES and LIFE and (they are) with the GODS. Favourable.

(7)

KUB 5.1 left edge: // (1) *na-an-kán*<sup>URU</sup>Šar-*kát-ta-še-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-za-ma* EGIR  
UGU RA-*zi* / (2) KI.MIN SIG<sub>5</sub>-*ru* LÚ.MEŠ<sup>URU</sup>PA-*ma-aš* GÙB-*tar* IZI *mu-*  
*kiš-šar-ra* ME-*ir*<sup>1</sup>(*aš*) / (3) *nu-kán* DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš* NU.SIG<sub>5</sub>//

He (i.e. the king) will attack it (i.e. Mount Ḫaḫarwa) up from behind Šarkattešena. Ditto. Let (the KIN oracle) be favourable. The MEN OF ḪATTI took SINISTERNESS, FIRE and **INVOCATION** and (they are) with the GODS. Unfavourable.

<sup>539</sup> The question is included in lines ii 40-41: (40) <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI-*kán*<sup>HUR.SAG</sup> Ḫa-ḫar-*wa* x x x x x x  
x *aš-šu-la-an-ni* EGIR-*an pa-iz-zi* / (41) DINGIR-LIM-*za-aš tar-na-an-za* “Will His Majesty go behind [...] on] the mount Ḫaḫar[wa] in well-being? Is he allowed by the deity?”

<sup>540</sup> The question is included in lines iv 70-72: (70) I-NA<sup>HUR.SAG</sup> Ḫa-ḫar-*wa-kán ku-it* [x x x x] x  
[x] x UGU *pa-iz-zi* / (72) BE-*an-ma an-za-aš* KAL-*i BÚN-mi* 'ḫar-š<sup>1</sup>-ḫar<sup>1</sup>-š<sup>1</sup>-*wa-ar-ša-aš*  
'ḫé-*u<sup>1</sup>-wa-aš* UL ...-ḫi / (72) KARAŠ.ḪI.A-*kán* TA <sup>d</sup>U UL *za-aḫ-ta-ri* “Because he (i.e. the king) will go up on the Mount Ḫaḫarwa[...], if he does need to fear for us in strong thunderstorm, wind, ..., and rain and the troops will not be struck by the Stormgod”.

<sup>541</sup> The verb at the end of line 75 was erased. Ünal 1974: 88 was probably right in restoring here the verb *uwa-*.

2. KUB 5.3+ (CTH 563.1.A), oracle text, NH/NS.

KUB 5.3 i: (32) [IŠ-TU<sup>MUNU</sup>]ŠU.GI 'IR-TUM' QA-TAM-MA-pát nu KIN NU.S[IG<sub>5</sub>-r]u DINGIR.MEŠ GUB-ir **mu-kiš-šar** ME-ir / (33) 'na-an' pa-an-ga-u-i SUM-ir NU.SIG<sub>5</sub>

The very same question [from] the Old [Woman].<sup>542</sup> L[et] the KIN (oracle) [be] unfav[ourable]. The GODS arose, took **INVOCATION**<sup>543</sup> and gave it to the MULTITUDE. Unvafavourable.

3. KBo 2.6+ (CTH 569.3.I), oracle text concerning the affairs of Arma-Tarḫunta and Šaušgatti, NS.

KBo 2.6 ii: (37) DINGIR-LUM ku-it ŠA<sup>fd</sup> IŠTAR-at-ti ut-tar EGIR-pa SUD-at / (38) EME ŠA<sup>fd</sup> IŠTAR-at-ti-pát TI-an-ta-aš ku-it-ma-na-aš TI-an-za e-eš-ta / (39) nu a-pí-ia ku-it ar-ra-aḫ-ḫa-ni-iš-ki-it nu KIN NU.SIG<sub>5</sub>-du / (40) DINGIR.MEŠ GUB-ir **mu-kiš-šar** šal-li wa-aš-túl IZI-ia ME-ir / (41) nu-kán A-NA GIG GAL NU.SIG<sub>5</sub>//

Concerning the fact that the deity has brought back the affair of Šaušgatti: (Is/was it) the slander of that same Šaušgatti (when she was) alive? Because she kept cursing as long as she was alive? Let the KIN (oracle) be unfavourable. The GODS have risen and took **INVOCATION**<sup>544</sup>, GREAT SIN and FIRE and (it is) in the GREAT ILLNESS; unfavourable.

4. KUB 49.14 + KBo 23.112 (CTH 577), SU, KIN, MUŠEN oracle text, NH/NS.

KUB 49.14 + KBo 23.112 iii: (3') [ ... <sup>m</sup>Ta-at-ta-m]a-ru ku-it :ú-ra-na-u-wa-ar SĪxSÁ-at / (4') [ ... <sup>m</sup>Ta-a]t-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-ma-ru-uš :ú-ra-na-iz-zi / (5') [ x x (x) ] x-iš-<sup>r</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-x [ ... ] x ma-a-an-ma-aš-ši-at DINGIR-LUM ḫa-ra-tar wa-aš-túl / (6') [Ú-UL<sup>545</sup> k]u-it-ki x <sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> x [ ... S]U.'MEŠ' SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru<sup>GIŠ</sup>ŠU.A-ḫi GÛB-an NU. SIG<sub>5</sub> // (7') 'IŠ<sup>1</sup>-TU<sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI nu Û-TUM QA-TAM-'MA'-pát nu KIN SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru<sup>d</sup>UTU AN GUB-iš / (8') **mu-kiš-šar** ME-aš nu-kán A-NA MU GÍ[D]. 'DA' NU. SIG<sub>5</sub>

Regarding the fact that *uranauwar*<sup>546</sup> was ascertained for [Tattam]aru, [Tat]tammaru is making [now] *uranauwar*. [...] if, you o deity, [do not ...] any misdoing (or) offence for him, let the [S]U (oracles) be favourable. The throne (is) on the left: unfavourable. Through the 'Old Woman' and (through) the dream that same (question): Let the KIN (oracle) be favourable. The SUNGODDESS OF HEAVEN aroused, took **INVOCATION**<sup>547</sup> and (gave it) to a LONG YEAR; unfavourable.

<sup>542</sup> The question is asked in line 30: "Will the road accident happen to His Majesty due to the negligence of a person?" (Beal 2003: 210).

<sup>543</sup> The noun *mukiššar* was translated here by Beal 2003: 210 as "evocation ritual" and by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 180 as "prayer".

<sup>544</sup> The noun *mukiššar* has been translated in the present context as "invocation" in *CHD* L-N: 326; "prayer" by Hoffner 1998: 205 and by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 180.

<sup>545</sup> Restored by Hoffner 1995: 121.

<sup>546</sup> *uranauwar* was translated as "fire offering" by Hoffner 1995: 121.

<sup>547</sup> The noun *mukeššar* was translated here as "Gebet" by Hoffner 1995: 121 and as "I'invocation" by Mouton 2007: 204.

5. KBo 41.199 + KUB 49.41 + KUB 49.21 (CTH 577), bird and KIN oracle text, NH/NS.

(1)

KUB 49.41 i: // (13') *IŠ-TU*<sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI 'IR-TUM' QA-TAM-MA-pát nu KIN NU.S[IG<sub>5</sub>-ru ...] / (14') *mu-kiš-šar-ra* ME-aš nu-kán DINGIR.MEŠ-aš x [ ...] //

The very same question from the Old Woman.<sup>548</sup> [Let] the KIN oracle [be] unfa[vourable. ...] took [...] and **INVOCATION** and they are with the GODS [ ... ].

(2)

KUB 49.21 iv: // (1) [d]U<sup>URU</sup> *ḪAT-TI ku-it* dU<sup>URU</sup> *LI-IḪ-ZI-NA-ia* / (2) [TUKU.TU]KU-ti 'SIxSÁ<sup>1</sup>-ta-at nu-kán<sup>m</sup> *Zu-wa-an-za-an pa-ra-a ne-an-zi* / (3) [x] x x *pé-di-š[i] a-ri-ia-zi na-aš-kán* KASKAL-ši da-a-i / (4) [nu-kán] A-NA<sup>r<sup>d1</sup></sup>U<sup>URU</sup> *ḪAT-TI mu-'kiš'-šar da-a-i* / (5) [x x] x *an-da-an SUD-an-zi KAŠ-ia-aš-ši pí-an-zi* /

Since the Storm[god] of Ḫatti and the Stormgod of Liḫzina have been ascertained [to be angr]y (lit. for anger), they will send the man named Zuwanza. He will make an oracular enquiry in (that) pla[ce ...], he will set them (i.e. both Stormgods) on the road and he will set up an **invocation (ritual)**<sup>549</sup> for the Stormgod of Ḫatti. They will pull [ ... ] in and they will offer him beer.

6. KUB 16.29 + KUB 16.81 (CTH 578), SU and KIN oracle, NH/NS.

KUB 16.29 obv.: // (4) [ ... *ak-ki-ik-k*]iš-ta-at MUŠEN.ḪIA-ia-mu 'ḪUL'-u-eš KIMIN *ma-a-an-ma-mu* KUR *Šag-ḫa-ḫur-wa* / (5) [ ... nu KIN] SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru<sup>GIŠ</sup> DAG GUB-iš ŠA LUGAL *a-ut-ma pár-na-aš-ša* SIG<sub>5</sub> ME-aš *na-at UGULA-i pa-iš* / (6) [ ... <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚ]R *da-pí-an ZI-an MÈ-ia* ME-aš *na-aš EGIR* <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR SUM-za erasure / (7) [ ... *mu*]-*kiš-šar-ra* ME-aš *na-an* dUTU AN-E *pa-iš* SIG<sub>5</sub> //

[If ...] he/she [di]ed and the (if) birds are unfavourable for me (lit. birds are evil for me) the same. But if the land of Šagḫaḫurwa [...] for me, let [the KIN oracle] be favourable. The THRONE took STANDING of the KING *autma* GOOD of the HOUSE and gave them to the OVERSEER. [...] took the ENTIRE SOUL [of the ENE]MY and BATTLE and it is given back to the ENEMY. [...] took **INVOCATION**<sup>550</sup> and gave it to the SUNGOD OF HEAVEN. Favourable.

<sup>548</sup> The question is not preserved in the text.

<sup>549</sup> Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 180 translated the noun *mukeššar* in line iv 4 of KUB 49.21 as “invocation”.

<sup>550</sup> The noun *mukeššar* has been rendered in the present context as “prayer” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 181.

### III.D. mugawar in trilingual lists

1. KUB 3.103 (CTH 300.5), New Hittite lexical list of the type diri DIR siaku = watru.

KUB 3.103 obv. // (5) (Sum.) [ ... ] /// (Akk.) *ta-zi-ím-tu*<sup>551</sup> /// (Hitt.) *mu-ga-u-[wa-ar]* //

2. KBo 26.20 (CTH 301.a.1.A), New Hittite lexical list of the series erim.ḫuš = anantu.

KBo 26.20 iii: // (11) (Sum.) [š]u-bal /// (Akk.) *ʿsú<sup>1</sup>-up-pu-u*<sup>552</sup> /// (Hitt.) *mu-qa-a-u-wa-ar* //

3. KBo 1.42 (CTH 303.1), New Hittite lexical list of the izi = išātu series.

KBo 1.42 iii: // (57) (Sum.) [si] /// (Akk.) *ʿše-bu-ú*<sup>553</sup> /// (Hitt.) *ʿmu<sup>1</sup>-ga-a-u-[wa-ar]* //

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<sup>551</sup> The Akkadian *tazimtu* was translated by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 179 as “lament”.  
<sup>552</sup> Akkadian *suppū* was translated by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 179 as “prayer”. Güterbock 1985: 110 translated this line as “to implore”, “prayer”.  
<sup>553</sup> The Akkadian *šebû* was rendered here as “desire” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 179.

## IV. TALLIYA- , TALLIYAWAR

## IV.A. talliya- “to exhort”

1. KUB 19.49+ (CTH 69.A), treaty between Muršili II and Manapa-Tarḫunta, NH/NS.

KUB 19.49 i: // (1) *UM-MA* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI <sup>m</sup>*Mur*<sup>1</sup>-ši-DINGIR-LIM LUGAL.GAL 'LUGAL' [KUR <sup>URU</sup>HA-AT-TI UR.SAG] / (2) *tu-uk* <sup>m</sup>*Ma-na-pa*<sup>d</sup>U-an A-BU-KA ar-[*ḫa* ...] / (3) *ta-li-ia-at nu-za* DUMU-aš e-eš-ta [ ... ] / (4) <sup>m</sup>*U-ra*<sup>d</sup>U-aš-ša ŠEŠ.MEŠ-KA ku-en-n[u-um-ma-an-zi(?)] / (5) *ša-an-ḫi-iš-ki-ir ma-an-ták-kán ku-e*[n-ni-ir zi-ik-ma(?)]<sup>554</sup> / (6) *iš-pár-za-aš-ta nu-ut-ták-kán IŠ-TU* <KUR><sup>?</sup> [<sup>D</sup>ŠE-E-ḪA ...] / (7) *nu-kán* A-NA LÚ.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>*Kar-ki-ša pá-r-ra-a*[n-da pa-it] / (8) *nu-ut-ták-kán* KUR-KA ŠA A-BI-KA-ia 'É<sup>1</sup>-aš [*ar-ḫa*(?) *da-a-ir*(?)] / (9) *na-at-za* 'a-pu<sup>1</sup>-u-uš 'da-a-i<sup>1</sup>-[ir<sup>555</sup> nu-ut-t]a(?) [<sup>m</sup>*Ma-na-pa*<sup>d</sup>U-an <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI] / (10) A-NA LÚ.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>*Kar*-[*ki-ša an-da wa-tar-na-aḫ-ḫu-un*<sup>556</sup> nu] 'A<sup>1?</sup>-[NA<sup>?</sup>] / (11) LÚ.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>*Kar*-'ki<sup>1</sup>-[ša up-p]é-eš-šar<sup><HL.A></sup> up-pí-[iš-ki-nu-un ŠEŠ-IA-ia-at-ta(?) a-pu-u-uš(?)] / (12) *še-er tal-[I]i-iš-ki-it nu-ut-ta* LÚ.M[EŠ <sup>URU</sup>*Kar-ki-ša*] / (13) *an-zi-d*[a-a]z me-mi-ia-na-az PAP-nu-[ir] //

Thus (speaks) His Majest, Muršili, the great king, the king [of Ḫatti, the hero]: Your father left you, Manapa-Tarḫunta beh[ind ...], and you were a child. [PN] and Ura-Tarḫunta, your brothers, plotted [to] ki[ll you] and they would have ki[lled] you, [but you] escaped. [*They drove you*] you out of the land of the [Šeha] R[iver], and you [went] acros[s] to the people of Karkiša. [*They took*] your land and the house of your father [away] from you and [they] took them for themselves. [*I, My Majesty commended yo*]u [*Manapa-Tarḫunta*]<sup>557</sup> to the people of Kar[kiša], and] t[o] the people of Karkiša [*I kept*] sen[ding gi]fts. [*Also my brother*]<sup>558</sup> **kept exhorting**<sup>559</sup> [*them on your*] behalf<sup>560</sup>. And bec[au]se of our words the peopl[e of Karkiša] protect[ted] you.

<sup>554</sup> Friedrich 1930b: 4 and Wilhelm hethiter.net //: CTH 69 restore here [ ... nu zi-ik].

<sup>555</sup> The original text reads here *da-a-i* (third singular present). However, because the subject of this sentence is probably plural, indicated here by the enclitic personal pronoun *-at* that would refer to the brothers of Manapa-Tarḫunta, therefore one may perhaps postulate here the unorthodox reading *da-a-i-ir*.

<sup>556</sup> The restorations at the end of line 10 are suggested in the Mainz lexical card catalogue under the verb *talliya-*. They are confirmed by line iv 15 of KUB 14.15 (Annals of Muršili II that recount the same event) (cf. Beckman 1999: 82 and note 586). At the end of line 11 Friedrich 1930b: 4 and the entry in the Mainz lexical card catalogue read ŠEŠ-IA-ia-at-ta DINGIR.MEŠ.

<sup>557</sup> Beckman 1999: 82 restores here “but I, My Majesty, commended you, Manapa-Tarḫunta” noting that he draws this and other restorations in this passage from the similar account of events presented in the Annals of Muršili II. Wilhelm hethiter.net //: CTH 69 translates this sentence as: “Ich, Meine Majestät, aber habe dich, Manapa-Tarḫunta anbefohlen.”

<sup>558</sup> Wilhelm hethiter.net //: CTH 69 comments that either “my borther” or “my father” could be restored here.

<sup>559</sup> The verb *talliya-* has been rendered here as: “plead” by Beckman 1999: 83; “anrufen” by Friedrich 1930b: 5 and “anrufen” by Wilhelm hethiter.net //: CTH 69.

<sup>560</sup> Wilhelm hethiter.net //: CTH 69 reads this sentence as: “[Auch mein Bruder] hatte [(bereits) deinet]wegen [die Götter] an[gl]erufen”; Friedrich 1930b: 5 translated this sentence as “[auch mein Bruder] rief [deinet]wegen [die Götter] an”. Although Wilhelm and Friedrich

#### IV.B. talliya- “to lure”

1. KUB 14.4 (CTH 70.1.A), exculpation prayer of Muršili II, NH/NS (see also supra III.A.b.1).

KUB 14.4 iii: (23) *ma-a-an-ma I-NA KUR URU KUM-MA-AN-NI-ma pa-a-<sup>r</sup>un A-BU-IA<sup>2</sup> A-NA d<sup>d</sup>Ḫé-pát URUR KUM<sup>r</sup>-MA-AN-NI / (24) EZEN<sub>4</sub> ḫal-zi-ia-wa-<aš>? ta-ra-a-an<sup>r</sup> ḫar<sup>r</sup>-ta pé-eš-ta-ma-an-ši<sup>2</sup> na-a-ú-i / (25) na-aš am-mu-uk na-ak-ke-e-eš-<sup>r</sup>ta-at<sup>r</sup> nu I-NA URU KI-IZ-<sup>r</sup>ZU<sup>r</sup>-WA-AT-NA pa-a-a-un / (26) nu ki-iš-ša-an<sup>r</sup> me-mi-iš-ki-nu-un<sup>r</sup> pa-i-<sup>r</sup>mi-wa-za ŠA A-BI-IA še-eš-ši<sup>r</sup>-i[a-a]n / (27) ar-ḫa<sup>r</sup> šar-ni-ik-mi<sup>r</sup>(?) [nu]-za<sup>r</sup> am-mu-uk<sup>r</sup> d<sup>d</sup>Ḫé-pát URUR KUM<sup>r</sup>-MA-[AN-NI A-NA] SAG.DU-IA / (28) DAM-IA [DUMU-J]A É-IA KUR-TI-IA Û A-NA ŠE[Š.Ḫ].A] (29) tal-li-iš-<sup>r</sup>ki-nu-un mu-ki-iš-ki-nu-un<sup>r</sup> x [...]*

When I went to Kummanni - my father had promised a Festival of Invocation to Ḫebat of Kummanni, but (because) he had not given it to her, she weighted it on me - I went to Kizzuwatna and said as follows: “I will recompensate for the omission of my father.” I constantly **lured**<sup>561</sup> and invoked Ḫebat of Kumm[anni for] myself, for my wife, m[y son], my household, my land and my broth[ers].

2. KBo 14.70 + KUB 30.60 (CTH 276.11), shelf list of the DUBxKAM type, NH/NS (see also supra III.A.b.5).

KBo 14.70 i: // (15') [DUB.x.KAM QA-T]I ma-a-an-kán ak-kán-za ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki / (16') [ar-ḫa tal-l]i-ia-an-za mu-ga-u-wa-aš //

[x tablet, (text) comple]te, of the invocation: “If/when a dead person is [lure]d [away]<sup>562</sup> from someone”.

3. KBo 31.5+ (CTH 277.6.A), shelf list of the x TUP-PU type, NH/NS. The text has one duplicate KBo 31.26 (CTH 277.6.B) (see also supra III.A.b.6.I).

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suggest that the object of *talliya-* are the gods, I agree with Gurney 1940: 49 n. 3, who rightly argued that the restoration of DINGIR.MEŠ at the end of line 11 is questionable. The context clearly suggests that it is the men of Karkiša to whom the Hittite king and his brother are sending gifts and it is the men of Karkiša who are exhorted to offer asylum to Manapa-Tarḫunta.

<sup>561</sup> The first person singular preterite of the verb *talliya-* was translated in the present context as: “j'ai évoqué” by Laroche 1964-5: 26; “j'ai multiplié évocations” by Lebrun 1980: 438 “ho implorato” by Martino 1998: 37; “I kept summoning” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 183 and “implored” by Singer 2002a: 76.

<sup>562</sup> The participle of the verb *talliya-* has been rendered in this context as: “wegrufen” by Dardano 2006: 76; “evoke” by Hoffner 2003: 68; “s'est détourné de..” by Laroche 1964-5: 27; “est évoqué” by Lebrun 1980: 440; “durch Beten weggerufen(?) worden ist” by Otten 1958: 9. *CHD* L-N: 321.b' translates these sentences as “[x tablets, text com]plete, of invoking/invocation, if a dead person has been called away from someone”; Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 179 renders it as “[tablet] complete of evocation “if a revenant has been revoked by someone”.

KBo 31.5 + ii: // (7) 1 TUP-P[U INIM] <sup>f</sup>An-na-an-n)a MUNUS <sup>URU</sup>Ir-ḫa-a-aš-ša ma-a-an-kán <sup>d</sup>LAMMA <sup>KUŠ</sup>kur-ša-aš / (8) ku-e-d[a-ni-i]k-ki [a]r-ḫa tal-li-ia-an-za na-an mu-ga-a-mi //

KBo 31.26 obv.: (4) [1 TUP-PU INIM] <sup>f</sup>An-na-a MUNUS <sup>URU</sup>Ir-ḫa-aš-ša m[a]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-an-kán <sup>d</sup>LAMMA-aš <sup>KUŠ</sup>kur-ša-aš / (5) [ku-e-da-ni]-ik-ki ar-ḫa tal-li-ia-an-za [na-a]n mu-ga-a-mi //

One tabl[et. The word] of Ananna, the woman of Irḫašša: “When the protective deity of the huntig bag is **lured away**<sup>563</sup> from so[me]one, I invoke him/her.”

#### 4. KUB 17.10 (CTH 324.1.A), Telipinu myth, MH/MS?

KUB 17.10 ii: // (12') <sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-a-ša ga-la-ak-tar ki-it-ta [nu ŠA <sup>d</sup>Te-li-pí-nu ZI-KA]<sup>564</sup> / (13') ga-la-an-kán-za e-eš-tu ka-a-ša pá[r-ḫu-e-na-aš ki-it-ta] / (14') ka-ra-a-<sup>r</sup>az<sup>1</sup>-ša-an tal<sup>565</sup>-li-i-e-ed-[du] //

Here lies galaktar. May [your soul, O Telipinu] be pacified! Here [lies] parḫue[na-grain], [may] (its) essence(?)<sup>566</sup> **lur[e]**<sup>567</sup> him (i.e. Telipinu).

#### 5. KUB 33.62 (CTH 330.I.M), ritual for the Stormgod of Kuliwišna, MS.

KUB 33.62 ii: // (7') [nu-za-kán(?)]<sup>568</sup> an-da wa-aḫ-nu-ut <sup>d</sup>IM <sup>URU</sup>KU-LI-Ú-IŠ-NA / (8') <sup>r</sup>A-NA<sup>1</sup> [<sup>LÚ</sup>B]E-EL É-TI <sup>MUNUS</sup>BE-EL-DI É-TIM DUMU.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-aš / (9') aš-šu-li TI-an-ni in-na-ra-u-wa-an-ni ḫa-at-tu-la-an-ni / (10') MU.ḪI.A.GÍD.DA EGIR.UD-MI DINGIR.MEŠ-aš a-aš-ši-u-ni-it DINGIR.MEŠ-na-aš mi-ú-<sup>r</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-ni-it / (11') kar-di-mi-ia-at-ta-an-ma ar-ḫa tar-na kar-di-mi-ia-at-ta-aš / (12') IGI.ḪI.A-wa kar-pí-wa-a-la ḫa-an-ta na-at-ša-an A-NA DIM<sub>4</sub> BAPPIR tar-na / (13') na-at-ša-an NINDA KAŠ <sup>TÚG</sup>ku-ri-iš-ni tar-na // (14') pá-r-ḫu-e-na-aš-ša-an ki-it-ta nu-uš-ša-an pa-ra-a tal-<sup>r</sup>li-an<sup>1</sup>-[za] <sup>r</sup>e-eš<sup>1</sup> / (15') ka-la-ak-tar-ša-an ki-it-ta nu-uš-ša-an pa-ra-a k[a-la-an-ga-an-za e-eš]<sup>569</sup> / (16') <sup>GIŠ</sup>PÈŠ ma-aḫ-ḫa-an mi-li-id-du A-NA <sup>d</sup>IM <sup>URU</sup>KU-L[I-Ú-IŠ-NA] / (17') ZI-TUM an-da QA-TAM-MA mi-li-it-ti-iš-du nu-uš-š[a-an-za(?)] an-da wa-aḫ-

<sup>563</sup> The participle of the verb *talliya-* has been rendered here as: “anrufen” by Bawanypeck 2005: 117; “called away” in *CHD* L-N: 321.4’; “angerufen wurde” by Dardano 2006: 163; “s’est détourné de” by Laroche 1964-5: 27; “est évoqué” Lebrun 1980: 440; “angerufen wurde” by Tischler 1991: 59.

<sup>564</sup> The restoration of Hoffner 1998: 16.

<sup>565</sup> The sign *tal* is written here with two instead of three verticals.

<sup>566</sup> Translation of Hoffner 1998: 16. Beckman 1997c: 152 renders this noun as “(its) form”; Bernabé 1987: 51 as “entrañas; Goetze 1950: 127 as “heart”; Haas 1977: 94 and 2006: 109 as “sein Inneres”; Mazoyer 2003: 75 as “ton être”; Pecchioli-Daddi and Polvani 1990: 80 as “cuore”; Rieken et al. (ed.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 324.1 as “(sein) Inneres” and Trabazo 2002: 125 as “corazón”.

<sup>567</sup> The verb *talliya-* has been rendered in the present context as: “entice” by Beckman 2003: 152; “propicie” by Bernabé 1987: 51; “attract” by Goetze 1950: 127; “zu Ruhe kommen” by Haas 1977: 94; “möge sich beschwichtigen” idem 2006: 109; “implore” by Hoffner 1998: 16; “se tourner” by Mazoyer 2003: 75; “abbandonare” by Pecchioli-Daddi and Polvani 1990: 80; “soll ruhig warden” by Rieken et al. (ed.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 324.1 (2009sq.); “abandone la ira” by Trabazo 2002: 125.

<sup>568</sup> The restoration of Glocker 1997: 34.

<sup>569</sup> The restoration of Glocker 1997: 36.

*nu-ut(?)] / (18') pá-r-na-aš iš-ḫi-i pá-r-na-aš iš-ḫa-aš-ša-ri*  
 DUMU.NITA.MEŠ-aš DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-a[š aš-šu-li] / (19') [T]I-an-  
*ni ḫa-at-tu-la-an-ni in-na-ra-u-wa-an-ni MU.ḪI.A G[ÍD.DA EGIR UD-MI]*  
 / (20') [DINGIR.ME]Š-aš a-aš-ši-u-ni-it DINGIR.MEŠ-na-aš mi-ú-um-ni-  
 'it' //

O Stormgod of Kuliwišna, turn [yourself], towards the '[lo]rd of the house' and to the 'lady of the house' in (the giving of) sons and daughters, well-being, life, vigour, health, long years in the future through love of the gods and through the kindness of the gods! Let go of anger (lit. let out the anger)! For the sake of furious eyes of anger, let them/it (go) in the malt and "beer bread"! Let them/it (go) into the beer bread and *kureššar*-cloth! *parḫuena*-grain is lying (here), so be **lur[ed] forth**<sup>570</sup>; *kalaktar* is lying (here) so [be] fully p[acidified]! As fig is sweet may likewise the soul of the Stormgod of Kul[iwišna] be sweet! [*Turn yourself*], towards the 'lord of the house' and towards the 'lady of the house' in (the giving of) sons and daughter[s, well-being, li]fe, vigour, health, lo[ng] years [in the future] through love of [the gods] and through the kindness of the gods!

6. HT 100 + KUB 33.69 + KBo 26.131 (CTH 334.4.B), myth concerning the disappearance of the goddess Ḫannaḫanna, NH/NS.

HT 100 + KUB 33.69 + KBo 26.131: (3')<sup>571</sup> ... *ka-[a-ša ka-l]a-ak-tar ki-i[t-ta n]u ŠA* <sup>d</sup>EN ZI-ŠU / (4') [*ka-ra-az-z]a-ši-iš ka-la-an-g[a-ad-d]u(?) ka-a-ša pá-r-ḫ[u-e-na]-aš ki-it-ta nu ŠA* <sup>d</sup>EN / (5') [ZI-ŠU *k]a-ra-az-za-ši-iš [tal]-li-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-a[d]-du //*

... He[re] lie[s *gal*]aktar. M[a]y [(its) essen]ce(?) pacify your soul, O divine lord! Here lies *par[ḫuena]*-grain], may (its) [e]ssence **lur[e]** your soul], o divine lord!

7. KUB 33.75 (CTH 334.7.A) myth about the disappearance of the goddess Ḫannaḫanna (DINGIR.MAḪ) and a ritual of luring the goddess (see also supra III.A.b.11), NH/NS.

KUB 33.75 ii: // (8) *ka-a-ša-at-[ta] <sup>r</sup>mu-ki<sup>1</sup>-iš-ni pá-r-<sup>r</sup>ḫu-u-i<sup>1</sup>-[na-aš] / (9) ki-it-ta-r[i DINGIR.MAḪ]-aš-š]a <sup>r</sup>tal<sup>r</sup>-[li-i-e-ed-du] / (10) *nu-uš-ša-an [ ... DUM]U.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> LU[GAL] / (11) KUR <sup>URU</sup>ḪA-AT-TI-[ia QA-TAM-M]A? *tal-li-i[a-an-za e-eš-du ... ] //***

Behold, here lie[s for you] *parḫue[na]* for the invocation (ritual) [May Ḫannaḫanna] be **lu[red]**<sup>572</sup> May] she be **lur[ed]** likewis[e [by the princ]es, the king, [and] the land of Ḫatti!

<sup>570</sup> The construction *tallianza ēš* has been translated as "be called forth" in *CHD* vol. P: 115 and as "sei gewogen gemac[ht!]" by Glocker 1997: 37.

<sup>571</sup> The line count of this passage follows HT 100.

<sup>572</sup> The verb *talliya-* was translated in this context as "évoquer" by Lebrun 1980: 438 and as "ruhig werden" by Rieken et al. (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 334.7.

8. KUB 9.27 + KUB 7.5 + KUB 7.8 (CTH 406), a ritual of a woman from Arzawa named Paškuwatti, MH/NS (see also supra III.A.b.19).

KUB 7.5 i: // (11') *ki-nu-na-aš-ta ka-a-ša kat-ta-an* 'EGIR<sup>1</sup>-*pa ke-nu-wa-aš-ša-aš* / (12') *ú-it nu-ut-ta* DINGIR-LUM DINGIR-LIM-an-ni EGIR-an / (13') *ša-an-ḫi-iš-ki-iz-zi nu-za ma-a-an* ḪUR.SAG-i / (14') *nu-za ma-a-an ú-e-el-lu-ú-i nu-za ma-a-an* ḫa-a-ri-ia / (15') *ku-wa-pí-it-za im-ma ku-wa-pí nu ke-e-da-ni* / (16') *an-tu-uḫ-ši kat-ta-an aš-šu-li e-ḫu* / (17') *nu-ut-ták-kán ḫu-u-wa-an-te-eš<sub>17</sub> ḫé-e-u-uš* IGI.ḪI.A-wa le-e / (18') *wa-al-ḫa-an-ni-ia-an-zi* // (19') *nu-ud-du-za pa-iz-zi* DINGIR-LAM DÛ-zi nu-ut-ta pé-e-da-an / (20') 'ḫi<sup>1</sup>-in-ik-zi nu-ut-ta É-er pa-a-i / (21') nu-ut-ta ÌR-an GÉME-an pa-a-i nu-ut-ta GU<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A UDU.ḪI.A pa-a-<sup>r</sup>i / (22') nu-ud-du-uš-ša-an ma-al-ti-eš-ša-na-la-an i-ia-zi // (23') nu-ud-du-za ka-a-erasure-ša mu-u-ki-iš-ki-<mi> **tal-le-eš-ki-mi** / (24') nu e-ḫu <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-na-za MUL *ták-na-aš* <sup>d</sup>UTU-un / (25') *kat-ti-it-ti ú-wa-te* {et} GÉME.ḪI.A-ia-at-ta ÌR.MEŠ / (26') *pí-ra-an ḫu-i-ia-an-<sup>r</sup>te<sup>1</sup>-eš<sub>17</sub> a-ša-an-du* DINGIR.LÚ.MEŠ-ta [DINGIR.MUNUS.MEŠ] // (text continues in column ii of KUB 7.8) ii (1) *pí-ra-an ḫu-i-ia-an-te-eš<sub>17</sub> a-ša-an-du* / (2) *nu ke-e-da-ni an-tu-uḫ-ši* / (3) *kat-ta-an e-ḫu* DUMU-an-na-aš-ši DAM-ZU / (4) *zi-ik na-an-za* EGIR-an kap-pu-u-i / (5) *nu-uš-ši-kán an-da na-i-eš-ga-ḫu-ut* / (6) *nu-uš-ši me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da me-mi* / (7) *nu-uš-ši* GÉME-KA ma-ni-ia-aḫ / (8) *na-aš-za* <sup>GIŠ</sup>i-ú-ga-an ki-ša-ri nu-za DAM-ZU / (9) *da-a-ú nu-za* DUMU.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ i-ia-ad-du / (10) *na-at tu-el* ÌR.MEŠ-KA GÉME<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-KA / (11) *nu-ut-ta* SÍSKUR.ḪI.A-TIM NINDA ḫar-ša-ú-uš / (12) *me-ma-al* <sup>DUG</sup>iš-pa-an-du-uz-zi-ia-aš-šar / (13) *a-pé-e pé-eš-kán-zi* // (14) *nu-ud-du-za ka-a-ša ka-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-aš an-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-wa-aḫ-ḫa-aš* / (15) *Ú-UL še-ek-ta ki-nu-na-at-ta ka-a-ša* / (16) EGIR-an *ša-aḫ-ta nu ka-a-aš* / (17) *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an tu-uk* EGIR-an <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-aḫ-ta / (18) *nu-uš-ši-kán zi-ik* DINGIR-LUM an-da aš-šu-li / (19) *ti-i-ia nu-<sup>r</sup>ut<sup>1</sup>-ta KI-i še-er* / (20) *ku-e-da-ni ud-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-[a-ni]-i mu-ke-eš-ki-u-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-n[i]* / (21) *nu-za* DINGIR-LUM DINGIR-L[IM-tar] *tek-ku-uš-nu-[ut]* /

But now he had just come to you down on his knees for help<sup>573</sup> and is seeking you, o goddess, for the sake of your divinity. Whether you are in the mountain, whether you are in the meadow, whether you are in the valley, wherever you are, come down to this man in favour! Let winds and rain not beat your eyes! He will proceed to make you his (personal) goddess. He will offer you a place. He will give you a house. He will give you a male and a female slave. He will give you cattle and sheep. He will make you a recipient of votive offerings. I am just now invoking and **luring**<sup>574</sup> you. Come! Bring with you the moon, the star and the Sungoddess of netherworld. Let the female and male slaves run before you! Let the male [and female deities] run before you! Come down to this man! You are his “wife of children” for him. Look after him! Turn to him in favour! Speak to him! Hand your maidservant over to him! He will become a yoke (for her). Let him take his wife and let him produce for himself sons and daughters! They will be your male and female servants. They will keep giving you

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On this translation see Hoffner 1987: 277 and 284 note on lines 38-39.

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The first person singular present iterative of the verb *talliya-* was translated in the present context as: “I am drawing you” by Hoffner 1987: 277; “je suis en train de t’implorer” by Mouton 2007: 137; “I am summoning thee” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 182; “te estoy invocando” by Trabazo 2002: 457.

offerings, thick breads, groats, (and) libations. Till now this man has not known you, but just now he has sought you. Since he has just sought you, you, O goddess, step towards him in favour! Show your divinity, O goddess, and make good the mat[ter] in which w[e] are invoking you upon earth!

9. KUB 7.60 (CTH 423.A), ritual of luring foreign deities, NH/NS.<sup>575</sup>

(1)

KUB 7.60 ii: (14) [n]u<sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.ʽGI<sup>UDU!</sup> i-ya-an-da-aš<sup>SIG</sup> ħu-[ut-tu-ul]-li<sup>576</sup> / (15) ʽTI<sub>8</sub><sup>1MU</sup>[<sup>SEN</sup>] pá-r-ta-u-wa-ar ga-la-a[k-tar]<sup>577</sup> / (16) [DINGIR].ʽMEŠ<sup>1</sup>-[n]a-aš pá-r-ħu-u-e-na-aš ZAG-na-aš [wa-al-la-aš] / (17) [ZAG-n]a-az<sup>578</sup> ŠU-az ħar-zi<sup>GIS</sup> iš-x-[x x (x)] / (18) ʽIŠ<sup>1</sup>-TU<sup>LÚ</sup> GAL-UT-TI<sup>579</sup> ku-iš u-i-ya-an-za / (19) na-at a-pa-a-aš ħar-zi nu DINGIR.MEŠ UR[U-LIM<sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR] / (20) tal-li-ia-zi<sup>580</sup> na-aš-ta an-da / (21) ki-iš-ša-an me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi // (22) ka-a-ša-wa šu-ma-a-aš A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ / (23) URU-LIM<sup>581</sup> LÚKÚR<sup>DUG</sup> KA.GAG.A gul-ša-an [ø] / (24) te-eħ-ħu-un<sup>GIS</sup> BANŠUR.ĪIA-ia-aš-ma-aš [ø] / (25) GÜB-la-zi-ia ú-nu-an-da<sup>582</sup> erasure te-eħ-ħu-u[n] / (26) [KASKA]L.MEŠ-ia-wa-aš-ma-aš IŠ-TU TÚG.BABBAR TÚG.SA<sub>5</sub> / (27) TÚG.ZA.GÌN kat-ta-an iš-pár-ra-aħ-ħu-un / (28) nu-uš-ma-aš ke-e TÚG.ĪIA KASKAL.MEŠ a-ša-a[n-du] / (29) nu-kán ke-e-ʽda<sup>1</sup>-aš še-er ar-ħa i-ia-an-ni-ia-tén / (30) nu-kán A-NA LUGAL aš-šu-li erasure an-da ne-ia-at-tén / (31) šu-me-el-ma ʽA-NA<sup>1</sup> KUR-TI a-wa-an ar-ħa / (32) nam-ma ti-ia-at-ʽtén<sup>1</sup> ...

The Old Woman holds with her [rig]ht hand a wool t[uft], an eagle's wing, galak[ar], parħuena of the [god]s, right [thigh]s. She holds<sup>GIS</sup> iš..., which has been sent with the "chief". She **lures**<sup>583</sup> the gods of the [enemy cit]y and (says) as follows: "I have placed for you, o deities of the enemy city, a gulša- vessel. Also [I have] plac[ed] on your left the covered tables. I have covered (lit. stretched on) your [path]s with white, red and blue wool cloths. [May] these clothes be the paths for you! Walk over those and turn in favour towards the king! Step away from your land again!"

(2)

KUB 7.60 iii<sup>584</sup>: (5') [nu ma-aħ-ħ]a-an DINGIR.MEŠ URU-LIM<sup>585</sup> erasure<sup>LÚ</sup> KÚR KASKAL-az / (6') tal-li-ia-u-wa-an-zi<sup>586</sup> zi-in-na-i / (7') nu-za

<sup>575</sup> The text has two New Hittite duplicates, VBoT 67 + KBo 43.52 (CTH 423.B) and KUB 59.59 (CTH 423.C).

<sup>576</sup> B has here ʽħu-ut<sup>1</sup>-[

<sup>577</sup> B reads here ga-la-ʽak<sup>1</sup>-t[ar]

<sup>578</sup> B has here ... wa-al-l]a-aš ZAG-az

<sup>579</sup> B has here<sup>LÚ</sup> GAL-TIM.

<sup>580</sup> B reads here tal-li-ia-a[z-zi].

<sup>581</sup> B has here ŠA URU-LIM.

<sup>582</sup> B reads here ú-nu-wa-an-ta.

<sup>583</sup> The verb talliya- has been translated in this context as: "anrufen" by Haas-Wilhelm 1974: 236; "invocare" by Fuscagni 2007: 202 and hethiter.net/: CTH 423; "ruft an" (bittend, fordern die Götter) by Kronasser 1987: 488; "évoquer" by Laroche 1964-5: 25 and by Lebrun 1980: 441 and 1992: 108.

<sup>584</sup> The photograp of the tablet shows that the beginnins of lines iii 5', 6', 9' and 10' are more damaged that it is indicated on the hand-copy of this text. Consequently, the transliteration of this passage follows both the photograph and the hand-copy of the tablet.

<sup>585</sup> The reading from the photograph: [nu ma-aħ-ħa-an DINGIR.MEŠ UR]U-LIM.

<sup>586</sup> Photograph: tal-l[i-i]a-ʽu<sup>1</sup>-wa-an-zi.

LUGAL-*uš*<sup>587</sup> LUGAL-*u-e-ez-na-aš i-wa-ar* / (8') *wa-aš-ši-ia-zi na-aš pa-iz-zi nu-kán URU-LIM* <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR / (9') *na-aš-šu*<sup>588</sup> *ta-pí-ša-ni-it GEŠTIN* / (10') *na-aš-ma*<sup>589</sup> <sup>DUG</sup>*iš-pa-an-du-wa-az IŠ-TU GEŠTIN* / (11') *ši-ip-pa-an-ti*

[Whe]n she finishes **luring**<sup>590</sup> the deities of the enemy city by means (of drawing) paths, the king dresses himself in royal attire (lit. in the manner of kingship) and goes. He libates in the enemy city either with a cup of wine or with a libation vessel (filled) with wine.

10. KBo 20.107 + KBo 23.50 + (CTH 433.3.A), ritual performed to summon the angry Tutelary Deity of the Hunting Bag, MH/MS? (see also supra III.A.b.20.II).

KBo 20.107 + KBo 23.50 ii: // (8) KÁ.GAL-*aš* <sup>d</sup>*Ša-l[a]-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-wa-ni-eš šu-me-eš-ša* / (9) *az-zi-ki-it-tén [a]k-ku-uš<sup>d</sup>(iš)-ki-it-tén ka-a-ša* / (10) <sup>d</sup>LAMMA <sup>KUŠ</sup>*kur-ša-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[a]n a-ra-aḥ-zé-na-aš KUR.KUR.MEŠ-az* / (11) *ḥu-u-ma-an-da-az [ḤU]R.SAG.MEŠ-az ḥa-a-ri-ia-az* / (12) ÍD.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>*az<sup>1</sup> [ḥa-an-ti]-ia-aš-ša-az PÚ.MEŠ-az ú-e-<sup>r</sup>el-lu<sup>1</sup>-wa-az* / (13) [*ar-ḥa tal-li-i*]<sup>š</sup>*-ki-u-en mu-ki-iš-ki-u-en* / (14) <sup>r</sup>*nu-za<sup>1</sup> [šu-me-eš x] x x ga-la-an-kán-te-eš e-eš-tén!* // (15) *nu ma-<sup>r</sup>aḥ-ḥa<sup>1</sup>-[an <sup>d</sup>LAMMA <sup>KUŠ</sup>kur-š]a-aš ú-iz-zi nu-uš-ši* / (16) EGIR-*pa<sup>r</sup> ḥu-u<sup>1</sup>-[da-a-ak x x-ḥ]i-eš-tén na-an IT-TI LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL* / (17) *ḥu-u-da-a-ak [x x x x]-x-tén* //

You, the *Šal[a]waneš*-deity of the city gates, keep drinking and [e]ating! We have just been **[lur]ing** and invoking the Tutelary Deity of the Hunting [B]ag [away] from all the foreign lands, [mou]ntains, valleys, rivers, [*ḥanti*] *yašša*-places, springs and meadows. May [you], yourselves be appeased! And whe[n the Tutelary Deity of the Hunting] Bag comes, may you be [...] hasty for him again! And may you [...] hasty with the king and the queen!

11. KBo 41.a + b (CTH 453), ritual of drawing a soul of the deceased, MH/MS (see also supra III.A.b.23).

(1)

KBo 41.a + b obv.: // (1) *UM-MA* <sup>MUNUS</sup>*Za-a[r-x-x]-x ma-a-an-kán ak-kán-an-za ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki ar-ḥa* / (2) *tal-li-ia-a[n-za na-an EGI]R-pa mu-ga-a-am-mi ú-i-ia-am-mi nu ki-iš-ša-an i-ia-mi* /

Thus (speaks) Zar[...]: “If a dead person [has been] **lur[ed] away** from/to someone, I invoke [him/her ba]ck, I cry out (to him/her) and I do as follows: (a list of materials to be used in a ritual follows. Then some ritual activities are described; however, because the text becomes very fragmentary, it is difficult to determine what these activities entailed)

587 Photograph: ‘LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-uš.

588 Photograph: *na-a[š-š]u*.

589 Photograph: ‘*na<sup>1</sup>-[aš]-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>*.

590 The infinitive *talliyauwanza* has been rendered here as: “(herbei)zurufen” by Haas-Wilhelm 1974: 236; “evocare” by Fuscagni 2007: 203 and hethiter.net/: CTH 423; “(Götter vom Wege) abzurufen (?)” by Kronasser 1987: 488; “évoquer” by Lebrun 1980: 442 and 1992: 108; “(herbei)zurufen” by Tischler 1991: 60.

(2)

KBo 41.a + b rev.: (30') [ ...-š]a-li [m]a-a-na-aš-ta / (31') [ak-kán-an-za ...] x ar-ḫa [ta]l-li-ia-an-za / (32') [na-an(?) EGIR-pa(?) m]u-ga-a-mi QA-TI

[... wh]en [a dead person] is [lur]ed away, I [in]voke [him/her back].  
(Text) finished.

12. KUB 15.34 (CTH 483.I.A), ritual invoking the male Cedar-gods (DINGIR.MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ<sup>GIŠ</sup>ERIN-aš), MH/NS. (see also supra III.A.b.24).

KUB 15.34 iv: // (27') EGIR-ŠU-<ma> ne-pí-ša-az QA-TAM-MA ḫu-it-ti-i[a-az-zi x x x x x] / (28') ma-a-an šu-ma-a-aš DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>GIŠ</sup> LÚ.MEŠ<sup>GIŠ</sup> ERIN-aš x [x x x x x] / (29')<sup>E</sup>ka-ri-im-na-az-wa-kán pa-ra-a ú-w[a-at-ten x x x] x x / (30') ša-ra-a ne-pí-ši i-it-ten ki-nu-na-aš-ma-aš k[a-a-š]a 'ne<sup>1</sup>-pí-ša-az / (31') ḫu-it-ti-ia-an-ni-iš-ki-u-<sup>r</sup>wa-ni<sup>1</sup> tal-li-iš-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-u-e-ni mu-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-iš-ga-u-e-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup> / (32') [n]u-uš at-ta-aš ne-pí-ša-an-z[a] EGIR-an tar-na nu-za-an 'EGIR-pa<sup>1</sup> / (33') [š]u-<sup>r</sup>me<sup>1</sup>-en-za-an A-NA É.DINGIR-LIM-<sup>r</sup>KU<sup>1</sup>-N[U] ú-wa-at-ten // (34') [na-aš-ta] 'A<sup>1</sup>-NA 'LUGAL MUNUS'.LUGAL an-da aš-šu-li na-iš-du-ma-<sup>r</sup>at<sup>1</sup> /

And then he draw[s] (the gods) from the heaven in the same way [*and says*]: “If you, the Cedar-gods [...], co[me] out of the temple! [...] go up to heaven! We are now drawing you, **luring**<sup>591</sup> you and invoking you from heaven. O father return them from heaven! (you, O gods), come back to your temple! Turn in favour to the king and the queen!

13. KUB 13.29 + Bo 3444 (CTH 483.I.C), invocation ritual of the male Cedar-gods (DINGIR.MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ<sup>GIŠ</sup>ERIN-aš), NH/NS (see also supra III.A.b.25).

KUB 13.29 + Bo 3444 iv: (5') ú-e-ša-aš-ma-a[š ... pa-r]a-a ḫa-an-da-an-ni ŠA-PAL<sup>r</sup> [UTU] / (6') [ḫ]u-it-ti-ia-an-ni-eš-k[e-u-ni tal-l]i-iš-ki-ia-u-e-ni<sup>592</sup> ú-iš-ke-u-n[i] / (7') [m]u-ki-iš-ke-u-ni na-aš-t[a A-NA] KUR LÚKÚR i-da-a-la-wa-aš-ša / (8') [a]n-tu-uḫ-ša-aš iš-tar-na [a]r-ḫa ú-wa-at-tén na-aš-ta A-NA KUR LÚKÚR / (9') i-da-la-wa-aš-ša an-tu-uḫ[ša-aš] iš-ki-ša na-iš-tén A-NA LUGAL-ma-kán / (10') MUNUS.LUGAL IGI.ḪI.A-wa an-da aš-[š]u-li n]a-iš-tén nu-uš-ma-aš SÍSKUR pár-ku-i / (11') pé-eš-kán-zi nu aš-šu-li [ták-šu-li-ia]-at-tén nu-uš-ma-aš-kán / (12') SÍSKUR ar-ḫa I[š-TU 2 QA-TI 10 Š]U.SI <ta-at-te-en> na-aš-ta IŠ-TU KUR LÚKÚR / (13') i-ta-la-wa-az pa-a[p-ra-an-na-az] ar-ḫa ú'(ta)-wa<sup>1</sup>(aš)-at-tén //

We are continually [d]raw[ing] you (forth), [**lur]ing** you (pl.), cryin[g out] (to you) and invoking you in [div]ine guidance under [the Sun]. Therefore, come [a]way from among the enemy land (and its) evil [m]en! Turn (your) back to the enemy land (and) to (its) evil me[n], but to the king and the queen [t]urn your eyes in fav[our]! They are giving you a pure ritual. Be [friend]ly in favour! Take your offering with [both hands and ten finge]rs and then come away from the enemy land (and its) evil un[cleanness]!

<sup>591</sup> The verb *talliya-* was translated in the present context as: “evoke” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 321.2” and as “anflehen” by Haas and Wilhelm 1974: 205.

<sup>592</sup> Manuscript B iv<sup>?</sup> 12': [tal]-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-iš-ke-u-wa-ni 'ú-[...].

14. KUB 15.31 (CTH 484.I.A), invocation ritual of the DINGIR.MAḪ and Gulš-  
deities: Zukki and Anzili, MH/NH (see also supra III.A.b.26).

KUB 15.31 i: // (43) *ki-iš-ša-an-na me-ma-i m[a-an-wa-za x x x x x]* / (44) *na-aš-ma-wa-ra-aš-ma-aš-kán a[r-ḫa x x x x x x x x]* / (45) *ta-li-ia-an mu-ga-a-an [x x x x x x x x x x x x x x]* / (46) *ḫu-wa-ap-pa-aš ḫar-wa-a-ši-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [x x x x x x x x x x x x x x]* / (47) *ka-a-ša an-za-a-aš pa-r[a-a x x x x x x x x x x]* / (48) *aš-šu-li ḫu-u-it-ti-[ia-an-ni-eš-ki-u-wa-ni x x x x x x x x]* / (49) *mu-ki-iš-ki-u-e-ni S[ISKUR-x x x x x x x x x x]* / (50) *pí-eš-ga-u-e-ni nu-wa-[kán x x x x x x x x x x x (x)]* / (51) *a-wa-an ar-ḫa ú-wa-at-ten x x x x x x x x x x]* / (52) *É-ri ú-wa-at-ten n[u-uš-ši-iš-ša-an x x x x x]* / (53) *ne-ia-at-ten ti-ia-at-[ten x x x x x x x x x x x]* / (54) *in-na-ra-a-wa-a-tar MU.[ḪI.A x x x x x x x x x x]* / (55) DINGIR.MEŠ-aš *mi-i-nu-mar Z[I-aš x x x x x x x x x x]* / (56) *ḫa-aš-ša-aš ḫa-an-za-<sup>1</sup>aš-ša<sup>1</sup>-[aš-x x x x x x x x x x]* / (57) *tu-u-ma-an-ti-ia-<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup> [x x x x]* //

KUB 15.32 i: // (46) *ki-iš-ša-an-na me-ma-i ma-an-wa-za ša-a-an-te-eš na-aš-ma-wa-aš-ma-aš-kán* / (47) *ar-ḫa ku-iš-ki ḫu-it-ti-ia-an ta-li-an mu-ga-a-an ḫar-zi* / (48) *nu-wa-aš-ma-aš a-ap-a-aš i-da-a-lu-uš ḫu-w[a-a]p-pa-aš ḫar-wa-ši-ia pí-di* / (49) *mu-ki-iš-ki-it ki-nu-na-wa-aš-ma-aš ka-a-ša an-za-a-aš* / (50) *pa-ra-a ḫa-an-da-an-ni<sup>d</sup>UTU-i kat-ta-an aš-šu-li ḫu-u-it-ti-ia-an-ni-eš-ki-u-wa-ni* / (51) *tal-li-eš-ki-u-wa-ni mu-ki-iš-ga-u-e-ni SISKUR-ia-wa-aš-ma-aš* / (52) *ša-ni-iz-zi pár-ku-i pí-eš-ga-u-e-ni nu-wa-kán a-pí-e-da-ni* / (53) *i-da-a-la-u-i an-tu-uḫ-ši a-wa-an ar-ḫa ú-wa-at-ten nu-wa EGIR-pa* / (54) *ki-e-el ŠA EN.SISKUR É-ri ú-wa-at-ten nu-uš-ši-iš-<sup>2</sup>[ša-an]* / (55) *an-da aš-šu-li ne-ia-ten erasure ti-ia-ten erasure nu-uš-ši pí-iš-<sup>2</sup><kat><sup>2</sup>-te[n TI-tar]<sup>593</sup>* / (56) *ḫa-ad-du-la-a-tar in-na-ra-u-wa-a-tar MU.ḪI.A GÍD.DA DINGIR.MEŠ-aš* / (57) *du-uš-ga-ra-at-ta-an DINGIR.MEŠ-aš<sup>1</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>-ú-mar ZI-aš la-lu-uk-k[i-ma-an]* / (58) DUMU.MEŠ DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ *ḫa-aš-šu-uš ḫa-an-za-[aš-š]u-uš-ša pí-iš-kat-t[en]* // (59) *[nu-u]š-ši nu-ú-un tu-u-um-ma-an-ti-[ia-an pí-iš-kat-ten]* //

And thus he (<sup>LÚ</sup>AZU) says: “If you (deities) are angry, or someone has drawn you away, **lured**<sup>594</sup> and invoked you, or that evil ho[sti]le one invoked you to a secret place, we are now continually drawing you toward us, **luring**<sup>595</sup> and invoking you in divine guidance and in good will under the Sun/together with the Sungod. We are continually giving you pleasant and pure rituals. Come away from that evil man and come back to the house of this ‘lord of the ritual/offering’! Turn to him in favour! Join him and give him [life], health, vigor, long years, the joy of the gods, the gentleness of the gods, brightness of spirit, sons, daughters, grandchildren and great-grandchildren! (This) give him! [Give] him contentment(?) and obedience(?)!

<sup>593</sup> The restoration of Haas and Wilhelm 1974: 154.

<sup>594</sup> The participle *talliyan* was translated in the present context as: “evoked” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 320.2’; “weggebetet” by Haas-Wilhelm 1974: 152; “hat weggerufen, weggebetet” (Götter von jemandem, so daß sie zürnen) by Kronasser 1987: 488; “elicited” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 79; “weggebetet” by Tischler 1991: 59.

<sup>595</sup> The verb *talliya-* was rendered here as: “evoked” in *CHD* vol. L-N: 320.2” and vol. P:132.1; “anflehen” by Haas-Wilhelm 1974: 153 and “summon” by Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 182.

## 15. KUB 58.11 (CTH 678), invocation ritual performed in Nerik, NH/NS.

KUB 58.11 obv.: // (1) [m]a-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-an LUGAL-<sup>r</sup>uš<sup>r</sup> [x x x x x]-za I-NA <sup>GIŠ</sup>da-  
 ḫa-<sup>r</sup>an-qa<sup>1</sup> x [ x x x x (x) ] / (2) <sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> pé-ra-an pa-r[a-a] kiš-an i-ia-an-zi //  
 (3) GAL <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>DUB.SAR.GIŠ GA[L DUMU.ME]Š 'É'.GAL <sup>LÚ</sup>DUB.SAR  
 LÚ <sup>d</sup>U <sup>LÚ</sup>GUDU<sub>12</sub>-ia pé-ra-an <sup>GIŠ</sup>da-<sup>r</sup>ḫa<sup>1</sup>-a[n-ki] / (4) <sup>r</sup>pa<sup>1</sup>-a-an-zi LÚ <sup>d</sup>U  
<sup>GIŠ</sup>mu-<sup>r</sup>kar<sup>1</sup> ḫar-zi na-at-kán pa-a-an-zi <sup>GIŠ</sup>da-ḫa-an-ga-aš / (5) pa-aš-šu-ú-i  
 še-er ti-an-zi I-NA <sup>GIŠ</sup>da-ḫa-an-ki-ma-at-kán an-da na-a-wi<sub>5</sub> pa-a-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-z[i] /  
 (6) nu INIM.ḪI.A tal-li-ia-u-wa-aš GIM-an še-ek-<sup>r</sup>kán<sup>1</sup>-zi na-at-kán QA-  
 TAM-MA an-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup> me-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-an-z[i] // ... // (15) GA[L].<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>DUB.SAR.GIŠ-  
 kán SILA<sub>4</sub>A-NA <sup>d</sup>U <sup>URU</sup>Ne-ri-iq-qa INIM.ḪI.'A' [tal-l]i-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-u-wa-aš BAL-  
 ti / (16) 1 <sup>r</sup>GU<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>-ma-kán 4 UDU-ia A-NA <sup>d</sup>U BAL-ti 1 UDU-ma-kán A-NA  
<sup>d</sup>ZA-BA<sub>4</sub>-BA<sub>4</sub> 'BAL<sup>1</sup>-an-ti //

[Wh]en the king [goes] from the [...] to the *daḫanga*, before[hand] they do as follows: The chief scribe of wooden tablets, the chi[ef] palace [attend]ant, the scribe, the Man of the Stormgod and the GUDU-priest go beforehand [to] the *daḫan*[ga]. The man of the Stormgod holds a noisemaker (*mukar*). They step on the *paššu*<sup>596</sup> of the *daḫanga*, but they don't yet ent[er] the *daḫanga*. They recite thus the words of *luring*<sup>597</sup> as they know (them).

(Offerings are carried from the king's palace to the *daḫanga*. The *mukar* is placed before the tree/pole in the *daḫanga*, the words are recited and offerings made.)

The chie[f] of the wood scribes (i.e. scribes writing on wooden tablets) offers to the Stormgod of Nerik a lamb and the words of [I]uring. But to the Stormgod he offers one bull and four sheep and to ZABABA they offer one sheep.

## 16. KUB 28.92 (CTH 678.5), invocation ritual performed in Nerik, NH/NS.

KUB 28.92 i: // (4') nu LÚ <sup>d</sup>U DINGIR-LAM an-da-an ḫal-za-a-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup> [?] / (5')  
 a-ša-a <sup>URU</sup>Ne-ri-ki-il te-ez-zi [?] / (6') INIM.MEŠ an-da-an ḫal-zi-ia-u-aš  
 tal-li-ia-[u-aš]<sup>598</sup> / (7') ŠA ni-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ra la-al-la-a <sup>ḪUR.SAG</sup>Ḫa-ḫar-[wa] / (8')  
<sup>ḪUR.SAG</sup>Zi-it-ḫa-ru-nu-wa <sup>ID</sup>Da-ḫa-aš-ta [?] / (9') Û INIM.MEŠ tal-li-ia-u-aš  
 ŠA <sup>d</sup>Za-ḫa-l[i-qa] / (10') da-pí DUB.SAR me-ma-a-i // (11') DINGIR.MEŠ  
 KASKAL-za TA <sup>NINDA</sup>GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA ḫu-u-it-ti-[ia-an-zi] / (12') DINGIR.MEŠ-  
 kán ŠA É.DINGIR-LIM pé-da-an-zi [ø] / (13') ar-ra-an-zi-aš iš-kán-zi na-  
 x-[x x (x)] / ta-ni-nu-wa-an-zi [?] //

The man of the Stormgod calls a deity and says "..., from Nerik!" He recites the entire tablet, (namely) the words of calling and [of] *luring*<sup>599</sup> of Nera

<sup>596</sup> Friedrich translated this noun as "Felsblock(?), Steinblock(?)" and referred to this meaning to the study of Zuntz and to his own study (1950: 252). Haas 1970: 215 renders this noun as "Sockel" or "Stufe". *CHD* P: 211a: "(an elevated structure [e.g. a step, a podium, or pedestal] or elevated locality [e.g. a terrace])." The translation of *mukar* as a 'noisemaker' follows *CHD* P: 211a.

<sup>597</sup> *CHD* L-N: 232.b translates the genitive singular of the noun *talliyatar* as "evocation"; Haas 1977: 215 renders this noun here and in line 15 as "Anrufen".

<sup>598</sup> All the restorations and emmendations in this passage follow Laroche 1964-5: 26.

<sup>599</sup> The noun *talliyawar* was rendered in this passage as "evocation" by Laroche 1964-5: 26 and by Lebrun 1980: 441 as well as "Beschwören" by Tischler 1991:59.

and Lalla, the mountain Ḫaḫar[wa], the mountain Zitharunuwa (and) the river Daḫašta, as well as the words of **luring** of the god Zaḫali[qa]. With the thick bread, [they] draw the deities along the path. They bring the (statues of the) deities inside the temple; they wash them (i.e. the statues of the deities), anoint (them), [... (them)] and arrange (them).

#### IV.C. talliya- “to implore”, talliyawar “entreaty”

1. KBo 26.20 + (CTH 301.a.1.A), lexical list Erim.ḫuš, NH/NS.

KBo 26.20 iii: // (12) (Sum.) [š]u-lum /// (Akk.) ṛsú<sup>1</sup>-ul-lu-u /// (Hitt.) *ta-li-ia-u-wa-a[r]* // “entreaty”,<sup>600</sup>

2. KUB 29.3 (CTH 414.B), a ritual for the erection of a new palace, OH/OS? Lines 6'-8' of KUB 29.3 are duplicated by lines 26-27 of KUB 29.1, the New Hittite copy of this text (CTH.414.A).<sup>601</sup>

(1)

KUB 29.3 // (6') *nu a-ap-pa at-ta-<aš>-ma-an* <sup>d</sup>IM-a[n wa-al-lu-uš-ki-mi] / (7') *nu an-ku* GIŠ.ḪI.A LUGAL-uš *ta-al-l[i-ia-zi]*<sup>602</sup> ... / (8') *ḫé-e-a-u-e-eš-ma-aš ša-al-[la-nu-uš-kir ...]*

(2)

KUB 29.1 i: // (26) *nu EGIR-pa ad-da-aš-ma-an* <sup>d</sup>U-an wa-al-lu-uš-ki-mi *nu* GIŠ.ḪI.A LUGAL-uš / (27) <sup>d</sup>U-ni *ú-e-ek-zi ḫé-e-ia-u-e-eš ku-it ta-aš-nu-uš-ki-ir šal-la-nu-uš-ki-ir* //

“Thereafter, I have been praising my father, the Stormgod.” The king **implores**<sup>603</sup> (the Stormgod(?)) unconditionally for the trees [...], but the rains [made] them gre[at]. (A: the king implores the Stormgod for the trees, which the rains made strong and great).

<sup>600</sup> Güterbock 1985: 110 translated this line in the lexical list as “to invite, invoke”; Puhvel *HED* vol. 6: 179 as “summon[s], elicitation”.

<sup>601</sup> Line 7' of KUB 29.3 seems to employ either the first singular or the third singular present of the verb *talliya-*. Given that the New Hittite copy has a verb in the third person singular here, the restoration *talliyazi* is more plausible. See also Neu 1983b: 187 and n. 552.

<sup>602</sup> Neu 1983: 187 n. 552 notes that Kellerman 1980: 21 restores here *ta-al-l[i-e-mi(?)]*. Carini 1982: 488 n. 10 reads here *ta-al-l[i-ia-mi]* <sup>d</sup>U-ni *ú-e-ek-zi*. Boysan-Dietrich 1987: 21 n. 56 and Trabazo 2002: 486 restore here *ta-al-l[i-ia-zi(?)]*.

<sup>603</sup> The verb *talliya-* was rendered here as “bitten, anflehen” by Neu 1983: 187 and as “chiedere” by Carini 1982: 489.

## V. WALLA-; WALLU-; WALLIYATAR; WALLI-

V.A. walla/i-, wallu- “to praise, to honour, to celebrate”; walliyatar “(song of) praise; glory”; walli- “pride”

1. KUB 19.13 + (CTH 40.V.1.A), fragment of “Deeds of Šuppiluliuma,” NH/NS.

KUB 19.13 i: (45') [na-aš I-NA]<sup>604</sup> ÍD Da-ḫa-ra an-da-an pa-it nu ÍD Da-ḫa-ra / (46') [KUR<sup>URU</sup>Ta]-pa-pí-nu-wa-ia ar-ḫa wa-ar-nu-ut nam-ma-aš EGIR-pa / (47') [I-NA<sup>URU</sup>]<sup>r</sup>Ti<sup>1</sup>-mu-ḫa-la an-da-an ú-it nu<sup>URU</sup>Ti-mu-ḫa-la-aš URU-aš / (48') [ŠA LÚ.MEŠ<sup>URU</sup>]<sup>r</sup>Ga-aš-ga **wa-al-li-ia-aš** pé-e-da-an e-eš-ta / (49') [ma-na-an] ḫar-ni-ik-ta EGIR-na-na-at na-aḫ-šar-ri-ia-an-ta-at / (50') [na-at-ši me-n]a-aḫ-ḫa-an-da<sup>r</sup>ú-e<sup>1</sup>-er na-at-ši GÌR.MEŠ-aš / (51') [kat-ta-an ḫa]-<sup>r</sup>a-le-e-er<sup>1</sup> [na-an] nam-ma Ú-UL ḫar-ni-ik-ta /

[He] went [int]o (the land of) the river Daḫara and burned down (the land of) the river Daḫara and [the land of Ta]papiuwa. Then he came back [into the town of] Timuḫala. The town of Timuḫala was a place of **pride**<sup>605</sup> [of people of] Kaška. He [would have] destroy [it], but they were afraid [and] they came [befo]re [him] and [fe]ll [down] to his feet. Consequently, he did not destroy [it].

2. KUB 23.77 + KUB 13.27 + (138.1.A), treaty between Arnuwanda I and the Kaška people, MH/MS.

KUB 23.77 + KUB 13.27 rev.: //(77') an-da-ma<sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR ku-wa-pí ḫu-w[a-iš(?) ... ]-eš ták-šu-la-aš EGIR-pa URU-ia le-e tar-na-at-t[e-ni] / (78') NINDA-an-na-aš-ši wa-a-tar le-e [pé-eš-te-ni ...]-an-na-az-za-an URU-ri EGIR-pa le-e pé-e-ḫu-te-et-te-ni / (79')<sup>URU</sup>ḫa-at-tu-ša-an-na PA-NI<sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR(?) le-e da-le-eš-t[e-ni(?) **wa-al-lu-uš-ki-it-te-na-an** im-ma //

But in addition when the enemy fl[ees], you (pl.) will not al[low him] again in the city as an ally! You will not [give] him bread and water! You will not lead him back to the city! You [will not *aban*]don Ḫattuša to [the enemy], but instead you will **honour**<sup>606</sup> it!

3. KUB 21.38 (CTH 176), letter from Puduḫepa to Ramses II, NH/NS.

KUB 21.38 obv.: // (47) MUNUS.LUGAL-aš-za ku-i-e-eš DUMU.MUNUS KUR<sup>URU</sup>rGA<sup>1</sup>-RA<sup>d</sup>-DU-NI-IA-<sup>r</sup>AŠ<sup>1</sup> [DUMU.MUNUS KU]R<sup>URU</sup>A-MUR-RI-ia da-aḫ-ḫu-un / (48) na-at-mu A-NA LÚ.MEŠ KUR<sup>URU</sup>ḪAT-TI pí-ra-an Ú-UL im-ma<sup>r</sup>wa<sup>1</sup>-al-li-ia-tar Ú-UL ku-it e-eš-ta / (49) na-at erasure am-<sup>r</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-uk i-ia-nu-un erasure nu-za erasure a-ra-aḫ-zé-[nu]-un ŠA LUGAL.GAL DUMU.MUNUS erasure AŠ-ŠUM MUNUS.É.GI.A da-aḫ-ḫu-un / (50) nu ma-a-an A-NA MU[NUS].<sup>r</sup>É<sup>1</sup>.GI.A ku-wa-pí a-pí-el LÚ TE-

<sup>604</sup> All the restorations at the beginning of lines 45'-51' are those of Güterbock 1956: 110.

<sup>605</sup> The noun *walli-* in the present context has been previously translated as “stronghold” by Gurney 1940: 43, “pride” by Güterbock 1956: 110, Hoffner 1997b: 191 and Kloekhorst 2008: 948. Del Monte 2008: 141 translates this noun as “vanto”.

<sup>606</sup> The verb *wallu-* has been previously translated in the present context as “loben” by von Schuler 1965: 122.

MU <sup>1</sup>EGIR<sup>1</sup>-an-da mi-iš-ri-wa-an-da ú-wa-an-zi / (51) na-aš-ma-aš-ši <sup>1</sup>ŠA<sup>1</sup> ŠEŠ NIN<sub>9</sub>-TI EGIR-an-da ú-iz-zi na-<sup>1</sup>at<sup>1</sup> Ú-UL im-ma wa-al-li-ia-tar / (52) nu-mu-kán <sup>1</sup>ŠÀ<sup>1</sup> KUR <sup>1</sup>URU<sup>1</sup> ĤAT-TI MUNUS-TUM NU.GÁL e-eš-ta Ú-UL-<sup>1</sup>at<sup>1</sup> ŠUM-ni Ĥa-an-da-aš i-ia-nu-un //

The daughter of Babylonia and [the daughter of] Amurru whom, I, the Queen, took for myself – were they not indeed a (source of) **praise**<sup>607</sup> for me before the people of Ĥatti? Was that not so? I myself did that: I took a foreign daughter of a great king for a daughter-in-law. And if at some time his (i.e. great king's) messengers come in full splendour to the dau[ghter]-in-law, or one of (her) brother<s> or sisters comes to her, is that not also a (source of) **praise** (for me)? Was there no woman at all available to me in Ĥatti? Have I not done this for (my) name's sake?

4. KUB 31.141 (CTH 312.II), hymn to the goddess Ištar, NH/NS.

KUB 31.141 obv.: // (1) [... MU]NUS.LUGAL [... DIN]GIR-LIM-iš // (2) [zi-ik(?) ... Ĥ]u-u-ma-an-da-kán KUR.KUR.ĤI.A ku-iš <sup>1</sup>aš-nu<sup>1</sup>-uš-ki-iz-zi // (3) [wa-al]-liš-kán-zi ku-in šal-la-ia-aš-kán DINGIR.MEŠ-aš ku-iš šal-li-iš // (4) [ud-da-a-a]r ku-e-da-ni da-aš-šu ŠUM-an-ti-it da-aš-šu //

[ ... qu]een [ ... you are the] goddess, [ ... ] who puts in order [a]ll the lands, whom they continue to [**pr**]aise<sup>608</sup>, who is greatest among the great gods, whose [word]s are strong (lit. who has strong words), (whose) name is strong.

5. KBo 26.88 + HFAC 45 + (CTH 346.12.A), Kumarbi myth, NH/NS. Lines iv 4-7 are duplicated by lines 1'-6' of KBo 26.89 + KBo 52.11 (CTH 346.12.B).

(1)

KUB 26.88 + HFAC 45 iv: // (1) [<sup>d</sup>]Ta-ki-du-uš INIM.MEŠ<sup>d</sup> Ĥe-pat IŠ-ME na-aš <sup>URU</sup>Ši-<sup>1</sup>im<sup>1</sup>-mu<sup>609</sup>-ur-ra / (2) [p]a-it nu <sup>MUNUS</sup>Ku-ti-la-du-un pu-nu-uš-ta erasure / (3) [nu]-za-kán <sup>MUNUS</sup>Ku-ti-la-du-uš wa-aš-tul tar-na-aš nu <sup>d</sup>Ĥe-pat / (4) [w]a-al-li-eš-ki-iz-zi nu <sup>d</sup>Ta-ki-du-uš A-NA <sup>d</sup>Ĥe-pat / (5) [me]-<sup>1</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>-ia-an pí-e-da-aš <sup>URU</sup>Ši-<sup>1</sup>im-mu-ur-ra-wa pa-a-u-un / (6) [nu-wa<sup>7</sup> <sup>MUNUS</sup>Ku-ti-la-du-un <sup>1</sup>pu<sup>1</sup>-nu-uš-šu-un nu-za-kán w[a-aš-tul] / (7) [tar-na-aš] <sup>1</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>Ĥe-pat wa-al-li-eš-ki-iz-[zi] //

(2)

KUB 26.89 + KBo 52.11: (1') [ ... ] x x x / (2') [ ... me-mi-i]a-[an pí-e-d]a-aš / (3') [<sup>URU</sup>Ši-<sup>1</sup>im-mu-ur-r]a-wa pa-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[u]-<sup>1</sup>un<sup>1</sup> / (4') [nu-wa<sup>7</sup> <sup>MUNUS</sup>Ku-ti-la]-du-un pu-n[u]-uš-šu-un / (5') [nu-za-kán wa-aš-tu]l tar-na-aš <sup>1</sup>nu erasure / (6') [<sup>d</sup>Ĥe-pat wa-a]l-li-iš-ki-iz-zi //

<sup>607</sup> The noun *walliyatar* was rendered here as “praise” by Beckman 1999:134, Edell 1994: 221 and by Helck 1963: 91. Stefanini 1964: 12 translates it as “onore” in line 48 and as “una cosa onorevole” in line 51.

<sup>608</sup> The same translation of the verb *walli-* in the present context was offered by Lebrun 1980: 381 (“louanger”) and by Reiner – Güterbock 1967: 157.

<sup>609</sup> HFAC joins KUB 26.88 in column iv (join made by Lorenz). In line iv there appears to be a scribal error; instead of sign *mu* the scribe writes *me-eš*.

Takidu heard the words of ̕epat. [He we]nt to Šimmurra and questioned the woman named Kutiladu. Kutiladu “abandoned her sin” and she **continues to [pr]aise** ̕epat. Takidu carried the [wo]rd to ̕epat: “I went to Šimmurra and I questioned [the woma]n named Kutiladu. [She “abandoned her sin”] and **contin[ues] to praise** ̕epat.”

6. KUB 24.1 + KBo 58.10 (CTH 377.A), hymn and prayer of Muršili II to Telipinu, NH/NS. KUB 24.1+ has one duplicate, KUB 24.2 (CTH 377.B).

KUB 24.1 + KBo 58.10 i: (1) [ke-e]-ma-kán t[up-pi x x x x DINGIR-LI]M an-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup> / (2) [x xU]D-at me-mi-iš-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-i[z-zi x x x] <sup>r</sup>wa<sup>1</sup>-al-li-iš-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-i[z-zi]

KUB 24.2 obv.: (1) [ke-e-k]án <sup>r</sup>tup-pí DUB<sup>1</sup>.SAR A-NA DINGIR-LIM an-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup> UD-<sup>r</sup>at UD-at<sup>1</sup> me-mi-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-k[i-iz-zi] / (2) [nu DINGI]R-LAM wa-al-li-iš-ki-iz-zi // (3) <sup>d</sup>Te-li-pí-nu-uš šar-ku-uš na-ak-ki-iš DINGIR-uš zi-ik

The scribe reads [this] tablet out daily to the god and **praises**<sup>610</sup> the god (saying): “O Telipinu, you are a powerful and an honoured god!”

7. KBo 4.6 (CTH 380.A), prayer of Muršili II to Lelwani for the recovery of Gaššuliyawiya, NH/NS.

(1)

KUB 4.6 obv.: // (10') nu ma-a-an DINGIR-LIM EN-IA<sup>611</sup> am-me-el ku-it-ki <sup>r</sup>ŠA<sup>1</sup> [DAM-IA(?)]<sup>612</sup> / (11') ̕UL-lu ša-an-<sup>h</sup>e'<sup>1</sup>(še)-eš-ki-ši nu-ut-ta ka-a-aš-ma am-[mu-uk ta]r-pa-<sup>r</sup>aš-ša<sup>1</sup>-[an] / (12') ú-nu-wa-an-da-an up-pa-aḫ-ḫu-un na-aš-kán am-mu-uk kat-ta-an SIG<sub>5</sub>-an-za / (13') pár-ku-i-ša-aš a-pa-a-aš mi-iš-ri-wa-an-za a-pa-a-aš ḫar-ki-ša-aš a-pa-a-aš / (14') <sup>r</sup>na-aš-kán<sup>1</sup> ḫu-u-ma-an-da-az a-ša-nu-wa-an-za nu-kán DINGIR-LIM EN-IA a-pu-u-un / (15') me-<sup>r</sup>na-aḫ<sup>1</sup>-ḫa-an-da uš-ki nu PA-NI DINGIR-LIM EN-IA ka-a-aš MUNUS-aš ú-e-ḫa-at-ta-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>1</sup> / (16') A-NA DUMU.MUNUS.GAL-ma-kán an-da aš-šu-li nam-ma ne-eš-ḫu-ut na-an ke-e-ez / (17') GIG-za TI-nu-ut nu-uš-ši e-ni GIG a-wa-an ar-ḫa nam-ma ti-it-ta-nu-ut / (18') na-aš ḫa-ad-du-le-eš-du nam-ma nu ú-iz-zi DUMU.MUNUS.GAL zi-la-ti-ia / (19') tu-uk DINGIR-LAM wa-al-li-iš-ki-iz-zi ŠUM-an-na tu-e-el-pát / (20') ŠA DINGIR-LAM me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi //

If you, o god, my lord, are searching for something evil in my [wife], I [am] thus sending you an adorned substitute. Compared to me (lit. with me) she is good, she is pure, she is radiant, she is white, she is endowed with everything. Look at that one (standing) before you, o god, my lord! Let this woman thus appeal before you, o god, my lord! Turn in favour to the great

<sup>610</sup> The verb *walli-* was translated in the present context as: “to praise” Bernabé 1987: 273, Bachvarove 2002: 137, Goetze 1950: 396, Gurney 1940: 17, Kassian-Yakubovitch 2007: 432, de Roos 1995: 2001 and by Singer 2002a: 54. Christmann-Franck 1989: 47 renders it as “il glorifie” and Lebrun 1980: 184 as “il prononce l’hymne”.

<sup>611</sup> For the possible explanation of the epithet EN-IA “my lord” employed in this prayer, addressed to the goddess Lelwani, see Lebrun 1980: 253 comment on line 10’.

<sup>612</sup> The restoration follows Singer 2002a: 72. Lebrun 1980: 249 restores here DUMU.MUNUS.GAL on analogy with lines 16’ and 18’. However, because of the employment of the pronoun *ammel* “mine” Singer’s restoration and translation “my wife” makes more sense.

daughter again! Save her from this illness! Remove this (lit. the aforementioned) sickness from her and let her be healthy again! Then, in the future, the great daughter **will proceed to constantly praise**<sup>613</sup> you, o god, and she will pronounce only your name, o god.

(2)

KBo 4.6 rev.: // (18') [a]r-*ḫa-ia-an-ma-at-ta* <sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-e-el A-NA DINGIR-LIM <sup>f</sup>Gaš-šu-li-ia-wi-aš / (19') tu-el GÉME-TUM MÁ[Š.GA]L IŠ-TU <sup>GU<sub>4</sub></sup>ÁB.NIGA UDU.NIGA NINDA KAŠ GEŠTIN-is / (20') aš-šu-li up-pé-eš-ta nu-za DINGIR-LIM ke-e-ia SISKUR aš-šu-li da-a / (21') DINGIR-LIM-ma-kán A-NA <sup>f</sup>Gaš-šu-li-ia-wi-ia an-da aš-šu-li nam-ma / (22') na-a-iš-ḫu-ut na-an ke-e-ez!(e-ki-iz) GIG-za TI-nu-ut erasure / (23') na-at-ši <sup>1</sup>kar-ša<sup>1</sup>-at-ti nam-ma da-a-i na-aš *ḫa-at-tu*-<sup>1</sup>le<sup>1</sup>-eš-<sup>1</sup>du<sup>1</sup> / (24') nam-ma <nu> <sup>1</sup>ú-iz-zi <sup>f</sup>Gaš-šu-li-ia-wi-ia-aš zi-<sup>1</sup>la-ti-ia<sup>614</sup> / (25') tu-uk DINGIR-LAM **wa-al-li-iš<sup>1</sup>-ki-iz-zi** ŠUM-an-[na tu-e-el-pát] / (26') ŠA DINGIR-LIM me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi //

Gaššuliyawiya, your maid, has sent you, o god, separately, in good will, your bi[lly go]at together with a fattened cow, fattened sheep, bread and beer-wine. You, o god, take this offering also in good will and you, O god(dess) turn in favour to Gaššuliyawiya once more! Save her from this illness! Take it from her again<sup>615</sup> and let her be healthy again! Then, in the future, Gaššuliyawiya **will proceed to constantly praise**<sup>616</sup> you, o god, and will pronounce [only your] name, o god.

8. KUB 6.45+ (CTH 381.A), ‘prayer’ of Muwatalli II to the assembly of Hittite gods, NH/NS. The text is duplicated by KUB 6.46 (CTH 381.B).

KUB 6.45 + iii: // (45) nu am-me-el ku-wa-pí A-WA-TE<sup>MEŠ</sup> DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>617</sup> iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-an-zi / (46) nu-mu-kán ku-iš i-da-lu-uš me-mi-aš<sup>618</sup> ZI-ni an-da / (47) na-an-mu DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>619</sup> EGIR-pa SIG<sub>5</sub>-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi<sup>620</sup> šar-la-an-zi / (48) nu-za ku-e-el **wa-al-li-ia-tar** Ú-UL-za ŠA<sup>621</sup> <sup>d</sup>U pí-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ši<sup>622</sup> / (49) EN-IA **wa-al-li-ia-tar** ... / (54) nu ú-wa-an-zi zi-la-ti-ia<sup>623</sup> DUMU-IA DUMU.DUMU-IA<sup>624</sup> LUGAL.MEŠ<sup>625</sup>

<sup>613</sup> The verb *walli-* was translated in this context as “praise “ by Bachvarova 2002: 140, Singer 2002a: 72 and by Tischler 1981: 13. Lebrun 1980: 251 translates it as “se adresser d’incessantes louanges” and Ünal 1991: 812 as “ständig verherrlichen.”

<sup>614</sup> The last two signs *-ti-ia* are not clearly visible on the photograph.

<sup>615</sup> Lit. ‘further, place it (i.e. the illness) for her for cutting’.

<sup>616</sup> The verb *walli-* in rev. 25’ has been translated as “...ne cessera pas de te célébrer” by Lebrun 1980: 252, as “praise” by Singer 2002a: 73 and by Tischler 1981: 17 and as “verherrlichen” by Ünal 1991: 813.

<sup>617</sup> B: DINGIR.ME.EŠ A-<WA>-TE<sup>ME.EŠ</sup>; end of a line.

<sup>618</sup> B: end of a line.

<sup>619</sup> B: DINGIR.ME.EŠ

<sup>620</sup> B: SIG<sub>5</sub>-aḫ-zi

<sup>621</sup> B: ŠA is written above the line.

<sup>622</sup> B: pí-{pí}-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ši.

<sup>623</sup> B: zi-la-ti-ia am-me-el DUMU-IA

<sup>624</sup> B: end of a line.

<sup>625</sup> B: LUGAL.ME.EŠ

MUNUS.LUGAL.MEŠ<sup>626</sup> / (55) ŠA<sup>URU</sup> HA-AT-TI DUMU.MEŠ.LUGAL<sup>627</sup>  
 BE-LU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ia<sup>628</sup> A-NA<sup>dU</sup> pī-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ši / (56) EN-IA na-aḥ-šar-ri-iš-ki-u-  
 an<sup>629</sup> ti-ia-an-zi / (57) nu ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-an-zi ḥa-an-da-an-wa a-ši  
 DINGIR-LIM / (58) šar-ku-uš UR.SAG-iš pa-ra-a ḥa-an-da-a[n-za  
 DINGIR-LU]M<sup>630</sup> / (59) nu-ut-ta<sup>631</sup> DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>632</sup> ŠA-ME-E  
 ḤUR.SAG.'MEŠ' ÍD.MEŠ<sup>633</sup> wa-li-i]a-an-zi<sup>634</sup> //

When the gods will hear my words, they will make right and lift from me the evil thing which is in my soul. For whom (the source of) **praise**<sup>635</sup> will it be? Will it not be (the source of) **praise** for the Stormgod of lightning, my lord?<sup>636</sup> ... And it will happen that in the future, my son, my grandson, kings and queens of Ḥatti, princes and lords will always be in awe of the Stormgod of lightning, my lord, and they will say as follows: “Truly, that (lit. concerned) god is an outstanding hero, a rightly gu[iding go]d!” The gods of heaven, mountains and ri[vers **will prajise you**<sup>637</sup> .

9. KBo 11.1 (CTH 382), prayer of Muwatalli II to the Stormgod concerning the cult of Kummanni, NH/NS.

KBo 11.1 rev.: (19) ... <sup>dU</sup>-r<sup>na</sup>-aš aš-šu-li an-na-aš<sup>UZU</sup>UBUR ma-aḥ-ḥa-an  
 šu-un-na-zi <sup>dTe</sup>-[ ... ] / (20) ṛiš-pí-ia<sup>1</sup>-an-te-eš-ma-an-na-aš A-NA ME-E  
 QA-ZI-I ma-aḥ-ḥa-an nu <sup>dU</sup> EN-IA A[ ... ] / (21) na-ṛat<sup>1</sup>  
 DUMU.'LÚ.U<sub>9</sub>.LU iš-pí-ia-nu-mar e-eš-du A-NA <sup>dU</sup>-ma-at EN-IA wa-al-  
 [li-ia-tar e-eš-du(?)]<sup>638</sup> / (22) nu-kán ŠÀ KUR-TI A-NA <sup>dU</sup>  
 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA pa-an-ku(-)e-eš-zi<sup>639</sup> GEŠTIN<sup>1</sup>iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi [ ... ] / (23)  
 nu<sup>dU</sup> EN-IA a-aš-ša-u-e-eš UN.MEŠ-uš x[ ... ] //

Just as the Stormgod fills the mother’s breast for our well-being, [so let ...].  
 Just as we are satisfied with cold water, so [let] the Stormgod, my lord, [...] the water. May there be saturation for men and [may] it [be] (a source of)

626 B: MUNUS.LUGAL.ḤI.A

627 B: DUMU.ME.EŠ

628 B: EN.ME.EŠ-ia; line break.

629 B: na-aḥ-šar-ri-iš-ki-u-wa-an

630 This reading follows Singer 1996: 23. B: DINGIR-LIM.

631 B: -ut-ta is written above the line.

632 B: DINGIR.ME.EŠ.

633 B: ḤUR.SAG.ME.EŠ ÍD.ME.EŠ.

634 B: wa-li-ṛia<sup>1</sup>-an-zi

635 The noun *walliyatar* was rendered in the present context as “praise” by Bachvarova 2002: 149; Bernabé 1987: 292; Goetze 1950: 398; Lebrun 1980: 281, and by Singer 1996: 41 and 2002a: 92. Trabazo 2002: 349 renders it as “la gloria.”

636 For the interpretation of these sentences as the first person questions see Singer 1996: 66 comment to line iii 48f.

637 The verb *walli-* was translated here as: “exalt” by Bachvarova 2002: 149 and “praise” by Bernabé 1987: 292; Goetze 1950: 398; Lebrun 1980: 281 and Singer 1996: 41 and 2002a: 92.

638 According to Houwink ten Cate and Josephson 1967: 113 (note on line 21) the restoration of the noun *waliyatar* has been suggested here by Güterbock; it has been adopted by the successive editors and translators of this text and it is followed here.

639 Although *pa-an-ku(-)e-eš-zi* is written here as one word, one should interpret it as the nom.-acc.n. of the adjective *paknu* and a third person singular present of the verb *eš-* “to be.”

**pr[aise]**<sup>640</sup> for the Stormgod, my lord. The thick bread will be plentiful in the land, and the libation wine [...] for the Stormgod. May the Stormgod, my lord [...] good people!

10. KUB 29.1 (414.A), ritual for the erection of a new palace, OH/NS. <sup>641</sup>

KUB 29.1 i: (17) LUGAL-*i-ma-mu* DINGIR.ME.EŠ <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš <sup>d</sup>IM-aš-ša *ut-ne-e É-ir-mi-it-ta* / (18) *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫi-ir nu-za* LUGAL-uš-ša *ut-ne-me-et É-ir-mi-it-ta* / (19) *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-mi zi-ik am-me-el É-na li-e ú-wa-ši* / (20) *ú-ga tu-e-el par-na Ú-UL ú-<sup>r</sup>wa<sup>1</sup>-a-mi* // (21) LUGAL-*e-mu* DINGIR.ME.EŠ *me-ek-ku-uš* MU.KAM.ḪI.A-uš *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫi-ir* / (22) *ú-it-ta-an-na ku-ut-re-eš-me-et* NU.GÁL // (23) LUGAL-*u-e-mu*<sup>642</sup> *ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫa-en* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ḫu-lu-ga-an-ni-<sup>r</sup>en<sup>1</sup>* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*DAG-iz*<sup>643</sup> / (24) *a-ru-na-za ú-da-aš* DINGIR-*na-aš-ma-aš* KUR-*e ḫi-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-še-er*<sup>644</sup> *nu-mu-za*<sup>645</sup> LUGAL-*un*<sup>646</sup> / (25) *La-ba-ar-na-an ḫal-zi-i-e-er* // (26) *nu* EGIR-*pa*<sup>647</sup> *ad-da-aš-ma-an*<sup>648</sup> <sup>d</sup>U-*an*<sup>649</sup> ***wa-al-lu-uš-ki-mi*** *nu*<sup>650</sup> <sup>GIŠ</sup>.ḪI.A LUGAL-*uš*<sup>651</sup> / (27) <sup>d</sup>U-*ni ú-e-ek-zi ḫé-e-ia-u-e-eš*<sup>652</sup> *ku-it ta-aš-nu-uš-ki-ir šal-la-nu-uš-ki-ir* //

The gods - the Sungoddess and the Stormgod - have entrusted to me, the king the land and my household and I, the king, will protect the land and my household. You should not come into my house, and I will not come into your house. To me, the king, the gods have granted many years, there is no limit (lit. brevity) to (my) years. To me, the king, the Throne, has brought from the sea the authority and a *ḫuluganni*-carriage.<sup>653</sup> The gods have opened the land for you and they have called me, the king, Labarna. Thereafter, I will be constantly **praising**<sup>654</sup> my father, the Stormgod. The

<sup>640</sup> The noun *walliyatar* was translated in the present context as “glory” by Bachvarova 2002: 140; “praise” by Houwink ten Cate and Josephson 1967: 119 and by Singer 2002a: 85; as “motivo de orgullo” by Bernabé 1987: 297 and as “homage” by Lebrun 1980: 303.

<sup>641</sup> The text is a duplicate of the Old Hittite fragmentary manuscript KUB 29.3 (CTH 414.B). The KUB 29.1 has two copies, KUB 29.2 + (CTH 414.C) and HT 38 (CTH 414.D). Lines i 21-27 of KUB 29.1 duplicate lines 1’-8’ of KUB 29.3.

<sup>642</sup> B: LUGAL-*i-mu*

<sup>643</sup> B: <sup>d</sup>*ḫal-ma-aš-šu-i-iz<sup>r</sup> a<sup>1</sup>-[ru]*

<sup>644</sup> B: *ḫé-e-še-er*

<sup>645</sup> B: *nu-mu-uz*

<sup>646</sup> B: LUGAL-*un-na*

<sup>647</sup> B: *ap-ap-pa*

<sup>648</sup> B: *at-ta-<aš>-ma-an*

<sup>649</sup> B: <sup>d</sup>IM

<sup>650</sup> B: adds *an-ku*

<sup>651</sup> After LUGAL-*uš* manuscript B adds *ta-al-x* [...].

<sup>652</sup> B: *ḫé-e-a-u-e-eš-ma-aš ša-al*-[...].

<sup>653</sup> Schwartz (1947) read here <sup>GIŠ</sup>*tal-lu-ga-an-ni-en* and translated it together with *maniyahḫauen* as “the assigned sceptre.” This reading; however, is not consistent with the cuneiform original; the sign *hu* is clearly visible on both the photograph and a hand-copy of the tablet. All other editors of this text and scholars discussing this passage unanimously read here <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ḫu-lu-ga-an-ni-en* and this reading is followed here.

<sup>654</sup> The verb *wallu-* has been translated in the present context as “io esalto” by Carini 1982: 489; “I have been directing my requests” by Goetze 1950: 357; “preise ich” by Haas 1977: 11; “and again I will praise” by Hout 1991: 195 note 5; “И я вiovь и вiovь прославляю” (“I glorify again and again”) by Ivanov 1977: 47; “pray to/ask (of a deity)” by Kloekhorst 2008: 952; “celebrerò” by Marazzi 1982: 151; “I (shall) praise” by Schwartz 1947: 27; “ensalzo” by Trabazo 2002: 486-487.

king will ask from the Stormgod for the trees, which the rains made strong and great.

11. KUB 2.1 (CTH 682), festival for a protective deity (<sup>d</sup>LAMMA), NS.

<sup>d</sup>A-a-la-aš **wa-al-li-i[a-an-na-aš]** “Ala of **glory/praise**.”<sup>655</sup>

12. KUB 24.7 (CTH 717), Hurro-Hittite hymn to the goddess Ištar, NH/NS.<sup>656</sup>

KUB 24.7 i: // (12') [**wa-al-l**]**a-aḫ-ḫi**-ia-aš<sup>657</sup> ŠA <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-uš  
<sup>MUNUS</sup>SUḪUR.LA<sub>5</sub>.ḪI.A / (13') [<sup>d</sup>Ni-na]-at-ta-an <sup>d</sup>Ku-li-it-ta-an <sup>d</sup>Ši-en-tal-  
 ir-te-in / (14') [<sup>d</sup>Ḫa]-am-ra-zu-un-na-an ... // (22') <sup>r</sup>**wa-al-l**-**la-aḫ-ḫi**-ia-aš  
 ŠA <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN ap-pé-ez-<sup>r</sup>zi-uš <sup>MUNUS</sup><sup>1</sup>SUḪUR.LA<sub>5</sub>.ḪI.A / (23') [<sup>d</sup>A-li-in  
<sup>d</sup>Ḫal-za-a-ri-in [<sup>d</sup>]<sup>r</sup>Ta<sup>1</sup>-ru-<sup>r</sup>wi-in<sup>1</sup> / (24') <sup>d</sup>Ši-na-an-da-du-kar-ni-in **wa-al-la-**  
<sup>r</sup>**aḫ-ḫi**

[**I will pra**]**ise**<sup>658</sup> them, the “first” handmaids<sup>659</sup> of Ištar, namely [Nin]atta, Kulitta, Šintalirti (and) [Ḫ]amrazunna ... **I will praise** them; the “last” handmaids of Ištar: Ali, Ḫalzari, Taruwi (and) Šinandadukarni. (Them) **I will praise**.

13. KBo 32.14 (CTH 789), the “Song of Release”, MH/MS.

(1)

KUB 32.14 ii: // (42) te-eš-šum-mi-in <sup>LÚ</sup>SIMUG **wa-al-li-ia-an-ni** la-a-ḫu-  
 uš / (43) la-a-ḫu-ša-an ti-iš-ša-a-it na-an šu-up-pí-iš-du-wa-ri-it / (44) da-iš  
 na-an gul-aš-ta nu-uš-ši-eš-ta ma-iš-ti / (45) an-da la-a-lu-uk-ki-iš-nu-ut la-  
 a-ḫu-uš-ma-an ku-iš / (46) na-an a-ap-pa mar-la-a-an-za URUDU-aš ḫu-  
 ur-za-ki-u-an da-i[š] / (47) ma-a-an-wa-mu la-a-ḫu-uš ku-iš ma-an-wa-aš-  
 ši-kán ki-iš-šar-<sup>r</sup>aš<sup>1</sup> / (48) ar-ḫa du-wa-ar-na-at-ta-ri ku-un-na-aš-ma-an-  
 wa-aš-ši-kán / (49) iš-ḫu-na-ú-uš ar-ḫa ú-i-šu-u-ri-ia-at-ta-ri / (50) ma-aḫ-  
 ḫa-an <sup>LÚ</sup>SIMUG iš-ta-ma-aš-ta / (51) nu-uš-ši-eš-ta ŠÀ-ŠU an-da iš-tar-ak-  
 ki-at //

A smith cast a cup for **praise**<sup>660</sup>. He cast and moulded it (lit. made it ready). He inlaid it with ornamentation. He engraved it. He made it shine (lit. He

<sup>655</sup> The noun *walliyatar* was translated in the present context as “glory” by McMahon 1991: 111.

<sup>656</sup> The tablet contains two compositions, the hymn and a mythological tale entitled “The Sungod, the Cow and the Fisherman”. For arguments supporting the idea that this tablet is a *Sammeltafel* see Güterbock 1997: 65.

<sup>657</sup> Nearly all the restoration are those of Güterbock 1997: 66 (reprint of Güterbock 1983:155-164), except at the beginning of line 15' and at the end of line 27', where Güterbock restores <sup>MUNUS</sup><sup>r</sup>É<sup>1</sup>.[GI.A-x].

<sup>658</sup> The verb *walla-* in lines 12', 22' and 24' has been previously translated as: “to praise” by Goetze 1933: 262, Güterbock 1997: 66 (reprint) and by Haas 2006: 200.

<sup>659</sup> Translation of *CHD* Š: 85.a. Güterbock translates <sup>MUNUS</sup>SUḪUR.LA<sub>5</sub>.ḪI.A as “lady attendants” (1997: 68-69 comment on line 12).

<sup>660</sup> The noun *walliyann-* was translated in the present context as “glory” by Bachvarova 2002: 67; “praise worthy fashion” by Beckman 2003: 216 and as “Ruhme” by Neu 1996: 81.

gave light into its glow)<sup>661</sup>. But the foolish (piece of) copper began to curse the one who had cast it<sup>662</sup>: “If only the hand of the one who cast me were broken<sup>663</sup>; if his right upper arm were wasted away (lit. tied up, suffocated)” When the smith heard it, he became sick at his heart.

(2)

KUB 32.14 iii: (41) [<sup>LÚ</sup>NAGAR] ʾAN.ZA.GÀR-*an wa-aḷ-li-i[a]-an-ni ú-e-te-et nu-uš-ši-kán ḫu-u-ʾta<sup>1</sup>-nu-uš kat-ta-an-ta ták-na-a-aš* <sup>d</sup>UTU-*i kat-t[a a]r-nu-ut* / (42) [ x x x]-*ul-lu-ud-du-ʾuš<sup>1</sup>-ma ša-ra-a ne-pí-ši ma-an-ni-in-ku-wa-aḫ-ḫa-aš ú-e-te-et-ma-an ku-iš na-an mar-la-a-[an-za]* / (43) [AN.ZA.GÀR] ʾa<sup>1</sup>-*ap-pa ḫu-u-ur-za-ki-u-an da-iš ú-e-te-et-wa-mu ku-iš ma-an-wa-aš-ši-kán ki-iš-šar-aš ar-ḫa du-wa-ar-n[a-a]t-ʾta<sup>1</sup>-ri* / (44) [*ku-un-na-aš-m*]a-ʾan<sup>1</sup>-*ši-kán iš-ḫu-ʾna-a<sup>1</sup>-uš ʾar<sup>1</sup>-ḫa ú-i-šu-u-ri-ia-at-ta-ri IŠ-ME* <sup>LÚ</sup>NAGAR *nu-uš-ši-kán ŠÀ-ŠU an-da ʾi<sup>1</sup>-[da-a-l]a-u-eš-ta* /

[A carpenter] built a tower for **pra[is]e**<sup>664</sup>. He s[an]k (lit. brought down) the foundation trenches down to the Sungoddess of earth. He made the ... upwards close to heaven. But the fool[ish tower] began to curse the one who built it<sup>665</sup>: “If the hand of the one who built me were b[rok]en<sup>666</sup>; if his [right] upper arm were wasted away.” The builder heard, and his heart became evil.

#### 14. KBo 32.19 (CTH 789), the “Song of Release”, NH/NS.

(1)

KBo 32.19 ii<sup>667</sup>: (9) *ki-nu-un-ma-aš x [ ... <sup>m</sup>Me-e-g]a-ʾi<sup>1</sup> [tu-u]k* / (10) *pí-ra-an ša-r[a-a ar-ta-ri]* // (11) *ma-a-an pa-ra-ʾa<sup>1</sup> [tar-nu-mar i-ia-at-te-ni]* / (12) <sup>URU</sup>*E-eb-la-ma* [<sup>GIŠ</sup>ŠÚ.A-*aš URU-ri*] / (13) *nu ma-a-an pa-ra-[a tar-nu-mar i-ia-at-t]e-ni* / (14) *nu-uš-ma-aš* <sup>GIŠ</sup>TUKUL.[ḪI.A-KU-NU *x-na-aš*] ʾi<sup>1</sup>-*wa-ar* / (15) *šar-la-a-[mi]* // (16) *nu šu-me-en-za-an-[(pát)]* <sup>GIŠ</sup>TUKUL.ḪI.A-KU-NU *ú-iz-z[i]* / (17) *ḫar-pa-na-al-[i-uš ḫu-ul-la-an-ni-wa-a]n da-a-i<sup>668</sup>* / (18) <sup>A.ŠA</sup>*ḫar-ša-a-u-[ar-ma-wa-aš-ma-aš ú-iz-z[i]* / (19) **wa-al-li-i[a-an-ni ma-a-i]** // (20) *ma-a-an Ú-UL-m[a i-ia-a]t-t[e-ni]* / (21) *pa-ra-a tar-nu-mar* <sup>URU</sup>*E-eb-l]a-i* <sup>GIŠ</sup>ŠÚ.A-*aš URU-ri* / (22) *nu nam-ma UD 7.KAM-[az nu-u]š-ša-an am-mu-uk* / (23) *šu-ma-a-aš<sup>669</sup> tu-e-[eg-ga-ša-m]a-aš ú-wa-mi* // (24) <sup>URU</sup>*E-eb-la-an U[RU-an ḫ]ar-ni-ik-[m]i* / (25) *na-aš ma-a-an Ú-U[L ku-uš-ša-an-g]a a-ša-a-an-za* / (26) *na-an a-pí-ni-iš-š[u-wa-an<sup>670</sup> i-ia-m]i* //

<sup>661</sup> Beckman 2003: 216 translates the sentence as “He put a shine on it with a woolen cloth” and interprets the noun *maišti* as the dative/instrumental of <sup>(SIG)</sup>*maišta*- “fiber, flock or strand of wool(?)”. Kloekhorst (2008) takes *maišti* as a noun meaning “glow”.

<sup>662</sup> Lit. “but the one who casts it, him the foolish (piece of) copper began to curse.”

<sup>663</sup> Lit. “if the one who cast me, if his hand were broken.”

<sup>664</sup> The noun *walliyann-* has been translated in the present context as “praise worthy fashion” by Beckman 2003: 217 and as “zum Ruhme” by Neu 1996: 89.

<sup>665</sup> Lit. “but the one who built it, him the foolish tower began to curse.”

<sup>666</sup> Lit. “the one who built me, if his hand were broken”

<sup>667</sup> All the restorations are based on the duplicate KUB 32.24 and an almost identical passage in KUB 32.19.

<sup>668</sup> KUB 32.24 has here [*ḫu-ul-l]i-iz-zi*

<sup>669</sup> KUB 32.24 has [*šu-me-e]n-za-an*.

<sup>670</sup> KUB 32.24 has here *QA-TAM-MA*.

(2)

KBo 32.19 iii: (33') ... *ki-nu-un-ma-wa-ra-aš* / (34') x [ x x x]-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup> *tu-uk*  
<sup>m</sup>*Me-e-ga-i pí-ra-an ša-ra-a* / (35') *ar-ta-r[i]* // (36') *nu-wa ma-a-an pa-ra-*  
*a tar-nu-m[ar i-i]a-at-te-ni* / (37') [<sup>U</sup>RU]E-eb-la-i <sup>GIŠ</sup>ŠÚ.A-aš URU-r[i] <sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-  
*wa ma-a-an* / (38') *pa-ra-a tar-nu-mar i-ia-<sup>r</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-te-n[i]* / (39') *nu-wa-aš-ma-*  
*aš* <sup>GIŠ</sup>TUKUL.ĤI.A-KU-NU [x] x-na-aš i-wa-ar / (40') *šar-la-a-<sup>r</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>* //  
 (41') [*nu-w*]a *ú-iz-zi šu-me-en-za-an* <sup>r</sup>GIŠ<sup>1</sup>TUKUL.ĤI.A-KU-NU / (42')  
 [*ħar-pa*]-na-al-li-uš *ħu-ul-la-an-ni-wa-an da-a-i* / (43') [<sup>A</sup>]<sup>ŠA</sup>ħar-ša-a-u-ar-  
 ma-wa-aš-ma-aš *ú-iz-zi* / (44') [*w*]a-al-li-ia-an-ni ma-a-i // (45') [*m*]a-a-an-  
 wa-ra-at *Ú-UL-ma i-ia-at-te-ni* / (46') [*pa-r*]a-a tar-nu-mar <sup>URU</sup>E-eb-la-i  
<sup>GIŠ</sup>ŠÚ.A-aš URU-ri / (47') *nu-wa nam-ma UD 7.KAM-az nu-wa-aš-ša-an*  
*am-mu-uk* / (48') *šu-ma-a-aš tu-e-eg-ga-ša-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-aš ú-wa-mi* // (49') *nu-wa*  
<sup>URU</sup>E-eb-la-an URU-an *ħar-ni-ik-mi* / (50') *nu-wa-ra-aš <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-a-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup> Ú-UL*  
*ku-uš-ša-an-ga* / (51') *a-ša-a-an-za URU-aš nu-wa-ra-an QA-TAM-M[A i-*  
*i]a-[m]i* //

Now, before you, he, Meki, [...] stands up.<sup>671</sup> If you (pl.) make release in Ebla, the city of the throne, if you make release, I will exalt your weapons in the manner of [...]. It will pass that your weapons will begin to defeat the enemy (acc.pl.). It will pass that your plowed fields will thrive for **praise**.<sup>672</sup> But if you will not make release in Ebla, the city of the throne<sup>673</sup>, then within seven days I will come to you, yourselves, and I will destroy the city of Ebla as if it had never been<sup>674</sup>. I will do so.

### V.B. -za walla/i-, wallu- “to boast”

#### 1. KBo 5.6 (CTH 40.IV.1.A), “Deeds of Šuppiluliuma”, NH/NS.

KBo 5.6 i: // (1) <sup>r</sup>nam<sup>1</sup>-ma-aš I-NA <sup>HUR.SAG</sup>Zu-uk-ku-ki EGIR-pa *ú-it* / (2) *nu*  
 2 URU.DIDLI.ĤI.A <sup>URU</sup>At-ħu-li-iš-ša-an <sup>URU</sup>Tu-ħu-pur-pu-na-an-na / (3) *ú-*  
*e-te-et nu ku-it-ma-an URU.DIDLI.ĤI.A ú-e-te-eš-ki-it* / (4) <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR-aš-za  
*wa-al-le-eš-ke-ez-zi I-NA KUR* <sup>URU</sup>Al-mi-na-wa-ra-an-kán / (5) *kat-ta-an-ta*  
*Ú-UL ku-wa-at-qa tar-nu-um-me-ni ma-aħ-ħa-an-ma* / (6)  
 URU.DIDLI.ĤI.A *ú-e-tum-ma-an-zi zi-in-ni-it na-aš* <sup>URU</sup>Al-mi-na / (7) *an-*  
*da-an pa-it nu-uš-ši* <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR *za-aħ-ħi-ia me-na-aħ-ħa-an-da* / (8) *nam-ma*  
*Ú-UL ku-iš-ki ma-az-za-aš-ta* //

Then he (i.e. the king) returned to Mount Zukkuki and built two cities: Athulišša and Tuħupurpuna. While he was building the cities, the enemy **kept boasting**<sup>675</sup>: “We will never allow him down into the land of Almina.” But when he finished building the cities, he went into Almina, and none (of the) enemies could resist him in battle any longer.

<sup>671</sup> The speech in lines iii 36'-51' is marked by the quotative particles.

<sup>672</sup> The noun *walliyatar* was translated in the present contexts as “praise” by Bachvarova 2002: 84 and by Neu 1996: 381, 393.

<sup>673</sup> Lines iii 45'-46' of KBo 39.19 read: “if you will not make that, namely the release in Ebla, the city of the throne.”

<sup>674</sup> Lines iii 50'-51' of KBo 39.19 read: “As if it, the city, had never been.”

<sup>675</sup> The verb *wallai-* was translated here as “boast” by Güterbock 1956: 90, Hoffner 1997b: 189, Kloekhorst 2008: 944 and by del Monte 1993: 133 and 2008: 101.

2. KUB 19.55 + KUB 48.90 (CTH 182), letter from a Hittite king to an Anatolian ruler in Miliwatta, NH/NS.

KUB 19.55 + KUB 48.90 lower edge: //(1) <sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-BU-KA-<sup>r</sup>za<sup>1676</sup> [x x x] *ku-iš* *am-me-el* <sup>Ḫ</sup>UL-u-wa<sup>1677</sup> *i-la-liš-ki-qa-x*<sup>678</sup> [A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI]<sup>679</sup> / (2) <sup>Ḫ</sup>UL-u-wa-aš INIM.MEŠ-aš<sup>680</sup> *ku-iš* INIM-aš SAG.DU-aš<sup>681</sup> *nu-mu a-pa-a-at iš-[...nu-za<sup>2</sup>-kán]* / (3) *am-me-el* x-iš<sup>682</sup> **wa-li-at**<sup>683</sup> *nu-za-kán ka-ru-ú ku-wa-pí* <sup>URU</sup>TÚL-na-an **wa-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-a**[<sup>t</sup> *nu me-mi-iš-ta ...*]<sup>684</sup> / (4) *ši-wa-ri-ia-wi*<sub>5</sub><sup>685</sup> GIM-an-ma-mu A-BU-KA <sup>LÚ</sup>LI (<sup>LÚ</sup>LĪTŪTU) <sup>URU</sup>U<sub>2</sub>-(TI-MA) <sup>URU</sup>AT-(RI-IA) NU.SUM *nu <sup>r</sup>an-da<sup>1</sup>(?)* [UL u-ub-<sup>ḫ</sup>u-un(?)]<sup>686</sup> / (5) *nu <sup>m</sup>KI.KAL.BAD-ZA*<sup>687</sup> *u-i-ia-nu-un* //

Your father [...], who always wished for my, [My Majesty's], misfortunes, and who was the principal factor in evil affairs, [he ... ] that to me. He **boasted**<sup>688</sup> about my ...<sup>689</sup>. And when previously he **boaste[d]** about the city of Arinna, [*he said to me: "... I will retain [them]"*]. But when you father did not give me the hostages of the city of Utima and the city of Atriya, then I [ ... ], and I sent Kulana-ziti.<sup>690</sup>

3. KUB 36.44 (CTH 323.1.B), myth about the disappearance of the Sungod, MH/MS.

KUB 36.44 i<sup>691</sup>: // (5') [*ma-a-an* <sup>d</sup>UTU]-un *e-ep-mi na-an mu-un-na-a-mi nu ku-it i-e-ez-zi* <sup>d</sup>IM-aš / (6') [x x x-a]ḫ-ḫi *ma-a-ne-ez wa-al-lu-uš-ki-u-an*

- <sup>676</sup> Sommer 1932: 204 reads here *-za-k[á]n<sup>2</sup>*. The sign *kan* is not visible on the hand-copy of the tablet. Forrer 1929: 260 reads here [*nu*] A-BU-KA *ḫa-aš<sup>2</sup>*.
- <sup>677</sup> Forrer 1929: 260 reads here <sup>Ḫ</sup>UL-u-wa-[aš]; Sommer 1932: 204 <sup>Ḫ</sup>UL SIG<sub>5</sub>-x; Hoffner 1982: 131 <sup>Ḫ</sup>UL-u<sup>2</sup>-wa<sup>2</sup>.
- <sup>678</sup> Hoffner 1982: 131 reads here *i-la-liš-ki-zi*[i(?) A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI-ma], although the traces do not suggest such a reading.
- <sup>679</sup> The restoration follows Hoffner 1982: 131.
- <sup>680</sup> Forrer 1929: 260 reads here KA-(MEŠ)-aš.
- <sup>681</sup> Forrer 1929: 260 reads here SAG.DU-aš *Ka-aš*.
- <sup>682</sup> The traces visible on the hand-copy of this tablet strongly suggest here the reading DINGIR-iš, which would make this noun the subject of the sentence. However, such reading does not make sense in the present context as no deity is mentioned in this passage or in the text. Contentwise, more plausible reading here would be the one suggested by Beckman, namely "servants"(?); however, this reading cannot be reconciled with the cuneiform original. Forrer reads here *An-iš*; Hoffner 1982: 131 *x-iš<sup>2</sup>/ka<sup>2</sup>*
- <sup>683</sup> The verbal form *waliat* is probably derived from the verb *walli-*, since it retains the construction *-za walli-* in the meaning "to boast".
- <sup>684</sup> The restoration follows Hoffner 1982: 131.
- <sup>685</sup> The reading of Forrer 1929: 260 and Hoffner 1982: 131. *ši-wa-ri-ia-wi*<sub>5</sub> seems to be a hapax in this context and seems to carry the meaning "retain, withhold".
- <sup>686</sup> The restoration follows Hoffner 1982: 131.
- <sup>687</sup> Forrer 1929: 260 reads here (1)-*Ki-ú-un*; Hoffner 1982: 131 KI!.KAL!.BAD-ZA.
- <sup>688</sup> The verb *-za wali-* was translated in the present context as "to boast" by Beckman 1999: 146, Forrer 1929: 261, Hoffner 1982: 134 and by Sommer 1932: 205.
- <sup>689</sup> The reading and the meaning of this sentence is unclear. The beginning of the sentence is lost; therefore, it is unclear whether the particle *-za* is present here.
- <sup>690</sup> Beckman 1999: 146 in his translation of this text reads here the name Kulana-ziti.
- <sup>691</sup> According to Mazoyer 2003:166 (who edits this text) and Hoffner 1990: 27 the passage which employs the verb *wallu-* appears in column i. The hand-copy of this tablet assumes

*da-i-e-er a-ru-na-ša* DUMU.MUNUS-*aš* / (7') [*ne-pí-ša*]-<sup>r</sup>*az*<sup>1</sup> *ḫal-za-iš na-an a-ru-na-aš iš-ta-ma-aš-ta nu-za a-ru-na-aš* <sup>DUG</sup>ḪAB.ḪAB-x / (8') [x x]x *ḫal-ḫal-da-a-ni-iš-ši da-iš nu ku-wa-pí* <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš *mu-mi-e-ez-zi* / (9') [x x]-*i-ku ḫa-ap-pé-e-ni-ik-ku GIŠ-i-ik-ku ḫa-aḫ-ḫa-li-<sup>r</sup>ik-ku mu-mi-e-ez<sup>1</sup>-z[i]* / (10') [x x]x *ik-ša-a-i-iš-ki-it-ta*<sup>692</sup> // (11') [*a-ru-n*]a-*aš* <sup>d</sup>UTU-*i tar-aš-ki-iz-zi ki-i-wa-at-ta ku-it* x [x x x x x (x)] / (12') [x x x x (x)] <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš *a-ru-ni an-ta-ga-aš-ša pa-it na-aš* <sup>DUG</sup>ḪA[B.ḪAB x x x x (x)] / (13') [*IŠ-TU*] DUḪ.LĀL *ga-ri-e-et še-ra nam-ma URUDU-an iš-ta-a[p-pa-aš]* / (14') [*nu te*]-<sup>r</sup>*e<sup>1</sup>-et wa-al-lu-uš-ki-id-du-ma-at-wa-za ku-it-ma-an* [x x x x (x)] / (15') [x x x x]x-*a-i a-ru-na-ša ŠA* DUMU.MUNUS-*ŠU* [*iš-ta-ma-aš-ta*] /

“[If] I seize [the Sungod] and I hide him, what will the Stormgod do? I will [...]” When they began to **boast**<sup>693</sup>, the daughter of the Seagod called from [heaven] and the Seagod heard her. Then the Seagod placed the ḪAB.ḪAB-vessel [(filled) with ...] on his *ḫalḫaldana*<sup>694</sup> (saying): “When(ever) the Sungod falls, (if) he falls in [...], or in flame, or on a tree, or in bush, he ... [The Seago]d says to the Sungod: “This is what [I ...] for you.” [...] The Sungod went to the Seagod, to his chamber and he covered the ḪA[B.ḪAB]-vessel [...] with wax. Then he close[d] (it) with copper [and said]: “Will you keep **boasting about it** until [...]?” The Seagod [heard word]s of his daughter.

4. KUB 48.99 (CTH 337.1.A), myth about the disappearance of the god Pirwa, NH/NS.<sup>695</sup>

KUB 48.99<sup>696</sup>: (2') <sup>d</sup>MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš-wa-ra-at a-uš-[ta]* / (3') *a-aš ŠA* <sup>d</sup>PÍ-IR-WA *kar-ta ša-a-[ku-wa-it(?)]*<sup>697</sup> // (4') <sup>r</sup><sup>d</sup>MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš-za* <sup>d</sup>PÍ-ir-wa-*aš ma-a-ia-[aš]* / (5') *me-mi-iš-ki-u-wa-an [da-iš]* // (6') *ku-iš-wa-ra-an ḫa-ra-an* <sup>d</sup>PÍ-ir-wa-*[i<sup>2</sup>]*<sup>698</sup> / (7') [<sup>U</sup>RU] *Ḫa-aš-šu-wa-za ú-wa-te-ez-[zi]* // (8') <sup>r</sup>*a<sup>1</sup>-aš-ši me-ek-ki a-aš-šu pí-ia-u-e-ni* LUGA[L-*ša-an(?)*]<sup>699</sup> / (9')

that this passage belongs to column iv. I agree with Mazoyer and Hoffner. Contentwise, the relevant passage appears at the beginning of the entire text rather than at the end.

<sup>692</sup> The third singular present iterative middle verbal form *ik-ša-a-i-iš-ki-it-ta* is a hapax. The meaning of the verb *ikšai-* remains unknown. It was translated by Hoffner 1990: 27 as “he will be caught” and by Mazoyer 2003: 177 as “the frost will be installed”. Puhvel *HED* vol. 2: 354-355 leaves this verb untranslated and comments that Eichner’s 1971: 30, 39 translation of this verb as “burst, crack” (\**ikšai-*), which is akin to *igai-* “cool down, freeze, become paralysed”, could be appropriate in the present context.

<sup>693</sup> Hoffner 1990: 27, Mazoyer 2003: 177 and Otten 1968: 188 translate the supine of the verb *wallu-* as “praise oneself”. Otten 1968: 188 interprets *wa-al-lu-uš-ki-id-du-ma-at-wa-za* as the second plural preterit, but notes that the reading of this form as imperative is not entirely excluded.

<sup>694</sup> *ḫalḫaldana-* has been translated in the present context as “shoulders” by Mazoyer 2003: 177. Also Puhvel *HED* vol. 3: 22 observes that this noun is a name for a body part and remarks that in the present context the translation “shoulders” makes sense. He then notes that perhaps *ḫalḫaldana* is a Luwoid term for “shoulder”.

<sup>695</sup> For the discussion of this text see Imparati 1998: 128-134.

<sup>696</sup> All the restorations are those of Imparati 1998: 128-134.

<sup>697</sup> For the discussion of the reading *a-aš ŠA* versus *a-aš-ša* and on the restoration at the end of the line see Imparati 1998: 128, comment on line 3.

<sup>698</sup> For this restoration and other possible readings see Imparati 1998: 129, comment on line 6.

<sup>699</sup> For various possible restorations at the end of this line see Imparati 1998: 130-131. If one restores LUGAL-[*un*] (suggestion of Imparati) the sentence would read “and Pirwa will

<sup>d1</sup>Pí-ir-wa-aš ḥa-ap-pí-na-ab-[x] // (10') KASKAL-an-za-an<sup>700</sup> <sup>d</sup>Pí-ir-wa-aš ma-a-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-eš da-a-[ir] / (11') tu-li-ia-a[n]<sup>701</sup> // (12') da-a-er-wa tu-<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-ia-an a-az-<sup>r</sup>za<sup>1</sup> / (13') wa-lu-uš-ke-u-wa-an ti-i-e-er // (14') <sup>d1</sup>I-la-li-iš-wa-za wa-lu-ut-ta-a[t] / (15') <sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-uk-wa-ra-an ú-wa-<sup>r</sup>te<sup>1</sup>-[mi] // (16') [<sup>d</sup>x x] x-<sup>r</sup>ḥu<sup>2</sup>-up-pí-ia-aš-za <sup>r</sup>wa-lu<sup>1</sup>-[ut-t]a-[at] / (17') [ú-uk-w]a-ra-an ú-wa-t[e-mi] //

The Goddess Queen sa[w] that and she look[ed(?)] into the heart of Pirwa. The Goddess Queen [began] to speak to the young me[n] of Pirwa: “Who will brin[g] it, namely the eagle, from Ḥaššuwa [to] Pirwa, to him we will give many goods and Pirwa, the kin[g], will make him rich. The young men of Pirwa under[took] the road.<sup>702</sup> They took the assembly<sup>703</sup> and **began to boast**.<sup>704</sup> The deity Ilali **boast[ed]**: “I myself [will] bring it”, [the deity x x] x-ḥuppiia **bo[a]st[ed]**: [I myself will] bring it.”

5. KUB 4.1 (CTH 422.A), ritual performed in the regions bordering the enemy lands, MH/NS.

KUB 4.1 i: // (10) nu ki-iš-ša-an me-mi-ia-an-zi ka-a-ša / (11) <sup>d</sup>Zi-it-ḥa-ri-ia-aš DINGIR.MEŠ-na-aš ḥu-u-ma-an-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-aš / (12) ar-ú-i-iš-ki-iz-zi A-NA <sup>d</sup>ZI-IT-ḤA-<sup>r</sup>RI-IA / (13) ku-e uk-tu-u-ri pí-it-ta e-eš-ta / (14) ú-e-ḥa-at-ta-at ku-e KUR.KUR-TIM EZEN<sub>4</sub>.<sup>r</sup>ḤI.A GAL<sup>1</sup>-TIM-ši / (15) ku-wa-pí iš-ki-ir<sup>705</sup> // (16) ki-nu-na-at-za LÚ.MEŠ<sup>URU</sup> GA-AŠ-GA da-a-ir nu LÚ.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>URU</sup> GA-AŠ-GA / (17) šu-ul-li-ir nu-za a-pé-en-za-an GĒŠPU ḥa-aš-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-i / (18) wa-al-li-iš-kán-zi<sup>706</sup> šu-ma-ša-za DINGIR.MEŠ te-ep-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-ir //

They (i.e. ritual performers) say as follows: “Zithariya continues to prostrate himself before all the gods. Whatever permanent allotments belonged to (the temple of) Zithariya, whatever lands, where they used to celebrate great festivals for him, were turned (i.e. in turmoil), now the Kaška people have

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make the king rich.” It is also possible to assume that the reference is here to the reward that will be given to the one who will find and return the eagle to Pirwa.

<sup>700</sup> This clitic chain is interpreted as KASKAL-an=za=šan.

<sup>701</sup> It is difficult to place this noun within the context. It appears at the end of a paragraph and therefore could be governed by either the preceding verb (line 10') or the verb at the beginning of line 12'. The verb in line 10' already takes a noun in the accusative case, namely KASKAL-an; the verb in line 12' has the enclitic particle -wa attached to it and should therefore be interpreted as appearing at the beginning of the sentence. Moreover, it also governs a noun *tuliyān*, which appears in line 12'. I follow Imparati 1998: 132, who opts for the second possibility, namely that this noun is governed by the verb at the beginning of line 12' and the repetition of the noun *tuliyān* before and after the verb is a form of emphasis. The unusual sentence structure could be justified by the fact that this text is very likely a poetic composition.

<sup>702</sup> For various interpretations of this sentence see Imparati 1998: 131-132.

<sup>703</sup> The possible meaning of this sentence is: “they took part in the assembly/ they made their appearance at the assembly”

<sup>704</sup> The verb *wallu-* was translated in this text as “to boast” by Imparati 1998: 128 and by Otten 1968: 188 note 1. Ivanov 1977: 41 rendered it as “to glorify” (“вославили” and “был прославлен”); Kloekhorst refrains from translating the verb in this context, stating that its meaning here is unsure 2008: 952.

<sup>705</sup> The form *iš-ki-ir* is a rare spelling of the third person plural preterite iterative of the verb *iya-* “to make, to perform, to celebrate”.

<sup>706</sup> The line 1' of KUB 31.146 that partially duplicates KUB 4.1 reads here [ ... wa-al-li-iš-kán]-<sup>r</sup>zi'

taken them. The Kaška people initiated conflict (lit. quarreled). They **continually boast**<sup>707</sup> about their force and power of resistance. They humiliated you, o gods.

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<sup>707</sup>

The verb *walli-* was translated in the present context as “to boast” by Goetze 1950: 354, Gurney 1940: 42, von Schuler 1965: 169 and by Trabazo 2002: 513. Dardano 2002: 335 translates it as “(Les Gasgas) continuent à célébrer” and Puhvel *HED* vol. 3: 234 as “extol”.

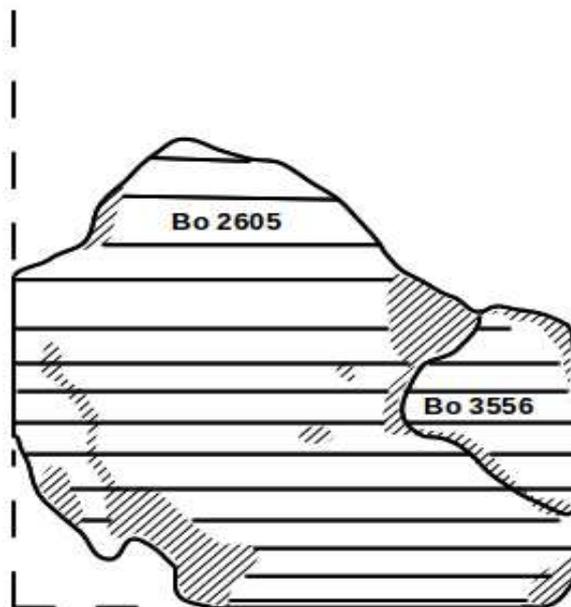
## **APPENDIX 2: JOIN SKETCHES**

This appendix contains joins sketches of several manuscripts of texts edited in chapter four. These include: ms A of CTH 376.I, ms A and ms C of CTH 376.II, ms A of CTH 378.1, mss B and C of CTH 378.2 and ms A of CTH 377. All the drawings are copied from the Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte included on the hethitologie Portal (Mainz).

**CTH 376.I.**

**Ms A (KUB 24.4+)**

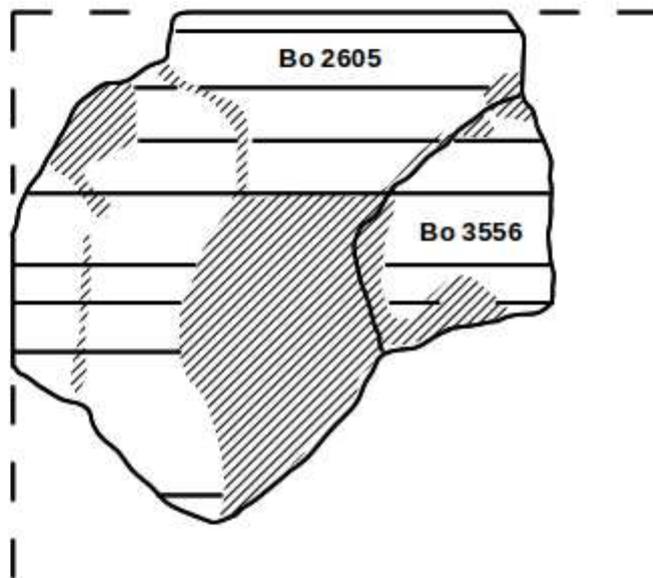
**obverse**



**CTH 376.I**

**Ms A (KUB 24.4+)**

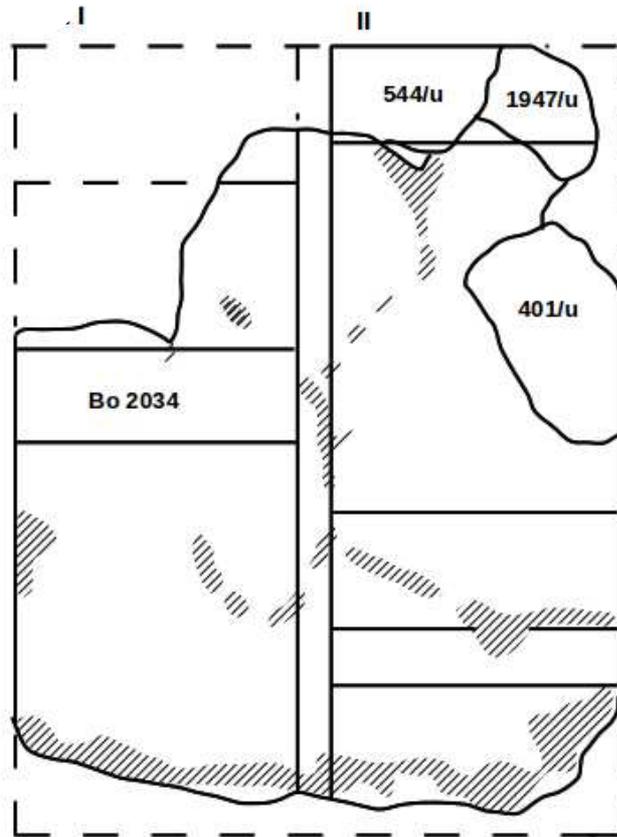
**reverse**



**CTH 376.II**

**Ms A (KUB 24.3++)**

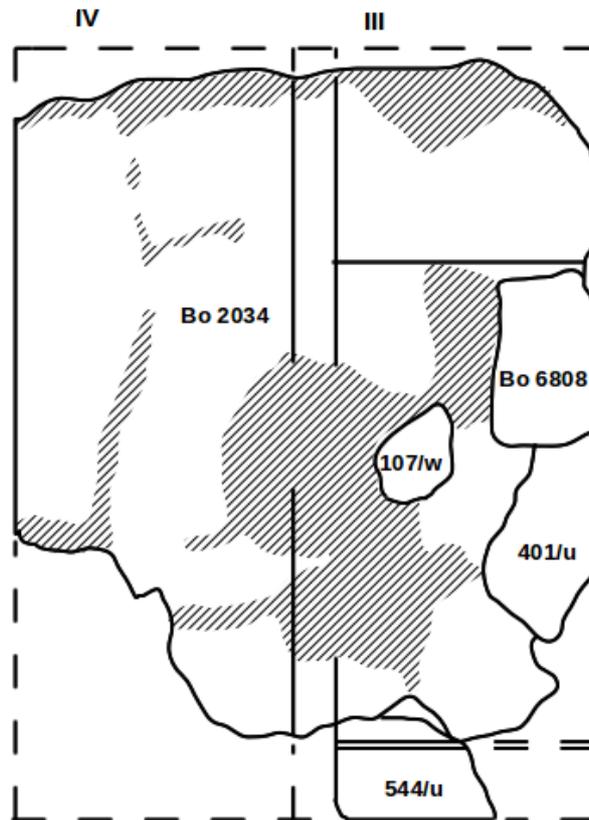
**obverse**



**CTH 376.II**

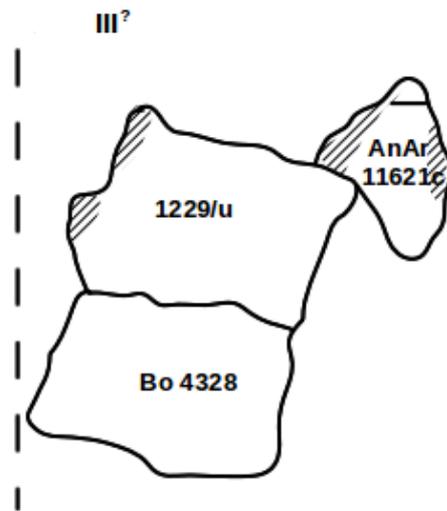
**Ms A (KUB 24.3++)**

**reverse**



**CTH 376.II**

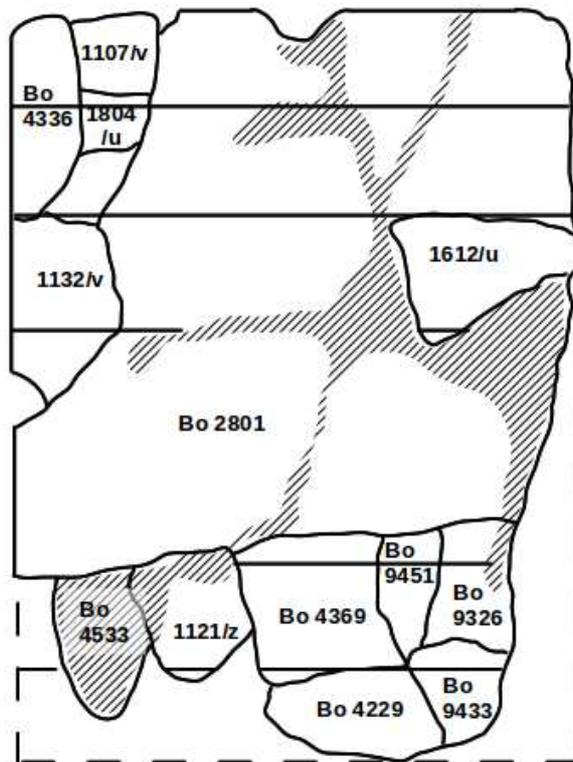
**Ms C (KBo 52.16)**



**CTH 378.1**

**Ms A (KUB 14.14++)**

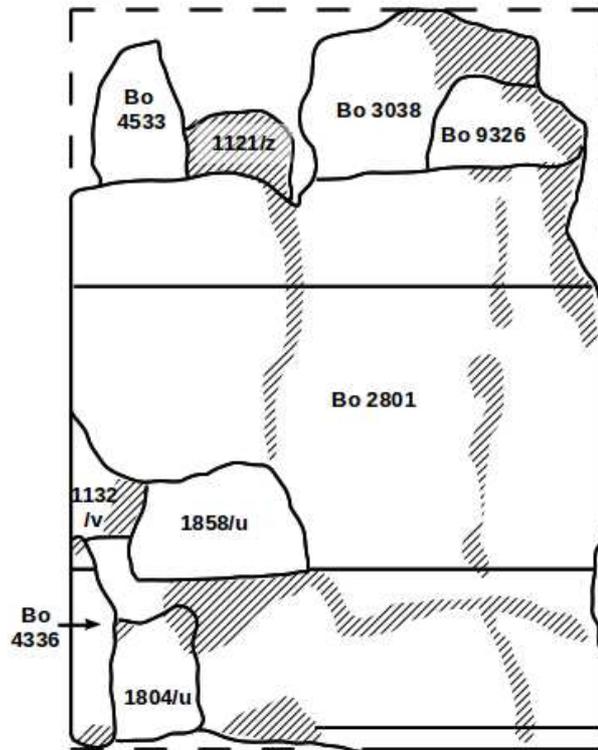
**obverse**



**CTH 378.1**

**Ms A (KUB 14.14++)**

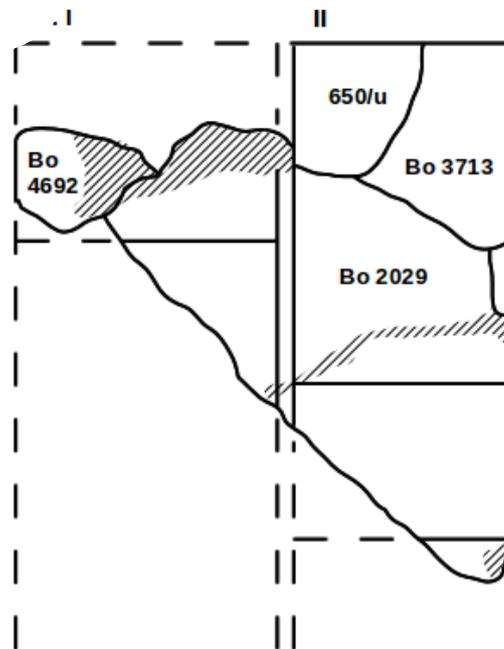
**reverse**



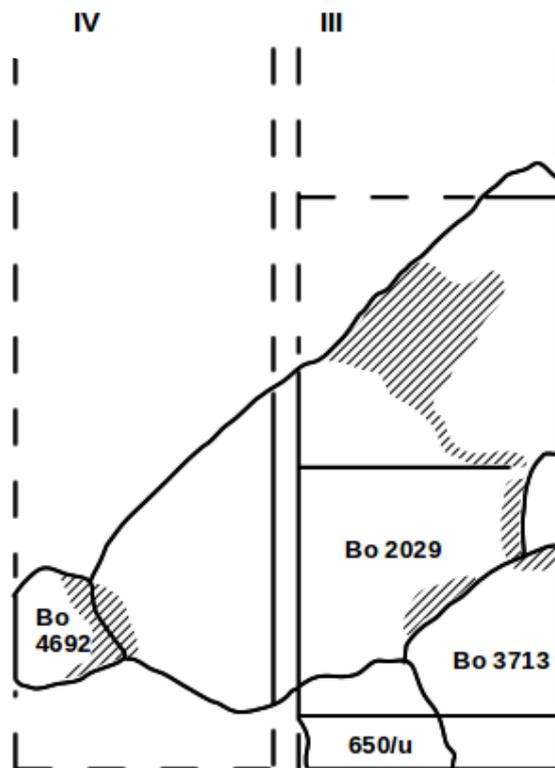
**CTH 378.2**

**Ms B (KUB 14.11++)**

**obverse**



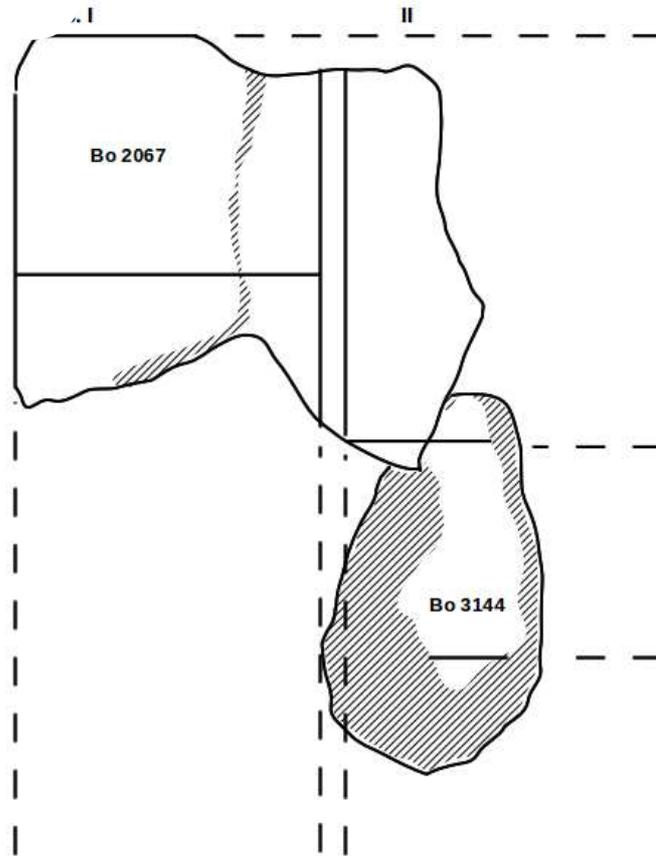
**CTH 378.2**  
**Ms B (KUB 14.11++)**  
**reverse**



**CTH 378.2**

**Ms C (KUB 14.10+)**

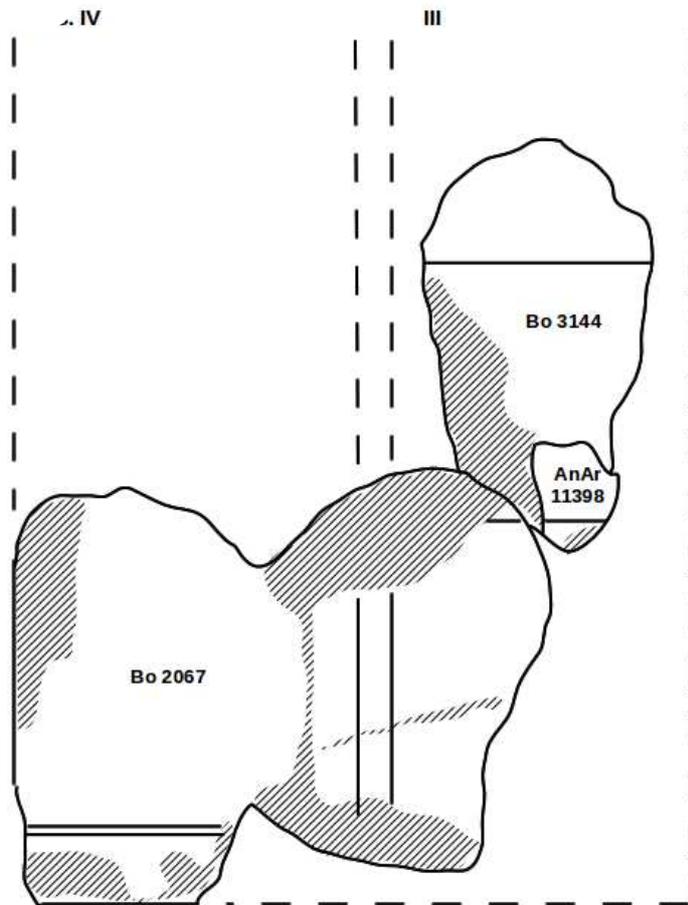
**obverse**



**CTH 378.2**

**Ms C (KUB 14.10+)**

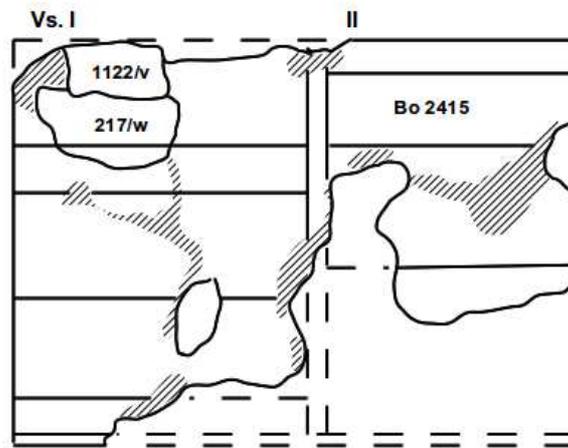
**reverse**



**CTH 377**

**Ms A (KUB 24.1++)**

**obverse**





- 13' A i 13' [KÙ.GI *ú-nu-wa-an-ta I-NA*] KUR<sup>URU</sup> *ĤA-AT-TI-pát e-eš-zi*
- 14' A i 14' [*nam-ma-ma-at-ta da-me-e-d*]a-ni KUR-e *Ú-UL ku-wa-pí-ik-ki*
- 15' A i 15' [*e-eš-zi GAL.ĤI.A-t*]a BI-IB-RI<sup>ĤI.A</sup> KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.SI<sub>22</sub> NA<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A
- 16' A i 16' [*I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup> ĤA-AT-TI-pá*]t e-eš-zi EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A-ia-at-ta
- 17' A i 17' [EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ITU EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A MU-ti mi]-i-ia-na-aš zé-e-na-an-d[*a-aš*]
- 18' A i 18' [*gi-im-ma-an-ta-aš ĥa-mi-i*]š-ĥa-an-da-aš a-ú-<sup>ʿ</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-[*uš*] <sup>ʿ</sup>mu-ki<sup>1</sup>-iš-ša-na-aš
- 19' A i 19' [EZEN<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup> *ĤA-AT*]-TI-pát e-eš-š[*a-an-zi nam-ma-ma-*  
a]t-<sup>ʿ</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>
- 20' A i 20' [*da-me-e-da-ni KUR-e Ú-UL ku-wa*]-<sup>ʿ</sup>pí-ik-ki e<sup>1</sup>-[*eš-ša-an-zi*]

*The column i breaks. Only beginnings of 6 lines are preserved from column ii.*

- 21' A ii 1' KUR [ ... ]
- 22' A ii 2' ŠA x [ ... ]
- 23' A ii 3' *nu-uš-ši* [ ... ]
- 24' A ii 4' <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup>[*A-RI-IN-NA ...* ]
- 25' A ii 5' *ki-nu-n* [*a ...* ]
- 26' A ii 6' *a-r*[*u- ...* ]

*The following 15 lines are left either from the column ii or the reverse.*

- 27' A 1' [ ... ] x [ ... ]
- 28' A 2' [ ... ]-a *pí-ra-a*[*n x x* ]-šu [ ... ]
- 29' A 3' [ ... ] x-a-uš *a-aš-šu-un* <sup>ʿ</sup>nam-ma<sup>1</sup> [ ... ]
- 30' A 4' [ ... ]-ni <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>URU</sup> *A-RI-IN-NA* a-aš-š[*u ...* ]
- 31' A 5' [ ... ] <sup>ʿ</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-aš-ša-u-i *nam-ma me-mi-ni* [ ... ]
- 32' A 6' [ ... ] x *an-da aš-šu-li nam-ma* x [ ... ]
- 33' A 7' [ ... ĥ]u-i-iš-nu-ut *nu-kán* MUNUS.LUGAL *ku-x* [ ... ]
- 34' A 8' [ ... ] x <sup>f</sup>Ga-šu-li-ia-wi-an x [ ... ]

- 35' A 9' [ ... ] *ku-it nu-za* DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> ŠA MUNUS.LUG[AL ... ]
- 36' A 10' [ ... <sup>f</sup>*Ga-šu-l*]-*i-ia-wi me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da* x [ ... ]
- 37' A 11' [ ... ] *x-an-za nu* DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> ŠA MUNUS.LUG[AL ... ]
- 38' A 12' [ ... ]-*a-an i-ia nu-uš-ši-<sup>r</sup>kán<sup>1</sup>* [ ... ]
- 39' A 13' [ ... *n*]-*am-ma ne-ia-x* [ ... ]
- 40' A 14' [ ... ]I.A NÍ.TE-Š[<sup>r</sup> ... ]
- 41' A 15' [ ... *ḥu*]-<sup>r</sup>*iš-nu<sup>1</sup>-u*[*t* ... ]

(The manuscript breaks.)

**Translation:**

- 1'-5' [ ... I hereby invoke you by means] of thi[ck bread and libation. Be] pa[cified!] O Sungoddess of A[rinna, *lend*] me [*your ear*]! [Keep lis]tening to what I am sayi[ng to yo]u!
- 6'-20' [You, O Sungoddess of Arinna], are an honoured goddes[s]. Only in the land of Ḫatti [there are strong temples dedicated to you], my [goddess], [but] in [no] other land [in addition to ours there i]s a temple for you. [Only in the land of Ḫatti] they offer you [hol]y and pure festivals a[nd] rituals, [but in] no [oth]er land [in addition to ours they perform (them) for you]. Only [in] the land of Ḫatti there are lofty [temples] dedicated to you, [adorned] with silver [and gold, but] in no [oth]er land [in addition to ours they exist for you].[On]ly [in the land of Ḫatti] there are [cups] and rhyta of silver, gold and precious stones [for y]ou. Only [in the land of Ḫat]ti there ar[e] festivals for you (such as) [the monthly festival, the ann]ual [festivals] of autu[mn, winter, spr]ing, the *auliš*-sacrifices, [and the festivals] of invocation, [but in no other land in addition to ours] they ex[ist] for you. (rest of the text is too fragmentary for translation)

376.IV. NEW HITTITE PRAYER TO AN UNKNOWN DEITY<sup>708</sup>**Manuscripts:**

A <sub>1</sub>	<i>KUB</i> 30.13 +	2156/g +	HaH <sup>709</sup>
A <sub>2</sub>	<i>KBo</i> 12.132 +	286/t	HaH
A <sub>3</sub>	VBoT 121	Götze 2	HaH <sup>710</sup>

Previous transliteration and translation : van den Hout 2007: 403-404; Torri 2010: 365-366.

**Transliteration:****A<sub>1</sub>**


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1' [... ] *tar-na-at-tén nu* K[UR<sup>URU</sup> *HA-AT-TI* ... ]

2' [ ... <sup>NINDA</sup> *ḫar-ši-in* ] <sup>DUG</sup> *iš-pa-an-tu-zi* [ ... ]

---

3' [ ... *k* ] *u-i-e-eš an-ni-eš-kir na-a* [ *t* ... ]

4' [ ... *na-at-t* ] *a ku-iš-ki* MUNUS.MEŠ<sup>NA4</sup> AR[A<sub>5</sub> ... ]

5' [ ... ] *n[am-ma Š]A* DINGIR.MEŠ NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA.ḪI.A *Ú-UL* [ ... ]

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6' [ <sup>UDU</sup> *a-ú-li-ú-uš-k* ] *án GU<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A UDU.ḪI.A ḫa-a-li-ia-az a-[ša-a-ú-na-az ...]*

7' [ ... *a-k* ] *i-ir ḫa-a-li-ia a-ša-a-u-w[a-ar ...]*

---

8' [ ... NINDA.GU ] R<sub>4</sub>.RA.ḪI.A <sup>DUG</sup> *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi* [ ... ]

9' [ ... DINGI ] R.MEŠ *a-pé-e-da-ni-ia ud-[da-ni-ia ...]*

---

10' [ ... *ḫa-at-ta-tar* ] -*šum-mi-it ḫar-ak-t* [ *a* ... ]

<sup>708</sup> For dating the *KUB* 30.13 fragment to the reign of Muršili II see van den Hout 2007: 406. The linguistic and orthographic features also safely date VBoT 121 to the New Hittite period.

<sup>709</sup> HaH = Haus am Hang (temple 1).

<sup>710</sup> The find spot of this fragment was determined by join.

11' [...]

---

12' [...] <sup>r</sup>uš-ka<sup>1</sup>-[at-te-ni ...]

A

---

void

---

1' [ ... ša-an-ḫi-iš-kán-z]i(?) É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ-*ma*

2' [...-l]a-aš-*ma*<sup>711</sup>

3' [... ZA.GA]R.RA.ḪI.A<sup>712</sup> pí-ip-pe-er É.DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia* (rev. 1') ša-ar-wa'-er URU.ḪI.A-*m*[a]<sup>713</sup> (rev. 2') ŠA<sup>1</sup>dTe<sup>714</sup>-wa-ša-i[l] (rev. 3') ša-an-ḫe-eš-kán-zi [ø]

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4' [...šu-l]a-an-da(?)<sup>715</sup> KUR.KUR.MEŠ-*TIM*

5' [...]-*ia-an-ta-ma*

6' [...] x <sup>LU.MEŠ</sup>SIPA.UDU <sup>LU.<MEŠ</sup>SIPA.>ŠAḪ<sup>716</sup>

7' [...ar]-*kam-ma-an pí-d-da-a-er*

---

8' [...a]r-*kam-ma-an ar-<sup>r</sup>ḫa<sup>1</sup>* [ø]

9' [pé-e-eš-še-i-e-er ... ka-r]u-ú KUR<sup>URU</sup>ḪA-<sup>r</sup>AT<sup>1</sup>-[TI]

<sup>711</sup> Van den Hout reads here [Ka(?)]-l]a<sup>2</sup>-aš-*ma*

<sup>712</sup> Van den Hout has here [<sup>GIS</sup>ZA.GA]R.RA.ḪI.A

<sup>713</sup> I follow here Torri (2010: 364, 365) and van den Hout (2007: 403) who read É.DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia* ša-ar-wa'-er URU.ḪI.A ŠA<sup>1</sup>dTe-wa-ša-i[l] ša-an-ḫe-eš-kán-zi as continuation of line 3' of the obverse.

<sup>714</sup> This sign is read by Torri as *tu*; the hand-copy of this tablet has here clear *ne*. The traces visible on the photograph are most consistent with *te*.

<sup>715</sup> Van den Hout (2007: 403) reads here [ḫu-u-m]a-an-da

<sup>716</sup> Van den Hout (2007: 403) has here <sup>LU</sup>ŠAḪ

10' [...UR.MA]Ḫ(?)<sup>717</sup> *ma-a-a*[n x x x (x)]

11' [...] x [...] <sup>718</sup>

### A<sub>3</sub>

1' [... DINGIR.MEŠ]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-[aš] <sup>r</sup>Ú<sup>1</sup>-U[L ...]

2' [...] <sup>r</sup>i-da<sup>1</sup>-la-u-aš ḫar-k[án-zi ...]

3' [...1]-<sup>r</sup>EN<sup>1</sup> É-TUM na-aš-ma 1-EN [ ...]

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4' [KUR<sup>URU</sup>KÙ.BABBAR-T]I-ma-kán DINGIR.MEŠ an-da SI[G<sub>5</sub>-u-it ... ]

5' [... ḫi-in-ká]n i-da-la-u-aš KUR-e-aš pé-eš-t[én]

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6' [I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup>K]Û.BABBAR-TI-ma ma-a-ú še-eš-du [...]

7' [... k]a-ru-ú-i-li-at-ta ki-š[a-ru]

### Colophon

8' [*ma-a-an*] LUGAL-uš-ma I-NA<sup>URU</sup>PÚ-na ar-ku-wa-ar i-i[a-zi nu KIN SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru]<sup>719</sup>

9' [x x x ] x da-a-aš nu-kán an-da SIG<sub>5</sub>-u-i I-NA x [x x x (x)]

10' [nu(?) ar-ku-w]a-ar ti-ia-u-wa-ar ME-aš na-<sup>r</sup>at<sup>1</sup> A-N[A DINGIR.MEŠ(?)]

11' [pa-iš(?)]<sup>NINDA</sup>GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA A-DAM-MA-ia ME-aš na-at pa-[an-ga-u-i pa-a-iš]<sup>720</sup>

### Translation:

#### A<sub>1</sub>

1'-2' [...] you(pl.) allowed [ ... into] the la[nd of Ḫatti ...]. [... the thick bread] and the libation [ ...].

3'-5' [...w]ho used to work [ .... ]. No one [ ...]. The women of the mil[l-stone [...]. No [one prepares] the thic[k breads o]f the gods a[nymore].

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<sup>717</sup> Van den Hout (2007: 403) reads here [... -e]n<sup>?</sup>

<sup>718</sup> Torri (2010: 364) reads here <sup>r</sup>ḫar<sup>1</sup>-n[i-in-ki-iš-ki-it(?)].

<sup>719</sup> Restoration of Torri 2010: 365.

<sup>720</sup> Restoration of Torri 2010: 365

6'-7' The corrals and sh[ee]p[fold]s ... the sacrificial anima]ls, (such as) cattle and sheep, [... have di]ed, the corral and the sheep[fold *are neglected*].

8'-10' [... ] the thick brea]ds, the libation [...]. [... o god]s, [... ] in that ma[tter].

11'-12' [... ] our [wisdom] has been los[t...].

13'-15' [... ] you perc[eive ...]

## A<sub>2</sub>

1'-3' [They continue to see]k [...]. [They ...] the temples [...] xxx. [...] broke down [the alt]ars; they plundered the temples and they continually seek the cities of the deity Tewaši[1].

4'-7' [ ... The quarr]elsome lands, [...] xxx. [...] the shepherds and the swineherds [...] they carried/paid [the tri]bute.

8'-11' [...they have] repu[diated (their) tr]ibute [...]. [For]merly, the land of Ḫatti [...] lik[e a lio]n. [...] x [...].

## A<sub>3</sub>

1'-3' [...] not of [the gods], [...] per[rish ... ] the evil ones. [... a single] house or a single [person ...].

4'-5' But [ ...], O gods, [... the land of Ḫatt]i [with] fav[orable ...]. Giv[e the evil plagu]e to the evil lands.

6'-7' But [in the land of] Ḫatti let (everything) thrive and prosper ... ], let [...] bec[ome as previ]ously.

8'-11' [If] the king [should] ma[ke] a plea in Arinna [let the KIN oracle be favourable. He took [ ...], and [...] in/for the good [ ...]. He took the PRESENTING OF [PRAY]ER and he [*presented*] it to [*the gods*]. He took the THICK BREAD and the BLOOD (?) and [gave] them [to] MUL[TITUDE].

376.V. AN EXERPT FROM THE MIDDLE/NEW HITTITE PRAYER TO THE SUNGODDESS OF ARINNA AND HER CIRCLE<sup>721</sup>

**Transliteration:**

- 
- 4' LÚ.MEŠ KÚR.ĪI.A-ma-za ku-i-e-eš tu-el [ŠA dUTU URU A-RI-IN-NA]  
 5' dME-EZ-ZU-UL-LA dĪU-UL-LA [BI-IB-RI<sup>HLA</sup> GAL.ĪI.A (ŠA)]  
 6' KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.SI<sub>22</sub> Ú-NU-TE<sup>MEŠ</sup>-KU-NU ħu-u-[ma-an-du-uš da-an-na]  
 7' i-la-a-li-iš-kán-zi LÚ.MEŠ A[PIN.LÁ LÚ.MEŠ NU. GIŠ KIRI<sub>6</sub>]  
 8' MUNUS.MEŠ<sup>NA4</sup> ARA<sub>5</sub> MUNUS.MEŠ UŠ.BAR da-a-[an-na ša-an-ġi-iš-kán-zi]  
 9' É.DINGIR.MEŠ-KU-NU-ma-az ar-ġa [wa-ar-nu-um-ma-an-zi i-la-a-li-iš-kán-zi]  
 10' 'A'.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-KU-NU GIŠ KIRI<sub>6</sub>.ĪI.A-KU-NU Z[AG.ĪI.A-KU-NU]  
 11' [d]a-an-na-at-ta-aġ-ġu-wa-a[n-zi ša-an-ġi-iš-kán-zi]
- 

**Translation:**

- 4'-11' The enemy who wishes to [take] for itself your, [O Sungoddess of Arinna], Mezulla and Īulla, [rhyta, cups of] silver and gold (and) al[l] your cult objects; (who) [seeks to c]apture (your) far[mers, gardeners], women of the mill (and) weavers; (who) [wishes to burn] down your temples; (who) [seeks to] lay waste (your) farmlands, your orchards (and) [your] bo[rder regions]

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<sup>721</sup>

For the transliteration and translation of the entire fragment see Schwemer 2006: 239 -241.