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Çorum, insanlığın ortak mirası olarak kabul gören binlerce yıllık tarihsel derinliğe sahip birçok kültüre ev sahipliği yapmıştır. Bu mirası oluşturan değerlerden biri olan Hitit Medeniyetinin merkezi de Çorum'dur. Dolayısıyla Hitit Medeniyetinin günümüze kadar süre gelen kültürel zenginliği Çorum için bir marka değeri taşımaktadır. Bu zenginliği korumak ve yaşatmak, geçmiş ve bugün arasında bağ kurarak gelecek kuşaklara aktarmak, hepimizin görevidir.

İlimizde Boğazkale-Hattuşa, Ortaköy-Şapinuva ve Alacahöyük'te sürdürülen uzun soluklu ve geleneksel arkeolojik kazı çalışmaları ile ortaya çıkarılan kültürel miras, toplumun bütün fertlerine ortak geçmişlerini anlatan, aralarındaki bağı güçlendiren önemli bir değerdir. Bu değerleri oluşturan çok kültürlü zengin geçmiş ve tarihsel kimliğin kurgulanmasında, kamusal ihtiyaçlar doğrultusunda işlevlendirilmesinde ve tanıtılmasında ilimizin bütün dinamiklerinin birlikte hareket etmesi gerekmektedir.

Bu nedenle Çorum'da başta Hitit Medeniyeti olmak üzere, Hitit dönemi öncesi ve sonrasına ait kültürel mirasın korunması ve yaşatılması İlin kültür öncelikli kalkınmasının temel şartıdır. Bunun için de kamu ve sivil toplum örgütleri tarafından bilgilendirme, bilinçlendirme ve sahiplenme çalışmalarının yapılması önem kazanmaktadır. Bilgilendirme ve bilinçlendirme çalışması kapsamında ilki 1990 yılında düzenlenen Hititoloji Kongresi, Valiliğimiz, Belediye ve Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarının ortaklaşa işbirliğinde yapılmıştır. 2008 yılında yedincisi Çorum'da yapılan kongreye, 2006 yılında faaliyete geçen Hitit Üniversitesi ilk kez ev sahipliği yapmış, 2014 yılında ise dokuzuncusu yapılan kongre, Üniversite, Valiliğimiz ve Belediyenin katkılarıyla gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Yukarıda da vurguladığımız gibi bilgilendirme, bilinçlendirme ve sahiplenme çalışmaları kapsamında değerlendirdiğimiz VII. Hititoloji Kongresi kitabının basılmasında Valiliğimiz tarafından verdiğimiz destekte olduğu gibi elinizde bulunan IX. Hititoloji Kongresine ait bu kitabın da Valiliğimizin destekleri, Orta Karadeniz Kalkınma Ajansının maddi katkıları ile yayınlanmasından mutluluk duyuyoruz.

Bu vesile ile kongrenin gerekleřmesini ve kitabı yayına hazırlayarak bu deęerli eseri bizlere kazandıran Kongre Bařkanı Prof. Dr. Aygöl SÜEL'e teřekkür ederim.

Mustafa İFTİ
orum Valisi

SUNUŞ

Değerli okurlar,

Anadolu, binlerce yıldır birçok medeniyete ev sahipliği yapmış, insanlar için ulaşılması gereken bir vatan olarak hep cazibe merkezi olmuştur. 7000 yıllık kültür mirasının izlerinin var olduğu Çorum, başta Hitit Uygarlığı olmak üzere birçok medeniyete ev sahipliği yapmış; tarihi ve kültürel zenginlikleriyle hem ülke genelinde hem de dünyada kültür turizminin odak noktalarından biri haline gelmiştir. Bu anlamda UNESCO dünya mirası listesinde yer alan ve kentimiz için önemli bir değer olan Hattuşa'nın da katkısı büyüktür.

Şüphesiz insanoğlu, var oluşundan itibaren kendisinden sonra gelen toplumlara bilgi, belge ya da miras niteliğinde değerler emanet etmiş, bu doğrultuda da geleceğe ışık tutmayı amaç edinmiştir. Anadolu'nun en önemli değerlerinin başında gelen Hititler de Anadolu coğrafyasının kendisine sunduğu kültürel çeşitliliği özümseyip bir zenginliğe dönüştürmüştür. Hititlerin sahip olduğu bu kapsamlı zenginlik de yine şüphesiz siz değerli bilim insanlarının yapmış olduğu inceleme ve yorumlarla gün yüzüne çıkmakta ve geleceğimize ışık tutmaktadır.

İsmi Anadolu'nun en büyük medeniyetlerinden biri olan Hititler'den alan Üniversitemiz, geçmişin daha iyi anlaşılması ile geleceğin temellerinin daha sağlam atılacağına yürekten inanmaktadır. Bu noktada; Hitit uygarlığı araştırmalarında önemli bir yere sahip olan Çorum'da bulunmanın ve Hititlerin başlıca kentlerine (Boğazköy-Hattuşa, Ortaköy-Şapinuva, Alacahöyük, Eskiypar gibi) ev sahipliği yapıyor olmanın vermiş olduğu ağır sorumlulukla Hitit Uygarlığı'nın günümüzde tanınması, tanıtılması ve onlar tarafından bizlere bırakılan zengin tarihi ve arkeolojik malzemeyi koruyup gelecek nesillere aktarılabilmesi amacıyla, çalışmalarımızı özenle sürdürmekteyiz.

Hitit Üniversitesi'nin Hitit kültürü ve tarihi alanlarında çalışmalar yapan bilim insanlarının bir araya getirilerek dil, tarih ve arkeoloji bağlamında konuların tartışıldığı, Hitit Uygarlığı'nın her yönüyle ele alındığı Hititoloji Kongresi'nin bir paydaşı olması, ülkemiz ve bilim dünyası adına büyük bir katkı, ayrıca bizler içinde de önemli bir gurur kaynağıdır.

Kongrenin ilk kez yapıldığı 1990 yılından itibaren birçok farklı ülke ve üniversite tarafından benimsenen Hititoloji Kongre'lerine en çok ev sahipliğini yapan üniversitelerden biri olmanın mutluluğu içerisinde yapılan çalışmaların insanlığa ve bilime katkı sağlayacağına olan inancım tamdır. Bundan sonraki yıllarda gerçekleştirilecek olan Hititoloji Kongre'leri ile de ilimizin ve ülkemizin tanıtımına katkı sağlanacağına ve birçok bilinmezin açıklığa kavuşturulacağına yürekten inanıyorum.

İçerisindeki bilgilerin gelecek nesillere aktarılması adına kalıcı ve önemli bir belge niteliği taşıdığına da inandığım bu kaynak eserin oluşmasında bilgi, belge ve emekleriyle katkıda bulunan herkese en kalbi duygularla şükranlarımı sunuyor, kitabın yayına hazırlanmasını sağlayan Kongre Başkanı Prof. Dr. Aygöl Süel'e içtenlikle teşekkür ediyorum.

Selam ve saygılarımla.

Prof. Dr. Reha Metin ALKAN
Hitit Üniversitesi Rektörü

ÖNSÖZ

Hitit uygarlığı Anadolu'ya özgün, çağının en önemli devletlerinden biridir. Onlardan bize ulaşan bilgiler ve yarattıkları uygarlık her zaman ilgi çekmekte tüm dünyada son derece merak uyandırmaktadır.

Anadolu'nun hemen hemen altı asırlık bir dönemine damgasını vuran ve çağının en büyük güçlerinden biri olan Hitit Devletinin yarattığı uygarlık; özellikle idari yapısı, hukuku, din anlayışı, doğaya yaklaşımı, mimarisi, kadın hakları gibi hususlarda son derece ileri seviyede olması nedeniyle hayranlık duyulması gereken bir medeniyettir. Hitit Devletinin yaptığı uluslararası antlaşmalar tüm dünyaya örnek olmuştur. Birçok medeniyete temel olan Hitit uygarlığının dünya konjonktüründeki yeri tartışılmazdır.

Çorum İlimiz Anadolu tarihinde çok önemli yeri olan Hitit Uygarlığının başkentlerini ve önemli merkezlerini bulundurma gibi bir şansa sahiptir. Hitit Uygarlığının değerlendirilerek yeni nesillere aktarılması için düzenlenen kongreler yararlı neticeler doğurmuştur. Bu kongreler alanda çalışan her bilim insanının merakla beklediği değerli toplantılar haline gelmiştir.

Dünyadaki en önemli uygarlıklarından biri olan Hitit Medeniyetini konuşmak ve bilimsel araştırmalarımızı paylaşmak üzere Türkiye'den ve dünyanın çeşitli ülkelerinden katılımlarla IX. Uluslararası Hititoloji kongresini gerçekleştirdik. Kongre Üyeleri, Hititler ve Hitit Uygarlığı konusundaki araştırmalarını, bilgilerini ortaya koyarak insanlığın bu önemli mirasının daha iyi anlaşılması için katkıda bulunmuşlardır. Hitit uygarlığının bilinmeyen yönlerinin daha anlaşılır ve berrak bir biçimde bilim dünyasına kazandırılması ve kamuoyuna sunulmasının sağlanması bilim adına büyük önem taşımaktadır.

Ülkemiz toprakları üzerinde yapılan arkeolojik kazılar, bu toprakların kültürel açıdan ne kadar zengin olduğunu, çeşitli ulusları, dilleri ve dinleri bağrında nasıl da besleyip çoğalttığını ortaya koymaktadır. Anadolu topraklarında yaşamış uygarlıkların izlerini ortaya çıkarmak ve gelecek nesillere aktarmak kadar bu uygarlıklarla ilgili değerli bilim adamları tarafından yapılan bilimsel çalışmalara ve araştırmalara sahip çıkılması ve bu çalışmaların geniş kitlelere ulaştırılması hepimizin görevidir.

Bunu gerçekleřtirmek, sunulan bildirilerin kitap haline dnřtrlmesi ile mmkn olmaktadır.Bu bakımdan Kongre’de sunulan bildirilerin bir kitap haline getirilmesi ve bilim dnyasına sunulması son derece nemlidir. Aynı zamanda bu kitap Hitit uygarlıđının dnya bilim platformunda layık olduđu yere daha da ulařması iin bir basamak olacaktır.Kongrelerin bildiri kitapları ktphanelerin en deđerli bařvuru kitapları arasında yer almaktadır.

Hitit bilimi iin yeni yeni projeler hazırlanmakta, Hitit Uygarlıđı hakkındaki arařtırmalar yeni teknolojilerle de desteklenmeye alıřılmaktadır. Bugn sahip olduđumuz yksek teknolojik g bile, Hititlerin yarattıkları řaheser sanat eserleri ile, harika mimari ve mhendislik rneklerinin 4 bin yıl sonra bile bizleri hala etkilemesine ve bizde hayranlık uyandırmasına engel olamamaktadır.

VIII. Kongre’den sonra aradan geen 3 yıl iinde Hitit Bilimine emek vermiř, katkılarda bulunmuř ok deđerli bilim adamlarını kaybettik. Burada Prof. Dr. Heinrich OTTEN, Prof. Dr. Hayri ERTEM, Prof. Dr. Ali DİNOL, Prof. Dr. Itamar SINGER, Prof. Dr. Halet AMBEL, Dr. Peter NEVE, Prof. Dr. Klaus SCHMIDT’i minnet ile anmaktayız.

Her Hititoloji Kongresi gibi IX. Uluslararası Kongresi de yeni bilgiler ve buluşlarla, zengin Hitit Uygarlıđını daha yakından tanımamıza yardımcı oluyor, bizleri bu engin, gl ve muhteřem uygarlık hakkında daha da aydınlatıyor.

orum İlinin Kıymetli Halkına, Deđerli Yneticilerine ve Hitit niversitesi temsilcilerine bu toplantıyı yapmamız iin gereken imkanları sađladıkları iin teřekkr ederim.

Kongrenin hazırlanmasında byk katkıları olan ve Kongre Kitabının basılmasına nclk ederek destek veren, Hitit niversitesi Rektr Prof. Dr. Reha Metin ALKAN’a ve emeđi geen herkese teřekkr ederim.

2015 yılının Ekim ayında Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongrelerinin fikir babası, kurucusu Dr. Mustafa SEL’i kaybettik. Hitit Bilimine, Arkeolojiye ve Hititoloji Kongrelerine olan yadsınamaz katkılarını hibir zaman unutmayacađız. Kongre Kitabının basımı iin geen sre iinde yařanan

bu acı ve diđer bazı olumsuz olaylar basım işini oldukça etkilemiştir. Tam ümitsizliğe kapıldığım anda Çorum Valisi Sayın Mustafa ÇİFTÇİ'nin desteđi beni çok mutlu etmiştir. Kendisine yürekten minnettarım. Teşekkürlerimi sunarım.

Dokuzuncusunu gerçekleştirdiđimiz çok başarılı bir kongrenin kalıcı olmasını sağlayacak, son derece değerli "IX. Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri" Kitabı Çorum Valisi, Hitit Üniversitesi Rektörü, Sanayi ve Teknoloji Bakanlığı, Orta Karadeniz Kalkınma Ajansı (OKA) sayesinde ve destekleriyle basılmıştır. Bu nedenle katkılarından dolayı kendilerine en derin şükranlarımızı sunmayı bir borç bilirim. Bu kitabın hazırlanması ve sunulmasında tüm emeđi geçenlere teşekkür ederim.

Prof. Dr. Aygöl SÜEL
Kongre Başkanı

URU¹LA(HU)WAZANTIYA “LA(HU)WAZANTIYA ŞEHİRİ”

Rukiye AKDOĞAN*

Asur Ticaret Kolonileri zamanında, *Lu-hu-za-ti-a*, *Lu-ha-za-ti-a*, *Lu-hu-šu-ti-a* vb. yazım şekilleri ile belgelenen şehir, Hitit Dönemi Anadoluşunda da *Lu-hu-uz-za-an-di-ya*, *La-hu-uz-za-an-ti-ya*, *La-wa-za-an-ti-ya* vb. şekilde karřımıza çıkar. Yakınlarından Alda ve Tarmana nehirlerinin aktığı yedi kaynaklı Lawazantiya řehri, su kaynaklarının bolluđuyla tanınmaktadır. Őimdiye kadar sayısı 38’i bulan Hitit metninde, toplam 61 kere belgelendiđi tespit edilmiřtir. Bildiride, belgelendiđi metin yerleri ele alınarak lokalizasyonuyla ilgili bilgiler sunulmaktadır.¹

Hititler Devri Anadoluşu’nun önemli řehirlerinden Lawazantiya, Asur Ticaret Kolonileri döneminden itibaren Geç Hitit’e kadar yerleřim görmüřtür. Eski Asur metinlerinde řu yazım şekilleriyle görölmektedir²:

Lu-hu-za-ti-a, [*Lu-h*]u-za-tim, *Lu-ha-za-ti-a*, *Lu-hu-šu-ti-a*, *Lu-hu-zú-ti-a*, *Lá-hu-za-ti-a-i-e*, *Lu-hu-za-ti-a-e*, *Lu-hu-za-ti-a-e-em*, *Lu-hu-za-ti-a-im*, *Lu-hu-za-ta-im*. Őehrin Eski Asur metinlerinde beraber belgelendiđi diđer bazı řehirler de řöyledir³: Balihum, Hahhum, Hattum, Hurama, Puruřhaddum, Timelkiya.

Eski Asur Çađına ait belgelerde Luhuzattiya ile Hurama řehirlerinin aynı metinde 10 kez birlikte yer almaları, aralarında çok yakın iliřki olduđunu göstermektedir. Bu arada, Hahhum (aynı metinde 3 kez), Hattum (3 kez),

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1 Bildiriyi hazırlamamda her türlü desteđi sađlayan Çukurova Üniversitesi Rektörlüđüne, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi Müdürlüđüne ve deđerli katkılarından dolayı Prof.Dr. Ahmet Ünal’a çok teřekkür ederim.

2 Geçtiđi metin yerleri için bkz. Barjamovic 2011: 133 d.not 424.

3 Barjamovic 2011: 133 d.not 426’da, Luhuzattiya’nın belgelendiđi diđer řehirleri řöyle sıralamaktadır: Birtu’um, Burallum, Durhumit, Hamizanum, Haqa, Hatikaitra, *ál Kaneři’e*, Karahna, Kuburnat, Kuřřara, Kutiya, *libbi mátim*, Qattara, Őalahřuwa, Őalatuwar, Őamuha, Tegarama, Wahřuřana, Zalpa.

Şalahşuwa (3 kez), Şamuha (3 kez), Tegarama (2 kez), Timelkiya (5 kez) şehirlerinin de, aynı metinde yer aldıkları sayılar göz önüne alındığında, Luhuzattiya şehri ile ilgili yerleşimler kategorisinde yer alabileceğini söylemek mümkündür. Timelkiya, Hurama ve Şalahşuwa şehirlerinin, Fırat'ı Kaneş'e bağlayan ana güzergâh üzerinde olduğu bilinmektedir. Dolayısıyla bu üç kentin Hattum, Şamuha ve Tegarama ile birlikte aynı kontekste telaffuz edilmiş olması Luhuzattiya'nın ana güzergah üzerindeki genel doğrultusu hakkında da fikir vermektedir.⁴ *Locus classicus* niteliğindeki bir grup Asurlu tüccarın kaçakçılık yaparken yakalandığına dair bir mektupta (*ATHE* 62), kraliçenin kaçakçıları desteklememeleri için sınır komşusu olan bütün krallıklara mektup yolladığı anlatılmaktadır. Kraliçenin temasa geçtiği Luhuzattiya, Hurama ve Şalahşuwa kentlerinin Timelkiya ve Kaneş arasındaki bir yerde bulunduğu anlaşılmaktadır.⁵

Kt. 93/k 84 nolu vesika, Luhuzattiya'nın, Hurama'da Kaneş-Fırat güzergâhına bağlanan bir yol üzerinde olduğunu göstermektedir.⁶ Forlanini, Luhuzattiya yerleşimini Hahhum ve Kaneş arasındaki ana güzergah dışındaki bir yere lokalize eden ilk bilim adamıdır; araştırmacı KTK 64 nolu mektuba dayanarak söz konusu kenti Timelkiya'dan uzanan "dar patika" üzerine yerleştirmiştir.⁷

Lewy, kentin bir yün ve tekstil endüstrisi merkezi olduğuna işaret etmiştir. Luhuzattiya'da yapılan yün ve deri ticareti ile ilişkili çok sayıdaki referans bu izlenimi güçlendirmektedir.⁸ Luhuzattiya, Eski Asur metinlerine göre, aynı zamanda demir cevher ve ham demir kaynağıydı (*aşı'u* ve *amūtu*).⁹

Luhuzattiya kentinde herhangi bir Asur müessesesine — bir koloni veya bir istasyon — ait tek bir referansa rastlanmaması önemli bir tespittir.¹⁰

Daha sonraki döneme ait Hitit ve Geç Asur kaynaklarında Kilikya sınırları içindeki bir noktaya lokalize edilmesi gereken eş sesli Lawazantiya yer ismiyle ilişkili referanslar, Luhuzattiya'nın lokalizasyonu ile ilgili tartışmaları

4 Barjamovic 2011: 133, 134.

5 Barjamovic 2011: 134, 135; kaçakçılıkla ilgili olarak ayrıca bkz. Yiğit 1997: 3.

6 Barjamovic 2011: 136.

7 Barjamovic 2011: 140, 141.

8 Barjamovic 2011: 142.

9 Kempinski-Košak 1982: 102.

10 Barjamovic 2011: 143.

sekteye uęratmıŐtır. Eski Asur aęına ait kaynaklar, Luhuzattiya’nın, Orta Anadolu’daki bir güzergâh üzerinde, KaneŐ’in doęusunda bir yerde aranması gerektięine iŐaret etmektedir; söz konusu lokalizasyon önerisini Kilikya’da bir baŐka konumla uyuŐturmak güçtür. Bu durum daha ge dönemde ve baŐka bir yerde eŐ sesli bir yerleŐimin olduęu ihtimalini de akla getirmektedir.¹¹

ivi yazılı kaynaklara göre M.Ö. II. ve I. bin yıllarda Kizzuwatna iinde yer aldıęı kesin olan kentler Őunlardır: Anamusta, Arana, Aruna, Arusna, Adaniya, Azpisna, Hulassa, Irima, Ishupitta(?), Kummanni, Lamiya, Landa (?), Lawazantiya, Luwana (yukarı Seyhan Vadisi’nde?), Nirisa, Paduwanta, Pitura, Puruna, Saliya, Serigga, Sinamu[-., Tarsa, Terussa/Tirusa, Turpina, Turutma, Uparbassa, Ura, Urauna, Urika, Urussa, Uda, Wassukanna, Wastisa, Zaparasma-Daęı, Zazlipa, Zilapuna, Zinziluwa ve Zunahara.¹² Görüldüęü üzere çoęunun yeri belirlenememiŐ toplam 39 ismin yer aldıęı Kizzuwatna, geniŐ bir coęrafyaya sahipti.

Lawazantiya’nın, Hitit dönemine ait belgelendięi metin yerleri ve yazılıŐ şekilleri ise Őöyledir:

- 1) KBo 45.101 Öy. Saę. Sütun 8’ URU^ULa-h[u-wa-za-an-ti-ya
- 2) KUB 46.48+KBo 17.103+ KUB 54.36(+KUB 46.49
Öy. 38 U^URU^ULa-hu-wa-az-za-an-ti-ya, Ay. 32’ URU^ULa-hu-wa-za-an-ti-ya[
- 3) KBo 3.46+KUB 26.75 Öy. II 24 URU^UL]a-hu-uz-za-an-ti-ya
- 4) KBo 46.23 5’ URU^ULa-w[a-
- 5) KUB 6.15 II 10 URU^ULa-wa-za[-an-ti-ya
- 6) KUB 16.53 Öy. 3’]x URU^ULa-wa-za-an-ti
- 7) KBo 60.97 Ay. 5 URU^ULa-]wa-za-an-ti-ya, 8 URU^UL]a-wa-za-an-ti-y[a
- 8) KBo 41.233 Öy. 6’ URU^ULa-wa-za-]an-ti-ya, 8’ URU^UL]a-wa-za-an-ti-ya
- 9) KUB 5.20+KBo 58.88+KUB 18.56 Ay. III 43’ URU^ULa-wa-za-an-ti-ya

11 Barjamovic 2011: 140.

12 Ünal-Girginer 2007 : 58; Lawazantiya Őehri hakkında genel bilgi iin bkz. Ünal 1974: 199-200.

- 10) KUB 52.72 Öy. 10 ^{U]}RU *La-wa-za-an-ti-ya-ya*
11 ^{URU}*L[a-w]a-za-an-ti-ya-ya*
13 ^{URU}*L[a-w]a-za-an-ti-ya*
- 11) KUB 6.29+KUB 18.63+KBo 57.123 Ay. 25' ^{U]}RU *La-wa-za-an-ti-ya*
- 12) KBo 19.129 (+) KBo 53.84 Öy. 2 ^{URU}*La[-a-u-wa-za-an-ti-ya]*
4 ^{URU}*La-]a-u-wa-za-an-ti-az*
18 ^{URU}*L[a-u-wa-z]a-an-ti-ya-x[]*
- 13) KBo 17.102+KBo 23.84 Öy. 3' ^{URU}*La-a-u-wa-za-a[n-ti-ya*
Ay. 19' ^{URU}*La-a-u-wa-za-an-ti-ya*
kolophon 2' ^{URU}*La-a-u-w]a-za-an-ti-ya*
- 14) Bo 86/299 III 91 ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya*
- 15) KUB 6.45+30.14+KBo 57.18 Öy. I 76 [(Š ^{URU}*La-a-u-wa-an-a-t[(i-y)]a*
77 ^{URU}*La-a-u-wa-an-ti-ya*
- 16) KBo 21.34+IBoT 1.7 Öy. I 2 ^{URU}*La-a-wa-za-an-ti-ya*
II 11 ^{URU}*La-a-hu-wa-az-za-an-ti-az*
Ay. IV 40 ^{URU}*La-a-u-wa-az[-za-an-t]i-ya*
- 17) KUB 31.69 Öy.? 4' ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya*
13' ^{U]}RU *La-wa-za-an-ti[-*
Ay.? 12']x ^{URU}*La-a-wa-za-an-ti-ya[*
- 18) KBo 8.63 I 10' ^{Dİ}ŠTAR ^{URU}*La-a[-*
11' ^{Dİ}ŠTAR ^{URU}*La-a-u-wa-z[a-*

- 19) KUB 48.123 Öy. I 4’ ^DI[ŐSTAR ^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-ya]
 6’ ^DIŐSTAR ^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-y[a
 9’ ^DIŐSTAR ^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-ya
 23’ ^DIŐSTAR ^{URU}La-w]a-za-an-ti-ya
 Ay. III 15 ^DIŐSTAR ^{URU}La-wa-za-an[-ti-ya
 Ay. IV 16 ^DIŐSTAR ^{URU}La-wa-z]a-an-ti-ya
- 20) KUB 60.118+KUB 56.25 Ay. IV? 10’ ^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-ya
 12’ ^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-ya
- 21) KBo 46.131 Öy. 5’]x ^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-y[a
- 22) KBo 16.83+23.26 III 1 ^DIŐSTAR ^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-ya
- 23) KBo 9.119 A I 5’ ^{URU}L[a-wa-za-a]n-ti-ya
- 24) KUB 7.20 I 5 ŐA ^{URU}La-wa-az-za-an-ti-ya
- 25) KBo 14.125+126+40.26 Öy. I 4 [ŐA ^{URU}]La-wa-az-za-an-ti-ya
- 26) KBo 6.29+50.56+ KUB 23.127+21.12 I 17 ŐA ^DIŐSTAR ^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-ya
- 27) KBo 3.1 II 20 ^{URU}La-wa-az-za-an-ti-ya
 21 ^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-ya-an
- 28) KUB 11.1+KBo 19.96 Öy.II 28* [^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-ya ú-wa-nu-un]
 30* ^{URU}L[a-wa-za-an-ti-ya-an
- 29) KBo 50.158 3’ [^DIŐSTAR] ^{URU}La-u-wa-za-a[n-ti-ya
- 30) KBo 3.6 Öy. II 58 ^{URU}La-wa-za]-an-ti-ya
- 31) KUB 42.41 Öy. 6’ ^{URU}La-w]a-za-an-ti-ya
- 32) KUB 1.1+19.60+61+62+63+66+26.44+46+1304/u+1683/u Öy. II 80
^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-ya

- 33) KBo 1.11 Öy. 21' ^{URU}*Lu-hu-uz-za-an-di-ya*
- 34) KBo 55.186 Sağ Sütun 11' ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya* [
- 35) LSU 6 = LhK 10 Öy. 4 [^{URU}*Lu-hu-u]z-za-an-di-ya*[
- 36) KUB 16.8(+KUB 52.79 Ay. 2 ^{DİŞTAR} ^{URU}*La-wa-za-a-ti-ya*
5 ^{DİŞTAR} ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-y[a*
- 37) KBo 4.10+50.60+KUB 40.69 Öy. 48' ^{DİŞTAR} ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya*
- 38) HKM 96 (Mşt. 75/79) Ay. 20' [KUR ^{URU}*La-h]u-u-wa-a-an-ti-ya*

Sonuçta Hitit metinlerinde yazılış şekilleri şöyledir:

^{URU}*Lu-hu-u]z-za-an-di-ya*[= LSU 6, ^{URU}*Lu-hu-uz-za-an-di-ya*, ^{URU}*L]a-hu-uz-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-h]u-u-wa-a-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-h[u-wa-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-hu-wa-za-an-ti-ya* [, [^U]^{RU}*La-hu-wa-az-za-an-ti-ya*.

Yukarıda görüldüğü üzere, *Luhuzzand/tiya* veya *Lahuwa(z)antiya* yazılışı toplam 7 metinde görülmektedir.

^U]^{RU}*La-wa-za-an-ti[-* , ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za[-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-]wa-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*L]a-wa-za-an-ti-y[a*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*L]a-wa-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*L[a-w]a-za-an-ti-ya*, ^U]^{RU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya]*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-y[a*], ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-w]a-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-y[a*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*L[a-wa-za-a]n-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za[-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-w]a-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-y[a*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-y[a*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-wa-az-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-wa-az-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*]La-wa-az-za-an-ti-ya*, ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya-an*, ^{URU}*L[a-wa-za-an-ti-ya-an*, ^{URU}*L[a-w]a-za-an-ti-ya-ya*, ^U]^{RU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya-ya*.

Yukarıdaki yazılıřlara gre, Hitit Metinlerinde en ok belgelendiđi yazım Őekli olan, ^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-ya toplam 40 kez belgelenmektedir.

Belgelendiđi diđer yazım Őekilleri

^{URU}La-u-wa-za-a[n-ti-ya, ^{URU}La-a-wa-za-an-ti-ya, ^{URU}La-a-wa-za-an-ti-ya[, ^{URU}La-a-u-wa-z[a-, ^{URU}La[-a-u-wa-za-an-ti-ya], ^{URU}L[a-u-wa-z]a-an-ti-ya-x[], ^{URU}La-a-u-w]a-za-an-ti-ya, ^{URU}La-a-u-wa-za-an-ti-ya, ^{URU}La-a-u-wa-za-a[n-ti-ya, ^{URU}La-]a-u-wa-za-an-ti-az, ^{URU}La-a-u-wa-az[-za-an-t]i-ya, ^{URU}La-a-hu-wa-az-za-an-ti-az, ^{URU}La-a-u-wa-an-ti-ya, ^{URU}La-a-u-wa-an-a-t[(i-y)]a.

Yine yukarıdaki yazılıřlara gre, La’dan sonra “a”nın veya sonra “u”nun eklenmesiyle oluřmuř yazım Őekli de 14 kez belgelenmiřtir.

Belgelendiđi metin yerleriyle lokalizasyona ışık tutabilecek Hitit tabletleri Őyledir:

1) KUB 46.48+KBo 17.103+ (+)KUB 46.49 (CTH 706.I.9, Teřub ve Hebat iin bayram ritueli)

y.¹³

37 []x a-pé-e-da-ni UD-ti I-NA ^{URU}Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-n[i
L]rI-IB-RA¹⁴[

]

38 [^URU^ULa-hu-wa-az-za-an-ti-ya ú-i-da-a-ar x-x[-]
x-ři-i[ř¹⁵]

39 []x ^{LÚ}pu-ra-ap-ři-iř V NINDA.SIG I ^{DUG}KU-KU-U[B]
x[]

13 Transkripsiyon ve tercme iin bkz. Trémouille 1996: 83, 88; y. 40-42’ ve Ay. 29’-32’. satırlar arasının transkripsiyon ve tercmesi iin bkz. Lebrun 1979: 205-206.

14 Trémouille 1996: 83’ d.not 26’da, iřaret kalıntılarına dayanarak ‘BI’-IB-RA olduđunu belirtmektedir. Ankara’da mzede tablet zerinde yaptığımız karřılařtırmada iřaretin korunun son kısmına gre “LI”ye daha ok benzediđi tespit edildi.

15 Trémouille 1996: 83’ d.not 27’de, y. 42’ pura]při[ř kelimesinden yola ıkararak, bu kısmın byle tamamlanabileceđi ihtimaline deđinmektedir.

- 40 [] *ma-ah-ha-an PÚ-i pa-ra-a a-ri nu NINDA.SIG PÚ-^ri* []
- 41 [*na-at ú-e-te-ni-it*]¹⁶ *šu-un-na-i nam-ma-kán PÚ-aš VII*
^{NA4}*pa-aš-ši-l [a-uš an-da pé-eš-ši-ya-zi nu Ì.DÜG.GA te-pu an-da*
*za-ap-nu-zi]*¹⁷
- 42 [] *še-er-ra-aš-ša-an* ^{GIŠ}*pa-i-*] *ša-a-hi nu ú-i-da-a-ar I-NA*
^{URU}*Ki-iz-zu-w[a-at-ni]*
- 43 [] *x É ^DHé-pát x* [] *x x-x-x-x-x* []
- Ay.¹⁸
- 29' *nu I SUR₁₄.DÜ.A^{MUŠEN} I ha-pu-pi-in^{MUŠEN} 1* [] *x-x* [] *-]na*
ar-ha-ya-a[n]
- 30' *I* ^{GIŠ}*ha-tal-ke-eš-ni-ya* ^{SIG}*a-li-t* [*i -l*] *i-it* [] *-zi ki-ip-ri-ti x* []
- 31' *da-an-zi PA-NI ^DTi-ya-pi-t* [*i]-e ŠA ^{rTUL}Kal-mu-x LI -IB¹-RA*
^{TUL}*Zu-um-ma-ri x* []
- 32' *ŠA^{URU}La-hu-wa-za-an-ti-ya* [] *-]x ú-i-da-a-ar ki-it-ta-ri na-at-kán*
an-da
- 33' ^r*A-NA¹ I pu-kán-ti-mi-x* [] *la-h]u-wa-an-zi nam-ma-kán*
^{GIŠ}*pa-a-i-in-ni an-da ti-an-zi*

KUB 46.48+KBo 17.103+KUB 54.36(+KUB 46.49 nolu metinde, Teşup ve Hepat için kutlanılan ay festivali Kummanni'de icra edilmesine karşın, ritüelde kullanılan temiz suyun Lawazantiya (Öy. 38), Alta nehri (Ay. 19') ile Kalmu-x ve Zummari (Ay. 31') su kaynaklarından (Ay. 31') getirildiği görülmektedir. Böylece Winuwanda da söz konusu ritüel etkinliklerle ilişkilendirilmiştir. Bu metinden hareketle Trémouille, Kummanni'den Lawazantiya'ya aynı gün içinde gidip dönmenin mümkün olabileceğini belirtmiştir.¹⁹

KBo 17.102+KBo 23.84 ve KBo 21.34+IBoT 1.7'de, aynı kolofonun ve aynı kompozisyonun konu edildiği görülmektedir.

16 Trémouille 1996: 83' d.not 28'de tamamlamanın Öy. 30'a göre olduğunu belirtmektedir.

17 Trémouille 1996: 83' d.not 29: Tamamlama Öy. 31'e göre.

18 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. Trémouille 1996: 85, 89.

19 Bkz. Forlanini 2013: 7-8.

2) KBo 21.34+IBoT 1.7²⁰ (CTH 699, Teőub ve Lawazantiyalı Hebat iin Bayram)

Öy. I

- 1 *ma-ah-ha-an-ma I-NA* UD.15²¹.KAM *ma-a-an lu-uk-kat-ta*
- 2 *na-aő-ta I-NA* URU^U*La-a-wa-za-an-ti-ya A-NA* DIŐKUR I MĂŐ.GAL
- 3 *ke-e-el-di-ya ői-pa-an-ti am-ba-aő-ői-ma-kán* I SILA₄
- 4 *ke-e-el-di-ya ői-pa-an-ti nu-uő-őa-an ma-ah-ha-an*
- 5 *zé-ya-an-da-az a-ri nu* V NINDA.SIG^{MEŐ} I NINDA^A*i-du-ri-in ha-zi-la-aő*
- 6 *par-ői-ya őe-er-ra-aő-őa-an őA* MĂŐ.GAL UZU^U*őĂ da-a-i*
- 7 *na-at PA-NI* DU^U*da-a-i nam-ma* I *NAM-MA-AN-TUM* GEŐTIN *da-a-i*
- 8 *na-aő-ta* GAL DIŐKUR *őu-un-na-i la-ha-an-ni-uő-őa ői-pa-an-ti*
- 9 *nam-ma* URU^U*Aő-tu-ya-ra-az* 5 NINDA.SIG^{MEŐ} I NINDA^A*mu-la-a-ti-iő*
BA.BA.ZA

Lawazantiya festivali (CTH 699) kesinlikle dönemin en önemli dini etkinliklerinden biriydi; birkaç gün süren ritüel etkinlikler ile ilişkili betimlemelerin ok sayıda tablet parasını kapsadığı anlaşılmaktadır; özellikle ritüelin 5. gün etkinliklerinin betimlendiğı üçüncü tablet doğrudan bu seremoni ile ilişkilendirilebilecek eşsiz bir döküman niteliğindedir (Wegner 2002: 310’da, bayramın 3. tableti için, 13. yy. notu yer almaktadır). Hebat söz konusu etkinliklerde oldukça önemli bir yer tutuyor olup, tanrıanın etkin olduğı alanı belirlemek maksadıyla kullanılmış eőitli unvanlar (*purulliwe, huwalziya, hari*) söz konusudur. Lawazantiya kenti ve civarında özellikle de Aőturiya kentinde gerekleőtirilen ritüel etkinliklerde başta Fırtına Tanrısı olmak üzere őarruma, Taőmiőu, Tanrıların babası ve Hebat’ın “maiyetini” oluőturan eőitli tanrı ve tanrıalara yönelik yemek sunuları yapılmıőtır.

Bütün seremonilerin odak noktasında tanrıa bulunuyordu. Tören alayıyla yapılan yolculuk — tören alayına *alalu* giydirilmiş bir Hebat da eşlik ederdi

20 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. Lebrun 1977: 117, 125. Ayrıca transkripsiyon için krő. Wegner 2002: 310 ve I 1-5, 9. satırların transkripsiyonu için bkz Haas 1998: 163, Nr. 88.

21 Wegner 2002: 310: U₄.5?KAM.

— sırasında bir tür sahne oyununun da icra edildiği anlaşılmaktadır: Tanrıça güya ortadan kaybolmuş gibi bir tapınağa kapatılmış; daha sonra tapınağın dışında olan kral ile tanrıça arasında bir rahibin yardımıyla bir diyalog yaşanmıştır. Kral tanrıyı geri gelmesi için cesaretlendirmiş ve kendisini kutsamasını talep etmiştir: “Bana gelecekte (uzun) ömür, sağlık, kız ve oğlan çocuklar ver; ... düşmanlarımı ayaklarımaya koy”. Daha sonra tanrıça dışarı çıkarılır ve kral “Güneş Tanrısı *hari* (ve) Tanrı *Mušuni*”ye libasyon yaparken, tanrıça tapınağın avlusunun içinden geçerdi”.²²

3) KBo 21.34+IBoT 1.7²³ (CTH 699, Teşub ve Lawazantiyalı Hebat için bayram)

Öy. II

9 *nu* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *I-NA* URU *Aš-tu-u-ya-ra an-da-an IŠ-TU* DGIŠ INANNA^{HLA}
LÚ^{MEŠ} BALAG.DI-ya

10 *gal-gal-tu-u-ri pé-e-da-an-zi* MUNUS^{MEŠ} *kat-ri-i-e-eš-ša* SİR^{RU}

11 *na-aš-ta ma-ah-ha-an* DINGIR^{MEŠ} URU *La-a-hu-wa-az-za-an-ti-az*

12 *ar-ha ar-nu-an-zi nu* DHE-pát IŠ-TU^{GAD} *a-la-a-lu an-da wa-aš-ša-an-zi*

13 LÚ^{MEŠ} NAR-ya SİR^{RU} *uš-ši-ya-an-zi*

4. Tablet, KBo 21.34+'ün duplikatı olan Bo 6871'de sol kenar şöyledir: 1 -N]A URU *Ki-iz-z[u*.

II 9-13. satırlarda tanrılar, şarkıcı ve müzisyenlerin içinde bulunduğu Lawazantiya'da (tertiple edilmiş) bir tören alayı eşliğinde Astuyara'ya nakledilir; Hebat'a “*alalu*” giysisi giydirilmiştir.²⁴

Lebrun 1977: 141-142'de bu metinle ilgili şu açıklamalarda bulunmaktadır: “Beşinci günde gerçekleştirilen seremonilerin anlaşılmasında herhangi bir güçlük söz konusu değildir; ritüelin ilgili kısmında Lawazantiyalı Teşub ve Hebat onuruna düzenlenmiş büyük bir şölen konu edilmektedir; şölene ilgili tanrıların yanı sıra bu tanrılar ile ilişkisi bulunan başka tanrıların da

22 Trémouille 1997: 110-111.

23 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. Lebrun 1977: 119, 128 ve transkripsiyon için krş. Badali 1991: 189. 11. ve 12. satırların transkripsiyon ve tercümesi için bkz. Trémouille 1994: 95.

24 Lebrun 1977: 139.

davet edilmiŐ olduĐu anlaŐılmaktadır. Bu durum TeŐub’un cariyesi TaŐmiŐu, Hebat’ın hizmetcisi Damkidu, Hutena-Hutellura ve Kumanni tanrılarının varlıĐını da aŐıklamaktadır. Bu etkinlikler erevesinde tanrıların dzenli olarak kullandıĐı varsayılan kutsal yerlere birok kurban sunumunda bulunulmuŐ ve baŐta Lawazantiyalı Hebat ve TeŐub olmak üzere tanrıların aklını elebilmek iin mmkn olan btn klasik yntemler uygulanmıŐtır. Bylelikle tanrıların desteĐinin alınması amalanmıŐtır. Bu tr bir bayramı organize etmek iin ne kadar personel ve yiyeeĐe geresinim duyulduĐunu hesap etmek nemlidir. Metinde, komŐu Astuyara kentinde piŐirilip daha sonra Lawazantiya kentine getirilen yemek ve hamur iŐi yiyeceklerden sz edilmiŐtir. zet olarak bayramın beŐinci gnnde gerekleŐtirilen kutlamaları  ana periyoda ayırmak mmkndr:

- Lawazantiya’da, sırasıyla TeŐub, Hebat ve diĐer tanrı konuklara aperatif hamur iŐleri ve birok iki sunulurdu; bu sunu seremonisi ncesinde ayını yneten kimse yiyecek sunulan tanrıların saĐlıĐına kadeh kaldırırdı.
- Giysilerle donatılmıŐ Hebat gibi tanrı heykelciklerinin baŐını ektiĐi bir tren alayı organize edilerek, koronun sylediĐi ilahiler eŐliĐinde Lawazantiya’dan Astuyara’ya gidilirdi.
- Tanrılar AŐtuyara tapınaĐında Őahsi atribtleriyle birlikte bir defa daha tanıtıldıktan sonra, burada yeni bir Őlene start verilirdi; kap kacaklar tıka basa yiyeceklerle doldurularak, bol miktarda iki sunulurdu; Őarkıcı ve harpistler herkesin duyacaĐı Őekilde mzik yaparlardı. ... Lawazantiyalı Hebat ve TeŐub onuruna dzenlenen bu bayram ritelinin gerekleŐtirildiĐi zaman dilimi, belirsiz bir szck olan MU-ti ifadesi (“yıl boyunca”) yznden aydınlatılmadan kalmıŐtır.

Sonuç olarak bu festivalin bu kadar ge kaleme alınmasının Hebat-Őarrumma ikilisinin bayram ritelinde nemli bir yer iŐgal etmesinden kaynaklandıĐı sonucuna varabiliriz; Hurri-Hatti kontekstine zg bu tanrısal gereklik HattuŐili III ve Tudhaliya IV’n hkm srdĐ Byk İmparatorluk dneminin sonuna ait dini metinlerden aŐına olduĐumuz bir durumdur. ”

KBo 21.34+ nolu metinde sz konusu ritel etkinliĐin, Kizzuwatna sınırları iindeki Lawazantiya kenti ile bu yerleŐime komŐu olan AŐtuyara

/ Ašturiya kentinde icra edildiğinden bahsedilmiştir. Forlanini,²⁵ Ašturiya kentinin Elbistan ovasının doğu kısmında, Yukarı Ülke sınırları içinde bulunan La(hu)wazzandiya'nın kuzeyinde, bu kentten çok uzak olmayan bir mesafedeki Osdara isimli Klasik çağ yerleşimiyle ilişkilendirmenin mümkün olabileceğini düşünmektedir.

-KBo 21.34+IBoT 1.7 (CTH 699, Teşub ve Lawazantiyalı Hebat için bayram)

Ay. IV²⁶

39 DUB 3.KAM Ú-U[L QA-T]I ma-a-an-za LUGAL-uš DIM^DHé-pát

40 I-NA URU^ULa-a-u-wa-az[-za-an-t]i-ya

41 DUG^Ghar-ši-ya-al-li[-uš] ki-nu-ma-an-zi

42 pa-ra-a-ya I-NA URU^UAš-tu-u-y[a]-ra

43 A-NA ŠA-PAL GIS^STÚG^{HIA} MU-t[i m]e-e-a-ni hal-za-a-i

Tercüme:

39-43 Üçüncü tablet [bitmemiş]tir: (Bu tablet şunun hakkındadır) “Kral, Teşub (ve) Hebat’ı pithos açılışı için Lawa[zant]iya kentine ve ayrıca Astuyara kentine, bütün yıl [boyunca], şimşir ağacının altında (toplanmak üzere) çağırdığı vakit”.

Tabletin kolophon kısmında bu seremoninin Hebat ve Fırtına Tanrısına yapılan bir “dua” (*halzai-* fiili kullanılmıştır) seremonisi ile ilişkili olduğu ifade edilmiştir.²⁷

4) KBo 17.102+KBo 23.84 (CTH 706.I Teşub ve Hebat için (bayram) ritüeli)²⁸

25 Forlanini 2013: 8.

26 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. Lebrun 1977: 125, 133 ve Forlanini 2013: 7.

27 Trémouille 1997: 111.

28 KBo 17.102+KBo 23.84 ve KBo 21.34+IBoT 1.7’de, aynı kolofon ve aynı kompozisyon konu edilmektedir.

Ay.²⁹

- 17' [EGIR-ŠU]-ma^{MUNUS} iš-ta-ha-ta-al-li-iš ma-ah-ha-an I[-NA
 18' []x UD.VIII^{KAM} I-NA^{ID} A-al-da ú-i-da-a-ar da[-a-i
 19' []I-NA^{URU} La-a-u-wa-za-an-ti-ya I-NA^{ID} Tar-ma-a[n-na
 20' [-]x-ah-ha-an na-at A-NA PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM} EGIR-pa x[-
 21' [I-N]A^{URU} Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni ma-ah-ha-an iš-ša-x[-

18' []Sekizinci günde Alda ırmağında su alıyor.

19' []Lawazantiya şehrinde Tarmana ırmağında[

KBo 17.102+23.84 nolu metinde, Teşub ve Hepat için ritüellerin Lauwazantiya ve Aştuyara dışında, Kizzuwatna (Öy. 20', Ay. 21') ve Lawazantiya yakınlarından akan Alda, Tarmana nehirlerinde gerçekleştirildiği belirtilmektedir.³⁰ O halde Alda ve Tarmana ırmağı, Lawazantiya şehri yakınında bulunmalıydı.

Ünal 2014: 201'de, Lawazantiya'nın yerleri henüz bilinmeyen, bu metinde yer alan Alda ve Tarmanna ırmakları üzerinde yer aldığı iddia edildiğine değinerek, Tarmanna adının *hišuwu* merasimlerinde geçtiğini ve Erdemli doğusundaki Alata Çayıyla olan benzerliğine dikkati çekmektedir. Ünal 2014: 201 vd.'da ayrıca, Hititçede “ırmak, dere, çay, su, kaynak, pınar, çeşme, havuz, göl, baraj” vb. ifade eden çok sayıda sözcük olduğunu ve bunların semantik incelenmesi, birbiriyle olan ilişkileri ve arkeolojik verilerle karşılaştırılmasının henüz yapılmadığına değinerek, suyla ilgili terminolojinin Anadolu'nun Hitit dönemine ait şehirlerinde açığa çıkarılan gölet, havuz, temiz ve atık su kanalları vb. ile karşılaştırılmasının gerekliliğine vurgu yapmıştır.

5) KBo 17.102+KBo 23.84 kolophon (CTH 706.I, Teşub ve Hebat için (bayram) ritüeli)

x+1 DUB 3.KAM Ú-UL]^rQA-TI^r ma-a-an-za LUGAL-uš
 DİŞ[KUR^DHé-pát]

29 KBo 17.102 Ay. 17'-21'. satırlar arasının transkripsiyon ve tercümesi için bkz. Lebrun 1979: 205-206.

30 Forlanini 2013: 7.

- 2' I-NA^{URU}La-a-u-w]a-za-an-ti-ya^{DUG}har-ši-ya-al[-li-uš]
3' ki-nu-ma-a]n-zi hal-za-a-i pa-ra-a-ma-aš-za[]
4' I-NA^{URU}Aš-]tu-u-ya-ra A-NA ŠA-PAL^{GIŠ}TÚG[MU-ti me-e-a-ni]

6) KUB 7.20³¹ (CTH 475.Tf01.A, Kizzuwatna kralı Pilliya ritüeli)

I

- 1 ^mPal-li-ya-aš LUGAL^{URU}Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na³² ku-wa-pi []
2 ^{DU}URU^{URU}Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na³³ ša-ra-a ti-it-ta-nu-ut []
3 na-an ki-iš-ša-an ma-al-ta [-i]³⁴
4 IŠ-TU VII PÚ^{HIA} še-he-el-li-ya³⁵ ú-i-da-a [(-ar)]³⁶
5 ŠA^{URU}La-wa-az-za-an-ti-ya d[(a-a-aš)]
6 nu še-he-el-li-ya-aš ú-i-te-na-aš³⁷ ki-i x[]

Bu metnin duplikat metni olan KBo 9.115(+)/KBo 9.119'da Kizzuwatna'nın, Kummanni olarak yer aldığı görülmektedir.

Tercüme:

- 1 Kizzuwatna/Kummanni kralı Palliya
2 Kizzuwatna/Kummanni şehri Fırtına Tanrısına tapındığı sırada
3 şu ayini yaptı:
4-5 Lawazantiya kentinin yedi pınarından temiz suyu aldı.
6 Ve temiz suya şunları [koydu]:

Yukarıdaki tercümeden hareketle Lebrun, Teşup kültürünün Lawazantiya'ya ilk

31 KUB 7.20 I 1-6. satırlar arasının transkripsiyonu ve KUB 7.20'nin diğer duplikatları için bkz. Lebrun 1979: 201 d.not 19.

32 Dupl. KBo 9.115(+)/KBo 9.119 I 1 ^{URU}Kum-ma-an-ni.

33 Dupl. KBo 9.115(+)/KBo 9.119 I 1 ^{DU}Kum-ma-an-n[i].

34 Dupl. KBo 9.115(+)/KBo 9.119 I 2 ma-al-t[i].

35 Dupl. KBo 9.115(+)/KBo 9.119 I 3 še-hi-il-li-ya.

36 Dupl. KBo 9.115(+)/KBo 9.119 I 3 ú-e-da-a-ar.

37 Dupl. KBo 9.115(+)/KBo 9.119 I 4 še-hi-li-ya-aš A.[A, krş. Lebrun 1979: 201 d.not 19 (6).

giriřinin Kizzuwatna kralı Palliya zamanında olabileceđini belirtmektedir.³⁸

Puduhepa'nın dođduđu ve genç kızlık yıllarını geirdiđi Lawazantiya kentinin bugn nerede olduđu maalesef bilinmiyor. Ancak Kizzuwatna toprakları iinde ve Kummanni'den uzaklarda olmadıđı kesindir. nk Kizzuwatna kralı Palliya burada birtakım dini ayinler icra edebilmektedir.³⁹

Lawazantiya kentinin su kaynaklarının bol olduđu bir yerde olması gerektiđini bu metin bize gstermektedir. Lawazantiya'nın 7 pınarından veya kaynađından Fırtına Tanrısı iin kutsal suların alındıđı grlmektedir. Metnin devamı Őyledir: “1 Őekel gmř, bir gz rts bezi, ynden 1 *kiřri*, mavi ynden 1 *tarpali*- dokuması, kırmızı ynden 1 *tarpali*- dokuması, iinde ince yađ dolu 1 *hakkunna*- kabı, undan 3 yufka ekmeđi ve 1 KUKUB kabı Őarabı 7 kaynađa sunar. (Ellerinde) temiz sularla geri geldiklerinde, bir kaz(?), yarım lek buđday unundan yapılmıř bir *mulati*-ekmeđi, beř yufka ekmeđi, biraz zeytinyađı ve bir lek Őarap alırlar ve bunları temiz sulara sunarlar.” İlk gn yapılan bu ayinden sonra ertesini gn sabahleyin Fırtına Tanrısı bu arı sularla yıkanır ve temizlenir.⁴⁰

Hurric-Hitite bir Bođazky ritelinde (KBo 23.27 Ay. III 5-14) sunuda kullanılacak kutsal su iin Őapinuwa'daki kaynaklara iřaret edilmektedir. Őapinuwa'dan temin edilecek 7 kap suyun 3 tanesi Őapinuwa Őehri ana kaynađından, 1 tanesi Őulupařři Őehri ana kaynađından, 1 tanesi Őapinuwa Őehrinin bađındaki kaynaktan, 1 tanesi x nehrinden ve 1 tanesi de Őapantalliya Őehri nehrinden getirilmektedir.

Or. 90/1711 Ortaky'den bir ritel tablette ise ilgili satırlar Őyledir:

4] ... Őyle temiz[
5 get]irirler. Sonra nehirden tekrar[
6]... iinde ve o 9 nehir. Ve sonra
7] Őapinuwa'nın 2 fırtına tanrısı ...[
8] yakarlar. Nehirden[

38 Lebrun 1979: 201.

39 nal-Girginer 2007: 331.

40 nal-Girginer 2007: 331; Murat 2012: 138.

- 9] Sonra Šapinuwa'nın 2 Fırtına Tanrısı [
10] baba tanrılar içinde/ortasında
11] içinde/ortasında götürürler.[
12 kutsal] suyu yukarı serper[ler.
13 için]de/ortasında götürür[ler.
14]... bir hurri kuşu, bir ...[
-

Or. 90/1711 nolu Šapinuwa'dan bir ritüel tablette, bu şehirde Hurri/Hitit dünyasının birlikteliğini gösteren Šapinuwa şehrinin 2 fırtına tanrısından, Šapinuwa şehrindeki 9 nehirden ve (kutsal) suyun kutsal bir mekânda yukarı serpildiğinden bahsedilir. Böylece tablette arındırma ile ilgili seremonilerin yapıldığı görülmektedir.⁴¹

Or. 94/1 nolu Šapinuwa'dan bir ritüel tablette, şehelliški kaplarının verildiğinden bahsedilmektedir. Ortaköy'den bu tablete göre, Kutsal Su'ya özel "şehelliški" kapları Hititlerin baş tanrıçası Hepat için "günahlardan arınma evi" olarak yorumlanan ve arınma ayinlerinin gerçekleştirildiği kutsal bir mekân olan šinapši'de verilmektedir.⁴²

Šapinuwa'da Ağılönü mevkiinde, kurban çukurlarının bulunduğu kutsal alanda, özellikle bina 3'ün güney duvarının dış yüzünde yan yana yatırılmış bulunan ve bir kısmının kireçli bir tıpayla kapatıldığı görülen, bu kaplardan metinlerde bahsedildiği gibi 7 tanesi bir grup halinde ele geçirilmiştir.⁴³ Söz konusu sivri dipli testicikler, Kutsal Su'yu oluşturan Šapinuwa, Lawazantiya vb. gibi bazı kutsal kabul edilen şehirlerin 7 ayrı nehrinden ve kaynağından alınmış suların koyulduğu kaplar olmalıdır.⁴⁴

Yukarıda bahsi geçen metinlere dayanarak, Šapinuwa'dan temin edilecek suyun 4 tanesi Šapinuwa'daki kaynaklardan, kalan 3 tanesinin de başka nehir ve şehirlerden getirildiği anlaşılmaktadır.

41 Murat 2012: 138-139.

42 Murat 2012: 141.

43 Süel 2010: 51, 52.

44 Murat 2012: 142.

7) KUB 1.1+19.60+61+62+63+66+26.44+46+KBo 52.17+1683/u (CTH 81.A, III. HattuŐili’nin apolojisi veya otobiyografisi)

Öy. II⁴⁵

79 Őe-er Őu-un-ni-iŐ-ta GIM-an-ma IŐ-TU KUR Mi-iz-ri-i⁴⁶

80 EGIR-pa i-ya-ah-ha-ha-at nu I-NA^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-ya⁴⁷

81 A-NA DINGIR^{LIM} BAL-u-wa-an-zi⁴⁸ i-ya-ah-ha-ha-at

82 nu-za DINGIR^{LUM} i-ya-nu-un

Tercüme:

79 Mısır ülkesinden

80-81 geri döndüğümde, tanrıya kurban sunmak için Lawazantiya Őehrine gittim,

82 ve tanrının (kültünü) yerine getirdim.

III. HattuŐili’nin apolojisini anlatan bu tablette kral olmadan önce HattuŐili, kardeŐi kral Muwattalli’nin Mısır’a yaptıđı bir sefere katıldıđından bahseder. Yukarıda tercümesi sunulan metnin bu kısmından sonra, “Rahip Pentipsarri’nin kızı Puduhepa’yı tanrının emriyle karlıđa aldım” ifadesi yer almaktadır.

8) KBo 1.11 Öy.⁴⁹ (CTH 7, UrŐu kuŐatması)

19’ um-ma Őa-ri-wa-an-da-ma ku-uŐ-Őú ka-aŐ-du-nim an-nu-ut-tum
ep⁵⁰-ra-am li-iŐ-ta-pa-ku

20’ ú an-nu-ut-tum li-iŐ-ta-as-sú-ku LUGAL ud-da-mi-iq

21’ LUGAL^mŐa-an-da i-na^{URU}Lu-hu-uz-za-an-di-ya iŐ-sí ú ARAD LÚ^{URU}Kar-ka-mi-is

22’ LUGAL iŐ-ta-na-a-al-Őu KUR-tum ki i-[d]áb-bu-ub um-ma
Őu-ú <-ma> Őum-ma^{URU}UrŐu^{KI}i-hal-li-iq

23’ ARAD i-na qa-ti-ni-i-ma-qú-ut ...

45 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. Götze 1925: 22, 23; Otten 1981: 16-17.

46 B II 58 KUR^{URU}Mi-iz-ri.

47 KUB 19.71 3 -a]z-an-ti-ya.

48 B II 59 Ői-pa-an-tu-u-wa-an-zi.

49 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. Beckman 1995: 24, 26; ayrıca bkz. Yiđit 1997: 5.

50 Metin: ur-.

Kentin isminin ^{URU}*Lu-hu-uz-za-an-di-ya* olarak hecelendiği en eski Hitit metni, Urşu kuşatmasını (KBo 1.11) içeren tarihi bir belgedir. Bu vesikada kışı Lawazantiya’da geçiren kralın daha sonra kuşatmayı yerinde görmek üzere oradaki Hitit birliklerinin komutanı olan Šanda ile bir araya geldiğinden bahsedilmiştir. Kralın kışı Urşu’nun kuzeyindeki, çok daha soğuk bir iklime sahip dağlık bir bölgede, Haššuwa’da geçirmiş olma ihtimali düşüktür. Kralın daha sıcak bir iklime sahip Kilikya’ya dönerek kışı burada geçirmiş olma olasılığı daha yüksek gözükmektedir. Karargâhın (operasyon merkezinin) Lawazantiya’da konuşlandırılmış olması bu kentin, Gaziantep’in doğusuna, Fırat nehri kenarına veya Gaziantep’in kurulduğu alana lokalize edilmesi gereken Urşu ile bir yol bağlantısı olduğunu göstermektedir.⁵¹ Urşu kenti, Urfa’ya lokalize edilmektedir.⁵²

9) KBo 55.186⁵³ (CTH 530, Kültenvanter fragmanı)

Sağ Sütun

10’ [-]x-za ku-e URU.DU₆^{HLA} I-NA ^{URU}Kum-ma-[a]n-ni x[

11’ [-]x ŠÀ URU.DU₆^{HLA} ŠA ^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-^rya¹ [

12’ [^{NA}]⁴ZI.KIN^{HLA} te-iš-ki-iz-zi

Burada Kummanni ve Lawazantiya’daki harabe şehirlerden bahsedilmektedir, fakat metin kırık olduğu için yeterince açıklık yoktur.⁵⁴

10) KBo 4.10+50.60+KUB 40.69 (CTH 106.B.2, Tarhuntašša kralı ile antlaşma)

Lawazantiya şehir adı, Tarhuntašša ülkesi kralı Ulmi-Tešup antlaşmasında şahit tanrılar arasında yer almaktadır.⁵⁵

Öy.

48’ ke-e-da-ni-ma me-mi-ni ^{DU}HI.HI-aš-ši-iš ^{DU}TU ^{URU}PÚ-na ^{DU}
^{URU}Ha-at-ti ^{DU}^{URU}Ne-ri-ik ^{DI}ŠTAR ^{URU}Ša-mu-ha ^{DI}ŠTAR ^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-ya
LI-IM DINGIR^{MEŠ}

51 Kempinski-Koşak 1982: 103.

52 del Monte-Tischler 1978: 476.

53 KBo 55.186, KUB 60.117 ve Bo 5056 fragmanları ile paraleldir.

54 Bkz. Forlanini 2013: 8 d.not 27 ile; ayrıca ^{DU}₆ ile ilgili daha geniş bilgi için bkz. Akdoğan 2005: 102.

55 Lebrun 1979: 201 d.not 21. Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. van den Hout 1995: 38, 39.

49’ ŐA KUR URU *Ha-at-ti ku-ut-ru-e-eŐ aŐa-an-du*

Tercüme

48’ Bu mesele için, ŐimŐeĐin Fırtına Tanrısı, Arinna’nın GüneŐ Tanrıçası, Hatti’nin Fırtına Tanrısı, Nerik’in Fırtına Tanrısı, Őamuha’nın IŐtar’ı, Lawazantiya’nın IŐtar’ı (ve)

49’ Hatti ülkesinin bin Tanrısı Őahit olsunlar!

Aynı metnin Öy. 55’. satırında da ... ^D*Hé-pát* URU *Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni*
^DIŐSTAR URU *Őa-mu-u-ha* ^DIŐSTAR LİL ^DIŐSTAR URU *La-wa-za-an-ti-ya*
^DIŐSTAR URU *Ni-nu-wa* ... Őeklinde yine Őahit tanrılar arasında yer aldıĐı görölmektedir.

11) HKM 96 (MŐt. 75/79)⁵⁶ (CTH 188 Kral ya da kraliŐeye mektup)

Ay.

17’ [ÉRIN^{MEŐ} KUR.KU]R^{MEŐ} KUR.UGU^{TİM} KUR URU *IŐ-hu-pi-it-ta*

18’ [... KUR ^{HUR.S}]AG *Őa-ka[d]-du-nu-wa* KUR URU *Őa-na-hu-it-t[a]*

19’ [...] x KUR [U]^{RU} *Tu-u-pa-az-zi-ya*

20’ [KUR URU *La-h*]u-u-wa-a-an-ti-ya KUR URU *I-Őu-wa*

21’ [...-]x-ya [k]u-[i]t ku-it ŐA KUR.UGU^{TİM}

22’ [ÉRI]N^{MEŐ.HIA} *na-aŐ hu-u-ma-an-du-uŐ ni-ni-i[k]*

Őöz konusu mektupta coĐrafik sıra Őu Őekildedir: IŐhupitta (muhtemelen Zile’nin kuzeyinde)⁵⁷, Őakaddunuwa daĐı (Zuliya/Őekerek ırmaĐının batı kıyısı)⁵⁸, Őanahuitta (YeŐilirmak-Őekerek veya Kızılırmak arasında bir yerde)⁵⁹, Tupazziya (Bor civarı, Ammuna daĐı yakınında)⁶⁰, Lawazantiya ve IŐuwa (ElazıĐ civarı)⁶¹. Buradaki coĐrafik sıralama, Lawazantiya’nın daha kuzeye yerleŐtirilmesi gerektiĐini ortaya ıkarmaktadır.⁶²

56 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. Alp 1991: 300-301.

57 Alp 1991: 13 -14.

58 Alp 1991: 32.

59 Alp 1991: 36.

60 Alp 1991: 45.

61 del Monte Tischler 1978: 155.

62 Barjamovic 2011: 141.

Yeni Asurca tek yazım olan ve Lawazantiya ismi son olarak Salmanassar III (M.Ö. 858-831) tarafından bu kralın yirminci seferi ile ilişkili telaffuz edilmiştir. Söz konusu metin, Lawazantiya kentinin lokalizasyonu ile ilişkili en önemli belge niteliğindedir; Salmanassar, Amanos dağlarını aştıktan sonra sırasıyla Lusanda, Abarnani ve Kisuatni kentlerini fethederek Que ülkesine (Kizzuwatna) indiğinden bahsetmiştir.⁶³ Amanos geçidinden (kesin olarak Adalur geçidi) Que'nin merkezine kadar uzanan söz konusu rota boyunca devam eden seferin kronolojisi, burada doğu batı doğrultusunda coğrafik bir ardışıklığın söz konusu olduğunu göstermektedir.⁶⁴ Bu bilgi Lawazantiya kentinin Amanos dağlarının en kuzeyindeki geçitten çok uzak bir mesafede olamayacağı anlamına gelmektedir.⁶⁵

Forlanini 2013: 8'de, Lawazantiya'nın geçmişte pek çok Bronz Çağı yerleşimine ev sahipliği yapan Ceyhan nehrinin hemen doğusundaki verimli alana lokalize edilmesini düşündüğünü ve bunun için de Tatarlı Höyük'ün bir aday olabileceğini belirtmektedir.

Ünal 2014: 202 vd.'da, su kaynaklarının bolluğu bakımından Tatarlı Höyüğün bizi yanıltabileceğini, höyüğün dibinden tektonik bir kaya kütesinin altından fışkıran ve Kaynargöz adıyla da bilinen su kaynaklarının dışında orasının Lawazantiya olduğuna dair hiçbir ip ucunun bulunmadığına değinmektedir. Ünal 2014: 203 vd.'da, "Lawazantiya'nın içinde yer aldığı geniş bölgenin deprem kuşağı içinde bulunduğunu, tektonik hareketlerin mevcut su kaynaklarını yok ederken, bazıları da yeniden yaratmış olabileceğini" ifade etmektedir. "Yedi pınar" ibaresinin Hitit metinlerinde Hurri kökenli bir klişe olduğunu ve muhtemelen sembolik olarak tüm yerlerin bir bütünlük oluşturduğuna ve belki de bir kavşaktan tüm yönlere giden yollara işaret ettiğine değinmektedir. Ayrıca, "Lawazantiya kenti/ülkesinin yedi pınarı" ibaresinden kaynakların toplu bir yerde olması gerektiğinin çıkarılmamasını, tıpkı Ortaköy'de olduğu gibi, ülke kaynaklarının her tarafına serpiştirilmiş uzak pınarlardan da su taşınmış olabileceğini belirtmektedir.

İmparatorluk çağının son safhasına tarihlenmiş, Şipti-Ba'al tarafından o sırada Lawazantiya'da (*lwsnd*) bulunduğu ifade edilen Ugarit kralına yazılmış içeriği

63 Kempinski-Koşak 1982: 103.

64 Forlanini 2013: 9.

65 Kempinski-Koşak 1982: 103.

tam olarak aydınlatılmayan bir mektup metni gn ışığına çıkarılmıştır (PRU V: 63 = RS 18:40). Hitit İmparatorluğunun son bulduėu dnemde Ugarit’in Kilikya kıyı Őeridini ele geirmeye ynelik olarak nasıl bir tutum sergilediėi iyi bilinmektedir. Sz konusu kontekstte ismi sıka anılan Lawazantiya kentinin bu kıyı Őeridinden ok uzak bir mesafede olmadığını varsaymak mmkndr.⁶⁶

nal 2014: 205’de Őehrin lokalizasyonu ile ilgili Őunları ifade etmektedir: “Grlyor ki prensipte Eski Asurca Luhusa(n)tia, Hitite Lawazantiya ve Yeni Asurca Lusanda’nın a priori birbiriyle eŐit olduėu ok karmaŐık bir sorundur, kuŐkular, bilinmezler ve hipotezlerle doludur. Coėrafi glkler bir yana, en baŐta a ile u’nun yer deėiŐtirmesi gibi fonetik problemler zerinde hi durulmamıŐtır. Lawazantiya neredeydi sorusuna yanıt bulamayıp, Eski Asurca ve Hitite kaynakları birbiriyle baėdaŐtıramayan araŐtırmacılar, ta eskilerden beri aynı isimli iki Lawazantiya olduėunu ne srmŐlerdi. Son yıllarda bu tez yeniden canlandırılmış, birisi Vomana Cappadociae (Őar) ile Elbistan Ovası arasında, diėeri daha gneyde olmak zere aynı ismi taŐıyan iki Lawazantiya olduėu tezi yeniden gzden geirilmiŐtir. Bir metinde Kummanni, Lahuwazantiya, Wiyanawanda ve denizin aynı muhtevada gemesi ve buradaki Lawazantiya’nın aynı havzada yer alan Wiyanawanda ile eŐitlenen Oenaondus’un da aynı blgede yer almasından dolayı, Ceyhan (Pyramos, Puranda) vadisinde aranması gerektiėi zerinde durulmuŐtur.” nal 2014: 209’da, Kizzuwatna-Hitit Lawazantiya’sının, Amanos Daėlarının doėusunda, İslahiye ovasında veya bugn Bahe-Gaziantep otoyolunun kuzeyinde, Orta Anadolu’nun Kuzey Suriye’ye giden yollardan biri zerinde olduėuna deėinmektedir.

Lawazantiya’nın konumu hakkında, Kummanni ve Fırat arası, Ovalık Kilikya, Doėu Kilikya, Malatya civarında, Elbistan-Karahyk gibi teklifler Őimdiye kadar yapılmıŐtır (Bossert’in Karahyk yazıtında Lawazantiya okununuŐunun yanlıŐ olduėu anlaŐılmıştır).⁶⁷

III. HattuŐili’nin kardeŐinin yaptıėı Mısır seferinden dnŐ yolunda Lawazantiya’ya uėraması, bu Őehrin, Suriye ile HattuŐa arasında ya da Goetze’nin buna ilaveten belirttiėi gibi; o sırada HattuŐili’nin yneticisi

66 Kempinski-KoŐak 1982: 103; krŐ. nal 2014: 204.

67 Bu tekliflerle ilgili bibliyografya iin bkz. Yiėit 1997: 12 vd.; Barjamovic 2011: 141; Hawkins 2000: 291; ayrıca Őehrin coėrafiyası, tarihi ve tanrı-kltleri hakkında bkz. Wegner 1980-1983: 435-436.

olduğu Yukarı ülke arasında ulaşımı sağlayan yol üzerinde ya da yakınında bulunduğunu gösterir.⁶⁸ Yiğit,⁶⁹ bunu belirttikten sonra hemen daha önceki dönemlere, Asur Ticaret Kolonileri dönemi belgelerine dönüp, herhalde Anadolu'ya getirilen bir malın ilk olarak Lawazantiya'ya gitmesi gerektiğinin ısrarla belirtilmesini hatırlamak gerektiğini ve buna göre Lawazantiya şehri, Asur'dan Kültepe'ye devam eden ticaret yolunun Suriye'den Anadolu'ya ilk girişinde uğranılması gereken yer olarak ortaya çıktığını ifade eder. Bunun da III. Hattuşili'nin Suriye'den girişinde uğradığı şehrin konumuyla uyumlu olduğundan bahseder.

Sonuç olarak;

- 1) Eski Asur Ticaret Kolonileri dönemindeki *lu-hu-za-ti-a* vb. yazım şeklinde belgelenen bir şehir söz konusu.
- 2) Hitit döneminde ^{URU}*Lu-hu-uz-za-an-di-ya* veya ^{U^JRU}*La-hu-wa-az-za-an-ti-ya* şeklinde olan yazım 7 kez, ^{URU}*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya* şeklinde olan yazım 40 kez, ^{URU}*La-u-wa-za-a[n-ti-ya* veya ^{URU}*La-a-u-wa-an-ti-ya* şeklinde olan yazım 14 kez belgelenmiştir.

3) Yeni Asur döneminde ise Salmanassar III zamanında “Lusanda” adı ile karşılaşılır.

Ve şehrin sadece URU “şehir” determinatifi ile birlikte yer aldığını görmekteyiz.

Maşathöyük mektubunda Zile'nin kuzeyi, Çekerek ırmağının batı kıyısı ve Bor civarına lokalize edilen şehirlerle birlikte yer alması, daha güneye yerleştirilen Lawazantiya ile ters düşmektedir. Yalnız bu mektupta koloni döneminde belgelenen isimle benzer Lahuwantiya yazımının yer alması düşündürücüdür.

Eğer Yeni Asur Döneminde belgelenen Lusanda da bu şehirle aynıysa, belgelendiği metinde Salmanassar doğu batı istikametinde devam eden şehirleri fethederek, Que'ye (Kizzuwatna) indiğinden bahsetmektedir.⁷⁰

Lawazantiya'nın belgelendiği metin yerleri ne yazık ki, şehrin nerede

68 Yiğit 1997: 11.

69 Yiğit 1997: 11, d.not 71 ve 72 ile.

70 Krş. dip not 64.

olduđuna dair bir kesinlik arzetmiyor. Belki de, Eski Asur Ticaret Kolonileri Döneminde daha kuzeye yerleřtirilen ve Hitit döneminde güneyde olmak üzere benzer isimli iki Őehrin varlıđı Őimdilik akla yakın geliyor. Bir de tabi Őu olasılık da göz önünde tutulmalıdır: Acaba söz konusu 3 döneme ait Őehir, yazım farklılıkları olmasından dolayı hepsi de birbirinden farklı Őehirler miydi? Bütün bu varsayımlar, söz konusu bölgelerden elde edilecek çivi yazılı tabletlerin vereceđi cevapla kesinlik kazanacaktır.

Őehrin belgelendiđi diđer metinler, lokalizasyona pek açıklık getirmemesi nedeniyle transkripsiyonları ve bazı açıklamalarıyla aŐađıda sunulmaktadır:

1) KBo 45.101⁷¹ (CTH 670.834, Bayram ritüeli fragmanı)

Öy. Sađ Sütun

- 5’ *pár-aŐ-na-a-u-aŐ-k*[án^{LÚ}SAGI.A]
 6’ *ú-iz-zi* []
 7’ LUGAL-*uŐ* TUŐ-*aŐ* ^{DİŐ}[TAR
 8’ ^{DİŐ}TAR^{URU}*La-h*[*u-wa-za-an-ti-ya e-ku-zi*]
 9’ ^{LÚ}NAR^{URU}*Hu*[*r-ri* ^{SİR}^{RU}
 10’ ^{GIŐ}*ar-kam-mi*[*gal-gal-tu-u-ri*
 11’ *wa-al-ha-an-z*[*i*

2) KBo 3.46+KUB 26.75 (CTH 133.I.A, I. MurŐili’nin(?) Hurrilere karŐı savaŐları)

Öy. II⁷²

- 14 [^{URU}*H*]*a-at-ti ú-it ta-a-ma ú-it-ti*
 15 [KUR^{URU}... KUR^{URU}*Ha-at-r*]*a-a-aŐ ták-Őa-an-na ú-it* KUR^{URU}*Ha-at-ra-a-aŐ*
 16 [^{URU}... ^{URU}Ő]*u-uk-zi-aŐ-Őa hur-li ne-ya-an-ta-ti*

71 Transkripsiyon için bkz. Roszkowka-Mutschler 2005: 140.

72 Öy. II 1-25. satırlararasının transkripsiyon ve tercümesi için bkz. Kempinski-KoŐak 1982: 89, 92.

- 17 [-]x-eš⁷³ e-šir šu-uš e-ep-pí-ir
 18 [-]ir¹ a-pé-e-ma hur-la-an
 19 [-i]š-na zi-nu-e-er
 20 []ú-it
 21 [-i]t^{URU} Hu-ru-ma-az
 22 [-]i-iz-zi
 23 [-d]a-az hur-li
 24 [^{URU}L]a-hu-uz-za-an-ti-ya
 25 [(-)š]a-an hu-ul-li-it

3) KBo 46.23 (470.1173, Ritüel fragmanı)

- 4']r¹e¹-eš-na-az rX IV²¹
 5' ^{DİŞTA}R^{URU} La-w[a-
 6']x DÛ-mi x[

4) KUB 6.15⁷⁴ (CTH 582, Orakel fragmanı)

KUB 6.15 II

- 1 ma-a-an-ma-kán DINGIR^{MEŠ} GIG-ši^{DUTUŠI}[
 2 a-ra-at-te-ni IŠ-TU^{LÚ}HAL^{MUNUSŠU}.G[I
 3 Û^{TUM} MUNUS.LUGAL I-NA^{URU} Ut-ru-na I-MU[R
 4 []ar-pu-na-an-ti-iš nu-wa-ra-an [
 5 nu-wa^{DUTUŠI} ma-a-an MUNUS.LUGAL-ya[-
 6 nu-wa-kán e-da-ni KASKAL-ši an-d[a
 7 nu-wa-kán « ha-ah-ha-lu-wa-an-ti[-

73 Veya ^{MJEŠ}, krş. Kempinski-Kořak 1982: 89 d.not 1.

74 1-12. satırlar arasının transkripsiyonu için bkz. Lebrun 1976: 190 ve 8-12. satırlar arasının transkripsiyonu için bkz. Lebrun 1979: 202 d.not 22; 3-9. satırlar arasının transkripsiyon ve tercümesi için bkz. Mouton 2007: 231.

8 « *tar-ra-wa-u-un-ta nu a-ri[-*

9 DIŐSTAR URU^UŐa-mu-ha[

10 ^DIŐSTAR URU^U*La-wa-za[-an-ti-ya*

11 *an-na-al-la-aŐ x[-*

12 *Őe-er SI x SÁ-at [*

5) KUB 16.53 (CTH 577.1, BirleŐtirilmiŐ Orakel, I. SU, KIN ve MUŐEN)

Őy.

x+1]x *wa-ra-ah-Őa a[n-*

2' N]U.SIG₅-*du ŐÀ-ir DIB'-an [*

3' -]x URU^U*La-wa-za-an-ti I-NA KASKAL^{NI} [*

4' *wa-]aŐ-ku-wa-aŐ Őe-er TUKU.TUKU-an-za A-NA DINGIR^{LJ/M}*

5' NINDA^A*]a-a-an NINDA.GÚG I DUG^Ihu-up-pár KAŐ [*

6'] *an-da-an ú-wa-u-wa-aŐ-Őa-wa x[*

7'] *e-eŐ-zi ku-wa-pí nu II-an Őar[-ra*

6) KBo 60.97 (1283/z) (CTH 582 ?, Orakel fragmanı)

Ay.

2]x TUKU.TUKU x[-

3]x LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL[

4]x-zi

5 URU^U*La-] wa-za-an-ti-ya Ū ŐA x[-*

6 ^U]RU^U*Tal-ma-li-ya x[*

7]x GU₄ VIII UDU [

8 URU^U*L]a-wa-za-an-ti-y[a*

7) KBo 41.233 (CTH 582, Orakel fragmanı)

Öy.

- x+1]x-ša-aš pár-kán[-]-x
 2']
 3'] a-ri-ya-zi
 4']ZABAR SUM-an-zi
 5']nam-ma DINGIR^{LUM}
 6' ^{URU}La-wa-za-]an-ti-ya pé-e-da-[]
 7' -]x nam-ma-an-kán
 8' ^{URU}L]ra-wa¹-za-an-ti-ya
 9' -]x-x-wa[]

8) KUB 5.20+KBo 58.88+KUB 18.56 (CTH 577.1, Birleştirilmiş Orakel, I. SU, KIN ve MUŞEN)

Ay. III

- 41' nu-za-kán ŠÀ URU^{LIM}-ma ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki
 42' É^{MES} EGIR-an še-eš-ha-ah-hi nu-kán ALAM []
 43' ^DIŠTAR ^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-ya EGIR-an[]
 44' ma-a-an-ma-mu-kán DINGIR^{LIM} a-[p] í-i[z]
 45' an-da-an aš-šu-li ne[-]

9) KUB 52.72⁷⁵ (CTH 570, Karaciğer orakeli (SU))

Öy.

- 8 a-ši]Û^{TUM}A-NA MUNUS.LUGAL ^DZa-wa-al-li-iš-pát pa-ra-a IS-BAT
 nam-ma-ma KI.MIN
 9 [nu TE^{MES} SI]G₅-ru ZÉ hi-li-ip-ši-ma-an NU.SIG₅
 10 [ma-a-an ^DIŠTAR ^U]RU^ULa-wa-za-an-ti-ya-ya nu TE^{MES} nu NU.SIG₅-du
 ZAG-za RA^{IS} NU.SIG₅

75 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. Mouton 2007: 187, 189, 190.

11 [ma-a-a]n^D Za-wa-al-li-iŝ-pát^D IŝSTAR URU^UL[a-w]a-za-an-ti-^rya¹-ya
nam-[ma]-ma KI.MIN

12 [nu TE^{MEŝ}] SIG₅-ru ni ŝi ta ki zi GAR-ri XII ŐÀ DIR SA₅

13 ^DIŝSTAR URU^UL[a-w]a-za-an-ti-ya ku-it^r SIxSÁ¹-a[t] ^{rD1}UTU^{ŝI} I x-x
SISKUR pu-pu-wa-la-an-na-aŝ EGIR-an x nu x x TI

10) KUB 6.29+KUB 18.63+KBo 57.123 (CTH 574.22, MUŐEN HURRI)

Ay.

20' [da-ma-i]n wa-aŝ-ku-un UL nam-ma ku-in-ki uŝ[-ki-ŝi]

21' [LÚ^{MEŝ} ME.S]AG-ma-aŝ-kán ZI-za GAM UL ku-it-ki [da-ma-aŝ-ŝa-an]

22' [har-kán-z]i nu IGI-zi MUŐEN HURRI SIG₅-ru EGIR-ma N[U.SI

23' IGI-zi nu SIG₅ EGIR SIG₅

24' [LÚ^{ME}]ŝME.SAG pu-nu-uŝ-ŝu-u-en nu me-mi-ir A[-NA DINGIR^{LIM}-wa

25' ^URU^ULa-wa-za-an-ti-ya GIŝKIRI₆ GIŝnu-x[

26' [DINGIR^{LUM}-za] a-pád-da ŝe-er TUKU.TUKU-u-an-za nu MUŐEN
HURRI S[IG₅-du

11) KBo 19.129 (+) KBo 53.84⁷⁶ (CTH 500.249.A, Kizzuwatna (bayram)
ritüeli)

Öy.

1 [] hal-za-a-i nu ki-iŝ-ŝa-an m[e-ma-i]

2 []^{L1}úpu-ra-ap-ŝi-iŝ I-NA URU^ULa[-a-u-wa-za-an-ti-ya]

3 [] ha-an-da-a-iz- [zi]

4 []^{URU}La-]^ra¹-u-wa-za-an-ti-az X NINDA.SIG^{MEŝ}

[]

5 []^rANA¹ DU^DHé-pát-ya ŝu-up-pí-y[a-ah-ha-an-zi²]

6 [] tap-ri-]ti pár-ŝi-ya na-at pí-ra-an-ŝ[i-it]

76 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. Trémouille 1997: 111, 113; transkripsiyon için ayrıca bkz. Wegner 2002: 239 vd. KBo 53.84'ün transkripsiyon ve tercümesi için bkz. Trémouille 1997: 109. KBo 19.129 Öy. 1-5. satırlar arasının transkripsiyon ve tercümesi için bkz. Lebrun 1979: 205-206.

- 7 [z]i-iz-zu-hi te-pu la-a-hu-i []
- 8 [] 1 GAL šu-un-na-a-i []
-
- 9 [p]ár-ši-ya na-at pí-ra-an-ši-it []
- 10 [-]x zi-iz-zu-hi te-pu la-a-hu-^ri []
- 11 []-ši-kán 1 GAL šu-un-na-i []
-
- 12 [tap-ri-ya]-az kat-ta ú-da-i na-an-ša-an []x-x-x-aš
- 13 []x da-a-i I-NA É ^DHé-pát-ma-kán ^Dx-x []
- 14 [tap-r]i-ya-az kat-ta da-a-i nu PA-NI tap-ri-t[i] ^DŠar-ru-m[a]
- 15 [] a-ša-a-ši ŠUKUR ^DŠar-ru-ma-ma PA-NI tap-r[i]-i-ti ^D]Hé-pát hal-zi-ya[-wa-aš]
-
- 16 [hal-z]i-ya-u-wa-aš ^{GIŠ}tap-ri-az kat-ta ú-da-i nu-u[š]^DDa-ki-du-un []
- 17 [ku-]e-da-ni A-NA ^{GIŠ}la-ah-hu-u-ri a-ša-a-[š]i tab-ri-ti da-[a-i]
-
- 18 [-]x ku-iš ^{LÚ}pu-ra-ap-ši-iš pa-ra-a pa-a-an-za nu I-NA ^{URU}L[a-u-wa-z]a-an-ti-ya-x []
- 19 []x ^{GIŠ}RA ki-iš-ša-an šu-ni-ya-zi iš-ta-na-ni x [] [p]í-ra-an []
- 20 []x da-a-i nam-ma-kán A-NA ^{DUG}iš-nu-u-ri še-er 1 NINDA x []x []

12) KBo 17.102+KBo 23.84 (CTH 706.I, Teşub ve Hebat için (bayram) ritüeli)

Öy.⁷⁷

- 3' [I-]NA ^{URU}La-a-u-wa-za-a[n-ti-ya
- 4' [at-]ta-aš DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš pí-ra-[an
- 5' [-]x-aš-ša-an ^{DUG}i[š-qa-ru-hi
-
- 6' []x PA-NI ^{DUG}iš-q[a-ru-hi
- 7' []x pár-ši-ya x []

77 KBo 17.102 Öy. 3'-5'. satırlararasının transkripsiyon ve tercümesi için bkz. Lebrun 1979: 205-206; krş. Forlanini 2013: 7.

13) Bo 86/299⁷⁸ (CTH 106.A.1, TarhuntaŐŐa kralı ile antlaŐŐma)

III

90 ^DHé-pát ^{URU}Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni ^DIŐSTAR ^{URU}ŐŐa-mu-u-ha

91 ^DIŐSTAR LÍL ^DIŐSTAR ^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-ya ^DIŐSTAR ^{URU}Ni-nu-wa

IV. Tuthaliya ile Kurunta arasında yapılan antlaŐŐmada, “Lawazantiya Őehrinin IŐtari” Őahit tanrılar arasında belgelenmektedir.

14) KUB 6.45+30.14+KBo 57.18 (CTH 381.A, II. Muwattalli’nin tanrı topluluĐŐuna duası)

Őy. I

74 [(^{DU} ^{UR})]^UHur-ma ŐA ^{URU}[]x ^DHa-an-ti-da⁷⁹-aŐŐ-Őu-uŐ ^{DU} ^DHé-pát

75 [(^{URU}H)]a-la-ap ŐA ^{URU}[]x DINGIR.LÚ^{MEŐ} DINGIR.MUNUS^{MEŐ}
HUR.SAG^{MEŐ} ÍD^{MEŐ} KI.MIN

76 [(ŐA ^{URU}La-a-u-wa-an-a-t[(i-y)]a ^DHa-a-Ői-ga-aŐŐ-na-wa-an-za
^DMu-ul-li-ya-ra-aŐ

77 [(DINGIR.LÚ^{ME})]Ő DINGIR.MUNUS^{MEŐ} [(HUR.)]SAG^{MEŐ} ÍD^{MEŐ} ŐA
^{URU}La-a-u-wa-an-ti-ya

78 [(^{DU} ^{URU})] -i]k ^{DU} ^{URU}U-da ^DHé-pát LUGAL-ma-aŐ DINGIR.
LÚ^{MEŐ}

79 [DINGIR.MUNUS^{MEŐ} (HUR.SAG^{MEŐ} ÍD)]^{MEŐ} ŐA ^{URU}U-da

15) KUB 31.69⁸⁰ (CTH 590 Rűya- ve adak metinleri fragmanları)

Őy.?

x+1 -]Őa-pi-ha-am-m[a

2?]-x-x-x-nu-un I x pa[-

3? K]ARAŐŐ^{HLA} ŐA KUR ^{URU}Ar-za-u-wa GAM-an [

4? ^DIŐSTAR]R ^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-ya GAŐŐAN-YA A-NA ^DUTUŐI I-NA K]UR

78 Transkripsiyon ve tercűme iŐin bkz. Otten 1988: 24, 25; tercűme iŐin bkz. Singer 2002: 88-89.

79 39 om. -da-aŐ-

80 4-6. satırlar arasının transkripsiyon ve tercűmesi iŐin bkz. Lebrun 1979: 202 d.not 23.

- 5']i-ya-ši tu-el-za wa-aš-pa-an LÚ-aš i-wa-ar wa-aš-ši-y[a-ši
 6' MUNUS-š]a-za i-wa-ar wa-aš-ši-ya-ši tu-el-za wa-aš-pa-an NÍ.TE-x[
 7']nu A-NA^DUTU^{ŠI} KUR^{URU} Ar-za-u-wa pí-ra-an GUL-ah-ti[
 -KUB 31.69 (CTH 590 Rüya- ve adak metinleri fragmanları)

Öy.?

- 12' -]x-ru-ši-it-ta x[-
 13' U^{RU}]La-wa-za-an-ti[-
 14' -]x-ya-az TI-eš-x[-

Ay.?

- 6' -]x^{URU}U-da A-NA^DIŠTAR^{URU}[
 7' ^D]UTU ke-e-el MU^{KAM}-aš x-x-x[
 8' -]x-x I MU^{KAM}-aš KÙ.BABBAR I ALAM KÙ.BABBAR
 LUGAL[
 9' k]a-ru-ú MU ALAM LUG[AL] na[-
 10']x-x-KA DINGIR^{MES} lu-la-h[i-
 11']x-ul-li-kán GIM-an x[-
 12']x^{URU}La-a-wa-za-an-ti-ya[
 13']x.LUGAL A-NA^DIŠTAR
 14' I]K-RU-UB ma-a-an[

16) KBo 8.63 (CTH 590 Rüya- ve adak metinleri fragmanları)

I

- x+1 ma-a-an-za LUGAL KUR^U[^{RU}
 2' I-NA MU VII^{KAM} ŠA [
 3' ^DUTU^{ŠI} ku-in me-mi-an hé-t[e?-
 4' nu A-NA^DÉ.A Û A-NA^DAl-li-x[-
 5' AŠ-RU-MA a-ri-ya-an-zi nu ku-e-da-ni x[

- 6° ú-e-da-ah-hi nam-ma-at IŠ-TU NAM.RA^{MEŠ} [
- 7° I BI-IB-RU KÙ.BABBAR MA.NA I BI-IB-RU UR.x[
- 8° XL NAM.RA^{MEŠ} pí-ih-hi GAL tap-ri pu-nu-uš-mi[
-
- 9° ^DUTU^{ŠI} ku-in me-mi-an ŠA^{URU} Šap-la I-DI nu ma[-
- 10° a-pu-u-un me-mi-an << ta-pár-ri-ya-i ^DIŠTAR^{URU} La-^ra[-
- 11° ^rSIG₅-in¹ aš-ša-nu-ši-nu A-NA ^DIŠTAR^{URU} La-a-u-wa-z[a-
- 17) KUB 48.123 (CTH 590 Rüya- ve adak metinleri fragmanları)

Öy. I⁸¹

- 3° []x[]
- 4° []^ran-da¹-ma-wa-ra-aš-za ^DI[ŠTAR^{URU} La-wa-za-an-ti-ya]
- 5° []-x AK-RU-UB ma-a-an-wa ^DUTU^{ŠI} x[-]
- 6° [nu-k]án A-NA ^DIŠTAR^{URU} La-wa-za-an-ti-y[a]
- 7° [-g]a-nu-um-mi
-
- 8° [ku-wa-]pí I-NA^{URU} Zi-it-ha-ra a-ú-le-en GUL-ah-ta
- 9° []A-NA ^DIŠTAR^{URU} La-wa-za-an-ti-ya IK-RU-UB
- 10° [ma-a-an-wa DINGIR^{LUM} GAŠA]N-YA ŠU^m Pi-ha-^{DU} LÚ^rA.ZU¹ mi-nu-ši nu A-NA ^rDINGIR^{LIM} ¹ [GAŠ]AN-YA
- 11° [K]I.LÁ.BI.NU.GÁL DÙ-mi
-
- 12° [MUNUS.LUGAL-za-ká]n A-NA ^DrIŠTAR¹ URU^r Al¹⁸²-wa-za-a[n-ti-ya kiš-an IK-RU-UB]
- 13° [-k]án ku-i-e-eš HUL-^rla-mu-uš¹ [Ù^{HIA}-u]š x[]
- 14° []x ki-iš-ša-aš A-NA Û^{HIA} EGIR-an A-NA ^DUTU^{ŠI}
- 15° []x-x SIG₅-in DINGIR^{LUM}-mu ŠA^{DUTU}ŠI Û ŠA DUMU^{MEŠ}

81 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. Lebrun 1981: 96-97, 100-101; 12'-22'. satırlar arasının transkripsiyon ve tercümesi için bkz. Mouton 2007: 289, 290, 291.

82 Kâtip herhalde yanlışlıkla “La” yerine “Al” işaretini yazmış olmalı.

- 16' [Ú-UL]*ku-it-ki i-ši-ya-ah-hi-iš-ki-ši* DINGIR^{LUM} A-NA ^{DUTU}ŠI^{ŠI}
 17' []^rHUL¹-*lu ma-ni-en-ku-wa-an Ú-UL tar-na-at-ti*
 18' [*nu A-NA* DINGIR^{LIM}] I ^DIŠTAR KÙ.BABBAR I MA.NA I ^DIŠTAR
 GUŠKIN XX [G]ÍN DÙ-*mi*
 19' []ŠA UR.MAH ^{<m>}*Hi-iš-ni-iš* ^mTáš-mi-LUGAL-[*m*]a-*ya*?
 20' [-]e-er nu A-^rNA ^{m1}Táš-mi-LUGAL-*ma*
 21' [A-NA DINGIR^{LIM} GAŠA]N-YA SISKUR ^{GIŠ}TUKUL DINGIR[^L]/[^M]
 SISKUR NIM.LÁL
 22' [*pé-d*]i[?]-iš-ši BAL-u-wa-an-zi SIxSÁ-at
 23' [MUNUS.LUGAL A-NA ^DIŠTAR ^{URU}La-w]a-za-an-ti-ya IK-RU-UB
 24' [ma-a-an]^ra¹-aš-šu-li PAP-aš-ti
 -KUB 48.123

Ay. III⁸³

- 9 MUNUS.LUGAL-za-kán I-NA ^{URU}[x IK-RU-UB
 10 ma-a-an-kán ^mTal-m[i-LUGAL-*ma*
 11 nu ALAM ^mÚr-hi-^mU-ub[
 12 DÙ-an-te-eš[?] ki-nu-na-y[*a*
 13 ŠA KÙ.BABBAR DÙ-*mi nu-kán*
 14 MUNUS.LUGAL-za-kán I-NA ^{URU}Ha-ša-x[
 15 A-NA ^DIŠTAR ^{URU}La-wa-za-an[-ti-ya IK-RU-UB ma-a-an ^{DUTU}ŠI^{ŠI}
 16 ha-at-tu-liš-zi nu-wa A[-NA
 17 IR-an har-ta ki-nu-na-a[t(-)
 18 ha-an-ti-i ^{TÜG}ku-ši-ši še-p[i-ik-ku-uš-ta[?]

Ay. IV⁸⁴

- 12 []GI KI.LÁ.BI NU.GÁL *pí-ih-hi*

83 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. Lebrun 1981: 98, 102,103.

84 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. Lebrun 1981: 99-100, 103-104; Mouton 2007: 290, 291.

- 13 [^{URU}Ma-na-y]a-ra-za ar-ha I-NA KUR ^{URU}Ku-du-up-ša-aš-ši
 14 []x MUNUS.LUGAL INA ^{URU}Ma-na-ya-ra
 HUL-un Û-an
 15 [a-uš-ta I-NA[?] ^{URU}Pi-iš-h]a-pu-wa-iš-ša a-ar-aš {silinti}
 16 [nu-za-kán MUNUS.LUGAL A-NA ^DIŠTAR ^{URU}La-wa-z]a-an-ti-ya
 kiš-an IK-RU-UB ma-a-an-kán
 17 [DINGIR^{LUM} GAŠAN-YA HUL-lu ÚŠ-an A-NA ^DUTU^{ŠI} Û A-NA
 KARAS^{HIA} an-da UL
 18 [tar-na-at-ti ke-e-d]a-ni LÍL-ri A-NA ^DUTU^{ŠI} pí-ra-an
 19 [^{LÚ}KÚR[?] pí-r]a-an ku-en-na-at-ti ^DUTU^{ŠI} KARAS^{HIA}
 20 []GI[?]-te-ez-zi-ya SIG₅-in
 21 []x-x e-eš-ša-ah-hi
 22 [DÙ-]mi

18) KUB 60.118+KUB 56.25 (Bo 1966) (CTH 590, Růya- ve adak
 metinleri fragmanları)

Ay. IV[?]

- 4']HI-IT-TI ANŐE.K[UR.RA] A-NA ^DUTU^{ŠI} a-wa-an ar-ha
 ...
 7']GAM-an I GU₄ VIII UDU-y[a]x
 8']DINGIR.GAL ha-la-ap-la-x[]ŠA UP-NI ki-e-da-ni-pát
 INIM-NI őe-er
 9' -]e SUM-hi []
 10']x-uš^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-ya [ki-e-d]a-ni-pát INIM-NI őe-er
 11' GU]ŐKIN I MA.NA I GIŐGIGIR x[]-y]a-an KÙ.BABBAR
 12']x NU.GÁL I GU₄ VIII UDU- ya i[-]^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-ya
 13'] pí-di-ši []-]x
 14']x-mu-za DINGIR^{LUM} GAŠAN-YA x LÚ-ni-li[]-]x pu-x[]-ya
 15' -]x me-e-hu-ni du-wa-ar-ni-eš-ki-mi [

- 16' -w]a-ra-at ma-a-an Ú-UL-ya x-x-x[
 17']x-x-ma-wa-za LÚ-ni-li wa-aš-ši-ya-mi[
 18']x-du du-wa-ar-na-ah-hi-pát [

boşluk

19) KBo 46.131⁸⁵ (CTH 584, Kraliçenin rüyaları)

Öy.

- 2' -k]án A-NA EZEN₄-ma [
 3' -]x ŠÀ Û^{TI} GIM-an [
 4' -]x ŠÀ Étar-nu-i-ma-wa[
 5']x^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-y[a
 6' MU]NUS.LUGAL x x DINGIR.GAL ši-pa-a[n-

Ay.

- 2 mu-za MUNUS.LUGAL PA-NI ZI-ZU ki-iš-du[-
 3 ^DIŠTAR ku-wa-at-qa a-pa-a-aš-ma-wa[
 4 nu-wa-ra-an ni-in-ga-nu-uš-ki-m[i
 5 UM-MA DUMU.MUNUS-ma A-NA ^DUTU^{ŠT}-wa[
 6 tu-uq-qa-wa SIG₅ NUN ^DUTU^{ŠT}-ma-w[a

20) KBo 16.83+23.26 (CTH 242.8, Metaller, aletler ve silahların envanteri)

II⁸⁶

- 10' ^mAMAR.MUŠEN-na LÚNAGAR ^mSag-ga-na-aš I-DI II GAL
 KÙ.BABBAR ^mHa-i-i[t-ti-li]⁸⁷
 11' LÚ^{URU}Ša-aq-qa-ma-ha ^mSag-ga-na I-DI
 12' VI^{URUDU}du-pí-ya-liš A-NA GIŠTUKUL^{HIA} IK-RI-BI^{HIA} ŠA ^DI[ŠTAR]

85 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. Mouton 2007: 257, 258.

86 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. Siegelová 1986: 262, 263; Košak 1982: 88-90.

87 Tamamlama için bkz. Košak 1982: 88.

III⁸⁸

- 1 ^DIŐSTAR ^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-ya ^DIŐSTAR É ^mPi-ha-^DU EN Ú-NU-TI
x[]
- 2 I GİR ^{LÚ}MUHALDIM TUR ^mDu-un-wa-LUGAL-ma-kán ku-wa-pi
^DIŐSTAR É⁷⁷
- 3 [a]n-da DÙ-ir I GİR ^{LÚ}MUHALDIM ^mŐi-ip-pa-LÚ SISKUR
^{LÚ}Őak-ku-ni-an-za-az
- 4 [ku-w]a-pi BAL-aŐ I GAL KÙ.BABBAR ^mKu-ra-ku-ra-aŐ A-NA
^DIŐSTAR ^{URU}Ka-ta-pa
- 5 [hi-]in-ik-ta XIV ^{URUDU}wa-ak-Őur A-NA ^{LÚ}MEŐ GAL KUR ^{URU}UGU⁷⁷

21) KBo 9.119 A⁸⁹ (CTH 475.Tf01.B, Piliya ritüeli)

I

- x+1 []hu-it-ti-ya-an-x[]
- 2' []x-x ^{rÉ}ka-ri-i¹[m]é-e-da-an-zi
- 3' ^rna-an¹-Őa-an iŐ-ta-na-ni x[]-]ya-an-zi
-
- 4' EGIR-an-da-ma ú-iz-zi ^{LÚ}AZU x[] VII PÚ^{HLA}
- 5' őe-he-el-li A^{HLA}-ar ŐA ^{URU}L[a-wa-za-a]n-ti-ya da-a-i
- 6' nu őe-he-el-li-ya-aŐ ú-i-te-na-aŐ [k]i-i da-a-i I GİN KÙ.BABBAR
- 7' I GADA IGI^{HLA}-aŐ I ^{SIG}ki-iŐ-ri-iŐ-x tar-pa-li-iŐ ^{SIG}ZA.GİN
- 8' I tar-pa-li-iŐ SÍG SA₅ I ^{DUGr}ha¹-ak-ku-un-na-a-uŐ İ.DÙG.GA
- 9' III NINDA.SIG^{MEŐ} ŐA ZÌ.DA ZÍZ.A I KU-KU-UB GEŐTIN-ya nu
A-NA VII PÚ^{HLA} ői-pa-an-ti
-
- 10' ma-ah-ha-an-ma-aŐ őe-he-el-li-ya-aŐ ú-te-ni-it
- 11' EGIR-pa ú-iz-zi nu I MUŐEN.GAL I ^{NINDA}mu-la-a-ti-in

Kizzuwatna kralı Piliya'nın ritüel etkinliĐi çerçevesinde, Kalzadaba daĐı gibi daĐ grupları ile Lawazandiya'daki temiz su kaynaklarından (ŐhellियाŐ widar) söz edilmiŐtir.⁹⁰

88 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. Siegelová 1986: 264, 265.

89 KBo 9.119 A I 9'-16'. satırlar, ABoT 2.93 1'-9'.satırlar ve KBo 61.75 (Bo 69/630) Öy.⁷ saĐ sütun 4'-10'. satırlar arasına duplikattır; krŐ. AkdoĐan 2010: 93 vd. ve kopya için bkz. ABoT 2.93.

90 KrŐ. Forlanini 2013: 8 d.not 28 ile.

22) KBo 14.125+126+40.26 (CTH 475.Tf01.D, Pillija ritüeli)

Öy. I

1 [mPal-li-ya-aš LUGAL U]RU Ki-iz-zu-wa-a[t-na ku-wa-pi DU URU Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na]

2 [ša-ra-a ti-it-ta]-nu-ut na-an ki-i[š-ša-an ma-al-ta]

3 [IŠ-TU VI]I PÚ^{JMES} še-he-el-li-ya [ú-i-da-a-ar]

4 [ŠA URU]La-wa-az-za-an-ti-ya [da-a-aš]

5 [nu še-he-e]l-li-ya-aš ú-^ri[-te-e-na-aš da-a-i]

6 [I GÍN K]Û.BABBAR I GADA.IGI^{HL.A}-a[š I SÍG^Gki-iš-ki-iš]

7 [I tar-p]a-la-aš SÍG.x [

23) KBo 6.29+50.56+ KUB 23.127+21.12⁹¹ (CTH 85.1.A, III. Muršili (Urhi-Tešub) ve III. Hattušili arasındaki ihtilaf)

I

10 IŠ-TU DINGIR^{LIM}-mu

11 pa-ra-a- pa-ra-a SIG₅-iš-kat-ta-ri nu-mu DİŠ^{TAR} URU Ša-mu-ha

12 GAŠAN-YA GIŠ^{TUKUL} pé-eš-ta ŠA A-B[I-Y]A-ya-mu

13 Û ŠA ŠEŠ-YA ka-ne-eš-šu-u-wa-ar pé-eš-ta

14 am-mu-uk-ma-kán DINGIR^{LUM} GAM-an pít-ta-iš-ki-u-wa-an te-eh-hu-un

15 nu-mu É -ir ku-it e-eš-ta nu-kán IŠ-TU É-YA

16 DİŠ^{TAR} URU Ša-mu-ha ha-an-ti-ya-nu-un ^fPu-du-hé-pa-aš-ma

17 ŠA DİŠ^{TAR} URU La-wa-za-an-ti-ya GEME-aš DUMU.MUNUS ^mPé-en-ti-ip-LUGAL

18 LÚ SANGA DİŠ^{TAR} e-eš-ta nu-za a-pu-u-un-na

19 AŠ-ŠUM DAM^{UT-TIM} mar-ri Ú-UL da-ah-hu-un

20 IŠ-TU KA DINGIR^{LIM}-za-an da-ah-hu-un DINGIR^{LIM}-an-mu Û-it

21 hi-en-ik-ta

91 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için kz. Götze 1925: 46, 47.

III. HattuŐili ile Puduhepa’nın evlenmesinin yer aldđđı yukarıdaki metinde, HattuŐili’nin yeđeni Urhi-TeŐupla olan m¼cadelesini konu alır. Kral, Lawazantiya IŐtar’ının hizmetkârı ve IŐtar rahibi PentipŐarri’nin kızı Puduhepayla tanrının emriyle evlendiđini anlatmaktadır.⁹²

24) KBo 3.1⁹³ (CTH 19.II.A, Telipinu fermanı)

II

- 20 *ma-a-na-pa* LUGAL-uŐ URU^U*La-wa-az-za-an-ti-ya ú-wa-nu-un*
^m*La-ah-ha-a[Ő-mu’ ku-u-ru-ur’]*
- 21 *e-eŐ-ta nu* URU^U*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya-an wa-ag-ga-ri-ya-at na-an[*
 DINGIR^{MEŐ}Ő]
- 22 *ki-iŐŐa-ri-mi da-a-ir ha-an-te-ez-zi-ya-aŐŐa* UGULA LÚ^{MEŐ}Ő *LI-IM*
^{mD}[U-]
- 23 ^m*Kar-ru-wa-aŐ* UGULA LÚ^{MEŐ}ŐŐÀ.TAM ^m*I-na-ra-aŐ* UGULA
 LÚ^{MEŐ}ŐSAGI.A ^m*Ki-il-l[a-aŐ* UGULA LÚ^{MEŐ}ŐX]
- 24 ^{mD}U-*mi-im-ma-aŐ* UGULA LÚ^{MEŐ}ŐGIŐPA ^m*Zi-in-waŐe-li-iŐ* Ú^m*Le-el-li[-iŐ]*
- 25 *me-eg-ga-e-eŐ nu* ^m*Ta-nu-u-i* LÚ^{GIŐ}PA *du-ud-du-mi-li pí-i-e-e[r]*

25) KUB 11.1+KBo 19.96 (CTH 19.II.B, Telipinu fermanı)

Öy. II

- 27* *nu* U^{[RU}*Zi-iz-zi-li-ip-pí hu-ul-la-an-za-iŐ kiŐa-at*
- 28* *ma-a-m[a-pa* LUGAL-uŐ URU^U*La-wa-za-an-ti-ya ú-wa-nu-un]*
- 29* ^m*La-ah-[ha-aŐ-mu ku-u-ru-ur e-eŐ-ta?]*
- 30* *nu* URU^U*L[a-wa-za-an-ti-ya-an wa-ag-ga-ri-ya-at*

Ay. III

92 KrŐ. Yiđit 1997: 6, 7.

93 Transkripsiyon ve terc¼me çin bkz. Hoffmann 1984: 28-29; ayrıca bkz. Kempinski-KoŐak 1982: 103.

- x+1 [UR]UKu-wa-an-na-a[š
 2' URULa-hu-u-ra-ma-aš URUHa-x[
 3' URUHa-ra-ha-ra-aš URUMa-al-l[i-ta-aš-ku-ri-ya-aš URUHar-šu-wa-aš]
 4' URUTi-pa-a-la-aš URUKu-úr-š[a- URUŠu-wa-an-zu-wa-an-na-aš]

26) KBo 50.158⁹⁴ (CTH 213, Antlaşmalardaki şahit tanrılar ve talimatlar)

- x+1 []x[-]m[u(-)
 2' [DİŞTAR] URUrŠa¹-mu-hi D[
 3' [DİŞTAR] URULa-u-wa-za-a[n-ti-ya
 4' [DİŞTAR] URUNe-nu-w[a
 5' [-]x D[LAMMA x[
 6' [UR]UKa-r[u-⁹⁵
 7' []x rD¹[

27) KBo 3.6⁹⁶ (CTH 81.B, III. Hattuşili'nin apolojisi veya otobiyografisi)

Öy. II

- 58 GIM-an-ma IŠ-TU KUR URUMi-iz-ri EGIR-pa i-ya[-ah-ha-ha-at nu
 I-NA URULa-wa-za]- an-ti-ya
 59 A-NA DINGIR^{LIM} ši-pa-an-tu-u-wa-an-zi i-ya-ah-h[a-ha-at nu-za
 DINGIR^{LUM} i-ya-nu-un]
 60 [nu]-za DUMU.MUNUS^m Pé-en-ti-ip-šar-ri^{LÚ}[SANGA^f Pu-du-hé-pa-an
 IŠ-TU INIM DINGIR^{LIM}]
 61 [DAM-a]n-ni da-ah-hu-un nu ha-an[-da-u-en mu-un-na-aš
 DINGIR^{LUM} ŠA MU-TI₄ DAM]

94 Transkripsiyon için bkz. Groddek 2008: 114.

95 Groddek bu kısmı,]x(-)ka-r[u- şeklinde transkripsiyon yapmıştır. Ankara'da müzede orijinal tablet üzerinde yaptığımız karşılaştırmada işaretin “-ru” olduğu tespit edilmiştir. KBo 50, s. XXIV'de bu kısım yer isimleri başlığında, “Ka-x[” şeklinde transkripsiyon yapılmıştır.

96 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. Götze 1925: 22, 23 ve Otten 1981: 16, 17.

62 [a-aš-ši-ya-tar] pé-eš-ta mu-u[n-na-aš DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} DUMU.
MUNUS^{MEŠ} i-ya]-u-en nam-[ma-mu DINGIR^{LUM} GAŞAN-YA]

28) KUB 42.41⁹⁷ (CTH 250, Envanter fragmanı)

Öy.

x+1	U ^U RU Kum-man-ni A-NA GIŞx[
2'	]Éši-nap-ši-ya-aš SAG.DU-za[
3'	]x I ^{UZU} UBUR KÙ.BABBAR gi-nu-wa KÙ.BA[BBAR
4'	]ŠA É.DINGIR ^{LIM} GAL [
5'	URUKu]m-man-ni
6'	URULa-w]a-za-an-ti-ya KAM-KAM-MA-TUM x[
7'	]x KÙ. BABBAR GAR.RA x[

Her paragraf, Kizzuwatna'daki binalar ve şehirlere ait nesnelere ait nesnelere listesine ayrılmış görünüyor. 2'-3'. satırlar, tanrıça'nın (İstar?) bir heykelini betimliyor: “Onun göğsü gümüştedir, onun dizi gümüştedir.” 4'. satırda da büyük tapınaktan bahsedilmektedir.⁹⁸

29) Üzerinde bir Tabarna-mührü bulunan LSU 6 = LhK 10 no'lu bir Hitit arazi bağış listesi, Zaruna ile Lawazandiya kentleri arasında çok yakın bir mesafe bulunduğunu destekler mahiyette bilgilerle karşılaşılmıştır.⁹⁹ (CTH 222, Bilinmeyen kralın (tabarna) arazi bağış belgesi)

ü.k.

2	[	]x ^{rHLA100} ša-am ¹ -x ^{[101}
3	[	]r ^{ù¹} E ^{URU} Za-ru-r ^{un¹} -t[i] ¹⁰²

97 Transkripsiyon için bkz. Koşak 1982: 180.

98 Krş. Koşak 1982: 180.

99 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. Rüster-Wilhelm 2012: 116-117. Fotoğraf ve kopyası için bkz. Güterbock 1940: 79. Envanter numarası: 165/hA + 165/hB (CTH 222.4). Metin hakkında çalışma için bkz. Riemschneider 1958: 364-367; Rüster-Wilhelm 2012, 116-117.

100 Forlanini 2013: 10'da, bu kısmı PA^{HLA} şeklinde okumuştur.

101 Forlanini 2013: 10'da burayı ŠA(-)AM-[N[E... olarak kaydetmiştir.

102 Ankara'da müzede Ağustos 2014'de tablet üzerinde yapılan karşılaştırmada, şehir isminin “^{URU}Za-ru-r^{un¹} -t[i]” şeklinde olduğu tespit edildi. Forlanini 2013: 10'da burayı ^{URU}Za-ru-[un²-ti² olarak okumuştur.

Öy.

- 4 [^{URU}*Lu-hu-u*]z-za-an-di-ya¹⁰³ [
 5 [*x-na-a*¹⁰⁴ ^{NA4}*hu-wa-ši-ya-a*]z
 6 [*-ri-ya* I SIG₇ GÍD.D[A
 7 [*-m*]u-wa-az¹⁰⁵ *a-di* ^{HUR.SAG}A-a-r[i-
 8 [*hu-la-l*]e-eš-šar-še-ta II SIG₇ V l[i-¹⁰⁶

Gerçekte 3-4 no.lu satırları şu şekilde yorumlamak gerekir: “Luhuzzandiya kentinde Zarunti kasabasındaki ev”; metnin ilgili kısmı LSU3:31’deki “Šarriša’daki Hattuša evi” ifadesini akla getirmektedir. Bu durumda Zaruna ile Lawazandiya arasında özel bir ilişki olduğunu varsaymak hiç de yanlış olmayacaktır.¹⁰⁷

30) KUB 16.8(+)¹⁰⁸KUB 52.79¹⁰⁸ (CTH 577, Birleştirilmiş Orakel, I. SU, KIN ve MUŞEN)

Ay.

- 1 ^U₁^{TUM}MUNUS.LUGAL *a-pa-a-at-wa-za-kán ku-it* DAM-KA tu-x [
 2] *x-ta* ^{Dr}IŠTAR¹ ^{URU}*La-wa-za-^ran¹-ti-ya* TUKU.TUKU-an-z[a
 3 x x ^rTE/SU^{MEŠ}₁ NU.SIG₅-*du ir-li*₁₂ ZAG-za NU.SIG₅[
 4 IŠ-^rTU₁ ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI IR ^{TUM}*QA-TAM-MA-pát nu* KIN NU.SIG₅-*du*
 SIG₅ ^rME¹-a[š nu SIG₅]

103 Forlanini 2013: 10’da burayı [*I-NA* ^{URU}*Lu-hu-uz-*]z-za-an-di-ya olarak tamamlamıştır.

104 Forlanini 2013: 10, d.not 40’da şu açıklamalar yer almaktadır: “Satır 5’deki]*x-na-a*’nın bir yer isminin son bölümü olması mümkündür; söz konusu x’in A, ZA, YA, UN gibi bir işaretin bir parçası olabileceğini düşünüyoruz. Kizzuwatna menşeli *hišuwu*-festivalindeki bir listede karşılaştığımız birkaç yer isminin benzer bir son ekle (*-un*, *-unni*, *-unna*) bittiği gözlemlendiğinden, ...*u*]na ile biten bir yer ismini tercih etmek imkanı da bulunmaktadır: Kurkuttunni, Zubaniun, Teririun dağları ile Alwarunna, Pinasarunna, Zarzarunna, Ziyalunna ırmakları (*hišuwu*-festivalindeki dağ listesi, 10. tablet, A 1 11-51, bkz. Groddek 2010, 361 vd.).”

105 Forlanini 2013: 116 d.not 41’de şu açıklamaları yapmıştır: “Metnin 7. satırını şu şekilde okumayı tercih ettik: “[...]*x-wa*’dan Ari[...] dağına”. İlk yer isminin kırık olan işareti PU olarak yorumlanmış olmasına karşın (Riemschneider’e göre), varsayılan yatay kenar gerçekte tablet üzerindeki bir çatlaksa, bu durumda metnin ilgili kısmını]ŠE, MJU veya Z]I şeklinde okumak mümkündür.”

106 Forlanini 2013: 10’da bu kısmı L[*I-IM?*] olarak tamamlamıştır.

107 Forlanini 2013: 10.

108 Transkripsiyon ve tercüme için bkz. Mouton 2007: 233, 234.

- 5 *ma-a-an a-Ői* Ū^{TUM} A-NA MUNUS.LUGAL^{PIŐSTAR} URU^{URU}La-wa-za-an-ti-y[a pa-ra-a IS-BAT’]
- 6 *nu IGI-zi SU SIG₅-ru EGIR-ma NU.SIG₅-du IGI-zi SU ni Ői ta KASKAL [...SIG₅]*
- 7 EGIR TE^{MEŐ} ZÉ *hi-li-ip-Ői-ma-an [...SIG₅]*

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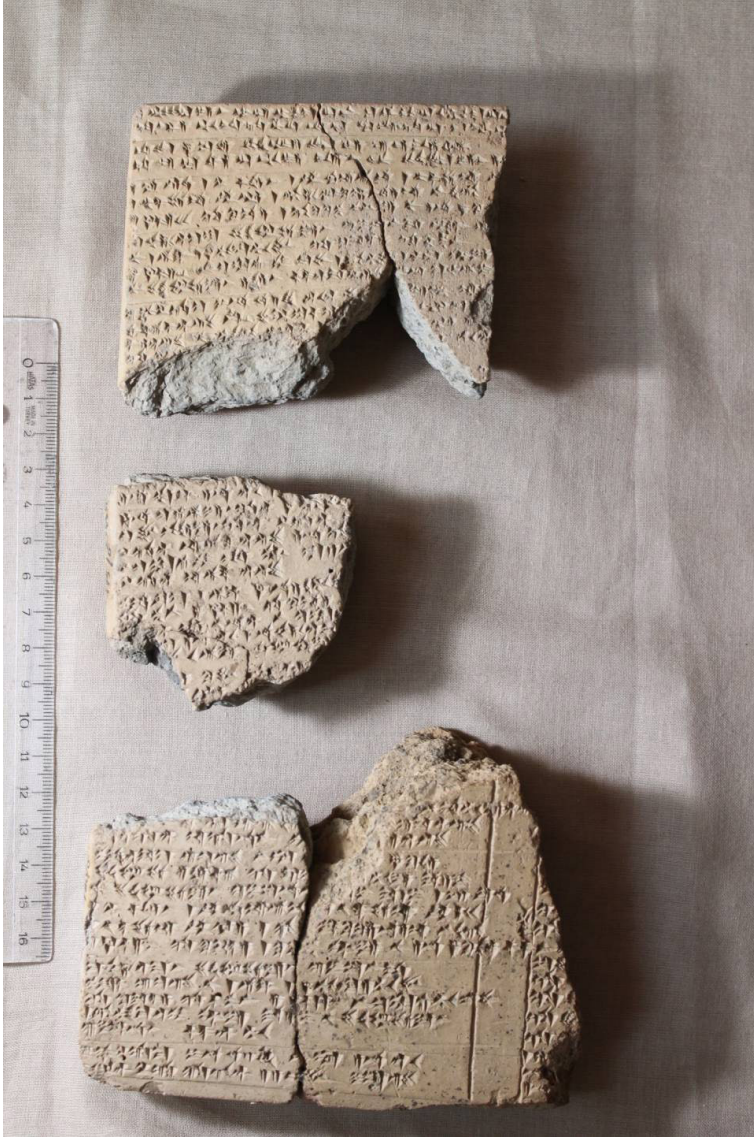
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*Lawazantiya'nın belgelendiđi tablet, KUB 60.118+KUB 56.25
(Bo 1966+Bo 5142), Ay.*



*Lawazantiya'nın belgelendiđi tablet, KBo 9.119+KBo 9.115
(23/o+179/o+180/o+116/c), 17. Y.*



Lawazantiya'nın belgelendiği tablet, KBo 17.103+KUB 46.48+46.49+54.36 (Bo 620+456/e+Bo 661(+))Bo 1237, Öy.

HOW A GOD OF NATURE BECAME A TUTELARY GOD OF THE KING

Alfonso ARCHI*

1. The lists of the gods invoked in the political treaties as guarantors of the sworn agreements has, in third place after the Sun-goddess of Arinna and several epiclesis of the Storm-god, a group of male deities denoted by the Sumerogram KAL: ^dKAL of ^{URU}Hatti, ^dKAL of Karahna, Zithariya, Karzi, Hapantali(ya), KAL of the hunting bag (^{KUŠ} *kuršaš*), ^dKAL LÍL “of the countryside”. Since the sign KAL, if preceded by the divine determinative, has to be read ^dLAMMA/ *Lamassu* according to the Sumerian and Akkadian tradition, many scholars transliterated the name ^dLAMMA. This became general use for Hittitologists after that Erich Neu normalized and updated (1989) the transcriptions of the Sumerian logograms according to the *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste* (1981) by Rykle Borger.

This reading raises, however, a problem of identity, because LAMMA was a female tutelary deity: not a male god! The most usual picture in the seals of the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods is that of the owner of the seal portrayed as being introduced to a major god by the goddess Lamassu, dressed in a *kaunakes* which covers her from her shoulders to her feet. The Hittite ^dKAL had several clear attributes of a tutelary deity, but he was undoubtedly a male deity. Now, it is true that sexual identity might have been questioned in Anatolia in later periods: in Phrygia the priests of Cybele, the famous Galli, renounced their masculinity in total obedience to their goddess Cybele. For earlier periods, Ištar/Šauška could provoke men to behave as women, and women as men; her cult did not foresee, however, a factual change of sex.

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When the Egyptian scribes had to transfer the Hittite god-list of the treaty between Hattusili III and Ramses II into hieroglyphics (a list which they had received from the Hittites written in Akkadian), they consequently translated ^dLAMMA with “goddess” *ntrt*, while Zithariya and Karzi (who belonged to the group of the KAL-gods) were denoted as *ntr* “god”, because their name was not preceded by the logogram ^dLAMMA/KAL: ^dLAMMA KUR *Hatti* = *ntrt n p3-t3 n Ht*; ^dZithariya = *ntr n Dithrriy*; ^dKarzi(š) = *ntr n Karzis*; *Hapantaliya(š)* = *ntr n Hapntlys*; ^dLAMMA ^{URU}*Karahna* = *ntrt n dmj Krhn* (Edel 1997: 70-71, 99-100). The Egyptian scribes (or their consultants) had received, in fact, their proficiency in Asian cultures by studying the Akkadian lexical lists.

The Hittite scribes also had to study the Akkadian lexical lists. Those who worked on the Erimhuš list, which collects Sumerian-Akkadian entries by semantic associations, provided it with Hittite equivalences. Because ^dKAL had two Akkadian equivalences, that is the genii *Lamassu* (female) and *Šēdu* (male), the obscure Hittite couple *annariš tarpiš* was chosen for them (with the variant in a manuscript: ^dLAMA/KAL-*aš*; *MSL* 17: 116; cfr. Veldhuis 2014: 274-275):

(Sumerian)	(gloss)	(Akkadian)	(Hittite)
[^d ála]d	a-la	<i>ši-e-du / še-du</i>	<i>tar-pí-iš</i>
[^d lamm]a	la-am-ma	<i>la-ma-sú</i>	<i>a-an-na-ri-iš</i> / ^d LAMMA/KAL- <i>aš</i>

The protective spirits *šēdu* (masculine) and *lamassu* (feminine), representing a person’s good luck and vital force, played a major role in Mesopotamian religion. The Hittite translators could find for them only a flat, rarely attested rendering, which has nothing to do with the gods of the lists in the treaties¹; moreover, *tarpis*, if alone, has a negative meaning.² *Annari-* “is the Luwoid equivalent of Hittite **innar(a)-* ‘strength, force, vigor’, with typical *a : i* alternation” (Puhvel 1984: 62). The result is a paradoxical gender inversion:

1 See, e.g., KUB 2.1, a long list of tutelary deities of the king (the *labarna*) III 1-2: *ŠA Labarnaš [annara]š tarpas* ^dKAL[-i] “to the Tutelary deity of the *annari- tarpis*- spirit of the *Labarna*” (McMahon 1991: 106-107, with note 112).

2 Similarly, according to Löhnert - Zgoll 2009/2011: 312, “^dlamma wirkt prinzipiell positiv, während ^dalad/^dudug / *šēdu* ambivalent erscheinen.”

In(n)ara-, a male deity, was the Hittite reading of ^dKAL, while Ala was his female counterpart!

The fathers of Hittitology were perfectly aware that the nature of Mesopotamian LAMMA was very different from the Hittite KAL-gods, and Albrecht Goetze warned against considering all them simply as tutelary gods.³ Annelies Kammenhuber and Hans Martin Kümmel have pronounced on the subject in the same vein. Only David Hawkins (and the present writer), however, refuse to transcribe this name as ^dLAMMA.

It was Emmanuel Laroche, who, many years ago, with his usual insight, firmly established some clear points on this subject. On the one hand, the transcription ^dKAL is consistent with the adjective KAL, Akk. *danānu*, *dannu* “strong”. It is on the basis of the meaning “strong” that the equivalences ^dKAL = ^dIn(n)ara-, ^dKAL *innarawuantes* = Luw. *Annarumenzi* (cf. *annari-*), have been established. There is a play of words between Hattic *inar(a-)* and Hittite *innarawant-* (Volksetymologie; see below).⁴ On the other hand, the Hittite gods defined as ^dKAL (+ a geographical name or simply a name) have a meaning, a function, which goes far beyond that of the Mesopotamian LAMMA/Lamassu. If we transfer the idea of Akk. Lamassu to the Hittite KAL-gods, we are eliminating any chance of understanding the nature of this group of deities.

2. Cun. ^dKAL = hier. (DEUS)CERVUS (represented by a stag or its antler) has the Luwian reading *Kurunta/Kurunti(ya)*; later: *Runtiya*. Some seals of the late 13th century may have the PN CERVUS-*ra/i*, whose reading is therefore Hittite *Innara* (CERVUS-*ra/i-wà/i* = *Innarawa*) as in cuneiform ^dKAL-*ri*. D. Hawkins (2006: 51) has remarked: “The evidence suggests that at least by the time of Tuthaliya IV, the readings *Innara* and *Kurunti(ya)* for ^dKAL // (DEUS)CERVUS were interchangeable and no longer regarded as separate deities”.

3 Goetze (1964: 91) writes: “In my opinion the equation ^dKAL = ^dInar(a) has been by now talked about enough. ... What I dislike in these discussions is the persisting notion that ^dKAL is a ‘protectice’ or ‘tutelary’ deity. Is this not rather the consequence of the habit of translitering ^dLAMA, clearly due to an interpretation which may be true in some cases, but certainly is invalid in others.”

4 Cfr. also Kammenhuber 1976; Klinger 1996, 161.

The male partner of the great goddess of Karkamish: Kubaba, was Karḫuḫa, whose name is written in cuneiform ^dKAL (e.g. in the Deeds of Suppiluliuma⁵). This logogram therefore classifies the main male deity of Karkamish as a Stag-god, suggesting that Karḫuḫa was a god of wild animals and hunting. According to Heiner Eichner (personal communication), Karḫuḫa could mean “horn; antler”, IE **krh₂-uh₂-* (cfr. Hitt. *karāwar* “horn”; javest. *srû-*, *sruuâ-*). The attested writings are:

- a) Ankara silver bowl: a personal name, Maza-Karhuha, whose second element is written (DEUS)CERVUS₂ (=ANTLER)-*hu-ha*
- b) Karkamish A11b: (DEUS)CERVUS₂+*ra/i-hu-ha-ia*
- c) Malatya 13: (DEUS.CERVUS)*kar-hu-ha-sa*

Eichner’s interesting interpretation presents, however, a problem: one has to explain how such a name (which looks, as a matter of fact, Anatolian) reached Karkamish, a city Semiticized from the 3rd millennium B.C., and under Hurrian influence at least from the 17th century B.C.

3. The iconography of the Stag-god is one of the most frequently represented. The most complex representation is that of the Schimmel silver rhyton: the god is depicted standing on a stag, receiving a libation; in his right hand he holds a crook, in his left hand an eagle, that is a bird of prey, as is explained by the idol of ^dKAL of Wiyanawanda. KUB 38.1 II 1-6: “Town of Wiyanawanda. KAL of the open country: [the image is] a gold statue(tte) of a man, standing, *helmeted*; in his right hand he holds a gold bow and in his left [hand] a gold eagle and a gold hare; a dagger of gold (decorated) with fruit; he stays on a gold stag on its four (legs as) socle; silver [...]” (von Brandenstein 1943: 14-15). The god is denoted here by his bird of prey and the animal hunted by it: a hare, as well as in the Yeniköy stele (probably from Alaca Höyük). The stag and bow belong to the iconography of this god, e.g. in the Altınyayla stele, where the god holds in his left hand an antler (Müller-Karpe 2003). The hare belongs to this god in the Late Hittite relief

5 KBo 5.6 III 33-35 (// KBo 14.12(+) III 5-7: [*nu*] *šarāzzi gurti ŠA* ^d[*Ku-ba-ba* *Û ŠA* ^dKAL *ma[nminkūan]* *ÛL kuinki tarnaš*. “since my father feared the gods, on the upper citadel he let no one ap[proach] the deities Kubaba and KAL”, Güterbock 1956: 95; Del Monte 2008: 89, 93.

of Hacı Bebekli.

In the Shimmel rhyton, the necessity of representing In(n)ara / Kurunti(ya) on his animal had the result (unusual for our idea on perspective) that the female figure sitting behind him is represented in far larger proportion. The legenda of this goddess is: á-x (that is: Ala) DEUS_x-FILIA (Hawkins 2006: 52). Ala was, therefore, not the spouse of In(n)ara / Kurunti(ya) (as was previously thought), but his daughter. Behind the two deities there are two spears and a quiver with arrows: the weapons used for hunting, and the hunting bag. The victim, a stag, lies below a tree. Between the stag representing the god and the slain stag there is no contradiction. Hunting is allowed, if some particular procedures are followed. The story of the hunter Appu is just one example of what hunting may demand in a traditional society: the violence which provoked a death always had to be restored through a ritual action ensuring substitution (Burkert 1983).

4. Because KAL was considered just a Tutelary god, former Hittitologists explained his most usual cult attribute, the ^{KUŠ}kurša-, as a “shield”. The gods Zithariya and KAL (that is In(n)ara) of Hatenzuwa (a town not far from Nerik), were worshiped in the form of a ^{KUŠ}kurša in their particular “Temple of the ^{KUŠ}kuršaš”. A well known text published by Otten (1959) concerning the renewal rite of those images prescribed that the old ^{KUŠ}kursa were brought to a temple outside the capital: “[When] they renew the [two] ^{KUŠ}kursa [of] Zithariya and KAL of Hatenzuwa, whether in the ninth year, or whenever they renew them, the time is not prescribed. When they bring the two new ^{KUŠ}kursa of Zithariya and KAL of Hatenzuwa (to Ḫattuša), they take them into the ‘Temple of the ^{KUŠ}kursa’. The place is prescribed: just below the place of the god(-image) the pegs are driven in: they hang them (the ^{KUŠ}kursa) there” (KUB 55.43 I 1-10).

An oracle inquiry concerning the return of the king from a military campaign and putting Zithariya back into his temple (this inquiry undoubtedly refers to the second day of the *nuntarriyashas* Festival, therefore in Autumn), shows that ^dKAL/In(n)ara (certainly in form of a ^{KUŠ}kurša) accompanied the king

on his military campaigns: “When His Majesty (re)turns from the (military) campaign and when they release Zithariya to his temple, with respect to the festival which (on that occasion) will be performed for him, 10 bucks (etc.) are immolated”. (ABoT 14+ V 12’-16’; Howink ten Cate 1988: 180-181).

A shield could indeed have been a suitable representation of a tutelary god accompanying the king in war. Hans G. Güterbock, however, has shown that the ^{KUŠ}*kurša* was a hunting bag. This fact compels us to correct our interpretation of the sphere of influence of this god.

The ^{KUŠ}*kurša* bag used in hunting, made by fleece, symbolized prosperity in the Telepinu Myth (of Hattian origin): it was full of “sheep fat, animal fecundity, wine, cattle and sheep, longevity and progeny”.

This symbolism, together with the idea of some kind of protection in war, goes back to the Hattian culture: Hattian gods, such as Kappariyamu and Kantipuiti, were also represented by a ^{KUŠ}*kurša* (Popko 1978: 112; Haas 1994: 450).

How may the two aspects - hunting and war - be reconciled? The noble art of hunting was an activity characterizing kingship. Hawkins (2006) has devoted an article to this, and some of the Alaca reliefs concern the hunting of a lion, a boar and a stag.⁶ Hunting needed strength and courage; moreover, it brought the hunter into direct contact with the mystery of uncontaminated Nature. For this reason kings (e.g., Tuḫaliya IV(?) in Kammer 2 of the Südburg) and princes may have been portrayed with bow and spear.

It is hardly necessary to stress the role of hunting in a Neolithic society: Çatal Hüyük provides impressive images. The bull played a fundamental role in the ideology of the Neolithic period: its brute force, and the dangers involved in hunting it, made of the bull the symbol of the violent force of Nature. This animal, the largest of the period, was represented in the collective imagination by its horns; bucrania were collected in depositories or hung on the walls of houses. Domestication provoked a transformation

6 The Kınık - Kastamonu bowl represents hunting scenes with deer, ibexes, and boars (Emre- Çınaroğlu 1993: 684-703).

in its cognitive image, accomplishing the anthropomorfication of the god symbolising violence, and the bull was associated with a god in human shape, in a more domestic role. The bull as the primordial image of the Storm-god, embodied the essence of this deity.

Female deities are also often placed in relation with the world of the wilderness. The famous so-called “mother-goddess” of Çatal Hüyük, a steatopygous woman in the process of giving birth, is seated on a throne flanked by two leopards. This is undoubtedly a Mother-goddess, but not the image of the archetypal Mediterranean Great Mother, as she was expounded by Johann J. Bachofen (1861). The relationship Nature-mother-fecundity, so widespread in ancient cultures, is a “primordial image” of the psyche, which in Anatolia never found its realization in a *single* Great Mother, but in different forms according to different religious experiences.

At an archaic period, that of the Hattian culture (about 22nd century B.C.), among the extraordinary finds from the royal tombs of Alaca Höyük, there are disks or standards in round form which symbolize the Sun: in this particular case the Sun-goddes of Arinna (Alaca Höyük was Arinna); bulls representing the Storm-god and stags representing the wilderness. The religious experience of this society was therefore, realised in the light of the sun: the prerequisite of life; in natural phenomena: the Storm-god, and in Nature, where human beings lived.

There are also other aspects which completed such experiences. The nude female figurine in silver and gold from Hasanoğlu, and the ivory one from Kültepe (first centuries of the 2nd millennium), present distinctive features related to fecundity, very different from the Çatal Höyük figurines.

The life of uncontaminated Nature means its wild animals. They are called “the animals of the gods” in the KILAM festival, of Hattian origin, whose manuscripts are in part in Old Script (Singer 1983, 1984). A central event of this festival was a procession of images of wild animals: a silver panther, a golden lion, a silver boar, a lapis lazuli boar, a silver bear. Stags followed in a separate group, and their description gave prominence to the antlers.

This fragmentary passage lists: a golden stag, a silver stag with antlers, a silver stag with antlers in gold, a silver deer without antlers. These must have been large images, because they were “pulled, dragged” by several men. The king and queen sit first outside the gate of the palace to view the procession of these “animals of the gods”: “At the gate-house of the gods, the priest of ^dKAL (Inar) keeps the head (of the procession), (i.e.) ‘the holy priest’ of ^dKAL (Inar)”. This procession was followed by a group of hunters, what means that animals, although sacred, could be hunted under particular conditions. The royal couple then rides in chariots to the gate of the temple of the Grain-goddess Ḫalki. The following station of the royal procession was the gate of the goddess of Growth: Miyatanzipa.

The KILAM festival introduces, therefore, first the animals representing uncontaminated Nature; then the procession moves towards two deities who, embodying agricultural production, represent Nature tamed by man.

The late manuscripts of this festival have the logogram ^dKAL; the older manuscripts of this festival use instead the phonetic writing: ^D*I-na-ar*, which most probably refers to the goddess Inar, whose cult in Hattusa is well attested by manuscripts in Old Ductus.⁷ According to the Illuyanka myth, of Hittian origin, Inar was the goddess of the countryside, of the wilderness (*gimra-*, LÍL), the realm opposed to the areas which hosted the human beings. A female deity of the wild animals is quite widespread: in the Greek religion it was Artemis who ruled over hunting. Agamemnon, having killed a deer of her herd and boasted that he was a better hunter than her, was not allowed to sail with the Mycenaen fleet from Aulis against Ilios (the land of Wilusa) until he assented to sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia, who was, however, transformed into a deer at the very last moment by the compassionate Artemis.

The different manuscripts of the KILAM festival clearly attest to the transmission of some functions and attributes of the Hittian goddess *I-na-ar* (*Inara-* with the Hittite thematic vowel)⁸ to the Hittite In(n)ara, Luwian Kurunta, or, more probably, a correspondence of functions between

7 See the ritual for the royal couple, KBo 17.3+4(+), CTH 416.B, in the passages listed by Neu 1983: 342.

8 On the possible assimilation of the goddess Inar(a) with Tetešhapi, see Pecchioli Daddi 2011/2013: 614, with bibliography.

the two deities. The diffusion of the Hunting god holding an eagle or hare in the seals of the *karum* Kanesh (Özgüç 1965: 66-67 and pl. XXI, 64; XXII, 65; XXIII 69) reveals the presence of the cult of this male god outside the Hattian milieu, in the kingdom of Kaneš where Hittite culture had already spread.

The Hittite pantheon included Hattian deities according the following typologies:

- a) the coexistence of deities with the same functions: the Hattian Fate-goddesses Papaya and Išduštaya coexisted with the Hittite Gulšeš, having two different domains. The first two were relegated to the cult of kingship, at Ḫattuša; the sphere of the second ones concerned all the people, and they appear frequently in rituals (Archi 213);
- b) the total assimilation of a Hittite deity into a Hattian one: the god of Light was assimilated into the Hattian Sun-goddess: *Eštan/Istanu-*;
- c) the correspondence of functions: the Hattian Storm-god *Taru* and the Hittite *Tarhunt-* held the same place in the Hattian-Hittite cultic celebrations. The same is the case of the Hattian goddess Kataḫzipuri and the Hittite Kamrušepa (Haas 1994: 438-441; Klinger 1996: 155-159).
- d) the attribution of similar functions to deities of different sex: the domains of the Hattian goddess Inar and that of the Hittite god denominated with the epithet *Innara(want)-* “the strong / powerful one”, were, in both cases, uncontaminated Nature. The assonance of the two names facilitated this process.

That In(n)ara, a male god, was a Hittite deity, not received by the Hattian tradition, is proven by the fact that he had his equivalent in the Luwian Kurunta: a god with the same functions and symbols.

5. The AN.TAḪ.ŠUM or Spring-festival (and its parallel: the *nuntarriyašhaš* or Autumn-festival) received its complex structure at least at the time of Suppiluliuma I (the outline of the festival was commented by Güterbock,

1960). It included many rites and single festivals which had their origin in the Hattian period (e.g., the rite of the *harsiyalli*, the pithos, filled in Autumn and opened in Spring). The KILAM festival, which is the festival documented by the largest number of manuscripts, had to be celebrated probably in the 25th and 27th days of the *nuntarriyashas-*, according to a suggestion by Howink ten Cate (1988: 193-194), supported by Nakamura (2002: 80-81, 125-130). The procession of the “animals of the gods”, introduced by the “holy priest of Inara”, and closed by hunters, therefore fell in Autumn having, as did all the festival rites, a cyclical nature.

The AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival prescribed that the king and queen had to enter Ḫattuša so as to take possession of the capital of the kingdom in inaugurating a new yearly cycle. Therefore, “if the king spends the winter up in Ḫattuša, then ... the king and queen go from Ḫattuša to Taḫurpa”, where the “great assembly”, *šalli ašeššar*, takes place (1st day). Moving from Taḫurpa, the next day the king reaches Tippuwa, which was in sight of Ḫattuša, towards which the king bows. In Ḫattuša, he reaches the stele of the Sun-goddess of Arinna. Parallel to the king and queen, the hunting bag (^{KUŠ}*kurša*) of Zithariya (the image which accompanies the king in war) comes from Arinna in three days, and having reached Ḫattuša, is placed in the temple of the Sun-goddess. Also in the *nuntarriyašhaš* festival, the royal couple and Zithariya (one of the KAL gods) had to enter Ḫattuša coming from outside.

During the year, Zithariya’s hunting bag was kept apparently in the temple of this god in Ḫattuša. Both the royal couple and the god Zithariya, who represented therefore an important aspect of kingship, had to inaugurate the new cycle of the year.

How can we explain this peculiar parallelism between king and tutelary god of Nature, whose function finds its expression in the image of a stag (an animal which inspires fascination), and also in a hunting bag, which symbolize the violation of Nature by killing its inhabitants (as is depicted on the Schimmel rython)?

For the Hittites, the opposition human society - untouched Nature did not mean culture versus wilderness since Nature was inhabited by the Divine, represented by wild animals. The direct relation between animals and gods is exemplified by

the theriomorphic vessels *BIBRU* (like the Schimmel rhyton), each of which was devoted to a particular god and which were used in the festival of the Hattian-Hittite tradition (Carruba 1967; Tuchelt 1962).

The stag, a majestic animal which does not attack human beings, might stand for Nature in general. A slight parallel may be offered by the relevance of the stag in European folklore. Antlers were the most widespread decorative elements in the country residences of the upper class in central and northern Europe.

The well known text KUB 2.1 lists first 112 names of In(n)ara / ^dKAL, which are the expressions of royal power: “In(n)ara of the heroism, of the army, of the battle, (and so on)”; then, a similar number of attributions for ^dAla follows. The text ends in this way: “To all the mountains (and) lands of the land of Ḫatti in which His Majesty Tuthaliya regularly campaigns (*lahhiyaiskizzi*), to all the mountains of the land Ḫatti which His Majesty Tuthaliya, the great king, regularly hunts (*siyatalliskizzi*)” (McMahon 1991: 96-115).

Ala, the daughter of In(n)ara (as the inscription of the Schimmel rhyton has revealed), was created in a later period, providing the god with a counterpart (as was the custom), in adopting the second reading of ^dKAL: ^dalad given to the logogram in the Erimḫuš lexical list (above), whose pronunciation is explained as: a-la! A literary influence on the litany KUB 2.1 is evident: In(n)ara and Ala assume the meaning of “tutelary, beneficent protective genii”, like Akk. *šēdu* and *lamassu*.

The Hittite and Luwian Stag-god was the tutelary-god of Nature, which was also under royal authority, because the king defined his territory by campaigning and shooting. It was for this reason that the king had a particular relation with In(n)ara: from the foundation of the kingdom, this god accompanied the king in his military expeditions.

In a later time the aspect of In(n)ara / Kurunta as tutelary god of the king was accomplished drawing up a list (KUB 2.1) which describes all the activities and manifestations of the king, each of them being under the protection of Innara / Kurunta.

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HİTİTLERDE FAL ANLAYIŞININ METİNLERE YANSIMALARI

*Sedef AYYILDIZ**

ÖZET

M.Ö. 2. Binyılda Anadolu’da büyük bir devlet kurmuş olan Hititler hakkındaki bilgilerimiz Boğazköy (Hattuša) ve son yüzyılda keşfedilen Ortaköy (Şapinuva), Maşat Höyük (Tapigga), Kuşaklı (Şarišša), Kayalıpınar (Şamuha) ve Oymaağaç (Nerik) gibi merkezlerde yapılan arkeolojik kazılar sonucunda ele geçen çivi yazılı belgeler sayesinde her geçen gün artmaktadır. Bu merkezlerde ele geçen çivi yazılı metinler dini, siyasi ve askeri içeriklere sahip devletin arşivine ait olan belgelerdir. Bu belgeler içerisinde yer alan fal metinleri sayesinde Hititlerin yaşamında falın çok önemli bir yer tuttuğunu ve çok geniş bir kullanım alanına sahip olduğunu da öğrenebilmekteyiz. Ele geçen bu belgeler devlet arşivi olduğu için daha çok kral, kraliyet ailesi ve yüksek dereceli memurların fal ile ilgili münasebetlerini görmekteyiz ancak bu durum halkın fala karşı ilgisiz olduğu şeklinde yorumlanmamalıdır. Boğazköy’de¹, Ortaköy’de², Maşat Höyük’te³, Kuşaklı’da⁴ ele geçen mektuplarda dahi fal ile ilgili mevzuların olması, Hititlerin yaşamında fal kullanımının yaygınlığını göstermesi bakımından da önemlidir.

Bin tanrılı halk olarak bilinen Hititlerin, yaşamında din son derece önemli bir role sahiptir. Hititlerin düşünce yapısına göre başlarına gelen veya gelmesi muhtemel pek çok sorunun kaynağında tanrıların ihmal edilmesi ya da geçmişte işlenmiş herhangi bir suç, bir günah nedeniyle tanrıların kızdırılması

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1 KBo XV 28, KUB XXXI 101.

2 Or. 90/1775, Or. 90/1000.

3 HKM 47, HKM 48, HKM 49.

4 KuT 49, KuT 50.

yatmaktadır. Dolayısıyla menfaati gereği insanoğlunun içinde bulunduğu kötü durumdan kurtulması ve refaha erişmesi için tanrıyla olan ilişkilerini düzeltmesi gerekmiştir. Bunun içinde çeşitli yolları kullanmışlardır ve fal da bu yollardan biridir. Tanrıların kızgınlığının sebebini öğrenmek ve tanrıların vereceği cezadan kurtulmak için fal sorgulamaları yapmışlardır. Telif ritüelleri ve kurbanlar sunarak tanrılarında bağışlanmayı dilemişlerdir. Hitit fal metinleri incelendiğinde işlenen konuların oldukça çeşitli içeriklere sahip olduğu görülmektedir. Bu durum Hititlerin dini yönden sahip olduğu zenginlik ve çeşitlilikle açıklanabilir. Hitit dininin yansımalarını ritüellerde görmek mümkündür. Zira bir toplumu tanımanın belki de en iyi yolu o toplumun ritüellerini incelemektir. Ritüel metinlerinde yapılan törenleri, sürelerini, ne için yapıldığını; görevli olan kişileri, görevlerini, görme ve öğrenme fırsatı sunulmaktadır.

Hititlerdeki fal ve kehanet ve uygulamalarının özünde aslında insanların tanrılara karşı işlediği günahlar nedeniyle bir cins suçluluk ve cezalandırılma duygusu vardır. İnsanlar günah işler ve tanrılarda onları cezalandırırdı. Ancak bazen başına gelen felaketlerin nedenini insan bilemiyordu. Gerek bu nedeni bulmak gerekse kararsız ve çaresiz kaldığı durumlarda ise çıkar bir yol bulmak amacıyla Hitit insanı da fal ve kehanet gibi yöntemlere başvurmak zorunda kalmıştır. Bir suç işlenmişse suçun tanrının huzurunda itiraf edilmesi ve tanrıdan af dilenmesi gerekmektedir. Tabii bu durum tanrının onu bağışlayacağı ve hemen affedeceği anlamına da gelmemektedir⁵.

Hititler de falı kullanan diğer toplumlar gibi fal uygulamaları yapılırken, falın amacına göre çeşitli araçlar ve teknikler kullanmışlardır. Zaman içerisinde olayların arkasındaki gerçek nedenleri öğrenme arzusunun etkisiyle fala olan ilgi artmış ve bunun sonucunda ihtiyaçlar doğrultusunda da fal türleri giderek çeşitlenmiştir.

Fal metinleri konu bakımından zengindir ve bazı olaylar sadece fal metinleri vasıtasıyla bilinebilmektedir. Bunlar: Arma-datta meselesi⁶, Haittili ve Pi(-

5 Fal ile ilgili ayrıntılı olarak bkz.:B. Dinçol 1979; A. Dinçol 1982; Ünal 1983; Beal 2002;Haas 2008.

6 KBo II 6 + öy. I 11 vd.; KUB XVI 32; Ünal 1974: 102 vd.

ya)şşili'nin öldürülmeleri⁷, Halpa-ziti'nin öldürülmesi⁸, Azzi-Hayaşa kralı Hukkana'nın vasallığından ayrılması⁹, Büyük kralın da katılmasıyla “atalar mezarı” (^{NA}₄ huhhaš) malzemelerinin yağmalanması¹⁰, Mašhuiluwa meselesi¹¹, bir şahsın tarlada ölü olarak bulunması¹², Pala adında bir şahsın iki adet koyunu çalıp onları öldürmesi¹³, Arma-datta'nın karısı Şauşgatti'nin öldürülmesi¹⁴, Danuhepa'nın mal ve mülkünün elinden alınması¹⁵, Tawananna meselesi¹⁶, Urhi-Teşup meselesi¹⁷, Urhi-Teşup'un oğullarının mallarının haczedilmesi¹⁸, ^mDU.SUM'un kral tarafından makamından atılması¹⁹.

Fal her ne kadar ki Hititlerin tanrıların isteklerini öğrenmek için müracaat ettikleri ve en tercih edilen yöntem olarak görülsede; fal metinlerinin herhangi bir kopyası ya da dubligatı genellikle söz konusu değildir. Fal metinlerinin kopyalarının yapılmasına gerek duyulmamasının sebebini bu belgelerin ömrünün kısa vadeli olduğu ya da fal uygulamalarının zamanla önemini yitirerek yerini başka uygulamaların alması şeklinde açıklamak mümkün olabilir. Şöyle dedüşünülmesi mümkündür ki ritüel metinlerde benzer bir problemle karşılaşıldığında aynı uygulamanın yapılması söz konusu iken fal metinlerinde karşılaşılan sorunlar bir defaya mahsus olduğu için güncelliğini yitirmekte ve dolayısıyla sorunun çözümü için aynı yöntemi kullanmak da söz konusu değildir. Böylelikle kopyalarının yapılmasına da gerek duyulmamıştır.

Kral ve kraliyet ailesini ilgilendiren meselelerle ilgili olan günümüze kadar gelebilen fal metinlerinde daha çok tanrıların ihmal edilmesi, adakların yerine getirilmemesi, işlenen bir suçun unutulması gibi konulara yer verildiği görülmektedir. Tanrının gazabından korkan insanoğlunun çaresizliğini dua

7 KUB XVI 77 (II) 55 vd.

8 KUB XVI 58 ay. 6; KUB XXII 35 III 9.

9 KUB XVIII 2 III 10 vd.

10 KUB V ay. 31 vd.

11 KUB V 6 III 8 vd.; del Monte 1974: 355 vd.; Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 179 vd.

12 KUB XVIII 9 II 17 vd.

13 KUB XVI 21 I 28 vd.

14 KBo II 6 + II 37 vd.; Ünal 1974: 102 vd.

15 KUB XVI 32 II 1 vd.

16 Ünal 1974: 37 vd., a.n. 6 vd.

17 KUB XVI 41 + 7/v ay. III vd.; KUB XLIX 97.2; Ünal 1974: 165 vd.

18 KUB XVI 32 II 14 vd.

19 KUB V 23 + ay. IV 12 vd.; Ünal 1983: 7.

metinlerinde açıkça görmek mümkündür. Zira aşağıdaki metinde de görüldüğü gibi tanrıların kızdırılması sadece bir kişiyi etkileyebilecek bir durum değildir.

Eğer [her kim] tanrının ruhunu kızdırırsa, o yüzden tanrı ondan tek başına mı intikam alır? Karısından, [çocuklarından], soyundan, sopundan, kölelerinden, [cari]yelerinden, sığırlarından, koyunlarından ve hububatından intikam almaz mı? Onu hepsiyle birlikte mahveder. Tanrının sözüne (karşı) pek çok saygılı olunuz²⁰.

Fal metinlerinde gerçeklerin ortaya çıkarılması, büyük oranda tanrıyla insan arasındaki karşılıklı menfaatin rolü gereği, söz konusudur. Bir Hitit direktif metninde geçen aşağıdaki sözler tanrıya doğruyu söylemenin gerektiğini ve ondan kaçılmayacağını gösteren en güzel örneklerden biridir.

“ve şöyle [der]seniz: “O tanrı olduğu için hiçbir şey söylemez ve bize hiçbir şey yapmaz.” Kim senin gözlerinin önünden ruhunun yiyeceğini kaçırsın(sa) ve arkadan nasıl hareket eder(se) o insanı izle. Tanrıların ruhu kuvvetlidir. Yakalamak için acele etmez. Fakat yakaladığı zaman artık bırakmaz. (Onun için) tanrıların ruhuna (karşı) çok saygılı olunuz²¹.

Tapmakta bulunan her türlü eşya tanrı malı olduğu için, onlarında korunmalarına özen gösterilmesi gerekmektedir. Tanrıların eşyalarına verilen önem ve saygı II. Murşili'nin dua metninde “tapınağına, gümüşüne, altınına saygı, korku konulmuştur ve hiç kimse onlara yaklaşamaz” denilerek bir kez daha vurgulanmaktadır²². Bu eşyaların envanterlerinin yapıldığını gösteren metinler elimize geçmiştir²³. Tanrının kült aletlerinin korunması yani kaybolmasını engellemek ve çalınmasını önlemek amacıyla envanterlerinin yapılması görevinin *BĒL MADGALTI* 'ye verildiğini kendilerine verilen direktiflerden anlaşılmaktadır²⁴. Bu kayıtlar majestenin huzuruna gönderilerek devlet kontrolüne sunulmaktadır²⁵.

20 Süel 1985: 27.; KUB XIII 4, st.34-38.

21 Terc. için bkz. Süel 1985: 41.

22 KUB XXIV 3 öy. I 21-28 (CTH 376).

23 CTH 501 vd.; Roost, MIO 8-9.

24 Schuler 1957: 46, metin yeri A II 42 vd.

25 Süel 1990: 521.

Fal metinlerinden alınan bütün bu önlemlere rağmen ancak yine de eşyaların ve kült aletlerinin zaman zaman tahrip olduğu, kaybolduğu, bazı yolsuzlukların meydana geldiği anlaşılmaktadır²⁶. Kaybolan eşyalar için tanrının kızgınlığının tespit edildiği aşağıdaki fal metni durumu kısaca özetlemektedir:

Kraliçe koruyucu tanrının kaya tapınağında (adak olarak) altından bir çelenk yap(tır)dı. Aruşna kenti tanrısı onu [kra]liçeden bir rüya aracıyla istedi. Fakat kraliçe onu (ona) vermedi. Onu mabeyincinin evinde sakladı. Kraliçe Aruşna kenti tanrısına onun yerine iki ayrı gümüş çelenk yap(tır)dı. Onu Aruşna kenti tanrısına göndermediği sürece, bu mesele kraliçeye acı verdi ve onu saraydan attılar. Vaki oldu ki, kraliçe Utruli kentinden majesteye (aşağıdaki şekilde) yazdı: “Bak şimdi, Aruşna kenti tanrısının benden bir rüya aracıyla istemiş olduğu çelenk mabeyincinin evinde durmaktadır. Bak, geride kalan garnitürler (??) ve (kıymetli) taşlar atupalaşşanın içinde kakılmıştır (saklanmış). Şimdi onları tanrı için (hemen) buraya gönder!” Adı geçen altın çelengi buldular. Onun yanında altından bir şahin, (kıymetli) taştan bir üzüm salkımı, 8 adet roset, 10 pinkita, (kıymetli) taştan kaş (ve) göz kapağı durmaktaydı. Onları(n hepsini) koruyucu tanrının kaya tapınağına, kraliçenin heykeline, içeriye getirdiler. Atupalaşşa içine kakılmış (saklanmış) olan garnitürleri (??) bulamadılar. Kraliçenin tanrı için adak olarak yap(tır)mış olduğu iki adet altından çelenkten (sadece) bir altın çelengi bulabildiler ve onu tanrıya gönderdiler. Diğer altın çelengi bulamadılar. Bu konuda şunları söylediler: “tanrının aletleri yanında ne duruyorsa, onu tanrıya vereceklerdir ve onu geri döndürmeyeceklerdir.” Altından bir şahin, (kıymetli) taştan üzüm salkımı, 8 adet roset, pinkita, kaş (ve) göz kapağı hakkında bir şey bilmiyorduk. Onları koruyucu tanrının kaya tapınağı içine, kraliçenin heykeli önüne içeriye getirdiler. Fakat garnitürleri (??) bulamadılar. Ey tanrı, eğer bunun için kızdıysan, et işareti olumsuz olsun. ni, ši, ta, şuti solda olumsuz²⁷.

Tapınak görevlilerinin altın, gümüş gibi kıymetli mal varlıkları olamazdı. Ne kendilerinin ne de ailelerinin bu eşyaları kullanmaları yasaktı. Ancak

26 XXII 65 II 30 vd.; XLIX 30 öy. 16 vd.; IBoT II 129 öy. 5 vd.; Süel 1990: 522.

27 KUB XXII 70 vs. 12-27.; Terc. için bkz. Ünal 1983: 58-59.

tapınak görevlilerine saraydan armağan olarak altın, gümüş verildiğinde²⁸, bu hediye nin niteliği, ağırlığı ve ne zaman verildiğinin şahitler huzurunda belgelenmesi gerekiyordu. Bu armağanı tapınak görevlisi evinde tutamazdı. Satması gerekiyordu. Satış Hattili beylerin huzurunda yapılır ve bir belge düzenlenirdi. Sonra bu belge saraya sunulup mühürletilirdi²⁹. Böylece tanrıların malları üzerinde yapılabilecek suistimal önlenmeye ve güvenlik altına alınmaya çalışılmıştır. Tapınak hizmetlilerine ilgili metinde “Siz sadece tanrıların mallarının bekçilerisiniz.” Şeklinde vurgulanmaktadır³⁰. Tapınak eşyalarının, kült aletlerinin kaybolması veya kırılması durumunda, rahip, merhemli rahip, tanrı analarının bunların yerine yenisini temin etmeleri gerektiğini *BĒL MADGALTI* enstrüksiyonundan öğrenmekteyiz³¹.

Hitit inanışına göre tanrılarında insanlar gibi bir ruhu ve bir bedeni vardır. Onlarda doğal olarak insanlar gibi öfkelenebilirler, ihtimam görmek isterler ve hoş tutulmak isterlerdi. Ancak insanoğlu tarafından tanrılar unutulursa ve onlar ihmal edilirse bunun sonucunda da kaçınılmaz son olarak çok kötü şeyler olabilirdi. Bu nedenle tanrıları memnun edebilmek Hitit insanı için son derece önemliydi. Onları memnun edebilmek için düzenli olarak kurbanları sunulmalı, bayramları kutlanmalı ve hediyeleri tam olarak verilmeliydi. Tanrının kızdırılması insana her defasında ceza olarak geri döneceğinden son derece önemli olan bu hususla ilgili olan ifadelere metinlerde de yer verilmiştir:

İnsan(lar)ın ve tanrıların ruhen herhangi bir farkı (var mıdır)? Asla bir (fark) yoktur. (Onlar) ruhen bir (dir). Bir köle beyinin huzuruna çıktığı zaman o yıkanmış ve temiz (elbiseler) giyinmiştir. Ve ona yiyecek verir ya da ona içecek verir. Beyi yiyip içtiğinden ruhen rahatlamış (tır) ve ona (karşı) hoşnutluk duyar. Ayrıca o devamlı ihtimam görmüşse (kölesini) suçlamaz. Tanrının ruhu da herhangi bir (şekilde) farklı (mıdır)? Eğer, ne zaman kölesi beyini kızdırırsa onu ya öldürürler ya da onun burnunu, gözlerini, kulaklarını yaralarlar ya da onu, karısını, çocuklarını, erkek

28 Archi 1978: 26 vd. da Kral ve kraliçenin bayram törenlerinde ^{LÚ.MEŠ} SUKUR ya da ^{LÚ.MEŠ} UR.GI, ‘lere hediye olarak altın ve gümüş verdikleri ABoT 9, KBo XVII 74, KBo XXI 25 I 46-50, KUB II 5, 20-24’den bilinmektedir.

29 Süel 1985: 40 vd. 164 vd.

30 KUB XIII 4 öy. II 25 vd.; Süel 1985: 40 vd.

31 Schuler 1957: 46 vd.

kardeşini, kız kardeşini, hismini, soyunu ister köle ister cariye (olsun) [yakalar]lar. O adı geçeni öte yana çağırırlar (da) ona hiçbir şey yapmazlar mı? Ne zaman o ölüm cezasına çarptırılırsa, tek başına ölmez, soyu da ona katılır³².

Aşağıdaki enstrüksiyon metninde de görüldüğü gibi temiz olarak tanrıların hizmetlerini yerine getirmek ve onları ihmal etmemek gerekirdi. Tanrılara gerekli özen gösterilmeden yapılan hizmetlerin cezası ölümdü. Eğer ki herhangi bir şekilde insanın gözünden kaçan ihmaller varsa onu da tanrı bulur ve cezalandırırdı.

Ayrıca bütün tanrıların mutfak beyleri olan sizler, saki, sofracı, ahçı, fırıncı, şarapçı. Tanrıların ruhuna karşı çok saygılı olunuz. Sonra tanrıların kurban ekmeğine ve kurban içkisine (karşı) çok dikkatli olunuz. Onların (ekmek) bölme yeri süpürülmüş (ve) su serpilmiş olsun. Ayrıca domuz (ya da) köpek eşikten (içeriye) geçmesin. Siz yıkanmış olunuz. Temiz elbiseler giyiniz. Ayrıca (bütün) kullarınız ve tırnaklarınız kesilmiş olsun. (Böylece) tanrıların ruhu sizi suçlamasın. Sizin muhafaza ettiğiniz ağaçtan ve pişmiş topraktan eşyalara eğer herhangi bir yerde bir domuz (yada) bir köpek yaklaşırsa ve mutfak beyi onu atmazsa ve o tanrılara kirlenmiş (kapkacaktan) yiyecek verirse tanrılar (da) ona yemek (ve) içmek için dışkı (ve) idrar verirler. Eğer bir kimse kadının yanında yatarsa (o) tanrıların ibadetini ne şekilde düzenlerse (ve) tanrıya yiyecek (ve) içecek (ne şekilde) verirse kadının yanına (da) aynı şekilde gitsin. Sonra kadının yanında yatsın. Sonra gün ağardığı zaman derhal yıkansın. Sabahleyin tanrıların yemek zamanında derhal (tapınağa) varsın. Eğer o ihmal ederse onun için (bu) suç(tur). Eğer kim bir kadının yanında yatarsa onun amiri (yada) büyüğü arkadan (bir kült görevi) yapmaya zorlarsa o (doğruyu) söylesin. [Eğ]er o söylemeye cesaret edemezse arkadaşına söylesin ve yıkansın. Eğer o bilerek sonraya bırakırsa (ve) henüz yıkanmadan tanrıların kurban ekmeğinin ve kurban içkisinin yanına kirli olarak yaklaşırsa bu durumu arkadaşı bilirse ve o sana kötülük eder (de) eğer gizlerse, fakat arkadan meydana çıkarsa [onlar] için ölüm cezası (verilir). Onların ikisi de ölsünler³³.

32 Terc. için bkz. Süel 1985: 23,25.

33 Terc. için bkz. Süel 1985:67, 69,71, 73.

Tanrıların evleri olan tapınakların devamlı suretle temiz tutulmaları doğal olarak yapının da korunması anlamına gelmektedir. Yazılı belgelerde de görüldüğü gibi hizmetliler her gün tapınakları siler, süpürür, su ve güzel kokular serper ve kokulu bitkilerle tütsülerlerdi³⁴. Hizmetlilerin yapıları temiz tutmaları gerektiği gibi, kendilerini de her türlü pislikten arındırmaları ve tanrılara bedensel ve ruhsal olarak temiz hizmet vermeleri söz konusuydu. Tanrılara ait kült aletlerinden kirlenenlerin rahipler tarafından temizlenmesi hususunu da yine fal metinlerinden öğrenmekteyiz³⁵.

Fal, büyü ve dua metinleri sayesinde diğer metinlerden farklı olarak o dönem insanının hangi sıkıntı ve sorunlarla mücadele ettikleri ve bunlarla baş edebilmek için nasıl yöntemler geliştirdiklerini anlamak mümkündür.

Çaresiz kaldığı durumlarda insanoğlunun tanrılarla iletişim kurmak, tanrıların istekleri ve arzuları hakkında bilgi sahibi olmak, için dua metinlerinde de rüyalara ve fala başvurulduğunu yine Hitit metinlerinde görmekteyiz. İnsanlar tanrılardan niyetlerini bir şekilde belli etmesini isterlerdi. Bunun için onların gönderdikleri işaretleri bir şekilde yorumlamak veya niyetlerini öğrenmek amacıyla bazı fal sorgulamaları yürütülürdü. Fal metinlerine baktığımızda daha çok ilahi öfkenin sebebini tespit edebilmek için fal sorularının kullanıldığı görülmektedir.

Kantuzili'nin duası olarak bilinen metin Hititlerin tanrılarıyla olan ilişkilerini, insanın tanrı karşısındaki aczini ve başlarına musallat olan kötü durumlardan kurtulmak için hangi yollara başvurduğunu en yalın şekilde özetlemektedir. Metin şöyledir:

Kantuzili'nin Duası (CTH 373)³⁶

Öfkeli tanrının huzurunda Yalvarma

[Hangi] tanrı öfkeleniyse, o tanrı gözlerini başka tarafa çevirdi, ve Kantuzili'nin hareket etmesine izin vermiyor. Bu tanrı ister cennette, isterse yeryüzünde olsun, sen, Ey İştanu, ona gitmelisin. Git, benim tanrıyla konuş [ve şöyle de (?)].

34 KUB IX 15 ay. III 5-17 (CTH: 456).

35 KUB XXII 70 ay. 58; Ünal 1983: 56,70.; Süel 1990: 521.

36 Terc. için bkz. Singer 2002: 31-33.

Kantuzili'nin şu sözlerini ilet: Tanrım, annem beni doğurduğundan beri, sen, ey, tanrım, beni yükselttin. Sadece sen, tanrım, [benim ismim] ve itibarısın. Sen, [tanrım] beni iyi insanların arasına kattın. Benim yaptıklarımı, sen, tanrım, etkili (yani güçlü) bir yere yönlendirdin. Tanrım, sen [bana], Kantuzili'ye bedeninin ve ruhunun hizmetkârı olan Kantuzili olarak hitap ettin. Çocukluktan beri bildiğim Tanrımın merhametini, ben biliyorum ve kabul ediyorum. Ben biraz daha büyüdüm ve tanrının merhameti ve bilgeliğini her şeyde tasdik ettim. Hiçbir zaman tanrımın üzerine yemin etmedim ve hiçbir zaman yemin bozmadım. Tanrım için kutsal olan ve benim yemeğe hakkım olmayan şeyi, ben hiçbir zaman yemedim ve bu yüzden vücudumu kirletmedim. Ben hiçbir zaman bir öküzü ağıldan ayırmadım, ve ben hiçbir zaman bir koyunu ağıldan ayırmadım. Ben ekmek buldum, fakat ben onu hiçbir zaman tek başıma yemedim; ben su bulsam da, ben onu hiçbir zaman tek başıma içmedim. Şimdi iyileştin mi, Ben Ey Tanrım senin gözünde iyileştin mi? Gücümü tekrar geri kazandın mı; ey Tanrım ben senin sözünle gücümü tekrar kazandım mı? Yaşam ölüme bağlıdır ölümde yaşama bağlıdır. Bir insan hiçbir zaman ilelebet yaşayamaz. Yaşadığı günler sayılıdır. Bir insan sonsuza kadar yaşasa bile, kötü bir hastalık baş gösterdiğinde, o onun için sıkıntı olmayacak mı? Şimdi tanrım tüm ruhunu bütün kalbiyle bana açsın ve o benim günahlarımı söylesin ki ben onlar hakkında bilgi sahibi olayım. Veya bir kahin bana onu söylesin. Ya tanrı bana bir rüyada konuşsun ve tanrım kalbini açsın ve [bana] günahlarımı desin ki ben onlar hakkında bilgi sahibi olayım [veya] güneş tanrısının bir kahini onu bana bir ciğer yardımıyla söylesin. Tanrım [tüm ruhunu] bütün kalbiyle açsın ve o benim günahlarımı söylesin ki ben onlar hakkında bilgi sahibi olayım. Sen, tanrım, bana [saygı] ve güç bahşet! [Ey Güneş Tanrısı], sen [herkesin çobanı]sın ve mesajın herkese [tat]lıdır. [Bana] öfkelenen ve beni reddeden [tanrım,] benim için tekrar aynı şeyi düşünsün ve [beni] hayatta tutsun. Bana hastalık veren tanrım, bana [tekrar] merhametli olsun. Ben [hastalık(?)] yüzünden çok zahmet çektim ve çaba harcadım. Fakat ben artık daha fazla dayanamıyorum. Sen nasıl kazıyıp çıkardıysan, [...], sen döndün [.....]. [Tanrının öfkesi (?)] tekrar azalsın ve onun kalbine tekrar [...] ... Tekrar yerleşsin [... Ey Güneş tanrısı], Sin ve Ningal'in en hareketli [oğlu], [senin sakalın lapislazulidendir]. [Ben], Kantuzili, senin hizmetkarın, [...]bu yazıyla sana sesleniyorum ve [sana] diyorum ki. Ey Güneş Tanrısı, Lordum! Ben, Kantuzili, bu yazıyla tanrıyı çağırdım ve [tanrı]m beni dinlesin. Ben, Kantuzili tanrıma ne yaptım ve [ben tanrıma karşı ne günah işledim? Sen beni yaptın, sen

beni yarattın. Fakat şimdi, Ben, Kantuzzilli, sana ne yaptım. Tüccar [adam] güneşin karşısında terazinin kefelerini kaldırır ve terazinin kefelerini bozar. [Fakat ben,] ben tanrı[ya] ne yaptım? Hastalık yüzünden benim evim bir ıstırap evi haline geldi, ve ıstırap yüzünden benim ruhum benden başka bir yere damladı. Ben yıl boyunca hasta olan biri gibi oldum. Ve artık hastalık ve ızdırap bana fazla geldi ve ben onu sana, tanrıma söylemeye devam ediyorum. Gece vakti yatağında herhangi bir tatlı rüya benim üzerime hasıl olmadı ve ben hiçbir destek görmedim. Fakat şimdi [tanr]ım kendi gücünü ve koruyucu tanrınınkini kullan. Ben hiçbir zaman bir kahin aracılığıyla senin, tanrımın annemin rahminden (yani içinde) benim için bir hastalığı uygun görüp görmediğini soruşturmam. Şimdi tanrımın huzurunda ben merhamet için yalvarıyorum. Beni duy tanrım! Beni kralın kapısında istenmeyen biri yapma. Benim iyilik yaptıklarım, onlardan hiçbiri [beni] kurtaramaz. [Sen], ey Tanrım, bana [anne ve baba oldun]. [Sadece sen benim babam] ve annemsin [...] Metnin geri kalan kısmı kırık durumdadır.

Hitit metinlerine bakıldığında dua, fal ve rüyaya başvurulma sebebi olarak tanrının isteğini öğrenme ve buna göre telafi yollarına gitme söz konusu olsa da rüya bu ikisine göre daha çok manipüle edilebilir. Fal ile dua arasındaki temel benzerlik her ikisinde de başlarına gelen sorundan kurtulma isteği nedeniyle daha çok sorunun ortaya çıkışı yani sorunun temeline inme ve çözüm için çareler arama söz konusudur. Ancak fal metinlerinde dua metinlerinden farklı olarak alınan ifadeler ve edinilen bilgiler, doğruluk açısından karşı bir denetime tabii tutulmuştur³⁷. Metinde geçen şu ifadeler bu fikri destekler niteliktedir: “*Ammatalla ne söylediyse, (onun bu) ifadesinin geçek olup olmadığını henüz araştırmadık. (bundan başka bu ifadeyi) fal sorusu kapsamı içine almadılar.*”³⁸

Fal uygulamalarında cevabı aranan sorular fal uzmanları tarafından uygulanan falın çeşidine göre değişiklik gösterse de, tanrılara yöneltilmekteydi. Cevabının nasıl verildiği hakkında teknik olarak herhangi bir bilgiye şu an için sahip olamasak dahi falların sonuçları fal uzmanları tarafından yorumlanmaktaydı.

37 Ünal 1974: 96 vd.; Ünal 1983: 6.

38 KUB XXII 70 öy. 30,31; Terc. için bkz. Ünal 1983: 59.

Fal metinlerinde bahsedilen bazı olaylar tarihi ve coğrafi açıdan büyük değer taşıyan çeşitli ülke ve kentlere yapılan askeri seferler, kralın tahta çıkması, kralın kışı geçireceği yerler, ordugâhta salgın hastalık, tanrı heykeli ve diğer nesnelerin tahribi, kralın göz hastalığına karşı bazı şifalı otların kullanılması³⁹, tanrı heykellerinin nakli, kurban ve adakların ihmali ve tanrıların aldatılması gibi genel krallığı ilgilendiren meseleler söz konusu olabileceği gibi bir rahibin bira içtiği aleti tapınağa getirmesi ve onu tanrıya sunum yaparken kullanmak gibi ender de olsa özel hayatla ilgili fallarda söz konusudur⁴⁰.

Sonuç olarak Hitit fal metinlerinin içerik olarak çeşitliliği metinler incelendiğinde daha net olarak anlaşılabilir. Fal ve kehanete daha çok insanın farkına vararak ya da farkına varmadan tanrıyı kızdırması sonucunda ortaya çıkan sorunların söz konusu olduğunda başvurulduğu görülmektedir. Hititlerin fal ile olan ilişkilerini ritüel metinlerinde, tarihi olayların anlatıldığı metinlerde, dua metni olarak bilinen metinlerde göstermektedir.

Fal metinlerinde tanrıyla insanın doğrudan sorunun çözümü için karşıya karşıya geldikleri durumlar söz konusu olduğu için bu metinlerde başka metinlerde daha önce bahsi geçmeyen, tarihsel gerçekliği sorgulanan, başka hiçbir yerde itiraf edilmemiş, gizlenmiş, gerçeklerin ortaya çıkarıldığı ve dolayısıyla diğer tarihi belgelerde olmayan bilgiler mevcuttur.

Fal metinleri gerçeklikleri ve güvenilirlikleri açısından diğer metin türlerine göre, fal baktıran kişinin sorunun çözümü için tanrıdan yardım alabilmek ve tanrıların vereceği cezalardan kaçınmak için, dualar, mahkeme tutanakları, fermanlar, antlaşma metinleri, daha farklı metinlerdir.

Kent dışında bulunan tapınakların geniş arazilerinde törenlerde tanrılara sunulan sebze ve meyve yetiştirilir ayrıca kurban edilecek hayvanlarda bu arazilerde beslenirdi. Tanrının malı sayılan bu ürünlerin değiştirilmesi, satılması, yenilmesi, rüşvet olarak amirlere verilmesi gibi yolsuzlukların önlenmesi vazifesi tapınak görevlilerine verilmiştir⁴¹. Ancak tapınak görevlilerinin de bu gibi yolsuzluklar yapmaları halinde direktif metinlerine ağır

39 XXII 61 (Güterbock 1962 :109 vd.; Ünal-Kammenhuber 1974: 161 ve a.n. 11; Burde 1974: 3 vd.)

40 Ünal 1983: 8, 9, 12.

41 Süel 1985: 173 vd.

cezalar konularak tanrıların kurban maddelerinin korunmasına çalışılmıştır. Bütün bu sert önlemlere rağmen bu konuda da suistimallerin yapıldığı, yine elimize geçen fal metinlerinden anlaşılmaktadır⁴². Tanrının gazabından bu kadar korkan insanoğlunun yine de *tanrının gözlerini tutması ve tanrıyla ilgilenmemesi* bir ironidir.

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TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE GENDERED HITTITE LANDSCAPE: WHAT DOES IT MEAN WHEN MOUNTAINS GIVE BIRTH?

*Mary R. BACHVAROVA**

There has been a rich vein of scholarship exploring the Hittite fascination with mountains as cult places and as recipients of cult. Gonnet (1968) listed more than 150 mountains mentioned in Hittite texts.¹ Haas (1982; 1983) has provided important analyses of the meaning of mountains that remain the basis for scholarly work, while Lombardi (1996; 1997) has deepened our understanding of how mountain imagery was used to support the hegemony of the Hittite king.² It is, however, important to re-visit certain assumptions that lie behind many scholars' work, in particular the notion of the "Mountain Mother" as a divine archetype. In this contribution I clarify some points with regard to the symbolism of mountains in Hittite myth, moving away from a history of ancient religion subtended by an old-fashioned anthropological viewpoint that looks for human universals evolving in a certain direction, to one that looks at human activities and cultural products as contingent and particular. I avoid sweeping generalizations about a supposed

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- 1 Del Monte and Tischler (1978), with the update in del Monte (1992), remains a key reference source on the mountains mentioned in Hittite texts. I thank Aygül Süel for allowing me to submit my contribution to this volume well after the deadline, which meant that I was able to make use of important additions to the conversation about the Hittite view of mountains published very recently.
- 2 Other recent important studies include Beckman (2013: 153-6), examining mountains and living rock as sacred spaces, which includes recent bibliography; Freu (2003), discussing geographical information that can be gleaned; Lebrun (2006), focusing on oronymy; and Popko (1992) on mountains as sanctified spaces for ritual activities.

"Anatolian" mythical mindset that promiscuously combines data from the Neolithic, Bronze and Early Iron Ages, a point of view that has played a role in the creation of the "Mountain Mother," a conception that has in turn prevented us from achieving an emic understanding of the meaning of mountains for the Hittites. I will argue the following: Among the Hittites, mountains and living rocks, when assigned gender, are always gendered male. Therefore, when mountains or living rock are impregnated or give birth, they are considered to be male entities able to carry out a feminine activity. Thus, mythological texts can use volcanic imagery to explore the binaries of human gender, sexuality, and procreation.

First of all, the gender of mountains. All known personified depictions of mountains are male,³ and it was kings (Ammuna, Arnuwanda, Tudhaliya), not queens, who were named after mountains (also cf. the man's name Kaššu). We must take care not to confuse the deity for whom the mountain serves as a throne – a concept well attested among the Hittites, who in fact named at least one mountain "throne" (*šarpa*)⁴ – and the mountain itself.⁵ The same applies for a Mesopotamian comparandum, the goddess Ninḫursag 'lady mountain', who is not the mountain itself, but associated with mountains in memory of her son Ninurta's exploits conquering the rebellious stone monster Asag (*Ninurta's Exploits* 390-410).

There is, however, one apparent exception to the general rule that among the Hittites mountains were conceptualized as male that must be addressed,

3 For the iconography of mountain gods, see Calmeyer (1999) and Danrey (2006). Danrey (2006: 215) suggests an image on a Middle Bronze Age Syrian seal depicting a woman on top of a mountain might represent a female mountain divinity (Doumet 1992: No. 273). Note she stands on the mountain, rather than is the mountain itself.

4 DEUS.MONS.THRONUS = Mt. Šarpa (Forlanini 1987; Güterbock, Hoffner and van den Hout 1989 ff. Š: 288). According to Forlanini (1987) one Mt. Šarpa is at Emirgazi, close to Ikona in Lycaonia, another is at Karakuyu (see Ehringhaus 2005: 49-50 for a description of the monument and the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription on the latter mountain). Hawkins (2006: 57-8, 61) now prefers to place the Mt. Šarpa mentioned at Emirgazi at nearby Arisama Dağ and, like Lombardi (1998: 76), disagrees on the need to postulate two separate mountains. Wyatt (1995: 108-11) suggests that the Greek name Kassios of Ugaritic Mt. Šapon, the home of Baal/Teššub, is similarly from Ugaritic *ksu* 'throne'.

5 So, for example Haas (1982: 94-104) in his section on "Bergmütter." As for the depiction of the deity carved into living rock at Mt. Sipylus, which Haas (1982: 69-72) sees as female, as do many scholars, I discuss this in Bachvarova (forthcoming), but see already the judicious discussion of Ehringhaus (2005: 84-7), who ends up interpreting the figure as male. Certainly, in the post-Classical period the mountain is depicted as a man on coinage (Foss 1982: 184).

the mountain Išhara in Cilicia. This mountain is mentioned in a New Hittite tablet concerning emoluments that were set aside for a shrine on its flanks, *CTH* 641.1 = *KUB* 40.2. This passage is regularly cited in discussions of the Syrian goddess Išhara's cult among the Hittites to support the thesis that she arrived in Anatolia via Cilicia before the fifteenth century.⁶ The tablet records the renewed commitment of a Hittite king (Šuppiluliuma I?) to a sanctuary on Mt. Išhara, near Tarša in Kizzuwatna (obv. 30'), which had been established first by a certain Talzu and then Šunaššura, a king who had entered into a treaty with Tudhaliya I/II.⁷ The first establishment of the perquisites of the shrine is therefore from the period before Hittite hegemony over Cilicia. The text was first translated by Goetze (1940: 60-71) and has been recently edited and translated by A. Chrzanowska (2011) on the electronic database *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln* (KhT). It begins by referring to an oracular answer, then quotes in detail words apparently from a previous tablet. I provide the relevant part of Chrzanowska's transliteration below, followed by my own translation:

§1 4' ^dIM-aš-wa ku-wa-pí ' a' -a[š-
 5' nu-wa ku-u-uš DINGIR.MEŠ ^dMu[-wa-nu-u ^dMu-wa-at-ta-al-li Û
^dGIBIL₆]
^dIM-ni šar-ti-i[a pa-a-ir
^dIM-aš KUR^{URU}Kum-ma-an-ni [_____]
^{iD}Pu-u-ru-na-ia uš-ki?[-
 ke-e-da-aš-ma-wa DINGIR.MEŠ-aš
 10' UḪ.ŠE x MUŠ GÍR.TAB PÉŠ [
 tar-ḫu-u-i-la-a-tar []

 §2 12' ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-wa ^mTal-zu-ú-uš [
 ti-it-ta-nu-ut nu-wa-kán ŠÀ Ḫ[UR.SAG Iš-ḫa-ra
 [_ _ _] I-NA ḪUR.SAG Iš-ḫa-ra-pát še-er [

6 E.g., besides those discussed in more detail here, Archi (2002b: 47-8), Haas (1982: 100-1; 1994: 394-5), Murat (2009: 161-2), Prechel (1996: 120-2), and Strauß (2005: 227).

7 *CTH* 41; see Prechel (1996: 120-1).

15' *ú-e-te-it* 3 ^{NA4}*hu-u-wa-ši i[š-ga-ra-a-it]* [_ _ _ _ _ ^d*Mu-u-wa-nu*]
^d*Mu-wa-at-ta-al-li* Û ^d*G[IBIL*₆
É.ŠÀ-ni IT-TI ^d*Iš-ḫa-ra* ^{U[RU]}*Ne-e-ri-ša*
dam-pu-pi-iš *Ú-UL ku-iš-ki pa-iz-z[i]*
ŠA DINGIR.MEŠ-ia-wa ALAM.HI.A-ŠU-NU i-ia-at
 20' *ALAM GUŠKIN GUŠKIN i-ia-at* [_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _] *ŠA*
DUMU.MU[NUS an-da ap-pa-an-da-aš ...

§1 "When Tarḫun [...] These gods, Mu[wanu, Muwattalli, and the Fire-god came] i[n] aid to Tarḫun [...] Tarḫun [...] the land of Kummanni [...] and the river Puruna [...]. But, to these deities [...] the crop pest, ..., snake, scorpion, mouse [...] power [...].

§2 "And when Talzu [...] set up [...] in the heart of the mo[untain Iṣḫara ...] on that very Mt. Iṣḫara [...] he built. Three *huwaši*-stones [he] s[et up.... Muwanu,] Muwattalli, and the F[ire-god ...] in the sanctum with Iṣḫara of the to[wn Neriša ...], no profane person will go [...] and he made statues of the gods [...] He made a silver and gold statue. Of a gir[1 ...] fully supplied...."

The text goes on to define the original borders of an extensive territory that served the shrine, naming a spring of Iṣḫara of Neriša (a town only mentioned here) as one of the landmarks (obv. 33'), and then promises supplies guaranteed into perpetuity, as once had been declared. Among the items are three fine bed sheets and a bed for Iṣḫara] (rev. 24).

Chrzanowska states the animals mentioned in §1' are associated with the goddess, following Haas (1994: 100, 404).⁸ In fact, the mention of these pestilential animals may be referring to some kind of evil condition of the land that the gods remedied. Compare perhaps the Hittite version of *Atrahasis*, in which a plague of ants appears to be mentioned.⁹ Here I am building on the

8 On the association of snakes and scorpions with Iṣḫara see Rahmoudi (2007: xxiii-iv).

9 *CTH 347.1 A = KBo 53.3 + KUB 8.63 iv 12'-13'*, see ed. and trans. by Rieken *et al.* (2009 ff.) on KhT.

most recent discussion of the passage by Gilan (2014: 2001), who avoids making the bald claim that the cult installed is for Išhara, highlighting instead the fact that the description of emoluments and the territory dedicated to the sanctuary is preceded by what looks to be a brief mythologeme justifying the creation of a new place of worship by referring to the help given to Tarḫun by the gods Muwanu and Muwattalli, possibly local storm-gods, and what he interprets as a "new god," (obv. 1'-11').¹⁰ He sees the three gods as the primary beneficiaries in return for their service, which I am here suggesting included ridding the territory of a pestilence.

I do not wish to dispute that in fact this text is evidence for relatively early worship of Išhara in Cilicia. The question is whether the mountain should be considered to be named after her. Mt. Išhara seems not to have been important as an object or place of worship for the Hittite court after the early temple foundation. Mentioned only in this one tablet, strikingly it does not appear among the many Cilician mountains named in the Ḫišuwa festival, which suggests that the mountain was not considered to be important in the wider cult of Syro-Cilician gods. I suggest that in fact the mountain's name was a Luwian word meaning *išhara* 'lordly', cf. Hittite *išha-* 'lord'. The etymology of *išha-* 'lord' has been disputed, with attempts to link it to the goddess Išhara and even to compare it to Hattic *ašhap* 'god'.¹¹ Most recently Kloekhorst (2008: 390) offers the PIE reconstruction of **h₁esh₂-ó-*, with Latin *erus* 'master' as a cognate. Using this etymology for the Hittite word and adding the accent-bearing adjectival suffix **-ro* results in Luwian *išhara-* /*išhra-*/, with pretonic short **e > i*.¹² In fact, this is the same etymology that Kronasser (1966, §106) suggested for the goddess's name. However, I separate the Semitic goddess's name from the Luwian mountain name.¹³ If this etymology is accepted the mountain bore a typical name: compare ḪUR.SAG.GAL

10 Although the names of the three gods are almost entirely broken away, with only ^d*Mu-* visible in obv. 5', they appear in series at rev. 10. As for the "new god" or Fire-god, the god's name appears in obv. 34' and rev. 10 as ^d*GIBIL₆-ki*. Chrzanowska transliterates as ^d*GIBIL₆*, as in Rüter and Neu (1989: 172); Gilan (2014: 200-1) interprets as ^d*GIBIL*, "new god," as does Goetze (1940: 60, 64).

11 Tischler (1983 ff. I-K: 372-77, 382-4); Puhvel (1984 ff. E/I: 385-90).

12 On the possibility of pretonic short **e > i* in Luwian, see the cautious suggestion of Melchert (1994: 84, 89). On Anatolian stems in *-ra* see Melchert (1993).

13 As for I/E/U/Ašhara, again the etymology of the name is unclear. See Prechel (1996:163-9) and on the spelling Archi (2002a: 29).

or Mt. Parku ('Great Mountain') and Mt. Šarlaimmi ('exalted').¹⁴ But, even if we cannot provide a satisfactory etymology for the oronym, it still makes sense to assume that a *Gleichklang* between the mountain's name and the name of the goddess newly rising to prominence in Cilicia – and perhaps recently ensconced in Neriša – encouraged a connection between the two, one that served the shrine well in later times when the goddess had achieved importance among the Hittite elite. The mountain was not named after the goddess, nor was it a representation of the goddess.

Moving on to the gender of living rock, unlike the mountains which it formed it was not always treated as an animate thing eligible to be assigned sexual gender; grammatically, the noun could appear in the neuter as an inanimate noun *peru*, as well as in a derived common gender form *perunaš*. I argue that when living rock was conceptualized as bearing gender, it was also male. Thus, Pirwa, also built off the base *peru*, served as a man's name, and the deity Pirwa, the head of the pantheon at Kaneš, was male.¹⁵ Like mountains, living rock could be used in metaphors legitimizing kingship and expressing the Hittite construction of masculinity. I have already discussed some aspects of the masculinity of living rock in a recent article exploring the themes of kingship and excessive masculinity in the Kumarbi cycle (Bachvarova 2016). As an everlasting, stable feature of the landscape, it symbolized the maintenance of the household across generations that was the task of the paterfamilias. Hard and protruding from the earth, living rock also had a phallic aspect, as shown by the myth of the stone monster Ullikummi's birth and development.

The animals associated with mountains iconographically were ones that dominate wild spaces, such as lions and the eagles that soared above untrammelled by the constraints of gravity, both of which were frequent in depictions of divine mountains. Vessels used to toast mountains could be in the shape of lions (Freu 2003: 237). Because mountaintops, cliffs, and boulders belong to wild, untamed spaces, they could also be used to express

14 Discussed by Lebrun (2006: 257-9).

15 His consort was Haššušara 'queen'. He was associated with horses and high cliffs (Bachvarova 2016: 98; Lebrun 1983: 145; Pecchioli Daddi in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie sub Pirwa*).

the concept that masculinity needed to be controlled and regulated,¹⁶ as in the Hittite fragment of a Hurro-Hittite narrative song about Anzili (*IŠTAR*) and Mt. Pišaiša (*CTH* 350.3 = *KUB* 33.108, ed. Rieken *et al.* 2009 ff. on KhT):

(§1', ii² 2'-20') The mount[ain] he [saw?] Anzili, her [naked] limbs. His desire to sleep [with her sprang] f[orth]. Mt. Pišaiša slept with [Anzili] Anzili [] leapt up. [Her] limb[s] "Who at this time [] did dishonor to me? To Tarḫun not [] furthermore another enemy. [] an enemy to him." Anzili in her anger sa[id] this. Mt. Pišaiša heard ang[ry] Anzili, her words, and he was afraid, and he gro[veled] down a[t Anzili's] knees like a (bent) apple tree. [He said,] "Don't kill me. I will speak to you [] life. With what [] Tarḫun of Heaven contests the Sea, [and with] w[hat] the a[ngr]y mountains contest in battle Tarḫun of Heaven. Long ago Na[mni] and Hazzi, the mountains, ..."¹⁷

This text reworks narrative building blocks found in two different Sumerian stories, replacing the transgressive human gardener who rapes the sleeping Inanna in *Inanna and Šukaletuda* with a mountain and re-orienting the meaning of events in *Inanna and Ebiḫ*, in which Inanna's attack on Mt. Ebiḫ is almost entirely unprovoked. (Yes, she claims that Mt. Ebiḫ did not show respect to her when she came near, but the underlying motive is her jealousy of his stature.)

Such opportunities for comparison show us that mythology can be treated as a pool of available motifs or building blocks that can be bundled in different combinations and orders, including what I call the "toggle switch": flipping roles or outcomes. Whereas *Inanna and Šukaletuda* warns of the hybris of humans daring to cross the boundary between human and divine and is one of the many examples of the danger of sleeping with Inanna/Išhtar, famously alluded to by Gilgameš (*SB* V 22-79), and the goddess is the one who is

16 See Collins (2004: 83-8) on the association between eagles and lions, and kingship; Bachvarova (2016: 92) on the Hittite conception of masculinity as something that must be controlled.

17 Translation from Bachvarova in Chavalas (2013: 284); filled in from the New Hittite parallel text *CTH* 350.2.A = *KUB* 36.33.

depicted as uncontrollable and wanting to control all the natural world, even beyond the bounds of her purview in *Inanna and Ebih*, in the story about Mt. Pišaiša, the female is presented as a guide and admonisher punishing the mountain. In the Hittite story it is masculine urges that must be tamed and controlled.

Clearly, myth has a certain flexibility to allow for new meanings depending on the audience. This leads me to an important principle when doing comparative mythology: we should focus not only on what is shared, or unchanged when comparing myths separated by time, space, language, culture, but on how shared motifs were reworked or combined in different ways to present a message relevant or appealing to the storyteller's particular audience. This information can be used to get a quite fine-grained picture of the audience's interests and concerns, and therefore allow us to get a sense of who that audience might be and why the stories were written down, a question still not fully answered with regard to Hurro-Hittite narrative song.¹⁸ For the Hurro-Hittite narrative songs available to us, the unifying theme is the didactic discussion of what it means to be a good man and/or successful king (Bachvarova 2016), suggesting that their ultimate patron is conceived of as the Hittite king, and that their content, not just their copying, had an educative role for the young scribes.

The versions of the Hurro-Hittite myths available to us in the Kumarbi cycle focus on normative masculinity and the breaches thereof that the failed enemies of the Storm-god commit. It is not surprising therefore to see mountains and living rock showing up repeatedly with more complex meanings than in the fragment about Mt. Pišaiša, and once we accept that their meaningfulness within the stories starts with the presumption that they are gendered male, we can achieve a better understanding of the overall messages of the stories themselves. In the article alluded to earlier, I suggested that we could achieve a better understanding of why Kumarbi thought he could create a rival for the Storm-god who could overcome his impetuous strength by ejaculating on the Great Rock at the Cool Lake. I argued that the rock was

18 Among the explanations for writing down Hurro-Hittite narrative song is that of Lorenz and Rieken (2010), who suggest the goal was to create a written mythology comparable to that of Mesopotamian scribes.

gendered male, and that Kumarbi was in fact creating a doubly masculine child in the hope that he could take on his doubly masculine son, created when Kumarbi swallowed Anu's sperm (Bachvarova 2016: 98). In fact, there is such a thing as being "too masculine" as well as "not masculine enough." Ullikummi fails because he is excessively hard, brutishly unintelligent and lacking mercy, whereas the Storm-god is able to build an alliance with the older generation of gods, combining his martial power with their wisdom to defeat the stone monster using the primeval copper saw that had been kept safe in the "grandfatherly" storehouse (Bachvarova 2016: 101-3).

There is, however, much left to be explored with regard to the connotations of the volcanic processes that produced Ullikummi, once we understand that we are not supposed to view volcanoes simply as females giving birth to new rock. In particular the fragment of a myth about Mt. Wašitta giving birth is amenable to new interpretations. This fragment, *CTH 346.4.A = KUB 33.118*, has been edited and translated by Rieken *et al.* (2009 ff.) on KhT, and has recently been the subject of an interesting discussion by Kloekhorst (2016). As he suggests, this fragment may be providing an alternate version of the birth of a volcanic rival to Tarḫun, with Kumarbi again impregnating a rocky entity, but here we have access to the point of view of that entity, and the mountain seems to complain about being raped by a stranger, who must be Kumarbi, thus inverting the storyline attached to Mt. Pišaiša. I provide my own translation here:¹⁹

(§1', 5'-11') ... He [keeps] co[unting] the days. He keeps marking off the months. [...] with that table []. The days [] The first [mo]nth went by, the second month arrived, [the third month, the fourth month], the fifth [month,] the sixth month, the seventh month, the eighth month arrive[d, the ninth month, the tenth month arrived]. He was ready to emit smoke and rumble (*tuhḫeškiuwan ti[yat]*).

19 This translation modifies my translation in Chavalas (2013: 283-4) with regard to the terms involving the root *tuhḫ-* and a correction in the final fragmentary sentence, following Kloekhorst (2016: 167).

(§2', 12'-22') [M]t. Wašitta smoked and rumbled (*tuhhait*). Kumarbi heard the rumbling and smoking (*[tu]hḥiman*) [] in [his house (or: city)]. Mt. Wašitta [r]umbled and [s]moked (*[tu]hḥāit*). All the mountains went to him/her to see. "Mt. Wašitta," all the mountains began to say, "Mt. Wašitta, why are you rumbling and smoking (*[tu]hḥāit*)? You have not known rumbling and smoking (*tuhḥiman*) since childhood. The Fates have not inscribed it for you, nor did your mother give birth to you for it." Mt. Wašitta began to answer all the mountains, "I have not known rumbling and smoking (*tuhḥiman*) since childhood. The fates have not inscribed it for me, nor did my mother give birth to me for it.

(§3', 23'-28') "[] when among the mountains a visitor [came], he made me sleep with him. From that moment on [] I began to rumble and smoke (*tuhḥeškiuwan tehḥun*) [] ... wise ones. The next [month] The ninth [month we]nt by. The tenth month arrived. [.....] [I beg]-a[n] to rumble and smoke...."

We can see that volcanic action has a paradoxical bi-gendered aspect to it that the story must be exploring; eruption is like both ejaculation and birth. The terrifying sound and destructive power of the volcano can be seen as emerging from a masculine being with the strength to take on the power of the Storm-god's thunder and lightning. Volcanic soil is well known to be rich, luring farming to volcanoes' flanks the world over, and thus can be connected to "feminine" fertility, while volcanic rock is a source of ore, amenable to the masculine craft of metal-working, which is frequently made parallel to volcanic processes.²⁰ Yet, the act of transformation of a raw material through heat into a well-formed artifact has obvious parallels with the process of gestation and birth.²¹

The complexities of the transgression of gendered binaries are encapsulated in the semantic field of the root *tuhh-*, which both Kloekhorst (2008: 886-9;

20 Cf. Vulcan's workshop under Mt. Etna (Johnston 2005).

21 See the discussion of Blakely (2006: 99-122) about the ritual behaviors and beliefs of traditional iron smelters in sub-Saharan Africa.

2016) and Roider (1981: 105-7) have examined. Whereas Kloekhorst arrives at the conclusion that the root means solely 'smoke', with no connotations of gasping or suffocation, as the previous analyses he discusses have assumed, Roider, who considers the root to mean here 'to spew fire', stresses how easily the notion of smoking can be applied as a metaphor for violent emotion, in particular anger, as seen in the Old Indic and Greek cognates *dhūmāḥ* 'smoke' and *thumos* 'spirit, courage, anger, sense'.²² I have translated the root in the above passage as 'rumble and smoke', and I will contend that it has an audible, emotional, and gendered valence to it by comparing it to its Greek cognate and drawing on its appearance in other Hittite texts.

Thumos has received many detailed treatments because of its interesting semantic range. It encompasses both an abstract and a physiological meaning in the notion that the human urge to leap into action lies within the chest. As Cairns (2003: 18) describes, it speaks to a metaphor of anger as a "hot fluid" contained in the body, making use of the cross-linguistically common metaphor of the body as a container for emotions (Kövecses 2000: 37). More specifically, *thumos* when used in the sense of anger in Homeric poetry seems to be imagined as a steamy substance breathed out of the lungs (Clarke 1999: 75). Moreover, the emotion of anger is constructed as typically masculine, as Roider's examples from a variety of Indo-European languages show.²³ As Kloekhorst (2008: 188-9, 895) notes, in Hittite as well the notion of breath contained within the body applies to this root, lying behind the term *antuwahḫa-* 'having breath inside, human'.

With regard to the metaphoric use of terms containing the root *tuhḫ-* in Hittite discussed by Kloekhorst, they too can be read as speaking to the notion that smoking is evidence of an extreme emotion. For example, in *CTH 446: Purification Ritual for the Former Gods*, the practitioner begins the day's activities by digging holes in the four corners and at the hearth of the house needing to be cleansed of the evil words that had been uttered by and against its inhabitants, then speaks to the Sun-goddess of the Earth, asking *kī É-er kuwat tuḫḫaett[ari ...] šarā nepiši kuwat šakueškezz[zi]*

22 I quote the dictionary entry of Beekes (2010: 564).

23 Also see Faraone (2003) on *thumos* 'anger' as a feature of men, both appropriate and destructive.

(*KUB* 7.41 obv. 10-11), in Kloekhorst's translation, "Why is this house smoking, and why does it have its eye cast upon heaven?" (2016: 174). Kloekhorst (2016: 174-5) argues that the house is meant to be seen as communicating upward, as normal, with the heavenly gods via smoke from its hearth and its regard, whereas it now needs to turn its line of communication down towards the earth. I agree that smoke is considered to be a means of drawing the attention of the heavenly gods, but I think that the description also refers to the fact that the house is suffering from the effects of the evil words now being removed by the practitioner. It stares upward hoping to see some evidence for heavenly attention, and its smoke is meant to signal its distress.

As in *CTH* 446, smoke appears in *mugawar* incantations to refer to an unwanted state that both triggers and represents divine anger. Thus, in a *mugawar* to invoke Telipinu, the story starts by describing smoke adversely affecting a house: ^{GIŠ}*luttāuš kammarāš IŠBAT É-er tūhḫuiš* [uiš]u^rriyataⁿ ti *TNA GUNNI-ma kalmīšeniš uišūriyantat*[i ...] *DINGIR.MEŠ uišūriyantati* (1, §4', A₁ + A₂ = *KUB* 17.10 i 5'-7' + *KBo* 55.8 i 16'). "Smolder seized the windows, smoke smothered the house and on the hearth the logs were smothered.... The gods were smothered." Then, the description of the god's return after being soothed again makes use of the burning and smoking metaphor, the practitioner taking on the persona of Kamrušepa:

(1, §27", A = *KUB* 17.10 iii 8-12) "I burnt away on one side above Telipinu, and on the other I burnt. I took from Telipinu, from his body his evil, I took his sin, I took his fury, I took his anger, [I] too[k] his wrath, I took his sullenness."

(1, §28", A iii 13-16) "Telipinu is angered. His mind, [his] inside was smothered in the logs. As they burned these lo[gs], burn likewise the fury, anger, sin, sullenness of Telipinu also..."

(1, §29", A iii 21-23) "Telipinu is angered. His mind, [his] i[nside] is burning fire, and a[s] this fire [is extinguished], likewis[e let] rage, sullenness also [be extinguished]." ²⁴

24 I use here my translation from López-Ruiz (2013: 453, 456). The transliteration is by Rieken *et al.* (2009 ff.) from KhT.

The smoke and fire image is usefully multivalent, applicable to the actions of practitioner driving away the god's powerful negative emotions with smoke and burning up the negative emotions, and the burning sensation of the negative emotions themselves.

Besides the fact that Mt. Wašitta's smoking should be considered to allude to his emotional reaction to the pain of childbirth and possibly to his anger at being raped in the first place, I would argue – against Kloekhorst – that we should accept that the mountain's emissions are also audible; if the smoke is like the volcano's breath, a living metaphor that Hittite *antuwaḥḥa-* is a witness to, the volcanic rumbling is like the sounds coming from an agonized person's lungs, metaphorized as groans and panting.²⁵ That is, I argue that there is no reason to exclude the meaning 'breath' from the verbs and nouns derived from *tuhḥ-* in this passage, and that the breathing brought forth is loud, loud enough for Kumarbi to hear at a distance. Kloekhorst (2016: 175) is able to put forward a passage using *ištamašš-* in the sense of 'hear about' rather than directly hear (*CTH 40.IV.1.A: Manly Deeds of Šuppiluliuma = KBo 5.6 iii 5-6*) to support his contention that we should be envisioning that Kumarbi, waiting eagerly for the birth of his child as he counts off the months, does not hear the sound of the mountain rumbling but receives a report. The question, though, should first be how the act of hearing is used in formulaic narrative sequences in Hurro-Hittite narrative song. In fact, hearing direct speech frequently occurs as a way of motivating a step forward in the action. When a new event occurs, it is always first directly perceived (the Sun sees Ullikummi growing in the sea, for example), then reported using direct speech. In the *Song of Ullikummi* Ḫebat loses her line of communications with the other gods, and it is clear that we are supposed to be thinking of her ability to both see and hear them directly:

(*CTH 345.I.3.1, §2', A = KUB 33.106 i 22'-24'*) The basalt approached Ḫebat in her temple, so Ḫebat could no longer hear the message of the gods, and she could not see Tarḫun and Šuwaliya[t] with her own eyes.

25 Cf. Vergil's description of noises emitted from Mt. Etna in *Aeneid* 8.416-21, discussed by Johnston (2005: 304-5).

(3, §3', A i 25'-28') Hebat bega[n] to speak wo[rds] to Takiti, "[I] cannot he[ar] the [w]ord of Tarḫun, the important matter, and I cannot [hea]r the message of Šuw[aliya]t and of all the gods. This one, whom [they] speak of as Ullikummi the basalt, has he perhaps de[f]eated my husband, the august [Tarḫun]?"²⁶

Hebat then sends Takiti to find out and to "[bring back] w[ord] to me" (A i 33'). Column i breaks off just as Takiti returns to relate in direct speech what she has learned. In other words, Hurro-Hittite narrative song consistently conveys knowledge of events to characters through direct perception or direct speech, not through unquoted reports.

Kloekhorst appositely compares a passage from the *Song of Birth* in which Earth is described as giving birth after the formulaic counting off of months. "In the tenth month Earth [began to] cry out (*wiweški[wan dāiš]*)" (CTH 344.A = *KUB* 33.119 iv 16'). The term *wiwai-* 'cry out' is in fact a metonym for childbirth (Beckman 1983: 37). In the story about Mt. Wašitta, instead of crying out with a sound constructed as feminine, the volcano emits the smoke and rumbling signaling an imminent eruption, possibly also referring to emotions and behavior thought of as masculine. If Ullikummi's failing was an excessive hardness that made him brutish and dumb as a rock, the monster about to emerge from Wašitta may have suffered from a volcanic, uncontainable rage that gave the Storm-god a means to defeat him.

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26 Trans. Bachvarova in López-Ruiz (2013: 159), translit. Rieken *et al.* (2009 ff.) on KhT.

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“WHEN THE STORM GOD THUNDERS”: SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON HITTITE THUNDER FESTIVALS

*Francesco G. BARSACCHI**

Introduction¹

The group of Hittite tablets currently classified under CTH 630 and 631 represents a unique *corpus* of documents which casts light on a hitherto little investigated aspect of Hittite religious belief. The preserved texts, whose oldest exemplars date to the Old Hittite period, describe the celebration of particular festivals and rites aimed at exorcising the religious fear caused by the thunder² and to protect the king from the potential danger perceived in the phenomenon, interpreted as a direct expression of the wrath of the Storm God. With the exception of Neu’s publication of KBo 17.74+ in 1970³, no text belonging to this corpus has ever been the object of a comprehensive edition. In this article I intend to address the problem concerning the nature of the ceremonies described in the texts, arguing that they are not to be considered as casuistic rites performed occasionally, but as regular ceremonies which were celebrated at a specific time of the year, like many other seasonal festivals attested in Hittite documentation.

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1 This paper presents some general results of my dissertation, discussed at the University of Florence in April 2014. The work has been published in 2017 with the title “Le feste ittite del tuono. Edizione critica di CTH 631” (Studia Asiana 12). I am very grateful to prof. Giulia Torri for reading a previous draft of this paper and for her invaluable remarks and observations. Any errors or mistakes are mine and mine alone. The abbreviations used follow those of the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*.

2 On this aspect see the interesting considerations by Oettinger, 2001: 453-454.

3 Neu, 1970.

The text corpus

Besides many fragments which are assigned to the same text group but cannot be placed with certainty due to their fragmentary conditions, five main compositions can be detected in CTH 631.⁴

The oldest text of the *corpus*, KBo 17.11+⁵, and its duplicate, KBo 17.74+, have a typical Old Hittite script⁶. The document, as already observed by Wilhelm⁷, shows the distinct features of a *Sammeltafel*, a compilation tablet where the descriptions of two different festivals related to thunder are collected⁸. Between them, a short redactional insert of only five lines seems to describe the actions the king has to perform if a sudden clap of thunder at the end of the day makes a prosecution of the rite necessary.

Two other compositions, KBo 17.75 and KBo 20.61+⁹, can be dated to a later phase. A close examination of the ductus¹⁰ shows paleographic features which have generally been considered as typical of the Middle Hittite script¹¹. Both texts are divided by single or double paragraph lines into different sections and have hitherto been considered, as KBo 17.74+ // KBo 17.11+, compilation tablets, collecting several thunder festivals. However, some features, which I have described elsewhere¹², could represent the attempt to adapt a standard ritual practice to an unpredictable event such as thunder. The different sections in which the tablets are divided seem to record, rather than entirely different festival descriptions, the modifications that the thunder festival has to undergo in relation to the atmospheric condition. If so, they would not represent ordinary *Sammeltafel*n but a very unusual typology of scribal products, which has no parallel in Hittite documentation.

4 All texts are now published in Barsacchi, 2017.

5 Published in transcription by Neu, 1980: 5-11.

6 *Contra* Neu, 1970: 6-7, who considers KBo 17.74+ a MS composition. See Barsacchi 2017: 26-28. Cf. also Neu - Rüster, 1973: 235.

7 Wilhelm, 1992: 383-384.

8 On Hittite *Sammeltafel*n, see Hutter, 2011: 115-128, with previous literature.

9 On which see also Goedegebuure, 2017: 105-107.

10 See Barsacchi, 2014: 165-167; 209-210.

11 On the difficulties in the definition of the Middle Hittite script see the considerations by Popko, 2007: 575-581; van den Hout, 2009: 21-35; Weeden, 2011: 46-49, all with further literature.

12 See Barsacchi, 2015: 38-40.

KBo 20.61+, in particular, is the only text of this group that explicitly refers, at the end of the description of the first day, to the celebration of a “thunder festival”, EZEN₄ *tetḫešnaš*, in ll. obv. II 8-9: [...] *lukkattama* EZEN₄ *tetḫešnaš* / [*iyanzi* (?)] (...) ¹³, “the following day [they perform (?)] the festival of thunder (...)”. I believe that this reference alludes to the standard articulation of the thunder festival, whose complete description, however, is not present on the tablet, where only the incipit of the ceremony and the eventual modifications to the original sequence of rites prescribed for each day of the festival are recorded.

VSNF 12.10, another Middle Hittite tablet, clearly belongs to the same typology of texts but the broken conditions of the document prevent us from understanding whether it shares this particular structure or not.

All the texts, designated in the preserved colophons ¹⁴ simply as “tablets of the thunder”, DUB *tetḫešnaš*, begin with the description of the location and the particular action carried out by the king at the moment of the thunderclap, and describe the rites that have to be performed in order to deal with the new situation determined by the occurrence of the thunder, a situation perceived as potentially dangerous for the holiness of the king.

This character of unpredictability of the rites is particularly evident in the composition whose fragments are currently listed under CTH 630. The preserved colophons generally refer to the composition as follows: DUB x EZEN₄ ^DEN.ZU EZEN₄ *tetḫuwaša kuwapi anda imiyattari*, “tablet x of the festival of the moon and of the festival of thunder, when they are performed jointly” ¹⁵. It is a specific, three-days long, thunder festival, which originates from the superimposition of the structure of the thunder festival onto an ongoing ceremony, designated in the incipit of the text as “festival of the moon-god”, EZEN₄ ^DEN.ZU, necessitated by the sudden emergence of thunder during its celebration.

13 See also KBo 20.61+, rev. III 4.

14 Cf. KBo 17.74+, rev. IV 43'; KBo 17.75, rev. IV 57'; KBo 17.77 (which I believe is the colophon of KBo 20.61+), rev. IV x+1'.

15 KUB 32.135, rev. IV 59'-60'; KBo 25.178, rev. IV 20'-22'; KBo 23.64 rev. III 39'-41'.

The fragments of the composition show either a Middle or a Late Hittite script, but the close affinity with the documents of CTH 631, already attested in the Old Hittite period, and the Hattian background of the divine lists mentioned in two texts of the *corpus*¹⁶ seem to point to an Old Hittite tradition. As can be observed from the few preserved colophons, the festival seems to be collected on two different tablet series: one organized according to the number of the tablets and one organized according to the festival days¹⁷.

The external sources

While styled as substitute CASUISTIC with OCCASIONAL rituals, thunder festivals were assigned a specific calendrical setting. Several external sources record the importance of these ceremonies in Hittite cult and their celebration both at a local level and in what is generally defined as “state cult”. In particular, two types of documents, the so-called “cult inventories”¹⁸ and the oracular reports relating to the cultic duties of the king currently filed as CTH 563 and 564, prove to be particularly meaningful. From these sources, thunder festivals appear as seasonal ceremonies, performed every year at a specific time, which I believe can be identified with the beginning of the spring season, the moment of transition between the old and the new year in the Hittite calendar.

The cult inventory KUB 42.105+ (CTH 525)¹⁹ reports information about the development of the two major yearly celebrations in the Hittite calendar, the spring and the autumn festivals²⁰, in a series of cities, mentioning for each of them the amount of offerings prescribed and the main deities involved. In the fourth column of the reverse, the celebration of a “thunder festival” is mentioned as well. The broken condition of this part of the tablet prevents us from identifying the name of the city where the festival is performed.

16 On this divine list see Laroche, 1973: 83-89.

17 The same thing was observed by Singer, 1983: 38-48, with regard to the Old Hittite KILAM festival.

18 On this text group see Carter, 1962; Hazenbos, 2003; Cammarosano, 2012a, all with previous literature.

19 Most recently treated by Cammarosano, 2012a: 398-407.

20 On which see Archi, 1973: 7-27.

4' [A-NA EZEN₄ t]e-et-^hhe-eš^h-[na]-^haš 2 UDU 2 DUG KA.GAG ZÌ.D[A

5' [x UP-NU A]R-^hŠÀ^h-AN-NU 1 wa-^hak^h-šur GA 1 tar-na-aš [Ì.NUN]

6' [ŠU.NIGIN] 4'UDU 5 PA ZÌ.DA 4 DUG KA.GAG.A A-NA [

7' [x na-a^h]-^hha-ši-iš Ì.NUN MU-ti me-^he^h-[ni

(4'-7') “[For the festival] of [th]un[d]er: 2 sheeps, 2 vessels of KA.GAG beer, fl[our...x UPNU] of barley porridge, 1 *wakšur* of milk, 1 *tarna-* of [butter...].

[Total]: 4 sheeps, 5 *PARĪSU* of flour, 4 vessels of KA.GAG.A beer for [...], [x *na^h*]*haši* of butter over the cou[rse] of the year [...].”

In KUB 38.12 (CTH 517), a text relating to the cult of the city of Karahna, a festival of thunder is mentioned two times among the celebrations to be performed in the course of the year for the Storm God of Liḫzina and the divine couple: Storm God - Sun Goddess of Arinna. In the first occurrence, the thunder festival is associated with another yearly event with a clear seasonal character, the summer festival.

obv. II

6 DU^{URU} Li-iḫ-zi-na DINGIR^{LIM}-tar ki-nu-un EGIR-pa DÙ-ir

7 É.DINGIR^{LIM}-ši ú-e-te-ir EZEN₄^{MEŠ} GIŠ^{!HUR} gaš-tar-ḫa-i-da

8 tar-ra-u-wa-an 2 EZEN₄^{MEŠ}-ši MU-aš me-ia-na-aš

9 ŠÀ 1 EZEN₄ te-et-^hhe-eš-na-aš 1 EZEN₄^{GIŠ}BURU₁₄ (...)

(...)

12 DU AN^E DUTU^{URU} PÚ-na KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN kap-pu-u-wa-an

(...)

22 EZEN₄^{MEŠ} GIŠ^{HUR} gaš-tar-ḫa-^hta^h tar-ra-u-wa-an

23 NINDA.GUR₄.RA UD^{KAM}-ši EZEN₄ ITU^{KAM} e-eš-zi 1 EZEN₄ te-e[^ht-^hhe-eš-na-aš]

24 [M]U-^haš me^h-ia-na-aš (...)

(6-9) “Storm God of Liḫzina: now they have remade the divine image (and) for him they have built a temple. The festivals are established according to the wooden tablet *gaštarḫaita*²¹: 2 festivals for him over the course of the year, whereof a festival of thunder (and) a festival of the summer (...).

(12) Storm God of Heaven, Sun-goddess of Arinna: silver (and) gold have been registered (...).

(22-24) The festivals are established according to the wooden tablet *gaštarḫaita*: for him there is a daily bread, a monthly festival and a festival of thun[der] over the course of the year (...).”

In KUB 56.56, listed under CTH 670 among the fragments of festivals but certainly to be identified with a cult inventory connected to the city of Ḫurma²², the festival of thunder is mentioned in the group of ceremonies performed for the deities of Zippalanda, together with the festival EN.NU.WA.ŠU, an obscure logographic construction not yet interpreted.

rev. IV

5 (...) 27 PA ZÌ.DA 14 DUG KA.GAG 21 DUG [
 6 1 PA AR-SÁ-AN-NU 1 GA.KIN.AG LÚ^{MES} É.GAL^{URU} Ḫur-ma p[é-eš-kán-zi]
 7 4 [DU]G ta-wa-al ki-nu-na-aš NU.GÁL nu GEŠTIN kar-ša-an-[zi]
 8 A-NA NINDA.GUR₄.RAUD^{KAM}-mi EZEN₄ ITU^{KAM} A-NA 2 EZEN₄^{MES}-ia [
 9 ŠÀ 1 EZEN₄ te-et-ḫe-eš-na-aš 1 EZEN₄ EN.NU.WA.ŠU^{DU} URU Z[i-ip-pa-la-an-da]
 10 ^DAn-zi-li²³ ^DḪa/ur-ša-aš-wa ḪUR.SAG Da-a-ḫa ^DU.GUR-ia [

(5-10) “ The employees of the palace of Ḫurma provi[de]: 27 *PARĪSU* of flour, 14 vessels of KA.GAG beer, 21 vessels of [...]. 1 *PARĪSU* of barley porridge (and) a cheese [...] 4 vessels of *tawal* beer: now (this is) not (there) and they neglect the wine. For the daily bread and the monthly festival, and for two festivals, whereof a festival of thunder

21 On this term, whose meaning remains unknown, see the considerations by Cammarosano, 2012a: 419, with n. 852.

22 Cf. Pecchioli Daddi - Baldi, 2004: 495-506.

23 ^DAn-zi-li-iš in the autography.

and a festival EN.NU.WA.ŠU, for the Storm God of Z[ippalanda], Anzili, Ța/uršašwa, the mountain DaȚa and U.GUR [...].”

A thunder festival for the Storm God of Zippalanda is also mentioned, although in broken context, in the first column of the obverse of the tablet KUB 55.1 (CTH 581/CTH 574) a document collecting negligences towards a series of cultic duties²⁴.

21' [Š]A^{DU URU} *Zi-ip-la-an-[da wa-aš-ku-uš*

22' EZEN₄ ITU-wa ŠA ITU 3^{KAM}

23' ŠA GEŠTIN ŠA x[

24' *ki-nu-un-^{ma}-wa x[*

25' A-NA EZEN₄ *te-et-ĥ[e-eš-na-aš*

26' *ki-nu-un-^{ma}-wa ke-^e-[da-ni*

(21-26) “[Negligence] concerning the Storm God of Zippalanda: the monthly festival of the third month [...] of the wine, of [...]. Now instead [...] for the festival [of] thun[der...]. Now instead to thi[s?...]”

In the fourth column of the same tablet, a festival of thunder is mentioned in the group of ceremonies for the mountain DaȚa, the holy mountain of Zippalanda, immediately before the festival of the year. The indication that the performance of these ceremonies has been neglected for two years seems to confirm the yearly character of the thunder festival. In the following paragraph, the same ceremony seems to be performed for the holy mountain Puškurunuwa. Immediately before, a “great festival” is mentioned as well.

24 Transcribed by Groddek, 2002: 1-5. See also Popko, 1994: 302-303 (for ll. obv. I, 21'-28' and rev. IV, 13-15).

- 13 A-NA^{HURSAG} Da-a-ḥa^{URU} Ša-[˘]an-ti[˘]-wa-ra IŠ-TU ŠUM^PUTU^{ŠI} EZE[N₄ ITU]
 14 ŠA ITU 12^{KAM} EZEN₄ GURUN EZEN₄ te-et-ḥ[e-eš-n]a-aš EZEN₄ MU-ti EZEN₄ NA⁴ZI.[KIN
 15 kat-ta-an ḥa-ma-an-kán ki-nu-na ka-[a-a]š MU 2^{KAM} ku-it-ta-at UL e-[eš-ša-an-zi]
 16 [x x x (x) Pù]š-ku-ru-nu-wa EZEN₄.[˘]GAL[˘] [
 17 [x x EZEN₄ te-e]t-ḥe-eš-na-aš 2 UDU x[

(13-15) “For the mountain Daḥa to the city of Šantiwara, at the wish of my Majesty, are imposed: the [monthly] festi[val] of the twelfth month, the festival of the fruit, the festival of thunder, the festival of the year, the festival of the ste[le]. Now this is (already) the second year. Why don’t they [do] it?”

(16-17) [...] Puškurunuwa the great festival [...]festival] of thunder 2 sheeps [...].”

The festival of the thunder is mentioned twice also in the text KUB 53.21 (CTH 678)²⁵, although it is not certain whether it belongs to the corpus of cult inventories or not. On the reverse of the tablet, a sequence of festivals performed in Nerik for several deities is recorded. The celebration of a thunder festival is prescribed, together with a “festival in the autumn”, EZEN₄ zeni, for the Sun God of the Heaven in this case, the usual writing EZEN₄ tethesnas has been replaced by the equivalent logographic writing EZEN₄ BÚN. More logically, the celebration of a festival of the thunder for the Storm God of Nerik is prescribed in line rev. 10⁷.

- 2⁷ [x x x x (x)]x-aš-ši ḥar-pi-ia-aš EZEN₄ x[
 3⁷ [x (x) ^DUTU^U]RU[˘] A[˘]-ri-in-na EZEN₄ BURU₁₄ EZEN₄ z[é-na-aš-ša]
 4⁷ [x x (x)]^DUTU AN^E EZEN₄ BÚN EZEN₄ zé-ni [
 5⁷ [^{URU}N]e-ri-ik-ka₄ ^DKAL EZEN₄ BURU₁₄ EZEN₄ zé-na-aš-ša
 6⁷ ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik-ka₄ ^DTe-li-pi-nu Û A-NA ^DḤa-a-ša-me-l[i]
 7⁷ [EZ]EN₄ BURU₁₄ EZEN₄ zé-na-aš-ša

25 Edited by Haas, 1970: 309-310.

- 8' ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik-ka₄ li-la-an ku-wa-pí KÙ-an-zi nu A-NA ^{DM}[AḪ]
 9' ^{NA4}ZI.KIN li-la-aš-ša-al-la ku-wa-pí nu A-NA ^{DM}[AḪ]
 10' ^{DU} ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik EZEN₄ te-et-ḫe-eš-^{na}-[aš] ^{A-NA} ^D' [

(2'-7') “[...] *ḫarpiyaš*, festival [...]. [... Sun Goddess of] Arinna: festival of the summer, festival [of the autumn]. [...] Sun God of Heaven (?): festival of thunder, festival in autumn. In Nerik (for) ^DKAL: festival of the summer, festival of the autumn. In Nerik (for) Telipinu and Ḫašamili: festival of the summer, festival of the autumn.

(8'-10') When they celebrate the conciliation in Nerik for DINGIR.MAḪ and (by) the stele of conciliation for DINGIR.M[AḪ...]. Storm God of Nerik: festival of thunder. For [...].”

This brief list is completed by a small fragment from Kušakli/Sarissa, KuSA I. 1/4 (CTH 530)²⁶, where in the same paragraph the “daily bread”, the monthly festival and some yearly festivals are mentioned together with a thunder festival, expressed also in this case by the logographic writing EZEN₄ BÚN.

The summary character of the inventory tablets, imposed by the very nature of this textual typology, prevents us from identifying elements which could clarify the nature of the festivals related to thunder, and how they were performed. Still, some data can be inferred. These festivals appear as regular ceremonies, which are performed in several local religious centres on an annual basis, generally as a part of the cult due to a particular deity. Like other local festivals, they are directly related to local habits and beliefs, and inserted in cult calendars largely modelled on natural and agricultural cycles.

At the same time, however, unlike many other festivals mentioned in the cult inventories, thunder festivals survive also in detailed descriptions, represented by the particular typology of compositions collected in CTH 631, whose character I have tried to delineate above.

26 Edited by Hazenbos, 2003: 155-156.

These documents, copied and preserved from the Old Hittite period in the archives of Ḫattuša, clearly indicate that the thunder festivals were also part of what is generally called the Hittite “state cult”. Maybe originally local festivals, performed at a certain period of the year in order to appease the angry Storm God, thunder ceremonies became official festivals, performed by the king and his entourage in order to prevent the potential negative effects perceived in thunder and to exorcize the religious fear caused by the phenomenon. It is certainly to this official sphere of Hittite worship that the festival of the thunder mentioned in the fourth paragraph of the Instructions for the temple personnel CTH 264 must be assigned:

KUB 13.4, obv. I

39 [an-da-m]a EZEN₄ ITU^{KAM} EZEN₄ MU^{TI} EZEN₄ A-IA-LI EZEN₄ z[é-na-a]n-da-aš
 40 EZEN₄ ḫa-me-eš-ḫa-an-da-aš EZEN₄ te-et-ḫe-eš-na-aš EZEN₄ ḫi-ia-r[a]-aš
 41 EZEN₄ pu-u-da-ḫa-aš EZEN₄ i-šū-wa-aš EZEN₄ ša-at-la-aš-ša-aš
 42 EZEN₄ BI-IB-RI EZEN₄^{MEŠ} šu-up-pa-ia-aš ^{LÚ}SANGA-aš
 43 EZEN₄^{MEŠ} LÚ^{MEŠ}ŠU.GI EZEN₄^{MEŠ} MUNUS^{MEŠ} AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} EZEN₄ da-ḫi-ia-aš
 44 EZEN₄^{MEŠ} LÚ^{MEŠ} ú-pa-ti-ia-aš EZEN₄^{MEŠ} pu-u-l[a]-aš EZEN₄^{MEŠ} ḫa-aḫ-ra-an-na -aš
 45 na-aš-ma-aš ku-iš im-ma ku-iš EZEN₄-aš ^{URU}ḫ[a-a]t-tu-ši-kán še-er
 46 na-aš ma-a-an IŠ-TU GU₄^{HLA} UDU^{HLA} NINDA KAŠ Û IŠ-TU GEŠTIN
 47 ḫu-u-ma-an-da-az ša-ra-a ti-ia-an-ta UL e-eš-ša-at-te-ni
 48 na-at pé-eš-kán-zi ku-i-e-eš nu-uš-ma-aš šu-me-eš LÚ^{MEŠ} É.DINGIR^{LIM}
 49 ḫa-ap-pár da-aš-kat-te-ni DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš-ma-at-kán ZI-ni wa-ak-ši-ia-nu-ut-te-ni

(39-49) “Fur[ther]more: the festival of the month, the festival of the year, the festival of the stag, the fall festival, the [fe]stival of the spring, the thunder festival, the [fe]stival of *ḫiyara*, the festival of *pudaḫa*, the festival of *ḫišuwa*, the festival of *[ša]tlašša*, the festival of the *rhyton*, the festivals of the sacred SANGA-[priest], the festivals of the old men, the festivals of the AMA.DINGIR priestesses, the festival of *daḫiya*-, the festivals of the *upati*-men, the festivals of the lot, the festivals of *ḫahratar*, or whatever festival (there is) up in Ḫattuša, if you do not celebrate them along with all cattle, sheep, bread, beer and wine set up

(for the gods), but (from) those (people) giving it (the offerings), you - Temple-men -from them you'll keep taking payment, you will cause them (the offerings) to fall short off the will of the gods.”²⁷

The thunder festival is mentioned as part of a group of eighteen festivals that the religious functionaries of the central administration in Ḫattuša have to perform in the course of the year. As correctly observed by A. Taggar-Cohen²⁸, the list is conceived with a rational method: it mentions first the seasonal festivals of old Anatolian tradition, such as the festivals of the month and of the year, and then ceremonies such as the *hiyara*, the *pudaḫa* and the *hišuwa* festivals, whose presence must be considered a direct reflex of the religious politics of the royal court at the time of the redaction of the text, largely influenced by Hurrian religious notions. The festival of thunder, mentioned immediately after the spring festival, can confidently be assigned to the first group²⁹.

It is very likely that the local thunder festivals mentioned in the cult inventories differed in many aspects from the official ceremony performed in Ḫattuša. The shift from a traditional rite, related to local habits and cults, to an official one, performed in the capital at the presence of the royal court, certainly implied a certain degree of modification in the ceremony and its structure. The main purpose itself of the official rite, aimed at the ritual protection of the king, was clearly different from the one attributed to the ceremony at a local level.

The festivals of thunder and the Hittite cult calendar

As recently suggested by Cammarosano³⁰, the order and position of the festivals mentioned in the cult inventories seem to reflect a chronological succession, even though exceptions from the normal sequence are attested³¹.

27 English translation by Taggar-Cohen, 2006: 53-54. Cf. Süel, 1985: 26-29.

28 Taggar-Cohen, 2006: 122.

29 Pace Taracha, 2009: 137, according to whom: “Some of these festivals belonged to the old tradition, while the festivals of thunder, *hiyara*, *pudaḫa* and *šatlašša* were celebrated for Teššub of Ḫalab and deities from his circle”.

30 Cammarosano, 2012a: 181-182.

31 Cammarosano, 2012a: 169; *id.*, 2012b: 18, n. 39.

The festivals, in other words, seem to have been listed rationally and grouped according to their calendrical setting. A regular structure can thus be identified, with the autumn festivals generally preceding those of the spring and these followed by the ceremonies connected with the agricultural activities of the summer³². In KUB 38.12 the festival of thunder precedes the summer festival, EZEN₄BURU₁₂, lit. “festival of the summer/harvest”, a logographic expression which could also refer to the spring festival³³. In KUB 53.21 it is followed by the autumn festival, like the several festivals of the summer performed for the different deities of Nerik and mentioned in the same passage. The reversed order, with the summer (or spring) festivals preceding that of the autumn, could reflect here the order of their performance starting from the beginning of the year rather than the traditional seasonal sequence by which the festivals are listed in the inventory tablets.

In the Instruction text KUB 13.4, a thunder festival is mentioned immediately after the autumn and the spring festivals and it is grouped together with other ceremonies, such as the *hiyara*- festival, whose celebration was almost certainly carried out in the spring³⁴.

A close correlation between thunder festivals and the spring season is further suggested by the fact that the Hittites explicitly connected the celebration of the festivals of the spring with the acoustic perception of thunder.

The description of the spring festival in the inventory texts is generally introduced by the standard formula: GIM-an DIŠI / *ḫamešḫanza DÜ-ri tethai* ^{DUG}*ḫarši gēnuanzi* (e.g. KBo 2.7, obv. 9', rev. 16 *passim*), “When the spring comes (and) it thunders, they open the *ḫarši* vessel”.

32 The fact that the autumn festival always precedes the spring festival seems to contradict the chronological order of their performance, considering that the Hittite year began in spring. This has been explained by Hazenbos, 2003: 169, as the reflex of an ancient agricultural calendar where the beginning of the year was placed in autumn. Cf. Haas, 1994: 693. Cammarosano, 2012a: 181, suggests also that the sequence could reflect the logical priority of the action of filling the *ḫarši*- vessel with the harvest, typical of the autumn festival, on the ritual opening of the vessel which characterized the spring festival. On these ritual actions see Archi, 1973: 14-18.

33 Cf. Cammarosano, 2012b: 18, n. 39.

34 See Haas, 1994: 556. Cf. also n. 113. The *hiyara*- festival, in particular, was probably performed in the months of April or May, if the derivation from the Akkadian term *ayyāri*, which designated a spring month in many west-Semitic calendars, is correct. Cf. HED 3: 304. On this festival see Hutter, 2002: 187-196, with further literature. Cf. also Taggar-Cohen, 2006: 96. See also the critical considerations by Trémouille, 1997: 101-102, based on the fact that, in KBo 14.142, obv. II, 34 (CTH 698), the festival seems to take place in the 10th month, i.e. in winter period.

This clause can be found in slightly different forms, such as: *GIM-an=ma DI₁₂-ŠI DÙ-ri tetḫiman ištamaššanzi*, “when the spring comes (and) they hear the thunder”, attested in KUB 17.35, II 12’, or, more simply: *GIM-an=ma ḫamišḫi DÙ-ri tetḫai*, “when in spring it thunders” (KUB 25.23+ obv. I 8’)³⁵.

Even today on the Anatolian plateau the spring season, whose beginning can be placed between the end of the month of March and the beginning of April, is characterized by heavy rainfalls³⁶.

Given the impossibility of confining a meteorological phenomenon such as thunder to an exact chronological timeframe, it is very likely that the starting moment of the spring festivals was marked by a certain degree of flexibility, and a geographical variation dependent on the climatic situation must certainly be assumed as well.

The association between the thunderstorm and the beginning of the spring season which emerges from the cult inventories makes it likely that the meteorological ceremonies connected to thunder and defined in the sources as *EZEN₄ tetḫešnaš/BÚN* were celebrated in the same period of the year³⁷.

The transition between winter and spring coincides with the beginning of the Hittite year. This seems to be confirmed by the often-quoted passage KUB 38.32, obv. 3 (CTH 508): *GIM-an zénaš kišari ANA MU^{KAM}-ti ITU 8^{KAM}*, “(...) when it becomes autumn, in the eight month of the year”. If we calculate, with Hoffner³⁸, the approximate length of the Hittite autumn in two months, the current months of November and December, the text would place the beginning of the Hittite year between the end of March and the beginning of April, which coincides perfectly with the beginning of the spring period³⁹.

35 On the grammatical form *ḫamišḫi DÙ-ri tetḫai* see the considerations by Cammarosano, 2012a: 234, with previous literature.

36 Hoffner Jr., 1974: 18, 22, with further references.

37 See also Taggar-Cohen, 2006: 119.

38 Hoffner Jr., 1974: 42.

39 The same date can be inferred from KUB 20.25, a text dealing with the cult of Zippalanda, where the twelfth (and last) month of the year is explicitly located in winter. Cf. Popko, 1994: 309.

In the ten year Annals of the king Muršili the second (KBo 3.4 + KUB 23.125, obv. II 48)⁴⁰ the celebration of a festival of the year is mentioned at the end of the campaign of the third year, and thus in winter period, when all military activities are suspended. In the next paragraph, the description of the events of the following year is introduced by the phrase: “when the spring comes”. Later on, Muršili claims to have waged battle against the city of Puranta: “when I finished celebrating the festival of the year” (KBo 3.4 + KUB 23.125, obv. II 57).

The exact meaning of the expression $EZEN_4 MU^{KAM}$, is not clear but, in such contexts⁴¹, it probably refers to the particular ceremony, or ensemble of ceremonies, which marked the passage from the old to the new year, and was an important part both of the official cult calendar and of the local religious traditions reflected in the inventory texts. It must not be confused with ceremonies like the *purulli* festival, whose calendrical setting is still far from ascertained⁴², or the cult of the Year performed in the *hešta*- house on the eleventh day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival⁴³, whose celebration took place at a later time of the spring, as confirmed by the oracular report KUB 18.12+⁴⁴.

Whether the time of celebration of the $EZEN_4 MU$ was clearly established on an astronomical basis (e.g. the solar equinox⁴⁵), or depended on a rather fluctuant seasonal event, such as the thunderstorms which marked the beginning of the spring season, is hard to establish. The spring thunders certainly represented an important marker of time, as confirmed by the introductory formula which opens the description of the spring festivals in

40 See Del Monte, 1993: 65.

41 In other contexts the expression $EZEN_4 MU$ certainly must not be understood as referring to a particular ceremony, but rather as “yearly festival”, i.e. as a general indication for a festival performed once in a year. Cf. the prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal CTH 375: UD-aš ITU-aš MU-ti meyaniyaš SÍSKUR^{III.A} EZEN^{III.A}₄, “daily, monthly and annual rites and festivals” (KUB 17.21, obv. I 21’-22’; rev. III 14’-15’ with duplicates). See the translation by Singer, 2002: 42-43.

42 Pace Haas, 1994: 696ff., who identifies it with the Hittite New Year festival and believes it was initially celebrated in autumn, before being integrated, at least in part, in the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival from the time of Muršili II. Thus also Hutter, 1997: 81-82. Cf. now, on the *purulli* festival and its relationship with the cult of Lelwani performed in the *hešta*- house, Torri, 2015: 296-298.

43 On which see Torri, 1999: 21-29; *id.*, 2015: 295-296.

44 See below.

45 See Haas, 1994: 693 with n. 142.

the cult inventories, as well as by the fact that some sources correlate the thunder festivals and the festival of the year.

This is the case of two oracular texts, KUB 5.4+KUB 18.53 (CTH 563) and KUB 18.12+KUB 22.15 (CTH 564), where omens concerning the place where the Hittite king will spend the winter period and the cultic duties which he, together with the queen, will have to perform, are collected. The documents, very similar in their structure, follow the pattern of Hittite oracular praxis, proceeding through consecutive questions, to which a positive or negative answer is given⁴⁶. The two passages read as follows:

KUB 5.4 + KUB 18.53, obv. I

- 16 [D]UTU^{ŠI} *ke-e-da-ni* MU-ti I-NA URU^{URU}Ḫat-ti SÈD i-ia-zi
 17 [nu-z]a EZEN₄^{MEŠ} SAG.UŠ EZEN₄ MU-ti EZEN₄ BÚN-na-aš I-NA
 URU^{URU}Ḫat-ti DÙ-zi

(16-17) “My Majesty in this year will spend the winter in Ḫattuša and he will celebrate in Ḫattuša the regular festivals, (i.e.) the festival of the year, the festival of thunder”.

KUB 18.12 + KUB 22.15, obv. I

- 1 [ma-a]-an-kán DUTU^{ŠI} *la-aḫ-ḫa-az* UGU *ú-iz-zi nu-za* DINGIR^{MEŠ}
 DÙ-zi ŠÈ₁₂-an-zi-ma DUTU^{ŠI} MUNUS.LUGAL URU^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR-ši
 2 ŠA^{DU} URU^{URU}Ḫa-la-ab EZEN₄ *te-et-ḫe-eš-na-aš-za a-pí-ia* DÙ-an-zi
 EZEN MU-ti-za a-pí-ia DÙ-an-zi
 3 MUŠEN^{HIA} *mi-ia-na-aš-ši a-pí-ia ta-ru-up-pa-an-ta-ri* GIM-an-ma ŠA
 AN.TAḪ.ŠUM *me-ḫur ti-ia-zi nu-kán A-NA* DINGIR^{MEŠ}
 4 AN.TAḪ.ŠUM *ti-ia-an-zi* (...)

(1-2) “[Wh]en my Majesty comes up from the military campaign, he will celebrate the gods, and my Majesty and the queen will spend the

46 On these texts, see Archi, 1975: 122-123, 141.

winter in Ḫattuša. There they will celebrate the festival of thunder of the Storm God of Ḫalap, there they will celebrate the festival of the year, there the birds of the season will congregate for him, and when the time of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM comes, then they will place the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM for the gods (...). ”

In KUB 5.4 + KUB 18.53 the thunder festival and the festival of the year are defined as “regular festivals”. The exact definition of the expression EZEN₄.SAG.UŠ is still a much debated issue, whose solution is not without relevance for our comprehension of the Hittite cult calendar. Singer approached the problem focusing on the relationship between the expression EZEN₄.SAG.UŠ and the locution EZEN₄.GAL, the “great festival”, suggesting that with the term “regular”, SAG.UŠ, akk. *KAYYAMANŪ*, hitt. *ukturi-*, the Hittite scribes defined the standard version of a festival, performed on an annual basis at a fixed time⁴⁷.

According to this interpretation, the expression “great festival”, when referring to the same ceremony, would have been used to indicate a distinct version of it, perhaps more extended, to be celebrated only in certain years for particular occasions⁴⁸. Singer based this theory on the presence of both the “regular” and the “great” version of the KILAM festival and of the festival of the *hešta*-house in the shelf list KUB 30.68. His solution, although intriguing, does not take into account the presence of “great festivals” in Hittite cult inventories, such as in KUB 38.12 (CTH 517), where a great festival is mentioned among the ceremonies performed annually for the god ^DKAL in Karaḫna. We find mentions of an EZEN₄.GAL also in the fragments of cult inventories KBo 13.252⁴⁹ and KuSa I. 1/5⁵⁰ (both listed under CTH 530), where the term is even attested in the plural form (KuSa I. 1/5, obv. 4': [...] x EZEN₄^{MES} GAL [...]). This seems to me to contradict

47 Singer, 1983: 47-48.

48 Referring to the mentions, in the Annals of Muršili II, of “the festivals of the sixth year” at the end of the campaign of the 10th and 16th year (cf. Del Monte, 1993: 100-113), Singer, 1983: 94 (with n. 30) suggests that the “great festivals” were celebrated in a six-years cycle. However, Taracha, 2009: 70, n. 386 (with further literature), correctly points out that the great festival of Telipinu in Ḫanḫhana was celebrated every nine years, and that festivals “of the third year” are attested as well (e.g. KBo 13.231, rev.[?] 7': 1 'EZEN₄' ŠA MU 3^{KAM}. Cf. Hazenbos, 2003: 86-87).

49 Edited by Hazenbos, 2003: 109-11.

50 Edited by Hazenbos, 2003: 156-159.

Singer’s distinction between “regular festivals” performed annually and “great festivals” performed only in certain years. According to Del Monte⁵¹, the adjective *šalli-*, when applied to a festival, would indicate the local ceremonies which have become part of the larger AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} and *nuntarriyašhaš* festivals, but this assumption remains extremely uncertain.

In the reports CTH 563 and CTH 564 the thunder festival and the festival of the year are mentioned as the most important cult activity that the king has to perform in the particular period of the year taken into account by the oracular investigation. In this sense their definition as “regular” festivals is no surprise, since their performance is not presented as an exceptional event but as a standard religious duty the king has to perform at a specific time of the year, a time characterized by recurrent thunderclaps and perceived as the moment of transition between winter and spring.

The expression SAG.UŠ probably refers to the festivals that had a fixed place in a cult calendar, connected with seasonal events or religious activities unvaryingly performed at particular times of the year⁵². As regards local cults, it is likely that every religious centre of the Hittite empire had its own regular festivals, which did not necessarily coincide with those performed elsewhere. Similarly, in the official cult, some religious ceremonies which did not have correspondence in the local cults, such as the KILAM festival and the festival performed in the *hešta-* house, assumed the character of EZEN₄ SAG.UŠ. The relationship between the regular and the great versions of the same festivals currently remains an open question.

Houwink ten Cate has seen a contradiction between the aforementioned oracular reports, which connect the celebration of the festival of the year and the festival of the thunder with the winter period, and the picture that emerges from the inventory tablets, where the thunder as a meteorological

51 Del Monte, 1993: 27-28.

52 With regard to the “regular festival” in the *hešta-* house mentioned in the Middle Hittite shelf list KBo 31.1+, obv. 8’, I tentatively suggest that this expression could refer to the rites connected with the new year performed in the *hešta-* house during the 11th day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival (whose main core was already formed by the time of Šuppiluliuma I), which has a seasonal character and a precise calendrical setting. This part of the great spring festival was created on the basis of an old tradition of rites devoted to the goddess Lelwani and her circle and performed in the *hešta* house, a tradition represented by KBo 17. 15 and its later manuscripts. Cf. Torri, 2013: 289-296.

phenomenon is clearly associated with the spring⁵³. According to the scholar, this is no surprise, since “a festival of Thundering in a cult calendar is a *contradictio in terminis*. It inevitably was an ad hoc religious festival”⁵⁴. A certain character of uncertainty in the definition of the exact moment of celebration of the thunder festivals is certainly undeniable, given the fact that they are closely related to an unpredictable meteorological event. Nonetheless, I find it hard to see a contradiction between the situation presented in the cult inventories and the one described in CTH 563 and 564. Far from proving the *ad hoc* character of the festivals related to thunder, they seem to me to confirm the fact that they took place at a precise time of the year, a time characterized by a strong religious meaning: the beginning of the spring season, which coincides with the transition from the old to the new year in Hittite calendar, as confirmed by the close association between the festival of thunder and the festival of the year, particularly evident in the oracular reports concerning the winter stay of the king, but observable also in some cult inventories (cf. KUB 55.1 rev. IV 14’).

The recurrent thunderclaps of this time of the year marked the beginning of the spring season. The festivals of thunder mentioned in the cult inventories could have been performed in occasion of the first thunders of the new season, immediately before the several ceremonies of the spring mentioned in the cult inventories as an important part of local cult calendars⁵⁵. As confirmed by the oracular report KUB 18.12+, the festival of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant, which incorporated several originally independent local cults, was celebrated at a later time with respect to the thunder festival and the festival of the year, whose celebration took place in the liminal period between the old and the new year.

Conclusion

Although thunder signaled the beginning of the spring season and the renewal of the agricultural cycle, and was therefore an essential and most welcome

53 Houwink ten Cate, 1992: 92.

54 *Ibidem*.

55 Thus also Taggar-Cohen, 2006: 119, according to whom: “(...) the thunder festival is the first among the festivals of the spring”.

marker of time in Hittite calendar, it remained, from a strictly religious point of view, a frightening manifestation of the Storm God’s anger, which demanded to be soothed by appropriate rites. This duplicity explains in my opinion the ambiguity of the festivals of thunder and lies at the basis of their celebration in the official Hittite cult. Their integration in the state cult already in the Old Hittite period is reflected by the existence of detailed festival descriptions represented by the tablets collected in CTH 630 and 631, while very few descriptions of local seasonal festivals mentioned in the cult inventories were preserved and copied in the archives of Ḫattuša.

The performance of thunder ceremonies at a specific time of the year does not conflict, in my opinion, with the character of unpredictability particularly evident in the incipit of the texts collected in CTH 630 and 631. As festival descriptions preserved in the Hittite archives, they represent the official part of this cult, performed by the king and the queen as part of their religious duties. Even if the celebrations were expected to take place at a specific time of the year, the exact moment of their beginning depended on the perception of the thunder, probably the first thunder of the new season (and thus of the year). Given the ominous value of such phenomenon, the development of the ceremony, aimed at the ritual protection of the king, could not but be influenced by the location and the action carried out by the king at the moment of the thunderclap. The double characterization of the thunder festivals, as ceremonies performed at a specific time of the year, and therefore inserted in a cult calendar, and as official rites constantly modified in relation to the atmospheric condition, makes the *corpus* of the thunder festivals collected in CTH 630 and 631 a unique body in Hittite religious documentation.

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THE TRIALS OF TUDHALIYA IV

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The resources now available to scholars through the Hethitologie Portal Mainz website, particularly the photographs accessible there, have greatly facilitated progress in the recovery of the history and culture of Hatti. I have previously made good use of these images in preparing re-editions of several compositions first studied long ago, and have most recently perused the relevant photos while working on CTH 123 (KBo 4.14), an enigmatic document whose only full treatment was published by Ruggiero Stefanini a half-century ago.¹

The unique manuscript is definitely inscribed in late script, and grammatical features indicate clearly that the text itself was composed during the final decades of the Hittite Empire. Previous writers have attributed the text to each of the final known monarchs of Hatti: Tudhaliya IV,² Arnuwanda III,³ and Suppiluliyama II,⁴ but I agree with the late Itamar Singer⁵ that the impassioned reference to the battle of Nihriya featured in CTH 123 demonstrates that Tudhaliya was its author.

The reign of Tudhaliya IV was replete with trials: Internally, this ruler was confronted by rivalry with his cousin Kurunta, representative of the

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1 Stefanini 1965; cf. the earlier remarks of Meriggi 1962: 84-90. For transliterations of quoted passages and philological commentary the reader is referred to my re-edition, which will appear elsewhere (forthcoming).

2 Klengel 1999: 276-77.

3 Stefanini 1966.

4 Stefanini 1965: 39; Laroche 1953: 76, *CTH*. Mora 1988: 565-67 proposes dating the composition to an unspecified successor of Tudhaliya IV.

5 Singer 1985: 110-18.

descendants of Muwattalli II, who stood in dynastic conflict with his own line stemming from the usurper Hattusili III, whether or not this contention resulted in an actual rebellion or *coup d'état*.⁶ He also experienced an unsuccessful plot seemingly organized by his own brother Hesni, according to the investigation recorded in a court document.⁷

Abroad, Tudhaliya engaged in military campaigns against the minor states of southwestern Anatolia and Cyprus, as recorded in the hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions of Yalburt⁸, Emirgazi,⁹ and Nişantaş.¹⁰ But the weightiest problem faced by the Great King was the challenge posed to the Hittite empire in Syria by the growing power and influence of Assyria.¹¹ In the course of the face-off between Hatti and Assur, which seems to have begun early in his reign, the Hittites suffered a decisive defeat near the town of Nihirya/Nihriya¹² in Upper Mesopotamia. It was following this calamity that the king composed the most curious administrative document here under discussion, which is directed to a subordinate who had failed him at a crucial moment.

KBo 4.14 is a four-columned tablet, of which columns ii and iii are generally well preserved, while large portions of columns i and iv have been broken away. Of an estimated 320 original lines, around 150 are more or less complete, while an additional 100 or so lines are partially present. The language of the text is Hittite, larded with thirty-three Luwian *Glossenkeilwörter*. A large erasure at the top of col. i suggests that we are dealing with a draft.

The document may have opened with a salutation and greetings, that is, as a letter, to judge from the first legible section:

May whichever deities [to whom you turn(?)] protect [you!] May [you] be [well(?)!] But on your neck [...] May those (gods) protect you! [...]

6 Bryce 2005: 319-21.

7 CTH 297.8 (KUB 31.68).

8 Poetto 1993.

9 Masson 1979.

10 Güterbock 1967.

11 Dietrich 2003, Cancik-Kirschbaum 2008, Yamada 2011.

12 On this place name, well known from Assyrian sources, see Miller 2012.

in regard to which matters [you(?)] are sworn, [...] let it be! ... May [those (gods) ...] you away! (i 17-24)

But just who is the addressee whose name has been lost at the head of the first column? Laroche¹³ simply labels him “un partenaire inconnu,” but others have suggested that he was the vassal king of the land of Išuwa.¹⁴ This is doubtful, however, since we now know that the ruling family of Išuwa was an appanage line of the Hittite royal house,¹⁵ and given this fact, it would not have been appropriate for Tudhaliya even to contemplate bossing about its current head in the manner in which he deals with the recipient of this missive. Even if the name written *Eh-li-LUGAL* (iv 71) is to be understood as that of Ehli-Šarruma, the final attested king of Išuwa, the context in which this man appears is third-person, not second-person as would be expected for the document’s addressee. The brusque tenor of the discourse also rules out the possibility that the document was intended for a king of Ugarit or Carchemish. No, the object of the Great King’s scorn in CTH 123 was most probably a member of the native Hittite nobility who could not claim even a semi-independent power base of his own.

In any event, this individual had well deserved the contempt of his master:

But when it became difficult for me, you were off somewhere. You were not with me. Did I not drive away from (the city of) Nihiryra alone? When it came about that the enemy once more took the Hurrian lands away from me, was I not alone back in (the city of) Alatarma? And if such a critical occasion should recur – or if the enemy should enter my land or city, as he has already done previously – or if some subject of mine should defect and turn to you out of fear of me, then die for the sake of the king! Let (this) be under oath! (ii 7-16)

Indeed, the purpose of the present administrative instrument is to assure that just such an act is not repeated. Accordingly, the subordinate is presented with various scenarios in which he might be tempted to behave in a disloyal manner

13 CTH 123: “Traité avec un partenaire inconnu.”

14 Meriggi 1962: 84-85; Singer 1985: 118 (tentatively).

15 Glocker 2011.

– through action or inaction – and then sworn not to embrace such conduct.

Many are the social and political conditions that might give rise to rebellion, as Tudhaliya explains:

The occasion of revolt is as follows: Even the wealthy become impoverished. Or the royal military forces or the provinces defect from the king. Or the enemy takes from the king by force his confidential advisors. Or they are killed. Or the noblemen defect from the king. Or the king falls ill. Or the king goes off on a distant campaign. Or it is any sort of treacherous time. You shall not seek to revolt, nor to abscond, nor to misbehave at your post. Let death be your limit! (ii 52-61)

Beyond these hypothetical occurrences, there is the very real danger posed to Hatti by Assyria:

And this Assyrian enemy who has arisen against me has held off for many years. And if he bravely challenges me with arms or enters my land or city, at such a moment you shall not seek to revolt, nor to abscond, nor to misbehave [at your post]. Die along with the king! Let (this) be under oath! (ii 66-72)

Note that the enmity with Assyria is said to be of long standing, although things seem to be quiet at the moment. This state of affairs accords well with what we otherwise know of the episodic character of the Assyro-Hittite struggle under Tudhaliya on the one side and Shalmaneser I and Tukulti-Ninurta I on the other.¹⁶ It is apparently the same Mesopotamian foe who is referred to throughout CTH 123 by the generic term “the enemy,” and in the following section by the phrase “the hostile king”:

And as for this hostile king who has [arisen] against me – if he should enter my land or city, let death be your [limit] (in protecting me)! Or (if) he should inflict misfortune on me by force of arms, or come into my land or city, [die] for the person of the king! (ii 22-25)

¹⁶ See references in note 11.

But in our text even greater attention is devoted to the danger of disloyalty among the Great King's own underlings:

Or (if) the lands defect, or bloodshed occurs among my domestic or foreign subjects, as it continues to be difficult for the king, on that occasion you must bite firmly the Dark Earth. Let death be your limit!

And if some man of Hatti on that [occasion] joins your party, or [some people] have been your sworn associates and [someone (among them)] says to you: "This is the time! You should revolt against the king!"—then as a loyal man you will speak as follows: "[If] I do such a thing(?), then let me die, [and] let the Sun-goddess of Arinna not give [me] a (further) life of (even) a single day!"

In the future you shall not seek revolt. You shall not revolt at a critical time. You [shall not think up] anything foolish against me. You shall not [stifle(?)] the manliness in your soul. You shall not think as follows: "Someone [somewhere] has let the enemy escape." And you shall not revolt at a critical [time]. The gods shall pursue (any) matter of revolt in relation to you. And if things become difficult at some point, you shall not flee, thinking: "(I am) sworn in regard to defection, but not in regard to this." And (if) you then throw in your lot with those who rebel, claiming: "They carried me off by force" – this matter shall be under oath for you. (ii 26-51)

Indeed, Tudhaliya enjoins the addressee to value the life of his master – himself – as highly as his own: "Let me be [as] important [to you] as [your own person(?)] is important [to you]!" (i 42-43). The subordinate must also be proactive as well as vigilant:

[And] let this matter [be] inscribed ... for you (pl. sic!). You shall be a bodyguard for My Majesty. You, [your wife], your child<ren>, and your subjects shall be lookouts and watchmen for the life of the king. You shall [not] overlook (any) evil.

And [if] something causes difficulty for the king, or the king falls ill, [or] provinces defect, or an enemy enters the provinces, [then] ... likewise, and likewise let it cause anxiety for you. Your wife, your children, and your subjects shall be trustworthy watchmen [for] the person of the king. They shall not be untrustworthy watchmen and scouts.

And if you (fore)see some terrible day for the king, then as it would be of concern to the personal servants of the king regarding the person of the king, let it likewise cause concern for your own person, your wife, your children, and your subjects. (iii 8-22)

Much of the language here is familiar from the stipulations and curses found in the treaties of the empire period.¹⁷ Most unusual, however, is a paragraph detailing what we might label “thought crimes”:

Concerning the fact that I had already confronted you about these words, and you yourself spoke them repeatedly: “Would that even a small matter becomes constrained for him!”—because venereal disease(?)¹⁸ afflicted me without cease, in anger it found you. And if something becomes difficult for the person of the king, or some province defects, or an enemy enters the land or city, or an incident of illness or defeat occurs, you shall not celebrate secretly, nor shall you secretly rejoice(?). As it is personally critical for (me), the king, (thinking:) “If only I could get away”—so let it be critical for you, (thinking:) “May my lord get away from here!” I experienced this matter in regard to you on the Nihirya campaign. (iii 23-35)

Clearly the relationship between Tudhaliya and this junior partner was a close one. The Great King was privy to details of the latter’s reflections and confidential conversations, while the latter in turn had knowledge of embarrassing aspects of the monarch’s health. And if the ruler had indeed been abandoned at Nihirya in the heat of battle by all of his followers, as recounted earlier, he had taken special notice of the absence of this particular courtier.

17 Compare the various stipulations and sanctions in the treaties translated in Beckman 1999.

18 iii 25-26: *ŠA MUNUS* ... *GIG*, literally “illness of a woman.”

Nonetheless, Tudhaliya had forgiven his faithless subject, but remained uncertain whether his magnanimity would be reciprocated with the appropriate devotion:

[And] given that I have promised as follows: “I [will] take [you] back; I will not cast you out. Things will be [good] for you once more” – would I for some reason go back on my word? Time will pass and you might think as follows: “The king has not paid any attention to me, so let me be free from these oaths.” You shall not do it. Let (this) be [under] oath for you! (iii 1-7)

I believe that I have now established that CTH 123 is verily an unusual text. Here a Hittite Great King unburdens himself to another mortal, exhibiting before a fellow human being a vulnerability otherwise displayed by kings in our Hittite records only in prayers to the gods. As has already been observed by others,¹⁹ it is also difficult to assign a generic label to this composition. It combines elements of a letter, of an *Anklageschrift* – compare the Madduwatta text, of instructions for bureaucrats – particularly of the latest of these with their emphasis on loyalty rather than upon duties,²⁰ and of an inter-state treaty. However we categorize it, KBo 4.14 conveys a vivid picture of the disorder besetting Hatti during its years of ultimate decline.

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HATTIAN-CAUCASSIAN ISOGLOSSES

*Merab CHUKHUA**

Many special works [Ivanov 1985; Braun 2002; Girbal 1986...] have been dedicated to the issue of interrelation of the Hattian and Caucasian languages. As it is obvious Hattian is one of the Paleo-Caucassian (Ibero-Caucasian) languages which is considered to be a kindred language of the Circassian languages by one part of scholars [Meszares 1934; Ivanov 1985; Braun 2002], others – of the Kartvelian ones [Girbal 1986; Giorgadze 1999; Gordeziani 2007; Gabeskiria 2007; 2010].

The isoglosses represented by me reveal the Circassian nature of Hattian, though in some cases the number of Kartvelizms exceeds [Chukhua 2015]. At this stage I represent only lexical material in which the Hattian data is initial. Afterwards the Kartvelian, Circassian, Dagestanian and Nakh correspondences are given.

Hatt. **al** ‘word; language’ : Old Geo. **al-a** ‘speech of many people’ : Ts.-Tush. **al’-**, Chech. **āl-**, Ing. **al-** ‘saying, telling, speaking’ : Dag., Akhv. **e***, Cham. **i*** ‘saying’

Hatt. **ḥan-wa-šwit** ‘throne’ : Geo. **sit-i-ḳan-i //sit-i-ḳin-i** ‘seat for principals’ : Qab. **šət** ‘chair’ : Dag., Arch. **ent** ‘chair’ (cf., Apkhaz-Abaza **-šat-a** ‘bottom’(?)).

Hat. **-b-** ‘seeing, eye-sight’ : Svan **ab/hab** ‘color; outward, appearance, looks,

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expression', Colkh (Megr.) **ebr-i** 'outward appearance/looks/expression' : Apkh. **a-ba-ra**, Abaz **ba-ra**, Ubykh **bəja** 'seeing, eye-sight' : Hurr. **abi** 'face/look'

Hatt. **-du** 'plural marker' : **zar-du** 'sheep' : Svan **-edu** 'plural marker' : Dag., Botl. **-de/-di** 'plural marker', Godob **-di** "id.", Khvakh **-di/-do** "id.", Khinal. **-erder // -urdur** "id."

Hatt. **dun** 'casting a spell/exorcizing/incantation' : Geo. **i-dum-al-i** 'mystery', sa-i-**dum-l-o** 'secret'; **dum-il-i** 'silence' : Qab. **dəm** 'weak voice' : Nakh **dub** 'oath'

Hat. **il** 'god' : Geo. **el-ia** 'Elijah', Colkh (megr.) **al-**, in the word **al-ert-i** 'Helios, chariot'...

Hatt. **ka** 'which/who', **ki** 'that one' : Geo. **i-g-i**, e-**g**, Svan e-**ž-i** (← *e-**g'-i**) 'which/who' : Adyg. (Shaps.) **a** 'that' – Dag., Botl. **go-w /go-j/go-b** 'that', Lak **ga/ge** 'that'

Hatt. **kait** 'species of grain' : Geo. **krt-il-i** 'autumn barley': Chech. **köta** 'linen' (cf. Hurr. **kade** 'barley') : Ingush. **geta** 'linen'

Hatt. **kut** 'liver' : Geo. **ḡurṡum-o** 'rump', Colkh **ḡurṡum-el-i** "id." : Dag., Avar **ḡutub**, Darg. (Chirg.) **ḡuṡum**, Agul **ḡurṡum**, Budukh **ḡuṡun**, Krits **ḡwaṡin** 'liver'...

Hatt. **kupal** in the word **kur-kupal** 'nail' : Geo. **ḡopal-i**, Colkh (Megr.) **ḡopul-i** 'arrow'

Hatt. **kurt** 'leaf' : Geo. **ḡwiriṡ-i** 'bud'

Hat. **mar** 'digging over (*with spade*)' : Geo. **bar-i** 'spade', **bar-v-a** 'digging' : Dag., Lezg. **pper**, Khinal **ber**, Budukh **bar** 'spade'

Hatt. **ma** 'no(t)' : Colkh (Laz) **mo/mo-t**, Svan **mā-de** 'don't/not' : Apkh., Abaz. **-mə** 'no' : Nakh **mo** 'no'

Hatt. **muna** 'botton; foundation, basis' : Geo. **bun-i** 'foundation, hole' :

Adyg. **bǎn-ə** ‘grave’, Ubykh **bǎn-ə** ‘grave hole’ : Chech. **ben**, Tsova-Tush **beⁿ** ‘nest’

Hat. **mu** ‘mother’, teti-**mu** ‘grandmother’ : Svan **mu** ‘father’ : Lak **ppu** (←***bu**) ‘father’, Arch. **bu-va** ‘mother’...

Hatt. **mut** ‘part of a body’ : Geo. **muṭ-el-i** ‘vulva’ : Dag., Awar. (Chad.) **muṭu** ‘mouth’, Bezhit **moṭo** ‘face’

Hatt. **par** (=bar) ‘thousand’ : Geo. **ber-**, **ber-a** ‘big/large; large number/lot’ (cf. **bera-ḡarḡva** = ‘great plantain’) : Adyg. **bǎ** ‘large number/lot’ : Dag., Agul. **ppara** (←***bara**), Rut. **bara**, Krits. **parä** ‘lot’, cf. Osset. (←Nakh) **birá** “id.”

Hatt. **pašun** ‘soul’, **pušan** ‘breathing’ : Geo. **pšwin-v-a** ‘heavy breathing’, cf. sa-**mšwin-v-el-i** ‘soul, spirit’ : Dag., Did. **muš-a**, Bezhit **muš-o**, Hunzib. **muš-e** ‘breath, smell’

Hatt. **pin** (=bin) ‘son, one’s own child, child’ : Geo. **bun-i** ‘descendant of one grandfather’ : Adyg. **bǎn-ə**, Qab. **bǎn** ‘child; descendant’, cf. Adyg. **bǎnə** ‘family’ : Colkh. (Megr.) **pan-ia** ‘family’ : Dag., Bezhit **bina** ‘house’

Hatt. **pip** ‘stone’ : Colch (Megr.) **papa-ala** ‘sheer (rock/cliff), boulder, rocky shore’; cf. Urart. **papa** (?) ‘stone, rock’

Hatt. **piš** ‘hearing’ : Colch. (Megr.) **ps-in-**, **o-psin-u-n** ‘smb hears’ : Apkh.-Abaza **pš-ra** ‘watching/looking’, Adyg. **pl’a-n** ‘watching/looking’, Ubykh **sə-pl’á-n** “id.”

Hatt. **-š-** ‘sitting’ : Geo. **sw-** ‘sitting’ : Adyg. **sə-n** ‘sitting’, Ubykh **-s-** ‘sitting’, lying’ : Nakh **-oss-** ‘seat smb/smth lower’ : Dag., Tab. **d-usa-** ‘sitting down’;

Hatt. **šam** ‘hearing’ : Geo. **sem-/sm-**, **sm-en-a** ‘hearing; watching/looking’ : Adyg. (Basl.) **psə-**, **qá-ûə-psə-n** ‘awaking/waking up’ : Chech. **sam-a-dal-a**, Ingush **som-a-dal-a** ‘awaking/waking up’, for semantics cf. Apkhaz **a-pš-ra** ‘looking all around/in both direction’; awaking/waking up’

Hatt. *šuwa* ‘over there’ : Geo. **svē** ‘plot of land’, Colkh (Laz) **sva** ‘place’ : Ubykh **šwa** ‘place’ : Dag., Lak **šawa** ‘house’

Hatt. **tal** ‘tree, beam’ : Geo. **tal-i** // **tal-a** ‘hoop’, Svan **tal** ‘wedge/spoke’ : Chech. **tal** ‘poplar’, Ingush **tāl-g** ‘wedge/spoke’ : Lak · **ala** ‘thick block of wood/tree stump’, Darg. (Sirg.) · **ali** ‘pole/pillar’

Hatt. **taš** ‘no’ : Svan **dēsa**//*desa* ‘no, not’ : Dag., Tsakh. **dēš** ‘no’

Hatt. **tawa**_a // **tawa-tup** ‘giant/gigantic, awful/terrible’ : Geo. **dev-i**, Svan **na-daw-ra** ‘horned/many-headed devil, giant’ : Apkh. **a-dvə**, Abaz **dvə** ‘great/gigant’ : Dag., Rut **daw** ‘lion’

Hatt. **ur-eš** ‘smith/farrier’ : Geo. (Mokh.) **var-ia-j** ‘wooden smith’s hammer’, Colkh **ur-o** ‘smith’s hammer’ : Qab. **wər**, Apkh. **a-wər-a** ‘smith’s hammer’ : Dag., Cham. **ir-am-a**, Agul **nar** ‘hammer’

Hatt. **wašul** ‘good harvest/surpluses, abundance’ : Geo. **pučula**//*punčula* ‘plump/stout’ : Apkh. **a-psəla**, Abaz **psəla** ‘fat’ : Nakh **w-arst** ‘stout/plump (man)’

Hatt. **witanu** ‘cheese’ : Geo. **motal-i** ‘moldy cheese’ : Dag., Archib **murtıla** ‘cheese’

Hatt. **zar** ‘calling over, calling’ : Geo. **zar-i**, Colkh (Megr.) **zor-i** ‘sound of bugle/trumpet’, Svan **zär**//*zar* ‘mourning hymn’ : Nakh ***azan** ‘voice’

Hatt. **ziher** ‘construction wood; tree’ : Svan **zek** ‘firewood; tree’, **zek-ra** ‘made from logs/tree-trunk’ : Ingush **zagal** ‘stick’

Hatt. **zilat** ‘sofa’, **ma-zilat** ‘sofa (stands)’ : Geo. **zinad-i** ‘bed for resting’ (“*Knight in the panther’s skin*”) : Etrusc. **zilath** ‘high position’

Hat. **zinar** ‘lyre, harp’, **hun-zinar** ‘big lyre’ : Geo. **zonar-i** ‘lace’, cf. Arm. (← Geo.) **žnari** ‘string; lyre’

Hatt. **zipina** ‘sour’ : Geo. **zm-ar-i** ‘vinegar’, Colkh **žim-u** ‘salt’, **žimor-i** / **žumor-i** ‘vinegar’ : Ubykh **ž’ə** ← ***žwə** ‘salt’ : Dag., Avar **čam**, Darg.

(Urakh) ze ‘salt’

Hatt. **zuwa** ‘woman’ : Geo. **zuw-i** , Colkh **žua** ‘female’ : Abaz. **žwə** //Aphk. (Bzip) **á-z’w** ‘cow’ : Dag., And. **ziwu**, Akhvakh **ži^hwo** ‘cow’ : Nakh, Ts.-Tush. **žabo** ‘cow’

I abstain from presenting the formulas of sound-correspondences between the mentioned languages on the basis of the given material since due to the lack of the material I think it is too early to draw conclusions in this respect. I only would like to note that phonological difference is revealed between the **z** and **zz** recordings (Viach. Ivanov), i.e. **z=z** and **zz=dz** whistling (hizzing) sibilants. It doesn’t seem inappropriate to note that Hattian **pš** complex which corresponds with Apkhaz-Abaza **pš** and Kartvelian **ps** groups, excludes the existence of laterals in Hattian since the Circassian languages reveal the **pl’** lateral complex, i.e. **l’ → š** is confirmed in Hattian and in this regard it coincides with the Apkhaz-Kartvelian data.

In point of fact it is required to carry out the Hattian-Caucassian comparative study on all language hierarchical level which will enable us to learn to what extent demonstrates the Hattian language the Caucasian (Paleo-Caucasian) nature.

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ON THE VALUES OF THE CV-SIGNS FOR WORD-MEDIAL STOPS IN HITTITE. A NEW APPRAISAL

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1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to report briefly the results, methodology and conclusions of my PhD dissertation on the use and values of the CV-signs for stops in word-medial position in Hittite, which was defended in July 2014 in Madrid at the Universidad Complutense.¹

The purpose of this research was to carry out a systematic study of the CV-signs for stops² in word-medial position throughout the three palaeographical periods of the Hittite documentation. A great deal has been said over the years about the use and value of these signs, but so far no attempt has been made to take up this task in a comprehensive systematic way.

With this aim I built up a corpus of texts of more than 3.000 tablets and 25.000 words coming from all three periods of writing, excavation sites³ and covering all kinds of literary genres (historical, administrative, religious, technical and legal texts, letters, bilinguals, etc). I have always worked on the basis of transcriptions provided by the text editions. Because my study has a statistical method and purpose, I have refrained from making any personal interpretation of those transcriptions.

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1 This research began in 2009 thanks to a scholarship granted by the Spanish government and was carried out at the CCHS of CSIC, Madrid.

2 These signs are as follows: TA, DA, TI, DI, TU, DU, KA, GA, QA, KI, GI, KU and GU.

3 Texts coming from Maşat-Höyük, Ortaköy and Kayalıpınar are also included.

2. Methodology

In my dissertation I tried to establish a method for the study of these signs that could take into account all the different aspects implied in the use of the CV-signs for stops by the Hittite scribes. I have therefore classified the information according to three different criteria. First of all, I have taken into account all the possible graphic sequences in which each sign could be involved.

Possible sign sequences								
V-CV	VC ₁ -C ₁ V	VC ₁ -C ₂ V	Vs-CV	Vz-CV	VI-CV	Vr-CV	Vn-CV	Vn-CV

Secondly, I have also taken into account the paleographic classification of the tablet in which each sign appears, following the information provided by the Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln of Silvin Košak available in the Hethitologie Portal Mainz. However, due to the recent discussion about the limits of the three main periods of the Hittite script, I have decided to establish a clear distinction between the old and the new periods of the script, classifying every doubtful tablet as middle and making this category into a general transition period in order to establish a clear difference between the old and new periods of the script.

OS	"MS"				NS	
ah	ah?	ah?/mh?	mh	mh?	jh	sjh

And thirdly, I have also introduced a morphological criterion, classifying the signs according to the morphological element they belong to. According to this criterion, the signs are classified in four groups, namely whether they belong to a LEXEME, a NOMINAL MORPHEME, a VERBAL ENDING or a CLITIC.

Due to the limits of space in the present paper, I cannot make here a comprehensive exposition of my dissertation, and will confine myself to present what I believe is the more significant data provided by the research.

3. Use of the signs DI, GI and GU

These signs are rare and use to appear in words like *e-di* (D.sg. *asi, uni, ini*),

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galdi-, *wagessar/n-* or *p]a-an-gu-uš* (KBo 16.71+ anv. II 9' (OS)), the only attestation of GU in a Hittite word in the whole corpus of texts. Let us take a general look at their frequency of use in the graphic sequences.

a) Frequency of the signs in “voiced” sequences:

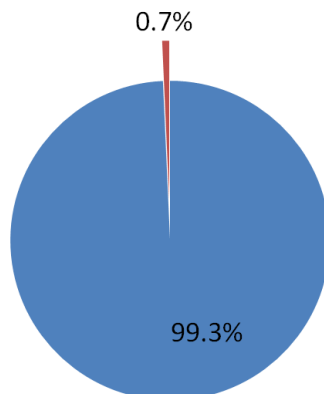
	V-CV	Vn-CV	Vr-CV	VI-CV	Total
DI	255	11	72	19	357
GI	54	4	1	0	60
GU	0	1	0	0	1
Total	309	16	73	19	417

b) Frequency of the signs in “non-voiced” sequences:

	VC ₁ -C ₁ V	Vs-CV	Vk-CV	Vp-CV	Vt-CV	Vh-CV	Total
DI	2	0	1	0	----	0	3
GI	0	0	----	0	0	0	0
GU	0	0	----	0	0	0	0
Total	2	0	1	0	0	0	3

Thus, according to these data the distribution of the Old Babylonian voiced signs DI, GI and GU in the sequences does not seem to be arbitrary at all: in the first table there are 417 voiced signs used in the voiced sequences, while in the second one only three of these signs appear in a non-voiced sequence. So, from these point of view, the use of these signs does not seem arbitrary at first sight. As can be seen in the following chart, the use of the voiced signs in non-voiced sequences is less than 1%.

■ In voiced sequences ■ In non-voiced sequences



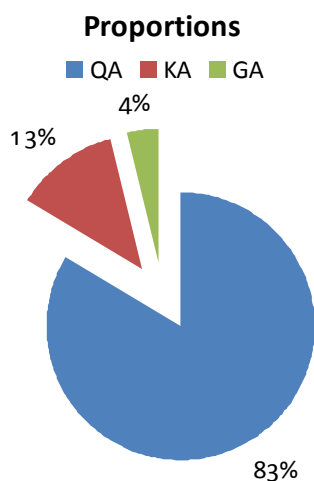
4. Use of the signs KA & QA vs. GA

As regards the use of the velar signs KA, GA and QA there is a very interesting distribution of the signs in the representation of the suffix *-kki/a* and in final position of the word. In this morphological and grammatical context the use of these signs seems to be determined by a certain phonetic interpretation of the morphemes or phonemes implied, so let us take a look at the use of the signs in these grammatical circumstances:

Use of the signs KA, GA and QA in the representation of the indefinite suffix *-kki/a*

Sign	OS	MS	NS	Total
KA	2 (100%)	1 (6.25%)	10 (11.6%)	13 (12.5%)
GA	0 (0%)	2 (12.5%)	2 (2.4%)	4 (3.9%)
QA	0 (0%)	13 (81.25%)	74 (86%)	87 (83.6%)

As shown in the table, in spite of the general use of the sign GA for the representation of the phonetic sequence /velar + a/, this sign is hardly used to write this indefinite suffix. On the other hand, the signs KA and QA, which are barely used in general, show here a rate of more than 95 per cent. Thus, in this morphological context we find a use of signs which is contrary to the general tendency in the Hittite writing.

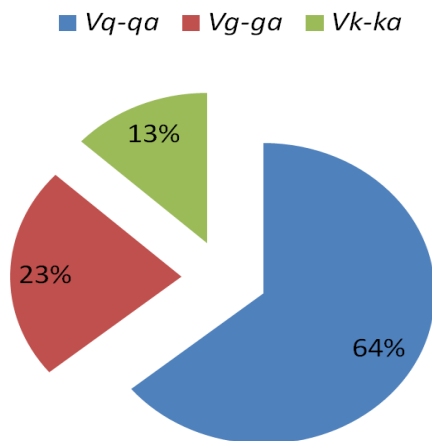


In the writing of the words *uga/ukka*, *ammuga/amukka* and *ziga/zikka* we find similar rates, although in this case it is possible to observe a complementary distribution of the signs according to the graphic sequence use in the representation:

Use of KA, GA and QA in the words *uga/ukka*, *ammuga/amukka* and *ziga/zikka*

<i>-kka</i>	Sign	OS	MS	NS	Total
VC ₁ -C ₁ V	KA	0	0 (0%)	15 (16%)	15 (13.2%)
	GA	0	16 (76.2%)	10 (11%)	26 (22.8%)
	QA	0	5 (23.8%)	68 (73%)	73 (64%)
V-CV	KA	0	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	GA	0	38 (100%)	47 (100%)	85 (100%)
	QA	0	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

As shown in the table, in the double sequence the rates are very similar to that observed in the suffix *-kki/a*, while in the simple sequence the only sign used is GA, which is very significant if we take into account the phonetic values of these sequences established by Sturtevant.



5. Use of the signs TA vs. DA

In the same line, if we look at the use of the signs TA and DA in the representation of the etymological voiceless dental phoneme in verbal endings, we find also that the sign TA is used both in the double and simple

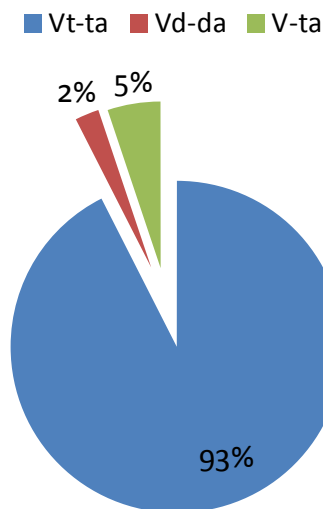
sequences (although its use is much more common in the double one) and that the sign DA appears only in a double sequence in a very low number of cases (always in NS tablets).

Intervocalic *t representation in verbal endings with TA and DA

Sequence	Sign	OS	MS	NS	Total
VC ₁ -C ₁ V	TA	38 (100%)	166 (98.8%)	551 (97%)	755 (97.5%)
	DA	0 (0%)	2 (1.2%)	17 (3%)	19 (2.5%)
V-CV	TA	0	8 (100%)	34 (100%)	42 (100%)
	DA	0	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

However, the most interesting fact is that we do not find any case of simple writing with DA in a sample of more than 800 cases, which, if we assume that these signs had a voiced value, would be a rather confusing writing.

Proportions

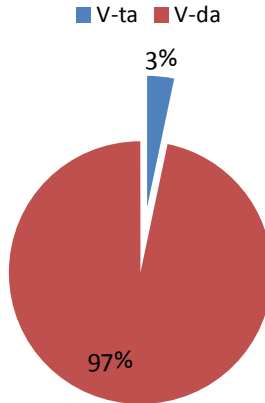


Quite the opposite happens in the representation of the pronominal infix *-d-* (as in *apedani*, *kuedani*, etc.), which is always represented by a simple sequence and where the use of the sign DA reaches almost 97%.

Use of the signs TA and DA in the representation of the pronominal infix *-d-*

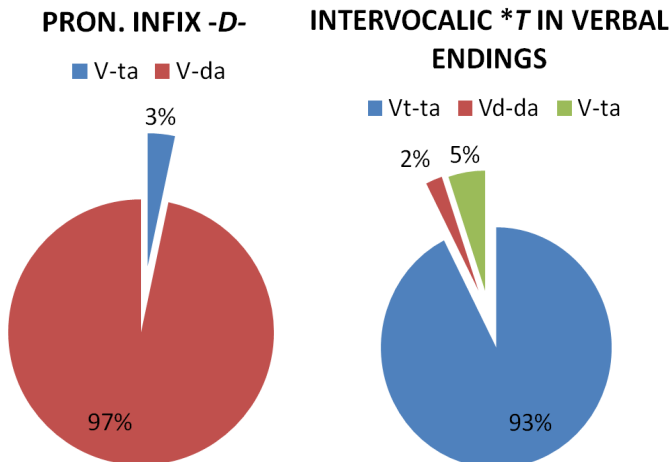
	VC-CV	V-CV	Total
TA	0	30 (3.3%)	30 (3.3%)
DA	0	878 (96.7%)	878 (96.7%)

Proportions



So, at least in this morphological context it is possible to establish a clear opposition between the use of the signs TA and DA in the use of both verbal endings and pron. infix *-d-*, as we can see in the following chart:

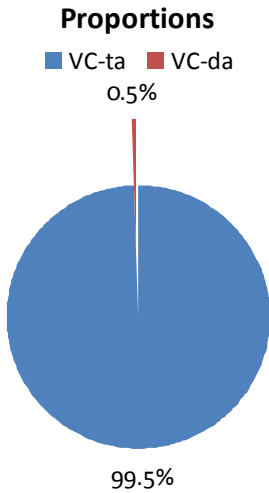
Opposite use of TA and DA



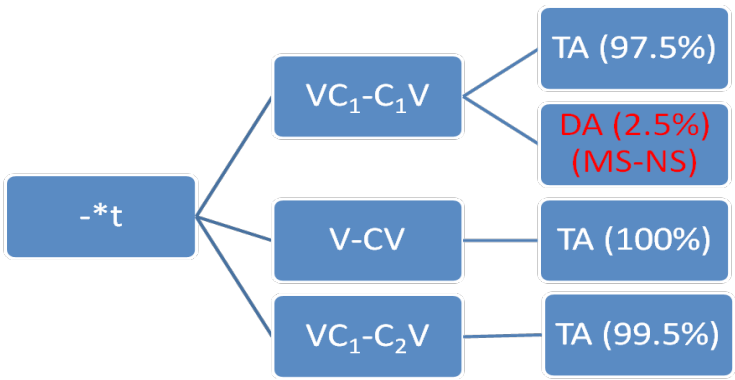
If we look now at the use of these two signs in verbal endings when the dental phoneme is preceded by a consonant, we can also notice that the use of the sign DA is even less frequent than in intervocalic position, which was a 2%.

Use of TA and DA in verbal endings in **t* after a consonant

	Verbal endings
TA	1709 (99,5%)
DA	8 (0,5%)



Thus, in the light of these data we must conclude that the Hittite scribes use to write these verbal endings according to the following pattern:



6. Conclusions

Therefore, in the light of these new data I think it is possible to draw the following conclusions:

- In some phonetic and morphological contexts the use of the CV-signs for stops in Hittite is NOT ARBITRARY:
 - DI, GI and GU are almost always (99.3%) used in voiced sequences.
 - The use of KA and QA in the Indef. Suffix *-kki/a* amounts to 96% of all cases.⁴
 - *Ukka*, *amukka* and *zikka* are represented with KA and QA (79%) and *uga*, *ammuga* and *ziga* with GA (100%).
 - In verbal endings we find a very high use of the sign TA in all the sequences, contrasting with the use of DA in the representation of the infix *-d-*.
- In intervocalic position there is a full agreement between the OLD BABYLONIAN VALUES of the signs and STURTEVANT'S LAW:
 - VC₁-C₁V: TA, KA and QA (*ka₄*)
 - V-CV: DA, DI, GA and GI
- From an etymological and phonetical point of view, their use also agrees with the voiced or voiceless character of the phonemes represented:
 - Verbal endings: TA = VC₁-C₁V = *t
 - DA, DI, GI and GU = V-CV, Vn-CV, Vr-CV, VI-CV = */voiced stop/ or voiced context.
 - KA and QA (*ka₄*) = VC₁-C₁V vs. GA = V-CV

4 In this morphological context we find a use of the signs KA, GA and QA contrary to the usual custom of the scribes, who use to choose GA for the representation of the sequence /velar stop + a/.

- There is a close correspondence among the Old Babylonian values of the signs, their use in the graphic sequences, and their etymology or phonetic context:

Signs	OB Value	Hittite Sequence	Etymology, Phonetics	Hittite Value
DA, DI, GI (and GU)	Voiced	V-CV	*/d/, */d ^h /, */g/, */g ^h /	Voiced
		Vn-CV, Vr-CV, VI-CV	Voiced phoneme + stop	
	Glottalic			
TA, KA, QA	Voiceless	VC-CV	*/t/, */k/	Voiceless
	Glottalic			

All in all we can conclude, according to the former information, that:

- The Hittite scribes knew the Old Babylonian values of the CV-signs for stops TA, DA, KA, GA, QA, TI, DI, KI, GI, KU and GU, although they did not usually employ them systematically.⁵
- The use of these signs according to their OB values seems to imply the existence of a voiced vs. voiceless opposition between the stops series in Hittite, that can be represented as follows:

Phonetic character	Labial	Dental	Velar
Voiced	/p/	/t/	/k/
Voiceless	/b/	/d/	/g/

This seems at least to be the best hypothesis in order to explain simply and thoroughly the particular use made by the Hittite scribes of the CV-signs for stops that has been exposed in the present paper.

⁵ However, in some specific contexts their use becomes more systematic, always according to their OB values.

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VORFAHREN, AHNENKOLLEKTIV UND KÖNIGLICHE VORGÄNGER: UNTERSCHIEDLICHE BEZEICHNUNGEN

*Chiara COGNETTI**

Im vorliegenden Beitrag werden die vorläufigen¹ Ergebnisse meiner Untersuchung über jene Ausdrücke bzw. Redewendungen vorgestellt, mit denen sich hethitische Texte aus Boğazköy auf die Ahnen, Vorfahren, Vorväter bzw. königlichen Vorgänger beziehen. Dem ist aber vorzuschicken, dass die folgende lexikalische Untersuchung nur auf Verwendung und Vorkommen bestimmter Ausdrücke in den Texten hethitischer Sprache abzielt, die aber nicht unbedingt anatolischen Ursprungs sind. Es gibt nämlich Texte (s. unten den Mythos vom Königtum des Gottes LAMMA und die hethitische Version des Lieds von Ullikummi), die ihren Ursprung in einem anderen kulturellen bzw. ethnischen, d. h. hurritischen, Bereich haben. Die Aneignung bzw. Übersetzung solcher Texte durch hethitische Schreiber eröffnet aber die Möglichkeit, die lexikalischen Entscheidungen der Schreiber nachzuvollziehen: Daraus lässt sich erkennen, wie die Schreiber die Texte verstanden und welche Begriffe sie dafür als adäquat erachtet haben, woraus sich implizit sehr wohl Spuren ihrer Weltvorstellung enthüllen lassen. Deswegen ist es nicht nur gestattet, sondern geboten, auch Texte nicht-anatolischen Ursprungs in die Diskussion einzubeziehen.

Im Laufe der Untersuchung stellten sich folgende Fragen: Muss man betreffs der Ahnen von einem kollektiven Begriff für unbestimmte Vorfahren ausgehen oder ist es vorstellbar, dass jeder König nach seinem Tode ein Ahne wurde,

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¹ Der Ahnenkult und seine Erscheinungsformen bei den Hethitern stellen einen Teil des Themas meiner Dissertation dar, aus welcher das Kapitel über die Bezeichnungen der Ahnen im Rahmen des 9. IKH in Çorum auszugsweise vorgetragen worden ist.

mit seinem eigenen Namen in Erinnerung blieb und zu verehren war? Das heißt, kannten die Hethiter sowohl die kultische Verehrung der kollektiven Vorfahren als auch die der früheren Könige? Gab es somit unterschiedliche Bezeichnungen für zwei verschiedene Arten von Ahnen?

Der „Großvater“ und die „Großväter“

Ausgangspunkt stellt die Untersuchung des Terminus *huhḫa-* „Großvater“ mit seinem entsprechenden Akkadogramm *ABI AB²* dar. Dieser ist schon in den frühesten bekannten hethitischen Texten belegt, in denen die Figur des Großvaters als Vorbild für den König Ḫattušili I. fungiert. Darüber hinaus wird der Terminus in den Texten historischen Inhaltes von vielen Herrschern verwendet, um sich gleichfalls auf ihren leiblichen Großvater zu beziehen. Die einzige Ausnahme stellt die Version A des Vertrags Tudḫaliyas IV. mit Šaušgamuwa von Amurru dar, in der *ABI ABI* einmal für den Urgroßvater von Tudḫaliya und einmal für den Ururgroßvater von Šaušgamuwa gebraucht wird.³

Die Untersuchung der Pluralform von *huhḫa-* darf als besonders vielversprechend gelten, weil damit schwerlich auf eine Pluralität von Großvätern Bezug genommen wird,⁴ eher dagegen auf eine Vielzahl an Ahnen oder Vorfahren. Einige der einschlägigen Textstellen sind nur fragmentarisch erhalten;⁵ es gibt aber Fälle, die eine solche Untersuchung

- 2 Zu dieser Entsprechung s. die Verwendung von *abi abi lugal* in der „Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa“ KBo III 38 (CTH 3.1.B; s. Holland – Zorman 2007; Hoffner 1997 und zuletzt Gilan 2015, 179–214) Vs. 8' und von *huhḫa-* im „politischen Testament Ḫattušilis I.“ KUB I 16+ (CTH 6; s. Klinger 2005, 142–146) Rs. III 40f., womit sich der König auf seinen Großvater bezog. Siehe auch HW² III/2 634ff.
- 3 KUB XXIII 1+ (CTH 105.A) Vs. I 15–22: „A[ls (damals) Azira] zum Großvater meiner Sonne, Šuppiluliuma, in das Land Ḫatti [kam], waren die Amurru-Länder noch [(im Zustand eines) Fein]d(landes): Sie [waren] Vasallen des Ḫurri-Königs. Ebenso war Azira ihm (dem Ḫurri-König) (gegenüber) loyal. Mit Waffengewalt hat er (Šuppiluliuma) ihn aber [nicht unterworfen]. Azira, dein Großvater, hat nun [Šuppi]luliuma in der Herrschaft geschützt.“ (Übersetzung von Kühne – Otten 1971, 7 mit geringfügigen Abweichungen; s. auch Singer 2003, 99 und zuletzt Devecchi 2015, 227. Zu einer ausführlichen Diskussion der Textstelle s. ead. 2012, 38ff.)
- 4 Als Voraussetzung lässt sich hier ausschließen, dass die Pluralform von *huhḫa-* dem Paar „Großvater und Großmutter“ entspricht. Denn das Wort *ḫanna-* „Großmutter“ ist durchaus in den hethitischen Texten gebräuchlich. Fraglich bleibt es, ob die Pluralform von *huhḫa-* zur Bezeichnung des Paares der Großväter väterlicherseits und mütterlicherseits verwendet wird, obwohl es offenbar auf Hethitisch kein spezifisches Wort für den Vater der Mutter gibt (vgl. akk. *abi-ummi* „maternal grandfather“, CAD A/I, 70b).
- 5 Siehe die *Res Gestae Ḫattušilis* KBo XII 14 (CTH 14.V.A; s. Soysal 1989, 74f., 108; de Martino 1992, 28f. und id. 2003, 92, 122–125) Z. 12 und das Reinigungsritual KBo XXI 14+ (CTH 456.6; s. Groddek 2001, 237f.) Vs. 29'.

erlauben. Im Mythos vom Königtum des Gottes LAMMA KBo XXII 86+ (CTH 343.1.A)⁶ Rs. III liest man Folgendes:

- 4') *me-mi-iš-ke-u-wa-an* [d]a-a-iš a-aš-ma-wa-[za ...?]
 5') DINGIR^{MEŠ} GAL^{TÌ} LÚ^{MEŠ} ṚŠU¹.GI tu-u-e-e[l ...?]
 6') *ḫu-uh-ḫi-iš nu-uš-m*[a-aš] *me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da i-i*[t]
 7') *nu-uš-ma-aš ḫi-in-i*[k^DLA]MMA-aš A-NA ṚKu-ba-[ba]
 8') EGIR-pa *me-mi-iš*-[ke-u-wa-a]n da-a-iš
 9') *ka-ru-i-li-u*[š DINGI]R^{MEŠ}-uš šal-le-e-eš [...?]

„Sie (Kubaba) [be]gann zu sprechen: ‚Dort drüben [...] die großen Gottheiten, die Ältesten, dein[e]⁷ Großväter: ge[h] ih[nen] entgegen und vernei[ge] dich vor ihnen!‘ [LA]MMA begann, der Kuba[ba] zu antw[ort]en: ‚Die frühere[n] Gottheit[en] sind groß [...]‘.“

Hier ist von den großen Gottheiten die Rede, die nicht nur als die „Ältesten“, sondern auch als „Großväter“ bezeichnet werden. Darüber hinaus findet sich am Anfang der Antwort des LAMMA-Gottes die Erwähnung der „früheren Gottheiten“. Bei dieser Textstelle wird ein Vergleich zwischen den DINGIR^{MEŠ} GAL^{TÌ} (Z. 5') und den *karuiliuš* DINGIR^{MEŠ} (Z. 9') angestellt, die ebenfalls *šalleš* „groß“ sind. Bezüglich der großen und der früheren Gottheiten haben Reiner – Güterbock (1967, 265f.) und Archi (1983, 27) festgestellt, dass in den sumerischen Texten die Anunnaku das Epitheton „groß“ tragen. Die Hethiter folgen dagegen der altbabylonischen Tradition, nach der die Anunnaku die „früheren Götter“ darstellen, während mit Igigi die „großen Götter“ des Himmels bezeichnet werden.⁸ Im Mythos

6 Siehe im Hethiter-Portal CITATIO: E. Rieken et al. (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 343.1.

7 Hier lässt sich annehmen, dass kein weiteres Zeichen am Ende von Z. 5' geschrieben wurde. Es gibt sehr wohl Fälle von Personalpronomen, deren Bezugswort nicht in derselben Zeile steht; s. z. B. KUB XXVI 1 Rs. IV 20ff.: [(ma-a-an-na-a)]d-du-za ṚUTU^{SI} ku-e-da-ni-ik-<ki> me-mi-ya-ni (21) [(pa-ra-a u-i)]-ya-mi na-aš-ma-at-ta tu-e-el (22) [(ku-e-da-ni-i)]k-ki *me-mi-ni* pu-nu-uš-mi „[(And if)] I, My Majesty, [(se)]nd you^(SE) [(out)] for some matter, or I question you^(SE) about [(som)]e affair of yours^(SE).^(23P) [(Then)] you^(SE) must [(no)]t conceal [(it)]“ (Übersetzung von Miller 2013, 305).

8 Bei Reiner – Güterbock 1967 werden die akkadische und die hethitische Version der Hymne an Ištar (akk. KUB XXXVII 36 (+) 37; heth. KUB XXXI 141) bearbeitet und mit dem entsprechenden Teil des neubabylonischen Textes (STC II pls. LXXVff.) verglichen. In der hethitischen Version ist šallayaš=*kan* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš (Z. 3) zu finden, während im mittelbabylonischen (Z. 7) und im neubabylonischen (Z. 3) Text ṚIgigi an derselben Stelle belegt ist.

vom Königtum des Gottes LAMMA finden sich im Text jedoch keine Gleichsetzungen Annunaku = frühere Götter⁹ und Igigi = große Götter, da eine Übereinstimmung von DINGIR^{MEŠ} GAL^{TI} [...] und *karūiliuš* DINGIR^{MEŠ} vorliegt.

Bezüglich der Einordnung der großen Gottheiten als „Großväter“ in die Gruppe der früheren Gottheiten lässt sich eine Verbindung zwischen dem Mythos vom Königtum des Gottes LAMMA und der folgenden Textstelle aus der hethitischen Version des Liedes von Ullikummi KUB XXXIII 106++ (CTH 345.I.3.1.A)¹⁰ Rs. III 48'–55' herstellen:

„Ea begann, wieder zu den früheren Gottheiten (*karūiliyaš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš*) zu sprechen: ‚[H]ört meine Worte, / frühere Gottheiten (*karūiliyaš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*iš*), die ihr die alten Worte / kennt. Öffnet sie wieder, die alten, väterlichen und großväterlichen / Siegel[häuser] (*annalla attalla huḫadalla* [É]^{NA4}KIŠIB^{H1A}). Man soll das Siegel der früheren Väter (*karūiliyaš addaš*) bringen. / Mit [ih]m soll man [si]e⁷ wieder versiegeln. Die alte Säge / soll man [hina]uslegen, mit der man Himmel und Erde auseinander geschnitten hat. / Wir werden Ullikummi, den Diorit, unter den Füßen absä[gen?], / den R[iv]a[l]en, den [K]umarbi gegen die Götter groß gez[ogen hat]‘.“

Hier ist die Verbindung der früheren Gottheiten mit den „alten, väterlichen und großväterlichen Siegelhäusern“ belegt. Darüber hinaus findet sich der Ausdruck „frühere Väter“, der sich mit jenem für die „früheren Gottheiten“ gleichsetzen lässt: Da von der Zeit der Welterschaffung die Rede ist, muss es sich bei den „früheren Vätern“ nicht um bloße Menschen, sondern eher um Gottheiten handeln. Der Unterschied zwischen den *karūiliyaš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}

9 Zur Gleichsetzung *karūiliuš* DINGIR^{MEŠ} = DA.NUN.NA.GE₄ s. auch Otten 1961, 115 und *passim*. Im Ritual der Allaituraḫi für Šuppiluliyama KUB XII 50 Vs. II 3f. sind aber sowohl die „früheren Gottheiten“ als auch die „Anunnakki“ belegt, ohne dass damit unbedingt dieselben Göttergruppen gemeint sein müssen (es sei denn, dass die Textlücke eine Wendung zur Wiederholung der Gottheiten enthält): [*pu-n*]u-uš-šu-nu-e-ni *karu-ú-i-li-[(ya-aš dingirme)š-aš ...?]* (4) [P]EREŠ.K]I.GAL DA-NUN-NA-AK-KI-ya ... „Wir richten [eine Fra] ge an die früheren Gottheite[n ...], (an) [Erešk]igal und (an die) Anunnakki“; vgl. Haas 2007, 25: „(an die) Anunnakki (die „früheren Gottheiten“)“.

10 Siehe im Hethiter-Portal CITATIO: E. Rieken et al. (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 345.I.3.1.

und den *karūliyaš addaš* dürfte darin bestehen, dass eine verwandtschaftliche Verbindung seitens des Erzählers durch den Terminus „Väter“ anstelle von „Gottheiten“ impliziert wird.

Wie schon in der Einführung angedeutet, sind der hurritische Mythos vom Königtum des Gottes LAMMA und die hethitische Version des Lieds von Ullikummi in diese Diskussion einzubeziehen, weil das Verfahren ihrer Aneignung seitens der hethitischen Schreiber Aufschluss darüber geben kann, wie solche Texte von ihnen verstanden und welche entsprechenden hethitischen Termini als adäquat erachtet wurden. Auf dieser Basis lässt sich die Gleichsetzung der „Großväter“ im Mythos vom Königtum des Gottes LAMMA mit den „früheren Vätern“ im Ullikummi-Lied, beide zu den „früheren Gottheiten“ gehörig, postulieren.

Der folgenden Textstelle aus dem historischen Bericht Arnuwandas I. KBo L 4 (CTH 148)¹¹ Vs. 4–7 ist eine genauere Begriffsbestimmung der *huhheš* zu entnehmen:

„Diejenigen, die [frühe]r in Ḫattuša Kön[ige waren?] / [...] waren aber die Ahnen-Könige (*huhhēš* LUGAL^{MEŠ}): [Ḫattušili], / [der Mann von K]uššara und Mur[š]ili; und [...] / [Und?] die Götter stand[en] in Güte [...].“

Arnuwanda I. herrschte viele Generationen nach den dort genannten Königen: Hierdurch lässt sich belegen, dass der Ausdruck *huhhēš* nicht nur zur Bezeichnung der „Großväter“, sondern auch der „Ahnen“ steht. Das Narrativ der zitierten Textpassage bezieht sich nämlich auf eine Art goldenes Zeitalter und verstärkt das dem Wort *huhha-* gegebene Gewicht: Einerseits verweist es auf das Alter der Könige Ḫattušili I. und Muršili I.; andererseits unterstreicht es die verwandtschaftliche Beziehung zwischen diesen Königen und Arnuwanda I. Daher kann dem Wort *huhheš* in diesem Kontext eine übertragene Bedeutung – etwa jene der „Stammväter“ des hethitischen Reiches – zugewiesen werden.

11 Soysal 1989, 61, 103; id. 2005, 140–142; Groddek 2008, 3f.

Die „Großväter (und) Großmütter“

Im Hinblick auf die *huhheš* ist festzuhalten, dass es sich bei diesen nicht um die Vorfahren als Gruppe unbestimmter Menschen handelt. Dieses Ahnenkollektiv wird dagegen mit dem Ausdruck *huhhiš hanniš* bzw. *huhhahanniš* „Großväter (und) Großmütter“ bezeichnet. Dieser ist insbesondere im Totenritualtext *šalliš waštaiš* (CTH 450, 451)¹² belegt, in dem die Ahnen in Form von Statuen bzw. Bildern neben den Gottheiten Opfer erhalten und Gegenstand von Kulthandlungen sind. Die Anwesenheit der Ahnen beim Totenritual des hethitischen Königs legt nahe, dass sie wahrscheinlich zu denjenigen gehörten, die das Gedeihen des hethitischen Reichs gewährleisteten. Daher wurden sie als Zeugen in diesem Übergangsmoment, der bei den Hethitern einem universellen Ungleichgewicht und großer Unreinheit entsprach, angerufen, damit sie den Übergang des Königs ins Totenreich schützen konnten. Ein Beleg für die Schutzfunktion der kollektiven Ahnen findet sich in der folgenden Textstelle aus dem Ersatzritual KUB XLII 94+ (CTH 448.4.1.b.A)¹³ Rs. IV[?] 9’–25’:¹⁴

„Die Gottheit, die vor dem (Gerichts-)Ra[d Zeu]gin (ist), sprich[t] folgendermaßen: / ‚Hier für jene stehen schon längst diese / Substitute. Nun merkt euch diese, / den König aber merkt euch nicht mehr! Die Stelle ist schon / gesichert‘. Wenn aber der Sonnengöttin der Erde Unheilvolles / aus dem Munde kommt, (wenn sie) aber irgendetwas an (dessen) Stelle in Rechnung zieht, / dann sollen aber die Substitute vor die Großmütter (und) Großväter heraustreten, / und sie [sollen] folgendermaßen sprechen: ‚Hier stehen wir schon längst für jene / bö[s]en Sünden [an der Stelle] des Kön[igs]. / [Nun] mer[kt euch] uns, den [Kö]nig aber merkt euch nicht!‘ / Die [Groß]mütter (und) Großväter soll man für sie vor die Sonnengöttin der Erde / hinstellen,

12 Zur ersten Edition s. Otten 1958; s. auch Kassian – Korolëv – Sidel’ tsev 2002 (mit der dort zitierten Bibliographie) und im Hethiter-Portal CITATIO: M. Kapeluš (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 450.1.1.1.

13 Taracha 2000, 8, 34–37, 48–53.

14 Die Ergänzungen stammen aus den folgenden Paralleltexen: IBoT III 147 (+) Bo 4371 4–19; Bo 3367 Vs.! 4–8; KUB VII 10 Vs. I 5–11; KUB LIII 58 1–7; KBo XXII 112 (+) KUB XL 74 16–21.

und sie sollen folgendermaßen sprechen: ‚Hier / haben [wir] für [jen]e [an die Stelle] all[er] bösen [Sünde(n)] des Königs / diese Substitute hingestellt. / Wir beschauten⁷ (die Stelle) mit dem Stift⁷ einer Stecknadel. [Und du,] / [Sonnen]göttin [der Erde], merke [dir di]ese Substitute, uns [aber] / [merk] e [dir nicht (mehr)]!‘“

Die „Großmütter (und) Großväter“ stellen hier die Vertreter des Königspaares dar, indem sie eine Vermittlerrolle gegenüber der Sonnengöttin der Erde ausüben. Ihre Funktion besteht darin, die Ersatzfiguren als Substitute des Königspaares anzuerkennen. So erweisen sich die kollektiven Ahnen nicht nur als Fürsprecher des Königspaares, sondern auch als dessen symbolische Verkörperung: Sie bürdeten sich nämlich die Verantwortung für die Verfehlungen des Königspaares auf und trugen die Konsequenzen dieser Verfehlungen gegenüber der Sonnengöttin der Erde, so wie auch die Substitute.

Darüber hinaus lässt sich eine weitere Überlegung hinsichtlich der kollektiven Dimension des Ausdrucks *ḫuḫḫiṣ ḫanniš* bzw. *ḫuḫḫaḫanniš* anführen: Bei diesem Ersatzritual sowie beim Totenritual *šalliš waštaiš* waren wahrscheinlich nicht die Bilder aller Vorfahren anwesend – dies wäre in der praktischen Ausführung zu umständlich gewesen. Demzufolge ist anzunehmen, dass lediglich zwei Statuen, eine für die Großväter und eine für die Großmütter, repräsentativ für alle Vorfahren zur Verwendung kamen. Dies würde zur Vorstellung der Ahnen als Kollektiv passen.

Der „Vater“, die „Väter“ und die „früheren Könige“

Das Sumerogramm AB.BA im Singular unterscheidet sich vom heth. Wort *atta-* und dem Akkadogramm *ABU* im Singular, da es dann nicht wie letztere die Bedeutung „Vater“ hat: Im Text der Reform des Kultes der Göttin der Nacht von Šamuḫa KUB XXXII 133 (CTH 482)¹⁵ Vs. 2 bezieht sich Muršili

¹⁵ Miller 2004, 312–319.

II. mit AB.BA auf seinen Ururgroßvater Tudḫaliya: Folglich bezeichnet dieses Sumerogramm im Hethitischen ein entfernteres Verwandtschaftsverhältnis.

Hinsichtlich der Pluralformen für „Väter“ verhalten sich die in den hethitischen Texten belegten Ausdrücke *atteš/adduš* / AB.BA^{HLA} / A-AB-BA-A hingegen ähnlich: Sie werden stets in Bezug auf die Vorgänger vor dem Großvater des Textverfassers verwendet und umfassen jeweils nicht dessen Großvater und Vater.¹⁶ Darüber hinaus sind damit im Gegensatz zu *ḫuḫḫanniš* immer nur die königlichen Vorgänger gemeint.

Die „Väter“ sind demzufolge mit den „früheren Königen“ vergleichbar. Mit dem Ausdruck *karūlieš* LUGAL^{MES} werden in zwei Gebeten¹⁷ und in einem Kultinventartext¹⁸ die unmittelbaren Vorgänger des Königs bezeichnet. Dies geschieht aber nicht in der folgenden Textstelle aus dem Maštigga-Ritual KBo XXXIX 8 (CTH 404.1.I.A)¹⁹ Rs. IV 27–31:

„Die beiden Opfermandanten versiegeln es (das Stierhorn) oben, und die Ritualistin / spricht folgendermaßen: ‚Wenn die früheren / Könige wiederkehren und die Riten des Landes / nachrechnen werden, erst dann soll auch dieses Siegel / erbrochen werden‘.“

Die hier genannten „früheren Könige“ konnten in der damaligen Vorstellung über die Sitten der hethitischen Gemeinschaft richten und verkörperten selbst das Wesen dieser Bräuche. Daher stellten sie dem Anschein nach eine Gruppe dar, die über das Reich wachte, genauso wie die kollektiven Ahnen (*ḫuḫḫanniš*).

16 Siehe den Vertrag Muršilis II. mit Tuppi-Teššub von Amurru KBo V 9++ (CTH 62.II.A; s. im Hethiter-Portal CITATIO: G. Wilhelm – F. Fuscagni (ed.), *hethiter.net/*: CTH 62) Vs. 33; das Gerichtsprotokoll KUB XXXVIII 37 (CTH 295.7.A; s. Werner 1967, 56f.) Rs. III? 1; den Vertrag Ḫattušilis III. mit Bentešina von Amurru, KBo I 8++ (CTH 92; s. del Monte 1986, 178–187; zuletzt Devecchi 2015, 220–225) Vs. 6.

17 Siehe das Pestgebet Muršilis II. KUB XIV 8 (CTH 378.II.A; s. Klinger 2013, 117–120) Vs. 9' ff.; das Gebet Ḫattušilis III. und der Puduḫepa an die Sonnengöttin von Arinna KUB XXI 19 ++ (CTH 383; s. *ibid.*, 128–132) Rs. III 9' ff.

18 Siehe das Heiligumsinventar Tudḫaliyas IV. KUB XXXVIII 35 (CTH 525.4; s. Hazenbos 2003, 48–51) Vs. I 1 ff.

19 Miller 2004, 61–124.

Eine besondere Stellung der verstorbenen Könige in den Boğazköy-Texten ist in verschiedenen hurritischen Ritualen zu finden: So wird z. B. im Beschwörungsritual KUB XLVIII 112 (CTH 500.346) Rs. IV 3 der vergöttlichte Narām-Sîn genannt, und im Fragment mythologischen²⁰ Inhaltes KUB XXXI 3 (CTH 775.D.2)²⁰ Vs. 4, Rs. 6 ist Sargon belegt. Aufschlussreicher für diese Diskussion ist das Tafelfragment KUB XXVII 38 (CTH 775.D.1)²¹ mit der Darstellung eines hethitischen und hurritischen Rituals: Die erste Kolumne enthält (1'–5') ein rituelles Lied, das während der Herstellung von Ersatzbildern (heth. *šenuš*, hurr. *šarrēna*), hier Wollfiguren von vergöttlichten Königen, gesungen werden soll. In der dritten Kolumne ab Z. 13' beginnt ein weiteres Lied, in dem die Namen einiger altorientalischer Herrscher aus früheren Epochen belegt sind; dies lässt sich de Martino (1993, 128) zufolge als „Anrufung an verschiedene Weise“ verstehen. Unter den Königen werden Narām-Sîn (mit Gottesdeterminativ) und Sargon (ohne Gottesdeterminativ) aufgeführt und in den letzten fragmentarischen Zeilen der vierten Kolumne auch die Könige (ohne Namensnennung) der anatolischen Staaten Illaya und Ḫatti. Dieser Text wird von de Martino (ibid. 132 und Anm. 82) als das Produkt einer Überlagerung mehrerer Texte gedeutet, die aus verschiedenen sprachlichen und kulturellen Milieus stammen.²² In diesem dürften der Kult und die besondere Stellung der Könige möglicherweise das hurritische Element dargestellt haben.

Das Konzept der „früheren Könige“ hatte sich bei den Nachbarkulturen seit langer Zeit durchgesetzt und brach sich ab mittelhethitischer Zeit auch in Ḫatti teilweise Bahn. Deswegen lässt sich vermuten, dass sich zwei unterschiedliche kulturelle Komponenten mit der Zeit überlagert haben. Als anatolische Komponente sind die *huhheš* „Großväter“ zu identifizieren, welche nicht die königlichen Vorgänger bezeichnen. Da die „Großväter“

20 Salvini – Wegner 2004, 17 und 37f.

21 Haas – Wegner 1988, 384-390; de Martino 1993, 121–134.

22 Vergleiche Bachvarova (2012, 108), die in diesem Text das Ergebnis eines einzigen sprachlichen und kulturellen Milieus sieht.

auch in dem Ausdruck *huhheš hanneš* bzw. *huhhahanniš* „Großväter (und) Großmütter“ (als Ahnenkollektiv) erscheinen, bleibt fraglich, ob ursprünglich mit *huhheš* nur die Stammväter oder alle männlichen Vorfahren gemeint waren. Die Verwendung von *huhhiš* im oben besprochenen Mythos vom Königtum des Gottes LAMMA in Verbindung mit den „früheren Gottheiten“ und im historischen Bericht Arnuwandas I. stützt erstere Vermutung.

Die „Väter“ (*atteš/adduš* / AB.BA^{HIA} / A-AB-BA-A) bzw. die „früheren Könige“ (*karūilieš* LUGAL^{MEŠ}) entstammen der hurritischen Komponente der hethitischen Kultur. Die Verwendung dieser Ausdrücke in Bezug auf die königlichen Vorgänger scheint nämlich erst in den späthethitischen Texten aufzutreten, in denen dagegen die *huhheš* „Großväter“ bzw. die *huhhahanniš* „Großväter (und) Großmütter“ keine Rolle mehr spielen.

Die „Väter (und) Großväter“

Etwa Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. könnten diese zwei kulturellen Komponenten, die anatolische und die hurritische, in dem Ausdruck *addeš huhheš* „Väter (und) Großväter“ eine Verbindung eingegangen sein. Ein Beleg dieses Ausdrucks findet sich in der folgenden Textstelle aus dem *išhiul*-Teil von ABoT I 56 (CTH 256)²³ Rs. III:

x+2) ŠA KUR.KUR^{URU} HAT-TI-ma [...]

3') nu-uš-ma-aš an-na-li-uš x[...]

4') É^{MEŠ} ŠA GIDIM^{HIA} [...]

5') lu-uz-zi-ya-za-at x[... a-ra-u-e-eš a-ša-an-du]²⁴

6') nu GIDIM^{HIA}-aš ku-iš ku-it [...]

²³ Giorgieri 1995, 292–319; Miller 2013, 308–313.

²⁴ Weiterführend Giorgieri 1995, 295 und Anm. 24.

7') *A-NA É^{MEŠ} GIDIM^{HIA} ku-e[(-²) ...]*

8') *ad-da-aš hu-uh-^rha¹-aš ku-e[(-²) ...]*

9') *ŠA GIDIM^{HIA} iš¹-hi-ú-ul [...]*

„Von den Ländern Hattis aber [...] / und euch/ihnen die früheren [...] / Die Häuser der Toten [...] / und von Fronarbeit [sollen] sie [frei sein.] / Wer den Toten was [...] / Welche (Dinge)? den Häusern der Toten [...] / Welche (Dinge)? den Vätern (und) Großvätern [...] / die Pflichten/Vorschrift betreffs der Toten [...].“

Dieser fragmentarischen Textpassage folgt der Treueid, den Šuppiluliuma II. schwören ließ, um die Verehrung der Verstorbenen zu gewährleisten. Trotz ihrer lückenhaften Überlieferung lässt sich der Textstelle entnehmen, dass die „Väter“ und die „Großväter“ in einem Zusammenhang belegt sind, in dem von Verstorbenen die Rede ist. Daher kann der Ausdruck *addaš huḫḫaš* nicht als Sing. gedeutet werden, sondern als Pl. und am wahrscheinlichsten als Dat. Pl., wenn die vorangehende parallele Z. 7' (*A-NA É^{MEŠ} GIDIM^{HIA}*) mit dem durch *ANA* markierten Dativ zum Vergleich herangezogen wird. Darüber hinaus lässt sich vermuten, dass Z. 9' eine genauere Erläuterung von Z. 8' darstellt: „Welche (Dinge)? den Häusern der Toten [...]“ bzw. „Welche (Dinge)? den Vätern (und) Großvätern [...]“, d. h. „den verstorbenen Königen (und) Vorfahren?“

Der Beleg von *addaš huḫḫaš* im Zusammenhang mit Toten eröffnet die Möglichkeit eines Vergleichs der dadurch bezeichneten Gruppe mit den *huḫḫeš ḫanniš* bzw. *huḫḫaḫanniš*. Bei den kollektiven Ahnen handelt es sich nämlich um Statuen bzw. Bilder, die u. a. beim Totenritual *šalliš waštaiš* Opfer erhalten und verehrt werden (s. oben). In ABoT I 56 ist von Häusern der Toten die Rede; demzufolge dürften sich dort ebenfalls die Bilder der „Väter“ und der „Großväter“ befunden haben. Hinsichtlich der generellen Verwendung und Bedeutung der Termini kann hier jedoch insofern ein

Unterschied zwischen *addaš hūḫḫaš* einerseits und *hūḫḫeš ḫanniš* bzw. *hūḫḫaḫanniš* andererseits gesehen werden, als sich der letztere Ausdruck auf alle Ahnen bezieht: Die Gesamtheit der männlichen und weiblichen Vorfahren, die nicht individuell bestimmt werden, sind damit gemeint. Im Unterschied dazu lässt sich bei „Vätern“ allein und bei „Vätern (und) Großvätern“ das Hauptaugenmerk ausschließlich auf die verstorbenen Könige der hethitischen königlichen Familie richten, es sei denn, dass die „Großväter“ in einem solch späten Text zu einer Abkürzung für „Großväter (und) Großmütter“ geworden seien: Folglich könnten mit *addaš hūḫḫaš* die königlichen Vorgänger (*addaš*) und die kollektiven Ahnen (*hūḫḫaš*) gemeint sein.

Diesbezüglich erweist sich die folgende Textstelle aus der Übersichtstafel des 2. Tages des Totenrituals *šalliš waštaiš* KBo XXXIX 289 (CTH 450)²⁵ Vs. als besonders aussagekräftig:

- 1) [I-N]A UD II^{IKAM} *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an ḫa-aš-ṛta¹-[i le-eš-ša-an-zi]*
- 2) [n]a-at I-NA É.NA₄*pé-e-da-a[n-zi]*
- 3) [n]a-at-kán^{GIŠ}NA₄*aš ti-an-zi ṛnu I GU₄¹*
- 4) [V]I[?] UDU^{HIA}-ya *ki-iš-ša-an ši-pa-an-ta-an[-zi]*
- 5) [I UDU t]ák-na-aš^DUTU-i I UDU *ne-pí-ša-aš [DUTU-i]*
- 6) [II[?] UDU ḫ]u-uḫ-ḫa-aš *ḫa-an-na-aš I UDU <I GU₄-ya> at-ta-a[š]*
- 7) [I UDU A-N]A^DUD.SIG₅...

„Wenn sie am zweiten Tag die Knoche[n aufsammelnⁿ] / bringen sie sie zum Steinhaus / [und] legen sie auf das Bett; ein Rind / und [sech]s[?] Schafe opfe[rn sie] auf diese Weise: / [ein Schaf] für die Sonnengottheit der [E]rde, ein Schaf für die [Sonnengottheit] des Himmels, / [zwei[?] Schafe] für die [G]

25 Kassian – Korolëv – Sidel’ tsev 2002, 655–658 (dort Übersichtstafel des 3.? Tages).

VORFAHREN, AHNENKOLLEKTIV UND KÖNIGLICHE VORGÄNGER:

roßväter (und) Großmütter, ein Schaf <und ein Rind> für die *atta[š]*, / [ein Schaf fü]r den Gott des guten Tages ...“

In Z. 6 lässt sich das Opfer eines Rindes (*GU₄-ya*) hinzufügen, das sonst in jeder vergleichbaren Textstelle des Totenrituals stets der *akkantaš ZI-ni* „Seele des Toten“ zugeordnet wird. Hier ist jedoch *attaš*, wörtlich Dat. Lok. von *atta-* „Vater“, „den Vätern“ belegt. Dieser „Schreibfehler“²⁶ (wenn man dies so nennen darf) könnte als Spur des ehemaligen Unterschiedes zwischen dem Ahnenkult und dem Kult der verstorbenen Könige angesehen werden. Diese Untersuchung hat nämlich gezeigt, dass der Ausdruck „Väter“ zur Bezeichnung der königlichen Vorfahren verwendet wird, allerdings nicht synonym mit den „Großvätern (und) Großmüttern“, die für die kollektiven Ahnen stehen. Dies bedeutet, dass es zwei unterschiedliche Ausdrücke gibt, um einerseits die Vorfahren/Ahnen und andererseits die Vorfahren/früheren Könige zu bezeichnen. Wiewohl sich dafür kein zwingender Beweis finden lässt, liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass der Schreiber also in der Übersichtstafel des Totenrituals irrtümlich in der Auflistung der Opferspenden und ihrer Empfänger „nach den kollektiven Ahnen an die Väter und nicht die toten Könige gedacht hat“??

Fazit

In den Boğazköy-Texten sind mehrere unterschiedliche Ausdrücke belegt, die als Bezeichnungen für die Vorfahren gedeutet werden können. Die Pluralform des Terminus *huhḫa-* „Großvater“ kann in einer übertragenen Bedeutung auch für die Ahnen verwendet werden; damit werden jedoch wahrscheinlich nicht die königlichen Vorgänger bezeichnet, sondern etwas wie Stammväter (Gottheiten und Könige). Die *huhḫeš ḫanniš* bzw. *huhḫahanniš* „Großväter (und) Großmütter“ bezeichnen die kollektiven

26 Vergleiche Kassian (2000, 80), der das Wort *addeš* anhand des Vergleichs mit dem Ritual von Ziplantawiya KBo XV 10+ (CTH 443.A) Vs. I 16–18 als Bezeichnung der „Seele“ deutet; s. auch HED 1-2, 227 unter *adda-/addi-*.

Ahnen, die als Vertreter des Königtums verstanden werden können und eine Schutzfunktion für die königliche Familie ausübten. Die *atteš/adduš* / AB.BA^{HIA} / A-AB-BA-A „Väter“ bezeichnen die königlichen Vorgänger, wie die *karūilieš* LUGAL^{MEŠ} „früheren Könige“. Die letztgenannten stellen jedoch im Maštigga-Ritual auch eine Gruppe dar, die – vergleichbar zu den *ḫuḫḫahanniš* – über das hethitische Reich wachte. Die besondere Stellung der alten Könige ist hurritischen Ursprungs. Demzufolge lässt sich vermuten, dass sich mit der Zeit zwei unterschiedliche kulturelle Komponenten bei den Hethitern überlagert haben: Die „Großväter“ (*ḫuḫḫeš*) und die „Großväter (und) Großmütter“ (*ḫuḫḫahanniš*) stellten ursprünglich die anatolische Komponente dar, während die „Väter“ (*atteš/adduš* / AB.BA^{HIA} / A-AB-BA-A) und die „früheren Könige“ (*karūilieš* LUGAL^{MEŠ}) mit dem hurritischen Element der hethitischen Kultur in Verbindung gebracht werden können. Etwa Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. dürfte der Ausdruck *addaš ḫuḫḫaš* „Väter (und) Großväter“ die erreichte Vermischung dieser beiden kulturellen Komponenten markieren, da die „Väter“ für die königlichen Vorgänger und die „Großväter“ für die kollektiven Ahnen stehen könnten.

Aufgrund der Analyse aller einschlägigen Termini lässt sich schließlich annehmen, dass bei den Hethitern deutlich zwischen dem Kult der kollektiven Ahnen und dem Kult der verstorbenen Könige unterschieden wurde.

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THE HITTITE KING AND THE VINE¹

Carlo CORTI*

It is well known that wine played an important role in many ancient cultures. The complex processes of wine-making were known and practiced in several regions of the ancient world; often wine was considered as a prestigious luxury product, to be consumed by the royal family and the elites at court. The prestige of the beverage wine and the economic importance of viticulture transcended the sphere of production and consumption, entering the realm of religious and ideological concepts.²

The extensive use of wine is well established for Hittite Anatolia.³ Sources suggest that wine there was not only consumed by the royal family and the elites, but was a more common commodity for which there was a considerable demand throughout the kingdom. The economic significance of wine in Hittite society is closely linked to its ubiquitous use in the temple cult, which required a reliable supply of wine for the consumption of the gods. The association of wine with the cult certainly stimulated the attribution of symbolic values to the vine and its product, traditions that can be shown to go back to the pre-Hittite Hattian civilization in North Central Anatolia as clearly inferred from CTH 733, “Invocation to the Hattian deities”:⁴

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2 For a general overview about wine and viticulture in the Ancient Near Eastern world see the articles edited by McGovern, Fleming and Katz 1996. For a synthesis now Stol 2016, 37-43 and Corti in press, 39-42 with literature.

3 See mainly Alp 2000, pp. 67–88; Corti 2017, 41-60; del Monte 1995, 211-224; Gorny 1996, pp. 133–174; Hoffner 1974, *passim*; Klengel 2006, 14-16; de Martino 2016, 43-45.

4 On CTH 733 now Corti 2010a.

*Long life to the king*⁵! *The queen ditto, his children ditto, his grandchildren ditto, and the same for the people.*⁶ *Let his country leave the borders of the sea over here and over there ditto. Let flourish the field of taḫata for (their offerings of) bread to the gods. Let flourish the vineyard*⁷ *of the town of Kakumaḫa for (their offerings of) wine to the gods.*

As already affirmed, the importance of the wine it is well known for Hittite Anatolia, especially within the sphere of the cult. But the role that vineyards and the vine themselves played from an economic point of view, for religious practices as well as for the use of viticulture images and actions was, at the same time, no less significant for the Hittites.

The economic prominence of viticulture and the vine in the Hittite society is evident from reading some texts of administrative and economic content. In fact, several paragraphs of the Hittite Laws (CTH 292) pertain to vine and vineyard management, dealing with the regulation of controversies and providing information concerning the value of terrain used to cultivate vines (§ 101, 105, 107–8, 113) as well as the price of wine itself (mainly § 183 and 185). It is also meaningful that of the two series which make up the Laws, the second is titled “If a vine”.⁸ Various administrative documents and letters, especially those from the Maṣat Höyük archive, provide data on the cultivation of the vine and the production of wine in the region of Tapikka and highlighting the sovereign’s interest in successful harvests and care for the vineyards (HKM 4, 35); others in which the city of Kašaša, in the Tapikka district, appears as a center of wine production (HKM 31, 37, 105).⁹ The (late) middle-Hittite tablet KBo 16.65 (+), which refers to the province administration belonging to the region of Zalpuwa along the southern coast of the Black Sea, lists the vineyards and vine-dressers assigned to the temple of the Stormgod of the town of Hašhatatta by private citizens.¹⁰ As far as the land donation tablets are concerned, in addition to KBo

5 Or: May the king live (in eternity)!

6 For the translation ERIN^{MEŠ} as “people” - instead of “army” - in this group of documents see del Monte 1984, 169-170.

7 The restoration ^{GI}ŠKIRI₆GEŠTIN “vineyard” in the documentation of CTH 733 is according to Corti 2010a, 143-144.

8 Edition Hoffner 1997, *passim*.

9 Alp 1991, *passim*. Hoffner 2009, *passim*.

10 See Corti 2017c, 50-53. To the tablet KBo 16.65 (+) Privat 15 now we can add KBo 23.58; this last fragment cites the town of Ziḫnuwa at l. 4'. For a general overview of the Land of Zalpuwa see now Corti 2017a, 226-228 and 2017b, 198-200.

5.7 which talks about various plots of land – including vines – donated by the king Arnuwanda I and the queen Ašmunikkal to the priestess Kuwatalla,¹¹ and Bo 90/750 where the sovereign gives to a vassal a large plot of land cultivated with vines in the region of Tapikka, VAT 7436¹² appears significant since it cites vines from the city of Tuhuppiya, known for its production of olive oil and, probably, of wine already during the Old Assyrian period.¹³

The grapevine and its main product, wine, acquired special significance as symbol of abundance, well-being, regeneration and immortality, reaching the height of its symbolic value in relationship with the Hittite king and the royal family. Before talking about the symbolic value of the grapevine itself in the Hittite sources, I think it is important to emphasize the role that the vineyard played for the Hittites. In addition to the economical aspect, already touched upon, the vineyard presents particularly significant elements at the religious level as a place with cathartic power where the deities are located (*locus numinosus*). Although there are a limited number of texts in which the vineyard is the setting of ritual action and celebrations, those mentioned are significant for our reasoning and I will give a brief overview of several of them.

In addition to a group of fragments that is part of the documentation of Luwian *milieu*, labeled as “Fragments of rituals with Luwian words” (CTH 670/763) and dealing with a celebration for the Storm god of the sky during which gardeners and vine-dressers move a statue of the deity from a vineyard,¹⁴ the very first document I would like to examine is KUB 43.23+, called “Blessing for the Labarna”. It is a middle-Hittite ritual that was performed to assure the prosperity of the royal vineyard.¹⁵ A large section of the text consists of an invocation to the Storm God Tarhunta and of a plea addressed to the dark genius of the Earth and to the Sun goddess of the Earth to bring prosperity to the vineyards and—in a broad

11 Edition Rüter and Wilhelm 2012, 231-244 with literature. I maintain that in obv. 40 of this text it is possible to restore ^{T01-k}*u-wa-an-na-ni-ya*; this spring could be connected with (the irrigation of) a vineyard, because ^{G15}KIRI₆,GEŠTIN is cited in the next line.

12 Rüter and Wilhelm 2012, 186-189 (Nr. 41).

13 Barjamovic 2011: 309–311.

14 KUB 35.1; KUB 35.2 (+) 4. See Starke 1985, 354-357.

15 For a new edition see Corti, in progress; Fuscagni, *apud* Košak, Konk, added to this tablet the fragment Bo 9252. I would like to add also Bo 4243, up until now catalogued under CTH 470; it duplicates KUB 43.23+ obv. 12-20.

sense—to grant prosperity to the sovereign’s household; the tablet ends with a list of offerings for the deities including, Kamrušepa, Telipinu and Maliya; the latter bearing the meaningful title of “Mother of Vine and of Grain” (rev. 23-61). From the very beginning the tablet shows that we dealing with a plea and not only to a magical ritual; it also shows several elements that recall the missing deities mythologem (obv. 1-9):¹⁶

- 1 [D^I]M-na-aš DINGIR.LÚ^{MES} u-wa-te-et-te-en D^{IM}-an
- 2 [hu-e]l-pi-na-aš GIŠKIRI₆-aš GEŠTIN LUGAL-uš ku-in ṛdaṛ-ṛlišṛ -k[i-zi(?)]
- 3 [nu]ṛeṛ-ez-du e-ku-ud-du ma-a-na-aš kar-di-mi-ya-an-ṛzaṛ
- 4 [nu] kar-di-mi-ya-at-ta-an ke-e-ti UD-ti ar-ḥa pe-eš-še-ad-du
- 5 ma-a-na-aš ta-ma-at-ta-ma KUR-ya na-an ta-me-e-ta-az
- 6 KUR-az u-wa-te-et-te-en na-aš-ta LUGAL-ṛunṛ DAM-ZU DUMU^{MES}-ŠU
- 7 ḥa-a-aš-ša ḥa-an-za-aš-ša D^{IM}-ni [pár-ra-(a-)an-t]a¹⁷ a-aš-šu
- 8 me-mi-iš-ki-it-te-en šu-me-eš-y[a D^{IM}-na-aš DI]NGIR. LÚ^{MES}-eš
- 9 e-ez-te-en e-ku-[ut-te-en]

- 1 O male gods of the [Stormg]od bring (here) the Stormgod
- 2 of the [you]ng vineyard who the king evo[kes(?).]
- 3 Let him drink (and) eat! If he is angry,
- 4 let him throw away his anger on this day.
- 5 But, if he is in another country, bring him from (that) other country.
- 6 Speak the king, his wife, children
- 7 and descendants favorably [acros]s to the Stormgod.
- 8 And you, male gods [of the Stormgod]
- 9 eat (and) dri[nk!]

16 Edition Haas 1988, 131-135.

17 For this restoration see Boley 2000, 183-184; for the use of *parranda* in similar contexts see CHD P, 136-137. Haas 1988, 132 proposes [me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-t]a, but the length of the lacuna is not sufficient to house this restoration.

The last lines of the composition (rev. 19'-22') – followed by the offerings to the deities – are devoted to a famous simile; the excerpt compares the vine to a sow in the following way:¹⁸

19 *nu-za* 1 ŠAḤ *ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an*
 20 ŠAḤ.TUR^{HIA} *me-ek-ku-uš ḥa-aš-ki-iz-zi ke-e-el-la-az ŠA* ^{GIŠ}KIRI₆.G[EŠTIN]
 21 *1-aš-ša* ^{GIŠ}*ma-a-aḥ-la-an ŠAḤ-aš i-wa-ar mu-u-ri-uš*
 22 *me-ek-ku-uš ḥa-aš-ki-id- du*

19 ... Just as one sow
 20 gives birth to many piglets, may also from this v[in]e]yard
 21 even a single (vine) branch, like a sow,
 22 begin to bear many grape clusters.

The relationship between the sow and the grapevine as symbols of regeneration and renewal is also confirmed by KUB 12.44+ “Ritual of Anna of Kaplawiya for an unfruitful vineyard” (CTH 392) in which magical procedures are carried out at the entry and within the field of the vines to ensure the fertility of the vineyard. The incipit – and partly the colophon – clearly shows the scope of the performed magical ritual (obv. II 36-37):¹⁹

36 *ma-a-an* ^{GIŠ}KIRI₆.GEŠTIN *ku-iš Ú-UL mi-i-e-eš-ki-iz-zi*
 37 [] *'ki-iš-ša⁷-an a-ni-ya-mi na-aš mi-iš-ki-u-an da-a-i*

36 If a vineyard never bears fruit
 37 I will perform [the ritual] as follows and it (the vineyard) will begin to bear fruit (again).

One of the magic actions carried out in order to make the vineyard fruitful again was based on the burying the “female genitalia” of a sow.

18 CHD L/N, 333.

19 See Haas 1988, 138-142.

The tablet KUB 55.54(+) also presents interesting elements.²⁰ At first glance this document seems difficult to attribute typologically, but at closer look, it must be considered a ritual in honor of deceased members of the same family; in addition to a list of offerings to the gods, peculiar ritual actions are carried out involving the statues of the deities and those of the ancestors; one of these actions actually takes place in a vineyard. It is interesting to point out that, as far as we know, the text does not appear to be dealing with members of the Hittite royal family nor with dignitaries of particularly high ranking since their names -^{mD}UTU-*liya* /*Tiwataliya* e ^f*Kuzi* – are *apax*; but we have also to remember that, being a document preserved in Tempel 1 archives, this family must have held some importance or role within the Hittite capital. The transliteration presented here follows the one provided by Groddek with additional restorations (rev. IV 1-3):²¹

- 1 [ANA²² DINGIR^L]M-*ma-kán*(?) KASKAL^{HLA}-*uš ka-ru-ú 'ta '²-[ni-nu-a]n'²-te 'eš*(?)²³
- 2 [GIŠZALA]M.GAR^{MEŠ}-*kán ŠÀ GIŠKIRI₆.GEŠTIN *ka-ru-ú ' an '[-d]a²-an*
DINGIR^{LUM}-*kán* '*
- 3 [ŠÀ^{GIŠKIRI}]G₆.GEŠTIN *pé-e-da-an-zi ŠÀ GIŠZALAM.GAR^{MEŠ}-kán* '
ta-ni-nu-wa-an- 'zi '

- 1 The paths are already p[repa]red(?) [for the dei]ty;(?)
- 2 [the te]nts are already inside the vineyard.
- 3 They carry the (statue of the) deity [in the vine]yard and arrange it inside the tents.

The next paragraph, devoted to the offerings for the statues, cites the ancestor ^{mD}UTU-*liya* and not once but twice, the goddess Maliya, the only

20 Actually this tablet is composed by KUB 55.54, KBo 52.128 and Bo 7825; see Corti KBo 52, IX nr. 128. Groddek, *apud* Košak, Konk added DBH 43/2.13 (=Bo 8281) and Bo 10096. Some passages are treated by Miller 2004, 112 and Kapetuš 2010, 260-261. I maintain that also VSNF 12.55 is a fragment that join indirectly with the same manuscript.

21 See Groddek 2002, 96-99. Note at lines 1-2 the very concise information expressed by nominal sentences.

22 For the use, in this document, of one vertical wedge to express the Akkadian preposition compare DBH 43/2.13 l.col. 6' (better 7'):]'2 ' GAL KAŠ ANA DUMU^{MEŠ}. The fragment is now published in hand-copy by Taš 2017, 4; it could be tentatively placed in rev. IV 21-28.

23 The restoration is not sure but we have, at least, one clear reference at hand in KUB 58.32 obv. I 14; other options, mainly with the initial syllable ša-, are possible.

deity named soon after. This goddess, as we know from CTH 820 and the previously cited magical ritual for the prosperity of royal vineyard, is the tutelary deity of the vine and of wine.

Also in CTH 667, “Celebrations in the Zalpuwa Land”, a document connected with a funerary ritual or a celebration for a deceased sovereign, the vineyard is the location where several rituals related to the gods and/or human beings are carried out (KUB 58.32+ rev. III 1’-6’ and duplicates):²⁴

- x+1’ *’nu-wa-ra-an-kán’* [*IŠ-T(Uⁿ GAD ka-ri-ya-an-zi*)]
 2’ *nu-wa-ra-an-kán* x[
 3’ *nu-wa-aš-ši* ^{GIŠ}KIRI₆.GE[(ŠTIN *e-eš-ta nu-wa-ra-an-kán ŠÀ*
^{GIŠ}K)IRI₆.GEŠTIN(?)]
 4’ *pé-e-da-an-zi* n[*u²-wa-ra-a(n² ka-ri-y)a²-*
 5’ *ḪUL-za UL* [(*ku-iš-ki e-ep-zi da-pi-an-za-wa-za*)]
 6’ *du-uš-ki-iš-ki*[-*iš-ki-wa-an da-a-i* (?)]

- x+1’ “They cover him/her [wit]h a cloth[
 2’ [they ...] him/her
 3’ He/She had a vineyard and they carry him/her inside the vi[neyard (?).]
 4’ The[n(?) they] cov[er(?) hi]m/he[r(?) [and he/she(?)]
 5’ [shall] not [take any] evil. [All (the people)]
 6’ [begin to] rejoic[e(?)”²⁵

Even if the passage is damaged and we don’t know exactly who is being taken to the vineyard²⁶ and whether the act of covering the human or divine entity with a cloth is to avoid visual contact, however it is clear that, the vineyard being a *locus nominosus* par excellence, the negative elements do not dwell there. On the contrary, it seems that whoever is afflicted by the spell is somehow purified by just entering the vineyard; the use of the verb

24 For this group of texts see Corti 2010b, 91-102, in particular 99.

25 For *dusk-* see recently Cammarosano 2014, 138-144.

26 I maintain that the protagonist of the excerpt is a deceased person also because of the past tense sentence at line 3’.

dušk- at the end of the excerpt and the subsequent party that takes place at the palace (omitted in the text-passage), confirm that the ritual action, whatever it was, had a positive outcome.

We can conclude by saying that the vineyard was not only the setting for ritual actions and celebrations which involved the (statues of) the deities, but also the ancestors effigies; noteworthy to remark is the function of the vineyard in connection with death or funerary rituals. In the last two texts, some events take place inside a tent that has been specifically placed in the vineyard and, most likely, involve deceased individuals. I'm quite sure that also in the 12th day of the funerary ritual a similar scenario occurred (see *infra*).

In so much as the grapevine is concerned, in key texts of Hittite royal ideology the association of the king with the vine, its growth and capacity for renewal, all play a central role. This aspect may be illustrated by the following passage from the building ritual KUB 29.1 rev. IV 13-16:²⁷

- 13 *nu* ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN-*aš* ^{GIŠ}*ma-ah-la-an ti-an-zi* KI.MIN ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN-*wa*
 14 *ma-ah-ha-an kat-ta šu-u-ur-ku-uš ša-ra-a-ma-wa*
 15 ^{GIŠ}*ma-ah-lu-uš ši-i-ya-iz-zi* LUGAL-*ša* MUNUS.LUGAL-*ša kat-ta*
 16 *šur-ku-uš kat-ta-ma* ^{GIŠ}*ma-ah-lu-uš ši-i-ya-an-du*

They place (into the ground) a branch of a grapevine, and speak as follow: ‘Just as the grapevine sends down roots and sends up branches, let the king and queen also send down roots and send up branches’.

A passage from KBo 21.22 rev. 46-53, another document belonging to the so-called “Blessing for the Labarna”, reveals the importance and strong symbolic value of this plant as related to the king and the royalty.

- 46 [*š*]a-li-ki ^{GIŠ}*ma-a-aḫ-li na-pa iš-ḫi-ši-it-ti a-ap-pa la-a-ak*
 47 [*š*]a-li-ki a-ku-ki *nu-za par-ku-nu-mar da-a*
 48 [*ša-*]₁li₁-ki A-NA GEŠTIN.KU₇ *nu-za mi-li-it-du-uš-ši-it*

27 CHD L/N, 112.

- 49 [da-a(?)]^{r D} *Hal-ma-aš-šu-iz nu[-z]a[?] 'ki-`nu-pi-iš-ši-it gi-nu-ut*
 50 []x-aš-ša da-a-li-iš-te- en
 51 []x-aš-ša da-a-li-iš-te-en ki-nu-na-aš
 52 []a[?]-ba-ar-na-aš^DUTU-uš ma-a-an
 53 [A-WA-A]T a-ku-ka[-aš(?)]QA-TI

(O Halmasuit?) touch the (vine-)branch and train (lit. bend) (it) on your back! Touch the *akuka* and take for yourself purification! Touch the sweet grape and [take] its sweetness for yourself!²⁸ O Halmasuit! Tread his skin (of the grape) []... release! []..... release! Now he []the tabarna as the Sun deity [] let become!(?) “Wo]rd(s) of the *akuka*”. Finished.

The magic word *akuka* at the end of the paragraph, for which we know neither the meaning nor the origin, could refer to the vine tendrils since it is preceded by (vine-)branch – and the verb “to train” - and followed by grape. It proves difficult, instead, to identify it with the leaf for which there is more than one word in Hittite (for example *paraštu-* or *lahhurnuzi-*).

This strong connection between the king and the vine reaches, in my opinion, its maximum intensity during the funerary ritual for the Hittite sovereign.²⁹ Due to the relevance of the twelfth day of this ritual, defined by Hittite scribes as the day of the ‘Cutting of the Grapevine’, here is presented a transliteration and translation of the most interesting passages, starting from obv. I 9³⁰ of the tablet KUB 30.19+ (and duplicates):

- 9 *an-na-aš-ma-kán* ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN-aš a[r-ḫa-a]z³¹ ka-ru-ú ar-ra-an-za na-aš ú-da-an-za

- 10 *nam-ma* ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN *ga-pa-nu IŠ-TU*^{T[UGŠÀ.K]A.DÙ} an-da ḫu-u-la-li-an-zi

28 See CHD Š1, 101 and CHD L-N, 18.

29 Main editions: Otten 1958; Kassian, Korolëv and Sidel'tsev 2002; Kapeluš 2011.

30 The importance of this line is highlighted by the fact that it is the only one which makes up paragraph 3.

31 This restoration proposal fits in well with the context.

- 11 *nam-ma-an IŠ-TU* ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN ^{GIŠ}IN-B[I] *mu-u-ri-ni-it* ^{SI}G^Ii-ia-at-na-aš
 12 *mu-u-ri-ni-it ú-nu-u-wa-an-zi nam-ma-an ša-ra-a da-an-zi*
 13 *na-an-kán* ^{MUNUS}tap-ta-ra-aš ^{GIŠ}Z^A.L^AM.G^AR-aš *an-da pé-e-da-i*
 14 *na-an-ša-an A-NA* ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR *ak-kán-ta-aš an-da la-ak-nu-u-wa-an-zi*

 55 *nam-ma ku-iš an-tu-uh-ša-aš ŠA MÁŠ-ŠU nu-za PA-A-ŠU*
 KÙ.BABBAR ŠA 20 GÍN *da-a-i*
 56 *na-aš-ta* ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN-an *kar-aš-z[i]* ^{LÚ}SAGI.A-ma-aš-ša-an *iš-qa-ru-*
uh da-a-ga-an
 57 *GUL-ah-zi nu kal-ga-li-na-i[z-z]i nu* ^{MUNUS}tap-ta-ra-aš *ú-e-iš-ki-u-wa-an*
da-a-i

- 58 ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN-ma-aš-ša-an *QA-DU* ^{TÚG}ŠÀ.KA.DÙ *ha-aš-ši-i ti-an-zi na-*
aš-ta pa-ah-ḥur
 59 ^{MUNUS}tap-ta-ra-aš *a-ra-ah-za-an-da ú-e-eḥ-zi* ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN-ma-kán *ku-*
iš kar-aš-zi
 60 *nu-za PA-A-ŠU KÙ.BABBAR a-pa-a-aš da-a-i*

9 The ‘**mother-vine**’ (was) already washed (starting) fro[m] the e[dge] and (than) it (was) brought.

10 Then they bind up a **vine shoot** with a clo[th b]elt.

11 They adorn it with grapes, with clusters of fruit[s] (and) with clusters of *iyatna*-wool

12 and pick it up.

13 *Taptara*-women bring it inside the tent

14 and they lay it on the table of the deceased.

55 Then a man, who (belongs) to his family, takes a silver axe (weighing) twenty shekels

56 and cut[s] the **vine (shoot)**. The cupbearer hits *isqaruh*-vessel against the ground

- 57 and (afterwards) he laments(?).³² *Taptara*-women begin to wail.
-
- 58 They put **(the piece of) the vine (shoot)** with the cloth belt into the hearth.
- 59 *Taptara*-women walk around the fire. (That one) who has cut off the **vine (shoot)**,
- 60 takes the silver axe for himself.
-

After few other ceremonies are carried out, the twelve day goes to the end with the sentence: “The twelve day is finished: Of the cutting of the grapevine” (^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN-*aš karšuwaš*). We know that the eighth through the eleventh days of the funerary ritual for the Hittite king were dedicated to fundamental elements of the life and, specifically, the sovereign’s life; among these animal husbandry and agriculture; so then we ask ourselves why an entire day of the celebration was dedicated to the vine when, as we just said, the tenth day was already reserved for agriculture. The title of the twelfth day must have then clearly stressed a strong symbolic action; difficult to say what this was. The most obvious explanation would be to see the action of the cutting of the shoot from the vine as the end of its productivity and, consequently, for the deceased sovereign, the end of his fertility and the interruption of the lineage.³³

I believe, however, that there is evidence for a different interpretation. The “mother-vine” – cited at the beginning of the day - as rightly recognized by Puhvel, is a clear botanical expression;³⁴ I maintain we are dealing with the “mother of grape-vines”, “that is to say, the ‘mother-plant’ that, from an horticultural point of view, is defined as a plant grown for the purpose of taking cuttings or offsets in order to grow more quantity of the same plant”.³⁵ The interpretation of *annaš* ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN-*aš* as a metaphor of ‘grape-vine’ given by Kassian, Korolev and Sidel’tsev is not self-evident, and, in my opinion, the parallels from the Sumero-Akkadian epoch and from classical

32 About lines 56-57 see now HW² K, 32 with literature.

33 For this interpretation see, for example, Trémouille, 2004, 173 and fn. 99.

34 Puhvel 2004, 128.

35 Corti 2017c, 56.

sources that they mention do not fit to our context.³⁶ As I already said this is a technical term in botany; it is not by chance that both the ‘queen bee’ and the ‘mother vine’ are – for their respective species – the mothers par excellence.

After a series of ritual actions, the cutting of the so called “grape-vine” is carried out. In keeping with the interpretation made up until now, I believe that on a purely symbolic level, we are dealing with the action of “striking” a vine shoot from the mother-vine in order to create the “cutting”, which will give life to an identical plant in the afterlife. As a matter of fact, the daughter plants that arise from the mother plant are adventitious plants. Adventitious plants will either be released by the mother plant itself or can be cut when the plantlets reach a suitable size. The washing ritual “(starting) from the edge (on)” of the mother-plant, at the beginning of the twelfth day, fits well with my interpretation: just as in nature the mother-plant must be healthy and vigorous in order to avoid passing on defects to the “twin” grape-vine, so, it is at the beginning of the ritual, that the mother-vine is washed to free it from impurities. The reason for which the “cutting” was not planted in the earth as one would expect, is connected to the type of ritual action taking place; the “cutting” is one of the things that will go to the afterlife with the king and therefore is destined to be burned. This concept was clearly explained by Rutherford (“The premise of the Hittite ritual is that the king’s soul ends up in a sort of paradise, and the purpose of the destruction rituals that take place– by fire - is to make sure he enjoys a comfortable existence there”) and, most recently, reaffirmed by van den Hout (“Burning was probably seen as the ultimate way to ‘send’ things to the hereafter”).³⁷ Therefore, my conclusion is that with the expression “cutting of the grapevine” the Hittites make reference to the “striking”, the practice of reproducing vines by cutting.

The connection of the royal family with the plants-world is confirmed by another famous simile cited in KUB 29.1 rev. IV, 22-25:³⁸

36 Kassian, Korolëv and Sidel'tsev 2002, 522 and fns. 1-2. The analogy with *annaš* NIM.LĀL-*aš*, cited in the KILAM festival and correctly interpreted by them as ‘queen bee’, actually supports Puhvel’s translation of ‘mother vine’ for *annaš* G^{is}GEŠTIN-*aš*.

37 Rutherford 2007, 230; van den Hout 2014, 77.

38 See CHD L/N, 200.

They put (out) artari- and maršiqqa- plants, and in this way they say: “As they cultivate/bed out these (plants), so may their descendants take care for the king and the queen”.

As I already pointed out “Just as it is the progeny who take care and assure the continuation of life in the afterworld for the deceased, so, during the funerary ritual, it is ‘the relative’ who takes the silver axe and cuts the vine shoot from the ‘mother-vine’, in order to give new life in the afterlife to the deceased sovereign”.³⁹

We can conclude saying that the cutting of the vine did not symbolize the death of the sovereign and the interruption of his fertility as often thought but, on the contrary, it represented his regeneration as a deity. The fundamental element for the afterlife of the king underlying the twelfth day of the funerary ritual was the renewal and thus eternity.

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39 Corti 2017c, 57.

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HİTİT UYGARLIĞI ANTİK YAPILARININ 3D MODELLEMESİ; A BİNASI

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Özet

Her geçen gün, hızla gelişen bilişim teknolojileri, diğer bilim dalları ile de iç içe geçmekte ve kullanım alanları da genişlemektedir. Özellikle; eğitimden, tarih ve sanata, mühendislikten üretim alanlarına ve bunların yanında pek çok alanda 3-boyutlu (3D) bilgisayarlı modelleme sistemlerinden olabildiğince yararlanılmaktadır. Canlandırılması ve gerçekleştirilmesi oldukça zor olan cisimlerin ve ortamların ve hatta hayallerin somutlaştırılmasına imkân sağlayan 3D yazılımlar gerçeği yansıtmasının yanı sıra sınırları da ortadan kaldırmaktadır.

Hitit medeniyetinin önemli kentlerinden biri olan Şapinuva, Çorum ili Ortaköy ilçesine 3 km. uzaklıkta olup, Çekerek Nehri etrafında yer alan Göynücek Ovası ile Alaca Ovası arasındaki geçit üzerindedir. Şapinuva Hitit şehri, Hattuşa'dan sonra bu uygarlık için bilgi veren son derece önemli bir Hitit merkezidir. Şapinuva Hitit şehrinde 1990 yılında başlayan kazı çalışmaları ile şehrin önemli bir yapısı açığa çıkarılmıştır. Günümüzden 3500 yıl önce yapılmış bir mühendislik ve mimarlık harikası olan bu yapı "A" binası olarak isimlendirilmektedir.

Bu çalışmada Hitit medeniyetinin günümüze kadar sadece belirli bir kısmı ulaşan A binasının temel ölçüleri ve yıkılan duvar izdüşümlerinden yararlanılarak 3D-Max ve SolidWorks yazılımı kullanılarak bilgisayar

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ortamında modellenmesi yapılmaya çalışılmıştır. Modelleme sırasında disiplinler arası (Arkeoloji, Mühendislik alanları ve Tarih) veriler toplanmıştır. Bu tür antik yapıların 3D modellenmesi sayesinde zaman içinde yolculuk ile o dönemler hakkında yararlı bilgiler vermeye çalışılmıştır. Ayrıca bu çalışma ile Anadolu Medeniyetleri ile ilgili kazısı yapılmış, yapılan ve yapılması düşünülen antik kentlerin rekonstrüksiyonu sayesinde bu alana ilgi duyan tüm kesimlere tanıtıcı bilgiler vermesi de sağlanmış olacaktır. Çalışmada, yapılan uygulamalara, karşılaşılan problemlere ve konuyla ilgili genel bilgilere yer verilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hitit, Antik yapı, Bilgisayarlı modelleme, Rekonstrüksiyon, 3 boyut.

3D MODELLING OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS OF HITTITE CIVILIZATION; BUILDING A

Abstract

Fast-growing information technologies integrates with other scientific fields and its expands and its area of use expands each passing day. In fact, 3 dimensional computerized modelling systems are utilized as far as possible in the fields of education, history, art, engineering, production and many others. 3D softwares which enables the instantiation of the images, places and objects that are extremely difficult to animate and realize not only reflect the reality but also remove the borders.

One of the most important cities of Hittite Civilization, Şapinuva is located 3km far from the Ortaköy county of Çorum. It is also situated on the mountain pass between Göynücek and Alaca Plains around Çekerek River. Şapinuva is second to Hattusa in providing information about Hittite Empire. A significant structure of the city has come out with the excavations started in 1990. As an engineering and architectural wonder built around 3500 years ago, this construction is called as Building 'A'.

With this study, the modeling of the building A- only a small part of which has reached up to now- was tried to be done on computer by using the fundamental measures and fallen wall projections as well as 3D-Max software. During modeling, interdisciplinary data (Archeology, Engineering fields and History) was collected. Thanks to 3D modeling of these ancient architectures, useful information regarding those periods was tried to be given with traveling in time. Moreover, this study aims at giving introductory information to individuals who are interested in this field due to the reconstruction of ancient cities which date back to Anatolian Civilizations and were excavated, are being excavated and are planned to be excavated. The study also include applications, problems and general information about the topic.

Keywords: Hittite, Ancient building, Computer modeling, Reconstruction, 3D.

GİRİŞ

Arkeolojik kazılar sonucunda elde edilen bulgular oldukça heyecan verici sonuçlar vermektedir. Ortaya çıkarılan yeni bulgular eskiye göre daha çok ilgiyi artırmakta ve çalışmalar disiplinler arası bir boyuta dönüşmüş ve paylaşılan bilgiler artmaya başlamıştır [1].

Ülkemiz tarihi ve kültürel birçok zenginliğe sahip olmasına rağmen, bu zenginliklerin birçoğu doğal ve insan kaynaklı nedenlerden dolayı hasar görmüş ve ancak kalıntıları günümüze ulaşabilmiştir. Bu kalıntılardan yola çıkarak gelişen teknolojinin sunmuş olduğu olanaklardan yararlanarak bilgisayar destekli 3 boyutlu modelleme programları yardımıyla gerçeğini aratmayacak bir şekilde rekonstrüksiyonunu oluşturmaktadır [2].

Tarihi mirasın üç boyutlu modellenmesi ve görüntülenmesi çok yönlü ve karmaşık bir işlemdir. Bu mirasların belgelenmesinde Sayısal Yersel Fotogrametri çok etkili ve faydalı bir yöntemdir [3].

Gelişen modelleme teknikleri, tarihi ve arkeolojik yapıların kazı ve restorasyonu aşamasında, belgelemeyi sağlamakta ve mevcut durumun sanal ama gerçekçi bir rekonstrüksiyonuna olanak vermektedir. Bu çalışmalar, arkeoloji disiplini ile bilgisayar teknolojileri, gelişmiş yöntem ve teknikler kullanılarak hazırlanan modelleme ve görselleştirme çalışmaları ile arkeolojik eserlere uygulanmaktadır [2].

Bu çalışmada antik yerleşim alanlarının ve binalarının 3D modelleme sayesinde görsel bir canlandırma yapılmak istenmektedir. Bu sayede geçmiş bir yolculuk olanağının sunulması, bu bölgelere yapılan ziyaretlerde daha kalıcı bir etki bırakmak ve ilgiyi artırmak amaçlanmaktadır. Bu amaçla Hitit medeniyetinin önemli şehirlerinden olan Şapinuva'nın önemli yapılarından biri olan A binasının temel kalıntıları dikkate alınarak ölçümler sonucunda elde edilen verilerle bilgisayar ortamında 3D modellemesi yapılmaya çalışılmıştır.

2. KAVRAMSAL ÇERÇEVE

2.1. Modelleme

Modelleme, gerçeğe benzer bir şekilde görüntüler elde etme sürecidir. Günümüzde sanal ortamda en yaygın olarak kullanılan modelleme şekli nurbs (doğal) ve polygon (çokgen) modellemedir. Modeller orijinal halini ve çalışma sistemini tam olarak bilemediğimiz yapıların ve sistemlerin anlaşılmasına yardımcı olmaktadır.

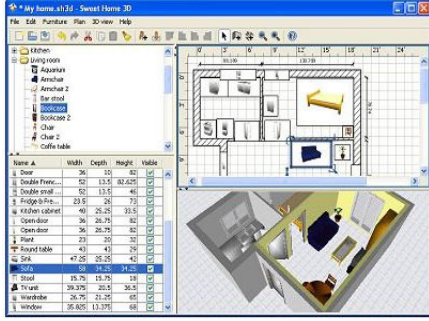
Modelleme sürecinde aslına bağlı kalarak ölçek ve çalışma sistemine uyumlu olmasına dikkat edilmelidir. Elde edilen verilerin çok büyük bir titizlikle değerlendirilmesi gerekir. Model seçiminde, bulguların genelleştirilebilme ve insana uyarlanabilme özelliği de mutlaka göz önüne alınmalıdır.

2.2. 3D Modelleme Yazılımları

Bilgisayar ortamında 2D ve 3D özelliklere sahip modelleme yapmak için kullanılan birçok yazılım bulunmaktadır. Bunlar arasında Solidworks, SwetHome 3D, K3DSurf, K-3D, DesignWorkShop, BrlCad, AutoCad, Blink3D gibi yazılımlar ön plana çıkmaktadır [4]. Bunlardan bazıları açık kaynak kodlu, ücretsiz bazıları ise lisanlı ve ücretli yazılımlardır. Aşağıdaki şekilde örnek bir 3D yazılım ekranı görülmektedir.

Sweet Home 3D

Sweet Home 3D, özellikle mobilya tasarımı için tercih edilebilecek bir uygulama. 2 ve 3 boyutlu çalışmalar hazırlayabileceğiniz uygulama tasarımlarınızı hızlı şekilde hazırlamanız için gerekli neredeyse bütün araçları içeriyor. örneğin bir odayı bütün detaylarıyla tasarlayabilir, duvarların desenini veya rengini birkaç tıklamayla değiştirebilir, web üzerinde hazır modelleri indirerek üzerlerinde düzenlemeler yapabilirsiniz. evini sevenlere...



Şekil 1. Örnek bir 3D yazılım ortamı [4]

2.3. A Binasının Özellikleri

Hitit yerleşkesinde bulunan ve kazılar sonucunda temel kalıntıları günümüze kazandırılan A Binasının hava fotoğrafları aşağıdaki şekillerde verilmiştir.



Şekil 2. A Binası kazı alanına Üst-Yandan Bakış

Şekil 2’ de görüldüğü gibi A binasının yaklaşık 100 metrelik bir mesafeden üstten çekilmiş bir fotoğrafı görülmektedir. Aşağıdaki şekilde ise daha yakın bir mesafeden yandan görünüş verilmiştir.



Şekil 3. A Binasi kazı alanının yerleşim düzeni

A Binasının temel kalıntıları ve yerleşim alanının kazı ekibi tarafından ortaya çıkarılması sonucunda yaklaşık 1500 m² bir alana oturduğu belirlenmiştir. Bu alan şekil 3’ de görülmektedir. Yapılan ölçümler ve hesaplamalar sonucunda bu binanın genel bazı özellikleri aşağıda verilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Bina boyutu yaklaşık 21 m x 68 m olarak 1428 m²’lik bir alanı kaplamaktadır.

Simetrik planlı yapıya ait dış temel duvar kalınlıkları 1.83 m ile 2.03 m arasında

Temel iç duvar kalınlıkları ise 1.70 m ile 1.80 m olarak değiştiği belirlenmiştir.

Kazı esnasında bulunan, binaya ait duvar kerpiçlerin bazılarının temelden 8-10 metre uzaklıkta olması binanın en az iki katlı olduğunu düşündürmektedir.

Şapınuva yapılarının inşaatlarında dolgu yaygın bir şekilde kullanılmıştır. Bina temelini arazinin topografyasına düzgün bir şekilde yerleştirmek için belli alanlarda dolgu yapıldığı, böylelikle büyük taş bloklarının eşit boylara getirildiği görülmüştür.

YÖNTEM

Kazı ekibinden alınan bilgiler ve A binasının genel özellikleri dikkate alınarak, öncelikle binanın temel kalıntıları üzerinde metraj ölçümleri yapılmıştır. Şekil 4’ de binanın temel kesintinden bir örnek görülmektedir. Ölçümler sonrasında krokisi elde edilmiştir. Bu kroki yardımıyla bilgisayar ortamında SolidWorks programı kullanılarak 2 boyut ve 3 boyut görünümler elde edilmiştir.



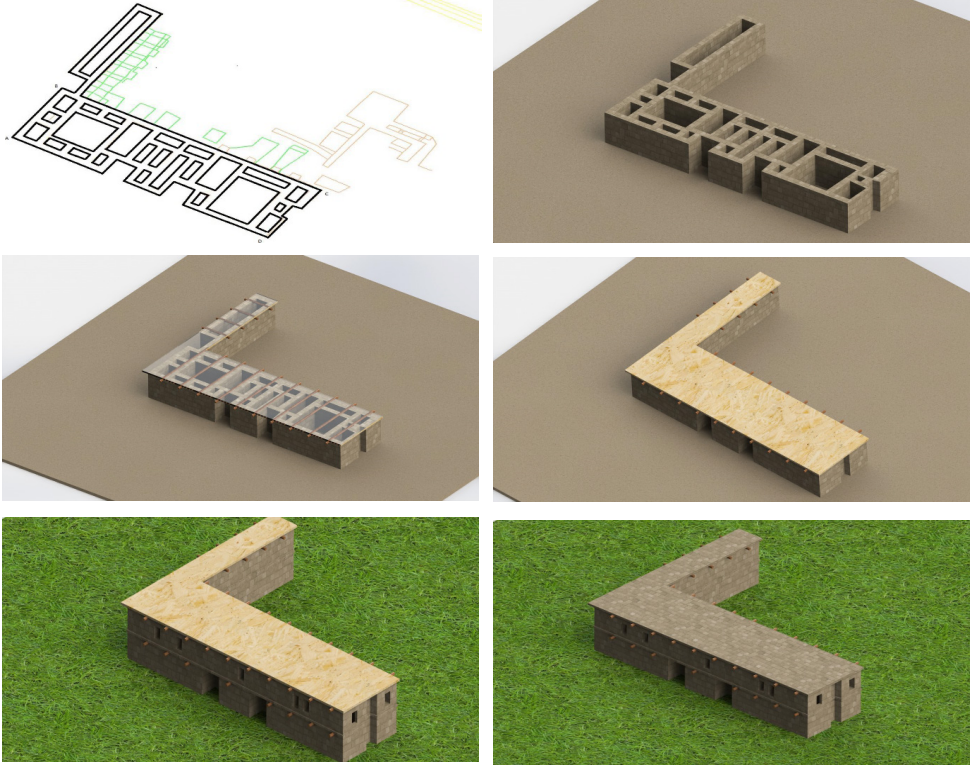
Şekil 4. A Binası ölçüm aşaması

Ardından binanın ölçülerine balı kalarak bilgisayar ortamında bina krokisi oluşturulmuştur. Bu kroki aşağıdaki şekilde gösterilmiştir. Öncelikle kroki çalışmasının ardından ölçülerle modelleme aşamasına geçilmiştir. Bu aşamada 2 ve 3 boyutlu modelleme ve çizim yapılabilen Solidworks programı kullanılmıştır.

SONUÇLAR

Bilgisayar ortamında Solid yazılımı ile gerçek boyutlarına ve temel kalıntılara bağlı kalarak gerçekleştirilen 3D modelleme sonucunda öncelikle 1. kat modellenmiştir. Ardından ahşap ve taş malzemeleri çağrıştıran kat tavanları örülerek 2. kat inşa edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Son olarak

çatı kaplaması ile bina kapatılmıştır. Bu aşamalar şekil 5’de özetlenmeye çalışılmıştır.



Şekil 5. A Binasının modelleme aşamaları

Bu aşamaların ardından modelleme işlemine canlandırma işlemini de dahil ederek web ortamında ziyaret edilebilir ve bina içerisinde sanal tur yapılabilir hale gelebilir. Tarihi alanların, binaların ve eşyaların aslına uygun bir şekilde modellemesi ve ziyaret edilebilir hale gelmesi sayesinde daha çok kitlenin bu tarihe ilgisini ve bilgisini artıracığı düşünülmektedir.

Ayrıca kazı alanlarının haritalanması ve 3D modellenmesi sayesinde kazı ekibi bütün alanı ele alarak henüz ortaya çıkmayan kısımlarında modelleneceği göz önünde bulundurulursa hız ve gelecek kestirimine yardımcı olacaktır.

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SLAVES IN KĀRUM KANEŠ

*Jacob Jan DE RIDDER**

In the ancient Middle East, freedom was only relative, the situation in Kaneš (modern Kültepe) being no exception.¹ A significant proportion of society was dependent on a superior, in relations that could vary between different social classes. In some cases, this dependency was similar to the social relations that we have traditionally regarded as slavery. Studies of Old Assyrian slavery are marred by an ambiguous terminology on the subject, applied in Kaneš by the Assyrian traders and natives alike. In a manner reminiscent of the English word ‘servant’, the Akkadian noun *wardum* (later *urdum*) was used to indicate the subordination of a person, rather than the more explicit description of his social position as that of an unfree slave. One could be in servitude to a goddess; thus, the term could be applied to more or less all people, and could be included in some personal names such as Warad-Aššur ‘servant of Aššur’ (ÌR-*ad-A-šùr* AKT 5 38:22). Even local rulers were in servitude to their overlords, as is demonstrated by the famous Anum-ḫirbi letter, where Waršama, the ruler (*rubāʾum*) of Kaneš, refers to the Taišmaean ruler as *ur-dí-i* ‘my servant’ (kt g/t 35:5).² Within the lower strata of society, people were in such a state of subjection to their superiors that they could be sold to others (e.g., CCT 5 20a). Yet, despite the apparent differences between the aforementioned examples, the indication *wardum* was used for both the Taišmaean vassal king as well as the person sold in

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- 1 In this short study, I will focus on traditional slavery in the Old Assyrian period, by discussing a few selected texts that deal with slavery. I thank Prof. M. T. Larsen (Copenhagen) for providing me with an early draft of his forthcoming article on the same subject.
- 2 The reader should be aware that the word *wardum* changed over the Assyrian history to *urdum*. It can also be indicated logographically with ÌR, but also IR.

CCT 5 20a. Problems arise when we look at texts where the social context of participants is less clear, an issue that is further complicated by the relative amount of freedom that some slaves exercised, which allowed them to deal with money. This is best illustrated by the following text:

no. 1: AKT 1 33³

- (broken)
- 1'. *um-ma Iš₈-tár-pì-lá-aḥ*
ÌR ša A-mur-Iš₈-tár-ma
KI E-nam-A-šùr
DUMU Puzur₄-Iš₈-tár
- 5'. $\frac{1}{3}$ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR
[š]a Sú-sà-a a-na
[i]g-ri-a : al-qé
[a]-na a-wa-tim
a-ni-a-tim
- 10'. *kà-ru-um [dí-nam i-dí-in]*
 (broken)

^{1'-2')} Thus Ištar-pilaḥ, the slave of Āmur-Ištar: ^{2'-7')} With Enam-Aššur son of Puzur-Ištar, I took 20 shekels of silver of Susâ as my wage. ^{8'-10')} For these words, the colony rendered a verdict.

As can be seen here, the Assyrian person Ištar-pilaḥ, who is indicated as a slave from somebody else, is said to take his wages together with another man. It indicates that slaves, to a certain degree, could be paid and therefore could own property. People indicated as slaves certainly exercised a certain independence in their work. As an example, in the Kuliya archive (AKT 5) we find the memorandum of the purchase of a slave, Alī-abum.⁴ In a later text (AKT 5 76) this slave received money from a fellow merchant,

3 See also Sever 1998, 485-486.

4 AKT 5 45: (21') *ÌR A-bi₇-t-lí : ù ri-ki-sú a-na 3½ [GÍN?]* (22') *KÙ.BABBAR SAḤAR.BA : Ku-a-li' DUMU A-lá-/bi₄-im iš-[tí]* (23') *4UTU-du-gul : DUMU Ib-ni-4IM : iš-am 'Kuliya son of Alī-abu bought the slave Abi-ilti, with his fetter, from Šamaš-dugul son of Ibni-Adad for 3½ shekels' of 'dust silver.'*

Note that the price of sale is extremely low, yet if we were to replace the restoration of GÍN with MA.NA, the amount would instead become extremely high for a single slave. Despite this extremely low price, the slave Ilī-bani was regarded highly enough to be trusted to conduct trade for his master (see AKT 5, 23).

thus representing his master by doing business in another city. It is clear that slaves did possess money, or at least administered funds. In TC 3 129, a slave is said to have borrowed money.⁵ As his master was aware of this event, he was regarded as responsible for the debt and was therefore obliged to pay the money back. Slaves sometimes appear as witnesses or with their seal in a number of legal documents. They are indicated with their own name and the name of their master, though in some cases one of the two is omitted, as can be observed in the following selected examples.

AKT 4 10:3-4	Imlik-ilim slave of Iddin-Kubim	seal
CCT 3 12a:13	slave of Kura	witness
KTS 1 50a:10-11 (EL 117)	<i>amtum</i> (probably Anatolian wife)	seal
kt n/k 32:5 (Donbaz 1989 no. 1)	Kuwatar GAL <i>urdē ša elānim</i>	seal
TC 1 75:22 (EL 94)	slave of Lā-qēp	witness
TCL 1 239:18-19 (EL 144)	Lā-qēp son of <i>Wardum</i> (probably a PN)	witness

5 A similar matter was the large dossier concerning Abu-šalim *wardum* of Šalim-Aššur (AKT 6a 89-111). The slave was working in a trading enterprise in Burušhaddum on his master's behalf; however, things did not go well and Ilī-bāni was sent in order to take the expected revenues. Fraud at the hands of the slave was suspected and thus the first text (AKT 6a 104) is an interrogation of Abu-šalim by Ilī-bāni, a representative of Šalim-Aššur. A few selected passages: AKT 6a 104: (1) *Il-ba-ni DUMU I-a-a* (2) *ù A-bu-ša-lim* ÌR (3) *i-na Bu-ru-uš-ḥa-dim* (4) *a-na ni-kà-sí ša-sá-im* (5) *iš-bu-tù-ni-a-ti-ma* 'Ilī-bāni son of Yaya and the Abu-šalim the slave seized us in Burušhaddum in order to settle account.' (42) *um-ma A-bu-ša-lim-ma* (43) *a-lá-ak-ma iš-tí be-li-a-ma a-za-ku* 'thus said Abu-šalim, I shall go and clear myself with my master.' The conflict deals with a large amount of silver (5 talent), which are supposedly revenues that were expected from Abu-šalim. However, he could only present 40 minas and some additional funds, which can be regarded as a large amount of money, but which is considerably less than the five expected talents. As Šalim-Aššur was only one person in this enterprise, other parties could demand their cut of the expected revenue. As a result, in AKT 6a 106-7 Šalim-Aššur is taken to Burušhaddum as a prisoner in order to account for the debt accrued by his slave Abu-šalim. AKT 6a 106: (4) *i-a-tí : a-na Bu-ru'-uš-ḥa-/dim* (5) *i-na ma-^fak'-sú-e-im* (6) *a-na ḥa-bu-ul* ÌR *A-bu-ša-lim* (7) *ša-[q]á-lim : 'i-ra'-de-ú-ni* 'they are going to lead me personally to Burušhaddum to pay the debt of the slave Abu-šalim.' It seems that that Šalim-Aššur was trying to guarantee some funds for himself in order to pay the debts of Abu-šalim. Moreover, in the two letters AKT 6a 109-110, Šalim-Aššur describes writing from Burušhaddum on how the local colony had ordered him to come and answer for the debts of his slave Abu-šalim, as the slave was apparently not present. AKT 6a 109a: (18) *um-mu šu-nu-ma A-bu-ša-lim* (19) *li-li-kam šu-ma A-bu-ša-lim lá-šu* (20) *bé-el-šu le-tí-qám* 'they said: 'Abu-šalim must come. If Abu-šalim is absent, his master must come over.' The entire debt of the slave was as high as 16.040 minas of copper owed to Ušinalam, who seems to have been the middleman in the wool enterprise (AKT 6a 109:13). AKT 6a 109: (13) *um-ma [šu-n]u-ma* ^f16¹ *li-me-e* 40 MA.NA (14) URUDU *ši-im* SÍG^{bi.a} : *A-bu-ša-lim* ÌR (15) *a-na Ū-sí-na-lam ḥa-bu-ul* 'they said: 'the slave Abu-šalim owes 16.040 minas of copper, the price of wool, to Ušinalam.' As one might expect, Šalim-Aššur had problems settling accounts and writes in his letters to his representatives and the colony of Kaniš that matters ought to be taken to the assembly of Aššur. Abu-šalim does not appear in later texts from the archive and he seems to have disappeared after this incident. The result of the conflict is unknown, though AKT 6a 111 states that a trade embargo was subsequently placed on Ušinalam.

TTC 25:19 (EL 308)

Aššur-šulūlī ‘his’ slave

witness

The slaves discussed above were involved in the trade and were mostly Assyrian. Slaves bearing an Assyrian name are dominant in letters and various legal documents that belong to the Assyrian archives, where they appear as witnesses or with their seals. However, when we look at the contracts of sale that deal with slaves, the picture changes. From the ca. 60 pieces I gathered, over 75% concern slaves with non-Assyrian names, of which the vast majority are Anatolian. In general, the contracts seem to belong to Anatolian archives, as in addition to the slaves, the buying and selling parties were usually native, as well. This does not mean that Anatolian slaves were not common in Assyrian firms; many servants are simply never mentioned by their name. Moreover, the statistical evidence suggests that the ‘Anatolian slave market’ was a source of slaves for the Assyrian firms, as Assyrians occur more frequent as the buying party rather than as the selling party or object of sale. The slaves sold were generally defaulting debtors, as demonstrated by Veenhof (1978), who discussed the dossier of texts concerning the Anatolian moneylender Enišarum, who specialized in small loans of silver or cereals. One text (LB 1218) shows us the consequences of defaulting on debts; it concerns the sale of two debtors into slavery. If this example is taken as a representative situation for Anatolian slaves, it suggests the low social stratum occupied by this type of local debt slave, perhaps lowlier than Assyrian slaves, who could be entrusted with business enterprises. Two examples of slave sale can be given here:

no. 2: kt a/k 898b (Sever 1998, 486-487)

1. $\frac{2}{3}$ MA.NA 5 GÍN
KÙ.BABBAR *ší-im Ší-ku-wa*
a-na Sú-bé-li
DUMU *Ĥu-nu-wa-an*
5. *Iš₈-tár-ba-áš-tí*
ta-áš-qúl šu-ma
ma-ma-an lu
be-el ĥu-bu-li-šu
lu ma-ma-an

10. *Ší-ku-wa i-ša-bat*
 rev. $\frac{2}{3}$ MA.NA 5 GÍN
Sú-bé-li DUMU Ḫu-nu-wa-an
a-na Iš₈-tár-ba-áš-tí
i-ša-qal-ma ÌR-sú
15. *i-ta-ru-ú-šu*
šu-ma ra-ma-šu
i-pá-ṭá-ar
 1½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR
i-ša-qal-ma ú-ší
20. IGI *A-šur-lá-ma-sí*
 IGI *Ší-im-nu-ma-an*
 IGI *Wa-al-ḫa-áš-na*
 IGI *Ḫa-ma-ar*

¹⁻⁵⁾ Ištar-bāšti paid 45 shekels of silver, the price of Šikuwa, to Subeli the son of Hunwan. ⁶⁻¹⁵⁾ If somebody, be it his creditor or anyone, seizes Šikuwa, than Subeli the son of Ḫunwan will pay 45 shekels of silver to Ištar-bāšti and he will lead away his slave. ¹⁶⁻¹⁹⁾ If he will redeem himself, than he will pay 1 mina and 30 shekels of silver and leave. ²⁰⁻²⁴⁾ *list of witnesses.*

no. 3: kt 92/k 1033 (Gül 1998, 105-106 no. 3)

1. $\frac{1}{2}$ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *ší-mì-šu*
ša Ti-kà-nu-ú
En-na-Sú-en₆ a-na
Ša-ra-bu-nu-a a-bi-šu
5. *Be-ru-a ù A-áš-a-al-kà*
um-mì-šu iš-qú-ul
šu-ma ma-ma-an
a-na Ti-kà-nu-ú
i-tù-a-ar

10. 3 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR
 rev. Ša-ra-ba-nu-a a-bu-⁷šū⁷
 Be-ru-a a-ḥu-šu
 ù A-áš-a-al-kà u[m-mì-šu]
 a-na En-na-Sú-en₆
15. i-ša-qú-lu IGI Ḥa-nu-nu
 IGI Kà-bu-nu-ú
 [IGI x]-le-le-e
 [IGI A]-šùr-i-mì-tí

¹⁻⁶⁾ Enna-Suen paid 30 shekels of silver, the price of Tikanū, to Šarabunua his father, Berua, and Ašālka his mother. ⁷⁻¹⁵⁾ If somebody comes back on Tikanū, Šarabunua his father, Berua, and Ašālka his mother will pay 3 minas of silver to Enna-Suen. ¹⁵⁻¹⁸⁾ *list of witnesses.*

The debtors themselves were not the only victims of their inability to satisfy their creditors, they could also sell their children and other members of their family. This is attested to in text no. 3, where the sellers are the father and mother of the slave, together with a third person who was probably the brother. The price of 30 shekels is about the average for a slave in the Old Assyrian period and, despite what one might expect, prices for children are rarely demonstrably lower than those for adults. In both texts, the sellers are financially responsible for any future contestation of the sale. In text no. 3, the family even has to pay a hefty three minas of silver (1:6) to the buyer as compensation. These contracts of sale are usually examples of debt slavery, which rendered only limited rights to the buying party. This is well-illustrated by text no. 2, in which the slave in question was able to redeem himself with 90 shekels of silver, which is two times the original price of sale (45 shekels). The proportion of 1:2 was common in these contracts of sale, however an equal rate (1:1) is also frequently found in other texts. Losing the right of redemption was possible; for example, the passing of a pre-set time limit, being born to a debt slave and even bad behaviour on the slave's part were mentioned as reasons for this event occurring.⁶ Sale of debt slaves was

6 One example of bad behaviour is found in ICK 1 27B (FAOSB 1, 117-119 no. 10): ⁹⁾ šu-ma ar-na-am ¹⁰⁾ ù ší-lá-tám té-pá-ša ¹¹⁾ PN a-šar li-bi-ša ¹²⁾ a-na ší-me-em ta-da-ša 'if she (the slave girl) commits a sin or villainy,

permitted and did not interfere with the right of redemption (cf. Westbrook 1995, 1660-1662). The lower-class Anatolian was probably not expected to raise the money necessary to redeem family members, something that could be made more difficult when a person entered slavery for a relatively small amount of money, but the full value of a slave was attached to him for redemption. There were more ways to avoid the possibility of redemption; traders were known to sell slaves in Syria, specifically the town of Talḫat, where they entered a different jurisdiction and slaves were out of their kin's reach (Veenhof 2008, 18-21). For slaves imported from abroad to Anatolia there is less evidence: there are a few references to Kilarite slaves (e.g., CCT 3 14:22), which may refer to a toponym, Šubārum slaves (e.g., CCT 3 25:35) and the odd reference to the *asīrum* 'captive', which may indicate that this type of slave was taken from elsewhere (Dercken 2014, 105-106). These rare ethnic designations stand in sharp contrast to the various origins of slaves in the Old Babylonian corpus (van Koppen 2004, 15-17). It seems likely that the vast majority of unfree people who appear in the Old Assyrian documentation were local debt slaves, whereas there was not sufficient demand to import or export slaves from abroad on a large scale.

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PN will sell her wherever see want'. Bad behaviour would thus allow the owner to sell the slave girl abroad, effectively turning her into a chattel slave.

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HITTITE SYMBOLIC LANDSCAPES: AN ANALYSIS FROM THE STANDING POINT OF MYTHS

*Romina DELLA CASA**

Introduction

As K. Basso observed, one may venture that “when places are actively sensed, the physical landscape becomes wedded to the landscape of the mind, to the roving imagination, and where the mind may lead is anybody’s guess” (Basso 1996: 55). Thus conceived, as a dynamic and reciprocal involvement where material reality and imagination merge, Hittite landscape is also present in myths. Therefore, with the goal of analyzing how these texts reflect the intertwining of society and environment –as well as with the intention of going beyond “apparent meaning,” and grasp core ideas on “intended meaning” (Vansina 1985: 83)– the present article focuses on both the semantic and the symbolic levels of the texts. As a result, the attention will be centered on the study of a group of terms and expressions associated with Hittite symbolic landscape, as well as with the king’s role to guarantee the land’s cosmic order.

As observed by L. Ullmann, aspects of landscape representation are already attested in the adaptations of Gilgamesh’s epic made by Hittite scribes and stored at Hattusa (Ullmann 2010: 49, Beckman 2003: 43ff.). As indicated by Ullmann,

the first difference between the Hittite and Akkadian editions is that the Hittite author shows a great interest in the adventure to the Cedar forest, the location where the fight between the protagonists, Gilgamesh and Enkidu,

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against the monster Huwawa takes place. (...) This is in sharp contrast to the great attention paid to the walls of Uruk in the Akkadian version; *the Hittite text does not even mention Uruk's fortification*. Moreover, there are several instances in the Hittite version that speak about *bodies of water* that are not addressed at all in the other editions. (Ullmann 2010: 49, emphasis added).

Following this train of thought, the underlying aim during the initial stages of the current analysis was to identify and compare a series of terms and expressions used in different mythological texts so as to advance core ideas on Anatolian symbolic landscape. Nevertheless, after pausing to consider the first paragraph from Illuyanka's myth (CTH 321), it was clear that the meaning of one of the most frequent words in Hittite, which broadly refers to space, left room for debate, interfering when approaching the myth's meaning itself. As a result, it seemed necessary to establish a different set of goals.

This new arrangement led me to shift the focus towards Illuyanka's myth, so as to: a) approach the use the Hittites gave to the term *utne-* (or its logogram KUR) in connection with the verbs *mai-* "to grow, increase, mature, ripen" and *šešd-/šišd-* "to prosper, to proliferate,¹ to thrive," which corresponds to the semantic dimension of these words; b) to assess the importance these first lines carry on the myth's interpretation, which refers to the symbolic dimension of the myth; and c), to approach other aspects of the text's symbolism and its relationship to Hittite *utne-*.

If we observe the opening lines of the first version of Illuyanka's myth, after Kella (the GUDU-priest of the Storm-god of Nerik) and the *purulli-* are mentioned, in lines 4 to 7, we find a description of the Hittite land in relation to the *purulli-* festival and its performance.

1 A. Kloekhorst observed that the verb *šešd-/šišd-* "...practically always occurs together with *mai- / mi-* 'to grow' and therefore probably denotes 'to prosper, to proliferate' (2008: 757).

§1
4 *utne=wa māu šešdu*

 4 A ^{Vs.15} *ut-né-wa ma-a-ú še-^reš¹-du*

 4 F ^{Vs.13} [...[?] K]UR.KUR-wa ma-a-ú še-eš-du

5 *nu=wa utnē pahšanuwan ēšdu*

 5 A ^{Vs.15} *nu-wa ut-né-e* ^{Vs.16} *pa-ah^h-šša-nu-wa-an e-eš-du*

 5 F ^{Vs.14} [... e-eš-d]u

6 *nu mān māi šešzi*

 6 A ^{Vs.16} *nu ma-a-an* ^{Vs.17} *ma-a-i še-eš-zi*

 6 F ^{Vs.14} *nu ma-a-an ma-a-i še-eš-z[i]*
7 *nu EZEN₄ purulliyaš iyanzi*

 7 A ^{Vs.17} *nu EZEN₄ ^rpu-ru¹-ul-li-ya-aš* ^{Vs.18} *i-ya-an-zi* 𐎗𐎗𐎗

 7 F ^{Vs.15} [... i-y]a-an-zi 𐎗𐎗𐎗

(KBo 3.7 with duplicate KBo 12.83; Rieken 2009)

Several translations of these lines have been advanced in different modern languages, some of which I have gathered here to illustrate the importance given to the text translation as well as to determine the difficulties still noticeable when interpreting its meaning.

In 1982 G. M. Beckman translated this passage as, “Let the land grow (and) thrive, and let the land be secure (lit. ‘protected’)!”—and when it (indeed) grows (and) thrives, then they perform the festival of *purulli*. (1982: 18). In keeping with this line of thought, F. Pecchioli Daddi and A. M. Polvani, in 1990 translated “Il paese cresca nella prosperità e nella sicurezza”, (propio) perché cresca nella prosperità, si celebra la festa del *purulli*. (1990: 49-50). In 1998, H. A. Hoffner Jr., translated “Let the land prosper (and) thrive, and let the land be protected”—and when it prospers and thrives, they perform the Purulli Festival (1998: 11). A couple of years later G. del Monte reads “Il paese prosperi e fiorisca, il paese sia sicuro”, quando prospera e fiorisce si celebra la festa del *purulli*- (2003: 105). Similarly, V. Haas translates „Das Land möge wachsen, gedeihen, und geschützt möge das Land sein!“ und

wenn (es) wächst (und) gedeiht, feiert man das *purulliya*-Festritual. (2006: 97).

A slightly different translation can be found, though, in Hoffner and H. Craig Melchert (GHL: 391, also 281), which reads: “May the land prosper and have rest” (...) And when prosperity and abundance come, they celebrate the festival of *purulli* KBo 3.7 i 6–8 (OH/NS). Recently E. Rieken has translated „Das Land soll wachsen (und) gedeihen. Das Land soll geschützt sein“, und wenn es wächst (und) gedeiht, feiert man das *purulli*-Fest (2009); and A. Gilan (incorporating a possible different translation of *ma-a-an*) reads „Das Land soll gedeihen und sich vermehren! – Das Land soll geschützt sein!“ Und *sobald/damit* es dann gedeiht und sich vermehrt, feiert man das *purulli*-Fest. (2010: 106; emphasis added).

In contrast to traditional translations of the mentioned term, it has been suggested that *ma-a-an* (*mān*, in line 6) carries a final force, expressing desire and implying that the *purulli*- was celebrated “so that” or “in order that” the land grow and prosper (see Hoffer 2007: 131). The underlying problem is, once more, how to deal with the text’s general meaning as well as the festival’s; whether the *purulli*- was celebrated to make the land prosper and thrive, or when it prospered and thrived, or both, as Beckman proposed back in the early 80’s “...the *purulli*-festival is performed both when, and in order that the land should thrive, and the myths are the texts of this festival.” (Beckman 1982: 24).

This issue also advances the following question: what does it mean that the land prosper and thrive? Is the Hittite term *utne*- referring to the “country,” the “land,” the “territory,” a “region”² or the “countryside”?³ In other words, does its meaning correspond to a biological sphere or to a political component within its semantic field? To some degree, interpretations of the myth have oscillated between these two alternatives. Accordingly, a number

2 del Monte 2003: 215.

3 As indicated by Beckman, the term *utne*- includes “...the notion of rural landscape as a minor component within its semantic field,” being its most frequent meaning ‘polity’ (1999a: 161). In Tapikka letters, however, as noted by del Monte and Hoffner, *utne*- is associated to the countryside (del Monte 2005: 21; Hoffner 2009: 188).

of scholars have highlighted the seasonal character of the narrative. For instance, Beckman concludes:

...most importantly that of *the royal cultic establishment in the town of Kiskilussa* (cf. IV. IO), more significant is the provision of a mythological paradigm for a human situation. Each year Hittite society had to cope with and understand the alteration of periods of growth and stagnation. (...) I feel that the *resolution of the crisis of the seasons* through the combined efforts of humans and deities is the most significant element here. (Beckman 1982: 24; emphasis added).

Sometimes, scholars associate Illuyanka with the personification of the earth, with winter, or drought.⁴

Am Ende des landwirtschaftlichen Jahres im Herbst nach der Ernte besiegt der hethitische *Python Illuyanka, die Personifikation des Winters*, den die Kräfte des Frühlings verkörpernden Wettergott Tarhun(ta), der nun außer Funktion getreten ist und sich während der Wintermonate in der Gewalt des Illuyanka befindet. (Haas 2006: 97; emphasis added).

Meanwhile, other studies point to the political tone of the story, which seems to be tied to the origins of Hittite kingship. Sometimes both components (seasonal and political) have been alluded. In this line of thought, J. Klinger suggested that “the mythic story about the dragon Illuyanka could be interpreted as an *aetiological legitimation of the invention of kingship* and the *festival itself is read as a spring-festival* but that’s not sure” (2009: 99, emphasis added).⁵ Keeping these approaches to Illuyanka’s myth in mind, I would like to return to the initial lines and consider other texts where the term *utne-* is used in connection with Hittite *mai-* and *šešd-/šišd-*.

In fact, even if these verbs are used together several times, it is interesting to observe that they do not appear so often in relationship to Hitt. *utne-*, or its Sum. KUR. Certainly, the majority of the cases where these verbs are

4 Collins 1989: 211; see also Gilan 2010: 99. H. Gonnet suggested a different interpretation where Illuyanka would be identified with the Kaska (Gonnet 1987: 93-95; see Beckman 1994).

5 Regarding the identification of Hupasiya with an archaic mythological king, see: Gilan 2010: 105.

directly linked to the Hittite land come from prayers.⁶ In a number of them, the logogram KUR appears directly attached to the name of the Hittite socio-political organization (^{URU}Hatti) and, as a consequence, to its corresponding semantic field. However, since this expression is included in the context of the growing of grain, vines, cattle, sheep, goats, etc. (as in the following examples), one may agree that it most likely refers to “land” as an entire community of growing and reproducing beings (CHD L-N: 114ff.).

Mursili’s Hymn and Prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna (CTH 376.A)

§14. Grant forever growth of grain, [vines, fruit-trees(?), cattle], sheep, horses [. . .].

O Sun-goddess of Arinna, [have] pity on Hatti. [. . .]. [. . .] winds [. . .]. May the winds of prosperity come, [and may the *land of Hatti grow and prosper*. And to you, O gods, your offering bread and your libations will be presented. And the congregation cries out: “[So be it]!” (Singer 2002: 53; emphasis added).

Mursili’s Hymn and Prayer to Telipinu (CTH 377)

§14 (iv 9–18) Grant to the king, the queen, the princes and the land of Hatti life, health, vigor, longevity, and brightness of spirit forever! Grant forever growth of grain, vines, fruit-trees(?), cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, mules, asses (var.: horses), together with the beasts of the field, and mankind. May they grow! The rains [. . .]. May the winds of prosperity come, and in the land of Hatti may everything grow and prosper! And the congregation cries out: “So be it!” (Singer 2002: 56).

Another text where such combination of terms is found is the Treaty of Arnuwanda I with the Kaska.⁷ In it, we find a brief “blessing” sentence, where we read “in the hand of the king thrive and prosper”/ *našta QATI LUGAL ma-iš-te-en ši-is-te-en* (cf. CHD L-N: 115; HED M: 7). In the lines that follow, it is indicated that the land, the cities, the women and sons, the

6 A similar combination of these words is used in CTH 371, and CTH 385.10.

7 CTH 139 MS, KBo 8.35 ii 15; cf. von Schuler 1965: 111.

vineyards and the cattle are the recipients of the punishment of breaking the oath. Concurrent with this, all of the aforementioned elements of the Kaska world (cities, humans, animals, etc.) would also be the receivers of the blessing expressed just a line ahead, which would indicate that the verbs *mai-* and *šešd-/šišd-* were used in this context to refer to the community of living beings (as in the preceding examples), but also in a broader sense, to the whole region's well-being.⁸ In the same way, when considering Illuyanka myth's opening lines, we find no references to the growing of nature or direct indications to a political use of the term *utne-*. But I will return to this topic later.

From the viewpoint of the myth's performance, it has been assumed that the text was somehow enacted or recited in spring, during the festival of the *purulli-* (see, for instance: Pecchioli Daddi and Polvani 1990: 40; Hoffner 1998: 11); a practice probably dated to old Hittite times.

There is no reason to believe that the whole Illuyanka-story too was not an integral part of the *puruliyas*-festival since the old Hittite times. Even the small fragments we can attribute to the *purulliyas*-festival description show at least one or other linguistic evidence of an early composition. (Klinger 2009: 100).

To the extent of my reasoning, there are no difficulties in considering that this text was somehow enacted during the *purulli-*. The document itself indicates that it is the text of the *purulli-* (which, as a festival, involves *per se* some enactment). Also, when in line 3 we read: “when they speak as follows” (with the Hitt. verb *taranzi*, in 3rd person plural), and then in line 4 we discover a “direct speech” as indicated by the enclitic particle “-*wa*,” we can expect that the text signals the people participating in the festival.

Thus, one should expect there be a meaningful relationship between the festival and the narrative itself.⁹ Unfortunately, we know little about the characteristics of the rites involved in the festival, and we cannot, as of yet,

8 It is not certain if the Akkadian expression *lišrī lirpiš* (KBo 1.1 rev. 73, drafted in Akk. by the Hittites in a treaty with Sattiwaza) is parallel to the Hittite *māu šešdu*; CHD L-N: 114.

9 For a discussion about the link between the *purulli-* and the myth, see Gilan 2010.

understand it completely (CHD P: 392). Of no less importance is the fact that the *purulli-* was celebrated “for the sake of the life of the king (KUB 22. 31 obv. 7, 12) and for that of the lands (obv. 15)” (CHD P: 392) which, once again, brings us back to the main discussion about Illuyanka text’s alternative meaning.

In proceeding with the myth itself, some aspects on Hittite space will be analyzed later on, which shed light on its inaugural lines and symbolism. In other words: the myth’s crisis, Illuyanka’s battles with the Storm-god and the Hittite king. Therefore, I will not invest any time in pointing out the differences and similarities between the versions, which have already been analyzed by other scholars, and will begin straight away with addressing the issue of the crisis in the myth.

FIRST BATTLE AND CRISIS

With regards to the turning point generated by the Storm-god’s defeat, one would expect that the text develop the characteristics of the crisis. Such an elaboration may be observed, for instance, in the myths of the vanishing gods after the deity departs or is hidden from view.

Telipinu Myth¹⁰

§4 (A i 16-20) ... *Humans and gods are dying of hunger.* The Great Sun God made a feast and invited the Thousand Gods. They ate but couldn’t get enough. They drank but couldn’t quench their thirst. (Hoffner 1998: 15; emphasis added).

Telipinu and the Daughter of the Sea-god

§1 (A i 1-4) Long ago ... The Sea God quarreled and brought [the Sun God] down [from heaven] and [hid] him.

§2 (A i 5-8) *In the land (conditions) were bad, and it was dark.* But no one could withstand the Sea. [The Storm God called Telipinu, his favorite and firstborn [son]. (Hoffner 1998: 26; emphasis added).

10 A row of dots ... in the following quotations indicates that words from the original translation have been omitted.

The Disappearance of the Sun God

§4 (B i 2-11) “... *Frost has paralyzed the entire land. He has dried up the waters. Frost is great.*” (Then the Storm God) says to his brother, the Wind: “The waters of the mountains, the gardens, the meadow(s)-let your refreshing go (through) the lands-but let him (*i.e.*, Frost) not paralyze them.”

§5 (B i 12-20) “[*He*] *paralyzed the herbs, the lands, the cattle, the sheep, the dogs, (and) the pigs. But he won’t paralyze the crops (which are) “sons of the heart.”*” (Hoffner 1998: 27-28; emphasis added).

However, in Illuyanka’s myth, not only is the crisis not described, but we are also deprived of a detailed account of the battles involved in the narrative. One can presume, though, that the Storm-god’s defeat does not unleash “hunger” as Telipinu’s departure did.

In contrast to the characteristics of the feast prepared in Telipinu’s text, Illuyanka’s myth portrays Inara’s feast by describing it on a grand scale: vessels full of wine, vessels of beer; and everything prepared in abundance § 4, 15 [nu^{DUJG}palḥaš a[nd]an iyāda’ y[ēt] (KBo 3.7, cf. Rieken 2009). Even if it is not narrated, there can be no doubt that a crisis (the characteristics of which we can only imply) affects the cosmos from the moment a powerful serpent was capable of defeating the Storm-god. Following this line of thought, I believe that Illuyanka’s seizing of the god’s heart and eyes is an indicator of the characteristics of the crisis (even if not clear to us), since the anatomy of the gods embodied for the Hittites a meaningful symbology, also in respect to space imagery, as recently highlighted by M. Hutter (2014; see also Corti 2011: 58ff.).

In fact, we can trace several analogies between the body of the god and the Hittite land; between micro and macrocosm. In the myths of the vanishing gods, for instance, the anger inside the god’s body is parallel to that of the chaos seizing the inhabited world, described as agents that can disperse easily and provoke dismay quickly. When looking at those myths, and their magical procedures, we find, for instance, that Hannahanna’s myth provides

us with a good example of a redundant sequence of figs and other fruits as holding something precious inside, in analogy to the goddess *holding* [indicated by the Hitt. verb *ḫar-/ḫark*] “to have, to hold, to keep” the King, the Queen, their sons, and the land of Hatti. The fact that this analogy is primarily attested in Hannahanna’s myth doesn’t seem to be random when we consider that she was a Mother-goddess present at birth; a goddess who embraced humanity, and who, as we’ve just seen, holds the entire land of Hatti inside of her. Thus, the symbolism of the heart and the eyes in CTH 321 may also reflect features of the general situation of the cosmos.

SECOND BATTLE: ILLUYANKA’S FEATURES AND THE ROLE OF THE KING

Moving on with the story, after the serpent is tricked in both myths, a second battle begins, allowing the Storm-god to kill the creature. How did the Storm-god succeed? This is a question that the narrative explains by itself. What is not clear, though, is how to grasp the nature of the creature as well as that of its living space. In the first version, it is said that Illuyanka came from below the earthly world, through a hole (lit. Hitt. gen. *ḫattešnaš*), a behavior the Hittites linked to snakes in other texts as well –as for instance, in ritual incantations: “just as the snake does not [return to] (its) hole, let [the evil w]orld go back to the mouth of that one” (Collins 1989: 217; 2002a: 240). In the second version, we know the second fight took place in the sea (lit. Hitt. d-l. *aruni*). In accordance to the aforementioned spaces to which Illuyanka is associated in this story, I would like to suggest that both the pit and the sea are linked through an interrelated environment, that where a ^{MUŠ}*illuyanka-* could be found. This would indicate, consequently, that the two versions of the myth are not describing different kinds of creatures –respectively a terrestrial and a sea serpent (Pecchioli Daddi and Polvani 1990: 41)– but a single one which inhabited an interconnected ambient.

I would like to highlight that several species of snakes are equally at home in water or land. As highly adaptable animals, we find them all around the world, inhabiting meadows, tropical or rain forests, savannahs, deserts, high mountains or deep valleys, but also in watery environments, including oceans

and coral reefs (Schine and Shetty 2006). Some live in trees, other on the ground or even underground (cf. Menez 2004: 44). In the same way, we find serpents within different cultures around the world –sometimes featured as dragons. They are identified with positive, negative or ambiguous powers: “strength, power, beauty, cleverness, nimbleness, a highly developed instinct, nobility and an ability to cause death (...)” [are some of them]. Being sometimes poisonous, hidden in the shadows, slowly and mutely gliding, “snakes have often been deemed powerful and shifty, evil creatures whose major aim was to frustrate the natural and proper development of life” (Menez 2004: 9). Negative aspects of snakes, associated with death and evil forces, for instance, can be observed in Christian imagery, as in Saint Michael’s representations. In other occasions, this versatile creature expresses an ambiguous symbolism, embodying opposite forces, as in Eastern art, where we find two dragons facing each other.

As indicated by M. Lucker, it seems that their peculiar way of locomotion, along with the sloughing of their skin, and their ambivalent nature, led societies to contradictory assessments of serpents (Lurker 1987: 8460). The Mesoamerican case is very illustrative of the hybrid features societies link to snakes. As signaled by its name, the mythological *Quetzacoatl* –which comes from the Nahua *quetzalli*, meaning “precious green feather,” and *coatl*, “serpent”– alludes both to a bird and a serpent, to an ambiguous symbol that refers both to heaven and earth. Thus, *Quetzacoatl* became a symbol of fertility and, even if it does not seem directly connected to water, it “almost always appears within an aquatic medium, surrounded by lilies, sea conches, Mexican emeralds, and seeds, all symbols of fertility” (Florescano 1999: 4). Within Chinese mythology the dragon has been both associated to China’s Emperor as well as to “...the earliest gods, and like them is vague, changeable, and contradictory in its attributes; but it maintains from first to last a definable characteristic –association with and control of water” (Zhao 1989: 235).¹¹ As in the preceding case, and among their different features, M. Eliade observed that snakes, dragons, fish, and shell-fish, tend to be emblems of water, “hidden in the

¹¹ It is important to highlight that, in contrast, in the Greco-Roman tradition, the watery-dragon just described was associated with fire, the one spread in Europe as a “spitter of fire” more than a “rain bringer,” a destroyer, and some times a treasure guardian (Zhao 1989: 244, 245).

depths of the ocean, they are infused with the sacred power of the abyss; lying quietly in lakes or swimming across rivers, they bring rain, moisture, and floods, thus governing the fertility of the world” (Eliade 1958: 205). To their connection to water and fertility, one may add the fact that some of these creatures tend to fight against a major deity, usually a Storm-god.

For instance, in the *R̥gveda* it is narrated how Indra –originally meaning “strong,” “mighty”–, a supreme god in the Vedic pantheon, both a rain bringer and a “great dragon-slayer,” defeated *Vṛitra*, the first born of the serpents, releasing the waters he controlled (Lurker 2004: 88). A fight also occurs in the Ugaritic story of Baal against Yam –Yam(m)(u), the Sea-god or ‘Prince Sea’ (Mettinger 2001: 55ff.; Wyatt 2003; Schwemer 2008: 8ff.), and in the Hurrian-Hittite tradition comprehended by the Kumarbi cycle, CTH 346. In the latter, we find the antagonism between Tessub (a celestial Storm-god) and Kumarbi (a netherworld god), which in the Hedammu cycle (CTH 348) is embodied by a snake (^{MUS}*hedammu-*), a sea serpent that Kumarbi created by taking Sertapsuruhi (the daughter of the Sea-god) as a wife. Even though it is not possible to tell if Hedammu is killed (since no extant fragment states it so, as indicated by Hoffner) the overall plot line of the Kumarbi cycle implies that each opponent of Tessub is eventually defeated (Hoffner 1998: 51).

Although the text is very fragmentary, in paragraph 4, line 26’ of version B (KUB 8.65, CTH 348.I.1; cf. Rieken 2009) we read “I fear them, the snakes...” (cf. CHD L-N: 339).

§ 4’

B Vs. I 23’ ^rd¹IŠ¹TAR-*iš-ma-kán a-ru-ni p[a-ra-a ...] [...]*

B Vs. I 24’ ^dIŠ¹TAR-*in a-uš-ta nu* ^M[^{US}*h̄é-dam-mu(-) ...]*

B Vs. I 25’ *nu ne-pí-iš ša-ra-a x[...]*

B Vs. I 26’ *na-aḥ-mi-uš* ^{MUS}*il-l[i-ya-an-ku-uš ...]*

(Rieken 2009)¹²

Even if the Hedammu cycle is a myth of foreign origin, the use of the

12 This passage is very fragmentary, but it seems Istar went² to the sea, that somebody saw her, and that probably Hedammu did something, but then we miss the context, as well as in the following line (25’), where we read “the sky, above....”

Hittite word ^{MUŠ}*il*[*liyankuš*] “snakes” to refer to creatures to be afraid of, fit Hittite symbolic imagery on serpents, which in this context, also seems to include ^{MUŠ}*hedammu-*. As observed by Collins, “in Anatolia there is no evidence to suggest that the snake was a symbol of abundance, sexuality or fertility. Rather, the consistent representation of this creature as a fearsome, dangerous thing suggests that the Hittites harbored a dislike for snakes that many societies have shared.” (1989: 214). Along these lines, Collins also indicated that snakes in Hittite literature appear as dangerous evil creatures, as representative of external hazard and disorder, as in the case of Hattusili I’s Edict: “You will kindle fire on the hear[th]. But indeed you will not violate my words. If you do not kind[le] fire on the hearth, then it will happen (that) a snake will encircle [Ha]t[*tuša*” (KBo 3.27 obv., 23’-27’; Collins 2002a: 240).

We also find ^{MUŠ}*illuyanka-* in another Mesopotamian tradition which mentions the god Ea (CTH 351). There, we read [...] *x-x-aš* *ÍD*^{MEŠ1}-*aš a-ru-na-aš* ^{MUŠ}*il-lu-i-ya-an-ga-aš* / “snake of the rivers (and) the sea” (KUB 36.55 obv. § 6’, 28; Rieken 2009). This passage, together with the incorporation of snakes’ names (MUŠ) with fish and frogs as “animals of the sea” in a list of offerings to the gods of Zalpa (IBoT 2.9 I + KUB 52.102 I 8’-10’; see also Corti 2010: 94ff.) would suggest, as Collins proposes, that MUŠ may be a generic designation for reptiles, while *illuyanka-* would be the Hittite word for snake –and then, a sub-category of the various species of reptiles included under the aforementioned logogram (Collins 1989: 208; see also HED I: 358-359; Kloekhorst 2008: 384).

As real snakes, the mythical Illuyanka is described as inhabiting the underground, what the Hittites denominate the “Dark Earth” –a name probably coming from the idea that “the interior of the earth was conceived as a space without illumination” (Haas 1995). In Hittite imagery, the Dark Earth was a realm of chthonic deities, usually associated to magic and birth, and ruled by the Sun-goddess of the Earth; an area of the world tied to death, and polluted elements which were ritually locked down, inside of it –as expressed in Telipinu’s and Hannahanna’s myths. In accordance, its deities

seem to have an affinity with blood as a liquid which not merely constituted food for them but also carried the symbolic value of lost life (Beckman 2011).

The Hittites used pits dug into the ground, artificial but also natural ones (where they also performed their rituals) to communicate with spirits inhabiting beneath the terrestrial surface (Collins 2002b: 225). As identified by Collins, such pits served a number of different functions, one of which was as a channel for chthonic deities and creatures, as is the case of Illuyanka. More meaningful to Illuyanka's myth interpretation is the fact the Dark Earth was actually not only accessible through pits, but also through springs and rivers (Mouton and Erbil 2012: 61), and, more importantly, it was broadly associated to water –cf. Dardano 2012: 622– 627; Hutter 2014. Since the Dark Earth was intimately connected to water passages, it seems likely that Illuyanka was able to move easily through them, and cross what can be defined as liminal areas of the Hittite world, to threaten the cosmic order.

Until now, the sea where the battle took place (in the second version), has been identified with the Black Sea, the Mediterranean, the Salt Lake and a mythical sea (Pecchioli Daddi and Polvani 1991: 46-47, Hoffner 2007: 125).¹³ From the point of view of the narrative's symbolism, M. Vigo considered that: “la scelta di inserire nella seconda versione del mito il mare riflette forse la necessità di collocare l'antagonista del dio della Tempesta in una “cornice mitica” che possa rendere al meglio l'idea del caos che si contrappone all'ordine costituito, rappresentato appunto dal dio” (Vigo 2012: 270). In addition to these interpretations, I would like to posit an alternative in which a battle at sea expresses the natural habitat where this snake-like creature, able to navigate both the underworld and aquatic mediums, could be found.

A spring, a river and the sea are, of course, variant aquatic mediums. In Anatolian myths though, they seem to appear interconnected and linked to the Dark Earth, as in the “Sacrifice and Prayer to the Storm god of Nerik”

13 Haas indicated that “Schauplatz des Mythos ist die Küste des Schwarzen Meeres nahe der einstigen Mündung des Flusses Kızılırmak bei Bafta sowie das Land (der Stadt) Tarukka, wahrscheinlich am Kızılırmak in der Gegend um Durağan und Havza” (2006: 97).

(CTH 671), where we read, according to Hoffner’s translation, that the god is first called forth from a pit, “...come up from the dark four corners, from the deep wave. Turn back to Nerik,” and later on lured to come back “... from down the sea, from under the [waves]” (respectively: §5, obv. 24-32; §10, rev. 18-24, Hoffner 1998: 23, 24).

In this scenario, it is important to observe that CTH 321 is referring to the GUDU-priest of the Storm-god of Nerik as a main priest; a person who was associated to cults in different towns of central Anatolia; and, as in the following example, was a specialist in connecting the terrestrial world and the one under it.

§2 (obv. 5-11) ...The GUDU-priest calls (in the Hattic language) three times down into the pit: *wi wi purusael purusael*. Concurrently he again speaks the word:

§3 (obv. 12-17) “The Storm God of Nerik became angry and went down into the pit. ...” (Hoffner 1998: 23).

The GUDU-priest’s presence in the text does not seem accidental if we consider Illuyanka’s connection to the Dark Earth and its watery resources. As it was pointed out already by some scholars, the fact that the Anatolian plateau is a *karstic* area where underground water goes in and out, probably influenced its inhabitants to consider water as a passageway into the netherworld (Mouton and Erbil 2012: 73).

Moving on to the king’s relevance in the texts, in the first version it is said that Inara went to the town of Kiskilussa (concluding a series of actions which began at the same location), placed her home (or “a house for herself,” indicated by the reflexive particle *-za*), and gave the king power over the water¹⁴ (Hitt. *ḫunḫuwanašš* [=a *ÍD*?]).¹⁴ With respect to the king’s symbolism here, and his connection to Hupasiya as a priest of Inara, I follow Hoffner’s interpretation; to further stress the idea that the origins of kingship

14 It is worth mentioning that a debate surrounding the word *ḫunḫuwanašš* here was recently sparked at the international congress ‘Hrozný and Hittite: The First Hundred Years’ held in Prague (2015). In contradistinction to traditional interpretations that link the term to wave(s), seas and flow, W. Waal proposed that the basic meaning of the term *ḫunḫu(n)ēššar*, *ḫuwa(n)ḫueššar*, *ḫunḫeššar* (*ḫu.*) meant “depth hollow, (underground) cave, cavity.” In accordance, if Waal is correct, and *ḫu.* refers indeed to a cavity, it would be reasonable to think that it would refer to some kind of hollow that most probably was related to a watery environment. See Della Casa Diss. forthcoming.

are defined here as intimately related to the ruler's duties as a "holy priest" (in Hitt. *šuppiš šankunniš*), as well as a guarantor of natural water resources through the god's will. Further down, the text returns, once more, to its initial topics, indicating why the first *purulli*-festival is celebrated, although the explanation is not clear. In spite of the text's fragmentation, the purpose of the *purulli*- appears connected to Inara's house, to the flow of the river², and the hand [of the king] (CTH 321, KBo 3.7, §15, 62; cf. Rieken 2009). Taking all of this into account, I would like to suggest, in agreement with the conclusions reached by Hoffner (2007) –even though both points of departure differed–, that the myth narrates the story of how the Storm-god fought to regain his competence over the water that flowed under the Hittite cosmic space, but also emerged and provided Hittite society with a highly beneficial source of living.

At this point, it is important to draw attention to the fact that while in foreign myths the Storm-gods show clear celestial features, in Hittite religion, however, their role is not as clear. As indicated by D. Schwemer, "there is no adequate comprehensive study of the Anatolian storm-gods, one of the more urgent desiderata of Hittitology" (2008: 17). The Hittite Storm-god seems to be more of a celestial deity, since it is usually referred as the "Storm-god of Heaven" (as in CTH 321, §1, 1 *nepišaš* ^dI[M-*aš*'] from the Old Hittite period onwards, who benefited the Hittite land with rain. However, it has been suggested too that it was a deity of the underworld waters (Deighton 1982), and even if this approach is presently considered to be somewhat extreme (Beckman 1994), it seems that, if the Illuyanka Myth actually narrates how the Storm-god overpowers the forces of the Dark Earth, then we might need to consider that the Hittites believed the Storm-god shared some kind of competence with regards to such area too.

Thus, one can reasonably ask why the myth is incorporated into the *purulli*-festival. My contention is that the Hittite governing elite felt it necessary to reenact (during the *purulli*-) the original moment when the Storm-god overcame the forces coming from the Dark Earth, gaining dominion over the waters. In turn, the new dominion could only be passed over to the Hittite king through such reenactment. In effect, the text gives us an indication of this when it narrates "because we celebrate the first *purulli*- ..." (CTH 321,

KBo 3.7, §15, 62, Rieken 2009). In version II, the lines explaining why the *purulli-* was celebrated are missing; but after a gap of undetermined length, the hierarchy of the gods is established –a process which includes the “place of lots” (*nu=za pūl tianzi*), after which, “the result of the process is that the god Zaliyanu and his family assume a higher position than the Storm-god of Nerik” (Taggar-Cohen 2002: 97). It seems coherent to me that after the forces of water were put in order, the cosmos (and more specifically the gods that provided water to the Hittites) continued to be reorganized by this practice, as well as by their respective cults.

Conclusions

To conclude, I would like to return to the myth’s initial lines, which motivated this presentation, and in which the *purulli-* is associated to the growing and thriving of the land. Considering that there is no contextualization for the words *utne-*, *mai-*, *šešd-/šišd-* that would give us a clearer and more precise idea of their meaning, that is to say, if they are referring to a broader or a narrower semantic field, to the prosperity of the state in general, or to the fertility of the land and agriculture. Taking all this into consideration, my intention has been to look for the missing context on the text’s symbolic level. As we have observed, previous interpretations oscillate, broadly speaking, between the “political” and the “natural” perspective, with some works taking a middle ground. This appears to be so because –among other aspects taken into account by other scholars– in the myth *utne-* implies a strong association between the king, the underground waters, and the realm of living beings.

As observed, the only reference that limits *utne-* to its political aspect in CTH 321 is the mention of the king. However, we’ve also read that the gods have given the king power over the waters, and that through it he exerts his influence over the realm of nature itself. Thus, as the myth tells by itself, nature and politics are spliced together “in one hand.” As we read in CTH 321, §15, 62-63 *ḥa[nt]ezziyan purull[iyan[?]] kwit iyaweni / U QĀT [LUGAL[?] É-er[?]] ^dinaraš ḥunḫuwanašš=a ¹ÍD[?] [...] / –because we celebrate the f[i]rst *purull[i]-*Festival–, the hand [of the King holds[?] the house[?]] of Inara and the water abyss[?] (KBo 3.7, cf. Rieken 2009; for a discussion, see Hoffner 2007: 136).*

Accordingly, *utne*-’s semantic field, as expressed in the myth, seems to show a direct association between the natural and the political; which are one and the same under the rule of a king. Respectively referring to the “growing” and “thriving” of the community of beings –through the god and the king’s dominion over the water–, and that of the socio-political organization in general –through the special relationship the king keeps with the gods, being systematically actualized during the *purulli*-festival.

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Abbreviations

- CHD** H.G. Güterbock, H.A. Hoffner, Th.P.J. van den Hout (eds.), *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicago, 1983ff.
- CTH** E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, Paris, 1971 (with suppl. in *Revue hittite et asianique* 30, 1972, 94-133 and *Revue hittite et asianique* 32, 1973, 68-71).
- GHL** H. A. Hoffner, Jr. and C. Melchert, 2008. *A Grammar of the Hittite Language*, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- HED** J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, Berlin – New York, 1984ff.
- IBoT** *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri*, Istanbul, 1944-1988.
- KBo** *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy*, Osnabrück – Berlin, 1923ff.
- KUB** *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy*, Berlin, 1921-1990.

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HİTİT SONRASI KUZEY-ORTA ANADOLU: OLUZ HÖYÜK'TE KARANLIK ÇAĞ İLE İLGİLİ YENİ BULGULAR

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Son Tunç Çağı Anadolu'su, Hitit Büyük Krallığı'nın kurduğu merkezi otorite ile çevresindeki dost ve düşman halklar arasındaki politik ilişkiler çerçevesinde ele alınabilir. (bkz. Harita) Orta Anadolu platosu merkezli bu krallığın Karadeniz Bölgesi ile olan ilişkilerini bölgede yaşamış olduğu Hitit yazılı kaynaklarından bilinen yarı göçebe Kaşka Ulusu¹ belirler. Politik yayılım alanları ve etnik kökenleri gibi konularda tartışmalar bulunan bu ulusun Hitit Krallığı'na zor anlar yaşattığı, devletin kuzey sınırının sabit olmadığı, Maşat Höyük/*Tapigga*'nın Kaşka saldırılarına karşı bir garnizon olarak kurulduğu, ancak buna karşın yine de Kaşkalar'ın Boğazköy/*Hattuša*'ya kadar gelmiş olabilecekleri yazılı belgelerden bilinmektedir.

MÖ 1700'lü yıllarda I. Tudhaliya ile başlayan gerçek Hitit Krallığı² zengin etnik yapıları Kızılırmak Havzası toplum düzenini kabul etmiş bir görüntüdedir. Yazılı belgeler, mensubu oldukları Hint-Avrupa kökeninin Hatti, Hurri, Luwi ve diğer etnik unsurları dışlamadığı, aksine toplum yapısının esas ögesi gibi gördüğüne işaret etmektedir. Örneğin *Şamuha*, *Şapinuva* ve *Lawazantiya* (*Luhuzattiya*)³ gibi Hurri etnisitesi ağır basan önemli ve güçlü kentlerin Hitit sosyo-ekonomik yapısına sorunsuz bir şekilde uyum sağlamış olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

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1 Schuler 1965; Murat 1998: 435-443

2 Ünal 2014: 60.

3 *Lawazantiya*'nın lokalizasyon önerileri için bkz. Ünal 2014: 186-215.

MÖ 14. yüzyılda Mısır'la yoğunlaşan aktif mücadelenin getirdiği ekonomik yükün yanı sıra, başkentin II. Muwatalli (MÖ 1290-1273) tarafından Hatti Ülkesi'nden *Katteran Utne*'deki (Aşağı Ülke) *Tarhuntašša*'ya taşınmış olması da ülke ekonomisine büyük bir ek maliyet getirmiş olmalıdır. Bunlara ilave olarak, MÖ 13. yüzyılda başlayan büyük bir kuraklığı izleyen kıtlık süreci, Hitit Krallığı'nı ekonomik açıdan biraz daha sarsmış olmalıdır. Boğazköy-Büyükkaya⁴, Alaca Höyük⁵ ve Kaman-Kalehöyük'te⁶ açığa çıkarılan dev tahıl siloları bu olumsuz gelişmelerin kanıtı olarak değerlendirilmelidir. Bu olumsuzluklardan yalnızca Hitit Krallığı ve halkı değil, kuzeydeki Kaşka halkı da etkilenmiş olmalıdır. Vezirköprü – Merzifon – Amasya – Taşova hattının güneyine gerçekleştirdikleri rutin akınları daha da arttıran Kaşka halkının yanı sıra, doğudaki *Hayaša-Azzi* ile batıdaki Arzawa bölgelerinden de benzer saldırılar gelmiş olabilir. Kaşka sınır bölgesi civarında Kuruştamalı göçerler ile Fırat'ın doğusunda yaşayan göçebe İşmerikalıların da bu saldırılara katılmış oldukları düşünülebilir⁷. Bunlara bir de Boğazlar ile Marmara Denizi üzerinden gelmeye başlayan Thrako-Phryg göçlerini⁸ de eklediğimizde, Hitit Büyük Krallığı'nın MÖ 1190/1180'lerde çöktüğünü ve yönetenlerin önemli bir bölümünün güneydoğuya hareketlenerek Orta Fırat Havzası üzerinden Kuzey Suriye'ye, belki de toparlanıp geri dönme düşüncesi ile ulaştıkları anlaşılmaktadır. Kızılırmak Havzası'ndan Hititlerin çekilmesi ile arkeoloji literatüründe “Karanlık Çağ” olarak geçen ve gerçekte Erken Demir Çağı'nın bir bölümü ile kronolojik olarak çakışan kritik bir dönem (MÖ 1190/1180-1000) yaşanmaya başlanmıştır. Bu bağlamda, toprakları Kaşka halkı tarafından işgal edilirken uygarlıklarına ait ne varsa imha edildiği anlaşılan Hititlerden sonra, Kızılırmak Havzası gerek kültürel açıdan gerekse imar faaliyetleri bakımından hiçbir zaman Hitit Krallığı seviyesine ulaşamamıştır.

Paleoklimatoloji araştırmalarından biri M.Ö. 3. Binyılın başında, diğeri ise M.Ö. 2. Binyılın sonunda olmak üzere Önasya'da ortaya çıkan iki

4 Seeher 2015: 187-201.

5 Çınaroğlu/Çelik 2010: 140-147.

6 Fairbairn/Omura 2005: 15-23.

7 Ünal 2014: 71-72.

8 Dönmez 2004: 44-45; Dönmez 2011: 24; Dönmez 2014a: 49.

küresel soğuma ve kuraklık döneminin varlığını kanıtlamıştır⁹. Bu iklimsel kriz dönemlerinden ikincisi olan M.Ö. 2. Binyılın sonunda gerçekleşmiş bulunanı politik dengeleri ve ekonomik yaşamı kökten değiştirmiş olmalıdır. Koşullardaki bu olumsuz yöndeki değişim Hitit Krallığı gibi geniş bir coğrafyaya egemen olan ve nüfus çoğunluğunun ekonomisi tarıma dayanan devletler için ekonomik krize dönüşmüştür. Diğer taraftan Karadeniz Bölgesi'nde küçük çaplı tarım, hayvancılık ve yağmacılıkla geçindikleri düşünülen yarı göçebe Kaşkalar gibi ulusların bu koşullardan daha az ölçüde etkilenmiş olmaları yüksek bir olasılıktır. Bu dönemde zaten iç karışıklıklar ve ekonomik dar boğaz gibi sorunları olan Krallığı, besin sıkıntısı nedeniyle topraklarını istila eden ve rezervlerini yağmalayan uluslarla da uğraşmak zorunda kalmıştır. Boğazköy/*Hattuša*'da Büyük Krallık Dönemi'nde yapılmış olan büyük silolar¹⁰ ve barajlar bu kıtlığın ve kuraklığın arkeolojik kanıtlarıdır. Bu tip krizlerde yarı göçebe ya da göçebe ulusların tam yerleşikler karşısında avantaj sağladıkları açıktır. Nitekim Karadeniz Bölgesi'ndeki Kaşkalar'ın bu krizden sonra Assur yazılı kaynaklarında bahsedilmiş Kaşkalar olarak yaşamlarını sürdürdüklerine tanık oluyoruz. Dolayısı ile Orta Karadeniz Bölgesi kültürünün Geç Tunç Çağı'nda ve Erken Demir Çağı'nda pek farklı olmadığı düşünülebilir.

Oluz Höyük 2014 dönemi çalışmalarında Karanlık Çağ'a ait olduğunu saptadığımız yeni bir mimari tabaka, Hatti Ülkesi ile *Sarazzi Utne* (Yukarı Ülke) sınırını oluşturan Yeşilirmak (*Kummešmaha*) Havzası'ndaki *Hakmiš* Krallığı topraklarında Hitit çöküşünün şiddetli bir savaş ya da yıkımla gerçekleşmemiş olabileceğini göstermeye başlamıştır. 7B Mimari Tabakası'nda (MÖ 13. yüzyılın sonu – 12. yüzyılın başı) bastırılmış topraktan oluşturulmuş basit bir avlu tabanı üzerinde (Fig.1) Büyük Krallık Dönemi çanak-çömlek parçaları (Fig.2) ile birlikte, kızılımsı devetüyü hamurlu, iri taşçık ve bitki katkılı, orta pişmiş, hamurunun renginde astarlı ve kalın bantlarla oluşturulmuş geometrik motiflerle karakterize olan boya bezemeli kap parçaları (Fig.3-6) ele geçmiştir. Hitit Krallığı'nın son yıllarına ait 7B Mimari Tabakası'nda farklı türdeki iki çanak-çömlek grubunun birlikte bulunmuş olması, kültürel bir değişimin keramik üzerindeki yansımaları

9 Ökse 1999a: 304-305

10 Seeher 1998: 515-523; Seeher 2000: 15-34

olarak değerlendirilmelidir. Eski gelenek ile yeni kültür çanak-çömleklerinin birlikte ele geçmiş olması, bununla birlikte 7B Mimari Tabakası'nda yangın ya da tahribat izine rastlanılmaması, Hitit kaplarının son kez görüldüğü bu mimari tabakanın barışçıl bir şekilde yaşanmış olduğuna işaret etmektedir. Oluz Höyük özelinde “Hitit Kültürünün Çöküş Dönemi” olarak adlandırabileceğimiz 7B Mimari Tabakası boya bezekli çanak-çömleğinin yakın benzerleri Nevşehir yakınlarındaki Ovaören'de açığa çıkmaya başlamıştır¹¹. Oluz Höyük ve Ovaören'deki benzer çanak-çömlek gruplarının varlığı, Kızılırmak Havzası'nın orta ve kuzey bölümlerindeki yerleşmelerde “Hitit Krallığı Çöküş Dönemi”nin gerçekleşmiş olduğunu kanıtlaması bakımından oldukça önemlidir. Buna ek olarak Mut yakınlarındaki Kilise Tepe'de bulunmuş olan boya bezekli bazı kapların¹² Oluz Höyük 7B Mimari tabakası boyalıları ile olan benzerliği, Orta ve Güney Anadolu arasındaki uzak mesafeli ilişkileri kurmak adına dikkate alınmalıdır.

7B Mimari Tabakası üzerinde yer alan 7A Mimari Tabakası'nda (M.Ö. 11-10. yüzyıllar) gerçekleştirilen 2015 dönemi çalışmaları sırasında açığa çıkarılan mimari kalıntılar, Oluz Höyük ve Amasya Bölgesi için bir ilk olma özelliğindedir. Söz konusu kalıntılar yamaca inşa edildiği gözlenen kerpiç bir yapıya ait duvar ile basit bir ocaktan (Fig.7-8) oluşmaktadır. Kuzey tarafında dik bir yamaç bulunan duvarın, hemen güney dibindeki kil ocak kalıntısı nedeniyle güneye doğru inşa edilmiş olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Büyük olasılıkla yapının kapalı mekânında yer alan ocak oldukça basit görünümüldür. Höyüğün kuzey yamacında yer alan söz konusu duvar ve ocak ile ilgili diğer kalıntıların yamaç erozyonu sonucu yok olduğu gözlenmektedir. Karanlık Çağ'a tarihlenen Gordion 7B ve 7A (MÖ 1100-950) tabakalarındaki pise ve dal-çamur tekniğinde inşa edilmiş tek odalı basit ve kaba konutların oda içlerinde ocaklar açığa çıkarılmıştır¹³. Mekan içi ocak kullanımı temelinde Kızılırmak Havzası ile Kızılırmak'ın batısı arasında Karanlık Çağ'da yapı tasarımı açısından benzerlikler olduğu Oluz Höyük bulguları ışığında fark edilmeye başlanmıştır.

11 Henüz yayınlanmamış olan söz konusu çanak-çömleğin varlığı, 5 Mart 2016 tarihinde Çorum Müzesi'nde gerçekleştirilen “Derekutuğun Çalıştayı” sırasında yaptığım sunumda, Yrd.Doç.Dr. Atakan Akçay tarafından konuşmama katkı olarak belirtilmiştir.

12 Bouthillier/Colantoni/Debruyne/Glatz/Hald/Heslop/Kozal/Miller/Popkin/Postgate/Steele/Stone 2014: Fig.11.

13 Sevin 2003: 239.

7A Mimari Tabakası'na ait Kızılırmak Havzası'nda Oluz Höyük dışında Doğan-tepe (Fig.9-10), Eski-yapar¹⁴, Çadır Höyük¹⁵, Kuşaklı ve Boğazköy-Büyükkaya'da¹⁶ saptanan Karanlık Çağ çanak-çömleği bugüne değin yalnızca Büyükkaya'da mimari bir karaktere sahipti¹⁷. Büyükkaya'da Jür-ge-n Seeher tarafından gerçekleştirilen kazılar, hem kendisinin¹⁸ hem de Hermann Genz'in değerlendirmeleri ile MÖ 12-10. yüzyıllara tarihlenen bir yerleşimin varlığını ortaya koymuştur. Üç evre halinde saptanan Büyükkaya Erken Demir Çağı'nın erken evresi el yapımı, koyu renkli, kaba hamurlu, taşçık ve mineral katkılı ve kötü pişmiş bir çanak-çömlek grubu ile karakterize olmaktadır. Gelişkin Hitit çanak-çömleğinden sonra görülen söz konusu kaba kapların yalnızca yalın örneklerden oluşması, ne kadar devam ettiği belli olmayan erken evrede boya bezekli bir gelenek olmadığına kesin olarak işaret etmektedir. Boya bezemenin ortaya çıktığı orta evrenin Büyükkaya'daki başlangıç tarihi belli olmamakla birlikte, Herman Genz'in hazırlamış olduğu tabakalaşma ve kronoloji tablosundan¹⁹ yapılan çıkarsamada yaklaşık olarak MÖ 11. yüzyılın başları ön plana çıkmaktadır. Genellikle devetüyü ya da koyu devetüyü renkli kapların dış yüzeylerine açık kırmızı ya da kızılımsı kahverengi ile yapılmış bazen içleri noktalı bazen boş üçgenler, zikzaklar ve basit hatlardan oluşan açık kırmızı motiflerle karakterize olan Büyükkaya Karanlık Çağ çanak-çömleği için öngörülen başlangıç tarihinin (MÖ 11. yüzyıl) nedeni hiçbir yayında açıklanamamıştır. Bu tarihlendirme sorununa ek olarak, söz konusu grubun Erken Tunç Çağı'ndan gelenek ve köken alan çanak-çömlekler olduğu belirtilmiş, bunların Kaşka halkıyla ilişkisinin bulunabileceği hususları önce Hermann Genz²⁰, daha sonra ise Jür-ge-n Seeher tarafından gündeme getirilmiştir²¹. Erken Tunç Çağı ile Karanlık Çağ boya bezekli gelenekleri arasındaki tarihsel süreç yaklaşık 1000 yıl gibi çok uzun bir zaman dilimidir. 1000 yıllık uzun süreç içinde arkeolojik gerçeklik ve devamlılık temelinde Kızılırmak Havzası'nda

14 Bayburthuoğlu 1979: 293-303.

15 Ross 2010: Fig.5b.

16 Genz 2000: 35-54; Genz 2001: 1-2; Genz 2003: 179-191.

17 Genz 2004.

18 Seeher 2010: 220-229.

19 Genz 2004: Tab.I

20 Genz 2001: 2.

21 Seeher 2010: 226-227.

bilinen uzun süreçli ve güçlü bir boya bezemeli çanak-çömlek geleneği bilinmemektedir. Bu bağlamda, Büyükkaya Karanlık Çağ boyalıları ile Erken Tunç Çağı III boyalıları (Intermediate, Alişar III, Çıradere ve Delice) arasında bağlantı kurulması, Boğazköy kronolojisini olumsuz olarak etkilemesinin yanı sıra sorunlu ve anlaşılmaz bir durum oluşturmaktadır. Karanlık Çağ boyalılarının Kaşka kimliğine sokulması önerisi ise, kanımca bir sorun değil, aksine doğru bir yaklaşımdır. Büyükkaya'daki temel sorun, Kaşka kimliği ile birlikte söz konusu çanak-çömleğin herhangi bir arkeolojik bulguya dayanmadan Kızılırmak Havzası Erken Tunç Çağı III boyalıları ile ilişkili gösterilmeye çalışılmasıdır.

Boğazköy-Büyükkaya kazı sonuçlarını dikkate alan Mehmet Özsait ve Nesrin Özsait'in Samsun ve Amasya'da bulunduğu bazı boya bezekli çanak-çömlek parçalarını Karanlık Çağ'a yani MÖ 12-10. yüzyıllara tarihlemesi²², kronoloji sorununu daha da içinden çıkılmaz bir duruma getirmiştir. Hermann Genz ile Jürgen Seeher'in Büyükkaya'da, Mehmet Özsait ile Nesrin Özsait ise Samsun ve Amasya illerinin bazı yerleşmelerinde²³ ele geçen boya bezekli Karanlık Çağ kap parçalarını nedensiz bir şekilde MÖ 11. yüzyılın başlarına çıkacak kadar erkene tarihlemeleri konusundaki kaygılarımı 2003 yılında gündeme getirmiştimm²⁴. Burada temel aldığımız nokta, Büyükkaya Karanlık Çağ çanak-çömlekleri içinde farkına vardığımız gaga ağızlı testilerdi²⁵. Geç Tunç Çağı gaga ağızlı testilerini tip olarak andıran Demir Çağı gaga ağızlı testileri hem form hem de teknik yapı açısından oldukça farklıdır. Bunlar arasında Geç Tunç Çağı'ndan Erken Demir Çağı'na hem Kızılırmak'ın batısında hem de Kızılırmak Havzası'nda bir bağlantı olmadığı gözlenmektedir. Demir Çağı gaga ağızlı testi formları, ağız kısmında yonca yaprağı görünümü de alarak Karanlık Çağ sürecinin sonlarında çanak-

22 Özsait/Özsait 2002a: 79-95; Özsait/Özsait 2003: 199-212.

23 Orta Karadeniz Bölgesi'nde 1986 yılından beri yüzey araştırmaları yapmakta olan M. Özsait ve N. Özsait, Amasya ve Samsun illerindeki bazı yerleşmelerde buldukları birtakım çanak-çömlek parçalarının Karanlık Çağ'a ait olduklarını ileri sürmüşlerdir (Özsait /Özsait 2002a: 79-95; Özsait/Özsait 2002b: 17-24; Özsait/Özsait 2002c, 527-552.). Söz konusu yerleşmeler; Amasya ili Merkez İlçe'de Örenler, Göynücek ilçesinde Ayvalıpınar I ve Ayvalıpınar II, Merzifon ilçesinde Oymağaç-Kalebaşı, Karatepe, Büyük Küllük Tepe, Küçük Küllük Tepe, Akkaya, Elma Tepesi, Körceviz, Kızkayası, Alacapınar Tepe, Dericik I, Civektepe, Onhoroz Tepe, Aliğa Pınarı, Gümüşhacıköy ilçesinde Karacaören I, Kaleciktepe ve Çaltepe, Hamamözü ilçesinde Karataş ve Yeniköy ve Suluova ilçesinde Yoğurtçubaba Tepesi, Samsun ili Ladik ilçesinde Sarıgazel, Salur-Yüktepe ile Havza ilçesinde Sivri Tepe'dir.

24 Dönmez 2003: 213-228.

25 Genz 2004: Taf.60/7, 61/13.

çömlek gelişiminin bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıkmış gibi görünmektedir. Büyükkaya boyalıları içinde görülen bu tipteki gaga ağızlı testi parçaları, Karanlık Çağ boyalılarının MÖ 11. yüzyılın başlarına değil, en erken MÖ 11. yüzyıl sonlarına ya da MÖ 10. yüzyıl başlarına tarihlenebileceğini göstermektedir. Hermann Parzinger tarafından Hitit olarak yayınlanan VII numaralı Tapınak'ta (Fig.11) bulunan boya bezekli çanak-çömleklerin yeni bulgular ışığında Karanlık Çağ'a tarihlenmesi gerekmektedir.²⁶ Söz konusu boya bezekli çanak-çömlekle, VII numaralı Tapınak'ta da Büyükkaya gibi bir Karanlık Çağ iskânı yaşanmış olduğunu kanıtlamaktadır.

Bütün bu gelişmeler Hititlerin siyasi otoritesinin MÖ 1190/1180'lerde sonlanması ile Karanlık Çağ boyalılarının ortaya çıkması arasında boya bezekli çanak-çömlek temelinde bir boşluk olduğuna işaret etmektedir. Boğazköy hafırları tarafından eleştirilen bu kaygılarının²⁷ doğru olduğu hususuna Oluz Höyük kazıları Demir Çağı mimari tabakalarında açığa çıkan bazı boya bezekli çanak-çömlek grupları tanıklık etmeye başlamıştır. Oluz Höyük 7B Mimari Tabakası'nda Hitit Büyük Krallık Dönemi çanak-çömleği ile birlikte ele geçen yeni tür boyalıların (Fig.3-6) Boğazköy ya da başka bir Hitit yerleşmesinde bugüne değin gözlenmeyen özel bir durum oluşturmuşlardır. Oluz Höyük'te kültürel bir değişime işaret eden Çöküş Dönemi boya bezeme uygulamasının MÖ 12. yüzyıl içlerine uzanmış olabileceği düşünülebilir. 7B Mimari Tabakası'nın hemen üzerinde yer alan 7A Mimari Tabakası'nın zayıf mimari izlerle (Fig.7-8) birlikte Büyükkaya tipi boya bezekli çanak-çömlek (Fig.12-17) içermesi, Karanlık Çağ kaplarının köken ve gelişimi konularının yeniden değerlendirilmesi gerektiğine işaret etmeye başlamıştır. 7A Mimari Tabakası'nın 7B ile organik bir bağının bulunmaması ve 6. Mimari Tabaka (MÖ 9. yüzyıl) ile olan boya bezekli çanak-çömlek temelindeki ilişkileri, Kızılırmak Havzası Karanlık Çağ boyalılarının büyük olasılıkla MÖ 11. yüzyıl sonlarına ya da MÖ 10. yüzyıl başlarına tarihlenebileceğine işaret etmiştir. 2003 yılındaki yayınlımızda Büyükkaya ve Eskiypar Karanlık Çağ boya bezekli kap parçalarının Karanlık Çağ sonu yani Erken Demir Çağı ortalarına (MÖ 11. yüzyıl sonu ile 10. yüzyıl) tarihlenmesi gerektiğini zaten belirtmiştim. Bugün gelinen noktada özellikle içleri noktalı basit üçgenlerle

26 Parzinger/Sanz 1992:33.

27 Seeher 2010: dipnot 2.

karakterize olan boya bezemeli Karanlık Çağ çanak-çömlek geleneğinin Erken Tunç Çağı gibi Demir Çağı'na oldukça uzak bir dönemden değil, Hitit Büyük Krallık Dönemi sonundan (MÖ 13. yüzyıl sonu-12. yüzyıl başı) köken alan bir gelenek olabileceği hususu Oluz Höyük kazıları sonucu ortaya çıkmaya başlamıştır.

Oluz Höyük 2014 dönemi çalışmalarında 7B ile 7A mimari tabakaları arasındaki kültürel dolgu içinde bulunan iki buluntu oldukça ilgi çekicidir. Kurşundan dökülmüş olduğu gözlenen ilk bulgu bir silaha benzemektedir (Fig.18-19). Basit bir mızrakucu görünümündeki nesne ergimesi oldukça kolay olan kurşun madenin oldukça ilkel şartlarda şekillendirildiğine işaret etmektedir. Diğer bulgu ise kilden üretilmiş bir boncuktur (Fig.20). Küre biçimli boncuk, koyu gri yüzeyi ile yine ilkel şartlarda pişirilmiş görünümü vermektedir. Hitit coğrafyası içindeki Oluz Höyük'te bölgeye yabancı özellikler gösteren bu iki bulgu, 7B Mimari Tabakası'ndan itibaren izleyebildiğimiz çanak-çömlek geleneklerindeki değişime paralel olarak değerlendirilmelidir. Mimarisi, çanak-çömleği, mühürleri ve metal eserleri ile önemli bir Hitit yerleşmesi olduğu anlaşılan Oluz Höyük'te, MÖ 12-11. yüzyıllara tarihlenebilecek kültür dolgusunda ele geçen kurşun mızrakucu ile kil boncuk daha geri bir kültürün ürünleri olarak değerlendirilebilir. Bu bağlamda Hitit siyasi otoritesinin yıkıldığı süreçte Kaşka halkının işgaline uğrayan Kuzey-Orta Anadolu'daki Hitit kültürüne yabancı öğelerin Kaşka kültürü ile ilişkilendirilmesi bu aşamada yanlış olmayacaktır. Oluz Höyük 2015 dönemi çalışmalarında 7A Mimari Tabakası'nda açığa çıkarılan ve büyük kısmı yamaç erozyonu nedeniyle yok olmuş basit bir kerpiç duvar ile hemen güney bitişiğindeki basit ocak kalıntısı (Fig.6), Hitit sonrası Kaşka yerleşimine ait olmalıdır. Söz konusu duvar ve ocak kalıntısı Hitit sonrası ilk yerleşime yani Karanlık Çağ'a ait mimari öğeler olması bakımından oldukça önemlidir. Karanlık Çağ'ın sonlarına doğru boya bezekli çanak-çömlek üretimini gerçekleştirmiş olan Kaşka halkının, MÖ 8. yüzyıl Assur belgelerinden izleyebildiğimiz, kralı (Dadi-İlu) olan küçük bir krallık/beylik (Kaşki/Kaşku) düzenine geçerek yaşadığı düşünülebilir.

HİTİT SONRASI KUZEY – ORTA ANADOLU



Harita: MÖ 2.binyılda Oluz Höyük ve yakın çevresi



Fig.1: 7B Mimari Tabakası 'nda açığa çıkarılan bastırılmış topraktan oluşturulmuş basit avlu tabanı



Fig.2: 7B Mimari Tabakası 'nda açığa çıkarılan bezemesiz Hitit çanak çömleği parçaları

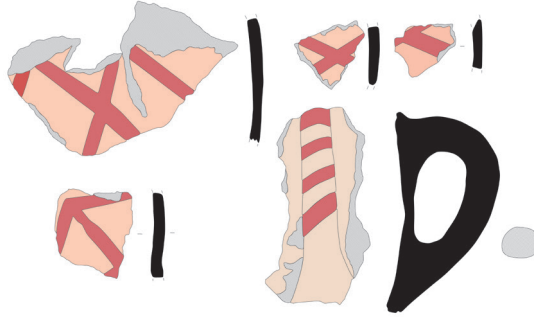


Fig.3-7B Mimari Tabakası 'nda açığa çıkarılan boya bezemeli çanak çömlek parçaları

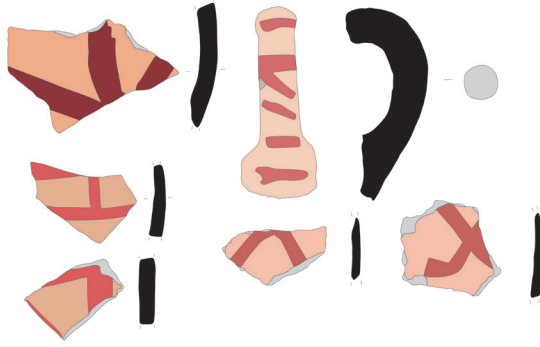


Fig.4: 7B Mimari Tabakası 'nda açığa çıkarılan boya bezemeli çanak çömlek parçaları



Fig.5: 7B Mimari Tabakası 'nda açığa çıkarılan boya bezemeli çanak çömlek parçaları

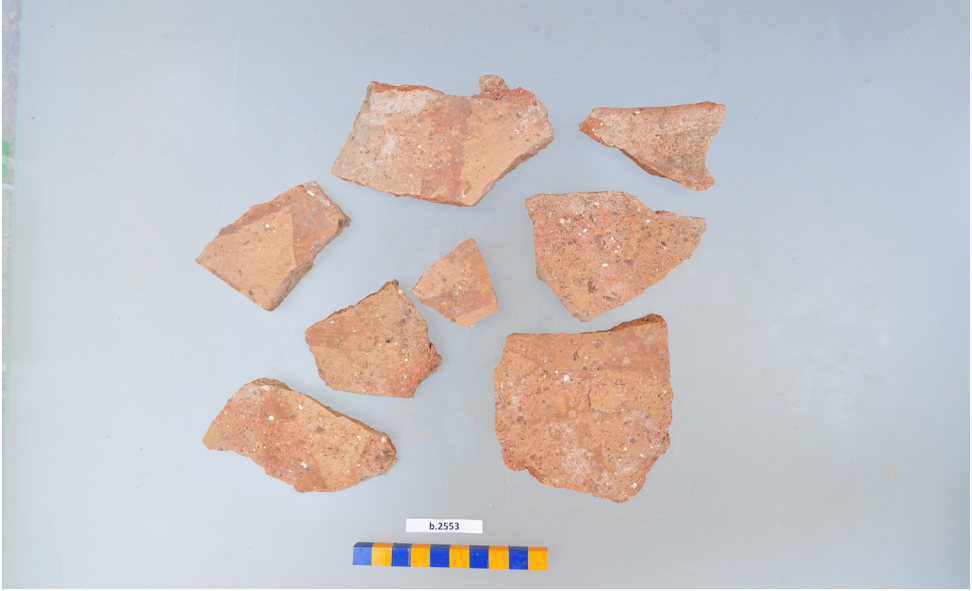


Fig.6: 7B Mimari Tabakası'nda açığa çıkarılan boya bezemeli çanak çömlek parçaları



Fig.7: 7A Mimari Tabakası'nda açığa çıkarılan kerpiç duvar ve ocak kalıntısı

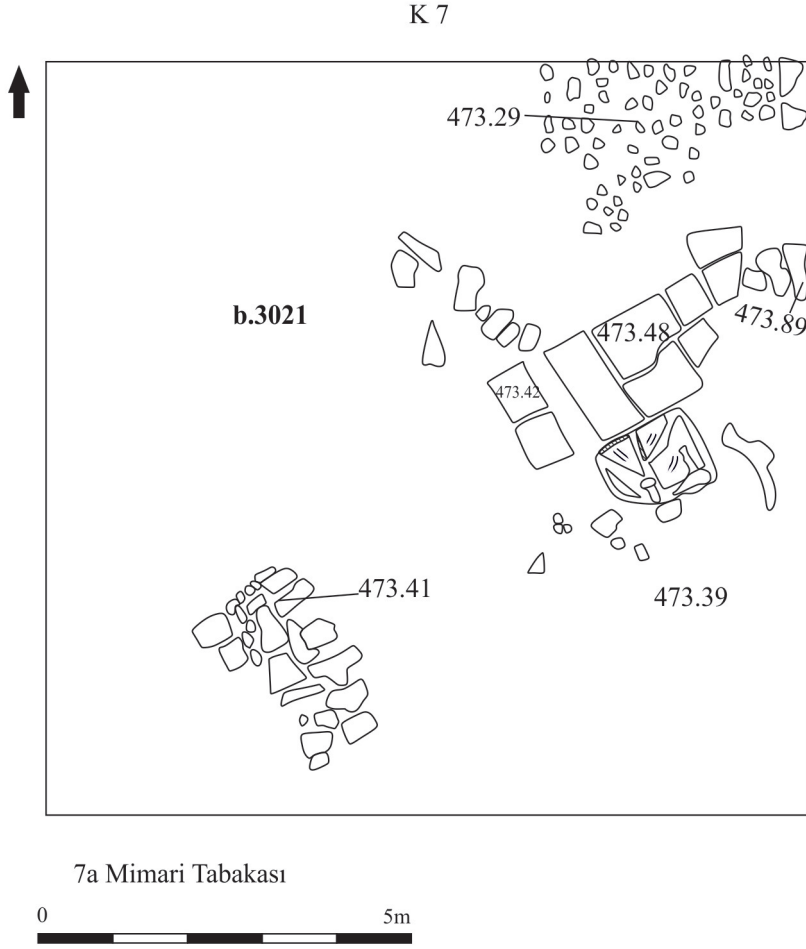


Fig.8: 7A Mimari Tabakası'nda açığa çıkarılan kerpiç duvar ve ocak kalıntısı.



Fig.9: Doğantepe'de bulunmuş Karanlık Çağ boya bezekli çömlek parçası

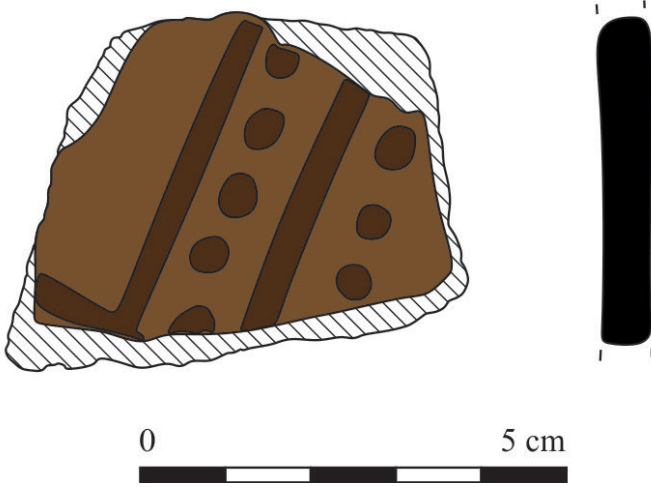


Fig.10: Doğantepe'de bulunmuş Karanlık Çağ boya bezekli çömlek parçası

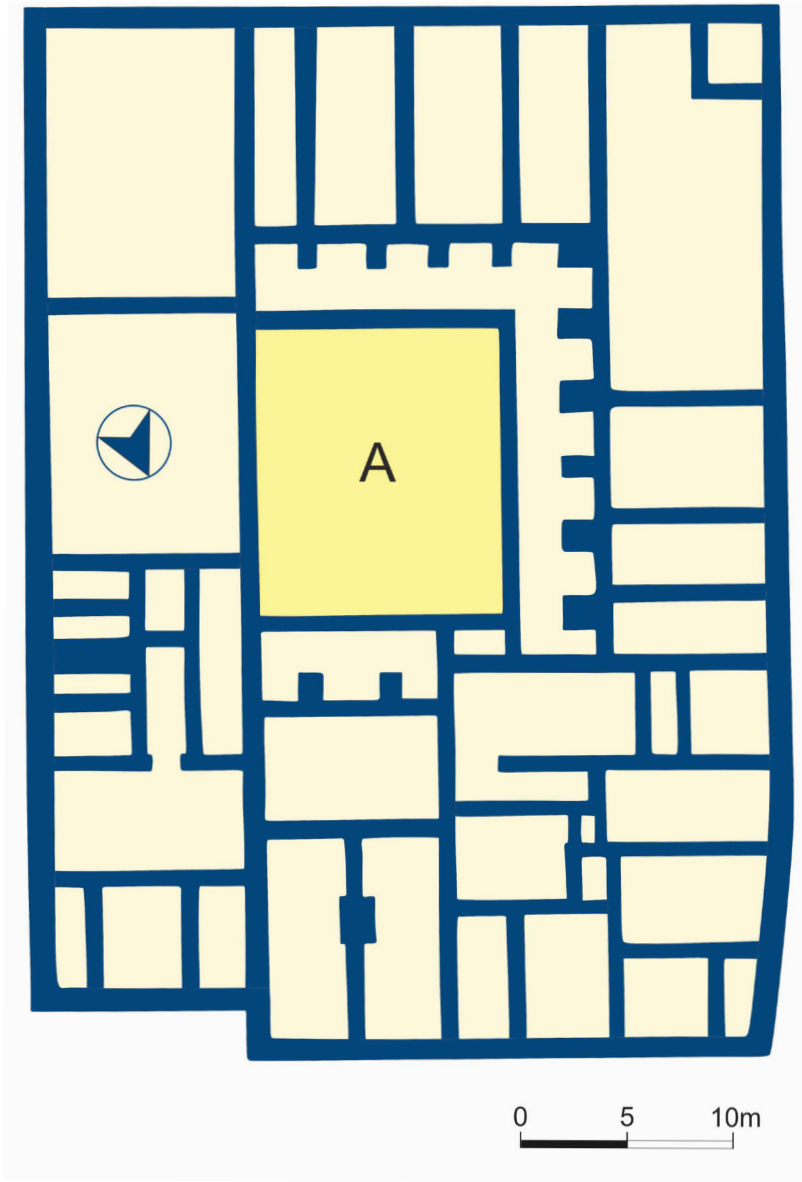


Fig.11: Boğazköy 7 numaralı tapınak

Levha 3

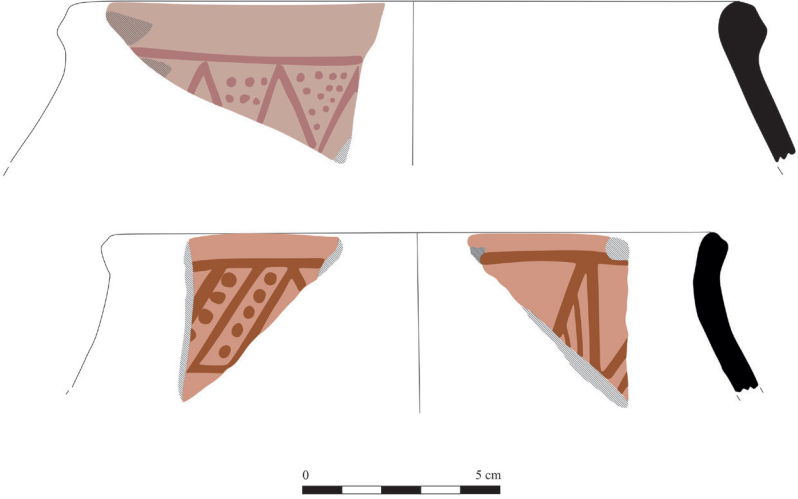


Fig.12: 7A Mimari Tabakası 'nda (Karanlık Çağ) bulunan boya bezekli çanak çömlek parçaları

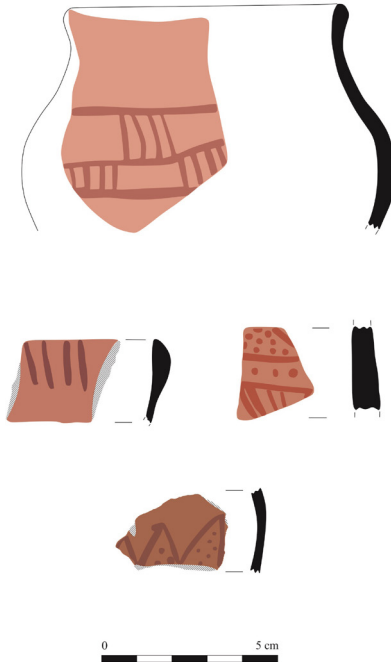


Fig.13: 7A Mimari Tabakası 'nda (Karanlık Çağ) bulunan boya bezekli çanak çömlek parçaları.



Fig.14: 7A Mimari Tabakası'nda (Karanlık Çağ) bulunan boya bezekli çanak çömlek parçaları



Fig.15: 7A Mimari Tabakası 'nda (Karanlık Çağ) bulunan boya bezekli çanak çömlek parçaları

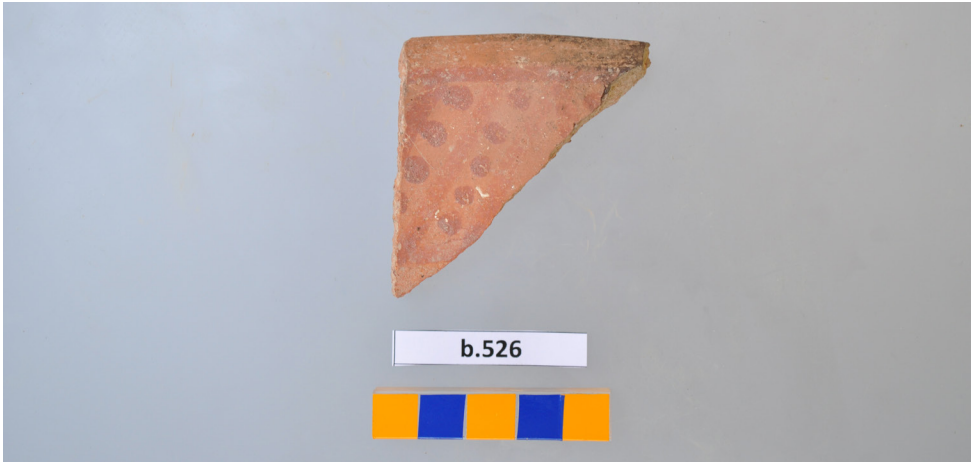


Fig.16: 7A Mimari Tabakası 'nda (Karanlık Çağ) bulunan boya bezekli çanak çömlek parçaları

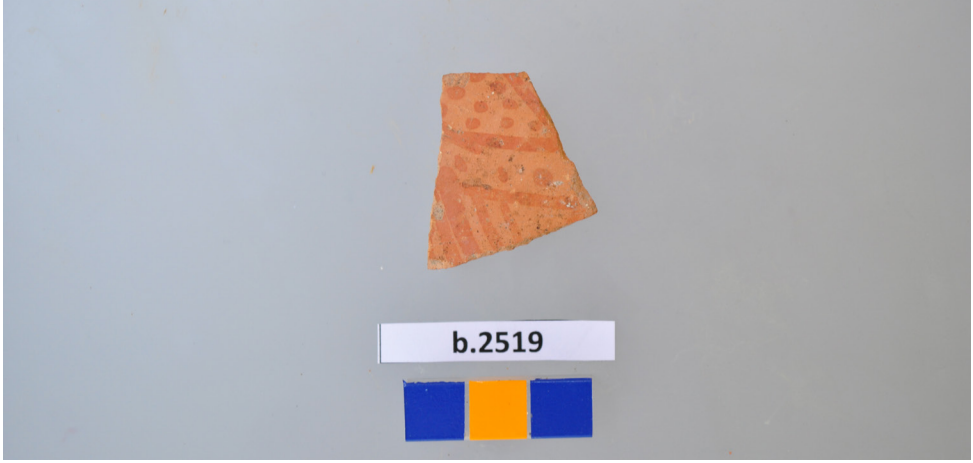


Fig.17: 7A Mimari Tabakası 'nda (Karanlık Çağ) bulunan boya bezekli çanak çömlek parçaları



Fig.18: 7A Mimari Tabakası 'nda (Karanlık Çağ) bulunan mızrakucu, kurşun



Fig.19: 7A Mimari Tabakası 'nda (Karanlık Çağ) bulunan mızrakucu, kurşun



Fig.20: 7A Mimari Tabakası 'nda (Karanlık Çağ) boncuk, pt

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DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PROSE AND POETIC STYLE IN THE HITTITE LANGUAGE

Rita FRANCIA*

What characterizes prose text, and how is it different from poetry? And, most importantly, is there a clear distinction between prose and poetry?

In a *literary* text (in the proper sense of the term) the dominant function of language is always poetic; although the referential, the conative and the emotive functions are also usually present.

The writer is mainly interested in the message itself. It would be inaccurate to mark a sharp divide between a work in prose and one in poetry.

A good example of this is the opening line of perhaps the most famous Italian novel, *I Promessi Sposi* (*The Betrothed*) by Alessandro Manzoni:

Quel ramo del lago di Como, che volge a mezzogiorno, tra due catene non interrotte di monti, tutto a seni e a golfi, a seconda dello sporgere e del rientrare di quelli, vien, quasi ad un tratto, a restringersi....

G. Leech identifies the distinction between poetic language from prose in three main elements:

1. repetition and parallelism which includes words and repeated sounds (anaphora, alliteration, assonance, rhyme etc.), semantic fields;
2. deviation from the common language and uses archaic or invented words, infringement the rules of grammar, spelling unusual;
3. creativity through imagery, polysemy, ambiguity.¹

* 'Sapienza' - Rome

1 *A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry*, Longman, London-New York 1969, pp. 10-12.

In the following analysis, we examine several passages from different genres - a treaty, an edict and a ritual (one from a descriptive section and one from a *historiola*). Individual sentences will be analyzed so that any rhetorical figures are highlighted. Accadograms and Sumerograms will be omitted, where possible, and replaced with the corresponding Hittite word.

From the treaty between Muwatalli and Alakšandu of Wiluša (CTH 76):³

A III (44) *nam-ma-ta*^D UTU^{ŠI} *ku-e* KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} *AD-DIN* (45) *pa-ra-[(a)]-ma-kán ku-e* ZAG^{Hl.A} ŠA KUR^{URU} *Ḫa-at-ti a-ša-an-zi* (46) *nu ma-a-an*^{LU} KÚR *ku-iš-ki ni-ni-ik-ta-ri na-aš a-pí-e-da-aš A-NA* ZAG^{Hl.A} (47) *GUL-aḫ-ḫu-wa-an-zi pa-iz-zi zi-ik-ma iš-ta-ma-aš-ti* (48) *nu-kán ŠÀ* KUR^{TI} *ku-iš BE-LU nu-uš-ši [p]é-ra-an pa-ra-a Ú-UL ḫa-at-ra-a-ši* (49) *zi-iq-qa Ú-UL wa-ar-ri-eš-ša-at-ti nu-kán ḪUL-la-u-i* (50) *ʿpaʿ-ra-a uš-ki-ši*

“Furthermore, the lands which I, My Majesty, have given to you, and which constitute the border districts of Hatti – if some enemy mobilizes and goes to attack those border districts, and you hear about it and do not write in advance to the one who is commander in the land, and do not lend assistance, but ignore the evil”

- (A) A III (44) *namma-ta *ištanuš-miš kue utnē peḫḫun*
- (B) (45) *par[(ā)]-ma-kan kue irḫuš ŠA KUR^{URU} Ḫatti ašanzi*
- (C) (46) *nu mān kuiški kururaš niniktari*
- (D) *nu-aš apēdaš irhaš* (47) *walahḫuwanzi paizzi*
- (E) *zik-ma ištamašti*
- (F) (48) *nu-kan utni andan kuiš išḫi*
- (G) *nu-ši [p]eran parā natta ḫatrāši*
- (H) (49) *ziqqa natta warreššatti*
- (I) *nu-kan idalau* (50) *ʿpaʿrā uškiši*

In this passage, no rhythmic patterns can be found. All of the figures of speech that would serve this purpose, for example, alliteration or homeoteleuton, are

3 J. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache*, 2. Teil, Leipzig 1930, pp. 42-102.

lacking. There are some repeated endings: -ZI in (B) with ‘and (D), -TI in (E) and (H), -ŠI in (G) and (I)’ (in (B) and (D), -TI in (E) and (H), -ŠI in (G) and (I)), but they cannot be considered homeoteleuton in the proper sense of the term because the context of a rhetorically developed text is missing.

Now let’s examine a passage from “The Edict of Queen Ašmunikal on Royal Mausoleum” (CTH 252):⁴

Vs. (1) *UM-MA*^{MUNUS} *Aš-mu-*^D *NIN.GAL MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL É.NA₄-aš ku-it*
i-ia-u-e-en (2) *nu A-NA É.NA₄^{NI} ku-i-e-eš URU^{HIA} pí-ia-an-te-eš*^{LÚ.MEŠ} *BE-EL*
QA-TI ku-i-e-eš pí-ia-an-te-eš (3) *APIN.LÁ*^{LÚ.MEŠ} *SIPAD GU₄*^{LÚ.MEŠ} *SIPAD*
UDU ku-i-e-eš pí-ia-an-te-eš (4) *ša-ri-⟨ku-⟩wa-za-kán ku-i-e-eš da-an-*
te-eš na-at QA-DU É^{MEŠ} *-ŠU-NU URU^{HIA} -ŠU-NU A-NA É.NA₄ pí-ia-an-te-eš*
^{LÚ.MEŠ} *hi-lam-mi-e-eš-ša ku-i-e-eš ka-ru-ú* (6) *A-NA É.NA₄ pí-ia-an-te-eš na-*
at-kán ša-aḫ-ḫa-na-za lu-zi-ia-za a-ra-u-e-eš a-ša-an-du (7) *UR.GI₇-aš wa-ap-*
pí-ia-zi a-pí-ia-ma-aš a-ri na-aš ka-ru-uš-ši-ia-zi (8) *Ì-an-ma-kán la-ḫu-uḫ-ta-ri*
a-pu-uš-ma-kán pa-ra-a li-e ú-wa-an-zi (9) *nu-uš-ma-aš-kán pí-an*^{GIŠ} *e-ia-an ar-ta-*
ru pa-ra-a-ma-aš-kán lé-e ku-iš-ki tar-na-i (10) *GU₄^{HIA}-ia-aš-ma-aš UDU^{HIA} lé-e*
ku-iš-ki ap-pát-ri-ia-zi (11) *na-at-kán ḫu-u-ma-an-ta-za a-ra-u-e-eš a-ša-an-du*

“As follows the queen Ašmunikal: Regarding the House of Stone that we did, the villages which (have been) given to the House of Stone, the workmen who have (been given), the ploughmen, ox-herders and shepherds who (have been) given, those who have been taken from the soldiers-šarikuwa that (have been) given to the House of Stone along with their homes and their villages, as well as the doormen that (have) long (been) given to the House of Stone, should be free of duties and taxes” .

(A) (1) *UMMA*^{MUNUS} *Ašmunikal šallaš ḫaššuššaraš*

(B) *É.NA₄-aš kuit iyauēn*

4 H. Otten, *Hethitische Totenrituale*, Berlin 1958, p. 106.

- (C) (2) *nu A-NA É.NA₄^{NI} kuiēš ḥappireš piyanteš*
- (D) *kiššeraš antuḥšeš kuiēš piyanteš*
- (E) (3) ^{LÚ.MEŠ} APIN.LÁ ^{LÚ.MEŠ} SIPAD **kuwauwaš* ^{LÚ.MEŠ} SIPAD **ḥāwaš?*
kuiēš piyanteš
- (F) (4) ^{LÚ.MEŠ} *šariḳuḡwaza-kan kuiēš danteš*
- (G) *n-at parnaza-šmet ḥappiraz-šmet A-NA É.NA₄ piyanteš*
- (H) ^{LÚ.MEŠ} *ḥilamēšša kuiēš karū* (6) *A-NA É.NA₄ piyanteš*
- (I) *n-at-kan šaḥḥanaza luzziyaza arauēš ašandu*

The text opens with a queen's speech listing what has been donated in favor of the "house of stone," naming villages and men responsible for various jobs, and specifying that all are free from taxation. The list is expressed with relative clauses and the related verb is expressed by the participle. From a rhetorical standpoint, one notices the epistrophe in the repetition of the verb *pianteš* in (C), (D), (E), (G) and (H), but given the content and the intent of the text, it could not have been expressed in an different way. No other figure of speech can be identified, neither in the signifier nor the signified, that would indicate the use of poetic device. Alliteration, repetition, homeoteleuton, anaphora or other figures of speech that occur abundantly in other kinds of text that we define as "poetic," are missing here; rhythm is totally absent.

Instead, lines 7-8 of the tablet are completely different, rhetorically speaking, from the rest of the text. Here, a proverb or something similar, is quoted that serves to emphasize the special status of the personnel of the mausoleum. For this purpose an *eja*-tree must be planted in front of their homes as a visible sign of their rank and the exemptions that they are offered. Even at first glance, these lines appear stylistically different from what precedes them and from what follows:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (7) <i>kuwaš wappiyazi</i> | “The dog barks, |
| <i>apiya-ma-aš ari</i> | but it will get there |
| <i>n-aš karuššiyazi</i> | and it will be silent; |
| (8) <i>šagan-ma-kan laḥuttari</i> | the oil will be poured, |
| <i>apuš-ma-kan parā lē uwanzi</i> | but they must not go out.” |

Although there are only five clauses, some features are evident that distinguish this part or these words from the rest of the text. This small “composition” of five clauses, or more precisely verses (where one clause corresponds to one verse), perhaps a proverb or the beginning of a poem or a saying, was certainly known by the audience to which it is directed. The first four verses consist of two units; the fifth verse contains three (if *parā* is considered part of the verb) or four units (if not). The poetic device of homeoteleuton is clearly visible, or rather, alternating rhyme between the first and third verses and the second and fourth (*ZI – RI – ZI - RI*). In addition, the choice and arrangement of words is not accidental; instead, the number of syllables is also taken into account. The first three verses follow this scheme:

<i>kuwaš</i>	<i>wappiyazi</i>
2	4
<i>apiya-ma-aš</i>	<i>ari</i>
5	2
<i>n-aš</i>	<i>karuššiyazi</i>
1	5
<i>šagan-ma-kan</i>	<i>laḥuttari</i>
4	4
<i>apuš-ma-kan</i>	<i>p(a)rā lē uwanzi</i>
4	5

The opening words of the first and third verses (*kuwaš* and *na-aš*) each consist of one and two syllables, at least they are shorter than the words that follow them in the same verses (*wappiyazi* and *karuššiyazi*), which contain respectively four and five syllables. On the other hand, the opening word of the second verse (*apiya-ma-aš*) contains four syllables, while the second term (*ari*) is made up of two. The pattern that emerges is a double chiasmus in the number of the syllables: short – long (2-4)/long – short (5-

2)/short – long (1-5). The homeoteleuton found in the first and third verses, (*wappiyazi* and *karuššiyazi*), and in the second and fourth verses (*ari* and *lahuttari*) borders on alternate rhyme. These rhetorical devices combine to give the lines a rhythmic pattern. The fourth and fifth verses are longer than the previous ones with eight and nine syllables and have the enclitic *-ma-kan* in common at the beginning of the phrase.

In some recitative passages in the rituals, namely in the *historiolae*, these same characteristics (rhythm, figures of speech) are found. For example from “Lord of Tongue” (CTH 338 KUB 12.62+, Vs. 10’-15’):⁵

A *lalaš išḫaš kuwapi pāši*

B *palši karipuwanz[zi pāimi]*

C **walkwi tarwauwanzi pāimi*

D *alili war^ṛšur^ṛwanzi p^ṛāimi^ṛ*

E *antuḫši lalauwanzi pāimi*

F *palšaš=za karipuwanzi natta memmai*

G **walkuwaš=za tarwauwanzi natta memmai*

H *alila-aš=za waršuwanzi natta memmai*

I ^D*Ištanuš=za idalamuš lalaš natta memmai /*

“Lord of the tongue, where are you going?” ‘I’m going to the road for (her ability) to devour (the space), I’m going to the lion for (his ability) to pounce; I’m going to the *alili* -bird for (his ability) to pluck; I’m going to the man for (his ability) to speak’. The road will not refuse devouring; the lion will not refuse plouncing; the *alili* -bird will not refuse plucking. The Sun God will not refuse the evil tongues”

The passage opens with a question that introduces a dialogue. Two stanzas of four lines each follow. The first stanza (B-E) contains the first part of the dialogue and in the second stanza (F-I) the concepts are repeated and

5 G. Beckman, *Hittite Birth Rituals*. StBoT 29. Wiesbaden 1983, pp. 192.

reinforced. The pattern is repetitive due to the use of isocolon; the verses have the same number of words and the same structure. In B-E the construction is:

B dat.loc. – purpose (infinitive) – verb

KASKAL-*ši* *karipuwan[zi* *pāimi]*

C dat.loc. – purpose (infinitive) – verb

**walkwi* *tarwauwanzi* *pāimi*

D dat.loc. – purpose (infinitive) – verb

alili *war^ʾšur^ʾwanzi* *p^ʾāimi^ʾ*

E dat.loc. – purpose (infinitive) – verb

antuḫši *lalauwanzi* *pāimi.*

Instead, F-I uses the following construction:

F subject +*za* – acc. (infinitive) – negation – verb

KASKAL-*aš=za* *karipuwanzi* *natta* *memmai*

G subject +*za* – acc. (infinitive) – negation – verb

**walkuwaš =za* *tarwauwanzi* *natta* *memmai*

H subject +*za* – acc. (infinitive) – negation – verb

alila-aš=za *waršuwanzi* *natta* *memmai*

I subject +*za* – acc. – negation – verb

^D*Istanuš=za* *idalamuš lalaš* *natta* *memmai /.*

Epiphora can also be found in the two stanzas. In the first, the verb *pāimi* and in the second stanza the verb *memmai* appear four times. Isocolon is present because the lines have the same number of words and the same construction.⁶

These features are not found in all the recitative passages of rituals. In the following passage, from a Mastigga's ritual against family discord, we can see a narrative and recitative sections without literary artifices (CTH 404 KUB 34.84+, II 15-20):⁷

6 We consider here the syntagma Adjective – Noun (*idalamuš lalaš*) in (I) as a single unit, see A. Kloekhorst, "Accentuation and Poetic Meter in Hittite", in: *Hethitische Literatur. Überlieferungsprozesse, Textstrukturen, Ausdrucksformen. Akten des Symposiums vom 18. bis 20. Februar 2010 in Bonn*. M. Hutter, S. Hutter-Braunsar (ed.). Münster 2011, pp. 157-176; *Accent in Hittite. A Study in Plene Spelling, Consonant Gradation, Clitics, and Metrics*. StBoT 56. Wiesbaden 2014, p. 632 f. with literature.

7 J. L. Miller, *Studies in Origins, Development and Interpretation of the Kizzuwatna Rituals*. StBoT 46. Wies-

II (15) *nu EGIR-a[(nd)]a [(^{MUNUS}ŠU.G)I IM²-a]n da-a-i nu-uš-ša-an še-er* [(*ar-ḥa* 7 EME^{HLA})] (16) *i-ya-az-zi na-aš-kán kat-ta tar-ma-a-iz-zi n[a-aš-(kán)]* (17) *A-NA 2 BE-EL SÍSKUR še-er ar-ḥa wa-aḥ-nu-z[(i nu ki-iš-ša)-an]* (18) *me-ma-i ḥa-aš-ši-ik-ke-et-te-en ku-e-da-ni [(UD-ti nu-wa ka-a-ša)]* (19) *a-pé-el [(UD-as EME^{HLA}-eš ki-nu-na-wa-ra-aš k[(a-a-ša ad-da-a-aš)]* (20) ^DUTU-uš *tar-ma-a-it na-aš-kán ḥa-aš-ši-i d[(a-a-i)]*

“Then afterwards she takes the clay(?), whence she *makes up* seven tongues, and she *secures them to the ground*. Then she waves them (= the tongues) over the two ritual patrons, and she speaks thus: ‘On that day on which you condemned each other – the tongues of that day (are) right here – now the father, the sun-god, has hereby secured them’ And she places them in the hearth”.

(A) *nu appanda ḥašawaš wilanan dāi*

(B) *nu-šan šer arḥa *šiptameš[?] laleš iyazzi*

(C) *n-aš-kan katta tarmāizzi*

(D) *na-aš-kan *duyaš aniuraš/mukešraš išḥaš šer arḥa waḥnuzi*

(E) *nu kiššan memai*

(F) *ḥaššikketten kuedani šiwatti*

(G) *nu-wa kāša apēl šiwattaš laleš*

(H) *kinuna-war-aš kāša addāš ^Dšiuš tarmāit*

(I) *na-aš-kan ḥaššī dāi*

In these passages there are no stylistic elements that would indicate rhythm or “rhythmic prose.” Some rhetorical figures can be noted; for example, homeoteleuton in the repetition of the third-person singular ending *-ZI* in (B), (C), and (D); alliteration in the repeated *S* in (B) (*nu-šan šer arḥa *šiptameš[?] laleš iyazzi*); and anastrophe in the anticipation of the verb *ḥaššikketten* in (F). They are not enough, however, to give the text a “different” style from the norm and they have nothing of the rhythm of speech seen in the *historiola* or in the “saying” of the Edict of Ašmunikal neither in the narrative part (A-E), nor in the recited one (F-I).

As a final example, a few lines from the Myth of the Disappearance of Telipinu (CTH 324.I) will be analyzed:⁸

(5') ^{GIŠ} *lu-ut-ta-a-uš kam-ma-ra-a-aš IŠ-BAT É-ir 'túh-ḥu¹-i[š IŠ-BAT]* (6')
I-NA GUNNI-ma kal-mi-i-še-ni-iš ú-i-šu-u-ri-ia-an-ta-t[i iš-ta-na-na-aš
an-da] (7') DINGIR^{MES} *ú-i-šu-u-ri-ia-an-ta-ti I-NA TÙR an-da UDU^{HIA}*
'KI.MIN¹ I-NA 'É.GU⁴' (8') *an-da-an GU⁴^{HIA} ú-i-šu-u-ri-ia-an-ta-ti UDU-*
uš-za SILA₄-SÚ mi-im-ma-aš (9') *GU₄-ma AMAR-ŠU mi-im-ma-aš*

“Mist seized the windows. Smoke [seized] the house. In the fireplace the logs were stifled. [At the altars] the gods were stifled. In the sheep pen the sheep were stifled. In the cattle barn the cattle were stifled. The mother sheep rejected her lamb. The cow rejected her calf.”

- (A) ^{GIŠ} *luttāuš kammarāš epta*
 (B) *pir 'tuhḥu¹i[š epta]*
 (C) *ḥašši-ma kalmīšeniš wišūriantat[i*
 (D) *ištananaš anda] šiuneš wišūriantati*
 (E) *ḥili anda *ḥāwēš[?] ' wišūriantati¹*
 (F) **kuwau]waš parni andan *kuwauweš wišūriantati*
 (G) **ḥāwuš-za[?] SILA₄-šan mimmaš*
 (H) **kuwauwaš -ma AMAR-šan mimmaš /*

Many stories that we call myths are nothing more than *historiolae*, having been originally inserted in ritual texts.⁹ In the Myth of the Disappearance of Telipinu, there are many stylistic features worthy of mention. The first nine lines of text are organized according to the scheme: two (A,B) – four (C,F) – two (G,H), which is followed by a paragraph line. Given the symmetry of the construction, which is not random, these lines could be more accurately referred to as three stanzas of two, four and two verses each. Each verse consists of three units, considering the phrase, Noun – dat.loc + Postposition equal to one unit and genitive – dative locative + Postposition, (F), equal to

⁸ E. Laroche, *Textes mythologiques hittites en transcription*: RHA 23 (1965), pp. 89-98.

⁹ F. Pecchioli Daddi, *La Mitologia Ittita*. Brescia 1990, p. 28; W. Burkert, *Mito e rituale in Grecia. Struttura e storia*. Cles 1992, pp. 92-94.

one unit. The stanzas are marked by the verb at the end of the clauses and by isocolon and epiphora: in A and B the verb is *epta*; in C, D, E, F it is *wišuriyantati*; and in G, H *mimmaš*. In A and B the syntactic construction is: Object – Subject – Verb, with anastrophe for the anticipation of the object; in D, E, F it is dative locative. – Postposition – Subject – Verb, anastrophe is likewise found in the anticipation of the locative noun; in G, H, it is Subject – Object + Possessive Adjective – Verb.

In conclusion, various stylistic devices were used in the drafting of Hittite texts depending on their type. At least, it is possible to observe a clear difference in a linear, “prose style” without any noteworthy stylistic elements; and a “poetic” one, or rather, “rhythmic prose” characterized by symmetrical and repetitive constructions, and figures of speech such as alliteration, homeoteleuton, epiphora and chiasmus that facilitate mnemonic learning.¹⁰

10 R. Francia, Lo stile poetico delle *historiolae* ittite, VO XVII (2013), pp. 165-173.

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ON THE ORIGIN OF THE HYDRONYM HALYS

*Shalva GABESKIRIA**

The old name of the longest river of Turkey Kizilirmak (1355 km) is attested in some ancient languages. In scientific literature more often the data of classic languages are given where in Old Greek it is Ἄλυξ and in Latin it is written as Halys. The same name is found in Assyrian texts Hulajash (Bilabel : 269). The most important river of the Hittite kingdom occurs in Hittite texts as Marassanda.

There is a diversity of opinions as to the structure and origin of the hydronym Halys: there are Greek, Turkish, Kartvelian versions.

A number of scientists associate it with the Greek word, meaning “salt”. The root occurs in some Indo-European languages (Latin, Armenian, Slav languages). This opinion, shown in J.Tischler’s *Kleinasiat. Hydronimie*, (1977, 1120) is also reflected in *Britannica* (v.19, 44).

There is a version according to which the potamonym we are discussing, goes back to the Turkish word, meaning “flash” (Umar 1993: 52).

The above opinions, in my view, are not convincing due to the following circumstances: as is well known, the names of big rivers are of ancient origin. Thus the hydronym Halys had been long originated in the times when in Northern-East Anatolia there was no Greek population. As is well known, for giving names to rivers, the language of people, living at the beginning of the river, plays an important part.

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As to the Greek version of the Anatolian river's name, basing on the identity of the words "salt" and "sea" (Gamkrelidze – Ivanov 1984:674), the following questions arise: ἅλως in old Greek dictionaries has two meanings: 1. salt, 2. sea. The "salt" is the poetic name for the "sea" and consequently, this meaning is compared to the initial meaning of the stem (salt) that belongs to a later period. The word with the meaning first "salt" and second "sea" and the name of the river Halys in old Greek texts are not homonyms (Beekes 2010: 44-45). Hence the pre-greek name of this river has taken its origin much earlier.

I think that the Turkish version is not convincing from the chronological aspect either and for naming the river, taking into account the semantics of the initial word "flash".

The present paper expresses the viewpoint that the hydronym Halys is of Kartvelian origin.

The river Halys in ancient times was the border between Paphlagonia and Pontos.

Many Georgian scholars have long expressed their opinion about the Kartvelian origin of the potamonym (David Chubinashvili, N. Marr, I. Javakhishvili, A. Svanidze, G. Gozalishvili and others). The same opinion is shared by the Armenian scholar N. Adonts, though there has not been any special investigation, devoted to this issue. In Kartvelian languages we have Georgian ghele, Colchian ghali, Svan ghele, ghela denoting "small river, rivulet". G. Rogava supposes that ghele is connected with the verb ghel -to ripple, rise in waves. According to the Georgian scientist, the archetype of ghali is ghalu where in the author's opinion, u is the morphological equivalent which we have in the initial Kartvelian name of the river ghele. (Rogava 1962:75). Ghali occurs in many Kartvelian hydronyms. In Western Georgia there is the river Ghalidzga (53 km length), etymologically meaning the bank of the river, which has the same meaning in Hopa district, the river Petroghali (Hopa) which means a little river of the rocks. In Cyprus there is a hydronym ghalia (ghali-a). Initially ghali was a common word for

the mountain river. Then it became the proper name because Kizilirmak rises in the south slope of the Kizildagh mountain. Ghali is a part of many composites, among them is Ghali Chkhomi (trout). There are same examples in other language groups when a common name (water, river) for the hydronym becomes a proper name in Indo-European languages (e.g. the Don). The name Don takes its origin from Iranian *danu**danu, avesta danu “river”, the inflow of the river Volga (Idil) is Kama which goes back to the Udmurtian word “Kam”, meaning “water”, “river”.

In Ἕλως the Greek nominative morphem was added to the Colchian word. The Kartvelian velar consonant *gh* is not characteristic of the phonological system of the Greek language and therefore, it was replaced by aspiration, finally it was spread in the Latin way - Halys. The similar example is in the old name of the biggest river of Western Georgia Rion-i which has the morpheme of the nominative case of Greek Pasis-(Pas-is).

Some scholars think that the ethnonym *khalib*, attested in the texts of old Greek authors, is related to the above mentioned Ghali, where “-ib” may be the reflection of the Laz morphem of plurality “-ep” (the land, rich in water sources). In the Laz dialect of the Colchian language we have the word *Ghalibar-i* which means an inhabitant of the ravine.

In conclusion, on the basis of all these data and suggestions, I think that the Kartvelian word *ghali* is the pre-greek name for the hydronym Halys.

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TIERISCHE GOTTHEITEN IN DER ANATOLISCHEN RELIGION

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ABSTRACT

Animal Deities in Anatolian Religion. It has been widely acknowledged that animal, and especially horned deities, are among the most striking phenomena of ancient mythological religions. Egyptian, West Semitic, Celtic, Greek, Indian and other religions over the world include this iconical archetype. Therefore, it is not surprising that those horned deities are present as well in the Anatolian tradition. Our contribution tries to highlight two hitherto neglected – as far as we know – aspects of the cult of the Anatolian horned deities:

1) Their prehistorical background as developed from the palaeolithic primary “animal-religions”: bulls, stags, rams, goats and similar horned animals survived later on associated to the (relative) new secondary *numina* or holy figures. A prominent example is to be found in the Luvian Stag-God *K(u)runtiya* (CERVUS₂).

2) Their connections with surrounding religions, either as receptacles of wandering motives, or becoming sources of later important religious or mythological figures. The study of the Anatolian horned deities and their background have not yet revealed their promising possibilities showing, for instance, the relation with “animal” deities like Kubaba and Cybele. We think that research in this direction could as well cast light on such an important deity like Artemis Ephesia, related both iconographically and mythologically to the horned deities of Anatolia.

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1. Einleitung: die ‘primäre’ (paläolithische und mesolithische) *Numina*

Einer philosophischen Interpretation der Religiösen Entwicklung der Menschheit (G. Bueno 1996, usw.) zufolge, verteilt sich die Religionsgeschichte in drei Phasen:

1. Primäre Religionen (Kern → die Tiere / körperliche *Numina*)
2. Sekundäre Religionen (Kern → hybride / mythologische *Numina*)
3. Terziäre Religionen (philosophische / monotheistische)

Der Interpretation z.B. von Clottes & Lewis-Williams (1996 usw.) zufolge, fanden in den paläolithischen und mesolithischen Höhlen *schamanistische* Riten statt. Obwohl manchmal umstritten, gilt die Existenz eines vorgeschichtlichen Schamanismus in der Forschung heutzutage als

zumindest sehr wahrscheinlich.¹

In Bezug auf Höhlenmalereien ist zunächst festzustellen, dass Tierdarstellungen eine dominierende Rolle spielen. Dabei gibt es bestimmte Ausdrucksformen: Es werden zum größten Teil Tiere dargestellt, die sich durch Körpermächtigkeit auszeichnen, z. B. Bisons, Rinder, Mammuts, Nashörner, Löwen und wild bewegte Pferde. Die Höhlen- und Felskunst repräsentiert nach Ansicht mehrerer Autoren vor allem *Mythogramme* (Leroi-Gourhan, Eliade), die bestimmte mythische Vorstellungen wiedergeben.

1.1. Tiere „die aus der Steine springen“ → belebte Steine / Berggötter

Die weltweit in Höhlen zahlreich nachweisbaren seltenen positiven und sehr zahlreichen negativen *Handabdrücke* sind wohl nach Lewis-Williams als engstmögliche Kontaktaufnahme mit der Geisterwelt hinter den Höhlenwänden zu werten. Dabei ist auffällig, daß die Tiere als „aus dem Wand herauspringende“ vorgestellt werden, das ist (*emic*) aus der

1 «Neuere Forschungen gehen jedoch davon aus, dass die mit Bildern geschmückten Orte des Jungpaläolithikums Kultorte der Gemeinschaft waren, die oft über Jahrtausende genutzt wurden [...]. Dies gilt vor allem für den Bereich der animistischen Religionen Sibiriens, die auch als „klassischer Schamanismus“ bezeichnet werden. Grundlage ist dabei die Feststellung André Leroi-Gourhans zur (vor allem) paläolithischen Kunst und ihrer Bedeutung: „Wir können, ohne das Material zu überfordern, die Gesamtheit der figurativen Kunst des Paläolithikums als Ausdruck von Vorstellungen über die natürliche und übernatürliche Ordnung (die im steinzeitlichen Denken nur eine Einheit bilden konnte) der lebendigen Welt auffassen.“ Allerdings lehnt er die Bezeichnungen *Schamanismus* und *Totemismus* für die prähistorischen Religionen ab. [...] Jean Clottes wiederum plädiert hingegen für die Interpretation eines *prähistorischen Schamanismus*. Andererseits weist David Lewis-Williams – wie oben bereits dargestellt – in seiner ausführlichen Untersuchung „The Mind in the Cave“ (2002) mit zahlreichen Einzelbeispielen auf eine enge inhaltliche Analogie zwischen jungpaläolithischen Darstellungen vor allem der frankokantabrischen Höhlenkunst und rezenten Felsbildern von Jäger-Sammler-Ethnien hin, die er auf ähnliche geistige und ökonomisch-soziale Voraussetzungen dieser Lebensweise zurückführt. Er postuliert dabei einen vergleichbaren „Zustand des Bewusstseins“ [...]. Kritiker bezweifeln jedoch, dass diese Erklärung auf alle Felsbilder anwendbar ist. Auch der Gebrauch von Halluzinogenen hat besonders bei den sibirischen Schamanen eine lange Tradition und wird sogar bereits für das Jungpaläolithikum für möglich gehalten. Lewis-Williams stellt überdies fest, dass auch die Menschen des Jungpaläolithikums veränderte Bewusstseins-zustände gekannt haben müssen (auf welche Weise auch immer diese herbeigeführt wurden), denn er schreibt: „Hunter-gatherer shamanism is fundamentally posited on a range of institutionalized altered states of consciousness.“» ([https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Prähistorischer_Schamanismus](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prähistorischer_Schamanismus), Juni 2015).

Geisterwelt hinter der Höhlenwand.²

Die anatolische belebte Steine / Berggötter könnten als Reflex der vorgeschichtlichen Vorstellungen betrachtet werden, vor allem wegen ihrer Beziehung zur Tierwelt: Auf dem Statuettensockel eingravierte Inschriften wie „Getier der Flur“, die Bergnamen „Tierwelt“ oder Ḫarana „Adlerberg“ sowie die Attribute Löwe und Adler lassen den Berg als den Beschützer der Tierwelt erkennen (Haas 1994: 461). Das Motiv begegnet auch auf zwei Orthostatenplatten der Tempelfassade vom Tell Halaf, auf denen zwei „Stiermänner“ eine den Himmel darstellende Flügelsonne als Symbol des Firmaments stützen (Haas 1994: 138 und Abb. 40).

Die kultische Stelen, in der hethitischen Schrifttum als *ḫuwaši* oder *sik(k)-ānu(m)* (^{NA} ZI.KIN) genannt, erfüllen die gleiche Funktion wie Götterstatuetten. Die zumeist im Freien errichteten Stellen sollen die Anwesenheit der Götter in heiligen Hainen – in Wäldern, Baumplantagen, Bergen oder Flüssen und Quellen – anzeigen. Ihre Ursprung könnte die sehr alte Auffassung der „(von den tierischen *numina*) belebten Steine“ sein.

1.2. Stiere und Pferde in Verbindung mit dem Berg(gott)

Die Berggötter haben ihre eigenen Schutzgottheiten. In Ebla, Adarwan „Herr des Adlers“ ist der Schutzgott oder Genius des Berges Am(m) arig(g)i (Haas 1994: 453, 462). Berggott und Schutzgott des Berges sind weitgehend miteinander identisch. Der hurritisch-hethitischen Theogonie zufolge wurden die Berge nach dem Sturz der alten Göttergeneration zu Trabanten des Wettergottes. Aber wohl älter als die Verbindung von Berg-

2 Vgl. Clottes & Lewis-Williams (1996: 28, 32, 35, 86, 88, 90, 93-94, 105). «Die Tatsache, dass viele dieser Bilder sich tief in dunklen Höhlen befinden [...] gilt als weiteres Indiz dafür, dass es sich dabei um Kultorte handelte, in denen jagdmagische Handlungen, Initiationen und andere kultische Zeremonie stattfanden. Dabei mag außerdem die nach Meinung von Psychologen und Anthropologen dem Menschen angeborene, in unterschiedliche Stärke sich manifestierende, mitunter klaustrophobische Höhlenangst von Bedeutung gewesen sein, die eine mystischen Atmosphäre schuf und deren Überwindung bei Initiationen eine Rolle gespielt haben könnte. Ebenso ist die Tatsache von Bedeutung, dass die Malereien oft sehr kunstvoll, also von Experten ausgeführt wurden. Dabei scheinen die Höhlenwände als eine Art Grenze zwischen diesseitiger und jenseitiger Welt begriffen worden zu sein. Besonders prägnant bietet sich diese religiöse Bedeutung in der frankokantabrischen Höhlenkunst dar, und Leroi-Gourhan spricht dabei sogar von *Mythogrammen*.» (Wikipedia, a.a.O., Juni 2015).

und Wettergott ist die Beziehung des Berges zum Stier oder zu einer Göttin der Vegetation (Haas 1994: 462): Das Felsrelief bei Hanyeri am Paß Gezbel stellt den Berggott Šarrumma noch mit dem Stier dar.

Die obengenannte „Stiermänner“ von Tell Halaf, die eine Flügelsonne (als Firmament) stützen, entsprechen, ihrer Funktion nach, die den Himmel stützende Berge, wie z.B. diese die in der hethitischen Quellheiligtum von Eflätun Pinar dargestellt sind.

Die Pferdegöttheit Pirwa (vgl. Haas 1994: 412-415), etymologisch mit ai. *párvata* ‘Berg’ usw. zu vergleichen, hätte im Zusammenhang mit der vorgeschichtlichen religiösen Entwicklung eine mögliche Erklärung. Nach Haas (1994: 412), „ein Zusammenhang zwischen der Etymologie des Namens und der Funktion der Gottheit läßt sich allerdings nicht mehr erkennen“. Wenn wir eine solche „Pferdegöttheit“ mit der vorgeschichtlichen „tierischen“ Erscheinungen, nämlich die Tiere als „aus dem Wand herauspringende“ Geister erfassen, dann wird die Verbindung zwischen ‘Pferd’ und ‘Berg’ weniger dunkel.

1.3. Hybride Wesen (*therianthropoi*)

Die obengenannte „Stiermänner“ erinnern natürlich an den zahlreichen „Mischwesen“ oder Hybriden, die bei den Mythologischen (sekundären) Religionen (§ 1) so häufig treten. Einige der bekanntesten vorgeschichtlichen Beispiele sind der sogenannte „Zauberer“ der Höhle von *Trois Frères* in Ariège, oder der „Zauberer“ von *Gobillou* in der Dordogne, beide in Frankreich. In Zusammenhang mit den „gehörnten“ *numina* ist natürlich von Bedeutung der keltische Gott *Cernunnos*³, und viele andere.⁴

3 «Als „Hirschgott“ oder „Geweihgott“ wird in der Archäologie eine männliche Gestalt mit Hirschgeweih benannt, die häufig in einer sitzenden, manchmal an den Lotussitz oder einen meditierenden Buddha erinnernden Haltung dargestellt wurde. Oft ist der Geweihgott bärtig dargestellt, manchmal als Jüngling, meist aber als reifer Mann. Weitere Attribute sind ein Füllhorn oder ein Torques und eine oder mehrere Schlangen (oftmals die sogenannte „Widderhornschlange“). Die bekannteste Darstellung des Geweihgottes ist das Relief auf dem 1891 in Dänemark gefundenem Kessel von Gundestrup, dessen Herkunft im östlichen Siedlungsgebiet der Kelten gesucht wird.» (<https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cernunnos>, Juni 2015).

4 Erwähnenswert ist die seltsame Geschichte des indischen Mischwesens *Rṣyaśrṅga*, der „Hirschgehörnte“ (vgl. hauptsächlich *Mahābhārata* 3.110-113), eigentlich ein menschlicher „Einhorn“: „A fearsome ascetic, Vibhāṇḍaka, is bathing in a lake when the sight of a celestial nymph causes him to spontaneously ejaculate. The semen is consumed by a doe that subsequently gives birth to a human son. The boy, Rṣyaśrṅga, is born with an antelope horn in the middle of his forehead and is raised in the hermitage.“ (vgl. Abusch & West 2014: 73).

Solche hybride Wesen oder *therianthropoi* werden von G. Bueno (1996: 259) als *Übergangsphase* von den Primären (Paläolithischen und Mesolithischen) Religionen zu den Sekundären, den mythologischen Religionen, bei denen der Mensch schon allmählich die Beziehung zu den Tieren kontrolliert. Die Ähnlichkeit der erwähnten gehörnten Figuren mit den modernen Schamanen – wie die bekannte Darstellung des „gehörnten“ tungusischen Schamanen von Nicolaes Witsen in 1705 – stellt auch eine auffällige Verbindung mit dem vorgeschichtlichen Schamanismus (§ 1) dar.

1.4. Die ‘numinose Umstellung’ → die Sternbilder als ‘himmlische Projektion’ der alten paläolithischen Numina

Das der Nachthimmel von Tieren (als Sternbilder) bevölkert ist, könnte man als Resultat einer *sekundären* „numinosen Umstellung“ der alten tierischen Numina, die die Gewölbe der paläolithischen Höhlen bedeckten und später an die Himmelsgewölbe – die neue „große Höhle“ – projiziert wurden (Bueno 1996: 191, 268).

Somit gewinnt an Wahrscheinlichkeit eine Deutung der „gehörnten Tiere“ als „Träger spezieller Numinosität“.⁵ So könnte man z.B. auch erklären, warum gerade die gehörnten Tiere „Böcklein“ (ἔριφος), „Stier“ (ταῦρος) und „Widder“ (κρίός) die Namen der Sternbilder liefern, die Janda (2005, 325-330, insbesondere 328) als – sehr wahrscheinliche – Erklärung der enigmatischen orphischen Formel „Böcklein fielst du in die Milch“ gibt: In der Inschrift aus dem *Timpone Grande* von Thurioi wird der Verstorbene zuerst zum Gott erklärt und dann „Böcklein“ genannt: χαῖρε παθὼν τὸ πάθημα τὸ δ’ οὐπω πρόσθε ἐπεπόνθεις (4a) θεὸς ἐγένου ἐξ[.] ἀνθρώπου (4b) ἔριφος ἐς γάλα ἔπετες „Freue dich, erlitten zu haben, was du noch nie zuvor erlittest: Gott bist du geworden aus einem Menschen, Böcklein fielst

5 Vielleicht auch in Verbindung mit der „rituellen Reinigungskraft“ solcher Tieren; vgl. Petersmann (1982: 261-262): «Gerade die Wolle von Schafen soll jedoch, wie ebenfalls aus Plinius hervorgeht, von Ungeziefer frei sein (Anm. 9: „Nach antikem Volksglauben macht eine Ausnahme nur die Wolle eines Schafes, das von einem Wolf gerissen wurde: vgl. Plinius nat. hist. 11, 115 [...]; ferner Ael. natu. anim. 1, 38, Aristot. hist. anim. 8, 10 (596b), Plut. quaest. conv. 2, 9 (642bf.) [...]“) und wird auch heute noch im volkstümlichen Zauber als apotropäisches Mittel gegen Würmer und Ungeziefer sowie gegen die davon herkommenden Krankheiten verwendet (Anm. 10: „[...] Auch als Mittel gegen Schlangenbisse und andere Krankheiten wird Wolle verwendet. Vgl. zur apotropäischen und reinigenden Funktion der Wolle, an die schon die Antike glaubte [s. dazu J. Pley, De lanae in antiquorum ritibus usu capita duo, Diss. Münster 1911, 12ff.] [...]“).»

du in die Milch” (Janda 2005, 327). Unter der „Milch” wäre eigentlich die „Milchstraße” als Wohnstätte der Seligen zu verstehen.⁶

2. Die zoomorphe Religion des Neolithikums Anatoliens

Schon seit dem sogenannten ‘keramischen’ Neolithikum lassen sich in Anatolien auffällige zoomorphe religiöse Vorstellungen nachweisen, die in den tiefsten Schichten des religiösen Denkens verankert sind. Wie V. Haas (1994: 53) hervorhebt, “stellt das Paar Himmel und Erde die Elementarkonzeption des religiösen Weltbildes dar: Das Weltelternpaar Himmel und Erde – zum einen der große, den Regen spendende Himmelsgott in der Gestalt des Stieres, zum anderen die gebärende Erdgöttin – vermählt sich und erzeugt die Vegetation, die in Gestalt des göttlichen Kindes personifiziert erscheinen kann.” Dabei weisen die archäologische Befunde in Çatal Hüyük⁷ – vielleicht der wichtigsten Siedlung des keramischen Neolithikums in Anatolien – besonders eindrucksvolle zoomorphe Erscheinungen auf. Die Rekonstruktion des sogenannten ‘Heiligtums der gebärenden Göttin’ zeigt (vgl. Haas 1994: 56) “eine Göttin in Gebärstellung: unter ihr ist ein Widderkopf und unter diesem wiederum sind drei Stierköpfe mit Auerochsengehörn so angebracht, daß der Eindruck entsteht, als kämen sie zwischen den gespreizten Beinen der Göttin hervor. [...] Am Mittelpfeiler der Nordwand war ein großer Widderkopf angebracht, der mit zwei (echten) Hörnerpaaren versehen war. An der Ostwand, über einer rot bemalten Nische, befand sich ein mächtiger Stierkopf [...].” Daß die hervorragendste

6 Mögliche Beispiele von *numinosen* Tieren wären auch, z.B., die um den „kosmischen Baum“ sich befindende Tiere, im Kontext der „Baumanrufung“ des *Ritual für den Aufbau des neuen Palast* (CTH 414, KUB 29.1+ i 28-31): *ne-pi-ša-aš kat-ta-an ú-li-li-iš-ki-id-du-ma-at* UR.MAḪ-aš<-ma-aš> / (29) *kat-ta-an še-eš-ki-i* PIRIG.TUR-aš-ma-aš *kat-ta-an še-eš-ki-it har-tág-ga-aš-ma-aš-ma-aš* / ša-ra-a ar-ki-iš-ki-it-ta nu-uš-ma-aš-za ⁹U *ad-da-aš-mi-iš* / (31) *pa-ra-a i-da-a-lu zi-ik-ki-it* “Grünet unter den Himmel! Der Löwe hat unter (Euch, Bäume) geschlafen, der Leopard hat unter Euch geschlafen, aber der **Bär** hat auf Euch geklettert. Der Wettergott, mein Vater, hat das Böse fern von Euch gehalten.” Die besondere Erwähnung des Bären, der *auf* die Bäume klettert, könnte man besser im Bezug zu sein Sternbild verstehen, dasselbe Sternbild der vedischen „Bären” oder der griechischen „Bärin”, die wahrscheinlich zu eine gemeinsame indogermanische Auffassung zurückzuführen sind.

7 Çatal Hüyük Ost wird in die Zeit zwischen 6380 und 5600 datiert, Çatal Hüyük West etwa von 5600 bis 4900 v.Chr.; vgl. die Berichte von J. Mellaart (1962 - 1967) bei Haas (1994: 54); zu Çatal Hüyük vgl. auch Dexter (2009: 54). Die archäologische Befunde von Hacilar (ca. 7000-5000 v.Chr.) sind ebenfalls reich an Stierfiguren: “According to Mellaart (1970: 127) [...], among depicted animal heads from Hacilar heads of bulls outnumber all others” (Dexter 2009: 55’).

göttliche Gestalt in der Religion von Çatal Hüyük der Wildstier ist, wird “auf Grund jüngerer religionsgeschichtlicher Quellen” von Haas (1994: 57, 315) als Verkörperung des männlichen Fruchtbarkeitsprinzips” gedeutet. Die Bedeutung des Wildstieres in den religiösen Vorstellungen des neolithischen Anatolien ist also kaum zu überschätzen.

3. Luwische Onomastik Westanatoliens

Es ist daher kein Wunder, daß sich auch unter den uns bekannten onomastischen Elementen anatolischer, insbesondere westanatolischer Herkunft solche finden, die als Reflex der obengenannten religiösen Vorstellungen betrachtet werden können. Einige dieser Elemente verbergen sich möglicherweise in den vor kurzem von R. Oreshko (2013 : 409-413) behandelten Namen, wie *kubanta*, ein Bestandteil von *Kubanta-K(u)runtiya*, des Namens zweier Könige der westanatolischen Länder Arzawa und Mira.⁸ Ein neuer Beleg für dieses Element findet sich im Namen *Kubanta-zalma*⁹, der unter den erst kürzlich veröffentlichten Texten von Ortaköy erscheint¹⁰. Der Verwendungszusammenhang des Elements *kubanta*¹¹ erlaubt eine Deutung als Göttername oder Personennamen. Auf diese Weise könnte man z.B. *Sauska-K(u)runtiya* (*Sà-us-ka-CERVUS*₂ oder ^DLIŠ-^DKAL), *Santa-K(u)runtiya* (*Santa-^DKAL*) und wahrscheinlich auch *Tiwada-K(u)runtiya* (*SOL-CERVUS*₂ oder *SOL-taCERVUS*₂) als strukturelle Pendants zu *Kubanta-K(u)runtiya* verstehen. Anscheinend sind also solche Komposita als ‘GN [Göttername] ist mein Schutzgott’ zu deuten, obwohl theoretisch

8 Laroche (1966), s.v. *Kupanta^DKAL*.

9 Das Hinterglied ist mit dem luwischen Element *zalma*, *zarma* ‘Schutz’ zu identifizieren, wie in ^{mb}U-*za-al-ma* (≈ **Tarhunta-zalma*, Laroche 1966, NH 1270) usw.; so auch in altindischen Namen vom Typ *Viṣṇuśarman* usw., althochdeutsch *Ans-helm* ‘Gott als Helm (habend)’ etc. Als Ursprung wäre idg. **kel-mo(n)* anzusetzen, vertreten z.B. in ai. *śarman* ‘Schutz’, heth. ^{GIS}*galamma* (ein Behälter).

10 Süel 2001: 671 ff. For *Kupantazalma*.

11 Oreshko (2013: 409f.): “This name [Kubanta-zalma] is somewhat more suggestive for a possible meaning of *kubanta* than *KubantaK(u)runtiya* is. [...] [T]he element *zalma*, corresponding to the Sumerogram PAP, can be interpreted as ‘protection, shield’. Besides *Kubanta-zalma*, the following names containing this element are attested [...]: *Tarhu(nta)-zalma* [...], *Nani-zalma* [...], *Iyarra-zalma* [...], *Huha-zalma*, É.GAL.PAP-ma-, *Huliya-zalma-nu-* [...] It is noteworthy that in all cases, besides the unclear *Huliya-zalma-nu-* and É.GAL.PAP-ma- ‘palace-protection’, the first part of all the names contains an *animate* noun: either the name of a deity (*Tarhunta* and *Yarri*) or the nouns ‘lord’ and ‘ancestor’.”

auch die Interpretation des Elements *kubanta* als Personennamen nicht ausgeschlossen ist. So gewinnt die Annahme an Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass es im Westanatolien der Bronzezeit eine Gottheit namens *Kubanta* gegeben hat¹². Diese Vermutung wird jetzt durch die Entdeckung eines [(DEUS)] *k'u* [...] MAGNUS.DOMINA verstärkt, der in der Hieroglypheninschrift KARAKUYU-TORBALI unmittelbar nach dem Wettergott *Tarhunta* erwähnt wird (datiert um 1250-1150 v.Chr., Oreshko 2013: 410). Die Nennung einer syrischen Gottheit wie *Kubaba* oder einer phrygischen Göttin wie *Kybele* wäre um diese Zeit seltsam, aber *Kubanta* würde sowohl geographisch wie chronologisch ziemlich gut passen. Natürlich wäre der Titel MAGNUS.DOMINA 'Große Königin' ein zusätzliches Argument für ihre Verwendung als Bestandteil der Namen westanatolischer Könige.

Die Verknüpfung zwischen den Namen *Kubanta*, *Kybele* und *Kubaba* ist schwierig. Munn (2006: 122-125 und 2008) versucht, mit dem phryg. Epitheton *Kubileya* (seinerseits Quelle von *Kybebe* und *Kybele*) eine sprachliche Brücke zu schlagen. Es stünde in Vertretung einer lydischen Adjektiv- oder Genitivbildung **Kubabli* (od. **kubabali* ? wie von Oreshko 2013: 412, Anm. 182 vorgeschlagen) über Zwischenbildungen wie **kuwawli* > **kuballi* > **kubelli*, seinerseits die letzte Vorform für *kubileya*.¹³ Theoretisch wäre es auch möglich, eine Variante des Namens *Kubanta* ohne Nasal, also **Kubata* / **Kubada*, als unmittelbare Quelle des lyd. *kufad* (Gusmani 1964, text 4a, 4), später als *kufaw* korrigiert (Gusmani 1980), anzunehmen. Der Kontext erlaubt ohne Probleme eine Interpretation des Wortes als Göttername, was völlig mit dem Kult der Κυβήθη in Sardes (Herodot 5.102) übereinstimmt (Oreshko 2013: 413). Ein zusätzliches Argument zugunsten einer Identifizierung der *Kubaba* mit *Kubanta* ist m.E., dass sowohl *Kubaba* als auch der Hirschgott *Kurunta* an der Spitze des Pantheons von Karkamiš¹⁴ stehen, was eine Interpretation des obengenannten zweigliedrigen Namens *KubantaK(u)runtiya* als Pendant oder Reflex eines hypothetischen **Kubaba* (+) *Kurunta* wahrscheinlich macht.

12 Oreshko (2013: 410).

13 Nach H.C. Melchert (bei Dexter 2009: 64 Fn. 43) bietet jedoch die dorische Form Κυβηλα ein Problem für die von Munn postulierte Vokalentwicklung $a > e$.

14 Hawkins (1981), Haas (1994: 578).

Ist *Kubanta* tatsächlich der Name einer Göttin, wäre seine etymologische Deutung natürlich überaus wichtig, um den Charakter dieser Göttin zu erschließen. Uns scheint Oreshko (2013: 410 f.) auf dem richtigen Weg zu sein, wenn er das *nt*-Suffix mit dem in *Tarḫunt* ‘der Mächtige’ (Benennung des Wettergottes, aus *tarḫu* ‘mächtig sein, bezwingen’, idg. **t_ṛh₂uént-*¹⁵) oder *Šanta* (der luw. Kriegsgott, aus *šāi* ‘zornig sein, grollen’, idg. etwa **seh₂ient-*) identifiziert. In diesem Fall handelt es sich um das bekannte *nt*-Partizipialsuffix. Was den Stamm *kub* anbelangt, scheint eine Verbindung mit dem Verbalstamm («)kup ‘planen, konspirieren’ möglich, jedoch ohne sichere idg. Etymologie.¹⁶

Folgt man wiederum der Argumentationslinie des Aufsatzes von Oreshko (2013: 411), steht nicht nur die Etymologie zur Verfügung, um die Natur der (Göttin) *Kubanta* zu erschließen. Es scheint nämlich kaum ein Zufall, dass nur ungefähr 40 km südlich des Fundortes der KARAKUYU-TORBALI-Inschrift (§ 2) der in der Antike weltberühmte Tempel der Artemis stand, der Herrin von Ephesus: “The possibility thus arises of seeing in Kubanta, the Great Queen, a direct predecessor of this deity. Unfortunately [...] we have little precise information on the nature of this goddess. However, one thing is clear: in origin the goddess is a local Anatolian deity, whose cult goes back to the Bronze Age”.¹⁷

Oreshko stützt sich mit seiner Identifizierung zwischen der Artemis Ephesia und Kubanta auch auf die Verknüpfung beider göttlichen Gestalten mit dem sogenannten ‘Reich der wilden Natur’ (*realm of wild nature*), was auch Gottheiten wie der hurritischen Šauška oder der mesopotamischen Ištar als typisches Merkmal zukommt. So teilen Šauška und Ištar das Epithet *immar(ra)šši* oder (ŠA) LÍL ‘des Feldes’ oder ‘des Wilden’ mit dem Gott

15 Vgl. zuletzt Maier (2013: 158-161).

16 Tischler (1977 etc., I 638 f.), Puhvel (1997, s.v.), Melchert (1993: 110). “Such a name would hardly suit to the rather calm and stately nature of a Mother Goddess or a goddess of the household, patroness and protectress. The name rather suggests associations with the insidious and crafty nature of a ‘Love-and-War Goddess’ of the type of Mesopotamian Ištar or Hurrian Šauška. [...] [T]he proposed interpretation of the name Kubanta brings to mind the strikingly close epithets characterizing Aphrodite in archaic Greek lyrics: *δολοπλόκα* (fem.) ‘weaving wiles’, in the famous poem of Sappho (Sapph. fr. 1.2) [...] and *δολομήτις* (v.l. *δολομήτης*), ‘wily, guileful, crafty (of counsel)’, in a fragment of Simonides (see, e.g., Page, D.L. [ed.], 1962, *Poetae Melici Graeci*, Oxford, N.574)” (Oreshko 2013: 411 mit Anm. 177).

17 Oreshko (2013: 411 mit Bibliographie in Anm. 179).

K(u)runtiya (CERVUS₂), was auch ein zusätzliches Argument dafür bietet, dass der obengenannte (§ 2) westanatolische Name *Kubanta-K(u)runtiya* recht genau dem ostanatolischen *ŠauškaK(u)runta* entspricht (Oreshko 2013: 412). Meiner Meinung nach ist es jedoch möglich, einen Schritt weiter zu gehen. Gerade der luw. Hirschgott *K(u)runtiya* – wahrscheinlich als **k̂(u)ruuantija* ‘mit Hörnern versehen’¹⁸ zu deuten (also eine Herleitung aus idg. **k̂er-u*¹⁹, vgl. lat. *cervus* usw.) – erlaubt nämlich eine fast direkte Verknüpfung mit den ältestbelegten religiösen Vorstellungen Anatoliens (§ 2). Wie sich aus der Onomastik erschließen lässt, ist der Hirschgott funktional mit einer ‘Schutzgottheit’ zu identifizieren; so wird *Kubanta-K(u)runta* im heth. *Kupanta-^DLAMMAja* geschrieben, also mit dem Logogramm für die ‘Schutzgottheit’²⁰. In der luw. Hieroglyphenschrift dient das Hirschgeweih als Hieroglyphe für den Hirschgott *Kurunta / Runta*. Die Ikonographie des auf dem Hirsch stehenden und einen Adler haltenden Schutzgottes (Haas 1994, 452 und Abb. 75) findet sich bereits in der altassyrischen Glyptik. Auch bei den Statuettenbeschreibungen erscheint er als ein auf dem Hirsch stehender Gott, der in der rechten Hand einen Bogen und in der linken Hand Adler und Hase hält (Haas 1994, 453, 498 f.). Beide Attribute heben den jägerischen Aspekt der ‘Schutzgottheit der Natur’ als Herr über die in seinem Bereich lebenden Tiere hervor. Die Symbole oder Attribute einer bestimmten Gottheit geben bekanntlich sehr wichtige Hinweise auf ihr Wesen und häufig auch auf ihre (vor-)historische Entwicklung.²¹

18 Zu den Κορῦβαντες als **koru-uent-* ‘die Gehörnten’, vgl. → § 4.2.

19 Melchert (1994: 256).

20 Dennoch empfiehlt es sich, den wichtigen Vorbehalt von Haas (1994: 450) nicht aus den Augen zu verlieren: “Die konventionelle Übersetzung des Sumerogramms ^DLAMMA “Schutzgottheit” geht allein auf die babylonisch-assyrische Vorstellung der Lamassu als ein das Tor beschützendes Mischwesen zurück und kann nicht ohne weiteres auf die hethitischen LAMMA-Gottheiten übertragen werden.”

21 Auch bei den Sakralgefäßen, die in der anatolischen Religion als Kultobjekte verwendet werden, besteht in der Regel “ein sinnvoller Bezug zwischen der Gottheit und der Form ihres Gefäßes: So hat das Tiergefäß des tauromorphen Wettergottes die Gestalt eines Rindes oder Rinderhorns und das Tiergefäß des Schutz- und Hirschgottes die Gestalt eines Hirsches. [...] Die ältesten Kultgefäße stammen aus der neolithischen Siedlung Hacilar VI, die in etwa 5600 v. Chr. datiert wird. Es sind ein Becher in Gestalt eines Menschenkopfes sowie zwei Tiergefäße – das eine ist als Hirsch und das andere als Eber gestaltet” (Haas 1994: 520 f.).

4. Artemis Ephesia ~ Kubanta als πότνια Θηρῶν / ‘sekundäre’ numina

Man könnte als ein Merkmal der religiösen Entwicklung²² von den *primären* Religionen – der paläolithischen und mesolithischen, bei denen Tiere als gefährliche, furchterregende Numina gelten – zu den *sekundären* – den mythologischen Religionen, bei denen der Mensch schon allmählich die Beziehung zu den Tieren kontrolliert – das Phänomen der numinosen *Umstellung* ansehen (vgl. § 1.4), wodurch die neuen anthropomorphischen Numina ihre Numinosität als einen Reflex der alten tierischen Numina erhalten. Im (nicht allzu speziellen) Falle der anatolischen Religionen zeigt sich ganz deutlich, dass die *Muttergöttin*, deren älteste Erscheinung die πότνια Θηρῶν von Çatal Hüyük (vgl. § 2) ist, ihre “Numinosität” von den Tieren (insbesondere den “gehörnten” Tieren) erhält, die sie begleiten. Der luwische “Hirschgott” *Kurunta* / *Runta* ließe sich als eindeutiger Reflex derselben Tradition auffassen, und gerade die Verwendung seines Namens als Hinterglied in der anatolischen Onomastik, mit der Bedeutung “Schutzgott” (allerdings mit dem Stamm ^PLAMMA-*ja* / *K(u)runtija*²³), deutet darauf hin, dass sich hinter dem konventionellen Etikett ‘Schutzgottheit’ ein “umgestelltes” Numen verbirgt: ein “gehörntes” Numen, bei dem es sich eigentlich nicht mehr einfach um einen Hirsch, sondern um einen “Träger der Numinosität” handelt, eine Qualität, die bildlich durch die Hörner symbolisiert wird, genauso wie die “Hörnermütze”²⁴ in den hethitischen kunstlichen Darstellungen als Symbol der Götter Verwendung findet.

Gerade in diesem Kontext einer langen Tradition der πότνια Θηρῶν und der “gehörnten Gottheiten” Anatoliens wäre vielleicht eine Erklärung des Namens Artemis möglich. Bekanntlich ist diese Götterbezeichnung trotz zahlreicher Etymologisierungsversuche²⁵ immer noch ohne allgemein

22 Ich folge G. Buenos Interpretation der Entwicklung von Religionen, die er im Rahmen seiner Religionsphilosophie darlegt; vgl. insbesondere Bueno (1996: 266 f.).

23 Vgl. Yakubovich (2010: 80 mit Anm. 5).

24 Vgl. Haas (1994: 315 mit Abbildung 50).

25 Siehe Frisk (1954-1972: I 153 f., III 40), Chantraine (1968-1980: I 116 f.), Beekes (2010: I 142). Die Studien von Ruy Pérez (1947) und (1951) bleiben, trotz der allgemeinen Ablehnung seiner illyr. Etymologie (**artos* ‘Bär’), immer noch unter sprach- und religionsgeschichtlichem Aspekt wichtig. Eine direkte idg. Etymologie wurde von Peters (1989: 214-216) vorgeschlagen, letztlich eine Herleitung aus **arto* [heutiger Ansatz **h₂er*-Rix & al. 2001: 269 f.] ‘Ordnung, Fügung’; die Derivationskette wäre aber sehr kompliziert.

anerkannte Deutung geblieben²⁶. Natürlich ist es undenkbar, dass ein einziger Name den überaus komplexen Funktionsreichtum der Göttin zusammenfassen könnte. Nach den oben dargelegten Annäherungen empfiehlt es sich vielmehr, als Kern der numinosen Charakterisierung der Artemis – mindestens der Artemis Ephesia – ihre Funktion als Herrin der Tiere (vgl. *Ilias* 21.470) und Göttin der Jagd (*Il.* 5.51) aufzufassen. Eine akzeptable Etymologie wäre also vorstellbar, falls diese nicht nur mit den Anforderungen der Sprachwissenschaft übereinstimmt, sondern auch diesen “numinosen Kern” der Göttin in nachvollziehbarer Form erfasst. Aus dem anatolischen Sprachbereich wäre möglicherweise mit einer luwischen (oder luwoiden) Sprache zu rechnen, und zwar einer versuchsweise anzusetzenden anatolischen Urform **ar(r)(a)-tami(t)* oder **ar(r)(a)-temi(t)*, ihrerseits erklärbar als Herleitung aus einem alten idg. Rektionskompositum **(u)rs(ŋ)-* ‘männliches Tier, Stier’²⁷ + **do/emh₂-* (**domh₂-*/**demh₂-*) ‘zähmen, bändigen’²⁸. Dies könnte die historischen Reflexe Ἄρτεμις / Ἄρταμις²⁹ verständlich machen. Natürlich bestehen bei diesem Ansatz zahlreiche sowohl phonetisch / phonologische als auch morphologische Probleme.³⁰

4.1. Epitheta der Artemis. Ikonographie der Artemis Ephesia

In Zusammenhang mit der vorgeschlagenen Etymologie lassen sich wohl

- 26 Vgl. Muth (1988: 95): “Die Etymologie ihres Namens [...] ist undurchsichtig und trägt nicht zur Klärung der Herkunftsfrage bei. Aber selbst wenn Artemis von Anfang an eine griechische Gottheit gewesen sein sollte, übernahm sie ihr Wesen und ihren Aufgabenbereich zu einem guten Teil von einer schon in frühester Zeit weitum verehrten [...] machtvollen POTNIA, in der sich zugleich die lebenspendenden und die zerstörenden Kräfte der Natur kundtaten.”
- 27 Wodko & al. (2008) rechnen, wie üblich, mit zwei verschiedenen Ansätze: **u_{ers}-* ‘männlich, männliches Tier’ (2008, 722-724) und **(h)₁rsen-* ‘id.’ (2008, 584-586). Das Problem wird ausführlich von Pronk (2009, 179 f.) behandelt. Man sollte jedoch eher mit vier verschiedenen Wurzeln rechnen: 1. **u_{ers}ēn*, acc.sg. **u_{er}senm*, gen.sg. **u_{er}snos* ‘male of an animal’ (ved. *v₁śan-* ‘männlich, mannhaft; männliches Tier’; lat. *verrēs* ‘Eber’; germ.? **urōn* ‘Auerochse, Ur’; usw.); 2. **h₁ers-* ‘to flow’ (heth. *ārš₂-* / *arš-* ‘fließen’; ai. *arš-* ‘id.’); 3. **h₁u_{ers}-* ‘to drizzle, rain; mist, drizzle’ (heth. *u₁arša-* ‘Nebel’; ai. *v₁arṣ-* ‘regnen’, gr. ἔέρση ‘Tau’); und 4. **u_{ers}-* ‘top’ (ai. *v₁arṣman*, lit. *viršūs*, aks. *vrъxъ*). Für “männliches Tier” bleibt also nur die erste Wurzel: “the spraying bull of Indo-European is no more” (Pronk 2009, 180).
- 28 Rix & al. (2001, 116-117): ved. *damāyati* ‘bezwingt, bändigt’, gr. δάμνημι ‘bezähmen, bändigen’, lat. *domō*, āre- ‘zähmen, bändigen’, got. *ga-tamjan* ‘bezähmen, bezwingen’, air. *daim* ‘duldet’, usw.
- 29 Wahrscheinlich im Myk. *a-te-mi-to* (gen.sg. PY Es 650.5) und *a-ti-mi-te* (dat.sg. PY Un 219.5); vgl. Aura Jorro (1985-1993, I 115 f.), mit Bibliographie. Der Name ist auch in lyd. *artimus*, lyk. *ertemi* und aramäisch *ṛmwš* belegt.
- 30 Für eine ausführlichere Diskussion der sprachwissenschaftlichen Details sei auf García Trabazo (2017) hingewiesen.

ebenfalls die Epitheta Ταυροπόλος (Soph. *Ai.* 172, Eur. *Iph. T.* 1457, Ar. *Lys.* 447 u.a.), und vielleicht auch Καλλίστη ἄρσενόμορφος (Orph. Hymn. 36.7) zum Vergleich heranziehen.

Die Etymologie stützt sich ebenfalls auf der bekannten Ikonographie der Artemis Ephesia, mit ihren vieldiskutierten ‘Brüste’ (oder ‘Stierhoden’?), sowohl die gehörnte Fauna die ihre Toga und ihren Kopfputz schmückt.

4.2. Κορύβαντες < **k̂or-u-uent-* ‘die Gehörnten’ (?)

Uns scheint auch eine Interpretation des Namens der phrygischen Kybele-Priester, der Κορύβαντες, als **k̂or-u-uent-* ‘die Gehörnten’ denkbar. Ein Stamm **koru-* ‘Spitze, Gipfel’, uridg. **k̂oru-* / **k̂eru-* / **k̂ru-* ‘Horn’, wird auch bisher schon als Grundlage von *koru-φῆ* ‘Spitze, Gipfel’, *κόρυς*, Gen. *κόρυθος*, Akk. *κόρυν* ‘Helm’ und *κόρυ-δος* ‘Haubenlerche’ angesetzt; außergriechisch erscheint er in ahd. *hiruz* (< **k̂eru-do-*), lat. *cervus* und kymr. *cerw* ‘Hirsch’ < **k̂eruo-* ‘der mit Hörnern’ (u.a.). In dem bislang ungedeuteten ved. *śaru* f. ‘Geschoß, Pfeil, Speer’ (Mayrhofer 1986-1994: II 618), das auf **k̂oru-* / **k̂eru-* zurückzuführen ist, könnte er direkt vorliegen; vgl. Janda (2005: 265), Nussbaum (1986: 9-15).

Es handelt sich um Vegetationsdämonen und orgiastische Ritualtänzer, die die Göttin Kybele (im römischen Reich auch *Magna Mater*) begleiten. Nach dem Mythos sind sie die erste Gründer der kretischen Zivilisation, und sie lehrten den Menschen die Tiere zu bändigen.

5. Schlußfolgerungen - Zusammenfassung

1. Als ‘**primäre**’ (paläo- und mesolithische) *Numina* könnten die Tiere ‘die aus der Steine springen’ (→ belebte Steine / Berggötter) mögliche Vorfahren für

- den **Stier** als ‘Repräsentant des Berges’, oder
- die Verknüpfung zwischen *Pirwa* ~ Pferd darstellen.

2. Die Hybride Wesen (*therianthropoi*), als ‘Übergangssphase’ der **zoomorphen Religion** des Neolithikums Anatoliens könnte man als Grundlage für die ‘Schutzgottheiten (der Natur)’ betrachten.

3. Die πότνια Θηρών / ‘sekundäre’ Numina sind auch wahrscheinlich mit mythologischen Figuren wie die Artemis (Ephesia) / Kubanta (?) usw. zu identifizieren.

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THE HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN SIGNS *128 (AVIS ‘BIRD’) = wa_x AND *30 = *HAPA*¹

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1. Introduction²

Even though Luwian studies have since long moved beyond mere decipherment, it is still possible to discover phonetic values for hieroglyphs with unknown syllabic or symbolic value. Two such cases will be presented here: I propose that the signs AVIS (*128) and *31 be read as wa_x and *HAPA*, respectively. This leads to full readings of six words, including four new lexemes, and in a few cases to a better understanding of the passages in which these words occur.

Following Simon’s overview and discussion of the different uses of the bird-shaped sign AVIS (= *128) (this volume), when used as a logogram *128 covers several concepts. First, it overwhelmingly appears in the divine name Kubaba, written (DEUS)*Ku*+AVIS-*pa-pa*, (DEUS)*Ku*+AVIS-*pa*, (DEUS) *Ku*+AVIS, AVIS (DEUS)*ku* (GULBENKIAN seal), (DEUS.AVIS)*ku-pa-pa* (once, in KÂHTA 1 § 1 (Simon 2014:248)), or merely (DEUS)AVIS.

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- 1 I am most grateful to Zsolt Simon and Craig Melchert for making their conference papers available to me, to Annick Payne for allowing me the use of her Hieroglyphic Luwian signs, and finally the audience of the 9th ICH and in particular Ilya Yakubovich for their helpful remarks, suggestions and improvements. All remaining errors are my own.
- 2 The corpus on which this study is based consists of all texts from Hawkins 2000 and the following texts that were not included in Hawkins 2000, either because they were edited after 2000 or belong to the Empire period: AFYON, ALEPPO 1, 6, 7, ANCOZ 5, 11, 12, ANKARA 1, ARSUZ 1, 2, BEYKÖY, ÇİNEKÖY, DEMİRKÖPRÜ, DÜLÜK BABA TEPESİ 1, EMİRGAZI, EREĞLİ, FRAKTİN, GÜRÇAY, İSTANBUL 2, KÂHTA 1, KARAHÖYÜK, KARAKUYU-TORBALI, KARKAMIŞ X (stele of Sui I), KIRŞEHİR (+) YASSIHÖYÜK, KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ group, KÖYLÜTÖLÜ, KUŞÇU-BOYACI, MALKAYA, POTOROO, ŞARAGA, SİRKELİ, SÜDBURG, TALL ŞTİB, TELL AHMAR 6, YALBURT, YUNUS.

Especially the latter three writings make it clear that without complements AVIS logographically represents the deity Kubaba, while the other writings of Kubaba show that AVIS cannot have a syllabic value but is simply a logogram surrounded by phonetic complements³. As D'Alfonso in his edition of the Sprenger seal suggests, another concept that might be hiding behind AVIS is *kukula-* ‘cuckoo’^{??} (2009:321 with n. 5). The reading *kukula-* seems to be the only feasible explanation for the alternation of the personal name *ku+AVIS-la-(i)a* and *AVIS-[l]a-i(a)* on the Sprenger seal and for the spelling of the personal name *ku-ku-AVIS-la* (Herbordt 2005:143, Kat. 169). And finally, as Simon argues in this volume, the logogram AVIS may stand for **kutta-* ‘wall’ or *kuttawanni-* ‘precinct’⁴, attested in SULTANHAN § 12 as abl. “AVIS”-*ta-wa/i-na-ri+i*.

The logogram AVIS was thus liberally used as a logogram representing different concepts based on the principle of *connectio homophonica* or phonetic assonance (Simon, this volume), but it does not end there. AVIS also has at least two, perhaps even three different syllabic readings. The least certain reading is without much support, but needs to be mentioned in view of the alternation *ku+AVIS-la-(i)a* and *AVIS-[l]a-i(a)* on the Sprenger seal. A syllabic reading of AVIS as *kú* and thus of *ku-kú-la-(i)a* and *kú-[l]a-i(a)* reminds one of the possible but not assured equation of the name *ku-la-na* (Herbordt 2005, Kat. 171) with *ku-ku-la-na* (Herbordt 2005, Kat. 172), as suggested by Hawkins (*apud* Herbordt 2005:259). Another syllabic reading, *zi*₄, has long been recognized and only occurs in KARATEPE 1 in REL-*zi*₄ (Ho. § XXVII; the duplicate Hu. has REL-*zi*) and *mì-ia-tí-zi*₄ (Ho. § LI; the duplicate Hu. has *mi-ia-ti-zi*). This value must have been derived through acrophony from a bird-name starting with *zi-*.

3 Given the equation AVIS = Kubaba, Simon (this volume) now suggests to read the name TONITRUS. GENUFLECTERE-AVIS, attested on a seal, as Halpa-Kubaba (Herbordt 2005:132, Kat. 111 suggests Halpasulupi). Another personal name where the equation AVIS = Kubaba might apply is *ku-AVIS-pi-da-na* (Herbordt 2005:142f., Kat. 165). Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005:259 suggests reading it as *kupapitana* and compares it with the Alalah names Kupapaduni and Kupapatanni.

4 I herewith withdraw my tentative suggestion for *tawani-* as another word for stele in Goedegebuure 2007:324. Perhaps we should also read AVIS-*ni-na* = *kuttawannin* in POTOROO facet 8a: [NEG₃-s[a-p]a²-wa/i | AVIS-*ni-na*] (PES₂-PES) *tara/i-pi-ti* “or (if) he attacks **the precinct**, (may this deity [...] to that one)” (ed. Hawkins 2010:186f.). AVIS in SAMSAT 3 is utterly unclear (*za-wa/i AVIS-na x-na* [...] “[.....] this AVIS (acc. sg.)”, ed. Hawkins 2000:353f.). Alternatively, as suggested by Ilya Yakubovich (pers.comm.) we could read AVIS-*ni-na* as wa_x-ta-ni-na /wattanin/ ‘holding’ (see further below).

The final value is wa_x , proposed here. This syllabic value should be acrophonically derived from another designation for a bird species. The best option is the generic word⁵ for bird, *wattai-* (Sum. MUŠEN), only attested as nom.pl.comm. *wattaēš* in the phrase *ḫatugaēš wattaēš* ‘terrible birds’ (KBo 4.2 ii 32, also see [wa-at]- ḫtaḫ -i-e-eš in KBo 4.2 i 2⁶; for the latest discussion see Kloekhorst 2008:987). Still, this in itself is not enough to establish wa_x as the reading behind AVIS.

2. AVIS (*128) = wa_x

2.1 ARHA (MALLEUS) wa_x -la- ‘to remove’

The proof for the reading of *128 (AVIS) and its cursive form *71 as wa_x depends upon the rare spelling of the common expression ARHA MALLEUS-la- ‘to remove, erase’



*128



*71

as ARHA (MALLEUS) AVIS/*71-la- and the singular reading of the sign *280 = MALLEUS as wa/i_9 in TOPADA § 26. In the latter case MALLEUS occurs in the middle of a word (see Laroche 1960:147, sub *280 II., “valeur phon. wa_5 ”):

- (1) *pa+ra/i-zu²/za²-ta^x-MALLEUS= wa/i_9 -ni-sa-pa-wa/i-ta^x* (URBS) (ANIMAL) EQUUS-sa₈ (*219) *ha+ra/i-pa-zi/a-ha* OMNIS.MI-zi/a á-zu²/za²-sa₇-na FINES+HI HIC (?) CRUS+RA/I

The Parzu/atean horse and all the rebels stood here (?) on our border. (TOPADA § 26, ed. Weeden 2010:54f., diff. Hawkins 2000:453; for reading za_x instead of zu^2 see Yakubovich 2010:66ff.)

5 Whether *wattai-* is genuine Hittite, a borrowing from Luwian, or both Hittite and Luwian cannot currently be decided. For the acrophonic derivation of the syllable value /wa/ this is not important. As Yakubovich (2008) has convincingly shown, both Hittite and Luwian served as source languages for the development of the Anatolian hieroglyphic script.

6 Watson (2008:95) suggests that Emar Akkadian *wattu* ‘pigeon’, written PI-at-tu₄ and glossed *summatu* ‘(female) dove, pigeon’ (Emar 555: 71’, discussed in Penttici 2001:139), was borrowed from Hittite. Besides the fact that this word might be Semitic after all (see Penttici 2001:139, Cohen 2010:831), I would reject such a borrowing on the grounds that *wattai-/MUŠEN* does not mean ‘pigeon’ but ‘bird’, and that in the lexical lists in Ḫattuša *summatu* glosses TU^{MUŠEN} ‘(female) dove, pigeon’, not MUŠEN (KBo 26.3 + KUB 4.96 ii’ 24’, ed. Scheucher 2012:498). To my knowledge TU^{MUŠEN} is elsewhere only attested in KUB 42.29 rev.? v’ 14’.

MALLEUS occurs here as the first syllable of the suffix of appurtenance *-wanni-* /-wanni-/ in *pa+ra/i-zu²/za_x²-ta_x-MALLEUS-ni-* ‘of Parzu/ata, Parzu/atean’, and therefore was established already in the late thirties to represent /wa/ (Hrozný 1935:507 n. 8 “*va₄?*”; Meriggi 1937:90 with n. 2 “*wa⁵*”). The scribe of Topada added quite a few signs to the Luwian syllabary, using the acrophonic principle. If he could use MALLEUS to represent /wa/, then clearly the first syllable of the lexeme hiding behind the ‘hammer’ logogram started with /wa/.

Almost every other instance of MALLEUS occurs in the expression *ARHA MALLEUS* ‘to erase/remove (a name or object)’, with MALLEUS used as a logogram. In that use MALLEUS is often followed by a phonetic complement /la/. Typical examples are (2) and (3):

(2) he who ...

[NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-tú* |*za-a-ti-ia-za* | (“SCALPRUM”) *ku-ta-sa₅+ra/i-za* |*á-ma-za* |*á-lá/i-ma-za* | *ARHA* | “MALLEUS”-*la/i/u-i*

or **erases** my name **from** these orthostats,

(may against him celestial Tarhunt, Karhuha and Kupapa, and the Stormgod of Mount Arputa and the gods of the riverland of the river Šakura litigate.) (KARKAMIŠ A11c § 24, ed. Hawkins 2000:104)⁷

(3) [*wa/i-tú* |*za-a-z*]*i²* |(SCALPRUM)[*k*]*u-ta-sa₅+ra/i-zi* |*zi-ri+i* |*pa-sa-na* | LO[CUS]-*la/i-ti* | *ARHA* || REL-*sa* “MALLEUS”-*i*

He who **removes** [the]se orthostats here **from** their location, ... (KARKAMIŠ A27e § 4, ed. Hawkins 2000:166)

The syllabic reading of MALLEUS as *wa/i₉*, and the use of the logogram MALLEUS in contexts like (2) and (3) probably led Laroche to suggest that MALLEUS could be read as *wala-* (“lect. ou compl. phon. *-wala?*”, 1960:147). The reading of MALLEUS-*la-* as *wala-* is supported by a very similar though not exactly cognate expression in Hittite, *laman wallanu-* ‘to erase/remove a name’⁸ (HW 242 (“*tilgen* (?), *ausstreichen* (?); *ändern* (?)), Tischler 2001:193, Kloekhorst 2008:945):

⁷ Also see KARKAMIŠ A14a § 8; A16b.

⁸ The only other attestation of *wallanu-* occurs in a broken context: *wallanuanza* KUR[-*eanza?*...] (OH/NS, KUB 34.19 rev. 9^r, CTH 538).

(4) This tablet must be placed before the Stormgod of Hatti, and [no one may take] it away from before (him). But anyone who take[s] this tablet away from before the Stormgod of Hatti, or melts it down

našma ŠUM-an wallanu[zzi]

or **removes** the name,

([or] carries it (the tablet) forth, [may] the Stormgod of Hatti, the Sungoddess of Arinna and all the gods completely destroy him together with his offspring!) (NH, KUB 26.43 rev. 37, CTH 225)

In three⁹ cases MALLEUS is followed by an extra syllable preceding the usual /la/, namely AVIS or *71 (Hawkins 2006:29):

(5) “MALLEUS”(-)*71-*la-ṛi* (early 8th c., BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 9)

“MALLEUS”(-)*71-*la-i* (late 10th – early 9th c., TELL AHMAR 2, § 12)

“MALLEUS”(-)AVIS-*la-i* (late 10th – early 9th c., TELL AHMAR 6, § 29)

See for the context for example:

(6) ^m*ha-mi-i-ia-ta-sa-pa-wa/i-ta* |*á-lá/i-ma-za* |REL-*i-sa* |**ARHA** |“MALLEUS”
AVIS-*la-i* ||

He who **removes** the name of Hamiyata, (...) (late 10th – early 9th c., TELL AHMAR 6, § 29)

The full rendering of our word could therefore be *71-*la* / AVIS-*la-*. Based on the alternation of *71 and AVIS (= *128) in the TELL AHMAR texts, Hawkins plausibly considers *71 as a cursive form of AVIS (2006:29). Following Laroche’s very tentative reading of *71 in TELL AHMAR 2, § 12 as *wa* (1960:44; “*arha* MASSUE-*wa??-la-a*”), and the reading of MALLEUS as /walla-/, we should now equate AVIS with *wa* as well. This gives us the full reading (“MALLEUS”) *wa*_x-*la-i*.¹⁰

9 There might be a fourth case: MALLEUS-*x+ra/i-i* (MARAS 8, § 12), where x is perhaps *71 (Hawkins 2000:255).

10 The expression *ARHA* (MALLEUS) *wala-* ‘to erase, remove’ should be kept separate from *ARHA* (MORI) *wala-* ‘to die’.

2.2. (DEUS)*wa_x-ti-* ‘(divine) mountain’

Another instance in which AVIS = *wa_x* leads to an acceptable full reading is TELL AHMAR 6 § 2, where we find a list of deities including the (DEUS) AVIS-*ti-zi* (Hawkins 2006:12f., 18f.; Rieken & Yakubovich 2010:212):

(7) **a-wa/i-mu* |*á-ia-lá/i-na* |INFANS(-)*282-*ni[?]-wa/i-ra+a* CAELUM (DEUS) TONITRUS-*sa* (DEUS)*ia*-[...] (DEUS)BONUS (DEUS)LUNA-*sa* |*á-ta-na* |(PES₂) *tara/i-za-mi-i-sa* (DEUS)SOL-*sa* (DEUS)CERVUS-*sa* ||

(DEUS)*kar-hu-ha-sa* (DEUS)*ku*+AVIS (DEUS)*hi-pu-da-sa* |EXERCITUS-*la/i/u-na-si-ha* (DEUS)*sà-us-ka-sa* [(DEUS)]FORTIS-*sa* (DEUS)SARMA-*sa* |“CAELUM”-*ti-sa* |“TERRA”-REL+*ra/i-ti-sa-ha* (DEUS)AVIS-***ti-zi*** (DEUS)***30-*da-ti-zi*** *a-tá* |*ta-sa?-mi-zi* DEUS-*ní-zi* |(LITUUS)*á-za-ta*

Celestial Tarhunt, Ea, the Graingod, the Moongod, the benevolently inclined¹¹ Sun-God, Runtiya, Karhuha, Kubaba, Hipuda (= Hebat) and Šauska of the Army, Teššub, Šarruma, Heaven and Earth, the divine AVIS-*ti-zi*, the divine *30-*da-ti-zi*, the ... gods loved me, the first-born child. (late 10th – early 9th c., TELL AHMAR 6 § 2, ed. Hawkins 2006:12f.)

Together with two other unidentified divine groups, the (DEUS)AVIS-*ti-zi* deities follow Heaven and Earth. A comparison with the divine witness lists of the Hittite Empire treaties (for which see Beckman 1999) shows that once the natural phenomena have been introduced all following deities are natural phenomena as well. The Bronze Tablet, for example, concludes its divine witness list with “heaven, earth, the great sea, the mountains, rivers, and springs of Hatti and of the land of Tarhuntassa” (Bo 86/299 iv 3-4, tr. Beckman 1999:121). The order of deities in the witness lists is not fixed, but we can establish a few groups whose members always appear in a certain order. These groups of natural phenomena, with their internally fixed order, are: (a) mountains, rivers, springs^{12/} Euphrates¹³, (b) the (great) sea, (c) heaven and earth, and (d) winds, clouds.

Reading (DEUS)AVIS-*ti-zi* as (DEUS)*wa_x-ti-zi* /wattinzi/ immediately identifies them as the mountains: both in Hieroglyphic Luwian and Cuneiform Luwian the word for mountain is *watta/i-* (for Hieroglyphic Luwian *wa/i-*

11 For *antan tarzami-* as the equivalent of Hittite *anda nejant-* ‘benevolently inclined’, see Rieken 2004:459.

12 The springs are only absent in the treaty with Sattiwaza of Mitanni.

13 The Euphrates is only present in the treaty with Sattiwaza of Mitanni.

ti- ‘mountain’ see Hawkins 2000:350 with further references; for Cuneiform Luwian *watta/i*-¹⁴ see Gérard 2006:248f.).

2.3. (DEUS) *wa_x-ta-ni(-ya)-* ‘(sacred) holding’

Another case where AVIS = *wa_x* makes sense is for DEUS.AVIS-*ta-ni*- and its alternative spelling LITUUS+AVIS-*ta-ni-*, attested four times. By assigning the value *wa_x* to AVIS, we now may read (DEUS) *wa_x-ta-ni-ia-za* and LITUUS+*wa_x-ta-ni-ia-za*. Since intervocalic *-ta-* represents /ta/, /nta/ or /nda/, the underlying lexeme is either /wa(t)tani(ya)-/ or /wanTani(ya)-/.

Hawkins established the meaning of this word as ‘day’ (Hawkins 2000:97f., 1986:95), and the related verb DEUS.AVIS-*ta-ni-sâ-* as ‘to endow with days’ (KARKAMIŠ A6 § 1, ex. 14). Although I will reject this translation further below following Ilya Yakubovich (pers.comm.) in favor of ‘(sacred) holding’ (see ex. 8*), ‘day’ fits the contexts of KARKAMIŠ A2+3 § 7-8 (ex. 8) and the very similar KARKAMIŠ A11a § 10 (late 10th – early 9th c., (DEUS)*wa_x-ta-ni-ia-za*):

(8) (§ 7) **a-wa/i-ta* **a-mi-ia-za* LITUUS+*wa_x-ta-ni-ia-za* |REGIO-*ni-i a-tá*
(DEUS)BONUS-*na* (DEUS)VITIS(-)*ti-PRAE-ia-ha* || *ARHA* (CAPERE₂)*u-pa-ta*
(§ 8) *a-wa/i* **a-mi-ia-za* |LITUUS+*wa_x-ta-ni-ia-za* |OVIS.ANIMAL-*i* 10 ASINUS
CRUS+*RA/I*

(§ 7) **In my days** he (Tarhunzas) brought away¹⁵ grain and wine into the country. (§ 8) **In my days** 10 donkey loads (of barley) stood for a sheep (late 10th – early 9th c., KARKAMIŠ A2+3 § 7-8, ed. Hawkins 2000:109).

Under this interpretation the phrase *amiyaⁿza* LITUUS+AVIS-*taniyaⁿza* finds its parallel in the expression *apataⁿza* (“ANNUS”) *usaⁿza* ‘in those years’ (Hawkins 1986:95):

(9) |*a-wa/i* [|] *á[-pa-]tá*|-*za_x* (“ANNUS”) *u-sá-za* |(OVIS.ANIMAL)*ha-wa/i-i* 30 *ti-wá/i-ta-li-sa* “HORDEUM”-*za* |CRUS+*RA/I*

14 Attested as dat.-loc. sg. *watti* in KBo 29.25 iii 10’ and as abl. *waddati* in KBo 4.11 rev. 40 (for identification of the latter attestation see Goedegebuure 2010:311). The derived adjective *uwattant(i)-* in KUB 12.63 obv. 35’ means ‘elevated’ (Gérard 2006:249), and no longer ‘having a spring/source’ (so Melchert 1993:267). Another related word is *wattanni-* ‘small mountain > hill’ in Bo 2004/1:27 (MS, CTH 230). Lorenz and Rieken (2007:478) based their translation ‘small water’ on the now obsolete connection of *watti-* and *wattant-* with *watt-* ‘water’.

15 For the sense of this sentence see Melchert 2004:373.

In those years 30 *tiwattalli*-measures of barley stood for a sheep. (AKSARAY § 4, ed. Hawkins 2000:476)

Reading DEUS.AVIS-*ta-ni*-/LITUUS+AVIS-*ta-ni*- as *waⁿtani(ya)*- allows for comparison with Cuneiform Luwian *wandaniya*-. Both words could then be related to the Hittite verb *want*- ‘to glow, to light’ and the noun *wanemma*- ‘glowing of the sun, lightning’. This suggests translating *wandaniya*- as ‘bright, radiant’ (Tischler 2001:194; Torri 2010). The adjective *wandaniya*- only occurs in the phrase “bright, radiant sky,” the day sky therefore, and thus belongs to the same semantic field as “day”:

(10) (18’) [*mā*]n ^dUTU-uš *wan^rdan^rya nepiši*¹⁶ (19’) [*anda ištam*]ašta

When the Sungod **in the radiant sky** heard about (it) ((KBo 43.223 +) KBo 9.127 + KUB 36.41 i 18’-19’ (MS, CTH 764, ed. Torri 2010:384f.))

There is another option that seems equally possible in the context of (8). ACLT translates AVIS-*ta-ni-ya*- as ‘holding’, and Ilya Yakubovich (pers. comm.) has now proposed reading it as /*wattaniya*-¹⁷. As ex. 13 shows, this lexeme is common gender, and in my view a (lexicalized) adjectival -*iya*- derivation of neuter REGIO-*ni(ya)*- ‘country’. The same formation, *wattaniya*-¹⁸, is also attested in Cuneiform Luwian:

(11) *ā=tta ādduwanza* ¹⁴ *pariyan adduwaliyan* ¹⁵ *wattaniyan uppanandu* §

Let them carry the evil across **that of the evil land** (or : **the holding of/pertaining to evil**) (NS, CTH 765, KBo 13.260 iii 13’-15’, ed. Yakubovich (2010: 237) “let them carry the evils over to an evil land”).

Under this alternative interpretation the phrase *amiyaⁿza* LITUUS+*wataniyaⁿza* finds its parallel in the expression (TERRA)*taskwari* ‘in the land’:

(12) |REL-*i-pa-wa/i* | (“TERRA”) *ta-sà-REL+ra/i* |2 “OVIS”-*sa* 80 “HORDEUM” CRUS+*RA/I* ||

16 Also see on the same tablet *ta-ap-pa-aš-ša wa-an-da-ni-ya-an-za* (nom.-acc.sg.neut.) ‘bright sky’ (MS, CTH 764, KUB 35.107 iii 6), and [*ta-ap-pa-aš-ša wa-an-]da-ni-y[a-an-za]* (MS, CTH 764, KUB 35.107 iii 26). Fragmentary: *wa-an-da-ni-y[a(-)]* (MS, CTH 766, KUB 35.102 i 4’).

17 REGIO = */*wattani*-/ is derived from Luwian **wadni* ‘land’ through fortition of the etymological **d* and anaptyxis (Yakubovich 2010:237).

18 Yakubovich (2010:237) treats *wattaniya*- as a thematized form of **wattani*-‘land’ (attested in the dat.-loc. sg. in KUB 35.133 ii 24’). I prefer to understand the ending -*iya*- as the adjectival derivational morpheme in view of the preceding adjectival formation *adduwaliya*- ‘of evil’ < *adduwal*- ‘evil’ (now also see ACLT).

Indeed, **in the land** two sheep stood for 80 (measures of) barley. (SULTANHAN § 11, ed. Hawkins 2000:466)

The passage that helps decide between the two proposals¹⁹, (13) below, was originally used to support the temporal reading. By showing that temporal expressions can occur as accusatives, Hawkins assumes that the accusative (DEUS)*wa_x-ta-ṛnṛ¹-zi* in (13) means ‘during (my) days’ (2000:229). But temporal expressions occur only in the accusative in three contexts: (a) as the object of a verb, (b) to mark habituality when reduplicated (*usin usin* ‘yearly, every year’, *arin arin* ‘time after time, always’), or (c) to denote ‘for x amount of time’. Expressions locating the state of affairs in time, as would be the case in (8), only occur in the dative-locative. Translating according to option (c), ‘during my days’ (= ‘for the duration of my days’), is no longer a contextually viable option, because that would mean that it took the ruler’s whole life to settle the Anaitean districts. This seems hardly worthy of boasting. Letting the achievement take place ‘**in** my days’ would have been more appropriate, but this requires the dative-locative (DEUS) *wa_x-ta-ṛnṛ¹-(ia)-za* (see ex. 8) instead of the accusative (DEUS)*wa_x-ta-ṛnṛ¹-zi*. The syntax of (13) therefore tips the scale in favor of ‘holdings’. The consistent use of DEUS or LITUUS might point at a religious nature of the holdings, hence ‘(sacred) holdings’:

(13) |**a-wa/i-mu* (DEUS)*wa_x-ta-ṛnṛ¹-zi* || |*á-na-i-tá*(REGIO)-*wa/i-na*-²⁰
|(SOLIUM)*i-sâ-nú-wa/i-h*[a]

I settled/established the Anaitean (districts) **as my (sacred) holdings**/*during my days (late 10th – early 9th c., TELL AHMAR 2 § 10, ed. Hawkins 2000:228, translating “during my days”)

I therefore translate ex. 8 as follows:

(8*) (§ 7) **a-wa/i-ta* **a-mi-ia-za* LITUUS+*wa_x-ta-ni-ia-za* |REGIO-*ni-i a-tá*
(DEUS)BONUS-*na* (DEUS)VITIS(-)*ti-PRAE-ia-ha* || *ARHA* (CAPERE)₂*u-pa-ta*
(§ 8) *a-wa/i* **a-mi-ia-za* |LITUUS+*wa_x-ta-ni-ia-za* |OVIS.ANIMAL-*i* 10 ASINUS
CRUS+*RA/I*

19 The spelling *wa_x-ta-ni* allows for a third option, *wattanni-* ‘small mountain > hill’ (see fn. 13), but this is contextually very improbable.

20 For the use of another headless neuter plural adjective as the object of *ismuwa-* ‘to settle, establish’, see |*a-wa/i* | (“VACUUS”) *ta-na-ta-* (“SOLIUM”) *i-sâ-* || *nu-wa/i-ha* ‘I settled the **devastated** (places)’ (MARAŞ 1 § 4, ed. Hawkins 2000:263).

(§ 7) **In my (sacred) holdings** he (Tarhunzas) brought away grain and wine into the country. (§ 8) **In my (sacred) holdings** 10 donkey loads stood for a sheep (late 10th – early 9th c., KARKAMIŠ A2+3 § 7-8).

KARKAMIŠ A6 § 1 probably contains a verbal derivation of *watani-* / *wattani-*. Originally translated as ‘endowed with days(?)’ (Hawkins 2000:125), the participle DEUS.AVIS-*ta-ni-sà-mi-i-sa* = (DEUS)*wa_x-ta-ni-sà-mi-i-sa*²¹ should now mean something like ‘endowed with holdings’:

(14) |EGO-*wa/i-mi-i^mi-a+ra/i-ri+i-i-sa* |IUDEX-*ni-sa*

(DEUS)*wa_x-ta-ni-sà-mi-i-sa* |LITUUS+*ta-sa-pa-CERVUS-wa/i-ti-i-sa*²² CAPUT-*ti-i-sá*

I am Yarri, ruler, Prince, **endowed with (sacred) holdings**, ..., (Prince, heard of by the west (and) the east, beloved by the gods) (end 9th – beginning 8th c., KARKAMIŠ A6 § 1, ed. Hawkins 2000:124)

2.4. *wa_x-sà-* ‘to lead here’

The last word with AVIS that needs to be discussed, “CAPUT”(-)AVIS-*sà-* in MARAŞ 4 § 5 (mid 9th century), is also the most problematic one. The violent context in which this lexeme occurs and the presence of CAPUT supports ACLT’s attribution of “CAPUT”(-)AVIS-*sà-* to the verb *kusa-* ‘to smash’²³, attested in TÜNP 1 (§ 2, (“CAPUT+SCALPRUM”) *ku-sà-mi-na*), KULULU 3 (§ 4, (“LONGUS”)REL-*sà-i*) and EMİRGAZİ (§ 8, 20, CAPUT+SCALPRUM). There is however very little evidence that AVIS should be read as /ku/, unless we accept that the name on the Sprenger seal discussed in the introduction should be read as *ku-kú-la-(i)a* and *kú-[l]a-i(a)*.

The alternative is to read “CAPUT”(-)AVIS-*sà-* as (“CAPUT”)*wa_x-sà-ha* and to relate it to (PES)*u-sa-* ‘to lead here’(see further below). I take the

21 This word is perhaps also attested in SUVASA inscription C as adj. LITUUS+AVIS ‘having/of holdings’.

22 For a discussion of LITUUS+*ta-sa-pa-CERVUS-wa/i-ti-i-sa* see Hawkins 2000:125.

23 ACLT translates the verb as ‘to erase’, but it is usually translated as ‘to remove’ (Hawkins 1995:94, 2000:155). I have suggested elsewhere (2012:435 w. fn. 100) that *ku-sà-* means ‘to smash, pound, crush’. The base *ku-sà-* is also present in the noun (CURRUS) *ku-sà-*, which should denote a wheeled entity for smashing or pounding, thus ‘battering ram’: *á-wa/i-ia-na-wa/i-na-pa-wa/i* (URBS) “CASTRUM”-*sà* 100 (CURRUS) *ku-sà-ti* |INFRA-*tá* “PUGNUS”-*sá-ha* (KARKAMIŠ A12 § 7, ed. Hawkins 2000:113) with suggested new translation ‘I brought down the fortifications of the city of Awayana with 100 **battering rams**’. ACLT translates *ku-sà* as ‘attack’. A hundred attacks makes as much or as little sense as a hundred battering rams. In both cases the number can be attributed to poetic license.

logogram CAPUT as a determiner that is restricting the semantic field of *ARHA* (PES)*u-sa-* to leading away humans, thus ‘I deported’:

(15) In what year I smote the town of Hirika (= Hilikka), in that year I seated Tarhunt of the desmene.

(§ 4) |*a-wa/i-tá* |*i-la/i/u-wa/i-si-na*(URBS) |*INFRA-ta* |(CAPERE)*la-ha*

(§ 5) (MONS.SCALPRUM)*á-tu+ra/i-sa-li-ia-za-pa-wa/i* |*ARHA* | (“CAPUT”)
wa_x-sà-ha

(§ 6) |*hi-ri+i-ka-pa-wa/i-ta*(REGIO) (“PES₂.PES”) *tara/i-[pa]-ha*

(§ 4) I took down the town of Iluwassi;

(§ 5) I **deported** (here) Mount Atursaliyanza;

(§ 6) I attacked the country of Hirika. (mid-9th c., MARAŞ 4 § 4-6, ed. Hawkins 2000:256f.)

Support for the equation of *wa-sà-* with *u-sa-* consists of several steps: (1) to show that the alternation *wa-/u-* is not always relevant; (2) to show that in this case the alternation *sà/sa* is not relevant. The alternation of *wa-/u-* is elsewhere attested, see for example *u-sa-la-li-* ‘to treat well (?)’ (TELL AHMAR 6 § 33) and *wa/i-sa-la-li-* (KARKAMIŠ A2+3 § 12)²⁴ or (BONUS)*u-li-ia-* ‘to favor, exalt’ (MARAŞ 1 § 1i) and (BONUS)*wa/i-li-ia-* ‘id.’ (MALPINAR § 11) in exactly the same context. How to interpret the alternation of *sà/sa* is a more complicated endeavor because this part of the argument depends on whether *wa* or *u* is original with our verb.

Rieken (2010) has recently shown that in the heydays of Luwian administration (ca. 1000-850 BCE) *sà* and *sa/sá* consistently represented different sounds. Following the closed vowels /u/ and /i/ and preceding /k/ and */w/, the alveolar sibilant /s/ palatalized as [ʃ], represented by *sà*. In all other contexts /s/ remained [s], and was represented by *sa* or *sá*. In word final position this allophony was neutralized in favor of [s]. After 850 BCE the signs *sà* and *sa/sá* were no longer strictly confined to their original environments and started to alternate, although in certain words free variation was extremely limited.

24 Per Rieken’s “wuki” rule, discussed immediately below, the date of the documents in the late 10th – early 9th c. shows that *wa/i-sa-la-li-* must have been the original writing (*usa-* would have been written *u-sà-*).

The verb *isnuwa-* ‘to set, settle’, for example, shows *sà* in all 24 instances where the word is spelled out²⁵.

The date of MARAŞ 4, around the mid 9th century, is on the cusp of the loss of the distinction between *sà* and *sa/sá*. In this text we indeed encounter *sà* in word final position (*mu-wa/i-ta-la/i/u-i-si-sà*, § 1) besides correct (“SOLIUM”) *i-sà-nú-wa/i-ha* (§ 3) and (“THRONUS”) *i-sà-tara/i-ti* (§ 17). The orthography of (“CAPUT”) *wa_x-sà-ha* is therefore either still according to the rules of 1000-850 BCE and should then represent *wi-sà-ha* ‘?’, *u-sà-ha* ‘?’, *wa-sà-ha* ‘I did good’²⁶ or it no longer correctly distinguishes between *sà* and *sa* and now also allows the readings *wa-sa-ha* ‘I bought’ and *u-sa-ha* ‘I led here’.

The verb that comes closest to *wi-sà-* is *wis(a)i-* ‘to emerge’²⁷ (compare Cun. Luwian *wiš(a)i-*). Because this verb is intransitive, it needs to be rejected. The verbs *was-* ‘to buy’ and *wassa-* ‘to be dear (to)’ do not make much sense in the context, and a verb *u-sà-* does not (yet) exist (unless this is the correct spelling for *usa-* ‘to carry’. I will reject this option immediately below). This leaves us with *wa-sà-ha* = *u-sa-ha* ‘I led here’.

According to Rieken’s “wuki” rule the verb *usa-* should have been spelled *u-sà-*. To my knowledge, this verb and the verb *us(a)nu-* ‘to bless, treat’²⁸ are the only exceptions to the rule. Despite the /u/ both words are consistently written with *sa* or *sá*, starting with (PES) *u-sa-tá* in the 11th century BCE (ALEPPO 7 § 7, ed. Hawkins 2011:48f.). Yakubovich (2016:85-6) recently provided the solution that perfectly accounts for the spelling with <sa> instead of <sà> in (PES) *u-sa-*. He argues that *u-sa-* is the outcome of

25 The counts are based on ACLT (last accessed June 24, 2015). The one instance of *sa* in (“SOLIUM”) *i-sa(sic)-nu-wa/i-ha* in MARAŞ 1 § 4, so Hawkins (2000:263) and still Payne (2012:53), is a typo. The photo and handcopy clearly show *sà*.

26 *wa-sà-* represents /waja/ < */waswa-/; see Rieken 2010:659.

27 For the meaning ‘to emerge’ see Rieken 2010:654.

28 The verb *u-sa-nu-* ‘to bless, treat’ is a causative formation of the stem *was-*, also attested in *wasu* ‘well’, *wass-* ‘to be dear’, and *wassammi-* ‘beloved’ (for these four lexemes see Yakubovich 2002: 199). The verb *u-sa-nu-* = *usnu-* and its iterative *usnussa-* is attested eight times (BULGARMADEN § 8; ÇINEKÖY § 11; KARATEPE 1 § 14, 49 (Hu. and Ho.), 51 (Hu. and Ho.); KULULU 4 § 10 (with <sa4> instead of <sa>); ŞIRZI § 2), and never spelled **u-sà-nu-(sa-)*. Such a consistent flouting of the “wuki” rule is highly unlikely, and I therefore read this verb as [o:snu-]. How this then relates to its Hittite cognate *aš(ša)nu-* on the one hand and Luwian *wass-* on the other hand, requires further study.

**ūdh-so-*, which reflects the merger of the centripetal prefix *u-* ‘here, towards the speaker’ with the PIE iterative stem **udh-so-* (from PIE **uedh-* ‘to lead’). (PES)*u-sa-* thus means ‘to lead here’ instead of ‘to carry’. Because of the reconstruction of the dental we no longer have the environment for the application of Rieken’s Rule.

3. *30 = *HAPA*

3.1. (DEUS)*HAPA-da-ti-* ‘(divine) riverland, valley’

If the Neo-Hittite scribes of TELL AHMAR 6, in the shadow of Carchemish, continued the Hittite Empire tradition, we should expect the mountains to be followed by the rivers, *hapa/i-*. (see section 2.2). Because the Luwian nominative plural of *hapa/i-* is *hapi(n)zi*, this cannot be the form behind (DEUS)*30-*da-ti-zi*. In view of the preceding *-ant-* derivations “CAELUM”-*ti-sa* = *tipasaⁿtis* (< *tipas* n. ‘heaven’) and “TERRA”-REL+*ra/i-ti-sa* (*taskwaraⁿtis* < *taskwara/i-* c. ‘earth’), we should read instead *hapadaⁿtiⁿzi*, individuating *-ant-* derivation of (FLUMEN.REGIO)*hapada/i-* c. ‘riverland, valley’²⁹. I therefore suggest reading *30 as *HAPA*:

(16) § 2 **a-wa/i-mu* |*á-ia-lá/i-na* |INFANS(-)*282-*ní^o-wa/i-ra+a* CAELUM (DEUS) TONITRUS-*sa* ... (DEUS)*wa_x-ti-zi* (DEUS)*HAPA-da-ti-zi* *a-tá* |*ta-sa^o-mi-zi* DEUS-*ní-zi* |(LITUUS)*á-za-ta*

Celestial Tarhunt, ..., the divine **mountains**, the divine **river valleys**, the ... gods loved me, the first-born child. (late 10th – early 9th c., TELL AHMAR 6 § 2, ed. Hawkins 2006:12f.)

3.2. “*HAPA*”-*ri+i-nu-wa/i* - ‘to trade, deliver’

With *HAPA* as a possible value for *30, the verb “*30”(-)*ri+i-nu-wa/i-* in KARKAMIŠ A12 § 13 (ed. Hawkins 2000:114) reads as “*HAPA*”-*ri+i-nu-wa/i-*. Given the context this could very well represent *haparinu(wa)-*, causative of **haparī-*, and cognate of Hitt. *hap(pa)riya-* ‘to sell, trade, deliver, dispense, hand over’ (HED Ḫ, 126; HW² Ḫ, 216f.). With this reading of the verb, Melchert’s discussion of § 11-12 (2004:375), and Yakubovich’s translation of the verb (PES₂) *paza-* as punctual ‘to carry’ (2016:73ff.), the passage is finally fully understandable:

29 For a discussion of (FLUMEN.REGIO)*hapada/i-*, see Lebrun and De Vos 2006:54ff.

- (17) (§ 11) *a-[w]a/i-[t]ú-[ta] (“*350”)á-sa-ha+ra/i-mi-sà |(PES₂)pa-za-ha
 (§ 12) |(*273)wa/i+ra/i-pi-ha-wa/i-tú (“SCUTUM”)hara/i-li-ha |(ARGENTUM)
 pi-ia-tara/i-[...] |(PES₂)pa-za-ha
 (§ 13) *a-wa/i-tú-wa/i-na |PRAE-na |“**HAPA**”-ri+i-nu-wa/i-ha
 (§ 11) I carried blood offerings to him [i.e., the deity].
 (§ 12) And I also carried to him (my) craft and (my) shield as gifts.
 (§ 13) And I **delivered** them (lit. it) in front of him³⁰. (KARKAMIŠ A12 § 11-13).

4. Conclusion

The strongest piece of evidence for a syllabic reading wa_x for AVIS (*128) was provided by the word (“MALLEUS”)AVIS-*la-i* ‘he erases/removes’ (TELL AHMAR 6, § 27). Combining Hawkins’s suggestion that *71 is the cursive form of AVIS (Hawkins 2006:29) with Laroche’s suggestion that *71 should be read as *wa* (Laroche 1960:44), I proposed to read syllabographic AVIS as *wa* as well. Although this does not apply to all words containing the sign AVIS (see the discussion in the introduction), we can now provide the full readings of four lexemes:

<i>ARHA</i> “MALLEUS” AVIS- <i>la-</i>	=	<i>ARHA</i> “MALLEUS” wa_x - <i>la-</i> /arha walla-/ ‘to remove, lift off’
(DEUS)AVIS- <i>ti-</i>	=	(DEUS) wa_x - <i>ti-</i> c. /watti-/ ‘divine mountain’
(DEUS)AVIS- <i>ta-ni-</i>	=	(DEUS) wa_x - <i>ta-ni(-ia)-</i> c. /wattani(ya)-/ ‘(sacred) holding’
AVIS- <i>sà-</i>	=	wa_x - <i>sà-</i> /wasa-/ = <i>u-sa-</i> ‘to lead here’

As a corollary of reading (DEUS)AVIS-*ti-zi* as /wattinzi/ ‘divine mountains’ in TELL AHMAR 6, the lexeme (DEUS)*30(-)*da-ti-zi* in the same text might represent /habadantinzi/ ‘divine riverlands’, suggesting that *30 should be read as *HAPA*. This in turn led to a contextually acceptable reading of “*30”(-)*ri+i-nu-wa/i-* in KARKAMIŠ A12 § 13 as “**HAPA**”-*ri+i-nu-wa/i-* /haparinuwa-/
‘to deliver’. We may thus add two more lexemes with full phonetic readings to the Luwian lexicon:

30 Differently Hawkins (2000:114): “I went to him (as) a living sacrifice. I went to him for skill and protection (“shield”) [and] profit (“selling”). And it before him I caused to ...”

(DEUS)*30- <i>da-ti-</i>	= (DEUS) <i>HAPA-da-ti-</i> c. /habadanti-/ ‘divine river valley’
“*30”- <i>ri+i-nu-wa/i-</i>	= “ <i>HAPA</i> ”- <i>ri+i-nu-wa/i-</i> /haparinuwa-/ ‘to deliver’.

With the establishment of AVIS = wa_x there are now ten signs representing /*wa*/. This highly unusual situation is less aberrant than it seems. Six of the ten signs only occur in the archaizing TOPADA and SUVASA inscriptions: wa/i_4 ³¹ (*207 = MONS /*watti-*/), wa/i_5 (*204), wa/i_6 (*201 = TERRA /*walilid-*/), wa/i_7 (*286), wa/i_8 (*160 = VITIS /*wiyani-*/), and wa/i_9 (*280 = MALLEUS /*walla-*/). The sign $wà/i$ (*165 = BONUS /*wasu-*/) is only attested as a syllabogram in KARATEPE and on the Empire Period Tarkandemos seal in the name *TARKASNA-wà/i* (*320). Of the remaining three signs, wa/i (*439) is the most common one and attested in documents from every region and time period. The other two signs are found in complementary geographical distribution: $wá/i$ (*166, probably a cursive form of $wà/i$ = *165 and *320) is attested in documents from Tabal (HÍSARCIK, KAYSERİ, NİĞDE 2) and Cilicia (KARATEPE), whereas wa_x is attested in documents from the regions of Carchemish (KARKAMIŞ, TELL AHMAR), Gurgum (MARAŞ), and neighboring Kummuh (BOYBEYPINARI). In other words, $wá/i$ is attested to the north and wa_x to the south of the mountain ranges separating Cappadocia and the Cilician plain from Syria.

The complementary geographical distribution of $wá/i$ and wa_x provides yet another piece of evidence for the existence of two distinct areas with slightly diverging scribal traditions. D’Alfonso (2012) already observed some differences in the development and distribution of the sign wa/i (*439) depending on geographic area. Undoubtedly future research will bring more evidence for separate scribal traditions in first millennium B.C.E. Anatolia and Syria.

31 The syllabic value wa/i_4 is also attested in names on Empire period seals (see Archi 2010:46 with references, and Dinçol & Dinçol 2008:52 Kat. 237).

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TRACES OF A TREATY IN AN URARTIAN TEXT?

Levan GORDEZIAN*

The Urartian text CTU A 5-3 is a rock inscription of Yazılıtaş in the region of Erzurum. It was found and published in the 19th century and discussed many times in special literature since then. The inscription describes the military campaign of King Minua (ca. 810-785/780 BC) against Uṭupuršini of Diaueḫi. Diau(e)ḫi is to be located from modern Erzurum and the upper reaches of the Euphrates and far to the north, including the valley of the Çoroh. It is identified with Greek Τάοχοι, Georgian Tao, Armenian Tayk, also with Daiaeni of the Assyrian texts.¹ An assumption has also been made about the identity of Assyrian Daiaeni with Hittite Azzi-Hayasa.² As recently proposed by Shota Asatiani, Uṭupuršini might have been the prototype of the Colchian king Aietes from *Argonautica*.³

CTU A 5-3 (УКН 36, КУКН 53)⁴

1 Dḫal-di-ni uš-ta-bi ma-si-ni GIŠú-ri-e

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- 1 Г.А. Меликишвили, *Урартские клинообразные надписи* (УКН), Наука, Москва 1960: 424; I.M. Diakonoff, S.M. Kashkai, *Geographical Names according to Urartian texts*, Wiesbaden 1981: 26; M. Salvini, *Geschichte und Kultur der Urartäer*. Darmstadt 1995: 55; Н. В. Арутюнян, *Корпус урартских клинообразных надписей* (КУКН), Гитутюн, Ереван 2001: 503.
- 2 И.М. Дьяконов, *Предистория армянского народа*, Ереван 1968: 209 слл.; Т. Kemertelidze, The Ethnic Identity of the South-West Trans-Caucasian Population in the Late Bronze Age, *The Essays of Academician Shalva Amiranashvili State Museum of Art*, Tbilisi 2001: 13 (in Georgian); G. Kavtaradze, *The Issues of the Development of Georgian Statehood*, Tbilisi 2006: 39 (in Georgian).
- 3 Sh. Asatiani, The Kingdom of Aietes, *Acts of the International Kartvelological Conference*, Tbilisi 2011: 130ff. (in Georgian).
- 4 Transliteration of Salvini (M. Salvini, *Corpus dei testi urartei* (CTU), CNR, Istituto di studi sulle civiltà dell'Egeo e del Vicino Oriente, Roma 2008: 190).

- 2 ^mdi-a-ú-e-ḫi-ni-e-di ^{KUR}tar-a-i-ú-e-di
 3 ^Dḫal-di-i ku-ru-ni ^Dḫal-di-ni ^{GIŠ}šú-ri-i
 4 ku-ru-ni ^Dḫal-di-ni-ni uš-ma-a-ši-ni
 5 uš-ta-bi ^mmì-nu-a-ni ^miš-pu-ú-i-ni-e-ḫi
 6 ú-lu-uš-ta-bi ^Dḫal-di-ni ^mmì-nu-a-še
 7 a-li-e ḫa-ú-bi ^mdi-a-ú-e-ḫi KUR-ni-i-e
 8 ^{URU}šá-ši-lu-ni URU MAN-si ḫa-ú-bi gu-nu-šá-a
 9 ^{KUR}e-ba-ni a-ma-áš-tú-bi É.GAL^{MEŠ}-ši-li
 10 ku-ṭu-ú-bi pa-a-ri-e ^{KUR}še-še-ti-i-na-a
 11 ^{URU}zu-a-i-na-a ^{URU}u-ṭu-ḫa-a-i a-su-ni

Went forth (to battle) (the god) Ḫaldi with his weapon against (the tribe of) Diaueḫi, against (the land) Taraiu.⁵ Ḫaldi is powerful, Ḫaldi's weapon is powerful. Went forth (to battle) with power of Ḫaldi Minua, the son of Išpuini, Ḫaldi led him. Minua says: I conquered the land of (the tribe) Diaueḫi. I took the royal city Šašiluni⁶ with battle, I burned the land, (destroyed) the castles, I reached (the land) Šešetina, (the city) Zuaina and/in the region of (the city) Utuḫa.

- 12 ^mmì-nu-a-še a-li-e ^mú-ṭu-bu-ur-ši-ni MAN
 13 ^mdi-i-a-ú-e-ḫi nu-na-bi ka-a-i-ú-ki
 14 šá-tú-a-li ku-ri-e-li su-lu-uš-ti-i-bi
 15 si-lu-a-di ma-ku-ri 'a-al-du-bi me-ši-ni pi-i
 16 a-ru-ú-ni GUŠKIN KÙ.BABBAR^{MEŠ} a-ru-ú-ni me-e-še
 17 a-li ^{LÚ}ta-áš-mu-še be-di ma-a-nu bi-du-ni
 18 i-bi-i-ra-a-ni ^mmì-nu-ú-a-še a-li-e

5 Melikishvili and Harouthiounyan translate KUR tar-a-i-ú-e-di as “против ... могущественной страны” (Меликишвили 1960: 158; Арутюнян 2001: 78). Both interpretations are possible, but the qualification “a great power” for the enemy would be a unique case in Urartian texts. In the text CTU A 8-7 ^{KUR}tar-a-i-ú-ni KUR is attested in the context of a campaign of Argišti I against Diaueḫi. ^{KUR}tar-a-i-ú-ni is mentioned in CTU A 8-3, I 8 in the same context. We may assume that the land Taraiu/ Tariu of all the three texts was the same land, a neighbour or even a part of Diaueḫi (L. Gordezian, Urartian Inscription from Hanak (Georgian translation and comments), *Oriental Studies* 3, Tbilisi 2014: 332f.).

6 Kavtaradze (2006: 36ff.) identifies it with Georgian Sasiro.

Minua says: Uṭupuršini, the king of Diaueḫi came to me, embraced my feet, fell down (before me). I treated him mercifully, pardoned him under the condition of paying tribute.⁷ He gave me gold and silver, he gave me tribute. All prisoners/ captives/ refugees who returned (to him), he gave me back.⁸ Minua says:

19 ka-am-na-a-ḫi a-li ^mdi-a-ú-e-ḫi-ni-i

20 ANŠE.KUR.RA ^{MEŠ}-ú-ú ^{LÚ} A.SI ^{MEŠ} , a-a-ḫa-a-ú

21 ^{LÚ} A.SI ^{MEŠ} -áš-te ú-i ú-ni a-šá-a-zi-e

22 ḫi-i-ni-e ši-ú-bi ^{LÚ} ḫu-ú-ra-d[i-n]a-a

23 ma-a-si-ni-e-i-a-ni a-šá-a-zi-e [ú-ú]-še

Salvini translates only partially: *kamnaḫi* il quale di Diaueḫi cavalli e truppe 'aḫau alle truppe neppure (?) *ašazie* ora (?) portai via (fra i) soldati dal suo *ašazie*;⁹ Melikishvili and Harouthiounyan do not translate the passage at all and only mention in comments that it deals with the obligation of the king of Diaueḫi to give horses and troops to Urartians.¹⁰ Diakonoff translates as: раньше вот что (говорили) дивавейскому (правителю): “твоих лошадей войнам ты соберешь!” для войнов было это назначено в долю, теперь я приказал, (чтобы) у войнов из своей собственной доли (было) ú-ú-še.¹¹

24 2 MAN ^{MEŠ}-li-li e-di-ni su-ṭu-qu-[ú]-bi

25 ^mba-al-tú-ú-ul-ḫi-e ^{KUR}e-ba-a-ni-i-e

26 ^{URU}ḫa-al-di-ri-ul-ḫi ^{KUR}e-ba-a-ni-i-e

27 É.GAL ^{MEŠ}-a-ši-li a-gu-ú-nu-ni-e-li

28 ^{KUR}e-ba-ni-a-ši e-di-ni su-ṭu-qu-bi

7 Меликишвили 1960: 158. Salvini does not translate the first part – siluadi makuri, and translates the second literally: “lo sottoposi a tributo – put him under tribute” (Salvini 2008: 191). The interpretation of Melikishvili seems me logical.

8 Меликишвили 1960: 158. Salvini does not translate this sentence (Salvini 2008: 191).

9 Salvini 2008: 191.

10 Меликишвили 1960: 159; Арутюнян 2001: 79.

11 И.М. Дьяконов, *Урартские письма и документы* (УПД), М.-Л. 1963: 70.

2 kings¹² I removed from there: the (king) of the land of the tribe Baltu and the (king) of the land of the city Ҳaldiri. The fortifications (/fortified castles) that were in the region I removed from there.

29 ^mmì-nu-a-še a-li-e a-lu-še i-ni DUB-te

30 tú-li-i-e a-lu-še pi-tú-li-i-e

31 a-lu-še a-i-ni-[i] i-ni-li du-li-e

32 a-lu-še ú-li-še ti-ú-li-e i-e-še za-du-bi

33 tú-ri-ni-ni ^Dḫal-di-še ^DIM-še ^DUTU-ni-[še]

34 DINGIR^{MEŠ}-še ma-a-ni ^DUTU-ni pi-i-ni mì-i ar-ḫi

35 ú-ru-li-a-ni mì-i i-na-i-ni

36 mì-i na-ra-a a-ú-li-e ú-lu-li-e

Minua says: (he) who will destroy this inscription, who will break it, who will make someone else do (this), who will say: “I have done (this)”, may he be annihilated by Ҳaldi, the Weather Deity, the Sun Deity, all gods under the Sun, ...

The final part of the formula is rather obscure. None of the corpora offers its translation although the meaning of its words, taken separately, has recently been specified. The passage approximately translates as follows: “Neither shall (he have) a way out, nor shall the god or people lead (him) anywhere”.¹³

As already mentioned, the text describes the Urartian military campaign against Diaueḫi. Apart from the traditional description of victory expressed by the terms “conquered”, “destroyed”, “burned”, we can see the real results

12 MAN is usually translated as “king”, but in case of “others”, i.e. enemies/ opponents of Urartians, it may designate rulers of very different entities – from the Assyrian king to the local chiefs of valleys or settlements.

13 Although none of the numerous curse formulas found in the Ancient East shows any apparent parallels with the cited passage, the latter, anyway, clearly reflects the primitive ideas about the universe order. The space “under the sun” is regarded as the territory under the authority of the Urartian deities and the deities of the peoples conquered by the Urartians. Beyond this area there was chaos, and other territories subject to the power of other deities and peoples. Presumably, the curse formula must refer to the restriction in offering a shelter to a sinner by other, foreign peoples and gods (L. Gordeziani, To the Interpretation of an Urartian Formula, *Caucasian and Near Eastern Studies* 13, Tbilisi 2009: 59-62).

of the war, which are quite different from the standard outcome of a victorious campaign of Urartians. Urartian kings mostly report about the trophy – thousands of men and women, cattle, etc.¹⁴ They are counted in the texts; even if the numbers may not always seem realistic. The defeated lands were either destroyed or became part of the Urartian kingdom.¹⁵ Sometimes the losers had to pay annual tribute,¹⁶ which may be regarded as a sign of subordination.

In this case we see:

- one-time undefined contribution,
- exchange of refugees or captives (?),
- delivery of horses and troops (?),
- delimitation of borders,
- destruction of boarder fortifications.

This could be the result of a war between two more or less equal rivals, one of them, Minua, won and Uṭupuršini was forced to pay contribution, return refugees or/and captives, agree with the obligation to give horses and troops (or horses for troops). The formula of this obligation appears again only once – in the annals of Argišti I, the son and successor of Minua, in the context of the new campaign against the same Uṭupuršini of Diaueḫi.¹⁷

The outcome of the fight is quite similar to the conditions of Hittite treaties.¹⁸

14 E.g.: CTU A 3-4, 5-2, 8-2 Vo, 8-3, 8-7, etc.

15 E.g.: CTU A 8-2 Vo, 9-3, 9-4, 10-1, etc.

16 E.g.: CTU A 8-2 Vo, 9-1, 9-3, 9-4, 10-2, etc. The formula 'aaldubi mešini pii – “put him under tribute” or “pardoned him under the condition of paying tribute” appeared first in texts of Minua. In CTU A 5-1, 5-2 we can't be sure if it denotes one-time contribution or stable periodical obligation. In the texts of Sarduri II (CTU A 9-1 Vo 31, 9-3 I 17-18, II 39, IV 54, VI 20-21, 9-4 26) the word “annual” is not present, but the context lets us think that the conquered lands were obliged to pay tribute for years. The “annual tribute” is attested only in CTU A 8-2 Vo 23 (terubi MU.MU-ni ardilani) and CTU 10-2 14 (mešini šáli), only in A 8-2 Vo both one-time contribution (l. 18-21) and annual tribute (l. 23-25) are listed in detail.

17 CTU A 8-2 Vo 26. LU A.SI^{MES}-na-a ú-ú-še ma-a-si-ni-i-a-ni áš-zi-e.

18 See G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*. Atlanta 1996. For different types of ancient Near Eastern treaties see e.g., A. Altman, How Many Treaty Traditions Existed in the Ancient Near East? *Pax Hethitica. Studies on the Hittites and their Neighbours in Honour of Itamar Singer*. Ed. by Yoram Cohen, Amir Gilan and Jared L. Miller, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2010: 16-36. One might expect that the Urartian practice was influenced mostly by the Assyrian diplomatic tradition; however, it seems that we can find more similarities with Hittite texts. This fact could be explained by the supposition that the Urartian concept of empire (cf. P. Zimansky, *Urartu as Empire. Cultural Integration in the Kingdom of Van. Biainili-Urartu. Proceedings of the Symposium held in Munich 12-14 October 2007*. Edited by S. Kroll, C. Gruber, U. Hellwag, M. Roaf & P. Zimansky, Peeters, Louvain 2012: 101-110) was closer to the Hittite rather than to the Assyrian model.

Most of them mention one-time contribution or annual tribute, return of refugees and captives, obligation to give troops, etc. But the discussed text is “historiographical” and I prefer to compare it with Hittite “historiographical” texts, to check how they reflect the conditions of treaties.

It was a great surprise for me that Hittite annals mention treaties only in very few cases:

Deeds of Suppiluliuma (Tablet Seven, Fragment 28, KBo 5.6 and duplicates): Then my father asked for the tablet of the treaty again, (in which there was told) how formerly the Storm God took the people of Kurustama, sons of Hatti, carried them to Egyptian territory, and made them Egyptian subjects, how the Storm God (30) concluded a treaty between the lands of Egypt and Hatti, and how they remained on friendly terms with each other. And when they had read aloud the tablet before them, my father addressed them: (35) “Hatti and Egypt have been friends a long time. Now this too on our behalf has taken place between t[hem]. Thus Hatti and Egypt will keep on being friends”.¹⁹

“Friendship” is mentioned as the only “condition of the treaty between two superpowers.

DS (fragment 51) ... and made it again (part) of Hattiland. Consequently ... took (his place) with my father. ... made a treaty, and began to give him troops...²⁰

Here is attested the obligation to give troops.

No treaty is mentioned in The Ten Year Annals of Mursili II.²¹ But in some places there are traces of conditions of treaties – again the obligation of giving troops and returning refugees or/and captives. Sometimes the local lord became a vassal of Mursili and kept his position:

(year I) I defeated the levies of the Kaska and killed them. The Kaska

19 Translation of H. Hoffner, *Context of Scripture, Canonical Compositions, Monumental Inscriptions, and Archival Documents from the Biblical World* (COS). General Editor William W. Hallo, Associate Editor K. Lawson Younger, Jr., Project Editor David E. Orton, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2003, vol. I: 191.

20 H.G. Gütterbock, The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by his Son, Mursili II. *JCS* 10 (1956): 118.

21 Translation of R. Beal, COS II: 82ff.

of the land of Durmitta resubmitted and they began to give [me troops]. [Then] I, [My Majesty,] returned. Because the Kaska of the land of Ishupitta had become hostile and ceased giving me troops, I, My Majesty, went to the land of Ishupitta. I attacked the town of [...]humissena. I looted it including its transplantees, cattle and sheep and brought them away to Hattusa, while the town I burned down. I resubjugated the Kaska of the land of Ishupitta. They began to give me troops. All this I did in one year.

(year IV) [When] I came back [to the Se]ha-[River Land,] I would have fought [Manapa- Tarhunta who] was [lord] in Seha-River Land. However, when [Manapa-Tarhunta] heard about me: “The Hittite king is coming,” [he became] afraid and so [he did not] then [come] against me. He sent [to] me his mother and old men and old women. They came and [fell down] at my feet. Because the women fell down at my feet, I had mercy on the women and so I did [not] enter the Seha-River Land. They handed over to me the Hittite transplantees who were in Seha-River Land. There were 4,000 transplantees whom they handed over. I sent them back to Hattusa and they led them away. Manapa-Tarhunta and Seha-River Land I made into my subjects. Then I went to Mira. I gave Mira to Mashuiluwa; I gave Seha-River Land to Manapa-Tarhunta; and I gave Hapalla to Targasnalli. I made these lands into my subjects where they were. I imposed military obligations on them and they began to give me troops ... Some (of Arzawa) I brought away to Hattusa and some I made into my subjects where they were. I imposed military obligations on them and they began to give me troops. The transplantees whom I, My Majesty, brought back for the royal estates, because I overcame all of Arzawa, numbered all together 66,000. Those whom the Hittite lords, infantry and horse-troops brought back were innumerable.

(year VII) When I had overcome Tipiya, I sent a messenger to Anniya, king of Azzi. I wrote to him: “[Return to me] my subjects who came to you while my father was in Mitanni.”

It is obvious that the description of the outcome of a single campaign, especially the list of conditions of the truce in the abovementioned Hittite annals is no

more detailed than that of the Urartian text CTU A 5-3. On the contrary – the Urartian text records in lines 15-28 almost all points of the hypothetical treaty between Minua and Uṭupuršini.

REFLEXION ON THE SURVIVAL OF ANATOLIAN HIEROGLYPHIC SCRIPT IN ARMENIAN

Aline HOUSEPIAN*

The subject of this speech is one of the enigmas in the history of the Armenian script: the medieval *nšanagirk'* (ideogrammic signs)¹ and their possible connection with the ancient Anatolian hieroglyphic writing.

Nšanagir is the ancient name of these lists, consists of *nšan* (Iranian origin: sign²) and *gir* (writing). There are also other designations such as *nšanagir imastoc'* (*nšanagir* of scholars), *nšanagir* of Armenian people, etc.

These *nšanagir* are grouped in separated lists of abbreviations which are merged in to the medieval literature as appendixes. The lists are composed of abbreviations and their definitions. It was the imitation of Armenian authors from Greeks³.

The lists of *nšanagir* have been published since the 19th century by the researchers and historians of Armenian diaspora⁴. The first western scholar who has published a list and an article about these *nšanagir* was Abbé P. Martin (by the end of the 19th century)⁵.

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1 *nšanagir* is the single form of *nšanagirk'* (k' is the plural sign in Classical Armenian).

2 NYBERG H. S. *A Manual of Pahlavi*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974, p. 142.

3 ABRAHAMIAN A. G. *Naxamaštoc'yan Hay Gir ev Grčut'yun*, Erevan, Hayastan, 1982, p. 51

4 EMIN J. B. (traduit par M. Evariste PRUD'HOMME) " De l'alphabet arménien ", *Revue del' Orient: Bulletin de la Société orientale*, vol. I, 1865 (86 signs), SRVANZTYAN G. *Toros Axtar*, Tibilisi , 1879, (120 signs) , HARUT YUNYAN I. *Hayoc' grer*, Tibilisi : M. Sharaze, 1892, pp. 107. BALIAN D. *Nšanagirk' hayoc'*, Vienne : Mkhitarian, 1898 (511 signs), AČARYAN H. *Hayoc' grer*, Erevan : Petakan hamalsarani hratarakčut' yun, 1984 (he has studied 8 inedited manuscripts of *Matenadaran* Institute of Ancient Manuscripts).

5 MARTIN P. " Des signes hiéroglyphiques dans les manuscrits arméniens ", *Congrès International des Orientalistes, compte-rendu de la première session: vol. II*, Paris : Maisonneuve & Cie, 1876 (267 signes).

There are two different groups of lists: *Erzinjan* (made by *Rotakes Erznkac'i*) and Cilician group, created probably in Cilicia by a historian named *Vardan Arevelk'c'i* (the 12th century)⁶.

We should note that many scholars became specially encouraged after the discovery of Hittites and the wrong hypothesis of Peter Jensen regarding Armenian -Hittite relations⁷: They deduced that Anatolian hieroglyphic writing was probably the ancient Armenian script.

Even it was not a valid hypothesis, a lot of effort was put into distinguishing the hieroglyphic signs in the lists of *nšhanagir*. Especially in *Erzinjan* group of *nšhanagir*, there are many signs very similar to ideograms and hieroglyphs.

The majority of these signs, certainly are late creations based on the Armenian alphabet or on the forms derived thereof. In addition, the meaning of the sign in most cases is very different⁸.

To date, the origin of these medieval signs is unknown. The dating of the lists is also a problematic issue⁹. We have the examples from 13-15th centuries, but there are many manuscripts which are preserved in private collections or in the collections of the Institute of Manuscripts of Yerevan (*Matenadaran*), which are not analyzed yet.

With regard to comparison of these signs with Anatolian hieroglyphic writing, the major problem is the huge distance between the time of use of hieroglyphic writing (Anatolian or Urartian) and that of composition of *nšhanagirk*.

Obviously, the geographic origin of these hieroglyphs must have been in the great Eastern Anatolia which includes a part of the Armenian Highland. In this vast area, two types of hieroglyphic writing are known for us: the Luwian hieroglyphs and the Urartian hieroglyphs.

6 *Op. cit.* ABRAHAMIAN A. G. *Hayoc'* ...p. 204

7 JENSEN P., *Hittiter und Armenier*; Strassbourg : Verlag Von Karl J. Trübner, 1898.

8 *Op. cit.*, AČAŘYAN H. *Hayoc' grer*...p. 428.

9 *Idem.* p. 429.

To answer the question whether there are hieroglyphs (in narrow sense) in the *nšanagir*, we should research the history of Armenian writing before the creation of alphabet by *Maštoc'* in the 5th century in order to find the sources of this transmission.

In this context, we have another important problem: the question of the existence or absence of Armenian pre-Christian writing.

Contrary to the enigma of *nšanagirk* which has been exclusively investigated by Armenian scholarship, the question of Armenian writing before the creation of alphabet by *Maštoc'* has been treated by many western scholars.

Actually, those who work on this issue are divided into two groups: scholars who think that before the creation of the Armenian alphabet by *Maštoc'* in the 5th century, there was no writing in Armenia¹⁰. However, these scientists are not yet able to answer the obvious question: how could survive the Armenian Kingdom so many centuries after its creation in the 5th century without any writing system? These researchers relay on historical accounts of the destruction of the pagan culture after the arrival of Christianity.

A second group of scholars believe rather the contrary: there was indeed writing even though we have no written literature and any other evidence¹¹. They refer to the testimony of historians and foreigners who had seen or heard about one (or more) Armenian script called *nšanagir*.

There is no physical evidence of any writing before the creation of *Maštoc'*, however, the oldest witness (fourth century AD) *Agatangelos* reports that the king *Tirdad's* scribes were recording the testimonies of holy Christian preachers (*Gayane* and *Gregory The Illuminator*) by "*nšanagir*" (ideograms).

10 ABRAHAMIAN A. G. "Naxamaštoc'yan hay matenagrut'yunə ev danielyan grerə", *Patmabanasirakan Handes*, 1963, 4, p. 131. See also : FEYDIT F. "Considerations sur l'alphabet de Saint Mesrop", *Handes Amsorya*, 1962, p. 76. AĻAYAN E.B. *Naxamaštoc'yan hay gri ev grakanut'yan, mesropian aybubeni ev harakic har'eri masin*, Erevan: Petakan hamalsarani hratarakčutyun, 1977. MANANDYAN H. *Erker II*, HSAH GA, 1978, p. 249f. MARKWART H., "Hayoc' aybubeni cagumə ev S. Maštoc' i ken-sagrut'yunə", *Mesrop Maštoc' hodvacneri žolovacu*, Erevan: Haykakan SSR Gitut'yunneri hratarakčutyun, 1962, p. 177f.

11 LANGLOIS V. *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie, tome I*, Paris: 1869, p. xij. *Op. cit.*, ABRAHAMIAN A. G. *Hayoc' Gir...* 1978. MOVSISYAN A. *Naxamaštoc'yan Hayastani grayin hamakarga*, Erevan: Erevani hamalsarani hratarakčut'yun, 2003, p. 227.

When the Armenian alphabet was created, we have the testimony of historians about Daniel's script. Three historians (Koryun, Moses of Khoren, Lazarus Pharpensis) testify the existence of signs / ideograms (Daniel was a Syriac bishop).

We have no other information about this writing (Was it pictographic? hieroglyphic?). According to these historians it was an Armenian native writing. Lazarus Pharpensis emphasizes that these signs are at the root of the Armenian alphabet.

These historians inform us that Bishop Daniel had "found" letters which made researchers think that Daniel's letters (or signs) were the old pagan Armenian alphabet that had been hidden to be protected from being destroyed by preachers of Christianity. Unfortunately, we don't have any example of letters of Daniel's script.

Hmayagir writing

Hmayagir means magical script. This was the writing that was used to create the magical texts of the Middle Ages¹². It is part of a larger corpus called the astronomical writing (*axtargrer*). It is an intermediate phase between pre-*Maštoc'* phase and that of creation of alphabet.

We cannot say that it was a writing for the use of scribes and ordinary people, as that seems to be a defective script. Most of the signs are similar to later Armenian alphabet.

It is interesting that we can see some signs quite similar to hieroglyphs. The date of this scripture is uncertain.

We have a gap of more than six centuries between this scripture and that which precedes it: the Urartian hieroglyphic script.

This writing has been in use since the reign of Ishpuini, Urartian king. It has been suggested that maybe it was in use already in second millennium B. C.

12 XAČHIKIAN L. M. "Naxamesropian gri harcə ev hmayagrərə", *Patmabanasirakan Handes*, 1963, 4, pp. 145-158.

but this opinion is not accepted by the majority of urartologues.

The hieroglyphs have been found from the western border of Urartu (Altintepe) until conquered Eastern countries (Armavir, Armenia). The language must be either that of the cuneiform inscriptions, or another common language in the kingdom¹³. We do not agree with the opinion that the Proto-Armenian could be the language of Urartian hieroglyphs. There are few examples which showed Armenian words of Indo-European origin in recent researches and they are not sufficient to make such suggestions.

It was not the official script of the kingdom. Obviously, it was a script in use by the population. As E. Laroche had suggested, at the time of this writing there is evidence of a strong neo-Hittite influence at the western border of the kingdom. The language was a dialect of Urartian¹⁴ (however to date, the existence of dialects for Urartian is not attested by linguists). The specificity of this writing is that it was mostly used on objects.

However, some important facts such as the limited number of signs, limited geographic extent and disappearance of writing with the fall of Urartu exclude the possibility of a deep root of this writing in the population as a real everyday writing system, but the possible transmission of at least some signs to the peoples of the following centuries arrived to the region could not be excluded.

Luwian Hieroglyphs

As we already know, Luwian writing was the writing used in the Neo-Hittite country of the Iron Age. Objects with this writing have been found not only in Eastern Anatolia but also the eastern border of the Armenian Highland (Karakend: Azerbaijan).

The scholars have found many signs in *nšnagirk* which are similar to Anatolian (Luwian) hieroglyphs¹⁵. Contrary to the Urartian hieroglyphic signs which

13 *Op. cit.*, MOVSISYAN A. *Naxamaštoc'yan*...p.27.

14 LAROCHE E. "Les hiéroglyphes d'Altintepe", *Anadolu*, 1971, 15, p. 61.

15 *Op. cit.*, AČARYAN H. *Hayoc' grer*...pp. 426-427., *Op. cit.*, ABRAHAMIANA. G. *Naxamaštoc'yan*... pp. 62-63.

was a local writing system of Urartian population who was substituted by other peoples of which Armenians, it is difficult to imagine how the Luwian hieroglyphs could be transmitted to Armenians. The only possible contact between two cultures (neo-Hittite-proto-Armenian) could take place by the end of the second millennium B. C. A. in the region of upper Euphrates, if we accept the theory of early arrival of Armenians (proto- Armenians) in this region.

Rock carvings

The earliest source for the comparison of the signs are the rock carvings that were found on the territory of Armenia.

The age of these rock carvings is the late Bronze Age and the Iron Age, which corresponds to the period post-Urartian and Urartian in the Armenian Highland. A detailed study of these rock carvings in the territory of Armenia has shown that there are several signs that are similar to Urartian hieroglyphics but also to *nšhanagirk'*¹⁶.

Conclusion

To conclude, we can say that there are two possibilities for transmission of Anatolian hieroglyphic signs in Armenian medieval lists:

An indirect transmission: The signs are the inventions before the creation of the alphabet on the basis of ancient pictographic and hieroglyphic writings (Anatolian and Urartian). It is possible that a holy scripture (or scriptures) has been preserved by pagans for the aim of religious use in pagan temples in ancient Armenia: (the old places of religious and secular education). The indirect transmission could be also possible by considering some common signs as “traveler” and common in general for the vast region of Anatolia.

16 MARTIROSYAN H. A. *Hayastani naxnadaryan nšanagrera ev nranc' urarta-haykakan krknaknerə*, Erevan: Haykakan SSH gitut'yunneri akademiayi hratarakčut'yun, 1973. *Op. cit.*, MOVSISYAN A. *Naxamaštoc'yan Hayastani*...p. 46.

A direct transmission: the signs included in *nšanagirk'* come from Urartian hieroglyphs, inspired from Luwian hieroglyphs. We know that two writings should be in contact near the western border of Urartu (Altintepe).

Although the material culture of Urartu shows a sudden and brutal end in the 6th century, it is possible that some signs have been survived and preserved as holy symbols by population during centuries.

Let's not forget that the establishment of Christianity in Armenia has been carried out with difficulty. Despite the massive destruction of temples and other pagan places of worship, there are several historians who testified that paganism was being practiced still longtime after the establishment of the Christianity. It is interesting to see that a writer of the 13th century (*Vardan Aygek'i*) in his book *Vasn k'rapaštut'ean* (for idolatry) dedicated to paganism in Armenia testifies that although 900 years had passed from the arrival of Christianity in Armenia, the people (in his time) still preserved the habits related to pagan times and practiced the ancient cults.

However, it is important to note that the work of assembling the lists of *nšanagirk* is not finished yet. And maybe if we have a more complete collection, we will have more acceptable results as evidence of the transmission of hieroglyphic signs.

There was also an attempt to compare *nšanagir* with the proto-Indian signs found at Mohenjo-Daro but the hypothesis of resemblance and a possible historical connection has been rejected¹⁷.

Thanks to new archaeological discoveries and newly found lists of *nšanagirk*, future studies will probably allow us to try to trace the contacts between these ancient cultures of the Near East which will highlight the dark ages of the history of Armenian non-material culture and its possible kinship with the neighboring countries.

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THE LUWIAN RITUALS OF KUWATTALLA: THOUGHTS ON THEIR RE-ARRANGEMENT

*Manfred HUTTER**

1. The state of research

Since long Frank Starke's arrangement and transliteration of all known Cuneiform Luwian texts has made available this textual corpus in an easy way to researchers, which also has been the basis for substantial progress both to our understanding of grammar and vocabulary.¹ In the catalogue of Hittite texts, rituals attributed to a certain Kuwattalla had been organized as numbers CTH 759-763, and Starke could re-arrange the textual fragments by establishing three different rituals,² attributed to the attendant woman Kuwattalla as author, who has received a land grant (KBo 5.7)³ during the reign of Arnuwanda and Asmunikal at the end of the 15th century. In abbreviated form we have to deal with the following rituals:

(a) First ritual:⁴ the *šalli aniur*, the "Great Ritual" is transmitted in three different redactions, one by Kuwattalla only, the other by Kuwattalla and the Old Woman Šilaluḫḫi, and a third redaction by Šilaluḫḫi only. This ritual was set down at least on four tablets, most probably even more.

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- 1 Starke 1985; cf. also the very useful online edition by Melchert 2001 with some corrections and alternatives to Starke's textual arrangement. His study on the formation of Luwian nouns (Starke 1990) is covering many other aspects of Luwian grammar and vocabulary, too. Side by side with Starke's studies one has to mention – just as the main contributions of research – the word-list by Melchert 1993 and his descriptive Grammar (Melchert 2003) as well as the profound study by Yakubovich 2010 and his now online vocabulary (Yakubovich 2014sqq.).
- 2 Starke 1985: 72-201, including those fragments which are very badly preserved which makes it impossible to add them to one of the three rituals for certain.
- 3 Cf. also Yakubovich 2010: 102 and the recent new edition of the document by Rüter / Wilhelm 2012: 231-239. – See further the library inventory text KUB 30.55 rev. 8', mentioning tablets by Kuwattalla concerning omina (Dardano 2006: 156f.).
- 4 Starke 1985: 74 gives a table of all textual details of this ritual according to his reconstruction.

(b) Second ritual:⁵ the SISKUR *dūpaduparša*, the “Ritual of Striking”, which – according to the colophons – is also preserved in a redaction by Kuwattalla and Šilaluḫḫi and it comprised at least nine tablets.

(c) Third ritual:⁶ For this ritual, a colophon (KBo 10.42 iv 6) also mentions Kuwattalla as “author”, but the “title” of the third ritual is not available due to the fragmentary colophon; the ritual also covered at least eight or nine tablets (cf. KBo 29.12 iv 6).

Even though all three rituals are extending over several days and a relatively high number of tablets, the fragmentary situation of the tablets found all around in Hattusa – at Büyükkale, in the area of Temple I and in the House on the Slope⁷ – makes it difficult to understand the exact purposes of the three rituals.⁸ In my contribution I want to draw the attention to some minor observed aspects in reconstructing the sequence of the texts and some details of the rituals which can shed some light on aspects of the special background of Kuwattalla’s ritual(s), differentiating them from other Cuneiform Luwian rituals from Kizzuwatna.

2. The relationship between SISKUR *dūpaduparša* and *šalli aniur*

The first tablet⁹ of *šalli aniur* begins as follows (KUB 35.18 i 1-7):¹⁰

- 1 [UM-MA ^f*Ku-wa-at-tal-la*] MUNUS SUḪUR.LÁ
 2 Ṫ^fŠ[*i-la-al-lu-u-ḫi* MUNUSŠ]U.GI *ma-a-an an-tu-uḫ-š[i]*

5 Starke 1985: 105 with all textual details.

6 Starke 1985: 137 with all textual details. The third ritual (mainly the text KUB 35.43) has some similarities to Tunnawiya’s ritual KUB 9.34 (cf. Hutter 1988: 79, 128; Hutter 2014), but it cannot be attributed to that “author” as Starke 1985: 136 has convincingly shown.

7 Cf. Bawanypeck 2013: 167.

8 Cf. the rather general observations e.g. by Bawanypeck 2013: 167 who only mentions that the third ritual counteracts impurity or by Goedegebuure 2010: 304 who refers to the *dūpaduparša* ritual as “a ritual against afflicting (through an evil act) in general”.

9 The colophon in KUB 35.18 iv 2-6 mentions this being the “first tablet”. According to Starke 1985: 91f. this is the second redaction of the ritual, done by Kuwattalla and Šilaluḫḫi. Starke’s reconstruction of the different redactions of the ritual(s) are important, but – due to the fragmentary state of the texts – for this contribution the various redactions have to be treated separately. A parallel version (found in Temple I) to the beginning of the first ritual is KBo 29.3 (Starke 1985: 98-100), the end of the first tablet is well preserved in KUB 35.24+ (Starke 1985: 83-86).

10 Transliterated Hittite texts are given in italics, while transliterated Luwian texts are written with normal types. Both Hittite and Luwian words in (bound) transcription are given in italics.

- 3 *kat-ta wa-al-ḥ[u-u-wa-aš SÍSKU]R ši-pa-an-du-wa-ni*
 4 *na-aš-ta ma-aḥ-ḥa-an [I-NA] UD 3.KAM*
 5 *kat-ta wa-al-ḥu-u-wa-aš SÍ[SKU]R aš-nu-me-ni*
 6 *[n]a-an I-NA UD 3.KAM pa-ra-a GAL-li-pát a-ni-u-u[r]*
 7 *[a]p-pu-ú-e-ni nu ki-i tum-me-ni*

Thus (speak) Kuwattalla, the attendant woman, and Šilaluḥḥi, the Old Woman: “When we perform the ‘ritual against being afflicted with something’ for a person, then when on the third day we finish the ‘ritual against being afflicted with something’, we continue the ‘great ritual’ on the third day; and we take this:”

As important information from this opening paragraph of *šalli aniur* we learn that the “great ritual” did not start with this tablet, but that the “ritual of being afflicted with something” had already been carried out during the days before. The Hittite wording *katta walḥuwaš SISKUR* corresponds to Luwian SISKUR *dūpaduparša*¹¹, the “title” of a (sub-)ritual which has been preserved on (at least) nine¹² separate tablets. The sequence of the tablets is hard to establish, the best preserved text of the ritual is KUB 9.6 + 35.39 (third tablet) which is possibly continued by KUB 35.78 as the “fourth” tablet.¹³ That these two texts are closely connected to each other can be proved by the fact that on both tablets a special deity is mentioned, namely the “Sun-god of the oath” (or the “Sun-god by which one swears”). At the end of the third tablet, the “Sun-god of the oath” (*ḥirutalliš Tiwaz*) is the recipient of the sacrifice; KUB 9.6 + 35.29 iv 20-26 reads as follows:¹⁴

- 20 EGIR-*an-da-ma-kán* EN SISKUR UDU IŠ-TU ^{DUG}KU-KU-UB
 GEŠ[TIN]
 21 ḥi-i-ru-ta-al-li ^dUTU-i ši-pa-an-ti

11 Hutter 2003: 253; Goedegebuure 2010: 304.

12 See the colophon of KUB 35.40 + KBo 29.8 iv 6', found in Temple I.

13 Thus the suggestion by Starke 1985: 106.

14 Cf. also the translation by Starke 1990: 538.

§§§

- 22 i-ik-ku-ú-na-ú-na-aš-ši-iš-*ma* 1 UDU-*pát*
 23 *ma-a-an me-eq-qa-a-uš-ša an-ni-iš-kán-zi*
 24 i-ik-ku-ú-na-ú-na-a[š-š]i-in-*ma* 1 UDU-*pát da-an-zi*

§§§

- 25 DUB.3.KAM ŠA S[ISKUR] du-ú-pa-du-pa-ar-ša
 26 Ú-UL QA-TI

Then the ritual client offers one sheep with a jug of wine to the Sun-god of the oath. §§§ But it is (only) one sheep for the *ikkunauna-*. When they perform the ritual for many (ritual clients), they also take only one sheep for the *ikkunauna-*. §§§ Third tablet. The ritual of striking. Not finished.

This sacrificial act seems to be continued on the next tablet, part of which is KUB 35.78 obv. 5-11).

- 5 [] ... *nu-uš-ša-an* ^{MUNUS}Š[U.GI
 6 [] *kat-ta tar-ma-a-iz-zi nu me-m[a-i]*
 7 [*ma-al-*] *ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ša-an-za-an-za EN-an-z[a]*
 8 [*i-ik-ku-n*] *a-at-ta-aš* 1 UDU *ši-pa-an-ti nu me-ma[-i]*
 9 [ḥi-i-ru-ta-al-]i-iš ^dUTU-*wa-za na-aš-ta* ^{MUNUS}ŠU[G.I
 10 [^{UZU}NÍG.GIG *ḥu-u-i-šu* ^{UZ}]UŠÀ *ḥu-u-i-šu* ^dUTU-*i me-na-aḥ-ḥa[-an-da]*
 11 [*e-ep-zi n*] *u me-ma-i ḥi-i-ru-ú-ta-al-li-iš* [^dUTU-*wa-za*]

Then the Old Woman nails down.¹⁵ Then she says: “[...] for the ritual client.” – He sacrifices one sheep of/for *ikunatt-* and says: “Sun-god of the oath.” – The Old Woman holds [a raw liver and] a raw heart into the direction of the Sun-god and says: “Sun-god of the oath.”

15 Cf. Goedegebuure 2010: 306: The “nailing down” of something occurs several times in this ritual (e.g. KUB 32.8+5 iv 24; KBo 9.143 iii 2; KBo 9.145,4.11), a ritual action which also fits with the title SISKUR *dūpaduparša* “ritual of striking”.

The Sun-god of the oath is only mentioned in the *dūpadu-parša* ritual¹⁶ – neither in other rituals of Kuwattalla nor in other Cuneiform or hieroglyphic Luwian texts.¹⁷ But we can deduce that the function of the god – safeguarding the oaths and punishing those who swear falsely – should be held in high esteem in the *dūpadu-parša* ritual; the one who breaks the oath will be judged by this Sun-god who is the supervisor of justice. Maybe also actions like the “nailing down” (of evils), which frequently occur in this ritual, fit together with the purpose to fix evil (like curses or perjury) so that they cannot harm the ritual client anymore – thanks to the help of the Sun-god. But whoever transgresses the oath will be cursed by the Sun-god of the oath.

The just quoted passages KUB 9.6+ iv 22,24 and KUB 35.78 obv. 8 mention a special kind of offering of a sheep. In KUB 35.78 we find the Hittite word *ikkunatta-* which has been borrowed from the Luwian language; this *nomen actionis* in *-tta-* is also attested in other passages (KUB 35.18 i 10; KBo 29.3 i 5; Bo 4388,3).¹⁸ In KUB 9.6+ we find the adjective as a derivation in *-ašša/i-* from the verbal (extended) substantive *ikkunawar/ikkunaun-*, while the “plain” verbal substantive *ikkuwar/ikkun-* is attested in KUB 35.72 iii 8. All these references have been discussed by Starke, who comes to the result that the basis of the various derivations might be an unattested verbal form **ikkun̄ji-/*ikkun̄ji-*.¹⁹ The exact meaning of the verbal basis and the derivated words is left open by Starke; he only suggests a general semantics of the word referring to some kind of sacrifice which is often combined with the offering of liquids.²⁰ Also Ilya Yakubovich recently has suggested a general meaning “*immolare*” (Latin for “to sacrifice”) as semantic basis for this group of words.²¹ My guess of the semantics of the

16 Cf. the following action by the ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI who evokes the Sun-god of the oath (KUB 35.78 obv. 12f.) and takes thick bread and *gangati-* (probably some vegetable). – As far as I know there is only one more occurrence of this special Sun-god in KBo 29.18,3 (Starke 1985: 197); because of the epithet it is probable that this fragment belongs to the *dūpadu-parša* ritual, but its exact position cannot be determined.

17 In this way my overview of Luwian religion was not absolutely precise when the impression appears that the Sun-god of the oath was a widely spread manifestation of the Luwian Sun-god (Hutter 2003: 226).

18 Maybe there is also an *-ašša/i-*-extension of this word attested in KUB 35.16 i 14 ([i-ik-k]u-na-at-ta-aš-ši-in).

19 Cf. Starke 1990: 537-540. Another verbal basis is *ikkunāya-^m*, which is attested in KUB 35.16 i 6 (3rd person, plural, past).

20 Starke 1990: 539.

21 Yakubovich 2014sq. Earlier Yakubovich (2010: 48) has translated KUB 35.78 obv. 8 as “one anointed sheep” (probably based on Melchert 1993: 86f.).

group of these words is based on Hurrian *egunni*- “pure”,²² which might be taken into Kizzuwatnaean Luwian as a loanword to qualify a “sacrifice of / for purification”.

Even if the exact semantics of these words remain uncertain to this moment, it is important that this kind of sacrifice is attested both in the SISKUR *dūpaduparša* and in *šalli aniur*. Already at the beginning of the first tablet of *šalli aniur* we find a reference to this sacrificial action, which therefore immediately follows the SISKUR *dūpaduparša* which was just finished on the third day (cf. above for KUB 35.18 i 4f. and the parallel text KBo 29.3 i 2f.); in KUB 35.18 i 8-12 the necessary victims for the sacrificial ceremony are mentioned:

- 8 [8] UDU^{HIA} Û 1 MÁ[Š.GA]L *na-aš-ta A-NA* 8 UDU^{HIA}
 9 [i]š-tar-na 1 UDU GE₆ ŠÀ.BA 2 UDU^{HIA} *a-ni-u-ra-aš*
 10 [1] UDU BABBAR 1 UDU GE₆ 2 UDU^{HIA}-*ma i-ik-ku-na-at-ta-aš*
 11 [1 UDU] *šar-la-a-at-ta-aš* [1 UDU].GANAM *na-an-za*
 12 [*hu-u-ma-a*]n-da-an x[*ha*]l-zi-iš-ša-an-zi

Eight sheep and one billy goat; and among the eight sheep there is one black sheep, two sheep for the ritual, one white sheep, one black sheep, but two sheep of the *ikkunatt*-“purification”, one sheep of the praise offering, one ewe. Then they call out ... all [

Therefore it is evident that the first tablet of *šalli aniur* also includes the same ritual action as we can deduce that it was performed during the SISKUR *dūpaduparša*. This similarity also allows us to add the unpublished text Bo 4388 (CTH 470.264) most probably to the first tablet of *šalli aniur*; the lines read as follows:²³

- 3' *nu* 4 UDU^{HIA}-*pát* Û 1 MÁŠ.GAL [
 4' 1 UDU *ik-ku-na-at-ta-aš* 1 UDU [
 5' *iš-ḥar-nu-ma-an-zi* 1 MÁŠ.GAL-*ma A-NA*

22 Cf. Richter 2012: 77 for further discussions of this Hurrian word and related forms derived from the base *eg-*.

23 Cf. Haas 1993: 73f. note 38.

§§§

6' *na-ak-ku-uš-ši-i-x*[

§§§

7' 1 ŠAḤ.TUR 1 UR.[TUR

8' MUŠEN^{HIA} *iš-[ḥar-nu-ma-an-zi*

And four sheep and one billy goat [...] one sheep of the *ikkunatt*-“purification”, one sheep [of the praise-offering] they smear with blood, but one billy goat for ... §§§ For a substitute [... §§§ one piglet, one pup[py....] and birds they sm[ear with blood

There is one more correspondence between the SISKUR *dūpadu-parša* and KUB 35.16, a tablet of *šalli aniur* according to the colophon (KUB 35.16 iv 2.5; the number of the tablet is not preserved); KUB 35.16 i 6 has the past verb (3rd person plural) *n]a-a-nu-ú-un-pa i-ik-ku-na-a-ú-un-ta* “but now they have *ikkunāya*-ed”, or “but now they have ‘purified’ by the means of the *ikkunatt*-offering/purification”. The preceding fragmentary line mentions Luwian *ḥaratar* “offense” and *waškuwallimma/i-* “sinful”.²⁴ Though the text is very fragmentary, it is important because we find quite the same wording in KBo 9.143 iii 8f., where we can restore the verb in iii 9 as [i-ik-ku-na]-a-un-ta; KBo 9.143 can be attributed to the SISKUR *dūpadu-parša*.

These observations lead us to the first result in interpreting Kuwattalla’s *šalli aniur*: The “first” tablet – starting with the ceremonies performed on the third day – makes it obvious that the “ritual of striking down” is performed on the day(s) before and finished during the third day. Both during the *dūpadu-parša* ritual and the opening ceremonies of *šalli aniur* a special kind of sacrifice is mentioned; building on Starke’s observations on *ikkuwar* and the related words we may presume that this is a special word, maybe expressing the idea of some special act of purification. But what is even more important is the fact that this terminology is not attested in any other Luwian (or Hittite) rituals; so the occurrence of this terminology only in the SISKUR *dūpadu-parša* and in the beginning of *šalli aniur* can be taken as a weighty argument for the re-arrangement of the texts.

24 Cf. on these words Starke 1990: 181, 445f.

3. KUB 35.43 as part of *šalli aniur* (Starke’s “first ritual”)

In arranging and attributing the Luwian text to Kuwattalla’s ritual, Starke has rightly observed that the Luwian incantations of KUB 35.24++ i and KUB 35.43 iii correspond to each other, but also the practice of using a lump of dough we find several times in both texts. Therefore Starke attributed KUB 35.43 to a “third” ritual by Kuwattalla, but also in this case, a re-arrangement of the text is suggested, taking KUB 35.43 as part of *šalli aniur*, and not as a third ritual. Some observations are in favour of this:

3.1. *war(a)palla/i- Tarhunt-*

This epithet of the weather-god is – as far as I know – restricted to the rituals of Kuwattalla, at least in the Cuneiform Luwian texts. In the first tablet of *šalli aniur* we find the following Luwian spell (KUB 35.24 + 35.20 + 32.12 + 35.22, obv. 33-38):²⁵

§§§

33 [wa-r]a-pa-a[l-li-iš ^dTar-ḫu-un-za ma-am-ma-an-na-tar u-wa-y]a-an-ti
š[a-ak-nu-wa-an-ti]

34 ma-al-ḫa-aš-ša-a[š-ši-iš-pa-tar EN-aš a-pa-a-aš-ša-an-za wa-aš-ši-na-
an-z]a a-a-an-nu-un-n[a-an-za]

35 ma-a-am-ma-an-n[a-ad-du ḫu-it-wa-la-a-ḫi-ta-ti an-na-ru-um-ma-ḫi-ta-
ti] a-ar-ra-ya-ti [MU.ḪI.A-ti]

36 EGIR-pa-ra-an-t[a-ti a-a-ra-ti ḫa-at-tu-la-ḫi-ta-ti DINGIR.MEŠ-aš-ša-
an-za-ti w]a-aš-ša²-ra-ḫi-ta-t[i]

37 ḫu-i-tum-na[-a-ḫi-ta-ti]

§§§

38 *nu-za* ^{MUNUS}ŠU.G[I *pár-ku-in iš-na-]a-aš ta-lu-up-pí-in da-a-i n]a-an-
ša-an A-NA BE-E[L SÍSKUR]*

39 *A-NA RA-M[A-NI-ŠU an-da ta-m]a-aš-zi nu* ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI *te-ez-zi*²⁶

25 The same spell occurs also in KUB 35.16 i 9-13 (unknown number of tablet of *šalli aniur*) and on the third tablet, KUB 32.9 + KUB 35.21 (+) 32.11, rev. 11-14. The surrounding paragraphs on the third tablet differ from the first tablet.

26 Restoring obv. 38-39 according to the third tablet, KUB 32.9++, rev. 15-16. – Cf. also Kammenhuber 1965: 213 = 1993: 331.

Powerful Tarhunt, look at the miserable (and) the defiled²⁷ with favour. But the ritual client shall look upon his body²⁸ – with life, with virility, with long years, with future time, with health, with the favour of the gods, with vitality. §§§ Then the Old Woman takes a pure clod of dough and presses it upon the ritual client, upon his body. Then the Old Woman says:²⁹

In a slightly different form, we find the same Luwian evocation of Tarhunt in the so-called third ritual (KUB 35.43 ii 36-40; cf. also the duplicate text KUB 35.44, ii 1-11)³⁰, varying only the sequence of the well-wishing component which should be bestowed on the ritual client. Although in all occurrences the adjective accompanying Tarhunt as an epithet is fragmentary, it is restricted to these texts, therefore it is an indication that KUB 35.43 (and the duplicate KUB 35.44, too) is closely related to those texts which belong – according to the colophons – to *šalli aniur* and not to a different ritual.

The beginning of the epithet is fragmentary, but we certainly can restore it as *warpalla/i-*, based on Hieroglyphic Luwian evidence and the Hittite vocabulary KUB 4.4. obv. 13, where *warpalla/i-* is rendering the Akkadian word *gašru*; the *-alli-* suffix favours a Luwian interpretation of the word in Hittite context.³¹ In the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus we find the following references. In MARAŞ 1 (line 2d) we read – as part of the genealogy – the sequence *mu-wa/i-ta-li-si-sà* | (“SCALPRUM+RA/I.LA/I/U”) *wa/i+ra/i-pa-li-sa* | (INFANS.NEPOS) *ha-ma-su-ka-la-sá* “Muwatalli’s powerful grandson”,³² using the word as an adjective accompanying “grandson”. Hidden behind the logographic writing, we most probably encounter the adjective as a divine epithet in another Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription:

27 Cf. Hittite *uwaya-* “to grieve” and Hittite *šaknuwant-* “defiled”: As there are Luwian words like *šahha-* “defilement” and *šahhaniya-* “defile” (Rieken 1999: 340f., KUB 35.45 ii 21) one has to explain the different velars /k/ and /ḫ/, which seemingly also occur in the two Luwian divine names *Sarku-* (KARKAMISA 11b+c, § 18; KARKAMISA 29 f, Fragment 2,2) and *Sarḫunta-* (ÇİFTLIK § 6) for which see Hawkins 2000: 450 with further arguments. – Yakubovich 2014sq. offers a totally different interpretation, s.v. *saknuwant(i)-* “fatty” and s.v. *wayant(i)-* “animal” (?).

28 Cf. Melchert 2000: 177 for the translation of *waššina/i-* as “limbs” in plural.

29 Cf. Kammenhuber 1965: 213 = 1993: 331; for similar paragraphs cf. KUB 32.9 + 35.12, obv. 1f., obv. 25f.

30 “Powerful Tarhunt, look at the miserable (and) the defiled with favour. But the ritual client shall look upon his body – with life, with virility, with future time (a-ap-pa-ra-an-ta-ti a-ra-ta), with health, with the favour of the gods, with long years” (a-ar-ra-ya-ti uš-ša-ti).

31 Kloekhorst 2008: 967.

32 Cf. Hawkins 2000: 262.

SUVASA B has the wording (DEUS)*SARMA*-ma-sa₆ *273.REX, “the powerful Sarruma”. According to Hawkins the hieroglyphic sign *273 renders either *warpa/i-* or *muwa-* and is sometimes also used as a determinative for other derivations from *warpa/i-*.³³ So it is a well founded guess to interpret *273.REX as rendering *warpalla/i-* in connection with the divine name. The third context where we encounter this word regularly in Hieroglyphic Luwian is the proper name *Warpalla(wa)-*, a Tabolean ruler, who is famous for the veneration of a local form of the Tarhunt of the vineyard according to his inscriptions and reliefs.³⁴ Thus, there can be no doubt about the existence of this word in Cuneiform Luwian, used as adjective in the general sense “strong, powerful, great”. Its use in the context with gods can both be seen in SUVASA B, but also *Warpalla(wa)*’s reverence of Tarhunt might at least show a relation of the epithet with the divine sphere. Though it is only a proper name, the young form – transmitted in Greek script from Cilicia – *Orbala-sētas*³⁵ undoubtedly renders Luwian **warpalla-zita/i-* “the man of the powerful ([Storm-]god)”, corresponding in name giving to (Hittite-)Luwian names like *Santa-zita/i-* “the man of Santa” or *Arma-zita/i-* “the man of the Moon-god”.³⁶ Therefore the name can be taken as a proof for the use (and existence) of the divine epithet, which is employed in *Kuwattalla*’s rituals.

The threefold sequence – use as adjective, as divine epithet, as proper name³⁷ – can be compared with the Luwian word *muwatalla/i-* (also written with the Logogram NIR.GÁL) which occurs in Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian texts and which was also taken into Hittite: the adjective “awe-inspiring” or “mighty” is also used as a “simple” adjective specifying weapons or cultic implements, but it is also often used as an epithet of the Storm-god³⁸ and of course as a proper name of Hittite and (local) Luwian rulers in the second and first millennium, as a few examples show: A Cuneiform Luwian *mugawar* for the Storm-god mentions the “mighty / awe-inspiring weapon”

33 Hawkins 2000: 463. Cf. also Yakubovich 2014qq., who suggests “champion” (s.v. *warpall(i)-*).

34 Hutter 2003: 224; cf. also Ehringhaus 2014: 48-61.

35 For references see Houwink ten Cate 1961: 120, 165; Zgusta 1964: § 1102-1; cf. also Ourpalos from Phrygia (Zgusta 1964: § 1174).

36 For *zita/i-* in (Luwian) onomastics see Laroche 1966: 324f.

37 CHD L-N 316; Starke 1990: 173.

38 van Gessel 1998: 661, 787, 791.

(KBo 29.31 iv 9), KARKEMIS A1a, line 4 (§ 26) refers to the awe-inspiring Tarhunt (FORTIS)mu-wa/i-ta-lin-na (DEUS)TONITRUS-za-na³⁹ and the proper name Muwatalli is well documented from the Hittite Empire up to the Hellenistic era. – Thus there should be no doubt that Kuwattalla’s rituals have preserved a divine epithet related to (the Storm-god) Tarhunt which has not been attested otherwise in the second millennium, but only in the first millennium, where it – probably – could also refer to Šarruma who then had some aspects of the Storm-god.

3.2. *The way of the gods*

Another interesting formula in KUB 35.43 which also occurs in the *šalli aniur* is the symbolic phrase the “way of the gods” metaphorically mentioned side by side with parts of the body of the ritual client. Unfortunately, some of the references are rather fragmentarily preserved, as we see from KUB 35.43 iii 1-4:

- 1 []x x x x[
 2 []x la-a-la-ad-da da-a-ru-u[š-ša mi-i-ša-an-za]
 3 [ḥa-aš-ša ḥal-ḥal-za-ni-i]n i-ú-na-ḥi-ša wa-a-ra-na[-ḥi-ša la-al-pí-in]
 4 [ku-wa-an-na-ni-in ma-aš-š]a-na-al-li-in KASKAL-a[n]
 [...] he/she has taken⁴⁰ – (his) image, (his) flesh, bones, *ḥalḥalzana/i-*, the ability to walk, “greatness”⁴¹, the eyelash, the eyebrow, the divine path.”

As the preceding section of the tablet is broken, the interpretation of the context is not certain, it cannot be decided if the action affects the body parts in a negative or positive way; so we can only assume that either an enemy or the Old Woman has taken (la-a-la-ad-da) the image, the flesh, the other body parts, ending with the “divine path”.⁴² This metaphor “the divine path”

39 Hawkins 2000: 89; Starke 1990: 173.

40 Cf. also Carruba 1982: 2; Kammenhuber 1986: 90 = 1993: 737.

41 For (*u*)*warannāhit-* the translation “greatness” (maybe “tallness”) is a guess, based on the derivation of the noun from *urayann(i)- / urann(i)-*: “great; tall” (cf. Starke 1990: 167); thinking of physical “tallness”, the word might well match both with the body parts and the ability to walk; cf. also Carruba 1990: 250, who suggested “potency, power”.

42 KUB 35.43 iii 5ff. shows striking similarities to KUB 35.24 i 5ff., as has been correctly observed by Starke 1985: 136; these similarities he took as proof that KUB 35.43 can be attributed to Kuwattalla (as “third”

seems to be something which characterizes a human in the spiritual way (contrary to the material or physical side of the body) and which can also be harmed by negative impurity or spells. – There are further occurrences of these elements in KUB 35.73,1-12 (and the parallel text KUB 35.74,1-9) as well as in KUB 35.20 rev. 8-12 (belonging to KUB 35.24++, the first tablet of *šalli aniur*). From KUB 35.74,1-4 we can deduce that the Old Woman holds (or maybe waves) sheep fat to the ritual client and recites into the direction of the Sun-god.

The best preserved passage mentioning the “divine path” is KUB 35.45 ii 15-30; after the description of the ritual action, the incantation is quoted in Luwian.

- 15 *nu-za* ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI EGIR-*an-da iš-na-aš 2 ši-e*[(-*nu*-)]*uš da-a-i*
 16 *na-aš-kán* ^dUTU-*i me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da*¹ *e-ep*[(-*z*)]*i*
 17 *nam-ma ši-pa-an-ti ḫu-uk-ki-iš-ke-ez-zi-ma* [(*k*)]*i-iš-ša-an*
 §§§
 18 *x[x x]x EN-ya ti-wa*²-*a-li-ya pí-ya-aš* ^{LÚ}KÚR.MEŠ-*in-z*[(*i*)[?]]
 19 *kat-ta-wa-at-na-al-li-in-za ú-ut-na-aš-ši-in-za ḫi-iš-ḫi-ša-aš-ši-i[n-]za*
 20 *ta-pa-ru-wa-aš-ši-in-za ta-a-ta-ri-ya-am-ma-na-aš-ši-in-za ḫi-i-ru-t*[(*a-*
aš-)]*ši-in-za*
 21 EN.MEŠ-*an-za ku-i-ša-an ša-aḫ-ḫa-ni-iš-ša-at-ta ku-i-ša-an*
 22 *ip-pa-tar-ri-<iš>-ša-at-ta EN SÍSKUR-aš-ši-in ALAM-ša mi-i-ša-an-za*
 23 *ḫa-aš-ša ḫal-ḫal-za-ni-in ú-wa-ra-an-na-ḫi-ša i-ú-na-ḫi-ša*
 24 *la-al-pí-in ku-wa-an-na-ni-in ma-aš-ša-na-al-li-in KASKAL-an*
 §§§
 25 *ma-a-na-aš ḫu-i-du-wa-li-iš šar-ri-(y)a-an* ^dUTU-*za da-ra-ú-id-du*
 26 *ma-a-na-aš ú-la-an-ti-iš a-an ti-ya-am-ma-aš-ši-iš* ^dUTU-*za da-ra-ú-id-*
du?
 27 *ta-ta-ri-ya-am-ma-na-aš-ši-in ḫi-ru-ta-aš-ši-in EN-an*
 §§§

ritual).

- 28 [(nu^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI)] 2 [š*i-e-nu-u*]š *iš-na-aš A-NA EN SÍSKUR*
 29 [(ŠA-PAL ĠİR.MEŠ-Š)]U *da-a-i* ^{DUG}KU-KU-UB KAŠ-*ma A-NA*
 GIŠBANŠUR AD.KID
 30 [(p*é-ra-an kat-ta*) d]a-a-i

Then the Old Woman takes two figures made of dough. She holds them in the direction of the Sun-god. She makes an offering and pronounces the following spell:⁴³ §§§ Oh [...], *tiwali*-lord⁴⁴, deliver them⁴⁵, the enemies, the opponents of law, the lords of spells, of (magic bonds), of imprecation, of curses and of oaths. (Deliver him) who has defiled him, who has got hold magically of him,⁴⁶ the ritual client, (his) image, (his) flesh, bones, *halhalzana/i-*, greatness, the ability to walk, eyelash, eyebrow, the divine path. §§§ If he (the enemy) is living, Tiwad shall deliver him above; if he is dead, the Sun-goddess of the Earth shall deliver him, the man of curse and oath.⁴⁷ §§§ Then the Old woman puts two figures made of dough under the feet of the ritual client. And she puts a jug of beer on a table of reeds.

According to Starke, KUB 35.45 is tablet “y” of Kuwattallas “third ritual”,⁴⁸ this may be possible as at the moment it can only be seen that there is no solid evidence that KUB 34.45 shares precise expressions or formula which appear neither in the SISKUR *dūpaduparša* nor in *šalli aniur*.

43 Cf. also the translations by Kammenhuber 1986: 89 = 1993: 736; Haas 2003: 591.

44 Melchert 2003: 181; cf. Starke 1990: 375 fn. 1353.

45 Cf. Melchert 2000: 181 for the interpretation of *piya=aš* as an imperative + *-aš* “them”. Starke 1990: 122 contrarily interprets *piyaš* as preterit because of the following verbs (ii 21f.), but the invocation of the Sun-god for help makes an imperative more plausible. See also the translation of Yakubovich 2010: 29.

46 For this interpretation of the two verbs cf. Carruba 1982: 2 (and Carruba 1990: 250); Kammenhuber 1986: 89 = 1993: 736; Rieken 1999: 340f. has confirmed this interpretation; see further Puhvel 1979: 303 for Luwian *šaḫḫa-* “dirt, filth” and the denominative verb *šaḫ(h)aniya-* “befoul” besides Hittite *šakniya-*.

47 Hutter 2003: 227; cf. Kammenhuber 1986: 89 = 1993: 736.

48 Cf. also the two parallel texts: KUB 35.48 ii 8-24; KBo 29.10,1-10. – The same body parts and the “divine path” are also mentioned in KUB 35.11 ii 8-11 (par. KUB 35.12 iii 1-4), but in a different context. The participle *a-aḫ-ḫa-ša-am-mi-iš*, ruling the nouns in the accusative cannot be interpreted, thus the phrase is not clear.

But this does not contradict our considerations about the re-arrangement of KUB 35.43 as belonging to *šalli aniur* as the “divine path” (all passages with the accusative singular *ma-aš-ša-na-al-li-in KASKAL-an*) is not restricted to Kuwattalla’s texts. To my knowledge, there are two further passages in rituals from Hattuša which mention the “divine path” in a way comparable to the occurrence in Kuwattalla’s rituals. The one passage is KUB 32.121 iii 8-25, which belongs to the (Hurrian) ritual series of the Old Woman Šalašu (CTH 788). The path of several gods is mentioned here:⁴⁹

- 8 [*-k*]an an-da ŠA ^DIŠTAR A-NA ^{GIŠ}KIRI₆
 9 [] 3-ŠU te-ez-zi I-NA 3 KASKAL^N-ma EN.SÍSKUR
 10 [te-ez]-zi ú-uk-wa-za EN.SÍSKUR nu-wa ku-it da-aš-ki-ši
 11 [da-aš-k]i-mi ALAM-YA mi-iš-ri-wa-a-tar
 12 [] me-mi-an iš-ša-aš ha-lu-kán tar-ḥu-u-i-la-a-tar
 13 [TI-tar] MU.KAM.ḪI.A GÍD.DA UD.KAM.ḪI.A GÍD.DA ŠA ^{DU}
 KASKAL-an
 14 [ŠA ^DZA.]BA₄.BA₄ KASKAL-an da-aš-ki-mi ŠA ^D30 KASKAL-an
 15 [ŠA] ^D[KASKAL]-an da[?]-aš[?]-ki[?]-mi ŠA ^DLAMMA KASKAL-an
 16 [SA ^D... KASKAL-an da-aš-ki]-mi ŠA ^DIŠTAR KASKAL-an
 17 [] DINGIR.MEŠ []xx DINGIR.MEŠ
 18 na-an da-aš-k[i-mi]x DINGIR.MEŠ-na-aš
 19 KASKAL-an da-aš-k[i-mi] DINGIR.MEŠ-na-aš
 20 KASKAL-an da-aš-ki-[mi]
 §§§
 21 TI-tar da-aš-ki-mi xx xx xx DINGIR.MEŠ-eš
 22 ḥu-u-ma-an-te-eš e-šir ^DIŠTAR-uš-ma Ú-UL e-eš-ta
 23 ku-it-kán an-da-an KUR-ak-ku-un
 24 A-NA ^{GIŠ}KIRI₆ ^DIŠTAR
 25 []x-i pé-ra-an da-aš-ki-mi

49 Already Carruba 1990: 250 has referred to this passage in interpreting KUB 35.45; cf. also de Martino 1986: 215 (for iii 8-12); CHD L-N 299b; CHD P 73b.

[...] inside to the garden of Šaušga, ... three times she/he speaks, on the three roads/ways the ritual client speaks: I am the ritual client. What are you taking? – I am taking the beauty of my form/image, the word of [...], the message of the mouth, the vigor, [life], long years, long days, the road of the weather-god, the road of Zababa. I am taking the road of the Moon-god, the road of ...; I am taking the road of the Tutelary deity, the road of the ...; I am taking the road of Šaušga, ... the “divine path”. §§§ Life I am taking, ... all gods did, Šaušga did not. What in ... to the garden of Šaušga ... before I am taking.

Although the fragmentary context is difficult to understand, we see a dialogue – taking place in the garden of Šaušga – between the ritual client and another person: if this is the opponent (cf. KUB 35.45 ii 18) of the ritual client, he is taking things and symbols which are necessary for the ritual client; if the ritual text refers to the Old Woman (cf. KUB 35.43 ii 2) as partner in the dialogue, she is taking (away) those “infected” or impure things and symbols which harm the ritual client. Irrespectively of the partner in the dialogue, the symbolic use of the “way of different gods” can clearly be compared to the situation in Kuwattalla’s ritual: taking away or defiling the “divine path” weakens the ritual client, because the client’s integrity is connected with this metaphor.

Also the second reference to this metaphor outside its use by Kuwattalla points to the same direction of interpretation: This is an oracle question concerning the pacification of the anger of Šaušga of Šamuḫa: to propitiate the goddess, either an evocation ritual (*mukiššar*), the (ritual of the) divine path (KASKAL DINGIR-LIM), or an *ambašši*-offering should be carried out (KUB 49.80,1-4)⁵⁰. The “divine path” in the oracle question is parallel to the evocation ritual and the *ambašši*-offering, therefore one has to think that this wording refers to some ritual treatment by which the spiritual condition of the person which is described metaphorically as “divine path” must be put in order to appease the wrath of the goddess again.

50 Cf. Lebrun 1976: 201 (no. 33); CHD P 73b.

Judging from this evidence, we can draw the following conclusion regarding the semantics of the “divine path”: with the phrase *maššanalla/i- palša/i-* our texts express some mental or spiritual capacity of a person which leads him to the gods. This capacity can be compared to other expressions of well-wishing like valour, long life, vitality or the favour of the gods which frequently are mentioned in rituals.⁵¹ Looking at the – limited – occurrences of this wording, both the ritual of Šalašu and the oracle question are situated in the Hurrian milieu. Therefore I suggest that here we find an element of Hurrian tradition taken up by Kuwattalla in her Kizzuwatnaean surroundings.

3.3. Further observations and some speculative thoughts about the relationship between KUB 35.43 and SÍSKUR ḥalliyattanza

There are some faint echoes of KUB 35.43 to texts attributed to *šalli aniur* (or vice versa), but they are of a general character, not unfamiliar also in various rituals from the Kizzuwatnaean area. But these echoes at least do not contradict the possibility to take KUB 34.43 as a tablet of *šalli aniur* and not as a tablet of a separate ritual.

Even if the use of piglets is not uncommon in rituals from Southern Anatolia one can observe that the piglet is only used in KUB 35.43 iii 28ff. The piglet shall remove all evils from the ritual client, and then the piglet is waved above the ritual client, who spits on the piglet. And the Old Woman recites in Luwian.⁵² Maybe we can combine the ritual use of this piglet with the piglet mentioned in Bo 4388,7 which is the only other passage in Kuwattalla’s texts referring to this animal. If my attribution of Bo 4388 to *šalli aniur* is correct as argued above then we have another indirect indication also for taking KUB 35.43 as a *šalli aniur* text.

Also the treatment of the twelve parts of the body (*ḥappiš-*) is restricted to KUB 35.43 iii 9 and its duplicate or parallel text KUB 32.14 iii 8, but it is also found in texts attributed to *šalli aniur*, namely KUB 35.24+ obv. 7,

51 Cf. Hutter 2003: 263.

52 KUB 35.43 iii 36 [a-aḥ-ra-an w]a-aḥ-ra-an tap-pa-a-at-ta ta-a-pa-ru ḥi-i-ru-ú-un (37) [ta-ta-ar-r]i-ya-am-man ma-a-ya-aš-ši-in EME-in. “Pain (and) woe, he spit out, (further) imprecation, curse (and) slander of the adults”; cf. Hutter 2003: 262f.; Kammenhuber 1986: 97 = 1993: 744.

10, 21 (first tablet) and KUB 32.9+ rev. 5 (third tablet). Of course, also the naming of the twelve parts of the body is well known from other rituals of the Luwian sphere⁵³, but its occurrence in the mentioned passages can be seen as a slight indication which helps to re-arrange the textual corpus of *šalli aniur*.

Even if these observations are less weighty than the ones mentioned before they can also be taken as further evidence to come to a new solution. Contrary to Starke's suggestion that KUB 35.43 (with duplicates) belongs to a/the third ritual, we have shown that the correspondences between this text and those assigned to *šalli aniur* allow to transfer this tablet from Starke's "third ritual" to his "first ritual", the *šalli aniur*. Taking up the observation from above, the SISKUR *dūpadu-parša* precedes (on the first and second day) immediately the *šalli aniur*'s first tablet (cf. KUB 35.15 i 2-7; KBo 29.3 i 1-4). But there are no correspondences between the texts of the SISKUR *dūpadu-parša* and KUB 35.43 (contrary to the correspondences between the beginning for *šalli aniur* and SISKUR *dūpadu-parša*). Thus we can conclude that KUB 35.43 has to be placed to a later position during *šalli aniur*; but at the moment no number in the sequence of tablets can be assigned to KUB 35.43.

One last observation and idea shall be presented here for further discussion and on-going research. The colophon of KUB 35.33 iv 4 refers to another ritual, being part of *šalli aniur*, which is called SISKUR *ħalliyatanza*. The interpretation of this word is not absolutely clear. Starke has suggested that the Luwian term might correspond with Hittite *katta walħuwaš*,⁵⁴ but this connection has been rejected.⁵⁵ For the meaning of *ħalliyatta*- Melchert has suggested to connect this Luwian adjective either with *ħalliya*- "day" or derive the word from *ħallina*- "be sick, hurt" or *ħalliš*- "sickness, pain".⁵⁶ The verb *ħallina*- is attested several times in Kuwattalla's texts, most striking are the widely parallel structures of KUB 35.43 iii 14-18 and KUB 35.34+

53 Cf. Hutter 1988: 131; Haas 2003: 71-75.

54 Starke 1985: 76; Starke 1981: 471.

55 Hutter 2003: 253; Goedegebuure 2010: 304.

56 Melchert 1993: 48.

ii 11-16 corresponding to the other similarities between these two texts. But also all other references of *hallina-* can be compared with these two texts: KBo 29.20,1-5; KBo 29.22,3; KUB 35.29 ii 2; KUB 35.112,8.10.13. Starke rightly mentions that all these fragments must be assigned either to his “first” or “third” ritual⁵⁷, or precisely to the two texts mentioned above. The fragmentary condition is not very helpful for a clear interpretation, but it is noteworthy that the verb *hallina-* is only attested in these texts. Therefore my guess is to connect the verb *hallina-* “be sick, hurt” semantically with SÍSKUR *halliyatta-* taking this as a ritual against sickness.⁵⁸ But I dare to go one step further presuming that KUB 35.43 could be a possible candidate giving at least parts of the wording (and prescription) of the SÍSKUR *halliyatta-* mentioned in the colophon of KUB 35.33. Maybe also the very fragmentary contexts attesting the verb *hallina-* mentioned above are fragments of the “(sub-)ritual against sickness”.

4. Conclusion

More than a decade ago I wrote: “The ritual ‘*šalli aniur*’ is the most extensive composition of Kuwattalla, one that also comprises some different sub-rituals, like the SISKUR.SISKUR *halliyattanza* and the *katta walḥurwaš* SISKUR.SISKUR.”⁵⁹ This position was mainly based on the colophon of KUB 35.33 and the beginning of the first tablet (KUB 35.18; KBo 29.3), but now this statement can be based also on the assignment of preserved texts, which have earlier been taken as a separate “second” ritual (SISKUR *dūpaduparša-*) and a “third” ritual (with no title) by Starke; according to my interpretation only KUB 35.43 can be attributed to *šalli aniur*, therefore Starke’s assumption that Kuwattalla has also “authored” other rituals cannot be ruled out, which can be made up by remaining texts of Starke’s “third” ritual,⁶⁰ after taking KUB 35.43 as part of *šalli aniur*, maybe representing parts of the SÍSKUR *halliyattanza*. But the SISKUR *dūpaduparša* is no ritual of its own, but the sub-ritual performed at the “beginning” of *šalli aniur*.

57 Starke 1985: 190, 198.

58 Cf. also Yakubovich 2014sqq., who suggests “affliction” as translation of *halliyatta-*.

59 Hutter 2003: 253.

60 Cf. also the colophons in KBo 10.42 and KBo 29.12, but they do not necessarily refer to KUB 35.43 as Starke 1985: 135 has argued. On Kuwattalla as “author” see also above (footnote 2).

Despite the observations presented here, we still have to say that at this moment it is not possible to give a well-founded idea of the concrete purpose of Kuwattalla's ritual because of the fragmentary condition of the texts. But I think some of the observations have also shed light on some details about the place of the rituals in Luwian tradition. The occurrence of the analyzed elements (*hirutalliš Tiwaz*; *ikkuwar-*, *ikkunatt-*; *warpalla/i-* *Tarhunt-*; *maššanalla/i-* *palša/i-*) does not leave doubt that these rituals have a mainly local character and highlight some individual ritual practice of Kuwattalla and Šilaluḫḫi. As the epithet of the “Sun-god by which one swears” does not occur in any other text it is difficult to say how important this special “manifestation” of the Sun-god has been in general religious tradition. The situation concerning the “great/powerful Storm-god” is a little bit different, as there are some references to this epithet in later time – from the Tabalean, Cilician and Phrygian geographical areas. So we can at least deduce that this epithet of the Storm-god had some continuity in Kizzuwatna / Cilicia and also spread Tabal (the Lower Land in the second millennium). This is interesting for reconstructing cross-regional “Luwian” traditions, as this connection between Kizzuwatna and the Lower Land fits well with Laroche's observation that there are some thematic similarities to Tunnawiya's rituals (KUB 9.4 and KUB 9.34), which show the possibility of “ritual exchange” between a tradition we know from the Lower Land (by Tunnawiya's rituals) and from Kizzuwatna (by Kuwattalla's ritual). The epithet *war(a)palla/i-* now can be added to such corresponding elements in the ritual sphere of Kizzuwatna and the Lower Lands. Other aspects also show the interference of Luwian and Hurrian milieu of Kizzuwatna, as becomes evident by the motif of the “divine path” and maybe also by the word *ikkuwar / ikkunatt-* if it can be derived from the Hurrian language. This is not really surprising as the cultural “mixture” of Hurrian and Luwian elements in Kizzuwatna is known since long. And Yakubovich has also mentioned – in passing by – that there are some Hurrian elements in Kuwattalla's rituals:⁶¹ the Hurrian gods Hebat (KUB 9.6 ii 6), Šaušga (KUB 35.82,7) and Ninatta (KUB 35.71 iii 3). In the first ritual also the Hurrian term *keldi* (KBo 29.3+29.4 i 8; KUB 35.18 i 14) is mentioned.⁶² All these elements fit into the well-known setting of rituals from Kizzuwatna, but they also give Kuwattalla's *šalli aniur* its own flavour – compared to other Luwian rituals from Kizzuwatna.

61 Cf. Yakubovich 2010: 18.

62 For a further Hurrian element one can refer to the name Šilaluḫḫi; a ritual practioner with the same name (cf. Zehnder 2010: 271 with short discussion) is mentioned in some texts which clearly show a Hurrian background.

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RECHTSDOKUMENTE UNTER DEN HIEROGLYPHENLUWISCHEN INSCRIFTEN DER EISENZEIT

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1. Einleitung

Jene Texte der Eisenzeit, die im sog. Hieroglyphenluwischen¹ abgefasst sind, weisen inhaltlich keine allzugroße Bandbreite auf. Den Großteil machen Kommemorativinschriften aus, die meist auch einen Baubericht und eine Weihung an eine Gottheit beinhalten. Dabei handelt es sich um beschriebene Stelen bzw. Architekturteile – teils mit Relief versehen – oder Felsinschriften.² Die Bleibriefe, die in Assur gefunden wurden, und der Kırşehir-Brief sind Handelskorrespondenz; die Kululu-Bleistreifen wohl Zuteilungslisten. Kurze Namens- und Dedikationsinschriften finden sich beispielsweise auf der Bronzeschale von Tragana in Locris oder dem Steinschalenfragment aus Persepolis. Auch einige wenige Siegel und ein Ostrakon befinden sich darunter.³

Es ist wohl damit zu rechnen, dass der Großteil der Gebrauchsliteratur aus

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- 1 Sprachlich gesehen ist das Luwische in zwei Formen zu unterteilen: das Kizzuwatna-Luwisch, das so gut wie ausschließlich in Keilschrift aus dem hethitischen Bereich des Zweiten Jahrtausends überliefert ist, und das Großreichluwisch ("Empire Luwian"), das bis auf wenige isolierte Formen in der Keilschriftüberlieferung in hieroglyphischen Texten des ersten und zweiten Jahrtausends überliefert ist (Yakubovich 2010: 15-73).
- 2 Zur Besonderheit dieser Inschriftengruppe – sie sind „an den unveränderlichen geografischen Ort ihrer Entstehung gebunden“ – vgl. Ehringhaus 2014; das Zitat findet sich ebd. 10.
- 3 Alle genannten Texte sind von Hawkins 2000 publiziert, der Kırşehir-Brief von Akdoğan / Hawkins 2010.

dieser Zeit verloren gegangen ist; neben Bleistreifen kommen für solche Texte sicherlich mit Wachs überzogene Holztafeln und vielleicht sogar bereits Pergament in Frage.

In seiner Edition der Inschriften teilt J. D. Hawkins diese allerdings nicht nach Inhalt und Form, sondern nach geographischen Gesichtspunkten ein (Hawkins 2000: 19f.; ders. 2003: 147-151).⁴ A. Payne nennt in ihrem Lehrbuch für „Hieroglyphic Luwian“ als Textgattungen der Steininschriften Bau-, Weih- und Kommemorativinschriften (Payne 2010: 3; dies. 2012: 14⁵). In ihrer Dissertation „Schrift und Schriftlichkeit“ unterscheidet sie Grab- und Gedenkinschriften einerseits von Bau- und Weihinschriften andererseits (Payne 2015: 162-171). Auch R. Plöchl sieht in den Steininschriften nur Bau-, Grab- und Weihinschriften neben solchen historischen Inhalts (Plöchl 2003: 13). Eine andere und differenziertere Einteilung nimmt F. Giusfredi in seinen „Sources for a Socio-Economic History of the Neo-Hittite States“ vor: nach ihm beinhalten die Königsinschriften Kriegsberichte („war inscriptions“), religiöse Inschriften und Bau- und Weihinschriften, Grabinschriften und Wirtschaftstexte, wobei letztere auf Metall oder Ostraka geschrieben sind (Giusfredi 2010: 23f.). Erst A. Bauer erkennt neben den schon von Anderen genannten Gattungen auch Verträge an, wobei sie KARKAMIŠ A 4a und TÜNP 1 als charakteristische Beispiele dafür aufzählt (Bauer 2014: 16f.).

Eine Textgattung, die in diesem Bereich völlig fehlt, sind Gesetzestexte. Damit steht der hieroglyphenluwische Bereich zu Beginn des ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends im geographischen Bereich des Vorderen Orients nicht alleine da. Außer den biblischen Gesetzbüchern⁶ sind mit sehr vereinzelt Ausnahmen aus dem neuassyrischen und neubylonischen Bereich keine neu konzipierten Gesetzestexte auf uns gekommen (Radner 2010: 883; Oelsner u.a. 2003: 912). Einige Texte lassen sich aber – wie

4 Hawkins weist darauf hin, dass die erhalten gebliebenen Inschriften auf Stein monumentalen Charakter haben und es daneben – erkennbar an den erhaltenen Briefen und Handeldokumenten auf Bleistreifen – Alltagstexte auf vergänglichem Material gegeben hat (Hawkins 2000: 2f; vgl. ders. 2003: 139).

5 Payne weist aber darauf hin, dass es daneben Inschriften gibt, die nicht einem der genannten Genres zuzuordnen sind (Payne 2012: 102) und spricht im Zusammenhang mit der Inschrift KARABURUN von einem Abkommen („pact“) (ebd. 105).

6 Gemeint sind damit das Bundesbuch (Ex 20,22-23,19 [33]), das Heiligkeitsgesetz (Lev 17-26) und Teile des Deuteronomiums (Dtn 4,4-30,20).

A. Bauer erkannt hat – als juristische Dokumente deuten; diese sollen im Folgenden diskutiert werden.

2. Rechtsdokumente

2.1. CEKKE (Hawkins 2000: 145; pl. 42f.)

Aus dem Gebiet von Karkamiš stammt die Inschrift CEKKE, bei der es sich mit David Hawkins um die Gründungsurkunde der Stadt Kamana durch Kamani handelt. Kamani wird in § 6 der Inschrift als „Herrscher“ (IUDEX, *tarwani-*; ACLT: *tarrawann(i)-*) und „Landesherr“ (REGIO.DOMINUS; ACLT: *wattani(ya)- niya-*) von Karkamiš und Malatya bezeichnet. Dieser Kamani kauft (CUM-*ni* („CONTRACTUS“) *i(ya)sa-* „kaufen von“) – mit seinem „ersten Diener“ Sastura die Stadt Kamana von den „Kanapuwäern“. Im weiteren Verlauf wird die Bezahlung festgelegt und auch, dass ein Bankett veranstaltet werden soll, was eine mesopotamische und syrische Tradition bei Vertragsabschlüssen war.⁷ In § 13 wird die Stadt als Grundbesitz oder erblicher Besitz (*kitra-*)⁸ für 20 „Väter und Söhne“ „gebunden“, wofür das Verbum *hishiya-* (das dem hethitischen *ishai-* / *ishiye-* „binden“ entspricht) verwendet wird. § 14 bringt die lapidare Feststellung „Bürgermeister (*hazani*) war Za, der Sohn des Hapuzi“; eine weitere Person oder ein Amtsträger (BRACCHIUM-*la/i/u-*) und „die Großen“ werden ebenfalls genannt. Sie sind wohl als Zeugen genannt. Möglicherweise handelt es sich bei der Nennung des Namens des *hazani* um eine Datierung, vielleicht ist er als „eponymer“ Beamter genannt. Es folgt eine Aufzählung von 20 Personennamen mit dem Zusatz (INFANS)*nizas apas* „und sein Sohn“ mit dessen Namen. Darauf folgt eine ausführliche Fluchformel. In der Schreiberunterschrift (§ 2) wird das Objekt des „Schreibens“ als LIGNUM[x]-*lpa¹-ma-za* bezeichnet. Dieses Wort ist leider ein hapax. In der Fluchformel werden neben der Stadt auch „diese Stele bzw. die Worte (darauf)“ unter Schutz gestellt. Die logographische Bezeichnung STELE ist auch im § 3 für den Inschriftenträger verwendet.

7 Zum Festmahl als Übernahme aus dem syrischen Umfeld s. Melchert 2015: 412f. Auch Giusfredi 2010: 259 nennt altorientalische Parallelen zu diesem Text.

8 Im ACLT wird als Bedeutung „tax“ angegeben; lt. Hawkins 2000: 149 handelt es sich um ein hurritisches Lehnwort, das über das Akkadische ins Luwische übernommen wurde und das im Akkadischen „Schenkungs“ bedeutet. Richter 2012: 218 s.v. *kitru*.

Übersetzung der relevanten Textpassagen:

(Der Anfang der Inschrift (§§ 1-5) bezeichnet den Kaufvertrag mit LIGNUM[x]-^lpa^l-ma-za und nennt den Stifter der Stele (STELE),⁹ deren Vorderseite einen stehenden Wettergott auf einem Stier zeigt, und nennt Opferbestimmungen dafür.)

§ 6 Kamanis, Herrscher (von¹⁰) Karkamiš, Landesherr von Malatya, Sastura, erster Diener des Kamani: Die Stadt Kamana kauften sie von den Kanapuwanäern mit deren Unterstützung.

§ 7 Sie gaben ihnen 600 Esel.

§ 8 Für za-Crus+RA/I- aber sind den Söhnen des Warpat 3 Minen Silber einer ARGENTUM-Einheit¹¹ zu geben.¹²

§ 9 ... dem Labarna und dem Zaza sind 4 Minen einer ARGENTUM-Einheit von der Ortschaft Nuhaza zu geben,

§ 10 ... ist in jeder Ortschaft vor dem Flussherrn Ahaliya ein Fest(mahl) zu geben

§ 11 und ein Rind und 15 Schafe sind für die Ortschaft / in der Ortschaft Kanapu (im Wert von ?) 2 Minen einer ARGENTUM-Einheit als Fest(mahl)¹³ zu veranstalten.

§ 12 Dem¹⁴ DOMINUS-Tiwadi aber, dem Sohn des Ahaliya sind XXX, 1 Mine (und) *mirasra/i*-(?) zu geben.

§ 13 In der Stadt ist für 10 *tami*¹⁵ und 20 Kinder eine Schenkung zu „binden“.

9 Weil der Inschriftenträger als STELE bezeichnet wird, muss sich der erste Terminus auf den Inhalt beziehen.

10 Im ACLT ist diese endungslose Form als Adjektiv *karkamisizza-* im Nominativ Singular analysiert.

11 Hawkins 2000: 148 übersetzt ARGENTUM mit „Barren“, ihm folgt ACLT. Giusfredi 2010: 182f. sieht dies zurecht als nicht beweisbar an und fasst es als eine nicht näher bestimmbare Maßeinheit auf.

12 Zu *-mina* als Gerundivendung s. Melchert 2004.

13 Gegen die Analyse im ACLT fasse ich die Form als Nominativ Singular auf; die Form in § 10 fasse ich mit dem ACLT als Akkusativ Singular Neutrum (*azzaliyaⁿ=za*) auf.

14 Im ACLT ist ad loc. (aber nicht im HieroglyphicVocabulary) für PRAE-*ti* die Lautung *hanti* mit der Bedeutung „against“ angegeben; ähnlich auch Payne 2014: 157. Die Komplementierung des Logogramms PRAE mit *-ti* an dieser Stelle ist einmalig. Ich halte die Lautung *hanti* für unwahrscheinlich, da für diese Lautfolge das Ideogramm FRONS verwendet wird und ein Adverb FRONS-*ti* in KARKAMIŠ A 4b § 3 (Hawkins 2000: 80) belegt ist.

15 Im ACLT ist für *tammi-* die Bedeutung „adult“ angegeben, was durch § 16 naheliegender ist. Das Wort ist hapax.

§ 14 *hazani* aber war Za, Sohn des Hapuzi, BRACCHIUM-*la*¹⁶ und MAGNUS-*ra-ya* [...

§ 15 Grenzsteine sind zu beschriften.

§ 16 Sie sind als Schenkung für Väter und Söhne zu „binden“.

(§ 17: es sind 15 Personen mit jeweils einem Sohn aus neun Ortschaften genannt, wahrscheinlich als Zeugen)

(§ 18 nicht verständlich)

§ 19 Grenzsteine sind zu setzen.

Darauf folgt eine ausführliche Fluchformel, die die Grenzen, die Stele (STELE) und die Worte darauf schützen sollen.

2.2 KARKAMIŠ A 4a (Hawkins 2000, 152; pl. 44)

Ein ähnliches Dokument ist KARKAMIŠ A 4a. Es handelt sich dabei um die Fragmente eines Basaltzylinders, inhaltlich handelt es sich ebenfalls um eine Verkaufsurkunde, in der Kamani als Beteiligter genannt ist und die daher wie CEKKE in die Mitte des 8. Jhs. datiert werden kann. Als Handelsobjekt fungieren offensichtlich „Häuser“, die eine Person, deren Name nicht erhalten ist, dem „König“ Kamani verkauft, der sie seinerseits an Parisarma weiterverkauft, der als INFANS.FRATER-*la*- „Brudersohn, Neffe“ und Enkel des Papitani bezeichnet wird. Nach der Fluchformel ist dieser wohl auch der Autor der Inschrift, da er darin davor warnt, seinen Kindern, Enkeln und Urenkeln diese Häuser wegzunehmen. Nach der Preisangabe ist wiederum davon die Rede, dass ein Mahl abgehalten werden soll, nach einer nur fragmentarisch erhaltenen Aufzählung von Personennamen, bei denen es sich vielleicht um Zeugen handelt, ist von einem weiteren Mahl für den „Herrn des *washa*-“¹⁷ die Rede. Der Ausdruck für „verkaufen“, der in dieser Inschrift zwei Mal vorkommt (§ 1 und § 2) ist Dativ + CUM-*ni* ARHA (CONTRACTUS) DARE (**anni arha piya*-)

16 S. dazu jetzt Peker 2016: 17 mit der Deutung als „rechte Hand“.

17 Der Terminus *washa*- wird im ACLT mit „fee“ übersetzt; Melchert 2015: 412 übersetzt „lord of the *washa*“, nach ihm bezeichnet der Terminus den Handelsabschluss.

„jemandem (etwas) verkaufen“.¹⁸ Leider ist in dem Text keine Bezeichnung für den Inschriftenträger erhalten.

Übersetzung:

§ 1 Diese Häuser verkaufte PN_x dem König Kamani.

§ 2 Kamani aber verkaufte sie dem (/seinem) Neffen Parisarma, dem Enkel des Papitati.

§ 3 Ihm sind 22 (+ x ?) Minen der ARGENTUM-Einheit zu geben.

§ 4 Ihm ist ein Fest(mahl) zu veranstalten.

§ 5 BRACCHIUM-*la* [

(§§ 6-10 nennt Orts- und Personennamen, wahrscheinlich handelt es sich um die Aufzählung von Zeugen)

§ 11 Ein Fest(mahl) ist zu geben für den „Herrn des *washa*“.

(Die §§ 12-14 beinhalten die Fluchformel gegen jemanden, der die erwähnten Häuser dem Sohn, Enkel oder Urenkel wegnimmt)

2.3 TŪNP 1 (Hawkins 2000: 155; pl. 45)

Mit CEKKE und KARKAMIŠ A 4a vergleichbar ist die Inschrift TŪNP, die ebenfalls zum Gebiet von Karkamiš gehört. Auf einem kleinen unbehauenen Basaltblock ist ein Landkauf dokumentiert. Die Inschrift ist ebenfalls in die Zeit Kamanis zu datieren, aber sein Name ist im Text nicht erhalten.¹⁹ An spezifischem Vokabular aus diesem Text kommt wiederum CUM-*ni* („CONTRACTUS“) *i(ya)sa-* „kaufen von“ vor. Was an dieser Inschrift anders ist als in den beiden eben besprochenen, ist das Fehlen einer Fluchformel; stattdessen ist davon die Rede, dass derjenige, der diesen Verkauf anficht (PES₂.PES *tarpi-*), einen gewissen Betrag als Strafe ((„*419“) *washa-*) bezahlen muss. Eine Bezeichnung für den Inschriftenträger ist auch hier nicht enthalten. § 2 ist möglicherweise dahingehend zu verstehen, dass ein

18 Dass die Götter hier in der Fluchformel aufgefördert werden, gegen den Übeltäter zu prozessieren, kommt nicht nur in diesem rechtlichen Dokument vor, sondern ist ein gängiger Topos in Fluchformeln.

19 Giusfredi 2010: 179 sieht darin ebenfalls eine Aktivität des Kamani festgehalten.

„Stein“ ((SCALPRUM)*asu-*) auszulöschen sei, wobei es sich um eine durch neuerlichen Besitzerwechsel unwirksam gewordene Besitzurkunde bzw. alte Verkaufsurkunde handeln könnte.

Übersetzung:

§ 1 ... von ?]ara-FRATER-la, dem Sohn des Statiwara/i kaufte PN_x Land

§ 2 Der Stein ist zu entfernen / (die Schrift darauf) auszumeißeln ...

(§§ 3-4 nicht vollständig verständlich)

§ 5 wer (dies) anficht / aggressiv dagegen vorgeht:

§ 7 die Strafe ist 1 Mine Silber (und) 1 *manasahana-*

§ 8 Der Mensch aber, der nicht mitmacht, [...

3. Indirekt bezeugte Rechtsdokumente bzw. Lexeme der Rechtssprache

3.1 LIGNUM_[x]-*pa*-*ma*-*za* (CEKKE § 2)

LIGNUM (*382) bedeutet „Holz“ (**taru-*) und determiniert Dinge aus Holz, aber vor allem Wörter, die mit Autorität zu tun haben (Hawkins 2000: 241).²⁰

Dieses Wort ist ein hapax, und in der Fluchformel wird das zu schützende Objekt als STELE bezeichnet, sodass unklar bleibt, ob sich die Bezeichnung auf den Inschriftenstein, d.h. eine bestimmte Art von „STELE“, oder den Inhalt, d.h. den Vertragstext bzw. das Formular, bezieht. STELE determiniert *wanit-*, was nach allgemeiner Auffassung „Stele“ bedeutet; in MEHARDE und SHEIZAR – zwei Parallelinschriften aus Hama – ist damit *tanisa-* determiniert.²¹ Da die Form der Stele als Relief- und Inschriftenträger sehr häufig ist, die Bezeichnung aber ein Hapax, ist wohl davon auszugehen, dass sich die Bezeichnung auf den Inhalt beziehungsweise den Zweck der Inschrift bezieht.

20 Dazu zählt auch *tarut-* „(Holz-)Statue“, das meist mit STATUA, zweimal aber mit LIGNUM determiniert ist.

21 Nach dem ACLT ist in der Inschrift ŠARAGA aus Karkamiš in § 1 *kuttassar(i)-* „Orthostat“ mit STELE (*267) determiniert, das in allen anderen erhaltenen Fällen mit SCALPRUM (*268) determiniert ist.

3.2 CAPERE-*ma=za* und *saman=za*

CAPERE-*ma=za* ist zwei Mal in Inschriften aus Tabal belegt, und zwar in KULULU 2 (Hawkins 2000: 488) § 2²² und in BULGARMADEN (Hawkins 2000: 523) § 13.

BULGARMADEN ist eine Felsinschrift (vgl. beispielsweise das Foto in Hawkins 2000: pl. 297). Das Wort in der Fluchformel bezeichnet anscheinend die Inschrift, da das „Zerstoßen“ des mit CAPERE-*ma=za* bezeichneten Begriffes unter Strafe gestellt ist; es war wohl kaum an die Zerstörung des Inschriftenträgers – also der gesamten Felswand – gedacht. Wenn die Bedeutung „contract“ (Hawkins 2000: 523 in der Übersetzung zu § 13; vgl. a.a.O. 488 ad § 2 „document“) stimmt, könnte es sich um einen Terminus für die Schenkung des Berges Muti handeln.

KULULU 2 ist eine Grabinschrift des Panamuwa, in der es heißt:

§ 1: Ich bin Panuni, der zur Sonne gehörige / zum Sonnengott gehörige Prinz.

§ 2 Mir machten meine Kinder hier einen gesiegelten? (*samaⁿ=za*) Vertrag? (CAPERE-*ma=za*).

Um diese Stelle mit dem BULGARMADEN-Beleg in Zusammenhang zu bringen, muss man annehmen, dass es sich dabei um eine Art Kaufvertrag für das Grundstück für das Grab oder für den Grabstein handelt.

Das Lemma *saman=za* kommt noch einmal vor, und zwar in der Inschrift KARABURUN § 5 (Tabal; Hawkins 2000: 481 und pl. 266f.). Dabei handelt es sich um eine Felsinschrift, in der mitgeteilt wird, dass ein König namens Sipi mit Sipi, Sohn des Ni, gemeinsam eine Festung erbaut hatten und dies durch eine Vereinbarung (*samaⁿ=za*) besiegelten. Die Fluchformel will verhindern, dass einer der beiden bzw. dessen Söhne gegen den anderen beziehungsweise dessen Söhne irgendetwas Böses planen.

22 Diese Inschrift ist zwar eine Grabinschrift, aber am Anfang erwähnt der Autor, dass seine Kinder „hier ein gesiegeltes Dokument“ für ihn gemacht hätten.

3.3 LIS

Dieser mit dem Logogramm *23 – bestehend aus zwei zueinander gewandten Köpfen mit einem Siegel dazwischen – dargestellte sehr häufige Stamm bezeichnet das Wortfeld „Prozess“. Sehr häufig kommt es in den Fluchformeln vor und erinnert an die großreichszeitliche Formel, dass die Götter als Richter Streitereien zwischen den Menschen richten sollen bzw. dem, der die in den Fluchformeln genannten Verhaltensregeln nicht einhält, „Gerichtsgegner“ sein sollen (Hawkins 2000: 418 ad § 6).

4. Resümee

Die oben ausführlich behandelten Inschriften CEKKE, KARKAMIŠ A 4a und TÜNP 1 sind meines Wissens bis jetzt die einzigen Rechtsdokumente, die aus dem ersten Jahrtausend unter den hieroglyphenluwischen Inschriften gefunden wurden. Sie stammen alle von einer einzigen Region, nämlich Karkamiš, und in zwei von den dreien ist der Herrscher Kamani namentlich genannt; TÜNP 1 wird in dieselbe Zeit datiert und könnte ebenfalls von ihm stammen. Bei allen drei Texten handelt es sich um Dokumentationen von Käufen bzw. Verkäufen, also Quellen zum Wirtschaftsrecht. Es verwundert nicht, dass bei den Ausgrabungen der letzten Jahre in Karkamiš einige Fragmente gefunden wurden, die weitere Belege für diese Termini bieten, die H. Peker in seinem Vortrag „Some Anatolian Hieroglyphic Fragments from the 2012-2013 Seasons at Karkemish“ beim IXth International Congress of Hittitology (September 2014) erwähnt hat.

Wie dieser kurze Überblick gezeigt hat, sind uns zwar aus dem Bereich der sog. hethitischen Nachfolgestaaten keine Gesetzestexte erhalten, die genannten Termini lassen aber auf das Vorhandensein einer betreffenden Fachsprache schließen.

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SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE FUNCTIONS OF HITTITE AN.TAH.ŠUM FESTIVAL: THE CASE OF CTH 604 AND CTH 612

*Jiayu JIANG**

ABSTRACT

AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival is one of the two Hittite spring festivals. With the long duration for almost 38 days, it includes so many factors which make the festival more complicated. Thus it is very difficult to make clear the functions of AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival. However, it is possible to divide and classify the factors appeared in the festival, which could show the relationship between these factors. Based on these relationships between human and gods, human and human, human and nature, even human and themselves, it maybe show some functions of Hittite AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival. The relationship between human and gods substantially is the relationship between human and nature, while the relationship between human and human or human and themselves shows the identification of authority. To some extent, Hittite people may have a bad relationship with gods, nature or other people in ordinary days. However, during the period of AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival, these relationships between them become more harmonious.

KEY WORDS: Hittite; AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival; Functions

Hittite AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival is one of the two spring festivals (the other one is *purulli* Festival) in the Hittite festival calendar. According to the outline

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tablets collected by Hans G. Güterbock, it is easy to know that AN.TAH.ŠUM may last 38 days or even more than 38 days. As for the purposes of Hittite AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival, Mursili II gave a statement: “it happened that my father arranged the AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival for the gods of Hatti and for the sun-goddess of Arinna”¹ Having been held in the spring, AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival is thought to be “celebrated the regeneration of the powers of nature. It was a time of renewals, of reconfirmation of the gods’ endorsement of the king’s authority, of the regeneration of the life and health and vigor of the king and his consort.”²

However, anyone who wants to talk about the functions of AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival, it is necessary for him to analyze the factors which make up of the whole festival. By the analysis to the factors and the relationship between these factors, we could find the inner mechanism of this festival which probably indicates the functions of AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival. CTH 604 belongs to the outline of AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival which had been transliterated and translated by Hans G. Güterbock, while CTH 612 covers the detailed actions in the 16th day of AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival which had been researched by Enrico Badali und Christian Zinko³. Thus CTH 604 and CTH 612 could be taken as both the macro- and micro- point of view to talk about the functions of AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival. Therefore firstly the factors in CTH 604 and CTH 612 should be reviewed.

1. The Three-main Factors of AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival

1.1. Humanity

From the outline tablets and some other tablets related to AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival, it is easy for us to find that the humanity is the most important participant in the whole process of this festival. Based on these tablets, the humanity in the festival could be divided into three classes according to their different political status. The first group could be called the leaders or the

1 Güterbock H.G., An Outline of the Hittite AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival, *Journal of Near East Studies* 19, 1960, pp.80-89.

2 Volkert Haas, *Geschichte der Hethitischen Religion*, Leiden•New York•Köln: Brill, 1994, p.772.

3 Trevor Bryce, *Life and Society in the Hittite World*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002, p195.

rulers. The second group is the officials and the last one is the servitors and common people.

1.1.1. Leaders

In CTH 604 (Outline of AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival), LUGAL, MUNUS. LUGAL and DUMU.LUGAL are attested to be three main types of royal members (king, queen and prince).

Firstly LUGAL and MUNUS.LUGAL should be the most important persons. The king and queen often appear together in the whole process of the festival. Both in CTH 604 and CTH 612, the king and queen play the important role in the festival. Either the king or the queen will take the procession in kinds of cities, temples or houses. Meanwhile either of them will attend in the rituals held in the festival. Therefore the king and queen are absolutely the core-persons dominating the whole festival, as well as the main participants.

As for DUMU.LUGAL, it is found in CTH 604 once, from which it is obvious to know what the prince plays in the festival:

Col. II (40) lu-uk-kat-ti-ma LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL *I-NA* É ^DHa-an-nu pa-a-an-zi (41) nu šal-li a-še-eš-ša[r *IJ-NA* É ^DU-ma DUMU.LUGAL (42) *IŠ-TU* É.GAL-LIM u-i-ia-an-zi nu EZEN ha-ta-ú-ri (43) i-ia-zi...(47)...a-da-tar a-ku-wa-tar (48) [*IŠ*]-*TU* É<.GAL-LIM> *A-NA* DUMU.LUGAL u-i-ia-an-zi (Güterbock 1960:82-83).

Next day the king and queen go into the temple of Hannu. Great assembly. But they send the prince from the palace to the temple of storm-god. He celebrates the hatauri-Festival.....They send the food and drink from the palace to the prince.

However in CTH 612 (Concrete 16th of AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival), DUMU. LUGAL appears as its plural form, which may indicate that there are at least several princes attending the festival:

(20) LÚ ^{GIŠ}GIDRU pí-ra-an hu-u-wa-i nu DUMU^{MEŠ}.LUGAL a-ša-a-ši (Enrico Badali 1994:50).

The herald runs in front, he leads the princes to sit down.

nu DUMU^{MEŠ}.LUGAL a-ša-ši (KBo 34.152 Rs. III 1)

He (Someone) leads the princes to sit down.

Therefore the prince not only celebrates the festival when the king and queen are absent, but also takes part in the rituals in the festival as one of the participants.

1.1.2 Officials

In AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival, the officials are those whose political status is lower than the leaders' status but higher than the servitor and the common people's status. Those officials include GAL MEŠEDI (Chief of Bodyguard), GAL DUMU^{MEŠ}. É. GAL (Chief of palace-attendants), UGULA LÚ^{MEŠ} GIŠBANŠUR (Overseer of Table-men) and UGULA LÚ. MEŠ MUHALDIM (Overseer of cooks) and so on.

GAL MEŠEDI is attested in CTH 604 only on 19th day, before which the king celebrates the Storm-god pihašašši the in Pure Temple and the queen celebrates the Sun-goddess of Arinna in halentu-House:

Col. III (9).....ma-a-an [GA]L ME-ŠE-DI (10) ma-a-an GAL DUMU^{MEŠ}.É.GAL PA-NI^{DU} pi-ha-aš-ša-aš-ši (11) Û PA-NI^{PUTU} URU^{TÚL}-na GAL^{HLA} aš-ša-nu-uz-zi (Güterbock 1960:83)

The chief of bodyguards or the chief of palace-attendants sets up the cups before the Storm-god pihašašši and the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

However in CTH 612, GAL MEŠEDI appears almost for 30 times. His actions could be generalized as follows: ① informing something or somebody to the king, then conveying the command from the king to the herald; ② holding the mantle of the priest of protective god and the cupbearer when they respectively perform the rituals for the king; ③ holding the gold spear and the scepter of *šuruhha*-wood for the king and queen; ④ performing with the spear and calling the shout (in ritual); ⑤ acting together with other officials,

such as the chief of palace-attendants, the overseer of table-men and so on.

GAL DUMU^{MEŠ}.É.GAL appears on 11th 19th and 35th day in CTH 604 for three times:

Col. II (11) I[u-u]k-kat-ti-ma GAL DUMU^{MEŠ}.É.GAL *I-NA* ^Éhe-eš-ti[-i (12) MU.KAM-a]n pé-e-da-i LUGAL-uš-ša EGIR-ŠU i-ia-a[t-ta-ri] (Güterbock 1960:82)

Next day the chief of palace-attendants carries [the year] to the hešti-House, and the queen follows him.

Col. IV (12) [lu]-uk-kat-ti-ma-az LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL ^DUTU ^{URU}A-ri-in-n[a...]-ia (13) [*I-NA* ^{URU}Hur-ra-na-aš-ši i-ia-an-zi GAL DUMU.É.[GAL-ma](14) *I-NA* ^{URU}Zi-ip-pa-la-an-da pé-en-an-i (Güterbock 1960:84)

Next day the king and queen celebrate the Sun-goddess of Arinna [...] in Hurrannassa, while the chief of palace-attendants drives [...] to Zippalanda.

In CTH 612 the actions of GAL DUMU^{MEŠ}.É.GAL could be generalized as follows: ①holding out the cloth for drying the hands of king and queen; ②as the key-man breaking the bread for spear of protective god; ③acting together with other officials, such as the chief of bodyguards, the overseer of table-men and so on.

The overseer of table-men and the overseer of cooks and some other officials in the AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival, whose actions and functions will not be detailed, however still should play the important roles in the whole festival.

1.1.3. Servitors/Common People

Except for the leaders and officials, the servitors and common people would be the main participants and the true executants in the festival. CTH 604 mainly includes ^{LÚ.MEŠ}MEŠEDI (bodyguards), ^{DUMU}^{MEŠ}.É.GAL (palace attendants), ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SANGA (SANGA-priests), ^{LÚ}NAR (singer), ^{LÚ.MEŠ}HAL (prophets), ^{LÚ.MEŠ}GUDU (GUDU-priests) and so on. However CTH 612 demonstrates that the servitors and common people are more than those who are attested in CTH 604. In CTH 612 those additional people are ^{LÚ}^{MEŠ}GIŠGIDRU (heralds), ^{LÚ.MEŠ}MUHALDIM (cooks), ^{LÚ}ŠU.I (barber), ^{LÚ}^{MEŠ}GIŠBANŠUR(table-men), ^{LÚ}palwatallaš (reciter), ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} (AMA.DINGIR-priestess), ^{LÚ}kitaš(recital-priest?), ^{LÚ}HUB.BI (dancer), ^{LÚ.MEŠ}UR.GI₇ (hunters), ^{LÚ.MEŠ}halliyariš (priest-singer?), ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SIMUG (blacksmiths), ^{LÚ.MEŠ}UBARUM (foreigners?), ^{LÚ.MEŠ}ZABAR.DIB (wine-cup-bearers), ^{LÚ}SAGI.A (cupbearer), ^{LÚ.MEŠ}GI.GÍD (flute-player) and so on.

All the people mentioned above could be divided into three types: ①administrative staffs, such as the bodyguards, the palace-attendants, the heralds; ②religious staffs, such as the SANGA-priests, the GUDU-priests and the AMA.DINGIR-priestess; ③servicing staffs, such as the singers, the dancer, the prophets, the cooks, the barbers, the table-men, the cupbearer, the flute-player and so on.

1.2. Nature

Nature plays an important role in ancient people's ordinary life. The Hittites try to understand the entire world through what they could see in their life. Both the artificial world and the primary nature which are reflected in the AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival compose the entire nature.

1.2.1. Place

The artificial world includes the cities, the temples and the houses which are built and constructed by human. In the process of AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival, people hold the rituals in different cities, temples and

houses. CTH 604 mentions the cities as follows: ^{URU}Hattuša, ^{URU}Tahurpa, ^{URU}Katapa, ^{URU}Arinna, ^{URU}Tawiniya, ^{URU}Hiyasna, ^{URU}Zippalanda, ^{URU}Kašaya, ^{URU}Haitta, ^{URU}Huršannašša, ^{URU}Ankuwa. The temples and houses contain the ^Éhalentuwa, ^Étarnu, ^É.GAL, ^É ^DNisaba, ^Éhešti, ^É.^DUTU, ^É.MUNUS. LUGAL, ^É ^DZiparwa, ^É.DINGIR, ^É ^DU, ^É ^DZababa, ^É ^DHannu, ^É ^DU, ^É parkuwaiaš, ^É ^DKAL, ^É ^DAškašipa, ^É ^DAa, ^É DINGIR.MAH, ^Éarkiuiia, ^É ŠÀ.TAM, and ^É ^{LÚ.MEŠ}MU Furthermore, the mountains are attested in the AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival as the place where the festival are held, for example the ^{HUR.SAG}Tipuwa, ^{HUR.SAG}Tapala, and the ^{HUR.SAG}Piskurunuwa.

Some of the cities are the religious centers of the Hittites, such as ^{URU}Arinna, ^{URU}Zippalanda and so on. Some of them are administrative centers such as ^{URU}Hattuša, ^{URU}Ankuwa (the site of royal palace favored by the Hittite king⁴) and so on. With the purpose of combining the religious and administrative power, people may choose these cities as the places in which the AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival was held.

1.2.2. Animate and inanimate stuffs

In the rituals of AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival, many animals and plants appear, such as the GUD (bull), UDU (sheep), SILÁ (lamb), ANŠU.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} (horses) and AN.TAH.ŠUM^{SAR} (plant) and so on. Some other objects and goods are every kinds of bread, the grain storage vessel, the cups, the (gold-) spear, the scepter, the throne, the oven, the window and even the wooden-bolt and so on. All these animate and inanimate stuffs are the important medium for human to communicate with the god and nature.

1.3. Gods

The god is one of the three-main roles in the AN.TAH.ŠUM festival. It is indeed difficult to enumerate all of the gods in the whole AN.TAH.ŠUM festival. However, it could take CTH 604 and CTH 612 as the examples for the general understanding. In CTH 604 are there the ^DNisaba, ^DU

4 Enrico Badali und Christian Zinko, Der 16. Tag des AN.TAH.ŠUM-Festes, Text, Übersetzung, Glossar, Graz: Scientia, 1994.

^{uru}Zippalanda, ^DUTU, ^DZiparwa, ^DU^{URU} KÙ.BABBAR-TI, ^DZababa, ^DHannu, ^DU^{URU} Šamuha, ^DU pihaššašši, ^DUTU^{URU} Arinna/TÚL, ^DKAL, ^DU, ^DU^{URU} Halab, ^DKatlahha, ^DU.GUR, ^DHašameli, ^DAškašipa, ^DIŠTAR^{URU} Hattarina, ^DNinattanniuš, ^DKarmahili, ^DAa, DINGIR.MAH, and the ^DU^{URU} Huršannašša.

Meanwhile the gods in CTH 612 are ^DDAG, ^DHalki, ^DHulla, ^DHALMAŠUTTUM, ^DIštanu, ^DLAMMA, ^DTappinu, ^DTauri, ^DTelipinu, ^DU, ^DUTU, ^DZababa, ^DMezzulla, and ^DWašezza.

All these gods could be divided into three groups: ①Gods related to nature, such as ^DUTU (storm-god), ^DU (sun-god), ^DHalki (grain-god), ^DHulla (mountain-god?) and ^DTelipinu; ②Gods related to the common life, such as ^DDAG (throne-god), ^DIŠTAR and ^DZababa; ③Some other gods, such as ^DLAMMA, ^DTauri and so on.

Though either these gods or other factors (humanity and nature) talked above are not the total factors included in the whole process of AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival, they are still able to be the most representative factors. Based on the three-main factors, it makes the discussion on the relationships between humanity, nature and gods possible.

2. The Relationships based on the Three-main Factors

2.1. Relationship between humanity and humanity

It has been talked about the humanity as one of the main factor in AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival. The humanity includes leaders, officials and the servitors/common people. Thus the relationships between humanity could be summed up as three relationships: ①The relationship between leaders and officials; ②The relationship between the officials and the common people; ③The relationship between the leaders and the common people.

Firstly, both the king and the queen, and even the prince are the core-persons in the festival. Especially as for the king and the queen, either in CTH 604 or CTH612, they are the dominant people who go around different cities, temples and houses. When the king and queen are absent, they will

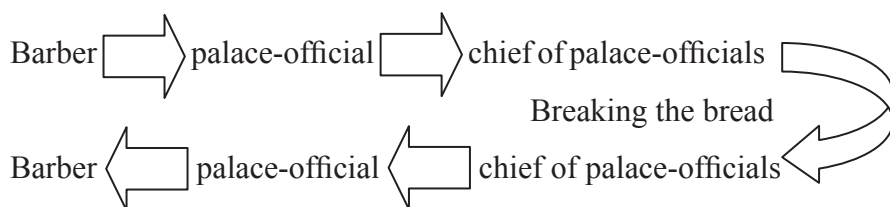
delegate the prince to celebrate the festival. Meanwhile the couples and the prince are all the participants. As talked above, GAL MEŠEDI and GAL DUMU^{MEŠ}.É.GAL are the most important officials. Their work for leaders are mainly ①informing something or someone to the king and the queen then conveying the command from the king to the herald; ②holding the gold spear and the scepter of *šuruhha*-wood for the king and queen; ③holding out the cloth for drying the hands of king and queen. Therefore the officials work as the first intermediary who services for the leaders, and conveys the command from the leaders to others.

Secondly, the officials maybe chose from the common people. They are titled with the GAL or UGULA which differentiate them from the common people. Between the officials and the common people there is an obvious rule for the delivery of good. The process of bread-delivery in CTH 612 could be taken as an example:

(11) LÚŠU.I 1 NINDA.KU₇ ú-da-i (12) ta-an A-NA DUMU.É.GAL pa-a-i DUMU.É.GAL-ma-an (13) A-NA GAL DUMU^{MEŠ}.É.GAL pa-a-i (14) GAL DUMU^{MEŠ}.É.GAL-ma-an A-NA GÍŠŠUKUR D^LLAMMA pár-ši-ya (15) [n]a-an GAL DUMU^{MEŠ}.É.GAL EGIR-pa A-NA DUMU.É.GAL (16) pa-a-i DUMU.É.GAL-ma-an EGIR-pa (17) A-NA LÚŠU.I pa-a-i (Enrico Badali 1994:46-48)

The barber gives 1 sweet-bread to the palace-official, the palace-official gives it to the chief of palace-officials, the chief of palace-officials breaks it for the spear of protective god, and then gives it back to the palace-official, and the palace-official gives it back to the barber.

The route of bread delivery can be seen clearly from this picture:



Therefore there may be a potential rule between the officials and the common people. The officials are the head of common people which reflects in the rituals with some fixed procedures.

Lastly, the relationship between the leaders and the common people is obvious that the common people will carry out the officials' instructions conveyed from the leaders. Furthermore they will prepare everything for the festival and do the performances in the festival. For the sake of their ranks, they must service for both the leaders and the officials.

Therefore the relationships between humanity and humanity are based on their different political ranks. All the rituals in AN.TAH.ŠUM festival may be held in certain rules according to the participants' ranks. Therefore in the AN.TAH.ŠUM festival, the leaders, officials and the common people reinforced their respective political ranks by the rituals. In ordinary life, there may be some frictions between leaders, officials and common people, which make the relationship of humanity unsteady. For example, the leaders may punish lower ranked people, while the officials conspire to be leaders and the common people try to become officials. However, in the AN.TAH.ŠUM festival the relationship can be found as an orderly state.

2.2. Relationship between humanity and gods

It is no doubt that the gods play the important part in the Hittites life. That the AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival is held in kinds of different gods' temples is a convincing demonstration. As it has been discussed in §1.3 that all the gods could be divided into three groups: gods related to nature, gods related to the common life and some other gods. As indicated in Tudhaliya's prayer to Sun-goddess of Arinna (CTH 385.9): I have sinned against the Sun-goddess of Arinna...I neglected your festivals...never again shall I omit the Festivals. I will not again interchange the spring and autumn festivals. The festivals of spring I shall perform only in the spring, and the festival of autumn I shall perform only in the autumn... (Itamar Singer 2002:108), it is obvious that the festivals are held for the gods, however which may be neglected or held

in a wrong way for some reasons. Neglecting the gods' festivals will be a kind of sin or offence for the king. Furthermore there may be other sins or offences to the gods, which humanity does intended or unintended. Therefore the humanity takes the festivals as one of the methods to communicate with the gods and show the reverence for the gods. The relationships between humanity and gods in the festivals are strictly ruled.

The utopian relationship between humanity and gods should be that the humanity respect for the gods and the gods help and protect the humanity. However in true-life, it is a frequent antinomy that either the humanity maybe displeases the gods (just as Tudhaliya omitting the festivals for Sun-goddess of Arinna) or the gods do not exert their effectiveness to help the humanity. Therefore the humanity pin their hope on the festivals in which the humanity and the gods get along well with each other. In the festivals, the humanity sacrifices to the gods while the gods have no any punishment on the humanity which makes the relationship between the humanity and the gods more harmonious.

2.3. Relationship between humanity and nature

Nature in AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival is both the world reconstructed by humanity and the primary nature. The former includes the cities, temples and houses, and even the inanimate stuffs created by human such as the bread, the vessel, the cups, the (gold-) spear, the scepter, the throne, the oven, the window and so on. The latter mainly refers to the mountains, the rivers, the springs, the animals and the plants such as the bull, the sheep, the horses and AN.TAH.ŠUM^{SAR} and so on. Furthermore, the gods related to nature are substantially equal to nature. Therefore the relationship between humanity and nature are much more complex.

Firstly it is no doubt that the inanimate stuffs created by human such as the oven, the throne, the window and the wooden-bolt are necessities of life. Therefore people apotheosize all these goods and give the sacrifices:

(6) UGULA ^{LÚ.MEŠ}MUHALDIM ha-aš-ši-i 1-ŠU ši-pa-an-ti (7) ^DDAG-ti 1-ŠU ^{GIŠ}AB 1-ŠU (8) ^{GIŠ}ha-at-tal-wa-aš GIŠ-ru-i 1-ŠU (9) nam-ma ha-aš-ši-i ta-pu-uš-za (10) 1-ŠU ši-pa-an-ti (Enrico Badali 1994:32).

The overseer of cooks libates once for the oven, once for the throne-god, once for the window, once for the wooden-bolt; furthermore he libates once near the oven.

People use these stuffs in ordinary life; however they need to pay the reverence to these stuffs in AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival. Thus it seems that people abuse the oven in ordinary days, but in festival they sacrifice and satisfy the oven, which makes the oven available in future. That is to say, AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival makes people and the oven more harmonious.

Secondly, some goods are used as the medium for communication between humanity and gods. Animals are sacrificed to the gods by people, as well as the bread and the wine in vessel or cups. However, it should be known that all these animals and inanimate goods are originated from nature. Therefore people offer the things originated from nature to satisfy the gods, which may show that nature acts as the intermediary between humanity and gods.

Furthermore, some gods are related to nature, such as the storm-god, the sun-god, the grain-god and so on. Thus in substantially speaking, people are offering the things originated from nature to nature.

Then as for the relationships between humanity and nature, it could come into a conclusion that, in festivals humanity apotheosize nature and give offerings to it, though the offerings are still originated from nature. Then it makes a circle that nature is used by humanity offering to nature, which may keep a balance between humanity and nature.

3. Conclusion

Based on the three-main factors and their relationships in AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival which are talked above, it may be possible to conclude that the

AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival's function is to deal with these relationships between humanity, gods and nature.

Firstly, the AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival makes the relationships between humanity and humanity more fixed. By the rituals in festival, the borderlines between the leaders, the officials and the common people become clear. Their fixed political ranks are strengthened again by the festival.

Secondly, the AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival mediates between humanity and gods. The conflicts between humanity and gods take place in common life, however, in festival humanity and gods will get along with each other. It comes to the perfect state that humanity shows the reverence and gives offerings to the gods while the gods accept the sacrifice "agreeably". Therefore, the AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival makes the relationships between humanity and gods more harmonious.

Last but not least, the AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival makes a balance between humanity and nature. In festival the humanity tries to use the stuffs originated from nature to offer to nature, by which they wish to remedy the overusing of nature and makes the nature for further-using in future.

All in all, the AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival makes all the relationships between humanity, gods and nature become fixed and harmonious, which could keep all the world in a good balance.

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HİTİTLER ve TEVRAT: TARİHSEL ÇÖZÜMLEMELER

Güngör KARAĞUZ*

I. Giriş

“... İonya'nın iki yerinde bu savaşçının kaya üzerine işlenmiş resimleri vardır. Birisi Phokaia-Ephesos yolu üstünde, öbürü Sardes'ten İzmir'e giden yol üzerindedir. Bu iki yerde iki buçuk dirsek yüksekliğinde bir heykel oyulmuştur, sağ elinde kargı, sol elinde yay tutar; öbür donatımları da gösterilmiştir. Mısır harfleriyle bir yazı kazılmıştır, anlamı şudur: 'Ben, bir omuz vuruşta bu ülkeyi yendim ve aldım.' Adını yurdunu yazdırmamıştır ama bunları başka biçimde belirtmiştir¹.”

Aslında İzmir'in Kemalpaşa-Torbalı yolundaki Karabel geçidinde bulunan Hitit kaya anıtını² anlatıyordu bu cümleleriyle Herodotos. Ama bu anıtın, bu kayalıklara Mısır firavununun kazıdığını söylüyor ve inanıyordu tüm kalbiyle. Ya da böyle olduğunu duymuştu çevredeki yerli halktan. Onu bu yargıya yönelten anıt üzerindeki hiyerogliflerdi belki de. Bizim buradaki asıl amacımız bu konuları uzun uzun açmak değil şüphesiz.

Dikkatleri çekmek ve toplamak istediğim asıl nokta, İ.Ö. 1650 ila 1200 yılları arasında bir dünya medeniyeti kurmuş olan Hititleri o zaman ki antik dünyanın artık hatırlamıyor olmasıdır. Hatta İ.Ö. XII. yüzyıldan sonra da Anadolu'nun Orta, Doğu ve Güneydoğu'sunda birkaç yüzyıl daha yaşayacak olan Geç Hitit Beylikleri de İ.Ö. V. yüzyılın başlarında antik dünya toplumlarının hafızasından tamamen silinmişti. Dolayısıyla Ön Asya coğrafyasının büyük bir bölümünde bin yıldan daha fazla hüküm sürmüş bu güçlü medeniyet belki de *Arkaik*

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1 Herodotos: II:106.

2 Bu anıtın Hitit'e ait olduğu ilk kez 1908 yılında Batrya duyurulmuştu (Sayce 1908).

Dönemin (İ.Ö. 750-480) ortalarından itibaren bilinmiyordu. Muhtemeldir ki sebebini şu an bilemediğimiz gerekçelerle ‘*unutuluş*’ bu dönemde başladı.

II. Hititler Hâlâ Bilinmiyor

Anadolu başta olmak üzere Ön Asya XVII. yüzyıldan itibaren batılı seyyahların akınına uğruyordu. Bölgede rastlanan arkeolojik bulgular seyyahların kitaplarında gravürler şeklinde değer buluyordu. Şüphesiz bu gezi notları ve resimler büyük ilgi topluyordu basıldıkları ve dağıtıldığı coğrafyalarda. Nitekim Hicri 1145 yani Miladi 1732 yılında kaleme aldığı *Cihannüma*'sında³ Kâtip Çelebi, ‘*Ab-riz*’ adlı kasabanın yöneticisi ‘*İrinus*’ isimli bir beye ait olduğunu düşündüğü Konya Ereğli yakınlarındaki İvriz’de keşfettiği kabartmadan ilk defa söz ediyordu. Ama aslında Geç Hitit dönemine ait olan bu kaya anıtının Hititlere ait olduğundan modern dünya toplumları hâlâ haberdar değildi. Oysaki Tevrat’ta, Geç Hitit Beyliğinden biri olduğu sonradan anlaşılacak Tabal’ın ve tunç kazanlarının ünü sıklıkla bilinmeden okunuyordu Batı dünyasında⁴.

Charles Texier, 1834 yılının Temmuz ayında geldiği Boğazköy’de bazı çizimler yapar ve bu çizimlerden en fazla detaylandığı Yazılıkaya kabartmaları olur. Buraya gelmezden önce de yukarıda ifadelendirdiğimiz Karabel anıtının da bir çizimini sunar sonradan yayımlayacağı eserinde⁵. Kabartmalar, yakın çağın halkları tarafından çok büyük ilgi görür şüphesiz. Bu kabartmaların Mezopotamya uluslarınca yaratılmış eserlerden farklı olduğu ilk bakışta anlaşılacaktır hep.

3 Kâtip Çelebi 617.

4 Hezekiel 27:13.

5 Texier 1839, 1862.



C. Texier'in Kaleminden Karabel Kabartması

Bu yıllarda Paul Émile Botta, 1843-1854'te Khorsabad'ta Yeni Asur kralı II. Sargon'un (İ.Ö. 721-705) inşa ettiği Dur-Şarrukin'de; 1845-1855'te Austen Henry Layard, II. Aurnasirpal'in sarayında ve Ninive'de yaptıkları kazılarda⁶ -diğer meslektaşları gibi- çıkardıkları devasa eserleri Avrupa müzelerine taşımaktan da üşenmiyorlardı.

Ama Mezopotamya'da gerçekleştirilen tüm bu kazılara rağmen Anadolu ve Suriye'nin⁷ çeşitli bölgelerinde keşfedilmiş olan kabartmalar hangi ulusa ait olmalıydı? Kafaları kurcalayan tek soru buydu o yıllarda.

6 Nissen 2004, XI.

7 Wright 1884; Sayce 1888.

William John Hamilton da 1842 yılında yayımladığı seyahatnamesinde⁸ Beyşehir'deki Eflatunpınar anıtını 17 Ağustos, Perşembe günü görmüştü. Çizimini de verip Persepolis anıtlarıyla ilişkilendiriyordu bir su kaynağına dikilmiş olan bu anıtı. Hatta anıtı, sadece '*Beyşehir yakınlarındaki eski bir monumental yapı*' olarak da tanımlıyordu. Çünkü bu yıllarda, bu tür kabartmaları vücuda getiren ulusun Amazonlar, Paphlagonialılar, Med/Persler, Galatlar ya da Romalılar olduğu fikri ağır basıyordu.



İvriz Geç Hitit Kaya Kabartması (Cowley 1920)

8 Hamilton 1842, II, 350-351, no. 25.

Dahası Hamilton, 22 Ağustos, Pazartesi günü Boğazköy'e gelir. Kendinden biraz önce Texier'in keşfettiği ve sekiz gün boyunca konakladığı Boğazköy'de kendisi bir gün kalır ama Yazılıkaya kabartmaları⁹ ile bir tapınağın çizimini de kendisi yapar¹⁰. Kabartmaların hangi eskiçağ ulusuna ait olduğu onun için de hâlâ bir muamma olmaya devam etmektedir.

III. Hitit Kalıntıları Gün Işığı Görüyor ve Hititçe Deşifre Oluyor

Ancak hem Musevi ve hem de Hıristiyan dünyanın kutsal kitabı olan Tevrat, İnciller ve diğer Kanonik kitaplarda Asur¹¹ (156 kez), Babil¹² (310 kez), Ninive (31 kez), Asurbanipal (1 kez), Nebukadnezar (93 kez), Salmanasser (2 kez) ve Koreş/II. Dareios¹³ (23 kez geçer) gibi daha birçok eskiçağ uluslarından ve krallarından söz ediliyordu.

Tevrat'a göre hem Asur kralı Salmanassar hem de Babil kralı Nabukadnezar, tanrının İsrailoğullarını cezalandıran eliydi. Samiriye, Asurlularca işgal edilmişti (2. Krallar 17:6). Dahası Asur kralı Sanherib Kudüs'e saldırmıştı (2. Krallar 32:1-2). Hatta Babil, İncillerde '*yeryüzünde kötülüklerin ve fahişelerin anası*' (Vahiy 18) olarak tasvir ediliyordu. 'Babil kulesi' de Tevrat'ta destanlaştırılmıştı sanki (Yaratılış 111-9).

Bu kitaplara iman eden uluslar¹⁴ tarafından bu hikâyeler şüphesiz sıklıkla okunmaktaydı ve bu hikâyelerin doğruluğunun teyit edilmesi de büyük bir merak konusu olmalıydı. Bu da Batı'da arkeolojinin doğmasını sağlayan¹⁵ en büyük etkenlerden biri oldu. Kısaca ilk zamanlar batılı, arkeolojiyi kutsal kitaplarda geçen hikâyeleri doğrulamak için kullanacaktı¹⁶. Böylece Mezopotamya, Anadolu ve Mısır'a bir '*staj yeri*' olarak akın edilecekti.

9 Seeher 2011.

10 Hamilton 1842, I, 390 vd.

11 Kirschbaum 2004.

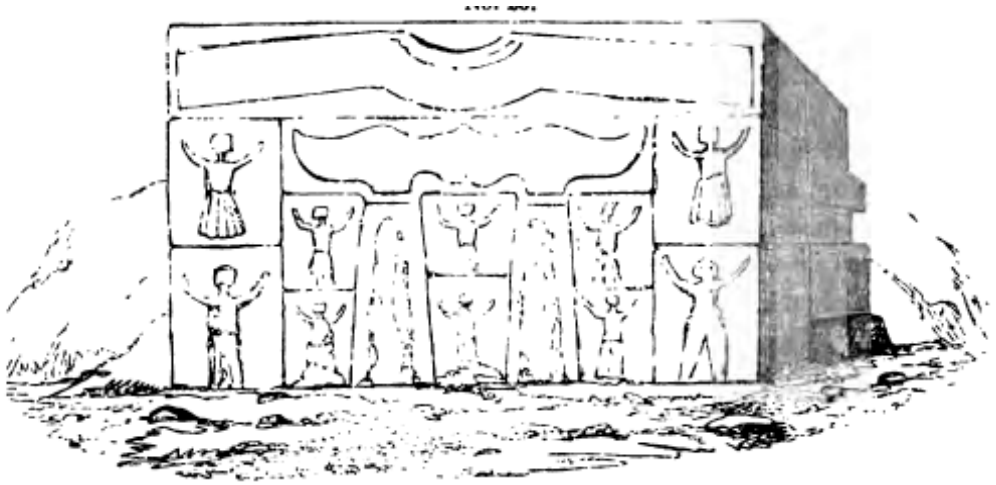
12 Salvini 2006.

13 Kuhrt 2010, 389 vd..

14 Sayce 1914.

15 Delaporte 1938.

16 Sayce 1891/1925, 1906, 1928, 1929; Forrer 1936; Kempinski 1979; Chiera 1996, 44.



W. J. Hamilton'un Kaleminden Eflatunpınar Anıtı

1893-94 yılları arasında Ernest Chantre hem Yazılıkaya'da ve şimdiki Boğazköy harabelerinde kazılara başlayacak ve pek çok çiviyazılı tablet parçası keşfedecekti¹⁷. Bu yıllardan altı yıl önce de yani 1887 yılında Mısır'da Tell-el-Amarna'da¹⁸ bir köylü kadın tarafından tesadüfen pek çok çiviyazılı tablet parçaları¹⁹ da bulunacaktı²⁰. Ama bu tabletlerin bir kısmının sahte olduğuna hükmedecekti o dönemin çiviyazısı uzmanları. Çünkü bulunan iki tabletin dili Mezopotamya'da keşfedilen tabletler ile hiçbir uygunluk göstermiyordu.

XX. yüzyılın ilk çeyreğinde Norveçli Jørgen Alexander Knudtzon ve arkadaşları bu tabletlerin okunamayanlarının dilinin Hint-Avrupa kökenli bir kavme ait olduğunu 1902'de haykıracaktı²¹. Ama hiç taraftar bulamayacaktı. Bu arada 1906-7 sezonunda Boğazköy'de on binin üzerinde çiviyazılı tablet keşfediyordu Hugo Winckler ama hâlâ tabletler okunamıyor ve anlamlandırılmıyordu. Ta ki 1915 yılında Çek Bedřich Hrozný, bu çiviyazılı tabletlerin dilini çözmeye koyulana kadar. Yaptığı çözümlerden Hrozný,

17 Chantre 1898.

18 Knudtzon 1915.

19 Thompson 1892, IX.

20 Chiera 1996, 146 vd.

21 Knudtzon vd.1902.

dilin Hint-Avrupa özelliği gösterdiğini ifade edecekti²². Çözümlemeler ilerledikçe tarihin derinliklerinde unutulup kaybolmuş bu halkın²³ -Amarna mektuplarında ifadesini bulduğu şekliyle- kendini ‘Neš(a)umnili²⁴’ olarak adlandırdığı da anlaşılacaktı.

Durum böyle olunca bu halkın Neşalılar olarak adlandırılması beklenirdi; ama olmadı. Çünkü Batılı bilim adamları verdiği konferanslar ve yayımladığı eserlerde aslında bu ulusun, Tevrat’ta ifadesini bulan ve Ege Denizi’nden Fırat kıyılarına uzanan bölgelerde yaşayan halk olduğunu iddia ediyordu²⁵. Daha önce de bu halkın Moğol²⁶, Japon, Arnavut, Meksika ve Peruluların ataları olduğu söylenegelmişti²⁷. Böylece bu halk, Tevrat’taki ‘Het Oğulları’ ile irtibatlandırılarak İngilizce ve Fransızca: *Hittite*, Almanca *Hethiter*, İtalyanca: *Ittita*’ olarak Batı’da isimlendirildi. Artık Batı, bu halkı bu isimle çağırırdı. Biz de ilk zamanlar –kanaatimce- doğru bir şekilde ‘Eti’ olarak adlandırıldı bu eskiçağ halkı. Çünkü türetilen kelime ‘yerli’ idi. Ama yukarıdaki kelimelerden bozularak türetilip kelime ‘Hitit’e öykünüverdi aniden. Hafızalarımızda ise - Hatti ulusunun yarattığı bronz eserleri ifade etmede kullanılan ve sonradan da yanlış bir adlandırma olduğu anlaşılacak ‘Eti Güneşi’ tabiri kaldı.’

22 Hrozný 1915, 1917, 1919; Cowley 1920; Beckman 1996; Hoffner 2002.

23 Hrozný 1920.

24 VBoT 2 25.

25 Sayce 1888, 11-19; Messerschmidt 1903, 9 vd.; Garstang 1910; Bryce 2003, 19 vd.; Collins 2007, 3.

26 Conder 1898, V-VI, 111 vd.

27 Campbell 1890.



W. J. Hamilton'un Çizimiyle Yazılıkaya

IV. Tevrat'taki Anlatımlar ile Hititler

Het oğulları' ya da şimdiki moda tabirle Hititler, Tevrat'ta 60 kez ve genel olarak²⁸ şu konu başlıklarıyla birlikte anılmaktadır.

- Kenan, Hititlerin atasıdır (Yaratılış 10:15; 1. Tarihler 1:13-16).

İbrahim ve Çocukları İsmail ile İshak Döneminde Hititler

- Rab, Hitit topraklarını da kapsayan Mısır Irmağından Fırat'a kadar uzanan geniş bir coğrafyayı Avram/İbrahim'e verir (Yaratılış 15:18-21; Nehemya 9:8).
- İbrahim'in karısı Sara'nın cesedini gömmek maksadıyla Hititlerden bir toprak satın almak istemesiyle başlayan ve daha sonra gelişen olaylar (Yaratılış 23:1-20; 25:9-10; 49:32; 49:29-30; 50:13).
- Esav, Hititli Beeri'nin kızı Yuhit ve yine Hititli Elon'un kızı Basemat ile evlenir (Yaratılış 26:34; 27:46; 36:2).

²⁸ Arbeitman 1981.

- Hititli kadınlar ve kızlar (Yaratılış 27:46).
Musa ve Yeşu Döneminde Hititler
- Musa'nın kavmini Mısır ülkesinden çıkarıp Hitit topraklarının da içinde yer aldığı geniş, verimli araziler ve süt, bal akan ülkeye götüreceği vaadi yapılır (Çıkış 3:7-8, 17; 13:5; 23:23; 33:2; 34:11).
- Rab, Hititleri kovmak için eşekarısı gönderir (Çıkış 23:28).
- Hititler Kenan'ın dağlık bir bölgesinde Amorluların bitişiğinde yaşar (Çölde Sayım 13.29).
- Hititler yedi büyük ve güçlü halk içinde sayılır (Yasanın Tekrarı 7:1).
- Hititlerle birlikte Amor, Kenan, Periz, Hiv ve Yevus halklarının yok edileceği (Yasanın Tekrarı 20:17).
- Rab, çölden Lübnan'a, Fırat'tan –bütün Hitit ülkesi dâhil- Akdeniz'e kadar olan bölgeyi Yeşu'ya verir (Yeşu 1:4)
- Kenan, Hitit, Hiv, Periz, Girgaş, Amor ve Yevus halklarının sürülmesi konu edilir (Yeşu 3:10).
- Şeria Irmağının ötesinde dağlık bölgede, Şefela'da ve Lübnan'a kadar uzanan Akdeniz kıyısında hüküm süren bir kavim de Hititlerdir (Yeşu 9:1; 11:3; 12:7-8; 24:11).
- Hitit topraklarında Luz adlı bir kent kurulur (Hâkimler 1:26).
- İsraililer Kenan, Amor, Periz, Hiv, Yevus ve Hititlerin arasında yaşamaya başlar (Hâkimler 3:5).

Davut, Süleyman ve Hezekiel Döneminde Hititler

- Davut, Hititli Ahimelek ile Avişa'ya 'ordugaha onunla birlikte kimin gelmek istediğini sorar (I. Samuel 26:6).
- Davut, ilk kez damda yıkanırken gördüğü Hititli Uriya'nın karısı Bat-Şeva ile yatar (2. Samuel 11:3; 1. Krallar 15:5).
- Kral Süleyman, diğer uluslarla birlikte Hititleri de angaryaya koşar (1. Krallar 9:20-21; 2. Tarihler 8:7).
- Kral Süleyman için Mısır ve Kilikya'dan getirilen atlar Hitit ve Aram

krallarına satılır (1. Krallar 10:29; 2. Tarihler 1:17).

- Kral Süleyman firavunun kızı başta olmak üzere Hititli ve bir çok yabancı kadın sever (1. Krallar 11:1).
- Aramlılar, İsrail kralının Hitit ve Mısır krallarını kiraladığı hakkında aralarında söyleşirler (2. Krallar 7:6).
- İsraililer kızlarını Hititler başta olmak üzere diğer ulusların oğullarına, onların kızlarını da kendi oğullarına alırlar (Ezra 9:1-2).
- Yeruşalim/Kudüs için babası Amorlu ve annesi ise Hititli benzetmesi yapılır (Hezekiel 16:3,45).

Yukarıda verilen bu genel bilgilerden de anlaşılacağı üzere Tevrat ile Hititler arasında sıkı bir işbirliği ya da bir ilişki olduğu çok rahat anlaşılabilir. Hatta Hititlerin Filistin'in kuzey bölgelerinde ikamet ettiği görülebilmektedir. Sosyal ve kültürel ilişkilerin izleri, çiviyazılı kil tabletler üzerinden de takip edilebilmektedir.

V. Avram²⁹/İbrahim ve Hititler: Tarihsel Çözümleme

Yukarıda alt alta sıraladığımız maddelerden de görüleceği gibi -Kenan'ın Hititlerin atası olduğu bahsi ikinci plana itilirse- aslında Tevrat, Hititlerin tarihini İbrahim ile birlikte başlatmaktadır. İlk bilgiler, İbrahim'in karısı Sara'nın ölümüyle dökülür Tevrat'ta. Sara, bugün Batı Şeria'daki Hebron yakınlarında bir kent olan Kiryat-Arba'da ölmüştür ve İbrahim, bu bölgede hanımını defnedeceği şanına layık bir mezar yeri aramaktadır.

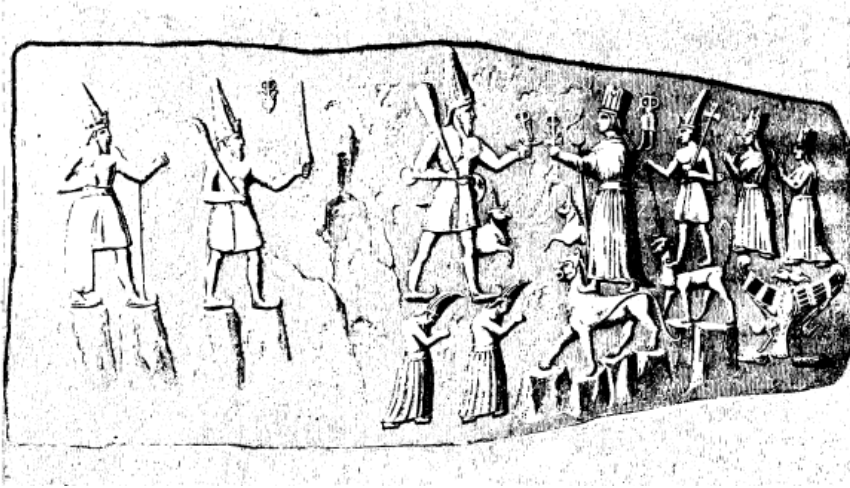
Gönlünden geçirdiği bu mezar yeri, Hititli Sohar oğlu Efron'un maliki olduğu Makpela Mağarası'dır. Bu şahıs, İbrahim'e mağara ile birlikte mağaranın içinde bulunduğu tarlayı bütün ağaçlarla birlikte dört yüz shekel (yaklaşık 3320 gr) gümüşe satar. İbrahim, ölümüyle kendisinin de buraya gömüleceği -daha sonra torunu Yakup'un da defnedileceği- Makpela Mağarası için belirlenen ücreti Hititlerin huzurunda, onların ağırlık ölçüsü hukukuna uygun şekilde öder³⁰.

29 Wolley 1936.

30 Yaratılış 23; 25:9; 49:29; 50:13.

Tevrat'ta söz edilen İbrahim, putperest Terah'ın oğludur³¹ ve Barnabas İncil'inde sözü edildiğine göre de toplum, 'Ba'al ile birlikte bin adet tanrıya'³² tapmaktadır. İbrahim, Kildanilerin Ur kentinde dünyaya gelmiştir. Ur'da uzun bir süre yaşayan İbrahim, babasının isteği üzerine diğer kardeşi Haran, yeğeni Lut, karısı Saray –sonradan ismi Sara olacaktır³³- ve babası ile birlikte buradan Harran'a göç etmişlerdir³⁴.

Tevrat'ın aktardığı bu bilgiler çerçevesinde –daha önce uzun uzun ifade ettiğim gibi³⁵- İbrahim'in yaşadığı devir hakkında bazı ipuçları yakalayabileceğimiz kanaatini taşıyorum.



C. Texier'in Kaleminden Yazılıkaya'daki Teşup, Hepat ve Šarruma

Tevrat, görüldüğü üzere Babil için Kildani kelimesini tercih etmektedir. Babil, ilk kez birinci Babil Hanedanlığı (İ.Ö. 1894-1595) ile tarih sahnesine çıkar. Ama Kildani sözcüğü, Yeni Babil devleti döneminde³⁶-İ.Ö. 7. yüzyılda-, yani pak Tevrat'tan yaklaşık beş yüz yıl sonra kullanılmaya başlanır.

31 Yeşu 24:2.

32 Barnabas İncili 38.

33 Yaratılış 17:15

34 Yaratılış 11:27 vd..

35 Karauğuz 2013, 154-157.

36 Oates 2004, 118 vd..

Birinci Babil Hanedanının altıncı kralı olan Babilli Hammurabi'nin (İ.Ö. 1795'te tahta geçer) krallığının yaklaşık otuzuncu yılında (İ.Ö. 1763) İsin, Uruk ve Nippur kentleriyle birlikte Ur kentini, birinci Babil hanedanlığının sınırları içine dâhil ettiği bilinir³⁷. Böylece bir Sumer³⁸ kenti olan Ur, Sami ırkından bir sülalenin elindedir artık.

Hammurabi'nin, Hititli çağdaşı Anitta'dır bu yıllarda ve bu kralla, Hitit devletinin temelleri atılmaya başlanmıştır yavaş yavaş. Durum böyle olunca İbrahim, hem Babilli Hammurabi'nin Ur'u ele geçirdiği yıllarda ve hem de Anitta döneminde (İ.Ö. 1750) genç bir delikanlıdır. Yani İbrahim'in Nemrûd'u, Hammurabi olmalıdır. Tevradî bir kavram olan Nemrûd/Nimrod/νεβρωδ ya da Amraphel³⁹ kudretli bir avcı olup Şinar diyarında Babil, Ereğ, Akad, Kalne, Asur, Ninive ve Kalah'a hâkim idi Tevrat'ta⁴⁰.

Bu durumda, hem Babilli Hammurabi ve hem de Hititlerle çağdaş olduğu anlaşılan İbrahim, Hitit devletinin hangi dönemine kadar yaşamını devam ettirmiş olmalıdır?

Tevrat'ta verilen bilgilerden yola çıktığımızda ve –yukarıda sözünü ettiğimiz gibi- İbrahim, karısı Sara için bir kabir arandığında, Hititli bir kişiden bu kabri satın almaktadır. Bu ifadeler bize şunu ima etmektedir: Hitit kralı Anitta'nın hemen ardından Hitit varlığı Anadolu'yu kaplamış ve hatta kuzey Suriye de bile Hititli nüfus ve nüfuz artmıştır. Yani İbrahim'in orta yaşından ölümüne kadar, Anadolu ve Kuzey Suriye'de hatırı sayılı bir Hitit nüfusu ve etkisi vardır artık. Konuyu biraz daha açarsak, Hammurabi'nin Ur'u ele geçirdiği tarihte, Hitit varlığı sadece Orta Anadolu'da Kayseri ve Boğazköy civarı ile Konya'nın kuzeyine kadar genişleyebilmişken⁴¹, Tevrat'tan yaptığımız çıkarsamalar çerçevesinde, Hititler artık doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu'da da söz sahibi olması gerekmektedir. Durum böyle olunca I. Labarna döneminde Hitit sınırlarının Konya'nın güneyine kadar uzandığı anlaşılıyor⁴².

37 Kuhrt 2010, I, 141.

38 Crawford 2010.

39 Yaratılış 14:1, 8.

40 Yaratılış 10:8-11.

41 Alp 2001, 53-55.

42 Alp 2001, 59.

Ancak I. Hattuşili⁴³, sınırı Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu bölgesi ile birlikte Kuzey Suriye'ye kadar genişletecektir. Hatta kendisinin ifadesiyle, daha önce Akadlı Sargon'un⁴⁴ geçtiği Fırat Nehri'ni geçip, bu bölgede bulunan kentleri Hitit toprağına katıp, Urşu/Urfa kentinde yaralanıp, Kuşşara'da ölecektir. Bu anlatımlarımız ışığında –daha önceki bir eşitlemenin aksine⁴⁵– İbrahim, eski Babil kralı Hammurabi ve Hitit kralı I. Hattuşili arasındaki bir dönemde yaşamış olmalıdır.



C. Texier'in Bakış Açısıyla Boğazköy Harabeleri

V.1. Çiviyazılı Bir Belgede Avram/İbrahim Hikâyesi: Appu ile İki Oğlu

Bu tarihsel çözümlemem belki sizde çok havada kaldığı noktasında bir izlenim bırakmış olabilir. Ancak Eski Hitit Dönemine tarihlendirilmiş 'Appu ve iki oğlu'⁴⁶ isimli bir masal sanki bize Tevrat'taki İbrahim'i anlatmaktadır. Masal özetle şöyledir. Çok zengin ve hiçbir şeye ihtiyacı olmayan Şudul kentinde yaşayan Appu'nun çocuğı olmuyordur. Katıldığı şölenlerde ilgilenebileceğı bir çocuğunun olmaması onu içten içe kemirmekte ve üzüntüye boğmaktadır. Yine böyle bir şölenin ardından canı sıkılmış bir ruh haliyle evine döner. Ama karısının alaycı bir gülümseme ile takındığı yüz ifadeleri ile karşılaşır ve ayakkabılarıyla birlikte yatağına yatar. Tanrılara

43 Haas 2004, 32 vd.

44 Sayce 1915.

45 Böhl 1924, 1929; Bruce 1948, 20 vd..

46 Siegelová 1971.

yakarması sonuç vermiş ve önce ‘Kötü’ daha sonra da ‘İyi’ ismini koyacağı iki erkek çocuğu dünyaya gelmiştir. Çocuklar büyüyüp yiğit bir erkek haline gelince Appu’nun oğulları baba evinden ayrılma kararı vermiştir. Bu arada iki kardeş malı da kendi aralarında bölüşmeye başlamıştır. Ancak malın iyisini ‘Kötü’ almış, tüm kötü malı ise ‘İyi’ye vermiştir. Bu mal paylaşımının adaletsiz olduğuna inanan ‘İyi’ bu haksız taksimatı mahkemeye taşımıştır. Özetlediğimiz bu masalın önemli bir kısmı aşağıda Tevrat cümleleriyle kıyaslanmaktadır:

KUB XXIV 8 I	
Transkripsiyon: Siegelová 1971, 4.	
7. URU-aš ŠUM-an-še-et UR[UŠ]u-du-ul	7. Šudul isimli (bir) kent var(mış).
8. URULu-ul-lu-wa-ia-aš-ša-[a]n KUR-e a-ru-ni	8. Lulluwa ülkesinde deniz ona
9. ZAG-ši e-eš-zi nu-kán še-er LÚ-aš	9.-12. sınır (imiş). Appu isimli bir adam ülkedeki (en) zengin (olanı imiş). Sığırları (ve) koyunları çok (imiş).
10. MAp-pu ŠUM-an-še-et KUR-e-kán iš-tar-na a-pa-a-aš	
11. ha-ap-pi-na-an-za G[UD ^{III} .]A-uš-ši-iš	
12. UDU-uš me-ek-[ki]-iš	
13. KÙ.BABBAR-ma-aš-ši GUŠKIN-aš N[A ⁴ .ZA.GI]N-aš ud-da-ni	13.-14. (Hububatın) işlenip yığılması (gibi) o altın, gümüş (ve) lapis lazuli taşı (yığılmış).
14. [p]a-an-ku hu-u-i-ga-tar ma-a-[an] ha-ah-ha-ri-ia-an	
“Ve Abram sürülerde, gümüşte ve altında çok zengindi.”	
Yaratılış: 13:2.	

KUB XXIV 8 I	
Transkripsiyon: Siegelová 1971, 4.	
15. <i>nu-uš-ši-pa Ū-UL ku-it-ki wa[-a]q-qa-ri</i>	15. Onun hiçbir eksigi yok(muş).
16. <i>nu-uš-ši-pa I-an ut-tar wa-aq-q[a-r]i DUMU.NITA-ši DUMU.MUNUS-iš</i>	16. Ancak (tek) bir şeye ihtiyacı var(muş): Ne erkek ne de kız çocuğu
17. NU.GÁL ^{LÚ.MEŠ} ŠU.GI ^{URU} Šu-du-ul-um-ni-iš	17. (olmuyormuş). Šudul kentinin (önde gelen) yaşlıları
18. <i>pí-ra-an-ši-it a-da-an-na a-ša-an-zi</i>	18. onun huzurunda yemek için oturdu(k)lar(ında)
19. <i>[n]u-za ku-iš-ša DUMU.NITA-li N[INDA-]an ^{UZU}Ī-ia pa-a-i</i>	19. biri oğluna ekmek ve yağlı (et) veriyor(muş).
20. <i>[ku-i]š-ma-za DUMU.NITA-li a-ku-wa-an-na pa-a-i</i>	20. diğeri oğluna içmek için (şarap) veriyor(muş).
21. ^{[M} Ap]-pu-uš-ma NINDA-an Ū-UL ku-i-ta-ni-ik-ki pa-a-i	21. Ama Appu'nun ekmeği(ni) verecek kimsesi (yokmuş).
<p>“Ben çocuksuz gidiyorum. ... İşte bana zürriyet vermedin.” “Ve Abram'ın karısı Saray ona çocuk doğurmadı” Yaratılış 15:2-5; 16:1.</p>	

KUB XXIV 8 I	
Transkripsiyon: Siegelová 1971, 4-5.	
22. [^{GIS} BAN]ŠUR-ká[n GA]D-it ka-ri-ia-an	22. Sofraya örtü seril(miş)
23. [na-]at ^{GIS} ZAG.GA.RA pí-ra-an ar-ta-ri	23. ve sunağın önüne kon(muş).
24. [a-r]a-i-ša-pa ^M Ap-p[u-u]š na-aš-za par-na-aš-ša	24. Appu (da) evine doğru
25. [i-i]a-an-ni-iš š[a-aš-t]a-aš-ša-an	25. yönel(miş). Hazır
26. [^{GIS} NÁ-aš šar-ku-w[(a-a)]n-za še-eš-k[i-)]it	26. karyolasına ayakkabılarıyla (birlikte) uzan(mış.).
27. [DAM] ^M Ap-pu ^{LÚ.MEŠ} AMA.TU-an pu-nu-uš-ki-w[a-]an da-a-iš	27. Appu'nun karısı uşaklarına soru sorarak (onlarla dertleşmeye, onlara kinayeli bir şekilde gülerek içini dökmeye) başla(mış.)
28. [Ú-]JUL-wa ku-uš-ša-an-qa kat-ta e-ep-ta	28. 'Daha önce o, (çocuk yapmayı) asla başaramamış
29. [nu-]wa ki-nu-un kat-ta e-ep-ta pa-a-i-ta-aš	29. (ve) şimdi başaracağını mı düşünüyorsunuz?' (diye söylene söylene) giden
30. [MUNU]S-za na-aš-za IT- TI ^M Ap-pu wa-aš-ša-an-za še-eš-ki-it	30. kadın, Appu'nun (yanına) giysileriyle yat(mış).
31. [^M Ap-pu-uš Ú-az par-ku-i-ia-ta-at	31. Appu uykudan uyan(ır uyanmaz)
32. [na-]an DAM-ZU pu-nu-uš-ku-wa-an da-a-iš	32. karısı onu soru (yağmuruna) boğ(arak):
33. [Ú-]JUL-wa ku-uš-ša-an-qa kat-ta e-ep-ta	33. 'Daha önce (çocuk yapmayı) bir türlü başarama(mış)tın.

34. [nu-]wa ki-nu-un kat-ta e-ep-ta	34. (Sanki) şimdi başardın mı? (diye sormuş).
35. ^[MA] p-pu-uš IŠ-ME nu-uš-ši me-mi-iš-ki-wa-an da-a-iš	35. Appu (bu sözleri) işitin(ce) (kızarak) söylenmeye başla(mış):
36. [MUNUS-] an-za-wa-za MUNUS-ni-li-ia-az zi-ik	36. ‘Sen bir kadınsın ve kadın (gibi) düşünüyorsun. Hatta)
37. [nu-]wa Ú-UL ku-it-ki ša-ak-ti	37. hiçbir şeyin de farkında değilsin! (demiş)
38. a-ra-i-ša-pa ^{MA} p-pu ^{GIŠ} NÁ-az	38. Appu yataktan kalk(mış)
39. [n]u-za har-ki-in SILA-an da-a-[aš]	39. ve beyaz bir kuzu al(ıp)
40. na-aš ^P UTU-i kat-ta-an i-ia-an- ni-[iš]	40. Güneş Tanrısı’nın yanına (gitmek için) yola koyul(muş).
41. ^P UTU-uš-kán ne-pi-ša-za kat-ta š[a-ku-wa-ia-at]	41. Güneş Tanrısı gökyüzünden aşağıya nazar et(miş)
42. na-aš-za ^{LÚ} GURUŠ-an-za ki-ša-at	42. (yaşlı olan Appu’yu) genç bir delikanlı(ya) dönüştür(müş).
43. na-aš-ši-pa an-da i-ia-an-n[i-iš]	43-44. (Güneş Tanrısı) ona yönelip soru sormaya başla(mış):
44. [n]a-an pu-nu-uš-ki-wa-an da-a-[iš]	
45. [k]u-it-wa wa-aš-túl-ti-it nu-wa- ra-at-t[a	45. ‘Senin kusurun nedir? Senin [için çözmemiz gereken mesele nedir?] (demiş)

“Ve Allah, İbrahim’e dedi: ‘Senin karın Saray’a gelince, onu mübarek kılacağı ve ondan da sana bir oğul vereceğim.’ Ve İbrahim yüz üstü düştü ve güldü ve yüreğinden dedi: ‘Yüz yaşında olana bir oğul doğar mı ve doksan yaşında olan Sara doğurur mu?’

“Sara kocamış ve yaşta ilerlemişti. Sara âdetten kesilmişti. Ve Sara: ‘İhtiyar olduktan sonra bana sevinç olur mu? Efendim de kocamıştır diyerek içinden güldü.’”

Yaratılış 17:15-17; 18:11-12.

V.2. Avram/İbrahim Sonrası Hititler

Tevrat, Hititler için özel bilgiler vermeye devam ederek, -yukarıda gösterdiğimiz gibi- bu halkın dağlık bölgelerde yaşadığını ve döneminin yedi büyük güçlü devletleri arasında sayıldığını vurguluyor. Hatta İbrahim'den sonra Hititlerin Kuzey Suriye ve Lübnan civarında Hitit nüfusunun belli bir oranda olduğu çok net bir şekilde görülebiliyor Tevrat'tan. Nitekim İbrahim'in oğlu İshak'tan olma torunu Esav'ın -başına sonradan çok belalar getirmiş olsalar da- Hititli kızlarla evlenmesi bu nüfusun bölgedeki varlığına işaret ediyor.



C. Texier'in Kaleminden Yazılıkaya'daki IV. Tuthaliia Kabartması

VI. Musa'nın İkinci-Beşinci Kitabı ve Hititler

Tevrat'ta Yakup'un ve oğlu Yusuf'un Mısır'da başından geçen acıklı ve ibretlik olaylar zinciri hikâyeleştirildikten sonra (Yaratılış 27-50) Musa'nın kavmi ile birlikteki maceraları uzun uzun (Çıkış) anlatılır. Tevrat'ta Musa döneminin anlatıldığı olaylar zinciri dâhilinde İsrailoğullarının Mısır'dan çıkarılıp Hititlerin de ülkesinin dâhil olduğu topraklara götürülmesi (Çıkış 3:8; 13:4) ve Hititlerden kurtulmak amacıyla -mecazi anlamda- onların üzerine eşekarısı (Çıkış 23:27-30) yani salgın hastalıklar gönderileceği anlatılmaktadır. Demek ki Hititler, Ön Asya'da gerçekten hatırı sayılır bir konumdadır artık. Hititler, -aşağıda maddeleştirdiğimiz gibi- hem Ön Asya dünyasını etkilemekte ve etkilenmekte hem de başta Tevrat'ın özellikle Musa dönemine ait olan Çıkış bölümünü etkilemektedir.

VI.1. Hitit ve Tevrat Yasaları

Tevrat'taki yasalar Çıkış'ın 20. bölümünden itibaren başlar. Musa'nın Çıkış kitabında yer alan Tevrat yasaları, kısasa kısas uygulaması ve diğer bazı maddeler açısından Sami yasalarına benzemekle birlikte şekil ve suçun tasarlanıp maddeleştirilmesi noktalarında Hitit yasalarıyla birebir örtüşmektedir. Hitit ve Tevrat yasalarının benzerliklerinin ele alınıp değerlendirilmesi gerektiğini daha önce '*Hitit Yasaları*' adıyla Türkçeye de çevrilmiş kitabın girişinde Batılı Hititolog da söyleyecekti⁴⁷. Dolayısıyla Tevrat ve Hitit yasalarında görülen benzer kanun maddelerinden bir kısmını kısaca şöyle sıralamak mümkündür:

47 İmparati 1992, 3.

Çocuk Düşürme	
<p>40. [(<i>ták-ku MUNUS-aš EL-LI šar-hu-wa-an-du-uš-šu-šu ku-iš-ki p[(é-e)] š-[(ši-ia)]-zi</i>)]</p> <p><i>Eğer herhangi biri hür bir kadının meyvesini (çocuğunu) attırırsa (düşürtürse)</i></p>	<p><i>“Eğer adamlar kavga edip bir <u>gebe kadına çarparlar ve onun çocuğu düşerse</u> ve bir zarar olmazsa kocasının kendi üzerine tayin edeceği gibi tazmin edecek ve hâkimler vasıtasıyla verecektir. Fakat zarar olursa, o zaman can yerine can, göz yerine göz, diş yerine diş el yerine el, ayak yerine ayak, yanık yerine yanık, yara yerine yara, bere yerine bere vereceksin</i> Çıkış 21:22-25.”</p>
Adam Yaralama	
<p>19. <i>ták-ku İR-an na-aš-ma GÉME-an ku-iš-ki da-šu-wa-ah-hi na-aš-ma [(KAxUD-SU)] la-a-ki</i></p> <p><i>Eğer bir adam erkek kölesini ya da cariyesini kör ederse ya da [(dişini)] kırarsa</i></p> <p>20. [(10)] GÍN KÙ.BABBAR <i>pa-a-i pâr-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-iz-zi</i></p> <hr/> <p><i>on şeşel gümüş verir. (Böylece yaptığı kötülüğü) evinden kaldırır.</i></p>	<p><i>“Eğer bir adam kölesinin gözüne <u>yahut cariyesine vurur ve onu sakat ederse</u>, gözü yerine onu hür olarak salıverecektir. Eğer kölesinin yahut <u>cariyesinin dişini düşürürse</u>, <u>dişi yerine onu hür olarak salıverecektir</u>” Çıkış: 21:26-27.”</i></p>

Hırsızlık	
<p>26. <i>ták-ku GUD.MAH ku-iš-ki ta-ia-az-zi</i> Eğer bir adam öküz çalarsa</p> <p>35. <i>ták-ku UDU.A.LUM ku-iš-ki ta-ia-az-zi</i> Eğer bir adam koyun çalarsa</p>	<p><i>“Eğer bir adam öküz yahut koyun çalarsa ve onu boğazlar yahut satarsa bir öküz yerine beş öküz ve bir Koyun yerine dört koyun ödeyecektir Çıkış: 22:1.”</i></p>
Hayvanların Başkasının Tarlasına Girmesi	
<p>6. [(<i>ták-ku</i>)] GUD^{HLA} A.ŠĀ- ni pa-a-an-zi BE-EL A.ŠĀ [(<i>ú</i>)]-e-mi-ia-zi Eğer sığırlar tarlaya girer (ve) tarla sahibi (onları tarlasında otlar) bulursa</p>	<p><i>“Eğer bir adam bir tarlada yahut bir bağda otlamak üzere kendi hayvanını salıverir ve o başkasının tarlasında otlarsa kendi tarlasının en iyisinden ve bağının en iyisinden ödeyecektir Çıkış: 22: 5.”</i></p>
Kundaklama	
<p>22. [(<i>ták-ku pa-ah-hur A-NA A.SĀ-SU k</i>)]u-is-ki pé-e-da-i nu mi-ia-an-da-an Eğer ateş (yakıp) biri, (başkasının) tarlasına (onu) sıçratırsa ve (ateş, başak dolu ekin alanına)</p> <p>23. [(<i>tar-na-a-i A.SĀ lu-uk-ki-iz-z</i>)]i ku-is-sa-at lu-uk-k-iz-zi yayılırsa, tarla (da) yanarsa, kim (ateşi) tutuşturmuşsa</p>	<p><i>“Eğer ateş çıkıp dikenlere varırsa ve demet yığınları yahut ekin yahut tarla yanarsa ateşi tutuşturan mutlaka ödeyecektir Çıkış: 22:6.”</i></p>

Hayvanlarla Cinsel İlişkiler

20. *ták-ku LÚ-iš GUD-as kat-ta*
[wa-aš-t]a-i hu-ur-ki- il a-ki-aš

*Eğer bir adam sığırla gü[nah iş]
lense rezalettir, o ölsün.*

23. *tá[(k-k)]u [(LÚ)-iš (UDU-as*
kat-ta) wa-aš-t]a-i hu-ur-ki-il
a-ki-aš

*E[(ğe)]r bir [(adam koyunla)
günah iş]lense rezalettir, o
ölsün.*

16. *ták-ku ŠAH UR.ZİR-aš kat-ta*
ku-iš-ki wa-aš-ta-i a-ki-aš

*Eğer domuz (ve) köpekle biri
suç işlerse o ölsün.*

23. *ták-ku LÚ-aš ANŠE.KUR.RA-i*
na-aš-ma ANŠE.GİR.NUN.NA
kat-ta

Eğer bir adam at ya da katırla

24. *wa-aš-ta-i Ú-UL ha-ra-tar*
suç işlerse ceza gerektiren bir
durum değildir.

*“Hayvanla her yatan mutlaka
öldürülecektir
Çıkış: 22:19.”*

*“Hiçbir hayvanla kendini
murdar etmek için yatmayacaksın
ve bir kadın hayvanla yatmak
için onun önünde durmayacaktır,
rezalettir
Leviler: 18:23.”*

*“Bir hayvanla yatan adam
mutlaka öldürülecektir, hayvanı da
öldüreceksiniz
Leviler 20:15.”*

*“Bir kadın bir hayvana
yaklaşmak üzere onun yanına
giderse kadını ve hayvanı
öldüreceksin, mutlaka
öldürülecekler ve kanları kendi
üzerinde olacaktır
Leviler 20:16.”*

*“Herhangi bir hayvanla
yatan lanetli olsun
Tensiye 27:21.”*

Yakın Akrabalarla Cinsel İlişkiler

26. [(*ták-ku LÚ-i*)]š a-pé-e-e[(*l-pát*)]
an-na-ša-aš kat-ta wa-aš-ta-i

[*(Eğer bir adam öz annesi ile günah işlerse,*

27. hu-u-u[r-k]i-il *ták-ku*
L[(Ú)-iš] DUMU.MUNUS-aš
kat-ta wa-aš-ta-i

27. rezalettir. *Eğer bir adam kızı ile günah işlerse,*

28. hu[-u-u]r-ki-il *ták-ku LÚ[-iš]*
IBILA-aš kat-ta wa-aš-ta-i
hu-u-ur-ki-il

28. rezalettir. *Eğer bir adam oğluyla günah işlerse, rezalettir.*

49. *ták-ku LÚ-aš MA-HAR*
DAM ŠEŠ-SU še-eš-ki-iz-zi
ŠEŠ-ŠU-ma

49. *Eğer bir adam erkek kardeşinin karısı ile yatarsa ve erkek kardeşi*

50 hu-u-iš-wa-an-za hu-ur-ki-il

50. *hayatta ise rezalettir.*

“Babasının karısı ile yatan babasının çıplaklığını açmıştır, ikisi de mutlaka öldürülecektir Leviler21:11.”

“Babasının karısı ile yatan lanetli olsun Tensiye 27:20.”

“Babasının kızı ya da anasının kızı olan kızkardeşi ile yatan lanetli olsun Tensiye 27:22.”

“Kadınla yatar gibi erkeklerle yatmayacaksın Leviler 18:22.”

“Bir adam kardeşinin karısını alırsa, murdardır,

kardeşinin çıplaklığını açmıştır, çocuksuz olacaklardır Leviler 20:21”

Transkripsiyon: Imparati 1999.

Bu kanun maddelerini genel manada şöyle değerlendirmek mümkündür.

- Tüm eski Mezopotamya, Anadolu ve Roma yasalarında olduğu gibi yasa koyucu tasarladığı suçu ‘eğer/şayet’ -Akadça: šum-ma, Hititçe: *ták-ku-* şart cümlesiyle başlatır. Daha önce de ifade edildiği gibi⁴⁸, Tevrat’taki suçun şart cümlesi ile başlatılması kuralı, eski çağ uluslarına göre daha yenidir.
- Tasarlanmış kanun paragrafları hem Hitit ve hem de Tevrat’ta çok özlü bir şekilde ifadelendirilmiştir.
- İki yüze yakın Hitit kanun paragrafı içinde ve Tevrat’ta Çıkış, Levililer ve Tesniye bölümlerine serpiştirilmiş olarak rastlanan ‘çocuk düşürme, adam yaralama, hırsızlık, hayvanların başkalarının tarlasına girmesi, kundaklama, hayvanlarla ve yakın akrabalarla cinsel ilişkiler’ ile ilgili suçlar çok yakın benzerlikler içerir.



W. J. Hamilton'un Çizimiyle Alacahöyük

48 Whitley 1963, 43 vd.

- Sami yasalardan olan Hammurabi kanunlarında akrabalar arası uygunsuz ilişkilere sürgün, suya atılma ve para cezası verilirken⁴⁹ bu eylemlerin Tevrat'taki cezai müeyyidesi Hitit yasalarıyla aynıdır, yani ölümdür.
- Hitit yasalarında yakın akrabalar ve hatta hayvanlarla böyle uygunsuz eylem için *hurkil-* 'rezalet/lanet'⁵⁰ ifadesi kullanılmıştır. Aynı eylem Tevrat'ta⁵¹ da *γυναικος/* 'rezalet/iğrenç/lanet/kendini kirletmek' kelimesiyle karşılanmıştır.
- Bir suç tasarlanıp belli bir cezai müeyyidesi de Hitit kanun paragrafında ifadelendirildikten sonra paragrafın son cümlesi '*par-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-i-e-iz-zi*' deyimini ile son bulmaktadır. Bu deyim şimdiye kadar '*er stößt (die Verpflichtung) auch zu seinem Hause/ er haftet auch mit seinem Hause*' ve '*zarar veren zarar görenin eviyle ilgilenir*' şeklinde anlam verilmeye⁵² çalışıldı. Hatta yukarıda da sözünü ettiğim gibi Türkçeye çevrilmiş '*Hitit Yasaları*' kitabının müellifi de Hititçe bu deyimini '*(böylece suçu) evinden uzaklaştırılır*' çevirisini tercih etmiştir⁵³. Bu tercihte zannedersen Tevrat'ta bakire bir kızın nişanlı iken başka bir adamla cebren yatması durumunda adamın taşlanarak öldürülmesini işleyen bir yasanın⁵⁴ son cümlesi etkili olmuş olmalıdır. Suçun bu şekilde cezalandırılması ile de '*kötülük, toplum arasından yani ortadan kaldırılmış/καὶ ἐξαρρεῖς τὸν πονηρὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν*' oluyordu Tevrat'a göre.

49 Tosun-Yalvaç 1975, 200.

50 Imparati 1992, 172 vd.

51 Levililer 18:22, 23, 20:21; Tesniye 27:20, 22; Levililer 18:22.

52 Friedrich 1952, 162.; Güterbock-Hoffner 1997, 290.

53 Imparati 1992, 36 vd.

54 Tesniye 22:23-24.

VII. Sonuç

Görüldüğü üzere yeri geldiğinde, tarih kitabı mahiyetinde eskiçağ dünyasının sosyo-kültürel yapısını çözümlmek -kısmen de olsa- Tevrat'a ve Tevrat'ı anlamak ve anlamlandırabilmek de çoğu kez çiviyazılı belgelere müracaat edilmekle mümkün olabilmektedir. Nitekim İbrahim'in torunu olan Yakup'un, kayınpederinin evinden iki karısı ve elde ettiği tüm mal varlığıyla ayrılırken kayınpederine ait aile ilahlarının çalınması olayını⁵⁵ da çiviyazılı belgelerin nasıl aydınlattığı gösterilmişti. Dolayısıyla bu ilahların damat tarafından ele geçirilmesinin, damadın öz evlat olarak telakki edileceği ve mirastan pay alabileceği anlamına geldiğini E. Chiera daha önce ifadelendirmişti⁵⁶.

Yine Tevrat'ta, İbrahim'in karısı Saray/Sara'nın çocuğu olmadığı dönemde Mısırlı cariye Hacer için İbrahim'e '*rica ederim cariyemin yanına gir, belki ondan çocuklarım olur*⁵⁷' şeklinde bir ifade bulunması ve bu cümlede '*çocuklarım*' sözcüğünü kullanması ancak çiviyazılı belgelerle açığa kavuşturulabilir kanaatindeyim. Nitekim İbrahim'in yaşadığı dönemden yaklaşık yüz elli yıl önceden bilinen İsin kralı Lipit-İştar tarafından konulmuş bir yasa bu olayı çözümlüyor: '*Eğer (birinin) ilk karısı ölürse, karısından sonra cariyesini karılığa alırsa ilk karısının çocukları onun varisleridir. Cariyesinin efendisine doğurduğu çocuklar (onun kendi) çocuğu gibidir, evde yetişeceklerdir*⁵⁸.' Dolayısıyla Tevrat'taki İbrahim ile karısının da bu hukuka göre hareket ettiği anlaşılmaktadır.

Örnekleri çoğaltmamız mümkündür ama bu kadarının meramımızı anlatmada kâfi geldiği düşüncesindeyim.

55 Yaratılış 31.

56 Chiera 1996, 79.

57 Yaratılış 16:1-3.

58 Tosun-Yalvaç 1975, 67.

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TYOLOGIES OF SETTING PARAGRAPH DIVIDERS IN THE HITTITE TEXTS

*Tomoki KITAZUMI**

Introduction¹

A paragraph divider is a physical feature² on a clay tablet. In contrary to column dividers, it runs parallel to the texts. In most cases, the length of the ruling corresponds to the width of the column or the tablet³. Its perception can be only optical; that means, it cannot be converted into acoustic language.⁴

The paragraph divider is however not a simple tool to divide a composition into distinct units. It enables us to enhance the legibility and readability of a given text for much clearer structural information. Our cognitive process becomes faster, smoother, and more convenient.⁵ In this sense it plays a special role as a part of typography, the process of text arrangement. As formulated by Bringhurst (2008: 17), “[t]ypography exists to honor content”. The paragraph dividers belong to such graphical cues and serve to achieve the understandability at the highest. Its usage seems to be quite consequent

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1 This article is a part of results from my master’s theses “Untersuchungen zu den Paragrafenstrichen in den hethitischen Texten”, which I submitted in July 2013. I would like to thank my supervisors, Prof. J. Klingner and Prof. em. M. Meier-Brügger. I am grateful to the audiences at the congress for further impetus as well. I would like to express my sincere thanks to Prof. M. Geller for correcting my English with care. Of course, the responsibility for any mistakes remains solely on mine.

2 For the extensive study of physical features of Hittite tablets, I refer to the dissertation of Waal (2015).

3 For exceptions, see Hagenbuchner-Dresel 1999: 60-61 fn. 40.

4 Cancik 1979: 81, Günther 1988: 198-199.

5 According to Tinker (1963: 122), indentation at the beginning of a paragraph increases the legibility up to 7 %. The experiment is of 1940, and today we would carry out better experiment for such eye-tracking. But the fact “increasing of the legibility” would remain still valid today.

regardless of text genres.⁶ It is a well-established scribal convention⁷ among the scribes in the Hittite Empire.

Despite their abundance in the Hittite texts (or because of this very reason?), the issue was never investigated in a satisfactory manner. Philologists, who work(ed) on text editions, have surely seen occasional deviations and irregularities in the usage of paragraph dividers. But such anomalies are simply noted in footnotes and rarely further commented. Here are some examples:

- Beckman (1983: 44 with fn. b): CTH 430: Birth ritual
“The paragraph stroke is double for the last third of its original length.”
- Singer (1984: fn. 12.): CTH 628: KI.LAM-festival
“Division line in D.”
- Kammenhuber (1961: 90 with fn. 69): CTH 284: Kikkuli-Text
„Danach Paragraphenstrich!“
- Taracha (2000: 54-55 with fn. 182): CTH 448.4: Ritual for the Sun-goddess of the earth
„Der Abschnittstrich ist fehlerhaft mitten im Satz gesetzt.“
- Weidner (1923: 60-63 with fn. k): CTH 53: Treaty between Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti and Tette of Nuḫašše
„Zwischen Z. 20 und 21 im Original irrtümlich eine Zwischenzeile.“
- Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 24): CTH 262: Protocol for the Royal Body Guard
“dividing line here!”

It is obvious that some editors are stumbled by the unexpected occurrence of some paragraph dividers. Nevertheless, it does not disturb the understanding of the respective text as a whole. Hence, there was no necessity to thematize the problem. No one has made any compilation of such materials to check if there are comparable text passages or not. Indeed, the fact “they [= paragraphs

6 On tablets without any paragraph dividers, see Waal 2015: 109-111.

7 I follow Gelb (1980: 8) for the definition of “convention”: “the signs used by some individuals can be understood and reacted to by others.”

marked by rules on the tablets] differ from tablet to tablet”⁸ became a too self-evident axiom to be questioned. It may appear to be superfluous to undertake a study of paragraph dividers. However, there are three reasons which make their investigation worthwhile.

- (1) There is a serious deficiency of studies concerning paragraph dividers. To my knowledge, Cancik (1979) and Justus (1981) are the only attempts to examine this issue.⁹ However, they do not treat a sufficient amount of sources to make convincing generalizations. An extensive study is necessary in view of the ample Hittite text corpus.
- (2) The above mentioned articles give at least a starting point for further thoughts. The method is discourse grammar, i.e. how the paragraph dividers are used to regulate the discourse direction of a certain text. Cancik has suggested making use of *Textwissenschaft* oriented by syntactic analysis. There is growing interest in syntactic analysis among linguists working on Anatolian languages for a better understanding of the discourse of texts.¹⁰ The paragraph dividers organize a text in distinct meaningful units, so that one can easily recognize the discourse of each paragraph.¹¹ For this reason, the study is justified from a linguistic perspective as well.
- (3) Last but not least, I would like to mention the voluminous study of Waal, which focuses on the physical features (and colophons) of the tablets from the Hittite Empire. In accordance with her term “physical feature”, I would like to coin the term “mental feature” to analyze what may happen in the brain by the use of the paragraph dividers. The following contribution does not contradict her work, but rather aims to be mutually complementary.

8 As laconically stated by Güterbock (1980: 42 fn. 9).

9 One may also consult Hoffner 2009: 47-48. (1.2.8.4. Paragraph Dividers)

10 A very eclectic list from last 5 years: Becker 2014, Brosch 2014 and 2015, Goedegebuure 2014, Melchert 2015, Rieken-Widmer 2014, and Sideltsev 2014, 2014a, and 2015.

11 Cf. Cancik 1979: 84 „Diese textkonstituierenden optischen Zeichen und ihr Ort in der Evolution der menschlichen Informationsverarbeitung sind der Gegenstand dieses Versuches“.

The following contribution has its aim to shed some light on the usage of paragraph dividers based on Hittite texts. I will discuss their general typologies by means of some selected texts to clarify the use and function of the paragraph dividers as a discourse organizer.

Method and Result

Taking the summary of results beforehand, the following typologies can be determined.

- (1) Positive vs. Negative
- (2) Expected, but negative
- (3) Unexpected, but positive

With “positive”, I mean that the paragraph divider is present in a text, and with “negative”, it is absent. In view of the amount of text materials, these are established inductively.

- (1) Positive vs. Negative

The texts should clearly show that the scribes needed to think when to make a paragraph divider or not. We can observe such decisions through texts with multiple copies and duplicates. This variability of one text with diverging copies is the key. If one copy has a paragraph divider on a certain place, but not the other(s), then we look for its reason. In sum, there are three patterns: (a) categorical variability (b) structural parallelism (c) *verba dicendi*.

- (a) Categorical variability

A certain paragraph has one theme, which is however perceived as two or more themes by a different scribe. It depends on how the scribe categorize a certain phenomenon as one unit or more.

Hittite Laws § 151 (Text aa obv. II 24-25) - § 152 (obv. II 26-27)¹²

24 [ták-ku GU₄.APIN.L]Á ku-iš-ki ku-uš-ša-ni-ez-zi A-NA ITU.I^{KAM} I G[ÍN
KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]

25 [ták-ku ... k]u-iš-ki ku-uš-ša-ni-ez-zi A-NA ITU.I^{KAM} 1/2 GÍN K[Ù.
BABBAR pa-a-i]

(not in Ms. x, but in Mss. aa, c, q)

26 [ták-ku ANŠE.K]UR.[R]A ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA ANŠE-in ku-iš-ki ku-
uš-ša-ni-ez-zi

27 [A-NA ITU.]I^{KAM} I GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i

“If anyone rents a plow ox, [he shall pay] one shekel [of silver] for one month. [If] anyone rents a [cow, he shall pay] a half shekel of silver for one month.” (§)

“If anyone rents a horse, a mule or an ass, he shall pay one shekel of silver for one month.”

In Ms. x, the paragraph divider in the middle is absent. It is obvious that all the animals are simply categorized as labor force by the scribe of Ms. x. The older version takes the plow ox and cow separately, treating it as a special case, while other manuscripts treat the other animals under the same category.

CTH 375.1.A: Prayer of Arnunanda I. and Ašmunikkal to the Sun-goddess of Arinna

KUB 17.21++ rev. III¹³

3 ... na-at-za ar-ḫa šar-ri-i[(r)]

4 LÚ.MEŠ SANGA šu-up-pa-e-ša-za LÚ.MEŠ SANGA MUNUS.MEŠ AMA.
DINGIR^{LIM} LÚ[(.MEŠ GUD)U₁₂]

5 LÚ.MEŠ NAR LÚ.MEŠ iš-ḫa-ma-tal-[(li)]-lu-uš LÚ.MEŠ MUḪALDIM

6 [LÚ.M]EŠ NINDA.DÙ.DÙ LÚ.MEŠ APIN.LÁ LÚ.MEŠ NU.GIŠ KIRI₆ ar-ḫa

¹² Hoffner 1997: 124.

¹³ Lebrun 1980: 137; von Schuler 1965: 156-159.

7 [(šar-ri-i)]r nu-uš-za ÌR-na-ah-ḫi-ir (not in B)

8 GU₄^{HIA}-KU-NU-i[(a UDU^{HIA}-K)]U-NU ar-ḫa šar-ri-ir

9 A.ŠÀ A.GÀR^{HIA}-K[(U-NU-ma-za NINDA^{HIA}ḫar-š)]a-ia-aš GIŠKIRI₆.
GEŠTIN^{HIA}

10 ^{DUG}iš-pa-an-t[u-uz-zi-ia-aš] ar-ḫa šar-ri-ir

11 na-aš-za LÚ^{MES} [(^{URU}Ga)-aš-ga da-]a-ir

“And they divided them up among themselves. (§) They divided up the priests, the priestesses, the anointed ones, the musicians, the singers, the cooks, the bakers, the plowmen, and the gardeners, and they made them their servants. (§) They divided up your cattle and your sheep; they shared out your fallow lands, the source of the offering bread, and the vineyards, the source of the libations, and the Kaška-men took them for themselves.”

The scribe of Ms. A divided the booty-list into two paragraphs: the first one containing human booty, whereas the second one other objects (animals and fields) respectively, while the scribe of the Ms. B lumped everything together.

The same applies to the lists of divinities and geography.

CTH 381.A: Muḫattalli’s prayer to the Assembly of gods

KUB 6.45++ obv. I 40-42¹⁴

40 ^dX ḪI.ḪI ^dḪé-pát ^{URU}Ša-mu-ḫa DINGIR.LÚ^{MES} DINGIR.MUNUS^{MES}
ḪUR.SAG^{MES} ÍD^{MES} ŠA ^{URU}Ša-mu-ḫa (§-divider in B)

41 ^dX pí-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ši-iš ^dUTU ^{URU}PÚ-na ^dḪé-pát MUNUS.LUGAL
ŠA-ME-E

42 ^dX GUR DINGIR^{MES} ŠA É.GAL ḫu-uh-ḫa-aš

CTH 375.1.A: Prayer of Arnūanda I. and Ašmunikkal to the Sun-goddess of Arinna

14 Lebrun 1980: 259; Singer 1996: 17-19. Translation adopted from Singer 2002: 42.

KUB 17.21++ obv. II 20'-25'¹⁵

- 20' KUR ^{URU}*Ne-ri-ig-ga-az* UR^[U]H^{URU}*u-ur-ša-ma-az* KU[R ^{UR}]K[a]-a-a[š]-
ta-ma-az
- 21' KUR ^{URU}*Ši-e-ri-ša-az* KUR ^{URU}*Hi-i-mu-ya-az* KUR ^{UR}[(^U*Tág-ga-aš-*
ta-a)]z
- 22' KUR ^{URU}*Ka-am-ma-ma-az* KUR ^{URU}*Za-al-pu-u-ya-az* KUR ^{URU}*Ka-pi-*
r[(u)]-u-ħa-az
- 23' KUR ^{URU}*Hu-ur-na-az* (§-divider in B) KUR ^{URU}*Da-an-ku-uš-na-az*
KUR ^{URU}*Ta-pa-ša-ya-az*
- 24' KUR ^{URU}*Ta-ru-ug-ga-az* KUR ^{URU}*I-la-a-lu-u-ħa-az* ^{URU}*Zi-iħ-ħa-na-az*
- 25' KUR ^{URU}*Ši-pi-id-du-ya-a[(z)]* KUR ^{URU}*Ya-aš-ħa-ja-az* KUR ^{URU}*Pa-*
tal-li-ja-az
-

In the list of divinities, line 40 contains the deities of the city Šamuħa, whereas the lines 41-42 contain the ones of another category, which may reflect the geographical understanding of scribe. The first half seems to be located within the river Marassantiĵa, and the second half after the paragraph divider in B outside of it. But our research on Hittite geography is on-going. For this reason, I leave the question open.

These examples show deviations among the copies and duplicates, caused by different interpretations of the scribes of respective texts. The reason for choosing the terminology “categorical” is based on the fact that each scribe may “categorize” a discursive unit into another unit(s), or vice versa.

b) Structural parallelism

The situation is of more linguistic nature, recognizable through more or less similar grammatical structure.

CTH 360: Appu and his two sons

Text 1 rev. IV 4-12¹⁶

15 Lebrun 1980: 136.

16 Siegelová 1971: 12 fn. 46. In spite of the very fragmentary state of the tablet, the position of the paragraph divider is clear. Translation adopted from Hoffner ²1998: 84.

- 4 [L^UHU]L-aš ŠEŠ-aš L^UNÍG.SI.SÁ ŠEŠ-ši me-m[i-iš-ki-u-ua-an da-a-iš]
 5 [ú-e-š]a-ua-za šar-ra-u-e-ni nu-ua-an-na-aš a[r-ħa-ja-an]
 6 [e-š]u-ua-aš-ta-ti NÍG.SI.SÁ-za ŠEŠ-aš L^U[HUL . . .]
 7 [me-m]i-iš-ki-u-ua-an da-a-iš nu-ua ku-iš[. . .]

(in Ms. 9)

- 8 [L^UH]JUL-aš ŠEŠ-aš NÍG.SI.SÁ ŠEŠ-ni me-m[i-iš-ki-u-ua-an]
 9 [da]-a-iš ma-a-an-ua HUR.SAG^{HI.A} GIM-an [. . .]
 10 [a-š]a-an-zi ma-a-an-ua ÍD^{MEŠ} GIM-an a[r-ħa-ja-an]
 11 [a]r-ša-an-zi DINGIR^{MEŠ}-ja GIM-an ar-ħ[a-ja-an]
 12 [a-š]a-an-zi ne-ta ú-uk me-ma-[ah-ħi]

“Brother ‘Wrong’ said to Brother ‘Right’: “Let us part and settle down in different places.” Brother ‘Right’ said [to Brother ‘Wrong’]: “Then who [. . .]?” (§) Brother ‘Wrong’ said to Brother ‘Right’: “Since the mountains dwell separately, since the rivers flow in separate courses, as the very gods dwell separately – I say these things to you.””

The paragraph divider in Ms. 9 makes the syntactic parallelism clear, even though some words need to be restored. Both paragraphs in Ms. 9 begin with an identical sentence. “Brother ‘Wrong’ said to Brother ‘Right’.”

And below, one example from Hurrian corpus.

CTH 777.6.A: Mouth washing ritual

ABoT 37++ (= ChS 1/1 No. 19) rev. IV 7-14¹⁷

- 7 šum-mi tar-šu-ua-an-ni-bi a[(š-ħu-ši-ik-ku-un-ni-bi ^{MUNUS}ta-du-ħé-
 pa-a-bi)]

(not in KBo 27.102)

- 8 [(še-ħ)]a-lu-la-a-eš ka-aš-lu-l[(a-a-eš it-ku-la-a-eš e-ku-uš-šu-la-a-eš)]
 9 [(aš-ħ)]u-si-ik-ku-un-ni ^{MU}[(^{NUS}ta-du-ħé-pa-an) DINGIR^{MEŠ}-na-a-(ša
 a-a-bi-da)]

¹⁷ Haas 1984: 160. Due to our limited knowledge of the Hurrian language, no translation is provided here.

- 10 [(aš-ḫu)]-ši-ik-ku-un-ni-ni-[(bi)^{MUNUS}ta-du-ḫé-pa-a-bi (i-ti pa-a-ḫi)]
 11 [(pa-a-š)]i ir-te kar-ši ḫ[(a-ap-zu-u-ri i-ti it-ni)]
 12 [(šum-m)]i tar-šu-ḡa-an-ni-b[(i aš-ḫu-ši-i)k-k(u-un-ni-ni-bi)]
 13 [(^{MUNUS}t)]a-du-ḫé-pa-a-bi [

(not in KBo 27.102)

- 14 [(še-ḫa)]-lu-la-a-eš-ša it-ku[(a-a-eš ...

Our knowledge of the Hurrian language is limited, but structural similarity is evident. The paragraphs begin in the same manner, and end as well.

Interestingly, there must have been a scribe who had some idea of layout. Consider the following case:

Hittite Laws § 181¹⁸

Text p obv. II 42-47

- 42 ŠA ANŠE.KUR.RA.NÍTA Û ŠA I ANŠE.KUR.RA.MUNUS.AL.LÁ
 ša-ú-i-ti-iš-ta-aš
 43 IV GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠI-IM-ŠU <ŠA> IV MA.NA URUDU I GÍN
 KÙ.BABBAR ŠI-IM-ŠU
 44 ŠA I zi-pát-ta-ni Ì.DÜG.GA II GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠA I zi-pát-ta-ni
 45 Ì.ŠAH I GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠA I zi-pát-ta-ni Ì.NUN
 I GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
 46 ŠA I zi-pád-da-ni LÁL I GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠA II GA.KIN.AG [I GÍN
 KÙ.BABBAR]
 47 ŠA III EM-ŠÚ I GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠI-IM-ŠU

Text x₁₊₃ obv. I 8-15

- 8 [Š]A ANŠE.KUR.RA.NÍTA ANŠE.KUR.RA.MUNUS.AL.LÁ IV GÍN
 KÙ.BABBAR
 9 [Š]I-IM-ŠU ŠA IV MA.NA URUDU I GÍN[GÍ]N KÙ.BABBAR
 ŠI-IM-ŠU

18 Hoffner 1997: 144-145.

- 10 [ŠA I] *zi-pád-da-ni* Ì.GA.DÙG' II [GÍN K]Ù.BABBAR <ŠI-IM-ŠU>
 11 [ŠA] I *zi-pád-da-ni* Ì.ŠAH I GÍ[N KÙ.BABB]AR <ŠI-IM-ŠU>
 12 [ŠA] I *zi-pád-da-ni* Ì.NUN I GÍN [K]Ù.BABBAR <ŠI-IM-ŠU>
 13 [ŠA] I *zi-pád-da-ni* LÀL I GÍN [KÙ.BABBAR <ŠI-IM-ŠU>]
 14 [ŠA II GA].KIN.AG I GÍN [KÙ.BABBAR <ŠI-IM-ŠU>]
 15 [ŠA III E]M-ŠÚ¹⁹ I GÍN K[Ù.BABBAR <ŠI-IM-ŠU>]

“The price of a weaned colt (or) a weaned filly is 4 shekels of silver. The price of 4 minas of copper is one shekel of silver, (§) of one bottle of fine oil is 2 shekels of silver, of one bottle of land is one shekel of silver, of one bottle of butter/ghee is one shekel of silver, of one bottle of honey is one shekel of silver, of 2 cheeses is one shekel [of silver], of 3 sourdough is one shekel of silver.”

If we compare the lower text to the upper one, the legibility is evident. Ms. p is written in a prosaic way, whereas Ms. x lists up the prices like a memorandum. And I assume that the scribe of Ms. x₁₊₃ had a *Vorlage* in front of him for copying. This kind of listing during a dictation would be difficult.²⁰

HKM 30 4-10²¹

- 4 ŠA^{LÚ}KÚR-mu *ku-it ut-tar*
 5 *ḥa-at-ra-a-eš nu-za PA-NI^{LÚ}KÚR*
 6 *me-ek-ki pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-nu-an-za e-eš*
 7 ŠA ANŠE.KUR.RA-ma-mu *ku-it ut-t[ar]*
 8 *ḥa-at-ra-a-eš nu-mu ka-a*
 9 ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} *ku-iš-ki kat-ta-an*
 10 *na-an-da up-pa-aḥ-ḥi*

19 For the interpretation of this Akkadogram as “sourdough”, see Fritzsche 2011, and esp. 36-38 for this passage.

20 And the idea of this “listing” must have come to the mind of the scribe a bit later, since the foregoing paragraphs 179-180 are written prosaically. And in this text, §§ 179-180 are even in one paragraph.

21 Alp 1991: 172-175; Hoffner 2009: 154-156.

“Concerning what you wrote to me about the enemy: Be very much on your guard against the enemy! Concerning what you wrote to me about chariotry: Some chariotry is here with me. I will send them to you.”

Hoffner (2009: 56) notes that the scribe 𒄩𒂗𒍪 fails to draw a paragraph divider before line 7. But in view of his other letters (i.e. HKM 17, 19, 36), he tends to draw a paragraph divider after at least 4 lines, except for some formulaic greetings and two exceptions.²² The structural parallelism could operate in line 4 and 7, but it seems his personal preference finally won out here.

c) *verba dicendi* (+ oracle)

The verbs of saying like *mema-* or *te-/tar-* belong here. The scribes had to decide whether to write the act of speech together with the speech itself or not.

Between paragraph dividers

CTH 701.b₁: Libation for the throne of 𒄩𒂗𒍪

KUB 32.44 (= ChS 2 No. 27) obv. II 1-3²³

1 [nam-ma]-az I NINDA.SIG da-a-i 𒄩𒂗𒍪-li-li-ma me-m[(a-i)]

2 [ú-la-ap g]i-lum-ma 𒄩𒂗𒍪-é-pát 𒄩𒂗𒍪-ru-um-ma še-ni-e[š-še-i]-e-[ni]

3 [ge-el-te]-i-e-ni ku-la-a-am-mu-ur-ši-i-e-ni

“[Further,] he (i.e. the AZU-Priest) takes a thin bread and says in Hurrian: (§) (Hurrian incantation)”

Not between paragraph dividers

CTH 701.b₂.A: Libation for the throne of 𒄩𒂗𒍪

22 Greetings with max. 3 lines: HKM 17 1-3, HKM 19 1-3 and 26-28, HKM 30 1-3, HKM 36 1-2. Paragraph with 3 lines: HKM 19 23-25 and HKM 30 15-17, i.e., 7 out of 32 paragraphs in these four letters written by 𒄩𒂗𒍪. But the greeting formulas are an already fixed form and cannot be longer, so that they are statistically not significant.

23 Salvini-Wegner 1986: 204.

KBo 19.136 (+) VBoT 4 (= ChS 1/2 No. 31) obv. I 15'-17'²⁴

15' ... *na-aš-ta* Ì.GIŠ^{DUG}GAL A *an-da za-ap-nu-zi*

16' *hur-li-li-ma me-ma-i a-aš-še-es* dX-up šu-ú-ni-ip ši-ja-i

17' a-ḥar-ra-i ú-na-am-ma ge-el-te-ni am-ba-aš-ši-ni gi-lum

“Then he drips the sesame oil into the cup and says in Hurrian: (Hurrian incantation)”

The speech-part has honor to have its own paragraph, but sometimes not. And the same phenomenon can be observed in Akkadian²⁵, Luwian²⁶, Palaic²⁷, and Hattic²⁸ texts. Therefore, the usage of paragraph dividers as “marking off direct speech” as suggested by Mabie²⁹ seems to be limitedly valid, at least for Hittite texts. One might entertain with the possibility that the short(er) dictum is written following the verb of speech act, and the longer one get its own. But the very above mentioned examples contradict with this. Again, it confirms that a discourse separation by a paragraph divider relies on the pragmatic decision of each scribe.

Hoffner (2009: 48) wrote that the paragraph lines are like the ones which we have today. I note however two cases, which stand against our norm. (The speech part is underlined by me.)

CTH 344.A: The Song of Kumarbi³⁰

KBo 52.10 + KUB 33.120 + KUB 33.119 + KUB 48.97 + KUB 36.31 obv.
I 27-36

27 ... ^d*A-nu-uš*

28 <<x>> ^d*Ku-mar-bi me-mi-iš-ki-u-ua-an da-a-iš A-NA PA-NI ŠĀ-[K]A-ua-az*

29 *du-uš-ki-iš-ke-et-ta LÚ-na-tar-mi-it-ua ku-it pa-aš-ta*

24 Salvini-Wegner 1986: 225.

25 Ex. KUB 4.47 rev. 33ff. and in the same text rev. 20-27.

26 Ex. KUB 9.31 obv. II 30-32 and KUB 25.39 obv. I 24'-27'.

27 Ex. KBo 19.153 rev. 4'-8' and KUB 33.165 rev 21'-24'.

28 Ex. KUB 27.75 obv. II 3-6.

29 Mabie 2004: 293 with fn. 7.

30 Rieken et al. (ed.): hethiter.net/: CTH 344 (TX 2012-06-08, TRd 2009-08-31), translation adopted from Hoffner ²1998: 42-43.

- 30 le-e-ua-az du-uš-ki-iš-ke-et-ta PA-NI ŠÀ-KA I-NA ŠÀ-KA-ták-kán
an-da a-im-pa-an
- 31 te-eḫ-ḫu-un a-aš-ma-at-ta ar-ma-aḫ-ḫu-un^dIM-ni-it na-ak-ki-it
- 32 da-an-ma-at-ta ar-ma-aḫ-ḫu-un^{ld}A-ra-an-[z]a-ḫi-it Ú-UL ma-az-zu-ua-aš
- 33 III-an-na-at-ta ar-ma-aḫ-ḫu-un na-ak-ki-it^dTa-aš-mi-it DINGIR^{MES}-ua-
ták-kán
- 34 ḫa-tu-ga-uš I-NA ŠÀ-KA an-da a-i-im-pu-uš te-eḫ-ḫu-un nu ú-ua-ši
- 35 ŠA^{HUR.SAG}Ta-aš-ša^{NA4}pé-ru-nu-uš IŠ-TU SAG.DU-KA GUL-aḫ-ḫu-u-
an-zi
- 36 zi-in-ni-iš-ke-ši

“Anu turned around and spoke to Kumarbi: “Are you rejoicing within yourself because you have swallowed my ‘manhood’? (§) Stop rejoicing within yourself! I have placed inside you a burden. First, I have impregnated you with the noble Storm God. Second, I have impregnated you with the irresistible Aranzah River. Third, I have impregnated you with the noble Tašmišu. (And) two (additional) terrible god I have placed inside you as burdens. In the future you will end up striking the boulders of Mount Tašša with your head!””

CTH 324.1.A: The disappearance of Telipinu (*mugaṣar*)³¹

KBo 55.8 + KUB 17.10 obv. I 23’-27’

- 23’ ... ^dUTU-uš
- 24’ ḫa-a-ra-na-an^{MUŠEN} le-e-li-ua-an-da-an IŠ-PUR i-it-ua-ra-aš-ta pár-
ga-mu-uš
- 25’ HUR.SAG^{DIDL.HIA} ša-a-aḫ
- 26’ ḫa-a-ri-uš-kán ḫal-lu-[(ua-m)]u-uš-ša-a-aḫ-ḫu-ua-an-ḫu-eš-šar-kán-ku-
ua-a-li-u-ša-a-aḫ
- 27’ [ḫa]-a-ra-aš^{MUŠEN} pa-it

“The Sun God sent the swift eagle. “Go search the high mountains. (§)

31 Rieken et al. (ed.): hethiter.net/: CTH 324.1 (TX 2012-06-08, TRde 2012-06-08), translation adopted from Hoffner ²1998: 15.

Search the deep valleys. Search the Blue Deep.” The eagle went.”

In the first example, Anu is threatening Kumarbi. By the quotative particle *-ua*, we can recognize that the direct speech by Anu continues from the line 28 to 36. But a paragraph divider stands after the first two sentences, and his speech continues even after the paragraph divider. One would expect that the entire speech stands alone as a new paragraph, or it remains together with the preceding sentence(s). But the direct speech goes beyond the paragraph divider. In the second example, only the first sentence is marked with a quotative particle; however, its use is not obligatory.³² I do not have any reason to doubt that the imperative order of the Sun-god to the eagle continues from the line 24' to 26'. The divider only indicates the transition of focus from the sun-god to the eagle. The duplicate has the paragraph divider in the same place. It seems that such cutting off a speech in its middle did not bother the scribes.

As these examples show, the *use* of paragraph dividers is consistent but not the *usage*. If it is really a marker of **logical** – i.e. objectively ascertainable reasoning – units, as it is often claimed³³, there would have been no deviation(s) among the copies and duplicates. The excerpts presented here are of course selective, and it is not possible to go through all the cases which I compiled in appendix 1. The use of the paragraph dividers in the Hittite texts is **pragmatic** and relies on the intuition of individual scribes. For this reason, it is not possible to find out a strict rule for its setting, but the general tendency can be determined. Recognizing such a regularity is sufficient enough in view of the following statement of Givón (1979: 28): “What is the communicative difference between a rule of 90% fidelity and one of 100% fidelity? In psychological terms, next to nothing. In communication, a system with 90% categorical fidelity is highly efficient system.”

The solution to this “positive vs. negative” lies in the dichotomy “writer’s intention vs. readers’ recognition”. Becker suggested this principle,

32 Fortson 1998.

33 Cf. Mabié (2004: 293) “as a marker of distinct logical units” and Waal (2015: 107) “to divide the text in distinct logical units”.

reflecting a hot debate on the nature of paragraphs in 1965 and 1966 in the journal *College Composition and Communication*.³⁴ With this I assume the following scenario: The scribe who composes a text draws paragraph dividers according to his taste. But another scribe (if not collectively a scribal group) who makes a copy of it does not necessarily follow the intention of the scribe of the *Vorlage*, and is free to make any changes. The readers' recognition becomes the new writer's intention, and this causes deviations.

Ad 2) Expected, but negative

One expects a paragraph divider, but it is missing, but to prove something is missing, is *a priori* difficult. For this reason, the text corpus selected here is lists: Inventories (CTH 241-250)³⁵, Catalogues (CTH 276-282)³⁶, Vocabularies (CTH 299-309), Cult inventories (CTH 501-530)³⁷, Omens (CTH 531-560)³⁸, and Vows (CTH 583-590)³⁹. Because of the structural closeness of each entry, there is a good chance to detect such "missing" lines.

CTH 534.I.2: Solar omen

KUB 37.161 obv. 2'-rev. 1⁴⁰ = KUB 4.63 rev. III 6-10⁴¹

2' [(UD ŠÈ^{ITU}ŠU.NUMUN A)]N.T[(A.LÙ^{UTU} i)]t-UŠ u[(b-bu-ṭú)]

3' [(iš-tak-nu)] LUGAL.GAL BA.UŠ-ma [(KUR in-ne-e)]š-ši

4' [(UD ŠÈ^I)]^{ITU}NE.NE.GAR [(AN.TA.LÙ^{UT})]U

5' it-UŠ mi-lum sa-ad[(-ru a-na)]

6' [(KUR GIN-m)]a BURU₁₄

(end of the column)

34 Becker in Irscher 1966: 69.

35 Košak 1982.

36 Dardano 2006. Cf. the following comment as well: „Paragraphenstriche haben dabei die Funktion, jeden Eintrag der Liste klar abzugrenzen.“ (Dardano 2007-08: 171)

37 Brandenstein 1943, Carter 1962, (Jakob-)Rost 1961 and 1963, and Hazenbos 2003.

38 Riemschneider 1970 and 2004.

39 Otten-Souček 1965 and de Roos 2007.

40 Riemschneider 2004: 131.

41 Riemschneider 2004: 50 (text), 53 (translation), and 54 fn. 23.

1 [(i-iš-še-er⁴² LUGAL a-na LUGAL sa-l)]i-ma-am i-šap-pár

“If a solar eclipse takes place in Tammuz: a famine is set, a great king will die, the land will be eliminated. If a solar eclipse takes place in Abu: an expected flood (comes) to the land, harvest will be prosper, a king will send a peace-offering to the king.”

We expect a paragraph divider between the lines 3’ and 4’, because the apodosis of the omen beginning in the line 2’ ends with [(in-ne-e)]š-ši. The other duplicates have indeed the paragraph divider here.⁴³

CTH 532.II.1.A: Lunar eclipse omen

KBo 13.15 (+) KUB 8.1 1’-6’⁴⁴

1’ [ma-a-an] I-NA ITU XI (Text: XII)^{KAM} UD X[IV^{KAM} dX]XX-aš[a-ki

2’ [ME[?]-a]n-da⁴⁵ LUGAL-uš LUGAL-i [t]u[?]-ú-li[-

3’ [(ma-a-a)]n I-NA UD XV^{KAM} dXXX-aš a-ki KUR-a[n-za[?]

4’ []-ja ú-ya-an ḫar-zi nu-za a-pa-a-aš[

5’ []x-zi nu LUGAL-uš a-ki I-NA ^{Giš}GU.[(ZA)-ŠU-ma-za-kán]

6’ [t]a-ma-iš ku-iš-ki e-ša-ri

“[If] the [m]oon dies on the 1[4th] day of 11th month: [. . .] will [. . . fight] ng[?]. King will [. . .] a king in asse[mbly][?] . . .] If the moon dies on the 15th day: the land has seen[?] [. . .] And that one[. . .] The king dies. Another one will sit on [his] throne.”

Here we miss a paragraph divider between 2’ and 3’. These two attestations are already noted by Riemschneider, in his posthumously published “Die akkadischen und hethitischen Omentexte aus Boğazköy.”

42 As far as I can see from the picture in the Hethitologie Portal, the verb cannot stand in the obverse, but as the first word in the reverse. A sentence stretching over columns is not trivial, but there are some attestations: KBo 4.2 rev. III, KBo 5.1 rev. IV, KBo 5.9(+) rev. III, KBo 6.34+ rev. IV, KBo 10.2 obv. II, KBo 15.37 rev. VI, KBo 19.73a+ rev. III, KBo 19.142 rev. III, KUB 7.5+ obv. II, KUB 7.53+ obv. II, KUB 21.17 rev., KUB 24.5+ rev., KUB 53.11 rev. III., and probably KBo 3.4+ rev. IV and KBo 22.189 rev. VI.

43 KUB 4.63 rev. III 8, KUB 37.157 line 3’, and the Hittite translation KUB 8.11 line 4’.

44 Riemschneider 2004: 33-34.

45 Suggested by Neu 1968: 203-204 fn. 4.

CTH 585: Vow of Puduḥepa

Text S rev. III 8-11⁴⁶

8 É ^dXXX-*wi*₅-*ia* II MUNUS II DUMU.NITA ŠU.NIGIN IV
SAG.D[(U^{MEŠ})]

9 LÚ-*aš-kán an-da* NU.GÁL

(not in Ms. M)

10 É ^mGAL-*li* III LÚ V MUNUS ŠU.NIGIN VIII SAG.DU

11 ŠÀ^{BA} II LÚ I MUNUS *ak-kán-za*

“The house of Armawiya: 2 women (and) 2 boys; in total, 4 persons. There is no man.”

“The house of GAL-li: 3 men (and) 5 women; in total, 8 persons. Thereof, 2 men and 1 woman are dead.”

As the reason for these missing paragraph dividers, I suggest simply the scribe’s loss of concentration. Almost identical wording with syntactically similar sentences of these text genres and the routine nature of the job would have robbed the scribes of concentration. It sounds quite unprofessional for trained scribes but seems quite plausible as a practical reason. But this same reason would not apply to the following case.

Hittite Laws § 200a (text p rev. IV 23-27) - § 200b (rev. IV 27-31)⁴⁷

23 *ták-ku* LÚ-*aš* ANŠE.KUR.RA-*i na-aš-ma* ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA *kat-ta*

24 *ya-aš-ta-i* Ú-UL *ḥa-ra-tar* LUGAL-*uš-aš*¹ Ú-UL *ti-ez-zi*

25 ^{LÚ}SANGA-*ša* Ú-UL *ki-i-ša* *ták-ku ar-nu-ya-la-an* [*ku-iš-ki*]

26 *kat-ta še-eš-ki-iz-zi an-na-aš-ša-an* *n[e-]k[a-aš-ša-an-na ú-en-zi]*

27 Ú-UL *ḥa-ra-tar* (§-divider in text x) *ták-ku* DUMU-*an an-[na-nu-ma-]*
an-zi

28 *ku-iš-ki pa-a-i na-aš-šu* ^{LÚ}NAGAR *n[a-aš-ma* ^{LÚ}SIMUG.A ^{L]}ÚUŠ.BAR

29 *na-aš-ma* ^{LÚ}AŠGAB *na-aš-ma* ^{LÚ}AZLAG *n[u an-na-nu-um-m]a-aš*

46 Otten-Souček 1965: 30-31 with fn. 14.

47 Hoffner 1997: 157-159.

30 VI GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i ták-ku-an* ^L[^U]M[?].^[M]E[?].A[?][-a]š[?]
ua-al-ki-iš-ša-ra[-aḥ-ḥi]

31 *nu-uš-ši* I SAG.DU *pa-a-i*

“If a man sins (sexually) with either a horse or a mule, it is not an offence, but he shall not approach the king, nor shall become a priest. If anyone is regularly cohabiting with an *arnuḡalaš*-woman, and has intercourse with her mother and her sister, it is not an offence. (§) If anyone gives (his) son for training either (as) a carpenter or a smith, a weaver or a leather worker or a fuller, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver as (the fee) for training. If the teacher makes him an expert, (the student’s parent) shall give to him one person.”

Hoffner commented (1997: 158 fn. 567) “§ 200b begins immediately on the same line”, probably implying that a division is expected here, but missing. The sentences of the Law are not as similar to each other as are the lists or omens; therefore, it cannot be explained in the same manner as above. The text is close to the end, and indeed, the last paragraphs, so that it seems to be difficult to imagine that the scribe could not concentrate on his text, which could be more plausible in the middle part of the text. Since both § 199 and § 200a treat the case of sexual offences, they can be in a same paragraph, but not § 200a and § 200b, the latter dealing with a case concerning apprenticeship. Neither the content nor structural parallelism can be the reason for dividing them. The other exemplar Ms. x has a paragraph divider between § 200a and § 200b. After the § 200b in Ms. p, there is a double line, and then a blank space for ca. 22 lines. That means running out of a space is excluded as a possibility as well. Even if § 200b were added later, then the scribe could do better than continuous writing.

Ad 3) Unexpected, but positive

In contrast to the preceding one, we look for paragraph dividers which we do not expect, but they are present. Because what we understand as a meaningful unit does not agree with the understanding of the scribes, the criteria in regard to the contents seem difficult. Here we can work only on a grammatical level. The solution to this problem turns out to be astonishingly simple, they are subordinate clauses.

HKM 43 4'-7'⁴⁸

4'-5' KUR-*ja-kán* **ku-i-e-eš** *an-da* URU^{DIDL.HI.A} *ar-nu-ma-an-zi'* *ta-ra-a-an-te-eš*

6'-7' *nu a-pu-u-uš* URU^{DIDL.HI.A} *ka-ru-ú ar-nu-er...*

“The cities in the territory **which** were promised to be relocated, (§) they have already relocated those cities.”

ABoT 60 5'-8'⁴⁹

5'-6' *nu-kán* **ma-a-ah-ḥa-an** *a-pé-e* TUP-PA^{HI.A} MA-ḤAR ^dUTU^{ŠI} BE-LÍ-*IA pa-ra-a ne-eḥ-ḥu-un*

7'-8' *ša-li-ka-aš-ma-mu ka-ru-ṽa-ri-ṽa-ar* ^mNi-ri-ik-ka₄-i-li-iš LÚ^{URU} *Ta-ap-ḥa[-al-lu ...]*

“And **as soon as** I dispatched those tablets to Your Majesty, my lord, (§) early the following morning Nerikkaili, the man from Tapḥa[llu] awoke me ...”

CTH 685.1: Fragment of the festival for the Protective Deity

KUB 53.11 obv. II 6'-8'⁵⁰

6' **ma-a-an** ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG^{HI.A} *zé-e-a-ri*

7'-8' *nu* ^{LÚ}SANGA ^dLAMMA ^{URU}ḤA-AT-TI III NINDA LA-AB-KU XXX-*l[i] pár-ši-ja*

“**When** the livers are cooked, (§) the priest of the Tutelary Deity of Ḥatti breaks three moist breads of 30.”

HKM 48 14-23⁵¹

14-15 *nu-un-na-aš-za-kán* ^dUTU^{ŠI} **ku-it** BE-LÍ-NI ^{URU}Ti-ṽa-li-ja-za

16-17 ^{URU}Pal-ḥi-iš-na-za *ar-ḥ[a-ja-a]n z[i'-i]k-ke'-e-eš'*

18-20 *nu-kán ke-e* MUŠEN^{HI.A} *ku-e-da-ni* KASKAL-*ši an-da* *ša-an-ḥu-e-ni*

48 Alp 1991: 194-197; Hoffner 2009: 169.

49 Hagenbuchner 1989; 76-79; Hoffner 2009: 177.

50 McMahon 1991: 238-241.

51 Alp 1991: 206-211; Hoffner 2009: 183.

21-23 *nu-un-na-ša-an* ^dUTU^{ŠI} *BE-LÍ-NI* EGIR-*pa hu-u-da-a-ak ha-at-ra-a-i*

“And **because** you, Your Majesty, our lord, *initiated*^f (the matter) with us separately, from the towns Tiḡaliija (and) Palḡišna, write us back immediately (and tell us) on which road we should seek these birds.”

CTH 262: Protocol for the royal body guard (^{LÚ.MEŠ}MEŠEDI)⁵²

IBoT 1.36 rev. III 16-22

16 ... *a-ra-aḡ-zi-ja-az ku-iš* ^{LÚ}ME-ŠE-DI *ḡar-zi*

17 *ma-a-aḡ-ha-an*-*ma šar-kán-ti-in ta-ma-in ú-ḡa-te-ez-zi*

18 *nu A-NA GAL ME-ŠE-DI ku-i-e-eš* II *BE-LU-TI* EGIR-*an a-ra-an-ta na-at šar-kán-ti*

19 *an-dur-za ta-pu-ša i-ja-an-ta*

“But as soon as the bodyguard who holds the outside brings another petitioner, (§) then the two lords who stand behind the chief of the body guard march inside alongside the petitioner.”

The preceding clauses always have relative pronouns (6 cases), subordinating conjunctions (16 cases) or both (1 case, the last example).⁵³ I wonder if it has to do with the prosodic/intonation system, making a kind of speech break before introducing the main clause.⁵⁴ Such a break may well be the result of dictation, where the speaking person took a breathing pause which was perceived as the end of a sentence by the dictating scribe. The high occurrence of the letters, which we *a priori* expect the verbal communication between the speaking person and the dictating scribe, seem to confirm this hypothesis. But it is notoriously difficult question in the linguistics dealing with dead languages. One should not venture a hasty conclusion.

There are four exceptions in this category. Since they lack comparable cases, each solutions remain only speculative.

52 Güterbock–van den Hout 1991: 24; Miller 2013: 112-115.

53 See Appendix 2 for all the attestations.

54 For example in German, there is a speech break if a subordinate clause precedes its depending main clause.

(a) CTH 433.2: Ritual for the Protective Deity of the Hunting-bag

KBo 17.105 + KBo 34.47 obv. II 31' -33'⁵⁵

31' *nu ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i* ^dLAMMA ^{KUŠ}kur-ša-aš ^dIMIN.IMIN.BI-aš-ša

32' *i-da-a-lu-un kar-di-mi-ja-at-ta-an ša-a-u-ua-ar ar-ḥa nam-ma*

33' *pé-eš-ši-ja-tén ...*

“And she (= ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI) says the following: Protective Deity, ^{KUŠ}kurša and the heptade, § Cast out the evil anger (and) fury again.

The deities before the paragraph dividers are in vocative, so that we would expect a break after the calling out of the names. The second person plural imperative form in the line 33' supports that it is a form of addressing.

(b) CTH 488.4.1.b.D: Ritual for the Sun-goddess of the earth

KUB 7.10 obv. II 1-10⁵⁶

1 *tar-pa-al-li-uš ANA GUNNI*⁵⁷

2 *ua-ar-nu-an-zi*

3 *A-NA GUNNI-ma GU₄.MAḤ*

4 *ua-ar-nu-ua-an-zi A-NA GUNNI-ma*

5 *UDU.ŠIR MÁŠ.GAL.SIR-ja*

6 *ua-ar-nu-ua-an-zi A-NA I GUNNI-ma*

7 *ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL tar-pa-al-li-uš*

8 *ua-ar-nu-ua-an[-z]i* ^{G[U4]}ÁB.NIGA[?] x x x

9 *ua-ar-nu-ua-an-zi A-NA GUNNI-ma[?]*

10 *UDU'.[.,SIG+]M[UNUS[?].NIGA[?] UZ₆-ja[?] ...*

“They burn the substitutes in a fireplace. In a(nother[?]) fireplace, they burn a bull. In a(nother[?]) fireplace, § they burn a ram and a he-goat. In a(nother[?]) fireplace, they burn the substitutes of the queen. A fat cow[?] [. . . they] bu[rn . . . In a(nother[?]) fireplace, they burn a fat[?]] sheep [and a goat[?] . . .]”

55 Bawanypeck 2005: 88-89.

56 Kümmel 1967: 130-131; Taracha 2000: 54-55 with fn. 182.

57 Kümmel 1967: 130 reads *tar-pa-al-li-uš <ANA> I GUNNI*, maintaining the parallel construction.

Kümmel and Taracha, the editors of this text, noted that the paragraph divider is wrongly set in the middle of the sentence. The duplicates do not help either, since the corresponding places are broken. My suggestion is to move the paragraph divider between the lines 4 and 5 to between lines 2 and 3. In this way, we get parallel constructions (*ANA GUNNI-ma* – sacrificial animal – *uarnuuanzi*) in the following lines. The direction of the discourse is grammatically marked by the particle *-ma*⁵⁸, which is absent in the first line. It shows exceptional position of the GUNNI in this line and not to be treated on the same syntactical level as the other GUNNI-s. The restoration [*ŠA LUGAL*] at the end of column I by both editors seems to be motivated by the presence of the *ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL* in line 7. But it does not clarify the different word order, which is questionable.⁵⁹ My suggestion for interpretation of the emendation of the paragraph divider would look like this:

1-2 They burn the substitutes in (each) fireplace:

3f. They burn a bull in a fireplace, they burn ... (and so on.)

(c) CTH 284.2.T: Kikkuli-Text

KBo 3.5 + IBoT 2.136 obv. II 36-41⁶⁰

36 . . . EGIR-*an-da* 1/2 DANNA VII IKU-*ja páraḫ-zi*

37 *ti-e-ra-u-ur-ta-an a-a-ú-za-mi-e-ua_a*

38 *tar-kum-ma-an-zi-ma ki-iš-ša-an* 1/2 DANNA VII IKU-*ja*

39 *ḫal-zi-iš-ša-an-zi* (erasure)

40 *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-aš ar-ḫa la-a-an-zi na-aš ú-e-te-ni-it*

41 V-*ŠU kat-kat-ti-nu-an-zi* ...

“He lets (the horses) gallop 1/2 mile and 7 field: ‘*triu(a)rtan āuzameḫa*’. One translates (it) as follows: 1/2 mile and 7 field. They call _____. § As soon as one unhitches them, one lets them massage five times with water.”

58 On its usage, see Melchert 2009.

59 [*ŠA LUGAL*] *tar-pa-al-li-uš ANA GUNNI uar-nu-an-zi* is syntactically totally different from *A-NA I GUNNI-ma ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL tar-pa-al-li-uš uar-nu-ua-an[-z]i*.

60 Kammenhuber 1961: 90 fn. 69.

Kammenhuber thought that the paragraph divider stands on a wrong place. In reality, this paragraph divider is not set wrongly; nevertheless, one needs many additions, as was done by Starke.⁶¹

(36) . . . EGIR-*an-da* 1/2 DANNA VII IKU-*ja pá-r-aḫ-zi* (37) <*ḫal-zi-iš-ša-an-zi-ma*> *ti-e-ra-u-ur-ta-an*<-*na*> *a-a-ú-za-mi-e-ua* (38) *tar-kum-ma-an-zi-ma ki-iš-ša-an* 1/2 DANNA VII IKU-*ja* (39) *ḫal-zi-iš-ša-an-zi*<-*ma* III-*an-ki ú-ua-aḫ-nu-ua-ar*>

“He lets (the horses) gallop 1/2 mile and 7 Field: They call (it) ‘*triu(a)rtan*<*na*> *āuzameua*’. One translates (it) as follows: 1/2 mile and 7 field. They call it <3-times turn>.” §

These amendments are supported by the parallel sentences in the obv. I 44-48 in the same text, and the problem is solved.

(d) CTH 76.A: Treaty between Muḫattalli II of Ḫatti and Alakšandu of Uḫluša
KBo 19.73a++ rev. III 18-23⁶²

18 ^dUTU^{ŠI}-*ua-du-z*[(*a-ká*)]*n* ḪUL-*la-u-ua-an-ni* [*kiš(-a)*]*n* *kiš-an-n*[(*a*)]

19 *zi-ik-ki-iz*-[(*z*)]*i* KUR-*e-ua-ták-kán ar-ḫa da-a-i*

20 *na-aš-ma-ua-at*-[(*ta*)] ḪUL-*la-u-ua-aḫ-zi-ma ku-it-ki* [(*zi-ik-ma a-pu-u-un*)]

21 *me-mi-an A-NA* [(^dUTU)]^{ŠI} *ku-it-ma-an ŠU-PUR nu ma-a-an me*[(*-mi-ja-aš a-ša-a-an-za*)]

22 *nu-ut-ta* [(*GIM-an*) ^dUT]U^{ŠI} EGIR-*pa ḫa-at-ra-a-m*[(*i z*)]*i-i*[(*k-ma le-e*)]

23 *nu-un-ta*[*r-ši nu*] *ḫar-[pu]* *ša-ru-pa le-e i-ja-ši*

““His Majesty is undertaking [su]ch and such to your disadvantage, and will ta[k] e the land away from you, or will mistreat you in some way,” write about the matter to My Majesty. And if the matter is true, when I, my [Maje]sty, write back to you, you shall not act rashly, nor do . . .”

61 Starke 1995: 73-74, but <*šinišella*> after *tieraqurtan* in his emendation seems to be superfluous, therefore, omitted.

62 Friedrich 1930: 70-71 with the join piece KBo 19.73a, translation adopted from Beckman 1999: 90. The syntax of the original Hittite sentence cannot be imitated in English. Therefore, I underline the verbs right after the paragraph dividers.

Both paragraph dividers cut off verbs from the sentences, to which these verbs should belong. Friedrich (1930: 70 fn. 1 and 4) noted that these paragraph dividers are added later, and it consequently seems to be then a kind of emendations which the scribe made during the proofreading of the text. The intention of this ruling of paragraph dividers was probably like this:

- 18 ^dUTU^{ŠI}-ya-du-z[(a-ká)]n HUL-la-u-ya-an-ni [kiš(-a)]n kiš-an-n[(a)]
 19 zi-ik-ki-iz-[(z)]i | KUR-e-ya-ták-kán ar-ḥa da-a-i
 20 na-aš-ma-ya-at-[(ta)] HUL-la-u-ya-aḥ-zi-ma ku-it-ki [(zi-ik-ma a-pu-u-un)]
 21 me-mi-an A-NA [(^dUTU)]^{ŠI} ku-it-ma-an ŠU-PUR nu ma-a-an me[(-mi-ia-aš a-ša-a-an-za)]
 22 nu-ut-ta [(GIM-an) ^dUT]U^{ŠI} EGIR-pa ḥa-at-ra-a-m[(i) z]i-i[(k-ma le-e)]
 23 nu-un-ta[r-ši nu] ḥar-[pu] ša-ru-pa le-e i-ia-ši

The scribe did not correct the text as we insert a paragraph correction today < ___|___ >. This interpretation above is speculative due to the lack of other comparable textual attestations.

Further Thoughts

If we look at the relatively consistent use of these paragraph dividers, it seems quite plausible that this rulings on tablets seem to be well conventionalized. Together with learning a writing system, we learn the writing conventions⁶³ as well, which require certain amount of practice. It is hardly possible that individual scribes used these paragraph dividers as a para-linguistic instrument on their own. However, I propose that the paragraph dividers were institutionally learned as a part of the curriculum in scribal schools.⁶⁴ While dictating a text, the teachers would have ordered drawing a line to organize a discourse unit as a paragraph. Given the recent trends working

63 It should be noted as well that such writing conventions and scribal habits of the Ancient Near East are not fully investigated. The obvious reason for this is due to the vast chronological and geographical frame of the cuneiform writing. For the format in its relation to the content, see Green 1981 (a sketchy account), Radner 1995 and 2011 (Neo-Assyrian), and Waal 2012 (Hittite).

64 Whether it had a special designation as a punctuation mark, is another question.

on the scribal curricula in the Ancient Near East, it is fruitful to investigate them on an individual level, i.e. among scribal schools. The quote of Gordon (1965: 24 fn. 1) seems to be timely: “A comprehensive study of the use of lines, with reference to scribal peculiarities, might reveal some significant results”.

A further question arises concerning the scribal schools: where then did the scribes in the Hittite scriptoria learn this convention? Interestingly, this system of paragraph dividers is intensively applied (and even more consistently than in other cuneiform culture areas)⁶⁵ from the beginning of writing in the Hittite empire. As noted above, it had to be learned. It seems plausible that the origin of the Hittite cuneiform writing had comparable conventions. In view of the recent debate⁶⁶, Alalaḫ VII is the first candidate for this. However, texts from there are mostly of economic and legal nature, which are in turn entirely missing in the Hittite empire. As long as we do not find corresponding texts from Alalaḫ VII (or its vicinity in the North Syria), the origin of the Hittite cuneiform writing is still a mystery.

Justus (1981: 383) commented in her article “Visible sentences in Cuneiform Hittite”: “The ruling, however vague a clue, is our link with second millennium BC speaker intuition, and should not be disdained.” I have nothing to add this comment. The setting of the paragraph dividers show the diverse interpretations of scribes in the scriptoria of the Hittite Empire. Accordingly, their various and valuable ways of textual thinking are evident. The copies and duplicates deviating as such are not simply there to reconstruct an *Urtex*t. They have their own history in the process of redaction. Just as orthographic variations are important for the phonological interpretation, and just as variations in grammatical forms and ductus are used for the dating of a text, we should regard these textual variations as clues to a better understanding of redaction history

65 Waal 2010: 102 with fn. 330, also with the reference to Scheucher’s dissertation on lexical lists.

66 Van den Hout 2009, 2012 and Waal 2015: 119-120, cf. further Klingler 1998.

Appendix 1: List of footnotes concerning the deviations of paragraph dividers

Edition	Footnotes ⁶⁷
DBH 12	33 (2), 50 (23), 51 (34), 66 (7, 8, 11), 168 (2)
StBoT 1	17 (19a), 21 (41), 23 (9), 24 (13), 28 (8), 30 (14)
StBoT 3	59 (35), 61 (48, 53)
StBoT 8	32 (6), 38 (9)
StBoT 14	4 (4), 9 (33), 12 (46), 16 (58)
StBoT 17	10 (A rev. 7' = B rev. 22')
StBoT 18	14 (19, 28), 15 (37)
StBoT 28	18 (12), 19 (19), 20 (24), 21 (27), 22 (2), 23 (8), 25 (14), 26 (4), 47 (4, 14), 48 (27, 28), 50 (37), 62 (6), 67 (44), 93 (7), 105 (9)
StBoT 29	88 (c, k), 90 (o), 96 (d), 126 (b)
StBoT 37	391 (4), 394 (3), 400 (3), 403 (3), 429 (8), 461 (5), 462 (3), 463 (6, 7), 507 (5), 510 (1), 521 (6), 522 (1), 524 (1), 539 (1)
StBoT 48	46 (199, 202), 184 (737), 186 (760, 764, 770), 190 (803), 192 (809), 202 (867, 872), 206 (882, 890)
THeth 2	20 (9), 22 (20), 42 (2), 43 (10), 46 (35)
THeth 11	24 (b), 64 (7)
THeth 25	138 (469, 475), 144 (501, 509), 279 (839, 841)
ChS 1/1	57 (55, 58, 60), 58 (64), 69 (8, 15), 70 (19, 22, 26), 105 (49, 51'), 106 (10'), 107 (31'), 108 (34'), 109 (44', 45'), 135 (21''), 140 (11, 14), 156 (22', 24', 27'), 157 (36', 37'), 158 (41', 43'), 159 (7', 10'), 161 (16), 162 (32, 35), 168 (14), 169 (29, 30), 175 (1'), 178 (9', 11'), 179 (16'), 180 (17', 4'), 184 (3), 188 (11, 12, 14, 17), 190 (1', 4', 5', 6'), 193 (7', 8'), 244 (27'), 245 (38'), 255 (7'), 259 (6'), 332 (5')
ChS 1/2	39 (16), 49 (24), 73 (16), 76 (15'), 157 (26, 30), 174 (13'), 183 (3'), 200 (1'), 204 (3), 225 (15', 17'), 227 (3'), 228 (17'), 233 (4'), 235 (10'), 242 (9'), 246 (5'), 251 (3'), 255 (9'), 256 (14')

67 Numbers without bracket = page numbers; either numbers or alphabets in brackets = number or alphabets of the footnotes. But for ChS 1/1, ChS 1/2, ChS 1/4, ChS 1/5 and ChS 1/9: numbers in brackets = line numbers.

TYPOLOGIES OF SETTING PARAGRAPH DIVIDERS

ChS 1/3	64 (206), 120 (325), 132 (348), 133 (350), 134 (352), 135 (353), 154 (395, 398), 157 (406, 409), 158 (413)
ChS 1/4	167 (19), 182 (15')
ChS 1/5	80 (9'), 94 (2'), 128 (44), 138 (28), 141 (6, 10), 145 (11'), 151 (10'), 154 (12), 155 (17), 271 (9), 276 (3, 9), 277 (10, 13, 16), 181 (6), 284 (5'), 285 (14'), 294 (9', 12'), 334 (2'), 406 (6'), 414 (19)
ChS 1/9	43 (45, 49, 50-51), 45 (21'-22'), 46 (49'), 47 (51'-52'), 48 (8), 49 (5', 11'), 82 (10-11), 83 (31), 187 (12'), 188 (21)
Friedrich 1926	6 (2, 4), 116 (7), 117 (23), 136 (2)
Friedrich 1930	50 (3), 68 (1, 3, 9), 70 (1, 4), 82 (5), 128 (1)
Glocker 1997	20 (84), 54 (128)
Hoffner 1997	114 (363, 364), 115 (367, 368), 120 (383), 124 (398), 126 (404, 405), 129 (419), 130 (424 = 425), 133 (441), 134 (452), 143 (495), 144 (505), 151 (535), 158 (567)
Lebrun 1980	95 (1, 8, 11), 101 (4, 5), 122 (1, 2), 123 (2), 124 (1, 2, 6), 134 (2), 136 (6), 137 (7, 8), 259 (3)
McMahon 1991	86 (12), 88 (21, 25, 28), 92 (37, 40), 94 (45, 47), 102 (83), 202 (45)
von Schuler 1957	41 (6), 44 (15, 18), 45 (2, 24), 46 (21), 47 (7, 12), 48 (13), 50 (3, 5), 51 (6, 11) [Cf. Pecchioli Daddi 2003]
Singer 1996	(only page numbers) 17, 18, 19, 22, 28, 29
Strauß 2006	224 (21), 231 (52), 260 (109), 263 (135), 331 (298), 332 (303, 305), 338 (359)
Taracha 2000	36 (73), 50 (124), 51 (140), 52 (160), 53 (172), 92 (294)

Appendix 2: Sentences with an unexpected paragraph divider

(1) Relative clause

(1-1) CTH 330: The Weather God of Kuliūišna: *mugaṣar* and ritual

KBo 15.33 + KBo 15.35 rev. III 33-35⁶⁸

33-34 ... *nu IŠ-TU*^{HUR.SAG} *Ši-id-du-ya* ***ku-it***^{GIŠ} *e-ja-ṛan*^ṛ [(ú-)da-a]n-zi

68 Glocker 1997: 72-73.

35 *na-at IŠ-TU [(^{TÚ}GĒ.ÍB TA-)]ĤA-AP-ŠI iš-ki-ša-^{ra}az kar-apⁿⁱ-zi*

(1-2) CTH 381.A: Prayer of Muḡatalli's to the Assembly of gods⁶⁹

KBo 57.18 + KUB 30.14 + KUB 6.45 + Fragment obv. I 17-21

17 ... ^dUTU ^{URU}PÚ-na GAŠAN-ĪA Û DINGIR^{MEŠ} *ḡu-u-ma-an-du-uš ŠA*
KUR ^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR-ti

18 EN^{ME.ĒŠ} LÚSANGA-az *ku-e-da-aš ŠA* KUR ^{URU}Ĥa-at-ti-mu-kán

19 EN^{-UT-TA} *ḡu-u-ma-an-da-az ku-i-e-eš me-mi-iš-tén*

20 *ki-nu-na-mu* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *am-me-el ŠA* LÚSANGA-KU-NU ÌR-KU-NU
me-mi-an

21 *ar-ku-ḡa-ar iš-ta-ma-aš-tén ...*

(1-3) CTH 406: Ritual of Paškuḡatti from Arzaḡa against effeminacy

KUB 7.5 + KUB 7.8 + KUB 9.27 obv. II 55'-57'⁷⁰

55 ... NINDA.GUR₄.RA-ġa

56-57 ku-i-uš *ka-ru-ú-ḡa-ri-ḡa-ar pá-r-ši-ġa-an-na-aḡ-ḡi*

(1-4) CTH 780.II.Tf05.B: Ritual of Allaituraḡi

KUB 24.13 (= ChS 1/5 No. 15) obv. II 9-10⁷¹

9 *al-ḡa-an-zi-na-aš ku-it ḡUL-lu ut-tar e-eš-še-eš-ta*

10 *ar-ḡa-ták-kán an-ša-an e-eš-du al-ḡa-an-za-tar an-da-an*

(1-5) CTH 790: Fragment of Hittite-Hurrian ritual and incantation

KUB 58.88 + KUB 38.22 (= ChS 1/9 No. 84) obv. II 28-29⁷²

26-27 ... *nam-ma-kán* EN^{MEŠ} SÍSKUR *a-pé-e-da-aš A-NA É^{H1.A} an-da pa-*
a-an-ⁿⁱzi

28 *ar-ḡa-ġa-an ku-e ú-i-da-an*

29-30 EN DINGIR^{LIM}-ma-kán *a-pé-e-da-aš A-NA É^{H1.A} [...] ⁿⁱan-da pa-iz-zi ...*

69 Lebrun 1980: 257; Singer 1996: 8.

70 Hoffner 1987: 274; A. Mouton (ed.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 406 (INTR 2012-02-15).

71 Haas-Wegner 1988: 109 (No. 15).

72 Haas 1998: 160.

(1-6) HKM 43⁷³

4'-5' KUR-*ja-kán* ***ku-i-e-eš*** *an-da* URU^{DIDL.HI.A} *ar-nu-ma-an-zi¹ ta-ra-a-an-te-eš*

6'-7' *nu a-pu-u-uš* URU^{DIDL.HI.A} *ka-ru-ú ar-nu-er...*

(2) Sentences with subordinate conjunctions *māhhan*, *mān* (and its Akkadian equivalent *šumma* in the last example), *kuit* (in the meaning of “because”):

(2-1) CTH 49.II: Treaty between Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti and Aziru of Amurru

KBo 10.12 + KBo 10.13 + KBo 42.73 obv. II 21'ff.⁷⁴

21' ... *nu* [***m***]***a-a-an*** *zi-ik* ^m*A-zi-ra-aš*

22' [*IŠ-TU ÉRIN*^{ME]Š ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} *ša-ku-ua-aš-ša-ri-it ZI-ni-it*}

23' [*Ú-UL n*]*e-ni-ik-ta-ti* [*n*]*a-an ša-ku-ua-aš-ša-ri-it*

24' [*ZI-ni-it*] *Ú-UL za-aḫ-ḫi-[i]a-ši*

25' [*nu ma*]-*a-an* ^dUTU^{ŠI} *na-a[š-š]u DUMU.LUGAL [na-aš]-ma BE-LU GAL*

26' [*IŠ-TU ÉRIN*^{M]EŠ GIŠGIGIR^{MEŠ}-Š^Ú *tu-uk A-NA [m*A-z]*i-ra*}

27' [*ua-ar-ri*] *u-i-ja-mi*

(2-2) CTH 76.A: Treaty between Muḫattalli II of Ḫatti and Alakšandu of Uḫluša

KBo 19.73a++ obv. I 78'-81'⁷⁵

78' ... ***m***[(***a-***)]***a***[(***-an*** *tu-uk-ma* ^m*A-*)]*la-ak-ša-an-d[(u-u)]n ŠEŠ-KA*

79' [(*na-a*)š-(*ma ŠA MÁŠ-KA ku-iš-ki ua-ak-k*)]*a₄-ri-i[(a-zi)]*

80' [*na-(aš-ma kat-ta DUMU-KA DUMU.DUMU^{MEŠ}-KA ku-iš-ki)*] *ua-ak-ka₄-[(a-ri-ja-zi) nu Š(A KU)]R^{URU} U_i[(*-lu-ša*)]*

81' [(LUGAL-iz-na-tar *ša-an-ḫa-an-zi* ...

73 Alp 1991: 194-197; Hoffner 2009: 169.

74 Del Monte 1986: 132-133. The restoration is quite secure in view of the Akkadian version (del Monte 1986: 118-119). Strangely enough, the Akkadian version also has a paragraph divider in the corresponding part (CTH 49.IA obv. 11'), making the same anacoluthon. In both versions, the typical formula “thereby you transgress the oath” seems to be missing.

75 Friedrich 1930: 56-57.

(2-3) CTH 86: Decree of Hattušili III. concerning the property of Arma-Tarhunta⁷⁶

KUB 21.17 rev. III 9'-12'

9 *nu* **ma-ah-ha-an** MU^{KAM}-za *me-ḥur ti-ja-zi*

10-11 *še-li-aš šu-un-nu-ma-an-zi nu-kán BI-IB-RU ŠA* ^dLIŠ ^{URU}Ša-mu-ḥi

12 ^{URU}Ḥa-at-tu-ša-za *kat-ta ú-da-an-zi*

(2-4) CTH 276: Tablet catalogue: DUB.x.KAM⁷⁷

KBo 31.8+ rev. IV 27-30

27-28 ... **ma<-a>an**-kán *I-NA É.DINGIR*^{LIM} *šu-up-pa pé-di ku-in im-ma*

29 *ku-in mar-ša-aš-tar-ri-in ú<-e>-mi-ja-an-zi*

30 [*n*]u *ki-i SÍSKUR-ŠU QA-TI*

(2-5) CTH 330: The Weather God of Kulišišna: *mugaṣar* and ritual

KBo 15.33 + KBo 15.35 rev. III 14-18⁷⁸

14 ... **ma-ah-ha-an-ma**

15 *ŠA DINGIR*^{LIM} *uk-tu-u-ri ŠA ḤA.LA ḥu-ki-eš-šar túḥ-ḥu-uš-zi*

16 *nu-za-an ma-a-an* ^{LÚ}EN ^ÉTIM *ku-it-ki A-NA DINGIR*^{LIM} *ma-al-ta-an*

17 *ḥar-zi ma-a-an Ú-NU-TUM ku-it-ki ma-a-an GU₄ UDU*

18 *nu-uš-ša-an Ú-NU-UT I-NA NINDA.ÉRIN*^{MEŠ} *ti-an-zi* ...

(2-6) CTH 377.A: Muršili II's Hymn and of Prayer to Telipinu

KUB 24.1 + KBo 58.10 obv. I 8-12⁷⁹

8 *nu-za-kán* **ma-'a-an'** [(*na-ak-ki-iš*)] ^d*Te-li-pí-nu-uš še-er ne-pí-ši*

9 *DINGIR*^{MEŠ}-*aš iš-tar-na'* **ma-a-an'** *a-r[(u-n)]i na-aš-ma A-NA*
ḤUR.SAG^{MEŠ!}

10 *ṽa-ḥa-an-na [(p)]a-a-an-za na-aš-'ma'-za I-NA KUR* ^{LÚ}KÚR *za'-aḥ-*
ḥi-ja pa-a-an-za

76 Ünal 1974: 24-27.

77 Dardano 2006: 28-29.

78 Glocker 1997: 70-71.

79 Lebrun 1980: 181; Kassian and Yakubovich 2007: 428. Likewise, text B (KUB 24.2) has a paragraph divider between *pa-a-an-za* and *ki-nu-na-at-ta*.

11-12 *ki-nu-na-at-^rta¹ ša-ne-iz-zi-^riš¹ ʔa-ar-šu-la-aš¹ GIŠERIN-an-za¹ ^ran-za¹
kal-^rli-iš¹-du ...*

(2-7) CTH 433.2: Ritual for the Protective Deity of the Hunting-bag

KBo 17.105 + KBo 34.47 obv. II 34'-38'⁸⁰

34' ... ***ma-a-an*** LÚMUŠEN.DÙ

35' *ku-iš-ki PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM} i-da-a-lu ut-tar me-mi-an ḫar-zi na-aš-ma-
du-kán*

36' *kar-di-mi¹-nu-ʔa-an ku-iš-ki ḫar-zi*

37' *na-aš-ta¹ LÚ.MEŠMUŠEN.DÙ-ja¹ UZUKAxU-ŠU-NU IŠ-TU
NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A ar-ḫa*

38' *a-an-ša-an-te-eš a-ša-an-du ...*

(2-8) CTH 685.1: Fragment of the festival for the Protective Deity

KUB 53.11 obv. II 6'-8'⁸¹

6' ***ma-a-an*** UZUNÍG.GIG^{HLA} zé-e-a-ri

7'-8' *nu¹ SANGA^d LAMMA^{URU} ḪA-AT-TI III NINDA LA-AB-KU XXX-
[i] pár-ši-ja*

(2-9) CTH 757.F: Ritual of Zarpija from Kizzuwaatna against pest

KUB 54.65 + IBoT 4.16 + KUB 56.59 rev. III 8-9⁸²

8 *nu ***ma-aḫ-ḫa-an*** ki-i ḫu-u-ma-an ḫa-an-da-a-iz-zi*

9 *nu EN SISKUR gi-im-ri pa-iz-zi ...*

(2-10) CTH 780.II.Tf01.G: Ritual of Allaituraḫi

KUB 17.27 + KUB 12.50 + KUB 40.67 (+) VSNF 12.57 (= ChS 1/5 No. 7
+ No. 36) obv. II 20'-24'⁸³

20' *e-ez-za-at-tén ʔa-ap-pu-ʔa-aš^d Gul-šu-uš nu ***ma-a-an*** ke-e-el UN-aš*

21' *LA-AN-ŠU UḪ₇-na-aš^{LÚ} ḪUL-aš UN-aš na-aš-šu ʔa-ap-pu-i*

80 Bawanypeck 2005: 90-91.

81 McMahon 1991: 238-241.

82 Bawanypeck 2005: 140-141. (as CTH 425.2.B: The Ritual of the Augur Dandanku)

83 Haas-Wegner 1988: 191-192 (No. 36).

22' *na-aš-ma* ÍD-aš *a-ar-šar-šu-ri pa-iš ki-nu-na-at-ši* EGIR-*pa pé-eš-tén*
 23' *nu ku-it ku-it* LÍL-*ri da-a-i na-at an-da-an* URU-*ja ú-da-i*
 24' *na-at-kán* URU-*ri ŠÀ É.ŠÀ* *har-ua-ši pé-di da-a-i nu* ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI *ú-iz-zi*

(2-11) ABoT 60⁸⁴

5'-6' *nu-kán* ***ma-a-ah-ha-an*** *a-pé-e* TUP-PA^{HLA} MA-*ĤAR* ^dUTU^{ŠI} BE-LÍ-*JA*
pa-ra-a ne-eh-ĥu-un

7'-8' *ša-li-ka-aš-ma-mu ka-ru-ua-ri-ua-ar* ^mNi-*ri-ik-ka*₄-*i-li-iš* LÚ ^{URU}Ta-*ap-*
ĥa[-al-lu ...]

(2-12) HKM 26⁸⁵

4-5 ... ^{LÚ}KÚR ***ma-ah-ha-a[n]*** XXX ŠÍ-*IM-DÌ* ANŠE.KUR.RA^{HLA}

6 ^{URU}Pa-*na-a-ta ši-na-a[ĥ]-ĥ[a da-a-iš]*

7-8 *nu* ^{LÚ}KUŠ₇ KÙ.GI *ku-it ku-ra-an-na-aš ua-ĥa-an-na* š[*a-a-an-ah-ta*]

9-10 EGIR-*an-ma-an-kán* ^{LÚ}KÚR *ku-e[n-ta] na-at AŠ-ME*

(2-13) HKM 34⁸⁶

5-7 [***ma***]-***ah-ha-an***-*ša-ma-aš ka-a-aš* [*t*]*up-pi-an-za an-da ú-e-mi-ja-zi*

8-9 *nu ŠA É* ^dUTU^{ŠI} ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN x[?] *túĥ-ša-at-t[én]*

(2-14) HKM 43⁸⁷

12'-13' ... [ÉRIN^{ME}]^Š x x-[...] x [...] [š]*a-r[a]-a* ***ma-ah-ha-an*** *ú-ua-te<-te>-ni*

14' [*nu*] *k[i-i]š-ša-an-ma tar-te-ni*

(2-15) HKM 48⁸⁸

14-15 *nu-un-na-aš-za-kán* ^dUTU^{ŠI} ***ku-it*** BE-LÍ-*NI* ^{URU}Ti-*ua-li-ja-za*

16-17 ^{URU}Pal-*ĥi-iš-na-za ar-ĥ[a-ja-a]n z[i^l-i]k-ke^l-e-eš^l*

18-20 *nu-kán ke-e* MUŠEN^{HLA} *ku-e-da-ni KASKAL-ši an-da* *ša-an-ĥu-e-ni*

21-23 *nu-un-na-ša-an* ^dUTU^{ŠI} BE-LÍ-*NI* EGIR-*pa ĥu-u-da-a-ak ĥa-at-ra-a-i*

84 Hagenbuchner 1989: 76-79; Hoffner 2009: 177.

85 Alp 1991: 164-167; Hoffner 2009: 142.

86 Alp 1991: 180-183; Hoffner 2009: 161.

87 Alp 1991: 194-197; Hoffner 2009: 169.

88 Alp 1991: 206-211; Hoffner 2009: 183.

(2-16) CTH 53: Treaty between Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti and Tette of Nuḫašše⁸⁹

KBo 1.4 + KUB 3.10 obv. II 20-22

(Zz. 17-19: similar conditional clauses like the following one, beginning with šumma)

20 ù **šum-ma** DUMU NUN be-la₁₂ GAL qa-du ÉRIN^{MEŠ}-šū GIŠGIGI[R^{MEŠ}-š]u

21 a-na ^mTe-et-te a-na KASKAL.KUR-ti-šu u-la-ma-a

22 a-na KUR ša-ni-i-ti a-na ḫáb-ba-a-ti a-š[ap-pár] ...

(3) Complex case: Combination of (1) and (2)

(3-1) CTH 262: Protocol for the royal body guard (^{LÚ.MEŠ}MEŠEDI)⁹⁰

IBoT 1.36 rev. III 16-22

16 ... a-ra-aḫ-zi-ia-az **ku-iš** ^{LÚ}ME-ŠE-DI ḫar-zi

17 **ma-a-ah-ḫa-an**-ma šar-kán-ti-in ta-ma-in ú-ua-te-ez-zi

18 nu A-NA GAL ME-ŠE-DI ku-i-e-eš II BE-LU-TI EGIR-an a-ra-an-ta na-at šar-kán-ti

19 an-dur-za ta-pu-ša i-ia-an-ta

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89 Weidner 1923: 60-63 with fn. k) „Zwischen Z. 20 und 21 im Original irrtümlich eine Zwischenzeile.“; G. Wilhelm (ed.): hethiter.net/: CTH 53 (TX 20.12.2011, TRde 20.12.2011).

90 Güterbock–van den Hout 1991: 24; Miller 2013: 112-115.

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HİTİTLER'İN HURRİ TANRILARINI BENİMSEMESİNİN KRONOLOJİSİ*

*Kurtuluş KIYMET***

Hititler'de inanç dünyası, yerel Anadolu geleneklerinin katkısı ve yabancı unsurların etkisiyle oluşmuştur. Geç Tunç Çağı'nın sonuna gelindiğinde çok sayıda tanrı, çeşitli tören ve uygulamalardan kurulu karmaşık bir yapı ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu dinin temel yapısını Hint-Avrupalı halkların gelişinden önce Orta Anadolu'da yaşayan Hatti halkının inançları oluşturur. Sonraki aşamalarda Mezopotamya geleneği ve bunun yanısıra Suriye ve Hurri inançlarının katılımıyla kozmopolit bir imparatorluğu yansıtan bir inançlar bütünü meydana gelmiştir. M.Ö. 2. binyıl boyunca görülen değişiklik ve eklemelerin oluşumunda başlıca etken Hitit krallarının sürdürdükleri yayılcı politika ve sınırların gelişmesiyle birlikte karşılaşılan yeni fikirleri benimseme yolundaki büyük istekliliktir.

Hitit panteonunun da sürekli bir değişim içinde olduğu, ülkenin genişlemesiyle birlikte, fethedilen yerlerden yeni tanrıların dâhil edilmesiyle büyüdüğü ve karmaşıklaştığı görülür. Hititler'in ilk panteonunu yerel Anadolu halkı olan Hattiler'in tanrıları oluştururken, Mezopotamya ve Suriye'nin tanrıları zaman içerisinde ve Hurriler sayesinde Hatti ülkesinin tanrılar topluluğuna eklenmeye başlamış ve bu etki artarak devam etmiştir.

Hurriler'in dini Hititler üzerinde son derece belirleyici olmuştur. Hattuşa ve Şapinuva arşivinde ele geçirilmiş başta büyü ritüelleri olmak üzere çok sayıda dini metin bunu bizlere göstermektedir. Hurriler'e ait olduğunu

* Bu makale Hitit Kültüründe Hurri Etkisi adlı doktora tezimizin bir bölümünden genişletilerek hazırlanmıştır.

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düşündüğümüz tanrılar Hitit çivi yazılı metinlerinde özellikle de tanrı/kurban listelerinde görülmekte ve hatta bütün bu metinler, Batı Hurri panteonunun da anlaşılmasında başlıca belgeler olarak kabul edilmektedirler.

Bununla birlikte herhangi bir tanrıyı Hatti, Hitit, Hurri şeklinde tanımlamak çok uygun bir düşünce olmayabilir. Çünkü tanrıların farklı kültür çevrelerinden geçerek Hatti ülkesine ulaştığı ve uzun bir geçmişlerinin olduğu bilinmektedir. Örnek olarak M.Ö. 2. binin Hurrice metinlerinden hareketle kimi tanrılar Hurri tanrıları olarak adlandırılırsa da onların aslında Hurriler'in henüz ortaya çıkmadıkları coğrafyada var oldukları da tespit edilmiştir. Hurriler zaman içinde onları benimsemiş ve panteonlarına dâhil etmişlerdir¹. Dolayısıyla bir tanrının Hitit metinlerinde görülmeden önce ilk olarak hangi yazılı kaynaklarda ortaya çıktığını ve başka hangi bölgelerdeki metinlerde görüldüklerini hatırlamak, ait oldukları kültürel gelenekten söz etmek gerekir. Hitit metinlerinden hareketle tanrıların Hatti, Hitit, Hurri gibi belirli bir dil ailesi ile ilişkili tutulmasının sebebi, metinlerin içinde Hattice, Hurrice ve Akadca gibi dillerde yapılan seslenişlerde geçen tanrı adlarının, o kültür çevresiyle ilişkili olduğunun düşünülmesidir.

Özellikle bayram metinlerinde, din adamları tarafından Luvice, Palaca, Hurrice bazı ilahiler okunmaktadır. Görevlilerin hangi dilde konuşacağı, ilahi söyleyeceği özellikle belirtilir. Bu dillerde söylenen bölümlerde geçen tanrı adları onların kökenlerini ayırt etmemizi sağlamaktadır. Dolayısıyla Hititler kendi tanrılarının farklı kökenlerden geldiğinin bilincindeydiler². Mezopotamya tanrıları için de az sayıda da olsa Akadca hitap söz konusudur³. Pek çok tanrı adının etimolojisi de onların kökenlerini ayırt etmekte yararlıdır, ancak zaman zaman isimler bir ideogramla gösterilir. Tanrının kültü, adından daha önemlidir; çünkü benimsenen tanrının, yeni kültür çevresinde bir benzeri yoksa o, ait olduğu eski kültür çevresinin ismiyle anılmaya devam etmektedir. Mezopotamyalı tanrı Ea örneğinde olduğu gibi⁴.

Hititler'in yabancı tanrıları benimsemedeki hevesleri, Eski Hitit Çağı'ndan

1 Archi 1992: 7-14; Archi 1998: 39-44; Taracha 2009: 119.

2 Dinçol 1982: 78; McMahon 1995: 1983; Taracha 2009: 36.

3 McMahon 1995: 1983.

4 Taracha 2009: 36.

itibaren kanıtlanabilmektedir. Bu süreç önce tanrı heykellerinin taşınması ile başlamakta, sonra ona bir tapınak inşası ve bu tapınaklarda bazı seremonilerin gerçekleştirilmesi ile devam etmektedir. Yeni tanrıların ve kültlerin benimsenmesi süreci, kùltlerde yapılan deęişiklikler Hitit tarihi boyunca görùlebilmekte, ancak bu deęişikliklerin hangi kralın döneminde gerçekleştięi, zaman zaman tespit edilebilmektedir.

Tabletlerin çoęu kırık olduęu için ve metinlerin tarihlenmelerinin tam anlamıyla yapılamamasından⁵ dolayı Hurri kùltlerinin ve tanrılarının Hitit Anadolu'suna aktarılış kronolojisini kesin olarak tespit etmek mümkün olmamaktadır.

Hurri tanrılarının benimsenmesi Eski krallık döneminin ilk aşamalarında gerçekleşmeye başlamıştır. Bu etkilenme sürecinde I. Hattuşili ve I. Murşili'nin Güneydoęu Anadolu ve Kuzey Suriye'de Hurri krallıklarına karşı sürdürdükleri çatışmalar ve Halep kentinin fethi etkili olmuştur. Bu savaşlar sonucunda Hititler zengin Suriye kùltüründe gördükleri kâtipler, metal işçileri, büyücüler, at eğitimcileri gibi meslek uzmanlarını ùlkelerine getirmişler, çivi yazısını öğreten kâtipler, aynı zamanda kralların seferlerinin anlatıldığı yıllıkları yazma geleneğini öğretmişlerdir. I. Hattuşili'nin yıllıklarının Akadca ve Hititçe olarak kaleme alındığı görülür⁶. I. Hattuşili, Haşşu kentini ele geçirmiş, Haşşuwa'nın tanrılarının, Hepat'ın, Halep'in Hava Tanrısı'nın, Adalur'un (bir daę tanrısı), Allatu'nun, Lelluri'nin heykelleri ile kùlt nesnelere Hattuşa'ya taşımıştır. Böylece Batı Hurri panteonuna ait tanrılar Hitit panteonuna katılmaya başlamıştır⁷. Alınan nesnelere arasında iki adet gümüş boęa heykeli de söz konusudur⁸. Bunlar Güney Anadolu ve Kuzey Suriye'nin bazı kısımlarında tapınılan, Teşup'un yakın çevresindeki iki boęayı, Şeri ve Hurri'yi hatırlatır⁹. Başta Hava Tanrısı ve Hepat olmak üzere adı geçen tanrılar, Batı Hurri panteonuna ait tanrılardır:

5 Güterbock 1954: 389.

6 Hoffner 1992: 104.

7 Gurney 1977: 13; Wilhelm 1989: 22. Ayrıca Popko 1995: 95-96; Haas 2002: 438. I. Hattuşili'nin yıllıklarının transkripsiyon ve tercümesi için bkz. De Martino 2003: 54-61, 64-65.

8 De Martino 2003: 54-57.

9 Haas 1994: 319.

(CTH 4.II.B.c): VBoT 13 3'-6' + KUB 57.48 5'-7'; (Dupl. KBo 10.2 II 25-28)¹⁰:

“Ayrıca onun tanrılarını (heykellerini) y[ukarı kaldırdım] (aldım): Fırtına Tanrısı, *aruzza* beyi, [Halep'in Fırtına] Tanrısı, Allatum, Adalur, (ve) [Liluri], 2 gümüş boğa ve 13 (duplikat 3) gümüş ve altın heykel.”

(CTH 4.II.A): KBo 10.2 II 36-40¹¹:

36 [H]aššuwa' [nın tanrılarını]

37 [Arinna'nın] Güneş Tanrıçası'na taşıdım.

38 A[llatu'nun] kızını, Hepat'ı, 3 gümüş heykeli,

39 2 altın heykeli, (tanrıça) Mezulla'nın tapınağına

40 taşıdım.

(CTH 4.II.A): KBo 10.2 III 3-5¹²:

3 ve Zippašna şehrini mahvettim.

4 Onun tanrılarını (heykellerini) yukarı kaldırdım

5 ve Arinna şehrinin Güneş Tanrıçası'na götürdüm.

Hava Tanrısı'nın en önemli kült merkezi Halep'tir ve yukarıdaki metinlerden anlaşıldığına göre I. Hattušili Halepli Teşup'un bir heykelini yağmalamıştır. Puhanu kroniğine göre tanrı, Hattušili'ye yardımcı olmuştur¹³:

(CTH 16.b.A ve 16.a.C): KBo 3.40+, KBo 13.78 Ay 7'-11'¹⁴:

7'-8' Halep'in Fırtına Tanrısı bizden oraya koşarken, eğer onu [.....], bizim için buraya gelecek.

10 Trans. ve terc. için bkz. De Martino 2003: 54-57. Ayrıca bkz. Collins 2005: 39, dn. 95; Taracha 2009: 121, dn. 668.

11 Trans. ve terc. için bkz. De Martino 2003: 58-61. Ayrıca bkz. Hoffner 1998: 170, dn. 6; Collins 2005: 39, dn. 95; Taracha 2009: 121, dn. 668.

12 Trans. ve terc. için bkz. De Martino 2003: 64-65. Terc. için bkz. Yiğit 1994: 154.

13 Schwemer 2001: 494.

14 Trans. ve terc. için bkz. Soysal 1987: 176, 181; Schwemer 2001: 495.

9' O, önde koşmaya başlayacağı için. Bana, Fırtına Tanrısı'nın eril tanrılarını

10' krala, gönderdiler: “Git, soyluları bul ve soylular krala

11' söylesinler”: “(Yardıma) geldiğim için, bana saygı göstere!”

Bu metin sayesinde, Eski Hitit Çağı'nda Hattuša'da, Halep'in Hava Tanrısı'na ilişkin bir kültten haberdar olunduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Fakat sadece bu belgeden hareketle, böylesine erken bir dönemde Halep'in Hava Tanrısı ile ilgili bir kültün Hattuša'da düzenlenmiş olduğunu söylemek mümkün değildir. Halepli Teşup'la ilgili metinler çoğunlukla imparatorluk döneminde karşımıza çıkmaktadır¹⁵.

II. Murşili, Arinna'nın Güneş Tanrıçası'na yaptığı duasında Halep ve Babil'in imha edildiğini ve tanrıların (heykelleri) getirildiğini anlatır. Bu olay da I. Murşili döneminde gerçekleşmiştir:

(CTH 376.II.A): KUB 24.3 + II 44-48¹⁶:

“Eskiden Hatti ülkesi, Arinna'nın Güneş Tanrıçası'nın yardımıyla, bütün ülkeleri, bir aslan gibi pençesiyle ezdi. Dahası, Halep ve Babil imha edildi. Onlar, bütün ülkelerin ganimetlerini, altın ve gümüşten eşyalarını ve tanrılarını aldılar. Onları Arinna'nın Güneş Tanrıçası'na sundular.”

Fakat yukarıda adını andığımız bu tanrıların Eski Krallık döneminde Hitit kültüründe büyük bir ağırlık taşıdığına dair bir kanıt yoktur. Tapınım gören tanrıların çoğu Hatti halkına aittir. Hattuša ve kutsal kentler Arinna, Zippalanda ve Nerik'in tanrıları en önemli konumdaydı. Dolayısıyla erken dönem tanrıları doğrudan yerel inançlardan devralınmıştı¹⁷. Bu döneme kadar uzanan, Hattuša'da yapılan ve üç gün süren KILAM bayramında adı geçen kırktan fazla tanrı çoğunlukla Hattice isim taşımaktadır¹⁸. “Başkentin panteonu aslen, sadece Hattuša ve yakınındaki Arinna'nın tanrılarını kapsıyordu.¹⁹”

15 Schwemer 2001: 495.

16 Terc. için bkz. Singer 2002: 53; Bryce 2005: 99.

17 Taracha 2009: 38. Ayrıca bkz. Gurney 1977: 13; Popko 1995: 80.

18 Singer 1983: 101-102; Taracha 2009: 38-42.

19 Taracha 2009: 42.

Hitit Devleti'nin panteonunun Orta Hitit döneminden itibaren değişmeye başladığını söylemek mümkündür. Hurri tanrıları, özellikle tanrı/kurban listelerinde kapsamlı bir şekilde ortaya çıkmakta ve imparatorluk döneminin Bin Tanrı kavramı oluşmaya başlamaktadır. Bu değişim sadece panteonda değil ritüel ve mit alanında da kendini göstermektedir. Orta Anadolu'nun önemli kült merkezlerine ait Hatti tanrıları varlığını korumakla birlikte, Mezopotamya ve Suriye tanrılarını da kapsayan Hurri tanrıları, Kizzuwatna üzerinden Hatti ülkesine aktarılmış ve Hitit kraliyet ailesinde benimsenmiştir.

Orta Hitit Çağı'nda I./II. Tuthaliya'dan itibaren Hitit kral ve kraliçelerinin, aynı zamanda diğer kraliyet ailesi üyelerinin Hurrice adlar almaya başlamaları, Hurrice tabletlerin ortaya çıkmaya başlaması ve diğer Hurri öğelerinin belirmesi nedeniyle, Hitit kraliyet ailesinde, Kizzuwatna'dan gelen Hurri kökenli insanların olduğu yönünde yorumlar yapılmıştır²⁰. II. Huzziya ile I./II. Tuthaliya arasındaki bağlantıya ilişkin bir kanıt bulunamaması sebebiyle, Hitit kraliyet ailesinde I./II. Tuthaliya'dan itibaren bir kesinti olduğu, adı geçen kralın Hurri kökenli yeni bir sülale kurduğu ve bu sülalenin üyelerinin Hurrice bir doğum adına sahip olup, tahta geldikten sonra "Anadolulu" (Hatti-Hitit-Luwi) bir isim edindikleri yolundaki yorumlar üzerinde durulmuştur²¹. Bütün bunlara karşın Hurri kültürünün Hititler üzerinde ağırlığını hissettirmesinin sebebi olarak bir sülale değişikliği değil, Kizzuwatna ile olan yakın temas ve bu bölgenin Hitit denetimine girmesinden kaynaklandığı da söylenmektedir²². I./II. Tuthaliya eski hanedana mensup olup²³, belki de eşi Nikkalmati Kizzuwatna'dan gelmektedir²⁴.

Telipinu ile I./II. Tuthaliya arasındaki süreçte Mitanni Devleti, özellikle Barratarna ve Šauštatar'ın çabası sayesinde Halep ve Alalah'ı da içine alacak şekilde egemenliğini bütün Kuzey Suriye'de sağlamlaştırmıştır²⁵.

20 Güterbock 1954: 388; Haas 1994: 19-20; Popko 1995: 84; Hoffner 1998: 173; De Martino 2006: 45; Taracha 2009: 35, 81, 84.

21 Beal 2002: 57-58.

22 De Martino 2006: 45.

23 Beal 2002: 59 vd.

24 Beal 2002: 69. Miller 2004: 355-356. Archi de Kizzuwatna ile sülaleler arası evlilik olasılığından söz eder: Archi 2006: 160.

25 Bryce 2005: 138-139; Collins 2007: 43.

Hitit devleti ise I./II. Tuthaliya döneminde iç çekişmelerden sıyrılarak, tıpkı I. Hattuşili döneminde olduğu gibi, Batı Anadolu ve Suriye coğrafyasında giriştiği bir dizi seferle, güçlü bir imparatorluğun kuruluşu için adım atmıştır²⁶. Bu askeri seferler onu Kizzuwatna, Mitanni Devleti ve böylece Hurriler'le karşı karşıya getirmiştir: Šunaššura antlaşmasından anlaşıldığına göre Išuwa ülkesindeki isyan bastırılmış, asiler Mitanni ülkesine sığınmıştır. Asilerin iadesi talebi ise reddedilmiştir. Telipinu döneminde başlayan Kizzuwatna ile yapılan antlaşmaların sonuncusu I./II. Tuthaliya döneminde Kizzuwatna ülkesi kralı Šunaššura ile yapılmış ve buna göre Kizzuwatna ülkesi halkı Hurriler'den (Mitanni Devleti) ayrılarak, Hitit Devletine bağlanmıştır. II. Muwatalli ile Halepli Talmi-Šarruma arasındaki antlaşmaya göre ise, I./II. Tuthaliya, Halep kentini ele geçirmiştir²⁷. Sözü geçen siyasi gelişmeler, bunlara ek olarak Tuthaliya'nın tahta geçtiği sırada yaşanan saray entrikalarına Hurriler'in müdahaleleri²⁸ de hatırlanacak olursa, Orta Krallığın bu evresinde Hurri etkisinin ortaya çıkışı daha iyi anlaşılır. Yalnız bu etki, kendini aniden değil, özellikle II./III. Tuthaliya ve I. Šuppiluliuma döneminde hissettirmiştir. Panteondaki değişim devlet antlaşmalarının şahit tanrı listelerinde kendini belli etmektedir²⁹.

M.Ö. 15. yüzyılın başında Hurri kültürel akınının başladığı düşünülmekte³⁰ ve I./II. Tuthaliya, I. Arnuwanda ve II./III. Tuthaliya döneminde Batı Suriye'de yerleşik olan Hurriler'in dininin, Hattuša için son derece ilgi çekici olduğu görülmektedir³¹. Orta Hitit çağına ait bazı bayram metni parçalarında (CTH 647.II.2.a ve II.2b) Anadolulu Fırtına Tanrısı, Hurrili Teşup kılığında, kardeşi Taşmişu/Šuwaliyat ile birlikte görünmeye başlamıştır³². Yine Fırtına Tanrısı ilk defa olmak üzere bu dönemde Kuzey Suriye'den ödünç alınan ^DU ideogramı ile yazılmaya başlamıştır³³. I./II. Tuthaliya'nın ve Arnuwanda'nın eşleri olan Nikalmati ve Ašmunikal'in isimleri Hurrice olup, Babil Ay Tanrısı

26 Bryce 2005: 121; Collins 2007: 42-43.

27 I./II. Tuthaliya dönemi için bkz. Bryce 2005: 121-141; Collins 2007: 43-44; De Martino 2006: 43-47.

28 Bryce 2005: 121-122.

29 Taracha 2009: 82-83.

30 Gurney 1977: 13.

31 Archi 2006: 160.

32 Taracha 2009: 45, dn. 225 ve 84.

33 Taracha 2009: 84.

Sin'in eşi Ningal'in adını taşımaktadırlar. Nikalmati, Hurrice bir isim taşıyan ilk kraliyet ailesi üyesidir³⁴.

I./II. Tuthaliya döneminde Kizzuwatnalı Šunaššura ile yapılan antlaşmanın Akadca nüshasına ait bir parçada (CTH 41.I.1: KBo 28.110+ Öy. 80-84) panteonun başında yer alan üç tanrıdan sonra Halep'in Tešup'u, Hepat, Ay Tanrısı (DINGIR.GE₆), Istar/Ša(w)uşka, Savaş Tanrısı (DZA.BA₄.BA₄), Lelwani(?), Hatti ülkesinin tanrıları, Kizzuwatna ülkesinin tanrıları ve doğayla ilgili kavramlar sıralanır³⁵. Başkent Hattuša'da ya da herhangi bir şehirde bir tanrının kültünün kurulması demek ona ait bir tapınağın yapılması ve bu tapınakta o tanrı için gerekli olan ayinlerin düzenlenmesi demektir. Gecenin Tanrıçası (DINGIR.GE₆)³⁶ kültünün Kizzuwatna'dan Šamuha'ya taşınmasında (CTH 482) buna ait güzel bir örnek görülmektedir. II. Muršili, atası Tuthaliya'nın (I./II.) bu tanrıçayı Šamuha'ya getirip onun için tapınakta yeni ayinler gerçekleştirdiğini, ancak tahta tablet yazıcılarının bunları değiştirdiğini anlatmaktadır. Bu ayinleri Muršili, tekrar yerine getirdiğini söylemekte ve tapınağa giren her kim olursa olsun bunları uygulaması gerektiğini ifade etmektedir³⁷:

(CTH 482): KUB 32.133 Öy 1-10³⁸:

1 Kahraman, büyük kral Šuppiluliuma'nın oğlu, büyük kral, majesteleri Muršili şöyle (söyler):

2-3 Atam büyük kral Tuthaliya Kizzuwatna'daki Gecenin Tanrıçası'nın tapınağından Gecenin Tanrıçası'nı ayırdığında ona Šamuha'daki

4 tapınakta öncelik tanıdı (önde gelen tanrılardan biri yaptı) ve o ritüel ve ayinlere

5 Gecenin Tanrıçası'nın tapınağında ilaveler yaptı. Ancak tahta tablet yazıcıları

6 ve tapınak personeli geldiler ve onları değiştirmeye başladılar. Muršili

34 De Martino 2006: 45.

35 Yoshida 1996: 10; Schwemer 2006: 246; Taracha 2009: 85.

36 DINGIR.GE₆'nin, Istar 'ın bir biçimi olduğu ve onun Siyah tanrıça olarak kabul edilmemesi gerektiği konusunda bkz. Miller 2004: 365-369, 393-396; Miller 2008: 68-69.

37 II. Muršili'nin "atam" (AB.BA-IA) olarak adlandırdığı kralın III. Tuthaliya değil de I. (I./II.) Tuthaliya olması gerektiği konusunda bkz. Miller 2004: 350-356; ayr. bkz. Miller 2008: 68.

38 Trans. ve terc. için bkz: Miller 2004: 312.

7 büyük kral, tabletlerden onları tekrar yerine getirdi. Gelecekte

8 Šamuha'nın Gecenin Tanrıçası'nın tapınağında ister kral ister kraliçe, prens

9 veya prenses, Šamuha'nın Gecenin Tanrıçası'nın tapınağına girse bu
10 ritüelleri uygulasin.

Her ne kadar III. Hattuşili döneminde önem kazandıysa da Šamuhalı Iştar/Ša(w)uşka kültürünün Orta Hitit Çağı'na kadar uzandığı ve bu tanrıçanın, I./II. Tuthaliya dönemine ait belgelerde ortaya çıktığı düşünülmektedir. KUB 32.130 (CTH 710) numaralı belgeye göre Šamuha şehrinin savaş alanının Ša(w)uşkası'nın (^DIŞTARSERI^{URU}Šamuha) öfkeli olduğu fal aracılığı ile tespit edilmiş ve bu nedenle adı verilmeyen kral bir fal soruşturması yürütmüştür. Šamuha'ya bir temsilci göndermiş, tanrıça için ritüeller yerine getirilmiş ve bir bayram kutlanmıştır. Fakat Işhupitta ve Taşmanha kentlerine bir sefer söz konusu olduğunda majesteleri bir kişiyi tekrar göndererek, Šamuha şehrinin savaş alanının Ša(w)uşkası'nı (heykelini) getirtmiş (belki Hattuša'ya?), tanrıça için törenleri yerine getirdikten sonra onu Šamuha'ya geri göndermiş ve ayinlerin orada devam etmesini istemiştir³⁹. Belge, yazı ve dil özellikleri açısından Orta Hitit Çağı'na tarihlenir⁴⁰. Gecenin Tanrıçası Kizzuwatna'dan Šamuha'ya I./II. Tuthaliya tarafından getirildiği ve bu tanrıça, Ša(w)uşka ile özdeş olarak düşünüldüğü için KUB 32.130 numaralı belge de I./II. Tuthaliya dönemine tarihlenmektedir. Orta Hitit dönemine ait bir fal metni de (CTH 570: KBo 16.97 + KBo 40.48) bu görüşü destekler niteliktedir. Bu fal metni de muhtemelen I./II. Tuthaliya'ya aittir, çünkü KUB 32.130'de de söz konusu olan Işhupitta kentine düzenlenecek askeri sefer CTH 570'de bu sefer bir fal soruşturmasına konu olmuştur⁴¹. Bu fal raporunda, tanrıçaların öfkesinin konu edildiği satırlarda Gecenin Tanrıçası'nın biçimleri ile Iştar/Ša(w)uşka'nın biçimleri peş peşe sıralanır ve hangisinin öfkeli olduğu sorgulanır⁴². CTH 571: KBo 16.97 + Ay. 12-32 arasında⁴³ Niniwe'nin Ša(w)uşkası, Šamuha'nın Gecenin Tanrıçası, Lahharuma'nın Gecenin Tanrıçası,

39 Metin için bkz. Klinger 2010: 156-1558; Beckman 2012: 3-5.

40 Klinger 2010: 160; Beckman 2012: 2.

41 Beckman 2012: 2-3.

42 Haas 1994: 352; Miller 2004: 365.

43 Metin için bkz. Beckman – Bryce – Cliene 2011: 227-229.

Niniwe'nin Ša(w)uşkası, Hattarina'nın Ša(w)uşkası, annesinin Ša(w)uşkası, babasının Ša(w)uşkası sıralandıktan sonra "başka hangi Ša(w)uşka öfkeliyse? (sonuç) uygun olsun" denmektedir. Böylece Orta Hitit Çağı'nda bir Šamuhalı İstar/Ša(w)uşka kültünden söz etmek mümkündür⁴⁴.

Arnuwanda-Ašmunikal çiftinin dönemine ait Kaška antlaşmasında (CTH 139) da İstar/Ša(w)uşka, İshara, Gökyüzünün ve Yeryüzünün tanrılarını görürüz. Ayrıca "eski tanrılar" da isimleri olmaksızın bu antlaşmada ortaya çıkarlar⁴⁵. "İlk/eski tanrılar" ya da "aşağıdaki tanrılar" olarak adlandırılan tanrıları, Hititler Mezopotamyalı Annunnakiler ile özdeşleştirmişler ve onları yer altı tanrıları olarak kabul etmişlerdir. Devlet antlaşmalarının yanı sıra Hitit/Hurri ritüel ve mitlerinde ortaya çıkan bu tanrılar, Mezopotamya kökenli olmakla birlikte Hurri kültür çevresinde de sıklıkla görülürler⁴⁶. Yine I. Arnuwanda dönemine tarihlenen Işmeriga antlaşmasının (CTH 133), yemin tanrısı listesinde, tıpkı Šunaššura antlaşmasında olduğu gibi Halep'in Hava Tanrısı, eşi Hepat'la birlikte görülmektedir⁴⁷.

M.Ö. 15. ve 14. yüzyıllar boyunca, ilk Hurrice metinler yazılmış olmalıdır. Çoğu tek dilli olan bu metinlerin Hititçe çevirileri günümüze ulaşmıştır. Bu metinlerde Hatti ülkesinde en üst seviyede olan Teşup, Hepat, Šarruma, Ša(w)uşka gibi tanrılar görülmektedir⁴⁸. Hurri kökenli mitolojik metinler, Serbest Bırakma Şarkısı, itkalzi ve itkahi ritüelleri, Taşmişarri (II./III. Tuthaliya) ve eşi Taduhepa için yapılan diğer ritüeller, Orta Hitit Çağı'nın ürünüdürler. Šapinuwa arşivi, Hurrice belgeleri, itkalzi ve diğer büyü ritüelleri ile III. Tuthaliya döneminde Hurri etkisini gösteren bir başka önemli kanıttır. III. Tuthaliya ve eşi, Teşup ve Hepat onuruna yapılan "krallık" (Hurrice: šarrašši) ve "krallıçelik" (Hurrice: allašši) ritüellerini yerine getirmişlerdir⁴⁹.

44 Bununla beraber Miller, KUB 32.130 numaralı metni II. Murşili dönemine tarihleyerek, Šamuhalı İstar/Ša(w)uşka'nın Orta Hitit Çağı'nda gözükmediğini düşünmektedir. Adı geçen tanrıçanın II. Murşili ve özellikle III. Hattuşili döneminde bütün görkemi ile ortaya çıktığını ve Gecenin Tanrıçası'nın onunla tamamen bütünleşerek, Šamuhalı İstar çevresinde kurban alan tanrıçalar arasında artık listelenmediğini ifade eder. Gecenin Tanrıçası, Orta Hitit Çağı'nda verimli bir külte sahiptir: Miller 2004: 385-390.

45 Gurney 1977: 15; Archi 1990: 115; Yoshida 1996: 10; Taracha 2009: 85. Antlaşma metni için bkz. Schuler 1965: 109-112.

46 Gurney 1977: 15; Archi 1990: 114 vd.; Haas 1994: 111-114; Taracha 2009: 125-126.

47 Schwemer 2001: 495.

48 Hoffner 1992: 105.

49 Archi 2006: 160.

Mevcut tabletlerinin ağırlıklı bölümünün Orta Hitit'e tarihlendiği⁵⁰ İtkalzi ve itkahi ritüelleri ile Ortaköy'de açığa çıkarılan Kizzuwatna kökenli, tanrıları çağırma ritüellerinde⁵¹ belli başlı Hurri tanrılarını görmek mümkündür.

Kökleri yine Orta Hitit Çağı'na kadar uzanan Teşup, Hepat ve Iştar/Şa(w) uşka kültü ile ilgili metinlerse Hurri tanrılarında ele alınması gereken başlıca metinler olarak değerlendirilebilir. Bunlar Batı Hurri/Kizzuwatna kurban geleneğini yansıtan ve belli başlı Hurri tanrılarını için kurban talimatlarının yer aldığı bayram anlatımlarıdır. Bu metinlerde uzun listeler halinde tanrılara sunulan kurbanlar sıralanır. Kurban talimatları Hurrice, “sıra, çevre, kurban döngüsü” anlamındaki *kaluti* kelimesi ile ifade edilir. Çok sayıda tanrının adı birbiri ardı sıra geçtiği için söz konusu metinler tanrı ya da kurban listeleri olarak da adlandırılırlar⁵². Bunlardan Teşup ve Hepat kültü ile ilgili metinlerin bazıları Orta Hitit Çağı'na tarihlenirler. Şapinuwa'nın Fırtına Tanrısı ile ilgili *kaluti* listesi muhtemelen III. Tuthaliya dönemine aittir. Kimileri Muwatalli, Urhi-Teşup ve III. Hattuşili dönemlerine tarihlenebilmiştir⁵³. Iştar/Şa(w)uşka kültüne ilişkin tabletlerin bazıları Orta Hitit Çağı'na tarihlenirken bazıları da Orta Hitit kalıplarının Yeni Hitit suretleri olarak kabul edilmişlerdir⁵⁴. Boğazköy'de bulunan metinlerin tarihlenmesi bu şekildeyken, Ortaköy'de bulunan *Kaluti* listesi (Or. 90/175) Taşmişarri (III. Tuthaliya)-Taduhepa dönemine aittir⁵⁵. Söz konusu belgelerde çok sayıda Hurri tanrı ve tanrıçasının ismini görürüz. Bunlara Hurri kılığındaki Mezopotamya tanrıları da dâhildir. Dolayısıyla artık Yeni Krallığın başına geldiğimizde Hurri kökenli pek çok tanrı, Hititçe-Hurrice metinlerde geçiyor durumdadır, ancak zaman içerisinde bunların bazılarının önem kazandığını ve yaygınlaştığını söylemek mümkündür. Bu yaygınlaşma, Suriye-Kizzuwatna kaynaklı Hurri tanrılarının Anadolu'da farklı kentlerde de kutsanması anlamına gelmektedir. Yine bazı kralların kimi tanrılara daha fazla önem verdiklerini söylemek mümkündür.

50 Haas 1984: 14.

51 Reyhan 2010: 637 vd.

52 Wegner 1995: 1-17. *Kalutiler için ayrıca bkz. Gurney 1977: 17-24, Giorgieri-Murat-Süel 2013:169 vd.*

53 Wegner 2002: 1-2.

54 Wegner 1995: 11.

55 Giorgieri-Murat-Süel 2013:172

Hurri tanrılarının yaygınlık kazanması, İmparatorluk döneminin başlarında I. Şuppiluliuma dönemi ile devam etmiştir. Etki, Kizzuwatna'nın yanı sıra, kralın seferlerini yürüttüğü Suriye'den de kaynaklanmaktadır. Suriye savaşları, Hurri tanrılarını, Kumanni ve Uda gibi kült merkezlerine sokmuştur. I. Şuppiluliuma dönemi devlet antlaşmalarında Hurri tanrılarının listesini görmek mümkündür⁵⁶. Mitanni Devleti ile yapılan antlaşmada, antlaşmaya taraf olan iki ülkenin tanrı listesi ayrı ayrı görülür. Burada Hitit tarafının tanrıları “Kizzuwatna'nın ve Hatti ülkesinin erkek ve kadın tanrıları” olarak özetlenmiştir. Anlaşıldığına göre bu dönemde Kizzuwatna çevresi Hitit Devleti'nin bir parçası olarak düşünölmekteydi. I. Şuppiluliuma'nın diğer antlaşmalarında iki ayrı tanrı listesi görölmemektedir. Bir nesil sonra II. Murşili döneminde Batı Anadolu kralları ile yapılan antlaşmalarda da Hurri tanrıları ortaya çıkmaktadır⁵⁷. Devlet antlaşmalarında çeşitli kült merkezlerinin Fırtına Tanrısı ve peşinden boğalar Hurri ve Şeri görülür. Yer altı dünyasının kraliçesi Allatum'un yanı sıra mitlerde tanrılar arasındaki dengeyi sağlamakla yükümlü Ea, eşi Damkina ile birlikte ortaya çıkar. Şa(w)uşka'ya, iki hizmetçisi Ninatta ve Kulitta eşlik eder. “Eski tanrılar” da bu antlaşmalarda her zaman görölen tanrılar arasında yer alırlar ve bütün bunlar Hurri etkisinin birer sonucudurlar⁵⁸. II. Murşili tawananna meselesi ile ilgili belgesinde⁵⁹, babasının Kumannili Hepat'ı çağırma bayramını kutlamayı ihmal ettiğini anlatır. II. Muvatalli'ye ait bir duada (CTH 381) geçen “büyükbabasının sarayının tanrıları” ve “majestenin büyükbabasının erkek ve kadın tanrıları” ifadeleri⁶⁰ ise konu hakkında çok fazla bilgi vermemektedir. Kargamış'ın fethinden sonra Hitit kralı, kentin önde gelen tanrıçası Kubaba'ya saygısını sunmuştur. Bu durum belki de yeni fethedilen bir kentte meydana gelebilecek tepkileri ortadan kaldırmaya yönelik politik bir hamleydi:

(CTH 40.IV.1.A): KBo 5.6 (ve duplikatlar) Ay. III 31-38⁶¹:

31-32 Kenti (Kargamış'ı) ele geçirdiğinde [babam] tanrılardan

56 Gurney 1977: 15-17.

57 Güterbock 1954: 391.

58 Archi 2006: 161.

59 Singer 2002: 76.

60 Singer 2002: 87, 90.

61 Trans. ve terc. için bkz. Güterbock 1956: 95. Terc. için bkz. Hoffner 1998: 174.

33 kork[tuğu için], yukarı kentte (sitadelde)

34 [Kubaba]'nın [(ve)] Koruyucu tanrı[(nın)]

35 [yanına?] hiç kimseyi bırakmadı.

36 [tapınakların] yakınına

37 [bir tanesine bile] her kim olursa olsun

38 y[aklaştırmadı] [(ve onlara)] kendisi saygı gösterdi.

Yukarıda ifade ettiğimiz üzere II. Murşili, atası Tuthaliya'nın Gecenin Tanrıçası'na ait kültü Şamuha'ya getirip onun için tapınakta yeni ayinler gerçekleştirdiğini anlatmaktadır. Bu anlamda Iştar/Şa(w)uşka, Halepli Teşup ve Ea'nın özel bir önemi vardır; çünkü bu tanrılar kendi tapınaklarına sahiptirler ve en az II. Murşili döneminden itibaren kendi özel kültleri mevcuttur⁶². II. Murşili'nin hem yıllıklarına hem de dualarına bakıldığında Fırtına Tanrısı ile Arinna'nın Güneş Tanrıçası'na olan bağlılığı açıkça ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu tanrı çiftinin yanı sıra Iştar/Şa(w)uşka da Büyük Kral için önemsenen tanrılar arasındadır. Adı geçen tanrıçanın savaşçı özelliğinin (Savaş alanının Iştar'ı = ^DIŞTAR.LİL⁶³) daha ön sırada tutulması, II. Murşili'nin tahta çıktığı anda ülkenin düşmanlar tarafından kuşatılması ile ilgili olmalıdır⁶⁴. Bu dönemde Hattuşa'da “güçlü savaş alanının Şa(w)uşkası”nın (^DIŞTAR.LİL *walliwalli*) kültü kanıtlanmıştır⁶⁵.

II. Murşili Kizzuwatna kültürüne de önem vermektedir. Yıllıklarından anlaşıldığına göre (CTH 61: KUB 14.29 + + Öy I 22-26) 9. hükümdarlık yılında⁶⁶, ayrıca tawananna meselesi ile ilgili belgesine göre Hitit kralı “Kumannili Hepat'ı çağırma bayramı”nı (EZEN *halziyauwaš* ŠA ^DHepát ^{URU}*Kummanni*) kutlamak amacıyla Kizzuwatna'ya gitmiştir. Babasının döneminde bu bayramın ihmal edilmiş olması II. Murşili'yi rahatsız etmiştir:

(CTH 70): KUB 14.4 Ay III 23-29⁶⁷:

62 Archi 2006: 161.

63 ^DIŞTAR ŞERİ / LİL adlı tanrıçanın “Savaş alanının Iştar/Şa(w)uşkası” olarak tercüme edilmesi gerektiği konusunda bkz. Beckman 1999: 162-162. Ayrıca bkz. Klingner 2010: 161.

64 Alparslan 2006: 132-137.

65 Haas 1994: 579; Wegner 1995: 11,13.

66 Alparslan 2006: 84, Strauß 2006: 10

67 Trans. ve terc. için bkz. De Martino 1998: 28, 36. Terc. için ayrıca bkz. Singer 2002: 76.

23 Kumanni ülkesine gittiğimde – babam, Kumannili Hepat’a

24 çağırma bayramını yapmaya söz vermişti. Fakat O, Hepat için bayramı kutlamadı.

25 Bu vicdanıma dokundu – ve Kizzuwatna’ya gittim,

26 ve hep şunu söyledim: “Babamın sözünü yerine getirmeme izin ver!”

27 Ben Kumannili Hepat’a kendim için,

28 eşim için, oğlum için, evim için ülkem için ve düşmanlarım için

29 sürekli olarak yakardım ve dua ettim. [...]

Kizzuwatna kültürleri ve Hurri tanrılarının II. Murşili için önemi, onun konuşma bozukluğu ve bu sorunu çözmek için yerine getirdiği ritüeli anlatan metinde (CTH 486) de ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bir rüyadan sonra Murşili, rahatsızlığı hakkında ne yapması gerektiğine dair bir fal soruşturması yürütür. İlk fal sorgusunda konuşma bozukluğundan Manuzziya’nın Fırtına Tanrısı’nın sorumlu olduğunu öğrenir. Metnin içerdiği çok sayıda Hurrice terim, kurban alan tanrı ile ilişki olabilir. II. Murşili, hastalığının kaynağı olarak bir Hurri tanrısını göstermektedir⁶⁸.

“II. Muwatalli, Hitit panteonuna resmen Hurri tanrılarını sokmuş, Halpa (Halep)’daki Fırtına Tanrısı ve tanrıça Hepat kültürünü, büyük bir dinsel merkez olan Kizzuwatna’daki Lawazantiya şehrine taşımıştır.⁶⁹”

II. Muwatalli’den günümüze iki büyük dua metni ulaşmıştır (CTH 381-382)⁷⁰. Şimşeğin Fırtına Tanrısı aracılığıyla, tanrılar meclisine yaptığı duada (CTH 381) adı geçen Teşup, eşi Hepat, Şinapşi’nin Fırtına Tanrısı, Şinapşi’nin Hepat’ı, Manuzziya’nın Fırtına Tanrısı, Nikkal, Pişahuni, Kaliştapa Dağı, erkek ve dişi tanrılar, Kumanni kenti ve ülkesinin ırmakları ile dağları gibi tanrı ve kutsal coğrafi unsurlar Hurri-Kizzuwatna kökenlidir⁷¹. Kumanni kentinin kültürleri ile ilgili olarak (Kumanni’nin Hava Tanrısı için) bizzat kral tarafından dikte ettirilmiş olan dua metni ise (CTH 382) Kizzuwatna’nın güneyinde

68 Güterbock 1954: 390-391. Bu ritüel metin hakkında yorum ve onun tercümesi için bkz. Beckman 1995: 2010.

69 Darga 1992: 20.

70 Singer 2002: 80-95; Doğan-Alparslan 2012: 135.

71 Singer 2002: 85-95; Ünal-Girginer 2007: 150.

kutsanan Hepat, Šarumma, Hazzi ve Hutanni gibi tanrılardan söz eder⁷².

Tanrılar meclisine yapılan duada (CTH 381), Suriye-Hurri tanrılarının Hitit panteonuna dâhil edilmesinin izlerini görebiliriz. Duanın başındaki kısa listede öncelikle şu çift ortaya çıkar:

“Gökyüzünün Güneş Tanrısı - Hatti ülkesinin kraliçesi, sahibem, Arinna'nın Güneş Tanrıçası.”

Peşinden gelen çift ise şu şekildedir:

“Efendim, Gökyüzünün kralı, Fırtına Tanrısı - sahibem, kraliçe Hepat.”

İkinci sırada bulunan ikilide Fırtına Tanrısı, ^{DU} ideogramı ile yazıldığından, bunun Tešup'u ifade edip etmediği tam olarak anlaşılamasa da onun eşi olarak Hepat'ın verilmesi nedeniyle burada Tešup'un varlığını düşünmek mümkündür. Hepat ve Arinna'nın Güneş Tanrıçası ayrı ayrı varlıklarını korumaktadırlar. Ayrıca Boğa Šeri, tanrı listesinde Hatti'nin Fırtına Tanrısı'nın boğası olarak görünür. Yine aynı metinde Arinna'nın tanrıları sayılırken Fırtına Tanrısı iki Hurri görünümü ile ortaya çıkar: “Kurtuluş'un Fırtına Tanrısı” (^{DU} *ehellibi*) ve “Yaşamın Fırtına Tanrısı” (^{DU} *šuhurrubi*)⁷³. Buna ek olarak Šamuha'nın tanrıları sayılırken Şimşeğin (*pihaššašši*) Fırtına Tanrısı'nın eşi, Hepat olarak adlandırılır. Kızılırmak kavsi içerisine dâhil olan kült merkezleri, Suriye-Hurri tanrılarında sahip değildir, ancak bunun iki istisnası vardır: Ankuwa'nın Savaş alanının Ša(w)uşkası (^P*IŠTAR.LÍL*), Šamuha'nın Hepat'ı. Šarišša'nın “*IŠTAR-li*”si, yerel tanrıça Anzili olabilir. Sadece Hatti/Hattuša'da Suriye çevresinin tanrılarını Hatti tanrıları ile birlikte görürüz: “Genç Boğa” (Šeri), Hatti'nin Halepli Tešup'u ve Hepat'ı, Hurri panteonuna da dâhil olan iki Mezopotamya tanrısı Ea ve eşi Damkina, Allatum, Niniveli Istar/Ša(w)uşka, Hattarina'nın Istar/Ša(w)uşkası, Lulahi tanrıları ve Suriye tanrıçası Kubaba⁷⁴. “Bu kralın (II. Muwatalli) döneminde bazı Hitit tanrılarının isimlerinin Hurri tanrıları ile benzer özelliklerinden

72 Singer 2002: 81; Doğan-Alparslan 2012: 131.

73 Yorum için bkz. Archi 2006: 149; Güterbock 1954: 389-390. Tešup'un bu her iki biçimi Muwatalli'nin mühürlerinde de görülür: Güterbock 1954: 389-390. Muwatalli'nin duası (CTH 381) için bkz. Singer 2002: 85-95. Türkçe terc. için bkz. Alp 2001: 101-107.

74 Archi 2006: 149-150.

dolayı yer değiştirebileceğine dair güçlü bir eğilim görürüz. Kralın Hurrice isminin ikinci kısmını Teşup (Şarri-Teşup) oluştururken, Muwatalli'nin başkentinin adı Tarhuntaşa, Anadolu Fırtına Tanrısı'nın adını taşır. Muwatalli'nin koruyucu tanrısı Şimşeğin (*pihaššašši*) Fırtına Tanrısı, Teşup'un bazı özelliklerini almıştır⁷⁵. Tarihlemesi yapılamayan bir orakel metninde Hatti'nin Fırtına Tanrısı ile Halep'in Fırtına Tanrısı'nın birleştiği görülmektedir. Bu metinde Hattuša, "Halep'in Fırtına tanrısının kenti" olarak adlandırılmakta, aynı zamanda Hatti'nin Fırtına Tanrısı'nın Gök gürültüsü bayramı, Halep'in Fırtına Tanrısı'na bağlanmaktadır⁷⁶:

(CTH 564): KUB 18.12 + KUB 22.15 Öy 1-4⁷⁷:

1-4 Eğer majeste seferden (Hattuša'ya) dönerse, tanrıları (onların bayramlarını) kutlar; Majeste (ve) kraliçe kışı Hattuša'da geçirirler, Halep'in Fırtına Tanrısı'nın Gök gürültüsü bayramını orada kutlarlar, Yıl bayramını orada kutlarlar...; eğer siz tanrılar, majesteleri ve kraliçeye Halep'in Fırtına Tanrısı'nın kenti Hattuša'yı, kışı geçirmeleri için...

CTH 698'de toplanan metinler Halepli Teşup ve Hepat'ın kültü ile ilgili metinlerdir. II. Muwatalli'nin, bu tanrıların bayramlarında bazı düzenlemeler yaptığı anlaşılmaktadır. KBo 14.142 Ay. III 34'te şu ifade görülür: "Büyük Kral Muwatalli (bir bayram) ilave etti." (^mNIR.GÁL LUGAL.GAL *katta hamakta*)⁷⁸. II. Muwatalli, Halepli Teşub için yeni festival ritüelleri düzenlemeye giriştiğinden ona ait dua metnindeki (CTH 381) mevcut tanrı listesinde Teşup'un, "Hatti'nin Halepli Teşub'u" olarak telaffuz edilmiş olması tesadüf değildir. Hepat da aynı şekilde adlandırılır⁷⁹. Muwatalli'nin dönemine tarihlenen Halepli Teşup ve Hepat kültürünün kurban/tanrı listesi (CTH 698.I.A: KBo 14.142⁸⁰) ile kökleri Orta Hitit'e kadar uzanan ve Teşup'un

75 Archi 2006: 161. II. Muwatalli'nin diğer adı için bkz. Doğan-Alparslan 2012: 6-13. Muwatalli'nin çocukları da Urhi-Teşup ve Ulmi-Teşup adını taşırlar: Doğan-Alparslan 2012: 131.

76 Archi 2006: 161. Ayrıca bkz. Schwemer 2001: 496 ve dn. 4063-4064.

77 Trans. ve terc. için bkz. Ünal 1973: 43-44; Archi 1975: 122-123. Yorumlar ve terc. için bkz. Schwemer 2001: 496 ve dn. 4063-4064. Terc. için bkz. Archi 2006: 161. Türkçe terc. için bkz. Ünal 2003: 130.

78 Archi 2006: 159.

79 Schwemer 2001: 495-496. Muwatalli'nin duasındaki (CTH 381) bu ifadeler için bkz. Singer 2002: 88.

80 Wegner 2002: 272-277 (Nr. 147).

standart kaluti listesi olarak adlandırılan (CTH 705: KBo 14.138 (+) KUB 43.102⁸¹) metinler arasında kuvvetli sapmalar olduğu ifade edilmektedir⁸². Her iki liste karşılaştırıldığında⁸³ Muwatalli dönemine tarihlenen metinde Halepli Teşup’un daha üst mevkide tutulduğu fark edilmektedir.

II. Muwatalli’nin, başkenti Tarhuntašša’ya taşınmasıyla Güney Anadolu ve Kizzuwatna kültürlerinin ve tanrılarının ağırlığı artmış olmalıdır. Hem krala ait dualar, hem Halepli Teşup ve Hepat kültü ile ilgili düzenlemeleri ve hem de Hurri kökenli Hišuwā bayramına bu dönemde yapılan eklemeler⁸⁴ bunu kanıtlamaktadır.

M.Ö. 13. yüzyılda III. Hattušili’nin Hurrili rahip Bentipšarri’nin kızı Puduhepa ile evlenmesi Hurri dini akımının devamını sağlamıştır. Hurri-Kizzuwatna tanrılarının Hitit panteonundaki ağırlığı artarken, panteonun başında Teşup, eşi Hepat, oğulları Šarrumma ve kızları Alanzu yer almıştır. III. Hattušili’nin kendisi de koruyucu tanrısı olarak Šamuhalı Ša(w)uška’yı seçer⁸⁵. III. Hattušili bu tanrıçayı benimserken, yukarıda bahsettiğimiz üzere babası II. Muršili’nin tanrıçası, Savaş alanının Istar/Ša(w)uška’sını daha geride tutar. Šamuhalı Ša(w)uška için kurbanlar düzenlenirken, Muršili’nin tanrıçası (^DIŠTAR.LÍL *walliwalli*) bu düzenlemelerde tamamen kurban dışı bırakılmaz⁸⁶:

(CTH 712.A): KUB 27.1 Öy. I 1-6⁸⁷:

1-2 Yıllar geçtiği sürece, “eski” Savaş alanının Istar’ı (^DIŠTAR.LÍL) için önceki kurbanları yerine getirecekler.

3 Muršili’nin güçlü Savaş alanının Istar’ı (^DIŠTAR.LÍL *walliwalli*) içinse eski

4 kurbanı bir kez daha yapmayacaklar. Šamuha’nın Istar’ı için

81 Wegner 2002: 66-73 (Nr. 1).

82 Wegner 2002: 2.

83 Wegner 2002: 53-54, 63.

84 Doğan-Alparslan 2012: 139-142.

85 Gurney 1977: 17.

86 Wegner 1995: 11,13.

87 Trans. ve terc. için bkz. Wegner 1995: 31, 35.

5 bir bayramı iyilikle davet ederler (ilan ederler). Murşili,

6 majestenin babası, şöyle yapardı:

Orta Hitit Çağı'na dayanan kurban listelerinde bu dönemde kimi düzenlemeler yapıldığı düşünülmektedir⁸⁸. Kurbanlar, tanrı ve tanrıçalardan oluşan iki ayrı seri (*kaluti*) halinde düzenlenmiştir. Tanrıların kalutisi Teşup'la, tanrıçaların kalutisi ise Hepat'la başlamakta ve çok sayıda Hurri tanrısı peş peşe bu listelerde sıralanmaktadır. Bu tanrılar, ritüeller ve Puduhepa'nın dualarında da karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Hurri tanrılarının Hatti-Hitit tanrıları ile birleştirilmesi de Arinna'nın Güneş Tanrıçası ile Hepat örneğinde açıkça görülmektedir⁸⁹.

Hurri tanrıları, Hitit Devleti'nin son aşamalarında panteonda ağırlığını artırmaya devam etmiştir. Yazılıkaya tapınağında tamamen Teşup ve Hepat'ın kalutisi tasvir edilmiştir. Tanrı tasvirlerinin ismi de hiyeroglifle ve Hurrice yazılmıştır. IV. Tuthaliya'nın kendisi de koruyucu tanrı olarak Şarrumma'yı seçmiştir⁹⁰.

Bu dönemde Kızılırmak yayının içindeki bölgede Hurri tanrıları kültürünün ölçüsünü tespit etmek için dört temel kaynak mevcuttur. Bunlar, IV. Tuthaliya'nın kült reformu ile ilgili belgeleri, Ay bayramı, Nuntariyaşha bayramı ve AN.TAH.ŞUM^{SAR} bayramıdır. CTH 510'daki metinler (kült envanterleri) Hattuşa'nın kuzeyindeki bölge ile ilgilidir ve bunlarda Luvi, Suriye ve Asur tanrılarını görürüz. Luvi Fırtına tanrıları ^DPihami ve ^DPihaimi, Balih ırmağının Luviceleşmiş biçimi ^{ID}Baluhaşša, Harran'ın Fırtına Tanrısı, Suriye tanrısı Milku, Ninive'nin Iştar'ı, Asur'un Fırtına Tanrısı ve Babil'in Iştar'ı. Bu tür tanrıların seçimi, dönemin yükselen tehlikesi Asur'u işaret etmektedir ve Batı Hurri tanrılarına ilişkin neredeyse hiçbir iz yoktur⁹¹.

Ay bayramı (CTH 591) çok sayıda fragmandan oluşur. Bunların çok az bir kısmı Orta Hitit'e, geri kalanlarsa İmparatorluk dönemine tarihlenir. İki

88 Gurney 1977: 17; Wegner 1995: 11.

89 Gurney 1977: 17-18.

90 Gurney 1977: 19-23.

91 Archi 2006: 151-153.

tablet parçası, kolofonlardan hareketle IV. Tuthaliya dönemine tarihlenmiştir. Esasen Eski Hitit'e kadar uzanan Hattuša'nın bir bayramındaki panteonda meydana gelen değişiklikleri izlemek için bu tabletler ideal bir külliyat oluşturur. Tanrıların çok büyük bir kısmı Hatti-Hitit geleneğine aittirler. Bunu ihlal eden, IV. Tuthaliya dönemine tarihlenen iki tableten birinde görülen Hepat ve Hepat-Šarrumma'dır. Aynı metinde Šulupašši'nin Ištari ve Šamuha'nın Ša(w)uškasi görülür. Onları tanrı Pirwa izler. Bu tanrılar Hurrice bir yakarı alırlar. (^{LÚ}NAR ^{URU}Hurri ŠİR^{RU}). IV. Tuthaliya dönemine tarihli diğer tablette Savaş alanının Ištari görülür (^DIŠTAR.LİL). O da Hurrice bir yakarı alır. (^{LÚ}.MEŠNAR ^{URU}Hurlaš ŠİR^{RU})⁹².

Hattuša ve yakın çevresinde kutlanan Nuntarriyašha bayramında sıralanan çok sayıda tanrı arasında iki önemli Hurri tanrısı görülür. Birisi kendi tapınağında kutlamaları yapılan Halepli Tešup, diğeri ise Ea'dır. Tanrı Ea'ya eşi Damkina, Nabu ve Nisaba (Dagan) da eşlik eder. Bu bayrama da son biçimini IV. Tuthaliya vermiştir. Otuzuncu gün törenleri ^DURAŠ (IB = NINURTA)'ın tapınağında geçer ki URAŠ/NINURTA Sumerogramı altında gizlenen tanrı Tešup'un kardeşi Hurrili Tašmišu'dur⁹³.

AN.TAH.ŠUM^{SAR} bayramının yine son döneme tarihlenen kopyalarında Hurri tanrılarını görmek mümkündür. Bu, özellikle bayramın otuz yedinci gününü içeren KUB 11.27'de ortaya çıkar. Bu kısım, içerdiği tanrılara bakılacak olursa Hatti-Hitit geleneğinden çok, Hurri anlayışına daha yakındır⁹⁴.

Hitit Devleti'nin panteonu dediğimizde başlıca kaynaklarımızdan biri de Yazılıkaya açık hava tapınağıdır. A odasında yer alan ve isimleri hiyeroglifle yazılmış tanrıların Hurri-Kizzuwatna panteonunun adeta çekirdeği gibidir. Çünkü burada gördüğümüz, eril-dişi karşıtlığı şeklinde ve önem sırasına göre tasvir edilmiş tanrılar Kizzuwatna kökenli metinlerde de aşağı yukarı benzer bir biçimde ortaya çıkmaktadırlar. Yazılıkaya'nın tanrılarını çeşitli ritüellerde, (H)išuwa bayramında ve kaluti adını verdiğimiz metinlerde

92 Archi 2006: 153-154.

93 Archi 2006: 154-155.

94 Archi 2006: 155-158.

benzer bir sırlama ile görürüz.

Hurri tanrılarının, böylesine önemli bir kutsal mekânda tasvir edilmiş olmasından dolayı Hitit Devleti'nin sonuna geldiğimizde panteonunun tamamen Hurrileştiği şeklinde yorumlar yapılmıştır⁹⁵.

Bununla birlikte yukarıda söz ettiğimiz üzere IV. Tuthaliya dönemine tarihlenen, kült reformu ile ilgili belgeler ve bayram metinleri incelendiğinde, bu kültlere son dönemde çok az sayıda Hurri tanrısının eklendiği ve aslında Hatti-Hitit tabakasının bayramlarının, devletin sonuna kadar varlığını koruduğu anlaşılmaktadır⁹⁶. Her ne kadar bu dönemde kültürlerin yeniden düzenlenmesi amacıyla girişimde bulunulduysa da yerel bayramların Hurrileştiğine dair herhangi bir ize rastlanmadığı söylenmelidir⁹⁷.

IV. Tuthaliya döneminde çoğaltılan ancak daha eski bir geleneği yansıtan bayram metinlerinde Hatti-Hitit tanrıları ağırlığını korurken, yine aynı dönemde inşa edildiği düşünülen Yazılıkaya tapınağında ise Hurri tanrıları tasvir edilmiştir. Bu durum belki de III. Hattuşili ve eşi Puduhepa döneminde varlığını hissettiren Hurri kültürünün baskınlığı ile ilgilidir. Babası da Hurrili bir rahip olan Puduhepa'nın, memleketi Kizzuwatna'nın geleneklerine bağlılığı bilinmektedir. Puduhepa, IV. Tuthaliya döneminde de tawanannalık görevini yürütmüştür.

Anadolu'nun çeşitli bölgelerinden ve çevresinden gelen tanrıların kabulü ve mevcut olanların terk edilmemesi sonucu Hitit panteonu hızla genişlemiştir. Anadolu ve Suriye'nin yerel panteonlarının bir arada oluşu hem tanrıların sayıca çok oluşuna hem de bir karmaşıklığa sebep olmaktadır. Yeni ritüellerin ve bayramların benimsenmesi beraberinde yeni tanrıları da getirmektedir. Bunlardan bazıları sadece isimleri ile bilinirken, bazıları ise en üst seviyede tapınım gören tanrılar olmuştur. Hurri tanrılarının bazıları da zaman içinde Hatti kökenli tanrılarla birlikte panteonun en tepesinde yerlerini almıştır. Bununla birlikte Hurri tanrılarının ne zaman benimsendiğine ve çiviyazılı metinlerde ilk olarak ne zaman görüldüklerine veya bunların ne zaman

95 Bu görüşler için bkz. Taracha 2009: 93, dn. 484. Ayr. bkz. Schewemer 2006: 260-261.

96 Archi 2006: 150 vd.

97 Schewemer 2006: 257 vd.

daha fazla önem kazandıklarına ilişkin kesin veriler yoktur. Ancak kimi kralların dönemine ilişkin bazı atıflardan ve belli dönemlerde bazı Hurri tanrılarının daha fazla önemsendiğinden söz etmek mümkündür. Buna, I. Hattuşili döneminde ilk Hurri tanrılarının adının geçmesi ya da I./II. Tuthaliya döneminde Gecenin Tanrıçası kültünün Şamuha'ya nakli örnek olarak gösterilebilir. Ayrıca Hitit tarihi boyunca Hurri kültlerine ilişkin iki parlama döneminden söz etmek mümkündür. Bunlardan ilki I./II. Tuthaliya dönemidir ki bunun sebebi Kizzuwatna'nın Hatti topraklarına katılmasıdır. İkincisi ise III. Hattuşili dönemidir; bunun sebebinin ise eşi Puduhepa'da aramak gerekir.

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EINIGE BEMERKUNGEN ZUM HATTISCHEN VERBUM

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Unter Grundproblemen der Morphologie der hattischen Sprache ist seine Verbkonjugation eine der wichtigsten Fragen. Verbflexion der hattischen Sprache unterscheidet sich von allen kleinasiatischen Sprachen, die an der Wende des III-II Jahrtausends v.Chr. in Vorderasien vorhanden waren, nicht nur genetisch, sondern auch strukturell und typologisch.

Es wurde mehrmals betont, dass man die Forschung der hattischen Sprache zusammen mit kaukasischen Sprachen durchführen soll¹. Ich bin auch damit einverstanden und die hier dargestellte Hypothese ist mit Berücksichtigung der Struktur und Typologie der kaukasischen Sprachen entstanden.

Schon E. Laroche und A. Kammenhuber haben gezeigt, dass das Verb im Hattischen sehr reich an Präfixen ist und vor einem Stammorphem eine Vielzahl von Präfixen steht².

Die Verbkonjugation wird meist nur nach Numerus charakterisiert. Es mangelt an eingehenden Angaben, weil wir keine Texte haben, in denen Verben in allen Personen (1.-3.Ps.) und in allen Numeri (Singular und Plural) flektiert werden. Aus diesem Grund, müssen die Forscher Verbkonjugationssystem der hattischen Sprache mithilfe der Rekonstruktion vollenden.

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1 S. z.B., Дунаевская 1961, 135; Girbal 1986, 160ff.; Soysal 2004, 23f., 39.

2 Laroche 1947, 83; Kammenhuber 1969, 499ff.; s. auch Girbal 1986, 56ff.; Klingner 1996, 630f.; Soysal 2002, 187ff.

Bekanntlich wird in den hattisch-hethitischen Bilinguen hattischer Text nicht Wort für Wort ins Hethitische übersetzt, was meiner Ansicht nach gerade durch Spezifik des Verbs verursacht war. Verb in der hattischen Sprache kann Subjekte und Objekte in sich markieren und infolgedessen ist es nicht mehr nötig, sie (S und O) auch im Satz separat wiederzugeben. Zahlreiche Präfixe im Verb bezeichnen die Hauptglieder des Satzes und deswegen wird ein hattischer einfacher Satz im Hethitischen immer länger ausgedrückt.

Einer der wichtigsten Unterschiede in der Struktur zwischen der hattischen und der hethitischen Sprachen, liegt in der Verbkonjugation. Es ist bekannt, dass das hethitische Verb sich nach Person und Numerus konjugiert. Genauso passiert in der hattischen Sprache, in der das Verb 3 Personen und 2 Numeri – Singular und Plural hat.

S₁: wa_a-tu-ḫaš-tur-u: *tur* schlagen; wa_a-tu-k-sul-pa šul -“lassen”

S₂: u-še-ḫaš-tur-ma: *tur* schlagen; u-š-te-piš-e: *piš* - “nehmen”

S₃: a-š-du-kas-tur: *tur* schlagen; a-š-wa_a: wa_a - “legen”.

Außerdem unterscheidet O. Soysal Präfixe für Subjekte und Objekte, sowohl für rein-transitive als auch für transitiv-intransitive Verben³, was in der folgenden Tabelle zusammengefasst wird:

Transitive Verben			
S.		O.	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
I: wa _a -	I: ai-; e-; i-	ḫ-; k-; m-; n-	p-; š-; t-; w(a)-
II: u-	II:		
III: a- (?)	III:a- (?)		
Transitive-intransitive Verben			
S.		O.	
<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
I: wa _a -	I: i-	0-; ḫ-; k-; n-	0-; wa-; wa _a -;
II: u-; un-	II:		p-; š-; t-
III: 0-	III:0-		

3 Soysal 2004, 188ff.

Meiner Meinung nach, hat das hattische Verb ein klassen-personelles Konjugationssystem und dieser Mechanismus wurde infolge diachronischer Transformation entstanden⁴.

Ich denke, dass grammatische Klasse als Kategorie anfangs in der hattischen Morphologie bekannt war und im Laufe der Zeit verschwand. Der synchronische Abschnitt, der in hattischen Texten überliefert ist, zeigt die endlichen Entwicklungsstufen der Transformation des Konjugationsmechanismus. Das beendete fast die funktionelle Beschränkung der Klassenkategorie.

Das System der Personen- und Klassenmarker, das, meiner Meinung nach, ein Bestandglied morphologischen Paradigmas der hattischen Sprache ist, gründet sich auf Soysals Schema. Natürlich äußerten sich bestimmte Unterschiede, aber Mitgliedseinzelheiten des Systems habe ich meistens beibehalten.

S _ subjektive Person		O _ objektive Klasse	
<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>I. Klasse</i>	<i>II. Klasse</i>
S ₁ : wa _a -	–	w(a)- // p- // m-// n-	t-// š-// ħ- // k-
S ₂ : u-	–		
S ₃ : a-	–		

Für klassen-personelle Konjugation charakteristische Besonderheiten, die in der hattischen Sprache auftreten, tragen systematischen Charakter. Funktionelle Markierung der Person und der Klasse in verbaler Konstruktion ist nicht völlig durchgeführt, denn Verben ohne ihre Präfixe gehen auch nur mit Klasse oder mit Person markierten Verben voran. Es weist auf unvollendete diachronische Änderung morphologischen Typs hin. Durchgeführte Änderungen werden teilweise in ganzer Reihe der Verbformen dargestellt.

Wir behandeln einige Verbformen:

⁴ Vgl. Klinger 2007, 131ff.

wa_a-tu-ḥaš-tur-u: **tur** - “schlagen”, S₁ /wa_a-/, O_{II} /tu-/⁵

u-tu-ḥaš-tur-ma: **tur** - “schlagen”, S₂ /u-/, O_{II} /tu-/

a-š-du-kaš-tur: **tur** - “schlagen”, S₃ /a-/, O_{II} /š- /

a-p-ta-ka-waḥ: **waḥ** - “befehlen”, S₃ /a-/, O_I /p-/

u-n-ḥu-pi: **ḥu** - “rufen”, S₂ /u-/, O_I /n-/

a-š-a-ḥu: **ḥu** - “rufen”, S₃ /a-/, O_{II} /š- /

a-n-a-ḥu: **ḥu** - “rufen” S₃ /a-/, O_{II} /š- /

a-m-ḥuru-pa: **ḥuru-** u. B., S₃ /a-/, O_I /m- /

u-t-ḥuru: **ḥuru-** u. B., S₂ /u-/, O_{II} /t- /

a-š-iya: **iya-** “geben”, S₃ /a-/, O_{II} /š- /

wa_a-t(u)-kam: kam u. B., S₁ /wa_a-/, O_{II} /t-/⁶

Im heutzutage existierenden hattischen sprachlichen Material kann man wenige Fälle, wo Änderung des gleichen Verbes nach Person und Klasse dargestellt wird, bestätigen, aber für die Analyse angeführte Beispiele erlauben mir solche Schlußfolgerung.

In indo-germanischen und semitischen Sprachen, die im Königreich von Hethitern verbreitet waren, gab es keine Klasse als morphologische Kategorie, was nach meiner Auffassung, einen deutlichen Unterschied zwischen einerseits dem Hattischen und andererseits der hethitischen, luwischen und akkadischen Sprachen zeigt. Sie ist ein die kaukasischen Sprachen charakterisierendes grammatisches Merkmal, auf das sich die morphosemantische Klassifizierung der Namen gründet⁷.

Nach meiner Beobachtung gab es in der hattischen Sprache zwei Klassen.

5 Vgl. Soysal 2004, 191.

6 Diese Beispiele wurden aus Soysal 2004 angeführt.

7 Die nachischen Sprachen haben vollständiges Klassensystem, das sich aus 4 Klassen besteht, z. B., tsova-tuschische Sprache hat vier Klassen sowohl im Singular als auch im Plural. Georges Dumézil schreibt über die Frage von Klassensystem in den Nordkaukasischen Sprachen: „Le fait morphologique qui, au premier abord, différencie le plus nettement les trois familles de langues caucasiennes du Nord est le fait des classes, c'est-à-dire la distribution de tous les êtres en 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, ou 8 groupes dont les oppositions indo-européennes «anime-inanimé», «masculin-féminin» donnent une idée. Dans les trois familles système des classes se présente avec des formes, des fonctions et surtout des ampleurs fort diverses“ (Dumézil 1933, 1).

Namensklassifikation folgte nach binarischem Prinzip *männlich* ~ *allgemein*. I. Klasse umfasste nur Gottheit und Mann als grammatische Begriffe. Ihr Marker war /wa_a-/ Präfix. Sie fasste sowohl primäre Nominale als auch verbale Stämme zusammen und in den bestätigten Formen schriftlicher Denkmäler kann man ihren Marker teilweise ausscheiden, unter Annahme, dass historischer Aufbau des nominalen Stammes berücksichtigt wird, aber von einem synchronischen Standpunkt wurde es mit dem Stamm verbunden und in s.g. versteinerten Form dargestellt. Damals hatte er keine Funktion, z.B. wa_a-zaril „Mensch“, wa_a-ħurla „Hurriter“, wa_a-šħap „Gott“ u.s.w. Zur II. Klasse gehörten Frauen und andere belebte und unbelebte Namen. Der Marker dieser Klasse ist /š(e)-/ Präfix: eš-wu_r „Land“, še-munamuna „Steine“, ša-kil „Herz“ u.s.w. Man kann so sein, dass keine Klasse in einem Namen formal dargestellt wird, aber semantisch waren alle Namen einer Klasse zugeordnet.

Zweiklassiges System haben wir z.B. in tabasaranischer Sprache⁸, wo die Namen nach binarem Prinzip unterschiedet sind: *Mensch* – *Gegenstand*. Davon I. Klasse umfasst nur den Mensch und Gott, aber II. – alle belebten und unbelebten Namen. Das Verb hat klassen-personelle Konjugation, wo den Marker des Subjektes ein Suffix, des Objektes dagegen – ein Präfix darstellt:

I. Klasse: izu **b**-isnu-**za** žaqa „Ich habe den Vogel gefangen“ (S_I: /-za/; O_{II}: /b-/)

II. Klasse: izu **d**-isnu-**za** baj „Ich habe den Jungen gefangen“ (S_I: /-za/; O_I: /b-/)⁹.

In der abchasischen Sprache unterscheidet man auch zwei Klassen¹⁰, aber im Unterschied von Tabasaranischem sind hier die Marker der Klasse und der Person Präfixe:

I. Klasse: sara lara **də**-**z**-bojt „Ich sehe dich (Mensch.)“ (S_I: /z-/; O_I: /d-/)

II. Klasse: sara ampəl **z**-bojt „Ich sehe den Ball“ (S_I: /z-/; O_{II}: /0-/)¹¹.

8 Dumézil 1933, 8f.

9 Tschikobawa 1979, 170.

10 Vgl. Dumézil 1933: 32ff.

11 Gwanzeladse 2011, 76.

Klassen-personell ist auch die Verbkonjugation in lakischer und tsova-tuschischer Sprachen.

Heute ist für manche kaukasische Sprachen Klassenkategorie des Verbes und selbst grammatische Klasse als eine morphologische Kategorie ganz fremd.

Solche sind z.B. alle kartwelischen Sprachen, Tscherkesisch, Ubichisch, Udisch u.s.w. Man findet, dass ursprünglich diese Sprachen auch eine grammatische Klassenkategorie hatten¹².

Wie schon gesagt, wurde in der hattischen Sprache, meiner Meinung nach, eine diachronische Transformation morphologischen Systems durchgeführt. Es handelt sich hier um funktionelle Änderungen morphologischer Kategorien, die einerseits zum Verlust einiger grammatischer Kategorien und andererseits zur Entwicklung einiger neuen beitrugen. Diese Prozesse verbreiteten sich weiter, wobei die Formante, die aufbewahrt worden waren, bei den Änderungen morphologischen Typs eine neue Funktion erwarben und morphemischer Bestand des Wortes blieb unverändert, nur flexive Bestandmorpheme änderten grammatische Bedeutung. Ich finde, dass die Klasse als eine der wichtigen morphologischen Kategorien am Anfang auch in der hattischen Sprache vorhanden war.

Änderungen morphologischen Typs verursachten Entstehung der Personskategorie des Verbes als grammatischer Kategorie, was auch auf das Konjugationssystem auswirkte.

Nach der Herausbildung der Klassen- und Personenkonjugation, wenn das Verb beide morphologischen Komponente darstellte, vollzog sich innere Differenziation dieser Kategorien in funktioneller Hinsicht und Subjektperson wurde mit Personsmarker ausgedrückt, während das Objekt mit einem Formant der Klasse markiert wurde:

12 Tschikobawa 1979, 118ff.

wa_ašhapma ešwu_r aška_hir¹³ „O, Gottheiten, das Land wurde bestimmt“¹⁴.

ante_h¹⁵ Dšulinkati katte lewa_ael „Er schenkte dem König Šulinkatte sein Haus“¹⁶.

Vermutlich wurden die Formante bei der Änderung morphologischen Typs aufbewahrt und sie übernahmen eine neue Funktion, aber in Ausnahmefällen blieben sie mit dem Namens- und Verbstamm verbunden. Genauso konnte auch im Falle der Klassen und Personenmarker geschehen. Unter dem Einfluss phonetischer Vorgänge, die tendentionell in der hattischen Sprache wirkten, konnten die Zeichen I. Klasse in die Subjektiven Personenpräfixe umgewandelt werden:

S₁: wa_a > wa_a

S₂: wa_a > u

S₃: wa_a > a

Was die Objektmorpheme, die in der Tabelle von O. Soysal angeführt wurden, betrifft, stellen sie meistens ein diachronisches Resultat der globalen phonetischen Veränderung – Lautverschiebung dar. Primäres Exponent II. Klasse sollte nach meiner Vermutung /*j-/ sein, dessen historische Artikulationsverschiebung sich sowohl in der anterioralen als auch in der posterioralen Reihe vollzog. Als Halbvokal wurde es in den Konsonanten umgewandelt und zuerst blieb Spirant, aber endgültig untergang Okklusivisation:

t || š < *j > h || k

Diese Zeichen werden mit neuer Funktion in der verbalen Konstruktion dargestellt. Was die Reihe objektiver Zeichen, die von O. Soysal angegeben werden, betrifft, behandle ich sie als Zeichen I. Klasse (/w(a)-/, /p-/ , /m-/ , /n- /). Sie sind, meiner Meinung nach, gleicher Herkunft und sollen von Präfix

13 a-š-ka-hir: a-S₃; š-O_{II}; hir – Stamm „bestimmen“.

14 Vgl. Schuster 1974, 66: „die Götter bestimmten sich jeweils ? die einzelnen ? Länder“

15 a-n-tu_h: a-S₁; n-O_{II}; tu_h - Stamm „bauen“.

16 Vgl. Schuster 1974, 74: „es nahm sich der Gott Šulinkatte des Königs sein Haus(?-)Gerät“.

$/*wa_a-/*$ historischer I. Klasse abgeleitet werden:

$*wa_a > w(a)$

$*wa_a > p$

$*wa_a > m$

$*wa_a > *m > n.$

Daher, unterstützten phonetische Prozesse diachronische Transformation morphologischen Systems in der hattischen Sprache. Ihrer hochfrequenten Wirkung machte einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Formierung innovativer grammatischer Kategorien als Systems.

Zusammenfassend könnte man sagen, dass das hattische Konjugationssystem umfasst die morphologischen Kategorien der grammatischen Person und Klasse, die als Ergebnis der diachronen Transformation herausgebildet werden sollte. Ursprünglich gab es in hattischer Sprache Klasse als grammatische Kategorie, die im Laufe der Zeit beschränkt wurde, während die Kategorie der Person immer etabliert wird. Der synchronische Abschnitt, der in hattischen schriftlichen Quellen überliefert ist, zeigt die letzte Entwicklungsstufe der Transformation des Konjugationsmechanismus. In dieser Phase sind beide Kategorien formal vorhanden und werden durch eine Gruppe von Präfixen dargestellt. Nach einem subjektiven Personenmarker in der Anfangsposition folgt ein objektiver Klassenmarker.

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TO AND FROM A CITY. A NOTE ON HITTITE TOPOGRAPHY¹

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The topic of this paper represents a part of a greater problem of the Hittite perception of space, a subject still underexplored in Hittite studies. Recent works by Cyril Brosch on the Hittite “grammar of space” (2013, 2014) and Lee Ullman (2011) address the issue from linguistic and archaeological standpoints respectively, yet a thorough philological treatment is yet to appear.² What I would like to discuss here is the use of the local particles *šarā* and *katta* with respect to the movement in and out of a Hittite city. Interpretations of such expressions may not be highly frequent in secondary literature, yet they all share a strong conviction that passages mentioning *katta* and *šarā* can be read as clearly reflecting the topographical relations of a given Hittite city and its surroundings. Consequently, they were used by scholars as arguments in their discussion on the problems of historical geography.

In his review article of Maciej Popko’s book on Zippalanda, Ronald Gorny leans toward the southern position of the famous Hittite religious centre, using the passage from the scenario of the *nuntarriyašḫaš*-festival, KUB 55.5 i 10’-12’ (CTH 626) as one of his arguments:

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2 See now also the work of İlgi Gerçek (e.g. Gerçek 2017).

CTH 626: KUB 55.5 i 10'-12':³

(10') *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-kán* LUGAL-*uš kat-t*[*a* ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-tu-ša-az*]

(11') [*IŠ*]-*TU KÁ.GAL* ^{URU}*ZI-IP-PA-LA-A*[*N-DA*

(12') [*I-N*]*A* [^{URU}*ḪAR-R*]*A-NA-AŠ-ŠI pa-iz-zi* [

“The next day the king goes down from [*Ḫattuša* to *Ḫarr*]anašši [th]rough the Zippalanda-Gate.”

Gorny (1997: 551) interprets this passage as follows: “Festival texts indicate that the Hittite king, after performing his cultic duties in the capital, travels “down” (*katta*) to *Ḫarranašši* and Zippalanda by way of the “Zippalanda Gate” (...) I think that the use of “down” (*katta*) in KUB 55.5 obv. (?) i 10' is a topographic indicator hinting at the direction of Zippalanda. Since Alaca Höyük and Eskiypapar are at the same altitude as the Hittite capital, the usage of “down” is significant and makes a trip to the lower altitudes of the south a more likely alternative than one in the opposite direction.”

Similarly, on the basis of the oracle fragment KBo 23.106 obv. 4-6 (CTH 582) Popko's view of Arinna was that “der Weg von Arinna nach *Ḫattuša* herunter (heth. *katta*) führte.”⁴

The most significant (and likely the best known) discussion on the matter, however, concerns the location of Tawiniya. Already in 1959, Garstang and Gurney argued that the city had to be situated south of *Ḫattuša*, on the basis of the passage KUB 10.91 ii 11-12:

CTH 669: KUB 10.91 ii 11-12:

(11) DINGIR^{LUM}-*kán KÁ.GAL*^{TIM}

(12) ^{URU}*TA-WI₅-NI-YA kat-ta* ^{GIŠ}*TIR-ni an-da pé-e-da-an-zi*

3 Cf. Nakamura 2002: 50.

4 CTH 582: KBo 23.106 obv. 4-6: (4) *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-wa-kán* (5) ^{URU}*A-ri-in-na-az kat-ta* ^{URU}*KÙ.BABAR-ši* (6) *an-da pa-iz-zi* “When he goes down from Arinna to *Ḫattuša*.” Cf. Popko 2009: 15

“They carry the deity down the Tawiniyan Gate into the wood.”⁵

Garstang and Gurney (1959: 11) wrote on that passage: “the Tawinian Gate cannot have been the gate at the north of the city because of the lie of the land, (...) we must therefore conclude that the temple from which the procession went «down» to this gate was one of those in the upper city, and it is only the Lion Gate to which a procession would be said to go «down».”

Güterbock soon contradicted this view in his review of Garstang and Gurney’s book.⁶ He noted two additional passages where the Tawiniyan Gate appears, KUB 15.31 i 13-15 and KUB 15.34 i 18 (the Evocation Rituals CTH 484 and CTH 483 respectively):⁷

CTH 484 (NH): KUB 15.31 i 13-14:

(13) *nu* ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR^{HIA} *ša-ra-a kar-pa-an-zi na-at-kán KÁ.GAL*^{TIM}

(14) *ŠA*^{URU} *TA-Ú-I-NI-YA kat-ta pé-e-da-an-zi*

“They pick up the tables and carry them down the Tawiniyan Gate.”⁸

CTH 483 (MH): KUB 15.34 i 18-19:

(18) *na-at-kán kat-ta [I]Š-TU KÁ.GAL*^{URU} *DA-A-Ú-NI-YA pa-a-an-zi*

(19) *nu-uš-ša-an KASKAL-ši*^{GIŠ} *BANŠUR AD.KID A-NA [D]INGIR*^{MES}
LÚ^{MES} *GIŠERIN*^{MES} *aš ti-an-zi*

“They go down through the Tawiniyan Gate and put the wicker table on the road for the male cedar gods.”⁹

5 De Martino (2006: 541) translates the expression *KÁ.GAL*^{TIM} *URU* *Tawiniya katta* “under the Tawiniya Gate” both here, as well as in the passages from CTH 483 and CTH 484 cited below (cf. nn. 7, 8).

6 Güterbock 1961.

7 Both texts were edited by Hass and Wilhelm (1974).

8 Cf. n. 6.

9 Cf. n. 6.

Güterbock (1961: 87) then commented: “Although both rituals are of the *evocatio* type, aiming at bringing gods back home, they are styled in so general terms that the conclusion is inevitable that the way to the Tawiniya Gate led «down» from anywhere in the city, in other words, that it was indeed a north gate.”

The passages were brought up once again quite recently by Stefano de Martino, who opted for the southern location of Tawiniya, thus aiming to rehabilitate Garstang and Gurney’s view: “They [i.e. the passages] do not, actually, indicate that the wayfarer, upon leaving from within the city, had to go downwards in order to get to the Tawiniyan Gate and that, therefore, this gate was to be found in the Lower City [i.e. what Güterbock proposed]. These texts inform us, on the contrary, that the wayfarer, once outside the gate, had to follow a down-sloping route till he reached the countryside and woodland (...). Therefore, the Tawiniya Gate was in a part of the city that was higher compared to the roads that linked it to the surrounding territory and it was here, at the base/beneath (*katta*) the gate itself, that rites and ceremonies of cult were celebrated.”¹⁰

It is thus manifest that regardless of how exactly the above fragments were interpreted, all the cited scholars are or were of the opinion that *katta*, in these examples, literally denotes the movement downwards and that it can be related to the topographical reality of Zippalanda, Arinna and Ḫattuša.¹¹ Meanwhile, when one examines other passages with the use of *šarā* and *katta* with reference to the moving in and out of a city, the matter becomes decisively less clear.

KÁ.GAL – ‘the (city) gate’

Let us first examine the use of *katta* with the word for “(city) gate” (Sum. KÁ.GAL).¹² The above cited fragments refer to the Tawiniya Gate in Ḫattuša and deal with the moment of exiting the capital, as clearly shown by the context.¹³ Additional examples may also be found for other gates in the Hittite capital.

10 De Martino 2006: 542.

11 Passages on *šarā* were commented less often. However, with regard to Katapa, both Cornelius (1961: 216 and 1963: 236), and Karasu (1988: 378) came to the conclusion that the city must have been situated on a hill, since moving to Katapa is often described with the use of *šarā* (for examples, see below).

12 Interestingly enough, *šarā* is decisively less attested in this context.

13 For the full treatment of the rituals CTH 483 and CTH 484 cf. Haas / Wilhelm 1974.

The *ašuša*-gate in *Hattuša* plays a role in the KILAM festival (CTH 627) when the procession moves to the *huwaši*-complex of the Storm God outside the city:

CTH 627: KUB 10.1 i 9'f.:

(9') LUGAL-*kán* MUNUS.LUGAL KÁ.GAL *a-šu-ša-aš*

(10') *kat-ta ú-wa-an-zi*

“The king and the queen come down by the *ašuša*-gate.”

In another ritual fragment someone, perhaps the king, leaves the city through the same gate to arrive at a river:

CTH 669: KUB 20.2 iv 24':

(24') [LUGAL-*uš²-ká*]n *kat-ta* KÁ.GAL *a-šu-ša-aš pa-iz-zi*

“[The king²] goes down through the *ašuša*-gate.”

The last fragment referring to the capital, KUB 55.43 (CTH 683) mentions two gates, one of which unfortunately has its name broken off.

CTH 683: KUB 55.43 i 20f.¹⁴

(20) *n[u] ŠA^dZi-it-ḫa-[ri-ya^K]^{UŠ}kur-ša-an TIL I-NA^{URU}TU-ḪU-U[P-PI-YA]*

(21) *p[é]-e-da-an-zi na-a[n-ká]n [m]a-aḫ-ḫa-an^{URU}Ḫa-at-tu-ša-az KÁ.GA[L]*

(22) *kat-[t]a ar-nu-an-zi na-an-za-kán KUR-ya an-da^dLAMMA^{KUŠ}kur-š[a-aš]*

(23) *ḫal-z[i]-iš-ša-an-zi ŠA^dLAMMA^{URU}ḪA-TE-EN-ZU-WA-ma^{KUŠ}kur-ša-a[n TIL]*

(24) *INA^{URU}DUR-MI-IT-TA pé-e-da-an-zi na-an-kán ma-aḫ-ḫa-a[n]*

(25) *KÁ.GAL a-šu-ša-{an} kat-ta ar-nu-an-zi nu-uš-ši-kán ŠUM-ŠU*

(26) *ar-ḫ[a d]a-an-zi na-an-za-an^dLAMMA^{URU}ZA-PA-TI-IŠ-KU-WA*

(27) *ḫal-z[i-iš-š]a-an-zi*

14 The MH Festival of the Renewal of the *kurša*, cf. McMahon, 1991: 25, 146f. Note that the sign GA[L] in l. 21' is at the very end of the column, so it is not even clear that the gate name was given here.

“They take away the old *kurša* of Zithariya to Tuḥuppiya. When they bring it down the [x?]-gate from Ḫattuša in the land they call it “the Tutelary Deity of the *kurša*”. The [old] *kurša* of the Tutelary deity of Ḫatenzuwa, however, they take to Durmitta. When they bring it down the *ašuša*-Gate they take its name away and c[al]l it the Tutelary Deity of Zapatiškuwa.”

There are at least two additional passages that concern gates in other cities. KUB 20.87 (CTH 739) describes a fragment of a festival in the city of Tuḥumiyara (a city attested only in fragments belonging to this CTH number). During the celebrations the king leaves the *ḫalentuwa* and preparations for a procession commence. A priest (^{LÚ}SANGA) then hits a bull with an iron rod and the procession begins:

CTH 739: KUB 20.87 i 16-19:

- (16) *ma-a-na-aš-ta* GU₄.MAḪ-aš KÁ.GAL-az
 (17) *kat-ta pa-iz-zi ta* KÁ.GAL *ḫat-k[a-an-zi]*
 (18) [LUGAL]-uš EGIR-pa ^E*ḫa-le-en-tu-w[a-aš]*
 (19) [*pa-iz-zi*]

“As soon as the bull goes down through the gate¹⁵ they close the gate and the king goes back to the palace.”

The name of the gate is not specified, which could either mean that it was the only gate in Tuḥumiyara or that it was irrelevant, which gate was used during the festival.

Perhaps the most illuminating is the last example, a fragment of Iriya’s ritual of Cleansing a City (CTH 400). The incipit of the tablet reads:

CTH 400: KUB 30.35 i 1ff.¹⁶

- (1) *UM-MA* ^m*I-RI-Y[A* ^{LÚ}ḪAL] *ma-a-an URU-an iš-ḫa-na-aš*

15 Alternatively, the passage may be understood as (or: as he goes down the Bull’s Gate), yet, concerning previous sentences referring to the driving of the bull, this seems unlikely.

16 Cf. Melchert, 1977: 306, example 168

(2) *li-in-ki-ya-aš pa-an-ga-u-wa-aš la-la-aš a-ni-ya-mi*

“These are the words of Iriya, a seer: when I cure a city of blood, (evil) oath (and) the tongue of everyone.”

The city here is clearly unspecified so one can assume that the ritual could be performed for any settlement. The relevant fragment then reads:

CTH 400: KUB 30.34+ iv 19-24:¹⁷

(19) *[nu]-kán MÁŠ.GAL-an šu-u-ra-šu-u-ra-an-na URU-ri*

(20) *iš-tar-na ar-ḥa pé-e-da-a-i na-aš-ta an-tu-uḥ-šu-uš*

(21) *ku-e-ez-za KÁ.GAL^{HI.A}-za kat-ta ku-na-an-na*

(22) *pé-e-ḥu-da-an-zi a-pu-u-ša-kán a-pé-e-ez kat-ta*

(23) *pé-da-at-ti nu an-tu-uḥ-še-eš a-pí-ya ku-e-da-ni pí-di*

(24) *a-ki-ir nu-uš a-pé-e-<da->ni pí-di pé-e-da-at-ti*

“He carries a he-goat and a *šurašura*-bird through the city. Through the (same) gates, through which they bring down people to kill, you will bring them (= the animals) down. And there, where the people have died, to that place you will bring them.”¹⁸

Since the city is unspecified, so must be the gates, and yet *katta* is still used. This, along with all the previous examples, leaves little room to doubt that *katta* denotes not so much the movement downwards (although it certainly does not exclude it), but rather simply “out of” the city.

If *katta* denotes exiting, it is logical to assume that *šarā* should denote entering the city. The examples with *šarā*, however, are unfortunately scarce.¹⁹ The

17 See Kümmel 1977: 158 for a German translation.

18 Miller (2012: 677) understands this fragment differently. According to him the people are brought for the execution “to the city-gate”, not through it. Yet, as enticing as this may be within the context of the city-gate as the place of the projection of the king’s power, it hardly fits the fact that the gates (not gate!) stand in ablative and not in locative (or genitive). This requires the translation “through the gates” and not “to the gates”.

19 At least when referring to city gates; the situation is different with respect to gates of buildings.

only relatively clear fragment I have managed to find is KBo 25.84 (CTH 670):

CTH 670: KBo 25.84 i 3'-7':²⁰

(3') LUGAL-*uš a-šu-ú-ša-an* KÁ.GAL-*m[a-az kat-ta' pa-iz-zi']*

(4') MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš ZA.LAM.GAR-az ú-iz-zi*

(5') *ir-ḥa-i-iš-ki-iz-zi* MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš-ša[*

(6') *ma-a-an* LUGAL-*uš* MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš-ša a-a[p-*

(7') KÁ.GAL-*ma-az ša-ra-a ti'-en-z[i*

“The king [goes down?] through the *ašuša* gate. The queen comes out of the tent [...] makes a libation round. The queen [...] When the king and queen [...] they step[?] up through the gate.”

The second example, KUB 20.96 iv 2f. (CTH 635), is somewhat less clear. After the offerings at Mt. Daḥa, the king embarks a chariot and travels to Ankuwa: CTH 635: KUB 20.96 iv 2f: (2) DINGIR^{LUM}-*kán* KÁ.GAL-*na* (3) *ša-ra-a a-ri* “The deity enters the city gate.” Afterwards the procession enters the city. Here, however, the allative denotes perhaps arriving at the gate rather than going through it.²¹

URU – ‘city’

Similar conclusions can be reached when one examines the passages with *katta* and *šarā* in connection with URU. Here, the instances of *šarā* are decisively easier to find and the distribution of *šarā* / *katta* is more or less equal. The passages are also clearer since not only the context, but also the case endings indicate that *katta* denotes “exiting” while *šarā* “entering” the city. The most illustrative example is the Instruction of Arnuwanda I for the Frontier Post Governors (CTH 261).

20 Cf. Neu 1980: 164.

21 Thus Popko 1994: 192-194.

CTH 261: KUB 13.1++ i 6-8 (§3 in Miller's edition):²²

- (6) *na-aš-ta ku-it-ma-an ḥ[a-li-y]a-az* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ḥa-a-li-y[a-tal-le-e-eš]*
 (7) *kat-ta na-a-ú-i ú-wa-an-[zi n]a-aš-ta URU-az kat-ta* ^{L[(Ú.MEŠNÍ.ZU)]}
 (8) *ku-it-ma-an [ú-wa-a]n-du [...]*

“As long as the wa[tch]men have not yet come down from the w[at]ch, let the [(scouts) come] down from the town in the meantime.”

CTH 261: KUB 13.1++ i 12-13 (§5 in Miller's edition):

- (12) *nu* ^{LÚ.MEŠNÍ.ZU} *ŠA KASKAL GÍD.DA a-ú [(ri-i-e-e)]š e-ep-du na-aš-ta*
^{LÚ.MEŠ[]}
 (13) *URU-az kat-ta ku-ra-an-na ša-a[n-ḥu-wa-an-z]i [(u-u)]n-ni-ya-an-du*

“The scouts shall occupy the p[(ost)]s of the main road, and the [...]men shall [(dr)]ive down from the town t[o inspe]ct the sectors.

CTH 261: KUB 13.1++ i 17 (§7 in Miller's edition):

- (17) *na-aš-ta GU₄ UDU LÚ^{MEŠ} KIN URU-az kat-ta [tar-na-an-du]*

“And [they shall let] the cattle, the sheep (and) the workmen down from the town.”

CTH 261: KUB 13.1++ i 19-22 (§8 in Miller's edition):

- (19) [(IGI-zi pal-ši-ma)]
 (20) *ku-i-e-eš* ^{LÚ.MEŠNÍ.ZU^{ti}} *UD-az a-ú-i-[e-er (nu-za LÚ^{MEŠ} KIN GU₄ U)DU]*
 (21) *ANŠE.KUR.RA^{HIA} ANŠE^{HIA} pé-ra-an ḥu-u-ī[(nu-wa-an-du na-a)t-kán URU-ri]*
 (22) *ša-ra-a ni-ni-in-kán-[du]*

“The scouts who observ[ed (the first stretch)] of the day, however, [(shall)] drive forth [(the workmen, the cattle, the sh)]eep, the horses (and) the donkeys, [(and th)ey] shall move them up [into the town].”

22 All passages from this text are cited after the latest edition by Miller (2013: 212-237).

CTH 261: KUB 13.1++ i 22-24 (§9 in Miller's edition):²³

(22) *na-aš-ta* GIM-*an* LÚ^{MEŠ} KIN GU₄ UDU [ANŠE.KUR.RA^{HI.A} ANŠE^{HI.A}]
[UR]U-*ri ša-ra-a ta-ru-up-ta nu* []

(23) *nam-ma* LÚ^{MEŠ} NÍ.ZU^{ti} *ku-i-e-eš a-ú-w[a-ri-e-eš e-ep-per (na-at-kán*
URU-ri)]

(24) *ša-ra-a pa-a-an-du*

“And as soon as the workmen, the cattle, the sheep, [the horses and the donkeys] have gathered up in the [to]wn, then [...]. Further, the scouts who [took up] the pos[ts] shall go up [(into the town)].”

CTH 261: KUB 13.1++ i 29-30 (§10 in Miller's edition):

(29) *ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma lu-uk-kat-ta na-aš-ta* URU-*az* LÚ[(^{MEŠ}NÍ.ZU *kat-ta*)
ú-wa-an-du]

(30) *na-aš-ta ku-ra-an-nu-uš* SIG₅-*in ša-an-ḥa-<an>-du*

“But as soon as it dawns, the [(scouts) shall come (down)] from the town, and they shall inspect the sectors well.”

As said, the distinction between the use of *šarā* and *katta* is demonstrated here both by the fact that *katta* is used only with URU in the ablative, while *šarā* with URU-in the dative-locative. Furthermore, events that follow the expression URU-*az katta* take place outside of the city, whereas those following URU-*ri šarā* occur within the city walls. Just like Iriya's Ritual (CTH 400) cited above, the instruction for the Frontier Post Governors does not concern any specific city, and one is tempted to question the relation of these expressions to the city's topography. Certainly, one could expect that the frontier towns were built on elevation and that those expressions could actually reflect their topography, but it seems more probable that they were used to simply denote exiting and entering the city. Some further examples confirm this view. In Anitta's *Res Gestae* (CTH 1), we read that:

23 This paragraph is restored with KUB 31.108++ 22'ff.

CTH 1: KBo 3.22 obv. 5-6:²⁴

(5) [LUG]AL URU KU-UŠ-ŠA-RA URU-az kat-ta [p]a-an-ga-ri-it ú[-it]

(6) [U]RU Ne-e-ša-an iš-pa-an-di na-ak-ki-it da[-a-aš]

“The king of Kuššar ca[me] down out of the city (of Kuššar) with large numbers and to[ok] Neša during the night by storm.”

An interesting example is provided by the Tale of Zalpa, where URU-az *katta* is connected with the verb *uek-* (here: “demand”)

CTH 3: KBo 3.38 rev. 27'-28':²⁵

(27') [I-N]A MU.3^{KAM} LUGAL-uš I-NA URU ZA-AL-PA pa-it L[UGAL-u]š
URU ZA-AL-PA MU.2^{KAM} kat-ta

(28') [e-eš]-ta ta-ba-ar-na-aš ^mHa-ap-pí-in URU-a[z k]at-ta ú-e-ek-ta

“In the third year the king went and beseiged Zalpa. He was there for two years. He demanded Tabarna and Happi down from the city.”

CTH 3: KBo 22.2 rev. 14':²⁶

(14') ša-aš ša-ra-a URU-ya pa-it

“(The king) went up to the city.”

To add one more example, in the Deeds of Suppiluliuma we read:

CTH 40: KUB 34.27+ iv 26'-27':²⁷

(26') [lu-uk]-kat-ti-ma-kán A-BU-YA URU Ti[(-wa-an-za-na-za kat-ta)]

(27') [(KUR-e)-kán an-da pé-en-na-a-i

“In the morning my father drove down from Tiwanzana into the country (while in the rear his charioteers and six teams of horses were supporting him.)”

24 Translation: Hoffner: 2003: 182.

25 Translation adjusted from Holland & Zorman 2007: 40.

26 Translation adjusted from Holland & Zorman 2007: 31f.

27 Güterbock, 1956: 76

Again, it seems that the use of *katta* and *šarā* does not depend so much on a city's topography, but rather on the fact, whether one was entering or exiting it. When one was going into the city, to a Hittite it was always “up”, and the road out of the city led always “down”.²⁸ If one still wanted to assume that such passages really reflect the topographical relations of cities, one would have also to assume that all settlements were built on elevation, which hardly seems the case given the fact that the Hittite scribes did not distinguish between a city, a town, and a village – they were all URUs.

Certainly, nothing stands in the way of assuming that originally these expressions actually reflected the lie of the land, but, with time, they acquired more of a symbolic nature, as a city always marks the center of a landspace and, to quote anthropologist Yi Fu Tuan, “centre implies elevation”.²⁹ The phenomenon of perceiving parts of the landscape as symbolically higher or lower, with disregard to their physical position is also known from other cultures, e.g., the use of the term downtown in American English has nothing to do with the topography, but denotes simply the city's centre. Also, as noted by Nelson Wu in his “Chinese and Indian Architecture”, “No matter how the natural terrain of China is formed, one always goes up to Peking.”³⁰

I managed to find only one fragment in which *katta* appears in connection to loc., thus seemingly standing in contrast to the above considerations. However, the otherwise famous passage from the Apology of Ḫattušili III (CTH 81) concerns the city of Tarḫuntassa³¹ and, I think, can be explained by the fact that Tarḫuntassa was not thought of as part of Ḫatti proper. If one considers other passages dealing with going abroad from Hatti, like those concerning travelling to Egypt, one sees that in such cases the road led also down.

I would like to conclude with a short comment on the expression *šarā pai-* and its relation with *anda pai-*. The well-known outline tablet of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM

28 Some additional examples: KUB 31.77 i 4f. (CTH 584): (4) [nu]-kán MUNUS.LUGAL URUḪa-at-tu-ša-az (5) kat-ta ú-it nu-za I-NA URUZi-it-ḫa-ra SISKUR.MEŠ i-ya-at; KUB 22.27++ iv 4' (CTH 568): [EGIR-an-d] a-ma-kán DINGIR^{LUM} [URUḪ]a-at-tu-ša-az kat-ta ú-iz-zi

29 Tuan 1977: 39.

30 Wu 1963: fig. 136.

31 KUB 1.1 ii 52f. (CTH 81): (52) nam-ma-kán DINGIR^{MES} URUḪa-at-ti GIDIM^{HI.A}-ya pi-di ni-ni-ik-ta (53) na-aš I-NA URUDU-aš-ša kat-ta pé-e-da-aš

festival (KBo 10.20, CTH 604) provides us with a very interesting distinction between *anda pai-* and *šarā pai-*.³²

CTH 604: KBo 10.20 obv. 4-6:

(4) [(*nu* LUGAL) MUNUS.LUGAL ^{UR(U)Ha}]-*at-tu-ša-az* ^{URU}*Ta-ḫur-pí*

(5) [(*an-da pa-a-an-zi na-aš-ta* LUGAL)]-*uš* ^{URU}*Ta-ḫur-pí*

(6) [*š(a-ra-a IŠ-TU* ^{GIŠ}GIGIR)] *pa-iz-zi*

„The king and the queen go from Ḫattuša to Taḫurpa. The king goes up to Taḫurpa in a chariot.”

CTH 604: KBo 10.20 obv. 10-11:

(10) [(*nu a*)]*n-da-an* ^{URU}*Ta-ḫur-pí pa-iz-zi*

(11) [(^{URU}*Ka*)]-*a-ta-pí-ma-kán ša-ra-a Ú-UL ku-it-ki pa-iz-zi*

“He goes to Taḫurpa, but does not go up to Katapa.”

CTH 604: KBo 10.20 obv.13f.:

(13) *ma-a-an* LUGAL-*i-ma a-aš-šu ta-aš-ta* ^{URU}*Ka-a-ta-pí ša-ra-a*

(14) *a-pé-e-ni-iš-ša-an pa-iz-zi*

“(But) if the king wishes, he (still) goes up to Katapa accordingly.”

CTH 604: KBo 10.20 obv. 15-16:

(15) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL

(16) ^{URU}*Ta-ḫur-pí an-da-an pa-a-an-zi na-aš-ta* LUGAL-*uš* ^{URU}*Ta-ḫur-pí*

(17) *ša-ra-a* ^{GIŠ}GIGIR-*az pa-iz-zi*

„The next day the king and the queen go to Taḫurpa. The king goes up to Taḫurpa on a chariot.”

CTH 604: KBo 10.20 obv. 19:

(19) *lu[-uk]-kat-ti-ma* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-tu-ši an-da-an pa-a-an-zi*

„The next day the king and the queen go to Ḫattuša.”

32 For the edition of the text see Güterbock 1960.

CTH 604: KBo 10.20 obv. 22-23:

(22) *na-aš-ta* ^{URU}*Ha-at-tu-ši ša-ra-a* ^{GIŠ}*hu-u-lu-ga-an-ni-it*

(23) *pa-iz-zi*

„(The king) goes up to Ḫattuša on *huluganni*.”

The above extracts allow to grasp the exact meaning of *šarā pai-*. Whereas *anda pai-* (or *anda* with the verb denoting movement) means a more general “go to”, *šarā pai-* (or *šarā* with the verb denoting movement) seems to indicate the very moment of entering the city. Note that in the above examples the sentence with *šarā pai-* is frequently in a sentence that follows the expression *anda pai-* and contains details as to the means of transportation, differently than the sentence with *anda pai-*.

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THE DEFINITION OF THE TERMS //LALAMIŠ AND //DUŠDUMIŠ IN HITTITE TEXTS

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Abstract: The words //lalamiš and //dušdumiš were certainly attested in few Hittite texts, but it seems that their definition was rather definite and even they have a common meaning, supposed by scholars. The present understanding were not completely explained as a real physical object, and in fact, they were analyzed mainly from the point of view of their value and functions. In this article, we will reconsider the meaning of these two words. Although they were thought to be have a common value and function, quite possibly, they might be understood two different things and might be translated differently according to the context of the texts.

Key Words: //Lalamiš //Dušdumiš Definition Objects Context

The words //lalamiš and //dušdumiš, prefixed by the so-called ‘Glossenkeil’, could be so far attested only in few Hittite texts which might be not proved in Old and Middle Hittite kingdom period until now. They were mentioned in

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different kinds of texts of the Hittites,¹ and it is so curious that the definition of these two words was rather similar and both even have a common sense according to the present study.

The word //lalamiš² was translated mostly as ‘list’, ‘accounting receipt’ and ‘receipt’.³ Another word //dušdumiš was understood almost same as the former,⁴ but it was also supposed as the word ‘Bescheinigung’ or ‘Ausweis’.⁵ It seems that, to a certain extent, such understanding could more emphasize their role, but not the basic meaning.

In fact, it is very difficult to make a clear about what they actually meant or what they were or looked like. The words lalamiš and dušdumiš, in my opinion, could be referred to two different things. In other words, each represents its own object basically. As it could be seen that they were simultaneously mentioned in a compound sentence in a same paragraph of one text. If both are the same and common thing and they have no any differences, then, it is impossible that they were used at the same time and

1 Until now, the word //lalamiš might be attested in the following seven texts or fragments, and they are:

Inventory of Chests (KBo IX 91, CTH 241)
Inventories of Metals, Tools, Weapons (KBo XVIII 153, CTH 242.2)
Bo 4514(CTH 242)
Ukurra Text, (KUB XIII 35, CTH 293)
Vow of Puduhepa (KUB XXXI 53, CTH 585)
Sacrifice and Prayer to the Stormgod of Nerik (KUB XXXVI 89, CTH 671)
KBo LXIV 298, Bo 69/163.

The word // dušdumiš was mentioned even in less texts, and probably in following four texts or fragments:

Ukurra Text, (KUB XIII 35, CTH 293)
Ritual of the Goddess Ishara against Perjury(KUB VII 56 III 10, CTH 782)
Bo 8029
KBo XLVIII 247 (Bo68/226)

All these cuneiform documents, no matter whichever word concerned, were thought to be the New Hittite texts based on the contents and their palaeographical and linguistic analysis. They are all dated to New Hittite period according to Hethitologie Portal Mainz, www.hethport.uni-würzburg.de.

2 Another writing form in Hittite texts was possibly ^{GIS}LE-U₃.

3 //lalamis□Liste, Empfangsbescheinigung, Beleg, Quittung(Luw. In heth. Kontext)(J. Tischler: Hethitisches Handwörterbuch, Mit dem Wortschatz der Nachbarsprachen, IBS Band 102, Innsbruck 2001).

Alwin Kloekhorst: Receipt, (c./n.), p516. Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexion, Brill, 2008.

CHD: n. com. list, accounting receipt. NH. Into p.26.

S. Košak Theth 10, p.225. accounting receipt.

J. Friedrich: Kurzgefasstes Hethitisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg, 1991, p126. Beleg, Nachweis, Liste.

4 J. Tischler, Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar, IBS 20, Lieferungen 10, T, D/3, Innsbruck 1994, p470, Beurkundung, Quittung.

5 J. Friedrich, Kurzgefasstes Hethitisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg, 1991, p230 and p333.

appeared in two coordinate clauses because it was not necessary. Therefore, it is possible that their meaning has not yet been very well understood and differentiated properly until now.

The only one evidence which both appeared in a same text was **Ukurra Text** (KUB XIII 35, CTH 293), and they were mentioned in line 5 and 15-19:

Obv. Col.I 1-8

- 1 [MUNUS LUGAL k]u-it *Ú-NU-TUM A-NA* ^mGAL-^D-aš U DUMU ^mUk-[ku-ra] ^{LÚ}UGULA X
- 2 [^{GIŠ}GIGI]R *Ú-NU-UT ZABAR URUDU TÚG GAD* ^{GIŠ}BAN ^{GIŠ}GAG. TAG.GA ^{KUŠ}*A-RI-TUM*
- 3 [^{GIŠ}TUKU]L NAM.RA GU₄ UDU ANŠE.KUR.RA ANŠE.GÌR.NUN. NA EGIR-pa pí-eš-ki-it
- 4 [nu] *Ú-NUTUM* ku-it ku-e-da-ni pí-eš-ki-it na-at *Ú-UL* ši-ya-eš-ki-it
- 5 nu-uš-ši :**du-uš-du-mi-iš** *Ú-UL* e-eš-ta :**la-la-mi-eš-ši** ⁶
- 6 *Ú-UL* e-eš-ta *UM-MA* MUNUS.LUGAL-*MA* pa-a-an-du-wa ^{LÚ}^{MEŠ}KUŠ₇ GUŠKIN
- 7 ^{LÚ}^{MEŠ} ša-la-aš-hu-uš MUNUS.LUGAL ^mGAL-DU-aš ^mUk-ku-ra-aš ^{LÚ}UGULA X
- 8 ša-ku-wa-aš-ša-ru-uš *I-NA É* ^Dli-el-wa-ni li-in-kán-du

The instrument which Queen had given to GAL-U, son of Ukkura, Chief of the Ten is a chariot, bronze and copper instrument, clothe, textiles, bow, arrow, shield, staff, prisoner, cattle and sheep, horse and donkey. To whom the items which she gave, she did not seal them. He did not have a **dušdumiš** and he did not have a **lalamiš**.

⁷The Queen speaks thus:”Let they, golden-spear, salasha people of

6 This word **lalamiš** was also attested in the 36th line, Col.IV, at the same text, but without **dušdumiš** in former or latter sentences.

7 J. Tischler 1994, p470. Tischler translated **dušdumiš** and :**lalamiš** into Quittung and Verbuchung respectively. As for the word **dušdumiš** in line 16, at the same text, he combined it with ^{GIŠ}LE-U₃ and took these two words as Quittungstafeln.

Hans G. Güterbock and H. A. Hoffner, The Hittite Dictionary., Vol. L., Chicago, 1980, p20. They just kept the word **dušdumiš** and translated :**lalamiš** into an itemized list.

the Queen, GAL-^{DU} and Ukkura, Chief of the Ten, go”. Let them take an oath in the temple of the goddess, Lelwani.

Obv. Col.I. 9-16

- 9 nu-wa ^mUk-ku-ra-aš ^{LÚ}UGULA X MUNUS.LUGAL li-in-kán-ta
 10 nu-za-kán li-in-ki-ya an-da kiš-an pí-e-da-aš
 11 ^Ú-NUT LUGAL-wa ku-it ku-it har-ku-un nu-wa A-NA ^Ú-NUT LUGAL
 12 :har-pa-na-al-la ^Ú-UL ku-wa-pí-ik-ki i-ya-an-ni-ya-nu-un
 13 nu-wa-za ^Ú-UL ku-it-ki da-ah-hu-un MUNUS.LUGAL-wa-mu ku-it
 14 EGIR-pa pí-eš-ki-it nu-wa-kán ar-ha ^Ú-UL ku-it-ki pí-ni-nu-nu-un
 15 ANŠE.KUR.RA ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA ku-i[n har-ku-un nu-wa-mu
^{GIŠ}LE-U₅
 16 :**du-uš-du-ma-aš-ša** ši-ya-a-an [e-eš-ta

Ukkura, Chief of the Ten of the Queen swore, and he swore as follows:”Whichever instrument of the king which I managed, I by no means cast greedy eyes on the instrument of the king, and I myself took nothing. Whatever the queen had given to me, I did not throw away anything, The horse and donkey which I had, I had **a sealed lalamiš** and **sealed dušdumiš** ”.

Comparing with the paragraphs between 1-8 and 9-16, these two words were used in a similar structure and both were used to intend to testify Ukkura’s reality and his innocence. It seems that both could play very important and crucial part in the work and life of Ukkura, and of course in his lawsuit. Here, these two words were mentioned one by one and such a phenomenon possibly indicated that they both could not be replaced each other although their function was possibly similar or even the same.

This Ukkura text was regarded as a ‘Gerichtsprotokolle’, and to a certain extent, it might belong to the group of the Law texts of the Hittites on the basis of its content. Although these two words were not translated in Werner’s monography,⁸ both had a common value and function, and could prove the validity which Ukkura has certain kinds of property. Such a understanding has been accepted among the Hittitologists. But the common function does not necessarily mean that present translation could be only based on this point or these two words must be referred to a same thing. On the contrary, it is just their similar or common value and function that indicated they were two different things or objects.

It was quite possible that both words were treated as different things by the Hittites themselves. This is possibly mainly because both were expressed in two different words, and, after all, these two words had their own roots. The former probably came from cuneiform Luwian verb lala-, and probably means ‘to take’.⁹ Meanwhile, according to Tischler,¹⁰ in cuneiform Luwian there was a verbal abstract noun form, namely lalaman-, means ‘contract’, ‘treaty’ which is possibly neuter gender and it might be related with the word // lalamiš.¹¹ This word probably was really a Luwian in origin. Also, we might take the word // lalamiš in Hittite texts as a neuter gender.¹²

The word //dušdumiš, probably Luwian in origin, too, might be from the verb //dušdu-, about which we do not know its meaning, and its form in noun was possibly the //dusdumi-, which is common gender.¹³ Although until now, it is attested in rather few texts and most of the texts were just in fragment, but this is another word after all and it had a different root from // lalamiš. It is more important that both had a same origin, and after all, both were ‘Glossenkeilwörter’, therefore, it is enough to show that the basic

8 R. Werner, *Hethitische Gerichtsprotokolle*, StBoT 4. 1967, p5.

9 Hans G.Güterbock and H.A.Hoffner, *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*, Chicago 1980, p25.

10 J. Tischler, *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar*, lieferungen 5 und 6, L-M, Innsbruck 1990, p22.

11 J. Hawkins, *Mesopotamia* 8, 1980, p221. Hawkins suggested that there could be attested a word which was CAPERE-ma-za in Hieroglyphic Luwian, and its form was N.-A. Pl, ntr, and this hieroglyphic word was possibly equal to the word // lalamiš, too.

12 In fact, Kloekhorst supposed that this word can be common or neuter gender. A. Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexion*, Brill, 2008, p516.

13 J. Tischler, *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar*, lieferungen 10, T/3, Innsbruck 1994, p470.

meaning of this word differed from the word // lalamiš, and both referred to two different things. If one word could be translated as the word ‘list’, then, another one must not be the same meaning. The former // lalamiš was somehow a kind of thing which related with wood since it might be equal to the word ^{GIS}LE-U₅,¹⁴ whereas, we know nothing on this point about the latter.

The present translation of the word // lalamiš, as above mentioned, was rather various, and even in Friedrich’s Wörterbuch, they are translated into three words with uncertainty, namely, Beleg, Nachweis and Liste. Besides the Ukkura text, it was used in some other Hittite texts, then, how it could be understood there? Here, it is much better to have an overview about how this word was in the following texts.

In the text which is called **Inventory of Chests**, this word can be found many times and it is worthy that it appeared at the very beginning of the paragraph concerned. Then, What single function does this word have? How can we explain such a phenomenon? Moreover, We do not know how the Hittites called this text, and this name ‘Inventory of Chests’ was no more than a proposal today on the basis of the content of the text itself.

On the basis of the content, the expression ‘pa-ra-a SUM-u-aš’ for ‘delivery’ might indicate that these things which here were listed will be sent, and this text was somehow prepared by the sender. According to the mood revealed from the whole of this text, we think, it reflected the mood of the sender, quite possibly, it was not written by the receiver, and it was not the receipt which the receiver recorded. Therefore, it shows that the word lalamis could not be a receipt. Here is the text and translation:¹⁵

14 As concerning the word ^{GIS}LE-U₅, certainly, this form was mentioned in a little text, but it might be proved to be an akkadian form of the word lalamiš according to the content and structure of this Ukkura text, where the word ^{GIS}LE-U₅ and //dušdumiš were once mentioned together. Just we have seen, in this very text, the word //dušdumiš was mentioned together with the word //lalamiš once, especially, the meaning of the word //lalamiš and ^{GIS}LE-U₅ could be understood in the same way because the function was the same. Thus, this word was possibly written just in two different forms, one is Luwian form, //lalamiš; another was an akkadian word with a sumerian determinative form, ^{GIS}LE-U₅, which possibly means ‘Holztafel’, namely, wooden-tablet. H. G. Güterbock and H. A. Hoffner 1980, p26. They took it as a single word and translated into (waxed)writing boards. J. Friedrich, Kurzgefasstes Hethitisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg 1991, p309. Holztafel.

15 The transliteration and translation (KBo IX 91, CTH 241) here are from Košak. S. Košak, Hittite Inventory Texts (CTH 241-250), THeth 10, Heidelberg, 1982, p24-29.

Obv. 1 **la-la-me-eš** ^{TÚG}hu-ni-pa GAB

2 3 ^{TÚG}maš-[š]i-aš KÙ.BABBAR

3 *A-NA* ^{LÚMEŠ}a-ra-un-na

4 ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik a-ša-an-du-la-aš

5 **la-la-me-eš** *ŠA* ^{GIŠ}PISAN pa-ra-a SUM-u-aš

6 2 ^{TÚG}GÚ uz-za-i-mi-ya

7 1 ^{TÚG}GÚ SA₅ 1 ^{TÚG}SA.GA.DÙ KUR kar-^DDU-ni-aš

8 *A-NA* ^{LÚMEŠ}a-ra-un-na a-ša-an-du-la-aš ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik

9 1 GÍR GAB KÙ KUN SAG.DU ^{NA4}DU₈.ŠÚ.A

10 ^mŠu-na-DINGIR ^{LIM} ^mKán-nu-wa-ri-ša-an

11 **la-la-me-eš** tup-pa-aš GÍR

12 3 GÍR ŠÀ.BA 2 LÍL 1 ^{LÚ}MU

13 *A-NA* ^{LÚMEŠ}a-ra-un-na a-ša-an-du-la-aš

14 ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik

15 **la-la-me-eš** ^{GIŠ}PISAN KUR Mi-iz-ri *BI-IB-RI* KÙ.BABBAR

16 (erased)

17 1 GÚ UR.MAH 2 GAL KÙ.BABBAR ^{LÚMEŠ}a-ra-un-na

18 a-ša-an-du-la-aš ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik

19 [**la-la-m**]e-eš *ŠA* ^{GIŠ}PISAN 90? ^{TÚG}E.ÍB ku-wa-pi an-da

20 [x ^{TÚG}E.ÍB ZAG.KUD ^{LÚMEŠ}[a-ra-u]n-na x[

21 [a-]ša-an-du[-la-aš ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik]

1 Receipt (for) the hunipa-cloth (of) the brea[st]¹⁶

2 3 white sash belts

3 for the yeomen

4 of the garrison of Nerik

5 Receipt of the chest for delivery:

16 Here is my translation: 'List (for) the hunipa-cloth (of) the brea[st]', and the word Receipt in following paragraphs should be replaced by the word List.

6 2 Hurrian? Shirts, ...

7 1 red shirt, 1 sash belt from Babylon,

8 for the yeomen of the garrison of Nerik,

9 1 dagger, (its)front (is)shimmering, its tail and pommel (are of)rock-
ceystal:

10 Sunaili and Kannuwari(made/gave)it.

11 receipt of the chest (of) daggers:

12 3 daggers: thereof two field knives, 1 kitchen knife

13 for the yeomen of the garrison

14 of Nerik

15 Receipt of the chest (from) Egypt, with silver rhyta

16 (erased)

17 1 (shaped like the) neck of a lion, 2 silver beakers (for) the yeomen

18 of the garrison of Nerik

19 [Rece]ipt of the chest where 90 tunics are in,

20 [x tunics] cut along the edge?, for the yeomen

21 of the [g]arri[son of Nerik]

Rev.

3 [la-la-me-eš ŠA] ^{GIŠ}PISAN ^{TÚG}NÍG.LAM^{MEŠ}

4 [a]n-da ap-pa-an[-da

5 [i]r-hi-iš A-NA ^Dx

6 HAR. ŠU KÙ.BABBAR A-NA ^{DU} ^{URU}TÚL-na

7 ^{DU}TU^{SI} ^{URU}TÚL-na LÚ^{MEŠ} KÙ.DÍM

8 KASKAL-ah-ha-an-zi

9 1 ME GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ^{DU}TU^{SI}

10 EZEN₄ AN.TAH. ŠUM ^{URU}TÚL-na pi-da-i

Rev.

3 [Receipt of the chest of costly clothes

4 [for preparing

5 [lord to god x

6 silver bracelet for the weather-god of Arinna

7 and for the Sun-goddess of Arinna: the goldsmiths

8 will send by road.

9 His Majesty will send 100 shekels of silver

10 for the AN.TAH.ŠUM festival in Arinna.

Following one is **another so-called inventory text** which mentioned metals, tools and weapons,¹⁷ and here are the transliteration and translation from Košak:¹⁸

Obv. 1 (-)da-a[š(-)

2 MA.N]A GUŠKIN man[-ta-ad-du

3 [x M]A.NA GUŠKIN man-ta-ad-du [

4 [x MA.NA] GUŠKIN ^{GIŠ}tup-pa-za **la-la-me-eš** N[U.GÁL

5 [^{mP}]al-la-a ^mZu-zu-li za-nu-m[a-an-zi

6 [x GÍN] GUŠKIN QA-DU URUDU 1 KI.LAL NA₄ I[Š-TU

7 []iš-ša-ra-at-ta-na-aš x[

8 1 MA.NA GUŠKIN QA-DU URUDU 1 KI.LAL NA₄ I[Š-TU

9 ^{TÚG}ku-ši-ši^{ki} EGIR-an[(-)

10 20 GÍN GUŠKIN QA-DU URUDU 1 KI.LAL NA₄ IŠ-TU x[

11 1 MA.NA 5 GÍN GUŠKIN QA-DU URUDU 1 KI.LAL NA₄ IŠ-TU
ŠA ^mLu[-

17 This text(KBo XVIII 153, CTH 242.2) was named 'Inventories of Metals, Tools, Weapons' according to CTH.

18 S. Košak, Hittite Inventory Texts (CTH 241-250), THeth 10, Heidelberg, 1982, p71-72.

- 12 3 hi-eš-ša-ma-la-aš EGIR-an-da [da-a]-aš
- 13 12 GÍN GUŠKIN a-aš-ka-az da-a-an[-zi]x :pu-ri-al-li an-d[a
- 14 [x MA.]NA GUŠKIN QA-DU URUDU 1 K[ILAL NA₄^{GIŠ}]tup-pa-za
la-la-me-eš A-NA KUR [
- 15 [x MA.]NA GUŠKIN QA-DU URUD[U 1 KILAL NA₄^{GIŠ}]tup-pa-za
la-la-me-eš :ar-k[u(-)
- 16 [x MA.N]A GUŠKIN URUDU NU.GÁL 1 [KI.LAL NA₄^{GIŠ}tup-p] a-za
la-la-me-eš A-NA ERÍN x[
- 17 [x MA.NA K]Ù.BABBAR 4 GÍN GUŠKIN x[] A-NA GIŠ.HUR^{HIA} 1
KIL[AL
- 18 [x MA.NA GU]ŠKIN 1 KILAL NA₄ []
- 19 [x MA.NA GUŠ]KIN ŠA KUR Kar-^Ddu-ni-aš]-ya-an-zi
- 20 [x MA.NA GUŠ]KIN a-aš-ga-az da[-]x-pi^{HIA}EZEN₄ SAG.UŠ
- 21 [x MA.NA G]UŠKIN QA-DU URUDU [] 1 KILAL NA₄HAR.GÚ
- 22 []ka []x ^mZu-zu-li
- 23 [x MA.NA GUŠKIN QA-DU URUDU [] x [

Obv.

- 2 [] min]as of gold for tri[bute
- 3 [x m]inas of gold for tribute [
- 4 [x minas] of gold: **receipt** from the chest is miss[ing]¹⁹
- 5 [^mP]alla and Zuzuli will refi[ne it]
- 6 [x shek]els of gold with copper, 1 stone-weight, f[rom
- 7 []iššarattanaš x[
- 8 1 mine of gold with copper, 1 stone-weight fro[m
- 9 festive garb after[

19 Here is my translation: 'A list on a wooden-tablet is missing'.

- 10 20 shekels of gold with copper, 1 stone-weight, from x[

- 11 1 mina 5 shekels of gold with copper, 1 stone-weight, from the [] of
mLu[-

- 12 afterwards he [took]3 hessamala.

- 13 12 shekels of gold they take outside []
Snaffle (is) therein.

- 14 [x mi]nas of gold with copper, 1 st[one-weight]:
Receipt for the chest from the country^[20]

- 15 [x mi]nas of gold with coppe[r, 1 stone-weight:]
Receipt from the chest :ar-k[u-?²¹

- 16 [x mina]s of gold, no copper (added), 1 [stone-weight
From the che]st **receipt** for the troops x^[22]

- 17 [x minas of s]ilver and 4 shekels of gold, []
(temporary record)on the wooden tablets, 1 [stone-
w]eight

- 18 [x minas of go]ld, 1 stone-weight [_____
- 19 [x minas of go]ld from Bab[ylon they]...

- 20 [x minas of go]ld are ke[pt outside [for the ...]of the regular festival.

- 21 [x minas of g]old with copper[], 1 stone-
weight: neck-rings

- 22 [] Zuzuli

- 23 [x minas of gold] with copper

As we have seen above that the word lalameš which was translated as ‘receipt’ was mentioned four times on this extant version. This inventory mentioned

20 My translation is ‘There was a list on a wooden-tablet from the country’.

21 ‘There was a list on a wooden-tablet’.

22 ‘There was a list on a wooden-tablet from the troops’.

some very precious metals, such as gold and silver and etc. However, these metals here were possibly prepared for tribute and for regular festival and so on according to the content of the text itself, and probably nothing related with the activity of receiving because possibly there could not exist such a case, which this text was written down as a receipt for the provider or which was the record of scribe for the storehouse. Therefore, here, the document probably intended to show there existed a list of the items, which will be sent for some activity or place.

In the text which is called **vow of Puduhepa**, this word was translated as a list by Otten and other scholars,²³ and it can be possibly accepted. But, it will be difficult to favour if we understood it as a receipt. Here is the transcription and translation of the text:²⁴

-
- 7 II *ME* 87 UDU.SÍG+MUNUS I *ME* UDU.NITÁ XI MÁŠ.GAL IŠ-TU É.GAL^{LIM} ku-in pí-i-e-er
- 8 **la-la-mi-iš** III MÁŠ.GAL I UDU.NITÁ *A-NA* DINGIR^{LIM} ši-pa-an-te-er IV UDU.NITÁ tu-uk- kán-zi-ya-aš
- 9 ŠA EZEN₄ li-la-aš EGIR-pa *AD-DIN* III MÁŠ.GAL II UDU.NITÁ *A-NA* an-na-nu-ma-aš
- 10 SANGA-eš-na-za na-a-ú-i EGIR-pa
-

- 7 The 287 female sheep, 100 male sheep and 11 he-goats which they gave from the palace,
- 8 there was a list, they offered 3 he-goats and one male sheep to the gods, and I had given
- 9 4 male sheep for the lila-festival. 3 he-goats, 2 ram was not yet back from temple service
- 10 because of the training.²⁵

23 Hans G. Güterbock and H. A. Hoffner 1980. p26. Here is an itemized list.

H.Otten and V. Soucek, Das Gelübde der Königin Puduhepa an die Göttin Lelwani, StBoT 1, 1965, p20-21.

24 KUB XXXI 53, line 7-10(47-50).

25 H.Otten and V. Soucek 1965, p20-21. Obv.7-8.

THE DEFINITION OF THE TERMS //LALAMIŠ AND //DUŠDUMIŠ

It is very clear that the subject of this text was the first person, singular, namely the queen, Puduhepa and she was the actor because she made a vow to the god although she also mentioned some other people. Puduhepa here numbered the items which she and others would like to offer to the god, and the word lalamis could not be understood receipt because what they had done is not to receive, but to send.

Similarly, **the text which was the sacrifice and prayer to the Stormgod of Nerik** could be only made by either Hittite king or Queen generally,²⁶ and the lalama was mentioned in this text, and it must be an object on which certain items were mentioned possibly for the god and it could be brought.

Obv.

18 hal-zi-ya-an-du-wa-ra[-an	]-wa-za-kán GE ₆ -i KI-pí na-a-ú
19 ú-it-du-wa-ra-aš [	] KI-aš ^{GIS} KÁ.GAL ^{HIA} a-pa-ši-el hi-eš-
du	
20 pí-ra-an-wa-aš-ši-y[a	nu-wa-r]a-an- kán UGU GE ₆ -ya-za KI-za
21 ^{DU} ^{URU} Ne-ri-ik [	u-i]d-du
22 ^D ZA-BA ₄ -BA ₄ ^{URU}[	]-za ma-ni-ya-ah
23 ú-it-du-wa-ra-aš [	^{HI.}] ^A //la-la-a-ma pí-ra-an
ar-nu-ud-du	

18 Let they call [him]to the dark earth, may he turn himself

19 let he come []himself let he open the door of the
[dark]earth!

20 to him [] him from dark earth

21 The stormgod of Nerik []let he come

22 The war-god of the city []may you give to

23 let he come []let he bring the lalama forwards.²⁷

26 This text (KUB XXXVI 89, CTH 671) was dated in New Hittite period, the transliteration and translation were published by Haas. V. Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik, Ein Beitrag zur hethitischen Religionsgeschichte.*, Rom, 1970, p144-145.

27 Haas 1970. This word was not translated here.

Another **fragment** which mentioned the word *lalameš* was so poor and almost there was no more information.²⁸ But the style of this text was rather similar to the text which is above discussed, namely inventories of metals, tools, weapons(CTH 242.2.), perhaps it belonged to this group of texts.

X+2	-z]i ²⁹
3'	-]EN-NU-Ú KI.LAL.BI
4'	KÙ.BABBAR 4 KI.LAL.BI [
5'	KÙ.BABBAR 35 GÍN GÍN [
6'	MA.N]A KÙ.BABBAR 8 KI.LAL.BI
7'	]x KI.LAL.BI ŠA x[
8'	]x x x-ši la-la-me-eš [
9'	]x uš-ki-zi [
10'	]PUTU URUTÚL-na
11'	]x-UT Ú[
12'] [
13'	A-]NA LÚ ^{MEŠ} [
X+2	not clear
3'	-]x weight
4'	silver 4 weight [
5'	silver 35 shekel [
6'	min]a silver 8 weight
7'	]x weight of [
8'	]x list [

28 Bo 4514 (CTH 242).

29 The transliteration was published by Siegelova, but she did not give us its translation. J. Siegelova, *Hethitische Verwaltungspraxis im Licht der Wirtschafts- und Inventardokumente I*, Narodni Muzeum V Praze, 1986, p122.

9']x he will look [

10']Sungoddess of Arinna

11']x-x [

12'] [

13' t]o the people[

Therefore, possibly, the word *lalameš* might be a list which covered different items and it will be sent either to a king or to a certain god or for some other purposes.

The last one was a tiny **fragment Bo 69/163 (KBo LXIV 298)**, and the word *la-la-me-eš* was mentioned in line 5,³⁰ but it was very difficult to understand it because there were no more other words which could help us to understand the text.

Then, what kind of a list is for the word *lalamiš* ? We have already made a conclusion that the word *lalamiš* might be equal to the word ^{GIŠ}*LE-U*₅, that is to say, such a list was connected with the wood. One good evidence is the text which is Inventories of Metals, Tools, Weapons, and it clearly shows that this list was written down on a wooden-tablet. Therefore, this word might be translated as a list on a wooden-tablet.

The understanding of another word //dušdumiš might be very difficult, too. Its definition, such as *Bescheinigung* or *Quittung*, possibly was based just on its value or function in the context of the text. But, we also think that this word, at first, should be understood as a kind of object because it should be sealed.

Unfortunately, the word //dušdumiš could only be attested in one more texts. The **Ukkura text** was a only evidence which could prove it referred to an object and here are the descriptions:

30 This transliteration is just according to the file of Mainz archive, and I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Silvin Košak and Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz for allowing me checking and presenting it here.

15 ANŠE.KUR.RA ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA ku-i[n har-ku-un nu-wa-mu
 GIŠ¹LE-U₅

16 :du-uš-du-ma-aš-ša ši-ya-a-an [e-eš-ta³¹

The horse and donkey which I had, I had a sealed lalamiš and dušdumiš.

But such an important aspect was not attested in other broken texts. How was the dušdumiš and how it looked like? We can not answer this question now, but it is true that it must also be a specified and physical object which could be sealed, just like lalamiš.

In the ritual of the Goddess Ishara against Perjury,³² which is also a New Hittite text, a word du-uš-du-ma was possibly mentioned according to the restoration of Melchert,³³ but it is nothing besides the form. However, it was important that the content of this text could help us understand the meaning of this word. A sealed specified object as a good witness was likewise necessary at this kind of ritual activity, and it could not be just understood as a abstract conception.

This word might be also attested in a unpublished fragment, **Bo8029**,³⁴ although its complete form and understanding for this word could not be easily given.

X+2 -]an-zi du-uš-d[u-
 3' -]ya-an-ma lu-kat-ti[
 4'] GIŠ¹ša-ya-an i-ya[-
 5' -]at A-NA DINGIR^{LIM} iš-ki-ša[-
 6']GUD^{MEŠ} UDU^{HIA} a-pí-ya x[
 7']EGIR-pa HUR.SAG-i pí-ten-r[

31 KUB XIII 35 + I 5, Ukurra Text, (CTH 293), Obv. Col.I. 9-16.

32 KUB VII 56 III 10', (CTH 782).

33 H.Craig. Melchert, Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon. Lexica Anatolica: Vol.2, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993, p237.

34 I am very grateful to Prof.Dr. Silvin Košak and Mainz Akademie for allowing me to publish this fragment and present its transliteration here.

8' x AN.BAR GAL ^{LÚMES}UKUŠ [

9' x x x kat-ta-an ti-y[a-

] du-uš-d[u

] but x next day[

] made ^{GIŠ}ša-ya-an

] it back to the god [

] cattles and sheep there [

] sent back to the mountain [

]chief of the soldiers iron [

[...]place down

The fragment somehow possibly related with some kind of social activities before the god, and here the appearance of this du-uš-d[u- might be not strange, probably it was also mentioned as a sealed or unsealed specified object and also functioned as a witness.

Moreover, this word was quite possibly attested in another tiny fragment, **KBö XLVIII 247** (Bo68/226) according to the transliteration of Mainz Archive, ³⁵but no more information could be given from it.

x +1]da-a-i

35 This transliteration is just according to the file of Mainz archive, and I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Silvin Košak and Mainz Akademie for allowing me checking and presenting it here.

2'	] I	1 x
3'	du?-]uš-du-ma	2 ŠUM
		3 ar-ha [
5'	-]ma-an	4 LÚ an(?)
		5 an-d [a
		6 NINDA [

Conclusion

In a word, although the words //lalamiš and //dušdumiš // had a same function or value, however, they both should be understood as different things, and represent two different specified objects. As we discussed, they could not be mentioned simultaneously if they were a same thing. The former one was a list on a sealed wooden-tablet, the latter was not yet clear, but, possibly, was also a sealed physical object, and also possibly it could not be a list any more. Moreover, such understanding for this two words should be at the first place in our dictionaries, and they could not be understood only as abstract concept.

As for the translation, ‘receipt’, in my opinion, such definition might be not consistent with the contents of these texts which the word //lalamiš was mentioned, and after all, it could be not accepted when such a translation was used to understand other texts.

BÜKLÜKALE IN THE HITTITE PERIOD

Kimiyoshi MATSUMURA - Mark WEEDEN***

I. Introduction

The site of Büklükale (coordinates 39° 35' 0" N by 33° 25' 42" E) is situated in Kırıkkale province, central Turkey near the town of Karakeçili. The site lies on the western bank of the Kızıl Irmak (Red river), opposite the village of Köprüköy, on the river's western bend, at the modern crossing for the Bâla-Kırşehir road (D260). It is located c. 100km south-east of Ankara and about 50km west of Kaman-Kalehöyük (Fig. 1).

The city is about 500 m wide on the west-east axis and 650 m from north to south. At the eastern part of the city, there is a mound on a rocky hill, which is about 30 m high and 300 by 200 m in area (Fig. 2).

The location of Büklükale seems to have been important from a strategic perspective, because it is situated at the narrowest point of Kızılırmak and one of the most important crossing-points through the ages has been here. There is a Seljuk bridge (Çeşniğir Köprüsü) of the 13th century A.D. and beside it the remains of a Roman bridge.

The Japanese Institute of Anatolian Archaeology (JIAA) carried out surveys at Büklükale in 1991, 2006 and 2008 under the directorship of Sachihiko Omura. In 2009 the first excavation began, directed by K. Matsumura.

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II. Background and Purpose of the Excavations at Büklükale

Since 1986 the JIAA has been continuously excavating at Kaman-Kalehöyük in Kırşehir prefecture in Turkey under the directorship of Dr. Omura. Object of the excavations up to now was the clarification of the settlement history of Central Anatolia from the 3rd Millennium B.C. to the Ottoman period. While Kaman provided a great opportunity to better understand the stratigraphy and occupation levels in Central Anatolia, sparse data about the second half of 2nd Millennium BC, the Hittite Empire period, have been brought to light. As such, understanding the cultural transformation that took place from the Hittite Empire period to the Early Iron Age (which is referred to as the “dark age”) has been very difficult.

In an effort to shed more light on the Central Anatolian occupation levels, the Japanese Institute of Anatolian Archaeology has conducted surveys since 1986, and over 1,300 sites have been investigated and registered. Büklükale was specifically investigated in 1991 and 2006 (Omura 1993: 368, Büyükkaletepe; 2007: 50). According to the results of the surveys and of the excavations at Kaman-Kalehöyük, in connection with analysis of the pottery sherds collected from the surface at Büklükale, we believed that Büklükale was one of the important Hittite cities of the late 2nd Millennium BC. These facts clearly indicated that Büklükale was a suitable site to help us better understand the time period gap present at Kaman-Kalehöyük. For this reason, and to better understand Buklukale’s strategic role in the Hittite Empire period, a preliminary survey was conducted under the directorship of Dr. Omura in 2008.

III. Research History

The site was visited in 1926 by E. Forrer (1927: 37, Pl. 29) and in the same year by H.H. von der Osten (1929: 144-5). Particularly Forrer pointed out the existence of the lower town. On the rocky hill, he observed the wall with towers. Von der Osten described a lion statue that probably belongs to the Seljuk period. It is now in the Ethnography Museum of Ankara.¹ After

¹ Information courtesy Mehmet Arlı in Ankara Ethnology Museum.

that, S. Omura surveyed the site for the JIAA (see above). Furthermore, G. Barjamovic visited this site and discusses it in detail (2010: 18-22, Kapalikaya). He also reported an ancient paved road to the west of the rocky hill, supposed by him to be dated to the Seljuk period.

IV. Results of Recent Research Thus Far

IV-1. Preliminary Survey at Büklükale 2008

The purpose of the preliminary survey was to prepare the future excavations and the following work was done:

1. Making the topographical map;² 2. Geophysical research; 3. Collecting surface finds; 4. Taking an aerial photograph. The results are summarized as follows:

1. Hittite Empire period and Late Iron Age were the predominant levels on the natural rocky hill at Büklükale, where pottery sherds of these two periods were found in the highest numbers. There are some Early Bronze Age pottery sherds.

2. The scatter of pottery sherds showed that there is a lower city around the rocky hill at a scale of 600m from north to south by 500m from east to west. It was occupied only during the 2nd Millennium BC, especially Hittite Empire period. There is no indication of an earlier and later occupation there.

3. On the surface at the north, east and south of the rocky hill, stone foundations consisting of large-faced stones were observed. In some places the height of the walls was over 2m. The result of the magnetic survey showed that these foundations extend further.

IV-2. Results of the Excavations in 2009 - 2014

After the results of the survey in 2008, the first excavation at Büklükale was undertaken. The first purpose of the excavations was to understand the stratigraphy at the highest point of the rocky hill (Fig. 3) and the results

2 Courtesy Sabri Aydal.

showed four cultural layers of Ottoman period, Iron Age, Middle to Late Bronze Age, and Early Bronze Age.

Besides this, a Byzantine coin was found which was dated to Constantine X (1059-1067 AD)³. There were also some Middle Iron Age pottery sherds, so-called Alişar IV painted pottery and some Early Iron Age pottery sherds, so-called “Dark Age” bichrome pottery that is typical for Kaman-Kalehöyük Stratum IId. These pottery sherds indicate that Büklükale was also settled in the Early and Middle Iron Age (Matsumura 2011, Resim 9, 10). Also there are some sherds that can be dated to the late Middle Bronze Age, that is the Old Hittite period. According to these finds, the Chronology of Büklükale can be structured as follows:

1st Stratum: Ottoman and Byzantine period

2nd Stratum: Hellenistic and Iron Age (late, middle and early), and

3rd Stratum: 2nd Mill. BC. (Late and Middle Bronze Age)

4th Stratum: 3rd Mill. BC. (Early Bronze Age)

IV-3: Researches Relevant to the 2nd Mill. BC.

From 2009 to 2014 settlements of the 2nd Mill. BC were found on the rocky hill and in the city area, which was investigated by geomagnetic research. In this article, the research on the Hittite period is presented.

IV-3.1. City Area:

At Büklükale, there is a city area to the west of the mound. Focused northwest of the city area, a geophysical survey was carried out in 2010 and revised in 2012 (Fig. 4)⁴. Results showed that there were at least three phases of the city walls. The last phase belongs to the Hittite period and there is a typical Hittite fortification wall that contained a “kastenmauer,” towers and city gate. The fortification wall suggests that the Hittite-period occupation at the city area can be dated to the 17th century BC or after (cf. Seeher 2010: 30). Two other city walls seem to be older, likely dating to the Assyrian Colony

3 Courtesy of Sena Mutlu at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara.

4 The geomagnetic research is conducted by Dr. Kazuhiro Kumagai.

Period. Since, almost all surface pottery collections at the city area belong to the 2nd Millennium BC, any settlement later than the 2nd Millennium BC is not likely there.

IV-3.2.Citadel:

As for the excavations on the mound at Büklükale, one of the most impressive architectural features is a cyclopean architecture. The wall is over 7m high on the hillside and up to now it has been traced over 50m in length (Fig. 5). The problem for the architectures of this period is the difficulty in dating, because later occupation levels mostly destroyed the upper structures including the floor above the foundation. Therefore in-situ materials above the floor are uncommon and they are not enough to date the architecture.

To understand the entire history of the Cyclopean Architecture, C14 samples were collected from the 3 meters of ash debris outside of it. The C14 samples were measured and analyzed with Bayesian statistics by Dr. Omori at the University of Tokyo, Japan. The results suggest that the cyclopean wall was first constructed in about 2000 BC, and was abandoned around 1850 BC, possibly because of a conflagration. After the break in occupation, the architecture was rebuilt in about 1800 BC, but at the end it was destroyed again by fire in the first half of the 16th century BC (Fig. 6: for dating of the burnt layer see Matsumura 2018: fig. 24).

As maintained by the C14 dating, there are two occupation phases for the Cyclopean Architecture in the Assyrian Colony Period at Büklükale and each phase is almost comparable with Karum-Kaniş II and Ib. Furthermore, the dating results indicate that at Büklükale occupation continued during the gap from the end of the Assyrian Colony period to the beginning of the Hittite period. Future research will contribute to helping us better understand this unknown transitional period in the history of Central Anatolia.

Hittite Period

As for the Hittite Period, up to 2012 no occupation layer was found, that could be dated to the Hittite Empire Period. However, a fragment of a Hittite

cuneiform clay tablet (Fig. 7: BK100147) was found in 2010 from the fill outside of the cyclopean wall. From the paleographic evidence, Dr. Mark Weeden proposed that it was written in the early 14th or late 15th centuries (Weeden 2013). This is the most westerly known discovery of any Hittite tablet. On the tablet, he found two interesting phrases: “these lands” and “your country”. So, it may be suggested that a diplomatic letter that might have been written between the great king of the Hittites and a king of the land, possibly in Western Anatolia.

Additionally, during the excavation at the northern edge of the rocky mound in 2012, three bullae with hieroglyphic signs were found in secondary contexts (Fig. 8: from left BK120173, BK120195, BK120150). The impressions seem to come from two different seals, but share the same hieroglyphic signs, which show the woman’s name “Tarhundawiya.” Dr. Weeden has tentatively dated these three bullae to the 15th century BC (Weeden in 2016).

According to the results in 2012, we extended the excavation area to the northwest in 2013 and we expected Hittite layers in this area (N4W2). Then we found a new burnt layer (Fig. 9) and it is likely dated to 15th century or later, because above the wall W228 in the burnt layer a second fragment of a Hittite tablet (Fig. 10: BK130111) was found. According to Dr. Weeden, a dating to the 15th or early 14th century is not excluded (Weeden 2016). Although very few words are understandable, Dr. Weeden points out that there is probably a broken word “(My) sun”, meaning “my majesty”. According to this word, it is plausible that this tablet is a letter that was addressed to the Hittite king. Moreover, it suggests that the Hittite king was perhaps in residence at Büklükale on at least one occasion. Up to this point only discontinuous occupation was attested in the Hittite period of Büklükale.

In 2014 we searched for the continuation of the Hittite burnt layer to the north. Unfortunately, a half-basement styled house of the late Iron Age (R97) destroyed the most part of the burnt layer (Fig. 11). However, after removing it, we could identify two more architectural layers under the Hittite burnt layer, from which the above-mentioned fragment of a Hittite tablet was

found (Fig. 12). These were provisionally numbered I to III. 1st one is the Hittite burnt layer, 2nd one is the unburnt architectural layer under it, and 3rd one is possibly the same with the 1st one. They two might belong to the Hittite period or earlier.

In addition to that, at Büklükale there are quite important philological finds, mostly from the secondary contexts. In 2014, during the removal of the Iron age fortification wall in N3E0, a seal impression of so-called anonymous Tabarna-style Seal (Fig. 13: BK140138) was found. According to the study by Dr. Mark Weeden, there is no king's name on it, but the following inscription: "Seal of xxx Great [King/Queen]. He who changes (it) will die." In the center there is a cuneiform sign that means "goodness." Its dating is a matter of argument. There were many changes in Hittite royal seals. The first type of the Hittite royal seal is the so-called anonymous Tabarna seal and according to the Land Donation tablets from Boğazköy, Tarsus and İnandık (Carruba 1993: Abb. 2; Goldman 1956: 253-4, Pl. 404.64, 408.64; Balkan 1973: Res. 1, 8), it was used under the reign of Zidanda to Telipinu, that is the later part of the Old Hittite period, in 16th century BC, but possibly used until the beginning of 14th century BC. It was also found at Ortaköy, Maşat Höyük and Kuşaklı (Süel 2009: Pl. XXI, Fig. 7, 8; Alp 1980: Abb. 2, Taf. 3; Müller-Karpe 1997: Abb. 18).

In 2014, one more important seal impression was found that attests the occupation of the 13th century BC at Büklükale. This is a sealing with a hieroglyphic inscription, on it a winged female figure in profile, right-facing with a horned helmet (Fig. 14: BK140045). Her left leg is walking forward naked, while the right leg is covered by a skirt. Winged figures are rare in Bronze Age Hittite iconography, but at Yazılıkaya you can find a similar figure as Šauška=Ištar (Bittel et al. 1975: Taf. 23, 2. Relief 38). There are some examples from Nişantepe at Boğazköy (Herbordt 2005: Abb. 42 g, h, i). If you look carefully at the edge of the impression, then you notice that its edge is not straight, but slightly curved. Such a curved edge is very similar to the edge of the signet ring. Examples are found at Ras Shamra, Ugarit (Boehmer 1975: Abb. 143g; Schaeffer 1956: Fig. 54), and also there

is one gold example in the Ashmolean museum (Boehmer 1975: Abb. 337e). According to the hieroglyphic inscription, “Saluwanda, Great Shepherd” that is translated by Dr. Mark Weeden, this sealing is probably to be dated to the 13th century BC (Weeden 2016), and it may prove the occupation at Büklükale in that time period.

Conclusion:

After 6 years of excavations, taking in combination, several types of finds, with help of philological finds, we have now obtained evidence for the occupation of almost the entire Hittite period at Büklükale. There is still a small quantity of evidence for Hittite occupation. In future seasons, we plan to excavate towards the northern part of the rocky hill to understand the Hittite history at Büklükale better.

Historical Büklükale: An Overview of the Epigraphic Finds.⁵

Even before excavations at the site began the site of Büklükale on the Kızılırmak had been the subject of controversial debates regarding its place in the Old Assyrian and Hittite worlds, particularly with regard to its name during those periods. The two proposals for its identification are based on differing assessments of the spatial extent of Old Assyrian trade, and give different weight to the Hittite versus Old Assyrian evidence. Absolutely key here are the locations of Puruṣhattum and Durhumit in the Old Assyrian period. Traditionally Puruṣhattum has been located at Acemhöyük, while G. Barjamovic has it much further west in the region of Bolvadin.⁶ For Barjamovic Büklükale is to be equated with Wahšušana, a key staging post between Puruṣhattum and Durhumit on the Assyrian copper-route, where there was supposed to have been a ferry.⁷

5 For publication of the epigraphic finds from Büklükale from 2010 to 2014 with further discussion and documentation, see Weeden 2013 and 2016

6 Barjamovic 2010: 21-22; 2011: 357-378.

7 Barjamovic 2010: 18-22; 2011: 401-402. The cautious notes sounded *ibid.* fn. 1635 regarding the first results of the excavation are to be updated on the basis of the more recent findings of the excavations regarding the large building on the top of the mound which appears to have been founded around 2000 BC. There is no chronological obstacle to Büklükale being Wahšušana in the Middle Bronze Age. However, as we will see below, Büklükale would appear to have thrived during the Hittite period, whereas Wahsusana is only once mentioned in Hittite texts.

Forlanini on the other hand locates the city of Durhumit itself at Büklükale, and gives especial weight to the Hittite period evidence of a geographically organised list of offerings taken by the king for various religious institutions which lists cities belonging to the land of Durmitta (= Durhumit).⁸ Included here (KUB 48.105+KBo 12.53) is the city of Nenassa, which is usually thought to be in the region of the south-western bend of the Kızılırmak.⁹ Barjamovic, however, has Durhumit up in the north-east, in the region of Merzifon.¹⁰ The issue of Nenassa he solves by positing that there are simply two or even more of these.¹¹ If homonymy can be invoked in the case of Nenassa, it might be possible to invoke it also in the case of Durmitta, although Barjamovic contends that homonymy decreases the more important the settlement is.¹² However, this “rule” does not seem to apply to the town of Hattusa known from the Sahurunuwa land-donation, which is reasonably clearly not the capital city Hattusa.¹³ A western Durmitta would explain the other western associations of Durmitta in KUB 48.105+KBo 12.53 of which the most convincing are [Malli]daskuriya and Piddaniyassa, even though one of these is an albeit probable restoration and the other is located through equation with Lycaonian Pitnissos in Strabo, which is itself unclear in its location.¹⁴ The adduced Luwian connections of Hittite Durmitta, such as the ritualists Mallidunna (CTH 403) and Zuwi (CTH 412) who are supposed to come from Durmitta, would also be unexpected, although not impossible, with a north-eastern location for the city.¹⁵

8 Forlanini 1977: 205-208; 2008: 68-74; 2009: 56-58; 2010: 135-139, older literature fn. 6

9 Barjamovic 2011: 323; 327-331. NB: correct “KUB 48.103+” in Weeden 2013.

10 Barjamovic 2011: 242-267.

11 Barjamovic 2011: 249-250.

12 Barjamovic loc. cit.

13 KUB 26.43 obv. 15 (Imparati 1977: 24). Imparati (ibid. 52) argues that Hattusa is here mentioned as a point of reference for the other place-names, but this does not seem evident from the text itself, where the mention of Hattusa is precisely in the same style as the other names listed. Similarly against this being the capital Hattusa are Forlanini 2012a: 137 and Gander 2014: 380 fn. 58.

14 Strabo’s account covers a wide area, so it is not necessary that Pitnissos would have been too far away to be included in the land of Durmitta if it were in this area (Strabo *Geography* 12.6.1). There is serious doubt attached to the identification of Uwalma from KUB 48.105+ obv. 31’ with the Ulama that was destroyed by Hattusili I, given that there are numerous places called Walma, but only one Ulama.

15 Hutter 2003: 249-250. According to Hutter the ritual of Mallidunna belongs to a Hittian cultural level, while Zuwi belongs rather to the Luwian sphere due to using Luwian phrases. The name Mallidunna at least appears to be Luwian, although Del Monte notes that this is an unexpected context for a Luwian name. (Del Monte 2002: 63).

A detailed review of the Hittite evidence for the location of Durmitta is beyond the scope of this contribution, although a couple of further points can be made in support of a north-eastern Hittite Durmitta as well, both illustrating the dubious nature of the Hittite evidence. Barjamovic's proposal fits a location of Durmitta that is suggested by the Treaty between Suppiluliuma I and Šattiwazza of Mittani. In this the "people/troops" (ÉRIN^{MEŠ}) of Durmitta move into the land of Isuwa, i.e. into the region of Elazığ, something that they would only be able to do with great difficulty if they were coming from the western Kızılırmak.¹⁶ However, this passage is still poorly understood and it is difficult to work out who is going into Isuwa from where, particularly as other areas with western associations are mentioned alongside those with eastern ones.¹⁷ Furthermore, the unassigned historical fragment KBo 50.209, 6' mentions Durmitta after Mount Sakduna in l. 5'. This may be identical with the Mount Sak(ka)dunuwa known from the Maşat letters, but it is unclear if the listing has any geographical relevance as the next paragraph mentions Attarimma and Hupisna in consecutive lines.¹⁸ These are unlikely to have been neighbours, either to each other or to Durmitta.

There is no definitive resolution to either the location of Durmitta or the name of Büklükale in sight. One should never exclude that there are further possibilities than the two main candidates that have been proposed for the latter. The excavations at Büklükale have revealed extensive palatial remains for the period from around 2000 BC to the beginning of the sixteenth century, thus providing adequate evidence for occupation for the Middle Bronze Age. Although it is large by Anatolian standards Büklükale does not seem big enough to accommodate somewhere as important as Durhumit must have been in the Old Assyrian period, especially when compared with the vast mound

16 KBo 1.1 obv. 10-13 (Beckman 1999:43; Barjamovic 2011: 128; de Martino 2012: 379).

17 West: Arawanna, Kalasma, possibly Timna (KUR^{URU}*tim-im-na* KBo 1.1 obv. 12, rather than Timana, thus unlikely to be Tummana). East: Alha, Hurma, Mt Harana, half of the land of Tegarama, Teburziya, Hazga, Armatana.

18 Alp 1991: 32-35.

of Yassihöyük some 60km to the south-east towards Kırşehir, or indeed the huge mound at Kırşehir itself.¹⁹ Until recently Hittite architectural layers at Büklükale have been elusive, mostly having been destroyed by Iron Age structures. This might support the Barjamovic identification, given that Wahšušana seems to have dwindled in importance during the Hittite period, only being mentioned briefly once in a fragmentary context.²⁰ Nevertheless, as explained above, the evidence for Hittite occupation levels is growing year by year. It is thus quite possible that neither identification is correct. The epigraphic finds thus far hint at a continued importance for Büklükale in the Hittite period, whatever its name was.

The two or three Hittite architectural layers that have been identified at the time of this conference are badly damaged, and the artefacts mostly found in secondary contexts. Thus it is good to start with the only possibly epigraphic artefact that does have a clear context and is also the earliest, belonging to the early 16th century BC, the last phase of the palatial building on the top of the mound that seems to have been built around 2000 BC. This phase belongs to the period before the two or three architectural layers that must belong to the Hittite period, and the dating of the find has interesting ramifications for our comprehension of the beginning of the Hittite period at Büklükale. This seal-impression, found on two objects, presents a glyptic style that accords closely with a group of seals and seal-impressions referred to as the Tyskiewicz group.²¹ The most similar objects to this thus far are the Tyskiewicz seal itself, a seal-impression from Eskiyyapar excavated in 1974, and one from Boğazköy (Fig. 15).²² It remains debatable whether this sealing actually represents hieroglyphic writing, although the symbols bear some resemblance to signs known later from the hieroglyphic sign-repertoire. More importantly, both this and the Tyskiewicz stamp-seal appear

19 To give an idea of this: the mound at Yassihöyük (625 x 500m) is roughly as large as the whole site of Büklükale (650 x 500m). It is also likely that Yassihöyük had a lower city beyond the mound. For a summary of mounds in the area see Barjamovic 2011: 398. This is not to suggest that Durhumit was located at any of these, but merely to give an idea of the settlement hierarchy in the area.

20 KUB 23.116 obv. 7' (Del Monte and Tischler 1978: 471), in connection a journey from Mount Zippasla, see Barjamovic 2011: 350.

21 Alexander 1973-1976.

22 Esy 74-82 (Dinçol and Dinçol 1988: 88); SBo 2.187. The Boğazköy example shows much similarity in the inner decorative rim, but it is unclear whether it has one or two symbols in its centre.

to contain symbols arranged in twos, one over the other, an arrangement which reminds us of the bipartite structure of so many Hittite names (e.g. Tarhunda-ziti). Later the model of writing a name in the centre of a seal on the vertical axis became the normal organisational principle for writing Hittite names. It would be interesting if we could see the earliest dated example of this procedure here.

The Tyskiewicz group, specifically the Büklükale sealing and the stamp-seal on Tyskiewicz, are comparable to seal-styles that are found at Konya-Karahöyük, although the arrangement with the two symbols in the centre is not found there.²³ For this reason the Tyskiewicz group has been dated to the time after Konya-Karahöyük on the underlying assumption that stylistic developments in iconography proceed on a sequential basis.²⁴ Similarly, Konya-Karahöyük itself had been dated by some to the period after Kültepe Ib on similar grounds.²⁵ Whether this assumption concerning stylistic change through time corresponds to reality or not, it is interesting that we now have a carbon-date for this example of the Tyskiewicz group at least. A dating to the early 16th century BC would definitively place this seal-type, which can be argued to be an early form of typically Hittite seal-design, within the early Hittite period. Its close relationship with other seals and sealings from the central Hittite area demonstrates a tight iconographic unity over this space. This kind of similarity in iconographic practices over widely different topographical regions was not something new in Anatolia, but if one accepts that elements of hieroglyphic writing are beginning to be used, it would make it difficult to imagine that these similarities are not at this stage to be associated with the emergence of the nascent Hittite state.

It is unclear under what circumstances a building that used such sealings during its last phases would have been burned to the ground and not used again in the early days of Hittite statehood. One might speculate that this was to do with the unification efforts of Labarna or Hattusili I, but these seem a little early to correspond to the current interpretation of the carbon-

23 E.g. Alp 1968: Taf. 103, no. 294

24 Boehmer and Güterbock 1987: 35-40. Dinçol and Dinçol 2008: 3.

25 Boehmer 1989; 1996; contra Alp 1993.

data. Or one might think that this happened in the course of one of the many internal conflicts of the Old Hittite period. What is interesting, however, is not so much that this probable destruction might have been associated with one or the other historical event, but that the large building at Büklükale continued in use right through the end of the so-called Old Assyrian period well into what can fairly confidently be identified as the Hittite era, with no destruction or otherwise remarkable change marking any transition between the two.

All other epigraphic finds from Büklükale come from secondary contexts. In some way they must be attached to the Hittite levels excavated thus far, although this is purely speculative at this stage. All but one of the finds probably belong on stylistic grounds to the period before the early 14th century BC and probably also later than the early 16th century, when the large building on the top of the mound seems to have gone out of use, but there are significant problems associated with obtaining a more precise dating within this period.

Three clay lumps with impressions of two seals are probably to be counted among the older finds (Fig. 8) bearing a hieroglyphic name in the centre, which were all found in Iron Age fill in the north-west of the mound (N7 W5). The name is written with the sign for the storm-god (L. 199), followed by the sign for the vine (L. 160) and must represent the name Tarhunda-wiya. This woman's name itself was not attested until recently in cuneiform sources from Anatolia but is now found on a Land Grant from the "Westbau"-archive at Boğazköy, which dates to the late years of Telipinu or the earlier years of Alluwamna.²⁶ However, there is no reason to think that there is any identity in the person, nor that the name would have been particularly rare or restricted to one period, as it is a completely normal formation. Its non-appearance in Anatolian cuneiform documents up until now must be an accident of discovery. As far as the dating of these sealings is concerned, the decorative rim appears to indicate an earlier dating, while the hieroglyphic centre appears to favour a later dating, depending on one's interpretation of

26 StBoT Bh 4: 22, 51, see Rüter and Wilhelm 2012: 144.

the development of hieroglyphic sign-forms and orthography. Provisionally one might entertain a 15th century dating for this group.

Quite possibly from a similar or slightly later period is a cuneiform sealing of the type commonly referred to as “Tabarna(-style)”. The appellation “Tabarna” for the Hittite Great King, or “Tawananna” for the Great Queen, is either broken off or it was never there in the first place. In the last case this would mean that strictly speaking this is not a Tabarna or Tawananna-seal, but instead something much more rare. The central field contains the sign SIG₅ “goodness”, which sometimes occurs in combination with the cuneiform sign TI “life”, and appears to alternate with the hieroglyphic symbols triangle “goodness” and Ankh “life”. The Tabarna-sealings which are used on the Land Grants from Boğazköy never use SIG₅ in this way, it only appears on clay lumps, bullae and mushroom-shaped objects, which are thus more difficult to date. Examples have been found at Ortaköy-Sapinuwa, Kayalı Pınar-Samuha and Boğazköy-Hattusa.²⁷ Unusually for this kind of seal, however, the example from Büklükale also contains a curse formula: *ša uš-pa-aḥ-ḥu* BA.ÚŠ “whoever changes (it) will die”.

There is, however, a problem with interpreting this cuneiform sealing as a regular example of the impression of a Tabarna-seal. One would expect that all of the five fragmentary impressions on the clay object found at Büklükale came from the same seal. However, the impression on face B does not fit the regular sign-forms required for the expected writing ^{NA}4KIŠIB *ta-ba-ar-na*/^t*ta-wa-na-an-na* (MUNUS.)LUGAL GAL, “seal of the Tabarna/Tawananna, Great King/Queen”. The signs after the probable KIŠIB on the very fragmentary face B, especially when combined with the traces on face C, remind us only of a sealing found on a mushroom-shaped clay object that was excavated in at Kuşaklı-Sarissa 1998, which was published in 2014 (see Fig. 16).²⁸ Unfortunately here too the reading is disputed, partially due to damage, but also due to the fact that all proposals for its reading are completely unparalleled. In the publication A. Müller-Karpe presents two alternatives for reading the seal, the second of which originates with

27 Süel 2011: 404, 409-10; Müller-Karpe 2009 Plate XI fig. 17; SBo 1.76-83.

28 Müller-Karpe 2014.

E. Rieken and J. Lorenz:

(1) ^{NA4}KIŠIB *uš/iš-kán-t[a]* MUNUS.LUGAL GAL²⁹

“seal of the anointed one, the Great Queen”

(2) ^{NA4}KIŠIB ^{GIŠ}PISAN ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL GAL³⁰

“seal of the box of the Great Queen”

Müller-Karpe interprets the first reading, which is his own, as including a word which is a designation of the status of the Great Queen before she became Tawananna, the **iskanta*. This unattested word would be derived according to this theory from the Hittite verb “to smear, to anoint”, and would thus mean the “anointed one”. This interesting theory has the advantage that it allows us to read the text as indicating the seal of a person, but the disadvantage of constructing a good deal of albeit plausible social, political and linguistic content in order to be able to read the signs. However, it is certainly the case that all identifiable cases of texts on seals indicate the person who owns the seal rather than the object sealed by it. This is the disadvantage of the second reading, which fits the traces better when compared with face B of the sealed clay lump from Büklükale. In fact, we could go as far as to say that the traces on face B exclude reading (1). One way out of this impasse might be to assume that the “box-seal” is a specific type of seal belonging to the queen, but this is an ad hoc solution, and writings such as “seal of the box/basket” to denote a particular type of seal are not found either in Hittite texts or in Mesopotamia to our knowledge, although seals and sealed documents are often attested in connection with boxes or baskets.³¹

For the moment we can do no more than note the similarity to the sealing from Kuşaklı-Sarissa. In the case of the Büklükale sealing it is also impossible to say for sure whether this was actually a seal that belonged to the king or to the queen, although the only comparative evidence available points to it being the queen. It is possible that a better solution for the reading of both sealings is yet to be found. Whatever the reading, it is extraordinary

29 Müller-Karpe 2014: 301-302, transliteration *uš/iš-kán-ta/ša*.

30 Müller-Karpe 2014: 302-303.

31 CAD P 422.

that only these two examples of this text have thus far been found on a cuneiform seal. This, of course, makes it all the more difficult to date them. The Kuşaklı example comes from a level that has been dated to the end of the Middle Kingdom, thus presumably the late 15th or early 14th century. It is of course possible that it could have been made a good deal earlier, but kept for many years. The fact that both sealings contain the curse formula and the lack of dividing lines between the outer and inner cuneiform rings may or may not indicate that they are slightly earlier than other cuneiform seals with central SIG₅ that have been found at Kayalı Pınar and Ortaköy, but the evidence is very slim. Again it is difficult to imagine a dating earlier than the 15th century and later than the early 14th century, with the late 15th century being possibly the best guess at the moment. The fact that it was found at the site in the first place makes us think that Büklükale played host to representatives of the royal family during the time of its use.

Clay Tablets

Thus far two clay tablets with fragments of Hittite letters have been found at Büklükale. Neither of them was found in situ, one being excavated from Ottoman fill on the east side of the mound in 2010, the other being found in 2013 on top of the base of a burnt wall dated to the Hittite period by the find of the self-same Hittite tablet when considered along with the stratigraphy of the area between it and burned level of the early 16th century BC (Fig. 10). The tablet in this case itself is so fragmentary that a secure dating is hardly possible. Only the whole of the left edge of the obverse and some of the right edge of the reverse are preserved. However, it includes two features that may indicate that it should be earlier rather than later: the writing starts on an upper edge and the sign EN has a typically “Middle Hittite” form. However, tablets with writing beginning on the upper edge are attested, although rarely, in the later periods.³² The use of the older sign-form could just as easily be the effect of the scribe having recently copied an older text or have some other ground that makes it irrelevant for dating purposes. A dating to the early 14th or 15th century is thus not excluded, however, with the only relevant dating criteria pointing in that direction, albeit not categorically.

32 Waal 2010: 59.

Further interest is aroused by the very clear appearance of the signs ^DUTU just after the first line-divider after the greeting (see Fig. 4). It is tempting to restore this as ^DUTU-[ŠI] “my majesty”, which would thus appear in the nominative or vocative. If this restoration is correct we would here have a letter that was addressed to his majesty either while he was at Büklükale, or was stored there for some reason. Either way, the appearance of this very fragmentary letter reinforces the impression that Büklükale was a strategically important site with royal connections.

The tablet fragment found in 2010 also appears to agree with the impression made by this even more fragmentary piece (BKT 1, see Fig. 7).³³ Again the evidence is slim, as the larger part of the tablet is not preserved, including the introductory address. However, there is sufficient text preserved to be able to make a provisional palaeographic assessment, which would concur with a dating to the early 14th or late 15th centuries (Weeden 2013). The language of the tablet also contains older features, among which one may mention the form *issumeni* “we will perform”, which was not previously attested but had been predicted by Hoffner and Melchert in their grammar.³⁴ The bulk of the text is very difficult to understand and open to interpretation, even as far as regards the tenor of the whole piece: whether a hostile exchange regarding detention of messengers or a relatively friendly piece of correspondence in the run-up to a diplomatic marriage or other international festivity. The international character of the letter is guaranteed by the isolated occurrences of KUR-*KA* “your country” and *kī* KUR^{HI.A} “these countries” on the otherwise entirely broken reverse. We submit that in Hittite texts only a king or a god would say KUR-*IA* “my country”, therefore KUR-*KA* must be addressed to a similarly high person, either a foreign king (of the West?) or to the Hittite king himself.

A final sealing

In 2014 a sealing was uncovered on a small clay lump (BK 1400045) in a secondary context at Büklükale (Fig. 14). The seal-face is rectangular

33 Weeden 2013.

34 GHL §13.15.

although with slightly curved horizontal edges. It may derive from a signet ring, although it is a little large for this by contrast to other examples. Another reason for thinking it might not come from a ring is that the original seal seems to have been re-cut, as part of the surface is noticeably higher than the rest. Most signet rings are made of metal, in which case the original would in this case have to be made of a very soft metal such as gold, or not be a signet ring at all. The seal contains an extraordinary figure of a mostly naked winged goddess, right-facing with prominent vulva in the typical striding posture known from Syrian manifestations, but with an upper body arranged according to Hittite rather than Syrian iconographic norms. The seal-face is divided into boxes, the outer of which contain rosettes and similar decorative elements. In the middle there is another box to the right of the striding winged goddess, which consists of the raised portion which may have been re-cut. In this box we find hieroglyphs of a typically 13th century shape and form which we read:

L. 417-*tà* MAGNUS.PASTOR

Saluwanta, Great Shepherd

The sign L. 417 can be read as *SAL(U)*, following a suggestion by M. Forlanini which can now be augmented with further evidence.³⁵ Comparative evidence suggests the name might be *Saluwanta*, which is not attested as such as a personal name in Hittite cuneiform sources but belongs with Old Assyrian *Saluwanta* (Laroche Noms 1089), the eponymous mountain name attested in Hittite texts, as well as with names such as *Salu(wa)* now attested on a Land Grant.

However we date the iconography of the winged goddess, the hieroglyphs, especially the form of the sign *tà*, appear fairly clearly to be late, i.e. late 14th or 13th centuries BC. This is considerably later than any of the other epigraphic material from Büklükale appears to be. The mainly civilian MAGNUS PASTOR has been thought to be identical with the

35 Forlanini 1987: 74-76. See Weeden (2016) for collection of evidence, particularly the name *Salu(wa)* at KBo 32.136 obv. 6', and the name written L.417-*u(wa)* on seals from Kaman-Kalehöyük.

mainly military title “Great Shepherd” (GAL NA.GAD).³⁶ While this overlap of civilian and military functions should not necessarily surprise us, it is clear that whoever held either title was an extremely high official. This remains a lonely indicator for the moment, presumably removed from its original context by Iron Age excavations, but nonetheless a possible hint that Büklükale continued to have some strategic and/or civil administrative importance during the later part of the Empire period, the later 14th and 13th centuries BC. It remains to be seen whether this continuity of iconographic and glyptic material through the Hittite period is matched by the dating of the individual architectural layers that are emerging at Büklükale.

It is currently impossible to align the epigraphic finds to attested architectural layers securely. However, a very preliminary schematic phasing might be suggested

Büklükale Provisional Hittite period	Artefact	Approximate date of artefact
Early-Old Hittite:	Tyskiewicz-style sealing	Early 16th century BC
Hittite phase III or II:	Tarhundawiya sealings	Early 15th century?
Hittite phase III or II:	Cuneiform sealing	Later 15th century?
	Cuneiform tablets	Later 15th/early 14th
Hittite phase I:	Saluwanta sealing	Later 14th/13th centuries

Naturally this extremely tentative sketch will have to change with the discovery of new layers, and hopefully of further artefacts with more secure contexts.

Abbreviations:

CAD: *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*. Published by the Oriental Institute. Chicago, Illinois. From 1956.

GHL: Hoffner, H.A. and Melchert, H.C. *A Grammar of the Hittite Language*. Languages of the Ancient Near East. Winona Lake. 2008.

36 Bossert 1960: 441f.; Hawkins apud Herbordt 2005: 305. Cautious about the equation of the cuneiform and hieroglyphic titles: Imparati 1994: 317; van den Hout 1995: 234.

KBo: Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi. Leipzig/Berlin. From 1916.

KUB: Keilschrifturkunden aus Boğazköy. Berlin. From 1921.

SBo 1: H.G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy. Erster Teil. Die Königssiegel der Grabungen bis 1938*. Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 5. Berlin. 1940. Re-print Osnabrück 1967.

SBo 2: H.G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy. Zweiter Teil. Die Königssiegel und die übrigen Hieroglyphensiegel*. Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 7. Berlin. 1942. Re-print Osnabrück 1967.

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FIGURES:

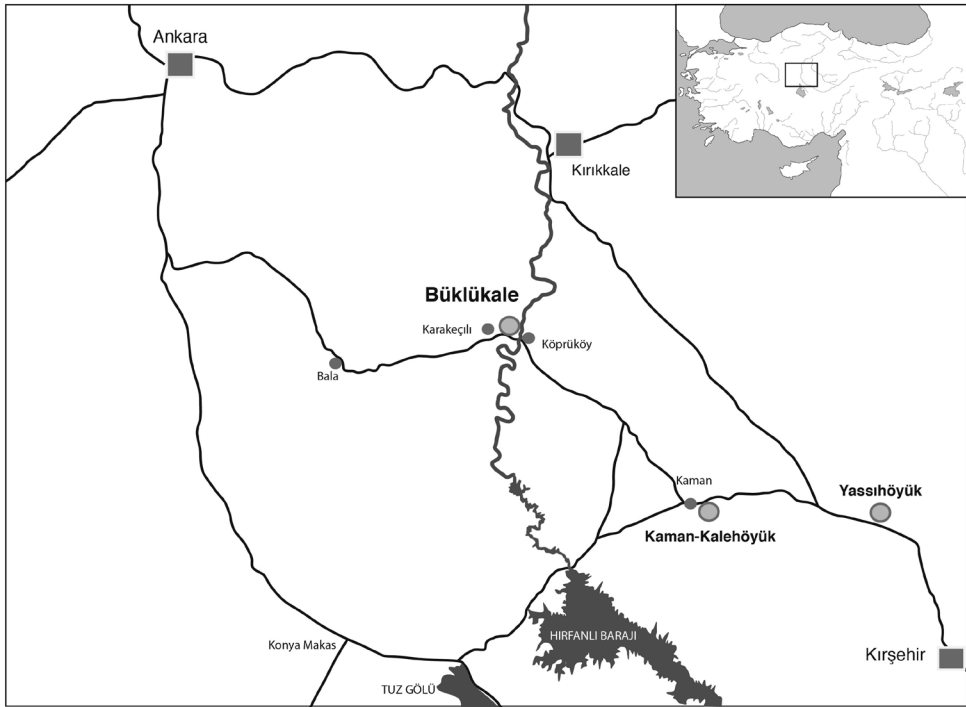


Fig. 1: Map Showing the Location of Büklükale



Fig. 2: Aerial Photograph of Büklükale

BÜKLÜKALE IN THE HITTITE PERIOD

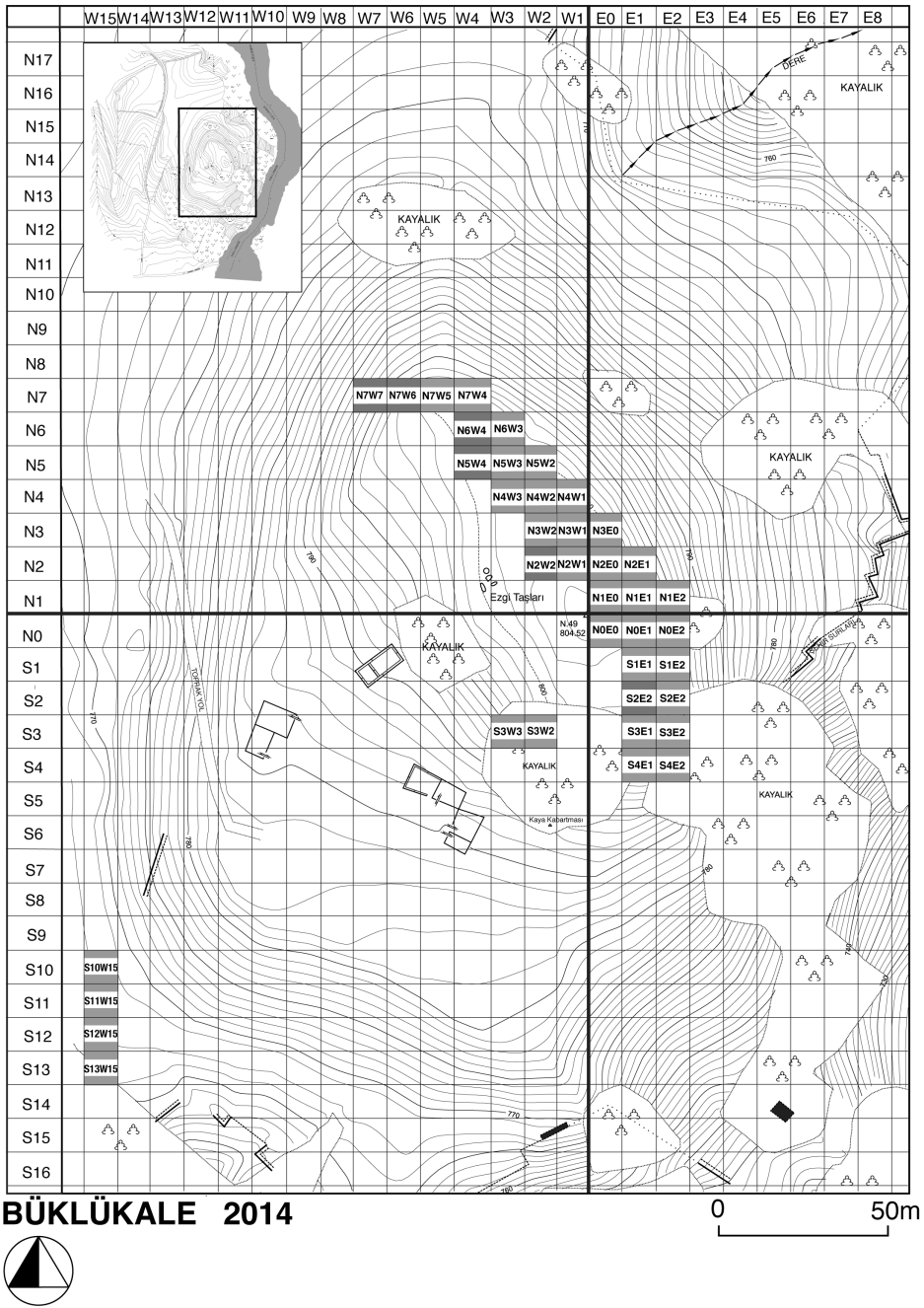


Fig. 3: Topographical Map of Büklükale

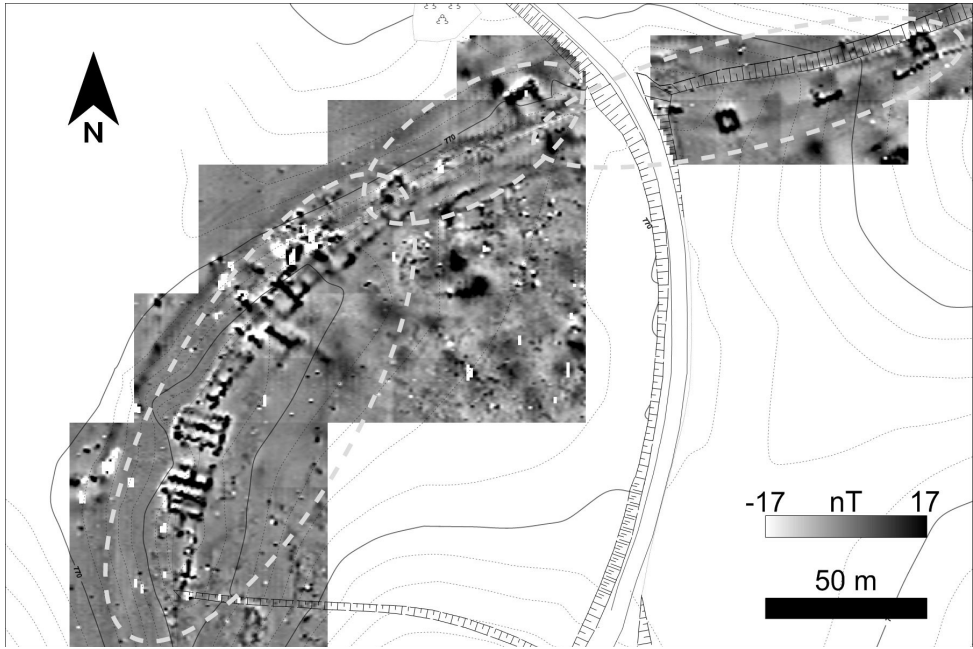


Fig. 4: Result of the Geomagnetic Survey



Fig. 5: Architecture of 2nd Mill. BC at Bükükale

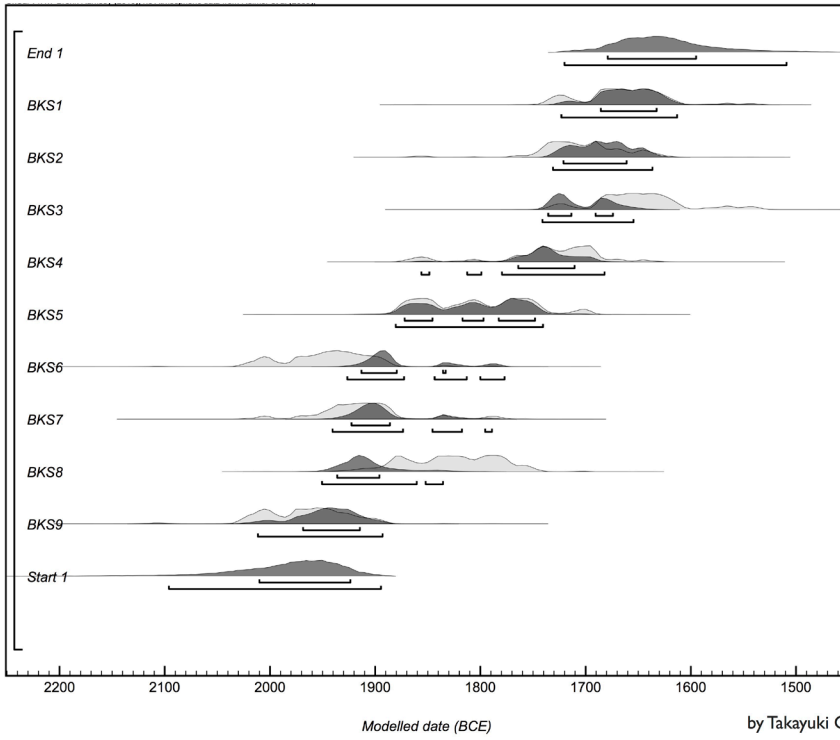


Fig. 6: Results of the C14 Dating

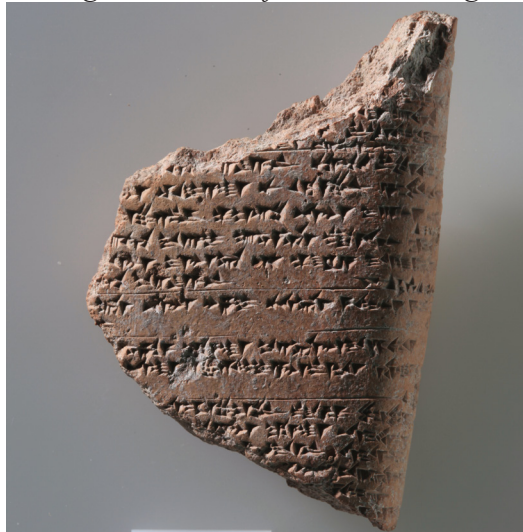


Fig. 7: Tablet (BK100147)



Fig. 8: Bullae with Hieroglyphic signs “Tarhundawiya”



Fig. 9: Wall W228, on which the tablet (BK130111) was found



Fig. 10: Tablet (BK130111)

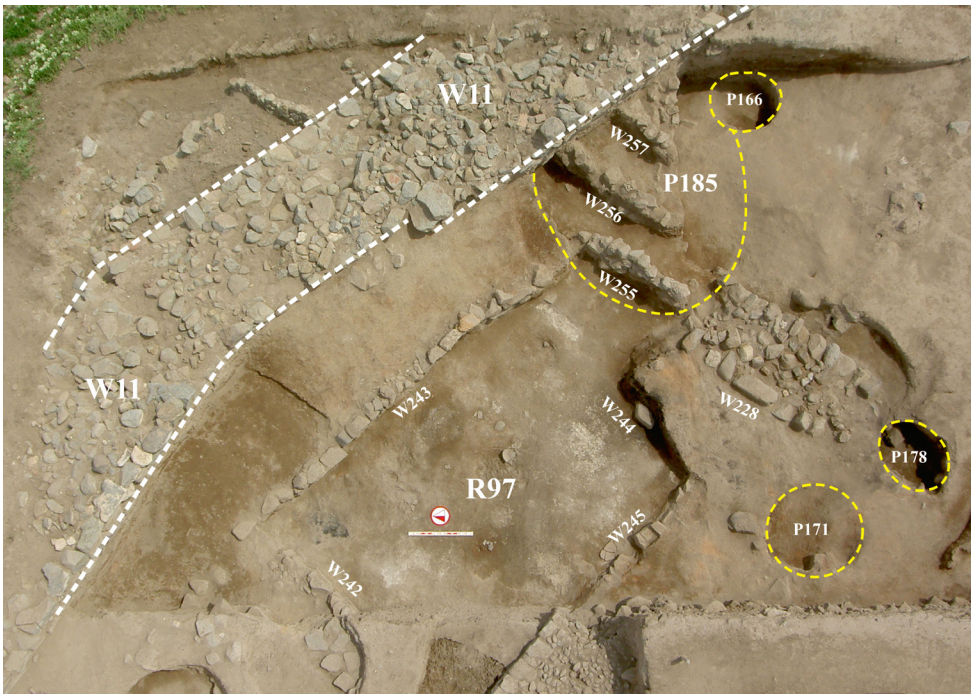


Fig. 11: The half-basement styled house R97



Fig. 12: Foundations that might belong to the Hittite period.



Fig. 13: Bulla of “Tabarna-style” seal



Fig. 14: Bulla with a Winged Goddess

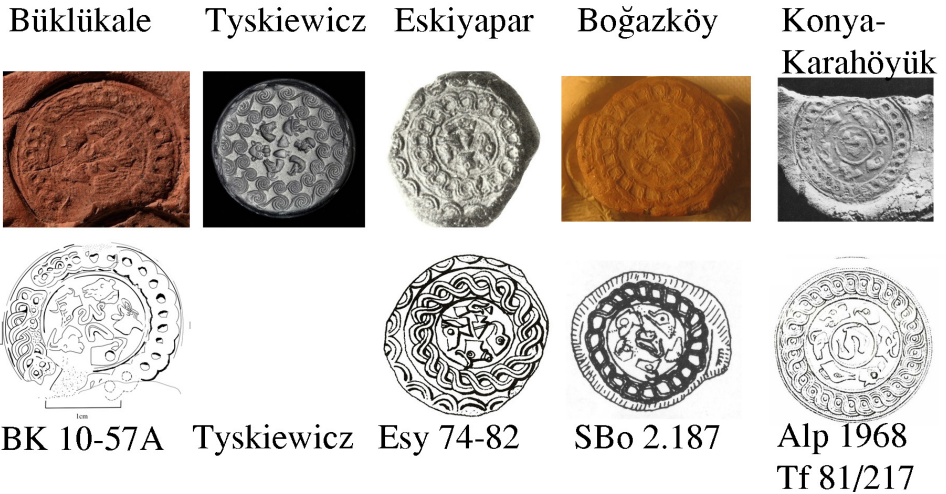


Fig. 15: Comparison of the seal-designs in the Tyskiewicz-style

Büklükale



BK 10-57A

Tyskiewicz



Tyskiewicz

Eskiyapar



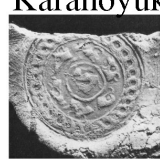
Esy 74-82

Boğazköy



SBo 2.187

Konya-
Karahöyük



Alp 1968
Tf 81/217

Fig. 16: Face B of the cuneiform seal from Büklükale and the sealing from Kuşaklı

HITTITE AND LUVIAN *UPPA-* AND HITTITE *UIYA-*

H. Craig MELCHERT*

I. Hittite *uppi/a-* ‘send; bring’

1. Since Hrozný (1917: 122, n. 2), Hitt. *uppi/a-* has been almost universally assumed to contain the prefix *u-* ‘her-’ marking motion towards the speaker: see Götze 1933: 22, n. 3 and 1938: 124; Friedrich 1952: 234 ‘(her)schicken’ (sic!); Oettinger 1979: 489 ‘her-schicken’ (sic!); Melchert 1994: 104 and 149; Yakubovich 2005: 245 (implicit in the gloss ‘to bring’); Kloekhorst 2008: 921-2 ‘send (here)’ (sic!). However, there are *no* attested spellings †*u/ú-up-pi/a-*. Kloekhorst (2008: 36) assumes that the unattested OS spelling would be **ú-up-pi/a-* (citing the restriction of the plene spelling *ú-uš-ši-ya-* ‘to throw’ to OS).¹ This is possible, but ad hoc and unlikely, given the very restricted attestation of ‘throw’ (a total of 3x OS *ú-uš-ši-°* vs. 12x post-OS *uš-ši-°*) versus the very well attested *up-pi/a-°* (at least 100x, 22x in MS). The complete absence of any spellings †*u/ú-up-pi/a-* can hardly be due to chance.

2. Much more important is that the objection of Pedersen (1938: 116-7) has been wrongly ignored: the actual usage of *uppi/a-* shows *no* fixed directionality whatsoever (towards or away from the speaker)! The parentheses in the glosses of Friedrich and Kloekhorst tacitly admit this fact, and a review of the attestations fully confirms Pedersen’s assertion:

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1 I use the standard sigla OH, MH, and NH to refer to the date of a composition as Old, Middle, or New Hittite and OS, MS, and NS to refer to the date of a manuscript as Old, Middle, or New Script.

(1) *HKM* 18:18-20 (MH/MS)

*nu=mu kā katti=mi ÉRIN.MEŠ KUR.UGU ÉRIN.MEŠ KUR^{URU} Išhūpitta
kuiški n=an=ta uppaḥḥi*

“There are some troops of the Upper Land and Ishupitta here with me. I will send them to you.”

(2) *KBo* 5.4 Vo 22 (NH; Treaty with Targasnalli)

*nu=mu ḥatrāši ÉRIN.MEŠ=wa=mu ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ uppi nu=tta
ÉRIN.ME.EŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.ME.EŠ uppaḥḥi*

“And you write me: ‘Send me troops and horses!’ I will send you infantry and horses.”

(3) *KBo* 3.6+ iii 77 (NH; Apology of Hattušili)

n=an ēppūn n=an=kan A.AB.BA tapuša uppaḥḥun

“I seized him and sent him alongside the sea.”

In (1) and (3) the direction clearly is away from the speaker, while in (2) the verb is used for motion both towards and away from the speaker. See also *HKM* 25:22-23 and *HKM* 30:8-10 for further examples of *uppi/a-* clearly indicating motion away from the speaker.

Naturally, since there is no *inherent* directionality in the verb, there are also instances where the context shows that the motion is towards the speaker (or more accurately towards the “deictic center”):

(4) *KBo* 15.37 ii 49-59 (MH/NS; (*h*)*išuwā*-Festival)

(“When it dawns on the eighth day, the large loaf of cheese and the leavened bread of three *parīsu*-measures of flour which (are) broken for the gods of the fathers and which are placed back on the sacrificial tables,”) *n=aš arḥa paršulānzi namma ANA PANI DINGIR.MEŠ ḥūmandaš kuwapiya 1 paršullin GA.KIN.AG 1 paršullin NINDA=ya uppiyanzi n=uš PANI DINGIR.MEŠ zikkanzi*

“They crumble them and then bring one morsel of cheese and one morsel of bread before each of all the gods (lit. before all the gods in each place) and place them before the gods.”

Contra Carruba (1966: 20²⁰), Oettinger (1979: 489) and Nakamura (2002: 159), there is no basis for a separate verb ‘lift, raise’, but ‘send’ (Güterbock and Hoffner 1995: 193) is also unlikely. The cheese and loaves of bread that had been broken and presented to the gods of the fathers previously, but then put back on the sacrificial tables, are now crumbled, and a morsel of each is brought before the gods, whose images are surely the center of the action.

At least two instances of *uppi/a-* do not mean merely ‘send’ or ‘carry’, but rather ‘fetch’ (that is, to go somewhere and bring something from there to the starting point):

(5) *KBo* 17.65+ *Ro* 38-39 (MH/MS; Birth Ritual)

(“But how the festival of birth (is)—how they perform the festival when she gives birth,”) [(n)=aš^{GIŠ}*kurtaš iy*]anza n=aš^{URU}*Kizzuwatna nu=mu=kan*
EZEN KAxU-it [*ŪL karta n*]=an apēz *uppaḥḥi*

“[It is m]ade [(as) a *kurta*-tablet], and it is in Kizzuwatna. I [do not know] the festival orally [by heart]. I will fetch it from there.”

The restorations are based on the parallel passage *ibid.* *Vo* 45-46, which has rather *udanzi* ‘they will bring’. See Beckman 1983: 136-7 and 161-4 with differing details, but it is clear that the speaker is in Hattusha and needs to retrieve the tablet in question from Kizzuwatna.

(6) *KUB* 12.58 ii 36-42 (MH/NS; Ritual of Tunnawi)

(“The ritual client goes to bathe,”) n=aš^{ta} ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI 9 ^{GIŠ}GA.ZUM ŠĀ
^{GIŠ}TÚG *anda upp[āi]* ^{GIŠ}šēn¹an IM-aš *anda uppāi*

“The “old woman” fetches in nine combs of boxwood. She fetches in a figurine of clay.”

Goetze (1938: 14-15) renders ‘brings in’, but the practitioner has been in the ritual space in the entire preceding context, so she must first go out in order to fetch the objects in.

We must therefore conclude with Pedersen that Hittite *uppi/a-* means ‘send, bring/take (somewhere)’ *without* specification of direction to or away from the speaker, occasionally also ‘fetch’ (go somewhere and bring back something). The lack of evidence for directionality combined with the total absence of spellings †*u/ú-up-pi/a-* means that we must abandon all attempts to force a meaning ‘her-, hither’ that *does not exist* and likewise the unfounded *presumption* that the verb contains the directional prefix *ú-*.

The question of the verb’s correct etymology is as always an entirely secondary matter. Given the total lack of evidence for the presence of the prefix ‘her-’ but a strong goal orientation (all 80+ examples of ‘send’ in sufficient context have an explicit or implied goal), perhaps the verb represents a deadverbial stem from the adverb **úpo* as in Skt. *úpa* ‘up to’ (anticipated by Oettinger 1979: 489-90, but with false semantics for a non-existent homonym ‘raise, lift’). For Skt. *úpa* as expressing ‘(hin)zu’ with mostly horizontal orientation (no trace of ‘from below’!) see Casaretto apud Hettrich, Casaretto and Schneider 2004: 36-42. For the derivational process see Melchert 2009 and compare the rare transitive use of English ‘near’ to mean ‘bring near (to)’ (Ruskin and Wilde). For the unexpected stem *uppi-* (which clearly is older than *uppa-*) from **úpo* compare the opposite discrepancy in Hitt. *šanna-* ‘conceal’ as if from **sṇ(h₁)o* vs. Latin *sine* and OIr. *sain-* < **sṇ(h₁)i*.

II. Cuneiform Luvian (*u-*)*up-pa-* ‘carry’ and Hieroglyphic Luvian (CAPERE) *u-pa-* ‘carry (off)’

Pace Kloekhorst (2008: 922) the basic sense ‘carry’ of the CLuvian verb is not in doubt, but his rejection of the equation with Hittite *uppi/a-* is surely correct:

(7) *KBo* 13.260 iii 13-15 (Birth Ritual)

ā=tta ādduwan=za pariyan adduwaliyan wattaniyan uppanandu

“Let them carry the evil over to an evil land.”

For this interpretation see Yakubovich (2010: 237). The stem *uppanna-* shows the Luvian cognate of the Hittite “iterative-durative” suffix *-anni/a-*. One could suppose here a meaning ‘carry away’ for the verb, but such directionality cannot be proven, since *pariyan* ‘over to’ already conveys this nuance.

(8) *KBo* 13.260 iii 16-20 (Birth Ritual)

zīla=pa=tta za-x-x-ti DUMU.LÚ.ÙLU^{LU}-ni ŠUM-ŠU ḫalzāi ḫuidumar=ša ūppannandu wayaḫi=ša ḫaddulaḫi=ša annarumāḫi=ša

“Henceforth let them bring to this(?) human—one calls out his name—life, w., health (and) vigor.”

Here the directionality clearly is towards the deictic center, the place where the ritual is taking place, but once again this is furnished by the context, and cannot be shown to be inherent in the verb.

(9) *KUB* 35.88 iii 11-12 (Birth Ritual)

upatta=pa=wa=du šcariyanin 2-šu 9-u[(n)za] anta=wa=aš=ta walluna<š>šan wāni uppanta

“She furnished to her twice nine s., and they carried them in to the midwife (lit. woman of lifting).”

Likewise in this example there is no clear evidence for any inherent directionality in the verb, which simply means ‘carry’. See also *KUB* 35.107 iii 21 (*anda uppanta*) and *KUB* 25.39 iv 16 (*ūppadda*) with limited context. As will become clear presently, it is important that in the two instances of plene spelling the spelling is specifically *u-up-pa*^o with <u>, not <ú>.

For arguments that the HLuvian cognate of CLuvian *ūppa-* ‘carry’ is (“CAPERE”) *u-pa-* and not (PES) *u-pa-* ‘dedicate, furnish’ see Melchert 2004 contra Yakubovich 2005, but it is doubtful that the verb (“CAPERE”) *u-pa-* inherently implies speaker-oriented directionality:

(10) KARKAMIŠ A 11b+c §13

“I devastated those countries,” **a-wa/i-ta* (SCALPRUM.CAPERE₂)
u-pa-ni-zi a-tá (“CAPERE₂”) *u-pa-ha*

“I brought in/collected trophies/spoils” (“and I came up from those countries
in glory.”)

(11) KARKAMIŠ A2+3 §7

**a-wa/i-ta* **a-mi-ya-za* LITUUS+AVIS(-)*ta-ni-ya-za* REGIO-*ni-i a-tá*
(DEUS)BONUS-*na* (DEUS)VITIS(-)*ti-PRAE-ya-ha ARHA* (CAPERE₂)
u-pa-ta

“He (Tarhunza of Carchemish) in my *days* brought away the grain-god and
the wine-god into the country.”

(12) İSKENDERUN §§3-4

a-wa/i za-naⁱ (“*255”) *ka-ru-na-na* (“CAPERE”) *u-pa-haⁱ* *wa/i-tu-u-taⁱ*
4xMILLE 4xCENTUM *a-ta* (“CAPERE”) *u-pa-ha zi-i-na* (“*256”) *zi-pa-ta-na-ti*

“I carried off/brought (the contents of) this granary and I collected for it
4,400 with this *z*-measure.”

In all three examples cited (and the similar ones at KARKAMIŠ A 1a,
§§7 and 10) the action involves removal of things from one place and
their transportation to another. Since the new location is either explicitly
or implicitly associated with the speaker (‘into the country’ in (11) clearly
refers to Carchemish), ‘bring’ is the natural rendering, but the directionality
is contextual, not inherent in the verb. As attested, HLuvian (“CAPERE/
CAPERE₂”) *u-pa-* is neutrally ‘carry’ like its CLuvian cognate.

However, the phrase (SCALPRUM.CAPERE₂) *u-pa-ni-* (CAPERE₂) *u-pa-*
is clearly a *figura etymologica*, and contra Melchert (2004: 372) ‘spoils’
are inherently something that is carried off, not something that is brought
in.² This figure and the use of CAPERE/CAPERE₂ ‘take’ as determinative

2 The fact that the noun is marked with the determinative SCALPRUM.CAPERE₂ does not argue against a *figura etymologica*. The addition of SCALPRUM is surely motivated by the fact that the spoils in question were typically statues or stelae (see e.g. KARKAMIŠ A24a §6 on the Assyrian king’s removal of the Storm-god of Aleppo).

suggest that this verb *u-pa-* originally meant ‘carry off, remove’, although like its CLuvian counterpart it has undergone semantic bleaching to merely ‘carry’. The spelling of the CLuvian cognate as *u-up-* points to /o-/, so the combined evidence argues that *this* verb contains the reflex of **au-* ‘off, away’, matching Latin *au-ferō* ‘carry away/off’. For the contrast of <u> = /o/ vs. <ú> = /u/ in Hittite see Rieken 2005: 538-9 after Eichner and on sources of Hittite /o(:)/ see Kloekhorst 2008: 35-60.³ The main point, however, is that Hittite *uppi/a-* ‘send’ (with no directionality) and Luvian *ūppa-/*(CAPERE)*u-pa-* ‘carry’ < *‘carry off, remove’ are not cognate, as per Kloekhorst (2008: 922).⁴

III. Hittite *uiye/a-* ‘send, drive’

This verb (overwhelmingly spelled *u-i-e-/ya-* with <u>!) is universally assumed to be *u-(i)ye/a-* ‘her-schicken’ vs. *pe/i-ye/a-* ‘hin-schicken’: see Pedersen 1938: 198; Friedrich 1952: 232 ‘schicken’ (eigentlich ‘herschicken’); jagen’; Kloekhorst 2008: 910 ‘send (here)’. Once again, however, there is actually *no* textual evidence for speaker-oriented directionality of *u(i)ye/a-* (note here too the respectively explicit and tacit admissions of this fact by Friedrich and Kloekhorst). Since this actually well-known fact is consistently ignored in discussions of the verb’s morphology and history, it seems necessary to reiterate some of the evidence:

(13) *KBo* 3.40b:9-10 (OH/NS; narrative)

am[(*mug*=*a*^dU-*aš*)] DINGIR *pišeneš* [LUG]AL-*iu**yēr* *ūt*=*wa*^{LÚ.MEŠ} GAL.GAL *wemiy*[(*a*)]

“But me the male gods of the Storm-god sent to the king (saying): ‘Go and find the great men!’”

(14) *KUB* 33.5 ii 4 (OH/NS; Telipinu, 2nd version)

^dMAḤ-*aš* NIM.LÁL-*an* *uyēt* *ūt*=*za* x[...]x ^d*Telipinun* *zik* *šanḫa*

3 This means that the Hittite prefix *u-* (regularly spelled <ú>) that *does* mark directionality towards the speaker cannot reflect **au-* (contra Melchert 1994: 104 et al.). Its true etymology remains to be determined.

4 The root **pa-* of Luvian /o:pa-/ (sic!) is probably **(s)peh₂-* ‘set in (violent) motion, draw’ seen also in Greek *σπάω* ‘tear/pull’ and Armenian *hanem* ‘pull; take away; lead’: see García Ramón 2009. Thus /o:pa-/ *‘take away, remove’ whence ‘carry’ reflects a virtual **au-(s)p(e)h₂-*. The inflectional class is unknown, but a third plural **au-(s)ph₂énti* would give /o:panti/ in either a *mi-* or *hi-* verb.

“Hannahanna sent the bee (saying): ‘Go [] and you search for Telipinu!’”

It is quite certain that the direction in these two passages is not oriented towards the speaker or the “deictic center”. It is noteworthy that the duplicate to (14) *KUB* 33.4 ii 17 (also NS) has *piyēt*, while *KUB* 33.8 ii 22 (NS) in a similar context also has *uyēt*.⁵

(15) *KUB* 14.3 i 6-9 (NH; Tawagalawa letter)

nu=m[u U]N-an IGI-anda uiyat ARAD-anni=wa=mu dā nu=wa=mu
^{LÚ}*tuḫkantin uiya nu=wa=mu ITTI* ^dUTU^{šl} *uwatezzi nu=šši* ^{LÚ}TARTENU
uiyanun

“He sent a person to meet me (saying): ‘Take me into servitude! Send the crown-prince to me, and he shall bring me to Your Majesty.’ So I sent the crown-prince to him.”

This example confirms that *uiya-* has no inherent directionality, since it is used indifferently for both motion towards the speaker in the first instance and motion away from the speaker in the second.

(16) *KBo* 4.8 ii 13-14 (NH; Tawananna Affair)

kī=ya=an 1-an dammešḫanunun IŠTU É.GAL-LIM=pat=kan kuit katta
uiyanun

“And I also did her this one harm, that I sent her down from the *palace*.”

The banishment of the *tawananna* undeniably refers to motion away from the speaker.

(17) *KUB* 1.1+ iii 10-11 (NH; Apology of Hattušili)

^{URU}*Ḫakpiššaš=ma kururiyaḫta [nu] LÚ.MEŠ Gašga*^{HI.A}*uiyanun n=an IŠTU*
^{NÍ}.TE=*YA SIG*₅-*aḫḫun*

5 It is mildly unfortunate that *KUB* 17.10 i 35, a MS copy of the Telipinu myth, has [*IŠ-P*]UR, so that we cannot determine which Hittite verb was used. Both *uiye/a-* and *pe/iyē/a-* are securely attested in OH/OS: x-x-x[] *iššāz LUGAL-i atti=mi u-i-x[]* (*KUB* 26.35:3) and [^o-a]n *arḫa imma piyēzzi* (*KUB* 36.106 Ro' 5).

“But Hakpis became hostile, [so] I drove out the Kaskeans and on my own put it (the city) in order.”

The context argues for the given interpretation with Otten (1981: 17) contra van den Hout (2003: 199). The sense is confirmed by the parallel *KUB* 1.7 ii 6, which adds *arḥa*, but it is crucial to note that there is no space in *KUB* 1.1 iii 11 for any restoration beyond [*nu*]. Thus *uiya-* by itself could mean ‘banish, drive away’. This passage is surely also the source for the second meaning ‘jagen’ given by Friedrich (1952: 232). For the sense ‘banish, drive away’ for the combination *arḥa uiya-* see also *KUB* 14.8 Vo 17-18 and the Plague Prayers *passim*, but here of course the directionality is overtly signaled by the preverb.

The sense ‘banish, drive (away)’ of enemies shows that *uiya-* did not originally necessarily imply control of the object by the subject. Thus the meaning ‘send’ is secondary. Example (17) also shows that the preverb *arḥa* also was not originally required for the meaning ‘drive away, banish’. These facts argue for an original **au-(Hi)Hyeh₁-* ‘*cast away’. However, as in the case of Luvian *u-up-pa-* ‘carry’ from original **‘carry off, remove’*, the sense of Hittite *uiya-* was mostly bleached to a more general ‘drive, send’, without implication of direction. This led already in Old Hittite to creation of a new univerbation with the productive *pē-* for ‘send off, hin-schicken’.⁶

IV. Conclusions

Hittite *uppi/a-* means ‘send’ without specification of directionality and contains no prefix. CLuvian (*u-*)*up-pa-* ‘carry’ and HLuv. (CAPERE)*u-pa-* ‘carry’ contain a prefix /o:-/ originally indicating motion away, but the meaning was bleached to simply ‘carry’. Likewise, Hittite *u-i-e/ya-* contains a prefix /o:-/ and originally meant ‘send/drive away’, but was bleached to simply ‘send/drive’. None of these verbs has anything to do with the Hittite prefix /u:-/ spelled <ú> indicating motion toward the speaker (contra Melchert 1994: 104 and all others).

6 It seems likely, though not strictly provable, that the “bleaching” of the sense of **au-* ‘away’ was tied to its relative lack of productivity in both Hittite and Luvian.

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WHAT DOES A *ḪUWAŠI* LOOK LIKE ?

*Patrick Maxime MICHEL**

Since the end of my PhD,¹ new information has come to light regarding the shape of hittite *ḫuwaši*.

The recently published Band III/2 of the Hethitisches Wörterbuch gives a very complete catalogue of data concerning the word *ḫuwaši*.

The very word is translated as “Stele, Kultstein; Stelen (-Areal)” and several categories are created to distinguish different kinds of *ḫuwaši*. The object is sometimes describe as “good” (*aššu-*) or “polish” (*ḫašḫaš-*) (KUB 25, 23 (+) i 34),² “covered with metal” (KUB 15, 1 ii 3 sq.) or “cut up” (Bo. 2004/1). It is normally made of stone, as indicated by the determinative NA₄, but can also be attested in wood or metal. Two different metals are known for *ḫuwaši*: silver (KÜ.BABBAR in KBo 26, 228 i 9. and KBo. 26, 197: 4) and iron (AN.BAR in KUB 17, 35 ii 35). Finally the *ḫuwaši* can be plated (*ḫališšiant-*), mostly with silver (Bo. 4071 = CTH 790, KBo 2, 1 ii 12 sq. and KUB 17, 35 ii 6 sq.), or decorated (CTH 525, KUB 17, 35 ii 6 and CTH 584, KUB 15, 1 ii 3-4). In the difficult Cult Inventory KBo 2, 1 i 33,³ it is attested once with relief on it. Size is also variable as portable *ḫuwaši* are as well attested (KUB 35, 133 (+) I 15 sq.).

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1 P. M. Michel, *Le culte des pierres à Emar à l'époque Hittite*, OBO 266, (Fribourg, Göttingen 2014).

2 *Ibid.* 162, note 190.

3 *Ibid.* 146–147.

A definition had been earlier given by Puhvel: “stone or wood pillar, occasionally with metal (silver, iron), serving as outdoors or sheltered cult object, or as boundary marker”.⁴

As mentioned in the *HW* (2013, 830), the word *huwaši* is attested, during the middle-hittite period, written ^{na4}ZI.KIN⁵ explained by J.-M. Durand⁶ as a pseudo-Akkadogram based on *sikkānu*. This was already anticipated by Bossert,⁷ who could not know at that time the occurrences of the word *sikkānu* in the texts from Mari, Emar or Tell Munbaqa⁸. The equation *huwaši* = ZI.KIN is confirmed by CTH 594, where A (KUB 10, 18) gives ^{na4}ZI.KIN, text B (KUB 10, 17) writes syllabically (^{na4}*hu-wa-ši-ia*).

Following the definitions, a *huwaši* is normally used in a ritual context and is made of stone (with determinative NA₄), but can also be attested in wood or metal. From most of the ritual texts and Cult Inventories, one understands that it could be considered a *standing stone*⁹.

Erratic bloc or cut up stone?

If the *huwaši* is made of stone, one could raise the question whether the stone is an erratic bloc, a sculpted stone or a cut up rock. The site of Šarišša¹⁰, with a sanctuary not far from the ancient city (fig. 1), answers perhaps a part of the question.¹¹

4 J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* III (Berlin 1991) 438.

5 M. Darga, “Über das Wesen des Huwaši-Steines nach Hethitischen Kultinventaren“, *Revue hittite et asianique* 27, (1969) 5–24, was right in identifying the word with the Hittite word for standing stone.

6 J.-M. Durand, *Le culte des pierres et les monuments commémoratifs en Syrie amorrite*, Mémoires de NABU 9, FM VIII, (Paris 2005) 173.

7 H. Th. Bossert, « Das H-H Wort für ‘Malstein’ », *Belleten (Türk Tarih Kurumu)* 16 n°64 (1952) 504.

8 On standing stones in Syria, see for example J.-M. Durand, *Le culte des pierres et les monuments commémoratifs en Syrie amorrite*, Mémoires de NABU 9, FM VIII, (Paris 2005); A. Nunn, “Bildhaftigkeit und Bildlosigkeit im Alten Orient“, in Shehata, D., Weisershäuser F., Zand K. V. (eds.), *Von Göttern und Menschen, Beiträge zu Literatur und Geschichte des Alten Orients, Festschrift für Brigitte Groneberg*, (2010), 131–168 and Castel, C., “Al-Rawda et le culte des pierres dressées en Syrie à l’âge du Bronze“, in Tara Steimer-Herbet (ed.), *Pierres levées, stèles anthropomorphes et dolmens / Standing stones, anthropomorphic stelae and dolmens, Actes du colloque international d’Amman 15-17 juin 2007*, BAR S2317 (2011) 69–88.

9 For a discussion about *huwaši* as “sanctuary”, see P. M. Michel, OBO 266, 35 sq.

10 A. Müller-Karpe & alii, “Untersuchungen in Kuşaklı 1996”, *MDOG* 129 (1997) 103–142; 130 (1998) 93–174; 131 (1999) 79–91; about Kuşaklı and its temple see also *MDOG* 132 (2000) 311–353, *MDOG* 133 (2001) 225–250, *MDOG* 134 (2002) 331–351, *MDOG* 136 (2004) 103–135, *MDOG* 137 (2005) 137–172, *MDOG* 138 (2006) 15–42 and M. Zick, “Sarıssa –die Heimat des Wettergottes“, *Bild der Wissenschaft* 6 (2000) 34–38.

11 For another point of view, see M. Cammarosano (forthcoming.) I thank my colleague for the very challenging discussions.

Two rock blocks (one bigger than the other one) have been found in an important building of 48 m by 45 m together with ceramics dating back to the Imperial Period, giving a context that dates back to the same period as the texts found in building A of the acropolis. The sanctuary also contained an adjacent sacred pond. If the identification of this pond (ŐupitaŐŐu) is correct, it is then possible to postulate that those two stones are the *̕uwaŐi* of the Storm-god and his consort Anzili.¹²

The two stone blocks being part of the sanctuary, they would be the first identifiable *̕uwaŐi* known. The stones are raw and unpolished blocks coming from the surrounding cliffs. From KuŐaklı, we could admit a specific category of standing stone: un-worked blocks. Two others stones could perhaps be added in the identifiable *̕uwaŐi*, but as cut up stones: the stones on Kızılarkaya (Maidens' Rock) in BoŐazkŐy and the KarahŐyŐk limestone stela.

Outside texts and archaeology, iconography is the better way to try to discover a form and a typology of Hittite standing stones.

Hieroglyphic monuments

It seems pertinent to include in this study two stone bases dating back to the Empire Period and housed in the Istanbul Museum (inv. N°7775 et 7776 = BOŐAZKŐY 1 & 2) (fig. 2).

Those two bases contained standing objects, likely stones. The Anatolian hieroglyphic sign to designate the object, *̕uwaŐi* is the sign STELE (N°267 of Laroche), which is a combination of the signs « LAPIS » et « SCALPRUM ». The sign represents exactly the very object it is written on.¹³

12 Contrary to what I wrote earlier. The stone of Anzili and the one of LAMA are two different stones, P. M. Michel, OBO 266, 183. See G. Wilhelm, KuŐaklı – ŐariŐŐa, Band 1,1, Keilschrifttexte aus Gebäude A (Rahden, 1997) 14–15.

13 See also H. Th. Bossert, "Das H-H Wort fŐr 'Malstein'", *Belleten* (TŐrk Tarih Kurumu) 16 n°64 (TŐrk Tarih Kurumu), (Ankara 1952) 508.

This same sign is also attested elsewhere, especially on the so-called Emirgazi “altars” (fig. 3). On those monuments, the sign STELE designating them appears on lines 3, 6, 7, 24 and 27. STELE is however different from offering table (and maybe from altar), that normally appears with the sign MENSA (*Klappstuhl*).

In cuneiform writing, “altar” is attested under the logogram ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA (Hitt. *ištana-*). The offering table, normally made of wood, is attested under ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR (no Hittite reading). A. Ünal, in a very interesting article,¹⁴ has demonstrated that the Hittites called the “altars/offering tables” with ^{GIŠ} even though they are mostly made of stone.

A distinction should perhaps be made: BANŠUR, normally of wood, is the offering table while “altar”, a sacred object, is made of stone. In Ünal’s article, the iconographic data studied concern mainly the stone monument which is unfortunately equated with the wooden table BANŠUR of texts.¹⁵ The latter should not be confused with “altar”.¹⁶ The comparison of cuneiform sources and iconographic data used in the study of Ünal is the right methodology. The hypothesis of interpretation of the cultic objects and monuments may however be different.

To sum up, a first confusion has been made between iconographical occurrences of stone monuments and their naming in texts,¹⁷ and a second one seems indeed to exist between the two objects “stele” and “altar”.

Tracing the iconographic evolution and history of the object, Ünal observed rightly that “Den Prototypen der altarähnlichen Opfertische kann man auf den k̄arum-zeitlichen Siegelabdrücken aus Acemhöyük und Kültepe

14 A. Ünal, “Zur Beschaffenheit des hethitischen Opfertisches aus philologischer und archäologischer Sicht”, in *Fs. Hrouda* (Wiesbaden 1994) 283–291.

15 The difference between table and altar is however clearly visible in the glyptic. Tables are attested for example on a seal from Büyükkale, see Ünal, *Fs. Hrouda*, 286 and Ünal, *Fs. Hrouda*, fig. 1.4; and from Boğazköy Ünal, *Fs. Hrouda*, fig. 1.6.

16 Vs. Bossert, *Belleten* 16, 497: “Wir beschäftigen uns im Folgenden mit einem Worte (to understand: *wanid-*), das ich 1932 mit ‘Altar’, 1951 mit ‘Malstein’ zu übersetzen versuchte”.

17 In the literature you will find “Tischaltar” as well as “table-shaped altar”, which underline the difficulty of categorizing the very object.

begegnen.¹⁸”. It seems in fact that the first representation of “altar” in Anatolia dates back to the Assyrian Trade Colony Period and that the same shape was conserved until the Empire period.

If the sign L.267, attested on the stone bases from the Istanbul Museum, designates the installation with standing stones put inside the bases, we should admit that L.267 could not be used for “altar”, but rather for the “STELE” = standing stone (Hitt. *ḫuwaši*). Furthermore, we know that the altars I et IV from Emirgazi could be inserted into a rectangular base, which was covered with hieroglyphic writings as well (drawings in Masson 1979 :9). The way the Emirgazi stones were placed in it would have been similar to the stones inserted into the Istanbul bases¹⁹ and perhaps also similar to the Karahöyük stele.²⁰

The Emirgazi inscriptions say that nobody is supposed to change the divine patrons of the stele in question. And this goes well together with the preceding line, which contains the injunction against altering the text of the inscription. In addition, §25 says that those stones must be made TANA “sanctified”. The Luwian term *tana* as known from the Empire-period Emirgazi inscription, indicates a state that a stele is supposed to be in,²¹ and is translated by H. C. Melchert as “sanctified”.²² The consecration of these stones was made by Tudḫaliya IV. This interpretation suggests that the Emirgazi stones are a kind of *ḫuwaši* rather than altars.

The text of the monument itself supports such an hypothesis as a word *hwa-sa-ti*-(sic !) appears beside the STELE sign. For this reason, I suggested to read the Emirgazi monument as follow:²³

§11 DEUS-ní-zi/a STELE kwi/a-i(a)-sa hwi/a-sa-ti-sa

18 Ünal, *Fs. Hrouda*, 290.

19 E. Masson, “Les inscriptions louvites hiéroglyphiques d’Emirgazi”, *Journal des Savants* (1979) 9 and fig. 2.

20 Several examples of hieroglyphic monuments are, in fact, bases, see also Bossert, *Belleten* 16, 498, 506: “Man darf jedoch ohne weiteres annehmen, dass alle Stelen mit ihrem untersten Teil in Basen oder in Erdboden eingelassen waren (...)”

21 M. Weeden, “Tuwati and Wasusarma: imitating the Behaviour of Assyria”, *Iraq* 72, (2010) 52, note 86.

22 C. Melchert, “Luvian /tāna-/ ‘sanctified, inviolable’”, *Historische Sprachforschung* 110 (1997).

23 Warm thanks to Ilya Yakubovitch for his very friendly help.

Whose *huwaši* is the stele for the gods,

§12 i(a)-zi/a-tá-sa wa/i-tá STELE pa-sa-‘ hwi/a-sa-ti-sa i(a)-zi/a-i(a)-ru.
let the stele to be made become the *huwaši* of that one.

This interpretation²⁴ would clearly indicate that the demonstrative refers to the stone on which the inscription appears. In the translation, one could only recognize the equivalent made between STELE and *huwaši* : the STELE is the *huwaši* of the god. One could also think that the Emirgazi monuments are indeed altars, and that the STELE to which the text refers was a standing stone placed in the rectangular base, within the altars. However, the text indicates a plural form which identifies all the standing stone monuments as being STELE (§24 with demonstrative plural *zaya*). All of them have to be made *tana*, and all of them, as being holy, should be protected.

If the precise reading of the logogram STELE is unknown, it seems to be a generic sign for numbers of different standing stones. In several cases, it could well refer to the known cultic standing stones worshipped in the rituals.

With respect to the Emirgazi monuments and their inscriptions, we could consider that they belong to a specific category of standing stones, which is the Hittite *huwaši* of the gods. The rituals with *huwašis* dating back to Tudḫaliya IV are well documented. From this, one could postulate that the Emirgazi monuments are, under Tudḫaliya IV, considered as part of the sacred standing stones, known in Hittite under the word *huwaši*.

Hawkins wanted to identify the Emirgazi “altars” with the mushroom shaped (fungiform) objects depicted on the Hittite vase of Inandık.²⁵ Let’s have a look at the vase’s iconography.

24 See P. M. Michel, “New reading of the Emirgazi monuments”, *N.A.B.U* 2015/1, (2015) 20-23.

25 D. Hawkins, “Tudḫaliya the Hunter”, in: Th. P. J. van den Hout (ed.), *Proceedings of a symposium held in Honour of J. de Roos* (Leiden 2006) 49–76, specially 57.

Hittite vases

The so-called “altars” are depicted in ritual scenes on several Old Hittite vases: *Inandık* and *Hüseyindedede* for example.

On the Inandık vase (fig. 4):²⁶ the standing stone monument, covered with some motifs, appears in the 2nd register between a structure with small human beings on it, a Hittite vase and a bed with two people : the king and the queen. It is worth noting that the vase depicted on the Inandık vase is identical to the Inandık vase itself. Thus, the very vase is represented on its own decoration, in a ritual context. On the 3rd register, a libation is offered to the stone, in front of a figure.

On the Hüseyindedede vase (fig. 5):²⁷ the scene showing the stone monument is similar to the one on the Inandık vase, but in this scene, the vase is missing.

In this iconography, the stone monument is attested in ritual contexts, with music, offerings and sacrifice of animals.

Music during rituals is well attested by texts that mention the INANNA-instruments and *galgaturi*-castanet²⁸.

For T. Yıldırım,²⁹ the vases of Hüseyindedede³⁰ are vases with “narrative representations of spring festivals organized in honour of the local Storm-god in the countryside of Hatti where agriculture depends of fertility and reproduction”. Furthermore, rituals texts dealing with spring festivals for the Storm-god underline the role and the importance of the standing stone of the god, like in KUB XI 22 obv. I 1-5 (CTH 611):

26 S. Alp, *Beiträge zur Erforschung des Hethitischen Tempels. Kultanlagen im Lichte der Keilschrifttexte: Neue Deutungen* (Ankara 1993) 90–100. See also P. E. McGovern, *Ancient Wine : the search of the origins of viniculture* (Princeton 2003) 176 sq. and V. Haas, *Geschichte der Hethitischen Religion* (Leiden, New York City, Köln 1994) 525 sq.

27 T. Yıldırım, “Yörüklü/Hüseyindedede: Eine neue hethitische Siedlung im Südwesten von Çorum”, *Istanbulur Mitteilungen* 50 (2000) 43–62, and T. Yıldırım, “New scenes on the second relief vase from Hüseyindedede”, *SMEA* 50 (2008) 842. See also T. Sipahi, “New Evidence From Regarding Bull Leaping Scenes in the Art of the Aegean and the Near East”, *Anatolica* 27 (2001) 107–125.

28 de Martino, S., 1997, “Musik. A. III. Bei den Hethitern”, *RIA* 8, 484 sq.

29 T. Yıldırım, *SMEA* 50, 845.

30 Different vases have been found on this site.

A-NA GIŠ^[HLA GIŠ] TÚG *ku-it*

ŠA^{DU} URU *Ha-at-ti* NA⁴ *hu-u-wa-ši*

I-NA É *tar-nu-ú-i ar-ta-ri*

[k]u-wa-pí-ma-za LUGAL-uš EZEN₄ AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}

[h]a-me-eš-ḫi i-ya-zi

“[W]hen the king celebrates the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival in [s]pring, the Storm-God of Ḫatti’s *huwaši*-stone stands in the É *tarmu*- in the box[wood gr]ove.”

Our interpretation of this iconographic corpus is close to the one proposed by Yıldırım. These vases are certainly ritual objects, containing perhaps the wheat used to make bread during the spring festival (so-called storage vessel of the Storm-god), and their decoration is directly linked to their practical use in a ritual context. The vase shows the ritual context in its own decoration.

It is thereby worth considering the ritual texts, especially spring festivals (CTH 604-625 of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM), rather than interpreting the iconographical programme of the vases as a hierogamy. The presence of the bull in a sacrifice scene of the Inandik vase strongly identifies the vases with the cult of the Storm-god³¹. The hierogamy is indeed excluded from the interpretation of the silver drinking vessels (Boston fist cup, Schimmel’s rhyton) whose iconographic programme are the same.

The hieroglyphic text of the Emirgazi monument, newly interpreted, sheds some light on this stone monument and clearly identifies the very object as being a *huwaši* (with the Luwian hapax).

As claimed before, these standing stones, attested on several vases, are very similar to the Emirgazi monuments. Does it mean that the new interpretation of the Emirgazi monuments proposed in this paper could change the interpretation of the iconographic programme of the Old Hittite vases? If the interpretation of the Emirgazi monument as *huwaši* is correct, is it then possible to identify the stones on the Old Hittite vases as another instance of the same object?

The motifs visible on the lower part of the stone monuments (Inandik,

31 The Alaca Höyük orthostats represent as well the cult of the Storm-god (bull), in the same way.

Hüseyindede, Alaca, Fraktin) should still be explained. It is usually interpreted as AD.KID³²: altars made of wicker-work. But if the monument is made of stone and is not an altar, could it be pieces of fabric around the base³³ or a way to probably schematize hieroglyphs, as it is still visible on the Emirgazi monuments ? The first proposition implies a wooden table, which seems excluded for the round-topped cylindrical objects we are dealing with. The second is probable. The latter hypothesis, interesting for its correlation with archeological findings, is problematic in a way, because it would make admissible the existence of the Anatolian hieroglyphs already during the Old Hittite Period - a hotly debated question.³⁴

In conclusion, what does a *huwaši* look like ?

This contribution was intended to show that the Hittite *huwaši* is above all a stone object used in rituals to materialize the divinity. One might legitimately ask if these stone monuments were crude, natural blocks or cut up stones. In the first category we might classify the two rocks from the *extra-muros* sanctuary of Šarišša; in the second we might categorize the stones on “Maidens’ Rock” (Kızlarkaya) in Boğazköy and the Karahöyük limestone stele.

Additionally, the new proposed reading for the monuments of Emirgazi, commonly referred to as “altars,” allows us to augment the corpus of Hittite sacred standing stones. King Tudḫaliya IV did in fact name these monuments by the Luwian hapax *hwa-sa-ti-*. This reference permits us to suggest that the mushroom-shaped objects, typically interpreted as Hittite altars, were in reality considered to be *huwaši* (and likewise that offerings could be placed upon them). We should thus avoid using the term “altar” to designate these monuments. Hawkins already years ago underscored the analogy between the objects reproduced on vases and the monuments at Emirgazi. If the new interpretation of the Emirgazi inscriptions is correct,

32 A. Ünal, *Fs. Hrouda*, 383–291.

33 The practice is attested in the Hittite texts with the garments TUG or GAD.

34 Vs. I. Yakubovich, *Hittite-Luvian Bilingualism and the Development of Anatolian Hieroglyphs*, *Colloquia Classica and Indogermanica* 4 (2008).

we are correct in asking if the figural scenes decorating the vases of Inandık and Hüseyindede might not represent a springtime festival in honor of the local Storm-god. Furthermore, during these festivals, libation and offering rituals took place for the sacred stone of the god, to the sound of Inanna's musical instruments. This is precisely what is manifest in text CTH 611: the *huwaši* of the god who appears in the *tarnu* is the one who receives the offerings. In conclusion, we propose the hypothesis that the mushroom-shaped objects appearing on the Hittite relief vases are materializations of the Storm-god and not altars, and that this particular standing stone's shape endured until the imperial age.

FIGURES



Fig.1 Pierres Sarissa (Photographer: Stephan Balmer (UNIBE))

WHAT DOES A ҒUWAՏI LOOK LIKE ?



Fig.2 STELE Istanbul



Fig.3 Emirgazi

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- HW Hethitisches Wörterbuch
- HZL Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon
- MDOG Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
- NABU Notes d'Assyriologie brèves et utilitaires
- OBO Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
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CORPUS STUDY OF INFORMATION STRUCTURE IN HITTITE: NEGATION AND WORD ORDER¹

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Abstract:

Position of negation in the Hittite clause has long been discussed in the literature, especially concerning negation fronting and the placement of preverbs as well as negation markers in relation to each other in the preverbal position. However, none of the previous research has so far used corpus approach. This paper presents quantitative data on the position of negation markers in the Hittite clause, based on a syntactically annotated corpus of clauses from Hittite letters and instructions. Thus it offers a new understanding for word order in preverb-negation sequences and for negation fronting in Hittite.

Key words: Hittite, syntax, negation, word order, corpus approach, preverbs, information structure

1. Introduction

Word order in negated clauses in Hittite has already been widely discussed, see most recently Sideltsev 2015a, 2015b, 2016 and Hackstein 2014, 2015, among others. Still, as those works are not based on a syntactically annotated corpus, I hope to add some new, mostly quantitative, contribution

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1 In 2017–2019 the Hittite corpus is being developed under the project “Typology of verse genesis” (Hittite meter research), supported by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research, project #17-06-00392.

to the discussion. My research is based on an online corpus of syntactically annotated Hittite clauses, representing the results of an on-going corpus project at the Institute of Linguistics (Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow) supervised by Dr. Andrej Sideltsev. The corpus covers all Hittite letters and instructions published by Hoffner (2009); Beckman et al. (2011) and Miller (2013) and is now being published online at <http://hittitecorpus.ru> (Molina & Sideltsev 2015–). The basic element of the corpus is the clause, annotated for a number of parameters, including word order (SOV–OSV), clause type (positive, negative, interrogative: rhetorical and non-rhetorical), information structure (focus-comment-topic). The global aim of the project is to get quantitative data on syntax and information structure of the Hittite clause. One particular goal of the work is to analyse the position of the Hittite negation in the clause, particularly in questions, the scope of negation and the placement of preverbs in relation to negation, in order to find out more about their nature and the conditions of their placement. The current research on the corpus comprises the following questions:

- 1) How frequent are non-canonical positions of the negation marker in Hittite?
- 2) How are these positions conditioned?

2. Quantitative data

The online corpus currently contains 3807 clauses, 145 clauses from the Old Hittite material, 1826 clauses from the Middle Hittite and 1836 clauses from the New Hittite texts, with 12, 141 and 259 negated clauses respectively, 412 negated clauses in total. The preliminary statistical data cover most Hittite letters published by Hoffner (2009), with an exception of several letters from the Mašat archive. Some instructions have not yet been included into the corpus for technical reasons (see the supplements for a list of all texts included into the current research).

The material was also analysed for different types of negation markers and negative pronouns, which in Hittite should be considered as negation marker plus negative polarity items (NPI, for the detailed account of the nature of

NPI in Hittite see now Sideltsev 2016). The types of Hittite negation markers are represented in Tab. 1; Tab. 2 summarizes the types of Hittite negative pronouns; the quantitative information is shown in Tab. 3.:

<i>natta/ŪL/UL/NU.GÁL</i>	negative of assertion
<i>lē</i>	negative of prohibition
<i>nāwi</i>	negative with the meaning ‘not yet’
<i>nūman/nūwan</i>	negative of wish or potential
<i>nekku</i>	negative with the meaning ‘not... somehow’

Tab 1. Negation markers in Hittite (following Hoffner & Melchert 2008)²

<i>natta/ ŪL kuiski</i>	‘no one’	NOM.COM
<i>natta/ ŪL kuinki</i>	‘no one’	ACC.COM
<i>natta/ ŪL kuitki</i>	‘nothing’	NOM/ACC. N
<i>natta/ ŪL kuis</i>	‘no one’	NOM.COM
<i>natta/ ŪL kuit</i>	‘no one’	NOM/ACC.N
<i>natta/ ŪL kuedaniki</i>	‘no one’	DAT-LOC
<i>natta/ ŪL kuwapikki</i>	‘no where’	
<i>natta/ ŪL kuwatka</i>	‘no reason’	
<i>nawi kuiski</i>	‘no one’	NOM.COM
<i>lē kuiski</i>	‘no one’	NOM.COM: before the verb in imperative

Tab 2. Negative pronouns in Hittite (they always consist of a negation marker plus—commonly—indefinite or—rarely—relative pronouns)

2 The Hittite material is given in narrow transliteration. *Plene* writing is reflected as vowel length mark, which follows the traditional way to transcribe *plene* in narrow transliteration. On the problem of *plene* in Hittite and its reference to vowel length and accent see most recently Kloekhorst 2015.

Negation marker	Number of clauses
<i>natta/ŪL/UL/NU/NU.GAL</i>	324
NH	201
<i>ŪL</i>	139
<i>UL</i>	49
NU	2
NU.GÁL	11
MH	113
<i>natta</i>	3
<i>ŪL</i>	103
<i>UL</i>	1
NU.GÁL	6
OH	10
<i>natta</i>	5
<i>ŪL</i>	4
NU.GÁL	1
<i>lē</i>	82
NH	55
MH	25
OH	2
<i>nāwi</i>	5
NH	5
<i>nāwi</i>	3
<i>nawi</i>	2
<i>nūman</i>	1
NH	0
MH	1
Total NH	261
Total MH	139
Total OH	12
Total negated	412

Tab. 3. Quantitative data for different types of negation in the Hittite letters and instructions

If we look at the distribution of negation markers in Hittite, the following Diagrams 1 and 2 best visualize our corpus data. The most frequent negation markers are, naturally, *natta* (negation of assertion) and *lē* (negation of prohibition). One should notice that in our New Hittite material only three markers of negation have been found, namely *natta* (*ŪL/UL/NU/NU.GÁL* in writing), *nawi* and prohibitive *lē*; while in the Middle Hittite material *nūman* is also attested. There are no instances attested for *nekku* yet.

The material shows (rather roughly) that in New Hittite *natta* gives 77% of all negation markers, 21% — *lē*, and *nawi* is only 2%. In Middle Hittite *natta* represents 81% of all cases of negation, 18% — *lē*, 1% is *nūman*. For the Old Hittite period the material is too scarce to be statistically relevant. In general, 79% of all negated clauses in our material are sentences with *natta*, 20% — with *lē*.

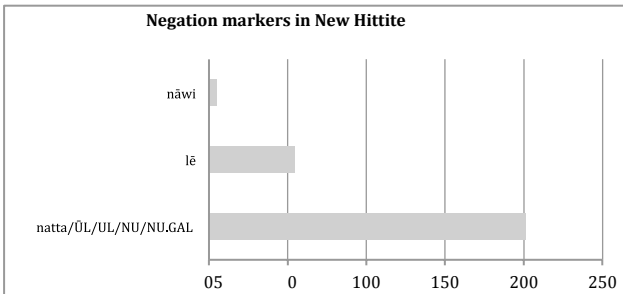


Diagram 1. Negation markers in the New Hittite letters and instructions

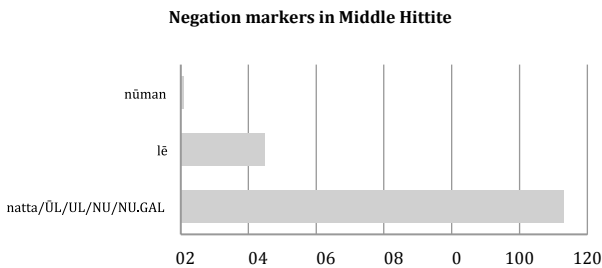


Diagram 2. Negation markers in the Middle Hittite letters and instructions

3. *Position of negation in the clause*

It was long established by Hoffner (1986:86) that the normal position of a negation marker in Hittite is preverbal. My corpus data confirm this yet again. The majority of negated clauses (see Tab. 4, Diagram 3 below) unambiguously show immediately preverbal position, just as described in Hoffner & Melchert 2008 and in Hoffner 1986. “Unclear position” in Tab. 4 means that either the clause is too damaged or the position of negation marker is ambiguous between preverbal and internal, preverbal and fronted, internal and fronted. If there is a preverb in the clause, the basic position for *natta* and *lē* is between preverb and verb, but there are exceptions. These conditions are very well known, and present undoubtedly the most neutral, canonical word order of negation markers in Hittite.

More interesting are non-canonical cases: fronted (clause first/initial), clause internal (other than immediately preverbal) and postverbal positions. They are quite rare, but regular: for 306 cases of immediately preverbal position in my corpus (OH, MH and NH, 74.26% of all cases) there are 38 cases (9.22%) of fronted negation markers, 15 clause internal negation markers, 14 postverbal ones, and 39 other cases, mostly unclear, but also negations with narrow scope on noun phrases. It should be mentioned that at least in our corpus *natta* is fronted distinctly more often (in relation to the overall amount of negated clauses) than the other negation markers, and for *lē* postverbal position seems to be a consistently regular strategy.

It should be mentioned here that frequency of postverbal position in Hittite in general was roughly estimated in Luraghi 2012 as 1% (with no statistical data, to my knowledge), and postverbal position of negations – as less than 1%. The preliminary results of our quantitative research of postverbal position in Middle Hittite (on the material of letters) was published recently in Molina 2014: 1,68% of postverbal clauses (no data for postverbal negation). Sideltsev (2015a) accounted for the postverbal position as a rare, but regular strategy.

The data of the current research represented in Tab. 4 show that postverbal

position makes even more: 3,4% for all the letters and instructions, which reflects its regular character, but needs more research on a wider corpus. It is twice as many as the data in Molina 2014 and Sideltsev 2015a. Scarcity of good examples limits the reliability of the statistical data, as just one lost or misunderstood case might significantly change the situation, but, nonetheless, postverbal negations certainly make more than 1% in MH and NH letters and instructions. We suggest preliminarily that the negation marker takes preverbal position, most probably a focus one, which reflects the structure of immediately preverbal position (for analysis of postverbal position, copying the structure of immediately preverbal position, see Sideltsev 2015a).

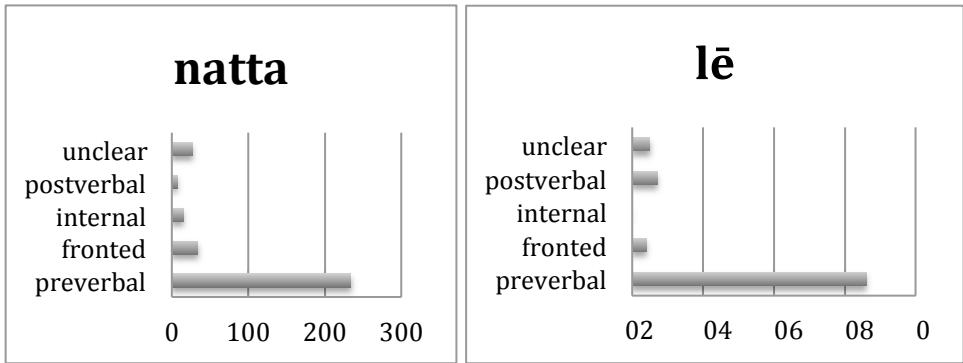


Diagram 3. Position of *natta* and *lē* in general

All figures concerning the position of negation in the Hittite clause given above include cases with NPI, though their position was annotated as well as an additional option. The results of this additional annotation go as follows: for the New Hittite material there are 36 clauses with NPI, and for the Middle Hittite material there are 17 clauses with NPI. In most cases, even more consistently than for negation markers in general, NPIs show exclusive preverbal position, and even in cases when negation marker is fronted, NPIs stay preverbally, — the split demonstrates their nature as NPI (and not just negative pronouns).

NH	Number of clauses	Per cent of all negated clauses
<i>natta</i>	201	77.31% of all negated in NH
preverbal	143	71.14% of all <i>natta</i>
fronted	21	10.45%
internal	14	6.96%
postverbal	4	1.99%
unclear	18	8.96%
<i>lē</i>	55	21.15% of all negated in NH
preverbal	45	81.82% of all <i>lē</i>
fronted	4	7.27%
internal	0	0
postverbal	2	3.64%
unclear	4	7.27%
<i>nāwi</i>	5	1.92% of all negated in NH
preverbal	5	100% of all <i>nāwi</i>
MH		
<i>natta</i>	113	79.02% of all negated in MH
preverbal	87	76.99% of all <i>natta</i>
fronted	11	9.73%
internal	1	0.88%
postverbal	3	2.65%
unclear	8	7.08%
<i>lē</i>	25	17.48% of all negated in MH
preverbal	19	76% of all <i>lē</i>
fronted	0	0
internal	0	0
postverbal	5	20%
unclear	1	4%
<i>nūman</i>	1	0.7% of all negated in MH
preverbal	1	100% of all <i>nūman</i>

Tab. 4. Position of negation markers in the clause (NU.GÁL included into *natta*)

There are 3 fronted negation markers split from NPIs in the NH part of the corpus (KUB 14.3 i 54, KUB 14.3 i 54–55, BLMJ 1143 obv. 10–11), and 3 fronted negation markers split from NPIs in the Middle Hittite material (ABoT 65 rev. 11–13). There are also 2 postverbal negation markers with NPIs (1 MH, 1 NH), and 2 internal ones (1 MH, 1 NH), all of them are *lē kuiški*.

This is the weak spot where our annotation needs further research to provide annotators with the stricter rules for fronted/internal positions. One example of an ambiguous case is BLMJ obv. 10–11: here *lē* is placed in the initial position in order to provide a host for second position Wackernagel’s clitics (ex. 1). It was preliminarily annotated as fronted, and no corrections have been made to the annotation so far, but the sentence is too short to consider the position as indeed fronted.

(1) NH/NS (CTH 204) BLMJ 1143 obv. 10–11 (Hoffner 2009:372)		
<i>lē=war=an</i>	<i>kuiški</i>	<i>dammešhai-zzi</i>
NEG=QUOT=PRON.3SG.ACC	someone.3SG.NOM	damage.3SG.PRS
‘No one should oppress him’		

However, most negation markers with NPIs unambiguously show immediately preverbal position.

As far as the sequence preverb-negation is concerned, when they are both present in the clause in preverbal position, the standard placement of the negation marker is after the preverb and before the verb. It is well known, though, see for attestations Hoffner & Melchert 2008, CHD L-N 1990, that in some cases the negation marker goes before the preverb. In our material the usual frequency of the word order negation-preverb is 10.71% for MH period, 47.82% for NH period, and, consequently, it is 27.45% in average. A positive trend can be noticed from Middle to New Hittite to use negation-preverb word order more frequently (figures, however, still need more consideration and a larger corpus).

Hoffner & Melchert (2008:341–2) explicitly write that “with preverbal constructions *natta* (and other negatives...) breaks the nexus between preverb and verb... There are occasional exceptions to this rule with *anda*..., but no exceptional examples with *arha*, *katta(n)*, *parā*, or *šarā*.” Our corpus data do not agree with this assertion: in NH data there are 3 examples of negation marker before *anda* (2 *natta*, 1 *lē*), 2 examples before *parā* (1 *natta*, 1 *lē*), 2 examples before *arha* (both times *ŪL kuitki*); in MH data 2 examples before *anda* (*natta* and NU.GÁL *kuiški*), 1 example before *appa* (*natta*), 2 examples before *šarā*.

4. Negation fronting: interrogative contexts and contrastive focusing

Now the most regular non-canonical position of negation in Hittite-fronted, i.e. clause initial/first, should be discussed. In the most recent Hittite grammar Hoffner & Melchert (2008:342–3) suggest that negation fronting is limited to rhetorical questions and in general to emphatic assertion. It is quite paradoxical that, even though Hoffner in his classical paper on negation in Hittite (Hoffner 1986) explicitly stated that negation fronting is in no way limited to rhetorical questions, subsequent research tended to ignore his observation. No less paradoxical is the fact that a quantitative approach to the Hittite material of letters and instructions shows very clearly that indeed such a limitation exists. However it should be formulated rather as follows:

negation fronting correlates with rhetorical questions (if it is a question indeed), but non-fronted negation in a question does not correlate with non-rhetorical contexts, and there is negation fronting in non-interrogative sentences, mostly with emphatic function—in terms of information structure it should comprise contrastive focusing on the negation marker.

The latter assertion can be supported by the following examples from our corpus. Case (2) is obviously an emphatic assertion, representing one of the conditions for negation fronting mentioned by Hoffner & Melchert (2008). For cases (3) and (4) we consider contrastive focusing as well.³

3 In these and in the following examples, focus is marked up with bold letters, negation is underlined.

(2) NH/NS (CTH 181) KUB 14.3 i 74		(Hoffner 2009:305)	
<i>ŪL</i> =aš	šarku-š	LUGAL-u-š	ēš-ta
NEG=PRON.3SG.COM	powerful-NOM.SG.COM	king-NOM.SG.COM	be-3SG.PST
‘Yet he (i.e., Kurunt(iy)a’) was not a mighty king!’			

(3) NH/NS (CTH 181) KUB 14.3 ii 18		(Hoffner 2009:306)	
<i>(mān ŠEŠ-YA namma IQBI ammel=wa memian ŪL IŠMI)</i>			
<i>ŪL</i> =war=aš=mu		<i>kāri tiya-t</i>	
NEG=QUOT=PRON.3SG.NOM=PRON.1SG.GEN		grant.3SG.PST	
‘My brother would have said again: “He didn’t hear what I said,) nor has he complied with my request” ’			

(4) NH/NS (CTH 176) KUB 21.38 obv. 39 ⁶		(Hoffner 2009:285)	
<i>(ŠEŠ-YA=ma=mu=za NIN-tar nakkiyatar ZI-ni=pat EGIR-pa [ŪL dāš...])</i>			
<i>UL</i> =ya=wa	<i>kui-t</i>	<i>iyauwa-š</i>	
NEG=and=QUOT	what-NOM.SG.N	doing-NOM.SG	
‘But my brother has not accepted in his own mind my status as a sister and my dignity, saying: “[...do not], and do) what should not be done” ’			

All questions were annotated in our corpus as rhetorical/non-rhetorical. The overall number of interrogative sentences in the current material is 105, of them 50 have negation markers and 55 go without negation. The distribution of rhetorical and non-rhetorical questions is as shown in Tab. 5:

Type	Number of clauses, %	
Negated clauses	50	47.62% of all questions
non-rhetorical	13	26% of negated
rhetorical	37	74% of negated
Non-negated clauses	55	52.38% of all questions
non-rhetorical	34	61.82% of non-negated
rhetorical	21	38.18% of non-negated

Tab. 5. *Distribution of rhetorical and non-rhetorical questions*

The problem here is indeed how to detect whether a question is rhetorical or a question at all, as the Hittite scribes did not use any question marks. The only possible approach is contextual. The following example is supposed to demonstrate the principle. Without further context the question might well be non-rhetorical or not a question at all, but with the preceding ‘was that enemy enchanted (that you did not recognize him)’ the rhetorical nature is obvious.

(5) MH/MS (CTH 186) HKM 6 obv. 13–14 (Hoffner 2009:105)		
<i>kāša=wa LÚ.KUR uit nu=wa=za=kan^{URU} Haparan iniššan</i>		
<i>(tamašta^{URU} Kašipuran=ma=wa=kan kēz tamašta</i>		
<i>apāš=ma=wa=kan ištarna arha uit namma=ma=wa<r>=aš</i>		
<i>kuwapi pait nu=war=at ŪL IDI nu apāš LÚ.KUR alwanzahhanza imma ēšta)</i>		
<i>n=an</i>	<i>ŪL</i>	<i>šākt«a-š»</i>
CONN=PRON.3SG.ACC.COM	NEG	know-2SG.PST
<p>((you wrote to me, saying) ...“The enemy has come. He pressed the city Ḫapara on that side (of me) and the city Gašepura on this side. But he himself passed through, and I don’t know where he went”, so–was that enemy enchanted)</p> <p>(that) you did not recognize him?</p>		

See also below four other examples of rhetorical questions from MH material where the context helps to understand if the question is rhetorical or not:

(6) MH/MS (CTH 200) ABoT 60 obv. 17 ^c (Hoffner 2009:177)				
<i>(mān=wa kūn BĀD-an wedanzi)</i>				
<i>nu=wa=šmaš</i>	KASKAL.HI.A	<u>ŪL</u>	EGIR-pa	<i>hišwa-ndari</i>
CONN=QUOT=PRON.3PL	road.PL	NEG	PRV	be.open-3PL. PRS.MID
('If they build this fortress) Will not the roads lie open to them?'				

(7) MH/MS (CTH 190) HKM 55 obv. 31–32 (Hoffner 2009:201)				
<i>(LÚ.MEŠ TE₄MI-YA=mu kuwat ŪL uieškettani tuēl ARAD.MEŠ t[a]riyanzi)</i>				
LÚ.MEŠ	<i>TE₄MI</i>	<u>ŪL</u>	ŠA	BELÍ-NI
man.NOM.PL	messenger.NOM.PL	NEG	of	lord-our
('Why are you (pl.) not sending my messengers (back) to me? Are your servants too tired (to do so)? Do the(se) messengers not belong to our lord?')				

(8) MH/MS (CTH 190) HKM 71 obv. 9 (Hoffner 2009:227)				
<i>(man=wa GA[L] LÚ.MEŠ KUS₄ unnai nu=wa takšulaweni nu=mu apāt mahhan hatřiškeši)</i>				
<i>zik=za</i>	<u>ŪL</u>	BELU		
PRON.2SG.NOM=REFL	NEG	lord		
(' "If only the Commander of the Chariot-warriors would drive here, we would make peace!" You keep writing to me like that!) (But) are <i>you</i> not a lord, (too)?')				

(9) MH/MS (CTH 199) ABoT 65 rev. 6' (Hoffner 2009:252)			
<i>(nu apēdani uddanī aršani[ēš] mamman=za=kan kuiški Ē-er tamaiš arnut)</i>			
<i>man</i>	<i>zik</i>	<u>ŪL</u>	<i>aršani-eše</i>
should	PRON.2SG.NOM	NEG	be.upset-2SG.PRS
('And he became upset about that matter. If someone else had relocated (your) household/ family,) would you not become upset?')			

Compare them to non-rhetorical contexts with negation. It is noteworthy that non-rhetorical questions often include a *wh*-word, and there are almost no *wh*-words in rhetorical contexts, which is another argument in determining the nature of questions (rhetorical vs. non-rhetorical):

(10) MH/MS (CTH 190) HKM 56 obv. 8–10 (Hoffner 2009:203)			
ŠEŠ	DŪG.GA-YA=ma=mu	<i>aššul</i>	<i>kuwat</i>
brother.NOM.SG	dear-my=but=PRON.1SG.DAT	greeting.ACC.SG	why
<u>ŪL</u>	<i>hatrāe-š</i>		
NEG	write-2SG.PST		
'Why, my dear brother, did you not send your greeting to me?'			

(11) NH/NS (CTH) KBo 18.54 rev. 21' (Hoffner 2009:343)		
<i>kuē-zza=wa=kan</i>	<u>ŪL</u>	<i>ḥap-dari</i>
what.abl=QUOT=LOC.PART	NEG	succeed.3SG.PST.MID
'Why will it be impossible?'		

Statistical information on positions of negation in interrogative sentences is presented in the Tab. 6 below:

	All	Rhetorical	Non-rhetorical
Preverbal	35	23	12
Fronted	12	11	1
Internal	3	3	0
Postverbal	0	0	0
Sum	50	37	13

Tab. 6. Negation markers in interrogative sentences

First of all, the data show that rhetorical questions use negation markers three times as frequently as non-rhetorical ones. The figures support the idea that negation in a question was normally used in rhetorical contexts for expressing the contrast, while in non-rhetorical contexts the function of negation is slightly different, as negation regularly stands in predicative focus.

Secondly, the data show that negation normally stands in preverbal position in interrogative contexts in Hittite,—57% in rhetorical and 17% in non-rhetorical questions (the significant difference is explained by the fact that we included clauses with no negation into proportion, thus there are less negated clauses among non-rhetorical questions). This means that non-fronted negation does not correlate with non-rhetorical contexts. Thirdly, negation fronting is attested in 14% of all rhetorical contexts, while in non-rhetorical questions it is attested only in 3% of all cases. These 3% is only 2 examples, actually. If we look at these examples, we can see that both of them might well be considered rhetorical (exx. (3), (4)). Example (4), moreover, looks rather ambiguous regarding the position of the negation marker—there are too few words in the sentence, the negation marker stands before the focus, the understanding of its position as internal is not completely excluded. If one considers these questions as rhetoric, then **every fronted negation question is rhetorical**; and even if there is such a thing as non-rhetorical fronted negation, the number of such contexts is very low. This supports the idea that negation fronting correlates with rhetorical questions.

(12) NH/NS (CTH 209.12) KBo 2.11 rev. 7		(Hoffner 2009:352–4)
<i>ŪL=za=kan</i>	^{URU} KÙ.BABBAR-š-i	<i>šarā</i>
NEG=REFL=LOC.PART	Hattusa-LOC.SG	up
‘Are you not up in Hattusa?’		

(13) MH/MS (CTH 190) HKM 54 obv. 14–15		(Hoffner 2009:198–9)	
<i>man</i>	<i>ŪL</i>	<i>apē-z</i>	<i>da-tta</i>
should	NEG	this-ABL.SG	take-3SG.PST
‘Shouldn’t you have taken from there (the barley and wheat)?’			

Hackstein suggested (pers. comm., Hackstein 2015) that the particle *imma* might serve as a marker for a specific word order (position of fronted negation marker) in Hittite, and therefore, we checked all the material on that particle. Among interrogative clauses there are 1 rhetorical and 1 non-rhetorical context with *imma* in MH (both without negation), 2 contexts with negation and *imma* in preverbal position and 1 in ambiguous (most probably again preverbal) position in the NH material. This means that for now we cannot find any support for a specific role of *imma* in negation fronting.

5. *Negation and focus*

As was shown above, negation fronting in non-interrogative contexts might be associated with contrastive (rejecting) focusing. If a negation marker stands in its own contrastive focus, it can be raised to the projection dedicated for contrastive focusing, i.e. either clause first or immediately preverbal; see Goedegebuure 2014 on the classification of contrastive foci in Hittite and their position in the clause.

Therefore, discussing the reason of non-canonical placement of the negation marker, we should turn to negation scope. As is obvious, a negation marker can have a wide (sentential) scope and a narrow one, over a single constituent. How can we tell one from the other? No formal criteria, to the best of my

understanding, have been offered in the literature. But certain ideas have already been started before. One of them concerns the link between negation scope and focus, see Krifka (2007:15) who introduces the idea of focus/negation scope connection, saying: “Negation has been analyzed as a focus-sensitive particle...”. It is a well-known fact that focus helps in determining the restrictor of quantifiers, in particular adverbial quantifiers, and then has truth-conditional impact as well. One important fact about focus-sensitive operators is that they have to be in a position in which they can scope over their focus:

“For example, *only* in (D) could associate with *Mary*, with *Sue*, with *introduced* or with the whole VP, but not with *John* as it does not c-command *John* on any level of representation.

(D) John only introduced Mary to Sue.” (Krifka 2007)

Thus, we keep to the hypothesis previously discussed in literature that negation scope is closely linked to the focus.

As our corpus is annotated with regard to focus, it is easy to check if there are any negation markers not in focus. There are no cases in the material of the Hittite letters and instructions annotated so far, where we would have thought that negation is not focused. Yet it should be stressed that the notion of focus does not coincide with the notion of negation scope. It is, rather, that illocutionary operators make use of the alternatives introduced by focus. Still, we can technically use this understanding in further argumentation.

Lambrecht (1994) introduced 3 types of basic information structures:

- 1) topic-comment, or structures with predicative focus (for a definition of predicative focus see Lambrecht 1994:221);
- 2) identification, or structures with the focus on one argument;
- 3) focus on the whole sentence (thetic, sentence focus, event-reporting).

Predicative and argument focus are relevant for us when we discuss negation. Predicative focus is, following Lambrecht, a neutral (unmarked) one. Argument focus identifies a focused constituent as an answer to the question “what exactly happened” (while predicative focus answers a more general question “what happened”). If a negation marker stands in its Hittite canonical preverbal position, and the focus in the sentence is predicative, **the wide (sentential) scope of the negation should coincide with the scope of focus, i.e. negation scopes over the whole VP.** If it is argument focus, **the scope of negation is narrow, and it is over the negation marker only, and it is the negation marker that is in focus.** In fact, for the Hittite material Salisbury (2005:217–8), followed by Sideltsev (2015b:827) has already introduced the idea that if a negation stands before a preverb, the word order flags focus, i.e., as stated above, the negation scope is on the focused negation (see now the same idea in).

In terms of information structure, negation marker and preverb in preverbal position can easily follow each other—though negation usually stands immediately before the verb, the preverb can stand between negation and the verb without any big change in the information structure of the clause: negation marker scopes over preverbs even when the former stands after the latter, because the preverb is in the same predicative focus.

This does not actually give us any explanation as to why a preverb and a negation in canonical preverbal position can have both the order negation-preverb and preverb-negation, (NEG-PRV word order appears—regularly!—in about 27% of all cases). The working hypothesis might be:

If a negation marker is preverbal, it scopes over the VP, and it stands in the canonical immediately preverbal position. Standing in predicative information focus, it does not allow the preverb to appear between the negation and the verb. But if the negation is in a contrastive focus, it might allow the preverb to stand lower (but this does not necessarily happen, see exx. (15) and (16) below!).

One additional marker for a contrastive focus on negation is the focusing

particle =*pat*, which sometimes marks the negation, but further research is needed for any assertions on this score. For the placement of negation markers and preverbs in relation to each other see Sideltsev 2015a, 2016.

Corpus approach helps to find rare negated cases where verbs are topical, thus giving new material for the analysis. There are 24 clauses with topical verbs and negation in the Middle Hittite material (the New Hittite corpus is not yet annotated for topical verbs). As stated above, negation is always in focus in my material, and if the verb is topical, the focus is only on negation, and it is a contrastive (rejecting) focus. This way, comparing clauses with the same wording, but different information structure, we can spot cases of contrastive focusing on negation.

(14) MH/MS (CTH 262) IBoT 1.36 iii 75		(Miller 2013:116)	
LÚ <i>kītaš=ma</i>	<u>ŪL</u>	[<i>ḫalzā-i</i>]	
chanter=but	NEG	call.out-3SG.PRS	
‘But the chanter [does] not [cry out]’			

(15) MH/MS (CTH 262) IBoT 1.36 iv 4–5		(Miller 2013:118)	
LÚ <i>kītaš=ma</i>	[<i>nam</i>]ma	<u>ŪL</u>	<i>ḫalzā-i</i>
chanter=but	then	NEG	call.out-3SG.PRS
‘The chanter, though, does not cry out [aga]in’			

In example (14) *natta* stands preverbally, but is not in the predicative focus, it is in **the contrastive focus** whereas the verb is information focus. This is proved by the example (15) that follows in the nearest context with the same meaning, but with the topical verb.

It should be mentioned that **there can be several foci in a sentence**. Here I follow Krifka 2007, ex. (29): “it is a case of multiple focus in which in one and the same sentence, one expression introduces alternatives that are exploited in one way, and another expression introduces alternatives that are exploited in a different way”.

Compare also examples (16) and (17):

(16) MH/MS (CTH 262) IBoT 1.36 iv 14–15		(Miller 2013:118)
Š[A	É.G]AL-LĪ=*{ma=at=kan}*	KÁ.GAL [...]
of	palace.GEN.SG=but=PRON.3SG.PL=LOC.PART	
šarā	ŪL	<i>uwa-nzi</i>
PRV	NEG	come-3PL.PRS
‘Though, they do not (just) come up to the gate [of the pa]lace’		

(17) MH/MS (CTH 262) IBoT 1.36 iv 16–17		(Miller 2013:118)		
šarāzzi=ma=at=kan	KÁ.GAL	šarā	ŪL	<i>uwa-nzi</i>
upper=BUT=PRON.3PL.COM=LOC.PART	gate	PRV	NEG	come-3PL.PRS
‘But they do not come up to the upper gate’				

KÁ.GAL is in contrastive replacing focus, and preverb-negation-verb order is in predicative focus. In (16), following several lines below, we see *šarāzzi* in contrastive replacing focus, clause initially, and *ŪL* in contrastive rejecting focus preverbally, while the sequence preverb-verb stays topical. Another revealing example is (18).

(18) MH/MS (CTH 261.II) KUB 26.17 ii 6’–7’		(Miller 2013:130)	
<i>nu=za=kan</i>	LÚ ^h <i>huyandan</i>	KUR-e	<i>anda</i>
CONN=REFL=LOC.PART	prisoner.ACC.SG	land.LOC.SG	PRV
<i>lē=pat</i>	<i>dāla-i</i>		
NEG=EMPH	release-3SG.PRS		
‘He must in no case rel[ea]se him [wi]th[in] the l[and]’			

Here one can spot three foci: predicative focus (the verb, *dālai*), contrastive focus on negation, marked by the focusing particle =*pat* (*lē=pat*), and contrastive focus on **KUR-e** ‘in the land’ (to release the prisoner not in the land, but to bring him before the king). This can also explain the use of the

focusing particle. The notion of multiple foci can help to explain the position of negation in clauses with non-canonical word orders, such as fronted.

There is one, unfortunately broken, context in the “Milawata letter” (KUB 19.55 + KUB 48.90), that shows NEG-PRV/PRV-NEG interchange at a distance of literally one line in the same tablet. The translation allows for understanding that the negation marker in (19) is contrastively focused, and in (20) stands in predicative focus (with additional identificational focus on SIG₅-an[n]i).

(19) NH/LNS (CTH 182) KUB 19.55 + KUB 48.90 l.e. 1–2 (Hoffner 2009:320)				
[...]= <i>kan</i>	^d UTU- <i>ŠI</i>	[...]- <i>teš</i>	<u>UL</u> <i>anda</i>	<i>ū-h̄hu[n]</i>
XXX=LOC.PART	My.Majesty	XXX	NEG PRV	see.1SG.PST
‘I, My Majesty, [...] did not see [...]’				

(20) NH/LNS (CTH 182) KUB 19.55 + KUB 48.90 l.e. 3 (Hoffner 2009:320)				
[...]	SIG₅-an[n]i	<i>šer</i>	<u>anda UL</u>	<i>ū-h̄hu[n]</i>
XXX	well-being	PSTP	PRV NEG	look.1SG.PST
‘Out of consideration for your well-being I did not look [...]’				

6. Conclusions

So I presented corpus research of the positioning of negation markers in Hittite, conducted on the material of New and Middle Hittite letters and instructions. Thus, the conclusions are as follows. Quantitative data were obtained concerning types and placement of negation markers and pronouns. The statistical approach confirmed the idea of a basic preverbal position for negation in Hittite and became the basis for some conclusions about negation fronting, such as that negation fronting correlates with rhetorical questions, but non-fronted negation in a question does not correlate with non-rhetorical contexts, and negation fronting in sentences other than questions should be connected to contrastive focusing. Negation scope is closely linked to the focus, and it has been shown that there can be several foci in a clause, among

them a contrastive rejecting focus on *natta*. Negation with sentential scope should correlate with the predicative focus, while negation with narrow scope should correlate with a contrastive focus, over negation only. A contrastively focused negation behaves differently from a negation in predicative focus, hence can come a solution for the word order negation-preverb. Negation-preverb word order is a rare, but regular strategy, according to our corpus material where this order is attested in roughly the same proportions for all Hittite preverbs, except *katta(n)* (contra Hoffner & Melchert 2008:341–2).

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8. Supplements—sources for the corpus

New Hittite letters	
KUB 21.38	From Queen Puduḫepa to Ramses II of Egypt(?)
KUB 26.91	From the King of Aḫḫiyawa to the Hittite King
KUB 19.5 + KBo 19.79	To King Muwattalli II from Manapa-Tarḫunta of the Šeḫa River Land
KUB 14.3	From King Ḫattušili III to the King of Aḫḫiyawa (“Tawagalawa Letter”)
KUB 19.55 + KUB 48.90	From King Tudḫaliya IV to Tarkašnawa of Mira (“Milawata Letter”)
KBo 18.15	To King Muršili II of Ḫatti from Mašḫuiluwa of Mira-Kuwaliya
KUB 23.102	From King Muwattalli II or Muršili III (Urḫi-Teššub) to King Adad-nirāri I of Assyria
KUB 23.103 (Dupl. A)	From King Tudḫaliya IV of Hatti to an Assyrian Nobleman Bāba-ah-iddina
KBo 18.2	From the King to the Queen Mother; Piggyback Letter from the King to Several Persons

Güterbock 1979, 142–44	To the King from the Queen; Piggyback Letter from mNÍG.BA-dU (= Ari-Teššub or Piyama-Tarḫunta) to [PN]
KBo 18.4	From the King of Išuwa to his Father, the Chief of the Charioteers
KBo 18.48	From the King to Prince Ḫešni
KBo 13.62	School Tablet Based Upon a Real Letter from [...] to [the Queen?]
KBo 18.54	To the King from Kaššū; Piggyback Letter to the King from Zarna-ziti
KBo 18.29	To the King from UR.MAḪ-[...]
KUB 57.123	To the King from Taki-Šarruma
KUB 19.23	To the Queen (Puduḫepa?) from Tudḫaliya (IV?)
KBo 9.82	To the King from Maša
KBo 2.11	From the King of Arzawa(?) to Ḫattušili III(?)
KBo 18.79	From [...] to [...]
KUB 57.1	To the Field Marshall (Nuwanza?) from Ḫutupianza
KUB 40.1	To the King from [...]
Bo 2810	From the King to [...]
KUB 23.85	From Queen Puduḫepa to Tattamaru
VS 28.129	From [...] to the GAL LÚ.MEŠUKU.UŠ, Nananza, and Ḫattušili
SMEA 45-T 1	From the Hittite Emperor to Alziya-muwa in Emar
BLMJ 1143	From the King of Carchemish to Alziya-muwa
AT 125	From the King of Carchemish to a Hittite Official at Alalakh
ATT 35	From the King to Tudḫaliya
Middle Hittite letters	
KUB 31.79	River Traffic on the Euphrates
KBo 15.28	Three-Plus Augurs to the Queen + piggyback
KBo 12.62	[...] to [...]
KBo 18.14	To the King from Pazzu
KBo 18.95	To the Chief of the Guard from the Chief of the Palace Servants
HKM 1–10, 12–39, 43–68, 70–75, 79–82, 84, 88–89	Letters from Masat archives

CORPUS STUDY OF INFORMATION STRUCTURE IN HITTITE:

ABoT 60	To the King from Kassu (Masat archives)
ABoT 65	From Tarhuntissa to Palla (Masat archives)
Or 90/1400	From the King to Kuikuisanduwa (Ortakoy)
Or 90/800	To the King from the Queen + piggyback (Ortakoy)
HHCTO 1	From [...] to [...] + piggyback (Ortakoy)
HHCTO 3	From the King to [...] (Ortakoy)
HHCTO 4	From the King to [...]. Musu, and [...] (Ortakoy)
StBoT 45: 671-72	From the King to Uhha-muwa (Ortakoy)
KuT 50	To the King from Halpa-ziti
KuT 49	To the GAL DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL from the <i>HAZANNU</i>
Middle Hittite instructions	
KBo 22.1	A Royal Reprimand of the Dignitaries
KUB 13.3	Instructions and Oath Imposition for Royal Servants concerning the Purity of the King
KBo 50.282	Instructions and Oath Imposition for Royal Servants concerning the Purity of the King
KBo 5.11	Protocol for the Palace Gatekeeper
IBoT 1.36	Protocol for the Royal Body Guard
KBo 50.284(+)	Royal Decree on Social and Economic Matters
New Hittite instructions	
KUB 26.17	Instructions for Military Officers and Frontier Post Governors
KUB 13.9 (+KUB 40.62)	Tudhaliya I's Decree on Penal and Administrative Reform
KBo 27.16+	Tudhaliya I's Decree on Penal and Administrative Reform
KUB 13.7	Tudhaliya I's Decree on Judicial Reform
KUB 26.11	Tudhaliya I's Instructions and Oath Imposition for All the Men
KBo 50.268+ KUB 13.21	Tudhaliya I's Instructions and Oath Imposition for All the Men
KUB 36.112+	Instructions and Oath Impositions for the Successors of Tudhaliya I and Tudhaliya III
KBo 16.54	Instructions for Supervisors

KUB 21.41	Instructions of Suppiluliuma I for the Military and a Corresponding Oath
KUB 26.57	Instructions of Suppiluliuma I for the Military and a Corresponding Oath
KUB 21.46	Oath of the Men of Ḫattusa to Ḫattusili III and Pudu-Ḫepa
KUB 31.113	Instructions for Priests and Diviners
KUB 13.28	Instructions for the UKU.UŠ-troops
KUB 26.13+ (B), KUB 26.12+ (A), KUB 40.24 (C)	Tudḫaliya IV's Instructions and Loyalty Oath Imposition for Lords, Princes and Courtiers
KUB 26.1 (A), KBo 50.258 (E), KUB 26.8 (B), KUB 23.67 (D), KUB 31.97 (C)	Tudḫaliya IV's Instructions and Oath Imposition for Courtiers
ABoT 1.56	Suppiluliuma II's Instructions and Oath Imposition for the Men of Ḫattusa

Tab. 6. Sources for the corpus

“CTH 416 AS A SAMMELTAFEL: NEW PERSPECTIVES ON AN OLD-HITTITE RITUAL”¹

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Abstract

In the following paper, I will argue that the old-Hittite ritual for the royal couple CTH 416, considered so far as one single composition, collects as a matter of fact four different rituals.

These four rituals appear to have the same purpose – the purification of the royal couple – and they show the use of very similar magic techniques, but each one of them forms a separate unit that could work by itself. Moreover, the tablet’s structure is characterized by double paragraph lines separating the four rituals, and thus it points to a strong division between the different sections of the text, in a way similar to the scribal compositions known as *Sammeltafeln*.

The German noun *Sammeltafel* defines a tablet containing two or more separate texts, written in sequence and divided one from another by a double paragraph line. Compositions of this kind date back mostly to the Empire Period (13th century B.C.) and so far there are no evidence of an old-Hittite *Sammeltafel*. However, a middle-Hittite composition (CTH 443) has recently been redefined as a *Sammeltafel* by Christiansen (2007).

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1 In this paper I would like to present the main results coming from my doctoral dissertation, entitled “Quattro rituali antico-ittiti per la coppia reale: una nuova edizione di CTH 416” (“*Four old-Hittite rituals for the royal couple: a new edition of CTH 416*”), defended at the University of Pavia in January 2014, under the supervision of Prof. M. Giorgieri, whom I thank.

In this paper I will show that CTH 416 can be considered a *Sammeltafel* too and, as a consequence, that the dating and composition's criteria of this scribal genre should now be reconsidered.

Paper:

Introduction

The old-Hittite composition classified as CTH 416 is preserved in three different copies, all of them written on double-columned single tablets in old-Hittite *ductus*: copy A comes from building A of the royal palace on Büyükkale – the so-called “Palace library”² – while copies B and C were found in the storerooms surrounding Temple 1 in the lower city of Ḫattuša. The three copies are composed by many different fragments, as presented in the following list³:

- | | | | |
|----------|----|------------|---|
| A | A1 | KBo 17.1 | 717/b+744/b+802/b+820/b+1142/c+1301/c+1549 c+2088/c+2386/c+2801/c+56/q+315/w+AlacaFr.1+AnAr6974+AnAr8351+AnAr8912+Bo10410+MAH16866+MAH16867 |
| | A2 | KBo 17.26 | 158/q |
| | A3 | KBo 25.3 | 1444/c |
| | A4 | KBo 25.148 | 1839/c |
| | A5 | KBo 30.33 | 1562/c |
| B | B1 | KBo 17.2 | Bo2743 |
| | B2 | KBo 17.3 | Bo2416 |
| | B3 | KBo 17.4 | Bo3046+Bo4194+Bo4431 |
| | B4 | KBo 17.7 | 417/u |
| | B5 | KBo 20.15 | Bo69/331 |
| | B6 | KBo 25.7 | Bo69/157 |
| | B7 | KUB 43.32 | Bo8060 |
| | B8 | KUB 43.39 | Bo8931 |
| | B9 | IBoT 3.135 | Bo3596 |

2 For this expression see Košak, 1995; Alaura, 2001.

3 S. Košak, hethiter.net/hethkonk (v. 1.91)

	B10	Unpublished	Bo 8063 ⁴
C	C1	KBo 17.5	Bo3515
	C2	KBo 17.6	Bo2493
	C3	KBo 25.8	109/w

The vast majority of the fragments belonging to CTH 416 was first edited by H. Otten and V. Souček in 1969⁵: their work was focused on the detailed paleographic analysis of the old-Hittite *ductus*, and it truly marked a fundamental step in the text-dating process. However, the contents and the structure of the composition were only sketched out. After that, CTH 416 has never been fully investigated again, even if many of its parts have been repeatedly discussed by scholars over the years and a partial transliteration has been published by E. Neu in 19806.

The importance of CTH 416 within the *corpus* of Hittite rituals, together with the need to update the textual reconstruction, require now a deeper investigation of this composition, in order to fully unravel its particular contents and its meaning.

The main purpose of CTH 416, basically a series of purification rituals, is to preserve the royal family from impurity and disease by using different magical techniques and ingredients. One particular feature of this composition is that the entire text is written in the first person singular⁷, as if it was directly described by the person who officiated it, most probably – even if not certainly – an Old Woman⁸. Moreover, the ancient dating of all of the copies of the text seems to support the idea that CTH 416 represents an original transcription of some old-Hittite rituals. Unfortunately, since the very first lines and the *colophon* are missing in each copy of the text, it is impossible

4 Join F. Fuscagni. Since the fragment is unpublished, it hasn't been possible for me to see the fragment itself, but I was only able to reed an old transliteration of it made by H.G. Güterbock.

5 Otten-Souček, 1969.

6 Neu, 1980.

7 Another one of the very few existing ritual texts showing this peculiar feature is CTH 396.1.1, the middle-Hittite ritual of Hatiya, woman of Kanzapida (see Carruba, 1966; A. Chrzanowska (ed.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 396.1.1 (2012sq.)): this ritual, however, doesn't seem to have nothing in common with CTH 416, except for being written in the first person singular and performed by a woman.

8 See Taracha, 2009, pp. 76-79; Popko, 1995, pp. 82-84. About the Old Woman see also Gurney, 1977, pp. 44 ff.

for us to know both the Hittite definition of this composition, if present, and the name and qualification of the ritual performer.

The structure of CTH 416

CTH 416 constitutes an interesting case of study not only for its antiquity, but also for its peculiar structure, which will be the topic of the following analysis.

Ever since it was first edited by Otten and Souček, this text has always been classified as a single ritual, lasting several days and mentioning different Hittite holy cities, which could be seen as a description of some ancient festival⁹. Taking a closer look to the structure of the text and the layout of the three copies, however, we can notice some features that seem to contradict the interpretation of CTH 416 as one single ritual.

First of all, the layout of the tablets itself shows, with significant regularity in the three copies, four different sections of the text separated by double paragraph lines. This kind of partition usually indicates, in Hittite tablets, the end of the text and it is never used as an alternative to the single paragraph line. Moreover, at the end of each section a small recurring paragraph is embedded in another couple of double lines.

As to the content, the four sections identified by this graphic partition in the three copies show a very similar internal structure, even if there are some minor differences that can be attributed to gaps in the tablets. This structure reproduces the typical sequence of steps that forms a Hittite ritual¹⁰ in four different and separate units, composed as follows:

- a. Presentation of the problem
- b. List of materials and execution of the main magic actions

9 Otten-Souček, 1969, p. 101: “ (...) *der vorliegende Text mit der Nennung verschiedener Orte, der Verteilung der einzelnen Kulthandlungen auf mehrere Tage, mit Nennung genauer Tageszeiten, eher an die Gruppe der Festbeschreibungen erinnert.*”

10 Regarding the typical structure of Hittite rituals see Tremouille, 2004, pp. 180-182; Haas, 1987-1990, p. 243a. For a comparison with the structure of the purification ritual CTH 443, which is very similar to the one shown in the first and second rituals of CTH 416, see Szabó, 1971, p. 108.

- c. Removal of the impure materials
- d. Invocation to the gods
- e. Ritual feast
- f. Closing paragraph

Each one of the four sections, then, begins with a presentation of the problem that has to be solved, expressed by the adverb *mān* “when” plus a brief description of the occasion in which the subsequent ritual takes place.

- Rit. 1: [...]
- Rit. 2 (Obv. II 18): *mān* ^{MUŠEN}*ḥaranan ḥušuwandan appanzi* “When they catch a living eagle”
- Rit. 3 (Rev. III 19-20): *anda=ma [mān LUGAL-aš] MUNUS.LU[-GAL-aš=a] ḥatūgan ēšḥar/ papra[tar d]aḥḥ[i]* “Furthermore, when I take the King and Queen’s fear, blood and impurity”
- Rit. 4 (Rev. IV 14-15): *[m]ān [a]īn wāīn pittuliuš=a LUGAL-i MUNUS.LUGAL-(i)=ya / daškiemi* “When I take pain, sorrow and constrictions from the King and Queen”

The beginning of the first ritual, as mentioned above, is hidden in the gap that deprives us of the first lines of the text: nevertheless, its purpose could be deduced from the magic formula that closes the ritual (Obv. II 9-11): “I took from the King, the Queen and from the children of Ḫattuša their evil, their impurity, the fearful iron tongues (and) the blooded [garments^(?) of] the Ḫantašepa deities”. It is evident, in fact, that in CTH 416 a relationship exists between the initial presentation of every ritual and its closing formula, that repeats quite literally the opening words, but in the past tense, since the action is at that point already completed¹¹.

11 The third ritual, for example, ends with the magic formula “I took fear, blood and impurity: may this not turn back! May the enemies take this away!” (Rev. IV 2-4), while the last says “I took from you pain, sorrow and your constrictions” (Rev. IV 38-40). The second ritual’s closing formula, instead, doesn’t match with the initial presentation of the problem, which focuses on the catching of a living eagle: the closing formula, on the other hand, is similar to the first ritual’s one and recites “For the King, the Queen and the Children in Ḫattuša I buried their illness, their blood, their evil (and) their fear. May this do not resurface again! May the enemy take this away!”.

The second and most substantial part of the four rituals naturally consists of the presentation of the necessary objects and materials and of the execution of the various magical actions. Unlike the vast majority of later rituals, which shows first a detailed list of materials and then the active part of the process, CTH 416 introduces the different materials little by little, in parallel to the related actions.

As already said, a great similarity exists among the contents of the four rituals, including the magic materials, the actions performed and the personnel involved, even if each section preserves its particular features. The main magical operations performed in CTH 416 to transfer the impurity from the royal couple to the inanimate carriers or to the living substitutes are roughly the same in each one of the four rituals: the most important among these actions is clearly the one indicated by the verb *wahnu-*, which means “to make turn, to swing” an object above the King’s and Queen’s bodies, in order to load the carrier up with the royal couple’s impurity. Another procedure commonly used in CTH 416 to free the patients from their impurity is spitting (Hitt. *allappahh-*) on the carriers, while only the last ritual involves specific manipulations of colored woolen threads. All these operations, as well as the related magic materials, were classified by Otten as “typically Anatolian”¹², thus belonging to the ancient core of the Hittite culture.

The similarity existing among the different sections of the composition, then, is probably due to the fact that one single person, coming from one specific cultural milieu, performed all the rituals collected in CTH 416, rather than to the fact that all the magical actions belong to one single ritual lasting several days.

After the end of the sections that describe the magical actions, the removal of the impure materials represents the next step of the four rituals. According to the typical Anatolian custom, the objects used during each ritual are buried and fixed in the ground, along with the recitation of a magic formula, in which the ritual performer explains his/her actions.

12 Otten-Souček, 1969, p. 106.

- Rit. 1 (Obv. II 1-2): [... ^Dhant]ašepuš teššummiuš=a ERÍN^{MEŠ}-an/ [dāhḫi^(?) daganzipa]n paddahḫi t(a)=uš ḫariemi “[I take^(?)] the Ḫantašepa deities, the cups and the (clay) troop. I dig [the ear]th and I bury them”
- Rit. 2 (Rev. III 8-9): *ūlnaš* ERÍN^{MEŠ}-an teššummiuš=a taknā/ ḫariemi t(a)=uš tarmaemi “I bury the clay troop and the cups into the ground and I nail them”
- Rit. 3: [...]
- Rit. 4 (Rev. IV 48): [...] *kē arahza pē[t]ahḫe* t(a)=uš tarmaemi “I take these things outside and I nail them”

The first ritual is a bit broken at this point, but it is possible to understand that cups of *tarlipa-* and a clay troop are important magic materials here, just as in the second ritual of CTH 416, at the end of which they are not only buried, but also nailed to the ground. The removal of the third ritual’s impure materials is lost in a gap, but, because of the affinity existing within the four rituals, it is only logical to postulate a similar situation. The end of ritual four is badly preserved too, but in this case, at least, the verb *tarmaemi* “I nail” survives (Rev. IV 48), so that we can easily imagine that the impure materials of this ritual were buried and fixed in the ground as well.

In rituals one, two and four, the removal of impure materials is followed by an invocation to the gods for the blessing of the royal family: the absence of this section in ritual three can be easily attributed to the large gap that covers the final part of the third column of the text.

- Rit. 1 (Obv. II 8-11): *tuwattu* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-eš/ *kāša* LUGAL-aš MUNUS.LUGAL-ša DUMU^{MEŠ} URU^{URU}hattušaš=a *idalu=šmit/ pa-prātar=šmit ḫatugauš lāluš* AN.BAR ^Dhantašep[aš TÚG^{HIA}-uš^(?)]/ *išḫaškantuš dāhḫun šumeš=uš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-eš [pahḫašt]e[n] “Mercy, Gods! Here, I took from the King, the Queen and from the Children of Hattuša their evil, their impurity, the fearful iron tongues (and) the blooded [garments^(?) of] the Ḫantašepa deities. You, Gods, protect them!”

- Rit. 2 (Obv. II 54-57): *tuwattu* ^{DUTU} ^{DIM} ^{MUŠEN} *haraš/*
[te]riyala(š)=šmiš LUGAL-uš *kullupi harzi* MUNUS.LUGAL-aš=*a*
^{NA4}ARÀ-an/ [*harzi (nu) š*]umāš *uktūri* ^{NINDA} *haršin išpantuzzi=ya/*
[handan]zi “Mercy, Gods! The eagle is their [sub]stitute^(?)¹³. The king
 holds the sickle and the queen holds the grindstone; they eternally
 dedicate to you bread and libations”
- Rit. 3: [...]
- Rit. 4 (Rev. IV 52-55): *n[ēpiš]aš* ^{DUTU-uš/} [x x] *taknaš* ^{DUTU-uš}
šumeš[=a LUGAL-uš MUNU]S.LUGAL-aš=*a/* [x x] *aīn uwāīn*
[pittuliuš=a] datten/ [... p]išten “Solar deity of Heaven, [...] Sun-
 Goddess of Earth! You take [the King’s] and Queen’s pain, sorrow
 [and constrictions! ... g]ive!”

In the first ritual, for example, the already mentioned closing formula is embedded in a very basic invocation to the gods (Obv. II 8-11), while the second ritual shows a more complex invocation to the Sun-Goddess and to the Storm God, featuring a symbolic representation of the royal couple holding a sickle and a grindstone (Obv. II 54-57). The closing invocation of the fourth ritual is once again badly preserved, but the names of the Sun deities of Heaven and Earth are readable, such as the verb *pišten* “Give!”, the object of which, lost in the gap, should have been some kind of blessing for the royal couple.

A peculiar feature of ritual one, on the other hand, is the presence, just after the final formula and invocation, of a list of offerings to the deities mentioned in the ritual¹⁴: as far as we can see, because of the poor conditions of

13 The reconstructed word *teriyala-* literally means “the third”, as already suggested in the first edition of CTH 416 (Ottén-Souček, 1969, p. 29 n. 9): in this case, however, the eagle has simultaneously the role of a substitute for the royal couple as well as its traditional function of divine messenger (see also Mouton, 2014, p. 568). The enclitic personal pronoun *-šmiš*, as a matter of fact, can represent both the second and the third person plural, thus it can be related to the royal couple – meaning “their substitute” – as well as to the gods (“your messenger”).

14 The deities mentioned in these lines (Obv. II 4-6) are the solar deity of Heaven – here probably to be intended, for many reasons, as the feminine Sun-Goddess of Arinna –, *Ḫantitaššu*, Inara of *Ḫattuša* and the Queen of *Katapa*, a name who can hide the great goddesses *Ištar* or *Hepat*. Another mention of a Solar deity is present in these lines (Obv. II 6: [...] *DUTU-i*), but, since the first part of the name is lost in a gap, it is difficult to understand which kind of solar deity we are dealing with, even if the Sun-Goddess of Earth, who appears in the fourth ritual together with the Sun of Heaven, could be the most probable solution.

the tablets at this point, every deity receives a sheep, honey and fat. No one of the other rituals collected in CTH 416 shows a similar section, but every one of them contains, just after the invocations to the gods, a brief reference to a ritual feast.

Since Hittite rituals don't usually show a feast scene, the presence of such a moment in the rituals belonging to CTH 416 represents a distinctive feature of this text. However uncommon, the presence of feast scenes doesn't necessary means that the text describes a several days lasting festival, and not four simple rituals. A similar scene, as a matter of fact, is preserved also in the ritual of Ašhella (CTH 394), which dates back to the middle-Hittite period: the final section of this ritual contains the brief description of a meal (KUB 9.31 Rev. IV 26 *nu=za adanzi akuwanzi* “and they eat and drink”).

The description of the feast is very short also in CTH 416, where it is always limited to the two verbs *adueni akueni* (in Obv. II 12, Rev. III 15 and IV 6):

- Rit. 1 (Obv. II 12-13): *adueni akueni nu* ^{URU}*ḫattuša iyannah[ḫi]* “We eat (and) drink and I go to Ḫattuša”
- Rit. 2 (Rev. III 15-16): *[a]tueni akueni ta šarā/ uwaueni* “We eat (and) drink and we come up (to the city?)¹⁵”
- Rit. 3 (Rev. IV 6-7): *a[tue]ni akueni (...) ta/ uwaueni* “We eat (and) drink (...) and we come (back)”
- Rit. 4 (Rev. IV 56): *[...] URU-i=ya uwami* “[We eat and drink^(?) ... and] I come to the city”

Once more, a textual gap prevents us from proving the presence of a feast scene also in the fourth ritual. In this last section of CTH 416, the paragraph following the invocation is constituted by one single line (Rev. IV 56: B₉ IV 11'), the first half of which is missing: the gap in the tablet, however, is large

15 The Hittite expression *šara uwa-* literally means “to come up”, but it is used sometimes to indicate the act of returning to the city of Ḫattuša, or to every town in general: at this point of the text, this second interpretation might be of better use, since the previous ritual scene is set outside the town, in the mountains. After the ritual feast, the participants have to come back to the city, which in this case could be both Ḫattuša or Katapa, where the first ritual takes place and which is known to be located on a higher ground too (Polit, 1999, p. 86): the expression “come up to Katapa” appears, for example, in a couple of festive rituals, such as CTH 631.1A (KBo 9.124 '7-'8: ^{URU}*Katapi šara nejanzi*) and CTH 604 (KUB 30.39 Obv. 8,10: ^{URU}*Katapi šara [...]*).

enough to easily contain the expression *adueni akueni*, while the second half of the line skips quickly to the description of the following moves of the ritual performer, just as in the first ritual, where the King leaves for the city of Arinna right after the feast.

The use of the first person plural of the verbs “eat” and “drink” suggests that the ritual performer and the patients – the royal couple – take part to the feast together, possibly along with the palace servants who also participated to the ritual’s execution.

As already pointed out, every ritual in CTH 416 is followed by a small, recurring paragraph, separated from the previous section of the text by one (rituals 1 and 2) or two (rituals 3 and 4) partition lines and always followed by a double paragraph line. In this last paragraph the performer considers whether or not to go to the “House of the Children” (“DUMU^{MEŠ}-*an pir*”¹⁶), an otherwise unknown building that probably accomodated the princes and princesses, depending on the wishes of the royal couple: the performer, then, could probably repeat the same ritual also for their children.

- Rit. 1 (Obv. II 15-17): *ta LUGAL-i kiššan tēmi pai=mu DUMU.É.G-AL-in t[a] DUMU^{MEŠ}-an/ parna paimi LUGAL-uš=mu DUMU.É.G-AL pāi nu kuit/ LUGAL-uš tezzi nu apāt iyami* “And I speak to the King as follows: ‘Give me a palace servant and I will go to the House of the Children’. The king gives me a palace servant and I do as the king says”
- Rit. 2 (Rev. III 17-18): *mān LUGAL-uš MUNUS.LU[GAL-(a)š=a t] ezzi ta DUMU^{MEŠ}-an parna pa[i]mi/ mān natta=ma [tara]nzi nu nat-ta paimi* “When the King and the Queen say (so) I go to the House of the Children, when they don’t say (so) I don’t go”

16 Since this fascinating expression is attested only here, in CTH 416, it is really difficult to say if the space designated by it was an independent building or simply a part of the royal palace, and, moreover, if such a building was present only in Ḫattuša or also in other cities where royal palaces are attested, like Katapa. According to Hoffmann (1992, p. 292), the “House of the Children” mentioned in CTH 416 could be the same building identified by the Hittite noun ^ē*pulla-*, but contra see CHD (P, p. 374b), Neu (1983, p. 152), and Melchert (1981, pp. 90-95), who suggests that the misterious Hittite word for “son” should be *aiawala-*, and not *pulla-* as proposed by Hoffmann.

- Rit. 3 (Rev. IV 11-13): [*mān* LUGAL-*uš* MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš*=*a taranzi ta* DUMU^{MEŠ}-*an parna paimi*/ [*takk*]u *natta=ma taranzi nu natta paimi karū=ma*/ [x] É DUMU^{JMEŠ}-*an paišgaḥat kinun=a natta kuwāpikki pāun* “When the King and the Queen say (so) I go to the House of the Children, if they don’t say (so) I don’t go. Once, I used to go [to?] the House of the Children, but now I didn’t go anywhere”
- Rit. 4 (Rev. IV 57-58): [... *mā*]n *natta=ma*/ [... *pa*]imi

This closing paragraph is almost completely lost in a gap at the end of the fourth ritual, but its presence can easily be detected on the base of the few remaining words: “[...] if not [...] I [don’t] go”.

The closing paragraph of ritual three, actually, shows a meaningful variation of the formula (Rev. IV 13), introducing the idea of a temporal gap between an undetermined past (*karu*¹⁷), when the ritual performer used to visit the children of the royal couple, and the present (*kinun*), when apparently the Old Woman didn’t performed this specific ritual for the younger members of the family.

In my opinion, these closing lines, recurring almost unaltered at the end of each section of the text, strongly suggest the separation between the four rituals, since they openly state the possibility that the performer leaves from where the ritual has taken place to the “House of the Children”, therefore interrupting the alleged unity of this old-Hittite composition.

Furthermore, none of the indications of time given in the text marks a separation between the four groups of magical actions, as we would expect in a several days lasting ritual. Instead, the different indicators are used inside the four sections to mark the timing and duration of each ritual, as shown in the following scheme:

- Rit. 1: no indications
- Rit. 2: Obv. II 24: *mištiliya mēḫur*; II 43: *lukkatta*
- Rit. 3: Rev. III 29, 46: *išpanti*; Rev. IV 7: *lukkatta*
- Rit. 4: Rev. IV 24: *lukkatta*

17 On the use of *karu* see Masson, 2004, in partical pp. 458-459.

Ritual one seems to be an exception, since no indication about time is present, but once again the gap at its beginning could cover some similar expressions. The second ritual, instead, clearly begins just before the evening meal¹⁸, it continues during the night and it ends the morning after. The third ritual is mostly performed during the night, but one last magical action is completed in the morning. The fourth ritual seems to begin at night, but the vast majority of it is performed the day after.

Every ritual, then, features both diurnal and nocturnal actions, but the time sequence of the four rituals doesn't seem to be continuous, suggesting once more that the sections of the tablets are separated.

An old-Hittite Sammeltafel?

All of the above-mentioned features of CTH 416's structure, in my opinion, indicate that this composition sums up four separate rituals, in the same way of those scribal compositions known as *Sammeltafel*n.

The German noun *Sammeltafel*¹⁹ defines a tablet containing two or more texts, written in sequence and divided by a double paragraph line²⁰. The great majority of texts collected on this kind of tablets belongs to the cultic sphere - namely rituals, festivals and oracular inquiries – but historical and political compositions are attested too.

Surprisingly, neither the nature of the materials collected on *Sammeltafel*n, nor the peculiar shape of the tablets seem to have been perceived as distinctive by the ancient scribes: no Hittite definition for this kind of composition, in fact, can be identified in the few existing *colophon* of *Sammeltafel*n, which structure doesn't differ from the Hittite standard, except that these particular cases describe not only one text, but more. The lack of a specific definition for *Sammeltafel*n emerges also from shelf lists and labels referring to this kind of tablets. Given that *Sammeltafel*n have been found – mixed

18 For the expression *mištilya mehur* “the time of *mištilya*” see Otten-Souček (1969, pp. 98-99) and Neu (1970, pp. 34 ff.).

19 For a selection of Hittite *Sammeltafel*n and their composition criteria see Mascheroni, 1988.

20 See Güterbock (1983, p. 155): “a tablet upon which two separate texts happen to be written”.

with other texts – in every tablet collection of Ḫattuša, even the distribution of these compositions doesn’t show any relevant criterion.

Therefore, the main reason for collecting various texts on a *Sammeltafel* seems to be the similarity of their contents, since they usually deal with the same topic or problem: KUB 2.2, for example, contains two rituals regarding the building and consecration of a temple (CTH 413-CTH 725); KUB 9.31 collects three different rituals against a pestilence in the army (CTH 757-CTH 410-CTH 394); KUB 26.71, on the other hand, puts together various historic compositions, such as the Anitta’s text (CTH 1), a chronicle of Ammuna’s reign (CTH 18) and fragments of Telipinu’s annals (CTH 39.6).

It frequently happens that a ritual collected once in a *Sammeltafel* appears elsewhere on its own or in combination with other texts. For example, the above-mentioned CTH 394, the ritual of Ašhella, is preserved in four main copies: two of them appear in two identical *Sammeltafeln* with CTH 410 and CTH 757, a third copy is written on a tablet that collects again also CTH 410, but together with CTH 424 – another ritual against a pestilence in the army – while the last copy is preserved on a single tablet.

Some composed tablets, however, don’t seem to have an unifying element binding the different texts together: in this case, the definition *Schülertafeln* “scholastic tablets” – proposed lastly by M. Hutter²¹ – might be of better use. In fact, tablets such as KUB 28.88+, which contains a fragment of an incantation ritual (CTH 734) and a legal case (CTH 295.13), could be better described as scholastic exercises for training scribes. Another example of a tablet collecting texts apparently unrelated to each other is KUB 24.7, the first half of which contains a hymn to Ištar (CTH 717), while the second shows the tale of the Fisherman and the Cow (CTH 363).

Sometimes, it happens that the similarity existing among the texts collected on a tablet is very strong, to the extent that, even if some compositions show the distinctive structure of a *Sammeltafel* – that is the double paragraph line and a recurring textual pattern - , scholars have never recognized so far their composed nature.

21 Hutter, 2011, p. 125.

This is, in my opinion, the case of CTH 416, which structure and contents, as seen above, clearly indicate that this old-Hittite compositions collects four different rituals: the three existing copies of this text, thus, are composed tablets. The case of CTH 416, after all, is not the only example of a magic ritual recently reconsidered: as convincingly suggested by B. Christiansen²², the middle-Hittite composition CTH 443 (KBo 15.10+) should be now also considered as a *Sammeltafel*, collecting two independent rituals against the evil incantations of Tuthaliyaš I's sister Ziplantawiya.

Another possible case of a long-neglected *Sammeltafel* could be, in my opinion, KUB 29.1 (CTH 414.1)²³, which has a double paragraph line in the middle of its third column, separating the first part of the text, regarding the foundation of a new palace²⁴, in which only the king is involved, from a second section dedicated to the installation of the fireplace, involving the entire royal family. The partition in discussion is not only a feature of this copy of the text: also the fragment HT 38, belonging to CTH 414.2²⁵, even if it is badly broken, preserves the double line in the same exact point.

The two sections of CTH 414, then, are obviously connected, but if a new palace always needs a new fireplace, there might be occasions in which only the fireplace has to be built or replaced: therefore, such as it happens in CTH 416, here the double paragraph line apparently means that the various rituals could be also used separately.

According to their paleographic and linguistics features, however, the classic *Sammeltafeln* date back mostly to the Empire Period (13th century B.C.). Generally, compositions of this kind are considered a product of the late scribal system, a mere archival practice developed for convenience of use after a reorganization of the tablet collections in Hattuša. The lack of ancient *Sammeltafeln*, moreover, has been interpreted as one of the evidences of the lack of archival practices in the old-Hittite Period²⁶.

22 Christiansen, 2007, p. 102; S. Görke (ed.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 443.1 (2006sqq.).

23 S. Görke (ed.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 414.1 (2011sqq.).

24 This group of texts was classified in Laroche's catalogue as a ritual for the foundation of a new temple, but it has been reinterpreted since Kellerman's edition (Kellerman, 1980) as the foundation ritual for a royal palace.

25 S. Görke (ed.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 414.2 (2011sqq.).

26 Van den Hout, 2009, p. 80: "No *Sammeltafeln* are known that show either OS or MS".

The strongest objection that could be made against the interpretation of CTH 416 as a *Sammeltafel*, then, is a chronological one, since the tablets’ old-Hittite dating places the drafting of this composition approximately three centuries before the supposed development of that scribal practice. However, the presence of a middle-Hittite *Sammeltafel* such as CTH 443, the above-mentioned rituals against Ziplantawiya, suggests that the matter is much more complicated.

Moreover, the third composition mentioned in the previous lines, CTH 414.1, is of old-Hittite origin too: the fragment KUB 29.3 (CTH 414.1.B), in fact, is written in the old-Script. Even if this fragment is very small and we cannot be sure about the presence of the double paragraph line at the end of the first section of the text, there is no reason to believe that its structure was different from the one attested in the later, better preserved copies of this composition.

CTH 416, along with CTH 443 and possibly - even if not certainly – also CTH 414.1, then, show many distinctive features of a *Sammeltafel*, but they all predate by far the broad development of this archival practice. These three texts, thus, could be seen as forerunners of the late scribal habit of grouping various rituals regarding the same issues on one single tablet.

Initially, old- and middle-Hittite *Sammeltafeln* like CTH 416 might have been the description of two or more separate rituals performed for the same specific occasion: the high level of affinity between the different sections – higher than the one generally shown by classic *Sammeltafeln* – supports the idea of a single origin of the rituals collected on these tablets.

Later, however, the graphic aspect of these compositions, which have in the meanwhile lost their overall specificity in favor of a more general use of their single rituals, could have been perceived by Hittite scribes as the standard model for a tablet containing various rituals. CTH 416 and the other compositions mentioned, therefore, could have actually contributed to the development of Empire period *Sammeltafeln*, being the first examples of collections of related – or just simply similar – rituals.

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